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Abstract

The Ecclesiastical history of the diocese of Durham in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is a most neglected subject. It has long been supposed that the whole corpus of manuscripts relating to diocesan administration was destroyed by fire a generation ago, but a magnificent series of episcopal visitations has been discovered at Auckland Castle, and supplemented by the resources of the Church Commissioners, it is now possible to fill this gap.

In 1774 the Diocese of Durham consisted of the counties of Northumberland and Durham and was divided into three archdeaconries. The former was divided into the archdeaconries of Northumberland and Lindisfarne, while County Durham itself formed the third archdeaconry. Thus size of the diocese has compelled concentration on one archdeaconry only.

The parochial system of the archdeaconry was under no strain through the eighteenth century, a fact born out by the rife non-residence and plurality of its clergy, especially in those livings in the patronage of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter of Durham. With the turn of the century the parochial system was suddenly faced with the problem of a fast rising population which severely strained the medieval parochial structure. The population growth of the Archdeaconry accelerated, and by 1830 had begun to grow more rapidly than any other county in England and faster than the urban centres of Manchester and Liverpool. In these circumstances the parochial system had to serve for more people and cope with the movement of population away from medieval centres and face the challenges of a rigorous Methodism, radical social discontent and the

resurgence of Catholicism. The vast endowments of the Chapter, its social pretensions and the non-residence of the clergy encouraged the growth of a particularly virulent hostility to the church.

The growing public cry for church (as well as political) reform, coupled with the intransigent political attitudes of the Durham clergy, gave rise to strained relationships between clergy and lay people which severely complicated the process of church reform.

By comparing Durham experience with the results of studies of Derby, Devon, and Oxford, it is hoped to illuminate the complexities of church reform at the parochial level and the relationships between parson and people during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Ecclesiastical Administration
of the
Archdeaconry of Durham,
1774-1856

by W. B. Maynard

Thesis submitted for
the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
University of Durham
August, 1973.

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his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

To Gwyneth, my Mother and
Father, Tom, and to
the Memory of
my Uncle,
Mr. R. Maynard

PREFACE

Few attempts have been made to document, at the county level, the church reform movement. Of particular interest is the Diocese of Durham, most probably the wealthiest see in the country, and one which has often been referred to, but which hitherto has not been closely studied. Too large to be considered as a whole, the subject of this thesis is the southern half of that Bishopric, the area from which it takes its name, the County and Archdeaconry of Durham.

The more important of the two Archdeaconries, Durham, containing the seats of both the Bishop and Chapter, had been almost entirely a rural county. The parochial system developed early and remained largely unchanged until the rapid industrialisation of the county set problems with which it could no longer cope.

The object of this study is to compare the ecclesiastical administration of a largely medieval system with what is known of what was happening elsewhere in the country, and to determine how the wealthiest ecclesiastical establishment in the country reacted, at the local level, to the need and call for church reform.

The period covered by this thesis begins with the Episcopate of John Egerton¹ and ends with Edward Maltby's retirement in 1856. The principal themes to be examined are: the working of the patronage system; benefice incomes and their improvement; church building; parsonage houses; poor livings, and plurality and non-residence. Instances of the division of

1. Confirmed 20 July, 1771.

parishes and augmentations by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners after 1836 are dealt with incidentally, for a systematic discussion would have unreasonably swollen an already substantial thesis. For the same reason the results of extensive research into the out-of-church activities of the clergy have been excluded.

Such a study could never have been completed without the assistance of individuals too numerous to mention. My gratitude to librarians and archivists who have been so helpful is, I hope, apparent. Those to whom I owe a special debt I wish to acknowledge by name: the late Lord Bishop of Durham, Dr. Ian Ramsey and Mrs. Ramsey for permitting me to spend so many months in their home working daily through the Episcopal archives; Durham University for the financial assistance I have received, in particular the grant of the Northern Echo Research Studentship; Mrs. A. Robinson, my typist; Mr. A. S. Wilson; the staff of Durham University Library, Palace Green and the University Department of Paleography and Diplomatic at both South Road and Priors Kitchen. Most sincerely, I wish to acknowledge the patience and guidance of my supervisor, Professor W. R. Ward.

Abbreviations used in Footnotes

AC.	Auckland Castle, Episcopal Archives
CC.	Church Commissioners
CO.	Chapter Office
C.W.A.S.	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
DC.	Durham Chronicle
DCA.	Durham County Advertiser
DCL.	Dean and Chapter Library
DCCLD.	Durham County Library, Durham City branch
DNB.	Dictionary of National Biography
DCRO.	Durham County Record Office
GPL.	Gateshead Public Library
HPL.	Hartlepool Public Library
JHC.	Journal of the House of Commons
LPL.	Lambeth Palace Library
NCL.	Newcastle Central Library
NCRO.	Northumberland County Record Office
Orders in Council	Orders in Council Ratifying Schemes of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. 88 vols.
PK.	Priors Kitchen, Dean and Chapter Muniments
PRO.	Public Record Office
SL.	Archdeacon Sharp's Library
SR.	South Road, Durham Diocesan Records
UL.	Durham University Library, Palace Green
VCH.	Victoria County History

C O N T E N T S

	<u>page</u>
Abstract	
Preface	iii
Abbreviations	v
Map	between pages 115-6
 Chapter I.	 1
The Archdeaconry	
 Chapter II.	 31
Patronage and the Parochial Clergy	
1. Lay patronage	31
2. Ecclesiastical patronage	50
A. Episcopal	51
B. Capitular	64
3. Collegiate patronage	79
4. The performance of clerical duties	80
 Chapter III.	 116
Benefice Incomes	
1. Background to parochial income improvement	116
2. Benefice incomes, 1774-1856: their sources	127
3. Improvement in parochial incomes, 1774-1832	133
A. Clerical efforts to improve and protect their incomes, 1774-1832	133
B. Economic difficulties and efforts to maintain and improve incomes, 1815-1832	140
C. Exploitation of mineral deposits and parochial incomes	151
 Chapter IV.	 170
Augmentation and Reform 1774 to 1836	
1. Dean and Chapter benefice reform	174
2. Episcopal benefice reform	202
3. Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners	240

4. Livings in lay patronage	247
5. Lord Crewe's Trustees	257
Chapter V. Parsonage Houses	280
1. Maltby Fund	315
Chapter VI. Curates' stipends	350
Chapter VII. Church Building	379
Chapter VIII. Plurality and Non-residence	425
Chapter IX. Conclusion	486
Bibliography	488

CHAPTER I

THE ARCHDEACONRY

The Archdeaconry and County of Durham formed the southern administrative division of the Diocese of Durham. Situated between the rivers Tyne and Tees with the North Sea forming its eastern boundary, the general configuration of the County was that of a triangle. The North Sea coast formed its base with the apex situated at the headwaters of the two rivers among the hills of the Pennine range.¹

The population of the Archdeaconry in 1781 is estimated to have been between 130,000 and 140,000 persons.² Apart from isolated concentrations of population at the mouths of the Tyne and Wear, there were no communities of more than 5,000 inhabitants.³ While Darlington and Durham City had populations near that figure, a typical market town had a population of under 2,000. Indeed only at the headquarters of dales' mining companies were population concentrations likely to exceed 1,500 persons. Middleton-in-leesdale was such a village. An eighteenth century creation, it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century with the expansion of the lead industry and thirty-eight producing mines in the district that its population exceeded 1,800 persons.⁴ As late as 1821 two-thirds of the County's population lived in settlements of less than 2,000.⁵

1. V.C.H., Durham, Vol.I, p.1.

2. Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, British Economic Growth, 1688-1859, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1967), p.103.

3. A. E. Smailes, North England, (London, 1968), p.146. The population of Newcastle, Gateshead and South Shields was nearly 43,000 persons. At Wearmouth, the population of Sunderland was estimated to have been 25,000.

4. Ibid., p.148.

5. J. T. House, North Eastern England, Population Movements and the Landscape since the early Nineteenth Century (Newcastle, 1954) p.3.

From the seventeenth century the economy of the County had gradually diversified ^{from} an almost entirely agricultural economy by the growth of industry. Quarrying, and coal and lead mining became the predominant industrial activities, along with small pockets of manufacturing and trading on the banks of the County's two rivers.

The lead industry was located in the dales along both the north western and south western fringes of the County in Weardale and Teesdale districts. Since the Middle Ages these areas had borne the imprint of mining, and as a result of the great expansion of the industry, the incomes of the three dales' parishes of Stanhope, Wolsingham and Middleton-in-Teesdale increased so as to number them amongst the wealthiest in the Archdeaconry.¹

Throughout the eighteenth century the Durham coal industry expanded from the banks of the rivers Tyne and Wear to inland districts, including the areas around Tanfield Moor and Chester Moor. This expanded area of production remained much the same until 1822, when the first winning was made through the magnesian limestone at Hetton. With the development of large scale commercial mining operations in rural areas there began a conflict that was not to be resolved, between the industry and the rural community, over the destruction of agricultural land. Indeed, with expansion of the industry after 1800, and particularly during the 1820s, the conflict was carried further afield.²

The close connection between coal mining and industrial development explains the essential features of early industrial

-
1. House, North Eastern England, p.33. Between 1535 and 1832 their incomes increased as follows: Stanhope from £67 p.a. to £4,865 p.a.; Wolsingham from £31 p.a. to £907 p.a.; Middleton from £25 p.a. to over £600 p.a. Liber Regis. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, Stanhope, Wolsingham, Middleton-in-Teesdale.
 2. Smailes, North England, p.145.

settlement in the County. Manufactories were established along the Tyne and Wear utilising the mineral wealth of the area, salt, local clays and sands. At South Shields and Sunderland the salt industry spread its pans along the riverside, and on the Tyne, glass manufacturing grew alongside potteries. On both rivers shipbuilding industries grew, while the production of bricks laid the ground for the future manufacture of alum, and lime burning on the lower Tyne.¹

A feature of the industrialisation along the Tyne was that, as a result of the local geology, collieries and villages were mixed, containing the dwellings of industrial workers as well. On the Wear, however, as a result of the collieries being located only along the upper reaches of the river there was a strict separation between colliery and industrial workers. Colonies of keelmen on the river banks just below the great bend at Chester-le-Street, along with the nearly pit villages attached to them by waggon ways, formed an industrial district clearly distinct from Wearmouth.² Beginning with potteries and boat building yards at North and South Hylton, the industrial belt continued downstream from Southwick and Pallion. Shipyards, limekilns, saltpans, roperies, glass and copper works lined the river, with housing behind and about two-thirds of the 25,000 persons residing in the Wearmouth conurbation living on the south bank.³

In 1800 the Durham countryside, up to the moorland edge, was a landscape of enclosures bounded by hedges, and at the higher levels, stone walls. Except near the moorland's edge,

1. House, North Eastern England, pp.34-34.

2. Smailes, North England, p.146.

3. Smailes, North England, p.146.

this enclosed countryside was not a new creation, for by that date little enclosure of common field was left to be carried out. It has been estimated that, as a result of the pastoral nature of the agricultural economy, nine parts in ten had been enclosed by 1726, a figure confirmed by the fact that less than 1% of the County's total land area had been covered by Enclosure Acts. This early enclosure led to a high degree of scattered rural settlements. Within this framework developed the close association of agriculture with mining, and to provide small holdings for the increasing number of miners, it became necessary to push the previous limits of farming onto the moors and higher into the Pennine range.¹

The principal feature of rural Durham was the small size of its farms, the majority of which averaged between 50 and 150 acres. By way of contrast, the largest farm in the County was reported to have been 1,000 acres, while in the sheep rearing dales of Northumberland units of that size were not uncommon.²

With the episcopal residence at Bishop Auckland, the Archdeaconry was the focal point of diocesan ecclesiastical administration. The power and prestige of the Prince Bishop of Durham rested on the solid foundation of property, buttressed with the remains of the once extensive Palatinate jurisdiction. Though abridged during the sixteenth century, the eighteenth century privileges of the palatinate were considerable. The Bishop as Count Palatine was also Custos Rotulorum of the County, appointed the high sheriff, and all the officers of justice.³ His sheriff was not obliged to account to the

1. House, North Eastern England, pp.24-26.

2. House, North Eastern England, p.27.

3. These included the Bishop's attorney and solicitor general, the auditor and clerk of the court, bailiffs and seneschalls, coroners and apparitors, constables and gaolers. Edward Hughes, North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century. The North East 1700-1750, (London, 1952), p.330.

exchequer, but made his audit to the Bishop, and all forfeitures for treason and felonies, including all crimes capital or not belonged to the See. The stipends of Assize Judges and all officers of the court were paid by the Bishop who, with his Temporal Chancellor, was a Justice of the Peace and possessed the right to preside in person over any of the courts of judicature. The Bishop had power in civil government for creating corporations and received composition money for fines levied and recoveries suffered by the Courts of Pleas at Durham; and upon all original writs issued out of the courts of the county palatine where debts or damages exceeded £40; and was entitled to all forfeited recognizances and fines awarded in the several other courts.¹

The wealth of the See was derived from land. In addition to demesne lands in excess of 1,400 acres,² an early eighteenth century manuscript entitled "A Rentall of the Bpp of Durham's Freehold and Copyhold Rents", though incomplete, lists a total of 1,694 episcopal tenants and properties dispersed throughout the County. His tenants included Lords Lonsdale, Scarborough and Widdrington, as well as most of the local gentry.³ From rents, fines, and royalties the Bishop's income in 1762 was in excess of £6,000 p.a., second only to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and which through the efforts of successive Bishops and the expansion of the coal industry was "improved", until by 1831 the episcopal stipend was nearly £22,000 p.a.⁴ The follow-

1. E. Mackenzie and M. Ross, History of Durham (Newcastle, 1834), Vol.I, p.XCII.
2. Ibid., p.XCIV.
3. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.306. Not included were the proceeds arising from the valuable Grand Lease nor from the royalties of the episcopal lead mines in Weardale. The Grand Lease was the collective name given to the episcopal manors of Gateshead and Whickham which contained some of the richest and most favourably situated coal mines in the North East. See also J. V. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry, (London, 1932), *passim*.
4. E. Hughes, *op.cit.*, p.326; Report of the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty to Inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales, (London, 1835), p.5.

ing table compares episcopal incomes at both of the above dates.

Figure 1

<u>See</u>	<u>1762</u> ¹	<u>1831</u> ²
Canterbury	£7,000 p.a.	£22,216 p.a.
Durham	£6,000 p.a.	£21,991 p.a.
Winchester	£5,000 p.a.	£12,107 p.a.
London	£4,000 p.a.	£15,133 p.a.

The extension of the coal industry into the Auckland area during the 1830s further increased the Bishop's stipend, which during the seven years between 1837 and 1843 averaged over £26,400 p.a. During the succeeding seven years the trend continued with the episcopal income averaging over £29,600 p.a. The following table indicates the Bishop of Durham's most profitable years between 1829 and 1850.³

Figure 2

1829	£20,688 p.a.	1841	£37,161 p.a.
1834	£37,439 p.a.	1847	£39,108 p.a.
1838	£28,756 p.a.	1850	£38,616 p.a.
1840	£29,806 p.a.		

Of the five Bishops of Durham between 1774 and 1856, surprisingly little is known. Only Barrington and Van Mildert have been the subjects of formal studies, and both of these theses, over twenty years old and ^{are} in need of revision.⁴ Only

1. The Correspondence of King George the Third, ed. John Fortescue, (London, 1927), Vol.I, No.26, pp.33-44.
2. Report of the Commissioners, op.cit., p.5.
3. William Fordyce, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, (Newcastle, 1857), Vol.I, pp.135-9.
4. G. G. Armstrong, "The Life and Influence of Shute Barrington (1734-1856)", (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, Kings College, Durham University, 1937); Ralph Allen Cochrane, "William Van Mildert," (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, Durham University, 1950).

two of the individuals elevated to the See had aristocratic connections, but all owed their advancement to the operation of the unreformed ecclesiastical administration of the eighteenth century.

John Egerton, grandson of the Earl of Bridgewater and son of Henry, Bishop of Hereford, hastily entered the church to take advantage of the avoidance of the Rectory of Ross-on-Wye in his father's patronage. Before his graduation from Oxford he was ordained Deacon on 21 December, and Priest on 22 December, 1745 by Hoadly, and nominated to Ross the following day, 23 December. On 3 January, 1746 his father collated him to the Prebend of Cublington in Hereford Cathedral, and three years later he was appointed a Royal Chaplain. In 1750 he became Dean of Hereford and on 4 July, at the age of thirty-four, he was elevated to the episcopal bench as Bishop of Bangor. Twelve years later on 12 November, 1768 he was translated to Lichfield and Coventry, where he stayed only thirty-three months, before he was again translated, on this occasion to Durham, on 20 July, 1771.¹

While at Durham Egerton does not seem to have been particularly active. During his first two years in the See he held ordinations twice yearly. Thereafter, however, to 1784, the evidence indicates he seems to have held but one ordination a year. His Primary Visitation took place in August, 1772 followed by what appears to have been the only two Ordinary Visitations of his episcopate, both held during the summer months, in 1774 and 1778 respectively.²

It has been said that Egerton was popular in the Archdeaconry

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1. William Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, (Newcastle, 1787), Vol.I, pp.589-90; Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, pp.85-86; V.C.H., Durham, Vol.II, pp.65-68; D.N.B., Egerton, Vol.XVII, p.158.
 2. AC. Episcopal MSS. Spiritual Act Book of John, Lord Bishop of Durham.

for his long summer residences and unceasing hospitality. At Durham he recovered much of the lost episcopal prestige in the City by restoring its suspended Charter. His apparent lack of strength and his lack of interest in politics has been seen as a virtue, for "a stronger character or a more statesman-like bishop would in all probability have done incalculable harm at a time when the long Whig ascendancy was breaking up and party politics was absorbing the attention of the gentlemen of the County".¹ In his History of Durham Whellan noted that few have passed through the high office with less blame or envy than Bishop Egerton.²

His successor, Thomas Thurlow, the second son of a country parson, owed his ecclesiastical advancement to the successes of his elder brother Edward, who was to become Lord Chancellor. While Attorney-General, Edward secured for his brother the valuable Archdeaconry rectory of Stanhope, and in the following year the Mastership of the Temple, both of which were held simultaneously.³ On 5 March, 1775 an Irish clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Campbell, while touring England visited the Temple Chapel and there listened to a sermon preached by the future Bishop of Durham. He was decidedly unimpressed. In his diary he wrote "the discourse was the most meagre composition (on our Saviour's temptations) and the delivery worse. He stood like Gulliver in the marrow bone, with the sermon (newspaper-like) in his hand, and without grace of emphasis he in slow cadence measured it forth".⁴ After successively holding the deaneries

1. V.C.H., Durham, Vol.XVII, p.158.

2. Francis Whellan, History, Topography and Directory of the County Palatine of Durham, (London, 1894), p.159.

3. Norman Sykes, Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century, (Cambridge, 1934), p.403; V.C.H., Durham, Vol.II, p.68; D.N.B., Thurlow, Vol.LVI, p.350.

4. Diary of a Visit to England in 1775 by an Irishman (the Rev. Dr. Thomas Campbell and other papers by the same hand. ed. Samuel Raymond (Sydney, 1854), Edinburgh Review, Vol.CX (1959), p.329.

of Rochester and St. Pauls, he was on 30 May, 1779 elevated to the Bishopric of Lincoln. In the first year of his Episcopate, during the Gordon Riots, he was almost killed by a mob who had assumed that with the See of Lincoln he had inherited the pro-Catholic sympathies of his predecessor, John Green. After having his coach overturned and his person violently attacked, Thurlow managed his escape only with the timely intervention of a passer-by who prevented the mob from carrying out their avowed purpose to "cut the sign of the cross on his forehead".¹

On 19 January, 1787 Thurlow was translated to Durham where he remained until his death on 27 May, 1791. At Durham he did little more than continue the hospitable traditions of his predecessor and while his episcopate has commanded no great praise there seems to have been no cause for criticism.²

Shute Barrington, the sixth son of the first Viscount Barrington,³ owed his fortunes to the exertions of his elder brother, William, second Viscount, who, anticipating the clerical reshuffle that would take place on the accession of George III, wrote on Shute's behalf the following letter to the Duke of Newcastle.⁴

"I have but one anxiety in this world. My youngest brother remains without any provision, which is the more distressful to me because every other brother is most happily provided for; and I seem to have singled out for neglect a most amiable and accomplished

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1. Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser., Vol.IX, 19 May, 1860, p.392. From Sir Jonah Barrington, Personal Sketches of his Own Times, 3 Vols., (London, 1827-32).
 2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.86.
 3. George Townsend, The Theological Works of the First Viscount Barrington with a Brief Memoir of his son, Shute Barrington, the late Bishop of Durham (London, 1828), Vol.I, p.XLV.
 4. Sykes, Church and State, p.158.

young man, who is loved and esteemed by all who know him; and who has never in his whole life done anything which I have not approved.

He has been two years in priests orders, and will be one of the first kings chaplains that are made. Anything in the church not under £300 would make both him and me completely happy. As we belong to Berkshire a stall at Windsor would be peculiarly acceptable".

In 1760 Shute Barrington was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to George III, and in the following year at the age of twenty-seven, was collated to the fifth stall of Christ Church. He subsequently held two stalls in Hereford Cathedral before he was promoted to a canonry at St. Pauls, which was later exchanged for a stall at Windsor. On 1 October, 1769, at the age of thirty-five, he was raised to the episcopal Bench as Bishop of Llandaff. Thirteen years later he was collated to Salisbury, and finally on 10 June, 1791 he was nominated Bishop of Durham.¹

Barrington's Episcopacy formed a link with the older generation that had passed with the eighteenth century and his institution marked a point of transition from the old to the new.² As a churchman he was a staunch protestant of the evangelical school and had been a friend of Hannah More.³ He was an early subscriber to the "Society to Effect the Enforcement of His Majesty's Proclamations Against Vice and Immorality".⁴ In 1796 Wilberforce joined with Barrington in establishing the "Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor".⁵ By 1806 Barrington was a member of the Methodist "Strangers Friend Society"⁶ and in 1826, when the Philanthropic Society was showing increasing evangelical control,

1. George Townsend, The Theological Works of the First Viscount Barrington with a Brief Memoir of his Son, Shute Bishop of Durham, (London, 1828), pp.XLV-L.

2. V.C.H., Durham, Vol.II, p.68.

3. Mary Ransome, Wiltshire Returns to the Bishop's Visitation Queries, 1783, (Devizes, 1972), p.3.

4. F. K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, (Cambridge, 1961), p.83.

5. Ibid., p.88.

6. Ibid., p.236.

Barrington was Vice President.¹ Throughout his life he belonged to forty-seven societies, was President of five, Patron of two, Vice President of twelve, and Governor of six.²

As Bishop of Durham, he made an attempt to increase the quality of ordinands. It is supposed that by the beginning of the nineteenth century examination for orders were mere formalities and that Bishops accepted all candidates of competent learning. To Barrington, however, went the credit of demanding a higher standard from individuals seeking Orders in the Diocese. Through the appointment of strict examining Chaplains and the issuance of a recommended book list with which candidates were expected to be acquainted, only the most competent were to have entered the ranks of the Diocesan clergy.³

One such Chaplain was Thomas Burgess whose zeal and strict adherence to the Bishop's requirements resulted in a marked decrease in the number of persons presenting themselves for Ordination. Precise in his questioning of candidates, Burgess was reputed to have required even the page numbers from which the answers to his questions should have come. In addition it was his "habit to diverge from the prescribed path into unknown fields, with which it was no discredit to any young man to be unacquainted".⁴ His reputation spread, with the result that in 1803, though Barrington held but one Ordination a year, only four candidates dared to present themselves for examination.⁵

Barrington conscientiously undertook the administrative responsibilities of his office making regular visitations and

1. Ibid., p.238.

2. Ibid., p.357.

3. V.C.H., Durham, Vol.II, p.69; Shute Barrington, Sermons Charges and Tracts, (London, 1811), pp.102-64. For the Bishop's reading list see Chapter Appendix A.

4. James Raine, A Memoir of the Rev. John Hodgson, (London, 1857), Vol.I, p.19.

5. Armstrong, "Barrington", p.271.

annual ordinations.¹ He also made extensive financial grants for the furtherance of education in the Archdeaconry, and was the first Bishop since Lord Crewe to have attempted any major parochial reforms.² In his will he provided over £3,300 from his estate to be invested in the 3% consols for the creation of a charitable fund subsequently known as the Barrington Fund. From this source to the end of the period of this study an annual sum was provided for the augmentation of small benefices and for the relief of poor widows and children of the Diocesan clergy.³

Without the advantage of family connections, William Van Mildert's rise was based on academic achievement. Like Porteus, Gray and Bethell he was a theological author who commanded the respect of his contemporaries and whose abilities assisted his rapid climb up the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment. In 1795 he was appointed chaplain to the Honourable Company of Grocers in whose possession was the advowson of St. Mary-le-Bow, London. The following year he was nominated to that cure along with St. Pancras and All Hallows annexed, both jurisdictional peculiars belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as a result of which he was prosecuted for non-residence in 1800. The Archbishop of Canterbury gave evidence on his behalf, and when the judgement went against Van Mildert, paid half the £110 fine.

At St. Mary-le-Bow he preached the Hutchin Sermons. In 1803 Moore named him Boyle lecturer, after which he was elected

1. Ibid., p.273.

2. By instructions dated 25 March, 1823, Barrington ordered that the sum of £20,000 be invested in £30,000 3% Reduced Annuities. Of the £900 p.a. income, £414 was annually assigned to clerical charities and the remainder to be used for the upkeep of the Barrington School in Bishop Auckland. Armstrong, "Barrington", p.507.

3. Mackenzie and Ross, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.XLI.

preacher of Lincoln's Inn. In 1813 he was chosen Bampton lecturer and with Howley's translation to London, Liverpool appointed him a Canon of Christ Church and Professor of Divinity. In 1819 the Prime Minister advanced him to the See of Llandaff and with Barrington's death in 1826 he was collated to Durham.¹ A member of the "Hackney Phalanx", Van Mildert held distinctly high church opinions and though with reservations he accepted the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, he strongly opposed, to the last, Catholic emancipation. As a result he came to be recognised, insofar as Bishops could be regarded as expressing Church opinion, as spokesman for the Established Church.²

Edward Maltby, like Van Mildert, was of humble origin, his father being a master weaver and deacon of a Presbyterian congregation in Norwich. He had a distinguished academic career but while only five years Van Mildert's junior, his attachment to the cause of Parliamentary Reform prevented his rise to the episcopal bench before the formation of Grey's government in 1831.³ In 1817 his politics were considered to be a factor in the appointment to the preachship of Gray's Inn for which he wished to be considered. In a testimonial on his behalf his referee wrote:⁴

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1. Ralph Allen Cochrane "William Van Mildert", (unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, Durham University, 1950).
 2. Edward Hughes "Bishops and Reform 1831-3" English Historical Review, Vol.56 (1941), p.459; A. S. Turberville, "The Episcopal Bench 1783-1837", Church Quarterly Review, Vol.123 (1936), p.274; R. B. McDowell, "The Anglican Episcopate, 1780-1945", Theology, Vol.50, (1947), p.203.
 3. Maltby's prospects of advancement had not been enhanced by the publication in 1809 of his pamphlet entitled "An Englishman of the Old School, Reflections upon the State and Conduct of Public Affairs", wherein he denounced the Portland government's conduct of the war and suggested that nepotism rather than merit was the ticket to promotion in both church and state. P. J. Welch, The Two Episcopal Resignations of 1856, Church Quarterly Review, Vol.165 (1964), p.18.
 4. Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, Vol.XII, 13 July, 1861, p.24. Samuel Parr to Francis Canning (Shipston on Stour) Hatton 19 July, 1817.

"I must not, however, dissemble from you that while his literary character is illustrious and his conduct in private life quite irreproachable, he is not looked upon with a favourable eye by some of our Prelates. His good manners, his studious habits, his pastoral vigilance, his sound judgement, his extensive learning, are in the estimation of some men insufficient to expiate the guilt of his attachment to public men whom you and I honour and to public principles which we hold sincerely and avow fearlessly".

The death of Samuel Goodenough, Bishop of Carlisle on 12 August, 1827 provided yet another stumbling block for the coalition Cabinet left leaderless by the death of Canning. On 24 August the "Carlisle Patriot" reported that the "bishopric of Carlisle is giving our rickety cabinet some trouble". The Whig Lord Lansdown² had proposed as successor Maltby, referred to by the "Patriot" as a "keen Whig prosody grinder", while Lord Holland was meant to have put forward the name of Sydney Smith. Goderich, living up to his reputation, proposed Edward Goodenough, Dean of Chester and the son of the deceased prelate.¹ The situation was resolved when it was discovered that Canning had promised the Bishop of Rochester early promotion thus making it possible for Goderich to sidestep what might have been a politically difficult appointment by putting before the King the name of Hugh Percy, an orthodox High Church Tory.²

The Reform Bill crisis which brought in the Grey government in November, 1830 saw also Maltby's advancement to the episcopal bench. Needing votes in the House of Lords the Prime Minister, with what appeared to be indecent haste, nominated and confirmed Maltby Bishop of Chichester in time for his vote for the Bill on

1. C. M. L. Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake Counties, (Kendal, 1948), p.376.

2. Letters of George IV, ed. Arthur Aspinall, Vol.III, 12 September, 1827.

its first reading.¹ At Chichester Maltby created a considerable uproar by inviting a Unitarian Minister to a public dinner. Scorning the outcry that followed he invited to another public dinner the Duke of Norfolk's Roman Catholic Chaplain, Father Tierney.²

On 3 March, 1836 he was nominated by Melbourne Bishop of Durham where he was to remain until his retirement on 1 October, 1856. The news of his appointment brought a protest from the High Church Durham Chapter,³ for by 1836 he seems to have acquired the reputation of being a reformer, or worse, a radical.⁴ For some, these opinions were confirmed, when in October, 1836 he appeared at a Confirmation held in Chester-le-Street wigless,⁵ and for others, in 1838 when he publicly subscribed to a volume of sermons by William Turner, a Newcastle Unitarian divine. In answer to his critics he referred to the existence of neutral ground in topics of "practical religion".⁶

Though none of Maltby's Visitations have survived, much evidence of his Episcopate has. As Bishop he saw the passage of the Established Church Act by which was created the Episcopal Fund, important to the See insofar as its principal source of income was £11,200 p.a. alienated from the Episcopal stipend. In spite of this annual loss Maltby created a valuable Diocesan fund for the building of parsonage houses, and is reported to have expended, between the years 1837 and 1843, over £19,000

1. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, (London, 1966). Part I, p.25.

2. D.N.B. Edward Maltby, Vol.XXXV, p.440.

3. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 19 March, 1836.

4. Jacob Ralph Featherstone, Weardale Men and Manners, (Durham, 1840), p.70.

5. Canon Blunt, A Thousand Years of the Church in Chester-le-Street, (London, 1883), p.66.

6. D.N.B., Edward Maltby, Vol.XXXV, p.440.

for charitable uses. In 1846 when the Commissioners proposed that the charge on the Bishop of Durham's income be increased to £13,000 p.a., Maltby took note of the continued expansion of the coal trade and informed the Commissioners that "I do not think that I ought to object to the prospective charge upon the See".

The power and prestige of the See was matched by the wealth of the Durham capitular establishment. The Chapter, consisting of the Dean and twelve residential prebends, resided within the Cathedral Close known locally as "the College", wherein life was very much that of the superior clergy.¹ During the period of this study no fewer than ten bishops had augmented their stipends with stalls in Durham Cathedral,² while throughout the same span of years the Chapter also contained representatives of the aristocracy,³ as well as a number of Diocesan worthies such as the Archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland, members of Lord Crewe's Trustees and episcopal Chaplains. As intimated by James Losh, a local Unitarian Barrister who on social occasions frequented "the College", the Chapter's politics were those of the High Church Party.⁴

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1. Phillpotts described his first residence as "an affair of eating and treating for three weeks". G. C. B. Davies, Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, 1778-1869, (London, 1954), p.18.
 2. William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester; Robert Lowth successively Bishop of St. David's and Oxford; John Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough; Earl Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Thomas Dampier successively Bishop of Rochester and Ely; Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St. David's; John B. Jenkinson, Bishop of St. David's; John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester; Robert Gray, Bishop of Bristol; and Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter.
 3. Bishop Egerton's son Francis, Earl of Bridgewater; Earl Cornwallis; Shute Barrington's nephew George Viscount Barrington; and the Duke of Wellington's brother, the Hon. Gerald Valerian Wellesley.
 4. James Losh, The Diaries and Correspondence of James Losh, ed. Edward Hughes, 2 Vols., Publication of the Surtees Society, vols.CLXXI, CLXXII (Durham, 1962-63), Vol.II, pp.48, 59. 85.

Bishop Trevor's assessment in 1764 of the value of his Cathedral preferment fails to convey the real worth of a Durham Prebend.¹ While Stalls in Canterbury and Westminster were worth no more than £350 p.a. and none of the Royal Prebends were valued at more than £450 p.a. the average income of a Durham Stall was in excess of £570 p.a. In 1762 the Deanery of Durham was worth nearly £2,300 p.a. as compared with that of London which was valued at £1,800 p.a. The following table compares Durham capitular incomes for the year 1762 with those of other Cathedral establishments.

Figure 3

<u>Deaneries</u>		<u>Durham Prebends</u>		<u>Royal Prebends</u>	
Durham	£2,294 pa ²	4th	£721 pa ²	Windsor	£450 ²
London	£1,800 pa ³	5th	£507 pa ²	Oxford	£400 ³
Canterbury	£900 pa ³	6th	£616 pa ²	Canterbury	£350 ³
Oxford	£900 pa ³	7th	£515 pa ²	Westminster	£390 ³
Winchester	£600 pa ³	8th	£621 pa ²		
York	£600 pa ³	9th	£336 pa ²		
		12th	£685 pa ²		

Though by far the wealthiest cathedral establishment in the country the Durham Chapter, by modernising leases and increasing renewal fines, managed to engineer the steady increase of their already high incomes as confirmed by the following table.

1. Norman Sykes, Church and State, p.182.
2. PK. Stall Rentals. For this and other information concerning capitular incomes I wish to thank, for his kind assistance, Mr. Patrick Mussett, M.A., Assistant Keeper, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Durham University.
3. The Correspondence of King George the Third, ed. John Fortescue, (London, 1927), Vol.I, No.26, pp.33-44.

Figure 4

Average Durham Chapter Incomes¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Deanery</u>	<u>Prebend</u>
1774-75	Unknown	£638 p.a.
1789-90	Unknown	£992 p.a.
1804-05	£5,960 p.a.	£1,770 p.a.
1819-20	£7,249 p.a.	£1.921 p.a.

Figure 5 contains a breakdown of the increases as they occurred in individual Prebendal incomes and is included so that a comparison might be made with Figure 4.²

Figure 5

<u>Stall</u>	<u>1774-5</u>	<u>1789-90</u>	<u>1804-05</u>	<u>1819-20</u>
4th	£675 p.a.	£941 p.a.	£1,721 p.a.	
5th	£566 p.a.	£907 p.a.	£1,563 p.a.	£1,769 p.a.
6th	£651 p.a.	£862 p.a.	£2,311 p.a.	£1,865 p.a.
7th	£565 p.a.			
8th	£639 p.a.	£976 p.a.	£1,790 p.a.	£2,130 p.a.
9th	£532 p.a.		£1,542 p.a.	
12th		£1,003 p.a.	£1,768 p.a.	

By 1831 the yearly net corporate income of Durham Cathedral was nearly £28,000 p.a., £7,000 p.a. greater than that of Westminster and over £10,000 p.a. more than Canterbury. The Duke of Newcastle's belief that the most valuable preferment at the disposal of the Crown was the Bishopric and Deanery of Durham continued to hold true.³

1. Ibid.
2. PK. Stall Rentals and Audit Books.
3. Report of the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty to Inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales, (London, 1835), p.14; Sykes, Eighteenth Century Church, p.149.

Within the 1,097 square miles that comprised the Arch-deaconry and County of Durham there existed side by side two separate and distinct ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Before 1229 the Archdeacon had been the Bishop's vicar responsible for all ecclesiastical discipline within the Archdeaconry. However, in that year, an agreement known as "le convent" exempted the priory and churches appropriated to it from episcopal financial claims, mainly procurations. In 1271 a further agreement was made whereby the Archdeacon of Durham, Robert de Saint Agatha, acknowledged before the Bishop the Prior of Durham's archidiaconal jurisdiction over churches appropriated to the convent between Tyne and Tees. Thereafter, though assuming the responsibility as local Ordinary, the Prior made arrangements with Saint Agatha whereby he would make inquiry, in the name of the Prior, and not his own, into the state of convent parishes.¹

By 1377, following an Episcopal attempt to usurp the Prior's newly acquired jurisdiction the arrangement with the Archdeacon was discontinued and thereafter the Prior styled himself "Archdeacon in all our churches in the Diocese of Durham united and annexed to us and our convent monastery". The archidiaconal duties of the Prior's office fell to his Official, who became responsible for ecclesiastical discipline in convent churches. Thus, in effect, a second Archdeaconry came to operate within the Diocese. With the dissolution of the monastery in 1540, the newly created secular chapter lost the patronage of two of its appropriated churches in the Archdeaconry; however, it retained archidiaconal jurisdiction over all the churches that had been appropriated to the convent before that date.²

1. Robert Donaldson, "Patronage and the Church. A Study in the Social Structure of the Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Durham, 1311-1540" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1955), p.133.
2. Donaldson, "Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Durham" p.134. The patronage of St. Mary-le-Bow passed in the hands of the Archdeacons of Northumberland and that of Bishop Middleham to the Crown. See also Frank Barlow, Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars, (London, 1950), pp.43-50.

On 27 September, 1760 Samuel Dickens was named Official to the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter, and with his presentation to the Archdeaconate of Durham in 1762, the two positions became reunited. With his death in 1791, however, John Sharp, the Archdeacon of Northumberland succeeded to the office of Chapter Official and thereafter until 1831 the offices of Official and Archdeacon of Durham remained separate. The following individuals exercised throughout the Diocese in the name of the Dean and Chapter their Archidiaconal jurisdiction: John Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, from 27 September, 1791 until his death in June, 1792; Thomas Dampier, Prebend of the Twelfth Stall, 1792 to an unknown date, when he was succeeded by Reynold Gideon Bouyer, Prebend of the Fifth Stall and Archdeacon of Northumberland until 1826; William Nicholas Darnell, Prebend of the Sixth Stall, 1826 to 1831; and Charles Thorp, Prebend of the Fourth Stall, Rector of Ryton and Archdeacon of Durham, from 19 March, 1831 until his death in 1862.¹

As noted, the Diocese was divided into two Archdeaconries each conterminous with the two Counties of Northumberland and Durham. Throughout the period of this study there were four Archdeacons of Durham: Dickens, from 1762 to 1791, Rector of Easington and Prebend of the Eleventh Stall; Benjamin Pye, from 1791 to 1808, Rector of Easington. incumbent of Hart cum Hartlepool and a Prebend of Salisbury; Richard Prosser, between 1808 and 1831, Rector of Easington and Prebend of the

1. PK. Minutes of Chapter, Vols. II and III. Subsequent to the completion of this Chapter it has come to light that Bouyer had been presented to the Officialty on 19 November, 1803. PK. Dean and Chapter Register. 76. ff.85^v-86^v.

Third Stall; and Thorp from 1831 to 1862.

Apart from the latter, these Archdeacons and Officials seem to have been remarkably inactive. Of the Archdeacons, only Pye held a visitation, in 1792, and that took the better part of a year to complete.¹ Prosser is reputed to have resided in the Archdeaconry only long enough to fulfil the residential requirements attached to his Stall, the remainder of the year he spent in retirement on his estates in Hereford.² The evidence indicates that he deputed his duties to Thorp at an unknown date during the 1820s. It is only with Thorp's assumption of both offices that the bulk of evidence which has survived was compiled.

To provide pastoral oversight, the Archdeaconry had been divided into sixty-four ancient parishes, which by 1774 had been expanded with the creation of Stockton and Sunderland as distinct and separate parishes from Norton and Bishopwearmouth respectively,

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792 Episcopal Visitation, Craike. MS. Letter Benjamin Pye to Barrington, Easington, 16 March, 1792. Pye's visitation is bound with Barrington's 1792 Visitation.

2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.100.

3. AC. Episcopal MSS. MS. Report of Church Accommodation in the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1824. Compiled by the Rev. Charles Thorp styled Archdeacon of Durham.

4. The only surviving Official's book was compiled by Thorp.

to sixty-six parishes containing by that date ninety-five consecrated buildings, all but five of which were medieval in origin.¹ Of these churches thirty were classed as rectories, twenty-three as vicarages and thirty-seven as perpetual curacies. In addition there existed one church styled a parochial chapelry,² one proprietary chapel³ and three chapels of ease, one of which possessed cure of souls.⁴ Thus at the outset of this period of study there were within the bounds of the sixty-six parishes twenty-six additional benefices possessing full parochial status and treated by contemporaries as parish churches, that is to say, the incumbents of each celebrated baptisms and marriages, performed burials and administered the Holy Sacrament.

Though the history of these twenty-six cures is obscure it is possible to say that all had been either chapels of ease which had at unknown dates either by custom or law obtained, for ecclesiastical purposes, parochial status,⁵ or had been originally chapels attached to one of three Collegiate Churches and which had become independent in 1547.⁶ Understandably the changing

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1. The parish of Stockton was created by Act of Parliament in 1711, the church was consecrated 21 August, 1712. Sunderland was created a parish in 1719, the church was consecrated 5 September, 1719. In 1754 a church was built at Penshaw and in 1769 St. John's Chapel was built in Sunderland. A proprietary chapel had been constructed for the Crowley Iron Works in Ryton parish at Winlaton in 1706. In area these sixty-six parishes were reputed to be the largest in the country averaging over eleven square miles versus a national average of just over five square miles. By 1832 they contained on average over twice the population of their counterparts elsewhere in the country. John Wade, The Extraordinary Black Book, (London, 1831), p. 87. See also T. J. Nossiter, "Elections and Political Behaviour in County Durham and Newcastle", 1832-74, (unpublished D.Phil. Thesis Oxford University, 1968), p.85.
 2. Eggleston in the parish of Middleton-in-Teesdale.
 3. St. Ann's Chapel, Winlaton.
 4. Harwood Chapel in Middleton-in-Teesdale, Embleton in Sedgefield and St. Anne's Chapel in St. Andrew, Auckland.
 5. As an example, the chapel of St. Anne's Auckland was continually referred to as being a chapel of ease to St. Andrew, Auckland. However in the episcopal visitation returns for the years 1792, 1810 and 1814 the incumbent notes the annual number of communion services performed.
 6. D. M. Loades, "The Collegiate Churches of County Durham at the Time of the Dissolution", Studies in Church History, Vol.4, (1967), p.74.

status of these churches provoked disagreement between the incumbents of mother churches and their once dependent chapels.

Such a dispute arose between the perpetual curates of Jarrow and South Shields, the latter having been originally built as a chapel of ease to Jarrow, as a result of the passage of 26 George II C.33, Hardwick's Marriage Act. The Act not only threatened the independent status of South Shields but more important to a curate receiving less than £100 p.a., threatened to cut into his income by reducing his fees. The incumbent, Richard Wallis, therefore, vigorously opposed the Act, interestingly enough in a manner very similar to the Unitarian opposition to the same Act during the 1820s.¹ Referring to Burn's Ecclesiastical Law² he stated that it was his belief that "partners to be married ought to have the ceremony performed in the parish or chapel where they dwell or inhabit". On the basis of this principle Wallis, from his pulpit, warned his parishioners that:³

"If two persons both belonging to the chapelry of South Shields should be married at the church of Jarrow, they would according to my apprehension of the sence of the Marriage Act be liable to have their marriage dissolved, and that the surrogate who granted the licence, and the curate of Jarrow who married the parties not belonging to his district equally incurred the penalty mentioned by the Act".

In spite of hope for an amicable settlement none had been reached by 12 March, 1778 when William Glover, the incumbent of Jarrow, wrote the following letter to Henry Ellison one of the patrons of Jarrow.⁴

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1. W. R. Ward, Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850, (London, 1972), p.127.
 2. D. M. Loades, "The Collegiate Churches of County Durham at the Time of the Dissolution", Studies in Church History, Vol.4 (1967), p.74.
 3. GPL. Ellison MSS. Richard Wallis to Mr. Davidson Corham, 11 December, 1777.
 4. Ibid., A.55, No.33. William Glover to Henry Ellison Monkton, 12 March, 1778.

"I have collected such proofs as seem to have any reference to the rights of Jarrow, and transmit them along with this letter to Sir Thomas Clavering - The Pews, as you hinted, are numbered, and the proprietors names inserted in an old parish register; but it has suffered so much by time that I am not able to transcribe it - There is likewise in the same book a division of the church yard wall, with the particular measure allotted to the respective townships which, if it has been for the purpose of repairs is totally disregarded, all disbursements being out of the assessments at large - The loss already sustained by Mr. Wallis' public prohibition is about £5 including the clerks dues - and the people are intimidated from coming to Jarrow as usual, by a report prevailing that they will be liable to pay double dues - A gentleman who is an inhabitant of So. Shields, upon application for a licence to be married at the Parish church was lately refused it, notwithstanding the alledged the payment of Easter Offerings as a proof, that he belongs to the parish by which means I lost a present of two guineas, which was transferred to the subcurate of the Chapel who perform'd the ceremony -

The result of the controversy was an apparent victory for Wallis. The 1792 Episcopal Visitation indicates the continued performance of marriages and the celebration of Lord's Supper at South Shields. The 1810 Visitation illustrates the relationship of that cure to Jarrow as it had evolved by that date.¹

"St. Wilda in South Shields is subject to the Mother Church of Jarrow. It is a Chapel of Ease and Parochial. It has a bell and font - has sacraments, burials and marriages received and performed at it - it does not contribute to the repairs of the Mother Church and has all rites and jurisdictions that make it a separate Parochial Chapel The Church or Chapel of Wallsend was anciently in a similar situation with Jarrow as the Chapels of South Shields and Heworth; and even in memories of persons yet alive the Inhabitants of the Chapelry of Wallsend buried their dead at Jarrow".

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1810, Episcopal Visitation, Jarrow.

By the turn of the eighteenth century, as a result of the rapid expansion of the coal industry, this essentially medieval parochial structure needed to be expanded to meet the needs of an unprecedented growth in the county's population. From 1774 to 1801 it has been estimated that the population had been expanding at a steady rate of about 5% per decade having a population of over 149,000 inhabitants in 1801.¹ After that date, however, increasing immigration swelled the population until by 1851 the Archdeaconry contained nearly 400,000 persons. To cope with the strains thus imposed on the parochial structure there was an effort to expand the number of churches and chapels. The following table indicates the extent of the effort made and notes the pressure under which the Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment laboured by indicating, by percentages, the decade by decade increases in population.

Figure 6

<u>Decade</u>	<u>No. of new churches or chapels</u>	<u>% of popula- tion growth</u>
1801-11	1	10%
1811-21	1	17%
1821-31	11	24%
1831-41	17	29%
1841-51	23	27%
1851-61	5	

Thus by 1857 the medieval parochial framework of the Archdeaconry had been reconstructed with the creation of: two rectories, one vicarage, two perpetual curacies, twenty-two chapels of ease, thirteen chapelry districts, ten parochial

1. Dean and Cole, Economic Growth, p.117.

chapelries,¹ two district chapelries, one district parish and one ecclesiastical district. As a result of these additions there existed within the Archdeaconry by the end of this period of study 145 benefices which for ecclesiastical purposes were separate and distinct parishes.² There were, including chapels of ease and oratories, a total of 153 consecrated buildings of which thirty-one were in the archidiaconal jurisdiction of the Chapter Official. The patronage of these churches were divided, as it had been since 1774, between the Bishop of Durham, the Dean and Chapter, the laity, the Crown, incumbents by right of their presentation to a chapel, three medieval hospital corporations, and there was one valuable benefice in the gift of Trinity College, Cambridge. The following table indicates the distribution of patronage in 1774 and 1856 and includes for comparison related figures for Derbyshire, Devon and Oxfordshire.

Figure 7

<u>Total Number of Advowsons</u>	<u>1772</u>	<u>1774</u>	<u>1777</u>	<u>1832</u>	<u>1856</u>	<u>1869</u>
Durham		95			145	
Derby ³	160			179		
Devon ⁴		463				
Oxfordshire ⁵			192			214

1. Chapelry districts were formed by uniting contiguous parts of adjoining parishes into a separate and distinct district. A district chapel was formed by assigning to an already existing chapel of ease or parochial chapel a district and though such a chapel has cure of souls it was subject to the superintendence and control of the incumbent of the parish church who retained the right of nomination. H. N. Cripps and A. T. Lawrence, A Practical Treatise on the Law Relating to the Church and Clergy, 7th edn. (London, 1921), pp.346-53.

2. Cripps and Lawrence, Law, p.353.

3. M. R. Austin, "The Church of England in the County of Derbyshire, 1772-1832", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1969), p.10.

4. Arthur Warne, Church and Society in Eighteenth Century Devon, (Newton Abbot, 1969), p.37. See also Thesis of the same title, Ph.D. Leeds University, 1963.

5. Diana McClatchey, Oxfordshire Clergy 1777-1869, (Oxford, 1960), p.3.

The number of advowsons in each class of patronage and the percentage each figure represents of the whole.

	<u>No. of</u> <u>Ben.</u>	<u>1772</u>	<u>1774</u>	<u>1777</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>Ben.</u>	<u>1832</u>	<u>1856</u>	<u>1869</u>
Lay patronage:								
Durham	25		26.3%		28		19.8%	
Derby	107	67.5%			124	69.8%		
Devon								
Oxfordshire	88	+ $\frac{3}{4}$ + $\frac{3}{4}$		46.6%	89	+ $\frac{3}{4}$ + $\frac{3}{4}$		43.3%
Collegiate patronage:								
Durham	1			1%	1		.68%	
Derby								
Devon								
Oxfordshire	47	+ $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{4}$			53	+ $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{2}$		25.2%
Capitular patronage:								
Durham	16		16.8%		24		16.5%	
Derby	30	18.7%			26	14.5%		
Devon	40							
Oxfordshire	23			11.9%	23			10.7%
Episcopal patronage:								
Durham	30		31.5%		45 + $\frac{1}{2}$ + $\frac{1}{2}$ + $\frac{1}{2}$ + $\frac{1}{2}$		34.7%	
Derby	4	2.5%			3	1.6%		
Devon	17		3.6%					
Oxfordshire	22			11.5%	37 + $\frac{1}{2}$			17.5%
Patronage in the possession of Hospital Corporations:								
Durham	5		5.2%		6		4.4%	
Derby	1	.63%			1	.56%		
Devon								
Oxfordshire								
Patronage in the possession of incumbents of parish churches:								
Durham	12		12.6%		24		16.5%	
Derby	8	5.0%			16	8.9%		
Devon								
Oxfordshire		Included in the figures for lay patrons						

The unusual number of advowsons in the possession of the Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment is further illustrated by comparing the distribution of patronage in the Archdeaconry with the figures given in the 1821 Census for the country as a whole.¹ While nearly 20% of the benefices in England and Wales were in the gift of ecclesiastical establishments, the Bishop and Chanter of

1. P.P. 1822 XV. See also G. F. A. Best, Temporal Pillars, (Cambridge, 1964), p.47.

Durham held a percentage that was over twice that of the national average, 50%. An abstract of the 1821 figures is as follows:

Figure 8

<u>Patronage</u>	<u>No. of benefices</u>	<u>% of the whole</u>
Episcopal	1,301	11.4%
Capitular	982	8.4%
Private individuals	5,000	44%
Crown	1,048	9.2%

The patronage system that existed in the Archdeaconry worked in the same manner as it did throughout the country at large. Considerations governing appointments were similar.¹ However, the availability of valuable ecclesiastical preferment, and the possibilities for advancement within the County precluded all but those having the closest relationships with patrons. To "hustle and bustle" for preferment was only successful if it was accompanied by a Diocesan connection, as in the case of James Robson who in 1773 became Vicar of the Chapter benefice of Aycliffe, through the intervention of his brother John, Secretary to the Dean and Chapter.² Others acquired a benefice in the County as a result of academic achievement which brought them to the attention of patrons, and whose inclusion amongst the parochial clergy would have been a credit to the See.

In an effort to ascertain how the wealth of the County's ecclesiastical preferment affected the composition of the parochial clergy, the following Chapter looks into the appointments made by the three most important of the Archdeaconry's patrons: the Bishop, the Dean and Chapter, and the laity.

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1. As in Derbyshire over a third of the parochial clergy were natives of the County or from the neighbouring counties. Austin, "Derbyshire", pp.68-9 and p.74.
 2. George Smith and Frank Benger The Oldest London Bookshop a History of Two Hundred Years to which is Appended a Family Correspondence of the Eighteenth Century, (London, 1928), p.91. John Robson to Robert Robson, Durham, 21 May, 1767.

APPENDIX A

Bishop Shute Barrington's reading list for candidates seeking Holy Orders¹

Candidates for Deacons Orders were required at the time of their examination to have read the following texts marked D including Bishop Bull's Companion to Holy Orders, and were required to write on a theological subject, to be chosen by the examiner, in both English and Latin. Candidates for Priest's Orders were to be examined on those volumes marked P including the Book of Common Prayer, its Rubrics and Offices, Articles of the Church, The Ordination Services as well as Bull's Companion. Unmarked books were recommended reading for all candidates.

It was the Bishop's purpose to insure that examinees familiarise themselves:²

".... Not only of the general evidences of religion, but of the progress of religious knowledge since the promulgation of the Gospel the truth of the facts and the authenticity of the records; the principal heresies which have divided the christian church; the various heresies guarded against by our church creeds and articles; the history of the Church of England; the origin and progress of its Liturgy: the sects which have separated from it: the grounds of their separation and reasons of our adherence".

For these reasons he included in his reading list the works of Philip Doddridge, the non-conformist divine.

Barrington also declared that no candidate from either University would be ordained who had not at Oxford attended

1. Barrington, Charge, p.153. "A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sarum", p.102.

2. Ibid., 153.

one course of the Regius Professor of Divinity's lectures; or, at Cambridge, the lectures of the Norrisian Professor. In keeping with this principle James Blackburn, a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge was refused Ordination in 1791 as a result of his failure to attend the prescribed course of theology lectures.¹

Barrington's reading list as first presented to the
clergy of Salisbury, 16 October, 1789

Doddridge's Lectures

Mosheim's History, Translated by Archibald Maclaine

P Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy

D Wheatley on Common Prayer

D Welshman on the Articles

P Bishop Burnet on the Articles

Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Care

Bishop Bull's Works

Waterland's History of the Athenasian Creed

D Bishop Stillingfleet's Vindication of the Doctrine of
the Holy Trinity

P Bishop Pearson on the Creed

Burgh's Scriptural Confutation

Burgh's Inquiry into the Doctrine of the First Three
Centuries Respecting the Trinity

D Grotius de Veritate

P Bishop Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae

D Encheiridion Theologicum

P Bishop Wilkins on Natural Religion

Butler's Analogy

D Gray's Key to the Old Testament

D Bishop Percy's Key to the New Testament

Michaelis's Lectures on the New Testament

P Collyer's Sacred Interpreter

D&P Greek Testament

1. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers. Rejected
28 August, 1791.

CHAPTER II

PATRONAGE AND THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

1. Lay Patronage

The disappearance of the Catholic landed gentry between 1715 and 1745 marks the gradual rise of a new class of men in the Diocese, men whose fortunes came from mining coal and mercantile ventures replaced the old gentry and formed a new ruling class. The profits thus made, facilitated the social process which converted yeoman into merchant and merchant into gentleman. The results of this social process, though occurring approximately a century and a half later than it did in the wealthier parts of southern England, was the rapid adoption by the new northern gentry of the tastes and styles of their southern counterparts.¹

Such families as the Liddells, Carrs, Ellisons, Riddleys, Russells, and Burdons rose out of the disruption of the old County society, collected a mass of estates, and sought the trappings of their new social positions, as the rebuilding of the medieval castles of Lumley and Brancepeth, and the building of new family seats in the gothic style such as Lambton Castle, Ravensworth Castle and Wynyard will bear witness. To complement these signs of wealth went the additional status acquired through the possession of parochial patronage, purchased not for political influence,² but for the practical reason of providing

1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.XVIII. For those benefices in lay patronage see Chapter Appendix A.

2. As in Oxfordshire. See McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.5.

employment for younger sons or relatives, and for the increased local prestige that might accompany the ownership of such property.

Having only 26% of the total number of advowsons in the Archdeaconry in their possession, the Durham gentry could not, as suggested by Professor Hughes, control the patronage system.¹ Nor could they hope to, as the largest and wealthiest block of patronage was in the possession of the Bishop and Chapter of Durham. By 1856, however, though the percentage of lay patronage had actually decreased to approximately 19%, the County's aristocracy in the persons of Lords Londonderry and Ravensworth, and the Duke of Cleveland seem to have made a conscious effort to accumulate patronage on a scale, modest though it was, never before attempted by the Durham laity. Between them they held the patronage of ten benefices.²

In 1810 the average benefice in the gift of the County's laity was worth £137 p.a. Of these twenty-five cures there were fifteen whose incomes were less than £100 p.a. and seven having incomes less than £60 p.a. It is therefore not surprising to find that incumbents augmented their incomes with ecclesiastical employment elsewhere. The following table indicates, at six dates throughout the period of this study, the extent of their pluralism. Column I indicates the total number of priests holding the twenty-five benefices and column II the total amount of ecclesiastical preferment they held.³

1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.336.

2. See Appendix A.

3. AC. Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitations.

Figure 1

<u>Year</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
1774	20	29 ¹
1792	20	35 ²
1810	17	28 ³
1814	16	28
1832	19	33 ⁴
1856	27	37

Among the lay benefices were eight cures whose incomes averaged only £69 p.a. and which for economic considerations had been informally joined in pairs. Incumbents were presented to Cockfield and Staindrop, Hamsterly and Witton-le-Wear, Lamesley and Tanfield and to Jarrow and Heworth⁵ for reasons clearly illustrated below.⁶

Figure 2

<u>Benefice</u>		<u>Income of each</u>	<u>Combined ave. income</u>
Cockfield	R.	£44 p.a.	£66 p.a.
Staindrop	V.	£89 p.a.	
Hamsterly	P.C.	£63 p.a.	£77 p.a.
Witton-le-Wear	P.C.	£91 p.a.	
Heworth	P.C.	£45 p.a.	£59 p.a.
Jarrow	P.C.	£73 p.a.	
Lamesley	P.C.	£66 p.a.	£75 p.a.
Tanfield	P.C.	£84 p.a.	

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1. Includes one incumbent who also served as an assistant curate.
 2. Includes four incumbents acting as assistant curates.
 3. Includes one incumbent who also served as an assistant curate.
 4. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files. Includes one incumbent acting as an assistant curate.
 5. Their respective patrons were: Duke of Cleveland; Owners of Witton Castle; Lord Ravensworth; Elizabeth Montagu, Cuthbert Ellison, Esq.; Sir William Clavering, Bart.
 6. AC. Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitations.

By 1832 the average incomes of these livings had increased considerably to over £150 p.a. However, this was the result of the favourable economic climate which enabled the Rector of Cockfield to improve his income to £350 p.a. Taken without the above rectory the ^{average} incomes of the remaining seven benefices was £125 p.a. still below the Bounty minimum of £150 p.a., and not sufficient to adequately support a clergyman and family. Thus, though no longer held in the same combinations as above, the majority of their incumbents continued to augment their incomes with additional ecclesiastical preferment as illustrated below.¹

Figure 3

<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Benefices held</u>		<u>Income</u>
Collinson, John	Gateshead	R.	£750 p.a.
	Lamesley	P.C.	£138 p.a.
Hodgson, John	Heworth	P.C.	£162 p.a.
	Jarrow	P.C.	£187 p.a.
	Kirkwhelp- ington	V.	£354 p.a.
Hopper, Ralph	Witton-le- Wear	P.C.	£97 p.a.
Merest, J. W. D.	Cockfield	R.	£354 p.a.
	Darlington	P.C.	£284 p.a.
	Staindrop	P.C.	£50 p.a.
Milner, J. G.	Hamsterly	P.C.	£96 p.a.
	Bellerby	P.C.	£80 p.a.
Simpson, Joseph	Tanfield	P.C.	£138 p.a.

The acquisition of patronage followed patterns not peculiar to the Archdeaconry, they were purchased either in gross or appendant to a manor. An example of the latter is found in the case of the manor of Witton-le-Wear where with the sale of the property went the presentation to the perpetual curacies of

1. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file.

Hamsterly and Witton-le-Wear. Between 1774 and 1856 with the repeated sale of the manor the right of presentation to those livings had been exercised, successively, by four different families.

The patronage of the Vicarage of Seaham had been purchased, in gross, early in the eighteenth century and remained in the possession of the same family for over a century.

In 1719 the advowson of that benefice was shared between one George Thompson who in that year had purchased his moiety for £750 and a Magdalen Robinson of Easington who twenty years later, for £775, purchased Thompson's moiety acquiring full possession of the advowson of Seaham. On 14 September, 1741 she presented her son John to the Vicarage.¹ Nineteen years later, after his marriage to a Westmorland girl, Alice Hartley of Kirkby Stephen, John Robinson had issue, a daughter who was christened Jane. With his death on 20 October, 1778 one moiety of the advowson passed to his widow, the other to his daughter, who on 13 February, 1779 appointed as her father's successor, John Rotheram one of Bishop Thurlow's Domestic Chaplains and Rector of Houghton-le-Spring. Being non-resident Rotheram appointed in his stead, as curate, his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wallis, who while serving the benefice married Jane Robinson on 27 February, 1783. Thereafter, Rotheram resigned the Vicarage in favour of his nephew who was, in August of that year, duly presented to the living by his mother-in-law.

With Wallis' death in 1827 the advowson was sold to a James Cresswell who nominated his son, Oswald Joseph, to be Wallis' successor.² Cresswell continued as Vicar until his

1. DCRO. MSS. Seaham, D/LO/D 764.

2. DCRO. MSS. Seaham, D/LO/D 764. The sale was the result of the death of John Robinson Wallis, the Vicar's only son who had died on 4 May, 1826. Richard Welford, Men of Mark Twixt Tyne and Tweed, (London, 1895), Vol.III, p.560.

resignation for the more valuable Rectory of Hanworth, Middlesex, also in his father's patronage. The advowson was once again sold and on this occasion purchased by Viscount Dungannon M.P. for Durham, for over £14,700. It then passed into the possession of Lord Londonderry who, after presenting the Rev. John Lambert, sold the next presentation to A. J. C. Baker. Lambert's death in 1850 saw Baker present his son, R. A. Baker, who remained Vicar of Seaham until his death in April, 1859. Thereafter the patronage reverted to Londonderry.¹

A more unusual method of acquiring patronage was by the building and endowing of a church or chapel. Throughout the period of this study the patronage of four churches were secured in this fashion.

The first such acquisition of patronage involved the building of a proprietary chapel. In 1691 Ambrose Crowley acquired by lease, land in the village of Winlaton, in the parish of Ryton, for the manufacturing of iron nails. By 1705 the work force in the district numbered nearly 2,000, and though allocated the use of a gallery in the parish church it was decided, for the spiritual welfare of the workers, to erect a chapel at Winlaton. In 1705 Crowley, though a Quaker, built a "typical eighteenth century church provided with pews, with a gallery at the west end and a clock turret outside", to provide preaching and sermons for the Anglican community. The Chaplain, appointed by the Company, was to receive a stipend of £50 p.a., £10 p.a. from the firm, the remainder to be made up by workers' contributions.²

1. DCRO. MSS. Seaham, D/LO/D 764.

2. M. W. Flinn, Men of Iron: The Crowley's in the Early Iron Industry, (Edinburgh, 1962), p.43; C. E. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham and his Diocese, (London, 1940), p.239.

With the building's completion there immediately developed the possibility of the chapel becoming a centre of nonconformist preaching. Jonathan Story, an official of the Company, and though himself a dissenter, sought an Anglican minister to open the chapel; however, because it had not yet been consecrated he could not easily find a local clergyman to preach the sermon. The situation was described by the Rev. John Tomlinson, nephew of one of the ministers involved.¹

"My uncle of Whickham opened the Chappell of Winlinton preached in at Jonathan _____'s (Story's) request before the Bishop knew it; Dr. Ellison² would not, Dr. Smith³ hesitated but sent to the bishop. But it was necessary they should preach before the bishop's answer could be gott - for they (the dissenters) would have a meeting they would tie by oaths and covenants and by that means they (adherents of the Established Church) would lose perhaps near 200 souls, etc. But when the Bishop was known to approve it, tho' it was not consecrated place, Dr. Ellison, etc. was ready to do anything, but Jonathan (Story) would have my Uncle⁴ to open the Chapel, after it was finished".

Crowley appointed his own Chaplain and regulated his conduct. The Chaplain was instructed "to read prayers as is directed by the Church of England established by law every Sunday in the fore and afternoon". He was also to "hear all reasonable complaints of the workmen and do all that in him lyeth to help the injured and oppressed" and to "bõldly plead their cause; He was to visit the sick, and rebuke vice and promote vertue", and "forbear frequenting ale houses or at least not to make any considerable stay there".⁵

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1. Thomas Gyll, The Diary of Thomas Gyll, 1700 to 1780 ed. John Crawford Hodgson, Surtees Society, Vol.CXVIII, (Durham, 1910), p.8.
 2. Nathaniel Ellison D.D. Vicar of Newcastle, Rector of Whitburn and Prebend of the Fifth Stall.
 3. John Smith D.D. Rector of Bishopwearmouth and Prebend of the Seventh Stall.
 4. Robert Tomlinson, Rector of Whickham.
 5. Flinn, Men of Iron, p.225.

In 1774 the Rector of Ryton reported that the chapel was being served by one Thomas Spooner, a non-graduate minister.¹ In 1792 the chapel was described as being a chapel of ease served by another non-graduate minister, John Chambers. Charles Thorp in 1814 reported to Barrington that the chapel no longer had a regularly employed curate but that, "I take care to have service performed every Sunday either by myself or my curate".² Gradually, however, Winlaton chapel had been falling into disrepair and by 1816, when the iron works were closed down, it was no longer possible to use the building. In 1827 a new church was built as a chapel of ease to Ryton and in 1832, in consequence of a rising population, Winlaton became a separate parish, designed a Rectory, and in the gift of the Bishop.³

In 1831, seemingly for the security of her son Mrs. B. I. Lawson, widow of the Rev. Marmaduke Lawson of Boroughbridge Hall, Yorkshire rebuilt the ancient chapel of Seaton Carew in the parish of Stranton. The church was built on land secured by Mrs. Lawson for that purpose from her family, the Wilkinsons of Harpley. For the construction and endowment of the benefice she donated £2,400 which, through her son James, she sought to expend to the greatest benefit of the cure.⁴

"My Mother request's that His Lordship may be informed that she is willing to place the money which is intended for the endowment in the hands of a trustee or trustees and that if it is necessary previous to obtaining Q-Annes Bounty that the church should be endowed, she is agreeable that £400 should be taken for that purpose and the remaining £2,000 be reserved in order to meet the Bounty".

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1. He was also sub-curate at Lamesley and Tanfield.
 2. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1814 Episcopal Visitation, Ryton.
 3. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file Ryton; Winlaton.
 4. Ibid., Benefice file, Seaton Carew. No.6037. John Lawson to John Burdon, Boroughbridge Hall, 7 February, 1831.

The chapel was completed at a cost of £820, and consecrated on 29 September, 1831. With the co-operation of Matthew White Ridley, patron of Stranton, the Bishop, and the incumbent of Stranton, Joseph Birkett, the patronage of Seaton Carew was vested with Mrs. Lawson who nominated as the first incumbent her eldest son, James. In spite of the small stipend of £37 p.a. he remained incumbent until his death in 1834. There followed a brief period throughout which the cure was served by the Rev. Arthur Guinness, however, in 1835 John Lawson, the younger brother of James, was collated to the benefice.¹

John, like his brother an Oxford graduate, began inquiries which led to the creation of Seaton as a separate district in 1842, and was responsible for the enlargement of the chapel from 260 sittings to 506, of which 300 were declared to be free. In 1843 he personally augmented the chapel with £800, which was matched by a grant from the Governors of the Royal Bounty, though it was not to be until 1856 that the income of Seaton was increased to the Bounty minimum of £150 p.a.²

In an effort to supply pastoral oversight, heretofore unprovided, for the inhabitants of his new town of Seaham Harbour the Marquis of Londonderry sought to build and acquire the patronage of an additional church in the parish of Dalton-le-Dale. To accomplish these ends it was necessary that he negotiate with the Dean and Chapter, the patrons of that parish and with the vicar, J. H. Brown, for by law, regardless of who was responsible for construction, the patronage of such a new church devolved to the patron of the parish church. If, however, before or during construction or before its consecration

1. CC. MSS., Benefice file, Seaton Carew, No.6037 passim.

2. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Seaton Carew, No.6037. John Lawson to C. K. Murray, Seaton Carew 16 December, 1843.

an agreement could be reached between all interested parties the Chapter as patrons were empowered to cede the patronage to whosoever they wished. Therefore, in an effort to secure the advowson, Londonderry approached the Chapter with an offer to endow the Seaham Harbour church with a rent charge of £150 p.a. in return for the right of presentation.¹

At the same time the Dean and Chapter had solicited from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners their promise to endow the new church with a further £150 p.a., of which £66 p.a. was to come from tithes in the parish of Billingham formerly belonging to the Deanery of Durham, and £84 p.a. from tithes of the township of Murton in the parish of Dalton, heretofore in the possession of the Eleventh Prebend of Durham Cathedral.² Before the additional grants were confirmed, however, it came to the Commissioners' attention that the Chapter had made an agreement with Londonderry, the results of which would be the transfer of the patronage of St. John's, Seaham Harbour to his Lordship. Thus the Commissioners found themselves no longer able to complete their proposed endowment, for once in lay patronage the benefice would no longer be eligible under their official augmentation policy of 1840-41. The situation was immediately brought to the attention of the Chapter who in their reply made the following additional proposal.³

1. Ibid., St. Giles, No.40453.

2. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, No.40453. MS. Extracts from a tabular statement of the gross and net annual value formerly belonging to the Dean of the Cathedral of Durham and to the Canon of the Eleventh Canonry founded in the same Cathedral, and of the charges proposed to be made on them for the augmentation of livings and endowment of churches, 21 June, 1841.

3. Ibid., W. C. Chaytor to C. K. Murray.

"The Marquis of Londonderry who was a contributor to the building of the Church, and who is the proprietor of the estate of Seaham, within which the town and Harbour of Seaham is situated, has now proposed to endow the church with a rent charge of £150 p.a. upon the condition that the right of Patronage is vested in him, but the Dean and Chapter are unwilling to cede the patronage to his Lordship unless they can by so doing promote the interest of the Church in the Diocese and it has occurred to them that this might be accomplished if the Commissioners would give their assent to the following proposal, which they desire to make to Lord Londonderry

The Marquis of Londonderry is the patron of the perpetual curacy of Gilesgate, a parish within the suburbs of the city of Durham, containing at present a population of 3,406 with an endowment not exceeding £99 p.a.

The Dean and Chapter wish to propose to Lord Londonderry to divide his proposed grant of £150 p.a. between the new church of Seaham Harbour and the living of Gilesgate giving the former a Rent Charge of £60 a year which with the tithes of Murton would raise the endowment of £150 a year and to Gilesgate an augmentation of £90 a year.

Though your letter of the 18th Ult. notifying the consent of the Commissioners to the grant of tithes to the new church of Seaham Harbour does not state that the consent of the Commissioners was given upon condition that the Patronage was vested in the Dean and Chapter. I suppose that it was given upon the understanding, but the Dean and Chapter hope that the Commissioners will not object to the present proposal, by which, if carried into effect, the endowment of one church and the augmentation of another would be secured".

The Commissioners did object. In their answers to the above they restated that in accordance with their official policy they could not grant the tithes of Murton to the new church if it was in private patronage.¹ Unofficially, however, the Commissioners' Secretary, C. K. Murray, pointed out to the Chapter that the double endowment they sought and the transfer of the patronage could be accomplished in stages. That is to say, if the Chapter retained the patronage of Seaham Harbour until such time as the grant of tithes had been completed "there

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, No. 40453. C. K. Murray to W. C. Chaytor, Whitehall, 19 January, 1842.

is no chance of the Commissioners hereafter opposing" the transfer of the advowson to Londonderry.¹

Unaware of the above correspondence Londonderry only knew of the Commissioners' initial decision not to endow his church. In a letter dated 23 December, 1842 he laid his case before Howley.²

"I deem it my duty to address your Grace and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the subject of a letter which I have received from the Dean and Chapter relative to a new church which has been built partly by subscription and partly by the efforts of Lady Londonderry and myself in my town of Seaham Harbour for which the ground has been given for ever to the church in order to prosecute the great advantage of having an established church in a place rapidly increasing in population and where many Methodist Chapels had been created. We were desirous to endow the church from our own property having the presentation to the living insured to the family.

Although willing and anxious to accede to any arrangement that could be beneficial to the small living alluded to in the Dean and Chapter's proposal, and although I have intimated my consent to them, still I anxiously hope that your Grace and the Ecclesiastical Comm., taking all the premises into your consideration will consider the living of Seaham Harbour very inadequately provided for with the mere abandonment to it of the tithes of Merton, worth only £90 a year.

I confess, my object first, was in offering the endowment of £150 per an. to receive at least a similar sum from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or the Dean and Chapter and when I consider the population of Seaham Harbour 3,000 now and rapidly increasing, I feel satisfied such an Incumbent as would be eligible to perform the duties could not be obtained on a lesser income, and when it was adverted to that £150 is paid by myself and that the very creation and establishment of this thriving place has been accomplished by one family I question whether so strong a claim can be urged from any quarter on the consideration of the Commission".

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, No.40453. Enclosure found with MS. Letter Murray to Chaytor, Whitehall, 19 January, 1842.
 2. Ibid., Marquis of Londonderry to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Seaham Harbour, 23 December, 1842.

On 16 April, 1844, after some further difficulties St. John's, Seaham Harbour was endowed by the Commissioners with the Murton and Billingham tithes valued at £164 p.a. As advised by Murray, the Chapter had retained the patronage until these endowments had been secured and then following Londonderry's promised augmentation of £150 p.a., £96 p.a. of which was paid to the incumbent of St. John's and £54 p.a. to St. Giles, the advowson was finally ceded to him, four years after the church had been opened.¹

However acquired, patronage in lay hands was dispensed in the same manner throughout the period of this study. Nepotism was not rare, indeed it was the principle upon which most lay patrons acted. Both immediate and distant relations benefited from the ownership of parochial patronage. Where no relative was available to fill a vacant family living, sons of friends from amongst the County gentry were favoured, though on such occasions, patrons not infrequently sought individuals of particular merit, either from among the Diocesan clergy or from further afield.

Of the eighty-two priests who held between 1774 and 1856 a benefice in lay patronage, it is known that 39% or thirty-two were natives of the five northernmost counties of England: fifteen from Durham; seven from Northumberland; seven from Yorkshire; two from Westmorland and one from Cumberland.² Amongst these individuals are found sons of the County squirearchy, many of whom were themselves related to Archdeaconry patrons,

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, No.40453. MS. Extracts from Commissioners minutes; John Gregson to C. K. Murray, 22 November, 1843.
2. AC. Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitations; CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files; SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers; Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886 (London, 1888); J. & J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, (Cambridge, 1922); J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II, (Cambridge, 1940); For Durham graduates UL. MSS. card index Register of P.T.O.

others not. Such names as Shafto, Ellison, Carr, Vane, Hopper, Williamson, Milbanke, Fenwick, Ridley, Ord, and Burdon are found among the County's clergy, their names reading as a muster of the Durham gentry.

The correspondence between Sir Henry Liddell and his close friend, Henry Ellison, though concerning the living of Whittingham in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, illustrates one of the many considerations that governed presentations to lay benefices.¹

"Last night's post brought news of Mr. Nevison's² death and as the living is in the Parish of my residence I would covet an honest man and such a one as I could always be pleased with as a companion. Under these wishes I now stand, but who to pitch upon to secure³em me, I know not. I thought of Dr. Baker³ as a debt due to him but he dwells his thoughts on a sinecure and it is the proper rest for him".

Adverse to present anyone but a person from "Northumberland or Durham by birth or one who has so long resided in one of those Counties as to be looked on as a native" Liddell found his lack of knowledge concerning the Diocesan clergy a distinct disadvantage.⁴ In a subsequent letter to Ellison the names of four Northumbrian clergymen were mentioned, though only insofar as they seemed to be the only clerical names Liddell was familiar with.⁵

2. (Contd.) Durham Graduates 1832-93, compiled by W. C. Boulton and continued by C. E. Whiting with additions by C. R. Huddleston. Hereafter U[niversity] A[lumni] B[ooks].

1. Edward Hughes, North Country Life, p.338.

2. Thomas Nevison, Vicar of Whittingham, 1722-43.

3. Dr. James Baker had been Liddell's private tutor at Cambridge. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.338.

4. Ibid., Sir Henry Liddell to Henry Ellison, 31 January, 1743/4.

5. Ibid., Same to same, 8 March, 1743/4.

".... Wolfal¹ is an honest man, an excellent scholar but a low and too quiet creature. I would have one not to bring reflection upon myself, one who would be quiet in his office but not so far as to render himself contemptible. I have been casting about the two countys and of my own knowledge cannot guess at one unless it be Thorp of Chillingham. What I have seen of him makes me imagine him a civilized, cheerful man. If you cannot think of a better, I should be glad if you by some means, quite privately, would find his character. By what you say of Mr. E(llison) of Whelpington,² I fear he would scarcely justifie me naming him, even to the Parish and the character he would³ carry in the neighbourhood. Mr. Swinburne³ is a man I should like, barring his determined way of thinking".

Liddell sought an intellectual companion "one of my own principle of our own country, not above residing at a place distant from the busy amusing part of the world, nor one who shall set himself above those he will be to live with, and in principle a Whig". Not knowing such a man he sought further assistance from the Archdeacon of Northumberland, Thomas Sharp.⁴ In 1774 the Rev. Erasmus Head, a native of Cumberland and a graduate of Queens College, Cambridge, was nominated by Liddell as Nevison's successor.⁵

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1. William Wolfall, P.C. of Ancroft, assistant curate at Tweedmouth and lecturer in the parish church of Berwick. William Hutchinson, A View of Northumberland with an Excursion to the Abbey of Mailross in Scotland, (Newcastle, 1776) wherein is found "A State of the Churches under the Archdeaconry of Northumberland and in Hexham Peculiar Jurisdiction with the Succession of Incumbents Extracted from the Manuscripts of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Randal".
 2. Nathaniel Ellison, Vicar of Kirkwhelpington since 1740 and a cousin of Henry's.
 3. Robert Swinburne, lecturer in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle.
 4. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.338.
 5. Head was a native of Cumberland and a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford. He was granted a dispensation to hold both the Vicarage of Newburn and Whittingham on 27 September, 1744.

While Thomas Goodfellow Shafto and Francis Milbanke had been presented by relatives to two of the most valuable benefices in the Archdeaconry,¹ others were presented as a result of their reputations as scholars or theologians. The Rev. John Hodgson's advancement came as a result of his efforts as a school master. In 1801, George Barrington, the Bishop's nephew and Rector of Sedgefield, requested William Rawes, Headmaster of Witton-le-Wear Grammar School to recommend a suitable candidate for the Mastership of his parish school. Previously Master of two Cumberland schools Hodgson was recommended for the post by Rawes who was also his cousin. Appointed by Barrington, Hodgson received a stipend of between £18 and £20 p.a.² Three years later he moved to Lanchester parish wherein he kept his own school and became assistant curate serving Esh and Sætley. While at Lanchester he began a study of the extensive Roman remains that were located within the parish, thereby building a reputation as an antiquarian of note. In 1806 he was named as assistant curate of Gateshead where he came to the notice of Cuthbert Ellison one of the patrons of Jarrow-cum-Heworth. Following the death of William Glover, Ellison requested a meeting with Hodgson, the business of which Hodgson recorded in his journal.³

"Breakfasted with Mr. Ellison, and had the living of Jarrow offered me, without any solicitation, or ever being, but once in Mr. Ellison's company before. Dined with him in the evening. My obligations are great to Mr. Dodd, Mr. Ellison's steward, but especially to Mr. Willis (his solicitor)".

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1. Shafto to the Rectory of Brancepeth valued in 1740 at £400 p.a. and Milbanke to the P.C. of Chester-le-Street worth over £460 p.a. in 1808.
 2. James Raine, A Memoir of the Rev. John Hodgson, (London, 1857), Vol.I, pp.3-4; Welford, Men of Mark, Vol.II, p.533.
 3. Raine, op.cit., p.53.

In November, 1856 the Marchioness of Londonderry as patron presented the Rev. George Townshend Fox to the perpetual curacy of St. Nicholas, Durham City. A life-long resident of Durham City, Fox was the brother of Henry Watson Fox the missionary to South India, and like his brother his theological outlook was soundly evangelical. His first clerical appointment was in 1850 as assistant curate of St. Oswald's, Durham City. While serving this extensive and populous parish he published a memoir of his brother and an anti-tractarian pamphlet entitled "The Bible the Sole Rule of Faith, and a Few Plain Words about Popery and Tractarianism". The following year he published a collection of ten sermons followed in 1854 by the publication of a lecture entitled "Priestly Celibacy Exposed".¹

Fox's appointment seems to have been a direct result of his being of the evangelical school, for none but the most dedicated clergyman would have accepted such a benefice which was valued at only £90 p.a. and contained a population in excess of 3,000 souls. To an individual such as Fox, however, the opportunity to take over the responsibility of a populous town parish overshadowed the poor income. In answer to Lady Londonderry's letter, he wrote:²

"I beg to thank your Ladyship sincerely, for the kind manner in which you have offered me the perpetual curacy of St. Nicholas which I hasten to inform your Ladyship of my intention to accept.

In so doing, I beg to assure you, that altho' the pecuniary value of the living is small, so small, that effectually to work the parish, will certainly involve an annual outlaying of at least twice the income; yet I do not the less prize the offer your Ladyship has made me, on that account, because I value it as affording me an opportunity of enlarged usefulness, without interfering

1. Crockford's, 1860.

2. DCRO Londonderry MSS. D/LO/C 194. G. J. Fox to the Marchioness of Londonderry, Durham, 3 November, 1856.

with any of the duties of life already resting upon me.

Not having sought it myself, and falling in as it does so peculiarly with the requirement of my position in this city, I cannot but view it as a providential appointment; and whilst I confess that I have some feelings of diffidence and naturally shrink from the responsibility connected with the spiritual oversight of so many immortal souls, many of whom are in a sadly degraded condition, I dare not refuse the offer, which would simply be consulting my own ease and personal comfort at the sacrifice of the great end of the Christian Ministry - the salvation of souls".

Following his induction there developed what appears to have been a fairly typical relationship between a patron and incumbent. Lady Londonderry maintained a close interest in the affairs of the parish and Fox seems to have endeavoured to keep her abreast of parish news even when it was bad.¹

"Having hitherto been encouraged by your Ladyships interest in St. Nicholas parish to report to your Ladyship the various steps of satisfactory progress which I have made, I feel it my duty to lose no time to inform your Ladyship, in this day of adversity, of the deep sorrow that has recently come upon me.

Up to this time everything seemed to (illegible word) but now a sad scandal has been brought on the parish and on our Church - I have been deceived in my curate, he has turned out a hypocrite a scoundrel and a most depraved character - 2

He had popular gifts and hitherto an unblemished reputation - but shortly after my return home, facts came to my knowledge of an astounding character and I never ceased the prosecution of the matter till I drove him off in company with the vile woman, for whom he had forsaken his poor unhappy wife -

.... I have never suffered so much in my life as this last week, during the time I was ferritting out this horrible affair - my chief distress, is for the dishonour brought on the name of Christ in this place - But I know he can maintain his own cause".

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1. DERO. Londonderry MSS. D/LO/C 196 G. T. Fox to the Marchioness of Londonderry.
 2. The individual in question seems to have been William Prosser a graduate of St. Bee's, Cumberland, and possibly a relation of Archdeacon Richard Prosser.

As many incumbents in the Archdeaconry, Fox expended a great deal of his private income to improve the value of his benefice. In addition to a donation of £1,000 towards the rebuilding of his church,¹ he purchased from his predecessor the Rev. Edward Davison for £500 the advowson and endowment belonging to the parish lectureship with which he augmented the benefice.² In his letter of presentation he wrote:³

".... St. Nicholas is one of the most important parishes in this city a population of over 3,000 in the very centre of town and yet the income of the living is under £80 p.a. what increased difficulties the poverty of such a living throws in the way of suitably qualified Ministers to undertake the responsibilities (as incumbent) I have purchased the lectureship with a view of making a present of it to the living of St. Nicholas".

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1. Whellan, History of Durham, p.181. Fox also presented the church with a new organ.
 2. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Nicholas. Pursuant to the 139th section of 5 & 6 William IV C.76 (Municipal Corporation Act) the advowson of the lectureship was purchased on 2 August, 1854 by Edward Davidson, Fox's predecessor who in turn sold it to Fox. The lectureship was valued at £75 p.a.
 3. Ibid., G. T. Fox to Charles Langley, Durham 10 March, 1859.

2. Ecclesiastical patronage

By far the largest block of parochial patronage was in the possession of the Durham Cathedral establishment, who throughout the period of this study, held the right of presentation to over 50% of the churches and chapels in the Archdeaconry. A legacy from the medieval period,¹ such an unusual proportion of influence was at the expense of the County's laity whose rights of patronage were limited, and indeed probably more limited than anywhere else in England as illustrated by the following:²

Figure 4

<u>Episcopal patronage</u>	<u>1774</u>	<u>1856</u>
Durham	31.5%	34.7%
Derbyshire	2.5%	1.6%
Oxfordshire	11.5%	17.5%
National figures	11.4%	
<u>Capitular patronage</u>		
Durham	16.8%	16.5%
Derbyshire	18.7%	14.5%
Oxfordshire	11.9%	10.7%
National figures	8.6%	
<u>Lay patronage</u>		
Durham	26.3%	19.8%
Derbyshire	67.5%	69.8%
Oxfordshire	45.6%	43.3%
National figures	44.1%	

In addition to their Durham patronage, the Bishop and Chapter held the patronage of twenty-six churches and chapels in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland.³ Thus, of the 197

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1. Donaldson, "Secular Clergy", p.170. In 1350, 82% of the parish churches in the Diocese were in Ecclesiastical patronage. By 1500 the percentage had increased to 87%. For those benefices in Episcopal patronage see Chapter Appendix B.
 2. See Chapter I, pp.26-7, Figure 7.
 3. For information dealing with the particulars of the Northumbrian parochial system I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of the Rev. John Shuler, Hatfield College, Durham.

benefices in the Diocese, the Ecclesiastical Establishment presented to seventy-two or 36.8% of the total, giving them sufficient influence over the parochial system to rid not only the Archdeaconry of Durham, but much of the Diocese, of those abuses considered to be so much a part of the Hanoverian church.¹

A. Episcopal patronage

Within the Archdeaconry the largest and by far the wealthiest block of patronage was in the possession of the See. In addition to the twelve Prebendal stalls already discussed, the Bishop presented Masters to two valuable County Hospitals and incumbents to nineteen rectories, five vicarages and six perpetual curacies. The average value of the parochial patronage was over £650 p.a. If, however, the incomes of the perpetual curacies are not considered, the average annual value of the remaining twenty-four benefices was over £790.

After providing for relatives, the principal Episcopal consideration in presenting to such valuable preferment was influence. Younger sons of the aristocracy and local gentry, individuals having friends who possessed political influence, and the relatives or descendants of Diocesan clergy held the most lucrative Episcopal benefices,² though, throughout the period of this study many individuals of ability and talent despite lacking apparent advantages of birth, entered the Archdeaconry as Episcopal appointees. This is confirmed by the following table which examines the parentage of 69 of the 112 parsons who held an Episcopal benefice between the years

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1. A complete picture of the Bishop's patronage is as follows: two Archdeacons, Durham and Northumberland; twelve Prebends who with the Dean appointed to thirty-two livings; two Masters of Hospitals, Greatham having the patronage of one living, and Sherburn possessing the patronage of four livings; forty benefices in the Diocese and two of Lord Crewe's Trustees.
 2. 33% of the Episcopal parochial clergy were natives of the five northern counties.

1774 and 1856.¹

Figure 5

<u>Social rank of father</u>	<u>No. of persons in each category</u>
Clergy	21
Army	16
Gentry	16
Nobility	5
Bishop	2
Pleb.	2
Lord Chancellor	1
Prime Minister	1
Member of Parliament	1
Barrister	1
Stockbroker	1
Doctor	1
Husbandman	1

Competition amongst candidates was fierce and was made more so as the result of a tendency by individual members of the Archdeaconry's clergy to acquire for themselves as many pieces of preferment as possible. This is illustrated in the following, written by the Secretary of the Dean and Chapter, John Robson, in 1771.²

".... Prospects of any further advancement here (the Diocese of Durham) are quite out of sight as those who don't want them are quite ready to hold every vacancy for themselves".

This appraisal is confirmed by the following table which indicates, at six dates, the extent of pluralism found amongst those incumbents holding Episcopal preferment. Between 1774 and 1814 the Bishop presented to thirty parochial benefices, in 1832 this number had increased to thirty-four, and by 1856 the number was forty-seven. Column I indicates the number of incumbents, in each year, holding Episcopal benefices and column II the total amount of ecclesiastical preferment they held.

1. U.A.B.
2. George Smith & Frank Bengier, The Oldest London Bookshop a History of Two Hundred Years to which is appended a Family Correspondence of the Eighteenth Century, (London, 1928), p.91; See also Sykes, Church and State, p.63.

Figure 6

<u>Year</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>
1774 ¹	28	53
1792 ¹	28	55
1810 ¹	28	49
1814 ¹	28	47
1832 ²	31	50
1857 ¹	44	58

As they became vacant, the most valuable Ecclesiastical preferments were given, by successive Bishops, to members of their respective families. Egerton provided employment for the majority of his male relatives. To his brother Henry he gave the Second Stall and the Rectory of Bishopwearmouth, where he was reputed to have lived in a style unequalled in splendour by any of his predecessors.³ His nephew Charles held successively the Rectories of Wolsingham and Washington, while to his youngest son went the Fourth Stall and the Mastership of Greatham Hospital.⁴

In August, 1789 Thurlow presented to the Rectory of Houghton-le-Spring his nephew, Edward South Thurlow.⁵ Though having only been ordained the previous year the young Thurlow was already a considerable pluralist holding a Prebendal Stall in Norwich Cathedral, and the two sinecure Rectories of Eastyn and Llandrillo. Of this Thurlow it has been said that he lacked common sense and sought only pleasurable pursuits. Such an analysis seems to have substance, for within a few months of his collation to the Norwich Stall, he wrote to his uncle, the Lord Chancellor, requesting to be relieved of his duties.

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitations.

2. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files.

3. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.431.

4. V.C.H., Durham, Vol.II, p.121.

5. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792, Episcopal Visitation.

objecting to the required three months' annual residence. His patron's reply to such a request was in keeping with his character "I gave the stall to your wife and you may go and be - ".¹ In 1840 Thurlow built at his own expense a chapel of ease at Herrington, and named as its curate one of his sons, John, who holds the distinction of having been the only Arch-deaconry clergyman, throughout the period of this study, forced from his cure for Anglo-Catholic practices.²

Similarly, Shute Barrington's first responsibility was to his family, particularly that of his brother to whom he owed his advancement. While Bishop of Salisbury, Barrington had appointed his nephew, George, to the North Grantham Prebend in Salisbury Cathedral and Vicar of Grantham, Lincoln. On 8 December, only months after his translation to Durham, Barrington presented his nephew to the valuable Rectory of Sedgefield, who in turn resigned Grantham but retained his Prebendal Stall. In 1796 George was installed Prebend of the Ninth Stall in Durham Cathedral, which he held along with his Stall in Salisbury.³ With the death of Charles Weston, the Bishop took it upon himself to collate his nephew to the Eleventh, known locally as the "Golden Stall", whereupon the younger Barrington resigned his Prebend in Salisbury.⁴

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1. Henry D'Aveney, "Anecdotes of Thurlow (Lord Chancellor)", Notes and Queries, 2nd S., Vol.III, No.67, 11 April, 1857, p.283.
 2. John Thurlow, A Sermon by the Rev. John Thurlow, A.M. curate of Herrington, (Durham, 1840). His parishioners objected to a pair of bronze candlesticks Thurlow kept on the altar and to a cross which they referred to as a crucifix that hung behind the altar. They further objected to the doctrines put forward by Thurlow in his sermons. In general they charged him with "Popery".
 3. Armstrong, "Barrington", p.556. In 1805 the Rectory of Sedgefield was valued at £2,300 p.a. and the income of the Ninth Stall £1,542 p.a. PK. Audit Book, Vol.A.VIII. 1804-5.
 4. So called as a result of its value which in 1832 was over £3,300 p.a. DCL. Add. MS. 46.

Barrington's only other ecclesiastical appointment to a relative was to Robert Price, the son of his wife's sister. While at Salisbury he nominated Price to the South Grantham Stall and on 10 May, 1794 presented him to the Third Stall in Durham which he held until 1804 when he was collated to the Fifth Stall. A Royal Chaplain and resident in Salisbury, he rarely resided in Durham.¹

William Van Mildert, who was childless, presented two of his wife's nephews, William Ives and Henry Douglas, to three valuable Episcopal benefices. Dependent upon his uncle since the outset of his clerical career, Douglas had been collated to a Stall in Llandaff in 1825, and was again favoured by Van Mildert with his offer in 1832 of the Rectory of Whickham worth over £800 p.a. The Bishop's offer was made in the following letter.²

".... The living of Whickham will soon become vacant, and at my disposal; and having been wished for an opportunity of somewhat improving your clerical condition, I am desirous of knowing whether you think it worth the cost and trouble of a removal from Newland to the North. Should you think it so, I need not add how much I shall be grateful in having you fixed in my Diocese; where, I am well assured you would both do me credit and essentially benefit the Parish

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1. Armstrong, op.cit., p.555. In 1804-5 the Fifth Stall was valued at over £1,560 p.a. PK. Audit Book A.VIII, 1804-5. Not all members of the Bishop's family were so favoured. When one of his wife's relatives applied for Orders Barrington inquired as to the value of the preferment he would be satisfied with. Receiving the answer that £500 p.a. would meet his needs the Bishop is reported to have answered "you shall have it, but not out of the patrimony of the Church. I will not take away the bread from those who have earned it by their labours and bestow it upon a relation. You shall have the income you have mentioned yearly out of my pocket". McKenzie and Ross, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.LXI.
 2. Cochrane, "Van Mildert", p.256.

The main point, perhaps, to be first considered is whether you and Mrs. Douglas feel any reluctance to remove so far from the county and neighbourhood with which you have been so long connected. If not, I have no doubt that you will soon find yourselves well received by persons whose society is well worth cultivating, and your introduction to is as so near a connection of mine may be some additional advantage. The town of Newcastle is also a sort of Metropolis of the North where wants of every kind may be amply supplied".

The prospects of advancement being thus greater in Durham, Douglas accepted the offer. His judgement was borne out on 16 October, 1834 when he was installed as Prebend of the Seventh Stall.¹

Henry Joseph Maltby had been ordained both Deacon and Priest by his father who, immediately after his translation to Durham, collated him to the Vicarage of Egglescliffe.² It was not until fifteen years later that the Bishop was given the opportunity to fill a vacant Canonry, however, with William Darnell's death he presented his son on 27 March, 1852 to the Eighth Prebend.³ To a more distant relative, a nephew, George Edward Green, he granted the Perpetual Curacy of St. Andrew with St. Anne's, Auckland.

After fulfilling their family obligations the Bishops gave the majority of their remaining benefices to individuals of influence, particularly those having northern connections.

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1. Patrick Mussett, Deans and Major Canons of Durham, 1541-1900. Provisional Lists. Not published for general circulation.
 2. Crockford's, 1860.
 3. See P.P. 1852, XXXVIII, p.87 for correspondence between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Bishop of Durham relative to the appointment of his son to the Eighth Stall. By 3 & 4 Vic. C.113 (Cathedral's Act) the incomes of Prebendal Stalls had been limited to £1,000 p.a. Thereafter the Commissioners were empowered by two subsequent Acts, to certify the value of every cathedral dignity (5 & 6 Vic. C.79) before an instrument conferring such preferment was granted (6 & 7 Vic. C.72). During the three years preceding Maltby's presentation the average value of the Eighth Stall had been over £1,570 p.a. The above correspondence dealt with the reduction of that income to the statutory £1,000 p.a.

Sir Henry Vane, Bart. by virtue of his family being the hereditary landowners in Long Newton, was named Rector of that parish and Prebend of the Tenth Stall, an appointment not favoured by the Dean, Spencer Cowper, who wrote "his affinity to Ld. Darlington and connection with the Bishop as chaplain will not fail to make him insolent".¹ Robert Thorp who had succeeded his father as Vicar of the Episcopal benefice, Chillingham, was presented to Gateshead by Egerton and was named Rector of Ryton and Archdeacon of Northumberland by Barrington. In 1807 he resigned Ryton in favour of his son Charles who was duly presented by Barrington and who was subsequently named by Van Mildert Archdeacon of Durham and Prebend of the Fourth Stall. His eminence in the Diocese was such that he became known as the "Bishop's advisor and prime minister".² Through his influence, Charles, his son, became the fourth generation Thorp to hold Diocesan preferment, when in 1855 he was presented to the Northumbrian Vicarage of Ellingham.

After a successful University career and through an advantageous marriage with the Earl of Eldon's niece, the Rev. Henry Phillpotts was presented by the Lord Chancellor to the Crown living Stainton-le-Street.³ On Dr. Martin Routh's recommendation he became one of Barrington's chaplains and was subsequently presented by the Bishop to the Rectory of Gateshead and installed a Prebend of the Ninth Stall. Six years later in 1815 he was translated to the more valuable Second Stall. In 1820, by then established as a noted controversialist, Phillpotts was advanced to the most valuable Rectory in the

1. Edward Hughes ed. Letters of Spencer Cowper 1746-74, Surtees Society, Vol. CLXIV, (Durham, 1950), pp. 198-99. Spencer Cowper to Earl Cowper, Durham, 4 September, 1758.

2. Losh, Diaries and Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 117.

3. John Scott, First Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor. 14 April, 1801 to 7 February, 1806 and from 1 April, 1801 to 2 May, 1827, was a native of Newcastle and held extensive estates in and around Bishop Auckland.

Diocese, Stanhope, worth more than £2,500 p.a.¹

In 1814 Henry George Liddell, son of Sir Henry Liddell, Lord Ravensworth, was presented to Boldon² and in 1832 Van Mildert collated him to the more valuable Rectory of Easington. The son of the First Earl Grey of Hawick, Northumberland, Edward Grey, brother of Charles Grey was given by Barrington the Rectory of Whickham. Twenty years later Maltby advanced the Hon. John Grey, son of his patron, the Right Hon. Charles, Second Earl Grey to Houghton-le-Spring.

Others not having northern associations sought preferment through the intercession of families or friends, and it is apparent that only those with the highest connections were successful. While such persons as the Hon. Richard Byron, son of the Fourth Lord Byron, Henry Percival son of the Prime Minister and the Hon. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, brother of the "Iron Duke" were more typical of the individuals whose appointments were a result of family influence, this network of relationships and friendships did provide the Archdeaconry with one of its most illustrious clergymen, Edward Churton.

During the period of his service as assistant curate of Hackney, Churton had married the niece of Joshua Watson a close personal friend of Van Mildert. On behalf of his new nephew Watson approached the Bishop who, with the pleasure that comes from assisting an old friend, bestowed upon the young clergyman

1. One of the conditions attached to his advancement was that he should refrain from his habit of card playing. G.C.B. Davies, Henry Phillpott's Bishop of Exeter, 1778-1869, (London, 1954), p.33. The Bishop of Exeter's nephew, Arthur Archibald Phillpotts was in 1857 assistant curate to the Rector of Brancepeth. DUJ. Vol.III, 1858, p.60.

2. By Barrington.

the Rectory of Craike. In his letter to Watson Van Mildert wrote:¹

" every day increases my satisfaction in having had the opportunity of rewarding good desert on the one hand, and on the other, of enjoying the purest of all gratifications in testifying my affection for the very best of benefactors to everything deserving of support in church and state".

Political considerations were behind a number of Maltby's appointments. The advancement of a son of the Whig Prime Minister, Charles Grey, has been noted. In addition he presented to the Rectory of Norton the Hon. Francis Nathaniel Clements, son of the Whig patriarch Nathaniel Clements, Earl of Leitrum. Likewise the Hon. L. W. Denman son of the Whig Lord Chief Justice, Thomas First Lord Denman, was the recipient of episcopal favour in the form of being given the Rectory of Washington. Seemingly he was not unqualified for the post as he held a third class tripos degree and was a rowing blue.²

By far the most interesting Episcopal appointments were those given to individuals whose advancement was a result of academic achievement, in particular, those persons introduced into the Archdeaconry by Barrington.

The list of his chaplains was most distinguished: John Owen;³ Benjamin Blayney;⁴ Thomas Burgess, Rector of Winston and

1. Cochrane, "Van Mildert", p.257. See also D.N.B., Churton, Vol.X, p.346.
2. An interesting tale is told about Denman. As Rector of Willian, Hertfordshire, after "one of the young men got a maid into trouble, Denman booked his passage to Canada, thrashed him on the rectory lawn, and invited the whole village to witness the ceremony". He maintained a life long interest in rowing by preaching an annual boat race sermon. C. K. F. Brown, History of the English Clergy, 1800-1900, (London, 1953), p.153. See also R. L. Hine, Confessions of an Uncommon Attorney, (London, 1946), pp.228-29.
3. 1766-1822. Instrumental in founding the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804 and was its secretary, 1804-1822. D.N.B., Vol.XLII, p.428. See also F. K. Brown, The Fathers of the Victorians, (Cambridge, 1961), pp.31n and 244.
4. 1728-1801. Hebrew Scholar. D.N.B. Vol.V, p.208.

later Bishop of Salisbury whose father, a grocer, had advised that success in the church was dependent upon "his own behaviour, the connections he may make and accidents which it is impossible to foresee";¹ William Paley, Rector of Bishopwearmouth; Robert Holmes;² Andrew Bell, Master of Sherburn Hospital; George Stanley Faber, successively Vicar of Stockton-on-Tees, Rector of Redmarshall and Long Newton and, following Bell's death in 1832, Master of Sherburn Hospital; Robert Gray, successively Rector of Craike, Prebend of the Seventh Stall, Rector of Bishopwearmouth and in 1827 Bishop of Bristol: and George Townsend, Prebend of the Tenth Stall and successively Vicar of Northallerton and Perpetual Curate of St. Margaret, Durham.³

Townsend, a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, the son of an independent minister, only went to University through the assistance of Richard Cumberland, the dramatist. A prolific author, his works brought him to the notice of several eminent men, Barrington amongst them. His rise in the church, mirroring those of many of his Archdeaconry contemporaries, he described in 1833.⁴

".... Twenty years have now elapsed since the writer of this letter was ordained to a curacy of sixty pounds a year, in the Fens of Ely. He was at that time without hope, or prospect, or influential friend. No one of the unbefitted working clergy could have had less reason to anticipate the higher preferments of the Church, than the curate in the Fens. But the study of theology was that which he deemed to be alone exclusively worthy of attention; and he devoted himself to that study with a perseverance which enabled him eventually to accomplish a work (The Arrangement of the Old and New Testament, in Chronological and Historical Order), which from its

1. C. K. F. Brown, Clergy, p.98.

2. 1748-1805. Biblical scholar. D.N.B. Vol.XXVII, p.197.

