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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Despite chafing at the impositions of the King's years of personal rule, and suffering severely in the debacle of the Bishops' Wars which ended it, Durham was predominantly loyal to the Crown in 1642. The establishment of parliamentary ascendancy in 1644 brought new personalities - and new forms of government - into the county: gentlemen of good quality, often with Newcastle commercial connections and headed by the grandee Vanes. The pre-war body of radical dissent, centred in the entrepreneurs of the lower Wear and Durham townsmen and drawing strength from Church tenantry, found itself still with an essentially subordinate role.

Those who had committed themselves to the royal cause in general made their peace after the first war: the involvement of former notable cavaliers in the events of 1648 was much reduced. Yet few were reconciled to Commonwealth or Protectorate, or could be drawn into the county's affairs once more. A large majority remained aloof and passively hostile to the new regimes. It is a small nucleus of gentlemen who can be seen to serve the Revolution's cause in Durham throughout all its stages, and Cromwell's governments are served by men of lesser status - exemplified by the Lilburne family.

In religion, the county's parishes revealed that amorphous and uncertain state of affairs so familiar elsewhere - a coming and going of ministers of various opinions, of quiet accommodation, of opportunism, of good men ill-used. There emerged also a need for meaningful parochial reforms. While classical Presbyterian forms were unable to establish themselves, the 1650s saw sectarian beliefs flourish to enduring effect.

For Durham the Restoration was almost literally just that, with the rapid re-emergence of old personalities and forms - secular and religious - in the county's affairs, and the easy eradication of twenty years of revolution, with the exception of non-conformist dissent.

GOVERNMENT, RELIGION AND MILITARY
AFFAIRS IN DURHAM DURING THE
CIVIL WAR AND INTERREGNUM

Thesis submitted for the degree of
M. Litt. at Durham University

W. Dumble

March 1978

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PREFACE

Although a good deal has been written piecemeal about the county of Durham during the civil wars and Interregnum, there has been no attempt to construct anything like a comprehensive and chronological view. This became my own intention: to create a vantage-point to review the fortunes of the county in the ebb and flow of tremendous national events, to look at attitudes and responses and changing patterns in the county throughout a fraught, bewildering and taxing twenty years, principally in the sensitive and crucial areas of government and religion.

Although largely unaware of it at the time, my intention followed closely in the wake of - and indeed, partly coincided with - a number of studies which focussed their attention upon this same period and how it reflected upon, and affected, various local communities. Particularly relevant for me were Alan Everitt's appraisal of Kent, Valerie Peart's assessment of London in the early stages of the revolution, Roger Howell's work on Newcastle upon Tyne, and David Underdown's study of his native Somerset; which last, in terms of arrangement, approach and style, provided me with an eminent model. I have been aware that Howell's study inevitably impinged upon my own area of interest,

yet his brief was essentially Newcastle, while for my part I have consciously confined myself to the county of Durham and avoided the improbability of adding anything to Howell's exhaustive essay. The significance of Newcastle, however, for the whole northern region - commercially, politically and in religion - is amply demonstrated by Howell, and cannot be overlooked in any account of the north eastern counties. Again, I have not been drawn into economic considerations in Durham during this period chiefly out of deference to J. U. Nef's long-established, and authoritative work on the English coal trade, although I hope that, where events dictate, I have given adequate acknowledgement to the significance of Tyne and Wear coals.

I must afford my thanks to my supervisor, Dr. David Loades, whose sanguine nature has frequently recharged me, to the unvarying patience and helpfulness which I have found to be so much a hall-mark of librarians and archivists everywhere, and I have been struck, also, by the debt owed to those antiquaries, collators, compilers, editors and commentators, many of them long-dead, whose own painstaking ability and industry in garnering and refining the raw material of historical evidence bears in on one how little it is of human effort that does not, to some extent, draw something from the endeavours of others. Lastly, my wife, if not qualifying for thanks, at least warrants sympathy. Other than this, all aspects of the work are my own and have not appeared in any form whatsoever anywhere else.

Dates I have left in the Old Style but I have followed

the usual practice of beginning the year on the first of January. The vagaries of seventeenth century orthography and punctuation I have left as I found them in the source used, but I have standardised or modernised the spelling of the names of a few key persons and places. Lastly, the county of Durham referred to throughout is, of course, the ancient, geographical entity which existed prior to local government reorganisation in 1974.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA.	Archaeologia Aeliana
Allen.	Allen Manuscripts
Allen T.	Allen Tracts
CAM.	Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money
CCC.	Calendar of the Committee for Compounding
CEP.	Commonwealth Exchequer Papers
CJ.	Commons Journals
Comm.	Ecclesiastical Records of the Commonwealth
Cos. Corr.	John Cosin's Correspondence
CRO.	County Record Office (Durham)
CSPD.	Calendar of State Papers - Domestic
CSPV.	Calendar of State Papers - Venetian
DCM.	Durham Civic Memorials
DHC.	Proceedings of the High Court of Commission for Durham
DNB.	Dictionary of National Biography
DPB.	Durham Parish Books
DQS.	Durham Quarter Session Order Books
HMC.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Hunter	Hunter Manuscripts
LJ.	Lords Journals
M&S.	Mickleton and Spearman Manuscripts
Parl.S.	Parliamentary Surveys
Randall	Randall Manuscripts
RCDN.	Royalist Compositions in Durham and Northumberland
RR.	Richardson's Rare Reprints
Rushw.	John Rushworth's Historical Collections
SP.	State Papers
SS.	Surtees Society Publication
TSP.	John Thurloe's State Papers
TT.	Thomason Tracts
Whit.	Bulstrode Whitelocke's Memorials of English Affairs

CHAPTER 1

Personalities and tensions 1638-41

In April 1638 Anthony Lapthorne, minister of Ovingham on the Northumberland bank of the Tyne a few miles above Newcastle, appeared before the High Commission at Durham to answer several misdemeanours arising from his activities in the region since 1636. It was in that year that he had arrived in the north, provided with his living by bishop Morton after he had lost the rectory of Tretire in Herefordshire two years previously for omitting large parts of the service, reviling his parishioners and describing neighbouring clerics as "the Great Rabbis, the Great Clergy-monsters, Idol Shepherds, Dumb-dogs and Soul-Murtherers, and that their sermons were strawberry sermons and dawbing sermons".⁽¹⁾ A vigorous and pugnacious man who expressed his views "in a verie furious and earnest manner",⁽²⁾ his theology was uncompromisingly stern and harsh; he assailed prayer and alms as a means to salvation, and the idolatry of kneeling, and railed against the lack of sabbatarian observance. In the north he was soon applying his worst epithets to insufficient clergy, especially non-preachers,

1 CSPD 1634-5, p.263

2 DHC., p.192

demanding: 'Away with theis dumbe dogges and blind guides, they, being blind, lead the blind, and so both shall fall into the ditch of hell.'⁽³⁾ Lapthorne's own itinerant preaching activities took him into west Northumberland and lower Teesdale; in the latter place he preached in the chapel at Barnard Castle, probably under the patronage of the puritan group centred about Matthew Stoddart and which included the younger Henry Vane.⁽⁴⁾ It was in the wilder, upland areas of north west Durham that Lapthorne's efforts sparked the most notable response, however. His preaching at Muggleswick and Edmundbyers attracted large congregations who travelled from surrounding parishes to hear him, and crowds on one occasion were so large that they were unable to realise their wish.⁽⁵⁾ The extent of Lapthorne's catalytical effect upon Derwentdale's burgeoning puritan spirit is not clear, but his activities there reveal it as one of the two areas in Durham where the currents of religious discontent unmistakably broke the surface. He was finally forbidden to preach in December 1639 without the King's special licence,⁽⁶⁾ and in the March following the Durham prebendary Eleazar Duncan wrote to a confidant: "I have sent away Vincent and Lapthorne, two very factious Lecturers, though I have much adoe to effect it".⁽⁷⁾ It does not seem that the pair were effectively stifled however,⁽⁸⁾ and there were other, mendicant, preachers.

3 Ibid, p.191

4 Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, pp.31-2
Stoddart spoke in Lapthorne's defence in the High Commission

5 DHC., p.191

6 CSPD., 1639-40, p.174

7 SP. 447, 84, VI

8 see below, p.17

Early in 1640 Thomas Triplet, the rector of Whitburn, in a letter to archbishop Laud, complained bitterly of one Bankes of Alnwick, whose activities in Durham and Northumberland had made him notorious by that time. In February Bankes appeared in the second, and even more significant stretch of puritan troubled water in the county when he preached from the pulpit at Monkwearmouth church. "To him amayn", reported Triplet, "came the Sunderland puritans like ratts over the water", and of Bankes, ended by saying: "if I catch him in these pts again, with his seditious, begging, running, canting, preachm'ts, I'll have him layd by the heeles for a vagrant."⁽⁹⁾ It had been the ardent Laudian Triplet's lot to observe from nearby Whitburn the steady growth of the puritan outlook in Monkwearmouth and Bishopwearmouth parishes. Here puritanism sprang from different soil under a different climate to that of Derwentdale, although the two were associated and at this time largely indistinguishable. Bishopwearmouth parish, which contained the town of Sunderland, had lain under Arminian influences since the 1620s; its rector Francis Bungoyne was one of those especially assailed by Peter Smart for his innovations,⁽¹⁰⁾ and his successors John Johnson and Christian Sherwood were sound prelatists, Sherwood being immediately dispossessed by the parliamentarians in 1644. Across the Wear on the north bank of the

9 SP. 447, 27
10 DHC., p.205

river mouth, Richard Hickes, the vicar of Monkwearmouth since 1632, played a more equivocal role. A relative by marriage to the puritan Sunderland magnate George Lilburne, it was to his pulpit that puritan preachers like Bankes gained access at the behest of the secular puritan interests in Sunderland which were inextricably mixed with political and commercial resentments, and bound up with the town's significant growth from the turn of the century. This growth, commercial and industrial and stemming largely from the first serious exploitation of Wear coal, was untrammelled by medievalisms which still hindered towns of older standing, and was uninhibited by the exclusive, monopolistic oligarchies which were so apparent in Newcastle. The outlook of Wearmen like George Lilburne and George Grey in seeking unhindered scope to exploit their opportunities caused them to question and resist - almost as a matter of course - all those entities, secular, clerical or royal, which seemed to prevent their doing so - and in turn drew down upon them the suspicions and resentments of those they opposed. Their religious stance, quite apart from the sincerity of their belief, was part and parcel of their desire to denigrate local restrictive custom which was essentially episcopal, and centralised innovation which was essentially regal, and which drew rein on their own individualism. Sunderland, bolstered by the charter of

incorporation granted by bishop Morton in 1634, exemplified a dilemma which the Crown faced in a variety of places across the country, a dilemma succinctly stated by Triplet when he noted the dual incipience of profit and danger for the Crown in thriving urban growths like Sunderland and added: "where are all these pestilent nests of Puritans hatched, but in corporations, where they swarm and breed like hornets in (a dead) horse's head."⁽¹¹⁾

The nucleus of Sunderland's puritanism was George Lilburne, "that rules both the religion and wealth of the town."⁽¹²⁾ He left the family's modest property at Thickley Puncharden near Bishop Auckland⁽¹³⁾ to try his fortunes in Sunderland about the turn of the century, and his ascendant prosperity coincided with that of the town itself. In the 1630s he was one of the first mayors of the new borough and a Durham justice, and although he ^{acceded} accorded without apparent demur to the first ship money writs, in 1635 he organised the resistance of Sunderland, Durham and other places in the county against the attempt to have them assessed as part of the town of Newcastle.⁽¹⁴⁾ He prevaricated over the payment of later writs and his verbal opposition to Arminian encroachments and criticism of a Laudian cleric like Isaac Basire brought him before the Durham High Commission court.⁽¹⁵⁾ Many local gentry families - Lambtons, Hiltons and Bellasises - shared close

11 CSPD 1639-40, p.516

12 Ibid.

13 Fordyce, Hist. of Durham vol. 1, p.400

14 CSPD (Additional) 1625-49, p.521

15 RCDN. p.276

business associations with Lilburne, although not his radicalism. His supporters in Sunderland were more modest townsmen; in particular, Triplet noted John Husband, who had absorbed his puritanism on the continent, and had great religious influence in the town, so much so that Triplet compared him to Robert Jenison, the Laudians' *bête noire* in Newcastle, declaring that if he were not soon checked "... Sunderland is Husbandized as Newcastle Jenisonized."⁽¹⁶⁾ There was a difference in spirit between the puritanism of Derwentdale and Sunderland, the former more 'pure', subjective and emotional in essence, generated among the lowly upland farmers and responsive to a character like Lapthorne, the latter no less genuine yet more sophisticated and deliberate within the complex economic and political context of a growing urban centre and those figures who pursued wealth and status in county society from within it, and whose radicalism in religion and politics was in one way a mode of countering the resistance they sometimes met. The years of revolution were to show these two centres clearly diverging, the Derwentdale spirit turning to a variety of sectarian expression, while Sunderland remained largely Presbyterian and more pragmatic.

Elsewhere in the county the currents of religious feeling were not so apparent. The north generally had long been regarded as conservative in its religious attitudes;

in 1569 it had been observed: "There be not in all this countrey ten gentilmen that do favour and allowe of her majestie's proceedings in the cause of religion".⁽¹⁷⁾ Yet despite the religious ramifications of the Great Rising Durham by the mid seventeenth century remained conservative largely in the sense of unassuming Erastianism and quiet recusancy. Within the cathedral conflict was more real - especially with the accession of bishop Richard Neile in 1617, who introduced a powerful group of Arminian clergy in men like Eleazar Duncan, Augustine Lindsell and the redoubtable John Cosin. Neile's changes met resistance from within the chapter- from Robert Hutton in 1620, whose church family had strong puritan antecedents, and in the celebrated case of Peter Smart in 1628. For Smart, "the setting up of altars and images, with a multitude of superstitious ceremonies, changing of services, and corruptions of sacraments; since beginning in Durham, have since that time spread themselves over all the cathedrall, collegiate churches, and colledges in this realme."⁽¹⁸⁾ Even so, a significant lay involvement and concern in this ecclesiastical furore was not apparent. The advent of Thomas Morton as bishop in 1632 brought a broader, more moderate figure to the helm and a less heightened state of affairs, yet despite the changes wrought by Morton and by advancement for Neile and numbers of his supporters - and

17 Sir Ralph Sadler.Sharpe, Memorials of the Rebellion, p.X
18 Preface to Smart's Short Treatise on Altars, etc.
DHC., p.201

the death of some others - a strong Arminian nucleus endured at the centre of the diocesan structure. In 1634, visitors to the cathedral noted "a font not to be paralel'd in O^r Land," and other elaborate furniture built at the dean, Dr. Richard Hunt's, charge - including an organ which cost £1000.⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1638 Hunt was succeeded by the Laudian courtier Dr. Walter Balcanquall and this active Arminian body - which included Eleazar Duncan, Gabriel Clarke, Thomas Triplet and Isaac Basire - within the Durham church ensured that there was friction, confrontation and polarization between themselves and the growing puritan-radical sentiments in the county as the decade drew to its disastrous close.

At parish level the 1630s revealed a good deal of anti-clericalism - with violence frequently being offered - in disputes between parsons and their flocks; but the causes of such confrontations were the mundane ones of tithes, rents and parochial rights and not doctrinal issues.⁽²⁰⁾ A proportion of the parish clergy left something to be desired. Bishop Morton was moved to point out that there were not sufficient preaching ministers in the diocese to provide sermons in market towns let alone rural parishes,⁽²¹⁾ and the success of men like Laphorne, Bankes and John Vincent drew out the significance of this. Clerics revealed other failings too. In 1633 at St. Helens Auckland, the

19 Showing how three Norwich Soldiers visited the North
(tract) Aug. 1634. RR. (misc.)

20 Other than stated, information for this paragraph is drawn from D.H.C.

21 CSPD 1636-7, p.410

parson was selling almanacs from his communion table and "casting of figures, pretending thereby he could tell of goods stolne, for diverse years." Two years later the parson of St. Andrews Auckland, Thomas Stocke, was summoned before the High Commission for "divers misdemenours" but refused the oath to answer the articles until he had been imprisoned six months. In the same year, 1635, John Easterby the vicar of Seaham, was very dubiously involved in a case concerning the extortion of money from a parishioner of his in return for the suppression of informations concerning the man's use of blasphemous words. There was a good deal of catholic activity at the level of everyday life. A substantial proportion of the Durham High Commission's business was concerned with recusant offences of private baptism and clandestine marriage and burial - as well as the more serious charges of unlicensed teaching and the conveying of priests. An interesting intimation of the consequence afforded to the catholic presence in a parish was provided by Nathaniel Ward, vicar of Staindrop, in December 1638. He was anxious to drum up succour for a parishioner, a former catholic, and his young protestant family, who had lost their cottage in a fire. It was Ward's concern that, "he will not stand in need of assistance from the Papists, nor ever have reason to regret that he has bid adieu to Egypt."⁽²²⁾ John Salvin, gentleman, vehemently denounced the activities of Durham's

22 Darnell, Correspondence of Isaac Basine, pp.27-30

roman catholic gentry in a petition to the Long Parliament in late 1641 or early '42, when he spoke of the position and influence they commanded in the county.⁽²³⁾ His uncle, George Collingwood, subsequently a notable cavalier, he declared to be an agent of the Benedictines and his house at Dalden a headquarters for priests together with places at Hebburn, Walworth, Thornley and Harbourhouse among others which were "receptacles of Priests and Iesuits, Nurseries of Popery ..."⁽²⁴⁾ Salvin's outcry, however, was part and parcel of the highly charged religious atmosphere of 1641-2, and whatever their effect at Westminster may have been, so far as the county was concerned there was little new in his revelations. The places he named, and the families they represented - Salvins, Collingwoods, Trollopes, Blakistons, Hodgsons and Forcers among others - had long been identified as integral to local recusancy.

Durham society, in the century and a half before the civil wars, has been seen as one undergoing a steady and significant transformation.⁽²⁵⁾ Notable in the process was the Northern Rising of 1569, ending as it did the power of the great magnates of the region - the earls of Westmorland and the Neville family, and recharging, in the interests of the crown as its agent, the powers of the bishop as Count Palatine. Despite the decline of the real powers formerly associated with the palatinate's government, and that its

23 The Humble Petition of John Salvin, gent, to the Commons etc. ... c.1642, RR, I (hist.) Salvin's troubles lay in the fact that he was a protestant in a staunchly catholic family

24 Ibid.

25 The most recent and comprehensive survey of Durham in the century and a half before the Civil Wars is M. James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society: a study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region 1500-1640

courts were "a purely formal survival" subjected, like the rest of the nation, to the authority of the King's Bench and Parliament, (26) the bishop's old authority reached a new zenith under bishop Neile, a courtier and a high-handed representative of the Crown's interests in Durham. Whatever Durham's lay society may have felt about the growth of Arminian practices and the furores these caused within cathedral and chapter, it looked askance at Neile's arrogation to himself of the office of Lord Lieutenant, at the significant increase of clerics in the commission of the peace, at his clear identification with central government and at his firm retention of palatinate privilege in his resistance to the county's demand for representatives in the nation's Parliament. (27) Yet around the position of bishop and his command of the offices of local government - administrative, legal, fiscal and military, as well as religious - there remained unaltered a pattern of the county's older families who continued to fill such posts - Conyers, Hilton and Bowes the shrieval office, Calverleys, Heaths, Bellasises and Swinburnes in offices of the palatine courts. Such names were also well represented among the county's deputy lieutenants and justices. Around this association of county government was a changing social framework, an important aspect of which were those 'new' families whose secular prosperity had been founded out of

26 Keir, Constitutional History, p.32

27 James, Family, Lineage, pp. 117-121, 156-7

clerical offices in the later 16th or early 17 centuries - the progeny of bishop James and dean Whittingham, and prebendaries like Blakiston and Hutton. In some - Huttons, Whittinghams and Bunnys - the strong strain of puritanism imbued by their founders endured, but by the mid 17th century many such families had inter-woven themselves with the older social fabric by marriage, and in economic opportunities. The 16th century expansion of the Tyne's coal trade, and a matching, if more modest, one on the Wear from the turn of the century, brought into prominence families like the Tempests, Coles, Riddells and Liddells at Newcastle, and gave a new significance to older families like the Lambtons, Lumleys, and Hiltons on the Wear as well as to newcomers like the Lilburnes and Greys. In general, Newcastle's hostmen families found their way into Durham's gentry society by marriage and the acquisition of estates and became an important element in its government - during the years of revolution and beyond.

The departure of bishop Neile from the See of Durham in 1629 coincided with the beginning of Charles I's years of personal rule. Although, after bishop Howson's short occupation, Thomas Morton appeared in 1634 with his more moderate and attractive outlook in both religious and secular matters; the 1630s proved to be years of increasing tensions in the county. Morton enjoyed the intimacy neither

of the crown nor of archbishop Laud - nor yet the undivided loyalty of the large residue of Arminians in the chapter and among the parish clergy. In 1635, Morton's successful defence of his palatine rights in resisting the Crown's attempt to make both himself and his high sheriff answerable in the Exchequer and the courts at Westminster⁽²⁸⁾ coincided with the resistance being offered by the region's coal-owners - Newcastle hostmen and those with interests in the trade of the lower Wear - to the Crown's attempt to extract substantial personal revenue from the north east coal trade. The scheme of John and Philip Battalion, first mooted in 1628 and revived in 1636, suggested as much as £60,000 in revenue for the crown by assuming ownership of the bishoprick's coalmines and working them as a government enterprise.⁽²⁹⁾ The scheme was abortive, as was the royal attempt to levy the shilling tax on coastwise shipments of Blyth and Sunderland coal - a move first essayed by James I.⁽³⁰⁾ Although there was no precedent for it, the demand for ship money in Durham and Northumberland in the years 1634-6 was realised chiefly out of collieries,⁽³¹⁾ and from 1636 onwards there were growing arrears of ship money assessments and some colliery owners refused to pay.⁽³²⁾ The unhappiness and resistance brought about by the fiscal exactions of the King's consiliar government was by no means confined to the puritan radicals of Sunderland, and townsmen in Durham City

28 Hutchinson, Durham, I, p.500

29 Nef, Coal Trade, II, pp. 273-77

30 Ibid, pp. 277-8

31 Ibid, p.278

32 CSPD 1640, p.133

or Darlington. There was unrest at other levels also. For puritan activists like Lilburne and Anthony Smith there was a fertile field of dissatisfaction to cultivate among the county's ecclesiastical tenantry, in the century old disputation over dean and chapter rights and leases, and in the 17th century's increase in the enclosure of episcopal and capitular common lands.

Yet whatever the variety of feelings stirred up in the county in the ten or twenty years before 1640 there was no breakdown in the supply or conscientiousness of that hierarchy of unpaid officials from deputy lieutenants, sheriff and justices down to petty constables and churchwardens, without whom the overweening central government of Charles I was helpless.⁽³³⁾ As the national tensions of the 1630s heightened and more and more of the county's resentments broke the surface, Durham's justices and deputy lieutenants turned to quell - as best they could - the tenantry agitations and the waywardness of the Muggleswick puritans.⁽³⁴⁾ The acid test about to be administered to the county in the events of 1639 and the ensuing years was to reveal that its dislike of the centrism of consiliar rule, exemplified by fiscal exactions and Arminian prominence, the denial of the county's claim to parliamentary representation and the attempts by the crown to secure control and revenue out of the region's wealth in coal, still left

33 Aylmer, The King's Servants, p.7

34 see below, pp.22,29

a concensus of Durham gentry, however changed and yet changing in character, whatever its new preoccupations and outlook, essentially conservative. If sluggish and half-hearted in their response to the King's needs in the Scottish crisis, most gentlemen were to turn to the King's side, albeit with a wide range of enthusiasms, in the greater crisis which followed. Durham mirrored the nation's resentment and exasperation after eleven years of the King's personal rule but proved that it still retained its constitutional propriety unimpaired at the end of it. George Lilburne, who more than anyone was to personify the moving revolutionary spirit within the county, could never, in the twenty years which followed, claim to represent the feelings of the county's majority.

The King's resolve to bring about a military confrontation with his Scottish subjects inevitably placed upon the counties of Durham and Northumberland the unenviable role of armed camp and potential battleground. Few Englishment rallied cheerfully to the King to effect the service in hand and fewer still had a taste to venture into Scotland to achieve it.⁽³⁵⁾ When, on 29 April, 1639, the King set out for Newcastle from York with an army some 14,000 strong,

35 English Constitutional Conflicts of the 17th Century, J. R. Tanner, 1928, p.87

he broke his journey for at least a week at Durham, where he was entertained by bishop Morton while levies of horse and foot were raised in the bishoprick and marched northwards. (36) A thousand men of the Durham trained bands were already in the King's service; nine companies, together with another four from Northumberland, had been procured to effect a defence of Berwick. Their demeanour and quality epitomised that generally of the forces at the royal command. From the town on 15 April the Earl of Essex wrote to secretary Windebanke that the Durham men, being required to march out of their county and whose payment and maintenance thus became the King's responsibility, had demanded a month's pay in advance. Despite a lack of money Essex had effected their march to Berwick where he promised a stout defence, "although", he ended gloomily, "all our men and officers know not what discipline means". (37) The garrison was not tested however, for chronic lack of money forced the King into the Treaty of Berwick on 18 June, and his army dispersed happily while the Scots set about the establishment of a new Parliament and Church Assembly to which the King had agreed. Among the Durham militia at least one senior officer, Sir William Lambton, talked of resigning his colonelcy. (38)

The first 'Bishops' War' left the north in a state of

36 Rushw. III, pp. 885, 921. The King was attempting to secure his rights to border service from his tenants in the northern counties. He asked his chief justices whether anything was altered by the union of England and Scotland in King James' person. The judges said no. CSPD 1639-40, pp.47, 223

37 CSPD 1639, p.40

38 Ibid, p.426

simmering unrest. Newcastle was an important centre of it; the puritan clerics Jenison and Lapthorne were still a problem for the ecclesiastical authorities there,⁽³⁹⁾ while an observer wrote from the town that covenanters came and went at pleasure, and the city of Durham was no better. There they were so audacious that a health was drunk to the covenant in a public tavern.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In August a too-outspoken Scotsman, James Bowey, was arrested there and imprisoned in the gaol for his covenant-inspired remarks about King Charles and his father.⁽⁴¹⁾ Other more general, and more important, tensions began to reveal themselves. Still endeavouring to secure arrears of £430 ship money on the writ of 1637, the county's high sheriff, Sir William Bellasis, was being pressed, early in 1640, by the King's council to render up his account of the £2000 laid upon the county by the writ of 1639. He replied that he had secured £160 of the arrears due, but although promised more, "how the rest will come God knows". He spoke of gentlemen and freeholders alike complaining that they were rated higher than other counties and using the ship money issue as a base of their demand for parliamentary representation in the county. Bellasis confessed himself uncertain whether to coerce or cajole non-payers in the present mood. Many collieries in the county had refused to pay, but Bellasis pointed out that his efforts to enlist the aid of the mayor

39 Ibid, pp.27, 35, 46, 498

40 Ibid, p.145. Edw. Norgate to Robt. Reade

41 Ibid, pp.462-3

of Newcastle in preventing shipment of non-payers' coals from the Tyne had been thwarted by the House of Lords - such coals, of course, represented royal income in the form of an impost. Such quantities of coals as Bellasis had distrained upon he could find no one to purchase. A reluctance to pay, and the difficulties of collection were exacerbated, Bellasis pointed out, by the fact that many of those assessed had already been called twice out of the county with the trained bands. Nevertheless, on 9 March Bellasis paid over to the treasurers of the navy £1,200 against the writ of 1639, and had increased this to £1,560 by June, a sum which went to maintain the royal garrison in Berwick.⁽⁴²⁾ The resistance to ship money was strong in Durham city: £100 of the £430 arrears of 1637 lay upon the town, but it was in Sunderland that the most overt examples of defiance and prevarication were manifested.

The rebellious mood of the town was personified by George Lilburne. On 25 June 1640 the Laudian rector of Whitburn, Thomas Triplet, wrote to the archbishop of the urgent need to restrain Lilburne, and George Grey of Southwick, before they "make the men here learn southern disobedience, whereas for the present his Majesty has not had more loyal subjects in any part of his dominions than hereabouts". According to Triplet, Lilburne had refused the last ship money writ, had had his goods distrained, but had then sent

42 CSPD 1640, pp.133, 368, 459

his servant to rescue them illegally from the constable, upon which the sheriff had certified against both master and man. "Lilburne sure is a Covenanter", ended Triplet, "if we could discover him; he is now denying coat and conduct money, and persuading others to it ... I look to see him trapped shortly and made an example to others here".⁽⁴³⁾

Triplet himself was already endeavouring to do this in another issue involving Lilburne and a servant of his, George Stevenson, which was triggered by, and reflected, the rising tensions and excitements of the Scottish crisis. Early in January 1640 Stevenson, in conversation with a soldier joining the King's garrison in Berwick, scorned the calling of a soldier, and called in question the rightness of the King's case in invoking arms against the covenanters, inveighing against episcopacy in the process. This, at least, was the basis of the charge Triplet levelled against Stevenson and his master Lilburne on the strength of a statement Triplet was able to secure from the soldier. The Laudian rector's efforts to press home the allegation, however, reveal the bold defiance and obstruction of the Sunderland men, inspired by the Scottish situation. In early February he attempted to swear out his information on oath before a local justice, Richard Cottrell the mayor of Sunderland, who acted evasively on the Lilburnites' behalf. On the excuse that there was plague in Whitburn he demurred

43 Ibid, pp.346-7

about taking Triplet's oath lest he carry infection to the sessions at Durham, and would only accept an unsworn statement - an action probably more dangerous, as was pointed out to him. Triplet's allegation, unsworn and limp, was shown privately to bishop Morton after the sessions, when it was talked down by "an ambuscado of Lilburne's friends".⁽⁴⁴⁾ Lilburne and Stevenson, who were both in Northumberland attempting to get the soldier to alter his story, were informed of Triplet's move in a letter sent by Cottrell.

Triplet's efforts bore some fruit, although not as a result of his representations to the county's judicature but rather through his connections with Laud, when in early March a royal pursuivant arrested Lilburne, Stevenson and Cottrell to answer charges involving - in Stevenson's case - high treason in London. By this time the matter had also found its way into the High Commission at Durham and Lilburne was already in bond to appear there. He succeeded in securing ten days' respite from the King's officer, freed his bond by appearing before the High Commission then refused to renew it, asserting that he was a prisoner of the King and indifferent as to whether he was imprisoned in Durham or London, and thus brazenly manipulated the overlapping crown and ecclesiastical powers; his removal to the capital by the pursuivant was followed by an aggrieved request from bishop Morton to secretary Windbanke that Lilburne enter

44 CSPD 1639-40, p.517

bond with the High Commission once more.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Later in the month, at their hearing before the King's council with the King himself present,⁽⁴⁶⁾ Lilburne, Stevenson and Cottrell all gave confident and plausible answers to the allegations against them while the soldier's signed deposition, to which he now adhered closely, did no more than claim that Stevenson had merely derided the calling of a soldier on the grounds of the moral temptations it presented. By 18 April Triplet was writing bitterly to archbishop Laud that they "are come off with a great deal of credit" while he had suffered the odium of the bishop and the county's gentry as a result.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Nothing further was heard of the matter, but it had highlighted several things. One was Lilburne's personal power in Sunderland and thereabout, and the boldness of himself and his protege's in the prevailing heightened atmosphere. Also revealed was the unhappiness of that group of Laudian clergy in the county, of whom Triplet was representative, over the adequacy of bishop Morton's response to radical threats - religious or secular - appearing there. They were prepared to go over his head in direct approaches to archbishop Laud or the court and in October 1639 Morton himself complained of such "sinister workings" against him in the county in a letter to Laud.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Noteworthy too was the identification of a majority of gentlemen with Lilburne and not Triplet in their view of

45 Ibid

46 Ibid, pp.546-7

47 Ibid, pp.427, 566-7

48 M & S. 42, f.143; see also CSPD 1639-40, p.174, bishop Morton to secretary Windbanke

the affair. Triplet expressed his surprise that Sir William Bellasis, as high sheriff of the county, should seek to vindicate Lilburne's man Stevenson but immediately explained Bellasis' attitude by noting that Bellasis had close associations in shipping and collieries with both Lilburne and George Grey.⁽⁴⁹⁾ A lack of sympathy for Arminian forms and attitudes, some traditional anti-clericalism and practical considerations like varied commercial involvements were all implicit here.

When, on 3 November 1640, the Long Parliament met it afforded the Sunderland agitators a further opportunity for activity, and a petition of George Lilburne's was one of the many which inundated the Parliament from all over the country reciting religious grievances. Lilburne's influence, further heightened by his successful appearance before the royal council and the Scottish occupation under which the county now lay, was bent towards the interest of the Derwentdale puritans and highlighted their struggles with the ecclesiastical establishment over the previous few years.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Through Lilburne, the Muggleswick men appealed for a preaching minister, claiming that neither they, nor the ten or twelve adjoining parishes, could remember one such within living memory. Their own incumbent had died at Martinmas 1640 and the Scots had obligingly provided a minister for a time,

49 CSPD 1639-40, pp.426-7

50 A Most Lamentable Information of part of the Grievances of Muggleswick TT, 669 f4 (69)

but the eventual episcopal nominee, John Dury, was no preacher and upon their complaint to William James the rector of Ryton and sole remaining prebendary, the Muggleswick men were told "in plaine tearmes, that he could reade the Prayer booke, and an homily, it was nothing to us what kind of man he was ..." ⁽⁵¹⁾ Dury, however, withdrew in face of the opposition he met, and the Muggleswick men found a minister of their own until the prebendaries thrust upon them "one of the most deboist amongst the sonnes of men", ⁽⁵²⁾ Richard Bradley, who was made of sterner stuff than his predecessor. Bradley entered into a war of attrition with his flock, changing the lock on the church door, forcing his parishioners and their adopted minister to hold their service outside, and interrupting it with bell-ringing and readings. Bradley's vigorous activity suggests that he was forcing a confrontation upon the Muggleswick men by design; he indicted sixty-seven of his parishioners at the sessions for non-attendance at communion, and they were subsequently subjected to a minor dragonnade by bailiffs, while justices ignored their appeals against unduly harsh treatment. This was the basis of Lilburne's petition to the Long Parliament upon their behalf. Bradley's case was considered in December 1641, ⁽⁵³⁾ and in the February following Muggleswick became one of those livings to which Parliament appointed a lecturer under the system established in September 1641 and at the expense of

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid

53 LJ IV, p.449

the parish.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Derwentdale had another example to afford of its intense religious fervour at this time. In November 1641 the astonishing and earnest account, attested to by six signatures and affirmed by others, of a satanic possession, and eventual recovery, of an Edmundbyers woman was printed and circulated with the adjuration that it should not be seen as "... a feined fable unto thee but assure thy selfe that all such things are sent as warnings for our wickednesse ..."⁽⁵⁵⁾

At the same time that it appointed a lecturer to Muggleswick Parliament made another appointment to Bishop Wearmouth, the Sunderland parish, another instance of the town's religious agitations. Another petition of George Lilburne against Dr. Isaac Basire and other offending Arminians, was heard by the Commons on 3 February 1641, and witnesses were brought up to London from the north at Lilburne's cost to testify before the Grand Committee for Religion.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Another long-standing Durham cleric, the pluralist John Lively, was also the subject of parliamentary attention in April 1641, although who raised the complaint against him and what it was is not clear.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Reverberations of an older religious clash in the county were also felt when the Short Parliament used some of its brief,

54 Shaw, English Church, II, pp.300-6. Bradley remained as the episcopal incumbent until his resignation in the Restoration reorganisation of 1661-2

55 Fearful and Strange Newes from the Bishoprick of Durham 15 Nov. 1641. RR III (hist.)

56 CJ.II, p.77

57 LJ.IV, pp.207, 249

three weeks' existence to set up a committee to investigate the petition of complaint - amongst others - of Peter Smart against the higher Durham clergy, and Dr. John Cosin in particular. Smart had been deprived of his benefice and prebend after his celebrated sermon in the cathedral in July 1628,⁽⁵⁸⁾ in which he had inveighed against the tide of superstitions and popish innovation he believed he saw inundating the Durham church since the death of bishop James and the advent of bishop Neile and John Cosin. His action had caused him to be degraded from all ecclesiastical orders in addition to suffering imprisonment, and he had continued to contest unsuccessfully throughout the 1630s the legality of his deprivations and to claim his prebendal and other preferments. In 1638, in the gathering Scottish crisis, it was alleged against him that he had been preaching against episcopal government in Glasgow and Northumberland and had been subjected to imprisonment and house arrest once more.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The King's necessary recourse to a Parliament meant a sudden reversal in the fortunes of Smart and others like him; the determination of the Parliaments of 1640 to effect some redress in religious abuses made puritan sufferers like Smart useful instruments with which to assault episcopacy in the form of personalities like Laud and Cosin and an institution like the Court of High Commission. On 23 January 1641 the Commons resolved

58 DHC, p.197. His text: "I have hated them that hold of superstitious vanities" (psalm 31)

59 Ibid pp.204-11; CSPD 1640-1, pp.287-9

that the High Commission courts at Durham and York had acted illegally against Smart and ordered Cosin and others to pay him damages, and on 4 March an impeachment against Cosin and others was read in the Commons and carried up to the Lords on the 16th.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The eighteen articles - essentially Smart's indictment - were a comprehensive recital of the puritan standpoint with allegations about candles, altar tables, adornments, excessive music, and popish sermons, expressions and gestures, together with the deliberate suppression of preaching and the consequent ignorance of the people of Durham.⁽⁶¹⁾ The allegations, while vehement, were also extreme and exaggerated - a catholic glazier who had repaired the cathedral glass was cited as a popish influence - and Cosin was able to make cogent and reasonable answers to them, even showing that Smart himself had contributed to some of the cathedral alterations to which he took exception.⁽⁶²⁾ At the end of May, after a five day hearing, the Lords dismissed Cosin on bail and he was not summoned again.

Cosin felt vindicated, and claimed that many of the lords had sympathised with him. Certainly, Smart appears to have been "an inaccurate, if not a consciously mendacious, reporter of things which had passed before his eyes,"⁽⁶³⁾ and indeed, glimpses of his character suggest that his was an intractable and contentious nature, too. Cosin himself, of course, was not without blame. An intimate friend wrote to

60 CJ. I, pp.96, 105

61 DHC, pp.215-41

62 Ibid p.243

63 S. R. Gardiner, quoted by P. H. Osmond, A Life of John Cosin, p.57

him in the midst of his difficulties in 1641 that his own adamant and determined course of action was wholly responsible for the exaggerated and serious charges now pressed against him. "For had not you sowne such Anti-christian seeds of Papish introduction into the Church, you should never have reaped this harvest of misery".⁽⁶⁴⁾ The highly personalised confrontation between these two pertinent characters tends to obscure the fact that behind it lay a core of well-established Arminian interest in the Durham church which men like bishop Neile, Cosin, Triplet, Basire and Duncan had been working on for twenty years and which the puritan Parliaments of 1640 were only too pleased to strike at. The Long Parliament had already turned Cosin out of all his preferments on 22 December 1640, probably the first clerical sufferer at Parliament's hands,⁽⁶⁵⁾ and on 22 July following it ordered the Durham dean and chapter to make reparation to Smart by presenting him to the vacant vicarage of Aycliffe and restoring him to the fourth prebend.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Another important source of friction in Durham also became pronounced in 1639, although it had been in existence for a century. It was essentially an economic and social issue rather than a religious one, though the participants in 1639 showed that these aspects had in reality fused together by then. The disappearance of the prior and

64 Letter of John, Lord Finch, to Dr. Cozens, 1641,
RR I, (hist.)

65 Walker, Clergy, p.58

66 DHC, p.243

convent of Durham at the Dissolution and the creation of a dean and chapter had resulted in persistent, and generally successful, attempts to impose leases for terms of years upon tenants who claimed their holdings by ancient customary rights recorded in the court rolls of the prior and convent at Durham. The capitular landlords denied knowledge of such a court roll however, and had pressed leases upon their resentful tenants until the issue received an airing before the Council of the North in 1577. The council found against the tenants' claim of custom, and a twenty one year lease, renewable 'for ever' was agreed to between the parties. This agreement, the tenants asserted, was steadily eroded by the dean and chapter subsequently; three years' rack rent for a fine of twenty-one years was demanded, then a full years' value every seven years, and six months' value for a renewal every three and a half years. Disreputable stratagems were alleged: leases were granted to others over existing tenants' heads, and other forms of menace were employed "... thus by their power and greatness overswaying the Tenants into what termes they pleased, contrary to the true intent, meaneing and Judgment of the said Decree".⁽⁶⁷⁾ For their part, the dean and chapter claimed that the council's decree concerned only those who claimed customary rights and that many tenants had been dissatisfied with it anyway, and had elected to take up different forms of lease as a

67 Allen 22, ff 5-13; Allen T. 30

consequence. On 12 April 1626, however, an Act of the dean and chapter affirmed the right of tenants to a speedy renewal of their leases, paying only a year's fine every seventh year on a twenty-one year lease, without any further exactions.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The capitular authorities subsequently denied this however, and cited as a precedent fines as much as fourteenfold that were considered equitable by their tenants, and in doing so enunciated the crux of the capitular standpoint: "which considering the proportion that was then between the Rent and the true Value of the Lands, and the great disproportion, which is now by reason of the great Increase of Money, may be thought as great Fines, as those which have been demanded since."⁽⁶⁹⁾ Whatever the merits of either side's case, long decades of inflation, and the ever-increasing disparity between fixed and realistic rents, did much to cast the Durham dean and chapter in the role of racking landlords in the eyes of tenants themselves reluctant to relinquish the advantages of static, customary tenures.

Towards the end of 1639, the smouldering situation between landlords and tenants flared up anew, undoubtedly drawing fuel from the sympathies the covenanters aroused in England over the episcopal structure of which dean and chapters were so salient a part. The Durham agitation was organised and led by two county radicals, George Grey of

68 Allen T. 29

69 Allen T. 30 (Dean and Chapter's answer to the tenants' petition, 1661)

Southwick - one of the Sunderland puritans - and Anthony Smith the Durham city mercer, who was to figure importantly in the Interregnum years. Although the grounds of the complaint were ostensibly the secular ones of legal rights and financial equity, the agitation also had a religious motivation, which was clearly recognised by the prelatial party. Thomas Triplet saw them endeavouring "to lay the axe to the root of Durham church,"⁽⁷⁰⁾ and archbishop Laud asserted, when the affair reached the King's council, that he was confident it was a stratagem against the church and there was a deeper design in the move.⁽⁷¹⁾ It was to the council that the Durham tenants made their complaint, Grey and Smith placing their depositions before secretary Windebank on 29 February 1640, and eleven days later the dean of Durham, Dr. Balcanquall, was himself counter-complaining to the council that the tenants had not first acquainted the capitular authorities of their grievances.⁽⁷²⁾ Balcanquall went further, alleging that Grey and Smith had not only organised petitions and monetary support among the tenants but had, "in divers corners of the country ... assembled great companies of his Majesties subjects, our tenants, of which many of them are of his Majesties trained-bands, without any power or authority, and at these tumultuous meetings persuaded hundreds of our tenants to set their hands and seals to four several papers, obliging themselves to one

70 CSPD 1639-40, p.427

71 Allen T. 28; Rushw. III, p.1052

72 Ibid; CSPD 1639-40, pp.499-500

another to prosecute against their landlords before any judiciary these two should think fit."⁽⁷³⁾ The scope and vigour of the Durham agitation, even allowing for the dean's drastic and perhaps exaggerated view of events, was clearly alarming. However loyal, or indifferent, the county was to show itself in the imminent assault upon episcopacy, there was still obviously a raw nerve to be touched over the leases issue.

The response of the council to the tenants' complaint when it was heard on 11 March was unsympathetic. The dean and chapter's manner of granting and renewing leases was upheld, and urged by Laud, the subscription money, a sum of £80, was seized, and Grey and Smith imprisoned in the Gatehouse until they revealed the names of their fellow agitators. Laud was for pressing against them in Star Chamber too, as well as ending their leases.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Neither Grey nor Smith divulged the names of their colleagues and suffered a month's imprisonment as a result. They were probably sitting it out, however, until the advent of the Short Parliament, which immediately wrought their release on 13 April. According to Thomas Triplet, they were unabashed and immediately renewed their activities, "tampering again for fresh hands and new succours, as Mr. John Heath a Counsellor of Durham tells me this very night ..." he informed Laud on 18 April.⁽⁷⁵⁾ As the

73 Ibid p.538

74 Rushw. III, p.1052; Allen T. 28; CSPD 1640, pp.503-4

75 SP. 450, 116

parliamentary tide rose in the course of 1640 the Durham tenantry continued to press their case. On 17 December Grey, with another tenant, Anthony Allen, petitioned the Long Parliament and their complaint was referred to the committee preparing the charge against secretary Windebank.⁽⁷⁶⁾ On 3 January 1641 an Order in Council was secured which annulled that made the previous March and left all parties in the same state they had been in previously, while the confiscated subscription money was repaid to Anthony Smith two weeks later.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Although scarcely a victory for the dean and chapter tenantry, it was a well-fought draw, and, more importantly, revealed sharply that the reforming parliamentary movement's radical allies in the county could rally support for it upon one issue at least. Before the march of greater events however, the dispute stood aside for awhile, but it is noteworthy that Grey and Smith were both utilised by the Scots in September 1640 in securing capitular revenues for the maintenance of the Scottish army.⁽⁷⁸⁾ It was the beginning of a long period of disruption for the county and the issue subsided, although susceptibilities remained. In the initial struggle to secure adherents and sympathies in the latter half of 1642 royalist propaganda was noising abroad the information that Parliament intended a radical seizure of ecclesiastical tenants' rights and an infringement of their customs in Durham and the north generally which Parliament was moved strongly to refute in December.⁽⁷⁹⁾

76 Rushw. IV, p.120
77 CSPD 1640-1, p.422
78 see below, p.44
79 Rushw. V, p.86

Animation was brought once more into another of the county's now long-standing preoccupations - that of parliamentary representation. There had been abortive efforts in this direction as long ago as 1562-3,⁽⁸⁰⁾ rejected then upon the grounds that the ancient liberties and immunities which the county palatine bestowed upon its inhabitants rendered a voice in the sovereign's Parliament unnecessary. There was a growing awareness, nevertheless, that much of this palatine exclusivity was crumbling away and had diminishing force and reality; when King James charged the county with a subsidy in 1610 it set in train a move to achieve representation in each of his subsequent Parliaments - 1614, 1621-2 and 1624-5. The argument was simple enough, as expressed in the petition of the knights, gentlemen and freeholders of the county together with the mayor and citizens of the city, to King James on 25 November 1620: "the Inhabitants of this Countrie livinge under and beinge governed by the same Lawes of this your Kingdome ..." should enjoy the same rights of representation as the rest of the nation: their palatine status now afforded them nothing in this respect.⁽⁸¹⁾ Their demands were also well-defined; the bills of May 1614 and May 1624 both proposed two knights for the county, two citizens for the city and two burgesses for the borough of Barnard Castle. The first measure received only one reading in the short-lived assembly of 1614 but that of 1624 passed all its readings, only to be refused the royal

80 RCDN, p.40

81 DCM, p.25

assent.⁽⁸²⁾ The accession of King Charles I meant that the opportunities for further efforts were slight, and soon non-existent. But ship money, and the other slings and arrows of the king's personal rule could only aggravate the county's sense of grievance, hardly to be mollified by the thought that, for the time being at least, the rest of the Kingdom shared its case. By March 1639, when the King's Scottish difficulties had raised talk of a Parliament being summoned once more, the issue had sprung into immediate life again, when both city and county petitioned bishop Morton for his acquiescence and support in pressing for knights and burgesses.⁽⁸³⁾ Parliamentary representation was clearly the desire of a substantial majority of the county's gentlemen and freeholders. The high sheriff, Sir William Bellasis, had noted the force of feeling during the course of the year,⁽⁸⁴⁾ and by March 1640 he and Sir William Darcy were charged by the county to pursue the matter in the forthcoming Parliament, and he was sounding out the views of the King.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Such varied unrest and agitation in the county took place within the context of the national procession of events, but after August 1640 in Durham the added goad of a Scottish military occupation at once emboldened, exacerbated and sharpened feelings. The Treaty of Berwick proved to be a brief respite, the covenanters remaining unmollified by the King's concessions and adamant in their intention to oust episcopacy from Scotland. Upon Strafford's advice to the

82 HMC 3R, p.14; LJ III, p.362

83 DCM pp.35-6. The two proposed members for Barnard Castle were now dropped.

84 See above, p.17

85 CSPD 1639-40, p.592

King the Short Parliament met on 18 April 1640, but under Pym's leadership did not respond over the matter of supply in face of the Scottish threat as the King had hoped and dissolution followed in three weeks. Urged by Strafford, the King again resolved upon an attempt by armed force, based upon a loan by the city of London and the employment of the King's Irish army, and in June and July the counties of Durham and Northumberland were once more the likely arena for a clash between the two kingdoms. It was the King's intention to raise an army of some 23,000 foot and 1,200 horse out of the ten northern counties of England to meet the immediate and worsening threat from Scotland. Durham's contribution was to be 522 musketeers and 500 pike men, a sizeable offering, exceeded only by those of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and with the additional advantage of being immediately, and inexpensively, available.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In June, secretary Vane charged bishop Morton with the defence of the county palatine and created him colonel of this regiment, the expense of which was borne by bishop and county until it marched beyond the county's boundaries.⁽⁸⁷⁾ A troop of dragoons - 100 men under Sir William Lambton - also took the field.⁽⁸⁸⁾ But the north did not differ from elsewhere in the Kingdom in its reluctance to respond to the King's call, despite being under an immediate threat from any Scottish move. In April Viscount Conway wrote to the Earl

86 Rushw. II, pp.826-7

87 CSPD 1640, p.371

88 Rushw. II, pp.826-7

of Northumberland that he discerned no fear in the populace of Durham other than a concern for the damage which might be done to the collieries,⁽⁸⁹⁾ while in March William Vane, endeavouring to raise a troop of horse as part of his father's substantial contribution to the King's forces, wrote to his father from Newcastle: "I confess that I find it very difficult, if not impossible, to raise all my troop here from that class of persons I could wish. Gentlemen will not serve upon 2s. a day, having had more by 8d. the other time."⁽⁹⁰⁾ Men of the Durham trained bands, mustering for the second or third time in little more than a year, were in a mutinous mood.⁽⁹¹⁾ The attitude of the region was reflected upon bitterly in September, after the rout of the English forces at Newburn, by another writer: "This mischief (i.e. the fall of Newcastle) might have been prevented if the town and adjacent countries would have supplied ... £3000 to draw up an army for their defence, but they answered they could not possibly levy so great a sum; and now these very men have compounded with Leslie to pay his army about £12,000 every month."⁽⁹²⁾

On Thursday, 20 August, a Scots army of 20,000 foot and 2,500 horse, led by general Leslie, the Earl of Callendar and Alexander Hamilton as major-general of artillery, crossed into England and moved southwards through Northumberland. On the 22nd their camp was lightly attacked

89 CSPD 1640, p.64

90 Ibid, 1639-40, p.545

91 Ibid, pp.73, 75

92 Ibid, 1640-1, p.62 Dr. Pocklington to Sir John Lambe

by a force from the garrison at Berwick but the sally was beaten off easily and Leslie's forces moved forward virtually unhindered to camp at Newburn on the north bank of the Tyne a few miles upstream from Newcastle on 27 August, and there issued a justificatory declaration for their invasion.⁽⁹³⁾ Its tone was placatory and reasonable, as was the demeanour of the Scots themselves. All day on 28 August they welcomed English visitors into their camp and spoke harshly only of 'incendiaries', those who had created and were now aggravating the situation. An English force of 3,000 foot and 1,500 horse under Viscount Conway had dug itself in at Stella Haugh, opposite the Scots on the Durham bank of the river and both sides watered their horses within sight of each other. Late in the day however, in an apparently desultory and haphazard fashion, firing began, intensified, and resulted in the covenanters forcing a crossing of the river and the hurried withdrawal of the King's forces, leaving some sixty dead.⁽⁹⁴⁾ This brief and prosaic encounter sufficed to make the Scots masters of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle. The town opened its gates to Douglas, the sheriff of Teviotdale, the following day after Conway, at a midnight council of war following the English defeat, had ordered the withdrawal of all royal forces to Durham from 5 a.m. on 29 August.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Faced with the reality of a Scottish victory and occupation, the response in Durham was suddenly

93 Rushw. III, pp.1222-7

94 Ibid pp.1236-8; see also the good account in HMC, Var. Colls. II, p.255

95 Rushw. III, p.1238

one of consternation at all levels. Bishop Morton removed at once to Stockton Castle, and then followed the King's forces into Yorkshire. With him went a majority of the Durham clergy, not least the dean, Dr. Balcanquhall, who, as the author of the King's Large Declaration against the Scots had every reason to fear their wrath as one of those 'incendiaries' against whom they had pronounced, and other well-known Arminians like Thomas Wood and Thomas Triplet. The city of Durham was deserted with not one house in ten occupied and no shop open for four days after the battle. No one cared to venture into the city for market and there was an immediate shortage of bread, royalist troops having already made severe demands upon supplies. A considerable exodus of refugees developed, moving with their cattle and other goods southwards into Yorkshire.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Strafford, who was still at Northallerton when he was apprised of the defeat, ordered all upper mill-stones in the region to be broken and a wasted countrysdde to be left for the covenanters,⁽⁹⁷⁾ but it is not possible to say how far the county's gentlemen, left to handle this crisis, were able, or prepared, to comply. A committee for Durham, composed of deputy lieutenants and justices, was named to treat with the Scots. Prominent upon it were the high sheriff, Sir William Bellasis, Sir John Conyers, Sir William Lambton, Sir Thomas Tempest, Jerrard Salvin and Thomas Swinburne, as well as one probable covenanting sympathiser - Richard Lilburne.⁽⁹⁸⁾

96 Ibid, pp.1239-40

97 Ibid, p.1240

98 Ibid, p.1274; Allen 7, f.240

The situation which faced such a committee was an unenviable one. The thinking behind the Scottish irruption into England was plain enough; the Northumbrian Sir Walter Fenwick expressed it clearly in a letter of 15 July when he declared the Scots' intention was "... to be master over the Tyne and Sunderland, and by stopping the coal trade to compel the King and Kingdom of England to grant them more than ever yet they desired".⁽⁹⁹⁾ Almost immediately after Newburn the Scots had removed the King's receiver of customs and had seized £70 of the King's revenue at Sunderland and were appropriating the royal duties levied upon colliers loading in the Tyne.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The loss of coal revenue, while undoubtedly damaging, was nevertheless trifling compared with the crushing imposition of a huge Scottish military force upon the north eastern counties, the maintenance of which was placed as an embarrassing financial onus upon the King. The Scots themselves, however, had an immediate need for food and fodder for which they turned at once to the local populace. On 3 September Sir William Bellasis and Sir William Lambton on behalf of the county of Durham were summoned to appear before general Leslie in Newcastle.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ There they found that the immediate Scottish demands were for provision not money, and the quantities required convey a better impression of the burden thus set upon the inhabitants than a bald cash figure. Daily, the Durham populace was ordered

99 CSPD 1640, p.480, also pp.276-7, 322; Ibid 1640-1, p.23; see also Nef, Coal Trade II; p.283

100 CSPD 1640-1, pp.21, 23, 49

101 Allen 7, ff. 222-30

to supply 30,000 lbs. weight of bread, or its equivalent in bread and cheese, forty oxen and hundred sheep, and twenty tons of beer, as well as the use of some corn mills near Newcastle and horses for transport.⁽¹⁰²⁾ The Scots made it clear that failure to co-operate would see them take what they needed without security. At subsequent meetings, held at Morpeth for the county of Northumberland and Durham for the county of Durham, the Scots had arrived at a monetary figure for their maintenance - a staggering £300 per day in Northumberland and £350 per day in Durham.⁽¹⁰³⁾ On 30 August Sir Henry Vane, now a royal secretary, had written to his fellow secretary Windebank from Northallerton: "Here I must tell you it is strange to see how Leslie steals the hearts of the people in these northern parts. You will do well to think of timely remedies to be applied, lest the disease grow incurable ..."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Vane's assessment of local feelings may be questioned, but in any event the Scots themselves provided a sobering remedy for all but the most fervid of their sympathisers. Although they were at some pains not to conduct themselves as a victorious army and declared their intention of regarding the contribution made by protestants as a friendly loan and of making exactions only from papists and prelaticals, the reality was otherwise. A Newcastle alderman wrote to a friend in London: "Divers poor people of the country daily flock hither finding themselves securer here than in the country from the

102 CSPD 1640-1, p.18

103 Ibid p.75

104 Ibid 1640, p.649

insolence of their soldiers: for what they provided at their first coming abroad is spent, their horse do now daily go through all the Bishoprick of Durham, and bring in cattle wherever they find them, pretending the country does not supply them with markets to satisfy their army, which indeed is impossible."⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Sir Henry Vane, doubtless with an eye upon his estates in the south of the county, spoke of the plunder wreaked upon Darlington,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ while from Gateshead Sir Thomas Riddell petitioned the King to protest at the seizure of his corn, hay and grass, and two mills, as well as the spoiling of his coals, the destruction of his colliery engines and the drowning of the best part of his mines, which had already cost him £1,500.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ "Thus my Lord," wrote another commentator, Leonard Pinkney to Lord Treasurer Juxon, "they use good words, only to effect their own ends, pretending friendship and good usage, but demeaning themselves like Lords, for not one man either in Northumberland or the Bishopric of Durham can dare call anything he has his own."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ In October there came one angry reaction when the English garrison at Berwick sallied out and looted the house of a Scottish gentleman in the vicinity. In answer to the Scots' complaint, the governor, the Durham gentleman Sir John Conyers, spoke angrily of the coaches and ladies' apparel plundered in Durham and Northumberland, and now to be seen in Duns, and of gentlemen threatened "to make them draw in carts like slaves unless they bring in the contribution."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

105 Ibid 1640-1, pp.28-9

106 Ibid p.27

107 Nalson Collection I, p.441

108 CSPD 1640-1, p.42

109 Ibid p.200

More formal protests, made by local gentlemen to the Scottish commander in the form of an unsigned complaint, only served to reveal the harsh and uncompromising resolution not far beneath the skins of the covenanters. Supplicants, began the official Scottish reply ominously on 5 October, should supply their names so that calumniators might be exposed to 'lex talionis'. In answer to allegations of the sack and looting of parsonages the Scots replied that the incumbents had looted them themselves at Ryton and Whickham, although what had happened at Whitburn and Durham was less clear. Much robbing of houses and upon the highways had been perpetrated by Englishmen in the guise of Scots, and in addition the retiring forces of the King had laid waste the countryside behind them and local people of quality who had fled had left their empty houses behind as a temptation. There was an unfortunate lack of co-operation too, the reply went on; Newcastle had not been helpful over the Scottish request for baking and brewing facilities, and some justices had not appeared at the Scots' summons to arrive at an accommodation. The issue of the contribution to maintain the Scottish army during its occupation was the crux of the county's distress, however. The meeting at Durham on 15 September between the Scots commissioners and the Durham justices had resulted in the county 'voluntarily' undertaking to provide £350 per day, and although Sir John Conyers from Berwick spoke of coercion the Scots maintained that the

manner of raising the sum was left as the concern of the county gentlemen. The Scots later claimed that more than twice the sum agreed was being raised however, and spoke of finding some other method of collection to avoid such extortion and dishonesty.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Both Durham and Northumberland petitioned the King over the financial burden they had incurred on his behalf, but from York the Lords of the Great Council could offer nothing more than a commiserating letter which promised ultimate reparation.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Another observer took an ironic view: "... some honey the King may suck out of this weed," wrote Sir John Byron to a friend from Berwick, "that hereafter the ship-money will be thought but a toy."⁽¹¹²⁾

In their quest for cash wherever it could be extracted the covenanters were especially severe upon clerical resources, issuing warrants for the seizure of church rents, in particular of those clergy who had fled, thus confirming, in Scots' eyes, their enmity. Dean and chapter possessions now lay as a valuable prize. On 7 September Sir Henry Vane wrote from York to secretary Windebank that he suspected that the meetings the Scots had called with the sheriff and gentlemen of the county was, as much as anything, an attempt "... to draw them into the Covenant, which they, especially the tenants of the Church, being disgusted with the clergy there, who have held too hard a hand upon them, may be but too apt to embrace."⁽¹¹³⁾ There seems to have been some

110 Answers to the Complaints and grievances given in by the Bishop of Durham and others. RR.I, (hist.);

CSPD 1640-1, p.143

111 Rushw. III, p.1271, 1301; Allen 7, ff.238-9

112 CSPD 1640-1, p.93

113 Ibid p.23

grounds for Vane's fears, for a week later George Grey and Anthony Smith were receiving instructions from general Leslie's commissioners as "collectors for the Dean and Chapter of Durham" by which they were ordered not only to ensure that all capitular rents, tithes and profits were placed at the disposal of the Scots but to send in particulars of any of the bishop's or dean and chapter's associates, papists, or other "enemies to this cause and expedition".⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The extent to which Grey and Smith willingly accepted such a role cannot be gauged, but both were the leaders of the recent agitation among the county's capitular tenantry and were looked upon as a puritan-radical threat to the church. Their position of authority among the tenants, and involvement in the working of dean and chapter land affairs meant they were natural instruments for the Scots to utilise, and it seems likely that their involvement on the Scots' behalf was not entirely unwilling. Overall, Vane's fears were largely unwarranted however, for the covenanters apparently preferred cash to converts or friends. The capitular tenantry were offered an abatement of a sixth if their rents were paid by 29 September; on 2 October the Scots would demand them in full, however. The tenants complained to the English commissioners at Ripon that these rents were not due until Michaelmas and they did not have them to hand.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ There is little to suggest other overt

114 Ibid p.61; Rushw. III, p.1262

115 Rushw. III, p.1272; Allen 7, f.238

and willing co-operation with the Scottish invaders. Although bishop Morton had warned Viscount Conway of the 'Covenanters' spies' activities in Sunderland, ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ and there were certainly many sympathisers there and elsewhere in the county, the severe temporal burdens of occupation placed by a covenanting army must have tempered the spiritual sympathies of most.

