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THE PASTORAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM 1721-1771; WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND

Jon Christopher Shuler

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Divinity
of the University of Durham
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December, 1975.

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CONTAINS

PULLOUTS

ABSTRACT

The Diocese of Durham was in considerable need of vigorous pastoral and administrative effort in 1721. When William Talbot was translated from Salisbury to Durham, he brought with him much that was required, both in his own person and in those whom he preferred. Especially fortuitous, was his collation of Thomas Sharp to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland in 1723. Wholeheartedly attempting both the restoration of the fabric of those churches under his jurisdiction and the reformation of the spiritual life of the clergy and laity as well, Sharp laboured indefatigably for thirty-five years. Simultaneously, the Archdeaconry of Durham was suffering under the maladministration of George Sayer. There too, many of the wealthiest livings in England were situated, which tended to draw clergy more interested in financial gain and ecclesiastical advancement than in sacrificial service. Edward Chandler succeeded Talbot in 1730, though he was not to oversee any significant improvement in the quality of diocesan life during his episcopate. Nor was Joseph Butler, for all his learning and reputation, able to do anything to alleviate the malaise he inherited in 1750, for he was dead within two years. Richard Trevor succeeded him in 1753, and at last we find some measure of the pastoral and administrative zeal so necessary in the diocese. Assisted by two exemplary archdeacons, Samuel Dickens and John Sharp, he brought significant consolidation and reform to his bishopric. Particularly was this so in Northumberland, where John Sharp's zeal and determination fell little short of his father's. Nevertheless, the social, cultural, economic, and religious changes affecting the country, especially the North East, were fast out-distancing the efforts being made in the diocese. By 1771, the disparity between the pastoral needs of the church and the provision made to fill them was widening.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

c.	*circa*.
C.C.	Church Commissioners.
cf.	compare.
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*.
D.R.	Diocesan Registry.
f.	folio (before a numeral); page immediately following (after a numeral).
ff.	folios (before a numeral); pages immediately following (after a numeral).
ibid.	*ibidem*.
n.	note.
NCH	Northumberland County History Committee. *A History of Northumberland*.
op.cit.	*opere citato*.
p.	page.
para.	paragraph.
pp.	pages.
pt.	part.
R.	recto.
S.S.	Surtees Society.
V.	verso.
vol.	volume.

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the Established Church in England has been, and no doubt will continue to be, a source of interest and study for many who value a knowledge of the ideas, beliefs, customs and institutions which have shaped the world in which we live. That the eighteenth century life of that particular (and peculiar) institution which we call the Church of England is no longer justifiably to be ignored, despised or forgotten, in a rush to pass from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth, needs to be more widely known among that band of people. This dissertation is meant to be one small contribution towards a recovery of the knowledge of that period, so far as it may be discovered in the life of the Diocese of Durham between the years 1721 and 1771.

The Prince Bishop's of Durham then still ruled as lords temporal and spiritual throughout most of the two ancient counties of Durham and Northumberland, though their temporal powers were limited, in the more northern of the two, to that part known as North Durham. It shall be our purpose, however, only to examine the spiritual domain of that jurisdiction, and further, to omit from our discussion the activity of the Bishop's Consistory Court. Both of these areas would well repay careful study, for they were important in their day and they have bequeathed extensive manuscript materials, but they shall have to await another hand.

Within the limits of our thesis, we have focused especially

upon those manuscript materials hitherto untouched (at least systematically) by research students and historians, and in particular upon those documents which once were housed in the Diocesan Registry, though are now (happily) entrusted to the care of the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic in the University of Durham. It was our good fortune not only to precede other students and historians, in systematically studying these documents, but also to go before the much over-worked archivists of that friendly department. Good fortune, because thereby we gained a first-hand knowledge of the extant materials which no dependence upon calendars can ever yield, and also because in some small measure we have been enabled to assist their future efforts to catalogue and index this extensive collection.

Owing to the unfinished state of that particular piece of archival work, we have chosen to refer (in the bibliography) only to the various classes of manuscripts as a whole, citing in the notes sufficient descriptive data to enable (for any particular document) retrieval from the parent collection. There is also now deposited in the previously mentioned department, a preliminary general index to all Ordination Papers, Letters Testimonial, Caveats and "Subscription Books" (three of the Diocesan Registry Bound Volumes and one similar book among the Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers), between the years 1721 and 1771. It is hoped that this will greatly assist anyone wishing to retrieve data from that portion of the collection.

CHAPTER I

THE DIOCESE IN 1721

A. THE LATE LORD CREWE

On the twenty-third day of September, 1721, William Talbot, the Bishop of Salisbury, was nominated to the See of Durham, vacant since the death five days before of the eighty-eight year old Nathaniel, third Baron Crewe of Stene, who had been Bishop of Durham for nearly forty-seven years.(1) To this day there has never been a longer episcopate in the diocese, and the shadow of the man was seemingly cast over the region long after his death. No account of the subsequent history of the diocese would be complete without at least some brief examination of Crewe's life and later years.

Unfortunately, the enormous period of time covered by Crewe's episcopate is one of the most poorly documented since the restoration. Following upon the illustrious reign of John Cosin as prince bishop, this chasm is all the more noticeable.(2) The manuscript evidence for the period is minimal, and what we know of Crewe comes to us largely second hand through hostile sources.(3) Nevertheless, the traditional picture seems not altogether unreliable, and is accepted by the present writer.(4)

Crewe had risen rapidly in the ecclesiastical world, owing to his friendship with the Duke of York whose influence secured him first a deanery, then the position of Clerk of the Closet to Charles II, after that the See of Oxford, and finally in 1674 - at the age of 41 and after only ten years in Holy Orders - the rich prize of the See of Durham.(5) When the Duke came to be James II, Crewe proved to be entirely subservient to his master, and his actions in support of the King were to be unpopular in the extreme. When the King's prospects darkened however, Crewe's loyalty quickly wavered and he hurriedly curried favour in hopes (it would seem) of weathering the storm of the

impending revolution. It is even recorded that he sought to use large gifts of money to buy back people's favour,(6) although in the end only the intercession of Tillotson on his behalf gained his forgiveness and left him in peaceful possession of his See.(7) Burnet says of this great turn about that it was "thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his Life and Character."(8)

His public life rather ignominiously ended, Crewe largely retired to his private life and to his bishopric from this time onwards. Whiting says that he spent the larger part of the year in the south, though making an annual visit to the diocese for the purposes of confirmation, and a triennual visitation of the diocese.(9) Apart from this, however, Crewe's most sympathetic biographer gives us nothing of substance upon which to build a picture of the later days of the bishop's reign. One hundred and thirty-five pages are devoted to the years from 1689 to 1721, and not one page among them contains more than a fleeting glimpse of Crew involved in his episcopal duties.(10) In that whole section the following list is nearly exhaustive: at Newcastle 1701, apparently for a triennial visitation; visited Sherburn hospital c.1704; visited the Cathedral and Chapter in Durham 1696 and 1710.(11) No doubt it was at one of these visits that he was suffered to hear a sermon preached by prebendary Philip Falle, upon the text "Nathaniel, a man without guile." After describing what sort of man is "without guile", he "contrasted the character of the bishop himself under the portraiture of a deceitful man with so many strong strokes that no man could mistake the likeness, but lest they should, concluded his sermon with the apostrophe, 'Was it thou, O Nathaniel, etc.,' which completed his

triumph and turned all eyes on the bishop, who sat like a criminal receiving sentence."(12)

The compiler of Dr. John Smith's manuscript life of the bishop, notes that from 1715, Crewe was never again in the diocese "by reason of his infirmity", going on to praise the Bishop

> who was ye kindest Master to his servants, & Landlord to his Tenants, of his time, Scarce any of his fines or Rents having even been raised by him. His Hospitality and Charity at Steene was remarkable; as also ye Care he took of his Diocese, in Appointing Commissioners to give Institution, and to Perform all Acts except those which requir'd ye presence of a Bishop.(13)

The old bishop died at Steene on Monday, 18 September 1721, and was buried in the chapel there.(14)

In his last years, Crewe exercised some considerable charity, most especially in his beloved Oxford, but in Durham and other places as well.(15) His name lived long after him owing primarily to his posthumous charity administered through a trust composed of five clergymen, and this body brought considerable praise upon his name. Mandell Chreighton said of Crewe that he was "a remarkable instance of a man whose posthumous munificence has done much to outweigh a discreditable career."(16) We shall have occasion later to observe the work of the Crewe Trustees in administering the extensive lands and wealth left to their charge, but now we shall close this account of the late Lord Crewe by listing those benefactions made in his will and immediately effecting the state of the Church in the diocese over which he presided for nearly half a century:(17)

> £40 to the Minister of Balmborough;
> £30 to the Minister St. Andrew's Auckland;
> £10 per annum to 12 poor livings in the diocese.(18)

No certain value can be placed on the whole estate, but it seems to have been very great. The bishop gave £20,679 in 1704 for the Northumberland estates of his second wife's brothers, and he added to these later.(19) The will says that the income to these estates was valued at £1,312 per annum in 1720, which shows something of the total worth of the estates to be kept by the Trustees. All the other lands and estates in the South (and they were numerous) were left to his nephews and nieces.(20)

B. THE PAROCHIAL JURISDICTIONS IN THE DIOCESE

The jurisdictions of the diocese in 1721 were many, though the primary ones were the two archidiaconal jurisdictions of Durham and Northumberland. Geographically, these two corresponded roughly to the historic county boundaries, though internal areas were exempted in some parts. The Archdeaconry of Durham was divided into four deaneries: Easington, with sixteen benefices; Chester, with twenty-two benefices; Stockton, with twenty-one benefices; Darlington, with twenty-five benefices.(1) The Archdeaconry of Northumberland was similarly divided, though into five deaneries: Alnwick, with nineteen benefices; Bamburgh, with seventeen benefices; Corbridge, with twenty benefices; Morpeth, with twenty-one benefices; Newcastle with twelve benefices.(2)

Peculiar jurisdications, that is, geographical areas which were exempted from the direct visitation of the archdeacon or the bishop, existed throughout the diocese as well. The largest of these was known as the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. This was, in fact, the remaining jurisdiction of the monastic community of

Durham, and was composed of all the livings in the gift of the Cathedral Chapter. Technically, the dean stood in relationship to these livings as the archdeacon did to the livings in his archdeaconry. All the livings in the Officialty were therefore to be visited by the dean, rather than by one of the two archdeacons. In fact the dean delegated the responsibility to one of the chapter, who bore the title "Official of the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham". These Dean and Chapter peculiars were not, however, exempted from the visitation of the bishops, and for the purposes of the Episcopal Visitations, the livings were reckoned to be in the deaneries listed in the preceding paragraph. Within the Archdeaconry of Durham there were nineteen benefices under the official's jurisdiction and in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland there were seventeen.(3)

It would seem then that on the basis of the above figures we may assume that in the beginning of our period, there were one hundred and seventy-three benefices under the bishop's jurisdiction.(4)

It should also be noted that the ancient jurisdiction of Hexhamshire lay within the geographical boundary of the county of Northumberland, but was in fact a peculiar of the Archbishop of York. For the purposes of this work it will not be treated further.(5) Additionally, the four extra-parochial chapelries of Brainshaugh, Brinkburn, Kirkheaton and Lambly, though geographically within the archdeaconry of Northumberland, will not be treated, as they lay outside of either the bishop's or the archdeacon's jurisdiction.(6)

Any evaluation of the state of the diocese needs to take some account of the population in the early part of the century, though

this data is notoriously difficult to obtain. Fortunately (Bishop) Chandler's Remarks, made upon his visitation in 1736, furnish us with what must be the earliest surviving census data for Durham and Northumberland. The census is by families, and though not complete, it shows these figures for all but thirty of the one hundred and seventy-four benefices listed in that year.(7) The numbers seem to have been gathered from the returns made by the parochial clergy in 1732, and though we may expect some approximations, there are sufficient odd numbers to suggest that the clergy were endeavouring to be accurate.(8) Fortunately too, one incumbent (Thomas Sharp, the rector of Rothbury) has given his information both in families and in persons, enabling an approximation of the total number of persons in the diocese.(9) The data is set out in summary form in the table below:(10)

Table No.1 NORTHUMBERLAND POPULATION 1736 AND 1801

	1736			1801		
	Families:	Persons:	Average Persons per Family:	Families:	Persons:	Average Persons per Family:
Rothbury Parish	510	2,238	4.4	477	2,236	4.7
Archdeaconry of Durham	17,917			35,567	149,384	4.2
Archdeaconry of Northumberland	21,223			35,785	158,010	4.4

N.B. 1801 Population for Archdeaconry of Durham = Total figures given for County

Less Bedlington, Islandshire, Norhamshire } Called North Durham, but in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland.

1801 Population for Archdeaconry of Northumberland = Total figures given for County

Less Allendale, Hexhamshire, Hexham, St. John Lee, Throckington } All peculiars of York Diocese.

Plus Bedlingtonshire, Islandshire, Norhamshire } North Durham

The parochial state of the diocese in the early part of the eighteenth century - particularly as it relates to church and chapel buildings - has been a difficult thing to evaluate. As has been noted in the introduction, there is a great lack of manuscript evidence for the Archdeaconry of Durham until well after the middle of the century, and we have, therefore, to look primarily at the situation in the archdeaconry of Northumberland. We must however, remember constantly that the state of the northernmost archdeaconry is not typical of the southern. Northumberland was still a wild and tumultuous land in the eighteenth century, and the life was hard. Not only so, the livings were relatively poor, and thus the attractions to "men of parts" were very few. As we shall see, this meant that many of the abuses of the period were not so prevalent in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. It is necessary to remember, therefore, that livings were better paid, fabric was probably more extensive and better kept, impropriations were lower, and the population was certainly higher in the Archdeaconry of Durham - all of which must have presented a picture of very different colouring to that of Northumberland.

The principal sources for an evaluation of the diocese in the early part of the century are two: (Archdeacon Thomas) Sharp's Visitation (of) 1723 for Northumberland, and (Bishop Edward) Chandler's Remarks on the whole diocese. The archdeacon's remarks on his visitation form much the most extensive document for the whole period 1721-1771, and contain a wealth of material which we shall have occasion to cite throughout the course of this work. In it, Sharp has noticed all the minute details of his visit to each church, recording historical and architectural facts which are to be found in

no other place. Not only notes on patronage, benefactions, glebe lands, tithe, inventories of church plate, vestments and books, but also including all the orders to be executed in each parish. Chandler's Remarks, on the other hand, are much less extensive - only some twenty folios - yet compressed into them is material often even more informative than Sharp's. In a cramped and hasty hand, the bishop has given information for each living, noting incumbent, patron, impropriator, value of living, curate's name, schools in the parish, school-masters' names, parish population, numbers of dissenters and recusants, meeting houses, mass houses, sacramental frequency, etc. Although this information is very full, yet many places of worship are not noted, especially chapels, and these need to be supplied from other sources. The statistical information which follows is based upon the appendices to benefices (Appendices No.1 and No.2) unless otherwise noted, and should be consulted.

For purposes of clarity, the classification of ecclesiastical jurisdictions in this study will be as follows. Rectory will refer to a benefice in which the great (or rectorial) tithes are held by the incumbent. When these tithes are in other hands than the incumbent (whether lay or clergy hands does not matter) then we have a vicarage, and the incumbent receives only the small (or vicarial) tithes. If all tithes are in other hands, both great and small, but the benefice is a freehold living, then the incumbent is known as a perpetual curate, and the living called a curacy (or less often a perpetual curacy). In addition to these, there were a great variety of chapels, dependent in some form or other upon usually more substantial livings. Thus parochial chapels were chapels which although originally dependent and not entitled to be used for celebrating

the sacraments, had nevertheless been so used from "time out of mind". These parochial chapels, while not always freehold livings, were nevertheless functioning as though parochial churches in everything but name, and for the purpose of the following study will be considered benefices.(11) Chapel alone could (and did) cover many different situations in fact. Basically they were buildings established for the convenience of people who lived in remote parts of the parish, and to which they normally resorted for Sunday Services and the occasional offices of Baptism, Marriage and Burial. At certain times in the year (usually the great festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsunday) they would receive the Sacrament at the parish church. As well as these however, there were the domestic chapels, usually appended to great houses and supplied with chaplains by the family who resided there. And lastly, there were several hospital chapels, with chaplains supplied by the patron of the establishment.

Finally, before proceeding to the statistical data, it must be noted that a number of chapels listed were almost certainly functioning as parochial chapels. These have been listed simply as chapels, however, unless evidence is available showing that the sacraments were administered.

In the Deanery of Chester, there were twenty-two benefices (eight rectories, one vicarage, ten curacies, three parochial chapels), and two chapels in use. Two of the rectories, one vicarage, four curacies and two parochial chapels were under the peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

In the Deanery of Darlington there were twenty-five benefices (nine rectories, five vicarages, eleven curacies) and again two chapels

in use. One of these rectories and three of the vicarages were under the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.

Easington Deanery contained sixteen benefices (six rectories, four vicarages, six curacies). Two vicarages and the same number of curacies were under the Dean and Chapter's jurisdiction.

Finally then, in Stockton Deanery, there were twenty-one benefices, (ten rectories, ten vicarages, one curacy) and one chapel in use. The Dean and Chapter were patrons of one rectory and one vicarage.

Therefore, the jurisdiction of the bishop within the Archdeaconry of Durham comprised:- thirty-three rectories, twenty vicarages, twenty-eight curacies, three parochial chapels - a total of eighty-four benefices; and five chapels in use.(12)

In the Deanery of Alnwick there were nineteen benefices (four rectories, thirteen vicarages, one curacy, one parochial chapel), four chapels in use and eleven other chapels in various states of disrepair and ruin. Of the eleven ruined chapels at least two were used for occasional services - usually burials, though occasionally for baptisms and once for a marriage.(13) Two of the vicarages in this deanery were Dean and Chapter peculiars, one of which had a semi-ruinous chapel, and also one of the parochial chapels was under their jurisdiction.(14)

Bamburgh Deanery contained seventeen benefices (one rectory, seven vicarages, four curacies, five parochial chapels), two chapels in use and ten chapels in various states of ruin. Two of these latter ten were used for occasional services.(15) Geographically this deanery

contained all of what was once known as North Durham - that is Norhamshire, and Islandshire - and thus large parts of the deanery were under the Dean and Chapter's jurisdiction, as they were patrons of this whole area. Three vicarages, five parochial chapels, one curacy and two ruined chapels fell within this peculiar.(16) One chapel within this deanery, Kelso, presents another strange case, for it seems originally in our period to have been linked to Carham vicarage, though by the late eighteenth century it has become a chapel of the Scottish Episcopal Church.(17)

Corbridge Deanery contained twenty benefices (four rectories, nine vicarages, two curacies, five parochial chapels), six chapels in use and eleven chapels in ruins. One of the chapels in ruins within the bounds of the parish of Simonburn was in fact a Scottish chapel, though it was one hundred yards this side of the Scottish border.(18) One of the vicarages and one parochial chapel were under the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.(19)

Morpeth deanery contained twenty-one benefices (six rectories, nine vicarages, one curacy, five parochial chapels), three chapels in use and one in disuse. Two of the rectories were united as one, one of the parochial chapels had fallen into ruin, and a rectory and vicarage were under the care of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.(20)

Newcastle Deanery contained twelve benefices (six vicarages and six parochial chapels), ten chapels in use and five chapels in ruins. Only one parochial chapel was under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter.(21)

Thus in all, the archidiaconal jurisdiction of Northumberland contained in 1723: fifteen rectories, forty-four vicarages, eight

curacies, twenty-two parochial chapels - a total of 89 benefices; twenty-five chapels in use and thirty-eight chapels in various states of ruin.(22) By the time of Bishop Chandler's visitation in 1736, these figures had changed slightly, because four of the parochial chapels and one chapel had become curacies, and thus we have - fifteen rectories, forty-four vicarages, thirteen curacies, eighteen chapels - a total of ninety benefices; twenty-four chapels in use; thirty-eight chapels in various states of ruin.(23) Henceforth, these latter figures will be used when speaking of the early period of the study unless a clear distinction between 1723 and 1736 is needed.

When the statistics for the whole diocese are collected, they show that there were one hundred and seventy-four benefices (and twenty-nine chapels) in use in 1736. See Table No.2 below:

Table No.2 SUMMARY OF BENEFICES AND CHAPELS c.1736

	Rectories:	Vicarages:	Curacies:	Parochial Chapels:	Chapels: In use:	Chapels: Ruined:
Chester	8	1	10	3	2	-
Darlington	9	5	11	-	2	-
Easington	6	4	6	-	-	-
Stockton	10	10	1	-	1	-
Sub-total	33	20	28	3	5	0
Alnwick	4	13	1	1	4	11
Bamburgh	1	7	8	1	2	10
Corbridge	4	9	3	5	5	11
Morpeth	6	9	1	5	3	1
Newcastle	-	6	-	6	10	5
Sub-total	15	44	13	18	24	38
Diocesan Total	48	64	41	21	29	38

C. THE PAROCHIAL STRUCTURE

No detail of the state of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland is so surprising as the large number of chapels either partially or completely ruined. Of those which can be traced, the general decline of the fabric is seen clearly to be in the late seventeenth century. Of the chapels Archdeacon Sharp mentions as "in ruins" in 1723, only one is described as in decay in the Oliverian Survey of 1650.(1) There seems not to have been any great concern for this state of affairs in Sharp's time however, and no attempt was made to restore them as a group. In fact, only two ruined chapels were restored in our period, Blanchland in 1752 and Lucker in 1766.(2) That this lack of concern indicates the diminution of the population of the villages throughout the eighteenth century, seems almost certain.(3) Surprisingly, there is no indication of increased accommodation being provided anywhere in the archdeaconry, for only one new building is erected before 1789, and that was a donative chapel at Blyth, built in 1751.(4) There was, of course, much restoration work done to the churches which already existed, as we shall see below, but this can hardly have made room for the increasing population of the time.(5)

Even a cursory glance at Sharp's Visitation 1723, immediately reveals that the problem of ruination was not limited to chapels alone. In parish after parish the archdeacon's orders indicate a state of dilapidation perhaps unequalled in the modern history of the English Church. The first church noted is Alnwick, and twenty-three orders were given by Sharp. Many of these are relative to the interior fittings and appointments, but a number reveal structural needs of some importance. There were holes in the north wall of the church, roots of trees and twigs growing out of the walls, water getting into the

bell tower thus damaging the bell frame and making it unsafe for use, leaks in the north east corner and over "the stairs to the leads", the doors of the chancel needed "to be mended, and new leaded and timbered".(6) At Rennington Chapel the roof was so bad that the rain came into the church, especially at the east end of the chancel.(7) There were breaches and holes in the walls of the church at Embleton as well.(8) At Rock Chapel, the "large old porch" was so ruinous that it had to be pulled down and the stones used for the church and churchyard.(9) Framlington Chapel needed extensive roof repair and shortly after the visitation part of the chancel fell down.(10) At Howick repairs were not sufficient to mend the church, and in 1734 the south wall and foundations had to be newly laid and all roofing and roof timber replaced.(11) At Ilderton a no doubt rotten thatched roof was ordered to be replaced with stone flags and the entire east wall pulled down and rebuilt with an enlarged window.(12) At Rothbury, Sharp's own parish, two large stone buttresses were erected, one of the church arches replaced and one wing of the church newly roofed with slate.(13) Warkworth needed to have its chancel "new timbered and new leaded".(14) At Whittingham, the impropriators had allowed the chancel to become so ruinous, that it had to be entirely new built "from the ground" at a cost of £80.(15) In addition, the "jointing of the south wing to the church" was insecure and needed attention and there were holes in the steeple which needed stopping up.(16) All of these major repairs in fact represent only one deanery of the five, and that not the worst.

Clearly, Archdeacon Sharp believed that whatever reform he could bring to his archdeaconry could only begin when the places of worship within the region were put into such order as would encourage the same.

Again and again the detailed orders are recorded in his journal: provide a new large Bible and prayer book; a new table of marriages; a new cover to be purchased for the front; floors not flagged, to be flagged; parchment register to be purchased; new surplice and hood to be provided; walls to be freshly plastered; the King's Arms to be painted and conveniently placed; pews to be floored and repaired; windows which had been walled up (and there were some in almost every church) to be opened and glazed; flagons, cups, patens and linen to be provided for the Communion; chests to be made and locks installed; pulpits repaired and supplied with a cushion; a carpet to be supplied for the Communion table; new font to be erected. Such is the list which can be made up from only the first three churches mentioned in the journal.(17)

Sharp saw his duty as archdeacon to be plainly and clearly set out in the canons of 1603, and all his orders reflect this fact. The great bulk of orders are directly related to the specific directives set forth in that section of the canons dealing with "Things Appertaining to Churches" that is numbers 80 to 88, and apart from these things, Sharp orders little.(18) We shall see just what effect these orders had upon the archdeaconry as a whole, later in this work. Now, we need only recognise the substantially-decayed nature of the church fabric in this early period.

The patronage in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland was very widely scattered, with forty livings in non-ecclesiastical hands and thirty-seven livings divided among two bishops, two different cathedral chapters, one private trust, and the vicar of Newcastle.(19) The actual statistics are as follows:

Table No.3 PATRONAGE : ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND,c.1723

	Total:	Alnwick:	Bamburgh:	Corbridge:	Morpeth:	Newcastle:
Private Patronage	25	4	6	8	7	-
Crown Patronage	10	3	-	3	2	2*
Oxford Colleges	3	1	-	-	-	2
Parochial Patronage	2	1	-	-	-	1
	40					
D.& C.of Durham	14	2	8	1	2	1
Bishop of Durham	10	3	1	1	5	-
Bishop of Carlisle	4	2	-	-	-	2
Vicar of Newcastle	4	-	-	-	-	4
D.& C.of Carlisle	2	1	-	1	-	-
Crewe Trustees	2	-	1	1	-	-
In Sequestration	1	1	-	-	-	-
	37					

*One of these was held in turn by the Crown and two others (Tynemouth)

This situation, with so much lay patronage, could not have been more different from the situation in the Archdeaconry of Durham. There the bishop alone was patron of thirty livings, as well as of twelve prebendal stalls and both archdeaconries, and the Dean and Chapter were patrons of another fourteen.(20) Such widely-apportioned patronage as Northumberland demonstrated had this interesting effect, however, for it prevented any one man or group of men from consistently inflicting one particular brand of incumbent upon the livings in the archdeaconry. It is perhaps interesting to note that Chandler's Remarks only lists the patrons of thirty-four of the livings - omitting for some reason thirty-nine others.

Could it be that even the Bishop had a hard time discovering their names?

As was perhaps noted in the listing of the benefices (Table No.2) the Archdeaconry of Northumberland had at this time a disproportionately high number of vicarages and curacies - fifty-seven out of ninety in fact - and thus a great deal of the wealth of these churches was in the hands of impropriators. Archdeacon Sharp in 1723 reckoned that the value of the impropriations was greater than that of all the livings taken collectively.(21) The historical antecedents of this situation lay in the medieval practise of "appropriating" the great (or rectorial) tithes to a religious body for the augmentation of its income, which body then appointed one of its members as vicar. The link between the right to the great tithe and the right to appoint to the living was often broken as well, and after the "Henrician Revolution" there is a bewildering variety of lay and clerical "impropriators" who received the wealth long before intended to augment the living.(22) It was the responsibility of these "impropriators" (as the rector) to repair and maintain the chancel of the church building, and it may be for this reason that Chandler's Remarks make so much note of them, for they were often notoriously lax in the performance of this duty.

Chandler seems only to have managed to gather a limited number of these impropriators' names, since only fifteen out of the fifty-seven (for Northumberland) are listed, although he has managed to ascertain the value slightly more frequently.(23) Augmenting Chandler's data, it is clear that in just over half the cases, the patron is also impropriator (eight times a lay patron and fifteen times an ecclesiastical or collegiate patron); in the remaining twenty-one vicarages, the patron and impropriator are severed (eleven times a lay patron and different lay impropriator, nine times an ecclesiastical patron and a lay

impropriator; once the unusual combination of a lay patron and an ecclesiastical impropriator.(24) It is very uncertain whether the full value of any given "impropriation" was ever ascertainable and most of the figures are certainly too low, nevertheless, the impropriation consistently runs well above the value of the living. The evidence seems clearly to show a general increase in the value of both the living and the impropriation, with the former increasing at a slightly more rapid rate.(25) It is possible to compare several of the livings over a number of years, and these are shown in Table No.4.(26)

Table No.4 VALUES OF SOME NORTHUMBERLAND LIVINGS AND IMPROPRIATIONS:1663-1736

	1663		1723		1736	
	Value of Living:	Value of Improp:	Value of Living:	Value of Improp:	Value of Living:	Value of Improp:
Alwinton	13	240	8	440	8	400
Carham	7	300	70	400		
Embledon	60	300	130	600		
Felton	50	100	80	300	120	800
Lesbury	35	80	-	-	50	200
Long Benton	40	60	50	220	41	400
Mitford	16	80	25	300	23	200
Newcastle	-	-	230	400	240	500
Ovingham	13	300	28	400	20+	450
Stampfordham	90	200	-	-	210	200
	324	1,660	621	3,060	712	3,150
Value of Living as per cent of Value of Impropriation		19.5%		20.3%		22.6%

Examining the values of the impropriations serves to highlight the value of the various livings in the early part of the century and these

indicate how very poor indeed was the Archdeaconry of Northumberland in the eighteenth century. Chandler's Remarks are the primary source for these values and give the estimated value of each living in sixty-two out of ninety cases. These values are listed in Appendix No.3, and can be comparatively set out as follows:-

Table No.5 VALUE OF NORTHUMBERLAND LIVINGS: 1736

£0-20	£21-40	£41-60	£61-80	£81-100	£101-120	£121-140
8	11	9	5	8	9	2
£141-160	**£161-180**	**£181-200**	**£201-250**	**£251-300**	**£301-350**	**£351-400**
0	2	3	2	1	0	1

These figures show that two-thirds (forty-one) of the livings were valued at one hundred pounds or less per annum and that fifty-six fell at or below two hundred pounds per annum. By comparison, the Archdeaconry of Durham was exceedingly rich, though the documentary evidence is too sparce to show this fact before about 1753.(27) By that time, the average value of a benefice in Durham was over twice that of one in Northumberland.(28)

It almost goes without saying that the Northumberland curates fared even more poorly in this period, and Chandler's Remarks show this too.(29) Chandler mentions the curate's salary only twenty-nine times (though there were certainly many more curates) and of these, six are receiving twenty pounds or less, fifteen are receiving £21 to £30, six £31 to £40, and two receive between £41 and £50.(30) The average salary would seem to be £28 per annum. It is possible to check Chandler's figures here, and they appear to be quite reliable, for the Ordination Papers for the period 1731 to 1736 show an average curate's

salary of £28 per annum as well, as will be seen in Table No.6 below:[31]

Table No.6 CURATE'S SALARIES FROM ORDINATION PAPERS: 1731-1736

1731:	1733:	1734:	1735:	1736:
20	30	60	25	13 + fees
30	20	30	30	40
30 + fees	40	20	35	35
25	40	30	20	30
30	40	25	30	30
25	20		20 + board	24
20			20	20 + board
			25	25
			20	24
				20

TOTALS £1,021 for 37 Curates - average £28 per annum.

Doubtless many curates augmented these salaries by "surplice fees" though this only appears in the nomination of two of the thirty-seven men ordained to curacies during these years. Another two of these men are specifically said to be getting their board with the incumbent in addition to their stipend; one of these being the incumbent's son, the other not seemingly related in any way.[32] In this latter case, the incumbent reckons full board with his family to be the equivalent of another £15 per year over and above the £20 he is already allowing him.

D. THE PAROCHIAL INCUMBENTS

The incumbents of the Northumberland Archdeaconry present a very interesting picture of the beneficed clergy *circa* 1721.(1) Of the eighty-nine benefices, the incumbents of seventy-two have been traced, with the missing eleven all chaplains of parochial chapelries.(2) All but two of these benefices were filled during the long episcopate of Lord Crewe, with Richard Ward the vicar of Kirkharle from 1668 and George Hume as parochial curate of Cornhill from 1662, being the exceptions - the only living survivors of John Cosin's restoration episcopate. Thirty-one benefices were filled during the last ten years of Crewe's life, that is from 1712 to 1721, seventeen during the decade previous to that, and fourteen in the one before. With such a high turnover in manpower, it is perhaps not surprising that the average age of these incumbents was forty-six years in 1721.(3) John Morton, the incumbent of Howick and Archdeacon of Northumberland was the oldest beneficed clergyman, being then seventy-seven, and William Bradford, incumbent of St. Nicholas in Newcastle (certainly the most important living in the whole diocese), was the youngest at twenty-five years of age. The distribution of ages is set out in Table No.7 below:

Table No.7 AGE OF NORTHUMBERLAND INCUMBENTS: 1721

30 or under	5
31 - 40	11
41 - 50	8
51 - 60	4
61 - 70	7
71 - 80	2
Data for 37 Incumbents	

The pace of change in the turnover of livings was not much slackened in the years following 1721, for twenty-eight livings fell vacant in the decade that followed, only to drop to seventeen in the period 1732-41.

It is possible to determine the age at death for twenty-eight of these incumbents, and the average is sixty-three years old. Charles Stoddart, the Vicar of Eglingham, lived to be eighty-four, dying in 1758, and was the longest lived of the 1721 incumbents. John Ellison, though he was only seventy-nine at death, was to be an incumbent for fifty-four years at Bedlington, surviving until 1773, and thus enjoying one of the longest periods of incumbency. He was in fact only second among our sample, for at least one other had an incumbency exceeding his: Richard Ward was vicar of Kirkharle for fifty-seven years (1668-1725).[4] William Bradford, the promising young vicar of Newcastle, was the youngest at his death, being only thirty-two years old in 1728. The distribution of ages at death is set out in Table No.8 below:

Table No.8 AGE AT DEATH OF NORTHUMBERLAND INCUMBENTS: 1721

31 - 40	2
41 - 50	4
51 - 60	5
61 - 70	7
71 - 80	8
81 - 90	2

The clergy were predominantly from the northern counties, according to the available data, with twenty-nine out of thirty-eight from the ecclesiastical province of York. Twenty-two of these men were from

either Durham or Northumberland. Table No.9 shows the details:

Table No.9 COUNTY OF ORIGIN - NORTHUMBERLAND INCUMBENTS 1721

Northumberland	16	London	3
Durham	6	Lincolnshire	2
York	3	Warwickshire	1
Cumberland	2	Leicestershire	1
Westmorland	1	Surrey	1
Cheshire	1	Middlesex	1

It is not easy to assess the social class from which the incumbents rose, but some evidence is available from the matriculation records of those who went up to university. The occupation of twenty-four of the fathers of these men is given, and shows that a very high percentage came from clerical stock. Also the admission status at matriculation is available from thirty-one of the men, and shows a majority entering the university as lowly sizars or pauper puer. Table No.10 shows the details:

Table No.10 APPROXIMATE SOCIAL STANDING - NORTHUMBERLAND INCUMBENTS 1721

Father's Occupation:		Matriculation Status at University:	
Bishop	2 (One an Archb.)	Sizar	16 (one later changed to Pens.)
Clergyman	15	Pensioner	12
Gentleman	6	Pauper	3
Bailiff	1	Puer	
Data for	24	Data for	31

The invaluable data of the universities, especially that set out by Foster for Oxford and Venn for Cambridge, makes it possible in some

measure to determine the educational background of those who went on to University. In twenty-three cases, we are able to determine the school of our incumbents, and it is set out in Table No.11:

Table No.11 SCHOOL ATTENDED : NORTHUMBERLAND INCUMBENTS 1721

Durham	6
Morpeth	4
Houghton-le-Spring	2
Sedburgh	2
Brignall	2
St. Paul's	1
Newcastle	1
Lowther	1
Kendal	1
Bunbury	1
Stamfordham	1
"Morthale"	1
Data for 23	

There is evidence to show that forty-four of the seventy-one men went up to university, and probably eleven more went up to Scottish Universities, thus giving fifty-six out of seventy-one with some university education.(5) Two of these men, John Walton the vicar of Corbridge and Eutricius Lowthian the rector of Whitfield, seem never to have taken their degrees though the former matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and the latter at Queen's College, Oxford. Two other men definitely claimed a degree, but are not to be found in the matriculation lists of the period: George Lindsey, the rector of Ilderton, and George Todd, the rector of Kirkhaugh. The most vexing of all, however, are the eleven who may have been at Scottish Universities, but who have left no certain trace. In these eleven instances there is a man (or men) at one of the Scottish Universities who did take a

degree at a reasonably proximate time to that at which our incumbents appear in the diocese. Further, at least two men took their Master's at a different University from that at which they took their Bachelor's Degree: John Ellison, the vicar of Bedlington, migrated from University College, Oxford, to King's College, Cambridge; Thomas Dockwray (the elder), vicar of Tynemouth, moved from St. John's, Cambridge, to Oxford. Finally, one man held a degree higher than Master's, Archdeacon John Morton, who was Doctor of Divinity (by diploma) from Oxford. The full data is shown in Table No.12 below:

Table No.12 COLLEGE OF MATRICULATION : NORTHUMBERLAND INCUMBENTS 1721

Cambridge:		Oxford:		Edinburgh	1
Christ's	10	Merton	3	?Edinburgh	4
St. John's	6	University	2		
Trinity	5	Lincoln	2	?Edinburgh or Glasgow	5
Peterhouse	5	Queen's	2		
Corpus	1	Magdalen	1		
Emmanuel	1	Corpus	1	?Glasgow	2
Queens	1				
Clare	1				
	30		11		12

Claimed Degree but Not Traced: 2

Total With Some University Education: 44 certain (55 possible)

As was mentioned above, though the incumbents of seventy-seven benefices have been traced, these positions were filled by only seventy-one men owing to the custom of holding benefices in plurality. Of the seventy-one, there is clear evidence that fifteen men held more than one benefice. Thirteen of these held another benefice in the Diocese of Durham and three of them were holders of prebendal stalls.(6)

Among those who held two benefices in the diocese, nine held both in Northumberland, while four held one there and one in Durham. Compared to many other parts of the country, if not most, this is a very minimal degree of plurality. It is possible to ascertain the combined income of several of these pluralists, and although most of them were not simply pluralists in order to stay above the poverty line, they were not (it would seem) grasping for great material wealth by this means. Only four of them seem to have gathered thereby a rather lucrative salary: Matthew Forster, John Morton, Thomas Sharp, and William Stainforth.(7) Of these four, Thomas Sharp, at least can be shown not to have been in any way inferior to the best parochial clergy of his day, as will be seen later in this work.(8) Even among these four, only two were augmenting their salary by neglecting the parochial needs of another living, for Sharp and Stainforth held prebendal stalls with their livings, which made no particular pastoral demands upon them when they were not in residence at the minster.(9) Among the thirteen men who held two benefices, all but four were responsible for cures within less than thirteen miles of each other, in fact eight of them were responsible for cures within less than ten miles of each other. It seems incontrovertable, that by these standards at any rate, the Northumberland clergy were exemplary in their day. A summary of these figures will be found in Table No.13.(10)

Table No.13 PLURALIST INCUMBENTS IN NORTHUMBERLAND 1721

	Arch deaconry:	1723 Value:	Total:	Approx. Distance between Livings:
1. HAMMOND BEAUMONT				
Vicar of Chillingham	N.	£70-80.	£160-170	9 Miles
P.Curate of Bamburgh	N.	£90.		
2. WILLIAM BURRELL				
Vicar of Chatton	N.	£110.	£140	4½ Miles
P.Curate of Doddington	N.	£30.		
3. THOMAS DRAKE				
Vicar of Norham	D & C.			
P.Curate of Witton Gilbert	D & C.			
4. CUTHBERT ELLISON				
Vicar of Stannington	N.	£80.		
P.Curate All Saints Newcastle	N.	£ 9 + fees.	£89 + fees.	9½ Miles
5. MATTHEW FORSTER				
Rector of Whalton	N.	£240.		
P.Curate St.John's Newcastle	N.	£93.	£333	13 Miles
6. ROBERT HENDERSON				
Vicar of Felton	N.	£80.		4 Miles
P.Curate of Brinkburn	N.			
7. JOHN LAMBTON				
P.Curate of Alnwick	N.	£65.		
Rector Middleton St.George	D.			
8. GEORGE LINDSAY				
Rector of Ilderton	N.	£29.15s.0d.	£50.10s.0d.	8 Miles
Vicar of Alnham	N.	£17.15s.0d.		
9. WILLIAM METHVEN				
P.Curate of Ancroft	D & C.			4½ Miles
P.Curate of Tweedmouth	D & C.			
10. JOHN MORTON				
Rector of Howick	N.	£70.		
Rector of Sedgefield	D.			
12th Stall Durham Cath.				
11. JAMES ROBERTSON				
P.Curate of Holy Is.	D & C.	£47*	£58*	4½ Miles
P.Curate of Kyloe	D & C.	£11*		

Table No.13 (Continued..)

	Arch deaconry:	1723 Value:	Total:	Approx. Distance between Livings:
12. EDWARD SHANKS				
Vicar of Lesbury	N.	£75.	£150.	3 Miles
Vicar of Shilbottle	N.	£75.		
13. THOMAS SHARP				
Rector of Rothbury	N.	£320.		
Prebend. of York				
Prebend. of Southwell				
14. CHRISTOPHER SMITH				
P.Curate of Shotley	N.	£11.4s.10d.		
Rector of Edmundbyers &				3 Miles
P.Curate of Muggleswick	D.			
15. WILLIAM STAINFORTH				
Rector of Simonburn	N.	£420.		
Prebend. of Southwell				

* 1736 Data.

It is perhaps interesting to note that six of these 1721 incumbents not then possessed of two livings subsequently secured further preferment. Three of them became pluralists by acquiring another benefice, two of them were appointed to lectureships in Newcastle, and one of them became an archdeacon in the diocese of Rochester while holding the Vicarage of Newcastle.(11)

One further piece of information, which helps in an assessment of the clerical incumbents of 1721, is that which shows how few of them seem to have held any previous preferment (the post of curate of course being excepted). Even when they have, as seems true in only ten cases, these men have generally held another living in the diocese. Table No.14 shows the details:

Table No.14 — LOCATION OF LIVINGS HELD PREVIOUS TO THAT HELD BY NORTHUMBERLAND INCUMBENTS 1721

Northumberland	4
Durham	2
York	1
Carlisle	1
Ireland	1
Huntingdonshire	1

There seems little evidence that would show anything other than a general stability and quietness among the incumbents of Northumberland. How well they performed their duty may be another matter.

There is very little direct evidence of misconduct on the part of these parish priests in 1721, apart from the scandal of two or three alcoholics and another who was a non-resident. This latter, Joseph Henderson, the vicar of Ellingham, was noted for non-residence in both 1726 and 1736.(12) Presumably, this was a case of technical non-residence, that is the incumbent did not physically reside within the parish for the greater part of the year. Whether Henderson in fact lived near enough to provide for the needs of the parish is not certain, though there is no evidence to the contrary. Much more is known, however, about the three men addicted to drink, Edward Shanks, Richard Ward, and Richard Parker.

Edward Shanks, the vicar of both Lesbury and Shilbottle is said to be "a drunkard, a disorderly person and blameable in a great many respects."(13) Shanks was made vicar of Lesbury and Shilbottle in 1712, both of which were Crown Livings, and was at least anticipating being made vicar of Stranton in County Durham as well, though there

seems to have been some problem. He issued a caveat in the Consistory Court against the institution of anyone to Stranton unless "Sir Edward Shanks", who was presented by the Queen, but there is no evidence that he ever came into possession of the living.(14) He is referred to in the subscription book as "A:B", but no record of him has been found at Oxford, Cambridge, or the Scottish Universities. Apart from the notice of his general character (mentioned above) given in at the primary visitation of Bishop Talbot in 1722, nothing else is known save that two of his sons were buried at Lesbury, one in 1716 and one in 1719.(15) Shanks himself joined them in 1725.(16)

Richard Ward was presented to Kirkharle Vicarage in 1668 a full fifty-three years before our period, and was no doubt aged and infirm after such a long time in the pastoral care of his parish. An undated account of him has been left, however, among the memoirs of one Mr. Veitch, a non-conformist minister at Harnham near Kirkharle, and it throws him in an unpleasant light.(17) It seems that Sir Thomas Lorrain of Kirkharle the patron of the living there and a Justice of the Peace, was encouraged "by several of his pot-companions, the clergymen" to issue warrants to apprehend Veitch, and thus prevent the meeting for which he was responsible. Lorrain was unable to effect his plans, but "one Parson Ward" agreed to be "the chief grinder and polisher... of their instruments of death" and he went up to the Bishop of Durham. Returning with "orders to excommunicate all of them", Ward stopped to see the Vicar of Ponteland, only to be detained in drinking "all night together" with him. Setting out again in the morning, which was the Sabbath, Ward rode as hard as possible in order to be home in time for Service, but his poor horse was too tired to keep up the pace. Hiring the herdman of Harnham (where Veitch ministered) to lead the

horse, the clergyman dismounted and "used his club to drive him on".

The memoir continues thus:

> But while he is unmercifully (as it is like) beating the poor beast, it doth (without respect had to his coat, the canons, or the orders he carried) smite him violently with his foot, upon the cheek bone, until the blood gushed out, and he fell; and so, like the ass in sacred story, presaged his unsuccessfulness.

The poor man was seriously wounded, and lay for several weeks in the home of a lady of the town, and seems never again to have attempted to prosecute the dissenter Veitch, who saw the accident as a providential one by which "their malicious design... was disappointed" and a visible mark of judgment given to the clergyman for the rest of his days. Granting, with John Hodgson, that Veitch displays throughout the account "a sarcastic bitterness", we may perhaps even so see something of the character of the vicar of Kirkharle.

Veitch's account of Ward is not dated by Hodgson, but there may be some likelihood that it occurred between 1711 and 1713, for in those years Richard Parker was vicar of Ponteland. Though in 1721 he was the incumbent of Embleton, Parker is known to have been charged with drunkenness in the Consistory Court at Durham and might well have been the "partner" alluded to in the account of Richard Ward's catastrophe. A native of Warwick, Parker went up to Merton College, Oxford, and matriculated <u>pauper puer</u> (aged 15) in 1685, became postmaster in 1688, and took his degree in March, 1692.(18) He managed to obtain a fellowship in the following year, and proceeded M.A. in 1697.(19) While at Oxford he seems to have devoted himself to the study of philology, and finally left in 1702 when he was made vicar of Diddington in Huntingdonshire.(20) Whatever may have been the case

in the south, Parker's time in the north seems to have been troublesome. In the autumn of 1714 he was condemned in costs for "staggering about his parish under the influence of drink with his parishioners calling after him 'there goes drunken Davy'."(21) Whiting surmises that this charge was false, since at the time Parker was acting under a commission from the Vicar General of the diocese to assign the pews in a recently erected gallery in Warkworth Church, but the evidence would seem to be against him.(22) In 1719 Parker took proceedings in court against the curate, Alexander Cunningham, who was "accused of insulting and slandering the vicar, in saying that he was made, had been confined for madness, and was a drunkard. Cunningham was also accused of intruding into the parish church and the chapels of Rennington and Rock, dismissing the clerk and putting in another, and taking away the parish register and refusing to return it."(23) The outcome of this case is unknown, but it seems unlikely that there were no grounds for the curate's accusations. Parker was to proceed against two of his parishioners later as well, one in pursuit of his "Easter Reckonings" in 1723, and the other in pursuit of his tithes in 1726.(24) Neither action would have been likely to endear him to his people, however just may have been his cause. He died in 1728 and was buried in the chancel of the church in Embleton.(25)

Having looked at several of the less reputable clergymen of the archdeaconry, we might perhaps take a parting glance at one of the more respectable, John Thomlinson, the late rector of Rothbury. Thomlinson was in fact dead by the time of Bishop Talbot's episcopate, having died on 23 May 1720 after nearly forty-two years as incumbent.(26) As we have seen, Rothbury was inferior only to Simonburn in material terms, having an estimated annual value of £320 in 1723, and we must

therefore remember that Thomlinson is likely to show up in a rather more favourable light than some of his poorer contemporaries.(27) He very much demands our attention, however, owing to the fact that his curate from 1717 to his death has left us a very detailed account of the daily life in Rothbury.(28) The curate was in fact a nephew and namesake of the incumbent, and therefore, we see even more intimately into the life of Rector Thomlinson.

The elder Thomlinson was in his old age by the time his nephew's diary begins - he was about sixty-six years old by then - and therefore our picture is sure to lack some of the vigour of an earlier portrait. In addition the young curate's view of things would seem to be distorted, especially with regard to his passionate desire to find a good living and make a profitable marriage. Also much of his attitude toward his uncle depends upon the latter's inclination to press the young curate's claims. Even so, we find much of interest is revealed by incidental reference.

The incumbent was one of ten children born to Richard Thomlinson of Blencogo in Cumberland, and Isobel his wife.(29) The eldest of the four surviving sons, he took holy orders and was followed into this profession by his younger brother Robert as well.(30) For a time vicar of Bromfield, the patronage of which living was subsequently held by his brother William, Thomlinson resigned this to become rector of Rothbury in 1678.(31) Little is known of the period which follows, until the diarist takes up the threads in 1717. Three points may perhaps be noted. First that the young incumbent found a "rude and degenerate" congregation and very wisely set about improving it by the example of others. It is said that the people "would come into church and ne'er move their hats till just at the reading desk - and then sitt all the time, etc.," but "uncle... applied to three or

four of the best, and instructed them when to sitt, stand and kneel, and then bid the vulgar mind them, etc."(32) Secondly, when John Thomlinson came to Rothbury he found the parsonage in a state of utter ruin. It had no covering to keep it dry and all the woodwork was completely rotten. Were this not enough, the chancel of the church was in a very similar state (it was the rector's responsibility to repair this), and the tithes were all "unprofitably farmed out."(33) Finally, there is a note at Easter 1718, saying that there were more communicants that year (there were 95) than ever before during Thomlinson's incumbency.(34) Though the diarist seems to make note of this fact as an indirect testimonial to the effect of his presence in the parish, it does nevertheless serve to indicate the low state things must have been in during previous years. The earliest population statistics for Rothbury parish are from the year 1736, indicating a total population of 2,556 people, which even if significantly increased since 1678, still serves to show that 95 is a very small number of Easter communicants.(35)

As was mentioned above, Thomlinson was sixty-six years old when his nephew first took orders and came to be his curate in 1717. His wife Mary had been dead for seven years by that time, having died at the age of seventy on the 30 October 1710.(36) It is interesting to note the disparity in their two ages, for it probably indicates an "alliance of convenience" not unlike the one which he so carefully sought for his nephew (as we shall see). His wife, Mary Nelson, was born at Rose-Castle, the seat of the bishops of Carlisle, and she was said to be a kinswoman of Edward Rainbow, who held that see from 1664 to his death in 1684.(37) Not surprisingly, the living of Rothbury was in the patronage of the Bishop of Carlisle, and when it fell vacant

in 1678, Thomlinson was quickly inserted. Nor was our incumbent well placed only through his wife, for his sister Catherine was married to one Joseph Robinson of Blencogo, who was himself a relative of Dr. John Robinson, the Bishop of London from 1713 to 1723.(38) Thomlinson later tried to use this connection in order to secure a chaplain's position for his nephew, but the Bishop of London thought it most unsuitable "for a curate to wear a scarfe... it would be time enough when (he) had preferment."(39)

Thomlinson's health seems clearly to have been failing by the time our diarist begins his chronicle, for in mid-summer of 1717 we hear of his leg going lame and soom afterwards that "Uncle's leg in great danger of throwing him into a fever or turning to a mortification."(40) A family discussion ensued, as to whether or not to send to Alnwick for a surgeon, and it was decided not to do so on the grounds that "uncle would rage if he knew it, nor would he employ Richardson (the surgeon) if he came."(41) The old man's will was clearly still very strong, and his ability to enforce it upon his family not much abated by his age. In fact, the leg seems to have been remarkably cured by the ministrations of a local neighbour, one "Mr. Dulap", who was also a friend of the nephew.(42) This "cure" occasioned much "swearing at him" (i.e. Dulap), according to the nephew, for some in the parish would have been glad to "lett some surgeon gett 40 guineas of him (the Rector) and then kill him at last."(43) This anecdote says much about the view then held of "surgeons" and shows something of Thomlinson's reputation in the parish, at least with some of his people. Later in the year, we find the uncle reflecting upon the advisability of men retiring "from the world for six or seven years before they dye, to prepare for eternity" (a view apparently held by

his own father), and in fact speaking "as if he intended to do so too, if he had one that would take care of the parish."(44) Thomlinson's father had not only that opinion, but in addition kept his "coffin in his bed-chamber for six years" before his death.(45) Not only was this considered a sensible reminder of his own mortality, but it was held as well to demonstrate "extraordinary Christian courage", or so it would seem Thomlinson thought.(46) Occasional references in the diary show that the incumbent's strength was waning, yet he seems not to have lost his mental powers or his physical strength to any great degree, at least up to the January of 1719, when a hiatus occurs in the diary only resumed after Thomlinson's death.(47)

The rector of Rothbury died a very rich man, and it seems certain that at least part of this wealth was accrued from various rectorial rights and incomes. The nephew records that when he first came into the parish and spoke of his "uncle's charity in building the school, etc.," that people replied "what is that? he made us pay for it, he has raised the rent, and squeezed it out of us."(48) Thomlinson's father had some considerable wealth tied up in his estates in Cumberland, and no doubt he inherited something from him - though the patrimonial property seems to have been largely vested in his brother William.(49) Further, Thomlinson's brother Robert managed to rise in the clerical world to levels of financial affluence,(50) his brother Richard became a wealthy merchant first in Newcastle then in London,(51) and his sister Isabel was married to one Ralph Reed, a rich merchant in Newcastle.(52) These family connections with business and wealth were perhaps far more likely to have contributed to his own prosperity than his living at Rothbury. There seem to have been inter-family

business ventures from time to time, and doubtless not all of these failed to realize a profit.(53) At any rate, Thomlinson was able to assure his nephew that between his (the nephew's) father and himself, they would leave him "twelve thousand", no small sum indeed.(54)

In spite of his reasonably wealthy state, John Thomlinson seems to have remained quite frugal throughout his life. We find him urging his young nephew not to purchase a new M.A. gown by reminding him that "frugality is a virtue in the richest persons", and later encouraging the nephew's affections for one Dolly Collingwood not because she is well educated or a good cook, but because "she... is a frugal woman."(55) He seems to have practised what he preached as well, for the nephew notes, following a very bad dinner with one of his uncle's acquaintances, that he wonders why "uncle will go to such places," only to answer himself by writing that he will go "anywhere to save a dinner,".(56) Though this previous point may indeed relate to financial savings on the part of Thomlinson, it perhaps refers simply to saving the difficulty of cooking at home. This at any rate seems to be the need behind his comment earlier that he or his nephew must soon marry "for he wanted a housekeeper."(57) That the old man might contemplate such a second marriage, and even be encouraged in the scheme, is some indication of his amassed fortune. It was said of him that he could "have any woman in the country," a remark the effect of which irritated the nephew, for his uncle was so flattered that he knew not what to think of himself.(58)

There seems never to have been any shortage of visitors at Rothbury to pass the latest gossip or to bring news from afar, and perhaps to accommodate them better, Thomlinson undertook to enlarge the parsonage

house and fit it out in the latest style. The project seems to have lasted for a number of years, so long in fact that he was not sure if he would live to see it finished.(59) We know too, that he maintained a coach and team with men to care for them and drive, and he had at least one woman in the house as a maid.(60) Thomlinson seems to have been a learned man, who kept up with his study and reading throughout his life, and books seem to have been an especial delight to him. He accumulated a very extensive library, composed of many of the latest books of the day.(61) Nor were these books just ornaments, for he too made a better use of his books than just "to smooth his bands in."(62) Table talk seems often to have been concerned with academic, theological and philosophical matters, and the old clergyman's feelings were deeply hurt when it was insinuated that he was ignorant of the "new philosophy, but stuck to the old."(63) It would be wrong to leave the impression of a miniature academy, but even so the life of the incumbent was not without intellectual stimulation. He lived in a peaceful and unhurried manner among his neighbours, reading prayers, studying, preaching, and tending his garden.(64)

Thomlinson was very much an old fashioned high churchman, and he shows this again and again in his attitude to the church and her ordinances, the King and his authority, and his dislike of Whigs and Whig principles. There is throughout the diary of the nephew a preoccupation with matters concerning the affairs of the Pretender, the rising of 1715, and the legal affairs surrounding these proceedings, and it is hard not to see these as reflecting the concerns of the whole household. It was openly said that the young curate was "a Jacobite", and it was implied that the incumbent was as well.(65) If this was so, the extent of his convictions was kept shallow by the realities of

life. It is recorded that Thomlinson prayed for "King James before his sermon" on a Sunday in 1717, "but the clark telling him of it when he came down, and that the congregation took notice of it, he told 'em it was a mistake, and so read a prayer for King George, so that they could not make anything of it."(66) It is later noted that Thomlinson's brother Richard, the London Merchant, objected to his nephew's proposed alliance with the new Bishop of Durham's daughter, on the grounds that he (Talbot) was "a vile whig, and they are bred high."(67) All in all, the circumstantial evidence seems to indicate that Thomlinson was a Tory high churchman of the old school.

The rector of Rothbury was very much a churchman, and in his performance of duty seems to have adhered closely to The Book of Common Prayer. The clear impression given is of a rather strict adherence to the rubrics and canons. The festivals seem always to have been kept, including especially those holy days prescribed.(68) Attention is drawn also to the prayers of thanksgiving for the Restoration of the Royal Family, and Thomlinson prayed openly for King Charles the Martyr.(69) He seems also to have maintained the tradition of vigils and fast days, though he was not averse to a bit of casuistry in order to dispense with them!(70) Prayers seem to have been said frequently, if not daily, and one of the old clergyman's repeated complaints was against clergymen who did not serve their livings properly.(71) Non-residence was not to his liking either, but it seems that he was prepared to overlook it, at least until a non-resident clergyman talked of suing his brother (the diarist's father) for some tithes, when he determined to "be upon him for non-residence, either (to) make him quit the living, or reside."(72)

Thomlinson seems to have occasionally prosecuted people for breaches of the church laws, and there are some instances of excommunication mentioned in consequence.(73) Commutation of penance for a fixed payment or fee was still practised, but it is not clear whether the note concerning commutation in exchange "for another old cheese" is to be regarded as a possibility or a joke - perhaps it is both.(74) Only nine days later, we find the rector requiring one "Nelly" - who had "made open confession of her faults and begged pardon in market place" - to "find two bondsmen (and) pay her mortuary and sesses", before he "will write to Durham to have excommunication taken off."(75) It is interesting to notice that Thomlinson was not absolutely within the law all the time himself, for his nephew seems to have suffered no small amount of agitation owing to his uncle's refusal to have him properly licenced as curate of Rothbury.(76)

Thomlinson's dealings with his curate are often very revealing of the old man's character. He seems to have expended a great deal of energy in seeking to arrange for a suitable marriage partner for the nephew, "suitable" being very largely determined by the size of the "tougher", or marriage dower, as it was then called.(77) Letters seem to have passed to many places, in search of a bride, and no occasion of conversation was apparently too sacred for uncle to raise the matter, whether with the Bishop of Carlisle, or the local gentry.(78) He was very strict in regulating the movements of his nephew, being fearful it would seem that some local squire would succeed in luring him into a trap, in which his passions would get the better of him and thus consumate a bad marriage.(79) When the right young woman (according to the uncle's view) was in sight, this restriction was removed.(80)

The rector closely supervised the young curate's sermon writing, and we thus get a good view of his own attitude toward them. The preacher should have a good stock of sermons which were well constructed - i.e. artful and methodical,(81) They should of course be read, and that not lightly but well delivered after much study the day before.(82) Further, the preacher should carefully explicate the meaning of his text giving good grounds for those things enjoined or forbidden,(83) and avoiding "general discourses and speculative matters."(84) It would also seem that he thought a good preacher's sermons worthy of repetition by others, if they were not themselves adept at the art.(85) Thomlinson was clearly conviced that a man who took orders should be well educated, preferably having a degree, and was unwilling to recommend a schoolmaster for ordination unless he spent nine months at Edinburgh and took his degree.(86)

We have noticed above our incumbent's clerical connections, and his willingness to use them to his own purposes if possible. It was not only in marriage alliances that this was so, but also in securing preferment to ecclesiastical benefices. Thomlinson was able to affect the distribution of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle's patronage in this way, at least once it would seem, for he is said to have "gott Mr. Nicholson that living of Dean and Chapter Carlisle" at Whittingham in Northumberland.(87) His efforts to secure a living for his nephew, though unsuccessful, seem nonetheless to have been in earnest. When Francic Woodmas died in 1718, there was an intensive struggle between interested parties in an attempt to secure the right of succession at Bedlington, the patronage of which belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Durham. When the three main candidates seemed to be in deadlock, Thomlinson wrote to Dr. John Morton, the Archdeacon of Northumberland

and a canon of the Cathedral, and suggested his nephew as a suitable compromise candidate, but the offer was not accepted.(88) The rector seems to have maintained his relationships with the clergy of the archdeaconry, judging from the references to many of them in the diary, and probably did so as much for the purposes of ecclesiastical juggling as for any deep concern for his clerical brethren. We find him faithfully attending the archidiaconal visitation and courts (then held twice a year it seems), though complaining at the injustice of paying procurations twice, especially as the original purpose of the fee was to finance parochial visitation throughout the archdeaconry and not at a few centres.(89) Later in the year, we find the nephew (and presumably the uncle) at the episcopal visitation held in Morpeth, the chief town of the deanery in which Rothbury was situated.(90) Again in July, we find the two of them travelling to Wooler to attend "at the meeting of the clergy, etc.," but quite what this may have been seems uncertain.(91) Further evidence that such attendance was not for personal reasons, seems at hand when the nephew is later found to be complaining that his uncle alone of all the neighbouring clergymen, was not visiting a sick incumbent.(92)

The elder Thomlinson was not much inclined to be civil to those who found themselves outside the established church rather than inside, and evidence of this is to be seen in the diary. The nephew records that his uncle became very angry indeed when one of his tenants "lett the hall to a papist" and threatened to "take that house from him," though whether he in fact did so is not stated.(93)

His attitude towards dissenters was probably no more gracious, but here we cannot be so sure, for the data is lacking. It is recorded

that he disputed by letter with one "teacher in Edinburgh, who said that the Sacrament of Baptism dammed those who received it unworthily and without grace, as well as the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."(94) About one year later there was apparently a great rush on the part of the established clergy and a few churchmen, to open a new chapel at Winlaton in the parish of Ryton, "for the use of the numerous workmen employed at Crowley's Iron Works."(95) Though Thomlinson was not directly involved, he seems to have been present for the opening when his brother Robert preached, and it is interesting because of the light it throws upon their attitude to dissent. The chapel, it would seem, was opened in haste and without episcopal authority, in order to forestall the expected visit to the place of a "meeting-teacher" the following Sunday, who was to administer "the sacrament" and "at which time they would tie by oaths and covenants, and by that means they would lose perhaps near 200 souls, etc."(96) Such a prospect seems to have rallied the surrounding clergymen from their slumber.

Thomlinson himself was soon to slumber the sleep of the dead, and it is difficult confidently to assert that the parish was not in a like condition, in spite of some encouraging signs. Communicants were greatly increased in 1718 as we have seen, but there seems to have been a good deal of dissatisfaction with the aged incumbent. The presence of a bright young unmarried curate had proved to be a source of friction in the old man's life, as the diary shows beyond question. In a manner all too easily understood even though regrettable, "everyone who was discontented gathered to him," and Thomlinson seems to have disliked it every bit as much as Saul.(97) Hardly had the young man arrived and begun to preach, than comparisons were made between the two, much to the incumbent's discredit.(98) Nothing appears to have caused as much difficulty and hurt feeling

between the two as in this area, though at some point a "truce" of sorts seems to have been affected.(99) Not only was the uncle dissatisfied with the preaching of his curate, but also he seems to have gradually decided not to promote the nephew's interests in succeeding him at Rothbury. Early in the diary, this seems to be considered seriously by Thomlinson, but later entries show that he cooled a great deal in this plan.(100) Whether this was owing to personal pique, or reflects the incumbent's conviction that his nephew was not "one that would take care of the parish" is not clear.(101) At any rate, there can be little doubt that Thomlinson died in the knowledge that many of his parishioners no longer held him in high regard.(102) The comments of some regarding his charity were mentioned above, and others seem to have openly railed at him in the streets.(103) When encouraged to make every effort to secure Rothbury for his nephew, because the parish would then "be well satisfied - uncle replyd the parish were no judges", and went on to say that when his nephew "had lived so long amongst them as he, the sunshine of their favours would decline."(104)

Whatever may have been thought of Thomlinson's wealth and charity while he was living, there can be little question that he did expend an unusually high amount of money for such purposes. When solicited for a £100 donation in order to augment the stipend of the minister of Alnwick, the example of Dr. John Morton (the archdeacon) was rather injudiciously mentioned, he having given £100 himself. Thomlinson's response was to urge the archdeacon to model his charity upon that of the incumbent of Rothbury, "who had given away ten times as much."(105) Nevertheless, he agreed to "contribute as largely as any clergyman in the diocess (sic.) who had no greater preferment."(106) During his

lifetime, he erected a schoolhouse in Rothbury at a cost of £100, which also housed the schoolmaster.(107) Also, he expended considerable sums at Wigton, in Cumberland, where he contributed £260 for the augmentation of the living, £100 to the school there, £200 for building a "College of Matrons" and a further £136 towards its endowment.(108) When he died, he left by his will £35 per annum (from three estates purchased for the purpose shortly before) "to be laid out in binding to trades and sending to the University such of the poor scholars as (the rector, churchwardens) and the Four and Twenty shall think deserving," and also £20 per annum to be given to the "headmaster and... under-master."(109)

E. ADDITIONAL NOTE

(The Parochial Structure of Newcastoe?1721)

The City of Newcastle presents a unique example of parochial organisation, at least so far as the Diocese of Durham is concerned, in that it seems to reflect a rather primitive model of ecclesiastical order. The city limits were very well defined in the early part of the eighteenth century, being largely determined by the medieval walled city, with some small suburbs to the north and a rather more extensive suburb to the east. This whole area was reckoned to be the parish or vicarage of Newcastle, but in actual fact it was divided into four parts: St. Nicholas Vicarage, All Saints Parochial Chapelry, St. Andrew's Parochial Chapelry, and St. John's Parochial Chapelry. The three chapelries, though technically dependent upon the mother church of St. Nicholas, each functioned as though they were fully parochial churches, administering all the sacraments within their own

boundaries. Even so, the minister of each of the chapelries was, strictly speaking, a curate under the vicar of Newcastle. The vicar himself was appointed by the patron and impropriator of the living, who happened to be the Bishop of Carlisle, and at least in Grey's time the bishop was reckoned to be "the Parson".(1) We thus have the whole ecclesiastical life of the city hierarchically arranged under a bishop (as pastor), a vicar, and a body of clergy though the vicar seems to be largely (if not totally) independent of the bishop by our period.

The mother church of the city was St. Nicholas, and the preponderance of clergy and chapels were dependent upon her. The staff consisted of the vicar, his assistant who was described as curate, and an upper and lower lay clerk. When, in 1724 the upper clerk died, it was determined to have an assistant to the curate - also in holy orders - rather than to replace him with another layman.(2) In addition, there were two lectureships attached to the church, both of which were held by the same man, who was himself an incumbent in the Archdeaconry of Durham and consequently not likely to have any part in the parochial ministry apart from the preaching.(3) Within the boundaries of the parish lay the Royal Grammar School, two medieval hospital chapels, and one bridge chapel, all of which were functioning in 1721, though not within the parochial system.(4) The vicar of Newcastle was patron also of Cramlington Parochial Chapelry just east of the city, and there was also a dependent chapel in the suburb of Gosforth to the north, and if it may be assumed that the two curates serving these were also serving in the mother parish, this would mean that four full-time clergymen were working in the parish in 1721.(5) According to Chandler's Remarks, they will have been serving a parish of 789 families.(6)

All Saints Parochial Chapel was the next most important benefice in the city, at least in status, though in sheer size it was by far the most significant. Bourne, writing about 1730, describes it as "one of the Largest Parishes in the Kingdom", and he cannot have been far wrong. The survey made in 1736 for the bishop's visitation, estimated that there were sixteen thousand souls living within the bounds.(7) It was the poorest part of the city and thronged with Scotsmen involved in the fishing, shipping and mining industries.(8) The vicar's curate here, called "the Minister", was assisted by another curate and a lay clerk, and the town provided two lectureships held by two more clergymen.(9) The bounds of the chapelry extended eastward beyond the city walls to incorporate the great suburb known as the Sandgate and here was a dependent chapel - St. Anne's - with a full time curate.(10) There was also a charity school established in the parish from 1709, by voluntary subscription.(11)

St. Andrew's Parochial Chapel was looked after by a resident "Minister" who had another clergyman to act as an assistant curate.(12) The Chapelry contained a charity school, probably founded in 1709, to which the corporation appointed a master at £20 *per annum*.(13) The population was reckoned to be 500 families *circa* 1736.(14) Newgate prison was within the chapelry's boundaries, and the corporation gave £10 *per annum* to the assistant curate for reading prayers there.(15)

Finally, St. John's Parochial Chapel was also attended by a resident "Minister" and an assistant curate, and again the "Minister" was the Corporation Lecturer in this chapelry.(16) The boundaries of the chapelry extended westwards beyond the city wall, and incorporated Benwell chapel, which though technically a private chapel, was nevertheless opened and supplied "for the Good of the People of his Village", by Robert Shaftoe,Esq.(17) It was usually supplied by the

assistant curate, and was apparently used for baptisms and burials until 1780.(18) There seems no other example of a proprietary chapel in the archdeaconry at this time, and it seems to have been "much frequented in the Summer-Season for its pleasing Situation and agreeable Distance from the Town, and at all Seasons for the Hospitality of the Worthy Proprietor."(19) The chapelry was said to contain 500 families in 1736.(20)

Newcastle presents an even yet more interesting parochial organisation, when the extent of the city corporation's involvement in ecclesiastical affairs is seen. Primarily, this involvement was an economic one, for the corporation augmented the salaries of at least ten of the clergy of the city.(21) Usually this was done through the institution of lectureships established in the various churches; at St. Nicholas an Afternoon Lecturer received £100 and a Holy-Day Lecturer £20; at All Saints a Morning Lecturer and an Afternoon Lecturer each received £100; at St. Andrew's there was £100 for a Morning Lecturer; at St. John's there was another Morning Lecturer receiving £90; and at St. Anne's (another chapel under All Saints) the Morning Lecturer received £50 and the Afternoon Lecturer £40. In addition to these financial arrangements, the corporation gave £90 towards the vicar of Newcastle's stipend and another £35 to the curate of St. Nicholas. Only two of these lectureships were in fact tied to direct parochial responsibilities, those at St. Andrew's and St. John's, both of which were held by the "Minister" of these respective chapelries.(22)

The corporation's involvement was not entirely financial however, for it was the patron of the lectureships and also of three donative chapels in the city: St. Mary Magdalene's (Hospital) Chapel, St. Mary

the Virgin's (Hospital) Chapel, and St. Thomas' (Bridge) Chapel.(23) These were all ancient foundations, and each was statutorially in the charge of a "Master" who generally appointed an "Officiating Minister" if he himself was not in a position to undertake the duties of the chapel.(24) By long standing custom, St. Mary the Virgin's (Hospital) Chapel was closely associated with the Royal Grammar School, and Robert Thomlinson, D.D., who was made Master of all these donatives in 1715, was the last man to hold these and not be Headmaster of the school.(25) It should be noted too that there were two ushers and one writing master in addition to the Headmaster, who like him were paid by the corporation and who were usually clergymen.(26)

The clergy of the city seem to have functioned to some degree in mutual interdependence at this time, and two specific instances of this are to be seen in the method adopted for delivering Catechetical Lectures, and also the mid-week preaching in Advent and Lent. The former series of lectures were delivered at St. Nicholas once in each week that did not have a holy day, and were given by the vicar, the Morning Lecturer of All Saints, and the Lecturers of St. Andrew's and St. John's - each preaching in "their order".(27) These Catechetical Lectures were specifically for the scholars at the Royal Grammar School and at the Charity schools, but the lectures ceased in the penetential seasons of Advent and Lent, when their place was taken by sermons at St. Nicholas every Wednesday and Friday, which were "preached by (the) whole clergy of the Town in turn".(28)

By and large the clergy of the city were the most esteemed of the whole Archdeaconry of Northumberland, and this is reflected not only in their financial standing but also in their educational and social

status as well. They are almost all graduates of the universities, and some of them seem to have been reasonably good scholars.(29) The young vicar of Newcastle, William Bradford, was the son of the Bishop of Rochester (who had been Master of Corpus Christi) and was thought certain to follow in his father's academic and ecclesiastical trail.(30) Robert Thomlinson, Master of the Corporation's three donative chapels and holder of two lectureships in St. Nicholas Church, was himself a Doctor of Divinity of Oxford and held a prebendal stall at St. Paul's in London, and he bequeathed a very extensive library of theological and philosophical books to St. Nicholas upon his death.(31) Edmond Lodge, the Headmaster of the Royal Grammar School, was one of the few clergymen not to have graduated from the universities, but he seems to have been no mean scholar, educating as he did many young men who proceeded to the universities and the professions. And, of course, there were some men who seem to have been in city preferments more because of family standing than exceptional merit. Matthew Forster at St. John's, and Hugh Farrington and Leonard Shaftoe at All Saints seem to be in this category, as are the two sons of the previous vicar of Newcastle, Cuthbert and John Ellison.(32) It is perhaps interesting to note too that William Simcoe, first curate at St.Andrew's, and Hugh Farrington, Afternoon Lecturer at All Saints, were both married to daughters of the previous vicar Nathaniel Ellison.(33)

Not surprisingly perhaps, the level of activity in the city churches is reasonably high at this time. Prayers were said every day, morning and evening, at All Saints and St. Nicholas, in the morning and afternoon on Wednesday and Friday at St. John's, and in the morning only on Wednesday and Friday at St. Andrew's.(34) Also there were prayers at St. Mary Magdalene every Wednesday and Friday and a sermon

once a quarter. The sacrament was administered in one only of the four main churches each week, but there seems always to have been a morning and evening sermon in each church every Sunday. When seen in conjunction with the Catechetical Lectures, the Holy Day Lectures, and the Advent and Lenten preaching it is clear that the level of church life was not exceeded by any other town in the diocese, not even Durham. In 1728, by private benefaction, yet another lectureship was established - that on Rubric and Liturgy. This was to be a fortnightly lecture held at 6.00 p.m. Sunday in All Saints Church, "from Low-Sunday, till the Sunday after Holy Cross" (14th September) and it was first held by the scholar Henry Bourne, to whom this special note on Newcastle owes so much.

We have already mentioned the estimated population of the various parochial areas of the city, and the actual statistics may be seen overleaf.(35) (Figures in brackets are computed on the basis of the average number of persons per family in the corresponding chapelry in 1801).

Table No.15 POPULATION OF NEWCASTLE : 1736 AND 1801

	1736:			1801:		
	Families:	Persons:	Houses:	Families:	Persons:	Houses:
All Saints	(4,124)	16,000	-	4,602	17,833	1,957
St. Andrew's	500	(2,260)	-	1,129	5,099	607
St. John's	500	(2,375)	-	1,396	6,628	985
St. Nicholas'	789	(3,527)	317	1,074	4,803	545
	5,913	24,162		8,201	34,363	4,094

	Average Number of Persons per Family 1801:
All Saints	3.88
St. Andrew's	4.52
St. John's	4.75
St. Nicholas'	4.47

It should be noted that the figures given for 1801 reflect the fact that three of the ecclesiastical divisions (All Saints, St. Andrew's and St. John's) included areas outside the city. It is believed that the 1736 figures represent the same parochial areas, but this has not been definitely ascertained.(36) Also, several earlier estimates of the population of Newcastle should be compared with the above totals: John Hodgson Hinde estimated the population to be 18,120 in the period 1701 - 1718;(37) Henry Bourne estimated (c.1730) the total to be 20,000.(38)

The clergy of the city, as far as they have proved ascertainable, are set out overleaf in Table No.16:(39)

Table No.16 NEWCASTLE CLERGY 1721

	Patron:	Year of Apptmt:	Stipend:
ST.NICHOLAS VICARAGE			
Vicar: William Bradford (M.A.)	Bishop of Carlisle	1721	£240 + fees
Curate: John Cowling (M.A.)	Vicar	1716	£ 46 + fees
Aft. Lecturer			
Robert Thomlinson (D.D.)	Corpn.	1695	£100
Holyday Lecturer			
Robert Thomlinson (D.D.)	Corpn.	?1695	£ 20
GOSFORTH (SOUTH) CHAPEL			
Curate: John Ellison	Vicar	1719	?
ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL			
Master: Edmond Lodge	Corpn.	1715	£ 50
1st Usher: James Ferne	Corpn.	?	£ 35
2nd Usher: Richard Stewardson	Corpn.	?	£ 33
Writing Master: ?	Corpn.		£ 35
ST. MARY MAG.(HOSPITAL) CHAPEL			
Master: Robert Thomlinson (D.D.)	Corpn.	1715	£ 19
ST. MARY VIRGIN (HOSPITAL) CHAPEL			
Master: Robert Thomlinson (D.D.)	Corpn.	1715	£ 30
ST. THOMAS' (BRIDGE) CHAPEL			
Master: Robert Thomlinson (D.D.)	Corpn.	1715	?
Curate: John Cowling (M.A.)	Master		
ALL SAINTS PAROCHIAL CHAPEL			
Minister: Cuthbert Ellison	Vicar	1708	£ 9 + fees
Asst. Curate: Wm. Hall	Minister		£ 50
Morning Lecturer: Leonard Shaftoe	Corpn.	1698	£100
Aft. Lecturer: Hugh Farrington	Corpn.		£100
ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL			
Curate: John Chilton	Vicar ?	1717	?
Lecturer: John Chilton	Corpn.	?1717	£ 30
ST. ANDREW'S PAROCHIAL CHAPEL			
Minister: Thomas Shadforth	Vicar	1705	£ 8 + fees
Asst. Curate: William Simcoe	Minister	?	£ 46
Morning Lecturer: Thomas Shadforth	Corpn.	?1705	£100
ST. JOHN'S PAROCHIAL CHAPEL			
Minister: Matthew Forster (M.A.)	Vicar	1710	£ 8 + fees
Asst. Curate: Joseph Carr (M.A.)	Minister	?	£ 50
Morning Lecturer:			
Matthew Forster (M.A.)	Corpn.	?1710	£ 90

BENEFICES AND CHAPELS IN USE C.1723

ALNWICK DEANERY

Alnham V.
Alnwick C.
Alwinton V.
    Holystone Chapel
Bolton PC.
Chillingham V.
Edlingham V.
Eglingham V.
Ellingham V.
Embleton V.
    Renington Chapel
    Rock Chapel
Felton V.
    Framlington Chapel
Howick R.
Ilderton R.
Ingram R.
Lesbury V.
Long Houghton V.
Rothbury R.
Shilbottle V.
Warkworth V.
Whittingham V.

BAMBURGH DEANERY

Ancroft PC.
Bamburgh C.
    Beadnell Chapel
Belford C.
Berwick V.
Branxton V.
Carham V.
    Kelso Chapel
Chatton V.
Cornhill PC.
Doddington C.
Ford R.
Holy Island C.
Kirknewton V.
Kyloe PC.
Lowick PC.
Norham V.
Tweedmouth PC.
Wooler V.

CORBRIDGE DEANERY

Alston Moor V.
    Garrigill Chapel
Birtley PC.
Bywell: St.Andrw V.
Bywell: St.Peter V.
Chollerton V.
    Chipchase Chapel
Corbridge V.
    Dilston Hall Chapel
Halton PC.
Haltwhistle V.
    Beltingham Chapel
Haydon PC.
Kirkhaugh R.
Knaresdale R.
Newbrough PC.
Ovingham V.
Shotley C.
Simonburn R.
    Bellingham Chapel
    Falstone Chapel
Slaley C.
Stamfordham V.
Warden V.
Whitfield R.
Whittonstal PC.

MORPETH DEANERY

Bedlington V.
Bolam V.
    Belsay Chapel
Bothall R.
Corsenside C.
Elsden R.
Hartburn V.
    Netherwitton Chapel
Hebburn PC.
Horton PC.
Kirkharle V.
Long-Horsley V.
Meldon R.
Mitford V.
Morpeth R.
    St. Maries Chapel
Newbiggin PC.
Sheepwash R.
Stannington V.
Ulgham PC.
Whalton R.
Whelpington V.
Widdrington PC.
Woodhorn V.

NEWCASTLE DEANERY

Cramlington PC.
Earsdon PC.
Earsdon Delaval Chapel
Heddon V.
Close House Chapel
Longbenton V.
Newburn V.
Newcastle: All Saint PC.
St. Anne's Chapel
Newcastle: St. Andrew's PC.
Newcastle: St. John's PC.
Benwell Chapel
Newcastle: St. Nicholas' V.
Gosforth (South) Chapel
St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel
St. Mary Virgin's Chapel
St. Thomas' Chapel
Trinity House Chapel
Ponteland V.
Tynemouth V.
Tynemouth Priory Chapel
Walls End PC.

RUINED CHAPELS C.1723

ALNWICK DEANERY

Alwinton V.
- Kidland Chapel
- Memmerkirk Chapel

Eglingham V.
- Bewick Chapel
- Brandon Chapel
- Lilburn (East) Chapel
- Lilburn (West) Chapel
- Wooperton Chapel

Ellingham V.
- Charlton (South) Chapel

Lesbury V.
- Alnmouth Chapel

Rothbury R.
- Hepple Chapel
- Rothbury Hospital Chapel
- St. Ellin's Chapel

Warkworth V.
- Chevington Chapel
- Coquet Island Chapel
- Warkworth Hermitage

BAMBURGH DEANERY

Bamburgh Curacy
- Lucker Chapel
- Tughill Chapel

Carham V.
- Learmouth Chapel
- Mindrum Chapel
- Wark Chapel

Doddington C.
- Ewart Chapel
- Humbleton Chapel

Holy Island C.
- Spittle Chapel
- Farne Island Chapel

Wooler V.
- Fenton Chapel

CORBRIDGE DEANERY

Bywell: St. Andrw V.
- Stocksfield Bridge Chapel

Chollerton V.
- Colwell Chapel

Corbridge V.
- St. Helen's Chapel
- St. Mary's Chapel
- Trinity Chapel

Simonburn R.
- Haughton Chapel
- Kirk of the Bells
- Wark Chapel

Stamfordham V.
- Ingoe Chapel
- Ryal Chapel

Warden V.
- WhiteChapel

MORPETH DEANERY

Elsden R.

NEWCASTLE DEANERY

Newburn V.
- Denton Chapel

Newcastle: All Saints
- St. Laurences' Chapel
- St. Mary's (Jesmond) Chapel

Newcastle: St. Nicholas
- Gosforth (North) Chapel
- St. Jame's Chapel

DURHAM BENEFICES AND CHAPELS IN USE C.1736

CHESTER DEANERY

Bolden R.
Chester-le-Street C.
* Durham: St. Margaret's PC.
* Durham: St. Oswald's V.
Ebchester C.
Medomsley Chapel
* Edmondbyers R.
Esh PC.
Gateshead R.
Hunstanworth C.
* Jarrow C.
* Kimblesworth R.
Lamesley C.
Lanchester C.
Satley Chapel
* Monkwearmouth C.
* Muggleswick C.
Ryton R.
* South Shields C.
Tanfield C.
Washington R.
Whickham R.
Whitburn R.
* Witton Gilbert PC.

DARLINGTON DEANERY

* Aycliffe V.
Auckland: St. Andrew's C.
St. Anne's Chapel
Auckland: St. Helen's C.
Barnard Castle C.
Brancepeth R.
Cockfield R.
Coniscliffe V.
Darlington C.
Denton C.
Eggleston C.
Escomb C.
Gainford V.
Hamsterly C.
Haughton R.
* Heighington V.
* Merrington V.
Middleton in Teasdale R.
Sadberge C.
Staindrop R.
Stanhope R.
St. John's Chapel
* Whitworth R.
Whorlton C.
Winston R.
Witton-le-Wear C.
Wolsingham R.

EASINGTON DEANERY

Bishop Wearmouth R.
Castle Eden C.
* Croxdale C.
* Dalton-le-Dale C.
Durham: North Bailey R.
Durham: St. Giles C.
Durham: St. Nicholas' C.
Durham: South Bailey R.
Easington R.
Houghton-le-Spring R.
Kelloe V.
* Monk Hesleden V.
* Pittington V.
Seaham V.
Sunderland R.
Trimdon C.

STOCKTON DEANERY

* Billingham V.
Wolviston Chapel
Bishop Middleham V.
Bishopton V.
* Dinsdale R.
Egglescliffe R.
Elton R.
Elwick R.
Greatham V.
Grindon V.
Hart V.
Hartlepool C.
Hurworth R.
Long Newton R.
Middleton St. George R.
Norton V.
Redmarshal R.
Sedgefield R.
Sockburn V.
Stainton R.
Stockton V.
Stranton V.

* Dean and Chapter's Officialty.

NORTHUMBERLAND BENEFICES AND CHAPELS IN USE C.1736

ALNWICK DEANERY

Alnham V.
Alnwick C.
Alwington V.
Holystone Chapel
* Bolton PC.
Chillingham V.
* Edlingham V.
Eglingham V.
* Ellingham V.
Embleton V.
Renington Chapel
Rock Chapel
Felton V.
Framlington Chapel
Howick R.
Ilderton R.
Ingram R.
Lesbury V.
Long Houghton V.
Rothbury R.
Shilbottle V.
Warkworth V.
Whittingham V.

BAMBURGH DEANERY

* Ancroft C.
Bamburgh C.
Beadnell Chapel
Belford C.
* Berwick V.
* Branxton V.
Carham V.
Kelso Chapel
Chatton V.
* Cornhill C.
Doddington C.
Ford R.
* Holy Island C.
Kirknewton V.
* Kyloe PC.
* Lowick C.
* Norham V.
* Tweedmouth C.
Wooler V.

CORBRIDGE DEANERY

Alston Moor V.
Garrigill Chapel
Birtley PC.
Bywell: St. Andrew's V.
* Bywell: St. Peter's V.
Chollerton V.
Chipchase Chapel
Corbridge V.
Dilston Hall Chapel
Falstone C.
Halton PC.
Haltwhistle V.
Beltingham Chapel
Haydon PC.
Kirkhaugh R.
Knaresdale R.
Newbrough PC.
Ovingham V.
Shotley C.
Simonburn R.
Bellingham Chapel
Slaley C.
Stamfordham V.
Warden V.
Whitfield R.
* Whittonstal PC.

MORPETH DEANERY

* Bedlington V.
Bolam V.
Belsay Chapel
Bothall R.
Corsenside C.
Elsden R.
Hartburn V.
Netherwitton Chapel
Hebburn PC.
Horton PC.
Kirkharle V.
Long Horsely V.
* Meldon R.
Mitford V.
Morpeth R.
St. Maries Chapel
Newbiggin PC.
Sheepwash R.
Stannington V.
Ulgham PC.
Whalton R.
Whelpington V.
Widdrington PC.
Woodhorn V.

NEWCASTLE DEANERY

Cramlington PC.
Earsdon PC.
    Seaton Delaval Chapel
Heddon V.
    Close House Chapel
    Longbenton V.
    Newburn V.
    Newcastle: All Saint PC.
        St. Ann's Chapel
    Newcastle: St. Andrew's PC.
    Newcastle: St. John's PC.
        Benwell Chapel
    Newcastle: St. Nicholas' V.
        Gosforth (South) Chapel
        St. Mary Magd. Chapel
        St. Mary Virgin's Chapel
        St. Thomas' Chapel
        Trinity House Chapel
    Ponteland V.
    Tynemouth V.
        Tynemouth Priory Chapel
*   Walls End PC.

* Dean and Chapter
  Peculiars.

VALUES : NORTHUMBERLAND BENEFICES, CURATES' SALARIES, AND IMPROPRIATIONS(1)

		Val. of Living			Curate's Salary	Val. of Impros.		
Patron		1663	1723	1736	c.1736	1663	1723	1736
Alnham V	Dk Somerset	-	18	25		-	-	-
Alnwick C	Parisioners	-	65	32		200	-	-
Alwinton V		13	8	8		240	440	400
Chillingham V	Bp of Durh	-	75	80		-	-	-
Edlingham V	D/C Durham	-	-	55		-	-	-
Egglingham V	Bp Durham	-	120	120		-	300	-
Ellingham V	D/C Durham	-	-	120		-	-	-
Embleton V	Merton Col	60	130	200		300	600	-
Felton V	Crown	50	80	120		100	300	800
Howick R	Bp Durham	-	70	60	(40)			
Ilderton R	Dk Somerset	-	30	30				
Ingram R	Rbt Ogle	-	150	130	(35)			
Lesbury V	Crown	35	75	50		80	-	200
Longhoughton V	Dk Somer.	30	45	50		50	-	-
Rothbury R	Bp Carlisle	-	320	300	(49)			
Shevilbottle V	Crown	24	75	50	(30)	63	-	87
Warkworth V	Bp Carlisle	66	140	120		400	-	-
Whittingham V	D/C Carlisle	50	120	120		200	-	-
Ancroft C								
Bamburgh	Crewe Trust	56	90	89		897	-	-
Belford C	Mr. Montague	-	23	8				
Berwick V	D/C Durham	-	100	104		-	200	-
Branxton V	D/C Durham	-	30	-		-	-	-
Carham V	Mr. Forster	77	70	-		300	400	-
Chatton V	Dk Somerset	-	110	-		-	-	-
Cornhill C								
Doddington C	Dk Somerset	-	30	-		-	-	-
Ford R	Fran. Delaval	-	170	180				
Holy Island C	D/C Durham	-	-	47		-	-	-
Kirknewton V	Mk. Strother	-	110	110		-	-	-
Kyloe PC	D/C Durham							
Lowick C	D/C Durham							
Norham V	D/C Durham	-	123	115		-	-	500
Tweedmouth C	D/C Durham							
Wooler V	Bp Durham	-	190	100	(25)	-	-	-
Alston Moor V	Mixed Lay	-	22	30	(20)	-	60	-
Birtley PC								
Bywell/Andrw V	Mr. Smith	-	30	28	(25)	-	-	100
Bywell/Peter V	D/C Durham	-	-	-		-	-	-
Chollerton V	Wm Blacket	-	80	70		-	-	-
Corbridge V	D/C Carlisle	60	80	90		160	-	-
Falstone C								
Halton PC								

		1663	1723	1736	C.S. c.1736	1663	1723	1736
Haltwhistle V	Bp Durham	-	150	100		-	-	-
Haydon PC								
Kirkhaugh R	John Hilton	-	30	35				
Knaresdale R	Crown	-	54	-				
Newbrough PC								
Ovingham V	Charles Clark	13	28	20		300	400	450
Shotley C	Crewe Trust	-	11	-		-	-	-
Simonburn R	Crown	-	420	380	(30)			
Slaley C	Mr. Smith	-	26	25		-	-	65
Stamfordham V	Crown	90	200	210		200	-	200
Warden V	Wm Blacket	-	70	80		-	-	-
Whitfield R	Mat Whitfield	-	55	43				
Whittonstal PC								
Bedlington V	D/C Durham	-	-	163	(40)	-	-	-
Bolam V	Crown	-	100	92		-	-	-
Bothall R	Lord Harley	-	180	220				
Corsenside C	Aynsley's	7	8	17		18	-	-
Elsden R	Charles Howard	-	140	-	(40)			
Hartburn V	Bp Durham	-	230	-	(17)	-	-	-
Hebburn PC								
Horton PC					(25)			
Kirkharle V	Wm Lorraine	-	80	95		-	-	-
Long Horsley V	Crown	-	120	116	(40)	-	200	-
Meldon R	D/C Durham	-	-	14	(3)	-	-	-
Mitford V	Bp Durham	16	25	23		80	300	200
Morpeth R	Earl Carlisle	-	300	-				
Newbiggin PC								
Sheepwash R								
Stannington V	Bp Durham	-	80	90	(30)	-	140	-
Ulgham PC					(30)			
Whalton R	Thos. Baites	-	240	200				
Whelpington V	Bp Durham	-	110	110		-	-	-
Widdrington PC								
Woodhorn V	Bp Durham	-	120	-	(25)	-	-	-
Cramlington PC	Vic. Newc.	-	6	-	(10)	-	100	140
Earsdon PC	Disputed	-	45	-		-	-	400
Heddon V	Crown	24	38	-		60	-	-
Longbenton V	Baliol Col.	40	50	41	(26)	60	220	400
Newburn V	Bp Carlisle	80	120	-		120	-	300
Newcastle:								
All Saints PC	Vic. Newc.	-	-	80		-	-	-
St Andrw PC	Vic. Newc.	-	-	36		-	-	-
St John's PC	Vic. Newc.	-	-	100	(30)	-	-	-
St Nich. V.	Bp Carlisle	-	230	240		90	400	500
Ponteland V	Merton Col.	90	140	-	(40)	126	-	-
Tynemouth V	Crown & others in turn	30	100	SE		-	460	-
Walls End PC	D/C Durham	-	-	80	(25)	-	-	-
Total Values:		811	1163	880		3754	4420	3815

(1) Material in this Appendix is based upon Chandler's Remarks, supplemented by Sharp's Visitation 1723.

INCUMBENTS : ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND 1721.