3. Mackenzie and Ross, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.LX.

4. George Townsend, A Plan for Abolishing Pluralities and Non-Residence, (London, 1833), p.5.

unpretending usefulness, was received with favour by churchmen, Methodists, and Dissenters. Shute Barrington rewarded the Author, by appointing him to that station which he now holds in the church. The poor curate, without interest, or patronage, or corrupt influence of any kind, is elevated, from obscurity to distinction, from small resources to more ample revenue, solely on account of his persevering and unwearied labors in the cause of his Divine Master; and he has learned to consider, from this, and from many other instances of a similar nature, that thousands of the beneficed and unbeneficed working clergy by the continuance of these appointments, which are open to all, whether from the peasantry or the peerage, would be encouraged to labor, to perseverance, and to hope".

Known in his old age to have been somewhat of an eccentric, it has been said of Townsend that as a result of his being influenced by an early publication of Robert Gray's pamphlet entitled "Religious Union" containing an argument for the unification of the Catholics and Presbyterians with the Established Church, he managed, in 1850, a Papal audience with the purpose of converting the Pope to the Anglican cause.¹

Numbered amongst Barrington's parochial clergy was Thomas Baker, who possessed a first class honours degree in Literature and Humanities, and Thomas Le Mesurier, Bampton Lecturer in 1807 and Rector of Houghton-le-Skerne from 1812. In 1822 when Le Mesurier died, Barrington is reputed to have sent for his widow and inquired if she had any relative who would take the vacant benefice. She is said to have replied "I have a brother who is a Bodleian Librarian".² Thus Bulkeley Bandinel, son of the first Bampton Lecturer, entered the Archdeaconry as Le Mesurier's successor.

Similar appointments by Maltby, though made to less

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1. William Brockie, Sunderland Notables: Natives, Residents and Visitors, (Sunderland, 1894), p.315.
 2. W. Lancaster Taylor, The History of Sadberge, (Leeds, 1919). p.215.

illustrious individuals, were no less meritorious. He was a patron of the new University at Durham and numbered among his appointees six of its graduates, including John Cundill whose name was the first to appear on the University books, and William Wilson, said to have been the first Durham student to be ordained. In 1842-43 Maltby ordained, and in 1854 presented to the Perpetual Curacy of St. Thomas Collierley perhaps the most unusual of the Archdeaconry's incumbents, Blythe Hurst.

A native of Winlaton and son of a dissenter, Hurst had been apprenticed at the age of seven to a blacksmith. While attending Archdeacon Thorp's Sunday School at Ryton he showed an outstanding promise for learning which he developed as he became older. In 1840 Alexander Campbell, a disciple of Robert Owen visited Winlaton for the purpose of publicising the new social system being practised at New Lanark. Asked by friends to reply, Hurst declined, instead, writing a pamphlet entitled "Christianity no Priestcraft" a copy of which was forwarded to the Bishop who observed that "though written by a common man it was the product of no common mind".¹ At Maltby's request Henry Douglas, Rector of Whickham and John Davies, Rector of Gateshead, interviewed Hurst after which they reported to the Bishop his suitability for ordination. Hurst was advised as to the course of reading he should pursue, and in 1842 he was examined and ordained Deacon at Auckland Castle. With Maltby's help he became assistant curate of Garrigill near Alston, and in 1854 was collated by the Bishop to the new chapelry district of St. Thomas Collierley. Not neglecting his studies he delivered, in 1856, two lectures before the Newcastle branch of the Church

1. Blythe Hurst, Christianity No Priestcraft; Demonstrated from the Doctrines and Lives of the Apostles, and from the Triumphant Progress of Christianity Under the most Unpropitious Circumstances, and its Adaptation to become a Universal Religion. In Reply to Infidel Socialism, (Newcastle, 1840).

of England Institute. The first entitled "Sinaitic Inscriptions" and the second "Egyptian Hieroglyphics".¹

1. Welford, Men of Mark, Vol.II, p.578.

B. Capitular patronage

The Dean and Chapter of Durham, as we have seen, possessed the patronage of sixteen of the poorest parochial benefices in the Archdeaconry: two rectories, seven vicarages, and seven perpetual curacies, their average value during the 1790's being only £88 p.a.¹ It appears that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century both the clergy and the Chapter had come to regard these livings as property for the augmentation of incomes rather than as benefices where the function of pastor was to be exercised.

The Chapter reserved for themselves the most desirable of the livings in their patronage. On 10 November, 1810 the Registrar was ordered:²

".... Upon every occasion of Livings becoming vacant in the Presentation of the Dean and Chapter to write to the Dean and all Prebendaries notifying the vacancy. It is desired that any Prebendary who may wish to accept of any Preferment from the Dean and Chapter would signify his wish to Mr. Dean accordingly within one month after notice of vacancy".

Thus the holders of the wealthiest stalls in England gave themselves the option to augment their incomes with the emoluments of any one of sixteen parochial livings, fifteen of which were valued in 1810 at less than £150 p.a., the Bounty Board's minimum clerical stipend.

The largest block of Capitular parochial preferment was held by the Cathedral Minor Canons,³ who in 1774 received a

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1. For those benefices in Capitular patronage see Chapter Appendix C.
 2. SL. Chapter Minutes, Vol.II. 10 November, 1810.
 3. With the Major Canons they had preference to any other candidates in the disposal of Chapter preferment. Hughes, Cowper, p.135. Spencer Cowper to Earl Cowper, 30 November, 1750. When Capitular preferment became vacant it is apparent that the Chapter could not always agree amongst themselves as to who should succeed to it, particularly to those benefices more than twenty-four miles distant from Durham City and

Contd.

basic stipend of £40 p.a. on top of which there were additional payments to the holders of the five Minor Canonical offices of Precentor, Sacrist, Gospeller, Epistoler and Reader of the Morning Prayers. At that date the holders of the above preferment received the following sums:¹

Figure 7

Deason, James:	Minor Canonry	£40 p.a.
	Sacrist	£10 p.a.
	Chapter Librarian ²	£5 p.a.
Dennis Samuel:	Minor Canonry	£50 p.a.
	Epistoler	£10 p.a.
Gelson, Ralph:	Minor Canonry	£40 p.a.
Hayes, Thomas:	Minor Canonry	£50 p.a.
Hornsby, Nicholas:	Minor Canonry	£40 p.a.
Smith, James:	Minor Canonry	£40 p.a.
Viner, Samuel:	Minor Canonry	£40 p.a.
	Reader of the morning prayers	£5-4-0d.p.a.
Wheeler, John:	Minor Canonry	£40 p.a.
	Precentor	£20 p.a.
	Gospeller	£10 p.a.

1. (Contd.) not destined to be given to a Minor Canon. Such Capitular disputes occasioned the Dean, John Hinchcliffe in 1788 to attempt to formalise the presentation procedure. His plan was put to the vote with the result that four members of the Chapter voted for it, two against and four wished to consider the proposals further. The text of the Dean's plan is found in Chapter Appendix H.

1. PK. Treasurer's Books, 29 September, 1774-28th September, 1775.

2. In the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.

The question whether these Cathedral offices were treated by the Chapter as convenient augmentations for the underpaid incumbents of Capitular benefices,¹ or the other way around, is a moot point, for however considered, the insufficient incomes derived from either type of Chapter preferment resulted in unwarranted and often excessive pluralism becoming a feature of the office of Minor Canon.

Though by statute there were to have been twelve Minor Canons, the Dean and Chapter at an unknown date settled upon eight as being the optimum number. Governed by the Henrican Statutes of 1541, amended and reconfirmed by Philip and Mary, holders of the said offices were required to:²

".... Sing the Gospell and Epistle (all of whom we appoint to chant the praises of God and the canonical hours continually in the temple of the Church) shall be of good report, of honest conversation, of sound and Catholic faith, and as far as may be well learned, and finally skilled in song and fit to do service in choir with voice and cunning".

Elected by the Dean, with the advice of the Chapter, the "presence of the Minor Canons be perpetual it shall be lawful for no one to be absent an entire day and night from the church". By 1774, no longer possessing houses in close proximity to the Cathedral, the observance of such a governance was difficult, however the requirement remained and was made more emphatic by subjecting malefactors to a fine, the amount of which to be determined by the Chapter. Furthermore the Minor Canons were permitted:

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1. As thought by the Chapter Official, Charles Thorp, in evidence given before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. UL. Thorp MSS. Vol.4, Part 1, No.5, Church Commissioners Minutes of Evidence, para.249.
 2. The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham with Other Documents Relating to its Foundation and Endowment by King Henry VIII and Queen Mary. Ed. by A. Hamilton Thompson from the Latin text prepared by J. Meade Falkner, Surtees Society, Vol.143, (Durham, 1929), Chapt.25, p.135.
 3. The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, p.136.

".... to enjoy with their said services in Church only a single ecclesiastical benefice, provided that such benefice be not more than twenty-four miles distant from the city of Durham. From which benefice we suffer them to be absent so long as they shall minister in the Cathedral Church, notwithstanding any statutes of our realm whatsoever uttered in this behalf".

The Chapter was thereby permitted to present to at least twelve benefices in their charge individuals who were bound by statute to be non-resident.

While the statutes permitted all Minor Canons to be beneficed, a Chapter rule seems to have precluded the two juniors. By 1774, however, the Chapter had become rather inconsistent, for at that date the eight Minor Canons held between them, including their Cathedral posts, ^{twenty-nine} ^ pieces of ecclesiastical preferment.

Figure 8

<u>Name of the Minor Canon</u>	<u>Preferment held</u>	<u>Stipend</u>
Dennis, Samuel A.M. Christ Church, Oxford	P.C. of South	
	Shields ¹	£100 p.a.(1794) ²
	Minor Canon ¹	£50 p.a.
	Sacrist ¹	£10 p.a.
Wheeler, John A.B. Christ Church, Oxford	P.C. of Croxdale ¹	£52 p.a.(1767)
	P.C. of St. ¹	
	Margaret's ¹	£10 p.a.(1749)
	P.C. of Esh	£27 p.a. (1788)
	P.C. of Satley	£13 p.a.(1788)
	Minor Canon ¹	£40 p.a.
	Gospeller ¹	£10 p.a.
	Precentor ¹	£20 p.a.
	Head Master of ¹	
	Durham School ¹	

1. In the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.
2. No complete record of the annual incomes of Capitular parochial preferment exists before 1810-12. The incomes of the above benefices come from different sources and thus different dates, therefore the combined incomes can only be approximate. The dates of each source are given in brackets. For the sources see Chapter III Appendices A to C.

Figure 8 (Contd.)

<u>Name of the Minor Canon</u>	<u>Preferment held</u>	<u>Stipend</u>
Gelson, Ralph A.B. Lincoln College, Oxford	Vicar of Kirk Merr- ington ¹ Minor Canon ¹	£100 p.a.(1794) £40 p.a.
Hornsby, Nicholas A.M. Merton College, Oxford	Vicar of Dalton-le- Dale ¹ Assistant Curate of Pittington	£90 p.a.(1794) 20 guineas p.a.(1792)
Deason, James Literate	Vicar of Pittington ¹ P.C. of Whitworth ¹ Rector of Fordwick, Kent Minor Canon ¹ Sacrist ¹ Chapter Librarian ¹	£96 p.a. £100 p.a. £40 p.a. £10 p.a. £5 p.a.
Viner, Samuel A.M. Magdalen Hall, Oxford	Vicar of Heighington ¹ Assistant curate of Witton Gilbert Assistant curate of St. Mary-the-Less Minor Canon ¹ Reader of the morning prayers ¹	£140 p.a.(1794) £20 p.a.(1810) £40 p.a. £5-2-0d.p.a.
Hayes, Thomas A.B. Magdalen Hall, Oxford A.M. New College, Oxford	Vicar of St. Oswald ¹ Minor Canon ¹	£100 p.a. £50 p.a.
Smith, James	Assistant curate of Houghton-le-Skerne Minor Canon ¹	Unknown £40 p.a.

Thus the Chapter permitted a loose interpretation of the statutes, and marked the very outset of this period with what appears to be a flagrant violation.²

"Agreed that Mr. Deason be allowed to hold his Vicarage of Pittington, the Curacy of Whitworth and his Minor Canonry, together with the Rectory of Fordwick"

1. In the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.

2. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 17 June, 1774.

A recurrent problem was that of the Minor Canons' attendance upon their Cathedral duties, which had by 1801 once again become slack. In an effort to enforce their presence the Chapter, after first increasing their stipends to £70 p.a. for the senior and to £102 p.a. for the unbeneficed junior Minor Canons, ordered them to be:¹

".... More constant and regular in their attendance on the service of the Cathedral so that the week days two of them at the least be present both in the Morning and Afternoon, and particularly that the two junior be never absent at either service on Sundays and do take no curacy so as to prevent their full attendance, or the duty of reading the early Prayers which belongs the juniors. The Dean and Chapter wish to have it understood that if the conduct and attendance of any Minor Canons should not appear satisfactory to them when assembled at one of their general Chapter meetings they will consider themselves justified in withdrawing the whole or any part of the gratuitous additions to the statutable stipends as well as enforcing the statutable penalties respecting the Minor Canons".

Threats of economic sanctions seemed to have solved, temporarily at least, the problem of non-attendance. On 8 November, 1804 the Chapter voted an augmentation of £20 p.a. be granted to each of the unbeneficed Minor Canons, but attached to their benefaction was the caution that it would only continue to be paid "during our approbation of their conduct and their attendance at the Abbey". Thereafter for the following twenty-three years the unbeneficed junior Minor Canons were to receive stipends that averaged £120 p.a., while the incomes of the senior averaged £70 p.a.²

Only in isolated instances were any of the junior Minor Canons unbeneficed, and in most cases this was a result of there

1. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 28 September, 1801.

2. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 8 November, 1804. This sum did not include payments for Minor Canonical offices.

not having been a living available at the time of institution to their Cathedral office.¹ On 20 November, 1815 Peter Penson was elected to a vacant Minor Canonry and, though contrary to the spirit of the Cathedral statutes, was named Precentor, presumably as a result of his association with Magdalen Hall. There being no additional preferment available, the Chapter ordered:²

".... That the emoluments to be derived by Mr. Penson from the offices of Minor Canon and Precentor be augmented so as to amount to the sum of £200 p.a. so long as he shall be unprovided with other preferment in the Patronage of the Dean and Chapter".

With the death of Thomas Hayes on 12 May, 1819 the Vicarage of St. Oswald's became available, to which Penson was presented by the Chapter on 20 July. His Cathedral stipend was thus augmented with an additional £274 p.a.³ The vacant Minor Canonry was

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1. This was the result of their augmenting the stipends of their appointees with parochial preferment as indicated by the following: "We have always regarded the preferments given to the junior Minor Canons to be a valuable consideration in the opinion of those who have sought the appointment. We have further shown our disposition towards those members of our Church, by occasionally giving Livings to them, to which they have retired, resigning the Minor Canonry. There are at this time five, among our best Livings, holden by those who have retired We add that we have given a valuable Living to the late Master of this school, and one to the late Under Master and also one to each of the present Masters". See Chapter Appendix F, IV. In 1814 the eight Minor Canons held between them twenty-four pieces of Ecclesiastical preferment.
 2. A.P., New College, Oxford. Before going to Durham he had been Clerk of Magdalen Hall. The Cathedral statutes called for the Precentor to be "one of riper age and special distinction in character and learning". Penson was twenty-eight years old at the time he assumed the duties of that office. John Rouse Bloxom, History of Magdalen College, Oxford, (Oxford, 1853), Vol.II, p.117; SL. MSS. Chapter Minutes, Vol.II, 20 November, 1815.
 3. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, St. Oswald.

filled on 31 July by the appointment of Francis Lock Thurland formerly one of Bandinel's junior assistants at the Bodleian Library. No parochial preferment being available, he was nominated Gospeller.¹

Once again, however, the Chapter became concerned with the problem of non-attendance. In the above year Thomas Ebdon had been fined for failing to fulfil his Cathedral duties, and Thurland, an active member of the Church Missionary Society, was removed from his post in 1821 for not regularly residing in Durham.² This increased pressure by the Chapter combined with what appears to have been fermenting dissatisfaction amongst the Minor Canons whose stipends, fixed since 1804, had been ravaged by twenty-one years of rising prices, resulted in the eruption of a dispute, at times bitter, between the Dean and Chapter and its junior body.

On 26 October, 1825 the six "active" Minor Canons collectively brought to the Chapter's attention that they felt:³

".... The salary at present attached to our office, a salary altogether inadequate to the support of our station in society as clergymen and which we have good reason to believe, will also appear upon fair and liberal consideration of the case, to be very far below what in justice we ought to enjoy".

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1. William Dunn Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, (Oxford, 1890), p.294.
 2. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 8 September, 1821.
 3. AC. Episcopal MSS. Collection of letters and documents relating to an application from the Minor Canons to the Bishop of Durham with regard to their appeal for an increase in stipends. See Chapter Appendix F No.II. The entire correspondence of this dispute is contained in the above Appendix.

With reference to a sixteenth century Episcopal Visitation the six considered they "ought to enjoy" £400 p.a. Not only did the Chapter reject their suggestion, but also the principle upon which it was based, that is to say, the Minor Canons' attempt to equate seventeenth century sums with nineteenth century values.¹

The dispute continued with letters exchanged, and both sides seeking Episcopal intervention on their behalf for over two years, until 20 November, 1827, when a compromise agreement was reached. The text of the Chapter resolution is interesting, for it contains a relaxation of the residence requirements, which, as all the Minor Canons were beneficed, must have been made as a result of the increasing pressure at the national level against non-residence, which had prompted Howley's Bill of 1831.²

".... All former orders as to allowance to Minor Canons together with the payments for 6.00 prayers are repealed, the stipends of Minor Canons is fixed Eighty pounds per ann. £50 per. ann. be added to this stipend for each Minor Canon who takes his course of Duty in the Abbey. In the case of a Minor Canon not taking his regular course of duty the sum of £50 now given in addition, instead of being paid to such Minor Canon, will be divided among those who perform the duty for him.

The Duty of the Minor Canons is understood to be the constant attendance of two in the Abbey during the week, which by an equal

1. Chapter Appendix F, No.IV.

2. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 20 November, 1827 and 1 December, 1827. On 20 November, 1829 the Chapter made the following declaration. "As only three months attendance in the Cathedral is now required from each Minor Canon, there is no longer any obstacle to the wish of the Dean and Chapter that the remainder of the year should be occupied by the Minor Canons in the care of their respective livings, being carried into effect". SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 20 November, 1829.

division makes 13 weeks for each Minor Canon. The juniors as heretofore being responsible for the Sundays - The Minor Canons are at liberty to arrange their attendance amongst themselves, choosing their several weeks according to seniority either consecutively or otherwise. In the case of a Minor Canon not taking his own duty the sum of £50 will be given to those who perform the duty for him at the rate of £3-17 per week".

The following table indicates the incomes enjoyed by each of the Minor Canons following the above minutes and also notes their continued pluralism.

Figure 9

<u>Name</u>	<u>Preferment</u>	<u>Stipend,</u> <u>1826</u>	<u>Stipend,</u> <u>1831</u>
Penson, Peter A.M. New College, Oxford	Vicar of St. Oswald ¹ Minor Canon ¹ Precentor ¹ }	£183 pa ²	£274 pa ³ £168 pa ⁴
Ebdon, Thomas A.B. Trinity College, Cambridge	Vicar of Kirk Merrington ¹ Minor Canon ¹ Sacrist ¹ }	£102 pa	£200 pa £168 pa
Temple, W. S. A.B. Trinity College, Cambridge	Vicar ¹ of Dalton-le- Dale ¹ Minor Canon ¹ Gospeller ¹ Reader of ¹ the morning prayers }	£130 pa	£215 pa £158 pa
George, Patrick ⁵ A.M. from a Scottish University	Vicar of Aycliffe ¹ P.C. of St. ¹ Margaret ¹ Minor Canon ¹ Bishop Cosins Librarian	£75 pa	£282 pa £416 £148 pa £13 pa

1. In the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.

2. See Chapter Appendix F, No.VII.

3. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files.

4. Report of the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty to Inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales, (London, 1835), p.45.

5. Also takes pupils.

Figure 9 (Contd.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Preferment</u>	<u>Stipend,</u> <u>1826</u>	<u>Stipend,</u> <u>1831</u>
Miller, James ¹ Literate	Vicar of Pittington ² Minor Canon ² Reader of ² prayers in the } Galilee	£109 pa	£517 pa £175 pa
Gamlen, Samuel A.M. Wadham Coll., Oxford	Vicar of Heighington ² P.C. of Croxdale ² Vicar of Bossal, Yorks. Minor Canon ²	£70 pa	£265 pa £132 pa £148 pa
Clarke, John A.B. Emmanuel College, Cambridge	Vicar of Billingham ² Assistant Curate of Witton Gilbert Minor Canon ² } Epistoler ²	£143 pa	£194 pa £78 pa £166 pa
Hayes, William	Vicar of Monk Hesledon ² Minor Canon ²	£70 pa	£200 pa £148 pa

Before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1831 Thorn noted the Minor Canons to be a "most useful and meritorious class of incumbents".³ On 30 July 1836, Gamlen, non-resident from two of his three parochial benefices, and having been retired from his Cathedral office since before 1826, resigned his Canonry. However, Hayes like his father before him had to be pensioned off. On 28 April, 1849, at the age of eighty, and after holding office for fifty years, he agreed to accept a pension of £80 p.a. and to resign.⁴ Penson, thirty-four years a Minor Canon and Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham City, was prosecuted on 30 March, 1848 under the provisions of the Church Discipline Act of 1840⁵ for "irreverent and immoral conduct, by committing

1. Also takes pupils.

2. In the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.

3. UL. Thorp MSS. Vol.4, Part 1., No.5, Church Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, para.249.

4. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 30 July, 1836; 28 April, 1849.

5. 3 & 4 Vic. C.86.

a lewd and indecent assault upon the person of William Oliver, in the Parish of St. Oswald's".¹ Immediately thereafter he resigned both preferments, and though he did not die until 1870 no mention is made of him in Crockford's. His vacant Canonry was filled by the appointment of John Bacchus Dykes, known not only as an author of hymns, but for his legal battle with the then Bishop, Charles Baring, who had refused to license his nominee to the curacy of St. Oswald's on the grounds that the man was a known ritualist.²

By 1856 the Chapter had limited the number of Minor Canons resident in Durham to four and had augmented their stipends by £50 p.a. so long they were "actually resident in Durham and taking their share to the satisfaction of the Dean and Chapter, the duties of the Cathedral especially the Sunday duties".³ Thus receiving a basic stipend of £180 p.a. to which was added the salaries attached to their additional Cathedral responsibilities it was no longer necessary for the holders of a Minor Canonry to augment their incomes with additional Ecclesiastical preferment.⁴ This is reflected in the fact that by the last year of this period only one of the six Minor Canons was beneficed.⁵

It must be noted, however, that it was only with the appointment of five new Minor Canons between 1848 and 1855 that such a reform could be effected⁶ and, furthermore,

1. PP. 1856, XLVI, p.139. Criminous Clerks. At the time of the assault Penson was sixty years of age.

2. Joseph Thomas Fowler, Life and Letters of John Bacchus Dykes, Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham, (London, 1897), pp.172-89.

3. SL. MS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 20 July, 1840; 20 July, 1849.

4. As Precentor Dykes received £330 p.a. Fowler, Dykes, p.149.

5. Edward Sneyd had been a Minor Canon since 1831. In 1834 he became beneficed and held successively St. Margaret's, Witton Gilbert and in 1848 he succeeded Penson at St. Oswald's.

6. John Cartwright, upon assuming his Minor Canonry, took the unprecedented step of resigning his benefice, the P.C. of Witton Gilbert valued in 1835 at over £300 p.a.

it must be restated that until 1849 it is apparent that pluralism was the expedient adopted by the richest chapter in the country, to provide adequate incomes for the clergymen in their patronage.

Between 1774 and 1856 pluralism amongst incumbents holding Capitular preferment was extensive, as indicated by the following table. Column I notes the number of individuals in each year holding Chapter parochial benefices, Column II indicates the total number of Ecclesiastical preferments they held, and Column III the average number held by each.

Figure 10

<u>Year</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>
1774	13	37	2.84
1792	12	34	2.83
1810	13	32	2.46
1814	14	30	2.14
1832	17 ¹	34	2.0
1857	23 ²	26	1.56

Though not valuable, Capitular benefices were not easily procured, and only those clergymen having the most influence succeeded. As was the case in the Archdeaconry at large, a major percentage, 34.4%, of the Capitular parochial clergy were northerners coming from the following counties.

Figure 11

<u>Durham</u>	<u>Northumberland</u>	<u>Cumberland</u>	<u>Westmorland</u>	<u>Yorks.</u>	<u>Scotland</u>
12	1	3	2	2	2

1. By 1832 the number of benefices in Capitular patronage had increased to twenty.
2. In 1856 that number had increased to twenty-three.

Of the fifty-eight individuals who held Capitular preferment between 1774 and 1856, eleven owed their presentation to fathers, uncles or brothers already holding a Chapter cure. These related clergymen represented 29.2% of the total. Thus the following entry found in the Chapter Minutes, dated 4 December, 1782 is not unusual.

".... That Mr. Richard Wallis the younger be nominated to Shields curacy now vacant by the resignation of his father (Richard)".

Friends and connections of the Chapter also benefited. James Deason entered the Archdeaconry with the assistance of the Dean, Spencer Cowper, whom he had succeeded as Rector of Fordwich, Kent.¹ Having such a patron, Deason rapidly became the most favoured of the Chapter's incumbents. In 1772 he was sworn in as a Minor Canon, a post he held in conjunction with those of Vicar of Pittington, Perpetual Curate of Whitworth and Chapter Librarian. To this list he had added, by 1792, the Rectory of Edmondbyers and the Perpetual Curacy of Muggleswick. On 15 October, 1795 he resigned Whitworth in favour of his son Thomas, but retained his other preferment until his death in 1810.²

Their benefices being worth considerably less than those in the patronage of the Bishop, they attracted fewer distinguished clergymen. The parentage of thirty-five, or 60%, of the individuals holding a Chapter living is known, and, compiled in the following table, serves to indicate their social background.³

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1. Hughes, Cowper, p.29; AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation, Whitworth; SL. MS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 17 June, 1774.
 2. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 15 October, 1796.
 3. U.A.B.

Figure 12

Gentleman	10	Doctor	1
Clergy	10	Independent minister	1
Arm.	4	Bottle manufacturer	1
Pleb.	7	Husbandman	1

This, combined with the table below, indicates that it was principally from the class of clergymen known to Sykes as clerical subalterns that the Chapter drew the greatest percentage of their clergy. Compiled in 1836, the following table illustrates the pattern of presentations made by the Dean and Chapter to the eight benefices that had become vacant between 1825 and 1835.¹

Figure 13

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Date and whom presented</u>	<u>Why so presented</u>
Aycliffe	V. £246 pa	1833 J. D. Eade	Curate of the parish
Billingham	V. £240 pa.	1835 T. Ebdon	Minor Canon
St. Margaret	PC £400 pa	1834 E. Sneyd	Minor Canon
Dalton-le-Dale	V. £200 pa	1831 J. W. Brown	Many years curate in the Diocese
Dinsdale	R. £224 pa	1835 W. S. Temple	Minor Canon
Kirk Merrington	V. £211 pa	1831 J. Tyson	Many years curate in the Diocese
St. Hild's	PC £330 pa	1831 J. Carr	Many years curate in the Diocese
Whitworth	PC £243 pa	1835 R. Gray	Deceased Prebendary's son

The above presentations were broken down thus: four to "deserving curates"; three to Minor Canons; and one to a Prebendary connection.

1. UL. Thorp MSS. Vol.4, No.5. Church Commissioners Minutes of Evidence. Benefices presented by the Dean and Chapter of Durham during the last ten years - Evidence presented to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by W. L. Gilly, Prebend of the Ninth Stall, 22 April, 1836.

3. Collegiate patronage

By Royal Grant, Trinity College, Cambridge possessed since the Dissolution the great tithes and advowson belonging to the Vicarage of Gainford. An extensive medieval parish bounded by the river Tees to the south, Gainford was the mother church of three widely scattered chapelries Barnard Castle, Whorlton, and Denton, the patronage of which belonged to the Vicar.¹

It is not surprising that between 1774 and 1856 Gainford was held by four Trinity graduates, all of whom possessed excellent academic qualifications. All had been Scholars and Fellows, one a Prizeman, two had graduated Wranglers and another had been Junior Dean, Junior Bursar and Senior Proctor.

The clerical standards of these academic parsons were not high, but by contemporary standards could not have been considered to be anything out of the ordinary. While John Cranke, instituted in 1798, was so subject to fits that he had been unable to preach during his eighteen year incumbency, his curate John Harriman maintained the accustomed frequency of services; two services on Sunday with sermons at both, the Holy Sacrament administered five times a year and weekday services on Saint's days only.

His successor, James Blackburn, had been refused Ordination by Barrington, and only took Orders as a result of the Bishop of Lincoln's lower standards.² A pluralist, Blackburn was Vicar of Romaldkirk and non-resident, living in the household of the Earl of Strathmore as Domestic Chaplain.³ By 1856 the

1. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.127.

2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers. See also Armstrong, "Barrington", p.245.

3. UL. Barrington correspondence. MSS. 2742074E4. MS. letter Blackburn to Barrington, 9 March, 1818. No.50.

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was being administered six times a year, but while the population of the parish had increased from just over 5,000 souls in 1801 to 7,348 in 1851, there had been no corresponding increase in the number of communicants as indicated below:

Figure 14

<u>Average number of communicants</u>					
<u>1774</u> ¹	<u>1792</u> ¹	<u>1810</u> ¹	<u>1814</u> ¹	<u>1832</u> ²	<u>1856</u> ¹
Unknown	35	40	40	Unknown	40

4. The Performance of Clerical Duties

An assessment of clerical performance in all classes of preferment: e.g. preaching, visiting, teaching, and the giving of religious counsel and advice, can only be subjective and should therefore be approached with caution. However, a quantitative analysis can be based on the frequency of the administration of the Holy Sacrament, an area said by Sykes to have drawn upon the Hanoverian Church more criticism and disfavour than any other.³

The customary eighteenth century practice was four Sacrament Sundays each year, on the three great festivals and in autumn following the harvest. This is borne out by Archbishop Herring's visitation of 1743, and by the results of a similar survey made in Oxfordshire for the year 1778, where it was found that in 126 parishes out of 156 examined, the Holy Sacrament was administered a maximum of four times a year.⁴

In Durham where eighty-five parishes were surveyed in the 1774 visitation, it is found that in only thirty-four cases was the Sacrament administered so infrequently, and that in fifty-one or 60% of the total, Communion was celebrated five times a

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitation, Gainford.
2. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, Gainford.
3. Sykes, Church and State, p.250.
4. McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.80.

year, and by 1814 this figure increased to 68.6% out of eighty-nine cures examined. No figures have survived for the second or third decades of the nineteenth century, but by 1856 nearly 77% of the parishes in the County celebrated Holy Communion five or more times a year, and in 33% of the benefices examined the frequency was more than ten times p.a. The table below presents a breakdown of these percentages and is followed by a more comprehensive analysis of the same figures.¹

Figure 15
Total instances of Sacrament Sundays in
the Archdeaconry

Celebra- tions p.a.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	20	24	28
1774		1	6	27	15	8	2	6	1						1	15	2		1		
1792	1	2	7	19	29	7	2	1	1			1		1	5	9	3		1		
1814			5	23	8	1	5							3	6	9	3	1			
1856 ²		1	1	18	14	18	4	5	3	2	15	2	3							1	1

Instances of Sacrament Sundays in
Episcopal Parishes

Celebra- tions p.a.	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	12	13	14	15	16	17	20	24
1774		2	4	6		1	1	1				11		1	
1792	1	5	6	4		2				2	3	3	3	1	
1814		3	1	5					1			9			1
1856		8	2	7		1		3	2	1		17			1

1. Figures derived from the 1774, 1792, 1810, 1814 and 1857 Episcopal Visitations.
2. These figures contrast with Oxfordshire where in 1856 ten parishes continued to hold four annual celebrations, another twenty-one reported five or six while at least monthly became the rule for the remainder. McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.87.

Capitular parishes

Celebrations p.a.	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	12	13	14	15	16
1774	2	6	3	1			1		1			3
1792		1	4	1		1	1					4
1814		6	5	2		1						1
1856		2	6	1	1	2	2	1		1		7

Lay parishes

Celebrations p.a.	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12	14	16	17
1774	1	6	7	1	2						3	1
1792		2	2	2		1	1		3		7	
1814	1	7	6	5						1	2	
1856		2	1	5		2		1	6	1	8	

Crown parishes

Celebrations p.a.	3	4	5	7	8	10	12	16
1774		5						
1792			1		1	1	1	1
1814	1		3					1
1856		1			1	1	1	1

Of particular interest is the frequency of Communion Services in those Capitular cures held by Minor Canons.¹

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774, 1814 Episcopal Visitation.

Figure 161774

<u>Minor Canon</u>	<u>Benefices held</u>	<u>Resident</u>	<u>Resident curate</u>	<u>Comm. p.a.</u>
Deason, James	Pittington V. Fordwich R.	No "	Yes "	4 Unknown
Dennis, Samuel	South Shields P.C.	"	"	16
Drake, Thomas	St. Mary-le-Bow R. Bedlington V.	Yes No	No Yes	5
Gelson, Ralph	Kirk Merrington V.	"	"	6
Hayes, Thomas	St. Oswald V.	Yes	No	16
Hornsby, Nicholas ¹	Dalton-le-Dale V.	No	Yes	5
Wheeler, John	Croxdale P.C. St. Margaret P.C. Esh P.C. Satley P.C.	No Yes No No	Yes No Yes Yes	4 16 3 2
Viner, Samuel ²	Heighington V.	"	"	8

1814

Clarke, John ³	Billingham V.	No	Yes	8
Fothergill, James	Dalton-le-Dale V.	"	"	5
Gamlen, Samuel	Pittington V.	"	No ⁴	8
George, Patrick ⁵	Kirk Merrington V.	"	Yes	6
Haslewood, Dickens	Aycliffe V. St. Mary-the-Less R.	" Yes	" No	5 3
Hayes, Thomas	St. Oswald V.	Yes	No	15
Hayes, William	Monk Hesledon	"	"	5
Viner, Samuel	Croxdale P.C. Heighington V. Stannington	No " Unkn.	Yes " Unkn.	4 6 Unkn.

1. Also assistant curate of Pittington.

2. Assistant curate of Witton Gilbert and St. Mary-the-Less.

3. Also assistant curate of Witton Gilbert.

4. Served his cure from Durham.

5. Also assistant curate of Bishop Middleham.

The standards of duty, as illustrated, varied in all classes of patronage throughout this period. The 1774 Episcopal Visitation notes the assistant curate at Stanhope, officiating on behalf of the non-resident Rector Thomas Thurlow, celebrating Communion but six times a year, while the Bishop of Oxford's curate at Sedgefield administered the same twenty times p.a.. In that year the incumbents of two of the poorest cures in the County, Staindrop and St. John's Sunderland, each managed seventeen celebrations a year.¹

At Elwick Hall in 1814, where the Rector Richard Richardson resided but four months a year, the sacrament was administered only three times a year, this in spite of there being a curate who "resided 150 yards from the church". George Stanley Faber, Rector of Long Newton and one of only two known beneficed Evangelicals in the Archdeaconry could manage only six Communion services a year,² and George Townsend Fox the other known Evangelical celebrated the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper only once a month, this at a time, 1856, when so many of his brethren were averaging at least sixteen such services a year.³

Extremes in clerical behaviour were found within the Archdeaconry, as they were in every other county in England and Wales. Individuals such as Cranke, already discussed, and William Gordon, blind and non-resident who only officiated at one Sunday service in thirty-three years, served alongside James Topham who was reputed not to have left his parish for a period longer than twenty-four hours during the term of his

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1. Thomas Hall a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, P.C. of St. John's received £67 p.a. Peter Fisher, a non-graduate had been officiating minister of Staindrop for fifty-seven years. His income was £62 p.a.
 2. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1814 Episcopal Visitation, Elwick Hall: Long Newton.
 3. Ibid., 1857 Episcopal Visitation.

twenty-eight year ministry.¹ One of the most illustrious parsons in the County was the Rev. Robert Gray whose advancement came through the assistance of his uncle, Robert Gray, Rector of Bishopwearmouth, and as a result of his orthodox stand while serving as assistant curate in his uncle's parish against the Sunderland Unitarians.²

Presented by Barrington to the Rectory of Sunderland in 1819, Gray³ worked with no thought for himself amongst a population of over 14,700 persons, of whom over 2,100 were Wesleyan Methodists, and where there were thirteen dissenting Chapels plus a Catholic Chapel and a Jewish Synagogue.⁴ In the parish church he made additional seating arrangements for the poor and established an evening lecture, while at St. John's Chapel he held two full Sunday services where previously there had been only one. Out of his personal income he provided two assistant curates and with the co-operation of his uncle he founded a subscription school in which he also performed services. In 1834 he established an infant school.⁵

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1. He also originated the Sunday School C.1795. H. D. R. Pritchett, History of the Parish Church of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, (Darlington, 1924), p.43.
 2. William Brockie, Sunderland Notables: Natives, Residents and Visitors, (Sunderland, 1894), p.107.
 3. He was the second of four related Robert Grays to have held an Archdeaconry cure. The Rector of Sunderland's son, Robert, became assistant curate of Winston. The fifth son of the Rector of Bishopwearmouth, also named Robert, was P.C. of Whitworth 1835-45, V. of Stockton-on-Tees 1845-7 and Bishop of Cape Town, 1847-72.
 4. Numbered among them were: three Wesleyan Chapels, one Methodist New Connection Chapel, two Scottish Presbyterian Chapels, two Baptist Chapels, and one Unitarian, one Quaker, one Independent, one Burgher, and one Presbyterian secessionist chapel.
 5. A Memorial Sketch of the Life of the Late Rev. Robert Gray, M.A., Rector of the Parish and Perpetual Curate of St. John's Chapel, Sunderland, compiled from various communications of the Editor of the Sunderland Beacon to which is added an Appendix containing all the particulars connected with the Public Proceedings in consequence of His Lamented Death, (Sunderland, 1838), p.13.

Gray maintained a strenuous schedule:

"On the Sabbath, he had two full services at the church and also at St. John's Chapel, and in the afternoon a catechetical lecture at St. John's Chapel for the young people attending Sunday School. On Monday evening, at seven o'clock, he had a lecture, in the Vine Street School, and at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 8, he had a lecture in the vestry of the Parish Church for young men. Tuesday morning, at 9.00, he gave a lecture to young women and at 4.00 in the afternoon he attended at the workhouse to impart religious instruction to the poor inmates Wednesday morning there were prayers at the church, and in the evening a full service at half past 6.00. Friday morning prayers at the church; and to all these numerous public ministrations must be added, a constant and systematic visitation of the sick and afflicted The Baptisms, public and private, the marriages and funerals, were, in the midst of such a populous parish, an incessant course of labour".

During the cholera and typhus outbreaks of 1831-32 he conscientiously visited the sick of all denominations, and when he fell ill in February 1838 prayers were offered on his behalf in most of the dissenting chapels. His death on 11 February, 1838 at the age of fifty-one was said to have plunged the whole population into mourning. The funeral took place on 20 February and contemporary accounts estimated that over twenty thousand persons assembled for the occasion, and that upwards of seven hundred principal inhabitants of the town walked six abreast in a procession which included fourteen dissenting ministers.¹

Possessing the right of presentation to seventy-six Ecclesiastical offices in the Archdeaconry, and indirectly influencing appointments to twelve others, the conservative Bishop and Chapter of Durham dominated the patronage system, with the result that the Archdeaconry was well in the pocket

1. Brockie, Sunderland Notables, p.114. For those present in the funeral procession see Chapter Appendix G.

of the High Church party. Appointees such as Burgess, Gray, Paley, Edward South Thurlow, Thorp, George Barrington, Charles Egerton, Phillpotts, Kennicott and Townsend¹ were the focal points of clerical conservatism and, supported as they were by the corpus of inferior clergy, it is not surprising to note an absence, throughout this period, of party strife.

The few Evangelical Societies which existed in the County in the main had been founded by laymen, and like the branches of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., enjoyed little support from the parochial clergy.² In addition, with Barrington's death, official recognition of such societies seems to have been withdrawn. In 1842, with four branches of the Church Missionary Society having already been founded, Thorp in his official capacity as the Bishop's Vicar voiced public opposition to "their perambulating preachers".³

"The London Committies have made most inconvenient encroachment upon diocesan administration by sending forth persons to preach and collect money, without the authority or even knowledge of the Ordinary; to the manifest disturbance of parochial system, and the injury of the cause they wish to promote We must remember that the Canons,⁴ to which we owe obedience, prohibit preaching without the production of letters of orders; and that the names of strange preachers are to be regularly inserted by the church-wardens in a register to be kept for that purpose".

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1. Losh had been acquainted with both Townsend and Gray. His assessment of the latter was that he was an "amiable and friendly man, but bigotted and narrow minded as to religion and politics". Of Townsend he wrote, "the honest bigotry of our host was very amusing". Losh, Diary, Vol.II, pp.48 and 85.
 2. Addressing the clergy of the Officiality and Archdeaconry in 1838 Thorp remarked that: "The Diocesan Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had fallen into decay, and an effort is now being made to revive it The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has never received the support which the magnificence of its objects and the wisdom of its proceedings entitle it".
 3. UL. Add. tracts, F.IV. 61., Charles Thorp, Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham and to the Officiality of the Dean and Chapter, (Durham, 1843), No.12. Hereafter, Charge.
 4. 50th and 52nd.

In their support of religious societies Thorp suggested that "We cannot render ourselves to every Society, which piety and zeal may propose to our acceptance: whilst those have superior claim upon churchmen which are most closely connected with the Church; that our effort in this and in every cause must be united in order to be effective".¹

The parochial clergy were not sympathetic towards Egangelicalism, neither did they become involved in Anglo-Catholic disputes. Both Townsend and Thorp publicly cautioned the clergy against the Tractarian movement. In 1838 Townsend published his Charge to the Clergy of Allertonshire in which he warned against the "errors of a publication entitled a Tract for the times, No.80",² while Thorp, in two successive Charges, 1842, and 1843, called for clerical moderation noting the "importance foolishly attached to symbols, crosses, vestments and ceremonies" which "are things of so much indifference scarcely worth an argument or a thought"³

There is evidence of only one Archdeaconry clergyman to have been ejected from his cure for ritualistic practices,⁴ and such was the discipline which prevailed amongst the County's clergy that Maltby was able to remark in 1845:⁵

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1. UL. Add. tracts, F.V. 61. Edward Maltby, A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, (London, 1843). Hereafter, Charge.
 2. UL. Add. tracts, F.VI. 63. George Townsend, A Charge to the Clergy of the Peculiar of Allerton and Allertonshire, (London, 1838), No.8.
 3. Thorp, op.cit., 1843.
 4. John Thurlow, A Sermon by the Rev. John Thurlow, A.M. Curate of Herrington, (Durham, 1840). See p.54 below.
 5. Thorp, Charge, 1845.

"It is a source of real satisfaction to me, and it reflects no little credit upon you, my Reverend Brethren, that, while some other Dioceses have been convulsed with heart burnings and divisions, consequent upon the introduction - The unnecessary introduction, as I continue to think - of obsolete usages; the Diocese of Durham has been very little agitated by such occasions of discord"

APPENDIX ALay patronage¹1774

Billingham V.	Robert Fenwick
Brancepeth R.	Robert Shafto
Castle Eden P.C.	Rowland Burdon
Chester-le-Street P.C.	Sir Ralph Milbanke & William Jolliffe
Cockfield R.	Lord Darlington
Darlington P.C.	Lord Darlington
St. Giles, Durham P.C.	John Tempest
St. Nicholas, Durham P.C.	John Tempest
Elton R.	Mark Shafto (2 turns) and Ann Jefferson (1 turn)
Hamsterly P.C.	Owners of Witton Castle
Heworth P.C.	William Hargrave, Henry Ellison, Sir Thomas Clavering, Bart, Wm. Montagu
Hunstanworth P.C.	Lord Chief Baron Ord
Hurworth R.	Tristram Hogg
Jarrow P.C.	William Hargrave, Henry Ellison, Sir Thomas Clavering, Bart., William Montagu
Lamesley P.C.	Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, Bart.
Middleton-St.-George R.	Robert Killinghall
Monkwearmouth P.C.	Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart
Seaham V.	Mary Robinson
Staindrop V.	Lord Darlington
Stranton V.	Matthew White
St. John's, Sunderland P.C.	John Thornhill
Tanfield P.C.	Woodifield Beckwith
Trimdon P.C.	William Beckwith
Winlaton	Ambrose Crowley
Witton-le-Wear P.C.	Owners of Witton Castle

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation.

1856¹

Brancepeth R.	R. D. Shafto
Castle Eden P.C.	Rowland Burdon
Chester-le-Street P.C.	Lady Byron and Charles Jolliffe
Cockfield R.	Duke of Cleveland
Coundon P.C.	Owners of Witton Castle
Crook P.C.	R. D. Shafto
St. Cuthbert's, Darlington P.C.	Duke of Cleveland
St. Giles, Durham P.C.	Marquis of Londonderry
St. Nicholas, Durham P.C.	Marquis of Londonderry
Eighton Banks P.C.	Lord Ravensworth
Elton R.	J. S. Sutton & J. and T. Hogg
Hamsterly P.C.	Owners of Witton Castle
Christ Church, Hartlepool P.C.	Ralph Ward Jackson
Heworth P.C.	Cuthbert Ellison, Sr. Wm. Clavering, Bart., and T. D. Brown
Hunstanworth P.C.	Rev. D. Capper
Hurworth R.	Rev. R. H. Williamson
Jarrow P.C.	Cuthbert Ellison, et al.
Lamesley P.C.	Lord Ravensworth
Middleton-St.-George R.	Owner of the Killinghall's Manor, H. A. J. Cocks
Monkwearmouth, P.C.	Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart
Seaham V.	Marquis of Londonderry
St. John's, Seaham Harbour	Marquis of Londonderry
Seaton Carew	Mrs. Elizabeth Lawson
Staindrop	Duke of Cleveland
Stranton V.	Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart.
Tanfield P.C.	Lord Ravensworth
Trimdon P.C.	Col. Beckwith
Witton-le-Wear P.C.	Owners of Witton Castle

1. AC.Episcopal MSS. 1857 Episcopal Visitation; Crockford's, 1860.

APPENDIX BEpiscopal patronage1774¹

St. Andrew, Auckland P.C.
 St. Anne, Auckland P.C.
 St. Helen, Auckland P.C.
 Bishopwearmouth R.
 Boldon R.
 Coniscliffe V.
 Craike¹ R.
 Easington R.
 Egglescliffe V.
 Elwick Hall R.
 Escomb P.C.
 Gateshead R.
 Haughton-le-Skerne R.
 Houghton-le-Spring R.
 Kelloe V.
 Lanchester P.C.
 Longnewton R.
 Medomsley P.C.
 Norton V.
 Redmarshall R.
 Ryton R.
 Sedgefield R.
 Stockton V.

Sunderland R.
 Washington R.
 Whickham R.
 Winston R.
 Wolsingham R.

1856²

Gateshead Fell R.
 Etherley
 Shildon
 Stockton, Holy Trinity
 Hetton-le-Hole
 Rainton
 Collierley, St. Thomas
 Deptford, St. Andrew
 Byers Green
 Hylton
 Ryhope

Patronage transferred to Bishop

Penshaw
 Sadberge
 Satley
 St. John's, Sunderland

Alternate Episcopal and Crown patronage

Benfieldside
 Darlington, St. John
 Monkwearmouth, All Saints
 Stella, St. Cuthberts

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation.

2. Ibid., 1857 Episcopal Visitation: Crockford's, 1860.

APPENDIX CCapitular patronage1774¹

Aycliffe V.
 Croxdale P.C.
 Dalton-le-Dale V.
 Dinsdale R.
 St. Margaret's, Durham P.C.
 St. Oswald's, Durham V.
 Edmondbyers R.
 Heighington V.
 Kirk Merrington V.
 Monk Hesledon V.
 Muggleswick P.C.
 Pitlington V.
 South Shields P.C.
 Whitworth P.C.
 Witton Gilbert P.C.
 Wolviston P.C.

1856²

Ferryhill
 Holy Trinity, South Shields
 St. Stephens, South Shields
 Billingham³ V.
 Shincliffe V.
 Southwick
 Shadforth

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation.
 2. Ibid., 1857 Episcopal Visitation, Crockford's, 1860.
 3. At an unknown date between 1792 and 1810 the patronage of the vicarage became vested in the Dean and Chapter presumably as a result of their possessing the rectorial tithes of that parish. See 1774 and 1792 Episcopal Visitations.

APPENDIX DParochial patronage1774¹

Archdeacon of Northumberland:	St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham R.
Vicar of Gainford:	Barnard Castle P.C. Denton P.C. Whorlton P.C.
Rector of Haughton-le-Skerne:	Sadberge P.C.
Rector of Houghton-le-Spring:	Penshaw P.C.
Perpetual Curate of Lanchester:	Esh P.C. Satley P.C.
Rector of Middleton-in-Teesdale:	Eggleson P.C. Harwood Chapel of Ease
Rector of Sedgefield:	Embleton Chapel of Ease

1856²

Archdeacon of Durham:	Holy Trinity, Darlington P.C.
Archdeacon of Northumberland:	St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham R.
Rector of Bishopwearmouth:	Hendon District
Perpetual Curate of Castle Eden:	Wingate Grange
Perpetual Curate of Chester-le-Street:	Birtley Pelton
Rector of Easington:	South Hetton Shotton
Vicar of Gainford:	Barnard Castle P.C. Denton P.C. Whorlton P.C.
Perpetual Curate of Hamsterly:	Lynsack
Perpetual Curate of Heworth:	St. Alban, Heworth
Vicar of Kelloe:	Thornley
Perpetual Curate of Lanchester:	Esh P.C.
Rector of Middleton-in-Teesdale:	Eggleson Harwood and Forest
Rector of Sedgefield:	Embleton
Perpetual Curate of South Shields:	Westoe P.C.
Vicar of Staindrop:	Ingleton

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation.

2. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1857 Episcopal Visitation; Crockford's, 1860.

Rector of Stanhope:

Eastgate
Heathery Cleugh
Rookhope

Rector of Washington

Usworth

Rector of Wolsingham

Thornley P.C.

APPENDIX ECrown Patronage1774¹

Bishop Middleham V.	Lord Chancellor
St. Mary-the-Less, Durham	
Hart V.	
Hartlepool P.C.	" "
Middleton-in-Teesdale R.	
Stainton-le-Street	" "

1856²

Crown and Bishop Alt.
 St. John's Darlington
 Benfieldside
 All Saints, Monkwearmouth
 Stella, St. Cuthbert's

Patronage in the possession of Hospital Corporations1774 and 1856^{1 & 2}

Bishopton)	}	Master and Brethren of Sherburn Hospital
Ebchester R.		
Grindon V.		
Sockburn		
Greatham V.		Master and Brethren of Greatham Hospital

Collegiate patronage1774 and 1856Gainford V.²

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation.
 2. Ibid., 1857 Episcopal Visitation; Crockford's, 1860.

APPENDIX F

Collection of manuscript letters and documents
relating to an application from the Minor Canons
for increased stipends found amongst the Episcopal
MSS. in Auckland Castle

I

Minor Canons to the Bishop of Durham (Auckland Castle) Durham,
28 July, 1826.

My Lord,

We, the undersigned Minor Canons of the Cathedral Church of Durham, humbly solicit your Lordship's attention to a correspondence which has taken place between the Dean and Chapter and us, on the subject of an increase of the salary attached to our office. No.1. Our Petition: No.2. The Dean and Chapter's reply, denying the necessity of an augmentation: No.3. A Statement which this reply obliged us to make in our own justification: No.4. The final answer of the Dean and Chapter: No.5. A notice of this reference.

We beg to state that we do not appear before your Lordship as individuals, but as, in effect, the Body recognised by the Statutes: For, we are the entire number upon whom all the duties of Minor Canons have long fallen - We are the entire Number who are subject to the inconvenience and expense of livings in Durham, and maintaining curates on our Benefices - our two absent Brethren having, for several years, retired from Cathedral duties, and resided on their livings, under a sense of the inadequacy of their salaries as Minor Canons.

While we deeply regret the necessity imposed upon us of adopting the present measure by the entire rejection of the prayer of our petition, coupled with a censure of the manner of conducting our addresses to the Dean and Chapter, which we are unconscious of having deserved, we cannot but feel perfectly assured that our case will receive from your Lordship a candid and Equitable consideration.

P. Penson Precentor
Jn. Clarke
P. George

T. Ebdon
W. S. Temple
J. Miller

II

Durham, 26 October, 1825.

To The Very Reverend the Dean and the
Reverend the Chapter of Durham

We the undersigned Minor Canons of the Cathedral Church of Durham, beg leave most respectfully and earnestly, to solicit the attention of the very Reverend the Dean and The Revd. The Chapter to the Salary at present attached to our office, a salary altogether inadequate to the support of our Station in society as clergymen, and which we have good reason to believe, we will also appear, upon fair and liberal considerations of the case, to be very far below what in justice we ought to enjoy.

Placed as we are under the protection of those of our own profession, it was natural for us to hope that our situation would have attracted some degree of favourable regard, without any solicitation on our part. The length of time during which we have silently borne the inconveniences of our condition affords sufficient proof how strongly that hope has been cherished by us, and how reluctantly we have yielded to the necessity of adopting the present measure.

Signed

P. Penson Precentor
Jn. Clarke
P. George

J. Ebdon
W. S. Temple
J. Miller

III

Received 5 December, 1825.

The Dean and prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Durham received and considered with due attention, a petition addressed to them by six of the Minor Canons, and without meaning in any degree to under value the merits or the services of that respectable body, they are of the opinion that under all circumstances an augmentation of their salary is not at present necessary.

The aforesaid Minor Canons are desired to recollect that their salary is not the only emolument which they enjoy under the Chapter, and adverting to this circumstance as well as to the augmentations of their stipend that have been made at different periods according to the exigences (sic) of the times, the Dean and Prebendaries cannot refrain from expressing their surprise and their regret that the Minor Canons should have used the Language of complaint, as if they were deprived of their just rights and neglected by those who ought to protect them.

The Prebendaries wish also to take this opportunity of observing that the Dean is the proper channel of communication between them and the Minor Canons, and that any proposition which the Minor Canons may be desirous of making, ought in the first instance to be communicated to him in order that he may submit it to the consideration of the Chapter.

IV

Durham, 15 December, 1825

To the Very Reverend the Dean and the Reverend the Chapter of Durham.

We the undersigned Minor Canons perceive with sincere regret the misunderstanding which appears to exist with regard to some expressions contained in that petition. Nothing could be further from our intention than to give offence, in any degree, to the Dean and Chapter by employing the language of unreasonable complaint.

The answer which the Dean and Chapter have been pleased to give contains an implied charge of ingratitude, and of either ignorance, or misrepresentation of our real condition - a charge which imperiously requires that we, lay before the Dean and Chapter a statement of the grounds upon which we felt ourselves justified in making an application, at this time, for an increase of salary.

We are informed by the answer to our petition that an increase of salary does not seem to be necessary - that augmentation does not seem to be necessary - that augmentations have been made suited to the exigences of the times - and we are desired to recollect that our salary is not the only emolument which we enjoy under the Dean and Chapter.

We are aware that our duty is to avoid as much as possible, discussion with the Dean and Chapter. At all events it is our wish to avoid it. We will not therefore presume to enquire, as a general question, how far an increase of salary may not always be necessary (the salary being insufficient) when the fundamental Statutes of a body require that those who are connected with that body should be properly maintained. But we will confine ourselves to a simple statement of what the nature and extent of the emoluments attached to our office were intended to be - what the equitable and liberal view is which ought to be and has been taken of the subject - and how far the changes in our provision have corresponded with the change of times -

1st. As to the provisions intended to belong to our office. According to the Statutes the Minor Canons were to be provided with Lodgings, and there can be no doubt that they occupied these lodgings until the commencement of the civil wars. We are aware that, during that unhappy period, the Minor Canon's Houses, as well as the other buildings connected with the Cathedral Church, suffered great dilapidations, and, in some instances, were entirely ruined. But we have distinct proof that, immediately after the Restoration, the Minor Canons had actually four houses: a fifth was secured, and an assurance given that the whole number should be speedily completed (answer to Bp. Cosin's queries Basire's MSS.) The Minor Canons, then, had, or were to have, houses. They had, also,

by the Statutes, maintenance, attendance, and a salary - when Charles the Second, in his first year, after the Restoration, ordered that an augmentation of the Salaries of the Minor Canons, school masters and lay clerks should be made, by the appropriation of lands or tithes to the amount of two hundred pounds a year at least. This, which was a mere augmentation of salary, would, if now enjoyed by us, have raised that part of our emoluments alone, exclusive of houses, maintenance and attendance, to more than two hundred a year: i.e. to more than double the amount of a Minor Canon's salary at the present day. For if the statutable allowances in money of £6-2- be converted into an equivalent sum at present, it will be necessary to multiply it by 20, which will make it amount to £122-0-0 and a Minor Canon's share of Charles 2nds Augmentation £14-5- which should be multiplied by 10, but taken only nine times equal to £128-5

Making a total for salary of	£250-5-0
If to this be added for a house	50-0-0
For maintenance and attendance	100-0-0
	£400-5-0

The whole emoluments of a Minor Canonry upon this view of the question will be

As a Mode by which the fairness of the above calculation may be ascertained, we beg leave to suggest that a comparison of the present average value of lands or tithes, or of the general revenues of the Church, with the corresponding values during the times of Phillip and Mary and of Charles 2nd will furnish a scale by which it may be very easily and fairly adjusted. This the Dean and Chapter are alone enabled to ascertain.

2nd.

By the Statute of Corrections of the Church it is declared that - "The annual rents upon leases, and the fines upon renewals were to be applied to the common use of the church, and not to be converted to the private use or profit of the Dean and Chapter, or that of any of them whether present or absent" Bishop Cosin in his Visitation in 1665 says "As the stipends of the petty Canons, allotted by Statute, are about one third of the stipends of Prebendaries, and both one and the other are allotted to be paid out of the revenues and rents of the Church, which being all leased out upon fines ought, in equity, to be proportionally allowed, as well to the augmentation of the Petty Canons and lay singing men, as of the Prebendaries etc." Basire's MSS.¹

3rd

But, we are desired to recollect that our Salary is not the only emolument which we enjoy under the Dean and Chapter. We cannot allow ourselves to understand this admonition to have a reference to the livings which we hold. For, we dare not even imagine that the Dean and Chapter would employ property, set apart for the sacred purposes of the cure of souls elsewhere

1. Found in the Dean and Chapter Library within the Hunter collection of seventeenth century manuscripts. For Isaac Basire see D.N.B., Vol.III, pp.356-8.

as a means of relieving the funds of the Cathedral Church of Durham from any part of the burden of those salaries and allowances which, by the Statutes, are affixed to certain of the officers. Nor can we conceive that the possession of a living ought, in common justice, to be made a ground for reducing our salary and other allowances below their full amount, when it is evident that the Statutes, in allotting that salary, and those allowances, at the same time expressly contemplates the union of a living with the office of Minor Canon. Certain other emoluments must, then, be alluded to: and we confess that we are at a loss to know what these can be. The only offices enjoyed by members of our body are those of Precentor, Sacrist, Gospeller and Epistoler. But the two former of these must, according to the Statutes be held by Minor Canons, and a distinct salary is attached to each. The Gospeller and Epistoler were not to be Minor Canons, but distinct Ministers maintained by the Church. The number of Minor Canons, according to the Statutes, is twelve the actual number is eight, and the efficient number those six who signed the petition, and who now sign this statement. The saving to the Dean and Chapter from the nonappointment of four Minor Canons, and of a Gospeller and Epistoler, must be considerable; but the emoluments resulting from the change, which extended to only two of our body, amount to no more than the very small sum of ten pounds to each We have no houses, no allowance for maintenance - no allowances for attendance. One situation, that of Librarian to the Dean and Chapter, usually enjoyed by a Minor Canon, and, as it would seem by the Statutes, entitled to the office of Sacrist, has been given to another person. The late Curate's Bill has reduced our livings one half in value, while the Dean and Chapter have taken no effectual means to relieve us. The most valuable of the livings which has formerly been enjoyed by members of our body, have been withheld from us.¹ And, we must be permitted, further, to add, that a reduction of salary is invariably consequent on our presentation to even the livings which we are still allowed to hold, however small their value may be. If a junior is preferred, twenty pounds per annum are deducted. On becoming a Senior, a second deduction takes place, of thirty pounds per annum: so that, contrary to the usage in all other situations, as far as we know, seniority and length of service are, in our case, attended by a diminution, instead of an increase of salary.

The above statement of what our condition is, and of what it was intended to be, has, we repeat, been forced from us: but, having made it, we are not afraid to submit it to any authority whatever. We now present it respectfully to the very Reverend the Dean and the Reverend the Chapter, not with the view of pointing to any precise sum which we hoped to receive, but as a vindication of our conduct, in petitioning, from every charge, either expressed or implied: and as affording evidence that our expectation of obtaining a more favourable answer was not formed without a good and reasonable foundation.

Signed:	P. Penson, Precentor	Thos. Ebdon
	Jn. Clark	W. S. Temple
	P. George	J. Miller

V

To the Revd. the Precentor.

Sir,

The Chapter unanimously desire me to say to you, for the information of those of the Minor Canons, who have signed a statement of their alleged claims upon the Chapter, that the principle upon which that statement is made, cannot be admitted: and they are sorry to add, that they are precluded from giving the subject any further consideration, whilst urged on such grounds, and in such a manner.

/Signed/

Charles Henry Hall

Dean of Durham

Chapter Room

20 July, 1826.

VI

Durham, 28 July, 1826.

To the Very Reverend the Dean
and the Reverend the Chapter.

We the undersigned Minor Canons of the Cathedral Church of Durham regret extremely that the very Reverend the Dean and the Reverend the Chapter have not only rejected our original petition, but also censured us for endeavouring to justify the hope we entertained of receiving a more favourable answer to its prayer.

We beg to repeat the assurance we have already given that nothing was further from our wish or intention than to present our petition in a form calculated to give offence. Our feelings towards the Dean and Chapter were of a very different character. But the situation in which we stood was one of a peculiarly delicate and difficult nature: for altho' we were petitioned, yet being members of a body recognized and provided for by the Statutes, we could not appear as mere objects of charity or bounty. On the other hand we are ready to believe that the case may be involved in equal difficulties peculiar to the situation in which the Dean and Chapter are placed, and to these, and not to any unkind feelings towards us, we are willing to ascribe the unfavourable answers we have received.

There is now, however, only one course left for us to pursue. We beg leave, therefore, to communicate to the Dean and Chapter, and we offer it solely as a communication which we conceive ourselves called upon in point of duty and respect to make/ our intention of laying before the Lord Bishop of Durham the correspondence which has passed between the very Revd. The Dean and the Revd. the Chapter and our Body.

/Signed/

P. Penson Precentor
Jn. Clarke
P. George

J. Ebdon
W. S. Temple
J. Miller

VII

Unsigned and undated letter appears to be from the Chapter and was sent to the Bishop in an effort to counter the Minor Canon's arguments.

My Lord,

Before we submit to your Lordship the reasons which induced us to reject the application of the Junior Canons for an increase of their salary, or make any observations on the particulars of the statements which they afterwards presented to us in support of it, we beg leave to assure your Lordship that our feeling towards them has been considerable with regard to their situation in our Church, and friendly in our intercourse with them, so that a fair proposition for their benefit was likely to be favourably received. We have been anxious to procure men of liberal education and good conduct more, we acknowledge, than to observe the direction of the Statutes that they should be *cantandi periti voce ut arte* contenting ourselves that the Precentor should be qualified to direct the other numbers of the choir - We have found, in this instance as in others, the difficulties which the changes of times and manners have produced with respect to a strict attention to their Statutes.

The last addition to their Salaries was made on the principle of the Statutes, and requires attendance at the Cathedral, which chiefly occasions the difference your Lordship will notice in the following amount of the sums respectively paid to them, last year.

Mr. Penson, the Precentor has the living of St. Oswald - which is of no inconsiderable value with a good house and garden, he is therefore very conveniently placed for a regular attendance at the Abbey, and performing the duties there which the Statutes require - his salary last year was £183:10:3. Mr. Hayes has the Living of Monk Hesledon. He has, as the Minor Canons inform your Lordship, withdrawn himself for several years from Cathedral duties under a sense of the inadequacy of his Salary. However Low it may be in the opinion of Mr. Hayes his brethren acknowledge that he does nothing for it -
it was £70

Mr. Clarke has the Living of Billingham. He resides in Durham, and serves the curacy of Witton Gilbert. We have given the living of Wolviston to his son - His salary was £143-19-6.

Mr. Gamlen has the Living of Heighington and the curacy of Croxdale; he has also, as is stated to your Lordship, withdrawn from his duties in the Cathedral

His salary was £70:2:1

Mr. George has the Living of Aycliffe. He resides in Durham, has the Curacy of St. Margaret and takes pupils - he is Bishop Cosin's Librarian.

His salary was -£75:1:4

Mr. Ebdon has the Living of Merrington, he resides in Durham - his salary was - £102:16:9

Mr. Temple has the Living of Dalton in the Dale, he resides in Durham. His salary was £130:5:10

Mr. Miller has the Living of Pittington, he resides in Durham and takes pupils his salary was £109:7:11

We have always regarded the preferments given to the Junior Canons to be a valuable consideration in the opinion of those who have sought the appointment. We have further shown our disposition towards those members of our Church, by occasionally giving Livings to them, to which they have retired; resigning the Minor Canonry. There are at this time five, among our best Livings, holden by those who have retired. And we hope your Lordship will not think we are likely to be unmindful of persons who are so connected with us when we add that we have given a valuable Living to the late Master of this School, and one to the late Under-Master and also one to each of the present masters.

The two junior Minor Canons were not accustomed to have Livings but Mr. Temple had one in the second year, and Mr. Miller had one in the same year of his appointment.

Our patronage consists of thirty Livings seventeen of them have been disposed of in this manner.

Our objection then to acquiesce in the application could not have arisen from inattention to their interests: but while we are careful to (remunerate all) who fulfill the duties of their stations in our Church, we feel it to be our duty to maintain our own, and to preserve the rights and privileges we have received, tho' we show kindness in the exercise of them. That we were not mistaken in the view we took of the application to the Chapter on the 20th of Novr. is plain by the subsequent statement drawn up by the Minor Canons in support of it to which we now request your Lordship's attention.

As we have in our answer, which is before your Lordship, noticed the manner in which the claim is urged, we necessarily refer to it, without meaning to detain you with any observations, being convinced that your Lordship will perceive it was made in such terms as left us no choice how it should be received.

The Minor Canons state that Bishop Cosin gave it as his opinion to Dr. Basire that the distribution of the revenues of

the church should be according to the proportion they have quoted. They strengthn that opinion by reminding us that he was a highly distinguished prelate. We are very willing to acknowledge his great[] in restoring the Church of Durham, and we are persuaded that if such had been his opinion, after mature consideration of its effect in all its bearings, and without impingment of the foundation Chapter, he would have used his powerful influenc^t with the Crown to have sanctioned, by the only form which the law allows alteration of the Statutes.

We have not examined whether the computation by the comparative value of money be correct because we resist the principle which would subvert all ancient usages, and all the ecclesiastical establishments, at least, of the county: observing only that it would equally apply to every stipend specified by the Statutes.

The order of King Charles the second in 1661 could not have been regarded by Bp. Cosin of authority, or he would not have failed to enforce it. It was as many others of those unsettled times, made without lawful sanction and not acted upon, as far as we are able to learn.

By the answer of the Chapter to the questions put to them by Bp. Cosin, it appears that the houses, which had formerly been occupied by the Minor Canons, were at that time under repair - and probably they were afterwards inhabited by them; how long they continued to be so is uncertain. But if they had been improperly dispossessed of them, we may presume, that they would not have been silent at the several visitations of Lord Crewe during his long episcopacy. There are no complaints, however, recorded either on account of the houses, or the non-compliance with the King's command, or the neglect of Bp. Cosin's opinion.

These disputes which had arisen concerning the statutes of the new foundations occasioned the Act of the Sixth of Anne which gave Bp. Talbot a better opportunity to be acquainted with all the circumstances connected with his visitational office before he exercised it in 1725. The questions which had call'd for that declaratory enactment, as well as the times, were favourable to his taking a just and comprehensive view of the whole matter, and the able and faithful manner in which he perform'd the important duty has caused him to be an authority of the highest value for the century past.

We suppose that the several documents are among the episcopal records. However well know they may be to your Lordship we shall stand excused for introducing such part of them, as, we think, will justify the line we have taken.

The 16th Article of Inquiry is 'Do you know any other things or thing besides those which are mentioned under the several heads of the foregoing articles that are ment to be engrosed into and enquired into, relating to the order, government, or discipline of this Church? or do you know any thing in the order, discipline; and constitution of this Church that needs new injunctions, or Statutes, or explanations of this sense and meaning of the present injunctions and statutes now in force'.

The Chapters answers to this article 'We humbly conceive that those things which chiefly want to be inquired into relating to the orders, government, and disciplines of this Church by your Lordship's great and kind leave of us, are specified and mentioned under the foregoing articles. We have indeed at present but seven minor canons but we expect that another will soon be here, and but eight lay clerks. In our justification we beg leave to observe that we have so largely augmented their salaries, far beyond what was allotted to the whole twelve by the Statutes, that they are now so sufficient encouragement for men excellently well qualified for the duty, and it was with pleasure we received the kind testimony that your Lordship gave to our case in that particular. The Epistolers and Gospeler's places are in themselves of so small revenue, that they were antiently (sic) and continue at present given to Minor Canons as a reward for their good behaviour, which we humbly conceive, tho' not enjoin'd, is not forbid by the Statutes. The houses of the Minor Canons are all but two destroyed, nor can we conveniently find places, in which we can build any in the college, now they are married and have families, tho' heretofore while single men, they could have proper lodgings provided for them; but in the augmentation of their salaries as regard has been had to their being obliged to hire habitations.

The Minor Canons and the lay clerks, in their presentment say, to this article "We have nothing to answer".

The Bishop in his injunctions makes no observations on the answer given by the Dean and Chapter.

As the Minor Canons have mention'd the Statute of corrections as favourable to them claim they should have stated that Bp. Talbot in those injunctions says "That the several additions and corrections are of uncertain and doubtful authority". We we look back on the many wise and good men, of sound judgement and discretion, who have presided over this See, as well as those who have been members of the Chapter since the Restoration, it appears (incredible) that injustice should have prevailed so long, on the rights of the respective orders in the Church have been so grossly misunderstood.

We will not further trouble your Lordship, than to repeat our assurance of unfeigned good will towards the Minor Canons, and of our willingness to promote their interest when it can be done with the general (wellfare) of our church.

The Minor Canons complain that the place of librarian which is by Statute annexed to the office of Sacrist has been given to and is now held by a gentleman who is not of their order.

If the Statute be understood to be so confined we must observe that it is one of those instances in which we hope a visitor will pardon ~~any~~ deviation. By the selection we made we had in view the essential benefit of the library which had been for years under the care of the two former Sacrists. Let it be enough for us to say that much was required to be done

when we appointed Mr. Raine.¹ We have a precedent for this in the case of Mr. Rudd the undermaster of the School who was librarian at the time of Bishop Talbot's visitation and Mr. Turner was Sacrist. Mr. Raine's appointment was well known to your Lordship's predecessor, who certainly did not signify his disapprobation.

1. James Raine, Rector of Meldon, Northumberland, Under Master at Durham Grammar School and Chapter Librarian from 1816.

VIII

MSS. note from the Bishop addressed to the Precentor and Minor Canons in answer to their communications in July, 1826.

"The Bishop of Durham presents his compliments to the Precentor and Minor Canons of Durham, and having perused the papers they left with him a few days ago, is of opinion that he cannot with propriety interfere in the matters to which they relate".

Auckland Castle August 18, 1826.

APPENDIX G

Order of Procession at the funeral
of the Rev. Robert Gray,
eighteen years Rector of Sunderland¹

Several Police Constables

Children of the National and Sabbath Schools
connected with the Church, Male and Female,
and their Teachers

Singers of Sunderland and St. John's
Chapel, Male and Female

Four Mutes
Undertaker and Plumber
Clerks - Mr. Renney, Mr. Heron, and Mr. Lord

Chaise, in which was the Rev. Joseph
Law and the Rev. William Webb, Curates
to the deceased.

Chaise - Dr. Clanny and Mr. E. Maling, Medical Attendants

Under- bearers	HEARSE	Under- bearers
1st Mourning Coach		
The Rev. R. Webster Mr. John Webster		The Rev. Charles Gray The Rev. Edward Gray
2nd Mourning Coach		
Mr. Christopher Webster Mr. Charles Webster		Mr. William Webster, Jun. Mr. H. Webster
3rd Mourning Coach		
Mr. Robert Maling, Mr. W. Webster, and the Rev. John Burdon		
Mr. Webster's Carriage, empty.		
Four Female, and two Male Servants of the deceased.		

The Magistrates of the Borough (the Worshipful the Mayor
being absent on official duties in London)

1. A Memorial Sketch of the Life of the Late Rev. Robert Gray,
pp.24-7.

Beadle of St. John's Chapel

Clergymen of the Church of England, in their Gowns, four abreast, amongst whom we observed
 The Rev. C. Perigal, of Ellingham; Rev. S. Gamlen, of Bossal, Yorkshire; Rev. Mr. Wright of Newcastle; Rev. R. Clayton, of Newcastle; Rev. W. Hanagan, of Houghton; Rev. C. Grant; Rev. A. S. Sandilands; Rev. J. Wilson; Rev. F. J. James; Rev. B. Kennicott; Rev. W. H. Bulmer, of Hylton; Rev. J. Hayton, of Ryhope; Rev. J. Carr, of South Shields; Rev. Thos. Dixon, of South Shields; Rev. John Collinson, of Gateshead; Rev. A. Wade, of Boldon; Rev. W. S. Temple; Rev. J. H. Brown, of Dalton-le-Dale; Rev. Isaac Todd, of Shincliffe; Rev. Mr. Greaves, of Seaham; Rev. H. Brown, of Houghton; Rev. W. Mark, of Tynemouth; Rev. W. Harrison of Hart, and several other Rev. Gentlemen, whose names we could not learn.

CLERGYMEN OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

Rev. Dr. Paterson; Rev. Dr. Wood; Rev. Mr. Scoular.

WESLEYAN MINISTERS

The Rev. Isaac Keeling; Rev. Mr. Jackson, and the Rev. Mr. Yates, with the Local Preachers, Leaders, Stewards, and other Official Members of the Wesleyan Society.

MINISTERS OF OTHER DENOMINATIONS

Rev. J. W. Richardson, Bethel Chapel; Rev. J. Muir, Union Chapel; Rev. J. Parker, Spring Garden-lane Chapel; Rev. S. Turner, Corn-market Chapel; Rev. S. Watkinson, Independent Chapel, Monkwearmouth, Rev. Mr. Johnson, Hamilton-street Chapel; Rev. Thomas Ridge, Zion Chapel; Rev. J. Cormack, Baptist Chapel.

Church and Chapel Wardens

Sidesmen

The Vestry Clerk - J. J. Wright, Esq.

Twenty-four Gentlemen of the Ancient Vestry, four abreast

Church Sunday School Teachers, four abreast.

The Session of the Church of Scotland, consisting of the Elders, Deacons, etc. of the respective Congregations in the neighbourhood, four abreast

Inhabitants of the Town, six abreast, consisting of from 6 to 700 of the most respectable individuals in the Borough.

GENTLEMEN'S CARRIAGES IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER:

The most Noble the Marquess of Londonderry
 Rev. N. J. Hollingsworth, West Boldon
 Dr. Clanny, Bishopwearmouth
 Walkers Featherstonhaugh, Esq., Bishopwearmouth Green
 Rowland Burdon, Esq., Castle Eden
 R. B. Cay, Esq., Bishopwearmouth
 Rev. Thomas Baker, Whitburn
 Richard Pemberton, Esq., Barnes
 Thomas Pemberton, Esq., Usworth
 Mrs. Hopper, Bishopwearmouth Green
 Addison Fenwick, Esq., Bishopwearmouth
 The Worshipful the Mayor
 J. Allison, Esq., Monkwearmouth
 William Bell, Esq., Pallion
 Hall
 J. J. Wright, Esq., Bishopwearmouth
 Richard White, Esq., Bishopwearmouth
 Richard Greenwell, Esq., Bishopwearmouth
 William Harrison, Esq., Fulwell
 Grange
 Philip Laing, Esq., Deptford House

THE MILITARY

The procession was flanked by a portion of the military stationed in Sunderland Garrison, viz, four companies of the 300th Infantry, under the command of Major Tongue. Having no regimental chaplain, the whole of the military had attended divine service, under the ministration of the deceased Rector and his Chaplains, and it is a pleasing circumstance that not one officer was absent. The men walked in single file, close order; and the remaining portion of the procession was flanked by police constables, as many as could be spared of that body having been directed by Superintendent Brown to proceed, by the more accessible route of Coronation-street, to the Church gates, to assist Inspector Hedley, and a detachment there, in preserving order, and prevent the Church from being occupied by the crowd before the arrival of the procession.

APPENDIX H¹

20 November, 1788

To the intent that no Difficulties or Disputes may be Occasioned by a completion of recommendations for any vacant Benefice in the Gift of the Dean and Chapter.

It is Proposed to be considered on the 20th July next, that whenever any Benefice distant more than 24 miles from Durham shall become vacant the Recommendation of a proper Person in Preference of all others shall be received in the following order

The Dean
6 Senior Prebends in their Order
of Admission

The Dean
6 Junior Prebends in their Order
of Admission

That the Dean and each Prebendary may wave his recommendation as often as he Pleases, which the next may, if he chuses avail himself of but whoever Recommends shall Descend to the Bottom of the List of rotation.

And should it happen that neither the Dean or any of the Prens. chuse to take the turn as a primary option of recommending it shall be Proposed as a secondary Option under the same conditions as above, but that a recommendation given as a secondary option, shall not affect the turn of the primary option, nor vice versa any Difficulty that may arise respecting the turn of either Dean or Preb to be Determined by the Majority of a Chapter present, so also as to the prosperity of the person recommended, who not being approved of another shall be nominated by him whose turn it is to recommend.

And it is the opinion of this Chapter that Livings should not be disposed or sealed but at the two Grand Chapters and the Michaelmas Chapter unless to prevent a Lapse, and then at an intermediate Chapter between the 20 November and 20 July".

The result of the Chapter's vote on the above proposal is as follows:²

-
1. PK. Post Dissolution loose papers, Box 14.
 2. Ibid.

For it

Samuel Dickens
Henry Egerton
Thomas Fothergill
Henry Francis Egerton

Against it

Mr. Nelson
Sr. Henry Vane, Bart

For further consideration

Charles Weston
Charles Poynty
John Sharp
Newton Ogle

The Archdeaconry of Durham in 1774 showing the
approximate location of parish churches
and indicating their designation

Chester Deanery

1. St. Oswald, Durham City V.
1. St. Margaret, Durham City
P.C.
2. Boldon
3. Chester-le-Street
4. Ebchester
5. Edmondbyers
6. Esh
7. Gateshead
8. Hunstanworth
9. Jarrow
10. Heworth
11. South Shields
12. Lamesley
13. Lanchester
14. Medomsley
15. Monkwearmouth
16. Muggleswick
17. Ryton
18. Winlaton
19. Satley
20. Tanfield
21. Washington
22. Whickham
23. Whitburn
24. Witton Gilbert
Kimblesworth R.
25. Blanchland

Easington Deanery

1. St. Mary-le-Bow,
Durham City P.C.
1. St. Mary-the-Less,
Durham City P.C.
1. St. Nicholas, Durham
City P.C.
26. St. Giles, Durham
City P.C.
27. Bishopwearmouth
28. Castle Eden
29. Croxdale
30. Dalton-le-Dale .
31. Easington
32. Houghton-le-Spring
33. Penshaw
34. Kelloe
35. Monk Hesledon
36. Pitlington
37. Seaham
38. Sunderland
39. St. John's Chapel
40. Trimdon

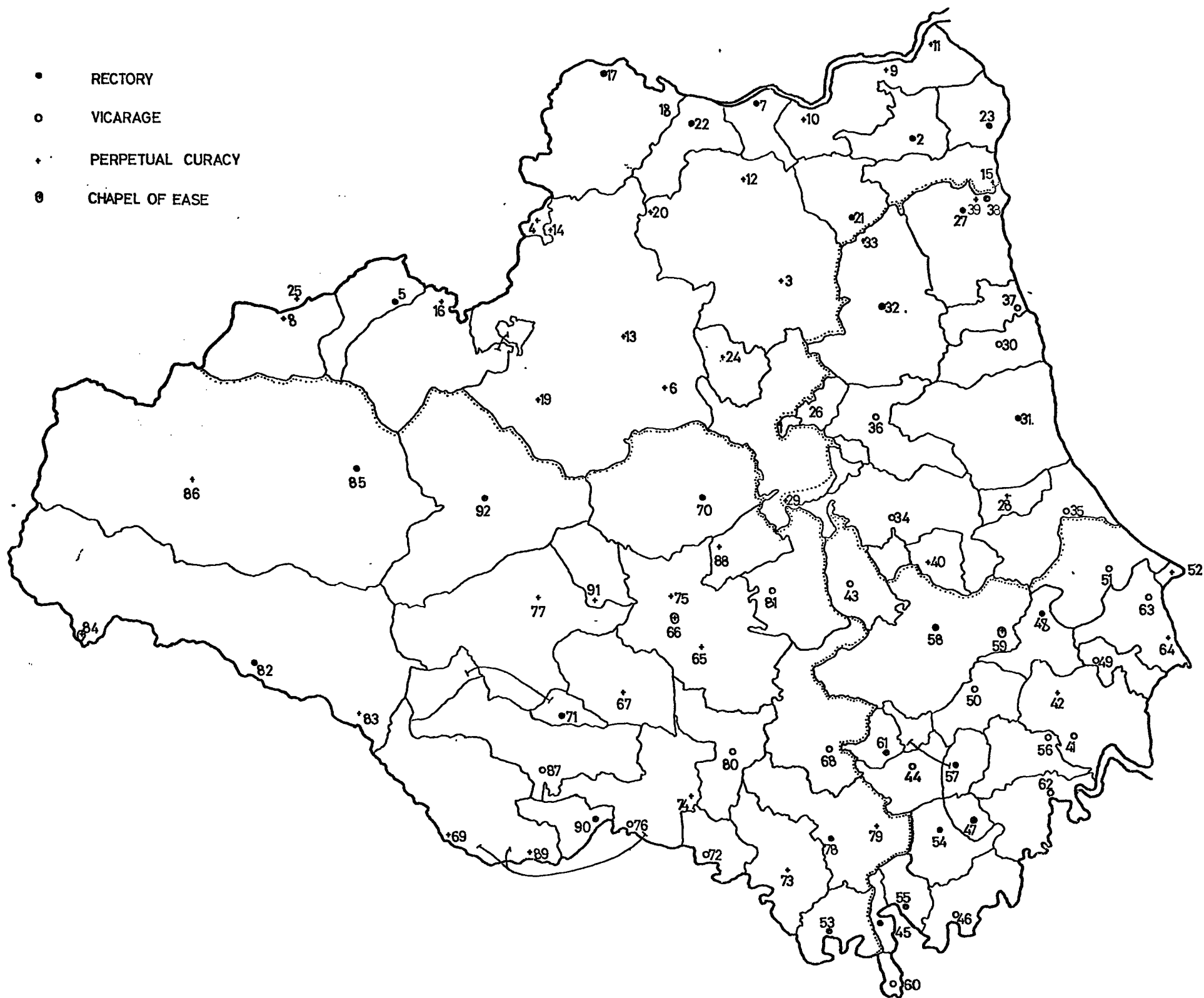
Stockton Deanery

41. Billingham
42. Wolviston
43. Bishop Middleham
44. Bishopton
45. Dinsdale
46. Egglescliffe
47. Elton
48. Elwick
49. Greatham
50. Grindon
51. Hart
52. Hartlepool
53. Hurworth
54. Longnewton
55. Middleton St.
George
56. Norton
57. Redmarshall
58. Sedgfield
59. Embleton
60. Sockburn
61. Stainton-le-
Street
62. Stockton
63. Stranton
64. Seaton Carew

Darlington Deanery

65. St. Andrew Auckland
66. St. Anne's
67. St. Helen's
Auckland
68. Aycliffe
69. Barnard Castle
70. Brancepeth
71. Cockfield
72. Coniscliffe
Craike
73. Darlington
74. Denton
75. Escomb
76. Gainford
77. Hamsterly
78. Haughton-le-Skerne
79. Sadberge
80. Heighington
81. Kirk Merrington
82. Middleton-in-
Teesdale
83. Eggleston
84. Harwood
85. Stanhope
86. St. John's Chapel
87. Staindrop
88. Whitworth
89. Whorlton
90. Winston

- RECTORY
- VICARAGE
- + PERPETUAL CURACY
- ⊙ CHAPEL OF EASE



CHAPTER III

BENEFICE INCOMES

1. Background to the Period of Parochial Income Improvement

During the eighteenth century the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Durham became aware of the vast economic potential of the property they possessed. From the sixteenth century, the episcopal and capitular properties had been exploited, not by their owners, but by bishops' relatives, individual members of the Chapter, their families, servants, and by laymen, all of whom saw the profit potential in the acquisition of church leases.

Episcopal and capitular properties were being leased in the eighteenth century for annual rents which had ceased to reflect the actual improved value of the land. The traditional sources of income had been fines exacted on renewal, whether every seven years or at the insertion of a new life. However, these likewise failed to realise the full economic potential of the property.¹

Following the Restoration, the scramble for the most lucrative church properties recommenced. Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bishop John Cosin's son-in-law, with Miles Stapleton, the Bishop's secretary, endeavoured to gain possession of both episcopal and capitular leases, particularly those with mining potential. In addition to securing the 'Grand Lease', they managed to collect the leases of Tanfield and Coundon collieries, the limekilns at Ferryhill and Merrington, all the 'wastes' in the county, the Bishop's lands at West Auckland less the demesne, plus the valuable lands and mills included in the single lease

1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.306.

which covered Northallerton, Brunton, Craike and Darlington.¹

Bishop Crewe leased the quarries in the manor of Easington to his nephew, while his successor, Bishop Talbot, leased to his son-in-law, Dr. Sayer, all the coal mines within the enclosed copyholds at West Auckland, and the colliery at Tanfield Western Lea, plus granting to him a joint lease with Mr. Stonehewer, the Bishop's steward, for the coal producing manors of Houghton and Newbottle.²

In 1712 William Cotesworth, a Gateshead tallow-chandler, purchased the 'Grand Lease' from the Bishop for £1,050. Before the purchase he had reckoned the yearly value of the lease to be £5,850, with the Bishop receiving a reserved rent of only £235.11.7d. per annum. Cotesworth had the misfortune to time his purchase with the Bishop's realisation that episcopal incomes had long been stationary, while leases, such as Cotesworth's, were making fortunes.³

Cotesworth may have been the first to feel the winds of change. His son, an undergraduate at Cambridge, wrote home in 1718, concerned about a pamphlet which had come into his possession.⁴

"A pamphlet has by chance fall'n into my hands supposed to be writ by the Bishop of Ely setting forth the value of church and college leases. I hope it won't by chance fall into the Bishop of Durhams hands for I fear it should persuade him to raise his fines, for he shews that 7 years being lapsed in a lease of 21 years, the interest of money being 6%, the tenant in such case ought to pay near two and a half year's value for the renewing of his lease up to 21 years. For 7 years lapsed in a lease of 21 years, if you take but one years value for renewing it up to 21 years you give your tenant £11.11.8 $\frac{1}{4}$ % for his money, therefore, he says, leases

1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.306.

2. Ibid., p.308.

3. GPL. Cotesworth MSS. CN/1/87, copy of a twenty-one year lease for the episcopal manors of Gateshead and Whickham dated 7 October, 1724.

4. Ibid., CP/3/76, William Cotesworth to William Cotesworth, Trinity College, 10 December, 1718. See also E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.311.

sold at 6% inheritance according to that proportion ought to be sold at 16 or 17 years purchase. The reasons and proofs of his calculations, he says, may be seen in a book entitled Tables for Renewing and Purchasing Leases of Cathedral Chapter and College".

The premature death, in 1721, of Cotesworth's son necessitated the insertion of a new life into the 'Grand Lease'. This was effected by paying the small sum of £50. In 1728, however, it became apparent that the 'Grand Lease' was never again to be retained so cheaply. In that year the Bishop's secretary requested the lessee to submit accounts of the profits realised for the previous two years, in order that the fine might be reassessed to represent more clearly the real value of the lease. In October 1728 Cotesworth was forced to accede to the Bishop's demands and agreed to pay an increased fine of £200.¹

Bishop Talbot, in an attempt to recover lost episcopal revenues, introduced a bill into Parliament that would have eliminated capitular approval for the granting of leases for periods longer than twenty-one years, or three lives.² Lease holders in the county closed ranks, and the bill was eventually withdrawn.³ Despite this setback, Bishop Butler continued the process of increasing fines, while Trevor, his successor, began a move toward short term leases.

1. GPL Cotesworth MSS., Dr. Sayer to Cotesworth, Auckland 30 September, 1728 and Bishop of Durham to same, London, 15 October, 1728. See also E. Hughes, North Country Life, pp.313-15.

2. The law as it existed was based on 31 Henry VIII, c.17 and 32 Henry VIII, c.13. Talbot's Bill was entitled:- An Act to enable Archbishops, Bishops, Colleges, Deans and Chapters, Hospitals, Parsons, Vicars, and others having Spiritual promotions, to make leases of their mines, which have not be acustomably letten, not exceeding the term of one and twenty years, without taking any fines upon the granting or renewing the same. For the text of the above Bill see John Spearman, An Enquiry into the Ancient and Present State of The County Palatine of Durham, (Durham, 1729), pp.58-64.

3. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.317.

"Our Bishop is changing his leases for lives into years as fast as renewals of them are applied for at which great complaints are made, though to no purpose. In Bishop Chandler's time he never asked more for a new life but one years value and for two lives he had four years value I doubt as there is but one life in being they will expect a large fine and perhaps insist upon your acceptance of a lease for years, instead of lives".¹

The result of this effort was that by 1771 the majority of episcopal leases were for terms of seven years.² This process continued through succeeding bishops to the turn of the century, as the following table, based on the MSS records of the Seal Fees received in the diocese during the year November 1797 to November 1798 for the renewal of episcopal leases, shows.³

28 leases renewed for 7 years				
2	"	"	" 8	"
1	"	"	" 9	"
1	"	"	" 10	"
1	"	"	" 12	"
1	"	"	" 18	"
1	"	"	" Life	
2	"	"	" 2	"

While leases were being shortened, renewal fines were being increased. This is confirmed by considering the renewal fines paid for the lease of the episcopal manor of Gateshead from 1771 to 1788.⁴

<u>Year</u>	<u>Fine</u>
1771	£159
1776	£263
1782	£288
1785	£298
1786	£389
1788	£470

1. GPL Ellison MSS., John Dixon to Henry Ellison, 8 May, 1756.
 2. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.323.
 3. AC. Episcopal MSS. Account of Seal Fees in the Diocese of Durham received by Mr. Emm and Mr. Burn from November 1797 to 7th November 1798.
 4. AC. Episcopal MSS. Temporal Acts of John, Bishop of Durham. Summary of Bishop Egerton's leases, 1771 to 1786.

The Ellisons, holders of the Gateshead lease, were a local family adversely affected by the ecclesiastical policy of recovery. From the Ellison MSS. it is apparent the family was unable to prevent the continued increase of the renewal fines. In 1782 the instrument of episcopal policy was the Bishop's secretary, William Emm, whose correspondence with Henry Ellison junior illustrates the method used to calculate renewal fines.¹

"The fine for the renewal of your lease of Gateshead Manor is fixt as under: His Lordship places an implicit confidence in the account you have sent of the rent and the fine is fixt in proportion to it but with the addition of one fourth which His Lordship has adopted the resolution of taking of all his tenants and therefore I must beg leave to add that no abatement will be made

Rental 1787-88	£3,465.15. 2.
Deduce the reserved rent	117.15. 8.
	<hr/>
	3,347.19. 6.
Divided by number 7	478. 5. 7.
Add one fourth	119.11. 4.
	<hr/>
Fine	597.16.11.
Fees	11. 2. 0.
	<hr/>
	608.18.11."

Ellison attempted a protest:²

"I understand the rule adopted for setting the fines is that his Lordship has determined to take one year and a $\frac{1}{4}$ rent for the renewal of 7 years and, of course, one seventh of the annual rent and $\frac{1}{4}$ of that $\frac{1}{7}$ for the renewal of one year which puts the tenant who renews every year not upon an equal footing with him who renews one in seven years, for calculating at simple interest only, his fine will at the end of seven years much exceed that of the other".³

In spite of the protest the renewal fine remained high. During the first three years of Barrington's episcopacy the fine for

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1. GPL. Ellison MSS. C/29/3. William Emm to Henry Ellison Jr., 16 July 1789.
 2. GPL. Ellison MSS. C/29/5, Henry Ellison to William Emm, 20 July 1789. See also E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.327.

Gateshead Manor was £511, £499 and £503.¹

An important example of this process of episcopal recovery of revenues was that pertaining to the episcopal estates in Weardale. The Bishops, along with the Rectors of Stanhope, derived a considerable income from an extensive tract of land, the Manor of Weardale, which was a centre of increasing lead production. The Bishops adopted the simple expedient of granting this mining right in toto to one concessionary, and received in turn an income from renewal fines, and a composition in lieu of the lost ore, one-ninth part of all ore raised. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the £150 p.a. fine received by the bishops represented the real value of the lease, but by 1760 this sum ceased to reflect the increased output. In that year the Bishop sought to increase the profitability of the Weardale Manor. Joseph Richmond, the chief agent of the London Lead Company, wrote to his employer:-²

"I think it very unreasonable in the Bishop to require a particular account of our working the groves and the profits arising from them, and what you should not submit to in case it can any way be avoided I dare say it is a thing never before required on the renewal of any colliery or lead mine lease".

On 13 June, 1760 Richmond again wrote to the company:-

"If you were to offer a fine of 200 guineas I do not believe he (the Bishop) would accept of it. The profits appear (over the last three years) to me to have been no more than £218 p.a. and surely his Lordship will never ask any more than a year's profit for a fine of a lead mine!"

The Bishop did not in fact accept the £218 as a true reckoning of the income. Bishop Trevor demanded and received a fine of

1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.327.

2. Mark Hughes, Lead Land and Coal as Sources of Landlord Income in Northumberland between 1700 and 1850. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Newcastle University, 1963), p.44.

£1,500.¹

The Bishop's composition for lott ore was renegotiated at the beginning of each episcopate.² From the early part of the eighteenth century until 1787, the Bishop's composition had remained unchanged at £350 p.a. In 1787 it was increased to £850 p.a. and there remained until 1802. In that year, Bishop Barrington's agents began to enquire into the quantity of ore raised from the Weardale mines since his translation to Durham. It was suspected that the Bishop's composition was far from being equivalent to the sum to which he was entitled. In 1807, following threats of a suit in Chancery, the Beaumonts, assisted by legal opinion, decided to bow to episcopal demands. By the terms of the settlement it was agreed that the composition would henceforth be at the rate of £4,000 p.a., and that the lump sum of £70,000 was to be paid as recompense for the previous non-payment of royalties. It is to Barrington's credit that £20,000 of that sum was used to create an educational fund, the Barrington Fund, for the furtherance of elementary education in Weardale.³

Dean and Chapter fines had also become stationary throughout the seventeenth century, which meant that by the first quarter of the eighteenth century they were receiving totally unrealistic incomes. In 1687 the nephew of Dean Sudbury,

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1. It is of interest to note the progressive increase of fines occasioned by the insertion of new lives in the Weardale lease. In 1771 the fine was 1,000 guineas, in 1783 1,250 guineas and in 1808 with the inclusion of a seven year old boy the fine was £15,000. M. Hughes, "Lead Land and Coal", p.44.
 2. The Rectors of Stanhope's composition for lead tithe was renegotiated at the beginning of each incumbency.
 3. Christopher Hunt, "The Economic and Social Conditions of Lead Mines in the Northern Pennines in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Durham University, 1968), p.395. See also Matthew Richley, History and Characteristics of Bishop Auckland, (Bishop Auckland, 1872), p.124. After 1808 the See never received less than £4,000 p.a. from Weardale; indeed by 1856 the episcopal income from this source had risen to £4,854 p.a. M. Hughes, "Lead Land and Coal", p.46.

Sir John Sudbury, received an income of £2,441 p.a. from Durham estates leased from the Dean and Chapter, while paying rents to that body amounting to no more than £500 p.a.¹

Since the late seventeenth century the Ellison family of Hebburn had leased the manor of Wardley, paying a renewal fine of £130. On the first renewal, in 1687, the fine was increased to £160 and there it remained, subject to usual minor increases resulting from irregular renewals, until 1731 when it was increased to £400.² As was to be the case with all capitular leases, the fine for the manor of Wardley continued to rise. In 1738 William Pye, Clerk to the Chapter, wrote to Henry Ellison saying that:-³

"Upon looking over our Books I find that seven years of your Brothers lease are expired 15th November last. I thought it proper to give you this intimation because the fine run high after 7 years: if a lease runs eight years, it is a year and a 1/5th; if 9 a year and a half, by which you see how they rise after seven. I send this out of respect to your brother".

On behalf of the Ellison family their attorney, John Airey, visited members of the Chapter in an effort to negotiate the renewal of the lease:-⁴

"I attended the Chapter yesterday. Dr. Johnson, Dr. Sharp and Mr. Bland present. They asked £500 for the fine. I bid them the old fine and gave reasons. After a good deal of debate, I withdrew Again called in: the fine set at £440. I did all I could to have the old fine but they would go no lower".⁵

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1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.307.
 2. Ibid., see also PK.MSS. Dean and Chapter Audit Books.
 3. GPL. Ellison MSS., A/59/70, William Pye to Henry Ellison 7 January 1738/39.
 4. Ibid., A/38/66, John Airey to Henry Ellison, 4 March 1738/39. See also E. Hughes, op.cit., p.323.
 5. PK., Patrick Mussett, Deans and Major Canons of Durham, 1541-1900, Provisional lists (unpublished pamphlet) June 1972.

The results of this policy of capitular improvement may be found by an examination of Dean and Chapter corporate incomes between 1687 and 1844.¹

16871766Stall

The Dean	£78 ²	The Dean	£562 ⁵
1st William Graham MA.	£87	William Warburton D.D.	£295
2nd George Wheler, M.A.	£83 ³	William Markham LL.D.	£264
3rd John Cave M.A.	£62	Gideon Murray D.D.	£298
4th John Montague D.D.	£90	James Douglas M.A.	£305
5th Constantius Jessop D.D.	£67	John Moore M.A.	£282
6th Fitzherbert Adams D.D.	£76	Henry Bland M.A.	£303 ⁶
7th Richard Knightly M.A.	£77	Joseph Spence M.A.	£279
8th Robert Greg D.D.	£83	Robert Louth D.D.	£294
9th Henry Bagshaw D.D.	£84	Charles Weston M.A.	£281
10th Daniel Burint M.A.	£77 ⁴	Henry Vane LL.D.	£279
11th Thomas Wood D.D.	0	Samuel Dickens D.D.	£282 ⁸
12th John Morton B.D.	£114	Thomas Burton D.D.	£288

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1. PK. MSS. Dean and Chapter Audit Books; 1684-1689, 1746-68, 1768-90, 1790-1813, 1832-44. For the improvement of individual Stall incomes see Chapter I, pp.17-18.
 2. Dennis Granville D.D., Dean 1684 to 1691.
 3. Rector of Houghton-le-Spring.
 4. Rector of Brancepeth.
 5. Spencer Cowper, D.D., Dean 1746 to 1774.
 6. Eldest son of Henry Bland, Dean of Durham, 1728-46.
 7. Professor of Modern History, Oxford.
 8. Collated Archdeacon of Durham, 2 January, 1762, died 30 August, 1791.

1790Stall

The Dean	£1091.12.7. ¹
1st Charles Cooper D.D.	£550.19.5 $\frac{1}{4}$
2nd Henry Egerton M.A.	£564.11.4.
3rd Phipps Weston B.D.	£514.19.2 $\frac{1}{4}$
4th Francis Henry Egerton M.A.	£531. 9.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ²
5th Thomas Fothergill D.D.	£529.12.11 $\frac{1}{4}$
6th Charles Weston M.A.	£529.11. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
7th Newton Ogle D.D.	£528. 6. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ³
8th Charles Poynty D.D.	£556.14. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
9th John Sharp D.D.	£550. 5. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ⁴
10th Henry Vane, Bart. LL.D.	£561. 6. 4. ⁵
11th Samuel Dickens D.D.	£559.19. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
12th Thomas Dampier M.A.	£530.1. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$

1832

The Dean	£2226. 8.9. ⁶
Thomas Gisborne M.A.	£1084. 1.9 $\frac{1}{4}$
John Bird Sumner M.A.	£1118. 0.9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁹
Richard Prosser D.D.	£1087.12.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁸
Charles Thorp B.D.	£1103. 9.5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ⁹
G. V. Wellesley D.D.	£1103. 7.5. ¹⁰
Henry Phillpotts D.D.	£1103. 7.7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹¹
Robert Gray D.D.	£1105.10.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹²
David Durell M.A.	£1096.9.11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ¹³
W. S. Gilly M.A.	£1101.8.10. ¹⁴
George Townshend M.A.	£1100. 0. 6. ¹⁵
S. Smith D.D.	£1080. 6.9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹⁶
J. S. Ogle M.A.	£1098.16. 4.

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1. John Hinchcliffe, Dean 1788 to 1794. Also Bishop of Peterborough.
 2. Earl of Bridgewater.
 3. Dean of Winchester.
 4. Archdeacon of Northumberland.
 5. Rector of Long Newton.
 6. John Banks Jenkinson, Dean 1827-1840, Bishop of St. Davids.
 7. John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester.
 8. Rector of Easington and Archdeacon of Durham from 1808.
 9. Rector of Ryton.
 10. Rector of Bishopwearmouth.
 11. Bishop of Exeter.
 12. Bishop of Bristol.
 13. Rector of Mongewell and of Crowmarsh, Diocese of Oxford.
 14. Vicar of Norham.
 15. Vicar of Northallerton.
 16. Prebend of York and Rector of Dry Drayton, Diocese of Ely.

1844Stall

The Dean ¹	£3926. 13. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$
1st Thomas Guisborne	£1861. 10. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
2nd John Bird Sumner	£1893. 17. 7.
3rd Henry Jenkyns ²	£1864. 13. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
4th Charles Thorpe	£1866. 2. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
5th G. V. Wellesley	£1871. 8. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
6th Henry Phillpotts	£1870. 10. 9.
7th Henry Douglas	£1875. 11. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
8th David Durell	£1873. 16. 0.
9th W. S. Gilly	£1864. 19. 10.
10th George Townshend	£1870. 14. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
11th John Edwards ³	£1882. 1. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
12th J. S. Ogle	£1860. 5. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$

1. George Waddington, Dean, 1840-1869.

2. Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, Durham University.

3. Professor of Greek and Classical Literature, Durham University.

These figures show clearly that the incomes of the episcopal and capitular establishments were being "recovered" through a system of increased fines and shorter leases. But as early as 1750 the increased fines were being considered oppressive to tenants and became a cause of increasing discontent.¹ The resulting tension between the established church and the lay inhabitants of the county was progressively increased when, in the last quarter of the 18th century, the parochial clergy of the Archdeaconry embarked on a similar period of "recovery".