On 2 October negotiations began at Ripon between the English and Scottish commissioners to resolve the King's plight and that which was essentially the same thing - the plight of the north eastern counties. The sum which had already been agreed by the gentlemen of Durham, Northumberland and the town of Newcastle for the maintenance of the Scots - a total of £850 a day - was settled as an official amount. It was to be paid weekly for two months from 16 October, and because both sides ^{whether} this sum could be realised in the areas named Cumberland and Westmorland were added, although the Scots considered these doubtful security too. Under this arrangement there would be no Scottish molestation of prelates, papists and their ilk, and bishop and clergy would be free to return. There was to be no plundering or forced billeting, and food, fodder and coals were to be supplied and paid for in a regular fashion. Restrictions on trade and commerce were to be removed at once, in particular any customs levied on victuals. ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The agreed contributions were to be

116 CSPD 1640-1, pp.651-2

117 Rushw. III, pp.1295-7

effected by "the ordinary means of levy", however, and the King's customs - in particular his revenue from Tyne and Wear coal shipments - were in no way to be interfered with. (118) Arrears in assessments already made were to be made good up to 16 October and these were already quite substantial it seems. Between 11 September and 16 October Durham alone yielded up £8,500 in cash and £200 in hay and oats, but more than £3,500 had not been paid in by laymen and clerics who had been assessed. (119) On 26 October hostilities between the two nations were declared at an end, although the Scots made it clear that failure to provide the agreed sums would cause the Scots to raise it themselves. (120) The cataclysms which were soon to overtake the nation were presaged, and indeed set in motion, by this discomfiture which fell upon the two northern counties. By the time that the covenanted army marched northwards again to keep its agreement to cross the Tweed before 25 August 1641, the actions of the Long Parliament, determined and hostile in spirit, had already substantially widened the breach between itself and the crown to an almost irretrievable point. The nation at large was given a picture in the north of what lay ahead for it - the ebb and flow of alien soldiery and the exactions of billeting, contributions, and summary hard usage in causes it often little understood, and less cared about. From the final sum paid over to the Scottish commissioners in the

118 CSPD 1640-1, p.174

119 Rushw. III, p.1274; Allen 7, f.241

120 Rushw. III, p.1306

summer of 1641 to secure the Scots' withdrawal from England, £38,888 was withheld at the order of the House of Commons as the amount acknowledged by the commissioners as owed by the Scots to Durham, Northumberland and Newcastle. (121)

But the north did not receive such a sum as the restitution often promised to it. The county of Durham was to appeal without success in ensuing years on several occasions for a total of more than £25,000 as its personal due. (122)

The unrest and dissatisfaction which the Scottish crisis had brought to life across the nation did not abate in Durham with the Scots' departure. The Long Parliament was the generator and magnet for long pent-up resentments everywhere and the huge, unsettled debt of which the county had become the unwilling and baffled creditor brought a renewed agitation for parliamentary representation. Efforts were made but nothing could be achieved amid the pre-occupations of the brief Short Parliament of April-May 1640, but the opening of the Long Parliament in November meant that the county could now appeal to a body the spirit and mood of which might be expected to respond readily to its request as a means of striking further at the corners of the consilial and episcopal edifice. While the desire of the county was most certainly not to contribute to the King's difficulties in any way, it was nevertheless quite willing to make use of the opportunity presented. On 28 November, some three weeks

121 CSPD 1641-3, pp.36-7, 80

122 CJ.V, pp.21-2; RCDN pp.40-1

after its opening, the Long Parliament introduced a bill to give the palatinate knight and burgesses, and on 1 January 1641 the business was referred to a committee headed by the Newcastle member Sir Thomas Widdrington.⁽¹²³⁾ The subsequent progress of the bill however, in the increasingly grave preoccupations of the Parliament, was slow. Widdrington's committee did not in fact report until 7 March 1642 and the bill was given its third reading on 7 April.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Although the bill succeeded in passing both Houses it was overtaken and submerged in the surge of events thereafter. When, on 20 January, Parliament sent down to the country its instructions to sheriffs, justices, and other officers for the taking of the Protestation against popery by all over the age of eighteen, Durham made a very full and prompt response, when every class and condition, save for certain catholic elements, gave every appearance of being united in rallying to this particular parliamentary clarion.⁽¹²⁵⁾ There was more disgruntlement over the office of high sheriff. The death of the long-serving and loyal Sir William Bellasis in December 1640 resulted in the office being filled by William Collingwood in April following, who in turn was replaced in October by Sir William Darcy, Collingwood continuing as under-sheriff.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In January 1642 a petition was sent up from the county to the Long Parliament against Darcy. The grounds of the complaint are not clear, but both he and

123 CJ.II, pp.38-40, 61

124 Ibid pp.469, 482, 491, 515, 523; IV, p.103

125 Wood, Durham Protestations

126 Randall 13, ff.23-24

Collingwood in outlook and actions were ultimately to reveal themselves antipathetic to the Parliament, and the more radical currents it was stirring in the county. Another important one of these was a further agitation over church lands. On 7 March 1642 the Durham justices wrote to the Commons concerning riots in the county directed against episcopal enclosures. Several times, they reported, riotous crowds - on one occasion three or four hundred strong - had gathered to pull down enclosures in various parts of the county. The justices had attempted to use their authority but had found themselves helpless. This agitation had not begun in Durham; similar action against church enclosures had been taking place elsewhere in the country since the previous summer,⁽¹²⁷⁾ but it is difficult, in face of the organised agitation of Grey and Smith over capitular leases, and Lilburne on behalf of the Muggleswick puritans, to believe that direction was not given to a genuine feeling of grievance. Parliament called for the Durham ringleaders to be named, but none was, and in any case the Commons responded with very sympathetic sentiments to the petition it had also received from Durham over episcopal enclosures and gave a firm promise of redress.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The events of the years 1638-41 tapped springs of discontent in Durham. Ship money and other forced loans of the years of consiliar rule were as much disliked, and increasingly

127 Rushw. IV, p.375

128 CJ.II, pp.469, 471; TT, E141(5) It was probably at this time that the extensive enclosures on Ryton Fell moor in Ryton manor were "violently pulled down by a multitude of adjacent towns". Parl. S., II, p.55

resented in the county, as anywhere else, but were tied up, in the view of the county's gentlemen and freeholders, with the erosion of palatine status and privileges and the continued refusal of parliamentary representation. But while radical agitation which embodied complaints on these grounds must have aroused sympathies in many gentlemen it is by no means easy to discern anyone of substance or standing who involved and identified himself in the way which George Lilburne did. Lilburne's efforts were significant, owing little or nothing to the puritan-radicalism of Newcastle, and focussing upon the county of Durham, combining political and religious grievances with economic ones in the areas of greatest possibility - along the lower Wear, in towns like Durham and Barnard Castle, among the Derwentdale puritans, and among the very large numbers of ecclesiastical tenants of one kind and another. While many of the county's prominent families were stoutly recusant in part, it is not apparent that Laudian notions found a great deal of lay favour, while a Laudian activist like Triplet could bring down the gentry's hostility upon his head by his actions. At a lower level, socio-economic grievances on the part of church tenants were an obvious and very widespread source of dissatisfaction, yet it is doubtful whether the concern and resentment of these generally small tenants extended far beyond their farms and tenements, their rights of lease, and rights of common. Exasperation reached a peak with the humiliation and expense

of the Scottish occupation, yet it is noteworthy that those gentlemen who bore the brunt of the county's government at that time - Tempests, Salvins, Conyerses, Collingwoods and Swinburnes - were the same men who were to rally the county for the King under the Earl of Newcastle a year later. In truth, those highlights of complaint and agitation draw attention away from the quieter shadows where a majority lived who were not happy at the current turn of events but who suffered the Scottish contribution, signed the Long Parliament's Protestation, and evinced the traditional conservatism of the northern parts which the crown gauged rightly as more friend than enemy in 1642.

CHAPTER 2

Cavalier government and the
Scottish campaign 1642-44

The year 1642 brought to an end the tortured relations between King and Parliament which had run their unhappy course throughout 1641. The conflict, essentially constitutional and judicial in its outward form, and contained within the capital, now became an appeal to arms which was truly national as both parties turned for support to the towns, counties and communities of the kingdom, the response of which had, by the year's close, forced the country into a committed stance of civil war. Devoid of any great magnates either to polarise or pressurise the county's opinions, the Durham gentry nevertheless provoked an overwhelming exhibition of royalist sympathy in their response to the King's cause, and the knights, esquires and gentlemen of virtually every established county family were substantially represented among those who, in various fashions, served the crown. There was a strong nucleus of the Tempest family - John Tempest of Old Durham, Sir Richard of Stella, Sir Thomas of the Isle, Sedgefield - who maintained their adamant royalism until the Restoration. The extensive Blakiston progeny

included Sir Ralph and Sir William Blakiston of Gibside and Sir William of Archdeacon Newton. Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth, with his half-brother Sir Henry of Farnacres, and his son Francis of Redheugh and Bamburgh were principals in securing and defending Newcastle for the King. At the age of eighty Sir Alexander Davison of Blakiston was killed at the storming of Newcastle, and his son, Sir Thomas, together with Ralph Davison of Winyard, were also notable cavaliers. The Riddells of Gateshead and Newcastle, the catholic Salvins and Collingwoods, the lower Wear families of Hilton and Lambton were represented beside county names like Conyers, Eden, Bowes, and the ancient one of Eure, and resolute royalist sentiments were found in names like Byerley, Carr, Forcer, Featherstonehaugh, Hodgson, Swinburne and Wren.⁽¹⁾ The pronounced royalist consensus shown in the county's response is not, perhaps, surprising. The early and active presence of the Earl of Newcastle in the region not only assured and emboldened the King's sympathisers but more importantly won over, or coerced, waverers and equivocators. In the face of the Parliament's tardy and inadequate attempt to command the region's allegiance, royalists were, from the outset, able to stand up and be counted with impunity. What is noteworthy, however, is the ready commitment to the King made by a body of gentry which, out of no fault of its own, had suffered dislocation and confusion,

1 See Appendix D

the indignities and fears of a foreign military occupation, and a huge, outstanding financial loss within the previous two years as a result of a court policy which was universally disliked and manifestly disastrous. The response of the county confirmed its longstanding reputation for religious and political conservatism, yet the extent of the response and the willingness for involvement in the national cataclysm suggests a conviction which, in the first stages at least, carried the Durham gentry beyond the preoccupation of domestic county concerns. Doubtless the unprecedented actions of the Long Parliament served to crystallise opinions in the county. While there was little enthusiasm for Arminianism, the rabid puritanism displayed at Westminster since 1640 clearly threatened the episcopal structure of the English church as it existed, and could only adversely touch those Durham families whose fortunes and status had grown out of episcopal or prebendial connections or who traditionally filled legal and administrative offices within the palatine structure. Even more pertinently, perhaps, the virulent anti-catholicism of the Long Parliament could only alarm that substantial proportion of Durham families who to one degree or another were touched by recusancy. In 1643 Lord Fairfax directed a letter to the Earl of Newcastle which accused him of utilising catholics as the nucleus of the northern royalist army. Nor did Newcastle deny this, but

rather chose to justify the situation instead, pointing out the peaceful state of Northumberland, Durham, and the town of Newcastle under his military control, the obvious loyalty of catholic subjects to the King and the recusants of another sort in the parliamentary ranks - covenanters, anabaptists and those who preached levelling, socialistic extremism.⁽²⁾ Again, the association in the minds of many between the puritan Long Parliament and the covenanting presbyterianism of Scotland could only be reinforced for northcountrymen by the antipathy for the ancient enemy and the still unhealed wounds inflicted by his last visitation upon them. The defence of the north against a further Scottish incursion figures clearly in royalist propaganda in the north from an early date⁽³⁾ and in the event was not to prove unjustified.

The body of opinion in the county which clove to the Parliament's cause was smaller, but in certain ways distinctive. The cautious and equivocal role of the Vane family in 1641-2 denied to the county's supporters of the Long Parliament at the outset that authority and leadership in affairs which it assumed from 1644 onwards, and there was no other family of equivalent status and influence to uphold the revolutionary cause in the county. There was, nevertheless, a fair number of gentlemen of good quality who identified themselves with Parliament, notably Sir Richard

2 A Declaration made by the Earle of Newcastle (1643
RR.I, (hist.)

3 Mercurius Aulicus, p.693, 2 Dec. 1642; CSPV 1642-3, p.217

Bellasis of Ludworth, Thomas Bowes of Streatlam, Sir Henry Gibb of Jarrow, James Clavering of Axwell and Christopher and Clement Fulthorpe, father and son. From the royalist and recusant Wren family of Binchester, Francis Wren appeared to serve the new regimes constantly and loyally. Bellasis was a colliery associate of George Lilburne and George Grey, the nucleus of radical opinion along the Lower Wear and good deal of support was forthcoming from that area. Lilburne and Grey were themselves of that stratum of esquires and gentlemen which constituted a large part of county support for Parliament in men like Gilbert Marshall of Houghall, Thomas Midford of Pespool, Nicholas Heath of Little Eden, Richard Lilburne of Thickley Punchardon and townsmen like John Middleton of Darlington and Anthony Smith of Durham. These more middling gentry were bolstered by another group, those men whose clerical families had established secular roots in the county but who had not lost the puritan spirit which had marked their fathers or grandfathers. Such were Timothy Whittingham of Holmside, Robert Hutton of Houghton le Spring, George Bunny and John Smart.⁽⁴⁾ Another clerical family, that of the old prebendary Marmaduke Blakiston, was essentially royalist in complexion but it too produced a celebrated Parliament man, John Blakiston, M.P. for Newcastle and eventually to become one of the regicides.⁽⁵⁾ At a lower level still came the adherence of townsmen like the Coatsworths of South Shields, the Shepperdsons of Sunderland, and the Halls

4 See James, Family, Lineage, pp.116, 120

5 Howell, Newcastle, p.88 n5, notes uncertainty over Blakiston's parentage, but accepts Marmaduke as his father. John Lilburne referred to him as "a prebend's son". A Just Reproof to Haberdashers Hall, pp.4-5, TT, E.638 (12)

of Durham, and yeomen like John Shaw of Ferryhill and Isaac Gilpin, secretary of the county committee until 1650. In truth, however, the body of support which Parliament could call from among the upper tiers and older families of the county was small indeed. The baser complexion of the parliamentarians - exemplified by the wealthy, influential but parvenu Lilburnes and figures like Anthony Smith - was more obvious after 1650, when under the Commonwealth and Protectorate many of those men of quality, Bellasis, Bowes, Fulthorpe and Clavering, withdrew, or went into opposition. Whatever the mixed views and feelings of the individual elements which made up the variegated society of Durham at the commencement of the civil war, they did not add up to a large body of determinedly anti-royalist feeling. In 1651 John Lilburne talked of "... a zealous Parliamentier (which is something rare in that county)"⁽⁶⁾ and his assertion seems totally justified. Indeed, it was to remain valid throughout the period until the restoration of the King.

In March 1642 the King withdrew from London and established himself, together with his courts of justice, at York. Soon after he summoned to him there William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, and placed in his hands the government of the town of Newcastle and the four northern counties. The Earl of Newcastle had friends and influence in the north, particularly through his estates in Northumberland, but in the

6 A Just Reproof, p.3

confused and unwilling slide into civil strife across the Kingdom generally he found enthusiasms tempered and cautious even in a region where latent sympathies lay largely with the King. In Northumberland there was resistance to his efforts to put the north on a military footing, in Tynedale and Redesdale especially, and the tenants of Lord Grey and Lord Northumberland banded together to oppose recruitment and the earl's commands,⁽⁷⁾ and despite the successful securing of the region for the King by the close of the year, Sir Marmaduke Langdale could still assert: "they are in these Northern counties much infected with the hot zeal of Puritanism".⁽⁸⁾ Whatever the accuracy or fairness of such a view Newcastle found little existing military provision to utilise at his first coming, and his early efforts to raise men, money and materials met with a poor response.⁽⁹⁾ His first appeal was made to the county of Durham. On 14 June, as he passed through on his journey to Newcastle, he issued a warrant to the high sheriff, deputy lieutenants and justices which required 100 horse and 500 foot of the county's trained bands to muster fully accoutred in Newcastle the following Saturday. A subtle difference in approach to county and town was noted by an anonymous but hostile observer. "At Durham," he informed Parliament from Newcastle on 22 and 23 June, "the Drum was beat up: they said, for the King; but, since they came here, it is struck up for King and Parliament".⁽¹⁰⁾ The earl himself had raised a troop of 120

7 HMC Portland I, pp.69-70

8 Ibid

9 Cavendish, Life, p.12

10 LJ.V, pp.170-1

horse and a regiment of foot at his own expense for the King's service, and it was the presence of this force, with Newcastle as its base, which aroused an early hostile response at Newcastle and in Durham, where memories of soldiery - English as well as Scots - were both recent and painful. The earl's first attempt to establish a garrison in Newcastle met with resistance from townsmen and colliers,⁽¹¹⁾ while about the same time he was faced by a mutiny of the Durham trained bands. The Durham men's grounds seem to have been simply dislike and resentment of the earl's new-raised and alien forces; when he appeared in person to mollify the Durham levies one of them informed him "That he liked my Lord very well, but not his Company (meaning his soldiers)".⁽¹²⁾ From Newcastle came more pertinent objections. The legal validity of the warrant of lieutenancy the Earl of Newcastle had received from the King, and the illegality of drawing armed militiamen from one county to serve in another, were raised by the anonymous letter-writer of June, who pointed out further that parliamentary sympathisers were already discouraged by the earl's activities and the large numbers of Durham and Northumberland papists emboldened. Strategically, the earl's forces controlled the sea-coal trade by occupying Newcastle and, diplomatically, strained relations with Scotland once more.⁽¹³⁾

The writer of the Newcastle letters ended with an appeal

- 11 The Parliament's Resolution For the Speedy Sending an Army into the North, 16 Jul. 1642. TT, E107 (4)
- 12 Cavendish, Life, pp.13-4
- 13 LJ.V, pp.170-1

for parliamentary action to counter that of the earl, observing: "if speedy Course were yet taken, it might reduce all that is done".⁽¹⁴⁾ Parliament's reponse was unconvincing however. On 30 June the Commons were informed that 200 men of the Durham trained bands had already answered the earl's summons and mustered in Newcastle, while 300 men had garrisoned Tynemouth castle and with the aid of continental gunners and engineers were building a fort with six pieces of ordnance and entrenchments at South Shields to command both banks of the mouth of the Tyne.⁽¹⁵⁾ The Commons responded by ordering two warships to lie off the river mouth, and forbidding the Durham trained bands to join the Newcastle garrison or the town to receive them. The Lords added their voice with a declaration which spoke of the threat to coal and other trade by the fortification of the Tyne, and five days later Parliament announced its intention of sending an army into the north.⁽¹⁶⁾ Yet no practical parliamentary opposition materialised to which sympathisers could rally. Durham's Lord lieutenant - Sir Henry Vane, appointed under the Militia Bill in February - was not discernible as playing any kind of role whatsoever in the confused and critical later months of the year, and indeed, his attitude and responses at this time were later to cause his motives to be loudly challenged and condemned by some of the county's parliamentarians.⁽¹⁷⁾ When the King raised his standard at Nottingham on 22 August and

14 Ibid

15 CJ.II, p.664

16 Ibid; LJ.V, pp.201-2; TT, E107 (4)

17 See below, p.145

fighting began to flare up in more and more counties between rival factions Durham and Northumberland were both, to all intents and purposes, secure, and virtually undisturbed as a result, with the Tyne fortified and strong garrisons in Hartlepool, Stockton, and elsewhere. Money and arms from the continent - from Queen Henrietta in Holland and the King of Denmark - were already reaching Newcastle, some utilised by the Earl of Newcastle himself, most despatched for royalist needs elsewhere.⁽¹⁸⁾ In early October, when royal commissions of array were being sent out into Durham, the Commons were seeking the names of persons fit to put into effect Parliament's propositions and instructions for the north east, and attempting to raise two troops of horse out of the rents and revenues of papists and ill-affected clergy there.⁽¹⁹⁾ Parliament's pretence of authority in the north was by then quite empty, however, and such posturing virtually meaningless. Even so, Sir Henry Vane, John Blakiston and other northern members charged with the task, returned a list of names which on 17 November the Commons resolved should be commissioned to raise forces for the preservation of the peace in Northumberland, Durham, Newcastle and Berwick as part of Parliament's plan for an association of the seven northernmost counties. The Durham gentlemen named were George and Richard Lilburne, Francis Wren, Thomas Shadforth, Ralph Grey, Clement Fulthorpe, Thomas Midford, Robert Hutton and Robert Clavering.⁽²⁰⁾ By November they

18 Cavendish, Life, p.14

19 CJ.II, p.802

20 Ibid pp.853-4

had been overtaken by events however, some being in royalist custody, some forced from their homes, some escaping into Scotland or to parliamentary forces in Yorkshire.

The firm hold which the Earl of Newcastle was able to take upon the four northern counties in the course of the summer and autumn months of 1642 owed much to the prediction of the region for the King's cause. This fact, and Newcastle's competent fait accompli which capitalised upon it, put the Parliament into a posture of helplessness and inaction which afforded little or no support or encouragement for those who wished to resist. George Lilburne, in the 1630s the opponent of ship money, forced loans and Arminian innovations, a puritan and probable covenanter, was an obvious leader of incipient resistance and his fortunes during the year were very probably typical of that experienced by the county's more overt parliamentarians. Soon after Newcastle's arrival in the north Lilburne found himself indicted for not coming to prayers, an excuse to put him off the bench of justices and to make an example of him. Shortly after this, he was sent for, and arrested in Newcastle as "the greatest enemy in those parts" where as a justice he had attempted to hold meetings and raise forces to counter those of the royalists. He was, he claimed, much abused in his captivity and some time in September escaped with his brother in law, the presbyterian cleric Henry Lever, and others to Edinburgh, where they conferred with the

parliamentary agent there. Through the mediation of Sir William Lambton, Lilburne's neighbour and colliery associate on the Wear, and a staunch cavalier, Lilburne was once again in Durham in October, under Lambton's protection, when the Earl of Newcastle attempted to put in force the commission of array at a meeting of the gentlemen of the county in the sessions house at Durham. Lilburne, together with other parliamentary sympathisers - Clement Fulthorpe, Robert Hutton, John Smart, Thomas Shaw and Robert Sharpe - spoke out in opposition to the commission, Smart pronouncing it illegal. The meeting became heated, blows were exchanged, and the parliamentarians had need to flee for their lives. On 11 November, while trying to make his way to Sir John Hotham in Yorkshire, Lilburne was again seized - as was Clement Fulthorpe about the same time - and brought to Durham, then marched to York where he was imprisoned for fourteen months.⁽²¹⁾ John Smart also fell into royalist hands and the Durham grand jury, with the ardent cavalier Christopher Byerley as its foreman, later found for the indictment against him as a parliamentary rebel and traitor.⁽²²⁾ Later in the month Francis Wren, Richard Lilburne, Thomas Midford and others in the county petitioned Parliament about their condition, pointing out the daily consolidation of the royalists' strength and that Parliament's friends were now forced to flee from their homes, there being no forces to protect them and no authority to issue commissions. The parliamentary

21 SP 23, 153, 103, 247, 291
22 RCDN p.140

ordinance of association for the northern counties had not reached them and they asked for it to be immediately sent down, while they protected themselves as best they might from the papists and malignants who threatened them.⁽²³⁾ Nothing further in the way of concerted resistance to royalist sway materialised in Durham although some individual gestures were made. Thomas Shadforth was later to claim that he defied one of the county's commissioners of array, colonel Bowes, sitting in the school-house at Houghton le Spring, and persuaded local men not to be arrayed.⁽²⁴⁾ The county however, at the end of 1642, had more than a year of undisputed royalist war regime to experience.

It was the royalist intention to organise the north for military purposes as an association, and the Earl of Newcastle apparently realised the greatest success in this respect with the forces he mustered in Northumberland and Durham, together with some out of Cumberland. Westmorland, initially at least, offered little aid, the troop of horse raised there by Sir Philip Musgrove being regarded as purely for the county's defence. This innate distaste of county forces to be drawn into military combinations beyond their own borders was an initial difficulty for Newcastle. On 23 October the Westmorland commissioners travelled to Richmond to meet with those of Durham and Northumberland concerning a treaty of association, but no meeting took place.⁽²⁵⁾ Another meeting for the same purpose did occur at Barnard Castle, but was

23 HMC Portland I, p.75

24 RCDN p.335

25 Newes from the North (London, 3 Dec. 1642) TT, E 107 (43)

reported as not making any very positive steps towards an effective association.⁽²⁶⁾ Nevertheless, by the end of November a considerable royalist army had mustered under the Earl of Newcastle out of the northern counties, in the main drawn from, and gathered in, Northumberland and Durham. Parliament pronounced against the great forces of horse and foot which were concentrating to overawe the 'well-affected' in the north,⁽²⁷⁾ while a royalist news-sheet boasted: "... the foure true Associated Counties in the North have effectually listed 8000 most resolute Royallists, under the Noble Knight Sir Thomas Glenham, to keepe the backe doore shut. The Garrisons of Newcastle, Tinemouth, Carlisle, and all the rest, being so excellently stored with Men, Armes, Ammunition, Victuall, and Fortification,s that any of them will defie an Army, either of Foraigners or Bretheren."⁽²⁷⁾ Although Durham was thus rendered secure for the King without conflict, the south of the county was the ground for continuous skirmishes where the parliamentary forces of Fairfax in Yorkshire made forays across the Tees. On 9 November a force under Sir Christopher Wray and captain John Hotham surprised and routed the Durham recusant captain Pudsey's troop in Darlington,⁽²⁸⁾ and about the same time two Danish commanders who had arrived in the Tyne together with armour and money for the King's cause, were captured by parliamentary soldiers in Durham while on their way to the King.⁽²⁹⁾ By the end of November the situation in Yorkshire, where Fairfax

26 RCDN pp.348-9

27 Mercurius Aulicus, 2 Dec. 1642 .

28 HMC Portland I, p.68

29 CSPV 1642-3, p.203

and the Hothams bade fair to take York, urgently required the intervention of Newcastle's army. On 1 December 1000 horse and 6000 foot marched out of the county of Durham to relieve the Yorkshire cavaliers,⁽³⁰⁾ Sir William Lambton's regiment of foot courageously forcing the passage of the Tees at Piercebridge in face of strong resistance.⁽³¹⁾

As the Earl of Newcastle intervened successfully in Yorkshire he left behind him the northern counties under a structure of war government. Below the overall military governorship of Sir Thomas Glenham, county committees appeared, as they did elsewhere in the country, with their prime concern the cowing of disaffected elements and the provision of money and men for royalist military needs. Such a body appeared for Durham, composed of an indeterminate number of county cavaliers apparently elected from among themselves and sitting regularly,⁽³²⁾ and upon which Sir John Conyers and Sir Thomas Tempest were particularly prominent.⁽³³⁾ A variety of other gentlemen such as Christopher Byerley, Robert Eden, Gerrard Salvin and Lindsey Wren were much in evidence pursuing the committee's wishes in different parts of the county, as was Sir Thomas Riddell, and the high sheriff, Sir William Darcy.⁽³⁴⁾ Faced with the inevitable risk of alienating an essentially friendly region by exactions on behalf of his troops, Newcastle had forbidden free-quartering from the outset and imposed a regular assessment as the fairest way to meet his needs.⁽³⁵⁾ The burden of soldiery upon local communities was a problem to task

30 Ibid p.217

31 Cavendish, Life, p.17

32 RCDN pp.139-40

33 SP.23, 153, 311

34 M & S 7, f.61; CAM III, p.1,266

35 Cavendish, Life, pp.18-9

royalists and parliamentarians alike; demands were heavy and resented. Speaking of Newcastle's new-raised army in November 1642, a Durham observer grumbled: "It is thought here hee intends to billet some part of his forces about this City all this Winter. God deliver us from them, they doe more mischief by one halfe than the Scots".⁽³⁶⁾ Indeed, a county which little more than a year since had suffered the vast expense and discomfort of a foreign occupation could hardly do more than look with dismay and misgiving upon a new one, albeit professedly friendly. The imposition of a regular assessment based upon the county book of rates was more easily said than done. The disruptions of the time brought about a shortage of coinage which seems to have persisted for many years,⁽³⁷⁾ while the payment of rents, tithes, and fines became uncertain. Royal revenues out of the county became long overdue despite an extension and were probably never paid.⁽³⁸⁾ A new county book of rates was devised under the royalist regime to overcome the emergency conditions and which significantly was continued in use by the parliamentarians in 1644, for some time at least.⁽³⁹⁾ It is hardly surprising that assessments were neither made nor paid as regularly as intended. Demands made upon Steindrop and its environs during 1642-4 for the maintenance of the garrison at Raby castle were sporadic and irregular, seemingly being made as need arose.⁽⁴⁰⁾ There was also an indeterminate but very real degree of hardship among those

36 The English Intelligencer (London, Nov. 1642) TT, E 128 (19)
37 CSPD 1644-5, pp.162-3
38 CSPD (Add.) 1625-49, pp.653-4
39 CSPD 1644-5, pp.162-3
40 SP.16, 50, 7-9

classes living well below the rateable level. There were perhaps 5,800 workers engaged in the coal industry on the Tyne, with a third of that number employed along the Wear. The Tyne and Wear miners - who constituted about a third of the industry's total workforce - relied entirely upon mining as a livelihood and were liable to suffer quickly from any disturbance or depression of the trade, as were Keelmen and other ancillary workers too.⁽⁴¹⁾ On 14 January 1643, some six weeks after the Earl of Newcastle had successfully marched to the relief of York - and in doing so strengthened the royalist hold upon the north,^T Parliament forbade any vessel to fetch coal or salt from Newcastle, Sunderland, or Blyth,⁽⁴²⁾ and effectively achieved its intention of denying the royalist regime revenue from the trade and of fomenting unrest through hardship there. The royalists themselves exacerbated the situation by laying a new impost upon coal exports, and by 16 January serious disturbances were being reported among the Newcastle and Durham colliers.⁽⁴³⁾

Beneath the war regime imposed upon the county, civil and ecclesiastical affairs continued to a considerable extent as normal. Between 20 April 1642 and 10 January 1644, eight quarter sessions were held at their usual intervals in the year, and got through their usual business, although the numbers and composition of the justices reflected events somewhat. There was no clerical representation whatsoever,

41 Nef, Coal Trade II, pp.137-8

42 A Declaration of the Lords and Commons, forbidding any ship, etc. RR.I, (hist.)

43 CSPV 1642-3, p.229

and the business was carried through by a much smaller body of justices, whose names varied little. George Lilburne made his last appearance on the bench on 20 April 1642, probably the last sessions to be held under normal conditions of peace, when he sat with Sir Lionel Maddison, Sir John Conyers, Thomas Swinburne and several others. Thereafter, not more than five, often only four, men sat at the sessions, the brunt of the work being shouldered by Conyers, Swinburne, Sir Thomas Tempest and Hugh Wright.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The first three of these were important members of the county's royalist government, but Wright was a neutralist who continued to work closely with these cavaliers on the bench, as did Sir Lionel Maddison and the imprisoned Clement Fulthorpe's father, Christopher, who appeared in October 1643. The arrival of the Scottish army in February 1644 meant that the January sessions of that year were the last to be held for some time, and orderly written sessional records do not begin again until July 1649.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The death of Sir William Bellasis in December 1640 saw him replaced as high sheriff on 8 April following by William Collingwood, who gave way to Sir William Darcy on 16 October.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Darcy continued as sheriff throughout the royalist occupation, and although he appeared at Barnard Castle at one of the meetings to associate the northern counties, his activities were apparently modest enough for the parliamentarians to adjudge him subsequently as not a very active enemy. Collingwood's endeavours on the royalists'

44 DQS. 3/23

45 Ibid 3/23-45

46 Randall 13, ff. 23-4

behalf as Darcy's under-sheriff, however, later had him named as one of the county's most notorious delinquents.⁽⁴⁷⁾ A similar distinction was also afforded to John Heath and Thomas Burwell the spiritual chancellor, largely, it would seem, for their roles in making the palatine legal machinery continue to function - aided by the majority of legal officials who remained in their posts⁽⁴⁸⁾ - often to the discomfiture of parliamentary sympathisers.⁽⁴⁹⁾ A serious dislocation occurred over the holding of an assize, however. Sir Richard Dyott, the temporal chancellor, held the last under normal conditions in October 1641, and another took place despite the deteriorating circumstances in August 1642. This was the last under the royalist regime and indeed, until the establishment of the Commonwealth.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Religious life at parish level remained scarcely disturbed. Puritan opinion, clerical and lay, was of necessity much muted by the royalist ascendancy and the regime had all sermons to be preached in the bishoprick vetted in order to allow nothing against the King's cause.⁽⁵¹⁾ There were also efforts to maintain normalcy in everyday life; the city of Durham's common council announced that the fairs held on the two feasts of St. Cuthbert - 20 ~~March~~ March and 4 September - would both take place as usual in 1643.⁽⁵²⁾ Nevertheless, the burdens imposed upon the region generally by the demands of military provision, the discomforts of a military presence, and the economic strangulation of the coal and salt

47 RCDN pp.18, 116-7 n. See also below p.135

48 M & S 52, F.1^v

49 RCDN pp.49-50, 276

50 Allen 7, ff. 187-92. See also below pp.123-5

51 Cavendish, Life, p.14. Newcastle's biographer says John Cosin had responsibility for this aspect of royalist control, although another authority states he left the country soon after his hearing and deprivations at the hands of Parliament in 1641. Neale, History of the Puritans II, p.388

industries could only bring hardship and distress in growing measure as the royalist regime continued.⁽⁵³⁾

By the close of the year 1643 northern England as far south as Lincoln and Nottingham in the east and Preston and Manchester in the west were under royalist sway. Although the Fairfaxes still held the fortress-port of Hull for the Parliament and their forays kept Yorkshire in an unsettled condition, the Marquis of Newcastle⁽⁵⁴⁾ could point out to them, in an open letter during the course of the year, the contented and peaceable condition of Newcastle, Northumberland and Durham, freed from rebellious agitation.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The secure and orderly hold which the King had upon the north eastern counties meant the retention for his cause of Newcastle as one of the few royalist ports of entry and supply, of increasingly serious shortages of sea-coal in London and the south east which could not be effectively supplied from elsewhere,⁽⁵⁶⁾ and the provision of a pool of money and men upon which the northern royalists could draw - albeit with increasing difficulty - to pursue their endeavours in Yorkshire, Lancashire and the northern midlands. Equally important, furthermore, was the fact that the royalist garrisons across the north stood between Scotland and any move the Scots might determine upon to intervene in the English situation. In April 1643 the strength of the forces of the King in the north was commented upon as certain to give the

53 See Nef. Coal Trade II, p.289 for economic considerations

54 Cavendish's efforts in the north and midlands during 1643 brought his advancement by the King in the middle of the year. DNB

55 A Declaration made by the Earle of Newcastle (1643) RR I. (hist)

56 Nef, Coal Trade II, p.286

Scots cause to reflect carefully upon their intentions.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The importance of a Scottish intervention on one side or the other had been clear to both King and Parliament since the outset, and both sides had made approaches to the Scots before the end of 1642. Pym had recognised the desire of the Scottish Kirk to advance the cause of presbytery in England and the need for the English Parliament to exploit the wish in return for Scottish military assistance. His urgings were resisted by a Parliament which had no real taste for presbyterianism however, and it was royalist successes during the course of 1643, and a general demand for peace upon terms overwhelmingly favourable to the King, that at last brought Parliament seriously behind Pym. In Scotland, a convention held in July and a General Assembly in August resulted in a treaty with the English Parliament in which it agreed to subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant and to effect the reform of religion along presbyterian lines. In return for this vaguely expressed intention and a promise of £30,000 per month, a Scottish army would march into England to serve the Parliament's wishes in the north.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The treaty was Pym's last significant contribution to the parliamentary cause before his death. In September the Commons signed a Solemn League and Covenant with the Scottish nation, and a Scottish army, once more led by Alexander Leslie - since October 1641 the

57 CSPV 1642-3, p.266

58 See also below, p.101 et seq.

Earl of Leven - began to prepare in the last months of 1643 for an advance into England. For their part, the northern royalists began to put the four northern counties in readiness to meet the threat, while the King's ambassadors made representations to his Scottish subjects over their proposed action.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The course of Scottish intent could not be altered however: on 20 January 1644 the Marquis of Argyll and Sir William Armyne the English parliamentary commissioner, at the head of an army whose first article of war was its sworn oath to the Solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms,⁽⁶⁰⁾ called upon Berwick to surrender.

"No Order of any Committee or Committees whatsoever of Men or Angells, can give them power to March into the Bowels of another Kingdome, to make offensive Warre against their naturall Soveraigne, upon the empty pretence of Evill Councillors, who could never yet be named ..."⁽⁶¹⁾ In such terms Berwick's governor, Sir Thomas Glenham, gave a forthright refusal for the submission of the town, yet subsequent events were to show that the boldness and determination of Glenham's words were not well reflected in the efforts of the Northumberland and Durham cavaliers to hold the north for the King. The performance of the Scots, upon the other hand, from 18 January when they began their march into England from Dunbar in knee-deep snow,⁽⁶²⁾ until 13 April when the Marquis of Newcastle began his final withdrawal

59 CSPV 1643-7, pp.31-2

60 Mackie, A History of Scotland, p.214

61 Thomas Glenham's answer to Argyll and Armyne upon their call for the submission of Berwick. RR III, (hist.)

62 Rushw. V, p.606

from the city - and county - of Durham, was one of bold leadership and tenacious endurance. The Scottish army of about 18,000 foot, 3,000 horse and five or six hundred dragoons⁽⁶³⁾ was a mixture of youth and rawness, and tempered military experience, bonded by a covenanted zeal. An observer found them healthy and well-equipped but "... untrained and undisciplined; their officers for most part young and unexperienced."⁽⁶⁴⁾ Out of twenty five listed cavalry and dragoon officers, however, twelve had seen overseas service, while thirty seven out of sixty officers of foot could claim the same.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Their general, Alexander Leslie, was perhaps the shrewdest professional soldier in the British Isles, and was leading many of his troops along a road they had successfully marched only three and a half years since. Their progress through Northumberland, where the only serious opposition was offered by the atrocious weather, afforded them an opportunity for proselytising, if another observer is to be credited, who asserted: "there hath thousands come in to them and taken the Covenant, and their Army doth exceedingly increase".⁽⁶⁶⁾ The morale of the Scots, well-clothed and with money in their pockets, was high. "Souldiers who were not in readinesse to march with their Regiments when they came into this Kingdom," remarked another commentator, "come daily up to us in twenties and thirties without so much as an officer to attend them."⁽⁶⁷⁾

63 Ibid pp.604-5

64 Sir James Turner, quoted by C. S. Terry, The Scottish Campaign in Northumberland and Durham, Jan.-Jun. 1644 AA. XXI (New Series) p.178n.

65 Rushw. V, pp.604-5

66 A True Relation of the Scots taking of Cocket Island (London, 1644) RR.II (hist.)

67 Proceedings of the Scottish Army before Newcastle (London, 21 Feb. 1644) RR.II (hist.)

By the end of January 1644, this force had traversed Northumberland and was threatening the town of Newcastle and Tynemouth castle.

The Marquis of Newcastle received the news of the Scottish advance into England at his house in Welbeck, in Nottinghamshire, where he had retired for the Christmas season. He had spent all of the year 1643 campaigning in Yorkshire and the midlands and by December the consolidation of royalist control in northern England owed much to his efforts. Only Hull remained unreduced despite the Marquis' six weeks siege in September and October, and Yorkshire, though quiescent, was uneasily so. The materialisation of the Scottish threat was to reveal that Newcastle's efforts in the West Riding, Derbyshire, and at Hull had been attained only by leaving the undisturbed and well-affected counties of Northumberland and Durham stretched thin for an effective fighting force, and quite unable to resist an army some 20,000 strong. Nevertheless, Newcastle sent orders for resistance northwards, and was soon marching in that direction himself.⁽⁶⁸⁾ In Yorkshire, however, in the middle of January he found: "not one man raised to assist him against so powerful an Army, nor an intention of raising any," and upon his arrival at Newcastle on 2 February, a day before the Scots, he found there also confusion and uncertainty.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Despite Glenham's defiant answer on behalf of Berwick it was

68 CSPV 1643-7, p.71

69 Cavendish, Life, p.40

felt at a meeting on 22 January that no effective field force could be raised with which to offer battle; existing garrisons would be held and Alnwick defended, but the mood was to wait upon the marquis for direction. A scorched earth policy, advocated by some there, was totally unacceptable to the Northumberland royalists.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In Durham efforts were being made to meet the approaching danger. The county's royalist committee met on 9 January and set about raising horses and arms as well as determining to fortify the Close at Durham,⁽⁷¹⁾ and in the county on 4 February, the day after the Scots had appeared before the town of Newcastle and had their summons for its submission rejected by its defenders, "... all men were warned to goe against ye Scotts & yt Day was ye Beacons set on fire to warn all ye Country".⁽⁷²⁾ Such responses by then were belated, however. The royalist boast at the close of 1642 of Glenham's powerful presence in the north with which "to keepe the backe doore shut", and capable of resisting "an Army, either of Foraigners or Bretheren",⁽⁷³⁾ could not be made good by the beginning of 1644. The time and opportunity lost to the royalists while they sought to gather an adequate field force out of Yorkshire and elsewhere with which to confront a Scottish army itself lying in a dangerous and uncomfortable condition, probably more than anything else contributed to the royalist failure to hold the north - a failure of an irresolute and inept complexion.

70 Rushw. VII, p.608

71 RCDN, pp.139-40

72 CRO, Whorlton parish register EP/Who 1

73 See above, p.65

The Scots invested Newcastle for a fortnight and found it neither willing to submit or prone to easy assault. In exceedingly bad winter weather, in which royalist horse moved about the region destroying corn and fodder and the Scots languished in unfruitful inactivity, their situation could only be a worsening one. Ranging up the Tyne valley on the morning of 19 February, a Scottish force of fifteen troops of horse encountered a royalist body under Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Colonel Edward Fenwick consisting of twenty-five troops of horse, and some three or four hundred musketeers between Hexham and Corbridge. In the ensuing engagement the Scots rather had the worst of it, only avoiding a substantial reverse through the maladroit over-eagerness of one of the royalist commanders. Some sixty men were killed in this significant skirmish, the numbers being about equally shared by both sides. The Scots were anxious to play down the importance of the affair; the tone of their report was to put as good a gloss upon it as possible, and there was a fear that "this skirmish is likely to grow up into a great victory before it come to Oxford".⁽⁷⁴⁾ This engagement could only help to bear in upon the Scots the difficulty and danger of their position, and help Leslie in his decision to bypass Newcastle and press on across the Tyne and take Sunderland, urgently required as a port of

74 Proceedings of the Scottish Army ...

supply and communication. Leaving behind them five or six regiments of foot and a few troops of horse to face Newcastle, the main force began, on 22 February, to move westwards up the Tyne to seek suitable fording points. They found their old crossing at Newburn which they had forced with such telling effect four years earlier, now well fortified and they pushed further westward, observed but unopposed by the enemy and enjoying two clement days for their march in otherwise abominable weather. On Wednesday, 28 February fifteen regiments of foot and six of horse crossed the Tyne at three points, Ovingham, Bywell and Eltringham, all within a two and a half mile stretch of the river, and ten to twelve miles west of Newcastle. No opposition was offered to the crossings and the Tyne was manoeuvred without incident, although the foot had to wade very deep. There was another fortunate circumstance of the crossing in the fact that for eight days subsequently the fords were impassable owing to the swollen state of the river because of melting snow. Their next obstacle, the river Derwent, proved to be just such a torrent, but they effected a crossing at Ebchester by means of a tree-bridge, in what must have been a hazardous military operation. Only half of the troops were able to cross on the 29th as the tree-bridge allowed men to pass only in file. Thus the night of 29 February-1 March saw Scots not only quartering in the fields, but with their

army split irreversibly into two parts for the night. Still they were offered no resistance however, and on the Friday morning the remainder of the Scots force, with their carriages, made the crossing and the united body pressed on towards Sunderland. The weather was again extremely cold, with a thick rainy mist closing down in the afternoon, but they had reached within a mile of Chester le Street by the end of the day. On Saturday, 2 March, the Scots crossed their third river barrier in four days when they negotiated the Wear. This was their most comfortable crossing; they passed over the New Bridge within sight of the garrison in Lumley castle, but their only sight of the enemy was upon a hill two miles distant towards Newcastle. That night the Scots quartered in Herrington and other adjacent villages and remained there for the sabbath before entering Sunderland totally unopposed on Monday, 4 March. The royalist forces which formed the garrison of the town apparently marched out of it on the Sunday, crossing the Wear and marching north towards the Tyne, still held by the royalists along the length of its south bank from Gateshead to the sea.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Scottish commentators upon this march, in accord with the cant of the times, are largely content to ascribe its success to divine approval for their endeavours, but it was in fact a considerable achievement. Faced with a deteriorating situation before Newcastle, the experienced and shrewd

75 The Late Proceedings of the Scottish Army, certifying their passing over Tyne ... Together with their possession of Sunderland, etc. ... (dated at Sunderland, 12 Mar. 1644) RR.II (hist.); An Exact Relation of the last Newes from the quarters of his Excellency, the Lord General of the Scottish Army (Sunderland, 12 Mar. 1644) RR.II (hist.)
See also Appendix A

Leslie responded with an action which was at once urgent but calculated, "it being resolved, as most conduceable to our affairs, that the Army should passe the river of Tyne".⁽⁷⁶⁾

It seems doubtless that Leslie's experience was augmented by a confident intelligence concerning the quality and condition of the troops which opposed him, and by the high morale of the forces which constituted the Scots army. These were necessary requisites for the execution of a manoeuvre which extended over a period of twelve days and a distance of some thirty five miles, covered in the severest winter weather, over far from easy terrain which demanded the negotiation of three rivers, all in winter spate. Again, the Scots were passing through "... the enemies Countrey; for we may so call it, the greatest part of the whole Countrey being either willingly or forcedly in Arms against the Parliament, and afford us no manner of supply, but what they will part with against their wills," and in these circumstances there was never more than a day's provisions in hand.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Having already endured four weeks of winter campaigning the fortitude of the Scottish soldiery is noteworthy and bears out the expressions of confidence in them observers had made earlier. Yet most astonishing of all, and surely the key to the easy success of Leslie's venture, was the total lack of resistance offered by the royalist forces from the time of the Scots marching away westwards from

76 The Late Proceedings ...

77 Ibid

Newcastle to their unopposed entry into Sunderland twelve days later. One Scottish commentator, speaking of the "... many straight and disadvantageous passages" along their route and of the hazardous negotiation of the Derwent at Ebchester in particular, observed: "and if God had given our enemies hearts, we might either have been cut in pieces, or stopped".⁽⁷⁸⁾ Having allowed for the royalist lack of an adequate field force at that time it yet remains difficult to account for the absence of vigour or urgency in any measure on the royalists' part when existing accounts of the march leave us to believe that the Tyne was crossed, Durham entered, and a crucial base of supply and communication gained without so much as a shot fired or a blow exchanged in an effort to prevent this vital move.

Serious royalist opposition did not materialise until the Scots had been in occupation of Sunderland for two days, which valuable time they had used to obtain what supply they could from an unco-operative countryside and to recover from the rigours of their twelve days march. It was not until Wednesday 6 March that the royalists made a concerted and positive move against them. By then, royalist forces in Durham had joined with those in Newcastle and, reinforced by twenty one troops of horse out of Yorkshire under Sir Charles Lucas and 1,500 foot from Cumberland, a force estimated to be some 14,000 strong advanced along the south-

78 An Exact Relation ...

easterly bank of the Wear and took up a position on Penshaw Hill two or three miles from Sunderland.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The Scots advanced out of the town to meet the threat and took up a position some half a mile from the royalists who held the advantage of the ground. Yet again the royalists allowed an indecisive and damaging situation to envelop them. Although they clung to the advantageous high ground about Penshaw the general nature of the terrain was most unsuitable for a general engagement, being enclosed by hedges and ditches. The weather, too, was bitterly cold once more and snow was falling. The result was that both sides confronted each other throughout Wednesday and spent the night in the fields. On Thursday the Scots found that the royalists had advanced their positions to within a quarter of a mile of their own in some cases, seeking the advantage of the wind without losing that of the ground, but although the Scots responded to this move by once more drawing up in line of battle the difficult ground again made a general engagement impossible. Once again both armies faced each other throughout the day until at sunset the royalists withdrew, and both settled down to another night of extreme cold in the fields. In fact, the royalists had already abandoned their attempt to recover Sunderland at this time. Under cover of darkness they withdrew their artillery and foot, leaving their horse in strength to cover the move. Deceived, the Scots once more faced the royalist horse on Friday

79 Ibid. The writer calls it the 'Worme Hill'.

morning until about ten o'clock when, with some light skirmishing, the royalists began to give ground, set fire to the nearby villages, and began their withdrawal under the cover of smoke and fortuitous onset of heavy snow once more which lasted several hours. Because of the weather, and their own lack of provisions, the Scots made no pursuit, and themselves retired upon Sunderland once more. (80)

This ill-managed, irresolute royalist essay did them a good deal of hurt in men and horses. "We since understand by good hands," reported one of the Scottish commentators, (81) "that the enemies lying in the fields two nights, was almost as bad as a battle to them, many of their men and horse dying, more running away". A figure of 800 horse as well as a quantity of foot is quoted as having been lost, "one way or other these last two nights". The Scots of course, had not escaped unscathed but: "We likewise sustained some little loss by the extremity of the weather, but nothing neare theirs." The royalists withdrew upon their base at Durham, cutting as they did so the bridge across the Wear at Lumley by which the Scots had crossed on 2 March. It was now a futile gesture. Although the Scots had been in great difficulties for provisions throughout their advance into the county, they secured no immediate relief by securing Sunderland, for the adverse weather had caused three of five supply vessels sent from Scotland to founder and the

80 Ibid

81 Ibid

remaining two to run into the Tyne where they were seized by the royalists.⁽⁸²⁾ By 11 March however, three ships had reached Sunderland, two bringing meal from Scotland and another cheese and butter from London. These eased the immediate straits of the army but did not render its position comfortable. Another letter-writer asserted from the town on 12 March: "If you have any friends that intend hither for Coales, advise them to bring some provisions for the army, especially six-shillings Beer, Hay, or Oates."⁽⁸³⁾ The securing and fortification of the town, however, meant that the Scots were not able to press positively against the royal forces, which they began to do from 12 March.

On the 12 or 13 March the Scots left two regiments in Sunderland and probed towards the royalist base at Durham, seeking to harass the enemy and to forage. The very lack of fodder, however, and a concern not to take the horse too far from the Sunderland base until it was more securely fortified, caused the army to return to quarters on the north side of the Wear, apparently on the banks of the Tyne itself at Shields, a move dictated by the lack of forage in the immediate vicinity of Sunderland. Scottish energies from 15 to 20 march were now concentrated in this region at the mouth of the Tyne on its southern bank. Royalist control of the Tyne was still ensured by the possession of Newcastle and Tynemouth castle which dominated the rivermouth from the north and which was augmented by the strong fort

82 The Late Proceedings . . .

83 Letter of 'W.R.', annexed to An Exact Relation, etc.

constructed by the Earl of Newcastle on the south bank at South Shields in 1642. It was this fort which the Scots attempted to storm in a night assault on 15 March, and in which they were repulsed with slight loss. Leslie himself was present at a better prepared assault launched on Wednesday 20th. The fort, a formidable enough structure with a ditch twelve feet deep and eleven broad, an upper-work of nine feet and defended by seventy musketeers and thirty pikemen, had the added advantage of being supported by the ordnance of Tynemouth across the river and the guns of a royalist frigate offshore, as well as five iron pieces in the fort itself. Nevertheless, the 140 men of the initial storming party, working before first light, partly filled up the ditch, set up scaling ladders, and prepared the ground for a further assault by musketeers and pikemen who carried the fort in the space of an hour or so, despite a spirited resistance and a steady fire from the defenders. The Scots suffered seven dead and a few wounded, the defenders sixteen dead and a lieutenant and five soldiers taken prisoner. The remainder of the garrison escaped by boats across the river to Tynemouth castle.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The Scots thus began a stranglehold upon the Tyne and Newcastle; its effects were evident two days later when they were able to seize seven vessels laden with coal and salt in the river and secure them under the protection of the Shields fort.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Over the same period that the Scots were establishing

84 The Taking of the Fort at South Shields (A letter from Wetherby, 20 April 1644) RR.II (hist.)

85 Ibid

a position at the mouth of the Tyne there continued sporadic, indeterminate skirmishing activity elsewhere in the county, chiefly, it would seem, in the middle reaches of the Wear valley, between the Scots' Sunderland base and that of the cavaliers at Durham. On the day the Shields fort fell, a party of royalist horse was surprised at Chester le Street and lost ten men killed and some twenty made prisoner, including two captains.⁽⁸⁶⁾ This two week period between the 8 and 23 March was used by both sides to gather strength and assess the state of the enemy, as well as awaiting a respite in the still severe weather. Without much question however, this period of two weeks and more told to the advantage of the Scots much more than their adversaries. Supply was now reaching them through a port which they had been afforded time to fortify, and they had succeeded in partially dislodging the royalists from their control of the Tyne. While the royalists still failed to press any advantage remaining to them the Scots were faced with a dilemma brought about by their own serious condition. "All this time we were in great difficulty what to doe without horse", wrote a commentator,⁽⁸⁷⁾ "our foot being reasonably well supplied by sea; if our horse stayed they must starve, if they went away without our foot, the enemy being so near with an army so strong in horse, it was hazardous when wee should meet, if our foot went with them it was to lose the advantage of their supply by sea, the land not affording provisions."

86 Ibid

87 A true relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Army, from 12th March to the 25th, dated from his Excellency the Lord Generall Lesley's Quarters, neare Sunderland, 25 Mar. 1644 RR.II (hist.)

The quandry pressed upon the Scots until the 23rd, when "The enemy decides this debate"⁽⁸⁸⁾ by moving in strength from Durham down the Wear towards Chester le Street and on the 24th took up a position at Hylton on the northerly bank of the river, some two and a half miles from Sunderland and with the intention of once more threatening the town and bringing the Scots to a decisive engagement.

The encounter which followed took place on the long ridge of higher ground a mile or so from the north bank of the Wear and running roughly parallel to it towards the sea. It was in this area that the main body of the Scottish army was quartered it seems, foraging between there and Shields and westwards through Boldon towards Gateshead and Newcastle. There is no clear indication of the numbers involved on either side, but it is reasonable to suppose that both mustered as many forces as possible for the confrontation. The Scots were reinforced, upon news of the royalist approach, by 3000 men under Sir James Lumsden from the forces left about Newcastle. The ridge which both armies now stood upon was a long, narrow saddle in shape, the royalists occupying 'Boldon Hill' at the western end which overlooked the village of Boldon, and the Scots the gentle eminence at its eastern end towards the sea. The engagement which ensued resolved itself into a struggle for possession of the ground between these two points, a distance of a mile or so. There was an attempt at surprise on the part of the royalists; it

was a Sunday and foggy, and the Scots believed the enemy hoped to "set upon us in sermon time".⁽⁸⁹⁾ The cavaliers were not entirely unsuccessful in this for the Scottish artillery was still in Sunderland and only one piece could be brought hastily across the river and set in position with the aid of local seamen before the tide failed. The two armies faced each other for the greater part of the day, and it was not until about 5 p.m. that the royalists sent forward musketeers to line the hedges and ditches which once again broke up the ground between both sides and prevented any deployment of horse. Scottish dragoons and foot met this development, and were met by a steady but ineffective cannonade from the royalist artillery for more than an hour. An unusual, but fierce struggle now ensued between the infantry of both sides, hotly disputing the enclosed ground in the darkness until around midnight. A Scottish reporter noted: "many officers who have been old souldiers did affirm they had never seen so long and hot service in the night time".⁽⁹⁰⁾ This engagement ended with matters undecided, and the words of a Scottish correspondent, penned in haste the following morning, suggest how uncertain was the state of affairs in Scots eyes: "This morning, being the 25, they were faceinge each other, but the ground they possesse inaccessible by us, without great disadvantage, in regard of the many hedges and ditches betwixt. What the event of this meeting will be I do not know, nor will not guesse;

89 The Taking of the Fort ...

90 Ibid

hitherto hath the Lord helped us. Our men are cheerfull, our hopes good."⁽⁹¹⁾ Matters began to resolve themselves, however. The passage of the morning revealed to the Scots that they were in possession of the ground disputed the previous night, with many dead and much powder, match and arms left behind. By afternoon it was apparent that the royalists were retiring under a pretence of erecting breast-works for cannon and a screen of cavalry. As this rearguard itself withdrew it was now attacked with considerable effect by the Scottish horse and dragoons, a number of notables being killed or captured before nightfall ended further action. It was in fact the end of the battle, further contact with the retiring royalists being lost. "The day following, the enemy (who the day preceding though it a point of honour to retire in the day, and not the night) did not appear, having stollen away in the night time."⁽⁹²⁾

This half-fought night battle proved to be the last concerted attempt of the Marquis of Newcastle's forces to nullify the Scottish threat in the north. Scots accounts assert that the royalist foot had the worst of the night struggle on the 24th,⁽⁹³⁾ but it is clear that the Scots considered the issue by no means resolved on the morning of the 25th. Yet once more the royalists, having chosen the time and the ground, failed to see their challenge to a conclusion and, undefeated, elected upon an ignominious withdrawal.

