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THE ORIGIN AND PLANNING
OF THE MILITARY ROAD
FROM NEWCASTLE TO CARLISLE.

William Lawson.

M.A. Thesis, 1966.

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14 OCT 1966

THE ORIGIN AND PLANNING OF THE MILITARY ROAD FROM NEWCASTLETO CARLISLEA SUMMARY

William Lawson

The state of the roads, made even more foul by the weather, had been largely responsible for Wade's failure to intercept the Jacobite rebels at Carlisle in 1745. To discourage future incursions communications between east and west must obviously be improved, a task beyond the resources of purely local effort. As the consequence, therefore, of a petition from Northumberland and Cumberland an Act of 24 George II (1751) directed that a road "proper for the Passage of Troops and Carriages" should be constructed between Newcastle and Carlisle. At least two copies of the survey of the area are extant and the Minutes of the Surveyor-General for 1749 reveal that two military engineers, Dugal Campbell and Hugh Debbel, were the surveyors; a report by Campbell, mentioned in the same Minutes, has not been found.

On 4th March, 1751, the Commons referred the petition to a Committee who heard evidence and endorsed the view that the existing road could not be repaired by the usual course. An initial grant of £3,000 towards the cost of a new road was made and Sir Wm. Middleton and others were instructed to prepare and bring in the required bill which received the royal assent on 22nd May. The path of the new road was based upon the official survey which shows it as a dotted line usually coincidental with the Roman Wall for more than twenty miles east from Newcastle. Responsibility, therefore for utilizing so much of the Wall's remains must rest largely upon Campbell and upon the Northumberland Commissioners whom the Act empowered to deter

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the road's course between specified points.

Search for the petition, whose contents can easily be determined from the Journals of the House of Commons, uncovered instead accounts submitted to Parliament from each of the two counties, together with copies of agreements with contractors, and the minutes of several meetings of the Cumberland Commissioners. At the Newcastle end the press reported work to have started on 8th July, 1751.

INTRODUCTION

I

There can be few of our highways that have more direct historical associations than the Military Road. In the making of it many miles of the already depleted Roman Wall had been razed to the foundations to provide it with stone and in return it had proceeded to straddle, perhaps forever, even the little of the Wall that this last deprecation had left. Again, it was not only the product of a century which, ironically, had seen our first serious attempts at road building since Roman times but had even been specifically laid in consequence of the last daring attempt of the Jacobites to regain the throne in 1745. One sensed that there must be much to unfold yet, apart from a few well-worn facts, little seemed to be known about the road. Wade was usually thought to have made it and the account of his failure to intercept Prince Charles because the existing road was so bad that it took him nearly three days to get from Newcastle to Hexham was even reported in quite elementary history books.

Such perhaps was the general view of the road's background but when one began to seek further information it was soon appreciated that articles had been written on various aspects of the road and that these only served to whet the curiosity. A chance visit to Culloden settled the matter. The well-tended graves of the clansmen, many of them bearing freshly laid flowers as silent tributes to long-dead forbears, made a deep impression upon the writer and brought the whole episode of the Rebellion with its last desperate battle and the resultant road-making into the sharpest focus. Professor Birley was consulted as to

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the advisability of attempting a thesis on the subject of the road and was immediately enthusiastic. A list of articles and references was compiled and a line of approach suggested. Serious work could now begin.

What had been written authoritatively about the road seemed to centre round four main articles. The first was entitled "The Military Road in Cumberland" by T.H. Hodgson and had appeared in the Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions of 1902. In the main, it summarised the more relevant sections of an Act of 24 George II entitled "An act for laying out, making and keeping in repair, a Road proper for the Passage of Troops and Carriages from the City of Carlisle to the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne." A copy of this Act was found in the Library of Newcastle University and photographed for convenient reference but since the same Library also contained the Journals of the House of Commons it was a relatively simple and, as it proved, highly rewarding task to trace the origin and passage of the Bill (from whence the Act had emanated) in all its stages through the Commons¹ and on to the Royal Assent. There was even an account of the evidence given to a select committee by some of Wade's officers who had participated in the ill-fated march to Hexham. The Bill had obviously been the outcome of a petition to George II and though the content of the petition was clear the next logical step was to find the document and see whose signatures it bore. This has not proved possible though

1. Though not through the Lords. Such reports of their debates as were available were of no help.

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enquiries have been made in all the likely places; but if the petition has not been found, other documents of immense value have come to light as a result of the search.

Meanwhile a fairly thorough perusal of the contemporary press - particularly the Newcastle Courant but frequently the Journal and the General Magazine also - was undertaken with a view to establishing an upper time limit to construction. That the road had been begun on 8th July, 1751, was already known and it soon became apparent from press notices that the road must have been completed in 1757 though toll houses were still to be erected. The Ordnance Survey of 1865 gave the location of these and the site of each was visited. A few remained but most had disappeared and where possible details of demolition were obtained from Local Authorities or, when no record remained, from local people.

A second article had appeared in *Archaeologia Aeliana* ^{1.} in 1937 and was entitled "The Original Survey for the Newcastle - Carlisle Military Road - c.1746", by Lieut. Col. G.R.B. Spain. This described how in the previous year Mr. Guy Allgood of Nunwick had found an oak box containing a map 10 feet 6 inches long by 2 feet wide and entitled "A Survey of the Country between Newcastle and Carlisle Representing the several present Roads and the Tract which is proposed for the New intended Road of Communication between these Towns". The box had been addressed to Mr. Allgood's ancestor, Lancelot, who had been sheriff of Northumberland in 1745 and later M.P. for the county

1. Vol.XIV, 4th series.

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but the map was unsigned and undated. Sir George Macdonald^{1.} had presumed that such a map must have existed and been the original from which an engraving some 21 inches by 16 inches had been made by Nathaniel Hill and found in the British Museum. Who could the Surveyor be who had made the line of his proposed road co-incidental with over twenty miles of the Wall and who must obviously share the blame for its obliteration in the eastern sector? The answer came sooner than was expected. In response to an enquiry to the Public Record Office on the subject of the survey attention was drawn by Mr. Penfold to two unindexed volumes of the minutes of the Surveyor-General for 1749-51 as possibly being of help. One of these proved to be a veritable mine of information yielding the names of the surveyors and the nature of their commissions, even the amount of the expenses claimed by them from time to time. One minute mentioned a report by the surveyor but, despite widespread enquiries, this has not come to light. Once the names of the surveyors were known, however, much valuable biographical information was gleaned from the List of Officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers (1660-1898) and even from the Dictionary of National Biography. Volumes I and II of the official history of the Corps were also most helpful.

The third article was really little more than a brief record in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1923-24,^{2.} of remarks made by Mr. Parker Brewis on the subject of a contribution by Wm. Brockie in June, 1889, to Newcastle

1. Arch. Aeliana, 4, X.

2. Vol.I, 4th series, p.316.

Monthly Chronicle and entitled "Marshal Wade's Road". Brockie stated that the road had been constructed by soldiers under the command of Wade which, of course, was demonstrably ludicrous since Wade had been dead over three years before work began. Yet despite Mr. Brewis' efforts, there was still a widespread tendency to link Wade with the road and it seemed that perhaps the only way in which to nail the lie would be to state categorically who had undertaken the work - if the answer could be found. This proved to be unexpectedly simple for a search at the House of Lords Record Office for the Petition uncovered instead the Accounts submitted to Parliament in respect of the road, the agreements with the contractors (for both Northumberland and Cumberland) and the Minutes of many of the meetings of the Cumberland Commissioners! Plans for some of the bridges were also included.

The fourth article, again in the Proceedings of the Newcastle Society,¹ was entitled "The Last Days of the Old Roman Wall at Rudchester" by H. L. Honeyman and reproduced four extracts from the Denton Estate letter books. They cover such matters as the progress of the road, decisions to continue it on top of the Wall, and compensation for loss of ground, leaving no doubt that those most immediately concerned with the project consulted only their own interests or those of their employers. In addition to articles such as the four mentioned there were many references to be sifted in the correspondence of such people as Dr. Wm. Stukeley, numerous

1. 4, VI, 1933-35.

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notices extending over several years in the contemporary press to be considered, and many 'leads' in the accounts and agreements to be followed up. Much of this work has been, or is being, attempted but it became apparent some time ago that a very considerable body of information on the subject of the Military Road existed and would require long and patient investigation. Accordingly, after due consultation with Professor Birley, it was decided that research should take the form of two studies, the first to be concerned with the origin and planning of the road and to be submitted as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts, the second to be a systematic account of the actual construction of the road and to be submitted at a later date in respect of the degree of Master of Letters.

The present study takes the form of a continuous narrative, of which an outline is given below. Main sources are shown in brackets after each paragraph, original material being underlined. A summary of the thesis has been submitted for consideration to the editor of *Archaeologia Aeliana*.

The 1745 Rebellion - preparations in Newcastle to resist attack - concentration of Wade's forces - advance of insurgents on Carlisle - capture of city - Wade's march to Hexham - great difficulties due to weather and roads. (Brand's "History of Newcastle", contemporary press. "History of 1745 Rebellion" by Andrew Henderson (published 1748), "Scottish Highlands, Clans and Regiments", Vol.I, edit. Keltie).

Petition for a bill to enable a road for the passage of troops and carriages to be made from Newcastle to Carlisle - question of the originator - Lancelot Allgood, M.P. and General Wade - petition with letter from Duke of Newcastle to be laid before Surveyor-General - Order to Dugal Campbell, Sub-Director of Engineers to carry out survey from Newcastle to Carlisle - Hugh Debbeig to assist him.

(Vol.26 Journals of House of Commons, Minutes of Surveyor-General for 1749. Gregory, "Story of the Road"; Welford, "Men of Mark", I; Brewis, p.316, "Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries of Newcastle", 4, Vol.I.).

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Biographical notes on Campbell and Debbeig - Corps of Royal Engineers - grades of its officers - their difficulties - award of Military rank - Watson and Roy's survey in Scotland - Campbell and Debbeig claim their expenses - Surveyor-General orders Campbell's survey, report and estimate to be passed to Duke of Newcastle to lay before Sovereign - report cannot be traced.

(Porter's "History of the Corps of Royal Engineers", Vol.I, "William Roy and his military antiquities ..." by Sir Geo. Macdonald, Minutes of Surveyor General for 1749; List of Officers of Corps of R. Eng. (1660-1898); Dict. of Nat. Biog.)

"A Survey of the Country between Newcastle and Carlisle ..." - two copies extant - description of same - line of the proposed road over that of much of Roman Wall - whose decision and what motive? - route to Carlisle from Newcastle before the Military Road - alternative routes Campbell might have used - John Warburton's claims and deliberate piracy - what remained of the Wall in the Eastern sector before the road was made.

(Arch. Aeliana 4, XIV, 1937, Col. Spain's article; Ibid 4.X.1933 Sir George Macdonald on John Horsley; Warburton's "Vallum Romanum"; Archit. and Archaeol. Soc. of Durham and Northumberland" Sir John Clerk's visit to the North of England in 1724" by Prof. E. Birley; Horsley's "Britannia Romana"; Stukeley's Diary, Surtees Society, 80, vol.III; "Last days of the Old Roman Wall at Rudchester", Honeyman; Pro. of Soc. of Ant., Newcastle, 4, VI.)

The petition presented to the House - considered by a select committee - their findings - evidence from three of Wade's officers and a Mr. Sayer - grant by Committee of Supply - Bill to be brought in - Bill to Act - summary of Act - Turnpike acts in 18th century.

(Vol. 26 Journals of House of Commons, Trevelyan's Social History) Gregory's "Story of the Road"; Hartman's "Story of the Roads"; "Military Road in Cumberland", Hodgson, Cumb. and West, Trans.N.S.11.)

Tenders for making road sought - contracts with the 'undertakers' - work begins.

(Contemporary press. Accounts submitted to Parliament).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In general these have been made at relevant points in the text. They do not, of course, cover the unfailing courtesy, help and kindness which the writer has received and is glad to acknowledge from officers of the British Museum, Public Record Office, Record Office of the House of Lords, Northumberland County and Newcastle City Record Offices, University and Central Libraries; nor do they cover the patience, so much appreciated, of all those who have written to him in response to queries or who have made searches on his behalf. Mrs. I. M. Lawson spent many hours, not always rewarding, in helping with the research during brief visits to the capital, and many more in undertaking all the typing. Professor Birley has been counsellor and friend throughout and made himself available for consultation on so many occasions; his assistance and encouragement have been greatly valued. Indeed, without the kindly offices of so many willing helpers progress must have been extremely small.