2. Benefice Incomes, 1774-1856: Their Sources

Thomas Bell in his 'Report upon the Agriculture of the County of Durham',² noted that farming in the county had been styled the worst in the country. Landlords did little or nothing to improve their estates, and there was a prevalence of small freeholds which were further divided into small tenancies whose occupiers lacked much needed capital. What is more, the episcopal and capitular efforts to augment their incomes destroyed what incentive there might have been for improvement. This was noted as well by Granger and Bailey, for all three made the same general observation that:-³

".... much land in the county is held by church leases for lives, or for twenty-one years, renewable every seven, on payment of an arbitrary fine, evidently to the discouragement of agriculture; for no man will lay out his money in making improvement, and by that means purchase an increase of his fine at the ensuing renewals"

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1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.324.
 2. Thomas George Bell, "A Report upon the Agriculture of the County of Durham" The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, (London, 1856), Vol.XVII, p.98.
 3. J. J. Nossiter, "Elections and Political Behaviour in County Durham and Newcastle, 1832-74", (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, 1968), p.46. John Bailey, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham, (London, 1813), p.53. See also Bell, op.cit., p.119; Joseph Granger, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Durham, (London, 1794), p.61; G. W. Meadley, Memoirs of William Paley, (Sunderland, 1809), p.126.

Outside a few limited areas of good soil,¹ the county contained vast hill wastes and moorlands, large tracts of land with little depth of soil, and heavy clay areas where farming was difficult and expensive. Cold, wet and stiff, the clay soils required three or four horses to plough, against one or two in Norfolk or on the Wolds. They needed to be cultivated many times over to produce an acceptable seed bed, and then, as a result, were usually late in sowing. In the end yields were generally low.²

To the aid of the Durham farmer came the French wars, for they meant high profits without improvement, a circumstance which equally affected the parochial clergy. Existing evidence suggests that it was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the parochial clergy commenced the improvement of their incomes. The successes of the Bishops and the Cathedral Clergy, combined with the rising prices of the period, provided the inspiration to improve, while the agricultural prosperity of the French wars gave them the opportunity.³

Eighteenth century evidence of Durham rectory and vicarage incomes is incomplete, but what exists suggests that from the mid-century to the period 1774-1794, benefice incomes remained relatively stable. Thereafter, the average income of these benefices rose. The following table illustrates the pattern of rectory and vicarage incomes in the Archdeaconry through the period of study and indicates the percentages of increase or decrease.

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1. Areas of high rents were to be found in the parishes of Easington, Elwick, Dinsdale, Hurworth, Sedgfield and Wolvi-
ston where the quality of the soil brought in rents which
averaged between 18s. to 28s. per acre. Bell, op.cit., p.90.
The agricultural productivity of the majority of these
parishes is reflected in their incomes, illustrated in
Appendices A to C.
 2. F. M. L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth
Century, (London, 1963), pp.216-17.
 3. Ibid.

FIGURE 1¹

	<u>Rectories</u>	<u>Vicarages</u>
c.1750	£384	£137
1774-94	£372 -3%	£128 -6%
1808-15	£777 +108%	£177 +38%
1832	£986 +26%	£281 +59%
1856	£1,231 +25%	£405 +44%

Almost the whole of these revenues came directly from the land. The parochial clergy drew their incomes from tithe, the profits of glebes and in some instances from rents received for letting parsonage houses. Figure 2 indicates the principal sources of parochial incomes, and is based on the returns filed by 91 Archdeaconry benefices in answer to the 1832 queries of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

FIGURE 2

Gross income of the 91 livings filing returns in 1832	£37,089 ²	
Income from land, whether let, or in the occupation of the incumbent; and also, if any, how much from houses:-	£8,974	24%
Amount from tithes, taken in kind:-	£1,526	4%
Amount from compositions for tithe:-	£20,768	56%
Amount from Corn Rents:-	£15	.04%
Amount from Dividends or Interest arising from stock in the Public funds, or Monies appropriated or in any manner secured to the Benefice:-	£612	1.65%
Amount from Stipends, pensions, or some and what other kind of fixed money payments:-	£623 ³	1.67%
Amount from Easter Dues, etc.:-	£354	.95%
Amount from Surplice and other fees:-	£1,245	3.35%
Amount from other sources:-	£2,961	7.99%

1. Compiled from the tables found in Appendices A to C.

2. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files. The average income of these 91 benefices of all classes in 1832 was £441 p.a. This can be compared with the £303 p.a. which was the value of the average benefice nationwide in 1831.

3. Includes £198 from Moduses.

As illustrated above the Durham clergy depended heavily on the composition of tithe for their incomes. Bailey noted in 1810 that in general the Durham tithing custom was to value the tithes and to let them yearly. In the Archdeaconry there were not fixed prices for particular crops: the value per acre varied according to the estimated produce of bushels per acre, and the price it would sell for at market, deducting the expense of collecting, threshing, marketing, taxes, etc.¹ The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious especially if the incumbent proposes to be non-resident.²

William Paley, soon after his collation to Bishopwearmouth, in an effort to lessen the probability of dispute granted to the principal land owners and farmers leases for his life at an annual rent in lieu of tithes. On one occasion after he had been told of a poor crop he indicated the advantage of composition when he remarked "my tithes are safe and I have nothing to do with them or to think about them".³ There were some parsons, however, who did collect their tithes in kind, in some instances unwillingly, as in cases where parishioners failed to agree with a tithe agent's valuation.⁴

In 1792 the Rector of Middleton-in-Teesdale drew his mixed and personal tithe in kind. The procedure he outlined in a terrier of that year was consistent with general custom.⁵

1. Bailey, General View of Agriculture, p.70.

2. For the valuation and collection of that portion of income arising from tithe the Durham tithe agent was usually paid a percentage of his collections. The Rector of Long Newton's agent generally secured 5% which, on average, amounted to about £30 p.a. In 1832 a Durham incumbent could pay as little as £8 p.a. for his agent or as much as £125 p.a. as in the case of the Rector of Houghton-le-Spring. On average, however, the Durham agent received £42 p.a. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files.

3. Meadley, Paley, p.127.

4. Such an instance may be found in the Rectory of Long Newton. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, Long Newton.

5. T. H. Shaw, The Law of Tithes, (London, 1794), p.108.

"the Rector chooseth one in ten, half a one in five, and under fifteen he hath but one, and if there be six of either he taketh a Lamb or Fleece payeth back to the owner, at Easter next after for every Lamb or Fleece a $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and the owner payeth as much then for every one above ten and under 15. Calves are taken shortly after Midsummer and tythed after the same Manner as wool and Lambs with Deductions after the same Rate. Five casts of Bees pay half a hive above five a whole Hive if ¹under Five every cast a penney at Easter".

The Vicar of Stockton in 1788 collected all his tithes in kind which included potatoes, calves, lambs, wool and foals, swarms of bees, pigs, geese, turkeys and ducks as well as a personal tithe on the industrial output of the local rope manufacturing trade.²

Within the Archdeaconry the strict delineation between great and small tithe, and who was to receive them was not strictly adhered to. Vicarages such as Dalton-le-Dale and Kirk Merrington drew tithe of hay from townships within each of their respective parishes, while a number of perpetual curacies were entitled to various small tithes.

The origin of these payments can be traced from the medieval period during which eighty-two per cent of the benefices in the diocese were in ecclesiastical patronage.³ Between 1300 and 1500 the regular Scottish incursions into the diocese resulted in considerable financial loss to many of the northern monasteries who, in an effort to recover lost revenue, appropriated all, or portions (of) the great tithes assigned to the parish churches in their possession.⁴ During the fourteenth

1. SR. MSS. Glebe Terrier, Middleton-in-Teesdale, 1792.

2. Ibid., Stockton-on-Tees, 1792.

3. Donaldson, "Secular Clergy", p.170.

4. Ibid., p.178.

century the Prior and Convent of Durham appropriated portions of the great tithes belonging to the Rectories of Dalton-le-Dale¹ and Kirk Merrington² leaving them styled Vicarages but still in possession of a small share of the great tithe. Before 1436 Muggleswick had been styled a Rectory but in or around that year the great and small tithes throughout the parish, apart from those in the township of Cold Rowley, had been appropriated by the monastery at Durham. Thereafter, though a perpetual curacy, the incumbent received all the tithes arising from that township in "their proper kinds".³

Other perpetual curacies came into possession of tithes by way of being augmented by their patrons. The curacy of St. Andrews, Auckland, anciently a collegiate church had been re-endowed by a Bishop of Durham with one half the tithe of corn and £10 p.a. prescript rent in lieu of hay tithe arising from one of the college's prebendal stalls, that of Bondgate.⁴ Two livings, Whorlton and Hartlepool, chapelries to benefices in the patronage of monastic bodies also possessed tithes, and it may be possible to surmise that such grants were made by patrons in order to provide for a curate.⁵ This failure to adhere to the strict traditions of tithings was not peculiar to Durham. Evidence from Staffordshire Terriers for the same period show a similar variance to custom.⁶

1. Donaldson, "Secular Clergy", p.83. Rectory before 1318.

2. Ibid., p.134. Rectory before 1343/44.

3. SR. MSS. Glebe terriers, Muggleswick, 1788.

4. Ibid., St. Andrew, Auckland, 1792.

5. Donaldson, op.cit., p.134. Chapel of Whorlton, in the Vicarage of Gainford. The Vicarage was in the patronage of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's York, Hartlepool, in the Vicarage of Hart. The Vicarage was in the patronage of the Augustinian Priory of Guisborough. Ibid., p.134 and p.146.

6. E. J. Evans, "Tithing Customs and Disputes: The Evidence of Glebe Terriers 1698-1850". Agricultural History Review, Vol.XVIII, 1970, Part I., p.27.

3. Causes of the General Improvement in Parochial Incomes 1774-1832

While all the primary sources of income were improvable, it must be noted that the increases illustrated in Figure 1 are not entirely explained by the process of improvement. Within the Archdeaconry there was an additional factor, that of extensive mineral deposits which, as will be shown, contributed directly as well as indirectly to this continued increase in clerical incomes.

In an effort, therefore, to illustrate more clearly the increases, this section must be divided into three parts. The first two will concern themselves with the clerical efforts to maintain and/or improve their incomes, and the third will attempt to explain how the exploitation of the county's mineral wealth directly and indirectly affected parochial incomes.

A. Clerical efforts to improve and protect their incomes 1774-1832

In the first instance, the maintenance and improvement of benefice incomes in the county in no way differed from the similar efforts in other dioceses which, as Professor Best has pointed out, were a feature of the 1700-1830 period.¹ As in other dioceses, these clerical endeavours met with lay resistance which, in most instances, necessitated settlement in court. Relationships between church and laity became increasingly strained from 1790 to 1831, during which period clerical reliance on the courts did nothing to diminish the grievance felt by the county's laity.

1. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.63.

Higher incomes were in part a result of the positive action taken by a number of the parochial clergy in their efforts to prevent their incomes from declining in the face of growing opposition to the payment of prerogative fees. With the aid of 7 & 8 William III C.6 and later 53 George III C.127 the parochial clergy were provided with a powerful deterrent against the non-payment of "small tithe, and compositions and agreements for the same, with all offerings, oblations and obventions".¹ Both Acts allowed summary jurisdiction before two Justices of the Peace for the pressing of tithe claims. The Act of 1696 covered all claims not exceeding 40s. In the later Act of George III the ceiling was raised to £10.²

The position of the clerical tithe owner was further strengthened by the government's refusal to allow the passage of two bills, in 1730 and again in 1772, which would have prevented the revival of long dormant tithe claims. The feeling was that the threat of a lengthy and expensive tithe suit, which could run into hundreds of pounds for a tithe claim of only a few shillings, was good insurance that clerical dues would be paid.

However this was not always to be so, as the Consistory Court records bear witness. Though incomplete this source indicates vigorous clerical efforts in defending their incomes. Samuel Viner, Principal Surrogate recorded in his manuscript Act Book that between 1777 and 1797, 453 citations against the non-payment of tithes and Easter dues had been issued to recalcitrant parishioners. Under threat of court action, however, Viner recorded that all but twenty-eight of the defendants cited submitted.³

1. 7 & 8 William III C.6.

2. 53 George III C.127.

3. SR. MS. Consistory Court Act Book.

John Burton and Rowland Whittingham, farmers in the parish of Aycliffe were two who did not submit. In 1777 they became involved in a court action with their Vicar, James Robson who claimed tithe on three ewes which he had accused the Burdons of grazing upon:-

".... Lands and grounds by them jointly possessed and occupied within the said parish and Bounds, Limits and tythable places thereof and from the said Ewe sheep they jointly had, took, and converted to their own use four Lambs renewed fallen brought forth or Lamed within the said parish and also of and from the said sheep they jointly had and converted to their use three fleeces of wool clipped cut or shorn within the said parish"¹

The vicar alleged that the value of the ewes, on tithing day, had been "10/-, 9/-, or at least 8/6", and that each of the fleeces "could have been sold for the sum of 6/-, 5/- or at least 4/6" At the same time Robson accused the farmers of failing to pay ".... an offering, oblation, obvention, one Hen or the sum of 6d. in lieu therefore commonly called a Hen penny due upon the Feast of Saint Andrew"² No record of the judgement has survived.

In October 1785 Richard Richardson, perpetual curate of Witton Gilbert, brought action against one Henry Brook, a farmer in the curacy, for his refusal to pay tithe on seven calves. In his own defence given before the Consistory Court on the 24th October of that year, Brock claimed that Richardson was not "by endowment or ancient usage or custom entitled to all manner of tythes". He stated further that the tithe of calves had never been paid to any of the previous curates of Witton Gilbert: ³

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1. SR. MSS. Consistory Court Papers and Act Books, James Robson v. John Burdon and Rowland Whittingham, 20 February, 1778.
 2. SR. MSS. Consistory Court Papers, James Robson v. John Burdon and Rowland Whittingham, 20 February, 1778.
 3. Ibid., Richard Richardson v. Henry Brock, 24 October, 1785.

".... for the space of 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, and 100 years past and upward and also for all the times where the memory of man is not to the contrary there hath been and now is a certain custom or proscription inviolably used and observed with the said chapelry keeping any number of Milch Cows hath been accustomed and ought to pay to the curate the sum of 1½d. for each of the said Milch Cows at the time of their respective bringing forth or calving in lieu of and in full satisfaction for the tyth of calves brought forth and calved in the said chapelry and that by Act of Parliament 2nd Edward VI C.B. it is entered that no person shall be sued or otherwise compelled to yield any manner of tythes for any Manors, Lands, Tenements or Heriditments which by the laws and statutes of this Realm are not chargeable with the payment of any such tythe or that he Discharged by any composition"

The Court found in favour of the defendant.¹

Bishop Barrington's Primary Visitation of 1792 provided James Greville, Rector of Whickham, with an opportunity to inform his Ordinary of the growing opposition within his parish to the payment of tithe. In a terrier of that year he noted the sources of his income and the increasing difficulty of its collection.

"The tythes due to the Rector throughout the Parish (these Lands only excepted which pay a modus in Lieu of Tythes) are Hay Corn Peas Beans Potatoes Turnips etc. together with the tythe of Pigs, Geese and Ducks. The Tythe of Calf also was formerly demanded and in most instances paid; but of later years this tythe as also the foregoing excepting Hay and Corn have been withheld; nor is the dispute about them as yet terminated".²

The dispute was not resolved, for in 1802 Greville was driven to file suit against George Coulson in the Consistory Court for the recovery of tithe on a pig valued at "10/6 or at least 8/6".³ The action against Coulson seems to have made no impression upon the other evaders. In 1804, making use of the

1. Ibid.

2. SR. MSS. Glebe terriers, 1623-1866. Whickham, 1792.

3. Ibid., 1806.

statute of 1696, the Rector once again went to the courts. This time the case was heard before the Durham Assizes where again judgement was in his favour.¹ In spite of their failures in the courts, the parishioners of Whickham continued to hold out against the payment of tithe of calf.²

Charles Egerton, Rector of Washington, was involved in 1796 in two tithe suits,³ and in 1801 Richard Prosser, who as a Prebend of Durham Cathedral was to become a favourite target of the radical press, took one George Wooler to court for his refusal to pay tithe on hay worth "the sum of £6 or at least £5.5.0."⁴

In 1806 the Durham clergy commenced what was to be one of their longest, and most successful, tithe struggles, between the London Lead Company and the successive Rectors of Stanhope.

Primarily an agricultural parish and one of the largest in England, Stanhope had benefited from an early date from the discovery of lead in the Dales. The Rectors traditionally relied, for the greatest portion of their income, on a composition for all ore raised in the parish which was negotiated at the outset of each incumbency.⁵ Throughout the eighteenth century the composition for the tithe ore had been £315 p.a., and in spite of efforts by Thurlow in 1781 there had been no increase. On the collation of Henry Hardinge in 1792, an increase was negotiated raising the composition to £450 p.a. with a reserve clause that the settlement would be reviewed at a later date. In 1799 Hardinge pressured the company into increasing the composition to £1500 for the remainder of his

1. DCRO. MSS. Quarter Session Order Books, 9 April, 1804.

2. SR. MSS. Glebe terriers, Whickham, 1806.

3. Ibid., Consistory Court Papers, Charles Egerton v. John Fatherley and John Sharp, 2 July, 1796.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

incumbency.¹

Hardinge's death in 1820 occasioned a series of letters between the head agent, Mr. Marshall, of the London Lead Company and his employer, in which he expressed his fears concerning the size of future tithe payments.²

"It is with great concern I announce to you that the Rev. Henry Hardinge, Rector of Stanhope, died last Saturday (the 9th instant). This event so important in its consequences to your interest I was only acquainted with last night, and have no information as yet who is to be his successor, the probability is that Lord Barrington will obtain the living. It is seriously to be apprehended that the future Rector, whoever he may be, will not accept of less compensation for the tythe than what the Bishop now receives for his lot ore, perhaps he may demand more or insist upon drawing the tythe in kind and if such should unfortunately be his determination the consequences will to you be disastrous".

In the light of the growing clerical awareness of the economic potential of their tithe rights, Marshall, on the 22 of September wrote again to Mrs. Beaumont:-

"Whatever I hear tends to confirm me in the opinion that the view entertained by the clergy of the diocese of the value of the living and that they are impressed with the idea that mining (both lead and coal) is the source of exhaustless wealth to the possessor, the Dean and Chapter of Durham having lately secured from Lord Steward £40,000 for the renewal of the lease of his Colliery has had the effect, I am told, of that body setting no bounds to the benefits they expect from their mineral property".³

Thus when Marshall received the news that the Rev. Henry Phillpotts had been collated to Stanhope, he proposed to the new Rector the increased sum of £3,000 p.a. for the lead composition. Phillpotts refused to consider the offer and informed the company that he would annually accept the value

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1. M. Hughes, "Lead, Land and Coal", p.49. Henry Hardinge LL.B. Rector of Stanhope, 1787-1820.
 2. Ibid, p.49. Mr. Marshall to Mrs. Diana Beaumont, Newcastle, 15 September, 1820.
 3. Ibid., p.49.

of 250 tons of lead, the price to be regulated by sales, or a composition of £5,000 p.a. Marshall did not think such an exorbitant claim was worth answering, and he simply cautioned Phillpotts to "weigh in his own mind the consequence of persisting to demand it".¹

Word of Phillpotts' refusal to accept the company's offer so inflamed public opinion amongst the dale community that Marshall informed Mrs. Beaumont that the new Rector's presence at Stanhope would be a "step of personal danger, and that in consequence he has been deterred from going as he intended to perform his duty"²

In an effort to intimidate Phillpotts and to force his acceptance of the £3,000 p.a., Marshall proposed to play upon the fears of the mining community in the hope that the pressure of public opinion would accomplish what negotiation had failed to achieve.

"Would it not best promote the object of influencing the mind of Mr. Phillpotts to moderation to adopt at once with firmness a temporary plan of reduction of working the mines, and throw upon him the deserved odium, of all the distress that must necessarily ensue throughout the district? The adoption of this measure will undoubtedly be productive of great calamity; but no candid person can impute blame to you after the liberal offer made for his tythe Ore".³

The threat of popular opinion was unnecessary, for on the 4th November agreement was reached whereby Phillpotts was to receive £4,500 p.a. With Barrington's death in 1826 negotiations were again reopened, which resulted in Phillpotts receiving the lead tithe in kind, but because of the obvious inconvenience he settled in 1829 for a commutation based on production.⁴ The value of the Rectory in 1832 was £4,685.⁵

1. M. Hughes, "Lead, Land and Coal", p.50. Mr. Marshall to Mrs. D. Beaumont, 20 October, 1820.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, Stanhope.

B. Economic difficulties and efforts to maintain and improve incomes, 1815-1832

The end of the French wars saw the poorer Durham benefices somewhat better off than they had been at the outset of this period of study, but with still much more to be done if a comfortable income was to be secured for their incumbents. The larger rectories likewise had benefited from the war time prosperity, however, during the post war period their incumbents were faced with eroding incomes resulting from the deteriorating economic situation. Thus, after 1815, the Durham clergy were confronted with two distinct problems. On the one hand, incumbents of poorer livings were in the difficult position of having to continue with efforts to improve the value of their benefices, while the incumbents of many of the wealthy rectories sought to maintain their high war time incomes. In both instances the clergy were faced with a number of obstacles.

Short-sighted wartime farming policies were a cause of considerable anxiety, not only among the farming community, but also among the parochial clergy. Examples are many: after 1815 the perpetual curate of Hartlepool, William Wilson, was forced repeatedly to reduce his rents until finally he was faced with his tenant giving notice, unable to pay the reduced £75 p.a. rent:-¹

"He will quit it at May next he said it was not worth more than £60 per ann. in the present difficult seasons of harvests etc. as there have been and the greater part of it having been for many years in tillage, it is become exhausted".

The Rectory of Sedgfield, one of the wealthiest in the Archdeaconry, was severely affected by the inefficiency of its

1. CC. MSS. 1832, N.B. file, Hartlepool.

parish farmers, and by the general depressed state of the agricultural markets. Having an income of £2,300 p.a. in 1805, it fell to £1,933 p.a. by 1832.¹

In the short term, adverse weather was an additional factor which led to the reduction of clerical incomes. Parishes bordering on the river Wear were particularly prone to flooding. The tithes of the perpetual curacy of Witton-le-Wear were so diminished by sections of the parish being periodically inundated that the incumbent expended £3 for "embanking against the water".² The parish of Aycliffe was similarly liable to flooding causing heavy financial loss to the incumbent:-

".... by ye over flow of the River Wear, many of the Farmers have lost their sheep by ye rot which has diminished the tithe of Lamb for ye last three or four years to the amount of perhaps £20 or £30. Their poverty has hitherto prevented them making up their stocks; and may prevent them doing so for some years to come. Should the seasons prove again contrary the living may never be improved"³

With the fall of agricultural prices after 1818, the Durham parochial clergy were faced with threats of further reductions.⁴ They supported the farming community against those who sought reductions in agricultural protection and, following the passage of the 1828 Corn Law, members of the archdeaconry clergy clamoured for increased protection. The Rector of Stainton, Daniel Peacock, had experienced a continued decline in the value of his benefice which he attributed to the progressive decline of agricultural produce, and to the resulting

1. CC. MSS. 1832, N.B. file, Sedgefield. "The land throughout the parish being much exhausted, and the farmers very poor the gross value of the Rectory of Sedgefield has fallen off more than one third within twenty years".

2. CC. MSS. 1832, N.B. file, Witton-le-Wear.

3. Ibid., Aycliffe.

4. W. W. Rostow, British Economy of the Nineteenth Century, (Oxford, 1966), p.111.

reduced circumstances of the farmers in his parish. He saw little hope of reversing the trend of declining incomes, and felt that if any increase was to take place it "must plainly depend in a great measure on the degree of protection afforded to the landed interest".¹

Finally, parochial incomes were vulnerable to the frequent political disruptions of the post war years including the added burden of increasing rates under the old Poor Law. In 1832 Thomas Baker, Rector of Whitburn, foresaw a reduction of his income resulting from the depreciation in the value of property in the adjoining parishes of Monkwearmouth and South Shields. This had been caused by the decay of the shipping industry brought on by a pitmen's strike and he feared increased rates to aid the distressed areas.² In the same year the Rector of Gateshead informed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that he was compelled to pay poor rates which had "increased nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ during the 9 years on account of cholera and pitmen's strikes".³

Few benefices in the Archdeaconry escaped the effects of some or all of the preceding income determinants. The following letter from Mr. William Pybus, tithe agent to the Rector of Brancepeth, William Nesfield, though written in 1818, clearly illustrates the plight of the Durham incumbent during the critical period 1815 to 1832.⁴

1. CC. MSS. 1832, N.B. File, Stainton.

2. Ibid., Whitburn.

3. Ibid., Gateshead.

4. Brigadier-General Conyers Surtees, The History of the Church of St. Brandon at Brancepeth, (Durham, 1919), p.19.

"Yours of the 27th of last month I received, in which you request to know the state and condition of your living at Brancepeth, and to know the cause of its being so greatly diminished in value. It is certainly greatly diminished in value, and unavoidably so, which may be attributed to various causes. The first that I shall notice proceeds from the great pressure upon all agricultural concerns, which took place at the conclusion of the late long and serious War, which caused a great diminution in the value of the produce of the soil, from which cause the Farmers have been less able to pay for their tithes, and of course I was under the necessity of greatly reducing their value. A second and most serious cause proceeded from the heavy and continual rains which fell in the autumn of 1816 and 1817, which prevented the corn from filling and ripening; from this cause alone, the living of Brancepeth suffer'd materially, for the titheable lands in the Parish are mostly composed of poor and ~~backerly~~ ^{barren} soils, as such, the crops on these Lands were in those years almost entirely spoil'd and render'd of little value. A third cause may be fairly alluded to the following circumstances; when you first enter'd upon the Living (or a short time afterwards) the Farmers were on account of the high price of Corn all anxious to have as much of their Lands in tillage as they possibly could obtain, but since the depression in price took place, they have alter'd their system and have (and are now) lying away to grass as much of their tillage Lands as they possibly can, which of course causes less corn to be grown than formerly: now the Grass Lands into Parish contribute only a small proportion to the arable Lands, for the benefit of the Rector, because the most of them are cover'd by Moduses paid in lieu of Tithe Hay: The new enclosures indeed pay Hay Tithe in kind, but on those enclosures you seldom meet with more than a Quarter of a ton per Acre but frequently less. I have to observe that formerly the Farmers were always anxious to take their Tithes for a term, I had for several years a considerable portion of them lett in this way, some for three years, some for six, and some for a longer term, but since the depression upon agriculture concerns took place, and the two destructive harvests they have experienced very few will take for a term, and those few must have them at a greatly reduced value, but several will not take at any price, nor will run the hazard of them even for a single year, so that I have for these last two years been under the troublesome necessity of employing persons in different parts of the Parish to take in the tithes for you, and to stock, manufacture, and market them in the best manner they could, for which I have to pay them amply for their trouble and expenses.

There is another cause which has greatly added to the diminution of the value of the living (viz) lately a quantity of Titheable arable Land has been taken from sundry Farms in the Parish and converted into plantations. I cannot state the exact quantity, but suppose that there cannot be less than 300 acres, and the most of it, the best, that the Farms from which it was taken contain'd; this Land, as soon as planted, immediately ceased to contribute to the poor Rates, which of course greatly increased the collections upon the Tithes, as well as upon other property, and consequently add to the disbursements of the Living.

The foregoing appears to be the principal causes of the diminution of the value of the Living of Brancepeth. I shou'd hope that time and more favourable seasons may bring things nearer to their former channel, but the plantations to a certainty will be a perpetual loss, unless indeed the Tithes of wood could be established: it certainly is as liable to pay Tithes as any other produce of the Earth, but the payment of it has never been enforced in this part of the Kingdom that I have heard of, in the South it is common enough, and is deem'd a most valuable tithe".

Increasing nonconformity combined with growing social unrest made efforts to break moduses and regain lost tithes and fees difficult. The determination and strength of will of the diocesan clergy defied caution and throughout the post-war years, even after Peterloo, the clergy continued their policy of direct confrontation with the laity over the question of parochial incomes.

The year 1816 saw Benjamin Kennicott, the Hebrew Scholar and Vicar of Woodhorn, Northumberland, involved in three tithe suits,¹ while in the following year Thomas Ewbank, Rector of Elton was seen to be renewing the tithe battle with his parishioners that had begun in 1804.² In that year Ewbank had attempted to break a number of existing moduses and to compel the payment of tithe in kind. The case continued until 1813

1. In the same year Kennicott was inducted as perpetual curate of Monkwearmouth in the Archdeaconry of Durham.

2. PP.1817 XVI. p.68, Papers relating to Tithe Causes.

when, before a special jury at the Durham Assizes, a verdict was found for the Rector. After an appeal the verdict stood. Five years later, in 1817, Ewbank was back in the courts suing eight of his parishioners for non-payment of tithe.¹

Failure on the part of the Vicar of Stranton to negotiate an increase in tithe payments from a local farmer prompted the Vicar, Joseph Birkett, to use the courts as an instrument for the improvement of his income.² In 1818 he sued John Stonehouse for subtraction of tithe in the years 1814-15-16-17. Birkett claimed he was owed in back tithes three shillings or at least two shillings and sixpence for the grazing of fifteen or at least ten unprofitable cattle, while Stonehouse claimed first that the grazing was not worth "so much as 3/-", and second that he "hath been at all times and now is ready to pay all the tithes that have been accustomed to be paid" The evidence suggests that Birkett's failure to negotiate an increase in tithe payments over the previous four years had prompted him to look to the courts to enforce such an increase under the guise of non-payment.³

After 1820, criticism of the clergy became intense and widely publicised, a result of the foundation on 1 January, 1820 of a radical newspaper in Durham City. The Durham Chronicle's token proprietor, John Ambrose Williams,⁴ a

1. P.P. 1817, XVI, p.68.

2. While Vicar of Stranton, Birkett seems to have maintained extensive gardens and is remembered for his generous donations of home grown vegetables to the poor of his parish.

3. SR. MSS. Consistory Court Papers. Joseph Birkett v. John Stonehouse, 6 February, 1818.

4. Maurice Milne, Newspapers of Northumberland and Durham, (Newcastle, 1971), p.50.

vigorous Whig campaigner, energetically publicised clerical persecutions, particularly after their controversial and unsuccessful attempt to unseat the Whig member for Durham City, J. G. Lambton, in the general election of 1820.¹

In January 1821, Williams observed that the Rector of Washington, John Davison, officiated in a comparatively empty church and suggested the fall in attendance was attributable to the effects of three tithe suits in which the Rector was then involved.² Some months later the Chronicle graphically illustrated the apparent lengths the clergy were prepared to go in their efforts to protect their incomes.³

"In Gateshead, the Church has lately assumed a most dreadful aspect to the poor of the Parish. Many of them have been much harrassed for the non-payment of church assessments and what are called Caster Dues. After multiplied summonses and increased expenses, bailiffs and other officers have been placed in some of their miserable habitations, whereby some aged, helpless, and poverty stricken persons have been reduced to the necessity of submitting either patiently to the spoiling of their goods, or to beg and borrow of their Christian neighbours money sufficient to rescue them from the merciless grasp of the oppressor".

In spite of such adverse publicity, and in the face of a rising tide of anti establishment feeling, the Durham clergy did little to ease the increasing tension between the ecclesiastical establishment and the lay community. They continued to press claims that could only be ruinous to their already tarnished image.

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1. Francis Mewburn, The Larchfield Diary. Extracts from the Diary of the Late Mr. Mewburn, First Railway Solicitor, 1830, p.21. Lambton was closely involved with the Chronicle as Mewburn's Diary indicates. "Lord Durham, when Mr. Lambton established the Durham Chronicle in order to preserve his political influence but he paid dearly for his whistle. From the first to last (1820 to 30) the paper cost him £15,000. This appears an incredible sum, but I have my information from one who has seen the accounts".
 2. DC., 6 January, 1821.
 3. Ibid., 30 June, 1821. Davison's suits were in an attempt to break moduses that were being paid in lieu of tithes. See Proceeding of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle 3rd Series, Vol.VII, p.176.

Such an action took place in 1822, the course of which was not only closely followed by the Chronicle, but was also reported by the radical press elsewhere in the country. On the 22nd February, 1822 William Nesfield, perpetual curate of Chester-le-Street,¹ sued one Peter Watson of that parish for what Nesfield alleged to be his refusal to pay "6d. Hen money and 1d. commonly called smoke penny and for every communicant or person above the age of sixteen years of which such Housekeepers family actually consisted, one penny half penny", in the years 1819, 1820 and 1822.

Tried before the Durham Consistory Court, Nesfield produced a 65 year old parishioner to testify that he had been paying the above fees for over thirty-five years, but the court was not impressed and found that Watson did not in fact owe the said fees. With Watson's acquittal, and Nesfield's subsequent actions, the Chronicle took up the tale:-²

"The time of the court was occupied with it (the case) once every two weeks from the date till Friday, the 19th July, when the defendant, having convinced his judges that the claim was unsupported by any known law of the land, and of course illegal, they were obliged to relinquish all further proceedings against the defendant, and to dismiss him. His clerical persecutors, however, not being able to accomplish their purpose in their own courts, set up a new plea against Mr. Watson, on the ground of a contempt of court, because he would not answer in the precise form and manner imposed on him by the Vicar-General, which required the employment of a proctor of that court, but insisted on his right by the common law of the land to plead in person. The Bishop of Durham therefore certified by his officer the contumacy complained of, into the Court of Chancery, and prayed the interposition of the common law to enforce that which the canon law had not the power to do, and, by a writ "De Contumace Capendo" he called upon the Court of Pleas at Durham to afford its aid in the matter. By virtue of this writ Mr. Watson was arrested and imprisoned in Durham gaol on the

1. Also a Justice of the Peace and Rector of Brancepeth.

2. DC., 22 February 1822.

16th of August, there to remain and continue without bail or mainprize until he should submit to answer the plaintiffs libel in the Consistory Court in the form prescribed by the Vicar General and should pay the plaintiffs costs. On the 15th October Mr. Watson was advised to file in the Court of Pleas at Durham a plea in abatement to the writ under which he had been incarcerated, and late on the evening of Saturday, the 26th October, he was released from imprisonment without any further proceedings on his part after an illegal detention for the space of seventy two days".

Undaunted, Neafield turned to the Durham Quarter Sessions where, after a further three years, he achieved what he had so persistently sought - Watson's conviction.¹ On 10 January, 1825 the Durham Quarter Session ordered that a warrant be issued to "Distrain the goods and chattels for the sum of Eleven Pounds ten shillings and two pence"²

This successful defence of prerogative fees had come at a bad time, for it was seen to be further evidence of clerical antipathy to the liberal cause. Coming as it did in the wake of the Durham clergy's support for the magistrates action at Peterloo,³ after their active and unpopular support for the Tory candidate in the Durham City election of 1820,⁴ and following the notoriety of the ecclesiastical establishments persecution of the Chronicle's editor in 1822,⁵ the Watson case widened the existing gulf between the Diocesan Clergy and that portion of the county's population they wished most to influence.

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1. Through the columns of The Chronicle Watson's plight came to the attention of a number of Liverpool radicals who collected £54 to assist his defence. DC. 1 February, 1823.
 2. DCRO. MSS. Quarter Session Order Book, 10 January, 1825.
 3. See Chester New, Lord Durham, (Oxford, 1929), pp.51-5; Leonard Cooper, Radical Jack, the Life of John George Lambton First Earl of Durham...., (London, 1959), pp.63-5. See also G. F. A. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.246.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid., pp.247-50.

While Nesfield was successfully pursuing his policy of what many saw to be the blatant victimisation of his parishioners,¹ the Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, Edward South Thurlow, "Was at his old work - prosecuting his parishioners". In the face of a refusal to pay Easter dues, Thurlow, also a Justice of the Peace, seized goods belonging to the refractory parishioner, a response he seems to have employed more than once. The Chronicle reported that:-

"His minions entered the shop of Mr. Kirker, of Houghton-le-Spring, on Thursday night, and took therefrom one cheese, weighing 92½ pounds, for Easter exactions. It has been resolved to prosecute this Reverend Divine. There are two other actions also pending against his reverence; one at the instance of Mr. Old of Hetton, the other at that of Mr. Bell of Newbottle. Mr. Kirker waited on the Rector the next morning, after being plundered of his cheese, to have two warrants, one for stealing, taking and carrying away his property, the other to search for his property."²

The premature and apparently illegal seizure of Kirker's property was followed by his conviction for non-payment of Easter offerings before a Magistrates Court. His appeal before the Quarter Sessions was equally unsuccessful. The court ordered that sixpence be paid to the Rector in respect of the said fees, that a further three shillings be paid for Thurlow's costs at the Petty Session and that "the appellant shall pay to the said Respondent the sum of £5-12-6 being the amount of costs taxed and allowed by the Deputy Clerk of the Peace".³

Thurlow, like Nesfield, had been unrelenting in the defence of his fees, and while the two legal actions had cost him at least £5-12-6 it must have cost Kirker a like sum, which of course in the light of the judgement, was doubled.

1. DCRO. MSS. Quarter Session Order Book, 18 October, 1824. Even before the conclusion of the Watson case Nesfield, in 1824, had successfully gone to court against two other parishioners for the recovery of 3/2½d.

2. DC., 20 September 1823.

3. DCRO. MSS. Quarter Session Order Book, 18 October, 1824.

The fact that Thurlow, the most notorious pluralist in the Archdeaconry received an annual income of nearly £4,000 did nothing to improve his image, or that of the parochial clergy as a whole.¹

The publication of the Durham Chronicle was perhaps the greatest single factor behind the unification of public feeling against the Durham ecclesiastical establishment. The pages of the Chronicle throughout the decade illustrate what its editors considered to be examples of clerical persecution. Clerical conduct was kept before the public eye:-²

"Some of our Durham clergy, anxious to imitate their brethren in Ireland, appear equally litigious and equally well disposed to persecute the poor for petty claims"

The clergy failed the test of such scrutiny by their willingness to continue to involve themselves in disputes, which, though born out of a prolonged period of economic distress, repeatedly degenerated, in the face of public opinion, to trials of strength with the anti-establishment elements within the county. The smouldering fires of anti-clerical feeling were fanned by their aggressive defence of the church, and their overt support of the status quo, the results of which could only mean the weakening of the Durham parochial structure.

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1. DC. 6 September, 1823. See also p. As infamous was the Rev. Henry Egerton, brother of John, Bishop of Durham, and Rector of Bishopwearmouth. It was said of him that if the law or custom had permitted he would have exacted from his parishioners "tithe of mint and rue and all manner of herbs like the old Scribes and Pharisees". He enforced the payment of a traditional tithe on fishing to the extent that the expense of its collection was considerably in excess of his receipts. William Brockie, Sunderland Notables: Natives, Residents and Visitors, p.318.
 2. DC., 6 September, 1823.

C. Mineral deposits and their effect on parochial incomes.

The improvement in parochial incomes illustrated in Figure 1 and in the chapter Appendices A to C can only in part be explained by the clerical efforts previously described. While it is true that a few incumbents such as James Miller, Vicar of Pittington, might substantially raise their incomes by increasing fees and breaking moduses, there was a limit to what such action could achieve.¹

In all instances the clergy were dependent in one way or another on the state of agricultural markets, which meant that incomes were particularly vulnerable during the post-war years. The effect of successive agricultural depressions can clearly be seen in Derbyshire, where the parochial clergy were similarly dependent on the price of agricultural produce, and where, in the years from 1815 to 1832, parochial incomes declined.²

The increasing incomes enjoyed by a number of Durham parsons between 1820 and 1832 were a direct result of a second economic factor, the exploitation of the county's vast mineral wealth: increased output of the lead industry, and the extension of the Durham coal field.³ In addition, the rapid and sustained growth of the local population created a continuously expanding home market which was to benefit the parson as well as the agricultural community by shielding them both from the worst effects

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1. When Miller was inducted on 17 August, 1822 the income of Pittington was £100 p.a. On 10 October of that year, the day before his first payment of tithe was due he sent notice to the three principal proprietors in his parish that he would no longer accept the composition which had existed between them and his predecessors. In 1824 he claimed the Vicarial tithes arising from the Farm called Littletown being the corps-land attached to the Tenth Stall. Throughout the year 1828 he was involved in a suit heard before Lord Chief Baron Gurney in the Court of Exchequer to break a modus of £3-12-4. By 1832 his total court costs had amounted to over £2,600 however he had successfully increased his income to £533 p.a. DCRO. EP/PI 51-52; CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, Pittington.
 2. Austin, "Derbyshire", p.213.
 3. R. L. Galloway, A History of Coal Mining in Great Britain, (London, 1969).

of the periodic post-war agricultural depressions.² In many instances Durham incumbents experienced forty years of economic prosperity, a fact borne out by the Chapter Appendices.

Testifying before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Archdeacon Charles Thorp briefly described the source of the Archdeaconry's wealth.¹

"Amongst the mining district of England, the Great Coal Field of Durham and Northumberland immediately connected as it is with the lead district of the same counties, furnishes employment to a much greater number of men, and larger amounts of capital than any other mineral deposits of Great Britain. The three largest colliery establishments in the world, yielding upwards of a million tons of coal per annum; and furnished with pumping and winding engines equal to the production of twice that quantity from depths of from 50 to 150 fathoms, are situate within seven miles of the city of Durham. The most productive lead mines, and some of the largest Quarries and Lime Kilns in the Kingdom are within an easy distance from the same town".

Livings located in the lead dales received tithe of lead, while parishes in coal districts received royalties on coal raised from beneath glebes and rents from wayleave. Other benefices indirectly benefited from the foundation or expansion of industries closely allied with the production of coal.

The question as to whether or not lead was a tithable commodity was a long-debated issue. Coke declared that tithes were not payable on anything that was substance of the earth and not animal, thus exempting stone, tin, lead, coal, chalk, etc. Seventeenth century ecclesiastical lawyers disagreed. Sir Thomas Ridley, the Bishop of London's Vicar General,

1. DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol.IV, p.658, 19 December, 1836.
2. Durham County and City with Teesside, ed. J. C. Dewdney, (Durham, 1970), p.231; Census, 1851, p. xxxiii.

<u>Year of Census</u>	<u>Population of Durham</u> <u>County</u>	<u>% of Increase</u>
1801	149,384	
1811	165,293	10%
1821	193,511	17%
1831	239,256	24%

regarded tithe to be due on stone, turfs and minerals, declaring that they renewed themselves.¹

By local custom, however, the parochial clergy might receive tithe of things not clearly tithable by common right. With this principle in view, T. H. Shaw in his Law of Tithe wrote in 1794 that while ore was not tithable, it being parcel of the freehold, it was recognised that by "particular custom" tithe of lead "may be due and payable".²

In Derbyshire, claims to lead tithe were settled relatively early in the century, coming with the expansion of the industry. In districts where new mines were opened and where the tithe had not previously been paid, the clergy attempted to establish their right to it. Their claims were based on the legitimate principle that mines destroyed tithable land, though in some cases they adopted the less tenable position of claiming that lead "grew and renewed in the veins".³

The persistence of such claims led to an unsuccessful attempt by the Derbyshire miners in 1623 to introduce a bill into Parliament for the abolition of tithe on lead ore. Four years later the Court of Exchequer ordered payment of lead tithe in the Wirksworth area, after which such payments became widespread enough to prompt another attempt by the leadminers, in 1652, to induce Parliament to legislate against the tithe. As in their previous attempt they were unsuccessful.⁴

Expansion of the lead industry occurred at a later date in the Archdeaconry of Durham, and with it came similar clashes over the clerical right to tithe of lead ore. Both Rectors of Stanhope and Middleton-in-Teesdale, perhaps inspired by the

1. Christopher Hall, Economic Problems of the Church, (Oxford, 1956), pp.84-5.

2. Shaw, Tithe, p.19.

3. VCH. Derbyshire, Vol.II., p.332.

4. Ibid., p.333.

spirit of 7 & 8 William III cap.VI, went to the courts to settle the right of their claims.¹

In 1696 William Hartwell, Rector of Stanhope, faced with difficulties in the collection of the tithe successfully defended his claim in the courts.² Two years later Timothy Tully, the Rector of Middleton-in-Teesdale, "recovered by a verdict at Law in Durham and after an appeal, by Decree in the Exchequer Chamber tithe of lead through the whole forest of Teesdale".³ These favourable judgements enabled the succeeding Rectors of Middleton, Stanhope and a third dales Rectory, Wolsingham, to enjoy consistently high incomes throughout the period of this study.⁴

While only three benefices benefited from the increasing production of lead ore, the incomes of many other livings were directly or indirectly improved as a result of the opening out of the Durham coal field. J. D. Powles, perpetual curate of Heworth, in a letter to Sir Robert Peel outlined the effects of the expanding industry.

"Deposits of coal being discovered and successfully worked, a large population has been drawn to the spot. Their labours beneath the surface have given a large direct income to the Dean and Chapter, while their own consumption of the produce of the land, has given a double impulse to its value. Further, the presence of this coal has lead to the establishment of manufacturers in the neighbourhood. Population has been still further encouraged and consequence a still further augmentation in the value of church property has ensued. Year after year has this gone on. The income of the Dean and Chapter from this" ⁵ parish has swollen up to £4,000 per ann.

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1. Adam Martin, Index to Various Repertories, Books of Orders and Decrees and Other Records Preserved in the Court of Exchequer, (London, 1819), p.147 and p.197.
 2. VCH., Durham, Vol.II, p.352.
 3. SR. MSS. Glebe Terriers, Middleton-in-Teesdale, 1792.
 4. Ibid., Wolsingham, 1788. See Appendix A for incomes.
 5. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Heworth. No.14750.

Parochial incomes were affected in many ways. At the bottom of the scale, George Stephenson, Rector of Redmarshall received in lieu of hay tithe from the township of Stillington "three wain loads of coals",¹ while the vicars of Dalton-le-Dale had secured payment of a coal tithe amounting to eight carts of coals in the summer of one year, and nine the next.²

As parish populations increased so did incomes from fees. The surplice fees of the Vicarage at Pittington rose "in consequence of an increase of population connected with new coal workings".³ The population of St. Helen, Auckland, owing to the exploitation of the Auckland coal field, rapidly increased after 1832 and the incumbent was confident "the fees will be more in the course of a year or two".⁴

Fees were likewise affected, though temporarily, by the influx of migrant labourers who constructed the county's railway network, the Vicarage of Billingham being one such case.⁵ Railways themselves were potential sources of income to those few incumbents whose glebes were in the path of the rights of way. The Rector of Hurworth sold a portion of his glebe to the Darlington Railway Company for £210, which when invested, yielded the incumbent £8-8-0 p.a.

At the other end of the scale more fortunate incumbents realised substantial increases in revenue from either certain rents and royalties paid for coal mined from under glebe, or from rents received for granting way leaves.

In the Archdeaconry collieries were generally let for a certain annual rent in order to secure to the lessor a fixed income. The lessee was allowed to work a certain number

1. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Redmarshall.

2. Ibid., Dalton-le-Dale.

3. Ibid., Pittington.

4. Ibid., St. Helen, Auckland.

5. Ibid., Hurworth.

of tens at a stipulated rate per ten to offset the amount of the certain rent, after which he was to pay the same rate per ten for any surplus coal mined over that quantity, as royalty payments.¹ The important point of such a lease was that the lessee must pay the annual rent whether or not he worked the quantity of coal allowed to cover it. An example of such a lease was that held by the Rev. George Townshend Fox.

Fox, the evangelical incumbent of St. Nicholas, Durham, had inherited from his father a moiety of the freehold of Little Eppleton in the parish of Houghton-le-Spring, the mining rights of which his father had leased to the Hetton Colliery Company. Though not held by virtue of his incumbency the lease is similar to a standard episcopal or capitular lease.²

By the terms of the lease Fox and his co-holders were to receive £200 p.a. certain rent, the coal being removed at the rate of twenty shillings per ten from the High main and Hutton seams, and at seventeen shillings per ten from any other seam. To pay the reserved rent the Colliery Company was entitled to work two-hundred tons after which they were to pay royalties at the above rates. It was entered into the lease that in the event the first 200 tons were not removed, the lessee was still bound to pay the full certain rent. To protect their interests the lessors were entitled to free access to the company's books "the better to be informed of and to ascertain the number of quantities of tenns of coals which he wrought and carried away from and out of the said mines".³ It may be assumed that

1. William Fordyce, A History of Coal, Coke, Coal Fields in the North of England, p.50. The ten or tenn was a local measure which varied at different periods. The usual ten was 440 coal bushels of 36 gallons Winchester that is, equal to 48 tons, 11 cwt. 2 quarters, 17 pounds. The Dean and Chapter adopted a simpler measure of 432 bushels which was 48 tons, 14 cwt. per ten. Ibid. p.53.

2. Ibid., p.50.

3. DCRO. MSS. N.C.B. 2nd deposit, Lease Book, No.11.

It was this source of income that enabled Fox in 1858 to donate £1,000 towards the rebuilding of St. Nicholas Church, Durham, and to augment the benefice through the purchase of property valued at £500.¹ Other incumbents by right of their incumbencies received rents or royalty payments that varied from the £5 p.a. received by the curate of Heworth "so long as a particular colliery is worked",² to the £1,750 p.a. shared by the Bishops of Durham and the incumbents of the new parish of Shildon from Coundon Gate Colliery.³

Incumbents might also benefit from a type of royalty payment known locally as "dead rents". If, after a lease had been signed, the colliery company decided to delay the actual mining of the coal, royalties were to be paid to the lessor as a dead rent. In the year 1854 it has been estimated that lessors in the Archdeaconry alone had received royalties amounting to £150,000 for unworked seams.⁴ While at the moment there is no evidence to indicate that such payments were received by any Durham incumbents, the possibility cannot be overlooked, especially in light of the immense coal deposits known to exist under many Archdeaconry glebes. Henry Percival, Rector of Washington had known for some time of a "considerable yield of coal under the Glebe - which would produce a large sum if it was let".⁵

There is little direct evidence to substantiate the belief that any Durham incumbents "finding coal under their glebes worked it out against their lives impoverishing the living for their successors".⁶ In only two Durham parishes is there

1. See p.49.

2. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Heworth.

3. Fordyce, History of Coal, p.98.

4. Ibid., p.53.

5. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Washington.

6. T. S. Ashton and T. Sykes, The Coal Industry of the Eighteenth Century, (Manchester, 1929), p.178.

evidence to show that the working-out of coal deposits affected incomes and both instances were in parishes where coal production had begun in the eighteenth century. The Rector of Ryton had regularly received royalty payments averaging £175 p.a. but foresaw their loss with the proposed closing of the pit in 1833¹ while the income of the Rector of Washington was actually reduced by £112 p.a. with the closure of a pit in his parish.²

Rents for way leave were a particularly lucrative source of income. The rates were arbitrary, insomuch as an incumbent was free to fix whatever sum he pleased.³ The stranglehold certain incumbents had on colliery owners is reflected in the rents that were paid.

In 1806 the Rector of Gateshead received £160 p.a. from such rents and the Rector of Washington £100 p.a. The agreement made between the latter and William Russell of Brancepeth Castle dated 13 August, 1806 illustrates the form of such agreements.⁴

"Sufficient and Convenient wayleave or liberty of passage to and for s William Russell over the clases fields or parcels of the Glebe lands of or belonging to him said the Egerton as Rector of Washington for the carrying leading and conveying towards the River Wear with Horses, cattle, Carts, Wains, waggons or any other carriages of all coals and cinders, stones, metal rubbish and other things from all or any of the coal mines and collieries which belonged to the late Sir Gilfrid Lawson Bart., James Musgrave Esq., and Robert Eden Duncombe Shaftoe or any of them but for no other coals or cinders won wrought or gotten or to be won wrought or gotten forth or out of any other Coal Mines or Collieries than the above ment.d.

1. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Ryton.

2. Ibid., Washington.

3. SR. MSS. Glebe Terriers, Gateshead, 1806.

4. DCRO. MSS. N.C.B. 2nd Deposit, 13 August, 1806.

for the term of 21 years at the certain yearly rent of £100 payable half yearly on the 13th February and 13th August and also yielding and delivering to Charles Egerton or his successors Rectors etc., yearly and every year^d... at such time or times as he or they sho^d have occasion for and desire the same the annual quantity of 60 tons of the best fire coals"

By 1832 the Rector's rent had risen to £125 p.a.¹

Clerical efforts to extend tithe rights, their defence of existing tithe receipts and fees, and the expansion of the Durham extractive industries, combined to offset the effects of the post-war economic depressions, and together they account for the overall average increase in parochial incomes indicated in Figure 1. A close look at Chapter Appendices A and B illustrates, however, that while average incomes increased, the incomes of a small concentration of benefices did not.

Those livings located in the south-eastern corner of the Archdeaconry, that is to say, within the area roughly corresponding to Stockton Deanery, were beyond the southern bounds of the Durham coal field. Rectories such as Sedgfield, Elwick Hall, Long Newton, Craike, Redmarshall and Egglescliffe, and Vicarages such as Hart, Greatham and Bishop Middleham, as a result of their locations, were unable to share the profits of the county's expanding economy, their incomes being solely dependent upon the state of the agricultural markets. The following is an abbreviated table taken from Appendices A & B which illustrates this point.²

1. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Washington.

2. For the locations of these benefices see map between pages 115-16.

<u>Benefice</u>		<u>Income 1808</u>	<u>Income 1832</u>
Egglescliffe	R.	£1,200	£1,117
Elwick Hall	R.	£ 800	£ 544
Craike	R.	£ 950	£ 672
Greatham	V.	£ 200	£ 186
Hart	V.	£ 380	£ 240

The dependence on agriculture made improvement difficult. In the light of growing opposition to the payment of tithe, the clergy had become increasingly susceptible to the strength of public opinion, and throughout the 1820s became reluctant to press their claims. Such unwillingness to improve is illustrated by the Vicar of Bishop Middleham, Thomas Henry Yorke, who, after being informed by his tithe agent of a probable fall in the value of his glebe, was advised that such losses might be made up through the payment of agistment tithe, refused to press for such entitlement as "these are not times to advance claims".¹

The plight of Robert Bamford, Vicar of Bishopton, is particularly interesting in that during his first seven years as incumbent, he was reluctant to attempt any improvement of his income until such time as he felt that he was being forced to by virtue of what he considered to be the misguided passage of 2 & 3 William IV C.100.² The parish consisted of three townships, Bishopton, Little Stainton and Newbiggin, with part of the income arising from the rental of the glebe amounting to £72 p.a. The whole of the vicarial tithe was let to a farmer for £100 p.a., but this did not include the tithes of grain, lambs, or wool which were in the possession of the impropietors, the Master and Brethren of Sherburn Hospital.

1. CC. MSS. N.B. file, Bishop Middleham. Agistment tithe is defined as being the rate levied or profit made upon the pasturing of another's cattle. See Shaw, Tithe, pp.138-40.

2. Ibid., Bishopton.

There was little else the Vicar could draw upon to raise his income. Within the township of Bishopton certain fields paid four shillings and sixpence in lieu of tithe in kind, while the two other townships paid instead of hay tithe in kind, the sum of £1-1-11 and some small payments of £1-0-1½ for cows milk.¹

In 1832, faced with the passage of the above 'Act for shortening the Time Required in Claims of Modus Deminandi on Exemption from the Discharge of Tithes', Bamford sought guidance from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.²

"The Commissioners may have an idea of the large share of his endowment, which is now enjoyed by the Proprietors of the land, and which he understands, will, by a late statute be permanently secured to them unless he shall immediately take upon himself the odium expense of a law suit with his parishioners,³ and thus interrupt and undo the anxious labours of several years in creating an attachment to the church, and the services of religion. If this be the case, he protests against being compelled to sacrifice the just rights of himself and his successors on the alternative of exciting the hostility of his parishioners and of impoverishing himself. He is unwilling to make any attempt to set aside the pretended Moduses because, though he has no money to lay out in law, he has no family to force him to take such measures to improve an inadequate income, and because he is most desirous that his own and his curates (efforts) should be productive to the greatest benefit to the parish; but he does not see the justice of his forbearance being now constituted the ground of depriving his vicarage of a portion of its endowment and presenting it to the owners of the land, who on account of the poverty and ignorance and lazyness of former vicars have so withheld the tithes in kind, and have made a small money payment in lieu. The vicar therefore humbly ventures to suggest to the notice of the Commissioners the consideration whether by a select or private committee or by any other means, an inquiry might not be made into such cases as the vicarage of Bishopton so as to ascertain how far evidence could be got as to

1. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Bishopton.
 2. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Bishopton.
 3. 2 & 3 William IV C.100.

the invalidity of the small money payments presented as Moduses, that the incumbent might by the sanction and judgement of his superiors, be either relieved in his conscience by abstaining from law, or encouraged to undertake the unpleasant task of claiming his dues in order to prevent if possible their permanent attachment to other parties who can have no right to them".

The 1815 to 1832 period saw the failure of the purely agricultural parishes to maintain their high war time income levels. The Rector of Elton claimed in 1832 that the value of his living had been halved during the preceding ten years,¹ while the Rector of Redmarshall, George Stephenson, had seen the value of his benefice decline in value by nearly £100 p.a.² In 1832 George Stanley Faber, on becoming Master of Sherburn Hospital, informed his successor at Long Newton that during the preceding two years the value of that Rectory had decreased by over £200 p.a.³

It can generally be stated that those Archdeaconry livings outside the bounds of the mineral producing districts were affected in a similar manner by the post-war economic difficulties which affected agricultural parishes throughout the country. At the same time, however, in spite of stationary or decreasing parish populations, farmers in such parishes would have benefited from the expanding agricultural markets elsewhere in the country, and it is this fact which must have prevented a greater decrease in parochial incomes than in fact occurred.⁴

1. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Elton.

2. Ibid., Redmarshall. The Rector claimed agistment tithe on 16 acres of freehold land in the township of Shillington which he was unable to collect as the inhabitants kept the land in clover. This changing of crops was a frequently used expedient to frustrate the parson's collection of tithe. The perpetual curate of Tanfield's declining income was a result of farmers who "convert to crops that pay no tithe". A similar situation in Brancepeth has already been illustrated. Ibid., Tanfield.

3. CC. MSS. 1832. N.B. file, Long Newton.

4. Bailey, Agriculture, p.333.

APPENDIX A
RECTORY INCOMES

	1735-67	1774-92	1808-10 ⁹	1818	1832	1856	1860
Bishop- wearmouth	400 ¹⁴	800 ⁶	1179 (1808)		3346	1960 (1861)	1620
Boldon		300 ¹	800 (1808)		730	766 (1856)	700
Brancepeth	400 (1740) ⁴	600 ¹			940	900 (1856)	977
Dinsdale			128 (1808)		248		
Durham, St. Mary- le-Bow		51 ⁶	78 (1808)		103		280
Durham, St. Mary- the-Less		70 ¹	100 (1808)		120	157 (1856)	
Easington			1200 (1810)		1424	1778 (1861)	1355
Edmond- byers		60 ⁵ (1792)	92 (1808)		178		205
Eggles- cliffe	300 ⁸			1200 (1818)	1117		
Elton		70 ⁷	115 (1808)		180	213 (1852)	214
Elwick		400 (1771) ⁸	800 (1808)		544		
Gateshead	200 ¹⁴		900 (1810)		750		1070
Gateshead Fell							
Cockfield		60 ¹	44 (1810)		354		
Craike	120 ¹⁴		950 (1809)		672		
Haughton- le-Skerne	400 ¹⁴		1540 (1808)		1525	1843 (1861)	1471
Houghton- le-Spring	600 ¹⁴	800 ²	1300 (1803)		2553	1631 (1861)	1600
Hurworth					574	692 (1861)	652
Longnewton			780 (1810)		634		
Middleton- in-Teesdale		500 ²	300 (1808)				500

APPENDIX A (CONTD.)

	1735-67 ¹	1774-92 ²	1808-10 ⁹	1818	1832	1856	1860 ¹
Middleton St. George		40 ²	96 (1808)		100		97
Redmarshall	140 ¹⁴	180 ²	468 (1805)		365		378
Ryton		400 (1774) ⁸	1000 (1807)		1137	1135 (1861)	1030
Sedgefield	800 ³	900 ²	2300 (1805)		1933	1933 (1856)	1800
Stainton		180 ²	450 (1808)		340		335
Stanhope		700 ¹⁴	660 ²	2500 (1805)	4865		4875
Sunderland		184 (1795) ⁶			263		420
Washington	200 ¹⁴	400 ²	1050 (1801)		1057		900
Whickham		300 ² 400 (1788) ⁵			803		737
Winston		180 (1774) ⁸	560 (1808)		557		535
Whitburn	350 ¹⁴	260 ² 400 ¹	700 (1807)		1247	1184 (1861)	1112
Wolsingham		850 (1783) ⁶			907	1805 (1853)	910
Total	£4610	£8565	£19 430		£29566	£15997	£23773
Average income	£384	£372	£777		£986	£1231	£991
Percentage of increase or decrease over previous period		-3%	+108%		+26%	+25%	

1. Hutchinson, History of Durham, 1787 edn., Vols. I, II, & III.
2. DCL. Randall MSS.
3. Spearman, Enquiry, p.119.
4. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.335.
5. SR. MSS. Glebe terriers, 1623-1866.
6. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS. F. files.
7. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792 Archidiaconal Visitation bound with the Episcopal Visitation of that year.
8. Ibid., Spiritual Acts of John, Bishop of Durham.
9. Ibid., Diocese Book, undated C1808-10. MS. was amended at a later date and contains the improved incomes of a number of Archdeaconry livings before 1825.
10. Ibid., Queen Anne's Bounty return of livings under £150 p.a., 1810.
11. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file.
12. Ibid., Benefice files.
13. Crockford's, 1860.
14. NCL. MSS. Bishop Chandler's notes on Visitation, 1736.

APPENDIX B
VICARAGE INCOMES

	1735-67	1774-92	1808-10 ⁶	1818 ⁶	1832 ⁹	1856 ¹⁰	1860 ¹¹
Aycliffe		120 (1794) ¹	110 (1812)		282	369	350
Billing- ham		107 (1792) ⁹			194	272	380
Bishop Middleham			220 (1808)		199	184	194
Bishopton					179		165
Conis- cliffe		110 (1792) ⁹	150 (1808)		249	283	254
Dalton-le- Dale		90 (1794) ¹		150 (1818)	215		
Durham, St. Oswald		160 (1794) ¹			274	384	380
Gainford		180 (1771) ³		600 (1818)	1020	1100 (1861)	1200
Greatham		76 (1788) ²	200 (1814)		186		300
Grindon		94 (1775) ⁵			142	238 (1852)	260
Hart			380 (1814)		240	345 (1861)	238
Heighing- ton		140 (1794) ¹			265		336
Kellow	100 ¹	120 ³	230 (1808)		231	380 (1862)	295
Kirk Merring- ton		85 ³ 114 (1788) ⁴			221	380 (1862)	295
Monk Hesleden	67 ³				200	338 (1858)	
Norton		240 (1792) ⁴			368		380
Pitting- ton		75 (1792) ²	96 (1810)		517	620	623
Seaham		300 (1792) ⁴			688	672 (1861)	
Shin- cliffe				60 (1829)	96	285 (1853)	380
Staindrop		62 (1788) ²	89 (1808)		50	380 (1861)	370

APPENDIX B (CONTD.)

	1735-67	1774-92	1808-10 ⁶	1818 ⁶	1832 ⁹	1856 ¹⁰	1860 ¹¹
Sockburn			25 (1808)		79	180 (1852)	250
Stockton- on-Tees		150 ¹	250 (1814)		294	462	256
Stranton		80 (1792) ⁴	200 (1808)		280		
Total		£2189	£1950		£2469	£6492	£6891
Average income		£128	£177		£281	£405	£360
Percentage of increase or decrease over the previous period		-6%	+38%		+59%	+44%	-11%

1. Hutchinson, History of Durham, 1787 edn., Vols. I, II & III.
2. SR. MSS. Glebe terriers, 1623-1866.
3. DCL. Randall MSS.
4. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792 Archidiaconal Visitation.
5. Ibid., Spiritual Acts of John, Bishop of Durham.
6. Ibid., Diocese Book, undated c1808-10. MS. was amended at a later date and contains the improved incomes of a number of Archdeaconry livings before 1825.
7. Ibid., Queen Anne's Bounty return of livings under £150 p.a., 1810.
9. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files.
10. Ibid., Benefice files.
11. Crockford's, 1860.

APPENDIX CPERPETUAL CURACY INCOMES

	1735-67	1774-92	1808-10 ⁷	1818	1832 ¹⁰	1856 ⁹	1860 ¹³
St. Andrew, Auckland	80 ²		97	133 ¹⁴ (1818)	152	585	595
St. Helen, Auckland		60 ⁵	54		140 ¹¹		286
Barnard Castle			89		243		207
Castle Eden		40 ¹⁴ (1795)	48	63 ¹⁴ (1818)	62		
Chester- le-Street			460		377		460
Croxdale	52 ²		110		132	230 (1845)	
Darlington, St. Cuth- berts			95		284	225	680
Denton			51			76	80
Durham, St. Giles	115 ²		51		99	180	198
Durham, St. Margaret	49 ¹⁵ (1719)				461	445	330
Durham, St. Nicholas			41		90		84
Ebchester	30 ¹		60	94 ¹¹ (1817)	85		230
Escomb		92 ⁵	55		88		220
Esh	14 ¹	27 ⁴ 36 ¹⁵ 49 ²	66		65		200
Hamsterly			63	57 ¹⁴ (1816)	96		75
Hartkepool			36 110 (1814) ¹⁴	200 (1818) ⁷	149		238
Heathery Cleugh				12 (1825) ⁷	150		120
Heworth, St. Mary			45		88 ¹² 162	171	256
Hunwick							105
Hunstan- worth	21 ¹		58	60 (1818) ⁷		35	
Hylton					66 ¹¹	250	250

APPENDIX C (CONTD.)

	1735-67	1774-92	1808-10 ⁷	1818	1832 ¹⁰	1856 ⁹	1860 ¹³
Jarrow	60 ¹	100 ²	73		197	179	175
Lamesley			66	66 (1825) ¹¹	138	138	138
Lanchester	50 ¹	114 ⁵	114 ⁸		136	294	280
Medomsley	10 (1765) ¹⁴	29 ⁵	97	86 (1820) ¹¹	160	210	250
Monkwear- mouth	49 (1751) ³		113 (1808)		237	350 (1848)	360
Muggles- wick		44 (1788) ³	49 (1808)		93	216 (1856)	100
Sadberge							
Satley	8 ¹	13 (1784) ¹⁴	89 (1810)		68	90 (1842)	230
		28 (1790) ¹⁴					
		36 (1797) ¹⁴					
Seaton Carew					60		150
South Shields, St.Hilda	70-80 ¹⁵	90 (1792) ³	100 (1806) ³		335		460
St.John's Weardale			160 (1814) ⁶	84 (1816) ⁹	186		150
St.John's Sunderland	67 ²	67 ²	67 ²		122		
Tanfield			84 (1820)		138		150
Trimdon			100 (1810)		100		185
Whitworth		100 ²			210		228
Whorlton		35 ³	121 (1808)		112	345 (1856)	
Witton Gilbert		90 ⁶			303		335
Witton- le-Wear		51 ³	91 (1808)		97		96
Wolviston			93 (1808)		99	197 (1853)	189
Total	£610	£1010	£2896	£855	£5618	£4184	£8090
Average Income	£44	£63	£91	£85	£156	£232	£237
Percentage of increase or decrease over previous period		+43%	+44%	-6%	+83%	+49%	+2%

1. NCL. MSS. Bishop Chandler's notes on Visitation, 1736.
2. Hutchinson, History of Durham, 1787 edn., Vols. I, II & III.
3. SR. MSS. Glebe terriers, 1623-1866.
4. DCL. Randall MSS.
5. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792 Archidiaconal Visitation.
6. Ibid., Spiritual Acts of John, Bishop of Durham.
7. Ibid., Diocese Book undated c.1808-10.
8. Ibid., Queen Anne's Bounty return of livings under £150 p.a., 1810.
9. CC. MSS. Benefice files.
10. Ibid., 1832 N.B. files.
11. AC. Episcopal MSS. MS. bundle of papers entitled Bishopric Papers, 19th century.
12. PK. MSS. Dean and Chapter Officialty Book, 9 April, 1831-22nd April, 1837.
13. Crockford's, 1860.
14. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS. F. files.
15. G. B. Hodgson, The Borough of South Shields from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Nineteenth Century, (Newcastle, 1903), p.244.

CHAPTER IV

AUGMENTATION AND REFORM 1774 TO 1836

Chapter III Appendices A, B and C indicate that the average income of a Durham benefice whether a rectory, a vicarage, or a perpetual curacy was comparatively high, a fact that is confirmed in the following comparison with Derbyshire benefice incomes.

Figure 1

		<u>Rectories</u>	<u>Vicarages</u>	<u>Perpetual curacies</u>
Derbyshire	1772 ¹	£141 p.a.	£54 p.a.	£32 p.a.
Durham	1774 ²	£391 p.a.	£136 p.a.	£60 p.a.
Derbyshire	1832	£459 p.a.	£195 p.a.	£119 p.a.
Durham	1832	£981 p.a.	£316 p.a.	£174 p.a.

This high average income is in fact misleading, a result of certain individual benefices (in all three categories) being uncommonly well endowed. In 1774, while the average income for all classes of Durham livings was £254 p.a.,³ there were still benefices in the county that must be classed as so impoverished as to justify an incumbent's plurality and non-residence.

By 1774 the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty had raised the limit for augmentation by lot to £20 p.a. and had been empowered to make grants to meet benefactions to those livings whose value did not exceed £45 p.a.⁴ The existing evidence indicates that, at the outset of this period of study there were

1. Austin, "Derbyshire", p.165.
2. See pp.163-69.
3. Austin, "Derbyshire", p.165. The average Derbyshire living was worth £72 p.a.
4. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.109.

within the Archdeaconry of Durham seventeen benefices, averaging £32 p.a., and eligible for grants from the Royal Bounty. This was seventy years after the foundation of the Bounty, during which time fifty-two grants totalling £10,200 had been granted for the material improvement of the poorer cures within the Archdeaconry.¹

These seventeen livings included fifteen perpetual curacies, one rectory, and one vicarage. The patronage of these cures was broken down thus: the rectory of Middleton St. George valued at £40 p.a., along with six perpetual curacies, was held by lay patrons; the value of Sockburn, worth £25 p.a. in 1808, and the pereptual curacy of Ebchester, were in the gift of the Master and Brethren of Sherburn Hospital; three perpetual curacies were in the gift of the incumbents of mother churches; the perpetual curacies of St. Margaret's, Durham and Muggleswick, worth £49 p.a. and £44 p.a. respectively, were presented to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, while the advowson of the perpetual curacy of Medomsley, valued at £29 p.a., and the parochial curacy of St. Anne within the parish of St. Andrew, Auckland, worth £20 p.a., were held by the Bishop of Durham.

In 1809 the resources of the Bounty had been increased by Parliamentary grants and its overall effectiveness improved by newly acquired discretionary powers to augment those livings having incomes of less than £150 p.a. Hereafter benefice incomes were to have been raised to various levels not exceeding £150 p.a., based on parish populations, with the eventual aim of making £100 p.a. the minimum yearly income for the smaller parishes.²

1. Christopher Hodgson, An Account of the Augmentation of Small Livings, (London, 1826 and 2nd. edition, 1845).

2. Best, Temporal Pillars, pp.213-14.

While the Bounty Board was thus in the process of implementing the above scheme, the Governors were still faced with the scandal of the persistence of livings under £50 p.a. The 1809 returns to the Bounty office had shown that there were still 3,300 benefices worth less than £150 p.a., while at least 860 were under £50 p.a.¹ The same return for the Archdeaconry of Durham,² combined with the evidence of benefice incomes from other sources³ shows that rather than an improvement in the number of Durham livings below the Bounty minimum since 1774, the situation had become worse. By 1810 forty-seven benefices: six rectories, eight vicarages and thirty-three perpetual curacies, were below the £150 p.a. minimum set by the Governors.

The thirty-four year period between 1774 and 1808 saw only thirteen grants from the Royal Bounty being made to livings within the Archdeaconry. At the same time, for whatever reasons, the patrons of a substantial number of Durham livings had failed to monitor the economic fortunes of their parochial property. By far the greatest offenders were the Dean and Chapter of Durham. By 1810 fourteen of the sixteen livings in their patronage were worth less than £150 p.a.⁴ The Dean and Chapter were closely followed by the county's lay patrons of whose benefices 80% were below the Bounty minimum. Of those cures in episcopal patronage, seventeen per cent were worth less than £150 p.a.

The year 1809 marks the beginning of a long period of Durham parochial reform which was to continue beyond the chronological bounds of this study. For the sake of convenience

1. Best, *Temporal Pillars*, p.204.

2. AC. Episcopal MSS. Queen Anne's Bounty return of livings under £150 p.a., 1810.

3. *Ibid.*, Durham Diocesan Book, undated C1808-10.

4. 87.5% of Capitular patronage.

it can be broken into three distinct but overlapping stages. From 1809 to 1834 parochial reform was dependent on the expenditure of public money; the second period beginning in the late 1820s was largely financed out of Durham episcopal and capitular funds, and thirdly, reform after 1836 was assisted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who, for the remainder of this period of study, were to be under unrelenting pressure from the Durham establishment for assistance.

Between 1809 and 1834, a total of eighty-four grants of public money had been received on behalf of twenty-four benefices, thirty from the Royal Bounty and fifty-four from money voted by Parliament. Of the £27,700 thus expended, £9,800 was granted by lot.¹ By 1832 the number of Durham benefices below £150 p.a. had been reduced to twenty-eight, that is to say, by that date the number of livings still below the Bounty minimum was greater than it had been in 1774. The following table is a numerical breakdown of those livings below the minimum income levels set by the Bounty, and indicates their patronage.

Figure 2

	<u>Epis-</u> <u>copal</u>	<u>Capi-</u> <u>tular</u>	<u>Lay</u>	<u>Paro-</u> <u>chial</u>	<u>Hospital</u>	<u>Crown</u>	<u>Total</u>
1774 ²	2	2	7	3	2	0	16
1808 ³	5	14	20	4	3	2	48
1832 ⁴	6	4	10	5	1	2	28

This decrease in the number of benefices having incomes below £150 p.a. between 1808 and 1832 is only partially a result of the assistance given by the Bounty office. To a far greater degree the improvement in parochial incomes, as already discussed, was a result of the favourable economic circumstances

1. Hodgson, Augmentation, 1826 and 1845 edns.

2. QAB minimum £50 p.a.

3. QAB minimum £150 p.a.

4. QAB minimum £150 p.a.

which existed in the county during the years 1792 to 1832. From the existing evidence it is apparent that Durham patrons showed little concern for the wellbeing of the clergy in their charge, and that they had little to do with the reduction of clerical poverty.

1. Dean and Chapter Benefice Reform

Chapter Appendix A indicates that only seven of the sixteen capitular livings had ever been augmented by the Royal Bounty and those but twelve times in one hundred and fifteen years. Previous to the period of vocal national concern over the economic conditions of the poorer parishes in the county, it must be assumed that the Dean and Chapter of Durham had turned a blind eye to the condition of their benefices, and had simply tolerated the extensive plurality and the subsequent non-residency which existed among their incumbents as a solution to the problem of low incomes. This is not to say that the Dean and Chapter did not have it within their power materially to improve the incomes of the most necessitous benefices in their patronage.

As early as the reign of Charles II it had been recognised that the impropriation of great and small tithes had been the cause of a great deal of clerical poverty. By Act of Parliament, 1665, 17 Charles II c.3, power had been given to impropiators to reunite "one moiety of the clear annual value of the Rectory Improprate"¹ in order that poor vicarages and perpetual curacies might be augmented. In 1676 the Act was improved with the passing of 29 Charles II c.8 whereby it was enacted that tithes so granted would be secured to benefices

1. 17 Charles II C.3.

in perpetuity. Thus, twenty-eight years before the creation of the Royal Bounty, there existed a means whereby impro-priators could begin to alleviate unnecessary clerical poverty. Unfortunately for incumbents holding Dean and Chapter livings, the aid offered by the above statutes was not to be received until the pressure of public opinion came to their assistance.

It is difficult to explain the reluctance of the Durham Chapter to recognise the urgent need to improve the incomes of so many of their benefices. It is apparent that they preferred to resort to pluralism and may even have thought it to be the proper solution to a persistent problem.¹ It is also possible the provisions of 29 Charles II c.8 acted as a deterrent to its use. By this statute augmentations were:-

"Adjudged to continue and be, and shall for ever hereafter continue and remain, as well during the continuance of the term upon which the said augmentations were granted, reserved or agreed to be made payable and the said vicars and curates respectively are hereby adjudged to be in the actual possession thereof, for the life of themselves and their successors and the said vicars and curates shall have remedy for the same, either by Distress upon the Rectories impropriate or Portions of tithes charged therewith, or by action of Debt against ² that person who ought to have paid the same

This may explain the conditions attached to one of the two eighteenth century capitular augmentations. In 1749 the curate of St. Margaret of Antioch, Durham City, held for an annual reserved rent of £14-6-8d. p.a., a twenty-one year lease from the Dean and Chapter for the tithes arising from within the bounds of the Chapelry. In the same year, in a request to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty for the

1. See pp.64-78.

2. 29 Charles II c.8.

augmentation of St. Margaret's, Edward Gregory the curate mentioned that the above tithes had been formerly granted "to a lay person and may upon the death or removal of the present curate be withdrawn and granted by the Dean and Chapter to whom they pleased".¹ Evidence of a similar lease of tithes is found in the 1788 glebe terrier belonging to the vicarage of Dalton-le-Dale. In that year "all the great tithes arising out of the Township of Dalton-le-Dale" were being leased from the Dean and Chapter on a twenty-one year lease for an annual reserved rent of £4-6-0.² This refusal to grant tithes outright must surely relate to the Chapter's administration of their financial affairs and to their policy of improving corporate incomes.³

Before 1774 the total extent of Dean and Chapter financial assistance to the poorer livings in their patronage had been seven benefactions, totalling £1400,⁴ granted in conjunction with Queen Anne's Bounty to six benefices, and the single lease of tithes to St. Margaret's. From 1774 to 1805 there had been only the granting of the beneficial lease to the vicarage of Dalton-le-Dale in 1788. In 1806, perhaps following the reforming example set by the new Bishop of Durham, Shute Barrington, the Chapter leased the rectorial tithes arising from the township of Hutton Henry to the Vicar of Monk Hesledon, a living worth less than £100 p.a.⁵ In 1810, when it was no longer possible to further ignore the poverty of the perpetual curacy of Wolviston, the Dean and Chapter

1. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS. St. Margaret's, Durham City, File F./1513.

2. SR. Glebe terrier, Dalton-le-Dale, 1788.

3. See pp.122-27.

4. Hodgson, Augmentations, 1826 and 1845 edns.

5. SR. Glebe terrier, Monk Hesledon, 1806.

resigned themselves to the "necessity of improving the curacy so that it may be an inducement for residence to any person the Dean and Chapter may appoint".¹ Following what seems to have been their policy of pastoral aid, the Dean and Chapter agreed that "applications be made to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty for this purpose". On 13th October 1810 it was agreed that £400 be offered to the Governors as a double benefaction of the curacy.² In 1811 the Bounty Board matched their grant with £600 from the funds granted by Parliament.³

Before 1831 the only other financial assistance given by the Chapter had been to two newly created benefices. In 1822, a £100 augmentation was granted to the chapel at Westoe in the parochial chapelry of South Shields. In 1826, following the building of the church at Shincliffe, the Chapter purchased, for £131, stocks for its endowment, and in 1827 further augmented the cure with £400. Thus in the 47 years between 1774 and 1831 the Dean and Chapter of Durham made no substantial attempt to raise the income levels of the benefices in their patronage. The beneficial lease of tithes granted to Dalton-le-Dale accomplished little. In 1818 the vicarage was still worth only £150 p.a. and in spite of the augmentation to Wolviston the income of that living was under £100 p.a. in

1. DCL. Minutes of Chapter (extracts) MSS. Vol.III, 28 September 1810.

2. Ibid., 13th October 1810.

3. CC General File, Durham Bishopric Estate Papers, MSS. Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham, in a letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners dated 8th February 1832 stated that apart from grants in 1811 and 1818 to the vicarage of Berwick "there is no return of other benefactions from this office (the Chapter) before 1825". See also Record of Benefactors for the Improvement, Endowment, or Support of churches chapels oratories, and schools made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham from 1750 to 1857. Printed for private circulation among the members of the Chapter. Archdeacon Sharp Library. It is here confirmed that between 1774 and 1811 the only financial assistance given by the Chapter had been the beneficial basis of tithe to Dalton-le-Dale in 1788 and to Monk Hesleden in 1806.

1832. The following table is a comprehensive list of all benefices in Dean and Chapter patronage including the annual incomes of each living at three selected dates; in addition it indicates those benefices receiving augmentations and from what source.

Figure 3

	1774-94	1808	1832	Augmentations if any ¹			
				Queen Anne's Bounty Lot	Benefac- tion	Parliament- ary Grant Lot	Benefac- tion
<u>Rectories</u>							
Dinsdale	-	£128	£248				
Edmondbyers	£60	£92	£178	1801			
<u>Vicarages</u>							
Billingham	£107	-	£194		1728		
Dalton-le-Dale	£90 (1794)	-	£215				
Heighington	£140 (1792)	-	£216				
Kirk							
Merrington	£85	-	£221				
Monk Hesleden	£67	-	£200				
Pittington	£75	£96	£517		1723		
			£96	4 x 1827	3 x 1828		
<u>Perpetual Curacies</u>							
Croxdale	£52	£110	£132		1739		
St. Margaret	£49	-	£461	1755	1748		
Muggleswick	£44	£49	£93		1741	1810	
South Shields	£90	£100	£335		1741	1810	
Whitworth		£100	£210				
Witton Gilbert	£90	-	£303				
Wolviston		£93	£99		1739 1769		2 x 1811

1. Compiled from Chapter III Appendices A, B, and C.

2. Hodgson, Augmentations, 1826 and 1845 edns. Unless otherwise indicated each date equals one £200 grant.

It can readily be seen that by 1832, without the benefit of direct assistance from their patrons, the incomes of all but two capitular livings had risen substantially above the minimum set by the Governors of the Royal Bounty. As mentioned in the previous Chapter, the explanation for this general rise in income is found to have been a result of the fortunate economic circumstances that occurred in the county during and after the French wars.¹ The best example of this point is the case of the Vicarage of Pittington, where the combination of an energetic vicar and the living's close proximity to the newly developed coal fields resulted in an improvement of the Vicar's income from £96 p.a. in 1808 to £517 p.a. in 1832.²

The situation among the perpetual curacies was much the same, all showing increases in their annual incomes. The value of the curacy of Muggleswick nearly doubled between 1788 and 1832, a result of the increased rents received from the letting of freehold property in the possession of the cure.³ In spite of this increase, however, Muggleswick remained the poorest of the capitular benefices. Located along the north-western Durham-Northumberland border, this moorland parish, along with its three neighbouring parishes of Hunstanworth, Edmondbyers, and Lanchester, had been consistently the poorest of the ancient parishes in the county.⁴ As such, Muggleswick was never considered a desirable benefice, and in an effort to provide an incumbent the Dean and Chapter had long tolerated the informal unification of the curacy with the

1. See pp. 151-63.

2. CC. MS. 1832 NB file, Pittington. See also p. 151 below.

3. Ibid., Muggleswick.

4. See p. 163. One incumbent wrote in 1792 that Edmondbyers "is called 20 miles (might measure more) from Durham. The worst road and the worst weather when the weather is bad anywhere". AC. MSS. Episcopal Visitation, 1792.

adjoining Rectory of Edmondbyers, also in their patronage.¹ The long term result of this capitular neglect was that in 1832 the curate, Joseph Dawson, informed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners "it is not remembered that an Incumbent resided in the parish".²

Other perpetual curacies fared better. The perpetual curates of Whitworth benefiting from rising rents, were able to increase their incomes from £100 p.a. in 1794 to £210 p.a. in 1832.³ The income of South Shields rose from £100 p.a. in 1808 to over £330 p.a. by 1832, primarily as a result of an increase in that portion of the income arising from fees. With a population of over 21,000 souls in 1832, the curate estimated his income from that source alone to be near £140 p.a.⁴ The greatest improvement in the income of a perpetual curacy was that of St. Margaret of Antioch. As a result of their beneficial lease of tithe in 1749 the incumbents of that cure saw their incomes rise from £49 p.a. in that year to over £460 p.a. by 1832.⁵

The years of organised capitular reform seem to have begun in the late 1820s and early 1830s and appear to have been a reaction to the increasing public demand for reform. With the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and the passage of the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1829⁶ at the end of a decade of rising anti-establishment feeling, the Dean and Chapter were compelled to embark on a course for

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1. In 1774 the Scottish Rector of Edmondbyers divided his time evenly between his two cures, while his successor, James Deason, was rarely seen at either. With the official sanction of the Dean and Chapter, Deason held in addition the vicarage of Pitlington, was perpetual curate of Whitworth and a minor Canon of Durham Cathedral, residing in Durham.
 2. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Muggleswick.
 3. *Ibid.*, Whitworth.
 4. *Ibid.*, South Shields.
 5. *Ibid.*, St. Margaret of Antioch.
 6. 10 George IV C.7.

curing the ills existing within the parochial system of the Diocese.

The ensuing capitular policy was most certainly born of the same spirit which had given birth to the new university at Durham. Bowing to the enveloping storm, the Durham cathedral clergy must have hoped that their show of reform would buy off the foes of the establishment. As an expedient to preserve greater privileges, reform was imperative.¹ In July 1831, Bishop Van Mildert foresaw a "fierce attack upon Church Dignitaries from the House of Commons" and informed Charles Thorp, the Chapter Official, that "it is not at all improbable that your Chapter may be chosen for the first outset".² Two days later, on 28 July, David Durell, Prebend of the eighth stall in Durham Cathedral, wrote the following letter to Charles Henry Hall, Bishop of St. Davids and Dean of Durham.³

"It appears to be morally certain that as soon as the Reform Bill is disposed of, an attack will be made on Dean and Chapters and as certain that Durham will be the first object. It has occurred to us that it will be prudent, if possible to ward off the blow and that no plan is so likely to take as making the public partakers of our income by annexing an establishment of enlarged education to our college. Most probably the general opinion would be favourable to the measure. No doubt sacrifices would be required of us. We regard them as a premium to be paid to insure the remainder".

As early as April 1831 indications appear of growing capitular concern over the unreformed conditions existing among the benefices in their patronage. It was to be six months, however, before curates' stipends, plurality, and non-residence were finally reviewed, and legislation

1. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.274.

2. DUL. Thorp MSS., Van Mildert to Charles Thorp 26 July, 1831.

3. Ibid., David Durell to Charles Thorp 28 July, 1831. This letter, a copy of the one sent to the Dean, was enclosed with a letter from Durell to Thorp.

formulated in an attempt to eradicate these causes of clerical abuse. More will be said later about curates' stipends and the problems of residence and plurality, though, as Wolviston has been mentioned, it should be noted that on 20 July, 1831, the Chapter, recognising that the curacy was not held in plurality, and that as it was under the annual value of £150 p.a. (£97 in 1832) there was a case for its augmentation. It was therefore ordered that the Chapter should pay the incumbent the annual sum of £40 until such time as the grant could be legally and permanently attached to the living. The grant was conditional upon the residence of the incumbent.¹

Part of what Durell had referred to as a "peace offering to the public"² was the creation of a formal policy of capitular reform based on the neglected legislation of 1676.³ The practical application of this policy was first exhibited in September 1831, predating the passing of Howley's Augmentation Act by seventeen days.⁴ In the Official's report to the Dean and Chapter on 28 September, 1831, mention is made of a proposed augmentation to the perpetual curacy of Heworth in the parish of Jarrow by George Townsend, prebend of the tenth stall and impropiator of the tithes in Heworth township. His proposal was for the "unconditional augmentation of the curacy by voluntarily relinquishing the tithes of Heworth Common, heretofore attached to the 10th Stall, for the use of the incumbent of Heworth".⁵

On 21 January, 1832, four months after the passage of the Archbishop's bill, the Dean and Chapter of Durham outlined

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1. PK. MS. Dean and Chapter Officialty Book, 9 April, 1831 to 22 April, 1837, 20 July, 1831.
 2. DUL. Thorp MSS., Van Mildert to Thorp 27 July, 1831.
 3. See pp. 174-5.
 4. 1 & 2 William IV, C.75.
 5. Officialty Book, op.cit.

a proposed plan for the augmentation of livings in their patronage. It was first recommended that, in keeping with 1 & 2 William IV, C.45, those tithes already granted to the incumbents of livings in their patronage under "beneficial leases" should be relinquished to "those livings so as to cease to be the property of the Dean and Chapter". For the general augmentation of capitular livings, a scale based on benefice population was proposed. All livings in their patronage were to be increased to £200 p.a. exclusive of fees. Those benefices having a population in excess of five hundred were to be raised to £250 p.a., while those with a population of one thousand and upwards to £350 p.a. In order to implement the above scheme the Official laid before the Chapter a list of those capitular livings eligible for augmentation. The following table, based on the aforementioned list, groups the benefices by population and includes their incomes as reported by the Official, and the amounts necessary to raise their incomes to the stipulated levels. It is of interest to note that while the Official's list was meant to assess accurately the state of capitular benefice incomes, it is in fact unexplainedly inaccurate when compared with the 1832 returns found in the Church Commissioners' files. The third column below lists the benefice incomes from this latter source.

Figure 4

List of capitular livings eligible for augmentation
based on the proposed scheme of 21 January, 1832
as presented by the Chapter Official¹

Livings under £350 p.a. with a population of 1,000:-

	<u>Value</u>	<u>Amount of aug- mentation needed</u>	<u>Value²</u>
Heighington	£300	£50	£265
Kirk Merrington	£200	£150	£221
Aycliffe	£300	£50	£282
South Shields	£280	£70	£335
St. Oswald	£320	£30	£274
Dalton-le-Dale	£200	£150	£215
Cost to the Dean and Chapter		£1,300	

Livings under £250 p.a. with a population of 500:-

Monk Hesledon	£220	£30	£200
Wolviston	£150	£100	£99
Cost to the Dean and Chapter		£130	

Livings under the value of £200 p.a.:-

Shincliffe	£100	£100	£96
Croxdale	£100	£100	£132
Muggleswick	£50	£150	£93
Cost to the Dean and Chapter		£350	

Total cost £1,780

Livings of the third class were to be augmented under the order of Chapter 20 July, 1831, whereby benefices in the gift of the Dean and Chapter under the annual value of £150 p.a., not held in plurality, and with the understanding that the incumbent will reside, were to be immediately augmented to £150 p.a.

1. PK. Dean and Chapter Officialty Book, 21 January, 1832.
 2. Actual value as listed in CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file.

On 1 May, 1832 the Chapter, implementing the powers granted by 1 & 2 William IV, C.45., and following the principles of their proposed scheme for augmentation, proposed to increase the value of the Vicarages of Kirk Merrington and Dalton-le-Dale. In consideration of their rising mining populations it was resolved:- "That the Dean be requested to relinquish to the vicarage of Merrington tithes of the value of £50 p.a. and that the Bishop of Chester (holder of the second stall) be requested to surrender, to the vicarage of Dalton-le-Dale his crop tithes of £40 p.a. in the parish of Dalton". Both prebends were to be compensated a like sum from the Chapter's corporate income. At the same meeting of Chapter it was ordered that the following amended scale was to be used when augmenting livings:-¹

Figure 5

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Raised to</u>
	1,000	£300
	500	£250
less than	500	£200

On 20 November, 1832 the Chapter extended the provisions of their augmentation scheme to include benefices in whose parishes they were impropriators but not the patrons. Accordingly, it was ordered that the perpetual curacies of Monkwearmouth and Castle Eden were to be augmented by annual payments of £25 each, arising from the revenues of the tenth and sixth stalls.²

This capitular programme of reform continued with the implementation of many of the previously mentioned proposals. In July, 1833, eighteen months after it had been first proposed, it was ordered that property held by incumbents on beneficial

1. PK. Dean and Chapter Officialty Book, 1 May, 1832.

2. Ibid., 20 November, 1832. George Townsend prebend of the Tenth, Henry Phillpotts of the Sixth.

leases be ceded in perpetuity, and that intended augmentations by cession of tithes, lands, or houses be "legally effected forthwith the benefit to incumbents be distant, when this can be done with due consideration for the tenants as well as the Dean and Chapter".¹ It was not, however, until 20 November, 1834 that the proposed augmentations of Kirk Merrington, Dalton-le-Dale and Heworth were finally confirmed.²

In the augmentation of Heworth is reflected the plight of many archdeaconry incumbents who, having inadequate incomes, were unable to furnish the necessary pastoral oversight to inhibit the growth of dissent that accompanied the rapid expansion of local populations. Heworth, like the curacy of South Shields, was a parochial chapelry within the parish of St. Peter's, Jarrow. Located at the mouth of the river Tyne, the parish of Jarrow with South Shields and Heworth had been greatly affected by the industrial expansion which had taken place during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. From 15,624 in 1801, the population of the entire parish had by 1831 expanded to over 27,990 persons.³ More specifically, within the area comprising the benefices of Jarrow and Heworth, the estimated population rose from 520 families, or approximately 2,600 persons in 1774 to over 9,000 in 1832. Heworth alone had an estimated population in 1832 of over 5,400 inhabitants.⁴

1. PK. Dean and Chapter Officialty Book, 20 July, 1833.

2. Ibid., 20 November, 1834.

3. Census, 1801 and 1831.

4. The population estimate for 1774 is taken from the Episcopal Visitation of that year. The figure 2,600 was calculated by multiplying 520 by five which is my estimate of the average family size. Five members per family is based on the statistical information returned by Durham incumbents with regard to the number of Catholics and dissenters residing in their respective parishes. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitations 1774, 1792, 1810 and 1814.

Unlike the parochial chapel of South Shields, Heworth had not achieved the autonomy of having its own licensed incumbent, the curates of Jarrow being instituted cum Heworth. From 1774 the incumbents of Jarrow, without the assistance of a curate, attempted to serve both cures. At Jarrow "Divine service was performed once every Sunday at 10 clock a.m. excepting the first Sundays of the months October, November, December, January, February, March on w^{ch} no service is done on acc^t. of my having to attend morning service on the Sunday at Heworth". The sacrament was administered four times a year.¹ At Heworth the Sunday service consisted of "both prayers and sermon every Sunday afternoon except on the first Sunday of Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan., Feb., and March on which full morning service is performed. My attendance at Jarrow in ye Morg^s. prevents the regular accustomed service of y^r church being duly performed". Communion at Heworth was held three times a year.²

While by 1811 the population of Jarrow had increased to over 21,000³ inhabitants, the incumbents' combined income remained at less than £120 p.a.⁴ Unable to afford the services of a stipendary curate, incumbents were unable to stand in the way of the growing tide of Methodism. In the Episcopal Visitation of 1810 John Hodgson, incumbent of Jarrow cum Heworth, offered the following explanation for the Methodist increases.⁵

1. AC Episcopal MSS 1774, Episcopal Visitation, Jarrow.

2. Ibid., Heworth.

3. P.P. 1822. XXI, p.631.

4. AC Episcopal MSS 1810, Episcopal Visitation, Jarrow.

5. Ibid.

"I can attribute it to nothing so much as to the specific attractions of their system, and in that unfaithfulness to the established religion of the country so apparent in persons disaffected to the Government. The allurments to Methodism are great in new and extemporaneous preachers apparently influenced with Apostolic zeal, simplicity and disinterestedness in worldly affairs - in the invitations to ambition held out to its converts in becoming exhortors and preachers - in large professions of holiness to whch hypocrisy find it most advantageous to attach itself - in its numerous meetings in private houses, which tend to bind its members in strong bonds of friendship, to unite them in schemes of Proselytism. Had we a large chapel by patience providence and great industry the schism might perhaps be closed."

To accommodate the increasing numbers a Methodist chapel was built at Heworth in 1806, this in addition to the already existing meeting houses at Jarrow and at Hebburn Colliery. In 1814, a fourth meeting house was built at Jarrow, and the Hebburn Colliery house was replaced by another at High Felling.¹ There being no resident Methodist preachers at either Jarrow or Heworth, the principal Methodists were local class leaders who were generally "overmen" at the local collieries. The Jarrow society was led by one Ralph Coxon, overman at Jarrow Colliery, while William Haswell and Thomas Morrow, overmen at Felling Colliery, had the management of the Heworth societies.²

Hodgson saw little possibility of preventing further Methodist increases. "In parishes like mine that are large and populous I fear that no watchfulness or industry of the Minister of the established church can at all times, be prepared against the attacks of Methodism". He felt little

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1. The meeting house at Hebburn Colliery had been dissolved in 1809 by the owners of the colliery for "irregularity". Hodgson reported that none of the above meeting houses had been licensed. AC Episcopal MSS 1810, Episcopal Visitation, Jarrow.
 2. "They exhort but never preach" and "like all persons of a similar description in the Methodist Connexion in this neighbourhood, are not licensed". AC. Episcopal MSS. 1810 Episcopal Visitation, Jarrow.

good would come from any attempts to force the removal of their societies from his parish as "every appearance of persecution make its followers hugg themselves, and their opinions closer together. It enflames them with zeal and jealousy for the horror of their cause. They complain of their sufferings and sympathy procures them discipline".¹

The Wesleyan and New Connexion membership figures bear witness to the fact that, in such a heavily populated parish, there was a limit to the watchfulness of a single priest. The increasing size of the Wesleyan societies along the south bank of the Tyne was such that in 1807 a new circuit including Jarrow was created at South Shields.² Two years later, the Methodist New Connexion similarly faced with increasing numbers also founded a circuit based in South Shields and which included Jarrow.³

Hodgson had proposed the separation of Jarrow and Heworth. However, in 1823 he was collated to the Vicarage of Kirkwhelpington in Northumberland, and it was feared that the lay patron, rather than take steps for the division of the benefices, would again appoint a sole incumbent. Bishop Barrington therefore requested that Hodgson, who had accepted Kirkwhelpington, retain Jarrow cum Heworth until such time as a division could be effected. To serve the two cures Hodgson employed a curate at each, paying them both £70 p.a.⁴ While the pastoral oversight of his flock was improved, the poverty of Heworth postponed separation for a further eleven years.⁵

1. Ibid.

2. MCA. Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, published Conference Minutes, 1807 to 1832.

3. Ibid., Methodist New Connexion, published Conference Minutes, 1809 to 1823.

4. James Raine, A Memoir of the Rev. John Hodgson, Vol.II, p.4.

5. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., File F/2379. In 1810 Heworth was worth £45 p.a. of which £15 came from the collection of Easter dues.

The incumbents of Jarrow cum Heworth had been heavily dependent upon the collection of surplice fees and Easter dues for the greater part of their incomes; however, increasing anti-clerical feeling made the collection of Easter dues difficult. From £80 p.a. in 1818 Hodgson's income from this source fell to less than £20 p.a. by 1832.¹

"The head of each House through the whole parish except on the monastic Glebe, being liable to pay a certain sum, but since that year (1818) the labouring people will not pay the ancient dues without being compelled by law which process is so expensive and unpopular that it cannot be resorted to".

In 1834, the final separation of Heworth from Jarrow was effected, but with public opinion as it was, the new incumbent, the Rev. Matthew Plummer, was faced with a much reduced income. Plummer informed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that his income of £69 p.a. should have been at least £30 p.a. more, but for his parishioners' refusal to pay Easter dues.² Thus when the final separation was achieved, the incumbent of Heworth received an uncertain income of less than £70 p.a., while at the same time confronted with the difficult task of ministering to a rapidly expanding urban population, which by 1834 was already in excess of 5,400 souls.³

It was with a view to this eventual separation that Townsend had been prompted in 1831 to relinquish that portion of his prebendal income arising from Heworth. However, the capitular delay in confirming his proposed grant resulted in the separation coming before adequate means had been provided for the support of the incumbent. In consequence, the Dean

1. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Jarrow.

2. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., File F/2379.

3. Ibid., The only certain income received by Plummer was an ancient annual payment of two marks from the Dean and Chapter. The remainder of his income was broken down as follows: fifty-three pounds from Surplice fees, eight pounds from Easter dues and five pounds from a local colliery as long as it was worked.

and Chapter, holders of the Rectorial tithes and the principal land holders in the parish of Jarrow, were seen by many to have ignored their legal and moral obligation of ensuring that the new parish of Heworth was properly endowed.

In October 1834, J. D. Powles of Stamford Hall, Jarrow, in a letter to the Chapter Official, Charles Thorp, accused the Dean and Chapter of enriching themselves to the spiritual detriment of the inhabitants of that parish. Thorp reported Powles' letter to the Chapter on 20 November, 1834.¹

"Another proof of the morbid feeling that prevails is found in the letter of Mr. Powles upon which the Official has to observe that Heworth does not belong to that class of cases where parishes have been stripped for other ecclesiastical purposes, as the support of Bishops and Chapters or Colleges. The property was in the Chapter before the Chapel of Heworth existed - It was fixed upon the property - the property was not taken from the Chapel. But the Dean and Chapter are under obligations as Ecclesiastical Proprietors to assist in the becoming maintenance of this chapel - so surely are their tenants who have an interest equal to their own in the Ecclesiastical property by reason of the beneficial Leases which they hold - And this is entirely put out of sight, as well as the circumstance that the portion of the property remaining to the Chapter has other heavy charges and incumbrances belonging to it. The Dean and Chapter have assisted Heworth with Jarrow to the following extent - a church has been built at Heworth by their assistance - an estate of £55 a year has been purchased from Ecclesiastical Funds, which by some arrangement is now given over to Jarrow only - a house being in concurrency was given to Heworth with liberty of exchange or sale, and the tithes of Heworth Common, then worth £30, now £20 per ann. have been ceded to it - It was the contemplation of the Dean and Chapter to cede also Mr. Townsends remaining tithes worth £100 p.a.

The Official wishes the Dean and Chapter to fully understand the state of feeling with regard to their Body and its Revenues which he trusts is by no means general, but which prevails to a great extent, and to know in what troubled waters they are sailing".

Thorp's reference to an estate purchased for the augmentation

1. PK. Dean and Chapter Officialty Book, 20 November, 1834.

of Jarrow cum Heworth, but which "is now given over to Jarrow", and the granting of tithes worth but £20 p.a. in no way convinced Powles that the Dean and Chapter were facing up to their responsibilities. Not satisfied with capitular reaction, on 3 February, 1835 he sent copies of his letter to Sir Robert Peel, to which he added what he considered to be the Chapter's obligations.¹

"It has been represented to me, that I am under a mistake in assuming that this property was in any way granted for parochial instruction - It having been in fact granted to the Dean and Chapter exclusively for the following purpose - viz the sustainment of the "fabric of Cathedral, Choir, music decorations, schools, and a great number of priests". It has been at the same time admitted by the party who has advanced this position, that in whatever degree they hold the great tithes of the parish, there is a responsibility upon them, of some kind, to provide for the religious instruction of the people.

In answer to this representation I have urged that this prosperity was granted to the monastery (sic) of Jarrow many centuries before a Prior of Durham was in existence, that the Monks of Jarrow being employed in the religious instruction of the people, it is fair to infer that the property was granted to them for the support of the work in which they were engaged. That there was moreover a special charge upon this property of two marks per annum, for the maintenance of a clergyman, which in the currency and circumstances of that time/the 6th century/was doubtless an adequate allowance; which charge the Dean and Chapter of Durham pay to this day,

and upon these facts I have ventured to raise the argument, that the Dean and Chapter could not succeed to the possession of this property without being in conscience and equity bound to the obligations with which the property was originally charged, including in those obligations the religious instruction of the people.