91 A true relation of the Proceedings ...

92 Ibid

93 The constable of Boldon reported that seven waggons of royalist dead and wounded had been carried away. Taking of the Fort ... Several skeletons, believed to be royalist casualties of the battle, have been unearthed at West Boldon in 1965 and 1976. Shields Gazette report, Feb. 1976

Scottish spirits could only have been buoyed by the encounter at Hylton, or Boldon Hill, while whatever had been the morale of royalist troops at the outset of the campaign, it could only have been eroded by the two abortive attempts upon Sunderland. The Scottish hold upon the north eastern corner of the county was not again seriously challenged - by direct military threat at least - and the Scots from this time were able to begin seriously to do what they had shown themselves willing to do throughout the campaign - carry the fight to the enemy. The royalist army retired once more upon its base at Durham, and the Scots now advanced their quarters to Easington, at once enlarging their own foraging area and reducing that of the enemy, as well as threatening his line of supply from the port of Hartlepool, still in royalist hands. Here they remained until 8 April, a period used, it may be surmised, to gather strength through the port of Sunderland. On that date the Scots advanced towards Durham and took up a position on Quarrington Hill, some five miles south east of the city, with the intention "to force the enemy to either fight or flee". Now in difficulties for provisions and forage the situation of the Marquis of Newcastle's army became even more straitened. The withdrawal of forces from Yorkshire to meet the Scottish incursion in Northumberland and Durham provided an opportunity for a renewal of military activity by parliamentary adherents, a

course which the Committee of Both Kingdoms urged upon Lord Fairfax in early March.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Forces under the Fairfaxes drawn out of Lancashire were active in the West Riding and threatening York by early April, and in an effort to prevent the junction of the forces of Lord, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, colonel John Bellasis the governor of York engaged in an encounter at Selby on 11 April and was soundly beaten. The receipt of this news in Durham decided Newcastle upon a withdrawal into Yorkshire, to avoid being caught between the forces of the Fairfaxes and the Scots, and to defend York.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Forces were drawn out of the garrison at Lumley Castle and early on the morning of the 13th the royalist field forces in Durham marched away south westward through Bishop Auckland, Barnard Castle and Piercebridge, gaining eight hours before the Scots became aware of the move.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Pursued by the Scottish horse, the royalist army moved over the Tees and into Yorkshire the next day, while the Scots quartered the same night in Darlington and followed on Monday, 15 April. By the same date the garrisons left at Lumley and Durham were also in Scottish hands, having surrendered "with all the armes and ammunition".⁽⁹⁷⁾

Thus, the King's party relaxed its hold upon the bishopric counties, although a royalist presence was still very much in evidence. Pockets of royalist resistance remained at Hartlepool and Stockton castle, while the most significant

94 Rushw. V, p.616

95 Ibid pp.616-8

96 Mercurius Britannicus No. 32, 15-24 Apr. 1644; Rushw. V, p.620

97 A Survey of England's Champions and Truth's Faithfull Patriots, J. Ricraft (London 1647) pp.10, 134

point of resistance, Newcastle, continued to be stubbornly defended. While the town, together with Tynemouth castle, remained unreduced the parliamentary forces could not consider Northumberland and Durham at all secure, and Newcastle continued as an epicentre of royalist unrest and activity until it fell. In the middle of May Sir John Marley, the town's mayor, succeeded in winning over the governor of the Shields fort - a Scot, captain Thomas Rutherford - and restoring royalist control over the river mouth without discharging a shot.⁽⁹⁸⁾ A similar oblique attempt was made upon Sunderland at the same time, when another of the notable Newcastle cavaliers, Ralph Cole of Newcastle and Brancepeth, attempted to raise mutiny and sedition among the Sunderland garrison, rally the local seamen for the King, and to set fire to coal staithes on the river and vessels in the harbour.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The seamen of the town were responsible for the failure of the attempt, however, arming themselves and manning two pieces of ordnance when they became aware of the plot and in this way held the place for the Parliament.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ On 10 June a further direct attempt upon the town was made by the Earl of Montrose and Sir Philip Musgrave with a force which sallied from Newcastle. Miners and colliery installations in the lower Wear valley were attacked in an effort to prevent the easing of the London coal shortage which had been expected following Parliament's capture of Sunderland,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ but the

98 CJ.III, p.515; TSP.I, pp.36-7

99 RCDN p.168

100 Whit. p.85

101 Nef, Coal Trade II, p.287

royalists' attempt upon the town itself was thwarted by the Scots forces about the town, supported by Sir Charles Fairfax. (102)

The importance of Sunderland to the Parliament's cause at this time was considerable, so long as Newcastle continued to resist and control of the Tyne remained in royalist hands, a fact borne out by the grateful response made by the Commons to the efforts of the town's seamen in foiling Cole's plot. They were formally thanked for their "very great Affection and Fidelity to the Parliament", and awarded £200 to be shared among them. (103) On 21 March 1644 a parliamentary ordinance removed the trade embargo in coal and salt which Parliament had imposed on north east ports in January of the previous year. Sunderland, together with Blyth in Northumberland, were thrown open to commerce; for the supply of "the Armies of our ... Brethren of Scotland", and to carry away coals, salt or any other commodity to any port under the power of the Parliament. (104) Between then and the end of the year a wide and substantial variety of war commodities was being supplied to the Scots through the town of Sunderland. At least four vessels made important deliveries during this period; 100 tons of food-stuffs were brought in the 'Daniel' of London, while other cargoes of butter, cheese, shoes, clothing, arms and ammunition, supplied by London merchants and to a value of at least £8,000 were also carried. In September or October,

102 Whit. p.88

103 CJ.III, p.515

104 TT, 669 f.7(72)

the 'Hector' carried £15,000 in silver to the town for Scottish use.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ On 9 September the Committee of Both Kingdoms was urging the Committee of the Navy to hasten its despatch of vessels to Sunderland with money and materials, and expressed its intention of sending 200 barrels of gunpowder with match and bullet to the town for use by the army at Newcastle.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Supplies seemed to come entirely from London and were carried in London or East Anglian vessels; another indication of this upsurge in maritime activity is revealed in the nine East Anglian men - from Yarmouth, Harwich, Sandwich and Southwold, as well as London - who were buried in Bishop Wearmouth parish between April and October.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Commercial traffic also began to flow out of the port. The surrender of the royalist garrisons at Durham and Lumley castle put the lower Wear collieries and the substantial stocks of coal reported piled there into parliamentary hands, and through Sunderland an improved supply of coals for the capital was turned also into revenue for Scots use,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ an important consideration so long as Newcastle remained unreduced and the Tyne trade remained at a standstill. Parliament's command of the sea, and the blockade mounted by parliamentary warships at the mouth of the Tyne also depended upon Sunderland as a base, especially as Hartlepool continued as a base for royalist naval activity and parliamentary vessels running into Sunderland were being harrassed from there until

105 RCDN (Disbursements for Northumberland and Durham)
pp.89-93

106 CSPD 1644, p.483

107 Bishop Wearmouth parish register, Corder MSS. I,
pp.169-70

108 See below, p.100 seq.

its capitulation in late July.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Four royalist vessels were reported taken off Sunderland in March, and in July an arms vessel of twenty two guns was captured and brought into the port.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Most of the Scottish horse which had pursued the Earl of Newcastle's forces out of the county in mid-April did not return but went into service under the Earl of Manchester in Yorkshire, Lancashire and the north western counties, leaving a presence in Durham and Northumberland of mainly foot and garrison soldiery. The loss of the Shields fort, and the surrender of Morpeth castle in a similar fashion, left these depleted forces in a far from secure position and on 24 May Lord Lindsey was appealing to the Scottish Lord Chancellor and Committee of Estates in Edinburgh for reinforcements with which to prevent the loss of control.⁽¹¹¹⁾ It was mid-July before James, Earl of Callendar, crossed the Tyne at Newburn and entered Durham with a new Scottish force of 800 horse and 6,000 foot.⁽¹¹²⁾ His immediate task was to consolidate the Scots' hold upon Sunderland, Durham, Lumley and other places in the county, and to stop the royalist forays from the Newcastle garrison - augmented in June and July by forces from Cumberland and Westmorland which were making "great incursions" into Durham⁽¹¹³⁾ - by securing dominance of the Durham bank of the Tyne opposite

109 CSPD 1644, pp.399-400, 472-3, 508

110 Ricraft, A Survey of England's Champions, p.18; Whit. p.92

111 TSP.I, p.36

112 A True Experimentall and Exact Relation upon That famous and renowned Siege of Newcastle, etc.

(Edinburgh, 15 Jul. 1645) TT. E292

113 Whit. p.89

the town. The appearance of Callendar's force was sufficient to bring about a definite shift of the balance once more. Resting a few days at Lumley, Callendar appeared before the principal remaining royalist strongholds in Durham - Hartlepool and Stockton - on 24 July, and after a brief exchange of fire followed by a parley, the governor, Sir Edmond Cary, surrendered on the same terms as York eight days before.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ While Callendar established Hartlepool as his magazine and port of supply in the south of the county a royalist sally out of Newcastle once more threatened the middle and lower reaches of the Wear valley. Moving northwards from Lumley castle once more, Callendar's force made contact with a strong royalist body in the neighbourhood of Usworth, and waited until the following day before advancing at full strength. A day long struggle ensued in which the Scots pushed forward until they had taken Gateshead, and by dint of fierce fighting had driven the cavaliers off Newcastle bridge and back into the town itself.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ The bridge in Scottish hands meant that the Newcastle garrison was now effectively shut up, having lost the important access point into Durham which the Tyne bridge and the town of Gateshead had afforded the royalists since the Scottish campaign began. Five Scottish batteries set up on the steep banks of the Gateshead side now threatened Newcastle and two bridges made of keel-boats allowed the Scots passage over the Tyne to the west and

114 TSP.I, p.41

115 Ibid; A True Experimentall ... Relation ...

east of the town. After Marston Moor and the consequent fall of York on 16 July Leslie and the original Scottish force returned to the north east to address themselves seriously to the investment of the last substantial royalist stronghold in the north. It was stoutly defended by Sir John Marley the mayor, some Durham and Northumberland gentlemen and 800 of these counties' trained bands, and a few experienced officers commanding a variegated muster of colliers, keelmen, tradesmen, volunteers and pressed men less than 1000 in number. It was not until October that the town surrendered after assault, and soon after Sir Thomas Riddell the governor of Tynemouth castle submitted on easy terms.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The fall of Newcastle was confirmation of Parliament's victory in the north, and brought a welcome end to the serious fighting in Durham and Northumberland of the first civil war.

Thus, the crown's grip upon Durham and Northumberland slackened and was lost. In view of what was at stake - the retention of Newcastle as a vital royalist port, the discomfiture of London by the control of north east coal, and the eventual military and political consequences of a powerful, Scottish, covenanted army's intervention in England - the efforts of the royalists to resist the threat were sadly lacking. The Marquis of Newcastle, whose responsibility the security of the north was, was contemplating the resignation of his post in April in face of

the heavy criticism levelled against him following his forced withdrawal from Durham,⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and certainly the few weeks before this event do appear as the most critical for any successful royalist resistance to the Scottish advance. Yet at the outset the Scots were able to secure a badly needed port of supply at Sunderland without being offered the slightest hinderance in doing so, either along their line of march or by an attempt to defend Sunderland itself. Not until they had seized the town were the Scots challenged in force, but again, the two royalist attempts to bring about a decisive engagement on neither occasion suggest a vigorous determination to force an issue with the enemy. If, as his biographer suggests, it was Newcastle's intention "... that they were either forced to fight or starve within a little time,"⁽¹¹⁸⁾ it is difficult to see in his actions how he seriously attempted either. His loyal biographer points to more pertinent considerations however, a familiar enough royalist malady: "there was so much Treachery, Jugling and Falshood in my Lord's own Army, that it was impossible for him to be successful in his Designs and Undertakings."⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Again, the strategic importance of Sunderland seems never to have borne in upon the royalists during their period of control. It was garrisoned, but had never been strongly fortified during their regime. It had no medieval walls and geographically was not easy to defend, and the royalists

117 DNB

118 Cavendish, Life, p.42

119 Ibid p.41

apparently preferred Hartlepool as a port - with strong walls but a haven of scant importance.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Once in Sunderland, the Scots promptly threw up earthworks which were visible until the end of the 18th century.⁽¹²¹⁾ It is apparent, too, that royalist military efforts in Yorkshire and the midlands had drained considerable resources out of the northern counties which had tended to stagnate in the course of 1643 in virtual peace. When the Scottish threat materialised the royalists were hard put to it to raise an adequate field force to meet it. It took time, in a severe winter season, to do so, which told to Scottish advantage. Further, an insufficiency of men left the royalists dangerously weak in Yorkshire as reinforcements made their way into Durham, a fact promptly exploited by Lord Fairfax. Time, perhaps, was of the essence for the royalist cause; a need to inflict a serious reverse upon the Scots at the earliest opportunity, and a need to make exposure to the threat from Lancashire and the West Riding as short as possible. "Now or Never" was the field-word chosen by the royalists for the engagement at Boldon Hill.⁽¹²²⁾ It was singularly appropriate, being scarcely more than a simple statement of fact. Yet in an overall view of events then and subsequently, it is difficult to avoid the thought that they had already left it too late.

120 Showing how three Norwich Soldiers visited the North RR. (misc.)

121 Summers, History of Sunderland I, pp.412-3

122 A true relation of the Proceedings ...

CHAPTER 3

Parliamentary Government -
Concerns 1644-50

"For the present you may know," wrote a Scot from Sunderland on 12 March, 1644, "that we are masters of a vast quantity of coals belonging to this Port, most of it appertaining to Delinquents, which will be (I hope) a comfortable supply to London."⁽¹⁾ Alongside the political and theological agonising which had gone into the English Parliament's alliance with the Scottish Kirk was the equally pressing consideration of north eastern coal. When it had become clear, towards the end of 1642, that the northern counties were securely under the control of the King, Parliament had had little choice in forbidding all trade with Newcastle, Sunderland and Blyth.⁽²⁾ A blockade of these ports followed, denying commerce, revenue and profit to the King and his supporters among those with colliery interests and, by depressing the coal trade, to foment discontent among colliers, Keelmen and others whose livelihood lay in coal. Such a strategy was effective; in the year ending

1 Letter of "W.R." annexed to An Exact Relation ...

2 See above p.68; also A Declaration of Parliament concerning Coales 9 Jan. '43, R.R., V, p.117

at Michaelmas 1643 only 50,000 tons left the Tyne,⁽³⁾ probably not even a tenth of pre-war tonnage.⁽⁴⁾ This drastic reduction placed a burden of distress and discomfiture upon the populace of the capital and the parliamentary south-east where grave shortages of coal ensued. By the early summer of 1643 it was apparent that attempts to supply London from Scottish and Welsh coals could not succeed, and Parliament set in motion a new ploy which would at once restore the capital's supply of fuel and provide a viable source of finance to support the burden of a Scottish ally's military presence in England. At the order of the Commons, the Committee of the Navy in the early months of the year had conferred with the Lord Mayor, aldermen and other important citizens of the city over the supply of coal, and this had resulted in the formation of a committee of ten M.P.s - among them the Newcastle members John Blakison and Sir Henry Anderson - and ten common councilmen of the city of London charged with powers from Parliament to set up the financing necessary to bring about a change of affairs in the north. On 5 June the Commons ordered the Committee's proposals to be published.⁽⁵⁾ The prime purpose of the

3 Nef, Coal Trade II, p.287, appx. D(i)

4 Sir Lionel Maddison in 1644 put Newcastle's annual production at 180,000 chaldrons, about 450,000 tons, and Sunderland's at 40,000 chaldrons, about 100,000 tons, an annual total for Tyne and Wear coal of 550,000 tons. CSPD 1644-5, pp.98-9, 6 Nov. '44

5 An Ordinance ... for the speedy raising of Forces ... to reduce the Town of Newcastle to obedience to King and Parliament RR.I, (hist.)

undertaking, it was declared, was "... that so Coales may be again bought at an easie rate, to the great benefit of the poore aswell as rich", and to this end a subscription was sought from the owners and masters of ships which normally traded into Newcastle, Sunderland or Blyth for coal, salt, or glass; also from all eligible persons in London or within ten miles of it, or within five miles of any navigable river taking such coals. The subscription required was to be at least the amount each individual expended annually on northern coals. Investors were to receive interest of 8% until the venture was brought to a successful conclusions, when each pound invested would yield a final $33\frac{1}{3}\%$. A telling difference between this and a more conventional merchant venture was that substantial financial penalties threatened those who did not respond quickly to what was in fact a forced loan. The eighth proposition of the ordinance was significant. It made over to the adventurers a part of the estates of non-delinquent, catholics and all the estates of those declared delinquents in Durham, Northumberland and Newcastle, many of whom had large interests and assets in Tyne and Wear collieries. Out of the ready sale of vented coals belonging to such men, and from subsequent profits, the hardship of the capital was to be alleviated and the intervention of the Scots paid for.

Although all of the coal resources of the Wear came under the control of the Parliament's forces upon the

withdrawal of the royalist garrison from Lumley castle on 12 April 1644, there were difficulties in rendering the collieries there fully productive once more. The Tyne remained closed so long as Newcastle was unreduced but Parliament had quickly lifted its blockade upon Blyth and Sunderland as soon as an effective hold had been taken of them and thrown them open once more, essentially for the carrying of provisions and arms to the Scots and the bringing away of coals and salt.⁽⁶⁾ On the Wear, the problem was twofold. On the one hand there was a shortage of men experienced in colliery management, and on the other there was serious dissatisfaction among the well-disposed colliery owners over their treatment in Parliaments' efforts to raise cash from coal. The English parliamentary commissioners who had arrived with the Scottish army - Sir William Armyne, Richard Barwis and Robert Fenwick - were soon wrestling with these issues. On 20 June Armyne and Barwis wrote to Sir Henry Vane from Sunderland: "This gentleman Sir William Langley desired our letter to show how willing he is to submit to the Parliament, as he hath of late declared to us, what opinion soever he hath been formerly. He is a very knowing man in the ways of the collieries and may therein do us much service in working the coal; and he doth assure us for that which is already above the ground he readily submits to the order of the Committee of both Kingdoms."⁽⁷⁾ Clearly, the commissioners were prepared not

6 TT, 669 f7 (72)
7 CSPD 1644, p.255

to be too scrupulous in their efforts to get Wear coal supplies moving while Newcastle still held out for the King, and indeed Armyne was later to justify the use of delinquents in working mines on both the Tyne and Wear out of necessity.⁽⁸⁾ Equally significant was the fact that Langley, a son-in-law of Viscount Lumley and holding property and colliery interests in the county by this connection, was a close associate of the Lilburnes and George Grey of Southwick in his Wear colliery activities. It was George Lilburne's, Langley's and George Grey the younger's petition which the Wear colliery owners presented to Parliament on 10 July, in which the highhanded and irregular seizure of collieries and coals of loyal Parliament men was protested.⁽⁹⁾ The petition represented a serious difference between the Wear owners and the commissioners which had been exacerbated by the continuing state of military uncertainty in the county. Royalist owners had been bold enough to add their voices to the protests as long as York and Newcastle continued to generate resistance for the King, but the royalist defeat at Marston Moor on 2 July did much to resolve affairs.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Wear owners' petition was referred to the Committee for the Navy and five days later the Commons adopted resolutions which restored Lilburne, Langley and Grey, and other well-affected persons, to their own collieries, coals and ancillary property, and provided restitution for coals seized and sold

8 HMC Portland I, pp.206-7

9 CJ III, p.556; RCDN, p.262

10 Mercurius Brittanicus 44, 15-22 July 1644

from the possessions of delinquents. The Commons went further. Lilburne, Langley and Grey were to "... take the delinquents' collieries in Sunderland to lease, if the committee of Parliament there think fit, and employ them and work them unless other well-affected gentlemen of the county shall offer to take them ..."(11)

From the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the trend in north eastern coal ventures was for the single financing of collieries to give way to 'associated financing', and by the civil war the Wear collieries at Chester le Street, Harraton, Lumley and Lambton were all disposed of in this way.⁽¹²⁾ The complicated holding of 'parts' in these collieries was rendered even more complex by 1644 however, when partners fell into well-effected or delinquent groups. In these confused circumstances not only did men like the Lilburnes and dubious associates like Langley lose little opportunity in reclaiming their own interests and possessions on the Wear but they also recognised the chance afforded them by an urgent Parliament to appropriate the benefits of sequestrated collieries - or parts of collieries - of delinquents and papists. The irregular, or at least uncertain, possession of Lambton and Harraton collieries by these men at this time was an important element in the contumely which embroiled their faction in subsequent years.⁽¹³⁾ Sir Lionel Maddison, himself no friend of the Lilburnes and

11 CJ III, pp.561-2; RCDN p.263

12 Nef, Coal Trade II, pp.50-1

13 See below pp.164-75

a close observer of events on the Tyne and Wear, wrote to his close friend Vane the elder in February 1645 of what he saw happening at Harraton. "It may haply prove a very considerable thing," he warned, "I would not seem to look much after it, neither yet would I now, but that I perceive either Sir William Langley, Mr. Lilburne, or Mr. Grey, or all have an aim in it." Maddison also reported the 'hard usage' the Lilburnes had offered Lady Lambton the widow of Sir William, who had fallen at Marston Moor, which had caused her to remove to London.⁽¹⁴⁾ It was in partnership with Ralph Lambton, another delinquent member of the family, that George Grey had worked Lambton colliery in the years prior to 1642. Grey claimed in answer to allegations of unjust dealings made in later years, that he had ended his partnership with Lambton before the beginning of hostilities but during the royalist occupation Lambton had taken the opportunity "by the power of the sword ... to dispose of the Coales Wrought out of that Colliery but this Defendant durst not then appeare in that Countrey".⁽¹⁵⁾ Parliamentary sympathisers had themselves already suffered what many royalists were now to experience. Certainly the dislocations and confusions of first a cavalier occupation and then a parliamentary one enhanced the possibilities for unscrupulous or dishonest practices in lucrative fields, but in the summer of 1644, while the Tyne remained incompletely free, the task of realising coal and hard cash out of the Wear was

14 CSPD 1644-5, p.329

15 SP 23, 153, 102

set about by the parliamentary commissioners and the Scots with more urgency than nicety, and some success. In fairness to a probable turncoat like Sir William Langley, his coals alone sold at Sunderland in 1644 were worth £1,100 to the Scottish forces.⁽¹⁶⁾ Harraton colliery and the pits at Chester le Street in which men like the Vanes and Maddison had interests were also leading coals, and by the end of October £1,944.18s. had been paid over to the Scottish treasurers from sales of, and imposts upon, Wear coal.⁽¹⁷⁾

The fall of Newcastle in October created a similar, but larger, situation on the Tyne. In early November Sir Lionel Maddison was writing to the elder Vane that he and others "who conceive themselves friends" had petitioned to keep their coals and collieries from unfair disposal on the state's behalf. This action was occasioned by a move of Sir Nicholas Cole, a prominent royalist protagonist in the late seige of Newcastle, who had at that moment no colliery which was producing coal but a great stock of coals upon his staith which he had opportunely bought at a low price. He had proposed to the English commissioners that he would be glad to receive ten shillings a chaldron for his stocks, anything above this sum going to the state.⁽¹⁸⁾ Although it came from a manifest delinquent Cole's offer was yet an attractive one for the Scots and Parliamentarians. Such a scheme, however, complained Maddison in a further letter, would deal

16 SP 23, 155, 389

17 CEP, 28, 227. A summer price for Sunderland coal had been fixed by the Commons of 14 shillings a chaldron for the best, 12 shillings the worst. CJ III, p.561

18 CSPD 1644-5, pp.102-4, 7 Nov. '44

harshly and unjustly with many well-affected owners. Exactions on this pattern would fall as heavily upon friends as upon delinquents, and delinquents like Cole would merely be disposing of a part of what they would be forced to forfeit to the state in any case as royalist offenders. The Scots did not appear too particular in their efforts to raise money, noted Maddison, and so far as delinquents were concerned many of them were indispensable in maintaining the coal trade. Yet he could not see why delinquents' coals - which he claimed existed in substantial quantities - might not have been disposed of first, while well-affected owners retained theirs until affairs were settled justly. "Those that are friends, to deal plainly with you", he told Vane, "I find not well satisfied with what is concluded here".⁽¹⁹⁾ More than six months later the Newcastle M.P. John Blakiston could declare to the sequestration commissioners at Goldsmiths' Hall in the capital that since the fall of Newcastle the 'malignant delinquents' there had been able to dispose of £40,000 of coals, from which the state had gained nothing.⁽²⁰⁾ About the same time, Edward Mann and Robert Ellison, both Tyne owners and Parliament men, were still negotiating with Parliament, through the commissioners Armyne and Fenwick, to take in hand delinquents' collieries for the benefit of the state. The Commons ordered that they were to work with the northern commissioners to manage such

19 Ibid pp.121-3, 14 Nov. '44

20 CCC. I, p.21, 13 June '45

collieries, to regularise the measure and price of Newcastle and Sunderland coal, and to administer an oath to anyone employed in the trade, from which delinquents were now expressly debarred.⁽²¹⁾ Sir Lionel Maddison, who had observed, and indeed been involved in, the falling out of events concerning coal on both Tyne and Wear, had recommended in February 1645 that £100 or £200 should be paid to the state by anyone wishing to work a sequestered pit, the better to secure such assets from opportunists and exploiters, and in September was still expressing his dissatisfaction over the way the business of coal had been handled.⁽²²⁾ Very much a neuter himself, Maddison looked with some disgruntlement at unpunished delinquents on the one hand and high-handed Parliament men on the other. There was another side to the coin however, which showed royalist coal-owners suffering severely. Sir Ralph Cole, father of Sir Nicholas and another notorious Newcastle cavalier, spoke in February 1646 of the demand for the money equivalent of eighty tenns of coals placed upon him by Parliament as a delinquent in October 1645, the satisfaction of which would take all his profits from one colliery for seven or eight years. His best colliery, in which he had a three-quarters share at Gateshead, had been repossessed because his royalist activities prevented him from fulfilling the terms of his lease.⁽²³⁾

21 CJ IV, p.179

22 CSPD 1644-5, p.329; CSPD 1645-7, p.124

23 RCDN, pp.163-6

It seems clear, also, that well-affected coal owners on Tyne and Wear were to be reimbursed for coals seized and sold along with those of delinquents, nor were they to lend capital to the state to finance new workings, and from June 1645 they were paid in cash for the coal they produced.⁽²⁴⁾ This was, however, at the old Elizabethan rate of ten shillings a chaldron, the figure proposed by Sir Nicholas Cole and to which Maddison had objected as seriously undercutting what was a just and necessary price for active coal producers. Maddison estimated that a realistic price for coal at the end of 1644 was fourteen or fifteen shillings a chaldron without any kind of impost, and urged careful consideration of whether any kind of duty should be placed upon Durham and Northumberland coal and salt at all in order to rally an already badly interrupted trade and protect the needs of the poor buyer.⁽²⁶⁾ Sunderland coals had been selling for between twelve and fourteen shillings since the summer of 1644, but by 1645 Parliament had fixed Newcastle and Sunderland coal at twenty shillings a chaldron, of which nearly half represented two imposts of five and four shillings.⁽²⁷⁾ Although the five shillings tax was repealed by Parliament as illegal in June the four shillings remained for the duration of the Scottish army's stay in England, not being removed until 13 April 1647, a couple of months after the Scots' Departure.⁽²⁸⁾ Although the possession of north eastern coal resources was crucial in the English Parliament's

24 Nef, Coal Trade II, p.292
25 CSPD 1644-5, p.103
26 Ibid. pp.98-9
27 CJ.IV, p.172
28 Ibid V, p.78

plan to pay for Scottish intervention on its behalf, it was impossible for the trade to provide the entire cost. The Wear in the course of the Scottish occupation produced perhaps 50-60,000 chaldrons of coal, an amount proportionately better, it is suggested, ⁽²⁹⁾ than the Tyne, where the traumatic effects of the new regime were more lasting. Certainly, the radical spirit of men like Lilburne and Grey into whose hands, as committeemen and sequestrators, an important part of Wear coal production fell, would at the outset accord well with the Parliament's interest, although their actions were to be called in question at a later time. The total contributed by Wear collieries to financing the Scots was perhaps £10,000 out of a total of some £75,000 estimated to have been realised out of north eastern coal. ⁽³⁰⁾ The Scots themselves, in their financial negotiations with the English prior to their withdrawal, acknowledged the receipt of £80,000, but in doing so rejected the English claim that they had benefited to a total of almost £120,000 out of the coal trade, having received £53,000 in one year and £50,000 the year following, as well as £16,385 from excise. It was the Scots' assertion that the prices they had in fact received from coal represented a total £40,000 short of the English estimate. ⁽³¹⁾

The immediate, physical presence of the Scottish army was one of which the county was at once all too aware. While damage inflicted by gunpowder on Durham castle ⁽³²⁾ had a

29 Nef, Coal Trade II, p.294n.

30 Ibid

31 Rushw. VI, p.324

32 Cos. Corr. II, p.94

military justification the religious spirit the Scots unleashed saw fonts smashed, parsonages wrecked, the treasury and registry at Durham damaged and choice books looted from the cathedral library.⁽³³⁾ Even more seriously, however, the entire county came under the onus of the Scottish demands for maintenance, in money and provisions. From the outset, the Scots had noted the unfriendly demeanour of the county and their inability to secure either supplies or intelligence there, "... the whole Countrey being in Armes, either willingly or forcedly: so great a power hath the Cathedrall here".⁽³⁴⁾ Yet in truth, after suffering the burdens of soldiery almost continuously since 1640 - English, royalist, and now a second visitation from their ancient adversaries - Durham and Northumberland could scarcely be expected to respond warmly, whatever their sentiments with regard to present issues. Certainly, those Parliamentarians among the county's gentry who, towards the end of 1644, began to assume responsibility for Durham's affairs as the county committee were soon bemoaning the great pressures and difficulties they faced from the occupying forces, although the county itself was securely in the Parliament's control, and more settled. Although matters such as determining assessments and organising billeting was, by agreement, the committee's responsibility, the Scottish soldiery often took matters into their own hands. Money, rather than provision was what they asked for, and this was scarce - among poorer

33 DPB, p.191; Parl. S. II, p.166; Allen T, 34; RCDN p.42
34 An Exact Relation of the Last News ...

people non-existent. On 27 November George Vane wrote to his father upon the state of affairs. The county committee had engaged to pay one month's wages to the Scots but the month had expired and the money had not materialised. "The gentlemen entrusted here are almost at a nonplus," he asserted.⁽³⁵⁾ The burden was such that Sir Richard Bellasis had been despatched to Parliament to make a representation about it. A letter from the parliamentary commissioners in the north at about the same time spoke of the county's inability to support the growing charges upon it, despite the willing efforts of the county committee, and warned that unless some alternative provision was made for after November it was impossible to see how the army could be paid.⁽³⁶⁾ In face of such insufficiency the Scots reacted arbitrarily; at Raby the Vane family, whose name now stood as one of the most influential in the land, was not spared their attentions. On 4 December George Vane wrote to his father once more. Despite their agreement with the county that there should be no unauthorised movements of troops, Scottish soldiers had moved in among the Vane tenants and were demanding maintenance of a groat a day for 140 men, based upon the new and exorbitant book of rates devised during the Earl of Newcastle's occupation and which the new regime had not repealed. Vane ordered his steward to pay the Scottish captain when he threatened the Vanes' parks and timber. "The truth is," George Vane ended, "the soldiers

35 CSPD 1644-5, pp.162-3

36 Quoted by Welford, RCDN, pp.116-7 n.

are our masters, and do what they list."⁽³⁷⁾ Sir Lionel Maddison sketched a similar, unhappy picture in letters to the elder Vane during November. "That they (the county) have done so much is hardly credible. Though the farmer discounts with the landlord for most of his rent by reason of charges lying upon the country, and some far surmounting their rents, (so) that the landlord hath little or nothing or less than nothing; yet is the tenant like to run away too from the same, though some have been desired only to stay upon the ground and but Keep fire in the houses that they fall not to ruin." Coals too, formerly cheap and plentiful, were now expensive and scarce - the latter due^{owing} to the reductions in recent production and the new difficulties of distribution. There was plague too, to cap all ills, at Newcastle and at Raby, Auckland, Darlington and elsewhere in the county.⁽³⁸⁾

There was a dilemma for the county's ~~parliamentarians~~ in all this. George Vane was already speaking in November of the more settled condition of the northern counties and remarking on the plentiful supply of troops now in Durham who would be better utilised elsewhere "... than to lie here utterly to eat up these parts".⁽³⁹⁾ But speaking of the proposed Scottish intention to march south in February 1645 he warned that their departure would leave the county very much distracted and unsettled, and he advised: "there are some things very fit to be thought on before the army

37 CSPD 1644-5, p.174
38 Ibid pp.103, 136
39 Ibid pp.96-8

marches away from amongst us, especially the settling of the county in some measure for its own defence and apprehending the most notorious Papists and delinquents who threaten the disturbing of the peace of the county".⁽⁴⁰⁾ The boon of security for the parliamentarians could only be realised along with the crushing presence of the Scots. Vane had already pointed out to his father three months earlier that it was impossible adequately to muster and equip the county trained bands or a proposed new troop of county horse unless Parliament allowed the county the full value of its own sequestrations of royalist property as was the case in other counties, whereas in Durham such sums went almost entirely to the Scots.⁽⁴¹⁾ The Scotsmen had their own viewpoint however. In October 1644 their commissioners complained to both Houses of Parliament that the parliamentary commissioners in the north had raised regiments in Northumberland and Durham "... which is a great burden to the country and prejudice to the Scots' army by lessening assessments; (and) who have robbed, spoiled and murdered divers of the Scottish nation coming with provision for the armies".⁽⁴²⁾ Even so, it was apparent that the Scottish forces could not be supported out of the resources presently available, a fact declared in a new parliamentary ordinance of 20 February 1645 which went on to outline a new scheme which would realise £21,000 per month out of northern counties and towns.⁽⁴³⁾ A further ordinance followed this on 10 May which created a 'Northern

40 Ibid pp.288-9

41 Ibid pp.120-1

42 Ibid p.37

43 Ibid pp.316-7

Association' out of the four northern counties, along with Yorkshire, Lancashire and Nottinghamshire, which together could muster a force of 2,600 horse, 400 dragoons, 7,000 foot and an artillery train at a monthly cost of £14,717.6s. of which Durham was required to contribute £1,000 per month. ⁽⁴⁴⁾

The north was now effecting what George Vane had earlier advocated and was taking measures for its own protection by means of royalist sequestrations, royal and ecclesiastical revenues, coal and salt duties, and heavy assessments. Though the bulk of the Scottish army marched southwards to become an element in the struggle in the midlands, Durham was still complaining of assessments on the Scots' behalf in November 1646, ⁽⁴⁵⁾ and their garrisons remained in various places to plague the populace. The county committee found their governors brusque and overbearing in response to complaints made by local inhabitants about Scottish demands for coal and candle and interference with property sequestrated for the state's use, and in August 1645 the Durham committee was moved to make an appeal to the Committee of Both ⁽⁴⁶⁾ Kingdoms concerning the Scots' attitude and behaviour. As the Scottish presence in England became one of increasing concern and embarrassment nationally in the course of 1646, Parliament itself became anxious to secure the right of disposal of northern garrisons like Hartlepool and Stockton which had long discomfited their surrounding populace, but found the Scots slow to conform. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ In the latter part of

44 Ibid p.473

45 CEP, 28, 227

46 CSPD 1645-7, pp.49, 56-7

47 Rushw. VI, p.126

January 1647 however, the King, with the Scottish commissioners at Newcastle, finally declined to accept the Covenant or sign the Scottish propositions, and thus brought to an end the long Scottish involvement in England. The King's action resulted in the presbyterians turning him over to the English commissioners and Scottish forces beginning their march out of Newcastle on 30 January, when an English governor, major general Philip Skippon, took possession of it.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The Scots had been a burdensome presence in the north for almost exactly three years, and the feelings of the local population towards them were perhaps nicely caught in the laconic observation of the Durham parliamentarian John Reyne, writing to a friend from near Barnard Castle on 1 February: "We are busy in these parts in preserving our houses, horses, and goods, on the Scots' marching".⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Scottish departure in fact marked the end of the last great military incursion into the counties of Northumberland and Durham by their ancient and traditional foe. Although on this last occasion they had come ostensibly as friends, at the invitation of the English Parliament, it is highly doubtful that many in the north could so regard them. Their departure was preceded by growing rancour, suspicion and tension; the Durham parliamentarians Thomas Lilburne and Adam and Edward Shepperdson deposed that in May and June of 1646 they had spoken to Scottish officers as their army bore the King northwards to Newcastle and heard pro-royalist and anti-Parliament sentiments and intentions expressed.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Their

48 Ibid p.398

49 CSPD Add. 1625-49, p.706

50 LJ.VIII, p.330; HMC, Portland I, p.360

estrangement once more from the English was felt not least in the north. The covenanters left behind them other, albeit lesser, problems. In 1649 the parishioners of Lanchester were still arguing the responsibility for the abandoned child of the 'wife' of a Scottish soldier at the Durham quarter sessions. (51)

The creation of the Northern Association meant continuing financial demands, in the form of the monthly assessment, upon the northern counties. The nucleus of the Association's forces in Durham and Northumberland seems to have been colonel Robert Lilburne's and colonel Francis Wren's regiments of horse, together with two foot companies. It was in these bodies that many of the Durham parliamentarians held commissions under Lord Fairfax - Henry and Thomas Lilburne, the younger George Grey, John Sanderson, Robert Hutton, Anthony Smith and Adam Shepperdson. The essence of the Durham standing committee's commitment to the Northern Association in the difficult years 1645-8 seems to have been the payment of the two troops of horse commanded by Thomas Lilburne and John Sanderson and the two companies of foot under George Grey the younger. This body, together with the presence of Scottish foot soldiers as garrison troops, apparently constituted the nub of the county's standing forces. Although the parliamentary ordinance which established

the Northern Association had assessed Durham at £1,000 per month it appears unlikely that such a sum was regularly forthcoming out of assessments alone. Gilbert Marshall and Anthony Smith, the county's treasurers for Association contributions, returned that they had disposed of only £3,090. 9s. 8d. in assessments between June 1645 and February 1648.⁽⁵²⁾ By and large however, these forces appear to have been regularly and properly paid;⁽⁵³⁾ indeed, four soldiers wounded in the royalist attack upon Raby castle in 1645 were among a number receiving convalescent quartering from Association funds at this time.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Such refinements notwithstanding, the county committee were often hard pressed. In March 1647 they owed £334. 2s. to Lilburne's, Sanderson's and Grey's men and could only promise payment as soon as assessments or bishop's rents arrears should come to hand.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In May they wrote to the sequestrators at Goldsmiths' Hall of the personal sacrifices they had been obliged to make out of their own estates to eke out the insufficient revenue available to meet the demands of Scots, ministers and associated forces.⁽⁵⁶⁾

If money remained as the prime concern for those now assuming responsibility for the county, there were nevertheless other problems. Not least was the re-establishment of

52 CEP, 28, 380 (Durham bag)

53 William Burdon served as a trooper in major John Sanderson's troop from the 16 December 1645 until 5 February 1647. Out of an earned total of £78. 2s. for this period he had received £25.16s. from the Durham committee, as well as sums from excise officers, Goldsmiths' and Weavers' Halls and the Durham sequestrators. He received his last pay of £5. 12s. when he disbanded. CEP. 28, 227 (Durham bag)

54 CEP, 28, 380 (Durham bag)

55 Ibid

56 RCDN, p.39

an administrative and juridicial structure in place of that which, in a truly radical fashion, had been largely destroyed by the parliamentary triumph. The county's sheriff, under-sheriff, and many justices and deputy lieutenants were now marked down as delinquents, as were all of the senior clergy and men like Thomas Burwell and John Heath, key figures in the working of the palatinate's legal machinery. In the confusions of 1644-5 the whole region was controlled by the English parliamentary commissioners with the Scottish army - Armyne, Barwick and Fenwick - but these sought to involve well-affected gentlemen in the running of affairs as soon as possible, among them those named in Parliament's first committee for the county in April 1643.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The Long Parliament had provided the county with a Lord Lieutenant in 1642 in the person of Sir Henry Vane, but affairs of state kept him absent from Durham. On 5 August 1644 the commissioners requested the Commons to allow Vane to come down and settle the county, in particular putting the militia into effect, but although the House named fifteen deputy lieutenants and gave its assent to Vane's departure it does not appear he was able to do so for some time.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In October the county's parliamentarian gentlemen were writing to him to point out that there could be no proceedings in the palatine courts of justice in the absence of a chancellor, and they proposed that one be established in as near the traditional fashion as possible. This was by letters patent

57 CEP, 28, 227

58 CJ.III, p.593; see appendix B

under the great seal of England, a royal commission and the Lord Treasurer's warrant being necessary to provide a great seal for the palatinate. To effect this, the county's parliamentarians cut the Gordian Knot in revolutionary fashion. Bolstered by a parliamentary ordinance, they merely rewrote the examples afforded by the close rolls in the chancery at Durham to fit the requirements of radically altered circumstances.⁽⁵⁹⁾ A sheriff was also needed. The last appointment, in October 1641, had been Sir William Darcy, now a delinquent, and Parliament had respited any further appointment for the county in December 1643.⁽⁶⁰⁾ At least one *dedimus potestatem* in 1644 renewed the status of the old, well-affected justices and bolstered their numbers with some new additions.⁽⁶¹⁾ Although orderly and consecutive quarter sessions records do not begin until July 1649, and there was a good deal of dislocation in 1644-5 and again in the upheavals of 1648, the sessions were functioning again soon after the parliamentary regime established itself.⁽⁶²⁾ In his father's absence, George Vane assumed most of his father's responsibilities for the ordering of the county and became the first parliamentary appointment of sheriff on 18 February 1646.⁽⁶³⁾ The shrieval office had by that time undergone a drastic change. It was now an annual appointment made by the Parliament and its holder had to render a financial account into the Treasury at the end of his term.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Similar attempts by

59 CSPD 1644-5, p.47

60 CJ.III, p.354; Randall 13, ff.23-4

61 CSPD 1644-5, p.47

62 DQS. 4/13-14, 15

63 TT, E 324(7)

64 CSPD 1661-2, p.343

the Crown to encroach upon the bishop's control over his high sheriff - especially fiscal accountability - had in fact been successfully resisted by Bishop Morton in 1635;⁽⁶⁵⁾ now the momentum of revolution brought it about without apparent comment. The whole effective fabric of the county palatine was, of course, badly damaged, and the desirability of dismantling it entirely was being mulled over in 1644-5. The feeling of the county was not at all clear however, so it was reported,⁽⁶⁶⁾ although this probably meant that a great many were hostile to such a move. In the event, the status of the palatinate remained for years unresolved and uncertain with consequent confusions and inconveniences, especially in the county's juridical functioning, which helped to swell the disruptions the county experienced in the 1640s.

The most serious difficulties stemmed from the malfunctioning of the palatine courts of chancery and common pleas, many of whose officers and officials were delinquent or fled away, while others expressed doubts and reservations about serving under the new scheme of things.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Thus the cry generally was for reliable machinery to discharge civil processes, and perhaps more pressing, to provide for regular gaol deliveries in the county. The undecided status of the palatine made the latter necessity in particular difficult, and the position was further blurred after 1 September 1646

65 Allen 18

66 CSPD 1644-5, pp.120-1

67 M & S 52, f.1^v

with Parliament's decision to sell off episcopal lands. The rights of jura regalia of the bishop of Durham as count palatine were lodged with the trustees for the sale of bishops' lands - mainly London merchants headed by the Lord Mayor - who could not sell, contract for, or dispose of them.⁽⁶⁸⁾ A further parliamentary ordinance of 9 October, however, required the sheriff to supply a fit person to fill the office of ordinary at Durham who was to process, in the normal fashion, the business of the bishop's courts.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Such provision failed to meet the county's need however. Mark Shafto, the recorder of Newcastle, effected a gaol delivery in April 1647,⁽⁷⁰⁾ but in July the Commons found it expedient to order Sir Henry Vane, John Wastall and Sir Thomas Widdrington to bring about the establishment of common justice in the county as well as fines, recoveries, and other such civil processes as in other parts of the Kingdom. They were to confer with judges Jermyn and Green of the northern circuit who were due to appear in Durham that year, as well as with the trustees for the sale of bishops' lands.⁽⁷¹⁾ By 14 August the Commons had read twice, and committed, an ordinance which would take away the jurisdiction of the county palatine of Durham and Sadberge, and establish the administration of justice there in the same manner as the Kingdom generally,⁽⁷²⁾ Some such positive and radical action was badly needed if the county's standing committee was to be believed. On 13 April 1648 its members were

68 Allen 7, ff. 184-6; Durham Tracts. 5(e) pp.103-4

69 Scobell, Acts and Ordinances, pp. 99-101

70 Randall 13, ff. 23-4

71 CJ.V, p.246

72 Ibid p.274

moved to write: "No laws can be executed for recovering debts, but in a poor county court under 40s. No bargain nor estate of lands here confirmed because fines cannot be acknowledged. No thieves, robbers, murderers, or felons punished here, because no assize is held in this county; the number of prisoners increases, and the gaols are so thronged that the country is hardly able to maintain them, and they themselves cry for help."⁽⁷³⁾ On 25 April Parliament sent down Mr. John Westall to make a gaol delivery, which he was able to do, although by then the county was slipping into the confusions of the second war. At the same time, a northern circuit judge, Baron Rigby, was ordered to remain in Durham for the Parliament's and county's good.⁽⁷⁴⁾ In February 1649 Parliament set up a committee to rationalise the administration of justice not only in Durham but in Chester and the Duchy of Lancaster, on which Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane junior, John Blakiston and George Fenwick represented the Durham interest, and out of this activity an Act for an assize at Durham in August was forthcoming.⁽⁷⁵⁾ It is uncertain whether this assize actually took place but others did in 1650 and '51, at which business that had lain sine die since August 1642, the last time an assize had been held in the county, could be renewed. It was provided that writs and returns out of Upper Bench or Common Pleas to the sheriff

73 RCDN pp.40-1

74 CJ.V, pp. 544, 678; Randell 13, ff. 23-4

75 CJ.VI, pp.148, 233, 237

since that date were to be regarded as effective as in any other county, and that recoveries made out of other counties were to be processed through the court of Common Pleas in the capital, as for any non-palatine county. All writs, warrants and the like applicable in Durham were to be made through the cursitor of Monmouth and Hereford, who was so appointed to act by the commissioners of the Great Seal. Provision for gaol deliveries was made also.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The assizes signified the return of stability and convenience in the county's legal structure, even though the old palatine offices and functions, in name at least, had largely ceased to be. Nevertheless, difficulties still arose. Assizes were ordered, and their judgements confirmed, by the Parliament, and the final stages which led up to the dissolution of the Long Parliament in April 1653, to be followed by the ineffectual Barebone's assembly between July and December, meant that no act for a Durham assize appeared after 1651. In June 1654 the high sheriff, Rowland Place, petitioned the Protector directly, pointing out all the old inconveniences which were crowding in on the county once more as a result.⁽⁷⁷⁾ It seems to have been the last time, however, that the county was so to suffer during the Interregnum.

The establishment of the parliamentary regime left the county's old administrative structure badly wanting in several respects, but it also supplied, in the form of the county

76 Allen 7, ff. 187-92; Scobell, Acts and Ordinances, pp. 155-6

77 CSPD 1654, p.204

standing committee, a new, and truly alien administrative growth. The Durham committee, like county committees elsewhere, frequently and confusingly took on the aspects of several different committees: as the 'bishopric association' it had responsibility for the county's contribution to the Northern Association, it was also concerned with militia forces, the billeting and supply of troops, with religious affairs, but principally with the raising of the monthly assessment and the sequestration and pursuit of the county's delinquents and papists. The powers of the committee were comprehensive and great, but they were generally regarded across the nation as being questionably derived - and worse, being often wielded in an inept, unfair or dubious manner, and from the mid 1640s there was probably no single parliamentary manifestation more universally disliked than the county committee.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Nor was the Durham body any exception. In November 1644 George Vane had begun, on his father's behalf, to create a committee for the county according to the requirements of a parliamentary ordinance, of well-affected, honest and able persons, a task he was still concerned with in the early months of the following year.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Most of the names which had appeared in the Lords' and Commons' ordinance of 1 April 1643 which had nominated the first committee for the county were included among those which made up the standing committee that came into existence in the course of 1645. This was altogether a more impressive body than its

78 See The Committee Man Curried. S. Shepard. 16 July 1647
TT, E 398(2) and E 401 (40)

79 SP.23, 503, 110; CSPD 1644-5, pp.288-9

forerunner however, being headed by the elder Vane, Sir Lionel Maddison, Sir Richard Bellasis and Sir George Vane, together with George and Richard Lilburne, Clement and Christopher Fulthorpe, James Clavering, Timothy Whittingham, Francis Wren, Nicholas Heath, George Grey, and John Brakenbury, its treasurer. Henry Draper and Thomas Shadforth were added some time later. (80) It was a not unimpressive and respectable mix of gentlemen of high and middle quality who wrestled manfully with the dire difficulties of 1645-50. Yet the committee's proceedings, at best resented, often fell into irregularities too. Non-members sometimes signed its documents, (81) and the sequestered royalist Robert Byerley complained that only three gentlemen of the county had signed the papers in his case, and only one had been a committee member. (82) Worse, however, were the dissensions which broke out among its members, and responsibility for sequestration falling largely into the hands of a Lilburne faction within the committee. (83) By the early part of 1647 Parliament was seeking to abolish the county committees "... in regard of the great cries that come to their ears from all parts of the Kingdom where divers persons live under very great pressures by reason of the partiality and injustice that is used by those committees". (84) This move came to nothing, but when a year later the activities of the Lilburne faction came under attack from Sir Arthur Haslerig and John Blakiston,

80 RCDN p.39; CEP.28, 227 and 380 (Durham bag)

81 John Hall, probably one of the Halls of Durham city and minor supporters of the regime (see pp.208-9) signed on 18 June 1646. CEP 28, 227

82 RCDN p.141

83 See below, p.155 et seq.

84 CJ.V, 1 Feb. and 9 April 1647

there was no shortage of plaintiffs to depose as to the Durham committee's hard and dishonest dealings since 1644 towards themselves and the state.⁽⁸⁵⁾ While charge and counter-charge in such a clash of interests were clearly suspect the opportunities for wide, unrestrained and questionable activities of the type Parliament had acknowledged by unscrupulous committee-men were evident enough. In January and March 1649 the old Durham committee, already largely transformed by the influence of Sir Arthur Haslerig, was further weakened by Parliament's establishment of a northern committee for compounding.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Less than a year later all of the old county committees across the nation were finally dissolved,⁽⁸⁷⁾ chiefly, it was alleged by the polemical John Lilburne, through Haslerig's influence in Parliament, the better to effect the rout of John's uncle and friends in Durham.⁽⁸⁸⁾ While the assertion carries more malice than truth, there can have been few who were sad to see the end of the old body. In its place for Durham, with responsibility for sequestrations and compositions, Haslerig set up a new committee of Thomas Delaval and Francis Wren as treasurer.⁽⁸⁹⁾ They were soon complaining to London of the disorderly and confused state in which they found the books of the old body and their own work in the early 1650s seems to have been at least quiet and efficient, and devoid of the tensions and insufficiencies associated with the old committee.⁽⁹⁰⁾

85 RCDN pp.275-80, 366

86 CJ.VI, pp.113-4

87 Ibid pp. 386-8, 395-6

88 A Just Reproof, p.38

89 RCDN p.45. Haslerig's son Thomas, and his secretary Anthony Pearson, also served for a while

90 Ibid p.51 et seq

In 1645 the issue of parliamentary representation for the county raised itself once more, its desirability perhaps more urgent than ever. Appeals against the exactions and sufferings the county had endured since 1640 had cogently revealed the need for a direct and personal voice at Westminster to press them. It was felt, for example, that the £25,000 still owed to the county as the Scottish debt might not have remained unpaid with members to sue for it in the House.⁽⁹¹⁾ Whether this was realistic or not, it was certainly true that parliamentary business concerning the county had to be effected by indirect means such as the Newcastle members Sir Thomas Widdrington and John Blakiston or other northern men who held seats, like the Vanes. The Commons itself felt the inconvenience of this arrangement; in December 1647 it had hit upon the device of issuing letters and instructions to the county's committee-men as though they were M.P.s⁽⁹²⁾ On 8 April 1645 the county petitioned Parliament, drawing the Commons' attention to the fact that a bill for the county's representation had passed both Houses in 1642, but because this would not become effective until the unforeseeable time when a new assembly was formed the county begged for a new bill which would take effect at once.⁽⁹³⁾ Although the Commons responded by ordering such a bill "when convenient" nothing had materialised by the end of the year when Clement Fulthorpe and others wrote to William Lenthall from Bishop Auckland asking for the abolition

91 Hunter 24, f.1

92 CJ.V, p.410

93 CJ.IV, p.103

of the county palatine and the granting of parliamentary members,⁽⁹⁴⁾ and it was presumably this request which was referred to the Committee of Privileges on 14 March 1646.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The Long Parliament's inability to find either the time or the need to deal seriously with the county's problems was nicely portrayed on 21 December following, when yet another petition was read to the House outlining Durham's sufferings and asking for the removal of the Scots, the granting of members, and the repayment of £25,000 owed to the county. Speaker Lenthall called the Durham gentlemen into the House, assured them that the Commons were sensible of their sufferings and were taking steps to redress matters regarding Scots, members, and debt. Indeed, a bill for representation was read twice that day and committed - but once more into oblivion. On the same day the Commons set about rendering a debt of £36,000 to five creditors out of the fines and compositions at Goldsmiths' Hall.⁽⁹⁶⁾ This juxtaposition of business highlights sharply the Long Parliament's almost cynical need to consider priorities, and the helplessness of the county, not only in this concern but in resolving the uncertainty of palatine status, assembling adequate judicial forms, even in the appointment of a sheriff, which was not made until February 1646. In the event, the county was never to achieve representation in the Long Parliament, and the bitter frustration of those in Durham who had adhered to the parliamentary cause was evident in the letter the county

94 HMC Portland I, p.329

95 CJ.IV, p.733

96 CJ.V, pp.21-2

committee wrote to Goldsmiths' Hall in April 1648 on the county's sacrifices and condition: "The cry of the country is 'What! shall we still pay sesses, and have none in the House for us to grant them? Shall we be ready to perform service for the State and (bear) unequal burdens, and still be without the State's protection?'"⁽⁹⁸⁾ In 1651, writing of the quarrel between his uncle and Sir Arthur Haslerig and John Blakiston, John Lilburne pointed to the lack of members for the county as a cause of the dishonesty, injustice and ill-government which existed there, "it being a Bastard as it were to all the Counties of the Nation".⁽⁹⁹⁾ It seems unlikely that the granting of members would have done a great deal to alleviate the county's lot in the 1640s, but the county's very inability to realise the wish serves to emphasise the unhappy insufficiencies and confusions of those years.

98 RCDN pp.40-1

99 A Just Reproof, p.2

CHAPTER 4

Parliamentary government -
Personalities 1644-50

ck Although the county was far from settled by August 1644 the new parliamentary powers were nevertheless quickly about the business of sequestration, and by the middle of the month the seizing, leasing or otherwise disposing of the estates and effects of royalist offenders throughout the county was in full swing. The parliamentary commissioners who arrived with the Scottish army, Sir William Armyne, Richard Barwis and Robert Fenwick, through the numerous body of sub-sequestrators they appointed from sympathisers in the county, were soon involved in the prompt leasing of sequestrated lands at as advantageous a sum as possible, guaranteeing new lessees against unco-operative tenants, and in blocking the payment of rents and the like by tenants to landlords who were suspected, but as yet unproven, delinquents. To this end, for example, the local sequestrators summoned to appear before them at Sedgefield on 9 September all tenants and collectors of the bishop or dean

and chapter of Durham, to render up the half-year's rents due at Pentecost (20 June) last, and to account for any arrears.⁽¹⁾ Other clerical property was soon under attack: on 10 September the sequestration of seven parsonages in the county was announced, and the tithes of four others seized. The clergy involved were all, for the most part, prominent in the diocesan structure and compromised by Arminianism, but other than by the desertion of their cures how they brought themselves within the ordinance of sequestration it is not possible to say.⁽²⁾ Clerics constituted a very small proportion of delinquents however, and it was lay offenders in increasing numbers who came under the process of sequestration across the county. The raising of revenue was a prime objective behind the policy of sequestration, perhaps more so than the chastisement of royalist adversaries, and to this end the English commissioners pointed out in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons on 1 November, that the moneys necessary for the support of the forces then in Durham could not be realised out of delinquent and recusant estates there and made the suggestion: "... those delinquents of a lower rank, that will offer reasonable

1 RCDN, p.16

2 Those sequestered were Joseph Naylor at Sedgfield, Isaac Basire at Egglecliffe, William James at Ryton, Thomas Triplet at Washington, Eleazor Duncen at Houghton and Anthony Maxton at Woolsingham and Middleton in Teesdale. RCDN p.17. Basire at least had actively aided royalist troops in securing the passage of the Tees at Egglecliffe in 1643. Darnell, Correspondence of Isaac Basire, p.44

compositions if the house be pleased to allow of it, may afford more present relief than to proceed by way of sequestration according to the ordinances, which are very longsome and hazardous."⁽³⁾ Sir John Conyers and Sir William Darcy, neither of whom was adjudged to be a major delinquent, were two who were ready to do so, and in fact five significant county cavaliers had compounded with the commissioners before the end of the year. When, in October 1645, Parliament announced its terms upon which royalists would be allowed to compound,⁽⁴⁾ a further thirty-eight Durham men did so before the end of December.⁽⁵⁾ Thereafter, a steady but diminishing stream of compounders came to terms with the Parliament's sequestrators until 1648. Delinquents generally were able to reach a ready accommodation with the sequestration authorities if they really wished to do so. The pattern for most was sooner or later to purchase their peace, although a number of intractables refused to do so for many years.

