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HENRY QUAYLE: A GEORGIAN 'STONECUTTER' AND HIS WORK

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There have been many studies of individual eighteenth-century gravestone-carvers in North America, where over a hundred have been identified.¹ Frederick Burgess, in what is still the standard work on English grave monuments,² devotes part of a chapter to English stonecutters, but there is still a dearth of detailed published research on individual makers this side of the Atlantic.³ The identification of a British cutter and a detailed exploration of his work is therefore significant. This article identifies an early Georgian stonecutter, Henry Quayle. It explores what his craft entailed, what his social and financial position was, and the extent and nature of his œuvre. It looks at the iconography of his work and goes on to consider how far the funerary side of it was part of, or indeed brought about, a distinct regional school of gravestone architecture.

Henry Quayle spent most of his career at Castletown (Fig. 1), then the capital of the Isle of Man. His parentage is obscure, although his is a common local surname. No baptism can be identified, but he married Christian Gelling at Malew Church on 5 May 1713; she was then about thirty,⁴ and so he was probably around the same age. They had at least five children.⁵ Deed evidence shows that in the early 1720s they were living in Mill Street in Castletown, where they owned two houses. In 1719 they sold the one they were not living in for £4, and in 1727 the other for £19.⁶ We know from Christian's will⁷ that by the time of her death in 1758⁸ they were living in West Street (now Arbory Street) in a new quarter of the town. Some at least of the West

Street property seems to have been inherited from her family.⁹

No apprenticeship records survive in the Isle of Man, but Quayle presumably had some sort of training as a mason as we find him in a number of entries between 1712 and 1719 as one of a group paid by Lord Derby's officials for minor masonry work including quarrying.¹⁰ By the time of the Castletown census of 1757,¹¹ however, he had changed or developed his career and was described as a stonecutter.

STONECUTTERS

What in fact was a stonecutter? The term is commonly used in the Isle of Man and elsewhere in the Georgian period.¹² It appears on monuments (referring to the subject, not the executant) and, as we have seen, in the census, where it is differentiated from a mason. Burgess uses the term interchangeably with others and does not define it. He identifies seven types of craftsmen producing monumental carving in the Vale of Belvoir, including 'the town statuary whose repertoire consisted of interior tombs and tablets, mantel-pieces and other decorative carving', 'the village craftsman whose main trade was churchyard headstones and monuments', 'the quarry-owner. . . who exercised control over the. . . pits and also made monuments', and 'casual work on the part of schoolmasters. . . or other[s], who engraved a few tombstones mainly for pocket-money or recreation'.¹³ Quayle can be said to have performed the function of the first two; the communal nature of



Fig. 1. Castletown in the eighteenth century. Mill Street, where Quayle lived when he was younger, is up the river, just out of the picture to the right; West Street, where he lived later, is behind the castle.

Detail from a view by S Hooper 1775, in Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales.

quarrying in the Isle of Man meant there was no quarry-owner as such,¹⁴ and there is no evidence of his following other occupations.

The best account of how an eighteenth-century gravestone was actually made is given by Benes.¹⁵ The cutter prised the stone out of the quarry, shaped one end and smoothed the front surface using a harder stone. He sketched in his design with compass and dividers and carved it out with a chisel and other tools. He again used a hammer and chisel for the lettering, carving the serifs first.

The inventory of Quayle's estate lists the tools of his trade.¹⁶ There are '9 Chissells, a Cumpers [compass] and 2 Hammers' and, separately, '8 Chissells'. The chisels were presumably of different sizes to produce different effects. There are also '2 Iron Crows' and a 'Small Stooone at the Quarry', suggesting that he at least selected his stones there, and perhaps extracted them as well. The quarry is not identified but it will have been one of the limestone quarries in the Castletown/Ballasalla area. The stone used for building and for gravestones

comes in pronounced layers which were stripped off in turn; many were on the shore. It could be roughly dressed but was never, it seems, used in the period as ashlar; much building with it was random. For his normal work a mason would not therefore need to be able to dress or carve stone, and it appears that it was the ability to do this that differentiated the stonecutter.

There was also another littoral quarry at Pooilvaish which produced a darker but much more friable limestone which could be polished black and was generally used only for internal or purely decorative work. At Arbory church, about three miles west of Castletown, rebuilt in 1757–59, it was used for the chancel steps and the pinnacles on the four corners of the church which Quayle and his neighbour,¹⁷ Thomas Radcliffe, a mason, were paid for dressing.¹⁸ It was also used for chimneypieces, and some of these were exported;¹⁹ as we have seen, stonecutters elsewhere carved chimneypieces, and it seems not unlikely that this may have been a source of work for Quayle, but no study has yet been made of whether any from the period survive in the locality.