In this view I have found myself supported by a work published in 1833 by one of the Prebendaries of Durham "Townsend on Church Reform", in which he affirms that "every impropiator of tithes and every holder of church lands is bound, as a matter of sacred principle, to provide or assist in providing that a competent maintenance be granted out of the great tithes and church-lands in every parish

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Heworth No. 14750. J. D. Powles to the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Stamford Hill, 3 February, 1835.

to the clergyman of the parish who attends to the religious interests of the people" and also "that the great tithes of a parish were never assigned to a Monastery without being subject to a competent maintenance to the Vicar". The author shews moreover that the Bishop had power when from the alteration in the value of money the original assignment of stipend was found insufficient, to cause it to be increased and he attributes the present poverty of so many livings chiefly to the laxity of the Bishop in failing to exercise this power, so that it fell into disuse.

I have however ventured to put this matter in another light. Putting out of view for the moment the question of mere legal or abstract right, or rather assuming that to be wholly on the side of the Dean and Chapter, I have urged that there is in this case such an amount of moral and conscientious obligation to be looked at, as cannot, by any body of the clergy, be disregarded without awful damage to the interests of the Church.

The special cause of the increase in the value of this property at Heworth, in addition to causes that have been generally in operation elsewhere, presents this obligation in a very striking point of view.

Deposits of coal being discovered and successfully worked, a large population has been drawn to the spot. Thin labours beneath the surface have given, of themselves, a large direct income to the Dean and Chapter, while their own consumption of the produce of the land, above, has given a double impulse to its value. Further, the presence of this coal has led to the establishment of manufacturies in the neighbourhood. Population has been still further encouraged and by consequence a still further augmentation in the value of church property has ensued. Year after year has this gone on. The income of the Dean and Chapter from this parish has swollen up to £4000 per ann. and yet the only allowance made by the Dean and Chapter for the religious instruction of the parish down to April 1834 has been the aforesaid two marks (£1-6-8) and an addition of £5 per annum.

If the Dean and Chapter are prepared to maintain that this is right and fitting on their part that they may, with all propriety, avail themselves of the increased income produced by the instrumentality of this population and do nothing for it in return, I can only say that I believe such a declaration would be in opposition to the universal sense of the best disposed of the community.

If on the other hand this ground be not taken on the part of the Dean and Chapter, it is then clear that there is something wrong in the working of a system which can permit such remarkable neglect in concerns of such importance.

With respect to capitular purposes at Durham, it is notorious that a large revenue remains from the property of the Church of Durham, after satisfying these purposes.

Schools are placed in the list of recognised duties of the Dean and Chapter. They have never contributed any assistance towards any school in Heworth.

The great number of priests which it is admitted they were bound also to maintain, do not exist in the present day. The Dean and Chapter are consequently relieved from that expenditure.

Of the great tithes they hold about seven-eighths in Heworth, either in money or by letting their land tithe free.

In every shape in which it is possible to put the case, and very sorry should I be to overcharge it seems to be one of appalling neglect and what has been proposed to be done since April 1834 (as is stated in the correspondence) does unhappily but little to mend it.

It is stated to me, and I ought not to omit mention it, that the Dean and Chapter have assigned £3000 per ann. of their income to the augmenting of small livings. Without stopping to remark that their income from Heworth alone is more than that sum, it is not unfair to say that this they may have done and yet have left undone that (which) ought to be done, elsewhere. I can afford no answer to the long-neglected claims of Heworth".

Apparently, in answer to Powles letter the Chapter, on 20 November, 1835, ordered the Official to communicate with the patrons of Jarrow and Heworth to ascertain their willingness to cede the patronage of those benefices to the Chapter, on condition that the Dean and Chapter would permanently augment them both. In spite of the patrons' refusal to relinquish their patronage, the Chapter ordered the augmentation of Jarrow cum Heworth with whatever sum necessary to increase their incomes to £150 p.a., on the understanding that if either advowson be sold, the augmentation would be

discontinued.¹ On 20 July, 1835, the Chapter further augmented the new parish of Heworth with the remainder of those tithes arising from Heworth Common, formally in the possession of the Eleventh Stall. In addition, they also granted all the tithes of corn and grain within the township of Nether Heworth. The income from these grants was estimated to be £65 p.a., raising the income of Heworth to £153 p.a. by December, 1835.²

While the Chapter had been very much involved with the augmentation of Heworth, they were still faced with the necessity of adapting a general scheme for the augmentation of livings below £150 p.a. in their patronage. On 20 July, 1836, the Chapter resolved:-

"That it is the opinion of the Chapter that the augmentation of the livings in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter according to the scheme³ of 20 July 1832 be carried into effect".³

Three months later, the requested outline of a scheme conforming with the principles and provisions of 1 & 2 William IV C.45., for the augmentation of all livings in their patronage, including those benefices in which the Chapter possessed property but not the patronage, was presented to Chapter. It was recommended that a charge was to be annually laid upon the Chapter for the purpose of the immediate augmentation of needy benefices. The charge was to be imposed upon and borne by each member of the Chapter, according to the respective annual receipts of their respective stalls, whether arising from crops, lands, or dividends. With these recommendations

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1. DUL. Thorp MSS. Church Commission Minutes of Evidence 10 April, 1835. PK. Dean and Chapter Officialty Book, 11 April, 1835. Heworth was valued by Thorp at £88-11-0; Jarrow was valued at £135-15-0, 28 September, 1835.
 2. Ibid., 20 July, 1835; 5 December, 1835.
 3. Ibid., 20 July, 1836.

went the following list of eligible benefices showing incomes before augmentation, population, proposed augmentation, and included the source of each augmentation.

Figure 6

Aycliffe V.	Population 1564 Present annual value £225 Proposed augmen- tation £75 <hr/> £300 <hr/>	Proposed to cede the tithes of the following fields numbered on the plan of the Dean and Chapter as follows:- 382 Garden annual value £10 386-387 & 389 £5 Tithes of 3rd Stall £60 <hr/> £75 <hr/>
Croxdale P.C.	Population 283 Present annual value £120 Proposed augmen- tation £80 <hr/> £200 <hr/>	Mr. B. Salvins Tithes of Burnhall £30 Tithes of Old Durham £50 <hr/> £80 <hr/>
Dalton-le-Dale V.	Population 1305 Present annual value £201 Proposed aug- mentation £93 <hr/> £294 <hr/>	Tithes of the 11th Stall £93 <hr/>
St. Margarets P.C.	Population 3081	The whole property com- prised in the lease to the incumbent to be ceded with the reserved rent.
St. Oswalds V.	Population 2189 Present annual value £272 Proposed augmen- tation £28 <hr/> £300 <hr/>	The whole property comprised in the lease to the incum- bent to be ceded with the reserved rent with a further charge on the Hough Hill tithes £28 <hr/>

Edmondbyers R.	Population 484	7th Stall lands	<u>£22</u>
	Value £178		
	Augmentation £22		
	<u>£200</u>		
Heighington V.	Population 1739	Tithes valued at £83	
	Value £217	from 3rd stall.	
	Augmentation £83		
	<u>£300</u>		
Monk Hesledon V.	Population 500	Tithes of Castle Eden	
	Value £179	value <u>£70</u> .	
	Augmentation £70		
	<u>£249</u>		
Muggleswick P.C.	Population 298	Cede land of 8th Stall	
	Value £93	of the value of <u>£100</u> .	
	Augmentation £100		
	<u>£193</u>		
Merrington with Ferryhill	Population 1910	Cede tithes of the annual	
	Value £271	value of <u>£30</u> from Deanery.	
	Augmentation £30		
	<u>£301</u>		
Wolviston P.C.	Population 674	Lands from the 12th Stall	
	Value £97	value of <u>£100</u> .	
	Augmentation £100		
	<u>£197</u>		

The above scheme, finally adopted by the Chapter on 21 November, 1836, was based on the "Archbishop's Bill", which in turn had been based on 29 Charles II C.8. In addition, it was consistent with the views of the Rev. George Townsend and the Rev. James Miller, both of whom were contributors to the national discussions on church reform, and both closely

associated with the Dean and Chapter.

Townsend, a member of the Chapter since 1825 and Vicar of the capitular benefice of Northallerton, answered Lord Henley's proposals in a pamphlet entitled A Plan for Abolishing Pluralities and Non Residence in which he attempted to put most of the blame for clerical poverty on the lay patrons.¹ He believed that they were "the one great impediment in the way of removing non-residence and pluralities". Townsend went on to say that:-

"The deplorable poverty of the Church of England had been continued, by the neglect of the lay impropiators to perform the duty which was imposed upon them by the terms of the original contract under which they became possessed of the great tithes, and other revenues of the Church. The lay impropiators, generally speaking, with very few honorable exceptions, have utterly neglected their duty: and this neglect has been more injurious and painful, as they too often possess the revenues of livings in the large towns. The lay impropiators of failing to observe the conditions under which the tithes were originally taken away from the parishes - and of thereby becoming the principal cause of the general poverty of the church, and of the evil of non-residence and Pluralities, of which the Laity and the reformers are now so universally and so justly complaining".

Townsend sought to contrast the previous remarks with a description of Durham capitular reforms.

"With respect to the Church of Durham I can affirm that no lay Impropiator in the kingdom has done one tenth of the good, which this church has conferred, not only since the passing of the Archbishop's Bill, but during the last century and a half, upon its poor Vicarages. Beneficial² leases have² been granted to Dalton, Bedlington, Eglington, Ellingham, Norham,² Elvet,³ Crossgate,⁴ and others. The Chapter has long appropriated a large portion of its yearly revenues to this work of augmentation - and it is constantly increasing the value of its benefices. They have long since resolved to raise every living at their disposal to a

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1. George Townsend, A Plan for Abolishing Pluralities and Non-Residence in the Church of England by Increasing the Value of Poor Livings in a letter to Lord Henley, (London, 1833). For Lord Henley's proposals see Best, Temporal Pillars, p.283.
 2. Northumberland livings.
 3. St. Oswald, Durham.
 4. St. Margaret, Durham.

certain amount, and to go on enlarging the income of the Incumbents, till they shall be in the receipt of that competent Maintenance, which they consider to be their due. I would submit to the approbation of the public. The Bishop, Deans and Chapters, and Colleges are doing their duty".¹

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1. DUL. Thorp MSS. Church Commission. Minutes of Evidence Part I, No.5, Friday 10 April, 1835; No.16, 22 April, 1836. Townsend was not the only member of the Durham Chapter to publicise the reforming record of the corporate body. Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham and the Chapter Official, and W. S. Gilly, prebend of the ninth stall, included in their testimonies before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners favourable accounts of Durham capitular reforms.

When asked what steps the Durham Chapter had taken to augment the poorer benefices in their gift, Thorp replied that:-

"Much has been effected, and more is proposed to be done prospectively, either by cession of property or by means of rent-charges upon tithe and other leases, under the power of the Archbishops enabling bill of late years the Dean (since 1831) and Chapter have given great attention to the augmentation and to the improvement of the condition of their livings. About 1831 an order was made to raise all the livings to £150, by annual payments from the treasurer; in 1832 a further order in favour of the small livings. It provided for their increase by reserved rents or otherwise, to take effect after the existing leases upon a scale; the livings with a population of 1000 to be raised to £300 per annum, 500 to £250; all under 500 to £200".

The following year Dr. Gilly again put forward the Chapter's augmentation policy in the form of the following document dated 28 July 1832, but which was submitted at the Commissioner's meeting of 22 April 1836.

"The Dean and Chapter of Durham have for several years past been giving their attention to the expediency of so employing their funds, and exercising their jurisdiction and patronage, as to remove within their own sphere of action three of the principle subjects of complaint alleged against the church; viz., disproportionate revenues, pluralities, and non-residence. Their deliberations to this effect have not been forced upon them by the progress of the reform bill, or by the clamour of the times, but they have anticipated both by proceedings originating with themselves. A gradual improvement in the augmentation of small benefices has been going on for many years, but especially during the last four or five years; therefore the arrangements, as they stand at present, are not to be considered as the result of a recent movement, but as the continuation and accomplishment of measures, which have been adopted by the dean and Chapter from time to time, in favour of their less fortunate brethren, and in support of church discipline".

Townsend's, Thorp's and particularly Gilly's superficial and misleading assessments of the Chapter's reforming activities implied a capitular concern for reform, which has been shown not to exist before 1831.¹ It is apparent the Dean and Chapter of Durham were as guilty as the lay impropiators Townsend condemned for neglecting to perform the duty which was imposed upon them by the terms of the "original contract under which they became possessed of the great tithes".²

Preceding the publication of Townsend's proposal, the Rev. James Miller, Vicar of the Chapter living of Pittington and a minor Canon of Durham Cathedral, had published in 1831 an essay on the same subject entitled, A Letter to the Right Hon. The Earl Grey on the Origin and Nature of Church Property and the Connexion of Tithes with the existing Agricultural Distress; and on improvements which may safely be adopted without the introduction of a New Principle.³ This pamphlet called for the taxation of the lay impropiators, and though not thought to have been a workable solution to the problem of financing reform, there was enough in the pamphlet to carry it through four editions. As in A Plan for Abolishing Pluralities, Miller used the Dean and Chapter of Durham as an

1. DUL. Thorp MSS. Vol.IV., Church Commission. Minutes of Evidence, No.5, 10 April, 1835. Part of the rationale behind this lack of capitular concern must have been the Chapter's policy of improving clerical incomes with cathedral appointments. Charles Thorp giving evidence before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners said that "the minor canonries are convenient augmentations of the cures". Two paragraphs further he went on to say that the cathedral statutes permitted a Minor Canon to hold one benefice in "augmentation of their minor canonries". Either way round it is obvious that as long as the rationale of plurality existed, the Chapter was loath to augment their cures from capitular funds. As has been shown it was the pressure of public opinion that opened the capitular purse.
2. This idea of impropiators restoring funds to the church was thought to be a respectable mode of speeding reform. This line of thought was followed by Sidmouth, Lord Winchelsea and Southey. See Best, Temporal Pillars, p.233.
3. Published in Durham, 1831.

example of the Church reforming itself, though he was somewhat more honest in his assessment of their efforts saying that he was "aware that the Dean and Chapter of Durham have long had it in contemplation to augment their small livings - that they have acted, and are now proceeding upon that principle"¹

Both proposals for parochial reform show the same timid conservatism that manifested itself in the official scheme adopted by the Dean and Chapter of Durham. Both Miller and Townsend saw the consequences of further delay, and both sought solutions to the problem of reform which would be the least expensive to the Established Church, and specifically to the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

The following table is a comprehensive list of Dean and Chapter augmentations to 1856, including the date such grants were made, under the provisions of Order of Chapter 20 July, 1836.²

Figure 7

Dalton-le-Dale, V.	Tithes of Hay, Corn etc. of the estimated value of £49, 20 November, 1834. Grant from John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester, Prebend of the second stall and the Dean and Chapter.
Kirk Merrington, V.	Tithes of corn and grain of the estimated value of £50, 20 November, 1834. Grant from John Banks, Bishop of St. Davids and Dean.
Jarrow, P.C.	Tithes of corn and grain of the estimated value of £16, 20 November, 1835. Grant from Henry Douglas, prebend of the seventh stall.
Heworth, P.C.	Tithes of corn and grain of the estimated value of £20, 20 July, 1835. Grant from George Townsend, prebend of the tenth stall and the Dean and Chapter.
Croxdale, P.C.	Tithes of hay and corn etc. of the estimated value of £95, 11 January, 1837.
Castle Eden, P.C.	Tithes of hay and corn etc. of the estimated value of £25, 21 March, 1840.

1. Miller, A Letter to Earl Grey, p.137.

2. PP. 1864 XLIV p.405. Augmentations granted to poor vicarages and curacies under the Acts 29 Charles II C.8 and 1 & 2 William IV. C.5.

2. Episcopal Benefice Reform

At the outset of this period of study there were two benefices in episcopal patronage whose incomes were below the Bounty minimum of £45 p.a.; the parochial chapelry of St. Anne, Auckland, and the perpetual curacy of Medomsley in the parish of Lanchester. As patron of that parish church the Bishop of Durham had an additional responsibility to the incumbents of the perpetual curacies of Esh and Satley also in Lanchester parish, though these were in the patronage of the incumbent of Lanchester.

In the year 1284 Bishop Antony Bek raised the existing parish church at Lanchester to the status of a college, in an effort to offset the influence of the cathedral priory at Durham. As in the case of the three other collegiate foundations in the county, it was constituted in the ordinary way, with a dean and a body of canons each of whom had a provender attached to his canonry, the incomes of which were derived from the tithes of particular places in the parish.¹ The parish was large and scattered and even by thirteenth century standards this vast moorland area had been neglected by the Church. Bek could therefore justify his creation on the grounds of spiritual necessity.²

The dean was responsible for the cure of souls throughout the whole of the parish, in addition to which he was to supply chaplains to serve each of the outlying chapelries of Medomsley, Esh and Satley. The dean's income included the altarage of the

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1. The collegiate churches of Darlington and St. Andrew, Auckland had been created at the end of the eleventh century to absorb the secular priests expelled from the priory at Durham by Bishop William of St. Carileph. Chester-le-Street was founded by Bek in 1286 for the same reasons as Lanchester.
 2. A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The College Churches of the Bishopric of Durham', DUJ. Vol.XXXVI, p.35.

three chapels. The prebends assigned to the seven canons bore the names of the hamlets from which their incomes arose that is to say: Esh, Medomsley, Satley, Greencroft, Langley, Iveston with Benfieldside, and Newbiggin. Thus the tithes arising from the three chapelry districts did not contribute to the support of their chaplains.¹

The Durham collegiate churches were dissolved in 1547 and the revenues of Lanchester were granted by the Crown, in various proportions, to lay impropriators, while at the same time pensions were reserved for the perpetual curates of Lanchester and for the curates of the three chapels.² The curate of Lanchester was to receive £7-6-8 arising from the vicarial tithes plus a further grant of £10 p.a. from the Crown. The incumbents of Medomsley, Esh and Satley were assigned annual incomes of £6-1-0, £6-2-0 and £1-0-0 respectively. These pensions and grants remained their only source of revenue, and what may have been an adequate income in 1547 ceased to be by the eighteenth century.³ Since the Reformation, with the single exception of a £200 benefaction~~g~~ to Medomsley from the Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1772, the only financial assistance these chapelries received was from the office of Queen Anne's Bounty.⁴ The following table indicates the frequency of Bounty assistance and includes the chapelries' incomes at selected dates between 1733 and 1810.

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1. Hamilton Thompson, "Collegiate Churches", p.36.
 2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.649. See also D. M. Loades, 'The Collegiate Churches of County Durham at the Time of the Dissolution', Studies in Church History, Vol.IV, pp.65-75.
 3. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., Medomsley. File F/3232; Esh and Satley, File F/1655.
 4. Mussett, Provisional list, p.32.

Figure 7

Benefice	Income ² and date ²	Date of grant	Queen Anne's Bounty ¹ Lot To meet a benefaction	Parliamentary Grant ¹ Lot To meet a benefaction
Medomsley	1765-£10 pa 1792-£29 pa 1808-£97 pa	1765 1772 1814	£200 £200	 £200
Esh	1757-£14 pa 1792-£27 pa 1808-£66 pa	1733 1767 1787 1809	£200 £200 £200 £200	
Satley	1757- £9 pa 1784-£13 pa 1790-£28 pa 1797-£36 pa	1735 1752 1784 1790 1797	£200 £200 £200 £200 £200	

Each of the above curacies was incapable of supporting an incumbent, and from an unknown date they had been informally united with neighbouring cures, Medomsley with Ebchester and Esh with Satley.

There being no suitable parsonage at Medomsley, the incumbents resided at Ebchester a mile distant.⁴ In 1774 the two churches were served by the incumbent on alternate Sundays, and the Holy Sacrament was administered at each, four times a year. William Ellison LL.B., Vicar of Pattingham, Staffordshire, became perpetual curate of Ebchester cum Medomsley in 1784. However, they seem to have had little attraction, for he remained in Staffordshire employing a curate to serve them. His curate, Thomas Slee, did nothing to increase the frequency of services.⁵

1. Hodgson, Augmentation, 1826 edn.
2. See pp. 163-69.
3. Ebchester, a perpetual curacy in the patronage of Sherburn Hospital.
4. For the discussion on parsonage houses see Chapter
5. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1774, Episcopal Visitation, Ebchester. Medomsley.

The combined income of Esh and Satley in 1774 was no more than £40 p.a. Their desirability was further decreased by their location and by the fact that neither cure was provided with a parsonage house. The only parson who might therefore accept such a situation would have been one with preferment and residence elsewhere. Such an incumbent was John Wheeler, who in addition to the above curacies was perpetual curate of Croxdale, St. Margaret, Durham, a master of Durham School, and Precentor of Durham Cathedral and who resided in Durham City. To serve Esh and Satley, he employed William Adey, himself the perpetual curate of Lanchester which was the closest benefice with a residence to the moorland parishes. Adey further delegated responsibility for the livings to his sub-curate, the Rev. Benjamin Bywater, who also continued to assist at Lanchester. Bywater seems to have taken little interest in Esh and Satley, for he continued what had been the traditional pattern of worship, alternate Sunday afternoon sermons at each, with the Holy Sacrament administered three times a year at Esh, and twice a year at Satley.¹

Poverty and the irregularity of services led to a deterioration in the fabric of Satley chapel that forced the new incumbent, Thomas Capstick, to discontinue services there in 1791.² His curate, also the perpetual curate of Lanchester, read prayers and preached an afternoon sermon on every second and fourth Sunday at Esh, while on the first and third Sundays of each month an afternoon service was held at Lanchester for the benefit of the inhabitants of Satley who could no longer

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1. Ibid., 1792, Episcopal Visitation, Esh; Satley; St. Margaret, Durham. When asked in 1778 how often services were performed at the two outlying cures Adey remarked, "I feed my fell cattle only once a month". James Raine, A Memoir of the Rev. John Hodgson, Vol.I, p.24.
 2. Ibid., Capstick was also perpetual curate of St. Andrew, Auckland, and of Escomb in the same parish. He resided in Bishop Auckland.

attend their own church.¹ In 1808 with the rebuilding of Satley and the appointment of a curate to serve only Esh and Satley, the old practice of Divine Service being performed on alternate Sunday mornings and afternoons was restored.²

In time, each of the curacies used their Bounty money to purchase land, the effects of which are seen in the gradual increase of their yearly incomes.³ The case of Satley is typical. In 1547 Satley had been designated a chapel of ease to Lanchester, the only provision for the support of a minister being the annual pension of £1 paid by the inhabitants of the chapelry. Until 1735 this remained the only source of income for the serving curate. However, in that year Satley received its first augmentation, by lot, from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and in 1741 land was purchased which was let for £7-15-0 p.a. Each of the subsequent augmentations were laid out in land, the results of which are illustrated below.⁴

<u>Lot</u>	<u>Year purchase made</u>	<u>Amount paid by Governors</u>	<u>Income</u>
1735	1741	£200	
1752	1773	£200	
			1760 £9-7-6
1784			1784 £24-7-6
1790	1793	£400	
1797	1801	£200	1797 £36-2-0
			1801 £87-10-0

The remaining living in episcopal patronage below £45 p.a. was the parochial chapel of St. Anne. Originally a chapel of ease to St. Andrew, Auckland, the chapel had been built in response to the increasing population clustering around the walls of the episcopal residence, Auckland Castle.⁵ Throughout

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792 Episcopal Visitation, Satley.

2. Ibid., 1810, Episcopal Visitation, Satley.

3. See Figure 7, p.204.

4. Hodgson, Augmentation; CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., Satley. File F/1655.

5. Matthew Richley, History and Characteristics of Bishop Auckland, (Bishop Auckland, 1872), p.108.

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries St. Anne's had been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that, when questioned in 1782 about the ancient and accustomed duty, the resident curate, John Bacon, could only reply that "it cannot be ascertained, St. Anne's having been in a ruinous condition and ill suited for the use of a chapel and no duty performed therein within the memory of any person now living".¹

Though it had been ignored by his predecessors, Bishop Egerton could not overlook the ruined chapel located but a few yards from the gates of the episcopal palace. In 1781 St. Anne's was rebuilt by subscription, and following a £200 benefaction from Egerton the patronage was vested with the See.² In addition the chapel was augmented by lot in 1782, 1783 and 1808. The money thus received was used to purchase an estate at Tudhoe from which the chapel received £30 p.a.

By 1810 the total number of benefices in the episcopal gift below the new Bounty minimum had increased to nine. In spite of the extensive help received from the Royal Bounty, the incomes of the perpetual curacies of Esh, Satley, Medomsley and St. Anne remained below £150 p.a. In addition, the remaining perpetual curacies in Auckland parish, St. Helen, Escomb~~e~~ and the mother church, St. Andrew, along with the perpetual curacies

1. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., St. Anne's, Auckland. File F/206.

2. St. Anne's had been rebuilt in 1424 and enlarged in 1452. By 1638 it had again become a ruin. The rebuilding in 1781 was not the last, for in 1846 this structure was removed and the present church erected. Richley, Bishop Auckland, p.108. After 1781 the rebuilt chapel seems to have retained its ancient status as a chapel of ease. Egerton ordered the duty to be morning prayers on Sundays and Fridays and on every day in Passion Week. No mention was made of Holy Communion. By 1808, however, the incumbent reported that he administered the Holy Sacrament four times a year. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., St. Anne's Auckland. File F/206.

of Lanchester and St. John, Sunderland, all fell below the £150 p.a. mark. The following table gives the incomes of the above curacies as they were returned to the Governors of the Bounty in 1808.¹

Figure 9

St. Andrew, Auckland	£97	Lanchester	£114
St. Anne, Auckland	£31	Medomsley	£97
St. Helen, Auckland	£54	Esh	£66
Escomb	£54	Satley	£89
St. John, Sunderland	£67		

To a limited extent Bishop Barrington attempted to improve the material condition of a few of these cures. From Hodgson's Account of Augmentations, and from the Queen Anne's Bounty files, the following table of episcopal augmentations between 1808 and Barrington's death in 1826, has been drawn.²

Figure 10

<u>Date of benefac-</u> <u>tion</u>	<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Amount of</u> <u>Benefaction</u>
1809	St. Anne's, Auckland	£150
1810	St. Andrew, Auckland	Message lands and tithes. Value £800.
1815	Lanchester	£240
1822	St. John, Wear dale	£200

In addition to his attempts to improve the value of these benefices, Barrington was faced with the problems attendant with the creation of a new parish along the Tyne. As a result of the expanding population in the borough of Gateshead, a portion of Gateshead common was enclosed by Act of Parliament 49 George III C.116., one acre being set aside for the building of a new church.

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. Queen Anne's Bounty return of livings under £150 p.a., 1808.
2. Barrington granted additional benefactions to the following curacies not in his patronage.

<u>Date of benefaction</u>	<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Amount of Benefaction</u>
1815	Barnard Castle	£200
1815	Darlington	£200
1815	Hartlepool	£200

Hodgson, Augmentation, 1826 edn.

A second Act of Parliament was passed in the same year wherein the citizens, seeking to build a church, procured a grant of £1,000 and the right to raise an additional £1,000 through the assessment of a special rate. In an effort to secure the passage of this additional Act, however, it had been necessary to borrow £400 from Matthew White Ridley and Company, bankers of Newcastle. Rates of eighteen pence in the pound were assessed in 1817, 1818 and in 1819, by which means £531 was raised. Unfortunately £492 was needed to discharge the principal and interest due on the above loan. Furthermore, after deducting the expenses incurred in collecting the rate itself, the principal trustee, the Rev. John Rollinson, Rector of Gateshead, was left with £3, and was faced with the dilemma of being empowered to raise only a further £470.¹

Fortunately for the cause of church extension, 58 George III, C.45, had been passed in 1818, and the newly created Commissioners granted £1,000 to the Gateshead trustees. With the help of a further £1,340 raised by subscription, St. John's Church, Gateshead Fell, was completed and consecrated on 30 August, 1825, the patronage of which being rested in the See.² Barrington thus acquired the direct responsibility for a new urban parish serving an increasing population already in excess of three thousand souls, with no parsonage, and endowed with less than £140 p.a.³

In an effort to improve the value of this piece of patronage, Barrington in 1826 granted a benefaction of £600 for the

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Gateshead Fell. William Hawks to Christopher Hodgson, 22 February, 1826.
 2. Principal contributions came from: Church Building Society £300; Rector of Gateshead, £120; Bishop Barrington, £100; Lord Crewe's Trustees, £100; Dean and Chapter, £30; Rev. Henry Phillpotts, £20. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.789. See also M. H. Port, Six Hundred New Churches: a study of the Church Building Commissioners, 1818-1856, (London, 1961).
 3. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Gateshead Fell. William Hawks to Christopher Hodgson, 22 July, 1826. £104 from tithe, £20 from Surplice Fees and £15 from Easter Offerings. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., Gateshead Fell. File F/1870. 1826.

building of a parsonage, a sum which was in turn matched by £900 from the funds raised by Parliament. Though ostensibly for the building of a parsonage, William Hawks the Rector, invested the £1,500 in three percent government stocks, the interest from which had increased his income to £200 p.a. by 1832.¹ The following table illustrates the frequency of the expenditure of public money for the augmentation of episcopal benefices during Bishop Barrington's episcopacy, and may be contrasted with Figure 10 of this Chapter.

Figure 11

Benefice	Income & Date ³	Date of grant	Queen Anne's Bounty ²		Parliamentary Grant ²	
			Lot	To meet a benefac-tion	Lot	To meet a bene-faction
St. Andrew, Auckland	1808 - £97	1810		4 x £200		
St. Anne's	1808 - £31	1808		£400		
Escomb	1810 - £55	1810	£200			
St. Helen, Auckland	1808 - £54	1794	£200			
Sunderland ⁴		1814			£800	£300
	1795 - £184	1812			£600	
	1832 - £263	1817			£1200	
Lan-chester	1810 - £66	1814			£900	
	1825 - £66					
Medomsley	1810 - £97				£200	
	1820 - £86					

Barrington's death in 1826 brought to the See William Van Mildert who, as a result of his previous association, was alive to the need for church reform, though perhaps for different reasons than his predecessors. Van Mildert, a close personal

1. CC. MS. 1832. N.B. file, Gateshead Fell.
2. Hodgson, Augmentation, 1826 edn.
3. See pp. 163-69.
4. The Rectory of Sunderland was being augmented as a result of the population. In 1811 the parish contained over 12,000 souls.

friend of Joshua Watson, and a member of the "Hackney Phalanx", saw parochial reform as a method whereby the increasingly frequent attacks on the Church might be countered.¹ In his second "Charge" to the clergy of his new diocese he spoke of the existing dangers that beset the Established Church.²

"Infidelity and Atheism on one side, Fanaticism on another; Popery advancing in this direction, Socinism in that. Dissent, Lukewarmness, apathy, each with multitudes in its train."

Van Mildert went on to say that never before has the church:³

"Had to contend with so great a number of open and avowed enemies; who, in their reiterated and persevering attacks, stop short of no misrepresentations, however flagrant, which tend to hold it up to public scorn and indignation".

The Bishop saw the greatest threat to the Established Church coming from the reiterated calls for a more equitable distribution of church revenues:⁴

"Whether intending an entire and absolute equalisation, or such a curtailment only of the wealthier benefices, as might create a fund for raising the poorer to a competent provision for each incumbent".

The weakness of the scheme for equalisation, he believed, was simply that there were not sufficient funds available to support the whole body of the clergy "in a manner befitting their station in the community". His objections to compulsory provisions of this kind were on principle, as well as on those of practicability.⁵

"If a wealthy beneficiary is to be curtailed of his property, merely because he is supposed to be more wealthy than he need be, or because another is less so than he ought to be; it is not easy to explain why this very same rule might not be applied to other interests than those of the ecclesiastical body; so as eventually to undermine the basis of all property whatsoever".

1. Port, Six Hundred New Churches, p.18.

2. William Van Mildert, Sermons and Charges, ed. by Cornelius Ives (Oxford, 1838), Charge, 1831, p.542.

3. Ibid., p.543.

4. Van Mildert, Sermons, op.cit., p.545.

5. Ibid., p.546.

Van Mildert went on to add that every "encouragement ought to be given and every authoritative sanction afforded to the lessening of the evil complained of, by such voluntary acts of endowment or augmentation, as the case may reasonably admit".¹

Until the passage of the Archbishop's Bill, Van Mildert had felt the Church to be without adequate means for improving benefice incomes. However, after 1831, most probably feeling the same sense of urgency that provoked capitular reform, he recommenced Barrington's policy of augmenting needy livings in episcopal patronage.² In keeping with the principles laid down in his charge for the voluntary augmentation of benefices, he proposed that the following benefices be augmented. It should be noted that of the nine, seven had been below £150 p.a. since 1809, this in spite of Barrington's efforts.²

Figure 12

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Value in 1831</u>
St. Helen, Auckland	£140 p.a.
Escomb	£88 p.a.
Lanchester	£136 p.a.
Medomsley	£66 p.a.
Esh	£65 p.a.
Satley	£68 p.a.
St. John, Sunderland	£84 p.a.
Gateshead Fell	£194 p.a.
Stockton-on-Tees	Unknown

1. Van Mildert, Charge, 1831., p.549.
2. Van Mildert did not think 29 Charles II, C.8 adequate. R. A. Cochrane, "William Van Mildert" (unpublished M.Litt. Thesis, Durham University, 1950) p.221. Van Mildert's views on church reform are well known. On 10 September, 1831 he wrote to Charles Thorp that:
"If Lord B(roughm) expects me to come forth with a plan for Church Reform, he would be grievously disappointed - and still more so if he supposes that my vote for the Parliamentary Reform Bill can be purchased by fears or menaces of the impending fate of the Church. I never can belief that the Church will be more safe, or last one year longer by supporting that measure".
DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol.IV, No.48, Van Mildert to Thorp. 10 September, 1831.

Van Mildert also proposed to erect a new church at Shildon, in the parish of St. Andrew, Auckland and to unite the two small Durham City Rectories of St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Mary-the-Less. When combined they would produce £210 p.a. adequate for an incumbent ministering to a joint population of not more than six hundred and thirty souls.¹

Draft deeds of the proposed augmentations were sent to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1832. The parishes of Lanchester, Medomsley and Gateshead Fell were to be augmented with reserved rents arising from within each parish. The Rectory of Sunderland, the parochial chapelry of St. John's Sunderland, the vicarage of Stockton and the perpetual curacy of St. Helen's Auckland were to be improved with grants of land, the incomes from which were to raise their incomes to £300 p.a. The remaining small perpetual curacies were to be augmented with grants of episcopal property of sufficient value to increase their incomes to £200 p.a.² By 1834 augmentations to the following seven benefices had been confirmed. The following table indicates those benefices augmented and the source and value of each augmentation.³

1. CC. MSS. General file, No.2159, 1833.

2. CC. MSS. General file, Durham Bishopric Estates, Part 1.

3. DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol.IV. MS. Papers relating to Augmentations and Endowments of Benefices, Granted and Promised by the Late Bishop of Durham, 17 April, 1837.

Figure 13

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Source of Augmentation</u>	<u>Value of Augmentation</u>	<u>Date</u>
St.Helen, Auckland	Tithes of corn and grain	£164-16-3	13 Sept.1834
Gateshead Fell	Tithes of hay and grain	£100-0-0	12 Sept.1834
Lanchester	Tithes of corn and grain	£140-0-0	13 Sept.1834
Medomsley	Tithes of corn and grain	£100-0-0	12 Sept.1834
Satley	Certain lands in the Parish of Crossgate and Framwell- gate	£83-0-0	13 Sept.1834
Sunderland	Certain lands in the town- ship of Stockton-on-Tees	£40-0-0	12 Sept.1834
St.John's Chapel, Sunderland	Certain lands in the town- ship of Stockton-on-Tees	£176-0-0	12 Sept.1834

Van Mildert also proposed that the perpetual curacy of Escomb be augmented to £200 p.a. by the purchase of land valued at £150. Before the purchase could be made, however, the title was found to be unsatisfactory and the purchase was abandoned. To effect the necessary augmentation, Van Mildert paid the incumbent £100 per a year instead, until such time as another purchase might be made.

Like Barrington, Van Mildert made benefactions to small livings not in episcopal patronage. The Bishop assisted the two following benefices with money payments in an effort to meet the needs occasioned by the county's expanding population.¹

Figure 14

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>In whose patronage</u>	<u>For what use</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Hartlepool	Crown	Sub-curate	£75 p.a.
Barnard Castle	Vicar of Gainford	Sub-curate	£75 p.a.

1. Bishop Barrington had established a lectureship at St. Anne's Auckland for the benefit of the inhabitants. Van Mildert, in an effort to provide the incumbent with assistance, augmented the lecturer's stipend with an annual grant of £20. DUL. Thorp MSS.. Vol.IV., No.6. R. A. Douglas to the Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, C. K. Murray, 23 April, 1836.

By 1834 the Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment was no longer faced only with the problem of improving the value of poorly endowed ancient benefices. With the expansion of the Durham coal field, in particular the Auckland field, the Bishop of Durham was confronted with the necessity of augmenting benefices whose incomes, by virtue of their increased populations, were no longer adequate. Moreover, in parishes where the new colliery populations had settled at a distance from the ancient centres of worship, patrons were faced with the responsibility of expanding the parochial system. A typical example of such expansion took place in the parish of St. Andrew, Auckland.

The creation of the Stockton and Darlington railway made it commercially profitable for the local mining industry to expand into the South Durham coal field. By 1831 the population of the parish of St. Andrew, Auckland had increased to over 11,000 inhabitants, of which over 3,000 had settled at some distance from the parish church, 2,000 residing near Shildon and 1,200 at Etherley. In the light of this situation, Van Mildert as patron of the parish church proposed to build and endow first a church at Etherley and later another at Shildon. Most of the population of Etherley were miners who, in the words of the incumbent, George Watson, "are chiefly of the lower classes and many of them very poor".¹ Thus unable to depend on the local population for subscriptions, Van Mildert financed the building of the church himself. To provide for the incumbent he paid an annual grant of £200 with the intention

1. CC. MSS. General files, Durham Bishopric Estates, Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham, No.2163. The Rev. George Watson to Lord John Russell Etherley 18 July, 1836.

of increasing the stipend to £300 p.a. by the purchase of land. Before his death in 1836 Van Mildert purchased two parcels of land which were annexed to the benefice and which provided the incumbent with an additional £70 p.a.¹

Like Etherley, the church at Shildon had been erected principally at Van Mildert's expense, assisted by the "Society for the Enlargement and Repairing of Churches".² On its completion, a district was assigned, and the Rev. James Manisty was appointed incumbent.³ Van Mildert proposed to endow the church with land, however, until such time as the purchase could be made, he paid Manisty a stipend of £150 p.a. from the surplus revenues of the See.⁴

Where necessary, Van Mildert also proposed to augment benefices in episcopal patronage whose incomes were not adequate to meet the needs of the increasing population. This included proposed grants to the vicarages of Stockton-on-Tees and Coniscliffe, the incomes of both the Bishop intended to raise to £300 p.a.⁵

As part of these diocesan reforms Van Mildert separated the chapelries of Esh and Satley. This be accomplished by improving their incomes and by inducing Joseph Thompson, the

1. DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol.VI., No.11., George Watson to Bishop of Durham, 16 August, 1836.

2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.568.

3. Manisty was domestic chaplain to the Earl of Eldon, one of the principal colliery owners in the parish.

4. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Shildon. No.6085. Statement of Particulars Respecting the Parish of Shildon. These and the other cash grants made by Van Mildert seem to be in keeping with the policy advocated by the Bishop of London, in the House of Lords, 7 February 1833, wherein he called for the Bishops to relieve the "inequalities in Salary experienced by the lower clergy out of their own pockets". Hansard 3rd series, Vol.XV, Co.308.

5. DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol.IV, No.12. For the income of these benefices see p.165. During the thirty years between 1801 and 1831 the population in the parish of Stockton had doubled to 8,000 inhabitants. The income of Coniscliffe was to be improved as a result of its proximity to Darlington the population of which had increased over the same period from 5349 to 9417.

incumbent of both, to resign Esh. The income of Satley was increased to £156 p.a. with a grant of land valued at £86 p.a. At the same time, the chapelry of Esh was granted a piece of land at Byers Green which let for £32 p.a. In spite of this augmentation, however, the income of Esh remained at less than £100 p.a., therefore to provide at least a minimum income for the new incumbent, Van Mildert donated a further £40 p.a. out of his surplus revenues.

After a distinguished academic career at Cambridge, the Rev. Temple Chevallier was appointed, in 1835, the first Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the new university at Durham. In the same year Van Mildert licensed Chevallier as perpetual curate of Esh. It has been suggested by R. A. Cochrane that this appointment was an indication of the Bishop's anxiety to secure an adequate income for those members of the university teaching staff in Holy Orders.¹ This does not seem to be the case for Chevallier's professorial salary was £698 p.a., to which must be added a further £80 p.a. from his Readership in Hebrew.² It is more probable that Van Mildert simply saw the possibility of acquiring a competent incumbent for one of the county's more undesirable benefices. Indeed at the time of Chevallier's appointment Esh was worth less than £100 p.a. and was still without a parsonage house. Though parsonage houses are discussed in Chapter V it should be noted here that the Bishop's annual payments of £40 were made in an effort to provide Chevallier with a residence, a necessity made all the more urgent in view of the fact that the parish had become the principal seat of the county's Catholic population.

1. Cochrane, "Van Mildert," p. 226.

2. DUL. Thorp MSS.. Vol. IV, No. 576, University of Durham, Parliamentary Return, 1861.

Chevallier reported in 1835 that the population of the parish was 632 souls, of which 180 were resident at the Roman Catholic seminary at Ushaw. There was also a Catholic chapel with a resident priest independent of the college, and to which there was attached an endowed school. The principal landowners were Catholic as were many of their tenants. This strong Catholic presence resulted in a gradual increase in the size of the Catholic population. The following is Chevallier's assessment of the size of the community.¹

Figure 15

	<u>Protestants</u>	<u>Catholics</u>
Esh Chapelry	187	185
Annexed District	68	12
Ushaw College	-	180
Total	<u>255</u>	<u>377</u>

Without adequate funds to build a residence, Chevallier found a suitable house with a small plot of land attached to let. Rather than pay the rent from his university salary, Chevallier appealed to Van Mildert for assistance. In reply Van Mildert wrote:²

"it appears to me very desirable that it should, with as little delay as possible, be secured for your residence. Archdeacon Thorp is already aware, and probably has stated to you, that I shall have great satisfaction in facilitating the attainment of this object, and taking the burden upon myself to any reasonable extent. I have no difficulty in at once pledging myself, during my own incumbency in the See, to the rent required of £40 a year".

Van Mildert's death on 21 February, 1836 presented some

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1. CC. MSS. General file, Durham Bishopric Estates. Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham. No.2153. Temple Chevallier to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Esh, 23 December, 1836.
 2. Ibid. Contained in the above file was a transcription of Van Mildert's letter to Chevallier dated 25 December, 1835.

difficulties to those incumbents and curates whose financial assistance from the Bishop had not been legally attached to their livings. Chevallier's grant ceased, and in spite of his considerable stipend from the University he applied to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for their assistance in providing a parsonage house. He wrote, "the number of Roman Catholics under the immediate influence of the College has greatly increased and it is certainly most (important) that this growing and permanent influence should be counteracted as much as possible especially by providing a glebe house".¹

The augmentation of Medomsley had raised the combined income of that cure with Ebchester from £156 p.a. to £252 p.a. Out of this sum the incumbent, Robert Clarke, no longer physically capable of serving both cures, employed a curate at the cost of £30 p.a. By 1835 Clark's health had deteriorated to the extent that the entire burden of the parochial duties of both churches fell upon the shoulders of his curate, James Stubbs. At the same time Clark increased the curate's stipend to £60 p.a. In an effort to further assist Stubbs, Van Mildert augmented his stipend with an additional £60 p.a. out of surplus diocesan revenues. In January, 1836 Clark died and in his place the Bishop installed Stubbs as incumbent of Ebchester cum Medomsley, while at the same time appointing the Rev. James Ord Clarke assistant curate. In his own words, Clarke had expected "to receive the same salary as my predecessor", but with the Bishop's death in April the additional £60 p.a. ceased to be paid. Clarke wrote to the new Bishop, Edward Maltby, requesting the continuation of the grant saying, "I expected that his Lordship's favour to my predecessor would be continued to me; but as his

1. CC. MSS. General file. Durham Bishopric Estates, Augmentations of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham, No. 2153. Temple Chevallier to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 23 December, 1836. After consideration Maltby continued the £40 p.a. grant. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Esh. No. 26649.

Lordship died soon after I came I beg to inform your Lordship that out of my salary of £60 p.a. I pay for house rent and window duty of £14 to £15 per annum". Maltby did not renew the grant.¹

At Barnard Castle the subcurate was faced with the same problem. While the income of the chapelry was no more than £200 p.a. the population had risen by 1832 to over 4,000 inhabitants. With Van Mildert's death, the £75 p.a. grant for the support of an additional curate ceased, forcing the inhabitants of the chapelry to seek assistance from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for again Maltby refused to continue the grant. In their memorial they wrote:²

"In consequence of the curtailment of the revenues of the See of Durham, the present Bishop has discontinued the subscription of his predecessor, and is unable to say on what scale he may be able to contribute to so beneficent a work".

Van Mildert's death marked the end of the Palatinate jurisdiction of the Bishops of Durham, and at the same time the newly created Ecclesiastical Commissioners took over the responsibility of administering surplus diocesan episcopal funds. This situation created a great deal of apprehension, particularly among those Durham incumbents who were benefiting or who had hoped to benefit from the late Bishop's generous, though hasty, reforming activity.

With a number of Van Mildert's augmentations not legally attached to the recipient benefices, promised benefactions not fulfilled, and Maltby in no way legally bound to continue the policies of his predecessor, anxious incumbents turned to the

1. DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol IV, No.13. Rev. J. O. Clarke to Edward Maltby, Ebchester 26 September, 1836. For another letter from Clarke to Maltby on the same subject see CC. MSS. General file Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham, No.2153.
2. CC. MSS. General file. Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham, No.2153. Memorial from the Inhabitants of Barnard Castle to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, undated.

Ecclesiastical Commissioners for assistance.¹ The validity of each claim was investigated. Evidence as to the late Bishop's intentions was produced by Archdeacon Thorp and on the strength of this, and the result of their own inquiries, the Commissioners agreed to carry out Van Mildert's proposals. The following table of augmentations was therefore drawn up, dated 17 April, 1837.²

"Resolutions of the Committee to consider augmentations made by the Bishop of Durham, William Van Mildert. It appears to the Committee that:

Esh, P.C., should be augmented by a payment out of the fund per annum.

Satley, P.C., has a sufficient income with reference to the population.

St. Helen, Auckland, P.C., should be augmented by the permanent annexation thereto of the land set apart for that purpose by the late Bishop, and by a payment of the fund per annum. £130

Shildon, P.C., should be augmented (or endowed), by a payment out of the fund per annum. £200

Escomb, P.C., should be augmented by a payment out of the fund per annum. £100

Coniscliffe, V., has a sufficient income.

Trinity, Stockton, cannot be endowed out of the property of the See, the patronage not yet₃ being in the hands of the Bishop.

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1. CC. MSS., General file, Durham Bishopric Estates, Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham. No.2153. George Watson to C. K. Murray, 8 April, 1837. Watson wrote that he could not understand "why the payment of those stipends sh^d have been so long withheld and myself and others reduced to a state of great pecuniary suffering, and consequently to almost overpowering mental anxiety and distress". Watson's only income was £40 p.a. from a farm assigned to his living by Van Mildert. Out of this sum he claimed his expenses to be: £10 p.a. servants wages: £2-2-0 p.a., poor rate; £7-12-0 p.a. highway rate and £6-6-0 p.a. assessed taxes.
 2. Ibid. See also DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol.IV, No.24. Papers Relating to Augmentations and Endowments of Benefices, Granted and Promised by the Late Bishop of Durham, 17 April, 1837. Both sources contain letters from the incumbents of Escomb; Esh; Etherley; Medomsley; Ebchester; Shildon; St. Helen, Auckland; Barnard Castle and Stockton regarding proposed or promised augmentations.
 3. For the creation of Holy Trinity, Stockton, see Chapter VII, pp 402-5.

Medomsley, P.C.) have been already augmented to
 Gateshead) the full extent promised by
 the late Bishop.

and that the Commissioners not having power under the act, to charge the property of the See with more than the Bishop could himself have done, have therefore no authority in any case to provide a house"

By an Order in Council, 21 June 1837, the following augmentations, uncompleted at the time of Van Mildert's death, were secured.¹

Esh	£125 p.a.
St. Helen, Auckland	£82 p.a.
Etherley ³	£130 p.a.
Shildon	£225 p.a.
Escomb	£120 p.a.

Heretofore members of the Durham episcopal and capitular establishments had individually attempted to obviate the necessity of a comprehensive statutory programme of church reform. Proposals, however, for the more equitable distribution of episcopal funds and for the redistribution of capitular revenues seems to have convinced the Durham ecclesiastical establishment that only a concerted effort might prevent the

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Orders of Her Majesty in Council of 21 June, 12 and 19 July and 21 August, 1837, "Approving certain Schemes prepared by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England and Wales," printed 23 November, 1837.
 2. Watson wrote the following letter nineteen days before the Order in Council was issued. "After receipt of yr letter dated the 17th April informing me of the decision the commiss^{rs} had that day made respecting my living. I did hope that many days wd not elapse before I should obtain the payment of my income. To say that further delay up to the present time has been a grievous disappointment and inconvenience to me is in truth saying but very little. I have been (subjected) to insult and degradation by the application through attorneys and otherwise for bills w^{ch} might long since have been discharged". CC. MSS. General file, Durham Bishopric Estates. Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham. No.2163. George Watson to C. K. Murray 2 June, 1837.

spoliation of the See's revenues. With 1 & 2 William IV C.45 as a guide, Bishop Maltby and the Dean and Chapter jointly compiled the following statements, containing the number of benefices in the Diocese under £300 p.a., with a general scale of augmentations, and included in the scheme those benefices not in ecclesiastical patronage, based on population.¹

Figure 16

Livings under the value of £300 p.a. exclusive of surplice fees, in the patronage of the Bishop or so situated by his having property in the parishes as to enable him to raise them to the amount of £300 p.a.

1. Name of benefice.
2. Value when return was made in 1832, including the late Bishop's augmentation.
3. Annual sum required to raise them to £300 p.a. each.
4. Population.

Episcopal patronage

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Coniscliffe	£219	£81	374
Gateshead Fell	£272	£28	3,339
Esh	£94	£206	486
Kelloe	£212	£88	663
Medomsley	£160	£140	1,459
Stockton	£300		7,991
St. Helen's, Auckland	£217	£83	2,962
Escomb	£84	£216	116
Lanchester	£263	£37	5,076
Sunderland	£300) 17,060
St. John's Chapel, Sunderland	£300)
Winlaton	£265	£35	4,205
Etherley	£70	£230	1,100
Satley	£150	£150	112
Allowance for fees at the rate of £8 a thousand persons			£480
Reduction in the value of livings, since the return, at the rate of £10 per cent			£425
Sum required to raise the livings to £300 p.a. each			£3,252

1. DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol. IV. A Brief Statement of the Condition of Benefices in the Diocese of Durham, under £300 a year, and its wants as regards New Churches..

Dean and Chapter patronage

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Aycliffe	£246	£54	1,564
Billingham	£240	£60	1,212
Croxdale	£120	£180	283
Dalton-le-Dale	£201	£99	1,305
Edmondbyers	£178	£122	995
Dinsdale	£224	£76	169
Heighington	£217	£83	1,739
Merrington	£211	£89	1,325
Monk Hesledon	£179	£121	501
Muggleswick	£93	£207	298
Durham St. Oswald	£272	£28	2,189
South Shields, St. Hilda	£330		23,000
South Shields, Trinity	£150	£150	
South Shields, Westoe	£220	£80	
Whitworth	£243	£57	337
Wolviston	£97	£203	582
Shincliffe	£98	£202	352
Heworth	£150	£150	5,424
Monkwearmouth	£225	£75	9,428
Jarrow	£150	£150	3,598
Allowance for Fees	£668		
Reduction	£608		
Sum required	£5,423		

Living not in the patronage of the Bishop or Dean
and Chapter

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Bishopton	£165	£135	519
Ebchester	£86	£214	253
Grindon	£131	£169	350
Sockburn	£25	£275	350
Barnard Castle	£224	£76	1,460
Denton	£32	£268	5,052
Whorlton	£107	£193	274
Bishop Middleham	£154	£748	310
Hart	£222	£78	791
Hartlepool	£143	£157	624
Stainton-le-Street	£279	£21	1,330
Castle Eden	£62	£238	248
Darlington	£274	£26	317
Durham, St. Giles	£99	£201	9,419
St. Nicholas	£87	£213	1,277
St. Mary-the-Less	£119	£181	2,200
St. Mary-le-Bow	£111	£189	128
Hamsterley	£96	£204	460
Hunstanworth	£60	£240	1,594
Lamesley	£138	£162	511
Stranton	£280	£20	2,387
Tanfield	£133	£167	396
Trimdon	£96	£209	2,500
Witton-le-Wear	£94	£206	884
Greatham	£179	£121	551
Heathery Cleugh	£54	£246	
Penshaw	£119	£181	2,539
Eggleston	£197	£103	212

The Durham Establishment proposed to go beyond the principles laid down in 1 and 2 William IV C.45. They suggested that augmentations might be made on a higher scale, but still based on the needs created by individual parish populations.¹ The following scale of augmentations was included in the foregoing report.

1. As did the Chapter in their proposed scheme of 21 January, 1832.

Figure 17

Benefices having a population under 300 to be raised to	£200 p.a.
" " " " over 300 but less than 1,000 to	£250 p.a.
" " " " " 1,000 but less than 3,000 to	£350 p.a.
" " " " " 3,000 but less than 6,000 to	£400 p.a.
" " " " " 6,000 but less than 10,000 to	£500 p.a.
" " " " " 10,000 and upwards, raised to	£600 p.a.

Episcopal and capitular justification for retention of control over their own funds was based on the argument that they were in a better position to eradicate poverty in their diocese than would commissioners based in London.

"If the just and imperative claims of the livings in the patronage of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter, and the surplus funds were granted to the full amount required: and if half the amount necessary for augmenting livings in other patronage than that of the Bishops and Dean and Chapter, were granted on condition that lay-patrons or lay improPRIATORS furnish the remaining half, a principle not acted on by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty Board, in augmenting poor livings:- the following sums would be refined: viz

	<u>According to the 1831 Act</u>	<u>According to the plan suggested</u>
Bishops Livings	£3,252	£3,318
Chapter Livings	£5,423	£5,418
New Churches	£5,000	£5,000
Other Livings	£7,645	£6,940
Total required	<u>£21,320</u>	<u>£20,677</u>

This statement shews that on a moderate scale of augmentation there ought to be a reservation of an annual sum of not less than £21,000 out of the alleged surplus ecclesiastical revenues of the Diocese.

That the ecclesiastical wants of the Diocese of Durham, should be provided for, in the first instance is but common justice, both as regards the Inhabitants and the right disposition of the

~~of the~~ revenues left for its specific ecclesiastical requirements. The abstraction of its church emoluments without first attending to its own necessities will create, and justly so, universal dissatisfaction throughout the Diocese.

The livings in the patronage of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter, have an especial claim on the surplus ecclesiastical revenues of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter. All the churches in their gift, under the amount specified, are situated in parishes which pay tithes, or otherwise contribute to the respective emoluments of the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter. It therefore cannot be satisfactory to the inhabitants of such parishes, to see tithes and other property, paid over to Queen Anne's Bounty Board, to be given to churches in London or elsewhere, while their own churches remain so inadequately endowed to abstract these revenues without first supplying the wants of such Benefices, from what was their original endowments, would be an act towards them of the greatest injust, and it is to be hoped that neither House of Parliament will sanction such a principle.

Although the livings not in the patronage of the Bishop or Dean and Chapter, have not an equal claim with those in their patronage, yet they certainly have a prior claim for augmentation, to all Benefices not within the Diocese, and the plan suggested in the statement may obviate some difficulties which might arise as regards the claims of such livings on the surplus ecclesiastical revenues.

The endowments required for new churches ought to be provided for out of the alleged surplus revenues in whatever parishes they are wanted.

In general the poverty of the people, where new churches are needed, and where consequently very little can be expected from pew rents, renders the Incumbent in a great measure dependent on the endowments for their support.

From these considerations it appears highly important that a sufficient sum be secured for the Diocese, by a special enactment of the Legislature.

If this statement be productive of no other effect, it will tend to shew the real wants of the Diocese of Durham, and the justice of applying such of its ecclesiastical revenues as the Commissioners consider to be surplus to the real ecclesiastical wants of the Diocese, before any of it can be applied to the general augmentations of livings throughout the kingdom".¹

1. DUL. Thorp MSS. Vol.IV. A Brief Statement of the Condition of Benefices in the Diocese of Durham, under £300 a year, and its wants as regards New Churches .

Thus began a long but unsuccessful struggle by the Durham diocesan establishment and its clergy to prevent the redistribution of what the Ecclesiastical Commissioners referred to as "surplus revenues".¹

Durham opposition to the Commissioners began before the actual passage of 6 and 7 William C.77. On 21 July, 1836 Lord Londonderry initiated a motion in the House of Lords against the transfer of Durham surplus revenues until such time as the spiritual wants of the Diocese had been fully provided for. He supported his motion with the preceding scheme and with petitions from the nobility, gentry and clergy of the diocese.

Londonderry referred to the Diocese as being "unequalled for its poverty" and he claimed that he could prove "there were livings in Durham as poor as any in Wales". Londonderry hoped that before the Commissioners took the proposed £41,000 p.a. from the Diocese, they ought to consider its actual wants. His plea went unheeded and the motion was withdrawn.²

By two Acts of Parliament, the Established Church Act and the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill, Durham diocesan revenues were to be reduced.³ In keeping with the policy for a more equitable scale of episcopal incomes, the Bishop of Durham's income was reduced from the average yearly amount of £24,000 to £8,000.⁴ By Order in Council dated 22 December, 1836 the Commissioners ordered the annual sum of £11,200 be thereafter

1. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.307. Professor Best points out that the Established Church Act and the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act were opposed by three elements in Parliament: by anti-clerical radicals, ultra-clerical conservatives and by a Durham and Northumberland pressure group which continued its opposition against the reduction of Durham's revenues for over thirty years.

2. Hansard, 3rd series, Vol.35., Col.361, 21 July, 1836.

3. 6 and 7 William IV, C.77, and 3 and 4 Victoria C.113.

4. Average for the seven year period 1829-1835. PP. 1851 Vol.XLII, p.93.

paid into the Episcopal Fund.¹ The Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill suppressed six of the twelve Durham Prebendal stalls, their estates becoming the property of the Commissioners on the expiration of the life interest.² Revenues from this source as well as those considered surplus to the existing needs of the Dean and Chapter were paid into the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Common Fund.³

From 1837 to 1850 Durham episcopal revenues paid into the Episcopal Fund amounted to over £150,000.⁴ Between 1841 and 1852 the Dean and Chapter had contributed over £96,000. The combined total of revenues received from the Diocese of Durham between 1836 and 1855 was £335,309.⁵

The Established Church Act also authorised the creation of two new Sees, Ripon and Manchester. The founding of these further aggravated the uneasy relations that existed between the Diocese of Durham and the Commissioners, for both Sees were to be endowed with Durham episcopal property, while at the same time the Bishop of Durham was forced to relinquish a large

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1. For an outline of the Episcopal Fund see Best, Temporal Pillars, pp.321-22. The Act creating the Ecclesiastical Commission empowered them to demand such "fixed annual sums as shall, upon dire inquiry and consideration, be determined on". Provision was included for a septennial review of the revenues of Contributing Sees, on the basis of which, the Commissioners could make adjustments.
 2. Prebendal stalls were suspended as follows. The first two stalls falling vacant were to be suspended. The third stall to become vacant was to be filled and the next two falling vacant, suspended. This process was to be repeated until six stalls had been suspended. 3 and 4 Vic. C.113.
 3. Estimated to be over £28,000 p.a. Hansard, 3rd Series, Vol. 35, Col.364.
 4. CC. Return of the Diocese of Durham, from 1836 to 1855; and of the Sums Expended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the Same Diocese, During the Same Period.
 5. CC. Ecclesiastical Commissioners, First Report, Minutes of Evidence 2 April, 1856, p.211. By 1856 the continued expansion of the Durham coal industry had increased the capitular income to over £60,000 of which £33,000 was paid into the Common Fund.

portion of his patronage in the name of episcopal reorganisation.¹

The Diocese of Ripon was created by Act of Parliament 6 and 7 William IV C.77 out of that portion of the Diocese of Chester that was located within the geographic bounds of Yorkshire. In addition, the Archbishop of York was to relinquish the Deanery of Craven, along with those portions of the Deaneries of Ainsty and Pontefract in the county and Diocese of York, as well as the Wapentakes of Barkston Ash, Osgoldcross and Staincross. To partially compensate the Archbishop for the patronage thus lost, Maltby was required to cede the patronage of the valuable rectory of Craike, located in the Vale of York to the said Archbishop.² Further, to endow the new See, the Bishop of Durham was ordered to cede to Charles Thomas Longley, the first modern Bishop of Ripon, certain episcopal estates in Howden and Howdenshire, Northallerton and Allertonshire, Barrowby, Brompton, Romanby, Osmotherly, and Sowerby Grange, all located in the county of York.³

1. 6 and 7 William IV C.77. It must have been particularly offensive to the Bishop of Durham to see the way in which his See was marked out as a kind of ecclesiastical milch cow.

"If in determining the mode of regulating the Episcopal Incomes, either in the first instance or on any future Revision of them, it shall be deemed expedient to make the alteration required, in any case, by the subtraction or addition of any Real Estates, such Real Estates be transferred accordingly; and that out of the property of the See of Durham".

2. Ibid., Craike was valued at over £670 p.a. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, Craike.

3. Order in Council 22 December, 1836. For charging the Bishops of Durham with a fixed annual payment towards the Augmentation of the Incomes of the Bishops of the Smaller Sees; and for the endowing of the Bishops of Ripon. The value of these estates was estimated to be £1,800 p.a. CC. MS. General File. Incomes of the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Wales, as they became subject to the Act 6 and 7 William IV cap.77; with the charges imposed or the augmentation granted - and the period of commencement. No.7963.

Though the Established Church Act had authorised the foundation of a Bishopric at Manchester, it took two additional Orders in Council to effect its creation. Eleven years after the original proposal, the Commissioners scheme was finally carried out by an Order in Council dated 10 August, 1847, in which it was proposed that the Episcopal Stipend to £4,000 p.a. to be paid from the Episcopal Fund.¹ Unfortunately, however, the Fund had failed to meet the expectations of its creators, and there was concern that this additional burden could not be guaranteed.²

".... there is an annual existing surplus of £3,000 and that after meeting the existing demands there is a clear available annual surplus of £2,200 so that to make up the allotted Income of Manchester £4,200 an annual sum of £2,000 remains to be provided from some other source.

There is at the disposal of the Commissioners an accumulated sum of £20,000 applicable under the Acts to precisely the same purposes as the current Income of the fund, so that, assuming the annual receipts and payments to remain as at present, the full income of the Bishop of Manchester is thus secured for ten years.

The second question is, what means there would be of continuing the payment, if the Sees of Exeter and Llandaff to which large prospective augmentations are assigned, should either or both become vacant before the vacancy of any of the sees charged with prospective contributions to the fund.

The proceeds of the mines, recently leased under the Act of 1842, are likely in a short time to reduce the prospective augmentation required for the see of Exeter to £2,500 instead of the amount at present assigned.

The See of Llandaff, would require the whole annual sum of £3,150.

It is just possible therefore that, by early vacancies in both these Sees, a demand upon the Fund may be created of £5,650 plus the additional £2,000 required for Manchester £7,650.

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1. Order in Council, 12 December, 1838 was for Prospectively founding the Bishopric of Manchester. The official date of its foundation was 1 September, 1847.
 2. CC. MSS. General file. No.4523. Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England - Draft Scheme for Determining the Mode of Endowing the Bishopric of Manchester, 2 December, 1847. Treasurer to Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitehall, 16 September, 1847.

The accumulated fund of £20,000 is composed, in part of monies due from contributing Sees; but I have assumed, as I conceive I was bound to do, that these monies will all be regularly paid up.

At the same time, I would suggest that, previously to any step being taken upon calculations found on that assumption, it would perhaps be right for the Commissioners to communicate formally with the Bishops from whom the monies are due".

Seeking to be able to guarantee the Bishop of Manchester's stipend C. K. Murray wrote the following letter to Maltby on behalf of the Commissioners.¹

"There may, and I think it most likely that there will, be no deficiency of the Episcopal Fund to pay the whole income of £4,000 per annum assigned to the Bishop of Manchester: but as the case is just possible, it has been deemed right to provide for it as well as may be.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London have volunteered to make a personal contribution, if and when the occasion may arise to the extent of £1,000 per ann. each.

This proffered and, as well as any further condition assistance from your Lordships or any other quarter must be embodied in the scheme, which must in fact be so framed as entirely to protect the now receiving Bishops from any further deficiency than they would be subject to in the now subsisting state of the fund and consequently so as to recognise the possibility/most remote indeed/ of the Bishop of Manchester being, for a while, reduced to the joint amount of the voluntary contributions from other sees -"¹

Maltby would agree to provide only half the amount.²

In spite of the annual loss of £11,200, Bishop Maltby's income during the seven year period between 1843 and 1855 averaged over £15,000 p.a.³ From his income Maltby continued

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1. CC. MSS. General file, No.4523. Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England - Draft Scheme for Determining the Mode of Endowing the Bishopric of Manchester, 2 December 1847. C. K. Murray to Maltby, Whitehall, 2 November, 1847.
 2. Ibid., Maltby to C. K. Murray, Auckland Palace, 4 November, 1847.
 3. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.404.

Van Mildert's policy of making voluntary contributions for the augmentation of necessitous incumbents' incomes and for providing curates in needy parishes. On Maltby's retirement in 1856, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners undertook to continue his contributions. Maltby's death on 3 July, 1859 released the Commissioners from the liability of the payments, however, the Estates Committee "having regard to the circumstances of the several cures we feel called upon to promote in every possible way at least in some of the cases a continuance of the assistance referred to". The following grants made by Maltby were continued.¹

Figure 18

Those in Episcopal Patronage

St. Andrew, Auckland (for a curate)	£80 p.a.
" " " (for a lecturer)	£40 p.a.
Gateshead, St. Cuthbert	£30 p.a.
Esh	£40 p.a.

Those in the patronage of parochial incumbents

Sildon	£20 p.a.
Barnard Castle	£10 p.a.
Lumley	£40 p.a.

Those in lay patronage

Tanfield (Lord Ravensworth)	£15 p.a.
Darlington (Duke of Cleveland)	£20 p.a.
Witton-le-Wear (Owners of Witton Castle)	£80 p.a.

Those in the patronage of the Crown

Forest in Teesdale	£20 p.a.
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The redistribution of episcopal patronage was the other area in which the Commissioners attempted reform and which was to greatly affect the Diocese of Durham. While certain bishops possessed a disproportionate amount of patronage, others possessed very little, the new Sees having none at all. There was also the complicated problem of bishops holding patronage in territories not their own. Working on the elementary principle that

1. CC. MS. Report of the Estates Committee of a meeting held Thursday, 3 November, 1859.

those bishops with little or no patronage would lack influence in their respective dioceses, the Commissioners sought to attempt a more equitable distribution of episcopal patronage. They called for the transfer of advowsons to the Bishops of Ripon, Chester and Manchester, while those Bishops appointing to livings in dioceses other than their own were required to exchange or simply transfer the patronage of the said cures. The proposals were set out in 6 and 7 William IV C.77 wherein it was stated that:

"None of the proposed alterations affecting the Boundaries or Jurisdiction of any Diocese, or the Patronage of Benefices with cure of souls, or the Revenues belonging to any See the Bishop of which was in Possession on the 4th Day of March 1836, take effect until the avoidance of the See without the consent of such Bishop"

Though Edward Maltby had been nominated to Durham on 3 March, 1836 he was not confirmed until the following 8 June. Therefore by virtue of the See being vacant on 4 March, 1836 it was to Durham the Commissioners turned when the question of providing patronage for the Sees of Chester, Ripon and Manchester arose.¹

While the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Act of 1841² had provided that the exchange of patronage might be enacted by Order in Council, it was not until 1850 that the Commissioners took steps towards the redistribution of episcopal patronage. In the face of their proposal to transfer the patronage of twenty-three Durham episcopal benefices, the Commissioners were faced with a resurgence of organised opposition from the Durham establishment.³ The Bishop, Dean and Chapter, nobility

1. 6 and 7 William IV C.77.

2. 4 and 5 Victoria C.39.

3. P.P. 1856, XI, pp.200-16; 347-9 and 505-10. See also Chapter III Appendices, B, C and D.

gentry and parochial clergy joined forces in an effort to prevent the further exploitation of the See by a central authority seemingly insensitive to the local needs of the Diocese.¹

Resistance to the Commissioners was led by Maltby who on 21 June, 1851 registered his protest in the form of a letter in which he listed the following arguments as to why "the diocese of Durham is entitled to far more consideration than it seems likely to receive".²

- "1. The antiquity and high rank of the See.
2. The wealth which it has supplied, and continues to supply, to the purpose of the Ecclesiastical Commission in a far greater degree than any other See; I might almost say than all the other Sees put together.
3. The fact that the wealth of the See is wholly furnished from the diocese itself.
4. The fact that all the livings in the patronage of the Bishop, with the single exception, lie within the diocese.
5. The rapid increase of population, from the opening out of new fields of coal, ironstone, etc., in consequence of the more ready access by railways and from the impulse which large supplies of coal and iron give to the formation and extension of manufactures".

Maltby's letter was followed by a series of memorials, the first of which, signed by one hundred and fifty-one incumbents and curates of the Archdeaconry of Durham, requested

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1. Particularly in view of the county's expanding population which had, during the previous twenty years, been increasing at a rate faster than any other county in England. The population of the Archdeaconry in 1851 was over 390,000 inhabitants.
 2. CC. Index to Reports from the Select Committee on Ecclesiastical Commission Correspondence relating to the Patronage of the Bishop of Durham, p.260. Maltby to J. G. Lefevre, Portland Place, 21 June, 1851. See Best, Temporal Pillars, pp.393-7.

the Estates Committee:¹

"To observe the vast increase in the numbers of Durham, which being at the beginning of this century something more than 160,000 now approaches 450,000 souls, scattered through parishes of great extent, and in many cases without adequate endowment".

This was closely followed by two similar petitions, signed by fifty of the county's nobility and gentry, who were concerned with the "spiritual destitution" of the diocese resulting from the increasing population and a lack of revenue for local purposes.²

Before the proposed transfers of patronage took place, Maltby, in 1856, took the unprecedented step of retiring. In his place Charles Thomas Langley was translated from Ripon.³ Heretofore Langley had been the recipient of Durham funds and was not therefore the most likely person to feel the diocese was being unjustly treated. However, it did not take long for him to see that the population of the Archdeaconry was rising at a faster rate than new church accommodation was being provided, and to take a stand against the proposed redistribution of episcopal patronage. With his predecessors pleas during the previous twenty years for the recognition of the Diocese's local needs going unheeded, Langley looked to the laity for support in curing what he too considered to be the "spiritual destitution" of the See. In a statement addressed to every landed proprietor and coal owner in the two counties,⁴ Langley

1. P.P. 1856 XI p.450. Petition dated 27 March, 1854.

2. Ibid., p.451. Petition dated 10 July, 1854.

3. 19 and 20 Vic. C.115. An Act to Provide for the Retirement of the present Bishops of London and Durham, 29 July, 1856.

4. "Durham Diocesan Magazine" October 1884. "Charge of the Ven. Archdeacon of Durham H. W. Watkins", p.115. Langley's appeal was based on the fact that the average parish population in England and Wales, exclusive of London, was 1,398, the average in the Diocese of Durham was 2,780.

sought financial assistance, but found instead the influential members of the laity unwilling to co-operate, as the following letter from the Marchioness of Londonderry illustrates.¹

"I have to acknowledge your letter and enclosed circular on the subject of the spiritual destitution of the diocese, and to express my appreciation of your Lordship's wish that I should go along with you in the excellent objects you have at heart. Your Lordship's sympathy and kind co-operation has been so often extended to me in my humble endeavours in a similar direction amongst my own people that I should be indeed wanting in gratitude if I did not really promise your Lordship any assistance in your movement that I may be able to afford, added to which I may express my satisfaction in helping on a work from which I anticipate the most beneficial results.

I must however, frankly tell your Lordship I consider the appeal to the laity to relieve the present sad destitution comes with less force when a system is preserved in of abstracting for other localities the surplus ecclesiastical revenues, to the neglect of the spiritual wants of the mining population which produced the wealth.

The laity of this county are asked to supply this abstraction, and thus are indirectly contributing not to the wants of this diocese (largely endowed under a more equitable arrangement), but to the wants of other parts of the country. In common with many in the county I feel this consideration strongly, and, I hope, not unreasonably, when, in addition (of) my endeavours at home, I feel I am called by sympathy and a wish to act rightly, to join in the excellent objects your Lordship is anxious to advance.

I hope I have made my sentiments clear to you, whose good opinion I do greatly value: but I felt it due to myself, in assuring you of my co-operation, to convey to you my whole view on this anxious subject".

Thus while the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were endeavouring to reform the Established Church their existence seems to have jeopardized, in the diocese of Durham at least, a traditional source of church support.

While the Commissioners proposed the transfer of the twenty-three benefices to Chester, Ripon and Manchester with

1. Ibid., p.114.

or without the co-operation of Durham they endeavoured, to a limited extent, to compensate the See. They proposed as part of their scheme to transfer to the Bishop of Durham, the patronage of four livings in his diocese heretofore in the patronage of the Bishop of Carlisle. This proposal however foundered when Hugh Percy, the Bishop of Carlisle, refused to co-operate.¹ It was not until Percy's death on 5 February, 1856 that the Commissioners were able to effect the transfer. This incident must have done little to enlist the co-operation of the Durham establishment.

On 15 April, 1856, prior to their final decision, the Estates Committee examined and heard evidence from Durham against the said exchanges.² The principal Durham witness was John Robert Mowbray, Member of Parliament for Durham City.³ That the need to furnish the new Sees of Manchester, Ripon and Chester with patronage was undeniable Mowbray admitted. However in a last effort to retain in the Diocese influence over as many benefices as possible Mowbray suggested the transfer of episcopal patronage be made to the new university at Durham whose colleges possessed none. Arguing for the retention of Durham episcopal patronage in the hands of the See he noted the rising mining population and pointed out that "clergymen of peculiar qualifications may be likely to be most acceptable to such a population". Mowbray felt the "Bishop of the diocese would be more likely to find among the clergy of his diocese persons well qualified to discharge those difficult duties which are

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1. Percy was under no compulsion to do so as Samuel Goodenough was in possession of the See on 4 March, 1836.
 2. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.420. See also correspondence printed in the Appendix to the 1856 Estate Committee's first report pp.260-6 and 347-8.
 3. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.447. Mowbray was married to Elizabeth Gray Mowbray whose surname he assumed on their marriage. His association with the Durham ecclesiastical establishment possibly came through his marriage. His wife was a great grand-daughter of Dr. Gray, Bishop of Bristol and formerly Rector of Bishopwearmouth.

thrown upon incumbents within those mining districts than the Bishop of a diocese at a distance such as Ripon or Manchester". He also pointed out the Bishop of Durham's objections arising from the inequality of the proposed transfers. While the twenty-three Durham benefices being transferred were collectively valued at over £26,000 p.a. the livings offered in compensation from Carlisle were worth but £2,164 p.a.¹

The concerted efforts of the Durham lobby failed. By Order in Council dated 28 July, 1859 the patronage of twenty-seven Durham episcopal benefices was transferred to the Bishops of Manchester, Ripon and Chester.² Included in this number were the four chapelries of Rookhope, Eastgate and Frosterley in the parish of Stanhope and the chapelry of Thornley in the parish of Wolsingham.³ By way of compensation the Bishop of Durham was given the patronage of the vicarages of Newburn and St. Nicholas, Newcastle, along with the chapelry of Gosforth, all previously in the possession of the Bishops of Carlisle. In addition, by Order in Council dated 12 August, 1859, the Commissioners returned to the See estates containing over 5,500 acres.⁴ The following table indicates the names of those

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1. CC. Index to Reports from the Select Committee on Ecclesiastical Commission, 15 April, 1856.
 2. Order in Council for Making Certain Alterations in the Apportionment of Episcopal Patronage, 29 July, 1850 was the authority for the 28 July, 1859 Order in Council.
 3. By the sixth section of the Stanhope and Wolsingham Rectories Act 1858 the patronage of these chapelries was, on the next avoidance of the Rectories of Stanhope and Wolsingham, to pass from the mother churches to the Bishop of Durham. The Order in Council of 29 July 1850 however negated this transfer and instead the patronage of Rookhope and Eastgate went to the Bishop of Ripon, while that of Frosterley and Thornley to the See of Chester.
 4. Order in Council, 12 August, 1859. For the Re-endowment of the See of Durham with Real Estates.

livings transferred and to whom.¹

Figure 19

Transferred to, and to remain vested in the Bishops of Ripon:

Lanchester P.C.
 Whickham R
 Redmarshall R.
 Stanhope R. including the chapelries of
 Eastgate and Rookhope

Transferred to, and to remain vested in the Bishops of Manchester:

Elwick Hall R.
 Egglecliffe R.
 Penshaw R.
 Sadberge P.C.
 Esh P.C.
 Collierley P.C.
 Etherley P.C.

Transferred to, and to remain vested in the Bishops of Chester:

Longnewton R.
 Winlaton R.
 Wolsingham R. plus the Chapelry of Thornley
 Norton V.
 Deptford P.C.
 Chapel of Frosterley in the parish of Stanhope

3. Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners

Section sixty-eight of the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Act created the Common Fund and directed the Commissioners to apply it towards making additional "provision for the cure of souls in parishes where such assistance is most required

1. Order in Council, 28 July, 1859. Of the six remaining benefices transferred five were in Northumberland:

Hartburn	V.)	} to Ripon
Kirkwhelpington	V.)	
Haltwhistle	V.	to Manchester
Stannington	V.)	} to Chester
Wooler	V.)	

The sixth, the Rectory of Newton Wold, in Lincolnshire, was transferred to the Bishop of Lichfield.

in such manner as shall be deemed most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church".¹

The Fund was supported from two principal sources. Where canonries were suspended, their portion of the chapter's corporate income was to be paid into the Fund. The remaining income was derived from estates vested in the Commissioners: separate estates of deans and canons; the estates of non-residentiary prebends and those belonging to suppressed sinecure rectories. Thus provisions were made whereby "surplus" Durham capitular revenues amounting to over £29,000 p.a. were to be paid to the Commissioners for redistribution throughout the country according to need.²

From the first introduction of the Commissioners proposals the Durham capitular establishment had joined forces with the Bishop of Durham in an effort to forestall passage of 6 and 7 William IV C.77 and to block or force the amendment of the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenue Act. Written protests from individual members of the Chapter were sent to Westminster,³ while the parochial clergy of the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter joined with the clergy of the Archdeaconry in petitioning the government against the loss of Durham revenues.⁴

In July 1836 with the passage of the Established Church Act inevitable, the Dean and Chapter of Durham concentrated their efforts against the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill. With the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, the Durham Chapter attempted to organise national capitular resistance to

1. 6 and 7 William IV C.77.

2. Hansard 3rd Series, Vol.35, Col.365.

3. See Chapter Appendices B and C for examples of such petitions.

4. Petition presented to the House of Commons 25 April, 1839.

the Bill, while at the same time gave the lead to the county opposition.¹ As is pointed out by both Mathieson and Best, the Act of 3 and 4 Victoria C.113, though altered, nevertheless survived its two year journey through both Houses and received the Royal Assent on August 11th, 1840.² Hereafter the Dean and Chapter of Durham and, to a lesser extent, the county's laity attempted to pressure the Commissioners into expending, for all manner of parochial reforms, as much Durham money as possible within the Diocese.³

The Commissioners in 1840 turned to the business of augmentation. Their second report had drawn attention to the existence of 315 populous livings (2,000 souls or more) under £150 p.a. and enabled the Commissioners to augment such benefices in public patronage. That is, those livings in the patronage of the Crown, bishops, chapters, incumbents and after 1841, cures in the patronage of perpetual curates.

The mode of augmentation was laid down by a special committee of commissioners who met during the winter of 1840-41. From their meetings came the outline of a policy followed by the Commissioners until 1855. Augmentations were to be in the form of fixed annual stipends. The eligibility of each benefice was to be ascertained by noting the ratio of income to population as directed by the following table. Included below are

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1. The Dean and Chapter petitioned against the Bill on three occasions: 8 March, 1837; 23 May, 1838; 31 March, 1840. On 29 June, 1840 a petition from the cathedral minor canons was presented to the House of Commons. For a comprehensive list of petitions sent to Parliament from the Archdeaconry of Durham see Chapter Appendix E. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 20 July, 1836. It was resolved that a circular letter be sent by the Dean and Chapter of Durham on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to the several chapters in England and Wales proposing that a meeting of representatives from each be held in London for the purpose of taking into consideration the reports of the Church Commission so far as they relate to Deans and Chapters and any bill which may be represented to Parliament.
 2. Mathieson, Church Reform, pp.149-54. Best, Temporal Pillars, Chapter III. *Passim*.
 3. See Chapter Appendix F.

the dates proposed by the Commissioners for the commencement of augmentations in each class. These dates were not absolute and were dependent upon the availability of sufficient funds.

Figure 20¹

<u>Population</u>	<u>Value to be made up to</u>	<u>Date of Resolution to start augmenting</u>
2,000 and over	£150	10 May, 1841
1-2,000	£120	5 July, 1842
500-1,000	£100	4 April, 1843
Under 500	£80	25 July, 1843

Benefices in the above classes were eligible for unconditional grants provided they were not sinecures and that they were at least district parishes under the Church Building Acts,² and that none were held in plurality. The Commissioners reserved the right to investigate the circumstances of each individual benefice as it presented itself for augmentation. In addition, provision was made for the granting of augmentations to meet benefactions of livings in public or private patronage, provided the population of the cure was 2,000 or more and the income was less than £200 p.a. Consideration was also to be given to benefices having at least 1,000 inhabitants with incomes of less than £150 p.a.³

The third class of augmentations seems to have been born out of the opposition to the Bill. Clause sixty-seven of the Cathedrals Act required the Commissioners to give consideration to local claims; that is to say they were to take into account the "wants and circumstances" of places, the tithes of which,

1. CC. Printed Resolutions Respecting Grants in Augmentation of Livings dated 15 August, 1843.

2. See Lawrence and Cripps, Ecclesiastical Law, p.349.

3. CC. Printed Resolutions, op.cit. See also Best, Temporal Pillars, p.353.

or the lands given at an earlier date in lieu of tithe, had become vested in the Commissioners. In an effort to forestall a run on their funds by dioceses such as Durham, the Commissioners resolved to limit these augmentations by never granting more than the actual value of the tithes on the basis of which claims were put forward.¹

In 1842 the Commissioners took a further step in their effort to reform the parochial structure. They directed that single grants of between half and two-fifths of the cost to meet benefactions for providing residences would be made, based on the provisions governing their augmentations to meet benefactions.²

The Commissioners augmentation policy did little to dampen the hostility shown to them by the Durham establishment who continued to resent the transfer of "Durham cash to Deptford curates".³ In an effort to illustrate that they had not neglected Durham, the Commissioners published the following tables to show the extent of their expenditures within the Diocese between 1837-55.⁴

1. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.354.

2. Ibid.

3. See Lady Londonderry's letter p. 237.

4. CC. Return of the Amounts Received from the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the Diocese of Durham from 1836 to 1855; and of the Sums Expended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the Same Diocese, During the same period.

Figure 21

	Augmentation of livings		From the Common Fund, endowment of New Parishes etc. and compensation for loss of fees	From the Common Fund money for Parsonage houses
	Episcopal Fund	Common Fund		
1837	£1023			
1838	£992			
1839	£1118			
1840	£1118			
1841	£1118	£28-10-0		
1842	£1118	£361		£400
1843	£1118	£1183-10-0		
1844	£1185-7-0	£2115-11-8	£11-19-1	£530
1845	£2113-10	£2110-12-5	£270 -3-0	£529
1846	£1093	£1957-6-11	£586 -1-7	£652
1847	£1153-5	£1801-3 -3	£923-17-3	£23-10-0
1848	£1093	£1735-15-0	£1055-13-10	£1148-19-7
1849	£1194	£1949-10-0	£1085-13-0	
1850	£1093 ¹	£1960-6-8	£1156-5-1	
1851	£1303-2-2	£1938-0-6	£1202-15-10	£4-1-3
1852	£1093	£1911-6-8	£1255-8-6	
1853	£1093	£1912-10-11	£1364-3-5	
1854	£1093	£1913-6-8	£1348	
1855	£1093	£1913-6-8	£1348	

A comprehensive breakdown of the above augmentations is as follows:

Figure 22

- A1 Population 2,000 and upwards. Income raised to £150 p.a.
- A2 " 1,000 " " " " £120 p.a.
- A3 " 500 " " " " £100 p.a.
- A4 " below 500 " " " " £80 p.a.
- B Grants to meet benefactions when income is below £200 p.a.
- C. Local claims vested in the Commissioners.
- D Compensation to incumbents for loss of fees surrendered to a new church

1. The Episcopal and Common Funds were united in 1850. See Best, Temporal Pillars, p.437.

Benefice	Date of augmentation	Common Grant	Schedule	Net Income
Wolviston	27 April, 1842	£126	C	£256 p.a. ¹
Pelton, Holy Trinity	23 August, 1843	£135	A1	£150 p.a.
Darlington, St. Cuth's	10 June, 1843	£25	D	£270 p.a.
Darlington, Holy Trinity	10 June, 1843	£49	A1	£148 p.a.
Heworth, (St. Mary)	23 August, 1843	£15	D	£150 p.a.
Heworth, (St. Albans)		£135	A1	£150 p.a.
Penshaw	6 August, 1841	£51	A1	£150 p.a.
Thornley (in Kelloe)	17 April, 1844	£134	A1	£150 p.a.
Collierley	27 August, 1842	£85	A1	£150 p.a.
	10 June, 1843	£50		
Egglestone	17 April, 1844	£27	A3	£100 p.a.
Heathery Cleugh	23 August, 1843	£44	A2	£120 p.a.
Seaton Carew	17 April, 1844		A4	£97 p.a.
Seaham, St. John	8 August, 1845	£160	B	£200 p.a. ²
Crook	9 March, 1850	£60	A1	£128 p.a. ³
Ingleton	30 July, 1849	£30	C	£35 p.a. ⁴
Hunwick	15 April, 1851	£30	B	£103 p.a. ⁵
Monkwearmouth	14 April, 1851	£13	D	⁶
Medomsley	13 June, 1853	£14	D	⁷

1. The following figures are from P.P. 1846, XXIV, p.183. Appendix to the First General Report.

2. P.P. 1847, XXXIII, p.233. Appendix to the Second General Report.

3. Ibid.

4. P.P. 1851, XXII, p.427. Appendix to the Third General Report.

5. P.P. 1852, XVIII, p.12. Appendix to the Fourth General Report.

6. Ibid.

7. P.P. 1854, XIX, p.92. Appendix to the Sixth General Report.

The following benefices were augmented through the same period by the annexation of land, tithe rent charge etc. vested in the Commissioners.

Benefice	Description of property annexed and value of tithe rent charge	Date of augmentation
Croxdale	Tithe rent charge £114 -5-0	10 July, 1847 ¹
Ferryhill	" " " £276 -2-6	3 Sept., 1844
Heighington	" " " £54-10-0	9 March, 1850
Merrington	" " " £88-18-6	27 August, 1846
Seaham, St. John	" " " £90 -0-0	3 Sept., 1844
Castle Eden	" " " £914 -0-0	19 Aug., 1853 ²
Muggleswick	Land and Premises 11A.3R.15P	13 June, 1853 ³
Muggleswick	Land 7A.0R.1P	21 May, 1855 ⁴

4. Living in Lay Patronage

Of benefices in private patronage there is little to be said for lay patrons did not appear particularly interested in improving the value of their ecclesiastical property either before or after 1774. Between 1715 and the outset of this period the fifteen poorest lay benefices had been augmented by the Governors of the Royal Bounty twenty-one times, though only nine of their grants had been made to meet benefactions. The results of this long term neglect and profit taking was that by 1810 the average value of the twenty-four benefices in private patronage was only £137 p.a.⁵ Indeed if the incomes of the five cures whose annual value was more than £200 p.a.⁶

1. The following figures are from P.P. 1851, XXII, p.427. Appendix to the Third Report.

2. P.P. 1854, XIX, p.92. Appendix to the Sixth Report.

3. Ibid.

4. P.P. 1856, XVIII, p.103. Appendix to the Fifth Report.

5. The Proprietary Chapel of Winlaton is not included in this discussion.

6. The five were: Brancepeth, R., £600 p.a.; Hurworth, R. £300; Seaham, V., £300 p.a.; Stranton, V., £200 p.a.; Chester-le-Street, P.C., £460 p.a.

are not included the average income of the remaining nineteen benefices was but £83 p.a.

As noted there were five comparatively valuable livings in private patronage: two rectories, two vicarages and one very valuable perpetual curacy,¹ none of which had been recipients of either benefactions or grants from the Royal Bounty. Of these, however, it must be remarked that the incumbent of Seaham though styled a vicar possessed the Great Tithes of that parish. In 1475 the Rectory had been appropriated by the Abbey of Coverham, however at the dissolution it passed into the hands of the Gainsborough family a descendant of which under the provisions of 29 Charles II C.8 reunited the Great Tithes with the benefice.²

The poverty of the remaining nineteen cures was such that in spite of augmentations the majority of them, from an unknown date, had been unofficially joined in pairs under the charge of a single incumbent: Hamsterly with Witton-le-Wear, Jarrow with Heworth, Lamesly with Tanfield, Staindrop with Cockfield, while the perpetual curate of Hunstanworth was either assistant curate or incumbent of the neighbouring Northumbrian parish of Blanchland.³ The following figure indicates the frequency of financial assistance received from both patrons and the Royal Bounty and includes the incomes of each cure in order that the effect of the said grants might be assessed.

1. Chester-le-Street, formerly a collegiate church, possessed a major portion of both the great and small tithes which had previously belonged to its six prebendal stalls with the result that in 1813 the perpetual curate, William Nesfield, received an income of £460 p.a. The depressed state of agriculture had its effect on this income for by 1832 it averaged just over £370 p.a. See R. Surtees, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.150.

2. R. Surtees, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.271.

3. For the incomes of those benefices as combined see pp.32-3.

Figure 23

Benefice	Income ¹ and date	Date of grant ²	Queen Anne's Bounty ² Lot To meet benefaction
Castle Eden P.C.	£40 - 1795	1723	£200
Darlington P.C.	£95 - 1808	1720 1732	£200 £200
St. Giles P.C.	£45 - 1767 £51 - 1810	1768 1778	£200 £200
St. Nicholas P.C.	£41 - 1810	1765	£200
Hamsterly P.C.	£11 - 1720 £27 - 1754 £49 - 1788	1724	£200
Hunstanworth P.C.	£21 - 1736 £58 - 1810	1727 1781 1793	£200 £200
Monkwearmouth P.C.	£49 - 1751	1715 1751	£200
Staindrop V.	£62 - 1788 £89 - 1808	1741 1756	£200 £200
St. John's Sunderland P.C.	£67 - 1810	1769 1771	£200
Tanfield P.C.	£84 - 1810	1769	£200
Trimdon P.C.	£100 - 1810	1756	£200
Witton-le-Wear P.C.	£51 - 1788 £91 - 1808	1724 1755	£200 £200

Among the poorest of these benefices in lay patronage was Staindrop, styled by its incumbent as an endowed vicarage.³ In 1792 this term was defined by the vicar, Peter Fisher, who in answer to Barrington's Visitation query regarding "erriers wrote:⁴

1. See Chapter III, Appendices B to C.

2. Hodgson, Augmentation, 1826 edn.

3. SR. MSS. Glebe Terrier, Staindrop, 1788.

4. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792 Episcopal Visitation, Staindrop.

"I never cd. meet with a Terrier for Staindrop but it appears by a memorandum of ye then Vicar Simon Gilpen in 1660 - that there then belonged to ye Vicarage of Staindrop a Mansion house with a yard and Bard and ye Church yard - a stipend of sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence to be paid yearly to him who is ye Vicar - and ye sum of six pounds Thirteen Shillings and four pence annually to be paid to him as an assistant there, both wch stipends were reserved out of ye tythes granted by King James to ye Londoners and to be paid to ye Minister of Staindrop by a grant fm King Charles ye First - There belongs also to ye Vicarage of Staindrop all ye Petty Tythes Ingleton, Hilton, Wackerfield and Haindrop - The Easter Books or Offerings and all ye Surplice fees - But at present the Earl of Darlington ye Patron pays only 50£ a year to ye Vicar and no Petty Tythes or Easter Offerings now paid nor any house belonging to it. -"

The two augmentations received by Fisher in 1741 and 1756, had been laid out in the purchase of two plots of land in Wolsingham amounting to seventeen acres which together produced £12-10-0 p.a.¹ This, combined with the Duke of Cleveland's annual salary gave Fisher an income in 1788 of just over £62 p.a. Throughout the French wars the value of his land increased, with the result that by 1812 his income from rents had increased to £28 p.a., thus giving him an annual stipend of £89.²

As already stated, in 1810 the Bounty Board envisaged £150 p.a. as the minimum clerical stipend and as we have seen the average income of the poorest lay benefice at that date was well below that figure. Throughout the post war years the situation as regards financial assistance from patrons does not seem to have changed for though between 1810 and 1832 ten benefices had been augmented with twenty-one grants from the

1. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty, MS. Estates Registers, Staindrop.

2. Ibid., Staindrop. F file No.4325.

Royal Bounty and Parliamentary funds only nine were made to meet benefactions. The following indicates the frequency of those augmentations and as in Figure 23 includes benefice incomes.

Figure 24

Benefice	Income & date ¹	Date of grant	Queen Anne's Bounty ²		Parliamentary Grant ²	
			Lot	To meet benefac- tion	Lot	To meet benefac- tion
Castle Eden P.C.	£63 1818 £62 1832	1830	£200			
Darlington P.C.		1815				£300 £300 £300
	£284 1832					
St. Giles P.C.	£99 1832	1813			£1000	
St. Nicholas P.C.		1811			£1000	
	£90 1832	1812			£1000	
Hamsterly P.C.	£56 1816 £96 1832	1816			£1000	
Jarrow P.C. cum Heworth P.C.	£118 1810 ¹ £359 1832 ¹	1810 1815 1817				£300 £300
					£400	
Lamesley P.C.	£66 1810 £138 1832	1825			£300 £300 £300	
Monkwearmouth P.C.	£113 1818 £237 1832	1815			£300 £300 £300 £300	
					£400	
Staindrop V. Tanfield P.C.		1812				
	£84 1810 £138 1832	1833				£200 £200 £200

To ascertain which incumbents benefitted most, those who laid out their augmentations in land or those whose grants remained invested with the Bounty's funds, is difficult as

1. See Chapter III Appendices B and C. Incomes are p.a.
2. C. Hodgson, Augmentation, 1826 and 1845 edns.

confirmed by the following. Figure 25 indicates, where known, how augmentations were laid out and notes the incomes of each benefice in 1810 and 1832 with the percentage of increase enjoyed by each incumbent.¹

Figure 25

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Income</u>		<u>Augmentation laid</u>		<u>% of increase</u>
	<u>1810</u>	<u>1832</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>out: Interest</u>	
Castle Eden	£48 pa	£62 pa	X		29.1
Darlington	£95 pa	£284 pa		X	198.8
St. Nicholas	£41 pa	£90 pa	X		119.2
Hamsterly	£63 pa	£96 pa		X	52.3
Hunstanworth	£58 pa	£60 pa	X		3.4
Monkwearmouth	£113 pa	£237 pa	X		109.7
Trimdon	£100 pa	£100 pa	X		0.0
Witton-le-Wear	£91 pa	£97 pa	X		6.5

Indeed to judge if these augmentations were responsible for the above increases or more simply if they were a result of the favourable economic climate which existed in the County between those dates is in itself difficult to determine. As already stated in Chapter III the majority of the Archdeaconry's perpetual curacies possessed tithes in varying quantities which enabled them to benefit from increasing agricultural prices. That this was a contributing factor to their rising incomes is illustrated not only by the enlarged incomes enjoyed by the curates of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, and Monkwearmouth but also in the following table which compares the average overall increases in the incomes enjoyed by the incumbents of the three classes of livings.

1. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., Estate Registers.

Figure 26

	<u>Average incomes</u>		
	<u>1810</u>	<u>1832</u>	<u>% of increases</u>
Rectories	£220 p.a.	£429 p.a.	95
Vicarages	£174 p.a.	£484 p.a.	93.6
Perpetual Curacies	£71 p.a.	£135 p.a.	90.7

Thus the percentage of increase in the incomes of the perpetual curates compares reasonably with the increases enjoyed by both rectors and vicars.

With the majority of benefices in their patronage enjoying what appears to have been natural increases in their incomes, voluntary financial assistance from lay patrons after 1833 proved to be minimal. This, of course, is not to say that augmentations were no longer needed, particularly in light of the fact that seven perpetual curacies were in 1831 still worth less than £100 p.a.

Figure 27¹

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Value in 1831</u>
Castle Eden	£62 p.a.
St. Giles	£99 p.a.
St. Nicholas	£90 p.a.
Hamsterly	£96 p.a.
Hunstanworth	£60 p.a.
Seaton Carew	£60 p.a.
Witton-le-Wear	£99 p.a.

1. Report of the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty to Inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales.

While, as we have seen, the Chapter and many of the superior clergy objected to the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commission, there were members of the inferior clergy who saw in the foundation of such a body the possibility of financial assistance which if left to the whim of their patrons they might not otherwise have secured. Such was the Rev. Samuel Payne perpetual curate of Hunstanworth whose cure, in spite of three augmentations by the Bounty Board was, in 1835, worth less than £35 p.a. On 15 September, 1836 he wrote to Maltby to:¹

".... Express a hope that under the changes now contemplated by Parliament, I shall not escape your Lordships gracious recollection.

My Benefice is the P/C of Hunstanworth producing (with surplice fees) about £32 p.a. this would be the whole, but that the Patron makes up the amount to £50 in addition to the House on the Estate (there being no parsonage) for my residence, free of taxes and repairs. This with a small annuity I inherit, is the whole of my income a wife and four children to maintain (all boys) the eldest of which begins now to have upon me double claims

My introduction to your Lordships Diocese is only of late Date, viz September 1835 about which time I was painfully removed from my curacy at Wistow in Yorkshire and which I had held for upwards of twenty-two years - but I forbear".

Payne had no success in soliciting assistance from the Bishop and was forced to "forbear" for a further seven years until such time as the patron Robert Copper Esq., of Cheltenham increased his annual stipend by a further £50 p.a. making his income £100 p.a. Though augmented, only £33 p.a. of that sum actually belonged to the curacy, a situation which caused Payne some anxiety and which prompted a letter from him to the "Lords Commissioners Ecclesiastical" in which he noted

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Hunstanworth. No.20542. Samuel Payne to the Bishop of Durham. Hunstanworth, 15 September, 1836.

the uncertainty of his stipend.¹

".... On accepting this Incumbency, the patron made the £33 to £50 per annum - which has been only paid up to last Xmas when the same was again kindly increased by the addition of another £50 making the whole a Grant to me of £100 per annum but by no real augmentation of the living - and as the patron is in his 78th year and that at his Demise there is no guarantee that the £100 will be continued, I am induced to lay my case before your Lordships".

Aid from the Commissioners was not forthcoming. Payne's successor John Gibson in a renewed application dated 29^t March, 1858 stated that his certain income was still only £35 p.a.²

Of the three benefices in private patronage augmented after 1833 the pressure applied by the Dean and Chapter to facilitate the augmentation of St. Giles has been noted,³ as has the self interest which motivated the patron/incumbent of Seaton Carew to improve the value of his cure.⁴ The £200 granted by the Bounty Board to the incumbent of Lamesley in 1842 was used to purchase a parsonage site from the patron, Lord Ravensworth.⁵ Evidence suggests that this minimum of interest shown by lay patrons was the result of two factors: the continued expansion of the County's economy, and, after 1836, the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It appears that rather than open their own purses patrons hoped to share in the redistribution of capitular property, for with the acquisition of the estates formerly in the possession of the Deanery and Cathedral Stalls, Durham contributions to the

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Hunstanworth. No.20542. Samuel Payne to the Lords Commissioners Ecclesiastical Hunstanworth 14 September, 1844.

2. Ibid. John Gibson to Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Blanchland 29 March, 1858.

3. See pp.38-9.

4. See pp.39-43.

5. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Lamesley. No.3702. See also Queen Anne's Bounty F file, No.2922. Lamesley; Queen Anne's Bounty, Estate Register.

Common Fund arose from practically every parish in the Arch-deaconry.

As previously noted this call for the Commissioners to respect the local claims of Durham parishes emanated not only from the Ecclesiastical Establishment but also from the County's laity. The Commissioners, however, unable to comply with many of the Durham requests, found themselves faced with increasing pressure from the Diocese. An example of such a case, only one of many found in the Benefice files, is seen in the perpetual curate of Tanfield's request for augmentation.

In the patronage of Lord Ravensworth the parish contained a population of near 3,000 persons and had been augmented in 1833 with £1200 invested in the 3% consols. By 1842, however, the income of the living, in spite of having been increased by £41 p.a. interest, was still valued at less than the Bounty minimum. On 3 June, 1842 William Simpson the perpetual curate notified the Commissioners that his stipend of £133 p.a. he received, after expenses, but £113 p.a. and having a "large family depending upon him for support and education and with an income so limited, he is under the necessity of resorting to school teaching to increase his income".¹

As a result of the Commissioners' refusal to accede to Simpson's and other similar requests, the laity gradually hardened their attitude towards using their own personal

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Tanfield. No.6613. By 1856 the value of Tanfield was increased to £150 p.a. with an annual grant of £15 p.a. which came not from the patron, Lord Ravensworth, but from Maltby. Ibid., MS. enclosure with an extract of the Minutes of a General Meeting of the Commissioners dated 14 February, 1856.

resources for the reform of the Established Church - their attitude is clearly manifested in Lady Londonderry's letter to Bishop.¹

5. Lord Crewe's Trustees

Incumbents in the Diocese of Durham were fortunate to have an additional source of revenue at their disposal which was to play a small but consistent part in the reform of the parochial structure. By the will of Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham 1674-1721, dated 24 June, 1720 the Crewe Charities were created to be administered by a body of Diocesan clergy subsequently known as Lord Crewe's Trustees.² The income of the Trust was derived from their management of Crewe's secular estates in Northumberland and included in their charge was the right of presentation to the benefices of Bamburgh, Blanchland, and Shotley, all in Northumberland.

Out of the initial yearly income of £1312-13-0³ the Trustees were required to insure the annual payment of certain bequests to be made in perpetuity, including annual payments to thirteen of the poorer benefices in the Diocese of Durham: £30 p.a. to St. Andrew, Auckland and £10 p.a. each to St. Helen, Auckland; Lanchester; Pitlington; Barnard Castle; Witton-le-Wear; St. Mary-le-Bow; Grindon; Castle Eden:

1. See p.237.

2. C. E. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham (1674-1721) and His Diocese. The Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford was always to be included as a Trustee. The number of Trustees was never to exceed five, p.328.