A view of the variety of the county's delinquents and their subsequent fortunes can be obtained from the histories of those named in the parliamentary commissioners' list of 11 September 1644 which proclaimed them to be "the most notorious delinquents within the county of Durham".⁽⁶⁾ Some of those named are surprising - not least being the dean of Durham, Dr. Walter Balcanquall, who, although warmly detested by the puritan-radical elements in the county and

3 Quoted by Welford, RCDN pp.116-7 n.

4 CJ. IV, 297

5 RCDN, pp.60-1

6 Ibid p.18

the capitular tenantry in particular, left no evidence of what he did to earn this distinction. Balcanquhall fled from the county at the advance of the Scots and died soon afterwards in Chirk castle, in Wales.⁽⁷⁾ It can be surmised that it was his direction which held much of the ecclesiastical structure's administrative and legal functions together in support of the royalist regime, as was also the case with two other 'notorious delinquents', John Heath and Thomas Burwell. Burwell had been spiritual chancellor of the diocese since 1631 and similarly, Heath held various important positions in the temporal courts at Durham, went to the King at Oxford and later pressed the law vigorously against parliamentarians in the county, and pressurised others.⁽⁸⁾ Heath was sequestered in 1644, petitioned to compound in November 1646, and had a fine of £55 fixed upon him in May 1647.⁽⁹⁾ There is no record that Burwell was ever proceeded against, although both men continued living quietly in the county throughout the Interregnum. William Collingwood of Durham city served as an under-sheriff during the royalist regime and did not compound until 1649 when he had also been involved in the second war. Nevertheless, his fine, set at a sixth, was a modest £28.⁽¹⁰⁾ Francis Salvin of Hurworth ~~was~~ was another singled out as particularly active among this family of catholic cavaliers; he did not, apparently, seek to compound before his death sometime before 1654. Thomas

7 Walker, Clergy I, p.19

8 RCDN, pp.49-50, 128, 276

9 Ibid pp.236-7

10 Ibid p.172

Swinburne of Butterby held the rank of lieutenant-colonel under Newcastle and was prominent as a commissioner of array and for his part in associating the five northern counties for the King. He petitioned to compound in December 1645 when he claimed compulsion as an excuse for his activities and asserted that he had refused to serve on certain royalist committees. He was nevertheless fined £360 and pardoned by Parliament in July 1646, and lived quietly thereafter.⁽¹¹⁾ Another lieutenant-colonel, John Jackson of Rickledon, was sequestered as a principal delinquent in September 1644 but he continued an active cavalier in both wars until he compounded, and was fined at a sixth, £436. 14s. 7d. in 1649.⁽¹²⁾ Apparently unaffected by this substantial sum he was soon, as a man with Wear coal interests, deeply embroiled in the Harraton colliery dispute, being one of those delinquents of whom Sir Arthur Haslerig was alleged to be the favourer.⁽¹³⁾ Bold and ambitious, he married in the 1650s John Hedworth's widow Susan, the daughter of one of his antagonists in the Harraton affair, George Grey, and thus consolidated his business interests on the Wear. In November 1660 he was named among the county gentlemen as Sir John Jackson, Knight.⁽¹⁴⁾ Sir Thomas Tempest of the Isle, Durham, petitioned to compound for his offences as a 'notorious delinquent' in 1649 and was admitted to a composition of £134. He was one of a large number of

11 CJ VI, p.626; RCDN pp.18, 348-9

12 Ibid pp.44, 254

13 See below, p173

14 HMC Various Collections II, p.116

Tempests across the county who proved themselves adamant cavaliers and who, while reaching terms over a composition, remained unreconciled to the governments of the 1650s.⁽¹⁵⁾

For the final pair of notorious delinquents the consequences of delinquency were long drawn-out and dire. Sir Thomas Riddell junior was colonel of a regiment of foot and governor of Tynemouth castle, and with his father, Sir Thomas of Gateshead and his brother William, a catholic, was deeply involved in the defence of Newcastle. All were 'sent for' by the Commons after the fall of the town and William was committed to the Tower.⁽¹⁶⁾ The younger Thomas however, named as a principal delinquent a month previously, fled abroad. Sir Thomas Riddell senior died in March 1650, less than a year after petitioning to compound and being fined £408, and in July 1651 his estate and that of his son Thomas appeared in the first Act of Sale. Between March and June 1652 substantial portions of Sir Thomas junior's possessions - farms, tenements and pasturage in Durham and collieries and coals which were part of the lordship of Fenham outside Newcastle - were disposed of.⁽¹⁷⁾ Sir Thomas himself died at Antwerp in April 1652 and it seems his continuing obduracy indeed cost him dear. Certainly, his elder brother William who chose to ride out the storm did not find it an easy matter either, but in January 1654, when reference to him ends, he appeared to be about to secure both the discharge

15 See below, pp.287-9

16 CJ III, p.700

17 RCDN, pp.320-1

of his estate by the Treason Trustees and an indemnity under the 1651 Act of Pardon,⁽¹⁸⁾ and he emerged again among the county gentry in 1660. Old Sir Thomas Riddell had been a former recorder of Newcastle, and the family's prosperity was tied up with the coal trade of the town. Such, too, was the case with the last of the principal delinquents, Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth, a member of another prominent Newcastle and Durham family, whose father had been sheriff and mayor of the town and had established the family's prosperity in coal and corn. The Liddells made a staunch response on the King's behalf; Sir Thomas' son and his half-brother Henry of Farnacres were named as delinquents and another kinsman, Sir Francis Liddell of Redheugh and Bamburgh, escaped from parliamentary custody in 1645. Sir Lionel Maddison informed the elder Vane that the Durham committee considered him only a moderate enemy and observed: "which is conceived might have been otherwise expressed by them".⁽¹⁹⁾ In May 1645 articles were exhibited against Sir Thomas of Ravensworth which accused him together with other notable hostmen cavaliers like Sir John Marley, Sir Nicholas Cole, Ralph Cole and others, of seeking, as long ago as 1631, to engineer "for their own private lucre and profit" a monopoly of the sale of Newcastle coals which had forced the price up to twelve pence a chaldron.⁽²⁰⁾ More pertinently, it was further alleged that about May 1642 Sir Thomas, as deputy

18 Ibid p.322

19 CSPD 1645-7, p.124

20 RCDN, p.271

mayor, had urged the burgesses to resist the Parliament's choice of Lord lieutenant for the town and county of Newcastle - the Earl of Northumberland - and with others had been instrumental in placing the town in the hands of the Earl of Newcastle. A long list of his subsequent royalist activities revealed him as a most energetic and committed cavalier, and he was still a prisoner of the Parliament at London House when he sought to compound in February 1646. His notoriety was so great that the central committee for compounding at Goldsmiths Hall would not deal with him until they had obtained the Commons' authority. Although he had already paid over to Sir William Armyne and the Scots a sum of £1,300 in 1644-5 - probably in the form of coals - the Committee for the Advance of Money in London assessed him for £2,000 on 20 February,⁽²¹⁾ 1646, and a composition fine of £4,000 was imposed on 7 April. Although he had paid half of his composition fine by June and been allowed to travel to Durham to raise the other half, the demands for huge assessments and the threat of re-sequestration continued to hang over Liddell for years and it was the friendly intervention of Sir Arthur Haslerig and Sir Henry Vane on his behalf that apparently staved off greater difficulties. Even so, upon his death in 1652 his name still appeared as a delinquent with the balance of his fines unpaid.⁽²²⁾

21 CAM.II, p.682

22 RCDN p.274

The varied fortunes of the ten principle delinquents was a pattern matched by large numbers of other Durham cavaliers ranging from substantial to very modest means. Sir Thomas Davison of Blakiston, whose family were also defenders of Newcastle, paid a composition of £1,116, and Ralph Davison of Winyard £400; both received a parliamentary pardon and the release of their estates in July 1646.⁽²³⁾ Cuthbert Carr of St. Helens Auckland and the Byerleys of Middridge Grange became involved in long cases in which sums of several thousand pounds were at stake, while at the further end of the scale Thomas Brignall, a yeoman of Lambton, asked for, on 8 June 1648, a reasonable composition upon his own discovery for words and deeds perpetrated in the first war and was fined £4.10s.⁽²⁴⁾ Many delinquents suffered continuing harrassment for years, sometimes because they deliberately sought to avoid making or completing their composition payments and thus continued to draw the attentions of the northern sequestration bodies and the central commissioners at Goldsmiths Hall in London, or the demands of the Committee for the advance of Money in the capital which pursued them as undischarged delinquents, with demands for heavy loans assessed at a twentieth of their real, and a fifth of their personal estates. Others, who had compounded but had concealed parts of the estates before doing so, were a constant prey for informers, usually individuals owed money by the

23 CJ.VI, p.626

24 RCDN. p.136

state who were allowed to claim it as a percentage of such discoveries. Thomas and Ralph Davison, Henry Lambton, Sir John Conyers, Cuthbert Carr and Lindley Wren were all threatened with further sequestration for non-payment of their twentieths in July 1650,⁽²⁵⁾ while captain Henry Goodyear, an arreared officer of the Newcastle garrison, was seeking £300 and £50 expenses out of discoveries made against half a dozen other smaller Durham cavaliers in May, and in September James Craddock, Robert Eden, Gerard Salvin and Lindley Wren were being pursued by the old allegation of their guilt as commissioners of array in 1642-3.⁽²⁶⁾ The Act of Pardon and Oblivion in the autumn of 1651, the benefits of which were available to all whose estates were not under sequestration on 1 December 1651, was clearly instrumental in encouraging many delinquents in the county into a final accommodation, and upwards of forty did so during 1651.⁽²⁷⁾ In 1655 a list of Durham delinquents who had fulfilled their compositions and were living undisturbed carried nearly forty names, among them many of those who had incurred the greatest difficulties in earlier years.⁽²⁸⁾ Even so, this left a majority of Durham's sequestered royalists with their cases essentially unresolved. Some were obdurate delinquents who would not compound on any

25 CAM.II, pp.754-5, 765

26 Ibid III, pp.1234-5, 1266

27 See Appendix D

28 These were principally the Byerleys of Middridge Grange, £2,261; William Brasse of Brafferton, £314; Sir John Conyers of Nettlesworth, £651.12s.; Thomas Davison of Blakiston, £1,412.10s.; Sir William Darcy of Witton castle, £1,000; Lindley Wren of Binchester, £300; Henry Lambton of Lambton, £960. Allen 7, ff. 149-50

terms, others owners of estates which were snared in litigation of one kind or another. Of this latter sort, death was often the complicating factor as in the cases of Sir Cuthbert Conyers of Layton and Sir John Hilton of Hylton, but adamant delinquents found their estates put into the Acts of Sale of 1651, '52 and '53 which Parliament wielded to bring defiant royalists to heel. Of those so treated in Durham some, but not all, were brought to an accommodation. (29)

Parliament's dissolution of the old county sequestration committees on 22 January 1651 ended the much resented high-handedness of the Lilburnes and their friends who had held sway as committeemen since 1645. They were replaced in Durham by a new body with Francis Wren as treasurer, Thomas Delaval, Thomas Haslerig and Anthony Pearson. Although these men were all patently Sir Arthur Haslerig's appointees it seems likely they brought more order and fairness into the business of sequestration. Royalists everywhere had long complained of the disorder, injustice and dishonesty rife in the old committees and the new Durham commissioners observed upon taking up their office: "Were the most exact auditors set on to methodize, yet much spare time and recess from other employment would have to be spent, and yet leave room for evil consciences to abuse the State without remedy." (30)

As was the case nationally, the sequestering and mulcting of delinquents fell away as the decade of the 1650s advanced,

29 See below, pp.287-9

30 RCDN, p.46

and the local machinery for the task, never really adequate, certainly did not improve. Under the Protectorate government, a new central committee appointed two representatives in appropriate areas and Wren and Delaval were again chosen to serve. Some little time later, however, they were reporting that they were in fact the only commissioners resident in Durham and that they had responsibility for Northumberland too: despite their full-time application to it, the work was impossible to encompass.⁽³¹⁾ Cavalier prevaricators were doubtless able to indulge themselves more easily in such circumstances, and there were a good many in Durham.⁽³²⁾

Parliament's triumph in the north in 1644 placed the government of Durham in the hands of the Vane family, wealthy and influential by the end of the 1630s, but essentially newcomers to the county, with no deep roots in its traditional ruling and social soil. Sir Henry Vane's success had been achieved outside of the county, the result of his penetration into court circles through purchasing the patronage of Sir Thomas Overbury. He progressed rapidly as a courtier; in 1630 he was royal comptroller and privy councillor, and in 1632 purchased from the crown the seignuries of Raby, Barnard Castle and Long Newton, and in subsequent years was granted the wardenship of royal forests and chases in Teesdale.⁽³³⁾ The advent of the Bishops' Wars prompted Sir Henry to accompany the King into the north, and to afford

31 Ibid p.59

32 See below, p.290

33 DNB; Aylmer, The King's Servants, p.85

him the closest support, both by his constant attendance upon him and the raising of a regiment over thousand strong.⁽³⁴⁾ The crisis now looming for the crown brought Vane to a reappraisal of his own position, however. The years of Charles I's personal rule had been those in which Vane, the ambitious and thrusting courtier, had realised a high degree of personal success. His desire to at least maintain his fortunes in the new and serious situation together with a need to conceal some of his activities as a royal cofferer and comptroller were probably his chief reasons for his drift away from the court and his increasing identification with the Parliaments of 1640 and '41. His defection from the King's party was signally achieved by his enmity for Strafford and his part in securing Strafford's attainder. This, and the close identification of his eldest son Henry with the opposition within the Long Parliament, brought him firmly into the parliamentary ranks by December 1641.⁽³⁵⁾ On 10 February 1642, as the Long Parliament drew up the Militia Bill, it nominated Vane as Lord lieutenant for the county of Durham.⁽³⁶⁾

Deeply involved in the national crisis in the capital, and faced by the emergent royalist conviction of Durham, Vane was unable to wield this office effectively, although it must remain open to doubt whether he in fact attempted to. The volte face he had executed since 1640 was not necessarily,

34 CSPD 1639, p.93

35 DNB; Aylmer, King's Servants, pp.350-1

36 CJ.II, p.424

it appears, his final commitment, and he was anxious, in the prevailing state of flux which enveloped the nation in 1642, to preserve a stake with both parties while he waited upon events. His attitude was later held against him by the more committed of the county's parliamentarians, in particular the Lilburnes. While George and Richard Lilburne had been prominent among those who had attempted to rally the county for Parliament in the course of 1642, Vane, they alleged, revealed nothing but passivity - save to send his magazine of arms from Raby to the royalists in Newcastle. His stewards did it openly, during the day, and thoughtfully obtained a receipt. It was the Lilburne's contention that Vane's example, as Lord lieutenant, had been sufficient to sway would be neutrals and other waverers and the efforts of the parliamentary faction had been dashed by his action. (37) Vane left no answer to this allegation although the Lilburnes sought subsequently to press it against him, but it is quite possible that his action was forced upon him by the Earl of Newcastle's soldiery. More damning, however, were the activities of Vane's second son, George, who appeared in the King's following and served at the battle of Edgehill in October. (38) On 16 January 1643 the Commons resolved that Sir George Vane could no longer continue to sit as a member of that House "for appearing in Arms against the Parliament", (39) and the original committee named for the parliamentary

37 The Resolved Man's Resolution, John Lilburne, (London, 1647), p.17. TT. E387(4)

38 Ibid

39 CJ.II, p.929

government of the county on 1 April contained no Vane among its ten names.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Nevertheless, upon the royalist withdrawal in 1644 George Vane was once more at Raby and deeply involved in the ordering of the county's affairs for the Parliament, and became Parliament's first choice of high sheriff. He was also, with his brother Henry, named as a deputy lieutenant, and appeared with his father on the county standing committee. There seemed room for truth in John Lilburne's bitter invective later: "which side soever the game went, the old crafty Fox was sure in his owne thoughts to stand upon his leggs and be no looser."⁽⁴¹⁾

The Lilburnes soon found another source of friction. At the end of 1644 Richard Lilburne was noising abroad his desire to become under-sheriff to George Vane, to which the latter responded in a letter to his father by asserting that Lilburne had not intimated his wish to him, and that he already had an excellent man, John Reyne, who had worked with Vane on the Committee of Revenue, for the position.⁽⁴²⁾ In February 1645, however, George Vane was drawing up a list to send to his father of "such gentlemen as I think most fit and able, both for ability and esteem in their country to be appointed a standing committee for the service of our county,"⁽⁴³⁾ a role from which the Lilburnes, certainly in terms of the needs of the parliamentary cause, could hardly be denied an important part. Thirteen names eventually

40 The ten names were Henry Warmouth, George Lilburne, Thomas Midford, Robert Hutton, Thomas Shadforth, Richard Lilburne, Francis Wren, John Blakiston, Henry Draper, John Brackenbury, CEP 28, 227

41 Resolved Man's Resolution, p.18

42 CSPD 1644-5, p.275

43 Ibid pp.288-9

received Parliament's approval and constituted the original standing committee for the county: Sir Henry Vane senior, Sir Lionel Maddison, Sir Richard Bellasis, Sir George Vane, Christopher and Clement Fulthorpe, James Clavering, Timothy Whittingham, George and Richard Lilburne, Nicholas Heath, Francis Wren and George Grey.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Of these thirteen, the Lilburnes, Grey, and the Fulthorpes were to reveal themselves as a vigorous and much-involved group: of the rest, the elder Vane's energies and preoccupations were largely taken up by national involvements, and George Vane, with the close family friend and business associate Lionel Maddison, was left to control the committee as far as he was able. Among the remainder, Sir Richard Bellasis, whose family's esteem and influence on the one hand was confused with - and perhaps embarrassed by - its business involvements with the Sunderland men on the other, seems to have occupied an indeterminate position until his break with the Lilburnes in 1648-9, while Whittingham, Clavering and Heath also revealed no close affinities with the Lilburnes, and together with Francis Wren were ready enough to rally around Sir Arthur Haslerig when he appeared in the north to oppose the Lilburnite influence from 1648. The county committee was fully functional by the second half of 1645, but by then the Lilburnes and their supporters who had looked askance at the Vanes' accession to overlordship of the county had a new grudge against them. Although throughout the year Durham had

been spared any serious military activity, continuing fighting in Yorkshire left it in an unsettled state of tension and uncertainty. In the course of the summer George Lilburne, as a deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace in Sunderland, had taken possession of a cargo of arms and ammunition landed at the port for the protection of the county. George Vane, in his capacity as high sheriff, had removed this cargo out of Lilburne's charge and carried it to Raby castle where, soon afterwards, a surprise royalist sally out of a north Yorkshire garrison enabled the royalists to carry it off "with a great deale of ease".⁽⁴⁵⁾ Whether the Lilburne faction actually believed the implication involved or not, they were clearly willing to use it as a stick with which to beat the Vane family in what they saw as its new and unmerited position of county authority.

Despite the vigour and waywardness of the Lilburne group its influence in the county's government in the years after 1644 should not be overstated. The grandee Vanë continued as the Parliament's choice of Lord lieutenant and under him three of his sons were deputies while a majority of the rest had no close affinities with George Lilburne, who alone out of the family held a deputy-lieutenancy.⁽⁴⁶⁾ George Vane served as the county's high sheriff from 1644 until 1646 and after him Sir Richard Bellasis in 1647.⁽⁴⁷⁾ It was the Vanes too who were the intermediaries for the county whenever its affairs drew the attention of Parliament.

45 Resolved Man's Resolution, p.19

46 See Appendix B

47 Randall 13, ff.23-4

From 1644 the Long Parliament directed responsibility for Durham matters into the charge of Sir Henry senior, and the Newcastle members John Blakiston and Sir Thomas Widdrington; there was perhaps some point in John Lilburne's later explanation that his father's and uncle's obstreperousness was no more than a refusal to be overawed by overweening powers of government in the county which could not be curtailed or properly exposed because of the county's lack of parliamentary representation.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Indeed, under the hegemony of the grandee Vanes the basic pattern of the county's government was unaltered from pre-war days, in the sense that it remained in the hands of men whose wealth and influence owed much to Newcastle - Sir Thomas Widdrington, Sir Lionel Maddison, John Blakiston, and James Clavering - who associated with them older county names of good standing like Thomas Bowes and Nicholas Heath and Sir Richard Bellasis. There remained also in an uncomfortable and ill-determined alliance the slightly baser, but avowedly more radical element of the Wear coal producers and merchants and their county supporters - Gilbert Marshall, Anthony Smith, and many from the dean and chapter tenantry. It was within the county committee - or rather its aspect of county sequestration committee which constituted its prime preoccupation - that Lilburne influence waxed most strongly. The committee's composition underwent change in the two years after 1645, Thomas Bowes

48 A Just Reproof, p.2

and Henry Draper appearing on it, the latter a subsequent adherent of Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Thomas Shadforth, originally friendly with the Lilburnes but later a protagonist in the confrontation with them. Most significant was the appearance of colonel Thomas Midford of Pespool, who was to prove the Lilburnes' staunchest supporter. (49) With his positions as deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace, his role as an agent for the disposal of the bishop's lands, and later of the dean and chapter's also, joined to his dominance of the county committee and its control over the sequestrations of delinquents, malignants and papists generally, George Lilburne's powers of disposal over an appreciable part of the county's assets and wealth in land and coal resources was great enough. While he and his allies prosecuted the state's business - doubtless with energy and conviction - they were certainly afforded at the same time opportunities to consolidate and augment their own, especially in the collieries of the lower Wear and the town of Sunderland. In doing so, however, George Lilburne certainly added to his adversaries and detractors in the region. In the two years or so after its inception the more moderate or uncommitted members of the committee had withdrawn or were taking very little part in its affairs. Death carried off Sir Lionel Maddison in 1647, and the committee's correspondence suggests that its chairman, George Vane, and Sir Richard Bellasis, together with the Fulthorpes were scarcely active any longer

by that date, while George's brother Richard had appeared on the committee by then.⁽⁵⁰⁾ George Lilburne was accused of being "... so Imperious in his Sequestratorship, and so shamefully overawed the rest of the Commissioners that most of them were abused of their stations, and M. George Lilburne was left a petty monarch, attended onely with his brother Richard (such another haughty spirit as himselfe) and one Tom Turke alias Coll: Midford, a creature of their own stamp ..."⁽⁵¹⁾ The same source - an avowedly hostile one - summed up the position before 1648: "the Lilburnes then were uncontrollable."⁽⁵²⁾

On 30 December 1647 an event occurred which was to render important changes in the direction of affairs in the north, when the Commons received a letter from Lord General Fairfax which commissioned Sir Arthur Haslerig governor of Newcastle and duly approved it.⁽⁵³⁾ Since 1640 Haslerig had been a prominent figure in the momentous events of national life. A protege of Pym, before the civil war he had been a stout opponent of Laud, with close associations with the radical puritan impulses which emanated from the New England colonial ventures, in particular the Providence Island and Saybrook enterprises.⁽⁵⁴⁾ He served as a member for Leicester in both the Short and Long Parliaments, playing a significant role in Strafford's attainder, the Root and Branch Bill, as the proposer of the Militia Bill in December 1641 and was one of the five members in January 1642.⁽⁵⁵⁾ He immediately

50 RCDN, p.39-45

51 Musgrave Muzled - a Vindication of Sir Arthur Haslerigg
(Newcastle 1650) p.17

52 Ibid p.14

53 CJ.V, p.239

54 D. Underdown, The Reign of King Pym, pp.78, 84-5

55 Burton, Diary III, p.93

took up arms at the beginning of hostilities and fought at Edgehill, and continuously thereafter in the south and west with some distinction and was twice wounded. By the summer of 1647 he was identifiable as a leader of the independents, closely associated with St. John and the younger Vane in the growing army opposition to the presbyterians.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Apparently moderate in his religious independency - he was later to be taxed with accusations of favouring presbyterians in and after 1648 - he was politically, like the younger Vane, an avowed republican. Nevertheless, like the Vanes he remained an archetypal grandee in the sense that his political and religious radicalism was not matched by a corresponding attitude towards law reform, the holding of property, and those other deepest currents of the English Revolution. Few contemporary references to him - by friend or foe - speak of him warmly or with affection. He appears blunt and pugnacious in character, energetic and efficient without being clever, and with an unenviable reputation for acquisitiveness. With Haslerig when he travelled north at the end of March 1648 to take up his appointment was colonel George Fenwick, a Northumberland man who had distinguished himself as a parliamentary officer, particularly in Ireland in May 1647.⁽⁵⁷⁾ His close marriage ties with Haslerig - he married Sir Arthur's eldest daughter for his second wife while his own daughter by his first marriage married Haslerig's son Thomas - created, or were the result of, a close and

X 56 DNB; Underdown, Reign of King Pym, pp.5-6
57 Whit. pp.253, 268

continuing association which made him Haslerig's closest adherent in his activities in the north, and from which Fenwick himself was to gain much in power and possessions.

Haslerig was well received at Newcastle and in the north generally when he arrived in April 1648. In advance, he had taken up with the mayor, Thomas Ledgard, the business of easing the financial pressures of parliamentary soldiery and had secured £2,564 from Parliament for the repair of the town's walls and other defences.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The Durham Lilburnes had already, however, in the very circumstances of his appointment, found the first bones of contention with this powerful figure. Major-general Philip Skippon had been Newcastle's governor since the final departure of the Scots in January 1647, although colonel Robert Lilburne had filled the role in the town prior to this.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Skippon's replacement, which was something of a surprise,⁽⁶⁰⁾ once again left Robert Lilburne in charge of the town, and apparently with some expectation of having the post given him officially. In what seems a sudden and confused development Haslerig was the new choice however, and Parliament was so far aware of the sensibilities involved as to publish an assurance of its continuing trust in Lilburne's integrity, judgement and valour, while asserting that Lilburne himself had professed to being happy about the decision, "for such Reasons as are not convenient to be made Publick".⁽⁶¹⁾ According to John Lilburne however, his brother was "privately undermined and

58 Engstrom, The Public Career of Sir Arthur Hesilrige, p.160

59 Rushw. VI, p.398, VII, p.797

60 Engstrom, Sir Arthur Hesilrige, p.158

61 Rushw. VII, p.949

worm-eaten out of his governmentship", and although the family took the affair quietly out of regard for Haslerig, and a certain gratitude for his assistance rendered to George Lilburne when the latter had presented his religious petitions to the Long Parliament in 1641, it had rankled.⁽⁶²⁾ Less than a month after his appointment at Newcastle, Haslerig was appointed to the parliamentary committee investigating the activities of John Lilburne,⁽⁶³⁾ and the highly personalised clash between the two which subsequently materialised spilled over messily into the north, and Durham in particular, where more animosity surfaced over Haslerig's acquisition of Bishop Auckland manor, and George Lilburne's actions as a surveyor for the state in episcopal property.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The outbreak of the second civil war in the shape of Langdale's rising created new sources of friction and alienation. Henry Lilburne's declaration, as governor of Tynemouth castle, for the King in August and his death in the retaking of the place by Haslerig's Newcastle forces, was a blow the family accepted silently.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Haslerig's prompt and vigorous action was correct and unquestionable, but Henry Lilburne's defection - the only family member to fall away from the revolutionary cause - apparently provoked upset and debate, and John Lilburne commented darkly - and probably unfairly - later: "my unfortunate youngest brother ... was honest enough in the eyes of his chief Commanders, till he came under the command of Sir Arthur Haslerig."⁽⁶⁶⁾ In the early summer of 1648 Haslerig,

62 A Just Reproof ... p.3
63 CJ.V, pp.436, 445, 448
64 A Just Reproof ... pp.3-4
65 See below, p.184
66 A Just Reproof ... p.2

anxious to meet the new financial burden thrown up by the military resources suddenly needed to hold the north east against Langdale's cavaliers, arbitrarily increased the excise upon coals, leaving the Tyne and Wear by four shillings a chaldron. The move was executed on the Tyne, (67) but on the Wear it was resisted by George Lilburne on the grounds that Haslerig's action was illegal until approved by Parliament, which it was on 17 July. (68) Haslerig's move, for which he incurred much unpopularity in the capital in the ensuing hard winter, was bold, distasteful, but clearly purposeful in face of the existing crisis. Lilburne's response, on the other hand, had a distinctly narrow and parochial look, a jealous, stubborn preservation of his paramount influence over the Wear's commerce and economy, as well as its religion and politics.

It is probable that Haslerig came into the north devoid of any preconceived hostility towards the Durham Lilburnes, although it is equally probable that he was aware of, or was quickly apprised of, their reputation. The Vane family, and the Newcastle M.P. John Blakiston, had already clashed with them, the latter's quarrel chiefly centering about Thomas Shadforth of Eppleton, who in marrying a daughter of the old prebendary Marmaduke Blakiston, made himself a brother-in-law not only of John Blakiston but of John Cosin who had wed another daughter. Despite his clerical connections Shadforth had been considered, since the commencement

67 Newcastle Common Council Minute Book 1639-56, p.83

68 A Just Reproof ... p.4; CJ.V, p.638

of hostilities, as well-affected to Parliament's cause, being named for the county's original committee for the Contribution in 1643, and as a deputy lieutenant in 1644,⁽⁶⁹⁾ although a general view of his behaviour - especially at the Restoration - leaves the impression of him as an opportunist and trimmer at the very least. He was added to the county committee sometime in 1645 or '46, probably through the influence of the Vanes or Blakiston, and soon after the friendliness which had existed between him and the Lilburnes dissolved into animosity. Both parties were soon alleging delinquency against each other; on 12 August 1647 informations were laid against Shadforth in the county committee and submitted to Goldsmiths Hall, and he in turn countered less than a month later with a counter-charge against George Lilburne. The origins of the dispute began with John Blakiston, who, sometime in 1647 had pressed a claim upon the episcopal manor of Newton, which George Lilburne, as a surveyor for bishops' lands, was responsible for refusing. According to Lilburne, Blakiston had then countered by conspiring with two others of the surveyors - Thomas Colston and Thomas Saunders - to forge a third surveyor's signature to give validity to a survey document which would allow ~~Blakiston~~ to benefit by £1,000 at the state's expense. The affair resolved itself into a welter of petitions and remonstrances, a re-survey, and the threat of a legal suit by Colston against Lilburne for his

69 CEP. 28, 227; CJ.III, p.593

slanderous accusations.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In the Durham committee, Lilburne attacked Blakiston's brother-in-law, alleging he had been a commissioner of array, had supplied £200 to the King's cause, and refused a parliamentary commission, while as a justice of the peace since 1645 he had harboured and aided notable papists and delinquents - many of them Blakistons.⁽⁷¹⁾ Lilburne, who was apparently nothing loath to see the quarrel with Blakiston become the concern of the sequestration committee, soon had reason to reflect otherwise however, for in defending himself against Lilburne's accusations Shadforth confronted Lilburne in the committee at Durham with two warrants, dated 12 September 1642, issued to the constables of Darlington and Stockton wards for the supply of 140 horses to the Earl of Newcastle in Newcastle which bore the signatures and seals of the prominent royalists Sir William Carnaby, Sir Thomas Riddell, Sir Thomas Liddell - and George Lilburne.⁽⁷²⁾

Lilburne at first denied and then admitted the charge. The warrants themselves have every appearance of being genuine, but Lilburne's explanation, that he had been pressured into thus compromising himself in the confusions of 1642, was also a plausible one. At the end of September 1647 the county committee ordered a stay in proceedings as there was no validity in the charge,⁽⁷³⁾ and the matter lay

70 To every individuall member of the honourable House of Commons etc. . . . G. Lilburne, 1650
Innocency modestly vindicated . . . against George Lilburne, Esquire, Thomas Shadforth (n.d.)
An additionall Answer to a Pamphlet . . . written by Mr. George Lilburne etc. . . . Thomas Saunders (n.d.)

71 RCDN, p.334

72 SP. 23, 153, 329-32

73 RCDN, p.276

dormant for more than a year. While Lilburne was thus able to dampen down the fires raised against himself his own attack upon Shadforth was in turn blunted largely, it would seem, through the agency of John Blakiston whose activities at Westminster caused the Commons, on 5 March 1648, to refer the case to the Northern Committee for Sequestrations, where Lilburne's influence was a good deal less formidable. There is perhaps some significance, too, in the fact that on the same day the Commons added Sir Arthur Haslerig and George Fenwick to the newly-established northern committee.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Certainly, when the dispute flared up once more early in 1649, Lilburne and his supporters found themselves faced with an even more powerful array of antagonists. On 15 February 1649 the clerk of the Durham committee, Isaac Gilpin, transmitted to Speaker Lenthall the originals of the proceedings concerning Lilburne and Shadforth at the order of Sir Arthur Haslerig and the rest of the committee. This move, apparently effected through Haslerig's influence now making itself felt in the north, resulted in the case being heard by a parliamentary committee at Westminster, and although both Blakiston and Haslerig were members of it, Lilburne brought up seven or eight supporters to London as witnesses and cleared himself.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In April however, Shadforth renewed his charges in concert with Edward Colston, a Newcastle man, who presented serious new charges

74 CJ.VI, p.155

75 RCDN, p.278

that Lilburne had taken and administered royalist oaths in 1642-3, given aid to the Earl of Newcastle and had used his position as a sequestrator since 1644 dishonestly to acquire for himself and his friends lands and property worth £10,000.⁽⁷⁶⁾ For good measure Colston threw in the allegation that Lilburne had supported Langdale in 1648, which, together with his other statements about Lilburne's royalist activities in the first war, call Colston's testimony into serious doubt, although there was more substance in the charges concerning Lilburne's sequestration activities. Colston's accusations were now being voiced by a variety of people, and increased in quantity and vehemence. In particular, George Lilburne's manner and right of holding Ford manor on the lower Wear near Sunderland, and similarly his possession of Lambton colliery, were seriously called into question.

Lilburne, and his old colliery associates on the Wear George Grey and Sir William Langley, now found themselves under pressure from such charges in the county and regional committees where Haslerig now exercised substantial control, supported by men like the Vanes, Blakiston, George Fenwick and county men like Francis Wren, Henry Draper and Thomas Shadforth. On 18 May 1648 Haslerig submitted to the Commons a petition from the county gentlemen asking for six new sequestrators to be appointed. His reason was the exigencies thrown up by the second civil war and the need to

76 Ibid pp.276-7

deal with new delinquents and while this might have been so the effect of bringing hitherto unknown gentlemen like Thomas Sanderson, Thomas Hollyman, William Butler, John Middleton, George Grayson and Roger Kirkley into this sensitive area of government was to alter radically the complexion of the committee so far as Lilburne influence was concerned.⁽⁷⁷⁾

When John Lilburne travelled into the north in September or October 1648 to pursue personal business with the Durham Committee it was an estranged rump which he met with in the persons of his father, uncle and Thomas Midford, no one else being prepared to serve.⁽⁷⁸⁾ When, at about the same time, George Lilburne raised charges of delinquency against another of his old associates, Sir Richard Bellasis, Bellasis petitioned the Commons on the grounds that there was no longer an effective county committee sitting to which he might appeal. This was scarcely true however, for a committee, composed of Haslerig's additions and shorn of Lilburne dominance, could still be conjured up. Although George Lilburne, Thomas Midford, and the sectary John Jobling were able to press their charges against Bellasis before it, Bellasis was able to ride out the storm with little apparent difficulty, and was in fact never sequestered.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Other developments also overtook the Lilburnes; on 2 March 1649 the Parliament of the Commonwealth established a Northern Committee for Compounding with wide powers, and in which the authority and influence of Haslerig, Blakiston, Fenwick

77 Cary, Memorials of the Great Civil War, p.421

78 A Preparative to a Hue and Cry after Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Lilburne, 1649, p.28. TT. E 573(16)

79 RCDN, pp.116-8

and Newcastle men like the Dawsons and Thomas Ledgard loomed large. Another telling blow came on 25 March 1650 when Parliament dissolved all of the old county committees.⁽⁸⁰⁾

The new committee for Durham consisted of Thomas Delaval and Francis Wren, both of whom had identified themselves with the regime of the governor of Newcastle, Haslerig's son Thomas, and another minor Durham gentleman who was to prosper under Haslerig, Anthony Pearson of Ramshaw, near St. Helens Auckland.⁽⁸¹⁾

The dissolution of the old county committees was greeted with universal approval; they were detested and resented nationally as alien growths, overbearing and unjust in their procedures and nests of temptation and opportunity for the unscrupulous committeeman. In Durham George and Richard Lilburne nicely personified the popular notion of the scheming, acquisitive parliamentary sequestrator, at least to the extent which allowed their protagonists to rally animosity against them - among aggrieved royalists and Parliament men alike. The new commissioners were soon complaining to Goldsmiths' Hall of the disorderly and haphazard state in which they found the old committee's accounts and records and George and Richard, with Thomas Midford and the original treasurer John Brackenbury, were soon obliged to submit an explanation and beg to be excused the £20 fine imposed by Goldsmiths' Hall for their dilatoriness.⁽⁸²⁾

More pertinently, Haslerig's new committee was soon

80 CJ.VI, pp.386-8, 395-6

81 See also above, p.128

82 RCDN, p.46-8

responding to renewed allegations concerning George Lilburne's possession of Ford manor and Lambton colliery, as well as listening to the complaints concerning Lilburne's dubious dealings as a sequestrator from other delinquents. He was still being harried in 1652 when the papers in his case end.⁽⁸³⁾ Lilburne's ouster as a sequestrator was no more than a stage - albeit probably the final one - in his eclipse in various positions of authority and influence. The opposition which Blakiston and Haslerig marshalled against him had forced him out of the commission of the peace before August 1649 and about the same time he lost his position as a militia commissioner and as a commissioner for religion.⁽⁸⁴⁾ A petition,⁽⁸⁵⁾ purporting to come from the "well affected of the county" was sent up to Parliament complaining of Lilburne's treatment, but it revealed the paucity of his support. Although it bore one hundred and five signatures there were few names of significance among them. Gilbert and Richard Marshall, Anthony Smith and George Kirkby were the only figures with any pre-eminence in the new regime: they signed with three presbyterian ministers, Nathaniel Burnand, Daniel Bushell and Henry Lever - the latter George Lilburne's brother-in-law. Of the rest, only Isaac Gilpin the old committee's clerk, and John Jobling, the keeper of Durham gaol, were noteworthy.

By 1650 it was apparent that the radical, puritan agitators of the 1630s, headed by the Lilburnes and based

83 Ibid pp.278-80

84 Preparative to a Hue and Cry ... pp.38-9

85 Undated, but probably sent up in the latter part of 1649. SP 23, 153, 257

largely upon the lower Wear and among capitular and episcopal tenantry, were not to constitute the nucleus of government for the county under the Commonwealth. In the new pyramid of authority which grew up they were an important ingredient in a region where the parliamentary mortar was very thin, but in essence their status was not dissimilar to that which they had experienced prior to the beginning of the wars. Then, the Wearmen had enjoyed an indeterminate and awkward degree of integration with the county's ruling group,⁽⁸⁷⁾ and now, in 1650, they found themselves crowded out and at variance, not with men of the old palatine clerical structure like Cosin or Triplet, or the dean and chapter in its aspect of landlord, or again the old families who had provided its secular government - Conyers, Swinburne, Bowes - who had to a very large degree thrown in their fortunes with the King's cause, but with the family which had replaced them under the Parliament's aegis, the Vanes. In essence newcomers to the county, their status and wealth the prize of their courtesanship, and now safeguarded by their assumption of the role of parliamentary grandees, their filling of the vacuum left by the traditional ruling families who had proved overwhelmingly loyal to the crown was virtually irresistible. Haslerig also came as a grandee, and even more of an alien. Gruff, abrasive and pugnacious, he aroused resentment not only in Durham but elsewhere in the north.⁽⁸⁸⁾ If harsh, and perhaps unscrupulous,

87 M. James, Family Lineage, p.90

88 A True and Exact Relation of the Great and Heavy Pressures and Grievances the well-affected of the Northern bordering Counties lye under, J. Musgrave (1650) TT, E(619 (10)

however, his government of the region was forthright and competent. In Durham, as in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Newcastle, he was able to range behind him a skein of adherents motivated by pre-war considerations and ties like the clerical connections of the Blakistons and by the coercion or protection of unsequestered royalist offenders like Shadforth, Draper, and perhaps Sir Richard Bellasis and Thomas Delaval, and others like James Clavering, who were closely tied to the commercial prosperity of Newcastle. Haslerig also wielded considerable authority and influence within the central organs of government in London and not least of all had under his control as governor of Newcastle the soldiery which garrisoned the region under his close associates Francis Hacker, Jeremy Tolhurst, and Paul Hobson. While the old county radicals like the Fulthorpes, Marshalls, Lilburnes and Greys undoubtedly looked askance at this development, it was clear that by 1650 they had little option but to accept it, which they did.

It was no coincidence that George Lilburne's decline from positions of authority between 1648 and 1650 took place against a bitter and protracted dispute which involved his and some of his associates' possession of delinquents' lands and property along the Wear from Chester le Street to Sunderland and Monkwearmouth. Despite the protestations of both contending parties the affair revealed many of the hallmarks of an acquisitive struggle for the wealth, stemming

from coal, which was latent along the lower Wear and to which men like Lilburne and Grey owed much of their own prosperity, and which now attracted the attentions of Haslerig and his faction - soldiers like George Fenwick, Francis Hacker and Edward Shepperdson. The focal point of the issue lay in the struggle over Harraton colliery, a long drawn-out affair which had its conclusion in an event of national interest. Once again, it was the disputed claim to the lease in the possession of a sequestered catholic and royalist which was at the heart of the matter. Thomas Wray, of Beamish, claimed that he had leased, at very inconsiderable cost, the collieries at Harraton from the feckless and maladroit Sir John Hedworth long before the wars,⁽⁸⁹⁾ and had subsequently been sequestered as a delinquent papist. George Grey and George Lilburne advanced an original claim of their own, based upon a lease of Hedworth made in 1628, when the Harraton pits had been demised for forty one years to Ralph Rokesby and Robert Conyers; through them a fourth part had come to Wray and three-quarters to Josiah Primate, a London leather-seller, one of that growing number of London merchants with an eye for capital speculation in Durham and Northumberland coal. Lilburne and Grey claimed to be Primate's tenants and although they had, according to the Haslerig faction, agreed with Wray to buy him out of his quarter for £5,000, they had reneged upon this out of a feeling of strength, having leased the entire colliery under the state in 1647.

89 Surtees, History of Durham II, p.178 seq.

Wray's claim of unjust treatment was obliged to lie unheard as he was "under hatches".⁽⁹⁰⁾ According to Primate the colliery had been flooded in 1640 and not recovered until 1647, only to be subjected to fire and flooding again in 1648,⁽⁹¹⁾ so that ownership had not meant huge profits with little cost or trouble. The arrival of Haslerig in the north and the mounting friction between him and the Lilburnes provided Wray with an ear for his complaints, and Haslerig with a further, significant rod with which to discomfit the Lilburnes. The case did not become a serious issue until August 1649 however, when the county committee made an order to hear the claims in the case, and Wray, Grey, Lilburne and their landlords were invited to submit documentary proofs. According to the Lilburne faction, this hearing did not take place when it was agreed between the parties to submit the issue to Parliament, but on 29 October, before any such step was taken, colonel Francis Wren and colonel George Fenwick surprised the Lilburnites by procuring an order in the committee to seize the colliery on the grounds that it had been sequestered by Sir William Armyne in 1644 as the property of the papist delinquent Wray. Despite the vigorous protests within the committee of Richard Lilburne and Thomas Midford, its members, powered by Haslerig, made the order, and Primate's tenants, Lilburne and Grey, were violently dispossessed.⁽⁹²⁾

90 Musgrave Muzled, p.17

91 With a loss of fifty lives

92 RCDN, pp.388-9

Subjected to main force, the Lilburne faction pursued its claim by what legal means it could. The issue fell back upon Lilburne's and Grey's landlord Primate, and beyond him to John Hedworth, the original lessor's heir. About April or May 1650 George Grey claimed an entail for Hedworth⁽⁹³⁾ and in June Hedworth and William Hollyman petitioned the sequestrators at Goldsmiths' Hall in London that they were turned out on pretence that the estate belonged to recusants, while a few days later Josiah Primate begged discharge of three-quarters of the colliery he held on lease from Hedworth on the grounds that only a fourth part was the recusant Wray's.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Despite Goldsmiths' Hall's order to the county sequestrators - now the new body of three, all Haslerig nominees - that Hedworth and his associate should be restored upon their presenting proofs, and, with regard to Primate, that the dates of sequestration and the holders of parts of the colliery at that time should be certified, none of this seems to have been done. According to Hedworth⁽⁹⁵⁾ although he had complied with the order and supplied his proofs, Haslerig's coercive influence denied him restitution. On 16 January 1651 the county sequestrators reported that they had let the colliery to colonel Francis Hacker and others for five years, no one else being found willing to take it on a short term lease. This was, apparently, the first official mention of the colliery being taken over by the military clique about Haslerig and the London sequestration

93 Ibid. Grey was Hedworth's father-in-law

94 Ibid p.389

95 The Oppressed Mans Out-cry, John Hedworth, (Sept. 1651)
RR.II, (biographical)

commissioners were not happy about it, for they refused to confirm Hacker's lease and ordered a further hearing with Haslerig present.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Throughout 1651 the wrangle lurched on in a series of petitions, pleas for delay, pleas for expedition, and flurries of submissions from sundry other parties with various claims upon the property, before the Committee for Compounding in the capital. In September John Hedworth addressed his pamphlet "The Oppressed Mans Out-cry" to the county's new militia commissioners as the "chiefest command" in the county in an effort to secure some restraint upon Haslerig's soldiery and his recognition of "no rule to walk by, but his own crooked and peverse will of sword".⁽⁹⁷⁾ The committee, however, headed by the elder Vane, his son William, John Middleton and Haslerig's deputy at Newcastle colonel Paul Hobson, made no discernable response. On 12 December the London sequestration commissioners took new steps to resolve the issue by allowing all parties to take their course at law. More oddly perhaps, the commissioners went out of their way to pronounce that Haslerig's behaviour in seizing Harraton could not be seen as unjust as he had no apparent interest in it - despite the fact that it was then in the hands of his close military subordinates colonels Hacker and Mayers, major Tolhurst and captain Sheppersdon as well as other junior officers.⁽⁹⁸⁾

This decision of the commissioners, totally unsatisfactory to the Lilburne faction, set in motion a final

96 RCDN, p.390

97 op. cit.

98 RCDN, pp.392-3

train of events. The unsuccessful struggle of the Lilburnites in London had drawn in on their behalf John Lilburne, George's nephew, and his leveller associate major John Wildman, "upon whose faithfulness, understanding and valour," said Hedworth; "I cast all my said affaires".⁽⁹⁹⁾ In the subsequent falling out of events he might well have looked back ruefully upon his decision. John Lilburne, already an old antagonist of Sir Henry Vane and Haslerig and a thorn in the side of the new regime's government generally, had been able to make no headway with the London sequestration commissioners, and his suggestion of an appeal to Parliament found that body, in the summer of 1651, much too engrossed with Scottish affairs to hear it. On 30 July Lilburne published his tract "A Just Reproof to Haberdashers' Hall", in which he castigated Haslerig and four of the commissioners for compounding for coercion, collusion and dishonesty. For the remainder of the year Haslerig challenged Lilburne to admit authorship of the tract, while Lilburne riposted with a counter-challenge that Sir Arthur should answer its charges at the bar of the Parliament. After the commissioners' decision of 12 December Josiah Primate prepared a petition for Parliament which owed much to the vitriolic spirit of Lilburne's "Just Reproof", and it was read in the Commons on 15 January 1652.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The gist of Primate's complaint was not merely that the collieries had been illegally and forcibly wrested from him by a falsely contrived excuse of sequestration which had benefited officers

of Haslerig's own regiment, but also that Haslerig had used his very considerable influence as a member of Parliament and of other important committees to thwart all Primate's efforts to secure justice, and had finally over-awed, or conspired with, some of the members, and manipulated the proceedings of, the Committee for Compounding to further delay a just outcome.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The petition had startling repercussions. Parliament upheld the Committee for Compounding's decisions, pronounced the petition false, malicious, scandalous and a breach of parliamentary privilege because it had been published before being heard in the House. Primate was fined £3,000 and ordered to pay damages of £2,000 to Haslerig, £200 each to the four slandered commissioners, and imprisoned in the Fleet until the sums were paid.⁽¹⁰²⁾ John Lilburne was the real object of Parliament's wrath however, and the Harraton dispute proved to be both a last straw and an opportune pretext in its growing resolve to deal with his exasperating and alarming spirit. At the same time that it dealt with Primate Parliament proceeded against Lilburne for distributing printed copies of the petition, and placed matching fines to those on Primate upon him - a total of almost £7,000 - and gave him thirty days to quit the country, returning upon pain of death. His book "A Just Reproof" was ordered to be burnt along with Primate's petition by the common hangman.⁽¹⁰³⁾

101 Ibid

102 CJ.VII, p.72

103 CJ.VII, pp.72-3

It has been observed since that Lilburne was not permitted to make any defence, nor, indeed, was a specific charge laid against him. "By this arbitrary procedure the Rump was defending the privileges of an influential member. But if John's accusations were false, Haslerig had his appropriate remedy in a case for slander. Evidently the Independent Grandees had made up their minds to get rid of a truculent critic for ever."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Whether this is a totally fair and accurate appraisal of the affair is incidental to its outcome in Durham. Unable to obtain a satisfactory hearing in the north, the Durham Lilburnes and their Harraton associates were happy to see the struggle fought further in the committee halls and Parliament house of the capital. But in allowing it to become essentially a duel between two such antipathetic protagonists as John Lilburne and Haslerig the Durham Lilburnes inevitably sank or swam with their advocate, and thus were lost, as it were incidentally, in the fierce currents which now overwhelmed Freeborn John. Wherever justice lay in the affair - and it seems likely that neither side could claim it exclusively - the attitudes projected were clear enough. Haslerig's was that of an uncompromising, pragmatic and impersonal administrator who came into the region bringing security and order with him and an end to the excesses of men like the Lilburnes, and whose action on Wray's behalf at Harraton could be referred to as "... an act of Private and

104 Brailsford, The Levellers in the English Revolution, p.611

Publicke justice".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ His reputation, competence and influence enabled him to point to the fact that a very large proportion of notables in the north gave him their support in his efforts to restore peaceful, equitable government under the Commonwealth. The stance of the Lilburnes on the other hand, was that of loyal parliamentarians who had long supported, and suffered for, the cause, and who were now attacked by an alien and unscrupulous interloper, a man who coerced, concealed and connived with dangerous royalists, who overawed Parliament's friends with the threat of his soldiers, and whose own allegiance to the new government was suspect. Haslerig's motivation, claimed the Lilburnites, was rooted in his celebrated acquisitiveness, and he had conceived a strategy which would result in his holding land the length of the river Wear from its source to its mouth.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Indeed, Sir Arthur had acquired for himself the former episcopal manors of Wolsingham and Bishop Auckland, while George Fenwick purchased the manors of Houghton le Spring and Morton, which included the borough of Sunderland. Haslerig's conflict with the Lilburnites, which involved a questioning in the sequestration committees in the north and in London of the possession by Lilburne, Grey, and others like William Hollyman and Ralph Rokesby, of valuable properties like Lambton colliery, the manor of Ford, and lands at Monkwearmouth as well as the Harraton

105 Musgrave Muzled, p.14

106 A Just Reproof, p.24

issue, can clearly be regarded as an attempt to embarrass and discomfit the Wearmen, but also as a preliminary to wresting possession from them. Some such rights of possession do seem to have been unsubstantiated and uncertain, and it does not seem unfair to suggest that George Lilburne and the rest were attempting to augment their own commercial positions before, and while, Haslerig and his friends were exerting pressure to acquire them for themselves. In this context the celebrated Harraton dispute was merely one prominent rock which marked sharply a submerged reef in troubled waters.

The Harraton affair affords some vivid glimpses of attitudes and behaviour in the county in the late 1640s, and an impression of the high-handedness and lawlessness capable by both parties behind the slow processes of committees and the remoteness of the north from the capital. John Hedworth complained that in June 1650 the Durham sequestrators had seized cattle belonging to him worth £300 on the pretext that they were in fact George Grey's property and were taken to pay off a debt of Grey to the delinquent colonel John Jackson of Rickledon, who had not paid his full composition. Grey's dealings had been with the delinquent's brother, but Jackson's word was taken before Grey's by the commissioners. Most damning of all, Jackson's composition had been paid off some time previously.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The purpose of this move, asserted

107 Jackson's estate at Rickledon was sequestered on 3 September 1644 and he petitioned for leave to compound in 1649. On 25 April 1650 he was recorded as having paid a fine of £436. 14s. 7d. RCDN pp.44, 254

John Lilburne, was to "terrifie and affright any man in the county of Durham, to be familiar with a Lilburn".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ In August 1651 the Lilburnites attempted a ploy of their own when Hedworth demanded the immediate payment of a reserved rent out of the colliery from the steward and was refused. He then made a "formall re-entry upon my Colliery, as by Law I might,"⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ but was forcibly turned out again by a party of major Tolhurst's soldiers acting without a warrant or any formal identification. The Haslerig faction's account of this occupation was rather different. According to Hacker and Shepperdson, the principal leaseholders, this action by Hedworth, Ralph Rokesby, and George Grey's second son Richard, resulted in £2,400 of damage when the ropes of the water pits were cut and the mine flooded. Hacker and Shepperdson complained, in their request for a renewal of their lease in March 1652, that this action had rendered their first five years lease profitless. Although the London commissioners seemed to doubt this and ordered the Durham committee to submit its own assessment of the damage, the Durham sequestrators returned a noticeably evasive answer.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The Lilburnites' action in repossessing Harraton, and apparently carrying out some kind of scorched earth policy there, was claimed by Hedworth as a deliberate new strategy: "being apt to think I shall not fully get my complaints heard against Sir Arthur, till he or some of his Agents be forced by me to turn complainants," but he was forced to conclude bitterly,

108 A Just Reproof, p.32
109 Oppressed Mans Out-cry
110 RCDN pp.392, 395-6

"Processe being in my own understanding to (sic) short weapons to reach souldiers withall".⁽¹¹¹⁾ The Harraton affair also exemplifies for the county of Durham, the unsatisfactory, often deplorable, state of affairs in important areas of civil life which prevailed widely across the country as an aftermath of long years of fighting, civil disruption, monetary exactions, and the imposition, as forms of local government, of alien committees with wide, but often uncertain and overweening powers, and bolstered by the army. Haslerig and George Lilburne both personified the worst in the situation of the early Commonwealth years, emerging as figures who both made different, but real and radical contributions to the revolution but who both, in their personal attitudes, revealed a tendency to acquisitiveness and unscrupulousness, and a willingness to exploit for their own and their friends' ends the new positions of power they found themselves in. Their accusations and recriminations reveal the activities of the triumphant puritan radicals in power as at best distasteful, and often a good deal worse, and give force to the ironic comment of the Northumberland royalist Daniel Collingwood: "Your only smooth skin to make vellum is your Puritan's skin, they be the smoothest and sleekest Knaves in a County."⁽¹¹²⁾

111 Oppressed Mans Out-cry

112 Surtees, History of Durham I, cv (n.)

CHAPTER 5

Second Civil War and Commonwealth 1648-53

On 28 April 1648 the intractable royalist Sir Marmaduke Langdale with 120 men seized the town of Berwick for the King and soon after published a declaration. This obviously had an eye to a sympathetic response in Scotland but enunciated the unhappiness of divided parties in England which now brought on a further resort to arms in the second civil war. Langdale asked that the King be restored to his ancient rights, that a free Parliament be summoned to settle the nation's difficulties, that there should be a disbandment of armies and with them the impositions of excise and free quarter, that the "known laws of the land" might prevail once more and that the union of England and Scotland might be preserved according to the Act of Pacification".⁽¹⁾ It had been known in England for some little time that the Scottish Parliament had adopted a resolution to raise an army to aid the King's party in the shifting state of affairs in the country and Langdale's move was the gambit for a new royalist

1 Declaration of Sir Marmaduke Langdale (1648) RR.II (hist.)

venture in the north. For a third time in eight years the northern counties awaited a crucial military intervention in English political affairs, and for a second time an English party rallied and worked actively to prepare for, and ensure success to, that intervention. Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had arrived in the north only a week or two before the new outbreak as governor of Newcastle, reported to the Commons on 6 May: "The papists and cavaliers do flock together to Berwick, and tax and assess the country; and are likely to rise to a great number, if not speedily prevented".⁽²⁾

Langdale, together with Sir Charles Lucas, were armed with commissions from the Prince of Wales; Langdale's own made him general of the five northern counties and his summons to northern royalists saw them "flock apace" to the designated rendezvous of Hedgley Moor, four or five miles from Alnwick, there to be listed for service.⁽³⁾ But beneath this prompt and enthusiastic response lay intrinsic confusions and jealousies among royalist leaders - Scots and English - which were in large part to lead to the failure of this second civil war in the north and which showed in a lack of concert and direction among those who rallied to the King in the north eastern counties. It was to be more than two months after Langdale's initial seizure of Berwick before the promised Scots army under the Duke of Hamilton crossed into England, a fact which makes Langdale's move look precipitate, or that of the Scots tardy.

2 Cary, Memorials of the Great Civil War, p.397

3 Rushw. VII, pp.1099, 1106

Nevertheless, in May the threat was real enough. In Durham the disbanding of supernumary forces in the county had just been completed,⁽⁴⁾ and such regular forces as remained were insufficient to overawe or contain royalist activities. The situation was most serious in Northumberland, where the sheriff, justices and other parliamentary supporters were compelled to retire into Newcastle,⁽⁵⁾ but in Durham too affairs were such that George Lilburne was unable to venture abroad upon the state's business.⁽⁶⁾

Although the Commons had already allotted £5,000 to Haslerig to meet this nascent threat in the north, cash was very short. The Durham sequestrators were soon despatching sequestered valuables into Yorkshire to be sold at fairs there, the sums raised going to pay colonel Francis Wren's regiment.⁽⁷⁾

Haslerig's concern, however, fixed primarily upon Northumberland; he set about strengthening the garrisons in Holy Island and Warkworth castle and blockaded Berwick from the sea, and placed the dangerously inadequate county forces under the command of his brother-in-law, George Fenwick, to face the town from the land. Parliament also responded promptly to Haslerig's request for an effective militia to be formed out of an association of the northern counties, an ordinance being passed on 28 May to that effect and which was immediately implemented to form several new regiments in the two north eastern counties. Thomas Lambert, under

4 CEP 28, 380 (Durham bag)
5 Rushw. VII, p.1106
6 An additional Answer ...
7 RCDN, p.49-50

whose overall command the forces of the Parliament in the north lay, also put a strengthened garrison into Raby castle as an element of the strongpoints he set up - in Walton Hall in Yorkshire and at Appleby in Westmorland - to face the threat from either the east or west of the borders which might seek to move down Teesdale.

Langdale, having spent some time in securing Berwick and rallying the royalists of Durham and Northumberland, now left the town in the hands of colonel Edward Grey, the commander of the Northumberland cavaliers, and with a force of horse and foot perhaps grown to be two or three thousand strong began to move westwards towards Carlisle which had been seized for the King about the same time as Berwick by Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir Philip Musgrave. It was against this threat from the western borders that Lambert was seeking to deploy his inadequate forces, and he wisely withdrew before the advance of Langdale's force and waited until he had been reinforced by troops out of Lancashire. On 25 June he attacked the royalist forces and drove their foot into Carlisle and their horse into Scotland before beginning a two weeks seige of the town. The entry of Hamilton's Scottish army into England on 8 July gave the royalists a new ascendancy in the north west when a force of some 3,500 horse and 7,000 foot united with Langdale's English forces of about 3,000.⁽⁸⁾ Lambert was compelled to

8 A Declaration from Scotland concerning the Advance of the Scots Army ... into England (London, 1648)
RR.II (hist.)

fall back, uncertain of the royalist intentions. On 10 July he wrote from Penrith that it was more likely that, instead of marching south, Hamilton and Langdale would advance upon Newcastle and, "if they be not impeaded, but get thither well, then the Scots are to attempt the storming of it, and if they gain it, that they shall have the profits thereof towards the maintenance of their Army".⁽⁹⁾ Presumably upon this assumption, Lambert withdrew across the Pennines to Barnard Castle. In the event, Lambert's surmise was incorrect; the Anglo-Scottish force pressed southwards into Lancashire to suffer an inglorious defeat at the hands of Lambert and Cromwell at Preston on 17 August. Indeed, the nucleus of royalist resistance in Durham and Northumberland had already received a serious blow before the appearance of Hamilton in England.

On 25 June, the same day that Lambert had joined with the forces out of Lancashire and moved against Langdale before Carlisle, colonel Francis Wren led "220 of the new raised bishoprick horse"⁽¹⁰⁾ out of Durham over the Tyne at Newburn, with the intention of preventing a junction of royalist forces in Northumberland and themselves joining up with parliamentary reinforcements on their way to them. After two days of movement without incident they were supplemented by fifty dragoons from Newcastle and were confronted by a strong body of the enemy which advanced upon them but drew

9 Major General Lambert's letter from Penrith RR.II (hist.)

10 Letter of Major Sanderson in Packets of Letters from Scotland etc... (London, 1648) RR.II (hist.)

off again. Wren's force now decided to retire westwards on Hexham for two reasons, the obvious strength of the royalists and to "... draw the enemy into security, who would persuade himselfe we were run away: these two respects hit right".⁽¹¹⁾ On Thursday, 29 May, the existing parliamentary cavalry forces in Northumberland and Durham, gathered in Hexham - colonel Wren with the militia newly raised and colonel George Fenwick with the two existing county troops of Durham and Northumberland horse. The next day three troops of horse sent by Lambert and commanded by colonel Robert Lilburne arrived at Haydon Bridge and at 11 o'clock that same night, 30 June, joined forces with Wren and Fenwick at Chollerford, three miles from Hexham, and before morning had effectively dispersed the threat of the royalist cavalry in the field.

This parliamentary force now numbered some 900 men, and was opposed by a royalist force estimated at 1,200 which, it was believed, was to join with 600 Scottish foot at Berwick on Saturday, 1 July.⁽¹²⁾ Under Lilburne's command the parliamentarians carried out, during the hours of darkness of 30 June-1 July, a bold, skilful and telling move. Apparently deceived by the parliamentarians' ruse and unaware of their concentration around Hexham, the royalist horse had spread itself out along the valley of the Coquet to the west of Alnwick for quartering. In a night of furious riding the

11 Ibid

12 A True and Perfect Relation of a Great Victory obtained by the Parliaments Forces in Northumberland (London, 7 July 1648) TT, E 451 22

parliamentary horse fell upon these scattered billets one after another, surprising and overcoming them without resistance. At Tossons a lieutenant and six dragoons were taken, at Lurbottle sixty men with their horses. At Callaly colonel Edward Grey the leader of the Northumberland cavaliers was captured together with lieutenant colonel Salkeld and eight horse, at Whittingham lieutenant colonel Ralph Millot and other notables and 200 horse. Finally Glanton and Eslington were attacked simultaneously; at the former most of the officers and 180 horse were captured, while at the latter Sir Richard Tempest the leader of the Durham royalists fell into the parliamentarians' hands together with another 100 horse. By this time the remaining royalist forces had taken alarm and begun to deploy, four bodies of cavalry appearing about Shawton. Burdened with captive men and horses the parliamentary force gave up its advance upon Branton and retired upon Whittingham where it regrouped. The cavalier body moved off northwards, while the parliamentarians rested for two hours before bringing their prisoners into Morpeth. There were 359 in all, although a good many were to succeed in escaping - including Sir Richard Tempest who effected his escape after breakfast on Sunday morning - before the prisoners were moved into Newcastle. Other casualties were slight on both sides: the parliamentarians had a horse shot dead and a trooper

shot through the thigh, the royalists six killed, including a captain, and several wounded. Perhaps the royalists' most significant loss was the 600 horses the parliamentary soldiers drove into Newcastle as booty and sold there at high prices.⁽¹³⁾

The royalists were not defeated; there still remained to them some 600 horse and three troops of dragoons in the field, and they looked for the imminent advance of the Scots into England. On 3 July they were active about Long Framlington but by then the parliamentarians had been reinforced by a further ten troops of horse commanded by colonel Thomas Harrison, and major Sanderson's tone, in reporting these developments, was confident and unconcerned. "If the Scots come not in, we shall by Gods helpe free this country of these blades", he wrote.⁽¹⁴⁾ Five days later Hamilton's army did enter England but chose - and kept to - the western route, as seems always to have been their intention, and there was no further significant field activity in either Northumberland or Durham. It was the best of the cavaliers of Northumberland and Durham which constituted the force shattered on the night of 30 June - 1 July.⁽¹⁵⁾ Whatever the spirit of those who had ridden to Langdale on Hedgley Moor and however fearsome the threat they had suddenly posed in the north east may have seemed, the virtually bloodless debacle of that night revealed the reality to be very different. The ability and experience

13 Ibid; Letter of Major Sanderson ...

14 Ibid

15 See the list of prisoners in A True and Perfect Relation ...

of men like Lilburne, Fenwick and Wren in the field made the leadership of Grey and Tempest look distinctly amateurish. Throughout July and August however, serious unrest and constant alarms continued in the region. The course of events in Durham is vague, but in the south of the county Sir William Darcy fortified Witton castle and brought Lambert's garrison at nearby Raby under siege for a period, with "Many souldiers slain" and buried in Raby park. (16)

Most serious, however, was the declaration of Tynemouth castle - of strategic importance for the control of the Tyne and Newcastle - for the King. Colonel Henry Lilburne, brother of Robert and John, and the castle's governor, began, at about two or three o'clock on the afternoon of 9 August, to send parties of the garrison out on a variety of contrived duties before setting the royalist prisoners in the castle at liberty, raising the drawbridge, discharging the castle guns, and appealing to the seamen and others of North and South Shields to join him in the name of the King. (17) Not all of the soldiers still in the castle had been won over by Lilburne; he killed a dissenting corporal with his sword while others made off over the walls to carry the news to Newcastle. (18) Many of the local inhabitants rallied into the castle in answer to Lilburne's call, and in Newcastle the governor Haslerig made a prompt response to this totally unexpected development. Lieutenant colonel Ashfield was at

16 Staindrop parish register, 27 Aug. 1648

17 Sir Arthur Haslerig's letter to the Lords and Commons at Derby House concerning the Revolt and Recovery of Tynmouth Castle (London, 15 Aug. 1648) TT.E 458 (26)

18 A Terrible and Bloudy Fight at Tynmouth Castle (London, 16 Aug. 1648) TT.E 459 4

once despatched with a force of men and orders from Haslerig "... to storm the Castle that night whatsoever hapned".⁽¹⁹⁾ With ladders sent down the river by boat Ashfield's force duly launched an assault at about two o'clock the next morning and although fired upon by the castle ordnance and stoutly resisted for a time with pikes and gunners' ladders eventually crossed the walls and recaptured the castle with only three men wounded. There was a considerable loss of life among the defenders however, including many of the local seamen and Henry Lilburne. Haslerig's prompt and vigorous action thus extinguished a totally unexpected but dangerous spark before it could ignite a still volatile countryside. The incident itself had puzzling aspects. It apparently lacked co-ordination with any other royalist activity in the area - and Northumberland and Durham were both in a continuing state of unrest - and seemed content to make an impromptu appeal to local civilian sentiment. Again, the timing of the move was quite inappropriate; it came more than three months after Langdale's initial seizure of Berwick at the end of April and almost six weeks after the virtual crippling of the Northumberland and Durham forces in the field. There was an air of anti-climax and futility about Lilburne's action, in retrospect at least.

Perhaps more perplexing was Henry Lilburne's motivation for his action. The younger brother of Robert and John, he had, until that time, been as staunch and indefatigable a

19 Sir Arthur Haslerig's letter To the Lords and Commons, etc.

supporter of the Parliament as anyone in his notable family. He had been conspicuous at the taking of Skipton castle⁽²⁰⁾ and had been put in as governor of Tynemouth by his brother Robert, before Haslerig's arrival at Newcastle. His sudden and totally unexpected defection was acutely embarrassing, not least for his immediate superior, Haslerig, who was at pains, in his report of the affair to Derby House, to point out that Lilburne was "... knowne to be a valiant man; He did not give the least suspicion of being a traytor to the Parliament, till the day of his Revolt: It was not for me to have put out such a man from his place, unless there had appeared some just grounds for it, and I hope your Lordships will so apprehend it".⁽²⁰⁾ And indeed, they did, the Committee of both Houses returning thanks to Sir Arthur for the recovery of Tynemouth, and to God for revealing a traitor.⁽²¹⁾ In Scotland, a heroic account of Lilburne's action appeared, in which he "... rather choose honourably to fall in that loyall action, than live longer under the tyrannie and oppression of the sectaries",⁽²²⁾ and in truth Lilburne exemplified the difficulty of the moderate presbyterian caught in the widening religious rift which by the middle of 1647 left a presbyterian Parliament looking to Scotland for support against the English army bitterly resentful of the proposed presbyterian establishment - albeit for three years only. In November, Lilburne's regiment was one of those which sent a remonstrance to Sir Thomas Fairfax, perhaps the most

20 Ibid

21 CSPD 1648-9, p.244

22 TSP. I, p.98

influential and moderate of the army's presbyterian element, declaring its intention to stand or fall with him in his endeavours to achieve a settlement which would end intolerable oppressions and bring about disbandment.⁽²³⁾ John Lilburne later supplied some slight, and probably highly-coloured evidence which nevertheless bears out the state of his brother's thinking at the end of 1647. When the King removed himself from the army's control in November, a pretext for his flight, asserted John, was provided by Henry Lilburne, at the behest of the presbyterian leaders, who named his brother John as one of those army extremists who wished to murder Charles. It was this which had won him the governership of Tynemouth, castle, alleged John Lilburne, "where retaining the leaven of his Apostasy, which the Gen. Officers had laid in him, he suffered the deserved reward of a perfidious traitor."⁽²⁴⁾ There was clearly some reason to view Henry Lilburne's attitude closely as the second civil war progressed and royalist propagandists sought, not without success, to sway the susceptibilities of moderate presbyterians of his kind. By August 1648 he had watched the progress of the struggle on behalf of the King, constitutional government, and peace and order under a presbyterian church structure, and found himself the custodian at Tynemouth of those captured Northumberland and Durham royalists who had rallied to Langdale and "... were the chief Actors in raising a new War in the North and bringing in the Scots".⁽²⁵⁾

23 TT, E 417 (15)

24 Second Part of England's New-Chaines Discovered
John Lilburne, London, 1649

25 A True and Perfect Relation ... etc.

It seems likely that it was through contact with these men that Henry Lilburne came to a final, fatal decision, and at last acted.