A NEW CAREER

Quayle seems to have first become a stonecutter in the mid-1720s. In 1724 the family travelled off the Island, ‘having now’, according to a deed by which they borrowed money for the journey, ‘occasions and concerns which call us out of this Island to live in another Country’.²⁰ We do not know where they went or for how long, but they must have been back by the time of their son John’s death at the age of two the next year,²¹ unless of course he had been left behind. It was intended to be a stay of some length, not just a short business trip, as Mrs Quayle was going (the deed is emphatically in the plural, and their mortgagee was given the right to live in their house while they were away). However they did not sell the house and so were presumably planning to return.

Money had first been borrowed four years before (for repayment five years thence) and so the journey could have been in connection with some long-term venture. The export of local stone for flooring or tombstones, sporadic under Queen Anne, became more frequent in the years 1710–22 (after which there is, frustratingly, a break in the records).²² Perhaps Quayle was involved in this. If so, it must at least initially have been in a subordinate capacity, as his name does not appear as a consignor of stone for export in the period 1717–22. The main exporter was a London mason called Thomas Allen who came to the Island about 1717,²³ and left sometime before the death of his wife ‘who was grievously burnt with gunpowder on St Stephen’s Day’ 1724.²⁴ Mrs Allen’s demise brought forth a good number of creditors, and so Allen may have been staying away to avoid taking responsibility for trading debts (there was ‘no appearance or probability of his return’).

Can one postulate that Quayle was involved in this export business and went to London to see Allen, either at the latter’s request or to track him down? The business appears effectively to have folded, and after the mid 1720s at the latest there was no serious export of ledger-stones from the Island.

It seems likely that while he was away Quayle



Fig. 2. The gravestone of John Quayle in Malew Churchyard. *Jonathan Kewley.*

learned new skills, as on his return he produced the surviving headstone to his son John in the churchyard at Malew (the parish church of Castletown) (Fig. 2). There is no documentary evidence that it is his work, but it seems reasonable to assume that he would have carved his own son’s memorial and that he would have made it something special, no doubt out of fatherly affection, but perhaps, too, as a showcase for his talents, for in the local context it was something quite special.

The post-Reformation use of graveyard monuments in the Isle of Man had begun in the second quarter of the seventeenth century (thus as early as in Scotland,²⁵ and earlier than in many parts of England). However, it had not developed, and by the accession of George I, Manx funerary art was distinctly backward, usually rude lettering on roughly-shaped slate. It is therefore a surprise to find at a not much later date the John Quayle stone which has many elements which would not have been out of place in the more advanced parts of England at the time.

The inscription is on a plain rectangular tablet



Fig. 3. An eroded headstone in Bunhill Fields with a similar outline to John Quayle. *Jonathan Kewley.*

which forms the entire lower two-thirds. The top third is carved in relief with an outline strongly shaped, the top a double (segmental) hood and the sides concave and scrolling back at the lower end. The valley in the centre of the double hood is partly filled with a small segmental-headed feature; it is difficult to see if it ever bore any carving. In the centre of the main top section is an angel's or cherub's head, without wings. The space on each side, extending into the hoods, is fluted, largely vertically but to an extent, at the top, following the line of the hoods in such a way as conceivably to suggest the wings of the angel. There appears to be some foliage in relief across the dexter 'wing'.

To those familiar with contemporary gravestones in other parts of the country, two things are immediately striking. The first is the presence of the ubiquitous angel's or cherub's head. The second, however, is the extent to which it is a London design with the shape of the stone a key feature. In the Stone Belt, what more usually mattered was the carving in high relief all over the face of the stone, the

overall shape of which was often amorphously but unemphatically rectangular; if there was any shaping to the top, it was only because one of the carved figures escaped above the line.²⁶ The distinct outline of the John Quayle stone, in contrast, seems to have been the standard design, or at least one of the commonest designs, in the London area, where many memorials were of Portland stone – a limestone just like the Castletown stone used at Malew. This suggests that it was to London, or at least south-east England, that Quayle travelled.