"WHEREAS the making and keeping a free and open communication between the City of Carlisle and the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, by a road proper for the passage of Troops, Horses and Carriages at all times of the year would be of great Use and Service to the Publick; and it hath been found by Experience, that the want of such Road, Passage, and Communication hath been attended with great Inconvenience and Danger to this Kingdom"

SO begins the preamble of an Act of 1751 (24 George II) enjoining the construction of that highway between Newcastle and Carlisle commonly known as the Military Road. The danger referred to was, of course, the Jacobite Rising of 1745-6 which though attended with but little of the success which its sponsors had hoped for on the English side of the Border had, none the less, imperilled the realm to some degree and caused considerable apprehension in many quarters. The general outline of the rising is too familiar to need repetition and in any event it is only with happenings in Northumberland and Cumberland that we are immediately concerned for it was these that focused attention on the grave lack of communications, particularly in Winter, between the East and West sides of the kingdom at its narrowest width. Indeed had roadways even moderately worthy of the title existed then the course of the '45 might have been very different and probably much shortened. We may therefore pick up the story in September, 1745, drawing upon three main sources, the first being the relevant issues, where available, of Newcastle Courant supplemented by references given in John Brand's "History of Newcastle upon Tyne", Volume II (printed 1789). Brand makes extensive use of Newcastle Courant and it has been necessary to quote certain of his references because of the dilapidated condition of some of the only copies of this newspaper

readily available. Where this has been done acknowledgement is made. Were our present object to give a fully detailed account of the situation at this time, however, then the contemporary issues of the Newcastle Journal would probably be found more informative. The second of our three sources is a "History of the 1745 Rebellion" by Andrew Henderson published in 1748, and the third "Scottish Highlands, Clans and Regiments", Volume I, edited by John S. Keltie, F.S.A.Scot. and published in 1875. In general, the details of Newcastle's preparations to resist attack and the accumulation of Wade's forces have come from the first of these sources, Wade's march to Hexham from the second, and Prince Charles' advance into Cumberland and the siege of Carlisle from the third. According to the first the Newcastle Militia mounted guard on Friday, 20th September.¹ This followed a declaration of loyalty to King George dated 15th September and signed by 813 volunteers who pledged themselves either to appear in person or to provide an able man to act in concert with his majesty's forces. On the morning of Sunday, 22nd, however, news of Cope's defeat at Preston on the previous day caused no little consternation, some of the wealthier inhabitants even fleeing the town. On Wednesday, 25th, part of the Northumberland Militia arrived, comprising about 400 horse and 200 foot "well armed and headed by many fine gentlemen".² These were followed ten days later on October 5th by 600 Dutch troops of General de la Roque's regiment lately landed at Berwick.³ At the

1. Brand, p.525.

2. Newcastle Courant 25th Sept. Brand.

3. Ibid, 12th Oct.

same time the training of volunteers was going on apace as was the repairing of the Walls and the mounting upon them of some 200 cannon.^{1.} On Saturday, 26th, arrived^{2.} Barrell's, Wolfe's, Fleming's and Monroe's Regiments of foot and on Monday, 28th, came the Commander in Chief, Field Marshal Wade, who for the past week had been on the march from Doncaster with units of British and Dutch infantry. These appear to have arrived the following day and comprised Pulteney's, Chomondely's and Blakeney's regiments of English foot, and Holstein's, Gottorp's, Patot's^{3.} and three regiments of Hizzell's, all Dutch and under the command of Prince Maurice of Nassau, the whole totalling about 9,000 and encamping on the moor. On Thursday, 31st, a train of artillery arrived escorted by Batteroy's regiment, and followed the next day by the Royal Scots under General Sinclair. "We hear", continues the report, "there is fifty thousand weight of biscuit ordered for the army, which consists of about 15,000 effective men in high spirits ...". This was surely a strong enough force to protect the route through Newcastle and the surrounding mining area (the importance of which to the capital was not to be overlooked) from a rebel force whose strength at this time probably did not exceed 4,500. In fact there can be little doubt that so formidable an obstacle as Newcastle persuaded Charles to enter the country by the west side though, by the skillful splitting of his forces ("Scottish Highlands, Clans and Regiments"^{4.}) and their despatch along different routes, he was

1. Newcastle Courant, Oct.19th. Brand.

2. Ibid, Nov.2nd. Brand.

3. Newcastle Journal, Nov.2nd, 1745, adds other units and puts total of troops now in district at 20,000.

4. P.587.

able to deceive Wade as to his real intentions. After leaving Kelso on 6th. November, Charles himself, with one division, arrived near Carlisle on the 9th. by way of Jedburgh and Liddesdale and quartered his men in the villages on the west side of the city. He had taken the more easterly approach while a detachment from his column had advanced centrally by Hawick and Langholm and his life-guards had been sent across the Tweed in the direction of Newcastle to further because the Royalists; orders were even sent to Wooler to provide quarters for his army. The other main division, under command of the Marquis of Tullibardine, taking a westerly route and bringing with it the artillery and the baggage, approached through Moffat and Annandale and actually rendezvoused with Charles within hours of his arrival in the Carlisle area. 1/

Next day, the whole of his army having crossed the Eden, Charles invested the city on all sides, the defenders ignoring his command that the gates should be opened. News now came that Wade was advancing to the relief of the city and had already arrived at Hexham. Charles accordingly left enough men under the Duke of Perth to continue the blockade and with the rest of his forces proceeded to Warwick on the morning of the 11th. with the intention of meeting Wade on some of the high ground between Newcastle and Carlisle. A party of horse went ahead to reconnoitre and the main army encamped on Brampton Moor. News of Wade's movements proved false and after waiting two days at Brampton a council of war was held when Lord George Murray's proposal was accepted that part of the force should besiege and blockade

1. Scot. High., Clans and Regs. Vol.I. p. 587.

Carlisle while the other should remain at Brampton. It was further decided that Lord George should command the blockade and the Duke of Perth take charge of the battery. Men were now posted in the villages all round the city to seal off communication with the outside world while the besieging party completed their battery and brought up their artillery of thirteen pieces. Within the city all was far from well; not only had the inhabitants enjoyed little sleep for some days past but many, through illness, refused to assist in the defence any longer while others slipped secretly over the walls. Now, further alarmed by the preparations of the Highlanders, the inhabitants held a meeting and decided to surrender the town. Charles' reply to their request for terms was that none could be granted unless the Castle also surrendered and to this its commander, Colonel Durand, agreed. The capitulation was signed on the night of the 14th by Durand and the Duke of Perth and next day the rebels entered the city.¹ Its defenders were allowed to retire upon promising not to serve against the House of Stuart for one year. So fell one of the strongest cities in England at a cost to the rebels of one killed and one wounded!

We must now turn our attention to Wade, encamped on the Town Common. It is inconceivable that he had not learned of the Highlanders' arrival in England but he made no move until appraised of the march to Brampton and the possibility of its continuance to Newcastle. Henderson takes up the story and on page 57 says:-

1. Scot, High., Clans and Regs. Vol.I, p.589.

"Wade being assured of their Rout, prepared to intercept them; but the Rigour of the Season, their late forced Marches, and a Kind of Flux among the Troops, retarded his Operations till the 16th, that he put his Army in Motion for the Relief of Carlisle, now in the Hands of the Enemy. His design was to decamp at Day-break; but to the Prejudice of the Expedition, by moving from the left, the Swift Troops had the van, and they would not stir till 10 o'clock. The weather now excessively cold, the snow lying three feet deep upon the Ground, and a hard Frost, were Difficulties the Army must encounter."

Henderson's book was first published in Edinburgh but the second edition, from which this extract is taken, was produced in London where the author had gone as a teacher of Mathematics. His facts, he claims, have been most carefully checked and independently revised and though we may think a depth of three feet of snow to be something of an exaggeration yet none the less Vol.I of "Scottish Highlands, Clans and Regiments" (page 592) also refers to "a deep snow which had just fallen".^{1.} Some years later, as we shall consider in due course, Officers of Wade's army in giving evidence before a Parliamentary Committee on the state of the Newcastle-Carlisle road, made no mention whatever of snow. It must be borne in mind however that their testimony had reference only to the pooriness of the road and not to the climatic conditions prevailing on the occasion of the March. Henderson goes on to report that the Infantry with Major Generals Howard and Oglethorpe and Brigadiers Cholmondely and Mordaunt at their head arrived at Ovington at night. Other sources say "Ovingham" but perhaps the proximity of the two places is sufficiently close as to make little difference to the account. Consternation was now felt however for the last column, many of whom seemed likely to succumb to fatigue upon roads "terribly broken and full of ice" so that countrymen were sent out with lights and carts to bring them up, a

1. See also "A History of the Present Rebellion" by John Marchant (published 1746), p.171. Apparently quoting letters from correspondents to certain sections of the press he mentions the departure of Wade at 10 o'clock with about 16000 men.

process that went on till nine the following morning when the march was continued towards Hexham. The first troops reached this town about four in the afternoon, the rear at midnight when, says Henderson, they could proceed no further because of the snow. They encamped on the south side of the conflux of the two Tynes and were provided with straw by the townsfolk who also kindled large fires all over the ground as a protection against the unusually severe cold. Here Wade remained for three days hoping for a thaw but when the road to Carlisle continued to be impassable he returned to Newcastle, which he reached on Nov. 22nd. His army, continues Henderson, was also spent with fatigue although they had covered only thirty-two miles in six days. Something over forty would be more correct. Wade has often been censured for the way in which he handled matters and it is easy to say that had he advanced, however slowly, Charles would hardly have dared to move south of Carlisle and risk having his retreat blocked. Whatever the rights and wrongs in the matter we have abundant testimony as to the foul state of the road and the severity of the weather. Add to this the fact that on a Survey of the area between Carlisle and Newcastle, made in 1749, the route from Hexham to Haydon Bridge is marked, somewhat ominously, "Summer Road", and we see the sort of plight in which Wade found himself. The important question now is really whether the lesson of the '45 would be learned, and whether communications between east and west would be improved to such a degree as to preclude the likelihood of any future invasion from the north. The answer is a very definite affirmative and though we have not got the full story of the steps

1. Marchant also mentions the impassability of the roads through the great quantity of snow that had fallen. Newcastle Journal (23rd Nov.) says "...The General hearing at Hexham that they had marched Southwards, ordered the army back to this town from whence they are to march directly in pursuit of the rebels."

taken soon after the Rebellion to make the concept of the Military Road a reality we have enough to be able to piece together a connected narrative. The need for a well-constructed highway had been clearly demonstrated and in all likelihood was a widely discussed topic in the years immediately succeeding the '45, but who initiated the project cannot yet be determined with certainty. There are indications, however, though John Warburton's claim in the introduction to his book "Vallum Romanum" to have put forward such a plan as early as 1715 we shall simply ignore by reason of his demonstrable untrustworthiness elsewhere. ^{1.}

An entry dated 4th April in the Minutes of the Surveyor General ^{2.} for 1749 orders that a letter of 31st March from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, at this time Secretary of State for the North, together with a petition from the Nobility and Gentry, desiring a road to be made from Newcastle to Carlisle is to be referred to the Surveyor-General (Thomas Lascelles) himself. The Petition has so far eluded discovery but its general form is perfectly clear from a passage dated 4th March, 1750/1, in "Journals of the House of Commons" (Vol. 26, 1750-54). The passage is headed - as indeed are all entries concerning the Military Road - "Carlisle Road" and will of course be more fully considered in the proper chronological order of events. For the present we need only note that it was presented on behalf of the "Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Counties of Cumberland and Northumberland", and stated:-

- "That the City of Carlisle, in the County of Cumberland, and the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, in the County of Northumberland, are
1. See Article by Sir George Macdonald, A.A. 4th series, vol. I, "John Horsley, Scholar and Gentleman" for estimate of Warburton.
 2. Two unindexed volumes of the Minutes of the Surveyor-General for 1749-51 were examined at the suggestion of Mr. Penfold of the Public Record Office.

situate on the Two principal Passages from the Northern to the Southern Parts of this Kingdom, the one near the Irish Channel, the other near the German Ocean, at the Distance of about Sixty Miles; and that the Road between them is for the most part through a Country uncultivated, and very thinly inhabited, frequently unpassable, and at all times very inconvenient either for Troops or Carriages; and that it has been found by Experience, as well during the late Rebellion, as on former Occasions, that the said Passages cannot be properly guarded without a free and open Communication for Troops and Carriages at all Times of the Year, between the said City of Carlisle and Town of Newcastle; and that the Want of such a Communication has been attended with great Inconvenience and Danger to this Kingdom, and that a Road proper for that Purpose cannot be laid out, or the Expence thereof defrayed, but by a National Assistance, and the Aid and Authority of Parliament: And therefore praying, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for laying out, making, and keeping in Repair, a Road proper for the Passage of Troops and Carriages between the said City of Carlisle and Town of Newcastle, in such Manner as to the House shall seem meet."

