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Houses and Households in County Durham and Newcastle *c.*1570-1730

Two volumes: Volume I

Adrian Gareth Green

PhD

University of Durham

Departments of History & Archaeology

2000

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17 SEP 2001

Abstract

Adrian Gareth Green

Houses and Households in County Durham and Newcastle *c.*1570-1730

PhD, 2000

The north east of England witnessed dramatic economic and social change during this period. This study utilises documentary and archaeological sources to investigate the ways in which houses were built and lived in between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century. Chapter One, 'Introduction', addresses the issues associated with architectural change in this period and explains the evidence employed to analyse the social and economic context of housing and relationship of architectural to social change. Chapter Two, 'Regionality', defines a region centred on County Durham including Newcastle as the regional capital. Chapter Three: Households in the Hearth Tax 1660-1680, analyses the social stratigraphy of housing mid-way through the study period. Chapter Four: House Survival, establishes the proportion of surviving houses and questions previous assumptions involved in the analysis of housing change from standing buildings. Chapter Five: Rebuilding Houses, demonstrates the chronology of rebuilding by separate social groups and the ways in which the internal arrangement and external appearance of houses altered between *c.*1570 and 1730. Chapter Six: Housing through the Life Cycle, outlines the typical changes in housing through the life cycle, focusing particularly on the relationship between marriage and rebuilding. Chapter Seven: Houses in the eighteenth century Property Market, shows the significance of the commercial exchange of houses from newspaper property advertisements. Chapter Eight: Durham and Newcastle Houses, analyses architectural change and the social topography and turnover in occupancy of housing in the urban centres of the north-east region. Chapter Nine: The Building Process, investigates the mechanisms for architectural change and evaluates the relationship between regional variation and social identity in houses. Chapter Ten: Conclusions, appraises the role of material culture in social process in houses in one corner of early modern England.

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Conventions: the referencing system adopted refers to published works and unpublished theses by name and date. Some printed sources are referred to by short-title for ease of reference, listed separately in the Bibliography. Building surveys are listed in the Appendix. Appendix: 1-25 describe building surveys undertaken for the study.

Declaration

This thesis conforms to the word limit of 100,000 words.

No part of this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree at any university. No part of this thesis is the result of joint-research, and all assistance is duly acknowledged.

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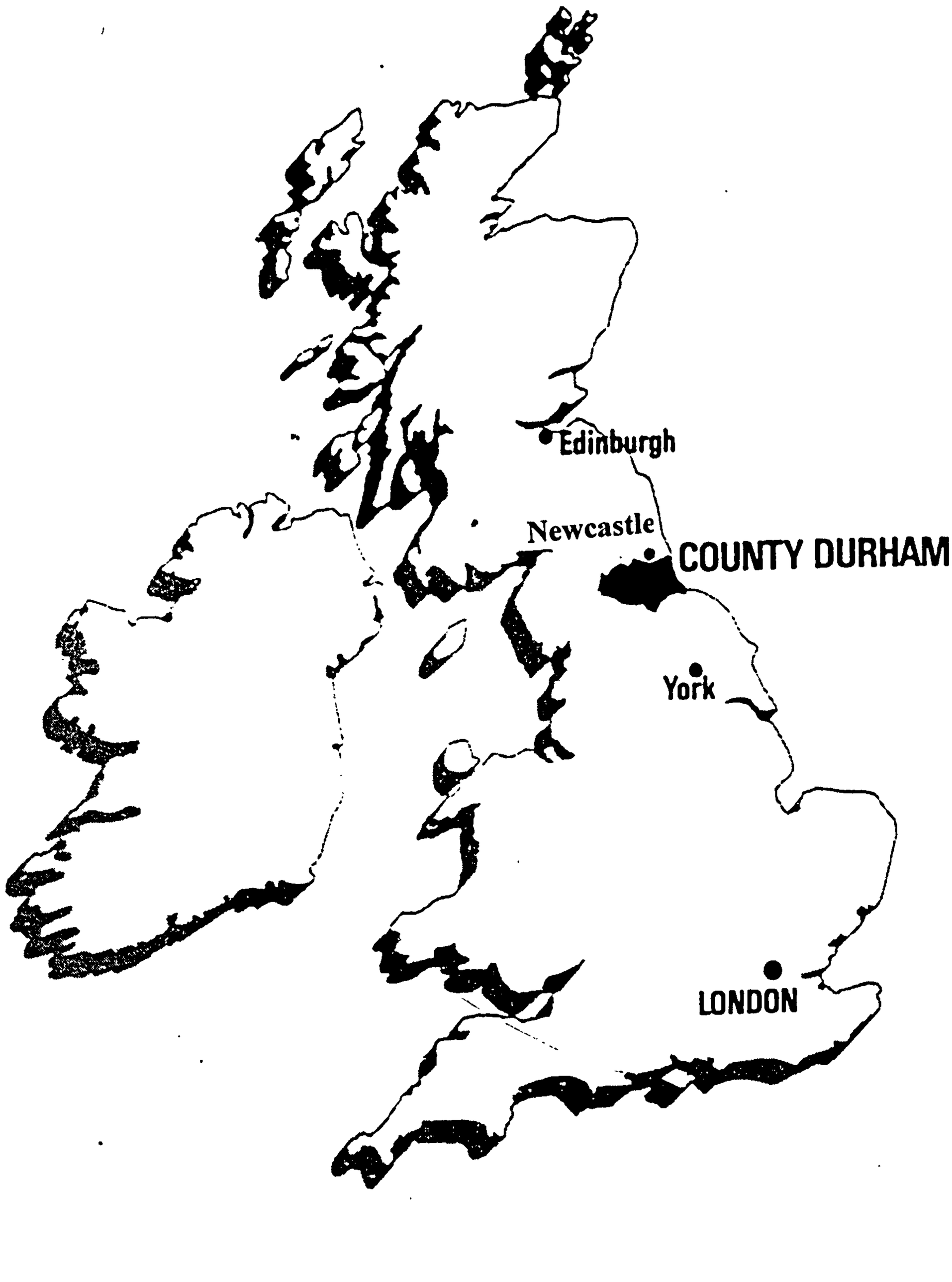
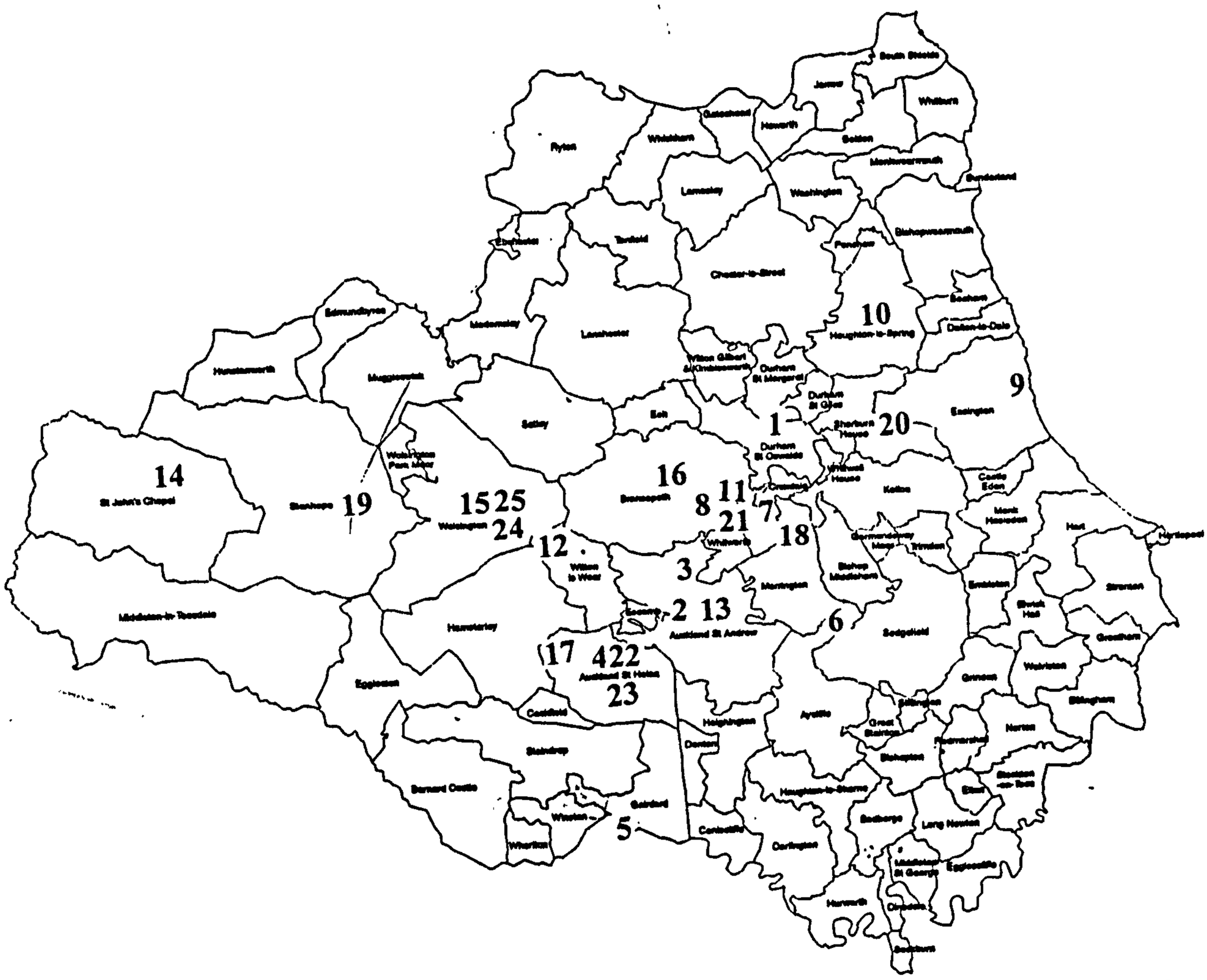
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An inter-disciplinary project perhaps accrues more debts than most. I owe Tim Schadla-Hall for introducing me to archaeology and suggesting Matthew Johnson as a doctorate supervisor. Matthew and Chris Brooks have been admirable supervisors; I have greatly appreciated their wit, tolerance, and the wisdom of their combined expertise. I am also grateful to Steph Mastoris and the late Harold Jones for first prompting my interest in early modern material culture, at Harborough Museum, and to my undergraduate tutors, Felicity Heal and John Stevenson, for encouraging and correcting my enthusiasm for early modern social history. At Durham, Rebecca King, Joanne Bailey and Ian McBride have contributed significantly to my knowledge of early modern society. Rebecca has been an especially fond companion in the discovery of Durham and Newcastle society - past and present. The assiduousness of Durham University and Cathedral archive staff also makes Durham an exceptionally rewarding place to study. I am deeply obliged to the householders of the houses I have visited and surveyed; I hope they will find recompense for my intrusion in what their houses have to say. The work of the North East Vernacular Architecture Group and Martin Roberts' generous provision of their archive, and the archive of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, at York (now English Heritage, which includes surveys by the North Yorkshire and Cleveland Vernacular Buildings Study Group), are gratefully acknowledged. John Gall at Beamish Museum provided film for some of the photography and introduced me to County Durham's seventeenth century oak furniture. Jeremy Hutson is warmly thanked for discussions on Tudhoe's rich documentation. John and Jenny Ruffle showed unfailing generosity in allowing me to stay (and stay) in the first house I surveyed; demonstrating that house sharing can be a viable and enjoyable experience. I am grateful for the British Academy Humanities Research Board funding for this PhD (and the MA which preceded it). Finally, my parents and grandparents have benevolently supported me throughout - I hope the following provides some justification for not acquiring a house of my own.

Location Map of County Durham and Newcastle in the British Isles



Parish map of County Durham (showing surveyed houses)[1]



[1] based on the civil parish map produced by Prof. Brian Roberts, Prof. Keith Wrightson, Adrian Green and the Centre for Hearth Tax Studies, University of Roehampton, Surrey.

Chapter One: Introduction

Houses were the basic framework to people's lives in early modern England. Yet, the role of housing in social relations and social change has been neglected by early modern social history. The household has been identified as the fundamental unit of early modern society, but historians have not investigated the material culture of the houses households occupied. Conversely, architectural historians and archaeologists have focused on the built evidence without adequately comprehending the social context of houses available from documentary social history. I am concerned in this study with elucidating the cultural significance of houses and households in the north-east of England between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century. My methodology combines a detailed social history of housing from documentary sources with an archaeological investigation of the built evidence and material culture of houses.

Houses and Households in Early Modern England

'An Englishman's house is his castle' was a contemporary aphorism, supported in law: 'For a man's house is his castle, and each man's home is his safest refuge'.[1] The house was most important as the frame for the early modern household, which was regarded by contemporaries as the basic social unit, and as the basis of social order.[2] In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the household was viewed as the commonwealth in miniature, expressed in physical terms by the male head of the household's occupation of the main (and often only) chair, as the king occupied his throne.[3] The ideal of the commonwealth in miniature, linked to the mentality of a great chain of being, and prior to

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[1]J. Ray *English Proverbs* 1670; Sir Edward Coke *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* 1628: ch.73, 162; Brooks 1998: 195, the legal aphorism dates from at least the early sixteenth century; Langford 1997: 64, shows its wider use in the eighteenth century.
[2]see Wrightson 1982: 44-5; Houlbrooke 1984; Barry & Brooks eds. 1994; Underdown 1985(a): 116-36.
[3]Johnson 1996: 34 & 156-7; Amussen 1988.

a clear distinction between public and private, was disrupted by mid-seventeenth century civil war and regicide.[4] In the eighteenth century the household continued to be the basic social unit, although ideals of home life now stressed property and politeness, or plebeian rudeness, rather than god given rights to male authority in the home.[5] Despite continuity in household composition and household-community relations, by the end of the eighteenth century discourses surrounding the home altered to emphasise domesticity as the basis of the household, in contrast to the public sphere of work, sociability and politics.[6] Houses were never, however, solely about private life. Work, sociability, religion and politics took place within and around the house throughout the period, and the external appearance of houses made them a public artefact.

The material form of houses has a significant bearing on the phrase 'An Englishman's home is his castle'. Between the mid-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, castles, as living spaces, were at their lowest ebb in England. The elite were building palaces instead, and it was not till the mid-to-late eighteenth century that interest in the castle was renewed as a romanticised revival of medieval gothic. The castle remained, however, a symbol of substance and strength in building, and as socially defensible space: 'For a man's house is his castle, and each man's home is his safest refuge'. During the seventeenth century, more Englishmen than ever before were living in well built houses. This gave material validity to the notion that an Englishman's house was his castle, while the greater substance of middling homes helped to undermine the nobility and gentry's association of 'house' with dynasty and building.[7] A sense of national identity also underwrote the place of the house in English society. From the late sixteenth through to the eighteenth century, England's political and religious arrangements were celebrated as

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[4]Sharpe 2000: 38-123 esp. 43-5, 105-6.
[5]see for example, Langford 1992: 59-122 & Shoemaker 1998.
[6]Davidoff & Hall 1987, undermined by Vickery 1993 & Shoemaker 1998; see also Habermas 1989 & Chartier et. al. 1989, critiqued by Goodman 1992: 2-20.
[7]see Green 1999 & Chapter Five, below.

inherently superior to continental, catholic, Europe, and free from tyranny.[8] During the political and religious upheavals of the mid-seventeenth century the notion of the 'Norman Yoke' expressed the idea that Englishmen had originally enjoyed freedom from tyranny before the castle building Normans came and conquered. The political and religious strife of the period not withstanding, the free-born Englishman was not a peasant dominated by a feudal lord. Given the substance of many Englishmen's houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and the absence of castles as elite power bases, the proverbial Englishman's home could be conceived of as 'his castle'.

Within the closer confines of day to day social life, 'each man's home' was 'his safest refuge'. This might suggest that houses and the household were about private life. Most historians, however, have tended to believe that privacy was limited before 1700, given the supposed prevalence of gossip and eavesdropping, and public humiliation of 'cuckholded' husbands which could involve the physical removal of the husband from the household.[9] Community sanctions over orderly behaviour and gender relations indicate that the household, and by extension the house, was not an atomised, private world. The house as socially defensible space had a more complex history than accounts of increasing privacy around 1700 can convey. 'Charivari' had originally been sanctioned by the law, but by the eighteenth century was transmuted into an aspect of popular culture.[10] The earlier legal force of 'each man's home' as 'his safest refuge' would seem to undermine exaggerated claims for a growth of privacy in the eighteenth century.[11] The reality would seem to lie in a more integrated (if frequently antagonistic) relationship between

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[8]Colley 1992, who underestimates continuity in national pride from sixteenth century.
[9]Underdown 1985(a) & 1985(b); Horsman ed. 1955: 17-20, for a fictional charivari in late sixteenth-century Durham
[10]Ingram 1987; Brooks & Lobban 1997; Brooks 1998: 179-98, esp. 195-6, contesting Thomas 1973: 628, on lack of privacy.
[11]Brooks 1998: 5-6, arguments for a rise in privacy invariably rely on a conception of elite withdrawal from popular culture, see Burke 1978; Cressy 1997: 481.

household and community. The metaphor of the castle after all, was not solely about defence, but also about display.

Houses have formed an integral part of social life throughout history and across most cultures. Building, and especially domestic shelters, are a central aspect of cultural interaction; buildings and the body involve fundamental relationships between self, space and society.[12] The physical alteration of houses in early modern England was culturally significant in a different way than in either medieval or modern society. Houses were substantially altered with greater frequency between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century than in the medieval period. Fewer people than before lived in houses built by earlier generations (if wealthy) or in houses which required regular repair (if poor). This break from the past was all the more significant in our period for being novel, as after the mid-eighteenth century the cultural significance of altering houses was the more muted for being more common place. As Peter Burke has written 'nothing so marked the eighteenth century as the building and refurbishing of residential space'.[13]

The most important continuity for considerations of housing from the medieval period, was that most of people's lives remained situated in or around the house. Birth, work, and death all took place within the house, to a far greater degree than in modern society. The separation of work from 'home' occurred largely after 1800.[14] Craft workshops, agricultural processing, shops and alehouses were usually specialised productive and commercial spaces within the house. Houses structured and spaced social life to a considerable degree, and the fact that houses were regularly rebuilt in changing forms, meant that both the internal living space of houses, and their external appearance to the social world beyond the house, had considerable cultural resonance.

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[12]Preziosi 1979: 1; Carsten & Hugh-Jones eds. 1995; Rykwert 1996: 117.
[13]Burke in Brewer & Porter eds. 1993: 172.
[14]Tosh 1999.

Methodology

This thesis integrates an archaeological approach to material culture with social history. My inter-disciplinary methodology, however, is not without its difficulties. Documentary social historians and students of architecture and material culture have sometimes been at odds over their interpretation of the past, and the role of types of evidence. I see no theoretical difficulties in combining material culture with documentary sources, and privilege neither social history nor historical archaeology as approaches to the past. Hopefully, this study gives to social history an appreciation of material culture as historical evidence, and the 'active' role of buildings and things in social process (a key insight of 'post-processual' archaeology).[15] It also seeks to give to historical archaeology and architectural history an appreciation of the importance of detailed documentary social history for studying material culture.

At the outset, I intended to investigate changes in the internal arrangement and external appearance of houses between *c.*1660 and 1730 in County Durham and Newcastle, to analyse the relationship between social change and architectural change during the 'transition' from 'traditional' to 'Georgian' houses. This period had been problematised by social and architectural historians as a key moment of cultural change, in definitions of social identity and national culture. The alteration in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century building and living arrangements among the lesser elite and upper middling sort, seemed an area of enquiry that would shed light on social change. The thesis was entitled 'Social and Geographical Identity in the Houses of County Durham and Newcastle, *c.*1660-1730', expressing my concern to differentiate social life through houses, in terms of both social difference and geographical variation.

The north-east of England was selected as a study area for the prosaic reason of proximity to Durham University. County Durham also presented a relatively

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[15]Hodder ed. 1987; Johnson 1999: 98-115.

under-researched area in terms of vernacular architecture. A study area centred on County Durham and Newcastle also had the advantage of taking in urban and rural areas, and upland and lowland terrain; testing the usual assumptions that life in houses differed significantly in towns from the coutryside, or that highland and lowland areas had a determining effect on living arrangements.

My thesis has evolved somewhat in the process of research. The initial chronology of *c.*1660-1730 was partly based on the long-standing assumption that house survival in the north-east was negligible prior to 1660. This impression of limited pre-1660 survival had been taken to indicate that substantially rebuilt houses were thin on the ground before the late seventeenth century. However, when I surveyed houses listed as late seventeenth century, I discovered that the late seventeenth century appearance of houses often masked substantial earlier phases.[16] Documentary evidence, especially Durham Cathedral Dean and Chapter rentals for Durham and crown rentals for Brancepeth manor, indicated that these earlier phases were often associated to documented rebuilding of lesser elite and middling houses from *c.*1600.[17] Further documentary and archaeological evidence for County Durham and Newcastle has substantiated the significance of early seventeenth century rebuilding. I chose to extend the chronology of the thesis to incorporate these findings, and eventually set the start date as *c.*1570 to include late sixteenth-century gentry rebuilding, and to enable discussion of housing conditions below the elite prior to seventeenth-century rebuilding.

The final form of the study has remained focused on the relationship of change and continuity in houses to social change. However, the range of enquiry has broadened considerably, to encompass more fully the social and economic context of houses and households. Houses were part and parcel of social life, and changes in the physical form of

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[16]on Listing, see Chapter Four.
[17]see Green nd, 1998 & Chapter Five, below.

houses were not simply an outcome of increased prosperity or the result of over-arching cultural forces. Rather, houses were embedded in social process, and the ways in which houses were altered represents the ways in which people lived out social change.

Problems Posed

The central question posed by this study, is, what was the relationship between architectural change and social change in the period *c.*1570 to 1730. During this period England experienced two major alterations in the built form of houses. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the elite and middling sort rebuilt houses in town and country in altered form. This change is well known, and has been described as a 'Great Rebuilding' for the lesser elite and middling sort, while the greater elite rebuilt in an English Renaissance style. The second architectural change, in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century has been termed Georgianisation, when the lesser elite and upper middling sort rebuilt houses in a newly symmetrical style, while the greater elite experimented with English Baroque or Palladianism.

One historiographical concept has dominated discussions of housing in this period. This remains Hoskins' thesis of a 'Great Rebuilding' between 1570 and 1640, published in 1953 in the new journal of social history *Past and Present*, a year before the Vernacular Architecture Group was formed to study the history of housing below the elite.[18] Hoskins identified an increased standard of living accommodation among the yeomen and husbandmen farmers of southern England between *c.*1570 and 1640. Hoskins argued that rising agricultural prices as a result of population increase and wider price-inflation, in conjunction with low agricultural wages, provided the resources with which farmers rebuilt their houses. Hoskins observed a dramatic increase in survival of rural houses from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and suggested that rebuilding had

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[18]Hoskins 1953 & see Johnson 1993(b).

occurred in towns at the same period, but that later demolition had removed the evidence. There has subsequently been a tendency to assume rebuilding in towns was paramountly a post-Restoration phenomenon. Borsay identified widespread rebuilding and social change in towns as constituting an 'Urban Renaissance' between 1660 and 1760.[19] Hoskins excluded the four northern counties from his account of a 'Great Rebuilding' between 1570 and 1640, and Borsay follows Hoskins on this point for northern towns.[20] I will demonstrate in Chapter Five, that Hoskins was mistaken in excluding rural County Durham from the Great Rebuilding, and in Chapter Eight, that Borsay repeated the error for Durham and Newcastle.

This study reassesses the links between continuity and change in houses and broader social change (and continuity). Accounts of rural rebuilding subsequent to Hoskins' original thesis have suggested that different regions experienced a rebuilding of farmhouses at different times, depending on the economic trajectory of particular parts of the country.[21] Barley claimed that the Great Rebuilding in the northern counties largely occurred between 1670-1720.[22] For County Durham, the assumption has been that the majority of rural rebuilding did not occur till the early-mid eighteenth century, with even the more substantial houses only surviving from after 1660. I reappraise the evidence for house survival and the issue of taking house survival as an index for housing change in Chapter Four.

Previously, the regional 'vernacular' architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, has been regarded as being displaced by a nationalising 'polite' architecture in the eighteenth century. For County Durham, Barley's chronology of a late rebuilding in 1670-1720, overlapped with his 'death of the vernacular tradition' between 1690 and

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[19]Borsay 1989.
[20]Hoskins 1953.
[21]Machin 1977a; Johnson 1993b.
[22]Machin 1977a: 34 n.5; Barley 1961.

1725.[23] If the existing chronology of County Durham rebuilding and the conceptualisation of nationalising 'polite' and regionalised 'vernacular' architecture was correct, then this presents an interesting confluence of cultural trends within the study area. I argue in this study that such assumptions are misplaced, and that the vernacular architecture of the seventeenth century involved a national stylistic repertoire, as well as exhibiting regionalised building materials and construction techniques. Conversely, Georgian architecture in the eighteenth century continued to be regionally varied, as well as being national in scope. Houses were distinctive by social group in early modern England, yet varied regionally. The north-east of England is taken in this study as a test case for exploring these relationships.

By looking at the period 1570 to 1730, I assess the classic period of the 'Great Rebuilding' in relation to the subsequent period of Georgianisation. Precisely because Georgian houses have been regarded as a polite phenomenon, they have usually been studied separately from 'vernacular' houses. The difficulties of this divide have been recognised by the invention of the concept of 'Georgian Vernacular'.[24] This blurring of the boundaries, however, does not go far enough. I will argue below that the social and architectural changes in middling and lesser elite houses of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are equivalent to the vernacular houses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. 'Georgianisation' refers to a process of lesser elite and middling housing change, broadly equivalent to those alterations in living referred to as the 'Great Rebuilding'. In both periods, this social level of housing may be regarded as a 'dilution' of elite architecture. There is, however, no cause to explain this solely in terms of emulation. In Chapters Five, Eight and Nine, I will demonstrate the ways in which houses were distinctive to certain social groups, and that the development of stylistic change and ways

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[23]Barley 1961.
[24]Burton 1996.

of living in housing was related to much broader and complex cultural changes than merely the trickle-down of architectural style.

House building and architectural change in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ought not to be regarded simply as the antecedent to later eighteenth century Georgian houses. For this reason, the teleological associations of the term 'Georgianisation' are to be regretted. However, despite its faulty relationship to regnal periodisation, it does have the virtue of emphasising architectural change as process. The term 'Georgianisation' also relates to the theory of the 'Georgian Order' current in American historical archaeology. Deetz argued that a whole range of material culture, in houses, gravestones, ceramics, cutlery and so forth, underwent significant changes from the later seventeenth century in colonial British America. He claimed that alterations in material culture related to a shift in world view, whereby the American colonists altered their ways of living in response to social and economic pressures and adopted the ideas of the Renaissance. Deetz was mistaken in claiming that the English colonists brought with them a medieval mind-set in the seventeenth century, and he overstates the case for locating the development of modernity in the century after 1660 (in time for the American Revolution).[25] Johnson has recently revised the concept of the 'Georgian Order' in its British context, and argued that England experienced a series of changes in ways of living from the sixteenth century which were crucial antecedents to the changes Deetz detected in the eighteenth century colonies.[26] In arguing for a greater equivalence between late sixteenth and early seventeenth century changes in houses with the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, this study would seem to undermine any claims for decisive moments of emergent modernity.

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[25]Deetz 1977.
[26]Johnson 1996.

The mechanisms of architectural change are poorly understood. Most authors assume that English architectural style was dependent on the import of innovations in continental European architectural style. Moreover, lesser elite and middling houses are assumed to follow elite style. The metaphors of emulation and stylistic diffusion are very clumsy mechanisms for architectural change, and it is unclear how they might have worked in practice. In Chapter Nine: the Building Process, I investigate the evidence for print culture as a medium for the transmission of architectural style to north-east England, and analyse the evidence for craftsmen mobility between the north-east and the national and regional centres of architectural style, in London and York. This emphasis on the building process in the penultimate chapter enables me to reappraise the relationship of architectural change in houses to social change, and to suggest the relationship between national and regional architectural practice.

In addition to these architectural issues, I have also investigated the social and economic context of houses and housing. In Chapter Six, I outline the ways in which changes in accommodation through the life cycle had a central bearing on housing in early modern England. I use the evidence of houses with inscribed dates and intitials of marriage partners to suggest that there was a significant, and hitherto ignored, relationship between marriage and rebuilding. In Chapter Seven, I show that the economic context of housing involved a complex property market. The commercial context of housing has previously been neglected by historians of housing. There is no history of the housing market and no integrated account of the property market. Chapter Seven seeks to provide such an account for the early eighteenth century north-east, on the basis of Newcastle newspaper property advertisements. Housing through the life-cycle (explored in Chapter Six) and the commercial context of housing (investigated in Chapter Seven), present the principal factors influencing where people lived and when they moved house. The evidence of the Hearth Tax and Newcastle newspaper property advertisements, suggests that people moved house with considerable frequency in late seventeenth and early

eighteenth century north-east England. The notion of generational continuity in the occupation of English houses in the early modern period is a myth, as has long been the implication of the evidence for population mobility during this period.[27] The standing houses available for survey survived through the property market, not through continuity of kin, and successive rebuilding was often carried out by different families. There is no scope in this study to compare these cultural practices with continental Europe, but it may well be the case that limited kinship links and a high degree of turnover in the occupancy and ownership of houses was a phenomena limited to England and the Netherlands in this period.

The historiography of early modern England is currently concerned with regionality, reflecting contemporary as well as intellectual concerns. As one social historian has recently written, 'the local variations and regional patterns of English cultural history need thorough investigation. We need to know whether it is reasonable or audacious, or simply wrong headed, to treat early modern England as a single cultural area'.[28] The geographical variation of houses, otherwise differentiated by social group, presents one route into this. In Chapter Two: Regionality, I define a north-east region, from a centre based on Durham, incorporating contemporary understandings of the geography of County Durham and beyond.[29] The reasons for considering Newcastle together with County Durham in this study are also explained, and the implications for housing of industrialisation and agricultural change, and their inter-relationship to social change and political and religious developments, are established. The appearance of houses and the history of the region provide an empirical basis for regionality in the early modern north-east. However, 'regionality' was not a contemporary category, and the

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[27]see Wrigley & Schofield 1981 & Wrigley et. al. 1997.
[28]Cressy 1997: 481-2.
[29]County Durham throughout this thesis refers to the historic county of Durham; Durham refers to Durham City.

county and the parish were stronger units of identity, for both the governing and the governed in early modern England. The potential significance of regional identity in north-east England will be considered in Chapter Ten: Conclusions.