3. Ibid. p.336. This was the annual income from the Northumbrian estates in 1720.

Hartlepool; Hamsterley and Darlington, St. Cuthbert all in the Archdeaconry of Durham plus £10 p.a. to Shotley in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. These payments were regularly made throughout the period of this study.¹

The Trustees were further empowered to apply any revenues for the benefit of the Diocesan clergy as they deemed fit. From the Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees for the years from 1774 to 1834 it is evident that though their aid could be but limited, it was from this source that the Archdeaconry's clergy most frequently benefited.²

It has been pointed out that as patrons the Durham Episcopal and Capitular Establishment showed little interest in improving the incomes of benefices in their patronage before 1831. Between 1774 and 1831 the greatest effort in this direction was made by Lord Crewe's Trustees, who, in addition to offering numerous sums of money as charitable donations to necessitous clergymen, aided in the repair of seventeen parsonages in the Archdeaconry of Durham and assisted eighteen parishes in procuring grants from Queen Anne's Bounty.³

On 11 August, 1814 the Trustees formalised their policy of augmentation by resolving that £1400 be appropriated for the purpose of augmenting seven small livings within the Diocese of Durham at the rate of £200 each. "That the

1. Whiting, Lord Crewe, pp. 323-30. See these pages for a complete listing of the annual payments.
2. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.
3. Ibid.

Diocesan and the two Archdeacons be requested to point out the most proper Livings to be augmented and when the trustees shall signify their assent thereto the treasurer shall and he is hereby authorised to pay the said sum respectively when applied to for that purpose".¹

It is clear from the following table that those most sensitive to the need for parochial reform and indeed those most willing to invest in the improvement of the Archdeaconry's parochial structure were Lord Crewe's Trustees. As four of the five Trustees were always members of the Durham Episcopal and Capitular Establishment, it must be concluded that it was through the office of Lord Crewe's Trustees that the Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment sought to fulfil their obligations to the needy incumbents in their charge.²

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1. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees. 11 August, 1814.
 2. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees. Trustees, 1774 to 1831.

1770-89	John Rotheram - Rector of Houghton-le-Spring and Vicar of Seaham
1786-91	Samuel Dickens - Rector of Easington. Archdeacon of Durham and Prebend of Durham Cathedral.
1792-1834	Edward Tatham - Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford
1794-1812	Robert Thorp - Rector of Ryton and Archdeacon of Northumberland
1804-39	Richard Prosser - Rector of Easington and Prebend of Durham Cathedral
1812-29	George Barrington - Rector of Sedgfield and Prebend of Durham Cathedral
1812-52	David Durell - Rector of Crowmarsh, Oxfordshire and Prebend of Durham Cathedral
1826-65	W. N. Darnell - Rector of Stanhope and Prebend of Durham Cathedral
1829-62	Charles Thorp - Rector of Ryton, Prebend of Durham and Archdeacon of Durham

Figure 28

Benefactions from Lord Crewe's Trustees to benefices in
the Archdeaconry of Durham 1774 to 1831.¹

<u>Year of benefaction</u>	<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Amount of grant</u>
1779	Heworth	£50
1780	Denton	£50
1809	St. Anne, Auckland	£100
1813	Lanchester	£200
1815	Barnard Castle	£200
1815	Darlington, St. Cuthbert	£200
1815	Hartlepool	£200
1815	Monkwearmouth	£200
1817	Sockburn	£200
1821	St. John, ¹ Weardale	£200
1821	Winlaton	£200
1823	Westoe	£100
1823	Heathery Cleugh	£200
1824	Lamesley	£100
1825	St. Helen, Auckland	£200 ²
1828	Escomb	£100 ²
1829	Castle Eden	£100 ³
1829	Hamsterly ⁴	

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1. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees., 8 December, 1821.
 2. Ibid., On that date the Trustees ordered that "as soon as Divine Service shall be performed in the newly built chapel at Winlaton by a curate an allowance of £10 p.a. be paid to such curate and that if the chapel shall be consecrated licensed and endowed the Trustees will in lieu of the said annuity pay the sum of two hundred pounds into the Queen Anne's Bounty".
 3. Ibid., 21 January, 1828. This sum was to be provided as long as a "similar amount be subscribe by the Trustees of the fund established by the late Bishop Barrington".
 4. Ibid., 2 February, 1829. There was stipulation, the £100 would only be advanced upon the notification that Rowland Burdon, the patron, had paid the sum of £200 to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty.
 5. Ibid., 22 July, 1829. The Trustees proposed to contribute towards the augmentation of Hamsterly in proportion to "whatsoever sum may be procured from any other quarter".

APPENDIX A

The following table contains the names and patrons of those benefices in the Archdeaconry augmented from either Queen Anne's Bounty or the Parliamentary Grants and includes the dates of such grants. Also indicated is whether such grants were by lot (QABL or PGL) or to meet benefactions (WABB or PGB). In addition the income of each benefice is listed to show the effects of the said benefactions.

Rectories

St. Mary-le-Bow	$\frac{1722^1}{£200 \text{ QABB}}$	$\frac{1816}{£800 \text{ PGL}}$	$\frac{1822}{£800 \text{ PGB}}$	
	$\frac{1792^2}{£43 \text{ pa}}$	$\frac{1808}{£78 \text{ pa}}$		$\frac{1832}{£103 \text{ pa}}$
Patron, Archdeacon of Durham				

St. Mary the Less	$\frac{1732}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$	$\frac{1735}{£200 \text{ QABB}}$	$\frac{1795}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$	$\frac{1808}{£100}$	$\frac{1832}{£120}$
		$\frac{1794}{£70}$			

Crown

Edmondbyers		$\frac{1801}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$			
	$\frac{1762}{£60}$	$\frac{1801}{£71}$	$\frac{1808}{£92}$		$\frac{1832}{£178}$
Dean and Chapter					

Vicarages

Dalton-le-Dale	$\frac{1728}{£200 \text{ QABB}}$				
		$\frac{1794}{£90}$		$\frac{1818}{£150}$	$\frac{1832}{£215}$
Dean and Chapter					

Pittington	$\frac{1723}{£200 \text{ QABB}}$				
		$\frac{1775}{£90}$	$\frac{1792}{£75}$	$\frac{1810}{£96}$	$\frac{1832}{£517}$
Dean and Chapter					

Sockburn	$\frac{1808}{£25}$	$\frac{1810}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$	$\frac{1811}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$	$\frac{1811}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$	$\frac{1817}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$
					$\frac{1832}{£79}$

Master and Brethren of Sherburn Hospital

Staindrop	$\frac{1741}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$	$\frac{1756}{£200 \text{ QABL}}$	$\frac{1812}{£400 \text{ PGL}}$		
		$\frac{1788}{£62}$	$\frac{1808}{£89}$		$\frac{1829}{£50}$

Lord Darlington

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1. Hodgson, Augmentations, 1828 and 1845 edns.
 2. See Chapter III Appendices A, B and C.

Perpetual Curacies

St. Andrew, Auckland	$\frac{1735-67}{£80}$	$\frac{1808}{£97}$	$\frac{1810}{£800QABB}$	$\frac{1818}{£133}$	$\frac{1832}{£152}$
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Bishop of Durham

St. Helen, Auckland	$\frac{1724}{£200QABB}$	$\frac{1794}{£200QABL}$	$\frac{1814}{£300PGB-£800PGL}$		
	$\frac{1792}{£60}$	$\frac{1808}{£54}$			$\frac{1832}{£140}$

Bishop of Durham

Barnard Castle	$\frac{1723}{£200QABB}$	$\frac{1812}{£200 PGL}$	$\frac{1815}{3 \times 300PGB}$		
		$\frac{1810}{£89}$			$\frac{1832}{£243}$

Vicar of Gainford (Gainford in the patronage of Trinity College, Cambridge)

Castle Eden	$\frac{1723}{£200QABL}$	$\frac{1795}{£40}$	$\frac{1808}{£48}$	$\frac{1818}{£63}$	$\frac{1832}{£62}$
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Rowland Burdon, Esq.

Croxdale	$\frac{1739}{£200QABB}$				
	$\frac{1735-67}{£52}$		$\frac{1810}{£110}$		$\frac{1832}{£132}$

Dean and Chapter

Darlington, St.Cuth- bert	$\frac{6 \ 1720}{£200QABB}$	$\frac{1732}{£200QABB}$	$\frac{1808}{£95}$	$\frac{1815}{3 \times 300PGB}$	$\frac{1832}{£284}$
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Lord Darlington

St. Margaret, Durham	$\frac{1748}{£200QABL}$	$\frac{1755}{£200QABB}$			
		$\frac{1749}{£10}$			$\frac{1832}{£461}$

Dean and Chapter

St. Nicholas, Durham	$\frac{1750}{£200QABB}$	$\frac{1811}{£1000PGL}$	$\frac{1812}{£200PGL}$		
		$\frac{1810}{£41}$			$\frac{1832}{£90}$

Lord Darlington

Echester	<u>1734</u>			
	<u>£200QABB</u>			
	<u>1735-67</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1817</u>	<u>1832</u>
	<u>£30</u>	<u>£60</u>	<u>£94</u>	<u>£85</u>

Master and Brethren of Sherburn Hospital

Escomb	<u>1744</u>	<u>1810</u>		
	<u>£200QABB</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>		
		<u>1810</u>		<u>1832</u>
		<u>£55</u>		<u>£88</u>

Bishop of Durham

Esh	<u>1733</u>	<u>1757</u>	<u>1787</u>	<u>1809</u>	
	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>	
	<u>1735-67</u>		<u>1788</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1832</u>
	<u>£14</u>		<u>£27</u>	<u>£66</u>	<u>£65</u>

P.C. of Lanchester (Lanchester in the patronage of the Bishop of Durham)

Hamsterly	<u>1724</u>			<u>1816</u>	
	<u>£200QABB</u>			<u>£1000PGL</u>	
		<u>1788</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1816</u>	<u>1832</u>
		<u>£49</u>	<u>£63</u>	<u>£57</u>	<u>£96</u>

Owners of Witton Castle

Hartlepool	<u>1724</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1813</u>	<u>1815</u>	
	<u>£200QABB</u>	<u>£200PGL</u>	<u>£800PGL</u>	<u>2x£300PGB</u>	
		<u>1810</u>	<u>1814</u>	<u>1818</u>	<u>1832</u>
		<u>£36</u>	<u>£110</u>	<u>£200</u>	<u>£149</u>

Crown

Heworth, St. Mary			<u>1817</u>	<u>1818</u>	
			<u>£400PGL</u>	<u>£300PGL</u>	
		<u>1810</u>			<u>1835</u>
		<u>£45</u>			<u>£162</u>

Cuthbert Ellison, et. al.

Hunstan- worth	<u>1727</u>	<u>1781</u>	<u>1793</u>		
	<u>£200QABB</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>		
	<u>1736-67</u>		<u>1810</u>	<u>1818</u>	
	<u>£21</u>		<u>£58</u>	<u>£60</u>	

Lord Chief Baron Ord

Jarrow	<u>1736-67</u>	<u>1794</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1815</u>	
	<u>£60</u>	<u>£100</u>	<u>£73</u>	<u>£300PGB</u>	
					<u>1832</u>
					<u>£197</u>

Cuthbert Ellison, et.al.

Lamesley				<u>1825</u>	
				<u>3x£300QLB</u>	
			<u>1810</u>	<u>1825</u>	<u>1832</u>
			<u>£66</u>	<u>£66</u>	<u>£138</u>

Sir Thomas Henry Liddell Bart.

Lanchester	<u>1723</u>			<u>1814</u>	
	£200QABB			3 x £300PGB	
	<u>1736-67</u>	<u>1792</u>	<u>1808</u>		<u>1832</u>
	£50	£114	£114		£136

Bishop of Durham

Medomsley	<u>1765</u>	<u>1772</u>	<u>1792</u>	<u>1814</u>	
	£200QABL	£200QABB	£200QABL	£200PGL	
			<u>1792</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1832</u>
			£29	£97	£160
				<u>1820</u>	
				£86	

Bishop of Durham

Monkwear- mouth	<u>1715</u>	<u>1751</u>		<u>1815</u>	
	£200QABL	£200QABB		4 x £300PGB	
		<u>1751</u>	<u>1808</u>		<u>1832</u>
		£49	£113		£237

Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart.

Muggles- wick	<u>1743</u>			<u>1810</u>	
	£200QABB			£200PGL	
		<u>1788</u>	<u>1808</u>		<u>1832</u>
		£44	£49		£93

Dean and Chapter

St. John, Sunderland	<u>1769</u>	<u>1771</u>		<u>1812</u>	<u>1817</u>	
	£200QABL	2x£200QABB		£600PGL	£1700PGL	
	<u>1769</u>		<u>1792</u>	<u>1808</u>		<u>1832</u>
	£67		£67	£67		£122

Bishop of Durham

Tanfield	<u>1769</u>					
	£200QABB			<u>1810</u>		<u>1832</u>
				£84		£138

Woodifield Beckwith

Trimdon	<u>1756</u>					
	£200QABB			<u>1810</u>		<u>1832</u>
				£100		£100

William Beckwith

Whorlton	<u>1767</u>	<u>1771</u>	<u>1797</u>	<u>1802</u>		
	£200QABL	£200QABB	£200QABB	£200QABB		
		<u>1792</u>			<u>1808</u>	<u>1832</u>
		£35			£121	£112

Vicar of Gainford (Gainford in the patronage of Trinity College, Cambridge)

Witton-le- Wear	<u>1724</u>	<u>1755</u>				
	£200QABB	£200QABB				
			<u>1788</u>		<u>1808</u>	<u>1832</u>
			£51		£91	£97

Owners of Witton Castle

Wolviston	<u>1739</u>	<u>1769</u>		<u>1811</u>		
	£200QABB	£200QABB		2x£300PGB		
			<u>1808</u>			<u>1832</u>
			£93			£99

Dean and Chapter

Chapelries

St. Anne, Auckland	1782		1783	1784	1808	1809
	<u>£200QABL</u>		<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABB</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>2x£200QABB</u>
		<u>1782</u> £20			<u>1808</u> £37	<u>1832</u> £117

Bishop of Durham

Egglestone	1742	1767	1786	1792		
	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>	<u>£200QABL</u>		
					<u>1794</u> £50	<u>1832</u> £62

Rector of Middleton-in-Teesdale (Middleton in the patronage
of the Crown)

APPENDIX B

Letter from the Rev. Dr. Smith, a Prebendary of Durham, to the Commissioners, 15th July, 1836 ¹

Dr. Smith, Prebendary of Durham, begs leave to make the following representation as request to the Commissioners, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Durham: not indeed pretending to have express authority to do so, but knowing the sentiments of the Dean and Chapter, upon the points to which he takes the liberty of entreating the Commissioners turn their attention.

The Chapter now consists of a Dean and twelve prebendaries; one of the stalls was appropriated to the Archdeaconry of Durham by Act of Parliament, in the year 1832. The late bishop declared his intention of settling three stalls upon officers of the newly established university, namely, upon the warden, the Professor of Divinity, and the Professor of Greek and Classical Literature: but some difficulty having occurred respecting the Act of Parliament which was necessary to carry the bishop's intentions into effect, the completion of his design was suspended, and will be entirely defeated in consequence of his death, unless the Commissioners shall be pleased to recommend the revival of it, and the continuance of a sufficient number of stalls to complete the endowment of the officers of the university, besides those that may be deemed necessary for maintaining the performance of the service of the Cathedral with decency and regularity. The Commissioners encourage the hope of such a recommendation, as they intimate in their Report. "That such arrangements may be made with respect to the deanery and canonries in the chapter of Durham and their revenues, as shall, upon due enquiry and consideration, be determined on, with a view to maintaining the university of Durham in a state of respectability and efficiency, due regard being had to the just claims of any existing officer of the University". And as it cannot be expected that the usual duties of canons residentiary can be properly performed if the chapter consent only of persons who must necessarily be much engaged in academical employment, it is hoped that it will not be considered unreasonable to ask that, besides the archdeacon, and the three officers of the university, four other canons may be continued in the Chapter of Durham. And it is humbly suggested, that two of the canonries so to be retained may be charged with the cure of the parishes of St. Oswald and Crossgate in the city of Durham, both being benefices very moderately endowed, and each containing a large population. There are other benefices in the patronage of the dean and chapter, and at no great distance from the city, the cure of which might be advantageously annexed to the other stalls.

1. P.P. 1837, XLI, p.50.

The livings in the gift of the dean and chapter have hitherto been usually given to the minor canons, who are allowed by the statutes of the Church to hold benefices within a certain distance (about twenty miles) from the Cathedral, and to the schoolmaster. Others have been sometimes taken by members of the chapter, and the rest have been bestowed upon their friends and connexions, but there is no fixed rule for this distribution of the patronage.

It is now proposed that the members of the chapter, and the minor canons and schoolmaster, shall retain their respective personal priviledges and claims, and that the residue of the livings shall be disposed of to the members of the university, either according to seniority, as is the usual practice in the colleges in the old university, or according to some other equitable rule to be fixed with the approbation of the Commissioners.

The Report recommends "that measures be taken by the Commissioners for the disposal of such residence houses in the precincts of the respective cathedral and collegiate churches as may, perhaps in most cases.

The precincts of the cathedral resemble the colleges in the universities, and have gates, which are closed at night, and may be closed at other times when occasion may require, contributing very materially to the peace and good order and security of the inhabitants. But if any of the houses be alienated, the precincts must necessarily be thrown open, and the salutary control now exercised must be abandoned, as the new inhabitants will of course be independant of the authority now existing.

At Durham the deanery and prebendal houses are contained in a court, circumstanced as has been described, and it is apprehended that the alienation of any of those dwellings would be productive of great inconvenience to the members of the chapter, and might tend to the introduction of very objectionable inhabitants.

It is proposed, therefore, either that the houses shall continue to be the absolute property of the dean and chapter, or that they shall hold them in trust for the university. In the first case, they may be let under such conditions as shall obviate all irregularities in the inhabitants; in the other case, habitations may be provided for those officers of the university who are not to be members of the chapter.

All which is humbly submitted to the favourable consideration of the Commissioners.

Sam. Smith.

(Note - There are other communications from members of the cathedral Church of Durham; but they relate to the University of Durham, and do not apply to the Chapter question).

APPENDIX C

Memorandum submitted to the Select Committee on the Ecclesiastical Commission by the Archdeacon of Durham.¹

The condition of the Archdeaconry was communicated to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by a memorial from the clergy in 1853; the reply states the legal difficulties of the case, and we respectfully ask that these may be removed, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners enabled and required to provide for local claims before the funds arising in this diocese are given to other objects.

The population is very great, quite beyond the strength of the Church as it is now applied and distributed; the parishes are extensive, and a large addition to the number of the clergy, and to our parochial endowments, is required.

We venture to submit that the wealth produced by the skill, capital and labour of our people in the mines and manufactories may reasonably be employed, in the first place, for the use and benefit of the diocese of Durham.

To place Durham in working order demands large sums, as well as a skilful and judicious application of them. I must not presume to mention what, in my mind, is wanted and only call your attention to a few cases

Durham; two churches wanted from recent changes
 Chester-le-Street, a wide and populous parish,
 with its endowed districts
 Gateshead
 South Shields
 Auckland
 Brancepeth
 Lanchester
 Hartlepool

The circumstances and demands of all these are known to you and I do not trouble you with particulars.

WI
 Into general arrangements I do not enter; but I would respectfully point out to you the need to this shifting an uncertain population of an open fund applicable to temporary services and ministrations at the discretion of the Bishop, assisted by his Archdeacons or other ecclesiastical officers. This is attempted partially, and inefficiently, by societies; but I submit that the charge and responsibility should rest with the Bishop, under advice as to circumstances and details.

Charles Thorp

1. P.P. 1856, XI, pp.758-59. Undated.

APPENDIX D

Memorial from the Dean and Chapter of Durham,
To the Honourable the Board of Ecclesiastical
Commissioners for England.¹

Sheweth,

Chapter Officer, Durham,
8th March 1837.

That your memorialists feel it to be incumbent upon them to state their decided objection to all those recommendations which contemplate the suppression of any Cathedral dignities and appointments, and, by so doing, threaten to impair the efficiency and stability of the venerable institutions, which, as your memorialists were led to believe, it was the purpose of your honourable Board to strengthen and secure.

They wish to record their own settled conviction, that the maintenance of the cathedrals in their integrity is an object of the utmost moment to the church establishment, and to the interests of true religion; and being well persuaded that the proposed changes must go far to destroy the influence and usefulness of cathedral establishments, and to render them unfit to accomplish the objects for which they are to be preserved, they respectfully submit to your Honourable Board that no sufficient reason has been advanced which can call for a diminution of this important branch of our ecclesiastical system.

The importance of improving the smaller livings, and of providing for the spiritual wants of a growing population, is fully recognised by your memorialists, who have not been inattentive to these great objects in their own practice, but they believe the deficiencies in our parochial system may be more effectively and conveniently supplied without resorting to measures confessedly incompetent to their purpose, which involve the confiscation of cathedral property, and disturb the ancient and wholesome arrangements of the church.

Your memorialists therefore desire, that the schemes of your Honourable Board which affect the integrity of chapters may be reconsidered, with a view to the augmentation of livings by means which will leave the Cathedrals entire and unimpaired.

Given under our chapter seal, this seventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

The dean, in consenting to the memorial, in order to enable his chapter to express their opinion, desires to keep himself entirely unfettered as to the course he may feel it right to pursue when called upon to vote on the question in his legislative capacity.

(for W. C. Chaytor, Esq., The Dean and Chapter Registrar, who is at present from home)

Wm. Peele

1. P.P. 1837 XLI, p.49.

APPENDIX E

List of petitions presented to Parliament from the Archdeaconry of Durham against the passage of the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill.¹

Date petition presented

23 May, 1838	Dean and Chapter of Durham
6 June	Councillors of the Borough of Stockton
6 July	Archdeacon and Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham
25 April, 1839	Clergy of the Archdeaconry and Officialty of the Dean and Chapter of Durham
1 May	Billingham; South Shields ²
3 May	Darlington; Stockton
7 May	Bishopwearmouth; Durham City
13 May	St. Oswald
7 June	Barnard Castle; Houghton-le-Spring
27 March, 1840	Barnard Castle; Chester-le-Street; Darlington; Gateshead; Stockton; Sunderland; Bishopwearmouth
31 March	Dean and Chapter of Durham
6 April	Durham City
18 May	St. Nicholas; St. Giles
21 May	Sunderland
26 May	Durham County; Wolviston; Haughton-le-Skerne
29 May	Houghton-le-Spring; Pitlington; Witton Gilbert
3 June	Bishopwearmouth
10 June	Boldon; Hartlepool; Kelloe; Shincliffe; Lanchester
15 June	Hart; Hurworth; Middleton-in-Teesdale; Monk Hesledon; St. Helen, Auckland; Staindrop
18 June	Etherley
19 June	Edmondbyers; Felton; Gateshead Fell; Tanfield
22 June	Muggleswick
29 June	Durham Cathedral Minor Canons; Birtley
30 June	South Shields
9 July	Byers Green

1. The Journals of the House of Commons, Vols.90-96.

2. Unless otherwise designated petitions were from parishes.

APPENDIX F¹

The following series of letters between W. C. Chaytor, the Durham Chapter Clerk, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners secretaries, first J. J. Chalk and then C. K. Murray, has been included to illustrate the negotiations necessary, following the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, before a proposed augmentation by a patron might be secured to a benefice.

The living under consideration is the perpetual curacy of St. Margaret of Antioch, Durham City, in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter. As illustrated on page 175 of this chapter, St. Margaret had been augmented by the Durham Chapter with a preferential lease of the tithes arising from within the bounds of the Chapelry. It has been noted that the economic prosperity enjoyed by the County after 1815 resulted in the general increase in the incomes of those benefices possessing tithe rights which of course included St. Margaret's, whose income by 1832 increased to over £500 p.a. It should be noted that if the Chapter had ever refused to renew the lease the income, actually attached to the curacy was only £13-11-0 p.a.²

In 1844 with the population of the Chapelry near the 4,000 mark, the Chapter at last took steps to provide the incumbent, John Cundill, with a parsonage.³ In order that the incumbent might secure a loan under Gilbert's Acts the Chapter sought to legally annex to the benefice the income which

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Margaret of Antioch, Durham City.

2. Ibid., MS. Indenture dated 20 March, 1848.

3. Cundill was instituted to St. Margaret's in 1842. Heretofore the Chapter's appointees had also been a Prebend of Durham Cathedral and as such resided in the College. The Chapter had therefore been under no compulsion to provide a parsonage before Cundill's institution.

heretofore had been granted on a beneficial lease. The following correspondence traces the steps taken by the Dean and Chapter and may be considered, particularly with regard to its duration, fairly typical of the many similar exchanges between Durham patrons and the Commissioners.

W. C. Chaytor to J. J. Chalk

Durham 2nd February, 1844

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Dean and Chapter of Durham to request that you will have the kindness to submit the following statement respecting the living of St. Margaret in the county and Diocese of Durham to the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners and to solicit their aid in the building of a House of Residence.

The living is a Perpetual Curacy in the Patronage of the Dean and Chapter. The Endowment exclusive of the fees and of a Beneficial lease of tithe rent charges granted for the term of 21 years determinable with the Incumbency of the present Incumbent consists of a farm of land (at Seaton) in this county producing no more than £14 per quarter.

The population of the parish, according to the last census is 3,970 - there is no house of residence whatever nor has there been any but the Dean and Chapter in order to supply this deficiency propose to grant 5^a of land of the estimated value of £500 at least and they earnestly solicit the Commissioners to meet the proposed benefaction by such a grant of money as () a consideration of the circumstances of the living they may be disposed to make.

I have subjoined as particular statements of the income of the living from every source, but the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will observe that as the Incumbent is merely a lessor of the tithe Rent Charge for the term of his Incumbency he is unable to borrow any adequate sum under Gilberts Act - and unless he be assisted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners there seems to be no means by which a house of residence can be procured. - The Dean and Chapter however hope that the case falls under the second class mentioned in the Resolutions of 13 August 1843 and will be disposed to give the required assistance.

Population	Rent of farm	£14
3,970	Surplice fees	£26
	Annual value exclusive	
	of lease	£40
	Lease of Rent Charge	£406-15-4
		<hr/>
		£446-15-4
		<hr/>

2

Chalk to Chaytor

5 Whitehall Place
12th February, 1844

Your letter of the 2nd inst - having been submitted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England I am directed to inform you that they do not consider the living of St. Margaret in the County of Durham as at present coming within their resolutions

3

Chaytor to C. K. Murray

Durham 29th January, 1848

I am directed by the Dean and Chapter of Durham to request you will be so good as to submit the following statement, respecting the Perpetual Curacy of St. Margaret in the County and Diocese of Durham, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The Curacy of St. Margaret is in the Patronage of the Dean and Chapter: The emoluments of the living arise from a farm of land, at Seaton in this County, let for £14 a quarter and from the fees which do not exceed £36 a year. The living has no other permanent endowment, but, for a great length of time, the Dean and Chapter on every occasion of a vacancy, when nominating to the cure, have granted a beneficial lease of the Tithes of the Parish to the incumbent for a term of 21 years determinable with his Incumbency: so that for all ordinary purposes the Incumbent has been considered the owner of the tithes. There is no house of Residence and the present Incumbent desires to borrow money under Gilberts Act for the purpose of building, but the Lease does not afford such security as the Bounty Board will accept. The Dean and Chapter wish, in order to remove this difficulty, to annex the tithes in perpetuity to the living, under the Act of 1 & 2 William 4, C.45.

The Dean and Chapter will feel greatly obliged if you will take the earliest opportunity of laying before the Board the application as it is very desirable that the funds required for building should be raised as speedily as possible.

4

Murray to Chaytor

2nd February, 1848

A difficulty presents itself in the carrying out of the augmentation of the Perpetual Curacy of St. Margaret, to the full extent proposed by the Dean and Chapter of Durham in consequence of the provisions in the 16th section of the Act 1st and 2nd William 4th Chapt. 45 under which the value of the Living with the Augmentation must be limited to £350 p.a. + surplice fees.

I would suggest, however, that the object of the Dean and Chapter might in a great measure be accomplished by a permanent grant of the tithes of Framwellgate alone, to take effect at the expiration of the subsisting Lease.

5

Chaytor to Murray

4th February, 1848

I have consulted the Dean and Chapter on the subject and they desire me to state that it would have been more satisfactory to them if they could have assigned to the Church of St. Margaret in perpetuity the whole of the tithes which have been heretofore held by the Incumbents of that living under lease from them; but if the limitation contained in the 16 Section of the 1 & 2 W. 4. cap. 45, prohibits such an alienation of their property, they will gladly avail themselves of the suggestion contained in your letter, and ask for the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the alienation of a portion of the tithes.

The 16 Section of the Act seems to be somewhat obscure but it may be inferred from it that the income of any Church may be raised by the clear value of £300 a year, taking no account of the Fees. Supposing this view to be correct the Dean and Chapter desire to ask for the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to a grant of the tithe Rent Charge of Framwellgate, of 5 acres in the parish, and of such a portion of the Tithe Rent Charge of the township of Crossgate as may suffice to raise the Income of the living to the clear annual value of £300.

It appears that though the gross annual value of the tithe Rent Charge of Framwellgate is £275-13-8 yet after deducting the Poor and other rates and income tax, amounting on an average of years to £35-10-5 the clear annual value is only £241-3-3, - that the land, which the Dean and Chapter propose to grant, and on part of which the house is intended to be built is worth £14-11-3 a year after deducting rates and Income Tax so that it would require a portion of the tithe Rent Charge of Crossgate to raise the annual income to the clear amount of £300 exclusive of fees.

The Dean and Chapter therefore desire to ask the consent of the Commissioners to the annexation of the following properties to the church of St. Margaret, viz.

The tithe Rent Charge of Framwellgate	£241- 3- 3
5 Acres of Land	£14-11- 3
Such a portion of the tithe Rent Charge of Crossgate as would yield annually	£31-13- 8
	<hr/>
	£287-8 -2

Which with the farm at Seaton of the annual value after deducting rates	£13-11-10
---	-----------

And income tax, it would raise the living to the value of	£300- 0- 0
---	------------

Taking no account of the fees

The Dean and Chapter will feel much obliged if you will submit their application to the Commissioners at the earliest opportunity.

6

Murray to Chaytor

5th February, 1848

I see no objection to the modified proposal of the Dean and Chapter for the augmentation of St. Margaret's, provided the statement as to the value should be justified by the return of the parties to be appointed to certify them, under the 17th Section of the Act, and I will lay the case before the Commissioners.

7

Extract from Report of Estates Committee held the 12th and Confirmed 17th February, 1848.

The committee recommended the sanction of the Board to a proposed augmentation by the Dean and Chapter of Durham of the living of Saint Margaret, Durham, under the Act 1st and 2nd William 4 Cap:45, by the (granting) of the tithe Rent Charge of Framwellgate, of the annual value of £241-3-3; five acres of land, of the annual value of £14-11-3, - and such a portion of the tithe Rent Charge of Crossgate as will yield annually £31-13-0; all belonging to the Dean and Chapter.

These tithes have for a great length of time been enjoyed by the Incumbent under a beneficial Lease from the Chapter, and the application for the Commissioners consent to the permanent grant is made with a view to enabling the Incumbent to borrow money under Gilberts Act for the purpose of building a House of Residence.

8

Murray to Chaytor

25th February, 1848

I have submitted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England your letter containing a proposal on behalf of the Dean and Chapter for annexing properties to the church of St. Margaret.

I am authorized by the Board to convey to you their consent to this proposed annexation.

In compliance with Murray's letter of 5 February, 1848 (letter 6) the Dean and Chapter requested the Bishop to certify the true value of their proposed grants. Accordingly Longley appointed Thomas Davison and Samuel Rowlandson, local land agents, to value the land and tithe rent charge. On 6 March, 1848 Chaytor forwarded the agent's estimates to Murray who on 10 March sent the following letter to the Chapter secretary.

9

Murray to Chaytor

White Hall Place 10th March, 1848

The estimated value of the Rent Charge of Framwellgate and Crossgate, appear now to be so much higher than the amounts first stated by you, that I doubt very much whether the Commissioners would, under the circumstances, feel themselves justified in sanctioning the proposed grant of both to St. Margarets -

I have accordingly struck out of the Deed of annexation all that related to the Crossgate Rent Charge and with the alteration have approved the Draft

10

Chaytor to Murray

Durham 11th March, 1848

I have received the draft of the intended annexation of property to St. Margarets, but am sorry to find that you have struck out all that portion of it which relates to the Tithe Rent Charge.

I hope on reconsideration you will agree to restore this and to carry into effect the proposal which was authorized by the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners and notified to me by your letter of the 25th Ultimo.

It is true that the draft sent to you, as I explained in the letter which accompanied it, varied slightly in the estimate of the value of the properties from that which was before the Commissioners when their assent was given, but this would not warrant the deduction of so large an annual sum as £31-13-8.

The proposal is to annex to the living property of the annual value of £287-8-2 so as with the present annual value of the living, viz: £13-11-2 to make up an income of £300 and the immediate object in view, is to enable the Incumbent to borrow the sum of £900 from the Bounty Board for a house - The purpose for which this grant is intended would therefore entirely fail, unless the grant were to that amount.

I have set below a statement of the gross value of the rates, and of the clear value of the property mentioned in the Draft, and you will see that the only variation between this estimate and that sent to you, and to which the Commissioners assented, is that the net value of Framwellgate Rent Charge is stated to be £239-19-0 instead of £241-3-3 and that the land proposed to be annexed is stated to be of the annual value of £10-18-5 instead of £14-11-3 making a total diminution in the estimate of £14-17-1 only requiring of course a corresponding increase to be made up in a portion of the Tithe Rent Charge of Crossgate. The diminution in the clear value of the Rent Charge of Framwellgate is occasioned by a more correct estimate of the amount of the rates, and the diminution in the value of the land by the same cause as well as by the consideration, not before entered into, that it is subject to the Tithe Rent Charge of Crossgate proposed to be given to the living.

I sincerely hope that when you have reconsidered the matter you will not object to restore that portion of Crossgate Tithe Rent Charge and I return the Draft in the hope that you will do so.

	<u>Gross</u>	<u>Rates of Income Tax</u>	<u>Net</u>
Rent Charge (Framwellgate)	£275-13-8	£35-14-8	£239-19- 0
Land exclusive of Tithe			
Rent Charge	£11- 5-0	6-7	£10-18- 5
Farm at Seaton	£14- 0-0	8-2	£13-11-10
Rent Charge (Crossgate)	£44- 7-0	£8-16-3	£35-10- 9
	<u>£345- 5-8</u>	<u>£14- 5-8</u>	<u>£300- 0- 0</u>

11

Murray to Chaytor

White Hall Place
14th March, 1848

Under the circumstances stated in your letter of the 11th instant, I have restored the words before struck out of the Draft Deed, which I return herewith.

The above augmentation was confirmed at a General Meeting of the Commissioners, 6 April, 1848. In 1849-50 Cundill took possession of his new parsonage.¹

1. The Durham Directory and Almanack, 1850, p.51.

CHAPTER V

PARSONAGE HOUSES

The want or unfitness of parsonage houses was a consequence of clerical poverty, and was one of the principal causes for non-residence.¹ It was the responsibility of the incumbent to maintain his residence in good repair, though this was not always possible. If appointed to a benefice with an adequate residence house and sufficient income he could. However, if the parsonage was in a ruined condition through the negligence of his predecessors, and if, at the same time, he was receiving but a small income, the incumbent could do nothing but watch his house further decay about him. In many instances there was no parsonage at all,^{it} having fallen out of use and collapsed years before. In such a case, previous, to 1776,² the house could only be replaced if the profits of the living were sufficient, or if the incumbent was fortunate enough to have a benefactor give another.³

The first archidiaconal visitation which is of use for this study is the 1792 Primary Visitation of the Rev. Benjamin Pye,⁴ wherein it is found that there were twenty-two benefices in the Archdeaconry without residence houses and six whose houses were no longer deemed fit for residence. The following Figure lists those livings without, or having an unfit residence, and includes the patronage of each benefice with their incomes.⁵

1. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.204.

2. 17 Geo. III, C.53.

3. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.205.

4. Pye was also Rector of Easington, Vicar of Hart cum Hartlepool and a Prebend of Salisbury Cathedral.

5. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Archidiaconal Visitation.

Figure 1

<u>Benefices in lay patronage</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Income</u>
Castle Eden P.C.	Rowland Burdon, Esq.	£40 p.a.
Chester-le-Street P.C.	Sir Ralph Milbank and Wm. Jolliffe	£460 p.a.
Darlington, St. Cuthbert P.C.	Lord Darlington	£95 p.a.
Staindrop V. ¹	Lord Darlington	£62 p.a.
St. Giles, Durham P.C.	John Tempest, Esq.	£45 p.a.
St. Nicholas, Durham P.C.	John Tempest, Esq.	£41 p.a.
Hamsterley P.C.	Eliz. Montagu	£45 p.a.
Jarrow P.C. ¹	Eliz. Montagu	£60 p.a.
Lamesley P.C.	Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, Bart.	£66 p.a.
Middleton St. George R.	Robert Killinghall, Esq.	£40 p.a.
Monkwearmouth P.C.	Sir Hediworth Williamson, Bart	£49 p.a.
St. John, Sunderland P.C.	John Thornhill, Esq.	£67 p.a.
<u>Benefices in Episcopal patronage</u>		
St. Andrew, Auckland P.C.		£80 p.a.
St. Anne, Auckland P.C.		£20 p.a.
Escomb P.C.		£92 p.a.
Medomsley P.C.		£29 p.a.
<u>Benefices in Capitular patronage</u>		
St. Margaret, Durham P.C.		£49 p.a.
Kirk Merrington V. ¹		£85 p.a.
Monk Hesledon V. ¹		£67 p.a.
Pittington V. ¹		£75 p.a.
Wolviston P.C.		£93 p.a.
<u>Benefices in the patronage of incumbents</u>		
Barnard Castle P.C.	Vicar of Gainford	£89 p.a.
Whorlton P.C.	Vicar of Gainford	£35 p.a.
Esh P.C.	P.C. of Lanchester	£14 p.a.
Satley P.C.	P.C. of Lanchester	£13 p.a.

1. Houses deemed unfit for residence.

Figure 1 (Contd.)Benefice in the patronage of the Crown

St. Mary-the-Less, Durham City R.¹ £70 p.a.

Benefice in the patronage of the Archdeacon of Northumberland

St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham City R. £43 p.a.

It is apparent that poverty prevented the replacement or repair of the majority of those residence houses, and that the process of decay was compounded, in many instances, by long term neglect occasioned by non-residence, which in turn had been a result of low parochial incomes.² Of the twenty-eight benefices in Figure 1, twenty-two were regularly served by their licensed incumbents,³ the remaining six were served by stipendiary curates. Of the six cures whose incumbents did not take the duty, three possessed houses considered unfit for residence. The deterioration of houses in these latter three parishes illustrates the probable pattern of parsonage decay which, in the long term, had resulted in the unfitness and disappearance of so many Archdeaconry houses, and which may shed light on the fact that by 1818, 2,183 parsonage houses in the country were deemed unfit for residence.³

The benefices in question were the vicarages of Pittington, Monk Hesledon and Kirk Merrington, in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter and traditionally held by minor canons who

1. House deemed unfit for residence.

2. Fifteen of these twenty-two incumbents resided in their respective parishes though not in houses belonging to their benefices. As a result they were officially considered to be non-resident and as such were required to be licensed for non-residence by the Bishop. See Lawrence and Cripps, Ecclesiastical Law, pp.478-81.

3. PP., H.L. 1818, XCIII, passim.

resided in Durham City. James Deason,¹ Vicar of Pittington, Dickens Haslewood,² Vicar of Monk Hesledon, and Joseph Watkins,³ Vicar of Kirk Merrington were no exceptions, and being minor canons, they were non-resident. This tradition of non-residence most certainly explains the poor condition of their respective parsonages. In 1792 the residence at Pittington was said to be sound in fabric, but that the interior was in "indifferent repair".⁴ It was reported in the same visitation that the Vicarage house at Monk Hesledon "has been suffered by the late

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1. James Deason, a non-graduate, was presented to Pittington on 3 July, 1772. On 31 October, 1777 he was sworn in as a minor canon. In 1774, with the sanction of the Chapter, he held in addition to Pittington the perpetual curacy of Whitworth, also in Chapter patronage, and the Rectory of Fordwick in the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Upon being presented to the curacy of Muggleswick and the Rectory of Edmondbyers, in 1787, he resigned Fordwick. Residing in Durham, Deason did not take the duty at Pittington paying Dickens Haslewood £21 p.a. for performing the Sunday service instead. At Edmondbyers and Muggleswick he employed the Rev. John Jopling for £30 p.a. to reside and take the duty at both churches. Whitworth was served by the Rev. John Bacon, himself a pluralist and the non-resident incumbent of St. Anne's, Auckland. Bacon, a Master at King James Grammar School, Bishop Auckland, performed the Sunday service at Whitworth and received from Deason £21 p.a. Deason's total income from his four cures plus his minor canonry was £329 p.a. out of which he paid his curates £72 p.a.
 2. Dickens Haslewood A.M. Vicar of Monk Hesledon and minor canon, 1784, was instituted Rector of St. Mary-the-Less, Durham City, 23 January, 1790. For a resident curate at Monk Hesledon Haslewood paid £40 p.a. His residence in Durham City enabled him to perform his cathedral duties, serve St. Mary-the-Less and meant he was sufficiently close to Pittington (three miles) to perform the Sunday duty there. At St. Mary-the-Less prayers were read every Sunday in the afternoon and a sermon preached every third Sunday. The customary Sunday duty at Pittington was between 10.0 and 11.0 a.m. Haslewood resided within the bounds of St. Mary's parish but "not in the Parsonage House, that not being sufficiently large to lodge my family". He rented a house. AC. Episcopal MSS, 1792 Episcopal Visitation, St. Mary-the-Less.
 3. Joseph Watkins A.M. Vicar of Kirk Merrington and minor canon in 1779. He paid his curate, the Rev. Thomas Stonhewer Bright, £35 p.a.
 4. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792, Archidiaconal Visitation, Pittington. James Miller, the incumbent in 1832, reported to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that as a result of there being no incumbent resident during the previous sixty-two years the glebe house had become a ruin. CC. MS., 1832, N.B. file, Pittington.

vicar to go out of repair".¹ Haslewood, the new incumbent, allowed his curate Joseph Walker the use of the house and promised to make repairs when the weather permitted. In the worst condition was the residence house at Kirk Merrington.²

"The vicarage house is a very awkward and inconvenient one and much out of Repair in the inside but most of the defects are apparently such as seem to have been anterior to the present Vicar's Incumbency, Repairs wanted at the Roof and garden walls and some old Rubbish Heaps lying against the East Wall of the House necessary to be removed - a Sitting Room and a dark closet as a bed room are occupied by the curate the rest by two families - an ancient cottage adjoining upon the church yard, being suffered to become ruinous ceased to be inhabited about five or six years ago and in consequence of leave granted by the late Dr. Dickens³ upon the vicars representation, the same and more modern Room at the East End for some Years used, by the vicars permission as a School House, were taken down in the last year - the timber and some other materials have been taken away and a small Inclosure is now farming, as it is said, for a Plantation, in which the site of the old premisses is included".

With the house being uninhabitable Watkin's curate, Thomas Stonehewer Bright, was non-resident, residing in Durham City.⁴

Neither of the two moorland parochial chapelries of Esh and Satley possessed a house. The incumbent, Thomas Capstick, resided in Auckland parish where he was perpetual curate of St. Andrew and Escomb. Rarely, if ever, visiting the two churches, he appointed the Rev. Robert Dent perpetual curate of Lanchester, in whose parish they were located, as his curate. Dent served both cures from Lanchester which was three miles distant of Esh and four from Satley. Not having a curate he was able to provide but limited duty at each.⁵

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Archidiaconal Visitation, Monk Hesledon.

2. Ibid., Kirk Merrington.

3. Samuel Dickens D.D., Archdeacon of Durham 1762-91.

4. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792 Episcopal Visitation, Kirk Merrington.

5. Ibid., St. Andrew, Auckland; Lanchester.

James Stubbs Hale A.M. of Trinity College, Cambridge resided eight miles from his perpetual curacy, Barnard Castle, not solely for want of a house, but to supplement his income which was less than £90 p.a. Across the river Tees at Kirkby Hill near Richmond, Hale kept a boarding school where he lived. His school must have been fairly remunerative, for he employed a curate at Barnard Castle, paying him £40 p.a.¹

Similarly the perpetual curacy of Hamsterly had no house "nor scite (sic) to build a House upon belonging to the curacy". The incumbent, John Farrer, to supplement the £49 p.a. from Hamsterly, held the neighbouring curacy of Witton-le-Wear where he was also the Master of his own school. He employed a curate at Witton who, in addition to being Usher at Farrer's school, took the full duty at Hamsterly for which he received a total of £50 p.a.²

Of the remaining fifteen incumbents holding livings without residence houses there is little to say, for though their low incomes prevented the building of new houses, they all resided in or adjoining their parishes and served their respective churches.

Apart from the vicarage of St. Oswald's, none of the Durham City parishes possessed glebe houses. In all cases, however, their incumbents resided in rented accommodation within the city. The perpetual curate of St. Margaret's, James Britton, resided within the precincts of the cathedral, he being also the Head Master of Durham Grammar School.³ John Robson held the two city livings belonging to John Tempest, St. Giles and St. Nicholas. As neither possessed a house, he

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Episcopal Visitation, Barnard Castle.

2. Ibid., Hamsterly and Witton-le-Wear.

3. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Episcopal Visitation, St. Margaret's. Durham City. See also Bickmore, Durham School, p.4.

rented a dwelling in St. Margaret's parish adjoining St. Nicholas.¹ The incumbent of St. Mary-le-Bow, Edward Parker, resided about a quarter of a mile from his church in Old Elvet, while Dickens Haslewood, Rector of St. Mary-the-Less, resided in his own house located "fifty yards from the church".² All the city's incumbents served their respective cures.

Parsons residing at the greatest distances from their churches but still performing the Sunday services were Phillip Airey, perpetual curate of Whorlton, who resided four miles from the church³ and Caleb Dixon, perpetual curate of Lamesley and Tanfield. Dixon lived in a house provided by the patron, Sir T. H. Liddell, Bart., three miles from Lamesley. Tanfield was served by a resident stipendiary curate.⁴

The following table, compiled from the 1792 Episcopal Visitation returns indicates the places of residence of all those incumbents holding benefices without, or with unfit, parsonage houses.

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Episcopal Visitation, St. Nicholas, Durham City.
 2. Ibid., St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham City.
 3. Ibid., St. Mary-the-Less, Durham City.
 4. Ibid., Whorlton.
 5. Ibid., Lamesley.

Figure 2

1. Resident in a rented house in the parish)

2. Resident in a house given by the patron

3. Resident in an adjoining parish

4. Non-resident and the duty taken by a stipendiary curate

Duty taken by

the incumbent

<u>Lay patronage</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Castle Eden	X			
Chester-le-Street	X			
St. Cuthbert's, Darlington	X			
Staindrop		X		
St. Giles, Durham			X ¹	
St. Nicholas, Durham			X ¹	
Hamsterley				X
Heworth		X ²		
Jarrow		X ²		
Lamesley		X		
Middleton-St.-George	X			
Monkwearmouth	X			
St. John's, Sunderland	X			
<u>Capitular patronage</u>				
St. Margaret's, Durham			X	
Kirk Merrington				X
Pittington				X ³
Monk Hesledon				X ³
Wolviston				X
<u>Episcopal patronage</u>				
St. Andrew, Auckland	X ⁴			
St. Anne's, Auckland	X ⁴			
Escomb	X ⁴			
<u>Crown patronage</u>				
St. Mary-the-Less	X ³			
<u>Patronage in the hands of incumbent</u>				
Barnard Castle				X
Whorlton			X	
Esh				X ⁴
Satley				X ⁴
<u>Patronage in the hands of the Archdeacon of Northumberland</u>				
St. Mary-le-Bow			X	

1. James Robson

2. William Glover

3. Dickenson Haslewood

4. Thomas Capstick

Of the other benefices previously discussed there is no evidence to indicate the rebuilding or repair of any of their parsonage houses or a change in the residence patterns of their incumbents since 1792. The perpetual curate of Barnard Castle continued to reside at his school in Yorkshire, while Richard Wilson, curate of Whorlton, no longer living at Gainford had moved to Bowes in Yorkshire where he was perpetual curate of that parish. In his stead he provided a resident curate who resided "in the village but not in the Parsonage house". With James Britton's collation to the vicarage of Bossall, Yorkshire, Henry Phillpotts became perpetual curate of St. Margaret's, Durham City. Not having a parsonage, Phillpotts resided in his prebendal house within the cathedral precincts.¹

The one positive step taken to increase the number of parsonage houses in the Archdeaconry was taken by Shute Barrington during the first year of his episcopacy, when he purchased a house on the south side of Bishop Auckland market place for the use of the incumbent of St. Andrew, Auckland.² Unfortunately the good that should have been derived from the purchase was negated when, following the death of the incumbent, Thomas Capstick, in 1804, John Bacon the incumbent of St. Anne's was licensed to the other two cures in the parish. Thus in a parish with over 7,000 inhabitants and three churches there were but two parsons where previously there had been three. The following table is compiled from the 1814 Episcopal Visitation and notes the condition of Archdeaconry parsonages at that date and the pattern of incumbents' residence.

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1814, Episcopal Visitation, St. Margaret, Durham.
 2. Richley, Bishop Auckland, p.68.

Figure 3

1. No house
2. House unfit for residence
3. House considered by the incumbent to be too small
4. Residence in a rented house in the parish
5. Residence in a rented house in an adjoining parish
6. Residence in a house given by the patron
7. Non-resident and duty taken by a stipendiary curate.

**Duty
-taken
by the
incumbent**

<u>Lay patronage</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Castle Eden	X			X			
Chester-le-Street	X						X
St. Cuthbert's, Darlington	X						X
Staindrop							
St. Giles, Durham	X						X
St. Nicholas, Durham			X		X	Occupies own house	
Hamsterley	X ₁						X
Heworth	X ₁				X		
Jarrow	X ₁				X		
Lamesley	X					X	
Middleton St. George	X						X
Monkwearmouth	X				X		
St. John's Sunderland	X						
<u>Capitular patronage</u>							
St. Margaret's, Durham	X						X
Kirk Merrington							
Monk Hesledon							
Pittington							
Wolviston	X			X			
<u>Episcopal patronage</u>							
St. Anne's, Auckland	X					X	
Escomb	X						
Medomsley	X			X		Incumbent owns own house	
<u>Patronage in the hands of incumbents</u>							
Barnard Castle	X						X
Whorlton	X ₂						X
Esh	X ₂			X			
Satley	X ₂			X			
<u>Patronage in the hands of the Archdeacon of Northumberland</u>							
St. Mary-le-Bow	X			X			
<u>Crown patronage</u>							
St. Mary-the-Less			X	X		Incumbent owns own house	

1. Rev. John Hodgson
2. Rev. Edward Marshall

The 1814 Episcopal Visitation indicates little change in the condition of Archdeaconry parsonage houses. Of the three previously discussed vicarages in capitular patronage, only the residence house at Monk Hesledon had been improved. It should be noted as well that these improvements were carried out without assistance from the Dean and Chapter. With the help of £20 from Lord Crewe's Trustees "given as a benefaction as part of his expenses for repairs to the house" Haslewood made an effort to fulfil his promise of 1792, though he continued to reside in Durham City.¹ His successor, William Hayes, Minor Canon since 1792 and Vicar of Monk Hesledon from 29 July, 1806 was resident in 1814 and took the full duty himself.² Evidence suggests that as a Minor Canon, Hayes had resided in Durham and it was only after being disciplined by the Chapter in 1807 for "drunkenness and indecent conduct" did he retire to his benefice. There he remained refusing to take up his duties as a Minor Canon until 1849 when, on being offered a suitable pension to retire, he resigned his Cathedral post.³ The Vicar of Kirk Merrington, Patrick George, and the Vicar of Pittington, Samuel Gamlen, continued to reside in Durham though Gamlen seems to have taken the duty at Pittington himself, as he did not indicate the employment of a curate in the 1814 Visitation.⁴

1. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 5 November, 1795.

2. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1814 Episcopal Visitation, Monk Hesledon.

3. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 28 September, 1807. Ibid, Vol.III, 28 April, 1849. Hayes accepted a pension of £80 p.a.

4. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1814. Episcopal Visitation, Kirk Merrington and Pittington. Patrick George A.M. first entered the Diocese in 1807 as sub-curate to Henry Phillpotts at Bishop Middleham. On 5 August, 1810 he was appointed a Minor Canon, and on 28 September he was collated to the Vicarage of Kirk Merrington. Samuel Gamlen A.M. His first appointment in the Diocese was as stipendiary curate to George Barrington at Sedgefield. On 28 September, 1810 to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of James Deason, Gamlen was appointed a Minor Canon, and in the following month he was instituted Vicar of Pittington. Presumably through his Cathedral post and, ^{having} the same leisure pursuit, chess, he became close personal friends with Henry Phillpotts. In 1831 Phillpotts, as Bishop of Exeter, offered his friend the £350 p.a. Vicarage at Paignton but Gamlen preferred to remain in Durham. See Davis, Henry Phillpotts, p.397 and p.127.

The remaining three incumbents who were actually non-resident and who did not serve their cures held benefices without parsonage houses. The incumbent of Esh and Satley was Thomas Capstick who was also perpetual curate of Escomb and St. Andrew, Auckland. Though none of his livings was provided with a residence he chose to reside in a rented house in Bishop Auckland. The inconvenient distance from the Lanchester cures prevented his attendance upon them, and in his stead he turned the responsibility for them over to Robert Dent, perpetual curate of Lanchester in whose parish they were located. Dent resided in his parsonage at Lanchester three miles from Esh and four miles distant from Satley.¹

By 1832 the parochial structure of the Archdeaconry was being considerably altered by the creation of new parishes to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding population. This is reflected in Figure 4 which includes the names of six newly created parishes which had not yet been provided with residence

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Episcopal Visitation, St. Andrew, Auckland. Peter Jonn, the incumbent of Esh and Satley in 1820 and Master of Wolsingham Grammar School requested leave from Bishop Barrington to be allowed to reside at Wolsingham on account of there still being no residence house at either cure. In his reply dated 18 July, 1820 Barrington wrote:

"Under the circumstances which you state respecting a house of residence on either of the two chapelries, I cannot refuse my consent to your remaining at Wolsingham".

Jonn, in a letter to Robert Burrell, the Bishop's secretary, illustrated the plight of those incumbents holding the poorer cures: "I find my first half years expenses will exceed my half years income, if it be well paid which is seldom the case" SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination Papers, Shute Barrington to Peter Jonn, 18 July, 1820; Peter Jonn to Robert Burrell, Wolsingham, 27 August, 1820.

houses. The remaining benefices listed are essentially the same as those found in Figures 1, 2 and 3, a fact which clearly underlines the helplessness of the incumbents of the poorer cures, particularly during the prolonged years of rising prices. Their plight was summed up by Joseph Thompson, perpetual curate of Lanchester who, though resident in his parsonage, reported it greatly out of repair "from the incumbents inability to make repairs".¹ While the curates of Barnard Castle,² Jarrow³ and St. Hilda's, South Shields⁴ found benefactors to assist with the providing of a parsonage house at each, others were not so fortunate. Indeed, by 1832 those names had been replaced on the list of benefices with unfit residences by the vicarages of Dalton-le-Dale and Grindon and the perpetual curacy of St. Helen, Auckland.

The plight of these cures seems typical of those at the lower end of the income scale. From 1792 the £150 p.a. income of the incumbents of St. Helen had not been enough to keep the residence house in good repair. By 1832 the incumbent, Matthew Chester, was informing the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that the condition of his parsonage was so bad "the incumbent cannot reside in it. The late incumbent died insolvent and no dilapidations could be got and the present incumbent cannot afford to rebuild the house at his own cost. The glebe house

1. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, Lanchester.

2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.21. In 1817 a house and garden was purchased with funds provided by Bishop Barrington, Trinity College, Cambridge, Lord Crewe's Trustees and by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty.

3. CC. MSS., 1832 N.B. file, Jarrow. A farm house and garden was purchased in 1824 to be used as a parsonage. The incumbent of Jarrow expended £20 towards the purchase.

4. See p.295.

has lately been let out to the proprietors of a new colliery, for their pitmen to live in till houses are built. The incumbent pays £16 p.a. for a house".¹

During the nine year incumbency of William Smoult Temple, the parsonage at Dalton-le-Dale had suffered from the fact that he was a Minor Canon and thus resident in Durham. As a result, his successor the Rev. James Humphry Brown was forced to pay £15 p.a. for lodgings, plus an additional £5 p.a. "for the conveyance of my family and myself to the church 2 miles distant".² The Rev. William Terrot, Vicar of Grindon and Chaplain to the Marquis of Cleveland, similarly left his residence house in such a ruinous condition that his successor, William Ewbank, was encumbered with its repair.³

Examples such as these illustrate the extent to which the incumbents of the poorer benefices in the county were affected by rising prices. Forced to cut their expenditures, parsonage and church suffered. In the cases of the many pluralists of the lower income levels their problems could only have been doubled. Figure 4 indicates the condition of Archdeaconry parsonages by 1832.⁴

Figure 4

1. No house
2. House unfit for residence
3. House considered by the incumbent to be too small
4. Residence in a rented house in the parish
5. Residence in a rented house in an adjoining parish
6. Residence in a house given by the patron
7. Non-resident and duty taken by a stipendiary curate.

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Duty taken
by the
incumbent

<u>Lay patronage</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Castle Eden	X					X	
Chester-le-Street	X						X
St. Cuthbert's, Darlington	X						X
Staindrop							
St. Giles, Durham	X		X				

1. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, St. Helen, Auckland. .
2. Ibid., Dalton-le-Dale.
3. Ibid., Grindon. The 1832 income was £142 p.a.
4. CC. MSS., 1832, N.B. files.

Figure 4 (Contd.)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
St. Nicholas, Durham			X	X	Occupies his own house		
Hamsterly							
Haworth, St. Mary	X			X			
Jarrow		X	X				
Hurworth		X		X			
Lamesley	X					X	
Middleton-St.-Geroge	X			X	Occupies his own house		
Monkwearmouth	X			X			
Tanfield			X	X			
Trimdon							X
Seaton Carew	X			X			
Hylton	X			X			
<u>Capitular patronage</u>							
Croxdale			X				X
St. Margaret's, Durham	X			X			
Dalton-le-Dale		X					
Pittington	X						X
South Shields, St. Hilda							
Wolviston				X	Resides with his mother-in-law		
<u>Episcopal patronage</u>							
St. Helen, Auckland		X		X			
Escomb	X			X			
Etherley	X			X			
Coniscliffe			X	But serves			
Gateshead Fell	X			X			
Medomsley	X	Serves from			Ebchester		
Satley	X			X			
Shildon	X			X			
Sunderland			X ¹	X			
St. John's, Sunderland	X ¹						
Winlaton			X	X			
<u>Crown patronage</u>							
St. Mary-the-Less, Durham			X	X	Occupies his own house		
Hart			X				X
<u>Patronage in the hands of incumbents</u>							
Esh	X			X			
Hartlepool			X	Resides in the house and serves			
Whorlton	X			X			
<u>Patronage in the hands of the Archdeacon of Northumberland</u>							
St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham	X			X			

1. Robert Gray, nephew of the Bishop of Bristol.

The failure of Durham patrons to improve the incomes of the poorer cures in their gift gave rise to a vicious cycle: low incomes led to plurality, non-residence and the decay of sound residence houses, which in turn were used to justify further non-residence. It is also evident from the preceding four tables that little assistance was given by patrons for the maintenance or improvement of existing houses or for the replacement of houses long disappeared.

The evidence indicates that as the Dean and Chapter had failed to give financial assistance to the poorer livings in their gift,¹ so they did not concern themselves with the condition of glebe houses on their benefices before 1827.² Since 1774 the parochial chapelry of St. Hilda's, South Shields, had been held by a non-resident incumbent.³ It was not until the death of the Rev. Richard Wallis in 1827, combined with the fact that the population dependent upon that cure had risen to over 20,000 souls, did the Chapter make an effort to replace the parsonage, which after fifty years of apparent neglect, was no longer deemed fit for residence. With the assistance of the Chapter, the Rev. William Maugham, Wallis' successor, purchased a house for £1200 which had been borrowed on the house at 4½% interest.⁴ The incumbent was to be responsible for the repayment

1. See Chapter III, p.174.

2. SL. Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

3. The first incumbent of this period of study was the Rev. Samuel Dennis who as a minor canon resided in Durham. The duty was taken by William Coulton, stipendiary curate, who was himself a pluralist, being also sub-curate of Jarrow and resident there. Wallis, Dennis's successor, became p.c. of St. Hilda's and Vicar of Seaham in 1783. Until 1792 he resided for at least eight months of the year at South Shields, but after that date moved to Seaham, eleven miles distant. In 1804 he was licensed to the perpetual curacy at Blanchland in Northumberland holding the three cures until his death. Throughout the period of his incumbency he employed a curate who, though residing at South Shields, did not occupy the parsonage house.

4. Borrowed under the provisions of 17 Geo. III C.53 (Gilbert's Act).

of £600, while the Chapter undertook the responsibility for the repayment of the remaining £600. The Chapter proposed to pay their share of the debt in twelve annual instalments of £50, on the condition that the incumbent pay 4% interest on the remainder until it was liquidated. When clear of all encumbrances, the house was to be annexed to the living as the glebe house while the old house was to be reserved for the use of a curate.¹ After making an initial grant of £433 in 1826, the Chapter cleared the remaining debt in 1848.²

In the face of an increasing and widely scattered population in the parish of St. Oswalds, the Chapter as patrons saw the need to provide a chapel in the village of Shincliffe two miles from the parish church, which had by 1821 become the centre of a population in excess of 2,500 persons. With the co-operation of the Rev. Thomas Gisborne, Prebend of the fifth stall of Durham Cathedral and thus principal tithe holder in the township, the Chapter conveyed land for glebe and a tithe barn to be fitted out as a church.³ In addition assistance was given towards the endowment of the new church and the Chapter took steps to facilitate the providing of a parsonage house. The source of the funds for the building of the Shincliffe parsonage is unknown, but what is known is that it was not the Dean and Chapter,⁴ however, when completed they did pay £50 compensation to Michael Young a farmer "for the loss of the road to his farm-buildings, which was taken from him for the

1. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, South Shields, St. Hilda.

2. SL. Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

3. The Dean and Chapter were not the sole benefactors. A number of private contributions were received including a grant from Bishop Barrington. CC. MSS. Benefice files, Shincliffe. Thomas Gisborne to George Jenner (Doctors Commons, London) Yoxall Lodge near Lichfield, 24 December, 1824. Also same to same, Durham, 21 April, 1825.

4. No mention is made of Dean and Chapter funds being used for the building of the house in Records of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter, nor is any mention of such assistance

purpose of building a house". These two sums, totalling £483, represented the extent of Dean and Chapter expenditures on Archdeaconry residence houses between 1774 and 1831.

The Episcopal record was no better than that of the Dean and Chapter. From 1774 to 1831 the number of ancient benefices in Episcopal patronage without, or having an unfit parsonage, increased. This in spite of Bishop Barrington's assistance to the rector of Sedgefield towards the replacement of his rectory which had been destroyed by fire on 31 December, 1797,¹ his presentation of a house to the perpetual curate of St. Andrew, Auckland, or the assistance given to provide residence houses for the new incumbents of two newly built churches. A portion of the benefaction, to which Barrington contributed, for the church at Gateshead Fell was set aside for the purchase of a glebe house.² For the construction of a residence at Heathery Cleugh the Bishop contributed £20 which was used in 1828 when a "commodious parsonage house" was erected.³ In addition, bishops

4.(Contd.)found in either the N.B. or benefice files of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or in the MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 20 January, 1726-20 March, 1829.

1. Robert Surtees, the History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, Vol.III, p.33. The Rector of Sedgefield was the Rev. George Barrington, the Bishop's nephew. The rebuilt rectory was described by Surtees as being a "handsome mansion". It was also described as having been built in the "Wren tradition", situated in his own walled grounds and surrounded by a mature grove containing various rare species of oak trees. Alan Savage, The Parsonage in England, p.96.
2. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, Gateshead Fell. The patronage of the new church was vested in the See.
3. Ibid., Stanhope. Built entirely at Barrington's expense he granted the patronage to the rectors of Stanhope. He also endowed the church with lands valued at £12 p.a. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.677. The Rev. George Thompson, first incumbent of Heathery Cleugh was non-resident, being curate of a living in Scarborough. On 21 April, 1838 he advertised in the "Ecclesiastical Gazette" for a curate "stipend sixty guineas per annum, with an excellent house and garden". The house contained two public rooms, a study, four bedrooms, a servants bedroom as well as having a stable, byer and pig house attached. DCRO. MSS. Parsonage House Plans, EP/CC1/7, Heathery Cleugh.

of Durham made one benefaction each to the incumbents of two livings not in their patronage. Bishop Barrington in 1817 granted £200 to the incumbent of Barnard Castle for the purchase of a house, and Van Mildert in 1831 granted £50 towards the building of a residence in the parish of St. Giles, Durham City.

Figure 5 is a breakdown of those episcopal benefices whose incumbents notified the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1832 that they were without, or possessed an unfit, residence house.¹

Figure 5

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>No house</u>	<u>Unfit house</u>
St. Anne's, Auckland	X	
St. Helen, Auckland		X
Escomb	X	
Gateshead Fell	X	
Medomsley	X	
St. John's, Sunderland	X	

Figure 1 has shown that, in 1792, of the twenty-five Archdeaconry livings in lay patronage, twelve benefices had no residence houses, while the house at Jarrow was considered to be unfit for residence. Figure 4 indicates that forty years later there had been no change other than that the rebuilt perpetual curacy of Seaton Carew had replaced, on the above Table, St. John's, Sunderland, the patronage of which had been transferred to the Bishop in 1788. Apart from the Earl of Darlington providing a house for the incumbent of Staindrop, and Lord Ravensworth's grant of a house rent free to the incumbent of Lamesley, no attempts were made by lay patrons before 1831 to increase the number of residence houses in parishes in their gift.

By far the greatest effort to replace, repair or improve

1. CC. MSS. 1832, N.B. files.

residence houses had been made by the incumbents themselves, with assistance from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty under 17 George III C.53 and 21 George III C.66 (Gilberts Acts), and from the Trustees of Lord Crewe's Charity.

It appears that for the thirty years following the passage of Gilbert's Acts, the Bounty Board had not been eager to lend money as the Acts suggested.¹ It was not until 1811 that the Board embarked on an extensive programme of loans. It appears that the first Durham parson to make use of Gilbert's Acts was the Rector of Craike. Between 1803 and 1806 the Rev. Powell Colchester Guise with £17 dilapidations from his predecessor and £700 from the Bounty Board rebuilt his rectory house.² The Rev. Ralph Tatham, Vicar of Bishopton on 22 May, 1812 borrowed £295 from the Bounty for the repair of his house.³ His successor, the Rev. Robert Walker Bamford, inherited a debt of £118 plus interest. This he had paid off by 1829, making annual payments each of which represented a substantial percentage of his yearly income, which in 1832 was £179 p.a.⁴ The Rev. Thomas Baker, rebuilt the rectory house at Whitburn in 1818, mortgaging the rectory for £2,328 to cover the cost.⁵ This large mortgage is in itself interesting, as according to the provisions of 17 George III C.53, no benefice should have been mortgaged for more than twice its net yearly value.⁶ Ten years previously, Whitburn, an agricultural parish deriving its total income from rents and compositions of tithe⁷ was worth £700 p.a.⁸ Though the income of Whitburn had in fact risen to

1. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.217.

2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box of miscellaneous MSS. labelled, Queen Anne's Bounty and Tithe Commissioners, 19th century.

3. This information was kindly supplied by Mr. D. A. Armstrong, Records Officer for the Church Commissioners.

4. CC. MS.. 1832 N.B. file, Bishopton.

5. SR. MSS. Unsorted box of miscellaneous MSS labelled Queen Anne's Bounty and Tithe Commissioners, 19th century.

6. 17 Geo. III C.53 and 21 Geo.III C.66.

7. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, Whitburn.

8. See p.164.

£1,236 p.a. by 1832 Baker claimed that as a result of the increased cost of collecting tithes, the increasing poor rate and highway rate, plus window tax, his disposable income was no more than £955 p.a.¹

"In addition to the annual charges incident to the living, is the support of the Schools, which has fallen almost entirely on me during my incumbency. Two new school buildings have been completed, and a Lifeboat produced - for all wh'ch I was responsible. The ordinary aid to the poor has fallen also principally on me for those 23 years and no opulent landed proprietor having been resident in the parish".

Baker also contributed to fourteen national and local public charities.² In spite of these many calls upon his purse he managed to repay, by 1832, £2,259-12-2, and was able to notify the Commissioners that "the whole will be paid off in 1836".³ Before 1832 there had been only three other benefices which received assistance through Gilbert's Acts. Robert Clarke, incumbent of Ebchester, received a mortgage for £170, which together with £70 dilapidation money from the estate of his predecessor, the Rev. William Ellison, was used in 1822-23 for the repair of the glebe house.⁴ On 11 May, 1829 the Rector of Elwick Hall mortgaged his living for over £937⁵ after which

1. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, Whitburn.

2. Ibid., S.P.C.K.; S.P.G; Native School Foundation; National Society of School Masters Fund; Clergy Orphan Society; Church Building District Committee; Diocesan School Society; Diocesan Sons of the Clergy Fund; Sunderland Infirmary and Dispensary; Sunderland Bible Association; South Shields Dispensary; South Shields Parochial School; South Shields Indurgent Sick Society; The Preservation of Life from Shipwreck Fund.

3. Ibid.

4. SR. MSS. Unsorted box of miscellaneous MSS. labelled Queen Anne's Bounty and Tithe Commissioners, 19th century.

5. P.P. 1847-48, XLIX, p.201. Abstract of a Return of all Sums Borrowed from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and which have not yet been repaid, for the building altering or repairing of Episcopal or other Ecclesiastical Residences.

he made annual repayments to the Bounty Board of £72,¹ and on 31 December, 1830 the Rev. John Henry Brown, Rector of Middleton in Teesdale secured a mortgage of £680 for the repair of his rectory house.²

The residence houses in a further eight parishes were repaired or altered through the personal expenditure of their incumbents.

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Date of work</u>	<u>Work carried out</u>
Bishop Middleham	York, Thomas Henry	1830-31	"Rebuilt the parsonage of the same dimention as the original ... at my own expence ... £165". This rebuilding increased the rateable value from £7 to 15 p.a. ³
Boldon	Liddell, H. G. Hollingsworth, N.J.	Unknown 1829	Built an additional wing. ⁴ Erected an elegant stone front ... the cost with improvements in stables, offices and gardens and adjoining grounds was £5,000 ²
Denton	Peacock, Thomas	Unknown	"House and offices erected by me". ⁵
Grantham	Brewster, John	1818	"Fit for residence of my own expence of upwards of £500". ⁶
Shincliffe	Todd, Isaac	1829-32	"Expence of putting the dwelling house into tenantable repair over the preceeding three years amounted to more than one years income". ⁷
Winlaton	Thorp, Charles (Rector of Ryton)	Unknown	"Relinquished possession of a house for the use of the newly created Rectory at Winlaton". ⁸

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1. CC. MS., 1832, N.B. file, Elwick Hall.
 2. LPL. MSS., Mortgage certificates, Middleton-in-Teesdale.
 3. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, Bishop Middleham.
 4. Ibid., Boldon.
 5. CC. MS., 1832 N.B. file, Denton.
 6. Ibid., Grantham.
 7. Ibid., Shincliffe.
 8. Ibid., Winlaton.

Wolviston	Unknown	C.1790	Purchased a portion of a local brewery for £300 thereafter, used as a parsonage. ¹
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By far the greatest financial assistance for the building, rebuilding or repair of Archdeaconry residence houses came from the Trustees of Lord Crewe's Charity, who expended over £975 between 1774 and 1831 for that purpose. Petitioned for assistance by individual incumbents, the Trustees' minute book of those years does not contain a single refusal of financial assistance to a petitioner. In July, 1813 this unofficial policy was formalised when the Trustees ordered the following scheme to be carried out.

"That in future a Sum be appropriated from each half yearly account for the purpose of creating a Fund to be applied in Loans for Building and Improving Parsonage Houses according to the Provision of Gilbert's Acts. That preference be given to Livings not exceeding the yearly value of £200 in the first instance".²

The first grant of this period was made on 18 June, 1779 to the Rev. Thomas Holmes Tidy, Rector of Redmarshall, who was granted £40 towards "defraying the Expences of rebuilding his tyth barn which was blown down and repairing other considerable Damages suffered by the Rectory building, in the violent storm of the 31st day of December 1778".³ For putting into proper repair the house appointed for the residence of the officiating minister at Hartlepool, the Rev. Benjamin Pye was given £25 on 17 January, 1780, following his petition in which he described the house as being in a "very ruinous condition occasioned by the neglects of former Incumbents". In his petition Pye claimed that he had expended more in repairing the (said) house than he

1. Ibid., Wolviston.

2. CO. MSS., Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, July 1813.

3. Ibid.

had received in dilapidations.¹

The perpetual curate of Monkwearmouth received financial assistance for a different purpose. Because his cure did not possess a glebe house, the Rev. Jonathan Iveson resided in a rented house which he shared with his father-in-law, Mr. Edward Wilson. On 2 March, 1791, the Trustees granted to him the sum of £20 as compensation for losses incurred when his house was consumed by fire in April, 1790.²

"The said House was consumed together with Bank notes to a large amount and all his furniture, Linen, China and wearing apparel and a very valuable Library - and that his wife's father Mr. Edward Wilson also lost the greatest part of his property therein by the same fire, the said Mr. Ivison and Mr. Watson with their said families narrowly escaping with their Lives -"

Along with sundry other benefactors, Lord Crewe's Trustees granted a sum of money towards the building of a residence house in the newly created parish of Gateshead Fell. However, it came to their attention that the Rector, William Hawks, had decided to purchase instead an existing house which was owned by his father, Sir Robert Shafto Hawks, a Newcastle solicitor. Instead of the outright purchase of the house, the Rector invested the £1,500 earmarked for building,³ including the Trustees £100 grant, in 3% reduced annuities. To live in the house he paid his father a yearly rent of £50, a sum which corresponded with the annual interest he received on the principal.⁴ As the Trustees had specifically made their grant

1. CO. MSS., Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 17 January, 1780.

2. Ibid., 21 March, 1791.

3. Of this sum £600 came from the following benefactors: Bishop Barrington, £105; Rev. J. Collinson, Rector of Gateshead, £104; Rev. Charles Thorp, Rector of Ryton, £5; D. Akenhead, Esq., £20; Sir Robert Shafto Hawks, Bart., £200; Lord Crewe's Trustees, £100; M. Atkinson, Esq., £10; Sundry benefactions, £56. The Governors of the Royal Bounty matched the above grants with £900 from the funds rated by Parliament. CC. MS., 1832, N.B. file, Gateshead Fell.

4. Ibid.

for the building of a house they notified Hawks of their dissatisfaction with his arrangements on 6 September, 1832. After inquiring as to what had happened to their £100 benefaction, John Leybourne the Charity's Treasurer and Secretary wrote the following letter.¹

"I am directed to inform you that they now understand from your statement that the £100 which they gave towards the Building of your Parsonage House has been together with other Benefactions Amounting to £1500 invested in the 3 per cent reduced annuities and will their remain until the Sale thereof shall produce £1500 or more (no period for the Sale being fixed) when the whole amount will be paid over to Sir Robert Hawks, and then the House which the Trustees have hitherto regarded as the Parsonage House, but which actually is the property of Sir R. Hawks will be legally annexed to the Rectory of Gateshead Fell as it does not appear from your Statement at what price the said annuities were purchased nor whether the interest accruing from them is added to the principal the Trustees cannot form an opinion when it is probable that they will be realised for which they gave the £100. They regret that they have been so disappointed but their hope if ever the day should come that the house shall be annexed to the living, that you or your successors will apprise the Trustees that a regular entry may be made in their Books agreeably to the fact. The Trustees observe your expression of indignation at their mode of discharging their duty. As the money was to be paid to you only when the Parsonage House was commenced, they did not imagine that you would receive it before and then place it in the 3 per cents reduced annuities".

The following table notes those benefices in the Archdeaconry of Durham receiving grants from Lord Crewe's Trustees for the building, replacement or repair of parsonage houses between 1774 and 1832.²

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1. CO. MSS., Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees. John Leybourne to William Hawks LL.B. College, Durham, 6 September, 1832.
 2. CO. MSS., Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.

Figure 6

1. For building a house.
2. Replacing a house fallen into ruin.
3. For repairs.
4. Purchase of a house.

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Date of grant</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Hamsterly	1774	£20			
Stockton	1775			£50	
Penshaw	1774				£60
Redmarshall	1779			£40	
Hartlepool	1780			£25	
Coniscliffe	1786			£21	
Monkwearmouth ¹	1791			£20	
Penshaw	1792			£20	
Monk Hesledon	1792				
Bishopton	1792			£25	
Barnard Castle	1817				£200
Gateshead Fell	1826				£100
Heathery Cleugh	1828				£ 20
Heathery Cleugh	1829				£20
Bishopwearmouth	1830				£20
Ryhope	1830				£20
St. Giles, Durham	1831				£20
Hylton	1831				£20
St. John, Weardale	1832			£20	
Heathery Cleugh	1832		£20		
Satley	1832				£100

As part of their general post-1831 efforts to reform the parochial structure of the Diocese, the Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment for the first time attempted a widespread programme of building or repairing residence houses. In view of the increasing expenditures made by patrons and impropriators, Lord Crewe's Trustees began to withdraw their financial assistance as indicated by the following table which lists those benefices whose incumbents petitions for assistance had been denied.²

1. See p.303.

2. CO. MSS., Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.

Figure 7

Edmondbyers	1837	Byers Green	1846
Tanfield	1838	Tanfield	1848
Eggleston	1839	Heathery Cleugh	1849
Sildon	1840	Tow Law	1851
Hyton	1840	Monkwearmouth	1853
Heathery Cleugh	1841	Hartelpool, Holy	
Sildon	1841	Trinity	1854
		Wolviston	1854

This is not to say that all requests for aid were refused. Between 1832 and 1856 the Trustees continued their policy of assistance, though on a more limited scale, and as a result of their experience with the incumbent of Gateshead Fell, attached a condition to all their future grants.¹ When specifically designated for the building of a parsonage where none existed, the grant would be paid only upon the completion of the building. Figure 8 lists the benefices receiving financial assistance between 1832 and 1856.²

Figure 8

- 1. For building a house
- 2. Replacing a house fallen into ruin.
- 3. For repairs.
- 4. Purchase of a house.

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Date of grant</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u> ²
Heathery Cleugh	1832			£20	
Satley	1833	£100			
Kirk Merrington	1834			£20	
St. Giles, Durham	1834	£50			
Heathery Cleugh	1835			£15	
Etherley	1836	£25			
Ebchester ³	1839			£20	
Collierly ⁴	1842	£50			
Jarrow	1844	£50			
Wingate Grange	1844	£25			
Jarrow	1846	£20			
Heworth	1851	£25			

1. CO. MSS., Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 23 July, 1833.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., 1 February, 1839. This sum was provided for the restoration of the incumbent's house "blown down in a late hurricane".
4. Ibid., 18 November, 1836. On this date the Trustees granted £50 towards augmentation of Collierly. Six years later, on 16 June, 1842, the Trustees ordered the £50 augmentation be applied towards the erection of a parsonage house.

Figure 8 (Contd.)

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Date of grant</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Jarrow ¹	1851	£30			
Thornley	1852	£20			
Hartlepool	1854	£15			

As a result of the rapid industrialisation of County Durham after 1800, the medieval parochial structure of the Archdeaconry became inadequate to the needs of an expanding population, which by 1831 was over 239,000 people, an increase of 24% over the previous decade. During the following ten years, the population expanded by a further 29%, and in 1851 there were nearly 400,000 inhabitants in the county, a figure which represented a 27% increase since 1841. In an effort to meet the spiritual needs of such an expanding population the Durham ecclesiastical establishment embarked on a building programme, which by 1856 had added fifty-six new churches and chapels to the Archdeaconry's parochial system. Of this number thirty-nine were to have been furnished with their own licensed incumbents. The patrons of the above churches are broken down thus: seventeen in the patronage of parochial incumbents: twelve in the gift of the Bishop of Durham, who also shared the patronage of four other new churches with the Crown; the remaining six were presented to by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

Between 1831 and 1848 the Dean and Chapter took part in the repair or building of fifteen residence houses. Their assistance took numerous forms. They assisted parsons with the borrowing of money under Gilbert's Acts, by assuming responsibility for the repayment of specified portions of the

1. The grant of 11 March, 1844, unused. This grant of 1851 was made as a renewal of the former "on the condition that the plans and specifications when submitted have the Trustees approval". CO. MSS., Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 19 December, 1851.

loans, with the grant of land for parsonage sites, and with cash benefactions to assist with house repairs. Figure 9 is a comprehensive breakdown of their expenditures.

Figure 9

Livings in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter of Durham receiving grants from that body and from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty under 17 George III C.53 and 21 George III C.66 (Gilbert's Acts) for the building or repair of parsonage houses.

Benefice	Chapter grant ¹		Q.A.B. loan ²	
	Date of grant	Amount	Amount borrowed	Date
Pittington	1831	Interest on loan	£1,050	3 May, 1833
Aycliffe	1831	Interest on loan	£300	2 March, 1832
Heworth	1834	£200	£324	13 Feb., 1837
Jarrow ³	1835	£20		
Pittington	1835	£100	£486	23 Jan., 1837
Heighington				
Shadforth	1840	£240 ⁴	£700	8 Oct., 1840
Shincliffe	1840	£160 ⁵		
Dalton-le-Dale	1840 ⁶		£766	7 Aug., 1840
Jarrow	1843	£50		
Southwick	1843	£150		
St. Margarets, Durham	1843	Parsonage site		
Ferryhill	1844	£100 plus 4 acres	£674	11 Aug., 1845
Croxdale	1844	£100		
Monkwearmouth	1846	£50		
South Shields, St. Stephen	1846	£100		
Whitworth	1847	£100	£364	27 Oct., 1846
St. Margarets, Durham ⁷	1848	£100		
South Shields ⁸				
Holy Trinity ⁸	1848	Parsonage site		

1. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III.
2. PP. 1847-48, XLIX, p.201.
3. Though Jarrow was in lay patronage the living was a peculiar in the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter. As the principal tithe holders in the parish the Chapter had a responsibility for the spiritual wellbeing of its inhabitants.
4. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 16 May, 1840. This sum granted specifically for the purchase of a parsonage site.
5. At the same time this grant was made, an additional £100 was granted from Canon Gisborne's Fund. The £260 was used for the purchase of a parsonage site. For Canon Gisborne's Fund, see p.
6. Received no assistance from the Chapter.
7. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, St. Margaret's, Durham. See correspondence Chapter IV Appendix F.
8. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.716.

The rebuilding of the parsonage at Pittington was achieved through the co-operation of the incumbent, James Miller, and the Chapter, who by Order of Chapter dated 21 November, 1831 permitted the incumbent to raise the money required for that purpose "under the provisions of Gilbert's Acts, the Dean and Chapter will pay the annual installments in liquidation of the principal money borrowed" The house that was completed in 1834 was built along the same specifications, though on a somewhat larger scale, as those adapted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.¹ The ground floor accommodation included: dining room, 20' 6" x 15' 3"; drawing room, 20' 16" x 15' 3"; study, 15' x 15'; school room, 15' 11" x 11' 3"; kitchen; scullery; larder; dairy and coal house. On the first floor: two bedrooms, 17' x 15' 3"; one bedroom, 15' x 15'; two nurseries; water closet; and a foul linen closet. In the attic there was separate accommodation for a male and female servant.²

In 1774 the incumbent of Jarrow cum Heworth reported the existence of a parsonage house at Heworth, though he noted it to be in such a ruined condition that it was uninhabitable.³ Thereafter the Episcopal Visitations indicated the perpetual curates residing in rented accommodation. With the separation

1. P.P. 1851, XXII, p.427. Appendix to the 3rd report. The Commissioners specified that the accommodation in newly built parsonage houses should be as follows:

"Two sitting rooms, study, kitchen and scullery, each about 16' x 14', the study and scullery somewhat less, according to what may suit the general arrangement of the plan, and not less than five bedrooms. These should also be a pantry or china closet, larder, linen closet, wine and beer cellar, coal and dust holes, etc."

2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Parsonage Houses.

3. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation, Heworth.

of Heworth from Jarrow in 1834, the Dean and Chapter continued their involvement in the parish by offering to convey to the incumbent of Heworth, Matthew Plummer, a house, which for an unknown reason he declined. Following this decision the Chapter on 14 June, 1834 ordered the lease of the said house be sold, and that from the proceeds of the sale "£200 be given towards the building of a house for the curate".¹ Before construction could begin, however, it was first necessary to survey the remains of the glebe house that William Glover had reported to be existing in 1774. The survey was carried out by John Hogarth of Newcastle and the results were conveyed to the Dean and Chapter on 10 December, 1836.²

"The back wall of the said Parsonage House is in a very bad state and must be taken down; the Floors are entirely rotten; the roof is completely out of repair: the ground floor is too low by 2 feet, which makes the house always damp; the fire places and plaster are in a very bad state; in short the whole house is in a very dilapidated state. and could not be properly repaired in its present form".

The new house was to contain two drawing rooms, a parlour and study, and six bedrooms, with a yard, coach house and stable attached. The estimated cost of construction was £550.³ In order to make up the necessary sum Plummer, on 13 February, 1837 mortgaged his living for £324.⁴

For an unknown period of time the perpetual curates of Whitworth had supplemented their annual incomes by letting their glebe house and land to the local squire, Mr. R. D. Shafto of Whitworth Park, for £60 p.a. This situation seems to have come about as a result of the glebe house and land being located as an island in the middle of Mr. Shafto's property. In 1836

1. SL. MSS., Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 14 June, 1834.

2. SR. MSS., Unsorted box labelled Parsonage Houses, Heworth.

3. Ibid.

4. P.P. 1847-48, XLIX, p.201.

following a proposal by the squire, the curate, Thomas Deason, proposed to the Chapter the sale of the existing house and an exchange of land with Mr. Shafto. On 20 July, 1836 Charles Thorp in his Officials report proposed a scheme whereby the Chapter's co-operation might be secured and a new house built.¹

"The incumbent make application, in the first instance for a faculty to authorize the pulling down of the present Glebe House and that the Chapter will consider the application made by him respecting the exchanging with Mr. Shafto and the investment of the purchase money arising from the sale of the present house"

It was not until 1847 that the provisions for the building of a new house were finally settled by Deason's successor, the Rev. A. D. Shafto, brother of the owner of Whitworth Park. On 27 October, 1846, a £364 loan was procured from the Bounty Board and in September/October 1847 the Dean and Chapter granted an additional £100. The parsonage house which formerly had stood in Whitworth Park was rebuilt on a donated site overlooking the river Wear about a quarter of a mile from the church.²

Not all livings in Capitular patronage received assistance. On 28 September, 1835 Thorp in his Officials report informed the Chapter of the urgent necessity to improve the glebe house at Muggleswick, "there being no resident clergymen within memory, the scattered flock has been neglected and lost - Residence should be secured at any cost".³ Nothing was done, however, to provide a habitable residence until 1853. Likewise the Official's report of 20 November, 1835 which noted the parsonage at Dalton-le-Dale "altogether unfit for occupation" went unheeded.⁴ It was not until 7 August, 1840, when the incumbent borrowed £766 from the Governors of the Royal Bounty, was he able to improve the residence facilities of the vicarage.

1. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 20 July, 1836.

2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.586.

3. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 8 September, 1835.

4. Ibid., 20 November, 1835.

Of the fifteen parishes listed in Figure 9, six were newly created and represented up to that date the total parochial expansion in Capitular patronage. They were: Ferryhill, Shadforth, Shincliffe, Southwick, Holy Trinity, South Shields and St. Stephen, South Shields. Towards the building of a parsonage at Ferryhill the Chapter provided a site and £100. To Southwick they gave £150 in 1843, though it was not until 1856 and with extensive financial assistance from the Bishop of Durham that a parsonage could finally be provided. Grants for the building of glebe houses in the two new parochial districts of South Shields were also made, but as in the case of Southwick the parsonage could not be built until additional financial assistance had been secured. At Shadforth the Chapter provided money specifically designated for the purchase of a building site upon which was built a residence with £700 borrowed from Queen Anne's Bounty. The completed house was somewhat more modest than that at Pittington, having as principal rooms: a drawing and dining room both measuring 17' x 15', a study 16' x 10', and four bedrooms.¹

Of the six Episcopal livings in Figure 5 without, or possessing an unfit, residence house only the parish of Gateshead Fell had managed to acquire a parsonage before 1857. In the Episcopal Visitation of that year the incumbent of St. Helen's Auckland complained that his house was "unfit for residence and has been so for some years," while the incumbents of Escomb, Medomsley and St. John's, Sunderland informed the Bishop that they were still without proper residence houses.²

Between 1800 and 1851 the Bishops of Durham saw the parochial structure of the county expand with the creation of thirty-nine

1. SR. MSS. Parsonage Houses, Shadforth.

2. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1857 Episcopal Visitation.

new livings having cure of souls. Of these, twelve were in Episcopal patronage,¹ while four others were in the alternate gift of the Bishop and the Crown.² In addition three parochial chapels, Winlaton, Penshaw and Sadberge had been separated from their mother churches, and with their elevation in status their patronage became vested in the Bishop. Both Winlaton and Penshaw possessed glebe houses, though the one at Penshaw had to be rebuilt in 1857.³ Sadberge had no house and as late as 1860 was still without one.⁴

The first result of Van Mildert's reform policy had been the creation of two new separate ecclesiastical districts at Etherley and Shildon out of the parish of St. Andrew, Auckland. Following the completion of the new church at Etherley the incumbent, George Watson, primarily at his own expense, erected a parsonage house at a cost of £900. Of this sum Van Mildert contributed £200 and Lord Crewe's Trustees £25.⁵ James Manisty the incumbent of Shildon was not so fortunate, for Van Mildert's death in 1836 left him in the possession of a living "without any stipend whatever being legally attached to it - nor glebe nor house".⁶ In 1839 he entered into a long correspondence with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in an effort to procure financial assistance for the building of a residence house. He first approached the Commissioners on 26 June of that year.⁷

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1. The new Episcopal benefices were: Byers Green; St. Thomas, Collierly; St. Andrew, Deptford; Etherley; Gateshead Fell; Hetton-le-Hole; Hylton; Rainton; Ryhope; Shildon; Holy Trinity, Stockton.
 2. Benfieldside; St. John, Darlington; All Saints, Monkwearmouth and St. Cuthberts, Stella.
 3. Winlaton was constituted a rectory, 6 November, 1832. Penshaw became a separate parish by Order in Council, 15 May, 1838.
 4. Sadberge was separated from the mother church of Haughton-le-Skerne in 1856.
 5. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol. I, p. 609.
 6. CC. MSS. General file, Durham Bishopric Estates, MS. Augmentation of certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham, Shildon James Manisty to C. K. Murray, Heighington, 26 June, 1839.
 7. Ibid.

"I beg the favour of your informing me whether the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would have the power of assisting me in the building of a parsonage - I am totally unable to discharge any duty as I reside at a distance of three miles and am therefore making every effort to raise means for erecting a Parsonage - the Sum required for purchase of land and for building can not be computed at less than £200.

I am willing to mortgage and	£400
to subscribe	£50
A layman in my parish has pro-	
mised	£100
and the Bishop of Durham	£26-5

P.S. The population of my Parish is at least 4,000 and increasing monthly - 2 places of worship - 2 miles asunder - and I am living nearly 3 miles from the church - 5 from the chapel - both of which I serve in turn".

Manisty's efforts were unrewarded. Ten years later he again solicited assistance from the Commissioners and accompanied his request with the following "Statement of particulars respecting the Parish of Shildon".¹

"In 1834 a new church was erected and district assigned out of the Parish of St. Andrew Auckland, and Revd. James Manisty M.A. appointed by Bishop Van Mildert with a promise from him to endow with £200 per ann. and build a Parsonage and afterwards to increase the endowment to £300 p.a.

.... 1836 arrived - the Bishop's decease suddenly occurred and nothing had been done except that the plans for the Parsonage were prepared.

.... I laid before the Commissioners in 1836, an earnest application made for the carrying out of the Bishop's [] from the surplus revenues of the See - I was informed that the Commissioners had no power to authorize the building of a parsonage. Another urgent application was made to the late Archbishop requesting the endowment of £300 which would enable me to incur the needful outlay - the proposition I also submitted to the Commissioners of 1836 and 7 - but I was given to understand that they were then unable to accede to it - and the decision came to was £225 per annum out of the surplus revenues of the See of Durham - but no house.

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Shildon. No.6085. James Manisty to C. K. Murray, Shildon, 9 July, 1849.

During the four subsequent years I continued to reside in a neighbouring parish 3 miles distant - but finding that without a residence among my people I was effecting little improvement - I resolved to borrow under Gilberts Act sufficient to build a small house - with so limited an income I could not venture to borrow more than £530¹ - upon which I have had to pay annually from £37 to £33 interest - Assisted by subscriptions from the present Earl of Eldon and the Bishop of Durham - a Parsonage was erected - in 1841 of as small dimensions as possible and one object of the present application is, to obtain a grant to enable me to make a little addition for the accommodation of a family of eight children.

Perhaps in making such a statement, I ought to add, that by a grant kindly afforded me by the Pastoral Aid Society, and a handsome subscription of £20 from the Bishop of Durham to meet it, I have been enabled for two years to enjoy the aid of a curate, most important at any time among a population like mine of nearly 4,000 persons - but invaluable to a clergyman whose health had become broken by over exertion (and by the additional exposure to all kinds of weather for 7 years necessarily incurred by distance of Residence) so much that for several months in 1845 I was incapacitated"

It was not until 7 August, 1851, after Bishop Maltby had created a fund for building parsonage houses in the Diocese that Manisty was to receive any financial assistance for the improvement of his house.

1. The Maltby Fund

Appeals to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for assistance took time and evidence has shown that, among others, Bishop Maltby felt the Diocese of Durham was not receiving adequate consideration for its local claims. In 1848 on his own initiative Maltby wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury outlining a scheme for making available money for the building and repairing of parsonage houses throughout his diocese.²

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1. P.P. 1847-48, XLIX, p.201. The money was borrowed on 20 June, 1840.
 2. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund and general file. No.11541. Bishop of Durham to Archbishop of Canterbury, Upper Portland Place, 22 May, 1848.

"You, who are so well acquainted with the circumstances and wants of the Diocese of Durham, need not be told how fortunate I consider it for the See that its income during my Incumbency proved larger than could have been calculated.

Owing to that unexpected competition in iron and coals, which caused the original increase, but which neither the general state of trade, nor the peculiar circumstances of the world at present will warrant us in considering permanent, the increase of Episcopal income has been maintained hitherto, I, therefore, find myself enabled and justified in offering to place the yearly sum of £2000 at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. I propose to pay to the account of W. Murray at the Bank of England the sum of £1000 on the 1st of July next and the like sum of £1000 at the expiration of every succeeding half year.

Your Grace and the Commissioners will be best judges as to the mode of employing this sum. It will be gratifying to me if any part of it can be made available to the increased comfort of deserving clergymen with ill-endowed livings in a large population".

The Commissioners agreed to administer Maltby's benefaction and that it should be applied towards providing parsonage houses within the Diocese of Durham.¹ With the Bishop's concurrence the Commissioners formulated a general policy for distributing what subsequently became known as the Maltby Fund.

Incumbents seeking financial assistance would apply either to Maltby himself, or to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who would, after consultation with Maltby, grant sums not exceeding £400. As was the policy when making their own parsonage grants, the Commissioners insisted the houses be built to their specifications, and that their architect be employed. Grants were made only to meet benefactions. Unconditional grants were made only to those incumbents who already possessed an additional benefaction large enough to ensure that once started the house would be completed. In other cases where incumbents applied

1. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund, general file, No.11541. Assistant Secretary to the Bishop of Durham, Whitehall, 5 May. 1849.

without other financial assistance in hand, only conditional grants were made. In such instances a sum would be appropriated and held in the name of a particular living until such time as the incumbent could raise the additional money needed for building. Grants were reserved for no longer than one year, and in the event of the incumbent failing to raise the requisite sum, the offer would lapse. He was, however, given the option to re-apply.

With this latter point there developed some concern as to the real value of the Maltby Fund. As money was only being granted to meet benefactions, a number of the Durham parochial clergy found themselves unable to benefit. Many in great need of parsonage houses, especially those in charge of new populous and ill-endowed ecclesiastical districts were so poor and "have so few friends who can help them that they have been unable to produce the amount of benefactions necessary to obtain a grant" Thus it seemed that the greater the incumbent's need the less chance he had of procuring a parsonage.¹

The names of those benefices applying for grants were regularly forwarded to Maltby, who in turn advised the Commissioners as to the urgency of each case. The Commissioners would then distribute grants on the Bishop's recommendations.

What appears to be the first such correspondence occurred shortly after the Bishop's initial proposal creating the Fund. In an undated letter to J. J. Chalk, Maltby put forward the following cases for consideration.²

1. P.P. 1857-58, XLXI, p.559.

2. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund, general file, No.2211. Bishop of Durham to J. J. Chalk undated. Though without a date Maltby referred in his letter to the Commissioners agenda of 20 July, 1848 which was two months after his initial proposal. All subsequent correspondence is dated after 20 July.

"It would be desirable to have a parsonage built at Hunwick, a district lately separated from Bishop Auckland but not endowed - a church has been built, and services performed there two or three years the Minister paid by the Bishop.

A parsonage is much wanted at Escomb endowment of about £200 per annum only.

But a Parsonage is more especially required at the new District of Benfieldside near Shotley Bridge, under Sir Robert Peel's Act. The population has grown enormously, but the proprietors and lessees under the See are chiefly Dissenters and will not do anything for the church. We hope soon to have a church built and a Parsonage is a great consideration.

In the District of Stella near Winlaton - in that of Byers Green near Bishop Auckland - and of Bank Top in Darlington the clergymen have respectively been engaged in raising subscriptions for a Parsonage House, and have partly, but not wholly succeeded. Some assistance in each of these cases would be very desirable.

A new church has been built and consecrated at Gateshead, and it is proposed to have a District to be called the Trinity District. I apprehend a Parsonage would be very desirable there".

It was during the course of this early correspondence that much of the policy governing these grants was in fact worked out. In answer to the above letter the Commissioners first mentioned their decision to make conditional grants.¹

"In some cases, Byers Green for instance a considerable sum has been raised and if a grant were made a house would, in all probability, be soon built, but in some I fear there is so little probability of any local assistance that it would seem almost useless to make a grant at present or possibly it might be made conditionally on a sufficient sum for building a house being raised by subscription, not by mortgage of the living, within a given time say twelve months".

Before the first grants were made, the Commissioners presented Maltby with a further list which included the names of Barnard Castle, South Shields and Benfieldside as benefices

1. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund and general file, No. 11541. J. J. Chalk to Edward Maltby, White Hall, 5 May, 1849.

seeking assistance. Maltby replied that there could not:¹

"possibly be a better selection than Barnard Castle, where the population is large, the income of the living is small

South Shields also with its large population and the contracted incomes of the clergy, present very strong claims to attention but it has a resource in the liberality of the Dean and Chapter, who have considerable property there, and are never backward in listening to any claims, which can be reasonably urged.

I was in hopes, that Mr. Thompson, the incumbent of Benfieldside would have been in a condition to urge his claim. The District is extremely populous, men of great wealth are plying their works to a great extent chiefly in iron - But they are, almost to a man, Dissenters, and unfortunately very narrow minded. I have been endeavouring to negotiate with one of them for a piece of land for the site of the Parsonage, but he has hitherto refused because it is to accommodate a clergyman of different faith from his own, I trust, however, that by the aid of Mr. Wilson who has property in the place and who takes a warm interest in the church, these obstacles may be surmounted, and that Mr. Thompson may soon present himself as an applicant for a grant".

At the first distribution of Maltby Fund grants, all of the aforementioned parishes were recipients. The following table indicates the amounts of these initial expenditures and notes whether the house was completed² before 1857.

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1. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund and general file, No.11541. Maltby to Chalk, no date. This letter was written before 1 November, 1850.
 2. P.P. 1851, XXII, p.427.

Figure 10

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Amount granted</u>	<u>House built before 1857</u>
Barnard Castle	£400	Yes (1850)
Benfieldside	£400	Yes (1853)
Birtley	£300	Yes (unknown)
Byers Green	£280	Yes (1851)
Ingleton	£350	No
Holy Trinity, South Shields	£400	Yes (unknown)
St. Stephen, South Shields	£300	Yes (unknown)
Stella	£100	Yes (1851)
Wolviston	£220	Repairs

The chapel at Ingleton, located within the parish of Staindrop, was built in 1844. The glebe house, built on a site donated by a parishioner was completed at a cost of £785, of which £322 was collected by subscription, while the incumbent provided £113 himself.¹ The perpetual curate of Wolviston, Lancelot Clarke, addressed a memorial to the Commissioners requesting £200 from the fund to cover the cost of parsonage repairs.²

"The Parsonage House was formerly part of a Brewery and was purchased nearly forty years ago by my predecessor for £300 your memorialist not being able to obtain any means from the last incumbents widow, was under the necessity of expending above £120 or more than the annual income of the living, upon repairing it".

Clarke's application was supported by Bishop Maltby:

"Mr. Clarke is a distressed man, with a very large family and some assistance from the Commissioners towards the repair of his house would be well applied".

The actual cost of the alterations had been £260. As Clarke's initial request had been for only £200 the Commissioners

1. CC. MSS., Benefice files, Staindrop.

2. Ibid., Billingham No.7454. L. C. Clarke to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 8 February, 1850.

secretary wrote to the Bishop asking if in his judgement the extra expenditure had been necessary. Maltby replied that indeed it had and suggested that if the grant were increased to £220 he would help Clarke with the remainder. In this same letter the Bishop encouraged the Commissioners to question incumbents' proposed expenditures saying that he personally felt "clergymen are too anxious to have large premises, and that if they have prospect of much assistance from other quarters, they are not sufficiently active in availing themselves of resources, which with the kindness of friends and neighbours may be within their reach".¹

During the first year of the Fund's existence, requests for grants outstripped the availability of money. Increasing demand necessitated that Maltby determine from amongst the applicants the most necessitous cases. On 5 May, 1849 Chalk wrote to the Bishop informing him that with "applications being more numerous than can at present be entertained, I have prepared a list, which I enclose, and to which I would request your attention".² Complying with this request, Maltby wrote the following letter.³

"It is difficult to make a distinction in cases, where all stand greatly in need, and all deserve, but I would place the other Districts, wanting Parsonage Houses, in the following order, and I may add a hope that the fund may, in no long time, give something for all.

Darlington
South Shields
St. Alban, Heworth
Usworth
Escomb"

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1. CC. MSS., Benefice files, Wolviston. Edward Maltby to J. J. Chalk, Portland Place, 20 May, 1850.
 2. Ibid., Heworth, St. Alban. No.3239. Chalk to Maltby, Whitehall, 5 May, 1849.
 3. Ibid., Maltby to Chalk, 4 Upper Portland Place, 7 May, 1849.