Probably the original was couched in the direct form. Who was the actual initiator of the petition and who the signatories we cannot be absolutely sure but there are certain pointers. First the signatories. We shall observe presently that when the petition came to be embodied in a Bill several hundred commissioners were nominated to see that the project was carried to conclusion in Northumberland, and some three dozen or thereabouts in Cumberland,¹ and that these include Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders and many other inhabitants of the two counties. One may then, perhaps guess that those appointed commissioners had also been those who signed the petition. As to who had been the prime mover, however, it is noteworthy that the commissioners in the various groups for Northumberland (i.e. Esquires, Baronets, Clerks, etc.) are in rough alphabetical order but that first in a list of "Esquires" heading all the other groups and out of order is the name of Lancelot Allgood. It is not impossible that his name, as that of the initiator,

1. Excluding corporate bodies such as "Aldermen of Carlisle".

was given the place of honour. He is, of course, an ancestor of the present owner of Nunwick, Mr. G. H. Allgood, and was son and heir of Isaac Allgood of Brandon White House, near the Breamish. He married his kinswoman Jane, daughter of Robert Allgood of Nunwick and succeeded to that estate by virtue of his marriage.^{1.} The Allgoods had been solicitors to the Radcliffes but in 1715 had failed to support the Rising, apparently much to the disgust of the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater. Lancelot Allgood became Sheriff of Northumberland in 1745 and in that capacity must surely have met Wade as the Late Lieut-Col. G. R. B. Spain suggested some years ago in an article on the Military Road.^{2.} In fact it is not difficult to imagine him listening to Wade's bitter comments on the road over which the Field Marshal had just struggled to Hexham (where Allgood still had a house) as he contrasted it with those which he himself had made in the Highlands a decade and more before. He may even have inspired Allgood with something of his own flair for road-building, if such inspiration were needed, for after Allgood had become a Member of Parliament in 1749^{3.} he (Allgood) was actively associated with at least two roads, the Military Road, and the "Corn Road" from Hexham to Alnmouth. In respect of the latter he was entrusted with a petition for leave to bring in a Bill authorising the repair and widening of the existing road and then had charge of the measure. In addition he served on Committees to which details of two roads of Sir William Middleton were referred, the

1. Welford, Men of Mark, Vol.I.
2. A.A.4, XIV, p.19.
3. As the result of a disputed election the previous year. The Allgood estate papers seem to shed no light on Lancelot's association with the Military Road.

one from Longhorsley to the Breamish and the other from Morpeth to Elsdon.¹ It thus looks more than ever likely that Allgood was closely connected with the petition which preceded the Military Road Bill, though Sir William Middleton and not he guided the measure through the Commons. Another reason for linking him with this Road is the fact that he received a personal copy of the survey of the existing roads between Newcastle and Carlisle made, as we have already noted, in 1749 and about which we shall have more to report presently. This copy, hand-drawn and in immaculate condition,² is in the possession of the present owner of Nunwick and by virtue of its immense size and the vast amount of work necessarily entailed in its production, one can scarcely avoid the conclusion that copies would be available only to those intimately connected with the project. Perhaps this is also an appropriate point at which to consider Wade's claims since there is no doubt that the road is still widely known as Wade's Road and that it has long been so called. Wade, as we have noted, was a great builder of Military Roads in the 18th century and was in this area in 1745, and likewise may have urged the building of a military road from Newcastle to Carlisle. He was also a Member for Bath from 1722 until the time of his death but there seems to be no evidence that he had any connection with this petition, which was probably originated in 1748 if it was ready for submission to the Surveyor-General by March, 1749. In any case Wade died March, 1748, so, while it is extremely unlikely that he had anything to do with the petition, it is obviously certain that he

1. Welford, Men of Mark, Vol.I.

2. See reproduction at end.

had no concern whatever with the construction of a road which was only commenced in 1751.¹ All considered then, the evidence, circumstantial though much of it is, seems to point in the direction of Allgood as chief initiator, and if not to him, then perhaps to another local Member of Parliament much interested in roads - Sir William Middleton.

We may now return to the Minutes of the Surveyor-General where the next relevant entry is one of May 9th, 1749, stating that he has now considered both the letter of the Duke of Newcastle and the Petition desiring a road to be made from Newcastle to Carlisle and ordered:-

"That Mr. Dugal Campbell Sub Director of Engineers go thither, make an exact survey of the present road betwixt Newcastle and Carlisle, also a project for opening a Communication betwixt these places, and making the same Practicable at all Seasons of the Year for Troops and Carriages to pass and repass, that he transmit the same to the Board, with his report thereupon, and an estimate of the Charge of Making it, that the same may be laid before His Majesty."

Less than a fortnight later, on 22nd May, a further entry directed:-

"That Mr. Hugh Debeig² assist Mr. Dugal Campbell in Surveying the Road between Newcastle and Carlisle and that he follow such orders as he shall give him from time to time for the furtherance and promotion of His Majesty's Service."

One surprising consequence of these entries is that now that we know who was responsible for the survey, a question which has long puzzled archaeologists and historians, we may simply turn to page 549 of Vol. XXII (Supplement) of the Dictionary of National Biography and find the same answer! For there it has been all the time, waiting for any student of the Military Road who chanced across the lengthy

1. See Gregory "The Story of the Road", p. 213, where it is stated that a number of military roads are often referred to as General Wade's but were made later in the 18th century. Instances are cited.
2. Elsewhere spelled "Debbeig". Possibly these orders were the basis for the remark in the June 1749 issue of Newcastle General Magazine "We are assured that the Government have resolved to make a Military Road between this Town and Carlisle."

passage on "Debbeig, Hugh". Almost at once he would have read that after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle Debbeig returned home and was employed on survey operations in Scotland and the North of England, "assisting Col. Eugald (thus) Campbell in the construction of the Military Road from Newcastle upon Tyne to Carlisle, which, with its fourteen bridges, was completed in 1752 and was constructed as one of the straightest and best laid-out roads in the Kingdom". Actually, in the light of present research, the date here (1752) is not accurate as the road was not completed before 1757, a fact attested by notices in the local press which we shall consider later. But the remark that Debbeig was engaged in survey operations in Scotland is most interesting and deserves elucidation before we proceed with biographical details of Campbell and his subordinate for, again as a result of the '45 Rebellion, there was begun in 1747 a map of the Highlands which became the precursor of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain.¹ The conception of such a map originated with an Engineer named David Watson who in 1745 was on service in Flanders but who in the following year was present with his regiment at the Battle of Falkirk. Engineers, of course held office at this time under Warrants which conferred no regular military status. They had their own system of grades, upon which we shall presently enlarge, but when they held no separate army commission they frequently felt their position to be somewhat anomalous. This could be overcome by granting them commissions in various regiments but here their

1. Porter, Hist. of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Vol. I, p.167. Loan of Vols. I and II from the Corps Library was kindly permitted by the Librarian, Lieut. Col. Sandeman, C.B.E. The help and comment of Lieut. Col. Stear, Sec. of the R. Eng. Historical Society was also appreciated.

colonels frequently required them to relinquish whatever duties they were employed upon as engineers and to rejoin their regiments, and this they sometimes had to do despite their positions in the establishment of Engineers. Watson, then, we find at Falkirk in 1746 apparently with the rank of Captain and evidently serving with distinction since he was made Deputy Quartermaster-General of the Forces in North Britain (his commission dating from the day of the battle) and by the same appointment becoming a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army. With Dougal Campbell he was among the Engineers who served at Culloden. After the Rebellion, Watson's scheme for the subjection of the clans really involved a survey of the Highlands and the construction of roads which would facilitate the passage of armed patrols encamped at key points from which a system of tracks would open in different directions. Fox thought the idea to be a good one, so did the Duke of Cumberland under whose direct orders Watson was now placed, and with a view to commencing arrangements, a body of infantry was encamped at Fort Augustus in 1747. Much of the actual survey was carried out by a young man named William Roy who with others worked under the superintendence of Watson. In Roy's own words :-

"As assistant Quarter-Master, it fell to my lot to begin, and afterwards have a considerable share in, the execution of that map; which being undertaken under the auspices of the Duke of Cumberland, and meant at first to be confined to the Highlands only, was nevertheless at last extended to the Lowlands; and thus made general in what related to the mainland of Scotland, the islands (except some of the lesser ones near the coast) not having been surveyed." I.

To outline the work of Roy and his fellow engineers, fascinating though

1. From Introduction to "An Account of the Measurement of a Base on Hounslow Heath" read by Roy before the Royal Society in 1785.

the task would be, is not our present purpose. Suffice it to say that one of those fellow engineers, for a brief space at any rate, was Hugh Debbeig. The result of the task was a large and highly-finished coloured military survey of Scotland (excluding the islands) divided into several compartments though some of the sections of the southern part seem to be missing. According to Roy, however, the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1755 prevented completion. The scale is about two inches to the mile and was one regularly used by military engineers. The maps from this survey are preserved in the British Museum in George III's collection and these include the so-called "Duke of Cumberland's map" which was merely the original drawings for the Northern part of Scotland.¹

Though Roy and Watson's survey must have been in progress when Campbell and Debbeig surveyed the Newcastle-Carlisle area no connection between the two (other than that Debbeig had a hand in both!) can be proved in the present state of our knowledge. It may be very tempting to regard the lesser of the two surveys as a logical and likely extension of the other but there is in fact no ground for such a supposition. Perhaps the most that one can say is that knowledge of the Scottish survey must have been an added inspiration to those who sought to make the idea of a Newcastle-Carlisle road a reality.

We are now in a position to examine, in just sufficient detail for our present purpose, the careers of the two men who made the Military Road survey. Campbell, though the senior man at this time, never

1. Acknowledgements to Mr. R. A. Skelton of the British Museum.

reached the heights to which it was Debbeig's lot to ascend. The engineers, as we have noted, had their own designations beginning at the bottom of the scale with that of Practitioner Engineer and continuing upwards through the grades of Sub-Engineer, Engineer Extraordinary, Engineer in Ordinary, Sub-Director, and Director to Chief Engineer. According to a list of the Corps as at April 16th. 1748 Campbell held the grade of Sub-Director, Debbeig that of Practitioner, and Thomas Lascelles that of Chief Engineer. The latter also held the office of Surveyor-General but was permitted to retire from his onerous duties in 1750, from which time the post of Surveyor-General became disconnected from the Engineers^{1.} while that of Chief Engineer was left vacant for some years. That the highest post to which they could aspire had not been filled simply added to the discontent already apparent in the Corps and the upshot of the matter was that appeal was made direct to the Duke of Cumberland as head of the Army to intercede with the King to confer army rank on the engineers. This the Duke did though such was the opposition even from the Board of Ordnance whose members felt keen displeasure at being by-passed, that it was seven years before the point was carried and the officers of the Corps received Military rank. Sub-Director Dougal Campbell would now also rank as Major, Hugh Debbeig as Lieutenant.^{2.}

1. Hist. of Corps of Royal Engineers, p.168.

2. Ibid, p.181. See also p.394 of Vol.II which states that Debbeig was commissioned as Captain-Lieutenant probably in error since he was only a Sub-Engineer. When made Engineer Extraordinary in 1758 he was re-commissioned in a similar Military rank.

Of Campbell's career all too little is known, there being no mention of him in the History of the Corps before his promotion to Engineer in Ordinary in 1744. The 1660-1898 List of Officers of the Corps however provides the bare record of his progress from Practitioner to Sub-Engineer on 1.11.34, to Engineer Extraordinary on 3.7.42, to Engineer in Ordinary on 8.3.44 and ultimately to Sub-Director on 2.1.48. When the '45 Rebellion broke out in August of that year Campbell was one of the only three engineers known to have been in Scotland at the time and seems likely to have been at the defence of Edinburgh Castle against the Chevalier.¹ We next hear of him at Culloden in 1746, as previously mentioned, and then again in the same year, and in that following, in Flanders where it had been decided to pursue the War against the French with renewed vigour. A Warrant of February 3rd, 1747, had ordered a "Brigade of Engineers" to be employed under the command of the Duke of Cumberland and appointed Dougal Campbell as Chief Engineer at 15s. per day. The same Warrant, incidentally, mentions Hugh Debbeig as Engineer-Extraordinary at 5s. per day. The whole brigade was present at the battle of Val (or Lafeldt) on July 2nd. where Debbeig served on the staff of the Duke. He was also at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom² and though Campbell is not mentioned by name as being there it is obviously possible that he was. On October 18th however the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war and all men who had served on the Flanders Train but who were not on the permanent establishment were reduced. Campbell now appears as Sub-

1. P.158, Vol.I History of the Corps of Royal Engineers.

2. P.163, Ibid.

Director on the Corps list as at April 16th. 1748, and Hugh Debbeig as Practitioner. The official history of the Corps has little more to tell us of Campbell but the defect is remedied for the next two years by the Minutes of the Surveyor-General. Following his commission, dated 9th May, 1749, to survey the country between Newcastle and Carlisle little time appears to have been lost in getting to work, for a Minute of 18th July records his claim for £20. 4s. 6d. for "Horsehire and Expences (thus) from London to Berwick and from thence to Newcastle on His Majesty's Service, by Order of the Board". The same Minute records Mr. Hugh Debbeig's request for "an allowance of £8. 8s. Od. for his Passage, Horsehire, and Expences on the Road to assist Mr. Campbell on the Survey of the Road between Newcastle and Carlisle". Both Bills were ordered be allowed and paid by Bill and Debenture "except the £1 charged in Mr. Debbeig's Bill for Extraordinary Expences". What these were we are never likely to know though we cannot but feel a certain sympathy for the unfortunate claimant. His next two claims however are recorded first in a Minute of 3rd October as being £9.15s. 9d. "for Horsehire and Expences to Newcastle to attend Mr. Dugall Campbell on the Survey of the Road between that Place and Carlisle, from the 10th July to the 25th ultimo" and the second in a Minute of 12th December for £11.15s. 2d "for Horsehire and other Expences, in surveying the Road from Carlisle to Newcastle, and coming from thence to London". Both, having been certified by Mr. Campbell, were allowed in full.