The periodisation of this study is based on significant discontinuities in the architecture of houses, and by implication society. The Restoration does not represent a clear dividing line in the architecture of houses, or social life more generally. The 'Great Rebuilding' and 'Georgianisation' were linked by considerable continuities in building and living. I would not advocate the invention of a long seventeenth century, but the time range 1570-1730 has the virtue of going against the grain of previous studies of early modern England; bridging the divide of the mid-seventeenth century and shifting attention away from a long eighteenth century, both of which have their roots in Whiggish conceptions of political history.

Sources

This study has used three main sources of evidence to uncover the history of housing in early modern north-east England. Firstly, I investigated standing houses and associated documentation for their occupiers and social context (estate papers, wills and inventories, deeds and rentals, as well as antiquarian histories).[30] This material is mainly presented in Chapter Five: Rebuilding Houses. Secondly, I analysed the late seventeenth century Hearth Tax, which provides the most comprehensive source for housing in this period (and is the nearest document to a census before 1800). The Hearth Tax, 1662-1689, records the number of hearths in each household, assessed for taxation (or

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[30]Hutchinson 1787; Surtees, R. 1816-40 & Surtees, H.C. 1919-29, were the main sources for identifying the occupiers of surveyed houses, for which to search probate and other records; lacunae in antiquarian compilation limited the discovery of who lived in lesser gentry and middling houses. Detailed study of the records for specific communities could overcome this, but given that few houses survive in any one place in County Durham, such research was rarely feasible. However, for a sufficient (but unsystematic) range of houses, the trail was hot.

exempted from the tax). This source (and its source difficulties) is analysed for County Durham in Chapter Three, and for Durham and Newcastle in Chapter Eight, to provide a picture of housing conditions across the entire social range, and enabling comparison with the rest of England. The Hearth Tax is further employed to calculate the level of house survival in Chapter Four and for specific surveyed houses in Chapter Five. Thirdly, early eighteenth century property advertisements in Newcastle newspapers were read for evidence of architectural change. All property adverts in surviving issues of the *Newcastle Courant* between 1710 and 1730 were transcribed. These advertisements provide a guide to housing across the north-east and contain evidence for architectural change, in building materials and the accommodation and appurtenances of early eighteenth-century houses. This facilitates an overview of housing (presented in Chapter Seven) in the early eighteenth century, analogous to the social profile of housing extracted from the Hearth Tax in Chapter Three. In a period when the concept of property and process of commercialisation were culturally central, the commercial context of housing was as important to housing as social stratification (Chapter Three) and the life cycle (Chapter Six). These property adverts also represent a regional property market in the early eighteenth century north-east. The evidence for housing in the property adverts is further analysed for Durham and Newcastle in Chapter Eight.

In addition to these three core sources, a more diffuse range of evidence on houses and housing has also been employed, from a variety of archaeological, archive and printed sources. These include published excavation reports, existing house surveys (listed in Appendix) and archival work on wills and inventories (Durham University Library Archive, DULA), estate papers (especially the Salvin Papers, Durham County Record Office, DCRO), rentals (especially the Crown rentals for Brancepeth Manor, Public Record Office, PRO) and court records (Durham Chancery, PRO), and printed manuscript sources. Contemporary printed books on architecture, engravings and photographs of demolished or altered houses, have also been examined. One specific problem, that of

stylistic diffusion, was addressed through searching apprenticeship registers for evidence of building trades craftsmen mobility between the north-east and London and York (5 The College, Durham; York City Archive; London Guildhall and PRO). This material is analysed in Chapter Nine, on the building process, along with building accounts, evidence for the availability of printed architectural treatises or pattern books, and other sources for craftsmen and master masons or architects working in the north-east.

Buildings Sampling Strategy

This thesis incorporates the archaeological evidence of standing buildings, including original surveys of houses in County Durham. The social status and location of the houses surveyed were selected with some care. Houses were identified from the Department of the Environment List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, and selected on grounds of social status and substantial architectural survival. Forty houses in County Durham have been surveyed or inspected, and researched for documentation on their social and built history. The houses surveyed are listed in the Appendix, where an outline interpretation of the building sequence with a plan, where surveyed, of each house is presented along with photographs and other illustrative material. Access posed a slight limitation on the sample (and degree of recording); in very few cases was access to houses difficult to obtain, although a measured survey was not possible in every case. Chapter Four estimates the survival rate of pre-1700 houses, and shows that higher status houses survive in greater numbers than houses below the level of more substantial farmers. Accordingly, the building survey sampling strategy has focused on the houses of the lesser gentry and wealthier yeomen and husbandmen farmers. Unfortunately, there are somewhat more gentry houses in the sample than anticipated, since several houses Listed as farmhouses have transpired to be gentry halls from documentary evidence. For the class of houses investigated, market towns are not treated separately. Houses in smaller towns are integrated, as social life at the time was, with

houses in the countryside. Chapter Eight focuses on urban houses, in Durham and Newcastle; most of the surviving houses in Durham City and Newcastle from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were visited, but an exhaustive survey was deemed inappropriate in the light of published surveys on Newcastle and my previous MA study of Durham City. Houses in rural County Durham are discussed in Chapter Five. Geographically, the focus of buildings survey has been on houses within the watershed of the Wear, through the centre of the county and including upland and lowland areas. Houses outside the watershed of the Wear have been surveyed where they are of particular significance for evidence of architectural change. My survey work has been amplified by the unpublished work of the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments in England (RCHME; now English Heritage), North-East Vernacular Architecture Group (NEVAG) and North Yorkshire and Cleveland Vernacular Building Study Group (NYCVBSG). All surveys consulted are listed in the Appendix.

Rykwert writes that 'Houses ... "occupy a place in the world" analogous to the way that persons take their place in it'. He also reminds us of the distinction between *aisthësis* and *poiësis*, the way things are seen and perceived and the ways in which they are made.[31] This study looks at houses in County Durham and Newcastle, and considers both the ways in which they were built and lived in, and the ways in which they may have been seen and perceived.

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[31]Rykwert 1996: 384-5, quoting 385.

Chapter Two: Regionality

The architecture of houses varied regionally in early modern England. To assess the cultural significance of this variation, we need to establish the regionally distinctive aspects of social and economic developments, and their effects for housing and architecture. This chapter establishes the geographical context and historical framework for the study of houses in north-east England, in the sixteenth through to the early eighteenth century.

Defining a region: County Durham and beyond

The north-east of England has ambiguous boundaries. The broadest definition includes all land east of the Pennines from the Scottish border to the Humber. More specifically, the north-east refers to Northumberland and County Durham, which for Weatherill represents 'one of the best-defined geographical regions in England'.[1] Yet these county boundaries mask the significance of ties across the Tees, and the distance between life in northern Northumberland from southern Northumberland and Tyneside. Tyneside and Teesside represent distinctive entities in themselves, and acted as foci for wider areas. Moreover, links across county boundaries existed in upland as well as lowland areas; Allendale and Weardale had affinities, as did Teesdale and Swaledale. The geography of architectural patterns and their relationship to the social and economic life of the north-east provide one scale of regionality.

This study defines a region centred on County Durham which takes in parts of northern Yorkshire and southern Northumberland. This region was not mutually exclusive to adjacent areas. Phythian-Adams' map (Map 2:1) of 'cultural provinces' shows areas of 'overlap' across county borders and watersheds. This usefully enmeshes county structures with terrain/topography (compare Map 2:2). Phythian-Adams highlights the 'overlap'

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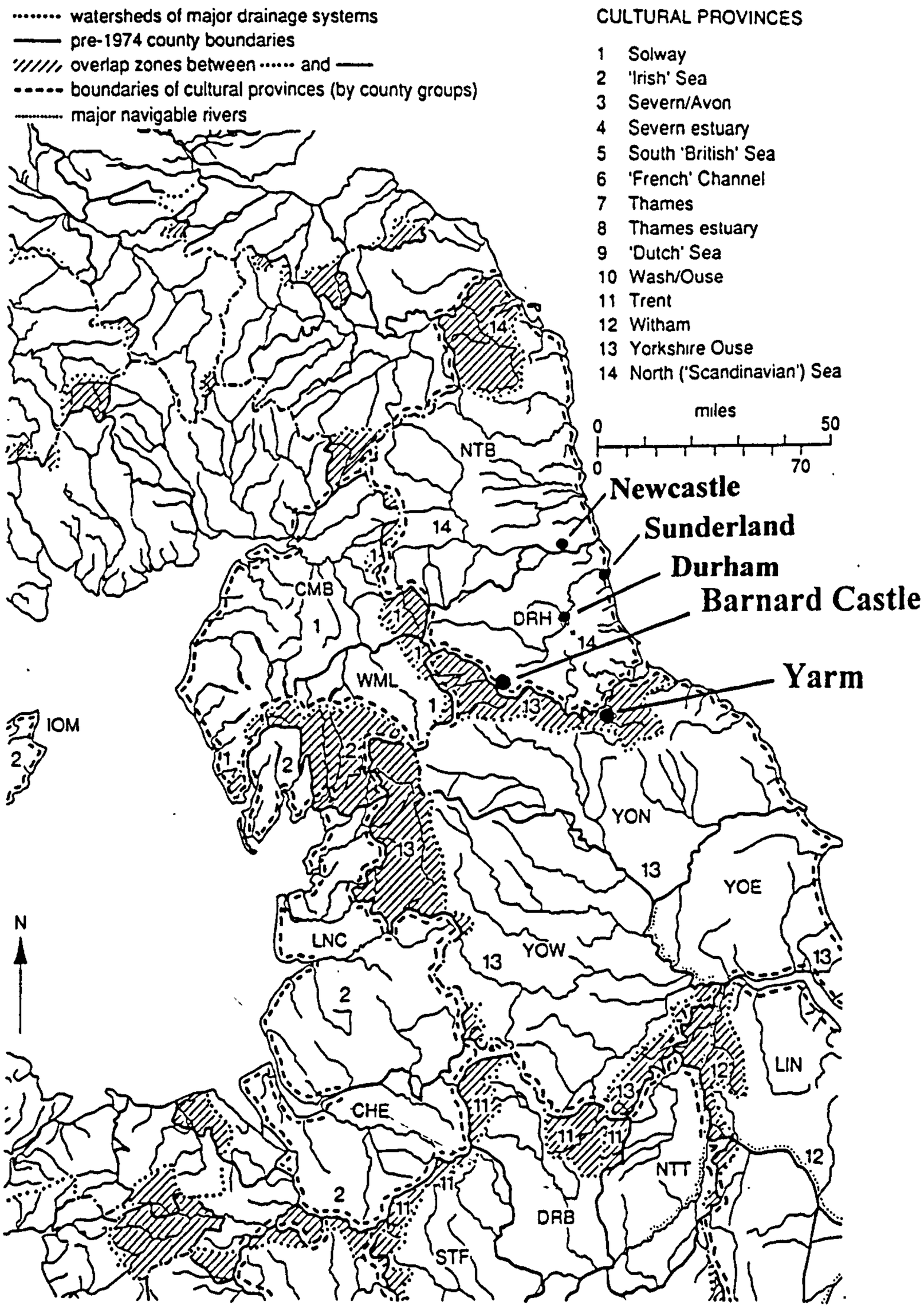
[1] Weatherill 1988: 51.

Map 2.1 Cultural Provinces[2]



Northern 'cultural provinces'

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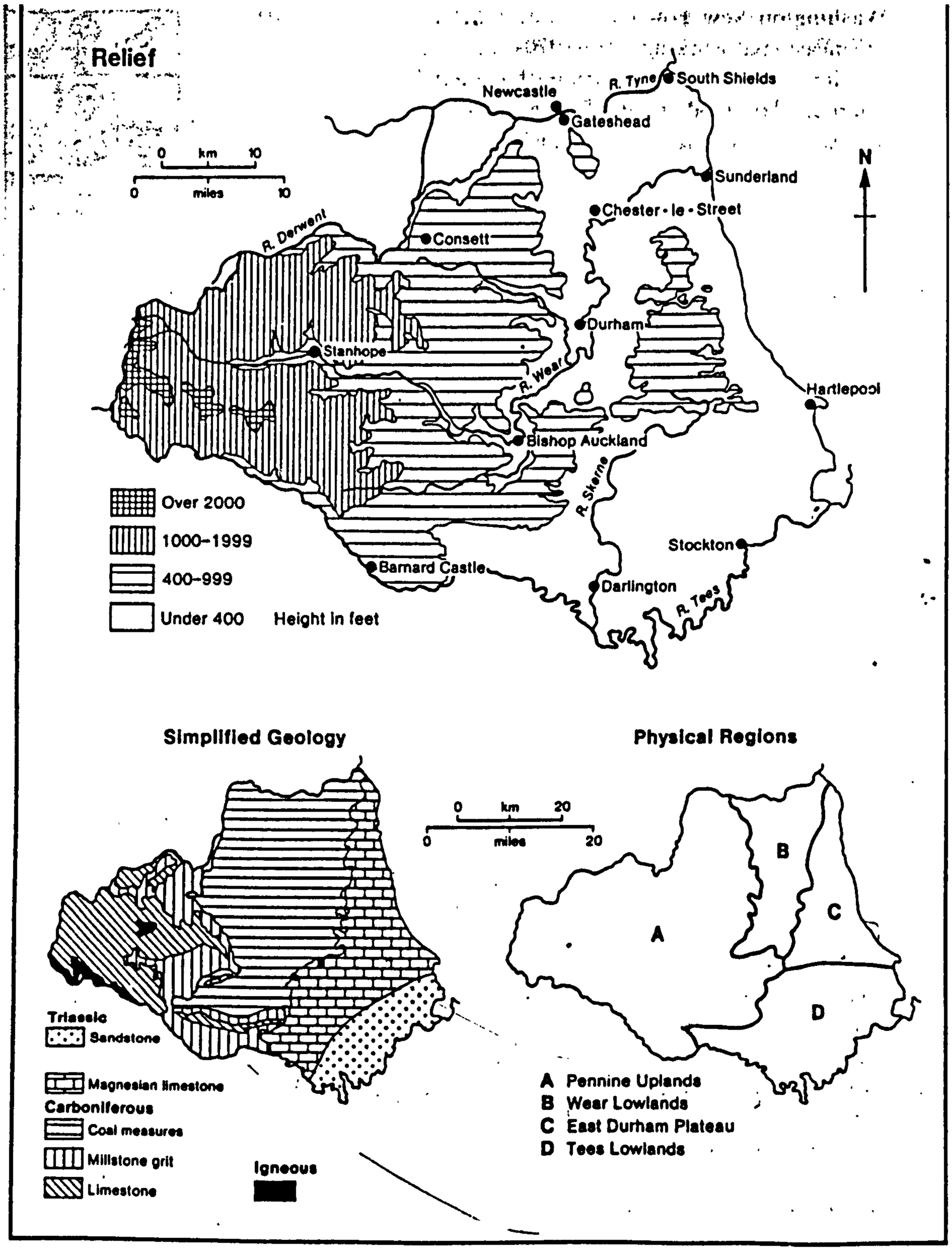
[2]Phythian-Adams: 1993.

Map 2.2 Relief, simplified geology and physical regions of County Durham[3]



County Durham: relief, geology and physical divisions.

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[3]Pocock & Norris 1990: 10.

between County Durham and the western sides of the Pennines in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and shows the Tees basin, Teesdale and the Vale of York as far south as Thirsk as related to County Durham's 'cultural province'.[4] This western and southern overlap correlates with the geography of architectural affinities discussed below, and regionality in the property market analysed in Chapter Seven (Map 7:1). However, the evidence of houses, and social life in the north-east, conflicts with Phythian-Adams' lumping together of County Durham and Northumberland as a single cultural province, which follows Brassley's topographical typology for agriculture in the two north-east counties.[5] The differences between northern Northumberland and County Durham mean that the north-east of England is not so easily defined.

County Durham is usually divided between upland and lowland zones. However, neither the uplands nor the lowlands were a unified zone. Teesdale and Weardale differed in their social and economic development; in lordship, tenure, agricultural and craft economy, and housing. The lowlands covered a diverse set of social and economic areas. The agricultural Tees basin was quite distinct from the coal rich Tyne and Wear valleys; and the development of industry and agriculture along the Tyne differed significantly from that along the Wear. Dividing County Durham into upland and lowland areas only tells part of the story. The differences in society and economy between areas of lowland County Durham are at least as great as those between upland and lowland. Brassley's definition of agricultural zones for County Durham implies a topographical continuum, running west from the high Pennine watershed to the east coast. The high Pennine fells and moorlands and the rich lowland agricultural lands are two poles of this continuum. Brassley establishes an inter-mediary zone, the 'Pennine foothills' (extending as far east as Bishop Auckland), between the 'Pennine moorlands' (west of Wolsingham) and the 'east

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[4]Phythian-Adams 1993: xviii & 1-23.
[5]Brassley 1985.

coast lowlands' (east of Bishop Auckland).[6] Map 2:2 shows these topographical sub-regions.

County Durham is defined by its rivers; the Wear flows through the heart of the county, with the Tyne and Tees its boundaries. Yet the Wear was never a navigation route (despite repeated seventeenth and eighteenth century efforts to make it so from Durham to Sunderland).[7] Conversely, the Tyne and Tees both served as the commercial thoroughfares and life blood of wide areas on both banks. These three rivers encapsulate the sense in which County Durham occupied the centre ground of a north-east region. To the north, industrialisation on Tyneside formed what Hughes called 'the oldest industrial region in the country' with an 'agricultural shell'.[8] To the south, commercialised agriculture was centred on the Tees, although it supplied the food market of wage-labourers in the industrialising districts. Yet even such a Tyne/Tees split misses the importance of landsale coal mining in central County Durham, as far south as Raby, and the continued importance of agriculture in north County Durham. Agriculture and industry were inter-dependent in County Durham. Economic and social activity around the Tyne meant Newcastle and its environs had more in common with north County Durham than with Northumberland. The northern part of the North Riding of Yorkshire was part of the same agricultural region as south-east County Durham: the river Tees forms the centre of a basin not a topographical boundary. Teesdale was split between Yorkshire and County Durham by the Tees.

In our period, County Durham was known as 'the bishopric', and contemporaries wrote of going into the bishopric, when they crossed the Tees, Tyne or Pennines.[9] The bishopric or 'County Palatine of Durham' covered the area between Tyne and Tees, and

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[6]Brassley 1985; see also Kirby 1972.
[7]Hughes 1952: 13 & 77.
[8]Hughes 1952: xiii-xiv.
[9]James 1974: 1-7; Hughes 1952: 304.

'its boundaries coincided with the Durham county boundaries.'[10] Thomas Fuller in 1662 neatly summarised for his readers the geography of County Durham:

> 'This bishopric hath Northumberland on the north (divided by the rivers Derwent and Tyne) Yorkshire on the south, the German sea on the east; and on the west (saith Mr Speed) it is touched by Cumberland (*touched* he may well say, for it is but one mile) and Westmorland. However, this may be ranked amongst the middling shires of England.'[11]

Fuller's recognition of County Durham's ranking, as comparable with the social and economic life of southern England, is more accurate than later historians' emphasis on a backward, inherently 'northern' and predominantly upland region. Celia Fiennes, entering County Durham through Gateshead and passing through the heart of the coal field, found 'the whole country looks like a fruitful woody place and seems to equal most countys in England'.[12] The relationship between County Durham and the middle shires of England, in the chronology of house rebuilding, size of houses in the hearth tax, and architectural style, will be developed in later chapters. Chapter Five demonstrates that Fuller and Fiennes would have seen more well built stone farmhouses and cottages, in the countryside of County Durham, than historians have customarily recognised.

Defining a region from the centre deliberately avoids the artificial problem of defining tight limits. For any individual or community, their geographic centre is a product of place. Furthermore, it is not clear that regional identity was a clearly articulated contemporary notion. To properly demarcate a north-east region centred on County Durham, we need to recognise the wider links not the limits of County Durham. County Durham's sea coast connected it, through its ports, to the east coast shipping trade. A newspaper advert from 1724, neatly illustrates the connection of Newcastle to the east

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[10]Knight nd: 21.
[11]Thomas Fuller *The Worthies of England* 1662 ed. Freeman 1952: 154.
[12]*The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* ed. Morris 1947: 212.

coast ports on the route to London, with a Newcastle Hostman holding shares in ships in Bridlington, Whitby and Yarmouth as well as in Newcastle.[13] The coastal trade linked the east coast of England and Scotland to London and beyond.[14] The north sea provided particularly strong trading links between the north-east and the Netherlands and Baltic. During the seventeenth century, the Newcastle coal trade became increasingly orientated on London. Whereas in the sixteenth century Newcastle shipped much of its coal to East Anglia, by 1682-3 two thirds of coastal shipments went to London.[15] The excavated artefact record illuminates the connection between Newcastle and Durham, and east coast centres further south, at Hull, Norwich and Great Yarmouth.[16] Architectural style, in shaped gables, pantiles and brick, connects much of eastern England, with parallels in the Netherlands.[17] In the north-east, the Tyne estuary was the largest centre for shipping, but Sunderland on the Wear, Hartlepool, and Stockton on the Tees also fulfilled key roles in the coastal trade, and for inland areas.[18]

Turning west, the Pennines presented a real separation of north-east from north-west England. Yet this boundedness obviously diminishes the nearer (or higher) you get. Brunskill's definition of a 'new region' of vernacular architecture for the north Pennines emphasised the cohesive nature of building materials on the Pennines, and contrasted these with the brick and pantile of east coast England, and the stone and slate

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[13]*Newcastle Courant* 213 July 18 1724 'To be Sold by Mr Jeremiah Cooke, and Mr. Edward Weatherley, at Mrs Storey's Coffee House near the Broad-Chair-gate in Newcastle, the several Parts of Ships following viz. one 2/30th part of the Bridlington of Bridlington, Christopher Cowton master, 1/16th part of the Bucksnooke of Whitby, James Yeoman master; 1/30th part of the Tryton of Yarmouth, Henry Wright, Master, and 1/10th part of a small vessel lying at the New Key, William Sanderson Master; all which lately belong to John Robinson, junior, Hoastman'.

[14]Willan 1967.

[15]Dietz 1986: 292.

[16]Gwilt et. al. 1993; Clack & Gosling et. al. 1976.

[17]Louw 1981: 1-23; though ports on England's other coasts had similar links, e.g. shaped gables at Exmouth.

[18]*Newcastle Courant* included weather reports and shipping news for the port of Newcastle and the wider north-east region.

of the north-west.[19] The assize circuit linked the four northern counties. Anthony Pearson, at Ramshaw Hall in County Durham in the 1650s, was a Cumberland and Westmoreland Justice, and combined a Quaker following near West Auckland with frequent travel to George Fox in Westmoreland, and the Fells in West Lancashire.[20] The Quaker master-mason, John Langstaffe (1622-94), had a son Thomas Langstaffe, who followed his father's trade and worked in Cumberland. Langstaffe's other sons also went into the mason's trade; John went to Whitby and Bethwell emigrated to Philadelphia.[21] Architectural style and materials, as well as buildings craftsmen, linked the north-east with the north-west (as well as Yorkshire and the colonies). Border administration and commerce linked Carlisle with Newcastle, north of the Pennines. Carlisle was particularly renowned for its textile industry; in 1722-3 William Cotesworth (who supplied dyes to Carlisle) wrote from London that the hangings in the 'yellow-room' in his house in Newcastle were to be cleaned, and 'take care that the canvas for putting up behind the hangings be bought at the best hand, which is Carlisle pieces sold on the Sandhill'.[22] Communications between the north-east and the north-west however were not easy; the 'military road' between Newcastle and Carlisle, close to the line of Hadrian's Wall, was not constructed till after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 highlighted the difficulties of moving troops.[23]

To the north of Newcastle, Northumberland was a separate county. North of Hadrian's Wall, vernacular buildings are thin on the ground, reflecting the replacement of earlier farms by planned farmsteads during eighteenth-century estate improvements.[24] The vernacular architecture of southern Northumberland does however suggest a common

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[19]Brunskill 1975: 107-142.
[20]Chapter Five & Appendix 17.
[21]Colvin 1978: 504-5; Chapter Nine below.
[22]Hughes 1952: 27 & 55.
[23]Drake 1992.
[24]Butlin 1967.

region in house building for Hexhamshire and the area around Morpeth and Tyneside, associated to County Durham. Two of the County Durham gentry houses discussed in Chapter Five were built by migrant Northumberland gentry: a branch of the Catholic Swinburne family migrated to Holywell Hall, in Brancepeth parish, from Swinburne in Northumberland in the 1620s, and Matthew Whitfield moved from Whitfield in Allendale to Wolsingham, in Weardale, and built Whitfield House in *c.*1700.[25] Northern Northumberland was a distant region from Newcastle and County Durham, although there were strong links to Alnwick and the garrison town of Berwick, and Tweedmouth, Norhamshire, Bedlingtonshire and Islandshire were under the jurisdiction of the Palatinate of Durham. The level of insecurity in Northumberland is vividly illustrated by the distinctive bastle housing tradition. Bastles were only built after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, witness to a feuding culture in the Borders which was not dissolved by the dynastic succession.[26] The Act of Union in 1707, was apparently taken as an opportunity to heal division: the *Newcastle Courant* in both the news section and advertisements refers to Scotland as 'North Britain'.[27]

To the south of County Durham the historic divisions had been settled centuries earlier. The Tees was no topographical boundary. Teesdale was a coherent dale, and the Tees basin made the river a centre of trade in agricultural and manufactured goods. The Cleveland Hills mark off the south-eastern edge of the Tees basin, as the Pennines do to the west, but the relatively flat land of the vales of Mowbray and York extends as far south as York. The Tees was a ceremonial boundary, and the bridge and chapel at Croft on Tees, below Darlington, framed the ceremonial entry of new bishops to the Bishopric.[28] The administrative division along the Tees did create frictions, and generated

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[25]DULA, The Leybourne Deeds, Small Gift & Deposit 54; Appendix: 8 & 24.
[26]RCHME 1970; Ryder in Vyner ed. 1990.
[27]eg *Newcastle Courant* 42 November 3 1711 'Yesterday several of the Representatives for North Britain, as well Lords as Commons, and are to be present at the opening of Parliament'.
[28]James 1974: 4-5; Hughes 1952: 304.

county identities where there was no separation by lifestyle or social group. Yorkshire and Durham disputed over who was responsible for the repair of the bridge over the Tees at Yarm. In 1621 the bridge was in decay and statute insisted both sides should contribute equally. The 'Yorkshire men' agreed to pay their share to the bridge warden but the 'Durham men' disputed the exemption clause of the statute and claimed that the exaction of a toll on the Yarm side should provide for repairs. The Durham representatives claimed, perhaps with pride in their county's resource, that the bridge had worn out because of Yarm men hauling coals over it from Durham. The legal dispute lasted four years, though Durham offered a levy of £200 in the interim.[29] Normally relations between the North Riding and Durham were amicable and close. During the civil war Thomas Smelt kept a school in Danby Wiske, near Northallerton, where 'he taught about three score boys, the greater part of which were gentlemen's sons or sons of the more substantial yeomanry of that part of Yorkshire or the south parts of the bishopric of Durham'.[30] In the eighteenth century, the importance of links between the north-east and Yorkshire is underscored by the presence of the Newcastle and County Durham elections in the Yorkshire press.[31] Northern Yorkshire and the southern parts of the bishopric of Durham were intimately related, and as with the other 'edges' of our north-east region, doubtless occupied geographical identities of their own.

Newcastle and Durham were the urban centres of this north-east region. Newcastle was the third largest town in England, outside London, and the commercial hub of the coal trade. Durham was the social and administrative centre of the county palatine of Durham. Wrigley has proposed a model of London's importance in energising and integrating a national economy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[32] In

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[29]Campbell 1942: 337-338.
[30]Cliffe 1969: 71.
[31]Looney nd: 124, the only non-Yorkshire elections to be advertised in Looney's sample.
[32]Wrigley 1967: 44-70.

fact, this national economy was a series of regional economies increasingly affected by the centrifugal force of the 'great wen'. Newcastle along with the industrial area its trade, wealth and population rested on, fulfilled a parallel function in the north-east. London's development was a tale of two inter-dependent cities in our period, with the economic City (and port) of London complimented by the social centre of the West End and court in the City of Westminster. In the north-east, Newcastle and Durham fulfilled these distinct roles in separate cities. Moreover, Newcastle and Durham developed at the same time as London. 'Newcastle' coal literally fuelled London and whereas the Newcastle merchants were able to exercise control of the coal trade in the north-east at the expense of coal owners, the Durham county gentry were active on the Thames and sought to exercise influence over the London end of the trade.[33] The parallel chronologies of London and Newcastle's population growth, and London and Durham's gentry influx and taking of town houses, represents not metropolitan to provincial dependence but inter-dependence.[34] Yet distance from London was critical. Newcastle was not only the third largest town in England after London, but also the furthest away.[35] Whereas in southern England, London was a centre for consumption - both a market for and supplier of goods - in the north-east (and also for parts of the north-west) Newcastle was the more convenient metropolis. Conversely, Newcastle was not isolated from developments in London, and actually had a peculiarly close relationship through the coastal coal and return trade.

A north-east region centred on County Durham, and including the regionally dominant centre of Newcastle, is explored for houses in this thesis. I am aware that the north-east may be an exceptional place to study regionality. Many of the regionally distinctive features of the north-east are related to its distance from 'the centre'.

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[33]Hughes 1952: 151-257; Wrightson & Levine 1991: 21-24; Langford 1994: 177.
[34]see Heal 1988: 211-26; Ellis 1984.
[35]Borsay 1989: 4-11; see Chapters Seven & Eight below.

Moreover, the north-east has been regarded as peculiarly easy to define. However, centre-to-periphery models and the easy use of topographical boundaries, elide the culturally distinctive nature of regions. The real history of building and living in houses in the early modern period cannot be attained while we maintain assumptions about regional character which presume backwardness and ignorance. Those social groups that prospered in our period led lives in the north-east which parallel developments in housing and lifestyle elsewhere in England, not least in London and the home counties. The distinctive regional society of north-east England does not preclude its parity with developments further south.

A Short History of the North-East 1500-1800

The story of the early modern north-east has been told elsewhere, unfortunately mainly in fragments. The most sustained histories of the early modern north-east have presented a modernising model. James argued that County Durham was transformed from a neo-feudal 'lineage society' in the sixteenth century to a 'civil society' by the eve of the Civil War.[36] The Watts argued that Northumberland was transformed from an unstable and retarded Border region in 1586 to a 'Middle Shire' by 1625; playing out in speeded up form the 'transformation of medieval England into a recognisable modern pre-industrial state' which occurred across England as a whole, in their view, between 1530 and 1660.[37] Such telescoping of a medieval to modern (feudal to capitalist) transition into less than a century, is unsatisfactory. The north-east certainly experienced radical changes to its social and economic fabric in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. It is less clear that this necessarily means it was inexorably moving from the medieval to the modern; and certainly not in the stadial sense of one totalising cultural

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[36]James 1974.
[37]Watt & Watt 1975: 13.

system giving way to another. There are too many continuities to explain change in this way.