Parish.	Incumbents.	Dates of Inc. From:	To:	Died.	Bapt.	Father's Parish.	Father's Occupn.	School.	University.	Admis. Status.	Degree.	Ordtn.	By.	Prev.lvg. before Pres.one.	Concurrent Living.	Age at death.
Alnham V.	Geo. Lindsay	1712	1756	-See Ilderton-												
Alnwick C.	John Lambton	1718	1722	1722	1679	Northuml'd		Durham	Peterhouse C.	Sizar	B.A.	1704	Durham		Durham	43
Alwinton V.	Wm. Hall	1719	1744	1744												
Bolton Par. C.															Northl'd.	43
Chillingham V.	Hammond Beaumont	1712	1725	1725	1682		Cleric	Durham	Peterhouse C.	Sizar	M.A.	1705	Durham			
Edlingham V.	Robert Carr	1681	1725	1725			Cleric		? Queens C.	Sizar	B.A.				Northl'd.	84
Eglingham V.	Chas. Stoddart	1712	1758	1758	1674	Morpeth		Morpeth	Christs C.	Sizar	M.A.	1695	Durham	Northants.		76
Ellingham V.	Joseph Dawson	1714	1759	1759	1683	Durham		Durham	St. John's C.	Sizar	M.A.	1710				57
Embleton V.	Richard Parker	1713	1728	1728	1671	Warwick			Merton O.	P. P.	M.A.			Northl'd		71
Felton V.	Robt. Henderson	1683	1726	1730	1659				Trinity C.	Sizar	M.A.	1683	Durham		Northl'd.	78
Howick R.	John Morton	1685	1722	1722	1644	? Lincoln	Cleric		Lincoln C.		D.D.			Durham	Durham	
Ilderton R.	Geo. Lindsay	1704	1756	1756							B.A.				Northl'd.	
Ingram R.	James Allgood	1703	1744	1744		Hexham	Bailiff	Durham	St. John's C.	Pens.	B.D.	1702	Lincoln			
Lesbury V.	Edward Shanks	1712	1725	1725										Northl'd.	Northl'd.	
Long Houghton V	Geo. Duncan	1696	1730	1730					? Edinburgh		?M.A.			Yorks.	Yorks.	64
Rothbury R.	Thomas Sharp	1720	1758	1758	1694	London	Archbp.	St.Paul's	Trinity C.	Pens.	D.D.	1718	York			
Shilbottle V.	Edward Shanks	1712	1725	-See Lesbury-										Ireland		
Warkworth V.	Wilfrid Lawson	1717	1732	1732	1678	London	Gent.		? Univ. Coll. O		B.A.					
Whittingham V.	Joseph Nicholson	1697	1722	1722	1671	Carlisle			Queen's O.	P. P.	M.A.				Northl'd.	
Ancroft Par. C.	Will. Methven	1703	1734	1734												
Bamborough C.	Hammond Beaumont	1712	1725	-See Chillingham-												
Belford C.	Andrew Hunter	1713	1729	1729					? Edinburgh		?M.A.					
Berwick V.	Rbt. Blakiston	1700	1726	1745		Durham	Cleric		Clare C.	Pens	M.A.					
Branxton V.	John Crawford	1681	1730						? Edinburgh		?M.A.					
Carham V.	Thomas Ogle	1701	1748	1748					? Edinburgh		?M.A.				Northl'd.	
Chatton V.	Wm. Burrell	1713	1752	1752	1690	Northuml'd	Gent.		Merton O.		M.A.					
Cornhill P. C.	Thomas Blair	1720?	1736	1736												
Doddington C.	Wm. Burrell	1713	1752	-See Chatton-												
Ford R.	Geo. Chalmers	1689	1722	1722											Northl'd.	
Holy Island C.	Jas. Robertson	1711	1738	1738					? Edinburgh		?M.A.					74
Kirknewton V.	John Werge	1681	1732	1732	1658	Leicester	Cleric		Trinity O.		B.A.					
Kyloe Par. C.	Jas. Robertson	1703	1738	-See Holy Island-										Northl'd.		
Lowick Par. C.	Pat. Robertson	1701	1722						Edinburgh		M.A.				Durham	
Norham V.	Thomas Drake	1720	1747	1747	1693	Lincoln	Cleric		Magdalen O.		M.A.					
Tweedmouth P.C.	Wm. Methven	1703	1734	-See Ancroft-												
Wooler V.	John Chisholm	1695	1725	1725					? Edinburgh							
Alston Moor V.	Nicholas Watton	1696	1728	1728												
Birtley Par. C.																
Bywell. St. A.V.	Joseph Carr	1718	1729		1690	Newcastle	Gent.		Corpus Christi O.		B.A.					
" St. P.V.	Francis Clement	1703	1732	1732		London		Durham	Christ's C.	Sizar	B.A.	1699	Durham	Durham		
Chollerton V.	John Bland	1689	1733	1733										Carlisle		59
Corbridge V.	John Walton	1720	1741	1741	1682	Knaresdale	Cleric	Lowther	Christ's C.	Sizar					Northl'd.	
Halton Par C.															Northl'd.	
Haltwhistle V.	Martin Nixon	1720	1755	1755		Durham		Durham	Trinity C.	Sizar	M.A.	1713	Durham			63
Haydon P. C.	Edmund Lodge	1705	1739	1742	1679											
Kirkhaugh R.	George Todd	1712	1722	1722							M.A.					
Knaresdale R.	Philip Areskine	1694	1724	1724					? Edinburgh		M.A.					
Newbrough P.C.																
Ovingham V.	John Lyon	1713	1723	1723											Durham	
Shotley C.	Christopher Smith	1703	1735	1735					? Glasgow		M.A.				York	54
Simonburn R.	Wm. Stainforth	1697	1723	1723	1669	York	Cleric		Emmanuel C.	Pens.	M.A.	1691	Durham			
Slaley P.C.	Wm. Richardson	1712	1724	1724												
Stanfordham V.	Ambrose Fenwick	1719	1732	1732												80
Warden V.	Thomas Urwen	1704	1731	1731	1650	Morpeth		Morpeth	Christ's C.	Pens.	M.A.	1699	Durham			
Whitfield R.	Eutricius Lowthian	1703	1749		1681	Cumb.			Queen's O.	P. P.						
Whittonstal P.C.																
Bedlington V.	John Ellison	1719	1773	1773	1694	Newcastle	Cleric		Univ. Coll. O.		B.A.				Northl'd	79
Bolam V.	George Fenwick	1722	1770	1770	1690	Morpeth		Morpeth	Christ's C.	Sizar	B.A.	1715	London			80
Bothall R.	Chris. Stafford	1691	1730		1668	Yorks.			Christ's C.	Sizar	M.A.	1691				
Corsenside C.	John Waite		1727	1727											Northl'd.	
Elsden R.	Hugh Farrington	1715	1739	1739	1687	Westml'd.	Cleric	Kendal	St. John's C.	Sizar	M.A.	1711				81
Hartburn V.	Laton Eden	1685	1735	1735	1654	W. Auckland		Brignall	Peterhouse C.	Pens.	M.A.	1676	Durham			
Hebburn Par. C.																
Horton Par. C.									? Edinburgh		?M.A.					
Kirkharle V.	Richard Wood	1668	1725	1725					Christ's C.	Pens.	B.A.					
Long Horsley V.	Wm. Simcoe	1692	1724	1766	1653	Cheshire		Bunbury	Christ's C.	Sizar	B.A.	1686	? Durham			66
Meldon R.	Charles Pye	1695	1726	1726	1660	Morpeth	Cleric									
Mitford V.	Tom Richardson	1698	1722	1722												77
Morpeth R.	Cuthbert Fenwick	1691	1745	1745	1668	Stamf'dham	Cleric	Morpeth	Christ's C.	Sizar	M.A.	1691	Lincoln			
Newbiggin P.C.																61
Sheepwash R.	-See Bothall-								Lincoln O.		M.A.	1707	Durham			
Stannington V.	Cuthbert Ellison	1714	1745	1745	1684	Newcastle	Gent.									
Ulgham Par. C.																45
Whalton R.	Matthew Forster	1710	1723	1723	1678	Durham		Houghton	Peterhouse C.	Pens.	M.A.	1701	Lincoln		Northl'd.	40
Whelpington V.	Edward Fenwick	1721	1734	1734	1694	Stamf'dham	Cleric	Stamf'dham	Christ's C.	Sizar	B.A.	1718				
Widdinton P.C.																69
Woodhorn V	Chris. Laidman	1692	1724	1724	1655	Yorks.		Brigwell	St. John's C.	Pens.	B.A.	1677				
All Saints P.C.	Cuthbert Ellison	1708	1724	1724	-See Stannington-											
Cramlington P.C.												1709	Durham			
Earedon P.C.	George Lyon	1716	1746	1751					? Edinburgh		?M.A.					
Heddon V.	James Carmichael	1709	1743	1743					St. John's C.	Pens.	B.A.	1701	Durham			59
Longbenton V.	Ralph Clarke	1703	1734	1734	1675	N.Shields	Gent.	Sedburgh	? Glasgow							
Newburn V.	Thomas Capstick	1694	1738	1738				?Sedburgh	Merton O.		M.A.					46
Ponteland V.	Henry Byne	1717	1731	1731	1685	Surrey	Gent.		Peterhouse C.	Sizar	M.A.	1695	Durham			58
St. Andrews P.C.	Thomas Shadforth	1705	1724	1724	1666	Houghton		Houghton								
St. Johns P.C.	Mathew Forster	1710	1723	-See Whalton-												
St. Nicholas V.	William Bradford	1721	1728	1728	1696	Middlesex	Bishop		Corpus Christi C.		M.A.	1721			Rochester	52
Tynemouth V.	Thomas Dockwray Sr.	1682	1725	1725	1657	Newburn	Priest	Morthale	St. John's C.	Pens.	B.A.	1679	Durham			68
Walls End P.C.	Thomas Dockwray Jr.	1718	1760	1760	1690	Tynemouth	Cleric	Newcastle	St. John's C.	Pens.	M.A.	1715	York			70

1736 POPULATION : DIOCESE OF DURHAM

CHESTER DEANERY	Families
Bolden R.	80
Chester-le-Street C.	1,500
Durham: St. Margaret's PC.	-
Durham: St. Oswald's V.	350
Ebchester C.	175
Medomsley Chapel	
Edmondbyers R.	-
Esh PC.	50
Gateshead R.	1,800
Hunstanworth C.	63
Jarrow C.	275
Kimblesworth R.	-
Lamesley C.	375
Lanchester C.	380
Satley Chapel	11
Monkwearmouth C.	-
Muggleswick C.	-
Ryton R.	800
South Shields C.	-
Tanfield C.	342
Washington R.	150
Whickham R.	700
Whitburn R.	104
Witton Gilbert PC.	-
	Sub-Total: 7,155 Families

DARLINGTON DEANERY	
Aycliffe V.	170
Auckland: St. Andrew's C.	809
St. Anne's Chapel	
Auckland: St. Helen's C.	246
Barnard Castle C.	578
Brancepeth R.	371
Cockfield R.	81
Coniscliffe V.	79
Darlington C.	1,250
Denton C.	60
Eggleston C.	(Included with Middleton)
Escomb C.	35
Gainford V.	220
Hamsterly C.	186
Haughton R.	179
Heighington V.	220
Merrington V.	196
Middleton in Teasdale R.	222
Sadberge C.	(Included with Haughton)
Staindrop R.	"above 800"
Stanhope R.	550
St. John's Chapel	

	Families	
Whitworth R.	24	
Whorlton C.	32	
Winston R.	52	
Witton-le-Wear C.	70	
Wolsingham R.	220	
		Sub Total: 6,150 Families
EASINGTON DEANERY		
Bishop Wearmouth R.	440	
Castle Eden C.	10	
Croxdale C.	-	
Dalton-le-Dale C.	-	
Durham: North Bailey R.	-	
Durham: St. Giles C.	-	
Durham: St. Nicholas' V.	440	
Durham: South Bailey R.	-	
Easington R.	234	
Houghton-le-Spring R.	800	
Kelloe V.	-	
Monk Hesleden V.	200	
Pittington V.	153	
Seaham V.	-	
Sunderland R.	-	
Trimdon C.	-	
		Sub-Total: 2,277 Families
STOCKTON DEANERY		
Billingham V.	226	
Wolviston Chapel		
Bishop Middleham V.	120	
Bishopton V.	-	
Dinsdale R.	20	
Egglescliffe R.	-	
Elton R.	-	
Elwick R.	20	
Greatham V.	80	
Grindon V.	63	
Hart V.	116	
Hartlepool C.	120	
Hurworth R.	100	
Long Newton R.	50	
Middleton St. George R.	41	
Norton V.	215	
Redmarshal R.	70	
Sedgefield R.	280	
Sockburn V.	-	
Stainton R.	20	
Stockton V.	670	
Stranton V.	124	
		Sub-Total: 2,335 Families

	Families	
ALNWICK DEANERY		
Alnham V.	74	
Alnwick C.	600	
Alwinton V.	288	
Holystone Chapel		
Bolton PC.	-	
Chillingham V.	62	
Edlingham V.	90	
Eglingham V.	250	
Ellingham V.	240	
Embleton V.	300	
Renington Chapel		
Rock Chapel		
Felton V.	297	(Includes Brinkburn)
Framlington Chapel	71	
Howick R.	36	
Ilderton R.	112	
Ingram R.	54	
Lesbury V.	71	
Long Houghton V.	141	
Rothbury R.	510	(2,238 Persons)
Shilbottle V.	142	
Warkworth V.	380	
Whittingham V.	235	
		Sub-Total: 3,953 Families
BAMBURGH DEANERY		
Ancroft C.	250	
Bamburgh C.	"about 500"	
Beadnell Chapel		
Belford C.	149	
Berwick V.	450	
Branxton V.	36	
Carham V.	213	
Kelso Chapel		
Chatton V.	352	
Cornhill C.	82	
Doddington C.	(Included with Chatton)	
Ford R.	225	
Holy Island C.	150	
Kirknewton V.	190	
Kyloe PC.	130	
Lowick C.	100	
Norham V.	430	
Tweedmouth C.	450	
Wooler V.	150	
		Sub-Total: 3,857 Families
CORBRIDGE DEANERY		
Alston Moor V.	273	
Garrigill Chapel		
Birtley PC.	95	

	Families
Bywell: St. Andrew's V.	76
Bywell: St. Peter's V.	-
Chollerton V.	154
Chipchase Chapel	
Corbridge V.	300
Dilston Hall Chapel	
Falstone C.	(Prob. included with Simonburn)
Halton PC.	(Prob. included with Corbridge)
Haltwhistle V.	-
Beltingham Chapel	
Haydon PC.	(Prob. included with Warden)
Kirkhaugh R.	44
Knaresdale R.	-
Newbrough PC.	(Prob. included with Warden)
Ovingham V.	360
Shotley C.	90
Simonburn R.	247
Bellingham Chapel	475
Slaley C.	70
Stamfordham V.	250
Warden V.	365
Whitfield R.	82
Whittonstal PC.	-
	Sub-Total: 2,881 Families

MORPETH DEANERY

Bedlington V.	186
Bolam V.	100
Belsay Chapel	
Bothall R.	107
Corsenside C.	90
Elsden R.	337
Hartburn V.	260
Netherwitton Chapel	54
Hebburn PC.	114
Horton PC.	-
Kirkharle V.	36
Long Horsley V.	200
Meldon R.	14
Mitford V.	117
Morpeth R.	-
St. Maries Chapel	
Newbiggin PC.	96
Sheepwash R.	(Included with Bothall)
Stannington V.	230
Ulgham PC.	65
Whalton R.	100
Whelpington V.	172
Widdrington PC.	68
Woodhorn V.	176
	Sub-Total 2,522 Families

NEWCASTLE DEANERY	Families	
Cramlington PC.	40	
Earsdon PC.	326	
Seaton Delaval Chapel		
Heddon V.	120	
Close House Chapel		
Longbenton V.	120	
Newburn V.	318	
Newcastle: All Saints PC.	4,124	*(16,000)
St. Anne's Chapel		
Newcastle: St. Andrew's PC.	500	
Newcastle: St. John's PC.	500	
Benwell Chapel		
Newcastle: St. Nicholas' V.	789	
Gosforth (South) Chapel	45	
St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel	-	
St. Mary Virgin's Chapel	-	
St. Thomas' Chapel	-	
Trinity House Chapel	-	
Ponteland V.	238	
Tynemouth V.	800	
Tynemouth Priory Chapel		
Wallsend PC.	90	
		Sub-Total: 8,010 Families

* Families based upon 3.88 persons per family in 1801. See note (111).

ARCHDEACONRY OF DURHAM TOTALS		
Chester Deanery	7,155	
Darlington Deanery	6,150	
Easington Deanery	2,277	
Stockton Deanery	2,335	
		17,917 Families

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND TOTALS		
Alnwick Deanery	3,953	
Bamburgh Deanery	3,857	
Corbridge Deanery	2,881	
Morpeth Deanery	2,522	
Newcastle Deanery	8,010	
		21,223 Families

DIOCESAN TOTALS	39,140 Families

(Notes: pages 2-4)

A. THE LATE LORD CREWE

(1) Handbook of British Chronology, p.221.

(2) The late Professor C.E. Whiting's book, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, though standing alone in this period, does not, therefore, shine the more brightly. It is a most inadequate attempt to bridge the chasm!

(3) Spearman's An Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham (1729), is the most notable example of a hostile source, though everything Burnet has recorded is no less so; cf. his History of My Own Times. Also the editor of An Examination of the Life and Character of Nathaniel Crewe, Bishop of Durham (1790), though editing a very favourable source (perhaps by Crewe's former domestic servant and later Registrar, Ralph Trotter), is himself largely hostile. For further evidence, apparently that of a sympathetic contemporary, see Memoirs of Nathaniel Crewe (1895).

(4) See the article on Crewe in the Dictionary of National Biography (DNB) for the usual picture, which Whiting would wrongly overturn. No evidence has appeared which shows the state of the diocese in 1721 to be anything but bad, surely a caveat to Whiting's assertion that "during the episcopate of Nathaniel Crewe, especially during the latter part of it, the church made distinct progress", op. cit., p.248.

(5) DNB.

(6) An Examination ..., p.79, quoting Kennet.

(7) DNB.

(8) An Examination ..., p.80, quoting Burnet, op. cit., vol. I, p.822.

(9) The annual confirmation visit is unusual, normally being accomplished only at triennial visitations. Whiting gives no evidence of this custom after 1701, and mentions no visitations at all after 1710. See, op. cit., pp.245 & 255.

(10) See Chapters 6 through 9 of Whiting's book.

(11) Whiting, op. cit., pp.220, 238, 245, 255. In the penultimate reference, the bishop is quoted as referring to his visit as "another triennial", which seems to imply that at least up to 1710 he was upholding this custom. Crewe, in 1690, was in the diocese from 19 July to 23 September, and this is perhaps not untypical of the amount of time he spent in Durham when he did come north. See p.213, quoting Jacob Bee's Diary.

(12) Whiting, op. cit., pp.226-227. Falle had apparently feigned illness to trick the Bishop into attendance at the Cathedral.

(Notes: pages 4-6)

(13) Memoirs ..., p.35. Whiting cites a letter of Crewe to his Chancellor, Dr. Brookbank, in January 1699, which seems to highlight one at least of the difficulties caused by the bishop's absence, and of the Chancellor's ill-advised initiative to make it good. See Whiting, op. cit., p.223.

(14) Whiting, op. cit., p.312.

(15) Ibid., pp.322 ff.

(16) DNB.

(17) Whiting, op. cit., Appendix I, sets out the entire will.

(18) The first twelve livings chosen (in 1723) were: Lanchester, Pittington, St. Helen's Auckland, Barnard Castle, Witton-le-Wear, Shotley, St. Mary-le-Bow, Grindon, Castle Eden, Hartlepool, Hamsterley, Darlington.

(19) Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club, vol VI, p.333.

(20) Whiting, op. cit., Appendix I.

B. THE PAROCHIAL JURISDICTIONS IN THE DIOCESE.

(1) See Appendix No. 2, at the end of this chapter, which, though dated 1736, is to all intents and purposes (for Durham) the state of the archdeaconry at the earlier period.

(2) See Appendix No. 1.

(3) See Appendix No. 2. The benefices in the Officialty are listed by Trotter in 1746 (Visitation Booklet 1736, f.8^{R}), but they all appear in the earlier lists of presentments. For the Durham benefices, see Archidiaconal Visitation Papers (Durham) : 1724; for Northumberland see Visitation Booklet 1732, ff.21^{V} to 25^{V}.

(4) It must be appreciated that this is an approximation based upon the best information now available. The lists which have survived from the early periods of the century nearly always omit some benefice or other, and no two of them exactly coincide. Even Archdeacon Thomas Sharp, whose carefulness and accuracy we have learned to trust, seems to have had trouble in compiling an accurate list of benefices. See Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.2, where his own figures are given and will be seen to be contradictory. A careful study has revealed

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that within the journal itself, notice is taken of even more "places of worship" than he cites on p.2 or in his index on pp.3 & 4. Surely these facts themselves indicate a great deal about the state of the diocese at the end of Lord Crewe's episcopate.

(5) See for further information, Raine's masterful treatment of Hexhamshire in volumes III and IV of the monumental Northumberland County History (NCH). Also see Archbishop Herrings Visitation Returns, 1743, for details of the benefices of the shire at that time.

(6) For Brainshaugh and Brinkburn, see NCH, vol VII, pp.488 & 503. For Kirkheaton, see NCH, vol IV, p.376. For Lambly, see Hodgson's Northumberland, pt II, vol III, pp.1, 91, 96.

(7) See Appendix No. 5. For an article attempting an assessment of the population of Newcastle at an earlier date, see Archaelogia Aeliana (2nd Series), vol III, pp.62-64.

(8) For a discussion of this document and its date, see Chapter V, "Additional Note".

(9) The information given for Rothbury accords well with that given in the first national census in 1801, and tends to verify the accuracy of this 1736 data. See Table 1.

(10) The table is based upon Appendix No. 5.

(11) Most of the parochial chapels have settled "ministers" long before they are legally made freehold, as Sharp indicates (in 1723) for the following by citing their "patrons": Shotley, Slaley, All Saints, St.Andrews, St.John's, Cramlington, and Earsdon. Also, Chandler in 1736 shows the majority of them to be used for "sacrament", again indicating that de facto if not de jure, they were benefices.

(12) We have no evidence of ruined chapels in the archdeaconry.

(13) The two were Hepple and Charlton (South). See Appendix No. 1, for the other nine.

(14) See Appendix No. 1.

(15) Ibid. Ewart and Humbleton were in use.

(16) Ibid.

(17) NCH, vol XI, p.19.

(18) Kirk of the Bells Chapel. See NCH, vol XV, pp.190-191.

(19) See Appendix No. 1.

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(20) Bothal Rectory was united to Sheepwash Rectory, the latter of which no longer had any ecclesiastical building. See Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, pp.148-151.

(21) See Appendix No. 1. Walls End had originally been a chapel under Jarrow, though the River Tyne separated them into two different archdeaconries. See NCH, vol XIII, p.44.

(22) This should be compared with Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.2, which says "52 Mother Churches .... 31 Chappels .... 19 ruined Chappells;" in fact, Sharp himself notes fourteen rectories, thirty-four vicarages, five curacies, four parochial chapels, thirty-eight chapels in use, and sixteen ruined chapels; see pp. 3, 4, 50, 172, 173. It must be remembered that Sharp was not listing those livings or chapels in the peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter.

(23) By 1736, four parochial chapels had become curacies: Cornhill (1730), Tweedmouth (1729), Lowick (1732), Ancroft (1733); one chapel had become a curacy, Falstone.

C. THE PAROCHIAL STRUCTURE.

(1) For the full survey, see Archaelogia Aeliana (1st Series), vol III, pp.1-10.

(2) It is possible that Widdrington Parochial Chapel was also repaired (from ruination) before 1768, though details are wanting to establish the date.

(3) No statistical data is available but the general movement of labour into the cities and large towns is surely the key.

(4) It is the case, however, that there was a general trend towards gallery construction in the eighteenth century, which we assume to have been a response to changing population patterns. According to Sharp's Visitation 1723, such galleries were built at Alnwick, Rothbury, Shilbottle, and Warkworth.

(5) The efforts at restoration are to be seen in parish after parish, according to the NCH, which could be consulted at almost any point for examples.

(6) Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.5, orders 3, 4, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22, 23 respectively.

(Notes: pages 15-19)

(7) Ibid., p.19, order 1.

(8) Ibid., p.17, order 6.

(9) Ibid., p.21, notes on visitation in 1727.

(10) Ibid., p.25, order 1 and note following orders.

(11) Ibid., p.27, orders of 1734.

(12) Ibid., p.29, order 1.

(13) Ibid., p.37, orders 8, 9, 19.

(14) Ibid., p.41, order 1 (r.e. chancel).

(15) Ibid., p.43, note on visitation in 1730.

(16) Ibid., orders 4 and 14.

(17) That is Alnwick, Alnham, Alwinton.

(18) He also gives orders which relate to material specified in Canon 52 (Preacher's names to be recorded in a book), Canon 58 (Surplice and Hood to be provided by the parish), Canon 70 (Register of parchment provided; chest with three locks and three keys), Canon 99 (Table of marriages to be set up).

(19) Statistics gathered from Sharp's Visitation 1723 and Chandler's Remarks, augmented when necessary, by NCH and Hodgson's Northumberland. Twelve of the parochial chapels and one curacy have not been discoverable.

(20) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/12, ff.100^{V} & 101^{R}; Visitation Booklet: 1736, f.8^{R}.

(21) Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.2.

(22) See Owen, The Records of the Established Church in England, pp.15 & 55, where the term "appropriation" is used instead of "impropriation".

(23) See Appendix No. 3. Chandler's Remarks only once mentions either patron or impropriator for the Archdeaconry of Durham, at Tanfield Curacy. There the curate receives £35, and the impropriator has £200.

(24) See Appendix No. 3.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Abstracted from Appendix No. 4.

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(27) Chandler's Remarks gives the value of livings only three times for the Durham Archdeaconry: Jarrow Curacy (with Heworth Chapel) £60; Lamesley Curacy £40; Tanfield Curacy £35.

(28) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/12, ff.100^{V} & 101^{R}.

(29) "Curate" is here being used, in the modern sense, of an assistant to the incumbent. Chandler lists none of these for Durham.

(30) See Appendix No. 3.

(31) These papers are grouped in loose bundles according to the year of ordination, and may be retrieved by date.

(32) Ordination Papers, Robertson (1735) and Nicholson (1736). Chandler's Remarks note that the Curate of Wooler lives with the vicar in his house.

D. THE PAROCHIAL INCUMBENTS.

(1) See Appendix No. 4, for this whole section.

(2) These are most difficult to trace, as we have already pointed out. The number of benefices reflects the fact that we are basing this section on the earliest period, and not that which obtains in 1736.

(3) Based on Appendix No. 4.

(4) An account of Ward is given later in this chapter.

(5) Seventy-one men, because six were holding two benefices in Northumberland.

(6) One of the men (John Morton) held two livings in the diocese, plus a prebendal stall, thus the number of pluralists is maintained at sixteen.

(7) None of the rest were managing more than £160 to £170 per annum, which though quite substantial for 1721 (see Table 5 in this chapter), nevertheless was not exorbitant by the standards of the time.

(8) See Chapter III.

(9) Sharp at York and Southwell Minsters, Stainforth only at Southwell.

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(10) This summary is based upon Appendix No. 4, supplemented by Sharp's Visitation 1723 and Chandler's Remarks. The distance between livings is based upon Neville Hadcock's map of 1939, for which see Archaelogia Aeliana (4th Series), vol XVI, plate XXIII opposite p.218.

(11) Nixon, Stoddart and Blakiston acquired another living; John Ellison and Farrington added lectureships; Bradford become a prebendary and an archdeacon.

(12) NCH, vol II, p.289.

(13) Ibid., p.442.

(14) Diocesan Registry Bound Volume XIV.3, p.i. (Henceforth D.R.XIV.3, p.i., etc.)

(15) NCH, vol II, p.444.

(16) Ibid., p.442.

(17) This account of Ward is based entirely upon Hodgson's Northumberland, pt II, vol I, pp.347-348.

(18) NCH, vol II, p.71, quoting Foster.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Whiting, op. cit., p.257.

(22) Ibid. For an account of the commission, see p.273.

(23) Ibid., pp.257-258.

(24) See the Consistory Court Act Books for those years, for an account of the proceedings.

(25) Thomlinson, in his diary, says that Parker was "a great classick". Surtees Society, Volume 118, p.133. (Henceforth S.S. vol 118, p.133, etc.)

(26) S.S. vol 118, p.64 and pedigree opposite p.66.

(27) See Appendix No. 3 for values of other livings.

(28) British Museum Additional Manuscript 22,560, extracts of which are printed in S.S. vol 118, pp.64-167.

(29) S.S. vol 118, pedigree opposite p.66.

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(30) Ibid. Robert Thomlinson was rector of Brockley, Somerset, 1695; lecturer, St. Nicholas' Newcastle, 1695; vicar of Eglingham, 1709; rector of Whickham, 1712; prebendary of Chamberlain Wood, St. Paul's, 1719; died s.p. 24 March 1747/8. He is recorded as describing himself thus: "the youngest of ten children and God's providence was my inheritance."

(31) Ibid.

(32) Ibid., p.99.

(33) Ibid., pp.105-106, note 160.

(34) Ibid., p.114.

(35) Chandler's Remarks, Rothbury.

(36) Randal, A State of the Churches ...., p.14, footnote "1".

(37) S.S. vol 118, pedigree opposite p.66; Dictionary of English Church History, p.98.

(38) Ibid. (S.S.), p.73 note. Robinson was dean of Windsor and Bishop of Bristol before being translated to London. He was also much involved in diplomatic matters.

(39) Ibid., diary entries 20 August 1718 (especially the note) p.133, and 31 October 1718, p.145. The suggestion to seek this position for the nephew came first from Robert Thomlinson, the uncle's brother. See the diary entry for 18 November 1718, for further thoughts of application to the Bishop of London.

(40) Ibid., diary entries for 13 and 15 August 1717.

(41) Ibid.,15 August 1717. Thomlinson apparently trusted the surgeons of Newcastle, though not those of Alnwick, but even that was only "if their was danger".

(42) Ibid., entries for 15, 16, 18 and 21 August 1717. The name is variously Delapp, Delap and Dulapp, with Dulap prevailing.

(43) Ibid., entry of 18 August 1717.

(44) Ibid., entry of 5 October 1717.

(45) Ibid., 15 May 1717.

(46) Ibid., assuming the diarist's uncle to the one who "applauded".

(47) Ibid., 18 and 19 April 1718, 20 October 1718 and 2 January 1718/9.

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(48) Ibid., 20 August 1717.

(49) Ibid., pedigree opposite p.66. John Thomlinson left some real estate at Blencogo (? inherited from his father) to his brother William as well.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Ibid., also p.64.

(52) Ibid., pedigree opposite p.66, p.69 note and entry of 1 August 1717.

(53) Ibid., see entries for 15 February, 23 & 24 November and 30 December 1718, and 3 January 1718/9 for one such example, apparently not entirely successful. See especially the first of these entries for clear indication that Thomlinson knew such activity to be illegal for a clergyman.

(54) Ibid., 21 August 1717. The entry for 2 October 1717, shows the incumbent assuming that £550 per annum would be about the right income for his nephew, if he held the living for his uncle. The uncle to allow the nephew £150 from the profits of the living and to require the nephew's father to supply another £400. Does this in any way signify the true worth of the living? Compare also the entry for 22 October 1717.

(55) Ibid., 1 April and 9 November 1717.

(56) Ibid., 25 April 1718.

(57) Ibid., 19 August 1717.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Ibid., 20 October 1717. For more details of the building project see entries: 5 and 14 November, 14 and 16 December 1717; 21 and 22 April, 6 September, 22 December 1718; 4 and 5 January 1718/9; also note on pp.105-106. It has usually been held that Thomas Sharp fitted out and enlarged Witton Tower, which seems certain, but the extent of his predecessors work here has been underestimated (see NCH XV, p.315).

(60) Ibid., 27 August 1717, where the maid is specifically said to have raked "over the close again" on the uncle's orders. See 12 August 1717 et. al., for mention of the coach, team, and a driver or "man". Probably these latter are meant when the nephew (on 7th October 1717) complains of doing menial errands for his uncle, even though "the men prest hard to send some of their boys with them". On this occasion, the diarist

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assumes his uncle has done it "that I may not be elated, etc.". See also 12 August 1717, when the uncle gives the same reason for not sending his coach to fetch his nephew.

(61) Ibid., 22 March 1721/2, which refers to Robert Thomlinson's library, though according to the entry of 4 November 1717 "the best part of them" were John Thomlinson's. See note on p.89 for reference to this library and the building erected to house it adjoining St. Nicholas'Church.

(62) The reference is in fact to one Francis Woodmas, see Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, pp.357-58.

(63) S.S. vol 118, Thomlinson's Diary, entry for 28 November 1717. Locke seems to be meant, see 29 November 1717. For examples of academic table talk see 19 and 27 August and 3 September 1718.

(64) Ibid., 15 October 1717, for notes of his gardening.

(65) Ibid., 25 November 1717.

(66) Ibid., 2 June 1717.

(67) Ibid., 19 February 1721/2.

(68) Ibid., 7 October 1717, for mention of the celebration of Michaelmass and St. Luke's day.

(69) Ibid., 23 May 1718, 5 November 1717.

(70) Ibid., 7 October 1717, when two vigils and fasts are dispensed for very different reasons. See too 5 November 1717.

(71) Ibid., 9 and 21 December 1717, 30 January and 11 April (Good Friday) 1718.

(72) Ibid., 26 August 1718, referring to Thomlinson's successor at Blencogo, Jeremiah Nicholson.

(73) Ibid., 23 March, 3 December, 12 December 1718.

(74) Ibid., 3 December 1718.

(75) Ibid., 12 December 1718.

(76) Ibid., 18 June 1718.

(77) Ibid., 17 October 1717.

(78) Ibid., 31 July, 21 August, 22 and 29 October 1717.

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(79) Ibid., 21 August 1717.

(80) Ibid., 29 October 1717.

(81) Ibid., 2, 13 and 17 October 1717.

(82) Ibid., 3 November 1717, 5 January 1717/8.

(83) Ibid., 19 January, 16 February 1717/8.

(84) Ibid., 11 April 1718.

(85) Ibid., 30 April 1717.

(86) Ibid., 20 and 21 September 1718.

(87) Ibid., 10 September 1717.

(88) Ibid., 26, 27 and 28 December 1718, 5 January 1718/9.

(89) Ibid., 1 May 1718.

(90) Ibid., 17 and 18 June 1718.

(91) Ibid., 1 July 1718.

(92) Ibid., 18 July 1718.

(93) Ibid., 27 April 1718.

(94) Ibid., 16 August 1717. Who argued this point?

(95) Ibid., 24 August 1718.

(96) Ibid.

(97) I Samuel 22:2.

(98) S.S. vol 118, Thomlinson's Diary, entry of 9 August 1717, where it is said that "Uncle Robert .... advised me never to contradict th' old lad". Later on 18 August, the curate records the comments of one who said that the old man preached "nonsense". By 30 October 1717, some people are said to be attending church only when the curate preached, and by 24 November comments are being made in the rector's sermons which are directed against the curate. See also 15 December 1717.

(99) Ibid., 21 April 1718. Thomlinson's criticisms of the nephew's sermons seem to have gone deep, as the following entries make clear: 5 and 19 January, 16 February, and 10 and 11 April 1718. On the latter date the nephew writes "Uncle finds fault with every sermon I make". The "truce"

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came when the two agreed to discuss the young man's sermons before they were given. It was one of the uncle's tasks, as he saw it, to help his nephew build a stock of fifty-two sermons, as we gather from entries on 2 and 17 October 1717. It should be noted also, that the nephew's first sermon was preached on 6 October 1717, some four months after he took orders. Before that date he seems to have read sermons prepared by others.

(100) Ibid., 2, 5 and 20 October, 4 and 15 November 1717, 2, 3 and 10 April 1718.

(101) Ibid., 5 October 1717.

(102) Ibid., 5 and 12 May 1718, for a case of "friction" implied in the matter of new pews built in Thomlinson's latter years. How far this may be simple fractiousness, it is difficult to say, though see 4 June 1718.

(103) Ibid.,13 October 1717, when a "woman scolded uncle in Market-place, told him he took one pig in five for tythe, etc."

(104) Ibid., 10 April 1718. The man who pressed for the nephew's interest urged in the face of the uncle's accusation against the people, that "where one loved and was beloved, they might do good". Whether this truly reflects the character of the nephew seems doubtful.

(105) Ibid., 12 and 13 December 1717. Morton was incumbent of Howick and Sedgefield, as well as a canon of Durham Cathedral, so his aggregate income must have greatly exceeded Thomlinson's.

(106) Ibid., 13 December 1717.

(107) For extracts from his will, see S.S. vol 118, pp.87-88 note. Also, Randal, op. cit., p.14 note "1".

(108) Ibid. (Randal). Why the benefaction to Wigton is not clear, though there are several possibilities. Thomlinson may have been born (or schooled) there, it may have had something to do with family connections with John Robinson, Bishop of London, or it might have been Thomlinson's close friendship with John Brown, the incumbent of Wigton, who had previously been his curate at Rothbury. For the first possibility see S.S. vol 118, p.68 note, and diary entries on 1 February 1717/8 and 9 August 1717 (plus the note there) respectively, for the latter two. Thomlinson's sister Isabel Reed left £100 to "her brother's almshouse at Wigton"; S.S. vol 118, pp.69 note 14, and 73 note 34.

(109) S.S. vol 118, pp.87-88.

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E. ADDITIONAL NOTE.

(1) Bourne, History of Newcastle, p.73.

(2) Ibid. His salary was to arise from the fees of the clerkship, which he presumably exercised even though a clergyman. See also note (9) below.

(3) Robert Thomlinson. See Table 16.

(4) St. Mary the Virgin's (Hospital) Chapel was used partly by the school and partly by the corporation for meetings of the common council, cf. Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.170. The school was in the nave, the council having the chancel. Also, St. Mary Magdalene's (Hospital) Chapel was still used every Wednesday and Friday at least, according to Sharp. Bourne, op. cit., p.131, says that St. Thomas' (Bridge) Chapel was extensively used, with services morning and afternoon on all Sundays, and in 1732 it was made a Chapel of Ease to St. Nicholas. All three chapels were donatives of the Corporation in 1721.

(5) Cramlington's curate in 1721 has not been traced. John Ellison, a son of the former vicar, was serving at Gosforth, which seems to have been a much despised title in the eighteenth century. See NCH, vol XIII, p.337 note 14.

(6) See Table 15 and note (36) below.

(7) Ibid.

(8) There had long been such a collection of Scots in the city.

(9) Bourne, op. cit., p.107. The assistant to the curate was added to the staff in 1708, when it was decided not to replace one of the lay clerks, but to add a clergyman whose stipend would be made up from the second clerk's fees from weddings, burials and christenings, which was equal to about £50 per annum.

(10) Ibid., p.154.

(11) Ibid., p.102. See also Table 15 and note (36) below.

(12) Ibid., p.47. The minister was also (as a separate office) Corporation Lecturer.

(13) Ibid., p.46.

(14) See Table 15 and note (36) below.

(15) Bourne, op. cit., p.47.

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(16) Ibid., p.27.

(17) Ibid., p.113.

(18) Ibid., pp.211-212.

(19) Ibid., p.113. For information on Proprietary Chapels, see Best, Temporal Pillars, p.194.

(20) See Table 15 and note (36) below.

(21) See Table 16.

(22) Whether by custom or statute has not been ascertained.

(23) For St. Mary the Virgin, see Bourne, op. cit., p.34, and Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.170; for St. Mary Magdalene, see Bourne, pp.35 & 152, and Sharp, p.170; for St. Thomas, see Bourne, pp.35 & 131, and Sharp, p.170.

(24) This was so at St. Thomas.

(25) Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.170, says that Thomlinson holds the mastership "in Trust for ye Corporation", and that the profits of St. Mary the Virgin are allowed "to Mr. Lodge the Schoolmaster", and those of St. Mary Magdalene to "Mr. Chilton", though these latter have been "withdrawn". Chilton was suspended in 1723, but the details are not known, cf. Venn, Alumnae Cantabrigienses, pt I, vol I, p.333.

(26) Bourne, op. cit., p. 35.

(27) Ibid., p.77.

(28) Ibid.

(29) See Table 16.

(30) Bourne, op. cit., p.75.

(31) S.S. vol 118, p.89 note 104.

(32) It may be that John Ellison was more exiled than favoured. See note (5) above (this section).

(33) A third daughter married one "Revd Mr Robinson", cf. S.S. vol 118, p.125 note.

(34) The pages already cited in Bourne's work (for individual parishes) apply here and for the whole of this paragraph as well. How many people there were in the city who availed themselves of these daily prayers is a subject only for conjecture. Some time later it is recorded of the Revd Hugh

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Moises, Headmaster of the Grammar School 1749-87, that he always attended the daily offices "at one or other of the Newcastle churches to the end of his long life". See John Brewster, A Memoir of ... Hugh Moises, p.34.

(35) The figures for 1736 are from Chandler's Remarks; 1801 figures are from Abstract of the Answers and Returns Made pursuant to an Act, passed in the Forty-first Year of His Majesty King GEORGE III. Intitled 'An ACT for taking an Account of the Population of GREAT BRITAIN ....' Enumeration. Part I, England and Wales. 1801. pp.255-271.

(36) The data for 1801 (reference as above) is as follows:

	Families	Persons	Houses	Average of persons/ family
All Saint's:				
Within the City	3,795	14,396	1,643	3.79
Byker Township	744	3,254	260	4.37
Heaton Township	63	183	54	2.90
	4,602	17,833	1,957	3.88
St. Andrew's:				
Within the City	998	4,460	478	4.41
Cramlington Chapelry	62	271	71	4.37
Jesmond Township	52	275	41	5.29
Fenham Township	17	93	17	5.47
	1,129	5,099	607	4.52
St. John's:				
Within the City	978	4,707	630	4.81
Benwell Township	217	951	203	4.38
Elswicke Township	61	301	63	4.93
Westgate Township	140	669	89	4.78
	1,396	6,628	985	4.75
St. Nicholas':				
Within the City	1,074	4,803	545	4.47
Total for Newcastle Parishes:	8,201	34,363	4,094	4.69

(37) Archaeologia Aeliana (2nd Series), vol III, p. 64.

(38) Bourne, op. cit., according to Middlebrook, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p.116. Also see Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, Appendix Tables I & II, pp. 350-351.

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He shows 2,513 households in the city c. 1665, and he suggests (p.9) that there were about 13,402 persons at that time.

(39) This table is primarily dependent upon Bourne, supplemented by Sharp, et. al.

CHAPTER II

THE BISHOPS

The men who sat on the bench of bishops in eighteenth century England have generally received little by way of compliment from historians of that era, and this is doubly true of those who were bishops of the See of Durham. Among the four men who held the see between 1721 and 1771, only Butler is an exception to this rule, and that more because of his philosophical writings than his character as a bishop. Unfortunately, the literary remains of these four bishops are few, and thus it is with difficulty that we attempt to reconstruct their respective roles as chief pastors and administrators of the Diocese of Durham.

A. WILLIAM TALBOT: 1721 - 1730

When Nathaniel Lord Crewe died, little time was lost in electing a successor, and on 23 September 1721, William Talbot, Bishop of Salisbury, was nominated to the vacant see.(1) Confirmed on 7 November and enthroned on 14 December,(2) the new Bishop of Durham was to enter the diocese only to be embroiled in a storm of controversy, but before we touch on that we shall briefly sketch his life prior to 1721.

Talbot was born about 1659 at Stourton Castle in Staffordshire, which was one of his father's seats, and sent to Oriel College, Oxford, in his fifteenth year, matriculating as a gentleman commoner 28 March 1674.(3) He went on to graduate B.A. in 1677, and proceeded M.A. 23 June 1680.(4) He was perhaps a fellow from this time, though this is not certain, nor is it known when or by whom he was ordained, save that he took up the rectory of Burghfield, Berkshire, in 1682.(5) This living was in the gift of his kinsman Charles Talbot, later Duke

of Shrewsbury, whose patronage was again to be shown to him, when by his "interest" William Talbot was made Dean of Worcester in 1691, at the young age of thirty-two.(6) The deanery was vacant owing to the deprivation of the nonjuror George Hickes, and Talbot was to hold it for many years.(7) Soon thereafter, Archbishop Tillotson conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in that same year he published his first sermon.(8) In 1699, he was made Doctor of Divinity by Oxford, and on 24 September that year was consecrated Bishop of Oxford.(9) His fame was spreading at this time, and from the subsequent period come many of his extant sermons, often preached before the King.(10)

No stranger to controversy, having entered Worcester in the wake of it, we find Talbot caught up in two of the most tumultuous disputes of his era, the one largely political and ecclesiastical, the other theological. The first of these was the occasion of the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, in which Talbot gave (and had printed) a strong speech in the House of Lords, urging the conviction of the famous doctor.(11) In a closely reasoned and not unconvincing argument, he set forth the historical and theological grounds upon which he based his conviction that <u>absolute</u> obedience to the sovereign was not to be urged, when that sovereign ceased to govern with the consent of the governed as lawfully represented. Having established that to his satisfaction, he further sets forth his reasons for believing that Sacheverell had indeed gone beyond the limits of toleration by implicitly attacking the revolutionary settlement of 1689. The theological controversies engaged in by Talbot were two-fold. On the one hand he argued against the growing tendency to depreciate the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, by himself strongly

asserting the divinity of Christ,(12) and on the other hand he engaged in controversy with some of the nonjuring school as regards the efficacy of lay baptism, their doctrine of the eucharist, the relationship between church and state, and the necessity of "Sacerdotal Absolution".(13)

Talbot was very much a Whig, and his fortunes were to grow rapidly with the ascendancy of this party after the death of Queen Anne. He was chosen to be the preacher at the Coronation of King George on 20 October 1714, and subsequently made dean of the chapel royal.(14) Upon the death of Gilbert Burnet (with whom he had opposed Sacheverell in the House of Lords) Talbot was translated to the ancient see of Sarum on 23 April 1715.(15) Soon thereafter, in 1716, he preached and printed a sermon in which he urged (among other things) that the danger of popery as instanced by the 1715 Rebellion made it doubly necessary to secure the protestant succession through the House of Hanover.(16) When in 1721 the wealthiest see in the land fell vacant, Talbot, one of the most faithful servants of that household, was translated to Durham by his King.

As was intimated earlier, hardly had the bishop arrived in the diocese, having been greeted with "an elegant and public speech of congratulation at Farewll-hall" by Dr. Mangey, than he found that he had "rendered himself very unpopular by two measures which he pursued."(17) The first of these was a bill which he brought into parliament in 1723, "and which passed the House of Lords, to enable bishops to grant leases of mines, which had not theretofore been demised, without consent of chapters".(18) Our chief account of this affair comes from the pen of an avowedly hostile author, Gilbert Spearman, writing in 1729, and his accusation follows.(19)

> This attempt alarmed the whole nation, and a vigorous opposition was made thereto, particularly by the dean and chapter of Durham, and the copyholders and leaseholders of this county; for it appeared to them, that the bill was calculated for the bishop of Durham and his family only, and not for his successors, and to deprive the copyholders and ancient leaseholders of the mines within their inclosed grounds, which the bishop of Durham have of late claimed; altho' their (sic.) is no exceptions or reservations of such mines, in the grants or surrenders of their copyholds, or in the leases of their leasehold lands; and it is to be noted, that their copyhold lands are descendable estates of inheritance to them and their heirs, and such claims cannot be supported by prescriptions.

Spearman was deeply upset by this attempt, as were copyhold and leasehold tenants, though how far the "whole nation" was "alarmed" is open to doubt. That the dean and chapter were alarmed is not surprising, since their "rights" were threatened, it having been their "plain right by the common law and immemorial usage... to confirm the leases of mines let by... Bishops".(20) The tenants' fear was twofold, for they might lose valuable lands and timber, owing to the construction of new mines and wagon ways under leases let by the bishop, without any real hope of restitution, or they might themselves be deprived of the opportunity to open new mines on their lands, were this a possibility for them. This latter seems to have been Spearman's personal fear, though he hesitates not to plead for the rights of every possible person affected, even future bishops of Durham:

> By this bold step, one family would have engrossed, as much as in them lay, mines of immense value to themselves, without any regard either to the bishop's successors, or to the tenants and their posterity.(21)

In fact the bill was seriously altered in the House of Commons, and in consequence it was dropped altogether. This was not the end of the matter however, for as the years passed a number of the old

prebendaries died, and "the Bishop had the opportunity of preferring many of his friends in their places; he thereby hath a majority in the Chapter, to confirm such leases as he thinks fit to grant."(22) On these twin prongs, the attempt to promote the bill and the circumvention of its defeat by nepotistic appointments, Spearman skewered the bishop.

If Spearman prepared the bishop for roasting, Hutchinson must be allowed to have kindled the fire, for he records for us the second measure pursued by the bishop which served to render him very unpopular, which was "insinuating to the dean and chapter the room there was for advancing the fines on their leases; and setting the pernicious example in his own."(23) He goes on to tell us (without reference to his source) that the bishop "was of a magnificent taste and temper, which often run him into difficulties, his great revenue not being answerable to his expences, and his son was often obliged to extricate him from his embarrassments."(24) And lastly one piece of gossip destined to bring lasting odium upon Talbot: "It has been hinted, that he did not come to this opulent See without submitting to a douceur of six or seven thousand pounds".(25)

Between the two of them, Spearman and Hutchinson made certain that the memory of William Talbot would be held in low esteem by posterity, as it certainly has been by subsequent historians. Building upon the unquestionable foundation of these two early works, later writers have simply repeated their assertions without establishing their validity.(26) Added to this seems to be a liberal dose of late nineteenth century piety which judged the eighteenth century church by its own standards and found it wanting. Unfortunately, this estimation of the character of Bishop Talbot can no longer be accepted as satisfactorily dealing with him as a man or as a bishop.

In the first place, we feel that the evidence of the first biographers needs to be held in balance with their own prejudices, particularly those of Spearman. For all his apparent alarm at the general harm done by (or prospectively done by) Talbot, there would seem to be two particularly personal complaints behind Spearman's assault upon the palatine jurisdiction, and especially upon its bishop.(27) The author quite clearly considered himself ill-used by Dr. Exton Sayer, the bishop's son-in-law, and he seems to have lost a good deal of money in a mining venture on some land held by copyhold lease, owing to the loss of mining rights to the bishop's interest.(28) It is difficult not to see that these two grievances animate his Enquiry, and that neither is sufficient to discredit the bishop himself.(29) Hutchinson, on the other hand, seems to have no personal reason to dislike the bishop's memory, though he speaks very pejoratively of his attempts to increase the fines on his leases. Here again however, there are other considerations to be made, for evidence exists to show that the ecclesiastical landowners of the period were simply awakening to the increased values of their lands, and thus perhaps not unreasonably increasing the rent charged.(30) If this is so, and well it may be, there is little just cause for accepting at face value the traditional picture of Bishop Talbot.

There is however, much more positive evidence available to assess his character and ability as a bishop, if we look to the writings which have survived and to the evidence of his pastoral and administrative oversight of the Diocese of Durham.

Hutchinson tells us that Bishop Talbot entered the diocese on Thursday 12 July 1722, and after the ceremonies at Farewell Hall, proceeded to the Cathedral for prayers and gave his blessing from the

throne.(31) He preached there on the following Sunday, and shortly afterwards began his primary visitation, the preparations for which had been under way sometime before. In the previous June he had addressed a printed letter to all the clergy of the diocese and sent with it a charge of not inconsiderable length, dealing with the nature of the clerical office "as it is represented in the Scriptures, together with the particular Parts and Branches of it, as they are required from you by the Constitution of our Church".(32) This charge was originally given to the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury in 1716, and Talbot determined to use it again in order that he might not be overwhelmed by the requirements of the actual day of visitation, and especially that he might be saved time "for the discharge of other Duties... particularly the Work of Confirmation".(33) His instructions for the right ordering of this part of his duty form the bulk of the letter, and show us a good deal concerning Talbot's attitudes. It was his conviction that confirmation was a rite "of so powerful a Tendency when duly performed, to promote Edification and Holyness of living", that it was his duty to "spare no Pains, as to my share in it", and he expected the same of his clergy.(34) He required of them, five things, the first of which we shall give in full.(35)

> 1. That none be offer'd to be Confirm'd by me, but such as you are Satisfied do well understand the Nature of their Baptismal Vow, which they are then to take upon themselves, and are determin'd by God's Grace to discharge it to the utmost of their Power: To bring Young Children to be Confirm'd, or to lay hands on such, who understand not the sacred Obligations into which they are then to enter, is to abuse the pious Rite, and defeat the good Ends for which it was appointed: For my part, I think none are fit for Confirmation, who are not fit to be admited, as soon as they are Confirm'd, to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: In the former they take upon themselves that Vow which they renew in the latter, and surely they should be as Capable of understanding it, when they first Engage in it, as when they afterwards renew it.

In addition to this, Talbot instructed the ministers to tend and present those to be confirmed, on the day of visitation, to give in a list of their names beforehand, and to see "that all Confusions and Disturbance may be... prevented."(36)

In the charge itself, Talbot urges upon the clergy such an estimate of their office and calling, and such a right fulfilling of the responsibilities and duties of the same, as to leave us wondering how the charge could have come from the lips of a bishop whose character was as bad as has been insinuated. Starting from a careful and accurate explication of the "Holy Function" to which they are called (based entirely on the New Testament), to be "Servants to the great King of Kings" and "his Ambassadors to treat with Men about a Reconciliation... which (Christ) came down from Heaven to negotiate", Talbot goes on to summarise this first section by stating that "our great and main Business is to save Souls."(37) In order that they might worthily fulfil this calling they needed to pay particular regard to themselves, and this especially to their moral and intellectual improvement. "With what face can he explode a Vice in a Sermon, who gives a Countenance to it by his life?", Talbot asked plainly.(38) By intellectual improvement he meant attending to reading the "Holy Scriptures", which he said "should be the main Employment of those Hours, which are not taken up in performing other parts of his Office."(39) Other study was desirable only in so far as it helped a better understanding of them and "the clearer explaining them to others."(40) If these two things were well attended to, then he was much more likely to have a respect and regard among his people such as would enable him rightly to perform "his Ministration of the several Offices and Duties".(41)

The bishop clearly stated his understanding of these duties and they were "several", though he saw four of them as absolutely primary. First was the "reading the Prayers of the Church... not only upon Sundays and Holy Days, but upon Wednesdays and Fridays Weekly."(42) He urged the clergy to gather a congregation for these prayers from among the surrounding households, as canon 15 directed, and thought this should not be difficult if the prayers were read properly and reverently.(43) Secondly, "follows Preaching", which was to be practical as to subject and plain and unaffected as to method, though it is "not necessary that a Discourse must be flat, if it be not frothy".(44) Talbot saw the third primary duty to be that of "instructing the children and ignorant Persons of your Parish in the Principles or first Rudiments of Religion".(45) This was not be be an exercise in memory but rather in understanding, and the bishop labours this point. He urged that the clergy give at least "half an hour at a time in an easie Discourse" to this end.(46) Fourthly, Bishop Talbot deals with "the Sacraments (they) are to administer", by which he means Baptism and the Lord's Supper.(47) For the former he is content to urge obedience to the rubrics, though he draws especial attention to the public nature of this office. In his discussion of the Lord's Supper however, he rehearses his doctrinal understanding of this sacrament as well as enjoying certain practices in the right administration of the same.(48) These "chiefest and most ordinary parts" of their duty touched on, Talbot proceeds to urge others, most particularly that of visiting the sick and the whole, noting especially those who dissent from "your own Communion".(49) With the latter he urged a meek spirit and the avoidance of all hard and bitter language, for "it is a bad Cause that stands in need of such Methods to defend it".(50) In summing up the first part of his

charge then, Talbot urges a frequent reading of "the Form of Ordination", at least "one fixt Day in each Month", on which there should be "a Serious Examination of your Conduct, and comparing your Performances with the Promises you have made."(51) In the second part of the charge the bishop proceeds "to urge some Motives" for their faithful discharge of the duties he has enjoined, but we must leave them untouched at this time in order to look briefly at his primary charge of 1722.(52)

Bishop Talbot seems not to have been able to visit his clergy without taking the opportunity to address them directly and in person, concerning their duty and the right performance of those things to which their office bound them.(53) "It would be strange", he thought,(54)

> if such Meetings as these, did not naturally carry our Thoughts, to that general and tremendous Visitation when we must appear before the great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, to give a strict Account of our Behaviour and Ministry, towards his Children, his Spouse, his Body..., and to be sentenced by him, to eternal Rewards or Punishments.

Calling to mind the words of his previous charge, the bishop reminded them that the end of all this labour was that the people committed to their charge might "be saved through Christ for ever", and he proposed to speak to them on three means to this end, as these are found in the "excellent Exortation in the Office for Ordering of Priests".(55) These be stated to be three:(56)

1. Earnest Prayer to God for his Spirit.
2. Doctrine and Exhortation taken out of the holy Scriptures. And
3. A Life agreeable to the same.

Under all three of these heads, Talbot says much that he has not included in the former charge, and again we are struck by the earnest sincerity and seeming devotion of the bishop.

The bishop's argument under his first head is simply that none of them is any more sufficient of himself to perform his office than were Paul and the other "first Preachers of the Gospel", apart from "the extraordinary powerful Illuminations and Operations of the holy Spirit, (which) is certainly in some Measure applicable to us".(57) Unless a man is "a great Stranger to himself", he will apply himself "to God in Prayer, with Humility, Faith, Fervency, and Perseverance for the Aid of his blessed Spirit".(58) Nor, thought the bishop, should they limit such prayer to stated times, "whether publick in the Church, private with our Families, or secret in our Closets", but rather they should seek "Direction and Strength" at all times, "in short mental Ejaculations to the Giver of every good and perfect Gift".(59)

Talbot's second head was that "Doctrine and Exhortation (should be) taken out of the holy Scriptures, and out of them alone," and he continued at some length upon this theme.(60) "There is the Christian's grand Charter..., our blessed Lord's Testament..., the New Covenant which God has made with Man in Christ", and there alone should the clergy seek or "expect to meet with any Light".(61) Lest he be misunderstood, the bishop goes on to explain what he considers to be the essential heart of all their preaching, thus showing us something of his own theological understanding, as follows:(62)

> You should lay before them the lost and undone Condition of Mankind, by the Fall of our first Parents; the great Wisdom and Goodness of God, in the Redemption of the World by Jesus Christ, the mighty Condescension of the Son of God, in leaving the Glory which he had with the Father before the World was; in coming down into this World, cloath'd with the Rags of our Flesh, for us Men and for our Salvation; you should explain his whole Transaction in that weighty and Merciful Affair, his Doings and Sufferings, his Humiliation and Exaltation; you should open and press upon them, the

> Nature, Condition, and Sanctions of the new Covenant; and shew that it supposes mutual Stipulations between the Parties; that it must not be thought that our mighty Saviour has done all for us, besides a bare believing on him, or resting upon him; but that the Faith which he will accept, is a Faith that works by Love, and produces a hearty Complyance, with all the Terms and Conditions of the Covenant: You should explain those Conditions, shew what is required both as to Faith and Practice, what Things are to be believ'd, what to be avoided, and what to be done; you should insist much upon the great moral Duties of our Religion, as they are explained and improved by our blessed Saviour....

They must urge their people to obey the lawful authorities and to live in love and peace with all men, and also assure them of "the Assistance offered by God, to enable them to perform those Conditions, and the Means appointed by him for their receiving that Assistance."(63) And finally they must be ever reminding their flocks "of the Value of their immortal Souls, of the Shortness of Life, the Certainty of Death, and after that the Judgment; of the inconceivable Glories of Heaven, and unspeakable Miseries of Hell, and of the Eternity of both."(64) This, says the bishop, is "the Gospel-Teaching", and it must always be "the Teaching of the Ministers of the Gospel".(65)

Bishop Talbot brings his charge to a close by turning to his third head, which was that the clergy must live lives agreeable to the "Doctrine and Exhortation taken out of the holy Scriptures", for "a Disagreement between our Preaching and our Practice, will grieve good Men, scandalize the Weak, and harden the Wicked".(66) This more than any other thing will establish or undermine their Ministry, and must be heeded at all cost. They must strive to follow in all things "the Example of our blessed Lord", for such a life "is

Instruction and Motive at once".(67) Such counsel was for all his hearers, the bishop made clear, for(68)

> in this Way of Instruction, the meanest Person that attends at the Altar may be very successful; and tho' he has comparatively, but ordinary Parts and small Improvements, yet adorned with the forementiond beautiful Qualifications, will prove a far more able Minister of the New Testament, than one that may boast of far greater natural and acquired Abilities, but is destitute of those Graces.

If they live such lives and walk in these ways, then they shall know the approving testimony of their "Consciences, and the Commendation of the great God himself", and they shall receive at the last his gracious words "Well done good and faithful Servant, enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord."(69)

Having examined contemporary and historical assessments of William Talbot, and having surveyed his extant writings, there remains yet one major area which may shed light upon him, and that is his bestowal of ecclesiastical patronage. Something of the man may not unfairly be inferred by looking to the character and achievements of those whom he preferred, first to the significant and lucrative cathedral stalls, and secondly to those diocesan livings in his gift.

During his short episcopate at Durham, Bishop Talbot had the opportunity to prefer men to seven of the twelve prebendal stalls. The first of these to fall vacant was the first, in 1722, and the bishop collated Thomas Rundle to the stall.(70) Rundle had been an intimate friend of the bishop's son Edward since Oxford days, and he had been bountifully blessed by the father's patronage since taking orders in 1716.(71) While at Salisbury Talbot made him his domestic chaplain, a prebend of Salisbury, vicar of one living and rector of another, as well as archdeacon of Wiltshire and treasurer of Sarum.(72)

When, later in 1722, the twelfth stall at Durham became vacant, Talbot collated Rundle from the first stall, and he remained there until 1735 when he was made Bishop of Derry.(73) He was thought to be a fine man and a fine bishop by many of his contemporaries, and earned the praise of both Swift and Pope.(74) The next vacancy occurred in the fifth stall because Thomas Mangey was moved from there to the stall vacated by Rundle in 1722.(75) One Jonathan Hall was thus collated on 1 January and installed 21 January 1723, and he was to remain in that stall until his death in 1743.(76) He was the son of an alderman and draper of Durham, and a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, from ~~whom~~ which he received the rectory of Cockfield in Suffolk in 1720.(77) He was also a chaplain to Lord Cadogan, ambassador to the States General, and he was reported to have died rich.(78) When Sir George Wheler died, Talbot was able to collate another friend of his late son Edward to the second stall, and on 24 March 1724, Martin Benson was thus installed by proxy.(79) Before this preferment he had been made Archdeacon of Berkshire in 1721, and was later to become a chaplain to the Prince of Wales (subsequently George II), Rector of Bletchley, and then Bishop of Gloucester in 1735.(80) He held his prebendal stall at Durham <u>in commendam</u>, and is accounted as one of the finest bishops of the eighteenth century.(81) George Sayer was the next of Bishop Talbot's prebendal appointments, being installed by proxy on 30 June 1725 to the tenth stall.(82) He was the brother of Exton Sayer, the Spiritual Chancellor of the diocese and son-in-law of the bishop.(83) In 1727, the bishop filled the ninth stall with another local man, collating John Johnson on 11 January of that year.(84) He had no university education, but was made bachelor and then doctor in civil law by diploma at Oxford.(85) His fame (and preferment) seems to

have rested upon his skill as a surgeon, and particularly because of his successful surgery performed on one of the maids of honour to Lady Caroline, then Princess of Wales.(86) Bishop Talbot's last prebendal appointment was one of his best, for in 1727 he collated Thomas Secker to the third stall.(87) Secker too was a friend of the bishop's late son Edward, and when he determined to leave the dissenters and join the Church of England, Talbot ordained him and made him a domestic Chaplain (with Rundle).(88) Later he was to be bishop successively in Bristol, Oxford, and Canterbury, and shone favourably among the episcopal lights of the century.(89)

Perhaps two of the most important offices in the bishop's gift, so far as the right administration and oversight of the diocese was concerned, were the two archdeaconries, and both of them were to fall vacant during Talbot's episcopate.(90) The first to do so was that of Northumberland when Archdeacon John Morton (who also held the twelfth stall) died on 10 November 1722.(91) The man the bishop chose to fill this vacancy was the young rector of Rothbury, Thomas Sharp, son of the late Archbishop of York, and one of the finest clergymen of his day.(92) His character and work as archdeacon is perhaps unparalleled in the history of the diocese, and shall be treated in the next chapter. Suffice it to say at this point, that again we see the bishop appointing a man of exemplary merit. Talbot intended to prefer Sharp to the next vacant prebendal stall, though none fell vacant after 1727, and this was to be instead the first capitular appointment of his successor.(93) The Archdeaconry of Durham presents a different picture however, for there Robert Booth (Crewe's archdeacon) lived until 7 August 1730, only three days before William Talbot's death.(94) It is most interesting therefore to see

that a new archdeacon was appointed on 9 August, and that he was the brother of Exton Sayer already mentioned previously - George Sayer.(95) Again we will defer comment until the next chapter, noting only that it is difficult not to imagine a certain amount of indecent haste in this appointment, to say nothing of its propriety.(96)

We come then at last to the exercise of the bishop's patronage in those diocesan livings which were under his control, some forty-two in all.(97) Within the Archdeaconry of Durham Talbot was patron of thirty livings, and of the twenty most valuable of these he was able to prefer men to only seven in the course of his episcopate.(98) Two of these men we have mentioned previously, Thomas Secker and Thomas Rundle. The latter was given the richest living in the diocese, Sedgefield, in 1722, and the former was given the third most valuable, Houghton-le-Spring in 1724.(99) Secker later resigned this living and was given the less valuable one of Ryton together with a prebend in exchange.(100) Rundle likewise later resigned Sedgefield in order to become Master of the less valuable Sherburn Hospital.(101) The second richest living in the bishop's gift was Stanhope, and this Talbot gave to Joseph Butler in 1725, who had previously been given the fourth richest, Haughton, in 1721.(102) Butler, like Rundle, Secker and Benson, had been a close friend of Edward Talbot, and was to become Bishop of Durham later in life.(103) The movements of Rundle, Secker and Butler, meant that Bishop Talbot could prefer others in their places, and this he did. He placed Henry Thorpe at Haughton in succession to Butler, Richard Stonehewer at Houghton-le-Spring in succession to Secker, and John Gamage at Sedgefield in succession to Rundle. Stonehewer alone of the three had been in the diocese before Talbot, having been made rector of Washington in 1719, and when he

moved to Houghton-le-Spring in 1727 it made room for Gamage at Washington, though he was himself settled at Sedgefield in less than a year's time.(104) One George Talbot, presumably a kinsman of the bishop, succeeded Gamage at Washington, though he left that living (and the diocese) in the following year.(105) In his place Bishop Talbot preferred the justly-remembered Thomas Rudd, whose scholarly work on the muniments of the Dean and Chapter has not since been superseded, and is still in use nearly daily.(106) Henry Thorpe never moved from Haughton unlike the others, and seems to have performed his duty there.(107) He is apparently unrelated to those of that name who were subsequently to grace the diocese.(108) One man remains to be mentioned, among those preferred to the twenty most valuable livings in Durham, and that is Edward Hinton, who was made rector of Whitburn in 1728, remaining there until his death in 1769.(109)

When we come to reassess William Talbot, as far as he can be known from those materials which survive, we find outselves unable to resist the conviction that he performed his duties and filled his office in a way which demands more recognition than has been his due. In his charges to the clergy he conveys a sincere and humble spirit, as well as a deep pastoral concern for the welfare of his flock. In his visitations of the diocese, he seems thorough and just, and he alone among the bishops of our period obeyed the canonical injunction to confirm at least every three years.(110) Though the affairs of his son-in-law and Spiritual Chancellor Exton Sayer have drawn considerable attack, any evaluation of the bishop's ecclesiastical patronage in the diocese makes clear that he appointed men of ability and quality. These were for the most part young men who were to shape the affairs of church and state for the next half century, and their performance

was not lacking in lustre. At least some of the credit for all these positive achievements must be due to the bishop, if not the major part, and his memorial deserves to be renewed.

B. EDWARD CHANDLER: 1730 - 1750

One short week elapsed from the time of Talbot's death to the nomination on 17 October 1730 of Bishop Edward Chandler, then at Lichfield, to succeed to the wealthy see of Durham.(1) He was confirmed in the see on 21 November 1730 and thus began a twenty-year episcopate in Durham, in spite of the fact that upon coming into the diocese he was sixty-two years old.(2) How likely it was thought to be that he should continue in office for such a time is beyond enquiry at this point, though it may not unfairly be surmised that few could have expected his longevity. Born in Dublin (probably in 1668) he was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and proceeded M.A. in 1693.(3) His rise in the ecclesiastical world was to be very fast indeed, for he was a protege of Bishop Lloyd of Winchester under whom he served as a chaplain from the time of his ordination to the priesthood in 1693.(4) Four years later he was made a prebendary of Lichfield, in 1701 he became D.D., in 1703 he was given a stall in Salisbury cathedral, and in 1706 another stall in Worcester.(5) At length he was elevated to the episcopate, being consecrated Bishop of Lichfield on 17 November 1717.(6)

While at Lichfield Chandler seems to have been generally engaged in fulfilling his duties as bishop.(7) Though no register or book of acts has been preserved which illustrates his Lichfield episcopate, nevertheless it is known that he sent detailed Articles of Inquiry

(presumably preparatory to a primary visitation) to his clergy in 1718, and it is known that he visited in 1726 and 1730.(8) We may safely assume that he did so in 1718 and 1722 as well. It was also while at Lichfield that Chandler published most of those things which comprise his works, more particularly his A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies (1725) and his subsequent A Vindication of the "Defence of Christianity" (1728), in both of which he was controversially engaged against opinion which sought to alter the traditional dating of the book of Daniel.(9) These writings had gained the bishop some reputation before he was translated to Durham, but from that time his literary output virtually ceased.(10)

Chandler has left little documentary evidence, from his time in Durham, which would enable us to make any real evaluation of the man himself, and what has been previously written about him is far from favourable. It was alleged, for example, that he gave £9000 for the see of Durham, an allegation which whether true or not gives at least a hint of the worth of the see and simoniacal practices thought likely to be associated with it.(11) Twenty years was sufficient time in which to amass a large quantity of riches from even a modestly well-off see, but from Durham this was extraordinarily so. Durham was reckoned to be worth £6000 a year not long after this, and by the time Chandler died he was (if we are to believe King's Anecdotes) "shamefully rich".(12) The revenue of Durham was in fact only exceeded by one other bishopric in the county, and that was Canterbury which was worth £7000 at the start of the reign of George III.(13) We have no way to ascertain Chandler's expenses during his episcopate, but it seems clear that he was not an overly-generous benefactor, to say the least. When he began his time in Durham,it was said that he

had "set out more parsimoniously than his predecessors & disappointed the common people who preferred money to blessings".(14) Twenty years later, the extent of his charity to the diocese was limited to the following: £50 for augmenting the living of Monkwearmouth; £200 for the purchase of a house for the incumbent of Stockton; and £2000 for the benefit of the widows of the clergy in the diocese.(15) Hutchinson, the eighteenth century historian of the diocese, was seldom at a loss for words when it came to episcopal eulogy, but when he wrote of Chandler he could say little more on his behalf than that "he never sold any of his patent offices", and that after he died several large stones were "found in his body when opened."(16)

The involvement of the Hanoverian bench of bishops in the affairs of state, has long been a source of discredit in the eyes of subsequent generations, though the men themselves could scarcely have foreseen that it would be viewed in any such way. Preferred to positions of great wealth and prestige by men with vast political power, they can hardly have imagined not being involved in the intrigues of government, to say nothing of their unquestioning acceptance of that inter-relationship between church and state, which today seems so very foreign to us. In these ways, as in others, Chandler seems to have been a man of his own time. Preferred to Durham because of his friendship with Gibson, Bishop of London, the latter recommended Chandler by saying he was "a creditable man and a Whig", and this description seems to have been sufficient.(17) Once in Durham, Chandler was always intimately aware of (if not involved in) every question of local or national political interest, and he seems to have kept the Duke of Newcastle fully cognizant of all matters of interest.(18) When rumours began to circulate concerning a plot to put the Pretender

on the throne, it was Chandler who first reported the movements of suspected persons to the government in 1744.(19) Nor was his support only that of an informant, for he raised large sums in order to resist the invasion the following year.

Evidence exists which shows clearly that Bishop Chandler endeavoured to care for the temporal portion of his jurisdiction, and especially to increase the value of the see by the raising of rents and fines.(20) It is, however, his care and concern for the well-being of the spiritual jurisdiction that most demands our attention, and to that we now turn. Surprisingly perhaps, this aspect of Chandler's episcopate has been little touched on by previous writers, most of them having contented themselves with a generous treatment of his extravagant and worldly concerns or else passing his time in silence.(21) Yet however much we may dislike his personal characteristics, it must be acknowledged that he apparently took care to see that his episcopal duties were properly performed and that the needs of his diocese were seen to.

Upon his arrival in the diocese he undertook not to hold his primary visitation until the year 1732, though in preparation for this visitation he seems to have sent detailed queries to all his clergy and in his own hand to have summarised their answers. The document which resulted, together with the more ordinary visitation papers from 1732, make that episcopal visitation the most well-documented of any held in the diocese since the death of John Cosin in 1672, or of any which succeeded it until Egerton's primary visitation of 1774. The detailed discussion of this visitation of Chandler's will be delayed until Chapter V, but it may certainly here be asserted that it shows Chandler endeavouring to fulfil his office.(22) He later

visited in 1736 and 1740, and when too indisposed to visit again he arranged for Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, to visit in his stead in 1746. It is worthy of note also that Chandler held a visitation of Sherburn Hospital in 1735, subsequent to which new and greatly reformed rules were instituted for its governance.(23) We have no record of the numbers of people confirmed at the times of these visitations, though these were probably large, nor do we know anything of a charge being given by the bishop. Unfortunately too the bishop's Register, or book of episcopal acts, has disappeared at some time in the third quarter of the twentieth century.(24) Even so it is possible to ascertain that Chandler ordained at a "general ordination" almost every year from 1731 to 1741, and that when thereafter his infirmity prohibited the personal execution of this function he delegated the same to Bishop Benson.(25)

As we saw with Bishop Talbot, the occupant of the see of Durham had not only great wealth at his disposal, but also great ecclesaistical patronage as well. An examination of the way in which Edward Chandler exercised this patronage is likely therefore to reveal something of his character and concern for the well-being of the Church. Once again looking to twenty-seven of the wealthiest livings in the bishop's gift and to his preferment to the Cathedral "dignities", we shall hope to make clear just what depth of concern Chandler displayed.(26)

Before we proceed to this examination however, it is necessary to point out that vagaries of age and longevity worked against the bishop for, in spite of Chandler's long episcopate, the youthfulness of many of Bishop Talbot's appointees made much of his patronage of none effect for a good many years. In the first decade he was able to prefer to only ten of his twenty wealthiest Durham livings, three of the twelve

prebendal stalls, and two of the seven wealthiest Northumberland benefices. By 1750 he had added six Durham and three Northumberland livings and three more prebendal stalls to this list.(27)

Chandler's first appointments are very revealing, for in each case it may be questioned what merit the men had in their own right as all were the sons of influential men of the day. Robert Stillingfleet Chandler preferred to the rectory of Gateshead on 10 September 1731.(28) He was the twenty-five year old son of the dean of Worcester.(29) When John Laurence, rector of Bishop Wearmouth, died in 1732, Stillingfleet was preferred to this living (holding Gateshead in plurality) until Wadham Chandler, the bishop's son, should come of age to hold it himself.(30) This he did in 1733, when in one week he was made deacon, ordained priest, and collated to the rectory of Bishop Wearmouth.(31) Two months later he was given the rectory of Washington, which he held together with his previous preferment.(32) In 1735 when the wealthy mastership of Sherburn Hospital fell vacant the bishop moved his son there, thus vacating Washington and Bishop Wearmouth for young Henry Bland, who just happened to be the son of the dean of Durham.(33) Meanwhile, Stillingfleet had been moved to the rectory of Ryton in 1733, thus making room for William Lambe to be placed at Gateshead four days after being ordained priest.(34) His father was a gentleman of the city of Durham.(35) Lambe alone of these four was not to be preferred again, remaining as rector of Gateshead and Master of St. Edmund's Hospital there until his death in 1769.(36) Chandler was given the twelfth prebend by his father in 1735, but was dead "at Aix, in Provence, in France" two years later, not yet thirty years old.(37) Little time was lost in placing Stillingfleet at

Sherburn Hospital after the young Chandler's death, and in 1743 he too was collated to a prebendal stall.(38) Some years before, in 1737, Bland had been lifted into the sixth stall as well.(39) In the light of this pattern of preferment, it is not surprising that Chandler's memorial as a bishop is dim. Between them, these four men must have been in receipt of nearly £3000 per annum in 1737 at a time when the average value of a living in Northumberland was about £100 per annum, and perhaps not much more than £150 per annum in Durham.(40)

Only two other of Chandler's parochial appointees were to be involved in translation from one benefice to another, and they seem to have been at least circumstantially related to one another. In 1737 Chandler preferred one Robert Parker to the living of Wolsingham.(41) This man was the fourth son of George, of Park Hall, Staffordshire, and had been admitted a pensioner at Queen's College, Oxford (he was an exhibitioner from Charterhouse) in 1721.(42) He graduated B.A. in 1726 and proceeded M.A. in 1729, from which time he was vicar of Great Stanbridge until his preferment to Wolsingham.(43) Rather surprisingly he moved in 1741 from Wolsingham to Elwick (also in the bishop's gift), thereby settling in a less valuable benefice at which he was to remain until his death in 1776 at the age of 74.(44) What prompted Parker to move is not clear, but in his place at Wolsingham Chandler collated James Leslie.(45) A native of Ireland and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Leslie was married to a niece of the bishop, to whom he also acted as chaplain.(46) In 1747 the wealthiest living in the bishop's gift - Sedgefield - fell vacant, and Chandler quickly placed his nephew-in-law in the position.(47) Previously he had raised him to a prebendal stall, the eighth, which

he of course retained as well.(48) Described by Hutchinson as "a man of little learning" (immediately after describing him as D.D. of Dublin), he nevertheless was made Bishop of Limerick later in life.(49) The bishop of Durham's "great riches" were also left to him in 1750, when Chandler died.(50)

The remainder of those men preferred to the twenty wealthiest livings in Durham by Bishop Chandler represent a slightly different, though not dissimilar, variety of cleric. Edmund Keene was made rector of Stanhope, the second richest benefice in the bishop's gift, in 1740.(51) Before that time he was a preacher at Whitehall, in 1748 was elected Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge, and in 1752 he was made Bishop of Chester.(52) How much time he spent at Stanhope is uncertain, for he held the living in commendam with his bishopric until he was translated from Chester to Ely in 1771.(53) When James Leslie resigned Wolsingham in 1747, one Richard Huntley was preferred in his place.(54) The son of a Gloucestershire clergyman and Chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury, Huntley did not long remain in the diocese, leaving in 1753 to take up two rectories (in plurality) in the diocese of Gloucester.(55) We know little more than the names of the two men preferred to the valuable livings of Egglescliffe and Whickham by Chandler, one William Harris to the former and William Williamson to the latter.(56) A Scotsman named James Douglas is collated to Long Newton in 1742, having previously served the poorer living of Kelloe.(57) He was later to be made a prebend by Bishop Trevor.(58) The bishop of Worcester's son John Lloyd, was collated to Ryton in 1738, after which he is not heard of again.(59) Edmund Tew was the son of the rector of Loddington, Northamptonshire, and was himself made rector of Boldon by Chandler in 1735, a benefice he held until his death in

1770.[60] And so the list could grow, all the while lengthened by the names of men who seem rarely to have brought any particular credit upon the church to which they belonged. It is only when we come at last to the poorer benefices at the bottom of the list, that we find a small group of men who seem to have "won" preferment for services rendered in the diocese, two examples of which will have to suffice. In Durham, Richard Swainston was made rector of Sunderland in 1739, after serving as perpetual curate of St. Hilda's, South Shields, since 1717.[61] In Northumberland, Martin Nixon was made vicar of Wooler in 1747, having served as vicar of Haltwhistle since 1723.[62]

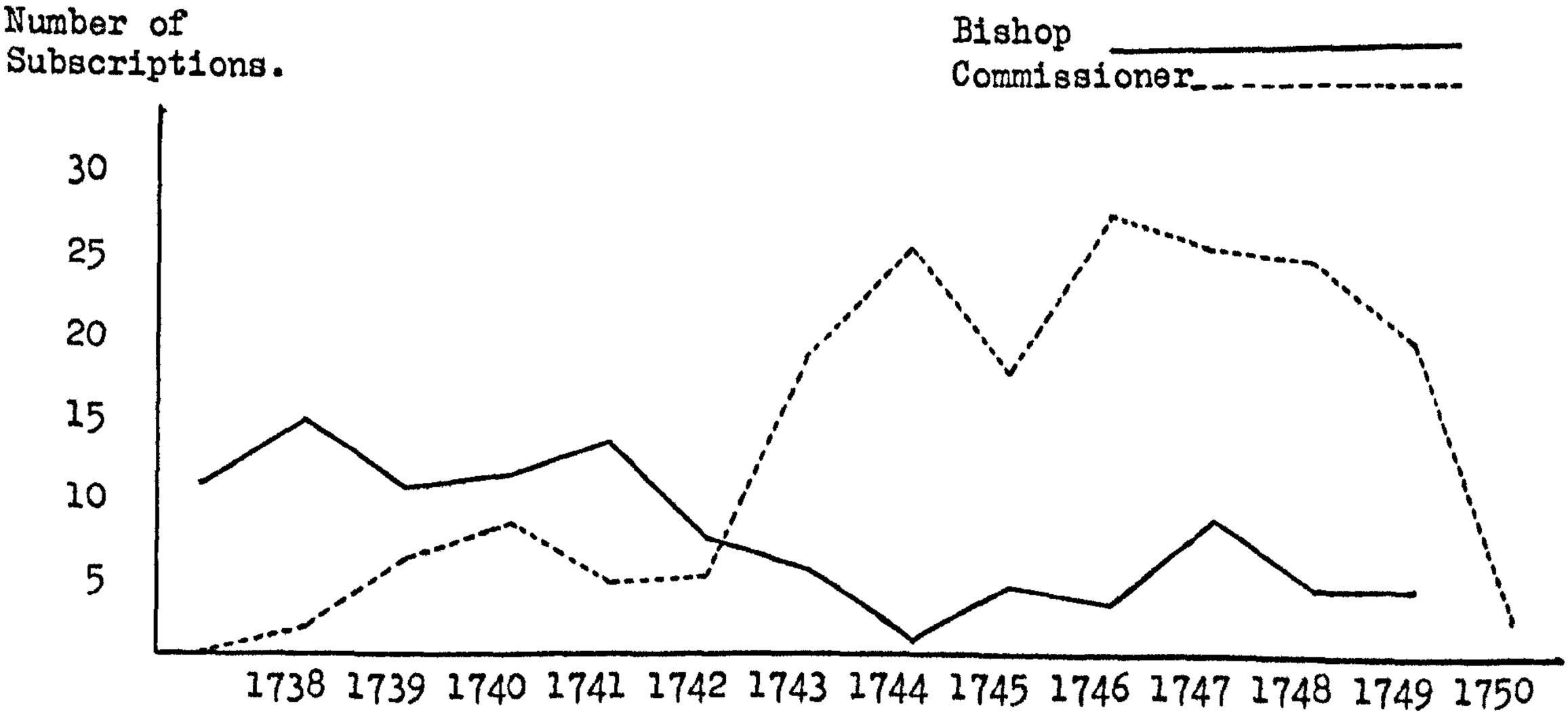
Chandler arrived in Durham to find a Dean and twelve members of the Chapter filling the available stalls in the great cathedral, and he was to have little success in replacing them. Bishop Talbot had collated some young (and healthy) men to his vacant stalls, and they would not die! In twenty years Chandler was only able to appoint to six of the twelve stalls in his gift (to one stall twice), which in the light of his appointments generally was probably a piece of providential fortune. We have already seen the preferment of his son Wadham, Bland, Stillingfleet, and Leslie, and thus we may not be surprised to find Wadham Knatchbull, son of Sir Edward of Mersham, Kent, Bart., collated to the twelfth stall after young Chandler's death in 1737.[63] Ordained by Chandler in 1731 (at which time he was LLB. from Cambridge) he served him as chaplain and later was made vicar of Chilham in Kent, a living in the gift of his family which he held to his death.[64] He took the degree of doctor of laws in July 1741, and was later removed to the eleventh stall in 1757 by Bishop Trevor.[65] He died 27 December 1760, aged 52, and was buried in

the Galilee of Durham Cathedral.(66) Knatchbull was joined in Chapter by James Gisborne, M.A., in 1742. Born in 1687, the son of John Guisborne, of Boylston, Esq., he had graduated B.A. and proceeded M.A. at Jesus College, Cambridge, before migrating to Queen's upon election to a fellowship in 1714.(67) Made rector of Stavely, in Derbyshire, by the gift of Lord James Cavendish in 1716, he held that living until his death.(68) Perhaps through some family link of his patron (one of Chandler's daughters being married into the Cavendish family), Gisborne was preferred by the bishop to the fourth stall, which he held when he died on 7 September 1759.(69) One prebendal appointment from Chandler's episcopate remains, though in fact the first to be made, and it may fittingly close this rather tedious review of the bishop's patronage. On 18 October Bishop Edward Chandler collated Thomas Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, to the vacant tenth stall, and he was duly installed in the same on 1 December 1732.(70) It was, as we have mentioned already, in fact not so much Chandler's preferment as that of his predecessor William Talbot.(71) Ironically, Chandler delayed this his first (and finest) appointment on political grounds, Sharp not being a Whig; but in time he was persuaded of the injustice of this course of action.(72)

By the close of 1741 Chandler's health had weakened, and he was to be unable to function normally thereafter even though he lived on until 1750. Our knowledge of the bishop during this period is very indirect however, and arises chiefly from the correspondence which was addressed to him by candidates for ordination. From 1743 these letters not infrequently mention or allude to the bishop's indisposition and request letters dimissory to another bishop for ordination, though

it seems clear that the bishop is very much in control of these matters.(73) Also, whenever there is an address given for the bishop, it is invariably in or at "Grosvenor Square", which suggests that Chandler resided in London throughout most of his latter years.(74) A further indication of a radical change in the bishop's activity during his last years, though a change not totally removing him from his episcopal oversight, is to be seen in the record of clerical subscription during Chandler's last twelve years. Normally the clergy were required to swear the oaths and subscribe in the presence of the bishop, though this was occasionally delegated by commission to an official. During Chandler's episcopate those subscriptions sworn and signed before the commissary or commissioner were kept in a separate volume, and this can be compared annually with that kept by the bishop. The results of such a comparison are to be seen below in Table No.1:(75)

Table No.1 CLERICAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 1737-1750



One further piece of evidence showing the bishop's inactivity is the fact that after 1741 Chandler never again held a "general ordination", delegating that task instead to the Bishop of Gloucester, Martin Benson,

who resided in Durham during a portion of each year owing to his possession of the second stall of the cathedral. From 1742 to 1749, Benson ordained each year in the Castle at Durham, thus ensuring a steady supply of clergy for the diocese in spite of the infirmity of the diocesan bishop.(76)

We shall close our survey of Chandler's episcopate by noting the old bishop's reactions to two very different incidents in the life of the diocese in his closing years, the military invasion of 1745 led by the Pretender, and the spiritual "invasion" from 1742 onwards led by John Wesley. We have already noted thht Chandler was one of the first to report the suspected movements of persons hostile to the government in 1744, when rumours circulated of a plot to invade the country. Chandler was of course simply doing his duty, but something of the man is certainly revealed as well. The bishop had received a report that the French "intended a descent at Blyth", and it apparently roused his flagging spirits significantly. "The intended invasion by France", the bishop wrote in 1744, "in favour of a Popish Pretender... has inspired me with a fresh spring of spiritts insomuch that I am determined not to be an Idle Spectator".(77) From a man aged seventy-six, such a statement says something of his nature and determination. On the other hand, the spiritual "invasion" of the Wesleys seems not to have elicited quite such fervour, either in favour or against their work. Even so, if we may trust the journal of Charles, Chandler discouraged his clergy from fraternizing with the Wesleys. Apparently the incumbent of Whickham had sought Charles' acquaintance after observing good effects on his parishioners attributable to his preaching. Several pleasant meetings seem to have occurred when suddenly Charles found a change.

"He had been with the bishop," Wesley wrote, "who forbade his conversing with me. I marvel the prohibition did not come sooner."(78) Whether it was owing to this interference of the bishop or to other causes, the work of the brothers was never to be successful there, for John Wesley ceased to visit Whickham after 1752, as clear an indication as is needed that there they were "sowing on sand".(79) In many other parts of the diocese however, a different story could be told, and the results of their work were to far outlast Chandler's episcopal disfavour. On 20 July 1750, after living to the age of eighty-two, Edward Chandler died at his home in Grosvenor Square, and was buried at Farnham Royal.(80)

C. JOSEPH BUTLER: 1750 - 1752

Long before Chandler was dead, speculation concerning his successor was abounding in the circles of those most concerned with the bishopric, though their motives for concern were not always of the highest quality. Many were those who hoped for favour, whether temporal or spiritual, from the heir to St. Cuthbert's see, and such persons riveted their attention on the intrigues which surrounded the choice of a replacement for the bishop who lay dying. Such a one was Henry Thomas Carr, of Whitworth, who had much at stake owing to his financial investment in "winning" coal from lands leased from the Bishop of Durham. Carr had cultivated a friendship with Bishop Gilbert, of Salisbury, and had so hoped for this man's translation to Durham that he deliberately changed his place of residence with that in mind. His main inducement being that thereby he might have more easily "kept up my interest with him and by that means have had it in my power now and then to have recommended a worthy man to him".(1)

His hopes were not so high in 1750 for (before Chandler was dead) he had heard rumours that the Bishop of Bristol not Salisbury was likely to succeed to Durham. Nevertheless he was not too unhappy, and thought that Butler being "a man of unexceptionable character in private life... (would) be much loved in the Country".(2) On 31 July following the bishop was nominated to the see, though he was not confirmed until 16 October 1750, and Carr was to be proved right.(3)

Butler was born at Wantage in 1692, the son of a well-to-do draper who intended his son for the presbyterian ministry.(4) Accordingly he was well educated as a child and eventually sent to the famous academy kept by Samuel Jones first at Gloucester, and later at Tewkesbury. It was here that he met and formed friendships with several others who, like himself, were to rise to fame, the most notable of these being the future Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Secker. Having decided to conform to the Church of England, and having secured his father's permission, Butler went up to Oxford in 1715 and matriculated at Oriel College. There he proceeded with his studies, taking the B.A. degree in 1718 and that of B.C.L. in 1721. While at Oriel he had been befriended by Edward Talbot (then a fellow there) the second son of Bishop William Talbot, and through this source was brought under the bishop's patrimonial wing, the shade of which was to protect him well.(5) Bishop Talbot ordained the recent graduate deacon in October and priest in December of 1718, and by July of the following year had secured for him the preachership at the Rolls Chapel. The younger Talbot died in 1720, but the elder was not to forget Butler having been urged to care for him (it is said) by his dying son. The next year saw Butler preferred again by the bishop, this time to a prebendal stall at Salisbury. In 1722

Talbot was made steward of the wealthy see of Durham, and one of his very first preferments went to Butler, making him rector of Haughton on 23 January 1722.(6) A little more than three years later, Talbot again preferred Butler, this time making him rector of the extremely lucrative Weardale living of Stanhope.(7) Here he was to stay (or rather, he remained incumbent - a different thing) until 1740, during which time he published his Fifteen Sermons (1726) and the more famous Analogy (1736).(8) Butler's episcopal patron died in 1730, but the patronage which had been urged on the father by one son was now taken up by another, Charles, who in 1733 became lord chancellor. Made his chaplain by Talbot upon his appointment, Butler used the opportunity to take the D.C.L. degree at Oxford in December 1733. Then in 1736 he was made clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline and given a prebendal stall in Rochester Cathedral, again by Talbot's interest. As if one death-bed recommendation was not sufficient, Butler now received another, this time from the dying Queen of England, to whom he administered the last rites in November 1737.(9) George II desired to honour the wishes of his queen, and accordingly Walpole offered the bishopric of Bristol to Butler in 1738, who grudgingly accepted it on condition that he should be able to hold Stanhope and his stall at Rochester (resigning that at Salisbury) in commendam.(10) These last two he resigned as well when his income at Bristol was augmented with that due the Dean of St. Paul's in 1740. Ten more years were then to pass before Joseph Butler was once again brought into association with the "Bishoprick", this time as its Lord Bishop.

Butler was not enthroned until 9 November 1750 (by proxy), nor did he actually arrive in the diocese until 28 June 1751.(11) Less than one year later he was dead in Bath, and of his movements in the

interim we know very little. Upon coming into the diocese, Butler[12]

> was met at Fairwell-hall... by many of the gentry and clergy in about 18 or 19 coaches. He came out of his coach and was complimented in very few words by Dr. Eden on the behalfe of the Chapter, and in about four or five minnits he got into his coach and drove to the church, went into the Galilee and there put on his robes, and at the pillar facing the north door of the Abbey, Sir John Dolben, then sub-dean, complimented the bishop in the name of the body, to which he returned an answer: then went up into the quire and proceeded to the communion table where he made a short prayer, and from thence went up into the throne and heard evening service and an anthem; and from the church he went to the castle, and several gentlemen and clergy waited on him their and drunk a glass of wine.

Two days later the bishop entertained the corporation of Durham in the castle, and on 4 July he did the same for the mayor and aldermen of Newcastle.[13] Butler began his primary visitation a fortnight later in Newcastle, arriving on 17 July, holding the visitation on the 18th, and journeying on to Alnwick on the 19th.[14] He did not stop there however, travelling on instead to Berwick on the 20th and remaining there four days (Bamburgh deanery being visited on 22 July 1751). The bishop then came back to Alnwick on the 23rd, and visited there on the 24th before going on to Morpeth the next day. His final visitation in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland was held 26 July at Morpeth, and he travelled back to Durham for a rest on the 27th. During this ten day excursion the bishop expended £116.2s.5d., some £9.18s.6d. of which was given to the poor. We have no knowledge of the bishop's expenses in the visitation of the Archdeaconry of Durham, though they were probably significantly less since there were only two visitation centres. On 30 July 1751 the visitation of Easington and Chester deaneries was held at Durham, and on 27 August the visitation of Darlington and Stockton deaneries was held at Stockton.[15] On the latter occasion, Gyll records in his diary that the "Corporation of Stockton dined with the bishop."[16]

Thereafter the bishop seems to have retired to his Episcopal Palace at Bishop Auckland, or so we judge from the few pieces of information we possess.(17) Our friend Henry Carr, in a letter written early in September of 1751, mentions having recently been with the bishop to discuss the rental to be fixed on the lands which he held from him.(18) Carr, it seems, was having no success whatsoever in keeping the "fine" at a low level, Butler having determined to fix "his Rule absolutely upon the Rental and makes no Deduction even for the Sesses and Taxes; he has only deducted the expence of Court keeping."(19) Carr was most upset(20)

> that his lordship should stick stiffly to his Rule which I can by no means think a good one as it makes no distinction between the best and the worst tenants, those that improve their estates and support the Rights of the See and those that trouble their heads about neither....

Subsequent letters from Carr show that the bishop budged but little, eventually agreeing to reduce the fine from £134 to £128 and to allow the renewal of the lease in his (Butler's) lifetime.(21) These facts emerge from a letter Carr wrote on 14 October 1751, saying also that he "went this forenoon to Auckland and spent the day with the Bishop who received me very graciously.... Upon the whole, I spent the day agreeably enough and in the evening we walk'd together half way up the Outer Park in my way home, where we parted".(22) The bishop seems to have been quite fond of his house and park at Auckland, particularly the latter, for in our last notice of him before his illness (a letter sent to George Bowes early in 1752) he mentions it especially. "I can't forbear repeating my Thanks", he wrote, "for your fine Present of Plants in the Autumn, my Park being a favourite article with me as, before I had one, my garden was".(23) Some time

after this letter was written the bishop's "health began visibly to decline" and his doctors advised him to go to Bristol "to try the waters of that place".(24) It is not clear when Butler was carried there from Durham, but the illness was not affected and he was then moved to Bath "where, being past recovery, he died on the 16th of June 1752".(25) The corpse was carried back to Bristol on the 19th and was buried in the cathedral there on 20 June 1752.(26)

Butler's short life as Bishop of Durham meant that he was never able to exercise to any great extent his desire to patronize "worthy men". He had written from Bristol on 13 August 1750 that this was one of the things he looked forward to in Durham, for "if one is enabled to do a little good, and to prefer worthy men, this indeed is a valuable... life, and will afford satisfaction at the close of it."(27) At about this same time too he wrote the following letter in response to one congratulating him on his translation to Durham.(28)

> I thank you for your kind congratulations, tho' I am not without my doubts and fears, how far the occasion of them is a real subject of congratulation to me. Increase of fortune is insignificant to one who thought he had enough before, and I foresee many difficulties in the station I am coming into, and no advantage worth thinking of, except some greater power of being serviceable to others; and whether this be an advantage, entirely depends on the use one shall make of it: I pray God it may be a good one. It would be a melancholy thing in the close of life, to have no relfections to entertain one's self with, but that one had spent the revenues of the bishopric of Durham in a sumptuous course of living, and enriched one's friends with the promotions of it, instead of having really set one's self to do good, and promote worthy men: Yet this right use of fortune and power is more difficult than the generality of even good people think, and requires both a guard upon one's self, and a strength of mind to withstand solicitations, greater, (I wish I may not find it) than I am master of.

As it happened, Butler's desire to do good by his position was to be frustrated and his fears likewise were to come to nothing. It was

recorded that when his condition worsened to such an extent that hope of recovery was fading he "expressed some regret that he should be taken from the present world so soon after he had been rendered capable of becoming much more useful in it".(29) He had the gift, as Bishop of Durham,of forty-two livings, twelve prebendal stalls, and two archdeaconries within his diocese, but he was never to be patron of more than four of these.(30)

It would be possible to say much more of Butler as a man, as Bishop of Bristol, as an incumbent in Stanhope, or as a significant philosophical thinker, yet all of these would tell us little of his management of the Diocese of Durham. We are left in that regard, with only one remaining piece of evidence, and that is the primary charge he delivered to the clergy of the diocese in 1751.(31) It is not a lengthy (only thirty-one paragraphs) or complicated discourse, and its intention throughout seems to be wholly practical. He begins by speaking plainly of "the general decay of religion in this nation" though it is important to note that in saying this he is not reflecting on this state for the first time, having said as much in 1736 in his "Advertisement to the Analogy".(32) Butler holds however, that this is but a mark of the age, stating that:(33)

> as different ages have been distinguished by different sorts of particular errors and vices, the deplorable distinction of ours is an avowed scorn of religion in some, and a growing disregard to it in the generality.