Campbell's own final claim, as recorded in a Minute of 22nd December, was a much weightier item, amounting to £54. 1s. 8d. and representing his

"Bill of Disbursement and Travelling Expences, on account of the Survey of the Country from Newcastle to Carlisle, for a Road of Communication, in the months of July, August, and September last". The importance of this entry, however, lies not so much in the sum involved as in the fact that it dates precisely the survey for the Military Road. A further bill of Campbell's in the same Minute for £24.10s. Od. "on account of Works and Repairs carried on at Berwick and Carlisle ^{1.} between 1st July and 1st ulto" was also ordered to be allowed and paid by Debenture.

With what diligence Campbell and his colleague had applied themselves to their tasks, is indicated by the next reference, again a Minute of 22nd December, 1749, which reads:-

"Mr. Dugal Campbell Sub-Director of Engineers, having (Pursuant to Minute of the 9th May last, and agreeable to a Letter the late Master General received from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, with the Petition of the Nobility and Gentry, desiring a Road to be made from Newcastle to Carlisle,) transmitted a Report of the several Roads at present used for the Communication between Newcastle and Carlisle, and of the most proper Course for the new intended Road, with an Estimate of the Charge to make the same, and the several Stone Bridges that are necessary upon it, amounting to £22,450. and inclosing a Plan or Survey of all the Country between those Places and some Miles farther on each end, extending in all 60 Miles, and about 6 Miles in Breadth,

ORDERED

That the same be sent to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, to lay before His Majesty, and that His Grace be desired to observe in folio 12 of Mr. Campbell's Report, that he proposed to carry the new Road sixteen Miles and an half through several Inclosed Grounds, which are private Property, and must be first purchased, the Value whereof is not included in the £22,450 at which the Charge of making the said Road is estimated by Mr. Campbell."

Thus in three months (July, August and September) the two engineers had surveyed an area of 360 square miles, produced the actual survey,

1. For which places Campbell appears to have been responsible.

prepared an estimate and a report. What proportion of the work was done by each we cannot tell though the report is referred to as "Mr. Campbell's" and as senior he no doubt had responsibility for the whole project.

Campbell, it seems, was a most conscientious worker and one who disliked inactivity to such a degree that the next relevant entry in the Minutes of the Surveyor-General, dated June 15th, 1750, says:-

"Mr. Dougal Campbell, having signified by letter belief that all attempts by Engineers to improve themselves in their profession would be acceptable to the Board, and as there is little service at home for him this year desires leave to go abroad to visit the Fortifications in Flanders and Germany to make what observations he could, that the Lieutenant General ¹. had approved his request and procured the Duke's consent and he only wanted the Board's approbation and leave which he hoped they would grant for a year or two. He would acquaint the Board from time to time where he is, in case he should be wanted to attend his duty."

Nor was his request unheeded for an entry of June 15th orders that a letter be sent to Mr. Smelt, Engineer in Ordinary at Carlisle:-

"to acquaint him that as the Board have given leave to Mr. Sub-Director Campbell to go abroad for his improvement they commit the care and direction of the Works in the Berwick and Hull Divisions to him and require him strictly to observe and follow the instructions given the said Mr. Campbell and that a copy of the same be given him."

The Minutes of 1750 would appear to have nothing further to tell us of Campbell though obviously research into those of subsequent years might fill the gaps in our knowledge. Before leaving 1750 however one other entry, dated Mar. 27th might claim attention. It was to the effect that a Mr. Sherman, Storekeeper at Hull, had signified by

1. Evidently the Lieut-General of Ordnance who at this time was probably Sir John Ligonier.

a letter of 5th March that Mr. Benjamin Rumsey of that town, who had been one of the Clerks of Stores in Flanders in the late War, desired to be appointed an overseer for the road that is to be made from Newcastle to Carlisle. It was coldly ordered that he be informed that the Board knew of no orders for making the said road!

Following a Royal Warrant of Dec.16th, 1755, augmenting the Corps, Campbell appears once more on the list as Sub-Director, but with the Medway as his station.¹ His subordinates, with the grades of Engineer Extraordinary and Sub-Engineer respectively, were George Weston and, once more, Hugh Debbeig. Again the paths of Campbell and Debbeig had met though this is not surprising if Campbell was ever consulted in the appointment of his assistants, for probably no one appreciated better than he the outstanding qualities of Debbeig whose merits had long since found him favour at high level. To complete Campbell's career we are obliged to turn again to the List of Officers of the Corps (1660-1898) where there are two further details. The first of these completes his War Services with the entry "Louisbourg, 1757" and the second records his death at sea between Halifax and New York in September of the same year.²

It has been necessary to dwell at some length on Campbell since there appears to be no single connected account of him and information from various sources has required consolidation. The same is not true of Hugh Debbeig concerning whom, as we have already stated, there is a

1. History of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Vol.I, p.172-3.
2. References to Campbell and examples of his work may be seen at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, but they throw no further light on our present study.

full and detailed account in the Dictionary of National Biography.^{1.} It will therefore in no way detract from him if we confine our attention mainly to the earlier details of his brilliant progression. Many of these we have already mentioned in passing so that it only remains for us to draw our references together and add what appears to be necessary for the sake of continuity. He was born in 1731 and at the age of eleven had entered the Royal Artillery as Matross. By 1745 he had become a cadet-gunner but in the following year was attached as an engineer to the expedition of Lieut-General Sinclair against L'Orient, being present both at the siege of that place and at the subsequent descent on Quiberon. His studies were then resumed at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich though early in 1747^{2.} he was in Flanders with the grade of Engineer-Extraordinary where by reason of his boldness and intelligence he was made an extra aide to the Duke. In July of that year he was present at the Battle of Val, his conspicuous gallantry winning the praise of the Commander-in-Chief, and also at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. After the suspension of hostilities he was one of the engineers selected to make a survey of the seat of war in Brabant and was placed on the establishment as Practitioner Engineer^{3.} April, 1748. Of his activities with Campbell in Northumberland and Cumberland in 1749 however we need say nothing further at present, nor of his promotion to Sub-Engineer, 1751, and appointment to Chatham, except that his plan of the Chatham Lines dated 1755 may be seen at the

1. See above, page 12.

2. See above, page 17.

3. See above, page 18.

British Museum. At this point however we must leave Debbeig, barely over the threshold of a long and distinguished career. Were the rest of his life our present concern it would be a fascinating account of active service in North America with Wolfe, under whom he served as Quartermaster General and at whose death he was present, figuring in West's painting of the incident; of secret work in France and Spain and of high appointments both at home and abroad; of compliments from the Monarch on the speed with which he threw three bridges over the Thames at the manoeuvres of 1780; of how he once selected for his clerk a certain William Cobbett; of how he was twice court-martialled for his outspokenness and finally of how he died, a general and full of years, on May 27th, 1810.

Such then were the two men who began the survey of the New Military Road in the summer of 1749. One result of their efforts was a beautifully coloured and hand-drawn map, to which we have already referred, entitled

"A Survey of the country between Newcastle and Carlisle representing the several present roads and the Tract which is proposed for the New intended Road of Communication between these Towns. ¹. As also all the Course of the Roman Wall with all the Military Stations, Castella and Military Ways that lye upon this survey."

Of this survey two copies are known to exist, one at the Northumberland County Record Office and one in the possession of Mr. G. H. Allgood of Nunwick, Simonburn, Northumberland. How the second copy came to light has been described by the late Lieut. Col. G. R. B. Spain in his article "The Original Survey for the Newcastle-Carlisle Military Road - c.1746."²

1. Compare the terms of Campbell's commission, Page 12, above, also the Surveyor-General's Minute of Dec. 22nd, 1749, on page 19.
2. A.A.4.XIV, 1937. See also above P.10. The date "c.1746" we can immediately correct to "1749" in the light of present knowledge.

Apparently Mr. Allgood was examining the contents of a cupboard at Nunwick in March, 1936, when he found an oak box containing the map, immaculately preserved and beautifully executed by hand in many colours. It measures ten feet six inches long by two feet wide and covers five sheets joined together to make a roll.^{1.} Sir George Macdonald, in his lecture "John Horsley, Scholar and Gentleman" which was delivered to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 27th April, 1932,^{2.} rightly presumed the existence of such a map as being the original from which an engraving signed "N. Hill sculpt." and found in the British Museum in association with the Act authorising construction of the Military Road, must have been made. He believed that Hill's copies, one of which he reported to be in the Public Library at Newcastle,^{3.} were probably issued for the use of Members of Parliament when discussing proposals relative to the project or for information to the general public after the Bill had become law. In a footnote on page 55 of the article he says that if the whereabouts of the original map could be discovered it would probably reveal the names of the actual surveyors which, of course, it does not, and in a postscript on page 57 he further states that since preparing his proof for press he has received information that the original may be preserved in the War Office. Ironically, there was a copy much nearer than he could have supposed, for the one which is now at the County Record Office, Gosforth, had actually been in the possession of the very Society which he was addressing for a century or more! The earliest reference to it that can be found is in a

1. Mr. Allgood kindly permitted the writer to examine this map in January, 1965.
2. See A.A.4. X. 1933.
3. Where it may still be seen.

catalogue of the Library of the Society published in 1839 and which records that it had been presented by John Bell though the date of presentation is not given.^{1.} There is, however, a further reference to this map in a footnote on page 465 of the Northumberland County History X^{2.} which merely corroborates the fact that the map was in the Black Gate Library when this History was printed in 1914. While still quite legible, its condition in no way approaches that of the Nunwick copy which gives the impression of rarely having left the security of its case. This case was addressed

"For Lancelot Allgood Esqre at Hexham near Newcastle upon Tyne to the care of Mr. Greenwood an exciseman at Newcastle upon Tyne."

though the writing was so faint as to be only decipherable after treatment. Exactly how the exciseman, Greenwood, fits into the picture is not at all clear. A brief outline of his movements within the service was obtained from a former Librarian of the Custom House Library by Colonel Spain but recent enquiries in a similar quarter have added nothing further save that the present Librarian considers it probable that any interest Greenwood might have had would be in a private capacity. Possibly there was some arrangement whereby Greenwood regularly acted as a receiving agent for Allgood since it would seem reasonable that the box and its contents would come from London, where at this period the Board of Ordnance had premises in the Tower. If Parliament were in recess and Allgood thus absent

1. Mr. W. Tynemouth, F.L.A., Honorary Librarian to the Society, kindly provided this information.
2. To which attention was drawn by Professor Birley.

from London then dispatch would probably be necessary. Whether the map was Campbell's work or that of some Board of Ordnance expert working from Campbell's data is impossible to say but some idea of the skill involved can be gained from the collotype reproduction accompanying this account.¹ It is about one third of the size of the original but of course conveys nothing of the beauty of the colours in which the latter is worked. Drawn to a scale of just over two miles to the inch, the survey extends from roughly three miles east of Newcastle to about two and a half miles west of Carlisle; the width of the tract varies from a minimum of three or four miles to a maximum of about six. Not only does it show the proposed course of the new road but, as the title says ".... also all the course of the Roman Wall with all the Military Stations, Castella and Military Ways that lye upon this survey."

The Wall is indicated as "Severus Wall" and the Vallum as "Hadrian's Vallum" but nowhere is the course of the Military Way shown, not even in an inset entitled "Profile of the Roman Wall and Vallum near Portgate". This is a most curious omission. It may indicate, with the possible exception of short stretches, that the road was no longer in use but it is impossible that Campbell and Debbeig knew nothing of its existence. Well might Stukeley complain with such bitterness

"It was the business of the surveyors of the work to trace out this road. They would have found it pretty strait, well laid out in regard to the ground, and it would have been a foundation sufficient for their new road. The late learned Roger Gale and myself rode the whole length of it in 1725, so I speak as an eye witness, and I write down with grief to see so little taste, so little judgement shown by the public in this otherwise laudable undertaking!"²

1. With the kind permission of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne who publish this map for sale.
2. Surtees Society 80, Vol.III, p.141, Stukeley's diary.