Events in the sixteenth century dramatically restructured social life in the north-east. The single most significant development was the expansion of the coal trade, ultimately dependent on increased demand for coal created by the growth of London. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century witnessed the greatest period of increase in the north-east coal trade; starting from an already high basis of 60,000 tons a year in the mid-sixteenth century, there was a ten-fold increase by the late seventeenth century.[38] The expansion of the coal trade was not limited to coal shipped by sea. Land-sale coal was extracted from inland areas of lowland County Durham as far south as Chilton and Raby. A second line of land-sale mines were established at Shildon, Hamsterley, Softley and Etherley.[39] By the end of the seventeenth century, the land-sale districts of Northumberland and County Durham produced about 100,000 tons per annum; a sixth of the sea-sale trade.[40] During the seventeenth century, almost the entire County Durham coal field was exploited. Land-sale coal was largely consumed by the domestic burning of fuel in the houses of the region. Coal of inferior quality from the sea-sale areas was used by industries on Tyne- and Wear-side, especially glass manufacture and salt extraction from sea-water. Industrialisation, in addition to coal mining and associated industries, also involved lead mining in the Pennines and ship building on Tyne- and Wear-side.

Industrialisation in County Durham created a large wage-labour population, increasingly dependent on purchased food-stuffs. Farming in County Durham altered in the seventeenth century in response to the demand presented by this local market for agricultural produce. There is a consensus among economic historians that enclosure in

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[38]Knight nd: 35; Dietz 1986: 286, revising Nef's calculation of 36,000 tons.
[39]Nef 1966: I, 37-8.
[40]Nef 1966: I, 36, coastal trade 1681-90, 685,000 tons; Dietz 1986: 292 Newcastle & Sunderland 676,826 tons; Knight nd: 36.

County Durham was a product of demand for food from coal workers, rather than being motivated primarily by raising rents.[41] The vast majority of County Durham townfield (arable and often meadow and pasture) enclosures occurred during the seventeenth century; with the majority of documented enclosures between 1630 and 1680.[42] Hodgson calculated that 75,000 acres were enclosed between 1550 and 1750, while Yelling has noted that only six townfields remained to be enclosed by act of Parliament after 1800.[43] Enclosures were concentrated in lowland Durham (the Tees basin, east Durham plateau and the southern Wear lowlands), the coal-mining parishes of the Tyne (Ryton, Whickham and Winlaton) and the lower Wear Valley (Herington, Newbottle, Chester le Street and Lumley).[44] Seventeenth century enclosures were particularly intensive in the south-east of the county, and Roberts observes a marked increase in the depopulation of settlements as a result of enclosure, especially in the south-east of the county, from the late sixteenth century.[45] As Hodgson concluded, ultimately 'enclosure in County Durham was a function of London's demand for coal'.[46]

Alongside industrialisation and agricultural change, the social make up of north-east society underwent significant alteration between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century. The social tensions generated by industrialisation and agricultural change prompted high levels of litigation which spawned a prominent legal profession. Lawyers were also numerous in Durham as a result of the Palatinate's legal prerogatives (including its own Chancery court and church courts).[47] The clergy were also increasingly

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[41]Floud & McCloskey 1994: 117-8.
[42]Hodgson 1979: 52-3 & 93; Wordie, J.R. 'Chronology of English Enclosure' 495, cited in Knight 1990: 53; Morin 1998: 101-6; common pasture further afield from the township was not usually enclosed till after 1750.
[43]Yelling 1977: 19; Hodgson 1979: 86
[44]Knight nd: 54.
[45]Knight nd: 387; Roberts 1977: 21.
[46]Hodgson 1979: 90.
[47]Nef 1966: I, 286 & Knight nd: 410-428, the lack of a clear body of law and precedent to regulate the coal industry bred litigation, especially *c.*1570-1640.

professional, and appointments to the wealthy Durham diocese from the late sixteenth century (and especially under Bishop Neile, 1617-27) came to the Bishopric as ecclesiastical careerists, rather than from County Durham gentry and noble families. The nobility lost influence and power, and the gentry and upper middling sort rose in social prominence. Merchants in Newcastle became spectacularly wealthy. Marriage alliances between Newcastle merchants and the County Durham gentry, and between the gentry and the new lawyer and clerical dynasties at Durham, present a kaleidoscope of inter-secting elite interests within the seventeenth and early eighteenth century north-east.[48] The prosperity generated by industrialisation and agricultural change benefited the elite and upper middling sort, whereas the lower orders were increasingly dependent on wage-labour.

These developments took place within the context of religious reformation, with persistent catholic recusancy and Protestant non-conformity alongside a powerful ecclesiastical hierarchy in the established church of the Bishopric. The majority of County Durham's population, seemingly, failed to be won over to new forms of worship. Prominent gentry families in both County Durham and Northumberland also defined themselves through opposition to the reformed Church. The proscription of catholic recusants, from the late sixteenth through to the early eighteenth century, placed limits on the purchase of property and risked the seizure of estates. The presence of a significant Catholic communion in Durham City had an influence on the social topography of the town; not least in relation to the dominance of the Anglican cathedral and Protestant gentry. Jesuit priests regularly visited Durham, and some of the lesser gentry halls of County Durham were used (and built) as part of the mission. Protestant non-conformity, with a famously Puritan merchant community in Newcastle, and in Sunderland, had

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[48]James 1974: 67-74 & passim.

further implications for where people lived.[49] Quakers dwelt in Claypath in Durham City, and George Fox preached inside and outside houses in the countryside.[50]

The secular power of the Bishops of Durham also impacted on social relations. Whereas elsewhere the county gentry had considerable influence in urban boroughs, in Durham the bishop held by patent the patronage of almost all offices of authority; from the sheriff to the clerks of civil pleas and assizes to the gaoler.[51] The civil war and commonwealth witnessed the dismantling of the palatinate system of local government, disrupting administration and lordship and generating considerable uncertainty in the region. In 1647-9 Parliament ordered the preparation of a scheme for establishing a county administration in Durham parallel to neighbouring counties. In April 1649 all Dean and Chapters in England were dissolved. Acts of Parliament in 1651 and 1654 brought Durham under the jurisdiction of Westminster, and the tenants of the Bishop's and Dean and Chapter estates were able to purchase their freeholds.[52] At the Restoration, however, Bishop Cosin was equipped with the rights and privileges of his predecessors, and the ecclesiastical estates were restored to the Bishopric and the Cathedral Dean and Chapter.[53] The absence of political representation in the House of Commons was a long running source of grievance in Durham City, and less acutely across the county. The Bishop was meant to provide virtual representation in the Lords, but Durham finally received Parliamentary representation in the lower house, under the aristocratic and amenable Bishop Crewe, in the 1670s.[54]

The position of the church as landlord in the sixteenth century underwent significant change. The extensive rural and urban estates of the Bishop and the Dean and

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[49]Howell 1967; James 1974: 89, 136, 174-5 & passim.
[50]see Chapters Five & Eight.
[51]Whiting 1938.
[52]Morin nd.
[53]Whiting 1952: 10-16.
[54]Whiting 1940 & 1952: 10-16, first elections for Parliament in Durham County, 1675, for Durham City, 1678.

Chapter (formerly Priory) of Durham, largely survived Dissolution by the Tudor Crown, under Henry VIII. These estates funded the Bishopric and cathedral church at Durham, which presented an Anglican and court-centred bulwark against over-mighty subjects and border instability in the North. During the later sixteenth century, tenurial changes, in the creation of copyholder status and long leaseholds, increased the ecclesiastical revenues and diminished the controls of these apparently 'medieval' lordships.[55] As leaseholders, Dean and Chapter and Bishopric tenants, had greater control over changes to their landholdings and houses. The more dramatic economic changes in the region, however, were initiated by those with landholdings taken outside of the reach of the ecclesiastical estates, and northern nobility, via the intervention of the Tudor Crown, under Elizabeth.

Trevor-Roper argued that the religious reformation in Durham was followed by an economic reformation, which freed the forces of capital to expand the north-east coal trade.[56] The bishops of Durham had hindered the development of the coal trade through the inertia of their great estate and tenancy arrangements (especially short leases), which inhibited risk and capital outlay.[57] The Dissolution transferred the Bishop's mineral rights to the Crown; Crown leases of 21 years and freer lordship encouraged deeper mining and fixed rents provided huge profits for colliery owners. The transfer of the most lucrative coal rich land around Gateshead, via the Crown's 'Grand Lease' (from 1578, of the manors of Gateshead and Whickham; granted to the Crown by the newly elevated Bishop Barnes), to the merchant 'oligarchy' of Newcastle, gave control of coal mining as well as its shipment to the merchants in Newcastle.[58] After 1600, yeomen and husbandmen mine operators were squeezed out, and enclosure agreements actively conspired to deprive smallholders of their mineral rights, although yeomen did participate in the carrying trade,

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[55]Morin nd; Bowes 1990; James 1974: 80-3.
[56]Trevor-Roper 1945.
[57]Knight nd: 38 Nef 1966: I, 144.
[58]Knight nd: 38, citing Nef 1966: I, 134-5 & 444; Wrightson & Levine 1991: 18-23.

and prospered from shifting coal by wagon.[59] In the late sixteenth and early to mid-seventeenth century Newcastle merchants funded the coal trade, while County Durham greater gentry exploited their landholdings.[60] During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the Durham gentry gained greater control of the coal trade. Their success in limiting the monopoly of the Newcastle merchants was partly achieved through the development of the Wear coalfield, and especially Sunderland as its port. Whereas in *c.*1600, 97.5% of north-east coal exports were shipped from the Tyne, by 1680 Sunderland shipments amounted to a third of the Tyne figure.[61] The county gentry challenge on Tyne-side, was achieved through combining into larger units, most dramatically with the Grand Allies (combine of Ravensworth, Bowes and Wortley families) of the late 1720s.[62] The gentry combines established large landholdings, held at 'dead rents' which secured mineral rights and rights of way, but had little interest in agricultural cultivation.[63] This capitalist grip on tenure, presumably inhibited house rebuilding on those lands removed from middling enclosure and mining, while allowing poorer groups to reside there.

James identified the Northern Rising of 1569 as a turning point in County Durham society.[64] The Northern Rising, prompted by court politics and religious grievances, represented the final exercise of the northern earls' influence in the region and brought added discomfort to local Catholics. Economic and social changes followed directly from the changes in lordship created by the Crown's victory in 1569. The large estates of Raby and Brancepeth, held by the noble Nevilles, were seized by the Crown and later sold

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[59]Buxton 1978: 18-19; Wrightson & Levine 1991.
[60]Knight nd: 42; Nef 1966: II, 4-9 & 18-20; Buxton 1978: 27-28.
[61]James 1974: 87; Nef 1966: I, 36, calculated that in 1595-1600, the Tyne valley shipped 97.5% of coal exported from the north-east; by 1681-90 the Tyne share dropped to 73.5%, with Wear shipping (ie Sunderland) accounting for 22.5%.
[62]Buxton 1978: 36-37.
[63]see McCollum-Oldroyd nd.
[64]James 1974 & 1973: 49-83.

piecemeal, between the 1590s and 1630s, to local gentry and farmers via London moneymen.[65] 'Feudal' ties of dependence were weak long before 1569, but the crown seizure of the Brancepeth and Raby estates, and consequent dispersal of its land holdings, provided a key impetus to the seventeenth century enclosure and rebuilding of houses in rural County Durham.[66] The upper middling sort and gentry rose in social standing as a direct result of the eclipsing of the northern nobility; gaining greater prominence in their communities after the removal of the top tier of local lords.[67] The sale of Brancepeth and Raby lands via the Crown, increased the landholdings of gentry and yeomen freeholders in central and south lowland County Durham, and promoted enclosure, which itself was a response to the market for agricultural goods created by the expanded coal trade. Enclosure provided the mechanism for increasing agricultural profits, with which both gentry and prospering farmers rebuilt their houses. Freeholders led the way in enclosure, and Morin shows that Dean and Chapter, and Bishop's tenants, followed their example.[68] Whether gentry landlords promoted enclosure in the seventeenth century, or merely saw the benefits after others had done so, is less clear. The former would seem most likely, given the renowned commercial nouse of the County Durham gentry who were actively engaged in the coal trade.[69] House rebuilding by the lesser elite and upper middling sort during the seventeenth century was part of this increased prosperity and an expression of substance in the community.

As with coal mining, agricultural change brought prosperity to the wealthier inhabitants of County Durham's rural communities, and impoverished the majority. The

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[65]Lordship vested in the crown was distant and impersonal, and less rigorously administered, see Hoyle ed. 1992; PRO: LR 2/214, LR2/192/33-71, E164/37/278-316, SC/12/7/24 Crown surveys and rentals of Brancepeth and Raby manors 1569-1631.

[66]PRO Homberstone's 1570 Crown survey of Brancepeth and Raby estates; Homberstone's prologue expresses anxiety over the imminent collapse of local economy and order with the disappearance of the noble elite and their structures of 'government'.

[67]see Wrightson 1982: 35-36.

[68]Morin nd: 101.

[69]Langford 1992: 62; James 1974 & Hughes 1952.

efforts of Durham Chancery court to ameliorate the social impact of enclosure, are testimony to the degree of social polarisation economic change wrought.[70] Knight and Morin both emphasise the linkage between industrialisation and agricultural improvement, in the documentation of coal ash, and burning lime with coal, to apply as a fertiliser.[71] Chapter Seven shows that the early eighteenth century property adverts for farms, emphasise access and proximity to limestone and coals, as part of the discourse of agricultural improvement.

The Neville estates were symbolic of the old order, and some of their land passed to the new Newcastle coal owners; Selbies, Hodgsons and Andersons.[72] Brancepeth castle was bought with colliery money by the 'parvenu' Coles of Gateshead, and Raby was purchased by the courtier Vanes. James emphasised that the entry of Newcastle coal owning families into County Durham lands was especially rapid between 1565 and 1625; by 1615 ten such families were already established in the county community. Daughters of catholic Durham gentry were especially prone to marriage to Newcastle merchants, with the gentry gaining resources and the merchants coal rich land. The old gentry families (Bowes, Lambtons and Lumleys) were prominent in the Wear coal trade, while the Newcastle merchants had greater control of the Tyne trade.[73] The distinctive mentalities of merchants and gentry remained, however, despite their shared interest in the coal trade, and inter-marriage. The changes in Brancepeth and Raby's lordship, together with the greater tenurial security of the ecclesiastical estates leaseholding (transferred from copyholds), provided the local context to the national social change of rising gentry and yeomen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The issue of gentility can be indexed by the attendance of families at the Heraldic Visitations, anxious to establish their

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[70]Knight nd: 409-10.
[71]Knight nd: 56; Morin nd.
[72]Knight nd: 59, follows James 1974: 67-8.
[73]James 1974: 67-70.

armigerous status. In the County Durham Heraldic Visitation of 1530, six families attended; fifty six did so in 1575, and one-hundred-and-two families claimed gentry status in 1615.[74] Tillbrook established that by 1615 two-hundred-and-seventeen gentry families recorded their arms of descent at the Herald's Visitation, a three fold increase on 1572.[75] In the striking increase in the number of families claiming gentry status between 1570 and 1620, there were a number of rich farmers who had previously been content as 'yeomen'.[76] Wealth was necessary to convince contemporaries that gentle status was legitimate. Favourable national economic conditions for agricultural incomes between *c.*1560 and 1640, combined with the regional economic vitality promoted by the coal trade, and local market for agricultural produce, was highly beneficial for freeholders, and landlords. Economic and social change, from the late sixteenth century, came together in the form of rebuilt houses in the seventeenth century. These houses are analysed in Chapter Five.

Literacy rates corroborate the picture of social and economic change from the late sixteenth century bringing County Durham society closer to southern England during the seventeenth century. Cressy claims the Durham gentry were 'amazingly illiterate' in the 1560s with 41% unable to sign their names.[77] Yet by the 1620s, the Durham gentry had reached levels of literacy equivalent to southern England. Lower social status literacy in sixteenth century County Durham was lower than southern England, but by the late seventeenth century, craftsmen, tradesmen and yeomen were on a par with Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire.[78] According to Johnson increasing national homogeneity in literacy levels was part of a process of centralisation, and unification, in English culture.[79]

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[74]James 1974: 108-9.
[75]Tillbrook nd: 168.
[76]James 1974: 71.
[77]Cressy 1978: 23.
[78]Houston 1982: 250.
[79]Johnson 1996: 196-8.

One might argue that the north-east was 'backward' up until the late sixteenth century, and then achieved a remarkable 'catch up' in the early seventeenth century, falling into line with national patterns by the late seventeenth century. The houses of the region indicate that changes in ways of living were in step with the national picture from the end of the sixteenth century, for the prosperous.[80] Early modern north-east England was precocious in its experience of industrialisation and commercialised agriculture, and contemporaries were aware that the economic development of the region was of national significance. Coal for London, and feeding the workforce of the coalfield, was crucial to the national interest, as witnessed by the strategic significance of control and defence of Newcastle during the civil war.[81] In both the early and late seventeenth century, litigants defending enclosure and the deleterious effects of mining and moving coal, in Durham Chancery, often invoked the importance of the coal industry, and agricultural improvement, to the commonwealth.[82] Yet the region, and more particularly the county, was distinctive. When the Palatinate of Durham was threatened with abolition in about 1688, a petition was launched to defend the courts, submitting that 'at all times, right and justice have, within the same county, been distributed to such of the inhabitants thereof as have sued for the same in any of the courts of the county palatine'.[83]

Across our north-east region, in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, economic arrangements and social development underwent significant change, but still within the lines of development originating in the late sixteenth century. Social status, in the definition of gentility, became increasingly diffuse, and wealth became somewhat more equitably spread. The consumption of household goods and furniture, from the late seventeenth century, by the upper middling sort and elite, demonstrates the prosperity of

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[80]Mercer 1975; Barley 1961.
[81]Howell 1967.
[82]Knight nd: 461-3.
[83]Knight nd: 67, citing Hutchinson 1787: I, 561n.

the north-east, for higher social groups. Weatherill's study of national consumption patterns, based on the appearance of 'new goods' in inventories between 1660 and 1760, ranks the north-east as 'advanced' as London and ahead of parts of the home counties.[84] I will show that houses, as well as their contents, were equally in step with southern England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, for the prosperous. The majority of the population, of lower social status, however, between the late sixteenth and late seventeenth century, probably experienced worsening poverty and a deterioration in housing conditions, as a result of increasing dependence on wage labour and drastically reduced access to land.

Industrialisation, agricultural change and housing

Industrialisation brought changes in housing conditions. The high levels of inmigration to the coal districts far exceeded the pre-existing housing stock and encouraged squatting on common land. The degree to which workers housing was provided by mine owners is unclear. There was apparently a better class of houses provided for the new managerial class created by the need to manage a large workforce and technical processes of mining and moving coal. Nef notes that in most areas where coal mining developed extensively in England in the seventeenth century, mine owners provided their employees with lodgings, along with food, drink and fuel.[85] Evidence for workers housing provided by mine owners is supported by a 1637 Durham Chancery case, which involved claims for rent arrears by pit owners from workers; the labourers claimed (successfully) that they had discharged house rent arrears by working vend for the colliery.[86] The seasonal migration of colliers from land-sale mines in south Durham to pits

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[84]Weatherill 1988: 28 & 43-69, 'new goods' rare in 1675 are defined as utensils for hot drinks, china, cutlery, window curtains, looking glasses, pictures and clocks; by 1675 books, silver, table linen, pewter and earthenware were more common; basic furniture and cooking utensils ubiquitous.
[85]Nef. 1966; II, 87-88, no details for north-east.
[86]Knight nd: 424-5.

in the Wear valley in winter (when the land-sale mines usually closed), along with the high turnover in mining employment generally, has severe implications for the quality of the housing stock (as documented in the Hearth Tax, in Chapter Three). Moreover, there was little relief from by-employment in agriculture given the high proportion of the population engaged in mining.[87]

Hughes notes that from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and presumably earlier, leases record the obligation by the coal-owner for providing tied pitmen's houses and a special coal allowance for domestic use. The leases refer to 'hovels' or dwelling-houses for the pitmen as new pits were opened. Henry Liddell's lease of Urpeth colliery in 1712 was to include '40s. damage for heap room yearly, and to make ample satisfaction for wayleaves and all spoil ground for building hovels, stables cottages and all other necessarys for ye Colliery'.[88] The use of the term 'hovel'[89] and the evident proximity of workers housing to spoil heaps and waste ground, paint a picture of poorly constructed housing, as temporary as the usually short life of the coal workings, on otherwise unusable ground, cheek by jowl with the spoil heaps and spoilt ground.

Industrialisation and agricultural change wrought dramatic alterations in the settlement pattern of County Durham during the seventeenth century. County Durham's settlement pattern had been decisively shaped in the replanning of towns and villages by ecclesiastical overlords during the twelfth century.[90] Generally, dispersed settlement characterised the upland areas, with greater nucleation, especially around village greens, across lowland County Durham. The break point between dispersed and nucleated settlement, has been defined as the 'hailing distance' of one-hundred-and-fifty metres between houses.[91] This nicely captures the social dynamics of house location. Nucleated

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[87]Nef 1966: II, 165; Wrightson & Levine 1991.
[88]Hughes 1952: 257.
[89]see Airs 1983: 45-49.
[90]Bowes 1990; Roberts 1977: 45.
[91]Roberts & Austin 1975: 9.

settlements, however, are also present in the Durham dales, along the principal watercourses. Dispersed settlement, usually individual farmsteads, also occur in between villages in lowland County Durham. The seventeenth century witnessed the greatest change between the twelfth and nineteenth century in settlement pattern (i.e. house location) and standard of housing, as a result of industrialisation and agricultural change.[92] New mining settlements in the coal field and Pennine uplands, now largely nineteenth and early twentieth century terraces, began as seventeenth century settlements.[93] Furthermore, the shrunken and deserted villages of south-eastern County Durham, are a product of enclosure and the exodus of the poorer population to work in the coal field, during our period.

Most villages in south-eastern County Durham experienced some shrinkage between the late sixteenth and late eighteenth century. Hodgson's comparison of the 1563 Ecclesiastical Return with the 1674 Hearth Tax and 1801 census, demonstrates a declining number of households in many settlements in south-eastern Durham, which today are deserted. Seventeenth century enclosure of many townfields, consolidating strip farms and ring-fencing the new units 'frequently initiated the amalgamation of small units and the consolidation of large compact farms, a trend inexplicably associated with settlement shrinkage and eventual depopulation'.[94] In the coalfield, by contrast, traditional villages were subsumed by 'mining colonisation'; maintaining or extending the number of cottage holdings, converting surplus farmsteads into dwellings for persons not regularly engaged in agriculture.[95] Roberts calculates that of all known 'rural clusters' of houses in County

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[92]Roberts 1977: 4 & 20-1, rural settlement growth peaked in County Durham by 1320, & the population declined until 1500 with severe settlement shrinkage and desertion; Bonny 1990: 229 & 234-5, Durham's early physical expansion largely came to an end by the thirteenth century.
[93]Roberts 1977: 5.
[94]Roberts 1977: 21; Hodgson 1979.
[95]Roberts & Austin 1975: 14.

Durham in 1975, 64% survive as sites of habitation, 12.5% are shrunken, and 23.5% have been deserted.[96]

In conjunction with village depopulation and shrinkage, many settlements experienced the expansion of single houses over the sites of several previous house-sites, during the seventeenth century. The significance of argicultural and tenurial change in County Durham from the late sixteenth century, brought about an earlier consolidation of farms and farmsteads in nucleated settlements, than elsewhere in England. In England generally, the amalgamation of farmsteads, or house plots (tofts), with one house on the site of several predecessors was most marked between 1750 and 1850, as agriculture commercialized. In Durham this process was most marked in the seventeenth century, especially between 1625 and 1675 when communal strip fields were being consolidated and enclosed.[97] Amalgamation of house plots imply widespread house rebuilding in seventeenth century County Durham.

The agricultural change that promoted enclosure of townfields and wastes, also encouraged 'isolated' farmsteads in their own fields. Most standing farmhouses in isolated locations date from between 1660 and 1760, and estate maps only document dispersed farms from *c.*1760.[98] Yet the high degree of early-mid seventeenth century enclosures (mostly of townfields rather than wastes), were almost certainly accompanied by house rebuilding.[99] Many of the eighteenth century 'isolated' farms may be seventeenth century in origin, and may well represent much older continuity in dispersed settlement. At the very least, we should not assume that late eighteenth century post-enclosure farms were not present a century earlier.

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[96]Roberts 1977: 19; Roberts & Austin 1975: 15.
[97]Roberts1977: 35-6; see also Morin nd.
[98]Morin nd.
[99]Brassley 1985.

The varying socio-economic conditions of County Durham might be expected to produce differences in family life, and household organisation. Issa's systematic study of Chester-le-Street, Sedgefield and Stanhope parishes, has demonstrated that James' tri-partite kinship divisions of the county are fanciful.[100] James claimed remarkably modern kinship (nuclear and subject to effects of geographic mobility) in lowland areas; and an even more modern social structure in northern, industrialised, County Durham (with colliers marginal to the established social order, not owning land beyond plots for their cottages, and difficult to incorporate into the parish organisation), and 'traditional' kinship obligations persisting in poorer and more isolated upland areas.[101] Issa demonstrates that families in the large upland parish of Stanhope in Weardale followed very similar kinship patterns to those in the predominantly agricultural economy of lowland south-east County Durham, in Sedgefield parish, and industrialising society of north County Durham in Chester-le-Street parish.[102] All three of Issa's parishes exhibit the distinctively English kinship pattern of nuclear and mobile families. A potential weakness of her study, however, is the use of parishes centred on a market centre; more exclusively rural parishes might produce more extended kinship ties. In late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Ryton, Chaytor claimed that extended households may have been quite common, at least in the early seventeenth century, with parents often living with married children, while widows might lead households, and young children frequently stayed at home rather than going into service.[103] The implication of Issa and Wrightson's findings on the uniformity of family obligations (across County Durham and across England), are that household organisation was not radically dissimilar across the region,

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[100]Issa nd: 143.
[101]James 1974: 19-29 & 93-96; see also Knight nd: 63-65; Brassley 1985: 3-4.
[102]Issa nd.
[103]Chaytor 1980: 47; Issa nd, detects somewhat stronger kinship bonds in the uplands; Green 1998: 39-40, detects extended kin links in lowland County Durham, in late sixteenth century Byers Green.

or in relation to England as a whole. The internal arrangement of houses, probably differed more by social group than by geography in early modern County Durham, and England. I will return to this point in Chapter Five.

Conclusion

This chapter has charted the social and economic changes experienced in County Durham and Newcastle from the late sixteenth through to the early eighteenth century. I have argued that we can identify a reconfiguration of interests in the late sixteenth century, which were directly implicated in political and religious developments, and underpinned by economics, which developed through the course of the seventeenth century, and in somewhat altered form persisted through the early eighteenth century. These changes involved the expansion of the coal trade, agricultural change, alterations in lordship, and religious reformation; all of which had dramatic effects for social relations and the linkages of the region to the wider world. This was not simply the context to changing houses in this period; rather, houses were part and parcel of change and continuity in social life.

Knight concluded that the Durham region was ahead of its time industrially, advanced agriculturally, and the profits of both facilitated the increasing assimilation of the more wealthy into the mainstream of national culture.[104] Rebuilt houses, successively altered between *c.*1570 and 1730, were one manifestation of the region's prosperous population, participating in national culture. This cultural change was not, however, simply a process of assimilation. The architectural form, in internal arrangement and external appearance, of houses in County Durham and Newcastle, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, was regionally distinctive, as well as being differentiated by

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[104]Knight nd: 19.

social group. Moreover, the material form of houses in the landscape, was a vital aspect of regional differentiation in early modern England.

Whittaker, taking the Tyne and Tees as boundaries for a synthetic study of the *Old Halls and Manor Houses of Durham*, observed a series of changes in architecture between the Scottish border and York. Contrasting 'the cold austere and generally simple architecture of Northumberland' with the 'gentler and more congenial' architecture of the York plain, Whittaker claimed that County 'Durham lies between these two seeming extremes, an area of change in materials and techniques but more particularly of attitude to building'.[105] South-eastern County Durham shared its construction techniques, building materials and resulting house forms with the north of the York plain, while the house forms of northern County Durham continued into southern Northumberland, up to about the line of Hadrian's Wall. The experience of houses in the landscape involved a reflexive response to regional variation, and contributed to a sense of regionality. The evidence for rebuilding will be explored more fully in Chapter Five, for rural County Durham, and in Chapter Eight for Durham and Newcastle. Before assessing what attitudes to building may have been, however, the following two chapters analyse the Hearth Tax to attain a firmer grasp on this society of householders, and the proportion of houses which survive for us to look at.

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[105]Whittaker 1975: 3-4.

Chapter Three: Households in the Hearth Tax, 1660-1680

The Hearth Tax has been used to analyse late seventeenth century social stratigraphy since its compilation.[1] Introduced after the Restoration in 1662 to fund the impoverished monarchy, the levy lasted till the 'Glorious Revolution' when William and Mary abolished the unpopular tax in April 1689.[2] The assessments and returns ostensibly record all households, giving the number of hearths for each named householder, providing a unique source for housing and house size. I have employed these records to establish the social profile of communities across County Durham, while comparison with Hearth Tax figures from elsewhere enables housing in County Durham to be placed in national context. Households in the Hearth Tax for Durham and Newcastle will be analysed separately in Chapter Eight.

Chimneys and the Franchise

The contemporary recognition of chimneys as a signal of wealth as well as warmth, underpinned the adoption of hearths as a means of taxation. The most generous franchise qualifications in early modern England also adopted the householder as the basic social unit. In potwalloper boroughs the vote extended to all self-sufficient male householders, and an eighteenth-century Parliamentary definition of a potwalloper was 'every inhabitant in the borough who had a family and boiled a pot there'.[3] The potwalloper vote depended upon a man proving that he provided his own sustenance, to do so he must demonstrate 'that he was master of a fireplace at which he could cook at, and that he was in control of a doorway leading to his own dwelling'.[4] We can take this as

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[1]especially by Gregory King, Arkell & Schurer eds. 1992: 1-5 & Spufford nd: 9-10, I am grateful to Professor Spufford for sending me a copy of her lecture.
[2]Guiseppi nd I, i, 113, 13 & 14 Charles II Cap X; 1 William & Mary Cap. X. *Statutes at Large* 1858 vol. II; see also Beckett in Alldridge ed. 1983; Chandaman 1975; Coleby 1987: 87-155.
[3]Porritts 1909: 20, 60-1, quoting 31, citing *House of Commons Journals* XI, 492.
[4](in the Porritts words) citing *House of Commons Journals* XX, 366.

the lowest contemporary definition of a householder; a household was defined in terms of living space, where a cooking hearth and external entrance were present. The importance of a cooking hearth makes sense of a householder in the Hearth Tax.