The outbreak at Tynemouth, haphazard and ill-prepared and efficiently extinguished by Haslerig at Newcastle, did nothing to rally the northern royalists to any last effort. Nationally the character of the royalist effort was marred by divisions and uncertainty, jealousies and a lack of concertedness - in Kent, Wales and among the Scots and English in the north more than anyone else; "... a great cause," as a commentator noted, "of the ill success that Hapned afterwards to the late Army."⁽²⁶⁾ On 11 August Pembroke surrendered in Wales and six days later Cromwell began the rout of the English and Scottish forces at Preston. In Durham, the fighting about Raby ended when a force despatched by Haslrig from Newcastle besieged Sir William Darcy in Witton castle and caused him to surrender.⁽²⁷⁾ Lambert established his headquarters at Brancepeth, and although he made no pretence that it had been anything other than a desperately difficult year for the parliamentary troops he had commanded in the north and that they were now ill-equipped and deeply disgruntled, he wrote from Brancepeth on 15 September: "The English Cavaliers both in Westmoreland and Cumberland, and Northumberland, are now in so staggering a Condition, that they know not what to do, swearing they are bewitch'd, and will fight no more, and do daily disband,

26 A Letter from Holland, Being a true Relation of all the proceedings of the Northern Armies ... (London, 12 Oct. 1648) TT, E 467 (21)

27 Allen T, 39

depart from their Colours, and shift for themselves." (28)

Within a month the second civil war had ended and those Durham royalists who had rallied to Langdale had slipped quietly, when they could, back to their own homes to await - or seek ways of avoiding - the retribution that was being demanded of them. The conviction of a large number of Durham gentlemen, freeholders and yeomen, and their willingness to venture lives and possessions in the King's cause was manifest - but unavailing during a summer of activity in which it is impossible to discern any well-defined, positive plan of intent behind their endeavours, other than to hold down and occupy parliamentary forces in the north east. The train of military events in the north in 1648 dictated that the county of Durham was spared any prolonged and serious military activity; however tenuous its control may have become the parliamentary regime was able to prevent the county being overrun in the way that large parts of Northumberland and the other northern counties were. But its retention, and consequent role as a base for Lambert, exposed its population anew to the burdens of troops and quartering, and associated tribulations.

Writing to Speaker Lenthall in July, Haslerig appealed to the Commons "to take notice of the diligence, pains, and faithfulness of your few friends in Northumberland and Bishoprick, that have raised the Horse." (29) These few

28 Rushw. VII, p.1265

29 A Letter from Sir Arthur Hesilrige to the Honorable William Lenthall Esq. of a Great Victory Obtained by the Parliaments Forces in Northumberland, etc. ... (London, 7 Jul. 1648) TT, E 451 (25)

parliamentary gentlemen were unpleasantly shocked by the extent of the involvement on the part of the north's royal sympathisers, and their initial reaction was bitter. By mid-October, with the region once more firmly under the control of the forces of the Parliament, the northern gentlemen met with Cromwell at Barnard Castle, and there agreed upon a petition to be sent up to Parliament. It asked for justice against those who, despite the leniency shown them previously, had recently killed and imprisoned their neighbours, 'dispeopled' towns and "... are after all their summers abominable Treason and Outrages, now returned with much confidence and Boldness to their own Houses, intending to hatch, as we have cause to believe, new Plots this Winter among us". A legal process was asked for against those delinquents who lived at home on pretended articles for peaceful living, but who rode about armed and confident, and met together, and whose obvious impunity could only embolden others.⁽³⁰⁾ Yet mixed with the indignation of the Parliament men was their constant concern about the cost of military provision; despite the threat of the cavalier majority among the north's gentry they urged the need to reduce the north's garrisons to as low a level of safety as possible, and proposed two regiments of horse of 600 men each, and standing garrisons of 800 and 1,200 men for Carlisle and Berwick respectively, this buffer against any further Scottish threat to be maintained by the whole

30 Rushw. VII, pp.1306, 1310-1, 1317-8

kingdom.⁽³¹⁾ By April 1650 twenty five Durham cavaliers living in the north and east of the county had paid fines ranging from £20 to £564 for their activities in the second civil war.⁽³²⁾ In the list were significant county names like Bellasis, Conyers, Eden, Hilton and Tempest and to them later was added Sir William Darcy whose fortification of Witton castle involved him in a fine of £2,400. Another addition was Sir Richard Tempest of Stella, who as colonel of the Durham horse had ridden out of the county with them to join Langdale at Hedgley Moor, and whose prevarication over reaching an agreement over his composition saw his name appear in the first Act of Sale of the Treason Trustees in 1651. Another was Sir William Blakiston of Gibside who was fined £800. All three had been active in the first war too and were noteworthy in that so far as surviving records show they were among a minority of prominent county gentlemen to have been so. Indeed, it seems that a good many of those who came out in 1648 were new delinquents and that an even larger proportion of first war participants chose to stay at home. Those names which had figured prominently in the direction of the county under the Earl of Newcastle were conspicuously absent - Sir John Conyers, Cuthbert Carr, Thomas Swinburne, Henry Lambton, Gerrard Salvin and Cuthbert and Anthony Byerley. All of these men had, in fact, reached an accommodation with the

31 Ibid

32 RCDN pp.44-5. The one exception was the persistent Sunderland yeomen John Husband, fined £4.10s. for his involvement in both wars

parliamentary regime before 1648, but only at the expense of heavy fines which had clearly chastened them as they had lesser gentlemen and yeomen. Despite the commitment of various elements of the Tempest family and diehards such as John Jackson of Harraton, colonel Forcer of Harbour House and Kelloe and captain Ayscough of Middleton-One-Row, the county's response was most certainly weakened by the abstention of this old nucleus of original cavalier government.

In the aftermath of the second war moderate opinion nationally still sought for an understanding with the King, but among soldiers and radicals feelings now ran strongly against him. Northern parliamentarians shared this mood of exasperation and fright which was no longer prepared to make the specious distinction between the King and his "evil counsellors" but was now convinced of his personalised, incorrigible guilt. From September onwards a series of petitions to Parliament from county grand juries began to demand justice upon the monarch. The town of Newcastle sent up a petition in October calling for the King to be brought to account,⁽³³⁾ while in Durham George and Thomas Lilburne took up the task of gathering subscriptions to the county's petition for the trial of Charles.⁽³⁴⁾ Beyond those few radicals of the Lilburnes' ilk feelings about such a step were mixed and unhappy, and the response of prominent northern figures diffident. Haslerig remained in the north during

33 Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, pp.351-2

34 CSPD 1660-1, p.113

Pride's purge and the trial and execution of the King,⁽³⁵⁾ nor did the Vanes give any assent to the proceedings, the younger Henry absenting himself from Parliament for ten weeks beginning on 3 December.⁽³⁶⁾ It was left to the Durham prebendary's son John Blakiston, and the minor Durham gentleman Robert Lilburne to provide the north's complicity in assenting to the execution of their monarch.

The drastically altered political and religious circumstances in the nation which had in large part brought about the events of 1648 wrought changes among the parliamentarians too, of which Henry Lilburne was the most dramatic but not the sole example. Three men serve to illustrate the shift of more moderate opinion away from the revolutionary cause after the development of events in 1647. Thomas Bowes of Streatlam, a justice, committeeman and servant of the Parliament since the first war now went actively against the grim prospect of soldiers and sectaries and was subsequently pursued as a delinquent, as was his kinsman William Bowes of Wearmouth, another of the county's justices, and yet another moderate J.P. - Sir Henry Gibb of Jarrow.⁽³⁷⁾ Thomas Bowes in particular was to show himself to be a determined and enduring opponent of the Interregnum regimes until his death a little before the Restoration.⁽³⁸⁾ There were also allegations among the county's ruling parliamentarians about the effect the bogey of Scottish presbytry had had upon

35 Engstrom, Public Career of Sir Arthur Hesilrige; pp.174-5

36 Burton, Diary III, p.174 n.

37 RCDN, pp.125, 126, 213

38 See below p.287

various individual loyalties. The second civil war coincided with the bitter quarrel of Haslerig and Blakiston with the Durham Lilburnes and charges and counter-charges have to be viewed with this in mind. Nonetheless, in the wake of the war both factions were soon assailing each other with allegations of presbyterian treachery. Sir Richard Bellasis, formerly close to, but now outside of, the Lilburne camp, was attacked as an obstructor and for leaving the county during the Langdale crisis, while Thomas Shadforth was charged with having ridden out of the county with nine men.⁽³⁹⁾ Nothing came of these allegations although the overall complexion of the Bellasis family was royalist and Shadforth's subsequent attitude made him very suspect. It was a good deal more unlikely, however, in the printed assaults launched upon Haslerig by John Lilburne and the Cumberland attorney John Musgrave, to list favouring men of the 'Scottish interest'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ There were counter-allegations which questioned George Lilburne's loyalty,⁽⁴¹⁾ but the most plausible was against another close Lilburne associate, captain John Shaw of Ferryhill, who, it was claimed, upon the Duke of Hamilton's invasion had said that anyone who did not want the Scots in England was not an honest man, and there had never been a greater need of them.⁽⁴²⁾ Shaw was not proceeded against, however. The reality of an alliance of Charles II with his Scottish subjects based upon a religious understanding brought Scotsmen into disrepute and difficulties in Durham no less than

39 RCDN. 118, 335; SP. 23, 155, 328

40 A True and Exact Relation, p.11

41 RCDN, p.277

42 Ibid pp. 339-40

elsewhere. William Stewart, who had arrived in the county with the covenanters in 1640, married the widow of Sir John Calverley of Brancepeth, and been severely wounded at the siege of Newcastle in 1644, came under suspicion and was sequestered for a time,⁽⁴³⁾ and there were moves, in the early 1650s, to eject a number of Scottish ministers from Durham livings.⁽⁴⁴⁾

After the challenges and crises of the second civil war and the execution of the monarch carried through against a majority of the feeling within the nation, the new Commonwealth regime took stock of its supporters in the country at large. In Durham there were in reality no great or significant shifts among those relatively small numbers which had been the revolutionary regime's mainstay in the county since 1644. Despite the ripples of animosity generated by the tensions between personalities, the hegemony of the Vanes, Haslerig, and to a lesser extent John Blakiston which had been established over the original county radical elements headed by the Lilburnes, remained largely undisturbed. They controlled, by Parliament's nomination, the parliamentary committees of sequestration and religion, as well as the appointment of the county's justices.⁽⁴⁵⁾ They could still call upon a virtually unchanged nucleus of those who had constituted the county's government on the Parliament's behalf for five years - a small but continuously loyal group who now acceded to the shibboleth of the

43 Ibid, pp.346-7

44 See below, pp.275-6

45 CSPD 1649-50, p.25

Engagement and took up the roles of Commonwealthmen.

Principal among these gentlemen were Francis Wren, Timothy Whittingham, James Clavering, Anthony Smith, Gilbert Marshall, Robert Hutton, John Middleton, the Greys, Fulthorpes and Lilburnes. The new Militia Act of July 1650 - a response to the continuing threat from Scotland - took control of the county militia forces out of the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, but in Durham this meant no real change, for the Lord lieutenant, Sir Henry Vane, continued to head the county's militia commissioners upon the order of Parliament or the Council of State. With him on this new, all-powerful body Vane included some of his own sons, county gentlemen like John Middleton, sectarian soldiers like colonel Paul Hobson,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and a personality like captain Thomas Liddell, now emerging as a valuable accretion to the parliamentary cause. Liddell's grandfather was a principal northern delinquent in the first civil war, and remained in difficulties until his death in 1652, but both his father and himself were parliamentary men by conviction and the young Sir Thomas remained a steady supporter of the Interregnum regimes and of enduring presbyterian sentiments until long into the Restoration period.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Another, apparently new, adherent was Thomas Lambton the second son of Sir William Lambton. Predominantly royalist in feeling, Sir William's eldest son died in the King's service at Wakefield in 1643, and Sir William himself at Marston Moor. Thomas, the second

46 The Oppressed Mans Out-cry, p.1

47 See below, p.331

son, however, had command of the county's horse for a period before becoming Cromwell's governor in the Leeward Islands.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Another son, Henry, was one of those county cavaliers who compromised himself with the new regime in no ostensible way, and emerged into the county's affairs after 1660. Another significant Commonwealthman who now became noticeable was Thomas Delaval, unknown in the county's affairs before 1645 when he married the widow of Francis James, one of bishop James' many off-spring, and by so doing gained a substantial part of the manor of Hetton le Hole. The third son of the royalist Sir Ralph Delaval of Delaval in Northumberland, he was taxed with being a delinquent by the Lilburnes, but emerged, under Haslerig's patronage, as a solid and hard-working Cromwellian, a sequestrator until after 1655 and a justice until the end of the Protectorate.

The commencement of the Commonwealth period saw a similar pattern among the county's justices. The elder Vane was named Keeper of the Rolls and four of his sons served in the commission with him. Haslerig and his son Thomas, George Fenwick and John Blakiston combined with names like Thomas Ledgard, Henry Warmouth and others of those Newcastle Hostmen and Adventurer oligarchs who had cast in with the Commonwealth to give an alien, and Newcastle-orientated look to the county's affairs which was nothing new, but which now fused well enough with the Vane's pre-eminence in the county's government. Others who could be closely identified with

Haslerig's government - such as Francis Wren and Thomas Delaval - were also there, as were a number of possible former royalists or royalist sympathisers in the shape of Sir Richard Bellasis, Thomas Shadforth and Henry Draper. James Claveing and Timothy Whittingham were also named, as were the two Fulthorpes, Christopher and Clement, who had moved away, it seems, from their older Lilburne associations. By Michaelmas term 1650 Richard Lilburne once again appeared in the commission, but for the time being George remained in exclusion.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The office of high sheriff also revealed the predominance of the Vane-Haslerig structure. George Vane had been the first holder under the parliamentary regime, acting - ex officio at first - from 1644 until 1646 when Parliament made the appointment an annual one. He was followed in 1647 by Sir Richard Bellasis who had actively identified himself with the parliamentary cause, had affiliations with all the strands of the new regime, from the Vanes to the Lilburnes, and whose status loaned authority and esteem to the altered machinery of government. After him, in 1648, Clement Fulthorpe became the first of the original parliamentarian group in the county below the rank of knight to hold such a high office.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Another change in the pattern took place after Fulthorpe however, with the appointment of Sir William Smith in 1649, a moderate personality who had had no apparent involvement in the

49 Liber Pacis SP, C 193, 13, 3; TT, E 123(4)

50 It was necessary to go back to 1596 to find high sheriffs below the rank of 'milites' and even so, the holders were members of accepted shrieval families like Bowes and Conyers. Randall 13, ff. 23-4

county's government previously nor had any subsequently, save as a Commonwealth J.P. James Clavering of Axwell, on the other hand, who followed Smith in 1650, had been prominent in all of the parliamentary governing structures since 1644; he had never revealed any close affinity with the Lilburne-dominated radical group, his wealth and politics being tied more closely to Newcastle, and he became more and more clearly associated with the Haslerig camp, perhaps out of an element of expediency but also some genuine identification with Haslerig's political outlook. In 1651 the appointment of Thomas Shadforth was a blow to the Lilburnes who were still embroiled with Haslerig and Blakiston through Shadforth's person. That Shadforth could fill such a high office with serious charges of delinquency in both wars hanging unresolved over him, is a measure of the control which the Vanes, Haslerig and Blakiston could exercise over the county by means of their access to, and influence with, the central powers of government in the capital, not least Parliament where Durham continued to be without a representative voice. After Shadforth, Christopher Fulthorpe became another of the county's original parliamentarian group to hold the office, to be followed by yet another - Francis Wren. In accord with a general pattern across the nation, Durham in the 1650s saw the office of high sheriff filled by men who were of good, but lesser standing, and who broke completely the hold of those families who traditionally supplied it.

Beyond this, the Commonwealth appointments showed on the one hand a continuity and loyalty from the original parliamentarians and on the other the sparseness of their numbers and their inability to attract others to participate in the altered scheme of things. Again, those who were willing to work within the Commonwealth government in Durham revealed either a willingness or a necessity to do so under the grandee domination of the Vanes and Sir Arthur Haslerig.

The Commonwealth period ushered in the beginning of more settled times for the county, if only by virtue of the fact that active hostilities came to an end. Even so, this boon was not immediate in Durham and Northumberland. Although Haslerig could write to Speaker Lenthall in 1649: "These parts att ye present are in a very quiett condicon ... the sould^{rs} contented being constantly paid, and the wasted and improverished People labouring & takeing care for their Subsistence and Livelyhood & not being devoured by ffree Quarter",⁽⁵¹⁾ his glowing view needs to be offset by the fact that the Commonwealth's concern over the danger to it from Scotland ensured that the north continued to be beset by soldiery for some time. In November 1650 tenants of sequestered lands along the principal highways through Durham petitioned the county sequestrators to complain of the depradations of parliamentary troops marching northwards into Scotland, and spoke of soldiers quartered thirty to a

51 Quoted by Howell, Newcastle, p.204

house upon them.⁽⁵²⁾ The long-term effects of such impositions are difficult to judge, but undoubtedly, years of suffering and supporting large numbers of soldiery could do nothing but impair the quality of economic rural life for some period of time. At Michaelmas 1653 the Durham sequestrators noted that, "in these parts Cattell & horses are at very lowe prices, & the tenants much complaine ..."⁽⁵³⁾ Bishop Cosin, in taking stock of episcopal resources in lands after 1660, complained bitterly more than once of the impoverished state in which he found them.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Certainly, it was episcopal land which gave the clearest indication of real damage suffered, in particular, to game and timber resources. The parliamentary surveyors of bishops lands in Durham in 1647-9 reported deer and game as 'utterly destroyed' in Auckland manor, and neither deer nor timber in Evenwood manor. Stanhope Park, a part of the high forest of Weardale, was particularly badly hit, being entirely without timber save brushwood, and devoid of "roed deere or fallowe deere (though formerly well stored with both) which have been destroyed since these warres".⁽⁵⁵⁾ The license of the times obviously exposed many church properties to various kinds of spoliation by soldiers and others, and the seizure and disposal by sale of episcopal and capitular lands from 1646 and '49 respectively invited further exploitation and probably depreciation, by other kinds of opportunists.

52 RCDN p.53

53 Durham Sequestrators' Account Book. CEP, 209(A)
Dur. bundle

54 Cos. Corr. II, pp.23-4, 31-3

55 Parl. S. I, pp.3, 122, 150

Between October 1647 and May 1651 at least £41,000 of episcopal lands had been contracted for in Durham. A number of county men figured among the purchasers - Adam Shepperdson for a part of Houghton le Spring manor at a cost of £352, Richard Marshall for two-thirds of Tanfield Moor pits at a cost of £91, and a parcel of Wolsingham manor for £158, as well as land near Durham city. Francis Alder bought up parcels of property on the bishop's side of the Tyne bridge, while in April 1651 the Durham corporation secured the borough and Framwellgate for £200. These purchases were relatively small however, and the largest buys were by non-county sources - in particular the notorious acquisitions of Sir Arthur Haslerig, who bought Bishop Auckland manor in March 1648 at a cost of £6,102. 8s. 11½d., and in June 1650 Wolsingham manor for £6,764. 14s. 4d. Haslerig's son, Thomas, bought the manor of Bishop Middleham at a cost of £3,306. 6s. 6½d., while Haslerig's close associate, the Northumberland man George Fenwick, also plunged heavily, buying up the borough of Sunderland and manor of Houghton le Spring in November 1649 and a parcel of land at Ryhope in June 1650 at a cost of £2,851. 9s. 6d. and £2,091. 16s. 3d. respectively. Other substantial external buyers were William Underwood and James Neithorpe who contracted for Stockton manor for £6,165. 1s. 2½d., Thomas Andrews who bought Durham castle for £1,262, and Walter Boothby whose sum of £8,528. 2. 3d. for Easington manor was probably the

largest contracted in the county. Andrews was Lord Mayor of London in 1649 and the large sums associated with him, Boothby and other outsiders represented investment which emanated from the capital's commercial interests.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Some caution is needed over the sums involved, however. While buyers had contracted for a total of more than £41,000 by 1651, the revenue actually realised out of episcopal sales by November 1656 was put at only half this - £21,373. 6s. 7d.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Clearly, the figures agreed were in many cases not paid in anything like entirety, or merely represented elements in debts already owed by the state to the contractors. Nevertheless, in one way or another bishop Cosin was to assert at the Restoration that the very large tracts of episcopal land in Durham had been made to yield £1,000 per annum to the Long Parliament and Interregnum governments.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Since 1644 the sequestrated possessions of the Durham dean and chapter had been in the hands of the county committeemen, who took up the responsibility for leasing and renewing leases upon prebendal properties. The confusions of the time, the prime desire to realise cash out of sequestrations, and the variety of assessments and abatements involved, probably meant that dean and chapter tenants suffered the general hardships of the war years but found the county committee's attitude towards their tenures rather more accommodating and less punctilious. There is no evidence of a new appeal with regard to their old grievances until 1649, when

56 Sale of Bishops' Lands, Allen 22

57 CEP 28, 289

58 Cos. Corr. II, pp.23-4

Parliament, in an act which passed on 30 April, dissolved all dean and chapters and offered up their possessions for sale with the intention of realising a sum of £300,000. Trustees were named who in turn appointed surveyors and contractors at local level.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In Durham the old dean and chapter's opposition leaders were well represented in the parliamentary administration of capitular assets, Anthony Smith and Gilbert Marshall acting as receivers, and put into the position by the Lilburnes - George and Richard - who now, with George Grey and captain John Shaw, largely assumed responsibility for sales in the county.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The surveyors, in the certificate of survey they returned into the Durham court of chancery on 1 October 1649, took the opportunity to assert once more the ancient, long-standing customary right of dean and chapter tenantry to prompt, unhindered renewal of tenures by terms of twenty one years in perpetuity, without impositions 'in writing', and cited the disputed Chapter Act of 1626, adding, "It doth further manifestly appear unto Us, that the Livelyhood and subsistence of many hundred Families in the said County, do solely depend upon the said Tenements and Farmholds and the Benefit they expect by their said Claim of a Customary Estate and Tenant Right as afore-said ..."⁽⁶¹⁾ The issue remained a pertinent one, particularly to these smaller tenants, now presented with the opportunity - or need - to purchase their holdings, when

59 Scobell, Acts and Ordinances, pp.16-30

60 DHC. p.249

61 Allen T, 29

the act set out terms for purchase largely based upon the pattern of former holding, and also provided powers for some leases to be made null and void.

The long-standing claim of the Durham tenants to hold by custom over periods of twenty one years, and not by written leases, was recognised and conceded by the Committee for Removing Obstructions on Dean and Chapter Lands as a result of this submission, and abatements in their purchase prices, in proportion to their way of holding, granted.⁽⁶²⁾ A year later, in November 1650, captain Shaw again petitioned on the tenants' behalf, to Parliament this time, stating their case for a further rebate in their second payments.⁽⁶³⁾

There seems little doubt that a substantial majority of tenants in this wise secured satisfaction, and that many hundreds of smallholders now had a vested interest in maintaining the Commonwealth settlement. Although the Commonwealth purchasers were subsequently to claim at the Restoration that they had bought out of expediency, "to reduce their poor perplexed selves and Estates to some kind of certainty,"⁽⁶⁴⁾ and there was undoubtedly much justification in such an excuse, other buyers appeared who secured handsome bargains. In the first half of 1650, Sir Henry Vane purchased the manor of Westoe for £752.16s. 8d., Richard Marshall, a kinsman of the dean and chapter receiver, Gilbert, bought a farm across the Tyne at Wallsend for £184.11s. 6d., while another

62 TT, 669 f 15(63)

63 Ibid

64 Allen T, 30

staunch Lilburnite, Thomas Midford, paid £1,283. 0s. 8¹/₂d. for the manor of Pittington.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Robert Lilburne and others of his family were associated in the purchase of Bearpark just outside Durham city, and colonel Paul Hobson acquired dean and chapter lands at Witton and Sacriston about 1650.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The impression is of a good many in the county availing themselves of the opportunity now afforded, and such purchasers constituted something of an extra complication when the Restoration brought a renewal of the confrontation between the reinstated dean and chapter and their tenantry.

The varied experience of urban centres in Durham during the revolutionary years is well exemplified by the towns of Durham and Sunderland.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The circumstances and development of both places were in marked contrast and went to produce towns of decidedly different character as well as to account for much of the varied fortunes of the two in these years, as civic entities at least. Although, like many English towns in the late 1630s, Durham did not lack radical momentum, and it took on a parliamentary and puritan complexion in due course, it was without the economic dynamism of Newcastle and Sunderland, and did not share the energetic ambitions and frustrations of these two, stemming chiefly from the production of coal. Existing, literally as well as metaphorically, in the shadow of the bishop and dean and chapter, its tensions and disputes were largely with the

65 Shaw, English Church II, pp.556-7

66 Comm. XIIa/4 p.28

67 The county's other urban centre of growing importance, Gateshead, was exceptional in that its fortunes - and problems - were closely tied to its dominant neighbour, Newcastle

clerical establishment in its aspect of landlord. Bishop Matthew's charter of incorporation, bestowed in 1602, which replaced two previous ones of 1179 and 1565, gave the city a mayor, twelve aldermen, and a common council of twenty four, as well as a corporate identity which was recognised in the palatine courts of law.⁽⁶⁸⁾ This charter, and the rights it granted, exacerbated, rather than anything else, the confusion and bitterness between bishop and city. There was, in the first place, a wrangle over who was in fact empowered to grant and confirm such a charter, the bishop bestowing out of his palatine powers, the city seeking letters patent from the crown and thus directing a snub at the episcopate. Under bishop James the dispute over the city's corporate rights saw decisions given against the corporation on two occasions - the last in the Exchequer in London in 1611, the bishop's rights to tolls and dues on goods entering and leaving the city being upheld.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The Durham mercer Anthony Smith was one of the protagonists in the 1639 dispute between the dean and chapter and their tenants.⁽⁷⁰⁾ This issue was also resolved before the privy council in London, and served to emphasise the willingness of city burgesses together with dean and chapter tenantry to seek redress and resolution of such issues in the decisions of central authority. Such a feeling was also embodied in the longstanding desire for parliamentary representation within the county. On its own behalf, the

68 Hutchinson, Durham II, p.29

69 DCM, pp.23-4.

70 See above, p.29 et seq.

city joined with the knights, gentlemen and freeholders in a petition to King James in November 1620, and in March 1639 the mayor, aldermen and a majority of the councilmen sent up a petition to bishop Morton asking his assistance in procuring burgesses for the city.⁽⁷¹⁾ In this, however, they were following a lead set by the county freeholders who had already approached Morton for his support on behalf of the shire. Sentiments in the city fretted and balked at the royal exactions of the 1630s in a similar pattern to many other places,⁽⁷²⁾ but the image of the Durham corporation, not outrightly radical, cautiously opportunist, concerned to preserve and consolidate its own interests by following rather than leading, is the enduring one throughout the years of revolution.

Surviving records suggest that meetings of the corporation were few during the civil war and Interregnum periods, with generally sparse attendances. There was, however, a noticeable change in membership in the decade 1639-49 when of the twenty six aldermen and common councilmen holding office at the former date only eight still appeared at the latter, while these had been joined by twenty three new personalities. Allowing for the toll of the years this number remains much too high to be accounted for by natural evolution, and it seems likely that the newcomers reflected some affinity or sympathy with the altered circumstances of the times. Certainly the mayor, John Ayreson, and the leading aldermen, the two John Halls - vintner and draper - had already worked

71 DCM, pp.25, 35

72 CSPD 1640, p.133

for the parliamentary regime. Even so, the moderate, circum-spect complexion of the corporation members is also revealed by the fact that only two members were known to have committed overt acts on the royalists' behalf since 1642 and were subsequently proceeded against as delinquents. One was Ralph Allenson, a gentleman with an estate at Wharrington. Mayor for the first time in 1635, he was an active alderman thereafter, and mayor again in the year October 1642-October 1643, when the region lay in royalist hands and Allenson also held a captain's commission under the Earl of Newcastle. He paid a composition fine in 1645 and was not heard of further.⁽⁷³⁾

Christopher Cookson, a councilman in 1639 was an undischarged delinquent in 1651-2 but served on the council until 1649.⁽⁷⁴⁾

The irregular and rather poorly attended meetings between 1642 and '49 - there are records of only four meetings within, and inclusive of, these years - reveal some continuity of names from the pre-war days in men like a former mayor, Hugh Walton, Richard Mann, an alderman, and Thomas Browne a councilman, but the notable newcomers were the Halls.⁽⁷⁵⁾ John Hall senior, the draper, first appeared in 1642 during Allenson's mayorality, but the first appointment of a mayor under Parliament's control saw him elected in October 1644, and he served again in 1646. John Hall, vintner, appeared in this year at the same time as John Walton, the brother of Hugh and later a Durham justice.⁽⁷⁶⁾ By 1649-50 the radical

73 RCDN, pp.21, 28, 334

74 Ibid p.65

75 There were three, all confusingly named John. Two were father and son and drapers, the other a vintner. Their kinship is uncertain

76 AA, Second series, II, p.95

complexion of the corporation had deepened appreciably with the appearance of John Ayreson as mayor, the Halls, Richard Lee, Cuthbert Bainbridge and Anthony Smith. Of these men, both of the Halls had served as sub-sequestrators for the parliamentary commissioners in 1644 as had Ayreson, who was also the lessee of much sequestered land in the county.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Bainbridge was a parliamentary captain and another sub-sequestrator.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Richard Lee, who became mayor in 1658, was named as a presbyterian classis member in 1646, as was one of the Halls.⁽⁷⁹⁾ While a few figures like Anthony Smith, Richard Lee and John Jobling disappeared from the corporation at the Restoration an overwhelming number of aldermen and councilmen who served in the 1650s continued to do so into the Restoration years, including the Halls, Ayreson and Bainbridge.

Throughout the civil wars and Interregnum years the corporation remained as careful and watchful of its civic rights and identity as it had ever been, whatever changes the national course of events had wrought upon its individual composition. The dispersal of episcopal land by sale presented the corporation with the possibility of gathering into its own hands those episcopal privileges and restraints against which it had chafed so long. It also posed the possibility of their being bought up by some secular opportunist, as was the case in Sunderland. Thus,

77 RCDN, pp.22, 37, 232, 312

78 Ibid p.18

79 The Durham Certificate, Shaw, English Church, II, pp. 367-9

in October 1649 the council earnestly debated purchasing the reversion of the city's tolls and profits "... yf by any meanes that we can use we can purchase the same".⁽⁸⁰⁾

Raising the sum contracted for was not easy, but by April of the following year £280 was paid for the reversion of profits. They were to be demised by the present holder - John Hall - into the hands of the mayor, an alderman, Hugh Walton, and two councilmen, Anthony Smith and Richard Lee.⁽⁸¹⁾

In the circumstances it is difficult to regard the corporation's action as particularly radical; it merely acted to preserve and extend its identity and status. The restoration of episcopal powers in 1660 of course, meant the reimposition of the status quo ante once more. In the late 1650s the corporation was announcing that the city's rights over coal seams in its possession would be defended against would-be interlopers and further asserted its civic identity by ordering the city's charters to be read in English annually, just before the election of the mayor.⁽⁸²⁾ The city's episcopal grantor and royal confirmator thus maintained a certain usefulness. These essentially domestic preoccupations were bolstered by more expansive activities with regard to the establishment of a college at Durham and the long desired parliamentary representation. Early in 1650 the mayor, John Ayreson, with several citizens and county gentlemen rode to Edinburgh to win Cromwell over to the

80 DCM, pp.39-40

81 Ibid, pp.40-1

82 Ibid, pp.65-6

notion of a college;⁽⁸³⁾ whether Anthony Smith was one of those who made the journey into Scotland is not known, but certainly, the most overtly radical-minded and energetic of the Durham townsmen was also far-seeing in terms of advance and advantage for city and county. As well as representing the city on both occasions that it sent up a member to Cromwell's Parliaments, he was also active in securing the settlement of the temporal courts at Durham in addition to advancing the scheme for the college. On 8 January 1657 the council ordered that he be reimbursed the sum of £20 a year for seven years for his "chardgs and pains" in these last two respects.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Thus, the picture of the Durham corporation and the individuals of whom it was composed, is a parochial, introverted one, responding to, and reflecting, the changes in political and religious tone in county and nation but hardly, if ever, violently so. Scarcely a handful of those involved in the city's government during the Interregnum regimes compromised themselves by their attitudes or actions to the extent that they were unacceptable at the Restoration, or revealed consciences which were snared by the 1661 Corporation Act. In miniscule, the city of Durham did what a majority did in many places, and determined to survive, with advantage where possible, the vagaries of the times.

The fortunes of the town of Sunderland afford a distinct contrast to those of the city. Durham's status was rooted

83 See below, p.301

84 DCM, pp.64-5

in the ancient ecclesiastical and palatine structure of the county, but in other terms - particularly economic ones - it remained an essentially modest place. Sunderland in fact epitomized the transformation taking place in towns and sea-ports of the north east under the impetus of the export of coal. The entrepreneurial energies of men like Edward Lee, George Grey, and George Lilburne, untrammelled by the commercial exclusivity with which the Newcastle hostmen and merchant adventurers protected themselves on the Tyne, combined with local gentry - landowners like the Bowes, Lambtons, Bellasises and Hedworths - to create a marked growth of the town from the 1600s. The exhaustion of the most readily accessible coal seams along the Tyne valley at about this time coincided with the opening up, in the 1580s and '90s, of just such seams on the Wear, where the collieries at Lambton, Lumley and Harraton were described by Sir Lionel Maddison as "wonderful beneficiall" because "the coles may be even from the pitt allmost put into keeles for a very small matter leading".⁽⁸⁵⁾ Well before the civil war, Sunderland had become an important exporter of coal.⁽⁸⁶⁾ By the 1630s however, the town was also manifesting its own strain of puritanism and a resistance to the impositions of conciliar government typical of growing commercial and maritime centres throughout the nation. There was a dilemma here for King and bishop, nicely expressed in the

85 CSPD 1644-5, p.329

86 Nef, Coal Trade I, p.30

sentiments of Thomas Triplet: "I confess it is an honour to the (King)dom to have such towns as Sunderland was, to come up and flourish from small beginnings," he observed, but went on, "... I think ... that the King's Majesty had better for a while despise that honour and profit that accrues to him that way ... than to suffer little towns to grow big and anti-monarchy to boot."⁽⁸⁷⁾ Bishop Morton made an important response to the growing desires of the town. In November 1633 he granted the office of water bailiffs on the Wear for a term of twenty-one years to Sir William Bellasis, Sir William Lambton, George Lilburne, Ralph Allenson, George Watson and Thomas Tunstall - the last three all Durham city aldermen. For an improved rent of £30 per annum control of the port of Sunderland and the Lower Wear as far as Chester le Street, together with all rents, fines and customs, came into the hands of this group.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The quality and variety of these men was indicative of those voices which were also calling for a charter of incorporation for the town and which bishop Morton granted the following year, in April 1634. This bestowed a mayor, twelve aldermen, and a common council of twenty four freemen, and the new borough was empowered to acquire and dispose of lands, rents, services, goods and the like, to hold a court every three weeks under its own recorder, a weekly market and a spring and autumn fair. Sir William Bellasis became the first mayor,

87 CSPD 1639-40, p.516

88 Summers, Sunderland I, p.333-4

and among the first aldermen were George Lilburne, George Grey, William - later Sir William - Langley of Lumley, Sir William Lambton, Robert Bowes, and Richard Hedworth. All of these men had stakes and estates in and about the town, but they were joined by other esquires and gentlemen - the J.P. and four times mayor of Durham Hugh Wright, another four times mayor of the city Hugh Walton and his brother George, and Thomas Wharton esquire, of Old Park, Durham.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Despite the quality and diversity of this representation, the functioning of the new corporation is vague. After Bellasis' mayoralty, the office came to George Lilburne, the only alderman resident in the town proper, and George Grey who lived on the north bank of the Wear at Southwick, or an associate of theirs like the undistinguished Richard Cotterill in 1640. If Thomas Triplet is to be believed, Sunderland continued to be directed and controlled by George Lilburne, "the great factotum".⁽⁹⁰⁾

The infant borough soon succumbed to the difficulties and upheavals which beset the region from 1640. Under the Earl of Newcastle a royalist garrison occupied the town and its prominent puritan oppositionists were either imprisoned or fled. Although a parliamentary regime appeared in the course of 1644, and Wearmen like Lilburne, Grey, Sir Richard Bellasis and Sir William Langley were influential in it, there was no effort on their part to reaffirm the charter and corporate status of the town. In

89 Ibid pp.335-72

90 CSPD 1639-40, p.515

truth, the period 1644-8 was a period of considerable control and influence for Lilburne and his associates, in the county and along the Wear especially - as committeemen, sequestrators and justices - and their position depended not at all upon the town's corporate identity, indeed, might even have been impaired by it. The arrival of Sir Arthur Haslerig in the north in 1647, and the growing quarrel between him and his adherents with the Lilburnite faction over Harraton and other lucrative acquisitions along the lower Wear,⁽⁹¹⁾ culminated in George Lilburne's eclipse, albeit temporary, and it was in this period that the town was sold as a parcel of the episcopal manor of Houghton le Spring and Morton. The purchaser was George Fenwick, Haslerig's close associate, who on 9 April 1649 paid over to the London trustees for bishop's lands the first half of a total of £2,851. 8s. 6d.⁽⁹²⁾ Fenwick, and after his death his family, enjoyed possession until the Restoration. The response of local interests is unrevealed, but it seems certain that Lilburne and others looked askance at Fenwick's acquisition and that any re-establishment of the lapsed charter under the generally cool relations between Haslerig and his friends and the Lilburnes was most unlikely. Thus, Sunderland remained a growing but amorphous hub of the latent industrial strength and wealth of the lower Wear, firstly because it was new and feeble and unable to withstand the dire circumstances which

91 See above, pp.164-75

92 Sale of Bishops' Lands, Allen 22

soon surrounded it as a civic entity of pronounced radical-puritan colour, but secondly, and more importantly, because of the material opportunism of individuals and factions, which, probably from its inception, had paid lip service to the creation, but used it, by-passed it, and finally ignored it. Civic pride figured low against the priorities of profit and influence. For different reasons again bishop Cosin at the Restoration treated Morton's charter as a dead letter, and once more leased the episcopal rights in the town into the hands of an individual. (93)

93 Summers, Sunderland I, p.367 n. Surtees, Durham I, p.259, notes that the charter was not forgotten, and was acted upon by the town in subsequent years, however

CHAPTER 6

Religious Affairs 1644-60

Whatever their inner convictions, the response of Durham's established clergy to the outbreak of civil war was generally a supine one. Only a few clerics gave evidence of vigorous committed involvement in the royal cause, a notable example being Nathaniel Ward, the vicar of Staindrop. No Arminian, but a stout supporter of church and King, Ward took up arms before or just after the fall of the county to Parliament in 1644, left with the royalist forces and died in the brief, token siege of Millom castle in Cumberland later in the same year.⁽¹⁾ Patrick Drummond, vicar of Greatham, also actively involved himself, and was not only promptly turned out of his living but also imprisoned.⁽²⁾ Thomas Wandles, the curate of St. Hildas in South Shields, enjoyed the sobriquet of 'Cavalier Wandles' and was also sequestered and imprisoned.⁽³⁾ The rising, able Isaac Basire of Egglecliffe, as well as being clearly identifiable with the prelati- cal party in Durham,⁽⁴⁾ also

1 CSPD 1644-5, pp.96-8, 6 Nov. '44

2 Allen 10; Walker, Clergy II, p.230

3 Randall 9, f.152

4 He became chaplain extraordinary to the King in Dec. 1641. Darnell, Correspondence of Isaac Basire, p.44

involved himself, albeit in an occasional and quite civilian capacity, in the royalists' defence of the county, stayed in his parish and was imprisoned for a time before contriving to flee abroad. While Basire's fortunes led him to the Balkans and the Levant, Philip Mallory, the vicar of Norton, found his way to the West Indies and, unlike Basire, never returned to his living.⁽⁵⁾ Those parish clergy who had ostensibly done no more than fulfil their cures throughout the royalist occupation were for the moment secure in the first months of the parliamentary domination so long as they continued in their places, the desertion of a living constituting the most universal form of clerical delinquency and providing an excuse for sequestration.⁽⁶⁾

The senior clergy, not unnaturally, fared worst. The bishop, and dean and chapter of Durham were among the fourteen diocesan structures named in Parliament's sequestration ordinance of 31 March 1643 as having raised arms against the Parliament, although it seems that few of the senior diocesan clerics were in the county during the royalist period, and fewer still awaited the coming of the Scots. A substantial blow had been dealt to the diocesan organisation in 1640 and the first year-long Scottish occupation and it has been argued that effective episcopal government was virtually ended by this experience.⁽⁷⁾

Bishop Morton left the bishoprick upon news of the battle of

5 Randall 9, f.96

6 Shaw, English Church II, pp.185-6

7 Surtees, Durham I, pp. xcvi-xcvii

Newburn and apparently did not return in the remaining nineteen years of his life. The dean, Walter Balcanquall, an object of particular dislike to dean and chapter tenants and Scotsmen alike, also fled at the first advent of the covenanters, as did all prebendaries and others of pronounced Arminian views, leaving William James the rector of Ryton as the sole remaining prebendary.⁽⁸⁾ It can hardly be doubted that the first Scottish incursion, followed closely as it was by a royalist war regime, had serious effects upon episcopal organisation. During the Earl of Newcastle's occupation, the discipline of clergy and the vetting of sermons to be preached in the county was in the hands of John Cosin, although Cosin's actual presence is uncertain.⁽⁹⁾ Dr. Balcanquall the dean was also singled out as a principle delinquent by the ascendant Parliamentarians in 1644 although there is no evidence of his presence in the county in 1642-3 either, and he in fact died in Wales in 1645. An exception, it seems, to this general dislocation of ecclesiastical machinery was Thomas Burwell, spiritual chancellor of the diocese since 1631, whose energies on the royalist behalf during the Earl of Newcastle's occupation gained him the distinction of being named a principle delinquent in the county by the parliamentary commissioners in 1644.⁽¹⁰⁾ A shrewd character, Burwell seems to have remained in the diocese throughout the civil war and

8 A Most Lamentable Information ...

9 Cavendish, Life, p.14. Cosin is also reported to have left the country soon after his hearing and deprivations in 1641. Neale, Hist. of the Puritans II, p.388

10 See above p.135

Interregnum period, attempting to sustain loyal clergy and keeping close to the remnants of diocesan structure,⁽¹¹⁾ and was restored to his old office in 1660.

The administering of the Solemn League and Covenant oath to all ministers and parishioners over eighteen years, as first determined upon by a joint order of both houses in February 1643, could not be generally effected in Durham until 1645. A crucial element in the 'Ruin of the Clergy', it now presented to those parish priests in the county who had continued quietly in their livings the dilemma which had caused large numbers of their brethren to suffer deprivation elsewhere in the nation during the previous two years.⁽¹²⁾

One Durham parson, Thomas Bedford vicar of Bishop Middleham, who was already in difficulties, refused it outright and lost the remaining third part of his benefice which his parishioners had secured for him.⁽¹³⁾ An overall picture of the Durham clergy's response is not possible, but by 1650 when something like a general account of the county's parishes exists,⁽¹⁴⁾ no less than thirty four - a good third - of the episcopal incumbents had disappeared in the worst years of presbyterian intolerance, and a final figure suggests itself as a good many more than this. The county therefore presents a fair average for deprivations compared to the country generally.⁽¹⁵⁾ The same source also shows that at least seventeen clerics who had held one - or more -

11 See below, p.260

12 Walker, Clergy I, pp.106-7, 198

13 Ibid p.199

14 Comm. XII a/4

15 Variations from a third in Devon to two thirds in Northamptonshire are stated by Walker, Clergy I, pp. 198-9

livings in the county prior to 1644 were still in occupation in 1650, and while this figure too must be regarded as incomplete the 2-1 disparity between the two groups probably reflects the overriding attitude of the county clergy clearly enough. Among those incumbents of wealthier parishes who chose to accommodate themselves to the new regime were Matthew Cooper vicar of Dalton, Ralph Tunstall rector of Long Newton, John Easterby vicar of Seaham, Richard Thursby rector of Winston and at least two pluralists, George Shaw, who was resident at Pittington vicarage and also held Dinsdale rectory, and John Lively, who held Gainford and Kelloe vicarages.⁽¹⁶⁾ These were older, long-established men - Easterby had been in possession since 1622, Thursby since 1616 - who perhaps weighed carefully the consequences for themselves and their families, although it is clear that others were not swayed by such considerations. Other episcopal clergy, while not enduring in their original positions, also appeared at various times as intruders elsewhere in the county. Richard Hickes, who exchanged Monkwearmouth for Whitburn was a notable example, but such men generally seem to have filled chapelries or other smaller curacies. Three such were Robert Fawcett, John Ladler and Edward Smaithwaite. Fawcett was at St. Johns chapelry in upper Weardale in 1627 and appeared at Denton chapelry in 1640. In 1644 however, he served for a period at nearby Staindrop, apparently through the patronage of the Vanes,⁽¹⁷⁾

16 See Appendix E

17 CSPD 1644-5, pp.96-8, 6 Nov. '44

though he subsequently returned to Denton and remained until his death in 1657. John Ladler was at Merrington vicarage some time before 1650; he was, perhaps, the curate of the pluralist incumbent William James, and remained undisturbed in 1644 or later. At some time during the Interregnum he secured a dormant presentation to Gateshead rectory from Bishop Morton, and appeared very promptly in March 1660 to oust the intruder, Thomas Weld, from there.⁽¹⁸⁾ Edward Smaithwaite's case was similar. He had served as a curate at Merrington in 1636 and in 1649 appeared as an intruder at Greatham vicarage and as the appointment of the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel at Hart vicarage in 1651-3, a position he was confirmed in in September 1661. John Dury, who had been rector of the difficult parish of Edmundbyers between 1639-42, also appeared in a minor clerical position at Ushaw in the 1650s,⁽¹⁹⁾ and became the rector of Edmundbyers once more at the Restoration.

X The Movements of these men suggests a willingness, to one degree or another, to accommodate themselves within the changed religious situation. For those loyal clergy who could not, or would not, compromise or dissemble, deprivation meant exile or emigration, a reliance upon friends or a teaching position, and the payment of fifths out of their living, all of which added up to, at best, straitened circumstances. According to his biographers, Bishop Morton

18 Calamy, Memorial II, pp.181-2

19 Comm. VIII/1

had little with which to provide for himself but was unperturbed when Sir Henry Vane came to Durham House in the Strand to inform him of the loss of his episcopal possessions. (20) Parliament settled a pension of £800 per annum upon him, but omitted to provide a source for the money; most of his episcopal estates had been disposed of when it was resolved to allow the money from there. (21) Morton lived quietly in London and elsewhere in England until his death in 1659, and continued to nominate and institute loyal clergy to benefices in the bishoprick, although actual induction remained impossible until the Restoration. (22) All of the capitular clergy suffered sequestration as delinquents. Dr. Walter Balcanquall was sequestered from his mastership of the Savoy in 1642 and joined the King at Oxford, dying at Chirk castle in Denbigh in December 1645, (23) and the other chapter members seem to have similarly dispersed or lived quietly in the diocese. One prebendary who remained was William James, holder of the twelfth stall and the livings of Ryton and Merrington, who had also remained, alone of the capitular clergy, to endure the Scots in 1640. Deprived of all his preferments he yet appeared once more in his Ryton rectory in the early 1650s but was again turned out. His name appeared in the Ryton parish register in 1655 and the following year he was paid a sum of thirty shillings out of the parish. (24) He died some time before the Restoration.

20 Baddeley and Naylor, Life of Thomas Morton, pp.150-1

21 Walker, Clergy II, p.18; see also below p.256

22 Besides John Ladler at Gateshead, others were Robert Grey at Bishop Wearmouth, John Barwick at Houghton le Spring, Isaac Basire at Stanhope and Robert Chapman at Boldon. Chapman actually occupied the place for several years but was turned out in the early 1650s.

See appendix E

23 Walker, Clergy II, p.19

24 Two Centuries and a Half of Free Church Life at Ryton-on-Tyne, H. R. Rae, Newcastle 1896, p.19

The celebrated Laudian John Cosin, holder of the tenth prebend, was one of those forced into exile on the continent, while Isaac Basire whom Bishop Morton presented to the seventh stall in 1643, chose to follow suit, having resolved "... to make a Vertue of Necessity and proposed to himself the Propagating the Doctrine of the English Church among the Greeks, Arabians & ..." (25) Another notable Laudian among the parish clergy, Thomas Triplet, who held the livings of Whitburn and Washington in the county, repaired to the south of England and took to schoolmastering. (26) Another schoolmaster was Elias Smith, vicar of Bedlington in Northumberland who also held St. Giles in Durham City and was a minor canon of the cathedral. He fared badly after his deprivation but remained in the region, and seems to have been with the Tempest family of Old Durham in 1655, presumably as a chaplain or teacher. About the same time he was receiving augmentations as one of the masters of the free school at Durham. (27)

Although Hamlet Marshall at Houghton le Spring suffered the sequestration of his temporal possessions as well as his living, and Patrick Drummond's wife was reduced to begging as a consequence of their ejection from Greatham vicarage, (28) the county affords none of the examples of excessive ill-usage, or downright atrocities, suffered by loyal clergy elsewhere. (29) Provided they removed from

25 Walker, Clergy II, p.19

26 Allen 14 (Whitburn)

27 Memorials of St. Giles, pp.62n., 265; Walker, Clergy II p.21; Shaw, English Church II, p.551

28 Walker, Clergy II, p.19

29 See Hart, The Country Clergy

their parish and did not disturb the new minister, deprived clergy were entitled to a fifth of the revenue of their living and a number of such payments were being regularly made by Francis Wren in 1651 and later.⁽³⁰⁾ Dulcebella Naylor, wife of Joseph Naylor, second prebendary and rector of Sedgefield, was allowed her fifths promptly by the county sequestrators in November 1644,⁽³¹⁾ but the family of Gabriel Clark, first prebendary and rector of Easington, were denied any fifths out of his mastership of Greatham hospital.⁽³²⁾ Difficulties could arise where payments were the direct responsibility of the new minister rather than a local committee of sequestration or of maintenance. In August 1654 Mary Cosin appealed to Cromwell's council that she was denied the fifths due to her out of her father's living of Brancepeth by the present holder, Henry Lever. In response, Lever asserted that in more uncertain years Mary Cosin had been glad enough to accept the £20 per annum the family had agreed with him, but with the advent of more settled times they now unfairly pressed for the full fifth. Several Durham justices were charged with resolving the matter - with arrears if necessary.⁽³³⁾ Basire's wife was paid regularly by the intruder at Egglecliffe, Daniel Bushel, but did not find things easy. Prone to ill-health, she had been left pregnant and with four other children to support, and was liable to all assessments out of her

30 CEP. 28, 209A and 227

31 RCDN, p.23

32 Ibid, p.46

33 CSPD 1654, pp.302, 363, 384; Brancepeth rectory was normally worth £300 per annum. Walker, Clergy II, p.218

fifths. She could go a year without a letter from her husband and touchingly quoted to him the remark of their son John about the father they longed to see: "... sais he is gon so far as he thinke he knas not the way bak, or els he wants a hors."⁽³⁴⁾ Basire's own progress through the Balkans and the Levant appear neither inhospitable nor penurious - he was able to send money home⁽³⁵⁾ - and compares oddly with the circumstances of his family in Durham.⁽³⁶⁾ Like loyal clergy everywhere those in Durham suffered misfortunes varied in kind and degree. Their responses were varied too; faced with at best deprivation, or possible sequestration and a period of imprisonment as a delinquent, some chose, or found it expedient, to flee. Others endured events quietly or sought to accommodate themselves after a time within the new religious circumstances, sometimes with what seems a good deal of latitude afforded to their consciences. The situation of Basire's family, however, serves to underline that it was wives and children who were the chief sufferers of clerical disturbances.

Those charged with the establishment of a presbyterian church order in the county found little in the existing state of affairs to enthuse about. Speaker Lenthall's letter from the Commons in September 1645, in which he urged county committees to set about the creation of a presbyterian form of church government, received an early response from Durham, the county committee returning a

³⁴ Hunter 9, f.70. 8 Feb. 1653

³⁵ Ibid, f.69

³⁶ See Darnell, Correspondence of Isaac Basire, pp.195-6 for an inventory of his possessions at this time

letter and certificate on the 13 December. The committee informed Lenthall that they were able to submit the names of only twenty four ministers for the proposed classical division of the county, little more than a quarter of the total parish clergy figure, complaining that the remainder were "... so weake and others so scandalous or malignant (or both) that we cannot as yet recommend any more to be added ..."⁽³⁷⁾ Besides a chronic lack of clergy who could be regarded as sound and well-affected there were many parishes, the committee reported, which were without a minister at all, or without adequate means of financial maintenance. The certificate of the Northumberland committee, submitted at the same time, expressed even more succinctly the problems in religion facing the region generally and indeed, the nation at large, in the disruptions of the time. It spoke of stipends of a mere £10 per annum which forced ministers into the scandal of keeping common alehouses, and criticised Parliament's failure to provide for the permanent settling of livings upon ministers, allowing men only the temporary and uncertain holding of a sequestration which was not void until the death or other formal relinquishment of the original incumbent. There were no young, local men ordained and able to take up livings, and the situation was exacerbated by delinquent clergy, ejected elsewhere in the country infiltrating the region and establishing themselves in benefices vacated by

37 The Durham Certificate, printed in Shaw, English Church II, pp.367-9

men adjudged delinquents like themselves. So far as presbyterianism was concerned the Scottish Directory had by no means established itself and the continuing widespread use of the English prayer book was complained of.⁽³⁸⁾ In Durham, the prayer book continued to be used for well over a year after parliamentary forces had secured control there. In the chapelry of Whitworth the minister noted in the register his last prayer book baptism on 27 July 1645.⁽³⁹⁾ In an order from Lumley castle in September or October 1645, the county committee pressed all parishioners over eighteen years to subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant before their minister. A parish like Easington, under the sway of presbyterian ministers like Philip Nesbitt and William Johnson, made a strong response, more than 150 parishioners signifying their subscription to the oath in the parish register.⁽⁴⁰⁾ At Ryton the parish paid out sixpence for parchment upon which to record the Covenant, and in 1646 expended eightpence "... for a booke called the Directorye",⁽⁴¹⁾ but there or elsewhere there was scant sign of conviction or enthusiasm for the new way of things in religion.

Despite the obvious and difficult obstacles facing them, the county's parliamentary rulers pressed ahead with their intentions for a presbyterian organisation in Durham. The division of the county into six classes was proposed, namely, Darlington, Durham, Easington, Stockton, Chester and Staindrop. The members of the county committee spread

38 Ibid pp.365-7

39 Allen 14 (Whitworth)

40 CRO. Parish Regs. I EP/Ea 1-18

41 Rae, Two Centuries and a Half ..., p.18

themselves evenly into the classis elderships, Sir Richard Bellasis and Timothy Whittingham appearing as elders at Durham, Sir George Vane, Sir Lionel Maddison and Richard Lilburne at Staindrop, Christopher and Clement Fulthorpe at Stockton, James Clavering and George Grey at Chester, and George Lilburne and Nicholas Heath at Easington. Many other parliamentary supporters appeared as elders also: Isaac Gilpin, Thomas Delaval and Thomas Saunders in Durham, John ~~Smart~~ and the Derwentdale puritans John Readshall and Roland Harrison at Chester, Dr. Samuel Rand at Stockton and men such as Anthony Mackindale and John Reyne in Staindrop. Only Sir Henry Vane senior and Francis Wren of the committee of 1645 did not appear as classis elders. Although the passage of time was to raise doubts about the presbyterian conviction of some of these men, for the moment the secular base of the proposed classical structure looked sound enough; the provision of an adequate ministry was the real problem. Of the six classes Staindrop enjoyed the largest number of presbyterian clergy, five; the others could muster four apiece, except Chester classis with three.⁽⁴²⁾ Again, of these scant numbers only three can be identified as original holders of significant parishes in the county - Richard Hicke at Monkwearmouth, the base of the Sunderland puritans in the 1630s, Edward Young the vicar of Hart, and Ralph Tunstall rector of Long Newton. Two others at least were well known in the county for their activities

42 The Durham Certificate, loc. cit.

in the late 1630s - Anthony Lapthorne and John Vincent - although neither had held a Durham living. Thus, the greater proportion of this thin presbyterian clerical nucleus were newcomers and intruders coming to the county by invitation or arrangement of the county committee, or influential members of it,⁽⁴³⁾ by parliamentary appointment like John Rogers at Barnard Castle,⁽⁴⁴⁾ or by parish adoption like the Scot John Hamilton who had arrived with the Earl of Leven's forces and been invited to take up the living of Hurworth in 1645.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Clearly, with the exception of the last alternative, the imposition of unknown faces along with an unwanted creed could not make a presbyterian establishment any easier to effect.

After this initial proposal for a classical system in Durham the development, or otherwise, of presbyterianism in the county is obscure. There is no evidence of a response to the further parliamentary ordinance of January 1648 for the division of counties into classical presbyteries,⁽⁴⁶⁾ and if it is unwise, as has been suggested,⁽⁴⁷⁾ to assume a functional classical system where there is no evidence for it in parliamentary or other religious committee records, then it must be concluded that there was none such in Durham. The fate of presbyterianism in the county was, it seems, a true reflection of its fate generally in England; it found no truly congenial soil awaiting it, and responded slowly to Parliament's husbanding before 1649. Vestiges of

43 CSPD 1644-5, p.299, 11 Feb. '45

44 Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons ... for the maintenance of Some Preaching Ministers, 29 Dec. 1645, RR.II, (hist.)

45 CAM. III, p.1461

46 Rushw. II, p.981

47 Shaw, English Church II, pp.22-7

presbyterian activity can be discerned in the county throughout the Interregnum years however. That some form of classical organisation did endure into the 1650s is borne out by the ordination of Richard Frankland on 14 September 1653, probably at Lanchester, when "He was set apart to the office of the ministry by several ministers ..." an ordination which Frankland viewed so gravely that he could not be prevailed upon to compromise it in any way at the Restoration.⁽⁴⁸⁾ A considerable number of those ministers deemed sound enough to constitute the proposed county classes of 1645, together with at least twenty other parliamentary appointments before 1649 when presbyterian fortunes and influence were at their highest, continued to hold livings in the county for long periods and until the Restoration itself. Although it is not possible to say how the convictions of these men may have been affected by the fading fortunes of presbyterianism, it is clear that a presbyterian thread of indeterminate strength ran through the county's religious fabric throughout the period, although very insubstantial in places. Of the declared classis members of 1645 at least nine were still serving in the county in 1660 when five were turned out and the remainder conformed, and at least three other ministers appointed before 1648 also chose to conform. Among these were Richard Hicke and his son John, who between them suggest the superficiality of some presbyterian convictions. Richard Hicke M.A.

48 Calamy, Memorial II, pp. 177-81

became vicar of Monkwearmouth in 1632 and in 1644 moved to nearby Whitburn rectory in the stead of the Laudian Thomas Triplet. Hickes' son John later appeared at Monkwearmouth, probably as a curate, and both remained undisturbed until 1660, when the episcopal authority regularised the father's position at Whitburn in September 1662 and the son was instituted first as a curate then as vicar at Monkwearmouth the same year. (49)

The religious consequences of the second civil war - the triumph of the army and independency, and the principle of toleration - created a long state of flux in religious affairs which was to endure until 1660 and in which presbyterian fortunes at best fared indifferently. Secular influence could be important and influential however, as in the large and prosperous parish of Houghton le Spring where personalities like George Lilburne and Thomas Delaval imbued a determinedly presbyterian outlook. The rector, Hamlet Marshall, was turned out as a delinquent in 1645, and replaced by a parliamentary nominee, Reuben Easthorpe, while another intruder, Nicholas Battersby, was ejected at the Restoration. In particular, Delaval's influence, as a local justice, stamped a well-ordered, efficient and presbyterian look upon the church's vestry books; in March 1658 he was reminding the church officers of the Long Parliament's forthright legislation of 1643-4, (50) in which altars, altar rails, copes, surplices, candlesticks

49 Bishops' register of institutions and ordinations; Allen 14, (Monkwearmouth); Whitburn parish register, Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society, 1904

50 Scobell, Acts and Ordinances, pp.53-4, 69

and other ornaments were condemned, the communion table ordered to be placed in the body of the church, the chancel to be levelled, and roods, fonts and organs removed and destroyed. Delaval's and Lilburne's influence was manifest in the Houghton church's affairs until the Restoration, when their names vanish from the vestry books in May 1660.⁽⁵¹⁾ No other parishes have left evidence which smacks so distinctly of presbyterian influences, although many were in the hands, for long periods at least, of staunch presbyterian ministers - William Johnson at Bishop Wearmouth, Philip Nesbitt at Easington, Jonathan Deveraux at Gateshead, then St. Nicholas' in Durham, Nathaniel Burnard in the cathedral, and John Vincent and Anthony Lapthorne, the pre-war puritan tormentors of the diocese, who followed each other in the occupation of Sedgefield rectory in 1644 and '47 respectively. Although the Scot John Hamilton at Hurworth fell foul of authority in 1651,⁽⁵²⁾ John Rogers served at Barnard Castle for sixteen years, to be ejected at the Restoration, and other notable presbyterians like Richard Frankland and William Pell were to be found in the county with the last days of the Interregnum. Yet nowhere is there an indication of any church functioning within any classical structure; presbyterianism, such as it was in the county, probably existed in tenuously connected parochial pockets, becoming fewer and more diluted in spirit as time went on.