Most London churchyards have been destroyed, but many of the oldest stones at the two best survivors from the period, Hampstead and Bunhill Fields,²⁷ (Fig. 3) are variants of this shape. Examples outside the capital include some in Suffolk, at Bury St Edmunds, Clare and Lavenham; one at Northfleet, Kent, illustrated by Batsford, is quite a good match and includes a scallop shell over the cherub's head.²⁸ The shape is also known in North America.²⁹

SUBSEQUENT WORKS

While John Quayle's stone cannot be more than a very strong attribution, the accounts from the rebuilding of Arbory Church give us documentary proof for Henry Quayle's authorship of one work, for he is paid for lettering a stone 'to ye Memory of our Benefactors'.³⁰ It survives, although now painted white and behind glass in what has become a lavatory. It is entirely plain, with no ornament. An account from 1797 describes the lettering as then being gilt (and the stone itself will have been polished black).³¹

It is worthwhile comparing the lettering on it with that on the John Quayle stone. The inscription on the latter is vigorous and well laid-out, but not sophisticated. There are very few narrow strokes, the lower-case r being just a slightly concave upright with a tear-shaped horizontal. The figure 2 is distinctive, with the hook to the left of the rest of the

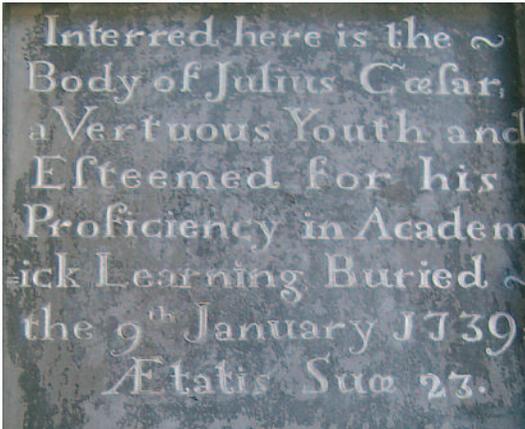


Fig. 4. The inscription panel on the memorial to Julius Cæsar in Malew Church, Isle of Man.

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letter, as though the whole thing is falling to the left; it may indicate that the curve has been drawn with the aid of compasses, although some writing-masters advocated such a form too.³² 1 and 7 are in the form common in the North of England with both ending in curves like a J.³³

By the time of the Arbory stone, Quayle’s skill has increased.³⁴ Many of the letters are very similar, but they have become more refined, often with narrower strokes, and the last paragraph is an attempt at a

script. There are more than three decades between the two stones. Can anything else be attributed to him in that period? In the absence of documentary evidence, stylistic considerations must focus on overall design (in other words, any headstones looking like John Quayle’s) and on lettering – almost entirely on the latter for mural monuments and ledger-stones where variation of outline did not occur. Road transport was very bad in the Isle of Man at the time and so it is likely Quayle’s work would be in the south, or somewhere a stone could be sent by sea – unless of course he travelled to work on site. There were other contemporaries described as stonecutters,³⁵ so there cannot be automatic attribution of anything within the period and locality. We also know that many stones from the period have been lost.³⁶ No eighteenth-century Manx stone appears to be signed – but perhaps signatures were unnecessary in a small community.³⁷

The first candidate to present itself is no more than a few yards from John Quayle. Inside Malew Church is a mural memorial to a student at the Academick School, one Julius Cæsar (d.1739). The frame is wooden but the central tablet (Fig. 4) is stone (probably Poolvaish) and the lettering has strong similarities to John Quayle, notably the figure 2. There are also some flourishes – a fishtail to the top



Fig. 5. The carving at the top of the memorial to Henry Clucas (d.1732) in Marown Old Church, Isle of Man.

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Fig. 6. Detail of the gravestone of the Rev Edward Moore (d.1751) in Malew Churchyard. *Jonathan Kewley.*

of the J for Julius, a shepherd's-crook whorl at the top of the f in Proficiency, two little scrolls filling in gaps, and another scroll at the top of the c in Cæsar – perhaps a sign of developing confidence.

A few miles to the north-east another Academick student, Henry Clucas, had been buried seven years earlier and a mural tablet erected in what is now Marown Old Church. The lettering is very similar to both John Quayle and Cæsar, with again the distinctive 2, but no flourishes this time. Here, however, there is not just an inscription but also a head carved in relief (Fig. 5). It is an angel or winged soul, the head very round and the features quite crudely but effectively modelled, with strong brows and with hair parted in the centre and coming down over where the ears would be – a typical Georgian male hairstyle. The face is expressionless. The wings are well-carved, coming right round under the chin; the top from which the feathers depend is almost braided. It is not easy to compare it to the John Quayle stone as the latter is badly weathered, but the mouth, nose and deep-set eyes bear some similarities.