The significance of chimneys as an index of wealth and social standing also extended to franchise qualifications in burgage boroughs. Burgage houses were called 'vote houses' in Parliament, and some were let specifically for election periods. The Porritts concluded that:

> 'Until 1832, it must have been possible for an observant traveller to ascertain from the outside seat of a stage coach in which burgage boroughs there was some vestige of a residential qualification, and in which any such qualification had completely fallen into desuetude. In the occupation boroughs, when controverted election cases came before the Parliamentary committees, much stress was usually laid on the existence of chimneys. The chimney had an important part in the constitutional history of these boroughs; for wherever there was retained a vestige of an occupation qualification, it was necessary for the owner of a vote house, no matter how wretched a hovel it might be, to prove that it could be occupied; and one of the conclusive proofs of this, and one frequently submitted to election committees, was the existence of a chimney. Where occupation was necessary, the chimneys of the burgage hovels were usually carefully preserved. They constituted part of the title to vote.'[5]

Chimneys were more significant than we might imagine in early modern England. This chapter shows that levels of wealth correlated with hearth numbers; chimneys as an index of wealth would have been equally apparent to contemporaries.

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[5]Porritts 1909: 35.

Administration of the Hearth Tax

The Act of 1662 charged two shillings per annum for each fire hearth or stove, twice yearly, at Michaelmas (29 September) and Lady Day (25 March).[6] The tax was payable by the occupier, rather than the owner, of 'every dwelling and other House and Edifice and all Lodgings and Chambers'. Those too poor to pay the church or poor rate, and the occupiers of houses worth less than twenty shillings per annum were exempt. The twenty shillings referred to the 'full improved rent' or market value of the property and included the use or occupation of lands and tenements. The exempt were also not to have any other 'lands, tenements, goods or chattels' of £10 value or more. These financial qualifications for exemption required certificates from the parish officers that were certified by a Justice of the Peace. Those in receipt of alms were perhaps more likely to be omitted from non-solvency lists, as constables were not obliged to include them in certificates of exemption. Also exempted were industrial kilns and furnaces, private ovens and hearths in charitable institutions with revenue below £100 per annum.[7]

The 1662 Act underwent several amendments, and the instructions issued to local collectors were refined. After 1663 householders and hearths classed as exempt were instructed to be recorded in returns. From 1664 all households with more than two hearths were liable, even if otherwise qualified as exempt.[8] The 1664 amendment also tightened up on landlords, who were prevented from letting houses to exempt tenants, and from evading liability by reducing the value of their property by letting 'lands, Gardens Orchards or Outhouses formerly belonging to any Dwelling house or Cottage apart from the same' or by sub-dividing houses so that they came within the exemption category. The

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[6]13 & 14 Charles II Cap. X *Statutes at Large* 1858, III.
[7]Arkell in Alldridge 1983: 23-44; Arkell & Schurer 1992: 40-41.
[8]16 Charles II Cap. III, cited in Arkell & Schurer 1992: 25.

printed instructions of 1684 included cottages on commons specifically to be listed, though local officers may have done so earlier.[9]

The administrative apparatus of the Hearth Tax also changed over the life-time of the tax. The initial Act of 1662 had catered for collection by local officials, but when this proved ineffective crown officials were employed between 1664 and 1666. Tax farming was tried between 1666 and 1669, but failed and crown officials took over again from 1669 till the tax's abolition in 1689.[10] Collection by crown officials proved to be the most effective form of administration, and in County Durham the 1666 and 1674 Exchequer Returns provide the most comprehensive coverage.[11]

The records for County Durham over the lifetime of the tax are poor, as they are for most counties north of the Humber, and Husbands excluded the north from his national study.[12] Yet Meekings included Durham as one of ten counties to have remarkably complete assessments between 1670-74.[13] Assessment records are to be differentiated from Returns; with the Assessment being compiled before collections were due, rather than a record of the Returns of sums collected. Meekings noted that Exchequer Hearth Tax records from 1670-74 mostly combined assessments with returns, and the 1674 County Durham Hearth Tax (collected by Crown officials) is believed to be a combined assessment and return.[14]

The 1674 Lady Day Return made to the Exchequer is analysed here, as the most comprehensive surviving return for Durham.[15] Although lacunae might be compensated for by comparison with 1666, this is made difficult by intervening changes in house

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[9]Arkell & Schurer 1992: 47-50.
[10]Smith 1978: 88-89.
[11]Hodgson 1978; Howell 1964: 42-5.
[12]Husbands nd.
[13]cited by Arkell in Alldridge 1983: 29-30.
[14]cited by Arkell in Alldridge 1983: 29-30; Elizabeth Parkinson pers. com..
[15]Lady Day 1674 PRO E179/106/25; Lady Day 1666 PRO E179/106/28; 1666 records 12,161 households, 1674 13,322.

building and turnover in occupancy. For the county as a whole, the proportions of hearth ranges are broadly consistent between 1666 and 1674. In 1666, 40% of County Durham households were recorded as exempt, compared to 43% in 1674. Sixty eight per cent of all entries were for single hearths in 1666, with 73% in 1674. This increase reflects the greater degree of recording in 1674, rather than a real increase in poverty. Around a quarter of the population occupied the middling band of two to four hearth households in 1666 and 1674, with the remaining 5% having five hearths or more. Comparison between 1666 and 1674 by ward and parish might indicate increases in hearth numbers through rebuilding, but the less comprehensive 1666 data has not been analysed in detail.

The Hearth tax was collected everywhere in England and Wales at the lowest unit of civic authority; in County Durham for townships rather than the larger parishes. Exemption certificates, however, were issued by parish officers, and the exempt are listed separately, by parish, at the end of every ward's assessment in 1674. This makes difficult matching the exempt ('non-solvent') with the payers by place, since exemption by parish often involved groups of townships which are difficult to relate to the geographic units in the chargeable lists. Moreover, exemption certificates were not always returned to the Exchequer, and there are several places not covered in the non-solvency lists for County Durham in 1674.[16] Husbands notes the difficulties contemporaries had in co-ordinating lists of chargeable hearths, made by civil officers, and non-chargeable hearths, made by parish officers.[17] Amendments to the original legislation sought uniform listing by topography rather than status, and this was the case for the 1674 assessment in Durham.[18]

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[16]see Arkell 1987.
[17]Husbands nd.
[18]Arkell & Schurer 1992: 32-33.

Exemption

No non-solvents in the 1666 or 1674 Durham assessment had over two hearths, and the vast majority were single hearth households. Yet, exemption cannot be taken as a simple reflection of a real seventeenth century poverty-line.[19] Exemption from the Hearth Tax actually employed a broad concept of poverty by contemporary standards, although, paradoxically, in terms of taxation, non-solvency was set fairly low. Wrightson claims that wage earners would usually pay, with only the destitute and near destitute exempted.[20] Husbands, however, claims the recorded exempt are the better off of the seventeenth century poor - believing the poorest to be not listed at all.[21] Given the high degree of population mobility within County Durham in this period, as a corollory of enclosure and industrialisation, the potential for under-recording of the poorest and most transitory groups is considerable. Nationally, Pollard and Crossley suggest that 'half "the exempt" category in Hearth Tax returns were able bodied'.[22] At a general level, a consistent level of exemption suggests a real difference in terms of housing between chargeable single hearth households and the exempt.

Arkell has proposed that late seventeenth century taxation and poor relief involved four levels of poverty. The very poorest were those regularly in receipt of alms, the old, ill and orphans etc.. The next poorest were those occasionally in receipt of relief, which included some able-bodied males. The poorest group of non-paupers were those exempt from contributing to the poor rate (but who received no relief themselves). Exemption from the Hearth Tax included paupers and the poorest of the non-paupers, but also extended to some who were deemed able to contribute to the local poor rate but who occupied houses or lands of low value (less than £1 for houses, or less than £10 for lands).

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[19]Husbands in Arkell 1992: 65-77; Arkell 1987: 23-47 .
[20]Wrightson 1982.
[21]Hodgson nd.
[22]Pollard & Crossley 1968: 132.

From Arkell's analysis, the exemption rates in the Hearth Tax refer to a broad level of poverty which encompassed around a third of the population nationally. However, highly localised employment and occupation patterns, produced dramatic variations in local exemption rates.[23]

Tudhoe in the Hearth Tax

Unfortunately the County Durham returns duplicated for the Exchequer only state the chargeable and exempt householders and their number of hearths, with none of the annotated detail recorded by the local collectors.[24] The local officers' returns do survive for one County Durham township, detailing ownership, occupiers and alterations to houses. Before analysing the Exchequer duplicates for the county as a whole, the constables' lists for Tudhoe provide a means to test the source difficulties of the Hearth Tax.

An almost complete sequence of constables' papers survives from 1666 to 1675, for Tudhoe.[25] Tudhoe township, in Brancepeth parish, is situated four miles south west of Durham in the lowland Wear valley. The principal settlement was a nucleated village around an open green, with some dispersed settlement situated apart from the village at 'Watergate' and 'Butcher Bank'.[26] The constables listed householders topographically; in some years differentiating the 'East Rawe [row]' and 'West Rawe' on either side of the green, and listing the outlying houses separately. The village was inhabited mainly by farming tenants and their labourers, with most of the freehold land owned by individuals resident elsewhere. Only the more established yeomen and husbandmen families lived in their 'own house'. The constables themselves headed chargeable single hearth households

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[23]Arkell 1987: 23-47.
[24]see Arkell & Schurer 1992: 62-64.
[25]DCRO D/Sa/E882-90, presented in Table 3:1.
[26]see map in Dodd 1897.

Table 3.1 Tudhoe Hearth Tax Constables Lists, 1665-75

| TUDHOE TOWNSHIP HEARTH TAX, 1666-1675 Brancepath Parish, County Durham | | |

| | | |

in Tudhoe, suggesting that they were of similar status and means to the lower middling sort inhabitants. The gentry Salvins, of Croxdale Hall, acquired land in Tudhoe during the 1630s, and became resident at Tudhoe 'Hall' in the 1660s.[27] The Salvins became the dominant landlords from the 1690s, and the constables' Hearth Tax lists survive in their estate papers along with a list of freeholders.

In addition to agriculture, land-sale coal mining provided employment in Tudhoe. Coal mining for local consumption was well established in Brancepeth parish by the late sixteenth century, and Nef notes that the manor of Tudhoe had its own pit.[28] Land-sale mining continued throughout the seventeenth century; in 1636 a Ship Money assessment recorded 'Cole Mynes at Tuddoe in the occupation of Mr. H. Wright, so payes 13s. 4d.', and in 1727 Tudhoe 'township colliery' was advertised for lease.[29]

Tudhoe's Hearth Tax returns, from the parish officers' papers and the Exchequer returns for 1666 and 1674 are collated in Table 3:1. The majority of single hearth households, and predominance of two to four hearth houses correlates with the county wide pattern. Only one house, occupied by the most substantial yeoman family, the Byerleys, had five hearths. Five-hearth houses have been well-recognised across England, as the threshold in house-size above which the gentry inhabited.[30] The Byerleys at Tudhoe, however, were not aspirant gentry but occupied a relatively large house accommodating several family members. The Byerleys are listed as father and two sons with five hearths between 1666 and 1668, but in other years, and the 1666 Exchequer Return, William Byerley senior and junior are listed separately for two and three hearths. The only other house with over four hearths was the gentry household of the Salvins, who were remodelling Tudhoe Hall in the 1660s and ended up with eight hearths, but three

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[27]Green 1998: 33-42.
[28]Nef 1966: I, 39 & 137n.
[29]Nef 1966: I, 39n. & II, citing Hunter MSS 22, no. 17, Durham Cathedral Library; *Newcastle Courant* 110 June 3 1727.
[30]Styles 1962; Spufford nd.

unused (in the garrets, leaving five hearths in use by the gentry household below). The Byerleys involve the only known case of evasion, when in 1670 one of their five hearths was 'not paid for W.B. senior pretending it a Butcher Shop'. If the five-hearth house was widely recognised as a threshold of gentry living, as it was by Gregory King,[31] then this evasion may have been regarded as a legitimate claim to avoid two middling households (within the same house) being taxed at a rate thought to be more appropriate to the wealth of a gentry household.

Several Tudhoe houses were extended during the 1660s, shifting from one to two hearths, or two to three, and two houses had a chimney stack pulled down. demolition of chimneys reveals both the fragility of housing not maintained in regular repair, and the presence of ongoing programmes of rebuilding. Richard Haward lived in a single-hearth house in 1666, with his infants, and was exempt from the tax, but by the beginning of 1670 his house was empty, and by Michaelmas of the same year 'uninhabitable'. For William Dell's single hearth house, there is a rare description of rebuilding between 1666 and 1667: 'the old House pull'd down ye last winter; and rebuilded this Spring; the Hearth layd againe April 29th 1667'. The Hearth Tax does not appear to have been a sufficient imposition to warrant the demolition of chimneys in order to reduce taxation.

The Hearth Tax indicates that there were a solid core of Tudhoe inhabitants present throughout the 1660s and 1670s, with the addition of some houses, such as Anthony Harper's added to East Rawe. There are some clear changes to the named heads of households due to life-cycle changes, with households passing from father to son, and in more cases, husband to widow. Those householders appearing less frequently, particularly those present at either end of the period, must indicate population mobility. This would be explained by the presence of land-sale coal mining in the parish, which encouraged high population mobility, though not so dramatic as in the more intensive

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[31] Spufford nd.

sea-sale coal field in northern County Durham, as Wrightson and Levine found at Whickham.[32] The non-solvent, or exempt, households at Tudhoe also appear to have a solid core, but there is some oscillation with a few households shifting in and out of the pauper category.[33] This was again partly related to life-cycle, with older inhabitants unable to earn enough to sustain themselves without support from the parish, and for the able-bodied, to the economic vicissitudes of mining and agricultural employment.

Under-Recording

The Hearth Tax has been widely used by historians as an index of wealth, population and poverty. Husbands, however, has raised critical objections to easy equations of wealth with number of hearths, and the use of multipliers from average household size to calculate population.[34] He emphasises the need to pay close attention to the local production of the records and points to the incidence of hearths, householders and the exempt being missed off lists. The Hearth Tax took the household and not the house as the unit of taxation - and in the County Durham assessment no effort was made to mark out separate households or lodgings within the same house. Wrigley and Schofield observed that in the 1660s returns to the Exchequer, the central records omit a proportion of the exempt households.[35] There are also instances of inflated hearth numbers to accord with a subjective assessment of wealth.[36] Empty houses are also likely to have been left out from the Hearth Tax, as the liability of owner or occupier was

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[32]Wrightson & Levine 1991: 168-71, comparing the assessment of 1666 with the 1665 return, found that over a quarter of all householders listed in 1666 moved out within six-months and were replaced, with many appearing in 1666 who were not present in 1665.
[33]Wrightson & Levine 1991: 154, some taxpayers at Whickham listed in the 1666 assessment were exempt in the return of the same year; which might relate to real impoverishment but is explained by assessors maximising payers who were found to be exempt on collection in returns.
[34]Husbands nd & in Arkell 1992: 65-77; Arkell 1987.
[35]Wrigley & Schofield 1981: 571-2.
[36]Husbands nd:146.

unclear.[37] Nationally, Husbands takes Dean and Cole's population figures to suggest a 40% under recording - mostly of the poor.[38]

Under-recording can be tested to some degree for Tudhoe. Unfortunately there is no alternative source for all householders to compare with the Hearth Tax, so we must rely on comparison between years by parish officers and constables, and between the local records and the Exchequer duplicates (see Table 3:1). There is significant variation in the total number of households recorded for Tudhoe. The 1670 assessment provides our most complete index of Tudhoe households and their hearths. The thoroughness of the 1670 assessment is explained by the administrative changes in Hearth Tax collection. The second receivers' administration operated between Michaelmas 1669 and Lady Day 1674.[39] The farmers, who operated the tax from 1665 surrendered their farm at Lady Day 1669, so Michaelmas 1670 represents an entirely new administration. The Tudhoe 1670 assessment surveys the township, and lists (supposedly) all householders with their hearths topographically, with the non-liable intermingled with the chargeable.[40]

The 1670 list, including both liable and non-liable, records sixty-five households. The parish officers' certificate for 1670 records thirty-two non-solvents. Thirteen householders in the parish officers' non-solvent list, however, appear in addition to the constable's assessment. This is because constables were not obliged to list those receiving alms but rather their certificate referred primarily to those inhabiting houses worth less than 20s. per annum and lands and goods worth less than £10. This gives a total of 78 households. All other years give lower figures. The local records do therefore include a degree of under-recording, unless they match precisely fluctuations in population. If 1670

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[37]Arkell 1992: 39.
[38]Husbands in Alldridge 1983: 45-58.
[39]The first receivers administration ran from Michaelmas 1664 to Michaelmas 1665.
[40]William Christian was receiver for County Durham for both the 1664-5 & 1670-74 administrations, Thomas Hall probably surveyed Tudhoe township as sub-collector; I am extremely grateful to Elizabeth Parkinson for commenting on the administrative context of the Tudhoe Hearth Tax lists.

is taken as the most accurate, then the under-recording of households in the 1674 Lady Day Exchequer Return/Assessment is 40%; as high as that suggested by Husbands nationally.[41] Yet, differences between years may well reflect genuine shifts in the number of resident households.[42] Under-recording was possibly encouraged by population mobility, and is likely to exclude the more transient households. As Husbands stressed, under-recording mainly missed out the poor.

Comparison between the Exchequer Returns for Tudhoe of 1666 and 1674 with the constables' returns they are based on, also involves a reduction in the number of households. In 1666 only 28 households are recorded in the Exchequer Returns, with 31 for the combined 1666 and 1667 constable's assessment; a reduction of 10%. In the 1674 Exchequer Return there were 24 charged households, compared to 28 in 1673, and 23 non-solvent in the Exchequer Return for 1674 but 28 non-solvent from the parish officers. The total of 47 households in the Exchequer Return of 1674 is nearly 20% lower than the 58 recorded in 1673 by the constable and parish officers. This slippage may be a product of the nature of the combined Return and Assessment compiled for the Exchequer. The Tudhoe records suggest that under-recording was significant in the County Durham Hearth Tax, most likely excluding the poorer households; a practice encouraged by population mobility. Moreover, between the local records and the Exchequer a loss of between 10 to 20% of households is known.

The degree of under-recording can also be measured by hearth numbers, the unit of taxation. This addresses the issue of hearths omitted for named householders rather than the number of inhabitants. The major differential in tax collection occurred between 1662 and the receivers' administration from 1665. In the first collection, of 1662, 29

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[41]Arkell 1987: 30, doubts the validity of Husbands' 40% omission rate, as Deane and Cole's (1967) population estimates for 1700 are unreliable and 35 years too late.

[42]Wrightson & Levine 1991: 153-4, found a disparity at Whickham between 252 names in 1665 and 390 in 1666, explained by the administrative changes to the Hearth Tax, but which mught reflect real population changes related to the collieries.

chargeable hearths were returned for Tudhoe. By 1665, this had risen by 52% to 44 hearths. Thereafter, the number of hearths charged for Tudhoe and returned to the Exchequer remained consistent, with a slight increase over time in the number of charged hearths: 1666 43 hearths; 1667 45 hearths; 1670 45 or 49 hearths (with the assessment recording 82 hearths liable and not) and in 1673 45 or 47 hearths. In the 1674 Lady Day Exchequer Return, 23 householders paid tax on 40 hearths, plus 34 non-liable. In general, the early years of the Hearth Tax in County Durham, between 1662 and the receivers' administration from 1665, represent a low level of collection. After 1665, the receivers' collection of the Hearth Tax was more assiduous, and at Tudhoe the number of charged hearths increased by 52% on the 1662 figure. The receivers' reward was governed by the yield of the tax, giving them reason to be more assiduous. The number of charged hearths for 1674 at Tudhoe is however somewhat lower than the previous years: between 10 to 20% lower than the 1670 assessment.

Under-Representation of Houses

The under-recording of hearths and households was compounded by the difficulties of assessing specific types of housing. The liability of empty houses and listing of houses on commons was not always systematically applied. Theoretically, empty houses were charged to their owners, whereas rented houses were charged to tenants. The actual occurrence of houses standing empty in the late seventeenth century is unclear. Two houses at Tudhoe were recorded as empty in 1670, one of which was 'empty and uninhabitable' by Michaelmas 1670. No empty houses are explicitly recorded for other years. Empty houses were most likely the product of population mobility among the labouring poor, and were probably of relatively poor construction. The uninhabitable house of 1670 had been occupied by Richard Haward and infants, who were exempt in 1667. Mr Salvin was charged as the owner of the second empty house in 1670, but the tenant Harpers had paid as occupiers in previous years. Since the 1670 assessment is

exceptionally thorough, it is unclear whether empty houses were being charged to owners in other years, with no explicit record of them being empty.

Cottages on commons were specifically required to be listed in the printed instructions of 1684, implying that they had not always been recorded previously.[43] The presence of cottages on commons was significant in County Durham, as in-migration to mining communities placed pressure on the housing stock. Permanent housing developed from squatting to infill on commons, especially village greens, through the seventeenth century.[44] Housing on commons is not differentiated in the County Durham returns, and is probably incorporated with the exempt, if included at all. The implications of high population mobility in the coal field for the quality and durability of housing, will be considered below. It is unclear whether these semi-permanent households were included in the Hearth Tax (and may plausibly have been excluded if they lacked chimney stacks). Assessing semi-permanent households would involve difficulties of tax collection, and though many of them were probably exempt, mobility may have made the production of parish poor certificates difficult.[45] Moreover, the established householders of communities, especially local office holders, may well have been resistant to conferring any entitlement to settlement and excluded the transient population from poor relief.[46]

The Hearth Tax may also under-represent the number of houses through including the hearths for more than one house under a single owner. Wills occasionally reveal modest farmers with a house in the fields as well as a main dwelling, though these are rare by the late seventeenth century. Charles Trotter, husbandman, died in 1586 with a main house in Byers Green township (incorporating a 'Fier Howse', 'the Chamber over the Fier Howse', 'the lofte over the chamber' and 'the lowe chamber beneath the Howse'), and a

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[43]Arkell & Schurer 1992: 47-50.
[44]Roberts 1977.
[45]Checking this is made more difficult by the scant Poor Law records for County Durham.
[46]see Hindle 1998.

second house (apparently used for storage) at West Isle. By the late seventeenth century, the main house was presumably rebuilt, and such second houses were likely to be sub-let, especially when (as at Byers Green) inheritors moved away from the township.[47] By the late seventeenth century, such second houses were likely to be sub-let, especially when inheritors moved away from the township.[48] Where a second house was let, the occupier was meant to be assessed rather than the owner - and this was the case at Tudhoe. House sharing raises the converse problem, of two householders occupying the same house appearing separately in the Hearth Tax. This appears to have been the case for the Byerleys in Tudhoe, detailed above. As the usual separation of the Byerleys into separate households in both the constables' and exchequer returns indicate, the practice of listing the Hearth Tax by householder generally occludes our view of such living arrangements.

We cannot be confident that the constables' lists for Tudhoe are representative of County Durham as a whole, but the 1674 Exchequer Return for Tudhoe suggests a minimum 20% under-recording. Given the source difficulties, the figures given below for the total number of houses must therefore be regarded as conservative. The Hearth Tax records are too complex to justify Stone and Johnson's optimism that distortions average out on community comparison.[49] The remainder of this chapter analyses the social profile of County Durham communities from house-size implied in the 1674 Hearth Tax.

The Social Profile of Settlements in the 1674 Hearth Tax

The 1674 Hearth Tax Exchequer Returns are presented in Table 3:6.[50] This tabulates the number of households according to the number of hearths assessed for the

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[47]Green 1998: 39-40, DULA Probate Charles Trotter, husbandman, Byers Green, 1586 will & inventory.

[48]Morin nd. & pers. com., found increased sub-letting in Merrington parish through the 17C, associated with individuals moving elsewhere prior to inheritance; Chapter Ten, below.

[49]Johnson nd: 27-38; Stone & Stone 1972: 56-121; Arkell 1987, encourages consulting more than one assessment, as omissions in the most complete may be covered elsewhere.

[50]at end of Chapter.

tax, by community, and gives the number of exempt, 'non-solvent' households, for each area. The names of the head of household and amount charged are not given in the tables, and indications of status or occupation (which are in any case sparse in the Durham returns) are omitted.

Hearth ranges and house size

Students of the Hearth Tax have established a consistent relationship between hearth ranges, and implied house size, with levels of wealth.[51] Significantly, this appears to be consistent across southern and northern England. Regional variation in hearth ranges represent varying proportions of the population at certain levels of wealth. These wealth levels and their correlation to a certain size of house, are clearly associated to social groupings, although there were many areas of overlap between the grossest generalisation of poorer people in smaller houses and wealthier groups in the largest.

The most important threshold in house size to emerge, in relation to social group, is the five hearth house, with gentry invariably occupying houses of five hearths or higher in the countryside.[52] In larger towns, the houses of gentlemen (gentry, merchants and professionals), were somewhat larger, and Styles found around seven hearths as the average in Warwick (see Chapter Eight for Durham and Newcastle).[53] Husbands has detected systematic ranges for the number of hearths for different occupations. For instance in four Sussex tithings, only gentlemen and yeomen occupied houses with over five hearths; the highest percentage of any occupation group to occupy two to four hearth

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[51] the difficulties are dwelt on by Husbands nd. & in Arkell ed. 1992: 66-68.
[52] Spufford nd.
[53] Styles 1962: 96-117, relating Hearth Tax to wealth and occupation/status in the 'Free and Voluntary Gift' of 1661, found in Warwickshire, knights had over sixteen hearths; Esquires over ten; gentlemen over five hearths in rural Kineton hundred and around seven in Warwick; yeomen averaged 2.5; husbandmen 1.5, labourers one, with trades and crafts more likely to have two hearths or more.

houses were craftsmen, and more labourers than any other group lived in single hearth houses.[54]

As Wrightson and others have established, there was only limited homogeneity in wealth within occupation groups; suggesting that individuals cannot universally be ascribed a tight property bracket by occupation. Other factors influencing size of house need to be considered: variations in inherited wealth (including inherited houses); number of surviving children; presence of extended kin and position in life cycle all played a role. Husbands points to the significance of retired tradesmen and local office, and the fact that some trades were more prosperous than others. The practice of craft production within the household, domestic baking and brewing also influenced the number of hearths - though these were meant to be exempted from charge in the Hearth Tax, the practice was inconsistent.

Despite the difficulties of making easy connections between hearths and wealth, and wealth and social standing, hearth numbers do imply house size. Hearth numbers correlate to inventoried wealth, as Spufford demonstrated for Cambridgeshire, and Hoskins found in Leicestershire.[55] Since inventories measure moveable wealth, it is perhaps unsurprising that those with a lot of household goods dwelt in larger houses. More importantly, matching householders in the Hearth Tax to inventories reveals the complex variations a house of any given hearth number may entail, and the various types of rooms with hearths. In Cambridgeshire, a single hearth house may have between one and six rooms, though two to four rooms were most common. The hearth in a single hearth house was situated in the hall or its variant. Spufford was able to differentiate between single hearth houses with two rooms, inhabited by people worth less than £20, from three or four room houses occupied commonly by labourers with goods worth under

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[54]Husbands nd & in Arkell & Schurer eds. 1992: 72-73.
[55]Spufford 1962: 53-64; Hoskins 1957.

£30. Two hearth houses might have between two and ten rooms, though most had four to six. Most such houses were occupied by husbandmen, craftsmen and some yeomen, worth between £10 and £70, though occasionally by people worth over £100. The second hearth was usually located in the parlour, or the hall if there was a separate kitchen. The three hearth houses had between six and eleven rooms, with personal wealth varying from £30 to £200. Three quarters of three hearth houses had between six and eight rooms, and most Cambridgeshire yeomen lived in such houses. The three hearths were distributed between the kitchen, hall, parlour and upper chamber. In houses with four hearths or more, there were between six and fourteen rooms. Inventoried wealth varied between £34 and £1132, though mostly under £300. Generally, only very prosperous shopkeepers and considerable yeomen lived in such houses. Hearths were prioritised for the kitchen, hall, parlour and upper chambers.

Spufford's evidence suggests that hearths relate to relatively fixed room functions, but the number and type of unheated rooms could vary considerably. In some houses service rooms proliferate, in others the extra rooms accommodate upper chambers or second parlours. In larger houses, both occur. The Hearth Tax thus indicates the number of heated rooms and presents only a general gradation in house size. The greatest difficulty in using the Hearth Tax without supporting evidence, such as inventories, is that hearth numbers, especially lower down the scale, may signify more than one type of house. Regional variations in rebuilding, also mean that relative levels of wealth in different parts of the country may relate to different size houses. Mercer claimed that a husbandman in the prosperous south east may occupy a house comparable to a well off yeoman in the north.[56] Put differently, the issue of relative wealth suggests that those with parallel levels of wealth would have occupied similar sorts of house across England as a whole.

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[56]Mercer 1975: 28-32.

Single hearth houses do not necessarily indicate a simple single room cottage. A house with a hall used for cooking and eating could also have an unheated parlour, service rooms and chambers. Single hearth households may occupy one room in shared lodgings, or be squatters on commons in temporary structures, or live in permanent and well furnished houses. Though single hearth houses were generally occupied by the poorer levels of society, poverty was not uniformly expressed by having a single hearth. Wood-Jones has demonstrated for north Oxfordshire that quite well off craftsmen could occupy single hearth houses, and that the quality of craftsmanship pointed to occupants being well above the poverty line.[57] In County Durham no single hearth houses survive to indicate the level of prosperity architecturally (see Chapter Four), but it is certainly mistaken to correlate all single hearth houses with consistent poverty.

The distinction between one hearth houses that were charged and those that were exempted seems to represent a greater social difference.[58] The central legislation and local parish officers exempted households on grounds of poverty, though many of those not exempted were only marginally better off, and Husbands disputes exemptions as representing the 'poverty line' in seventeenth century England. Yet the sub-division of the poorer classes fits Everritt's argument that within the seventeenth century labouring class there were significant gradations, and that the richer among them could afford material possessions which would make their single hearth homes different from their poorer colleagues.[59] In County Durham, skilled workers in the collieries and other industries, were probably relatively well paid, although where they occupied single hearth houses, they are indistinguishable in the Hearth Tax, from their poorer neighbours.