51 DPB, p.326

52 See below, p.275

The local influence shown by Delaval and Lilburne raises the question of the religious standpoints of other secular figures of importance during the civil war and Interregnum, from the point of view of their ability to affect the condition of religion in the region. The pre-eminence of the Vanes in the county from 1644 did little to aid the establishment of a viable presbyterian structure, for the family was at best lukewarm in its enthusiasm for presbyterian forms. The elder Vane's religious stance was as obscure and equivocal as his political postures in the early 1640s, and he was probably fairly summed up thus: "Sir H. Vane did the King's Affairs an unspeakable Prejudice, and yet in his Judgment he liked the Government both of Church and State; nay, he not only appeared highly conformable himself, but exceeding sharp against those that were not".⁽⁵³⁾ There is little to suggest that puritanism in any of its forms owed much to any impetus which the elder Vane provided. The younger Vane's stance was at once more honest and uncompromising. He had been clearly identified with the puritan-radical cause since the 1630s, and in 1640 had been a forthright speaker on behalf of the Root and Branch Petition. He was without presbyterian convictions either, however. The Scots, in the course of their deliberations upon religion with their English allies in 1644 were soon complaining bitterly over the attitude of Vane who, with St. John and Cromwell, was pressing "to have a libertie for

53 Neale, Hist. of the Puritans II, pp.365-6

all religions without exceptions", and in the discussions of September and October Vane twice pressed further for a general toleration and opposed Parliament's intention to impose the covenant upon all ministers at their ordination.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Sir Arthur Haslerig was similarly imbued with the younger Vane's spirit of independency. Although his enemies in the north vigorously accused him of favouring presbyterian interests in and after 1648, this was most certainly no more than an attempt to discredit him with the ascendant army independents.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Between 1648 and 1654 Haslerig probably exercised more influence over the type of minister who took up livings in the north generally than anyone else. John Lilburne's hostile allegation in 1651 that Haslerig, through his minions, controlled nearly all the tithes and pulpits in the region had more truth in it than venom.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Yet the variety of clergy who appeared in the county and the better ordering of religious affairs from the early 1650s belies Lilburne's imputation of dishonesty, or Musgrave's assertion of presbyterian bias in Haslerig's influence upon religious affairs at this time.

The Lilburne family, especially the person of George Lilburne, affords a relatively sharp picture of an indigenous puritan standpoint. George Lilburne's religious stance in the growing tensions of the later 1630s accorded well with his natural inclinations as an oppositionist, and

54 Baillie, Letters II, p.226, 235-6

55 A True and Exact Relation ...

56 A Just Reproof, p.39; see also CJ.VI p.374; Oppressed Mans Outcry; Firth and Rait Acts and Ordinances II, p.969

in which his puritanism was polarized and made more intransigent by the adamant attitudes of the prelatical party it opposed.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Lilburne drew strength from Scotland and against the background of the religious crisis there showed himself to be, if not an actual covenanter, of pronounced presbyterian sympathies. Indeed, the stern, uncompromising and often assertive nature of the presbyterian tenets accorded well with the psychological make-up of the Lilburne family generally. With malicious satisfaction, the Laudian Thomas Triplet told, in one of his reports to the archbishop, how Lilburne, in a religious altercation with the rector of Bishopwearmouth, had had the Magnificat quoted to him, to which Lilburne countered: "Prove it out of scripture or you say noth(ing)". He was told that the Magnificat was in St. Luke, "w^{ch} was great Newes to Lilbourne".⁽⁵⁸⁾ His reply reveals him as at once a biblicist, and yet an astonishingly illiterate and ignorant one; his religious outlook was as much conditioned as considered, a predilection as much as a persuasion, and very much enmeshed with his secular radicalism. Throughout the years until 1660 Lilburne's religious stance - together with those of his brother Richard and son Thomas - remained essentially unchanged, albeit modified and moderated somewhat to accord with the tolerationist, independent mood of the 1650s, although George Lilburne himself betrayed a bitter hostility towards

57 See James, Family, Lineage ... p.195

58 SP 16, 447, 27

sectaries such as baptists and quakers.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Robert Lilburne maintained his religious as well as his political radicalism, however. In the 1650s, a decade for most of which he was influential in Durham and the north generally, he was identified with the baptist movement, and men like Hobson and Gower in Newcastle, as a patron of the faith in the region.

The precise religious standpoint of other county figures is generally more uncertain. Despite old Sir Thomas Liddell's royalist involvement a few years earlier the presbyterian sentiments of his son and grandson brought them into Durham's affairs after 1650.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Other long-serving county figures like Thomas Delaval, Francis Wren and Anthony Smith projected what was essentially a moderate puritan outlook not easy to define further, although Timothy Whittingham's stance was more radical, and Robert Hutton was probably buried a quaker.⁽⁶¹⁾ Anthony Pearson, who attained to influence during the 1650s, was another quaker, and able to extend patronage to the creed.⁽⁶²⁾ From about 1650 however, the county's religious affairs were in the hands of regional committees which drew their members from the four northern counties generally, and where Newcastle was particularly influential. The appearance of the Northern Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1650 included a large number of men with Newcastle

59 See below, pp. 268, 297-8

60 CSPD 1650, p.171

61 Surtees, Durham I, p.148

62 See below, p.263

connections, notably George and Henry Dawson, Henry Horsley, James Clavering, Henry Ogle and Luke Killingworth, although Clavering was much involved in Durham affairs and other county figures like Wren, Delaval, Hutton and George and William Vane were also included.⁽⁶³⁾ The Committee for Ejecting Scandalous Ministers in the Four Northern Counties, active from 1650 onwards, showed an even greater preponderance of Newcastle men and others, and seemingly no Durham figures at all in its composition.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Even so, a puritan spirit emanating from secular sources was abroad in Durham and the county was exposed to its share of that stifling puritan zeal which so exasperated the nation generally. In 1653 Christopher Stoddart was gaoled by the Durham quarter sessions for swearing, and in the same year the mayor of Durham was ordered by the sessions to ensure the better observance of the Lord's day. The following year John Craddock was answering before the justices a charge of working on the Sabbath.⁽⁶⁵⁾ There was concern too, for the regulating of alehouses,⁽⁶⁶⁾ and the county's special commissioners who appeared as part of the Major Generals regime informed the Protector early in 1656 that they were busy preserving the peace of the county against "deboist men" and "reforming of several sad miscarriages relating to alehouses and unlawful pastimes, dishonourable to God ..."⁽⁶⁷⁾ In a different direction, the treatment of the

63 Comm. VIII/1, 333-42

64 TSP.IV, p.513; CSPD 1655-6, p.9

65 DQS.4/235; 238, 261

66 Ibid, 3-5/62; 4/117

67 TSP IV, p.541

cathedral epitomised the fate meted out to many of the county's churches under puritan secular authority. Altar table, font, organ, and choir furniture were all removed, and in addition, the spires which surmounted the western towers were dismantled and their lead and wood disposed of - an admixture, it seems, of zealous puritanism and adroit business sense. (68)

Although the cry in Durham in 1644-5 was the same as elsewhere-a demand for reliable preaching ministers - candidates nevertheless did not necessarily find it easy to secure a vacant or sequestered benefice. Mr. Shaw, a Scotsman, failed to secure Stanhope after much trouble and expense despite being vouched for by the chancellor of Scotland, and recommended locally by Sir William Bellasis and George Vane. The latter suggested nearby Woolsingham as an alternative but Shaw does not appear to have been successful there either. (69) John Rogers, however, came to Barnard Castle in April 1645 apparently through the agency of the Vanes, who had noted the urgent need for a preaching minister there some months earlier. (70) Roger's appointment was included in a parliamentary ordinance of 23 April 1645 which declared there was "... a great want of a preaching able Ministry in the Northern parts", and placed a number of clergy in towns across the northern counties. In Durham, three other ministers were appointed

68 Hunter 2, f.78

69 CSPD 1644-5, pp.96-8, 6 Nov. '44

70 Ibid

besides Rogers, all to preach in the cathedral.⁽⁷¹⁾ This general parliamentary effort on behalf of the north, small enough in itself, was supplemented by a thin but steady trickle of appointments to the county of which John Bewick at Stanhope in October 1644, and John Vincent at Sedgefield about the same time, were probably the first, and which continued until the late 1640s.⁽⁷²⁾ Other means of supplying clergy in these years, and indeed until the Restoration, stemmed from patronage and influence of the parliamentary rulers of the county. Despite the unfortunate Mr. Shaw, the Vane family was responsible for securing clergy for south Durham livings like Barnard Castle, Denton and Staindrop, the entire impropriation of the latter being in the family's hands. George Lilburne's influence was very probably behind Richard Hickeys' occupation of Whitburn from 1644 and Lilburne's own parish church at Bishop Wearmouth was served by a succession of staunch puritan clerics. Hickeys was a brother-in-law of Lilburne, and another relative by marriage, the presbyterian Henry Lever, also benefited in this way, leaving the living he held at

71 Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons ... for the maintenance of Some Preaching Ministers ...
29 Dec. 1645, RR.II, (hist.)

72 Three earlier parliamentary appointments should be noted. In February 1642 Mr. Moore and Mr. Timothy Batt were appointed as lecturers in the puritan centres of Muggleswick and Bishop Wearmouth respectively, while in July 1641 the Lords had ordered the vacant living of Aycliffe to be awarded to Peter Smart after his appearance before them (see above, p.25 seq.) Smart never underwent any kind of formal induction, or occupied the living, although his nominee, a Mr. Carradine, appeared there under the parliamentary regime.
CJ II, pp.449, 458; DHC, pp.245-6

Bulmer in Northumberland to take up Cosin's valuable rectory of Brancepeth, allegedly at Lilburne's contrivance,⁽⁷³⁾ and where he remained until 1659, when he removed to St. Johns, Newcastle.⁽⁷⁴⁾ When, from 1647, men like Haslerig and George Fenwick acquired large holdings of lands in the county they acquired with them the rights of presentation to livings thereon; Richard Frankland thus received the gift of St. Andrews Auckland from Haslerig in 1653.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Some ill-served parishes took matters into their own hands without waiting for patronage, above-board or otherwise, or the workings of committees, parliamentary or local. Besides the Scot Hamilton at Hurworth, at least two other parishes elected a minister for themselves. Cuthbert Stote appeared about 1647 in this fashion at Gateshead,⁽⁷⁶⁾ while in June 1653 Ralph Bowes left Staindrop for Grindon vicarage where he had been elected "by the general consent of the whole parish".⁽⁷⁷⁾ Although Bowes was confirmed in the place by the county commissioners for the propagation of the gospel, Stote soon moved on from Gateshead - but not the region - while Hamilton's stay at Hurworth was contumacious.

Besides Vincent, Bewick and Rogers, others in the van of the puritan infusion into the county included Nicholas Burnand who had come to Ovingham in Northumberland at the

73 Innocency Modestly Vindicated p.5
74 Howell, Newcastle, pp.243-4
75 Calamy, Memorial II, pp.177-81
76 Parl. S. II, p.116
77 Allen 10, (Grindon)

parish's request and with Parliament's approval in 1642⁽⁷⁸⁾ and who was one of the three ministers appointed to the cathedral in 1645. With Burnand at Durham appeared Richard Gilpin, a Cumberland man of an independent cast, who continued as an active non-conformist after 1660, in and around Newcastle.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Jonathan Deveraux appeared at Gateshead in July 1645 with a parliamentary appointment⁽⁸⁰⁾ and subsequently served a number of parishes in Durham and Northumberland, being ejected from St. Nicholas' Durham soon after the Restoration. Of particular moment was Samuel Hammond, who came into the north in Haslerig's wake and was placed at Bishop Wearmouth in 1651-2 before removing to Newcastle. A congregationalist, Hammond had ability and energy and was influential in the town's and the region's life until 1660.⁽⁸¹⁾ He had a close association with Thomas Weld, another independent who came to Gateshead in 1650, and with him wrote various religious tracts, chiefly against baptists and quakers, and appeared as one of the county's triers and ejectors in the 1650s.⁽⁸²⁾ Weld's son John was placed at Ryton in March 1657, but was of a different stamp to his father, choosing to conform while his father was turned out in 1660.⁽⁸³⁾ Henry Lever, who appeared at Brancepeth, had occupied several livings in the north prior to the war, and was one of the region's older puritan clergy. A presbyterian, he left a non-conforming nucleus behind him

78 CJ II, p.539

79 Howell, Newcastle, pp.269 & fn.4, 345

80 CJ IV, p.212

81 DNB; Howell, Newcastle, pp.236-8

82 TSP.IV, p.513

83 Calamy, Memorial II, pp.181-2, 184. Another Weld, Edmund, probably another son, served at Boldon for a time in the early 1650s. Comm. VIII/1

at Brancepeth,⁽⁸⁴⁾ and continued, after his own ejection from his last position at St. John's, Newcastle, as a non-conformist preacher into the Restoration. The death of John Vincent brought Anthony Lapthorne to Sedgefield rectory as the choice of the Committee of Plundered Ministers in 1647.⁽⁸⁵⁾ One of the most notable and contentious puritan figures in the north in the late 1630s, Lapthorne had removed before the Earl of Newcastle's occupation to more hospitable regions in the south, where he had been appointed lecturer at Michin Hampton in Gloucestershire in April 1642 and had taken up the sequestered living of Much Holland in Essex in October 1643.⁽⁸⁶⁾ He had returned to the north by 1645 when he was one of the presbyterian ministers named for the Durham city classis. His stay at Sedgefield until 1657 throws quite a different light upon him to that of the vigorous and forthright puritan preacher who had so stirred the parishioners of the poor and ill-served livings of Derwentdale in the 1630s. Perhaps altered by the years, or a comfortable benefice like Sedgefield, his controversies seem to have been chiefly of the wordly sort. He was soon in a wrangle with Vincent's widow over her allowance out of the living,⁽⁸⁷⁾ and in turn complained of her neglect of rectory and church.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The act of June 1657 which confirmed intruded clergy in possession of benefices over any claims of sequestered or ejected incumbents still living specifically excluded Lapthorne by name, presumably as a result of Sarah Vincent's

84 Cos. Corr. II, pp.11-12

85 Parl. S. II, p.192

86 CJ.II, pp.577; 581, III. pp.283, 285

87 CSPD 1657-8, p.28

88 Parl. S. II, p.192

petition to the Council of State on 7 April, which accused Lapthorne of deceitfully retaining large portions of the profits of the rectory from 1647 until 1656, and resulted in a suit against him in the exchequer.⁽⁸⁹⁾ He was allowed £200 per annum out of Sedgefield but did not continue there.

It was Samuel Hammond's influence which brought the young and able Richard Frankland to the north about 1650, shortly after he had gained his M.A. at Christs College, Cambridge. Before his presbyterian ordination in 1653 he had preached at Hexham, Houghton le Spring and Lanchester, and subsequently assisted Lapthorne at Sedgefield before taking the living of St. Andrews Auckland.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Frankland brought a dash of scholastic esteem to the county's puritans, as did William Pell, student and fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, who appeared in the county in the later years of the Protectorate. Both were chosen as tutors for the Durham college, and were moderate but convinced puritans of the very best sort, both of whom lived to see the advent of toleration in 1688 as active non-conformists.⁽⁹¹⁾ The proposed college brought other able puritans to the county. Philip Hunton, the designated provost, was settled in one of the city parishes in March 1658,⁽⁹²⁾ remained in the county after the college scheme fell through, and was turned out of Sedgefield in 1660. Ezrael Tongue one of the fellows, was appointed to St. Margaret's in Durham about the same time as Hunton.⁽⁹³⁾ Many of the appointments of the

89 CSPD 1657-8, pp.18, 28, 127

90 Calamy, Memorial II, pp.177-81

91 Ibid p.183

92 Comm. III, 1

93 Comm. III, 1 & 2

Protectorate period appear as a direct bolstering of the regime. Edward Williamson was settled at Washington in September 1655 by the Lord Protector in whose hands the gift of the living now lay. James Hilliard at Great Stainton in October 1658 and William Pell at Easington in March or April 1659, received similar presentations from Richard Cromwell.⁽⁹⁴⁾ By the late 1650s a pocket of loyal Protectorate clergy had established itself in the north eastern corner of the county. This comprised William Graves who had come to Bishop Wearmouth in December 1654, Francis Batty and Thomas Lupton who came to Jarrow and South Shields respectively in May 1657, and Robert Pleasance who came to Boldon some time after 1650. These four were among a number of Northumberland and Durham clergy who sent up a loyal address to the Lord Protector in 1657 or early 1658.⁽⁹⁵⁾ By 1662 all four had been ejected and silenced, as had Pell and Williamson.

The parliamentary ordinance of April 1645 which appointed ministers to Durham and elsewhere in the north provided for them to be paid out of sequestered dean and chapter lands by the parliamentary commissioners. In December another ordinance was necessary to clear up the confusion which had ensued. Sir William Armyne and the other commissioners who had entered the north with Leslie's forces had left in the course of 1645 without setting up appropriate arrangements for payment to be made, and the first stipends of the Durham

94 Comm. II, 248-9, 621, 702

95 TSP VI, p.431

ministers, due on 29 September 1644, were already in arrears. The second ordinance put responsibility for payment into the hands of the county committee.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The confusion adumbrated the twin difficulties in religion the new regime faced from the outset, those of first supplying a suitable man to a cure and then securing adequate financial provision for him. On 20 December 1649 Parliament received a petition from the four northern counties which concerned itself with the general lack of preaching ministers in the north. In response, a committee, headed by Sir Arthur Haslerig, was set up which produced measures that appeared as an "Act for the Better Propagating the Gospel in the Four Northern Counties".⁽⁹⁷⁾ By 1650 however, the position in Durham seemed rather improved. A survey of church lands carried out in April-June⁽⁹⁸⁾ listed eighty two livings in the county of which only nine were without any kind of incumbent. Against the criterion of a 'preaching minister', however, the situation was less satisfactory. Only twenty five were so described, and of another dozen or so identifiable as such a number were later to be removed for malignancy and other offences.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The new northern Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel which appeared with the act of March 1650 settled at least twenty seven ministers in Durham livings between 1651-53, and while some of these appointments - Rogers at

96 RR.II, (hist.)

97 CJ.VI, pp.335, 374

98 Comm. XII, a/4

99 See below, p.275

Barnard Castle, Lever at Brancepeth, Nesbitt at Easington - were merely reaffirmations, most were new and four of the important vacancies noted in 1650, at Darlington, Muggleswick and two of the city's livings, were filled.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The county from this time seemed in better straits for clergy - albeit with an element which was at best indeterminate from the staunchly puritan point of view.

The problem of financial provision was also a vexing one in many of the county's livings. The steady inflation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had brought about a corresponding impoverishment of livings everywhere and the growth of pluralism as one kind of answer. The fundamental upheavals of the puritan revolution laid bare the inadequacies and unrealities which underlay episcopal provision in Durham no less than elsewhere. Livings in the county which were clearly most vulnerable were chapelries and other such curacies; their records generally show the most dislocation or complete loss in the civil war years and often long after. Particular sufferers were the livings of the upland regions of the north west. In Derwentdale, Muggleswick was lacking any kind of minister in 1650, while Matthias Wrightson was serving the cure of both Ebchester and Medomsley although he was described as a non-preaching minister. At Tanfield the curate, John Lampson, was likewise described as "being a Reading Minister butt no sufficient

preacher and neyther fitt no able to take the charge".⁽¹⁰¹⁾
Such livings in an inherently poor region,⁽¹⁰²⁾ inadequately
provided for the proper maintenance of a priest, inevitably
attracted inferior men under the new puritan way of things
- and sometimes no one at all. The value of Muggleswick to
its incumbent was £12, of Ebchester £6.13s. 4d., while
Edmundbyers rectory was worth £26.13s. 4d.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Yet
chapelries in more prosperous parts of the county were to
be found in similar case. Those in the large and wealthy
parish of St. Andrews Auckland - St. Helens Auckland,
Hamsterley, Witton le Wear and Escomb - were maintained
with but £6.13s. 4d. each out of their parent church, and
financial provision for sound ministers proved a problem
here also. The parliamentary ordinance of 1645⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ ex-
pressed its concern specifically about such "... very small
and inconsiderable livings", noting those "especially in
Cities and Townes of greatest importance ..." and the city
of Durham afforded a very striking example of such a lack.
In 1650 none of the six city churches was provided with a
minister, and their number accounted for two thirds of the
vacancies in the county at that time. Overshadowed by the
cathedral and the dean and chapter, the city's parishes and
their chapels had long been unrealistically provided for
and merely shored up by the contrivances within the episcopal

101 Comm. XII a/4, 23, 78

102 The County Book of Rates of 1615 shows Muggleswick
valued at £40. 6s. 8d., Ebchester at £7, Medomsley
at £33.16s. Od. This compares with wealthy parishes:
Sedgefield £214, St. Andrew Auckland £369. 9s. 2d.,
Houghton le Spring £276. 3s. 4d. Hunter, 22, f20

103 Comm. XII a/4, 23; Hunter 22, f35

104 See above p.231

structure, the demolition of which now revealed them as glaring examples of how unviable many livings in fact were. St. Nicholas rectory was maintained by £6.13s. Od., and while St. Oswald vicarage outside the city proper had no stated figure, the other parish church outside the walls, St. Giles, probably more valuable than St. Oswalds,⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ was worth but £10, and its chapel £5. The other two true city churches - St. Mary le Bow and St. Mary the Less in the north and south baileys - represented the nadir. The survey of 1650 could state no maintenance figure for Mary the Less and of Mary le Bow stated bleakly: "no Incumbent nor noe Revenue that wee can heare of".⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

In July 1650 the total annual cost of maintenance for eighty seven Durham livings - sixty nine parishes and eighteen chapelries - was put at £4,439. 4s. 3d.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ The supply of such a large sum - in any case probably not an entirely adequate one - posed a continual problem for those charged with religious affairs in Durham, nor was it apparent that the problem was ever overcome entirely satisfactorily. Those first parliamentary appointments in the county - Vincent at Sedgefield who was instated by the parliamentary commissioners with all the tithes and profits of the living, and William Johnson at Bishop Wearmouth who had the living assigned to him on 16 November 1643 by a parliamentary sequestration order three months before the region fell into

105 County Book of Rates, 1615. loc. cit.

106 Comm. XII a/4

107 Abstract of the Several Parish churches and Chapells ... within the Co. of Durham, Hunter 22, f25

Parliament's hands⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ - were fortunate from the outset. In the welter of sequestrations taking place in 1644-5, however, and the diversion of such resources to essentially military needs, the financial viability of other livings was impaired. By September 1644 all of the prebendal holdings in the county had been sequestered, together with at least four other livings, Hurworth, Dinsdale, Middleton St. George and Sockburn.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The prebendal lands accounted for some of the most valuable in the county, but tithes, rents and like profits were quickly leased off piecemeal to prompt bidders and were largely lost, for some time at least, to the needs of religious provision, although Parliament's first clerical appointments to Durham in 1645 were ordered to receive their stipends out of some part of dean and chapter lands.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Nor did the resources of the county's most substantial land-holder, the bishop, render up a great deal to religious needs. Between 16 November 1646, when Parliament authorised the sale of bishops' lands, and November 1656, sales of episcopal land in Durham realised a total of £21,373. 6s. 7d. This sum was apportioned to overwhelmingly secular uses, however, £10,595 going to the county committee, £7,687 to the Trustees for the Sale of Bishops' Lands, and £1,584 to the Trustees for the Sale of Dean and Chapter Lands. It is almost certain that a proportion of these sums would be channelled into the needs of

108 CJ.III, p.343

109 RCDN, p.17

110 CJ.III, pp.664-5

clerical maintenance, but of the remaining £1,500 or so, a mere £200 was employed specifically for the payment of stipends.⁽¹¹¹⁾ The confusions and dislocations of the times produced a lowering in the value of even the wealthiest livings. In November 1660 Bishop Cosin was complaining of the fall in value of the tithes of Brancepeth, a former benefice of his, because the intruder, Henry Lever, "to gaine proselytes unto him", had let the tithes at low rates and allowed holders their own time to pay.⁽¹¹²⁾ The issue of tithes was one felt nationally, with a growing resistance during the 1640s to their payment to intruded nominees who, despite their appointment by Parliament or the Committee for Plundered Ministers, were frequently felt to be without the legal rights of the ousted episcopal clergy.⁽¹¹³⁾ At Brancepeth Lever did what many did and compromised; at Gateshead the rectory tithes and glebeland profits were not paid at all between 1645 and '47, the parishioners and occupiers allowing to various ministers who supplied the cure "... onely so much thereof as they pleased".⁽¹¹⁴⁾ In January 1659 the churchwardens at Darlington issued a vestry order which deplored the letting of lands and tenements belonging to Darlington church and free school at small, under-valued rents, and proposed steps to end the practice.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

There is scant evidence to suggest how ecclesiastical finances were handled in the county before 1 March 1650

111 CEP.28, 289

112 Cos. Corr. II, pp.11-12

113 Shaw, English Church II, pp.255-9

114 Parl. S. II, p.128

115 Allen 11

when northern Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel were granted powers of disposal for impropriations, tithes, and other resources in Durham in common with elsewhere in the north. These revenues seem to have been managed maladroitly between 1650 and April 1653 when they became the responsibility of the Trustees for the Maintenance of Preaching Ministers.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The second Protectorate Parliament quickly set up a committee to enquire into the administration of all church finances throughout the four northern counties but as late as February 1659 it had produced no kind of results whatsoever.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Long years of disruption and the emergence of a radically altered church government inevitably meant that administrative confusions and insufficiencies arose, and as a consequence of these, opportunities for dishonesty. Of the former, the rival claims of governing committees upon nominal church resources suggest how ecclesiastical money was tapped away. On 23 March 1653, Edward Lee, treasurer to the Durham Commissioners for the Propagation, petitioned the Sequestration Commissioners in London, complaining that the Durham sequestrators had been receiving the rents of Coniscliffe and Lanchester, together with other livings in Northumberland, since March 1652, although the disposal of such revenues was legally the responsibility of the Gospel Commissioners.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ In this instance the London committee upheld the appeal, but

116 Shaw, English Church II, p.227

117 CJ.VII, pp.448, 600

118 RCDN, p.70

on 15 September 1654 responded differently when they announced that augmentations in tithes which the late Commissioners for the Propagation had allowed to the ministers found to fill the vacancies at Darlington and some of the parlous city churches had been improperly bestowed and were to return to the state.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ One of these ministers, John Holdsworth, who had been appointed to St. Oswalds, Durham in 1653, very soon became involved with the county sequestrators, alleging that the tithe corn of Shincliffe - not an augmentation but a part of the St. Oswald's living - had been leased to a recusant and sequestered, but the lease had expired in 1653 and the sequestration commissioners had not returned it to him.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Allegations of dishonesty in the management of sequestered estates - clerical and secular - flew backwards and forwards in the Lilburne-Haslerig wrangle of the late 1640s without anything of substance ever being pressed home against the protagonists. But opportunities clearly existed and Haslerig, at the height of his influence in the north, was accused of complicity in one such case.⁽¹²¹⁾ Upon his death in 1641, Baron Henry Hilton of Hilton had left £24 per annum out of his estate to each of thirty eight English parishes and townships, including some fifteen in Durham. Hilton's heir, his brother John, was sequestered for his part in the first and second wars which, coupled with the fact that

119 Ibid 72

120 Ibid 274

121 A True and Exact Relation ... p.12

Hilton had devised his paternal estate to the parliamentary lord mayor and four senior aldermen of London, meant that a protracted legal case ensued. In March 1652 the Durham parishes and townships, in concert with others elsewhere in England, were petitioning for the discharge of Hilton's lands from which they had been denied any benefit for almost eleven years - a sum which was estimated at £10,500.⁽¹²²⁾

In 1650, one of John Musgrave's allegations in his attack upon Haslerig was his aiding and abetting the royalist John Hilton to deny the payment of the legacies. In this instance the money involved was intended for the parish poor and not concerned with the maintenance of clergy at all, but the affair suggests the ease with which such channels became blocked in the war years and their aftermath, and how cogent allegations of malpractice could be made to sound.⁽¹²³⁾

Some attempts were made to bolster ecclesiastical maintenance by accommodations reached with royalists in the county faced with crushing fines and who held impropriations in various churches. In particular, the large but poorly provided parish of Auckland was the subject of such an arrangement. In July 1646 the sequestration commissioners at Goldsmiths Hall published a list of purchased impropriations which showed that the staunch Durham royalists Christopher Byerley and his son Anthony of Middridge Grange were to settle £200 per annum, a third of their interest in

122 RCDN, p.240

123 The Hilton legacies were being paid in 1659. DPB.
pp.315-17

the church - for ever upon St. Andrews Auckland and its four chapels, for which £2,001 out of a fine of £6,391 was to be allowed them. In November they were offered a further abatement of £1,300 on their remaining fine of more than £4,000 in return for further concessions of their interests but refused. By 1649 however, they had settled a further impropriation of £200 per annum on the ministry in return for an abatement of £2,000.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Others were made similar offers; Richard Baddeley of Durham City settled £16 per annum on Auckland parish and had his entire composition of £162.10s. remitted, and another south Durham royalist, Cuthbert Carr of St. Helens Auckland, settled a third of his interest in St. Helens church on the ministry for a full remittance of his £673 composition.⁽¹²⁵⁾ When another Auckland cavalier, Sir William Darcy of Witton castle, was fined £2,400 for his involvement in the second war, the parishioners of St. Andrews Auckland begged the sequestration commissioners in February 1650 to settle his composition on Witton and Hamsterley chapels. By May Darcy had agreed to provide £29 per annum for the chapels and £40 for St. Andrews which, coupled with his agreement to pay the £1,000 to Bishop Morton - long promised but unpaid by Parliament - secured the discharge of his estate.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Other than these efforts on behalf of Auckland there is little evidence of other such accommodations in the county, although it is

124 RCDN pp.142, 146; Shaw, English Church II, pp.479-80
125 RCDN pp.108, 146
126 Ibid 179

unlikely that delinquent holders of impropriations elsewhere in the county were not able to secure similar terms, as did Viscount Lumley's son John, who offered Hartlepool rectory as half of his £1,800 fine in October 1650.⁽¹²⁷⁾

Augmentations, usually authorised by Parliament and paid out of dean and chapter assets, were paid to nearly all but the wealthiest of the county's livings at one time or another during the period. The preaching clergy established in the cathedral, intruders like the long-serving Rogers at Barnard Castle, Edward Smaithwaite at Greatham and Archibald Moore at Hartlepool were all recipients in the Interregnum years, as was the episcopal survivor George Shaw at Pittington.⁽¹²⁸⁾ There does not seem to have been a regular basis for payment, augmentations being supplied when the need arose, which suggests a fluctuating and uncertain state of resources continuing to affect many livings. In the half year ending 24 June 1660, the very end of the Interregnum period, nineteen ministers in Durham and Northumberland were still deemed in need of, and received, such a payment.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Another indication of the fragile state of church finances is provided by the return of William Harrison, receiver of clerical tenths and impropriations in Durham and Northumberland, for the period December-December 1657-8. He could turn over to the Trustees for the Maintenance of Preaching Ministers only £58.11s. 8d. realised out

127 Ibid 281

128 Shaw, English Church II, p.531

129 CEP.28, 290

of the clergy of both counties, easily the smallest sum of the thirteen counties listed who contributed a total of £5,638. 1s. 8d.⁽¹³⁰⁾ Towards the end of the Protectorate regime revenue out of impropriations was also falling away. By June 1660 Harrison's account to the Maintenance Trustees for impropriations received in Durham showed a total of £743.18s.11d., while arrears stood at £873. 6s.11d.,⁽¹³¹⁾ a figure which probably reflects the reversal of political and ecclesiastical circumstances once more as much as anything.

The financial insufficiency of so many livings which the destruction of the episcopal and capitular edifice revealed across the country gave rise to a desire for parochial reorganisation of a radical sort and resulted in parliamentary ordinances to this effect in 1649, '54 and '56, the intention of which was the rationalisation of livings by mergers or divisions, in order to attain financial viability. Surveys to this end had been carried out in Durham by 1650 and various changes were advocated. They reflected a natural demographic and economic shift in parts of the county to which the old diocesan organisation had made no response. A few curacies were considered no longer viable at all and were recommended for absorption within the parent church. Such were Coatham Mundeville with Aycliffe, Escombe with St. Andrews Auckland, Whorlton

130 Shaw, English Church II, p.582

131 CEP.28, 290

with Winston. The overall need was for a division and expansion in the number of parishes, however, not a contraction. The difficulties of Auckland parish, already noted, owed much to the fact that three of its four dependent chapels - St. Helens Auckland, Hamsterley and Witton - were potentially independent parishes in all but adequate financial provision. Similarly, the chapelries of Sadburgh, Barnard Castle and St. Johns in Weardale were noted as fit for independent status. A more specific example was St. Hildas chapel at the mouth of the Tyne, a part of Jarrow deanery, which served 1,600 communicants, without the growing numbers of people in South Shields, expanding along the riverbank.⁽¹³²⁾ Neither the Commonwealth nor Protectorate governments proved able to effect their desire for far-reaching religious reforms of this sort, however, and in Durham none of these recommendations was carried out.⁽¹³³⁾ Nevertheless, at least one Durham cleric brought about rationalisation by his own efforts. Rowland Salkeld, the curate of Stockton, a chapel of Norton vicarage, succeeded, when the vicar Philip Mallory was turned out and fled abroad in 1644, in turning his chapelry into a living with the status of a vicarage - by what means is not clear - and served there until the Restoration when he conformed and became vicar of Long Haughton in Northumberland.⁽¹³⁴⁾

Although clergy could be dispossessed and material

132 Comm. XII a/4

133 Comm. XII c.

134 Allen 14, (Stockton); Randall 9, f 173. Stockton became an independent parish in 1714

resources seized and disposed of, the framework of diocesan administration and judicature could not be so readily swept away without further confusion and inconvenience in important areas of the county's affairs. Some former important episcopal officials like Thomas Burwell and John Heath, although delinquents, still had some contact with diocesan administrative affairs, and another royalist, the lawyer Christopher Mickleton, made his peace with the new order and filled various offices.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Anthony Smith, the prominent opponent of the Durham dean and chapter before the civil war, together with Gilbert Marshall of Houghall, figured significantly in the fiscal elements of the old structure, and apparently enjoyed a cordial relationship with former officers like Burwell.⁽¹³⁶⁾ An interesting glimpse of the continued working of the old diocesan administration, and the confusions which now afflicted it, is afforded by the involvement of Peter Smart with the county once more. On 22 July 1641 the Lords had ordered the Durham dean and chapter to present Smart to the vacant vicarage of Aycliffe and restore him to the fourth prebend.⁽¹³⁷⁾ He had been able to derive little or no benefit out of his restoration as the region fell under royalist control within a year, but in 1646 Smart was petitioning the Lords in an effort to obtain the £500 arrears out of his prebendal revenues being withheld from him, and complaining of Burwell

135 See above, p.135

136 Hunter 7, ff.9-10

137 L.J.VIII; p.337

and Heath who, during the Earl of Newcastle's occupation, had between them secured £204 of his rents.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The Lords responded by ordering the two royalists to make good the sum out of their personal estates and Marshall, the dean and chapter receiver, to render up subsequent arrears. Despite the Lords' threat to 'send for' anyone who committed a further contempt of their order, Smart's claims were resisted, although he was in receipt of other prebendal tithes and rents due to him,⁽¹³⁹⁾ and the Lords repeated their order in February 1648.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ This time both Marshall and Anthony Smith were named and their personal estates threatened. Smart had also begged for, and been granted by the Lords, the office of receiver and treasurer for Durham dean and chapter revenues, and his efforts to secure financial redress from Heath and Burwell - both of whom coolly announced their intention to defy him and defend themselves at law - caused him to consider closing the chancellor's office at Durham and conduct its business through his Aycliffe curate, Mr. Carradine. Smart's agent in Durham, Richard Hutchinson, pointed out that the office was one of trust and could not legally be seized in this fashion, while its closure would inconvenience the county generally and merely result in a loss of profits. In addition, Carradine declined to fill an office he knew nothing about, nor, suggested Hutchinson, would the county

138 DHC, pp.244-5

139 Comm.XII c.

140 L.J.X, p.22

consider such probates good in law: "For if they may prove wills before him (Carradine) they may as well prove them one neighbour with another at home, and never come as far as Durham for it".⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Smart's tenure of the receiver's office was short-lived: by the autumn of 1648 the county faction which had the closest interest in capitular lands, and in which George and Richard Lilburne were prominent, had brought about the reinstatement of Marshall and Smith. Smart received scant consideration from his fellow puritans. While the Lilburnes, George Grey and captain John Shaw were consulting in London in October about the proposed sale of dean and chapter lands Smart was protesting bitterly about the impending loss of his prebendal possessions, insisting that because he had never been sequestered or a delinquent neither the county committee nor the Parliament had the power to deprive him of them.⁽¹⁴²⁾ His arguments, which presumably would have left him as the only remaining endowed prebendary in the country, availed him little however, and the troubled waters of controversy in which Smart seemed to have spent large portions of his life swimming became still and obscure thereafter.

Although its progress is not very clearly defined, Durham found itself, especially in the 1650s, subjected to the fiercely independent spirit of the most radical forms of sectarian religious outlook, in particular that of

141 DHC, pp.248-9

142 Ibid, pp.249-50

quakers and baptists. Nascent quakerism in the county benefited hugely from the patronage of the influential Interregnum figure of Anthony Pearson. His family were minor gentry with an estate at Ramshaw, near St. Helens Auckland, and Pearson himself studied law. When Haslerig's influence established itself in the north, Pearson, still only twenty, became his secretary, and by this association was soon holding important positions, becoming one of the county's sequestration committee after its reorganisation in 1650, and a justice in three counties.⁽¹⁴³⁾ He also acquired substantial holdings of land in Northumberland and Durham out of the estates of Sir Thomas Riddell and the Marquis of Newcastle,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ and a detractor remarked that he "who the other day was worth little or nothing when his Master came to Newcastle, hath purchased as much Lands very near as his Master was worth when the Wars began . . ."⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Another Interregnum figure to afford some protection to local quakers was Henry Draper of Headlam who emerged as a justice - and loudly denounced as a "notable Cavalier" by the Lilburnes⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ - again under Haslerig's influence in 1649-50. Draper's transition to quakerism is as uncertain as his transformation from alleged royalist to Commonwealth-man, but Pearson's was more dramatic, he being converted while acting as a justice in a hearing against the celebrated quaker preacher James Naylor at Appleby in Westmorland in

143 DNB; RCDN, p.63

144 CSPD 1661-2, p.239

145 A True and Exact Relation . . . p.49

146 Preparative to a Hue and Cry . . . p.37

January 1653.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Probably as a consequence of this conversion James Naylor came into Durham in the summer of 1653 and held a meeting at Pearson's house at Ramshaw. Although he went no further in the county, and his visit did not have the impact of the one he made to Somerset some three years later when his 'messianic fervour' brought about his arrest and the debate of his case in Parliament,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ he left behind a number of new, active converts.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ A meeting held by Thomas Holmes in Bishop Auckland resulted in violence the same year.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In 1654 George Fox made his first visit to Durham, together with a number of other notable early quakers, among them John Audland, Richard Hubberthorne and Miles Halhead, in what seems to have been a planned proselytising campaign. Fox reported that he "had large meetinges & had a very large meetinge att Justice Pearsons house where many was convinced".⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Holmes, Audland and Francis Howgill were the most prominent of a number of Westmorland preachers who spread their belief across the north generally; another was Edward Burrough who was active in Durham in 1653 and who in February of the following year went with some of his followers to Easington church to give testimony. The parishioners, whose parson was the presbyterian Philip Nesbitt, attacked and roughly handled them.⁽¹⁵²⁾ It was probably Burrough who successfully visited nine Durham churches on one Sunday and

147 TT, E 689(17)

148 Underdown, Somerset, p.187

149 Steel, Early Friends in the North, p.3

150 Ibid

151 Fox, Journal I, p.135

152 Steel, Early Friends, pp.3-4; G. F. Nuttall, George Fox and the Rise of Quakerism in the Bishoprick, pp.94-7

supplied his own testimony after the priest "had donn his stuffe".⁽¹⁵³⁾

There were perhaps ten quaker meetings in Durham by 1654,⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ widely dispersed about the county. The first, taking place in private houses, apparently established themselves in the south of the county; Bishop Auckland was an important hub, Anthony Pearson's home was not far away, and the prosperous Auckland builder John Langstaffe, who was converted by Anne, the redoubtable wife of the preacher John Audland in 1654, was influential there for many years.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Henry Draper had his home at no great distance, at Headlam on the Tees. Other meetings were established at Darlington, at Carlton near Stockton, while Pearson was clerk of the one at Durham. In the north of the county a meeting was held at Richard Ewbank's house in Gateshead and the mouth of the Tyne was a significant centre of quaker activity with a strong group led by the salt merchant Robert Linton at South Shields and another meeting across the river at North Shields. Sunderland too provided a centre for growth under the leadership of William Maude, Richard Wilson and George Humble, and a quaker burial ground existed in the town in 1657 on land purchased by Maude and Wilson.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Newcastle proved stony ground however. A battery of puritan ministry there - presbyterians and independents - rushed into print against them,⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ and in 1657 Fox gained little satisfaction

153 Fox, Journal II, p.32

154 Nuttall, George Fox ..., p.96

155 The Langstaffs of Teesdale and Weardale, G.B. Longstaff, 1906, pp.52-94

156 Steel, Early Friends ... pp.11-12, 47-8, et passim

157 Howell, Newcastle, pp.256-60

from his meeting there, arranged by Pearson, with alderman Thomas Ledgard, an important puritan figure in the town and vigorously anti-quaker. Fox was able to report: "nevertheless wee gott a little meetinge amongst freindes & freindely people att ye Gate Syde".⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Fox went on to Pearson's house at Ramshaw and while there Pearson prevailed upon the reluctant Fox to visit the younger Henry Vane at Raby, five or six miles away. Vane's own religious outlook was of the broadly independent kind, but the meeting of two such personalities was not a success. Their exchange ended in high words and Fox concluded: "Soe I went away, and he said to some friends afterwards, that if Anthony Pearson and some others had not been with mee, he should have put mee out of his house as a mad man. So friends that was with mee stranged to see his darkness and impations".⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Fox was involved in another confrontation during this visit, concerned with the county's long expressed desire for a centre of learning to be set up in Durham, the realisation of which was now imminent. Fox understood the function of the proposed college to be essentially the preparation of ministers, and approached one of those involved in its establishment - probably the designated provost Philip Hunton - reminded him of the tower of Babel and urged that Christ's ministers were not created through the medium of Hebrew, Greek and Latin.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Fox's influence was also

158 Fox, Journal I, p.310 f.

159 Ibid p.314

160 Ibid p.311

probably behind a quaker tract published against the college about the same time.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ The quaker antipathy towards formalised learning and dislike of prepared priests was explicit enough in such a stance, but the Durham college had been a cherished goal of the north's new rulers since 1650 at least, and such objections were an example of the quaker propensity to exasperate and annoy across a wide spectrum of religious opinion.

Although the Protectorate's policy of toleration most certainly afforded the opportunity for quaker growth and consolidation in Durham, the movement also drew upon itself in the county its share of the animosity and persecution it endured elsewhere. The quaker practice of bearing testimony at parish churches - to the discomfiture of the incumbent - which in 1653 and '54 Edward Burrough and others had carried out in the county had become illegal by 1656, and a Sunderland woman, Margaret Ramshaw, was committed for disturbing the moderate parson Josias Dockwray's service at Lanchester in 1658.⁽¹⁶²⁾ While influential and sympathetic figures like Pearson and Draper could doubtless supply patronage and protection in areas of the county, quakers were exposed to active animosity elsewhere. In December 1656 the ministry of Durham and Northumberland sent up a petition against them to Parliament,⁽¹⁶³⁾ and several quakers were languishing in Durham gaol in

161 Some Queries to be Answered in writing or print by the Masters, Heads, Fellows, and Tutors of the Collegde they are setting up at Durham, from them that are in scorne called Quakers. Durham Cathedral Library

162 CSPD 1658-9, p.162

163 CJ.VII, p.470

September and October 1658.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ In Sunderland, the distinctive and unimpaired presbyterian intolerance of its chief figure, George Lilburne, looked askance at the rise of such sectarianism. While thirty two of 123 imprisoned quakers around country at that time had been committed for "speaking to a priest", only one, George Humble of Sunderland had committed the offence of "speaking to George Lilburne".⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Humble, an elderly man, spent nine or ten months in Durham gaol and died there, being brought back to Sunderland for burial.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Such official reaction to, and pursuit of, quakerism as there was, however, seems to have been of this desultory and rather personalised kind, and there is no evidence of it before 1657 or '58. Action during the period of the Protectorate contrasted sharply with the vigour immediately shown by the restored episcopacy of 1660 against quaker groups, and the numbers disturbed by that action reveal that the movement had indeed not failed to flourish in the Interregnum years. Although the Westmorland preacher Francis Howgill, in a letter to Richard Hickson imprisoned at Durham in the early months of the Restoration, could write of the 4,000 quakers in prisons across the nation he could still exhort Hickson to endure his fate with optimism,⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ and about the same time assert: "I have been northward in Northumberland, Bishoprick, and upon the East sea and back to York; truly the garden for the most part is very pleasant".⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

164 CSPD 1658-9, p.156

165 Ibid pp.148-9

166 Steel, Early Friends, p.18

167 CSPD 1660-61, p.533

168 Quoted by Steel, Early Friends, p.1

Whatever inroads the baptist movement had made into the region in the course of the 1640s it was not until the later years of the decade that they were given form and direction. The impetus came with those army personalities who appeared in the north and remained influential there - notably colonel Paul Hobson, captain Thomas Gower, and colonel Robert Lilburne. The baptist predilections of the latter saw him credited with the establishment of a church at Manchester in 1651,⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ but before this he had been an interim governor of Newcastle in 1647 prior to the appointment of Haslerig, and his religious outlook paved the way for the work of Hobson, who came to the town as Haslerig's deputy in the following year. Hobson's origins were obscure, but in 1644 he had subscribed to the Particularist Baptists' confession of faith of the London churches, and subsequently debated upon baptism, published devotional sermons, and preached in London and elsewhere in the south and west, suffering imprisonment as a lay preacher as a result of presbyterian animosity.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ He first appeared in the north as a major in colonel Henry Lilburne's regiment in 1647.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ It was Thomas Gower, however, another soldier and Particularist, who was credited with the establishment of a baptist congregation at Newcastle about 1650-1.⁽¹⁷²⁾ Notwithstanding the growth of the baptist faith in Newcastle, the extension of the movement into Durham seems to have

169 Underwood, History of the Baptists, p.85

170 Ibid pp.92-3

171 TT.E 417 (15)

172 Douglas, History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England, pp.5-6

owed as much to Thomas Tillam as it did to the Newcastle personalities. Tillam, a radical and activist like Hobson and Gower, came to Hexham in Northumberland in 1651 from the Coleman Street church in London and succeeded in establishing a church there.⁽¹⁷³⁾ Friction, and then open hostility, grew between the two congregations in which matters of doctrine, organisation and personality played their part among the protagonists,⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ but at the same time Tillam was proving himself a vigorous missionary and proselytiser. Within three years his Hexham congregation exceeded eighty members, and his activities had made him a force in Northumberland and north west Durham.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

The valley of the river Derwent, running out of the Pennines and through the rough western and northern upland borders of the county to join the Tyne at Whickham, had distinguished itself in the years immediately before the civil war, as a region of seething religious discontent. The raw but potent puritan spirit in evidence there at that time was largely uncommitted and undirected but the region had since become a fertile ground for many of the most radical of sectarian viewpoints, and in which the baptist persuasion in particular flourished. A 'Derwentside' church, probably coming into existence some little time after those of Newcastle and Hexham, had members in Hamsterley, Muggleswick, and Hindley, a few miles to the

173 Underhill, Records of the Churches of Christ Gathered at Fenstanton, Warboys, and Hexham 1644-1720, p.304

174 Howell, Newcastle, pp.249-54

175 Underhill, Records of the Churches, p.294; Little and Walker, Story of the Northern Baptists, p.10

north in Northumberland, where the border of that county crossed over to the south bank of the Tyne.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ It was Muggleswick which was the hub of the sectarian spirit to the south of the Tyne however. Thomas Tillam was active there as a preacher, but the place was exposed to a variety of sectarian preaching and lecturing, quakers and millenarians being among those heard there as well as baptists.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ The bitter quarrel between the Newcastle church and Tillam showed the influence of the former in Derwentdale too, however, where a pro-Newcastle group was led by the Muggleswick blacksmith John Ward and a Tillam faction was headed by the preacher Richard Ord of Brakenhugh, both of whom were also members of the Hexham congregation.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

Tillam was finally ousted from his lectureship at Hexham about 1656, and without his leadership the church began to fall away, lacking, it would appear, the vital spark of the Derwentdale men and women, who in 1660 were seeking vainly to rouse it from its moribund state with urgings and admonitions.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ The centres of Newcastle, Hexham and Derwentdale seem to have promoted the baptist movement with most success along the Tyne valley and across north Durham generally, although firm evidence to substantiate this is slight. In South Shields Michael and Cuthbert Coatsworth and the merchant Lewis Frost led a baptist group, and there was a meeting place in Sunderland in 1657.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ The continuing influence of Hobson and Gower throughout the 1650s

- 176 CRO. Ecclesiastical Catalogue - Hamsterley, 6
- 177 M & S, 32 f 115v.
- 178 Underhill, Records of the Churches, p.367-70
- 179 Ibid p.297
- 180 CSPD 1657-8, p.78

afforded baptists a valuable patronage, as did Robert Lilburne, whose authority in the Cromwellian regimes was particularly significant. Another influential baptist radical at this time was John Jobling, the Keeper of Durham gaol while the independent sympathies of Timothy Whittingham of Holmside may also have been of a baptist bent. Other distinct baptist congregations in the county are indiscernible however, and while baptists were to be found throughout Durham in the early Restoration years their numbers were small, certainly in comparison with those of the quakers - often their rivals in winning away their members - who usually equalled or outnumbered all other independent sects together in any particular parish. (181)

A noteworthy feature of the religious life of the period is the mien of the county's catholics, to all intents a discreet and quiescent one. A powerful catholic residue had long persisted in the north, and the Tyne and elsewhere on the Durham coast and in the county were notable reception points for the clandestine passage of priests. (182) With the coming of hostilities in 1642 much had been made by parliamentarian propaganda of the substantial catholic element which went to make up the King's northern forces: "... the Lord of Newcastle's Army, the which is now called the Catholic Army, and well it may, there being six or seven thousand known Papists and Recusants serving therein". (183) In August 1644, as the success of the parliamentary forces

181 Brearley, Discipline and Local Government in the Diocese of Durham 1660-72, p.207

182 The Humble Petition of John Salvin; James, Family. Lineage, pp.137-46 et passim; Smith, Catholic Tyneside

183 An Exact Relation of Remonstrances, etc. 1643(?)
RR I, (hist.)

in Durham became apparent, catholics made up a large part of those refugees fleeing from the county with their goods and chattels, and parliamentary horse posted at Croft, Yarm, Neasham and Piercebridge stopped such papists and confiscated their possessions.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Throughout the years of the regimes which followed, catholics suffered the imposition of severe and continuous financial burdens. Between 1650 and 1652 revenue extracted from catholic delinquents and recusants in these three years exceeded £5,000, while the returns for 1651 also reveal that catholics adjudged guilty of some act of delinquency in fact paid over to the state twice as much as non-catholic delinquents - £2,494. 7s. 2d. as against £1,246. 0s. 8d.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ Despite the persistent delinquency of reformadoes like George and John Collingwood,⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ many catholics continued to suffer materially merely for their faith, which was, of course, no new state of affairs. In November 1650 four small north Durham catholics petitioned the sequestration authorities, asking them to waive, or to totally discharge their sequestrations, and allow them to enjoy the two thirds of their estates to which as catholics they were entitled. None of them was a delinquent, and all faced ruin, and being thrown upon their parish, only for their religion. The local sequestrators made sympathetic noises but the petitioners' names still appeared on the county's sequestration lists five years later.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Although by August 1653 the county authorities had tendered

184 RCDN, p.6

185 Ibid pp. 54n., 57-8, 62

186 TT, E 451(22)

187 RCDN, pp.54, 57-8, 72-4

the Oath of Abjuration to all known or suspected papists and found only ten persons, all very small fry, who had refused it, this act of compliance by Durham catholics still left a total of 71 of them in a state of sequestration in August 1655.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Against this kind of pressure it is not remarkable that the catholic presence seems muted. Reports of priestly activity, too, are meagre. In August 1651 John Smith, alias John Thompson, a seminary priest, was arrested in the North Riding soon after coming out of Durham. He admitted having stayed in the house of the catholic Trollops of Thornley - long-known as a harbouring place for priests - but would name no one else he had consorted with.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ A jesuit, Father Whitfield, was arrested in 1654 after saying mass in Newcastle together with twenty or thirty others. He was interrogated, but two protestants found bail for him, and he was not proceeded against, being allowed to leave the region.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ It would doubtless be a mistake, however, to assume that beneath this sluggish, cautious and perhaps cowed exterior catholicism did not remain essentially strong and continuous in an unaltered measure. Certainly, it was still catholics who proliferated as religious offenders in the county's parishes above any other form of dissent in the early Restoration years.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

The character of the county's parochial clergy in the puritan regimes of the 1650s remained varied. Insufficient

188 Ibid pp.70, 72-4

189 Raine, Depositions from York Castle, p.40

190 Smith, Catholic Tyneside, pp.44-5

191 Brearley, Discipline and Local Government in the Diocese of Durham 1660-72, pp.199-207

numbers of sound preaching ministers and difficulties of financial maintenance meant an inevitable lack of stability and a consequent, continuing concern over unsatisfactory clerics. Between June 1650 and 1 April 1653 the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel examined and removed at least twenty two ministers in Durham, seven for scandal, six for insufficiency and two for both. A further two were without a title to their livings, while two others had no particular reason specified against them. Two more were removed for delinquency. The majority of these men were original episcopal appointments but one, Robert Wilkinson, was a parliamentary appointment to Aycliffe in 1647. More significantly, five of those turned out between April 1651 and August 1652 had been ministers in the proposed presbyterian classes for the county in 1645 and notable among them was the Scotsman John Hamilton who had been in arms at the battle of Worcester in September 1651, and admitted as much to the Commissioners in November. The national reaction, after Dunbar and Worcester, against presbyterianism and the Scottish influence generally in English affairs was reflected in these dismissals as it was in two others, the ejection of Thomas Wallis from Grindon as a Scot licensed to remain in England but not to officiate or preach, and also George Shaw, who had been at Pitlington since 1631, but who was now found insufficient and, as a

Scot, was deemed neither godly nor able enough to benefit from exception to the rule.⁽¹⁹²⁾ It seems doubtful whether Shaw did in fact remove however; there is no evidence of any other minister at Pittington until 1662. Similarly, a number of ministers removed in the county by the local committee of Triers in 1655 contained four clerics who had returned to their livings after earlier ejections. One was the Scot Hamilton once more, another the prebendary William James at Ryton, together with Dr. Thomas Wood who had re-appeared at nearby Whickham, and Thomas Dixon or Dickinson, who had again occupied Washington without any kind of title. Besides these, it seems that the Triers at that time acted against only two other Durham clergy, both of whom were long-standing episcopal appointments. John Walker, who had occupied Jarrow since 1633, was removed for insufficiency, and John Easterby, who had been at Seaham since 1622, was turned out for drunkenness and scandal.⁽¹⁹³⁾ Against this kind of background dissatisfaction over clergy persisted. In March 1656 Robert Lilburne was writing to the Protector of the need for more Triers in Durham and Yorkshire, to cope with the insufficiencies there.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾

With the decline of presbyterian influence, and the waxing spirit of toleration borne in by independency from the early 1650s, the complexion of the county's parochial clergy was certainly variegated, but more and more with a

192 Rawlinson MSS. A26, ff.432-3

193 Ibid f.434

194 TSP. IV, p.643

look of moderation or neutrality about it. At least twenty four men can be counted who were appointed to, or confirmed in, livings in 1650 or later and who chose to conform at the Restoration. Some, like John Ladler, already held dormant appointments to livings in the county, others held livings elsewhere like Samuel Feake who came to Staindrop in 1653 from his curacy at St. Andrew's Holborn, and returned there upon his removal from Durham.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ Leonard Wastall replaced - not without difficulty - the Scot Hamilton at Hurworth in 1651, conformed, and was regularised in the benefice in August 1662. Similarly, John Bewick, who had been a lecturer at St. Nicholas' Newcastle in 1639, served at Stanhope from 1644 but conformed and was licensed again in 1662,⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ as did Thomas Boyer, who served the sectarian hotbed of Muggleswick throughout the 1650s.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ When the accent of the Interregnum years was, in Richard Baxter's words, upon "Able, serious preachers, who lived a godly life of what tolerable opinion soever", it seems that a substantial portion of Durham parishes contrived to continue, quietly and perhaps discreetly, very much in the old fashion. Although parish records were in a large number of cases badly disrupted between 1642 and about 1650, in general they returned to an efficient continuity thereafter, and reflect a moderate and even tenor. Although the use of the

195 Randall 9, f.156

196 Ibid, f.169

197 Calamy, Memorial II, p.184

Prayer Book remained impossible, in other respects the conduct of parish affairs went on with little apparent change; churchwardens and other parochial officers were appointed, and rates and assessments fixed and disposed of for the same purposes as of old. In one respect, perhaps, there is a yielding to the puritan spirit indicated in an apparent decline in the administering of the sacrament, suggesting a puritan - in particular a presbyterian - diffidence about celebrating communion where conditions did not quite accord to their wishes and a resultant preference to do without. (199)

There is no mention of communion at Houghton le Spring between 1650 and 1660, while at St. Oswald's, Durham, a much disturbed parish, communions declined from four in 1641-2, to two in 1643, and when the vestry books were kept properly again from 1652, nothing was recorded spent on communion elements until 1659. By contrast, at Pitlington, where the vicar George Shaw remained apparently undisturbed, there was no interruption to the celebration of the sacrament, and proposed parochial assessments during the 1650s expressly included sums for communion purposes. (200) The precise sentiments of ostensible accommodators like Shaw are difficult to appraise. Shaw himself died in 1662 apparently having come to terms with episcopal authority once more. Another long-serving cleric, Ralph Tunstall, rector of Long Newton since 1616, died in April 1659 and was simply described

199 Shaw, English Church II, p.100

200 DPB, pp.104 et seq., 191-2, 196, 304-5

as "Min. of the Word of God, & Dispencer of the Truth of God to the People under his Charge".⁽²⁰¹⁾ Behind such discreet and non-committal stances it appears a goodly proportion of Durham clergy and parishioners pursued religious forms largely as they had always known them. The process was not always a smooth one; the accommodating postures of Henry Hutton undisturbed as the curate of Witton Gilbert since 1635, saw him succinctly described as "a true vicar of Bray", subsequently.⁽²⁰²⁾ Yet overall, the attitude of a great many of the county's clergy by 1659-60 seems exemplified by Stephen Hegg, another long-server who had held the curacy of Whitworth undisturbed since 1628, and who noted in his chapel register: "Cha. 2d. proclaimed at London May 8, and at Durham May 12 1660 on which day I (Stepn Hegg) began to use againe the Book of Common Prayer."⁽²⁰³⁾

201 Allen 13

202 Allen 14 (Witton Gilbert). Calamy lists him as one of those deprived at the Restoration however

203 Ibid (Whitworth)

CHAPTER 7

The Protectorate 1654-60

On 16 December 1653 Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector and began his role as pacifier, reconciler, and seeker after a median way to constitutional respectability for his regime. His efforts to this end were open to the support of neutrals, moderate presbyterians, and royalists, and at the same time drove away or estranged many of the older bulwarks of the Long Parliament and Commonwealth. In Durham, the advent of the Protectorate entailed some shifts in the pattern of local government, most significantly among those men who had figured prominently in the years up to 1654. The influence which the Vane family had wielded since 1644 was now reduced substantially. Sir Henry the elder died in 1654; his heir, Henry Vane the younger, was one of those adamant republican grandees who parted company with Cromwell over commercial and foreign policy, and the conciliatory reaction which they saw embodied in the Protectorate. Vane repaired to Raby to write his "Retired

Man's Meditation" and concern himself with personal business, in local affairs serving only as a justice, although his activities were watched with suspicion and concern by the Protectorate authorities.⁽¹⁾ Haslerig, too, was alienated by the expulsion of the Rump and became a stubborn opponent of the new regime. He withdrew into semi-retirement, having first professed to his careful and honest use of the state's finances and his successful preservation of the north for the Parliament,⁽²⁾ continuing as governor of Newcastle, but also much involved with his recently acquired estates in Durham, especially Bishop Auckland.⁽³⁾ Like Vane, he was regarded as a point of resistance to the new regime in the north.⁽⁴⁾ In Newcastle, Haslerig's responsibilities lay largely in the hands of Paul Hobson his deputy, himself an anabaptist colonel and representative of another republican facet not entirely happy about the new order. Haslerig's closest associate in the north, George Fenwick, became governor of Berwick in 1652 and its M.P. in July of the following year,⁽⁵⁾ and despite his large land acquisitions in Durham, took no ostensible part in the county's affairs up to his death in March 1657. There was little significant change, however, in that nucleus of parliamentary supporters which had constituted the county's government since the mid 1640s. Thomas Delaval, Francis Wren, Sir George Vane, Robert Hutton, Anthony Smith, Gilbert Marshall and Timothy

1 See below pp.284-5

2 SP.28, 260

3 Cos. Corr. I, pp.171, 334-80 passim

4 See below p.284 et seq.

5 Hutchinson, Northumberland II, p.92

Whittingham all appeared as justices and in a variety of state offices from sheriff to religious or militia commissioners, although there were a few significant changes to be discerned, James Clavering falling into opposition, and the names of Clement and Christopher Fulthorpe ceasing to appear. Timothy Whittingham was also regarded sourly by the Cromwellian Lilburnes by the later 1650s. The appearance in the commission of Thomas Lilburne in June 1652 was significant.⁽⁶⁾ The Protectorate, in fact, was to constitute a period which brought about not only a full reinstatement of the family in their former positions of authority, but by their close identification with Cromwell's cause was to carry them to an apogee of involvement and influence in the county's government up to, and including, the Restoration.