Stukeley, of course, was writing some years later on 23rd October, 1754, when the road had already been three years in the making and was quoting from a letter of his to the Princess of Wales, but his remarks seem particularly appropriate at this stage of our study.

There seems little excuse to offer for Campbell's apparent disregard for the course of the Military Way in the eastern half of the survey and the use to which it might have been put for it is precisely in this sector that "the New Projected Road", shown as a dotted line from Newcastle to Carlisle, coincides with the line of the Wall. True there are deviations as at Sheldon (or Shildon) Common as the area south of the Wall between Wall Houses and Halton Chesters used to be called. There the proposed course of the new road follows the line of the vallum to a point probably half a mile west of "Hunnum", and the reason may well be to allow the road to pass through unenclosed land where compensation to owners would not have to be paid.¹ The dotted line then again aligns itself with the Wall as far as Brunton where it swings right to cross the North Tyne at Chollerford. Approximately half a mile west of Chesters it returns to the line of the Wall for a few hundred yards before reverting once more to that of the Vallum. This course is held for some five miles to the point where Wall and Vallum sharply diverge a mile or more west of Shield on the Wall. The proposed line now turns south west and pursues an independent course for some four

1. It is interesting to note on p.904 of Vol.26, Journals of House of Commons, that on Jan.17th, 1754, Mr. Allgood presented to the House a Bill for enclosing and dividing Great Shildon Common. The Royal Assent was received Mar.5th.

miles to High Shield when for another mile and a quarter it is again superimposed upon the Vallum. Half a mile west of Twice Brewed, however, "New projected road" and Vallum part company, the former following the line of the modern B6318 to the Tipalt (Greenhead) and thereafter that of A.69 (more or less) to Brampton. At High Crosby the line of the Stanegate is touched - by the modern highway at any rate - and in the last mile and a quarter the dotted line is again in close proximity with the vallum, finally stopping just short of the Eden where it joins an existing road (the modern A.7) travelling due north from the city.

The Act, no doubt based on the recommendations of Campbell's report, is precise as to the general route the "new intended road" is to take. It is to be from the West Gate of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne by way of East Denton, Chapel Houses to Heddon on the Wall (modern A.69) and then by Harlow Hill, Portgate, Chollerford Bridge, Walwick, Carrawburgh, Whinshields (B.6318), Clowgill (Closegill), Brampton (A.69), High Crosby, Drawdikes and Stanwix (B.6264) to the Scotch Gate of the City of Carlisle.¹ It is greatly to be regretted however that Campbell's report on the survey has not yet been found though search has been made in all the most likely places. As it is, the only direct reference we have to any of its contents is the order of the Surveyor-General (page 19 above) that the Duke of Newcastle's attention be drawn to Folio 12 where Campbell proposed to carry the road sixteen and a half miles through private property which must first be purchased, and cost of which is not included in his estimate.

1. Newcastle General Magazine for June, 1751, apparently quoting "the Carlisle Bill", gives substantially the same route.

To discover which sections of the road are included in this distance might prove a lengthy exercise but there seems little reason to doubt that whether the idea originated with him or not, Campbell at least advocated the utilisation of many miles of the Wall's remains in the construction of the new highway and that his reasons were those of convenience and cheapness. There must often have been lengthy sectors where stood a ready-to-hand stock of materials that merely needed spreading. One can only hope that it was with extreme reluctance that the experienced Military engineer, always ready to improve himself in his profession, took the decision to obliterate still further the remains of the greatest military engineering work he was ever likely to see. If we but had his report we might learn why - if he must follow the Roman line - he chose to ignore the possibilities of the Military way in the eastern sector. Obviously such a route would present difficulties to wheeled traffic in the central sector but need he have gone so far to the north? His own survey indicates the existence of alternative routes, though to call them 'roads' would admittedly be something of a euphemism as we shall see presently when considering evidence given to a Parliamentary committee in 1751. The regular road west from Newcastle is clearly marked as "The old Roman Wall or Street to Newcastle from Newburn" upon a survey dated 8th October, 1708, and showing coalpits in the Benwell area; it is to be seen at the Northumberland County Record Office. This 'street' is obviously the ancestor of the present West Road running along the edge of the Wall ditch but is shown

only as far as Denton Bridge. At West Denton Campbell's own survey shows how it continued to Newburn,^{1.} (having crossed the road running north from Lemington in the direction of Whorlton Moor) and thence to Ovingham.^{2.} From here it appears to continue in the direction of Corbridge where it would meet what is marked "Watling Street". From Corbridge a road is traceable to Hexham and another, marked "Summer Road", to Haydon Bridge. Thereafter a way can be made out (following A.69) to "Haltwisle" and then by devious means to Brampton. From here the clearest marked route seems to have swung south over the Galt, on to Little Corby, across the Eden, past Warwick, and finally to have joined the Penrith road into Carlisle from the South. The entire journey can be traced with ease on Warburton's map inserted in his "Vallum Romanum" and which Sir George Macdonald has shown very conclusively to have been pirated from the official survey.^{3.} The ink of the letter was doubtless clearer when Warburton had his copy made. True, he judiciously omits a few insignificant place names such as "Shildon Loch", or "Nafferton", and makes similar insertions such as "Fort call'd Brown Dikes" north of Settling Stones. He likewise extends the survey to 'Tinnmouth' on the east and to Solway on the west (probably after perusal of Horsley's work) and whereas the official survey has five insets Warburton gives his readers six though three are barefacedly copied and two, a section

1. Where of course it would no longer be of Roman origin.
2. Compare Wade's route, p.6.
3. See footnote p.8 for reference.

through the Wall near St. Oswald's and a Profile of the Mountains at Bradley have been cunningly reversed so that they appear to be viewed from the opposite direction to that of the original. The sixth, a plan of nine forts, would again seem to have originated with Horsley. He even shows "The New Road" as a single dotted line from Carlisle to the point where wall and vallum abruptly diverge west of Shield on the Wall though perhaps this is not surprising when one considers his claim, made in the introduction to his book, to have been the original protagonist of the scheme! He makes a number of blunders too such as "Rumps Haugh" for what appears as "Humps Haugh" on the original and "Gofford" for "Gosford" but for further discussion and examples the reader is perhaps best referred to Sir George Macdonald's article of reference already cited.

To return to Campbell's survey, however, one cannot avoid the conclusion that had he followed a line such as that taken by the old "roads" enumerated above and suitably modified where necessary, he would have provided a highway passing through more thickly populated districts (e.g. Hexham) and one which would not only have been more valuable in the economic development of such areas but which would doubtless have provided a far superior return in the form of tolls.

Such a linkage had only to be provided later by the modern road system. It was not, of course, the only alternative open to Campbell. He might, for instance, have turned left at Heddon, with consequent less destruction to the Wall, and followed the route of the modern A.69; he might even have incorporated something of the Stanegate

which he shows as "A Roman Military Way" from the neighbourhood of Settling Stones almost to the Haltwhistle Burn. Without the Report further speculation is perhaps pointless though the suggestion to follow the line of the Wall was no doubt widely acclaimed at the time. The Wall formed a convenient boundary so that estate owners would lose less land by following its course. In fairness to Campbell, however, and to any possible recommendations he may have made, it must be admitted that the exact line of the road between the points specified in the Act was to be the decision of the commissioners and trustees or any seven or more of them who were

"authorized and empowered to act, to view and survey the lands and grounds within the said counties respectively (Cumberland and Northumberland); and to set out and appoint such part and parts thereof respectively as they shall think proper to be used and applied for the said new intended road"

So said the Act and indeed it is clear from two entries in the Denton estate letter books that decisions could be made on the spot as work progressed. These letters may be consulted in an article entitled "The Last Days of the Old Roman Wall at Rudchester" by H. L. Honeyman in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 4, VI, 1933-35, or in the original at the Northumberland County Record Office. The first is dated 27th May, 1752, and is from Mr. John Airey,^{i.}

1. A family of Aireys were "coal-fitters" (supplied coal as freight to ships) in Newcastle and from the next letter, that of 21st July, we see that John Airey had an office in town. In the first letter (27th May, 1752) he speaks of Whitchester as though it were his property, intimating that he will take nothing for ground over which the road runs only desiring to have it fenced off at the Commissioner's expense, providing that his neighbours do the same. According to Vol. XIII of the County History he does not appear to have owned the Manor of Whitchester but he may well have been the tenant. A John Airey was a Commissioner.

to a Mr. Carter through whom he wishes to communicate with Mr. Edward

1. Montague. He says

"Wee are proceeding fast on the Military road, which is east as far as Heddon on the Wall: and will soon reach Rutchester. It is proposed to keep upon the Roman Wall as much as possible"

The second is dated July 21st, 1752, and is from Mr. William Newton 2.

at Burnopfield to his employer, Mr. Edward Montague. It begins

"Immediately after I received your Honours favour of the 21st of June last, I waited upon Mr. Airey at his Office in Westgate Newcastle haveing before Viewed the intended Military road through Ruchester, and as it was not then certainly known whether the road would be exactly upon the Old Roman Wall or not, I recomended that we might have a meeting upon the place in order to settle that point. This Mr. Airey said was very necessary and according to that Gentlemans appointment Mr. Isaacson 3. (who was so good as to give his company) and my selfe went with him on Thursday last and Viewed it where we met with Mr. Wear and the Tenant Wilson. We all agreed that the Military road would be best upon the Old Roman Wall through that Ground, for it is the strightest way, the easiest expence and will do the least damage to the Ground and Mr. Airey said their people had set it out so"

We noted earlier that Campbell was probably actuated by considerations of convenience and cheapness to suggest the line he did but on Newton's

1. Edward Montague, later of Denton Hall, was a man of wealth with coal mines at Denton and estates in Yorkshire and Berkshire; he also owned Rudchester. He was husband of the celebrated Mrs. Edward Montague and sat as Member for Huntingdon from 1734 to 1768.
2. Newton was apparently agent, or perhaps "coal viewer" to Montague. The Gentleman's Magazine for 29th Aug. 1749 mentions a William Newton of Burnopfield as the inventor of a machine for drawing coals out of deep pits. (Richardson).
3. Anthony Isaacson. There was a commissioner of that name.

own admission we need have no hesitation in ascribing similar views to the owners of the land over which the wall passed. They were as guilty as the Military surveyors, if not more so, for by their decision they deprived succeeding generations of access to the remains of the Wall almost as completely as total eradication would have done. The decision at Rudchester, incidentally, seems to have been taken by only five persons and probably not all of them Commissioners. Their recommendations say, of course, have been passed to proper authority.

One other letter, though it rather anticipates events, is worthy of note as showing the kind of bargain that could be driven. It is dated Nov.19th, 1752, and is from Newton and Isaacson to Edward Montague, setting out negotiations made with the Commissioners' Agent, Mr. Brown,¹ and recommending that these terms be accepted

1. This would be John Brown who was surveyor to the Northumberland Commissioners. Yet again this anticipates events but a notice in the February 12th, 1757, issue of Newcastle Courant, and repeated on February 19th and 26th, states that a bridge is to be built over Haltwhistle burn according to a plan in the hands of John Brown, Kirkharle, and that proposals should be delivered to the Trustees at the Moot Hall. It is signed by Brown as Surveyor. He was actually the older brother of the celebrated "Capability" (Lancelot) Brown and agent of the Duke of Portland both of which facts are confirmed by Hodgson, Vol.I, Pt.II, p.247, where he notes the marriage of John Brown with Jane Lorraine at Hartburn on April 29rd, 1743. With the help of Mr. Matthews of the County Record office, the present writer examined the microfilmed records of Kirkharle Parish Church and found an entry for the baptism of John Brown on 3rd.Feb.1708. He was the third child and eldest son in a family of three girls and three boys born to William Browne (thus) of Kirkharle. When he resigned in 1757 as surveyor for the Northumberland part of the road a notice in the Newcastle Courant on Oct.7th advertised for a successor at £20 a year. Entries in the same paper for Sept.22nd and Nov.18th show that he had also resigned appointment with the Trustees of the Alnmouth and the Ponteland turnpike roads.

".... We to have Nine Shillings an acre at 30 years purchase for the Ground that the new Road takes up in Ruchester, to have the Old Road and three Shillings a Rod for fencing on each side of the new Road, and Stones off the Old Roman Wall to supply the deficiency of the Stones of the present hedge Wall in making a new Stone Wall on one side the other side to be a hedge and Quick"

The Old Road would no doubt be the Military Way, evidently still in use at Ruchester.