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[57]Wood-Jones 1963.
[58]Arkell 1987.
[59]Everitt in Thirsk ed. 1967: 396-465; see also Slack 1988.

The correlation between higher hearth numbers and types of houses is more positive.[60] The introduction of brick chimneys and the construction of axial stacks incorporating multiple flues enabled one and a half storey, hall and parlour farmhouses to have four hearths. By contrast, houses with a single gable-end chimney stack only allowed two hearths. Nationally, two hearth houses may relate to the 'great rebuilding', where single hearth cottages were replaced by hall-parlour houses heated by an axial stack from the early seventeenth century on.[61] As an axial stack had a maximum of four flues, four hearth houses suggest heated chambers above hall and parlour. A three hearth house could include two on the ground floor and one in an upper chamber, though a heated service room or outhouse are possible. The three unit house could accommodate up to five or six hearths - four flues in axial stack plus separate stack at service end and possibly an outside bakehouse.[62] Meirion-Jones suggests two room cottages are represented by one or two hearths, and the three unit house (of hall, parlour and services) by two to five hearths. Houses with more than five or six hearths involve extensions to this basic plan type, outbuildings or a house beyond the 'vernacular'. Higher hearth numbers have been found to correlate with later seventeenth century rebuilding, as in north Oxfordshire and south west Northamptonshire.[63] Despite the emphasis placed on late seventeenth century rebuilding in County Durham, the county average of 1.6 hearths per household, is much lower than the national average of 2.5.[64] This reflects the higher proportion of households in County Durham with less wealth than in southern England, but it does not warrant a blanket assumption of poverty. Those with equivalent levels of wealth almost certainly occupied equivalent housing. Larger houses, representing the substance of households in

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[60]Wood-Jones 1963, questioned by Husbands nd.
[61]Barley 1968: 61.
[62]Meirion-Jones 1971: 147-152.
[63]Husbands nd.
[64]Husbands nd; County Durham has 2.16 hearths per household for charged, 1.6 for all, & 1.42 for rural.

the community, had a very different presence in County Durham given that the majority of the population dwelt in smaller houses.

Hearths and Housing in County Durham

The greater proportion of smaller hearth numbers in County Durham suggests that the differentiation between houses with the same number of heated rooms was significant. Rural communities in County Durham were characterised by a majority of single hearth houses, of the labouring poor, most of which were exempt from the tax. Yet over 50% of chargeable households were also single hearth. Husbandmen and craftsmen occupied houses with several rooms, but only one hearth, while better off husbandmen and yeomen lived in two hearth houses, again with several unheated rooms. The second hearth invariably heated the parlour rather than a separate kitchen. The houses surveyed for this study (see Chapter Five and Appendix) suggest that cooking was rarely removed from the hall before the parlour was heated. A further 37% of chargeable households had two to four hearths, consisting of lesser craftsmen and husbandmen with two hearths, and a smaller number of more wealthy yeomen and husbandmen farmers who occupied houses of three to five hearths. In Whickham, Wrightson and Levine found four hearth households occupied by the lesser gentry and principal farmers, whereas two to three hearth households were occupied by lesser yeomen, better off craftsmen as well as the 'superior employees and semi-independent middlemen of the coal trade'.[65]

Across the county, a more sparsely spread gentry as well as wealthy tradesmen and professionals lived in houses with between five and ten hearths. Only 5% of all households, and under 10% of chargeable, lived in houses with over five hearths. At Whickham, Wrightson and Levine found that households with over five hearths were those of the lesser gentry: 'the wealthiest and most prominent members of parish

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[65] Wrightson & Levine 1991: 159-60.

society'.[66] Coal wealth provided the households of the Claverings, Blakistons and Liddels with over ten hearths; the principal gentry families of the parish and all headed by baronets. Across the county as a whole, there were very few large houses of over ten hearths. As at Whickham, these represent a 'distinctive elite, men of weight not only in parish but also in county society'.[67]

The Durham Hearth Tax does not differentiate shared houses (recording households rather than houses). The desire and demand for sub-letting and economic or land constraints on new building affected the incidence of shared houses. Large numbers of single hearth entries, especially in towns, but also in the countryside, may well refer to lodgers. By the end of the eighteenth century ten to twelve families could occupy a single dwelling in Gateshead, South Shields or Sunderland, and in these urban-industrial centres families were 50% larger than in rural parishes.[68] Some households may not have had a hearth at all, and if this is so, they do not feature in the assessment. The occupants of lodging houses were presumably semi-permanent tenants, either provided with food or sharing access to a communal cooking fireplace. For urban tenement housing, rather than lodging houses as such, tenants may have regularly purchased food from street vendors and commercial kitchens. The evidence for shared housing and lodging chambers, which is explored in later chapters, suggests both were important.

In County Durham, except in the larger towns with a significant range of occupations, there are comparatively few two-hearth houses alongside a greater number of single hearth cottages. For instance, in the south-west division of Easington Ward, in Wingate and Wheatley, there were only four two-hearth houses but eighteen one-hearth dwellings, out of a total of twenty four. Shincliffe, closer to Durham, had six two hearth houses, but only four single hearths. A greater degree of prosperity is confirmed by the

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[66]Wrightson & Levine 1991: 158.
[67]Wrightson & Levine 1991: 158.
[68]Hodgson 1978.

instance of three and four hearth houses. At Wingate and Wheatley, the largest house is five hearths, whereas at Shincliffe there are two properties with over ten hearths. The very north east of the county, from Gateshead to South Shields, includes a high concentration of single hearth houses. This corresponds to the industrial activity of mining and especially the salt pans. The overview produced by ward is however unsatisfactory. Darlington North West encompasses the largest area (Weardale, Brancepeth and the Aucklands) and has the highest number of single hearth houses. Conversely, Middle Chester Ward is the smallest area, with the lowest number of single hearths. These calculations per ward, cannot be taken to indicate an even distribution of single hearths, which would be better revealed by mapping the hearth data by parish (and ideally, by township). What is clear from the tabulated assessment, is that particular places had high concentrations of one hearth cottages. In Weardale, Stanhope Forest has sixty six single-hearth cottages, plus four two-hearth houses making up the total. Teesdale forest has, in total, twenty six one-hearth dwellings and one two-hearth. This subsistence forest community would have had a very different way of life to the industrial labouring poor of the salt pans in the South Shields Constabularies.

As well as a high number of single-hearth houses, the Gateshead and South Shields sub-wards, contain a significant proportion of two-hearth houses. In Gateshead, the pattern of larger houses continues with over ten houses in every category up to six hearths. The higher hearth figures for the densely populated industrial districts along the Tyne suggest economic opportunity for a significant number of households, greater than that necessary to support a single hearth cottage. Some of the medium-range houses of two to four hearths housed the better paid managerial and technically skilled workers who emerged as mining grew in scale in the early seventeenth century.[69] Farming continued in these areas, and the permeation of industrial activities into the household economies of

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[69]James 1974; Wrightson & Levine 1991: 159-160.

farming families at Whickham suggests that almost all households were affected by industrialisation in the coal field. The Hearth Tax documents the proportion of the population most visibly prospering from economic change.

Hodgson's comparison of the 1674 Hearth Tax returns for northern County Durham with the Ecclesiastical census of 1563, demonstrates that the rapidly industrialising coal field of north Durham in the seventeenth century produced population growth well in excess of the national average.[70] He calculates a total of 8,495 households for County Durham in 1563; increasing by 70% to 14,561 households in 1674. The vast majority of this increase occurred in the north and east of the county, where industrial activity and relatively large populations were already present in 1563. The south and east of the county by contrast, had far more modest increases in household totals and in some townships population decreased - usually as a product of enclosure of town fields and lowland waste. In northern County Durham the industrial centres increased dramatically in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century; Whickham (the centre of the most intensive mining activity), Gateshead and South Shields each increased threefold. Mining expanded through the seventeenth century, and Sunderland (Bishop Wearmouth parish) increased its export share of the coal trade during the civil war when Newcastle was disadvantaged. Most of the newly worked coal came from the townships of Lumley and Lambton in Chester-le-Street parish, and the Hearth Tax Returns give a high rate of poverty in these mining communities; 179 out of 229 households were exempt in 1674, with only fifty families deemed able to pay. Coal was also being mined on an increasing scale in the 'land-sale' districts and the parish registers indicate rising household totals at Brancepeth, Witton le Wear, Hamsterley and Cockfield. Comparison of the 1674 figures with the national census of 1801 indicate greater rates of growth for the county as a whole (161.77% against 71.4% between 1563 and 1674) and a new incidence of growth in older

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[70]Hodgson 1978.

urban centres at Durham, Darlington, Staindrop and Barnard Castle and the ports of Stockton and Hartlepool. This contrasts with the fate of smaller and medium sized settlements in 1674, which continued a decline already in progress between 1563 and 1674.

The number of exempt households in the Durham Hearth Tax represent 43.5% of all recorded households. In many places the number of exempt households is higher than the number of houses taxed. Correlating non-solvents by parish is complicated as they are listed separately at the end of each ward's assessment, and occasionally parishes or settlements are combined where they appear as separate in the assessment of hearths, or do not appear at all in the non-solvent lists.[71]

At the upper end of the social spectrum, were houses with over ten hearths. There is nowhere near the number found by Stone in Hertfordshire.[72] Durham City has forty houses with ten hearths recorded, the only district to have more than ten. Over ten hearth houses occurred with greater frequency in the central southern lowlands (from Brancepeth south to Darlington) with a scattering in Teesdale and Weardale (where gentry were resident), and a number in the northern half of the county probably related to coal wealth.

The distribution of population is suggested in Table 3.2 by the average number of households per settlement, in different wards. The highest number of households is found in those areas bordering the Tyne, in Chester Ward North and Easington Ward North, and somewhat less so in the area between the Tyne and Durham City - Middle Chester Ward. The next highest areas are in the south of the county along the Tees, in the Darlington and Stockton wards. This represents densely populated communities in the north of the county in the coal mining areas and larger communities in the rich farming land along the Tees and in relation to the important market centres at Stockton and Darlington. When the

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[71]Moreover, sub-divisions of parishes such as tithing boundaries are difficult to reconstruct, and were not always accurately known at the time; Meirion-Jones 1971:147-152.
[72]Stone & Stone 1984; Stone 1986.

larger towns are removed from the equation, a more regular rural community size emerges with an average of 25.7 households. The higher figures are again in the north of the county reflecting the non-urban nature of mining settlement. There does not appear to be a clear distinction at ward level between upland and lowland areas, despite the known contrast between dispersed and nucleated settlement. This fits Husbands' figures, which show no strong correlation between the type of agricultural region and population density.

Table 3:2 Mean Households per Settlement in 1674

1674 Hearth Tax Wards	Mean households per settlement	Mean households Rural
Durham City	-	-
Easington South West	25.6	25.6
Easington North	42.7	26.3
Chester East	48	35.2
Middle Chester	31.4	24
Chester West	23.2	23.2
Darlington North West	31.6	27.7
Darlington South East	24.2	20.6
Darlington South West	30.1	25.3
Stockton North East	30.3	23.4
Stockton South West	30.1	23.4
County Durham overall	31.7	25.7

Hearth Ownership in County Durham

Through calculating by Hearth Tax ward, the mean hearth ownership and proportion of households as exempt, single hearth, of two to four hearth and five hearth or higher, we can establish some of the broad variations across the economic and topographical regions of County Durham. As discussed in Chapter Two, County Durham was not an homogenous area. The ward areas are still insufficient to map these economic differences precisely. For example, Chester Ward West includes Ryton and Whickham,

intensive areas of industrialisation, but also includes upland areas of Derwentside. Other wards cut across agricultural regimes, as in Darlington Ward North West which includes upland Weardale and the lowland Wear valley, around Bishop Auckland and Brancepeth (an area which was also complicated by the presence of land sale coal mining). Mapping the Hearth Tax by parish or township is a complex business (not undertaken here), which ought to distinguish between nucleated and dispersed settlement.

The exemption rate varies significantly across the county. Highest in the industrialised areas of northern County Durham, of Easington North, Middle Chester and Easington South West. In the agricultural parts of the county, the exemption rate is lower, but still quite high in national terms. Durham City has a low exemption rate compared to the other wards, but should be compared with other urban places (see Chapter Eight). Roughly a third of all households were chargeable single hearth houses across the county. Of the charged households, single hearths were 53.26% across the County as a whole. Varying from 42 - 44% in Easington North and Chester East, to over 60% in Chester West and the Stockton wards. Again, there seems to be no clear division at a ward level between wards including industrial areas and those which were predominantly agrarian. We need to look at the hearth figures at a parish level or lower to gain a more precise view of variations. For instance, in 1674 Chester Ward West has an exemption rate of 34.65%, but Whickham parish in 1666 had 78.8% exempt, with further variation between the townships of the parish.[73]

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[73] Wrightson & Levine 1991: 153-172.

Table 3:3 Hearth Ranges as a Proportion of all Households (1674)

Wards	Exempt	1 hearth (charged)	2-4 hearth	5 & above	mean no. hearths
Durham City	27.19%	23.89%	29.43%	18.60%	2.73
Easington S.W.	47.09%	32.53%	15.58%	3.77%	1.5
Easington N.	58.61%	17.63%	18.66%	4.75%	1.6
Chester East	42.92%	25.62%	22.92%	8.43%	1.82
Middle Chester	49.84%	26.68%	19.81%	3.20%	1.49
Chester West	34.65%	34.46%	19.30%	2.35%	1.39
Darlington N.W.	42.13%	32.07%	20.96%	3.51%	1.51
Darlington S.E.	47.60%	27.28%	21.30%	2.83%	1.47
Darlington S.W.	39.29%	33.31%	21.50%	2.80%	1.44
Stockton N.E.	43.58%	34.38%	19.30%	2.45%	1.45
Stockton S.W.	45.66%	34.50%	18.04%	3.16%	1.46
County average	43.51%	29.31%	20.62%	5.08%	1.62

Table 3:4 Hearth Ranges as a Percentage of Charged Households (1674)

Wards	1 hearth	2-4 hearth	5 & above	hearth
Durham City	33.50%	41.28%	26.10%	3.45
Easington S.W.	61.89%	29.64%	7.17%	1.96
Easington N.	42.81%	45.32%	11.54%	2.45
Chester East	44.89%	40.15%	14.77%	2.44
Middle Chester	53.18%	39.49%	6.37%	1.98
Chester West	60.80%	34.05%	4.15%	1.83
Darlington N.W.	56.04%	36.62%	6.13%	1.9
Darlington S.E.	52.07%	40.65%	5.40%	1.9
Darlington S.W.	56.27%	36.62%	4.73%	1.77
Stockton N.E.	60.94%	34.20%	4.34%	1.8
Stockton S.W.	63.49%	33.20%	5.81%	1.84
County average	53.26%	37.38%	8.77%	2.12

As a proportion of chargeable households, single hearth households predominate, with over 50% in all wards except Easington North, Chester East and Durham City. Only in Durham City and Easington North, do two to four hearth households outnumber single hearths. Apart from Durham City where a third of chargeable households are single hearth, single hearth households occupy between approaching a half and two thirds of

chargeable houses. The number of five hearth houses or higher only rises above 10% in two wards with industrial districts and significant urban centres: Easington North (including Sunderland) and Chester East (including Gateshead and South Shields) - indicating that a significant proportion of the population prospered from industrialisation and trade. The proportion of chargeable single hearth households in these wards is about 43% - up to 20% lower than elsewhere in the county. The relatively low proportion of chargeable single hearth households is not however necessarily an indication of prosperity: Easington North has the highest number of recorded exempt households - around 59%.

Larger houses of over five hearths are far fewer in the predominantly agrarian districts of the county, and the proportion of single hearth households could be massive. Compared to the greater number of higher hearth ranges in the industrial districts, this indicates that despite the massive levels of exemption in the coal field, there was a greater degree of prosperity (witnessed by larger or warmer houses) in the industrial districts than in the agrarian areas of the county, which experienced depopulation. In the Stockton wards over 60% of chargeable households were single hearth; with chargeable single hearth households representing a third of all households.

Hearth Ownership in Towns

In southern England mean hearth ownership has been calculated for towns.[74] In towns over fifty miles from London, there were over 3.3 hearths per household, and in Midland market towns 2.481. Husbands found hearth ownership to be 'overwhelmingly higher' in market towns and urban centres, than in rural communities. This was mostly the product of large households and medium-small sized houses outweighing the significant presence of small houses. In County Durham the picture is rather different. If the exempt are included, then only Durham City has a mean hearth ownership as high as the Midland

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[74]Husbands nd.

towns. This again demonstrates the overwhelming presence of single hearth households in County Durham; true of urban places and market towns as well as rural areas. However, if only the mean hearth ownership of the chargeable are counted, then County Durham is comparable to the Midland towns, with 2.52 hearths per household. This remains lower than the general figure for towns in southern England of 3.3. In County Durham, the volume of single hearth houses serves to lower the mean hearth ownership in conjunction with a very low number of large houses.

In County Durham as a whole, mean hearth ownership is 1.6, with 2.16 for chargeable households. This is low compared to the national average of 2.5 hearths per household. For all towns the total mean hearth ownership is 1.97: for urban centres 2.2 and for market towns 1.54. The towns defined as urban places or market centres here, follows Kirby's analysis.[75] Kirby compared householders in the Hearth Tax of 1666 with the Protestation Returns of 1642 in the Book of Rates of 1642-1644. Using a multiplier of 4.75 persons per household Kirby calculated the population density and land values for all places in County Durham. He identified six places in seventeenth century County Durham qualifying as 'urban' in their population density and land value: Durham, Darlington, Gateshead, South Shields, Sunderland and Hartlepool. Distinct from these were the centres of Stockton, Bishop Auckland and Barnard Castle. Smaller market centres, such as Sedgefield or Staindrop, were found to be virtually indistinguishable from their rural hinterlands. Moreover, Kirby found the characteristics of the market towns of Stockton, Bishop Auckland and Barnard Castle to be more rural than urban. It should be noted that these towns fulfilled different functions. Stockton, Hartlepool, Sunderland and South Shields were ports, while Gateshead, Durham, Bishop Auckland and Barnard Castle were centres of exchange between upland and lowland areas. Stockton developed as the major Tees port during the eighteenth century, but ranks in the late seventeenth century as a

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[75]Kirby 1972: 83-98.

market town rather than an urban place. The mean hearth ownership confirms Kirby's ranking as Stockton has the lowest hearth ownership among all County Durham towns. Stockton town's score of 1.38 is only marginally higher than the ward average of 1.36. However, the correlation between mean hearth ownership is not wholly consistent with Kirby's distinction between urban centres and market towns, since Bishop Auckland and Barnard Castle have slightly higher mean hearth ownership than Sunderland or Hartlepool. This lower hearth ownership may perhaps relate to Stockton, Sunderland and Hartlepool's role as ports. Certainly the inland marketing centres have a higher mean hearth ownership.

Table 3:5 Mean Hearth Ownership (1674)[76]

Urban Places	Total households	Mean hearth ownership	Chargeable Mean hearth ownership
Durham City	1118	2.73	3.45
Gateshead	727	2.23	2.78
Sunderland	286	2.12	2.74
Darlington	184	1.87	2.33
South Shields	447	1.69	2.28
Hartlepool	89	1.65	2.53
All Urban Places	2851	2.2	2.69
Market Towns			
Bishop Auckland	328	1.88	2.59
Barnard Castle	281	1.74	2.38
Stockton	92	1.38	1.61
All Market Towns	1496	1.54	2.19
County			
County Durham Towns	4347	1.97	2.52
County Durham Rural	8975	1.42	1.41
County Durham All	13322	1.6	2.16

1674	County	Towns	Rural
Total Households	13322	4347	8975
Charged Households	7387	1263	6124
Total Hearths	21316	8583	12733
Charged Hearths	15932	7320	8612

Rural settlement

In southern England, communities with generally high levels of hearth ownership have been distinguished from those distorted by the presence of one large house. In County Durham the former pattern is generally the case, reflecting the lack of an evenly spread gentry across the county. In southern England large country houses tend to occur in places with smaller communities than those without.[77] In Suffolk, Johnson found that places containing a house with over twenty hearths, had on average 23.3 other houses in a village versus 33.3 in villages without a large house. These were gentry dominated communities with a relatively small population predominated by labourers and tending to exclude yeomen.[78] In County Durham, only five places had houses with over twenty hearths outside the large towns (contrast the Stones sample of twenty houses in Hertfordshire and twenty eight in Northamptonshire with over twenty hearths). For places in County Durham with twenty hearth houses, there were on average 24.8 other houses recorded per community. The average for all other places, excluding large towns, is 25.7. The difference does not appear to be decisive. Moreover, the average conceals significant variations between the five places with over twenty hearth houses.[79] Husbands found that communities with a single dominating house of over twenty hearths and few other houses were a product of enclosure. This was not the case in County Durham, though there may be a more positive correlation for houses over twelve hearths.

County Durham experienced extensive enclosure of townfields during the seventeenth century, particularly in the south and east of the county, but this was primarily the initiative of middling tenant farmers, rather than landlords before the 1670s.[80] The Hearth Tax assessments predate the large-scale rebuilding of estate farms and village

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[77]Stones 1972: 56-121.
[78]Johnson nd.
[79]Cold Hesleton and Dalton 19 households; Langley and Lambton 50; Monktons 21; Esh 21; Walworth 13.
[80]see Morin nd, Hodgson nd & Knight nd.

properties by improving landlords, which probably occurred from very soon afterwards. County Durham certainly lacked a regular distribution of greater gentry, but at least in terms of house size, many communities were dominated by a significant family, whether lesser gentry or upper yeomenry.

The long term changes in County Durham's settlement pattern were outlined in Chapter Two, where I emphasised the contrast between depopulation in the south and east of the county, with significant settlement desertion and shrinkage, and expansion in the industrialising districts in the north. Nineteenth century mining villages across the entire coal field, often developed from seventeenth century antecedents, and detailed analysis of the Hearth Tax would document these more precisely. The Hearth Tax ought also to be matched more precisely to ecclesiastical and lay landlords. While the Hearth Tax does not distinguish adequately between nucleated and dispersed settlement, the broader pattern of the Hearth Tax represents a static view of changing settlement patterns.

County Durham in National Context

Having considered the detail of the hearth figures for County Durham, we need to place the county in national context.[81] Husbands' mean charged hearth ownership figures, present generally high levels in the south east, particularly in metropolitan areas, with low levels in the midlands and north west.[82] The mean average for charged hearth ownership in County Durham for 1674, is 2.16.[83] This places the county two thirds of the way down Husbands' rank order for counties south of the Humber, between Leicestershire (2.1) and Northamptonshire (2.2), but also close to the geographically diverse Cornwall (2.2) and Cambridgeshire (2.0). County Durham is in the range of the 'low levels' of the north

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[81]Husbands in Alldridge ed. 1983: 45-58, cautions comparisons of Hearth Tax figures from different counties, because of variations in assessment and regional architecture.
[82]Husbands nd: 160-166.
[83]1.6 hearths for charged and non-liable; 2.16 for charged, 1.42 for rural.

western and midland counties, but significantly higher than Derbyshire (1.6) and Cheshire (1.5) at the bottom, and much lower than the home counties at the top: Buckinghamshire (4.7) Middlesex (4.4) Hertfordshire (3.8) or Surrey (3.4). Durham's rank suggests its houses had more hearths than in ten counties of southern England, comparable to the midlands and north west, but fewer than in the south east and home counties. This is in keeping with the evidence for house rebuilding (Chapter Five) and Weatherill's findings for household goods, for the north east not being bottom of the national league.[84]

An average of 2.16 chargeable (and 1.6 including the non-liable) mean hearths per household, can be compared to Laslett and Wall's calculation of household size. They found from the five parishes sampled (comprising only 390 households) an average of 4.34 for Durham. This is higher than the 4.24 calculated for the north of England as a whole. The Durham figure is however lower than the national average of 4.62 calculated by Arkell from the Hearth Tax of 1662-72, which he deflates to 4.25. This represents high overcrowding by modern standards of one person per room, overall, implying greater overcrowding in market towns and larger urban areas.[85]

Of the total number of chargeable households, the proportion of houses with two to four hearths, per county, produces widely varying figures across England. Husband's figures place Berkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire with less than 20%, whereas Cambridgeshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Sussex have over 50%.[86] There is no uniform explanation for these county groupings. County Durham falls mid-way between these with 37% of chargeable houses in 1674 having two to four hearths. This is comparable to Kent (38%), Suffolk (36%), Bedfordshire, Surrey, Lincolnshire and Leicestershire all with 35%. In County Durham, as in many southern English counties, over a third of non-pauper households lived in two to four hearth houses, with over half

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[84]Weatherill 1988: 51-2.
[85]cited in Husbands nd: 115.
[86]Husbands nd: 173-182.

of the chargeable living in single hearth houses. Under 10% of houses had five hearths or higher.

The county figures mask the occurrence of both high and low exemption rates in all regions. Husbands' mean exemption rate places the south east as highest and the south west and East Anglia as lowest. The south east has an exemption rate of nearly 35%, the south west and East Anglia around 17%, and the Midlands 26-29%. In County Durham 43.45% of all households were exempt in 1674. This seems extreme in comparison to Husbands' regional averages, but compares better to county returns from rural Kent, Leicestershire, Shropshire and Suffolk, where around a third of householders were exempt. In Essex, the industrial parishes had 53% exempt, against 23% in agricultural areas.[87] Husbands found no clear regional or national pattern in the distribution of exemption rates, concluding that industrialisation in some places increased exemption and in others reduced it. In County Durham, the industrialisation of the coal field produced astonishingly high levels of exemption. At Whickham, 78.8% of recorded households were exempt in 1666. Wrightson and Levine found no national comparison to this high rate outside of the north east, even in industrial areas of the Midlands. Whickham's exemption rate was only paralleled at Chester-le-Street, 78%, and Sandgate ward in Newcastle, 79%.[88] Whickham's social profile, in comparison with other areas of England, had a larger proportion of single hearth households (79.3% in 1666), a smaller middle range of two to five hearth households and very few households with over six hearths. In comparison with the 1674 County Durham figures, Whickham was only an extreme version of the county wide pattern. Comparison of the 1674 County Durham calculations with Husbands' figures from southern England present the region as having exceptionally high levels of poverty alongside a non-pauper population predominantly resident in single

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[87] Wrightson 1982: 148.
[88] Wrightson & Levine 1991: 156-7.

hearth households. Yet this was not entirely exceptional: Husbands found that high exemption rates correlated with a high incidence of smaller households in southern England.

Conclusion

The Hearth Tax has not always been regarded as a blessing. Macaulay thought the tax offended English liberty and intruded upon property.

> The tax on chimneys was peculiarly odious, for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits, and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive.... It was said that as soon as [the collectors] appeared at the threshold of a cottage, the children began to wail, and the old women to hide their earthenware.[89]

Larger scale resistance is known for the north east in 1666, when there were anti-Hearth Tax riots in Hexham and Newcastle. The context of tax collection, warrants considerable caution over under-recording. The Tudhoe evidence suggests that perhaps 40% of households were omitted from the 1674 County Durham Hearth Tax, excluding the poorer third of the population. The Tudhoe lists also reveal significant under-recording among the chargeable population, of between ten and twenty per cent of both householders and hearths.

County Durham had an exceptionally high level of poverty, with around four in ten recorded households too poor to pay the tax in 1666 and 1674. Rural settlements were characterised by a majority of single hearth houses, of the labouring poor, most of which were exempt from the tax. Over half of non-pauper households had single hearths, with over a third in the middling property bracket of two to four hearths. Lesser craftsmen and husbandmen had one or two hearths, and a smaller number of more wealthy yeomen and

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[89] quoted in Welford 1911: 51-52.

husbandmen farmers occupied houses of three or four hearths. A more sparsely spread gentry as well as wealthy tradesmen and professionals lived in houses of over five hearths - less than ten per cent of charged households, and around five per cent of the population as a whole. There were very few great houses of over twenty hearths in the county.

County Durham presents a complex picture of prosperity for the lesser elite and middling sort by the late seventeenth century, clearly occupying larger houses. A proportion of small farmers and cottagers were pauperised during the seventeenth century, while others secured more stable employment. The high proportion of single hearth households in the county reflects the wide base of County Durham's social pyramid. The incomes of many of these households, however, were probably higher than might be imagined. The houses, of at least the most securely employed and those with household incomes enhanced by working dependents, were very probably better constructed and entailed a wider variation in accommodation than has usually been assumed. The massive levels of exemption, and the suspicion of considerable under-recording, suggests that the foundations of the social pyramid are not documented. Only excavation would enable us to see more clearly the housing of these social groups.

The Hearth Tax is an unrivalled source for drawing social stratigraphy, and establishing the socio-economic profiles of communities. I have only sought to draw out the broadest patterns, for housing, across the county here.[90] However, taxation records (in isolation) are not best suited to understanding social relations. As Rogers has written: 'it is a long path from the number of rooms or hearths to one's place in local society'.[91] Stepping inside the houses households occupied may aid our understanding of local society. Chapter Four establishes how many such houses survive.

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[90]see also Gwyn de Jong (trans.) *County Durham Hearth Tax Returns Lady Day 1666*, with introductions by Keith Wrightson and Adrian Green, Index Library, Hearth Tax Series, iii, British Records Society and University of Surrey, Roehampton, forthcoming.
[91]Rogers 1979 cited in Husbands nd: 67n..