Despite his alleged treatment at the hands of Haslerig, George Lilburne was soon in the commission again, joining his brother Richard and son Thomas. It was Robert Lilburne, however, Richard's son, who was now, at the transition of Commonwealth into Protectorate, the most important element in the family's political composition. He had served with distinction and held high command throughout the civil wars, playing a leading role in the early reverse suffered by the Durham and Northumberland cavaliers in 1648, serving as commander-in-chief of the Parliament's forces in Scotland

for a time and defeating the Earl of Derby at Wigan in 1651. He sat as one of the King's judges and signed the warrant for his execution, and was a baptist in religious outlook.⁽⁷⁾ Cromwell's reliance upon the army hinged upon soldiers like Lilburne, and Lilburne himself enjoyed a close association with Lambert in the ordering of the Protectorate's affairs in the north generally. The meeting of the first Protectorate Parliament on 3 September 1654 made manifest the fact that the Lilburnes now constituted the hub of the county's Cromwellians. Colonel Robert Lilburne of Thickley Punchardon and George Lilburne of Sunderland were returned as knights for the county, and Anthony Smith the Durham city mercer and long-standing associate of the Lilburnes was returned for the city.⁽⁸⁾ After the pressures of the Fifth Monarchy men upon the Rump, pushing it towards the most sheer and dangerous of precipices, after the saintly and maladroit statements of intent from Barebone's Parliament, the Lilburnes and those with them were able to project an aura of relative moderation for presbyterians, neutrals, and perhaps the less committed and alienated of royalists in the county. Some move to appease royalist feelings was made in 1654 when Francis Wren, the last Commonwealth high sheriff was succeeded by Roland Place of Dinsdale, a delinquent, formerly a lieutenant colonel under the Earl of Newcastle.⁽⁹⁾ How far Place's appointment swayed other

7 Underwood, History of the Baptists, pp.75-6, 85

8 Allen 7, f.193; Randall 13, ff.116-7

9 CAM II, pp.1082-4

royalist sentiments is extremely difficult to gauge, however. Again, in the following year, something of a departure was made when Thomas Bewick became sheriff. He was one of the Newcastle and Northumberland family of merchant adventurers and hostmen⁽¹⁰⁾ which had been identified with the puritan and parliamentary cause since 1640 or before, but he had not been in any way prominent in the government of the county previously and had the hallmarks of a moderate. Nevertheless, despite the endeavours of the county's Protectorate rulers to project moderation and a willingness to enlist the support of the old influential families now nearly all alienated, there is nothing which indicates that the defeated Durham gentry was either reconciled or brought to participate in the county's government in any significant sense.

The irreconcilable nature of a royalist county kept constantly alive the rumour of plots and risings which, after 1653, had added to them as plotters the names of Haslerig and Vane as chief among those who had fallen away from the Protectorate. Both spent a good deal of time in the county, the former in the development of the episcopal manor he had bought from the state at Bishop Auckland and the latter at the family home at Raby where he was attempting, after the death of his father, to rid himself of its military garrison.⁽¹¹⁾ Although Vane's convictions aroused the anger

10 He had a valuable sixth holding in Whickham colliery.
Parl. S. II, p.83

11 TSP III, p.745, IV, p.36

of Henry Cromwell and the suspicions of Robert Lilburne with regard to his activities in the county,⁽¹²⁾ his overt political resistance to the regime took place outside of Durham.⁽¹³⁾ Haslerig, whom the Lilburnes had little cause to love, also aroused the suspicions of Robert Lilburne as Major General, and he was named in a number of alleged northern plots, the first of them late in 1653 when he was reported to have promised that "as soon as he saw the candle lighted, the bishoprick of Durham should set it up".⁽¹⁴⁾ The uncomfortable draughts of royalist activity were felt almost constantly. In January 1654 Francis Wren reported to the Lord Protector the interception of compromising letters coming out of Scotland, and the loyalty of the postmaster at Durham was being investigated by Robert Lilburne in December 1655, when Lilburne complained: "I am wondering sometimes that your instructions concerning the cavalliers are not put in execution in these parts, as in other countreys ... I could wish you would thinke of disposing of these persons that we might be free of the trouble of them".⁽¹⁵⁾ While disconcerting to the Protectorate rulers such activity nevertheless generated very little practical effect. The summer of 1654 produced a report of a plot on behalf of Charles II to be initiated in the west and north; no details were offered about its proposed inception in the west country, but in the north Newcastle was to be seized by men

12 Ibid IV, p.509, V, p.296

13 Burton, Diary IV, p.182 n; TSP V, pp.296, 299, 349

14 Ibid III, p.185, VI, p.829

15 Ibid II, pp.30-1, IV, p.283

concealed in colliers belonging to the town, which being known, could pass Tynemouth castle without inspection. At night in Newcastle the force would seize the magazine and castle and by this action raise the north of England and southern Scotland. No local personalities were named in this vague venture however, which did not materialise. (16)

An even more bizarre information referred to an attempt in early 1656, which was presumably meant to coincide again with royalist agitation in the west country, when Tynemouth castle was to be seized by the expedient of entering it through the galleries of coal pits two miles distant. No less incredible was the strange admixture of names alleged to be leagued in the venture. Adamant cavaliers like the Featherstonehaughs of upper Weardale, and colonel Ralph Millot of Whitehill, together with two 'captain Lambtons' stood ranged with radical puritans like Timothy Whittingham, James Clavering, major Jeremiah Tolhurst and the sectarian Sheppardsons, to all of whom the papist Thomas Wray was to act as agent and paymaster with a London jew named Da Silva. (17)

Indeed, James Clavering's break with the Protectorate became clear later in the year and Whittingham's too was to become questionable, while Tolhurst, the Sheppardsons and Wray all had close associations with Haslerig. Yet if there was substance in this plot it was largely in that it mirrored darkly but uncomfortably what forms those patterns of

16 A Paper of Colonel Bamfylde, TSP II, pp.510-14

17 Information of the Lady Hall, TSP V, p.572

discontent which existed in the region might take. Robert Lilburne's investigation of this affair allowed him to uncover only two Durham men of any standing who had been involved in some kind of weak plot. One was Thomas Bowes of Streatlam, a former supporter of Parliament until his change of sides in 1648 when his involvement with Langdale had brought him a composition fine of £456.⁽¹⁸⁾ The other was captain Henry Wren, one of the poorer members of the recusant branch of the family, who had taken but three followers with him.⁽¹⁹⁾ When, in September 1656, Sir Edward Hyde wrote from the continent to Sir Marmaduke Langdale requesting the names of half a dozen royalists who might be relied upon for their loyalty and discretion in Yorkshire, Northumberland and the bishoprick, Langdale supplied him with three for Durham - Sir Richard Tempest of Stella, John Tempest of Old Durham and colonel John Forcer of Harbour House.⁽²⁰⁾

There is nothing which implicates these three men in active plotting, but all three were unyielding cavaliers and Richard Tempest and Forcer were examples of passive royalist resistance in the county to punitive assessments and composition fines. A majority of Durham royalists had made their peace with the new order - at least to the extent of meeting the financial penalties placed upon them for first or second war offences - by the time that the Act of General

18 RCDN p.125

19 TSP IV, p.643

20 HMC Various II, p.353

Pardon and Oblivion appeared in December 1651 and were thus eligible and anxious to be absolved from further pressures by its means. Nevertheless, there remained a substantial number of delinquent royalists who had not extricated themselves. On 30 March, 1652, Wren and Delaval, the county's sequestration commissioners, submitted a list to the central committee for compounding in the capital which they claimed to be a comprehensive list of all persons in the county sequestered between 1 April 1644 and 1 December 1651 and who had not yet secured their discharge. It contained 159 names of delinquents and recusants and seventeen others who were suspended but not sequestered.⁽²¹⁾ At Martinmas (11 November) 1653 the sequestrators sent up returns for 132 sequestered estates which totalled £4,015. 2s.11d., which, with arrears, fifths, assessments and other deductions, produced an actual amount of £2,542. 10s.11d.⁽²²⁾ Such sums represented a very large financial loss to Durham cavaliers, and in a number of cases the costly delay in reaching an accommodation with the state was not deliberate but the result of legal complications arising out of death, debts, disputed ownership and like litigation. Some delinquents stubbornly refused to settle however, and their names appeared in the Acts of Sale of the early 1650s, which declared them 'traitors' for offences committed since 1642 and in effect provided for the total or partial confiscation of their estates. Sir Richard Tempest appeared

21 RCDN pp.65-8

22 CEP 28, 209(A) Durham bundle

in the first Act of Sale of 16 July 1651, as did Sir Thomas Riddell of Gateshead, and the subsequent acts of August 1652 and November 1653 named fifteen more Durham men. The estates of Cuthbert Conyers of Layton, Sir John Hilton of Hylton and the Smiths of Esh were among those legally entangled by the decease of their owners, but other, lesser gentry - William Sheraton of Elwick, colonel John Forcer, Ralph Millot and John Ayscough of Middleton-one-Row were proceeded against as stubborn royalists. Millot was one of a number who finally came to terms under the pressures of the Acts of Sale, John Ayscough however, was one of those whose estate was sold into the hands of Gilbert Crouch by the Treason Trustees.⁽²³⁾ Between March 1652 and July 1654 Crouch, an attorney and a son-in-law of John Salvin, secured large tracts of estates in Durham and Northumberland from the Treason Trustees, often in association with John Rushworth and others. As a lawyer he was a member of one of those classes of speculator whose activities amid royalist misfortune in these years have every appearance of being lucrative.⁽²⁴⁾ It is not possible to say where Crouch's interests were directed however, and his relationship with the Salvins could well mean that he was acting on royalists' behalf in securing and concealing their property. Like hard-pressed royalists elsewhere many Durham delinquents did in fact conceal part of their estates as a means of protecting themselves from

23 See Appendix D

24 See Chesney, Transference of Lands in England 1640-60 pp.181-210

further financial exactions on the part of the state. Delinquent revenue was petering out in 1654-5 and in February 1656 Cromwell's special commissioners for the county endeavouring to assess royalists for the decimation tax wrote to him that they were blockaded by bought-up estates held for delinquents by their friends. It was especially frustrating that those ostensibly no longer in ownership still occupied the estates, and concealment was legally difficult to prove. It was a problem the commissioners believed was particularly rife in Durham. (25)

It was against such a background that the conciliation of Durham's cavaliers had to be attempted - not, it would seem, with great success. A further set-back to Cromwellian hopes came with Penruddock's rising in February and March of 1655. Essentially a west country affair, and an unhappy one at best, its tremors in the north were feeble enough and centred upon yet another attempt to seize Newcastle. (26) But the royalist attempt in the west threw a scare into the Protectorate authorities and brought the military to the fore once more to bolster civil government in the shape of the Major Generals. With them came a new militia, the cost of which was to be borne by each county's cavaliers in the form of a decimation tax, which demanded a tenth of the annual value of the estates of royalists, and to be collected by Decimators - special commissioners appointed by the Major

25 TSP IV, p.541

26 Howell, Newcastle, pp.204-8

Generals of each county. John Lambert assumed responsibility as Major General for all of northern England and created two deputies - Charles Howard for Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland, and Robert Lilburne for Yorkshire and Durham. To aid him in his task Lilburne named as his special commissioners his father, Richard, and cousin Thomas, together with Paul Hobson and Thomas Gower, Francis Wren and Robert Hutton, who in February 1656 were writing to the Protector informing him of the difficulties of securing the peace in the county.⁽²⁷⁾ The short rule of the Major Generals - from October 1655 until early 1657 - meant that Robert Lilburne's despotic authority in Durham matched almost exactly the tenure of office as high sheriff of his uncle, George Lilburne. It was the high point of the family's prestige and influence in the county, but the circumstances were unfortunate. It has been observed: "It was the fact of the Major-Generals and the Special Commissioners, more than what they did, which became a folk-memory, an English upper-class bogey",⁽²⁸⁾ and in the forms of the south Durham yeoman and his uncle - the erstwhile coal-fitter and reputed horse-thief who now styled himself esquire - was embodied the bitter resentment of the traditional, ousted cavalier gentry. In Durham it was perhaps Thomas Lilburne who incurred the greatest odium in carrying out his cousin's wishes. Bishop Cosin wrote resentfully of him at the Restoration as

27 TSP IV, p.541

28 Aylmer, State's Servants, p.314

"... acting violently upon the power given to the maior
Generals wch the said Thomas did much more than any man".⁽²⁹⁾
The Lilburne's, who now combined the military and civil
ordering of the Protectorate's authority in the county,
together with modest gentlemen like Wren and Hutton and
upstart anabaptist soldiers like Hobson and Gower, epitomised
the lowly social origins, the absence of gentility, dis-
cernible in every stratum of government, and which for
royalist gentry everywhere was insult added to wounds which
were far from healed.

The reaction in the county to the rule of the Major
Generals was manifest in the elections held for members of
Cromwell's ~~third~~ Parliament which met on 17 September 1656,
the second and final occasion upon which Durham enjoyed
true parliamentary representation during the Interregnum.
Outside of the complex constitutional implications contained
in the demise of the Long Parliament, it at once held out
to the county of Durham a real probability of representation
at last in any new body. The county had petitioned cease-
lessly since 1645 for its wish to an assembly genuinely
sympathetic but whose good intentions constantly became lost
in a forest of other preoccupations. In truth, after colonel
Pride's purge in December 1648, Durham's case was no different
to many other places in the country. The body which remained
had a membership which did not exceed 125, against the original

Long Parliament's 490 members in 1640 and in which many of the nation's towns and counties were no longer represented. London had but one member and Wales none at all. The Rump's now alien, unrepresentative nature and its perverse desire for self-perpetuation, figured largely in its dissolution by the army on 20 April 1653. A week later a loyal address from the 'people of Durham' was sent up to London which concluded with a reminder to the Lord General and the Council of Officers that the county remained, because of the "usurpation and pride of the bishopps", without parliamentary representation and hoped for it in the future.⁽³¹⁾ The county's hopes were at last realised in the Parliament of the Saints which assembled on 4 July, although scarcely in a satisfying manner. The Parliament, an unsuccessful solution to the Commonwealth's exigencies, was selective not elective, its 140 members chosen by the Council of Officers from nominations sent up by independent congregations in the counties, and London was the only town or city to be represented.⁽³²⁾ The single seat apportioned to Durham was filled by the Newcastle puritan oligarch Henry Dawson. Cromwell's struggle to find a constitutional base which would incorporate an effective and co-operative Parliament continued to have a bearing on the county's aspirations. The self-immolation of the Assembly of the Saints in December had as a consequence the first Protectorate Parliament, summoned under the Instrument of Government on

31 Allen T. 36

32 Tanner, Constitutional Conflicts, p.169

3 September 1654. The Instrument had provided for a radical redistribution of seats in which decayed constituencies lost members and newer, unrepresented places of significance gained them. There was, too, a desire on the part of the creators of the Instrument to ensure that it gave access into Parliament to those middle class supporters of the Protectorate regime.⁽³³⁾ The upshot for Durham was the creation of three seats, two for the county, and one for the city. This was one seat fewer than the county had agitated for over the previous ten years - and longer - and which a parliamentary committee had projected for the county in 1650; it compared very poorly, too, with the representation enjoyed by many - especially southern-- counties.⁽³⁴⁾ Nevertheless, Durham sent up three sound, middle class Protectorate men in George and Robert Lilburne for the county and Anthony Smith for the city.⁽³⁵⁾

By the summer of 1656 feelings in Durham over the rule of the Major Generals was apparent in the agitation preceding the parliamentary election. On 9 August Robert Lilburne wrote to secretary Thurloe of the plans afoot in Yorkshire to keep supporters of the government out of Cromwell's third Parliament and observed that the same spirit was abroad in Durham and Northumberland "... where the people (whether by Sir Ar. H. means⁽³⁶⁾ (who is at Auckland) I know not) are perfect in their lesson, saying

33 Ibid pp.176-7

34 CJ.V, p.344

35 See above p.17

36 Sir Arthur Haslerig

they will have noe swordsman, noe decimator, or any that receives sallary from the state to serve in parliament".⁽³⁷⁾

In Durham, neither George nor Robert Lilburne sat again for the county although Robert was elected for the north riding and Thomas Lilburne took his father's place along with James Clavering, while Anthony Smith again sat for the city.⁽³⁸⁾

The Parliament, despite the endeavours of the Major Generals, contained a good many opponents of the Protectorate government when it came to assemble on 17 September, Haslerig prominent among them. The town of Newcastle no longer wished to have him as its member, "least they bring" observed Robert Lilburne, "both an inconvenience upon him and themselves",⁽³⁹⁾ but he was alternatively returned for Leicester, and among the hundred or so members excluded - by a strained interpretation of the Instrument of Government - along with Haslerig from the Parliament were a number of northern men, the Durham royalists Thomas Bowes and Henry Tempest, George Fenwick, and one of the Durham county members, James Clavering. Clavering had been identifiable as a leading parliamentarian and presbyterian since 1644, and had served continuously on local committees, on the bench, and as high sheriff in 1650. Either through a close association with Haslerig's viewpoint, or in a final reaction against the imposition of military despotism by yeomen Major Generals, Clavering made a clear break with the regime in 1656,

37 TSP V, p.296

38 Randall 13, ff.116-7

39 TSP V, p.296

nor were the county's Cromwellian rulers able to resist his election to one of the two county seats. In November, after his exclusion from the Parliament, Clavering was named in an information which involved him in the plotting and unrest in Durham and Northumberland in the early months of the year, and also accused him of lending £4,000 to Charles Stuart. His subsequent fortunes at the Restoration give the strongest support to the second allegation at least.⁽⁴⁰⁾ When the Parliament went on to seek a new and acceptable constitutional base for Cromwell's government by offering him the crown, captain Thomas Lilburne was one of the parliamentary committee appointed to confer with the Protector over his doubts and scruples,⁽⁴¹⁾ and both Lilburne and Anthony Smith were among those who ultimately voted for the proposal.⁽⁴²⁾ There was an irony of fate for the county's royalists in the measure of representation gained during the Protectorate, for the incessant demand for members since the early years of the century had not been confined to any sectional group or stratum, but was the comprehensive desire of the county's knights, gentlemen and freeholders, as it was to become again after 1660. Yet in 1653, and again in 1656, an overwhelming proportion of the county's royalists chose to take no part, refusing to consider themselves represented by those elected and leaving the business of election in the hands of that minority of Durham gentry who adhered to the

40 Ibid p.572. See below p.319

41 Ibid app. p.1

42 Randall 13, f.125

Cromwellian regime.⁽⁴³⁾ It was another example of the generally irreconcilable nature of the Durham cavaliers, and one in which their loyalty was to be used against them in their own renewal of the struggle for parliamentary representation from 1660.⁽⁴⁴⁾

In face of the opposition with which the army leaders and others presented him, Oliver Cromwell finally refused the crown in May 1657, and the powers of Parliament were enlarged against those of the Council of State. The opposition of republicans and soldiers which bedevilled Cromwell's assemblies was not appeased however, and continued to simmer alarmingly. In Durham an episode provided a sharp cameo of the divisions and tensions which existed nationally. On 25 August, Hester Hobson, the wife of colonel Paul Hobson made a complaint to the Council of State against George Lilburne. While riding to "a meeting-place for God's worship" in Sunderland one Sunday she had been confronted by Lilburne in his capacity as a justice who told her she had contravened the parliamentary act for the better observation of the Lord's day by riding a horse, and seized the animal until twenty shillings were paid, so that she had been obliged to walk to her meeting. The Council referred the issue to the sheriff, Timothy Whittingham, and Major General Robert Lilburne, and on 16 September Whittingham recommended to the Council that George Lilburne

43 Hunter 24, ff.2-4

44 See below p.344

be put out of the commission.⁽⁴⁵⁾ What was superficially an unpleasant little clash involving religious sensitivities in fact cloaked a more significant confrontation. In Hobson was manifest the soldierly, sectarian, republican strains which constituted the essence of the dissent and dissatisfaction over Cromwell's rule. In George Lilburne was embodied the hopes of middle class moderates, presbyterians, and all those who earnestly looked to the Protectorate to produce an acceptable and enduring political settlement. Robert Lilburne, insofar as he concurred in Whittingham's recommendation, revealed the first sign of estrangement from his family over the two broad courses open to the nation; he had, of course, long been a committed republican, an army man prominently involved with those soldiers upon whom Cromwell's government leaned. Whittingham's response was perhaps more significant from a county viewpoint. His family had impeccable puritan credentials and he had himself supported all phases of the revolution since 1642. He had never been conspicuously identified with any particular group in the county - Vanes and Blakison, Haslerig or Lilburnes - and had carefully avoided involvement in the Harraton affair at one time.⁽⁴⁶⁾ He almost certainly, however, represented grass-roots puritan radicalism in the county equally as well as any Lilburne or anyone else, and in 1657 he felt justified, and strong enough, not to effect any compromise between two

45 CSPD 1657-8, pp.78, 101

46 See his letter in the body of The Oppressed Man's Out-Cry

significant, essentially antipathetic protagonists but found harshly against the representative of the Protectorate government.

On 21 April 1658, at the first Durham sessions after the dissolution of Cromwell's third Parliament in the February, the sheriff, justices and grand jury of the county sent up an address of loyalty to the Protector. The names of only seven justices appeared, however, and all of them were predictable enough - Francis Wren and Thomas Delaval, George Lilburne, not, it seems, put out of the commission, and his son Thomas, Anthony Smith, Henry Eden and Richard Rowe.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Timothy Whittingham, who, despite the system of annual shrieval appointments which had subsisted since 1646, was serving a second year as high sheriff, also signed, but a few months later, on 11 October, a little more than a month after the death of Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Lilburne was complaining of Whittingham's demeanour to Thurloe: "... since the parliament was dissolved good men, was afflicted at the cause thereof, others to (sic) ready to hold forth what single persons would doe with parliaments, and in such a time the sherife caime not to the sessions, nor kept that correspondence with the Justices in there sessions as formerly ..."⁽⁴⁸⁾ His negligence, added Lilburne, had also caused him to be fined £100 by the judges at the last assize. Of the death of the Protector on 3 September Lilburne reported that in Durham, "Abundance there was troubled with

47 Allen T, 35a
48 TSP VII, p.434

the bad news", but the proclamation of Richard Cromwell went off quietly in the north and Lilburne himself heard Richard solemnly proclaimed in two places in Durham. (49)

A meeting had been arranged to set up a loyal address to Richard Cromwell, but once again it was the tardiness, or unwillingness, of the high sheriff Whittingham to complete the business which concerned Lilburne. (50) Whether Lilburne was accusing Whittingham of disaffection or merely incompetence is not entirely clear, but in the event the county got a new sheriff for 1659. He was Robert Ellison, hardly a Durham man, but a member of a prominent Newcastle family, a hostman and merchant adventurer, who had served the town as sheriff in 1645 and M.P. in 1647. He was the county's last appointment before the Restoration. (51)

The accession of Richard Cromwell moved the Interregnum on towards its confused conclusion, and brought about also the culmination of one of the Interregnum's best endeavours - the attempt to establish a centre of learning in the county of Durham. The original impetus to create such an institution is uncertain, but its very earliest beginnings most probably lay in that upsurge of interest in education evident in the county for a century previously, (52) and which filled the nation at large with educational notions and reformers in the 1640s and '50s. (53) There was certainly also an admixture of the "licence which accompanied the Revolution", (54) coupled with the fact that the state had begun to sell off

49 Ibid pp.378, 411

50 Ibid p.411

51 Randell 13, ff. 23-4

52 James, Family, Lineage, pp.99-100

53 Aylmer, State's Servants, p.317

54 'W.H.', Cromwell's College at Durham, p.7

capitular lands in April 1649. On 24 April 1650 the sheriff and gentlemen of the county sent up a petition to Parliament which asked that the unoccupied dean and chapter buildings at Durham should be converted "into some College, or School of Literature" and which was passed on to the Committee of Obstructions for the Sale of Dean and Chapter Lands for consideration.⁽⁵⁵⁾ A further approach was made to Parliament on 20 August when the moral argument of Parliament's debt to the county of £25,663.13s.10d. owed since 1641 was used over the matter of financing the establishment.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Early in 1651 the mayor of Durham and some others of the county's gentlemen rode to Edinburgh and there broached the matter directly to Cromwell and won him over. He commended the scheme to Parliament in a letter to speaker Lenthall on 11 March: "Truly it seemes to me a matter of great concernment & importance as that which (by the blessing of God) may much conduce to the promoting of Learning & Piety in these poore rude & ignorant parts ..."⁽⁵⁷⁾ It was not until 18 June, after more than a year had elapsed, that Sir Arthur Haslerig brought the Committee of Obstructions' report to the House. They found the buildings on the six acre site mostly unused and unproductive, and with a survey value of £2,450, and deemed them suitable for the purpose in hand. The committee were further instructed to investigate the manner of maintaining the college, out of other dean and

55 CJ IV, p.410

56 Cromwell's College, p.17

57 Durham Tracts 5(b) p.79; Carlyle, Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, III, p.120

chapter resources or delinquents' estates.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The scheme had made good progress since its first formal airing in early 1650 and a third petition of the county's gentlemen and freeholders on 14 January 1652 expressed their gratitude for the Parliament's grant of the dean's and prebendaries' houses for their purpose, and pursued the matter of "a competent revenue in lands" for maintenance.⁽⁵⁹⁾ For no clear reasons, however, Parliament made no further response in the project, nor did the county interests appear to press actively for it. The scheme fell into abeyance for four years.

It was not, it would seem, until 1655 or early 1656 that a renewed approach was made to the Lord Protector and his council. It was in response to the appeal of the sheriff, justices, grand jury and gentlemen of Durham who had informed the Protector of the desire of themselves and many in neighbouring counties to establish a college, that on 12 April 1656 the granting of the wish was announced.⁽⁶⁰⁾ It is conceivable that the county's representation in Cromwell's second Parliament had been used to effect some progress also - certainly, when announcing the council's decision President Lawrence addressed himself to the city's member in 1654, Anthony Smith, whose name was closely associated with the promotion of the college, as well as other city figures - aldermen Richard Lee and Henry Rowell,

58 CJ VI, pp.589-90

59 Allen T, 35

60 CSPD 1655-6, p.262

and Mr. John Toplyn, as well as Thomas Lilburne and John Middleton of Darlington.⁽⁶¹⁾ The funding of the college was to be provided by endowments out of the episcopal manors of Gateshead and Whickham, and from parochial impropriations formerly belonging to the Durham dean and chapter.⁽⁶²⁾ A Committee to consider statutes was created and its numbers augmented during the year.⁽⁶³⁾ On 15 May 1657 letters patent for the college were granted in the name of the Protector and his council,⁽⁶⁴⁾ and a provost, fellows and visitors began to be named.⁽⁶⁵⁾ As the scheme neared realisation it began to encounter difficulties of a different kind, however. In the first place there seemed always a vagueness among its promoters as to just what the status, function and purpose of the institution was to be. A 'college or school of Litterature', had been spoken of, "for all the sciences of Literature",⁽⁶⁶⁾ and Cromwell, in his letter to Lenthall, had spoken of "... the promoting of

61 Ibid

62 Cromwell's College, p.40

63 CSPD 1655-6, pp.288, 297, 325

64 A copy is extant in the cathedral library at Durham.
Hunter 47

65 There were 103 visitors in all, ranging down from Sir Thomas Widdrington of Newcastle, speaker of the Parliament, the Earl of Northumberland and Major General John Lambert, to a variety of other Protectorate figures in the northern counties. The Durham names constitute the solid nucleus of the Protectorate's supporters in the county. Seven of the eleven constant visitors were Durham men: Robert and Richard Lilburne, Sir Thomas Liddell, Timothy Whittingham, Anthony Smith, John Middleton, and Gilbert Marshall, while one of three clerics was Henry Lever the presbyterian intruder at Brancepeth. Amongst the other visitors the names of Henry and George Vane, Thomas Lilburne, Robert Hutton, Rowland Place, Haslerig and Hobson appeared together with two other Durham ministers, the intruder Thomas Weld at Gateshead and the undisturbed rector of Long Newton, Ralph Tunstall. Durham Tracts (c) pp.81-98; Burton, Diary II, pp.531-40

66 CJ.IV, p.410, VI, p.590

Learning & Piety". Fox apparently understood its purpose to be essentially that of a seminary for a prepared priesthood and the Quakers attacked it on these grounds.⁽⁶⁷⁾ While early intentions in the county may have been modest enough, arguments used to advance the college's case had noted its remoteness from Oxford or Cambridge in a way which tacitly or subconsciously saw it as a competitor with them. It was from the two established universities that serious pressure began to be mounted, and some little time before Cromwell's death Oxford was protesting that the promoters of the Durham college had exceeded their declared wishes and intentions by endeavouring to vie with the two established universities as a degree-conferring institution.⁽⁶⁸⁾ When, after Cromwell's death, the provost and fellows of the Durham college addressed themselves to Richard Cromwell and told him that upon his father's death "... this new Erection was left an Orphan scarce bound up in its swaddling Cloaths",⁽⁶⁹⁾ it was soon evident that they scarcely exaggerated. In April 1659 both universities, in concerted petitions to Richard Cromwell, listed a variety of objections to the Durham college ranging from a decline in standards to the threat of popish, prelatical and socinian infection,⁽⁷⁰⁾ but were in reality a defence of academic monopoly. The enthusiasm and impetus for the Durham college was indigenous, but its viability rested very largely upon Oliver Cromwell's interest

67 See above p.266

68 Cromwell's College, p.41

69 Mercurius Politicus no. 445, 2 Dec. 1658

70 Cromwell's College, pp.41, 54-5

and support - which was not to be forthcoming from his son. In apparent deference to Oxford and Cambridge, but probably more because of other critical exigencies of state, Richard left the issue unresolved, and the babe was effectively strangled by his abdication.

In the heightening crisis of 1658-9 it was Thomas Lilburne as much as anyone, who maintained Richard Cromwell's cause in Durham. "I am soe settled upon this government, that I am ready to part with any thing for the maintaining of it," he wrote to Thurloe on 12 October 1658, and at the same time expressed his misgivings over the army's proposal to the Protector that a commander-in-chief might be empowered to grant lesser commissions and that purging or modelling should become almost impossible.⁽⁷¹⁾ The issue was one of the causes for Richard Cromwell's first, and only, Parliament, in January 1659. Because it perverted the terms of the Humble Petition and Advice and fell back upon the electoral system prior to 1642, there was, once again, no representative for the county or city of Durham. Thomas Lilburne appeared as one of the government's supporters nevertheless, being one of the two members elected for Newcastle.⁽⁷²⁾ By 22 April the army had declared for a republic, Richard Cromwell had abdicated and the Parliament had been dissolved. In the 'year of anarchy' which ensued the county's future was essentially thrashed out in the capital in the struggle

71 TSP VII, p.436

72 See Howell, Newcastle, p.209 n.4 on this point

there between the republican officers of the army and the recalled Rump of 1653. Despite the intensity of feelings across the country, affairs remained in the hands of, and could only be resolved by, soldiers. This was true of Durham as clearly as anywhere else. When Major General John Lambert, on the 13 October, like Cromwell before him, expelled the recalcitrant Rump which the army had restored in May, and a Committee of Safety appeared in its stead, it was the radical republican soldiers present in the county who declared themselves loyal to it - Paul Hobson as deputy governor of Newcastle, Thomas Gower as commander of the Durham militia, John Jobling the keeper of Durham gaol⁽⁷³⁾ - as well as Lambert's deputy in Durham, Robert Lilburne. Earlier in the year the last united and concerted action of the county's Protectorate rulers was seen in the measures taken against the premature flurry of royalist enthusiasm indicated by Sir George Booth's rising. On 9 July Thomas Gower was ordered by the Council of State to assemble his militia forces at a suitable point in the county to meet any possible royalist threat,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and the militia commissioners - among them Sir George Vane and Francis Wren - acted vigorously enough, securing the arms from every cavalier charged with sending in either horse or foot arms, and retaining them.⁽⁷⁵⁾ A little more than a month later the Durham militia commissioners were informed that Sir

73 RCDN p.75

74 CSPD 1658-9, pp.15-6

75 HMC 7th Report, p.93

Thomas Liddell had been commissioned to raise a regiment of foot to augment the county militia, while a quantity of arms was despatched from London to the Tyne to help equip it.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Although none of the county's royalists was apparently involved in any overt activity, and the region remained undisturbed,⁽⁷⁷⁾ a last ripple of sequestrations spread outwards from London. The response in the northern counties to the commission and instructions to act revealed the prevailing mood. In Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland only four men were willing to act as sequestrators and a meeting arranged for 16 November in Barnard Castle for the last named counties saw no one turn up.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In Durham Hobson and Jobling could persuade only one minor personality to join them.⁽⁷⁹⁾ In a worsening situation virtually all shades of opinion were largely prepared to wait upon events, which in any case were moving quickly enough. The army's expulsion of the Rump in October at last caused Monk in Scotland to act. On 17 October he made preparations to seize Berwick and announced his intention of intervening in English affairs on behalf of the Rump Parliament to put an end to "that intolerable slavery of a sword government".⁽⁸⁰⁾ According to Hobson and Jobling, it had an immediate, dangerous effect upon the Durham royalists. "They rant high with Monk's declaration, and this last week there was a declaration abroad from Charles Stuart, which much heightens them", they reported to the Committee of Safety

76 CSPD 1658-9, pp.119, 566

77 RCDN p.74

78 Ibid p.88

79 Ibid p.74

80 Quoted by C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army, 1902, p.384

on 31 October, and went on to ask for instructions for dealing with the growing uncertainty and excitement with regard to a restoration which caused royalists to act so boldly. (81)

When the Rump was once again restored on 26 December there existed two sources of authority in the nation, the Committee of Safety, which had already despatched Lambert northwards to confront Monk in his threatened march into England, and the Council of State of the Rump which Monk had chosen to uphold. Sir Arthur Haslerig, whose personal preeminence had been reinstated along with the republican Rump in May, had parted company with Lambert, Fleetwood, Vane and the other republican irreconcilables in the course of the summer and was one of those who had written an appeal to Monk when the Parliament was turned out. (82) Monk regarded Haslerig's influence in the north as critical at this time. Lambert himself had arrived at Newcastle on 12 December and waited there, ostensibly with a view to a conference with Monk, but attempting to rally what forces he could and bolster the morale of the region at the same time. (83) "Att this conjuncture of tyme noe man was soe capable to obstruct my designes as Sir Arthur Hesilrige", Monk later wrote to the speaker of the Commons, "who had in his immediate commaund the government of Berwicke, Carlisle, Newcastle, and Tynmouth, with a regiment of foote and one of the best regiments of horse in the Army". (84)

81 RCDN p.75

82 DNB

83 CSPV 1659-61, p.99

84 Clarke Papers IV, pp.302-3

The question was not really one of Haslerig's intentions but whether he could effectively command all the northern forces nominally under his control on behalf of the Parliament in face of the extreme convictions of many officers and the welter of contradictory orders which were flying about. Hobson, Gower, Jobling and Robert Lilburne were the centres of resistance, having rallied to Lambert and the Committee of Safety. In reality it was Thomas Lilburne who was attempting to carry out the wishes of Haslerig in London in an effort to preserve Durham for Monk and the Parliament.

The open opposition of Robert and Thomas revealed the split which the crisis had wrought in the Lilburne family. George, Richard and Thomas Lilburne had endured as loyal servants of the revolution since its earliest days; in religion they were presbyterians however, and George Lilburne's fierce covenanting spirit of 1640 had, like virtually all English presbyterian sentiments, become moderate and ultimately reactionary beside the currents of independency from 1647 onwards, and which brought Henry Lilburne to a fatal shift of sides in 1648.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Politically, all save Henry remained loyal to the various regimes, radicals in calling for the King's trial, reliable Commonwealthmen, and enjoying high authority as servants of the Protector. Their radicalism too had become moderate and taken on an aspect of respectability in its support of Cromwell and his son. Robert Lilburne, however, like his celebrated brother John, was imbued with a deeper radical

spirit in religion and politics which carried him through the roles of republican soldier, sectary, and regicide. He had served Cromwell with the mounting unhappiness of many in the army which had been noted in 1658⁽⁸⁶⁾ and his close adherence to Lambert brought him into the General Council of Officers in October 1659, together with Lambert, Fleetwood, Vane, Desborough and others.⁽⁸⁷⁾ As Lambert moved northwards with his forces to Newcastle, Robert Lilburne was left as governor of York, and his cousin Thomas wrote to Haslerig of him on 3 January 1660 that he "... is known to be altogether his (i.e. Lambert's) creature", and had expressed as his sentiments of the Parliament, "... he hoped never a true Englishman would name the Parliament again, and that he would have the house pulled down where they sat for fear it should be infectious".⁽⁸⁸⁾ The rift in the family caused by the final progression of events was indicative of the gulf which had grown between that minority of radical republicanssoldiers and that large majority of all other varying shades and degrees of conviction which had trodden the gradual road of moderation and stability which ended in the restoration of the monarchy.

Thomas Lilburne's influence in Durham in the last years of the Protectorate was coupled with the fact that he had spent some time in Scotland in 1658-9 and had accepted a commission from Monk.⁽⁸⁹⁾ In November and December,

86 TSP VII, pp.84-5

87 Whit. p.685

88 SP 18, 219, 5

89 Surtees, Durham I, p.258 n.(e)

under Monk's orders, he was attempting to counter the supporters of the Committee of Safety and to rally support in the county by announcing that the moderate and politically unsullied Fairfax would soon show himself and act for Monk in Yorkshire. Late in December Lilburne, not without difficulty, purged his own troop of horse and marched to York,⁽⁹⁰⁾ which was seized by Fairfax on 1 January 1660, and where the issue between Lambert and Monk was thought likely to be decided. Monk himself entered England with 5,000 foot and 2,000 horse on 2 January, and on the following day the Council of State ordered the disbanding, upon an indemnity, of all forces not raised by Parliamentary authority, or in arms against it.⁽⁹¹⁾ Although late in 1659 a printed remonstrance had appeared against Monk purporting to voice the feelings of several thousands in Durham, Northumberland, north Yorkshire and adjacent parts of Cumberland and Westmorland deploring his betrayal of the Good Old Cause and assuring him of their intention to stand by the army,⁽⁹²⁾ although the mayor of Durham, Henry Rowell, was despatching pistols, muskets, pikes and other accoutrements of the county's militia from the city of Durham into the garrison of Tynemouth on 3 January 1660,⁽⁹³⁾ there was to be no resistance in the north. By 9 January two of the regiments with Lambert at Newcastle had declared for the Parliament,⁽⁹⁴⁾ and with the appearance of Lord Fairfax's forces in their

90 SP 18, 219, 5

91 CSPD 1659-60, p.296

92 TT, 669, 21, 89

93 CSPD 1661-2, p.271

94 CSPV 1659-61, p.106

rear about York those troops Lambert still commanded either submitted to Monk, complied with the parliamentary order to return to their quarters of 20 October, or otherwise melted away. Monk was left to continue his progress the length of the country until he entered London on 3 February with the emphatic approval of a majority of the nation, who rightly saw him as the harbinger of the restored monarchy. Three weeks later, in the city of Durham, the garrison of soldiers Monk had left there were being invited to drink the King's health by a crowd gathered at a market place tavern. Bonfires were lit and the cry went up for a King and a free Parliament before the soldiers at last roughly dispersed the crowd. (95)

CHAPTER 8

The Restoration Pattern: Conclusion

"... at my first entrance through the river of Tease there was scarce any water to be seene for the multitudes of horse and men that filled it", wrote John Cosin of his first entry into Durham as bishop on 21 August 1661. He was presented with the Conyers falchion to the accompaniment of trumpets, gunshots and acclamations and observed further: "I am not much affected with such showes, but, however, the cheerfullness of the Country in the reception of their Bishop is a good earnest given for better matters which, by the grace and blessing of God, may in good time follow here among us all".⁽¹⁾ The death of bishop Thomas Morton in 1659 left the see vacant at the time of the King's return, but Cosin, a sharer of the court's exile, was already earmarked for the position, and from June 1660 concerned himself with the preservation of episcopal and capitular rights and property, and was charged with the care of coalpits and woods during the vacancy prior to his formal advancement.⁽²⁾

1 Cos. Corr. II, p.21

2 CSPD 1660-1, pp.108, 113

His appointment was an unmistakable restitution of the past. An arch-disciple of those Laudian tenets which had served so much to leaven the spirit of the revolution, his return as bishop to the cathedral and diocese where he had striven so forthrightly to advance them as long ago as the 1620s was an exculpation of the old Arminian forms. If no reactionary, he was to prove a captious conservative, and as such an unpopular bishop, for he represented the desire for a total return to the status quo ante in the government and administration of the county - clerical and lay - which was to displease a wide band of opinion and feeling within it. Even so, there was manifest, from the middle months of 1660 and in the first rosy flush of the Restoration, a widespread and strong desire to revert as soon as possible to the old patterns of administration and jurisdiction, and this was soon being effected.

There was, it seems, no sudden or radical purge among the county's serving justices and other officials. The Council of State on 5 May asked Parliament for a Declaration which required and empowered all serving officials from sheriffs downwards to execute their duties and preserve the public peace against disorders. Parliament made such a Declaration two days later which confirmed sheriffs, justices, mayors and constables in the posts they held on 25 April 1660. (2a

Thus, those who had a need to do so had an initial opportunity to demonstrate their willingness to accept and serve the restored regime, although in Durham they were later to disappear from out of the commission in particular. The Protectorate's last sheriff, Robert Ellison, in a letter to General Monk at Whitehall in February or March, had intimated his wish to lay down the office,⁽³⁾ and within a fortnight of the King's entry into his capital Ellison had been replaced by Thomas Davison of Blakiston, now the senior member of a stoutly cavalier family.⁽⁴⁾ Other appointments were made about the same time; Sir William Darcy became temporal chancellor during the vacancy of the see and with others was charged to secure the rents and estates belonging to Church, Crown, and sequestered delinquents. Christopher Mickleton resumed as protonotary of the common pleas, a position he had filled before the wars and for which he had been pursued as a delinquent, while James Mickleton became its clerk.⁽⁵⁾ Another royalist lawyer, John Heath, took up his old pre-war office of steward of the halmote courts, a post occupied for many of the Interregnum years by the quaker Anthony Pearson, and in 1662 became Cosin's attorney general.⁽⁶⁾ Another family associated with episcopal offices was restored in the person of John Swinburne, who became Cosin's solicitor general in December 1660.⁽⁷⁾ Another pre-

3 HMC Leybourne Popham, p.161

4 CSPD 1660-1, p.50

5 Ibid pp.78, 210, 244

6 Randall 13, ff. 84, 94

7 Thomas Swinburne, the 'notorious delinquent' of 1644, had been the bishoprick's last escheator before the Long Parliament's statute against wards and liveries ended the office. Randall 13, ff. 24, 96

war diocesan officer and delinquent, the spiritual chancellor Thomas Burwell, had reoccupied his post by July.⁽⁸⁾ More impetus was given to such changes when the county voiced its feelings in a petition⁽⁹⁾ to the King from more than 1600 loyal inhabitants which complained of their former hard sufferings, their denial of true religious forms and the growth of sects and heresies, the destruction of ancient palatine rights - ecclesiastical and secular - and prayed for the restitution of all such former rights and privileges. Among its leading signatories were Sir John Conyers, Sir William Darcy, Sir Francis Anderson, Sir Francis Liddell, Sir Henry Lambton, Thomas and Ralph Davison, Jerrard and Anthony Salvin, and various members of the Bellasis, Carr, Featherstonehaugh and Killinghall families, most of them identifiable as long-suffering and loyal cavaliers who now emerged vociferously once more.⁽¹⁰⁾ The royal response was to commission the temporal chancellor, Darcy, and eleven others to act as itinerant justices and justices of assize in pleas of the crown and other pleas in the county.⁽¹¹⁾ A new lord lieutenant appeared, Thomas Bellasis the second Viscount Fauconberg of Henknowle, whose grandfather - who had received the title in 1643 for his fidelity to the King - and father had both been harried as delinquents and

8 CSPD 1660-1, p.116

9 Hunter 7, f.38. Undated, probably Sept. or Oct. 1660

10 There were exceptions. Henry Lambton had come to terms with the Commonwealth, and Thomas Shadforth had pursued a dubious course until the end of the Commonwealth regime. At least two others were prominent Cromwellians - old George Grey's son Ralph, and Anthony Smith the Protectorate M.P. for the city

11 CSPD 1660-1, p.394

recusants over their estates in Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire until their deaths in 1653 and 1649 respectively.⁽¹²⁾ Thomas Bellasis married Cromwell's third daughter Mary in March 1658, and on 27 June 1660 was granted a general pardon for all acts carried out under the pretended authority of Parliament. In November he was acting as lord lieutenant of Durham and the North Riding.⁽¹³⁾

Thomas Bellasis affords an example as one of those magnates who moved adroitly through shifting circumstances to emerge unscathed in the final accounting. The early months of the Restoration saw many royalist members of Durham families now appealing to the King for redress for the very real sufferings and losses they had had to endure, however. Among such petitioners was the Sunderland royalist John Clarke, a cavalier major who claimed to be among the first to have appeared with general Monk and whom the King appointed water bailiff on the Wear.⁽¹⁴⁾ Henry Lane, who had served with the Duke of Hamilton in 1648 and with the King until the battle of Worcester, petitioned to recover the lease on a water mill owned by the King in the county which he, Lane, had first bought thirty years since.⁽¹⁵⁾ There were more serious statements of distress, however. Rebecca, the daughter of Robert Salvin of Durham, herself a widow, petitioned for royal favour or patronage in face of her father's £6,000 of losses which now left her

12 CCC.II, pp.966-8

13 HMC, Various Collections II, pp.2, 116

14 CSPD 1660-1, p.242

15 Ibid p.449

destitute.⁽¹⁶⁾ Ralph Featherstonehaugh of Toft in Weardale, a member of another family of constant cavaliers, claimed he had been imprisoned four times, "sold to Barbadoes", and that a composition fine of £310 had rendered him unable to support his family. His request to become bailiff of Gateshead was granted by the King.⁽¹⁷⁾ Generally however, the county's leading royalist families do not seem to have been dealt crippling financial blows by their Interregnum ordeal; however severe none is apparent which could not recover from it, and the roll of the gentlemen of the county charged with contributions to the county's militia troop of horse which mustered on 3 November 1660, showed the ranks of the county's royalist gentlemen largely unreduced and restored.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is clear too, that those leading cavalier irreconcilables like Sir Richard Tempest and colonel John Forcer, and others like William Riddell and John Hilton whose estates became snared in the complications caused by decease, and saw their property appear in the Acts of Sale, were also able to make good recoveries.⁽¹⁹⁾ Others turned the Interregnum years to advantage and advancement. The Smiths of Eshe were a catholic family who had served the royal cause loyally; John Smith was a colonel of horse and died in Paris in 1649.⁽²⁰⁾ In February 1661 his son Edward had a patent for a baronetcy diverted to him by a kinsman, Anthony Skinner, and undertook to pay the King

16 Ibid p.391

17 Ibid p.238

18 See Appendix C

19 Ibid; CSPD 1661-2, p.454

20 RCDN pp.344-5

£100 per annum for service from his estate still worth £1,800 a year.⁽²¹⁾ Even more striking was James Clavering of Axwell and Newcastle. Although the Northumberland Claverings proved firm royalists, James Clavering's constant involvement with the parliamentary government of Durham and the north east generally has already been noted. It was not until the establishment of the Protectorate that, as an associate of Sir Arthur Haslerig, he made an unmistakeable break with the regime, and was rumoured to have loaned £4,000 to the exiled Charles II.⁽²²⁾ Whatever his actual motivation and convictions, Clavering's volte face has every appearance of being adroit. On 24 July 1661 he was granted the dignity of a baronetcy, and was receiver of the King's assessment in Newcastle.⁽²³⁾ The success of the Axwell Claverings, already well established in Tyne coal and commerce at the commencement of the civil war, was merely augmented by James Clavering's activities during the period.

For those who had adhered most closely to the revolution's regimes retribution in varying degrees followed. The roles of Sir Henry Vane the younger and Robert Lilburne had been played out on the national stage, and they were now called to account by correspondingly high authority. Lilburne was one of those twenty six regicides still living who were excepted out of the act of amnesty which had been promised from Breda; he was committed into the charge of the sergeant

21 CSPD 1661-2, p.510

22 See above, p.296

23 CSPD 1661-2, pp.42, 313

of the House by the Convention Parliament and tried and condemned as a regicide although he had submitted himself and accepted the King's pardon early in June.⁽²⁴⁾ In October his forfeited property at Thickley was being petitioned for by the widow of a royalist sufferer as restitution for her husband's losses.⁽²⁵⁾ On 31 October 1661 Lilburne was sent to St. Nicholas island near Plymouth and died there in 1665 aged fifty two.⁽²⁶⁾ As a regicide, Lilburne could count himself fortunate to escape execution, and by comparison Henry Vane's case smacked much more of injustice. His unequivocal political and religious radicalism of the previous twenty years or more had been promoted with resolution and ability and had alienated him from the Protectorate government. He had figured prominently with the republican officers of 1659 and after Monk's successful intervention on behalf of the Parliament he had been banished to Raby under house arrest in January 1660.⁽²⁷⁾ Although his prominence and avowed republicanism saw him denounced as one of the King's judges⁽²⁸⁾ he had in fact taken no part in the King's trial, and his execution was justified by the celebrated expedient that he was too dangerous a man to let live.⁽²⁹⁾ It was observed more sourly elsewhere: "it was determined to sacrifice him to the Ghost of the Earl of Strafford".⁽³⁰⁾ In Durham at least, for those whose roles had been more modest if no less committed

24 CJ.VIII, pp.61, 66; CSPD 1660-1, p.41

25 Ibid p.345

26 CSPD 1661-2, p.130

27 CSPV 1659-61, p.110

28 Ibid p.173

29 Attributed to Charles II by Burnett, A History of my Own Time I, p.286

30 Neale, Hist. of the Puritans V, p.357

in the years of revolution, the consequences were, in sharp contrast, a good deal less dire.

On 6 July, soon after his return to England, Cosin was writing to Daniel O'Neil, a gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, concerning the care of the see during its vacancy, and in doing so violently attacked George and Thomas Lilburne. He alleged that they were the instigators of the county's petition for the trial of the King and the chief agents of the Protectorate regime in Durham. "They are now looked upon ... as men below all public employment", asserted Cosin, "... they have too exceedingly served the designs of the Tyrant Oliver beyond any men in ye county ...". He was especially harsh upon Thomas Lilburne for his role as a commissioner under the major generals and as a Protectorate M.P. "Yet he saith," ended Cosin bitterly, "he hath of late got into the General's (i.e. Monk's) favour and hopes by some meanes he hath used to him, to be freed from his deserved punishment"⁽³¹⁾. Despite Cosin's wrath Thomas seems to have done just this. There is nothing to suggest that he did not live quietly without harassment at Offerton near Sunderland helping his father found the hospital at Houghton le Spring before his death in 1665. His father did not fare so well. Since the 1630s George Lilburne had been the personification of puritan radicalism in the county both as the opponent of conciliar absolutism and Laudian innovation,

but by 1660 Lilburne was in his middle eighties and had not figured greatly in the government of the county in the Interregnum's last years. Yet for some years his name continued to be linked with the body of resistance to the Restoration which existed in Durham. Typical of this was the warrant issued by Cosin as lord lieutenant for Lilburne's arrest as a dangerous and disaffected person who had failed to appear before him when summoned and had left his usual dwelling. Cosin ordered his house searched for arms and Lilburne committed to Durham gaol when found.⁽³³⁾ When, in 1664, the Derwentdale plot was uncovered in the county, the informer John Ellerington listed him among the plotters as 'Oliver's captain'.⁽³⁴⁾ Lilburne's involvement in what was at best a rather insubstantial intrigue may be discounted and nothing was pressed against him. In January and February 1666 he was still exercising influence and authority in his own locality of Sunderland when he was responsible for the distribution of £50 from a county fund for plague relief in the town.⁽³⁵⁾ He died in wealth and comfort in 1676 at a very advanced age. Richard Lilburne, the father of Robert and John, does not seem to have been harried at all. Continuously active in the county's affairs throughout the period, he was nevertheless not the force that his brother George was, and his role was essentially always a subordinate one, and was apparently recognised as

33 M & S 31, f.93 (n.d.)

34 Cosin's letter book, 3, 44

35 Cos. Corr. II, p.327

such. He lived out the initial Restoration years quietly and was one of only two former prominent Cromwellians who were invited, or permitted, to sign a loyal declaration of association for the King's safety made by the county gentry in January 1664.⁽³⁶⁾

Other complaints, of greater or lesser substance, were soon being made against Cromwellian personalities. On 1 June 1660 the Lords received a report from a complainant in Durham which alleged that George Vane, acting as the captain of the county troop of militia, allowed only anti-monarchists, anabaptists, and quakers into its ranks, and would not yield up the arms of loyal cavaliers seized on Parliament's orders at the time of Booth's rising the previous year. Another militia commissioner, Francis Wren, was accused of failing to act firmly against quaker agitators.⁽³⁷⁾ Both Vane and Wren soon disappeared from these positions, and with them went those other county names which, since 1644, had so constantly provided the nucleus of county government and administration along with the Lilburnes - Anthony Smith, Gilbert Marshall, Thomas Delaval, Timothy Whittingham, John Middleton and Robert Hutton. They faded from the county's sphere of government not merely because they were compromised by their Interregnum roles but also because they were, by and large, gentlemen of a lesser quality who had filled positions they would not traditionally have done - or indeed,

36 M & S 31, f.73. The other Cromwellian was Francis Wren. Ibid f.81

37 HMC, 7th Report, p.93; LJ.XI, p.51

positions which had come to exist only as a consequence of the revolution itself. The re-creation, almost in its entirety, of the old palatine structure brought with it those old families, patiently royalist almost to a man, who emerged once more to renew their roles within it. The Cromwellians at least appear to have sunk into obscurity in a spirit intended by the Act of Indemnity without serious molestation. There were exceptions; Timothy Whittingham and the Lilburne's old associate Thomas Midford were among those prisoners of quality held at Durham gaol in April 1664 as a consequence of the Derwentdale disclosures,⁽³⁸⁾ but in truth, the puritan and republican reaction to the King's return which was feared and searched for by the Restoration authorities was not, in Durham, to be unearthed in any strength, in that stratum of the Interregnum gentry. Active dissent and resistance in the county seemed to lie at a rather lower level still, among those baptists and other sectaries which the climate of the Commonwealth and Protectorate years had nurtured among the yeoman farmers of the Durham uplands, and the merchants and shop keepers of Sunderland, South Shields and Durham city. County men prominent among them were the South Shields men Lewis Frost and the preacher brothers Cuthbert and Michael Coatsworth, Edward Shepperdson of Sunderland, a former captain under Haslerig, and his brother Adam, and John Jobling the baptist

gaoler at Durham for much of the 1650s.⁽³⁹⁾ But from the outset the eye of this sectarian discontent was seen to lie in two men, Paul Hobson and Thomas Gower. Both were anabaptists in the later seventeenth century's sense of radical political and religious activists; Hobson had been Haslerig's deputy governor at Newcastle and had remained influential in the region despite his dislike of the Protectorate and had acted on Lambert's behalf in the events of 1659-60. Gower, another soldier, had established the baptist church at Newcastle and was a close associate of Hobson throughout the 1650s. Neither were north countrymen and were extremists of a sort eschewed by a majority of their co-religionists.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Hobson and John Jobling remained in the north at the Restoration and were pursued closely by bishop Cosin as lord lieutenant, both being imprisoned in 1661. In August they secured bail however, and in November absconded to the capital with a Londoner, Thomas Lomes, and remained at Lomes' house despite being summoned back to Durham by the deputy lieutenants. Cosin, through intercepted letters which had come to him, was convinced that Jobling, Hobson and Gower - who had also fled the north when warrants were issued against him - continued to correspond from London "... with the Anabaptists and other disaffected persons in the City of Durham," and elsewhere in the north.⁽⁴¹⁾ Hobson had been imprisoned and released on bail again by June 1662,

39 Cosin's letter book, 3, 44; SP 29, 96, 70(1)

40 Underwood, Hist. Eng. Baptists, pp.92-3

41 Cos. Corr. II, pp.98-100

and at Cosin's instigation a warrant was made out on 7 November for the arrest of him, Gower and others at Lomes' house. This was effected, and Hobson, Lomes and four others were forced to enter two bonds of £1,000 each for good behaviour and their appearance when required.⁽⁴²⁾ Inevitably, the names of Hobson, Gower and Jobling figured in the Derwentdale revelations, although Hobson was ready to turn King's evidence.⁽⁴³⁾ Thomas Gower was still carrying on his religious activities in the north in 1669, when he was proceeded against for private preaching in Gateshead.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Quakers in the county were also soon receiving the attentions of the restored episcopal authorities. Many refused the oath of allegiance and arrests took place at Headlam and Norton, among Robert Linton's group at South Shields and of the two prominent Sunderland Quakers Richard Wilson and Lancelot Wardall. By 1661 at least ninety friends had been committed to Durham gaol.⁽⁴⁵⁾ About September 1661 twenty seven men and women from Boldon, Sunderland and as far afield as Whitby were arrested at Linton's house in Shields by major Graham, the deputy governor of Tynemouth castle. Although there was apparently no legal authority for their detention they suffered a month's imprisonment before being released.⁽⁴⁶⁾ While the episcopal authorities were also intercepting quaker letters and papers, some attempt at discussion with them was made

42 CSPD 1661-2, pp.62, 549, 559, 564

43 Underwood, Hist. Eng. Baptists, pp.92-3

44 Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, pp.407-8

45 DQS. 3-5/pp.82-6; Steel, Early Friends, pp.68, 71

46 Ibid p.18

in February 1661 by John Barwick, the dean, at the request of the Durham justices, but he could report nothing achieved to secretary Nicholas.⁽⁴⁷⁾ While the restored Durham church was unable to deal a crippling blow to the county's quakers, the Restoration nevertheless had a radical effect upon their greatest champion, Anthony Pearson. An information against him in June 1660 alleged that meetings of more than a hundred persons took place at his house every night, and that two or three cartloads of knives and daggers had also been taken there.⁽⁴⁸⁾ He was still under a cloud, and examined in London in December 1661, for a suspicious journey he had made into Scotland. His answers revealed that he had made, or was about to make, a complete turn-about in his position and beliefs. He pointed out that he had served the Interregnum governments as a servant, not as a partisan, had never held a commission against the King, and had proved himself a friend to distressed royalists and dispossessed clergy. His quaker beliefs he dismissed as the 'chimerical notions' of the times which he had embraced in youthful folly; he had been won back to sounder opinions several years since by the prominent royalist, once again influential in Restoration Durham, Sir William Darcy.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Pearson's defection, when many were having to adjust their positions and take up new stances, is nevertheless astonishingly abject and total. The man who had written an able book

47 CSPD 1660-1, p.514

48 HMC, 7th Report, p.93; LJ.XI, p.51

49 Steel, Early Friends, p.17

against tithes,⁽⁵⁰⁾ and bearded Cromwell himself in a protest against imprisoned quaker brethren,⁽⁵¹⁾ appears as an unmitigated turncoat. His action did perhaps, as has been suggested,⁽⁵²⁾ deal a heavy blow to quaker morale in the county, but Pearson himself claimed to have abandoned his beliefs several years before the Restoration and the growth of anti-quaker activity by the Protectorate authorities in Durham after 1657 perhaps reflects this. The county's friends had probably come to terms with his loss by 1660. It was with a Colchester man, Crisp, that dean Barwick spoke as the leader of the Durham quakers in February 1661. Despite his own disappointing actions Pearson probably deserves substantial acknowledgement for preparing the soil and tending the young plant of quakerism in Durham and the region about. The efforts of the restored episcopacy were unable to eradicate it and although the 1660s subjected it to a good deal of persecution,⁽⁵³⁾ the Durham parishes continued to show a thin but perdurable growth.⁽⁵⁴⁾

A good many of the county's clergy who had appeared as non-episcopal appointees since 1644 soon found themselves under pressure in 1660. In several livings it was seen to be vain for a minister like Richard Frankland at St. Helen's Auckland, when faced by a hostile congregation and a rival claimant to the living, to refer himself to the King's assurance of quiet possession until a national

50 The Great Case of Tythes truly Stated by a Countryman
(London, 1657) TT, E 931(2)

51 DNB, XLIV, p.161

52 Nuttall, George Fox ... p.97

53 DQS. 3-5/pp.146, 154, 156, 159, 182, 212-3, 255, 269, 275, 277, 285

54 See Brearley, Discipline and Local Government, p.207

settlement of religion was achieved.⁽⁵⁵⁾ At Middleton in Teesdale Thomas Kentish also suffered prompt ejection and harrassment,⁽⁵⁶⁾ and a pattern for expulsions of this sort in the county was established long before the Act of Uniformity. Indeed, as early as March 1660, the prominent independent Thomas Weld at Gateshead had withdrawn in favour of John Ladler who himself had served as an intruder in the county but in fact had a dormant presentation to Gateshead rectory from bishop Morton. In October 1661 Thomas Dixon at Kelloe vicarage was turned out 'in a tumultuous manner' by Thomas Pearson who had been presented to the place by bishop Cosin.⁽⁵⁷⁾ By the end of 1660 diocesan commissioners were examining clerics as to their fitness to hold their livings. On 3 December John Kidd, the intruder at Redmarshall, appeared before Dr. Joseph Craddock and the restored royalists Anthony Eyerley, Cuthbert Carr, Ralph Davison, Ludovick Hall and Sir William Darcy.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Kidd conformed, although he was not allowed to continue at Redmarshall. Not all of the puritan clergy went meekly. In July 1660 the Scot John Bowie, who had served for ten years or more at Elwick, one of Cosin's two valuable Durham livings, informed Cosin's agents, Thomas Shedforth and William Blakiston, that the King had abolished pluralities and proclaimed "against forcible entries", and thus he, Bowie, expected to retain Elwick rectory. Blakiston

55 Calamy, Memorial II, p.178

56 Ibid p.182

57 Ibid pp.181-2

58 Hunter 7, f.40

informed him that he must make good his claim at law, and as for diocesan concurrence in his retaining the place told him he showed "false lodgick seeing we had 100 better subjects unprovided". Bowie contested his right at the next assizes but lost, only being granted a week or so to carry away his effects.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Another intruder, Nicholas Battersby, who had been put into the wealthy living of Houghton le Spring by Cromwell, disputed the possession with John Barwick, who was to be the first Restoration dean, having succeeded in obtaining a presentation to the place from the King about June 1660 while the see was vacant. His ploy, too, was foiled however, after Barwick himself petitioned the King.⁽⁶⁰⁾ William Pell withdrew from Easington when the old incumbent, Gabriel Clarke, returned, but found a place at Great Stainton of which he was finally deprived in 1662.⁽⁶¹⁾ On St. Bartholemew's Day 1662, ejections in Durham and Northumberland totalled no more than fifteen or so,⁽⁶²⁾ but against this modest number must be set as many as thirty Durham clergy - both conformers and non-conformers - who had either withdrawn, been ejected or transferred from the livings they had held in the two years or so before this fateful date.⁽⁶³⁾ So far as the parish clergy was concerned, its purging and reordering began within weeks of the King's return and was progressing steadily long before 24 August 1662.