There are five-pointed stars at each of the top corners of the Clucas memorial, and these are also found on a ledger-stone in Malew Church to a wealthy maltster's wife, Jane Livingstone (d.1752), where they are coupled with a spray of foliage and a disc (the moon?). One other work can be added to the group, the gravestone of the Rev. Edward Moore (d.1751), also at Malew; it was recorded in 1797,³⁸ but was then lost until discovered by the author in

2010,³⁹ built into an early-nineteenth century vault. The lettering seems to be Quayle's, with little scroll spacefillers like those at Arbory. The very top has broken off, and it is thus unclear what the termination originally was; it does not look as though it was bifurcated. It has scroll shoulders like John Quayle, but instead of the angel, the central motif, carved in bas relief, is a bird between two branches (Fig. 6) – very like the foliage on the Livingstone ledger-stone.

It seems not unreasonable to attribute all four of these to Quayle. Notably, however, only one is a headstone. The further development of this type of monument on the Isle of Man comes in the north-west, with two in Michael churchyard; their relationship to Henry Quayle's work needs to be considered. They are clearly both from the same hand. The later, to Mary Moore (d.1749) (Fig. 7), has much in common with the John Quayle stone. It has the same double hood, the same concave sides to the top and the same little scrolls forming shoulders above the tablet. There is also again what one might call a modesty panel in the cleavage of the hood, here in the form of a scallop shell. However, the cresting is much shorter and there is no cherub. Instead the verticals have become more dominant (or are better preserved); they provide the background for a central, downward-flying dove between two sprays of olive or laurel. There is a prominent quirk down each side of the body of the stone, creating more of the effect of a tablet for the inscription.



Fig. 7 (left). The gravestone of Mary Moore (d.1749) in Michael Churchyard, Isle of Man. *Jonathan Kewley.*

Fig. 8 (right). The gravestone of John Riddyard (d.1738) in Michael Churchyard. *Jonathan Kewley.*

Within Michael parish is Bishopscourt, the old episcopal palace, and the other stone (Fig. 8) is to one of the bishop's servants, John Riddyard (d.1738). It is simpler than Mary Moore, but of the same stone and with similar lettering. There is a double hood with a scallop shell between the segments, but no concave side, and there are simple shoulders in place of the scrolls. Each half of the hood is carved out and bears a five-pointed star in relief, its face at the level of the surface of the stone. It is a more masculine effect, and the simplicity would no doubt have been seen as more suitable for a servant.

The lettering of the two Michael stones contrasts with Quayle's earlier work, such as his son's stone and Caesar. It is not, however, incompatible with his later, narrower-lettered style. The ampersand, falling backwards, is very similar to that he uses at Arbory. Having the names all in upper case is paralleled on John Quayle's stone, where they are much less elegant, and on the Livingstone ledgerstone, where they are more like these. Here they add substantially to the refinement of the designs. More confidence in

an attribution may be given by the carving, especially the reeding on Mary Moore so like that on John Quayle, and also the stars on Riddyard as on Clucas and Livingstone. The stone (which appears not to be Manx) seems from the crispness of the carving today to have been harder than Castletown limestone, and this may have affected the quality of the lettering.⁴⁰ There is also a link of patronage – Mary Moore was the wife of Edward whose (later) memorial has already here been attributed to Quayle.

ICONOGRAPHY

Ludwig has separated eighteenth-century monuments into the Baroque and the vernacular.⁴¹ The former was dominant in south-east England when Quayle may have been there, and it is the style of his work, both in outline-shape and in detail, if one makes allowances for a local carver's response to what he had seen but did not have the technical skills to reproduce exactly.⁴²

The most strongly vernacular feature is the winged head on Clucas; it is distinctly an adult face, and thus removed from the cherub-faces of southern England (and closer to those of North America and Scotland).⁴³ The question of the extent to which these winged figures on both sides of the Atlantic might be intended as representations of the deceased remains a vexed one, although the features of the angels on a number of African-American graves at the Common Burying Ground at Newport, Rhode Island, seems persuasive that they can be;⁴⁴ even more obviously, one stone of c.1760 in the Old Burying Ground at Lexington, Massachusetts, illustrated by Duval and Rigby,⁴⁵ bears a portrait in Georgian dress within a frame borne aloft on angels' wings. One must at least consider the possibility that the face on the Clucas monument is intended as that of the dead youth.