Because it is almost certain that "the professed enemies of religion... may... often enough, I fear, (come) in the way of some at least amongst you", he therefore speaks not a few words to his clergy as to "what is the proper behaviour towards them."(34) In the first place they are "to treat them with the regards which belong to their rank", but beyond

that they are to be especially wise in their discourse with them.(35) The foolishness of engaging in topics of discussion beyond their expertise, Butler makes plain, but there are times too when the wisest among them must decline to discuss religion with "sceptical and profane men", for they are apt to bring up the subject as a matter of entertainment.(36) For the bishop "religion is by far too serious a matter to be the hackney subject upon" occasions of entertainment.(37) Yet he goes on to give his clergy some "ammunition" to use on those occasions when they must speak, and the first thing he points out is the unreasonableness of those men who lay aside religion because the evidence is doubtful. This he likens to the "madness" of a man who would "forsake a safe road, and prefer to it one in which he acknowledged there is an even chance he should lose his life, though there were an even chance likewise of his getting safe through it."(38) It should be clear to men of reason that "the supposed doubtfulness of religion" is not "the same thing as a proof of its falsehood."(39) Secondly, Butler points out to them that they need not be ashamed of the fact that there are some difficulties in their religion, which are always attacked by an adversary since "cavilling... is much easier than clearing up difficulties".(40) Yet were they well able to address such matters, "the general evidence of religion is so complex and various" that it is disadvantageous to attempt to expound or represent it "in a cursory conversation".(41) Better that they should remain discreetly silent or interject their "thorough disapprobation".(42) When however they are truly and rightly called upon "to give an answer" on account "of the hope that is in" them, they are to do it with a gentleness of spirit.(43)

The bishop then proceeded to turn to the heart of his intended

subject, when he reminded the clergy that their chief concern was to be "with the body of the people", not with some supposedly rational minority. That it is necessary in this regard (that is from the pulpit) to defend religion against attack Butler firmly acknowledged, though it should always "be done in a manner as little controversial as possible".(44) The presentation of the central truths or "evidences" of religion was the prime task of the clergy as the bishop saw it. 'Now the evidence of religion may be laid before men", he went on to say,(45)

> without any air of controversy. The proof of the being of God, from final causes, or the design and wisdom which appears in every part of nature; together with the law of virtue written upon our hearts: the proof of Christianity from miracles, and the accomplishment of prophecies; and the confirmation which the natural and civil history of the world give to the scripture account of things: these evidences of religion might properly be insisted on, in a way to affect and influence the heart, though there were no professed unbelievers in the world; and therefore may be insisted on, without taking much notice that there are such. And even their particular objections may be obviated without a formal mention of them.

The bulk of their flocks were made up of plain "common people" whose difficulties in religion were not "speculative disbelief... but chiefly... thoughtlessness and the common temptations of life."(46) It was therefore essential that a "practical sense" of religion be brought "upon their hearts" through careful attendance to the "form and face of religion."(47) This form though truly essential was not however, sufficient, for they must then endeavour "to make this form more and more subservient to promote the reality and power of it."(48) This concern with "External Religion" was scandalous to some in Butler's day, and he was attacked strongly over it, though his opponents seem to have failed to understand Butler's emphasis, which was that form was an essential part of religion though by itself it was

insufficient.(49) "The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved amongst mankind without form."(50) Going on to urge a return to the observance of the form of religion as established by the reformers in England, shorn as this was of elements of superstition,(51) Butler particularly requested a renewed attempt to care for church fabric and church services,(52) the teaching of children,(53) the improvement of all the great festivals of the church year,(54) and particularly confirmation and first communion.(55) Further, people should be urged to keep times of family prayer, to say grace at meals, and to keep secret prayers morning and evening as well as at other set hours.(56) All of these things were, as Butler saw it, necessary "to keep up the form of godliness" yet they had to "be made... subservient to promote the power of it" or else they were failing in their purpose.(57)

At last Butler closes, characteristically, by urging the clergy to live by everything they themselves exhort their flocks to live by. In this too he includes himself, "for God forbid I should not consider myself as included in all the general admonitions you receive from me."(58) It was the bishop's firm conviction that if the clergy were "faithful in the discharge of (their) trust" then indeed they would see the revival of "a practical sense of religion amongst the people committed to our care."(59) Had ten more years been added to his three score, he might have known whether his conviction was firmly based in reality or fantasy, but alas this was not to be. His death brought great sorrow to many good men, not all of whom were able to carry on without him, and that alone is perhaps some tribute to Butler's greatness.(60)

D. RICHARD TREVOR: 1752 - 1771

With the Bishopric of Durham once again vacant, the air was full of speculation concerning Butler's replacement, and the accuracy of the rumours which circulated is very surprising indeed. Henry Thomas Carr, whom we have seen before anxiously awaiting Edward Chandler's successor, once again shows himself intimately concerned to know who will succeed to the see, and nearly a month before the nomination of Trevor seems to have reason for believing he might be the next bishop.(1) Carr had moved his home before Butler died to be near a more friendly ecclesiastical patron, and on 25 September 1752 wrote concerning these matters as follows:(2)

> ...I wonder we have not a Bishop of Durham yet, if Trevor had been certainly fix'd upon I should have imagined it would before this have been fix'd up. It seems at present more indifferent to us upon our own account, as a new one can scarce demand more of us than the last did.

Little more than three weeks later, on 18 October 1752, Richard Trevor was formally nominated to the vacant see, and on 7 December following he was duly confirmed.(3) Barely forty-five years old at the time, he was to remain in the diocese for nineteen years.(4)

The second surviving son of Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor of Bromham, by his second wife Anne, daughter of Colonel Robert Weldon, and widow of Sir Robert Bernard, Bart., Richard Trevor was raised in the midst of great wealth, learning, culture, society and political influence.(5) Born 30 September 1707, he was educated first at Bishop Stortford school in Hertfordshire and later at Westminster, from where he entered Queen's College, Oxford.(6) There he matriculated on 6 July 1724, graduating B.A. on 13 May 1727 and M.A. on 28 January 1731.(7) Upon graduating B.A. he had been elected

fellow of All Souls, and he was later (1736) to proceed to the degree of doctor of the civil law.(8) Meanwhile he had been ordained and in 1732 presented to the valuable living of Houghton with Witton, in the County of Huntingdon, by his half-brother Sir John Barnard.(9) Later still, in 1735, he was appointed to a vacant canonry of Christ Church, Oxford, and this he retained until his translation to Durham in 1752.(10) Enjoying, it is said, the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle because of the political loyalty displayed by his family, Trevor was promoted by him to the vacant see of St. David's in January of 1744, though at the time he was only thirty-six years old.(11)

We know little of Trevor's activity as Bishop of St. David's, though there is no convincing reason for imagining that he treated the diocese or his duties there with anything more than perfunctory application to the minimum requirements of his office.(12) The "little bishopric" of St. David's was not the poorest of the Welsh sees, but it was normally little better served than the rest, and all our knowledge of Trevor in this period is gained from the record of his activities in London. In 1745 and 1747 we find him preaching before the House of Lords, and in the latter year delivering the annual sermon of the meeting of the "Charity Schools in London and Westminster".(13) Again he is in London in 1749 to preach before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and in 1751 he was the preacher before the "Governors of the London Hospital".(14) The demands of parliament as well as the demands of the prevailing episcopal expectation in society, probably together successfully held the young bishop in the city apart from summer forays into his rustic diocese.(15)

Eight years were to pass before Trevor was to be given further preferment, this time the crown of northern bishoprics, though his translation to Durham was not to be achieved without a certain amount of difficulty. It seems that the king was not at all pleased with the Duke of Newcastle's suggestion that the Bishop of St. David's should be translated to Durham and at first refused to nominate him. He was, thought the king, "a high Church fellow, a stiff, formal fellow and nothing else"; but pressure was brought to bear on Trevor's behalf, and the king gave way in the end.(16) Newcastle wrote to Trevor a revealing letter, which shows not only that he was a superbly skilled manipulator of ecclesiastical patronage who expected those thus favoured to behave themselves properly once preferred, but also that he had for some time waited patiently in order to advance Trevor. "I have watched my opportunity", wrote the Duke,(17)

> and have at last succeeded even better than I could well have flattered myself. Brother Pelham's early and continued zeal for your success in this great affair has been of the greatest service to you.... You will particularly connect yourself with the Archbishop to preserve that Union and Harmony under his Grace upon the Bench which is so necessary for the King's service and for the good of the Church.

The formal nomination was on 18 October, he was "elected" by the Dean and Chapter on 9 November (which was confirmed on 7 December), the bishop did homage and received the temporalities of the see from the king on 21 December, and finally on 29 December 1752, Richard Trevor was enthroned as Bishop of Durham.(18)

The enthronement must have been (as was not unusual) by proxy, for Trevor did not "come into bishopric" until the following summer.

Thomas Gyll entered in his diary, on 6 July 1753, the following report of this event:(19)

> The right Rev. Richard Trevor, lord bishop of Durham, was received at Farewell-hall by several of the chapter and gentlemen of the country; and Dr. Sharp, in the name of the chapter, congratulated his lordship in a speech, to which he returned a polite answer and then came to Durham.

It would seem that the young bishop was not much enamoured of these formalities, and would have preferred not to allow his speech to be printed, though he "found that it was thought requisite... so that I could not refuse it without displeasing the Chapter, whatever good reasons I might have for declining it".(20) Archdeacon Sharp had warmly welcomed the new bishop expressing the desire that he might be(21)

> the Praise of this Country as well as a Blessing to it, by wisely and steadily exerting (his) Power in both its branches Ecclesiastical and Secular; by a wholesome Administration of Discipline in (his) Pastoral and Visitatorial Capacity; by a noble and disinterested Use of (his) Temporal Privileges; and by a Dispensation of (his) Revenues unexceptionably laudable.

Trevor, for his part sincerely acknowledged this welcome and declared himself determined to rely upon the Dean and Chapter "for the necessary Assistance to enable Me not to disappoint" his Majesty.(22) That he stood under the shadow of many illustrious predecessors was clear to the bishop and he knew this to be disadvantageous because of their memories of those men, especially Joseph Butler. "The disadvantages I am under", wrote the bishop, "from your recollection (of previous bishops) and especially from your late high-raised expectation, and severe disappointment in the transient taste You enjoy'd of the eminent Virtues and Talents of my much HONOUR'D PREDECESSOR", caused him much to desire the "candour and counsel" of the Dean and Chapter

that he might wisely oversee the diocese.(23) He assumed that he could "always with confidence and freedom" resort to their corporate wisdom and assistance so long as they experienced in him (for longer he could not require it)(24)

> no other BIAS, than the warmest zeal for our most holy RELIGION and excellent CONSTITUTION; and a HEART strongly dispos'd and determin'd, by the divine GRACE, to emply the many and peculiar Advantages of this distinguish'd STATION, in support of those necessary ends, (which he doubted not were no less their own) and in promoting, to the best of (his) ability, the true interests, Religious as well as Civil, of this Country and Diocese.

We know little of Bishop Trevor's first year in the diocese though it seems to have been largely uneventful. The bishop did not hold his primary visitation until the summer of 1754, and previous to that year he exercised no important patronage in the diocese whatsoever.(25) From that time however, the normal round of episcopal duties seem to have been conscientiously performed by Trevor. He determined to hold his visitations in a quadriennial fashion, and four of these were to follow after his primary visitation. A detailed examination of these visitations will be undertaken in a subsequent chapter, but suffice to say at this point that they show Trevor's episcopate to be exemplary in this regard.(26) It was at these times too, that the bishop confirmed, and the existing evidence makes it clear that a massive increase in the number of people confirmed occurred during Trevor's episcopate. Figures exist for only four of the five visitations, but they show that from only 186 confirmands in 1754, the number increased to 5538 in 1762, 5777 in 1766, and lastly to 6131 in 1770!(27) To what cause this dramatic increase is to be attributed is not certain, and unfortunately we have no earlier evidence against which we might compare it. One

other episcopal function, that of ordination, needs to be mentioned if we are to rightly judge Trevor's exercise of his office, and here too we find him actively engaged in the fulfilment of its demands. In every year from 1753 to 1770 the bishop held a general ordination, and in every year but the first this was at his chapel in Auckland in the autumn of the year.(28)

The length of Trevor's episcopate was such that he exercised his rights to the patronage of almost all of the livings in his gift. He was able in his twenty years to prefer twenty men to prebendal stalls (five of them to two) and of his twenty-seven most valuable livings twenty-one fell vacant during his tenure in the see.(29) Further, six of those livings fell vacant more than one time, thus extending even more the bishop's opportunity to prefer men of his choice.(30) The sheer bulk of Trevor's patronage in the diocese and his own particular realisation of such a high percentage of that right, makes it difficult to deal with the large sample we have hitherto used in this chapter. We must nevertheless, examine carefully a portion of that sample if we are adequately to assess this part of Trevor's contribution to the life of the diocese.

One of the most noticeable features of Trevor's dispensation of the ecclesiastical patronage in his hands, is that of the infrequency of translation from one living (or prebendal stall) to another. This, as we have seen, was one of the most characteristic techniques employed by Edward Chandler, and its relative absence in this episcopate is worthy of comment. In no case did Trevor prefer one man to more than two benefices (or stalls) in succession, and even more surprisingly only three times did Trevor prefer the same man to both a living and a prebendal stall.(31) That the bishop

was not prone to indulge the pluralistic desires of the "higher" clergy seems clear beyond a doubt in the face of this evidence, and the fact should increase the esteem felt for Trevor. Previous assessments of the bishop have generally given the impression that Trevor's chief concern with patronage was that he might offer suitable places to those men recommended by the Duke of Newcastle.(32) That he did so is undeniable ("your desires will always have the force of commands with me", Trevor wrote to Newcastle in 1758) though the assumption that the bishop therefore was not concerned for the diocese (or the livings) to which they were preferred would be false beyond doubt.(33) Had the opposite been the case we should have expected the repeated "juggling and jostling" of men from place to place as they gradually accrued a greater and greater income, yet this situation simply does not prevail during Trevor's twenty-years in Durham. As limited as this activity was in the episcopate, it still occurred occasionally, and we shall therefore look closely at those twelve men to whom were given more than one ecclesiastical "plum".

In three of these cases Bishop Trevor collated men to one prebendal stall, only to later allow them to move to another, though none of them were among his early prebendal appointments. Samuel Terrick was collated to the fifth stall on 5 December 1759, and less than two years later he resigned the same in order to accept in its stead the third stall on 19 June 1761.(34) Unfortunately his enjoyment of this preferment was to be very brief, for he died that same summer on 6 August, aged fifty-three.(35) The son of Samuel Terrick, prebend of York Minster, he had gone up to Cambridge in 1724, taking his B.A. at Clare in 1727 and then proceeding M.A. at Queen's

in 1731.(36) Probably a fellow at the latter college, in 1745 he was named rector of Broadwater in Sussex, a living he retained until his death.(37) Terrick's rise to prebendal preferment in the diocese is no doubt in some way related to the fact that his brother Richard was made Bishop of Peterborough by George II in 1757.(38) It is worthy of note however, that this was almost certainly not a personal appointment of the Duke of Newcastle, for he had been closely circumvented by the king in making Terrick's brother a bishop.(39) The vacancy in the third stall which Samuel Terrick had so briefly filled, was caused by the resignation of another of the triumverate who held two different stalls only, by Trevor's appointment. Thomas Burton was a contemporary of Trevor at Oxford, having matriculated at Christ Church in 1725, one year later than the future Bishop of Durham.(40) The son of a doctor resident in Oxford, Burton took his B.A. degree in 1728, his M.A. in 1731, continued on to that of B.D. in 1741, and finally took his D.D. in 1744.(41) First vicar of St. Mary's in Oxford, he resigned this living for that of Batsford in Gloucestershire, and was subsequently made a prebend of Gloucester and Archdeacon of St. David's.(42) He assisted Trevor at his first general ordination in 1753 (at Whitehall Chapel), and was raised to the third prebendal stall in Durham by his friend on 18 August 1760.(43) The twelfth stall became vacant by resignation in 1761, and Trevor duly translated Burton to that seat on 7 May that year.(44) Six years later, on 17 July 1767, Burton died at his Gloucestershire rectory, aged fifty-six.(45) The one remaining cleric who held multiple prebendal preferment under Trevor, without holding any living by his gift, was Charles Weston who was collated to the ninth stall on 10 August 1764 and then transferred to the sixth on 1 August 1768.(46) Weston was a grandson of the Bishop of Exeter, and son of Edward Weston

of London, a writer for the Gazette and one of the chief clerks of the signet office.(47) A student of Christ Church, in the University of Oxford, he took the degree of B.A. in 1752, and that of M.A. in 1755.(48) The following year he was made a prebendary of Lincoln, in 1762 he became rector of Therfield, Hertfordshire, and in 1763 he became Archdeacon of Wiltshire.(49) To all this preferment was added that of a prebendal stall of St. Paul's in 1763, and another at Durham in 1764.(50) Only thirty-three years old at this time, he was to remain a prebend of all three cathedrals until his death in 1801.(51)

Another four men held prebendal preferment from Bishop Trevor and were also diocesan clergy, and to these we now turn. Robert Lowth was in fact one of the first few persons preferred to either a prebendal stall or an important living by Trevor, when on 22 October 1755 he was made rector of Sedgefield and prebend of the eighth stall.(52) This, the wealthiest living in the bishop's gift and a very lucrative prebendal dignity, was the parcel of preferment left vacant by the elevation of James Leslie to the see of Limerick. By ancient custom therefore the vacancy may have been filled by the crown and not the bishop, though if this was the case it is not represented in Trevor's Register.(53) In any event, the man who filled these vacancies was one of worth and merit. Lowth was another Oxford man, having taken his first degree at St. John's College and then becoming a fellow of New College.(54) In 1741 he was named professor of poetry, a post he held for ten years, and in 1754 he was made D.D. (by diploma).(55) In 1766 Lowth was offered the bishopric of St. David's, and after expressing some difficulty in accepting the see, he did so, only shortly thereafter to be translated to that of Oxford.(56) Until 1777, when made Bishop of London, he held both his Durham living and

prebend in commendam.(57) Accounted one of the finest bishops on the bench in his own day, the judgment of later writers has concurred.(58) He died (having declined the primacy) on 3 November 1787.(59) Though never rising so far in the ecclesiastical world as Lowth, James Douglas nevertheless shares with him the distinction of having held prebendal and parochial preferment from Trevor. Douglas, a Scotsman, was a contemporary of the bishop at Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1724 and M.A. in 1727 from Balliol College.(60) Ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of Oxford in September of 1725 and 1726 respectively, he came into the Diocese of Durham during the episcopate of Edward Chandler, when in 1736 he was made vicar of Kellow.(61) On 6 March 1742, Chandler collated him to the rectory of Long Newton, the fourteenth most valuable living in his gift, worth £200 at mid-century.(62) He remained there until 1760 when, for reasons that are unstated, he exchanged his living at Long Newton for the crown living of Stainton.(63) Trevor preferred Douglas to the fifth stall the year before that move, on 15 August 1759, and shortly thereafter (on 10 October) collated him to the fourth stall.(64) In 1761 he took the degrees of B.D. and D.D. at Oxford as well.(65) Not infrequently during Trevor's episcopate we find the bishop commissioning Douglas to some particular diocesan task, usually a sign of mutual confidence and friendship.(66) Douglas died in 1780 and was buried at the Cathedral on 2 August.(67)

That Richard Lowth and James Douglas were friends of Richard Trevor before he placed them in their cathedral stalls is likely, but the possibility of close personal friendship between the bishop and the next two men is virtually certain, both having been his domestic chaplains. The first of these is Sir Henry Vane, son of a distinguished local family of that name.(68) Born at Long Newton and educated by

Richard Dongworth at Durham School, Vane matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1746, having previously been admitted at the Middle Temple in April 1744.(69) Graduating B.A. from Trinity in 1750, he became a fellow there in 1752 and (presumably) on the title of his fellowship was ordained deacon that same year by the Archbishop of York.(70) By 1753 he had taken his M.A. degree, and on 18 March 1753 he was ordained priest by Richard Trevor at his first general ordination.(71) Though only twenty-five years old at the time, he was nevertheless made rector of Stainton by the King on 8 April 1754.(72) From this time he appears regularly in Trevor's Register, and we may date his chaplaincy from that year.(73) When the tenth stall of the cathedral fell vacant in 1758, Trevor collated his chaplain to the seat on 25 March.(74) Subsequently, Vane resigned his living at Stainton in favour of James Douglas, who likewise resigned his living at Long Newton in favour of Vane.(75) Vane assisted at every annual general election held by Trevor from 1754 to 1762, but thereafter he appears in the Register only once.(76) Perhaps he ceased to be Chaplain at that time, though he remained a single man (usually a prerequisite for a chaplain) until 3 March 1768, when he married Frances, daughter of John Tempest, of Sherburn, in county Durham.(77) On 13 July 1782 he was created Baronet, and twelve years later he died and was buried at Long Newton, some sixty-five years after his birth in that same place.(78) Vane's reasonably long life stands in sharp contrast to that of the other chaplain to Bishop Trevor to hold a prebendal stall and diocesan living, for Charles Morgan died when only thirty-two years old. Morgan was the son of Charles, of Llandovery, Carmarthenshire, Gent., according to the matriculation registers of Christ Church, Oxford, which he entered on 30 June 1750.(79)

Graduating B.A. in 1754 and M.A. in 1757, Morgan was ordained and came to be Trevor's chaplain, though the dates of these latter two events are not known.(80) He begins to be in attendance at the annual general ordinations in 1761, which may indicate the assumption of his chaplaincy.(81) Collated to the ninth prebendal stall by the bishop on 19 February 1762, he was subsequently licensed as a public preacher on 22 and made rector of Haughton-le-Skerne on 23 May 1764.(82) Thirty-three days later he was dead. Thomas Gyll entered in his diary under the date 25 June 1764 the following:(83)

> Mr. Morgan, rector of Haughton, died of a quinsey at Scarborough, after a short confinement. Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo. He was inducted to Haughton 10 June, 1764, and was buried there.

No record exists of Bishop Trevor's reaction to his young chaplain's sudden death, though we may be sure that he was sorrowful at the loss of his protégé.

We chose to examine the twelve men (apart from the archdeacons) who held more than one piece of preferment from Bishop Trevor, and the five who remain were all possessed of two parochial livings in his gift. John Rotherman was first collated to the rectory of Ryton in 1766 and then to that of Houghton-le-Spring in 1769, thus moving from the seventh to the third most valuable benefice in the bishop's patronage.(84) Richard Byron, a son of Baron William Byron, was successively collated by the bishop to the vicarage of Egglingham in 1758 and then to the rectory of Ryton, vacated by Rotherham, in 1769.(85) Made rector of Whickham in 1763, then of Bishop Wearmouth in 1768, William Radley thus possessed in turn the eighth and fifth most valuable livings in Trevor's gift.(86) John Wibbersley similarly moved from the economically mediocre living of Woodhorn in Northumberland (to which he was collated in 1766) to that of Whickham, vacated by

Radley.(87) And lastly, Hugh Hodgson was collated to Woodhorn (in succession to Wibbersley) in 1768, only to move to Egglingham (in succession to Byron) in 1769.(88) It seems worthy of note that all of these men but Byron were local clergy, serving in the diocese before they received episcopal favour, and that three of them were born in the diocese. Radley was the son of William of South Shields, and after graduating from Cambridge in 1741 and being ordained in Durham by Bishop Benson, had served first as rector of Ingram and Perpetual Curate of St. Hilds.(89) Hodgson was the son of Ralph Hodgson, an attorney of Bishop Auckland, and was also a graduate of Oxford, having taken his B.A. degree at Lincoln College in 1759, and his M.A. in 1762.(90) Before going to Egglingham, he was curate of Easington (to Samuel Dickens, the Archdeacon of Durham), and then vicar of Leake.(91) Unlike the others, Rotheram was the son of a clergyman, and was born at Haydon Bridge in Northumberland.(92) His father, William, had been the schoolmaster at Haydon Bridge, and educated his son there before his early death in 1734.(93) The young John Rotheram was subsequently sent up to Oxford (and supported) by his elder brother Thomas, professor of Sir William Codrington's College, Barbadoes, from 1744 to 1753, and after graduating B.A. in 1748 John Rotheram became a tutor in the same place.(94) Both brothers returned to England when sickness struck the elder of them, and John subsequently became Percy fellow of University College, Oxford, from 1760 to 1767.(95) At about this time, he was also made domestic chaplain to Bishop Trevor, and from 1766 he is present at the annual general ordinations held in the diocese.(96) After the bishop's death he remained at Houghton-le-Spring, later being made a trustee of Lord Crewe, and he died at Bamborough (the guest of John Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland) 24 July 1789.(97)

Trevor was able to prefer fifteen more men to the vacancies which occurred in his twenty-seven most wealthy livings, and though we shall not examine them in detail, it is perhaps significant that thirteen of them were from the diocese, and had shown themselves to be worthy and capable men (so far as we can tell) before they were preferred.(98) Nor were the remaining two unworthy of the bishop's patronage, for they both continued to live and work faithfully in the diocese for many years to come.(99) Also, apart from the seven prebends we have already examined, twelve more were placed in the cathedral by Richard Trevor, and by and large they seem to reflect favourably upon the bishop's use of his immense patronage too. It is important to note this well, for the impression has been given previously that Trevor handed out his prebendal stalls like "sweets" with the Duke of Newcastle, determining whose mouth they should be placed in. Usually this is taken to signify that scoundrels abounded (Sykes mentions "the corrupt practices of the Duke of Newcastle", for example), and therefore it is perhaps necessary to test this assumption against the facts.(100)

The hostile judgment which Sykes formulated against Newcastle in his earlier work on Edmund Gibson, the Bishop of London, he carried over in a somewhat modified form to his later work Church and State in Eighteenth Century England.(101) Our purpose is to examine the character of Bishop Trevor, as far as this may be deduced from his preferment patterns, and this immediately links Trevor to Newcastle, for as we have seen the Bishop of Durham owed his episcopal office to Pelham's patronage. Upon being translated to Durham from St. David's he had written to the duke acknowledging that he owed his promotion "absolutely and wholly, under God, to the zealous and steady interposition of your Grace and your Brother on my behalf."(102)

That Trevor ceased not to be grateful to the Duke of Newcastle is undeniable, but the bishop has generally been thought to have been too closely linked to this master statesman. The judgment Sykes held against Newcastle thus tends to implicate Trevor, for in his later work he leaves the reader imagining (as Professor Hughes clearly did) that the bishop obeyed his "master" without much thought for the good of the church. For example Sykes writes:(103)

> The pressure of political ministers upon their episcopal proteges for the surrender of prebends was accepted or resisted according to the independence of position and character of the several prelates. The value of the prebends of Durham Cathedral brought upon the prelates of that see repeated solicitations from their political allies, for as Bishop Trevor explained to Newcastle in 1764 concerning 'the state of his church, he had but one prebend of so little value as £350 per annum, and that is no small thing; all of the rest are £500 per annum and upwards.'

Having previously (in the same work) tacitly agreed with Edmund Pyle's contemporary assertion that Trevor was a "slave" to Newcastle, and hinted that the bishop had made a simoniacal "agreement" to accept the duke's men, it is little wonder that the reader imagines the bishop caring little for his spiritual charge.(104) Yet this conclusion of spiritual subordination to temporal interest (if not abdication to the same) can be seriously challenged on at least two grounds.

The first objection may be based upon the words of the Duke of Newcastle, if taken at their face value. The quotation cited above by Sykes concerning the value of Durham prebends is in fact from a letter of Newcastle not Trevor, and although the bishop must have supplied the information concerning the one vacant stall upon the solicitation of the duke, that must not be held to be a bad thing

else not one eighteenth century bishop will be accounted worthy. Trevor clearly was a friend of Newcastle, and valued his judgment in a way which was perhaps more disinterested than is allowed. The duke asserted frequently that he desired to assist men of worth, and these statements alone must at least suggest the possibility that he might have in fact done so.(105) Conceivably, Newcastle presented men to Trevor whom the latter would have found acceptable had they come to his attention in other ways. At any rate, the only two men definitely linked to a gift of Trevor's because of Newcastle's representation, William Markham and Edmund Law, seem to have been such. Markham was a much respected headmaster of the prestigious Westminster School, and Trevor may well have replied truly when he thanked Newcastle "for so worthy a recommendation, so agreeable to himself and so honourable to both", despite Syke's aspersion to the contrary.(106) Edmund Law was also a learned man and, at the time of his preferment to Durham, the Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge.(107) Law was an honourable man whose chief fame now is owing to Archbishop Thomas Secker's opposition to his preferment, but who was much respected in his own day. One of the "Latitudinarian School" and a friend of the celebrated Archdeacon Blackburne, he was the holder of views utterly repugnant to Secker's staunch orthodoxy, but his primary "sin" seems to have been that he favoured "decent freedom of inquiry".(108) Two years after being preferred to a Durham Canonry he was raised to the episcopal see of Carlisle, and thereupon resigned his stall.(109)

The second ground upon which we base the challenge to the received tradition of Trevor's exercise of his patronal interests, is that of the men in fact preferred to prebendal stalls by the bishop. Trevor must be judged on the basis of the quality of those

canons he collated, not upon whether or not they were suggested to him by the Duke of Newcastle, or so we believe.(110) Upon this assumption a different picture emerges altogether. Markham and Law it is hard to fault, and we have already seen that of the seven men who held two prebendal stalls under Trevor, five of them (Burton, Lowth, Douglas, Vane and Morgan) seem to have been competent and worthy men known personally by the bishop himself. Terrick held his stalls very briefly and it is difficult to form a judgment upon his character, though we have pointed out that his preferment is not likely to have been encouraged by Newcastle. That leaves Weston alone, who does very definitely seem to be a "professional prebendary", though even he has not left a record which positively establishes him as in any way unworthy.(111) What then of the remaining ten men preferred to single prebendal stalls by Richard Trevor?

By the original charter of Henry VIII's foundation the dean and the chapter were to be in the gift of the crown, though Queen Mary subsequently gave Bishop Tunstal and his successors the right to collate to the twelve canonries.(112) There was however, a "rule" that when the Crown created a vacancy in any stall by nominating its holder to a see, then the nomination of a new canon fell to it by right.(113) The value of the Durham stalls in the eighteenth century (as indeed earlier) ~~landed~~ themselves to being held by important men, and therefore not infrequently the "rule" was made to apply as canons became bishops. Three times during Trevor's episcopate the king exercised this right to present "by Virtue of his Prerogative Royal", in 1755 placing Jaques Sterne in the second stall, in 1769 placing John Ross in the twelfth, and in 1771 placing Thomas Dampier in the second.(114) Sterne was "a well known and eccentric figure in York",

where he was born and raised and where he spent the whole of his ecclesiastical life.(115) Venn records that he was "a violent Whig politician", certainly the only clue necessary to understand Sterne's promotion.(116) When Edmund Law was preferred to the see of Carlisle in 1769, the Crown presented John Ross to the prebendal vacancy thus created.(117) A man of some distinction, having been made Preacher at the Rolls Chapel in 1757 and a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1758, as well as being vicar of Frome Selwood, Somerset, from 1760, he was made chaplain to George III in 1764.(118) Promoted to Durham by the king in 1769, he was subsequently raised by him to the episcopate, when in 1778 he was consecrated as Bishop of Exeter.(119) On the bench he seems to have proved himself indefatigable in the performance of his episcopal functions.(120) The final royal nomination to a prebendal stall in Trevor's episcopate came shortly before the bishop's death in 1771, when Thomas Dampier was instituted to the second stall on 27 February of that year.(121) Three years later on 17 June 1774, he was made dean of Durham, and he died at Bath 31 July 1777.(122)

Seven more members of the Chapter are yet to be mentioned, and six of them were men of some distinction. Gideon Murray stands alone as the exception, about whom it is difficult to say much. A son of Alexander, Baron Elibank, he was born at Ballencrix, Scotland, circa 1710, and later graduated B.A. from Balliol College at Oxford.(123) Having proceeded M.A. in 1735, he was (subsequent to the accession of George III) made B.D. and D.D. in the year of his preferment to Durham.(124) He was successively vicar of Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, and rector of Carlton, in Nottinghamshire, and in 1746 he was made a prebendary of Lincoln.(125) He held the third stall at Durham from 1761 until his death (in London) in June 1778.(126)

Of Joseph Spence, Trevor's first prebendal appointee, more may be said. The son of poor Northamptonshire parents, he proved to be a bright lad and was sent to study at Winchester School.(127) When sixteen years old he matriculated at Magdelen Hall, Oxford, later migrating to New College, where he was elected fellow and graduated B.A. in 1724 and M.A. in 1727.(128) He was made professor of poetry in the following year and held this post for a decade, during which he was also rector of Birchanger in Essex.(129) In 1742 when William Holmes was made dean of Exeter, Spence was named third Regius Professor of Modern History and Languages at Oxford, and later in that year was preferred to the rectorship of Harwood Magna, Buckinghamshire, by the warden and fellows of his college.(130) A contemporary of Richard Trevor in his Oxford days, it is no surprise that the young bishop collated him to the seventh stall in 1754, a dignity he held until his death in 1768.(131) He was succeeded in the stall by Newton Ogle, another Oxford man, reared in Northumberland, having been born at Kirkley in 1726.(132) Upon taking his M.A. degree from Merton College in 1750, he became in order a prebend of Salisbury, Archdeacon of Surrey, and a prebend of Durham.(133) One year later he was made dean of Winchester, and he remained so for thirty-five years, dying on 6 January 1804.(134) Like Murray, he was made B.D. and D.D. in 1761, probably on a royal visit to Oxford, and Ogle later served as Deputy Clerk of the Closet to George III.(135) Another of Trevor's prebends was, like Ogle, subsequently made dean of a cathedral, for John Moore became dean of Canterbury ten years after he was preferred in Durham.(136) Unlike Ogle, however, he went on to the episcopal bench as Bishop of Bangor in 1775, and then ascended to the primacy in 1783.(137)

During Moore's occupancy of the see of Canterbury he was to superintend the provision of an indigenous episcopate for the young Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Moore, together with two other of Trevor's former prebends, now bishops, was able to see that the way was finally paved which lead to the consecration of Bishop's White and Provoost. In 1784 Lowth, by then Bishop of London, had secured an act of parliament enabling him to ordain for the new county without the oath of allegiance.(138) This was followed by an act, secured by Moore, granting the right to consecrate as well.(139) Eventually on 4 February 1787, hands were laid upon the heads of the two Americans in Lambeth Chapel by Moore, William Markham (now Archbishop of York), and two other bishops.(140) Uniting later with the "renegade" Samuel Seabury, White and Provoost thus helped form the triumvirate traditionally necessary to continue the historical succession of the episcopate in America, free from dependence upon the Mother Church of England.

Yet three more prebends remain after all this discussion, and they too stand head and shoulders above many of the clergy of their day. William Warburton was one of the finer scholars of his age, and he became a good bishop later, while Samuel Dickens and John Sharp were to distinguish themselves in the exercise of their office as archdeacon in the diocese, Dickens in Durham and Sharp in Northumberland. Since the archdeacons will be examined in some detail in the next chapter we shall leave them now, and turn finally to Warburton. He was the second prebend installed by Richard Trevor, taking his seat in the first stall on 21 March 1755, and he was to remain in the Chapter longer than most of the bishop's men.(141) A brilliant and widely read man, Warburton was among the main literary figures of his day, both in the popular sense and in the world of private friendship,

though he never received a university education himself.(142) Before coming to Durham he had been chaplain to the King, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and a prebendary of Gloucester.(143) Promoted to the deanery of Bristol in 1757, he was subsequently made Bishop of Gloucester in 1759 and allowed to hold his Durham stall in commendam.(144) He died at Gloucester on 7 June 1779, and was buried in the cathedral there.(145)

As difficult as it is to form a clear picture of Bishop Richard Trevor, we must nevertheless assert that the measure of the man must in some way be reflected in the (on the whole) high standard of cleric preferred by him during his twenty year episcopate. He may not have withstood Newcastle (or others) to the face, yet he managed in the long run to achieve a not unenviable record of ecclesiastical patronage. Also, when we look to those men who were his closest friends and confidants we find persons of calibre and merit. Rotheram, Morgan, Vane, and Dickens need not be apologised for, and each of them stood in close relationship to the bishop. Rotheram it may have been who wrote the long eulogy printed by George Allan in 1776, and if even half of what is there stated was in fact true of Trevor (as the good Allan unhesitatingly asserted) we may account him a man of great quality and merit as well as a bishop of stature.(146) Certain it is that those nearest to him were deeply touched by his death as they had been by his life, wherein they "saw accomplishments supported by worth; polished manners and a pleasing form animated by intelligence and goodness of heart; outwardly, all that was graceful and becoming, whilst all was light and peace within."(147)

As a pastor, Trevor was said to have been warm and wise. A man of influence arising from his considerable authority, he exercised this

not in virtue of his power, but rather because of his ability to convince with the faculty of reason.(148) He was said to be:(149)

> easy of access to all... ever open to his clergy, and ready to assist them by his council and advice, or where the case required it, by liberal contributions. Their complaints and grievances were received by him as into the bosom of a friend, and for them he had no authority but that of a parent. Amongst them, he was much more studious to find out merit, and distinguish good behaviour, than ready to remark or remember errors and failings.

He was ever steady and consistent in all his dealings and was known for his "candour, integrity, and truth".(150) As an administrator, both temporal and spiritual, he presided over a substantial change in the diocesan administration which ever tended in the direction of greater order, regularity, and fairness.(151) And lastly in his own sentiments he was professedly convinced of the truth of the faith in which he was raised, lived, and died. "We may boast ourselves", he is recorded to have said (probably in his last years),(152)

> in the advancement we have made in the theory of our religion; but how must our pride be humbled when we compare our practice with our theory! Surely principles so great and glorious as those of the gospel, so full of the seeds of all blessings to human society, cannot always remain without their effect. No. —— Revelation may be slow in working the full purpose of Heaven, but it must be sure. Religion must one day be a very different thing from what we at present behold it: Christian charity cannot always be to the world a light without heat, a pale cold fire. Its warmth at length must be universally felt. The time must come, when our zeal shall appear to be kindled by this heavenly fire, and not by human passion; when all our little earthly heats shall be extinguished, and that pure and divine flame alone shall burn. The time will come, when animosity and violence, and rage shall cease; and when union, love and harmony shall prevail. The time will come, when earth shall bear a nearer resemblance to heaven.

On this prophetic note we shall leave Richard Trevor, for after being confined for three months in 1771, he died on 9 June, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. "Thus at length was this excellent man released

from all his sufferings", wrote George Allan,"leaving behind him an example of christian piety, fortitude and resignation, which no human being ever exceeded, and few have equalled."(153)

E. ADDITIONAL NOTE

(Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester
1735-1752, Prebend of Durham 1724-1752)

We must not pass on from our study of the Bishops of Durham in the period 1721-1771, without some notice of the man who acted as an "episcopal surrogate" under Bishops Edward Chandler and Joseph Butler, for from at least 1742 Martin Benson certainly was so. We shall not endeavour to investigate in any detail his performance as a bishop in his own diocese, but will focus upon a general biographical sketch with a special emphasis upon his time in Durham.

Benson was himself the son of a clergyman of Herefordshire and was born in his father's parish of Cradley on 23 April 1689.(1) Educated at the Charterhouse, he went up to Oxford in 1706, matriculating at Christ Church on 1 July that year.(2) He took his B.A. degree in 1712 and his M.A. in 1713, becoming subsequently a tutor of his own college.(3) Sometime thereafter, Benson attended Lord Pomfret in his travels on the continent, acting as Tutor, and it is recorded that he then met his lifelong friends Berkeley and Secker both of whom would later sit with him on the episcopal bench.(4) Benson returned to this country and very soon became a prebend of Salisbury (1720) and Archdeacon of Berkshire (1721).(5) These preferments signify clearly that Benson was by then in the good favour of William Talbot, Bishop of Salisbury and soon to be Bishop of Durham. The immediate predecessor of Benson in his archdeaconry was the bishop's beloved son Edward Talbot, who had died tragically on 9 December 1720,

and there seems to have been a deep bond of friendship between the two young men, as well as between Benson's sister and Edward Talbot's wife Mary.(6) After the young Talbot's death, the bishop became Benson's patron, and the links between him and the bishop's family were never to be broken. Catherine Benson, Martin's sister, was a house guest of the Edward Talbot's when he died, and she remained afterwards with the widow and the daughter born posthumously in May 1721.(7) In 1725 Catherine Benson married Thomas Secker, and until the latter's death in 1768, Mrs. Talbot and her daughter remained a part of the Secker household.(8) Martin Benson's links with Secker were so strong that the two men were known generally as "the two brothers".(9)

In 1724, William Talbot collated Martin Benson to the vacant second stall of Durham Cathedral, where he was to remain for twenty-eight years.(10) Made rector of Bletchley, Buckinghamshire, in 1721, Benson became a chaplain to George II in the same year, and when the king visited the University of Cambridge in 1728 he was created D.D.(11) Perhaps owing to his personal friendship with the royal family is to be attributed his rise to the episcopate in 1735, though it has been asserted that it was more to do with the friendship and patronage of Charles Talbot, the bishop's only surviving son, who had become Lord Chancellor after his father's death.(12) Upon being appointed to the bishopric, "Benson declared his resolution to accept no higher preferment", though he did seek permission (which was granted) to hold his prebendal stall at Durham in commendam, and he remained rector of Bletchley until 1737, by which time he had probably finished paying his "first fruits" to the Crown.(13) His episcopal reign at Gloucester was to be of seventeen years' length, and by all accounts it appears to have been an exemplary one. He not only laboured to

restore the cathedral and the episcopal palace, but also seems to have worked to restore pastoral order and effectiveness by reviving the institution of rural deans.(14) "Benson belonged", it has been said, "to the best type of English prelate of his time."(15)

Benson seems to have kept his residence in Durham every year, long enough at any rate to be entitled to his share of the chapter finances, and it was this presence which enabled him to become a surrogate for Edward Chandler when the latter's old age made him too infirm to do his duty adequately. We have no evidence of the Bishop of Gloucester acting in this capacity before 1742, but from that time his activity in the diocese is annual. In that year, and every succeeding one until 1749, Benson ordained all those men who were qualified to enter into orders according to Bishop Chandler's judgment.(16) In addition, he conducted a visitation of the whole diocese in 1746, a task similar to that which he completed earlier for the infirm Bishop Blackburne of York.(17) Clearly the pastoral (if not the administrative) efficiency of the diocese suffered in Chandler's last years, but the activity of Benson prevented any serious consequences following from his infirmity. In a day which knew nothing of "retirement" from the episcopal bench, this informal "assistant" bishop helped to fill an important gap in the life of the church.

Chandler died in 1750 and was succeeded by Joseph Butler, an event which must have caused much rejoicing in Benson's household. Butler and Benson had been friends for at least thirty years, perhaps brought together originally by their common friend Edward Talbot, and had co-operated in winning Thomas Secker to the established church in 1720.(18) Their reunion in Durham was short-lived however, for Benson found himself called to attend his friend in dying. Present

at Butler's death in Bath on 19 June 1752, Benson immediately thereafter embarked upon a visitation of his own diocese, but the strain upon his health was apparently too great.(19) He died, "universally beloved and lamented", on 30 August 1752, and was buried in the cathedral at Gloucester.(20)

SUMMARY LIST OF LIVINGS IN THE GIFT OF THE BISHOP OF DURHAM

(Twenty wealthiest in Durham;
Seven wealthiest in Northumberland)

(A) ARCHDEACONRY OF DURHAM

	Benefice	Value c.1751[1]	Incumbents		Source[2]
1.	Sedgefield	(£700-900)	John Morton	1711	(III,50)
			Thomas Rundle	1722	
			John Gamage	1728	
			James Lesley	1747	
			Robert Lowth	1755	
2.	Stanhope	(£700)	William Hartwell	1685	(III,293)
			Joseph Butler	1725	
			Edmund Keene	1740	
			Thomas Thurlow	1771	
3.	Houghton-le-Spring	(£600)	George Wheler	1709	(II,541)
			Thomas Secker	1723	
			Richard Stonehewer	1727	
			John Rotheram	1769	
4.	Haughton-le-Skerne	(£400-500)	Richard Bellasis	1680	(III,179)
			Joseph Butler	1721	
			Henry Thorpe	1725	
			Charles Morgan	1764	
			Edward Rudd	1764	
5.	Bishop Wearmouth	(£400)	John Laurence	1721	(II,512)
			Wadham Chandler	1732	
			Henry Bland	1735	
			William Radley	1768	
6.	Egglescliffe	(£300)	Pexall Forster	1711	(III,139)
			William Harris	1739	
7.	Ryton	(£250-300)	James Finney	1706	(II,436)
			Thomas Secker	1727	
			Robert Stillingfleet	1733	
			John Lloyd	1738	
			John Rotheram	1766	
			Richard Byron	1769	
8.	Whickham	(£200-260)	Robert Thomlinson	1712	(II,448)
			William Williamson	1748	
			William Radley	1763	
			John Wibbersley	1768	

9.	Wolsingham	(£200-260)	William Watts	1721	(III,299)
			Robert Parker	1737	
			James Leslie	1741	
			Richard Huntley	1747	
			William Nowell	1754	
10.	Whitburn	(£250)	John Wallis	1721	(II,498)
			Edward Hinton	1728	
			Benjamin Pye	1769	
11.	Elwick	(£250)	William Eden	1715	(III,46)
			Robert Parker	1741	
12.	Bolden	(£200)	John Stackhouse	1718	(II,496)
			Edmund Tew	1735	
			John Blackett	1770	
13.	Gateshead	(£200)	Leonard Shafto	1705	(II,453)
			Robert Stillingfleet	1732	
			William Lambe	1733	
			Andrew Wood	1769	
14.	Long Newton	(£200)	Charles Mansel	1719	(III,168)
			James Douglas	1742	
			Henry Vane	1760(3)	
15.	Washington	(£200)	Richard Stonehewer	1719	(II,491)
			John Gamage	1727	
			George Talbot	1728	
			Thomas Rudd	1729	
			Wadham Chandler	1735	
			Henry Bland	1735	
			Edward Wilson	1768	
16.	Winston	(£150-200)	Thomas Eden	1709	(III,226)
			John Emerson	1754	
17.	Norton	(£150-200)	Joseph Forster	1712	(III,111)
			William Sisson	1746	
18.	Sunderland	(£100-160)	Daniel Newcombe	1719	(II,527)
			Richard Swainston	1739	
			George Bramwell	1758	
			John Coxon	1762	
19.	Stockton	(£150)	George Walker	1715	(III,130)
			John Skelly	1742	
20.	Redmarshall	(£120-140)	William Dunn	1694	(III,161)
			Walter Johnson	1737	
			John Skelly	1760	
			Thomas Holmes Tidy	1767	

(B) ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND

	Benefice	Value c.1751	Incumbents		Source(4)
1.	Hartburn	(£250)	Laton Eden	1685	(II,i,
			Richard Werge	1735	297-298)
			John Sharp	1748	
2.	Egglingham	(£100-160)	Charles Stoddert	1712	(XIV, 365-
			Richard Byron	1758	366)
			Hugh Hodgson	1769	
3.	Woodhorn	(£120-150)	Christopher Laidman	1692	(II,i, 185-186)
			William Simcoe	1724	
			John Wibbersley	1766	
			Hugh Hodgson	1768	
			Henry Latton	1770	
4.	Haltwhistle	(£140)	Martin Nixon	1720	(II,iii,
			Edward Wilson	1735	125-126)
			Thomas Rotherham	1768	
5.	Wooler	(£120)	John Chisholm	1695	(XI,295)
			Thomas Cooper	1727	
			Martin Nixon	1747	
			Cuthbert Allen	1755	
6.	Whelpington	(£70-100)	Edward Fenwick	1721	(II,i,
			Nathaniel Ellison	1734	205-206)
7.	Stannington	(£70-100)	Cuthbert Ellison	1714(5)	(II,ii,
			Matthew Robinson	1744	329)
			Joseph Wood	1757	

Notes: (1) Values taken from Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/12, ff.100^{V} & 101^{R}.

(2) Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham: volume and page is given.

(3) The date of Vane's incumbency is taken from Trevor's Register, p.58 .

(4) Northumberland incumbents are from NCH (in which case there is a two-part reference e.g. XIV, 365-366) or from Hodgson's Northumberland (in which case there is a three-part reference, e.g. II,i,297-298).

(5) D.R. XIV.3, p.46.

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SECTION A

(1) Handbook of British Chronology, p. 221. Crewe died 18 September.

(2) Ibid. Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities ... of Durham, vol I, p. 566, says he was translated 12 October and enthroned 14 December.

(3) Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, pt I,vol IV, p. 1454.

(4) Ibid. Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 566, gives the exact day.

(5) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p. 566, says "Berfield", Foster op. cit., p. 1454, says "Burghfield".

(6) DNB, "Talbot, William".

(7) Ibid. He remained dean while Bishop of Oxford, resigning finally when translated to Salisbury in 1715.

(8) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p. 566, says he was "diplomated" in June 1691. His first printed sermon was given "at Worcester upon the Monthly Fast-Day, Sept. 16th 1691"; see British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books.

(9) DNB has this order, though Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 566, has the Oxford D.D. after his coming to the see.

(10) Before the King in 1699, and before the Queen in 1702 and 1706/7. See Bamburgh Library, K.1V.G. (17 & 18) and K.V.8.2.

(11) The Bishop of Oxford's Speech in the House of Lords, on the First Article of the Impeachment of Dr. Henry Sacheverell.

(12) See his sermon in 1702, The Divinity of Christ Asserted ..., Bamburgh Library, K.iV.6.17.

(13) Talbot argued against these points in his Oxford Charge of 1712, and this was responded to by several, most notably Roger Laurence. See the latter's The Bishop of Oxford's Charge, Considered ..., Bamburgh Library, F.W.7.2., in which Laurence argues "The Independency of the Church upon the State, A Proper Sacrifice in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Nature and Necessity of Sacerdotal Absolution. And, the Invalidity of Baptism, Administered by Persons not Episcopally Ordain'd".

(14) There is a copy of the Coronation Sermon (on Psalm 118.24.5) in the Chapter Library, I VII 22/17. See Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p. 566, re. his appointment to the Chapel Royal.

(15) DNB, Talbot, William.

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(16) The main purpose of the sermon was to determine "the characters of, or Requisites to constitute a Christian Church, according to the Description of this first Apostolical Church", and having done so, to show that these "are to be found in the Reformed Church of England". See a copy of this sermon, dated 22 July 1716, in the University Library.

(17) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.566. Thomas Mangey had only just been made a prebend and installed on 21 May 1721. Why he should have been chosen to make the speech is not at all clear, unless he was the only one in residence. See Mussett, Deans and Canons of Durham 1541-1900, p.45.

(18) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, pp.566-67.

(19) Spearman, An Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham, pp.75-76.

(20) Ibid., "The Case of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, upon the Bill depending in Parliament for enabling Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and others to grant leases of mines not accustomably letten," p.69.

(21) Ibid., p.76.

(22) Ibid., p.77.

(23) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.572.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Ibid., p.573 citing "Gray's MSS".

(26) Hutchinson (1785) clearly accepts Spearman (1729), and in turn they are followed by Low in his Durham (1881), by Gordon in the DNB (1898), and by Hughes in North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century (1952).

(27) For Spearmen's disclaimer of partiality, see op. cit., p.37, where he does however admit to writing under "a just resentment of the vile usage I have met with". At p.53 it begins to be clear that the other of the author's complaints relates to the bishops (sic.) of Durham "claiming or enjoying the mines within the inclosed copyhold", when these rights were not previously entertained. The plural "bishops" is used again by him in that extract quoted already from p.76, another indication that Talbot alone is not fairly to be counted a villain on Spearman's evidence. Spearman's account of his own loss begins at p.80, and it should be remembered that he was publishing his Enquiry anonymously.

(28) Spearman, op. cit., repeatedly assails Sayer in the strongest possible way, see for example pp.56-57, 79-87, 92, 113. He

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even goes so far as to "recommend to Dr. Sayer the perusal of the history of Caesar Borgia, bastard-son of Pope Alexander ... a rapacious land pirate and oppressor, the greatest tyrant of that age", p.122.

(29) We are not unaware of the legitimate arguments which Spearman puts forward for reform in the diocese, but we feel that his point of view alone must not determine the historical picture of Bishop Talbot.

(30) See Hughes, op. cit., pp.307-315, especially p.311, note 4.

(31) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.566.

(32) Talbot, A letter from the Bishop of Durham with a Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, Anno 1722, p.6. The letter is dated 15 June 1722 at London.

(33) Ibid., p.2.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid., pp.2-3.

(36) Ibid., p.3. Interestingly, he gave specific instruction "that none be offer'd, who have been already Confirm'd."

(37) Ibid., pp.8 & 10.

(38) Ibid., p.11.

(39) Ibid., p.12.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ibid., p.13.

(42) Ibid.

(43) Ibid. Every householder within half a mile of the church was to come or send at least one of his household. Talbot urged that the prayers should be read: "Intirely ... Regularly ... Leisurely ... and Devoutedly," see p.14.

(44) Ibid., p.15.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid., p.16.

(47) Ibid., pp.16-17.

(48) Ibid., pp.17-18. Practically, he urged communion more frequently

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than three times a year, stressed due preparation and reverence in the receiving, and to these ends urged compliance with the rubric which urged notification to be given by those who desired to receive.

(49) Ibid., pp.19-21. The clergy are not to wait for a call when they know someone to be sick, but are to go as soon as possible. They are to know (and be known) by name among their flock.

(50) Ibid., p.21. The bishop shows a very peaceful spirit, though he lacks no conviction as to the error of their ways. His argument is that all the essential marks of a true church are present in that of the Church of England, and that therefore to be separate is to be in schism.

(51) Ibid., p.25.

(52) Ibid., pp.27-43. Four motives are stressed: a) "the great importance of the Work", p.27; b) its "very great Difficulty" (which calls for a godly pattern and example to the flock), p.28; c) "the Assistance we may expect from God in the conscientious discharge of our Duty", p.33; and d) "the Consequences to ourselves, that will attend our faithful Diligence or treacherous Negligence", p.35.

(53) Talbot, The Charge of ... William ... Lord Bishop of Durham, at his Primary Visitation Anno 1722. It is said to "Published at the Request of the Clergy," and is dated at London 1722.

(54) Ibid., p.4.

(55) Ibid., p.5.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid., p.6.

(58) Ibid., pp.6-7.

(59) Ibid., p.7.

(60) Ibid., p.8.

(61) Ibid.

(62) Ibid., pp.11-12.

(63) Ibid., p.13.

(64) Ibid., pp.13-14.

(65) Ibid., p.14.

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(66) Ibid., p.15.

(67) Ibid., p.17.

(68) Ibid., pp.17-18.

(69) Ibid., pp.19-20.

(70) Mussett, op. cit., p.15.

(71) DNB article, "Thomas Rundle".

(72) Ibid.

(73) Mussett, op. cit., p.15.

(74) DNB. Rundle died unmarried, leaving £20,000 to John Talbot, second son of the lord chancellor and grandson to the bishop.

(75) Mussett, op. cit., p.15. Mangey was also rector of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, London, and he married (in 1728) Dorothy, daughter of Archbishop Sharp. Some of his manuscript sermons have been deposited in the Archdeacon Sharp Library by the Crewe Trustees. See also White, The Registers of Baptism, Marriage, and Burial of the Cathedral ... Durham, p.122.

(76) Mussett, op. cit., p.46.

(77) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.189.

(78) Ibid., where Hutchinson records that "it is said he left his nephew £20,000".

(79) Mussett, op. cit., p.22.

(80) DNB Article, "Martin Benson".

(81) By all accounts, but see especially DNB and Williams, The Whig Supremacy 1714-60, pp.81 and 88.

(82) Mussett, op. cit., p.81.

(83) He was attacked by Spearman, op. cit., p.57. He was later to become Archdeacon of Durham. SeeChapter III.

(84) Mussett, op. cit., p.72. Johnson was curate of Middleton in Teesdale c.1700, see note immediately below.

(85) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.208, wrongly dates the former, which should be 13 June 1721. See Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol II, p.757.

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(86) Ibid., Hutchinson. Gyll in his diary records a less fortunate case. Surtees Society, vol 118, pp.191-2. See also p.210 for notice of Johnson's death.

(87) Mussett, op. cit., p.28.

(88) DNB article, "Thomas Secker". See DNB article, "Thomas Rundle", for note r.e. domestic chaplain.

(89) See DNB and Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker.

(90) In 1753, the archdeaconries were valued as follows: Northumberland £70, Durham £600.

(91) Mussett, op. cit., p.94.

(92) Sharp was collated 27 February 1722/3. See Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.225. For an estimation of his character see DNB article, "John Sharp, Archbishop of York".

(93) A letter from Bishop Talbot's son Charles, the lord chancellor, dated 3 September 1732 and addressed to Bishop Chandler, makes clear this intention. See Ordination Papers (sic.) 1732, "Thomas Sharp".

(94) For Boothe's death, see Le Neve-Hardy, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol III, p.305. This work wrongly says Boothe was also Archdeacon of Northumberland, p.308. For Talbot's death, see Handbook of British Chronology, p.221.

(95) Had Spearman's book been published in 1731, instead of 1729, we should probably know a great deal more of this transaction.

(96) According to Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210, Sayer was required by the bishop to resign his prebend in order to be made archdeacon, though he did not, in fact, do so until two years after the bishop's death.

(97) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/12, ff.100^{V} and 101^{R}. This is an early Diocese Book, probably to be dated 1751 or 1753.

(98) These twenty were richer than all but three of the Northumberland livings in the bishop's gift, and of those one alone would have ranked among the most valuable eighteen. The values are in Appendix No. 1.

(99) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.541, for Secker; vol III, p.50, for Rundle.

(100) Ibid., vol II, p.436. DNB article, "Thomas Secker", says that his wife's health was a contributing factor in the decision.

(Notes: pages 101-102)

(101) Ibid., vol II, p.599. Sherburn Hospital was reckoned to be worth £500, in the list of "gifts" cited before.

(102) Ibid., vol III, pp.179 and 293.

(103) See DNB article, "Joseph Butler".

(104) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, pp.491 & 541 for Stonehewer, also p.541 for Gamage and vol III, p.50. Stonehewer was the son of one of the bishop's officials, the latter of whom Spearman also attacks. See Spearman, op. cit. Gamage was an Oxford contemporary of Edward Talbot, and was made a prebend of Sarum in 1721; Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.544.

(105) Ibid. (Hutchinson), vol II, p.491. One of this name was made M.A. (by incorporation from Trinity College, Dublin) in 1724 at Cambridge. Probably ordained priest in 1722, he later held the rectory of Burghfield, Berkshire, a living held by the Talbot family and previously held by the bishop. See notes (5) and (6) above.

(106) Rudd had been Master of Durham and Newcastle Grammar Schools (in turn), then vicar of St. Oswald and Northallerton (again in turn). See Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.496.

(107) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.179. Thorpe was a contemporary at Oxford of Rundle, Benson, and Edward Talbot; see Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.1482. He was made a prebend of Sarum by Bishop Talbot in 1720, and held this till his death; see Le Neve-Hardy, op. cit., vol II, p.667.

(108) Henry, (born c.1682) was the son of John Thorpe of Wiltshire; see Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.1482. The famous Northumberland family spring from Thomas Thorpe (born 1699), son of Michael of Yarm, Yorkshire; see Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.237.

(109) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.498. Perhaps the Edward Hinton at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1718; see Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.666.

(110) See Chapter V for the visitations. Also see Chapter VI for a discussion of those men whom he ordained.

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SECTION B

(1) Handbook of British Chronology, p.221.

(2) Ibid. His age is computed from the date of birth given in DNB.

(3) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.320.

(4) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.574.

(5) DNB article, "Edward Chandler".

(6) Handbook of British Chronology, p.221.

(7) See for example Sykes, Church and State, pp.104-5, 112-13, 119.20, 144, 224, 421, all of which seem to show Chandler in a good light as regards his attempt to perform his episcopal duties.

(8) See "Diocesan Probate & Church Commissions Records", Staffordshire Record Office Cumulative Handlist Part I, published by the Lichfield Joint Record Office, pp.6 & 19.

(9) Copies of both works are in the University Library, Durham. Several MSS are also deposited there, though they are largely lists of books and other miscellaneous papers.

(10) Chandler wrote a preface to Cudworth's Treatise on Immutable Mortality when that work was first published in 1731, and also a "Chronological Dissertation" which was prefixed to R. Arnald's Commentary on Ecclesiasticus published in 1748. See DNB. The bishop also had printed a Charge delivered at the Quarter Sessions in 1740, for a copy of which see the Bamburgh Collection of the University Library, Durham.

(11) DNB.

(12) Ibid. See also Sykes, op. cit., p.61, for the valuation of the diocese.

(13) Ibid. (Sykes)

(14) See annotation (seemingly attributing the remark to George Bowes in a letter of 19 July 1731) to Chandler's entry in the copy of Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.574, in the possession of the Newcastle Central Public Library.

(15) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.574.

(16) Ibid. It should be noted that most of Chandler's patent offices were given to his in-laws.

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(17) Sykes, op. cit., p.137.

(18) See his letter to the duke, 26 June 1747, in Hughes, North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century, vol I, pp.261-262.

(19) Ibid., p.318.

(20) Ibid. See also letters of the bishop dated 5 June and 9 July 1732, which show him attempting to get all that he could of his "episcopal rights"; Church Commissioners (CC) Box 182, File 34457.A.

(21) As we have seen, Hutchinson says nothing of his care for the "spiritualities", nor does Low in his Durham (SPCK Diocesan Histories Series 1881). Hughes is most concerned with the "temporalities", though he does mention some few details of Chandler's activity, op. cit., pp.331-333.

(22) Something of the scope of Chandler's efforts may be seen also in the discussion of his Remarks in Chapter I.

(23) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, pp.611-616, gives these rules in full.

(24) A list of documents in the Diocesan Registry made in 1912 cites the registers of Chandler and Butler as one volume among the series of such registers at Auckland Palace. It seems to have been used in preparing vol X of the Northumberland County History (NCH) earlier in the century, and Hughes cites it (Appendix C) as a source of his work in 1952, since when it is not traceable. It should certainly be reunited with the other registers if found.

(25) For a full discussion of ordination during Chandler's twenty years, see Chapter VI.

(26) For details of these livings see Appendix No. 1.

(27) Houghton-le-Spring, Haughton, Whitburn and Winston (3, 4, 10 & 16 in value) never fell vacant from 1730-1750, and in Northumberland, Egglingham & Woodhorn (2 & 3 in value).

(28) Diocesan Registry Bound Volume (D.R.) XIV.5, p.15. He was also made Master of the Hospital of St. Edmund there one week later.

(29) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.189. Age computed from data in Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p.1355.

(30) Ibid. (Hutchinson), p.190 note. Hutchinson also says Stillingfleet was chaplain to Chandler.

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(31) D.R. XIV.5, pp.67-69.

(32) Ibid., p.74.

(33) Ibid., pp.99 & 101. Bland had been made deacon 29 November, and priest 13 December 1730, by Bishop Waddington of Chichester.

(34) Ibid., pp.70 & 72.

(35) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.811.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.216. The bishop had also made him Spiritual Chancellor in 1731, see Chapter IV.

(38) D.R. XIV. 5, pp.152, 153 & 217.

(39) Ibid., p.143.

(40) For values in Northumberland see Chapter I, Appendix No. 3. In Durham the average value is a rough approximation judging from the average value of the Bishop's livings (some 30 out of 83) which was £228 per annum. The remaining Durham livings were probably much less wealthy.

(41) D.R. XIV.5, p.144.

(42) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.308.

(43) Ibid. Venn wrongly says Great Stanbridge is in Durham.

(44) D.R. XIV.5, p.189. Age from Venn. Elwick was £100 less valuable in 1777, see Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, pp.46 & 299.

(45) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.19.

(46) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.202.

(47) D.R. XIV.5, p.235.

(48) Ibid., p.214. See also Mussett, op. cit., p.66.

(49) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.202

(50) DNB article,"Edward Chandler".

(51) D.R. XIV.5, p.180.

(52) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.2.

(53) Ibid.

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(54) D.R. XIV.5, p.237.

(55) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.436.

(56) D.R. XIV.5, p.178 for Harris, whose middle name is there said to be George, and who was priested by the Bishop of Oxford in 1738. Two contemporaries at Oxford are of this name, one of Gloucestershire (B.A.1729) and the other from Glamorgan (B.A.1728). For Williamson, see D.R. XIV.5, p.241, where he is said to be D.D. One of this name graduated B.A. at Oxford in 1742 and was the son of "Ralph, of Berwick-upon-Tweed, gent". See, Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p.1575.

(57) D.R. XIV.5, pp.117 & 202.

(58) See below under Trevor.

(59) D.R. XIV.5, p.155 (see p.25); Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.862.

(60) D.R. XIV.5, p.94; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.216.

(61) D.R. XIV.5, p.154; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.188.

(62) D.R. XIV.4, p.63; D.R. XIV.5, p.238.

(63) D.R. XIV.5, p.150; Mussett, op. cit., p.95; Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.213.

(64) Ibid. (Hutchinson). His ordination to the diaconate alone is ascertainable, see D.R. XIV.5, p.24.

(65) Ibid. (Hutchinson); Mussett, op. cit., p.88.

(66) Ibid. (Hutchinson), p.214. Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.28, wrongly says he was Chancellor of the Diocese of Durham.

(67) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.220.

(68) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.186.

(69) Ibid. See vol I, p.574, for notice of Chandler's daughter's marriage to "R. Cavendish". Chandler's son Richard (see Chapter IV) later assumed the same name. See S.S. vol 118 (Gyll's diary), p.189, note 95.

(70) Mussett, op. cit., p.81.

(71) See Section A, note (93), this chapter.

(72) This seems to be the clear implication of the four letters

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addressed to the bishop on Sharp's behalf. See Ordination Papers: 1732, "Thomas Sharp".

(73) See for example the letter to the bishop dated 2 September 1743, in Ordination Papers: 1743, "Henry Crookbain", and another dated 6 September 1743 in the papers of "Thomas Smith".

(74) Ordination Papers: 1743, letters to the bishop in papers of "Wm. Radley" and "William Stoddart" dated 23 September and 12 August 1743 respectively.

(75) The subscriptionsbefore the bishop are compiled from D.R. XIV.5, while those before the commissioner are from Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3.

(76) For the details of Benson's ordinations, see Chapter VI, and for more details of Benson's work as "episcopal surrogate" see the Additional Note at the end of the present chapter.

(77) Hughes, op. cit., p.318.

(78) Quoted in Low, op. cit., p.302.

(79) John Wesley visited Whickham three times: 26 November 1742, 5 March 1746 and 19 May 1752. The phrase is Wesley's, though not used of Whickham, after nine years of preaching at Alnmouth. See his Journal on 15 May 1752.

(80) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.574.

SECTION C

(1) Hughes, op. cit., p.318.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Handbook of British Chronology, p.221. Hutchinson says (op. cit., vol I, p.575) that the King was in Germany during the summer.

(4) DNB article, "Joseph Butler". The whole of the paragraph is to be attributed to this source unless otherwise noted.

(5) Edward Talbot was elected fellow in 1712. See Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.1453.

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(6) D.R. XIV.4, p.3. This book was begun for Talbot's episcopate.

(7) D.R. XIV.4, p.133. It is recorded in this same book (with Butler's own signature beneath it) that he resigned Haughton into the bishop's hands on 4 August 1724, only to again take the oaths for it on 5 August. This was a year before his preferment to Stanhope, for which he subscribed on 10 June 1725.

(8) Butler resigned his preachership at the Rolls Chapel in the Autumn of 1726.

(9) This latter fact is alone recorded in the introduction to the latest edition of Butler's Fifteen Sermons (published by the S.P.C.K. in 1970), p.xi. This edition is designed as an introduction to his philosophical and moral thought, and the editor has not therefore been historically punctilious. Care should be exercised in accepting his statements as correct.

(10) For the financial problem associated with taking over this bishopric in 1734 (which was Butler's chief complaint), see Sykes, op. cit., p.61.

(11) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.575.

(12) This is the entry in Gyll's diary for that date, see S.S. vol 118, p.187.

(13) Ibid., p.188.

(14) The details of the bishop's itinerary in Northumberland are discussed more fully in Chapter V. The information is taken from Visitation Papers: 1751, "Visitation Expenses".

(15) Visitation Booklet: 1751(b), ff. 9, 11, 13, 15.

(16) S.S. vol 118, p.188.

(17) John Sharp records that he preached in "Auckland-Castle Chap. Sept. 1. 1751. Before his Ldp." See Sharp's MS Sermons, No. 15, annotation upon the 27th preachment.

(18) Hughes, op. cit., p.319.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid., p.320.

(21) Ibid., pp.320-321.

(22) Ibid.

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(23) Ibid., p.397.

(24) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.578.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Newcastle Courant, 23 June 1752. See S.S. vol 118, p.191 note 102.

(27) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.579.

(28) Ibid., p.580.

(29) Ibid., p.578.

(30) He preferred Martin Nixon (who had been in the diocese for the thirty-seven years since he was priested) to the vicarage of Wooler, and John Warcopp to the vicarage of Conscliffe and the perpetual curacy of St. Andrews Auckland. Apart from this, a mandate to install Thomas Chapman in the third stall was issued on 12 December 1751, and he was duly installed on 1 January 1752, though under what circumstances is not altogether clear. Butler was asked before he was Bishop of Durham, to prefer Chapman to a vacant stall, and this Butler refused to do in a letter sent to the Duke of Newcastle on 5 August 1750. It was the custom, however (as Butler reminded Newcastle), that if a vacancy in a stall was due to the promotion of the Crown, then the Crown could appoint to the vacancy. The third stall fell vacant because Thomas Secker was made Dean of St. Paul's in succession to Butler, who had resigned it when made Bishop of Durham. As Secker held the stall in commendam (since his elevation to the episcopate in 1734), the vacancy seems to have devolved to the Crown. See Mussett, op. cit., pp.iv & 28; Butler's Works, vol II, pp.431-432 (Gladstone's edition).

(31) A Charge Delivered to the Clergy at the Primary Visitation of the Diocese of Durham, in the Year MDCCLI. For the purpose of reference, we shall identify the section number as printed in the edition of Butler's Works edited by Gladstone in 1896, which with two exceptions is the numbering of the paragraphs (sections No. 17 and No. 20 having two paragraphs each).

(32) Ibid. Section No. 1. The reference to the Analogy is made by Gladstone.

(33) Ibid., section No. 2.

(34) Ibid., section No. 3.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid., section No. 4.

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(37) Ibid., section No. 5.

(38) Ibid., section No. 6.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid., section No. 7.

(41) Ibid., section No. 8.

(42) Ibid., section No. 9.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid., section No. 11.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid., section No. 12.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Blackburne published (in 1752) an anonymous pamphlet called A Serious Enquiry into the Use and Importance of External Religion, in which he accused Butler of a tendency to Romanism.

(50) Butler, A Charge ....., section No. 12.

(51) Ibid., section No. 14.

(52) Ibid., sections No. 17, No. 18 & No. 19.

(53) Ibid., section No. 21.

(54) Ibid., section No. 24.

(55) Ibid., section No. 26. In this section, when speaking of the practice of holding a "discourse with (first communicants) in private upon the nature and benefits of this sacrament, and enforce(ing) upon them the importance and necessity of religion", he makes particular reference (so we think) to Archdeacon Thomas Sharp. Butler's words are as follows:

> I will only add as to this practice, that it is regularly kept up by some persons, and particularly by one, whose exemplary behaviour in every part of the pastoral office is enforced upon you by his station of authority and influence in (this part especially) of the diocese.

Gladstone footnotes this last parenthetical remark, identifying

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it as "The archdeaconry of Northumberland".

(56) Ibid., section No. 20.

(57) Ibid., section No. 23.

(58) Ibid., section No. 28.

(59) Ibid., section No. 29.

(60) Thomas Secker, Martin Benson and John Sharp to name three. Benson's death soon after, has been linked to his attendance upon Butler in his last illness. See the Additional Note at the end of this chapter.

SECTION D

(1) Hughes, op. cit., pp.318-321.

(2) Ibid., p.321.

(3) Handbook of British Chronology, p.221.

(4) Trevor was quite young to be made Bishop of Durham, Crewe (41 in 1674) and Pilkington (40 in 1560) being the only two post-dissolution bishops to be nominated at any earlier age.

(5) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, pp.580-581.

(6) Ibid., p.581.

(7) DNB article, "Richard Trevor".

(8) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.581.

(9) DNB article, "Richard Trevor". Hutchinson wrongly says Sir Robert.

(10) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.581.

(11) Hughes, op. cit., pp.284-285, states: "he owed his appointment to his family's electoral services to the duke at Lewes and Chichester." Hughes is here (presumably) referring to his appointment to Durham, though the statement probably applies to St. David's as well.

(12) For a general discussion of the Welsh bishoprics and the general attitude of the English Bishops sent there, see Sykes, Church & State, pp.356-361.

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(13) Only the two latter of these printed sermons are available in Durham (in the University Library), the former being cited on the authority of the Catalogue of Printed Works in the British Museum.

(14) Again, only the former sermon is available in Durham.

(15) Trevor came (as Hutchinson put it) "from an ancient and principal family in Wales", although whether this affected his attendance upon his see is not known. The immediate family seat was at Glynde, near Lewes, in Sussex, where the bishop himself was buried. See Hughes, op. cit., p.285.

(16) Sykes, Church & State, p.39.

(17) Hughes, op. cit., p.321.

(18) Handbook of British Chronology, p.221 and Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.586.

(19) S.S. vol 118, p.194.

(20) Hughes, op. cit., p.305.

(21) The Speech Made at Farewell Hall to ... Richard Trevor ... On Friday, July 6th, 1753. By Tho. Sharp ... With His Lordship's Answer, p.11.

(22) Ibid., p.12.

(23) Ibid., p.13.

(24) Ibid., pp.13-14.

(25) No prebendal stall or major living (that is among the twenty-seven wealthiest) fell vacant in 1753.

(26) See Chapter V.

(27) See Table 5, Chapter V.

(28) In 1753, Trevor ordained in the chapel at Whitehall on 23 March, thereafter he normally ordained on the Sunday falling between 19 & 25 September, though in 1761 he ordained on Sunday 23 August, and in 1767 alone he ordained on Saturday (an Ember Day) 20 September. See Trevor's Register.

(29) Every one of the twelve prebendal stalls was vacant at least once during the twenty years, two were vacant twice, four were vacant three times, and one (the twelfth) was vacant four times. Among the livings, Trevor was never able to prefer to Egglescliffe, Elwick, Norton, or Stockton in Durham, nor to Hartburn or Whelpington in Northumberland.

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(30) Five livings were vacant twice: Haughton-le-Skerne, Ryton, Whickham, Sunderland and Egglingham, and Woodhorn was vacant three times.

(31) This does not include the two archdeacons appointed by Trevor (Dickens & Sharp), both of whom held a living annexed to their archidiaconal office as well as a prebendal stall (Sharp's acquired after he was archdeacon, Dickens' before).

(32) See especially, Sykes, op. cit., and Hughes, op. cit., both of whom convey this impression with little evidence to suggest that any other consideration mattered to Trevor.

(33) Sykes, Church & State, p.179.

(34) Trevor's Register, pp.48 & 64. This book is contained among the Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, and is bound volume 11/7.

(35) Mussett, op. cit., p.29. He was buried on 8 August in Peterborough Cathedral. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.190, has several errors concerning Terrick, and should be corrected by Mussett and Venn, op. cit., pt I,vol IV, p.215, as well as by Trevor's Register.

(36) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.215.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Sykes, Church & State, p.39. Richard Terrick was later made Bishop of London, and was offered (but declined) the Archbishopric of York. Ibid., p.399.

(39) Ibid., p.39.

(40) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p.200.

(41) Ibid. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.182, says his father was of Christ Church.

(42) Ibid. (Hutchinson). He was archdeacon under Trevor, and he was not made prebend at Gloucester until 1755. See Mussett, op. cit., p.28.

(43) Trevor's Register, pp.2 & 54.

(44) Ibid., p.64.

(45) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.182.

(46) Trevor's Register, pp.85 & 120.

(47) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.195.

(48) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p.1529.

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(49) Ibid.

(50) Ibid.

(51) He resigned his archdeaconry upon being moved to the 6th stall in 1768, and it is not known if he remained in the living of Thirfield.

(52) Trevor's Register, p.23.

(53) Ibid. Lowth had been a chaplain to both George II and George III, as well as an Oxford contemporary of Trevor.

(54) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.878.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Sykes, Church & State, p.359.

(57) Ibid.; Mussett, op. cit., p.67.

(58) See for example Sykes, Church & State, p.412 (quoting the poet Cowper), p.401 (quoting George III), and p.187 (Sykes' own opinion).

(59) Foster, op. cit., pt II,vol III, p.878.

(60) Ibid., pt II, vol I, p.380.

(61) D.R. XIV.5, p.117. This living is in Northumberland, and is distinct from Kyloe in Durham.

(62) Ibid., p.202. He first took the oaths for the living on 2 January 1742 before "Wm. Pye Commissioner" and "was afterwards collated (6 March) by the Bishop himself". See Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.21.

(63) Trevor's Register, pp.58 & 60. Presumably the exchange was for mutual convenience, especially for Henry Vane who thus was incumbent in his home town.

(64) Ibid., pp.45 & 47.

(65) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p.380.

(66) Trevor's Register, pp.50, 78, 82, 117, 140.

(67) Mussett, op. cit., p.38.

(68) For the pedigree see Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, opposite p.264, "The Collateral Branch of the VANES of Long-Newton, in the County of Durham".

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(69) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.293.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Trevor's Register, p.3.

(72) Ibid., p.10.

(73) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.211, tells us definitely that he was a chaplain, though mentions no dates.

(74) Trevor's Register, p.37.

(75) Ibid., pp.58 & 60.

(76) Ibid., p.78, a commission to Institute in 1763.

(77) Pedigree in Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, opposite p.264.

(78) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.293.

(79) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.978.

(80) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.208.

(81) Trevor's Register, p.67. Morgan is also present in 1762 and 1763. See pages 75 & 79.

(82) Ibid., p.84.

(83) S.S. vol 118, p.215. Gyll seems to have entered this subsequent to the burial, and consequently we prefer Hutchinson's date of death, 26 June, rather than Gyll's 25 June. See Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.208. Hutchinson wrongly asserts, however, that Morgan resigned his prebend before preferment to Haughton, an error taken up by the editor of Gyll's diary. See Trevor's Register, pp.84-85.

(84) Trevor's Register, pp.100 & 137.

(85) Ibid., pp.41 & 138.

(86) Ibid., pp.81 & 122.

(87) Ibid., pp.102 & 125. Wibbersley was first usher of the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle; see Brewster, A Memoir of Hugh Moises ..., p.48.

(88) Ibid., pp.126 & 138.

(89) Venn, op. cit., pt I,vol III, p.415; D.R. XIV.5, p.303.

(Notes: pages 137-140)

(90) S.S. vol 118, p.323. See also p.237 for notice of his preaching and its effects.

(91) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p.186. Leake was given him by Trevor on 18 January 1764. See Trevor's Register, p.81.

(92) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.1226.

(93) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol III, p.387.

(94) Ibid., pp.125-126.

(95) Ibid. Trevor placed the elder brother at Haltwhistle in 1768. He died at Houghton-le-Spring (to which John was preferred) in April 1782.

(96) Ibid., p.387.

(97) Ibid., p.388; Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.1226.

(98) See Appendix No. 1, for the names of the men Trevor preferred.

(99) William Nowell at Wolsingham from 1754, and Benjamin Pye at Whitburn from 1769. The latter man was later made Archdeacon of Durham.

(100) Sykes, Gibson, pp.121-122.

(101) See among other things (for evidence of a modified opinion) Sykes' treatment of Newcastle's devotional life pp.276-282.

(102) Hughes, op. cit., p.321.

(103) Sykes, Church & State, p.182.

(104) Ibid., pp.176, 177, 179.

(105) See his letter to Bishop Hume of Sarum, 9 November 1766, when he says he desires to reward his "deserving friends in the universities" (quoted by Sykes, Church & State, p.180); also his letter to Trevor 25 August 1767, where he expresses his desire "of rewarding men of merit" (Ibid.).

(106) Ibid., pp.179-180. It should be noted that Newcastle had not sought preferment from Trevor before 1758, though seven prebends had lapsed since his arrival in Durham. See p.179.

(107) Ibid., p.180.

(108) Rowden, The Primates of the Four Georges, p.176.

(109) Trevor's Register, p.129.

(Notes: pages 141-142)

(110) Newcastle may or may not have been always concerned to keep the church spiritually strong, and it is not our purpose to determine, as Trevor is our subject.

(111) Perhaps Weston is the man preferred to the vacancy Newcastle spoke of in 1764. He was preferred to the ninth stall on 10 August of that year (Trevor's Register, pp.84-85). It is important to notice, however, that according to the values kept in the Diocese Book 1751 (? 1753), the ninth stall was not the least valuable, rather the fourth was (f.100^{V}).

(112) Mussett, op. cit., p.iv.

(113) Ibid.

(114) Trevor's Register, pp.17, 129 & 141. Sterne's institution is stated to be by the king "for this Turn (as it is asserted) by Reason of the Vacancy of the See of Durham", though how this could be asserted over two years after Trevor was made bishop is not at all clear. Mussett, op. cit., p.22, states that the royal nomination was on 17 May 1755. Perhaps, in fact, the right to the second stall was retained by the Crown from the year 1734, when Benson (the previous holder) was made Bishop of Gloucester and allowed to hold in commendam the prebendal stall that otherwise would have fallen to the Crown. Bishop Butler certainly believed this to be the Crown's right earlier in the century when Thomas Secker finally vacated a stall held in commendam since he was made bishop. See under Butler (earlier in this chapter) the Chapman Affair, for a fuller discussion.

(115) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.159.

(116) Ibid. Coming before his fall from power in 1766, this may have been one of Newcastle's appointments rather than the King's. See Sykes, Church & State, p.180.

(117) 8 March 1769. Trevor's Register, p.128.

(118) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.488.

(119) Ibid.

(120) Sykes, Church & State, pp.126-127.

(121) Trevor's Register, p.149.

(122) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.170.

(123) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.1000.

(Notes: pages 142-145)

(124) Ibid.

(125) Ibid.; Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.182.

(126) Ibid. (Hutchinson).

(127) Ibid., p.200.

(128) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.1333. Hutchinson (p.200) records that he was first at Trinity College.

(129) Ibid., (both Foster and Hutchinson).

(130) Ibid. (Hutchinson). For an account of these early days in the history of the professorship, see Sykes, Gibson, pp.95-107.

(131) Ibid. Trevor's Register, p.9, says he was instituted 21 March 1754. See Hutchinson for an account or his unusual death by drowning.

(132) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.200. Ogle's father was M.D. and was physician to the army under the Duke of Marlborough.

(133) Venn, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p.583. The years were 1750, 1766, and 1768 respectively.

(134) Ibid.

(135) Ibid. He was made D.D. of Cambridge in 1790, by incorporation from Oxford.

(136) He was instituted to the fifth stall 21 September 1761. Trevor's Register, p.68.

(137) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.975. He resigned his prebend upon becoming Bishop of Bangor in 1775.

(138) Rowden, op. cit., p.361.

(139) Ibid., p.364.

(140) Ibid., p.367.

(141) Trevor's Register, p.17. Six only (of nineteen) were to remain in their stalls after his death in 1779.

(142) Alexander Pope named him literary executor. Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.330.

(143) Ibid.

(144) Ibid.

(Notes: pages 145-148)

(145) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.174.

(146) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, pp.580-586, prints the tract in full. See especially p.584, where it seems hinted that Rotheram is being quoted. Alan was a close friend of the bishop, and his account of Trevor's death came from the pen of Robert Hutchinson, one of the bachelor bishop's domestics and personal friends, and brother to the author (so often quoted) of The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham. Robert Hutchinson drew the portrait of Trevor from which George Allen commissioned the engraving contained in William Hutchinson's work.

(147) Ibid., p.584.

(148) Ibid., p.585.

(149) Ibid.

(150) Ibid.

(151) See especially the discussion in chapters IV and V of the changes, during Trevor's period, in the diocesan officials and the pattern of visitation, respectively. Also see Hughes, op. cit., pp.328-329, where he notes the change in character of the officials.

(152) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.585.

(153) Ibid., pp.583-584. For his posthumous charities (which were extensive) see pp.587-588.

SECTION E

(1) DNB article, "Martin Benson".

(2) Ibid.; Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.109.

(3) Ibid. (Foster). DNB records that he was a tutor of Christ Church.

(4) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.178. See also DNB articles, "Martin Benson" and "Thomas Secker".

(5) Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.109.

(6) DNB article, "Catherine Talbot". Benson and Edward Talbot were contemporaries at Oxford.

(7) Ibid.

(Notes: pages 148-150)

(8) Ibid.

(9) Sykes, Church & State, p.64. Benson is said to have been one of the three (Butler and Samuel Clarke the others) to have won Secker over to the church from nonconformity. See DNB article, "Thomas Secker".

(10) Collated 25 January, he was installed by proxy 24 March 1724. See Mussett, op. cit., p.22. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.177, says his proxy was Richard Stonehewer, rector of Washington.

(11) Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.109.

(12) DNB article, "Martin Benson".

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) For the details of these ordinations, see Chapter VI.

(17) See Chapter V.

(18) DNB article, "Thomas Secker".

(19) Low, op. cit., pp.313-314.

(20) DNB article, "Martin Benson".

CHAPTER III

THE ARCHDEACONS

A. THE OFFICE AND WORK OF AN ARCHDEACON

At an early stage in the history of the church in the West, it began to be impossible for those men designated bishops adequately to exercise their episcopal oversight in person, and some degree of delegation became essential to the life of the church if it was to function in the larger units which came to be known as diocese. The primary delegation of this episcopal authority came in time to be centralised in the office of archdeacon, and this remained so in the English Church even after the Henrician Revolution. The precise nature of this office was consequently codified in the successive books of Common Prayer, and more especially in the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, agreed upon in 1603. Any adequate representation of the office and work of these men must be based upon a survey of this foundational material. Essentially their duties were three-fold, being administrative, juridical, and spiritual, though the great preponderance of their work was upon the first two of these.

Administratively, the archdeacon was especially responsible for overseeing the material state of the church, and his duties in this regard are clearly established in that section of the canons headed "Things Appertaining to Churches".(1) Though not specifically mentioned in all of the nine canons which comprise this section, he is nevertheless explicitly mentioned in the determinative one, canon 86. There he is required to(2)

> survey the churches of his... jurisdiction once in every three years in his own person, or cause the same to be done; and shall from time to time within the said three years certify the high commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, every year, of such defects in any of the said churches, as he or they do find to remain unrepaired, and the names and surnames of the parties faulty therein.

His guide in the performance of this duty was to be the very section of the canons from which this duty is quoted, and the requirements of this section were manifold. First of all he was to ensure that "the church-wardens or quest-men of every church and chapel" had provided, "at the charge of the parish", the Book of Common Prayer, the Bible of the largest volume, and the two books of Homilies.(3)

Next he was tosee that the requisites for the two dominical sacraments were in order, "a font of stone... in which only font the minister shall baptize publicly", and also "a decent communion-table in every Church".(4) It was not the table alone however, which was to be in order, but also the articles pertaining to it, for there was to be provided "a carpet of silk or other decent stuff" for covering the table "in time of divine service", and "a fair linen cloth at the time of the ministration".(5) Further, the archdeacon was to ensure that every church had "a comely and decent pulpit" as well as "a strong chest... having three keys" for alms to the poor.(6) The last item of internal furnishing that we need mention, is that he was to see that "a convenient seat be made for the minister to read service in", and too he was to see that "the Ten Commandments be set up on the east end of every church, where the people may best see and read the same, and other chosen sentences written upon the walls... in places convenient".(7) The general state of the fabric (including the churchyard) was to be well repaired, with special notice given to properly glazed windows and paved floors, and nothing was to be allowed that might in any way profane "the house of God".(8) Last of all (in this section), the archdeacon was bound to see to it(9)

> that a true note and terrier of all the glebes, lands, meadows, gardens, orchards, houses, stocks, implements, tenements, and portions of tithes lying out of their parishes... be taken by the view of honest men... and be laid up in the bishop's registry, there to be for a perpetual memory thereof.

If we are to judge by the sheer volume of canonical prescription, then we must declare that more than any other duty the archdeacon was meant to exercise juridical authority, for eighteen canons deal with this topic under the heading "Ecclesiastical Courts belonging to the Jurisdiction of Bishops and Archdeacons, and the Proceedings in Them".(10) No less than eleven of these eighteen regularize and clarify the practice of "Presentment", that is the certification into ecclesiastical courts of various offences against the ecclesiastical law.(11) As the first level of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was normally that of the archdeacon, these canons reveal a good deal concerning the function of those courts. Normally these courts (so the canons imply) were held in conjunction with the archidiaconal visitation, though the frequency of such visitations is not explicitly stated.(12) Nevertheless, there seems to be a clear implication that courts are ordinarily meant to be held at least annually.(13) This is perhaps best seen in canon 116, wherein it is stated that churchwardens are not to be responsible for presentments more than once a year "where it hath been no oftener used, nor above twice in any diocese whatsoever, except it be at the bishop's visitation". Canon 118 too seems to imply annual courts, for it specifies presentments to be made (and new churchwardens to be sworn) at "one of the two times in every year" normally appointed for such purposes. It was also specifically stated that such courts must be held in convenient places and at convenient times, so that those who must come before them may do so as easily as possible and "return homewards in as due season as may be".(14)

The canons not only establish the norm for archidiaconal courts as regards their frequency, but they go on to make explicit certain duties of the archdeacon himself, and that both before and after the

courts. It is laid down, for example, that those responsible for making presentments (that is the churchwardens) are to be furnished with "books of articles" by the archdeacon, in order that they might "ground their presentments" upon them.(15) Not only the grounds for such presentments are to be furnished however, for the solemn oath is to be contained therein as well, in order that after due care and consideration they may "frame (their presentments) at home both advisedly and truly, to the discharge of their own consciences, after they are sworn, as becometh honest and godly men".(16) The archdeacon's authority was not inferior to that of the bishop, and therefore those things of consequence which came before the former were required to be submitted to the latter's notice in order that they might not again be cited for the same offence. Canon 121 made this specific in the area of general presentments, for it stated that(17)

> every archdeacon, or his official, within one month after the visitation ended that year, and the presentments received, shall certify under his hand and seal to the bishop, or his chancellor, the names and crimes of all such as are detected and presented in his said visitation, to the end the chancellor shall thenceforth forbear to convent any person for any crime or cause so detected or presented to the archdeacon.

The archdeacon was further required to receive annually a list of all those "popish recusants... above the age of thirteen years" who lived in the parishes under his jurisdiction, and to deliver these to the bishop within one month.(18) One final, and by no means insignificant, matter of business transacted at archidiaconal courts is mentioned in passing in canon 126, and that is the proving of wills. The intention of the canon is to ensure that all such "last wills and testaments" will duly be deposited in the "public registry of the bishop of the diocese", but it makes clear for us the unchallenged claim of the archdeacon to the exercise of such jurisdiction.

We have mentioned previously that the archdeacon's responsibilities were more administrative and juridical than spiritual, according to the details of the canonical laws, though some few duties in this latter category are in fact touched upon. The archdeacon was to have a specific pastoral oversight over the clergy of his jurisdiction, and this was especially to be exercised at his visitation. The canons made this quite clear when they stated that it was(19)

> the chief and principal cause and use of visitation..., that the bishop, archdeacon, or other assigned to visit, may get some good knowledge of the state, sufficiency, and ability of the clergy, and other persons whom they are to visit.

It was also a part of his duty to oversee the selection, examination, and ordination of those men who were called to the diaconate and priesthood. It is rather clearly implied that he was to be among those who normally examined all candidates for ordination, and it is more specifically stated that he is expected to be one of the assistants to the bishop at the ordination.(20) It is the archdeacon who presents the candidates to the bishop, in the liturgical service of ordination set out in the Book of Common Prayer, which perhaps significantly symbolizes his position as the one responsible for the oversight of the clergy of his jurisdiction.(21) Though these few duties alone are explicitly denoted as belonging to the spiritual oversight and authority of the archdeacon, nevertheless he presumably still exercised this charge more widely in accordance with the tradition of the church, though specific cases alone would establish this clearly.(22)

Having established the canonical grounds upon which the office and work of an archdeacon were generally based, according to the canons of 1603, it remains for us to say something of the actual practice of the man who held that office and performed that work in the diocese in

the eighteenth century. On the one hand, it is very clear that the archidiaconal practice of the period was firmly based upon the broad outlines of those canons, but on the other hand there seem to have been a not insignificant number of modifications and adaptions. At the start of our period the canons were well over a century old, and the exigencies of the new times demanded some changes and relaxations, as did the general ecclesiastical temper of the Hanoverian Church. Archdeacon Thomas Sharp addressed himself to this very question in his "Visitation Charge Anno 1731", as follows:(23)

> Now as to the Canons in particular, I believe no one will say that we are bound to pay obedience to them <u>all</u> according to the letter of them. For the alterations of customs, change of habits, and other circumstances of time and place, and the manner of the country, have made <u>some of them impracticable</u>; I mean prudentially so, if not literally.

Strictly speaking, Sharp was addressing himself to the "Rubics and Canons... 'So far as they relate to the <u>Parochial Clergy</u>", but it seems likely that these same considerations he applied to himself in his archidiaconal function.(24)

How far the limitations which naturally came to be applied generally to the canons were more particularly applied to those which governed the archidiaconal function is a matter of some uncertainty. It would seem that by and large they remained in force, particularly as regards the administrative duties concerning the care of the church fabric, that at least in the archidiaconal jurisdiction of Northumberland.(25) Even so, it is not at all clear that these duties were fulfilled in the ordered and triennial way apparently presupposed by the canon. Archdeacon Thomas Sharp certainly did survey his jurisdiction very thoroughly in 1723, but he seems not to have upheld this standard in

every third year.(26) As regards juridical duties, we are at an almost complete loss when we seek to evaluate the work and practice of the archidiaconal courts. No direct evidence has survived to show us anything of the functioning of these courts in the diocese during the period 1721-1771. There is however, some secondary evidence of such courts in Northumberland during Thomas Sharp's tenure as archdeacon there, and primary evidence exists for Durham subsequent to 1775.(27) As far as the spiritual duties are concerned, we are able to ascertain that Thomas Sharp, at least, was routinely involved in examining candidates for orders during Bishop Chandler's episcopate, and Samuel Dickens was certainly assisting at the ordinations of Bishop Trevor.(28) Though no evidence exists to show that the Archdeacons of Durham did so, there is abundant proof that those in Northumberland gave periodic charges to the clergy at their visitations.(29) In the last analysis, we shall have to evaluate each archidiaconate on its own merits as far as the available evidence makes this possible, and therefore we proceed to a survey of those men who exercised this office.

B. THE ARCHDEACONS OF DURHAM: 1721 - 1771

The historical records of the diocese in this period are singularly void of materials which would enable anything like an adequate survey to be made of the state of the Archdeaconry of Durham, or to gauge the effectiveness of the several archdeacons. Apart from a few scattered visitation papers the record of affairs from the deprivation of Denis Grenville in 1691, until almost the middle of the archidiaconate of Samuel Dickins in 1775, is very poor indeed. In the light of these facts, it will have to suffice (in this archdeaconry) to give simply a

cursory summation of the known biographical data relating to the three men who held the office during our fifty-year period.

The first Archdeacon of Durham with whom we meet is Robert Boothe, collated to that office by Bishop Crewe on 15 May 1691, subsequent to the deprivation of Denis Grenville in that same year.(1) Born in about 1662, Boothe went up to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1678, took his B.A. in 1681 and proceeded M.A. in 1684.(2) Before being made archdeacon he was rector of Satterleigh and Warkleigh, Devon, and in the same year as that in which he received preferment in Durham he was made rector of Thornton-in-le-Moor, Cheshire.(3) Later he was to be rector of Richmond, Yorkshire (1700), and dean of Bristol from 1708 until his death 7 August 1730.(4) Of his performance as archdeacon during our period, only two pieces of information survive. The earliest one comes from a list, made probably in 1705,of all the "Popish Chapels within 7 miles of the Bishop of Durham's Palace at Durham".(5) Herein it is said that

> these people (i.e. papists) are more countenanced and favoured publickly than the Protestant Dissenters. And Mr. Archdeacon of Durham was publickly slighted and affronted for taking notice of them and endeavoring to Suppress the Schools and Chapels and discouraging their perverting of protestants.