One final point in our present context on the subject of the Survey and this concerns certain of the place names. The surveyors appear to have asked local inhabitants the names of various places and then tried to record what they heard. Thus we get "Leonard Cross Abbey" for Lanercost, "Humps Haugh" for Humshaugh, "Caudley Yell" for Codley Hill, "Yarish" for Yarridge and probably many others. "Genl. Wade encamp'd here Anno.1745" is inscribed upon the "Towns Common" with the slight variation of "General Wade encamped here 1745" just south of the union of the two Tynes. Colonel Spain concluded that the contours had been roughly drawn in brown chalk for the benefit of the engraver Hill who had carefully copied them even where they were inaccurate. Survey, report, and estimate^{1.} then had been ordered to be laid before His Majesty in December, 1749, but more than a twelve-month was to pass before developments became manifest.

1. Campbell's estimate of £22,450 represents an average cost per mile, including bridges, of about £375. The actual placing of contracts and rates per mile agreed between the parties will be considered later.

Before turning to these, however, we should perhaps attempt to assess how much of the Wall remained in the eastern sector before its absorption into the new highway. Were Campbell's report available, it might tell us in precise terms, but failing that, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's account of his visit to the Wall in 1724 would seem to provide a most useful near-contemporary description.^{1.} Sir John's reasons for coming to the North of England were twofold, to see the Roman Wall and to gain a better understanding of his "coal affaires". He arrived in Newcastle on Thursday, 23rd April, and during the next few days enjoyed, among other things, a river trip to "Tinmouth" and a visit to Durham Cathedral. His journey West along the Wall from Newcastle began on Monday, 27th, when he observed that from the west gate to Benwell "the foundation of the stone wall and the vallum does appear, but not so as to be very conspicuous".^{2.} Not so the camp, however, for it was very much in evidence - "a very large oblong square fort with one ditch" which to Sir John seemed to resemble the

1. Free use is made throughout this section of "Sir John Clerk's Visit to the North of England in 1724" by Professor Birley. See Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, Vol. XI, pts. III and IV.
2. By "vallum" he clearly meant the wall ditch. In the preceding paragraph (p.232 of reference above) he speaks of "the Roman Wall with its vallum". He did not observe the vallum proper "another great ditch on the south side of the stone wall about 150 elles distance" - until he reached the vicinity of the Chapel House. Horsley's observations are somewhat at variance with Sir John's. He reports no trace of the wall in this area but on p.137 (Brit. Rom.) says "At the end of the houses without Westgate and on the south side of the street or highway what I take to be Hadrian's ditch is for a short space partly visible and I believe the raised footway there has been upon the North Agger. For a little space again everything relating to Hadrian's vallum does quite disappear till near the quarry house some faint mark of the ditch and North Agger begin to appear, but chiefly the latter. And this state of the vallum extends to Benwell fort".

remains of an old castle rather than of a town as some supposed.

Foundations, which he took to be houses, were everywhere to be seen.

A mile beyond the fort the "praetentura" began to be more distinct especially at Denton Ludden (Lonnen) and Chapel Hall (house) which presumably infers that up to that point it was at best merely traceable.

At Walbottle however he was able to see the "treu forme" of the stone wall and to produce a sketch showing three courses of stone work protruding above the mass of rubbish covering the lower facings on either side of the wall. Indeed he had reason to believe that in some

places the wall was standing nine or ten feet high. The breadth he gives as eight feet though it is pointed out in Footnote 22, p.234, that wherever it has been possible to examine the wall in this sector it has been found to be upwards of nine feet thick. There were, Sir John

concluded, few places known to him on the whole course of the works where wall and "that Ditch called "Hadrian's" appeared to better advantage than between Walbottle village and a deep gill (gill) to the west of it.

An accompanying sketch of a section through the remains at this point shows both the mounds and ditches to be well defined and the wall to have three courses of facings projecting above a mass of fallen material.

This could indicate an over-all height of some four feet or more though, as we shall see presently, it may be as well not to put too fine an interpretation on the number of courses shown in Clerk's illustrations.

At Heddon the stone wall appeared "in all the perfection it can well have" though, unfortunately, Sir John gives no further description except to note that among the rubbish were a few ornamental stones and what, from his sketch, must have been a centurial stone; the letters, however, were

so worn as to be illegible.

From "Haddon Hall" he noted that the system ran towards Rudchester where he found a large square ^{1.} fort of about "150 elles each side" which joined the Wall though slightly further ahead in his account he makes it clear that the fort is part within and part without "the praetentura". Another sketch of a section in this area again shows three courses of facings rising clear of the rubble round the foot of the Wall, and so does yet a third at a point between Harlow Hill and Halton Chesters. It may well be, of course, that the three courses in each case are intended to give a general rather than an actual impression. Between the two last-named places Clerk reported the works to be very conspicuous and that "in a plain for near a mile they make a new and very magnificent appearance", a remark accompanied by the third of the above-mentioned sketches. Indeed supporting testimony as to the state of the Wall in this area is far from lacking. One of the insets of the official Survey of 1749 illustrates a length of the Wall "as it now appears a mile west of Harlow Hill" and shows four courses of masonry topped by a mass of bush-grown core, while Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, page 72, says "Near Harlow Hill, the Turff Wall comes within 175 paces of Severus's. About 100 paces further West of this Place, the same Stone Wall appears very conspicuous, being about 9 foot high, though the square Stones, or Outfacings of the Wall are not above two Courses intire". It may seem strange that neither Gordon nor Clerk appear to have seen the portion of Wall shown on the Survey though it may well be that twenty five years later Campbell and

1. Chesters is described in similar inaccurate terms.

Debeig had the remains uncovered to gain a clearer idea of their composition. Indeed it is even within the bounds of possibility that they wished to form some estimate of the amount of stone available on the Wall and in this particular sector the quantity must have been considerable.

At Halton Shields Sir John observed " a small antient structure" which resembled an oven and which, as Footnote 31 on page 236 of Prof. Birley's article points out, is probably exactly what it was in association with milecastle 20. The Wall in these parts still retained four or five courses of hewn stone, indeed "to within a mile of porte Gate" the entire system had the same remarkable appearance as he had noted east of Halton Shields. Here, too, were the grass grown ruins of great buildings which we need have no hesitation in assigning to Halton-chesters fort. Again a little further west and he came to the intersection of Dere Street ("a Roman cassey way") and the Wall, a point which he mistakenly designated "port Gate".^{1.} He believed that the crossing was so called from "a porte that has been in the praetentura though he gives no description of any associated fortifications."^{2.}

1. The actual Portgate is at least half amile to the west of the modern crossroads and about quarter of a mile south of the Wall. Footnote 33, p.237, points this out and lays responsibility for the original error upon Warburton's map of Northumberland (1716). If Clerk relied upon Warburton he would not be the last to be deceived by him!
2. Horsley, on the other hand, mentions a square castellum lying half within and half without the Wall, p.142 Brit.Rom.

Continuing westward, Sir John noticed a tower within the Wall but gives no measurements; however, as the associated mounds and ditches appeared "very magnificent", its location was no doubt in that sector not far west of Stagshaw crossroads where even yet the earthworks appear to such advantage. Indeed he was so impressed by the condition of the system between 'Portgate' and the North Tyne (a distance which he under-estimated at three miles) that he formed the opinion, doubtless based on a misconception as to the Wall's original dimensions that "scarcely anything" had been carried away from it. Of the same sector Gordon observed that the two walls^{1.} "run vastly great" to a village called St. Oswald on the Hill Head. At Chesters Sir John noticed the remains of both bridge and fort though once again we need not labour the point that he regarded the latter as square, "about 150 elles each side".^{2.} What is more surprising, especially in view of the interesting description he gives later of Housesteads,^{3.} is that at Chesters he found nothing of any particular merit and of the bath-house makes no mention whatever. Further west he found the system "very entire for several miles", defaced only by the ravages of time, and with the stone wall standing to a similar height and thickness as he had observed before.^{4.}

1. Presumably the earthworks of the Vallum as well as the Wall. In this area Gordon mentions a "watch tower" sixty foot square and 1356 paces west of Portgate - evidently milecastle 23. A little way beyond was yet another watchtower and then another, both of dimensions similar to the first. These would be milecastles 24 and 25 as he had not yet reached St. Oswald's.
2. As at Rudchester.
3. Though in Footnote 38, p.239, it is considered that the account may not be entirely his own.
4. Presumably in the Portgate - St. Oswald Sector.

In the same sector Gordon noticed that for three miles after leaving Walwick the remains were "in greater perfection and magnificence" than anywhere else between the two seas.

As we have reached the point where Military Road and Roman Wall diverge, we need follow Sir John no further. Imperfect as his account and those of others may be, they furnish abundant evidence that in the first half of the eighteenth century mile upon mile of the Wall, in varying states of preservation, still remained in the eastern sector, so that when we contemplate the magnificent works of restoration that have been carried out elsewhere on the line and which, even allowing for the depredations of eighteenth and nineteenth century builders, might easily have been paralleled here too, we cannot but feel acutely dismayed by the wholesale destruction that the making of this new road was to involve.

To continue our account we must turn once again to Volume 26 of Journals of the House of Commons.^{1.} The petition in respect of the proposed road was presented to the House on 4th March, 1750 (51),^{2.} when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by the Sovereign's command, informed Members that his Majesty, who had already been made aware of the contents of the said petition, recommended it to them "to do therein" as they should think fit. A full account of the document has already been given above^{3.} but in our present context its substance should perhaps be repeated. It was to the effect that whereas Newcastle and Carlisle

1. P.87.

2. A remark in Newcastle General Magazine of March, 1751, that Sir Wm. Middleton presented the Petition is thus not confirmed by the official account.

3. p.p. 8 and 9.

were situated on the two principal passages from the northern to the southern parts of the kingdom, the road between them, lying as it did through thinly populated and almost uncultivated country, was frequently impassable and always inconvenient for troops and carriages. During the recent rebellion and on other occasions it had been found that the two passages could not be properly guarded without free communication between them at all times. Lack of such communication had resulted in great danger to the kingdom and since the required road could not be laid or the expense met without the aid and authority of Parliament, leave was accordingly sought to bring in a bill for the laying of a highway between the two towns.

We shall see presently that it was not considered possible even to repair the existing "road" by the normal means, and so some explanation of current practices would seem appropriate before we reach that point. In 1555, in the reign of Mary, Parliament had passed the first of a long series of Acts by which control of highways was ultimately brought under the public authorities. This Act had imposed upon each parish the duty of maintaining the roads within its boundaries under pain of heavy fine, and of appointing two persons to act as surveyors and orderers of the work of mending such roads every year. These "surveyors" might call upon inhabitants for all necessary assistance, indeed every owner of a team of horses or oxen was supposed to send it with one cart, and two able-bodied men for four consecutive days' work on the roads each year. Other residents were required to work themselves or find a

substitute for the same period and surveyors had to superintend work and arrange for the supply of gravel and stones for repairs. They had likewise to report any who failed to do their work and collect fines imposed upon the shirkers, the money thus obtained being used for the upkeep of the roads. For their unenviable task the surveyors received no salary and for failing to accept duties which might involve them in considerable expense and unpopularity, they faced the alternative of a fine of five pounds! This statute was reaffirmed by an Act of 1562 while another of 1691 imposed a road rate. In practice, however, roads remained dependent upon the system of unpaid statutory labour since this was preferred to a compulsory road rate. Labourers with teams, of course, continued to do their best to see that the animals were not fatigued while workmen deliberately idled away their time. Not without reason were they dubbed "the parish loiterers". Obviously surveyors might, through lack of skill or knowledge, be unable to see that work was done properly and so an Act of 1773 authorised paid "Surveyors of Highways". Too often the task had been left to such people as Parish overseers with the result that road-making had languished under the double burden of unskilled supervision and unwilling labour. The real trouble was that there existed no effective highway authority either local or central and the parishes, perhaps not without some justification, never really saw why they should be responsible for the upkeep of roads mainly used by travellers from a distance.

A method of making the users pay for the roads was the levying of tolls but although these had actually been authorised as early as the

fourteenth century no regular system had been introduced till the seventeenth when Turnpike Trusts were set up, each with the duty of making and repairing a certain piece of road. To pay the expenses of such work the trusts were authorised to collect tolls from users and, unpopular as the turnpikes often were, there followed in the eighteenth century a spate of road building such as had never before been witnessed. Indeed, between 1700 and 1750 some four hundred Road Acts were passed, between 1751 and 1790 some sixteen hundred.¹

When the Petition had been read it was referred to a Committee to examine and pronounce upon the "Matter of Fact" contained within it. This Committee consisted of over fifty nominated members² as well as all others who served for the six northern counties. They were to meet at five that same afternoon in the Speaker's chamber and to have power "to send for Persons, Papers and Records". Persons summoned were evidently Major General Cholmondeley, Colonel Seabright, Captain Morgan and a Mr. Thomas Sayer. The first three had all been on the ill-fated Hexham march with Wade (indeed Seabright had been one of his Aides.)