The most remarkable symbol on any of Quayle's stones is the dove on Mary Moore's. While birds are not unknown on eighteenth-century gravestones, this one is flying downwards, in other words it is the customary representation of the Holy Ghost in Trinitarian iconography (Fig 9). Such a contravention of the usual contemporary prohibition of any potentially idolatrous image of a person of the

Trinity is highly unusual and suggests a deliberate instruction from the clerical widower rather than an artistic essay by the carver. It must also have been approved by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, in whose parish churchyard it was erected. This was Thomas Wilson, posthumously celebrated by the Oxford Movement; what it says about his views on appropriate funerary monumentalisation deserves more detailed appraisal.

The bird Quayle used on Edward Moore's stone and the sprig on Livingstone probably derive from Mary Moore. The only other symbols he uses – stars and a scallop shell – are unobjectionable, the latter common in eighteenth-century plastic art, the former a frequent folk motif and an easy way to fill a corner.

STATUS AND FINANCIAL POSITION

The administration papers of 'Henry Quayle stonemason' show that he died intestate on 30 August 1765.⁴⁶ His two surviving sons, Thomas and Henry, and his daughter Christian were appointed administrators. His effects were, in the usual way, valued by a jury, and amounted in total to £3.12.10. '3 Old Wigs' and '3 pare of Stockings' to go with two



Fig. 9. Detail of the dove on Mary Moore's gravestone. *Jonathan Kewley*.



Fig. 10. A crouching gravestone with foliate ornament: that of James Clague (d.1764) in Marown Old Churchyard, Isle of Man. *Jonathan Kewley*.

sets of ‘Coat, Waistcoat and Breeches’ and ‘1 Big Coat’ suggest a level of respectability. Eight years beforehand the census had shown him and his wife living by themselves, without servants. By the time of his death he may, as a widower, have been living in lodgings or with a member of his family as there are very few domestic utensils or items of furniture, although there are ‘2 Books’. We know from various deeds he signed that he was literate, as indeed a letterer in practice had to be. He is always just ‘Henry Quayle’ and never receives the ‘Mr’ of a gentleman.

The Arbory accounts give us a glimpse of his charges and let us reconstruct his finances a little. He was paid £1.6s.3d. for lettering the benefaction stone (it was supplied by another stonecutter). This works out at approximately three farthings a letter, which may be compared to a penny a letter in Sussex,⁴⁸ and a penny or twopence a letter in Massachusetts.⁴⁹ Benes worked out that the average charge for a finished stone in Plymouth County, Mass., was £2.⁵⁰ We have no such figures for the Isle of Man, but we do have a note of the cost of having a gravestone made in Whitehaven in 1756, which was £1.1s.8d.⁵¹ Burgess has some Sussex figures from the reign of

George I which are more difficult to interpret as they are per square foot, but if that includes the portion below ground and we assume a stone is say five feet high and two wide, that would imply somewhere between £1.1s.8d and £1.17s.6d. without lettering.⁵²

A list of memorials compiled in 1797⁵³ shows some 193 with dates of death in the period 1725–1765 – the period when we may assume Quayle to have been active – in the churchyards where stones were usually of Castletown limestone.⁵⁴ As there were other contemporary stonecutters in the area (as we know from the census and other records), it would seem unlikely that more than say two-thirds at the very most would have been by Quayle. This means no more than 129 over a forty-year period, or six a year.⁵⁵

Benes cites one Nathaniel Fuller who made a profit of about £67 in 1738 from gravestone work, and perhaps another £40–£50 from mason’s work. He calculated that if a gravestone-maker secured a minimum of fifteen to twenty commissions a year, he would earn more than a schoolmaster but less than a minister.⁵⁶ Burgess comes to a tentative conclusion of a wage of about £40 a year for a skilled craftsman.⁵⁷ For an inscription of 72 letters (a reasonable length)



Fig. 11. A swan gravestone: that of William Corkhill (d.1805) in the churchyard of Old Kirk Braddan, Isle of Man. *Jonathan Kewley.*

at three farthings a letter, Quayle's charges would have been 4s.6d. If we assume, taking approximate averages from the parallels in Whitehaven, Sussex and Massachusetts, that he would have charged a further 30s. for supplying and dressing the stone, his total bill would have been something like £1.14s.6d. for each stone. At six a year, this would be £10.7s. in all. Taking Benes' points of reference, this was a lot less than a minister earned, but considerably more than Manx petty schoolmasters, who received about £3 a year.⁵⁸ His financial position would not therefore be out of line with his New England contemporaries; further studies in the British Isles may allow more comparisons.