This would seem to show Boothe attending to his duty, or rather attempting to attend to it, besides telling us of the attitude toward recusants in the area. The only other evidence we have is a single manuscript originating from an Archidiaconal Visitation Court in 1724, which is sufficient to tell us that Boothe held such courts, but leaves us in the dark concerning their frequency.(6)

As we mentioned in the previous chapter, Robert Boothe's death preceded that of Bishop Talbot by only three days, yet in that time the

appointment of a new Archdeacon of Durham was carried through, and thereby George Sayer came to hold the office for nearly thirty-one years. Sayer was the son of a man with connections in Durham, for his father was a proctor in the consistory court, although the elder Sayer seems likely to have been most normally resident in London, being "of Doctor's Commons".(7) Through his wife, Sayer was allied to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of his day as well, for she was a daughter of Archbishop Potter.(8) Yet more than either of these, his filial connections seem to have been determinative in the course of his preferment, for his brother Exton was married to one of Bishop Talbot's daughters.(9) Exton Sayer had been made Spiritual Chancellor of the Diocese of Durham in 1724, and if we accept even one half of Spearman's accusations we must account him a powerful man in the bishop's entourage.(10) Somehow or another he seems to have arranged for the appointment of his brother George to the lucrative and vacant archdeaconry on the day before the bishop's death.(11)

Born in 1696, Sayer had made his way through the normal channels of education and preferment before becoming archdeacon at the age of thirty-four. He went up to Cambridge in 1712, first to Clare, then migrating to Magdalene, and in 1714 he moved to Oxford, matriculating at Oriel College (the bishop's old college, and where Edward Talbot was then a fellow).(12) Taking his B.A. in 1717, Sayer proceeded M.A. in 1719, and three years later we find that he was vicar of Witham, Essex.(13) According to Hutchinson, Sayer was a chaplain to Bishop Talbot, and if this is so he must have been an acquaintance of Rundle and Secker, and almost surely he was a friend of the bishop's son Edward.(14) Upon the death of William Hartwell in 1725 the tenth stall in Durham Cathedral fell vacant, and Talbot prefered Sayer.(15) It was this preferment which he was asked to give up upon being collated

to the archdeaconry, but owing to the bishop's death the next day this was not surrendered until 1732.(16) Apparently this was because some query arose concerning the confirmation of the appointment, Bishop Chandler applying to the crown about the matter; and Sayer presumably did not want to find himself without either.(17) Upon confirmation of his collation to the Archdeaconry of Durham, Sayer resigned his vicarage in Essex, as well as his prebend at Durham, though he was later (1741) to become rector of Bocking (Essex), a living he held until his death.(18) In spite of his preferments, Sayer seems to have been unable to manage financially, and because of his "embarrassed circumstances" he retired to Brussels where he died in 1761.(19)

It is very difficult indeed to evaluate George Sayer's performance as archdeacon, again owing to the general lack of information. Unlike the case with his predecessor Boothe however, that information which does exist inclines us to a negative opinion of the man. There is not one piece of information extant to show that he performed the duties of the office in person, and it may be questioned whether or not he ever resided in the diocese.(20) At least from 1753 it is very unlikely that he fulfilled his function as Archdeacon of Durham, for in that year he gave a patent to Thomas Gyll to become "commissary or official of the archdeaconry".(21) Gyll was a local attorney of the City of Durham, and probably functioned in Sayer's stead from that time onward.(22) Papers exist to show that a visitation of the archdeaconry was made in 1761 before Sayer died, but this time we find John Sharp acting as "commissioner or assessor".(23) One remaining piece of circumstantial evidence is that in almost every category or class of documentation extant among the diocesan records of the period,

that which pertains to the Archdeaconry of Durham is either missing or sadly diminished in comparison to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland.(24) All these things taken together tend to convince us that the archdeaconry was very poorly served indeed during Sayer's tenure in office.

When Sayer died in 1761, he was succeeded by a man of a very different caliber, for Samuel Dickens proved to be an efficient and able Archdeacon for the next thirty years. Born in 1717, Dickens was the son of a Huntingdonshire clergyman and was sent up to Oxford in 1736, matriculating at Christ Church on 25 June.(25) He took his B.A. in 1740 and proceeded M.A. in 1743, going on to be admitted to the degree of bachelor in divinity in 1752 and that of doctor of divinity in 1753.(26) Dickens seems to have been a scholar of some merit, and his associations with Oxford were to be maintained for many years. In 1751 he was proctor of the university, and in that same year he was made regius professor of Greek, a chair he was to hold for twelve years.(27)

It is not known when Samuel Dickens took holy orders, nor by whom he was ordained, though perhaps he did so under the patronage of Richard Trevor while he was Bishop of St. Davids. This at any rate may be concluded from the fact that Hutchinson records that Dickens was "chaplain to bishop Trevor", and that no evidence whatsoever exists to show Dickens in that position during the time Trevor was in Durham.(28) In any event we find that Dickens' first recorded preferment came to him after Trevor had been translated to Durham, for in 1757 he was collated to the twelfth stall of the cathedral.(29) Subsequently he was made Official of the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter in 1760, and when Wadham Knatchbull died later in that same year the bishop

transferred Dickens to the vacant eleventh stall, known as the "Golden Prebend" owing to its economic pre-eminence among the cathedral dignitaries.(30) Yet once more the bishop was to add to his friend's list of preferments, for in 1762 he appointed Dickens to the vacant Archdeaconry of Durham to which was annexed the wealthy living of Easington.(31) At mid-century the twelfth stall was said to be worth £500 per annum and the archdeaconry £600, thus for the next thirty years we may assume that Dickens was recipient of at least £1100 per annum, no mean sum in those days.(32) This sum may have been augmented by any revenue which came to him as official, though no evidence of this exists, for after 1763 that was the only other position which he held since he ceased to be regius professor in that year.(33)

There are no systematic records extant to show in detail how Dickens performed his duty as archdeacon or as official in our period, but there are several incidental references which give us some glimpse of the man at work. We know for example that Dickens visited the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter in 1761, for the "call lists" for both the clergy and the churchwardens have survived.(34) He seems to have visited the Durham peculiars on 13 May at St. Oswald's in Durham City, and later in the summer he visited the Northumberland peculiars at Belford on 6 July.(35) In both instances the clergy were cited on these dates, the churchwardens apparently not appearing until later in the year.(36) At any rate in Northumberland this was so, for they appeared at Morpeth, Alnwick, and Belford on 4, 5, and 6 November, respectively.(37) Apart from this visitation in 1761, we find that Dickens is not infrequently commissioned by Bishop Trevor in order that some particular piece of diocesan business may be completed.(38) Usually the commissions are for the purpose of instituting or licensing

to a benefice or curacy, though there is one mandate for induction as well.(39) Yet another example of Dickens' readiness to assist the bishop can be seen in the repeated mention of the former's presence whenever the bishop ordained at Auckland.(40) Trevor's Register reveals that Dickens assisted him at his "General Ordination" every year from 1754 to 1770, with the sole exception being 1760.(41) The dates of this assistance show clearly that Dickens was not present owing to office, for he was there before being made either prebend or archdeacon, and perhaps it is a hint that there was a personal friendship between the two men.(42)

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Trevor's episcopate was marked by a new order and thoroughness in all aspects of diocesan administration, and from one so close to Trevor as Dickens seems to have been we should expect likewise in the archidiaconal administration. We have noted however, that no systematic record of such performance exists within our period, yet to conclude from this that Dickens failed to live up to his patron's example would be a mistake. For whatever reason the documents fail to exist before 1771, it is unlikely to be because of Dickens' failure to perform fully and adequately all of his archidiaconal duties. We assert this on two grounds, first the existence of a single document showing that Dickens held an archidiaconal visitation in 1775, and secondly the recent discovery of an Act Book kept by Dickens from 1775 until his death in 1791.(43) The former document is a printed summons to all "the Ministers and Churchwardens" of the archdeaconry to appear at the visitation to be held in St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham City, on 29 June 1775.(44) The second manuscript is much more extensive, being comprised of some three hundred and fifty-four pages, and in it are carefully transcribed the names of

the clergy and churchwardens cited to appear at the visitations.(45) Occasional notes are made concerning these men, and regularly lists of presentments or comperta are recorded as well. According to this source, visitations were held by Dickens twice a year from 1775 to 1791. In the light of these facts, it seems unlikely that Dickens failed similarly to perform his archidiaconal duties from 1762 to 1775.

The archdeacon died at his house in Easington on 30 August 1791, and left an estate of modest size for a man in his station, it being valued somewhat under £5000.(46) By his will, dated 9 February 1777, Dickens left this to his wife Margaret and his two sons Richard Mark and Henry John.(47)

C. THE ARCHDEACONS OF NORTHUMBERLAND: 1721 - 1771

When we turn to investigate the records of the more northern archdeaconry of the diocese, we are at once able to notice a marked improvement in the sheer quantity of material available for examination. Whereas we have suffered in our analysis of Durham owing to a dearth of manuscript evidence, we now find that we are almost overwhelmed by the abundance of material to hand for Northumberland. In consequence we shall have to be selective, though the centrality of the two Sharps (whose joint tenure in the office of Archdeacon of Northumberland spanned nearly seventy years) as well as their unusually devoted service in office,demands a much fuller treatment than we shall give at this time.

Our period opens, in fact, with an archdeacon of venerable age as well as title, for John Morton was seventy-years old in 1721.(1) A son

of one "Robert of Witherne, co. Lincoln, ninister", the young John seems to have made quite normal progress through school prior to going up to Oxford.(2) He matriculated at Lincoln College 12 July 1661 (when seventeen) and took his B.A. in 1664, proceeded M.A. in 1667, and received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1674.(3) Lincoln was Bishop Crewe's old college, and at the time Morton matriculated Crewe was a fellow there.(4) If we may assume that Morton was also a fellow there from 1667 at least, which seems very likely, then he will have been one of the fellows said to have "unanimously invited Crewe" to become rector in 1668.(5) Presumably it was at this time (or earlier) that the two men became acquainted, and it is reported that Crewe later made Morton his chaplain.(6) When in 1674 Crewe was translated to Durham (after being Bishop of Oxford for three years) he early bestowed some of his by then extensive preferment upon Morton, making him rector of the living of Egglescliffe in 1676.(7) In that same year he was also installed in the vacant seventh stall, empty(as was Egglescliffe) because of the death on 12 October of Isaac Basire, the famous Restoration Archdeacon of Northumberland.(8) Less than a month was to pass however, before Morton resigned the seventh stall in favour of the sixth, where he was to stay until 1685.(9) In that year he moved again, when Guy Carleton's death vacated the twelfth stall, and he remained in this prebendal office until his death in 1722.(10) Crewe had by no means exhausted his favour towards Morton however, for he collated him to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland (with the rectory of Howick annexed) on 5 October 1685, and later (in 1711) preferred him to the richest living in the diocese - Sedgefield.(11) This record of preferment is all the more remarkable in the face of the unbelievable assertion that Morton was one of Crewe's enemies,

which charge was apparently made by one of the bishop's biographers late in the eighteenth century.(12) If Morton was indeed the enemy of Lord Crewe it is beyond the imagination to speculate upon his treatment of friends.(13)

Morton was to live little more than a year after Bishop Talbot came to the diocese and not surprisingly his activity as archdeacon during that time was minimal. It is possible however to form some picture of his archidiaconal jurisdiction from the extant visitation papers, for they show that visitations of Northumberland were held at least in 1710, 1714, 1718, 1719, and 1720.(14) The former two dates yield a document each, both of which are injunctions directed to particular churches ordering that the repairs presented as wanting at the visitation be taken in hand "with all convenient speed", and that for this purpose they "forthwith lay on an assessment as... shall seem moot". From the years 1718 and 1720 we have simple lists of the procuration fees received by the archdeacon in his visitation, usually 10/2d from each parish.(15) Finally, in 1719, we have a blank commission titled "A Deputation from the Archdeacon to Visit". Here we probably see the failing health of the old archdeacon, necessitating assistance in his visitation, though we know not whom he received it from. It should be noted also, that twice there is specific mention that the visitation is that for Easter, a clear hint that two visitations were normal in any given year.

Archdeacon John Morton died on 16 November 1722, and was buried at Sedgefield.(16) On 27 February in the following year, Bishop Talbot collated the young rector of Rothbury to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, and thus began the thirty-five year archidiaconate of one Thomas Sharp.(17) That we are able to reconstruct much of

the state of the archdeaconry in the first half of the century, is owing almost entirely to the indefatigable labours of this one man. The evidence makes very clear that he was a man of stature and grace, and that he fulfilled his responsibilities as scholar, priest, prebend, and archdeacon with great devotion and humility. From his writings (both published and in manuscript) and from the ordered completeness of the records of his archdeaconry, it is possible to develop a very clear picture of the man and that part of the diocese which lay in his care.

Thomas Sharp came to the diocese in 1720 to become rector of Rothbury, the second most valuable living in Northumberland at that time.(18) The living was in the gift of the Bishop of Carlisle, though Sharp was presented by the Archbishop of York exercising his "option".(19) Archbishop Dawes was the successor at York to John Sharp, the father of Thomas, and he seems to have bestowed much favour on the younger Sharp in the early years of his ministry, though whether in gratitude to the deceased father or in recognition of the merit of the living son is not clear.(20) Archbishop Sharp died in 1714, not long after his son Thomas had graduated B.A. at Cambridge, and the younger Sharp remained there for a few more years, proceeding M.A. in 1716 after having been made a fellow of Trinity College the year before.(21) In 1717 he took holy orders when on 16 June he was made deacon by the Bishop of London, and the following February saw him ordained priest by his patron Dawes at York.(22) Presumably it was at this time that he entered upon his duties as chaplain to the archbishop, and in the same year Dawes appointed him to a prebendal stall at the collegiate church of Southwell in Nottinghamshire.(23) The following year the archbishop preferred him to the vicarage of Ormsby in Yorkshire and also to one of the vacant prebendal stalls in

York Minster.(24) Dawes' final bestowal of patronage was to be in 1720, when he offered Rothbury to Sharp and at which time the latter resigned his vicarage at Ormsby.(25) Thus when Thomas Sharp came into Northumberland in that year, aged twenty-seven, he was possessed of two prebendal "dignities" and one of the most substantial livings in the Diocese of Durham.

That one so young should have been in such a position may indeed have scandalized some of the clergy in the surrounding area, though few who encountered him in person can long have imagined him as unworthy of his station. He had succeeded as rector a man of some stature, the John Thomlinson whose character was sketched in an earlier chapter, and whose memory is justly maintained because of the charities he established. Nevertheless, the young Sharp found more than enough to occupy his attention and his zeal. In 1723 he recorded the following "Repairs & other work done in Rothbury Church and Chancell since the year 1720", a list which needs to be seen in full to be appreciated, for it runs to twenty-two points as follows:(26)

1. The seats in the North Isle next the North wall new built.
2. A New Gallery erected at the West end of the Church.
3. A new Pulpit, reading desk, & Clerks seat erected.
4. The Kings arms removed to the West end of the Church, and the Arch opened between the Chancell & body of the Church.
5. The West end of the Church under the gallery and near the doors of the Church flagged throughout, as also is the Porch.
6. The south wing called Trewhit Porch is flagged throughout.
7. The south Windows of the body of the Church enlarg'd & made new.
8. Two large buttrisses of Stone erected on the Northside of the Church.
9. A New stone Arch within the Church erected near the North door.
10. The bell loft new floored and secured at the door & windows.
11. Great part of the Church new pointed.
12. Two new windows broke out above the Arches for the gallery.
13. The South windows in Trewhitt Porch enlarged, & glazed as low as they have been formerly.
14. The whole Church Whitewashed.
15. The Chancell new glazed throughout and the Windows taken down as low as formerly.
16. The rails altered & new erected.
17. A New Altar piece, with the Lds prayer, Creed & Commandments.

18. The East wall, or fence of the Church yard built anew with stone.
19. The South wing, or Trewhitt Porch new roof'd with slate.
20. A new wall of Stone built on the West & south sides of the Church yard, & new Stiles & gates made, and a large folding gate next to the Town.
21. Two new pews erected in Trehit porch, & One on the South Isle.
22. The Church new pewed throughout the body. The Partition between the Chancell & Church, taken down and altered & painted and handsome tables of Sentences placed on the Ends of it.

Clearly, Sharp made a "clean sweep" and was embarking upon a new era of pastoral care at Rothbury, but what proves to be even more amazing is that he determined to do the same throughout the whole archdeaconry.

No record exists which would show that Thomas Sharp had any particular connection with Bishop William Talbot, nor with his sons Edward or Charles, though this is not entirely out of the question. What does seem more likely is that Sharp's reputation was growing rapidly in the north and that the bishop had become familiar with his character and work by the time Morton died. In any event Talbot broke the previous pattern of archidiaconal preferment in Northumberland and chose a clergyman already resident in the archdeaconry in early 1723.(27) In less than six months the new archdeacon had launched a visitation survey of unprecedented thoroughness, having determined to visit personally every benefice and chapel under his jurisdiction, and it is difficult to estimate what must have been the reaction among the clergy to such uncompromising zeal.(28)

Evidence has already been given of his "reparations" at Rothbury, and a general discussion of the nature of Sharp's injunctions in other places was contained in Chapter I, but even so the quite extraordinary attention to detail (made apparent in Sharp's notes to this visitation) needs still to be stressed. He seems not to have baulked at ordering repairs of the most major kind, if in his judgment they were needed,

nor did he shrink from requiring the smallest detail to be attended to. In all repairs his guide was the body of canons promulgated in 1603, and in these material points he seems to have believed in strictly following the letter of the law. When one reads the visitation journal he compiled (Visitation 1723) the orders, because of a superficial similarity, become a little tedious, but always one is amazed at the archdeacon's diligence. Not only did he compile a list of those things needful for the well-being of the fabric, he also compiled a general account of the benefices themselves, including frequently historical notices of various kinds. Perhaps Sharp's own description of the book, as set out on the title page of the manuscript, is the best indicator of the contents. He described it thus:(29)

> An Account of the Parochial Churches and Chappels within the Archdeaconry of Northumberland containing The Orders given at a Parochial Visitation in 1723 with an account of such orders as are executed, & of the times when they were certified into the Archdeacons Courts. Also the Value of the several benefices, In the Kings Books, computed, and real. Also the Patrons of the several Churches And the Impropriations, Their Value, and in what hands they are at present. Also the Religious houses to wch the several Churches did formerly belong. Also the Augmentations of the benefices. Together with An Account of Free Schools and charity schools in the respective Parishes. And benefactions left to the Poor Or to the uses of the Church. With an Inventory of books, vessells, & Vestments etc. belonging to each Parish Church or Chappel. And an Account of the Number of Roman Catholicks in each Parish returned to the House of Lords in the year 1705. And valuation of some poor benefices taken upon oath before the Ld Bishop of Durhams Commissioners in the year 1719. Wth some other things at the end relating to the Archdeaconry.

Sharp began his great visitation and survey on 20 April 1723, and his notes enable a reconstruction of his itinerary on the tour.(30) He seems to have determined to visit the archdeaconry by deaneries, starting with Alnwick and proceeding alphabetically to that of

Newcastle. The tour lasted until 5 October and was nearly continuous with only two breaks of nine and four days respectively.(31) From 20 to 30 August he visited Alnwick and Bamburgh deaneries, from 10 to 25 September he visited the churches and chapels of Corbridge and Morpeth deaneries, and finally from 30 September to 5 October he visited Newcastle deanery as well as four remaining livings in that of Morpeth. Never again was he to match this feat, though he clearly planned to revisit the archdeaconry again. In 1727 he returned to all the livings of Alnwick and Bamburgh deaneries. The next year he seems to have begun to survey again, this time in the deaneries of Corbridge and Morpeth, only to be interrupted for some reason or another until 1731 when in eleven continuous days he completed this task in Corbridge deanery.(32) After a short rest of only four days he went on to the deanery of Morpeth, which he finished off in 1732 along with that of Newcastle. So far as the available evidence goes, he never again visited parish by parish after this time, though incidental notes make it clear that he remained in touch with further work done in the parishes.(33)

It would appear that a prebendal stall at Durham Cathedral was to be bestowed upon Thomas Sharp by Bishop Talbot, but as no vacancy occurred in the last three years of his episcopate this intention had later to be fulfilled by Talbot's successor in the see, Edward Chandler.(34) In 1732 he preferred Sharp to the tenth stall, and the archdeacon was duly installed on 1 December.(35) Henceforth, the bulk of Sharp's time was to be spent in two locations instead of one, for from the time of his appointment to the stall he alternated his residence from Rothbury to Durham each year, in order that he might fulfil his requirements as a prebend.(36) He seems greatly to have involved himself in the affairs of the Dean and Chapter, in his

characteristic way, and there is much evidence in the chapter muniments of this activity. Most interesting is the way in which Sharp made extensive efforts to trace all the properties and estates of the Dean and Chapter during his tenure as "Receiver" of that body, no doubt assisting them in the task of increasing the rents and fines.(37) Later too, he was to become Sub-dean and then Official of the Officialty.(38)

Thomas Sharp was a scholar of no mean merit, and this was recognised by his contemporaries. In 1729 he had become Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge, and in the years which followed he was frequently to publish works of various kinds.(39) Not only were these of a pastoral nature, such as sermons and charges, but also some were of a serious philosophical, theological, and controversial nature as well.(40) In any event he seems to have been highly esteemed both for his knowledge and his integrity, and was called upon repeatedly to examine candidates for ordination after Bishop Chandler became ill and infirm in 1742.(41) During these years the Bishop of Gloucester normally ordained for Chandler, but Doctor Sharp seems to have had the authority to reject particular candidates. One "Mr Bailiff of Monk Wearmouth" was so unfortunate as to be in this category in 1746, for though he "was examined by Dr. Sharp", he "was not ordained, being thought not Sufficiently Qualified for Orders."(42) A note on the back of a fragment of Thomas Sharp's letter, in the hand of Ralph Trotter, says that Bayliff was "rejected for want of Latin & ignorance in the Articles".(43)

We already have discussed Archdeacon Sharp's attempts to survey the fabric of those benefices and chapels which were under his jurisdiction, and it only remains for us to examine the more normal

pattern of visitation and visitation courts. When discussing the canons earlier, we saw that they implied a twice yearly visitation court as normal, and the evidence of Sharp's archidiaconate seems to show that he held such courts, the earlier being known as the Easter Visitation and the latter as the Michaelmas Visitation. No detailed records have survived, but incidental references in Sharp's visitation journal make quite clear that these two occasions were annually attended to.(44) What is not clear, is whether all the clergy and churchwardens were summoned to both, or whether these two groups attended separately.(45) Usually these visitations were held at some central point in each deanery and all those required to attend would gather at the appointed time. Episcopal visitations normally were held at Alnwick, Belford or Berwick (for Bamburgh deanery), Morpeth, and Newcastle, with Corbridge attending at Newcastle. It seems however, that Thomas Sharp established only three centres after 1731, and these were Alnwick, Morpeth and Newcastle.(46)

It was customary for the archdeacon to deliver a charge in the presence of the clergy assembled for the visitation, and this custom was faithfully upheld by Sharp. His very extensive book on the rubric and canons of the Church of England was in fact composed solely from a course of visitation charges delivered between the years 1731 and 1752.(47) It is possible to ascertain from that work that in that period of time the archdeacon delivered one charge each year (with only two exceptions), unless under an inhibition from the bishop because of an episcopal visitation in that year.(48) Yet another of Sharp's works is derived from a similar source as well, for his Discourse on Preaching is in fact composed from the charges delivered in 1755, 1756, and 1757.(49) We thus have extant nineteen of the archdeacon's charges, and they give us a very clear picture indeed of

his concern for those under his care and jurisdiction. He seems to be guided in his choice of subject by a concern for the practical needs of his brethren, and though he normally carries through a detailed historical analysis of each separate subject, he always relates the matter in hand to the present situation faced by them. In these charges too we see the archdeacon striving to inculcate an ordered pattern of ministry, conformed to the constitution and canons of the church, and that not for its own sake, but rather in obedience to the requirements of the One in whose name they ministered.

The charges show that Sharp did not shrink from handling some of the most delicate subjects of the day, if he was convinced that they needed to be put right. Thus we find him dealing, for example, with the subject of "Titles and Testimonials" in his charge in 1741.(50) Few beneficed clergy were not at one time or another required to give a testimonial to some young clergyman desiring a position as curate, to say nothing of nominating them to a particular curacy. In Sharp's day, there was a scandalous practice of giving false titles and testimonials, and though he does not openly accuse his clergy of that practice, he nevertheless makes clear that they are bound before the law and before God to sign no statement but a true one.(51) Again we see Sharp handling a very serious and weighty matter of moment in his charge of 1742, when he deals (among other things) with the Oath Against Simony contained in the fortieth canon.(52) Accusations of simony abounded in the early eighteenth century, and if even one tenth of them were true, the practice was widespread. Further, there had come to be a great variety of interpretations in the Common Law such as to weaken the force of the older ecclesiastical understanding of simony to mean any "payments, contracts or promises whatsoever" by reason of which an ecclesiastical benefice is procured.(53) Sharp declares himself

unequivocally to be in favour of the older ecclesiastical understanding, and sets himself against every infringement of that meaning, and that in the face of widespread contemporary abuse throughout the church. Sharp not only decries the overt "conventional Simonies" but even more so the so-called "confidential Simonies" which he described as "all those little private, evasive, and collusive ways of practising corruptly for presentations, which no law can remedy for want of legal proof."(54) Sharp was no less forthright against the very widespread use of "resignation bonds", which bound the person presented to resign upon notice from the patron or else forfeit a large sum of money.(55) Of these, knowing full well that the common law held them to be legal, Sharp had this to say: "(they are of an) evil tendency and hurtful consequences, as they are a means of betraying the legal rights of the Clergy, and altering the nature of the tenure of Church benefices."(56) These two examples shall have to suffice, for the many more which could be given, to show how conscientiously and thoroughly Archdeacon Thomas Sharp laboured to fulfil his calling. Nevertheless, we will examine one more subject which arises in the charges because its nature is different from those already treated, and its historical interest is great. We refer to the archdeacon's attitude and approach to the expanding Methodist Movement.

John Wesley had first come into Northumberland on 28 May 1742, staying for four days in Newcastle and meeting with general encouragement from the crowds.(57) His brother Charles soon followed him there, and had formed a small society which John found upon his return for a second visit on 13 November 1742. He remained in Newcastle for twelve days, establishing the small society, expounding the Epistle to the Romans and the Acts of the Apostles, and purchasing property for the erection of a building - to be called the Orphan House - which could

serve as a base for charitable work in the city and as a centre for the itinerant ministry. On 26 November Wesley began to itinerate in the neighbourhood, and he continued to do so (based on Newcastle) until 31 December 1742. He later returned to Newcastle three times in 1743, once in 1744, three times in 1745, and thereafter he came once in the years 1746, 1747, 1748, 1752, 1753, and twice in 1749 and 1751. By the close of 1753, according to John Wesley's Journal, the following sixteen societies had been established:(58)

Newcastle (N)	13 November 1742
Tanfield (D)	29 December 1742
Horsley (N)	13 March 1743
Penshaw (D)	13 November 1743
Plessey (N)	13 November 1743(59)
Sunderland (D)	12 March 1746
Blanchland (N)	24 March 1747
Newlands (N)	24 March 1747
Berwick (N)	10 August 1748
Alnwick (N)	8 September 1749(60)
Morpeth (N)	8 September 1749
Hindley Hill (N)	20 September 1749(61)
Sheep Hill (N)	4 May 1751
Stockton (D)	6 May 1751
Allendale (N)	26 May 1752
Gateshead (D)	3 May 1753

No less than eleven of these societies were in Northumberland, and the hive of all this activity was the chief city of the county. Thomas Sharp could not have avoided noticing this development, and his conception of his pastoral duty required him to comment upon it.

Sharp was nothing if not a gentleman however, and his comments upon the Methodists are never malicious or insensitive, though he did allow himself a certain amount of irony on several occasions. We first see this in Sharp's Discourse on Preaching, when he turns to a discussion of the "Method of Composition".(62) Nowhere in this discourse does Sharp mention explicitly that he has John Wesley or his followers in mind, though it is difficult not to see this implied in

the following passage, where the archdeacon is urging the clergy "to abide by the Subject, whatever it be". He continues:(63)

> This is commonly called keeping close to the Text. Of which good Rule some Preachers are so little observant that whatsoever Text they set out with, they will nevertheless run their Chase through the Bible, as if they thought nothing was out of Method that was but in Scripture, from Genesis even to the Revelations. Such Ramblers from their assumed Subject are stiled, and not improperly, - Universal Preachers: Of which sort generally Speaking are the extempore Men; and for a very obvious Reason.

Again we may not unjustly surmise that those same folk were in his mind when Thomas Sharp preached before Bishop Joseph Butler, at the latter's visitation of Alnwick in 1751.(64) In this sermon the archdeacon is expounding I Timothy 3:14 and 15, and in the course of his exposition concludes:(65)

> that the Gifts of the holy Spirit, even in the inspired Ages, did not supersede the Necessity of human Means for the Instruction of the Ministers of the Gospel how to behave themselves: And therefore we may presume, that no pretence of Illumination from above, can justify any Person now a-days in slighting and setting himself above all the ordinary Ways of Improvement by human Means.

Sharp has not finished with this point however, nor with those things which naturally follow from it, for he continues later in the same sermon to touch on this again. "Consequently", he says,(66)

> they who set up for gifted Brethren; who make their own private spirit their Guide and sole Dictator in Things pertaining to Religion, who despise human Learning, and disparage all the customary Ways of attaining it, are in a different Sentiment from St Paul in this Matter, and should not therefore, take it amiss, if we hold them in no better a Light than as Persons deluding themselves; and if we also warn other to be careful how they trust to such Pretences.

The archdeacon had met this pretension earlier in his life, and had then ably controverted it, nor was he any less willing to do so at the end of his days.(67) All of these passages are of some interest in

showing the archdeacon's mind on the Methodist Movement in general, but they do not lay it bare. Once however he made plain his feelings in a visitation charge to the clergy in 1750, and to that we turn.

In the course of examining the rubric and caons, Sharp had come at length to the 72nd canon, which concerned "the Exercises commonly called Prophecies."(68) To discuss this canon called for some explanation, Sharp conceded tongue in cheek, for:(69)

> this would indeed have been thought a subject quite out of doors in our present age, if some approaches to a like practise, among some of our own Order, had not given the appearance of a revival of a custom that may naturally be attended with the like consequences.

The consequences alluded to by Sharp being a disturbance of the order and teaching of the Church of England, as well as a threat to the public peace. Having diligently enquired into the historical antecedents to the canon and to its intention, the archdeacon had come to the inference:(70)

> that whatever some persons of our own function, now at the head of certain religious societies, publickly convening to perform a Divine Service, and to expound the Scriptures, without any licence or authority from their Governors, either in Church or State; I say that such persons, whatever they may pretend of their acting within the Canons and Constitutions of this Church, will find it a difficult matter to reconcile their proceedings to this Canon in particular, not to mention others that are likewise unfavourable to their pretensions.

Sharp was convinced that this canon was "an evidence of the judgment of this Church against them", and therefore conceived that it was "not... unreasonable to take notice of it in this place."(71) He was prepared to concede that the exact practices opposed by the canon were not in fact being revived, but he was clearly disturbed by some

of the practices which were obtaining. In a lengthy, but revealing, passage he sets out for us just these things, as follows:(72)

> But if stated meetings for religious service are appointed, particular forms or ordinances enjoined, and this privato ausu, as the Canon words it, without any express permission from the Diocesan; if laymen and persons of no education or learning take upon them, either by the direction, or under the wings and patronage, of private Clergymen, to exercise and prophesy; that is, to expound the sense of Scripture publickly, and to insist on their own expositions as the only true doctrine of the Gospel, though not always according to the most approved interpretations that have been generally received by the Catholick Church in all ages; if they perplex and distract the minds of serious and well-meaning people, with doubts and difficulties about their title to God's pardon and favour, and require terms of acceptance as necessary, which yet are neither plainly read in Scripture, nor can be plainly proved thereby; if also pretence be made, by a new kind of exorcism, of delivering persons who labour under the pangs of the new birth, and this too openly and in their publick assemblies; and all these things continued, carried on, and persisted in, with real good intention, I verily believe, of making people better, but, at the same time, in defiance of the Bishop's authority and the Laws Ecclesiastical; then I conceive, that their proceedings, from their analogy with those in former times, do immediately fall under the censure of this Canon.

The archdeacon was not unaware that the Act of Toleration could be used so "as to screen every innovation or irregularity of this kind", yet it was a different matter indeed if "such as profess themselves Ministers of this Church" acted in a similar way.(73) With more foresight than perhaps he knew, Sharp was most concerned about the end result, if such men "either form or draw together separate congregations for doctrine or worship, or, by their presence, encourage and abet the same."(74) Even so, the archdeacon was aware that these persons appeared "to be influenced with a zeal to promote God's glory, and to advance and encourage the spirit of piety and religion among their neighbours, which... has, of late years, fallen into visible decay."(75) With men such as these he was prepared to "be tender" and to "forbear

prosecuting these points any further."(76)

When Thomas Sharp penned those words he was fifty-seven years old and had been twenty-seven years archdeacon, yet by his own admission there was a "visible decay" of religion in the diocese. That this was not only true of the body of laymen, but of the clergy as well, was another fact which Sharp was sadly forced to admit. In his last published sermon,originally delivered on 12 July 1752, the archdeacon grieved that the clergy all too often were guilty of "careless and inconsistent Behaviours in public Worship" thereby giving "too much Reason... for the Enemies of the Lord to blaspheme; to cast Slanders upon our Service and upon our Religion."(77) It was unfortunately the case that many of these enemies had frequent occasion to see the clergy "so unconcerned, so little mindful of the Duties of the Place (i.e. the Church), and so observant of what doth not belong to it" that they could well liken them to the pagan "Multitude that flocked into the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the greatest Part whereof knew not wherefore they were come together."(78) Some twenty years previously, Sharp had been prepared to say of the clergy in Northumberland that they were as undeserving of attack "as any Body of Pastors in this or any other Kingdom".(79) Whether these earlier words represent an undue praise brought out for a controversial purpose, or a true assessment, is no more certain than whether Sharp in his old age was seeing the truth or engaging in the prerogative of the elders of every generation. Yet we have learned to give the man's judgment the benefit of the doubt, and perhaps at length the work he had so loved and laboured in was not bearing the fruit he had longed for. He died, much lamented, on 16 March 1758, and was buried in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral one week later.(80)

Bishop Trevor did not immediately replace Sharp as archdeacon, but waited some five months before collating Thomas Robinson, the vicar of Ponteland, to that office.(81) This preferment by the bishop was an unusual one, for unlike most of his predecessors Robinson was already a well-respected and established clergyman in the archdeaconry at the time he assumed the office of archdeacon.(82) Robinson was a native of the diocese, born in Newcastle in 1701 and baptised at All Saints on 13 May that year.(83) His father was also named Thomas, and is described as a gentleman of the city of Newcastle in his son's matriculation records at Oxford.(84) Young Thomas matriculated at Lincoln College in 1716 and received his B.A. there in 1720 before migrating to Merton and proceeding M.A. in 1722.(85) A fellow of his college, he was a proctor in the University in 1730, took his B.D. in 1731 and was made D.D. in 1732.(86) A note in one of the diocesan Subscription Books tells us that he was ordained deacon 22 December 1723, and priested 30 May 1725, by the Bishop of Oxford.(87) In the same year that he was made proctor of the University he was also preferred to a prebendal stall at Peterborough Cathedral, and in 1732 his college gave him the living of Ponteland in Northumberland.(88) Twenty-six years were to pass before Robinson was made archdeacon and during that time he seems to have been mainly occupied with his duties as a parish priest, for little other notice of him is to be found, save that "he was a learned and good man, and an active justice of peace".(89)

Whatever degree of learning Robinson possessed as well as his personal attributes, he seems to have been conscious of the greatness of the challenge to follow in Thomas Sharp's footsteps, nevertheless, he endeavoured to do so with what time was allowed him.(90) It is clear from annotations in Robinson's hand contained in one copy of

Sharp's visitation journal, that he undertook a general survey of his jurisdiction in 1758, though he seems not to have been anything like as comprehensive as his predecessor.(91) Apart from the scattered notes of this survey in 1758, we know only that twice Robinson was able to visit his archdeaconry (that is gathered at visitation centres) and at both times he gave a charge to the clergy which he subsequently published.(92) Unfortunately his time as archdeacon was to be cut short for he died in 1761, at the age of sixty, and was buried in the chancel at Ponteland on 11 December of that year.(93)

Having for a second time the opportunity of appointing an archdeacon for the northern portion of his diocese, Richard Trevor again looked to the clergy already resident there, and from among them he chose John Sharp, vicar of Hartburn and son of the man who had held this office for thirty-five years.(94) John Sharp was the eldest son of the family, a grandson both to an archbishop through his father and to a prebendary of Durham through his mother.(95) Sent first to the grammar school in Durham, under the care of the Revd Richard Dongworth, he went up to Cambridge in 1740, matriculating at Trinity College like his father and grandfather before him.(96) Made scholar in 1741, he graduated B.A. in 1744, became a fellow in 1746 and proceeded M.A. in 1747.(97) Again as his father before him, he sought deacon's orders on the title of his fellowship, and was ordained 23 October 1748 by the Bishop of Ely, Thomas Gooch.(98) In the following Spring (little more than six months later) he was priested by Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester.(99)

Unlike his father Thomas (who was ordained three years after the death of his father the archbishop), John Sharp began his ministry while his father was still alive, and in fact at the peak of his career.

Presumably it was because of his father's influence and reputation with Edward Chandler, then Bishop of Durham, that John Sharp was named vicar of Hartburn in Northumberland in 1749, the same year in which he was ordained to the priesthood.(100) The young Sharp thus began what was to be a forty-three year ministry in the diocese. In 1751 he was made a chaplain to the bishop by Joseph Butler, and in the short time during which his episcopate lasted, Sharp exercised this office at least occasionally.(101) Upon Trevor's translation to Durham in 1752, he was approved as Official to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, and until his father's death in 1758 he assisted him in this jurisdiction, no doubt learning much that was later to prove useful when on 21 April 1762 he was raised to the same archidiaconal office.(102) John Sharp was to remain archdeacon for thirty years, and again it must be emphasised that his character and function in this office would repay more extensive examination, though we shall limit our investigation to that work which he performed before Trevor's death in 1771.

Before becoming archdeacon, Sharp had clearly had good preparation for the execution of the office, having been resident in the diocese for thirteen years, having a working knowledge of the responsibilities and duties from his time served as official to his father, and having a reasonable knowledge of the state of the diocese owing to his itinerancy as a Diocesan Preacher.(103) Nothing was more determinative in his own exercise of office however, than the example of his father. Again and again it becomes clear that John Sharp's spiritual inspiration and practical application were dependent upon his father, a fact made plain in his first visitation charge in 1763, when he expressed the hope that the merit of his father would cause the clergy to overlook the deficiencies of the son.(104) Thomas Sharp's shadow was long cast

over the archdeaconry, and John Sharp never hesitated to walk within it.

The new archdeacon began his duties, as his father before him, by undertaking a visitational survey of all the churches and chapels of the archdeaconry in 1763. Beginning in the Spring of that year and continuing until October 1764, he covered several thousand miles before his round was complete.(105) Surveying the fabric and churchyard and issuing orders for repairs and restoration, Sharp sought to insure order and due conformity to the canons of the Church. He added his own notes to a copy of his father's journal of visitation, and though they repeat much of what was previously necessary in 1723, there is a somewhat different emphasis. Many of the orders we might expect - repairs to roofs, broken windows, etc.; but the detail of the orders is often quite amazing: flagstones levelled; arches repaired; steeples new-leaded; cracked bells recast; windows sealed; walls scraped (to remove mould no doubt); pews repaired and floored; all pews to be equipped with kneeling boards (which must always be "low, flat, and broad"); the list could go on and on. Seldom did the archdeacon issue less than a dozen orders and at Bamburgh, where his brother was curate, he issued fifty-four.(106) Whether this was to disprove any allegation of favouritism, or because Bamburgh was a shambles, is uncertain - though probably the latter. One begins to imagine that Sharp missed little in the way of material needs, seemingly having gone from the crypt to the belfry of every church in his jurisdiction. Doubtless it was this period of intensive examination that gave him the information (and inclination) which he later was to use so extensively in restoring these derelict churches, acting in his capacity as a Crewe Trustee.(107)

As we have mentioned previously, there is no known primary evidence of the existence or function of the archidiaconal courts of the diocese between 1721 and 1771. As with the archidiaconate of his father however, John Sharp's journal-entries give us indirect testimony to the existence of such courts, listing as they do the time and visitation court at which the orders were certified as complete and also listing monies received in commutation of penance.(108) Once again we are inclined to suppose the due and ordered regularity of Easter and Michaelmas Visitations, and at one or the other of these John Sharp would annually deliver his charge to the clergy. Sharp normally delivered such a charge each year, in the visitation centres of Alnwick, Bamburgh, Morpeth and Newcastle, unless under episcopal inhibition as he was in 1766 and 1770.(109) Thirteen such charges have been preserved in manuscript, of which the first six are dated before the death of Bishop Trevor, and for a fuller understanding of John Sharp's archidiaconate we must examine them briefly.(110)

When we turn to these charges we begin to see clearly that John Sharp too had a deep sense of pastoral responsibility for the clergy and people of his archdeaconry, and this concern was of a humble and sincere nature. His father before him had endeavoured to avoid solemn "admonitions" in his charges, giving them "not in an authoritative Form, but rather in a brotherly Manner, by Way of seasonable Advice", and these words can fairly be applied to the son.(111) He laboured to give an example of this "ideal", both in his life and in his charges, in such a way as to avoid all unnecessary antagonism. His manner was such that it must often have elicited agreement and amendment of life, yet left the recipient thinking that he had come to the judgment on his own. Characteristically, after a careful and reasonable exposition of some part or other of the clergyman's duty -

which must have touched many "open wounds" - Sharp sums up with the gentle disclaimer:(112)

> But I dont presume to dictate to <u>you</u> My Revd Brethren... (but) wish you all to act... as you shall be persuaded in your Consciences after serious consideration, will tend most to the Glory of God, and the Good of His Flock committed to your charge.

The archdeacon's life was a testimony that such words came from his heart.

John Sharp's charges were delivered at intervals over a thirty year period, and seem to be modelled upon those of his father, the son attempting to take up things not already covered in detail by him. An examination of their titles will indicate something not only of their content, but of the man who wrote and delivered them, and they are as follows:(113)

1. Propriety of Observing Rubrics Relative to the Behaviour of the Congregation.
2. Exercise of Several Parts of the Ministerial Function (particularly the refutation of erroneous doctrine).
3. "Duty of Churchwardens with regard to making their Presentments".
4. Observation of the Fasts of the Church of England.
5. "Sketch of the Nature and Origin of the Ecclesiastical Laws".
6. "Charity of the Sons of the Clergy".
7. The Care of Parish Registers.
8. The Behaviour of the Clergy in Their Station (general conduct).
9. Sufferings of Episcopal Clergy in North America.
10. The Behaviour of the Clergy in Their Station (discharge of parochial duty).
11. The Clergy's Duty to use the Office of Visiting the Sick.
12. Neglect of Religion, Particularly the Sacraments.
13. The Improvement of Parochial Psalmody.

Diverse as these are, they yet make clear that Sharp was labouring to inculcate a due conformity to the rubric and canons, and more generally to elevate the performance of the parochial clergy thereby bringing decency and order into the worship of the church. We shall content

ourselves with a detailed examination of only one of these charges, or rather with what appears to have been a subsidiary to charge number three.(114)

The basic theme of this small portion of the charge, is the "Duty of the Clergy" and Sharp equates that with living "up to the Laws of the Land; or," he goes on, "which is the same to behave ourselves as becomes good Christians, as becomes good Ministers, and as becomes good Subjects of the Government we live under".(115) Before treating these three heads, the archdeacon gives a brief prologue which clearly reveals many of his beliefs and attitudes:(116)

> We are all Ministers of the Church of England which I dare say we all of us do believe to be not only a true sound part of the Catholic Church of Christ; but also the purest, the most Apostolical, the most unexceptionable both as to Doctrine and Worship of all the Christian Churches at this Day in the World. Of this excellent Church... it is our Honour and Happiness not only to be Members but Ministers... (and) Our Duty now is to walk worthy of this profession, to adorn that Post wherein Our Lord hath put us, and to behave ourselves in all points as becomes those who have so weighty a charge committed to them.

That this church had suffered in the past, he knew, and was sure that as with "all other parts of the Church Militant", she would "never... be without Adversaries."(117) Yet in a burst of fervour Sharp says: "But blessed be God, she has hitherto stood the shock of all of them of what sort soever... (and) We hope... in the Will of God, that this lamp on our part shall never be extinguished."(118) With this not unmoving appeal finished, Sharp begins to unfold his concept of "Clerical Duty".

Treating first duty as "Good Subjects", Sharp delineates one positive point, that every minister must satisfy himself "about the lawfulness of (his) own actions that (he does) in compliance with the

Laws & Government. But to meddle further... doth not belong to (him)".(119) It is the minister's duty to promote peace and to quiet people's minds "whatever (his) own private Sentiments... be; it will not become (him) to sow or to foment discontent"; on the contrary he should "allay these ferments which otherwise might work to the mischief & disturbance both of the Church and State".(120)

And he goes on to say:(121)

> Sure I ame we have no warrant from our Saviour & his Apostles (to meddle in State Matters); for their practice was always to obey those that were in possession of the Sovereign Power, without inquiring into or disputing their Title or encouraging other Christians so to do.

Sharp chooses next to treat of their duty as "Good Ministers", and he does so under two subheadings - private duty and public.

Concerning the first, the clergyman is to make "private and serious and frequent application... to those that are under (his) care; either by way of Instruction... Advice... Exortation... Reproof or Comfort, as the circumstances of the Persons and the occasion requires."(122) Most important of all private ministrations, however, are those to the sick, a duty to be diligently and constantly attended to as "the Rubric and our Liturgy direct us."(123)

Not unnaturally, when Sharp treats the public duty of the clergy more ground is covered, and this under four hands. First, he urges "Catechizing the youth of (the) Parish & instructing them in the ground and precepts of this Christian Religion... every week."(124) This was indeed required by the canon and rubric, but it is doubtful if Sharp's advice was taken, for almost universally catechizing was done only in Lent by the late eighteenth century. Reading "Divine Service" was the second duty touched on, and Sharp assumes that everywhere it is read on

Wednesday, Friday, Sunday and "Holidays".(125) In addition, he presses for it to be read daily "in all market and great towns", and even in "villages and less populous places" if the people may be brought to prayer.(126) This leads him naturally to the celebration of the Holy Communion, and Sharp urges:(127)

> use your utmost endeavours both in your sermons and by private applications to prevail with such of your Flock as are of competent Age, to receive the Sacrament frequently; and to this end that you administer it in the great Towns once in every month, and even in the lesser too, if communicants may be procured... and that you take all due care both by preaching and otherwise to prepare all for a worthy receiving of it.

Finally, the archdeacon turns to preaching, raising most of the points his father had impressed upon him, that all clerics might "minister to the Edification of the meanest capacity under (their) charge".(128) Concerning the content of sermons he says only this, that "now that through the Blessing of God we seem to be rid of our apprehensions of Popery, I count in a manner all contest and controversy needless except such as are managed against the Devil & Sin".(129) The great design of all preaching should be "to make men good livers",by which is meant "to press upon them the substantial indispensable Duties of the Gospel, Holiness... Peaceableness... Charity... Humility and Devotion."(130) When these things were impressed upon men's minds, then a sure foundation for conformity to the church could not but be laid, or so it seemed to the archdeacon.

Having covered the duty of the clergy as "Good Subject" and "Good Minister", Sharp summed up his charge by discussing their duty as "Good Christians". It was not enough only to take care to be free from all "blemish & scandal", they must also be examples "to all (their) flock of Innocence... Sobriety... Charity... Devotion and every other

Christian Grace and Virtue".(131) They could do "more hurt to the Church of Christ by (their lives) than all (their) Preaching (could) do it service."(132) But he did not believe this to be the most important point, for:(133)

> When all is done he doth the greatest hurt to himself, for it will prove a dreadful judgment at the long run, that while he all his life hath been preaching to others, he himself doth at last become a castaway, and of all castaways... such a one is likely to be most miserable.

Thus coming to the end of his short charge the archdeacon characteristically ended by praying for all the clergy present:(134)

> that God would... direct & prosper all (their) Studies and Endeavours to the Glory of his Name, to the promoting Truth and Peace and Religion among men, and to the effectual Salvation of (their) own Souls and those committed to (their) charge.

Little more need be said in order adequately to convey that John Sharp attempted by the discharge of his duty as archdeacon to be found at the last "a good and faithful servant". His duties were to increase in several directions later in his life, but these seem not to have altered his pattern of ministry in any substantial way. In 1768 Bishop Trevor collated him to the ninth stall in the Cathedral, and in 1772 he took personal charge of Bamburgh Castle and Bamburgh Church on behalf of the Crewe Trustees.(135) For nearly twenty years thereafter, he devoted his energies and his talents to the needs of the Church in Northumberland and to the poor and distressed in particular. In 1791 the new bishop, Shute Barrington, collated Sharp to the famous eleventh stall, though his time there was to be very short.(136) On 28 April 1792, one month after his sixty-ninth birthday, Archdeacon John Sharp died, and was buried five days later in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral.(137) His body was placed beside the remains of

his father Thomas, thus closing nearly one hundred and twenty-five years of clerical service in the Church of England for the family of Sharp, for John Sharp left no male heir nor did any of his brothers.(138)

D. THE OFFICIALS OF THE OFFICIALTY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF DURHAM: 1721 - 1771

As we have seen previously, the Diocese of Durham had a peculiar jurisdiction within itself which in every way partook of the nature of an archdeaconry, without in fact having that name.(1) In consequence, the Officials of the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham demand to be treated in this chapter, for though they functioned in the name of the Dean and Chapter they functioned archidiaconally.(2) Normally all that would be true of an archidiaconal jurisdiction should appertain to this peculiar jurisdiction as well, that is visitational surveys and courts.(3) Unfortunately, the activities of these men in their office have left us with fewer documentary remains than was the case with the two archdeaconries. Of necessity therefore this section will be limited to a brief examination of the men who held this office during our period, supplemented by whatever information is obtainable to illustrate their activities in office.

When our period opens we find that Sir George Wheler, rector of Houghton-le-Spring and prebendary of the second stall, holds the office of Official, and has done so since 1705.(4) The son of a royalist officer, Wheler had been born at Breda in 1650 while his parents were exiles in Holland because of their loyalty to the Crown.(5) Heir to considerable wealth, the young Wheler travelled widely in Europe and the near East after his days at Lincoln College, Oxford, returning to

England and taking holy orders only in 1683.(6) He was well known and highly thought of not only for his birth, but also because of his publication in 1682 of a learned book entitled A Journey into Greece.(7) Not surprisingly therefore he was preferred by Bishop Crewe to a vacant prebendal stall in Durham only one year after his ordination.(8) Later Crewe was to again patronize him by appointing him rector of Winston in 1706 and then three years later collating him to the extremely lucrative living of Houghton-le-Spring.(9) The only evidence we have of his performance as Official is a notice among the parish records of Holy Island, that on 26 June 1707 Sir George Wheler visited that benefice in his official capacity.(10) He died on 15 January 1723-4, and was buried in the Galilee of Durham Cathedral.(11)

Wheler was succeeded in his office by one Thomas Eden, who was to continue as Official of the Officialty for twenty years. A local man, Eden was the son of Sir Robert Eden, Baronet of West Auckland.(12) Born in 1682, the young boy was sent to the grammar school in Newcastle, going up from there to Trinity Hall at Cambridge.(13) Matriculating in 1699, Eden graduated LL.B. in 1705 and became LL.D. in 1711.(14) Bishop Crewe ordained him deacon 8 June and priest 21 September 1707, and when Sir George Wheler resigned Winston for Houghton-le-Spring in 1709, he preferred Eden to the vacant living.(15) When not yet twenty-nine years old, the bishop again advanced him, this time to the vacant ninth prebendal stall on 23 July 1711.(16) Twice more he was to be advanced, once again by Crewe in 1715 when he was moved to the seventh stall, and again in 1745 when Bishop Chandler gave him the rectory of Brancepeth.(17)

We may perhaps not unfairly assume that Eden was thought likely to be a useful man to be named Official, owing to his expertise in the

law.(18) At any rate we have several pieces of evidence which seem to show that he duly performed the requirements of his office, for it appears that he visited the officialty in 1726, 1731 and 1746 at the least. The evidence for the first two visitations is indirect, and arises from parochial evidence in both cases, since it is recorded at Ellingham, Tweedmouth and Edlingham, that he visited in 1726.(19) Also there is implicit evidence that he visited Bolton Chapel in 1731, for he then presented a Communion cup made at Newcastle the year before.(20) That a visitation was held in 1746 is made clear from an entry in one of the Episcopal Visitation Booklets, which lists:(21)

> The names of the Clergy & Church Wardens within the Officialty of the Dn & Chapter of Dm. Cited to Undergoe the Visitation of the Worspful Thomas Eden Dr. of Lawes Official Holden in the Parish Church of St Oswald in Dm. on Thursday the 29th Day of April 1746 in the Presence of me Jon. P. Not. Pub.

The last reference to Eden in his capacity as Official, is contained in the notice of a mandate given to him (in virtue of the archidiaconal jurisdiction "asserted" by the Dean and Chapter) to induct the new vicar of Monk Hesilden.(22) Thomas Eden died on 3 March, and was buried 6 March 1754.(23)

Eden was followed as Official by Thomas Mangey, prebend*ary* of the first stall since 1722 and brother-in-law to Archdeacon Thomas Sharp.(24) The son of a Leeds goldsmith, Mangey went up to Cambridge and subsequently became a fellow of St. John's College there, eventually becoming both LL.D. and D.D.(25) Made chaplain by the Bishop of London, he was later preferred by him to Ealing in Middlesex and St. Mildred, Bread Street, London, both of which livings he held to the end of his life.(26) Collated to the fifth prebendal stall by Bishop Crewe on 11 May 1721, apparently under the influence of Bishop Robinson of

London, he was then moved to the first stall in the following year by Bishop Talbot.(27) He held the position of treasurer of the chapter at Durham for a portion of his thirty-four years as a prebend, and in that time "greatly advanced the fines upon the tenants, and improved the rents of his prebendal lands near £100 a year."(28) Mangey held the position of Official for a little less than one year, and he died on 6 March and was buried 10 March 1755 in Durham Cathedral.(29)

The next man to hold the office of Official was one with whom we are already familiar, for Archdeacon Thomas Sharp succeeded his brother-in-law. We need say little of this man here, save to draw attention to the affairs of the Officialty in the short few years before Sharp's death in 1758. We have no information of any visitation, but there is an Act Book of the Dean and Chapter's Official extant from this period, dated March 1755 to November 1757.(30) This volume contains the record of only one case, and that against the curate of Holy Island, James Robertson.

When Sharp died, Thomas Chapman succeeded to the vacancy in the Officialty on 28 September 1758.(31) One of the first men to be preferred by Bishop Joseph Butler upon his translation to Durham, being appointed to the third stall 12 December 1750, Chapman was at that time a young and brilliant clergyman of great promise.(32) A diocesan son, Chapman had been born at Billingham in 1717, educated at Richmond, and sent up to Cambridge in 1734.(33) Matriculating at Christ's College he was scholar that same year, graduated B.A. in 1738, proceeded M.A. in 1741, and was elected as a fellow of his college in the latter year.(34) He left Christ's for Magdalene in 1746 when he was elected Master there, a position he held until his

death, and he became Vice Chancellor in 1748.(35) Chapman had taken holy orders at an earlier date (he was priested by the Bishop of Lincoln 23 September 1744) and he was subsequently chosen to be a Chaplain to the King, who in 1749 sent his royal mandate to the university directing them to confer the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him.(36) Were this not enough, he was named rector of Kirkby-Overblow, in Yorkshire, the same year.(37) When he was installed in Durham on 1 January 1751 he was only thirty-three years old.(38) He died only two years after his appointment as Official, in the prime of his years, on 9 June 1760.(39)

With the death of Chapman, once again a familiar figure was chosen to fill the vacancy, this time Dr. Samuel Dickens, then the holder of the twelfth prebendal stall and later to sit in the "golden stall" as well as to become Archdeacon of Durham. When treating this man as archdeacon mention was made of his visitation of the Officialty in 1761, and this should be referred to above. Now we shall close this short examination of the Officials of the Officialty by turning to an Act Book kept by Dickens while he held this office. The volume covers the years 1769 to 1787, and contains a brief summary of the actions taken in the visitation courts of the Officialty under some such heading as this following:(40)

> Minutes of the Acts Sped before the Worshipful Thos. Hayes A.M. Surrogate of the Right Worpl. Samuel Dickens Doctor in Divinity Official of the Officialty of the Honorable the Dean and Chapter of Durham at a Court of Correction holden in the parish Church of Saint Oswald... on Thursday the thirty first day of August 1769... in the presence of Braems Wheler Registor.

These courts seem to have been held twice a year, at least until 1773, and thereafter once a year.(41) In 1769 and 1770 one court was held

in Durham and one in Northumberland, but from 1771 all are held at Bamburgh and "Henry Elliott, Clerk, Surrogate" takes the place occupied by Hayes in 1769.(42) It is not at all certain whether Dickens himself was present at these courts or whether his surrogate alone was in charge, though in September of 1770 the court was held at Dickens' Prebendal House in the College of Durham.(43)

THOMAS SHARP'S VISITATION ITINERARY 1723

20 August	Whittingham (A)
21 August	Allenton (A)
	Holystone (A)
23 August	Felton (A)
	Framlington (A)
	Warkworth (A)
24 August	Lesbury (A)
	Longhoughton (A)
	Shevilbottle (A)
26 August	Alnwick (A)
	Embleton (A)
	Horwick (A)
	Rennington (A)
	Rock (A)
27 August	Bamburgh (B)
	Beadnell (B)
	Belford (B)
	Egglingham (A)
28 August	Chillingham (A)
	Chatton (H)
	Doddington (B)
	Ford (B)
29 August	Alnham (A)
	Carham (B)
	Kirknewton (B)
	Wooler (B)
30 August	Ilderton (A)
	Ingram (A)
.....	
10 September	Alston (C)
	Garrigill (C)
11 September	Haltwhistle (C)
	Knaresdale (C)
	Kirkhaugh (C)
12 September	Beltingham (C)
	Haydon (C)
	Whitfield (C)
13 September	Newbrough (C)
	Warden (C)
14 September	Corbridge (C)
	Halton (C)
	Shotley (C)
	Slealey (C)
16 September	Birtley (C)
	Chollerton (C)
	Simonburn (C)
17 September	Bellingham (C)
	Corsenside (M)
	Elsden (M)
18 September	Hartburn (M)
	Kirkharle (M)
	Whelpington (M)
19 September	Bolam (M)
	Mitford (M)
	Whalton (M)
20 September	Bothall (M)
	Hebburn (M)
21 September	Newbiggin (M)
	Ulgham (M)
	Widdrington (M)
	Woofhorn (M)
23 September	Ponteland (N)
24 September	Ryall (C)
	Stamfordham (C)
25 September	Bywell St. Andrew (C)
	Heddon (N)
	Newburn (N)
	Ovingham (C)
.....	
30 September	Tynemouth (N)
1 October	Cramlington (N)
	Earsdon (N)
	Horton (M)
2 October	Long Benton (N)
	Gosforth (N)
3 October	Newcastle:
	All Saints (N)
	St. Andrew (N)
	St. Anne (N)
	St. John (N)
	St. Nicholas (N)
	Morpeth (M)
	Stannington (M)
	Longhorsley (M)

KEY: (A) - Alnwick Deanery (B) - Bamburgh Deanery
(C) - Corbridge Deanery (M) - Morpeth Deanery
(N) - Newcastle Deanery

THOMAS SHARP'S VISITATION ITINERARY
1727, 1728, 1731, 1732.

1727

12 June	Allenton (A)
	Holystone (A)
14 June	Alnham (A)
.....	
8 July	Framlington (A)
9 July	Felton (A)
	Warkworth (A)
10 July	Howick (A)
	Lesbury (A)
	Longhoughton (A)
	Shevilbottle (A)
11 July	Embleton (A)
12 July	Bamburgh (B)
	Rennington (A)
	Rock (A)
14 July	Belford (B)
.....	
20 July	Carham (B)
	Ford (B)
	Kirknewton (B)
21 July	Chatton (B)
	Chillingham (A)
	Doddington (B)
	Ilderton (A)
	Ingram (A)
	Wooler (B)
22 July	Egglingham (A)
	Whittingham (A)

1728

3 October	Corsenside (M)
	Elsden (M)
4 October	Bellingham (C)

1731

3 August	Kirkdale (M)
	Whelpington (M)
4 August	Birtley (C)
	Simonburn (C)
5 August	Whitfield (C)
6 August	Alston (C)
	Garrigill (C)
	Kirkhaugh (C)
	Knaresdale (C)
7 August	Haltwhistle (C)
	Haydon (C)
	Newbrough (C)
	Warden (C)
9 August	Chollerton (C)
10 August	Slealey (C)
	Shotley (C)
11 August	Corbridge (C)
	Halton (C)
12 August	Ryall (C)
	Stamfordham (C)
13 August	Bywell St. Andrew (C)
	Heddon (N)
	Newburn (N)
	Ovingham (C)
.....	
18 August	Bolam (M)
	Hartburn (M)
	Netherwitton (M)
	Whalton (M)
19 August	Hebburn (M)
	Mitford (M)
	Ulgham (M)
20 August	Bothall (M)
	Newbiggin (M)
	Woodhorn (M)
21 August	Longhorsley (M)

1732

11 September	Cramlington (N)
	Horton (M)
12 September	Earsden (N)
	Gosforth (N)
	Long Benton (N)
	Tynemouth (N)
13 September	Newcastle:
	All Saints (N)
	St. Andrew (N)
	St. John (N)
	St. Nicholas (N)
	Ponteland (N)
15 September	Morpeth (M)
	Stannington (M)

Appendix No. 2
Chapter III

ARCHIDIACONAL COURTS IN NORTHUMBERLAND 1721-1771

According to Sharp's Visitation 1723 (pages listed), there were definitely courts on the following dates:

Michaelmas 1723	(pp. 9, 13 et al)
Easter 1724	(pp. 5, 7, 9 et al)
Michaelmas 1724	(pp. 63, 103, 105)
Easter 1725	(pp. 5, 7, 9 et al)
Easter 1726	(pp. 17, 61, 63 et al)
Easter 1727	(p. 183)
Michaelmas 1728	(p. 183)
Easter 1729	(p. 183)
Easter 1730	(p. 183)
Easter 1731	(p. 183)
Michaelmas 1731	(p. 183)
Easter 1734	(p. 183)

According to Hunter MS6a, p. 188, there may have been courts on the following dates:

1757

1758

21 July 1763

15 October 1764

13 July 1768

13 October 1769

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SECTION A

(1) Canon 80 to 88.

(2) Canon 86.

(3) Canon 80.

(4) Canons 81 & 82.

(5) Canon 82.

(6) Canons 83 & 84.

(7) Canon 82.

(8) Canon 85. Special restrictions on the use which could be made of churches for non-ecclesiastical activities were enumerated in Canon 88 as well. It should be noted that by the provision of canon 85, the prescriptions of one of the homilies were to be a guide in the matter of keeping the churches in sufficient repair. Presumably this is the third homily of the second book, "An Homily for Repairing and keeping clean, and comely adorning of Churches."

(9) Canon 87.

(10) Canons 109 to 126.

(11) Canons 109 to 119.

(12) Canons 111 and 119 specifically relate the presentments to visitation, and canon 109 implies as much. Canons 112 and 114 stipulate yearly presentments, the former to be made to the bishop (? if any intermediary) and the latter to "the ordinary", which is explained to mean "chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, officials", who then delivers them to the bishop, though this is not definitely connected to visitation.

(13) Note that even canon 86 may imply an annual visitation (though not necessarily by the archdeacon in person) by the words "every year".

(14) Canon 125.

(15) Canon 119.

(16) Ibid.

(17) By the same canon, the chancellor was to notify the archdeacon of those names and crimes detected at the bishop's court.

(Notes: pages 183-187)

(18) Canon 114.

(19) Canon 137. It is clear, in the context, that the"other persons" referred to are not the laity in general, but schoolmasters (most of whom were clergy) and other persons licensed by the bishop.

(20) See canons 31 and 35.

(21) See "The Form and Manner of Making Deacons" and "The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests"; introductory rubrics in both cases. The Archdeacon is mentioned at no other place in the Book of Common Prayer.

(22) Such things as the charge delivered at the visitation and informal solicitation of advice directed to him by the clergy. Archdeacon Thomas Sharp certainly received many of the latter. See also Canon 86, which speaks of those things done "by composition, law, or prescription", which seems to cover more than just those things made explicit in the canons themselves.

(23) T. Sharp, The Works of Thomas Sharp, D.D., vol III, "Considerations on the Rubrics and Canons", p.11.

(24) Ibid., p.1.

(25) Thomas Sharp began a detailed journal in 1723 (henceforth Visitation 1723) and this was added to subsequently by the next two archdeacons, taking it to 1791. See Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, and also Hunter MSS, vol 6A.

(26) See Appendix No. 1.

(27) See Appendix No. 2.

(28) See discussion which follows.

(29) See discussion of the various Archdeacons of Northumberland.

SECTION B

(1) Le Neve-Hardy, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol III, p.305. DNB article, "Denis Grenville", says he was deprived on 1 February 1691, though he had fled Durham on 11 December 1688.

(2) Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, pt I, vol I, p.149. Boothe was

(Notes: pages 187-189)

a son of Baron Delamere (Foster wrongly says Robert for Henry, Baron Delamere), who was himself noted for his strong religious views ("tinged with puritanism"); cf. DNB article, "Henry Booth, second Baron Delamere".

(3) Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.149.

(4) Ibid. Hutchinson, History and Antiquities of Durham, vol II, p.222, says he was interred at Bristol, "where he died", on 18 August 1730.

(5) Mickleton and Spearman MSS, vol 91, item 41. These MSS are in the Durham University Library.

(6) Acta: Archidiaconal Visitation Court 1724. See Chapter V, Appendix No. 1. For many interesting notes r.e. Boothe, see Whiting's Nathaniel Lord Crewe and His Diocese, pp.229 ff.

(7) Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt I, vol IV, p.25.

(8) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210.

(9) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.25, wrongly queries this filial link. See Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210, and Spearman, An Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of the County Palatine of Durham, p.57.

(10) Spearman's attacks are repeatedly aimed at Exton Sayer. See previous chapter and also Chapter IV.

(11) There is no direct evidence that this was "engineered" by Exton Sayer, but it is more than likely to have been the case in our estimation.

(12) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.25.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210.

(15) Mussett, Deans and Canons of Durham 1541 - 1900, p.81, says Hartwell died on 1 June and Sayer was installed by proxy 30 June.

(16) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210.

(17) Two copies of letters from Sayer to Sharp are among the ordination papers, and on 15 Jan 1731/2 Sayer wrote:

> My situation in the matter is such that I cannot but be very desirous of having an end made of it. A State of endless suspense is so inconsistent

(Notes: pages 189-190)

> with my Affairs that if the Bishop thinks not proper to determine, I shall be really tempted to get out of it in the most disinterested manner by an absolute Resignation.

Sayer wrote again from Witham 7 July 1732 (the previous letter was from Jermyn Street) as follows:

> I am very desirous as you must believe, of having an end made of it; and should imagine it must now, if ever, be brought to some issue. I should be very glad to be of use to you by being on the Spot: the time most probable for my being there is about the middle of next month .....

In fact Sayer never made it to Durham, for a list of residence at the cathedral from October 1731 to September 1732 (included with the letters) shows him not to have been present at all during that time. For all of this see Ordination Papers: 1732, "Thomas Sharp".

(18) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210, says he resigned Witham 1732, which Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.25 omits in error. See the latter for evidence of further preferment in Essex, also that he was made D.D. in 1735.

(19) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210.

(20) He was installed tenth Prebend by proxy, and his correspondence with Sharp (note (17) above) seems to show him not to be resident. He is likewise never mentioned in the letters of Dean Cowper between 1746 and 1761. See Surtees Society (S.S.), vol 165.

(21) Trevor's Register, p.2. This is among the Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, currently deposited at the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham. It is "Bound Volume 11/7".

(22) Gyll's diary has been printed, though it takes no more than cursory notice of Sayer's death. See S.S., vol 118, p.209.

(23) Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1761 (Durham). See Appendix No. 1, Chapter V. The visitation was 19 May and Sayer died 26 July 1761.

(24) Documents seem clearly to have been bundled by years in the old registry, not by archdeaconry, and we therefore conclude that the chasm in the Durham records is not due only to accidental destruction but rather is owing to bad administration in the first instance.

(25) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p.367.

(Notes: pages 190-192)

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.214, records him proctor in 1752 and professor in 1754.

(28) Ibid. (Hutchinson).

(29) Mussett, op. cit., p.96.

(30) Ibid., p.88. See also p.v., for notice of "Golden Prebend". Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.214 records the date of Dickens' assumption to the office of Official.

(31) Ibid. (Mussett)

(32) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/12, f.100^{v}. An early Diocese Book, probably prepared for use in 1751, and added to throughout Trevor's episcopate.

(33) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p.367.

(34) Officialty Visitation Papers: 1761. See Chapter V, Appendix No. 1.

(35) Ibid., Clergy Lists.

(36) Ibid., Churchwardens Lists.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Trevor's Register, pp.43, 48,52, 60, 68, 72, 102, 114, 149.

(39) Ibid., p.57. This is for a living in the peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter, and Dickens is specifically cited as the Official of the Officialty.

(40) Ibid., pp.14, 19, 27, 33, 40, 46, 67, 75, 79, 87, 98, 105, 111, 123, 134, 145. Dickens is also present at one private ordination in 1758, p.42. It was apparently the normal practice to have two senior clergy present. Henry Vane was there as well from 1754 to 1762. Charles Morgan was present in 1762 and 1763, and thereafter either Edward Rudd (1764, 1765, 1767) or John Rotheram (1766, 1768, 1769, 1770). Canon 31 required "the archdeacon, ... the dean and two prebendaries at the least, or ... four other grave persons, being masters of arts at the least, and allowed for public preachers".

(41) Ibid., p.55.

(42) No other name is cited as often as Dickens, who has more than double the entries of any other person appearing in the register apart from the bishop himself.

(Notes: pages 192-194)

(43) This Act Book somehow came to be among the Aycliffe parish records, and in February 1975 it was deposited in the Durham County Record Office.

(44) Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1775. The document survives with emendations made subsequently by William Wynne in preparation for a visitation of Allerton and Allertonshire.

(45) A facsimile copy is now deposited in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham.

(46) Durham Probate Records, 1791.

(47) Ibid. Dickens named his wife Margaret "sole Executrix" and continued as follows:-

> and as by our Marriage Settlements all my Effects, both real & personal, devolve to Her for Her Life, and after that to the Children born to us, which at present are two Sons, Richard Mark Dickens, & Henry John Dickens, I do recommend it to my said dear Wife Margaret, if she survives me, to devise equally to our two said sons, all my Personal effects; to the eldest the Farm of Northmarden in Sussex, and to the youngest the Farm at Hawkerst in Kent: and to further their Education, as Her circumstances may admit, with liberal Frugality.

SECTION C

(1) Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.1038.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. He was made D.D. (by diploma) in 1692.

(4) Crewe became a fellow in 1656, see Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, p.10.

(5) Ibid., p.28. We assume that from the time he proceeded M.A. (1667) to at least the time he was made B.D. (1674), Morton was a fellow of Lincoln.

(6) Ibid., p.143.

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(7) Ibid. By the middle of the eighteenth century Egglescliffe was the sixth most wealthy living in the bishop's gift. See Chapter II, Appendix No. 1.

(8) Mussett, op. cit., p.59.

(9) Ibid., pp.53 & 59. Whiting, op. cit., pp.142-143, says that Morton moved to a less valuable stall at the request of the bishop.

(10) Mussett, op. cit., p.94.

(11) For the date of collation to the archdeaconry, see T. Sharp, Visitation 1723, p.182. For the Sedgefield preferment, see Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.50.

(12) Whiting, op. cit., p.303, quoting the anonymous An Examination of the Life and Character of Nathaniel Crewe, Bishop of Durham, published in 1790. Whiting elsewhere refers to the "feud" between Morton and Crewe, cf. pp.143 & 320. For an account of the earlier biography, see Whiting's preface.

(13) Surely the facts of Morton's career make it necessary to receive cautiously the evidence of An Examination ...; see note above.

(14) Archidiaconal Visitation Papers (Northumberland). These papers are deposited in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham, and are retrievable by date. See also Chapter V, Appendix No. 1.

(15) Some parishes were exempt, and some few paid a different fee (four paid 10/6d, three paid 3/0d, and one 2/0d).

(16) T. Sharp, Visitation 1723, p.182. This is a list of all known Archdeacons of Northumberland from 1140, Morton being the forty-fifth and Sharp being the forty-sixth. For a copy of the Monumental Inscription erected at Sedgefield in Morton's memory, see Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, pp.52-53.

(17) T. Sharp, Visitation 1723, p.182.

(18) See Chapter II, Appendix No. 1.

(19) Subscription Book D.R. XIV.3, p.60. Dawes had consecrated the Bishop of Carlisle 31 May 1718, and by ancient custom therefore had the right or "option" of appointing to the most valuable living in the gift of the new bishop at the next vacancy.

(20) Dawes was a friend and protégé of Archbishop Sharp, whom the latter recommended to the Queen as his successor. See

(Notes: pages 196-200)

Hart, The Life and Times of John Sharp Archbishop of York, pp.240 & 245.

(21) Venn, op. cit., pt. I, vol IV, p.51.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ibid. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.210, records that he was chaplain to Dawes. See also Hart, op. cit., p.294.

(24) Ibid. (Venn).

(25) Ibid. Sharp subscribed the oaths on 19 July 1720, see D.R.XIV.3, p.60. It is quite surprising to observe how quickly rumour of Sharp's intended preferment to Rothbury was circulated, for it is mentioned in Thomlinson's diary on 2 April 1718. See also entries 15 November 1717 and 22 December 1721. S.S. vol 118.

(26) T. Sharp, Visitation 1723, p.37.

(27) No Archdeacon of Northumberland since the restoration had been a resident there, rather all of them held rich Durham livings, Basire and Turner at Stanhope and Morton at Sedgefield. There are in fact few exceptions to this rule since the 16th century. See T. Sharp, Visitation 1723, pp.181-182.

(28) Sharp was collated on 27 February 1723, and began his survey on 20 August that year. See Appendix No. 1, this chapter.

(29) T. Sharp, Visitation 1723, p.1.

(30) For details of this and subsequent survey visitations, see Appendix No. 1, this chapter.

(31) Breaks of one day (e.g. 22 & 25 August; 15 & 22 September) are not included, as these are normally Sundays.

(32) In 1728, he only visited three livings on two consecutive days.

(33) There is notice of a survey at Elsden, in Morpeth deanery, on 3 September 1745, but no evidence that this was part of a more general one. See Visitation 1723, p.117. Also see, for notice of later "oversight", p.149 (1734) and pp.97 & 101 (1743).

(34) See discussion of this in Chapter II.

(35) Mussett, op. cit., p.81. Hutchinson op. cit., vol II, pp. 210-211, says he was installed by proxy in October, then in person in December.

(Notes: pages 200-202)

(36) The clearest example of this is to be seen in the alternating way in which his children were born either in Rothbury or Durham. Thomas Sharp fathered fourteen children, eight of whom were born in Rothbury and five of whom were born in Durham. For the latter see White, The Registers of the Cathedral Church of Durham, pp.18-19, and for the former see the Rothbury Baptismal Register, 1723-1732. This register was printed in parts, in the Rothbury Parish Magazine over a number of years, and a bound collection of these is in the Newcastle Public Library.

(37) See the two books kept by Sharp c.1734-5, among the Dean and Chapter Muniments. For a general discussion of increase of rents and fines, see Hughes, North Country Life, vol I, chapter VII.

(38) He was Sub-dean at least by 1753, for he gave the welcoming speech to Bishop Trevor in virtue of that office. He was made Official to the Officialty in 1755; see Northumberland County History (NCH), vol XV, p.321.

(39) From 1714 to 1730 he was chiefly occupied as editor of his father's sermons and polemical writings. See T. Sharp, Works, vol II, pp.195-197 ("Preface to the Fifth & Sixth Volumes of Archbishop Sharp's Sermons").

(40) Of the six volumes of T. Sharp's Works, the first three are largely publications of a pastoral nature, though Volume II contains some controversial and philosophical material. The last three volumes are very detailed theological dissertations concerning the Hebrew of the Old Testament and its correct translation and interpretation.

(41) There is specific mention of Sharp as an examiner in the Ordination Papers of 1743, 1744 1746 & 1748.

(42) Letter of 2 November 1746 (signature lost) in the Ordination Papers of 1746.

(43) Sharp's letter is also dated 2 November 1746, and Trotter seems to have summarized it on the back, as he did the unsigned one mentioned above. Bayliff had been schoolmaster at Horton from 1742 to 1744. See the Testimonial in his ordination papers, dated 24 January 1744; Ordination Papers: 1746.

(44) See Appendix No. 2 (this chapter) for more detail.

(45) Sharp says that his charges were delivered to the clergy alone, which may indicate some such separation. The Visitation of the Officialty in 1761 was divided in this way, and this may indicate a custom for archidiaconal visitations.

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(46) T. Sharp, Works, vol III, p.xvii. This was true of the visitations of the clergy, though perhaps courts were held elsewhere as well.

(47) Ibid. Each of the sixteen discourses, or chapters, is prefaced with the date of its original delivery.

(48) In 1737 and 1743 no charge seems to have been given, or rather none which has been printed. In 1732, 1736, 1740 and 1751, there is no evidence of a charge, but all of these are years in which an episcopal visitation was held.

(49) T. Sharp, Works, vol II, pp.443 ff.

(50) Ibid., vol III, pp.130-146.

(51) The length to which this address runs on this point, together with the extraordinary sense of personal seriousness which Sharp conveys, makes it seem likely that the problem existed in Northumberland.

(52) T. Sharp, Works, vol III, pp.147-172.

(53) Ibid., p.148.

(54) Ibid., p.162.

(55) For a very excellent treatment of this subject see Best, Temporal Pillars, pp.53-59.

(56) T. Sharp, Works, vol III, p.171.

(57) All references to the growth of Methodism are from John Wesley's Journal, unless definitely stated otherwise, and may be referred to by the date cited.

(58) The date given is not the first time Wesley was present, but the first time he definitely states in his journal that there is a society in the place (the three exceptions are noted individually). It is almost certain that most of them were begun earlier than the date given. Wesley mentions definitely only five more societies in the diocese before 1771, Prudhoe 5 June 1761, Barnard Castle 6 June 1763, Weardale 9 May 1764, South Shields 15 May 1764, and Durham 11 June 1770.

(59) Wesley clearly implies a society here at this date, though he does not definitely state so until 16 September 1749.

(60)Again Wesley implies this society, but affirms it explicitly 25 April 1753.

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(61) Nowhere in the journal does Wesley say there is a society here, but the implicit evidence is so very clear that we feel safe in affirming this fact.

(62) T. Sharp, Works, vol II, p.470. We cite this first, even though given as a charge in 1756, because Sharp himself says that it was prepared ten years previously, see p.444.

(63) Ibid., pp.470-471.

(64) Ibid., vol I, p.337.

(65) Ibid. pp.352-353.

(66) Ibid. pp.354-355.

(67) In his dispute with an anonymous Northumberland Quaker in the 1730s. See vol II of the Works, "A Vindication of Bishop Taylor ....", and "A Reply to a Pamphlet, entitled, The Protestant Flail ...", especially pp.176 ff. in the latter.

(68) T. Sharp, Works, vol III, pp.315-331.

(69) Ibid., pp.320-321.

(70) Ibid., p.327.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid., pp.328-329.

(73) Ibid., p.330.

(74) Ibid.

(75) Ibid., p.331.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Ibid., vol I, p.383.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Ibid., vol II, p.32.

(80) Mussett, op. cit., p.81.

(81) He was collated on 17 August 1758. See Trevor's Register, p.40.

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(82) Isaac Basire was 37 years old, William Turner 36, John Morton 41, and Thomas Sharp 27, when made archdeacon. Thomas Robinson was 57 years old.

(83) NCH, vol XII, p.432.

(84) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.1215.

(85) Ibid. NCH, vol XII, p.432, wrongly says he was of Oriel College.

(86) Ibid. (Foster).

(87) D.R. XIV.5, p.27.

(88) NCH, vol XII, p.432. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.225, says he was prebend of Lanaaff as well.

(89) Ibid. (Hutchinson), citing "Grey's Notes, MSS".

(90) See for example his Visitation Charge in 1759.

(91) Hunter MS 6a contains Robinson's additions.

(92) Both are contained in the Bamburgh Collection of the University Library, vol G.V.59 tracts 5 and 12, the former being the 1761 and the latter the 1759 charge.

(93) NCH, vol XII, p.432.

(94) Sharp was collated on 21 April 1762. Trevor's Register, p.71.

(95) His mother was a daughter of Sir George Wheler. See White, op. cit., p.126. John Sharp was born 21 March 1723.

(96) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.51.

(97) Ibid.

(98) D.R. XIV.5, p.247.

(99) Ibid.

(100) D.R. XIV.5, p.247.

(101) T. Sharp, The Life of John Sharp ... Archbishop of York, vol II, p.266. This piece of information is further verified by annotations made to Archdeacon John Sharp's sermons (which are in the care of the Dean and Chapter Library at Durham). See his sermon "No. 15", annotation on the occasion of the seventh preachment.

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(102) Trevor's Register, pp.2 & 71.

(103) Sharp had been licenced as a diocesan preacher on 18 December 1749. See D.R. XIV.5, p.246.

(104) Sharp's MS Visitation Charges are also in the Dean and Chapter Library, this being the first.

(105) For the details (which depend upon Hunter MS vol 6a) see Appendix No. 2.

(106) Hunter MS 6a, p.45. Thomas Sharp, B.D., had been nominated to Bamburgh in 1757.

(107) His father had also been a trustee from 1736 to 1758 though he seems not to have been as involved in their affairs as his son was to be.

(108) Hunter MS 6a, John Sharp's additions; see Appendix No. 2, this chapter.

(109) Trevor's Register, pp.102 & 141.

(110) No charge was given in 1768.

(111) T. Sharp, Works, vol II, p.451.

(112) Visitation Charge No. 11, p.39.

(113) Those titles in quotation marks are so titled by Sharp, the remainder are descriptive of the charge in question and are usually taken from the first paragraph of the charge itself.

(114) Contained within the pages of visitation number three, is another small charge, written in John Sharp's hand and also numbered "3". It is clearly of the nature of a charge and for some reason seems to have been associated with the charge concerning the duties of churchwardens, even though it deals with the duties of the clergy. Could it be that one charge was for the churchwardens and another for the clergy? There is a certain amount of evidence (dittography, etc.) which indicates that John Sharp may not be the original author, in which case we would unhesitatingly attribute it to Thomas Sharp. Nevertheless it so adequately illustrates John Sharp's own sentiments, that we need not fear using it to illuminate the man. We shall refer to it as charge "3b".

(115) Visitation Charge 3b, paragraph 6.

(116) Ibid., para. 2.

(117) Ibid., para. 3.

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(118) Ibid., para. 4.

(119) Ibid., para. 11.

(120) Ibid., para. 9.

(121) Ibid., para. 11.

(122) Ibid., para. 13.

(123) Ibid., para. 14. It is interesting to note how carefully Sharp obeyed the rubric, as can be seen in Visitation Charge No. 11, which is entirely concerned with the "Office of Visiting the Sick". In that charge he treats private confession, in accordance with the rubric, but surprisingly cautions against the use of the absolution after confession unless explicitly desired by the penitent, reasoning that the rubric stating "if he humbly and heartily desire it" means that it should not be said otherwise. See p.37 of the charge.

(124) Visitation Charge 36, para. 17.

(125) Ibid., paras. 18 & 19.

(126) Ibid., para. 19.

(127) Ibid., para. 21.

(128) Ibid., para. 22.

(129) Ibid.

(130) Ibid., para. 23.

(131) Ibid., para. 25.

(132) Ibid.

(133) Ibid.

(134) Ibid.

(135) Mussett, op. cit., p.73; NCH, vol I, p.98.

(136) Ibid. (Mussett), p.89.

(137) Date of death, Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.49; burial, White, op. cit., p.126.

(138) Archbishop John Sharp was ordained 12 August 1667, see Hart, op. cit., p.51. Archdeacon John Sharp was survived by a

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daughter, Jemima, who died childless. See White, op. cit., p.129.

SECTION D.

(1) See Chapter I.

(2) See especially, Bishop Lightfoot's Primary Visitation Charge (1882) for an excellent discussion of the development of the Officialty. It should be noted as well that technically the Dean and Chapter stood in the position of "archdeacon", though the official acted as representative in all practical matters. See for example the inhibitions sent by the bishop in 1754, 1758, 1762, 1766 & 1770, Trevor's Register, pp.8, 36, 72, 102 & 141 respectively.

(3) This is implied in the canons throughout, though only made explicit occasionally. See the phrase "and others which have authority to hold ecclesiastical visitations by composition, law or prescription" in canon 86. See also canon 125 concerning "the Keeping of Courts".

(4) Memorandum, Relating to the County, City and College of Durham, from the Restoration in 1660 to .... Dean and Chapter Muniments, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham. Wheler is said to have been "Appointed 23 Nov. 1705", f.45^{R}.

(5) See Whiting, "Sir George Wheler, Prebendary of Durham, 1650-1723", Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, vol X (1954), p.83. This is a very detailed article and should be consulted for information concerning Wheler's life.

(6) Ibid., p.91.

(7) Ibid., p.89.

(8) Mussett, op. cit., p.21. Wheler was collated to the second stall on 1 December and installed by proxy 9 December 1684.

(9) D.R. XIV.3, pp.7 & 21.

(10) Raine, North Durham, p.147n.

(11) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.127.

(12) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.84.

(Notes: pages 221-223)

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

(15) D.R. XIV.3, pp.10, 11 & 12.

(16) Mussett, op. cit., p.72.

(17) Ibid., p.60. For the move to Brancepeth, see Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.69.

(18) Memorandum ... (see note (4) above), f.45^{R}, says Eden's patent was dated 12 February 1723.

(19) For Edlingham, see NCH, vol III, p.162; for Tweedmouth, see Raine, North Durham, p.24; for Ellingham see NCH, vol II, p. 286. At Tweedmouth, Eden ordered that "the Chancel be cleansed like a house suspected of leprosy, viz. let the walls be scraped and whitened". At Ellingham he ordered that the roof of the church be pointed and the walls repaired, and further directed the vicar to glaze and repair the vicarage house and to henceforth reside or show cause for non-residence.

(20) NCH, vol VII, p.227.

(21) Visitation Booklet: 1736, f.8^{R}; see Chapter V, Appendix No. 1.

(22) Trevor's Register, p.6. There is a query in the register regarding Eden's title, which the Chapter Clerk said should be "The Worshipful Thomas Eden LL.D. Official or Commissary of the Honble. and Reverend the Dean and Chapter of Durham". Nicholas Halhead, the keeper of the register thought that "as Dr. Eden is a Clergyman, Q. whether it should not be, To The Reverend and Worshipful Thos. Eden, Clerk, LL.D. etc.".

(23) Mussett, op. cit., p.60.

(24) He married Dorothy, daughter of Archbishop Sharp, in 1728. See White, op. cit., p.122.

(25) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.173.

(26) Ibid. pp.173-174. He actually resigned Ealing one year before his death.

(27) D.R. XIV.3, p.63, and D.R. XIV.4, p.57. Hutchinson records the link with Robinson, op. cit., vol II, p.173.

(28) Ibid. (Hutchinson).

(29) Ibid., p.173 (for date of death) and p.211 (under the entry

(Notes: pages 223-225)

of Thomas Sharp), for notice of his tenure as Official, which is not contained in the Memorandum ... of note (4) above. For the Epitaph in Durham Cathedral, composed by Sharp, see pp. 173 & 174 of Hutchinson, vol II.

(30) This man was noted for immorality, and circa 1750 it was asserted that his vote could be "bought" in exchange for "the best whore in Berwick". See Baker Baker Papers, 10/14, letter c. 1750.

(31) Memorandum ..., f.45^{R}. See note (4) this section.

(32) Mussett, op. cit., p. 28. Butler was confirmed as Bishop of Durham 16 October 1750.

(33) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.323.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid. He had been made LL.D. in 1748, a clue to his later appointment as Official no doubt.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Mussett, op. cit., p. 28.

(39) Ibid. He was buried in Magdalene Chapel; see Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p. 323.

(40) D.R. IX.2, f.5^{R}.

(41) None are mentioned in 1774, 1778, 1783, 1784, or 1785, the first three of which years were times of episcopal visitation.

(42) D.R. IX.2, f.14^{R}, is the first time Elliott is mentioned, and he appears always from that folio. Elliott was the first Perpetual Curate of Beadnell, a Chapel of Ease to Bamburgh severed in 1766, and before that he was a curate under Thomas Sharp, B.D., the Perpetual Curate of Bamburgh. See NCH, vol I, pp. 97 & 331.

(43) D.R. IX.2, f.10^{R}.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIOCESAN REGISTRY

It is perhaps not too much to say that the whole of the administrative burden of the diocese, was placed (in the eighteenth century) squarely on the shoulders of the diocesan officials who worked in the "Diocesan Registry". It is due to the industry of this obscure group of men - who laboured indefatigably with quill and pen - that we owe almost all the primary manuscript material extant for the investigation of our topic. As much light has been thrown upon these individuals (and their work) in the course of our research, perhaps it is fitting that this chapter should stand as a posthumous memorial to all their labour.

A. THE CHANCELLORS

The entire collection of "Officers of the See (for the) Spiritual Jurisdiction", as Hutchinson described them circa 1785, were arranged in order beneath the Spiritual Chancellor of the Diocese, or as he was more properly known - "Vicar General in Spiritual Matters and Principal Official and Chancellor of the Right Reverend in Christ... (etc.)."(1) In theory the Spiritual Chancellor was responsible for two main areas of ecclesiastical administration: as Principal Official, he was responsible to the bishop for legal matters and in particular he acted as judge of the Consistory Court; as Vicar General, he deputised for him in administrative matters during absences from the diocese.(2) He appears to have accompanied the bishop on visitation and at those times to have handled all the legal matters related to church wardens, presentments, parish register transcripts, and probate matters.(3) He is also known to have presented all schoolmasters' licenses, and presumably marriage licenses as well.(4) What is not clear from the

manuscript evidence, is just how frequently he actually performed these tasks - particularly sitting as judge in the Consistory Court - as opposed to delegating these responsibilities to his Principal Surrogate and Seal Keeper.

According to Canon 127, it was necessary for the Chancellor to be at least twenty-six years old, a master of arts or bachelor of law, and learned (as well as practised) "in the civil and ecclesiastical laws... as likewise well affected, and zealously bent to religion, touching whose life and manners no evil example is had." In consequence of the canon, the men most likely to be qualified as chancellors were often least likely to spend any great deal of time in the diocese. Throughout the century the Chancellor is almost always a man of some distinction, with connections in the intricate worlds of the temporal and ecclesiastical law, and his presence in London may not unfairly be assumed for the vast majority of the time.

When Bishop Talbot came to the See in 1721, he found Crewe's last Spiritual Chancellor, John Brookbank, LL.D. "of Trinity-Hall Camb." secure in this position after thirty years of service.(5) It is recorded that he gave "1000 gs" to his predecessor in the office, which shows something of its worth in 1691.(6) Little more is known of the man, save that he was a fellow of Trinity Hall from 1679 till his death, and served also as Official to the Archdeacon of Ely.(7) He died in Cambridge on 14 April 1724, and was buried at St. Edward's.(8)

When Brookbank died, Bishop Talbot lost no time in appointing his son-in-law, Exton Sayer, LL.D., to the office. In fact only six days elapsed between the two events, the new appointment having been made before public notice of Brookbank's death.(9) Sayer was, however, a

man "bred to the civil law", for he was the eldest son of George Sayer of Doctors' Commons. Admitted a scholar at Trinity Hall in 1709, the younger Sayer advanced steadily: LL.B. 1713, LL.D. 1718, and fellow of the Hall from 1714 to 1724.(10) Like his predecessor, he held offices other than that of Spiritual Chancellor, being Official to the Archdeaconry of Wiltshire and Commissary of London Diocese, and (according to Hutchinson) Official to the Archdeaconry of Canterbury.(11) Lest his ecclesiastical duties be thought to have been his life, he was also M.P. for Helston 1726-7, and for Totnes 1727-31, and acted as his Majesty's Surveyor General of Land Revenue, 1730-1.(12) It is not certain how he came to marry Catherine Talbot, but when he arrived in Durham it was perhaps to continue a tradition of service in the diocese, for his father appears as a proctor in a caveat against institution or collation of a vicar to Ovingham in 1711.(13) In any event, this son's service was to be cut short by his untimely death in 1731, though his brother George was to remain Archdeacon of Durham until 1761.(14)

Almost no first hand evidence of Sayer's activity as Spiritual Chancellor remains, but there is an illuminating (though admittedly hostile) account of his actions in asserting the Bishop's rights in Spearman's An Enquiry. In this work, Spearman was endeavouring to show that the temporal and spiritual power of the Bishop of Durham was greatly overgrown, and that to the detriment of the people of the county and diocese. Spearman saw the particular danger to be the bishop's ability to appoint to "offices of power and equity" men who would remain dependent upon him in their office, and that thereby the bishop "would have an intire influence over all the civil officers, and the sole dispensation of law and equity in this county Palatine; and the lives and fortunes of the subjects here would be at his mercy."(15) Nor did

Spearman fear these things as a future possibility, on the contrary he believed that Bishop Talbot was actively engaged in bringing these things about, and he saw the bishop's chief assistant to be his son-in-law Exton Sayer. Spearman's fear was that Sayer would be made temporal chancellor as well as spiritual, and he believed that the "past conduct of the man as prime Minister of the Bishop" was sufficient to show what a danger this would be.(16)

Spearman's first accusation is that having become a partner in a local colliery in order to assist the owner in suits against a neighbouring colliery owner, Sayer proceeded to behave in a most reprehensible way when the case came before the Assize Judge.(17) Further to prejudice the reader (for so he seems to desire to do) Spearman next attributes a similarity of character to Sayers' brother George, himself a canon in the cathedral, intimating that he "takes upon himself to imitate the doctor."(18) The main attack, however, is finally revealed when the author discusses a bill promoted in parliament in 1723, designed to empower bishops to grant new mining leases without regard to previous arrangements for leasing land and mines, and to remove the need for the consent of chapters.(19) The nature of the bill was such that great wealth could be gathered by a bishop without regard to his successors in the see, nor with regard to the rights of leasehold and copyhold tenants. Further, the bill was seen to be greatly beneficial to one see more than most, that being the diocese of Durham, and by actively promoting the bill, Bishop Talbot raised the diocese in alarm. In the end the opposition was too great and the immediate purpose of the bill was thwarted, for it was recognisably "calculated for the Bishop of Durham and his family only."(20) Spearman implies, but never states, that Exton Sayer was the prime mover in promoting the bill.