1. Trevelyan. Eng. Soc. Hist. p.382.

2. They were Sir Wm. Middleton, Mr. Charles Frederick, Lord Dupplin, Mr. Allgood, Sir John Ligonier, Mr. Earle, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Plumtre, Mr. Ridley, Lord George Sackville, Mr. Vane, Colonel Conway, Sir Wm. Blacket, Lord Bury, Mr. Wilson, Colonel Boscawen, Sir John Pennington, Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Lane, Mr. Grenville, Lord Barrington, Mr. Campbell of Calder, Mr. Fane, Mr. Jennison, Mr. West, Mr. Ellison, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Secretary at War, Lord Granby, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Barber, Sir John Mordaunt, Mr. Hardinge, Lord Downe, Mr. Comptroller, Lord Hillsborough, Sir John Cust, Mr. Mundy, Lord Hobart, Lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Lyster, Lord John Murray, Colonel Hadlane, Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Thornbagh, Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Edward Montagu, Mr. Vyner, Mr. Mellish, Mr. Lev. Gower.

and on 8th March Sir Wm. Middleton included the evidence of all four men in the course of his report from the committee to the House.

Cholmondeley had informed them

"That during the time of the late Rebellion, he marched with the Troops from Newcastle, which were ordered to Carlisle to intercept the Rebels : That on the First Day the Troops set out at Seven in the Morning, and it was Eleven at Night before they arrived at Ovingham, which is only Eight Miles from Newcastle; and the next Day they set out at the same time, and marched to Hexham, where they did not arrive till Eleven of the Clock at Night, and the Carriages did not come in till next day:

That the Distance from Newcastle to Hexham is no more than Sixteen computed Miles; and in good Road an Army will march Sixteen Miles in Eight Hours; that the reason of this Delay was the Badness of the Road, which was almost impassable for the Carriages, and quite so for Artillery." ¹.

It will be noticed that Cholmondeley disagrees with Henderson ². as to the time of departure, and, as we have already remarked, says 'Ovingham' and not 'Ovington'. He also under-estimates both distances but perhaps details had become less sharp with the passing of the years. Seabright and Morgan had both confirmed the General's observations, Seabright adding that if the road were passable for troops and carriages, an army might march from Newcastle to Carlisle in less time than they could from Edinburgh to Carlisle. ³. All three were agreed upon the importance of open communications between Newcastle and Carlisle "for the commodious Passage of Troops on any future occasion."

1. Jour. Hse. Comm. Vol.26, p.112.

2. See above, p.6.

3. The force of this remark would not be lost upon his hearers.

Sayer had informed the Committee that he was well acquainted with the road from Carlisle to Hexham, which was mostly through an open country with very few houses, not one part in ten of the said road being through inclosed grounds: that the country was rocky, mountainous and boggy and absolutely impassable both in Summer and Winter for heavy carriages; and that there were several waters in the said road which frequently overflowed and rendered it impassable.

Having heard the evidence of these four men the committee had concluded that it was impossible to repair the road by the ordinary course of law, or even by erecting turnpikes thereon,

"it being open in some parts for Twenty Miles together, so that the Payment of the Tolls might easily be evaded; but could they be collected, the Country having little Commerce, and being uncultivated, a very small Income would arise therefrom, the Inhabitants for Twenty Miles together, not being able to furnish Forty Carriages towards the Repair of the said Road; there being in some Parts no House to be seen for Ten or Twelve Miles together."

It was then ordered that the Report be referred to a Committee of Supply and when this met on 22nd April a sum not exceeding £3,000 was granted towards the cost of the road. The House, sitting as such, then heard the report and ordered that leave should be given to bring in a bill for the laying out, making and keeping in repair of a road suitable for the passage of troops and carriages between Carlisle and Newcastle, which bill Sir Wm. Middleton, Sir John Mordaunt, Mr. Allgood, Sir Walter Blacket, Sir Charles Howard, Colonel Stanwix, Mr. Ridley and Mr. Robert Ord were instructed to prepare and introduce; a further order required these same gentlemen to incorporate within the bill the resolution of the Committee of Supply. Their instructions were executed without delay for a week

later, on 29th April, Sir William presented the Bill for its First Reading and it was resolved that it be read a second time. The Bill runs to nearly forty pages but it is probably safe to assume that once local details had been settled and embodied, much of the content of such bills was largely repetitive. It could scarcely be otherwise in view of the number of Highway Acts that occupied parliamentary time at this period.

On the 3rd May,^{1.} after an uneventful Second Reading, it was ordered that the Bill should go to Committee and that this should consist of the whole House. The date arranged was a week later ("this day seven-night") and when the House had resolved itself on 10th May Lord Dupplin took the chair of the Committee. Upon the Speaker's return his lordship was able to report that they had made some progress on the Bill and that he was directed to move that they might have leave to sit again. A further session in Committee was then ordered for the following morning, Saturday, 11th May, and this took place only after an earlier attempt had, for some unspecified reason, ended in postponement. Lord Dupplin again took the chair and later, when the Speaker had resumed his place, reported from the Committee that they had gone through the Bill and made several amendments which he had been directed to report whenever it should please the House to receive them. It was ordered that this should be upon the following Monday morning and, on 13th May, Dupplin read the report in his place and then delivered the Bill with the

1. P.201, Jour. Hse. Comm., Vol.26.

amendments at the Clerk's table. Here the Report was read again and several of the amendments, after being read a second time, were agreed to by the House. There followed a pause, during which a member took his oaths, then the remainder of the amendments received a second reading and, with an alteration to one, were likewise agreed. It was then ordered that the Bill, with amendments, should be 'ingrossed'. The Third Reading took place on 16th May when one further amendment was agreed.¹ The Bill was amended at the Table and it was resolved that it should pass and that its title should be "An Act for laying out, making, and keeping in repair a Road proper for the Passage of Troops and Carriages from the City of Carlisle, to the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne." Sir William Middleton was then ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords and desire their concurrence. This was speedily forthcoming for on 22nd May, 1751, the Royal Assent was granted and in less than one month the Bill had completed all its stages and emerged as an act of the Twenty Fourth Year of George II.

Since the document is such a lengthy one we can only consider the more pertinent details. When stripped of its verbiage, the preamble echoes the general tones of the Petition emphasising that such a road could not be laid except at public cost and with the sanction of Parliament but anticipating that when finished maintenance would be recovered by the levying of tolls and duties. Next comes the list

1. The nature of amendments is not reported but in this instance a row of asterisks has been inserted as though the original intention had been otherwise. Perhaps the text was lost.

of Commissioners and Trustees for Cumberland, some three dozen being mentioned by name, and in addition the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, and the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen "for the time being", also the Chancellor and Archdeacon. They are to be responsible for

"surveying, appointing, ordering, laying out, making, and finishing so much of the said road as does or shall lie in the County of Cumberland; and for maintaining, preserving, supporting, repairing the same when made, and also for putting in execution all the Powers and Authorities in and by the Act granted and given so far as the same relate to that part of the said intended road which doth or shall lie in the County of Cumberland."

A similar charge in respect of their own County is laid upon the Commissioners for Northumberland who run to nearly four hundred names and range far and wide over the area, covering practically every family of note. ^{1.} Also to be included are the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen

and Sheriff of the Town and County of Newcastle, the Bailiffs of Morpeth and the Chamberlain of Alnwick, all "for the time being".

Next comes the general course which the road is to follow from the West Gate of Newcastle to the Scotch Gate at Carlisle; ^{2.} though, as we have already noted, the actual course between specified points is to be left to the discretion of the Commissioners.

The first meeting of the Cumberland Commissioners or any seven or more of them is to be held upon the twenty fourth of June, 1751, at the Carlisle Town Hall and that of the Northumberland Commissioners upon the same day at Newcastle Moot Hall. Thereafter they shall meet

1. For additional comment also see above p.9.

2. See above, p.28.

at the same place or any other found convenient, as often as seems necessary for putting the Act into execution. When meetings are to be re-arranged because of lack of numbers present, the new date is to be within fifteen days of the original and the Clerk shall give at least ten days' notice of the same through the medium of the Press. Commissioners shall bear their own expenses at all meetings and before acting in their official capacity must take the following oath:^{1.}

"I A.B. do swear (or being One of the People called Quakers, do solemnly declare and affirm) That I truly and bona fide have an Estate in Law or Equity, to and for my own Use and Benefit, consisting of Freehold or Copyhold Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, of the clear yearly value of One hundred Pounds, above all Reprizes."

Officers such as Treasurers, Surveyors, and Clerks are to be appointed and salaries allowed. Accounts are to be kept and presented to the Commissioners four times a year (or more often if required) and copies of accounts and contracts delivered to each House of Parliament within thirty days after the opening of every session. At this point Commissioners are made responsible for viewing lands and deciding upon the actual course of the road^{2.} which is to be no less than twenty seven feet wide wherever conditions allow.

A number of clauses follow concerning such matters as acquiring materials, making satisfaction to owners, removing annoyances in the road, digging ditches, purchasing of land and resolving of differences. These were probably usual in most Highway Acts and need not detain us though it is noteworthy that in some instances five instead of seven

1. Penalty for neglect £100. Newcastle Journal of 15th June, 1751, in reporting the oath comments, "some difference occurs in the meaning of the words 'all Reprizes' which in their literal sense specify all manner of deductions or drawbacks. Mr. Jacob in his Law Dictionary confines Reprizes to Rent Charges, Annuities, etc. upon manors or lands. But whether a person ought to swear according to Law or Reason is left to the determination of the parties concerned."
2. A highly relevant consideration in apportioning blame for the utilisation of the Wall in the eastern sector.

be inferred from the contracts that were placed, or from ensuing press notices and the like. With Cumberland the case is different for the minutes of many meetings do exist and were found with the accounts in the House of Lords Record Office. We know, therefore, that at their meeting of 24th June twenty three Cumberland Commissioners were present of whom twenty were sworn that day and the remainder at subsequent dates. It was resolved that the offices of Clerk and Treasurer should be combined and that George Pattinson should be appointed at a salary of twenty pounds a year. ^{1.} The same meeting appointed Mr. Richard Waller as Surveyor at a salary of forty pounds a year and ordered the newly appointed Treasurer to send for twenty five copies of the Act for the use of Commissioners. The meeting was then adjourned till nine o'clock the following day when only eleven of the Commissioners met at the Bush in Carlisle and resolved,

"That the making of the Road do begin at John Bowsteads house at Stanwix bank. That it be Carried the whole way in as streight (thus) a Direction as the ground will admitt. That it go along the lane to Luke Fishes, Thence thro' Widow Bell's Close by Draw Dikes, thro Draw Dikes Grounds to the Wood bridge near Lancelot Clemisons from thence thro Mr. Hoskins Ground to the 2 ashes in Crosby Lane by High Crosby, from High Crosby over Newby Moor to the River Irthing at theFord near Ruleholme."

It was further resolved to advertise in the Newcastle papers that the road would be contracted for by the mile and that Mr. Waller would attend those willing to undertake. ^{2.} They were to deliver their

1. Mr. Alderman Blamire was his guarantor.
2. No mention is made of any proposals received in time for the meeting of the 24th June.

proposals, sealed, to George Pattinson and attend a meeting on Tuesday, 16th July, at the Bush in Carlisle. Similar conditions would apply to any persons willing to build a bridge over the Mill beck in Draw Dikes Field, the bridge to be six yards wide and each end to be as wide as the road. The meeting was then adjourned till ten o'clock on Tuesday, 16th July, at the Bush, the house of Esther Pattinson.

The notice appeared in Newcastle Courant on 29th June and at the ensuing meeting on 16th July it was decided to contract for the making of the road with John Byers, Thos. Hetherington, Isaac Byers, John Byers younger, and Benjamin Byers. The Treasurer was to pay them from time to time such sums of money as the Surveyor should certify as due to them and to provide them with such tools and barrows as he (the Surveyor) should consider necessary. In the ensuing agreement of the same date the Rev. John Waugh, the Rev. Robert Graham, Henry Aglionby, Joseph Dacre, Mountague Ferrer, William Millbourne, the Rev. William N. Jackson, John Brown and Jos. Nicolson represented the Cumberland Commissioners. Work from Bowstead's house to the two ash trees at the end of Parkbroom Lane leading to Low Crosby was to be completed by 25th December. The width of the road was to be twenty seven feet from ditch to ditch and the stone work in the middle twenty feet wide. The latter was also to be fifteen inches thick in the centre, tapering to five inches at the edges, the size of stones to be decided by the Surveyor, and the whole to be gravelled and made to the satisfaction of the Surveyor and seven commissioners. The contractors were also to make the ditches a yard wide, or as

directed by the Surveyor, and to be responsible for maintaining the road for one year. Payment was to be at the rate of twelve shillings for every seven yards, and, as no reference is made to the retention of any part of that sum pending completion of work, the terms agreed were more generous than proved to be the case in Northumberland. Even so, minutes of the next meeting reveal that the rate of twelve shillings was probably not arrived at without keen bargaining. The document was then signed and sealed by the partners (all of whom apparently came from Yorkshire) in the presence of Pattinson and Waller.