The Reverend E. H. Adamson, incumbent of Heworth, St. Alban, was notified on 6 April, 1850 that his request for assistance had had to be further postponed due to a lack of funds and could not be "entertained until a further sum has been received".¹ In February, 1851 Adamson again sought assistance from the Maltby Fund but was advised on 14 February of that year that unless he could secure a benefaction, his request must be further postponed.² Twelve days later, however, he was offered a conditional grant of £300 which was later increased to £400. By 1856 a house had been completed at the moderate cost of £800.

The question of poverty preventing certain benefices from securing grants was discussed before the Estates Committee in 1856. In answer to such fears it was admitted that on the surface it would seem that an incumbent might be hampered in his efforts to build a parsonage if he was without additional funds.³

"We have not thought it right to pay more than £400 as a grant, but it is seldom possible to build a substantial glebe house for less than £900. Consequently, either by borrowing of Queen Anne's Bounty or by contributions from private sources, the incumbent must produce at least another £500. In many cases they are unable to do that, and consequently they are unable to avail themselves of the grant".

On closer examination, however, it is evident that the Commissioners went to great lengths to aid less fortunate incumbents.

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Heworth, St. Alban. No.3339. J. J. Chalk to the Rev. E. H. Adamson, Whitehall, 5 May, 1842.
 2. Ibid., MSS. Estate Committee correspondence: 6 April, 1850; 14 February, 1851; 24 June, 1854. The pressure on the fund had become such that Maltby doubled his half yearly payment on 31 December, 1851. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund and general file. No.11541. Maltby to Chalk, Auckland Castle, 31 December, 1851.
 3. P.P. 1857-58, XLVI, p.559. First Report of the Estates Committee, Minutes of Evidence, 29 February, 1856.

The following benefices were awarded conditional grants, and when the incumbents of each in turn was unable to raise the requisite money for construction, the Commissioners extended their grants for additional terms.¹

Figure 11

Benefice	Amount of grant	Dates of renewals
Heworth, St. Alban	£300	7 March, 1852; 4 June, 1853; 2 July, 1854
Hunwick	£400	26 June, 1852; 14 June, 1853; March, 1854
Jarrow	£400	9 September, 1852; 11 November, 1853
Monkwearmouth, All Saints	£350	26 February, 1852; 25 June, 1853
Seaham Harbour	£200	1 August, 1852; 2 August, 1853; 2 July, 1854

As early as 28 December, 1842 the Rev. Hugh Nanney, perpetual curate of Jarrow, had applied to the Commissioners for assistance in building a house but none was forthcoming.² Still without adequate provisions for residence, his successor, the Rev. J. M. Mason³ sought assistance from the Maltby Fund in 1850 during the period of the Fund's financial difficulties.

1. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund and general file, No.11541.

2. Ibid., Benefice file, Jarrow. No.3549. Hugh Nanney to C. K. Murray, Jarrow, 28 December, 1842.

3. Mason was party in a dispute involving the parishioners and the Rev. J. C. Carr over who should succeed the retiring Nanney. Mason had been Nanney's subcurate and on the announcement of the incumbent's intention to retire, the parishioners expressed a wish to have Mason succeed him. At the same time the Rev. J. C. Carr, a son of John Carr, Esq., of Dunston Hall, Durham, sought the nomination. On his son's behalf John Carr offered an £800 benefaction to the lay patrons of the livings, which they accepted, and who in turn nominated J. C. Carr as Nanney's successor. This situation was brought to Maltby's attention who, considering this transaction simoniacal, ordered the Vicar General's office to issue an order of sequestration. It was thought that Maltby intended to present a new clergyman to the living and Carr and his supporters prepared to take the affair to a higher court, however, instead, Mason was offered and accepted the living and there the case was dropped. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.746.

His request was forwarded to Maltby who replied:¹

"As to Jarrow, I can have no hesitation in recommending a liberal grant. Mr. Mason is a deserving clergyman and his services are very valuable to the people".

The Estate Committee granted £400 on 9 September, 1851, on the usual condition that the balance of the money needed for construction be raised within twelve months. This Mason was unable to do but the Commissioner's patience and two renewals saw a house completed in 1856.²

Between 1848 and 1856 there were only five benefices in the Archdeaconry whose requests for grants from the Maltby Fund were refused outright. Of the incumbents given conditional grants only the incumbents of two failed to find the additional financial assistance necessary in order to benefit from the Fund. The following table gives the names of those livings refused grants with the reasons for the refusal and the names of those benefices whose grants had lapsed before 1 March, 1856.³

Figure 12

Grants refused

Benefice

- Forest Chapel and Harwood chapel in the parish of Middleton-in-Teesdale - No district assigned.
- Grindon V. - Circumstances not considered such as call for a grant.
- Hart V. - Application being for a grant to liquidate mortgage debt to Queen Anne's Bounty.⁴
- Whorlton P.C. - Population under 300. Vicarage largely endowed in the patronage of Trinity College, Cambridge who own the Rectorial tithes of the parish.⁵

Grants lapsed

Benefice

Amount of grant

Birtley P.C.	£150	Inability of incumbent to procure funds.
Crook P.C.	£300	"

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Jarrow, No.3550. Copies of the First Report of the Estates Committee, Minutes of Evidence.
2. P.P. 1857-58, XLVI, p.297. First Report of the Estates Committee, Minutes of Evidence. The cost of the house was £941.
3. Ibid.
4. P.P. 1847-48, XLIX, p.201. Hart mortgaged for £300, 19 February, 1847.
5. In 1861 the Vicarage of Gainford was worth £1100 p.a.

During the same period Bishop Maltby had supplied the Estates Committee with annual sums amounting in total to £21,275.¹ By 1 November, 1856 thirty-three benefices in the Archdeaconry of Durham in lay, Capitular and Episcopal patronage had received a total of forty-seven grants from the Maltby Fund. Of these the incumbents of two received grants for the repair of existing houses, the parsonages of two cures were building and twenty-five parishes had been provided with new houses by 1857. Figure 13 is a comprehensive breakdown of all those benefices in the Archdeaconry receiving Maltby Fund grants, and indicates the amounts granted and whether or not parsonages were completed before 1857.

Figure 13

Maltby Fund grants during the years preceding
1 November, 1851²

- 1. Benefice
- 2. Amount of grant
- 3. In addition to a previous grant.
- 4. House built before 1857.³

1	2	3	4
Byers Green	£70	X	X 1851
Crook	£300		lapsed
Deptford	£400		X
Escomb	£300		X
Etherley	£150		X
Hamsterley	£200		X
Heworth, St. Alban	£300		X
Hunwick	£400		X 1855
Jarrow	£400		X 1855
Monkwearmouth All Saints	£350		X 1854
Penshaw	£400		building
Seaham Harbour	£200		No
Shildon	£100		X
Stockton, Holy Trinity	£300		X
Thornley, Wolsingham	£300		

1. P.P. 1857-58, XLVI, p.559. First Report of Estates Committee, Minutes of Evidence, 29 February, 1856.
2. P.P. 1851, XXII, p.427. Appendix to Fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England.
3. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1857 Episcopal Visitation.

Figure 13 (Contd.)

1	2	3	4
<u>Maltby Fund grants made during the year preceding 1 November, 1852¹</u>			
St. Helen, Auckland	£400		No
Birtley	£100	X	X
Kelloe	£288		Repairs 1852
Muggleswick	£200		Repairs
Southwick	£150		
Thornley, Kelloe	£350		X
Thornley, Wolsingham	£100	X	X 1854
<u>Maltby Fund grants made during the years preceding 1 November, 1853²</u>			
Belmont	£350		
Billingham	£300		X
Darlington, St. John	£350		
Darlington, Holy Trinity	£300		
Hartlepool, St. Hilda	£300		No
Hartlepool, Holy Trinity	£400		X 1856
Kelloe	£111	X	X 1854
Monkwearmouth, St. Peter	£200		
Southwick	£50	X	
Usworth	£400		No
<u>Maltby Fund grants made during the years preceding 1 November, 1854³</u>			
Belmont	£50	X	No
Hartlepool, West	£400		No
Heworth, St. Albans	£100	X	X
Monkwearmouth, St. Peter	£100	X	X 1854
<u>Maltby Fund grants made during the years preceding 1 November, 1855⁴</u>			
Collierly	£400		No
Darlington, St. John	£50	X	X
Hartlepool, St. Hilda	£100	X	No
Hylton	£300		X
Monkwearmouth, All Saints	£50	X	X
<u>Maltby Fund grants made during the years preceding 1 November, 1856⁵</u>			
Darlington, St. John	£25	X	X
Darlington, Holy Trinity	£100	X	No
Hetton-le-Hole	£300		No
Hylton	£100	X	X
Muggleswick	£200	X	X
Southwick	£300	X	building

1. P.P. 1852-53, XL, p.128. General Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

2. P.P. 1854, XIX, p.92.

3. P.P. 1854-55, XV, p.176.

4. P.P. 1856, XVIII, p.103.

5. P.P. 1857, III, p.445.

Of the sixteen benefices in lay patronage without parsonages in 1832 five of these were still without houses in 1857. To this figure must be added the names of the parishes of Crook and Seaham Harbour, two newly created benefices in lay patronage which had not been provided with glebe houses, and the names of the parishes of Elton, Hunstanworth and Tanfield, whose parsonages by that date ceased to be considered fit for residence. The following table names the above parishes and indicates their patrons.¹

Figure 14

Castle Eden	Rowland Burdon, Esq.
Chester-le-Street	Lady Byron and Charles Holliffe, Esq.
Crook	R. D. Shafto
St. Nicholas, Durham	Marquis of Londonderry
Elton	J. J. Sutton, Esq., J. Hogg, Esq., and T. Hogg, Esq.
Hunstanworth	Rev. D. Copper
Middleton St. George	H. A. N. Cocks, Esq.
Seaham Harbour	Marquis of Londonderry
Staindrop	Duke of Cleveland

The vicarage of Staindrop was without a glebe house throughout the eighty-two years of this study. In March, 1860 the Vicar, John G. Pearson, informed the Commissioners that for a residence house he was dependent upon the munificence of his patron the Duke of Cleveland who "allowed the former incumbent to occupy a house about half a mile from the parish church at a nominal rent, and may probably continue it to his successors but doing so or not is entirely at the option of his grace".²

John Bird Sumner's resignation from the second stall of Durham Cathedral in 1848³ saw the endowment of that prebend,

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1857 Episcopal Visitation.

2. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1860 Archidiaconal Visitation of Charles Thorp.

3. For the See of Chester.

which included the rectorial tithes of Castle Eden, pass into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In an effort to provide a residence house for the perpetual curate of that living, Rowland Burdon, impropriator of the vicarial tithes and patron, offered to seel a house to the curacy if the Commissioners would re-endow the living with the great tithes.¹ At a general meeting of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on 1 November, 1849, following a surveyor's report of the said house, it was resolved that "the house in question is not such a one as they would feel justified in permanently annexing to the living."² Thereafter the curate continued to reside in the house that had been, since 1830, provided by the patron rent free.³

Both Crook and St. John's, Seaham Harbour, had been created in answer to the increasing need for additional church accommodation. On 7 June, 1840 the Church at Seaham Harbour was opened,⁴ and on 15 February, 1843 the patron the Marchioness of Londonderry petitioned Lord Crewe's Trustees⁵ for a grant to assist the building of a residence house, but her request was refused. On 19 July of the same year the Marchioness turned to the Dean and Chapter of Durham for money, but in view of their already substantial involvement with the building and endowing of St. John's, they too refused to subscribe to the parsonage house fund.⁶ In 1857 the chapelry district of Seaham containing a population in excess of 3,500 souls was still without a residence house.⁷

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Castle Eden. Edward Copleston, Bishop of Llandaff to J. J. Chalk. Offwell cum Honiton, 18 March, 1849.
 2. Ibid., Minutes of a General Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 1 November, 1849.
 3. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1860 Archidiaconal Visitation of Charles Thorp; CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Castle Eden.
 4. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.591.
 5. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 15 February, 1843.
 6. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 19 July, 1843.
 7. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1860 Archidiaconal Visitation of Charles Thorp.

The parochial chapelry of Crook formed out of the parish of Brancepeth had a population of over 4,000 inhabitants. The new church completed in 1843, was in the gift of R. D. Shafto of Whitworth Park who did nothing to assist with providing a glebe house. The 1860 Archidiaconal Visitation indicates no house had been provided by that date.¹

Residence houses were provided in the following parishes by 1857.²

Figure 15

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Year built</u>	<u>Patron</u>
St. Cuthbert's, Darlington	1856	Duke of Cleveland
St. Giles, Durham	1849	Marquis of Londonderry
Hamsterley	1851	Owners of Witton Castle
Heworth	1837	Cuthbert Ellison, Sir William Clavering, and T. D. Brown
Jarrow	1855	"
Lamesley	1841	Lord Ravensworth
St. Peter's, Monkwearmouth	1854	Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart
Seaton Carew	1832-34	Mrs. Barbara Lawson

After building a new church at Seaton Carew, the patron and benefactor, Mrs. Barbara Lawson of Aldborough and Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, and her son, the Rev. James Lawson, the first incumbent, provided a further £706 to build a parsonage house. The completed house was similar in plan to those already discussed, having a parlour, study and six bedrooms.³

The effort to provide a parsonage for the incumbent of St. Giles, Durham began in 1841 as an indirect result of the Marquis of Londonderry's proposed scheme to build and endow a new church in his town, Seaham Harbour. Negotiations with the Dean and Chapter of Durham and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were complicated when the Durham Chapter insisted that

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1860 Archidiaconal Visitation of Charles Thorp.
 2. Ibid., 1857 Episcopal Visitation.
 3. DCRO MS. Seaton Carew, EP/CCL/10.

Londonderry further augment his perpetual curacy of St. Giles before they would assist the granting of certain tithes in their possession to the Seaham Harbour church. In a letter dated 21 June, 1841 Londonderry, alive to the question of local claims, sought an augmentation for St. Giles from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. To encourage their assistance he outlined the parish's urgent need for a parsonage and informed them of his intention to donate a site.¹

"The fact is the living of St. Giles, in Durham of which I am Patron is so extremely small, only £90 per ann. No glebe house to dwell in, and with a Parish so enormous, from the collieries increasing so rapidly around that it is almost impossible to procure an incumbent.

It is a peculiar case and deserves the early attention of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, I am willing to do what I can but a few years since I expended near £400 on the church which was entirely in a dilapidated condition.

When one thinks of such a Parish close to Durham City where there is a Bishop, College, Dean and Chapter, etc., without a Dwelling House for the clergyman and a Population in the Parish of 8 or 9,000 it is something almost unparalleled, and when the large funds that have been abstracted from Durham are considered surely this is a (case) for some especial interference of the Commissioners.

P.S. The living is now vacant and it is hardly possible to get a person to fill it."²

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, Durham City. No.2280. Marquis of Londonderry to J. J. Chalk, Holderness House, 21 June, 1841.
 2. Londonderry since 1828 had been having a difficult time keeping curates. In the thirteen years between that date and 1841 there had been five incumbents at St. Giles, none of whom remained longer than four years. In a letter to the Bishop of Durham, 17 February, 1841, Londonderry had written that with the loss of his latest curate, William Cassidi recently collated to the vicarage of Grindon he was unable to find a replacement. Londonderry had offered the cure to James Cundill "a most excellent young man Mr. Strong's (Thomas Linwood Strong, Rector of Sedgefield) curate at Sedgefield. He declined it on the consideration of its great duties, the immense population of the District and the very small remuneration of £90 per annum. I despair of getting any Durham clergyman to accept it. It is true I can go elsewhere and to Ireland but there is more doubt as to a proper individual". It should be noted that Cassidi was a graduate of Trinity, Dublin. Ibid.

Londonderry's request for financial assistance was rejected on the grounds that the "state of their funds prevented them from augmenting livings in Private patronage".¹

On 6 February, 1843 the incumbent of St. Giles, Francis Thompson, again laid the case of St. Giles before the Commissioners. In the following letter he informed them as to what steps had been taken towards the building of a glebe house.²

"The population of the parish according to the census of 1841 is 3,416 but is very rapidly increasing. There is no parsonage, or property in land or houses in the parish, belonging to the Benefice. For some years, the successive Incumbents have exerted themselves to provide a parsonage and the results of their endeavours is as follows - In the year 1831 Lord Crewe's Trustees rated the sum of £50 for the above purpose, and paid it into the hands of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty - In the same year the cure was approved for augmentation by that Board, to the amount of £200 - In August 1842 the Trustees of the Pyncombe and Flormer Charity informed me that their grant of £100 would be paid in aid of the living of St. Giles, as soon as the like sum was paid into the hands of the Treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty and the living approved for augmentation. There also remains a sum of £21-8-10 appropriated to the living from the Parliamentary Grant Fund, and I have raised by subscription the sum of £50 for the above purpose - The Patrons of the Living also offer a most eligible site for a parsonage house provided the necessary funds can be raised to build one.

Having placed the above particulars before the Bounty Board I have received in answer the following letter dated 31 January, 1843. 'Rev. Sir, The Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty recommended your proposal of a Benefaction to be met with an Augmentation be submitted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on account of the population exceeding 1000'.

Now as the cheapness of labour and materials, and their local circumstances enable me to say that the sum of £500 will complete the house I am anxious to build, I am induced to hope that when the circumstances of my case are taken into consideration, you will kindly assist me in my understanding either by acting in concert with the Bounty Board or in what ever way you shall please think fit".

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, Durham City. No.2208. Bishop of Durham to Lord Londonderry, Curzon Street. 19 June, 1841.
 2. Ibid., Francis Thompson to Ecclesiastical Commissioners. St. Giles, Durham, 6 February, 1843.

By October 1843 Thompson's request had still not been acceded to and he again wrote to the Commissioners saying "I find the want of a parsonage to be a serious inconvenience. I venture again to apply for assistance from you for the purpose of building one". He went on enlarging upon his previous letter.¹

"I learn from an experienced architect, that for the sum of £600 a small, convenient parsonage may be built well adapted to the site and to the circumstances of the living - I therefore beg of you to grant me such aid as will enable me to avail myself of the offers above mentioned".

It was not until October 1845 that the first steps were taken by all parties concerned for the construction of a parsonage. Chalk informed Thompson that though "Lord Londonderry has executed the Deed of Grant, the whole business is not yet completed".² Thompson replied to "ask whether the business is in that state which would justify my directing the Commissioners Architect to furnish plans and in fact proceed with the building".³ In answer Chalk wrote that as the site for the parsonage house had not been properly conveyed to the living "no steps can be taken towards building the house".⁴

By 7 March, 1846 Thompson had not yet been advised of the final settlement of the site. He wrote once again to the Commissioners:⁵

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, Durham City. No.2208. Francis Thompson to Ecclesiastical Commissioners. St. Giles, Durham, 19 October, 1843.
 2. Londonderry had agreed to grant to the incumbent of St. Giles a rent charge of £54 p.a. arising from his Seaham estates. In turn the Ecclesiastical Commissioners undertook to augment the cure with annual payments of £36, part of which was to be applied towards the building of a parsonage. Ibid., Seaham. No.33033. John Gregson (Londonderry's solicitor) to J. J. Chalk, 22 November, 1843. See also pp.39-43.
 3. Ibid., St. Giles op.cit. Francis Thompson to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 8 October, 1845.
 4. Ibid., J. J. Chalk to F. Thompson, 6 December, 1845.
 5. Ibid., F. Thompson to J. J. Chalk, 7 March, 1846.

"As it is nearly three months since the abstract of the site of the parsonage here, was handed over to the Solicitors of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and a full three years since the site was offered by the patrons for the purpose and as there appears to be no obstacle to the commencement of the building, except that of the conveyance of the site, may I again enquire whether there is any, and what prospect of the patronage being proceeded with in the present year".

It was not until 7 September, 1846 that Thompson received notification that the "work may be commenced with as little delay as possible. Herewith I send you the plans and contract for the erection of this house".¹ In spite of the go-ahead, however, delays continued and seventeen months later the house was still in its most elementary stage of construction. On 24 February, 1848 Thompson informed the Commissioners of "land springs" that were complicating the completion of the basement. The additional costs thus incurred were estimated to be £69 of which the incumbent agreed to contribute "his proportion".² Finally, on 9 August, 1848 Thompson was able to report that his house "is so far completed that I am now residing in it, that I am satisfied with the work, and, so far as I can judge at present there is no reason to complain".³

On 4 December, 1848 Thompson had written to Chalk requesting the Commissioners settle all outstanding bills and to pay the £23 owed to him from the parsonage fund. He reminded the Commissioners that his "benefice is worth less than £200 p.a., that it is also Christmas and that I have had to pay the £35 promised by the Commissioners for an approach road and wall".⁴ Thompson seems to have received no satisfaction, for on 12 March

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, Durham City. No.2208. J. J. Chalk to F. Thompson 7 September, 1846.

2. Ibid., Reference is made to Thompson's letter in Chalk's report to the Commissioners of 24 February, 1848.

3. Ibid., F. Thompson to J. J. Chalk, 26 December, 1848.

4. Ibid., F. Thompson to J. J. Chalk, 26 December, 1848. In this letter Thompson made reference to his letter of 4 December.

1850 he again wrote to Chalk saying:¹

"I am miserably poor, and my parishioners are in the same plight - The Dean and Chapter of Durham take no interest in the benefice; it does not belong to them".

It appears that the back payments were not made, however, for when the books were finally closed the Commissioners had expended over £1,300 on the St. Giles parsonage. Lord Londonderry's contribution had been annual augmentations of the curate's income of £54.²

Included in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners first augmentation policy of 1841-42 had been the decision to make single grants of between a half and two-fifths of the cost to meet benefactions for the provision of residence houses. The conditions governing these grants were to be the same as those governing their ordinary augmentations to meet benefactions.³ Between 1841 and 1856 four Durham parishes benefited from such grants.

Figure 16

<u>Benefice</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Ryhope ⁴	Rector of Bishopwearmouth	1842	£400
Thornley (Kelloe) ⁵	Vicar of Kelloe	1845	£500
Wingate Grange ⁶	Curate of Castle Eden	1847	
St. Giles ⁷	Lord Londonderry	1848	£1317

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, St. Giles, Durham City. No.2208.
F. Thompson to J. J. Chalk, Durham, 12 March, 1850.

2. Ibid.

3. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.353.

4. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.438 and CC. MSS. Return of the Amounts Received from the Ecclesiastical Revenues of the Diocese, from 1836 to 1855; and of the sums Expended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the same Diocese during the same period.

5. CC. MSS., 1832. N.B. file, Kelloe; CC. MSS. Benefice file, Kelloe. No.35292.

6. Ibid., Castle Eden.

7. Ibid., St. Giles, Durham City, op.cit.

In August 1843 the new district church of Thornley in the parish of Kelloe was consecrated by the Bishop of Durham. In 1843 the incumbent, Christopher Abbot, informed the Commissioners of his need for a residence. He wrote saying that of over 2,700 inhabitants in his district they are "almost entirely Pitmen, who are sadly in want of a resident minister amongst them, I am using my utmost endeavour to obtain, by subscription, the means for building a Parsonage".¹ Abbot's successful effort to raise money was rewarded by the Commissioners with a grant of £500 which was used to complete a house in 1844. As seems to have been usual, the finished cost of the house exceeded its estimated price. Abbot's successor, William Ashley Shute, requested assistance from the Commissioners for defraying the additional costs. Before more money was granted, however, the Commissioner's architect, William Railton, after inspecting the house cautioned C. K. Murray not to annex the final cost of the building. He was of the opinion that "by reason of the perishable nature of the materials and the inferior method of construction it would not be expedient".² The necessary funds were provided from the Maltby Fund.

The lack of church accommodation in the Parish of Chester-le-Street prompted the principal inhabitants to begin a subscription for the building of a district chapel at Pelton.³ The new church cost £1500 to build and was consecrated on 24 October, 1842. In February 1843 the Lord of the Manor, Lady Byron, offered a site for a much needed parsonage.⁴ The district

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1. CC. MSS., Benefice file, Kelloe. No.35392. Answers to inquiries made by the Commissioners, 1843.
 2. Ibid., William Railton (Commissioners Architect) to C. K. Murray, 4 October, 1844.
 3. Ibid., Pelton, No.16020, pts. 1 and 2, MS. entitled A Meeting of owners and occupiers of Land; Coal Owners, and others held in the village of Pelton, in the Parish of Chester-le-Street, December 10, 1839.
 4. CC. MSS. Benefice files, Pelton, No.5334. Henry Barrett to C. K. Murray, 22 February, 1843.

contained "a population of 2,500 scattered in several pit villages over an area of 12sq. miles, which population, from the remoteness of their situation and the difficulty of access to it, have suffered much from want of due religious instruction and offer a wide and important sphere of usefulness to a resident clergyman".¹ Through the exertions of the incumbent, Henry Barrett, nearly £450 was raised by subscription for the building of a house. This sum was matched by a £500 grant from the Commissioners, after which a house was completed to their specifications in 1845.²

Wherever parsonage house grants were made, the Commissioners usual practice was to insist upon the employment of their own architect, on the adoption of one of their designs, and undertook to supervise their construction.³ At Pelton, however, such supervision does not seem to have been made as the following indicates.⁴

"In 1845 I built this parsonage house aided by a grant of nearly £500 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners

An underground cellar was part of such plans (plans and specifications prepared under their authority) and was built seven feet deep - as soon as it was completed it became half full of water and so remained during the building of the House, supplying all the water used for slaking lime etc. - I was much disturbed at this and mentioned it to the contractor who assured me repeatedly "it was only day water (that is surface water) and would cease as soon as the house was covered in - No drain whatever was provided from this cellar.

I soon found that instead of being mere surface water that the cellar was always wet and in rainy weather would quickly stand two or three feet deep. To remedy this I made a surface drain - that failing an eight feet drain below the level of the cellar hoping the two wd.

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1. Ibid., MS. Memorial from Henry Barrett and Parishioners to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
 2. Ibid., Henry Barrett to J. J. Chalk, 19 June, 1855.
 3. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.354.
 4. CC. MSS. Benefice files, Pelton, No.5334. Henry Barrett to J. J. Chalk, 19 June, 1815.

intercept the water from the (hill) above - these not having the desired effect I made another close to the house and subsequently still another in a higher part above the part where the water seemed to arise -

All these failing and the water still flowing into the cellar or rather as we began now to fear rising in it I was driven at a great expense to make a drain 8 feet deep below the level of the cellar and carry it for a distance through the garden and the lower part of a field adjoining - 200 yards -

I have now found that great evil has been caused to the house from this continued rising of the water within the walls and that the whole wood work of the cellar has utterly perished - The ceiling fell in and showed us the joists and timbers of large measurement entirely decayed so that I could put my finger through the beams - after carefully propping (as the heavy stone floor of the hall was over) We have now built strong brick piers and traced the whole together by strong stone jambs - put a fresh flagging in cement upon the old floor and firmly underpinned the part where a subsidence had begun to show - since the house was built I have laid out above £250 in improvements - Exclusive of that cellar the cellar has cost me at least £75".

After inspection by an architect the Commissioners granted to the incumbent an additional £50.¹

The increasing colliery population in the parish of Kelloe that centred itself upon the village of Wingate Grange necessitated the building of an outlying church to provide for their spiritual needs. The most convenient location to build, adjacent to the village, was however within the bounds of the adjoining parish, Castle Eden, where indeed a church was completed in 1841.² Though built to minister to the needs of a population not their own both the incumbent and patron of Castle Eden assisted with the provisions being made for the pastoral oversight of the district.

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Pelton, No.5334, Henry Barrett to J. J. Chalk, 7 August, 1855.
 2. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Wingate Grange, No.7362. Memorial from the Rev. Robert Birkett and the Rev. John Burdon to the Commissioners, Kelloe, 23 February, 1842. In 1831 the population of Kelloe was returned at 663. In 1841 it had increased to over 11,000. Census, 1831 and 1841.

In 1842 the Rev. John Burdon, incumbent of Castle Eden, offered to start a subscription for the building of a parsonage at Wingate Grange, while his brother Richard, patron of Castle Eden, offered to convey a site. The Commissioners' response to their proposal was the offer of a grant of £300 on the condition that John Burdon raise a like sum.¹ On 30 September, 1842 John Burdon informed Chalk as to the progress of his efforts.²

"The Bishop £50, Mr. Rowld. Burdon, £50 - Lady Howden £50 - I have canvassed the Colliery owners, but have received no decided promise. I am in hopes they may be induced to give £100, but of this I am quite uncertain, more especially, in as much, as they have already given more than its usual among such parties towards the Church, the Chapter have declined to help me and the Diocesan Church Building Society do not extend grants to parsonages.

Now £600, I believe to be amply sufficient for building a house on the plan of the Commissioners, if only one of the rooms be omitted, and I am confident that any one acquainted with the place would consider it was throwing away money, to erect a house there which would cost more; and no family man who considered his ease and comfort would choose to fix his abode permanently among such a population".

Lack of funds forced Burdon to seek an alternate solution to building. His efforts were rewarded when the owners of Wingate Colliery offered to sell a house formerly used by one of their agents. On 4 March, 1843, Burdon proposed to the Commissioners the purchase of the already existing house.³

"Well Field (house) was a farm house but last year the Wingate Colliery laid out about £250 to make it a suitable residence for one of their agents. They now find they can do without it, if it were purchased for a parsonage it might be a saving to the Commissioners. The purchase of one acre of land would be £50 more. Total amount £460 to £480".

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1. *Ibid.*, Rev. John Burdon to C. K. Murray, 26 September, 1842.
 2. *Ibid.*, Rev. John Burdon to C. K. Murray, 30 September, 1842.
 3. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Wingate Grange, No.7362, Rev. John Burdon to J. J. Chalk, 3 March, 1843.

The Commissioners answered this proposal in a lengthy letter which illustrates their general policy towards providing parsonage houses, and which to a certain extent explains the proliferation of houses that have been called "monuments to the mid-nineteenth century of pastoral work".¹

"The proposals in your letter appear to be made with a view to effecting at once as much good as the small sums at your disposal will enable you, and this no doubt is to a certain extent desirable, while the commissioners, on the other hand though they are anxious to assist your endeavours which have been, as I know, very earnest, cannot but feel that in a spot so desolate it is desirable not merely to make such a temporary arrangement as may just enable you to get the services of some person in order to officiate for a short time, but to provide such a House as shall, without being really an expensive one to keep up, by its comforts and convenience combined with the new augmented Income hold out an inducement to some person of reputation and respectability to take the living with a view to containing there as permanently as on any other Living of equal value and thus do away with the constant change of incumbents which you very properly so much deplore.

I am inclined to think, looking at its situation and other circumstances stated by you, that it could not be made to accord with the principles I have explained and therefore that it would be better to build; but then the sum which you have in hand when doubled by the Commissioners would not I know be sufficient. The houses we build are completely finished including paper, paint, bells, chimney pieces, grates, oven, copper, kitchen, dresser, sink, watercloset with well, forcepump, etc., and in short such a house as a clergyman ought to have - Now we find that we have not been able in any part of England that we have as yet tried to build such a house under £1,000".

Unable to raise any more money Burdon again wrote to the Commissioners in an effort to persuade them to assist the building of a cheaper house or at least to allow the purchase of Well Field house. He wrote on 10 April, 1843 saying that

1. McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.28; CC. MSS. Benefice file, Wingate Grange. No.7362, J. J. Chalk to Rev. John Burdon, no date.

"I am satisfied that a suitable house may be completed according to the requirements of the Commissioners very much below £900". He went on to say that the incumbent of Wingate, Edward Boydell, had told him that the "Colliery Viewers house has not cost above £500, and as the Viewer is a gentleman who receives a salary of from £300 to £400 per ann. a parsonage costing £600 or £700 is as much as he could desire, the occupation of a large house would be a source of embarrassment and expense rather than advantageous".¹

The Commissioners refused to entertain the idea of purchasing Well Field house, but offered to pay half the cost of building one. When they informed Burdon that the lowest tender for the house had been £1,155² he wrote that unless some of the items included in the estimate could be dispensed with "it is improbable that we should proceed". He went on to say that he had already expended over £800 of his own money on the new church and school most of which he had been forced to borrow and that he personally supported the school with payments of £30 p.a.³

"It cannot be expected that I should do much more - indeed the place has no claims upon me whatever - The population was from the first entirely clear of my parish and I have no pecuniary interest whatever in the colliery or in the land connected with it. The only reason I concern myself at all about it, was because I found that nobody else was willing to make any exertion, or any sacrifice in the cause, and I saw plainly that unless I bestirred myself, the people would be suffered to continue in a state of the most deplorable neglect -"

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Wingate Grange, No.7362, Rev. John Burdon to J. J. Chalk, 10 April, 1843.
 2. CC. MSS. Benefice files, Wingate Grange, No.7362. C. K. Murray to Rev. John Burdon, 14 September, 1843.
 3. Ibid., Rev. John Burdon to J. J. Chalk, 15 September, 1843.

On 23 September, 1843¹ Burdon was notified that the tender could be reduced and in October was informed that the latest estimate for construction was £1,040.² In April, 1844 he forwarded the proceeds of his subscription, £460, to the Commissioners who made up the difference. The house was completed in 1847.³

As a result of the Commissioners resolutions of 15 August, 1843 four Durham incumbents received assistance with the construction of residence houses. After the creation of the Maltby Fund, however, they ceased to provide money for the construction of parsonages in the Diocese.

The results of the eighty-two years of parsonage building and repair may be found in Bishop Langley's Primary Visitation of 1857. Of the 131 parishes answering Langley's queries there were ninety-nine which possessed parsonages⁴ while in three others houses were in the process of being built. At the same time there were twenty-four parishes still without houses, and five others whose houses were considered unfit for residence. Of those twenty-nine without houses, eighteen were ancient parishes. The following table indicates the names and patrons of cures without residences or having one regarded as unfit for occupation.⁵

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1. Ibid., J. J. Chalk to Rev. John Burdon 23 September, 1843.
 2. Ibid., Rev. John Burdon to J. J. Chalk 23 October, 1843.
 3. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.386.
 4. Of these, five had been built since 1850.
 5. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1857 Episcopal Visitation.

Figure 17Episcopal patronageAncient parishes

Auckland, St. Helen¹
 Medomsley
 Penshaw¹
 Sadberge
 St. John's, Sunderland

Parishes created since 1820

St. Thomas, Collierley
 Hetton-le-Hole
 Rainton
 Stella

Lay patronage

Chester-le-Street
 St. Cuthbert's, Darlington
 St. Nicholas, Durham
 Elton¹
 Hunstanworth
 Middleton St. George
 Tanfield

Christ Church, West Hartlepool

Patronage in the hands of incumbents

Eggleston (R. of Middleton)
 Hartlepool (V. of Hart)¹
 Whorlton (V. of Gainford)

Hendon, St. Paul (R. of
 Bishopwearmouth)
 Usworth (R. of Washington)
 Shotton (R. of Easington)
 South Hetton (R. of Easington)
 Thornley (R. of Wolsingham)

Capitular patronage

Kirk Merrington

Archdeacon of Durham

Holy Trinity, Darlington

Archdeacon of Northumberland

St. Mary-le-Bow¹

Master and Brethren of Sherburn Hospital

Sockburn

As illustrated in Figure 4 of this Chapter, the Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment had been faced, in 1832, with the problem of providing adequate residence facilities in forty Archidiaconary parishes. Their situation was complicated by the simultaneous necessity to expand the parochial structure of

1. Unfit for residence.

the Diocese and to provide residences for new incumbents. In spite of the magnitude of the problem with which they were faced, the Diocesan Establishment responded, and their success in providing additional houses stands as testimony to the reform potential that had always been theirs. Clearly it is to Bishop Maltby that much of this success is owed. However, in spite of his generous donations for parsonage building, there were in 1857 more benefices without houses in Episcopal patronage than in any other.

While the Dean and Chapter had been singularly successful in providing residence houses, not only for the ancient parishes in their gift but also for the six new benefices created after 1831, lay and parochial patrons had done little. Of the cures in the patronage of parish incumbents without residences it should be noted that while the income of each averaged £150 p.a. their patron's average incomes were in excess of £1,300 p.a.

Both Diana McClatchey and Professor G. F. A. Best have alluded to a change that seems to have gradually taken place in the social status of the clergy.¹ Diana McClatchey, in her book The Oxfordshire Clergy, has pointed out that not only had the value of livings increased but that there were indications that "the men coming into the church in the middle of the nineteenth century were themselves of a different social standing from their predecessors a century earlier".² Her suggestion, based on Oxford University membership in the 1830's and 1840's, an examination of the clergy holding the two Queens College livings of South Weston and Bletchington, and after a detailed examination of the parentage of incumbents in the Deanery of

1. McClatchey, Oxfordshire, pp.25-29; Best, Temporal Pillars, p.409.
 2. McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.25.

Binchester between 1783 and 1865, was that the new parsonage houses "bespoke not only a change in the way of life of the Oxfordshire incumbents but also a rise in their social standing".¹

To make a similar study in the Archdeaconry of Durham has proved to be somewhat more difficult, as throughout the period of this study there was a high proportion of Cambridge graduates in the county whose parentage is difficult to ascertain. However, by examining incumbents' parentage, wherever possible, it can be suggested that in the Archdeaconry of Durham there was a corresponding upward trend in the social status of the clergy as the following table illustrates.²

Figure 18

<u>1774</u>	<u>Oxford</u>	<u>Cambridge</u>	<u>Durham</u>
Pleb.	4		
Farmer		2	
Merchant			
Barrister or Solicitor			
Doctor			
Clergyman	7	5	
Gentleman	8	3	
Equitis			
Arm.	5		
Bart.		1	
Bishop	1		
Nobility	1		
Total No. of graduate incumbents in the county	26	23	
<u>1792</u>			
Pleb.	4		
Farmer		1	
Merchant			
Barrister or Solicitor		1	
Doctor	1		
Clergyman	5	1	
Gentleman	16	8	
Equitis			
Arm.	9		
Bart.	1		
Bishop			
Nobility			
Total No. of graduate incumbents in the county	34	20	

1. Ibid., p.27.

2. U.A.B. & SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination Papers.

Figure 18 (Contd.)

<u>1814</u>	<u>Oxford</u>	<u>Cambridge</u>	<u>Durham</u>
Pleb.	2		
Farmer		1	
Merchant			
Barrister or Solicitor		1	
Doctor	1		
Clergyman	10		
Gentleman	10	7	
Equitis			
Arm.	6		
Bart.	1		
Bishop			
Nobility	1	1	
Total No. of graduate incumbents in the county	32	21	
<u>1832</u>			
Pleb.			
Farmer			
Merchant		1	
Barrister or Solicitor		1	
Doctor	1		
Clergyman	9	6	
Gentleman	7	3	
Equitis	2		
Arm.	8		
Bart.			
Bishop	1	1	
Nobility		1	
Total No. of graduate incumbents in the county	31	24	
<u>1857</u>			
Pleb.			
Farmer			
Merchant		4	2
Barrister or Solicitor		1	1
Doctor	1	1	
Clergyman	11	12	3
Gentleman	4		1
Equitis	1		
Arm.	12		
Bart.			
Bishop		1	
Nobility	1	1	
Total No. of graduate incumbents in the county	32	37	23

This trend was reinforced by a corresponding rise in their educational standard. In 1774 26% of the county's parsons were classed as literate while in 1857 only 18% had not attended at least a recognised Theological College. It is thus apparent

that during the period of the most rapid expansion of the Archdeaconry's parochial structure patrons were not only able to find the necessary additional manpower but were able to secure men with improved educational backgrounds. The following table indicates the decline in the number of Durham priests not having formal theological training, during the years 1774 and 1857.

Figure 19

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage of the whole</u>
1774	18	26%
1792	18	25%
1814	19	26%
1832	16	22%
1857	22	18%

The reasons for this trend are twofold. In his Primary Charge of 1826, Van Mildert, concerned with ever increasing demands for clergymen, sought to create a regular supply of candidates for Holy Orders by recommending the employment of qualified individuals from recently created theological colleges. Such a college was located in the north of England, convenient to the needs of the Diocese of Durham.¹

"It is well known that the wants of this and other remote Dioceses cannot fully be supplied from our Universities. It has therefore been usual to admit upon due examination, literate persons, without restrictions as to the places where they may have received their previous education. To obviate its inconveniences, some few local institutions have of late years been established. These, being placed under competent ecclesiastical regulation and supervision, have proved to be well deserving of encouragement.

In the North of England, one institution only of this kind has yet been established, that of St. Bees in Cumberland. It is conducted on sound theological principles, and does great credit to the excellent clergymen to whose management it is confided. It is moreover on a sufficiently large scale, to render it

1. Van Mildert, Charge, 1827, pp.519-21.

probable that an adequate supply may be obtained from it for this Diocese.

Conceiving it therefore to be exceedingly desirable that an establishment so well adapted to uphold the reputation and stability of our church should meet with all due encouragement, it is my intention to look to this institution of St. Bees for a supply of such candidates for Holy Orders as have not had the benefit of a University Education".

By 1857 seven Durham incumbents were from St. Bees College.

The second and most important factor was the foundation of the new University at Durham which provided Archdeaconry patrons with a local source of formally educated clergymen. Between 1835 and 1857 twenty-eight individuals from the University had been employed in the Archdeaconry. Of these twenty-three held benefices with cure of souls, while five were employed as stipendiary curates.¹ Nineteen were graduates and nine held the lesser two year qualification of Licentiate.² Of the University and its students Charles Thorp wrote in 1838:³

"The Class of Divinity students has always borne an honourable character in the University. When I see the advantages which these students enjoy under the able instruction of the Professor (Professor Jenkyns)⁴, and under a system not of mere lectures, but of practical teaching; and recollect the labour and difficulty to which the young men of my own day were subjected after the conclusion of their academic life, by reason of a deficient clerical education, I am tempted to regret that the same facilities of theological study and acquirement were not afforded at an earlier period which are now assured to students within the walls of Durham".

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1. Of the thirty-six new cures filing returns to Bishop Langley's 1857 Visitation, eleven were held by men from Durham University that is to say 30%, while only six or 17% were held by individuals who could be classed as literates.
 2. This qualification was the result of a two year course in theology, the successful completion of which entitled the candidate to ordination. His name was entered on the rolls of the University as Licentiate in Theology and they were entitled to bear the initials L.Th. after their names.

D.U.J., December 16, 1876, p.10.

3. Charles Thorp, Charge, 1838.

4. Henry Jenkyn, Professor of Divinity and the University of Durham.

While other dioceses were supplying clergy for their expanded parochial structures from traditional sources, Durham, by 1857, had been able to significantly raise the social and educational standard of its parochial clergy with the inclusion of twenty-three clergymen from the University of Durham, a number which represented 17% of the Archdeaconry's clerical strength.

In spite of this overall change in the social status of Archdeaconry incumbents, it is difficult to say categorically that the size of mid-nineteenth century parsonage houses reflected this phenomena. Bishop Maltby wrote to J. J. Chalk on 11 November, 1850 saying that while it was true there was a general tendency among the clergy to build large houses, the Commissioners insistence to build such houses was making it difficult for the incumbents of smaller livings to avail themselves of Maltby Fund grants.¹

"There is too great a desire on the part of the clergy, who have small incomes, to obtain houses disproportioned to their incomes. It should seem very desirable, that the scale of house should be more proportioned to the yearly income. A single man, as clergymen with very moderate incomes ought to be, for a time at least, does not require more than 4 or 5 rooms - and I have often thought a plan might be framed for a small Parsonage in such a manner that at a future time, an addition might without disturbing too much the original fabric. Where the income is small I have discouraged a third room (sitting room or study)".

In answer the Commissioners wrote "the desirableness of a third room in particular has often been and was again on Thursday considered and the decision in favour of it admitted and confirmed".² Thus was set the pattern for mid-nineteenth century parsonage building especially since by far the majority

1. CC. MSS. Maltby Fund and general file. No.11541. Edward Maltby to J. J. Chalk, Auckland Castle, 11 November, 1850.
 2. Ibid., J. J. Chalk to Edward Maltby, 23 November, 1850.

of residences built in the county during this period were constructed with money administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. When built with private funds a residence house must surely reflect the social status of its builder, however, when constructed to a standard plan using money from a central authority it does not necessarily follow that the finished house is a reflection of its occupier.

CHAPTER VI

CURATES' STIPENDS

At the outset of this period of study, curates' stipends were regulated by the Act 12 Anne St.2, C.12 wherein bishops, in cases where an incumbent was non-resident, were empowered to ensure that curates' stipends did not exceed £50 p.a. nor were they to be less than £20 p.a. In 1796 by 36 George III C.82 the minimum stipend was raised to £75 p.a., with the added proviso that in cases where the incumbent did not reside at least four months in the year, the sub-curate was to be granted the use of the parsonage or an additional £15 p.a.

It is apparent that even if paid the maximum amount allowable on the above scales, a curate would not have been financially secure, as indicated by an anonymous contribution to "The Gentlemen's Magazine".¹

"What will £100 a year do? It will, with the strictest economy, very barely keep a single man decently. Let us suppose a young clergyman placed in a market town or country village. He cannot board in any decent neat family under £40 a year: finding his own wine, tea, and fire and candle in his own sitting room, paying his laundress for washing and mending his linen, the tailor for mending his woollen clothes; how little after this will be left for medical aid in case of illness! and what will he have to bestow on the poor, the sick, the aged, the fatherless and widow"

With the clerical profession as overcrowded as it was, competition for employment continued to keep stipends low, and indeed on occasions it is apparent that incumbents conspired with prospective curates to do so. The failure of 36 George III C.83 was followed by four unsuccessful attempts

1. Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol.LXV, pt.2, 19 September, 1795, p.717.

to produce an additional Act, before Perceval and Harrowby managed the passage of 53 George III C.149, in 1813. More complex than previous legislation, this Act created a scale of minimum curates' stipends based on benefice incomes and population. Thus in parishes where the population exceeded 300 persons, the curate was to receive not less than £100 p.a., where it was in excess of 500 persons not less than £150 p.a. and in large parishes having more than 1,000 inhabitants not less than £150 p.a. No curate was to receive less than £80 p.a. or "less than the value of the Benefice, if the said value shall not amount to £80 p.a."¹ Provision was made also for the payment of £150 p.a. to the curates of benefices whose income exceeded £400 p.a., and whose population was 500 souls or more.

Such proposals calling for the redistribution of clerical money were seen by many to be an infringement upon the rights of property. In 1795, thirteen years before Sidney Smith's criticisms of Perceval's Bill an anonymous clergyman voiced his opposition to the increasing calls for the raising of curates' stipends.²

"Your excellent Magazine has of late given place to various complaints concerning the hardships endured by the inferior clergy from the scantiness of their incomes, which I cannot consider as anything else than the language of discontent, and therefore, in my opinion, ought to be discouraged. Such complaints naturally tend to impress people with the idea that there is something in the church establishment that is not right, and, consequently, that may be altered for the better. Were this admitted, it would be opening a door for a torrent of innovation which none of us might be able to stop;

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1. Unless the incumbent could prove "special and peculiar circumstances" which would cause "great hardship and Inconvenience if the full amount of salary specified in this Act should be allowed to the curate". In such special cases, with episcopal approval, lower stipends could be granted. 36 George III C.83.
 2. Gentlemen's Magazine, Vol.LXV, pt.2, November, 1795, p.903.

hence it becomes a duty to make fast our bolts and bars, in order to resist its approach. If the inferior clergy are necessitous, the church is not to blame; the root of the evil is this, that persons of no family or fortune bring up their sons to the profession of clergymen, who must of course be poor and the odium of their poverty is most unjustly thrown upon the church.

If the inferior and poorer clergy of the establishment are dissatisfied with their condition, they are under no compulsion to continue in it"

Until 1796 curates' stipends in the Archdeaconry of Durham were, on average, above the minimum set by the 1713 Act. After the passage of 56 George III C.149., however, curates' incomes fell below the minimum and there remained until the 1820s indicating that stipendiary curates failed to benefit from the increasing prosperity enjoyed by Durham incumbents. As pointed out by Professor Best these Acts were unworkable, and those incumbents who wished, continued to take advantage of the overcrowded ranks of clergymen.¹ Van Mildert made it clear that dubious arrangements between incumbent and curate regarding salary were not unknown in the Diocese.²

"A practice, there is reason to believe, has been lately gaining ground in this, as in other Dioceses, of giving titles for Orders on private agreements between the parties substantially different from those which came before the Bishop. Persons anxious to obtain Orders may sometimes be willing to undertake a cure for little or no present remuneration; and an incumbent may be glad to accede to such terms an opening may thus be made for unworthy persons to attempt admission into holy offices; and that, by a species of contract, which, though not, legally speaking, simoniacal, yet partakes somewhat of that character.

Unquestionably, there may be cases in which the incumbent who needs a curate can ill afford a sufficient remuneration, while the individual who seeks the curacy well afford to accept an inadequate stipend. In such cases the Diocesan may be willing, where law permits, to apportion the stipend accordingly. The law, however, is

1. Best, *Temporal Pillars*, p.207.

2. Van Mildert, *Charge*, 1827, pp.521-22.

in most instances too imperative to admit of much relaxation in that respect: and even where it can be relaxed, caution is especially requisite in the nomination to a curacy as a title for orders, which, it was always intended, should afford something like a competent maintenance to the person to be ordained. But whatever be the circumstances, the Bishop may justly require, that they should be fully and fairly laid before him; that the whole should be an ingenuous and bona fide transaction; and that his decision, as notified in the license, be considered finding on both parties: nor can harshness be reasonably imputed to him, if, upon discovering any collusion between them, effective measures be taken to prevent a repetition of it".

Van Mildert seems to have been unable to eradicate such irregularities, for his successor Edward Maltby alluded to their continuation in his Charges of 1841 and 1845. In 1841 he informed the clergy of his awareness that:¹

"Young men undertake a curacy and settle in the diocese without any previous communication being made to me either by themselves or their incumbents. I have been assured, that endeavours are from time to time made to take advantage of a young man's anxiety to obtain a title, and engage him to receive less than the law awards him, and to which moreover a solemn engagement is subscribed by himself and his principal".

In his Charge of 1845 Maltby was again forced to publicly bring to the attention of the clergy his awareness of their continued introduction of unauthorised curates into the Diocese.²

"I may here again point out an irregularity which has been creeping into the Diocese, but which after this notice will, I am sure will be corrected. Strictly speaking, no stranger ought to officiate in any Diocese, or for any time, without producing a testimonial and letters of Orders. It has however so happened, that, in more instances than one, incumbents have quitted their parishes for 2 or 3 months, without assuring themselves, or giving me the opportunity of ascertaining, that the person who is employed in their absence is furnished with these indispensable credentials".

1. Maltby, Charge, 1841.

2. Ibid., 1845.

Such circumstances might possibly explain the below-average stipends paid to Durham curates, which before the 1820s had failed to reach the minimum set by the legislation of 1796 and 1813. The following were the average yearly stipends paid to curates in the Archdeaconry throughout the period of this study.

Figure 1

<u>1774</u> ¹	<u>1792</u> ¹	<u>1810</u> ²	<u>1814</u> ¹	<u>1827</u> ³	<u>1832</u> ⁴	<u>1849</u> ⁵
£30 p.a.	£40 p.a.	£56 p.a.	£64 p.a.	£84 p.a.	£88 p.a.	£94 p.a.

Figure 2 is a comprehensive breakdown of the above stipends.

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitation.
 2. Ibid. Curates in other dioceses were no better off. In the Archbishop of Canterbury's own diocese the average curate received £53 p.a.; in Exeter, £44 p.a.; and in Oxford £46 p.a. P.P. 1812-13, XIII, p.51.
 3. AC. Episcopal MSS., Durham Diocese Book, 1827.
 4. CC. MSS., 1832 N.B. files. By 1835 the 5,230 curates employed in England and Wales were receiving average stipends of £81 p.a. At the same date curates in the Archdeaconry of Durham received, on average, £89 p.a. Report of the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty to inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales.
 5. CC. MSS. Benefice files.

Figure 2

	<u>1774-83</u>	<u>1792-1801</u> ¹	<u>1808-17</u>	<u>1832</u>
Less than £20	1	2		
£20-29	9	7	4	2
£30-39	15	15	2	3
£40-49	5	12	11	
£50-59	2	12	13	4
£60-69		5	12	3
£70-79		1	11	7
£80-89			8	4
£90-99			1	2
£100-09			6	14
£110-19				1
£120-29				5
£130-39				1
£150-59				2
£200				3

Bishop Barrington's failure to enforce the statutory minimum stipends of both the 1796 and 1813 Acts is illustrated by the only surviving Ordination papers of his episcopacy, those for the years 1806 to 1821. Before 1813, while subject to the provisions of the former Act, Barrington licensed twenty-seven curates at an average stipend of £56 p.a. After the passage of the 1813 legislation he sanctioned the payment of stipends that averaged £61 p.a.

1. For the Diocese of Carlisle in 1794 the average stipend was £30 p.a.

£20 p.a.	£25 p.a.	£30 p.a.	£40 p.a.	£50 p.a.	£63 p.a.
7	1	3	4	1	1

C. M. L. Bouch, Prelates and People of the Lake Counties, p.375.

2. In certain instances to make up for low stipends a curate was granted an allotment of land which he was permitted to farm. One such case was that of the Rev. George Newby licensed in 1809 as sub-curate of Witton-le-Wear, with a stipend of but £24 p.a. To augment his income he was granted the use of three acres which he farmed. Newby was a rather successful farmer as the following notice from the Durham County Advertiser shows.

"The Rev. George Newby of Witton-le-Wear, planted seven-tenths of an acre of land with 42 pecks of early pink eye (potatoes); these have produced the astonishing quantity of 359 bushels, some potatoes weighing as

(Contd.)

The Episcopal Visitation returns of 1774, 1792, 1810 and 1814 indicate whether or not incumbents resided, as well as indicating the amounts they paid to their curates. These Visitations reveal that Durham curates serving non-resident incumbents were, on average, financially better off than those serving resident incumbents, though they too received less than the statutory minimum stipend. The following were the average stipends paid to the curates of non-resident incumbents.

Figure 3¹

<u>1774</u>	<u>1792</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1814²</u>
£36 p.a.	£40 p.a.	£75 p.a.	£66 p.a.

Protests by curates about the condition under which they served are rare, indeed there is evidence of only two curates making their dissatisfaction known to the Bishop. In 1792 the much abused curate of the parochial chapelry of Egglestone in the parish of Middleton-in-Teesdale, Isaac Farrer, informed Bishop Barrington that his stipend was only £7 p.a. and, as a result of his being denied the use of the parsonage attached to his chapel, he was forced to reside three miles from his cure.¹

"My usual Place of Residence is at Middleton three miles distance. Mr. Lascelles Rector of Middleton lets the tithes, Glebe lands and house to a Publican for one hundred and one pounds per annum which belongs to my cure, out of which he will pay me no more than six pounds per annum, which he found in the terrier allow'd for a Lecturer before the chapel was consecrated".

2. (Contd.) much as 32 ozs. each".
DCA. 24 October, 1817.

1.AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitations.

2. This decrease is explained by the Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, Edward South Thurlow's return to full-time residence. While non-resident, he employed three curates; to the two senior he paid £100 p.a., to the junior £70 p.a. With his return he ceased to employ them and thus these relatively high incomes are not included.

Farrer had been curate of Egglestone at the same salary since 1770, and as a result of the debts he accumulated he spent a portion of his incumbency in Durham gaol from where he secured his release only with the assistance of Lord Crewe's Trustees who on 18 December, 1780 ordered:¹

"£35 be given as a charity towards discharging from Prison the Rev. Isaac Farrer, curate of Egglestone now confined for Debt in Durham gaol".²

During the period of rising prices generated by the French wars, Isaac Dawson, Curate to Dickens Haslewood of Aycliffe noted the declining value of his stipend. At the same time he informed Bishop Barrington of his residence in the vicarage house, he brought to his diocesan's attention that his stipend of £60 p.a., £15 p.a. below the minimum of 1796, was, "according to the prices, far too little".³

As incumbents augmented their incomes by teaching in schools so did curates, seventeen of whom through the period of this study were Masters or Head Masters of local schools. The following table lists their names, the cures they served and the parishes in which they taught.

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1. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 18 December, 1780.
 2. Not all Archdeaconry curates existed at the subsistence level. The Rev. Marmaduke Theakston, son of the Rector of Hurworth, had been drowned in the Tees on 26 December, 1823, while engaged in the chase. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.502.
 3. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1810 Episcopal Visitation, Aycliffe.

Figure 4

<u>Name</u>	<u>Curate of</u>	<u>Location of the school</u>	
Shaw	Whitworth	Bishop Auckland	1774 ¹
Birkett, Thomas	Bishopwearmouth	Headmaster, Doughlington, Yorks.	1774 ¹
Chapman, George	Kelloe	Stranton	1778 ²
Earl, Jonathan	Ebchester & Medomsley	Whickham	1779 ²
Todd, James	Witton-le-Wear & Hamsterly	Witton-le-Wear	1779 ²
Metcalfe, George	Whitburn	Sunderland	1780 ²
Gibson, Thomas	Monkwearmouth	Monkwearmouth	1790 ²
Manisty, James		Durham	1791 ²
Bacon, John ³	Whitworth	Bishop Auckland	1792 ¹
Clarke, Joseph	Witton-le-Wear & Hamsterly	Witton-le-Wear	1792 ¹
Jonn, Peter	Wolsingham	Wolsingham	1792 ¹
Asbridge, John	St. Andrew, Auckland	Bishop Auckland	1792 ¹
Whorton, George	Sunderland	Sunderland	1795 ²
Newby, George	Witton-le-Wear	Witton-le-Wear	1810 ¹
Hayton, John	Sunderland	Sunderland	1810 ¹
Kendall, William	Esh & Satley	Wolsingham	1820 ²
Stoker, Henry	Shincliffe	Durham	1857 ¹

From the evidence it is clear that as each of the above died the number of curate/school masters in the Archdeaconry declined, for, after 1810 only two other individuals augmented their stipends in this manner.

The pressure of large numbers of individuals seeking Orders created a situation that has been well documented by both contemporaries and writers of our own time.⁴ Poverty and insecurity of tenure were found amongst the unbeneficed clergy of the Archdeaconry as they were elsewhere. In 1774 Thomas Drake, Rector

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitation.

2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers.

3. Also perpetual curate of St. Anne's Auckland.

4. See Thomas Stockhouse, Miseries and Great Hardships of the Inferior Clergy, 1737 ed.; A. Tindal Hart, The Curate's Lot, and, by the same author, William Lloyd, 1627-1717.

of St. Mary-le-Now, Durham City, and of Bedlington, Northumberland informed Bishop Egerton of his intention to turn out his curate one Thomas Smyth, a man with thirty-three years service in the Diocese. On his behalf Drake wrote to the Bishop to bring to his attention that Smyth "will have no cure to serve anywhere that he knows of and therefore in this destitute situation he begs his Diocesans Patronage and protection".¹

Such insecurity always accompanied a subcurate's appointment, and in spite of the various Acts passed to improve their situations, the possibility of removal at the whim of an incumbent remained throughout the period of this discussion. As late as 1844 the Rev. Christopher Abbott, stipendiary curate of Kelloe, lost his job as a result of pressure put upon his incumbent by a local influential layman. In 1843 an additional church had been built in the parish at Thornley, largely through the munificence of a Thomas Wood, owner of the Thornley Coal Company.² The patronage of the new church was to be vested in the Vicar of Kelloe, the Rev. Robert Birkett, who indicated to Abbott that he would nominate him to the incumbency. To find a replacement for Abbott at Kelloe, Birkett advertised in the "Ecclesiastical Gazette".³ However, before Abbott had been officially nominated, Birkett, under pressure from Wood, named the Rev. W. Ashley Shute instead sub-curate at Sedgefield,

1. AC. Episcopal MSS, 1774 Episcopal Visitation.

2. CC. MSS., Benefice file, Kelloe. Wood had pressed for the building of an additional church since 1839, when he had unsuccessfully submitted plans and specifications to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and applied for a grant. With the failure of this initial attempt he wrote again in 1841 bringing to their attention that "the state of the population in this district is a disgrace to the national church and to those who administer its revenues". File No. 35292.

3. Ecclesiastical Gazette, 12 March, 1844. "Wanted immediately, a curate for the parish of Kelloe, in the county of Durham. Population 6,000. Two full services on Sundays. Stipend £100 a year. An unmarried man in Priests orders would be preferred".

perpetual curate of Thornley, thus leaving Abbott without a job.¹ Abbott protested to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in a letter which clearly illustrated the helplessness of the stipendary curate.²

"May I beg the favor of your taking the subjoined into your serious consideration and of exercising any authority which may be vested with you in regard to it.

In January 1842 I was appointed to the curacy of the Parish of Kelloe with the understanding that my duties would be two full services in the summer and one during the winter months but as I found the parish in the most lamentable condition and many of its inhabitants at a great distance 3 miles from the Church I voluntarily added to my labours one week day service at each of the two villages most remote from the church. These I continued so long as my health and strength permitted me to do I then was obliged to relinquish one weekday service but the other which was the one at Thornley I continued as a weekday duty until the 28 of May 1843. The new church at that place being completed by licence from the Bishop I changed the service to the Sunday Evening. Thus I had 3 full services on the Sunday to the last of which I had to walk 3 miles this was continued to the 8th of August 1843 the day of consecration of the new church but as no appointment had been made to the cure and I knew that my Vicar with whom the nomination entirely rested intended to present me I continued my duties for 10 weeks after the consecration when by the interference of Mr. Wood the active partner of the Thornley Coal Company I was rejected and a friend of his nominated. The job was managed somehow among them but it may be right and but just to say that so confident was my Vicar that no opposition would be brought forward to my nomination that he actually advertized for a curate to undertake my duties at the parish church. I may also add that one if not two petitions were sent to the Bishop by the inhabitants of Thornley praying that I might be set over them in the Lord.

I have gentlemen laid these plain truths before you not that I wish to have the appointment made void or to prejudice you against it so as to deter you from giving an Endowment to

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1. Shute was a Cambridge graduate and the son of the Rev. Thomas Shute of Morpeth, Northumberland.
 2. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Kelloe. Christopher Abbott to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Fleetwood Preston, 20 June, 1844. File No.35292.

the new church but that you may have some idea of my situation and feelings and to prevail with you (If you have it in your power and should give an Endowment from the date of Consecration) to order such part of your endowment as would be due to the officiating minister for the first 10 weeks after Consecration to be handed over to me for my services for such 10 weeks"

A similar situation occurred in 1859, following the separation of Sadberge from its mother church, Haughton-le-Skerne, and the transfer of its patronage to the See of Manchester. In 1828 Bulkeley Bandinel, Rector of Haughton, appointed the Rev. David Piper sub-curate of that living giving him the sole responsibility for the parochial chapelry of Sadberge. Proposals for the division of the parish were made in 1832, but it was not until after the division had been effected, in 1856, that Piper became openly concerned about his future employment.¹ His fears had been raised when in 1859 the patronage of the now independent church was transferred to the Bishop of Manchester.²

"The unexpected transfer of the patronage of Sadberge from the Diocese of Durham, has caused me considerable anxiety as to what may now be my prospects and positions, in case of an avoidance.

I have been above 36 years a curate in the Diocese of Durham namely five years curate of Grindon and I have been above 30 years curate of Sadberge, and have been for many years the oldest curate in the Diocese of Durham".

In a later letter Piper put his case more fully.³

"More than ten years ago, Bishop Maltby informed me of his intention to advance me, and inquired if I should like Sadberge? to which I at once acceded which at the time seemed likely to become vacant.

In 1856 'the District Chapelry of Sadberge' was constituted a separate incumbency.

1. CC. MSS. Benefice files, Sadberge. No.24925. Bulkeley Bandinel to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Oxford, 27 August, 1832.

2. Ibid., David Piper to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Sadberge, 29 July, 1859.

3. Ibid., Piper to the Commissioners, Sadberge, undated.

The manner in which I was written to by the Commissioners, implied that I was to act as incumbent and that I was about to become such.

I am in my 63rd year, and am naturally desirous of ascertaining, (Now the Bishop of Durham, has no longer any control over the Patronage of Sadberge, who there can be no question would have acted up to the intentions of his predecessor) what alteration the transfer of the living of Sadberge to the See of Manchester, will produce in my prospects.

I take the liberty to inquire, if in advanced life my confident hopes are now to be interfered with? And, if not, I beg most respectfully to inquire to whom I should communicate with".

Preceding Bandinel's death, in February 1861, the Commissioners entered into a correspondence with the Bishop of Durham in an attempt more clearly to understand Piper's position. On 30 November, 1860 they informed the Bishop that:¹

"The Revd. D. Piper appears at the time of the assignment to have been only a curate to the Rector of Houghton-le-Skerne and, assuming that he has not been nominated and instituted to the District of Sadberge as such, he would seem not to have any legal status as Incumbent".

With Bandinel's death, the avoidance that Piper feared took place. Henry Montague Villiers, Bishop of Durham, nominated his son-in-law, Edward Cheese, as Bandinel's successor, an appointment that the magazine Punch made into a cause célèbre, with the publication of the now famous cartoon entitled "The Durham Cheese".² At the same time, for an unknown reason, the Bishop of Manchester, James Prince Lee failed to nominate an incumbent for Sadberge within the statutory six months. The right of presentation therefore lapsed to the crown.³ Such a situation was to Piper's advantage, for seemingly with the assistance of his uncle, a Member of Parliament for the City

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Sadberge. J. J. Chalk to the Bishop of Durham, 30 November, 1860. File No. 24958.

2. Punch, March 9, 1861. See Chapter Appendix A.

3. Lawrence and Cripps, Ecclesiastical Law, p.472.

London, he received the nomination. The incident finally ended when Piper, immediately following his nomination, but before his induction, travelled to Boulogne for a holiday and there died.¹ Thus after thirty-eight years as a curate in the Diocese, Piper had failed to acquire a benefice, and never during those years did he earn more than £80 p.a. On 16 November, 1861 the Rev. Robert Maude Moorsom notified the Commissioners of his presentation to the vacant benefice of Sadberge by the Bishop of Manchester.²

Throughout the eighty-two years under consideration, by far the greatest number of curates had been recruited from the five northern counties of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire. Evidence from 105 surviving ordination papers dated between 1774 and 1839 indicate that ninety, or 81%, came from the above counties. The table below is a breakdown of this figure.³

Figure 5

<u>Durham</u>	<u>Northumberland</u>	<u>Cumberland</u>	<u>Westmor-</u> <u>land</u>	<u>Yorkshire</u>
27	13	19	13	18

This predominance of individuals from the five northern counties is confirmed by noting the places of birth of those graduate curates serving in the County during the years 1774, 1792 and 1810. Figure 6 indicates the year of Visitation, the total number of graduate curates, the county of origin of each, and the total number found in each year of Visitation.

1. W. Lancaster Taylor, The History of Sadberge, p.237.
2. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Sadberge. The Rev. Robert M. Moorsom to J. J. Chalk 16 November, 1861. The Bishop of Manchester had been Moorsom's school master at Birmingham Grammar School.
3. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination Papers.

Figure 6¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Durham</u>	<u>North.</u>	<u>Cumb.</u>	<u>Westmor.</u>	<u>Yorks.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1774	12	6		3	2	1	12
1792	15	4	1	2	1	4	12
1810	12	5	1	1		1	8

The need for curates generated by the rapid expansion of the parochial structure after 1820 was greater than the region could supply. By 1857, of the fifty-two curates whose county of birth can be traced, twenty-three or 44% of that number had been born in one of the five counties, as follows.

Figure 7

<u>Durham</u>	<u>Northumberland</u>	<u>Cumberland</u>	<u>Westmorland</u>	<u>Yorkshire</u>
10	4	3	0	6

The regional and local recruitment of curates was not peculiar to the Archdeaconry of Durham. As late as 1831 Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter wrote "I do not like encouraging the selection of strangers for curacies in this diocese unless there be the amplest means of ascertaining their character".³ In another letter of the same year he elaborated by saying "I wish to discourage the increasing practice of strangers coming hither. So many of the clergy of this Diocese, and others breed sons to the church, that I do not like that their prospects being unnecessarily interfered with by strangers".⁴ That a similar policy was followed in the Archdeaconry there is no doubt, though Durham incumbents seem to have considered the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire as much their home ground as Durham and Northumberland.

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitations.
2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers; also U.A.B.
3. Davies, Henry Phillpotts, p.112.
4. Ibid., p.123.

The Rev. James Raine wrote that at the "commencement of the present century, and for some time before that period, the curates and incumbents of small benefices in the Diocese of Durham were almost all of them West Country Men many of them excellent classical scholars (the counties of Westmorland, Cumberland have long been remarkable for the number and high character of their endowed grammar schools)". Examples are many. In 1810 the Rev. John Hamson, Rector of Sunderland, brought to the Bishop's attention his curate John Hayton whom he considered to be:¹

".... an excellent scholar, though he is not a Graduate having been educated at a school in Westmorland he teaches a classical school".

The Rev. John Farrer was born in the parish of Orton, Westmorland. His education had been under the guidance of the Rev. Richard Yates at Applēby School. Unable to afford to proceed to University, he became instead a school master. His first position was teaching at Aycliffe school in the Archdeaconry of Durham. From there he became sub-curate of St. Andrew's Auckland and a Master of King James Grammar School in Bishop Auckland. In 1765 he was nominated to the perpetual curacies of Witton-le-Wear and Hamsterly as incumbent, and to supplement his meagre stipends, opened a school at Witton-le-Wear where he offered a classical as well as a commercial education to one hundred pupils. Subsequently Witton-le-Wear school became a point of entry for "West Countrymen" seeking orders and employment in the Diocese of Durham.²

With Farrer's collation to Sunderland in 1794, his sub-curate the Rev. William Rawes a Cumberland man was named as his successor Head Master of Witton School.³ It was through

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1810 Episcopal Visitation, Sunderland.

2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.619.

3. Rawes predecessors at Witton had both been from Westmorland. John Whelpdale appointed curate by Farrer in 1777 was a native of Stainmore and James Todd appointed in 1779 was from Longs-
ledale. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers.

his relationship to the Rev. John Hodgson of Swindale, Westmorland that Rawes first entered the Archdeaconry as a Master of Sedgefield parish school. After seven years at Witton-le-Wear he succeeded to the Headmastership of Kepier Grammar School, Houghton-le-Spring. His successor at Witton-le-Wear school was the Rev. George Newby, also from Cumberland, and an ex-student of St. Bee's.

The creation of St. Bee's Theological College in 1806 "To provide for the better instruction of those candidates for Holy Orders who were unable to obtain a University education"¹ provided a convenient source of curates for Durham incumbents. Four years earlier than Van Mildert's public recognition of St. Bee's, Bishop Barrington had been recommending the College to parish priests in need of clerical assistance. In 1823 the Master of St. Bee's sent the following letter to Barrington.²

"The Revd. R. Fatham of Bishopton, has at your Lordships suggestion made application to me to recommend him a curate from among the students of this institution. I have named to him Mr. T. D. Pettinger a young man of whose character in every respect I have reason to think very favourably. Should (there be) any objection to Mr. Pettinger in your Lordship's eyes, I shall have no difficulty in selecting another individual to fill Mr. Tatham's curacy".

In addition to Newby, who had become one of Thurlow's curates at Houghton-le-Spring, at least three other individuals in the Archdeaconry owed their curacies to their having been school masters in the county.³ By 1779 the Rev. Jonathan Jefferson, incumbent of Medomsley and Ebchester had become so

1. Mary Ellis, "St. Bees Theological College: Some Welsh Connections". C. & W. A. & A.S. Vol, LIII, New Series, p.190.

2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers. William Ainger to Shute Barrington. St. Bees near Whitehaven, 30 April, 1823.

3. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers. The other three were:

<u>Name</u>	<u>County of origin</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Nominated to</u>	<u>Year</u>
George Chapman	Yorkshire	Stranton	Kelloe	1778
George Metcalfe	Yorkshire	Sunderland	Whitburn	1780
James Manisty	Northumberland	Durham Grammar		1791

incapacitated that it became necessary to provide him with a curate. Accordingly, a neighbouring clergyman, John Ellison, notified the Rev. Richard Fawcett, Prebend of the Third Stall, that he had found a suitable candidate in:¹

"Mr. Earl, School Master of Whickham waits upon you with all the papers necessary to his ordination except the publication of his Sigius, which, if they be approved by his Lordship, shall be published on the next Sunday and sent under cover to you or Mr. Brooks² by the next day's post. All Mr. Earl's friends agree in thinking that shou'd his Sigius be read and his intention of going into orders published and any defect appear in his instruments to prevent his ordination, it might materially affect his character as a school master; and therefore the present plan of waiting upon the Bishop with all his other papers first. Mr. Jefferson is so aged and infirm and makes so many mistakes in his Sunday duty, that if he does not get a curate soon his Parishioners threaten to present ^{him} as incapable: and his income is so small that £15 p.a. is really as much as (with his family he can possibly afford so that the appointment of Mr. Earl for his Sunday-curate (whose income at Whickham is upwards of £50 p.a.) is the most probable expedient that can be suggested for quieting the parishioners and giving Mr. Jefferson all the assistance he wants on the most easy terms".

On 5 September, 1779 Jonathan Earl, a native of Morland parish, Westmorland, was licensed as sub-curate to the above parishes with an annual stipend of £15.³

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1. Ibid., The Rev. John Ellison to Rev. Dr. Fawcett, Green Court, 14 August, 1779. Ellison was perpetual curate of Wittonstall, in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland. He was also licensed to be a public preacher throughout the Diocese, an office which seems to have been a relic from the sixteenth century. AC. Episcopal MSS., Spiritual Acts of John, Lord Bishop of Durham, 7 March, 1774.
 2. George Brooks, Esq., He held simultaneously the following offices in the See: Cursitor, Auditor to the Exchequer, Steward of the several Halmot courts in the Diocese, Bailiff of the Manor of Auckland and was a Diocesan Registrar. Hutchinson, History of Durham, Vol.I, pp.591-2.
 3. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers.

Of the 105 curates whose names are found in the Diocesan Ordination Papers between 1774 and 1839, twenty-two were sons of clergymen and eighteen of those were sons of parsons in the Archdeaconry.¹ When the Rev. Richard Fawcett, Rector of Gateshead, became ill and, at the same time lost his curate, he wrote to the Bishop for permission to offer a title to one Robert Wilson:²

"Son of the Mr. Wilson, who was the worthy and excellent curate of Gateshead when your Lordship made me Rector there and who to my great sorrow died soon afterwards. The son Robert is not yet in Orders, but for his father's and indeed his good mother's sake I wish to befriend him. He had the character of being a good school scholar when he left Mr. Moises.³ He went from him to Oxford and was clerk at All Souls Upon taking a Bachelor of Arts degree he came to his mother who lives in Gateshead and with her has lived quietly since he quitted Oxford prosecuting his studies.

If your Lordship gives leave I would give him a title as an assistant curate at Gateshead, tho' I have one assistant there already in Mr. Falcon. My reason is that being a young man and till he has given proofs of his ability as a Preacher, I do not think proper to put him even for a few Sundays or only every now and then as my Representative in St. Nicholas pulpit but by employing him at Gateshead I shall have Mr. Ferrer at liberty to preach at St. Nicholas as occasion offers, and I shall be more at liberty than otherwise I could be, in that and in some other respects. And as Mr. Wilson is desirous of beginning in this way it will be an advantage to him to be employed where he can have the opportunity of the comfort of still living with his mother".⁴

Incomplete records make a comprehensive breakdown of curates' social backgrounds difficult. From the Episcopal Visitations it is possible to ascertain the ratio of graduate to

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1. Ibid. Of the four not from the Diocese, one was the son of a curate in Newcastle, another the son of the Rector of Beaumont, Cumberland and two others were sons of incumbents in the North Riding of Yorkshire.
 2. Ibid. Rev. Richard Fawcett to Bishop of Durham, 10 July, 1781.
 3. See D.N.B. Vol. XXXVIII, p.115 for a biography of Moises.
 4. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers. Rev. Richard Fawcett to Bishop of Durham, 10 July, 1781.

non-graduate curates, and, in the case of the former at least, a general picture of their background is possible. The following table indicates the total number of graduate curates serving in each year of Visitation giving, where possible, their social background.

Figure 8

Year	Total No. of curates	No. of grads.	% of curates	Arm. ¹	Gent.	Pleb.	Cler.	Farm.	Merchant or Tradesman
1774	42	11	26%		2	2	2	1	
1792	53	14	24%		4	4	3	1	
1810	47	12	25%		4	3	3		
1857	78	47	58%	2	13	3	11		4

Figure 9 indicates the social backgrounds of those curates whose surviving Ordination papers contain information relative to their father's occupation or social status.

Figure 9²

General in the Army	1
Gentleman	8
Surgeon	1
Attorney	1
Physician	1
Merchant	1
Yeoman	3
Alderman	2
Clergy	22
Miller	1
Cheese Monger	1
Woollen draper	1
Auctioneer	1
Blockmaker	1
Farmer	4
Schoolmaster	2
Labourer	1

1. U.A.B.
2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers.

The evidence suggests that, apart from a corresponding rise in the educational standards of both incumbents and curates, the social status of the latter remained much the same throughout the period of this study, while that of the beneficed clergy had risen. The following table is based on the percentages found in the two preceding tables:

<u>Figure 10</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>% of curates who were sons of clergymen</u>	<u>% of curates who were sons of gentlemen</u>
1774	18%	18%
1774-1830	21%	Unknown
1792	21%	28%
1810	25%	23%
1857	23%	28%

As indicated, the parochial expansion of the Archdeaconry had created a need for additional incumbents which was largely supplied by the newly created University of Durham. With the increased need for stipendiary curates so also did the University help to supply the Archdeaconry's wants. In 1857, of the seventy-eight curates in the County, forty-seven were graduates, of these twenty-five or 53% of their number were graduates or Licentiates from the University. Thus 32% of the total number of curates had been trained in the Archdeaconry.

As the number of incumbents holding benefices in plurality declined through the period, so too did the number of curates serving more than one living. Indeed by 1857 only one curate in the Archdeaconry held employment in addition to his curacy. This decrease in the number of curates holding more than one post most probably resulted from the increased pressure of a rising population which forced incumbents to hire full time assistants, as well as by increased stipends which by 1849 were

averaging £90 p.a.

In 1774, however, the situation was very different. The following table is an attempt to simplify the complex situation which existed at the time of three Episcopal Visitations, and illustrates an increase in such plurality during the years of increasing prices. Included in Figure 11 are those incumbents who were also curates in other benefices.¹

Figure 11

1774

<u>Incumbent of</u>	was also <u>sub-curate of</u>	<u>Other preferment held</u>
Kelloe	Easington & Sedgefield	
Lanchester	Esh & Satley	
Middleton-in-Teesdale	Hamsterley	
Dalton-le-Dale	Pittington	Minor Canon

<u>Sub-curate of</u>	was also <u>sub-curate of</u>	
Egglescliffe		Dom. Chap. Matthew Ridley, Bart. Minor Canon
Houghton-le-Skerne	Eryholme (Dio. of Chester)	
Sockburn	Esh & Satley	
Lanchester		

1792

<u>Incumbent of</u>	was also <u>sub-curate of</u>	
Rector of Birkby	Darlington	
St. Anne, Auckland	Whitworth	
P.C. of Eryholme	Sockburn	
Kelloe	Sedgefield	
Penshaw	Boldon	
St. Mary-the-Less & Monk Hesledon	Pittington	Minor Canon

<u>Sub-curate of</u>	was also <u>sub-curate of</u>	
Whorlton	Winston	
Elwick Hall	Witton Gilbert	
St. Nicholas	St. Giles	Minor Canon
St. Andrew, Auckland & St. Annes, Auckland	Escomb	School Master
Wolsingham		School Master
Ebchester	Medomsley	
Muggleswick	Edmondbyers	
Witton-le-Wear	Hamsterley	School Master

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitation.

1810

<u>Incumbent of</u>	was also <u>sub-curate of</u>	<u>Other preferment held</u>
Monk Hesledon	Witton Gilbert	
St. Mary-the-Less & Aycliffe	Pittington	Minor Canon
Kelloe	Bishopwearmouth	
Wolviston	Easington	
Rector of Yarm	Egglescliffe	
<u>Sub-curate of</u>	was also <u>sub-curate of</u>	
Staindrop	Cockfield & Anderby Steeple, Yorks.	
Middleton-in-Teesdale	Egglesstone	
Ebchester	Medomsley	
Edmondbyers	Muggleswick	
Norton	Bishopton	
Witton-le-Wear		School Master
St. Andrew, Auckland	Escomb	

Plurality resulting from incumbents undertaking the duties of stipendiary curates in other parishes was not peculiar to the Archdeaconry of Durham. In Oxfordshire, as in Durham, incumbents augmented their stipends particularly during years of high prices. This is confirmed by the following table taken from The Oxfordshire Clergy. The figures represent the number of incumbent/curates in each of the years listed.¹

Figure 12

<u>1807</u>	<u>1808</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1811</u>	<u>1813</u>	<u>1814</u>	<u>1827</u>	<u>1831</u>	<u>1835</u>
11	4	3	1	6	9	8	4	3

The extensive plurality found among curates illustrated in Figure 11 must support Balleine's vision of "squadrons of curates galloping out from the towns early on Sunday mornings The sextons kept watch on the church towers for the coming of the parson, and when he was sighted rang the bell to summon the congregation. As soon as the prayers were gabbled through, the curate mounted his horse and rode to the next village".²

1. Rostow, British Economy, p.33; McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.82.
2. G. R. A. Balleine, History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, p.12.

The Archdeaconry had been open to relatively large numbers of grammar school men of humble origins who, as James Raine has pointed out, constituted what is known as the inferior clergy. While advancement within the Diocese was certainly possible, non-graduate curates in the Archdeaconry rarely reached a position in the clerical hierarchy above that of perpetual curate. In cases where a non-graduate acquired the title of vicar or rector, it was on the poorest livings of each class, which, as has already been shown, were poor indeed. This is confirmed by the following table which lists under the dates of four Episcopal Visitations the names of those curates found in each of the said documents who were to eventually become beneficed. Included are the names of the livings acquired, their values, and the first recorded date at which each individual appears as incumbent of that cure.

Figure 13

1774

The following non-graduate curates became incumbents of:

Dent, Robert	Lanchester P.C.	£114	1778 ¹
Stephenson, William	Muggleswick P.C.	£60	1779 ¹
	Edmondbyers R.	£44	
Capstick, Thomas	St. Andrew, Auckland P.C.	£80	1786 ¹
	Escomb P.C.	£92	
	Esh and P.C.	£14	1783 ¹
	Satley P.C.	£17	1783
Blackett, Robert	Wallsend P.C.	£80	1784 ¹
Ironside, William	St. Helen, Auckland P.C.	£60	1792 ¹
Glover, William	Jarrow P.C.	£100	1792 ¹
	Heworth P.C.	£45	
Richardson, Henry	Coniscliffe V.	£110	1792 ¹
Robinson, Richard	Penshaw P.C.	£121	1792 ¹
Smyth, James	Sunderland R.	£184	1792 ¹
Hewer, George	Yarm	unknown	1810 ¹
Fell, William	Left the Diocese for an unknown rectory		

Graduate curate

Watkins, Joseph A.M.	Kirk Merrington	£114	1792 ¹
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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitations.

1792The following non-graduate curates became incumbents of:

Todd, James	St. Helen, Auckland P.C.	£54	1795 ¹
Bacon, John	St. Andrew cum St. P.C.	£97	1810 ¹
	Anne's, Auckland P.C.	£20	
	Escomb P.C.	£55	

Graduate curates

Waugh, Robert A.M.	Bishop Middleham	£220	1792 ¹
Dighton, William A.M.	Whinburgh ² cum R.)	£302	1805 ¹
	Westfield ² V.)		
	Carbrooke ¹ V.	£113	
Bright, T. S. A.M.	Forton ³ R.	£524	1804 ¹
Baverstock, Wm. A.M.	St. Margaret's, Durham P.C.	Unknown	1810 ¹
Stephenson, George A.M.	Kelloe V.	£230	1810 ¹
Bowman, J. W. A.M.	Bexley ² R.	£691	1813 ¹
Bowlby, Thomas A.M.	Penshaw P.C.	£121	1832 ³

1810The following non-graduate curates became incumbents of:

Birkett, Robert	Kelloe V.	£230	1814 ¹
Dawson, Joseph	Edmundbyers R.	£92	1814 ¹
	Muggleswick P.C.	£49	
Garthorne, Anthony	Wolviston P.C.	£93	1814 ¹
Gates, Gilfrid	Monkwearmouth P.C.	£113	1814 ¹
Jonn, Peter	Esh P.C.	£66	1819 ⁴
	Satley P.C.	£89	1819 ⁴
Topham, James	Coniscliffe V.	£150	1820 ⁴
Hayton, John	Ryhope P.C.	£70	1826
Cundill, James	Coniscliffe V.	£249	1832 ³
Wilson, William	Hartlepool P.C.	£149	1832 ³

Graduate curates

George, Patrick A.M.	Kirk Merrington V.	£100	1812 ¹
	Minor Canon		
Gamlen, Samuel A.M.	Pittington V.	£96	1814 ¹
	Minor Canon		
Vaughan, Thomas A.M.	Hope Bagot ⁵ R.	£90	1817 ¹
Newby, George A.M.	Stockton V.	£294	1832 ⁴

1814The following non-graduate curates became incumbents of:

Newby, George	Witton-le-Wear P.C.	£91	1814 ¹
Whitlock	St. John's, Weardale P.C.	£160	1814 ¹
Whinfield, Richard	Heanor ⁶ V.	Unknown	1821 ⁴
Miller, James	Pittington V.	£96	1822 ⁴

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitations.

2. Norfolk

3. Staffordshire

4. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers.

5. Shropshire

6. Derbyshire

Lambert, John	Bowes ¹ V.	Unknown	1823 ²
Hayton, John	Ryhope P.C.	£70	1826 ²
Wright, Martin	Ingleton P.C.	Unknown	1845 ²

Graduate curates

Shipperdson, Thomas A.M.	St. Mary-le-Bow R.	£78	1815 ²
Kennicott, Benjamin A.B.	Monkwearmouth P.C.	£113	1816 ²
Simpson, Joseph A.B.	Tanfield P.C.	£84	1824 ²
Preston, W. M. L. A.M.	Warcop ³ V.	Unknown	1829 ²
Dobson, George A.B.	Brinkburn ⁴		1833 ²

Perhaps the most successful of the non-graduate west country parsons was the Rev. John Hodgson who, as a result of his friendship with Cuthbert Ellison, became perpetual curate of Jarrow cum Heworth which in the words of his biographers was "considered the poorest of the poor".⁵ At the time of the census of 1811, three years after Hodgson took up his incumbency, the population of Jarrow including Heworth, amounted to over 6,300 persons, while the income of the parish from all sources was no more than £116 p.a. There was no glebe house, and the distance between the parish church and Heworth chapel was over four and a quarter miles. The circuit of the parish was large enough to require a horse, but as a result of the smallness of his income, "Hodgson could only afford to keep a horse for the first two or three years of his incumbency, afterwards he borrowed or walked".⁶

In spite of the hardships Hodgson did much to improve the condition of the parish of Jarrow, while at the same time acquiring a reputation as an antiquarian of some note. In 1823 in order that he might better pursue his scholarly interests, Bishop Barrington collated him to the vicarage of Kirk Whelpington in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, where he would better be able to complete his History of Northumberland. At the same

1. Yorkshire.

2. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination papers.

3. Westmorland.

4. Northumberland.

5. Raine, Hodgson, p.56.

6. Ibid., p.60.

time the Bishop allowed him to retain Jarrow cum Heworth.¹

As illustrated, advancement was possible. Of the total number of curates in the Archdeaconry in 1774, 30% of their number acquired a benefice while only 19% of the curates serving in 1792 were so fortunate. Of those serving in the County in 1810, 27% became beneficed. The overall rate of success of the total number of curates who had served in the Archdeaconry was less than one in four.

The plight of the remaining curates who failed to achieve a better position than that of curate was no different from the position of curates, so well documented, in other dioceses.

The Rev. John Wallis is particularly interesting with respect to his lack of success in gaining preferment. In retrospect, Wallis seems to have had many of the qualifications for a successful clerical career in the Diocese. A native of Cumberland, in 1737 he graduated from Queens College, Cambridge where he acquired a reputation as a sound scholar. In 1745 he published a poem entitled "Reflections on a Candle, in an Irregular Ode", which he prefixed with the announcement that he had opened an academy at Wallsend. He became curate at Simonburn, Northumberland where he devoted much of his time to the study of local antiquities, the results of which were published in his two volume History of Northumberland. After a dispute with the Rector of Simonburn, Dr. Scott, however he was forced to resign his curacy, and with his wife took up residence in the house of a friendly clergyman, with whom he had been acquainted at Queens. In 1775 he became curate pro tempore at Houghton-le-Spring, and immediately after removed to the curacy at Billingham, where he continued until age

1. Ibid., pp.60-61..

forced him to resign in 1792.¹ Thus notwithstanding his scholastic abilities, Wallis never obtained a position higher than that of a £30 p.a. curate, and was forced to rely on an annual pension from Bishop Barrington. His failure is more remarkable in view of the fact that his brother was Vicar of Carham and Perpetual Curate of South Shields, and his nephew Richard was Vicar of Seaham.²

While there was reluctance to pay higher stipends, voluntary financial assistance to needy clerics was not rare in the County. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Barrington had created the Barrington Fund for the benefit of poor clergymen and their families.³ Wade claimed that in the Diocese of Durham, "begging subscriptions are had every year for the poor clergy and their families",⁴ and the Chapter Minutes and the Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees contain many examples of charitable donations being made to needy parsons.⁵ Similarly the Thorp correspondence illustrates that Van Mildert frequently opened his purse to help poor curates.⁶ There were, however, individuals who as curates spent their entire lives in the Archdeaconry and who failed to benefit from either the Curate's Acts or charitable assistance.

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1. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 13 September, 1791. While employed at Billingham, the Trustees granted a "benefaction of £20 (for this time only) to be given to the Rev. John Wallis M.A., curate of Billingham and his wife (who) are very aged and infirm and duly certified to stand in need of such assistance". Five years after his death a further £10 was granted to "the wife of the late John Wallis, author of History of Northumberland." Ibid., 8 March 1798.
 2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.311.; AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Episcopal Visitations, South Shields, Seaham.
 3. Richley, Bishop Auckland, p.124.
 4. Wade, Black Book, p.25.
 5. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter Vols. II & III; CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.
 6. UL. Thorp MSS. William Van Mildert to Charles Thorp, Doncaster. 21 June, 1831; same to same East Sheen, 6 May, 1833. Both of these letters deal with episcopal grants from "my private purse" to the Rev. Joseph Waite sub-curate of Ebchester and Medomsley.

The Rev. William Nicholson had been twenty-three years curate of Cockfield with a salary of £20 p.a. When finally incapacitated by age, he was allowed an annual pension of £10. Having no family and his faculties being impaired, Nicholson's appearance is said to have greatly deteriorated. His last few years were spent as the butt of village children's jeers. After a time in this pitiful state the parish clerk took Nicholson into his charge, cleaned his person, and made every effort to make comfortable his remaining years. Nicholson died on 5 March, 1805.¹

1. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.80.

CHAPTER VII

CHURCH BUILDING

During the first half of the nineteenth century, County Durham was in the mainstream of industrialisation, with the expansion of the coal industry, development of iron making and the emergence of engineering and shipbuilding, the growth of which had been facilitated by an extensive influx of additional labour.

The discovery of coal beneath the magnesian limestone plateau, and the opening of the East Durham coal field during the 1820s, created a greater need for labour than the natural increase in population could supply. The rural areas of the County were unable to supply the wants of industry and thus it is found that a surprising volume of immigration took place, especially during the decade 1831-41 when the rate of industrial expansion outstripped the local labour supply to an unusual extent.¹

With the rapid growth of population went a modification of settlement patterns. Some of the older villages increased in size, but in general new mining settlements came into being, grouped around, or in close association with, pit heads.² Populations grew seemingly overnight, with labour forces establishing themselves almost as soon as they were needed, thus putting the County's medieval parochial structure under severe pressure. Bishop Maltby noted in his Primary Charge that his new diocese differed from others by the:³

1. House, North Eastern England, p.3.

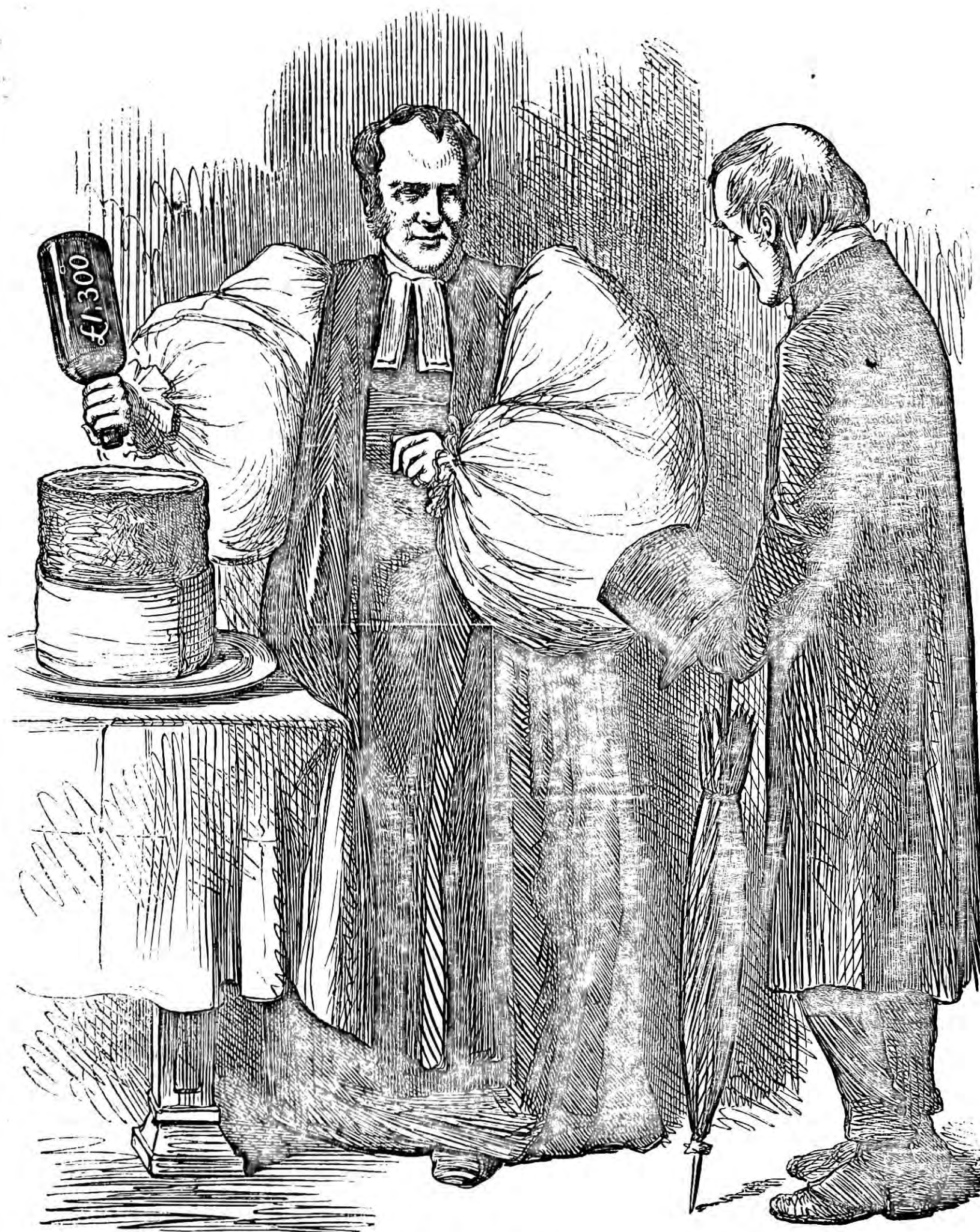
2. Ibid., p.13.

3. Hansard 3rd Series, Vol.103, Col.1043.

APPENDIX A

On the facing page is a reproduction of "The Durham Cheese". Pictured is the Bishop of Durham, Henry Montague Villiers pouring wine from a bottle labelled with the p.a. value of the Rectory of Haughton-le-Skerne to which he had appointed his nephew Edward Cheese.¹ Though the curate directly involved in this incident had been the Rev. David Piper² the curate pictured is the Rev. Thomas Webb Minton who had been a friend of Frank Mewburn of Larchfield the cartoonist. Minton, fifteen years assistant curate of St. Cuthbert's Darlington had on the death of the incumbent J. W. D. Merest been passed over for the incumbency and in his stead the patron, the Duke of Cleveland, named his Chaplain the Rev. Alexander James Howell. This in spite of a memorial from the parish requesting that Minton be given the curacy.

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1. Punch believed Cheese to be a representative of an old Cheshire family.
 2. Following his graduation from Cambridge he sought preferment from his uncle one of the Members for London who advised him, "Well David, it only takes two or three words".
 "What are they?" asked David.
 "Lord, remember David".
 Taylor, Sadberge, p.199.
 3. W. F. Cosgrave, The Story of Holy Trinity Darlington 1838-1931. (Darlington, 1931), p.15.



THE DURHAM CHEESE.

BISHOP (TO NEEDY CLERGYMAN). "I AM EXCEEDINGLY SORRY, DEAR BROTHER IN THE CHURCH, BUT YOU SEE I HAVE NOT A DROP LEFT FOR YOU. I HAVE POURED IT ALL INTO MY CHEESE."

".... singular and most appalling frequency with which changes of population take place in it. There is no diocese in which so many thousands are found to lie scattered as to be thrown at a most inconvenient distance from existing places of worship; nor is there, perhaps, any diocese in which such numerous instances occur of the inhabitants so rapidly increasing, or being so suddenly created. Where a barren moor lately presented the appearance of a desert, never inhabited, and but rarely visited by man, a railroad may perhaps be formed, or a coal-pit opened out; cottages are built, and men, women, and children appear diligently employed in gaining their daily bread, but seeking in vain for that bread which sustains the vital principle even to everlasting ages".

The following table indicates the size of the problem facing the Established Church in the Archdeaconry of Durham.¹

Figure 1

Population increases from the official Census

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% of increase</u>
1801	149,384	
1811	165,239	10%
1821	193,511	17%
1831	239,256	24%
1841	307,963	29%
1851	390,963	27%
1861 ²	508,666	

In 1801 the Church of England could provide on a national average accommodation for approximately 45% of the population of England and Wales.³ In the Archdeaconry of Durham at the same date, the Established Church could only provide approximately 37% of its population with church accommodation.⁴ After 1801 the ratio of population to church seating continued to increase, until by 1861 only 16% of the Archdeaconry's population could be provided with sittings, as illustrated below.

1. P.P. 1852-53, LXXXIX, p.1.
2. P.P. 186, L, p.855.
3. P.P. 1852-53, LXXXIX, p.1.
4. P.P. 1818, XVIII, p.137. This percentage represents 55,857 sittings.

Figure 2

1801	-	37%	1841	-	23%
1811	-	34%	1851	-	20%
1821	-	30%	1861	-	16%
1831	-	26%			

The above percentages are based on the number of sittings in the 1818 Parliamentary Returns, which stated that in 1801, the Established Church in the Archdeaconry of Durham could provide accommodation for 55,857 persons. To this figure has been added the total number of new seats provided during each decade up to 1861. Figure 3 indicates the approximate increases.¹

Figure 3

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sittings</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Sittings</u>
1801	55,857	1841	70,672
1811	56,257	1851	78,677
1821	57,857	1861	83,304
1831	61,767		

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the Durham Establishment attempted to meet the increasing need for additional church accommodation in traditional ways, that is to say, through the creation of new parishes by Act of Parliament, and by the building of chapels of ease in populous parishes. Between 1800 and 1832 fifteen new churches were built in the Archdeaconry, and of these, twelve were designated chapels of ease. Van Mildert in his Primary Charge of 1827 called attention to the exertions being made to increase church accommodation.²

"In populous and extensive districts, attention has been drawn to the great want of church accommodation for the widely scattered flocks of some parishes, or the crowded population of others: and in various instances this evil has been either already much diminished or measures are put in train for effecting so desirable a purpose at no distant period".

1. See pp. 384-86.

2. Van Mildert, Charge, 1827, p.515.

In some of the larger and more scattered parishes of the Archdeaconry such as Stanhope, Wolsingham and Middleton-in-Teesdale, attempts had been made to solve the problem of shifting population centres by licensing school rooms for the purposes of public worship, a practice Van Mildert warned against.¹ Even in thinly populated districts where the inhabitants were too poor to encourage the erection of a building or to support a minister for regular services, the Bishop called for the building of proper chapels. With regard to the licensing of school rooms Van Mildert cautioned:²

"In some special cases this may be at present, the only practicable expedient for supplying the spiritual wants of the people. But that it is, in some respects, an evil, can hardly be denied. Places of religious resort so little consonant with the solemnity of the purpose tend, if not to create irreverence for religion itself, yet to diminish that respect for the Established Church, which I am willing to believe is still among the people at large a predominant feeling. Moreover, whilst buildings of this kind are probably, for the most part, very inadequate to the wants they are intended to supply; their effect if multiplied, may be to damp and repress that laudable ardour, which has of late shewn itself, in making for more efficient provision for those wants, and in a manner more accordant with the dignity of the purpose itself. I am very desirous of seeing them rendered altogether unnecessary, by increased efforts to erect and endow sufficient number of regular chapels of ease."

In 1831, much concerned with the political atmosphere, Van Mildert in his Charge of that year viewed the "present critical situation of the church at large" and then congratulated the Diocese for its being able to present to the "public eye an example of ecclesiastical conduct, well deserving the good

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS. Report of Church Accommodation, 1824. Barrington had licensed school rooms at East Gate in Stanhope, Cockerton in Darlington and Shildon in St. Andrew Auckland for Sunday afternoon services. *Ibid.*, 1857 Episcopal Visitation.
 2. Van Mildert, Charge, 1827, p.518.

opinion of the community". He continued with an enumeration of the improvements that had taken place during the five years since his accession.¹

"Twenty-seven new schools, eighty-five united to the National Society. Of Glebe-Houses, four new ones have been added, four rebuilt or considerably enlarged, and three more are proposed to be built. Of church or chapels, fourteen have been built, or are building; thirteen rebuilt, or altered and enlarged; eight are now in progress or proposed".

In the face of the unrelenting increase in the mining and manufacturing populations, he qualified his praise by noting that the Established Church was losing ground in the battle to provide accommodation. He therefore presented a scheme whereby he hoped to increase the Diocesan effort.²

"Of places of worship in communion with the Established Church I would mention the still great and increasing want of them in the mining districts; where, for most part, there is no provision of the kind, sufficient to insure to the multitudes belonging to them those spiritual ministrations, without such there is danger of almost all sense of Religion being either lost or perverted. It has been suggested to me, that auxiliary chapels, similar to those in ancient times called oratories, might be opened in these districts; the building to be of the simplest kind, consistently with what is befitting their sacred character, and to be set apart exclusively, for the Church of England service. Where new Collieries are opened, some provision of this kind might perhaps easily be arranged between the Proprietors and Lessees".

Between 1832 and 1839 oratories were built at Frosterley and East Gate in Stanhope, Harton in South Shields, Chopwell in Winlaton, and in Gainford.³ Of the eight churches proposed or in the process of being built, all were completed by 1837. Between that date and 1854 a further thirty-two churches were

1. Van Mildert, Charge, 1831, p.537.

2. Ibid.

3. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees. The Trustees granted a total of £190 for the building of these chapels.

completed, making a total of fifty-six new churches added to the parochial structure of the Archdeaconry between 1774 and 1854. In addition, Bishop Maltby had licensed or sanctioned the use of thirty-four school rooms throughout the County in an effort to provide more accommodation where it was needed.¹ In spite of this effort, however, the Established Church continued to fall further behind in its efforts to cope with the increasing needs of the rising population. Archdeacon Thorp's visitation of 1861 reveals a number of temporary efforts to alleviate the deteriorating situation. In the populous parish of Bishopwearmouth two school rooms, seating between them 180 persons, were being used for Sunday services. This was in spite of the building of five new churches in the parish between 1821 and 1861. In Easington, a school room at Haswell was licensed to provide for a local concentration of miners, while in the parish of Monk Hesledon the Vicar, William Hayes, rented a cottage three miles from the church in which he performed Sunday services.²

The following table is, as far as is possible, a comprehensive account of the church building that took place in the Archdeaconry between 1774 and 1854.