What the bishop could not achieve in law, he managed (Spearman asserts) to achieve in other ways by the skilful appointment of prebendaries, thus gaining a sympathetic "majority in the Chapter, to confirm such leases as he thinks fit to grant."(21) By this means, Talbot was able to grant mining leases to Dr. Sayer and other of his relatives, and he did so with considerable frequency according to Spearman, in West Auckland, Houghton-le-Spring, Newbottle and Chester-le-Street.(22) Spearman's anger was not unrelated to experience either, for he was tricked out of a lease to the mines under his copyhold estates in Tanfield, and the agent of this duplicity was Exton Sayer who obtained the lease for himself.(23)

Clearly Spearman had an axe to grind, but nevertheless the overwhelming impression given by him (and no doubt substantially true) is of an extremely self-serving, if not corrupt, chancellor and administration. Within the diocese the overwhelming majority of land was leased by the bishop or the dean and chapter under copyhold or leasehold arrangement. In such a situation, the leaseholder or copyholder was rendered a slave, for fear of disobliging the bishop or his son-in-law, who had very great and improper advantages "having great preferments to bestow, a numerous clergy at their levee to be their advocates, having all the offices at law in this jurisdiction at their disposal, and the officers under their influence."(24) In the light of these circumstances, Spearman may not have been the only one to rejoice when his two archenemies both died within a short time after the publication of his book.(25)

Any rejoicing was no doubt short lived, for the new Bishop of Durham, Edward Chandler, seems to have followed in his predecessor's footsteps. Exton Sayer died on 24 September 1731, and Chandler allowed one day to

pass before granting letters patent to his own son Wadham that he might take up the lucrative position of Spiritual Chancellor. From the moment this young man received his degree at Cambridge in 1731 (which was M.A. by Royal Mandate) his father preferred him continually - each preferment being one of increasing monetary value.(26) The son was granted Letters Dimissory for Deacon's Orders by his father on 4 June 1731, and was ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester.(27) In 1733, Chandler was priested by his father on 8 April, licensed to preach anywhere in the diocese on the next day, and made rector of Bishop Wearmouth on the next.(28) Two months later he was made rector of Washington, a living he held in plurality with Bishop Wearmouth.(29) Two years passed by before a prebendal stall in the cathedral fell vacant, but when Thomas Rundle resigned from the twelfth stall, the bishop immediately preferred his son Wadham.(30) Again only two weeks passed by before he was made Master of Christ's Hospital at Sherburn.(31) All that is known of him beyond this, is that "he died at Aix, in Provence, in France, 1737, and was brought home to Durham, and interred in the Galilee."(32) He died on 2 June 1737 - not yet thirty years old - but was not buried in Durham until 29 May 1738.(33)

Bishop Chandler "never sold any of his patent offices," Hutchinson tells us, but he had no qualms about keeping the most important ones in the family.(34) When his son Wadham died, the bishop granted Letters Patent to his surviving son Richard Chandler, who unlike his brother never took Holy Orders. The Diocesan Records show that he subscribed to the oaths on 2 February 1737/8, and Hutchinson records that this was confirmed on 17 June following.(35) The new Chancellor was the bishop's eldest son, was married to a daughter of Lord James Cavendish of Derbyshire, and later took his father-in-law's surname in compliance with the latter's will.(36) Unlike his father and brother, Richard

Chandler went up to Oxford (Wadham), matriculating in 1720, and apparently never taking his degree. He became a barrister-at-law at Lincoln's Inn by 1726.(37) Appointed by his father to the office of "prothonotary" sometime before being made Spiritual Chancellor, he went on to become "solicitor of the excise, a commissioner of the customs, and member for Wendover."(38) He remained in the Chancellorship until his death on 22 November 1763.(39)

With Richard Chandler's death we come to the last Spiritual Chancellor in the period, William Wynne, who held that position for a decade before resigning in order to take up the "chancellorship of the diocese of London."(40) Himself the son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, he seems to have been a man of ability and learning.(41) Admitted pensioner at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he took his degree as Bachelor of Law in 1752 and Doctor of Law in 1757. A fellow of his college from 1755, he was elected Master in 1803. Upon receiving his first degree, he was made Vicar General of Canterbury, and upon receiving his second he was admitted Advocate of the Court of Arches. Selected as the King's Advocate General in 1778, he was knighted ten years later. In that same year, 1788, he was made Dean of the Arches and a Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The following year he seems to have resigned his office as "Vicar General, Official Principal, Master Keeper or Commissary for Allerton", a position he held in the Bishop's Peculiar Jurisdiction of Allertonshire from 1770.(42) From this time his involvement with Durham ceases, and he is totally involved with his other responsibilities. He was a Lord of the Treasury in 1790, and died after twelve years as Master of Trinity College in 1815.

B. THE SURROGATES

As was mentioned before, it is not possible to ascertain precisely how much the Spiritual Chancellor actually did himself and how much he delegated to his Principal Surrogate and Seal Keeper. The man who held this office could act for him - or so it seems - as an alter ego, and thus it would appear (from the manuscript evidence) that the Chancellor was rarely to be found executing his office in Durham. The qualifications of those who held the position of Surrogate were carefully set out by the canons, and were not too dissimilar to those for Chancellors.(1) The precise terms stipulated in 1603 were that no-one having any ecclesiastical jurisdiction should presume to:(2)

> substitute in their absence any to keep any court for them, except he be either a grave minister and a graduate, or a licensed public preacher, and a beneficed man near the place where the courts are kept, or a bachelor of law, or a master of arts at least who hath some skill in the civil and ecclesiastical law, and is a favourer of true religion, and a man of modest and honest conversation.

It is clear from these terms that the principal function of a surrogate in 1603 was to substitute for the normal judge in any ecclesiastical court, and this was clearly the case in the early eighteenth century as well. Nevertheless, it seems that much else was done by him on behalf of the Chancellor, or more usually under commission to the bishop as "commissary" for special tasks.(3) Many of these had become a normal part of the Principal Surrogate's job by the eighteenth century, though they were not attached to that particular office in law, but rather by custom.(4)

As was perhaps evident in the transcription above, the canons clearly imagine the possibility that there would be surrogates at any level of the church's judicial life, and specifically mention the "chancellor,

commissary, archdeacon, official, or any other person using ecclesiastical jurisdiction."(5) That other surrogates existed in the diocese in the early eighteenth century was known, but their task would be supposition entirely, if it were not for one small letter which has managed to find its way into the diocesan archives.(6) The letter is from one Goerge Tunstall, presumably a resident at or near Alston Moor (the chief village in that bleak moorland parish in the county of Cumberland but attached to the diocese of Durham), and is addressed to "the Rev'd Mr. Toppin at Allendale."(7) The relevant portion of the letter dated 5 July 1736, is as follows:(8)

> Pleased to hear you are willing to undertake ye. office of a surrogate to free 'em (the parishioners) from long Journeys & great Expences, I have heard yt. Mr. Walton has charged a guinea for his journey to Aldston from Corbridge, when he came to prove wills etc. but ye. parish hopes Mr. Chancellor will appoint you to do 'em this favour.

It is clear from this letter that some clergymen in the rural parts of the diocese were appointed to act as surrogates for the Chancellor, in order to spare the residents of these areas the trouble of coming to the Consistory Court in Durham.(9) What is not clear is what may hide behind the phrase "to prove wills etc.". These county surrogates next appear in Samuel Viner's book, under the heading "The Names of the Surrogates appointed by Dr. Bernard Chancellor of this Diocese 1797."(10) a Few names other than Walton and (presumably) Topping have been discovered in this office between 1721 and 1797, but little more is known of their duties.(11)

Returning to the office of Principal Surrogate, we must focus our attention upon Appendix No.1, at the end of this chapter, for the document there abstracted is our sole source (prior to 1731) for seeking to understand the way in which this office was performed.(12) The evidence

there contained seems to show that, at least in the seventeenth century, a multiple number of men were made Surrogate under a Deputation from the bishop and one of them "officiated as principal Surrogate." Thus we see notice made that "Mr. Edwd. Kirby officiated as principal Surrogate from Time of his Appointment in 1676 till Dec. 1688", though three other men are said to have been "appointed Surrogates" at the same time as he. Another notice informs us that John Milner (himself first appointed in 1677) "officiated as principal Surr. from the death of Mr. Kirby," though we do not know when he died. John Milner, John Smith, and John Martin are all three appointed (Milner and Martin re-appointed) Surrogates on 29 October 1690, only to again be appointed 2 December 1690. As this corresponds with two changes in the chancellorship, James Montagu having assumed that office in December from William Wilson who only himself assumed it in October, it seems to indicate that the appointment of Surrogates has passed from the bishop to his Chancellor. From the time of this notice our source does not again exhibit this state of affairs, but rather lists the next three Surrogates singly, with no indication of any "principal" before 1725. Perhaps Milner lived until that time, though this is by no means certain.

The first of the three men mentioned above is one "Mr. Ab. Yapp." who is simply said to be "appointed" without notice of the date.(13) If, as seems likely, he was appointed after the death of John Martin, then we may consider 1697 as the date.(14) Abraham Yapp was himself in Holy Orders, though not a requirement for the office of Surrogate, and was one of the minor canons of the cathedral, acting as "Sacrist" from at least 1696 to 1703.(15) The son of John Yapp, an Oxford graduate who served as Bailiff to the Dean and Chapter of Durham before his death in 1691, Abraham married first Barbara and second Ann, the

latter of whom outlived him.(16) He died in 1728 and was buried at the cathedral on 23 December.(17)

Posthumous Smith next appears as Surrogate in 1708, and once again we find that intimate inter-relationship of kindred and office, so beloved of Durham's diocesan officialdom.(18) Smith was himself the son of the rector of Lowther, where he was baptized on 27 January 1676, and he married a daughter of Sir George Wheler, rector of Houghton-le-Spring and prebendary of the second stall in Durham Cathedral.(19) It is not known when he first "was admitted into the charmed circle of ecclesiastical influence at Durham", but he was made Registrar to the Dean and Chapter by patent on 14 February 1705.(20) He is also known to have been Official to the Archdeacon of Durham in 1724, though he almost certainly had held this position for some time before that date.(21) When he occurs in the diocesan records Smith is usually said to be "B.Legum" or "LL.B.", though no evidence of this degree's source has been found.(22) In the last years of Crewe's episcopate we find Smith's name frequently occurring in the subscription book attesting the signature of those who have taken the oaths, but little else exists to show what duties he may have performed.(23) A fine manuscript, titled Analecta Capitularia Ex Archivis Dunelm. appears to have been compiled by him, and explains various procedures which prevailed in the Cathedral offices during and prior to his time.(24) Smith fathered at least five children and at his death four were surviving, among whom was Mary, the wife of Braems Wheler who we shall meet below.(25) It is also known that Smith "purchased a moiety of Burnhall in 1715 from Simon Peacock", but whether he was possessed of this at his death is not clear.(26) He was buried in the Nine Altars Chapel in Durham Cathedral on 4 June 1725, beside his wife Mary who was herself buried there on 12 October 1720.(27)

The third man to be listed singly as Surrogate is "Mr. Edward Bell, LL.B." beside the date 31 December 1725, and an explanatory note says that "Mr. Bell begun to officiate as judge the 4 March 1725."(28) This appears to be a gloss following the insertion of two more names in the list of Surrogates (both "appointed... in 1725") and may indicate that Bell was not appointed alone.(29) These two were "Mr. George Sayer M.A. & Tho. Rundle LL.D.," the former almost certainly the future Archdeacon of Durham, and the latter the future Bishop of Derry, both of whom were at this time prebends of Bishop Talbot's appointment.(30) Of Bell we know nothing more.(31)

It is when we at length turn to the episcopate of Edward Chandler however, that we begin to see for the first time a reasonably clear picture of an eighteenth century diocesan officer. The hand of our chronicler inserts simply that "Mr. Wm. Pye LL.B. (was) admitted or substituted 25 Sept. 1731", and notes that he was "also substituted by Richd. Chandler 2 Feb. 1737."(32) When Pye first subscribed to the oaths and conformed to the liturgy on 25 September 1731, he was beginning a twenty year term in that office.(33) Consequently, his career neatly overlaps the episcopate of Chandler, and gives us an interesting case study for that period of diocesan administration.

William Pye was apparently involved in the administrative life of the diocesan registry before he was made Principal Surrogate to the Vicar General, but the precise date of this involvement is uncertain. It would seem that Pye had family connections with the officials of the diocese, for there is a different William Pye presentamong them at least as early as 1710, who is at that time acting as a Proctor and signs himself as a Notary Public.(34) This same William Pye appears again as a Proctor in March of 1725, in three caveats against institution,

and on 2 April in that year he seems to be the man instituted to the vicarage of Shilbottle in Northumberland, one of the Crown Livings in the diocese.(35) Little more than a year later he was dead.(36) According to Venn, this William Pye was at Christ's College, Cambridge, from 1694, took his degree in 1697-8, and was ordained priest by Bishop Crewe in 1700.(37) There is no evidence whatsoever that he held any living before going to Shilbottle in 1725.(38) He was a descendant of a large Morpeth family, many of whom were in Holy Orders before him.(39)

The William Pye made Principal Surrogate in 1731 appears first among diocesan officials in 1718, when he was elected as Deputy Registrar to the Dean and Chapter of Durham.(40) Pye is next to be found attesting clerical subscriptions sede vacante in the autumn of 1730, all of which he signs simply as a notary.(41) Shortly thereafter, he was made "commissary of the peculiar jurisdiction of Howdenshire in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Durham", though before he could hold this position he needed at least the degree of bachelor of law, and this was duly conferred upon him by Archbishop Wake of Canterbury.(42) Next Pye was made Surrogate and then three days later on 28 September 1731, he was made Official Commissary for the Archdeaconry of Durham.(43) To all of these positions he added that of Official Commissary for the Archdeaconry of Northumberland in 1732,(44) and then at some unknown date he was made Auditor to the Bishop.(45) In these latter three posts, Pye was responsible directly to the Bishop, but in his position as Surrogate, he was responsible to the Spiritual Chancellor. Consequently, when Wadham Chandler died and his brother Richard assumed his position, William Pye duly complied with the law and subscribed again as Surrogate on 10 February 1737.(46)

This profusion of offices suggests that Pye was a very significant and central member of the diocesan administration, and the manuscript evidence would seem to support this. His distinctive signature appears with considerable regularity in nearly all classes of manuscript material emanating from the diocesan office at that time, and one entire subscription book seems to have been kept by him from 1730 to 1752.(47) It would appear that Pye was usually the senior official present in Durham, and responsible for the general oversight of the administrative affairs of the diocese. Interestingly, it was William Pye who built the large stone house standing opposite the gateway to The College (known as No.1 South Bailey). The proximity of his residence to his place of work seems to corroborate this conclusion concerning his importance, and that a man in Pye's position could erect such a fine house, seems also to indicate the financial importance of his diocesan offices.(48)

Some little more may be known of Pye's personal life than is known of his professional one, since a small quantity of his papers have found their way into several manuscript collections housed in Durham.(49) William Pye lived only a short while longer than the bishop to whom he owed so much, following Chandler to the grave some two and a half years later on 4 January 1753.(50) Though married, he lost his wife Mary in 1728, and she was buried at St. Oswald's in Durham, no doubt a clue to the general area of their residence at the time.(51) Pye left a considerable estate, and his Will in the Durham Probate Records makes interesting reading.(52) Among many other legacies, he left Archdeacon Sharp £40, and also (in a codicil) his "chariot and coach Horses wth. all their appurtenances". In addition, he bequeathed the following books to Sharp:(53)

The Corpus Juris Civilis in 2 Vols. Folio,
Bp. Gibson's Codex 2 Vols. Folio,
Linwoods Provincial Folio,
The Clergyman's Law New & Last Edition Folio,
Ecton's Thesaurus Rerum Eccl(esiast)icarum in large Quarto.

Besides these, after leaving £10 to Peter Bowlby "my diligent Clerk as a Token of my respect for him," he then listed the following books as well:(54)

Swinburne of last Wills Folio,
Domat 2.Vols. Folio by Strahan.
An old edition of Linwood, and
the Constitutions of Otho and Ottobon in little Folios,
Oughton's Ordo Judiciorum in 2 Vols. Quarto,
Johnson's Canons 2.Vols. Octavo,
Grey's abridgement of the Codex,
The Clark's Instructor,
Degg's Parson's Counsellor,
Gibson on Parochial Visitations,
Swinburn on Matrimonial Contracts,
Cosins' Apology,
Jura Eccl(esiast)ica 2 Vols. Octavos,
Ridley's View of the Civil Law, and
Cowell's Law Dictionary Folio.

It may not unfairly be assumed that this represents a typical working library for a senior diocesan official in the early eighteenth century, and copies of all but four of these works are contained in either the Bamburgh Library or the Chapter Library in Durham.(55)

William Pye was not chosen as Surrogate when Bishop Joseph Butler was translated to Durham from Bristol in the autumn of 1750, even though Richard Chandler remained as Spiritual Chancellor, and this perhaps indicates Pye's failing health rather than any disfavour.(56) In his stead Thomas Gyll "willingly and ex animo" took the oaths of subscription as Surrogate on 15 November 1751,(57) and held the office until his own health failed and he himself died in 1780.(58) The only son of Thomas Gyll, he was born in 1700 at Barton in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and educated at Richmond School.(59) Matriculating at Cambridge in 1718, he was admitted scholar at Trinity Hall on 5 January 1719-20.(60)

Venn does not indicate that he took his degree, but Gyll was later made M.A. by the Archbishop of Canterbury. On 28th September, 1751, he entered the following in his diary:(61)

> I took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy in order to qualifie me for the degree of master of arts which the archbishop of Canterbury is to grant me as a qualification to hold the place of surrogate under Mr. Chandler, ye Chancellor of Durham.

Gyll had previously been admitted at Lincoln's Inn on 24 January 1718-9, and called to the Bar in 1725.(62) Appointed Solicitor General of the County Palatine of Durham in 1733, he probably resided here from that time onwards.(63)

Little is known of Gyll beyond what is stated above, save that he kept a very detailed diary of events which took place in and around Durham from 1748 to 1778.(64) Seemingly a man of ability and integrity in his work, he nevertheless revealed hardly a trace of his professional concerns in the diary, devoting it almost entirely to the recording of deaths. In doing so, however, he has often left us a few words concerning many men who would otherwise remain totally obscure, and nowhere is this more true than in his notes on minor canons and other junior officials of the diocese and the Cathedral. We shall have cause to refer to his diary throughout the remainder of this chapter, as well as later in the dissertation, but we shall leave Gyll (and the Surrogates) with these words from his monumental inscription in Barton Parish Church:

> Near this wall is interred Thomas Gyll, esq:, equally esteamed for his knowledge of the Common and the Canon law, and for his integrity in the practice of both. At the Bar, an advocate in the former, on the bench a judge in the latter. Nor was he less distinguished for his accuracy in the history and antiquities of his country. By a steady discharge of the duties of his

station, both in public and private life, and by a constant and devout attendance at the public worship, he was an example worthy of imitation. He died in his eightieth year, 1780. To the memory of his truely valuable character, Leonard Hartley, his nephew and heir, placed this tablet. (65)

C. THE REGISTRARS

The next echelon in the diocesan administrative hierarchy was that of the Registrars, whose office was in origin that of ecclesiastical scribe.(1) In fact the office had come to be one of general administrative oversight for much - if not all - of the accumulated business of the registry.(2) In addition to their scribal duties, the Registrars seem to have superintended the general preparations for visitations, handled much of the routine correspondence, indexed and filed documents, and no doubt did much else beside. The canons of 1603 had established some clear guidelines for the reformation of abuses in Registrars, and in the process make specific reference to some at least of their duties.(3) It was his duty to be a servant of the ecclesiastical court only, and he was in no way to be involved in direct or indirect counsel of "parties in suit". In court, it was his duty to set down the enactments of the judge and to do his bidding; calling those cited to appear in court, seeing to the examination of witnesses, and writing, or causing to be written, "such citations and decrees as are to be put in execution."(4) Outside the court, he was responsible for all the probate records, with the specific duty of causing "all testaments exhibited into his office to be registered within a convenient time."(5) Around these central functions, the minor administrative matters, mentioned previously, seem to have gathered, and it certainly would appear that the position was critical to the efficient running of the diocese in the period.

Within the Diocese of Durham there seem to have been two Registrars, appointed jointly for life, and one Deputy Registrar whom they themselves appointed. This arrangement of having a joint registrarship was a curious one, and unlike normal arrangements for "lives" (as for example in leases) where this term signified a sequential order of three men's lives, the patent of the Registrars was for two lives concurrently.(6) Thus when one of the two died, it was not renewable until the second died as well. This strange arrangement was greatly to effect the eighteenth century registry, for by a peculiar twist of fate it lead to one man holding the office of Registrar for some fifty-nine years, and this man was Ralph Trotter. Appointed jointly for life with Robert Hilton by Lord Crewe in 1708, Hilton seems to disappear quite soon after, and Trotter remained alone in that office until his own death in 1769.(7) At that time Trotter was "80 & somewhat", and had been holding the office of Registrar for some sixty-one years in all.(8) Owing to this extremely long tenure in office, it is rare to find among the existing documents from the registry any which do not bear some note, correction, or other evidence of the tightly-scrawled hand of Ralph Trotter.

Trotter was born in 1688/9, the son of one Ralph Trotter, merchant, of the city of Durham.(9) The father was apparently a draper and tailor with a very thriving business in the city.(10) He lived in St. Nicholas parish, and when he died in 1691, he left his wife and family a considerable inheritance. One third of his estate went to his wife Margaret, and the balance to his four children. Each child was to receive a lump sum when he reached the age of twenty-one (£300 for John the eldest, £200 each for Thomas and Ralph, and £150 for his only daughter Margaret), and the interest in the meantime was to be used for their maintenance and education, with any surplus being divided

equally among them. The very interesting and extensive inventory of the elder Ralph's goods amounted to £1,057.10s.0d., no small sum in 1691! The following year the children's grandfather died, one "John Trotter of Small Leese" (a farm near Bishop Auckland) and they received a portion of land "commonly called blakley hill which cost mee about three score and fifteen pounds."(11) The young Ralph is next to be found as a page to Lady Crewe, wife of the Bishop of Durham, but precisely how this transpired is unknown.(12) Undoubtedly this is the reason why the bishop specifically mentions Trotter in his own will as the intended recipient of the portrait of Lady Crewe, and why Crewe appointed him to be Registrar for life (at the age of twenty) by letters patent.(13) To Trotter's intimacy with the bishop's household is also certainly to be attributed his receipt of two very important manuscripts after Crewe's death. One was a manuscript life of the bishop, later used by his first biographer, and the second was a book of "Royal Charters concerning the See of Durham", first compiled for Bishop John Cosin in 1663.(14)

Scattered among the diocesan records are various notes and letters which serve to illuminate Trotter's character, as well as the life of the diocesan office. Two at least of these should be examined, showing as they do something of Trotter's relationships with those under and over him in his station.

The first of these is a curious document dealing with a case put before the Master of the Rolls in July 1735.(15) The case was against Trotter and seems to have been brought by Braems Wheler his Deputy Registrar. Wheler had become deputy sometime previously and it appears that he believed Trotter to have improperly executed a specific agreement which had been made, presumably an agreement regarding

remuneration for work performed as Deputy Registrar. The case hinges upon the exact relationship in law between the so called "Principal Registrar" and his "Deputy", and thus illustrates something of the working of these two offices. The Master of the Rolls argues that "the Dependance of ye. Law", that is the responsibility, "is upon ye. Principal, & ye. Deputy must act in ye. name of ye. Principal." The argument goes on to say that the agreement between the two men shows the Deputy to have a "determined" deputation, not an "absolute" one, thus any "interest arises from the agreemt., & is not inherent in ye. Deputation" which is "collateral to it." All this means that should the court "decree a performance of ye. Agreement" the Principal (that is Trotter) could "revoke the Deputation immediately" and be entirely within his legal rights in doing so. For the court to "decree a Specifick performance" of the agreement "would be making ye. Office (of Deputy) Assignable", a thing it clearly is not, and therefore "ye. bill must be dismissed." The case thus seems to imply that Trotter was not fulfilling his part of the agreement because he held that Wheler had in some way failed in his performance of duty. Presumably the disagreement was worked out satisfactorily however, for Wheler remains Deputy throughout Trotter's lifetime.(16)

The second item which shows something of the Registrar's character, is much more difficult to interpret with certainty, though - not surprisingly perhaps - it holds much more interest. The item referred to is in fact contained in the Visitation Papers which are extant from 1736, though not certainly of that date, and consists of two pages of very rough notes in Trotter's hand.(17) The Registrar was apparently working on a draft letter to the Bishop of Durham, and in consequence the document is severely cross-hatched, marked over, and generally illegible in many parts. What makes it so very interesting is that

Trotter is obviously in great distress because of the mismanagement of the diocesan affairs in several administrative areas. It would appear that Trotter was being required to take in hand the preparations for an Episcopal Visitation, but that the proper materials were lacking in the registry owing to the neglect of certain of the bishop's officials.(18) It is difficult to reconstruct the circumstances, but Trotter complains that several administratively important collections of material had been neglected, and by his tone he seems to be very distressed. He wrote that there had been -

> No collations; Institutions or Licences Being Registered in yr. Ldshpps Registry Nor No Returns made from the Archdeacons at their Visitacons of the names of the clergy, church Ws & their presentments according to the 121 canon (which) renders your Lopps Office & Officers, not only Exceedingly But Surprisingly Remiss & Neglectfull upon ye. calls of Visitation my Ld.

The reference to the Canon was particularly important, for there provision is made for preventing "his majesty's subjects" from being "challenged and molested in divers ecclesiastical courts."(19) Since the presentments made at the archdeacon's courts were not in hand it was very possible that some people would be presented at the bishop's visitation who had already appeared at the previous court. This was not just an inconvenience for these presented, however, for by that same canon those officials who were responsible for the errors - the offending officers - were liable to temporary suspension from their office and were required to pay back all "costs and expences which the parties grieved have been at by that vexation."(20) There can be little wonder, therefore,that Trotter was angry, particularly if he thought himself likely to suffer financially in consequence. He went on to explain that he had "been obligd to Humbl(y) Request Intreat & Beg the Names of ye Clergy and Churchwardens" and other data, and prayed that

the bishop would ensure that such a disastrous state of affairs should not be allowed to occur again in the future.

Not only was Trotter a long-time servant of the bishop in the Spiritual Jurisdiction, but he also seems to have held some positions in the Temporal Jurisdiction, as well. Hutchinson says that Trotter was "keeper of Birtley-Wood and housekeeper of the (bishop's) palace at Darlington."(21) The same source says that he surrendered both of these patents in Bishop Chandler's time, though neither the date of this surrender nor the reason for it are clear.

Few personal details concerning Ralph Trotter are known beyond those already mentioned. It is clear that he was married, though his wife's name is not known, and that he had at least two daughters, one of whom was named Dorothy (and nicknamed Dolly) after his patroness Lady Crewe.(22) At some time before the marriage of this daughter in 1761, Trotter had taken up residence in the South Bailey, but precisely when or where is not certain.(23) According to Gyll's diary, the old Registrar died on 1 August 1769 "at his house in the South Bailey... aged 81."(24) A note in the precedent book made for the use of the Principal Surrogate in the 1780's contains the last reference to Trotter among the Diocesan Records and it records that he "kept no regular Accounts and, such as he did keep, are with his Daurs in Leicestershire."(25)

Trotter was succeeded as Registrar by two men appointed jointly for life on 21st August 1769, "Nicholas Halhead of the parish of St. Mary North Bailey;.. Esquire and the Honourable John Trevor of Christ Church College... Oxford."(26) In the light of the previous precedent, it is not to be wondered at that Bishop Trevor appointed his nineteen year old nephew John to this position, though there is

no evidence of his ever having performed any of the duties attendant upon this position.(27) It would seem that John Trevor found it to be some financial advantage however, for when Halhead died he surrendered his patent only to accept another for the same position in 1785, this time with John Brooks.(28) Trevor himself died in 1824, but whether he retained his patent until then is unknown.(29) In the starkest contrast to Trevor, Nicholas Halhead appears to have been one of the most active and able officials in the diocese. It is certain that he was very close to the bishop, for he first appears in the diocese upon Richard Trevor's translation to the See of Durham from St. David's. All of the "Acts of Richard Lord Bishop of Durham..." were "sped" before Halhead as a 'Notary Publick" and his hand is continually present throughout Trevor's episcopate.(30) Apparently appointed as personal secretary to the bishop (whether at St. David's or in Durham is not clear) he received in consequence much mail and many fees intended for him, and there is a good deal of evidence of this in the diocesan manuscripts.(31) The Bishop appointed him as Master of Greatham Hospital in 1764 and he is said to be "Batcheller of Laws".(32) Soon thereafter, in 1767, he was made Senescal, though he resigned this position in 1769 when he was made Registrar.(33) His health finally failed in 1785, when he surrendered his patent, and he died "at Tunbridge August 1785".(34)

As was indicated above the Registrars generally appointed a Deputy Registrar, and it remains for us to draw attention to the one man known to have held this post in our period, Braems Wheler. As we saw in his dispute with Trotter, Wheler was appointed sometime before 1735, in fact probably in 1732.(35) He came into the diocese assuredly because of the position held by his uncle Sir George Wheler, prebendary of the second stall from 1684 to 1724, though whether before or after his death

is not certain.(36) Even if it was after, he would not have been bereft of influence in diocesan circles however, for Sir George's daughter Judith (his cousin) was married to the Archdeacon of Northumberland, Thomas Sharp.(37) In 1742 the archdeacon married Braems Wheler and Mary Smith in the Cathedral, and Wheler is said to be of the parish of "Little Saint Mary".(38) Mary Smith was in fact a daughter of Posthumous Smith, a diocesan official, and Mary Wheler, sixth daughter of Sir George,(39) so once again Braems Wheler's ties to diocesan influence were made even stronger. Apart from his position as Deputy Registrar, he served as Registrar to both the Archdeacon of Durham and of Northumberland (1747-1774), and to the Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter (1753-1774), to which he further added the duties of Proctor in the Consistory Court.(40) Little can be ascertained of the man in his offices, save that he appears routinely among the diocesan manuscripts up to 1766. Beyond this we know only that he died and was buried the day after Christmas 1774 and that his wife was herself interred three days later.(41)

Wheler's joint offices serve to remind us that others besides the Diocesan Registrar and his Deputy exercised the office of Registrar in our period, though there was often such an overlap.

The Dean and Chapter of Durham appointed a Registrar, who was responsible within their jurisdictional sphere for just the same variety of tasks as was his counterpart at diocesan level. Much the same was true within the archidiaconal jurisdictions as well, and here we find reference occasionally to the archdeacon's Registrar. Later in the century, the same man is found to be holding all three of these positions simultaneously, but whether this was always so at an earlier date in the century is not certain.(42)

The frequency with which the services of a Registrar were needed by the Dean and Chapter in the eighteenth century is not clear, particularly in so far as his duties were related to ecclesiastical jurisdiction known as the "Officiality".(43) As we have seen, this jurisdiction was in all respects a third archdeaconry within the diocese, though not so called. With the Dean and Chapter (though historically the Prior) in the technical position of having archidiaconal oversight, they exercised this responsibility through one of their members who was styled "Official of the Officiality of the Dean and Chapter of Durham", and he was the only one normally involved in the pastoral and administrative burden of overseeing the cathedral livings. When he acted in his judicial capacity as judge of this ecclesiastical jurisdictions spiritual court, presumably held mainly at visitations, then he would need the services of the Registrar.(44) Again, no doubt, he would have been engaged in more routine matters though how far he did these because he was Registrar or because he was a notary is uncertain.(45)

Two men occupied this office for the Dean and Chapter during our period, the first of these was William Pye, who held the title from 1718 to his death in 1752 and whose life has been touched on previously in this chapter. The second man to hold this position has also been mentioned previously, for in the Will of William Pye he mentioned one Peter Bowlby "my diligent Clark". This young man was apparently more than just a friend and faithful servant to Pye, for in a contested election for the position of Registrar, the majority of the Chapter voted for Bowlby.(46) At the time of the election, Bowlby was only "about 23 years of age" and this alone might seem unusual, though it is made more so by the fact that he "carried the election against Braems Wheler" who was not only senior but also well placed by family

connections as we have seen.(47) Nevertheless, Peter Bowlby seems to have been at least as well placed as Wheler, and may even have been more so.(48)

Bowlby was the son of "Thomas Bowlby, gent., and Attorney-at-law", and Mary Burrell the youngest daughter and "coheiress of Peter Burrell, Esq., of Durham".(49) Scion of the legal profession through his father and his mother he was also heir to the diocesan office through his mother, for her father was a Deputy Registrar from 1705 and also Registrar (at least) to the Archdeacon of Northumberland.(50) Born in 1729, Bowlby early lost his father, who died in the following year leaving a wife and five children under the age of ten years.(51) Peter's older brother Thomas went up to Cambridge, while he himself was articled to William Pye.(52) Named as a Proctor of the ecclesiastical court on 1 February 1750, his progess from then was steady. Registrar of the Dean and Chapter from 1753 in succession to Pye, when he refused (it is said) "every other Employment his predecessor held", he nevertheless later succeeded to his former patron's office of Principal Surrogate as well.(53) At some time before becoming Surrogate in 1780, Bowlby was also made Doctor of Law by the Archbishop of Canterbury.(54)

Bowlby married Elizabeth Russell in 1757, by whom he had at least five children, one of thom (Thomas) took Holy Orders, while another (John) later became Chapter Clerk of the Cathedral.(55) After his first wife's death in 1772, Bowlby married one Elizabeth Fawcett in 1773.(56) When he was first married, he was said to be of the parish of St. Mary-the-less, and it appears that he had purchased the house built by his former patron William Pye at No.1 South Bailey.(57) Bowlby's health seems to have failed (we suppose) soon after he was made Principal Surrogate, for he resigned that office in 1781 and in

the same year was made "joint-registrar" (with his son) to the Dean and Chapter. He left Durham in 1787 and died at Bishop Auckland 27 March 1806.(58)

As has been mentioned, the archdeacons had a juridical responsibility and jurisdiction, and they too required the services of an official and a Registrar. Just as the bishop might delegate his responsibility for sitting as judge in his ecclesiastical court, so too might the archdeacons. The records of the proceedings of any archidiaconal courts in our period seem to have vanished without trace however, so this is an area very difficult to reconstruct. Even so, we have been able to trace some of the men who held these two offices under the archdeacons, though we are almost entirely without evidence for the Archdeaconry of Durham.

In the period following the Restoration, both archdeacons are known to have had an official, Thomas Craddock serving in Durham from 1687 and Isaac Basire (under his father of the same name) in Northumberland from 1671.(59) Unfortunately there is a chasm following these two not bridged until sometime circa 1724. In that year we find Posthumous Smith said to be Official to Robert Boothe, Archdeacon of Durham.(60) Elsewhere it is said that he was Official to the Archdeacon of Northumberland, and perhaps he was in fact Official for both, owing to his expertise in the law (he was LL.B.) and his position as Principal Surrogate.(61) Smith died in 1725 and we next meet an Official in 1731, when we find that William Pye assumed this position under the Archdeacon of Durham.(62) The following year this commission was broadened further, and he became Official for Northumberland as well.(63) Once more we see the (presumed) expertise of the Principal Surrogate brought into service in the archidiaconal courts. Pye died in 1752,

and no further official in the Archdeaconry of Durham is known until 1788.(64) In Northumberland however, Archdeacon Thomas Sharp gave a patent to his son John in 1753, making him Official within his jurisdiction.(65) We have no evidence that John Sharp did likewise when he became archdeacon, and so we leave this minor diocesan office.

There was one other archidiaconal position in our period however, the archdeacon's Registrar, and to this office we now turn. We have already seen that Braems Wheler was Registrar for both the archdeacons from about 1747 until his death in 1774, but we have one earlier example in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. Thomas Sharp tells us of him in 1723, when he incidentally mentions "Jno. Pye my Register" while referring to several old manuscripts and books which contained information about the archdeaconry and diocese.(66) Apparently Pye, as Registrar, was responsible for the keeping of all such records for Northumberland. Sharp seems to imply that he was present on his visitation tours, and definitely states that he handled the funds received and disbursed by Sharp in commutation of penance.(67) As seems to have been natural in the period, Pye held another office in the Registry, for he was a Proctor in the Consistory Court.(68) In addition to this, if we are right to identify as his hand the annotations scattered throughout the subscription book D.R. XIV.5, he seems to have superintended the return of "the First Fruits" to the Barons of the Exchequer.(69)

As we have seen before, and increasingly expect among the officials, John Pye too was related to the diocesan office by blood, for he was the brother of William Pye, the Surrogate whom we have mentioned previously. He married one "Mrs. Margarett Burton" in 1723, at the church of Little St. Mary in the South Bailey, but we know nothing of

her or of any family.(70) When next we find mention of John Pye, it is after his death and that of his brother William, when in 1753 an Administration Bond was issued in the Probate Court, for the administration(71)

> of all and singular the Goods, Chattels, Rights and Credits of John Pye late of the South Bailey... Gentleman Deceased left Unadministered by the said William Pye (his late brother) also Deceased....

D. THE PROCTORS AND OTHER OFFICERS

Although this dissertation has been designed specifically to exclude an examination of the ecclesiastical courts, it seems necessary to mention at least briefly one set of servants of those courts - the Proctors, since they appear to have been involved (at least informally) in many other matters of diocesan administration and are often found holding other offices as well. Apart from them we shall conclude the chapter with a discussion of the several other minor officers connected with the diocesan registry.

Historically, the growth of the system of canon law and the courts administering it involved the gradual appearance of a body of professional canon lawyers, and the junior of these came to be known as Proctors. Proctors were to be skilled in the practice of the law, while Advocates were to be skilled in the knowledge of the same, and in fact the distinction between them was roughly correspondent to that between Barristers and Solicitors in the secular courts.(1) It would seem that the bulk of the business of the diocesan courts was conducted by these Proctors, and the canons of 1603 contain specific directives concerning the right execution of this office, for at that time it was apparently an office prone to abuse.(2) According to these provisions, Proctors

were "not to retrain causes without the Council of an Advocate", nor could a Proctor bring or conclude any case in court without the advice and knowledge of "the advocate retained and feed in the cause."(3) How direct a part these Advocates had in legal matters brought before the Consistory Court in the eighteenth century is not at all clear.(4)

It was normal for the court in Durham to have four Proctors at any one time (two a dextris and two a sinistris), and vacancies were soon filled up. This system usually meant that men of varied age and experience were practising at any particular time. In 1785, for example, Hutchinson tells us that one Proctor was appointed in 1750, one in 1763, one in 1764, and the fourth and final one in 1781.(5) A full list of those Proctors known from post-Restoration times is given in Appendix No.1, and should be consulted. We will content ourselves here with a brief examination of those in office from 1721 to 1771.

Our unknown compiler has not given us dates of office for those who became Proctors before 1711, but we shall look first at the man denominated "Mr. Hilton", for it would seem that he did not die until after 1721, though whether or not he was still functioning as Proctor by that time is not clear.(6) Probably he is to be identified as Robert Hilton, and as such is the man, appointed jointly with Ralph Trotter as Registrar in 1708, whom we have mentioned earlier in this chapter. If this is so, it is very likely that John Pye was appointed in succession to Hilton, when the latter seems to have withdrawn from diocesan affairs circa 1710. Thus our period would begin with Posthumous Smith, William Pye (the clergyman, later Vicar of Shilbottle, not the Surrogate of the same name) Peter Burrell and John Pye holding the four proctorial offices. As Smith and the two Pyes have previously

been examined under other offices, we are left with Peter Burrell, who is said to be "Junr."(7) It is difficult to identify this man with certainty, though clearly he was descended from the family of that name who had long served the diocese. One Peter Burrell is known to have been Registrar to the Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1705 as well as Deputy Registrar to the diocesan Registrar.(8) This man died in 1708 and was succeeded by his son of the same name (in his archidiaconal position only) in that same year, according to the compiler upon whom Appendix No.1 depends.(9) The situation is further complicated however, by the fact that the registers of the cathedral show this younger Peter Burrell ("of the South Bailey") to have been buried on 15 June 1720, and yet the compiler has a man of this name in the office of Proctor until his death in 1742.(10) If the latter piece of information is correct, then we must assume that a third Peter Burrell was in fact the holder of this office.

The succession of men to the proctorial office is very difficult to reconstruct from the evidence to hand, as we do not know if the Proctors resigned before their deaths nor can we be sure who is succeeding whom.(11) In any event, three Proctors are "admitted" (so the compiler puts it) during the episcopate of William Talbot, Salkeld Hutchinson on 14 February 1723/4, and Robert Dixon and Braems Wheler on 17 June 1726. Wheler we have seen previously in our discussion of the various Registrars of the diocesan and archidiaconal jurisdictions, therefore we turn to the remaining two. Salkeld Hutchinson was doubtless a member of the local Durham family of that name from which sprang many distinguished sons.(12) Nevertheless his precise place in that family is not clear. We know only that he lived within the parish of Mary-le-Bow, fathering at least two sons, and that he was buried in the parish church on 11 September 1770.(13) We know

even less of Robert Dixon than of Hutchinson, for no detail of his life (or death) is known beyond the fact that a son also named Robert, was baptized in Durham Cathedral on 8 January 1733.(14) Presumably he was still functioning in the office of Proctor at this time.

The long episcopate of Edward Chandler saw only two changes in the quartet of men who held the office of Proctor, one in the early and one in the latter years. In early 1733, one Timothy Wrangham was admitted Proctor a dextris.(15) Our knowledge of him is dependent upon the diary of Thomas Gyll, for the latter recorded on 30 August 1749, that Wrangham "died at Kirk Merrington".(16) Also, in a manner not uncharacteristic of Gyll, the diarist stated that "he was a tall, lathy person and remarkable for that he never wore a waistcoat."(17) The deceased Proctor was buried at Kirk Merrington on 1 September 1749, taking his place beside the body of his wife Eleanor, who was buried there on 27 March 1736.(18) Some few months were to pass before Wrangham's place was filled, when on 1 February 1750, Peter Bowlby (the future Registrar to the Dean and Chapter, of whom we have already heard) was admitted a dextris in his stead.(13)

Four men moved into the ranks of the diocesan administration by being admitted as Proctors during the episcopate of Richard Trevor, and none of them have we seen previously in this chapter. John Hays was the first of these, and his time in office began on 11 November 1763, when he was admitted a sinistris.(20) George Wood joined Hays in the following year, being admitted a dextris on 20 July 1764.(21) The last two men both held the same post, for Thomas Hutchinson (admitted a sinistris on 26 October 1770) vacated the office by his death six months after assuming it, and he was followed by Thomas Smart on 31 May 1771.(22) Of none of these men may it be said our knowledge

is great. John Hays passes without notice from the list of Proctors left us by the compiler, as does Thomas Smart, though we do know that the latter probably died in early 1781.(23) It seems likely that Thomas Hutchinson is the same as the young child of that name born to the wife of Salkeld Hutchinson, Proctor of the Consistory Court, earlier in the century.(24) Lastly we have George Wood, who fares better owing to the fact that he held the office of Registrar to both archdeacons and the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral from 1775.(25) His name disappears from those offices in 1799, which may safely be assumed to be the time of his death.

There remains only one diocesan office (rightly so called) which as yet we have not examined, and that is the office of Apparitor. The right execution of this office was to a certain extent regulated by canon 138, which limited the number of such officers there might allowably be in any ecclesiastical jurisdiction to that which they "were accustomed to have thirty years before", providing always that "if upon experience the number of the said apparitors be too great in any diocese in the judgment of the archbishop of Canterbury... they shall by him be so abridged, as he shall think meet and convenient." The task of "somners or apparitors" was to execute the mandates of the court to which they were attached, not delegating this execution to "any messengers or substitutes, unless it be upon some good cause to be first known and approved by the ordinary of the place." Further, they were forbidden to "take upon them the office of promoters or informers for the court" or to "exact more or greater fees than are in these our Constitutions formerly prescribed."

In our period, we have encountered only two offices in this category, that of Apparitor General and Deputy Apparitor.(26) Though they must

have been primarily concerned with the execution of the orders of the court (which is not within the scope of our study), they seem also to have had a part to play at every episcopal visitation, and it is in the records of these visitations that we find mention of them. As we shall see in the next chapter, every episcopal visitation was first begun by the issuance of a Process General, directed by the bishop to his Apparitor General and requiring him to summon the clergy and churchwardens of the diocese to the visitation centres. The formal means by which the Apparitor General did this was through the issuance of a Monition, which admonished the necessary persons to attend.(27) Beyond this rather perfunctory duty every three or four years (depending on the visitation frequency), we have no evidence of the Apparitor's function in the non-judicial administration of the diocese.

Almost all of the men who held this office, are known by little more than their name, appearing as they do only fleetingly in the extant records. Francis Pewterer, whose patent was dated on 6 July 1707, was still functioning in the diocese as late as 1737, though he may no longer have been Apparitor, since Richard Chapham (otherwise unknown) is said to have been patented 15 June 1720.(28) By 1725 one Cornelius Wetherel is definitely known to have been Apparitor General, for in that year (and in 1728) his name and title are found in the visitation records of the diocese.(29) The compiler records that one David Parry was patented as Apparitor on 5 April 1740, and he is doubtless the man who attested the resignation of Robert Stillingfleet from the rectory of Ryton on 2 February 1737.(30) Unfortunately his official status at that time is unknown, though it does perhaps serve to show that he became Apparitor only after serving in some other capacity in the diocesan administrative network.

William Pickering appears as Deputy Apparitor in 1751, for his signature and title are found inscribed upon the Process General from Joseph Butler's visitation in that year.(31) Pickering was probably one of the family of Theophilus Pickering, who was rector of Sedgefield and prebend of the fourth and eleventh stalls earlier in the century.(32) On 20 November 1751 a patent was given to Isaac Fawcet, who seems to have remained Apparitor General until 1765 when he died.(33) Doubtless he was the son of John Fawcet, Recorder of the City of Durham, and brother of Christopher (Recorder of Newcastle) and Richard (vicar of Newcastle).(34) Fawcet was assisted in his office by John Wardell, who appears as Deputy Apparitor in the 1758 visitation papers.(35) Wardell was likely to have been one of the sons of John Wardell, M.D., of Crossgate in Durham.(36) Upon Fawcet's death in 1765, George Brooks was given the patent of Apparitor General in his place.(37) Brooks was to resign only five years later (presumably to take up the position of Secretary to Bishop Egerton), and he was succeeded by Rouse Compton on 27 September 1770.(38)

Mention of George Brooks determines us to mention the very important (though non-diocesan) office or position of Secretary to the Bishop.(39) As a personal attendant upon the bishop's person, these men were in a position to influence him greatly, and in consequence we find them regularly mentioned in the diocesan registry manuscripts. We shall close this chapter by looking briefly at them and what we may discern of their duties, as revealed by those documents.

In the episcopate of Bishop Talbot we have mention of his Secretary "Mr. Rundle", though the identity of this man is so far unknown.(40) We know that the bishop was patron of Thomas Rundle, a prebend and later Bishop of Derry, though if this clergyman was also his personal

Secretary it would be the only such case (in our period in Durham) of a man in orders filling this office. Perhaps one of Thomas Rundle's brothers is the man instead.

The long episcopate of Edward Chandler reveals one Secretary very clearly, for Charles Whitaker seems to have enjoyed that position from Chandler's arrival in the diocese until his own death in 1743. It is clear that, at the very least, Whitaker superintended the subscription book kept during Chandler's time. Not only does his hand make out the standard heading for all general ordinations until 1741, but he also seems to have written most of occasional biographical annotations and additional notes which appear therein.(41) His hand last appears on 25 September 1742.(42) Before that time we find that he was regularly in receipt of funds (for the bishop) from the Howdenshire Receiver, as he must have been from all the bishop's estates.(43) We see something too, of this involvement in the affairs of the bishop's temporal estate, in the following fragment of a letter written to Chandler. "Enclosed I send," wrote Whitaker,(44)

> your Lordship a Copy of a Lease for Richd. Jurdison of Lands at Easington. 7 years were gone in it on ye 18th.Sep. last. At ye last renewal he pd. £23 for 3 years so yt I presume your Lordship will think £20 sufficient for 7 years - The Dean and Chapter have given ye living of Dalton to Mr. Dunn ye Curate at Easington, by means of Dr. Sharp. I am very sorry for my Lady's illness, & I heartily pray for her recovery, & I am
>
> My Lord
> Yor. Lordship's most obedient &
> faithfull humble Servt.
> C. Whitaker
>
> The Dean is gone through ye deep
> Snow but Mr. Knatchbull stays
> for better Weather

Since we know (thanks to the record kept by William Pye) that William Dunn subscribed the oaths for the "Cure of souls in parish church of

Dalton" on 10 December 1740, we may not unreasonably date the above letter in the Winter of 1740/1741.(45) Hutchinson tells us that in addition to being the bishop's Secretary, Whitaker also held the Clerkship of the Halmot Court.(46) Whitaker seems to have died a bachelor, for his will makes no mention of a wife or children, the whole of his estate being divided among his brother and four sisters.(47) He made his Will on 19 October 1743, and dying was buried in the cathedral.(48) Of a successor during Chandler's episcopate, we know nothing.(49)

When Joseph Butler was translated to the See in 1750, he of course had his own personal Secretary,one Edward Pearson.(50) Once again we find the bishop's Secretary to be the keeper of the subscription book, for the primary hand during Butler's episcopate seems to be Pearson's.(51) Further he is present at the general ordination of 1750, the record of which he attests as "Not.Public."(52) When Butler died in 1752, Pearson seems to have retained some office within the new bishop's household (though not as Secretary) for he is seen to be in receipt of funds from the Howdenshire Receiver in 1753, as well as in subsequent years to 1766.(53) After that date no record of him is known to survive.

As we have seen, Edward Pearson ceased to be Secretary to the bishop when Butler died, though retained in some capacity by Bishop Trevor. He was in fact displaced as Secretary by a man already familiar to us as Registrar, Nicholas Halhead. Halhead appears to have been present with Bishop Trevor from the beginning of his time as Bishop of Durham, for on the very first page of Trevor's Register appears the following inscription: "The Acts of Richard Lord Bishop of Durham sped before me Nich. Halhead N.P."(54) Halhead's hand is that of the whole book,

with the exception of those entries which relate to the conferral of some office upon himself.(55) Likewise his hand is the dominent one of the subscription book from the time of Trevor's translation to Durham in 1752.(56) Halhead's name crops up repeatedly in the diocesan manuscripts throughout Trevor's time, and he often receives money from the temporal estates of the bishop, as had his predecessors.(57) We find him in receipt of the procuration fees at the visitations of 1754 and 1762, as well, Ralph Trotter having first collected them from the clergy.(58) Naturally the Secretary was liable to requests to seek favour or assistance, because of his proximity to the bishop, and several examples of such solicitations have survived from Halhead's period. Many must have been the requests from prospective ordinands, such as Richard Jameson, who wrote to Halhead on 7 June 1753.(59) He had apparently missed the previous ordination, he wrote, "partly on account of my wanting a Certificate of my Age, and partly because I was too late in my Application."(60) In the interim he had done all that Halhead had suggested, and now hoped that all would be well and that he would "be not disappointed a second time which (would) prove extremely hard on me."(61) Later in that same year, Thomas Chapman wrote to him to request a seasonable intercession with the bishop, though this time the matter was far from spiritual.(62) It seems that Chapman's brother-in-law, a "Mr. Whitley of Stockton" said to be an "Alderman" there, was anxious to lease some waste ground opposite his house in Stockton.(63) The corporation, having heard about it, themselves contemplated applying for the same land, and Whitley was quite disconcerted. Apparently there was a suggestion that "Bricks (be) burnt on ye Place" which Whitley was sure would mean the waste "would probably be turned into <u>an immutable & legal Dunghill</u>, or to a purpose equally offensive...." Whitley was so agitated for very good

reason, for the waste was "opposite to his own House & remote from any of (the other Aldermen's)." Through Chapman's intervention (via Halhead) he hoped to lease (if not the whole) at least the one third nearest his house. How successful he was, we are unable to tell.

Trevor apparently had a high regard for Halhead, if we are to judge by the offices the bishop conferred upon him later in his episcopate. On 3 September 1764, Halhead (now called "Batcheller of Laws") was made "Master of the Hospital of God in Greatham in the County Palatine of Durham within the Diocese of Durham."(64) This appointment (unlike the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital) did not require a man in Holy Orders,and it was worth a not inconsiderable sum, being recorded at £200 circa 1751.(65) On 30 March 1767, Bishop Trevor granted to Halhead "the Office of Steward or of the Stewardship of the Lord Bishop of Durham and of all his Manors Lordships Lands Halmote and Halmote Courts within the County Palatine of Durham."(66) Little more than two years later, Halhead surrendered this office into the hands of the bishop.(67) Presumably this last act was somehow related to the fact that earlier in the same year (21 August 1769), Nicholas Halhead and John Trevor had been jointly appointed (by "Letters Patent") to the "Office of Principal Registrar or Registrar of (Bishop Trevor) and his Successors...."(68) All of these things together, incline us to suppose that Halhead's influence in the diocese was considerable, though this seems absolutely certain if we trust the opinion of Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham, 1746-1774. He wrote to his brother on 13 February 1761, and described Halhead as "a fellow of a Consumate Assurance and who governs his L'p as arbitrarily as he does the County."(69) Whether or not Cowper's opinion was unbiased we are not able to determine, for here our evidence of

Halhead ceases. He died at Tunbridge in Kent in July 1785, having retired there for the recovery of his health, and there we must leave him and the curious band of his fellow diocesan officials.(70)

"MEMORANDUM, RELATING TO THE COUNTY, CITY AND COLLEGE OF DURHAM, FROM THE RESTORATION IN 1660 TO ____."(1)

SPIRITUAL CHANCELLORS: (f.42^{R})

Tho. Ireland, LL.D.	His Patent dated	23rd September, 1675.
Richd. Lloyd, LL.D.		16th December, 1676.
Charles Mountagu, Esq.		2nd November, 1687.
Wm. Wilson, LL.D.		October, 1690.
James Mountagu, A.M.		December, 1690.
John Brookbank, A.M.		1st September, 1691.
Exton Sayer, LL.D.		20th April, 1724.
Wadham Chandler, A.M.		25th September, 1731.
Richd. Chandler alias Cavendish, A.M.		2nd February, 1737.
Wm. Wynne, LL.D.	His Patent Confirmed	20th July, 1770, res.
Geo. Harris, LL.D.	His Patent Confirmed	20th November, 1779.
Barnard, LL.D.	His Patent Confirmed	30th April, 1796. 28th September, 1796.

OFFICIALS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER (f.45^{R})

Wm. Church, LL.B.	His Patent dated	22nd November, 1660.
Tho. Burwell, LL.D.		6th February, 1663.
Tho. Cartwright, S.T.P.		15th May, 1673.
Wm. Graham, S.T.P.		30th April, 1687.
Sir Geo. Wheler, A.M.	Appointed	23rd November, 1705.
Tho. Eden, LL.D.	His Patent dated	12th February, 1723.
Tho. Sharp, D.D.		9th August, 1754. (2)
Tho. Chapman, D.D.		28th September, 1758.
Sam. Dickens, D.D.		11th October, 1760.
John Sharp, D.D.		28th September, 1791.
Tho. Dampier, D.D.		28th September, 1792, Resigned.
Burgess, B.D.		20th November, 1802, Resigned.

OFFICIALS OF THE ARCHDEACONS OF DURHAM. (f.46^{R})

Tho. Craddock, Esq., was Official in 1687.(3)

OFFICIALS OF THE ARCHDEACONS OF NORTHUMBERLAND (f.46^{V})

Mr. Isaac Basire his patent confirmed 7th September, 1671.(4)

SURROGATES OF THE SPIRITUAL CHANCELLOR. (f.47^{R})

Daniel Brevint, Tho. Smith, Edwd. Kirby and John Cook appointed Surrogates 16th December, 1676.

Wm. Turner, A.Dn. of Northumberland, John Morton, D.D. & John Milner A.M. appointed Surrogates 7th September, 1677.

N.B. Mr. Edwd. Kirby Officiated as principal Surrogate from Time of his appointment in 1676 till December, 1688.

Charles Mountagu, Esq., M.A. Sir Geo. Wheler & Mr. Edwd. Kirby had a Deputation granted them from the Bishop dated 1st July, 1686, upon Sir Richd. Lloyd's death.

John Mountagu, S.T.P., Hen. Bagshaw, S.T.P., John Morton, S.T.B., Richard Knightly, A.M., Edward Kirby, A.M., John Milner, A.M. and John Martin A.M. appointed Surrogates 17th December, 1686, by the Hon. Charles Mountagu, Esq., A.M.

N.B. Mr. Milner officiated as principal Surrogate from the death of Mr. Kirby.

John Milner, John Smith & John Martin, A.M., appointed Surrogates 29th October, 1690.

Do. appointed Surrogates by the Hon. James Mountagu, Esq., 2nd December, 1690.

Mr. Ab. Yapp, appointed
Mr. Posthumous Smith, LL.B. 1708.
Mr. Edwd. Bell, LL.B. 31st December, 1725.
(here begins f.47[V])
Mr. Geo. Sayer, M.A. & Tho. Rundle, LL.D. were appointed Surrogates in 1725.
Mr. Bell begun to officiate as Judge the 4th March, 1725.
Mr. Wm. Pye, LL.B. admitted or substituted 25th September, 1731, and also substituted by Richard Chandler 2nd February, 1737, res.
Tho. Gyll, Esq., A.M. admitted or substituted 15th November, 1751 ob.
Samuel Viner, A.M. & P. Bowlby, LL.D. 1780.
N.B. Dr. Bowlby resigned on the 16th October, 1781. Ob. March (?1818)

REGISTERS OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM (f.49[R])(5)

Ro. Newhouse & Miles Stapylton their Patent dated 4th December, 1665.
Ro. Newhouse N.P. & Gabriel their Patent dated 22nd January, 1665.
Gabriel Newhouse & John Rowell 8th September, 1676.
Gabriel Newhouse & Robt. Hilton 9th July, 1705.
Robt. Hilton & Ra. Trotter Gentl. 7th July, 1708.
They ..... 22nd January, 1714.
N.B. Mr. Trotter was admitted 27th September, 1728.
The Hon. John Trevor) their Patent dated 21st August, 1763.
Nich. Halhead, Esq.)
Nich. Halhead, Esq., admitted 27th October, 1769.
John Trevor, Esq., & Geo. Brookes dead patent dated (6) September, 1785.
Died in October, 1824.

REGISTERS OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER (f.50^{R})

Thos. Bullock N.P. 1660 Ob.
Ralph Hedlie N.P. His Patent dates 1671 Ob.
Wm. Wilson, N.P. (He was Chancr.)(7) 5th December, 1673. Ob.
Mr. John Rowell admitted (He was also Regr. to the Bishop)(7) 29th November, 1690. Ob.
Mr. Posthumous Smith His Patent date) He was also Principal Surrogate & Official) 14th February, 1705. Ob.
Mr. Wm. Pye (He was also Principal Surrogate Official to both Archdeacons & Auditor to the Bishop)(7) 4th December, 1725.
Mr. Peter Bowlby (Regr. only & refused every other Employment his Predecessor held) (7) 6th January, 1753. Res.
He and his Son John 29th September, 1781.
Peter Bowlby died 27th March, 1806, at Bishop Auckland. Left Durham 20th July, 1787 - only Registrar 34 yrs.
John Bowlby resigned the office of Registrar. 30th January, 1829.

REGISTERS OF THE PECULIAR JURISDICTION (f.51^{R})

Mr. Braems Wheler (taken out of P. Bowlby's Patent and promised to be remitted, but promises are fallacious) (8) 20th January, 1753.
Mr. Geo. Wood 28th January, 1775.
Mr. Burrell 28th September, 1799.

REGISTERS OF THE ARCHDEACONS OF DURHAM (f.52^{R})

John Simpson & John Proud were Regrs. in 1687.
Mr. Braems Wheler 1747. Ob.
Mr. George Wood 1775.
Mr. Griffiths 1799.

REGISTERS OF THE ARCHDEACONS OF NORTHUMBERLAND (f.53^{R})

Mr. John Rowell His Patent Confirmed 23rd July, 1682.
Mr. Peter Burrell 1705.
Mr. Peter Burrell 1708.
Mr. Pye 1747. (9)
Mr. Braems Wheler Ob.
Mr. Geo. Wood 1775.
Robert Thorp 1799.

PROCTORS OF THE CONSISTORY COURT OF DURHAM (f.56^{V})

Wm. Matthew. Gent. Faculty Dated 1st February, 1663.
Richard Matthews
Francis Hanby
Gabriel Swainston
Mr. Trollop
Mr. Wharton

Mr. Hilton		
Mr. Smith		
Mr. Wm. Pye		
Mr. Peter Burrell Jnr.		died in 1742.
Mr. John Pye	Abt. 1711	died in 1748.
Mr. Salkeld Hutchinson	Admit'd 14th Feb. 1723/4.	a sinistris ob 17( )(7)
Mr. Robert Dixon	Admt'd 17th June, 1726.	a dextris
Mr. Braems Wheler	-do-	a sinistris ob.
Mr. Tim Wrangham	16th Feb. 1732/3.	a dextris ob.
Mr. Peter Bowlby	1st Feb. 1750.	a dextris ob. 1806
Mr. John Hays	11th Nov. 1763.	a sinistris March(?25)(7)
Mr. Geo. Wood	20th July, 1764.	a dextris
Mr. Tho. Hutchinson	26th Oct. 1770.	a sinistris ob. 1771.
Mr. Tho. Smart	31st May, 1771.	a sinistris
Mr. Peter Bowlby Marsden	30th March, 1781.	a dextris ob. May 1827.
Mr. Robert Burrell	Feb. 1786.	a sinistris
Mr. George Bacon	1804.	

APPARITORS (f.61^{R})

Richard Potts	His Patent dated	10th July, 1661.
John Mitford Gen.		27th July, 1696.
Francis Pewterer		6th July, 1707.
Richard Chapham		15th June, 1720.
Mr. David Parry		5th April, 1740.
Isaac Fawcett		20th Nov. 1751. Ob. 1765. Res.
Geo. Brooks		
Rouse Compton		27th September, 1770.
Wm. Camidge		28th Dec. 1796.

NOTES TO APPENDIX NO. 1.

1. Department of Palaeography & Diplomatic, University of Durham. Only those pages of the manuscript which relate to the Chapter have been transcribed.

2. For evidence that Thomas Mangey may have been omitted, see the text.

3. The following has been inserted in pencil after Craddock's entry "Hayes/Le (Mesioner)/Chas. Thorp/(?Sam.)(?Gar-ter)." The brackets are in the original, while the strokes indicate separate lines.

4. See the text for other names discovered.

5. For notice of Deputy Registrars, see the text.

6. This entry (from "John" to "dated") is lined out in the original.

7. Brackets are in the original.

8. Ibid. This curious comment may be that of a dispassionate compiler, though perhaps it reflects bitterness that a part of the potential revenue due to the Registrar of the Dean and Chapter has been diverted. If this is the case perhaps the compiler held the latter office after John Bowlby.

9. John Pye died in 1748; see the text.

10. One Apparitor General is omitted (Cornelius Wetherel), as well as the Deputy Apparitors. See the text.

THE OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE PATENT OF NICHOLAS HALHEAD AND JOHN TREVOR, TO JOINTLY HOLD THE OFFICE OF PRINCIPAL REGISTRAR, 1769.

(Bishop Trevor's Register, pp.130-132)

On Monday the Twenty First day of August in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty Nine the Right Reverend Father in God Richard by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Durham did by his Letters Patent grant the Office of Principal Register or Registrar of him and his Successors in and through his whole Diocese of Durham to Nicholas Halhead of the Parish of Saint Mary North Baily in or near the City of Durham in the County of Durham Esquire and the Honourable John Trevor of Christ Church College in the University of Oxford To hold to the said Nicholas Halhead and John Trevor jointly and severally and the longer Liver of them for and during their natural Lives and for and during the natural Life of the longer Liver of them. And the said Nicholas Halhead did at the same time in the presence of the said Lord Bishop subscribe to the Thirty Nine Articles of the Faith and Religion of the Church of England And to the first and third Articles and the first and second Clauses of the second Article in the Thirty Sixth of the Ecclesiastical Canons And also did make and subscribe his Declaration of Conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law established And did likewise take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy And did also swear that he would to the uttermost of his Understanding deal uprightly and justly in his office without Respect or favour of Reward.

So I attest
Wm. Hodgson
Notary Publick

(Notes: pages 247-249)

SECTION A: The Chancellors.

(1) D.R. XIV.5, p.151. For the Latin see p.20. The importance of these men is great. See for example E.R. Brinkworth, "The Study and Use of Archdeacon's Court Records", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (1942) p.99: "The Characters and careers of these (diocesan) officers should wherever possible be investigated, for much depended on them. This is especially true of the official principal, upon him rested as a general rule the administration of the law ..., and the extent of his influence it would be difficult to overestimate."

(2) Owen, The Records of the Established Church in England, p.16. For Carlisle Chancellor, see Armstrong, Higher Ecclesiastical Administration in the Diocese of Carlisle, pp.140-2. (M.A. Thesis Birmingham University)

(3) Visitation Booklet: 1736, ff.1^{V} & 2^{R}.

(4) D.R. XIV.4, p. 23.

(5) Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, vol II, p.256. See also, for all the Officers of the Diocese, Appendix No. 1, this chapter.

(6) Ibid. Hutchinson quotes "Grey's Notes, MSS" as his source. Brookbank purchased the office from James Montague, A.M. who held the same for only one year. Montague was the son of a nephew of Lord Crewe. Ibid., vol I, p.558.

(7) Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, pt I, vol I, p.228.

(8) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.256. Venn gives the place of burial.

(9) London notice was made 23 April, and this was reported in the Newcastle Weekly Courant, 2 May 1724. See Northern Notes & Queries, p.23.

(10) Quotation from Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.573 n.; otherwise Venn op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.25, who also notes that he was admitted at Lincoln's Inn 20 May 1709.

(11) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.573 n. See Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.25.

(12) Ibid. (Venn).

(13) D.R.XIV.3, p.1.

(14) See Chapter III.

(Notes: pages 249-252)

(15) Spearman, An Enquiry ..., p.56.

(16) Ibid., p.57.

(17) Ibid. There is little evidence of anything other than impropriety in this office.

(18) Ibid.

(19) The Bill was meant to enable more than bishops (e.g. Colleges, Deans and Chapters, Hospitals, Parsons, Vicars, etc.) to grant these leases, but the main recipients were clearly to be those who sat on the bench. See Spearman, op. cit., p.58.

(20) Ibid., p.75.

(21) Ibid., p.77.

(22) Ibid., pp.79-80.

(23) Ibid., pp.81ff.

(24) Ibid., p.86.

(25) Bishop Talbot died 10 October 1730.

(26) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.320.

(27) Ibid.

(28) D.R.XIV.5, pp.67-69, correcting Venn.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Mussett, Deans and Major Canons of Durham 1541-1900, p.95.

(31) D.R. XIV.5, p.100.

(32) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.256. He was probably buried in the Galilee, it having served as the Consistory Court throughout the century.

(33) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.320. No monumental inscription seems ever to have been installed.

(34) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.574 n. He seems not to know much else to say for the late bishop.

(35) D.R. XIV.5, p.151; Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.256.

(36) Ibid.

(Notes: pages 253-255)

(37) Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, pt II, vol I, p.237.

(38) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.256.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.484. So too the whole paragraph unless otherwise noted.

(42) Allerton Visitation Papers: 1770-1789.

SECTION B: The Surrogate.

(1) Canon 128. See also Canon 124 for limitations, and information concerning official seals.

(2) Ibid.

(3) William Pye, Principal Surrogate from 1731 to 1751, attested many clerical subscriptions and usually signed himself as "Wm. Pye Commissioner" throughout Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3. His signature is similar when he instituted clergy; c.f. D.R.XIV.5, p.21. When attesting (for purposes of an ordination testimonial) that three clergymen were of the diocese, he signs himself as "Surrogate to the Spiritual Chancellor"; cf. Ordination Papers: 1747, "Thomas Simpson (c)".

(4) See for an example of the range of tasks, the book kept by Samuel Viner who was Principal Surrogate from 1780 to 1815, D.R. XVIII.4.

(5) Canon 128.

(6) Arguably, the title Principal Surrogate would suggest others, but that title is an anachronism before 1780 when it first appears. The subscriptions of Wm. Pye (1731-1751), Thomas Gyle (1751-1780), and Peter Bowlby (1780), all say simply "Surrogate of the Vicar General ...." See D.R.XIV.1, for the latter two, and D.R.XIV.5, for Pye. D.R.XVIII.4 describes Samuel Viner as "Principal Surrogate from 1780 to 1815", and is the first such reference to the title, though this must have been written at some later time since his terminus is on the title page.

(7) John Topping was Vicar of Alston Moor from 1728 to 1756 according to Hutchinson, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p.38.

(Notes: pages 255-257)

He was also incumbent of Allendale in Hexhamshire Peculiar. See NCH, vol VI, p.381.

(8) The letter is among the ordination papers of Thomas Birkett, who was priested 2 September 1739; cf. Ordination Papers: 1736.

(9) Canon 126 regulated the deposition of such wills as were proved under such special authority.

(10) D.R.XVIII.4, p.361.

(11) Edward Bell countersigns several subscriptions in 1726 & 1727 as Surrogate; cf. D.R.XIV.1, ff.122^{v}, 123^{v}, 124^{v}, 125^{v}. So too John Cowling in 1726 & Will Randolph in 1728; Ibid. See Edward Croft in the Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.5, doing the same in 1733. Also see canon 132. For a list of the men known, see Appendix No. 1.

(12) Appendix No. 1 is based upon a manuscript compiled in the late eighteenth century by an unknown hand. It is the source for all statements in this paragraph unless specifically noted otherwise.

(13) Appendix No. 1.

(14) Martin was buried at the Cathedral on 11 November 1697. See White, op. cit., p.112.

(15) Ibid., pp.48, 49 & 108. Milner, Martin, Smith and Kirby were all minor canons in the Cathedral before Yapp.

(16) Ibid., pp.107, 109, 119. Ann was buried 17 October 1732.

(17) Ibid., p.118.

(18) Appendix No. 1.

(19) S.S. vol 118, p.181 note.

(20) Ibid. (For the quotation); Appendix No. 1.

(21) Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1724.

(22) Ibid., see also Appendix No. 1; he is signified as LL.B. at the baptism of one of his children in 1711, see The Registers of Mary-le-Bow, p.43.

(23) See D.R.XIV.1, dates 1712-1724.

(24) See S.S. vol 143, Appendix 1, for a transcript.

(Notes: pages 257-259)

(25) The Registers of Mary-le-Bow, pp.43-45; S.S. vol 118, p.181 note.

(26) S.S. vol 118, p.181 note.

(27) Ibid.; White, op. cit., pp.116-117.

(28) Appendix No. 1.

(29) Ibid.

(30) See Chapters II and III for a discussion of these two men. Hughes op. cit., p.304, records that one "Mr. Rundle" was Bishop Talbot's Secretary, but whether or not this is the same man is not clear.

(31) He may have been made LL.B. by the Archbishop of Canterbury (as were Pye and Gyll after him), though this is not certain.

(32) Appendix No. 1.

(33) D.R.XIV.5, p.21. Appendix No. 1 would seem to indicate that Pye had resigned by 15 November 1751.

(34) D.R.XIV.3, p.1. This is a caveat against the institution to a living in the diocese, signed by "Ws. Pye Not Pubcus". The hand is very different from that of William Pye who became Surrogate in 1731. The hand of this elderly Pye, is the same as the hand of D.R.XIV.3 (one of Crewe's Subscription Books) until 1718, when it ceases, the book continuing until 1721.

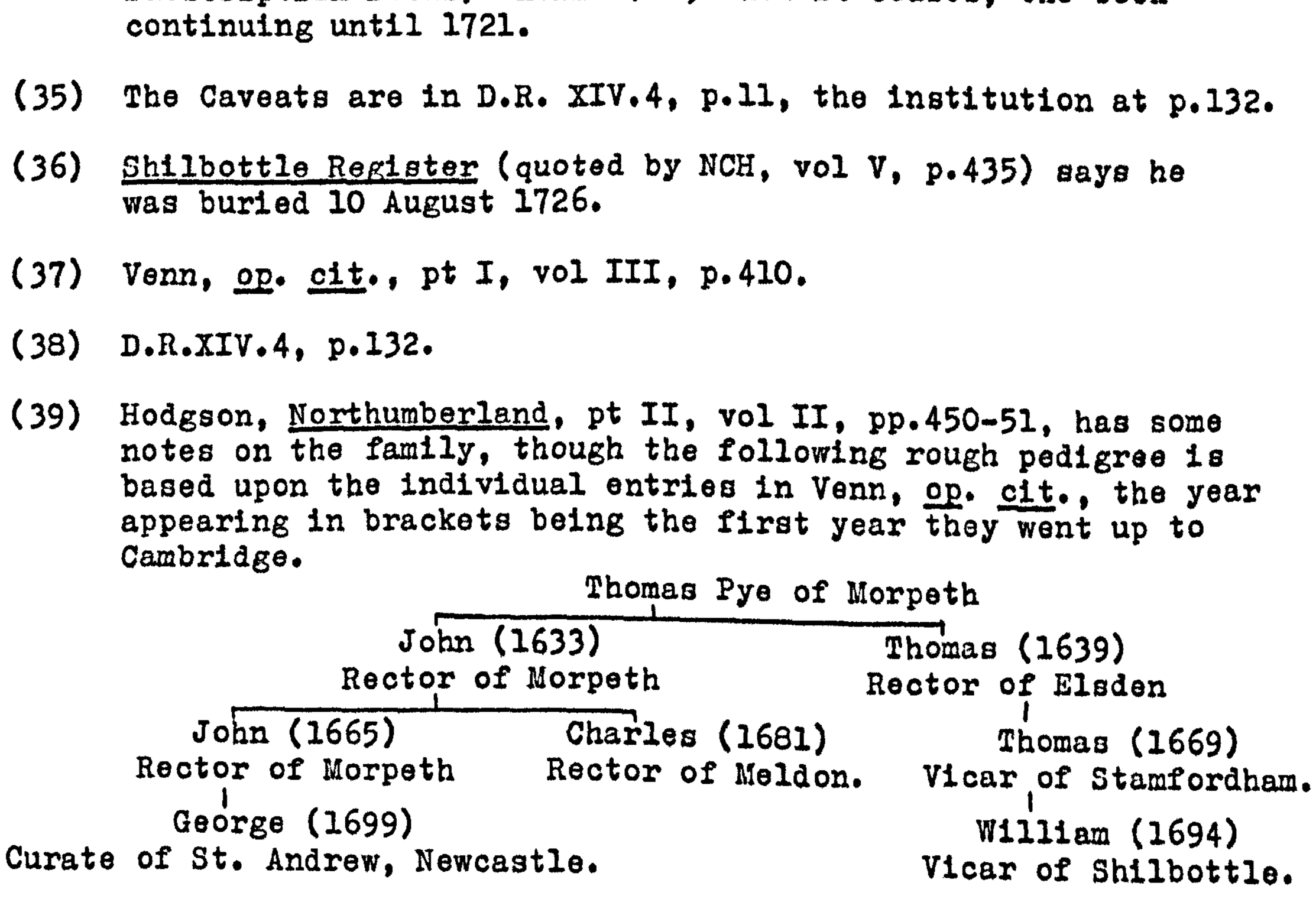
(35) The Caveats are in D.R. XIV.4, p.11, the institution at p.132.

(36) Shilbottle Register (quoted by NCH, vol V, p.435) says he was buried 10 August 1726.

(37) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.410.

(38) D.R.XIV.4, p.132.

(39) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, pp.450-51, has some notes on the family, though the following rough pedigree is based upon the individual entries in Venn, op. cit., the year appearing in brackets being the first year they went up to Cambridge.



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(40) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.573n. He signed as "Registrar" on John Wheeler's nomination to a minor canonry in 1748. See Ordination Papers: 1748, "John Wheeler".

(41) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp.1, 3 & 4.

(42) The canon required the degree, and this was conferred on 23 January 1730/1 by Archbishop Wake. See Sykes, William Wake, vol I, p.251.

(43) D.R.XIV.1, f.22^{R}.

(44) Ibid.

(45) S.S. vol 118, p.192n.

(46) D.R.XIV.1, f.23^{R}.

(47) This volume, referred to (and indexed) in D.R.XIV.5, p.376 is now among MSS housed at Auckland Palace, and referred to above as "Bound Volume 11/3". It (with all these papers) is temporarily deposited in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham.

(48) Huddleston, "Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Residents of the South Bailey", p.253.

(49) See especially The Shipperdson Papers, The Baker-Baker Papers, and The Allgood MSS, all of which are housed in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, South Road.

(50) He died 1 January and was buried on 4 January at the cathedral. See S.S. vol 118, p.192.

(51) Registers of St. Oswalds' Durham, 15 April 1728. Again Pye is called simply "register to the Chapter". Also, Pye mentions a house in New Elvet in his will, perhaps the same one. See note (52) below.

(52) Durham Probate Records: 1753, "William Pye T. 21", also "Codicil" and "Will Bond 1753 TA 21".

(53) Ibid. (Codicil)

(54) Ibid.

(55) One cannot assume that these books are identical with those bequeathed, though some may well be.

(56) D.R.XIV.1, f.58a^{R}. See also Appendix No. 1, this chapter.

(57) Ibid. S.S. vol 118, p.189. Gyll's Diary says he received

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his appointment on 29 October 1751, though dated 25 October.

(58) Bowlby, his successor, took the oath 8 September 1780. Gyll died 12 March 1780. See S.S. vol 118, p.169.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.217.

(61) S.S. vol 118, p.189.

(62) Ibid., p.169.

(63) Ibid.

(64) Ibid., pp.170-229.

(65) Ibid., p.229. Gyll never married; cf. p.169.

SECTION C: The Registrars.

(1) The Ecclesiastical Courts: Principles of Reconstruction...p.13.

(2) Purvis, Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms, p.166.

(3) Canon 134.

(4) Ibid. The Consistory Court Act Books are full of his hand.

(5) Ibid.

(6) See Trotter's note in Visitation Booklet: 1751a, f.109. This note implies a concurrent arrangement, and this seems confirmed by the fact that Robert Hilton (appointed with Trotter in 1708) was never replaced until Ralph Trotter died and two new men were appointed. See also Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.575n, which describes Ralph Trotter as "surviving registrary". See also Appendix No. 2, this chapter.

(7) Robert Hilton disappears from the diocesan records after 1710, though he did not die until eighteen years later. He was buried 8 September 1728. See Surtees, Durham, vol IV, pt I, p.167. Perhaps it was this man's withdrawal from office which occasioned the following entry by Trotter, in one of the Act Books. Trotter had been given a MS by one of Lord Crewe's servants, and sworn never to reveal its source. When he became "Spir(itu)al Register" he set down in the MS itself, that he bequeathed it to his successors in that

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office forever, and the date of this was "Ao. 1724". See D.R.XVIII.1, f.1^{R}.

(8) Taking 1708 as the date of his entrance upon the office. (See note (13) below).

(9) Date of birth calculated from his date of death and stated age at that time.

(10) For the senior Ralph Trotter's will, see Durham Probate Records: 1691, "Talph Trotter T. 141", from whence the details of the bequest are taken.

(11) Ibid., 1692, "John Trotter T.108". His inventory totalled £82.15.8d. For a note by Registrar Trotter re his "Great Gt. Gt. Gt. Granfr. Arthur Trotter Yeom", see his annotation of the will of the same in Durham Probate Records: 1587.

(12) Our source for this is Gyll's Diary S.S. vol 118, p.221.

(13) Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe ...., p.357. This is perhaps the portrait of Dorothy Forster (Lady Crewe) which is in the Chapter Offices, Durham. See the plate opposite p.234. The Patent (for Hilton and Trotter) is preserved in an old Consistory Court Act Book (D.R.III.21) and is dated 17 July 1708. Trotter was proud of his appointment so it seems, and occasionally refers back to it, as Gyll notes; cf. S.S. vol 118, p.221. See also the bound Index of Wills 1660-1786, p.780, which contains the following entry in Trotter's hand:

> 1708 July 17th - Trotter Ralph Register's Patent then bears Date August 30th Admitted and Sworn in Court by his Noble Patron LORD CREWE.

(14) For the manuscript life, see Whiting, op. cit., p.ix; the book of charters is D.R.XVIII.1, and was used in the preparation of S.S. vol 9. On the flyleaf of the book is the following annotation in Trotter's hand:

> Mdm. This Book Delivered to me by a Servant of Lord Crewes in Confidence not to Reveal Names wch. I Hope I shall never be prompted to Do.
> Ra. Trotter.
>
> A°. 1724. As I am now called to be Spiral(sic) Regr. so I Bequeath this Book to the Care of my Exors. for the Sole use of ye. Office & Register of ye. Diocese of Durham for Ever.
> Ralph Trotter Register.

(15) This document is among the MSS redeposited in Durham by the Church Commissioners, C.C. Box 218, no. 16 (57,334) item 5.

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(16) Visitation Booklet: 1751b, f.103^{V}, indicates that Wheler is "Deputy Registrar". Compare a note inserted in D.R.XVIII.4, between pp. 322-23, which implies that Trotter did not keep a deputy after 1735.

(17) Visitation Booklet: 1736, f.f. 16^{V} & 17^{V}.

(18) Ibid. This may be preparation for the 1732 visitation, which would perhaps explain the great gaps in the information given for Durham in Chandler's Remarks. Unfortunately, Trotter was not averse to using old papers for his notes (or for using old note paper in making up new visitation papers), and consequently this is little help in dating the letter.

(19) Canon 121.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p. 574n.

(22) Dorothy Trotter married George Sandiford Crow on 13 August 1761, when she was 34 and he (a widower) was 62. See Wood, The Registers of St. Mary in the South Bailey, p. 40. Gyll in his diary entry for that date, calls her Dolly, which was also Lady Crewe's nick-name. Another daughter, unnamed, is said to be married to a "Mr. Bannerman". See C.C. Box 145, item 64.

(23) When Dorothy married, she was described as "of this parish"; cf. note (22) above.

(24) S.S. vol 118, p. 221. It is said that he was "buried at Newbold Co. Leicester, when his wife was buried some years before him".

(25) D.R.XVIII.4, between pp. 322-23. One wonders whether there might in fact be any surviving papers in Leicestershire, or whether they are irretrievably lost? According to Purvis, op. cit., p.166, such papers were legally the property of the registrar.

(26) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/7. (Trevor's Register), pp. 130-33.

(27) His name never appears among the documents extant, and his political career took him outside of England for most of his life. See his article in DNB. He attended Trevor at his death.

(28) Again it would seem that the partner did all the work. Presumably Trevor took this unusual step (i.e. resigning one patent office which he could have held for life) because there was some financial gain involved.

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(29) See article in DNB.

(30) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, dates from 1753 to 1771. Halhead's hand predominates in the one surviving Subscription Book from Trevor's Episcopate, D.R.XIV.5, which should be seen.

(31) Halhead receives money from the Howdenshire Receiver in 1754, 1760, 1770 and 1772; cf. C.C. Box 146, item 17 (loose papers). He also appears frequently in the Visitation Papers as receiving Procurations due to the bishop; cf. Visitation Booklet: 1754, f.45c. Frequently Halhead is addressed by prospective ordinands, and one such definitely addresses him as "Secretary"; cf. Ordination Papers: 1754, "Robert Memess", letter 2.

(32) Auckland PalaceEpiscopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/7, p.86.

(33) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.586n.

(34) Ibid.

(35) C.C. Box 218, no 16 (57,334), item 5. Chandler's notes suggest that the dispute arose at the end of a three year period of appointment, thus suggesting 1732.

(36) Surtees, Durham, vol I, p.176, for pedigree of Wheler; Mussett, op. cit., for dates as Prebend of the Second Stall.

(37) Ibid. (Surtees)

(38) The Registers of St. Mary in the South Bailey, p.15.

(39) Surtees, op. cit., vol I, p.176. Wheler thus married his cousin's daughter. They had a daughter Mary baptised 13 August 1745, and buried 24 February 1748. The Registers of St. Mary in the South Bailey, pp.15 & 64.

(40) See Appendix No. 1. The "Peculiar Jurisdiction" is probably the officialty, though this is not specified. See the curious comment appended to the notice of his appointment.

(41) Buried at St. Mary in the South Bailey on 26 and 29 December 1774. Registers, op. cit., p.67.

(42) George Wood was Registrar to both archdeacons (from 29 December 1774) and also Registrar to the Chapter (from 28 January 1775). See Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.592. Compare the case of Braems Wheler, and see Appendix No. 1 generally.

(43) Before 1753 the Registrar of the Dean and Chapter took care of all their business, whether strictly capitular or to do

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with the officialty. From that date, however, the two were separated. See Appendix No. 1.

(44) For Visitations, see Chapter V.

(45) For example, Wm. Pye attested the Chapter's agreement to admit John Wheler as a minor canon in 1747, and signed as "Registrar to the Dean and Chapter". See Ordination Papers: 1748 (sic), "John Wheeler".

(46) Gyll's Diary 1 January 1753, S.S. vol 118, p.192.

(47) Ibid. Wheler's interest was strong enough, however, to secure for him the new position of Registrar of the Peculiar Jurisdiction, which was created "out of P. Bowlby's Patent". See Appendix No. 1.

(48) The following rough pedigree may be constructed:

Richard Bowlby
Mayor of Stockton
|
Thomas Bowlby =
Attorney-at-Law
|
Peter Bowlby
Registrar to the
Dean and Chapter

Peter Burrell = Eliz. Hilton
Deputy Registrar
|
Mary Burrell

Lancelot Hilton

Cuthbert Hilton
Attorney-at-Law
|
Robert Hilton
Registrar

(49) White, The Registers of the Cathedral Church of Durham, p.125n.

(50) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.565n; also Archdeaconry of Northumberland, Visitation Papers 1714 & 1719.

(51) The Registers of St. Mary-le-Bow, pp.45-48. One child was born after the father's death.

(52) Thomas Bowlby went to Trinity Hall, then was admitted at the Middle Temple. He was M.P. for Launceton 1780-83, and held a variety of governmental posts from 1762 to 1783, dying in 1795. See Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.192.

(53) See Appendix No. 1.

(54) Hutchinson calls him LL.D. without comment; Venn, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p.343, when speaking of Peter Bowlby's son Thomas, says the degree was from Canterbury.

(55) For the children see The Registers of St. Mary in the South Bailey, pp.15-16 (and p.18 for John), and The Registers of St. Mary-le-Bow, p.52. For Thomas see note (54) above.

(56) His first wife was buried 20 September 1772 at St. Mary in

(Notes: pages 272-274)

the South Bailey (see Registers, op. cit., p.67) and he married again 14 December 1773 at St. Mary-le-Bow (see Registers, op. cit., p.101).

(57) See Huddleston op. cit., p.253. Henry Bowlby, his first son was baptised in Little St. Mary's in July of 1761. See the Registers, op. cit.

(58) Bowlby is still said to be proprietor of No. 1 South Bailey in the 1795 Land Tax Assessments, but these same lists show him not to be the occupant from 1788. C.C. Box 76, papers 76/1a, 76/2, 76/3, and 76/4a. For details of his later years see Appendix No. 1.

(59) See Appendix No. 1.

(60) Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1724. See Chapter V, Appendix No. 1.

(61) S.S. vol 118, p.181 note. Some insight into the duties of the Archdeacon's Official, may be had from the following entry in Sharp's Visitation 1723, p.163, for when discussing St. Nicholas parish in Newcastle, Sharp says:

> The summer following viz. 1724, upon laying a new foundation to a house leased by the Churchwardens to a private person, it was discovered by the number of Skulls & human bones that the house stood upon the ground of ye Church yard. Having ordered it to be view'd by my Official, directions were given to prevent ye rebuilding of it, to wch ye Vestry consented and so ye house was entirely taken away.

(62) D.R.XIV.1, f.22^{R}. (28 September 1731).

(63) Ibid. (11 August 1732).

(64) Thomas Hayes occurs in 1788. See D.R.XIV.1, f.22^{V}.

(65) Hunter MS 6a, p.187.

(66) Ibid., p.182.

(67) Ibid., p.183.

(68) See Appendix No. 1.

(69) See D.R.XIV.5, notes on pages 217, 224, 238 and 248. The last entry is dated 1 May 1750, and is in a different hand from those which precede it, the last of which is dated 14 October 1747. No other diocesan official is known to have died during that interval, except John Pye, who was buried

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at the Cathedral 19 September 1748. See White, op. cit., p.121.

(70) The Registers of St. Mary in the South Bailey, p.121.

(71) Durham Probate Records: 1753, "Admin Bond 1753 A. 9A.", f.1^{R}.

SECTION D:

(1) Dictionary of English Church History, article "Proctors", p.475.

(2) Canons 129 to 133.

(3) Canons 130 & 131.

(4) Canon 96 incidently allows that "if in the court or consistory of any bishop there be no advocate at all, then shall the subscription of a proctor practising in the same court be held sufficient". How far this applied in other situations, if the like absence prevailed, is unknown.

(5) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, pp.591-592. This list serves to show the "shape" of the diocesan administrative office at that time, and therefore is set out below:

OFFICERS OF THE SEE ... in 1785.

SPIRITUAL JURISDICTION.

Chancellor:	Geo. Harris, LL.D., Oct. 1779.
Surrogate and Seal Keeper:	Sam. Viner, 1780.
Registrars:	Hon. John Trevor, and John Brooks jointly 1785. Wilkinson Maxwell, deputy.
Proctors:	Peter Bowlby, LL.D., 1st Feb. 1750. John Hays, 11th November, 1763. Geo. Wood, 20th July, 1764. Peter Bowlby Marsden, 30th March, 1781.
Apparitor:	Roufe Compton, 1770. Robt. Croudas, deputy.

ARCHDEACONS

Durham:	Sam. Dickens, D.D.
Official:	
Registrar:	Geo. Wood, 29th December, 1774.
Northumberland:	John Sharp, D.D.
Official:	
Registrar:	Geo. Wood, 29th December, 1774.

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CHAPTER OF DURHAM

Official of the officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and master-keeper or commissary of their peculiar and spiritual jurisdiction in Allerton and Allertonshire - Sam. Dickens, D.D.

Registrar: Geo. Wood, 28th January, 1775.

Keeper or Vicar General, and official principal in spiritual matters of the peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, of Howden, Howdenshire and Hemmingburgh - Robert Pierson, M.A. 20th November, 1770.

(6) Appendix No. 1.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.565 note, says he was Deputy Registrar.

(9) See also Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1714 & 1719.

(10) See White, op. cit., p.116.

(11) Doubtless this could be most accurately done, if the Consistory Court Act Books were thoroughly examined.

(12) See Surtees, Durham, vol IV, p. 155.

(13) The Registers of St. Mary-le-Bow, pp.50 & 155.

(14) White, op. cit., p.119.

(15) Appendix No. 1.

(16) S.S. vol 118, p.174.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Appendix No. 1.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, pp.591-592, lists (in 1785) as Proctors Bowlby, Hays, Wood and Marsden omitting Smart. As

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Marsden was admitted 30 March 1781 to Smart's place, we assume that he was dead at that time. Hays later became Deputy Registrar. See Episcopal Visitation Papers: 1770, Churchwardens Book, Northumberland, f.2^{R}.

(24) The Registers of St. Mary-le-Bow, pp.50 & 155, show him baptized 12 July 1745 and buried 13 April 1771.

(25) Appendix No. 1.

(26) See note (5) above (this section). It is a curious fact that the compiler (upon whom Appendix No. 1 is dependent) only lists "Apparitors" generally, and that he seems to have missed out some who held that office. The Visitation Papers have yielded several names which were overlooked, and they include both an Apparitor General and two Deputy Apparitors. See Appendix No. 1.

(27) This procedure is not followed in 1762, 1766 or 1770, in which years the Process General was addressed to all "Clerks and Literate Persons and Apparitors". Examples from earlier in the century are directed only to the Apparitor General. In these latter three years, however, the Monitions are still sent by the Apparitor General.

(28) Appendix No. 1. See also Howdenshire Receiver's Accounts 6 September 1726, and 15 September 1737, where one Francis Pewterer is said to be "Auditor". C.C. Box 146, Item 17.

(29) See Episcopal Visitation Papers: 1725, Process General, and 1728 Monition.

(30) D.R.XIV.5, p.153.

(31) Episcopal Visitation Papers: 1751, Process General.

(32) Mussett, op. cit., pp.37 & 87; D.R.XIV.3, p.4.

(33) Appendix No. 1. The compiler seems to signify his death ("ob" rather than "res") as the cause of termination.

(34) See S.S. vol 118, pp.201, 208, 241.

(35) Episcopal Visitation Papers: 1758, Monition.

(36) S.S. vol 118, p.279.

(37) Appendix No. 1.

(38) Ibid. He was still in office in 1785.

(39) William Alderson wrote to Brooks (from Newcastle) on 8 September 1771, and congratulated him on being appointed

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Bishop's Secretary. See Ordination Papers: 1771. "Richard Forrest".

(40) Hughes, op. cit., p.304.

(41) D.R.XIV.5. On page 163, an extended notice of Taylor Thirkeld's surrender of his licence for Whickham and his receipt of a licence to preach throughout the whole diocese, is signed (clearly in the same hand) "C. Whitaker". The hand is the same as that of almost all the various additional notes in the book (perhaps nine out of ten), and also matches that hand which recorded the ordinations up to 1741.

(42) Ibid., p.213.

(43) See Howdenshire Receiver's Accounts, C.C. Box 146, Item 17, which shows Whitaker in receipt of funds in 1731, 1734 and 1738.

(44) C.C. Box 217, Item 75, f.1^{R}.

(45) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.18.

(46) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.574 note.

(47) Durham Probate Records, "Charles Whitaker, Gent", 1746 T. 31. In 1747, one of Whitaker's sisters (together with two others) entered into a Tuition Bond "in the penal sum of Four Hundred Pounds", on behalf of the five children of George Whitaker (brother of Charles), described as "late of Nouce River in North Carolina Master and Marriner dec'd ... due to them by the Last Will ... of Charles Whitaker late of the Parish of Saint Mary-le-Bow in Durham ... Gentleman deceased..." See Tuition Bond 45, 1747.

(48) White, op. cit., p.120.

(49) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol I, p.574 note, tells us that Mr. Wyndham "succeeded Whitaker as Clerk of the Halmot Court, though he does not indicate that he also succeeded as secretary. Wyndham was married to one of the Chandler daughters.

(50) Pearson is identified as Secretary in a letter of Henry Thomas Carr dated 14 October 1751. See Hughes, op. cit., p.320. A "Mr. Hodgson" is also mentioned as an agent of the bishop, almost certainly one of the family of Hodgson in Bishop Auckland. On 31 May 1759, Gyll recorded the following entry concerning one of them: "This day, Mr. Ra. Hodgson, Attorney at Bishop Auckland, and Agent there for the bishop, left his family and absconded for debt". S.S. vol 118, p.206.

(51) D.R.XIV.5, pp.252-265.

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(52) Auckland Palace Episcopal Records, Bound Volume 11/3, pp.147-148.

(53) C.C. Box 146, Item 17, years 1753, 1757, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766.

(54) Trevor's Register, flyleaf. Halhead was apparently Registrar of St. David's before Trevor came to Durham. See Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.102.

(55) William Hodgson, N.P. usually enters these. See pp.86, 131 & 135.

(56) See D.R.XIV.5.

(57) See Howdenshire Receiver's Accounts, C.C. Box 146, Item 17, years 1754, 1760, 1770.

(58) Visitation Booklet: 1754(a), f.45^{C}; Letters: 1762 (Visitation Papers), Whinfield to Trotter 20 September 1762.

(59) Ordination Papers: 1753, "Richard Jameson", letter of 7 June 1753 to the "Secretary to the Lord Bishop of Durham".

(60) Ibid.

(61) Ibid.

(62) It is not known if this was the same Thomas Chapman, prebend of the Cathedral, whose collation presented Bishop Butler with so many problems.

(63) See Letters Testimonial: 1753, "Thomas Chapman", letter to Halhead 21 August 1753. All quotation in the remainder of the paragraph is from this source.

(64) Trevor's Register, p.86.

(65) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/12, f.100^{V}.

(66) Trevor's Register, pp.109-110.

(67) Ibid., p.135.

(68) Ibid., p.130-131. See Appendix No. 2.

(69) S.S. vol 165, p.204.

(70) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.102.