Table 3.6 County Durham Hearth Tax Lady Day 1674

HOUSEHOLDS IN HEARTH TAX, 1674	1 Hearth	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<12*	NonSolvent	Illegible	TOTAL CHARGED	TOTAL ALL
DURHAM CITY WARD																	
Durham City	75	59	48	21	21	16	4	6	3	3	0	0		48	10	266	
High Bailey	15	8	3	7	5	6	1	2	3	2	2	2	[28]	47	3	60	
Low Bailey	1	1	6	2	1	2	1	2	9	8	7	1	[18]	0		41	
St Margarets Crossgate	51	19	15	10	3	2	4	0	1	0	0	2		47		107	
Framwellgate	37	16	19	11	9	5	2	2	0	1	1	0		43	4	103	
St Oswald's Borough of Elvet	6	8	3	6	10	2	4	1	2	2	0	1	[13][14]	15		47	
Barony of Elvet	39	11	6	7	9	2	3	1	0	1	1	0		50		80	
St Giles' Parish	43	24	14	5	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	[19][27]	54		93	
TOTALS	267	146	114	69	60	36	19	34	19	17	11	6	6	304	17	797	1118
EASINGTON WARD, South West Division	1 Hearth	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<12	NonSolvent	Illegible	TOTAL CHARGED	TOTAL ALL
Shincliff	4	6	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1		24		17	
Butterby & Wherrington	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	[16]	^^^^^^^^^^^^		16	
Cassoppe	0	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		19		9	
Wingate & Wheatley	18	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^^		24	
Trimdon Faindon	17	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		13		23	
Kelloe	12	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	[13]	30		19	
Hutton Henry	12	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		18		16	
Sheraton & Monk Hesleton	23	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		22		33	
Castle Eden & Shotton	23	5	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		26	1	35	
Easington	27	7	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	[13]	40	1	41	
Haswell & Shadforth	21	9	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		64		34	
Sherburne & Whittington	21	11	3	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	[14]	18		40	
														Hawthorn&Haswell 17			
TOTALS	190	60	23	8	5	2	3	4	0	1	2	1	4	275	2	307	584
EASINGTON WARD, North Division	1 Hearth	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<12	NonSolvent	Illegible	TOTAL CHARGED	TOTAL ALL
West & East Mentone	11	10	2	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		57		29	
Moorley	4	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		61		10	
Haughton	21	13	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[15][15]	35		40	
Hetton & Espleton	20	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0		13		33	
East Morton	7	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		19		10	
Cold Hesleton & Dutton	9	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[25]			19	
Seaham	9	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		15		14	
Seaton & Slingley	5	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		5		10	
Burden & Silksworth	8	5	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		21		16	
Tunstall	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ryhop &	29		5	
Ryhop & Bishop Wearmouth	51	18	4	3	3	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	B Wearm.	129	3	83	
Sunderland by Sea	43	62	37	17	11	8	2	2	3	0	0	0		101		185	
Wearmouth Pannes & Offerton	20	7	1	2	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0		75		35	
East & Middle Herrington	12	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		19		15	
West Herrington	4	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0		16		9	
Newbottle & Panther	14	13	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	[17]	65		35	
Lamley & Lambton	17	8	12	5	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	[32]	191		50	
TOTALS	256	164	71	36	22	17	9	5	9	0	0	2	5	851	3	598	1452
CHESTER WARD EAST	1 Hearth	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<12	NonSolvent	Illegible	TOTAL CHARGED	TOTAL ALL
Gateshead-Bank Ward	35	21	13	11	13	11	5	3	0	1	0	0		151		113	
The High Ward	73	27	13	8	8	4	2	3	0	1	0	0	[17]			140	
Pipewel Gate Ward	55	37	20	16	9	5	2	2	2	0	1	0		29		149	
The West ward	37	17	6	14	6	9	1	2	1	1	1	1	[15]	46		99	
South Shields 1st Constabulary	13	16	7	3	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0				45	
South Shields 2nd Constabulary	69	13	5	7	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0				100	
South Shields West Pannes 1st Constabulary	31	12	9	5	5	7	1	0	0	0	1	0		143		71	
South Shields West Pannes 2nd Constabulary	6	5	0	5	4	4	1	2	0	0	0	0		61		27	
Cleedon	4	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		61		11	
Whitburn	17	8	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^^		29	
Monk Wearmouth	9	13	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		40		31	
Fulwell & Suddiche	6	7	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		28		15	
Hilton	21	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0		22		33	
Boldens, East & West	21	8	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		56		34	
Washington	14	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		29		22	
Barmestone	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		29		12	
Ufeaghs Great & Small	12	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0				22	
Hedworth	15	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		34		18	

Monktons	9	7	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[20]	^^^^^^^^^^^^		21		
Hether & Upper Heworth	15	14	6	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		34		42		
Westhoe	1	8	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		31		14		
Harton	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^^		8		
TOTALS	474	250	98	76	63	45	18	14	4	3	5	1	3	794	0	1056	1850	
MIDDLE CHESTER WARD	**1 Hearth**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**<12**	**NonSolvent**	**Illegible**	**TOTAL CHARGED**	**TOTAL ALL**	
Chester Town	56	11	16	7	1	4	1	0	2	0	0	0		84		98		
Birtley & Waldridge	8	8	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		5		21		
Harraton & Orpeth	15	7	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		39		31		
Edmonsley	3	8	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		14		15		
Welton	11	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		36		20		
Plantworth	14	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0		^^^^^^^^^^^^		19		
Kiblesworte	12	9	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		4		25		
Ravensworth	17	15	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		74		38		
Hedley & Tanfield	20	5	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0		36		29		
Lintsgreene	11	2	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		20		18		
TOTALS	167	71	37	16	5	8	2	0	3	0	2	0	0	312	0	314	626	
CHESTER WARD, West Division	**1 Hearth**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**<12**	**NonSolvent**	**Illegible**	**TOTAL CHARGED**	**TOTAL ALL**	
Whickham	20	15	10	5	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0				54		
Whickham Fellside	10	9	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	[15] [18]			92		
Swalwell	6	5	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		27		16		
Winlanton East Lordship	20	10	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	[13][14]	130		39		
West Lordship	13	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0				17		
Ryton Woodside	13	7	9	3	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0		67		36		
Ryton Town	13	9	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		35		25		
Craw Crooke	21	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		14		23		
Chopwell Ponstard	19	3	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0				27		
Meadomsley	10	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Meadley&Ibchester26		19		
Ebchester & Betlieside	19	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Betlieside&Conside20		24		
Consett	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				10		
Longside & Rowlee	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				17		
Muggleswick	21	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				30		
Edmondbyers	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				12		
Hunstanworth	22	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		2		23		
Lanchester	15	7	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		43		27		
Greencroft	7	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^^		15		
Greston	13	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		Weston & Butsfield 19		14		
Butsheild	17	8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				27		
Coxhoe	12	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				21		
Ash	10	5	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[20]	14		21		
Langley	15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		12		17		
Wilton Gilbert	26	11	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		24		44		
Burney Hamsteele	14	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				19		
Whickham Low Bard	6	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[16]			17		
TOTALS	366	128	56	21	8	4	2	2	2	1	0	1	5	368	0	602	1062	
DARLINGTON WARD, North West Division	**1 Hearth**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**<12**	**NonSolvent**	**Illegible**	**TOTAL CHARGED**	**TOTAL ALL**	
Auckland	17	20	6	13	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		42		65		
Newgate in Auckland	25	17	4	5	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0		31		57		
Bondgate in Auckland	29	16	4	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	[16][26]	75		58		
Byshottles & Brandon	20	6	1	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1				36		
Brancepeth & the Park	24	15	5	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	[14]	42	3	54		
Stokeley	16	6	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		28		25		
Willington	17	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		15		25		
Helmington Rowe	12	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		7		22		
Crooke & Billyraw	10	5	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		1		20		
Hedley Permley	21	11	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		14		36		
Thornley & Holme Park	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		13		10		
Wolsingham East Side	17	5	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		35	2	32		
Wolsingham Park	9	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		6		13		
Frosterley	6	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		14		11		
Stanhope Town	39	9	4	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0		40		58		
Stanhope Forrest	66	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3		70		
Stanhope Park Quarter	20	6	3	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		10		33		
Newland Forrest Quarter	11	11	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[14]	3	1	29		

Southside Quarter	17	7	3	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		7		33		
Hamsterley	22	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		26		29		
South Bedburne	24	12	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		4		42		
Limeside	25	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		31		34		
Evenwood & ye Barons	34	10	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0		58		48		
West Auckland	22	12	4	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0		57		44		
St. Helen Auckland	5	4	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	[13]	27		15		
Shildon	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		14		9		
South Church	4	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^		9		
Coundon	11	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		18		19		
Perwicke Carpe	10	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		5	1	16		
Henwick	6	6	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		19		15		
Escombe	8	3	7	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		12		21		
Witton upon wear	29	13	5	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		38	5	56		
Wolsingham	14	9	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0		97		27		
Dean Carleton	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				5		
TOTALS	603	255	85	54	26	18	6	5	3	1	1	1	5	792	12	1076		1880
DARLINGTON WARD, South East Ward	1 Hearth	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<12	NonSolvent		Illegible	TOTAL CHARGED	TOTAL ALL
The Borough of Darlington	54	30	18	10	2	3	1	1	1	1	0	0		63			121	
Bondgate in Darlington	25	8	3	4	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0		64			44	
Prebend Row	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		4			5	
P? Cockerton	24	10	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		20			40	
Killerbye	4	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		10			13	
Denton	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		21			11	
Walworth	7	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[23]	6			13	
High Coniscliffe	12	14	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0		23			34	
Low Coniscliffe	5	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		14			13	
Blackwell	10	11	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		29			27	
Oxnett Field	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1			2	
Haughton	18	9	3	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0		29			35	
Great Burdon	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3			9	
Barmpton	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		8			12	
Arch Deacon Newton	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		3			10	
Houghton on ye side	9	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		6			17	
Heighington	12	15	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		?57			32	
Redworke Newbiggin & Ritridge	15	6	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		21			27	
Schoole Aycliffe	7	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		38			13	
Great Aycliffe	28	15	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^			51	
Brasberton	11	6	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		10			21	
Preston Super Skerne	11	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		8			19	
Heighington	11	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		?57			22	
Middridge	9	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		35			17	
Eldron	13	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		23			18	
Windleston & westerton	17	5	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		4			28	
Church Merrington	11	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		16			23	
Chiltons, Great & Little	12	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		24			18	
Ferry Hill	13	4	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		20			23	
Hett	15	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		24			19	
Tudhoe	15	4	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		34			23	
Whitworth	10	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[15]	19			15	
Bryans Green	12	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		14			15	
Sunderland Bridge	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		16			7	
TOTALS	415	220	67	37	12	13	6	4	2	2	0	2	2	724	0		797	1521
DARLINGTON WARD, South West Division	1 Hearth	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<12	NonSolvent		Illegible	TOTAL CHARGED	TOTAL ALL
Langton	15	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		16			21	
Ingleton	8	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		14			14	
Cockfield	18	13	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		10			37	
Staker Weakerfield	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		11			12	
Hilton	12	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		9			14	
Martin Tinmouth	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^			6	
Bolam	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		10			32	
R/k—Weston	6	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		7			13	
Headlam	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0		7			13	
Wearsbridge	9	8	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		30			22	

Gainford	9	6	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1		31		25		
Staindrop	28	10	10	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		65		57		
Raby	16	13	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		38		34		
Cleatlam	11	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0		13		16		
Winston	17	15	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		22		46		
Whorleton	15	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		15		25		
Stainton	16	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		25		21		
Streatlam	14	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		4		18		
Westwicke	11	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^		19		
Teasdale Forest	26	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		11		27		
Newbiggin	17	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		11		20		
Middleton	42	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		15		51		
Eggleston	38	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		8		40		
Marwood	20	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1		31		
Langley Dale Forest	25	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		15		40		
Barnard Castle	47	42	22	19	8	5	2	0	0	0	0	0		131	5	150		
TOTALS	440	181	62	41	17	10	3	2	1	1	2	1	0	519	5	782		1321
STOCKTON WARD, North East Division	**1 Hearth**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**<12**	**NonSolvent**	**Illegible**	**TOTAL CHARGED**	**TOTAL ALL**	
Sedgefield	56	18	9	4	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	[14]	66		95		
Fishburn	9	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				18		
Butterwicke & A—teton	13	5	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0				22		
Foxton & Worden	14	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				22		
Bradbury & East Stainton	9	4	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0				21		
Whilton & Thorpe	20	10	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1		28		35		
Wilbeston	17	10	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		30		35		
Billingham	19	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		54		31		
Cowper & Newton	9	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Newton15	2	21		
Greatlam	32	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	[13]	68		41		
Draton (Seaton?)	15	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0		28		20		
Stanton	21	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	[13]	30		29		
Hartlepoole	13	9	7	4	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0		51		38		
Throston Hart Town	30	9	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		47		39		
Elwicke	20	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		17		26		
Dalton	6	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Dalton& 18		10		
Brereton & Brantoft	19	3	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		Brereton^AA		26		
Middleham	13	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		28		21		
Marnsforth & Comforte	16	5	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		16		26		
TOTALS	351	123	57	17	7	8	4	1	2	0	0	2	3	445	0	576		1021
STOCKTON WARD, South West Division	**1 Hearth**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**<12**	**NonSolvent**	**Illegible**	**TOTAL CHARGED**	**TOTAL ALL**	
Norton	36	11	11	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	[17]	72		62		
Preston Six este	25	7	3	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0		33		39		
East Hartburn & Elton	9	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		21		18		
Low (Long) Newton	23	3	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		30		29		
Sudburry Newbiggin	19	12	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		20		22		
Little Stainton & Reed Marshall	11	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		4		18		
Stillington & Carleton	14	9	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		24		28		
Colham (Sealham) & Mundstall	5	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		23		13		
Bishopton	24	14	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		5		44		
Saltburn	14	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0		21		18		
Middleton & Rowe	15	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		36		23		
Aslaby	10	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0		^^^^^^^^^^^		15		
Neasham	16	7	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				28		
Hurworth	6	7	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		49		18		
Stockton Borough	33	7	3	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		32		50		
Stockton towne	46	5	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		35		57		
TOTALS	306	103	40	17	10	6	6	2	2	1	0	0	1	405	0	482		887
COUNTY TOTALS																7387		13322
* <12 hearths : [?] = one house of ? hearths																		

Chapter Four: House Survival

The proportion of surviving houses, available for survey as standing buildings, is calculated in this chapter by comparison of the number of households in the 1674 Hearth Tax with the number of buildings Listed as built before 1700.[1] I thus establish how representative surviving houses are, in the context of the contemporary housing stock. The chronology and geography of house survival has been regarded by vernacular architecture historians as the basic index of housing change during this period. This chapter reappraises the significance of house survival for understanding housing change.

House Survival

Despite the obvious need to understand sources, house survival has not until recently been recognised as a routine aspect of treating houses as evidence. For example, Peter Smith's *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* relies on distribution maps of surviving houses without considering survival.[2] This unwitting circularity undermines the arguments constructed to explain such distributions. As Currie has demonstrated, an understanding of the later processes affecting survival is crucial if we are to interpret levels of survival in different parts of the country and in different periods as at all indicative of the level of 'permanence', chronology and social range of house building and rebuilding at the time.[3]

Brunskill claimed that the chronology of earliest survival represented a 'vernacular threshold', marking the permanence of house construction, by social groups in certain areas.[4] Survival is certainly not the valid index for a threshold of permanence in housing. Permanence is best defined as a house constructed without need for substantial repair, which will outlast the occupancy of one generation. The current consensus for

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[1]Listings refer to Department of the Environment (DoE) List of buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest, maintained by local government authorities.
[2]Smith 1988; Johnson 1993b: 121.
[3]Currie 1988: 1-9.
[4]Brunskill 1978: 26-7; critiqued in Harrison and Hutton 1984: 1-15.

'permanency' in peasant housing in England, dates the phenomenon of well built housing for a significant proportion of the population from at least the thirteenth century.[5] Houses built for wealthier inhabitants were of durable construction throughout the medieval period. Pearson has commented that the oldest surviving substantial timber-framed buildings in Kent, are at the end of their life span and earlier examples have been lost because of time, not durability per se.[6] Furthermore, early medieval housing, prior to the socio-economic changes of the twelfth century, was perfectly durable with regular maintenance.[7] The notion of radical discontinuity in the permanence of housing is a false construct; greater permanence in housing was achieved through successive rebuilding in more durable materials.

In County Durham, smaller houses do not survive from before the seventeenth century, but excavated evidence from the fifteenth and sixteenth century indicates well built, if regularly repaired, late medieval housing in the north-east.[8] Housing requiring regular repair may be regarded as impermanent, but maintenance was necessary for all types of housing. Well built stone seventeenth century houses which have fallen out of occupation in the twentieth century rapidly deteriorate. The degree of maintenance required to keep a building habitable, offers a more convincing account of difference in housing conditions, than the paradigm of permanence in construction. A lower level of required maintenance, may facilitate more extensive rebuilding by freeing resources from regular repair of the roof or walls with a proportion of income saved instead towards the addition of an extra room, wing, or remodelling of the living space. Rebuilding, in the form of a more substantial house, was also a marker of social status, and substance in the community. Rebuilding, however, was a process, on a continuum with regular repair.

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[5]Dyer 1997 & Grenville 1997.
[6]Pearson 1994.
[7]Dominic Powsland pers. com..
[8]Still & Pallister 1964; Evans & Jarratt 1987; Wrathmell 1989.

Table 4.1 Listed buildings by modern administrative districts

Listed Buildings							
Totals County Durham (post 1974)	**pre 1500**	**16C**	**E 17C**	**M 17C**	**L 17C**	**E 18C**	**E - M 18C**
Durham Ward	3	2	4	6	67	62	28
Teedale Ward	3	7	18	8	65	80	44
Weardale Ward	2	2	12	0	48	37	2
Darlington Ward	1	1	8	0	20	27	3
Sedgefield Ward	1	0	1	3	8	13	1
Derwentside Ward	1	1	2	2	9	12	6
Chester-le-Street Ward	1	0	0	0	0	3	1
Easington Ward	0	0	2	1	5	1	4
Total County Durham (post 1974)	12	13	47	20	222	235	89
	pre1600	1600-1649	1650-1699	1700-1750			
Tyne & Wear (historic County Durham)	0	1	7	23			
Cleveland (historic County Durham)	3	3	46	115			
County Durham (post 1974)	25	47	242	324			
No. of Listed Buildings (Co. D. incl. Teesdale)	**28**	**51**	**295**	**462**	all years	836	

Very few, if any, of the standing seventeenth century houses in County Durham were built on sites uninhabited before 1600. These houses are invariably rebuildings. Moreover, late seventeenth century houses are frequently rebuilds of early seventeenth century houses. Successive rebuilding was related to resources and housing demand.

The total number of houses recorded in the 1674 County Durham Hearth Tax has been compared with the modern Listings of historic buildings, for houses built before *c.*1700, to indicate a rate of survival. The exercise has been repeated for house survival in Newcastle. All known surviving pre-1700 houses are required to be Listed.[9] The numbers of Listed buildings arranged under modern administrative districts are presented in Table 4:1. The Listings cover historic County Durham and the areas of Northumberland and the North Riding of Yorkshire incorporated in the recent administrative districts of Tyne and Wear and Cleveland.[10] The difficulty of correlating the wards and place names given in the Hearth Tax with the modern administrative districts of the Listings, means that the survival rates given do not present a perfect match but inconsistencies are held to be negligible and any adjustments would be upward. The Listings themselves under-record the number of pre-1700 buildings, particularly where seventeenth century evidence is disguised by eighteenth century remodelling. Smaller houses are most likely to be unlisted. Single room cottages do survive incorporated into later houses and out-buildings, but their presence is difficult to quantify or date from fragmentary remains.[11]

The Listed buildings used to calculate the rate of survival include all houses standing from before 1700, including medieval structures. The majority of these, however, are seventeenth century, and most are Listed as late seventeenth century. Recorded

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[9]For eighteenth century coverage see Cherry 'Listing at the Margins' in Burton 1996; for an official statement on Listing see HMSO *Planning Policy Guidance* 1994.
[10]DoE List of buildings of Special Architectural or Historical Interest, as of 1996, are organised for the post 1972 wards of Cleveland (Middlesborough City Library), County Durham (DCRO), and Tyne and Wear (Newcastle City Library).
[11]Roberts 1977: 40.

survival might be expected to increase progressively after 1700, and there is a rise in survival in almost all areas. 'Early to mid eighteenth century' buildings have only been included in Table 4:1 where they appear from the Listings to be earlier rather than later. The problem for our purposes is that Listing is concerned with protection not precise dating. The dating and social status of Listing descriptions must be viewed with some circumspection. The long-standing assumption of limited survival before *c.*1660 may be a self-fulfilling prophesy. There appears to be a reluctance to give a 'mid-seventeenth century' tag to buildings, and though this may reflect reduced building activity during the Civil War, it seems likely that houses that do not have distinctively early seventeenth century characteristics are Listed as late seventeenth century. The significance of Dean and Chapter and Bishops estate tenants gaining freeholds during the Commonwealth of the 1650s, suggests some houses would have been rebuilt in the mid-seventeenth century.[12] Houses Listed as late seventeenth century often contain earlier phases.[13] That said, Table 4:1 places buildings Listed only as 'seventeenth century' in the late seventeenth century category.

The Listings in themselves do not represent the rate of survival, although they do indicate the numerical distribution of surviving buildings. Three-hundred-and-sixteen pre-1700 houses are Listed for modern County Durham.[14] The area of historic County Durham includes a further forty in Tyne and Wear and fifty two in Cleveland: totalling four-hundred-and-eight pre-1700 houses. Over four hundred buildings are Listed as 'early eighteenth century' or earlier, but the bulk of these are in the vicinity of Durham, the upland dales and in the south of the county. The impact of industrial development and attendant population increase has severely affected the survival of houses in both Tyneside and Teeside. In some cases the geography of development has favoured preservation,

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[12]Morin nd.
[13]eg Appendix 21.
[14]RCHME 'National Monuments Record - External Long Listing' printed 1996, has 170 houses.

where economic growth and rebuilding has been followed by relative decline. At Yarm for instance, the loss of shipping trade upstream to Stockton in the eighteenth century and later to Middlesborough, has preserved the sixteenth and seventeenth stone houses rebuilt in brick and pantile in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Survival by Hearth Tax ward is set out in Table 4:2. At first glance the survival rate may seem uninspiring. Only Durham City and Darlington South West Wards have over 5% survival. Darlington South West covers Teesdale and the lowland area between Barnard Castle and Darlington, both areas of high survival, making it the only ward to have nearly 10% survival. If exempt households in the Hearth Tax are excluded, the county as a whole gains a survival rate of over 5%. Exempt households mostly had one hearth, and they were too poor to afford to occupy the sort of houses which do survive. This does not mean that poorer houses were necessarily impermanent, although many of them would have been very insubstantial. Rather, single hearth houses represent types of house which have not survived the intervening three hundred years, owing to their replacement by houses suited to later housing needs. If all single hearth houses (assessed and exempt) are removed from the calculation (none are Listed as surviving and many of the assessed householders would have been little better off than those exempted), then the survival rate for County Durham as a whole is over 10%.

County Durham cannot match the 28% survival rate calculated for Suffolk.[15] Whereas in Suffolk a significant proportion of houses survive from the fifteenth and even fourteenth century, in County Durham almost all pre-1700 houses were built during the seventeenth century. County Durham society in the late medieval period certainly possessed less equitably spread wealth than Suffolk, and so fewer individuals were able to build very substantial houses, but those with parallel levels of wealth in Suffolk and County Durham probably lived in comparable housing, at all social levels. The remarkably

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[15]Johnson nd: 27-38; Johnson 1993b.

high house survival in Suffolk reflects its prosperity in the late medieval period as a product of the wool trade, which (more importantly) were preserved via the relative decline of the area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By contrast the low level of house survival in County Durham reflects increasing industrialisation. County Durham had a sluggish economy in the late medieval period, and greater rebuilding in the seventeenth century was a product of an economy invigorated by the coal trade and enclosure. The scale of rebuilding in the seventeenth and eighteenth century erased those houses which were substantially constructed in fifteenth and sixteenth century County Durham. Many more substantially built houses (of stone or timber-frame) probably stood in the north-east than the level of survival would indicate, and traces of medieval house fabric are increasingly being recognised.[16]

Table 4:2 Listed Survival by Hearth Tax Ward (1674)[17]

1674 Hearth Tax Wards	Mean households per settlement	Mean households Rural	Survival	Survival Charged	Survival 2 hearth and over
Durham City	-	-	5.64%	7.90%	11.89%
Easington South West	25.6	25.6	1.54%	2.93%	7.69%
Easington North	42.7	26.3	0.41%	1.00%	1.75%
Chester East	48	35.2	0.32%	0.57%	1.03%
Middle Chester	31.4	24	0.16%	0.32%	0.68%
Chester West	23.2	23.2	1.88%	3.32%	8.47%
Darlington North West	31.6	27.7	3.62%	6.32%	14.38%
Darlington South East	24.2	20.6	1.25%	2.38%	4.97%
Darlington South West	30.1	25.3	9.92%	16.75%	38.30%
Stockton North East	30.3	23.4	0.78%	1.39%	3.56%
Stockton South West	30.1	23.4	3.16%	5.81%	15.91%
County Durham overall	31.7	25.7	3.06%	5.52%	11.49%

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[16]Peter Ryder & Martin Roberts pers. com..

[17]The towns excluded for the rural calculation are Durham City, Sunderland, Gateshead, Darlington, South Shields, Hartlepool, Stockton, Bishop Auckland and Barnard Castle, based on Kirby 1972; smaller market centres are counted with the rural figure.

Few if any single hearth houses are Listed as surviving in County Durham.[18] Given that the bulk of the population's housing does not survive, the figures given in Table 3:1 for survival of two hearth and larger houses, provides a truer representation of the proportion of survival of the types of houses actually standing, than against all houses in the Hearth Tax. For County Durham as a whole, 11.5% of two hearth and larger houses survive. Chapter Two showed that houses with between two and four hearths were mostly inhabited by the middling sort, whereas houses over five hearths were occupied by those with significant levels of wealth, including the gentry. In 1674, 37% of chargeable households had between two and four hearths, with 10% of chargeable households having five hearths or more. For the wealthier half of the non-pauper population (houses with two hearths or more), around one in ten houses survive. If most of the Listed surviving houses had over four hearths, then the survival rate of the upper middling sort and elite houses is even higher. In the Hearth Tax, 5% of all households, and under 10% of chargeable households, lived in houses with over five hearths. The survival rate of Listed houses is around 5% of all households in the Hearth Tax, and 10% of chargeable households. However, we do not simply have only the wealthiest houses still standing, and a significant number of pre-1700 standing houses in County Durham had between two and four hearths. Very few standing houses had only one hearth. Unfortunately, without a systematic buildings survey of all standing houses in the county, we cannot assess the number of hearths present in 1674 for each surviving house. Conclusions on the social spread of surviving houses must remain impressionistic.

The exclusion of single hearth houses from the calculation of Listed survival brings out the geographic variation of survival. Darlington Ward South West, covering the Teesdale uplands and the lowlands between Barnard Castle and Darlington town achieves a remarkable 38.3% survival; greater, probably, than many areas with significant

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[18]Pearson nd, Listed survival of single hearth houses is similarly neglible in Kent.

late medieval survival in southern England.[19] The other areas of greatest survival are contiguous to this; Weardale and the lowland vale of the Wear around Bishop Auckland (Darlington Ward North West) and along the Tees around Stockton, with around 15%. Survival diminishes towards the north and east of the county; Stockton Ward North East falls off to under 5%, as does Darlington Ward South East. The other areas of decent survival are Durham City, with over 10%, the area west of the city (Chester Ward West) with 8.47% and Easington Ward South West, with 7.69%. The eastern third of the county and the area north of Durham City between Chester le Street and the Tyne, have very poor survival of only around 1%. This is the result of intensive industrial activity in northern County Durham, where nineteenth century mining settlements all but obliterated the historic housing stock. Ironically this pattern of mining settlement was probably largely established in the seventeenth century, and only rebuilt and expanded in the nineteenth century.[20]

House survival in Newcastle shares the fate of demolition and rebuilding common across north County Durham. In the 1665 Hearth Tax for Newcastle, there were 2510 households, of which 1472 were liable.[21] Only 29 pre-1700 buildings are Listed in Newcastle.[22] The Listings as a proportion of the Hearth Tax represent a survival rate of 1.16% of all households, and 1.97% of charged households. Pre-1700 house survival in Newcastle is comparable to the level calculated for northern County Durham (around 1%), and ten times lower than in Durham. Low survival in Newcastle does not in anyway imply less substantial building before 1700, and Durham probably always experienced a lower level of rebuilding and replacement of its housing stock.[23]

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[19]Pearson nd, found 30% survival of houses in the 1664 Hearth Tax in parishes in eastern Kent with substantial late medieval or early seventeenth century housing.
[20]Roberts 1977; Chapter Two, above.
[21]Chapter Eight.
[22]DoE Listings, Tyne & Wear.
[23]Woodward 1995, Durham building craftsmen received lower wages than those in Newcastle, implying greater rebuilding in Newcastle than in Durham; see Chapters Eight and Nine.

Non-surviving houses

The prevalence of single hearth households in the Hearth Tax, which is exceptionally high by national standards, distorts the survival rate of the types of houses still standing against the number of similar houses at the time. In most communities, the majority of houses were single hearth. Without more evidence, we cannot know what proportion of single hearth houses were impermanent. Spufford notes a case in the Cambridgeshire Hearth Tax of 1664, of 'the house blowne away', since the 1662 assessment.[24] Spufford has suggested that there was a great rebuilding of cottages in the late seventeenth century, which was the corollary of earlier seventeenth and late sixteenth century rebuilding by yeoman farmers. Spufford suggests that 'fewer seventeenth century cottages, judging by the number of survivals, blew away than their predecessors'.[25] One such is recorded for Durham in February 1549 'for repairing a chimney blown down by great wind'; such piecemeal repair was part of the process of successive rebuilding promoting greater permanency in houses.[26] The argument for greater permanency in lower sort housing in the later seventeenth century is corroborated to some degree for County Durham, by Roberts' observation of fragmentary remains of seventeenth century smaller houses, and surviving examples of single room cottages built in rows, later incorporated into one house.[27] These undoubtedly housed the better off of the seventeenth century poor.

Machin's unpublished study of nineteenth century poor housing, documented in Parliamentary Commission reports, demonstrates the extreme poverty of rural southern England, where the poor housed themselves in 'cottages' which their social superiors described as 'hovels'.[28] Many of these houses were constructed of 'impermanent'

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[24]Spufford 1984: 3 n.11.
[25]Spufford 1984: 3 n.11.
[26]Woodward 1995: 136-137.
[27]Roberts 1977; NYVBSG; TAG.
[28]Machin nd.

materials, or rather materials requiring regular repair: mud, turf, wattle and daub, and perhaps earth fast timber framing. It is unclear to what extent such housing existed in early modern England. Arguably, the poverty which prompted parliamentary commissions was a creation of industrialisation and agricultural change in southern England in the eighteenth century. Seventeenth-century County Durham experienced industrialisation and agricultural change at least a hundred years ahead of other parts of England.[29] The Hearth Tax reveals the poverty of the population of County Durham and demonstrates high turnover in household occupancy, with severe implications for housing conditions. Despite the presumably low standard of housing in the sixteenth-century north-east, compared to southern England, the seventeenth century undoubtedly witnessed a worsening of housing conditions for the majority of the poor and wage-labourers of County Durham. Conversely, the prosperous craftsmen, skilled labourers, and farmers with sufficient size holdings to exploit the market for agricultural produce created by the burgeoning wage-labour population in the coal field, experienced a dramatic improvement in housing conditions. Industrialisation and agricultural change apparantly pauperised the majority of the population, perhaps in a manner analagous to the social polarisation witnessed in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century southern England. Whereas those prospering from economic change, the middling sort and above, experienced a 'great rebuilding' from *c.*1600, more in line with housing change in southern England.