Figure 4

- 1. No. of sittings.
- 2. Name or location of the new church.
- 3. Designation.
- 4. Parish in which it was built.
- 5. Year of its construction.

1	2	3	4	5
400	St. Edmunds	Chapel of Ease	Gateshead	1810
1300	Westoe	" " "	South Shields	1818
300	Hylton	" " "	Bishopwearmouth	1821
400	Heathery Cleugh (Copt Hill)	" " "	Stanhope	1823
300	Rainton	" " "	Houghton-le-Spring	1825

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1857 Episcopal Visitation.
2. Ibid. 1861 Archidiaconal Visitation of Charles Thorp.

Figure 4 (Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1000	Gateshead Fell	Rectory	Gateshead	1825
180	Shincliffe	Vicarage	St. Oswald	1826
300	Ryhope	Chapel of Ease	Bishopwearmouth	1826
300	Rookhope	" " "	Stanhope	c.1827
120	East Gate	Oratory	Stanhope	c.1827
800	Winlaton	Chapel of Ease	Ryton	1828
300	Ferryhill	" " "	Kirk Merrington	1829
1000	St. Thomas	" " "	Bishopwearmouth	1829
250	Seaton Carew	P.C.	Stranton	1831
410	Usworth	Chapel of Ease	Washington	1831
440	Hetton-le-Hole	" " "	Houghton-le-Spring	c.1832
100	Frosterley	" " "	Stanhope	c.1832
320	Etherley	Parochial Chapel	St. Helen, Auckland	1832
1200	Holy Trinity	Chapelry District	South Shields	1834
700	Shildon	Parochial Chapelry	St. Andrew, Auckland	1834
1400	Holy Trinity	District Chapel	Stockton	1835
	Bolam	Oratory	Gainford	1835
300	Holy Trinity	Chapel of Ease	Gateshead	1837
330	Stella	" " "	Ryton	1837
900	Holy Trinity	Ecclesiastical District	Darlington	1837
500	Shadforth	Parochial Chapelry	Pittington	1839
500	South Hetton	Chapel of Ease	Easington	1839
450	Seaham Harbour	P.C.	Dalton-le-Dale	1840
150	West Herrington	Chapel of Ease	Houghton-le-Spring	1840
280	Harton	Oratory	South Shields	1840
360	St. Thomas (Collierley)	Chapel of Ease	Chester-le-Street	1841
1200	St. Andrew (Deptford)	Chapelry District	Bishopwearmouth	1841
440	Wingate	"	Castle Eden	1841
400	Coundon	District Parish	St. Andrew, Auckland	1841
450	Pelton	Chapelry District	Chester-le-Street	1842
300	St. Alban (Windy Nook)	"	Heworth	1842
500	Thornley	Parochial Chapelry	Kelloe	1842
600	Southwick	Chapelry District	Monkwearmouth	1843
304	Crook	Parochial Chapelry	Brancepeth	1843
206	Ingleton	Chapelry District	Staindrop	1843
300	Thornley	Parochial Chapelry	Wolsingham	1843
300	Hunwick	"	Brancepeth	1843
			Witton-le-Wear	1844
283	Byers Green	Parochial Chapelry	St. Andrew, Auckland	1844

Figure 4 (Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
305	Stella (Peel parish)	Rectory ¹	Ryton	1845
850	St. Stephen	Chapelry District	South Shields	1846
250	Lynsack	" "	Hamsterley	1848
558	St. Cuthberts	Chapel of Ease	Gateshead	1848
394	Benfieldside	Chapelry District	Medomsley & Ebchester	1849
359	Birtley	" "	Chester-le-St.	1849
548	All Saints	Parochial Chapel	Monkwearmouth	1849
Unkn.	Forest	Chapel of Ease	Middleton-in-Teesdale	1849
150	Newbottle	" " "	Houghton-le-Spring	1850
560	Hendon	District Chapel	Bishopwearmouth	1850
380	Shincliffe (rebuilt)		St. Oswald	1851
750	St. John	Chapelry District	Darlington	1853
350	Eighton Banks	" "	Lamesley, Usworth, Gateshead	1854
770	West Hartlepool	Parochial Chapelry	Hartlepool	1854
380	Shalton	Chapel of Ease	Easington	1854

Growing concern over the rise of dissent and the inability of the Established Church to provide sittings in step with increasing population resulted in a Parliamentary investigation into church accommodation in the country's larger parishes. In the Archdeaconry of Durham the results of this survey indicated that there were twenty-one parishes with populations in excess of 2,000 people, containing a combined population of 103,049 persons. The Established Church in these parishes could provide accommodation for 19,940 souls thus leaving 83,109 individuals unprovided for.²

The first surviving Archdeaconry inquiry into the problem came in 1824 when Charles Thorp, the acting Archdeacon of Durham, made a report on church accommodation to Bishop Barrington. Thorp found that in the seventy-eight parishes answering his queries there was sufficient accommodation for only 19% of their populations. Of the available sittings 85% had been appropriated,

1. Church rebuilt and designated a Rectory.

2. P.P. 1818, XVIII, p.93. See Chapter Appendix A. .

or were reserved for school children, leaving only enough free accommodation for 3% of the inhabitants. Many of the free seats were mere forms in the aisles and in only a few instances were the poor comfortably seated.¹

In his report Thorp noted that "it is the custom of the churchwardens to sell pews for the benefit of the parish without the consent of the Bishop. These pews pass into the hands of the opulent". This practice seems to have included the selling of newly added pews as well as the sale of ancient accommodation. To eradicate such practices Thorp suggested closer control of the issuing of faculties (which heretofore had sometimes been granted):²

"To the injury of the church - The Ecclesiastical Court acts upon the statement and petition of the applying and interested party, a formal notice, which, is little attended to, being given to the parish, but without any Ecclesiastical survey - The general convenience is therefore inadequately protected which might be provided for was it made necessary by a rule of court that a Report should be presented by the A'deacon as the Bishop's eye, previous to the issue of the faculty; - and this would in no degree abridge the authority of the court, because the A'deacon's opinion would not be binding upon it, and would only furnish useful evidence".

Thorp supported these proposals with evidence which revealed that in a faculty issued for the building of a gallery in the parish church at Witton-le-Wear, no provision had been made for the poor, this in a parish where all of the seating in the church was already appropriated. In the parish of Stockton, 1,156 of the 1,225 seats in the church were appropriated, the poor having no place to sit but on "benches in the aisles". The situation was the same in Chester-le-Street where the seats

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Report of Church Accommodation in the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1824.
 2. Ibid. See Chapter Appendix B.
 3. Ibid.

in the parish church were attached to the land, to the exclusion of the houses and their residents. In this, Thorp saw the reasons for increasing non-conformity. With the Established Church unable to provide more than 4,311 free seats for a population of over 140,000 he noted that "many dissenting places of worship are building; and by such means only are the spiritual wants of the poor supplied. From the church they are excluded". His answer to such a challenge was the building of new churches.

The 1818 Parliamentary Return and Thorp's investigation revealed a number of parishes where the question of accommodation had become most acute. In a letter to Barrington, Thorp presented the following list containing the most pressing cases: Houghton-le-Spring, Bishopwearmouth, Ryton, Sunderland, Chester-le-Street, Darlington and Stockton. Efforts were already under way to increase accommodation in the first three of these parishes by 1825. In Houghton-le-Spring a new chapel had been completed recently at Rainton. A chapel of ease had been built at Ryhope, and another at Hylton in the parish of Bishopwearmouth, while at the same time the disused proprietary chapel at Winlaton was being rebuilt as a chapel of ease to the parish church at Ryton. In the remaining four parishes Thorp proposed the building of additional churches, and in his letter to Barrington he included estimates as to their probable cost.¹

Sunderland²

Church to hold 1,500	£3,500
Gallery in old church	£300

-
1. AC. Episcopal MSS. Report of Church Accommodation in the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1824. Charles Thorp to Shute Barrington, Ryton Rectory, 4 February, 1825.
 2. With regard to Sunderland Thorp reported that "not more than 804 or less than 1/17th part of the poor can attend at the services both of the church and chapel on any Sunday - In my judgement, nothing short of a new church with a distant parochial district, a separate endowment will meet the wants of this very important parish". Ibid.

Chester-le-Street		
Chapel at Harraton to hold	600	£800
Seats in the church		£300
Darlington		
Chapel at Cockburn to hold	500	£600
Gallery arrangement in the church		£300
Stockton		
Church to hold	1,000	£3,000
Gallery in old church		£300
		<hr/>
		£9,100
		<hr/>

It has already been suggested that the Durham establishment had not been anxious to use their funds for Diocesan reform. In keeping with such a principle Thorp suggested to the Bishop that the larger part of the sum required "may surely be had from the Commissioners or the Church Building Society - something from Ld. Crewe's Trustees - From benefactions - and from parochial collections through the diocese, should your Lordship think it right to sanction such a plan".¹

When the need for increasing the amount of accommodation was recognised, the Archdeaconry of Durham found itself in a fortunate financial position. While there were certainly many poor benefices in the County, it happened that it was in the wealthier parishes that the greatest initial increases in population occurred, that is to say, in parishes where the parson's annual income averaged over £1,400 p.a. In parishes such as these the efforts to provide increased accommodation took the form of building chapels of ease, a solution which was, until 1832, the Archdeaconry's answer to the problem of its increasing population.

It was also during this first period of Durham parochial expansion that the Diocese saw the foundation of a branch of

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. Report of Church Accommodation in the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1824.

the Incorporated Society for the Enlargement and Building of Churches and Chapels.¹ The Durham branch operated on the principle that they considered local claims first. Of the funds collected in the Diocese only one quarter was annually transmitted to the parent, the remainder being used as local needs required. When these had been met, any surplus was to be transmitted to London. The Durham Committee's financial report of 1844 indicates that since their formation, remittances to the parent Society had amounted to £1,337, while £5,137 had been held back for Diocesan use. By 1850, after assisting with the building of fifty-two churches and with the repair, rebuilding or enlargement of fifty others, the Committee's secretary, the Rev. John Eade, reported their funds to be exhausted.²

Financial assistance for the building of new churches in the Archdeaconry came in varying amounts, from a number of sources. In addition to assistance from the above Society, money was received from the Church Building Commissioners, the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Durham, Lord Crewe's Trustees, as well as from patrons, impropiators, local companies and collieries. The following four tables indicate the amounts received for the building of new churches from the Diocesan Church Building Society, the Church Building Commissioners, the Dean and Chapter of Durham and from Lord Crewe's Trustees. No comprehensive source of Episcopal expenditures exists, therefore Figure 9 is an attempt to illustrate the extent of Episcopal financial assistance towards the expansion of the Archdeaconry's parochial structure, by listing the churches which were built between 1774 and 1856, and noting the principal contributors to each.

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1. DCL. Raine MSS.. R.8. This took place at a meeting of the Sons of the Clergy that took place in Stockton on 6 September, 1827. Archdeacon Watkins thought this to have been the first Diocesan branch of that Society.
 2. DCL. Raine MSS., R.8.

Figure 5

Grants made by the Durham Diocesan Committee in Aid
of the Incorporated Society for the Enlargement and
Building of Churches and Chapels since its formation,
6 September, 1827.¹

<u>Where church was built</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Where church was built</u>	<u>Grant</u>
Ferryhill	£200	Coundon	£50
Westoe	£25	Crook	£50
Etherley	£100	Southwick	£150
Usworth	£50	Hunwick	£50
Seaton Carew	£75	Byers Green	£50
Holy Trinity, South Shields	£100	Thornley (Kelloe)	£50
Shildon	£115	Ingleton	£150
Darlington	£256	Lynsack	£100
Seaham Harbour	£70	Forest	£40
Stockton	£100	Monkwearmouth	£100
Trinity Chapel. Gateshead	£50	Eighton Banks	£50
Shadforth	£125	Birtley	£100
Hetton	£50	Darlington	£150
South Shields	£150	Shincliffe	£100
Collierley	£50	Benfieldside	£150
Windy Nook	£75	Hartlepool	£120
Deptford	£50	Newbottle	£50
Pelton	£50	Hendon	£100

Figure 6Grants received from the Church Building Commissioners.

<u>Year grant made</u>	<u>No. made</u>	<u>Amount of grant</u>	<u>Parish</u>
1824	1	£550	Rainton ¹
1824-25	1	£1,000	Gateshead Fell ¹
1827-28	2	£1,530	Winlaton ¹
1827-29	1	£4,570	Bishopwearmouth ¹
1831-32	2	£650	Hetton-le-Hole ¹
		£600	Holy Trinity ¹
		£500	St. Andrew, Deptford ¹
1841-42	2	£300	Pelton ²
1841-42	2	£200	Heworth, St. Alban ²
1842	2	£250	Thornley ²
		£430	Ingleton ²
		£200	Gateshead, St. Cuthbert's ²
		£200	Benfieldside ²
1848	2	£250	Birtley ²
1846-49	2	£200	Monkwearmouth, All Saints ²
1849	2	£150	Darlington, St. John ²
1850-51	2	£250	West Hartlepool ²
1851-52	2	£150	Hendon ²

1. P.P. 1837, XLI, p.429.

2. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVII, p.129.

Figure 7

Sums granted by the Dean and Chapter of Durham
for the building of new churches¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1782	St. Anne's Auckland	£50
1809	Gateshead Fell	£50
1818	Westoe	£1,000
1821	Heworth	£200
1824-25	Rainton	£300
1825	Gateshead Fell	£50
1828-31	Ferryhill	£175
1830	Hetton	£50
1831	South Shields	£1,224
1838-39	Seaham Harbour	£150
1839	Shadforth	£100
1842	Southwick	£1,200
1842	Windy Nook	£50
1845	St. Stephen, South Shields	£300
1846	Monkwearmouth	£200
1849	Monkwearmouth, All Saints	£200
1855	Monkwearmouth, All Saints	£140
1856	Belmont	£100

1. SL. Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

Figure 8

Sums granted by Lord Crewe's Trustees for the building
of new churches.¹

<u>Year of grant</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Amount of grant</u>
1817	Hylton	£50
1823	West Rainton	£200
1825	Gateshead Fell	£100
1825	Ryhope	£100
1826	Winlaton	£100
1827	St. Thomas	£100
1828	Ferryhill	£100
1828	Etherley	£100
1829	Winlaton	£50
1830	Bishopwearmouth	£50
1830	Ryhope	£20
1831	Seaton Carew	£25
1831	Usworth	£50
1833	Shildon	£25
1834	Darlington	£100
1835	Oratory at Gainford	£10
1836	Oratory at Harton	£30
1836	Collierley	£20
1836	Nuns Chapel, Gateshead	£20
1836	Rookhope	£20
1836	Rookhope (in lieu of previous grant)	£50
1837	Shadforth	£100
1839	Oratory at East Gate	£50
1839	Oratory at Chopwell	£50
1840	Thornley	£50
1843	Windy Nook	£15

1. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.

Figure 9

1. Patronage of the new church: E, Episcopal; C, Capitular; L, lay; Cr. Crown; A, Archdeacon of Durham; P, Parochial.
2. Dedication or location.
3. Approximate cost of construction.
4. Principal contributors.

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	St. Edmunds	£1,331	Subscriptions ¹ including £50 from Dean and Chapter. ²
P	Westoe	£2,600	Dean and Chapter, £1,000; Lord Crewe's Trustees, £500; National School Society, £200; ³ Diocesan Committee for the Enlargement and Building of Churches and Chapels, £25. ⁴
E	Hylton	£300	Building and site donated by Vice Admiral T. J. Maling. ⁵
P	Heathery Cleugh		Built by Bishop Barrington. ⁶
E	Rainton	£1,111	Ch.Blg.Comm., £550; Dean and Chapter, £300; Subscriptions, £61; ⁶ Lord Crewe's Trustees, £200. ⁷
E	Gateshead Fell	£2,580	Ch.Blg. Comm., £1,000; Church rate, £470; Incorporated Society for Promoting the Enlargement and Building of Churches and Chapels, £350; ⁸ Dean and Chapter, £50; ⁹ Lord Crewe's Trustees, £100. ¹⁰
E	Shincliffe	£600	Dean and Chapter donated a tithe barn. ¹¹
E	Ryhope	£300	Subscription including £100 from Lord Crewe's Trustees. ¹²
P	Rookhope		
E	Winlaton	£2,280	Ch.Blg. Comm., £1,530; ¹³ Subscription amounting to £750 incl. £100 from Lord Crewe. ¹⁴

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1. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II. p.763.
 2. SL. Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.
 3. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.731.
 4. See Figure 5.
 5. Willcox, B.F.R., A Short History of St. Mary's Church, South Hylton, p.8.
 6. Ibid., Vol.I, p.677.
 7. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Houghton-le-Spring.
 8. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 26 Sept., 1823.
 9. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Gateshead Fell. Rev. William Hawks to Christopher Hodgson, Gateshead Fell, 22 July, 1826.
 10. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 14 February, 1825.
 11. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.387.
 12. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 19 December, 1825.
 13. CC. Queen Anne's Bounty MSS., Summary of Building Grants, 1824-44.
 14. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 23 January, 1828.

Figure 9 (Contd.)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
C	Ferryhill		Bishop, amount unknown; Dean and Chapter, £175; ¹ Lord Crewe, £100; ² Diocesan Society for Building Churches, £200. ³
E	St. Thomas	£5,577	C.Blg.Comm., £4,570; Subscriptions, £1,016. ⁴
L	Seaton Carew	£820	Site given by parishioner; £695 given by patron, Mrs. B. T. Lawson; Lord Crewe, £25; ⁵ Dio.Soc. for Blg. Ch., £75. ⁶
E	Hetton-le-Hole	£1,650	Ch.Blg.Comm., £500; Subscriptions: £100 from Bishop Barrington's trustees, Bishop Maltby, Lord Crewe, Hetton Coal Company; £50 Dean and Chapter. ⁷
P	Frosterley	£170	Rector of Stanhope, £120; ⁸ Lord Crewe, £50. ⁹
E	Etherley	£700	Built by Van Mildert; ¹⁰ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £100. ¹¹
P	Usworth	£792	Inc. Soc. for Blg.Ch., £100; Dio. Soc. for Blg.Ch., £50; Bishop of Durham, £100; Lord Crewe, £50; Rector of Washington, £57. ¹²
C	Holy Trinity	£900	Dean and Chapt., £1,224 and site; ¹³ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £100. ¹⁴
E	Shildon		Bishop Van Mildert, £500; Inhabitants £400; ¹⁵ Lord Crewe, £50; ¹⁶ Dio. Soc. for Blg.Ch., £115. ¹⁷
E	Holy Trinity		Public subscription: site given by Van Mildert. ¹⁸

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1. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.441.
 2. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 21 January, 1828.
 3. See Figure 5.
 4. P.P. 1837, XLI, p.429.
 5. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Seaton Carew. No.6037. Rev. J. Lawson to John Burdon Boroughbridge Hall, 7 February, 1831.
 6. See Figure 5.
 7. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Hetton-le-Hole. Rev. E. S. Thurlow to Christopher Hodgson, 26 August, 1828.
 8. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file, Stanhope.
 9. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 15 & 16 February, 1832.
 10. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.608.
 11. See Figure 5.
 12. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Usworth, No.6820.
 13. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III.
 14. See Figure 5.
 15. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Shildon, No.6085. Rev. James Manisty to Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
 16. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.
 17. See Figure 5.
 18. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.163.

Figure 9 (Contd.)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
P	Holy Trinity	£900	Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £50. ¹
E + G.	Stella	£330	Site given by parishioner. ²
A	Holy Trinity	£3,403	Ch.Blg.Comm., £600; Subscriptions, including £1,000 from a Bazaar. ³
C	Shadforth	£500	Dean and Chapt., £100, ⁴ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £125; ⁵ Lord Crewe, £100. ⁶
P	South Hetton	£400	Voluntary contributions from Bishop, Rector of Easington, Hetton Coal Company; ⁷ £50, Dio.Soc. for Blg. Ch. ⁸
L	Seaham Harbour	£520	Built by Lord Londonderry; ⁹ Dean and Chapter, £150; ¹⁰ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £70. ¹¹
P	West Herrington	£150	Built by Rector of Houghton-le-Spring. ¹²
P	Eastgate		Built by Rector of Stanhope, £120; ¹³ Lord Crewe, £50. ¹⁴
	Harton Oratory		
E	St. Thomas (Collierly)	£360	Voluntary subscription ¹⁵ including £20 from Lord Crewe; ¹⁶ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £50. ¹⁷
L	Coundon	£900	Bishop Maltby, £850; ¹⁸ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £50. ¹⁹
E	St. Andrew (Deptford)	£3,000	Ch.Blg.Comm., £500; Ecclesiastical Commissioners, £500; Rector of Bishopwearmouth, £200; Bishop Maltby, £100; ²⁰ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £50. ²¹

1. See Figure 5.
2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.680.
3. P.P. 1837, XLI, p.429; W. F. Cosgrove, The Story of Holy Trinity, Darlington, p.11.
4. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III.
5. See Figure 5.
6. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.
7. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Easington. MS. Application for a new district in the township of Haswell and Shotton.
8. See Figure 5.
9. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.591.
10. SL., Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.
11. See Figure 5.
12. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.564.
13. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Stanhope.
14. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.
15. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.663.
16. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees.
17. See Figure 5.
18. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.386.
19. See Figure 5.
20. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.437.
21. See Figure 5.

Figure 9 (Contd.)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
P	Wingate	£1,100	Subscription: Wingate Colliery £300; Lord & Lady Howden, £50; Site given by Rowland Burdon. ¹
P	Pelton	£1,500	Ch.Blg. Comm., £300; ² Pelton Colliery, £325; ³ Urpeth Colliery, £100. ⁴
P	Heworth, St. Alban	£777	Ch.Blg.Comm., £200; ⁵ Dean and Chapter, £50; ⁶ Lord Crewe, £15; ⁷ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £75. ⁸
P	Thornley	£887	Ch.Blg.Comm., £250; ⁹ Lord Crewe, £50; ¹⁰ Thornley Colliery Co., £150; Bishop of Durham, £50; ¹¹ Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £50. ¹²
C	Southwick		Dean and Chapter, £1,200; ¹³ Dio. Soc. for Blg.Ch., £150. ¹⁴
L	Crook	£304	Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £50. ¹⁵
P	Ingleton	£430	Ch.Blg.Comm., £150; Duke of Cleveland, £100; ¹⁶ Dio.Soc. for Blg. Ch., £150. ¹⁷
P	Thornley	£350	Rector of Stanhope, £100 and site; Lord Crewe, £50; Bishop of Durham, £30; Rector of Wolsingham, £30. ¹⁸
E	Hunwick	£100 ¹⁹	Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £50. ²⁰
E+ Cr.	Stella	£800	Cost of adding chancel and South porch. ²¹
E	Byers Green		Built by the Bishop of Durham; ²² Dio. Soc. for Blg. Ch., £50. ²³
C	St. Stephen	£2,500	Dean and Chapter, £400. ²⁴

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Castle Eden.
2. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVIII, p.129.
3. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.620.
4. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Pelton. No.16020 pt.1. MS. Minutes of meeting held in the Village of Pelton in the parish of Chester-le-Street, 20 December, 1839.
5. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVIII, p.129.
6. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter.
7. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 15 February, 1843.
8. See Figure 5.
9. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVIII, p.129.
10. CO. MSS. Minutes of Lord Crewe's Trustees, 11 April, 1840; CC. MSS. Benefice file, Thornley in Kelloe. Thomas Wood to J. C. K. Murray, 18 March, 1840.
11. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.382.
12. See Figure 5.
13. SL., Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.
14. See Figure 5.
15. Ibid.
16. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.114.
17. See Figure 5.
18. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.644.
19. Ibid., Vol.I, p.595.
20. See Figure 5.
21. Whellan, Durham, p.1249.
22. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.590.
23. See Figure 5.
24. SL., Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

Figure 9 (Contd.)

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
P	Lynsack	£773	Bishop of Durham, £100; Dio.Soc.for Blg.Ch., £100; Bishop Barrington's Trust for Blg.Ch., £75; Duke of Cleveland, £50; Lord Ravensworth, £25. ¹
P	St. Cuthberts	£1,800	Ch.Blg.Comm., £200; £200; Subscriptions. ²
E & Gr.	Benfield-side	£2,546	Ch.Blg.Comm., £200; Subscriptions, £2,346 ³ incl. from Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £150 ⁴ and £450 from Thomas Wilson, parishioner. ⁴
P	Birtley	£2,000	Ch.Blg.Comm., £250; Subscription £1,750 ⁵ incl. £100 from Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch.
E & Gr.	All Saints	£1,985	Ch.Blg.Comm., £200; Subscriptions £1,818 ⁶ , incl. £340 from Dean and Chapter and £100 from Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch. ⁷
E	Hendon	£2,772	Inc.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £300; ⁸ Bishop of Durham, £100; late Rector, £100; ⁹ Ch. Blg.Comm., £150 ¹⁰ ; Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £100. ¹¹
P	Forrest	£240 ¹²	
P	Newbottle	£150	
C	Shincliffe	£1,481	Inc.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £85; Subscriptions, £1,231 inc. Bishop of Durham, £50; Dean and Chapter, £300; Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £100. ¹³
E & Gr.	St. John (Darlington)	£2,829	Ch.Blg.Comm., £150; Subscription, £2,579 incl. £150, Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch. ¹⁴
L	Eighton Banks		Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £50. ¹⁵
Pat-ron- age of Trus-tees	West Hartlepool	£2,887	Ch.Blg.Comm., £250; ¹⁶ Dio.Soc. for Blg.Ch., £75. ¹⁷
P	Shotton	£400	

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Lynsack. No.4492. MS. Form of Inquiry on Application to Her Majesty's Councillors for Building and Promoting the Building of Additional Churches in Populous Parishes.
2. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVIII, p.129.
3. Ibid.
4. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.699.
5. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVIII, p.129.
6. Ibid.
7. SL., Record of Benefactions made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.
8. See Figure 5.
9. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.440.
10. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth. No.617. Pamphlet, Bishopwearmouth Building Fund.
11. P.P. 1856, XLVI, p.129.
12. See Figure 5.
13. Whellan, Durham, p.457.
14. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Shincliffe. MS. Form of Inquiry on Application to Her Majesty's Councillors for Building and Promoting the Building of Additional Churches in Populous Parishes, 20 March, 1849.
15. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVII, p.129.
16. See Figure 5.
17. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVII, p.129.

With the initial increases in population occurring in the wealthier parishes, the building of chapels of ease looked to be economically the most workable solution to the problem, for once completed, they could be supported out of parish funds.

By 1832, the population in Bishopwearmouth had increased to over 16,000 inhabitants, and in an effort to meet their spiritual needs, three chapels had been built and were being served by four curates at a total cost to the Rector of over £600 p.a.¹ In Houghton-le-Spring the expanding coal industry necessitated the building of additional chapels to serve the new concentrations of colliery workers at West Rainton, where there was a population of over 3,600 persons.² A chapel was built there in 1825,³ and in 1827 negotiations had begun with the Church Building Commissioners for a grant to build another nearby. With the permission of Edward South Thurlow, Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, a local committee was created for carrying into effect a proposed scheme for building a chapel at Hetton-le-Hole, two miles distant from the parish church. The need for it was clear, as the local population was estimated to be nearly 5,000 persons, and apart from a gallery in the parish church containing sixty free seats, they had access to no other free accommodation.⁴ In the Rector's words, the inhabitants of Hetton "were living in a barbarous state of ignorance as to their religious and moral duties, and must continue so, without some

1. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Bishopwearmouth.

2. "Persons principally employed in coal mines, who either attend no place of public worship, or else are driven to the conventicles". CC. MSS. Benefice file, Houghton-le-Spring. MS. Petition to the Church Building Commissioners, 16 September, 1823.

3. For the building of this chapel the C.B.C. granted £550. *Ibid.*, Edward South Thurlow to the Secretary of the C.B.C. Norwich, 7 March, 1825.

4. *Ibid.*, Hetton-le-Hole. MS. Petition to the C.B.C., no date. The parish church contained 1,200 seats, but they were all appropriated. The gallery had been built at Thurlow's expense.

means of Instruction are afforded them, by the erection of a chapel to assemble in and a resident clergyman to preach the gospel to them". When completed in 1832, Thurlow secured from the Rectory a permanent stipend of £100 for the officiating curate.¹

Stanhope was the largest parish in the County having been divided into four administrative Quarters: Stanhope, Newlandside, Park, and Forest. This comprised over 54,800² acres, and contained a widely scattered lead mining population, which had, by 1832, increased to over 9,500 persons.³ Spiritual provisions for the population had originally consisted of two ancient churches, the parish church at Stanhope, and a chapel of ease, St. John's, Weardale, seven miles distant from the parish church, in Forest Quarter. By the 1820's this expansion of the lead industry⁴ necessitated the building of an additional church in Forest Quarter, where, by 1821, 3,700 individuals were spread over its 20,000 acres.⁵ In 1823 the chapel of Heathery Cleugh was erected at Copt Hill in that Quarter. Benefactions were gathered for the maintenance of a resident curate to which Bishop Barrington added an endowment of a piece of land which let for £12 p.a.⁶ In all, the curate of Heathery Cleugh could expect, on average, £50 to £60 p.a. which was made up to £100 p.a. by an annual payment from the Rector of Stanhope, who in addition was a frequent benefactor to that cure.⁷ In rapid succession three further chapels were

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1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Hetton-le-Hole. Edward South Thurlow to George Jenner, Secretary and Treasurer of the C.B.C. Houghton-le-Spring, 26 August, 1828.
 2. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.648.
 3. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Stanhope.
 4. Hunt, "Lead Mines in the Northern Pennines", pp.394-95.
 5. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.
 6. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, St. John's, Weardale.
 7. Ibid. Both Phillpotts and Darnell augmented the cure with £200. Darnell spent a further £34 to assist with alterations to the chapel and Phillpotts, as Bishop of Exeter, gave £20 towards the purchase of fixtures and grates for the new parsonage.

built, at Rookhope in Park Quarter, another at Eastgate in Stanhope Quarter, and in 1832, at the Rector's expense, a third was built at Frosterly in Stanhope Quarter. All three were served by curates from the parish church.¹

The second phase of parochial expansion was marked by the winning of collieries on the magnesian plateau, and the development and extension of the steam railways which brought into coal production larger areas of the County, and spread the problem of church accommodation into parishes without the financial ability to cope. The sinking of pits in parishes where previously agriculture had been the primary industry put greater financial burdens upon impropiators and patrons.

After the opening of the Stockton-Darlington railway, it became economically feasible to exploit the mineral wealth that existed in the southern portion of the County, and especially in the districts in and around the parish of Auckland. Though the parish already contained four churches, St. Andrew and St. Anne's Auckland, St. Helen, Auckland, and Escomb, these rapidly ceased to be adequate in the face of a rapidly increasing population. Between them they provided sittings for 1,610 persons, but of these only 128 were free for a population which in 1821 was over 8,700 persons and which by 1831 had risen to over 11,800.²

In 1832 the parochial chapelry of St. Helen's was described as "extensive, situated in the midst of a densely populated coal district, already containing a population of about 3,000 with an immediate prospect of a very great increase from the opening of several collieries now in progress".³ With a net income of £135

1. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Stanhope.

2. P.P. 1852-53, LXXXIX, p.1.

3. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, St. Helen, Auckland.

p.a. the incumbent, Matthew Chester, could not have responded as readily to the needs of his parishioners as did the rectors of Bishopwearmouth, Houghton-le-Spring and Stanhope. In the district of St. Andrew, Auckland the situation was the same. It therefore fell to the Bishop of Durham as impropiator and principal land holder in the parish to assist with providing the much needed increased accommodation. Steps were initiated by Van Mildert which culminated in the building of two additional churches in the parish, one at Etherly in 1832, and another at Shildon in 1834. It being impossible to designate these churches chapels of ease, the Bishop therefore took it upon himself to provide endowments so as to make both churches independent parochial chapelries. To Etherly, Van Mildert assigned a farm worth £40 p.a. intending to increase its income to £200 p.a. with a further grant of land.¹ However, both this and his proposed endowments to Shildon were never made as a result of his death.²

In the parish of Stockton the difficulties that accompanied church extension were compounded by the presence of an organised and active dissenting community of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists.³ The situation as it existed in the parish was

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1. CC. MSS. General file, Durham Bishopric Estates. MS. Augmentation of certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham. Rev. George Watson to C. K. Murray 8 April, 1837.
 2. CC. MSS. General file, Durham Bishopric Estates. MS. Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham. Rev. James Manisty to (unkn.) Shildon 19 April, 1836.
 3. The Stockton Wesleyans while attempting to prevent the division of the parish were also involved in a controversy directly related to the Warrenite secessions. They claimed a membership of 800 persons in 1833, while at the same date the Primitive Methodists had yet to form a society. By 1836, however, following the trial and expulsion by Conference of Mr. Robert Emmett formerly a circuit preacher, the Wesleyan society had been reduced to 616 members. In the following year the Primitives, for the first time, claimed a society in that town with a membership of 239 individuals. MCA. MSS. District Minutes, Darlington District Meeting, 26, 27, 28 May, 1835; The Watchmen's Lantern, 26 August, 1835; The Illuminator, 4 August, 1835.

put before the Bishop by a Mr. Raisbeck, the chairman of the local committee that had been created for overseeing the building of an additional church.¹

".... The inhabitants of this town a few years ago did not exceed 5,000 in number but afterwards rapidly increased to near 10,000. The pews in the old church being all appropriated the new inhabitants found it impracticable to obtain seats, and in consequence were under the necessity of resorting to dissenting chapels. The members of the established church being however anxious to afford them accommodation, entered into communication with your Lordship's highly revered predecessor on the matter and he having with his wonted munificence proposed to give not only grounds for a cemetery and for a site for a new church and minister's residence but also to Endow the church. A subscription was raised to defray the expense of the structure. At the outset it was represented to his Lordship that in as much as the congregation for the intended church would have to be drawn from other places of worship it would be indispensably requisite that the first Incumbent should be a clergyman of exemplary zeal and piety and also an eloquent and popular preacher his Lordship fully concurred unless an attractive minister be selected the object for which the church had been built will not be attained".²

With the completion of the church in 1835, Maltby proposed its immediate endowment with demesne lands worth £150 p.a.³

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1. CC. MSS. General file, Durham Bishopric Estates, MS. Augmentation of Certain Benefices in the Diocese of Durham. Mr. Raisbeck, Chairman of the Committee of Management to Edward Maltby, Stockton, 19 December, 1837.
 2. Bishop Maltby appointed as patron of Stockton, the Rev. Henry King Collinson M.A. son of John Collinson Rector of Gateshead, incumbent of the new church. Maltby told the Ecclesiastical Commissioners:
 "I have been guided by the high character borne by this young man, and by the opinion I have formed of his fitness, after hearing him officiate"
 CC. MSS. Benefice file, Stockton-on-Tees. No.2163. Edward Dunelm to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Auckland Castle, 7 January, 1838.
 3. Maltby considered Stockton to be a "very important place in the Diocese, from its (large) population and (relationship) with the See the Bishop having formerly a residence there, and still exercising many rights of property". CC. MSS. Benefice file, Stockton, St. Thomas. Edward Maltby to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 9 July, 1846.

The land was chosen, surveyed and its conveyance was to have been made as soon as a division of the parish could be effected. This, however, was prevented by a concerted effort on the part of the local dissenters.¹

"A Parish meeting had been called for the purpose of taking into consideration the advantage or disadvantage of forming the parish into Ecclesiastical Districts or into two separate parishes - At this meeting, where at the dissenters mustered unexpectedly strong and prevailed, it was resolved that it was inexpedient to divided the Parish either into two distinct Parishes or into Ecclesiastical Districts - The Parties who carried this were apprehensive that any division would occasion unnecessary expense with regard to church rates and wished that the new church should only be considered a chapel of ease² - which did not accord with his Lordships wishes and intentions".

In spite of this initial setback the Establishment was eventually successful in creating a separate ecclesiastical district. Following their decision to complete Van Mildert's unpaid augmentations, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners allowed the incumbent of Holy Trinity an annual stipend of £300.³ Having secured an income Holy Trinity, Stockton was created a district parish under the provisions of the Third Church Building Act.⁴

With the continued rapid expansion of the County's population particularly during the 1830's and 1840's the need for parochial extension remained acute. The population that clustered

1. Ibid., Etherley. Rev. A. Douglas Gresley to C. K. Murray, Bishop Auckland, 23 April, 1836.

2. Designating Holy Trinity Church a chapel of ease was out of the question. The vicarage itself was worth less than £300 p.a. out of which the incumbent paid £50 p.a. for a much needed resident curate. Ibid., 1832 N.B. file, Stockton, St. Thomas.

3. Order in Council, 21 June, 1837.

4. Gazzetted, 29 December, 1837.

at the mouth of the Wear in both the parishes of Sunderland and Bishopwearmouth had by 1849 increased to over 50,000 inhabitants. Church accommodation had likewise been increased with the building of five new churches, one in Sunderland and four in Bishopwearmouth, which had added 4,420 new seats to the already existing 4,376. Between the two parishes the Established Church could thus provide accommodation for one-seventh of the population of the Wearmouth conurbation. Of the total number of available sittings 3,663 were free, which meant that there was one available seat for every twelve inhabitants.¹

Considered singly Sunderland contained a population in excess of 17,000 inhabitants with sittings in its three churches for 3,898 persons, over half of which were free. The church in Sunderland could therefore provide accommodation for approximately 25% of its population. In Bishopwearmouth, however, the situation was very much worse. In spite of the building during the preceding twenty years of four additional churches there were eight inhabitants for every seat in the parish. To make matters worse, there were only 1,665 unappropriated seats in the parish, which by 1849 contained a population in excess of 30,000 persons. Thus only one individual in eighteen could be provided with a free sitting.²

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth, No.617. Printed plan for local circulation entitled, "Bishopwearmouth Church Building Fund, 20 March 1849". Seating in the Sunderland churches was broken down thus:

	<u>Appropriated</u>	<u>Free</u>	<u>Total</u>
Parish Church	951	562	1513
St. John's Chapel	657	1108	1765
Spring Garden Lane Chapel	292	328	620
	<u>1900</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>3898</u>

2. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth, No.617. Printed plan for local circulation entitled, "Bishopwearmouth Church Building Fund, 20 March, 1849". In Bishopwearmouth the seating was broken down as follows:

	<u>Appropriated</u>	<u>Free</u>	<u>Total</u>
Parish Church	1100	0	1100
St. Thomas Chapelry	500	500	1000
Deptford Chapelry	305	915	1220
Ryhope Chapelry	90	90	180
Hylton Chapelry	240	160	400
	<u>2235</u>	<u>1665</u>	<u>3900</u>

As noted, the comparatively rapid expansion of the parochial structure in Bishopwearmouth had been made possible by the wealth of the Rectory. In 1832 the Rev. and Hon. G. V. Wellesley, Rector, had been able to staff the three new churches at an expense to himself of over £600 p.a. By 1848 his curate's bill had increased to over £950 p.a. Payments of £200 p.a. were made to the curate of St. Thomas, £100 p.a. to the curate of Ryhope, £68 p.a. to the curate of Hylton, plus an additional £200 p.a. to the curate of the new chapel, St. Andrew, Deptford. These were made in addition to the £450 p.a. paid to the curates of the mother church.¹ On 20 March, 1849, Wellesley's successor the Rev. J. P. Eden announced his intention to increase the said stipends in order that the "lowest amount paid to any one of the four incumbents will be £200".²

In the face of the continued growth of the population, however, these measures became inadequate. The avoidance of the Rectory occasioned by Wellesley's death enabled the select vestry to inquire "into the lamentable state of the Parish for want of church room and additional clergy to administer to the spiritual wants more particularly as regards the poorer Brethren".³ After being notified of their investigation, Maltby met with a deputation of vestrymen in Bishop Auckland on 31 October, 1848 and listened while they put forward their findings and proposals.⁴

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1. Ibid. MS. particulars of the value of the Rectory of Bishopwearmouth during Wellesley's incumbency, rendered by Mr. Davison agent to both Wellesley and his predecessor Robert Gray, afterwards Bishop of Bristol.
 2. DCRO. MSS. Bishopwearmouth Vestry Minute Book, EP/Biw, 74. 20 March, 1849.
 3. DCRO. MSS. Bishopwearmouth Vestry Minute Book, EP/Biw, 74, 24 October, 1848.
 4. Ibid., 31 October, 1848.

It was pointed out that while the chapels could accommodate between one-fifth and one-sixth of their respective populations, the parish church would be unable to hold one-sixteenth of the projected future population of the parish which they estimated to be increasing at the rate of 1,000 people a year.¹ In an effort to alleviate the pressure on the mother church, the committee proposed the augmentation and separation of the four dependant chapels. With this end in view they put forward the following scheme.²

"The Rector's income should be limited to the commutation of tithe £1298 - the Glebe £411 which with the Surplice Fees will amount to £1884 a year - and for all other sources of revenues a Receiver be appointed under your Lordship and the Rector, as Trustees for the fund from which the Incumbent of St. Thomas, Deptford - Ryhope - and Hylton South should be paid their present salaries only; with such allowances, in addition for the support of School, as the Rector or trustees may deem right - and we trust, after the Rector is resident, and it is known his income is limited, the Parishioners will readily assist and relieve the present charges for Schools - that the Balance remaining should accumulate for the Endowment of the churches, as the exigencies of the Parish may require and if thought prudent, a years hence, the trustees to have power to augment the most necessitous of the present four incumbents.

In two or three years the Docks will be in operation; and the present income from Railways and Staiths will become settled, which will enable the trustees to know what can be prudently done. We are of opinion from the report of the architect who has furnished Mr. Davidson with a plan and calculation for your Lordships guide, that the accumulating fund would be increased by a sale of the Park - with or without the Rectory and providing a better house site for the Rector - but this may be decided after your Lordship and the Rector have more considered the subject.

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth, No.617. MS. Memorial from the Bishopwearmouth Church Building Committee to Edward Maltby, Bishopwearmouth, 22 November, 1848.

2. Ibid.

Income of the ² Rector ¹		£1884 p.a.
Three curates	£350 p.a.	
Poor Rate	£170 p.a.	
	<u>£520 p.a.</u>	
		£1364 p.a.
Present accumulating fund }		£1650 p.a.
Railway and Staiths }		
Supposed from Coal		<u>£400 p.a.</u>
		£2050 p.a.
Sale of Park, 12 Acres	£650"	

The needs of the parish were based on the premise that, in large town parishes, church accommodation ought to be provided for at least one-quarter of the population, and of this percentage one-half ought to be free and inappropriated. It was estimated that the future requirements of the parish would necessitate the addition of 3150 sittings. In March, 1849 a Church Building Committee was formed which laid down the following three proposals for providing the increased accommodation.³

"The enlargement of the parish church. Plans are now under the consideration of the Committee, by which an additional number of 540 sittings may be obtained for the use of the poor - for whom no provision is at present made.

The erection of a new church at Hendon. It is highly desirable that this object should be effected as speedily as possible on account of the large population (estimated at not less than 6,000 souls) already settled in this District, together with the probability of a further and continued increase. When this church is completed, it is probable that an endowment may be provided adequate to the support of one, or even two clergymen.

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1. The Rectory was worth £3828 p.a. It was derived from the following sources: tithe rent charge, £1293; rent of the Glebe, £411; rent of wayleaves and staiths, £1650; rent of coal on the average of seven years, £297; and surplice fees, £176.
 2. Outgoings.
 3. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth, No.617. Printed plan for local circulation entitled, "Bishopwearmouth Church Building Fund", 20 March, 1849.

In order to make full provision of church room proportionate to the amount of the population of the Parish, another church will be requisite, containing at least 1250 sittings. But the Committee, while they desire to keep in view the whole of the proposed scheme, consider it prudent to postpone the further consideration of this last object to some future period".

It was estimated that the amount of money required to carry out these objects to the full extent would be not less than £8,000. To raise such a sum the Building Committee sought subscriptions, and in an effort to attract the maximum from this source they proposed that pledged sums could be paid over a period of five years. In addition, the committee drafted proposals for the administration of the fund that was to be created for the purpose of making the chapels independent. It was proposed that the patronage of the four daughter churches be transferred to the Bishop and that the revenues of the Rectory be sub-divided as below and administered thus.¹

First Class

Tithe Rent Charges	£1293 p.a.	
Minus Rates, etc.	£170 p.a.	£1123 p.a.
Rent of Glebe		£411 p.a.
Surplice Fees (average)		£176 p.a.
		<u>£1710 p.a.</u>
Deduct Cost of Collection, etc.		£80 p.a.
		<u>£1630 p.a.</u>

Second Class

Rent of Wayleaves and Staiths	£1650 p.a.	
Rent of Coal (average)	£297 p.a.	
	<u>£1947 p.a.</u>	£1947
		<u>£3578 p.a.</u>

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth, No.617. MS. Draft scheme for transfer of revenues. Bishop of London to C. K. Murray 25 April, 1849.

The first class of revenues is at present subject to a charge of £300 being £200 for the daughter church of St. Thomas and £100 for that of Ryhope.

The scheme then absolutely transfers to the Commissioners the whole of the second class of Revenues say £1950, in trust.

1st to pay the last mentioned charges thereupon discharging the revenues which are left to the Rectory	£300 p.a.
2nd to pay a further sum of £100 to each of the two named churches	£200 p.a.
To the church of St. Andrew which has now no certain endowment	£350 p.a.
To the church of Hylton	£200 p.a.
	<u>£750 p.a.</u>

If falling short of this amount, viz. £750 then to divide in like proportions.

The average incomes will be as follows, Rectory, but subject to payments of curates				£1630 p.a.
St. Thomas, population 6,000				£300 p.a. + pew ₁ rents
Ryhope	"	900		£200 p.a.
St. Andrew	"	7,000		£350 p.a.
Hylton	"	1,800-2,000		£200 p.a.

3rdly To invest balance if any from year to year and carry Dividends to same fund.

- a - To render previously charged payments more secure against the fluctuating nature of this class of Revenue.
- b - To provide Parsonages for two of the daughter churches which now have none.
- c - To augment further if necessary the existing daughter churches.
- d - To endow or augment new churches or Districts within the Parish to provide them with houses.

These proposals were conveyed to the Bishop in a letter dated 22 November, 1848. In his answer he expressed his general satisfaction with the plan and took the opportunity to notify

1. £100 was to be paid for an assistant curate. Pew rents averaged £160 p.a.

the vestry of his decision to appoint as Wellesley's successor, the Rev. J. P. Eden. Maltby did, however, in the same letter express concern with those sections of the scheme which if acted upon immediately would be prejudicial to the interests of the new Rector.¹

"It will be necessary that we should have the benefit of his advice, before a final decision is taken, as the expense of taking possession of such a benefice will fall heavy upon its diminished Income, it appears to me desirable that no change shall take place till the 13th next May which is the day upon which the way leaves are due. Mr. Eden will up to that time, pay what has been customary to the chapelries, and of course rates and agencies after the 13th May all profits from way leaves staiths and coals to be placed in the hands of trustees or secured as shall appear best for the chapelries.

Until Mr. Eden has been in the House some time, it would be very unadvisable to decide upon the expediency of exchanging it for any other, and therefore the adjoining grounds, including the park, will continue to be the property of the Rector."

After further inquiries into the disposition of the Park it was agreed that, with the Rectory house, it should be sold for building sites. By 20 June, 1849 all parties concerned had endorsed the proposals and it was left to the Bishop to find the most convenient method of implementing such a scheme. Maltby's task was not easy, however, for during the preceding five months there had been growing opposition to the creation of the Bishopwearmouth Fund, which came unexpectedly not from the ranks of dissent, but from the vestry of the neighbouring parish, Sunderland.

Similarly faced with an increasing population, but not having the resources of Bishopwearmouth, the Sunderland vestry claimed an equal share of the Fund. They based their claim on the fact that the parish of Sunderland had been created from

1. DCRO MSS. Bishopwearmouth Vestry Minute Book, EP/Biw 74. Bishop of Durham to Vestry, 27 November, 1848.

Bishopwearmouth and they considered that the scheme:¹

".... excludes the parish (which was formerly a part of the Rectory of Bishopwearmouth and which because of its separation, is now ecclesiastically pauperised) from all participation² in the superabundant wealth of Bishopwearmouth. And it makes no provision for the breaking up the whole town of Sunderland (including Bishopwearmouth) into a series of new parishes, quoad sacra, as its necessities and the good of the Church require. For the rich and genteel parish of Bishopwearmouth, with its twenty places of dissenting worship, Dr. Maltby cannot do too much. For Sunderland, where poverty and industry, squalor and disease, are pent up and neglected by dissent as well as by the Church Dr. Maltby cannot do too little".

Unsure of the legal position, Maltby thought the creation of the Bishopwearmouth Fund would be best accomplished by a special Act of Parliament. The introduction of a Bill, however, was hampered by the actions of the Liberal Member of Parliament for Cockermouth, Edward Horsman, who on behalf of the Sunderland vestry, spoke on seven separate occasions between March and June against the scheme. On 20 March Horsman delivered a lengthy speech in which he not only attacked the Bishop but put forward proposals for the creation of a committee of inquiry to investigate the legality of the Bishopwearmouth proposals, and to find an alternate solution which would include assistance to Sunderland. With the help of Lord John Russell the motion was defeated fifty-two to thirty-nine.³ This serious Parliamentary opposition prompted Eden to call a vestry meeting for the purpose of drafting a petition to be sent to the Bishop and the Government, after which he sent the following letter to Maltby.⁴

1. SH., 29 June, 1849. See Chapter Appendix C. C.

2. By comparison the Rectory of Sunderland was worth £300 p.a. while as indicated Bishopwearmouth was worth nearly £400 p.a.

3. Hansard 3rd series, Vol.102, col.1032-1045.

4. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth, No.617. Rev. J. P. Eden to the Bishop of Durham, 13 April, 1849.

"... it was resolved that memorials from the vestry and other inhabitants shd. be sent to your Lordship and also to Lord John as well as a petition to the Ho: of Commons. I fear that the Sunderland people will still keep up the agitation on the Subject, wh. of course for a time will be annoying and do much injury to the cause of Church extension amongst us. But they are so unreasonable in their demands at present, that it is really an improbability to satisfy them. Mr. Wright¹ has written twice on the subject, and I have parley with him next week, when I shall hear more clearly perhaps what they want and endeavour to learn how they have made such erroneous statements as those to which their advocate Mr. Horseman gave utterances.

I have been writing down on paper several things wc. have occurred to me since I last saw your Lordship, more especially in reference to the Bill in Parliament if we shd. be really compelled to have one [] I rather think that the proposed memorials to your Lordship and Lord John will be against a Bill, till the Docks are finished so that we may see what effect they may have upon the way leaves and the petitions will be prepared for the House of Commons in order to support the Bill in favour of Bishopwearmouth - I see clearly more and more every day that we have the [support] of the more wealthy and respectable inhabitants of Bishopwearmouth in our favour".

In the face of Horseman's opposition Maltby was unwilling to introduce a Bill. After consultation with his legal advisers, he was informed that a special Act of Parliament was unnecessary and that it would be possible to effect the creation of the Bishopwearmouth Fund, with the approval of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by Order in Council, under the powers granted by 3 and 4 Victoria C.113.² In spite of the severity of the opposition, the Commissioners notified Maltby that they were satisfied with the original proposals.³

1. J. J. Wright, Secretary of the Sunderland vestry.

2. Hansard 3rd series, Vol.106, Col.197.

3. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Bishopwearmouth, No.617. C. K. Murray to Bishop of Durham, 5 July, 1849.

"The committee have recommended, and the Board have resolved, that the scheme shall stand as it is, with a verbal alteration of the saving clause at the end, so as to leave it open, to apply, in any manner conformable with the provisions of the Act, any further portion which it may be deemed right to take from the Rectorial Revenues on future vacancy".

Following the transfer to the See of the patronage of St. Andrew, and Hylton, the Commissioners by Order in Council dated 30 July, 1839 became trustees of the accumulating fund, and assumed financial responsibility for the four daughter churches. Shortly afterwards, with the aid of the Bishopwearmouth Church Building Fund, a church was built at Hendon and to provide a curate, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners provided £150 p.a. from the money at their disposal.¹

Though the population had risen by 1861 to nearly 43,000 souls the provision made for church extension had enabled the parish to keep pace. In addition to the new church at Hendon, the number of sittings at Ryhope had been increased, and two school rooms had been licensed for Sunday services. The total number of sittings had been increased to 5,400 which enabled the ratio of seats to inhabitants to be maintained at the 1848 level of one to eight. The Fund that had been created continued to support the four daughter churches and with additional assistance from the Curates Aid and Pastoral Aid Societies helped to expand the clerical force to twelve, six incumbents and six curates. The following table indicates the provisions that existed in 1861 for the pastoral oversight of Bishopwearmouth.¹

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1861 Archidiaconal Visitation of Charles Thorp.

Figure 10

<u>Church</u>	<u>Sittings</u>	<u>Bishop- wearmouth Fund</u>	<u>Income Pew rents, fees, etc.</u>	<u>Staff</u>
Parish Church	1,400		£1,960 p.a.	Rector + 2 Curates
School Room	80	-	-	
St. Thomas	1,000	£300	£200	Inc.
St. Andrew, Deptford	1,200	£350	£30	Inc. + 2 Curates
St. Pauls, Hendon	900			Inc. + 2 Curates
School Room	100	-	-	
Ryhope	400	£200	£4	Inc.
South Hylton	300	£200	£50	Inc.

Of the new churches built between 1800 and 1856, five were a result of the passage of 6 and 7 Victoria C.37. These Peel districts, as they were known, were at first provided with temporary places of worship until such time as money could be provided for the building of a proper church.

One such district was created in the parish of Darlington. The York, Newcastle, Berwick railway station at Bank Top had become the focal point for a population of over 3,000 inhabitants. With the view to provide for their pastoral oversight as quickly as possible, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by Order in Council dated 30 June, 1845 created the district of St. John, Darlington. Previous to the erection of a church, services were held in a warehouse loaned for that purpose by the railway. In 1847 the foundation stone for a church was laid, which was finally consecrated by the Bishop in 1853.¹

Benfieldside district in the parish of Lanchester was created by Order in Council, 10 August, 1847, as a result of the scattered population in that parish increasing from nearly

1. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.I, p.465.

2,000 persons in 1844 to over 7,000 by 1848. The need for such a district had been brought to the attention of the Commissioners by John Fanshaw, the perpetual curate, who informed them that the dispersed population could no longer be adequately served from the parish church. He wrote that it had become "utterly impossible for an incumbent and curate duly to discharge the office of Spiritual pastors to thousands located at such great distances".¹ The following is a list of those districts created in the Archdeaconry under the provisions of 6 and 7 Victoria C.37.²

Figure 11

<u>District</u>	<u>From what parish</u>	<u>Date of Order in Council</u>
All Saints	Monkwearmouth	3 February, 1844
St. Cuthberts	Stella	30 June, 1845
St. John	Darlington	30 June, 1845
Benfieldside	Lanchester and Medomsley	10 August, 1847
Belmont	St. Giles, Durham	2 February, 1852

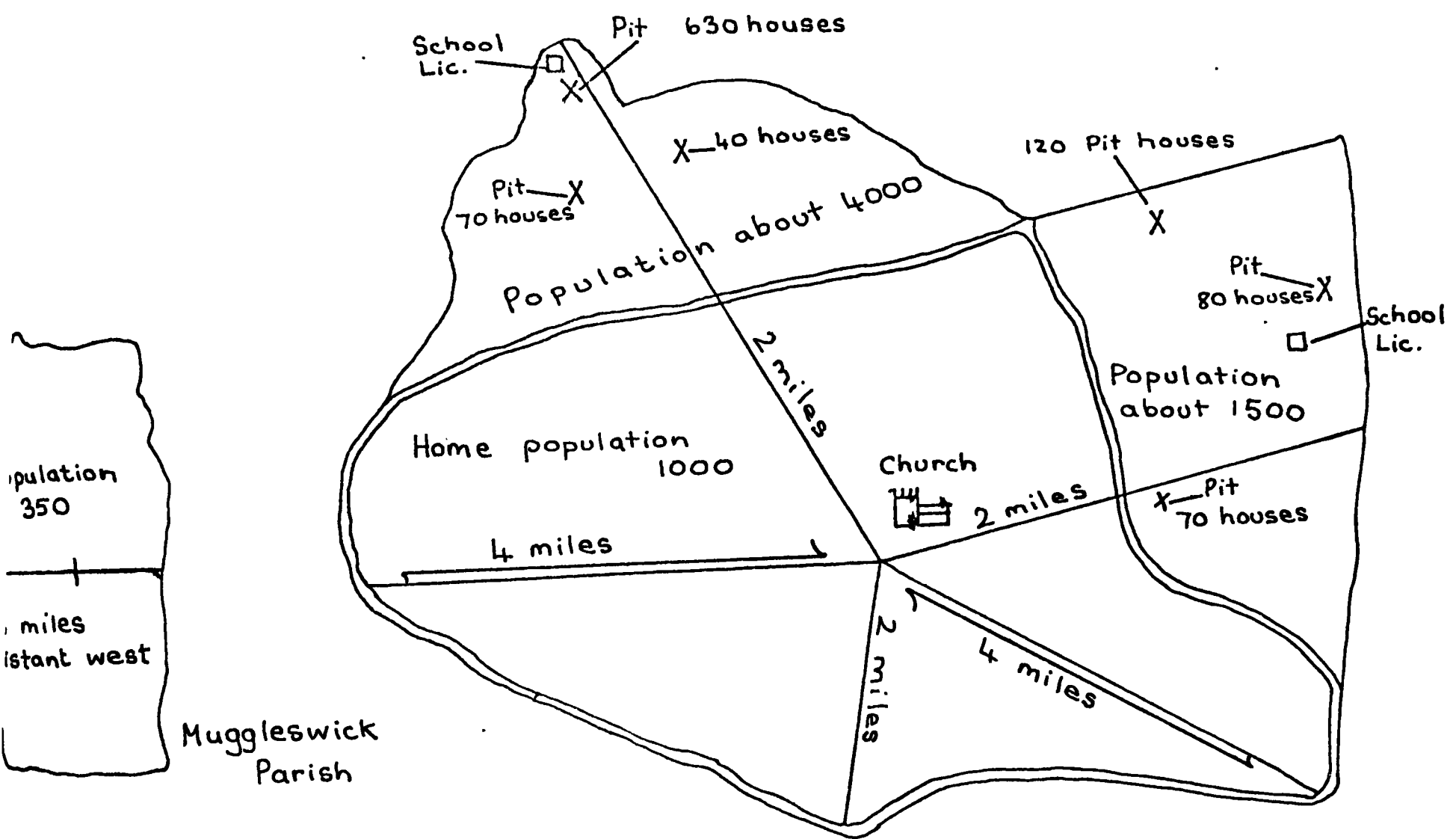
In general, the extensive building programme which had provided the Archdeaconry with fifty-six new churches between 1800 and 1856 had failed to keep pace with the County's increasing population. The 1852-53 Parliamentary inquiry "respecting the immediate wants for 600 new churches" noted that Durham was still in dire need of sixteen additional churches.² In the immediate vicinity of Bishop Auckland where there were already twelve existing perpetual curacies, it was felt an additional church was wanted.³ In the parish of Chester-le-Street there

1. CC. MSS. Benefice file, Lanchester. No.2163. John Fanshaw to Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Lanchester 7 June, 1843. To graphically illustrate his point he included with his letter a map which is reproduced on the following page.

2. Orders in Council.

3. P.P. 1852-53, LXXVIII, p.23.

4. St. Andrew, Auckland cum St. Anne's; St. Helen, Auckland; Byers Green; Etherley; Hamsterley; Shildon, Escomb; Witton-le-Wear; Coundon; Lynsack; Hunwick.



see p. 477 n.1

were five perpetual curacies, but in the isolated townships of Lumley a population of 1,500 persons had established itself and being in a "heathen state", an additional church was needed there, as well as another for the 1,000 inhabitants of Edmondsley in the same parish.¹ At Gateshead an additional church was needed for its population of nearly 25,000 souls, while in Jarrow two additional churches were wanted to provide pastoral oversight for a population of over 43,000 persons.

Longley's successor Charles Baring was very much aware of the continued critical need for church extension. In his Primary Charge he noted that according to the statistics found in the 1851 census the Archdeaconry should have been able to provide accommodation for at least 50 to 60% of the population. That is to say, by 1861 there should have been accommodation for at least 254,000 persons. Baring found, however, that in spite of the church building that had taken place there was only enough for 76,068 persons out of a total population of over 508,600.²

1. Chester-le-Street; Birtley; Pelton; Lamesley; Tanfield.
2. See Appendix D.

Appendix A

An Account of the Population, and Capacity of Churches and Chapels according to the Church of England in all Benefices or Parishes Wherein the Population amounts to or exceeds 2,000 and upwards and the Churches and Chapels will not contain one half.¹

1. Benefice.
2. Population.
3. Number of persons churches or chapels will contain.
4. Excess population.

1	2	3	4
St. Andrew, Auckland	3,513	1,000	2,513
Bishopwearmouth	7,204	1,700	5,504
Chester-le-Street	7,816	2,000	5,816
Durham, St. Margaret	2,201	550	1,651
Durham, St. Oswald	2,520	1,000	1,520
Gateshead	8,782	1,450	7,332
Heworth	2,905	150	2,755
South Shields, St. Hilda	15,370	2,400	12,970
Houghton-le-Spring	9,300	1,200	8,100
Jarrow	3,193	350	2,843
St. John, Weardale	4,200	520	3,680
Lamesly	2,150	500	1,650
Monkwearmouth	8,500	1,100	7,400
Penshaw	2,275	500	1,775
Ryton	5,600	1,400	4,200
Sedgefield	2,030	870	1,160
Stanhope	5,155	1,000	4,155
Staindrop	upwards of 2,000	450	1,550
Tanfield	above 2,000	500	1,500
Washington	2,589	300	2,289
Whickham	3,746	1,000	2,746

In Derbyshire there were sixteen parishes in the above category providing accommodation for 22.4% of the population.²

1. P.P. 1818, XVIII, p.93.
 2. Austin, "Derbyshire", p.54.

Appendix B¹

1. Population
2. Appropriated sittings.
3. Free sittings.
4. Total number of sittings.

Easington Deanery:

	1	2	3	4
Easington	1,112 ²	268	-	268
Durham, St. Nicholas	2,215	575	35	550
Durham, St. Mary-le-Bow	448	452	20	472
Durham, St. Mary the Less	157	100	9	109
Durham, St. Giles	1,237	No return		
Houghton-le-Spring cum Rainton	10,460	813	-	813
Penshaw	2,090	34	288	322
Bishopwearmouth cum Hylton	11,542	No return		
Sunderland and St. John Chapel	14,725	728	250	978
		782	152	934
plus a gallery for		300	children	
Seaham	198	93	35	128
Castle Eden	281	250	150	400
Kelloe	697	215	43	258
Trimdon	302	86	20	106

Chester Deanery:

Chester-le-Street	9,423	506	155	715
Tanfield	2,363	475	95	570
Lamesley	2,150	361	197	558
Washington	2,687	290	40	330
Boldon	733	192	90	282
Whitburn	856	No return		
Gateshead	11,767	743	46	789
Whickham	3,713	No return		
Ryton	5,763	725	121	846
Hunstanworth	411	55	65	120
Ebchester	200	109	22	131
Medomsley	461	213		213
Lanchester	3,446	513		513
Esh	471	105	11	116
Satley	103	90	20	110

Darlington Deanery:

St. Andrews Auckland	5,041	634	89	723
St. Annes, Auckland	2,180	No return		
Escomb	232	75	9	84
St. Helens	220	423	30	453
Hamsterly	531	230		230
Wolsingham	2,197	525		573
		48 in the chancel		

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1. Abstract of AC. Episcopal MSS. Report of Church Accommodation in the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1824.
 2. Population figures are from the 1821 Census.

	1	2	3	4
Stanhope:	2,400	184	311	495
Rookhope	Not yet blt.			
St. John Weardale	7,341	515		515
Heathery Cleugh		No return		
Middleton in Teesdale	2,402	207	92	299
Egglesstone	464	22	121	143
Gainford:	2,502	340	20	360
Barnard Castle	3,581	798	106	904 Free seats wanted
Whorlton	300	No return		
Denton	125	165	45	210
Coniscliffe	391	120	20	140
Winston	287	164	4	168
Staindrop cum	2,047	560	-	560
Cockfield	533	107	76	123
Haughton-le-Skerne cum Sadberge	1,245	244	80	324
Brancepeth	1,905	271	134	405
Darlington	6,551	1,026	146	1,172
Stockton Deanery:				
Hart cum	590	93	93	186
Hartlepool	1,249	420	40	460
Stranton	704	233	6	239
Elwick	176	90	17	107
Greatham	484	221	67	288
Norton	1,186	514	380	894
Elton	195	56	30	86
Grindon	314	148	14	162
Stockton	5,184	1,156	69	1,225
Egglescliffe	542	180	33	213
Middleton St. George	209	No return		
Sockburn	43	No return		
Hurworth	1,124	394	12	356
Longnewton	338	209	24	233
Bishopton	453	180	18	207
Redmarshall	264	100	26	126
Sedgefield cum	1,955	582	100	682
Embleton		90		90
Stainton-le-Street	154	73	18	91
Bishop Middleham	827	322	57	379
Craike	538	No return		

Appendix C

J. J. Wright (Vestry Clerk of Sunderland) to Sec.
Sunderland 27th June, 1849

..... I am directed to send to you the memorial of the ancient Vestry of that Parish against the draft scheme proposed for making better provision for the cure of souls in the Parish of Bishopwearmouth

..... The said scheme is extremely objectionable, first no provision is made therein for an increased augmentation of the Rectory of Sunderland, secondly, it appropriates an unnecessarily large amount of certain income to the newly appointed Rector of Bishop Wearmouth and relieves the income so appropriated of two endowments of £200 and £100, now chargeable thereupon, and thirdly it proposes to invest a large surplus income for future Ecclesiastical purposes in the Parish of Bishop Wearmouth instead of applying the same to the present spiritual wants of the town of Sunderland at large.

..... The Parish of Sunderland is fairly entitled to participate in any scheme for better disposing of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of Bishop Wearmouth on the ground that the Parish of Sunderland and Bishop Wearmouth form together one large town, that Sunderland was originally part of the Parish of Bishop Wearmouth, that from the contiguity of the two Parishes a large portion of the Inhabitants of Bishop Wearmouth attend the Churches and Chapels in the Parish of Sunderland, and above all because Sunderland is the locality where the poor and labouring classes of the town reside, and where spiritual instruction and pastoral aid are most required.

..... The income of the Rector of Sunderland who has to supply three Churches and to discharge an immense and distressing amount of Parochial duty is only about £600 subject to the payment thereof of three but should be four Curates and other deductions leaving the surplus miserably inadequate for the Parochial Minister of so large and important a Parish on the concurrent vacancy of the Two Rectories your Memorialists presented a Memorial to the Lord Bishop of Durham the Patron of both Rectories urging these facts on His Lordship's consideration, but no regard was paid to such Memorial and no proper investigation made into the matters referred to therein, whereupon Your Memorialist presented a petition to Parliament praying for legislative relief in making a better distribution of the surplus Revenues of the said Rectory of and subsequently separate Petitions from both Parishes each signed by upwards of 3,000 of the Inhabitants therein being Chiefly those attending the ministration of the Established Church were also presented to Parliament

..... a strong feeling exists in the town of Sunderland that Provision should be made out of the Surplus Revenues of B.W. for the spiritual wants of the Parish of Sunderland, the more especially as £80 of the Rectors income is annually levied by rate on the Inhabitants, who are already taxed to an amount nearly equal to the rack rent of the property, and recourse is obliged to be annually had to the Curates and Diocesan Societies for relief.

.... The present Bishop of Durham in a letter dated the 26th February 1838 printed and circulated in the said parish, declared that the Ecclesiastical Revenues of Sunderland were very inadequate to such a charge as rests on the Rector of Sunderland and held out the certain hope that it would "receive its due share of augmentation from the measures which have for some time been in preparation for the more adequate remuneration of Incumbents in very populous places", but which has not yet been done

.... if the said scheme be approved and confirmed it will be deeply offensive to the feelings of the Inhabitants of the two Parishes and be calculated most injuriously to affect the best interests of the church throughout the District.

Your Memorialists therefore earnestly pray that Your Honorable Board will be pleased to investigate into the circumstances of each of the said Parishes by inquires and evidence to be made and taken by proper parties in the town of Sunderland, and that you will not approve of any scheme for the disposal of the surplus Revenues of Bishop Wearmouth that does not provide for the better support of the Churches and Chapels in the Parish of Sunderland, especially as thereby an opportunity would be afforded of abolishing the levying of the said annual rate which is much calculated to irritate Dissenters and the necessity avoided of having recourse for annual relief to the charitable institutions of the country.

Appendix D

Excerpts from the Primary Charge of Bishop Charles Baring, 1862.¹

"It is, I believe, generally conceded that the statistics of Mr. Horace Mann are correct, which prove that the amount of accommodation for religious worship, which should be provided to meet the requirements of those able to attend divine service, lies between 50 and 60% of the whole community. Taking, then, the lowest estimate of 50% as the basis of our calculation there ought to be church room for 254,000 persons in the county of Durham. I find, however, from the visitation returns of last year, that the number of church sittings in the county of Durham is only 72,068. Upon the most favourable calculation, there are still in the county of Durham 76,000 persons capable of attending the public means of grace, for whom there is no room in any place of worship.

Chief local obstacles preventing expansion

The rapid development of the mineral wealth by which a population of her labouring class to be counted by thousands has been brought together almost in a day and is from various causes peculiarly difficult of access to the clergyman however active and earnest he may be. Another serious obstacle to any plan for speedily providing churches and pastors for increasing populations is that the owners of mineral wealth, who have brought together from all parts the large number of workmen resident on their property, have themselves been in very many instances non-residents, and hence have failed to take that lively and personal interest in the moral and religious condition of those whom they employ

A third local source of discouragement and cause of apathy, with regard to church extension in this Diocese has been the immense possessions of the Ecclesiastical corporations in past times. The laity of former generations have grown accustomed to consider that every scheme for church building or endowment should be carried into effect almost exclusively by means of the wealth of the See or the Chapter of Durham; and although there have been exhibited recently noble instances of a far different feeling on the part of individual laymen, I much fear that the impression is still a very general one, that the burden of meeting the urgent requirements of the Diocese should be thrown almost entirely on the shoulders of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners".

CHAPTER VIII

PLURALITY AND NON-RESIDENCE

Before 1838 the law governing the holding of benefices in plurality had been based on the Statute 21 Henry VIII C.13, and on the formalised Canon Law of 1603. The legislation of Henry VIII decreed that an incumbent could hold no more than one benefice with cure of souls valued in excess of £8 p.a. At the same time, however, the statute created exemptions whereby individuals could purchase licences or dispensations to hold more than one living with cure of souls. The post reformation attempt to centralise ecclesiastical legislation increased the potential number of clergymen eligible for licences and dispensations. While 21 Henry VIII C.13 allowed licences and dispensations for plurality to be purchased by Doctors of Divinity, Bachelors of Divinity and Doctors of Law, the forty-first Canon of 1603 went further by allowing those clergymen "Thought very well worthy for learning, and very well able and sufficient to discharge his duty; that is, who shall have taken the degree of Master of Arts to hold benefices in plurality". As is also pointed out by Mrs. McClatchey the thirty mile maximum between benefices held in plurality allowed by that Canon in no way prevented abuses of the law. It did nothing but force incumbents to observe certain pretexts of legality.

The adoption of the quasi legal principle of "computed miles",¹ and the granting of Lambeth Master of Arts degrees as expedients for increasing the number of individuals eligible to hold more than one cure, meant that by the second half of the eighteenth century the spirit of the Henrican statute was dead. The number of benefices held in plurality became such that there no longer seemed to be any control against the abuse of the law.

Evidence of licences or dispensations for the holding of benefices with cure of souls in plurality may be found in the Lambeth Act Books. For the Archdeaconry of Durham, however, as for Oxfordshire, this source does not reflect the true number of pluralists in the county.² Of the 167 priests who held more than one piece of ecclesiastical preferment between 1774 and 1857, the names of only 17 or 10% of the whole are to be found in the said books. It is therefore necessary, in order to discuss the question of plurality in the Archdeaconry, to rely on other sources. Fortunately, they exist. Surviving Episcopal Visitation returns for the years 1774, 1792, 1814 and 1857 combined with the 1832 benefice returns found in the files of the Church Commissioners have made it possible to illustrate the extent of pluralism in the County.³

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1. Examples of such computations of distance between benefices may be found amongst the Durham Episcopal records. On 3 August 1774 the Bishop of Durham certified the distance between the rectories of Ryton, on the Tyne and Winston adjacent to the river Tees, as being twenty-four miles. By a contemporary map, however, the distance between them by post road was more than thirty-five miles. Both livings were in the possession of the Hon. Richard Byron. AC. Episcopal MSS. The Spiritual Acts of John, Lord Bishop of Durham; A. Armstrong, the County Palatine of Durham, survey'd by Capt. Armstrong and engraved by T. Jeffreys. The scale of this map is 6½ in. to 7 miles.
 2. The Index Library Index to the Act Books of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1663-1859. Compiled by E. H. W. Dunkin, Extended and edited by Claude Jenkins. In two parts, Vol.LV (1929), and Vol.LXXX (1938).

There were in the Archdeaconry two types of pluralism: that which resulted from the inability of certain benefices to support a clergyman, and the pluralism which promoted enrichment of affluent incumbents. The following table indicates the extremes of income enjoyed by the Archdeaconry's pluralist incumbents at four selected dates.

Figure 1

	1774	1814	1832	1857
Under £50 p.a.	1			
£50-£100	3			
£100-£150		4	2	
£150-£200	3	5		4
£200-£250	4	3	3	
£250-£300		3	5	
£300-£400	2	4	4	
£400-£500	2	2	4	5
£500-£1,000	6	8	10	5
£1,000-£2,000	5	5	4	6
£2,000-£3,000		2	1	1
£3,000-£4,000			2	
£4,000-£5,000				

As illustrated in Chapter III the Archdeaconry, in spite of its high average benefice incomes, contained a hard core of poorly endowed benefices that were unable to support an incumbent. It was therefore unmistakable poverty which led to pluralism among the incumbents of Esh and Satley; Edmondbyers and Muggleswick; Lamesley and Tanfield; Staindrop and Cockfield; Ebchester and Medomsley; Witton-le-Wear and Hamsterly; St. Andrew, Auckland and Escomb, and it was poverty that for the greater part of this period brought the perpetual curate of Hnstanworth to act as stipendiary curate of the neighbouring

curacy of Blanchland. The average income of each of those livings in 1810 was £73 p.a., while combined as above they had an average income, at the same date, of £149 p.a. The informal joining of these benefices was facilitated by their contiguous relation to one another, and by the fact that a number of them had the same patron also.

Pluralism amongst incumbents of the wealthier class of livings is more difficult to justify. It was nevertheless the product of the system of clerical advancement. For the parochial clergy there existed no other rewards than the acquisition of benefices of greater value and elevation to positions within cathedral establishments. It is perhaps for this reason that Appendices A to E indicate that more benefices in the patronage of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Durham were held in plurality than those in all other patronages combined.

In contrast with Oxfordshire, much of the responsibility for pluralism in the Archdeaconry may be ascribed to the Durham Episcopal and Capitular establishments,¹ in particular the Dean and Chapter, who were the greatest promoters of pluralism in the Archdeaconry. The outset of this period of study is marked by their sanctioning the plurality of the Rev. James Deason.²

"Agreed that Mr. Deason be allowed to hold his vicarage of Pitlington, the curacy of Whitworth and his Minor Canonry together with the Rectory of Fordwick, and that he be allowed to be absent six weeks"

1. McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.5.

2. SL. MSS. Minutes of Chapter, Vol.II, 1774.

At the same time the Rev. John Wheeler, Cathedral Precentor, was allowed to hold, in addition to his minor canonry, four benefices with cure of souls plus the Headmastership of Durham School.

Of the twenty-two pieces of capitular preferment available in the county in 1774,¹ fourteen livings with cure of souls were held by the six minor canons, while the Vicarage of Aycliffe was in the possession of the non-resident chaplain of Sherburn Hospital.² The situation did not improve. In 1792 there were eight parsons holding a total of twenty-eight preferments, of which seventeen were in the Chapter's gift. The six minor canons held between them, including their Cathedral offices, nineteen benefices or sub-curacies.³ By 1814 the twenty-two Chapter preferments were being held by twelve priests, who between them held a total of thirty-three pieces of patronage. Between them the minor canons held sixteen benefices and sub-curacies.⁴

In view of the Cathedral statutes of William and Mary such plurality among minor canons was illegal. In the face of the law, however, because of the low average income of

1. Sixteen benefices with cure of souls and six minor canonries.

2. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1774 Episcopal Visitation.

3. Ibid., 1792 Episcopal Visitation. Found among the names of those incumbents was that of the Rev. Richard Richardson D.D. who was to succeed Deason as the most notorious of the capitular pluralists. In 1780 he was appointed by the Chapter perpetual curate of Witton Gilbert. By 1792 while retaining the above cure he had become Rector of Elwick Hall, Chancellor of St. Pauls, Precentor of St. Davids and Headmaster of Durham School. In 1828 on the death of the Rev. William Nesfield, Richardson exchanged Elwick Hall for the Rectory of Brancepeth. His income in 1832 was broken down thus: Rectory of Brancepeth, £940 p.a., perpetual curate of Witton Gilbert, £303 p.a. Precentor of St. Davids, £1,200 p.a.: Chancellor of St. Pauls, £78 p.a. His total annual income was £2,521.

4. Ibid., 1814 Episcopal Visitation.

capitular livings, the holding of benefices in plurality became an accepted expedient for the support of parsons holding Chapter preferment. That the Dean and Chapter were aware of, and sanctioned, the abuse there is no doubt for the Chapter Official, Charles Thorp, giving evidence before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners informed them that the minor cantries were being used as "convenient augmentations of the cures".¹

The failure of the Durham capitular establishment to improve the value of their benefices meant the practice of holding livings in plurality was to continued. However, with the commencement of the Chapter's reforms in 1831, an effort was made to cut down the instances of pluralism amongst the incumbents in their gift. On 20 July, 1831 the Chapter called for the augmentation of those livings in their patronage worth less than £150 p.a. The Chapter also resolved that:²

"No one be presented to a Dean and Chapter living but on the understanding of residence and that any person holding a Chapter living presented to another in the gift of the Dean and Chapter do resign the first living forthwith".

Pursuant to the above minute, the Dean and Chapter on 27 September, 1831 nominated the Rev. Patrick George to the perpetual curacy of St. Margaret's, Durham, on the condition that he resign as Vicar of Aycliffe.³

Pluralist incumbents holding benefices in Episcopal patronage were generally superior clergy. Between them they held the wealthiest cures in the Diocese, and usually possessed, in addition to their benefices with cure of souls, a stall in

1. See p. 66 below.

2. SL. MSS Minutes of Chapter, Vol.III, 20 July, 1831.

3. Ibid., 27 September, 1831.

either Durham or some other cathedral establishment. Figure 1 and Chapter Appendices A to E note the instances of these wealthy pluralists.

In 1256 Bishop Walter Kirksham collated Robert de St. Agatha, Archdeacon of Durham, to the Rectory of Easington, and at the same time decreed the perpetual union of the Rectory and Archdeaconry - *propter exiles proventus ejusdem Archidiaconatus*. Thereafter the cure of souls of Easington was vested in the hands of the Archdeacon's serving curate, thus relieving the Archdeacon of the pastoral responsibility and the necessity to reside.¹ While the value of that office remained at less than £28 p.a., the Rectory itself, over the centuries, became one of the wealthiest benefices in the county, and during the period of this study was consistently worth over £1,000 p.a. The four Archdeacons, between 1744 and 1832, further augmented their income with the proceeds arising from Prebendal Stalls held in Durham and Salisbury Cathedrals.²

With the increasing population and growing importance of Easington, which resulted from the expanding coal industry, it became necessary to bring an end to that thirteenth century arrangement. This was accomplished by an Act of Parliament in 1832 which followed the resignation of Richard Prosser, in whose stead the Bishop appointed as Archdeacon Charles Thorp, the Rector of Ryton and Prebend of the Fourth Stall. With Thorp's co-operation an Act of Parliament was passed separating the office of Archdeacon from that of Rector of Easington and

1. Robert Surtees, *History of Durham*, Vol.I, p.12.

2. Samuel Dickens, 1762-1791, Prebend of the Eleventh Stall, Durham; Benjamin Pye, 1791-1808, Prebend of Salisbury; Richard Prosser, 1808-1831, Prebend of the Third Stall, Durham; Charles Thorp, 1831-1863, Prebend of the Fourth Stall, Durham.

"in lieu thereof, it is therefore proposed that one of the Prebends in the cathedral church of Durham should be annexed to the said office".¹ As Thorp already possessed a Stall it was decided, after the necessary resignations and re-appointments, that the Fourth Stall should become permanently attached to the office of Archdeacon. The good that was to have been achieved by the separation is questionable, for Thorp retained Ryton, a parish four times as large as Easington. In 1833 he became the first Warden of the University of Durham, which, combined with his other duties, must have kept him away from his parish more than before.³

The most notorious pluralist in Episcopal patronage was the Rev. Edward South Thurlow who, as nephew of Edward, the Lord Chancellor and Thomas, Bishop of Durham, owed his clerical career to their efforts. In 1788 at the age of twenty-four he was inducted a Prebend of Norwich. During the following year his uncle the Bishop of Durham collated him to the Rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, while Samuel Halifax, Bishop of St. Asaph instituted him to the two sinecure Rectories of Eastyn and Llandrillo in that Diocese.⁴ In 1792 Bishop Barrington collated him to the Vicarage of Stamfordham in Northumberland which he held along with his other preferments until his death in 1847. During his fifty-seven years as Rector of Houghton-le-Spring,

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1. DUL. Thorp MSS., Vol.4., p.647. Van Mildert attempted to improve the ecclesiastical administration of the Archdeaconry by making the office of Archdeacon a full time one and better paid. This perhaps indicates that he was familiar with Edward Berens, *Church Reform*, London, 1828.
 2. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Easington; Ryton. The 1832 population of Easington was 1,290, with the prospect of it increasing to 4,000. At the same date, the population of Ryton was over 6,500 souls.
 3. SR. MSS. Non-resident licences. Thorp was licensed to be non-resident, for reasons of health, from 1829 to 1838.
 4. PP. 1836, XXXVI, P.I. Second Report of the State of the Established Church, 1836. Appendix 10.

Thurlow generally resided there eight months in the year, the remaining four months were spent in residence at Norwich.¹

His annual income is broken down thus:

Rectory of Houghton-le-Spring	£2,553 p.a.
Rectory of Llandrillo	£215 p.a.
Rectory of Eastyn	£561 p.a.
Vicarage of Stamfordham	£626 p.a.
Prebend of Norwich Cathedral	£29 p.a. Salary
	£783 p.a. Dividend
	<hr/>
	£4,758 p.a. ²
	<hr/>

As Chapter Appendices A to E indicate, not all parsons holding Episcopal benefices found themselves in the same fortunate circumstances as Thurlow. The Rev. Thomas Capstick in 1792 held the four perpetual curacies of St. Andrew, Auckland, Escomb, Esh and Satley from which he received £261 p.a. His successor at St. Andrew's, John Bacon, held also Escomb and St. Helen's, Auckland but received only £183 p.a.

The following table indicates the average yearly income of Archdeaconry pluralists at four selected dates up to and including 1832. From the table it can readily be seen the extent to which pluralists benefitted from the general rise in benefice incomes that took place in the Archdeaconry between 1774 and 1832.

Figure 2

	<u>Episcopal patronage</u>	<u>Capitular patronage</u>	<u>Lay patronage</u>
1774	£734 p.a.	£189 p.a.	£156 p.a.
1792	£1,231 p.a.	£199 p.a.	£178 p.a.
1814	£936 p.a.	£455 p.a.	£482 p.a.
1832	£1,276 p.a.	£649 p.a.	£765 p.a.

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1792, 1810 and 1814 Episcopal Visitation, Houghton-le-Spring.
2. This may be compared with the aggregate income belonging to the Oxfordshire pluralist Richard Pretymann which, coming from six pieces of preferment, amounted to over £4,000 p.a. McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.43.

Professor Best in his discussion of a third church reform movement indicated that "much material church reform had been accomplished by the 1820s".¹ However, while it is certainly true that a number of important Acts of Parliament had been passed and that public opinion was growing in its demand for Church reform, evidence from Oxfordshire and the Archdeaconry of Durham indicates that in the area of pluralism no real reform took place before the passing of 1 and 2 Victoria C.106. While the percentage of pluralist incumbents fluctuated in both Oxfordshire and Durham, it should be noted that in 1832 the percentage of pluralists in each county was at nearly the same level as it had been in 1800. While there had been no real decrease Figure 1 illustrates a tendency towards a more lucrative combination of benefices, a phenomenon not dissimilar to that which existed in the Diocese of Ely.² Figure indicates the percentage of Durham incumbents holding more than one living with cure of souls and indicates the average amount of preferment held by each. Figure 4 is compiled from the Oxfordshire Clergy and illustrates the same points but is based on the number of non-resident incumbents who resided upon other cures.

Figure 3³

<u>Year</u>	<u>% of incumbents who were pluralists</u>	<u>Average amount of preferment held</u>
1774	55%	2.47
1792	51%	2.78
1814	54%	2.53
1832	44%	2.37
1857	17%	2.27

1. Best, Temporal Pillars, p.239.

2. Historical Journal, "Pluralities and the Poorer Benefices in Eighteenth Century England", by Rosalind Mitchison, Vol.V, Nos.1 & 2, 1962.

3. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitation.

Figure 4¹Oxfordshire

<u>Year</u>	<u>Inc. res. on other cures</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Ave. amt. of preferment held</u>
1804	36	1793	1.99
1814	54	1825	2.30
1831	39	1866	2.06
1836	36		

In Oxfordshire, as in Durham, the number of pluralist incumbents markedly declined after 1838. From seventy registered pluralists in 1825, the number was reduced to sixteen by 1866.²

Following the passage of 1 and 2 Victoria C.66., Charles Thorp in his Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Durham and Officialty of the Dean and Chapter, 1838, noted that all previous legislation dealing with residence had been "too loose and general for practical purposes; any one so disposed might evade it; and the legal restraints upon plurality were by no means sufficient to prevent abuse. Indeed, they served rather to embarrass the Bishops in the exercise of their legitimate authority, than to strengthen their hands". He concluded by referring to the Act as a wise and necessary measure.³ Bishop Maltby in his 1841 Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese reminded that body of their responsibility to familiarise themselves with "Those laws, which it has seemed good to Parliament - composed, as you will recollect it to be, of Spiritual as well as temporal authorities - to enact for the regulation and government of the Church"⁴ By 1857 the number of pluralists in the county had been reduced to twenty-two, a figure which represented 17%

1. McClatchy, Oxfordshire, pp.47-69.

2. McClatchy, Oxfordshire, p.44.

3. Charge, 1838.

4. Charge, 1841.

of the Archdeaconry clergy. The following table notes the number of pluralists and their percentage of the total strength of the parochial clergy at four dates throughout the period of this study.

Figure 5

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total clergy in the County</u>	<u>No. of pluralists</u>	<u>Their % of the whole</u>
1774	69	38 ¹	55%
1792	67	34 ¹	51%
1814	72	39 ¹	54%
1832	79	35 ²	44%
1857	126	22 ¹	17%

Non-residence resulting from the want or unfitness of parsonage houses has been dealt with in Chapter V. As far as possible this discussion will be limited to those cases of non-residence where the incumbent, who, by virtue of his being a pluralist was non-resident, and failed to take the duty at one or more of the cures in his possession. Not included are those cases where the incumbent was resident in the parish but in a house other than the glebe house, or those cases where the incumbent resided in an adjoining parish but took the full duty himself.

It is possible to compare statistically the instances of non-residence, as defined above, in at least five counties: Cornwall, Devon, Durham, Oxford and Wiltshire. The results of this indicate that in the Archdeaconry of Durham there were fewer instances of non-residence than found in the other named counties. The following table illustrates this point.

1. AC. Episcopal MSS., Episcopal Visitation.
2. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. file.

Figure 6

1. Number of benefices examined.
2. Number of cures affected by a non-resident incumbent.
3. The % of livings in the county this figure represents.

	Cornwall ¹			Devon ²			Durham ⁴			Oxford ⁵			Wiltshire ⁶		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1774				1			93	35	37%						
1778										165	67	40%			
1779				165	67	40%							232	39	60%
1783															
1792							93	35	37%						
1808										174	87	50%			
1810							93	44	47%						
1814							93	32	34%						
1832	200	81	40%	434	183	42%									
1827							94	34	36%						
1832							93	18	19%						
1834										169	58	34%			
1866										208	23	11%			

1. The Diocese of Exeter in 1821: Bishop Carey's Replies to Queries before Visitation, ed. Michael Cook, 2 Vols., Cornwall and Devon, Publication of the Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vols.III & IV, Volume III, Cornwall.
2. Warne, Exeter, p.38.
3. Cook, Diocese of Exeter, Vol.IV, Devon.
4. AC. Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitations; CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files.
5. Wiltshire Returns to the Bishop's Visitations Queries, 1783. ed. Mary Ransome.

The following table breaks down the extent of non-residency in the Archdeaconry of Durham before the passage of 1 and 2 Victoria C.106 by patron. Columns 1 to 3 under each heading indicate (1) the number of benefices without a resident incumbent (2) the percentage that number represented of the total number of priests in that patronage and (3) the number of benefices served by a resident curate.

Figure 7

	Episcopal			Capitular			Lay			Clerical			Crown			Hospital		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1774	9	30%	8	9	56%	7	9	43%	8	4		3	3		3	1	20%	0
1792	11	37%	9	11	62%	6	7	33%	4	4		2	1	17%	1	2	40%	1
1814	8	26%	8	10	62%	7	9	43%	8	5	41%	4	1	17%	1			
1832	5		5	4		3	5		5				1	17%	1	3		3

Clerical residence was regulated by the same statute which governed the holding of benefices in plurality; 21 Henry VIII C.13. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century the inability of the statute to enforce residence created a situation against which there was an increasing public outcry. Inspired by the call for church reform, individuals took it upon themselves to enforce the law. After 1798 there began a series of prosecutions, the extent of which forced Parliament in the interest of the clergy to pass an Act, 41 George III C.103 staying all such legal action until 25 March, 1802.¹ With the expiration of the Act the prosecutions resumed, necessitating its renewal, and later its extension to 8 July, 1803.² In an effort to more thoroughly resolve the question of residence

1. Passage of the Act came too late for William Van Mildert who had been prosecuted for non-residence in London in 1800, found guilty and fined £110.
2. Matthieson, Church Reform, p.23.

Sir William Scott introduced a Bill for the updating of the existing legislation. Once passed, however, the Act, 43 George III C.84 did little else than enable non-resident parsons already outside the law to legalise their non-residence.

The weakness of the Act is clearly illustrated in the answers by the Bishops of Durham and Oxford to the Privy Council circular of 6 October, 1807. In rare cases where incumbents failed to be eligible for exemption from residence, Bishops were empowered to issue licences for non-residence "in such cases where the Bishop shall think it expedient"¹ This must explain why, at a time when the incidence of plurality and non-residence was increasing the Bishops of both dioceses were able to report no increase in the number of extra-legal non-resident incumbents.² In his answer to their circular Bishop Barrington wrote:³

"The number of non-residents in my Diocese, as stated in my last Return, not claiming Exemption or intitled to Licences, is only three, having six livings - at this time reduced to two, having three livings. The number, therefore, is not increased, but diminished; as to the Return immediately preceding specified five non-residents, having eight livings. The 30th Section of the 43 of His Majesty, cap 84 not being imperative, leaves the issuing Monitions to the descretion of the Diocesan. On that principle, therefore, and on a full consideration of the circumstances of the two non-residents of my Diocese, I have not deemed it expedient to issue Monitions".⁴

1. 43 Geo. III, C.84.

2. Bishop Charles Moss of Oxford wrote "The number of clergy who were absent from their benefices without licences or legal exemption has not increased". McClatchy, Oxfordshire, p.33 and P.P. 1808 IX, p.11. By 1814 the instances of plurality and non-residence in both counties were higher than they had been during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

3. P.P. 1808, IX, p.237.

4. Barrington issued a monition to Charles Cowper the incumbent of Sockburn who "abruptly quitted this Parish in Novr. 1809, since which time he has never had any communication with the church wardens or inhabitants", on 7 October, 1815. When Cowper failed to reply the living was sequestered and the Rev. Richard Johnson incumbent of Eryholm was named Vicar. This is the only evidence of a monition being issued during this period. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1814 Episcopal Visitation and Armstrong, "Barrington", pp.583-6.

Clearly then, the Pluralities Act did little more than create an additional source of statistics to be used by defenders of the Established Church.

In an effort to bring to an end what has been described as the worst feature of non-residence, a further Act of Parliament was passed in 1813 which called for the appointment of a curate by those non-resident incumbents not taking the duty themselves.¹ In the Archdeaconry of Durham such incumbents made up a considerable percentage of the county's clerical strength, as illustrated below.

Figure 8²

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of incumbents in the County</u>	<u>No. of non-resident incumbents</u>	<u>% of the total</u>
1774	69	25	36%
1792	67	24	36%
1814	72	28	39%
1832	79	16	20%

Evidence, however, for the above dates indicates that in Durham the statute was unnecessary, for from the outset of this period of study the non-resident incumbents in the Archdeaconry provided curates for all the parishes they left vacant. The table below indicates (1) the number of cures in the county affected by non-resident incumbents, (2) the number served by a resident curate and (3) the number served by a clergyman resident in a neighbouring parish.

1. 53 Geo. III C.149.

2. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774, 1792 and 1814 Episcopal Visitations, and CC. MSS., 1832 N.B. files.

Figure 9 ¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
1774	35	27	8
1792	35	26	9
1814	33	29	4
1832	18	17	1

A feature of non-residence in the County was the number of incumbents having cure of souls in one parish, and who resided in another as curate. In four instances, duly instituted incumbents were licensed to be non-resident in order to perform the duties of a stipendiary curate elsewhere. It is not surprising to find that two of the above parsons were incumbents of very poor livings. The Rev. William Marks received £55 p.a. as incumbent of Egglestone,² and a further £66 p.a. for serving as stipendiary curate of Middleton-in-Teesdale, where he resided. He was licensed to be non-resident by Barrington on "account of your living being of small value".³ Likewise the Rev. Hudson Barnett, while perpetual curate of Hunstanworth, had been licensed to perform the duties of stipendiary curate in the adjoining parish of Blanchland, in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland.⁴ The Rev. George Stephenson was financially

1. Ibid. For Oxfordshire the figures were as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
1778	67	27	40
1808	87	29	58
1834	58	34	24

McClatchey, Oxfordshire, p.31.

2. Though in 1774 Egglestone was listed as a chapel of ease, in 1810 the curate referred to himself as the perpetual curate. Marks noted in the Episcopal Visitation return of 1814 that the Holy Sacrament was administered in Egglestone church four times a year.

3. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Non-residence licences. Marks had been licensed for ten years from 20 March 1805 to 31 December, 1815.

4. Ibid. In 1810 Hunstanworth was worth £58 p.a.

better off than either Marks or Barnett. As Vicar of Kelloe he received £230 p.a., and as stipendiary curate of the wealthy rectory of Bishopwearmouth, received a further £85 p.a.¹

Throughout this period of study the following number of incumbents supplemented their incomes by acting as stipendiary curates in other parishes: 1774, ten; 1792, ten; 1814, six; 1832, one; 1857, one. In Wiltshire in 1785 there were twenty-five incumbents who were also stipendiary curates.²

Between 1803 and 1856 the Bishop of Durham issued 463 licences for non-residence to 126 individuals. The ^{known} grounds for these licences were as follows:³

Figure 10

<u>Grounds</u>	<u>No. of licences issued</u>
Infirmary of incumbent or family	46
No house	22
Unfit house	20
Resident on another benefice	3
School Master	2
Licensed as a stipendiary curate	3
Lord Crewe's Trustee	1
Endowed lecturer	1
Chaplain of Royal Hospital, Greenwich	1
Chaplain of Sherburn Hospital	2
Chaplain of the donative chapel at Gibside	1

As shown above, the most commonly accepted reason for the issuance of a licence was the ill health of either the incumbent or a member of his family, a fact John Wade suspected as being a convenient means for legitimising protracted and unwarranted

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1. The fourth was the Rev. Thomas Bowlby licensed to be non-resident from his perpetual curacy of Penshaw on account of the "living being of small value he serves as stipendiary curate of Houghton-le-Spring". SR. MSS. Non-residence licences.
 2. Ransome, Wiltshire, p.9.
 3. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Non-residence licences. Diocesan records commence in 1803, following the passage of Scott's Act.

non-residence.¹ Though such suspicions are difficult to verify, it should be noted that there were individuals, particularly among the superior clergy of the Archdeaconry whose protracted non-residence occasioned by ill-health cast doubt upon the truthful representation of their physical conditions.

Such an individual was Henry Phillpotts who entered the Archdeaconry in 1805, and who soon acquired the reputation of being a non-resident pluralist.² In September 1820 Bishop Barrington collated him to the Rectory of Stanhope on the condition that he reside.³ However, on 25 October, 1820 he was granted a licence for non-residence which was not to expire until 31 December, 1824. The grounds for which are unknown, but in November of that year he was issued a further licence for reasons of ill health, which was renewed until 31 December, 1830.⁴ It was during this decade that Phillpotts had been making his reputation. In addition to his active pamphleteering he was an unceasingly active county magistrate.⁵ During the year 1828 which has been described as the "most important year in Phillpotts career"⁶ he held a licence for non-residence on the grounds of illness.⁷

In many instances the basic cause of non-residence was the pluralism that resulted from the inability of certain benefices to support an incumbent and his family. Of the thirty-five Archdeaconry benefices having a non-resident incumbent in 1774,

1. John Wade, The Extraordinary Black Book, 1831 ed., p.30.

2. See Chapter Appendices C and H.

3. Davies, Henry Phillpotts, pp.17-18.

4. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Non-residence licences.

5. DCRO. Quarter Session Order Books, 1819-1828, passim.

6. Davies, Henry Phillpotts, p.70.

7. SR. MSS. Non-residence licences.

the incomes of nine were below £40 p.a. In 1814 the incomes of twenty-seven of the thirty-four benefices in the possession of a non-resident incumbent possessed incomes of £150 p.a. or less.¹

Before the 1830s the Durham Establishment had done little to eradicate the need for pluralism, thus encouraging non-residence. Even as late as 1831, Van Mildert noted publicly the good that was derived from clerical non-residence.²

"So long as there is a large proportion of Benefices inadequate singly, to the decent maintenance of their respective Incumbents; pluralities must, to a certain extent, be allowed, or the incumbent of one insufficient Benefice must be permitted to hold with it some stipendiary curacy of another parish. But the evil itself, is, perhaps, of less practical magnitude than is commonly imagined. It affords occasion to the employment of many valuable auxiliaries to the church, among the unbeneficed clergy; whose services must otherwise be in much less request, and whose admission into the church might under other circumstances, be of very difficult attainment. Nor are the cases of entire non-residence so frequent as our accusers would induce the public to believe. Few, comparatively, of the beneficed clergy are altogether absent from their cures; scarcely any, perhaps, from insufficient causes. Few also of the absentees are not in some other respect professionally active and useful; occupied as School Masters, Tutors, Chaplains, or in other situations most suitably filled by the clerical profession. It were surely harsh to impute to such Incumbents culpable non-residence; especially if, as is most frequently the case, they devote some portion of the year to a personal visitation of their spiritual cures, and make due provision that the most important interests of their flocks be not neglected. Others again, who hold

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS. MS. An account of Shute by divine providence Lord Bishop of Durham of the clear improved yearly value of every Benefice with cure of souls within the Diocese of Durham under the value of £150 p.a., 13 January, 1809.
 2. Charge, 1831.

two Benefices with cure of souls, divide their time, as nearly as circumstances will permit, between both; and, with the help of efficient curates, are virtually discharging the duties of both, though, in the rigid acceptation of the law, not resident upon either".

While alluding to poverty as a cause for pluralism and non-residence, Van Mildert made no reference to those non-resident pluralists holding Episcopal preferment whose incomes were far in excess of those received by incumbents in other patronage. The year 1814 seems to have been typical of this period. The eight Episcopal cures affected by non-resident incumbents were worth on average £515 p.a. while, as noted, the remaining twenty-seven had incomes that averaged £150 p.a. or less.

In 1775 Robert Lowth was collated to the Eighth Stall of Durham Cathedral and at the same time was instituted Rector of Sedgefield, a living worth over £900 p.a. On his translation to the See of Oxford he retained both pieces of Durham preferment. His successor, Bishop Barrington's nephew the Rt. Hon. Lord George Barrington, Prebend of the Eleventh Stall, spent much of his incumbency non-resident, either on account of his being one of Lord Crewe's Trustees, his own illness, or as a result of the "illness of your child making part of and residing with you as part of your family".¹ During the period of his incumbency the value of Sedgefield had increased from £900 p.a. to over £1,900 p.a.² Similarly the Hon. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington's younger brother, held a licence for non-residence for twelve consecutive years, whilst at the same time receiving over

1. SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Non-residence licences, July 1815.

2. CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Sedgefield.

£3,300 p.a. from his Rectory of Bishopwearmouth.¹ The Rev. Richard Richardson, already discussed, had been exempted from residence for twenty-five consecutive years from 6 June, 1814 to 2 February, 1839, the year of his death.²

Such individuals failed to escape the attention of the Durham Chronicle who eagerly brought to the notice of its readers such grand examples of clerical abuse.³

"The Hon. and Rev. G. V. Wellesley, Rector of Bishopwearmouth, Rector of St. Lukes Chelsea, Vicar of Thelfield, Chaplain of Hampton Court, Chaplain at St. James and Prebendary of Durham, is expected to arrive at the Rectory Bishopwearmouth, from the continent, in June, after an absence of 15 months, during which period he will have received the enormous sum of £4,000 and upwards, for the latter Rectory alone!!! How long will this corruption be tolerated? How long are the revenues of the church to be made for this world only If the Wellesleys, the Phillpotts, the Thurlows and the Merests, etc., etc., were 'thoroughly purged' from it, and the immense sums which would thus be saved were given to the meritorious clerical labourers who have to work during the 'heat of the day' - from the first to the eleventh hour - the church would once more lift up her head, and put forth her renovated energies, crowning herself with glory, and diffusing happiness and consolation throughout the land".

The Rev. J. W. D. Merest, Vicar of Staindrop, Rector of Cockfield and Perpetual Curate of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington resided at Staindrop and provided two curates to serve the latter cure. He occasionally preached at Darlington and the best that has been said of his incumbency is that he "lived in great harmony with his curates, and if he did little good he did little harm".⁴ In answer to the mention of his name he wrote the following to the Editor which was printed in the Chronicle⁵ on 16 April, 1831.⁵

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1. SR. MSS. Non-residence licences; CC. MS. 1832 N.B. file, Bishopwearmouth.
 2. SR. MSS. Non-residence licences.
 3. DC. 9 April, 1831.
 4. John Bousfield, Pleasant Memories of Darlington and Neighbourhood, p.24.
 5. DC. 16 April, 1831.