Many of those non-conformists deprived in Durham undoubtedly represented the best, in terms of character and

59 Cos. Corr. II, pp.5-6, 8

60 CSPD 1660-1, p.37

61 Calamy, Memorial II, p.183

62 Bartholemew's Day in Contemporary News Sheets, S.W. Carruthers, Journal of the Presbyterian Hist. Soc. of Eng. Vol. VI, (1936-9) p.214

63 See Appendix E

ability, of the puritan clergy. "None that knew him," wrote Calamy of William Pell, "could, without the greatest injustice, deny him the character of a very learned pious man, and a grave solid preacher".⁽⁶⁴⁾ Cosin himself took pains to try and reach the more moderate and able clergy, offering Richard Frankland a private ordination and a specious form of words: "If thou hast not been ordained, I ordain thee ..."⁽⁶⁵⁾ Both of these highly regarded clerics chose the dissenting wilderness however, Pell suffering imprisonment at Durham for preaching after his ejection in 1662 and fulfilling thirty years of non-conformist ministry in various parts of the country thereafter. Frankland too, worked in the north until the last years of the century, establishing a school at Rathmil in Yorkshire to which the presbyterian Sir Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth sent his son. Another ejected dissenter, Thomas Wilson who had occupied Lamesley chapel, used his house for meetings for two years after the indulgence of 1672.⁽⁶⁶⁾ At least another twenty eight clergy who had held cures during the Interregnum years can clearly be identified as conformers. Some of these men soon moved out of the diocese, some to prominence in the Restoration church, yet the posture of a number of them during the puritan ascendancy suggests equivocation and accommodation, when it is difficult to believe that material considerations did not loom as large as spiritual conscience with them, and

64 Calamy, Memorial II, p.183

65 Ibid pp.178, 183

66 Ibid

who were presumably to be recognised later among those 'semi-conformists' whose indiscipline was to prove a thorn in bishop Cosin's flesh.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Cosin himself, with men like Sudbury, Basire, and Granville, was to struggle continually for discipline and competence in his clergy in the wake of Interregnum licence. Inevitably, there was to be much preoccupation with rubrics and decretals, but there was, too, a concern for more basic considerations like due reverence and decorum. Cosin was moved to complain, in the early 1660s, of the irregular dress of the chapter clergy, who appeared in the cathedral "... in night gownes and grey stockings ... wearing long rapiers, great skirted jumpes, and short daggers", and who "sitt with their hats on their heads at the reading of the first and second lessons".⁽⁶⁸⁾ Such laxity and ill-order at the centre did not auger well for the extremities of the diocese, where, besides the variable quality of the incumbent, two years after the Restoration, many churches lacked the bibles, prayer books, surplices, fonts and communion tables purged by the puritans.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Cosin enjoined his dean and prebendaries to go out and preach in the diocese "specially where sermons are most wanting, and able preachers, for lack of due provisions and myntenance, cannot be had ..."⁽⁷⁰⁾ Whether the generality of the restored clergy was better or worse in quality to that which had existed in 1640 it

- 67 See The Works and Letters of Dennis Granville D.D., Dean of Durham. Clergy who might fairly be thus charged, with equivocation at least, are Richard and John Hickes, Daniel Bushel, Edward Smaithwaite, Leonard Wastell, John Ladler, and John Bewick
- 68 Works of Granville, pp.144, 267, 269
- 69 This was most true of Northumberland it seems. Isaac Basire's Information, 1 Apr. 1662, Hunter 2, f.68
- 70 Articles of Enquiry, bishop Cosin's first Episcopal Visitation, 1662, Hunter 2, f.78

is impossible to say, but certainly, there was no perceptible difference.

The reconstruction of the Durham chapter produced a somewhat variegated assemblage. Of the pre-war prebendaries six yet survived to resume their places. The oldest, Gabriel Clarke, archdeacon of Durham and holder of the first prebend, was originally one of bishop Neile's clergy, as was John Cosin, who until his elevation still occupied the tenth stall. Other pre-war figures of Cosin's outlook who now reappeared were John Barwick, soon to become Cosin's first dean for a brief period,⁽⁷¹⁾ and Isaac Basire, who was to serve the diocese long and ably as archdeacon of Northumberland.⁽⁷²⁾ The other two returners were appointees of bishop Morton - Joseph Naylor in the second stall and Richard Wrench who had been appointed to the sixth prebend in February 1646 and was finally confirmed in the position by Cosin and the dean and Chapter in 1660.⁽⁷³⁾ Of the six vacancies existing in the chapter these were soon being filled up by the crown while the see was vacant in response to petitions for preferments. Although the new choices for bishop and dean were decided upon, neither was accorded much voice in the royal advancements. Elias Smith, holder of a Northumberland living and for many years the preceptor of the bishoprick and much ill-used by the Interregnum authorities, was supported by Cosin in his petition to the

71 After the death of the last pre-war dean, Dr. Walter Balcanquhall, in 1645, two others, Dr. Christopher Potter and Dr. William Fuller, were appointed, but both died without filling the office which was vacant in 1660. Walker, Clergy II, p.19

72 Barwick received the fourth prebend about 1641 or '42, Basire the seventh in 1643. Thus neither had effectively enjoyed their position. Walker, Clergy II, pp.19-20

73 Bishops' Register of Institutions, p.105

King for the fifth prebend, but the patronage of Monk - now the Earl of St. Albans - secured it for an outsider, Thomas Dalton.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Two other newcomers, Daniel Brevint and Thomas Smith, secured the prebends vacated by Cosin and Barwick, again apparently through the agency of the King alone.⁽⁷⁵⁾ On 16 November 1660 dean Barwick complained - albeit obliquely - to secretary Nicholas of the difficulties being created for the diocesan authorities by the crown's rush to fill places and spoke unhappily of another royal appointment, Dr. Thomas Wood the rector of Whickham, who petitioned the King for the eleventh prebend in June.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Wood remained at Durham three years before removing to Lichfield first as dean, and later as bishop, despite his scarcely concealed predilection and sympathy for dissenting puritanism. In 1668 bishop Hacker of Lichfield wrote to Cosin's chaplain: "entreat with my Lord Bishop of Durham to call of our most untractable and filthy natur'd Dean from hence, and command him to his benefice, or his prebend at Durham ..." something which Cosin showed no signs of doing.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Wood was ultimately deprived of his episcopal office by archbishop Sancroft in 1684 for flagrant dereliction of his duties. Thus, the Restoration chapter was by no means bishop Cosin's personal choice, composed as it was of Laudians like Basire, more moderate but sound men like Naylor and Wrench, and a goodly number of newcomers who were to a

74 CSPD 1660-1, pp.222, 330

75 Ibid pp.511-2; Bishops' Register of Institutions, p.105

76 CSPD 1160-1, pp.85, 357-8, 365

77 Works of Granville, p.XV (n.)

certain degree unknown quantities, and could include a figure like Wood. Perhaps Cosin's ideal was personified by Dr. William Sancroft who came to Durham in 1660 as his chaplain. When Barwick became dean of St. Paul's in the summer of 1661 Sancroft, who had been installed as ninth prebendary in March, assumed Barwick's living as rector of Houghton le Spring.⁽⁷⁸⁾ It was perhaps ironic that a parish which had been so much exposed to puritan influences should now become the living of the classical non-juror. Dr. John Sudbury appeared as dean in Barwick's stead, and this saw another old Laudian, Thomas Triplet, vacate his Durham livings at Washington and Whitburn to take up the prebend Sudbury had left at St. Paul's⁽⁷⁹⁾ in London.

Although all crown and church possessions disposed of by the parliamentary and Interregnum regimes since the beginning of the civil war were restored without exception by the Convention Parliament, both the new bishop and the new dean found need to complain of the condition in which they found episcopal and capitular resources in the county. On 4 January 1661 Barwick wrote to secretary Nicholas: "This church's case is the hardest in England, hardly knowing how to get restitution, except by the Commissioners for Sales".⁽⁸⁰⁾ On 23 August Cosin lamented to his new chaplain, Sancroft, that while ecclesiastical possessions were being quickly restored they had become run down and

78 Allen 5, ff.25, 82

79 Ibid 14 (Whitburn); CSPD 1661-2, pp.98, 168

80 CSPD 1660-1, p.467

very poor because of "the late purchasers" who had not realised adequate rents, fines, or leases. This, coupled with the generally impoverished state of the county, meant that his own episcopal revenues were insufficient to meet his expenses,⁽⁸¹⁾ Cosin had already, in December 1660, made representations to the King over his loss of wardships of which the county palatine, in common with the crown, had been deprived by the Long Parliament, and which were not to be restored. Cosin claimed wardships to be the chief source of episcopal revenue.⁽⁸²⁾ Nevertheless, such complaints are difficult to take too seriously; in 1661 the prebendal fines for the year were being estimated at between £600 to £1,000 a man - sums which did not suggest dire financial difficulties for the Durham church.⁽⁸³⁾ There is little evidence of any serious resistance to deprivation from Interregnum purchasers of church lands. The Lilburnes contested their right to the dean and chapter land they had bought at Bearpark near Durham,⁽⁸⁴⁾ and Thomas Midford threatened to contest his prebendial purchases near Pitlington.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Some obstinate resistance came from John Fenwick, not a purchaser, but who had followed his father as a parliamentary nominee to the mastership of Sherburn hospital, when the original master, John Machon, who had been turned out in 1644, reappeared. Machon found the local justices unresponsive to his appeals for help in

81 Cos. Corr. II, pp.23-4, 31-3

82 CSPD 1160-1, p.411

83 Ibid pp.486-7

84 Ibid p.113; Comm. XII a/4 p.29

85 Cos. Corr. II, pp.3-4

regaining his place and finally resorted to a petition to the King late in 1660. The matter was referred to bishop Cosin, who effected Machon's restoration soon after.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The last parliamentary holder of Greatham hospital, captain Simon Askwith,⁽⁸⁷⁾ seems to have departed much more quietly, and indeed, such resistance to the restoration of ecclesiastical possessions was clearly of no avail, and soon petered out. County men like the Lilburnes, Midford, Richard Marshall and Adam Sheppardson thus suffered for their opportunism in acquiring church land but these and others were purchasers in a moderate or small way. Those individuals who had bought up property on a large scale were not county men; Sir Arthur Haslerig with his notorious acquisitions, and his close associate George Fenwick who purchased Sunderland, Houghton manor, and Ryhope, were as much outsiders as men like Thomas Andrews and Walter Boothby, representative figures of the London capital which had been speculated in Durham.⁽⁸⁸⁾

The Restoration set in motion once more the old, and more important, wrangle between dean and chapter and their tenantry. It was the complaint of the tenants, in their petition to the King in 1661, that the King's Declaration of Breda, and his letters to the archbishops with regard to the future of old tenants and Interregnum purchasers, had been totally disregarded in Durham. As well as re-opening the old wound of customary tenures and written leases, the

86 CSPD 1160-1, p.434

87 CJ.VII, p.328; CSPD 1658-9, p.122

88 See above, p.202; Allen 22, (Sale of Bishop's Lands)

dean and chapter had dashed the tenants' hopes of renewing their tenures without fine - indeed, greater fines than ever before were now being demanded. The matter was referred to the King's commissioners for the pretended sale of crown and church lands on 4 March 1662, who ordered the parties to resolve their differences or the dean and chapter to return a written answer to the petition by 30 May. This the dean and chapter did, immediately attacking the petitioners as Interregnum interlopers and not recognisable from capitular records as tenants of any standing whatsoever. None of the nineteen signatories had a lease in being and the first petitioner, Nicholas Hall, was recognised as a mere purchaser who had himself bought his farm from one who had acquired it from the late usurping trustees. None of them had voluntarily attempted to regularise his position with the restored dean and chapter and some had responded to the dean and chapter's approach by asserting that they had purchased their holdings and owed no rents. Other than this the capitular authorities found the accusation against themselves general and unspecific, and maintained that their demands upon their tenants were not unreasonable for the times. The royal commissioners heard the case on 6 June, when the interim stay on the granting of new leases was removed and the petitioners required to pay the reserved rents due from them before they might proceed further.

Although the scales were tilted once more against the tenants, the affair wrangled on, with a new bill being filed by them in November with answers and exceptions following it. (89) Indeed, the issue, or a recurrent phase of it was again being aired in the spring of 1664, when the tenants were once more worsted, the Lord Chancellor telling them in chancery: "... to learn better manners than to contend with their landlords, who for ought had appeared to him, had used them very well". (90)

The period 1640-60 did not provide a satisfactory, long-term solution for the dean and chapter's tenants. The dispute, which had endured since the creation of the chapter itself after the Dissolution, had never ceased to be a recurring theme of dissatisfaction and contention, and the oppositionists of the county in the late 1630s and early 1640s were able to fuse the economic and legalistic elements of discontent with puritan religious ones to create another instrument with which to sap the episcopal structure. A majority of tenants however, whatever their personal religious outlook, were genuine in their sense of grievance. Gentlemen, yeomen and less in status, their preoccupation was with their holdings as a source of livelihood, and men like George Grey, Anthony Smith and the Lilburnes who themselves had interests as capitular tenants and who organised the tenantry, were scarcely representative of them in that

89 Allen T. 30

90 Darnell, Correspondence of Isaac Basire, pp.228-30

sense. The opportunity to purchase their holdings afforded them in 1649 was doubtless greeted with both satisfaction and urgency by many tenants who had by then suffered nine years of virtually continuous military presence and financial exactions. The burden of assessments and soldiery, and the dislocation of normal life suffered generally by the county before 1650 must have straitened the circumstances of many tenants and reduced their capacity to purchase, yet they were pressed by uncertainty - as some were later to claim - as their original agreements expired, and, without the prospect of customary renewal, purchase was the alternative. It is not possible to say what proportion did purchase, but certainly the trustees still had capitular lands in their charge in 1657.⁽⁹¹⁾ The fact that some did not, for one reason or another, buy up their tenements, or subsequently resold their purchases, meant that for over a decade a substantial number of newcomers appeared as the holders of dean and chapter land in 1660. The existence of such holders further blurred, confused and weakened the appeal to customary rights when it was renewed once more at the Restoration. The dean and chapter could claim it owed them nothing; the newness - indeed the illegality - of their holdings was a weak link in the argument of traditional tenants which the dean and chapter was able to exploit when the leases issue was resumed.

91 Shaw, English Church II, app. VII, pp.515-6

Thus, the confusions of the period served rather to weaken further the tenants' position, while the attitude of the dean and chapter returned unimpaired and strong in 1660. It remains possible to see this outcome - paradoxically perhaps - as a progressive rather than a retrogressive one in the long-term strengthening of the capitular position over that of the tenants following the events of the Interregnum. To do so the capitular institution needs to be viewed as a large, corporate landlord, unable to effect an adequate return out of its assets because of the bulwark of customary, traditional but largely anachronistic, means of tenure behind which its tenants sought to entrench themselves. In deaneries and collegiate structures elsewhere, written leases - for usually short terms of years, and with realistic fines - were the rule, and the Durham tenants themselves acknowledged this.⁽⁹²⁾ The dean and chapter's attitude was thus justified in the sense that it sought to resist land being under-rented and unrealistically valued during a prolonged period of steady inflation, as an attempt to impose modern procedures in line with changing times and as a further erasure of lingering medieval patterns. From this viewpoint the Durham dean and chapter was a progressive and forward-looking body, albeit in an introverted sense, and their tenants selfishly and narrowly conservative, and deserving of defeat, although it is doubtful if either side

92 TT, 669, f.15(13)

actually saw the issue quite as broadly - or with such hindsight.

Another old struggle was promptly renewed at the Restoration, emerging unimpaired and unchanged from the flux of the Interregnum years - the desire of the county for parliamentary representation. In the first months of the Restoration, with the see vacant upon the death of bishop Morton in 1659, the county moved quickly in an attempt to seize a fortuitous chance of achieving its wish, apparently seeking a *fait accompli* with which to face its new bishop. A Bill, with printed reasons, was before the Commons in July 1660 with the approval of the King, who had authorised Sir William Darcy to use a part of certain royal moneys in his hands to realise the county's purpose.⁽⁹³⁾ On 15 August the bill had passed the Commons and had been sent up to the Lords but here the measure was dropped when the new bishop caught up with it.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Thwarted in this piece of opportunism, the county's gentlemen were forced to revert to more usual procedures, and in 1661 the matter was raised in the sessions.⁽⁹⁵⁾ It was the first of a long and depressingly unsuccessful series of formal representations which were to be made, when an appeal of the grand jury to the sitting justices would split them into their respective camps - lay justices for and clerics against.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The county's case was expressed in five points: all

93 CJ.VIII, pp.88, 105, 108, 114, 122; CSPD 1660-1, p.206

94 LJ.XI, p.129; HMC, Vol. VII, p.126

95 Cos. Corr. II, pp.86-7

96 Allen 7, f.194

counties had members of Parliament; the obvious comparison with Durham - the county palatine of Chester - had members; the county was now subject - as it had undoubtedly been without question for the last twenty years - to all subsidies and aids raised by Parliament; lack of a voice in Parliament over the apportioning of aids was to the county's detriment; members of Parliament would in no way impair the jurisdiction of the county palatine.⁽⁹⁷⁾ The matter of the £26,000 Scottish debt still unpaid since 1641 was also cited as an example of the weakness of non-representation, and Cosin himself raised that matter in the Lords in January 1662 in an effort to show that he could secure the county's interests there. The county was not to be convinced however, either by Cosin's abortive efforts in the Lords or his written counter-argument. This was produced by Miles Stapleton, Cosin's secretary and adviser, and began with an unpersuasive appeal to the past, and the assertion that Chester had had knights and burgesses since Henry VIII's reign - a statement which reinforced as much as it demolished the county's argument. More pertinently however, it pointed out that only freeholders were to be enfranchised and raised the question of that majority in the county which outnumbered freeholders two to one - the episcopal and capitular tenants who held by custom and lease. Again, the qualifications of the city of Durham were called in question; it was already being challenged by

other towns older and more important in terms of population, trade and wealth. Nor was there any precedent to be drawn upon by the county from its recent Protectorate representatives, for those members had been "... chosen by a Disaffected and Disloyal party of the Countrey, the rest (far more considerable than that party was) not consenting to them, nor acknowledging themselves to be represented by them."⁽⁹⁸⁾ The loyalty of the county which had caused it, during the Interregnum, to stand apart and deny any concurrence in an issue which was dear to its heart, was now adroitly and rather cynically cited against those same 'loyal cavaliers' desires. "Breve Regis non currit in comitatu Palatino Dunelmensi", Stapleton ended, and the assertion remained no more than the truth so far as parliamentary representation was concerned throughout the twelve years of the old conservative Cosin's episcopate.

The efforts of the county's Interregnum authorities to establish a centre of learning at Durham is perhaps the most admirable episode of the period. It presented one of the best faces of the English revolution in its intention, and while its foundation was the desire of many across the northern counties the scheme drew much of its impetus from that stratum of the county's lower gentry which revealed energy and ability in the ordering of the county throughout the difficulties of the times. The involvement of the Lilburnes, Anthony Smith, Gilbert

98 A Printed Answer to the Five Reasons, Miles Stapleton (n.d.) Hunter 24, ff.2-8

Marshall, John Middleton and modest Durham townsmen like Ayreson and Lee can all be discerned in the forefront of the venture. Their concern can fairly be said to have sought after the prestige and advancement of the region before any other consideration, and it was probably a laudable but premature excess of enthusiasm which brought down upon it the monopolistic jealousies of other, existing institutions. There is a view, too, for the apologists of Oliver Cromwell to mine in a glimpse of his own vision and interest. "Who knows," he wrote to Lenthall in 1650, "but the setting on foote of this worke at this tyme may suite with Gods present dispensacions, & may ... produce such happy & glorious Fruites as are scarse thought on, or foreseene ..."⁽⁹⁹⁾ That the institution could have survived the Restoration, even had differing circumstances allowed it to secure for itself a number of years' growth and consolidation, must be doubted. Implicit in its inception and continuing existence was the disappearance of episcopal and capitular institutions, and feelings inspired by the name Cromwell in the immediate Restoration years and long after were certainly more than sufficient to damn it. More recently it has been observed: "As late as the 1950s the suggestion that a college at Durham Univesity might be named after the man who created a University at Durham three hundred years earlier met with astonishingly fierce opposition. The name finally accepted,

99 Carlyle, Cromwell's Letters and Speeches III, p.120

by an appropriately drab compromise, was Grey College."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

In the crisis of 1642 Durham showed itself to be predominantly royalist in sentiment. To a surprising extent a good proportion of those men who reappeared promptly to take up positions in the county's Restoration government in 1660 were the same figures who, almost twenty years before, had been filling the same or similar posts when the Earl of Newcastle had first appeared in the north east. In effect, there had been little change in the personalities or machinery of county government under the Earl's sway between late 1642 and mid 1643 when sheriff, under sheriff, deputy lieutenants, justices and officers and agents of the palatine courts had virtually all continued to fulfil their duties on behalf of King and bishop. Many of such men were also commissioners of array and officers in the northern army and the financial penalties subsequently meted out to them ensured that most of them had no further overt involvement in the struggle. In 1648 Langdale's call to northern royalists was answered by diehard activists like Sir Richard Tempest, John Jackson and John Forcer, but the failure of the cavaliers at that time meant an end to serious active resistance in Durham and the north generally. Throughout the 1650s however, the majority of royalist feeling which persisted in the county constituted an uncomfortable, ever-present threat to the new regimes: there was a constant concern on the part of the Interregnum rulers about

incipient plots and risings which in the event never materialised in serious fashion. If the county's cavalier majority was in this sense passive and quiescent however, it also remained impressively aloof from the regimes it found itself living under and manifested an enduring refusal to play any part in them. Sequestration, fines, the disposal of property, the decimation tax, sporadic harrassment and control of their movements⁽¹⁰¹⁾ were all endured by Durham's cavaliers and they were left by such things implacable and irreconcilable.

It was not until 1644 and the establishment of parliamentary ascendancy in Durham that a significant change took place in the government of the county. Much of the palatine legal and administrative structure broke down and many of those individuals involved in its working were alienated as delinquents. In its stead appeared the county committee with its prime preoccupations of sequestration, assessments, military provision and religious direction but which did little to ease the confusion and hardships of the county in the late 1640s. The power and prestige of the Vane family placed it naturally at the head of the county's affairs in 1644 and around it gathered those gentlemen who had espoused the parliamentary cause. The hegemony of the Vanes was immediately resented by the Lilburne family and its adherents - lesser gentlemen and yeomen for the most

101 CSPD 1658-9, p.89

part, capitular and episcopal tenants, and men with interests in the growing economy of the Wear, who mistrusted the Vanes as opportunists - former courtiers and now parliamentary grandees. Despite the considerable authority they had wielded in the disordered state of affairs since 1644 it was apparent by 1649 that the Lilburnes could not challenge the joint power of the Vanes and Sir Arthur Haslerig. They found themselves isolated and George Lilburne turned out of all offices for a time at the commencement of the Commonwealth.

More than anyone, the Durham Lilburnes personified the course of the revolution in the county. Presbyterian in religion, George, his brother Richard and son Thomas were yet independents in their politics throughout the 1640s. Of Richard Lilburne's sons Robert and John were to remain republicans and sectaries of the most radical sort, but Henry Lilburne's moderate presbyterian susceptibilities proved fatal to him in the crisis of 1648. The remainder of the family came to terms with events - George and Thomas to the extent of promoting the county's petition for the King's trial. About 1650 Thomas Shadforth, at that time in dispute with the Lilburnes, charged George Lilburne: "Truth is, your play was alwayes to save stakes, and now you have run through Cavalier, ridged Presbyterian, Independent and arrived at --- and I doubt will never prove Martyr, if there should be a further (Gradation) or Change."⁽¹⁰²⁾ Indeed,

102 Innocency modestly vindicated, p.6

Shadforth, himself by no means constant in his loyalties, was to see the Lilburnes shift their ground again, for with the end of the Commonwealth and the estrangement of Haslerig and the younger Vane from the Protectorate government, it was the Lilburnes - George and Richard, Thomas and Robert - who emerged as leading Cromwellians. Another, and final, adjustment to the course of events brought a rift in the family when Thomas Lilburne became one of Monk's agents in Durham in the first steps towards the restoration of the King. This last shift was too much for Robert Lilburne, republican, baptist and regicide, who had served Cromwell with mixed feelings and was unable to take these last steps which finally brought the wheel full circle. The changing stances of the Lilburnes in altering circumstances bear out another observation upon the times. "To very few men active in public affairs can a single political or religious label be attached which remains valid from, say, 1638 to 1662".⁽¹⁰³⁾ It was undoubtedly out of an admixture of personal conviction, convenience and advantage that the Lilburnes, together with that small nucleus of men who served continuously from 1644 the governments of the revolution in Durham, accommodated themselves to its changing phases, and to its demise.

At parish level there was a nebulous uncertainty about much of the religious life of the county which accorded well with the state of variety, independence and license which marked the course of religion in the nation at large.

103 Stone, Causes of the English Revolution, p.34

There was a certain amount of ambivalence and accommodation which enabled a number of men - usually in smaller chapelries or similar curacies - to see out the puritan years undisturbed, but there were also many deprivations at various times from 1644 onwards. Such intermittent disturbances were one of the prime causes of the unsettled and impermanent condition of many parishes, especially before 1650, when ministers and lecturers came and went in a steady turnover. Although some appointments produced able men who served their cures for many years, or the full extent of the puritan period, in general most parishes saw two, three or more ministers during these years while many experienced periods without a minister at all. While the rule of the Long Parliament brought the inauguration of some form of classical system in the county its success seems to have withered along with the fortunes of presbyterianism itself, although many of the longest serving and most able of the intruded ministry seem to have been of that persuasion, which was always well-represented. The 1650s suggest a more orderly and better regulated situation, in which moderation and quiet progress in religious forms was the aim of many ministers and their parishioners, but the decade introduced in force that variety of independent opinion, sometimes within parish churches but more especially, through quaker and baptist activity, outside of them, which disseminated the seeds of non-conformity and dissent in such a

way that they were never to be effectively eradicated. What was also revealed were the dual insufficiencies - a legacy of the episcopal structure - in the quality of clerics and the financial viability of their livings to support them. Both were longstanding points of puritan contention but in the decade of toleration what constituted an admirable parson had to remain a point of view, while the need for an objective reorganisation of parishes and their resources was recognised for Durham as for elsewhere, but was not realised within the revolution nor for a long time after.

There is little to suggest that the years of civil war and the Interregnum experiment which followed them brought profound or lasting changes in the county of Durham. To a great extent the period was an interlude, the marks of which were almost entirely erased by the Restoration which, with little apparent difficulty, quickly renewed the patterns of old where they had been interrupted nearly twenty years previously. Nothing illustrates this ephemeral nature, of the Interregnum's practical endeavours in particular, better than the brief existence of the Durham college. The restitution of old patterns also meant the reappearance of old tensions of course; the return of dean and chapter saw the old wrangle with their tenants renewed immediately with nothing resolved or altered by the intervening years. The climate of the Long Parliament in 1641-2

meant that the likelihood of the county at last achieving its desire for representation must have been real indeed, but the opportunity foundered in the surge of events. Even so, the long years of radical change and experiment in the nation were unable to provide the county with a convincing and permanent position at Westminster, nor - under bishop Cosin of least - any viable case for what remained as the wish of an overwhelming majority of the county's gentlemen and freeholders. The destruction of the palatine administrative and juridical machinery was not replaced by any carefully considered alternatives. It disappeared piecemeal in the years of chaos and dislocation of the late 1640s, its very demise contributing largely to this state of affairs. Yet in the more stable times after 1650 it seems likely that much of the palatine machinery, and the lesser officials who made it work, functioned once more under the new dispensation, changed chiefly in name only. Certainly, its practical recreation caused no difficulty in 1660. Those alien forms of local government which appeared to afflict the nation - the county committee, special commissioners, and salaried officers of state - were to live long in the memories of those who had endured under them, but they too vanished with the King's return, along with those men who had supplied such offices, men of a lesser sort, able and hardworking enough, but not

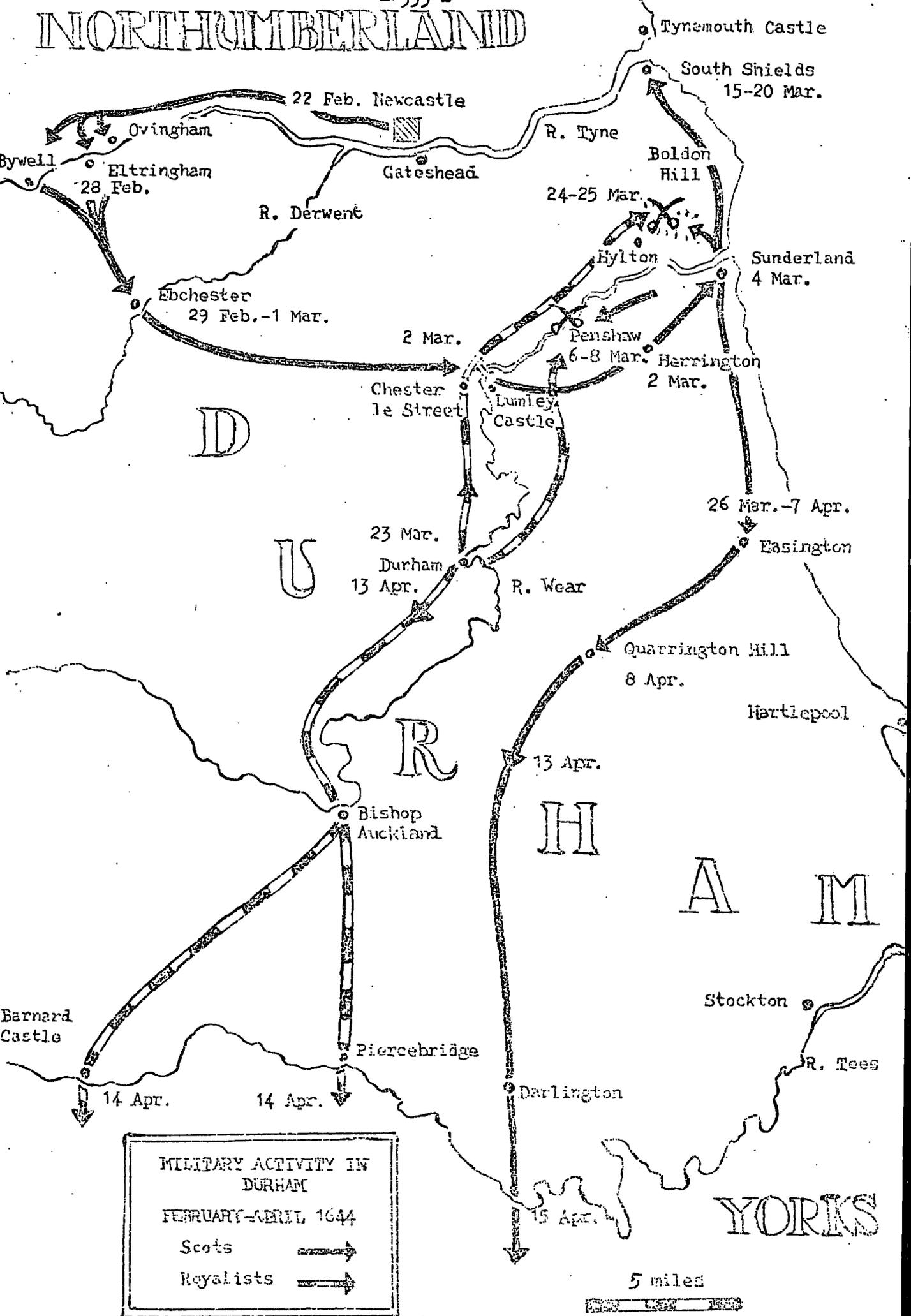
associated with the higher offices of county government before the war, and now replaced by the older families once more, who had stood apart by choice for so long. It is not apparent that, despite their sacrifices and hard usage, the long-term welfare and prosperity of these royalist families were impaired in a way from which they were unable to recover. Again an old pattern was renewed. The region was beginning to realise a significant economic potential, primarily in Tyne and Wear coal, and while the civil wars, and after them the first Dutch war, caused interruptions, (104) those families with successful involvements in this field - Bowes, Tempest, Clavering and Vane for example in Durham - went on to prosper, regardless of their varying commitments in the civil struggle. On the other side of the coin, the restitution of all ecclesiastical lands ensured that no new fortunes were made in the county. Those interlopers who had made significant purchases - London capital, Haslerig and his relatives, county men like the Lilburnes and soldiers like Paul Hobson - had their speculation set at nought. In religion too, after the latitude and uncertainty of the Interregnum, a familiar design reappeared. The problems of discipline were as pressing as ever, the puritan spirit of individualism and freedom engendered by the Revolution now, if anything, stronger than ever in the persistence of non-conformity and semi-conformity, while

the unrealistic financial provision of many livings was once more often solved by pluralism, absence, and inadequate curates. The fusion of religious with political discontent was still seen to lie with its prime source in Derwentdale, if no longer Sunderland. In 1664 the unruly Muggleswick men were ploughing up the dean and chapter's commons, misappropriating their wood, and deserting their mill.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Even more seriously, in the same year the area became the centre of the burst of counter-Restoration activity in the county which was to be called the Derwentdale Plot.

Whatever the great changes the English revolution had set in motion and was gradually to bring about in national institutions there was little enough that was immediately apparent at the local and personal level of the county where the resumption of the pre-war forms was welcomed by a clear majority of essentially conservative and monarchist sentiment. Regardless of where their sympathies had lain, there were few in Durham, as elsewhere, who had not found the confusions and dislocations thrown up in government and religion and the exacting burden of soldiery for so many of the revolutionary years to be, at the very least, inconvenient and costly.

105 Darnell, Correspondence of Isaac Basire, p.227

NORTHUMBERLAND



APPENDIX B

Deputy lieutenants - August 1644

Sir Henry Vane sen. (Lord Lieutenant)
Sir Henry Vane jun.
Sir Richard Bellasis
Sir George Vane
Christopher Fulthorpe
Clement Fulthorpe
James Clavering
Sir Timothy Whittingham
George Lilburne

The county committee - November 1645

Sir Henry Vane sen.
Sir Lionel Maddison
Sir Richard Bellasis
Sir George Vane
Christopher Fulthorpe
Clement Fulthorpe
Richard Lilburne
James Clavering
Sir Timothy Whittingham
George Lilburne
Nicholas Heath
Francis Wren
George Grey

Sheriffs of Durham - 1646-1659

1646 - Sir George Vane
1647 - Sir Richard Bellasis
1648 - Clement Fulthorpe
1649 - Sir William Smith
1650 - James Clavering
1651 - Thomas Shadforth
1652 - Christopher Fulthorpe
1653 - Francis Wren
1654 - Roland Place
1655 - Thomas Bewick
1656 - George Lilburne
1657-8 - Sir Timothy Whittingham
1659 - Robert Ellison

APPENDIX C

The Gentlemen of the County, 3 November 1660

(A list of the gentlemen charged with such horses and riders as were mustered before Viscount Fauconberg, Lord Lieutenant.)

- Darlington Ward: Sir William Darcy,[ⓧ] Sir Henry Vane, Sir Francis Bowes,[ⓧ] Sir George Vane, Anthony Byerley,[ⓧ] Christopher Hall,[ⓧ] Cuthbert Carr,[ⓧ] Richard Lilburne, Robert Eden,[ⓧ] Francis Wren, the heirs of Thomas Bowes,[ⓧ] Nicholas Chaytor,[ⓧ] and Mrs. Killinghall,[ⓧ] Mr. Penington, Allen Bellingham, Robert Shaftoe, Thomas Featherstonehaugh,[ⓧ] William Kennett,[ⓧ] John Jennison[ⓧ]
- Stockton Ward: The Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Davison,[ⓧ] William Bellasis,[ⓧ] Christopher Fulthorpe, Nicholas Freville,[ⓧ] Rowland Place,[ⓧ] Sir Edward Cropley, Anthony Fewler, Anthony Gibson, William Scurfield
- Chester Ward: Sir Richard Tempest,[ⓧ] Sir Thomas Liddell, Sir John Jackson,[ⓧ] John Hilton,[ⓧ] William Riddell,[ⓧ] Edward Smith,[ⓧ] James Clavering,

Tobias Dudley,* George Selby, Mrs. Elizabeth Hall*

Easington Ward: Viscount Lumley, Sir John Conyers,* Sir Nicholas Cole,* Henry Lambton,* Gerard Salvin,* John Tempest* and John Heath,* Cuthbert Collingwood,* Thomas Shadforth, George and Thomas Lilburne, Gilbert Marshall, the Lady Bellasis* and Ralph Davison,* Thomas Maire,* Dr. Barwick Dean of Durham, Dr. Joseph Craddock

* Indicates those resident in the county who had suffered serious process as royalist delinquents or whose families can be identified as predominantly royalist in sentiment

APPENDIX D

Durham royalist delinquents

Key to columns

- A: Name
- B: Domicile
- C: Involvement in first and/or second wars
- D: First charged or noted as delinquent:
subsequent charges
- E: Date petitioned to compound, or compounded
- F: Date fined and/or pardoned (sometimes
different years)
- G: Amount of composition fine
- H: Appeared in 1st, 2nd, or 3rd Act of Sale

(Figures refer to year in cols. D, E, F)

Other abbreviations

- d. discharged from sequestration
- lit. case complicated by other litigation
- n.p. fine not paid
- n.r. no further record
- ob. died or killed

Delinquency cases were often varied and complicated and do not readily lend themselves to simple tabulation. Even so, several points are indicated. The preponderance of first war involvement and the much smaller commitment to the second war, and the often prompt and generally steady desire of offenders to compound and clear themselves from 1644 onwards, with a rush to take advantage of the Act of Pardon

in 1651. Very few were so obdurate as to see themselves placed in the Acts of Sale of the early 1650s. This list is not complete however; in 1653 there were still over 130 Durham estates under sequestration despite the fact that most of those royalists listed here had by then reached an accommodation and secured a pardon.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
J. Allenson	Bp. Auckland	1		45		£30	
R. Allenson	Durham City	1	44	45	51	£150	
C. Appleby	Langleydale	1/2	44	49	50	£60	
J. Ayscough	Middleton-one-Row	1/2	44				3
R. Aysley	Coveshouses	1		45		n.r.	
R. Baddeley	Durham City	1	45	47		£162	
G. Baker Kt.	Crook Hall	1		49	49	£360.10s.	
H. Barnes	Witton le Wear			46		£20	
W. Barnes	Darlington	1/2	44	47	49	£438	
W. Baxter	Whitworth	1	$\frac{44}{51}$	51	52	$\frac{£45}{£247.10s.}$	
G. Bellasis	Durham	2		49		£80	
R. Bellasis Kt.	Ludworth	2	48		50	d.	
W. Bellasis	Morton House	1	45	45	51	£40	
T. Birkbeck	Morton Tinmouth		44	44	51	£40	
Margaret Blackison	Gibside	n.r.					
R. Blakiston Kt.	Gibside		44	n.r.			
W. Blakiston Kt.	Archdeacon Newton	1	44		53	d.	
W. Blakiston Kt.	Gibside	1/2		52	52	£800	
T. Bowes	Streatlam	2		49	49	£456	
W. Bowes (sen. & jun.)	Barnes		48	50	51	£926.10s.	
R. Bowser	Bp. Auckland		45	45	51	£10	
J. Brackenbury	Selaby	1	45	n.r.			
T. Braithwaite	Hurworth			53	53	£793.7.2d.	3
W. Brass	Brafferton	1		51	51	£314.5.3d.	
T. Brignell	Lambton	1	49	49	49	£4.10s.	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
J. Buck	Sadberge	1	45	45	51	£100	
T. Bullock	Whitwell House	1	45	45	45	£100	
A. Bulmer	High Embleton	1	45				3
W. Bulmer jun.	Silksworth	1	45	45	n.r.		
A. Burdon	?	1	45	45	51	£40	
J. Buttery	Nesbit	2	49	49	49	£165	
C. Byerley	Middridge Grange	1	44		46	£4,261	
T. Caldwell	Sunderland	1	45	45	51	£5	
R. Carleton	Wolsingham	1	45	45		£40	
C. Carr	St. Helen Auckland	1	46		46	£673	
R. & F. Carr	Cocken	1	50		52	d.	
R. Carr	North Biddick	1	44	45	51	£10	
W. Chapman	South Shields	1	45	45	51	£100	
N. Chator	Redhouse	1	45	45	51	£60	
T. Clarke	Sunderland	1	45	45		£5	
R. Clavering	Axwell Houses	2		49	49	£105	
R. Coatsworth	Great Stainton		52				3
Dorothy Cockson	Coldpike Hill		53	n.r.			
C. Collingwood	Dalden		50	n.r.			
W. Collingwood	Durham City	1/2		49	49	£28	
C. Conyers ob. 44	Layton	1	44				3
J. Conyers Kt.	Nettlesworth	1	45	47	47-8	£651.12s.	
T. Conyers	Woolley			49	49	£96.19s.	
J. Craddock	Evenwood			48	52	£112.10s.	
W. Darcy Kt.	Witton Castle	1/2		48	50	£2,400	
J. Denham	Houghton in the Side		52	n.r.			
A. Dodsworth	Stranton	1		45	51	£60	
H. Draper	Headlam	1		45	51	£60	
T. Dudley	Chopwell	1		45	51	£150	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
G. Eden	Billingham	1/2	$\frac{45}{49}$	49		$\frac{\pounds 66.13.4d.}{\pounds 66}$	
R. Eden	Windlestone	1	44	44	51	n.p.	
C. Elstob	Foxton	1		45	51	£5	
E. Elstob	Elstob	1		45	51	£3.6.8d.	
R. & E. Emerson	Ludwell		44				3
J. & W. Etherington	Seaham & Shadforth	1		45	n.r.		
T. Ewbank	Egglestone	1/2	44	45	51-2	£100	
J. Featherstonehaugh	Stanhope	2		49	49	£574.10s.	
R. Featherstonehaugh	Toft	2		49	49	£310.16s.	
J. Forcer	Kelloe & Harbour House	n.r.					2
N. Freville	Hardwick	1		45	51	£200	
W. Frizell	Durham	1/2	44	49		£40	
J. Garnett	Egglescliffe	1	44	46	47	£142	
J. Garth	Headlam	1	44	44	51	£100 (n.p.)	
H. Gibb Kt.	Jarrow	2	48		50	lit.	
C. Hall	Newsham	1		46	46	£460	
C. Hall	Hartburn	1		50		lit.	
L. Hall	Great Chilton	1		46	47	£1,025	
R. & W. Hall	Greencroft	1					3
C. Hamilton	Gateshead	2		49		£80.18s.	
J. Hamilton	Hurworth		52	52	54	d.	
G. Harbottle	Holemires		46	n.r.			
J. Harrison	Sunderland	1		45	51	£20	
R. Harrison	Over Friarside	n.r.			54		3
Dorothy Hartburn	Stillington	2	44	lit.			

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
J. Heath	Durham City	1	44	46	47	£55	
J. Hilton Bt.	Hylton	2		49	49	£484.12s.	3
W. Hixon	Mordon	1	44			lit.	
A. Hodgson	Lintzhall			49		lit.	
J. Hodgson	Lanchester	1	45		53		
H. Hodgson	Whickham	1		45	51	£40	
W. Hodgson	Hebburn	1	44-6			lit.	
R. Holmes	Bp. Wearmouth	1	44	45	51	£50	
J. & T. Hopper	Shincliffe		44		53	n.r.	
T. Howard	Tursdale	1	45		54	n.r.	
H. Huntley	Friarside (?)	1		45	51	£5	
J. Husband	Sunderland	1/2	44	49		£4.10s.	
G. Jackson	Langley			51		£93.3.4d.	
J. Jackson	Middridge	1		45	51	£70	
J. Jackson	Harraton	1/2	44	49		£436.14.7d.	
R. Jenison	?	1		45	51	£5	
W. Jenison	Neasham			53	n.r.		
J. Kennett	Coxhoe	1		<u>45</u> 49	51	<u>£80</u> £250	
J. Killingham	Middleton St. George	1	44	<u>45</u> 46		<u>£60</u> £248	
H. Lambton	Lambton	1		45	46-52	£960	
W. Langley Kt.	Lumley		45-49		52	d.	
F. Liddell Kt.	Redheugh & Bamburg	1/2		49		£342.16.10d.	
H. Liddell	Farnacres			51	n.r.		
T. Liddell Kt.	Ravensworth	1	45	46	46	£4,000	
W. Lumley	Lumley	1		45	51	£10	
T. Maire	Hardwick			52	n.r.		
G. Manby	Gateshead	1		50		£8.6.8d.	

A	B	C	D.	E	F	G	H
J. Markindale	Old Park	1		44	44	n.r.	
A. Maxton ob.c.41	Durham & Wolsingham		lit.				
C. Mickleton	Durham	1	51		51	d.	
G. Middleton	Silksworth	1		45	51	£120	
R. Millot	Whitehill				53	£851.11.10d.	3
R. Morpeth	Stillington	1	44	46	46	£100	
R. Osborne	Durham		51	n.r.			
J. Parmonley	Middleton-in- Teesdale	1		45	51	£5	
A. Pearson	?	1		45	51	£5	
R. Place	Dinsdale	1/2		51	51	£1.13.4d.	
W. Power	Durham City			53			3
M. Pudsey	Middleton St. George			53	53	£656.5s.	3
J. Richardson	Barmston	1		45	51	£100	
T. Riddell Kt.	Gateshead	1		49	49	£408	1
R. Rokeby	Harraton	lit.					
B. Salvin	Croxdale	2		51	51	£3.6.8d.	
G. Salvin	Croxdale	1		45	51	£800	
J. Salvin	Hurworth		52	n.r.			
T. Shadforth	Eppleton	1/2	47/ 49	52	52	d.	
C. Shaw	Ingleton	1		45	51	£25	
J. Shaw	Ferryhill	1	50	n.r.			
W. Sheraton	Elwick	1	44	53		£70.18.6d.	3
T. Simpson	Newton Cap	1		46	46	£50	
T. Smelt ob.43	Etherley	1	50		51	d.	
J. Smith ob.49	Esh	1	44		53	lit.	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
H. Smith	Herrington	1		45	51	n.r.	
W. Stewart	Littleburn	2	50		52	d.	
T. Swinburne	Butterby	1		45	45/ 46	£320	
R. Taylor	Raredon	2		49	49	£25	
J. Tempest	Old Durham	1/2	44	49	49	£305.9s.	
N. Tempest Kt.	Stanley	2		49	49	£123.6.8d.	
R. Tempest Kt.	Stella	1/2					1
T. Tempest	Stanley	2		49	49	£100	
T. Tempest Kt.	The Isle (Sedgefield)	1		49	49	£134	
W. Tempest	Thornley	1		45/ 46	52	d. lit.	
A. Thompson	Durham City	1		45	51	£400	
G. Tonge	Denton	1		45	46/ 53	£320	
J. Trollop	Thornley	1	51				3
J. Vasey	Newlands	1		44	51	£33	
N. Woodhouse	Cornforth	2		49	49	£20	
T. Wray	Beamish	1	44	lit.			
L. Wren	Binchester	1		45	46/ 52	£300	

APPENDIX E

Clerical disruptions in Durham 1641-1662

An 'intruder' is taken to be anyone occupying a living to which he has not been presented and instituted under the episcopal order of things prior to 1646. Thus, a number of men identifiable as curates of long-standing in some livings are designated intruders by virtue of some kind of later Parliamentary confirmation. A few livings, all smaller chapelries, have been omitted altogether because no information about them is available. Even so, the table as it stands cannot be considered entirely complete.

Abbreviations:

- C.P.G. Commissioners for the Propagation
of the Gospel
- P. Parliament
- p.e. parish election
- Y Yes

Living	Rectory Vicarage Curacy	Last episcopal holder(s)	Died resigned ejected last noted	Intruders	Appt'd or first noted	How appt'd	Ejected	Conformed	First Restoration appointment(s)	Date
St. Andrews Auckland	R	John Stockdale		John Brabant Richard Frankland	50 53-4		60-1		Thomas Bell	62
St. Helens Auckland	C	John Vaux		John Timpson				Y	John Timpson	62
Aycliffe	V	George Leake		Peter Smart ¹ Daniel Carradine Robert Wilkinson George Spooner	41 44 47 50	P. C.P.G.	50	Y	George Spooner	
Barnard Castle	C	Giles Foster		John Rogers	45	P.			William Bickerton	62
Billingham	C	Christopher Boucke		Mr. Thompson Richard Clarkson	51-3		51	Y	Richard Clarkson	62
Bishop Middleham	V	Thomas Bedford	d.60	-					John Brabant	61
Bp. Wearmouth	R	John Johnson Christian Sherwood	d.42 d.52	Timothy Batt (lecturer) William Johnson Samuel Hammond William Graves	42 45 51-2 54	P. P.	61		Robert Grey	61
Bishopton	V	David Myles		Mr. Linsey			52		John Buckley	
Boldon	R	Robert Chapman	e.51	Edmund Weld Robert Pleasance	51-3	C.P.G.	60-2		Robert Chapman	60-2
Bradbury Chapel	C	Robert Pearson								
Brancepeth	R	John Cosin	e.41	Henry Lever					George Wishart Daniel Brevint	60 62
Castle Eden	C	Thomas Branger		John Wood (Ward)	42					
Chester le Street	C	Robert Hunter	e.50						William Hume	73
Coatham Mundeville	C	Ralph Robinson (?)	e.50	Mr. Kiplin			60-2			

Living	Rectory Vicarage Curacy	Last episcopal holder(s)	Died resigned ejected last noted	Intruders	Appt'd or first noted	How appt'd	Ejected	Conformed	First Restoration appointment(s)	Date
Cockfield	C	George French	e.51							
Coniscliffe	V	William Richardson		Nicholas Swinburne Thomas Dickinson	50 51-3				Ralph Robinson	62
Croxdale	C	James Greene	e.52						Richard Roberts	67
Dalton	V	Matthew Cooper	rsg. 62	-					Samuel Bolton	62
Darlington	C	Thomas Clayperton		Mr. Parish	51-3	C.P.G.		Y	Thomas Clayperton George Bell	60 61
Denton	C	Robert Fawcett	d.57						John Jackson	63
Dinsdale	R	George Shaw	d.62	John Kearton	50	C.P.G.			Marmaduke Wetherell	61
Durham (cathedral)				Ricard Gilpin Nathaniel Burnand Jams Ridgby	44 49-50 49-50	P. P. P.				
Durham, St. Giles	C	Elias Smith	rsg. 67						Henry Smith	67
" St. Margaret	C	John Dury		Eznel Tonge	58					
Durham, Mary le Bow	R	William Smith Richard Wakelin	d.45						Anthony Kirton	87
" Mary the Less	R	George Cockredge							Matthew Cooper	63
" St. Nicholas	R	Alexander Brogden	d.46	Richard Tenant Jonathan Devereaux	51-3 57	C.P.G.	60-2		Samuel Martin	63
" St. Oswald	V	Francis Foster		John Holdsworth Joseph Hill	53 59	C.P.G.	60-2		John Wood	62
Easington	R	Gabriel Clark		Philip Nesbitt William Pell	45		60		Gabriel Clark Dennis Granville	60 62

Living	Rectory Vicarage Curacy	Last episcopal holder(s)	Died resigned ejected last noted	Intruders	Appt'd or first noted	How appt'd	Ejected	Conformed	First Restoration appointment(s)	Date
Ebchester	C	Matthias Wrightson	e.51						Reginald Steadman	80
Edmundbyers	R	John Dury Francis Foster	rsg. 42 d.61						John Dury	61
Egglescliffe	R	Isaac Basire	e.44	Daniel Bushel	50			Y	Isaac Basire	62
Elton	R	William Murray	d.49	Tobias Markendall	49			Y	Tobias Markendall	
Elwick	R	John Cosin	e.41	John Bowey	50		60		Daniel Bollen	60
Esh	C	Timothy Barnes		Samuel Martin	50		53		John Martin	73
Escombe	C	Robert Thompson (no minister 1642)		Joseph Lax			61		Thomas Trotter	62
Gainford	V	John Lively	e.44	George Sanderson Mr. Greswold	44		62		Edmund Fotherby	62
Gateshead	R	Joshua Browne		Jonathan Devereaux Cuthbert Stote Thomas Weld	45 c.47 50	P. p.e. C.P.G.	60	Y	John Ladler	60
Greatham	V	Patrick Drummond	e.44	Edward Smaithwaite James Muke	49 53			Y	Patrick Drummond	
Grindon	V	James Wallace	e.52	Ralph Bowes	53	p.e.			James Wallace	60-2
Hamsterley	C	John Donkin		George Bell	50			Y	William Hardacre	63
Hart (Hartlepool)	V	Edward Young	e.51	Edward Smaithwaite John Bowey	51-3	C.P.G.	61	Y	Edward Young Edward Smaithwaite	61
Haughton	R	Eleazar Duncan	e.44	John Marsh Richard Battersby	50		60-1	Y	John Marsh	61

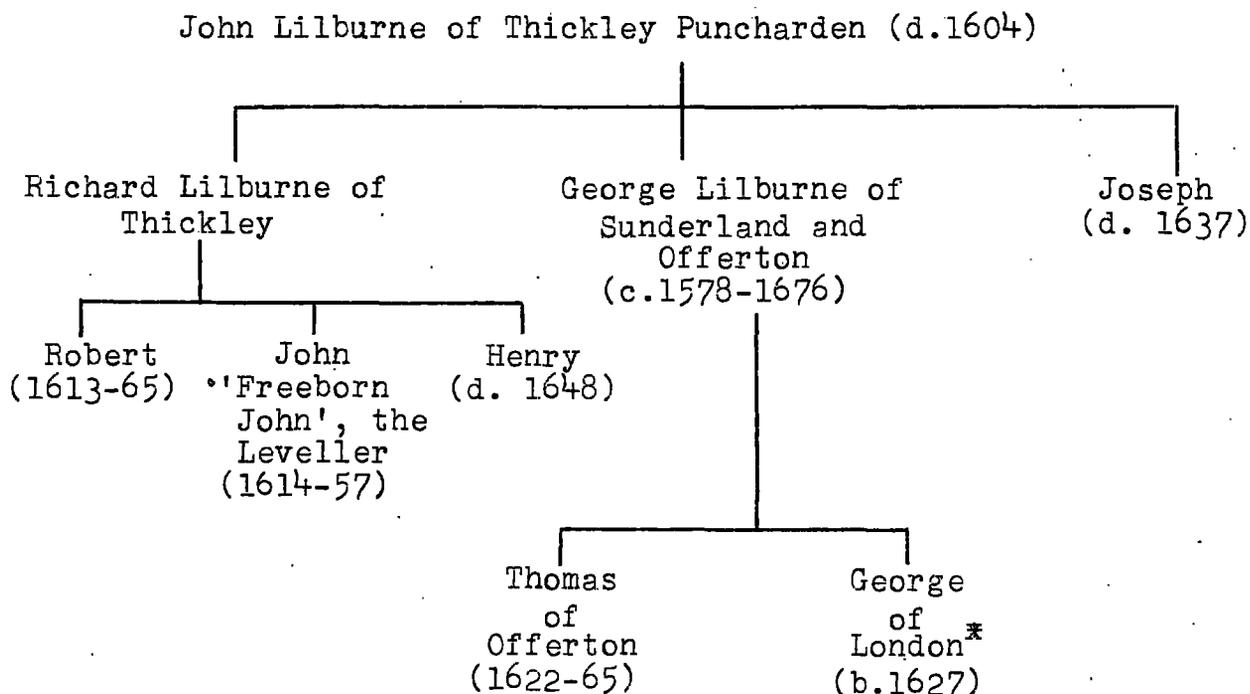
Living	Rectory Vicarage Curacy	Last episcopal holder(s)	Died resigned ejected last noted	Intruders	Appt'd or first noted	How appt'd	Ejected	Conformed	First Restoration appointment(s)	Date
Heighington	V	James Moorecroft Gilbert Wildbore	e.52	Arthur Squire	57		60-1		Richard Wrench	61
Houghton le Spring	R	Hamlett Marshall John Barwick (45)	e.45 d.45	Reuben Easthorpe Nicholas Battersby	46 58	P.	60		John Barwick William Sancroft	60 61
Hunstanworth	C	Thomas Becke	l.n. 50						William Forrest	67
Hurworth	R	Thomas Thompson	d.45	John Hamilton Leonard Wastell	45 51	C. P. G.	51 & 55	Y	Leonard Wastell	62
Jarrow	R	John Walker	e.56	Francis Batty	57		60-2		William Walker	73
Kelloe	V	John Lively	l.n. 50	Thomas Dixon				Y?	Thomas Pearson	61
Lamesley	C	John Buckley	e.52	Thomas Wilson			60		James Harrap	77
Lanchester	V	Thomas Thompson		Patrick Donkin Richard Frankland Josias Dockwray	50 51-3	C. P. G.	62	Y	Josias Dockwray	63
Long Newton	R	Ralph Tunstall	d.59	-					John Oliver	62
Medomsley	C	(no minister 1642)		Matthias Wrightson	50				Christopher Collinson	
Merrington	V	William James		John Ladler	50	C. P. G.		Y	James Thompson	60
Middleton-in-Teesdale	R	Anthony Maxton		Sem. Coxe Thomas Kentish	48 52	P. C. P. G.	52 60		Timothy Tully	60
Middleton St. George	R	William Harrison		Marmaduke Wetherall	50			Y	Marmaduke Wetherall	
Monk Hesledon	V	Edward Moorecroft		Joshua Wood					Edward Moorecroft	
Monkwearmouth	V	Richard Hickes	rsg. 61-2	Henry Johnson John Hickes	50			Y Y	John Hickes	62

Living	Rectory Vicarage Curacy	Last episcopal holder(s)	Died resigned ejected last noted	Intruders	Appt'd or first noted	How appt'd	Ejected	Conformed	First Restoration appointment(s)	Date
Muggleswick	C	Richard Bradley	rsg. 61-2	Mr. Moore (lecturer) Thomas Boyer	42 51-3	P. C.P.G.	61-2	Y	John Dury	62
Norton	V	Philip Mallory	e. 44-5	Robert Brough	45				Alan Smallwood	61
Pittington	V	George Shaw	e. 50 d. 62						Christopher Thompson	62
Red Marshall	R	John Rand	d. 45	John Kidd			60-1	Y	John Robson	61
Ryton	R	William James	e. 55 d. 60	Cuthbert Stote John Weld	50 57			Y	Ralph Blakiston	60
Sadberge	C	Mr. Hutton (?)	e. 51	Luke Coles			61-2	Y	Richard Atkinson	62
St. John Chapelry	C	Robert Fawcett							William Smith	62
Seaham	V	John Easterby	e. 55						Henry Dobbins	61
Sedgefield	R	Joseph Naylor	e. 44	John Vincent Anthony Laphorne Mr. Hunton	44 46	P. P.	60		Joseph Naylor	
Sockburn	V	William Harrison	e. 51	Mr. Williams John Kirton	50 51-3	C.P.G.			William Hutton	62
South Shields	C	Thomas Wandles		Patrick Watt Henry Veirsley Thomas Lupton	50 51-3 57	C.P.G.	50		Thomas Wandles Stephen Bordley	64
Staindrop	V	Nathaniel Ward	d. 44	Mr. Millet Mr. Bowes Samuel Feake	50 53		60	Y	Simon Gilpin	60
Stainton in the Street (Great Stainton)	R	Henry Doughty	e. 51-3	Thomas Carre (d. 55) James Hilliard William Pell	55 58 60		60-2		Thomas Pearson	62

Living	Rectory Vicarage Curacy	Last episcopal holder(s)	Died resigned ejected last noted	Intruders	Appt'd or first noted	How appt'd	Ejected	Conformed	First Restoration appointment(s)	Date
Stanhope	R	Evenus Gower Isaac Basire	d. 44	John Bewick	44	P.		Y	Isaac Basire	
Stockton	C	Rowland Salkeld	l.n. 50	-				Y	James Grey (Gregg)	62
Stranton	V	John Allen		John Smith Mr. Gill	46 50	P.		Y	John Smith	61
Tanfield	C	Alexander Lempson							John Martin	73
Trimdon	C	William Fisher	l.n. 44	James Kelly	50				Stephen Woodifield	73
Washington	R	Thomas Triplet	e. 44 rsg. 61	Thomas Dixon John Weld Edward Williamson	50 53 55	C. P. G.	53 & 55 60-2		Thomas Triplet Henry Johnson	62
Whickham	R	Thomas Wood	e. 51	Nicholas Stote	c. 48			Y	Thomas Wood	60-2
Whitburn	R	Thomas Triplet	e. 44 rsg. 61	Richard Hickes	44-5			Y	Richard Hickes	62
Whitworth	C	Stephen Hegg	d. 61	-					Richard Wakelin	61
Whorlton	C	Henry Armitage	l.n. 50	John Sharp(?)	45				William Horne	62
Winstone	R	Richard Thursby	d. 51	Cuthbert Marley	51-3	C. P. G.		Y	Cuthbert Marley	62
Witton Gilbert	C	Henry Hutton	d. 71	-			60-2			
Witton le Wear	C	Robert Scogaine Stephen Windle	rsg. 67	Simon Gilpin	51-3	C. P. G.		Y	Stephen Windle Francis Ourd	67
Wolsingham	R	John Barwick	rsg. 60	Jonathan Devereaux Ralph Ward William Bickerton	48 53	P. C. P. G.	51 60	Y	John Barwick Guy Carleton	60
Wolviston	C	James King	l.n. 50						Mr. Redhead	

APPENDIX F

The Durham Lilburnes



* Both Richard and George Lilburne also had daughters, while George had surviving children from a second marriage who, like the younger George, established themselves in London and played no part in Durham affairs.

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