CHAPTER V

THE VISITATIONS

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It is certainly not too extravagant to assert that the primary means by which the diocese of an eighteenth century bishop was pastorally administered was through the exercise of the right of visitation. Apart from this, there would seldom have been even the slightest contact between the scattered lay-folk in the parish with their priest, and their father in God, who lived in a style and manner far beyond most of their imaginings. An ancient custom, frequent and regular visitation had developed in England during the thirteenth century and was gradually expanded and modified throughout the late medieval period, only then to be taken over as part of the inheritance of the bishops of the reformed church and codified in canons 109 to 126.(1)

These canons specifically elaborate that side of ecclesiastical visitation which deals with the correction of abuses and the right application of the judicial powers then held by the church. While not establishing a mandatory frequency of visitation, the canons clearly indicate what must transpire when such a visitation does occur. It was then that all those guilty of any grave moral offence were to be presented to the bishop in order that they "may be punished by the severity of the laws, according to their deserts", and that those who will not reform may be excommunicated "till they be reformed".(2) Along with the immoral were to be presented the schismatic, of whatever sort, who resided in the parish.(3) Something of the state of the church in 1603 is seen in canon 111, for along with the schismatics were to be presented "the names of all those which behave themselves rudely and disorderly in the church, or which by untimely ringing of

bells, by walking, talking, or other noise, shall hinder the minister or preacher".(4) Recusants were further singled out, for they were to be listed accurately every year by the "parson, vicar, or curate" and delivered to the bishop "before the feast of St. John Baptist", and these lists were to include "men, women, and children, above the age of thirteen years".(5) Again a yearly list was to be drawn up and presented to the bishop of all those within any parish who "being of the age of sixteen years received not the communion at Easter before".(6) But of all those things specified in the canons, nothing could have had a more far-reaching effect than that which directed the bishops to deliver into the hands of the churchwardens a year in advance of the visitation, "such books of articles as they ... shall require, for the year following, the said church wardens ... to ground their presentments upon.... In which book shall be contained the form of the oath, which must be taken immediately before every such presentment".(7)

In many respects these Canons were loosely framed, and though several things were enjoined in a manner which elaborated specific periods of time, it proved possible for the bishops to order their visitations in a somewhat different way.(8) Gradually all the duties which were to be performed came to be done only at the bishop's trienniel visitation, and other needed requirements were centralized upon this event as well.(9) Not only were presentments made and new churchwardens sworn, but confirmation was held, and unproved wills were presented.(10) Also the synodal session came to be centred upon these visitations, for the clergy gathered to present their letters of orders, licences and certificates of institution and to hear the bishop's charge.(11) The administrative labour which was involved in carrying through one of these visitations was quite significant, with a large

body of documents accumulating every third year, and to the extant remains of this class of archival material we must turn if we are to fathom the intricacies of this tool of diocesan oversight.

Unfortunately the Durham diocesan records of these visitations have fared badly, at least as regards those visitations held before 1774, though not unsubstantial sections of them remain.(12) It would seem that in the Diocese of Durham the documents involved in any given visitation were generally brought together in a condensed fashion by the registrar, who seems to have normally chosen to record salient details in small paper exercise books. Such booklets exist for the visitations of 1732, 1736,1740, 1746, 1751, 1754 and 1758, and they are supplemented by loose papers in most instances.(13) Though the written presentments at the visitation were not apparently kept, summaries of these presentments were made and retained, and these have generally survived after 1732.(14) The replies to the queries of the bishop sent in to him from the parishes, were gathered into summary form during several episcopal reigns, especially that of Bishop Trevor, and these "Diocese Books" are a useful survey of the diocese at those times.(15) Such books were arranged in alphabetical order, according to parish, and give details of incumbent, patron, value of benefice, curate, population, and similar matters. One such survey, presumably a forerunner of the later "Diocese Book", is that known as Chandler's Remarks, which has already been mentioned in the first chapter.(16) In the latter part of our period, an increasing amount of documentary material has survived for any given visitation, and these manuscripts are important in any assessment of the manner in which diocesan visitations functioned. We shall have occasion to draw attention to these and other matters as we examine in detail the visitations held during the years 1721-1771.

The Diocese of Durham has long been known for its post-reformation episcopal visitations, and historical enquiry has focused primarily upon two periods of visitation. James Raine, in 1855, published the remains of the visitations of Bishop Barnes in the years 1575-87.(17) Subsequently, attention has been drawn to the visitations of the Restoration Episcopate of John Cosin as well, but beyond this little work has been done.(18) The long episcopate of Nathaniel Lord Crewe, from 1674 to 1721, has been studied by Whiting, though little attention is drawn to visitations as such, owing no doubt to the great chasm in the diocesan records following Cosin's time.(19) A small quantity of direct evidence does, however, exist to show that at least in the years 1676, 1695, 1709 and 1713, a diocesan visitation was held.(20) Whiting's book gives also the less indirect evidence of another in 1701, and more particular visitations of Sherburn Hospital and the Cathedral, though these latter may not have coincided with triennial diocesan visitations.(21) From the time of Bishop Talbot, translated to Durham from Salisbury in 1721, the primary evidence is sufficient to show in some detail the scope and function of this arm of the episcopal administration and jurisdiction.

We shall examine the visitations of each bishop in turn, by first making a careful study of his "primary" visitation, that is the first visitation of the bishop upon coming into possession of the see. Generally, this visitation is the fullest of each bishop's time, and can therefore serve to illuminate the whole episcopate. Such primary visitations were held in 1722, 1732, 1751 and 1754, under Bishops Talbot, Chandler, Butler and Trevor respectively. Further to this, we shall illuminate these visitations by those "ordinary" visitations which followed them, triennially under Bishop Talbot, and Quadriennially thereafter.

B. EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS

(1. Talbot's Visitations: 1722,1725,1728)

Of the four bishops who ruled the Diocese of Durham in the years 1721-1771, William Talbot has left us the least amount of administrative material by which to judge his episcopate, and this is as true for the visitations as it is for every other fact of diocesan life.(1) Arriving in the diocese sometime after his confirmation on 7 November 1721, we know only that he held his primary visitation the following year, visiting each deanery of the diocese in turn, presumably stopping at the chief town of the deanery alone.(2) We may gather this from a small parchment-covered manuscript of some fifty folios, which lists procurations paid to the bishop at the visitations of 1722, 1725 and 1728.(3) Procurations were the ancient fees paid by the clergy to provide for the necessary hospitality shown to the visiting bishop, and they seem to have been permanently fixed for each parish in the diocese.(4) The manuscript contains the names of each parish paying such procurations, arranged by deaneries separately for every visitation, and shows the receipt of the same (or occasionally non-receipt).(5) The fees vary a great deal from parish to parish, presumably reflecting the value of the respective living at the time a money payment replaced payment in kind.(6) Procurations range in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland from 1/4d at Long Benton, to £1.13s.4d. at Rothbury, and in that of Durham from 1/4d at St.Hilds (South Shields), to £2.6s.8d. at Houghton-le-Spring.(7) Table No.1 shows the value of the procurations in order from the largest to the smallest, and compares this with the value of the livings in 1736 (or occasionally 1723). It will be seen that the livings with the higher procurations are most normally those whose value is highest at the later date.

Table No.1 VALUE OF PROCURATIONS COMPARED TO VALUE OF LIVINGS: 1736

Alnwick Deanery

	Procurations 1709-1728	Value in 1736
	£ s d.	
Rothbury	1 13 4	£ 300
Egglingham	13 4	120
Ingram	13 4	130
Warkworth	13 4	120
Embleton	7 8	200
Whittingham	7 8	120
Lesbury	6 8	50
Longhoughton	6 8	50
Edlingham	3 8	55
Ellingham	3 8	120
Shilbottle	3 4	50
Alnham	2 8	10(1)
Chillingham	2 8	80
Ilderton	2 6	30
Felton	2 0	120

Morpeth Deanery

	Procurations 1709-1728	Value in 1736
	£ s d.	
Morpeth	1 0 0	£ 300(1)
Bothal (2)	16 8	220
Hartburn	13 4	230(1)
Woodhorn	13 4	120(1)
Elsden	10 8	140(1)
Bedlington	7 8	162
Walton	7 8	200
Long Horsely	4 4	116
Meldon	4 4	14
Mitford	4 0	23
Whelpington	3 8	110
Bolam	3 4	92
Stannington	2 8	90
Sheepwash(2)	2 0	
Kirkharle	1 8	95

Bamburgh Deanery

Ford	1	0	0	180
Berwick		10	0	135
Norham		9	0	115
Chatton		8	8	110(1)
Wooler		6	8	100
Branxton		2	8	20
Kirknewton		2	8	100

Newcastle Deanery

St.Nicholas	1	2	0	240
Tynemouth		14	0	100(1)
Newburn		8	0	120(1)
Ponteland		6	8	140(1)
Heddon		2	0	38(1)
Wallsend		1	8	80
Long Benton		1	4	41

Corbridge Deanery

Simonburn	16	0	380
Bywell St.Peter	7	8	?
Haltwhistle	7	8	100
Stamfordham	7	8	210
Corbridge	5.	0	90
Ovingham	4	8	20
Warden	4	8	80
Alston	3	8	30
Chollerton	3	6	70
Whitfield	2	8	43
Bywell St.Andrew	2	6	51
Kirkhaugh	1	8	35
Knaresdale	1	8	54(1)

(1) From Sharp's Visitation 1723. Not given by Chandler.

(2) Held together as one.

Several incidental details of the state of the diocese in 1722 are to be seen in the list of procurations as well. It is very interesting indeed to note that the two medieval hospitals of Newcastle are both listed among the churches owing procurations, with "Hospital St. Magdalene" said to owe 3/4d and "Hospital de West-Spittle" said to owe 13/4d.(8) In both cases, though they are listed year by year, the fee seems not to have been paid. In two other cases, at Alston and at Mitford, medieval priories are mentioned as owing procurations in addition to those owed by the parish church.(9) At Alston, the fee for the priory is 12/0d and 3/8d for the vicarage, while at Mitford the priory is to pay 13/4d and the parish church 4/0d. In both cases there is every indication that these fees were paid in 1722 as well as in 1725, though they may not have been paid by any ecclesiastical body. In 1722 there is a note beside Alston Priory saying "Alston Proprietor", thus seemingly indicating the source of the payment.(10) At this time too, Sheepwash Rectory is still being noted separately from Bothal, and no notice of their combination is to be seen.(11)

As regards the procedures followed in the visitation of the diocese, there are two points which emerge. First, it seems clear that the pattern of combining two deaneries together for the visitation, seen later in the century especially for the Archdeaconry of Durham, was already practised in 1722. This emerges from the fact that the preachers are noted in the list of procurations, it being an ancient custom that the preacher was waived his procuration fee.(12) In Durham however, two preachers are noted, one in Easington Deanery and another in Darlington Deanery, while Chester and Stockton have none mentioned.(13)

As it was the custom later in the century to visit Easington and Chester Deaneries together, and Darlington and Stockton together, this seems to show that this was already being done.(14) Newcastle and Corbridge Deaneries were likewise combined in Northumberland later in the century, and occasionally Bamburgh and Alnwick, and again we find only one preacher for each of these two pairs, though the remaining Northumberland Deanery is said to have its own.(15) The second point of procedure which seems to emerge is the order in which the diocese was visited in 1722. Subsequent records and lists usually exhibit the order in which the deaneries were visited, and if this was so in 1722, then the order will have been Easington and Chester first and Darlington and Stockton next. In Northumberland the order will have been Newcastle and Corbridge, Morpeth, Alnwick and then Bamburgh last, leaving a long journey home to Bishop Auckland. Archdeacon Basire long before had found this much the most tiring order in which to visit the deaneries of Northumberland, and made a note to himself saying: "Hereafter begin your visit at Alnw. (or Balmborough) end at NC".(16) By 1728 Bishop Talbot came to the same conclusion, or so it seems from the documents which remain from that year.

These gleanings aside, the only remaining (and most significant) document of the Episcopal Visitation of 1722 must be examined. It is a summary of all those presentments made to the bishop at his visitation in that year, again arranged by deanery with the Archdeaconry of Northumberland preceding that of Durham.(17) As we examine these, we shall see that they present a great intermingling of different types and categories of offence, though the most prevalent ones are moral.

In the Deanery of Newcastle four of the twelve parishes are noted,

and one of the chapels as well. Three men and six women are accused of fornication,[18] upwards of a dozen people are presented for "Non payment of Church Sess",[19] and in Newburn "Cuthbert Birkley (is) presented for playing at Foot Ball on the Lords day".[20] The only other item is that at Gosforth, a dependent chapel of St. Nicholas, it is reported that "The Church (is) Ruinous".[21]

Corbridge Deanery gives a more interesting view of church-life among the five parishes (of twenty-one) which have forwarded presentments. Only one of these is for fornication (actually adultery) though the format of the presentment is typical of many throughout the century: "Mrs. Jane Greenwell presented for bearing a Bastard Child and Ralph Redhead jun. as Supposed Father thereof".[22] At one parish a man is presented "for behaving himself disorderly in the parish Church of Alston in time of divine service",[23] while at another it is said that the "seats" of the church are "very much out of order (and) the Minister's house out of repair".[24] At Slaley a layman is presented for "Detaining the Clerks' Fees of Ten Shillings",[25] and at Birtley "Mr. Bland the Vicar presented For not paying his Curate his Salary."[26]

Alnwick Deanery, with nineteen parishes, exhibits detailed presentments in only seven of those.[27] Ilderton, Alnwick, Framlington and Rothbury all have deficiencies in the church fabric, that of Ilderton being most serious for "The church is very much out of Repair and in Danger of Falling."[28] At Rothbury a porch is out of repair,[29] and at Alnwick the "Church yard Dyke" needs repair,[30] while Framlington presents "Wm. White plummer and Glazier... For not keeping our Church & Chancell in good & sufficient repair - Mr. Edward Ward of Morpeth For not keeping the Quire in repair."[31] Longhoughton has one man not paying his "Church Sess" and another couple "cohabiting",[32]

while three such couples are presented in Alwinton.(33) Finally, at Lesbury the poor clergyman, "the Revd. Edward Shanks Vicar" is said to be "a Drunkard and a disorderly person & blameable in a great many respects as to Behaviour and of a litigious life".(34)

Eleven of the seventeen parishes of Bamburgh submitted presentments containing things calling for correction or punishment, and the picture these paint of the external condition of the church is a very sorry one indeed. One man at Ford has not paid his "Church Sess", and two men are said to be teaching school without a licence - one in Doddington and one in Wooler.(35) Apart from these three rather minor offences, every other presentment relates to defects in the fabric of the churches, as can be seen below:(36)

Balmborough	The Body of the Church not well Flagged.
Holy Island	The Church Doors not in good & sufficient repair. The Gate of the Church yard not in decent repair.
Kyloe -	A Bible of the last Translation, a New Common Prayer Book and a Book of Homilies wanting, a Decent Surplice a fair Linnen Cloth for the Communion Table & a Chalice & Flagon wanting, A spade shovel & pick For making the graves wanting.
Chatton -	The South porch ready to Fall, the Chancell quite ruinous, No Bell, No Table of Degrees of Marriage, The Font Stone broke, The Communion Table wants a Carpitt, an old Surplice but no Hood, The Church Floor not paved. No Flaggon for the Communion Service, The Church not Sufficiently Seald.
Doddington	The Chancell quite ruinous. No Table of Degrees of Marriage, No Carpett for the Communion Table, Neither Flaggon nor Cupp for the Communion Service. The Chapple Floor not Flaggd, The Church Yard Wall very much out of repair ....
Ancroft	The Body of the Chancell ruinous.
Tweedmouth	The Chancell out of repair.
Norham	The Church wants Windows & the Floors of the Church and Chancell want Pavement.
Branxton	Neither Steeple nor Bell, Neither Bible nor Prayer Book of the last Translation. No Book of Homilies, No Register, No Bier.

This list shows very clearly just how neglected were the northernmost reaches of the Diocese of Durham at the start of our period, and what a sizeable task the reformation of the diocese represented.

By comparison with Bamburgh, Morpeth Deanery seems to have had little need for repairs to the fabric of the Churches, but to have had its share of immorality.(37) Two couples are presented for adultery, one couple and one widow for fornication, and for the first time in 1722 (though often repeated later in the century) two couples are presented for "Antenuptial Fornication".(38)

When we examine the state of the Archdeaconry of Durham as seen in these presentments of 1722, we find that those things presented are very similar, though the extent of needed repairs is very much reduced. Nine parishes are noted in Chester Deanery, and in only two are significant repairs to the fabric mentioned, at Jarrow and St. Margarets in Durham.(39) At Gateshead, Ryton, Lanchester and Whitburn, there are numbers of people refusing to pay their "Church Sess" as well as "dues to the Clark". Two women are presented for bearing "a Bastard Child", one for the eighth time, and one couple each for the crime of adultery and fornication. In much the same fashion the presentments of Easington Deanery are recounted, with only four parishes to be noted.(40) In Durham City, two women have borne bastard children, one couple have committed adultery, and nine people will not pay their "Church Sess". Trimdon parish church seems to have been in a bad state of repair, "Standing in need of a new Roof, new Leads & new Seats & a cloth for the Communion Table. For wch an Injunction is desired." And at Sunderland eight men are said not to frequent "the Church or any place of publick Worship".

The remaining presentments are all to be found under the headings of the Deanery of Darlington,(41) with eleven parishes noted, and the Deanery of Stockton with six.(42) Again, the tedious listing of offences goes on, with little that is new or different to break the pattern already established previously. Couples are presented for fornication in three of the Darlington Deanery parishes, and a single woman is cited in another. Two parishes submit the names of those who are not paying their "sess", and another cites those who will not pay "the Clark his wages". In Hamsterly, one "Wm. Stephenson (is) presented for marrying two Sisters", the first instance of bigamy to be noted, and at Whorleton, Auckland St. Andrews and Gainford the chancel is said to be "ruinous" or "out of repair". Stockton Deanery presents the same bleak picture in the six parishes presenting, and we shall note only one - Stockton itself. Here "The Vicar (is) presented for not catechizing the Youth this Summer", an interesting presentment since canon 59 prescribes this to be done every Sunday in the year.(43)

Three years were to pass before Bishop Talbot again visited his diocese, and the record of that visitation in 1725 is very inadequately represented among the four manuscripts that remain from the Diocesan Registry.(44) Nevertheless, these few documents do help us to piece together the visitation procedures used in Talbot's time, for they are very different from those things we have examined from 1722. The first of these is a sealed "Process General" of the bishop, sent to his "Apparitor General" Cornelius Wetherell on 21 July 1725.(45) This document directs the Apparitor General to summon all of the clergy and churchwardens of the diocese to attend, at the various centres, the bishop's intended visitation, and elaborates the requirements of their attendance. For the clergy, this specifically includes their letters

of orders and all other documentation relating to their pastoral charges, while for the churchwardens this means the presentments in response to the visitation articles. We have no example of the Apparitor General's summons (called a Monition) for 1725, but two copies of such a summons survive from the 1728 visitation, and no doubt these faithfully reflect the earlier ones as well.(46) Both copies are printed, and in such a fashion as to allow the insertion of the place and date of the visitation as well as the date upon which the Monition was signed, though the year 1728 is printed. The summons is directed "to the Minister, Curate, School-Masters, and Church-Wardens" and requires the following of them:(47)

> ... the Clergy are ... to exhibit ... Letters of Orders, Inductions, Licences, and other Instruments, by which you hold your Livings or Curacies: The School-masters are then to exhibit their Licences, and the Church-wardens are then and there to exhibit a true and perfect Presentment or Answer to the Book of Articles herewith sent you, and given you in Charge.

It is interesting to note here the reference to what most likely was a printed "Book of Articles" as the basis upon which presentments from the churchwardens were to be based. This is the earliest eighteenth century reference to such articles in the diocese, though no copy is known to exist of one printed before 1754.(48)

The second and third documents from the 1725 visitation are neither of great significance, though again some small procedural details are brought to the light when they are examined. The second is a single folio which gives notice (presumably a rough draft) of the bishop's intention, Divina Favente Gratia, to visit the Newcastle Deanery on 23 August 1725, the visitation to be held in St. Nicholas Church there, and goes on to list the clergy of Newcastle Deanery at

that time.(49) This list has been used subsequently to prepare a similar compilation, for many of the original entries are lined out in order to make way for the names of those then holding those offices.(50) The third document is also a list, though this time of all the churchwardens of the whole diocese arranged according to deanery.(51) Technically this is a document of the Visitation Court compiled as the visitation proceeded from centre to centre, and each section is preceded by an elaborate Latin heading signed by "W. Pye N.P. Registrar".(52) From this loose quire (8 folios) we learn that the Visitation Court sat in Berwick on 16 August, in Alnwick on 18 August, in Morpeth 20 August, and in Newcastle on 23 August. From Northumberland the Court moved to Durham St. Oswald's on 28 August, and to Auckland St. Andrews on the last Tuesday of August 1725, which was the 31st. The Court seems to have been held in the morning of each of these days, between the hours of nine and twelve, and was presided over by the bishop himself.

The fourth and final document to be examined is in fact another document of the Visitation Court, though this one is styled "Continuation of the Visitation Court" owing to the fact that it was held at Durham, in the Galalee Chapel of the Cathedral, on 17 September 1725.(53) We no longer find the bishop acting as judge, but instead his Vicar General and Official Principal Exton Sayer LL.D., again in the presence of William Pye, though this time he calls himself Deputy Registrar. The document lists a number of cases arising out of the visitation, and gives a brief summary of the outcome in each instance, grouping them according to which of eleven parishes the offence originated within.(54) One parish is examined in detail in Appendix No. 2, which should be consulted. In all but three of the other cases the action is taken

against sexual immorality, the exceptions being refusal to pay "Easter Reckonings", for not paying "Church Assessment", and for keeping a shop open on Sunday. This document also contains a list of all those clergymen who were declared "contumacious" for not exhibiting their letters of ordination and other instruments at the visitation of the bishop, showing that they were summoned to appear in Durham as well. It is interesting to note that the heading for this list says that it is a "continuation of the visitation" and does not mention the word "court", though whether this is an oversight or a distinction in the procedure is not clear. In any case, thirteen clergymen from Northumberland are listed together with another sixteen from Durham. The list was apparently made up in advance, and judging from the annotations only eleven of these twenty-nine actually appeared and exhibited their instruments.(55) One man is said to be excused, and another is said definitely to be "suspended" - Robert Carr the Vicar of Edlingham.(56)

Bishop Talbot made his last visitation of the diocese in 1728, and as with his previous ordinary visitation, the records which have survived are minimal, again amounting to only four documents. The first two have already been mentioned, as they are duplicate printed Monitions prepared by the Apparitor Cornelius Wetherell. The fourth is a simple list of the churchwardens for all the parishes in the diocese, and adds nothing new to our knowledge of the visitation procedure, though this is not the case with the third document.(57) This is a fragile manuscript, of some six folios, which lists all the clergy of the diocese in their respective deaneries. It was used as a working document on the actual itinerant visitation, judging by the annotations, and shows whether or not a man appeared and exhibited his

letters of orders and other instruments. Chronologically, a document such as this must have preceded the list of "contumacious" clergymen which we examined among the 1725 documents. In any case, we find the large majority of the clergy present and dutifully presenting their papers. In the Archdeaconry of Durham only three clergymen are said to be absent,(58) and in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland only five,(59) though one of these latter seems to have been excused, for he is directed to "Send his Instruments to Newcastle".(60) A number of clergy were not present but are definitely said to be excused, four in Durham, and five in Northumberland. One further item which repeatedly appears, is the notice "to take a L.", always beside the names of curates, and indicating that they were not licensed by the bishop to serve in the parish in which they were residing. No indication is ever given that this was thought unusual, though clearly it was to be regularised by the issuance of the missing licence. Beyond these matters, little else is noted; three curates are in need of a "nomination" showing that they are properly appointed and salaried; one curate appeared without his orders, and he is to bring them "to my Lord"; one curate is appointed to be sequestrator of the profits of the living, the incumbent being dead.(61)

(2. Chandler's Visitations: 1732,1736,1740,1746)

When we come to examine the episcopate of Edward Chandler, we find that the materials to hand are very extensive indeed, and consequently we are able to determine much more precisely the visitation procedures which then prevailed. In addition, we are able to acquire a vast amount of information concerning the state of the diocese, for the returns to the bishop's queries prior to visitation in 1732, or rather a

summary of them, have survived.

The whole of the surviving visitation papers of Chandler's episcopate are contained in two files among the other visitation papers of the period. The first file contains only one item, a crudely-bound volume covered in parchment and entitled 'No.16/Bishop's Vis(itati)ons" to which a second (contemporary) hand has added "1736, 1740, 1746, 1751".(62) The volume is in fact made up from six separate paper booklets, four of which are simply exercise books of the period, and one of which appears to be a small "made book" having its own parchment cover, and one a "made book" with no cover. On the inside of the cover of the whole volume, the contents are described (in the same hand as the title) as follows:

Visitation Anno 1736
A Small Book of remarks in 1736 (In fact "Visitation A°1732",
Visitation Anno 1740 f.25v)
Delinquents in 1740
Visitation Anno 1746
Visitation Anno 1751

These descriptive titles apply to the six booklets described above, and for the remainder of this section we shall refer to them by their individual titles, as set out in Appendix No.1.(63)

The second file of visitation papers relating to Bishop Chandler's Episcopate, contains again only one item, a digest of the presentments from the Archdeaconry of Northumberland given in for the primary visitation of 1732.(64) This manuscript is a loose quire of ten folios, and sets out the presentments for each parish in the archdeaconry under the heading of each deanery in turn. We shall refer to it subsequently as "Comperta:1732".

We have mentioned that a summary of the returns to the bishop's queries prior to visitation in 1732 has survived, and to this document we now turn. We are referring to a document contained in the Newcastle Public Library, and described in their local catalogue as "Chandler (Edward) Bishop of Durham. Parochial remarks on his visitation supposed in 1736. 8". MS.21245".(65) The date there ascribed to the document arises from an annotation to the document itself (in an eighteenth century hand but clearly after Chandler's death) which described it as "Bp Chandler's Parochial Remarks on his Visit^{n}. supposed in 1736". This annotation has determined the chronological place allotted to this document ever since, most particularly in the volumes of the Northumberland County History, where it is usually described as "Bishop Chandler's Visitation 1736 (circa)."(66) Nevertheless, it seems that this document is based upon returns made by the clergy in 1732, though in fact the summary which has survived seems to have been prepared in 1736. We have reached this conclusion for the reasons stated in the Additional Note at the end of the chapter, and have therefore (throughout the thesis) utilised the data contained in that document as supportive of the state of the diocese in 1732.(67)

When we return however, to examine in detail the visitation booklet compiled in 1732, we are able to discern certain facts about the preparation for the primary visitation of that year, as well as to discover facts known from no other sources.(68) It would seem that this booklet grew in a rather haphazard way, but it acquired in the process a form which was to remain typical of the visitation books for the rest of our period.(69) Probably drawn up by Ralph Trotter, the Diocesan Registrar, it is as much his note book as a visitation booklet, and shows us something of the way that man most likely administered the

affairs of the Registry, for it is not a model of efficiency.(70) Nevertheless, it must be our guide, and so we follow.

The visitation booklet contains information only about the Archdeaconry of Northumberland and therefore leaves us in the dark concerning affairs in Durham in 1732.(71) Trotter began the booklet by listing (no doubt from earlier records) the amount of the procurations owed the bishop at his visitation, which for Northumberland equalled £24.0s.6d., no small sum in that year.(72) Here too he noted that "the Preacher or Reader before the Bp are Excus'd payment of their Procurations", a dispensation likely to have appealed to many of the clergy.(73) He seems to have contemplated setting out the parishes and clergy of the archdeaconry according to the Wards in Northumberland, and even lists the nine in order, only then to notice that the "Poll Printed A° 1722" was not sufficient to supply the information he required.(74) The poll showed the places, names and numbers of all the freeholders in the county that year (there were 1960), which he was going to incorporate with the ecclesiastical information necessary, (all one assumes) for the convenience of a new bishop unfamiliar with the diocese. Unfortunately Trotter discovered that the "Places being not specified in their Parishes, Makes the Others of Little use".(75) In consequence the lists, which he had already begun to prepare, have an empty column where he had hoped to list the villages of each parish.(76)

Trotter intended to list all of the livings, their patrons, ministers, value, villages and procurations, and with the exception we have mentioned he did so with a reasonable degree of completeness.(77) The livings are grouped according to their deanery, in alphabetical order, and it is usually signified whether the living is a curacy, vicarage, or rectory.(78) The modern student is somewhat relieved to know that in 1732 even the Diocesan Registrar found it difficult to

determine the values of the livings, for Trotter seems to be dependent solely upon Ectons edition of the Liber Regis vel Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticum as published in 1711.(79) In his actual listing of the livings Trotter has however produced very accurate lists indeed. By comparison with Appendix No.2, in Chapter I, we see that Trotter has omitted to mention only three of the ninety-one there mentioned.(80) In Alnwick Deanery he has passed over Bolton, a parochial chapel, and in Corbridge Deanery he has done the same to Falston Curacy and Halton Parochial Chapel.(81) It is interesting to note as well that he places several chapels in his lists, citing their respective curates, an indication that they were perhaps functioning de facto as parochial units.(82) In this category are placed Holystone in Alnwick Deanery, Garrigill and Bellingham in Corbridge Deanery, Netherwitton in Morpeth Deanery, and Gosforth and St. Anne's in Newcastle Deanery.(83) Trotter also has given a rather extensive list of chapels which were either in ruins or nearly so, and it may instructively be compared with the list of ruined chapels given in Appendix No.1, in Chapter I.(84) It seems clear that he was dependent upon information gathered long before by Archdeacon Basire, for several times he specifically references him when listing ruined chapels, which may also account for his inaccuracy and omissions.(85)

We have mentioned before that the compiler has inserted a notice concerning the dispensation of procurations for those who preach before the bishop at the visitation, and he has further noted the names of these men in 1732. At Alnwick "Nevison of Whittingham Preacher" chose to address the congregation on the theme "St John Beloved" and gave "An Excellent Sermon".(86) At Berwick (Bamburgh Deanery) "Tom Cooper Preaches re Deceivers & yet true", and again the preacher is said to

have given "an Excellent Sermon".(87) No comment is recorded at Morpeth, though we are told that "Jack Ellison (was the) Preacher" and he chose for his text "I am the Good Shepherd".(88) Finally, at Newcastle, the Vicar was the Visitation Preacher, and he explicated the theme that the "Scriptures (were) Given by Inspiration etc." and secured Trotter's approbation for having "A Good Method of Preaching".(89)

When Trotter had completed these lists, several leaves remained in the booklet, and these have subsequently been filled with notes pertaining to or arising out of the visitation, though the interpretation of these is sometimes very difficult indeed. One page is filled with the details of the livings and chapels included in Hexhamshire, owing to some confusion which arose as to whether Allendale was in Alnwick Deanery.(90) In answering this query, information has been included about several other churches and chapels in that ecclesiastical jurisdiction.(91) Another page is taken up by detailed notes regarding some irregularities which seem to have occurred in the Diocesan Registry, and difficulties of relationships there.(92) One unknown person is spoken of because of "His Supineness and Negligence of the Office, being fined in his own Salary, made mine very Low", though Trotter went on to say that it might "have been worse".(93)

Two pages remain to be described, by far the most difficult to decipher of the whole booklet. At some time before or after the visitation, Trotter seems to have assessed the general records of the diocesan office and found several discrepancies among them, some of which seem to have been related to four documents described as "Quo Noia" (presumably <u>quorum nomina</u> from the opening words of the document).(94) This was the name normally ascribed to the citation prepared after the presentments had been submitted, and which requested those present to

appear before the visitor at the appointed time.(95) Apparently to Trotter was due a fee for such citations issued from the registry, and he had failed to receive this in these four cases, for he notes: "if any of these have payd any fees for the Citat yet I've had none N.B. they are charged comonly 2/6d each. Q. who of these are come in."(96) The apparent dates of the four quorum nomina are given, and also the number of persons cited, and they are as follows:(97)

Quo Noia W.ch never Appears charged
Octr 4. a Quo Noia for 8
Jan 11 a Quo Noia for 4
Feb a Quo Noia for 11
Apr.22 a Quo Noia for 3
26.

These dates do not seem to accord at all well with the dates of visitation, or any conceivable time of preparation, and must therefore have to do with other business in the registry, perhaps the Consistory Court. Nevertheless, one other entry, without explanation, follows the above items and clearly does deal with the visitation in 1732, for it says "Quo Noia also 3 for the Primary Visitation".(98)

Trotter seems to have continued his notation of fees owed him on this and the following page, for immediately after a short horizontal stroke he entered the following:(99)

Hall Vicar of Long Houghton his Terrier not charg'd
Rector of Cockfield & Staindrop his process on the very assize Sunday not charg'd
1731 Sep.r 24. Mrs.Anne Atkinsons will brout (sic.) in by Mr. Martin to be provd. the Will is enter'd in the Book but not acco.d for Quere. if pay'd for
Depones agan.st Fenwick at Morpeth

All four of these items were presumably related to routine matters of diocesan administration, but their significance is not always clear. The exhibition of a terrier showing the property of each church was a

part of the visitation requirements, though quite why the vicar should pay a fee to Trotter is not at all certain.(100) The deposition against Cuthbert Fenwick, the rector of Morpeth almost certainly is related to the presentment against him which we shall see when the "Comperta:1732" are examined below, and perhaps indicates that these jottings of the Registrar are to be dated after the visitation.(101) Also the notice taken of one will, entered in the book as proved though not accounted as paid for, seems to have jogged Trotter's curiosity, for the next page contains no less than twenty-three other "Bonds" (documents related to probate cases) which have been entered in the book of the registry but for which no fee is accounted as paid. The entry is described thus:(102)

> These Bonds Appear & yet are
> Suspended & not Acco^{d}: for
> to Judge or me R.T.
> Mar 9. 1732
> Lately Brout (sic.) in Mar20

This is the only part of the whole booklet that contains a clear piece evidence that the hand is that of Ralph Trotter (the "R.T."), though comparison with other known documents shows the same thing.(103)

We may close our examination of the visitation procedures as displayed by the visitation booklet surviving from 1732, by discussing one more series of annotations to be found on the last folio. These notes are in the form of a short list which may be set out as follows:(104)

A	53	
B	26	Except Methwins (105)
M	30	Odd Instrum
N	77	Instrum
	186	
		Church Wrs
	79	Auckland
	265	

That these cryptic notes are related to the visitation seems to us certain, from the abbreviation given for the deaneries of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, "C" for Corbridge being omitted because they met with Newcastle Deanery on 1 July.(106) Further we know of the use of the word "instruments" in visitation papers, as a reference to the various licences, titles, nominations, dispensations, etc., related to the lawful occupation of ecclesiastical office.(107) In addition the number "79" which appears beside the word "Auckland", has appeared earlier in the manuscript under the notation of the visitation of that deanery, and is there in conjunction with the fully written word "Instruments".(108) If we may grant that these things are so, what conclusion can we come to regarding the reason for this annotation? We suggest that these instruments were collected by the Registrar, and kept in his possession, in order to peruse them (later in the day) at his leisure, the better to determine if they were complete and true, and that he recorded the number in order to keep track of them all.(109)

We have mentioned previously that the presentments made by the churchwardens in 1732 have survived for the whole diocese, and are gathered into one document (or Comperta) of some ten folios.(110) As we have seen with the 1722 visitation, these presentments are arranged by deanery, and contain a great many recurring moral offences. A summary of these presentments in 1732 is shown below in Table No.2:

Table No.2

Presented Offences 1732 Visitation (By Parish)

Deanery	No. of Parishes Noted	"Omnia Benc"	Ante-Nupt. Fornic.	Fornic.	Adultery	Teaching School w/o Licence	Non-Payment of Church Fees	Church Fabric Wanting	Other
Alnwick	21	7	5	9	-	5	1	8	3
Bamburgh	16	4	1	4	-	3	-	6	2
Corbridge	22	12	-	3	1	-	-	4	3
Morpeth	19	5	3	7	2	3	-	2	5
Newcastle	13	8	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
	91	36	9	24	3	12	1	21	14
Chester (with Easington)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Darlington	26	14	1	7	-	2	-	1	3
Easington	36	23	1	6	2	3	1	7	3
Stockton	21	11	-	4	-	1	1	7	2
	83	46	2	17	2	6	2	15	8
TOTALS:	174	84	11	41	5	18	3	36	22

It is interesting to notice that once again (as with Trotter's lists in the Visitation Booklet: 1732) a number of chapels in Northumberland are treated as though livings, and seem to have submitted presentments separate from the parish church.(111) Also, the very large number of parishes which were said to be omnia benc is somewhat surprising, though perhaps this conceals from our view much that should have been presented. We shall not comment generally upon those six specific offences mentioned in Table No.2, but shall pass on to the unusual presentments in each deanery instead.

The Deanery of Bamburgh was the second to be visited in the sequence established in 1732, though surprisingly we find the presentments for this deanery foremost in our document.(112) At Doddington we find one Andrew Burn not only presented for "teaching School w.th License" but also "for not causing his Children to repair to the Chappell in the Time of Service".(113) This latter is a presentment unique among those brought in that year (in any Deanery), but is interesting especially for the ideal of schoolmasterly responsibility exhibited. Apart from this, the only other unusual presentment was that of Tweedmouth, where John Wilson was presented "for Loading Straw on the Sabbath day".(114)

Two days later, on 28 July 1732, the visitation moved to Alnwick Deanery, and here we find only three parishes with any presentments that are not found among the usual listing of offences.(115) At Rock, a churchwarden is presented because he "neither appeared, nor any for him, to take the office on him."(116) Obviously the procedure of replacing one warden with another was not thought unusual, even though this has not in fact happened here. At Whittingham, there is a presentment of some interest, for there one John Hopper is presented "for taking the key of the Church w.th leave & tearing up the pavement & breaking ground in the body of the Church under Pews wch. belong to Mr. Clavering... agst.

the Consent of the Incumbent".(117) It is difficult to imagine that Mr. Hopper did not believe himself to have some right in this matter, to have gone to such lengths. Finally, at Egglingham, one John Ogle is presented for "Turning Papist".(118)

Morpeth Deanery was the first to be visited in Northumberland, on 22 June 1732, and it furnishes us with the largest group of unusual presentments.(119) At Morpeth itself, the following lengthy presentment was entered:(120)

> The Rector of the parish Church of Morpeth thro the disorder of his Mind is not Capable of Officiating or performing the Cure - The Curate Mr. Benjamin Bosomworth being absconded & gone off with Mrs. Rachel Steel Wife of Mr. Robt. Steel as we are informed. The said Rector did of late attempt to perform & read divine Service in the Parish Church of Morpeth aforesd. & Committed Severall Blunders & was guilty of Several Omissions & that he the said Rector at another time did behave himself so indecently & Irreverently in the said Parish Church that the Congregation was obliged to break up and quit the Church before all divine Service was performed or Sermon preached.

The Rector was Cuthbert Fenwick, incumbent of Morpeth since 1691, and about sixty-four years old in 1732.(121) At some time after this visitation, the living was placed in sequestration, though Fenwick lived on until 1745.(122) At Ulgham the office of "Parish Clark" had been vacant since "the Sunday before Assension Day", while at Hebburn the parochial curate was "non resident; Because he can get no house there for his Family to live in."(123) Beyond these, we may note a presentment at Corsenside "for quarrelling on the Sabbath", and against the impropiator of Mitford for withholding "Easter dues ... from the Minister".(124)

Corbridge and Newcastle Deaneries were visited together on the same day, and between them furnish us with four presentments of some

note.(125) At Knaresdale, in the former deanery, it is said that the "Minister (is) dead - The Cure taken care of by the direction of the Churchwardens."(126) Further in Corbridge Deanery, two curates are presented for drunkeness, one "on a Sunday when the Sacrament should have been administered in the Forenoon where the Congregation was obliged to absent from Church".(127) This man was named William Johnson, and the annotation to this presentment indicates that he was dismissed with the solemn admonition of the bishop.(128) In the Deanery of Newcastle, only one presentment is at all unusual, and that is from the parish of St. Nicholas, where two people are said to keep "Tiplers" in their houses "on the Lord's day".(129)

After visiting the northern archdeaconry and returning to Durham for a time of rest, the visitation was resumed by calling the Darlington and Stockton Deaneries to meet at South Church, Auckland on 18 July 1732.(130) Two of the three unusual cases in the former deanery are really quite minor, though the remaining one is of a tragic kind. At Staindrop the incumbent is presented as "non Resident", while at Darlington a man presented as cohabitating with a widow and having "a child by her", was apparently able to establish that he was legally married to her.(131) It is at Aycliffe however, that a really significant presentment is found, for here we see the sad case of a seriously erratic and apparently immoral clergyman. The presentment reads as follows:(132)

> Mr. Dalston their Curate leads such a wicked & Scandalous Life that several of the Parish have determined to leave the Church if he be continued in the Cure. The Circumstances of whose behaviour are these following 1st. in the Month of Feb:1731. he came so Drunk to Church, that he Read part of the first Service instead of the Second at the Altar; and at several Times since made Great Mistakes & Confusion in the Prayers. 2dly. At the Aministration of the Lords Supper last Easter He broke out into several Fits of Laughter & other indecent Behaviour. 3rdly. After timely Notice given has neglected to Bury the Dead for some Hours wandring at the same time up and down the Country. 4thly. About the 1st of May last he went to Carlisle to hire a Maid Servant and as soon as he brought her home he beat her in a

> most barbarous manner, because she refused to comply with his Carnal desires, wch. fact upon the Maid's Declaration of it he did not deny. He has likewise Beat the Woman where he Lodges after the same manner.

To this long catena of offences, the hand of the bishop (? or his official) has simply written in the margin beside: "License w^{th1}drawn".(133) It is an unpleasant example of an old problem, but it is made somehow worse when we see that the presentment goes on to note that "the Vicar is non Resident".(134) Stockton Deanery seems mild in comparison, when we find a non-resident vicar at Grindon and a small group at Bp. Middleham presented for being "Popish Recusants".(135)

At length, on 10 August 1732, at St. Oswald's Church, the last two deaneries were visited by the bishop, but in them we find few presentments which are not by now monotonously familiar.(136) We are told in the presentment from Whickham that several people who were presented "last year" (at the Archdeacon's Court ?), and for whom a penance was set, have "refused to do penance."(137) At South Shields we are told in the presentment that the "Church (is) to little for the Inhabitants", and at Gateshead one man is presented for "keeping a lude House", but beyond these few unusual complaints the presentments do not go.(138)

We have by now discussed at considerable length the Primary Visitation of 1732, and have seen in some detail the procedure and results of such a visitation. It remains for us to note however, the outstanding episcopal visitations held under Bishop Edward Chandler, those of 1736, 1740, and 1746, at least so far as the surviving documents of these visitations enable us to have a clearer picture of the procedures of this important administrative and pastoral tool. An examination of Appendix No.1, will show that the extant material is, with one exception, all of the same class as that already observed in previous visitations.(139) A visitation booklet alone survives for each

of the years 1736 and 1746, while two such booklets have survived from 1740, as has one separate document of the visitation.(140) In all of these visitation booklets, the pattern and form of that of 1732 is largely adhered to: a listing of the procurations due, lists of clergy by deanery (with annotations concerning their appearance etc.), and miscellaneous notes in the hand of the Registrar, Ralph Trotter.(141) Our knowledge of the visitation procedure which obtained under Bishop Chandler is, however, little increased by these documents, with several specific exceptions.

We shall examine firstly a document from the 1740 visitation, which is the only surviving one of its kind among the Visitation Papers before 1762. This is a sealed inhibition from the Bishop, directed to George Sayer, the Archdeacon of Durham, suspending his (or his official's) archidiaconal jurisdiction during the time of the forthcoming episcopal visitation.(142) Normally this document was the first to be sent out in preparation for the visitation, and it would go to all those who held any form of ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the bishop.(143) It was customary as well for this inhibition to be relaxed subsequent to the visitation, though no copy of such a document is to be found among the visitation papers for the Diocese of Durham in our period.(144)

The second instance of a substantial addition to our knowledge of visitation procedures in the time of Chandler, to be gathered from the documents relating to the ordinary visitations, is found among the odd notes appended to several pages in Visitation Booket:1736.(145) These pages reveal, in Trotter's hand, the order of events at the visitation in that year, and perhaps in others as well. For this reason we set out in full, one of these pages as follows:(146)

Visitations

1. Bps. Name & Mandate or Process to the appa.rs on Stamp.
2. The List of the Clergy annext to be cited on plain paper.
3. Appa.rs to give & Regular Notice of Place & Time Clergy Appear, Excusd or absent & so Markt. Their Orders & Instum.ts Exhibited & those attested Their Procurations to pay School Ma.rs their Licences etc. Bps. Charge & Confirmation Chanc & Reg.r
(1) Old Church Wardens Calld, presentm.ts to give in & those Duly Subscribd & oath to take. Parish Registers also to give in Sess to pay & Names of the New Ones to Inform.
2. New Church Wardens taken & Sworn Exhibitts to attest.

Directly opposite this entry, is a further one which elaborates substantially the affairs transacted by the Chancellor, particularly as that relates to the things required of the Churchwardens. Not only are they to submit transcripts of the parish registers showing (among other things) the "People Dead", but also they are(147)

> ...to give Notice to such persons Liv.g in their Parish who have been Appo.d Exors. of Testaments or Last Wills of people Deceased & have not prov.d the sd. Wills & to such persons who have Intermedled with the goods of people Deceas.d who made no will or Testam.s that they come to Extract Lres of Admin of the said goods or as the Law Directs.

These two entries greatly facilitate the reconstruction of the actual visitation preparation and procedure, but to these we must add a few more details gleaned from another source.

In the Visitation Booket: 1740, we again find Trotter frequently jotting notes of all sorts and descriptions in the margin. Twice he has made notes preparatory to visitation, similar to those contained in the earlier booklet, in which he gives us a bit more information. Under the heading "Registrars Steps", he ennumerates three:(148)

1. A Gen[l] process Sta(mped) & Seal(ed)
   in the Bps Name to 'Each'
   Deanery.

2. The Clergy in that Deanery
   Extended Alphabetically &
   Ammount to the pr(ocuratio)ns on plain
   Paper.

3. This Process & Book of Art(icl)es
   Inclosed Sent to Every Parson
   N.B. Collect the Procurations
   when at Dinner.(149)

   Each Parson should be Drawn
   in a Distinct proper (?) Alphabetical
   then in a 2[d] Column Sess Due
   the No. of their Instrum(en)ts(150) & so
   the Sess with full Regular.

The second instance contributes nothing more save the notice to himself to remember "to take the Subscription Book", presumably to facilitate the certification of those elusive curates.(151)

We have come then to the end of the available documentation which would enable us to understand the pattern of diocesan visitation as it must have obtained under Bishop Edward Chandler. Therefore, before we go on to the subsequent episcopates of Butler and Trevor, we shall endeavour to summarize the procedure revealed thus far.

The visitation dates determined, the Registrar will have first prepared three Inhibitions for the Bishop's signature, one each for the two archdeacons and the Dean and Chapter, to suspend their jurisdiction during the period of the visitation. Then he would also prepare a Process General in the bishop's name, directing the Apparitor General to summon the requisite persons to the visitation. The Apparitor General next would see to the preparation of a General Monition to be sent to each parish in the diocese, in which the persons summoned would be informed as to that which was required of them at the visitation as well as the place and time of the same. Also at this time printed copies of a Book of Articles would be prepared for the Churchwardens, and one of these would

be sent to each parish with the General Monition. In the year of the primary visitation, a series of printed queries regarding the general state of the parish seem to have been sent to the clergy as well, and their returns gathered into a summary book, later called a Diocese Book.(152) Meanwhile a Visitation Booklet would be prepared by the Registrar, in which all the clergy of the diocese would be listed and their procurations as well. A list of the new and old Churchwardens of each parish would likewise be prepared. Upon receipt of the presentments from each parish, a list, called a Comperta, would be prepared to show in summary fashion the offences to be presented. This was followed by the issuance of a Citation requiring the presence of those presented at the Court of Visitation, probably directed to the incumbent in each particular parish.(153)

Upon the actual day of visitation, the affairs were divided into two sections, those things pertaining to the Bishop's Visitation, and those things pertaining to the Visitation Court. The clergy and schoolmasters were particularly demanded at the former and the churchwardens at the latter. The clergy seem to have been called first, with each man appearing and presenting his letters of orders and other instruments, the Registrar (or some other official) marking the Visitation Booklet accordingly. The clergy finished, the schoolmasters seem to have been called in turn. These matters aside, the Bishop delivered his Charge, and the Confirmation was held.(154) While the clergy were appearing before the bishop, the old churchwardens were appearing before the Chancellor, there to hand in their presentments (upon solemn oath), to submit parish register transcripts, to pay a sess, and finally to declare the names of the new Churchwardens.(155) The new men were also present, and they were next duly sworn into office. Presumably, the old and new churchwardens afterwards joined the general

congregation for the Confirmation.(156) Confirmation over, the proceedings seem to have adjourned, with the bishop and his clergy meeting again for dinner later in the day, the Registrar there to collect the procurations by which the expenses of the visitation would be defrayed.(157)

After the visitation proper, Citations would be issued to all those persons deemed to have offended against the canons, and not yet dealt with, and they would be summoned to appear before the continuation of the Visitation Court held in Durham in the autumn. Here laity and clergy would appear before the Chancellor or his Principal Surrogate, and each particular case would be dealt with accordingly. The majority of these probably calling for a solemn admonition from the judge and the declaration of a penance, or in exceptional cases of excommunication. It seems to have been normal to allow the substitution of a money payment, or commutation, for the actual performance of panence, though this largely applied to the more well-to-do. Upon the close of the continuation of the Visitation Court, the visitation would be deemed complete.(158)

(3. Butler's Visitation: 1751)

Joseph Butler was able to visit his new diocese only once before his death, and the records of that primary visitation are not extensive, being contained almost entirely in three paper visitation booklets of the type we have already examined in Chandler's episcopate. A description of these documents will be found in Appendix No.1 and here we will draw attention to them only in so far as they cast further light on what we have already discovered.

One copy of a printed Monition has survived from 1751, and though similar to that one noticed in 1728, it has appended to it the following

notice from the Registrar Ralph Trotter, addressed to the clergy only:(159)

> You are desired to give Notice to your Church-Wardens, when they deliver in their Presentments, that they give a Note of the Names of such new ones as are to be Sworn in, and also of your Schoolmasters, and to return likewise, a true Copy of the Christenings, Marriages, and Burials in your Parish or Chapelry, according to the 70th Canon. If you will please also to acquaint your Parishioners, that Mr. Chancellor's Court, for granting Administrations, Tuitions, Licences, and proving of Wills, will be held on the same Day.

Whether or not these matters were first dealt with in this manner in 1751, is not clear from the evidence at hand.

Another single document surviving from the 1751 visitation, shows us something of the expense involved for the bishop. This is a detailed account of his expenses for Northumberland only, and they came to £116.2s.5d.(160) The document shows clearly the pattern of Bishop Butler's itinerary as well, for it records the number of days and nights he spent in each place. At Newcastle for two days and nights, he then travelled on 19 July to Alnwick, stopping at Morpeth for "Dinner" and at Felton for "A Bait". After "Supper & Breakfast" in Alnwick, he travelled to Berwick on 20 July, stopping at Belford for dinner. After spending three nights at Berwick, he returned to Alnwick on 23 July, again stopping at Belford for dinner. This time he remained at Alnwick for two days and nights, then travelled to Morpeth on the 25th, there to spend two nights and a day. He left Morpeth on 27 July, stopped at Newcastle for dinner, and presumably went on "into Bishoprick" the same day.(161) By this time, he had spent £80.5s.4d. for food and lodging, £15.13s.0d. for "Saddle Horse", £10.5s.7d. for "Coach House", and £9.18s.6d. for the "Poor etc.". Included in this last item was two guineas paid to prisoners at Newcastle and the same amount to prisoners at Morpeth.

There is only one other source for facts concerning this visitation, apart from the three visitation bookets already mentioned, and that is a small collection of papers concerning procuration expenses.(162) These are mainly noteworthy because of one letter among them from Henry Fetherstonhaugh to the bishop dated 31 Aug 1751. Feterstonhaugh was at this time the "Master" of the two Hospitals in Newcastle, and procurations were being demanded for him, though he had not acceeded to the demand. In his letter he says that "the accounts left by Masters for 120 years past make no mention of it, nor can I anywhere find that it was ever paid, or before required to be paid by any of my Predecessors". He grants that the bishop may indeed have a claim from the past, and is prepared to submit to the payment if need be, but he argues that since "the Vicaridge was cleared of that very Incumbrance... Why it should be laid upon the poor Hospitals I cannot imagin". What the outcome may have been remains uncertain.(163)

The actual visitation booklets from 1751 are not, on the whole, of particular interest, for they rather routinely reveal the same sort of information as that which we have seen in previous years. Nevertheless they do contain some marginal notations and other "jottings" by Trotter, which are of interest. One note which is new to them is a preoccupation with the livings in the gift of the new bishop, as well as the prebends, hospital masters, and spiritual officers.(164) Another of the booklets shows a listing of "Visitation fees Due to Mr. Chancellor Sayer", and these are set out by deanery as follows:(165)

03 00 00	Easington Deanery (sic.)	15 Par)	
04 08 00	Chester Deanery	22 Par)	84 Par
05 04 00	Darlington Deanery	26 Par)	16 16 00
04 04 00	Stockton Deanery	21 Par)	
16 16 00			
03 08 00	Balmbro Deanry (sic.)	17 Par)	
04 08 00	Alnwick Deanry	22 Par)	
03 16 00	Morpeth Deanry	19 Par)	92 Par
02 12 00	NewC Deanry	13 Par)	18 08 00
04 04 00	Corbridge D	21 Par)	
35 04 00			

Once again we have the enumeration of instruments "Exhibited", though for the Archdeaconry of Durham only, and the additional fact that fees were collected "for Instruments Exhibited", amounting to £9.11s.6d.

As we have seen before, Trotter seems to have used the visitation booklets as a form of personal notebook, and hence he has left his tightly-scrawled hand in many of the once-empty spaces contained therein. Some of these are too cryptic to allow interpretation, while others are very revealing indeed. The 1751 books seem especially full of such notes, and we shall draw attention briefly to several. Once he has recounted the order and form of service at the "Consecration (of) Dean Cowper Monday July 21, 1746".(166) Shortly thereafter he has done the same upon the occasion of the Consecration of "Pensher Chapple" 26 October 1746.(167) In another place he has notes regarding the oaths to be taken by the incumbent at Wearmouth in 1735, and the order of service at an institution in 1742.(168) And again when Erasmus Head was given a dispensation to hold Whittingham and Newburn Vicarages in plurality (5 September 1744), he has put down all the details.(169) The fact that all of these notes are earlier than the visitation contained in the booklet, makes it difficult to determine what other notes are likely to predate Butler's Primary Visitation. Once too, the clergy who held more than one living have been listed, and there were some twenty-eight in all.(170)

Before we leave Butler's Visitation of 1751, there is one more characteristic of the visitation booklets from that year, to which we must draw attention. Scattered throughout two of the three books are a great variety of "model" licenses and other forms of one sort and another. All of them seem to have been copied from original visitation documents, in order to serve as samples should these "types" have been

needed on the visitation. All are in consequence dated before 1751, and illustrate the practice of Bishop Chandler's episcopate, though it seems very unlikely that these were much changed later. We set out below a descriptive summary of these formularies:

(a) Licence for a Curate (Thomas Birket to Sunderland) 28 August 1736.(171)
(b) Licence for a Curate (John Barnes to Monk Hesledon) 11 September 1751.(172)
(c) Institution (William Forster "the younger" to Heighington) 26 January 1749.(173)
(d) Institution (John Morland to Hart & Hartlepool) 29 January 1735.(174)
(e) Certification of Conformity (Charles Ward, Curate of Hebburn) 2 November 1747.(175)
(f) Nomination to Curacy (William Forster to Embleton) 1 August 1751.(176)
(g) Testimonial (William Forster, Curate of Embleton) 1 August 1751.(177)
(h) Nomination to Curacy (John Barns to Monk Hesledon) 20 August 1751.(178)
(i) Nomination to Curacy (Thomas Birkett to Bishop Wearmouth, William Wilkinson to Washington) 23 August 1751.(179)
(j) Mandate for Induction by Official (John Wheeler to Monk Hesledon) 5 March 1748.(180)
(k) Certification of Priest's Orders (John Wheeler) 30 October 1748.(181)

(4. Trevor's Visitations: 1754,1758,1762,1766,1770)

With the advent of Bishop Trevor in 1752 we seem to see a new thoroughness of detail being established in the diocesan administration, and this is nowhere more clearly reflected than in the visitation-records which have survived. Dating from his episcopate, we find a mass of visitation-material of every sort, some of which is identical in nature with that which exists from an earlier period, and some of which represents an apparent advance in diocesan administrative efficiency. Here for the first time we find copies of all the forms used before the visitation, our earliest surviving "Diocese Book", and samples of the type of clerical "Query" sent out before the visitation. None of these things, of course, is radically new in the years following 1752, but the whole tone of the surviving papers seems to change. There is a clarity of writing, a painstaking attention to detail, and a new orderliness to be seen everywhere. Perhaps too what we are seeing is a new breed of diocesan

official in succession to those so well typified by Ralph Trotter, Registrar since 1709, who nevertheless remains evident by his hand until his death in 1769.

Two visitation booklets have survived from the 1754 Primary Visitation, and both of them indicate a new degree of concern for correct order and form, to say nothing of legality, in the affairs of the diocese in general and in the affairs of the visitation in particular. The former of these booklets is in a most miserable condition, with the now familiar (but no less difficult) hand of Trotter in evidence everywhere. Amongst its fragile pages are the by-now-commonplace notes concerning the general preparations for visitation, though this time apparently amended according to the procedures adopted by Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, in his Primary Visitation of 1749.(182) Here too, for the first time, we begin to find notices concerning confirmation, which seems to have been held on a different day from the visitation in some cases, and occasionally held in towns where there was no visitation. The dates of visitation and confirmation are shown in Table No.3 below:(183)

Table No.3

Schedule of Visitation: 1754

	Visitation	Confirmation
Darlington	-	Wednesday 3 July
Newcastle	Thursday 18 July	Wednesday 17 July
Berwick	Monday 22 July	Sunday 21 July
Alnwick	Wednesday 24 July	Wednesday 24 July
Morpeth	Friday 26 July	Friday 26 July
Durham	Tuesday 30 July	Wednesday 31 July
Sunderland	-	Friday 2 August
Auckland	Tuesday 20 August	Wednesday 21 August
Stockton	-	Tuesday 27 August
Barnard Castle	-	Tuesday 3 September

Most interestingly, this booklet also contains the first mention (in this diocese) of the use of "tickets" at Confirmation and gives both the number

of such printed, and the actual number of confirmations.[184] These are shown below in Table No.4:[185]

Table No.4

Number Confirmed: 1754

	Tickets Printed	Number Confirmed
Newcastle)	44	14
Corbridge)		23
Alnwick	24	22
Balmborough	20	17
Morpeth	24	20
Sub-Total:	112	96
Easington	20	17
Chester	26	24
Darlington	26	26
Stockton	26	23
Sub-Total:	98	90
Diocesan Total:	210 Tickets	186 Confirmed

At least three more categories of information are revealed for the first time in this same visitation booklet, and we draw brief attention to them before passing on. First there are running notes of every sort of discrepancy or oddity to be found in the diocese, from notation of the distance between livings held by pluralists to a comment that there were "3 Curates Under Wastell", the incumbent of Simonburn.[186] Secondly, we find for the first time a summary of those canons which directly affected the affairs of visitation, as well as other matters of pastoral and administrative concern.[187] And thirdly, we find very elaborate extracts, from a book on ecclesiastical law, outlining the requirements for legal marriage, whether by banns or licence.[188]

When we turn to examine the remaining visitation booklet, we find again the elaborate extracting of material from a book concerning the

ecclesiastical laws, and this time the portions noted occupy ten sides.(189) The notes in fact seem to form a kind of index to the work, which is cited simply as "Dr. Dick".(190) In general, this booklet has a more extensive collection of miscellaneous notes than any other in the series, though many of them are undecipherable. Several notes appear which make it clear that in Trevor's time some attempt was made to licence midwives and parish clerks.(191) Similarly, schoolmasters become more prominent in the records from about this time as well.(192) Finally, we note again the addition of formularies as in one of the earlier visitation books, and these are as follows:

(a) Certification of Deacon's Orders (James Farrer) 10 March 1733. (193)
(b) Certification of Priest's Orders (James Farrer) 20 June 1736. (194)
(c) Licence for a Curate (William Braithwaite to Billingham) 7 March 1746. (195)
(d) Collation (James Leslie to Sedgfield) 19 September 1747. (196)
(e) Endorsement to Curate's Licence (Robert Rawling, Curate of Gainford) 17 October 1751. (197)

We proceed then, to the remaining documentation extant from the visitation of 1754.

We have very clear evidence of the existence of visitation articles in our period long before 1754, but it is in this year that the first specimen survives.(198) It is a printed booklet of eight pages, sewn with a short loop of thread, and entitled:(199)

> Articles of Visitation and Enquiry, Concerning Matters Ecclesiastical Exhibited to the Ministers, Church-wardens, and Sidesmen, of every Parish within the Diocese of Durham, at the Primary Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Richard, by Divine Providence, Lord Bishop of that Diocese. In the Year 1754.

The articles are set out in thirty-six paragraphs or sections, gathered under seven "titles" as follows:

Title I	Concerning Churches and Chapels; the Fabrick, Furniture, and Ornaments thereunto belonging. (Sections I to XI)
Title II	Concerning the Church-yard; and the Houses, Glebe, Tithes, and other Dues belonging to the Church. (Sections XII to XV)
Title III	Concerning the Clergy. (Sections XVI to XXII)
Title IV	Concerning the Parishioners (Sections XXIII to XXVII)
Title V	Concerning Parish and Church-Officers (Sections XXVIII to XXXI)
Title VI	Concerning Ecclesiastical Officers. (Sections XXXII to XXXIV)
Title VII	Concerning Hospitals, Alms-Houses, Schools, and School-Masters (Sections XXXV & XXXVI)

Each of the sections is made up of specific questions concerning the subject of the title, and the whole represents an extremely thorough examination of the church in each parish. On the inside front cover there appears:(200)

> The Tenor of the Oath to be administered to the Church-Wardens of every Parish. - You shall Swear, That the Presentment of all such Persons and Things, as by the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm you know to be Presentable, within your Parish. - So help you God.

These articles were used again by Trevor in subsequent visitations, by simply changing the date and the designation "Primary" to "Ordinary".(201) No doubt these articles are based upon earlier precedent in the diocese, and perhaps they would be found identical to those used previously in the century.(202)

The remaining documents from the visitation are described in Appendix No.1, and we shall look now at only one more of these, for it alone offers us new material and insight into a portion of the visitation. This document is in fact a list of visitation expenses for the visitations of 1754, 1758, 1762, 1766, 1770, and also Bishop Egerton's Primary Visitation of 1774.(203) This alone would not make it of interest, did it not also contain an account of the number of people confirmed, the number who "dined", and the visitation preachers, from the year 1762 onwards. This material is set out below in Table No.5:(204)

VISITATION STATISTICS : 1754 - 1770

	1754		1758		1762		1766		1770	
	Dined	Con-firmed	Dined	Con-firmed	Dined	Con-firmed	Dined	Con-firmed	Dined	Con-firmed
Darlington					15	285	15	280	16	380
Sunderland					14	317	16	470	17	438
Stockton					Mayor	611	Mayor	429	Mayor	494
Durham					54(3)	602	58(3)	799	56(3)	779
Morpeth					30	774	30	835	33	705
Berwick					48(3)	248	26(5)	277	64(3&5)	343(7)
Alnwick					45(3)	655	30	676	31	753
Newcastle					49(4)	1208	43(4)	1112	42(4)	1229
Auckland					83(3)	561	66(3)	524	68(3)	564
Staindrop					15	277	11	375	13	446
	186(1)		(2)		353	5538	295	5777	340	6131
Expenses: "Journies"		£171. 3s.2d.				£140.14s.11½d.		£122.11s.11d.		£169. 7s.3½d.
"Printing etc"		£ 4.13s.1d.				£5.18s. 4d.		£4. 7s.10d.		£6. 5s.4d.

(1) Taken from Visitation Book: 1754 (a) See Table No.4.
(2) This is blank in the original.
(3) Sum of 2 dinners on 2 nights.
(4) Dined as guest of Mayor on 2nd night.
(5) Dined as guest of Archdeacon on 2nd night.
(6) 166 at Belford, 111 at Bamburgh.
(7) 185 at Berwick, 158 at Bamburgh.

When we turn our attention to the documents which have survived from the visitation in 1758, we see that again we are confronted with little that is new, though the quantity of material is increasing quite dramatically.(205) What is unusual however, is the detail of the visitation expenses incurred by the Bishop of Durham in 1758, and these are set out in full in Appendix No.3. Beyond this, we must draw attention to one other document among those listed, that one styled "Bishop's Queries: 1758".

We have indicated before, our conviction that printed queries were often sent to the diocesan clergy by the bishop prior to visitation, but it is not until 1758 that an example of these has survived among the visitation papers.(206) Even here, the sample is mutilated, consisting only of one page when the original clearly had two. Fortunately, six copies of these queries have survived among the manuscript materials at Auckland Palace, and these enable us to firmly establish the nature of these queries as they existed in that year.(207) The actual questions occur in seven sections, each of which contains more than one question, and the general tenor of which may not unfairly be said to be as follows:

(I) Clerical Residence & Pluralism
(II) Condition & Qualification of Curate
(III) Frequency of Preaching
(IV) Frequency of Catechism
(V) Frequency of Sacrament
(VII) Number of Communicants
(VIII) Register of Baptism, Marriage & Burial.

One part of the bishop's purpose in sending these queries to the parochial incumbent was that he might thus have "better Information concerning the present State of (each) Parish", but he had another purpose of no little significance. This latter was the reformation of the whole procedure involved in confirmation, for which purpose he

appended an elaborate and detailed series of instructions to his queries.(208) In these he gave very particular guidelines concerning the candidates, who were to be "fifteen Years of Age or upwards", and not merely able to repeat their vows and the Catechism, but "competently to understand the Doctrines and Precepts of the Christian Religion, and (to) come with a Serious Resolution to take upon themselves the Profession and Practice of them". The Minister was admonished "to take great care" in order that only "such as are thus qualified" would be brought forward. The criteria for presentation established, Trevor then goes into even greater detail concerning the order of the service, that "this Holy Office may be performed in the most Solemn and Edifying Manner". The instructions make clear what the numbers confirmed suggest, that is, that another atmosphere was more likely to prevail than one of decorum and solemnity.(209)

Three more times, Trevor was to visit his diocese, and the evidence suggests that each time the visitation was systemized and further improved. Not only does the manuscript material become more and more extensive, but we see new methods appearing as well.(210) In 1762, the bishop sent a very extensive circular to all the clergy with details of his intended tour, and included in full "The Archbishop of York's Directions to the Bishops of his Province, concerning Orders and Curates, Anno 1762."(211) It was to be his intention, Trevor wrote, to follow the Archbishop's suggestions for "I am resolved to direct my practice agreeably thereto."(212) The bishop went even further and included "Forms relating to Titles for Orders, Institutions, Licences, etc." in order that none would have excuse for improperly complying with the new diocesan standards.(213) Preparations for the visitation seem to have been carefully handled by the bishop also, for

as early as 6 March 1762 he had his secretary write to Trotter to remind the Registrar of those things necessary, and to request him to write to the Visitation Preachers as soon as possible.(214) In conjunction with the visitation of that year we find too the first evidence that an attempt was made to list and licence midwives, as the canon directed, though seemingly this had been neglected earlier in the century.(215) Again in 1766, even more innovation and reform is in evidence, as new methods of ennumeration and record keeping make their appearance.(216) Even though a change is evident in 1770, owing perhaps to the failing health of the bishop, we feel confident to assert that Richard Trevor was responsible for initiating a not-unsuccessful reform of diocesan administration during his long episcopate.(217)

C. ARCHIDIACONAL VISITATIONS OF THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM

The history of archidiaconal visitations before 1721, is very full indeed, owing primarily to the activities of two post-restoration archdeacons. Archdeacon Isaac Basire made frequent visitations in Northumberland from 1662 until his death in 1676, and Archdeacon Denis Granville did likewise in Durham between 1673 and 1677.(1) Further information exists to show that John Morton, one of Basire's successors, was very active in visiting his archdeanery as well, especially in the first twenty years of the eighteenth century.(2) Unfortunately, this archidiaconal activity seems to cease during the bulk of our period, to judge from the remaining documents, and it is therefore only possible to sketch briefly this aspect of the diocesan pastoral and administrative life. It should, however, be noted that some documents may have perished in a fire which broke out in the registry earlier this century.(3)

Those materials which do remain show very clearly that the general procedures which prevailed for episcopal visitation also obtained for achidiaconal, though the production of printed forms seems not to have occurred till after our period.(4)

In the whole of our period we have evidence of a visitation by the Archdeacon of Durham only twice, in 1724 and 1761. The former visitation was held in October of that year, under the jurisdiction of the then archdeacon, Robert Booth, D.D.(5) The visitation was held at St. Mary-le-Bow in Durham, and gathered the clergy and churchwardens from all four deaneries on the same day.(6) The single surviving manuscript is a document of the Visitation Court, listing the Churchwardens called to the visitation. In 1761, the archdeaconry was again visited, though not by the Archdeacon of Durham, George Sayer.(7) He was presumably too ill to carry out a visitation previously planned (he died 25 July 1761), and instead John Sharp, D.D., acted as Commissary.(8) The visitation is called the "Easter Visitation" and was held 19 May 1761, with all the deaneries called together at one.(9) Perhaps this is an indication that the pattern of two visitations per year, one at Easter and another at Michaelmas, was still practised at this time.(10)

The extant material among the visitation papers relating to archidiaconal tours in Northumberland, is even more uncommon in our period than that for Durham, and is confined to only one year - 1761. Fortunately, much information can be garnered from other sources to show that the practice of visitation was not entirely abrogated. Evidence exists to show that Archdeacon Thomas Sharp visited repeatedly throughout the period 1722-1758, though little evidence remains of the business of these visitations or their accompanying courts.(11) Two

exceptions of great importance must however be mentioned. First, we have the record of all orders relating to the upkeep of the fabric, which were given by the archdeacon. This record is contained in a volume entitled Sharp's Visitation 1723, and has been discussed in Chapter I. The second exception, is that many of Sharp's Visitation Charges were printed, and these are gathered together among the volumes of his posthumous Works.(12)

The visitation which took place in the archdeaconry in 1761, did so under the jurisdiction of Thomas Robinson, D.D. Archdeacon of Northumberland in succession to Thomas Sharp, and himself followed by John Sharp. Again we find that this visit is called the "Easter Visitation 1761", and unlike that for Durham, it migrates from deanery to deanery.(13) Beginning on 6 July at Bamburgh, it moved to Alnwick the next day, to Morpeth on the next, and to Newcastle on 9 July, where Corbridge Deanery was also gathered. From other evidence we know that Robinson visited in 1759 as well.(14)

Thomas Sharp's son John followed Robinson as Archdeacon of Northumberland, being collated to that office 21 April and installed 18 May 1762.(15) No visitation papers are extant for the period of his archidiaconate, but (as with his father) we have evidence of his activity. He continued his father's book of orders, and from this we can see that he visited frequently throughout the period of his office.(16) Also all of John Sharp's visitations Charges have survived in manuscript, and these show him visiting in most years.(17)

Finally we come to the remaining archidiaconal jurisdiction, that of the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. Twice in our period there is clear evidence of a visitation by the Official, once in

1746 and again in 1761. We know little about the former visitation, since its only record is contained on one folio of the Visitation Booklet: 1736.(18) There we are told that Thomas Eden, LL.D., held his visitation in St. Oswald's Church 29 April 1746, and that all the parishes of the officialty which lay in Durham were then present.(19) The Northumberland parishes were apparently visited separately, in groups according to their deanery, at Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Morpeth, with Wall's End alone coming to Durham.(20) In 1761 Samuel Dickens, D.D., was the Official of the Officialty, and he too visited in two parts. The Durham parishes were gathered at St. Oswald's on 13 May, while those in Northumberland were visited separately.(21) In Northumberland, the main visitation centre was at Belford on 6 July, though Dickens was at Morpeth on 4 July, and Alnwick on 5 July.(22) Beyond these dates, we know nothing more of the visitations of the Officialty in our period.

D. ADDITION NOTE:

(The Date & Provenance of the Material Summarised in Chandler's Remarks)

The conclusion that the manuscript titled "Bp Chandler's Parochial Remarks on his Visit^{n} 1736" (otherwise Chandler's Remarks), is in fact based upon clerical returns to queries sent out by the bishop several years before that, has been reached gradually over the space of several years. The central piece of information which has contributed to this conclusion however, is the following entry in Fordyce History of Durham, vol.I, p.331:

> The Curate of that parish (St. Nicholas Durham), in answer to queries at Bishop Chandler's visitation, dated Aug.10,1732, states that at that time there were '440 housekeepers, of which 17 were Quakers, 15 Papists, 12 Presbyterians, and 1 of the Nonjuring Church; 2 meeting houses, 1 Quakers', 1 Presbyterians'.' The said curate also adds, 'that one Glenn, a Quaker, has a great many scholars both of his own persuasion and others. He teaches Latin, and I think pretends to Greek; does not much trouble himself about their coming to church.'

The equivalent entry in the document we are considering is as follows:

> 440 F(amilies) 17 Qua(kers) 15 P(apists) 12 Presb(yterians) 1 Nonjuror 1 Meeting house for Qua(kers) 1 (Meeting house) for Presb(yterians) Mr. Worthington Teacher Jo Glenn Qua(ker) teaches Latin to Sev(er)al Schollars not (? page ends)(1)

Specifically this seems to be a summary of the fuller account given by Forsyth, the only exception being that the document adds the Presbyterian teacher Worthington. Forsyth however is quoting this in his discussion of the Quaker Meeting in Durham, and has therefore not abstracted this piece of information, so we presume. The possibility that Forsyth (or the document he depends upon) may erroneously have written 1732 rather than 1736, seems to be precluded by the fact that the date of the visitation of St. Nicholas in 1736 is known to have been 22 July.(2) Further the previous visitation of Easington Deanery (in which St. Nicholas lay) is known to have been held on 10 August 1732.(3)

Corroborating evidence seems to be furnished by the document itself, for several features are difficult to explain unless the source of information behind it pre-dates the visitation of 1736. We know that the summary is based upon written returns because in two instances, Bywell St. Peter's and Knaresdale, it is specifically stated that there is "no return".(4) Further, several clergymen are mentioned in the

document who were dead before 1736 but alive in 1732.(5) To imagine that the returns were made in 1736 therefore seems impossible. On the other hand, several clergy are mentioned who did not assume their positions until after 1732 (but before 1736), which seems to indicate that the summary has been made prior to the visitation of 1736.(6) The question remains however, when were the queries sent out and returned? If we assume that John Werge would not have been listed as Vicar of Kirknewton if the queries were sent out after his death, then we may establish a terminus ad quem of 4 February 1732/3.

The final pieces of evidence are two small documents contained among a collection of miscellaneous materials relating to Durham City Parishes, and housed at the home of the Bishop of Durham, Auckland Castle Palace.(7) Here are to be found two sets of queries, written in Bishop Chandler's hand and addressed to the "Curate of St. Margaret Durham" and to the "Curate of St. Giles Durham". Neither document is dated, though both appear to be examples of the documents which must lie behind Chandler's Remarks, judging from the six sets of queries. These queries are as follows:(8)

1. The Number of Families in the Parish ? How many of these be Presbyterians, Independents, Papists or Quakers ? Have any been perverted to Popery ?
2. How many meetings, if any, & of what Denomination are they in the Parish ? & who is the Priest or Teacher ?
3. Is there any Charity or other School in the Parish ?
4. How often do you Read Prayers. Preach, Catechize & Administer the Sacramt. of the Lord's Supper ?
5. Of what Particulars is the Revenue of the Cure made up ?
6. Who is the Patron ? Where were you Admitted Priest, by whom ? & at what time were you Instituted ?

When one examines the data contained in Chandler's Remarks, one would conclude that just such questions as these were asked, though one would

have expected an additional query concerning curates and impropriators.(9)

The Curate of St. Margaret tells us that he was "presented to the Curacy" 3 December 1732, thus giving a terminus post quem, at least for his own return.(10) This caveat is added because in Chandler's Remarks, both St. Margaret and St. Giles are missing and it is said that a return is wanting.(11) This may therefore mean that the queries for these two were returned later than the rest, and thus separated from them in consequence surviving.(12) The alternative would be to date the completion and return of all queries between 3 December 1732 and 4 February 1732/3, when Werge died. That such an undertaking should have been initiated after the primary visitation of 1732, and more than three years before the next visitation in 1736, seems very unlikely.

We conclude therefore, that handwritten queries were sent to all the parochial clergy sometime in 1732, and that these queries form the basis of that summary now known as Chandler's Remarks. This summary we believe to have been made preparatory to the visitation of 1736, and augmented with some new data concerning the clergy, curates and impropriators.

MS SOURCES FOR CHAPTER V

(Deposited in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham)

(I) Visitation Papers: Talbot's Episcopate.

(A) Visitation Papers: 1722.

1. Procurations Booklet: 1708, 1713, 1722, 1725, 1728. (50 folios)

2. Comperta: 1722. (4 folios)

(B) Visitation Papers: 1725.

1. Process General: 1725 (1 folio)

2. Clergy List: 1725 (1 folio)

3. Acta: Visitation Court 1725. (8 folios)

4. Acta: Continuation of Visitation Court 1725. (2 folios)

(C) Visitation Papers: 1728.

1. Monition: 1728. (1 folio)

2. Monition: 1728. (1 folio)

3. Clergy List: 1728. (6 folios)

4. Churchwarden's List: 1728. (6 folios)

(II) Visitation Papers: Chandler's Episcopate.

(A) Visitation Papers: 1732.

1. Visitation Booklet: 1732.(1) (10 folios)

2. Comperta: 1732. (10 folios)

(B) Visitation Papers: 1736.

1. Visitation Booklet: 1736.(1) (20 folios)

2. Chandler's Remarks: 1732-36.(2) (20 folios)

(C) Visitation Papers: 1740.

1. Inhibition: 1740. (2 folios)

2. Visitation Booklet: 1740.(1) (24 folios)

3. Delinquents Booklet: 1740.(1) (24 folios)

(D) Visitation Papers: 1746.

1. Visitation Booklet: 1746.(1) (23 folios)

(III) Visitation Papers: Butler's Episcopate.

(A) Visitation Papers: 1751.

1. Monition: 1751. (1 folio)

2. Visitation Booklet: 1751(a).(1) (12 folios)

3. Visitation Booklet: 1751(b).(3) (20 folios)

4. Visitation Booklet: 1751(c).(3) (20 folios)

5. Visitation Expenses: 1751. (1 folio)

6. Misc. Procuration Papers: 1751.(4) (8 folios)

(IV) Visitation Papers: Trevor's Episcopate.

(A) Visitation Papers: 1754.

1. Visitation Booklet: 1754(a).(3) (12 folios)

2. Visitation Booklet: 1754(b).(3) (44 folios)

3. Visitation Articles: 1754. (8 pages)

4. Procurations Account: 1754. (2 folios)

5. Procurations Account: 1754, Registrar's Copy. (2 folios)

6. Procurations Receipt: 1754. (1 folio)

7. Visitation Expenses: 1754, 1758, 1762, 1766, 1770, 1774. (2 folios)

8. Clergy List: 1754.(5) (2 folios)

(B) Visitation Papers: 1758.

1. Process General: 1758, Durham. (5 folios)

2. Process General: 1758, Northumberland. (6 folios)

3. Draft Monition: 1758. (1 folio)

4. Bishop's Queries: 1758. (1 folio)

5. Visitation Articles: 1758. (8 pages)

6. Churchwarden List: 1758. (3 folios)

7. Procurations Cards: 1758. (9 folios)

8. Procurations Due: 1758. (2 folios)

9. Procurations Received: 1758. (2 folios)

10. Visitation Expenses: 1758, Northumberland. (1 folio)

11. Visitation Expenses: 1758, Northumberland. (2 folios)

12. Visitation Expenses: 1758, Durham. (1 folio)

13. Visitation Expenses: 1758, Durham & Northumberland. (2 folios)

14. Letter to Ralph Trotter: 1758. (2 folios)

15. Visitation Book: 1758.(3) (22 folios)

(C) Visitation Papers: 1762.

1. Inhibition: 1762. (1 folio)

2. Draft Process General: 1762. (2 folios)

3. Process General: 1762, Durham. (2 folios)

4. Process General: 1762, Northumberland. (2 folios)

5. Process General: 1762, Eight Deaneries. (8 folios)

6. Monition: 1762. (1 folio)

7. Visitation & Confirmation Programme: 1762. (4 pages)

8. Visitation Articles: 1762. (8 pages)

9. Parish List: 1762. (3 folios)

10. Draft Clergy List: 1762. (7 folios)

11. Draft Clergy & Churchwardens List: 1762. (7 folios)

12. Clergy List: 1762. (14 folios)

13. Churchwarden List: 1762. (9 folios)

14. Draft list of Schoolmasters and Midwives: 1762. (3 folios)

15. Visitation and Confirmation Expenses: 1762. (1 folio)

16. Registrar's Visitation Expenses: 1762. (1 folio)

17. Procurations Account: 1762. (2 folios)

18. Cover for Visitation Papers: 1762. (2 folios)

19. Letters: 1762.

a) Hodgson to Trotter. (1 folio)
b) Trotter to Hodgson & Others. (2 folios)
c) Smalbridge to Trotter. (2 folios)
d) " " " (2 folios)
e) Davison " " (2 folios)
f) Marsh " " (2 folios)
g) Dockwray " " (2 folios)
h) Williamson " " (2 folios)
i) Coxon " " (2 folios)
j) Walker " " (2 folios)
k) Sharp " " (1 folio)
l) Allison " " (1 folio)
m) Thomson to Wheeler. (2 folios)
n) Whinfield to Trotter. (1 folio)
o) Maddison " " (1 folio)

(D) Visitation Papers: 1766.

1. Pre-Visitation Notes: 1766. (1 folio)

2. Process General: 1766, Durham. (1 folio)

3. Process General: 1766, Northumberland. (1 folio)

4. Monition: 1766. (1 folio)

5. Draft Visitation & Confirmation Programme: 1766, with Draft Letters. (2 folios)

6. Draft Visitation & Confirmation Programme: 1766. (1 folio)

7. Visitation & Confirmation Programme: 1766. (1 folio)

8. Visitation & Confirmation Programme: 1766, Annotated. (1 folio)

9. Visitation Articles: 1766. (8 pages)

10. Note Concerning Greatham Hospital: C.1766.
(1 folio)

11. Draft Clergy Lists: 1766. (Some contain letters & these are marked thus *)

a) Chester Deanery. (1 folio)*
b) Newcastle " (1 folio)
c) Morpeth " (1 folio)*
d) Bamburgh " (1 folio)*
e) " " (1 folio)
f) " " (2 folios)*
g) Alnwick " (1 folio)*
h) " " (2 folios)*
i) Aldston Moor. (2 folios)*

12. Clergy Lists: 1766.

a) Newcastle & Corbridge Deanery. (3 folios)
b) Alnwick Deanery. (2 folios)
c) Morpeth " (2 folios)
d) Stockton & Darlington Deanery. (4 folios)
e) Easington & Chester Deanery. (4 folios)

13. Visitation Preachers: 1766. (1 folio)

14. Letters: 1766.

a) Hodgson to Trotter. (1 folio)
b) " " " , Copy. (1 folio)
c) Wibbersly to Trotter. (2 folios)
d) Dalston to Hopper. (1 folio)

15. Citation: 1766. (1 folio)

16. Citation: 1766. (1 folio)

17. Citation: 1766. (1 folio)

18. Citation: 1766. (1 folio)

19. Citation: 1766. (1 folio)

20. Churchwarden Lists: 1766.

a) Newcastle Deanery. (1 folio)
b) Corbridge Deanery. (2 folios)
c) Bamburgh Deanery. (1 folio)
d) Morpeth Deanery. (1 folio)

e) Alnwick Deanery, also Schoolmasters. (2 folios)
f) Alnwick Deanery. (2 folios)
g) Chester Deanery. (2 folios)
h) Easington Deanery. (1 folio)
i) Stockton Deanery. (1 folio)
j) Darlington Deanery. (2 folios)

21. Presentments: 1766.

a) Newcastle Deanery. (14 folios)
b) Newcastle Deanery, Wallsend. (1 folio)
c) Newcastle Deanery, St. Nicholas et. al. (1 folio)
d) Corbridge Deanery. (7 folios)
e) Morpeth Deanery. (20 folios)
f) Bamburgh Deanery. (14 folios)
g) Alnwick Deanery. (22 folios)
h) Easington Deanery. (18 folios)
i) Darlington Deanery. (32 folios)

22. Visitation Expenses: 1766. (1 folio)

23. Procurations: 1766. (1 folio)

24. Procurations: 1766, Arrears. (2 folios)

25. Court Case re St. Margarets: n.d. (1 folio)

26. Probate & Licence Fees: n.d. (1 folio)

27. Rough Notes: n.d. (2 folios)

(E) Visitation Papers: 1770.

1. Process General: 1770, Durham. (2 folios)

2. Process General: 1770, Northumberland. (2 folios)

3. Visitation Articles: 1770. (8 pages)

4. Clergy Book: 1770. (10 folios)

5. Old Churchwarden's Book: 1770, Northumberland. (14 folios)

6. New Churchwarden's Book: 1770, Northumberland. (20 folios)

7. Old Churchwarden's Book: 1770, Durham. (12 folios)

8. New Churchwarden's Book: 1770, Durham. (17 folios)

9. Presentments: 1770.

a) Easington Deanery. (18 folios)
b) Chester Deanery. (25 folios)
c) Stockton Deanery. (1 folio)

10. Procurations: 1770. (2 folios)

11. Procurations: 1770. (2 folios)

(V) Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1721-1771.

(A) Archdeaconry of Durham.

1. Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1724.

a) Acta: Archdiaconal Visitation Court 1724. (2 folios)

2. Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1761.

a) Churchwarden's List: 1761. (2 folios)
b) Clergy List: 1761. (2 folios)

(B) Archdeaconry of Northumberland.

1. Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1761.

a) Clergy List: 1761. (2 folios)
b) Churchwarden's List: 1761. (2 folios)

(C) Officialty of the Dean and Chapter.

1. Officialty Visitation Papers: 1746.

a) Clergy List: 1746. (1 folio)(6)

2. Officialty Visitation Papers: 1761.

a) Clergy List: 1761, Durham. (1 folio)
b) Churchwarden's List: 1761, Durham. (1 folio)
c) Clergy List: 1761, Northumberland. (1 folio)
d) Churchwarden's List: 1761, Northumberland. (1 folio)

NOTES TO APPENDIX NO. 1

(1) Visitation Booklet: 1732, Visitation Booklet: 1736, Visitation Booklet: 1740, Delinquents Booklet: 1740, Visitation Booklet: 1746 and Visitation Booklet: 1751(a), are all bound together as one volume.

(2) See the discussion in Additional Note to this chapter.

(3) Visitation Booklet: 1751(b), Visitation Booklet: 1751(c), Visitation Booklet: 1754(a),Visitation Booklet: 1754(b), and Visitation Booklet: 1758, are all bound together as one volume.

(4) This is not among the Visitation Papers. See C.C. Box 212, No. 30. (221576)

(5) This is not among the Visitation Papers. See C.C. Box 217, No. 84. (221499)

(6) This is f. 8^{R} of Visitation Booklet: 1736.

"Acta: Continuation of Visitation Court 1725"(1)
Sedgefield Parish (f.1R)

Officium D(omi)ni Sup(er) pr(e)sentament(um)
Guard(ianorum) de Sedg(e)field Dioc(esae) Dunelm(ensis)
con(tr)a Joh(ann)em Ainsley Elsden et Elizam Elstob par(ochiae)
pr(e)d(ictae) p(ro) Cri(min)e Fornicationis
Simil(ite)r con(tr)a Thomam Reavely et
Margtam Jane Porter par(ochiae) pr(e)d(ictae) p(ro) Cri(min)e
Fornicationis
Simil(ite)r con(tr)a Annam Dobson par(ochiae)
pr(e)d(ictae) p(ro) Cri(min)e Fornicationis Sive
Adulterii cum quodam Andrea Burdon
par(ochiae) de Norton Dioc(esa) pr(e)d(icta) et con(tr)a
pr(e)d(ictam) Andream Burdon.

Em(anavi)t Citac(i)o. Q(u)o die comparuit p(er)sonal(ite)r
Eliza Elstob et agnovit Crimen Unde d(ominu)s ei
paenas salutar(es) injunxit extraxit et p(er)axit paena(m).
Comparuit p(er)sonal(ite)r Joh(ann)es Elsden
et allegavit se non fuisse p(er)sonam in presentam(en)to
menc(i)onat(am) et quod nomen ejus non fuit

Joh(ann)es Ainsley sed Joh(ann)es Elsden. Cit(acio) con(tr)a Elsden res(ervata) in p(ro)x(imo). Comp(aruit) p(er)sonal(ite)r et negavit se Crimen in pr(e)sent(amento) pr(edicto) menc(i)onat(um) comisisse, (sic.) praeconizata Porter et non Co(mparendo) Exco(mmunicatio) decret(a) paena reservata in p(ro)x(imo) Comparu(erun)t Reavely & Burdon et Agnover(unt) (se) Crimen pr(e)d(ictum) comisisse Unde D(ominu)s eis paenas injunxit. Praeconizata Dobson et non Co(mparendo) Ex(communicatio decreta) paena reservata in prox(imo).

(1) See Appendix No. 1 for details of this document, and also note (73) and related text.

"The Expences of the Hon(oura)ble Rt. Revd. the Lord Bishop of Durham on his Ordinary Visitations & Confirmations in his Diocese thereof in the year 1758.(1)

Confirmation at Sunderland July the 10th

House Bill		6: 7: 6	
Servants		: 5:	
Vicar's Servants		: 2: 6	
Stables Coach Horses	5:6)		
Saddle Horses	2:10)	10: 6	
Hostler	2:2)		
Ringers		:10: 6	
Poor, P^{d}. to Innkeeper		1: 1:	
Turnp(ike)s from Durham		2: 6	
		8:19: 6	

Confirmation at Stockton July the 14th

Mayor & Corporation Servants		1: 1:	
Revd. Mr. Skelley's Servts.		: 5:	
Hostler		: 5:	
Ringers		1: 1:	
Poor		2: 2:	
Turnpikes from Durham		3: 9	4:17: 9

Northumberland & Newcastle upon Tyne

Augt.1.	A Bait at Stannington		2: 6	
1.2.& 3.	Morpeth Visit. & Confirm.			
	House Bill & Servts	16: 3: 8		
	The Stable Bills & Hostler	5: : 6		
	Mr. Sharp's servt. who brot. Carps	2: 6		
	Smith amending Coach Pole	: 5:		
	Barber	: 1:		
	Gave Beggars	1: 1:		
	Prisoners in the Gaol	2: 2:		
	Bell Ringers	:10: 6		
	Turnpikes from Durham	: 9: 4	25:15: 6	
3. & 4.	Dinner, Supper & Breakfast at Alnwick on the Way to Berwick			
	House Bill & Servts.	5:12:		
		2:11: 1		
		: 6		
		6: 6	8: 9: 7	
	Carried Over		34: 7: 7	13:17: 3

	Brot. over			34: 7: 7 13:17: 3
Augt. 4.	Dined at Belford on the way to Berwick			
	House Bill & Servts.	3: 0: 8		
	Stable Bill & Hostler	14: 6		
	Turnpikes from Alnwick	6:		
				4: 1: 2
4. 5. 6. & 7.	Visitation & Confirmation at Berwick			
	Turnp(ike)s from Belford	: 3:		
	The House Bill & Servants	26: 6: 6		
	Stable Bill & Hostler	7:12:11		
	Barber	: 2:		
	Mr. Craster's Servt. wth. Venison	: 5:		
	Gave the Continals (sic.)(2)	: 5:		
	Poor	2: 2:		
	Bell Ringers	:10: 6		
	Parish Clerk	: 5:		
	Letter Carrier	: 1		
				37:12: 0
sd. 7.	Dined at Belford on return.			
	Turnps. from Berwick	: 3:		
	House Bill & Servants	2:10: 2		
	Stable Bill & Hostler	:14:10		
	Gave to Beggars	: 5:		
	Hautboy Player(3)	: 5:		
				3:18:
7. 8. & 9.	Visitation & Confirm(atio)n at Alnwick			
	Turnps. from Belford	: 6:		
	House Bill & Servants	20:16: 6		
	Stable Bill & Hostler	5: : 6		
	Barber	: 1:		
	Beggars (Pd. to Mr. Stoddart)	1: 1:		
				27: 5:
sd. 9.	Dined at Morpeth on return.			
	Turnps. from Alnwick	: 6:		
	House Bills & Serv(an)ts	3: 9:		
	Stable Bill & Hostler	:16: 8		
	Ringers	:10: 6		
				5: 2: 2
9. 10. & 11.	Visitation & Confirm(atio)n at Newcastle			
	Turnps. from Morpeth	: 6:		
	Entertainm(en)ts at Parkers & Servts	20: 9: 6		
	Carried Forward £	20:15: 6	112: 5:11	13:17: 3

	Brot. Forward			20:15: 6	112: 5:11 13:17: 3
	Newcastle continued:				
Augt. 9.	Servts. Eating etc. there				
10. & 11.	at other times		2:17:		
	Stable Bill & Hostler		5: 3: 9		
	Turnps. on Excursion to Tynemouth(4)		: 1: 2		
	Barber		: 2:		
	Gave to the Mayor's Servts. (Mr. Bell)		5: 5:		
	Poor		2: 2:		
				36: 6: 5	
sd. 11.	Auckld. Turnps. from Newcastle			7:11½	
					149: 0: 3½
15. & 16.	Visit. & Confirm. at Auckld. Turnps. 2:10½ Ringers 10:6				:13: 4½
	Confirmation at Staindrop the 22d of Augt.				
Servt. in late Mr. Vane's House				: 5:	
House Bill & Servts.				6: 1: 7	
Stables Coach horses			4:)		
Saddle horses			5:5)	:11:11	
Hostler			2:6)		
Ringers				:10: 6	
A poor Man				: 1:	
Turnpikes from Auckland				: 2: 3	
					7:12: 3
					£ 171: 3: 2 "

(1) A complete transcript of "Visitation Expenses: 1758, Durham & Northumberland". See Append. No. 1

(2) - ? Continentals

(3) - Oboe Player

(4) To see the priory ruins no doubt.

(Notes: pages 311-313)

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

(1) Dorothy Owen, The Records of the Established Church in England, p.30.

(2) Canon 109.

(3) Canon 110.

(4) Canon 111.

(5) Canon 114.

(6) Canon 112.

(7) Canon 119. The great difficulty, which prevailed as much in the 18th century as ever in 1603, of obtaining true and honest presentments from the laity, is reflected in this canon. It was hoped that the gravity of the charge and the oath would be sufficient to induce them to discharge their duty with a clear conscience "as becometh honest and godly men". Canons 113, 114, 115, 116, 117 & 118 are all directly or indirectly concerned with obtaining honest presentments and protecting those who do the presenting.

(8) Canons 112 & 114 had a yearly requirement, and canons 116, 117 and 118 make it clear that presentments were ordinarily to be made twice a year, the second of which was allowed to be at the bishop's visitation.

(9) Triennial visitation seems to have become the norm, under the stipulation of canon 60 that confirmation be performed every third year by the bishop "in his accustomed visitation".

(10) See canon 126, and Owen, op. cit., p.34.

(11) Owen, op. cit., p.32.

(12) These diocesan records are now deposited in the Department of Paleography and Diplomatic, University of Durham. They are generally uncalendared, though those of the eighteenth century are reasonably easy to retrieve according to their date.

(13) See Appendix No. 1, this Chapter.

(14) They are also available for 1722.

(15) In those diocesan records deposited in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, only one 18th century Diocese Book is found, that for 1793, D.R.XVII.1. (Diocesan

(Notes: pages 313-315)

Registry, Bound Volume XVII.1)
At Auckland Palace, the home of the Bishop of Durham, are to be found several of this class of MS, ranging in date from c.1751 to 1861. One particularly we shall refer to later as Diocese Book 1751.

(16) When dealing with the Visitation of 1732 below, we shall argue that this MS is dependent upon the returns to queries sent out at that time, and not in 1736. See Additional Note at end of this chapter.

(17) J. Raine, Eccliastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, S.S. 22. (Surtees Society, vol. 22)

(18) For Cosin's Visitations see J. Rogan, "Episcopal Visitations in the Diocese of Durham 1662-1671". Archaelogia Aeliana (4th Series), vol. XXXIV (1956), pp. 92-109.
The MS entitled "A view of the Ecclesiastical State Within the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, Anno 1663" (Archaelogia Aeliana, 2nd Ser. vol. XVII, pp. 244 ff) may in fact relate to an Episcopal Visitation rather than an archidiaconal one. Certainly the MS bears little resemblance to the Articles Archdeacon Basire published in 1662, contrary to the view of J. Crawford Hodgson.

(19) C.E. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe and His Diocese.

(20) See the Episcopal Visitation Papers for those years.

(21) See Chapter I.

B. EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS

(1) See Chapter II for details of the whole episcopates.

(2) There is no evidence of a parish by parish visitation, on the part of the Bishop, throughout the whole century.

(3) Procurations Booklet: 1722, 1725, 1728. This also lists procurations in 1709 and 1713 under Bishop Crewe. See Appendix No. 1.