LEGACY: THE MANX TRADITION

If we can establish Quayle as the author, in his son's memorial, of the first stone of its type in the Isle of Man, it means he was the founder of a distinct school of monumental design which dominated the south at least of the Isle of Man for the ensuing century. Some simplification occurred, rather as on the Riddyard

stone, to produce the 'Crouchback' type (Fig 10), subsequently refined to the more elegant 'Swan' pattern.⁵⁹ (Fig 11) Both have two curved elements, shallow segments in the former and the outline of a swan-necked pediment in the latter. What defines them both, however, is that they invariably have, in the space between the two curves, a small round patera bearing one of a range of designs.

Henry Quayle's career, however sketchily we can reconstruct it, is important both as an example of one in an area of the British Isles where no craftsmen have hitherto been individually identified, and also as that of an individual stonecutter of a type common in North America but not yet properly studied in Britain; more need to be identified, studied, and compared. His is also an example, if an unusual one, of the dissemination of styles and skills from London in the half-century or so after the Great Fire. He produced the most significant sculptural works of his day in the locality, and he appears to have been the principal progenitor of a school of monumental design which dominated the area for half a century after his death. It would be interesting to see studies of his counterparts elsewhere in the country.

NOTES

- 1 There is a convenient list in Francis Y. Duval and Ivan B. Rigby, *Early American Gravestone Art in Photographs* (1978). The seminal work was Harriette M. Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men who Made them 1653–1800* (1927).
- 2 *English Churchyard Memorials* (Cambridge, 1963).
- 3 Albert Herbert, ‘Swithland Slate Headstones’, *Transactions of Leics Archaeological Society*, 22(3) (1944), pp. 215–40 lists some fifteen as active in the eighteenth century, but with no further details of them as individuals; some of the careers seem too long to be one person rather than two or more generations.
- 4 Her now-lost headstone said she died on 17 March 1758 aged 75; John Feltham, *Memorials of ‘God’s Acre’*, (Manx Society, Vol. XIV, Douglas 1868). The only entry in the Malew Baptismal Register in her name is for 23 December 1677, so she may have been a little older than she claimed.
- 5 The dates of their christenings are: Christian in 1717, Eleanor in 1720, John in 1723, Thomas in 1726 and Henry in 1730 (Malew Baptismal Register).
- 6 Manx Museum Library, Douglas, Isle of Man (hereafter MML), SSS No 2 (OD)/77; SSS May 1728/64.
- 7 MML, Archidiaconal Will 1758, Book 2 no 47.
- 8 Buried on 20 March (Malew Burial Registers, Isle of Man Family History Society transcription).
- 9 MML, SSS Oct 1728/20; Episcopal will 1729/2 Rushen; Liber Vastarum 1733 (Scarlet tree).
- 10 MML, Castle Rushen Papers, Castle Rushen Disbursements 6782, transcription by Rosalie Stott, published on www.manxnotebook.com, accessed 12 January 2011 (his lordship was the Earl of Derby).
- 11 This was carried out by the church authorities; it is available on www.manxroots.com.
- 12 Other names were gravers or engravers: Peter Benes, *Masks of Orthodoxy – Gravestone Carving in Plymouth Co., Mass., 1689–1805* (Amherst, Mass., 1977).
- 13 *Op. cit.*, p. 257.
- 14 Under the terms of the Manx Act of Settlement of 1704 everyone was entitled to quarry stone for his own use, subject to payment of a ‘moderate and reasonable’ sum to the landowner: J. Frederick Gill (ed.), *The Statute Laws of the Isle of Man 1417–1824*, I (London, 1883) p.175. The extent that this gave *carte blanche* to commercial users, such as stonecutters or lime-burners, was a subject of much future dispute.
- 15 *Op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 16 MML, Episcopal 1766/1 Malew.
- 17 According to the 1757 census.
- 18 MML, Arbory Red File. The pinnacles (in fact simple stones of triangular section with the tops squared off) were taken down in 1935 but one survives, loose, outside the church.
- 19 E.g. two to an unknown destination on 21 November 1717: MML, MS 10058 Outgates.
- 20 MML, SSM/OD/88. They borrowed £6.2s. Manx, on top of £6.18s. they had borrowed in 1720.
- 21 His burial appears in the MML, Malew Burial Register.
- 22 Eva Wilson, ‘Bishop Wilson and the Steps of St Paul’s’ in *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 12(1) (2005–07), p. 133.
- 23 B.M. Allen & G.E.C Allen, *History of the Allen Family* (unpublished typescript, June 1970, MML, MD 15041) appear mistaken in assuming him to be part of a local clerical family of the same name.
- 24 Malew Burial Registers 8 January 1724/5.
- 25 Betty Willsher and Doreen Hunter, *Stones – Some Remarkable Eighteenth-century Gravestones* (Edinburgh 1978) p.2.
- 26 See some at Lavenham, Suffolk.
- 27 Alfred W Light, *Bunhill Fields* (London, 1915) illustrates at p. 36 the gravestone of Prudence James (d.1668), of similar outline.
- 28 Herbert Batsford, *English Mural Monuments and Tombstones* (London, 1916), pl. 74.
- 29 In New York, e.g. Barbara Van Dyke (d.1743) at Fishkill, NY, illustrated in Richard F. Welch, ‘The New York and New Jersey Gravestone Carving Tradition’ in *Markers* 4 (1987), fig. 19, p.30, and Connecticut, e.g. Burrage Merriam (d.1776), Rocky Hill CT, illustrated in Ernest Caulfield, ‘The Thomas Johnsons’ in *Markers* 8 (1991), fig. 17, p. 80.
- 30 MML, Arbory Red File.
- 31 John Feltham, *A Tour through the Island of Mann*, Manx Society Vol. VI (Douglas 1861), p. 224.
- 32 E.g. Shelley’s Manual 1709, illustrated in Alan Bartram, *The English Lettering Tradition from 1700 to the present day* (London, 1986).
- 33 I have not seen them anywhere else; Bartram (*op. cit.*, fig. 122) illustrates an example at Barnard Castle.
- 34 Cf Ann F Shepardson, ‘John Huntingdon, Gravestone Carver’ in *Markers* 13 (1996), p. 148.