From the limited excavated evidence available, we can gauge to some degree the nature of smaller houses, and housing change between the sixteenth and eighteenth century. Very few rural post-medieval sites have been excavated, so our knowledge of smaller and especially poorer early modern housing is slight. Houses in West Whelpington, Northumberland, were being altered in the centuries before its desertion sometime before 1715, and German and Dutch ceramics show that the seventeenth

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[29]Chapter Two.

century inhabitants were not living at or near subsistence level.[30] The excavated houses in West Whelpington have been interpreted as less substantial than the inventories of Leicestershire yeomen and husbandmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[31] This may be an unfair comparison, as Leicestershire 'peasants' with insufficient wealth to warrant an inventory, may well have occupied houses similar to West Whelpington, if only we could excavate them. At least one house in West Whelpington had glazed windows and coal fires, and was probably lit by candles. Unlike Wharram Percy (Yorkshire), houses in West Whelpington were not rebuilt successively above each other. The West Whelpington houses have been interpeted as representing a type of rural housing which preceded the 'permanence' of the Great Rebuilding; requiring regular maintenance to their thatched and stone slate roofs, and clay walls footed by undressed river boulders. Housing conditions and the need for regular repair was comparable at West Hartburn, County Durham, a village depopulated by the late sixteenth century, in the lower Tees valley.[32] West Hartburn houses were being remodelled in the late sixteenth century, and glazing appears from *c.*1600.[33] This is in line with my findings for rebuilding of rural houses in County Durham from *c.*1600, most notably at Tudhoe.[34] In the seventeenth century, rural settlements in the north-east which were not deserted probably contained comparable buildings to West Whelpington and West Hartburn which do not survive today.[35] The houses excavated at West Hartburn had only one hearth, in the centre of the room (or possibly against a passage partition with smoke-hood above) in the late medieval period. At House A, the central (or cross-passage) hearth was disused during remodelling in the sixteenth century, with a new hearth to the side of the room, possibly in a projecting

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[30]Jarratt 1964.
[31]Hoskins 1957.
[32]Rutherford 1964.
[33]Pallister & Wrathmell in Vyner ed. 1990.
[34]Chapter Five.
[35]Pallister & Wrathmell in Vyner ed. 1990: 59-75; Still & Pallister 1964: 187-206; Still & Pallister 1967: 139-48.

chimney stack.[36] At neighbouring East Hartburn, a century after West Hartburn was deserted, nine single hearth, eight two hearth, and one three hearth households, were assessed in the 1674 Hearth Tax. Twenty-one (single hearth) households were exempt. Many of these must have experienced similar, and subsequent, post-medieval remodelling to that uncovered in West Hartburn, before 1600.

Listed Houses and factors of survival

The Listings do allow us to compare the aggregate number of standing buildings for before and after 1700 in a way in which the Hearth Tax does not. Most places have slightly more standing early eighteenth century buildings than late seventeenth century. The traditional model of house survival as an index of rebuilding, has used this greater survival (impressionistically, rather than systematically) to argue that County Durham experienced a 'late' Great Rebuilding of middling houses. In certain areas of County Durham, however, there are more Listed late seventeenth than early eighteenth century buildings. Stanhope and Wolsingham in Weardale have (respectively) twenty-nine and fifteen pre-1700, and only nineteen and seven early eighteenth century houses. Alternatively, Middleton in Teesdale has fourteen early eighteenth century houses but only two pre-1700. This might suggest that rebuilding was more pronounced in Weardale in the seventeenth century than in Teesdale, if the agrarian economy of Weardale produced greater 'surplus' wealth for rebuilding in the sixteenth and seventeenth century than Teesdale. Later processes, however, were probably more decisive for survival: Teesdale houses may have been as well built in the seventeenth century as in Weardale but were rebuilt to a greater degree in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Lordship was critical: Weardale was dominated by the Bishops estate, with tenants holding long term leases,

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[36]Pallister & Wrathmell in Vyner ed. 1990.

under which they were free to rebuild their houses and farms.[37] In Teesdale, the great estate of Raby expanded to cover much of the dale during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Most Teesdale farms are apparently farmsteads built from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, although many may contain earlier fabric. Weardale farms were not so dominated by a large lay landlord, and so fewer eighteenth-century farmsteads erased sixteenth and seventeenth century houses.[38] The newspaper property adverts analysed in Chapter Seven demonstrate that tenant farmhouses were being rebuilt in early eighteenth century County Durham and Northumberland. It is less clear what the condition of farms were in the seventeenth century. Morin's study of Dean and Chapter tenants in Kirk Merrington parish, in the central lowlands, implies that house rebuilding by tenants of the great ecclesiastical estates in County Durham, occurred increasingly through the seventeenth century, in line with townfield enclosure.[39]

Most of the surviving houses Listed as seventeenth century were built by the upper levels of local society. Many houses Listed as farmhouses turn out to have been occupied by gentry families. The houses of the gentry along with their substantial farmer neighbours, and the town houses of gentry, professions and merchants, were the most substantial houses, and survived later housing requirements. Yet these were not the only class of houses built with sufficient permanence to last three centuries. While most Listed seventeenth houses were greater farmhouses and gentry houses, a smattering of smaller houses, occupied by husbandmen and cottagers, do survive. Although survival is not a reliable guide to relative permanence in building, the greater survival of gentry halls and larger farmhouses does reflect the greater substance of these houses and their occupants in their communities. The significance of these houses in the landscape, still often visible from afar, above the lower housing of the modern settlements, is testimony to the

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[37]Bowes 1990.
[38]Bowes 1990.
[39]Morin nd.

substantial presence these houses represented in their communities and landscape. The situation in towns is more complicated by later processes of redevelopment, but gentry and merchant houses in Durham and Newcastle are the most obvious survivals of the seventeenth century, just as they were the most prominent houses at the time. However, surviving houses must not distort our view of the past. Of the 5% of pre-1700 houses estimated to still stand in County Durham, most were occupied by the wealthier inhabitants. Only a fraction of society, and housing culture, is accessible through standing buildings. Excavation would reveal housing conditions for the poorer members of society, for whom documentary sources cannot always provide even a name.

The reasons for elite house survival are more specific than the quality of their original construction. In general, pre-1700 houses stand in locations economically successful and prestigious at the time but which have experienced declining fortunes since. For instance the merchant elite vacated Newcastle Quayside in the early decades of the eighteenth century. In smaller ports, such as Yarm and Stockton, trading booms followed by economic decline, could facilitate almost complete survival of the eighteenth century town-scape. The issue of later housing demand, and factors of attrition, also applies to the survival of seventeenth and early eighteenth century gentry halls, which later declined in status to be occupied as farmhouses. In the countryside of lowland County Durham, there is a pattern of seventeenth century gentry or wealthy yeomen houses, which declined in social status in the later eighteenth century, to serve as tenant farmhouses which were often sub-divided.[40] Later occupants did not have the means, or indeed control as tenants, to alter these houses substantially. Conversely, smaller houses are more likely to have been altered as standards of living changed and older smaller houses were replaced or subsumed into later buildings.

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[40]eg Appendix: 6, 12, 13, 21.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the limitations of survival as an index of housing change. I calculated that 5% of seventeenth century houses are known to still stand in County Durham. Excluding single hearth houses, 38% of middling houses and above are Listed as surviving in Teesdale and the lowland vale of the Tees; 15% in Weardale and the lowland vale of the Wear; 10% in Durham City, with only 1% surviving in the industrialised area between Durham City and the Tyne. In Newcastle, which has witnessed massive redevelopment in the period since 1730, the survival rate of pre-1700 houses is around 1% of all households in the Hearth Tax, and nearly 2% of charged households. Except for upland and rural County Durham, and Durham City, house survival is an inadequate basis for a history of housing. Even in these areas, only examples from the wealthier social groups survive - mostly the elite and upper middling sort.

The following chapter explores the nature of house rebuilding in County Durham, from the regrettably limited evidence of surviving houses. The culture of rebuilding will be investigated further in the context of the life-cycle in Chapter Six.

Chapter Five: Rebuilding Houses

The relationship between architectural change and social change is poorly understood, since the two have rarely been studied with equal emphasis. In this chapter, I analyse the ways in which people built and lived in houses in County Durham, between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century, from the evidence of standing buildings and their occupiers. Given the limitations of house survival established in the previous chapter, this necessarily focuses on the gentry and middling sort. The course of urban rebuilding will be discussed separately in Chapter Eight.

North-East Houses in National Context

The change from late medieval to early modern houses is associated with the transition from the open hall house, with a central hearth open to the roof, to a ceilinged hall with a chimney.[1] As William Harrison observed in 1587, 'the multitude of chimneys lately erected' was a defining feature of housing change in the sixteenth-century south-east and East Anglia.[2] In these timber-framed areas of England, with substantial late medieval house survival, the transformation in housing conditions typically involved the insertion of ceilings and chimneys into a pre-existing open-hall.[3] In stone areas, such as north-east England, the same alteration in living space was invariably the product of wholesale rebuilding. Across England as a whole, rebuilding in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century was followed by a further alteration in the appearance and use of houses in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, marked especially by a renewed emphasis on external symmetry. This process of 'Georgianisation' has previously

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[1]Brunskill 1978: 118-9.
[2]Harrison *Description of England* in Dover Wilson 1944: 265-70; Johnson 1996: 157-60.
[3]Johnson 1993a.

been regarded as symptomatic of a nationalising culture of 'polite' architecture, eroding localised, vernacular, ways of building and living.[4]

The chronology of middling housing change in northern England has hitherto been regarded as 'retarded' within the national picture.[5] Hoskins erroneously excluded the four northern counties from his 'Great Rebuilding' of yeoman and husbandman houses between 1570 and 1640 (which he termed a 'housing revolution').[6] Mercer similarly believed that the medieval to early modern transition in housing across northern England occurred a century later than in southern England (in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, rather than the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century).[7] The evidence presented below demonstrates that wealthy yeomen and husbandmen in County Durham participated in the 'Great Rebuilding' of 1570-1640 (albeit largely from *c.*1600).

Across the north Mercer claimed 'neighbourhood vernacular houses were of poor quality', mostly of two cells with one attached to a byre or service room for the early seventeenth century.[8] Barley also stressed the tenacity of one storeyed buildings below the wealthiest yeomenry in the north, but recognised that the actual accommodation comprised was little different to that south of the Humber.[9] For Mercer the clear contrast within the national picture was that vernacular houses in the north were more often two cell than three, with many being one cell as late as *c.*1700; whereas in the south three-celled two-storyed houses were common and one-celled houses already highly exceptional before 1600. Although Mercer exaggerated the contrast between the prosperous south and impoverished north, the evidence of the Hearth Tax demonstrates that a higher proportion of County Durham's population occupied smaller houses.[10] This

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[4]Barley 1961 & Mercer 1975.
[5]Mercer 1975: 30.
[6]Hoskins 1953: 44-59.
[7]Mercer 1975: 23-33.
[8]Mercer 1975: 30.
[9]Barley 1961: 113-125 & 169-76.
[10]Chapter Three.

does not mean that the region was behind the south of England, on a pre-determined route of development towards modernity in larger, more standardised houses. Rather, social and economic development within the region generated housing forms which correlated by levels of wealth to housing in the south of England. There were simply fewer middling houses, and the limitations of survival have compounded misplaced assumptions of a retarded region.

Late Medieval Rebuilding

Whittaker believed that the social and economic conditions of the north-east in the late medieval period (which he defined as persisting till the late sixteenth century, determined by the extensive influence of the nobility and Church), meant that 'conditions were not really oppurtune' for the building or survival of smaller medieval manor houses, or smaller medieval houses of durable construction.[11] More recently, smaller medieval manor houses of substantial construction have been increasingly recognised.[12] There were never as many medieval manor houses in the north-east as in the south and midlands, since estates were larger, the nobility and bishops were more dominant, and the gentry were always more thinly settled. In the north-east the survival of medieval manor houses is slight, but where they are known from standing survivals or excavation, their plan arrangements were similar to southern England. A late medieval courtyard house at Hunwick, County Durham, survives remodelled as a house and outbuildings in the early seventeenth century.[13] Crook Hall, near Durham, survives as an example of the medieval manor houses on the outskirts of the city, with sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth century additions.[14] Gentry houses were rebuilt in County Durham during the late

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[11]Whittaker 1975: 7-16, quoting 16.
[12]Peter Ryder & Martin Roberts pers. com..
[13]Emery 1996: 106.
[14]Emery 1996: 81-2; Roberts 1994: 76.

sixteenth and early seventeenth century, in line with the increasing wealth and social standing of their occupants. This followed from the eclipse of the nobility in the sixteenth century, most dramatically with the Nevilles' loss of estates in 1569.[15] The medieval housing stock has been largely replaced by this later rebuilding.

Middling Rebuilding

The traditional picture of rural rebuilding in County Durham claims that farmers did not 'rebuild' till after 1660; with wealthier yeomen rebuilding in the late seventeenth century, followed by more middling farmers around 1700, and a wider rebuilding for all but the poorest social groups from the early-to-mid eighteenth century. This picture is largely a product of the most obvious house survival, and many more houses were successively rebuilt between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century, than survive. Pitcher House, Cotherstone, for example, is dated 1624, but only fragments of seventeenth century fabric remain in this extensively rebuilt house.[16] Or, Ludwell Farmhouse, Eastgate, Stanhope, 1617, of four bays and later builds.[17] Recognising that housing change came about through successive rebuilding, replaces the need to understand housing change in stadial terms marked apart by radical discontinuity in ways of living.

The survival and documentation of Tudhoe Hall presents striking evidence for *c.*1600 rebuilding by a 'husbandman'.[18] This house at Tudhoe was rebuilt between 1600 and 1609 by Robert Richardson, husbandman. Richardson's rebuilding entailed a hall and parlour house of two and a half storeys, with a single storey low-end byre or services beyond the cross-passage (behind the stack). Surviving fabric indicates that the pre-1600

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[15]James 1973 & 1974; see Chapter Two, above.
[16]NYCVBSG 950.
[17]RCHME.
[18]Appendix: 21.

house, was a single-storey stone house, possibly of only one room, with a byre beyond the cross passage. In the 1620s the house was extended for Ralph Young, yeoman, with a kitchen and brick vaulted cellar added in a new wing (forming a T-plan house), removing the cooking function from the hall and providing more generous accommodation. Only later in the seventeenth century when the house was occupied as a second house for the gentry Salvin family, was the house named 'hall'.[19]

Tudhoe Hall is not an isolated example of early rebuilding in County Durham. In upland County Durham, examples of sixteenth century rebuilding survive in Weardale, and houses such as Westernhopeburn farmhouse, dated 1606, are testimony to the prevalence of seventeenth century rebuilding.[20] Whessoe Grange, near Darlington, was built on a substantial scale in the sixteenth century, but this house is considered to lack the refinements of a gentry dwelling. Ryder considered it an anomaly, given that no newly wealthy yeomen houses had been identified in North Yorkshire for the sixteenth century and that 'no such regional type of yeoman house is yet recognised north of the Tees'.[21] High Shipley House, Marwood, was rebuilt *c.*1600; three-storey and three-bay, of stone with stone-flagged roof. High Shipley was extended, dated and initialled 1670, with the addition of a kitchen. The date inscription deceived Mercer, who thought the house 'uncommon' even for the later seventeenth century.[22] The tendency to minimise the significance of the (albeit limited) survival of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century rebuilding in the region, is more prevalent than the absence of evidence.

Grange Farm, Monkton, was a Dean and Chapter tenancy with a 132 acre holding in 1627, occupied by a tenant worth £160.[23] The house comprised a hall with chamber above, probably below the rafters; the parlour was still slept in, and the kitchen had a loft

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[19]full architectural and documentary evidence presented in Green 1998.
[20]Whittaker 1975: 25; NEVAG.
[21]Ryder 1986: 104.
[22]Mercer 1975: 137-229.
[23]Fairless 1980.

for servant accommodation and storage. In 1661 the rent was doubled 'for improvements', and the house became two full storeys. The traditional picture of 'vernacular' architecture in the north-east, places Grange Farm as 'exceptional', and this has been explained by the possible significance of a Middlesex born occupant. Yet, Grange Farm has plenty of parallels rebuilt by bona fide County Durham born householders. The Middlesex connection is more significant as testimony to the nation-wide population mobility which sustained nation-wide cultural change, such as in housing. In the first half of the eighteenth century adjustments to the seventeenth century rebuild were made in the interests of symmetry. The development of Grange Farm is easily incorporated into the national picture of architectural change, which has been regarded as excluding County Durham, since 'no such regional type of yeoman house has yet been recognised north of the Tees'.[24] Surviving houses in central County Durham suggest that such 'a regional type of yeoman house' did exist in the seventeenth century, and that this 'regional type' was very close to the national picture for yeomen houses.

Byers Green Hall, rebuilt for George Trotter, yeoman, in *c.*1630, presents an even more surprising correlation with southern farmhouses; a square, double-pile farmhouse, which Barley recorded as 'very rare, or so far unnoticed' in the four northern counties.[25] East Oakley House, West Auckland, rebuilt *c.*1630, has a canted bay comparable to a yeoman house rebuilt in the 1620s in Colly Weston, Northamptonshire, used to illustrate Hoskins' thesis of a Great Rebuilding.[26] Similar canted bays exist at Whitfield Place, Wolsingham, dated 1677 but originally rebuilt in the early seventeenth century. The evidence for early seventeenth century rebuilding in County Durham suggests that the existing orthodoxy of post-1660 rebuilding needs to be abandoned, and replaced by a recognition that County Durham participated in national changes in housing conditions.

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[24]Fairless 1980: 90.
[25]Green 1998: 33-42; Barley 1979: 136 n.31.
[26]Hoskins (1955) 1985: 156.

Smaller medieval houses, for the rural population and in towns, are mainly known from excavation. In County Durham, smaller houses, from the thirteenth through to the sixteenth century, were largely one-storey structures, increasingly of stone but also timber-framed.[27] Harrison has shown that timber-framed long-houses were present in the vale of York in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, and these continued across the vale of Mowbray and into County Durham north of the Tees.[28] From the thirteenth through to the sixteenth century, better-off rural County Durham houses were usually of a long-house form, with a cross-passage between the main living room and byre. The basis of the long-house for seventeenth century rebuilding is evident at Tudhoe Hall, (rebuilt *c.*1600), West Auckland Old Hall (rebuilt *c.*1625) and Slashpool Farm, Hett (rebuilt late seventeenth century, probably replacing an earlier seventeenth century rebuilding).[29] These examples, occupied by the wealthier yeomen and husbandmen, indicate that single storey long-houses were rebuilt as two-storey hall and parlour houses from at least the beginning of the seventeenth century. The hall and parlour house was the standard housing form across England, entailing a main living room (the hall, usually containing the cooking hearth) and parlour. There were also usually separate services for storing and processing food and agricultural produce.[30] Although the main bed was often in the parlour, chambers provided sleeping accommodation for most of the household, upstairs. These two-storey hall and parlour houses, with additional services, are the typical outcome of rebuilding across England, and were clearly present in early seventeenth century County Durham. As the Hearth Tax indicates, the relative number of such houses was the key variable across England.[31]

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[27]see Lomas 1996.
[28]Harrison 1991, Harrison & Hutton 1984: 47 & passim.
[29]Appendix: 21, 23 & 18.
[30]Spufford 1962; Mercer 1975.
[31]Chapter Three.

Across seventeenth-century County Durham, stone building increasingly displaced timber-framing and less substantial construction techniques, such as mud and wattle-and-daub, although thatch continued as a roof covering for stone buildings.[32] Each of the two-storey hall and parlour houses mentioned above had a cross-passage behind the stack of the hall, with the remnant of the low-end byre rebuilt as kitchens and services. Harrison and Hutton found a similar prevalence of the 'hearth-passage plan-type' in North Yorkshire, and Brunskill identified the passage behind the stack as typical of the northern Pennines.[33] The cross-passage is behind the stack at Grange Farm, Monkton, successively rebuilt in the seventeenth century (first as one and a half storeys in the 1620s and then as two storeys by 1661, with a sixteenth-century predecessor), but Fairless suggested more fieldwork was necessary to establish the type as characteristic of the Durham region.[34] I suggest that the cross-passage behind the stack was typical of County Durham and the wider north-east region, and was a plan-form resulting from successive seventeenth-century rebuilding of houses which had been long-houses in the sixteenth century and before.[35]

Greystone Hall, near Gainford, is again a seventeenth-century, two-storey hall and parlour farmhouse,[36] with originally a low-end (presumably a byre rebuilt as services) beyond the cross-passage behind the stack of the hall, rebuilt as a kitchen (used for cooking) in the early eighteenth century. Successive rebuilding of the main house and low-end, at different times, is common to all these houses. The presence of this cross-passage behind the stack plan-form, represents a regional variation in the room arrangement of the standard three spatial units of the early modern middling house: hall, parlour and services. In the early eighteenth century the 'low-end' of these houses

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[32]Chapman 1982.
[33]Harrison & Hutton 1984: 42-73.
[34]Fairless 1980.
[35]Appendix: 18, 21, 22.
[36]Hutchinson 1787, III: 219; Appendix: Plate 1.

(previously in use as byers or services) were rebuilt as kitchens with a cooking hearth. This correlates with Spufford's inventory evidence for middling houses in Cambridgeshire, which suggests that kitchens in the late seventeenth century were not used for cooking but as areas for preparing or storing food (having no hearth tools but food preparation implements).[37]

In addition to the room arrangement of houses with a cross-passage behind the stack, are a group of houses which had the hall-stack positioned on an external wall, usually with the stack projecting externally. For example, Low Woodifield Farm, near Crook in the Pennine foothills and Nafferton Farm near Brancepeth, in the lowlands. These end-stack houses, represent houses which were not rebuilt with the retention of a pre-existing low-end. Whereas the cross-passage divided the hall from services or byre, and facilitated access from either side of the house (say, street or garden and farmyard), end-stack houses usually had a single external entrance, directly into the hall with the parlour immediately adjacent, and apparently no separate services. These smaller hall and parlour houses without a cross-passage, were occupied by households with less means than the larger houses which had separate services beyond (or replacing) the cross-passage by the end of the seventeenth century. The absence of services, with food preparation taking place in the hall, implies a relatively small household, with few if any servants. These smaller farm-houses (which were probably larger than the contemporary definition of a cottage) were thus distinguished from their larger neighbours which had the three spatial units of hall, parlour and services, found in more complex forms in elite households.

Surviving seventeenth century end-stack houses seem to encompass quite a wide social (or wealth) range. Newfield farmhouse provides an example of a large early seventeenth century stone farmhouse. Newfield now consists of a large hall, with stepped

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[37]Spufford 1962 & nd.

stack, and a large parlour built on in the early eighteenth century with stair turret to the rear, and porch to the front. At the low-end of the hall, there are the vestiges of a cross-passage, with what were presumably services beyond, demolished.[38] Great Chilton Hall farmhouse, provides another example of a larger farmhouse, rebuilt in the mid-to-late seventeenth century, as a two and a half storey, hall and parlour house (possibly with services rebuilt as a kitchen in the eighteenth century) with projecting stair turret.[39] These large farmhouses entail the same room arrangement, on a larger scale, as surviving examples of smaller seventeenth century farmhouses. Low Woodifield Farm, represents the seventeenth century County Durham 'vernacular', as a one and a half storey hall and parlour house, of stone with stone slate roof and substantial external stepped stack (similar to the much altered smaller farmhouse at Nafferton near Brancepeth).[40] The smaller houses had the same basic room arrangement as the larger farmhouses, and the differences in proportion of rooms, and overall house-form externally, correlates with the substance, in terms of wealth and presumably landholding, of these middling households in their communities.[41]

These houses expressed externally the substance of the households they contained, in the landscape and community. Great Chilton, on the northern edge of the lower Tees valley, and at the southern extremity of the coal field, was depopulated during our period, and only Great Chilton Hall and Great Chilton Farm remain today. The modern mining settlement of Little Chilton, immediately to the west, was presumably populated by the labouring sort during the seventeenth century. The 1674 Hearth Tax for Great and Little Chilton, together, records twenty-four exempt households and eighteen chargeable

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[38]Appendix: 13.
[39]Appendix: 6.
[40]Appendix: Plate 1.
[41]Brown 1982: 200 & 233, Newhouses, Hunderthwaite dated 1668 is a further example of a small stone farmhouse in County Durham; comparable to Dykehead, Corsenside, Northumberland, dated 1680.

households; indicating that the majority of the population were at or below subsistence level. In 1666, the only households with higher hearth numbers, above the threshold for gentlemen of five hearths,[42] in Great Chilton township, were Lodowick Hall at Great Chilton Hall with eight hearths, and Lawrence Bracke with seven. Great Chilton Farm probably had three hearths (in the hall, parlour and chamber over the parlour), correlating in 1666 to Richard Grierson with three hearths. In 1666, Grierson was the most substantial middling member of the community, with the most substantial house, with only three neighbours with two hearths, and a further eleven single hearth households among the non-pauper population. Grierson was linked to Lodowick Hall at Great Chilton Hall, and may have been his steward. When, shortly before 1669, Bishop Cosin bought the manor of Great Chilton from Lodowicke Hall, for £5000, he found the estate incumbered by a mortgage made by Hall for part of Great Chilton to Richard Greeveson, along with a lease of another part of the manor for a term of years to John Dunn.[43] These incumbrances were the subject of litigation in Durham Chancery court. Houses in the landscape were only one aspect of community relations, and this property dispute reveals a more contested arena of social relations.

The house form of Great Chilton Hall is closely comparable to Slashpool Farm, Hett, located on the east side of Hett village green, between the market centre of Ferryhill and Durham, to the north of Chilton. Slashpool Farm is a somewhat smaller yeoman house than the greater farmhouse at Great Chilton. However, the links between them are significant as marking out the most substantial middling household in each community; each seemingly with three hearths. Both are of two and a half storeys, with a hall and parlour and projecting stair turret to the rear. Both have similar roof construction.[44] Whereas Great Chilton Farm has four-centred arched stone fireplaces to hall and parlour,

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[42]see Chapter Three.
[43]PRO DURH 2/64 Thomas Cradocke v. Lodowicke Hall, et. al. in Knight nd: 265-6
[44]Appendix: 6 & 18.

of matching form but with the hall fireplace considerably larger, at Slashpool Farm only the parlour fireplace has a four-centred-arch, and the vestiges of a smoke stack flue remain to the hall.[45] Slashpool Farm still stands head and shoulders above the other housing of the village, as it would have done in the late seventeenth century. In the 1674 Hearth Tax, Hett contained twenty four exempt, and fifteen single hearth households, with three two-hearth houses and one three hearth house. In 1666, the two-hearth houses were occupied by Jonathon Watson, Jonathon Meadburne and Ralph Adamson; and the three-hearth house by Thomas Wood: one of these, probably the three-hearth house, was Slashpool Farm (with heated hall and parlour and parlour chamber). No surnames in the 1666 Hearth Tax correlate with the surname intial E inscribed in 1708 over the rebuilt cross-passage and low-end. This suggests that Slashpool Farm was occupied by a different family, a generation later, when the low-end was rebuilt as a kitchen, and the new occupants inscribed their initials over the door in 1708. The date inscription deceived Mercer, who took it as read that Slashpool Farm was built in 1708, commenting that as such it was an unusually late example for its plan type and roof construction.[46] The hall and parlour plan (with cross-passage behind the stack), and roof structure, are convincingly late seventeenth century, with several parallels in the vicinity.[47]

The stepped external stacks were a regionally distinctive feature, found on large as well as small farmhouses, emphasising the homogeneity of this broad middling band of house. Invariably this stepped external stack served the hall rather than the parlour end; naturally enough for what were single hearth houses but also for houses with a parlour chimney. Parlour chimneys were more often built with a chimney stack inside the room, rather than projecting externally. This relates to the prestige associated to fireplaces in higher status houses, which often carried the principal decoration of the room in the late

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[45]illustrated in Appendix 6 & 18
[46]Mercer 1975: 137-229.
[47]Appendix: 6, 7, 21.

sixteenth and early seventeenth century - marked especially by elaborate overmantels.[48] At Great Chilton Hall, the hall and parlour retain matching mid-seventeenth century four-centred arched fireplaces, distinguished by the greater size of the hall fireplace. The hall has a larger stepped stack externally, making visible from outside the room arrangement within. The additional room built on to Newfield farmhouse in the early eighteenth century obscured the stepped stack, suggesting this aspect of the house's external form was no longer of primary significance. At Tudhoe Hall, the 1620s projecting wing (containing services with cellar beneath), was enlarged in the late seventeenth century (possibly to accommodate a chapel) with a prominent stepped stack towards the village green, for the catholic gentry Salvins. Together with the coping stones and kneelers of the gable-end, this stepped stack formed a silhouette which reflected the substance of the household, which was probably integrated with the community, via the probable use of the chapel by the catholic villagers at Tudhoe. While the religious role of the house continued into the eighteenth century, early eighteenth century alterations to the house reflect 'Georgianisation'. Between 1705 and 1729, the lateral wing to the east, was rebuilt with panelling and sash-windows in the first floor suite of rooms (occupied by Jesuit priests), while the early seventeenth century projecting stack at the parlour end was enclosed with closets, creating an integral chimney.[49] These projecting and stepped stacks were prominent in the landscape, and along with the overall morphology of the house, represented a social marker in the community. Stepped stacks in upland and lowland County Durham were a regional variation on seventeenth century housing style, and were frequently obscured by eighteenth century remodellings.

The significance of house location in the landscape for marking out social relations, involved continuity as well as social change. The pattern of rebuilding outlined

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[48]Yarwood 1985: 108-113; Chapter Nine, below.
[49]Green 1998: 34-37; Appendix 21.

above, suggests some continuity in the house sites of the more substantial farmers (with larger landholdings). The larger of the sixteenth century long-houses formed the basis for early seventeenth century rebuilding, whereas smaller seventeenth century farmhouses have far less evidence for incorporating earlier fabric. Presumably, many of these smaller stone seventeenth century houses were replacing less substantial forms of construction. These smaller farmers, benefiting from agricultural and tenurial conditions in the seventeenth century, were not rebuilding the well built long-houses of the wealthier sixteenth-century tenants. The poorer quality of pre-existing houses warranted more thorough-going rebuilding, in a more compact form. Continuity in the location of houses in the village and landscape in relation to relative status and wealth, was reproduced through successive rebuilding, and not always by generations of the same family.