(4) The fees are identical for the years 1709, 1713, 1722 & 1725. No figures are given for 1728 except in Easington Deanery, and there the figures are the same as before.

(5) "Arrears" are shown beside several livings in 1713, though this is not seen in Talbot's time. See Chapter I.

(Notes: pages 315-319)

(6) See Owen, op. cit., p.32 note.

(7) Long Benton f. 3^{R}, Rothbury f. 4^{R}, St. Hilds f.1^{V}, Houghton-le-Spring f.1^{R}.

(8) ff.3^{R}, 7^{R}, 11^{R}, 15^{R}. See Chapter I, r.e. these Hospitals.

(9) Alston Priory ff. 3^{R}, 7^{R}, 11^{R}, 15^{R}; Mitford Priory ff. 3^{V}, 7^{V}, 11^{V}, 15^{V}.

(10) f. 11^{R}.

(11) ff. 3^{V}, 7^{V}, 11^{V}, 16^{V}.

(12) See Visitation Booklet: 1732, f. 21^{R}.

(13) At Easington Deanery the Rector of Bp. Wearmouth preached (f. 9^{R}) and in Darlington Deanery the Rector of Haughton (f. 6^{R}). In 1725 in Chester Deanery, the Rector of Washington preached (f. 13^{V}), while in Stockton the Vicar of Hart and Hartlepool (f.14^{V}).

(14) In 1736 Easington and Chester Deaneries were "visited" on 22 July at St. Oswalds in Durham, while Darlington & Stockton Deaneries were "visited" on 26 August at St. Mary-le-Bow in Durham. See Visitation Booklet: 1736, ff. 4^{R} & 6^{R}.

(15) At Newcastle theVicar preached (f.11^{R}), at Morpeth the Rector of Whalton (f.11^{V}), and at Alnwick the Rector of Rothbury (f.12^{V}). In 1725, Newcastle and Corbridge alone are combined, the preacher being the Rector of Simonburn (f.15^{V}). In Morpeth the Vicar of Longhorsely preached (f.11^{V}), at Alnwick the Vicar of Ellingham (f.16^{R}), and at Bamburgh the Rector of Houghton-le-Spring is said to have preached (f.13^{R}) though quite why is not clear.

(16) "Basires Notebook 1664-1676", Hunter MS 137, f.4^{V}. This seems to have been noted in 1672, presumably after his age was affecting him a bit.

(17) Comperta: 1722. See Appendix No. 1. Owen op. cit., p.32, says that these presentments were usually submitted to the bishop before the visitation, but such was not the case in Durham, at least in 1728. See the summons for that year discussed below. The distribution was as follows: two couples in St. Nicholas parish and one couple in All Saints with three women presented in Tynemouth parish.

(18) Comperta: 1722, f.1^{R}.

(19) Ibid., All in All Saints parish.

(Notes: pages 319-322)

(20) Ibid.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Ibid., Corbridge.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Ibid., Ovingham.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid., f.1^{V}.

(27) Presumably the others (as is assumed in the previous deaneries) reported omnia bene.

(28) Op. cit., f.1^{V}.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Ibid.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid., f.2^{R}.

(36) Ibid., f.1^{V} for Bamburgh and Holy Island, f.2^{R} for all the rest.

(37) Whelpington, f.2^{V}, has a "Chancell all out of repair".

(38) Op. cit., ff.2^{R} & 2^{V}.

(39) Ibid., all on f.2^{V}.

(40) Ibid., all on f.3^{R}.

(41) Ibid., ff.3^{R} & 3^{V} for Darlington.

(42) Ibid., f.3^{V} for Stockton.

(43) The curtailment of chatechisms to the Sundays of Summer, seems to have been ever more customary throughout our period.

(44) See Appendix No. 1.

(Notes: pages 322-326)

(45) Process General: 1725. See Appendix No. 1. Process General is the term used by Wetherall (in 1728) to describe the document he received then. The document here cited is in Latin.

(46) Monition: 1728. See Appendix No. 1. Owen, op. cit. p.31, calls this type of document a "general monition". The fourth document among the 1725 Visitation papers refers to it simply as a Monition.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Crewe seems not to have followed Cosin's lead in this, as in many other areas.

(49) Clergy List: 1725. See Appendix No. 1.

(50) That these marks are from a later date, and not from corrections made in 1725, seems clear from the fact that William Bradford is deleted at St. Nicholas Newcastle, and he died in 1728.

(51) Acta: Visitation Court 1725. See Appendix No. 1.

(52) This man became principal Surrogate. See Chapter IV. Occasionally, it is noted that the churchwardens were to certify later that repairs had actually been made. The curates of Cornhill & Wooler (Chatton too f.1^{v}) are to do so at "Bilford (sic.) Court" f.1^{R}, those of Edlingham are to do so at Alnwick Court.

(53) Acta: Continuation of Visitation Court 1725. See Appendix No. 1. Owen discusses similar documents, op. cit., p.38, and calls them "records of summary correction (mere office)".

(54) All eleven are in the Archdeaconry of Durham, and this seems to indicate that only a part of the record has been preserved.

(55) A distinction seems to be made between those whose instruments were not to hand or imperfect at the Visitation, and those who did not appear at all (of whom there were two).

(56) The reason for Carr's suspension is not known.

(57) Churchwarden's List: 1728. See Appendix No. 1. Twice in the Churchwarden's List, it is noted that they were admonished to provide and repair in accordance with the presentments and to certify at the next visitation. See Kyloe and Cornhill f.3^{v}.

(58) Clergy List: 1728. See Appendix No. 1. The Curate of Houghton; John Simon, Curate of Merrington; and Benjamin Burgess, vicar of Staindrop.

(Notes: pages 326-329)

(59) Ibid. The Lecturer of Berwick; Thomas Stockdale, vicar of Branxton; Cuthbert Ellison, vicar of (torn out); John Chilton, lecturer of St. Annes; Laton Eden, vicar of Hartburn.

(60) Eden.

(61) John Cowling, Curate of St. Nicholas in Newcastle. Sequestrators were responsible to the bishop and were acting as his agents, hence whatever profits accrued during the vacancy came to him. See Owen, op.cit., p.22.

(62) The Primary Visitation of Joseph Butler, in 1751, will be discussed later in the chapter.

(63) It is important to note, however, that the foliation of the whole volume is in sequence, thus for example, the first page of "Visitation A°. 1732" is folio 20.

(64) Comperta: 1732. See Appendix No. 1.

(65) Local Catalogue of ... the Central Public Library Newcastle upon Tyne, (ed.) Basil Anderton, Andrew Reid & Company, Ltd., Newcastle, 1932.

(66) There are several variations in the different volumes, e.g. "Bishop Chandler's Parochial Visitation (? in 1736)", vol. I, p.100; "Bishop Chandler's Visitation Circa 1736", vol. II, p.361; "Bishop Chandler's Visitation 1736 (circa)", vol. VIII, p.368, vol. IX, p.17.

(67) That is, the data r.e. the parish, as opposed to that r.e. the clergy. A Recapitulation of the data may be had by consulting the appendices and tables of Chapter I.

(68) Visitation Booklet: 1732. See Appendix No. 1.

(69) Assuming, of course, that it was not modelled upon a previous book of similar form, an example of which does not exist.

(70) See the comment made about Trotter in Samuel Viner's Book of Precedents, D.R. XVIII.4, (between) pp.322-323, which seems to indicate something of the man's generally poor pattern of record keeping.

(71) Similar to the case we observe in Chandler's Remarks, for there too the Archdeaconry of Durham is under a dark (though not impenetrable) cloud.

(72) The same sum is indicated in 1709, 1713, 1722, 1725 & 1728, according to the Procuration Booklet of those years. See Appendix No. 1.

(Notes: pages 329-331)

(73) £15 could be reckoned as sufficient for one year's food and board for a single curate, and thus to be dispensed of a fee ranging near a pound (for the men in the livings likely to be permitted to preach), must have been attractive.

(74) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.21^{R}. See Appendix No. 1.

(75) Ibid.

(76) Ibid., ff.21^{V}, 22^{V}, 23^{V}, 24^{V}, 25^{V}.

(77) Ibid. Trotter began each list with these six headings.

(78) This is determinable because Trotter writes Cur, Vic^{r}, or Recr. after the names of the ministers.

(79) The references to value are all prefaced with "Ect...", thus at Alnham "Ect 18 " (£18). Only 17 times is the value given!

(80) The list in Chapter 1, draws on all sources available today, listing only those which are said (or implied) to have been functioning c.1732.

(81) Visitation Booklet: 1732, Corbridge Deanery f.23^{V}, Alnwick Deanery f.21^{V}.

(82) See the discussion of this subject in Chapter I.

(83) Visitation Booklet: 1732, Alnwick f.21^{V}, Corbridge f.23^{V}, Morpeth f.24^{V}, Newcastle f.25^{V}.

(84) Ibid. Alnwick: Alemouth, Berwick, Brandon, Charleton, Lilburn West (f.22^{R}). Bamburgh: Beadnell, Fenton, Lucker, Tughill (f.23^{R}). Corbridge: Beltingham, Birtley, Colwell, Denton, Gimerton, Ingo, Lamley, Ryall (f.24^{R}). Morpeth: Belsey, Camo, Thornton (f.25^{R}). Newcastle: North Gosforth (others mentioned without names)(f.26^{R}). It will be seen that several are listed as ruined which seem to have been functioning in spite of this, Beadnell, Beltingham, Belsey and Birtley. Also, that several are mentioned here which are missing from Appendix No. 1, in Chapter I, namely Denton, Gimerton, Lamley, Camo, Thornton.

(85) Ibid., f.22^{R}, f.23^{R}, f.24^{R}, f.25^{R}, f.26^{R}.

(86) Ibid., f.22^{R}.

(87) Ibid., f.23^{R}.

(88) Ibid., f.25^{R}.

(Notes: pages 331-333)

(89) Ibid., f.26^{R}.

(90) Ibid., f.26^{V}. Notice of the dates of Visitation for the Archdeaconry of Durham are given here too, with preachers. "July 18, 1732. South Church Auckland Stockton & Darlington Deaneries & Visitation Dr. Watts Preacher 2 Sam 2:30
Aug. 10, 1732. St. Oswald's Church. Bps. Visitation for Chester & Easington Deaneries. Preacher (not given)."

(91) Ibid. Allendale with Allenheads & Coldcleugh Chapels, St. John Lee, St. Mary Bingfield, St. Oswald's Chapel, and Thannington Chapel are all mentioned.

(92) Ibid., f.27^{R}. See Chapter IV. Perhaps this is the dispute between Trotter & Wheeler?

(93) Ibid.

(94) Ibid., f.27^{V}.

(95) Owen, op. cit., p.31.

(96) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.27^{V}.

(97) Ibid.

(98) Ibid.

(99) Ibid.

(100) Terriers are not mentioned in the Monition which survives from 1728, but were undoubtedly mentioned in the Book of Articles. The Comperta: 1732, list the following as having "No Terrier": Ford (f.1^{R}), Rothbury (f.1^{V}), Egglingham (f.2^{R}), Felton (f.2^{V}), Framlington (f.2^{V}), Hebburn (f.3^{V}), Shotley (f.4^{V}), Elwick (f.8^{R}), St. Helen's Auckland (f.8^{R}), Bishopton (f.8^{V}), St. Nicholas Durham (f.9^{V}), Whickham (f.9^{V}).

(101) Assuming that "depones" is office shorthand for "deposition", and that this would have been prepared after the visitation corroborated the presentment. See Owen op. cit., p.41.

(102) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.28^{R}.

(103) Ibid. It should be remembered too, that this book is part of a larger volume, the bulk of which seems to have been produced by (or under the direction of) Trotter.

(104) Ibid., f.29^{R}.

(Notes: pages 333-337)

(105) Wm. Methwin (or Methven) was Parochial Curate of Ancroft and Tweedmouth till his death in 1734.

(106) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.24^{V}.

(107) See for example the Monitions of 1728 mentioned previously.

(108) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.26^{V}.

(109) This conclusion is reached also because of a letter which survives among theVisitation Papers of 1762, which requests Trotter to return several such instruments to Dr. John Sharp. See also the text of this Chapter (V) corresponding to note (60) above, for reference to the transmission of these instruments.

(110) Comperta: 1732. See Appendix No. 1.

(111) Ibid. Framlington (f.2^{V}), Rock & Rennington (f.2^{R}), and Holystone (f.3^{R}) in Alnwick Deanery. Netherwitten (f.3^{V}) in Morpeth Deanery. Bellingham and Garrigill (f.4^{V}) in Corbridge Deanery. Gosforth (f.5^{R}) in Newcastle Deanery. (see also note (83) above).
It should also be noted that several livings are overlooked (assuming Appendix No. 2, Chapter I as normative) viz., Kyloe in Bamburgh Deanery; Bolton & Ellingham in Alnwick Deanery; Meldon & Widdrington in Morpeth Deanery; Halton in Corbridge Deanery.

(112) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.23^{R}, 26 June 1732 at Berwick.

(113) Comperta: 1732, f.1^{V}.

(114) Ibid.

(115) The date is established from Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.22^{R}.

(116) Comperta: 1732, f.2^{R}.

(117) Ibid.

(118) Ibid.

(119) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.25^{R}.

(120) Comperta: 1732, ff.3^{R} & 3^{V}.

(121) See Chapter I, Appendix "Northumberland Incumbents: 1721".

(122) Ibid.

(123) Comperta: 1732, f.3^{V}.

(Notes: pages 337-341)

(124) Ibid., f.4^{R}.

(125) 1 July 1732. Visitation Booklet: 1732, ff.24^{R} & 26^{R}.

(126) Comperta: 1732, f.4^{R}.

(127) Ibid.,f.4^{V}. Thomas Gordon at Bellingham, and Wm. Johnson at Ovingham.

(128) Ibid.

(129) Ibid., f.5^{R}.

(130) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.26^{V}.

(131) Comperta: 1732, ff.8^{R} & 7^{V} respectively.

(132) Ibid., f.7^{V}.

(133) Ibid.

(134) Ibid.

(135) Ibid., ff.9^{R} & 8^{V} respectively.

(136) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.26^{V}, for date of visitation for Easington and Chester Deaneries.

(137) Comperta: 1732, f.9^{V}.

(138) Ibid., f.10^{R}.

(139) The exception is the Inhibition: 1740.

(140) The two booklets in 1740 are a "normal" visitation booklet, and a booklet of presentments.

(141) For an interesting sample of such notes, see Chapter IV, r.e. Ralph Trotter.

(142) Inhibition: 1740. See Appendix No. 1.

(143) Owen, op. cit., p.31.

(144) Ibid. The inhibition mentions suspension "untill we shall have granted you our License".

(145) See Appendix No. 1.

(146) Visitation Booklet: 1736, f.2^{R}.

(147) Ibid., f.1^{V}.

(Notes: pages 341-346)

(148) Visitation Booklet: 1740, f.51^{R}. See Appendix No. 1 for details of this booklet.

(149) Note that this indicates that the entire clergy of the deanery must have dined together.

(150) See above note (109).

(151) Visitation Booklet: 1740, f.54^{R}.

(152) See Additional Note. It may be more correct to suggest that once in each episcopate such queries were sent out. Trevor did so not in 1754, but in 1758.

(153) It is not absolutely clear that this preceeded the visitation, at least in Durham. See Owen, op. cit., p.32.

(154) The visitation "preacher" presumably did exercise his function, but quite when is not clear.

(155) The purpose or value of the "sess" is not known.

(156) The Confirmation is the least noted part of the whole visitation procedure at this time.

(157) Apart from Trotter's note, we should have expected these fees to have been given in at the same time as orders were presented.

(158) Chandler ceased the practise of a triennial visitation, despite Talbot's example. Trevor was to settle upon a quadrennial pattern.

(159) Monition: 1751. See Appendix No. 1.

(160) Visitation Expenses: 1751. See Appendix No. 1.

(161) Compare these dates with those given for the visitation proper: (from Visitation Booklet: 1751(c), f.18^{R}).

Newcastle Deanery	18 July.
Corbridge Deanery	18 July.
Bamburgh Deanery	22 July.
Alnwick Deanery	24 July.
Morpeth Deanery	26 July.

(162) These are among the Church Commissioners MSS deposited at the Department of Palaeography & Diplomatic, University of Durham. It is a bundle of five papers, tied into one with string. See C.C. Box 212, item (30),(221576).

(a) Summary of Procuration Expenses & Preachers & Arrears.
(b) Working list of Procurations with notes.
(c) List of several Impropriations.
(d) Letter from Thomas Goodday 6 Sep. 1751.
(e) Letter from N. Fetherstonhaugh 31 Aug. 1751.

(Notes: pages 346-350)

(163) We have earlier seen that there was a recurrent difficulty in gaining the payment of these procurations.

(164) Visitation Booklet: 1751 (a), ff. 108^{V}, 109^{R}, 109^{V}.

(165) Visitation Booklet: 1751 (b), f.16^{V}.

(166) Ibid., f.10^{V}.

(167) Ibid.

(168) Ibid., f.115^{V}.

(169) Visitation Booklet: 1751 (c), f.26^{V}.

(170) Ibid., ff.100^{V} & 101^{R}.

(171) Visitation Booklet: 1751 (b), f.112^{V}.

(172) Ibid., f.113^{R}.

(173) Ibid., f.113^{V}.

(174) Ibid., f.114^{R}.

(175) Visitation Booklet: 1751 (c), f.20^{R}.

(176) Ibid., f.97^{R}.

(177) Ibid.

(178) Ibid., f.100^{R}.

(179) Ibid., f.103^{R}.

(180) Ibid., f.103^{V}.

(181) Ibid., f.104^{R}.

(182) Visitation Booklet: 1754 (a), f.1^{V}. See Appendix No. 1. Here is a copy of Hutton's "Articles", with specific directions to the Clergy and Churchwardens. It is interesting to note that instruments are to be handed over to the Registrar "before Court (which) will greatly lend to their Dispatch". See above note (109).

(183) Ibid., f.2^{V}.

(184) Tickets served two purposes, for they prevented unauthorised confirmations and also enabled a tally to be made for record purposes.

(185) Visitation Booklet: 1754 (a), f.2^{V}.

(Notes: pages 350-354)

(186) Ibid., f.3^{V}.

(187) Ibid., f.119^{V}.

(188) Ibid., ff.120^{V} & 121^{R}. The book is not cited.

(189) Visitation Booklet: 1754 (b), ff.28^{V} to 33^{R}.

(190) Ibid., f.28^{V}.

(191) Ibid., ff.33^{V} & 34^{R}.

(192) Ibid. There is also an increasing number of schoolmasters noted in the latter years of Chandler's Episcopal.

(193) Ibid., f.43^{V}.

(194) Ibid., f.44^{R}.

(195) Ibid., f.44^{V}.

(196) Ibid., ff.45^{R} & 45^{V}.

(197) Ibid., f.46^{R}.

(198) Visitation Articles: 1754. See Appendix No. 1.

(199) Ibid., p.1.

(200) Ibid., p.2.

(201) Visitation Articles: 1758. Visitation Articles: 1762 (1766, 1770). See Appendix No. 1.

(202) Compare the Visitation Articles of Archdeacon Basire and Bishop Cosin. For Cosin see the article by Rogan, op. cit., p.109. For Basire see Archaelogia Aeliana (2nd series), vol. XVII (1895), pp.244-262. See also for an original set of Visitation Articles, the copy in the Newcastle Public Library.

(203) Visitation Expenses: 1754, 1758, 1762, 1766, 1770, 1774. See Appendix No. 1.

(204) Augmented for 1754 as shown in the table.

(205) See Appendix No. 1.

(206) See the Additional Note at the end of the Chapter, for an earlier MS from the Auckland Palace Episcopal Records.

(207) The six are all from Durham City parishes: St. Oswalds, St. Nicholas, St. Giles, St. Mary South Bailey, St. Mary North

(Notes: pages 354-357)

North Bailey, St. Margarent's. Auckland Palace Episcopal Records, folder of material on Durham City Parishes.

(208) These instructions are to be seen only on the Auckland copies of the query.

(209) "Bars" were to be installed in the Chancel to control the crowds.

(210) 33 items survive from 1762, 60 from 1766, 13 from 1770.

(211) Visitation & Confirmation Programme: 1762, page 1.

(212) Ibid.

(213) Ibid. Lecturer's & Schoolmasters, as well as Curates were given a form of licence.

(214) Letters: 1762 a) Hodgson to Trotter. Several of the Visitation Preachers comment specifically on the early notice. See Letters: 1762 e) & f).

(215) Draft List of Schoolmasters and Midwives: 1762.

(216) Individual Letters and Lists of Clergy were sent throughout the diocese for correction by a local clergyman of merit. See Draft Clergy Lists: 1766. Detailed Presentments are again carefully preserved from 1766 as well.

(217) Trevor died 9 June 1771.

C. ARCHIDIACONAL VISITATIONS.

(1) For Basire, see DNB. For Granville, see SS, volumes 37 & 47, especially Tables A, B & C in the introduction to the latter.

(2) See Archidiaconal Visitation Papers for 1710, 1714, 1718, 1719, 1720, deposited at the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham.

(3) No record of the losses was apparently made.

(4) Basire seems unique in having done so in 1664.

(5) Acta: Archidiaconal Visitation Court 1724. See Appendix No. 1.

(6) Ibid. We assume the presenceof the clergy, as no list survives.

(Notes: pages 357-360)

(7) Churchwardens List: 1761, f.1^{R}.

(8) For Sayer's death, see Mussett, op. cit., p.81. Sharp was later to be Archdeacon of Northumberland.

(9) Clergy and Churchwardens definitely present. See Clergy List: 1761.

(10) See Practice of Granville in 1675, S.S., vol. 47, pp.19 & 20.

(11) Sharp's Visitation 1723, shows clear evidence of visits at least in the year 1723. See Chapter III for more detail.

(12) See Chapter III.

(13) Archidiaconal Visitation Papers: 1761 (Northumberland). Clergy List: 1761, f.1^{R}.

(14) Two of his Visitation Charges were printed, one in 1759, and another in 1761. See Bamburgh Collection, vol. G.V.59, Tracts 5 and 12. University Library, Durham.

(15) Mussett, op. cit., p.73.

(16) The Auckland MS does not contain John Sharp's additions. See Hunter MS 6A.

(17) The property of the Crewe Trustees, these are deposited in the Dean & Chapter Library at Durham.

(18) f.8^{R}.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid. No dates are given.

(21) Officialty Visitation Papers: 1761 a) Clergy List: 1761, Durham.

(22) Officialty Visitation Papers: 1761 d) Churchwardens List: 1761, Northumberland.

D. ADDITIONAL NOTE

(1) "Bp. Chandler's Parochial Remarks on his Visit.^{n} supposed in 1736", f.14^{R}. See also f.17^{R}, where an even fuller entry for St. Nicholas is given (in the wrong deanery) and subsequently lined out.

(2) Visitation Booklet: 1736, f.4^{R}.

(3) Visitation Booklet: 1732, f.26^{V}.

(Notes: pages 360-362)

(4) Chandler's Remarks, ff.12^{V} & 13^{R}. Similar remarks are made concerning several Durham parishes.

(5) Ibid. John Werge is listed at Kirknewton (f.2^{V}) though he died 4 Feb 1732 (NCH, vol. XI, p.126); Ralph Clark is listed at Longbenton (f.10^{V}) though he died 4 Mar 1733 (NCH, vol. XIII, p.402). Also "Jo. Skelly" is said to be curate of Ingram, though a second hand has lined it out and written Foster (f.7^{V}). James Forster was Ordained Deacon, with a title to Ingram, on 2 March 1734/5. See Ordination Papers.

(6) Chandler's Remarks, Nathaniel Ellison M.A. is listed at Whelpington (f.5^{R}), where he was inducted 2 Dec. 1734 (Hodgson, Northumberland, pt.II, vol.I, p.205); Francis Hunter is listed at Shotley (f.12^{R}), where he was Minister from 1735 (NCH, vol.VI, p.309); also W. Noble at Belford, was Curate there from 29 July 1735 (NCH, vol.I, p.368, note 4).

(7) Auckland ~~Palace~~ Episcopal Papers, Folder of material on Durham City Parishes.

(8) Ibid., f.35j^{R}.

(9) Nearly all the "full" returns show answers to just these six sets of queries, though curates and impropriators are mentioned frequently enough that some explanation of their presence is needed. We believe this to have been added, either as the summary was prepared (from other central records), or at the actual visitation in 1736.

(10) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, op. cit., f.35j^{R}.

(11) Chandler's Remarks, ff.16^{V} & 17^{R} for St. Margaret's, f.14^{R} for St. Giles.

(12) St. Oswald and St. Nicholas are present in the summary, though Mary-le-Bow & Mary-the-Less are said to be wanting. The Auckland papers have data on all six city parishes, but only for St. Margaret's and St. Giles is there a query from Chandler. The "collector" of this data is not likely to have missed the other four if he had access to the complete returns.

CHAPTER VI

THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

We have already seen that many of the clergy who came into the Diocese of Durham, particularly those who received significant episcopal and capitular preferment, were in fact not men whose lives were spent in the diocese from which they received their (often high) income. Beneath this body of "illustrious" clergy however, were many men of humbler origin and expectation, the bulk in fact of the parochial clergy. No Bishop of Durham could long, therefore, fail to ordain men whom he hoped would serve in the unattractive and uneconomic livings and chapels of the diocese, there to faithfully and quietly fulfil their ministry. Not only too were these men necessary to carry out the ancient (and often thankless) task of being curate, or assistant, to the incumbent (whether resident or not), but also there was the need for a continual intake of men willing to serve the poorer livings of the diocese as they fell vacant through the steadily recurring deaths of older men. It was no great difficulty in the eighteenth century (any more than in the twentieth) to get men to come up from the South to take over wealthy and attractive livings, as a look at the incumbents of churches in the Archdeaconry of Durham especially will show.(1) It was another matter indeed however, if the barren and poverty-stricken rural livings were in view, for local men alone could supply the need. It is then with this aim in mind, of examining the ordinary parochial clergy of the diocese in the period 1721 to 1771, that we now turn our attention to those men ordained in the diocese during that period. We are faced however, with an extremely large number, too large in fact for all to be handled in detail, and we must therefore narrow our gaze.

William Talbot ordained at least fifty-two men while he was Bishop of Durham, Edward Chandler ordained sixty-three personally and authorized

Martin Benson to ordain another fifty-one, Joseph Butler ordained fourteen, and Richard Trevor doubtless laid hands on more than a hundred more.(2) We are dealing therefore, with a body of nearly three hundred men, and to try to convey all that may be known of them today would be both tedious and pointless, within the scope of this dissertation. We shall therefore present only statistical details for all the clergy ordained in Durham between the years 1721 and 1759, a total of two hundred and forty-six men.(3) Within that very large sample, we shall then look closely at those men ordained between 1721 and 1732, in 1742 and 1743, in 1750 and 1751, and lastly between 1753 and 1759. This will enable us to look closely at those ordinands from the first seven general ordinations in our period, as well as from the first seven in Trevor's episcopate, with a two year sample each from Chandler, Benson and Butler in the intervening period.(4) Further, we shall restrict our examination in detail to those men alone who remained in the Diocese of Durham after they served their first title in the diocese.

B. TALBOT'S ORDINANDS

William Talbot was to ordain in only seven of the nine years that he resided in the diocese, omitting this function (so it seems) in 1726 and 1729. In that time he ordained fifty-two men, forty-three of whom definitely were ordained to titles or livings in the diocese, and nine of whom have not been traced.(1) Thirty-six of those who were ordained continued in the diocese beyond the termination of their title, either taking up another curacy or becoming incumbents themselves. Of the six men who entered upon a living immediately after their ordination, two went on to other livings in the diocese.

Table No.1 below, gives a summary of the details relating to the ordination of these fifty-two men, as well as some insight into their subsequent careers.

Table No.1 SUMMARY OF ORDINATION STATISTICS: 1722 - 1730

Ordained Deacon by Bishop of:	Durham	21	
	York	4	
	Lincoln	3	(2 by litt.dim. from Durham)
	Gloucester	1	(litt.dim. from Durham)
	Carlisle	1	
	Rochester	1	
		31	
Ordained Priest by Bishop of:	Durham	46	
	York	1	
		47	

Average Age when Deaconed 22½
Average Age when Priested 24

Ordained to : Curacy	37	(22 Northumberland	
		(15 Durham	)
Living	6	(3 Northumberland	
		(3 Durham	)
Unknown	9		

Average Salary (32 Curates)... £27

Remained in the Diocese 38

One of the most interesting pieces of information concerning those men who came to be in holy orders during our period, is that which relates to their background of parentage and education. Fortunately (as we saw in Chapter I) the indefatigable labours of Venn and Foster particularly, have made it possible to discover such facts about many of the men who went up to the two universities. We know by this source for example, that seventeen men ordained by Talbot (of twenty-two traced) were in fact natives of the diocese, six being born in Northumberland

and eleven in Durham. Another two were born in York, while one each was a native of Westmorland, Worcestershire and Bedfordshire. Further we know the occupation of eighteen of the fathers of men ordained, the most common of all being that of clergyman, with seven. See Table No.2 for the details.

Table No.2 PARENTAL BACKGROUND & COUNTY OF ORIGIN - TALBOT'S ORDINANDS

County of Origin:	Northumberland	6	Father's Occupation:	Clergyman	7	(1 a Schoolmaster)
	Durham	11		Gentleman	4	
	York	2		Attorney	1	
	Westmorland	1		Barber Surgeon	1	
	Worcestershire	1		Husbandman	2	
	Bedfordshire	1		Weaver	1	
		22		Currier	1	
				Furrier	1	
					18	

Of the fifty-two men, thirty-six signify that they held a degree of some kind and in thirty of these cases this has proved traceable. Two men are known to have spent some time at Cambridge, though without taking a degree and another eleven men ordained are said to be "literatus". Twice no notice at all is made of any educative status, and one final man (when ordained priest) is said to be "clericus". There seems to be a marked superiority of numbers graduating from Cambridge, where eighteen men took a B.A. or higher degree, than from Oxford, which furnished only eight. Likewise within the universities themselves we see a marked preference for some of the colleges over others. Particularly is this so at Cambridge, where Peterhouse furnishes eleven of the eighteen graduates. There is also a clearly established Scottish contingent, for six men come from the universities of that country. One further point worthy of notice, is that of the eighteen men whose education prior to university has been discoverable, sixteen of them

were taught in schools within the Diocese of Durham.(2) These and other details are set out in Table No.3.

Table No.3 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND - TALBOT'S ORDINANDS

School:	Houghton-le-Spring	7	Grad. of Oxford:	Lincoln	3
	Durham	4		University	1
	Newcastle	3		Queens	2
	Kelloe	1		Exeter	1
	Hexham	1		Magdalen	1
	Threshfield Yorks.	1			8
	Tewksbury(Non-Conf)	1			
		18			
Grad.of Scottish Universities:			Grad.of Cambridge:		
	Edinburgh	1		Peterhouse	11
	Glasgow	? 4		St.John's	4
	"Scotiae"	1		Christs	3
		6			18

Total Graduates	32
Degree Claimed, but not traced.....	6
Matriculated, but not Graduates	2
Total with University Affiliation	40 (of 52 — Ordinands)

There yet remains one statistical detail which may be garnered from the available data before going on to a more specific analysis of Talbot's ordinands, and that is the longevity of those whose date of birth and death is known. We are able to approximate the age at death in some eighteen cases, and the results are summarized below, in Table No.4.

Table No.4 LONGEVITY - TALBOT'S ORDINANDS

Age at Death:	30 or Under	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90
	1	3	2	2	4	6	0

Youngest at Death	28	Average Age at Death	58
Oldest at Death	80	Number Traced	18 (of 52)

We have already pointed out that thirty-six (of fifty-two) men remained in the diocese beyond their ordination and first title, though it is necessary to qualify this by noting that three of these men remained because they were soon in their graves. John Hope was the first to finish his race, and was almost certainly the youngest to die, though we do not know his age with certainty. A native of Durham, he had been schooled at Houghton-le-Spring before going on to Peterhouse at Cambridge, from whence he graduated B.A. in 1724.(3) He served as Curate at Chester-le-Street from his ordination to the priesthood on 16 September 1727, though by the end of that year (old style) he was dead.(4) He was buried at Houghton-le-Spring on 27 March 1728.(5) Like Hope, Thomas Walker was never to get beyohd his first curacy. Licensed as Curate of Washington on 20 September 1725 (the day after his ordination to the priesthood), he was dead four years later (aged twenty-eight) and was buried at St. Oswald's in Durham on 2 October 1729.(6) The son of a Durham attorney, he had gone to Durham School before matriculating at Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1719.(7) He took his B.A. in 1723 and proceeded M.A. in 1727.(8) Edward Weddell was given a few more years than either Hope or Walker, for he spent five years as curate of Sunderland and then was licensed as curate of Morpeth.(9) Another Durham son, Weddell was also schooled at Houghton-le-Spring and Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he was scholar in 1718 and graduated in 1722.(10) When he moved to Morpeth in 1732 he was no doubt accompanied by his young wife Elizabeth, whom he married at Sunderland in February 1727, but they were not to build a home there together, for she saw him buried on 26 January 1733.(11)

Among these men who remained in the diocese after their ordination, and who were in consequence assimilated into the parochial clergy of the

diocese, four at least occupied themselves in part as schoolmasters. James Fern was ordained to the title of the curacy of the chapel at (South) Gosforth, a dependent chapel of St. Nicholas in Newcastle, but he was also first usher of the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle, soon thereafter.(12) It is not known when he died (or left the diocese) though the latest he is likely to have been at the Grammar School is 26 June 1749.(13) It is perhaps interesting to note, before passing on from Fern, that such a school as Newcastle had a non-university man in the position of usher.(14) The remote village of Allendale, high up in the fells of Hexhamshire is another matter however, and we are not surprised to find John Toppin (or Topping), another non-graduate, acting as schoolmaster there.(15) Toppin had been licensed to the curacy of Whitfield upon ordination to the diaconate in 1723, and it is said that he was presented to Slaley the following year, though complications of sequestration prevented him from obtaining the benefice.(16) In any event, he was made vicar of Alston Moor in 1729.(17) As it is nine miles from Alston to Allendale over bleak and severe moorland, Toppin must have had not a little difficulty in maintaining his two responsibilities.(18) Though Alston Moor was within the diocese, Allendale was in fact within the Archbishop of York's Peculiar Jurisdiction of Hexhamshire, and this is also the jurisdiction in which Alexander Stokoe, our third schoolmaster, laboured and died. Ordained to the title of curate at Warden in 1725, he became master of Hexham School.(19) Later (in 1734) he became perpetual curate of St. John Lee, and he remained in that living until his death in 1766.(20) Lastly we come to Humphrey Holdon, who became Headmaster of Morpeth Grammar School in 1732.(21) Born in Durham, the son of a furrier, he was educated at Durham School and in 1718 went up to Cambridge, matriculating at St. John's.(22) He graduated B.A. in

1722, was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Gloucester (on letters dimissary from Durham) on 14 February in that same year, and was licensed as a curate of Seaham on 20 February.(23) Holdon proceeded M.A. in 1727, and again was ordained in the same year, this time priested by the Bishop of Durham on the title of curate of Sadberge.(24) Chosen master of the school in Morpeth in 1732, he remained there until his death nearly forty years later, and was buried on 23 March 1771.(25)

So far as can be discovered, at least four men remained in the diocese without rising to be incumbents. Robert Chicken served his title at Long Horsley as curate from 1727 to 1730, and then was made curate of Bishop Wearmouth, where he remained until his death thirteen years later.(26) Born in Newcastle (in the parochial chapelry of St. John's), the son of a weaver, he was educated in the grammar school there before being sent to Peterhouse, Cambridge.(27) Graduating in 1726, he was ordained deacon shortly thereafter by the Bishop of Lincoln (apparently on letters dimissary from Durham), and the next day licensed to the curacy of Long Horsley.(28) He was buried in Bishop Wearmouth on 17 June 1743, shortly before his thirty-ninth birthday.(29) Francis Chalmers too, seems not to have become an incumbent, though surprisingly he was a learned man and possessed the degree of LL.B.(30) Unfortunately, we know little of him save that having been ordained to the title of curate of Doddington in 1722, he is later (1740) licensed as curate of Ellingham.(31) Matthew Soulby likewise appears among the ordinands of 1723, with no mention made of a title, his claim to be B.A. the only clue which may establish his identity.(32) One of the same name, the son of a clergyman, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1716, and took his degree in 1720.(33) When Bishop Chandler made his primary visitation in Durham in 1732, we find Soulby licensed as curate of Sadberge, after which he vanishes.(34) And finally, in this

category of life-long unbeneficed clergymen, we find one Thomas Murray, ordained priest in 1725.(35) His first title was to be curate of Morpeth, and in 1732 we find him still there, though described as curate of Ulgham (a chapel under Morpeth).(36) Lastly we see him made curate of Bamburgh by Thomas Sharp (the younger) in 1764 and 1765.(37)

Seven of Talbot's men came to be perpetual curates (or the equivalent) in the diocese, and to these we turn. Andrew Hunter, Thomas Weatherall and Matthew Whitaker were thus eventually settled in the curacies of Belford, Falstone and Shotley. Whitaker's first title was at Hartburn in 1727, and we next find him subscribing for the "cure of souls in the parish church of Shotley" on 8 July 1743.(38) He died in possession of that living (as well as another in Yorkshire, where he died) on 10 February 1755.(39) The early part of our period saw the "improvement" of many small chapels and chapelries, as they were augmented by Queen Anne's Bounty and became free-hold benefices. Belford Curacy is in this category, though in fact repaired in 1701 before the Bounty was begun, and in 1713 Andrew Hunter came there as curate.(40) No details have survived to show the transaction involved in making the chapel into a curacy, but it must have been about 1722, for in that year Hunter was ordained priest and would have been able to administer the sacrament of communion.(41) He is said to be M.A. that year, and it is probable that he was a graduate of Glasgow.(42) Hunter married (at Berwick) a Mrs. Mary Harley on 1 November 1725, and was buried at Belford four and one half years later on 24 March 1730.(43) Thomas Weatherall (or Weatherel) we know to have been perpetual curate of Falstone by 31 August 1749, but beyond that we may not go.(44) Two of our seven were in charge of the same curacy in succession to one

another, William Jackson and Isaac Johnson at Corsenside. Jackson, perhaps a graduate of Edinburgh, went to Corsenside upon ordination, and remained there until 1744 when he resigned.(45) Johnson subscribed for the "cure of souls" 22 January 1745, and seems to have stayed there until 1773.(46) It is not known if he was curate at Hartlepool (his title when ordained) all the time from 1725 to 1744, but it is recorded that in 1757 he was curate of Netherwitton.(47) The last two men in this category were both Newcastle clergy, rising to hold positions of importance in the city churches, though not in fact enjoying the (technical) status of incumbents. Thomas Maddison and William Wilkinson were both born in Newcastle, and there they were to labour and die. Maddison was born in 1700, sent to both Newcastle and Durham for his schooling, then going up to Christ's, Cambridge, in 1717.(48) Two years later he migrated to Peterhouse, where he graduated B.A. in 1721 and M.A. in 1724.(49) Though ordained priest in that latter year, his first known parochial office was that of Lecturer at St. Ann's, Newcastle, in 1728.(50) Later we find him licensed as curate of Gateshead (1732) and then as "Senior Curate" of All Saints in Newcastle (1733).(51) As All Saints was a parochial chapel under St. Nicholas, the officiating minister was technically called curate, and to distinguish him from his assistant, he was known as "the Minister" or "the Senior Curate".(52) Venn also records that Maddison was appointed Lecturer at (the newly restored) Bridge End Chapel in 1736, and remained there until 1764.(53) Maddison died in 1772, and was buried at All Saints on 6 February.(54) William Wilkinson was born in Newcastle in 1702, the son of a barber-surgeon, and was educated at Newcastle School and at Cambridge, where he matriculated at Christ's in 1720, graduated B.A. in 1724 and M.A. in 1727.(55) In the latter year he was also incorporated at Oxford.(56) Ordained deacon by the Bishop

of Rochester in December 1723, he was made priest by the Bishop of Durham on 19 September 1725, under title to be (assistant) curate at St. Andrew's in Newcastle.(57) He remained there as assistant until 1739, when he was made curate of St. Nicholas, that is he assumed the position paralleled by the senior curates or ministers of the parochial chapels, though of course in the mother church he was more immediately subordinate to the Vicar of Newcastle than they themselves were likely to be.(58) Wilkinson remained there until 1756, from which time he began a seven year period as chaplain to the Newcastle Gaol, but from 1763 onwards we lose track of him.(59) He died, in the city of his birth, seventeen years later, and was buried at St. Nicholas on 28 April 1780.(60)

There seems to have been a very marked tendency for those who remained in the diocese, beyond the initial period following their ordination by Talbot, to become integrated into the life of only one of the two archdeaconries, and that almost always the one in which they first served their title. Seventeen of these thirty-six men rose to be either vicars or rectors of livings in the diocese, and all but two of these were in the archdeaconry of their first title. The two exceptions were Francis Hunter and John Skelly. Skelly was ordained deacon by Talbot in 1727 on a title as curate of Ingram, his annual salary to be £30, and one year later he was priested.(61) Subsequently he became tutor in the family of Alexander, second duke of Gordon, and married his daughter, Lady Betty Gordon.(62) Presumably this connection won Skelly the Crown living of Shilbottle Vicarage, for he was instituted there on 22 June 1738.(63) Four years later however, he left Shilbottle for a vicarage in the Archdeaconry of Durham, when he became incumbent of Stockton on 11 May 1742.(64) Three more years passed by before

Skelly left that episcopal living for the capitular one of Kirk Merrington, where he then remained for fifteen years.(65) Finally, in 1760, Skelly moved to another of the bishop's livings, this time Redmarshall.(66) All trace of him ceases in 1767, when a successor appears at Redmarshall "p. ref. Skelly".(67) The direction of Francis Hunter's movement within the diocese was also from north to south, for having been first curate of Bywell St. Peter (his title in 1727), he then became perpetual curate of Shotley in Northumberland, and the perpetual curate of Muggleswick and rector of Edmundbyers in Durham, all three of which he held in plurality.(68) He was born about 1703, in Medomsley, not many miles distant from the scene of his pastoral labours, and went up to Lincoln College in 1721.(69) He graduated B.A. in 1725, proceeded M.A. in 1727, and - sixteen years later - went to his grave in 1743.(70)

Five of the eleven remaining men preferred to vicarages in the diocese, were resident in the Archdeaconry of Durham. Samuel Huson became vicar of Bishopton, Richard Conder of Stranton, Chilton Wilson of Heighington, James Horsman of Greatham, and John Morland of Hart and Hartlepool. We know very little of three of these men. Horsman, after ordination to the priesthood in 1728, took up a title as curate of Stockton and became vicar of Greatham on 12 November 1730.(71) Morland similarly moved from his first curacy at Monk Wearmouth (begun in 1724) when he became vicar of Hart and Hartlepool on 29 January 1736.(72) Though he signs himself B.A., he has proved untraceable at any of the universities. Conder on the other hand is presumed to be the man who matriculated at Christ's, Cambridge, in 1713.(73) Ordained to the title of curate at Bishopton in 1722, he was instituted to the vicarage of Stranton on 13 January 1727, and died eleven years later.(74)

Of Samuel Huson and Chilton Wilson, we are able to say more. Huson was born in Durham about 1702, and educated at Durham School, before going on to Peterhouse at Cambridge for his B.A. degree.(75) He was ordained deacon at Durham in 1724, the year of his graduation, and licensed as curate of Grindon.(76) Priested in 1725, he remained at Grindon until 1740, marrying there the year before his departure.(77) Vicar of Bishopton from 2 December 1740, he died (presumably) in 1762.(78) Chilton Wilson was born and educated at Houghton-le-Spring, from whence he went up (like so many it seems) to Peterhouse.(79) Matriculating in 1717, he was scholar in 1718, B.A. in 1722, M.A. in 1725, and fellow from that year until 1728.(80) Made deacon at Durham in 1725 (undoubtedly on the title of his fellowship), he was subsequently priested in 1727, and instituted as vicar of Heighington on 8 April 1728.(81) Two years later he was also made perpetual curate of St. Giles' in Durham.(82) Wilson died on 27 and was buried on 30 December 1749, at Houghton-le-Spring.(83)

Six men remain undiscussed, among those who came to hold vicarages in the diocese, and they all were preferred in Northumberland. James Gladstains became vicar of Alwinton in 1744, and Thomas Nevinson was admitted to the vicarage of Whittingham the very next day after Talbot had ordained him priest in 1722.(84) Nevinson ceased to hold his living in the same year that Gladstains began to hold his, but we do not know if he died or resigned the living at that time.(85) Gladstains remained at Alwinton until his own death in 1757, and was buried there on 4 September.(86) Of Matthew Robinson we know a good deal more. Yet another native son of Durham, he was educated at Houghton-le-Spring before being sent to Peterhouse in 1720, from which he graduated B.A. in 1724 and M.A. in 1727.(87) Robinson was instituted to the vicarage of Bywell St. Andrew on 18 November 1729, and seems to

have held the perpetual curacy of Slaley as well (anciently under Bywell St. Andrew), from 8 August 1732.(88) He is said to be living in Bedlington in 1734, when he polled at the election for knights of the shire, and it is likely that he never resided at Bywell or Slaley.(89) In 1745, Robinson became vicar of Stannington in addition to his other benefices, all of which he continued to hold until his death on 10 November 1756.(90) Stannington is immediately adjacent to Bedlington, and Robinson built a vicarage house in his parish there in 1745.(91) William Henderson too, though born in Northumberland, made the pilgrimage to Peterhouse via Houghton-le-Spring, graduating B.A. in 1723.(92) Ordained to the title of curate at Felton, where his father was vicar, he was made vicar himself when his father resigned in his favour in 1726.(93) He seems to have remained at Felton for the whole of his life, for he was born there on 15 August 1700, and died there on 29 September 1772.(94) William Johnson is the only one of Talbot's ordinands known to have ended his days in ignominy and shame, for the poor man died in the gaol at Morpeth. Born at Hexham, the son of a currier there, he was schooled in his home town before going up to St. John's, Cambridge, in 1716.(95) He never graduated, though he seems to have left Cambridge in order to become Master of Hexham Grammar School, in which town he was married in 1721.(96) Made deacon by the Bishop of Carlisle in that same year, in the next he was priested by Talbot, with a title as curate of Stamfordham.(97) In 1723 he was made vicar of Ovingham, from which living he was "suspended for immorality" in 1736.(98) He died in 1742 and was buried at Morpeth on 24 April 1742, "a clergyman, out of the gaol".(99) Lastly, we come to a very different clergyman, one in fact who was to lastingly change the diocese through his progeny. Thomas Thorpe was born at Yarm, in Yorkshire, on one of the last few days of the year 1699.(100) His

university career was very diverse, for he went first to Edinburgh, then Oxford and last Cambridge, where he received his M.A. in 1729.(101) Thorpe was admitted to the vicarage of Chillingham on 1 October 1725, and remained there until his death, when his son Robert succeeded him.(102) From 1748 he also held the vicarage of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and he died there on 12 December 1767.(103)

At length then, we come to the last four of those thirty-six who remained in the diocese, and they could not be more different. In fact were they not all possessed of rectories in the diocese, they should never have found themselves grouped together. John Dalton was ordained deacon in 1724, and subscribed in order to be licensed to the title of curate of Knaresdale.(104) He seems to be the same man as the John Dalton who was rector of Knaresdale from 1724 to 1732, though we know nothing more of him.(105) Of William Wekett we know little more, save that rumour and some degree of scandal seems to have surrounded his ordination and preferment. The bare official details are these: ordained deacon 10 September; priest 16 September; admitted to "Preach throughout the Diocese" on 17 September; and admitted to the rectory of Brancepeth on 18 September, 1727.(106) The other side of this affair is recorded for us by Spearman, though he presumes (alas) knowledge now lost. "As to the story", wrote Spearman,(107)

> of the Bishop's ordaining Mr. Wicket Priest and Deacon, in three days time, tho' never admitted a member of any University, and inducting him to the rich rectory of Branspeth, and what share Dr. Sayer had in that affair, is already to publick to need my pen to describe his good or ill qualifications; the flagrancy of that fact, of his life and conversation, being matters only fit to come under consideration of a Convocation.

Wekett seems to have remained rector of Brancepeth until his death, for he was succeeded in 1745 "p.m. Wekett".(108) John Emerson (or Emmerson) was a native son, born at Middleton in county Durham, who went up to

Oxford and graduated B.A. in 1726 and M.A. in 1730.(109) Ordained with a title as curate of Edmondbyers, less than one year later he was instituted to the rectory of Middleton in Teasdale on 12 June 1729.(110) Twenty years later he was instituted to the rectory of Stainton, on 30 October 1749, and five years after that to the rectory of Winston on 1 April 1754.(111) It would appear, on the authority of Hutchinson, that Emerson retained all three rectories in plurality until his death circa 1774.(112) And last, but by no means least among those ordinands who received the imposition of William Talbot's hands, was Thomas Secker, destined to hold much of the best preferment in the diocese and ultimately to become Archbishop of Canterbury. This former non-conformist, won over to the church by (among others) Talbot's son Edward, was ordained both deacon and priest by the bishop within the space of three months, and served him as chaplain.(113) Licensed as a "Publick Preacher" on 11 February 1724, he was the next day collated to the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring by the bishop.(114) Three years later, on 3 June 1727, he was moved to the rectory of Ryton and made prebend of the third stall in the cathedral.(115) When made rector of St. James', Westminster, in 1733, he resigned his living at Ryton, though he remained prebend until 1750, in spite of the fact that in 1734 he became Bishop of Bristol, and in 1737 Bishop of Oxford.(116) It was only when he was made Dean of St. Pauls in 1750 that he resigned from Durham entirely, and eight years later he was made primate.(117)

C. CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS

Edward Chandler was long to remain Bishop of Durham, and in the space of twenty years was responsible for personally ordaining some

sixty-three men, and delegating (to Martin Benson) the responsibility for ordaining another fifty-one.(1) Of the sixty-three men that Chandler ordained, we have evidence to show that at least forty-two of them remained in the diocese after their ordination. At the time of their ordination by Chandler, forty-nine went immediately into curacies in the diocese, six went directly to livings (one in the diocese of York), and the remaining eight have proved impossible to trace. Chandler in fact ordained fifty-three men to the priesthood, sixteen of whom we know to have been ordained deacon by other bishops, and of another fourteen we must assume the same. Table No.5 below shows this and other information regarding those ordained directly by the Bishop of Durham.

Table No.5 SUMMARY OF ORDINATION STATISTICS: 1731 - 1741

Ordained Deacon by Bishop of:	Durham	23	(1 by litt.dim. from York)
	Chester	7	(1 by litt.dim. from Durham)
	Ely	3	
	Lincoln	3	
	Gloucester	1	(Litt.dim. from Durham)
	Carlisle	1	
	Norwich	1	(Litt.dim. from Durham)
		39	
Ordained Priest by Bishop of:	Durham	53	
	York	1	
	Chester	1	
	St. Davids	1	
	?	1	(Litt.dim. from York)
		57	

Average Age when Deaconed 24½
Average Age when Priested 26

Ordained to : Curacy ..... 49 (27 Durham, 22 Northumberland)

Living ..... 6 (3 Durham, 3 Northumberland)

Unknown 8

63

Average Salary ..... £27 (41 curates)

Remained in Diocese 42

Once again we are able to trace a number of the men ordained and thus to ascertain their native county and parental background. Fortunately the formal papers associated with ordination (called as a class - not surprisingly - the Ordination Papers) have survived from 1731, and thus we are able to gain an even clearer picture from Chandler's episcopate than we were able to do for Talbot's. Though native sons of the diocese are very evident, some twenty-five in all, there is a marked increase in men not native to either Northumberland or Durham, some thirty-one falling in this category. It is very clear however, that the number of men coming into the diocese from outside the province of York is very small indeed. If we grouped those who migrated from the province of Canterbury, we should find that only seven men (of the fifty-six whose origins are known) had made that transition. As we would expect also, our improved documentation in this period enables us to determine the occupation of the fathers of thirty-one of the men ordained. Table No.6 makes these figures clear in some detail.

Table No.6 PARENTAL BACKGROUND & COUNTY OF ORIGIN : CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS 1731 - 1741

County of Origin:				Father's Occupation:	
Northumberland	14	Worcestershire	2	Clergyman	13 (1 Schoolmaster)
Durham	11	London	2	Gentleman	7
Westmorland	8	Lincolnshire	1	Plebian	5
Yorkshire	7	Staffordshire	1	Baronet	2
Cumberland	7	Leicestershire	1	Merchant	2
Lancashire	2	Unknown	7	Exciseman	1
			63	Collector of Taxes	1
					31

Once again when we examine the educational background of the ordinands of Bishop Chandler's first eleven years, we find a sizeable number have been trained in the schools of the diocese, though a

contingent nearly as large has been schooled elsewhere. Two men were from schools in the diocese of Carlisle, three from that of York, and three men as well had been at Eton. Forty-eight of the ordinands went up to one or the other of the universities, though only forty-five seem to have graduated. It is very interesting to note also, that though Cambridge still is most favoured, within that university there has been a complete turn-round in college preference. Peterhouse has dropped quite drastically behind St. John's and Trinity in popularity. At Oxford however, things seem much the same, with Lincoln and Queen's remaining the two most popular colleges (in that order). These and other details may be seen in Table No.7 below.

Table No.7 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND : CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS 1731 - 1741

School:			Graduates of Oxford:		Graduates of Cambridge:	
	Durham	3	Lincoln	5	St. John's	10
	Newcastle	3	Queen's	3	Trinity	4
	Eton	3	Baliol	1	Peterhouse	3
	York	1	Christ's	1	Christ's	1
	Houghton	1	Merton	1	King's	1
	Threshfield	1	Hart Hall	1	Magdalene	1
	Carlisle	1	Exeter	1	Clare	1
	St. Bees	1			Jesus	1
	Morpeth	1		13	Queen's	1
	Alnwick	1				23
	Sedburgh	1				
		17				

Graduates of Scottish Universities:	
Glasgow	6
Edinburgh	2
St. Andrew's	1
	9

Total Graduates	45	
Matriculated, but not Graduate	4	
Total with University Affiliation	49	(of 63 ordinands)

Lastly, we come to the statistical details of the longevity displayed by Chandler's ordinands, and here too we see some change from

Talbot's episcopate. There is a very clear increase in the average age of those men whose birth and death dates can be ascertained, with well over one half living beyond the age of sixty years. Of the twenty-nine men about whom we have information, only five died before the age of fifty. See Table No.8 below for the details.

Table No.8 LONGEVITY : CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS 1731 - 1741

Age at Death:	30 or under	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90
	1	2	2	6	6	8	4

Youngest at Death : 30 Average Age at Death : 63
Oldest at Death : 87 Number Traced : 29 (of 63)

As was pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, we shall only be looking at the individual ordinands in a small number of cases for Chandler's episcopate, though the years 1731 and 1732 are among those to be so examined. In those two years the bishop ordained a very large number of men, more in fact than in any other biennial period, and of those twenty-eight all but eleven remained in the diocese. Seven of these men settled in the Archdeaconry of Durham, and nine in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, while one man may only be said to have remained in the diocese because he was subsequently made a prebendary of the cathedral. He was Wadham Knatchbull, third son of Sir Edward, of Mersham, Kent, Bart.(2) Ordained on the title of his fellowship at Trinity, Cambridge, where he had taken the degree LL.B. in 1730, Knatchbull remained there until 1739, the year after he was made prebendary at Durham.(3) He held a living in Kent from 1739, though he never was to be preferred to a living in the diocese of Durham.(4) He died 27 December 1760, and was buried in the cathedral.(5)

Turning to those seven men who settled in Durham, we must first

look at those three who moved there after serving a title in Northumberland. William Thompson was ordained priest in 1732 in order to serve as curate of Slealey and Bywell St. Andrew, but twenty years later he was to be made perpetual curate of St. Hild's, South Shields.(6) What may have happened to him in the intervening period is not known, though Hutchinson shows him succeeded at St. Hild's by one Samuel Dennis in 1754 "p.m. Thompson".(7) Jonathan Jefferson did not have to wait nearly as long for a cure, for having been ordained to the title of curate at Wallsend in 1732, he was made perpetual curate of Ebchester and Medomsley the following year.(8) Again we find Hutchinson mentioning a successor to our man in 1784 "p.m. Jefferson".(9) Taylor Thirkeld was born in Newcastle and graduated B.A. in 1727 and M.A. in 1730 from Lincoln College, Oxford, being being priested in Durham in 1731.(10) His title was that of a curate at Whickham, but he gave that up in 1739 when he was licensed as a "Public Preacher".(11) The year thereafter, he is said to be perpetual curate of Barnard Castle, but he disappears from there in the same year and is not known again.(12) Of two more of the seven we know not a great deal, William Addison (priested in 1732), and Stephen Teasdale (priested in 1731),. Teasdale served his title as curate at Stockton, then was made perpetual curate of Witton-le-Wear on 12 March 1740.(13) We know that he was succeeded at Witton sometime in 1764, though it is not clear if Teasdale was dead.(14) Addison served his title as curate of Stainton, and in 1746 was made rector of Cockfield, to which he added the rectory of Dinsdale in the following year.(15) He apparently ceased to hold Cockfield in 1751, and resigned Dinsdale in 1772 for his nephew and namesake.(16) Lastly we come to John Lloyd and Richard Dongworth. The former was a son of the famous Bishop of Worcester, and almost certainly owed his advancement to his father's fame.

Graduating from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1729, he proceeded M.A. in 1732, and was made rector of Ryton by Chandler in 1738, a little over six years after he had ordained him deacon.(17) He probably died in 1766, but of any other fact we are ignorant.(18) Concerning Richard Dongworth however, we are better informed. The son of a clergyman in Lincolnshire, he was educated first at Eton, then at Cambridge, graduating from Magdalene B.A. in 1727 and M.A. in 1730.(19) Chosen to be the Master of Durham School in 1732, he was appointed vicar of Billingham (in the gift of the Dean and Chapter) in the year following, a living he held until his death.(20) When ill-health forced him to retire from the school in 1755 he was also made perpetual curate of Whitworth.(21) He died 24 February 1761, and was buried in the cathedral.(22)

Of those nine men who remained in the Diocese of Durham after their ordination in 1731 or 1732, and settled in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, seven are known definitely to have been born in the diocese, and it is not unlikely that one of the remaining two was as well. John Salkeld (or Saughill) was born in Yorkshire, and after his ordination at Durham in 1732, served his title at Bishop Middleham.(23) Subsequently he became curate of St. Oswald's in 1736, and was instituted to the vicarage of Shilbottle in Northumberland in 1742.(24) He died there sometime between 1781 and 1786.(25) We do not know the birthplace of another Salkeld, Daniel by name, ordained in 1731, but as one Barnabus Salkeld was vicar of Heighington earlier in the century, he may in fact have been a native son.(26) Of Daniel after his ordination we know nothing, save that in 1751 one of his name is licensed as curate of Rothbury.(27) Two more men (as well as John Saughill) were to serve a title in Durham before moving into the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, Thomas Orde and Robert Simon. Orde was born in

Norham and graduated B.A. from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1725.(28) After his ordination in 1731, he became curate of Gateshead in 1732, and soon thereafter was instituted to the vicarage of Kirknewton in his home county.(29) He remained there until his death on 27 April 1770, and was buried in the parish church.(30) Simon's first title was that of "Deputy Lecturer" at St. Nicholas in Durham City, from which he moved to be vicar of Bywell St. Peter in December 1732.(31) He too died in his parish some forty years later on 8 January 1773.(32) Two more of our ordinands are united by the fact that their fathers were clergymen, and a third may also have been. John Walton first served his father as curate, then succeeded him as vicar of Corbridge in 1742, remaining incumbent until his death in June 1765.(33) Charles Stoddart's father was vicar of Chillingham, but he himself became vicar of Chollerton only two years after his ordination in 1731.(34) Later he held the rectory of Whalton (1748-60) and the vicarage of Brampton in Cumberland (1773-90), but he died and was buried at Chollerton, 16 June 1790.(35) Mark Hall became perpetual curate of Earsdon in 1746, fifteen years after his ordination at Durham.(36) Perhaps he was a son of the John Hall admitted to the "Cure of Darlington" in 1712.(37) He died at Earsdon 11 July 1768, and is remembered chiefly for the achievements of his sons George and William.(38) The former became Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and the latter was Second Master of the Newcastle School and Headmaster of Haydon Bridge School.(39) And lastly we come to two men united again, simply because they shared a common vocation and were both born within the diocese in which they were to serve. William Wolfall became perpetual curate of both Tweedmouth and Ancroft in 1742, eleven years after his ordination, and he went on to be Lecturer of Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1746.(40) He died at Wolsingham (? his home) on 6 August 1777.(41)

Joseph Middleton did not move once he was preferred either, for he remained vicar of Long Horsley from 1748 until his death in 1792.(42)

As we have seen earlier in this work, Edward Chandler became too incapacitated in his old age to effectively care for his diocese alone, and therefore he took advantage of the Bishop of Gloucester's presence in Durham (as a prebend) by soliciting his assistance in the episcopal function. Consequently, we find that between the years 1742 and 1749, Martin Benson ordained fifty-one men in Durham for Chandler, twenty-four to the diaconate and forty-two to the presbyterate.(43) Three more men ordained deacon by Benson were subsequently priested by a Bishop of Durham, two by Joseph Butler and one by Richard Trevor. There is a marked absence of men ordained to livings in this period, with some forty-three (of forty-four known) ordained to the title of a curacy in one of the diocesan benefices.(44) There seems as well, a slight increase in the average age of the men at ordination, as well as a small increase in the average first salary given them. One noticeable change however, is that a very much smaller percentage of men seem to have remained in the diocese beyond their first title, evidence existing to show this in only twenty-two cases out of fifty-one. The statistical summary is shown in detail in Table No.9.

Table No.9 SUMMARY OF ORDINATION STATISTICS: 1742 - 1749

Ordained Deacon by Bishop of:	Gloucester	24	
	Carlisle	8	(1 on litt.dim. from Durham)
	Chester	5	(1 on litt.dim. from Durham)
	Oxford	2	
	Lincoln	2	(1 on litt.dim. from Durham)
	Ely	1	
	York	1	(litt.dim. from Durham)
		43	
Ordained Priest by Bishop of:	Gloucester	42	
	Durham	3	
	Norwich	1	
		46	

Average Age when Deaconed	25	
Average Age when Priested	28	
Ordained to : Curacy	43	(22 Northumberland, 21 Durham)
Living	1	
Unknown	7	
	51	
Average Salary	£28+	(38 Curates)
Remained in Diocese	22	

Once again we see clearly that the men ordained in the Diocese of Durham were largely men of the northern counties, though for the first time in our period we find a non-diocesan county furnishing the highest number of ordinands. Only one man however, is known to have been born outside the provincial jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York. Our information concerning the parental background of the men is, unfortunately, more limited than previously. In only eighteen cases do we know the occupation or social standing of the father. A summary may be seen in Table No.10.

Table No.10 PARENTAL BACKGROUND & COUNTY OF ORIGIN : CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS 1742 - 1749

County of Origin:	
Cumberland	11
Northumberland	9
Durham	8
Westmorland	7
Yorkshire	5
Oxfordshire	1
Unknown	10
	51

Father's Occupation:	
Clergyman	4
Gentleman	5
Plebian	5
Doctor	1
Attorney	1
Farmer	1
Cordwainer	1
Unknown	33
	51

Fewer of these men have yielded information concerning their educational background than in any previous period examined. It has been possible to determine their school in only ten cases, and only twenty-nine have any apparent connection with the various universities. We see too, the number of men from Oxford overtaking the number from Cambridge for the first time, with our once famous Peterhouse College disappearing entirely. Table No.11 below contains the particulars of these and other matters.

Table No.11 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND : CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS 1742/49

School:	
Durham	5
Scorton	2
Morpeth	1
Houghton	1
Bentham	1
	10

Graduates of Oxford:	
Lincoln	5
Queen's	4
Corpus Christi	1
St. Edmunds	1
Christ Church	1
	12

Graduates of Cambridge:	
Trinity	4
St. Johns	4
Christ's	1
King's	1
	10

Graduates of Scotland:	
Aberdeen	2
Edinburgh	1
St. Andrews	1
	4

Total Graduates	26
Degree Claimed	3
Total with University Affiliation ..	29

The longevity of the ordinands from the latter part of Chandler's episcopate, is the only remaining piece of statistical information which we have yet to examine, and (as we perhaps expect) our data is again somewhat limited. We have the date of birth and death for only eleven of the fifty-one men, and as such the average needs to be treated with some reserve. If however, these figures are trustworthy, they show a general increase in the number of clergy surviving to their seventh decade, though there is a comensurate fall in the number surviving beyond that time. Table No.12 below contains the details.

Table No.12 LONGEVITY : CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS 1742 - 1749

Age at Death:	30 or under	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90
	0	1	0	3	6	1	0

Youngest at Death 40
Oldest at Death 78
Average Age at Death 62
Number Traced ..... 11 (of 51)

We are examining in detail only those clergymen who remained in the diocese beyond their initial title, and the sample years for the latter portion of Chandler's episcopate are 1742 and 1743. During those years, only twelve men were ordained by Benson, and of these seven only seem to have remained. John Charlton was ordained to the living (a perpetual curacy) of Barnard Castle, and stayed there until his death a few years later.(45) Born in Durham City, the son of a gentleman, he had matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1736, graduating B.A. four years later.(46) Unfortunately he seems to have been dead by 1747.(47) Three among our seven, remained in the archdeaconry of their first title, John Shotton, Robert Rawling and William Williamson. Williamson was born in Berwick-upon-Tweed, and like Charlton graduated B.A. at Oxford from Lincoln College.(48) He

was ordained both deacon (1743) and priest (1745) by Benson at Durham, at a private ordination in both instances, though we do not know of his whereabouts in the intervening period.(49) On 1 April 1748, Williamson (now said to be D.D.) was both licensed to "preach within the Diocese" and instituted to the rectory of Whickham, where he remained until his death some fifteen years later.(50) Robert Rawling too graduated B.A. from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1742 (the same year as Williamson), and was also a native of the county of Durham.(51) He served first, a title as curate of Sunderland from 1 January 1745, and then later in that year moved to be curate of Gainford, after which time he is lost sight of entirely.(52) John Shotton seems never to have moved, unlike the majority of his contemporaries, staying on at Rothbury long after his ordination in 1743 to the diaconate, with a title as assistant curate and schoolmaster.(53) Subsequently he was ordained to the priesthood in 1751, still on the same title, and in 1758 he was licensed as <u>the</u> curate of Rothbury.(54) Finally then, we are left with three men, Stoddart, Gelson and Radley, all of whom moved from one archdeaconry to another. Ralph Gelson's stay in the diocese seems not to have been long however, for having served his title at Ponteland he moved to be curate of Whickham in 1746 only then to disappear from the records of the diocese.(55) William Radley, on the other hand, was born, lived, and died in the diocese. Ordained in 1743 on the title of Lecturer of St. Hilds, South Shields, he was subsequently made rector of Ingram in 1746.(56) He later was given dispensation to hold the rectory of Whickham as well, though this was later changed to the rectory of Bishop Wearmouth, which he held (with Ingram) when he died on 19 November 1775.(57) Lastly, we have William Stoddart, the son of a Northumberland attorney, ordained to a title as curate of Whickham in 1743, and made perpetual curate of Alnwick in

the following year.(58) Interestingly, it is said that he "was Licensed to this Cure upon the Nomination of the Archbishop of York for this Turn by Devolution."(59) He was later made vicar of Chatton (in addition to Alnwick) in 1745.(60) Stoddart is said to have petitioned the Four and Twenty of Alnwick in 1749, saying that the duties of the parish were grown so large that he could no longer perform them without endangering his health.(61) Nevertheless, he seems to have managed, for he lived on to 1782, dying at Alnwick on 7 May.(62)

D. BUTLER'S ORDINANDS

The length of Joseph Butler's episcopate was so short as to preclude the development of any clear ordination pattern at all. Had he lived longer, not only would we expect to see some such pattern emerge, but we would also almost certainly have observed a different course of action in some of those men he did ordain. Undoubtedly several of his ordinands were more devoted to Butler than they were to the Diocese of Durham, and consequently their rapid retirement from the See after his death is not altogether unexpected. Even so, we shall find them a not untrustworthy guide to the calibre of man the bishop was willing to promote.

In the first calendar year of his translation to Durham, Butler seems to have delegated entirely the responsibility for ordination, and we see our old friend Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, acting in his stead. He ordained four men to the diaconate and four men to the presbyterate. In the following year, Butler himself ordained two men deacon and five men priest, one man in fact entering both orders in the space of twenty-eight days. In all then we have the small

aggregate of fourteen men ordained during his tenure of the See.(1) Eight of these were ordained to the title of curate, one to a living, and for the remaining five we are uncertain of their intended parochial cure.(2) It is interesting to note also that the average age at ordination is still increasing at this time, having risen to twenty-eight for deacons and twenty-nine for priests. Only once are we informed of the salary given to these curates, so in this respect we are not able to gauge any change one way or another. Of these fourteen, seven are definitely known to have remained in the diocese beyond their first title. The details of these statements are set out in Table No.13 below.

Table No.13 SUMMARY OF ORDINATION STATISTICS : BUTLER'S ORDINANDS

Ordained Deacon by Bishop of:			Ordained Priest by Bishop of:		
	Gloucester	4		Durham	7
	Durham	2		Gloucester	4
	Lincoln	1		Peterborough	1
	Norwich	1			
		8			12

Average Age when Deaconed	28
Average Age when Priested	29
Ordained to Curacy	8
Living	1
Unknown	5
	14
Salary (given only once)	£25
Remained in Diocese	7

The smallness of our sample limits the scope of our statistics for Butler's ordinands, but in addition to that we have to make do with very poor information for a number of those men. Nevertheless we can see that the majority of them were strangers to the diocese. See Table No.14 below.

Table No.14 PARENTAL BACKGROUND AND COUNTY OF ORIGIN : BUTLER'S ORDINANDS

County of Origin:	Northumberland	3	Father's Occupation:	Gentleman	3
	Cumberland	1		Clergyman	2
	Westmorland	1		Unknown	9
	Northamptonshire	1			14
	Derbyshire	1			
	London	1			
	Unknown	6			
		14			

The men ordained by Joseph Butler reflect a generally high standard of education, for twelve of the fourteen are known to have spent some time at university, and nine of them are graduates. The data regarding their school education is not at all full, though it does reveal two "new" schools and our first avowedly home-educated ordinand. The details may be seen in Table No.15.

Table No.15 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND : BUTLER'S ORDINANDS : 1750 - 1751

School:	Eton	1	Grad. of Oxford:	Lincoln	2
	Chapel-en-le-Frith	1		Queens	1
	Heversham	1			3
	"At Home"	1			
		4			
Grad. of Cambridge:			Grad. of Scotland:		
	St. John's	2		Glasgow	1
	Kings	1			
	Trinity	1			
		4			

Total Graduates 8
Matriculated without taking degree 4

Total with University Affiliation ..... 12 (of 14)

Our final statistical survey of Butler's ordinands relates to their longevity, and here too we are limited by the size of our sample. Only

five of fourteen have yielded their ages at death, and these are set out in Table No.16.

Table No.16 LONGEVITY : BUTLER'S ORDINANDS

Age at Death:	30 or under	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90
	0	1	0	1	2	1	0

Youngest at Death: 35
Oldest at Death: 72
Average Age at Death: 59
Number Traced: 5

Seven men only, among those who were ordained in Bishop Butler's episcopate, remained in the diocese afterwards, and three of these clergy were settled in the Archdeaconry of Durham. John Mills, the son of a Newcastle gentleman, was one of them, for he was licensed to the perpetual curacy of Jarrow on the same day that he was made priest, and he remained there till his death.(3) Not far from Jarrow, George Bramwell became rector of Sunderland on 9 October 1758, just over seven years after his ordination to the title of curate there.(4) The son of a Cumberland family, he had gone up to Cambridge in 1741, matriculating at Trinity, and graduating B.A. in 1745 and M.A. in 1748.(5) He was chaplain to the countess dowager of Darlington, and resigned Sunderland in 1762 in order to take up the rectory of Hurworth, where he remained until his death on 8 May 1784.(6) John Wibbersley was preferred, after his ordination, to the perpetual curacy of Lamesley and Tanfield, but before that he had been under-usher and usher of the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle.(7) In 1766 he was made vicar of Woodhorn, but he resigned that living two years later when he was collated to the rectory of Whickham in September of 1768.(8) He died there on 18 April 1782, and was buried in the parish church.(9) One also of the four men who settled in Northumberland was an usher at the Royal Grammar

School in Newcastle, and in fact Anthony Munton seems to have succeeded Wibbersley in that office.(10) Priested by Martin Benson in October 1750 (no title mentioned), Munton is said to have been usher at the school from 1752.(11) Licensed as curate of St. Andrew's in Newcastle in 1754, he died "much lamented" early in the following year, and was buried at St. John's in Newcastle.(12) Like Munton, Thomas Wolfe never advanced beyond the title of a curacy, though unlike him he lived on some forty-three years beyond his ordination. He was ordained deacon by Benson in 1750, though no record of his ever having been ordained priest has survived.(13) Licensed to serve as curate of Framlington in 1751, he later became curate of Birtley Chapelry (under Chollerton) in 1754, and curate of Howick in 1759.(14) He died there in 1793 and was buried on 29 October, when it was noted that he had "been 34 years curate of the parish."(15) Thomas Lancaster, ordained priest by Martin Benson in 1750, proved to be one of those handful of men who serve in one parish, first as curate and then as incumbent. Licensed as curate of Alston Moor in 1754 (and probably he was there from his ordination), he became vicar on 11 September 1756, and remained there until his death in 1789.(16) Lastly, we come to William Forster, ordained priest in October 1750, and licensed to serve as curate of Embleton in July 1751.(17) He was later made vicar of Long Houghton (30 September 1752), and from 1775 he held that living in plurality with the vicarage of Lesbury.(18) He died in this latter parish on 31 August 1784.(19)

E. TREVOR'S ORDINANDS

Little over three months after Richard Trevor was confirmed as Bishop of Durham he inaugurated his annual general ordinations, holding

the first one on 18 March 1753 in the Chapel at Whitehall. Thereafter he was to ordain annually until his death in 1771, and over the course of those nineteen years he ordained well over one hundred men to the sacred office of deacon or priest. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, we shall not attempt to survey the whole body of Trevor's Ordinands but instead we will focus upon those ordained in his first seven years. In that time he placed his hands upon the heads of some sixty-six men, only a surprisingly small number of whom remained in the diocese after they had served their initial title.(1) This most unusual fact seems to have been especially owing to a very high number of ordinands from other bishops in Trevor's first year in Durham. In 1753 thirteen men were in this category, all of whom were ordained on "letters dimissary" from elsewhere. Additionally, Trevor ordained seven men to titles in the Scottish Episcopal Church between 1753 and 1759, or rather to scattered Episcopal congregations in Scotland not in communion with the non-juring bishops.(2) Another five men were ordained to titles as "fellows" in the universities, and one was ordained to be Chaplain of New College Oxford as well.(3) Thus twenty-six of the forty-three men who did not remain are accounted for. Nevertheless the rate of departure from the diocese seems quite high in Trevor's early years, for in 1754 only one man of four remains, in 1755 only two of nine, and in 1757 only one of six. A change begins to be evident in 1756 however, when six of nine remained, and in 1759 eight of nine do likewise. Appendix No. 4 should be consulted for the individual cases, though Table No.17 below summarizes much of interest.(4)

Table No.17 SUMMARY OF ORDINATION STATISTICS : 1753 - 1759

Ordained Deacon by Bishop of:	Durham	44	(8 on litt.dim.)
	Ely	2	
	York	2	
	Oxford	1	(litt.dim. from Durham)
	Lincoln	1	
	Gloucester	1	(litt.dim. from Durham)
		52	
Ordained Priest by Bishop:	Durham	44	(5 on litt.dim.)

Average Age when Deaconed 25
Average Age when Priested 28

Ordained to Curacy	.....	40
Living	.....	2
Unknown	.....	17
Scottish Episcopal Church	..	7
		66

Average Curates Salary : £27

Remained in Diocese : 23 (of 66)

Owing no doubt to the high number of men sent to the bishop for ordination, the statistics showing the home county of each present us with a very large number of counties. Again the province of York yields the majority (thirty-eight of fifty-eight), while twelve counties from the southern province are represented. We also find one man each from Jersey, Wales and Ireland, with another three from Scotland. This information, as well as that which shows parental background, may be seen in Table No.18 below.

Table No.18 PARENTAL BACKGROUND & COUNTY OF ORIGIN : ORDINANDS 1753 - 1759

County of Origin:	Durham	11	Northamptonshire	2
	Westmorland	11	Worcestershire	2
	Northumberland	6	Shropshire	1
	Cumberland	6	Gloucestershire	1
	Lancashire	2	Surrey	1
	Yorkshire	2	Devonshire	1
		38	Middlesex	1
			Wiltshire	1
			Hampshire	1
	Jersey	1	Buckinghamshire	1
	Wales	1	Lincolnshire	1
	Ireland	1	Staffordshire	1
	Scotland	3		14
		6		

Father's Occupation:	Armiger	5
	Gentleman	9
	Cleric	9
	Plebian	6
	Attorney	2
	Doctor	1
	Colonel	1
	Cooper	1
	"Tennant"	1
		35

Some thirty-nine of the sixty-six men we are examining were connected to the universities of the land, with some thirty-three definitely known to have been graduates. A significant majority of them were in fact Oxonians, with Lincoln College still apparently the most popular. At Cambridge too, we see that St. John's College seems to have been in a similar place of preference. The details may be had by consulting Table No.19.

Table No.19 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND : ORDINANDS 1753 - 1759

School:			Graduates of Oxford:		
	Durham	4		Lincoln	7
	Eton	2		Queen's	4
	Newcastle	1		Magdalen	3
	Wembley	1		Baliol	2
	Westminster	1		Jesus	1
	Haversham	1		Pembroke	1
	"By his Father"	1		Exeter	1
		11		Brasenose	1
				New College	1
				Corpus Christi	1
					22

Graduates of Cambridge:		Graduates of Scotland:	
St. John's	3	Aberdeen	1
Trinity	2		
Peterhouse	2		
Magdalene	1		
King's	1		
Queen's	1		
	10		

Total Graduates	33
Matriculated without Degree	5
Claimed Degree but not traced	1
Total with University Affiliation	39 (of 66)

Our final statistical survey shows us the longevity of those men whose birth and death dates may be traced, and if they are representative of Trevor's other ordinands then they were very long-lived. Nineteen of the twenty-three men traced lived into their seventh decade, and eleven passed into their eighth. Table No.20 should be consulted for the details.

Table No.20 LONGEVITY : ORDINANDS 1753 - 1759

Age at Death:	30 or under	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90
	0	0	3	1	8	9	2

Youngest at Death:	41	Average Age at Death:	68
Oldest at Death:	85	Number Traced:	23

As we have already seen, twenty-three only (of sixty-six clergy) remained in the Diocese of Durham after they had served their initial title there. Seven of these men became a part of the body of priests resident in Northumberland, another thirteen were similarly resident in Durham, and three alone were beneficed in both archdeaconries. It is to this latter group that we shall turn first.

Among those three men who held livings on both sides of the River Tyne, were at least two of the most remembered clergymen of Trevor's whole episcopate. Though William Longstaff has little memorial, Thomas Randal and Robert Thorpe both quickly come before the eye of any enquirer seeking to know something of the history of the church in the northeast during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thorpe's father Thomas, we have seen before, since he was one of those preferred by Bishop William Talbot.(5) Robert was his second son, born (presumably at Chillingham) on 18 December 1736, and educated in the grammar school at Durham.(6) Sent up to Cambridge by his father, he matriculated at Peterhouse in 1754, was later chosen scholar, and graduated B.A. in 1758 (as Senior Wrangler).(7) Ordained deacon by the Bishop of Durham in the following year (when he also was made Chaplain to the Royal Regiment of Volunteers), he proceeded M.A. in 1761 and was elected fellow as well.(8) Apparently a scholar of no mean merit, Thorpe is reported to have been coach at Cambridge of William Paley, author of the famous work The Evidences of Christianity.(9) In 1768 he succeeded his father as vicar of Chillingham, and in 1775 he became perpetual curate of Doddington, holding both livings in plurality.(10) He resigned both of these in 1782, when made rector of Gateshead, though his ties with Northumberland were not to be long cut, since he was made archdeacon there in 1792.(11) Three years later he moved westward along the

River Tyne, when he resigned Gateshead for the rectory of Ryton.(12) He died at Durham on 20 April 1812, and was buried at Ryton.(13)

Robert Thorpe was almost certainly taught by our next man, for Thomas Randal was usher and then Master at the Durham Grammar School during the time of Thorpe's attendance there.(14) Born and educated at Eton, Randal was matriculated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1731 when he was twenty years of age.(15) He graduated B.A. in 1735, subsequently coming to Durham to teach, and only taking orders twenty years later in 1755.(16) He was licensed to the curacy of Whitworth at that time (a curacy usually held by someone connected with Durham Grammar School), though gout forced him to retire from that position and his mastership in 1768.(17) The Dean and Chapter duly presented him to their Northumberland living of Ellingham in that same year, though Randal was too infirm to reside there for long.(18) He appointed John Fell curate in 1770, and died in Durham on 25 October 1775.(19) He it was who compiled copious notes on the incumbents of the benefices of the Diocese of Durham, which notes Hutchinson subsequently used in his own publications.(20) Lastly, we come to William Longstaffe, of whom we know little. Ordained to a title as curate of Sedgefield in 1758, he subsequently served as curate of Berwick-on-Tweed before being made vicar of Kelloe in Durham in 1771.(21) Beyond that we know only that he was dead before December of 1806.(22)

The thirteen men who remained in the southern archdeaconry of the diocese, after serving their first title, present us with a great variety of cleric, and we shall examine them in two groups, looking first to those who were curates and schoolmasters only. John Aspinwall, Joseph Wilson, William Adey, and Thomas Spooner each came to be curate of some Durham living, namely Wolviston, Lamesley, Lanchester, and

(again) Lamesley. Spooner was ordained deacon in 1755 on the title of curate of Tanfield and Lamesley (chapels under Chester-le-Street), and our only other notice of him is in 1767, when he was also priested and (apparently) still at this same cure.(23) Joseph Wilson however, was ordained deacon in 1756 and priest in 1759 after which time he disappears from all records until 1770, when Bishop Trevor licensed him as curate of Lamesley at a salary of £40 per annum.(24) Wilson was said to be of "Glasgow University" when ordained, and perhaps he served in one of the episcopal congregations in Scotland before returning to the diocese.(25) John Aspinwall and William Adey, unlike the other two however, became incumbents in the diocese, Aspinwall being made perpetual curate of Wolviston in 1762, and Adey perpetual curate of Lanchester sometime after 1758.(26) Adey apparently served under his father at Lanchester when first licensed, and he published a volume of Sermons before his death on 8 January 1778.(27) Apart from these four men, two others served as schoolmasters in the diocese, John Farrer and Jonathan Branfoot. Farrer was ordained deacon in 1759, and licensed to be curate of "Escombe" two days later.(28) He long taught school in Witton-le-Wear, and achieved some local fame in this capacity.(29) Branfoot was himself both perpetual curate of St. Nicholas, Durham, and master of the school in that parish from 1763 to 1783, when he died on 3 August and was buried at St. Mary-the-Less.(30) Ordained priest in 1759 on the title of his fellowship at King's College, Cambridge, he became perpetual curate of Croxdale in 1761 and remained there until 1765, when he was made vicar of Billingham (which he held to his death with St. Nicholas).(31)

Seven more clergy ordained by Trevor in our period (and who settled in Durham) remain, four of whom came to be vicars and three of whom rose to be responsible for rectories. Perhaps Thomas Hayes, among the former

four, began his clerical career in the most unorthodox way, for he was ordained to be Chaplain of New College, Oxford.(32) The son of an Oxford doctor, he matriculated at Magdalen in 1750, graduating B.A. in 1754 and proceeding M.A. in 1757.(33) Two years later he became precentor of the Cathedral in Durham, thus inaugurating his acquisition of a string of Dean and Chapter preferments.(34) Hayes was licensed as perpetual curate of Croxdale in 1760, though he resigned a little over one year later to become vicar of Billingham, remaining there four years before resigning and being instituted as vicar of St. Oswald's in Durham.(35) There he was to remain for fifty-four years, and he died on 12 May 1819.(36) John Robson, quite unlike Hayes, went almost immediately from his ordination to his institution to the vicarage of Sockburn, the former on 22 September and the latter on 1 November 1759.(37) Later he also became perpetual curate of St. Nicholas and perpetual curate of St. Giles, the last in 1768 and the former in 1783, and he died in 1802.(38) Richard Tinkler served as curate of Edmundbyers and Muggleswick for six years, then in 1765 became vicar of Bishopton, after which time we hear no more of him.(39) George Johnson, on the other hand, was to serve in the diocese as curate of Redmarshall after his ordination, then leave in the following year only to return over sixteen years later when he was made vicar of Norton.(40) Lastly, three men became rectors in Durham, Henry Vane, Thomas Bates and Thomas Holmes Tidy. Vane as we have seen previously, enjoyed a full and varied clerical career under the patronage of his friend Richard Trevor.(41) Bates was the son of one "Ralph, of Houghton, Co. Durham, arm.", and he graduated B.A. from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1756, proceeded M.A. in 1759, and in 1775 became both B.D. and D.D.(42) Ordained deacon by Trevor in the year of his M.A., he was made rector of Whalton in the following year, remaining there until his death in

August 1794.(43) Finally, Tidy too was a native son of the diocese and a Lincoln College graduate.(44) Ordained deacon in 1759, Trevor eight years later appointed him rector of Redmarshall, and there we must leave him.(45)

We are left then with only seven more men, all of whom remained in the diocese and were assimilated into the body of clergy resident in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. One of them deserves special notice for his notoriety, and we shall examine him lastly, now however, we must look to the other six. Joseph Harrison was master of the Haydon Bridge School, perhaps from as early as 1740, and when he was ordained priest by Trevor in 1759, it was to the title of curate at Haydon.(46) Harrison was a graduate of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, and seems to have remained at Haydon until his death on 4 January 1777.(47) Of Richard Witton we know little either, save that he was ordained priest in 1757 to the title of curate of Eglingham, became curate of Rock and Rennington in 1768, and minister of the Extra-parochial church of Brinkburn in 1776.(48) He held the latter two offices until his death in 1820, reputedly aged ninety years.(49) Similar to Witton was Thomas Martindale, for he moved from his first curacy to become perpetual curate of Slaley in 1774, and remained there until his death on 24 March 1792, aged seventy-six.(50) John Thompson we know more of, for he was both a fine scholar and the son of a Northumberland clergyman. Born in Newcastle on 4 November 1733, he was schooled in the city before being sent to Cambridge, where he matriculated at St. John's College in 1752.(51) Graduating B.A. in 1756 and M.A. in 1759, he was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Trevor, to the title of curate of Elsdon, which was then his father's living.(52) About 1760, he was nominated as Chaplain of the Donative Chapel (recently built) at Blyth, and he remained there until his death on 3 May 1810.(53)

It is recorded of him that he was "one of the best Hebrew scholars in the North of England."(54) Isaac Nelson was no scholar, but his unfortunate death by drowning while crossing the River Wansbeck "at one of the stepping-stones between Mitford and Morpeth Fri 20 March 1772", has marked him out especially.(55) He served his title at Woodhorn from 1756, and was made vicar of Mitford in 1759, where (it is said) he rebuilt the vicarage house.(56) George Marsh, like Thompson, served his curacy under his father, though unlike him he succeeded to the living as well. The father was able to secure the presentation of the son to the living in 1760, only when the latter "bound himself by bond... that if appointed to Ford, he would not apply for any dispensation not to reside."(57) His bond was signed on 11 June and he was instituted on 26 June 1760, remaining as rector until his death on 15 October 1795.(58)

We at last bring to a close our study of individual ordinands, by examining one Percival Stockdale, who has the unfortunate distinction of being one of the most notorious clergy of the whole period of our study.(59) Born in 1736, at Branxton, Stockdale was the son of the Reverend Thomas Stockdale. Educated initially at the Alnwick Grammar School, then at Berwick Grammar School, he later went up to the University of St. Andrews as recipient of the "Wilkie-bursary". He began in that last place to reveal his future course, for his quarrelsome and drunken behaviour nearly got him expelled. He secured a commission in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in 1755, and was present at naval action against the French off Minorca, though he resigned his commission in 1757 rather than be sent to India. He was at this time in not inconsiderable financial difficulty, and in these circumstances the family of Sharp sought to help him. Tate records that the(60)

> Sharps were kind and maintained him in their own houses; and after he was ordained deacon in 1759, Mr. Sharp employed him as his curate in London; yet he satirised those good friends, because when 'he was guilty of great faults', they withdrew their support.

After this, Stockdale was engaged for a time in writing translations for the booksellers, though in 1762 he became curate to Thomas Thorpe at Berwick. Here he again turned against his benefactor "waging", he says in his autobiography, "for five years determined war against his own credit and happiness." Subsequently travelling in Italy, he returned to London where he was employed in a variety of literary projects, some of which brought him to the notice of Dr. Johnson. Nevertheless, his life was very irregular and unhappy at this time, and he determined to seek ordination to the priesthood after some twenty years in deacon's orders. Thus in 1781 "with some difficulty and as a favour to the Duke of Northumberland", he was priested and given "a degree from the Archbishop of Canterbury". Three years later he was presented to both the vicarage of Lesbury and that of Longhoughton. Stockdale was twice married, having considerable difficulties in both cases. While his first wife was living he travelled to the continent with the woman whom he later made his second wife, Miss Christiana Buck, though he even separated from her later. Stockdale was the butt of an enormous hoax in this regard, for "he was," Tate says,

> informed by letter that his wife had died, and that her remains had been sent by a ship to Alnmouth, for burial at Lesbury. Rejoiced at the news, he went on board the vessel on its arrival; but to his horror, he met with a living instead of a dead wife. Thomas Collingwood, an apothecary in Alnwick, wrote a farce on the subject entitled "The Dead Alive again", which was acted.

Stockdale long remained unsettled, even after his preferment, and he "wandered away to Gibraltar and the coast of Africa in 1787", not

returning for twelve years, after which time "he lived at Lesbury, a cynical, discontented man." He died on 14 September 1811, and was buried at Cornhill.(61)

Notes to Appendices: Chapter VI

The information contained in these appendices is made up from three primary sources: the Subscription Books from 1730 to 1758; the Ordination Papers from 1730 to 1759; and the biographical registers of the universities, particularly those of Oxford and Cambridge. These sources have been supplemented by the standard county histories of Durham and Northumberland, especially Hutchinson's Durham, Hodgson's Northumberland, and the massive NCH. To have individually noted each piece of information contained in these appendices, however desirable, was clearly beyond the bounds of possibility if usable appendices were to result. Nevertheless, the source is cited whenever the men appearing in these appendices are discussed in the text, and also every significant piece of data contained in these appendices may be retrieved from the preliminary general index deposited in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic in the University of Durham (for notice of which see the Introduction to this thesis).

Requirements of space have necessitated much abbreviation and compression. The date of baptism may be given in the sources or may be computed from other data (assuming baptism in the year of birth). We have given only the first degree taken at University, and likewise we have given only the first title in the diocese. If therefore, a man was both ordained deacon and priest in Durham, only the title at the former is given. Usually this is the same title when the man is subsequently priested. If the title is underlined, it is an indication that the man was made incumbent, not curate. Abbreviations used in these appendices are as follows:

Siz	sizar
Pens	pensioner
S/O/A	son of armiger
S/O/G	son of gentleman
S/O/P	son of plebeian
FC	fellow commoner
O	Oxford
C	Cambridge
Lit	said to be literatus at ordination
D	Bishop of Durham
Ch	Chester
Car	Carlisle
Y	York
R	Rochester
L	Lincoln
E	Ely
G	Gloucester
N	Norwich
O	Oxford
P	Peterborough
H	Hereford
Lon	London
Win	Winchester
D(G)	Ordained by Durham/Letters Dimissary from Gloucester (etc.)
+	Salary augmented in other ways (usually surplice fees)

TALBOT'S ORDINANDS

	Ordinand	Bapt'd.	Parish	Father's Occupation	School	Matric. Status	University	Degree	Ord D.	By	Ord P.	By	Title	Salary	Stayed in Diocese	Died	Aged	
	1722																	1722
1.	Francis Chalmers						Christ's C	LLB	1713	D	1722	D	Doddington	£30	Yes			1.
2.	Richard Conder							BA			1722	D	Bishopton	£25	Yes	1738		2.
3.	James Fern							Lit			1722	D	Gosforth	£21	Yes			3.
4.	Humphrey Holden	1698	Durham	Furrier	Durham	Siz	St. John's C	MA	1721	G(D)	1722	D	Seaham	£30	Yes	1771	73	4.
5.	Andrew Hunter							MA			1722	D	Belford		Yes	1729		5.
6.	William Johnson	1699	Hexham	Currier	Hexham	Siz	St. John's C	Lit	1721	Car	1722	D	Stamfordham	£20	Yes	1742	42	6.
7.	Thomas Nevinson							MA			1722	D	Whittingham		Yes			7.
8.	Thomas Penrith							Lit	1722	D					No			8.
9.	James Robinson	1696	Worcester	Cleric		S/C/C	Univ O	BA			1722	D			No			9.
10.	Thomas Secker	1693		Gent	Tewkesbury	S/O/G	Exeter O	BA	1722	D	1723	D			Yes	1768	75	10.
11.	John Soulby							Lit			1722	D	Wooler	£20	No			11.
	1723																	1723
1.	William Henderson	1700	Felton	Cleric	Houghton	Pens	Peterhouse C	BA	1723	D	1722	D	Felton	£30	Yes	1722	72	1.
2.	William Robley							Lit			1723	D			No			2.
3.	Matthew Sculby			Cleric		S/O/C	Queens O	BA			1723	D			Yes			3.
4.	John Toppin							Lit	1723	D	1727	D	Whitfield	£20	Yes			4.
	1724																	1724
1.	Edward Bainbridge	1700	Westmoreland	Hus'dman		Siz	St. John's C	BA	1722	Y	1724	D	Brancepeth	£40	Yes			1.
2.	John Dalton						Scotiae	MA	1724	D			Knaresdale		Yes	1737		2.
3.	Samuel Huson	1702	Durham		Durham	Siz	Peterhouse C	BA	1724	D	1725	D	Grindon		Yes			3.
4.	Thomas Maddison	1700	Newcastle		Newc/Dur	Siz	Peterhouse C	MA	1722	Y	1724	D			Yes	1772	71	4.
5.	John Norland							BA	1719	D	1724	D	M. Wearmouth	£30	Yes			5.
6.	Andrew Naughley							Lit			1724	D	Hunstanworth		No			6.
7.	Matthew Robinson	1702	Durham		Houghton	Siz	Peterhouse C	MA	1724	D	1726	D	Bedlington	£35	Yes	1756	54	7.
8.	William Smith						? Glasgow	BA			1724	D			No			8.
	1725																	1725
1.	Arthur Cayley	1702	Beds.	Cleric	Kelloe	Siz	St John's C	BA	1725	D	1727	D	Stannington		No			1.
2.	Isaac Johnson							Lit			1725	D	Hart & N/pool	£25	Yes			2.
3.	Samuel Leeke							BA	1725	D			Whitworth	£20	No			3.
4.	Thomas Murray							Lit			1725	D	Morpeth	£25	Yes			4.
5.	John Rakes	1701	Yorks.	Hus'dman	Threshfld	Siz	St John's C	BA	1725	D					No	1781	80	5.
6.	William Stackhouse	1702	B Auckland	Cleric		S/O/C	Lincoln O	MA			1725	D	Boldon	£40	No	1771	69	6.
7.	Alexander Stokoe	1704	Haydon Brge			Siz	Christs C	Lit	1725	D			Warden	£15	Yes	1766	62	7.
8.	Thomas Thorpe	1699	Yorks.			FC	Christs C	MA	1725	D	1725	D	Chillingham		Yes	1767	67	8.
9.	Thomas Walker	1702	Durham	Attorney	Durham	Siz	Peterhouse C	BA	1723	Y	1725	D	Washington	£30	Yes	1729	28	9.
10.	Thomas Weatherill							Lit			1725	D	Simondburn	£30	Yes			10.
11.	William Wilkinson	1702	Newcastle	Bar-Surgn.	Newcastle	Siz	Christs C	MA	1723	R	1725	D	Newcastle	£36	Yes	1760	78	11.
12.	Chilton Wilson	1702	Houghton		Houghton	Pens	Peterhouse C	MA	1725	D	1727	D			Yes	1749	47	12.
	1727																	1727
1.	John Delaval	1703		Pleb.		S/O/P	Magdalene O	MA			1727	D			No			1.
2.	John Hope		Durham		Houghton	Siz	Peterhouse C	BA			1727	D	Chester-le-St		Yes	1728		2.
3.	Francis Hunter	1703	Medomsley	Gent.		S/O/G	Lincoln O	MA	1727	D	1728	D	Bywell: St Ptr	£30	Yes	1743	40	3.
4.	William Jackson						? Glasgow	MA	1727	D	1728	D	Corsenside		Yes			4.
5.	Robert Potter										1727	D			No			5.
6.	John Skelly							MA	1727	D	1728	D	Ingram	£30	Yes			6.
7.	Edward Weddell	1699	Houghton	Cleric	Houghton	Pens	Peterhouse C	BA	1723	Y	1727	D	Sunderland		Yes	1733	33	7.
8.	William Wekett							Lit	1727	D	1727	D	Brancepeth		Yes	1745		8.
9.	Henry Williamson										1727	D	Jarrow	£30	No			9.
	1728																	1728
1.	William Armstrong						? Glasgow				1728	D	Warden	£20	No			1.
2.	Robert Chicken	1704	Newcastle	Weaver	Newcastle	Siz	Peterhouse C	BA	1726	L(D)	1728	D	Lg Horsley	£30	Yes	1743	38	2.
3.	John Emerson	1706	Middleton	Gent.		S/O/G	Lincoln O	MA	1728	D			Edmondbyers	£20	Yes	1774	68	3.
4.	James Gladstains						? Glasgow	Cler			1728	D	Alnham	£10	Yes	1757		4.
5.	James Horsman							Cler			1728	D	Stockton	£30	Yes			5.
6.	Ralph Nelson	1704	Houghton	Schoolmr.	Houghton	Siz	Peterhouse C	BA	1726	L	1728	D	Gateshead	£30	No			6.
7.	Matthew Whitaker	1705			Houghton	Pens	Peterhouse C	BA	1726	L(D)	1728	D	Hartburn	£25	Yes	1755	51	7.
	1730																	1730
1.	John Walton							Lit	1730	D	1731	D	Bothal	£28	No			1.