- 35 In the 1757 census.
- 36 Those which survived to 1797 are listed in Feltham, *Memorials....*, *passim*.
- 37 Benes, *op.cit.*, p. 6 suggests stones were signed to advertise the cutter in areas where he was not known.
- 38 By Feltham, *op.cit.*, p. 86. Only name, date and age, as always; full inscriptions are given only if they particularly take his fancy.
- 39 It has not previously been published.
- 40 See Willsher and Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 7, for a similar position in Scotland, where there was much less carving on the harder stones of the north.
- 41 A. I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols 1650-1815* (3rd ed., Hanover NH, 1999), pp. 241, 258-271.
- 42 Like some in New York referred to in Emily Wasserman, *Gravestone Designs: Rubbings and Photographs from Early New York and New Jersey* (New York, 1972), e.g. Adam Allyn (d.1768) on p. 24.
- 43 For which see Willsher and Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
- 44 Ann and Dickran Tashjian, 'The Afro-American Section of Newport, Rhode Island's Common Burying Ground' in Richard E Mayer (ed.) *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (Logan, Utah, 1989).
- 45 *Op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 46 MML, Episcopal 1766/1 Malew.
- 47 The Malew burial registers (Isle of Man Family History Society transcripts) give this as his burial date, too, which seems unlikely. Perhaps by the time his estate came to be administered six months later the dates of the two events got confused.
- 48 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 273 (Shoreham 1714 and 1727).
- 49 Benes, *op.cit.* p. 40.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 MML, Episcopal will 1756/1 of Thomas Stole.
- 52 *Op. cit.* p.272.
- 53 Feltham, *op. cit. passim*.
- 54 Malew, Arbory, Rushen and Santan.
- 55 Two further variables are how many may have been lost before 1797 and how many entries in Feltham's list are of inscriptions more than one of which were on the same stone.
- 56 *Op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 57 *Op. cit.*, p. 272; he expresses it as 2s.6d to 3s. a day for a 5½ day week.
- 58 Hinton Bird, *An Island That Led - The History of Manx Education I* (Port St Mary, n.d.), p. 25.
- 59 Both described here for the first time.