The next meeting was arranged for Thursday, 18th July, when seven commissioners were present ^{1.} and it was ordered that money granted by Parliament should be deposited with Sir Richard Hoare and Company, Bankers in London, and paid to the Treasurer as and when directed by the written order of seven or more commissioners. It was further ordered that the Clerk should, in accordance with the Act, serve notice in writing to all owners of ground through which the road was to pass requiring them to attend the next meeting on Monday, 12th August, to contract for the sale of as much ground as it might be necessary to purchase. It was also placed on record that all the Commissioners present when the contract with Byers and the others was made had agreed that if the latter appeared to have a bad or losing bargain at twelve shillings a rood the matter would be further considered upon completion

1. Sir Philip Musgrave,
Dr. John Waugh
Henry Aglionby, Senr. Esq.
Mountague Ferrer, Esq.

Rev. Mr. Graham.
Mr. Joseph Nicolson
Will. Millbourne, Esq.

of the road so that the contractors might have a reasonable satisfaction. This had been occasioned by the fact that "the Persons who came out of Yorkshire to Contract for the Making of the Road" had combined and demanded what was considered to be the exorbitant price of twenty shillings per rood.^{1.} In bringing them down to twelve the commissioners had evidently been obliged to make some such concession. The meeting was then adjourned to the date already stated.

To pursue the Minutes of the Cumberland Commissioners much further would obviously be to exceed the limits of the present study but it is interesting to note that at the next meeting (12th Aug.) the nine commissioners present occupied themselves with an authorisation to the London banker, Sir Richard Hoare, to receive the sum of one thousand pounds on their behalf from the Treasury and a request to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to pay the said sum to Hoare. Another request was addressed to George Irton, High Sheriff of Cumberland, desiring him to empanel a jury of twenty four to appear before the Commissioners "at the house of Esther Pattinson at the sign of the Bush" on Saturday 17th Aug.^{2.} Yet another was to Hoare to pay five hundred pounds, after receipt of the thousand, to George Pattinson, the Clerk and Treasurer. A footnote, however, dated 9th Sept. states that Sir Richard has refused to be concerned in receiving the money

1. According to the Shorter Oxford Eng. Dict. a rood might vary locally from 6 to 8 yards. These minutes show that the Cumberland Commissioners regarded it as 7 yards.
2. When required they would value land through which the road passed, as indicated above.

and that Mr. Gislingham Cooper of the Strand is appointed by the Commissioners in his stead. Not until the same date was the matter of the bridge over the Mill beck settled when Richard Bell, Arch. Thompson, and Jos. Robinson undertook to erect the same for forty six pounds.

At the Newcastle end of the proposed road events had moved at a brisk pace and at the meeting held on 24th June agreement was evidently reached with four men regarding the laying of the road, though the contract was not signed until 2nd November. The agreement was between William Biggs, George Delavel, Robert Shaftoe, Gawen Aynsley, John Blackett, Joshua Douglas, and Edward Ward for the Commissioners and Christopher Lightfoot of Morton¹. Hall in Yorkshire, Thomas Lightfoot of Groatham Bridge in the same County, James Paul of Rookby². also in Yorkshire and Robert Rowntree of Gainsforth³. in County Durham, whereby Christopher Lightfoot and his partners would make the road from Newcastle as far as Cumberland. The specification was much the same as for Cumberland except in one detail and this would partly account for the wide margin between the two agreed prices per rood. As in Cumberland, and indeed as the Act required, the road was to be twenty seven feet broad from ditch to ditch⁴. but the stone work was only to be sixteen feet in width as against twenty in Cumberland, though the thickness was again to be fifteen inches at the crown declining to five inches at the extremities. From Newcastle to East Denton

1. Perhaps Morton near Northallerton.
2. Possibly Rokeby, 3 mls. S.E. of Barnard Castle.
3. Probably Gainford between Barnard Castle and Darlington.
4. Both authorities interpret the statutory width as being from ditch to ditch.

the road was to be covered with three inches of "proper gravell" and likewise thereafter when gravel could be obtained within a distance of one and a quarter miles. Where it could not, then "best quarry rubbish" or other materials available within the distance specified might be used at the Surveyor's discretion. Stones were to be laid at three different times in three proportionable courses with each course broken small^{1.} and as the Surveyor should direct. For so laying the road and keeping it in repair for three years the contractors were to receive the sum of eight shillings for every rood! Payment would be made when completed work had been measured and certified by the Surveyor and even then sixpence per rood would be retained for three years and only paid upon the satisfactory discharge of all the articles of agreement. To make easier the "passage of Artillery, Heavy Carriages and other Carriages" a further sum of fifty two pounds ten shillings was to be paid for adjustment to the gradient of Benwell Hill in accordance with a plan^{2.} accompanying the contract.

Agreement on these matters had evidently been verbal in the first place since the document, as already stated, is dated 2nd Nov. 1751 and was signed by Christopher Lightfoot in the presence of John Tweddell, clerk to the commissioners. On the same day Lightfoot

1. Evidently consciences were not over tender where the remains of the Wall could be utilised as a ready-laid foundation!
2. Since construction of the road is intended to form the subject of a subsequent study it is not proposed to introduce plans at this stage.

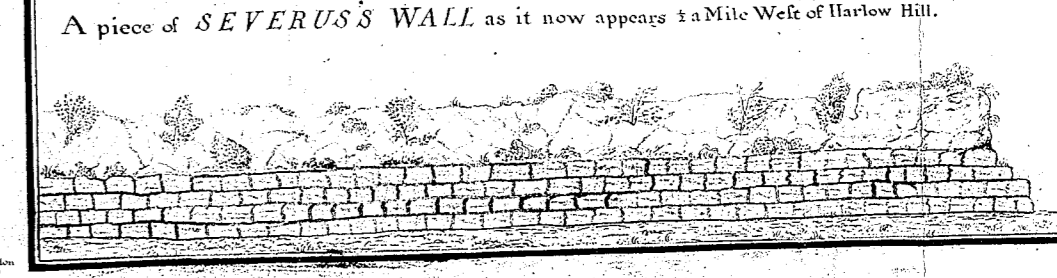
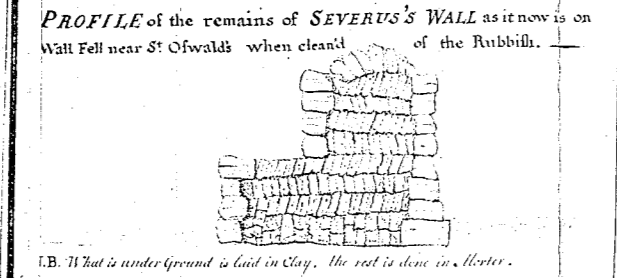
received £300 "on account" for work already done. ^{1.} Also signed that day in the presence of Tweddell and John Brown the surveyor, was an agreement by Thomas Layburn of Wolsingham and William Wheatley of Lanchester ^{2.} to build two bridges, one over Newburn Dean (thus) and the other over Denton Dean and though this matter somewhat anticipates events it is none-the-less of importance in revealing the name of the Surveyor. As the notice in the Courant announcing the meeting of the Northumberland Commissioners on June 24th is signed by Cuthbertson, Deputy Clerk of the Peace, and a notice in the issue of July 6th. 1751, convening a meeting of trustees on special affairs appears over the name of John Tweddle (probably a printer's error since the name is spelled 'Tweddell' in the accounts and in other notices) it is reasonable to assume that Tweddell and Brown had been appointed (as were their Cumberland colleagues) at the first meeting. Indeed the assumption is strengthened by a notice which appeared in the Newcastle Journal of the week June 8th-15th and headed "Hexham, June 12th 1751". It was signed by Edward Roberts who draws attention to the first meeting of the trustees fixed for June 24th and, "apprehending" that the Commissioners will appoint some person to be their Clerk and Treasurer, offers himself as a candidate and begs the favour of the trustees who shall be pleased to appear on

1. If we deduct £50.10. 0. from this sum then the remainder at $\frac{7}{6}$ per rood represents about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of completed road, or roughly the distance from the Westgate to the neighbourhood of Benwell Hill.
2. The same seven persons again represented the Northumberland commissioners.

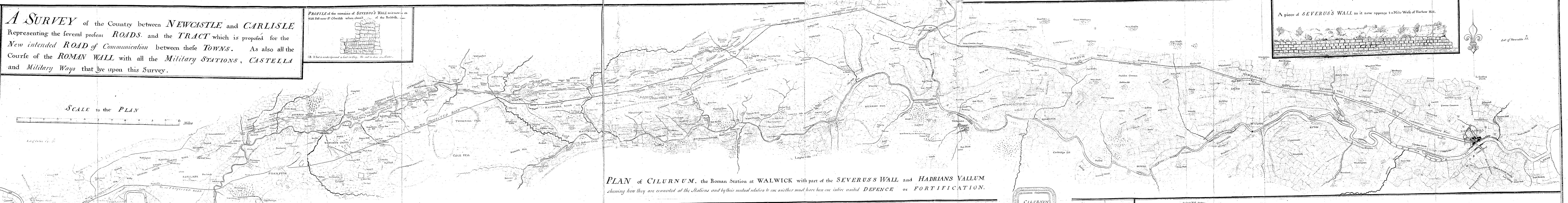
that occasion! His appeal failed to have the desired effect for Tweddell, as the accounts make clear, combined the offices of Clerk and Treasurer and though little as yet appears to be known about him the same is not true of Brown. We have already seen above (p.34) how his address of "Kirkharle" provided the clue to his identity as elder brother of "Capability" and how he held this appointment until 1757.

With mention of Tweddell and Brown's appointments our present study really terminates. The petition for a road from Newcastle to Carlisle had been successful. The survey had been made, the Act passed, the money granted, the commissioners named, the officials appointed and the "undertakers" engaged. At the Newcastle end, as that month's issue of the General Magazine reported, construction of the road began on 8th July, 1751.

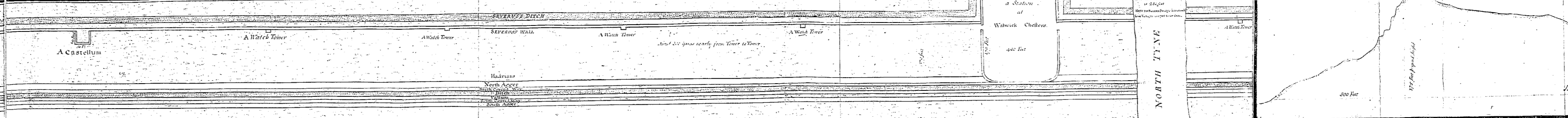
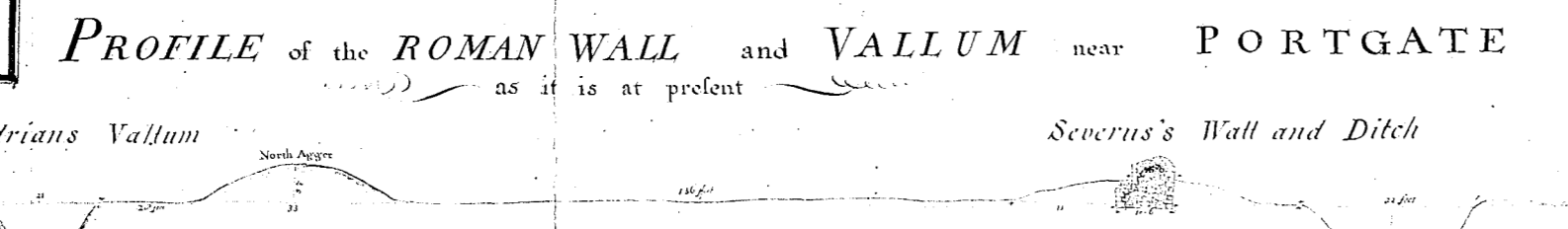
A SURVEY of the Country between **NEWCASTLE** and **CARLISLE**
 Representing the several present **ROADS**, and the **TRACT** which is proposed for the
New intended ROAD of Communication between these **TOWNS**. As also all the
 Course of the **ROMAN WALL** with all the **Military STATIONS**, **CASTELLA**
 and **Military Ways** that lye upon this Survey.



SCALE to the PLAN



PLAN of **CILURNUM**, the Roman Station at **WALWICK** with part of the **SEVERUS'S WALL** and **HADRIAN'S VALLUM**
 showing how they are connected at the Stations and by their mutual relation to one another must have been one intire united **DEFENCE** or **FORTIFICATION**.



Lat. of Newcastle 55.