Appendix No. 2
Chapter VI
Page 1

C H A N D L E R ' S O R D I N A N D ' S

	Ordinand	Bapt'd.	Parish	Father's Occupation	School	Matric. Status	University	Degree	Ord D.	By	Ord P.	By	Title	Salary	Stayed in Diocese	Died	Aged	
	1731																	**1731**
1.	Mark Hall	1706	Rothbury				Edinburgh	MA			1731	D	Netherwitton		Yes	1765	61	1.
2.	Christopher Jackson	1708	Yorkshire	Gent.		S/O/G	Baliol O	BA	1731	D					No			2.
3.	Wadham Knatchbull	1707	Westminster	Bart.			Trinity C	LLD	1731	D					Yes	1760	53	3.
4.	John Lloyd	1708	Worcestersh.	Cleric		S/O/C	Christ's O	BA	1731	D					Yes			4.
5.	Edmund Lodge	1708	Newcastle	Schoolmr.			Linc.O/Kings C	BA/MA	1731	D	1733	D	Harworth	£30+	No	1781	72	5.
6.	Thomas Orde	1704	Norham	Gent.		S/O/G	Lincoln O	BA			1731	D	Gateshead	£30	Yes	1778	74	6.
7.	Robert Reynolds	1707	Yorkshire		York	Pen.	St.John's C	MA	1731	D	1733	Y			No	1744	37	7.
8.	Wm. Richardson	1702	Morpeth					Lit	1731	D	1732	D	Netherwitton	£25	No			8.
9.	Daniel Salkeld						Glasgow	MA			1731	D	Rothbury	£30	?Yes			9.
10.	Thomas Simpson	1705	Haydon						1731	D	1739	D	Chollerton		No			10.
11.	Charles Stoddart	1707	Bamburgh	Cleric	Morpeth	Siz	Christ's C	MA			1731	D	Newcastle		Yes	1790	82	11.
12.	Stephen Teasdale							Cler	1726	Ch	1731	D	Stockton	£20	Yes			12.
13.	Taylor Thirkeld	1705	Allendale	Pleb.		S/O/P	Lincoln O	MA			1731	D	Whickham		Yes			13.
14.	William Wolfall	1705	Bothal		Durham	Siz	Peterhouse C	BA	1728	E	1731	D	Wolsingham	£35	Yes	1777	71	14.
	1732																	**1732**
1.	William Addison	1707	Gateshead	Exciseman				Lit			1732	D	Stainton	£20	Yes			1.
2.	Adam Banks	1709	Yorkshire					Lit	1732	D			Whitfield	£20	No			2.
3.	Richard Dongworth	1703	Lincolnsh.	Cleric	Eton	Siz	Madalene C	MA	1732	D	1732	D			Yes	1761	53	3.
4.	Richard Fowler	1704	Yorkshire				Edinburgh	MA	1732	D	1733	D	Craike	£20	No			4.
5.	John Hill	1707	Westmoreld.				Glasgow	MA			1732	D	Edmundbyers	£30	No			5.
6.	Daniel Hudson	1705	Westmoreld.					Lit	1728	Car	1732	D	Alston	£20	No			6.
7.	Jonathan Jefferson	1703					Glasgow				1732	D	Wallsend	£30	Yes			7.
8.	William Laplain		Westminster				Trinity C		1732	D					No			8.
9.	Joseph Middleton	1706	S. Shields			Pen	Peterhouse C	BA			1732	D	Jarrow	£30	Yes	1792	86	9.
10.	Edward Patterson								1732	D					No			10.
11.	John Saughill	1701	Yorkshire					Lit	1726	Ch	1732	D	Bp.Middleham	£20	Yes	1786	85	11.
12.	Robert Simon	1704	Bp.Wearmouth	Cleric	Houghton	Siz	Peterhouse C	Lit			1732	D	Durham City	£25	Yes	1773	68	12.
13.	William Thompson	1708					Glasgow	MA			1732	D	Bywell St.And	£25	Yes			13.
14.	John Walton	1710	Westmoreld.	Cleric	Car/Dur	Siz	St.John's C	BA	1732	D	1734	Ch	Corbridge	£25	Yes	1765	55	14.
	1733																	**1733**
1.	Wadham Chandler		Worcestersh.	Cleric	Eton	Pen	Clare C	MA	1731	G(D)	1733	D	Bp.Wearmouth		Yes	1737		1.
2.	John Coxon	1707	Cumberland	Pleb		S/O/P	Lincoln O	BA			1733	D	Morpeth	£40	Yes			2.
3.	John Dealtary	1709	Yorkshire	Cleric		Siz	Jesus C	BA	1731	Ch	1733	D	Sunderland	£20	No	1797	87	3.
4.	William Harper	1710	Gateshead	Gent.		Pen	St.John's C	BA	1733	D	1735	D	Gateshead	£40	No			4.
5.	William Lambe	1705	Pittington	Gent.		S/O/G	Exeter O	MA	1733	D	1733	D	Gateshead		Yes	1769	63	5.
6.	Thomas White	1710	Heighington				Glasgow	MA	1733	D	1735	D	Bp.Middleham	£20	No			6.
	1735																	**1735**
1.	Andrew Armstrong	1710	Cumberland				Glasgow	MA			1735	D	Bywell St.And	£25	No			1.
2.	Peter Fisher	1709	Cumberland					Cler			1735	D	Staindrop	£30	Yes			2.
3.	Joseph Forster	1711	Norton	Cleric		Siz	Queens C	BA	1733	E	1735	D	Norton	£20	No			3.
4.	Thomas Hylton	1710	M.Wearmouth	Gent.		S/O/G	Lincoln O	MA			1735	D	M.Wearmouth		No			4.
5.	John Mosley	1707	Staffs.	Bart.	Eton	Pen	Trinity C	MA	1735	D(Y)	1735		Wersop Notts		No	1779	72	5.
6.	James Nicholson	1712	Lancashire	Pleb.		S/O/P	Queens O	BA	1735	D	1736	D	Kelloe	£30	Yes	1771	58	6.
7.	James Robertson	1711	Holy Island	Cleric			St Andrews	MA	1735	D	1736	D	Holy Island	£20+	Yes	1790	79	7.
8.	Abraham Smith	1711	Auck.St.And.		Durham	Siz	Trinity C	BA			1736	D	Escomb		Yes	1786	74	8.
9.	James Thomson	1709	Cumberland				Glasgow		1734	Ch	1735	D	Bp.Middleham	£20	Yes			9.
10.	Charles Ward	1711	Newcastle	Merchant		Pen	St Johns C	BA	1733	E	1735	D	Tynemouth		Yes	1773	62	10.
11.	John Wilson	1698	Westmoreld.						1735	D	1735	D	Alnwick	£20	Yes	1744	46	11.
	1736																	**1736**
1.	Thomas Birkett	1707	Cumberland	Cleric	St. Bees	Siz	St Johns C	BA			1736	D	Sunderland		Yes	1782	75	1.
2.	Robert Davison	1712	Durham City	Pleb		S/O/P	Lincoln O	MA			1736	D	Gateshead	£40	Yes	1768	55	2.
3.	James Forster	1711	Alnwick		Alnwick	Pen	Trinity C	BA	1735	N(D)	1736	D	Ingram	£35	No			3.
4.	William Laidman	1710	Woodhorn	Cleric	Sedburgh	Pen	St Johns C		1734	Ch(D)	1736	D	Whalton	£30	Yes	1782	71	4.
5.	Richard Walker	1712									1736	D	Coniscliffe	£24	No			5.
	1738																	**1738**
1.	Thomas Milbourn	1713	Newcastle	Gent	Newcastle	Pen	St Johns C	MA	1735	L	1738	D	Wallsend	£30	No	1743	30	1.
2.	Nathaniel Ogle	1715	Newcastle	Merchant	Newcastle	Siz	St Johns C	BA	1738	D	1739	D	Bedlington	£35	No	1763	47	2.
3.	Thomas Smyth	1714	Westmoreld	Cleric		S/O/C	Queens O	BA			1738	D	Hartburn	£25	Yes			3.
	1739																	**1739**
1.	Thomas Birkett	1713	Westmoreld		Newcastle	Siz	Peterhouse C	MA			1739	D	St Johns Chl		Yes			1.
2.	Thomas Griffiths	1714	Leics	Pleb		S/O/P	Hart Hall O	BA			1739	D	Houghton.	£15+	No			2.
3.	John Nicholson	1713	Westmoreld								1739	D	Elwick	£26+	Yes			3.
	1740																	**1740**
1.	Thomas Coulthard	1711	Cumberland				Glasgow	MA	1733	Ch	1740	D	Ford	£25	Yes			1.
2.	William Dalston	1713	Cumberland								1740	D	Edmundbyers	£25+	Yes	1775	62	2.
3.	Christopher Gardner	1714	Lancashire						1737	Ch	1740	D	Alston	£20	Yes	1749	34	3.
	1741																	**1741**
1.	Richard Brewster	1716	Yorkshire	Tax Coll	Threshfld	Siz	St Johns C	BA	1738	L	1741	D	Newcastle	£30	Yes	1772	56	1.
2.	William Langhorn	1714	Westmoreld								1741	D	Shotley	£25	Yes			2.
3.	Joseph Railton							Cler	1741	D	1741	D	Knaresdale		Yes			3.
4.	John Robinson	1717	Easington	Gent		Siz	St Johns C	BA	1740	L	1741	D	Seaham		Yes	1773	61	4.

CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS BY BENSON

	Ordinand	Bapt'd.	Parish	Father's Occupation	School	Matric Status	University	Degree	Ord D.	By	Ord P.	By	Title	Salary	Stayed in Diocese	Died	Aged	
	1742																	**1742**
1.	Ralph Gibson	1719	Durham	Pleb			Lincoln O	BA	1742	G	1744	G	Ponteland	£30	Yes			1.
2.	Joseph Kerr								1742									2.
	1743																	**1743**
1.	Robert Allinson	1717	Cumberland					BA			1743	G	Newburn	£25				1.
2.	John Charlton	1718	St John Lee	Gent			Lincoln O	BA			1743	G	Barnard Cast		Yes			2.
3.	Henry Crookbain	1708	Yorks				Cler		1743	G								3.
4.	Richard Lightfoot								1728	Ch	1743	G	Wolviston					4.
5.	William Radley	1719	Durham		Durham	Pens	Trinity C	BA	1741	L	1743	G	St Hilds	£50	Yes	1775	56	5.
6.	Robert Rawling	1720	Boldon	Pleb	Durham		Lincoln O	BA	1743	G	1744	G	Sunderland	£30+	Yes			6.
7.	John Shotton	1714	Rothbury						1743	G	1751	D			Yes			7.
8.	Thomas Smith	1716	Westm.				Cler		1739	Car	1743	G	Durham	£25				8.
9.	William Stoddart	1718	Morpeth	Attorney	Morpeth	Six	St Johns C	BA	1741	Car(D)	1743	G	Whickham	£40+	Yes	1782	63	9.
10.	William Williamson	1721	Berwick	Gent			Lincoln O	BA	1743	G	1745	G	Minor Canon	£30	Yes			10.
	1744																	**1744**
1.	William Alderson	1712	Westmoreld				Lit		1742	Ch	1744	G	Gateshead	£20	Yes			1.
2.	John Nelson	1712	Cumberland								1744	G	Long Benton	£30				2.
3.	Thomas Noble	1721	Yorkshire				Cler		1744	G	1746	G	Belford		Yes	1774	52	3.
4.	John Twentyman	1717	Cumberland				Edinburgh	MA	1741	Car	1744	G	Whittingham	£25				4.
5.	John Wallis	1714	Kirkhaugh	Pleb			Queens O	MA	1737	O	1744	G	Wallsend	£25+	Yes	1793	78	5.
6.	Daniel Watson	1719	Cumberland				Cler		1742	Car	1744	G	Edmondbyers	£25				6.
	1745																	**1745**
1.	Abraham Brown	1720	Cumberland				Cler		"	Ch	1745	G	Corsenside					1.
2.	Joseph Parker	1712	Westmoreld				Lit		1742	Car	1745	G	Heighington	£25				2.
3.	Hugh Petrie	1716	Cumberland				Cler		1743	Car	1745	G	Hartlepool	£25				3.
4.	Archibald Scyth						St Andrews	MA	1745	G								4.
5.	James Shield	1722	Durham	Gent	Durham	Six	St Johns C	BA	1745	G	1746	G	Ford		Yes			5.
6.	Thomas Wray	1722	Yorkshire	Farmer	Bentham	Six	Christs C	BA	1745	G	1746	N				1778	55	6.
	1746																	**1746**
1.	John Clark	1721	Yorkshire	Cleric	Scorton	Six	St Johns C	BA	1744	Ch	1746	G	Whalton	£40	Yes			1.
2.	Thomas Cook	1722	Hexham	Cordwainer			Queens O	BA	1746	C	1747	G	Egglingham	£26				2.
3.	Thomas Drake	1723	Norham	Cleric			Corpus Chr O	BA	1746	C	1747	G	Houghton	£40	Yes	1788	64	3.
4.	John P. Morgan	1718	Stanhope		Durham	Pens	Trinity C	MA	1740	L(E)	1746	G	Houghton	£44		1788	69	4.
	1747																	**1747**
1.	Thomas Austin	1719	Westmoreld						1747	G								1.
2.	William Dunn	1723	Eastington		Kepier	Six	Trinity C	BA	1746	E	1747	G	Barnard Cast		Yes			2.
3.	William Forster	1723	Durham	Cleric	Durham	Pens	St Johns C	MA	1747	Y(D)	1747	G	St Oswalds		Yes	1763	40	3.
4.	Nathaniel Morgan								1747	G	1748	G						4.
5.	Thomas Simpson	1709	Westmoreld								1747	G	Edmondbyers	£25				5.
6.	William Gibson	1723	Yorkshire	Cleric	Scorton	Six	Trinity C	BA	1746	Ch(D)	1747	G	Middleton	£25	Yes	1788	65	6.
7.	Richard Wallis	1717	Cumberland	Pleb			Queens O	MA			1747	G	Bellingham	£30+	Yes			7.
8.	Charles Ward	1714	Northumberld	Gent			Lincoln O	MA			1747	G	Hebburn	£34+	Yes	1785	70	8.
	1748																	**1748**
1.	William Armstrong	1710	Hexham						1748	G	1758	D	Norham	£20	Yes			1.
2.	Adam Askew	1724	Newcastle	Doctor			St Edmunds Hll	BA	1748	G			Elsdon	£40		1791	66	2.
3.	Thomas Edmundson	1719	Cumberland								1748	G	Egglingham	£26				3.
4.	Jo Paul							MA	1748	G	1749	G						4.
5.	Francis Porter								1748	G	1749	G						5.
6.	William Richard							MA	1748	G	1749	G						6.
7.	John Varey	1718	Cumberland						1748	G	1749	G						7.
8.	John Wheeler	1721	Oxford (City)	Pleb			Christ Ch O	BA	1745	O	1748	G	Aycliffe	£20				8.
9.	Cuthbert Wilson	1721	Cumberland	Gent			Queens O	MA	1748	G	1750	G	Minor Canon	£40	Yes			9.
													Bellingham	£30+	Yes	1773		
	1749																	**1749**
1.	Benjamin Barwise								1743	Car	1749	G	Dalton	£25				1.
2.	Charles Roberts						Aberdeen	MA	1749	G	1750	G						2.
3.	George Scollough	1721	Cumberland						1749	G	1751	D	Haltwhistle	£25				3.
4.	Norman Sievwright						Aberdeen	MA	1749	G	1750	G						4.
5.	John Starnthwaite	1725	Westmoreld								1749	G	Grendon	£25				5.
6.	William Whinfield	1722	Westmoreld						1745	Car	1749	G	Chillingham	£30+	Yes			6.

BUTLER'S ORDINANDS

	1750																	**1750**
1.	Richard Barwicke										1750	G	Corsenside					1.
2.	William Forster	1722	Warkworth	Gent			St Johns C	MA	1748	N	1750	G	Embleton		Yes	1784	62	2.
3.	Thomas Lancaster						Glasgow	MA			1750	G			Yes			3.
4.	John Lodington	1718	London		Eton		Kings C	MA	1750	G	1751	P				1790	72	4.
5.	Anthony Munton	1720	Northants	Cleric	Home	Six	St Johns C	MA	1743	L	1750	G			Yes	1755	35	5.
6.	John Watt						Aberdeen		1750	G								6.
7.	John Wibbersley	1717	Derbyshire	Gent	Chapel-in-le-Frith	Six	St Johns C	MA	1750	G	1751	D	Lamesley		Yes	1782	65	7.
8.	Thomas Wolfe						St Andrews		1750	G			Framlington		Yes			8.
	1751																	**1751**
1.	George Bramwell	1724	Cumberland		Heversham	Six	Trinity C	MA			1751	D	Sunderland		Yes	1784	60	1.
2.	Jonathan Ivison	1721	Slaley						1751	D	1753	D	Whitburn	£25				2.
3.	John Mills	1726	Newcastle	Gent			Lincoln O	BA	1751	D	1751	D	Jarrow		Yes			3.
4.	James Ruddock						Aberdeen				1751	D						4.
5.	James Smyth	1727	Westmoreld	Cleric			Queens O	BA			1751	D	Lesbury					5.
6.	John Wall						Aberdeen				1751	D						6.

Appendix No. 4
Chapter VI
Page 1

T R E V O R ' S O R D I N A N D S

	Ordinand	Bapt'd.	Parish	Father's Occupation	School	Matric Status	University	Degree	Ord D.	By	Ord P.	By	Title	Salary	Stayed in Diocese	Died	Aged	
	1753																	1753
1.	Thomas Barker	1730	Northampton	Pleb		S/O/P	Lincoln C	BA	1753	D			Woodhorn	£20	No			1.
2.	George Bray	1729	Surrey	Gent		S/O/G	Lincoln C				1753	D(W)			No	1803	74	2.
3.	Francis Chalmers	1730	Gateshead	Cleric					1753	D	1755	D	Scot Ep Ch	£40	No			3.
4.	Rowland Chambre	1728	Shropshire	Attorney	Wembley	Pens	St Johns C	BA	1752	E(Ch)	1753	D(H)			No	1796	68	4.
5.	Robert Cooper	1731	Radnor	Cooper		S/O/P	Jesus C	BA	1753	D(H)					No			5.
6.	John Dawes										1753	D(W)			No			6.
7.	John De Quetoville	1728	Jersey	Gent		S/O/G	Pembroke C	BA			1753	D(W)			No			7.
8.	John Ellison	1731	Westmoreld	Gent					1753	D	1757	D	Lamesley		No	1773	41	8.
9.	Christopher Field		Bristol	Gent		S/O/G	Baliol C	MA	1753	D(B)					No			9.
10.	John Glubb	1729	Devon	Gent		S/O/G	Exeter C	BA			1753	D(W)			No			10.
11.	William Hale		Worcs			Pens	Queens C	MA	1753	D(H)					No			11.
12.	Reginald Heber	1729	Yorkshire	Arm		S/C/A	Brasenose C	BA	1753	D(W)					No	1804	75	12.
13.	Richard Jameson	1724	Scotland				Edinburgh		1753	D	1753	D	Scot Ep Ch	£40	No			13.
14.	Spencer Madan	1729	Middlesex	Colonel	Westminster	Pens	Trinity C	MA	1752	Lon	1753	D			No	1813	84	14.
15.	Charles Merest								1753	D(W)					No			15.
16.	James Robson	1730	Durham	Gent		S/O/G	Lincoln C	BA	1753	D	1754	D	Durham	£25	No			16.
17.	Samuel Sandys	1726	Lancashire	Arm		S/O/A	Queens C	LLB	1753	D(W)					No			17.
18.	James Talman	1731	Wiltshire	Gent		S/O/G	Baliol C	BA	1753	D(W)					No			18.
19.	Henry Vane	1728	Long Newton		Durham	Pens	Trinity C	BA	1752	Y	1753	D			Yes	1794	66	19.
20.	Francis Worseley	1729	Hampshire	Arm		S/O/A	New Coll C	BCL	1753	D(W)					No	1808	79	20.
	1754																	1754
1.	John Askew	1729	Lancashire			S/O/P	Queens C	BA	1754	O(D)	1754	D	Embleton	£36	No			1.
2.	Luke Harrison	1731	Westmoreld						1754	D			Eggleston	£20	No			2.
3.	George Marsh	1732	Ford	Cleric		S/O/C	Lincoln C	BA	1754	D					Yes	1795	63	3.
4.	Robert Memess	1727	Scotland	Tennant			Aberdeen	MA	1754	D	1755	D	Scot Ep Ch	£25	No			4.
	1755																	1755
1.	Christopher Atkinson	1729	Westmoreld			S/O/P	Queens C	BA	1755	D	1756	D	Whalton		No			1.
2.	Thomas Capstack	1726									1755	D	Warkworth	£28	No			2.
3.	Thomas Oliphant	1724	Cumberland				Lit		1755	D			Rothbury	£30	No			3.
4.	Thomas Randall	1710	Bucks		Eton	S/O/P	Corpus Chr C	BA	1755	D	1757	D	Whitworth	£20	Yes	1775	65	4.
5.	Lancelot Raws	1730	Westmoreld								1755	D	Cockfield	£25	No			5.
6.	Robert Simpson	1732	Westmoreld						1755	G(D)			Felton	£30	No			6.
7.	Thomas Spooner	1729	Westmoreld						1755	D	1767	D	Lamesley	£20	Yes			7.
8.	Joshua Stephenson	1729	Northampton	Gent		S/O/G	Magdalene C	BA	1755	D			Redmarshall	£30	No	1798	69	8.
9.	Hugh Stokoe	1725	Haydon								1755	D	Ford	£30	No			9.
	1756																	1756
1.	Wilson Bewicke	1730	Kelloe			S/O/A	Oriel C	MA	1756	D			Fellowship		No			1.
2.	Thomas Dijerbury	1732	Durham	Attorney	Durham	Siz	Peterhouse C	BA	1756	D	1757	D	Stainton	£30	No			2.
3.	George Johnson	1732	Lincolnshire	Cleric		S/O/C	Magdalene C	MA	1756	D			Redmarshall	£30	Yes	1786	63	3.
4.	John Makilwaine	1729	Ireland				Glasgow		1756	D	1757	D	Scot Ep Ch	£35	No			4.
5.	Thomas Martindale	1716					Lit		1756	D	1757	D	Corbridge	£25	Yes	1792	76	5.
6.	Isaac Nelson	1732	Cumberland				Lit		1756	D	1757	D	Woodhorn	£20	Yes			6.
7.	John Robson	1732	Durham	Pleb		S/O/P	Lincoln C	BA	1756	D	1759	D	Cockburn		Yes	1802	69	7.
8.	John Thompson	1733	Newcastle	Cleric	Newcastle	Pens	St Johns C	BA	1756	D	1758	D	Elsdon	£40	Yes	1810	76	8.
9.	Joseph Wilson	1734					Glasgow		1756	D	1758	D	Scot Ep Ch	£20	Yes			9.
	1757																	1757
1.	Thomas Cowper	1731	Cumberland				Lit				1757	D	Darlington	£30	No			1.
2.	Joseph Corely	1733							1757	D			Scot Ep Ch	£40	No			2.
3.	John Gregson	1725	Westmoreld						1757	D	1758	D	Escomb	£15	No			3.
4.	John Horseman	1733	Greatham	Cleric	Home	Siz	St Johns C	BA	1756	L	1757	D	Houghton	£48	No	1806	72	4.
5.	Parcival Read	1728	Haydon				Lit		1757	D	1758	D	Ilderton	£30	No			5.
6.	Richard Witton	1729							1756	Y	1757	D	Eglingham	£26	Yes			6.
	1758																	1758
1.	William Adey	1736	Staffs	Cleric	Durham	Siz	Magdalene C		1758	D			Esh	£30	Yes	1778	41	1.
2.	John Aspinwal	1732	Westmoreld								1758	D	Dalton-le-D	£30+	Yes			2.
3.	Christopher Gawthorpe	1732	Yorkshire	Pleb		S/O/P	Queens C	BA	1758	D			Fellowship		No			3.
4.	Thomas Hayes	1733	Worcester	Doctor		S/O/D	Magdalene C	MA	1758		1758	D	Chaplain		Yes	1819	85	4.
5.	Benjamin Hutchinson	1733	Durham						1758	D			Gainford	£30	No			5.
6.	William Longstaff	1734	Westmoreld		Heversham	Pens	Magdalene C	BA	1758		1758	D	Berwick	£25	Yes	1806	72	6.
7.	Richard Mandeville										1758	D	Whitfield	£21+	No			7.
8.	John Powle	1725	Cumberland								1758	D	Chester-le-St	£30	No			8.
9.	Edward Readhead	1735	Cumberland						1758	D			Eggleston	£20	No			9.
	1759																	1759
1.	Thomas Bates	1735	Houghton	Arm		S/O/A	Lincoln C	MA	1759	D	1760	D			Yes	1794	58	1.
2.	Jonathan Branfoot	1735	Durham	Cleric	Eton	Pens	Kings C	MA	1757	E	1759	D	Fellowship		Yes	1783	48	2.
3.	John Farrer	1735	Westmoreld						1759	D	1760	D	Escomb		Yes	1783		3.
4.	Joseph Harrison	1710							1734		1759	D	Haydon		Yes	1777	66	4.
5.	Alexander Herdman	1736/7	Kincardinesh					MA	1759	D	1761	D	Scot Ep Ch	£40	No			5.
6.	Percival Stockdale	1736	Branxton	Cleric					1759	D	1761	D			Yes	1811	74	6.
7.	Robert Thorp	1736/7	Chillingham	Cleric	Durham	Siz	Peterhouse C	MA	1759	D					Yes	1812	75	7.
8.	Thomas Holmes Tidy	1735	Staindrop	Gent		S/O/G	Lincoln C	BA	1759	D	1760	D	Long Newton	£40	Yes			8.
9.	Richard Tinkler	1736	Cumberland						1759	D	1760	D			Yes			9.

(Notes: pages 393-394)

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

(1) As has been pointed out in Chapter I, there was a great disparity between the two archdeaconries.

(2) Trevor ordained sixty-six men in the first seven years of his episcopate. Appendices No. 1, No. 2, No. 3 and No. 4 at the end of this Chapter, should all be consulted for details.

(3) We have chosen to end the sample at 1759 for two reasons: after that date the subscription books are lost (though ordination papers are extant); we have gathered information assiduously for the period of 1721 to 1771 only, and we are unable, therefore, to chronicle the later careers of those ordained in the latter part of Trevor's episcopate.

(4) The choice was an arbitrary one, and perhaps leaves Chandler alone unfairly represented, though we feel that a fair sample of the whole period is thereby given.

(Notes: pages 394-399)

B. TALBOT'S ORDINANDS

(1) For details, see Appendix No. 1.

(2) One man was educated at Newcastle and Durham, see Thomas Maddison.

(3) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p. 404.

(4) D.R.XIV.4, p. 204.

(5) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p. 404. Perhaps the place of burial indicates his home town.

(6) D.R.XIV.4, p. 157. Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 319.

(7) Ibid. (Venn).

(8) Ibid.

(9) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 204 & 219; D.R.XIV.5, p. 43.

(10) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV,p. 357. Weddell was born at Houghton-le-Spring.

(11) Ibid.

(12) D.R.XIV.4, p. 30; Bourne, History of Newcastle, p. 35, says he was first usher c. 1730. He may, in fact, have been there before his ordination.

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(13) Brewster, A Memoir to .... Hugh Moises, p.48.

(14) He is described as "Literatus" at his ordination. See D.R.XIV.4, p.30.

(15) See NCH, vol VI, p.381, for a letter addressed to "The Reverend Mr. Toppin, Schoolmaster at Allendale Town", and dated 6 October 1724. Toppin is described as "Literatus" at his ordination in 1723, see D.R.XIV.4, p.67.

(16) NCH, vol VI, p.381.

(17) He was instituted on 14 February, as John Topping. See D.R.XIV.5, p.284.

(18) He is also once said to be "incumbent of Allendale", see NCH, vol VI, p.381.

(19) D.R.XIV.4, p.171; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.167.

(20) Ibid. (Venn).

(21) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p.403.

(22) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.389.

(23) Ibid.; D.R.XIV.4, p. 3.

(24) Ibid. (Venn); D.R.XIV.4, p.218.

(25) Ibid. (Venn).

(26) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.332; D.R.XIV.4, p.187; D.R.XIV.5, p.2. We prefer Venn's date for his curacy at Bp. Wearmouth, assuming that his licence was issued after he began.

(27) Ibid. (Venn).

(28) Ibid., D.R.XIV.4, p.187.

(29) Ibid. (Venn).

(30) So he signs himself: D.R.XIV.3, p.41 (1713); D.R.XIV.4, pp. 30 & 35 (1722); D.R.XIV.5, p.181 (1740). There is no trace of him in either Venn or Foster.

(31) D.R.XIV.5, p.181. He was ordained deacon by Crewe in 1713.

(32) D.R.XIV.4, p.68.

(33) Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.1329.

(34) D.R.XIV.5, p.61. His salary is said to be £34. Soulby is not

(Notes: pages 401-402)

succeeded (according to Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.176) until 1762.

(35) D.R.XIV.4, p.154.

(36) Ibid., p.163; D.R.XIV.5, p.33.

(37) NCH, vol I, p.97.

(38) D.R.XIV.4, pp.189 & 266; Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.27.

(39) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.385. He was Vicar of Brantingham, Yorkshire, from 1742 to 1755.

(40) NCH, vol I, pp.366-368.

(41) D.R.XIV.4, pp.31 & 33. He must have been functioning as a curate under Bamburgh before that time; as a deacon for nine years.

(42) One "Andreas Hunter" is mentioned in 1692, 1693, 1695. He is said to be M.A. and in 1697 is among those said to be "Theological Students". See Innes, Alumni, vol III, pp. 142, 153, 156, 245.

(43) NCH, vol I, p.368.

(44) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.135. He was ordained to the title of Simondburn. See D.R.XIV.4, p.165.

(45) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol I, p.163; D.R.XIV.4, pp. 205, 213, 267. "Literatus" when made deacon (1727), he was M.A. when priested (1728). One "William Jackson Anglus" is listed in the matriculation register of Glasgow, 1721, 1722 and 1726. See Innes, Alumni, vol III, pp. 220, 222, 231.

(46) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.53; Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol I, p.163.

(47) Ibid. (Hodgson).

(48) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.125.

(49) Ibid.

(50) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 105, 259.

(51) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 39, 86.

(52) See Chapter I.

(Notes: pages 402-405)

(53) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.125.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.412.

(56) Ibid.

(57) D.R.XIV.4, pp.153 & 161; Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.10.

(58) Ibid. (Bound Volume 11/3).

(59) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.125.

(60) Ibid.

(61) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 205, 215, 266.

(62) NCH, vol V, p.436.

(63) D.R.XIV.5, p.156.

(64) Ibid., p.207.

(65) Ibid., p.223.

(66) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.161.

(67) Ibid.

(68) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 205 & 207; NCH, vol VI, p.309. Shotley, Edmundbyers and Muggleswick all lie on the banks of the River Derwent (Shotley on the north, the other two on the south) and are all three coincident at that point.

(69) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol II, p.717.

(70) Ibid. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p.426.

(71) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 267 & 269; Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.3.

(72) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 93 & 97; D.R.XIV.5, p. 116.

(73) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p.378.

(74) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 29, 41, 220, correcting Venn.

(75) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.363.

(76) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 106 & 107.

(Notes: pages 405-407)

(77) Ibid., p.154; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.363.

(78) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p.16; Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.164. Venn's date of 1765 is probably mistaken.

(79) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 427.

(80) Ibid.

(81) D.R. XIV.4, pp. 155, 204, 229.

(82) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 13.

(83) SS, vol 118, p. 177; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 427.

(84) NCH, vol XIV, p. 487; vol XV, p. 412.

(85) NCH, vol XIV, p. 487. Nevinson was said to be M.A. when he was ordained. D.R. XIV.4, p. 55.

(86) NCH, vol XV, p. 412.

(87) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p. 472.

(88) D.R.XIV.4, p. 287; D.R.XIV.5, p. 45.

(89) NCH, vol VI, p. 248.

(90) D.R.XIV.5, p. 221; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p. 472.

(91) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p. 329.

(92) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.354.

(93) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 67, 73, 106, 180. See also NCH, vol VII, p. 279. Felton was a Crown living.

(94) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.354, and pt I, vol IV, p. 527.

(95) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p. 483.

(96) Ibid.

(97) Ibid., D.R.XIV.4, pp. 29 & 37.

(98) NCH, vol XII, p. 69.

(99) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p.483.

(100) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 237.

(101) Ibid.

(Notes: pages 407-413)

(102) D.R.XIV.4, p. 179; NCH, vol XIV, p. 322.

(103) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 116; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 237.

(104) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 127-129.

(105) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol III, p.81. One Lewis Etty became rector in 1732 "post mortem ... ult Incumb.," see D.R. XIV.5, p. 44.

(109) Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p. 426.

(110) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 267, 273, 285.

(111) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 245, 279.

(112) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, pp. 170, 226, 278.

(113) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 55 & 61. See also Chapter II.

(114) D.R.XIV.4, pp. 83 & 85.

(115) Ibid., p. 193.

(116) Mussett, op. cit., p. 28; Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.1271.

(117) Ibid. (Mussett).

C. CHANDLER'S ORDINANDS

(1) See Appendix No. 2 for Chandler's Ordinands, and Appendix No. 3, for Benson's.

(2) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p. 28.

(3) Ibid. He was collated to the twelfth stall 26 January 1738, and was translated to the eleventh on 25 December 1756. See Mussett, op. cit., pp. 88-95.

(4) Ibid. (Venn).

(5) Ibid.

(6) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 47, 48, 56; Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 146.

(7) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p. 484.

(Notes: pages 413-415)

(8) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 48, 53. He subscribed for Ebchester & Medomsley on 4 September 1733.

(9) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p. 371.

(10) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p.1403; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 3 & 4.

(11) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 6 & 170.

(12) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p.249.

(13) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 3, 4, 12; Auckland ~~Palace~~ Cally Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 8.

(14) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p. 304.

(15) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 47, 48, 51; Auckland ~~Palace~~ Cally Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp. 70, 94, 101.

(16) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, pp. 144 & 282.

(17) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p. 862; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 25 & 155.

(18) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p. 436.

(19) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol II, p. 54.

(20) Ibid. See also Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p. 107.

(21) Ibid. (Venn).

(22) Ibid.

(23) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 48-50. For his place of birth see Ordination Papers: 1732, "John Saughill".

(24) NCH, vol V, p. 436; D.R.XIV.5, p. 210.

(25) Ibid. (NCH).

(26) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 3 & 4; see for Barnabus D.R.XIV.3, p. 52.

(27) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 255 & 256.

(28) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p. 1044.

(29) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 3, 4, 10, 46; NCH, vol XI, p. 126.

(30) Ibid. (NCH).

(31) D.R.XIV.5, p. 52; NCH, vol VI, p. 114.

(32) Ibid. (NCH).

(Notes: pages 415-420)

(33) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 327.

(34) Ibid., p. 165; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 3, 4, 7.

(35) Ibid. (Venn).

(36) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 3, 4, 9; Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol III, p. 388.

(37) D.R.XIV.3, p. 32.

(38) NCH, vol IX, p. 15.

(39) Ibid.

(40) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 3, 4, 8, 224; Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp. 23, 24.

(41) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 462.

(42) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 129; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p. 184.

(43) See Appendix No. 3.

(44) We include under the title curacy, two men made minor canons, and one man appointed Lecturer at St. Hilds in South Shields.

(45) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp. 31 & 36.

(46) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p. 241.

(47) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p. 249, says he was succeeded at Barnard Castle in 1747 "p.m. Charlton".

(48) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p. 1575.

(49) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp. 30 & 58.

(50) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 240 & 241; Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p. 448.

(51) Foster, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p. 1178.

(52) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp. 30, 43, 44, 57.

(53) Ibid., p. 30; Ordination Papers: 1743, "John Shotton".

(54) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 257, 260, 344.

(55) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp. 25, 44, 52, 85.

(Notes: pages 420-425)

(56) Ibid., pp. 31 & 73; Ordination Papers: 1743, "William Radley".

(57) NCH, vol XIV, p. 462; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol III, p.415.

(58) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, pp. 31, 32, 54.

(59) Ibid., p. 54.

(60) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 166.

(61) Tate, History of Alnwick, vol II, p. 135.

(62) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 166.

D. BUTLER'S ORDINANDS

(1) See Appendix No. 3, for Butler's Ordinands.

(2) One of those we count as a curate was ordained to the title of "Under School Master at Morpeth".

(3) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p. 959; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 259 & 265. Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p. 477, tells us that he was succeeded by William Glover "p.m. Mills", though he gives us no date.

(4) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 260, 261, 352.

(5) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol I, p. 205.

(6) Ibid., also pt I, vol IV, p. 506; Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p. 527.

(7) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 260-264; Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p.398.

(8) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p. 186.

(9) Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, p. 398.

(10) Brewster, A Memoir of .... Hugh Moises, p. 48.

(11) Ibid., D.R.XIV.5, p. 282.

(12) Ibid. (both).

(13) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 147.

(Notes: pages 425-430)

(14) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 256-258; NCH, vol IV, p. 360.

(15) NCH, vol II, p. 360.

(16) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 148; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 282 & 311; Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol III, p. 38.

(17) Auckland Palace Episcopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 148; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 255 & 256.

(18) Ibid. (Auckland); NCH, vol II, p. 393.

(19) Ibid. (NCH).

E. TREVOR'S ORDINANDS

(1) Appendix No. 4, of this Chapter, sets out these sixty-six in full.

(2) Trevor repeatedly ordained men for these congregations throughout his episcopate, apparently establishing a precedent for Bishop Egerton after him. The basis of the schism between the two parts of the Scottish Episcopal Church was political in origin, with the independent congregations wishing to clearly declare their loyalty to the Crown. For an interesting account of this, see Park, Memoirs of William Stevens, pp. 91ff., especially p. 98f. These congregations were generally localized in certain parts of Scotland only, Aberdeen and Edinburgh being two main centres. At the latter, one George Carr was minister from 1742 to 1776. He had formerly been second usher at the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle (from 1726-1742), and was very highly respected throughout the time of his pastorate in Edinburgh. After his death three volumes of his sermons were published, and he may have been responsible during his lifetime for sending many men to the bishops of his old diocese. See Brewster, A Memoir of .... Hugh Moises, pp. 53-54.

(3) One of those counted as a fellow was ordained as "Exibitioner of Lincoln" (Thomas Bates 1759) and another was ordained to the title of "his Scholarship" in the same college (John Robson 1756).

(4) The five "fellowships" are counted as curacies in Table No. 17, and the one Chaplaincy is accounted a living.

(5) See Chapter II.

(Notes: pages 430-432)

(6) Venn, op. cit., pt II, vol VI, p. 182.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) NCH, vol XIV, p. 152. According to this source, he was Chaplain to the Earl of Tankerville.

(10) Ibid., p. 322.

(11) Venn, op. cit., pt II, vol VI, p. 182.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Ibid. He was the father of Charles, who was the first Warden of the University of Durham.

(14) NCH, vol II, pp. 285 & 286.

(15) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p. 1174.

(16) Ibid., D.R.XIV. 5, p. 298.

(17) NCH, vol II, pp. 285 & 286.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid.

(20) The manuscripts Hutchinson calls "Randal's MSS", only came to be available to him after he had already published his work on Northumberland, and he therefore edited a small pamphlet titled "A State of the Churches .... in Northumberland", which was printed privately by George Allan in 1776. The similar material relevant to Durham he inserted as footnotes throughout his work on Durham. In both cases he was dependent on the volumes now housed in the Dean and Chapter Library at Durham, especially Randal MSS volumes 8, 9, 10 and 11. Much else is contained in them besides that which Hutchinson abstracted.

(21) Venn, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p. 209; D.R.XIV.5, p. 349.

(22) Ibid. (Venn).

(23) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 298, 300, 301; Trevor's Register, p. 111.

(24) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 313 & 363; Trevor's Register, p. 143.

(25) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 313 & 363.

(26) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 348 & 349; Trevor's Register, p. 72; Venn (for Adey), op. cit., pt II, vol I, p. 15.

(Notes: pages 432-434)

(27) Ibid. (Venn). Auckland PalaceEpiscopal Papers, Bound Volume 11/3, p. 41, shows one William Adey "Clerk" licenced to the "Cure of Souls in parish church of Lanchester ... 14th September, 1744". Presumably this was the father of our ordinand.

(28) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 363 & 364.

(29) Welford, Men of Mark ..., vol I, p. 161.

(30) Venn, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p. 364.

(31) Ibid.; D.R.XIV.5, p. 363.

(32) D.R.XIV.5, p. 353.

(33) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol II, p. 633.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Trevor's Register, p. 51.

(36) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol II, p. 633.

(37) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 363 & 366.

(38) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p. 1216; Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, pp. 297 & 303.

(39) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 363 & 364; Trevor's Register, p. 96.

(40) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 313 & 314; Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol II, p. 756. Johnson left the diocese in 1757 when elected fellow of Magdalene, then was made prebend of Lincoln, rector of Lofthouse, Yorkshire, and rector of Frinton, Essex, before becoming vicar of Norton (after 1773). He died 26 August 1786.

(41) See Chapter II.

(42) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p. 74.

(43) D.R.XIV.5, p. 363; Hutchinson, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p.376.

(44) Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol IV, p. 1419.

(45) D.R.XIV.5, p. 363; Trevor's Register, p. 113.

(46) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol III, p. 388; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 363 & 364.

(47) Ibid.

(48) D.R.XIV.5, pp. 328 & 330; NCH, vol II, p. 164 & vol VII, p.491

(Notes: pages 434-437)

(49) Ibid. (NCH).

(50) NCH, vol VI, p. 381.

(51) Venn, op. cit., pt II, vol VI, p. 164.

(52) Ibid.

(53) NCH, vol IX, p. 363.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p. 10.

(56) Ibid., p. 31; D.R.XIV.5, pp. 314, 328, 358.

(57) NCH, vol XI, p.366.

(58) Ibid.; Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol III, p. 916.

(59) Tate, History of Alnwick, vol II, pp. 93 & 94. The whole paragraph depends upon this source unless specifically excepted.

(60) The "Mr. Sharp" is Thomas, the son of the archdeacon of that name and brother of John Sharp.

(61) See Tate, op. cit., for details of his literary works.

CHAPTER VII

THE DIOCESE IN 1771

A. THE CHANGING NORTHEAST

It has become an historical commonplace to assert that the Church of England failed to weather the storm of the Industrial Revolution with its sails intact, and that she limped (? has been limping) into port since that time. However true or false that may be, it is certain that the effects of that Revolution nowhere were felt earlier than in Durham and Northumberland, and many waves (if not much of the storm) had broken upon the bark Ecclesia Dunelmensis by the end of our period. She was a stout ship still, but the waves were to be merciless, and few could maintain that they did not get the best of her in the subsequent century.

In the course of our fifty-year period, "a double revolution" was effected in the social and cultural complexion of most of the north east, for the older gentry were almost entirely eliminated from the scene, and at the same time a new ruling class rose to gain control.(1) Coal-mining and the ancillary trades it nurtured had served to greatly accelerate "the social process which transmuted yeomen into merchants and merchants into gentry," and by the middle of our period we must reckon these "new men" to be "completely in the saddle."(2) There was too, throughout our period and long after it, a continuing "fusion of landed and merchant interests in these parts" which greatly exceeded such unions elsewhere.(3) The wealth which the new prosperity generated was seized at by many enterprising and industrious men, and the new gentry could ill afford to neglect the prosperous merchant families which were appearing in some profusion. Consequently we find a repeated interweaving of these two social groupings in many well planned marital unions. Nor were social changes affecting only the upper reaches of north-eastern society, for the boom in industrial development served to attract many of those whose forebears had long tilled the soil. The growth at this time of the towns

of Sunderland, Stockton, Darlington, Jarrow, Winlaton, Swalwell, Shields, Blyth and most of all Gateshead and Newcastle, was directly related to the diminishing numbers in several score of ancient rural villages and hamlets. Men and women who had been born and raised on some of England's fairest lands, were increasingly to rear their families in the midst of an expanding urban squalor. Provided with "hovels" as they were, they must have yet longed for the open space denied them.(4) Economic considerations conspired to keep them tied once they had removed from the land, and few were those who managed to return.

We have seen before something of the population of the diocese in 1736, and it would do well to remind ourselves of the changes which had occurred by 1801 the year of the first national census. Table No.1 shows these figures.(5)

Table No.1 POPULATION OF THE DIOCESE: 1736 - 1801

	1736		1801		Average Persons per Family
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	
Archdeaconry of Durham	17,917	75,253	35,567	149,384	4.2
Archdeaconry of Northumberland	21,223	93,381	35,785	158,010	4.4
	39,140	168,634	71,352	307,394	

There is good reason to believe that the population figures for Durham in 1736 are too low, though even if we assume that there was a rough parity between the two archdeaconries at that time, we are still faced with an increase of somewhat more than one per cent each year.(6) The population change in the parishes containing the nine deanery towns is set out in Table No.2.(7)

Table No.2 POPULATION CHANGE IN DEANERY TOWNS: 1736 - 1801

	1736		1801		% Increase
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	(Persons)
Chester-le-Street	1,500	6,575	2,412	10,572	60%
Darlington	1,250	5,232	1,278	5,349	2%
Easington	234	1,027	215	5,349	-4%
Stockton	670	2,838	986	4,177	47%
Alnwick	600	2,327	1,217	4,719	103%
Bamburgh	500	2,442	601	2,935	20%
Corbridge	300	1,267	413	1,744	38%
Morpeth	-	-	768	2,951	-
Newcastle	5,913	24,776	8,201	34,363	39%

These figures are illustrative of the general trends in the period 1736-1801, though they are by no means typical of the more industrial areas, which of course show a rather more significant increase. Taking the six parishes (beginning at Newburn and omitting Newcastle) which bounded the north bank of the river Tyne and curved northward to Blyth, and the similar nine on the south side of the river (from Ryton) and curving southward, at the sea, to Bishop Wearmouth, we see a very different picture indeed. The details are shown in Table No.3.(8)

Table No.3 POPULATION CHANGE IN FIFTEEN INDUSTRIAL PARISHES: 1736 - 1801

	1736		1801		% Increase
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	(Persons)
Newburn	318	1,592	839	4,199	164%
Longbenton	120	589	683	3,355	470%
Wallsend	90	444	632	3,120	603%
Tynemouth	800	3,129	3,668	14,345	358%
Earsdon	326	1,492	798	3,651	145%
Bedlington	186	816	324	1,422	74%
Ryton	800	3,531	1,206	5,323	51%
Whickham	700	2,968	863	3,659	23%
Gateshead	1,800	7,372	2,099	8,597	17%
Jarrow	275	1,155	1,789	7,516	551%
South Shields	-	-	2,225	8,108	
Whitburn	104	438	160	675	54%
Monk Wearmouth	-	-	1,512	6,293	
Sunderland	-	4,000(9)	?	12,412	210%
Bishop Wearmouth	440	1,723	1,993	7,806	353%

Clearly we can see from all these figures that a shift in the population of very significant proportions, was well under way by 1771. It remains to examine some twelve rural parishes in Northumberland, as a representative sample of those parts of the diocese which suffered a decline in their population relative to the rest of the parishes. Table No.4 contains the details.(10)

Table No.4 POPULATION CHANGE IN TWELVE RURAL NORTHUMBERLAND PARISHES: 1736 - 1801

	1736		1801		
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	% Increase (Persons)
Ponteland	238	1,134	302	1,439	27%
Whalton	100	485	97	470	-3%
Hartburn	314	1,188	308	1,165	-2%
Meldon	14	58	13	54	-7%
Mitford	117	590	134	676	15%
Longhorsley	200	879	192	844	-4%
Bothal	107	508	131	622	22%
Woodhorn	176	684	311	1,208	77%
Rothbury (11)	510	2,391	477	2,236	-6%
Whittingham	235	1,089	316	1,465	35%
Ingram	54	308	30	171	-44%
Edlingham	90	459	125	638	39%

There is yet one more change of moment that was silently altering the face of the northeast in a manner that was to affect the whole fabric of society, that is the growth of the Methodists. As we have seen previously, there were at least sixteen societies definitely established in the diocese by 1753, and others followed after.(12) According to John Wesley's Journal another five societies were established by 1770, in Weardale, Prudhoe, Barnard Castle, South Shields, and Durham City.(13) Not long after that date a significantly large society was also established in Darlington.(14) Yet even more groups of believers were gathered together by those men who laboured in partnership with Wesley, a large number of which have left no historical details until a much

later date. John Wesley himself reckoned that the "Newcastle Circuit" contained about eighteen hundred members in 1759, and the growth in the second seventeen year period may well have exceeded that initial burst of life.(15) Unfortunately, the strength of the movement in those early days is - for the historian - a great drawback, since its growth was so very dynamic. Again and again one person was joined by another, the two became three, and almost imperceptibly the foundation of another society would be laid. The time soon came when some men at least thought that the Church in the North East and Methodism were synonyms, and there was some truth in their assumption.(16)

B. THE PAROCHIAL STRUCTURE

Unlike the new societies being everywhere established by Wesley and his followers in our period, the Church of England was in no position easily to respond to the changes which had overtaken her. The shape of the parochial structure had been fashioned centuries before, and there was then (as now) an inherent inertia which delayed any change. Since the Restoration only one new parish had been created by 1721, and that was in Sunderland.(1) There more than one hundred of the principal inhabitants had subscribed to build a new church in 1712, and the preamble to their subscription makes very clear the need.(2)

> For that the town of Sunderland nigh the sea is of late years very much increased to the Number of People who are now computed to amount to 4,000 souls and upwards. And whereas the Church at Bishop Wearmouth (near half a mile distant) being the Parochiall Church is not only incapable of containing one tenth part of the number together with the other inhabitants of the Parish who, being owners or farmers of lands doe in right thereof pretend to be possessed of all the Pues or seats in the said Church insomuch that other persons not soe qualified are often undecently thrust out as intruders into the propertyes of other people.... (The inhabitants of the town, therefore, desired to build a church) within their own Township whereunto they may repayr and assemble with

> more frequency and ease than the ways and weather in the winter season or the roome in the said parish Church will permit. And also that Masters of Ships (not free in the liberties) and other strangers resorting or trading to the said town may be thereby accommodated.

There can be little doubt that many other parish churches in the diocese were incapable of "containing one tenth part" of the people who dwelt within their bounds in 1721. How much more true this must have been fifty years later, when the general population of the diocese had probably increased by fifty per cent, and that in many places by several hundred per cent.(3)

Indeed the difficulties in the way of establishing a new parish were manifold. It required an act of Parliament to change the boundaries of a parish and establish a new one, and the accomplishment of so great a feat must have long daunted those who recognised the need for more accommodation and for some form of pastoral reorganisation. Vested interests were very great, not least those interests possessed by the incumbent of an already long-established parish church. His income was certainly very likely to diminish if the tithe from some portion of his parish was redirected to another man's barn, and few were those who could either afford such loss or accept it graciously. Similarly, questions of status and prestige were inevitably (if unfortunately) involved in any proposal of change, and these considerations were an often insurmountable obstacle to action of any major kind. Lastly, there was a very large monetary investment necessary to establish a new parish. Not only was a considerable sum demanded just to obtain the parliamentary enactment necessary, but an even greater amount was required for building a structure once permission was obtained to do so. Then too, a guaranteed stipend for the new incumbent had to be provided for, and it would seem that £80 was thought to be the annual sum necessarily to be

provided in 1712.(4) Little wonder, therefore, that outside of a newly developing and prosperous town like Sunderland next to nothing was done in this direction. Another solution had to be found, and the most normal one seems to have been internal enlargement.

It was said of Alnwick about 1782, that many "little galleries" existed in the church, and the evidence seems to indicate that the erection of such was the standard eighteenth century "solution" to the problem of increasing population.(5) Doubtless many more galleries were built in our period than shall ever be known, though evidence is to hand (for several parishes) which shows clearly that this was a very routine expedient. The churches in the City of Newcastle seem to have led the way in this respect, for we know that as early as 1704 a gallery was built in All Saints (where the Rood had been) which was called "the butcher's gallery".(6) Others may have existed before this time, as for example at St. Nicholas, where there was a gallery (of undated provenance) in "the North Isle" for the use of the boys from the grammar school.(7) Similarly at St. John's, two galleries existed, one not dated and one erected in 1710.(8) The following year a gallery was also built in the west-end of St. Andrew's.(9) Outside of Newcastle we have evidence of five galleries constructed early in our period and another two later in that same interval. Archdeacon Thomas Sharp indicates that galleries were installed in at least the four churches of Alnwick, Rothbury, Shilbottle and Warkworth.(10) At Alnwick in 1723 he noted that "Mr Mark Foster (had) built a gallery (and) gave ye seats of it to ye use of ye Church."(11) At Rothbury, one of the things he himself had provided "since the year 1720" was "A New Gallery erected at ye West end of ye Church."(12) At Shilbottle, Sharp remarked in 1727 that since his previous visit "a handsome gallery (was) built at ye West end of ye Church."(13) At Warkworth a gallery was already there

in 1723, and the archdeacon ordered that it should be raised, presumably to give more air and space to those below.(14) One more gallery built early in our period was that at Whelpington, said to be dated 1721-1734.(15) Finally we know of two more galleries constructed after Thomas Sharp's death and before the end of our period, one at Felton in 1759, and another at Warkworth in 1763.(16)

We have seen in earlier chapters that the diocese in 1721, particularly in its northern archdeaconry, was heavily encumbered with decayed and decaying buildings, some of which were disused chapels, but many of which were functioning parish churches.(17) Primarily, as we believe, under the influence first of Thomas and later of John Sharp, something was done about this in our period.(18) One has only to look at any volume of the massive Northumberland County History to see clearly that scarcely a parish passed through the period of their archidiaconates without undergoing some form or other of restoration, reparation, or reconstruction. These (and other) words have not been used with anything like systematic regularity however, and it is thus very difficult to know whether these building activities were only in order to accomplish the much needed maintenance of long-neglected fabrics, or also to enlarge buildings that were proving very inadequate to house those who lived in the parishes. Unfortunately, it is very difficult now to assess the scope of this work. As most of this eighteenth century effort was done with an eye more to practicality than aesthetic taste, or at any rate what passed for that in the subsequent century, it has ceased to exist owing to the massive "gothic restorations" of the Victorian Age. Archdeacon Singleton, in his visitation of Northumberland in 1828, repeatedly pours scorn on the architectural taste of the Sharps, as for example when he expressed great disapproval of the building erected at Carham in the last years of John Sharp's archidiaconate; too like a

"Scottish Kirk" he thought.(19) John Hodgson did likewise in his history of the county when, after chronicling that "a new large window, sashed, (had been) put in the east end" of Bedlington parish church in 1737, he exclaimed "odious sashes!"(20) And James Raine was even more severe in his North Durham when describing the building erected at Cornhill in 1752 (and superintended by Thomas Sharp), which he thought to be "one of those barn-like indescribable edifices miscalled a church.... The most determined disciple of John Knox could not have succeeded better...."(21) A disciple of John Knox, Thomas Sharp surely was not, but woe-betide the man whose work does not satisfy the self-appointed guardians of architectural purity in the next age. Preferring light and air to shadow and damp, Sharp hesitated not to replace mullioned windows (some he found bricked up) with sashes in order to achieve his aim.(22) Nor could anyone reading his account of the state of the churches in 1723, honestly doubt that he made an improvement. When the whole fabric was to be renewed, the desire for adequate space seems to have been paramount. At Wooler the incumbent complained in 1762 that the growth of dissenters in the parish was at least in part attributable to the lack of room in the church. When (? providentially) fire destroyed the building the following year, a large, open structure was erected which was again described later as "barnlike".(23) Similarly, when Ilderton was entirely rebuilt in our period, it was provided with a very large, wide choir and an aisless nave, on the south side of which was placed the pulpit.(24)

All Saints, Newcastle, was not rebuilt in our period, though an account of that work by the minister Thomas Sopwith, published in 1826, throws light on the latter Sharp's approach to such projects. When it was first proposed (1785) to alter the crumbling, though ancient Norman structure, drastic recommendations were made, among them the(25)

> taking down the ruinous part from the east end to the second pillars, and erecting a new end... (to) strengthen the north and south walls by casing them in the inside with brick; to take down and rebuild the pillars and arches on the south side, and to support the tower, by building a strong wall behind the west gallery; to take the lead off the middle roof, and replace it with a new covering of fir timber and blue slate.

The estimate for the necessary repairs was said to be £1,683.13s.0d., and the then non-resident vicar, J.S. Lushington, expressed "his entire approbation" with the scheme, recommending only that the Archdeacon of Northumberland be consulted.(26) John Sharp was not so sure, however, and expressed his concerns to the bishop in a letter dated 6 February 1786. He objected to the proposals on three grounds: one, that they would make the church smaller when more space, not less, was required; secondly, a slate roof would be less protective of the church in high winds; and finally the repairs suggested, though "eligible in its construction or appearance for a new building" he considered not desirable because in "an old Gothic Church... it (was) desirable to retain the old form."(27) Sharp also wrote to the vicar, lamenting the scheme and opposing it unless the architect gave a signed statement that there was no other alternative. In that case he would agree, "though it will demolish two of the finest arches in the whole Church."(28) The restoration was taken another step farther when, on 28 March 1786, David Stephenson and John Dodds gave it as their professional opinion that "this decayed building cannot be repaired but at as much expense as building a new one. If one part is taken down, the rest will follow."(29) Clearly a new building must be erected, or so everyone then thought, and so on 9 July 1786 "Divine service was performed for the last time" in the ancient fabric.(30) In its place was to rise the grand, if somewhat eccentric, building still seen today, dwarfed beneath the Philistine Idols of a Town Council less concerned with the spiritual needs of its

people than its predecessor in the late eighteenth century.

Though Thomas and John Sharp may be accounted the grand movers behind the extraordinarily general impetus for restoration and enlargement of the ecclesiastical buildings of the diocese in the eighteenth century, nevertheless their efforts were successful owing primarily to the coincidence of two things. On the one hand the vast revenues left by Nathaniel Lord Crewe, and intended for the repair and upkeep of the poorer livings in the diocese, and on the other hand the reforming influence of the then newly formed Queen Anne's Bounty.(31) As the bounty commissioners gradually found their feet and developed the administrative techniques necessary effectively to run such a grand scheme as the augmentation of all the poorer benefices in the Church of England, so too the Trustees of Lord Crewe found their way forward in augmenting the poorer livings of the Diocese of Durham. Precisely when it occurred to the trustees to use their funds in order to set free matching funds from the commissioners is not certain, but the effect upon the diocese was to be incalculable once the coincidence occurred, and was exploited. Table No.5 overleaf, shows those benefices augmented by Queen Anne's Bounty up to 1758 (when Thomas Sharp died), and indicates whether they were augmented by lot or to meet a benefaction.(32) In the former case the amount of the augmentation is shown, and in the latter case the same, though it must be remembered that these funds were given in order to match a benefaction of the same size.

Table No.5 AUGMENTATIONS BY QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY: 1721 - 1758

ARCHDEACONRY OF DURHAM

Benefice	Date	To meet Beneftn.	Lot.
Auckland St.Helen (C)	1724	200	
Barnard C.(C)	1723	200	
Castle Eden	1723	200	
*Croxdale	1739	200	
*Dalton	1728	200	
Darlington (C)	1732	200	
*Dinsdale (C)	1728	200	
Durham:			
*St.Margaret (C)	1748		200
	1755	200	
St.Mary-le-Bow	1722	200	
St.Mary-the-less	1732		200
	1735	200	
St.Nicholas (C)	1750	200	
Ebchester (C)	1734	200	
Eggleston (C)	1742		200
Escomb (C)	1744	200	
Esh (C)	1733		200
	1757		200
Greatham	1734	200	
Grindon	1724	200	
Hamsterley (C)	1724	200	
Hartlepool (C)	1724	200	
Hunstanworth (C)	1727	200	
*Kimblesworth	1742		200
Lanchester (C)	1723	200	
*Mk. Wearmouth	1751	200	
*Muggleswick (C)	1743	200	
Penshaw ("Pancher") (C)	1752		200
	1754	200	
	1756	200	
*Pittington	1723	200	
Satley (C)	1735		200
	1752		200
Staindrop	1741		200
	1756		200
Trimdon (C)	1756	200	
Witton-le-Wear(C)	1724	200	
	1755	200	
*Wolviston (C)	1739	200	

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND

Benefice	Date	To meet Beneftn.	Lot.
Alston Moor	1751	200	
Alwinton (C)	1735		200
	1737	200	
*Ancroft (C)	1733	200	
Belford (C)	1735		200
	1752		200
Blanchland (C)	1752		400
	1754	200	
*Cornhill (C)	1730	200	
Corsenside (C)	1728	200	
Cramlington (C)	1742		200
Falston (C)	1724	200	
*Holy Island (C)	1722	200	
	1732	200	
*Horton (C)	1734		200
	1750		200
*Kyloe (C)	1739	200	
*Lowick (C)	1732	200	
*Meldon	1744	200	
Shotley (C)	1724	200	
	1734	200	
*Tweedmouth (C)	1729	200	

* Dean and Chapter Living
(C) Curacy

The significance of the data contained in Table No.5, so far as the parochial structure of the diocese is concerned, would be difficult to over estimate. Not only were forty-seven poor benefices augmented, but thirty five of these were curacies, the majority of which thereby became freehold benefices for the first time.(33) Consequently they ceased to be dependent upon the occasional services of the incumbent or curate of the mother church, and instead were subsequently cared for by their own shepherd. Effectively therefore, new parishes were created throughout the diocese without the need for parliamentary action in each case. No doubt they were generally small buildings in small villages, thus not alleviating the strain of growing populations in the more urban areas, nevertheless the likelihood of careful and effective pastoral care was thereby greatly increased. The step-daughters were at last allowed to grow up at least some way toward maturity, and if he was not their "Prince Charming", Thomas Sharp must be allowed the role of "Fairy Godfather". None of the Northumberland augmentations precedes his collation as archdeacon in 1722, and only eighteen of the thirty-one Durham augmentations precede his appointment as a Crewe Trustee in 1737.(34) Further, of those seventeen benefices augmented which were under the Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, only five were so assisted before Sharp was himself made a member of the Chapter in 1732.(35)

The work which was being done to "tody up" the poorer diocesan livings, of course carried on after Thomas Sharp's death in 1758, and John Sharp seems to have been every bit as active (if not more so) in this task as was his father. A prebendary from 1768, archdeacon from 1762, and a Crewe Trustee as well, he had the same tri-partite involvement in the needs and problems of the poorer parochial benefices.(36) Though his involvement was not finished in 1771, our period of study ends there,

and so Table No.6 only shows augmentations to that time.(37)

Table No.6 AUGMENTATIONS BY QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY: 1759 - 1771

ARCHDEACONRY OF DURHAM				ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHUMBERLAND			
		To meet				To meet	
Benefice	Date	Beneftn.	Lot.	Benefice	Date	Beneftn.	Lot.
Bishopton	1767	200		Alnham	1767		200
Durham:				Beadnell (C)	1763		200
St.Giles (C)	1768	200			1766	200	
Medomsley (C)	1765		200	Birtley (C)	1765		200
Sunderland (C)	1769		200		1767	400	
	1771	400		Brinkburn (C)	1768	200	
Tanfield (C)	1769	200		Bywell:			
Whorlton (C)	1767		200	St.Andrew	1771	200	
	1771	200		Earsdon (C)	1760		200
				Lucker (C)	1766		200
					1767	200	
					1770	200	
				Mitford	1761	200	
				Rennington (C)	1767		200
					1769	400	
				Rock (C)	1767		200
					1769	400	
				Widdrington (C)	1766		200
					1767	200	
					1771		200

Again we are struck by the fact that of seventeen augmentations, the recipient in thirteen cases was neither a vicarage nor a rectory. Effectively therefore, thirteen more benefices de jure (some were certainly de facto before) were created in the latter part of our period.

Looking then at the diocese as a whole in 1771, we are able to see that the extraordinarily great changes in the population had been accompanied by an almost revolutionary change in the parochial structure, as forty-eight new benefices were created from the impoverished and often mean chapels and chapelries scattered about the two counties. Unfortunately however, it seems very doubtful indeed whether this structural change really served to minimize the enormous strain being placed upon the system.

In nearly every case the boundaries of the units set free from their parochial parents were determined not by the needs of the population as it then existed, but rather by the historical accidents which had contributed to their original formation. The result was that many small rural parishes were carved out of larger rural ones, and little could be done in those places most urgently requiring help. One example, from many similar cases, will perhaps make this more clear. Washington parish was reckoned to contain 150 families in 1736, but by 1801 there were 517 families comprising 2,475 people.(38) This great increase was occasioned (as a footnote in the first census makes clear) by the development of two coal mines in the intervening period. There was not however, an ancient mediaeval chapel in the parish coincident with the growth in population, in fact there was none at all. Consequently the masses dwelling in the two townships of Usworth got on as best they could without the benefit of any local ecclesiastical ediface, and probably without benefit of much pastoral ministration either. When this district was made a distinct parish in 1832, it had grown to include 1,477 persons, though the majority had been there decades before.(39) It is all too clear that the response here and elsewhere to the great changes afoot, was too little and too late.

C. THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

We have already seen in Chapter VI that large numbers of clergy were annually entering the diocese, and we have seen something of their background and ministry as well.(1) What we have not yet drawn attention to, is the general change which was gradually altering their social standing. Early in our period it was still possible for an unscrupulous patron to treat his parish priest with the most miserable of manners, if not outright wickedness. Thomas Forster not only withheld monies from

the vicar of Carham, Thomas Ogle, but pulled down his parsonage house for spite, thus forcing the poor incumbent to rebuild a "mean structure" at his own cost.(2) Such an affair, though not impossible, was hardly likely to occur by 1771, for a general increase in respect for the clergy had begun to appear by that time. The complex social, cultural and economic aspects of this transition are beyond the bounds of inquiry set for this dissertation, but at least two influences will be examined: first, the changing social background of those men ordained; and, secondly, the movement of the beneficed clergy (as a group) into the category of landed gentry.

As will have been apparent previously, the matriculation records of the two English Universities furnish us with something of a window into the lives of those men who entered their gates, particularly as regards their general social standing. This may be seen on the one hand, because there was a marked gradation of matriculation status roughly corresponding to the social and economic status of the new students' parents. At Cambridge for example, to enter as "sizar" was to enter at the lowest level, as "fellow commoner" at the highest, and as "pensioner" at the intermediate. The matriculation records at Oxford are not nearly so ordered, but there is a general tendency for the fathers of new men to be noted as "gentlemen", "plebian", "clericus", "armiger", etc., thereby furnishing again some idea of the level of society from which they came. When we add to these facts the occasional citation of the father's trade or profession, which sometimes appears in the matriculation records or else in the notice of baptism or ordination, we are assisted even more in analysing these social patterns. The details are shown in Table No.7.(3)

Table No.7 SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF MEN ORDAINED IN THE DIOCESE: 1721 - 1759

	1721-30	1731-41	1742-49	1750-51	1753-59
Matriculation Status.					
Oxford:					
Son of Armiger	0	0	0	0	5
Son of Gentleman	3	4	0	0	9
Son of Cleric	3	2	0	0	2
Son of Plebian	1	5	0	0	7
Cambridge:					
Fellow-Commoner	1	0	0	0	0
Pensioner	4	9	3	0	4
Sizar	14	13	6	3	7
Father's Occupation.					
Baronet	0	2	0	0	0
Armiger	0	0	0	0	5
Bishop	0	1	0	0	0
Gentleman	4	7	5	3	9
Colonel	0	0	0	0	1
Attorney	1	0	1	0	2
Clergyman	7	13	4	2	9
Doctor	0	0	1	0	1
Barber Surgeon	1	0	0	0	0
Merchant	0	2	0	0	0
Exciseman	0	1	0	0	0
Collector of Taxes	0	1	0	0	0
Tennant	0	0	0	0	1
Farmer	0	0	1	0	0
Husbandman	2	0	0	0	0
Weaver	1	0	0	0	0
Currier	1	0	0	0	0
Furrier	1	0	0	0	0
Cooper	0	0	0	0	1
Plebian	1	0	5	0	6
Cordwainer	0	0	1	0	0

These figures seem to show something of the movement which was gathering force to propel the clergy, at least the beneficed ones, into a higher level of society in our period.

Yet another factor which must be reckoned with, is the general awakening in the eighteenth century to a recognition of the potential worth of the lands and properties annexed to the benefices and dignities

of the church. Land was one of the primary outward symbols of social standing in the period, and ancient benefactions to the parishes made many of them socially significant in this regard.(4) A man need not own land in order to benefit from its social and economic provision, and the clergy seem to have recognized this very clearly indeed. By wise management of his glebe land, as well as his "rights" to tithe in kind, the incumbent of many a country living was able to greatly improve his fortune and position in society.(5) There seems to have been little delay, on the part of the parochial clergy, in following in the footsteps of the bishops and cathedral clergy as they perfected the techniques of "improvement".(6) It is also important to remember that Queen Anne's Bounty was busy throughout the century in augmenting the poorer livings, and this augmentation was almost always achieved by the purchase of lands.(7) Consequently there was a steady increase in the "landed clergy" (if we may so denote them) throughout both Northumberland and Durham between 1721 and 1771.

Perhaps the most visible sign of this great change, is that in parish after parish we find the parsonage house transformed in these fifty years from one of squalor and meanness to one of respectability and grace - as befits a gentleman. We have seen that early in the century the incumbent of Carham was forced to build a "mean structure" after his parsonage house was destroyed, but it is typical of the changing attitude (as well as the increasing economic independence) of the clergy that his successor, Richard Wallis, rebuilt the house entirely in mid-century so that it would be "fit for a clergyman to live in."(8) By 1790, the rebuilding of the church itself was undertaken, and this sequential "upgrading" of parsonage and then church was repeated throughout the diocese.(9) Though it was not, strictly speaking, the archdeacon's duty to survey the state of the parsonage, nevertheless we find that the

Archdeacons of Northumberland not infrequently comment on the state of these houses, especially if they are extraordinarily unit. Archdeacon Robinson, for example, seems not to have been able to visit Long Horsley without commenting in his journal "the house is very mean."(10) Again, in 1758, when visiting Woodhorn he records a similar verdict: "the house very bad."(11) Perhaps it is because of this, that the parsonage house stood outside of the bounds of the ecclesiastical prescriptions to be enforced by the ordinary, that we are unable in many places to ascertain just how extensive were eighteenth century repairs to their fabric. We are fortunate however, in that some mention of these restorations has managed to find its way into the major histories of the County of Northumberland. They show us that in at least twelve cases, the incumbent undertook a major work of restoration, rebuilding or enlargement between 1721 and 1771. Doubtless there were many more, and a survey conducted by a competent student of architecture would certainly (even two centuries later) reveal more, as would the parish chest of many a benefice. Table No.8 shows those livings whose parsonage was definitely rebuilt in some measure.

Table No.8 NORTHUMBERLAND PARSONAGE HOUSE RESTORATION, REBUILDING OR ENLARGEMENT: 1721 - 1771

Benefice	Approx. Date	Source of Information
Alwinton	c.1758	NCH, vol XV, p. 410
Chatton	c.1713-1736	vol XIV p. 195
Embleton	1727	vol II, p. 72
Felton	c.1683-1726	vol VII p. 280
Hartburn	c.1750	Hodgson, pt II vol I, pp.300-301
Mitford	c.1764	pt II vol II, p. 30
Morpeth	1768	pt II vol II, p. 395
Rothbury	c.1721	NCH, vol XV, p. 315
Simonburn	1725	vol XV, p. 184
Stannington	1745	Hodgson, pt II vol II, p. 281
Whelpington	c.1760-1771	pt II vol I, p. 205
Whitfield	c.1760	pt II vol III, p. 108

D. PASTORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE OVERSIGHT

By the time of Richard Trevor's death in 1771, he had been Bishop of Durham for nineteen years, and his pattern of episcopal oversight was thus well and truly stamped upon the diocese. Nothing could be more important in setting the "tone" of diocesan parochial life, than the example of the man who presided over the whole bishopric, and we have seen reason to believe that Trevor's example was a wholesome one.(1) His episcopate was marked by a vigorous improvement in the administrative arm of the diocese, both in the pattern of administration and in the personnel employed to facilitate and execute that branch of his responsibility. His energy in carrying out his episcopal duties of visitation, confirmation and ordination, shows him likewise exemplary in every respect. Add to this the general distinction of those whom the bishop preferred in the diocese, and we must yield to the weight of the evidence that the state of the diocese in 1771, so far as pastoral oversight is concerned, was much improved from fifty years before.

Administratively we must give Trevor's episcopate high marks as well. It is clear that within the traditional pastoral and parochial framework, the system of dealing with administrative matters seems to have worked reasonably well. The pattern of the documents surviving from the period following Trevor's episcopal reign, seems to show that for a time at least, the diocesan registry could (and did) function efficiently along the administrative track which had already been put in place. To be familiar with the affairs of Trevor's period, is to be familiar with most of the work and documents of the next few decades, and the calibre of those men appointed by him was adhered to long after his death.(2) Samuel Viner, the Principal Surrogate from 1780 to 1810, has left behind more than sufficient evidence that within the well-defined limits of the

ecclesiastical laws, the administrative machine bequeathed by Trevor worked at reasonably full-throttle.(3)

On the other hand, we must ask ourselves the question whether or not the efforts made in a more pastoral direction, however laudable, were in fact capable of meeting the challenge being thrown up to the Church of England in the Diocese of Durham. Trevor was (not surprisingly) attempting to live up to a fine old model of episcopal care and activity, but he was nevertheless aiming at an <u>old</u> model. A product of the nobility of his day, he shows some of their best characteristics, yet his life, manners and style of living could not but separate him from the bulk of his clergy, to say nothing of the people in the pews (or even more, in the streets).(4) At a time when the great body of people in the land were rapidly losing touch with the life of the established Church, and when masses of people were populating the new industrial and urban districts, such a separation of the bishop from his people cannot possibly have contributed to the pastoral well-being of the flock committed to his charge. Yet there seems never to have been the least doubt expressed that this situation was anything but satisfactory. Dangerous it is to judge a previous age by the standards of a later, as the eighteenth century too often has been, yet the standards of previous ages - not least those of the first few centuries of the Christian Church - are sufficient to convict it at least of blindness and lethargy. Trevor, no less than his brothers on the bench, seems not to have been able to see the plight of the church he loved, or if he saw it, not to have possessed either the vision or the will to effectively change its structures or its patterns of life. It is a sad fact too, that the one major attempt so to do, that of John Wesley, seems to have been passed by in silence by the best bishop of our period.(5) That a movement so vital and dynamic, for all its faults, proved in the end to be incapable of remaining at the

bosom of the one who had given it birth, must be seen as a sad commentary on the pastoral life of the Church of England in general, and of the Diocese in particular. Here was a pattern of pastoral care, nurture, and oversight which seemed to work; here was a proclamation which called forth servants for the most difficult and humble of pastures, and a doctrine of ministry which could set them free - even as laymen - to labour in those same places; here was a re-awakening of the sense of fellowship among brethren, which seemed so like the primitive pattern seen in the New Testament; and yet it proved to be unassimilatable. Blame can be placed upon many heads, but all should bow in sadness.

Of course not all of the pastoral responsibility for the diocese was on one man's shoulders in our period, any more than at the present day, and we have seen that at least three of the archdeacons in our period were more than capably assisting the bishops under whom they worked.(6) A better eighteenth century archdeacon than Thomas Sharp, we believe it to be impossible to find, unless it should be his own son John. Samuel Dickens too, seems to be of the highest standard attained by any who laboured before him in the Archdeaconry of Durham, and of many who came after. What then may we say of the fruit of all their labour in the diocese, especially that of the two Sharps?

Clearly we may assert, and truly, that no archdeaconry in eighteenth century England was better served by its archdeacons than was Northumberland. For nearly seventy years father and son gave of their time, energy, wealth, talent and devotion, such that any impartial witness must declare admiration.(7) The elder bequeathed to his beloved church a literary estate of not invaluable worth, and it was seen so to be for several generations beyond his death.(8)? Not less did he bequeath by his example as a pastor and teacher. He inspired many to a more sincere and pure

devotion to God and to their calling as shepherds of his flock, and he instilled in those who knew him best, a love and concern for the humble, the sick and the poor. His children proved to be in every way worthy of their father, as Granville Sharp alone could testify, and perhaps unknown spiritual children did likewise.(9) It is hard too, to imagine that many ever laboured so indefatigably in the archidiaconal function, travelled so many miles or sought so persistently to supervise the reparation of the ecclesiastical fabric of such a large number of parish churches. And yet John Sharp presents us with very nearly the same picture, though by his efforts to create a state of religious, economic and social well-being in and around Bamburgh (a type of welfare state), he gains a special place of recognition.(10) Even so, in this very admission, we are faced with a disconcerting paradox. If the labour of Thomas Sharp had produced lasting effects, why did John Sharp have to undertake almost as monumental a task only a few short years after his father's death?

Perhaps indeed, the expectation that such should not be the case is a wrong one. Nevertheless, it seems important to analyse at least some of the factors which led to such a circumstance. Primarily of of course, we must recognise the extreme susceptibility to decay which characterise many of those things which an archdeacon must labour to improve. Stone weathers and timber rots, quite independently of the men who supervised their use in any reconstruction. Consequently we need not be surprised that massive reparations were as necessary in 1763 as they were in 1723. We may perhaps speculate also, that few parishes were eager to expend large sums of money unless they were under pressure to do so, and that there would thus be a tendency for needed repairs to be postponed until such time as the archdeacon gave specific order. Since major visitational surveys were normal only early in any given archidiaconate,

we see here a plain reason why repairs were especially necessary by 1763. Yet again, the incumbents of the archdeaconry will have been constantly changing throughout those forty years, and thus we might expect that the influence of the archdeacon, though strong in his early years, would have appreciably decreased by his latter days. We have enumerated therefore, three very reasonable factors, all of which contribute something toward our understanding of the recurrent need for a massive input of archidiaconal labour. We are thus able to see that in each of these three there is one thing which links them, that is the length of time in which the archdeacon remained in office. Could it be then, that the appointment of a man young enough to possess the necessary energy, was an almost certain prescription for future difficulty as the young man grew older? Thomas Sharp was twenty-nine years old when he began his archidiaconate, and sixty-five when his death terminated it; John Sharp was thirty-nine when he began, and sixty-nine when his death brought his archidiaconate to an end; Samuel Dickens was forty-one when he acquired responsibility for the Archdeaconry of Durham, and seventy-two when he passed it on.(11) In all three cases, what was begun in the early years was desperately needed again by the time a successor came into the office. Thomas Robinson alone was appointed archdeacon (in our period) at an advanced age, for he was fifty-eight, and the minimal activity of his short tenure in office seems to add weight to our conviction.(12)

Certain it was that near-apostolic vigour on the part of the archdeacon alone, could not long hold corruption and decay from the fabric of the institutional church, nor ensure spiritual vitality in the subsequent decades. Two at least, of the finest men ever to try in their day were, by their efforts and results, to prove that the task was too great without massive institutional change - change which they were never to see.

E. THE FUTURE

The task of assessing the lives and episcopates of those who came after Trevor will doubtless fall to another, yet we must at least cast an eye to those men if we are to finish our work aright. Richard Trevor was succeeded by John Egerton on 20 July 1771, when the latter's translation from Lichfield to Durham was confirmed. A man of noble birth (grandson to the Earl of Bridgwater through his father, and to the Earl of Portland through his mother), he was raised in the midst of the world of power, wealth and refinement.(2) His father, Henry, was Bishop of Hereford, and the young Egerton was given every advantage of education and training. Hutchinson records a glowing tribute to him, though (it must be acknowledged) he seems to be labouring against many opinions to the contrary.(3) Bishop Newton, a contemporary of Egerton, recorded in his autobiography one such point of view.(4)

> Mr. Grenville said that he considered bishoprics as of two kinds - bishoprics of business for men of ability and learning, and bishoprics of ease for men of family and fashion. Of the former sort he reckoned Canterbury and York and London, and Ely on account of its connection with Cambridge; of the latter sort Durham and Winchester and Salisbury and Worcester. He mentioned the Bishops Egerton and Lyttleton as likely to succeed to some of the latter sort.

Whether or not Mr. Grenville was correct in his assessment, we do not know, but it is clear that Durham continued to be a seat of great temporal, if not spiritual, distinction. Egerton died 18 January 1787, and was almost immediately succeeded by Thomas Thurlow, brother of the Lord Chancellor of England.(5) Again a man of "family and fashion" was bequeathed to the diocese. Four short years were enough to see Thurlow to his grave, and thus the way was opened to another man of "family and fashion", though Shute Barrington was also possessed of "ability and learning."(6) He was to preside over "the Bishoprick" for thirty-five years, and he was one of

the first bishops to begin to initiate reforms significant enough to affect the life of the diocese, a work which gathered momentum throughout the county in a manner not unrelated to his own example and exertion.(7)

Indeed reform was desperately needed by the end of our period, though it was to take several more decades before the events of history virtually compelled the Church of England to take action. In every sphere, political, economic, social, cultural and ecclesiastical, an old order was being undermined and radicals and reformers of every sort and description were not wanting to shape its successor. Nowhere was this more true than in the Church of England, which was beset by many demands for change, yet the powerful bonds of political servitude and ecclesiastical tradition were possessed of an almost death-like grip. Attitudes were hardened against change of any description, and many were the innovative and idealistic schemes which were battered upon those rocks. At home, for example, the rising tide of Wesleyanism was thought by many to be best got rid of, while in the North American Colonies this same group was growing so rapidly that Wesley determined (rightly or wrongly) to ordain men to minister there. Meanwhile the nascent Episcopal Church was virtually helpless to contribute to the spiritual needs of the increasing populace, caught as she was between the political antagonisms of many and her own spiritual helplessness as an Episcopal Church without bishops. Yet change had to come, and come it did, when suddenly in rather rapid succession, the American Colonies were lost and a revolution of shocking proportions convulsed a nation visible from England's southern shores. Sad it was that reaction in the nineteenth century, rather than constructive action in the eighteenth, at length began to put right so many wrongs.

We are forced to conclude our study then, with the melancholy knowledge that the Church's peace and seeming tranquility in 1771 were but an

allusion, and that a great time of travail and testing was about to break upon it. Nevertheless, we may be heartened by the signs we have seen of true piety, devotion, and even some greatness, in the midst of this half century of the Northern Church's life. She has perhaps suffered too much in the past at the hands of her detractors, and in spite of many sins of omission and commission, it is well to know that she was not entirely incapable of raising up sons - even in the eighteenth century - who were able to bring honour to her name, and even more importantly to her Lord.

(Notes: pages 457-460)

A. THE CHANGING NORTHEAST.

(1) Hughes, North Country Life, p. xviii.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p. xix.

(4) Ibid., p. 257. Pitmen were given a "tied cottage" and coals from very early in the century.

(5) Compare Table No. 1, Chapter I, from which this data is taken.

(6) Between 1801 and 1831, the increase of population was as follows:

	1801-1811	1811-1821	1821-1831
County of Northumberland	9%	15%	12%
County of Durham	11%	17%	22%

See (Census), Comparative Account of the Population of Great Britain in the Years 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 ....

(7) (Census), Abstract of the Answers and Returns, Made Pursuant to an Act .... Entitled "An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, and the Increase or Diminuation thereof". Ordered to be printed 21st December 1801. The number of persons in 1736 is an approximation, arrived at by taking the average number of persons per family in 1801, and multiplying by the number of families in 1736. The figures for Newcastle in 1801 are taken from the table set out in Note (36), section E, Chapter I, which should be consulted for further details of the city parishes.

(8) Again we have computed the number of persons in 1736 as previously. Unfortunately we have no figures at that date for three major industrialized parishes - Sunderland, Monk Wearmouth and South Shields.

(9) This figure is taken from the preamble to the subscription raised in 1712 to build a new church in Sunderland. See Hughes, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

(10) Persons in 1736 computed as before.

(11) Rothbury is the only parish which yields (in the original document Chandler's Remarks) both the number of families and the number of persons in 1736. Significantly it shows an average of 4.4 persons per family, the same figure as the 1801 statistics yield for the whole Archdeaconry of Northumberland.

(12) See Chapter III, page 205.

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(13) J. Wesley, Journal. Weardale (High House) from at least 1760 (see entry 9 May 1764), Prudhoe 5 June 1761, Barnard Castle 6 June 1763, South Shields 15 May 1764 and Durham 11 June 1770. All of these societies are clearly in existence at these times, though may well have been established much earlier.

(14) Ibid., entry of 5 May 1777.

(15) Ibid., entry 28 June 1759.

(16) For some notice of the growth of Methodism in the North East, see W.W. Stamp, The Orphan House of Wesley with Notices of Early Methodism in Newcastle.

B. THE PAROCHIAL STRUCTURE.

(1) All other building (of which there was little) had been of a restorative nature. Cramlington was rebuilt from 1673 to 1683 (NCH, vol XIII, p. 376); St. Ann's Chapel in Newcastle was rebuilt in 1682 (Bourne, History of Newcastle, p. 154); Tynemouth was rebuilt during the Cromwellian Period, though not finished until 1668 (NCH, vol VIII, p.359).

(2) Quoted by Hughes, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

(3) Assuming (as was true from 1736 to 1801) an annual increase of one per cent.

(4) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol II, p. 524. A dwelling house was provided as well and the new living was discharged of all first fruits, tenths procurations and synodals. Significantly, all the tithe was still to go to the rector of Bishop Wearmouth, with the incumbent at Sunderland receiving only "Easter reckonings, suplice fees and other small dues".

(5) Tate, History of Alnwick, vol II, p. 143.

(6) Sopwith, A Historical and Descriptive Account of All Saints' Church ...., p. 27.

(7) Bourne, op. cit., p.61.

(8) Ibid., p. 44.

(9) Ibid., p. 25.

(10) Sharp's Visitation 1723. Only Alnwick and Bamburgh Deaneries have been searched.

(11) Ibid., p. 11.

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(12) Ibid., p. 37.

(13) Ibid., p. 39.

(14) Ibid., p. 41.

(15) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol I, p. 205 note.

(16) NCH, vol VII, p. 275 for Felton; NCH, vol V, p. 193 for Warkworth.

(17) See Chapters I and II.

(18) An architectural study of the work done in this period by the two Sharps, could certainly afford someone with a fascinating project.

(19) Quoted in NCH, vol XI, p. 21.

(20) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p. 358.

(21) Raine, North Durham, p. 322.

(22) The sashed window, though typical of the eighteenth century, was not without rival. At Ford the Delavals spent a good deal of money on the chancel, installing two "gothick" windows and one round one in 1752, and in 1776 three "hewn rose Windows". See NCH, vol XI, p. 359.

(23) Ibid., p. 292.

(24) Proceedings of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries (2nd Series), vol X, p. 261.

(25) Sopwith, op. cit., pp. 17 & 18.

(26) Ibid., p. 18.

(27) Ibid., pp. 18 & 19.

(28) Ibid., p. 19.

(29) Ibid., pp. 19 & 20.

(30) Ibid., p. 21.

(31) For some notice of the Crewe Trust, see Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Appendix; for Queen Anne's Bounty, see Best, Temporal Pillars.

(32) Hodgson, An Account of the Augmentations ...., pp. 304-309.

(33) It was an early stipulation that all chapels, etc., receiving

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augmentation from the bounty, must henceforth become freehold benefices, usually called perpetual curacies.

(34) See Chapter III.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Hodgson, An Account of the Augmentations ...., pp. 304-309.

(38) Census of 1801.

(39) There were 1,236 persons in the district in 1801; 1,277 in 1811; 1,365 in 1821; and 1,477 in 1731. See (Census) Comparative Account of the Population .... 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831.

C. THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

(1) See also Chapter II, which deals with many more of the so-called "higher clergy".

(2) NCH, vol XI, p. 21.

(3) This data is gleaned from the tables of Chapter VI, which should be consulted for each individual period.

(4) Dorothy Marshall's dictum: "Whatever the source of his wealth, as soon as he could a man bought land", certainly was true of the clergy. But, they had the added advantage of "inheriting", during their lifetime, significant portions without having to raise the wealth to purchase. They were not generally slow in recognizing this fact. See D. Marshall, Eighteenth Century England, p. 29.

(5) Repeatedly we find the clergy in litigation to collect their tithes or to "break through" older agreements to limit tithe to a monetary payment. That this clearly reflects the increased worth of such tithes cannot be doubted. For three examples only (of many dozens), see: NCH, vol XI, p. 357, re. the rector of Ford; Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p. 524, re. the rector of Morpeth; and NCH, vol XV, p. 189, re. the rector of Simonburn. In this latter case we see something of the bitterness that such litigation could arouse, for it is recorded that James Scott "apprehending his life was in danger,... removed to London". Doubtless after he had won the suit.

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(6) For this practice on the part of the bishops and capitular clergy, see Hughes, op. cit.

(7) See Best, Temporal Pillars, for a lucid analysis of the policies adopted by the governors of the bounty.

(8) NCH, vol XI, p. 21.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Hodgson, Northumberland, pt II, vol II, p. 93.

(11) Ibid., p. 187.

D. PASTORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE OVERSIGHT.

(1) See especially Chapter II, and also Chapter V.

(2) See Chapter IV for a discussion of those men who held diocesan offices in Trevor's time.

(3) Viner's "Book of Precedents", D.R.XVIII. 4, is a very illuminating manuscript, for it shows in much detail the affairs of the diocese and the registry. It deserves to be edited.

(4) In this respect, at least, we must hold Rotheram's judgement in reserve, for the accessibility of a bishop to his clergy may seem very different to one who is near the throne, than it does to one in the parish. See Chapter II.

(5) For Archdeacon Thomas Sharp's response, see Chapter III. Also see Remarks on a Book (by John Wesley), intitled An Ernest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion. In a letter to the Rev. John Wesley. The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books suggests that this is by Thomas Sharp.

(6) See Chapter III.

(7) We have encountered no hostility directed toward either man, by contemporary or modern hand, except in the case of Percival Stockdale, a man so avowedly eccentric as to prove the rule. See Chapter VI.

(8) Several of Sharp's works were printed long after his death, especially his Discourses on Preaching (as late as 1787), and his The Rubric ... and the Canons ..., (as late as 1853).

(9) See the Memoirs of Granville Sharp, by Prince Hoare, for an

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interesting account of the childhood of Granville (and thus insight into that of the other children) as well as fascinating portraits of the less well known brothers James and William.

(10) For a general and introductory survey of John Sharp's work at Bamburgh, see NCH, vol I.

(11) For the ages of Thomas Sharp and John Sharp, see Venn, op. cit., pt I, vol IV, pp. 51 & 49 respectively; for Dickens, see Foster, op. cit., pt II, vol I, p. 367.

(12) NCH, vol XII, p. 432. Robinson's meagre additions to (Thomas) Sharp's Visitation 1723 can be seen in the copy in the Dean and Chapter Library, Hunter MS 6a.

E. THE FUTURE.

(1) Handbook of British Chronology, p. 221.

(2) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p. iii.

(3) Ibid., pp. iii - xiii.

(4) Quoted by Low, op. cit., p. 315.

(5) Hutchinson, op. cit., vol III, p. xv. Thurlow was translated from Lincoln, after being confirmed on 19 February; see Handbook of British Chronology, p. 221.

(6) See Low, op. cit., p. 315, for a general introduction to Barrington's episcopate.

(7) He deserves a major study.

MAP OF MEDIAEVAL NORTHUMBERLAND & DURHAM

SCALE of MILES

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

- ■ of Monks.
- ◆ of Regular Canons
- △ do extinct by c 1200.
- ● of Nuns or Canonesses.
- ○ do extinct by c 1400, or doubtful.
- ▬ of Friars & Trinitarians.
- ▭ do extinct by c 1500, or doubtful.
- ✠ of Knights Hospitallers
- ◆ Fortified Religious House.
- ⊕ Hospitals
- ● do, supposed to have been disused before 1500.
- ⊖ Supposed Hospitals
- ● Hermitage or Anchorage
- ▲ do supposed
- ⊙ Monastic Granges, &c.
- ⌂ Manors &c. of bishops or priors of Durham
- ▣ Collegiate Church
- ◆ Parish Church.
- ✦ Chapel or Chantry.
- ✕ do. supposed or temporary.

CASTLES, TOWERS, &c.

- ◇ Castle, in records or lists before 1550
- ◆ Towers, in records or lists before 1550 (including Fortalices, Peles, Bastles, fortified & moated manors)
- ◆ Other Towers, &c. (as above).
- ✕ Towers known or supposed to have been built after 1550.
- ⬡ Walled Town.

BOUNDARIES.

- Dioceses.
- Parish or Chantry.
- do., between parishes &c in the advowson of the same religious house or bishop.

ROADS.

- Principal Roads.
- Roads & Border Tracks.

LETTERING, &c.

Names of parishes, chapelries or religious houses heading sections of list: Rothbury

Other Names: Pelaw.

Numerals. Places not named on the map are numbered under the parish in which they appear in the list, and may be located or identified from the boundaries and list.

Numerals in brackets denote the number of religious houses of each category in Berwick, Newcastle and Durham.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES or BISHOPS HAVING THE ADVOWSON OF PARISHES &c. IN 1535 A.D.

- A Alnwick Abbey
- B Brinkburn Priory
- C Carlisle Priory or Bishop
- D Durham Priory
- E Durham Bishop
- F Blanchland Abbey.
- G Guisborough Priory, Yorks
- H Hexham Priory
- I Coverham Abbey, Yorks.
- J Holystone Priory
- K Kepier Hospital, Durham.
- L Lanercost Priory, Cumb.
- M Nostell Priory, Yorks.
- N Newminster Abbey.
- O Oxford Colleges.
- P Kirkham Priory, Yorks.
- S Sherburn Hospital.
- T Tynemouth Priory.
- U St Alban's Abbey, Herts.
- V St Mary's Abbey, York.
- Y York Prebend

Lambley, Chester le Street, St Andrew Auckland, Lanchester, &c., as shown by boundaries.

Compiled and drawn by R. Neville Hadcock, 1938, from old maps, &c., and from the Ordnance Survey, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

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