"You could not, I fear, have been actuated by a worthy and honourable motive, in including my name amongst many whom you have held up, in an article in your paper last week, to public approbrium, for receiving great emoluments from the Church without performing any correspondent duty. If you had made enquiry, you would have ascertained that the whole of the preferment which I hold, does not yield me £400 p.a.¹ - that² I am constantly resident on my living here, and regularly perform all the duty of this extensive parish (I hope) to the satisfaction of my parishioners - and that I retain the services of two efficient curates at Darlington".

His letter achieved little for J. H. Neitch the editor of the Chronicle seems to have had the last word.³ In his editorial of the same date Neitch pointed out that regardless of Merest's income he was no less a non-resident pluralist and therefore the "most that can be said on his behalf is that though a pluralist he is not a fat one"⁴

1. In 1835 his income was £688 p.a. See Chapter Appendix D.

2. Staindrop.

3. Milne, Newspapers, p.50.

4. DC. 16 April, 1831.

The following Appendices A to E are comprehensive lists of pluralist incumbents holding benefices in the Archdeaconry of Durham at five selected dates through the period of this study. The tables are divided into six columns which contain the following information.

- (I) Incumbents' names
- (II) Academic qualifications, if any
- (III) Preferment held, including stipendiary curacies and chaplaincies
- (IV) Patrons of preferments, if known.
- (V) Income, if known, and
- (VI) The dates dispensations were granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury for holding benefices in plurality. Where no date is listed, no dispensation was found.

APPENDIX A1774

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Addison, ¹ William	A.B. (Oxon) ²	Dinsdale R. ¹ C. of Middle- ton-St.George	Dean & Chapter ¹	£128 (1808) ³ £30 (1788)	
Adey, William	A.B. (Camb)	Lanchester P.C. C of Esh and Satley	Bishop of Durham	£114 (1792) £27	
Airey, Phillip	Non. Grad.	Whorlton P.C. Curate of Winston	V. of Gainford	£35 (1792) Unknown	
Bowman, Thomas	A.M. (Camb)	Craike R. Hessle V. (York)	Bishop of Durham Crown	£950 (1792)	1768
Branfoot, Jonathan	A.M. (Camb)	St. Nicholas, Durham P.C. Billingham V.	John Tempest Robert Fenwick	£41 (1810) £107 (1792)	1774 ⁴
Byron, Hon. Richard	A.M. (Oxon)	Ryton R. Winston R.	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£900 (1774) £184 (1774)	
Coulthard, Thomas	A.M. (Glas- gow)	Edmondbyers R. Muggleswick	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£60 (1793) £44 (1768)	
Dade, Thomas	A.M. (Camb)	Middleton-in- Teesdale R. Chaplain to Lord Ducie	Crown	£500 (1775)	1784

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Deason, James	Non. Grad.	Pittington V. Whitworth PC. Fordwich R. (Kent) Minor Canon of Durham	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter Earl of Cowper Dean & Chapter	£75 (1775) £100 (1788) £40 ⁵	1774
Dennis, Samuel	A.M. (Oxon)	South Shields P.C. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£90 (1792) £40	
Dickens, Samuel	D.D. (Oxon)	Easington Archdeacon of Durham Prebend of the 11th Stall, Durham	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£1200 (1810) £28 £264 ⁶	
Douglas, James	D.D. (Oxon)	Stainton-le- Street R. Witton Gilbert P.C. Prebend of the 4th Stall, Durham	Crown Dean & Chapter Bishop of Durham	£180 (1775) £90 (1775) £325 ⁷ £264 ⁶	
Drake, Thomas	A.M. (Camb)	St. Mary-le- Bow R. Bedlington V. (Northumber- land)	Archd. of Northumberland Dean & Chapter	£43 (1792)	
Egerton, Henry	A.M. (Oxon)	Bishopwear- mouth R. Ingram R. Prebend of the 2nd Stall, Durham	Bishop of Durham Ralph Ogle Bishop of Durham	£800 (1775) £500 ⁸	
Ellison, William	A.M. (Camb)	Ebchester P.C. Medomsley P.C.	Sherburn Hospi- tal Bishop of Durham	£60 (1810) £29 (1792)	
Farrer, John	Non. grad.	Witton-le- Wear P.C. Hamsterley P.C.	John Cuthbert John Cuthbert	£51 (1788) £49 (1788)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Fawcett, Richard	D.D. (Oxon)	Gateshead R. Newcastle V. Chaplain to Bishop of Durham Chaplain to George III	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Car- lisle	£180 (1772) £170 (1772)	1772
Fisher, Peter	Non. grad.	Cockfield R. Staindrop V. Woodham R. (Essex)	Lord Darlington Lord Darlington Sir B. W. Bridges	£60 (1794) £62 (1788)	
Gelson, Ralph	A.B. (Oxon)	Kirk Merring- ton V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£85 (1775) £40 ⁴	
Harris, George Wm.	A.M. (Oxon)	Egglescliffe V. Prebend of Sarum Salisbury	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Salisbury	£300 (1774)	
Hornsby, Nicholas	A.M. (Oxon)	Dalton-le- Dale V. Curate of Pittington Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£90 (1774) £40 ⁵	
Hudson, Thomas	A.B. (Camb)	Hunstanworth P.C. of Blanchland	Lord Chief Baron Ord Lord Crewe's Trustees	£58 (1810) £80 ¹¹	
Longstaffe, William	A.M. (Camb)	Kelloe V. Curate of Sedgefield Curate of Easington	Bishop of Durham	£120 (1774) £55	
Lowth, Robert	D.D. (Oxon)	Sedgefield R. Prebend of 8th Stall, Durham Bishop of Oxford	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Crown	£900 (1775) £340 ¹⁰	1766

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Milbank, Francis	Non. grad.	Chester-le- Street P.C. Croft R.	Sir R. Milbank Crown	£460 (1813)	
Mills, John	A.B. (Oxon)	Jarrow P.C. Heworth P.C.	Eliz. Montagu Eliz. Montagu	£100 (1794) £45 (1810)	
Parker, Robert	D.D. (Camb)	Hart V. Elwick Hall R.	Crown Bishop of Durham	£380 (1814) £400 (1777)	
Pye, Benjamin	DCL (Oxon)	Whitburn R. Prebend of Salisbury	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Salisbury	£400 (1774)	1770
Robson, James	A.M. (Oxon)	Aycliffe V. Chaplain of Sherburn Hospital	Dean & Chapter Master of Sherburn Hospi- tal	£120 (1794) £70 ⁷ (1819)	
Robson, John	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Giles P.C. Sockburn V.	John Tempest Sherburn Hospital	£51 (1810) £25 (1808)	
Shafto, Thomas Goodfellow	D.D. (Oxon)	Brancepeth R. Canon of Christ Church	Robert Shafto Crown	£600 (1794)	
Smith, Abraham	A.B. (Camb)	St. Andrew, Auckland P.C. Escomb P.C.	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£97 (1808) £92 (1792)	
Thurlow, Thomas	D.D. (Oxon)	Stanhope R. Master of the Temple Church	Bishop of Durham Crown ¹²	£660 (1775)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Vane, Henry	LL.B. (Camb)	Long Newton R. Prebend of the 10th Stall, Durham	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£780 (1810) £273 ⁶	
Vaughan, Willaim	A.M. (Oxon)	Norton V. Prebend of Lichfield	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Lichfield	£260 (1775)	
Viner, Samuel	A.M. (Oxon)	Heighington V. Minor Canon Curate of Witton Gilbert Curate of St. Mary-the-Less	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£140 (1794) £40 ⁵	
Webbersley, John	Non. grad.	Lamesley P.C. Tanfield P.C. Whickham R.	Sir Thomas Henry Liddell Woodfield Beckwith Bishop of Durham	£66 (1810) £84 (1810) £400 (1788)	
Whaley, John	A.M. (Camb)	Middleton St. George R. Chaplain to Countess of Dundonald Huggate R. (York)	Robert Killing- hall Crown	£40 (1775)	
Wheeler, John	A.B. (Oxon)	Croxdale P.C. St. Margarets, Durham P.C. Esh P.C. Satley P.C. Minor Canon Master of Durham School	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter P.C. of Lan- chester P.C. of Lan- chester Dean & Chapter	£110 (1810) £49 (1749) £27 (1788) £13 (1784) £40 ⁵	

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1774 Episcopal Visitation.
 2. U.A.B.
 3. See Appendices, Chapter III.
 4. The Index Library. Index to the Act Books of the Archbishop of Canterbury 1663-1854, Compiled by E. H. N. Dunkin. Extended and edited by Claude Jenkins. 2 pts. Vol. LV (1929) and Vol. LXXX (1938).
 5. PK. Treasurer's Book, 1774-5 to 1801-2. No. 40.

6. PK. MS. Dean and Chapter Audit Book, 1768-90. This sum represents the Prebend's share of the Chapter's corporate income.
7. PK. MS. Account book, A Rental of the Fourth Prebend.
8. Ibid., A Rental of the Second Prebend, 1771-93.
9. William Hutchinson, A View of Northumberland Included within, A State of the Church under the Archdeaconry of Northumberland and Hexham Peculiar Jurisdiction with the Succession of Incumbents Extracted from the Manuscripts of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Randal, Vol.I, p.58.
10. PK. MS. Account book, A Rental of the Eighth Prebend, 1756-93.
11. Master of Sherburn was Thomas Dampier son of the Dean of Durham. V.C.H., Durham, Vol.II, p.115; SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination Papers. R. W. Bamford, 1819.
12. Robert J. Blockham, Wig and Gown: The Story of the Temple, Gray's and Lincoln's Inn, (London, 1932), p.89.

APPENDIX B1792

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Addison, ¹ William	A.B. (Oxon) ²	Dinsdale R. ¹ Middleton St. George A. West Rounton R. Yorkshire	Dean & Chapter ¹ Robert Killing- hall Esq. Crown (Lord Chan.)	£128 (1808) ³ £96 (1792)	
Airey, Phillip	Non. grad.	Whorlton P.C. Curate of Winston	V. of Gainford	£35 (1792)	
Bacon, John	Non. grad.	St. Anne's Auckland P.C. Curate of Whitworth	Bishop of Durham	£20 (1782) £60 (1799)	
Barnett, Hudson	Non. grad.	Hunstanworth P.C. Curate of Blanchland	Lord Chief Baron Ord	£34 (1793) £30 (1793)	
Barrington, George	A.B. (Oxon)	Sedgefield R. Prebend of 9th Stall	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£2300 (1805) £2124 ⁴	
Bowman, Thomas	A.M. (Camb)	Craike R. Hessle V. Yorkshire	Bishop of Durham Crown (Lord Chan.)	£950 (1810)	
Brewster, John	A.M. (Oxon)	Greatham V. Lecturer of Stockton-on- Tees	Greatham Hospital Corporation of Stockton-on- Tees	£76 (1788)	
Byron, Hon. Richard	A.M. (Oxon)	Ryton R. Winston R.	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£1000 (1792) £560 (1808)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Capstick, Thomas	Non. grad.	St. Andrew, Auckland P.C. Escomb P.C. Esh P.C. Satley P.C.	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham P.C. of Lan- chester P.C. of Lan- chester	£97 (1808) £92 (1792) £36 (1797) £36 (1797)	
Davidson, E. R.	A.M. (Oxon)	Trimdon P.C. C of Brancepeth	William Beckwith	£74 (1792) £50 (1792)	
Deason, James	Non. grad.	Pittington V. Edmondbyers R. Muggleswick P.C. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£75 (1792) £71 (1801) £49 (1808) £405	
Dent, Robert	Non. grad.	Lanchester P.C. Curate of Esh Curate of Sat- ley	Bishop of Durham	£114 (1792)	
Dixon, Caleb	Non. grad.	Lamesley P.C. Tanfield P.C.	Sir Thomas H. Liddell Bart. Woodifield Beckwith Esq.	£66 (1810) £84 (1810)	
Egerton, Henry	A.M. (Oxon)	Bishopwearmouth R. Ingram R, North- umberland Prebend of the 2nd Stall	Bishop of Durham Ralph Ogle, Esq. Bishop of Durham	£250 (1822) £5156 £5647	
Ellison, William	A.M. (Camb)	Ebchester P.C. Medomsley P.C.	Sherburn Hospital Bishop of Durham	£60 (1810) £29 (1792)	
Farrer, John	Non. grad.	Witton-le- Wear P.C. Hamsterley P.C.	John Cuthbert, Esq. John Cuthbert, Esq.	£60 (1800) £63 (1810)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Fisher, Peter	Non. grad.	Staindrop V.	Lord Darlington	£62 (1788)	
		Cockfield R.	Lord Darlington	£60 (1794)	
		Woodham, Essex	Unknown		
Fothergill, James	A.B. (Oxon)	Dalton-le-Dale V.	Dean & Chapter	£90 (1794)	
		Unknown benefice near Dorchester Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter	£40 ⁵	
Haslewood, Dickens	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Mary-the-Less R.	Crown	£70 (1794)	
		Monk Hesledon V.	Dean & Chapter	£67 (1770)	
		Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter	£40 ⁵	
		Curate of Pittington		20 gns.	
Hayes, Thomas	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Oswald, Durham V.	Dean & Chapter	£194 (1794)	
		Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter	£40 ⁵	
Iveson, Jonatean	Non. grad.	Monkwearmouth P.C.	Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart.	£113 (1808)	
		West Jarrington, Lincolnshire	Unknown		
Lascelles, Robert	A.M. (Oxon)	Middleton-in-Teesdale R.	Crown	£300 (1792)	1778 ⁸
		Egglesstone PC.	Rector of Middleton	£55 (1803)	
Longstaffe, William	A.M. (Camb)	Kelloe V.	Bishop of Durham	£230 (1808)	
		Curate of Sedgefield		60 gns.	
Middleton, Joseph	A.B. (Camb)	Grindon V.	Sherburn Hospital	£94 (1770)	
		Long Horsley V. Northumberland	Crown (Lord Chan.)	£250 ⁹	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Pye, Benjamin	D.C.L. (Oxon)	Hart cum Hartlepool Easington R. Archdeacon of Durham Prebend of Salisbury	Crown Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Bishop of Salisbury	£380 (1814) £1200 (1810) £88	
Richardson, Richard	D.D. (Oxon)	Elwick Hall R. Witton Gilbert P.C. Chancellor of St. Pauls Precentor of St. Davids Master of Durham School	Bishop of Durham Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£400 (1777) £90 (1772) £78 £1200	
Robson, John	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Nicholas, Durham P.C. St. Giles, Durham P.C. Sockburn V.	John Tempest Esq. John Tempest Esq. Sherburn Hospital	£41 (1810) £51 (1810) £25 (1808)	
Shafto, Thomas Goodfellow	D.D. (Oxon)	Brancepeth R. Canon of Christ Crown Church	Robert Shafto	£600 (1794)	
Symons, Jelinger	A.B. (Camb)	Whitburn R. Clapton R. (Middlesex) Curate of Hackney (Middlesex)	Bishop of Durham R. of Hackney	£400 (1790)	
Thorp, Robert	D.D. (Camb)	Gateshead R. Archdeacon of Northumber- land Lecturer at St. Anne's, N'cas	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Corporation of Newcastle	£900 (1810) £381 (1831) £50 ⁹	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Thurlow, Edward South	A.M. (Oxon)	Houghton-le- Spring R. Stamfordham, Northumber- land Eastyn R. Llandillo R. Prebend of Norwich	Bishop of Durham Crown Bishop of St. Asoph Bishop of St. Asoph Lord Chancellor	£1300 (1803) £300 ⁹ £561 (1831) £215 (1831) £20 (1831)	1792
Vane, Henry	LL.B., (Camb)	Long Newton R. Prebend of the 10th Stall	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£780 (1810) £561 ⁷	
Viner, Samuel	A.M. (Oxon)	Heighington V. Croxdale P.C. Minor Canon Lecturer, St. Nicholas, Durham	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter Corporation of Durham	£140 (1794) £110 (1810) £40 ⁵	
Wallis, Richard	A.M. (Oxon)	Seaham V. Blanchland P.C. South Shields P.C. Curate of Billingham	Wallis family Lord Crewe's Trustees Dean & Chapter	£300 (1792) £80 ⁹ £100 (1806) £40 (1792)	
Watkins, Joseph	A.M.	Kirk Merring- ton V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£100 (1794) £40 ⁵	

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1792 Episcopal Visitation.
 2. U.A.B.
 3. See Appendices, Chapter III.
 4. PK. MS., Account book, A Rental of the Ninth Prebend, 1763-1809.
 5. PK. Treasurer's Book, 1774-5 to 1802-3. No.41.
 6. PK. MS., Account book, A Rental of the Ninth Prebend, 1763-1809.
 7. PK. MS., Dean and Chapter Audit Book. This sum represents the Prebend's share of the Chapter's corporate income.
 8. Index Library, Act Books.
 9. Hutchinson, "Randal", Vol.I, pp.46; 60; 38; 60.

APPENDIX C1814

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Bacon, John ¹	Non. grad. ¹	St. Andrew, Auckland PC. ¹ St. Anne's, Auckland PC. Escomb PC.	Bishop of Durham ¹ Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£97 (1808) ³ £31 (1810) £55 (1810)	
Baillie, Charles	A.M. (Camb)	Middleton-in- Teesdale R Stainton V. (Yorkshire) Archdeacon of Cleveland	Crown Earl of Scarborough Archbishop of York	£300 (1792) £36 (1831)	1802 ⁴
Barrington, George	A.B. (Oxon)	Sedgefield R. Prebend of 11th Stall	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£2300 (1805)	
Birkett, Robert	Non. grad.	Kelloe V. Curate of St. Andrew, Auckland Curate of St. Anne's, Auckland Curate of Escomb	Bishop of Durham	£230 (1810) £50 is paid for ser- ving all 3 cures	
Brandling, R. H.	A.M. (Camb)	Castle Eden PC. Routhwell V. Yorkshire	Rowland Burdon Rev. R. H. Brandling	£48 (1808) £844	
Brewster, John	A.M. (Oxon)	Egglescliffe V. Greatham V.	Bishop of Durham Greatham Hospital	£1200 (1818) £200 (1814)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Clarke, John	LL.B. (Camb)	Billingham V. Curate of Witton Gilbert Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£194 (1832) £50 (1814) £705	
Davison, Edward Rowland	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Nicholas P.C. Trimdon P.C.	John Tempest William Beckwith	£41 (1810) £100 (1810)	
Dawson, Joseph	Non. grad.	Edmundbyers R. Muggleswick P.C.	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£49 (1808) £49 (1808)	
Dixon, Caleb	Non. grad.	Tanfield P.C. Lamesley P.C.	Lord Ravensworth Lord Ravensworth	£84 (1810) £66 (1810)	
Ellison, William	A.M. (Camb)	Elchester P.C. Medomsley P.C.	Sherburn Hospital Bishop of Durham	£60 (1810) £97 (1810)	
Faber, George Stanley	B.D. (Oxon)	Long Newton R. Prebend of Salisbury	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Salisbury	£780 (1810) £20	
Fothergill, James	A.B. (Oxon)	Dalton-le-Dale V. Gainsborough, Lincoln	Dean & Chapter Bishop of Lincoln	£150 (1818)	
Gamlen, Samuel	A.M. (Oxon)	Pittington V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£96 (1810) £705	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
George, Patrick	A.M. (Scot)	Kirk Merrington V. Minor Canon Curate of St. Margarets, Dun	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£221 (1794) £705 £80 (1814)	
Gray, Robert	D.D. (Oxon)	Bishopwearmouth R. Prebend of 7th Stall	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£1179 (1808)	
Hampson John	A.M. (Oxon)	Sunderland R. St. John's Chapel, P.C. Sunderland	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£84 (1795) £84	
Haslewood, Dickens	A.M. (Oxon)	Aycliffe V. St. Mary-the- Less R. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Crown Dean & Chapter	£110 (1812) £100 (1808) £705	
Hayes, Thomas	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Oswald's, Durham V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£160 (1794) £705	
Hayes, William	A.B. (Oxon)	Monk Hesledon Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£200 (1832) £705	
Hodgson, John	Non. grad.	Jarrow P.C. Heworth P.C.	Sir Wm. Claver- ing, Bart & others Sir Wm. Claver- ing, Bart & others	£73 (1810) £45 (1810)	
Hooper, Ralph	A.M. (Camb)	Witton-le- Wear P.C. Hamsterley PC.	R. J. Hooper R. J. Hooper	£91 (1808) £63 (1810)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Liddell, Henry George	A.M. (Oxon)	Boldon R. Romaldkirk R. Yorkshire	Bishop of Durham J. Bowes	£300 (1794) £818 (1831)	1824 ⁴
Marshall, Edward	Non. grad.	Esh P.C. Satley P.C.	P.C. Of Lanches- ter P.C. of Lanches- ter	£66 (1810) £89 (1810)	
Moises, Edward	A.M. (Camb)	Hart V. Lecturer, St. Nicholas, N'cas Master of Royal Gram- mar School	Crown Corporation of Newcastle ⁵	£380 (1814)	
Nesfield, William	A.M. (Camb)	Chester-le- Street P.C. Brancepeth R. Chaplain to Prince Regent	Sir Ralph Mil- bank & others R. D. Shafto	£460 (1813) £600 (1794)	
Peacock, D. M.	A.M. (Camb)	Stainton-le- Street R. Sedbergh	Crown Trinity College, Cambridge	£450 £190 (1831)	
Phillpotts, Henry	A.M. (Camb)	St. Margarets, Durham P.C. Prebend of 9th Stall	Dean & Chapter Bishop of Durham	£461 (1832)	
Prosser, Richard	D.D. (Oxon)	Easington R. Archdeacon of Durham Prebend of 3rd Stall	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£1200 (1810) £28	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Richardson, Richard	D.D. (Oxon)	Witton Gilbert P.C. Elwick Hall R. Chancellor of St. Pauls. Precentor of St. Davids	Dean & Chapter Bishop of Durham	£303 (1835) £400 (1777) £78 £42	1839
Stephenson, George	A.M. (Oxon)	Redmarshall R. Curate of Bishopwear- mouth	Bishop of Durham	£468 (1805) £100 (1814)	
Tatham, Ralph	A.B. (Oxon)	Bishopton V. Addingham V. Cumberland Chaplain of Sherburn Hospital	Sherburn Hospital Dean & Chapter of Carlisle Master of Sherburn ⁶ Hospital	£179 (1832) £263 (1831)	
Terrot, William	A.M. (Camb)	Grindon V. Chaplain to Marquis of Cleveland	Sherburn Hospital	£142 (1832)	
Thornhill, John	A.M. (Oxon)	Staindrop V. Cockfield R. Anderby R. (Lincoln)	Duke of Cleveland Duke of Cleveland Magdalene Coll. Cambridge	£89 (1808) £44 (1810) £548 (1831)	1806
Thurlow, Edward	A.M. (Oxon)	Houghton-le- Spring R. Stamfordham V. Eastyn R. Llandrillo R. Prebend of Norwich	Bishop of Durham Crown Bishop of St. Asoph Bishop of St. Asoph Lord Chancellor	£1300 (1803) £626 £561 £215 £20	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Wallis, Richard	A.B. (Oxon)	Seaham V. South Shields P.C. Blanchland P.C. (North.)	Wallis family Dean & Chapter Lord Crewe's Trustees	£300 (1792) £100 (1806) £198 (1831)	
Watkins, Joseph	A.M. (Camb)	St. Giles P.C. Norham V. (North.)	John Tempest Dean & Chapter	£51 (1810)	
Wilson, Richard	Non. grad.	Whorlton P.C. Bowes V. (Yorks.)	V. of Gainford Bishop of Chester	£121 (1808) £90 (1831)	
Viner, Samuel	A.M. (Oxon)	Heighington V. Croxdale P.C. Stannington V. (North.) Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter Bishop of Durham Dean & Chapter	£140 (1794) £110 (1810) £367 (1831) £705	

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1. AC. Episcopal MSS., 1814 Episcopal Visitation.
 2. U.A.B.
 3. See Appendices, Chapter III.
 4. Index Library, Act Books.
 5. Hutchinson, "Randal", p.58.
 6. Master of Sherburn was Andrew Bell, 1809-1832. V.C.H.
Durham, p.115.

APPENDIX D1832

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Bamford, R. W. ¹	A.B. (Camb) ²	Bishopton V. ² Chaplain of Sherburn Hospital	Sherburn Hospital ¹ Master of Sherburn Hospital	£179 ³ (1832) £70 (1819) ⁴	
Bandinel, Bulkeley	D.D. (Oxon)	Haughton-le- Skerne R. Bodleian Librarian	Bishop of Durham Convocation	£1525 (1832) £400 ⁴	
Birkett, Robert	Non. grad.	Kelloe V. Thornley P.C.	Bishop of Durham V. of Kelloe	£231 (1831)	
Brewster, John, Jun.	A.M. (Oxon)	Greatham V. Laughton (Lincolnshire) Chaplain to Marquis of Hereford	Greatham Hospital Marchioness of Hereford	£186 (1832) £159 (1831)	
Clarke, Robert	Non. grad.	Ebchester P.C. Medomsley P.C.	Sherburn Hospital Bishop of Durham	£85 (1832) £160 (1832)	
Collinson, H. K.	A.M. (Oxon)	Castle Eden P.C. Curate of Tanfield	Rowland Burdon	£62 (1832) £60	
Collinson, John	A.M. (Oxon)	Gateshead R. Lamesley P.C.	Bishop of Durham Lord Ravensworth	£750 (1832) £138 (1832)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Davison, Edward, Jun.	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Nicholas, Durham P.C. Harlington R. (Middlesex)	Dean & Chapter Edward Davison Dr.	£90 (1832) £500 (1831)	
Dawson, Joseph	Non. grad.	Edmondbyers R. Muggleswick PC	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£178 (1832) £93 (1832)	
Douglas, Henry	A.B. (Camb)	Whickham R. Prebend of Llandaff	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Llandaff	£803 (1832) £6 (1831)	
Dyke, Thomas, Hart	A.M. (Oxon)	Long Newton R. Lullingstone R. (Kent)	Bishop of Durham Sir P. H. Dyke	£634 (1832) £350 (1831)	
Ebdon, Thomas	A.B. (Camb)	Billingham V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£194 (1832) £1305	
Ewbank, W. W.	A.M. (Camb)	Grindon V. C. of Allerthorp cum Thorton		£142 £60	
Fielding, George	A.M. (Camb)	St. Andrew, Auckland PC. St. Anne, Auckland PC,	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£152 (1832) £117 (1832)	
Frye, Percival	A.M. (Oxon)	Dinsdale R. Brompton (Middlesex)	Dean & Chapter V. of Kensington	£248 (1832) £736 (1831)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Gamlon, Samuel	A.M. (Oxon)	Croxdale P.C.	Dean & Chapter	£132 (1832)	
		Heighington V.	Dean & Chapter	£265 (1832)	
		Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter	£130 ⁵	
		Bossall V. (Yorks)	Dean & Chapter	£467 (1831)	
George, Patrick	A.M.	St. Margaret, Durham P.C.	Dean & Chapter	£461 (1832)	
		Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter	£130 ⁵	
		Bp. Cosin's Librarian	Archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland	£13	
Gray, Robert	D.D.	Sunderland R.	Bishop of Durham	£263 (1832)	
		St. John's, &c. Sunderland		£122	
			Bishop of Durham	(1832)	
Hayes, William	A.B. (Oxon)	Monk Hesledon V.	Dean & Chapter	£200 (1832)	
		Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter	£130 ⁵	
Hodgson, John	Non. grad.	Jarrow P.C.	Sir Wm. Claver- ing, Bart.	£197 (1832)	
		Heworth P.C.	Sir Wm. Claver- ing, Bart.	£88 (1832)	
		Kirk Whelp- ington V. (North.)	Bishop of Durham	£352 (1823)	
Johnson, Richard	A.B. (Oxon)	Sockburn V.	Sherburn Hospital	£79 (1832)	
		Ingham R. (Norfolk)	Henry Neville		
Merest, J. W.	Non. grad.	Staindrop V.	Duke of Cleveland	£50 (1829)	
		Cockfield R.	Duke of Cleveland	£354 (1835)	
		St. Cuthbert, Darlington PC.	Duke of Cleveland	£284 (1832)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Miller, James	Non. grad.	Pittington V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£517 (1832) £130 ⁵	
Milner, J. G.	Non. grad.	Hamsterley PC. Bellerby V. Yorkshire	Owners of Witton Castle J. C. Chaytor	£96 (1832) £181 (1831)	
Moises, Edward	A.M. (Camb)	Hart V. Lecturer at St. Nicholas, N'Cas.	Crown Corporation of (Newcastle	(£240 (1832)	
Peacock, D. M.	A.M. (Camb)	Stainton-le- Street R. Sedbergh R. (Yorks.)	Crown Trinity College, Camb.	£340 (1832) £190 (1831)	
Penson, Peter	A.M. (Oxon)	St. Oswald, Durham V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£274 (1832) £168 ⁵	
Raine, James	M.A. (Lam- beth)	St. Mary-the- Less R. Meldon R. (Northum.)	Crown Dean & Chapter	£120 (1832) £322 (1831)	
Richardson, Richard	D.D. (Oxon)	Witton Gilbert P.C. Brancepeth R. Chancellor of St. Pauls Precentor of St. Davids	Dean & Chapter R. D. Shafto	£303 (1835) £940 (1832) £78 (1831) £1200 (1831)	1839
Ripley, T. H.	A.M. (Camb)	Chester-le- Street P.C. Tockenham R. (Wiltshire) Wootton Bassett (Wiltshire)	Lady Byron The Crown Earl of Clarendon	£377 (1832) £292 (1831) £490 (1831)	1828

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Stephenson, George	A.M. (Oxon)	Redmarshall C. at Bishop- wearmouth	Bishop of Durham		
Temple, Wm. Smoult	A.M. (Camb)	Aycliffe V. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£282 (1832) £130 ⁵	
Thompson Joseph	Non. grad.	Esh P.C. Satley P.C.	P.C. of Lan- chester P.C. of Lan- chester	£65 (1832) £68 (1832)	
Thorp, Charles	B.D. (Oxon)	Ryton R. Archdeacon of Durham Prebend of the 4th Stall, Durham	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£1137 (1832) £28 £630 ⁶ £200 ⁷	
Thurlow, E. S.	A.M. (Oxon)	Houghton-le- Spring R. Eastyn R. Llandrillo R. Stamfordham V. (North) Prebend of Norwich	Bishop of Durham Bishop of St. Asoph Bishop of St. Asoph Crown Lord Chancellor	£2553 (1832) £561 (1831) £215 (1831) £626 (1831) £20 £783	
Wellesley, G. V.	A.M. (Camb)	Bishopwear- mouth R. Royal Chaplain Prebend of the 5th Stall, Durham	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£3345 (1832)	
York, T.H.	A.M. (Oxon)	Bishop Middleham V. St. Cuthberts, York City	Crown	£199 (1823) £233 (1835)	

1. CC. MSS. 1832 N.B. files.
2. U.A.8.
3. CC. MSS., 1832 N.B. files.
4. Master of Sherburn was G. S. Faher, 1832-54. V.C.H., Durham, p.115; SR. MSS. Unsorted box labelled Ordination Papers. R. W. Bamford, 1819.
5. PK. Treasurer's Book, 1831-32.
6. W. D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, (Oxford, 1890), p.293.

APPENDIX E1857

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u> ³	<u>VI</u>
Baker, ¹ Thomas	A.M. ² (Oxon)	Whitburn R. ¹ Chaplain to Bishop of Durham	Bishop of Durham ¹ Bishop of Durham	£1184 ⁴ (1861)	
Bandinel, B.	D.D. (Oxon)	Haughton-le- Skerne R. Bodleian Lib- rarian	Bishop of Durham Convocation	£1843 (1861) £700 ³	
Bland, George	A.M. (Cantab)	St. Mary-le- Bow R. Archdeacon of Northumberland Prebend of 1st Stall	Archdeacon of Northumberland Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£260 ⁴ (1861) £381 ⁶	
Brewster, John Jun.	A.M. (Oxon)	Greatham V. Laughton V. Lincolnshire Chaplain to Marquis of Hereford	Greatham Hospital Marchioness of Hereford	£300 £159 ⁶ (1831)	
Chevallier, T.	B.D. (Can- tab)	Esh P.C. Prof. of Maths & Astronomy Reader in Hebrew, Durham Uni- versity	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£200 £757 (1859) £80	
Dingle, J.	B.A. (Can- tab)	Lanchester PC Chaplain to Lanchester Union	Bishop of Durham	£292 ⁵ (1856)	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Dixon, Thomas	A.B. (Can- tab) Lambeth M.A. 1863	South Shields, Holy Trinity P.C. Chaplain to Countess of Strathmore	Dean & Chapter	£220 ⁷ (1809)	
Ede, J. D.	A.B. (Can- tab)	Aycliffe V. Rural Dean for Darlington	Dean & Chapter	£369 ⁵ (1856)	
Dugard, George	A.M. (Can- tab)	Barnard Castle P.C. Master of St. John's Hospi- tal, Barnard Castle	V. of Gainford Crown	£207	
Dyke, T. H.	A.M. (Oxon)	Long Newton R. Lullingstone (Kent)	Bishop of Durham Sir H. P. Dyke	£637 £350	
Edwards, John	A.B. (Can- tab)	Pittington V. South Ferriby R. Lincs. Prof. of Greek & Classical Literature Sub Warden, Durham Univ.	Dean & Chapter Bishop of Lincoln Bishop of Durham	£620 ⁵ (1856) £192 ⁶ (1831) £500	
Green, G. E.	A.B. (Dun.)	St. Andrew, Auckland P.C. St. Anne, Auckland P.C.	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£585	
Gibson, John	A.M. (Dun.)	Hunstanworth P.C. Muggleswick P.C. Blanchland (Northumber- land) P.C.	Rev. D. Copper Dean & Chapter Lord Crewe's Trustees	£35 ⁵ (1856) £216 ⁵ (1856) £198 ⁶ (1831)	1857

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Graves, Henry	Non. grad.	Middleton-St. George R. High Worsall V. (Yorks.)	H.A.W. Cocks V. of Northal- lerton	£97 £60	
Hall, J. R.	A.M. (Oxon)	Boldon R. Exam. Chap. to Bishop of Durham	Bishop of Durham	£766 ⁵ (1856)	
Howell, A.	A.M. (Oxon)	Darlington, St. Cuth- berts P.C. Chaplain to Duke of Cleve- land	Duke of Cleveland	£680	
Jones, E. N.	A.B. (Oxon)	Satley P.C. Lynsack P.C.	Bishop of Durham P.C. of Ham- sterley	£90 ⁵ (1842) £106	
Lipscomb, H. C.	A.M. (Dun.)	Cockfield R. Staindrop V. Chaplain to Duke of Cleveland	Duke of Cleveland Duke of Cleveland	£380 ⁴ (1861)	
Maltby, H. J.	A.M. (Can- tab.)	Egglescliffe V. Prebend of 8th Stall, Durham	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£1075	
Manisty, J.	Non. grad.	Shildon P.C. Chaplain to Earl of Eldon	Bishop of Durham	£196	
Milner, J. G.	Non. grad.	Hamsterley P.C. Bellerby V. Yorkshire	Donald Maclean, M.P. J. C. Chaytor	£75 £78	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>
Peters, H.	Non. grad.	Sunderland R. St. John's Sunderland P.C.	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£420	
Raine, J.	A.M. (Lam- beth)	St. Mary-the- Less R. Meldon R. (Northumber- land)	Crown Dean & Chapter	£157 £322	
Ripley, T. H.	A.M. (Camb)	Chester-le Street P.C. Tockenham R. (Wilts.) Wootton Bassett V. (Wilts.)	Lady Byron The Crown Earl of Clarendon	£460 £490 £292	
Sneyd, Edward	A.M. (Camb)	St. Oswald, Dun Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£384 £90 ⁸ (1855- 56)	
Temple, W. S.	A.M. (Camb)	Dinsdale R. Minor Canon	Dean & Chapter Dean & Chapter	£254 ⁷	
Thompson, G.	Non. grad.	Heathery Cleugh P.C. Curate of Scarborough	R. of Stanhope	£120 £75	
Thorp, Charles	D.D. (Oxon)	Ryton R. Archdeacon of Durham Prebend of the 4th Stall, Durham Warden of Durham Univ.	Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham Bishop of Durham	£1135 ⁴ (1861) ⁶ £28	
Tristram, H. B.	A.B. (Oxon)	Castle Eden P.C. Chaplain to Earl of Donughmore	Rowland Burdon	£234	

1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1857 Episcopal Visitation.
2. U.A.B.
3. Unless otherwise noted values are from Crockford's, 1860 edn.
4. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1861 Archidiaconal Visitation.
5. CC. MSS. Benefice files.
6. Report of the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty to Inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales.
7. Fordyce, History of Durham, Vol.II, p.416.
8. PK. Treasurer's Book, 1855-56.

Chapter Appendices F to J notes those Archdeaconry incumbents who were non-resident, and may be compared with the pluralists listed in Appendices A to E. Column I contains the names of those cures where the incumbent was non-resident, (II) the income of that cure, (III) the incumbent's name (IV) his place of residence, and (V) the provisions made for serving his parish.

APPENDIX F¹

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u> <u>Res.</u> <u>Curate</u>
<u>1774</u>				
<u>Episcopal</u> Coniscliffe	£110(1792)	Whicopp	Heighington	X
Easington	£1200(1810)	Dickens	Archdeacon Durham	X
Medomsley	£29	Ellison	Shropshire	Non.res. curate
Egglescliffe	£300(1767)	Harris	Bath	X
Gateshead	£180(1772)	Fawcett	Newcastle	X
Sedgefield	£900(1774)	Lowth	Bishop of Oxford	X
Stanhope	£660	Thurlow	Temple, London	X
Wolsingham	£850(1783)	Nowell	Gloucestershire	X
Kelloe	£120(1774)	Longstaffe	Sedgefield	X
<u>Capitular</u>				
Aycliffe	£120(1794)	Robson	Sherburn Hospital	X
Croxdale	£52(1767)	Wheeler	Minor Canon, Durham	No curate
Dalton	£90(1794)	Hornsby	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Muggleswick	£44(1788)	Coulthard	Edmondbyers	No curate
Heighington	£140(1794)	Viner	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Kirk Merrington	£85(1775)	Gelson	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Pittington	£90(1775)	Deason	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Whitworth	£100(1788)	Deason	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Witton Gilbert	£90(1775)	Douglas	Prebend of 4th Stall, Durham	X
<u>Lay</u>				
Billingham	£107(1792)	Branfoot	St. Nicholas, Durham	X
Brancepeth	£600(1794)	Shafto	Can. of Christ Church, Oxford	X
Cockfield	£60(1794)	Fisher	Staindrop	X
Darlington	£95(1808)	Gordon	Kent	X
Hamsterley	£49(1788)	Farrer	Witton-le-Wear	X
Heworth	£45(1810)	Mills	Newcastle	X
Lamesley	£66(1810)	Webbersley	Whickham	X
Middleton St. George	£40(1775)	Whaley	Heighington	Non.res. curate
Tanfield	£84(1810)	Webbersley	Whickham	X

Parochial¹

Egglestone	£50(1775)	Marks	Middleton-in-Teesdale	No curate
Esh	£27(1788)	Wheeler	Minor Canon, Durham	Non res. curate
Hartlepool	£36(1810)			X
Satley	£17(1788)	Wheeler	Minor Canon, Durham	Non res. curate

Crown

St. Mary the Less	£70(1794)	Viner (serves 6 mths.a year)	Minor Canon	X
Stainton-le-Street	£180(1775)	Douglas	Prebend of 4th Stall, Durham	X
Hart	Unknown	Pye	Prebend of Salisbury	x

Hospital

Sockburn	£25(1808)	Robson	Unknown	Non res. curate
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1. AC. Episcopal MSS. 1774 Episcopal Visitation.

APPENDIX G¹

<u>I</u> <u>1792</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u> <u>Res.</u> <u>curate</u>
<u>Episcopal</u>				
Elwick Hall	£400(1777)	Richardson	St. Davids, Cathedral	X
Egglescliffe	£300(1767)	Sayer	Kent	X
Long Newton	£780(1810)	Vane	Prebend of 10th Stall, Durham	X
Sedgefield	£900(1792)	Barrington	Durham	X
Easington	£1200(1810)	Pye	Archdeacon, Durham	X
Houghton- le-Spring	£800(1792)	Thurlow	Norwich, Cathedral	X
Kelloe	£900(1774)	Longstaffe	Sedgefield	X
Escomb	£92(1792)	Capstick	St. Andrews, Auckland	X
Whitburn	£400(1792)	Symons	Hackney	X
Winston	£560(1808)	Byron	Ryton	P.C. of Whorlton
Medomsley	£29(1792)	Ellison	Shropshire	X
<u>Capitular</u>				
Mirk Merring- ton	£100(1794)	Watkins	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Heighington	£140(1794)	Viner	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Whitworth	£100(1794)	Deason	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Dalton	£90(1794)	Fothergill	Dorchester	X
Pittington	£75(1792)	Deason		Non.res.
Monk Hesledon	£67(1767)	Haslewood	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Croxdale	£110(1810)	Viner		Non res.
Witton Gilbert	£90(1792)	Richardson	St. Davids, Cathedral	X
Muggleswick	£44(1788)	Deason		Non res.
Edmondbyers	£60(1792)	Deason		X

Lay

Brancepeth	£600(1794)	Shafto	Canon of Christ Church, Oxford	X
Darlington	£95(1808)	Gordon	Yorkshire	X
Billingham	£107(1792)	Fenwick	Leith	Non res.
Seaham	£300	Wallis	South Shields	C. of Dalton
Trimdon	£100(1810)	Davison	Brancepeth	X
Hamsterley	£49(1788)	Farrer	Witton-le-Wear	X
Hunstanworth	£58(1810)	Barnett	Blanchland	No curate

Incumbents

Barnard Castle	£89(1810)	Hale	Kirkby Hill, Yorks	X
Esh	£36(1791)	Capstick	St. Andrew, Auckland	Non res.
Satley	£36(1797)	Capstick	St. Andrew, Auckland	Non res.
Hartlepool		Pye	Easington and Durham	X

APPENDIX H¹

<u>1814</u>				<u>Res. curate</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
<u>Episcopal</u>				
Escomb	£55(1810)	Bacon	St. Andrew	X
Whickham	£541(1796)	Greville	London	X
Kelloe	£230(1810)	Birkett	Bishop Auckland	X
Bishopwear- mouth	£1179(1808)	Gray	Prebend of 7th Stall, Durham	X
Sedgefield	£2300(1805)	Barrington	Prebend of 11th Stall, Durham	X
Elwick Hall	£400(1777)	Richardson	St. Davids, Cathedral, Llan- doff	X
Egglescliffe	£1200(1818)	Brewster	Sherburn Hospital	X
Easington	£1200(1810)	Prosser	Hereford	X
<u>Capitular</u>				
Heighington	£140(1794)	Viner	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Kirk Merrington	£100(1794)	George	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Aycliffe		Haslewood	St. Mary the Less, Durham	X
St. Margaret	£49(1749)	Phillpotts	Prebend of 9th Stall, Durham	X
Witton Gilbert	£90(1777)	Richardson	St. Davids, Cathedral, Llandaff	Non res.
South Shields	£100(1806)	Wallis	Seaham	X
Croxdale	£110(1810)	Viner		Non res.
Dalton-le- Dale	£150(1818)	Fothergill	Lincolnshire	X
Billingham	£107(1792)	Clarke	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Whitworth		Chambers	Durham	Non res.
<u>Lay</u>				
Darlington	£95(1808)	Gordon	Kent	X
Cockfield	£44(1810)	Thornhill	Staindrop	X
Witton-le- Wear	£91(1808)	Hopper	Suffolk	X
Hamsterley	£63(1810)	Hopper	Suffolk	Non res.

Chester-le-Street	£460(1813)	Nesfield	Brancepeth	X
Tanfield	£84(1810)	Dixon	Lamesley	X
St. Giles	£41(1810)	Watkins	Northumberland	X
Trimdon	£100(1810)	Davison	St. Nicholas	X
Middleton St. George	£96(1792)	Fountains	Darlington	X

Incumbents

Barnard Castle	£89(1810)	Hale	Kirkby Hall, Yorks.	X
Whorlton	£121(1808)	Wilson	Bowes, Yorks.	X
Egglestone		Monks, Wm.	Middleton-in-Teesdale	X
St. John's Chapel		Clarke	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Penshaw		Bowlby	Houghton-le-Spring	X

Crown

Middleton-in-Teesdale		Baillie	Hinton, Yorks.	X
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APPENDIX I¹1827IEpiscopal

Elwick Hall

Haughton-le-Skerne

Houghton-le-Spring

Redmarshall

Sedgefield

Stanhope

Whickham

Easington

Capitular

Aycliffe

Billingham

Croxdale

Dalton-le-Dale

St. Margaret

Merrington

Muggleswick

Whitworth

Witton

Gilbert

Lay

Chester-le-Street

Cockfield

Darlington

St. Giles

Jarrow

Heworth

Trimdon

Witton-le-Wear

Hamsterley

Hart

III

Richardson

Bandinel

Thurlow

Stephenson

Barrington

Phillpotts

Grey, Edward

Prosser

George

Clarke

Gamlan

Temple

Gilly

Ebdon

Dawson

Deason

Richardson

Nesfield

Thornhill

Grindon

Wyatt

Hodgson

Hodgson

Davison

Hopper

Hopper

Moises

IV

St. Davids

Oxford

Prebend of
Norwich

Unknown

Prebend of 11th
Stall, Durham

Unknown

London

Hereford

Minor Canon, Durham

Minor Canon, Durham

Heighington

Minor Canon

Prebend of 9th
Stall, Durham

Minor Canon

Edmondbyers

Somerset

St. Davids,
Cathedral

Brancepeth

Staindrop

Kent

Northumberland

Northumberland

"

St. Nicholas

Suffolk

"

Newcastle

APPENDIX J

<u>1832</u>				<u>Res. curate</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	
<u>Episcopal</u>				
Houghton-le-Skerne	£1525	Bandinel, B.	Oxford	X
Long Newton	£634	Dyke, T. H.	Kent	X
Redmarshall	£365	Stephenson	Bishopwearmouth	X
Ryton	£1137	Thorp, C.	Durham	X
Bishopwearmouth	£3346	Wellesley, G. V.	Durham	X
<u>Capitular</u>				
Billingham	£194	Ebdon, T.	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Croxdale	£132	Gamlen, S.	Heighington	X
Pittington	£517	Miller	Minor Canon, Durham	X
Muggleswick	£93	Dawson, J.	Edmondbyers	No curate
<u>Lay</u>				
Chester-le-Street	£377	Richardson, R.	St. Davids, Cathedral	X
Trimdon	£100	Davidson, E.	St. Nicholas	X
Witton-le-Wear	£97	Hopper, R.	Suffolk	X
Darlington	£284	Merest, J.W.D.	Staindrop	X
Brancepeth	£940	Richardson, R.	St. Davids Cathedral	X
<u>Sherburn Hospital</u>				
Bishopthorpe	£179	Bamford, R. W.	Sherburn Hospital	X
Grindon	£142	Ewbank, W.W.	Yorkshire	X
Sockburn	£79	Johnson, R.	Norfolk	X
<u>Crown</u>				
Hart	£240	Moises, E.	Newcastle	X

CONCLUSION

The wealth possessed by the Durham ecclesiastical establishment did not so much hasten church reform in the Archdeaconry as slow its coming. Throughout the period of this study the principal factor behind the administration of the Archdeaconry appears to have been, what was known at the time as "improvement", which amounted to self-interest. The abuses that characterised the Hanoverian church survived in the county until the third decade of the nineteenth century, because it was not in the interest of patrons, impropiators or clergy to finance their abolition. Only when their interest in reform became compelling did the drive begin.

The greatest problems to face the Established Church in the county were those generated after 1800 by rapid industrial expansion. The response of the ecclesiastical establishment to the need for additional church accommodation illustrates, and indeed sums up, the Durham reform movement. Thorp's survey of church accommodation, existent and to be desired, appears to have been made too late, for thereafter church building in the Archdeaconry not only failed to keep pace with the increasing population, but failed to regain the ground already lost. Though by 1856 about fifty-six new churches and chapels had been provided the much poorer Anglican establishment in Cheshire had done as well.¹

1. Like Durham, the population of Cheshire had increased at a rate well above the national average. While between 1800 and 1856 the population of England had doubled the populations of Durham and Cheshire had increased by 162% and 137% respectively. P.P. 1852, LXXVIII, p.23. See R. B. Walker "Religious Changes in Cheshire 1750-1850" Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol.XVII (1966), pp.77-94.

The administration of the Archdeaconry appears to have differed little from that found in Derbyshire, Oxfordshire, or indeed from that which prevailed generally throughout the country as described by Professor Best. This in a see whose Bishop and Chapter were the richest in the kingdom and who possessed greater patronage than any other in the country. Thus it appears that while other sees lacked the means to respond quickly to new needs the Durham Ecclesiastical Establishment required, not so much additional resources, as the compelling pressures of public opinion and the legislation of the 1830s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

To date there is no central repository for Durham Ecclesiastical manuscripts and this dispersal has taken its toll of material relating to the Archdeaconry of Durham. The most useful body of manuscripts consulted were those, only recently rediscovered in a Victorian linen cupboard in the boiler room of A[uckland] C[astle], which I have classed as Episcopal MSS. For a Diocese such as Durham this collection is remarkably incomplete, particularly before 1850, though much of the loss has been explained by the late Bishop of Durham, Dr. Ian Ramsey's Chaplain who relates the tale of one of his predecessors who burned what he considered to be "old papers", by the barrow full behind the Episcopal residence. This collection has been listed and is as yet uncalendared.

The remaining Ecclesiastical archives are in the care of Durham University, Department of Paleography and Diplomatic, and are divided between two locations. The Diocesan records are deposited at S[outh] R[oad], while the Dean and Chapter muniments are kept in P[riors] K[itchen]. In addition there is a large deposit of manuscript collections in the D[ean] and C[hapter] L[ibrary] including transcripts of the Chapter minutes.

The vast majority of Chapter muniments have been calendared, though it has been only within the last year that the most useful, Prebendal Stall Rental Books, have come to light. At South Road, however, the bulk of the Diocesan manuscripts are, though listed, as yet uncalendared, and are being carefully

preserved in cardboard boxes.

Department of Paleography and Diplomatic, S[outh] R[oad]
Diocesan Records

Bishops Registers:

William Van Mildert 1826-36.
Edward Maltby 1836-56.

Visitation Papers: principally call book, procurations, synodals and other dues

John Egerton; 1774, 1778, 1783.
Thomas Thurlow; 1788.
Shute Barrington; 1797, 1801, 1806, 1810, 1814.
William Van Mildert; 1827, 1831.
Edward Maltby; 1837, 1841, 1842, 1845, 1849, 1853.

Visitation Returns from Church Wardens and Sidesmen from the Episcopates of Trevor, Egerton, Thurlow, Barrington, Van Mildert and Maltby spanning the years 1769-1846.

Archdeacon's Visitations:

Samuel Dickens; 1775.
Charles Thorp; 1837, 1846, 1847, 1853.

Consistory Court Act Books for the years: 1772-77; 1778-88; 1788-98; 1799-1814; 1815-34; March-May 1844 and October 1847-April, 1851.

Act Book of the Dean and Chapter's Official: August 1769-June, 1787.

Registers of Faculties: 1767-1792; 1792-1839; 1841-63.

Subscription Books: 1815-34; 1836-50 (index included); 1837-73; Parish Clerks and School Masters, 1850-56.

Register of Curates Licences: 1813-46, arranged in sections according to the initial letter of curates names; 1832-60 (copies of licences); 1847-81.

Register of Licences for Non-residence; December 1803-1865, arranged in sections according to the initial letter of clergymen's names; 1826-60, copies of licences.

Diocese Books: 1793, brought up to date to 1826; 1814; 1827 brought up to date to 1856.

Miscellaneous MSS. Books:

Consistory Court Book of Precedents, 178--1815,
compiled by Samuel Viner

Consistory Court Note Book.

Alphabetical Index to Ordinations, 1836-56

Register of licences declaring certain houses legal
houses of residence, 1839-65.

Gray Papers.

The following MSS. collections, listed but not calendared,
are stored in cardboard boxes.

Ordination Papers; fifty-five boxes, 1729-1850.

Consistory Court Cause Papers; Thirty-seven boxes,
1716-1900.

Faculty Papers; Thirty-one boxes, early 18th century
to early 19th century.

Parsonage Houses; one box, 19th century.

Queen Anne's Bounty Papers; five boxes early 19th
century.

Mortgages; three boxes C.1780-C.1850.

Non-resident licences: four boxes, 19th century.

Glebe Terriers; 1623-1866.

Dean and Chapter Muniments P[rrior's] K[itchen]

Audit Books.

Post Dissolution lease papers, box 14.

Charles Thorp's Officialty Book, 9 April, 1831 to
22 April, 1837.

Treasurer's Books; 1774-1856.

Register Books; 1791-1812.

Prebendal Stall Rental Books; 1760-1840.

Episcopal Manuscripts A[uckland] C[astle]

Act Book of Bishop Trevor, 1753-1771.

Spiritual and Temporal Acts of Bishop Egerton, 2 Vols.,
1771-1834.

Registers of Ordinations, 2 Vols., 1771-1786; 1836-1856.

Bundle containing one file of material on Durham City
parishes and twelve files of material concerning, and
of the time of the Bishops of Durham from Chandler
to Lightfoot, C.1730-1889.

Bundle of "Durham Bishopric Papers", 18th and 19th centuries.

Bundle containing printed Parliamentary Bills and Acts, 19th century.

Bundle containing letters and documents concerning a petition from the Minor Canons to the Bishop, 1825-26. See Chapter II Appendix F

Box file containing miscellaneous material concerning Durham University, 19th century.

Volume containing lists of leases renewed and granted by Bishop Egerton, 1771-1786.

Volume concerning "Revenues of Ecclesiastical Benefices in the Diocese of Durham", 1832-1835.

Volume containing a "Report of Church accommodation in the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1824", compiled by Charles Thorp.

Diocese Books: C1780, 1793, 1809, 1824, 1857.

Clergy Call Books: 1810 (6 Vols.); 1814(6 vols.); 1836, 1849, 1857.

Episcopal Visitations: 1774, 1792 (4 Vols.), 1810 (3 Vols.), 1814 (9 Vols.).

Archdeacon's Visitations: 1792 (bound with the Episcopal Visitation of that year), 1861.

D[ean] and C[hapter] L[ibrary]

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Add. MS.46. Diocesan clergy list.

Coxe MSS. contains a collection of Maltby letters.

Longstaffe MSS. Miscellaneous collection of 19th century manuscripts and printed items dealing with Diocesan affairs including material on Darlington.

Raine MSS. Compiled by James Raine, Chapter Librarian, 1821-58, includes miscellaneous manuscripts and printed items dealing in part with Diocesan affairs.

Randall MSS. Transcripts of parish registers, Capitular and Episcopal archives, mid 18th century.

Sharp MSS.

Surtees MSS. Miscellaneous collection compiled for his History of Durham.

D[urham] C[ounty] R[ecord] O[ffice]

Londonderry Papers.

Declarations by the Bishop of Durham to Queen Anne's Bounty Commissioners of the income of the following Benefices. EP/CC 1-7; Gateshead Fell, 1826; Heathery Cleugh, 1825; Shincliffe, 1827; St. John's Weardale, 1816; Return of Livings under £150 p.a., 1809.

Miscellanea D/X 1-150; D/X 151-278.

N[ational] C[oal] B[oard] first and second deposits.

Parsonage House Plans, Add. deposit EP/CC 1-14.

Q[uarter] S[ession] 'O[rder] B[ooks], 1774-1840.

Salvin Papers.

Miscellaneous papers relating to individual parishes listed under the name of each benefice in DCRO Ecclesiastical Parish indices, of which the following were most useful:

Bishopwearmouth, Select Vestry Minutes, 1829-69.
Pittington, collection of MSS. relating to the incumbents numerous tithe suits.
Ryton, leases of coal mines under Glebe.

C[hurch] C[ommissioners] manuscripts.

The files of the Commissioners are voluminous. From this source four principal classes of documents were used: 1832 N(ew) B(enefice) files; Benefice files also known as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Augmentation files; General files and Queen Anne's Bounty F files. In addition there is a vault containing miscellaneous Queen Anne's Bounty material.

N.B. files - This series was introduced by the Commissioners in 1956 when it was decided to give a number to every benefice in England. There is one file for each living in the County and contains the 1832 Ecclesiastical Commissioners benefice returns. The files are catalogued in the Commissioners Record Office card file.

Benefice files - Contain the original correspondence or contemporary copies of that which took place between the Commissioners and Durham incumbents. Through the years a number of these files containing routine paper work relating to loans, improvement and repairs to parsonage houses and the settlement of claims for fixtures were destroyed. Documents of importance were retained in the surviving files. The bulk of the manuscript material

germane to this thesis commences C1840. Catalogued under the name of each benefice, entries in the Record Office card file list the existing files of which, in most instances, only the first numbered in the numerical sequence contains material whose dates fall with the span of this study. Therefore when footnoting these files exact references are given only in instances where there is more than one file containing material of relevant dates.

General files - Catalogued under various headings e.g. Bishop of Durham, Maltby Fund, Manchester, Durham Bishopric files.

Queen Anne's Bounty F files: Returns sent to the Governors of the Royal Bounty to fulfil requirements in request for augmentations. Also found in the Record Office itself are Q.A.B. MS. Ledgers containing entries of every cure in England and Wales receiving augmentations, the dates of said augmentations, the names of benefactors if any, and to what purpose the money was laid out.

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1809 IX Abstract of non-resident incumbents. 23.
IX Ecclesiastical livings under £150 p.a. 37.

1810 X Abstract of the number of parishes in each Diocese containing a population of 1,000 persons and upwards; the number of Churches and Chapels therein; the number of persons they will contain. 157.

X Abstract of non-resident incumbents. 160.

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XIV Abstract of non-resident incumbents. 95.

1812 X Abstract of non-resident incumbents and licensed curates. 157.

XI Census, 1811. 1.

1812-13 XIII. Abstract of the number of resident and non-resident curates with the amount of their salaries. 51.

1814-15 XII. Papers relating to Q.A.B. and P(arliamentary) G(rants) for the augmentation of livings. 381.

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XV. Abstract of benefices in which there is no Clergymen resident on account of the wanton unfitness of parsonage houses. 175.

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- P.P. H.L. 1818 XVIII. Benefices, their population, and capacity of churches and chapels. 93. 137.
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- 1829 XXI. Applications made for building chapels. 61.
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- XIX. Non-resident incumbents, Diocesan returns. 35.
- XIX. Abstract of non-resident incumbents. 36.
- XIX. Number of resident and licensed curates in England with the amounts of salaries, according to Diocesan returns for 1827. 39.
- 1830-31 VII. Dates of applications for building chapels and whether acceded to. 1.
- VII. Grants made by the Commissioners or promised for building chapels. 5.
- 1831 XVIII. Census comparative account, 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831. 1.
- 1831-32 XXX. Applications made, previous to 23 June, 1831 for building additional churches, specifying those complied with etc. 3.
- XXXV. Justices of the Peace who have qualified in each county, city and town distinguishing the number of clergymen and laymen. 231.
- XXXV. Names of Magistrates in Commissions of the Peace. 297.
- 1833 XXVII. Number of non-resident incumbents in 1831, number of curates in each Diocese and rate of income. 329.
- 1834 XLVIII. Justices who have been appointed under Commission of Peace issued from 1 January, 1831. 217.

XLVIII. Commission of the Peace for the County of Durham issued since 1 January, 1831; 13 June, 1831; 14 June, 1832; 12 June, 1833. 219.

1836 XL. Number of churches endowed and livings augmented by the late Bishop of Durham (Van Mildert). 3.

XL. Abstract of the number of benefices in each Diocese and the value thereof. 25.

XLIII. Justices of the Peace, return of all persons to act as Justices of the Peace in each county. 161.

1837 XLI. Average income of benefices in England and Wales. 145.

XLI. Abstract of non-resident incumbents. 218.

XLI. Sums expended under the direction of the Commissioners for Building Churches; distinguishing amount contributed by the public from that raised by loans. 429.

XLI. Number and classes of non-resident incumbents and the number of resident incumbents; the number of curates serving benefices where the incumbent is non-resident. 217.

1837-38 Number of clergymen holding two livings one of which does not exceed £50, £100, £150 and £200 p.a. and both of which exceed £200 p.a. 183.

1840 XXXIX. Canonries. Number of stalls to be suppressed; order of suppression; incomes of Deans and Canons; future incomes under general operation of the Bill. 1.

XXXIX. Canonries, Prebends in each cathedral under the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill which it is proposed to suppress. 3.

XXXIX. Churches and chapels consecrated within the last ten years with the amount of public money expended in erecting the same. 47.

XXXIX. Returns of non-resident incumbents curates and stipends. 55.

XLI. Clerical magistrates. 359.

1843 XL. Resident and non-resident incumbents and the total number of curates in each Diocese; number resident in parsonage houses; number licensed; amount of stipends; number of benefices held by non-resident incumbents above £300 p.a. 1.

XL. Number of small livings augmented from the funds of the E.C. 203.

1844 XXXVIII. Benefices augmented by the E.C. up to 1 May, 1844. 5.

1846 XXXII. Number of suits against clerks in Holy Orders in the courts of the Archbishops and Bishops since the Church Discipline Act 3 & 4 Vic. C.86. 3.

1846 XXXII. Abstract of the Diocesan returns made to Her Majesty in 1844 by the Archbishops and Bishops; showing resident and non-resident incumbents; net value of benefices on which incumbents are non-resident; number and stipend of curates to non-resident incumbents; number and stipends of curates assisting resident incumbents. 9.

1847-48 XVII. Dispersements of the E.C. in each year 1834 to 1847 inclusive. 401.

XLIX. Applications to the E.C. for aid towards building or endowing churches or building altering or repairing parsonages. 25.

XLIX. Abstract of the number and classes of non-resident incumbents and number of resident incumbents; also of the number of resident and licensed curates with amounts of salaries of curacies according to the Diocesan returns for 1846. 57.

XLIX. Names of parishes, the great tithes of which have become vested in the E.C. 159.

XLIX. Abstract of a return of all sums borrowed from the Governors of Q.A.B., and which have not yet been repaid for the building, altering or repairing of Episcopal or other Ecclesiastical residences. 201.

1849 XLII. Clergymen holding two or more benefices and preferments since the passing of the Pluralities Act. 3.

- 1850 XX. Places where new churches are building towards the erection of which the Commissioners have made conditional grants of money. 447.
- 1851 XLII. Preferment held by every Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor, Prebendary or Canon with the value. 43. 65. 73.
- 1850 XLII. Number of small livings augmented by unconditional grants from funds at the disposal of the E.C.; of grants to meet benefactions made to benefices and churches possessing local claims upon property vested in the Commissioners, and of grants to incumbents of mother churches, in compensation for fees transferred to new district churches. 245.
- 1852 XXXVIII. Payments made to the E.C. in each year 1840 to 1852, on account of suspended stalls in the cathedrals of England and Wales. 11.
- XXXVIII. Correspondence between the E.C. and the Bishop of Durham relative to the appointment of Rev. Mr. Maltby (the Bishop's son) to a Canonry in Durham Cathedral. 87.
- 1852-53 LXXVIII. Particulars of information received by the sub-division of Parish Commissioners, respecting the immediate want of 600 new churches. 23.
- LXXVIII. Accounts of the sums expended by Church Building Commissioners since 26 March 1840 indicating the amount contributed by the public from other sources. 61.
- LXXXIX. Census, 1851. 1.
- 1854 L. Return of the net amount of revenues each cathedral has paid to the E.C. on account of suspended canonries and charged deaneries. 181.
- 1854-55 VI. Bill to empower the Dean and Chapter of Durham to make better provision for the incumbents of certain Parochial Districts in the borough of South Shields. 117.
- 1856 I. Bishops of London and Durham retirement. 369.

XLVI. Correspondence between the Government and the Bishops of London and Durham touching the resignation of their Sees. 3.

XLVI. Particulars of sums granted by the Government within the last ten years in aid of the erection of new churches or schools. 129.

XLVIII. Return of all benefices in which (during the past 15 years) church rates have been refused. 1.

1860 LIII. Return of the Offices held by each Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor, Prebendary or Canon with the value. 1.

1861 LI. Number of Magistrates in Holy Orders in each County of England. 665.

1862 XLI. Return of grants made by the E.C. for 1862. 31.

1863. XLVIII. Return of the number of Clergymen placed in the Commission of the Peace in the Counties of England during the last twenty years distinguishing those having cure of souls. 259.

1864 XLIV. Return from the registrars of each Diocese of all augmentations granted to poor vicarages and curacies under the Acts 29 Charles II C.8 & 1 & 2 William IV C.45.

1865 XLI. Account of each purchase completed by the Governors of Q.A.B. in the year 1830 and in 1835 to 63, specifying the living. 547.

1867 XLIV. Return of all benefices mortgaged to the Governors of Q.A.B. since 24 November, 1847 for building or repairing parsonage houses. 357.

LIV. Number and amounts of grants recorded by the Governors of Q.A.B. in each year 1836 to 1866, with the names of the benefices augmented. 725.

LIV. Return of livings of £60 a year which have been augmented by the Governors of Q.A.B. during the last 30 years. 765.

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Abstracts of returns relative to resident and non-resident incumbents.

P.P. H.C.	1808	IX.	237	1812	X.	151.	157.	159.
	1809	IX.	23.	1812-13	XIII.	47.		
	1810	XIV.	95.	1817	XV.	141.	179.	

Disposition of the grant of £100,000 for the relief of poor clergy.

P.P. H.C.	1810	XIV.	99.	1812-13	XIII.	53.
	1810-11	X.	471.	1813-14	XII.	149.
	1812	X.	163.	1814-15	XII.	521.

Charges and expenses of the Commissioners for building new churches.

P.P. H.C.	1821	XVI.	135.	1837	XLI.	449.
	1822	XXI.	87.	1837-38	XXXVIII.	151.
	1823	XIII.	387.	1839	XLI.	11.
	1824	XVIII.	63.	1840	XXXIX.	23.
	1825	XXI.	31.	1841	II.	327.
	1826	XI.	17.	1842	XXVI.	559.
	1826-27	XX.	591.	1843	XXX.	511.
	1828	XXI.	529.	1844	XXXVIII.	87.
	1829	XXI.	57.	1845	XXXV.	281.
	1830	XIX.	7.	1846	XXXII.	7.
	1830-31	VII.	9.	1847	XLIV.	297.
	1831-32	XXXI.	1.	1847-48	XLIX.	185.
	1833	XXVII.	327.	1850	XLII.	139.
	1834	XLII.	223.	1851	XLII.	525.
	1835	XXXV.	33.	1852	XXXVIII.	331.
	1836	XL.	1.			

Reports of the Commissioners for building new churches under Acts 58 & 59 Geo. III and 3 Geo. IV.

First P.P. H.C.	1821	X.	1.	Eighteenth	1837-38	XXXVIII.	1.
Second	1822	XI.	1.	Nineteenth	1839	XVI.	319.
Third	1823	VII.	1.	Twentieth	1840	XXVIII.	145.
Fourth	1824	IX.	1.	Twenty-first	1841	I.	193.
Fifth	1825	XV.	91.	Twenty-second	1842	XXV.	43.
Sixth	1826	XI.	1.	Twenty-third	1843	XXIX.	1.
Seventh	1826-27	VII.	1.	Twenty-fourth	1844	XXXI.	85.
Eighth	1828	IX.	1.	Twenty-fifth	1845	XXVII.	67.
Ninth	1829	V.	1.	Twenty-sixth	1846	XXIV.	447.
Tenth	1830	XV.	1.	Twenty-seventh	1847	XXXIII.	217.
Eleventh	1831	IX.	1.	Twenty-eighth	1847-48	XXVI.	275.
Twelfth	1831-32	XXIII.	309.	Twenty-ninth	1849	XXII.	439.
Thirteenth	1834	XL.	33.	Thirtieth	1850	XX.	439.
Fourteenth	1834	XL.	43.	Thirty-first	1851	XXII.	558.
Fifteenth	1835	XXXV.	23.	Thirty-second	1852-53	XL.	49.
Sixteenth	1836	XXXVI.	155.	Thirty-third	1854	XIX.	478.
Seventeenth	1837	XXXI.	1.	Thirty-fourth	1854-55	XV.	167.
				Thirty-fifth	1856	XVIII.	65.

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First P.P.H.C.	1846	XXIV.	183.
Second	1847	XXXIII.	233.
Third	1851	XXII.	427.
Fourth	1852	XVIII.	401
Fifth	1852-53	XL.	331.
Sixth	1854	XIX.	1571
Seventh	1854-55	XV.	197.
Eighth	1856	XVIII.	103.
Ninth	1857	III.	445.

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First P.P.H.C.	1845	XXXV.	3.
Second	1852-53	XL.	33.
Third	1854	XIX.	101.
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Fifth	1856	XVIII.	41.
Sixth	1857	III.	53.

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"A MOST USEFUL AND MERITORIOUS CLASS OF INCUMBENTS"¹

by W.B. Maynard

The wealth of Durham stalls is legendary, as is the pluralism of the Chapter. But there has been little inquiry into the modern history of what was the wealthiest cathedral establishment in the country. Historians have treated corporate and prebendal incomes, and the eminent personalities who figure in that exclusive body, the Dean and Chapter of Durham, while the important matter of the management of capitular patronage has been neglected. One cathedral office has yet to be studied in its own right, the extra capitular post of minor canon, who, throughout the period of this paper, were the principal recipients of that portion of Chapter parochial preferment located within the Archdeaconry of Durham. The policy of the Durham Chapter to maintain the high levels of their incomes at the expense of the inferior clergy in their charge casts light upon the unpopularity of the Chapter during the 1820s and forms a chapter in the history of pluralism not representative of the country as a whole.

The ecclesiastical patronage possessed by the Dean and Chapter of Durham in 1774 consisted of thirty-two of the 197 benefices in the Diocese, and the right of presentation to twelve minor canonries.² Sixteen of the Chapter cures were located in the Archdeaconry of Durham but they were among the poorest livings in the county, indeed in the See, having an average value during the 1790s of only £88 p.a. It was these rather impoverished parishes that the minor canons of Durham frequently held in plurality with their cathedral posts.³

The origin of the office of minor canon is uncertain, but it is generally agreed that following the dissolution it became necessary to appoint deputies to perform cathedral duties in the absence of the canons major.⁴ While the exact duties of the minor or petty canons seem to have differed from cathedral to cathedral, certain statutory responsibilities were general, to honour God:

"... in this Church with hymns, psalms and perpetual prayers, (and) to chant the praises of God and the canonical hours continually in the Temple of the Church..."⁵

Qualifications for the office were that candidates be in Holy Orders, "... well learned ... skilled in song and fit to do service in choir with voice and cunning".⁶ Appointments were for life, contingent upon a serious delinquency. Thus, subject to the authority of the Dean and Chapter, the position of minor canon at Durham, and indeed in all of the new foundations, differed considerably from that of Vicars Choral whose offices were freeholds and who in most secular churches formed legal corporations possessing their own property.⁷

As in the other cathedrals of the new foundation, the Durham statutes provided for twelve minor canons to be elected by the Dean with the advice of the Chapter.⁸ At Durham, however, between 1616-17

and 1632-33, for a reason which can only be conjectural, the Chapter limited the number of minor canons to eight⁹ from which number they chose two individuals to hold the principal minor canonical offices of Precentor and Sacrist.

The Precentor was to be of "riper age, and of special distinction, in character and learning". His principal responsibility was to:

"... control with decorum them that make music in the church, to stir up the careless to sing, to reprove with moderation and to keep quiet those who make disturbances and run about the choir in disorder, to examine the boys who are to be admitted to the choir and are interested to sing..."¹⁰

His authority in the choir was undisputed. He was to mark attendance at the daily services not only of the members of the choir but also of the Dean and Chapter. In addition he presided over the minor canons, school masters and choristers when they dined in common hall.¹¹

The duties of the Sacrist were manifold. He was responsible for the cathedral's altars, chapels, sacred vessels, chalices, relics, and, as Treasurer's deputy, for the cathedral furniture. Cure of souls within the cathedral precincts was held by the Sacrist and he was the receiver of oblations. It fell to him to take charge of the muniments and to:

"... guard, diligently in the book cupboard or library the scholars books ... so that none of them be spoiled or lost; and let the list of these books, clearly written, be preserved in the keeping of the Dean and Treasurer".¹²

Thus it stems from statute that the Sacrist was also Chapter Librarian. In 1774 the two offices were combined in the person of Samuel Dennis¹³ who was succeeded in both offices by James Deason and Dickens Haslewood. Following the latter's death in 1821, however, the Chapter varied from tradition and appointed the second master of Durham School, James Raine, to be Chapter Librarian. His was a controversial appointment, which was to feature in the dispute between the minor canons and the Dean and Chapter during the summer of 1826.¹⁴

In addition to the offices explicitly provided for by statute, the Dean and Chapter employed other minor canons to read the Epistle and Gospel at high mass. It appears that these duties were assigned as a result of the vagueness of the foundation statutes, which, though making provision for a deacon and subdeacon, had failed to define their duties. At the same time, however, the wording of Chapter I of the statutes included the deacon and subdeacon with the minor canons, and it is thought probable that the above duties were intended to be shared among the minor canons.¹⁵ Lastly, the Chapter appointed a reader of the morning prayers who, by the eighteenth century, officiated in the Galilee Chapel. By an order of the Chapter dated 14th December, 1765, the office was to be held by the junior minor canons.¹⁶

For their attendance upon the cathedral services

the minor canons were assigned, in 1554-55, a basic stipend of 102/- p.a., in addition to which the Precentor and Sacrist received 40/- p.a. Obligated to be resident and not to "be absent an entire day and night from the church"¹⁷ the Chapter provided each of the minor canons with lodgings and provided 6/- each per month for their board in common hall.¹⁸ The Marian statutes also provided that each was to "receive 4 yards of cloth for their gowns at the price of 5/- a yard".¹⁹

Only two years after the confirmation of the Marian statutes the Chapter "considering that a very small stipend is assigned by the statutes to the ministers of this Church" ordered that henceforward each newly appointed prebend, before his installation:

"... shall pay to the Precentor 3/4, to the Registrar 6/8, two vergers 4/- ... to the Chapter Resident 20/- to the fabric and ornaments of the Church 20/-".²⁰

The financial situation which prompted such a modest measure seems to have continued, for in his capacity as Visitor, Bishop John Cosin noted in 1668 that the Chapter was having difficulty recruiting minor canons, a problem which he believed could be solved by higher pay.²¹

By 1774 the Chapter had augmented the minor canonries, though not to a sum sufficient to support a clergyman, particularly one with a family. Each canon received a basic stipend of £10 p.a. plus an annual augmentation of £30. For his office, the Precentor received £20 p.a., the Sacrist, Epistoler, and Gospeller each received £10 p.a., and for his service, the reader of the morning prayers was paid £5.4s.0d. p.a.²²

As previously noted, the Chapter possessed the right of presentation to sixteen of the poorest parochial benefices in the Archdeaconry. Apparently with this in mind, they took steps to make better

provisions for the holders of their parochial preferment and for the minor canons. Chapter XXIV of the Foundation Statutes permitted minor canons not only to hold one benefice in plurality with their cathedral office but also to be perpetually non-resident "not withstanding any statutes of our realm whatsoever..."²³ Thus empowered, it appears that the Dean and Chapter attempted to improve the incomes of the clergy in their charge by pluralism, a circumstance which became a regular feature of the office of minor canon.

Though the statutes permitted all of the minor canons to be beneficed, and at times they were, it was more usual for one or both of the junior petty canons to remain without parochial preferment. It is interesting to note that while it was thus possible for at least two minor canons to have been more attentive to their cathedral duties, it was only as a result of the Chapter's policy of augmenting their cures with minor canonries, as explained in the following letter from the Dean and Chapter to Bishop Barrington in 1826.

"We have always regarded the preferments given to the junior Minor Canons to be a valuable consideration in the opinion of those who have sought the appointment. We have further shown our disposition towards those members of our church, by occasionally giving Livings to them, to which they have retired, resigning the Minor Canonry. There are at this time five among our best Livings, holden by those who have retired..."²⁴

The very onset of this period of study is marked by a clear example of the Chapter's policy of sanctioning pluralism so as to provide their clergymen with adequate incomes.

"Agreed that Mr. Deason be allowed to hold his Vicarage of Pitington, the Curacy of Whitworth and his Minor Canonry, together with the Rectory of Fordwich (Kent)..."²⁵

A table of the preferment held by the eight minor canons in 1774 tells its own tale.

Incumbent	Preferment held	Income ²⁷
Wheeler, John A.B. Christ Church, Oxon	P.C. of Croxdale ²⁶	£52 p.a. (1767)
	P.C. of St. Margarets ²⁶	£10 p.a. (1749)
	P.C. of Esh	£27 p.a. (1788)
	P.C. of Satley	£13 p.a. (1788)
	Minor Canon ²⁶	£40 p.a.
	Precentor ²⁶	£20 p.a.
	Gospeller ²⁶	£10 p.a.
	Head Master of Durham School ²⁶	Unknown
Smith, James A.B. Christ Church, Oxon	Curate of Haughton-le-Skerne	50 guineas p.a.
	Minor Canon	£40 p.a.
Deason, James Literate	V. of Pitington ²⁶	£96 p.a.
	P.C. of Whitworth ²⁶	£100 p.a.
	R. of Fordwich, Kent	Unknown
	Minor Canon ²⁶	£40 p.a.
	Sacrist ²⁶	£10 p.a.
	Chapter Librarian ²⁶	£5 p.a.

Dennis, Samuel A.M. Christ Church, Oxon	P.C. of South Shields ²⁶ P.C. of St. Hilda, Hartlepool Minor Canon ²⁶	£100 p.a. (1794) £36 p.a. (1810) £50 p.a.
Gelson, Ralph A.B. Lincol, Oxon	V. of Kirk Merrington ²⁶ Minor Canon ²⁶	£100 p.a. (1794) £40 p.a.
Hornsby, Nicholas A.M. Merton, Oxon	V. of Dalton-le-Dale ²⁶ Assistant Curate of Pitlington Minor Canon ²⁶	£90 p.a. (1794) 20 guineas p.a. (1792) £40 p.a.
Viner, Samuel A.M. Magdalen Hall, Oxon	V. of Heighington ²⁶ Assistant Curate of Witton Gilbert Assistant Curate of St. Mary-the-Less Minor Canon ²⁶ Reader of the morning prayers ²⁶	£140 p.a. (1794) £20 p.a. (1810) Unknown £40 p.a. £5. 4s. Od. p.a.
Hayes, Thomas A.B. Magdalen Hall, Oxon	V. of St. Oswald ²⁶ Minor Canon ²⁶	£100 p.a. £50 p.a.

It is not surprising that a recurrent problem was that of the minor canons' attendance upon their cathedral duties. Between 1774 and 1826, it appears the Chapter made a determined but unsuccessful effort to decrease their dependence on extra preferment. In 1777 it was ordered that after one year's service, minor canons should receive a stipend of £50 p.a.²⁸ After 1799 a distinction was made between the senior and the unbeneficed junior minor canons, when the Chapter increased the incomes of the latter to £65 p.a.²⁹ In 1801 the Chapter rescinded all previous orders respecting minor canonical incomes and decreed that henceforward those of the six senior minor canons "as have Benefices or Preferments" were to receive a stipend of £70 p.a. while the two junior were to receive a basic income of £102. 12s. Od. p.a.³⁰ The Chapter also took the opportunity to:

"... direct the whole body of Minor Canons to be more constant and regular in their attendance on the service of the cathedral so that on week days two of them at least be present both in the morning and afternoon, and particularly that the two junior be never absent at either service on Sundays and do take no Curacy so as to prevent their full attendance, or the duty of reading the early Prayers which belongs to the juniors. The Dean and Chapter wish to have it understood that if the conduct and attendance of any of the Minor Canons should not appear satisfactory to them when assembled at one of their two general Chapter meetings they will consider themselves justified in withdrawing the whole or any part of the gratuitous additions to the statutable stipend as well as enforcing the statutable penalties respecting the Minor Canons".³¹

The incomes of the unbeneficed petty canons were again augmented in 1804 with an additional payment of £20 p.a. At the same time, they were informed by the Chapter that the augmentation would only continue during the "approbation of their conduct and of their attendance at the Abbey".³²

In 1815 Percival Frye, Vicar of Kirk Merrington and five years a minor canon, resigned his cathedral office, while in the same year, after fifty-seven years a

minor canon, Thomas Hayes resigned the Precentorship. To fill both vacancies the Chapter recruited from Magdalen Hall, Peter Penson, who, without additional preferment would have been hard pressed to live on his combined salary of £90 p.a. The Chapter resolved, therefore, that the emoluments derived from the offices of minor canon and Precentor be augmented to £200 p.a. as long as Penson remained unprovided with other preferments. In the same minute the Dean and Chapter, perhaps as a result of the post war economic difficulties, ordered that £100 be given *In Decretis* to the minor canons. The money was to be divided amongst them according to their weekly attendance in the Cathedral "reckoning the morning and evening service as two separate attendances".³³

While the Chapter had raised the incomes of the unbeneficed minor canons,³⁴ they had done nothing to bring an end to the pluralism of the six senior. In 1815-16 five were beneficed, two of whom served also as assistant curates, while Dickens Haslewood, the Sacrist, held two livings with cure of souls. Thomas Ebdon, one of the junior minor canons, augmented his income by serving as an assistant curate at Houghton-le-Spring.³⁵ By 1819 both Ebdon and Penson had become beneficed and it was only the newly appointed Francis Lock Thurland who was without additional preferment.

It appears that, in spite of the Chapter having again raised the petty canons' stipend in 1816-17 by a further £20, they were obliged to take steps to enforce attendance.³⁶ On 20 November 1819 it was ordered that arrangements be made to secure the presence of two minor canons at the Cathedral Sunday morning service. At the same time Thomas Ebdon was fined for failing to fulfil his Cathedral duties.³⁷

By the 1820s dissatisfaction over their incomes and rising prices had induced two of the minor canons, William Hayes and Samuel Gamlen, to

withdraw from their Cathedral duties and to retire to their respective benefices. However, they continued to receive their basic stipend of £70 p.a.³⁸ Though it is evident from subsequent events that the dissatisfaction was general it must be noted, as the following table illustrates, that by general clerical standards, the minor canons were relatively prosperous.

Name	Preferment held	Value
Penson, Peter A.M. New College, Oxon	V. of St. Oswald ³⁹ Minor Canon ³⁹ Precentor ³⁹	£274 p.a. ⁴⁰ £90 p.a. ⁴¹ £20 p.a.
Ebdon, Thomas A.B. Trinity, Cantab.	Vale of Kirk Merrington ³⁹ Minor Canon ³⁹ Sacrist ³⁹	£200 p.a. ⁴⁰ £90 p.a. £20 p.a.
Temple, W.S. A.B. Trinity, Cantab.	V. of Dalton-le-Dale ³⁹ Minor Canon ³⁹ Gospeller ³⁹ Reader of the morning prayers ³⁹	£215 p.a. ⁴⁰ £115 p.a. £10 p.a. £2. 12s. Od. p.a.
George, Patrick A.M. from a Scottish University	V. of Aycliffe ³⁹ P.C. of St. Margaret's ³⁹ Minor Canon ³⁹ Bishop Cosin's Librarian ³⁹	£282 p.a. ⁴⁰ £416 p.a. ⁴¹ £90 p.a. £12 p.a.
Miller, James Literate	V. of Pitlington ³⁹ Minor Canon ³⁹ Reader of the morning prayers ³⁹	£517 p.a. ⁴⁰ £115 p.a. £2. 12s. Od. p.a.
Garnlen, Samuel A.M. Wadham, Oxon	V. of Heighington ³⁹ P.C. of Croxdale ³⁹ V. of Bossal, Yorks. Minor Canon ³⁹	£132 p.a. ⁴⁰ £265 p.a. ⁴⁰ £467 p.a. ⁴² £70 p.a.
Clarke, John A.B. Emmanuel, Cantab.	V. of Billingham ³⁹ Assistant curate of Witton Gilbert Minor Canon ³⁹ Epistoler ³⁹	£194 p.a. ⁴⁰ £78 p.a. £90 p.a. £10 p.a.
Hayes, William A.B. Lincoln, Oxon	V. of Monk Hesledon ³⁹ Minor Canon ³⁹	£200 p.a. ⁴⁰ £70 p.a.

As noted, the body of minor canons was beneficed. The juniors, W.S. Temple and James Miller, both possessed valuable Chapter cures, the former having been presented to Dalton-le-Dale the year following his appointment, while Miller was collated to Pitlington in the same year as he was instituted to his cathedral office.⁴³ What is more, by 1826 thirteen of the thirty-two benefices in Chapter patronage were being held by either active or retired petty canons. Of these, twelve were located within the Archdeaconry of Durham, the other in Northumberland.⁴⁴

Increased pressure to attend more conscientiously to their cathedral duties resulted in the beneficed minor canons being non-resident incumbents. Compelled to maintain lodgings in Durham and under a statutory obligation to provide their parishes with the services of a full-time resident curate, the petty canons found the pressure upon their purses greatly increased.⁴⁵ On 26 October 1826 the six "active" minor canons petitioned the Dean and Chapter for relief, stating that, in their opinion, the salaries they received were "altogether inadequate to the support of our Station in Society as clergymen". Notice of

the Chapter's decision rejecting their plea was received in early December along with a pointed reminder that the salary they received was not the only income they enjoyed from the Chapter.⁴⁶

In answer, particularly to the last point raised by the Chapter, a brief was prepared, drawing evidence from the Cathedral Statutes and from Bishop Cosins' 1665 Visitation. The incredulity of the junior body was expressed at the Chapter's inference that parochial preferment was in fact being utilised to augment the minor canonries.

"... we dare not even imagine that the Dean and Chapter would employ property set apart for the sacred purposes of the cure of souls elsewhere as a means of relieving the funds of the Cathedral Church of Durham from any part of the burden of those salaries and allowances which by the Statutes, are affixed to certain of the officers".⁴⁷

Further, it was imputed that by their repeated failure to appoint the statutory twelve minor canons and by the employment of minor canons as Gospeller and Epistoler, the Chapter was enjoying a disproportionate share of the cathedral's revenues.⁴⁸ Special note was taken of what the minor canons considered to be a particular anomaly:

"... that a reduction of salary is invariably consequent on our presentation to even the livings which we are still allowed to hold, however small their value may be. If a junior is preferred, twenty pounds per annum are deducted. On becoming a senior, a second deduction takes place, of thirty pounds per annum: so that, contrary to the usage in all other situations, as far as we know, seniority and length of service are, in our case, attended by a diminution, instead of an increase of salary".⁴⁹

Reference was also made to the fact that the Sacrist had been deprived of the post of Chapter Librarian. Taking into account that the Chapter had provided their predecessors with lodgings as well as maintenance and attendance allowances, the minor canons submitted a claim for a salary increase to £400 p.a.⁵⁰

Not only was their claim rejected outright, but also in a curt note dated 20 July 1826, the Chapter repudiated the principal upon which it had been made, and noted that they were "... precluded from giving the subject any further consideration, whilst urged on such grounds, and in such a manner".⁵¹

After an unsuccessful attempt to induce Episcopal intervention on their behalf, the minor canons came to a compromise with the Chapter on 20 November 1827. All former orders pertaining to minor canonical allowances were revoked. The basic stipend was increased to £80 p.a. and to each of the minor canons who conscientiously undertook the performance of his cathedral duties the annual augmentation was increased by a further grant of £50 p.a. Failure to adequately perform, however, would result in

deductions from the £50 p.a. to be divided amongst those attending to the duty.⁵² The resolution also contained a relaxation of the cathedral residence requirements, which, in the face of all minor canons being beneficed, appears to have been in answer to the national outcry against parochial non-residence.

"The Duty of the Minor Canons is understood to be the constant attendance of two in the Abbey during the week, which by an equal division makes 13 weeks for each Minor Canon. The juniors as heretofore being responsible for the Sundays - the Minor Canons are at liberty to arrange their attendance amongst themselves, choosing their several weeks according to seniority either consecutively or otherwise".⁵³

The passage of the Cathedrals Act resulted in the remodelling of the cathedral's administrative structure. Six prebendal stalls were to be suspended and the number of minor canonries was also to be reduced to six.⁵⁴ This the Chapter achieved by following a procedure similar to that recommended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the suspension of major canonries.⁵⁵ The first minor canonry to fall vacant was suspended while the next two were filled with the fourth being suspended. Towards this end the Chapter's task was greatly facilitated by the resignations of four senior minor canons between 1848-50.⁵⁶

By a Chapter order dated 20 July 1840, the stipends of the two junior unbeneficed minor canons doing the cathedral duty were increased by an additional £50 p.a., thus giving them a basic salary of £200 p.a. as compared with £150 p.a. for the seniors.⁵⁷ The latter were permitted to live out their life interest receiving the lower salary while all subsequent appointments were to be made at the increased stipend. In July 1849 the Precentor's salary was increased to £100 p.a. and it was resolved that thereafter the holders of that office were to remain unbeneficed.⁵⁸ Four months later the Chapter took the opportunity to confirm that the augmentation of July 1840 was contingent upon the minor canons being "actually resident in Durham and taking his share, to the satisfaction of the Dean and Chapter, of the duties of the Cathedral especially the Sunday duties". At the same time the number of minor canons permitted to reside in Durham was limited to four.⁵⁹

The compulsion of the Cathedrals Act combined with the above Chapter minute resulted in a gradual reduction in the number of beneficed minor canons. As senior minor canons retired, they were replaced by individuals who were expected to maintain themselves on their cathedral stipends. Thus by 1856 only the veteran, Edward Sneyd possessed parochial preferment.⁶⁰

Name	Preferment held ⁶¹	Income ⁶²
Dykes, John Bacchus M.A. St. Catherines, Cantab.	Minor Canon Precentor	£200 p.a. £100 p.a.
Greatorrex, Edward M.A. Pembroke, Oxon	Minor Canon Sacrist	£200 p.a. £50 p.a.

Sneyd, Edward M.A. Christ, Cantab.	V. of St. Oswald Minor Canon Epistoler	£380 p.a. ⁶³ £150 p.a. £10 p.a.
Cartwright, John M.A. Christ, Cantab.	Minor Canon Gospeller Reader of the morning prayers	£200 p.a. £10 p.a. £7. 12s. 0d. p.a.
Greenwell, William M.A. University, Durham	Minor Canon	£200 p.a.
Lowe, Julius Conran M.A. Queens, Oxon	Minor Canon	£200 p.a.

Before the passage of the Act 3 & 4 Vic. c. 113, capitular benefices, though not valuable, were not easily acquired, a result of the Chapter in the first instance reserving all vacant livings for themselves after which minor canons were given preference to other candidates.⁶⁴ This is confirmed by the fact that of the fifty-eight individuals holding a Chapter cure between 1774 and 1856, forty-one had been minor canons.

Much of the responsibility for pluralism in the Archdeaconry may be ascribed to the Dean and Chapter who, for economic reasons, promoted the holding of more than one piece of ecclesiastical preferment. The excessive pluralism, sanctioned by the Chapter, of both James Deason and John Wheeler has been noted. By 1814 the sixteen parsons possessing Chapter preferment held between them twenty-three benefices, three stipendary curacies, the Chancellorship of St. Paul's, the Precentorship of St. David's, the Ninth Stall in Durham Cathedral, plus eight minor canonries and five minor canonical offices, as well as the post of Chapter Librarian. Seven of the eight minor canons were beneficed and between them they held eight livings and three assistant curacies as well as the stipendary posts which came with their cathedral offices.⁶⁵

By 1832, unrelenting pressure for the reform of the Established Church resulted in a reduction of pluralism amongst Chapter incumbents.⁶⁶ At that date there were sixteen individuals holding capitular preferment, of whom fifteen possessed cure of souls. Only three incumbents held more than one living. Disregarding the excessive pluralism of one active and one retired minor canon, the days of holding a multiplicity of preferments *in commendam* had passed.⁶⁷

The two minor canons who had retired from their duties resided on their respective cures. Of the remaining six, two held livings in Durham City and could thus attend to both their pastoral and cathedral responsibilities. Three others possessed livings outside

the city upon which two resided, the third, James Miller, Vicar of Pitlington was non-resident, living in Durham. Only the most junior, Edward Sneyd, being unbeneficed, was in a position to give undivided attention to his cathedral duties. The situation regarding minor canons and parochial preferments in 1856 has been noted.

Though relatively unremunerative, capitular preferment was not easily procured and went to influential clergy. As was the case in the Archdeaconry at large, the evidence indicates that over a third of the minor canons had been born or baptised in one of the five northern counties of England. Consanguinity or friendship with members of the Chapter, Chapter incumbents or indeed lay officials were the principal factors governing appointments. Nearly 30% of Chapter incumbents owed their presentations to fathers, uncles or brothers already holding capitular preferments.⁶⁸

Acquaintance with members of the Chapter was most beneficial to the cause of an aspiring clergyman as the case of James Deason illustrates. Successor to Spencer Cowper as Rector of Fordwich, Kent, he was introduced into the Archdeaconry by the latter who had become Dean of Durham in 1746. Having such a patron, Deason rapidly became the most favoured of the Chapter's incumbents. In 1772 he was inducted a minor canon, a post he held in conjunction with the vicarage of Pitlington and the perpetual curacy of Whitworth while retaining Fordwich. To this list he had added by 1792 the rectory of Edmondbyers and the perpetual curacy of Muggleswick. On 15 October 1795 he resigned Whitworth in favour of his son Thomas who was duly presented by the Chapter, but he retained his other preferment until his death in 1810.⁶⁹

The minor canons seem to have come principally from the class of clergymen known to Professor Sykes as "clerical subalterns". This is confirmed by the pattern of presentation to those capitular livings which fell vacant between 1825-35.⁷⁰

Benefice	Value	Date and whom presented	Why so presented
Aycliffe V.	£246 p.a.	1833 J.D. Eade	Curate of the parish
Billingham V.	£240 p.a.	1835 T. Ebdon	Minor Canon
St. Margaret P.C.	£400 p.a.	1834 E. Sneyd	Minor Canon
Dalton-le-Dale V.	£200 p.a.	1831 J.H. Brown	Many years curate in the Diocese
Dinsdale R.	£224 p.a.	1815 W.S. Temple	Minor Canon
Kirk Merrington V.	£211 p.a.	1831 J. Tyson	Many years curate in the Diocese
St. Hild's P.C.	£330 p.a.	1831 J. Carr	Many years curate in the Diocese
Whitworth P.C.	£243 p.a.	1835 R. Gray	Deceased Prebendary's son

The evidence indicates that between 1774 and 1831 the Dean and Chapter had made no substantial attempt to raise the income of the sixteen parochial livings in their patronage.⁷¹ In spite of increasing the petty canons' stipends on six separate occasions, they remained at the minimum level for stipendiary curates. Thus it appears that pluralism was the

expedient adopted by the richest Chapter is the country to provide adequate incomes for benefices in their patronage and it has been illustrated that they treated the minor canonries as "convenient augmentations of the cures".⁷² It was only the compulsion of legislation which ended pluralism amongst minor canons.

NOTES

1. Durham University Library, Thorp MSS. vol. 4. Church Commission — Minutes of Evidence, Part I, no. 5, 10, April 1835, para. 249. Evidence presented by Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham and Chapter Official. I wish to thank Professor W.R. Ward for his helpful comments and criticisms in the preparation of this article.
2. Three rectories, fourteen vicarages, nine perpetual curacies and six curacies. Auckland Castle, Episcopal MSS. Episcopal Visitation, 1774.
3. Capitular patronage in the Archdeaconry was broken down thus: two rectories, seven vicarages, and seven perpetual curacies. In 1774 the average Chapter benefice in Northumberland was worth £95 p.a. At the same date, the average Durham living in the gift of the bishop was worth £650 p.a. W.B. Maynard "The Ecclesiastical Administration of the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1774-1856" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1973), p. 64.
4. H.W. Cripps and A.T. Lawrence, *A Practical Treatise on the Law Relating to the Church and Clergy*, 7th edn., (London, 1921), p.133. See also F.L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (London, 1957), p.904.
5. *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham with other Documents Relating to its Foundation and Endowment by King Henry VIII and Queen Mary*. Ed. by A. Hamilton Thompson from the Latin Text prepared by J. Meade Falkner, Surtees Society, vol. 143, (Durham, 1929).
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. XLVII.
8. The Henrican constitutions provided for the thirteen new foundations were all of the same form. *Ibid.*, p. XLVIII; William Danks, *Memorials of the Cathedral and Priory of Christ in Canterbury*, (London, 1912), p.288.
9. Dean and Chapter Muniments, TR. BK. 23, 1616-17 & 24, 1632-3.
10. *Durham Statutes*, p.135.
11. *Ibid.*, p. XLVIII.
12. *Ibid.*, p.139.
13. Dennis was Sacrist and Chapter Librarian until the year 1772 when it appears he resigned both posts though retaining his minor canonry. TR. BK. 53, 1772-73; 1773-74.
14. H.D. Hughes, *A History of Durham Cathedral Library* (Durham, 1925).
15. *Cathedral Statutes*, p. XLVIII.
16. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Abstract of Chapter Minutes, 14 December, 1765.
17. *Cathedral Statutes*, p.135.
18. Before the interregnum the old frater house had been used as the petty canons hall. C.J. Stranks, *This Sumptuous Church*, (London, 1973), p.64.
19. *Cathedral Statutes*, pp.153-54.
20. *Cathedral Statutes*, p.183.
21. Stranks, *Church*, p.61.
22. TR. BK. 53, 1773-4.
23. *Cathedral Statutes*, p.135.
24. Episcopal MSS. Collection of letters and documents relating to an application from the minor canons to the Bishop of Durham with regard to their appeal for an increase in stipends. Unsigned and undated MS. apparently from the Dean and Chapter to Barrington.
25. Chapter Minutes, 17 June, 1774.
26. In the gift of the Dean and Chapter.
27. Unless otherwise noted incomes are for the year 1774.
28. Chapter Minutes, 25 October, 1777.
29. *Ibid.*, 20 November, 1799.
30. For reading the morning prayers the two junior minor canons each received £2. 12s. 0d. p.a.
31. Chapter Minutes, 23 September, 1801.

32. *Ibid.*, 8 November, 1804.
 33. *Ibid.*, 20 November, 1815.
 34. Thomas Ebdon's income was £127. 12s. 0d., Peter Penson, before he was nominated to the vicarage of St. Oswald's received £186. 10s. 5½d. p.a.
 35. Episcopal Visitation, 1814.
 36. Chapter Minutes, 20 November, 1815; TR. BK., 1816-17. The Sacrist was also granted, for the first time, the right to accept these fees regularly received by the incumbents of livings.
 37. Chapter Minutes, 20 November, 1819.
 38. TR. BK., 1825-26; Collection of letters and documents. Dean and Chapter to Shute Barrington, undated.
 39. In the patronage of the Dean and Chapter.
 40. Ecclesiastical Commissioners MSS. 1932. N.B. files.
 41. Minor Canonical incomes shown are those allowed by statute and do not take into account fluctuations arising from non attendance. See Collection of letters and documents. Dean and Chapter to Shute Barrington, undated.
 42. George Lawton, *Collections Relative to Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York to which are added Collections Relative to Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of Ripon*, (London, 1842), p.112.
 43. Church Commissioners MSS. 1832 N.B. files, Dalton-le-Dale; Pitlington.
 44. Three Chapter livings were being held by retired minor canons. TR. BK. 54.
- | Name | Dates minor canonry held | Chapter benefice retained after retirement |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Richard Richardson | 1777-8 to 1784-5 | P.C. Witton Gilbert |
| Robert Blackett | 1784-5 to 1791-2 | P.C. Wallsend, Northumberland |
| Percival Frye | 1808-9 to 1815-6 | R. Dinsdale |
45. 53 Geo. III C. 149.
 46. Collection of letters and documents. Dean and Chapter to Minor Canons, undated but received, 5 December, 1825.
 47. Collection of letters and documents. Minor Canons to Dean and Chapter, Durham, 15 December, 1825.
 48. The minor canons held the view that both the Epistoler and Gospeller were distinct offices to be maintained by the Dean and Chapter, and not £10 p.a. posts given to augment the petty canons' stipends. *Ibid.* Such an accusation is interesting for it predates, by twenty-three years, similar imputations made by the Rev. Robert Whiston in his pamphlet, *Cathedral Trusts and Their Fulfilment*, (London, 1849).
 49. Collection of letters and documents. Minor Canons to Dean and Chapter, Durham, 15 December, 1825.
 50. Collection of letters and documents. Minor Canons to the Dean and Chapter, Durham, 15 December, 1825.
 51. *Ibid.*, 20 July, 1826.
 52. *Ibid.*, 1 December, 1826. The minor canons were to be paid at the rate of £3. 17s. 0d. per day.

54. 3 & 4 Vic. C. 113. S. 45. The Act permitted that there were to be not more than six minor canons nor fewer than two.
 55. G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars*, (London, 1964), p.351.
 56. TR. BK. 56, 1848-1850.
 57. The Cathedrals Act stipulated that the basic minor canon's stipend was to be £150 p.a., a sum which the Durham Chapter had been paying since 1827-28. The following table compares the average stipends paid by Chapters of new foundation cathedrals before the compulsion of the above Act.
- | | | | |
|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|
| Rochester | £30 p.a. | Chester | £63 p.a. |
| Worcester | £34 p.a. | Gloucester | £50 p.a. |
| Bristol | £40 p.a. | Peterborough | £32 p.a. |
58. At Norwich the highest paid minor canon was paid £40 p.a. while at Winchester one received £85 p.a. *Report of the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty to Inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales*. (London, 1835), possim.
 59. The legislation included an effort to eradicate parochial non-residence among minor canons. Section forty-six of the Cathedrals Act precluded minor canons from holding a benefice in plurality with his cathedral post which was beyond a limit of six miles from the cathedral.
 60. Episcopal Visitation, 1856.
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. TR. BK. 54, 1855-56.
 63. Episcopal Visitation, 1856.
 64. Chapter Minutes, 10 November, 1810; Edward Hughes ed. *Letters of Spencer Cowper 1746-74*, Surtees Society, vol. CLXIV. Spencer Cowper to Earl Cowper, 30 November, 1750. p.135. See also Norman Sykes, *Church and State in the 18th Century*, (London, 1934), p.205.
 65. Episcopal Visitation, 1814.
 66. With the patronage of the vicarage of Billingham passing into the Chapter's possession, and the completion of the church at Shincliffe in 1826, the number of cures in the Chapter's gift had risen by 1832 to eighteen.
 67. Samuel Gamlen, though having retired to his vicarage at Heighington, was still numbered by the Chapter amongst the "active" minor canons. He was also perpetual curate of Croxdale and vicar of Bossal, Yorkshire. Richard Richardson, a retired minor canon, was one of the most notorious pluralists in the See. In addition to being perpetual curate of Witton Gilbert he was rector of Brancepeth, Chancellor of St. Pauls and Precentor of St. Davids. His annual income was £2,521 p.a.
 68. Maynard, "Ecclesiastical Administration", pp.76-78.
 69. Maynard, "Ecclesiastical Administration", p.77.
 70. Thorp MSS. vol. 4, no. 5. Church Commissioners Minutes of Evidence. Benefices presented by the Dean and Chapter of Durham during the last ten years - Evidence presented to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by W.S. Gilly, Prebend of the Ninth Stall, 22 April, 1836.
 71. Maynard, "Ecclesiastical Administration", pp.174-201.
 72. Thorp MSS. vol. 4. Church Commission - Minutes of Evidence, Part I, no. 5, 10 April, 1835, Charles Thorp, Archdeacon of Durham, para. 249.