Relative household status in the location and material form of houses, was replicated through successive rebuilding, despite the larger changes to County Durham's settlement pattern outlined in earlier chapters. Late medieval farmholdings in the nucleated villages of lowland County Durham, often had the largest farmstead located at the end of the village street.[50] Where these were rebuilt as yeomen or husbandmen houses in the seventeenth century, and often again in the early eighteenth century, these house locations marked continuity of status in the community. At Tudhoe, a seventeenth century farmhouse (now demolished) was located at the northern end of the village green, with a surviving mid-eighteenth century house in front. At Kirk Merrington, Hallgarth farmhouse, next to the church, represents an early eighteenth century rebuilding of a substantial late medieval farmstead (initially rebuilt in the seventeenth century), at the end of the village green. At West Auckland, East Oakley House (*c.*1630) and another larger (now demolished) mid-seventeenth century farmhouse stood at the eastern end of the

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[50]Roberts 1977.

green.[51] East Oakley's canted bay window to parlour and parlour chamber was orientated towards the green, as was the demolished house's three storey porch turret with canted windows. This location, for these substantial middling houses, was as invidious a marker of status in housing as the gentry house of the Eden family, at West Auckland Manor House, at the other end of the village green, facing the road from Staindrop.[52]

The houses of poorer social groups, without land or livestock, were less substantial. At West Hartburn, houses were being regularly repaired in the late sixteenth century.[53] At West Auckland, a sixteenth century timber-frame house survives on the village green. This very rare survival of a smaller pre-1600 house, indicates that timber-frame cottages were present in County Durham in the century before 1600, and probably persisted as the standard form of accommodation for households of relatively limited means throughout the seventeenth century. For the very poorest social groups housing conditions probably worsened between 1570 and 1730, under the pressure of enclosure and industrialisation.

Squatting is recorded at Hunwilk in the 1630s (a period of intensive enclosure in County Durham). The 1635 Durham Chancery case of Emmanuel Grice versus Richard Richardson, records that the defendant had let a house in Hunwicke to Grice, which was allegedly 'so ruinous that beggars and poore people did ly therein'.[54] Richardson carried out some necessary repairs when Grice left the house, charging them to him. Despite arbitration by neighbours, the two could not agree upon their mutual debts, Grice claiming that the house's fabric had not suffered during his tenancy. According to Brian Walker 'the defendant asked so unreasonable much as this deponent thought for repayre of the house and hedges now in question and the Complainant soe farr from reason on the other

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[51]Appendix: 4.
[52]Appendix 23.
[53]Still & Pallister 1967: 139-48.
[54]PRO DURH 7/34 Part 2 in Knight nd: 290-1.

syde that they could make no agreement' On the defendant's behalf it was claimed that Grice left the house in 'very great ruin and decay'. John Atkinson deposed that he 'did stand in the sayd houses and see through the thatch att the broad side of itt'.[55] Contemporaries were concerned by the poor state of middling status houses, which were not expected to be reduced to a ruinous condition. Another Durham Chancery case reveals that repairs were expected to outlast a couple of years. In the 1634 case of Nicholas Briggs versus Elianor Bateman et. al., repairs were promised by the defendants for a house in Broomhall. Gilbert Scott deposed that the defendants hired workmen for the repairs, but they worked 'so slightly and simply that it is a shame to see it'. He judged that the house 'will not stand firme past two or three years'.[56] Middling sort rebuilding in early seventeenth century County Durham was about establishing permanency in buildings, not haphazard repair.

The chronology of rebuilding was part and parcel of the social and economic changes outlined in Chapter Two. Nationally, price inflation and low labour costs provided favourable economic conditions for agricultural incomes between *c.*1570 and 1640.[57] Regionally, the coal trade and agricultural change promoted higher rents and larger farms during the seventeenth century. Changes in lordship from *c.*1570, combined with favourable economic conditions, promoted changes in social stratigraphy, status and the spread of wealth, in County Durham. The gentry rebuilt from the late sixteenth century, but in lowland County Durham the late sixteenth century changes were insufficient to promote much middling rebuilding till around *c.*1600. This delay was not solely due to economic circumstances, as the cultural context for *c.*1600 rebuilding, correlates with property ownership, and the experience and practice of social polarisation in specific communities and the region as a whole. In the areas of the former Nevilles'

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[55]PRO DURH 7/34 Part 1 Emmanuel Grice v. Richard Richardson in Knight nd: 290-1.
[56]PRO DURH 7/33, Part 4 in Knight nd: 291.
[57]Hoskins 1953: 44-59.

estates this was especially marked by the creation of freeholders, by the sale of Crown tenancies via London moneymen from the 1590s through to the 1630s.[58] Robert Richardson, husbandman, purchased the freehold of his property in Tudhoe from the Crown in 1600 and rebuilt the substantial stone two and a half storey hall and parlour house there before his death in 1609 (as described above). At Byers Green, the Trotter family of yeoman farmers rebuilt their house to a square plan in *c.*1630, shortly after the transfer of their lands from the Crown to a local landowner.[59] Security of tenure provided a key motivation for rebuilding, even for families, such as the Trotters, who had occupied the same property for generations.

Rural rebuilding was not the preserve of the very wealthiest of yeomen in County Durham in the seventeenth century. In Merrington parish, tenants of the Dean and Chapter estate probably rebuilt houses during the early seventeenth century, as they profited from the increased income from agricultural produce created by the regional market for food for coal workers.[60] Some Merrington tenants also probably moved out of the nucleated villages into 'isolated' farm houses situated in the middle of their own fields in line with the process of townfield enclosure. Dean and Chapter and Bishop's estate tenants may also have been disposed to rebuild in the 1650s, as a result of gaining freeholder property rights via the sale of church lands under the Commonwealth. The rural middling sort did not wait till after 1660 to rebuild. Indeed, the early seventeenth century was probably a more conducive economic environment for rebuilding than the later seventeenth century, as prices ceased to rise after *c.*1640. The insecurities of the 1640s, probably reduced investment in building, but the option of freeholds for ecclesiastical tenants under the Commonwealth, and the economic boom of the 1650s which financed

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[58]Green 1998.
[59]Green 1998: 33-42; the Trotters remained as tenants and the property was bought by Lisley Wren of Binchester in 1632, following Crown sale in 1629 to London money-men.
[60]Morin nd.

the surviving mid-seventeenth timber-framed merchant houses in Newcastle, and the peak of documented townfield enclosure in the mid-seventeenth century, all suggest rebuilding continued, or resumed in the 1650s.[61]

In the later seventeenth century, the prosperity generated from the now established pattern of agricultural change and a more diverse industrialised economy provided further resources for rebuilding by an expanded lesser elite and upper middling sort. The prosperity generated by the coal trade and agricultural change affected a plethora of service trades and professions, ranging from craftsmen through to the legal profession. Whereas in the early seventeenth century it was mostly established gentry families and wealthy yeomen and husbandmen farmers who rebuilt, for lower middling social groups, the late seventeenth century provided better national economic conditions for rebuilding.[62] The gentry who increasingly attended the Heraldic Visitations and the yeomen who prospered from agricultural and lordship changes, were building socially and physically on an already secure base in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The social stratigraphy of north-east society altered in the later seventeenth century, with a wider lesser elite, encompassing lawyers and clerical dynasties (which emerged from early seventeenth century newcomers) and wealth from coal, lead, salt, and ship building for a grouping which increasingly considered itself genteel, without recourse to lineage. The agricultural economy also benefited a wider range of farmers, and while the smallest farmers had been squeezed out of industrialised and agrarian County Durham by enclosures, those that remained rebuilt larger farmhouses.

Later seventeenth century farmhouses and gentry halls were often rebuildings of earlier seventeenth century rebuilds.[63] Whitfield Cottages on Wolsingham market place, in

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[61]Buildings trade craftsmen guild records in Durham indicate no discontinuity in trade during the 1650s, Kathleen Beer, pers. com..
[62]Spufford 1984: 1-3.
[63]Appendix: 18, 21, 22, 23.

Weardale, is a complex seventeenth century house, probably in use as an inn. The rear stair turret, containing a late seventeenth century stair, rises to the garrets, indicating that the house was two and a half storeys by 1677. Previously, the house was only one and a half storeys, and this fabric may be late sixteenth century, rebuilt in the early seventeenth century, when Wolsingham recovered from its mid-sixteenth century decline as a market centre.[64]

Late seventeenth and early eighteenth century rebuilding was associated with a change in construction materials. From the end of the seventeenth century, brick walls and pantile roofs were increasingly built in the east and south-east of County Durham, while stone construction (with stone slate roofs) persisted in the west and central lowlands.[65] Grange Farm, Stockton, is an example of a seventeenth century brick built farmhouse, similar to many south of the Tees and emblematic of the links between southern County Durham and northern Yorkshire emphasised in Chapter Two.[66]

Since successive waves of rebuilding have often emasculated earlier structures, we can not presume that the most obvious survivals indicate the earliest period of rebuilt housing for each social stratum. More important than dubious long-term processes of cultural change, such as emulation and an inherent desire for better housing with greater privacy, were changes in social stratigraphy largely as a result of economic conditions, providing the resources with which to rebuild, and changing attitudes about what sort of house was appropriate to certain social groups.

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[64]Appendix: 25; Chandler 1993: 158, Leland recorded that Wolsingham market was 'in complete abeyance'.
[65]Chapman 1980: 35-41 & 1982:9; Emery 1994: 113-120.
[66]Brown 1982: 200 or 233.

Gentry Houses

Gentry rebuilding was funded by the increasing wealth accrued from industrialisation (especially coal and lead mining), agricultural change and the increased rents these economic activities facilitated. Gentry halls were rebuilt as one aspect of their increased social prominence and heightened sense of a socially exclusive identity. Increased attendance at the Heraldic Visitations, was an assertion of armigerous status by which the gentry distinguished themselves from broader conceptions of gentility.[67] Many of the houses discussed below were rebuilt on 'lineage sites' occupied by the same families generations earlier, with or without an intervening gap in occupation. In the early seventeenth century the country gentry also took town houses in Durham City, again frequently reoccupying 'lineage sites' and rebuilding houses built by their ancestors a century or more earlier.[68] In the mid and later seventeenth century, gentry houses in town and country were again remodelled; for example Ramshaw Hall and Croxdale Hall were rebuilt in the 1650s, West Auckland Manor House in the 1670s and Helmington Hall in the 1680s.[69]

Gentry houses in County Durham participated in a series of developments in style and plan, common to England and Wales as a whole.[70] Several houses survive from the late sixteenth century, mostly following variations on the H-plan. For instance, Stanhope Old Hall (H-plan) and Low Harperley Hall (U-plan), in Weardale, and West Auckland Manor House (H-plan) and Thornley Hall (U-plan), in lowland County Durham. As rebuildings, these houses often incorporated medieval fabric. Stanhope Old Hall has substantial fabric dating possibly to the thirteenth century; Low Harperley Hall has a massive fourteenth century chimney stack and shoulder-arched doorways in the hall.[71]

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[67]Heal and Holmes 1994; Chapter Two, above.
[68]Green nd; Chapter Eight, below.
[69]Appendix: 17 & 23; DCRO D/Sa/E/630; Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 335.
[70]see Cooper 1999.
[71]Appendix: 12 & 20.

West Auckland Manor House was rebuilt as a H-plan in the late sixteenth century, the west wing of which is earlier.[72] The retention of earlier fabric is testimony to the pragmatic re-use of substantially built higher status housing in the centuries prior to *c.*1570. It is also, perhaps, a reflection of the contemporary association by the gentry, of 'house' with dynastic and built continuity.

H-plan houses were sometimes built as entirely new houses, but all such new builds post-date the emergence of this house-type through successive remodelling. The great houses of the greater gentry, were possibly following the example of smaller houses with central hall and cross-wings, built in the sixteenth century by lesser county gentry.[73] Summerson identified Wimbledon House (from 1588, for Thomas Cecil), as 'perhaps *the first of its size* to use this plan in the form in which it was to become so general in the next three decades'.[74] The H-plan developed out of the late medieval plan arrangement of an open hall with services and high end (parlours and chambers, or solar) to either side of the hall, situated in cross-wings. Late sixteenth and early seventeenth century H-plan houses perpetuated the high/low end division of houses in their spatial and social arrangements. Summerson considered the H-plan, and its U- and E-plan variants, 'if such a thing can be postulated, the standard plan' of larger early seventeenth century houses.[75] Washington Old Hall, rebuilt *c.*1623, provides a Durham example of a double-E-plan (formed by cross-wing with central porch and stair turrets projecting from recessed central hall range) incorporating substantial medieval fabric.[76] Durham gentry houses in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century were rebuilding houses in forms current nation-wide.

Internal arrangements were not the only factor involved in the creation of H-plan houses. Summerson and Girouard have emphasised that the attraction of the H-plan, was

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[72]Appendix: 23.
[73]see Mercer 1954: 11-32.
[74]Summerson 1970: 75-77, quoting 75 emphasis added.
[75]Summerson 1970: 86
[76]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 487-8.

its 'varied pictorial arrangement and elaborate recession on both sides'.[77] These aesthetic qualities take on more concrete social meanings when we recognise that the external effect of H-plan houses was to give the impression of a much larger house, externally, than was in fact the case in terms of ground area. Stanhope Old Hall in Weardale was rebuilt to a H-plan by the Featherstonhaugh family, on the western edge of the market town of Stanhope. The present hipped roof is nineteenth century; previously there was a leaded and balustraded roof.[78] Part of the Featherstonehaugh's wealth came from leadmining, and so the usual elite practice of walking the leads in this period, had an additional meaning. Whereas in many contexts, roof-top views from elite houses have been interpreted as a social strategy of viewing landholding, at Stanhope Hall, where the views are not extensive given its low position near the river Wear, the wealth was under the feet. The extent to which H-plan houses were about external effect, exaggerating the plan-form of the cross-wing house, involved an interest in both views from the house as well as views onto it. In County Durham no H- U- or E-plan houses were built after the early seventeenth century, from which date the compact plan became the dominant plan arrangement (as it did nationally).[79]

The compact plan, which provides the antecedent for the double-pile house of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, was current in gentry houses from the end of the sixteenth century. In the 1590s and 1600s, a distinctive gentry house form is present in County Durham, less traditional in its plan arrangement than the H- or U-plan houses, and with greater use of classical detailing or Renaissance ornament. Gainford Hall and Horden Hall are examples of forms of architecture current across England (and Wales) at this date.[80] As with the H-plan houses, these 'Renaissance-style' houses were rarely

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[77]Summerson 1970; quoting Girouard 1983: 187-8; see also Green & Schadla-Hall 2000.
[78]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 431.
[79]Mercer: 1954.
[80]Appendix 5 & 9; Facade and porch of Horden Hall compare to Treowen, Wonastow, Monmouthshire, described as a 'Renaissance-influence' house, illustrated in Thirsk ed. 1967 Plate

entirely new buildings. Horden Hall incorporates substantial remains from a medieval house. James cites Horden Hall as an example of the 'new gentry house', expressive of the new confidence of the gentry in County Durham in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[81] However, not only was Horden a rebuild of an old house, it was rebuilt by an old Durham gentry family, the Conyers, who had held gentry status and county office for centuries. Gainford and Horden share several architectural features, and may have been constructed by some of the same craftsmen, despite being situated at opposite ends of the county. Gainford is on the Tees, between Darlington and Barnard Castle; Horden is near Easington, on the east coast.

Quarry Hill House, Brancepeth is related to these houses in plan and external appearance, although lacking classical architectural detail, as found on the porches of Gainford and Horden. Quarry Hill, with a cruciform-plan, (projecting porch turret to front, and stair wing to rear) parallels Horden, with the hall and parlour to either side of the central entrance. Quarry Hill's exterior emphasis on verticality parallels Gainford more closely than Horden (which with its string coarses and wide porch has a more horizontal emphasis; with similarities to Gibside, for William Blakiston, 1603-20 and porch at Anderson Place, Newcastle, *c.*1600?).[82] Quarry Hill also relates to the later seventeenth century architecture of County Durham. There are parallels in the projecting window bay at Blagroves House, Barnard Castle, and more directly, in the porch at The Old Hall, West Auckland.[83] These 'Renaissance Houses' may be regarded as the regional progenitor of architectural style in County Durham, with gables, porches and stair turrets a product of 'vernacular' emulation of 'polite' architectural features. However, such an interpretation rests on a prescriptive approach to architectural style which regards

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XXIII.
[81]James 1974: 15-16.
[82]Appendix: 5, 9 & 16.
[83]RCHME survey & Appendix 22.

Gainford Hall and Horden Hall as the only seventeenth century houses 'of outstanding quality in the county', and the identifiable transmittors of Renaissance style.[84]

Gainford Hall was built by Rev. John Cradock (d.1627), incumbent of Gainford from 1594. Dr. Cradock was appointed archdeacon of Northumberland 1619, resigned the post August 1619, on being selected as Spiritual Chancellor to Bishop Neile.[85] As part of Neile's church hierarchy at Durham, Cradock was an architecturally advanced prebend, like John Cosin in the 1630s. Whereas Cosin, with his high Arminian theology, devoted his building efforts before the civil war to church architecture (most notably the porch at Brancepeth church), Cradock built himself his own house.[86] During his incumbency of Gainford, John Cradock purchased extensive property in Gainford parish, and 'in 1600' began building Gainford Hall supposedly on the site of a previous manor house.[87] Gainford Hall is aptly situated on the Tees, given that the Cradocks were a Yorkshire, North Riding, family; John Cradock was the youngest son of John Cradock of Baldersdale. John Cradock of Gainford's sons cemented the links between the Church, Durham and family ties in Yorkshire. Three of his sons had legal careers: Richard (1592-1624) councillor at law in Durham; Toby (d.1671) a barrister at Grey's Inn, London; Joseph (1605-1686) commissary of the archdeacon of Richmond. This family profession was continued by Sir Joseph's eldest son, Thomas Cradock (1633-1689) who was also elected MP for Richmond in 1678 and 1685. Gainford Hall was not a typical gentry house, but the home of a clerical and legal family, engaged in the professions as the younger branches of a Yorkshire gentry family. This makes the architectural parallels to Horden more significant, since we cannot characterise the mentality of an old gentry

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[84]Whittaker 1975: 32-33.
[85]Surtees 1816-40, IV: 8-34; DCRO D/Cr/Intro.
[86]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 113-17; see also Wells-Cole 1997; Mowl & Earnshaw 1995.
[87]DCRO D/Cr/Intro.

family such as the Conyers, gaining a baronetcy in the early seventeenth century, as straightforwardly the same as a professional gentry family in need of careers.[88]

The plan of Gainford Hall parallels most closely Houghton Hall, built by Robert Hutton between 1589 and 1623. Hutton a younger brother of Bishop Hutton, was appointed Rector of Houghton 'the richest [living] in England and one reserved for the elect of the church' in 1589.[89] Reputedly on the site of a medieval manor house (as is Gainford), Houghton Hall is a tall, three storey rectangular house with a later parapet and no gables.[90] Houghton and Gainford, as double-pile houses, no longer have the hall at the axial centre of the house, as is usual in H-plan and linear houses. At Gainford, the higher status rooms of the hall and parlour, were marked out as such by being at a higher floor level (over a basement cellar), to one side of the house, in contrast to the lower floor level kitchen and buttery. The twin-doors of service end of the medieval house were replicated at Gainford but to one side of the fireplace, on the long-side of the hall. The stair turrets were also graded in status, with access from the parlour to chamber above, and from the hall to a great chamber. The great chamber over the hall and chamber over the parlour, were again at a higher floor level than the chambers over the kitchen and offices. The traditional status divisions of linear high- and low-ends were thus incorporated into the 'compact' plan. At Houghton Hall, the arrangement of hall and parlour to one side of the double-pile house, with great chamber over the hall, repeats Gainford's plan but with no division in floor-levels. Houghton Hall has two parlours on the ground floor, with a separate external entrance into a vestibule against the chimney between them. The specific requirements of the Hutton household, warranted separate access to or from either parlour, rather than the usual practice of a main entrance to the hall and a separate service

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[88]James 1974: 15.
[89]Whittaker 1975: 34.
[90]Appendix 10; Billings 1846: 47, described it as 'a square house', and it is clearly part of the same phenomena, and similar date, as Auckland Castle Lodge and Byers Green Hall *c.*1630 (Appendix: 2 & 3).

door. At Houghton, the parlour door has the most elaborate of the triangular pedimented door surrounds, suggesting that the parlour entrance was for high status guests or else meant to impress visiting tenants and parishioners. However, it would be a mistake to assume that only the compact plan was capable of such flexible room arrangements.

Mercer suggested that the H-plan developed in the later sixteenth century as a consequence of court-linked gentry seeking houses which contracted the earlier sixteenth century courtyard plan, with a new emphasis on exterior effect and greater multiplicity in the disposition of Hall, Great Chamber and Gallery. Galleries are present on the top floor of Houghton and Gainford (never completed) and Horden (reached by an impressive scroll baluster staircase in projecting stair turret). Mercer's suggested division of pre-Civil War gentry houses between courtier (H-plan) and country-interest (square and rectangular block) gentry, does not match any ideological division in plan-forms or their occupants. Mercer thought that the H-plan of the 'courtiers' was displaced after the Civil War by the double-pile or compact house, as an outcome of the victory of the country interest gentry in the Civil War.[91] From 1650, the compact plan does predominate, and Mercer's southern examples (Thorpe Hall, Huntingdonshire and Coleshill, Berkshire) have a neglected counterpart in Sir Arthur Haselrigg's 1650s house at Bishop Auckland Castle (dismantled by Bishop Cosin in 1660s).[92] The pre-civil war County Durham examples of the compact plan include not only the gentry houses of Gainford, Horden, Houghton and Quarry Hill, but also Byers Green Hall, built by George Trotter, yeoman, in *c.*1630.[93] Mercer's suggestion of political associations to architectural style is difficult to substantiate. After 1660, the Royalist Sir Ralph Bankes rebuilt Kingston Lacy in Dorset in the same style as the 1650s houses of the Cromwellian elite.[94] As Sharpe has emphasised

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[91]Mercer 1954.
[92]see Chapter Nine.
[93]Green 1998; Appendix 3.
[94]Mercer 1954: 28; National Trust 1994.

there was only one aesthetic culture across the political divisions of the seventeenth century.[95] Such elite houses represent the development of compact house plans over the course of the seventeenth century, with links to Palladio, but also more convincingly to the small double-pile plans, well known for farmhouses in the Midlands, and in County Durham at Byers Green. Indeed, it is the overlap in middling and lesser elite house plans, and by extension living arrangements within the houses, which mark out these houses as a distinctive development from *c.*1600 onwards. The single most important change in these houses was the displacement of the hall from its central position in the H-plan houses, and their medieval predecessors.

The hall-centred use of space in the H-plan houses, is supported by the traditional mentality of the Featherstonehaugh's at Stanhope Old Hall. The 1569 will of 'Michael Fetherstonhaugh of Stanop, esquyer' emphasises the central place of the Featherstonehaugh's in Stanhope, and presents a picture of social relations which confirms historians' emphasis on lineage and kin as structuring gentry family relations in the sixteenth century.[96] Michael was to be buried 'within the quyere of the parish church of Stanhop' (in contrast to the middling sort who were buried outside in the churchyard). He left (in line with the probate custom of the Province of York) 'To my wyfe, Isabell Fetherstonhaughe, the thirde part of all my goods'; and showing a strong concern for the arrangement of his daughter's future marriage, he bequeathed 'To my dowghter, Johan Fetherstonhaugh, on hundredth pounds to mary her withall and she to be ordered by my son, John Fetherstonhaugh'. Whereas the eldest son John was to control the marriage match of the daughter, the younger son, Lancelot, had freer reign in marrying, although less cash to do it with: 'I gyve to him £.20 for his portion'.[97] The elder son, John

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[95]Sharpe 2000.
[96]Wills & Inventories III 1906: 47-8 ; Stone 1979 & 1986; Heal & Holmes 1994; James 1974.
[97]Lancelot also received 'one annuitye of £4 and in defalt of such payment he to enter on the tenement called the Hole.'

Fetherstonehaugh, received livestock (noted by Wrightson as a more traditional probate practice than bequeathing cash),[98] and goods: 'one sylver salt double gylt, one sylver pece and a doson sylver spoynes, left unto me as heyrelumes perteyning unto the house'. This reference to heirlooms, as the principal signal of wealth and prestige, corroborates Stone and James' emphasis on lineage among the gentry in the north; as Heal and Holmes have found for England and Wales as a whole.[99] The use of the term 'house' in relation to heirlooms, also relates to Levi-Strauss's notion of the 'House Society', where real or fictional continuity of kin is symbolised by the metonymic use of 'house' to connotate both the house as building and in a dynastic sense.[100] The precious silver possessions of the Featherstonehaugh's, were handed down from father to son, 'as heyrelumes perteyning unto the house'. Both the material nature of the dwelling house, Stanhope Old Hall, and the enduring lineage of the 'house' of Featherstonehaugh are nicely captured in the final bequest to John by his father, Micheal of 'And I give him my sole lease of Stanhope mylle for the better mayntenanc of his house'.

During the course of the seventeenth century, it is possible to discern a greater concern with the commercial value of property, in the legally recognised distinction between moveable goods and fixed fittings of the house. The 1647 will of Henry Simpson of Pittington Hall Garth, Gent. emphasised that 'My will is that my brew vessell, nor lead, nor Chimneys, nor wainscott, ceiling or windowes, or any thinge which is fixed to the freehold or by removall will practically deface the house, be not removed, sold or dispersed, but may remaine to the use and benefit of my [under age] sone William'.[101] 'Use and benefit' represent a greater concern with the fortunes of the inheritor as an

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[98]'eightene oxen going at Stanhope and twelve kye with ther calves and foure score youes, one hundredth wethers'; Wrighston 1982: 35-6.
[99]Stone 1979 & 1986; James 1974; Heal & Holmes 1994.
[100]Levi-Strauss 1987; Green 1999.
[101]Wills & Inventories IV 1929: 309-314, quoting 313.

individual, and the commercial value of the property, than the sixteenth century language of maintaining the 'house' as family.

I suggested in Chapter One, that one of the reasons the co-eval usage of the term 'house' in its dynastic and built sense, fell out of parlance in the seventeenth century, was that a greater proportion of the middling population were occupying well constructed houses, so diminishing the prestige of living in a substantial house. In the early part of our period, gentry houses in County Durham were frequently rebuilt on 'lineage sites'; perpetuating the historical consistency of family with house. As for example at Stanhope Old Hall, and West Auckland Hall; both creating a H-plan house, that reproduced the basic spatial arrangement of the hall-centred medieval house. It was the ecclesiastical elite, with the Durham Cathedral prebendaries at Gainford Hall and Houghton Hall who adopted the more innovatory room arrangement of the compact plan: reconfiguring the same set of rooms, hall, parlours, great chamber and galleries, and separated services, as the H-plan house, but with a quite different external expression of innovatory architecture. These houses were new buildings, and chose not to retain or remodel the fabric of earlier houses. By the later seventeenth century, gentlemen's houses were more likely to be located according to the personal advantages of recreation, commerce and communications. The attractions of 'gentlemen's seats' in the early eighteenth century, at least for those moving house, are discussed in Chapter Seven, from the property adverts.

At Gibside and Horden Hall in *c.*1600, there were heraldic shields above the double columns of the classical porches. The later seventeenth century, witnessed an increased interest in classical architectural features, at the expense of heraldic devices. Markers of gentry status shifted from a stress on lineage and armigerous rights, to a learnt code of classical education. Heal and Holmes have observed that houses changed from displaying heraldic devices and markers of lineage, to embody classically derived

architectural style, which became the hallmark of educated taste, and gentility.[102] Scrolled pediments were one instance of classically derived ornament on late seventeenth century County Durham gentry houses. For instance, the doorcases at West Auckland Manor House, and St. Helen's Auckland Hall (demolished; doorcase removed to Ramshaw Hall), are paralleled by the open scrolled pediments over windows at Helmington Hall (dated 1686, partially demolished);[103] comparable to Esh Hall near Lanchester dated 1687.[104] Late seventeenth century scrolled pediments also survive at Heighington Hall, and at 1 East Green, Heighington, which also has a bolection-moulded door surround.[105] Another example, is a scrolled pediment over a doorway at Roper House, Trimdon, with a 1718 date added to it.[106] The last examples are for houses below the status of gentry halls, demonstrating the overlap in stylistic culture between the lesser elite and upper middling sort. Such classical architectural ornament adorned windows and doorcases on houses which otherwise were largely muted in their debt to classical precedent. The overall form of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century house, with its well known stress on symmetry was a highly diluted form of classicism, and almost uniformly astylar.

The significance of the stylistic shift referred to as Georgianisation, in its differing set of associations to the architecture of the Great Rebuilding period, is underscored by the occupation of Gainford Hall. The builder of Gainford, Dr. Cradock, entailed the Gainford property in 1619, and it passed to William Cradock (d.1736) grandson of Toby Cradock (a London barrister). William purchased Hartforth in 1720, and Hartforth replaced Gainford Hall as the family residence.[107] As Girouard has emphasised, there was a definite distaste in the early eighteenth century for the English Renaissance (or

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[102]Heal & Holmes 1994.
[103]Appendix: Plate 4.
[104]Whittaker 1975: 27.
[105]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 323.
[106]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 476.
[107]DCRO D/Cr/Intro.

'Smythson-style') architecture which Gainford relates to.[108] William Cradock evidently had no affection for the house which marked the establishment of the family in the county community of Durham, a century earlier. By his marriage to Mary Sheldon in 1715, he initiated the use of the Christian name Sheldon in place of Cradock for the family. In 1726, William Cradock of 'Sandleford, Berkshire', leased Gainford Hall for seven years to to Cuthbert Raine of Gainford.[109]

The 'Georgian' concern with symmetry was clearly present in the late seventeenth century, when apparently 'vernacular' houses display a clear deliberation in the architectural arrangement of the house. At West Auckland Hall, the sophistication of the late seventeenth century enlargement is evident in the careful stress on symmetry achieved by the porch and quoining, and further emphasised by chimney stacks to either side of the central cross-passage. The quoins decrease in size as they ascend the wall on both ends, exaggerating the height of the house, as do the quoins on the porch. The string courses on the projecting porch are below the true floor levels in the main range, and the porch finishes at the eave level of the main range. The imperfect symmetry of the house (a product of successive rebuilding, incorporating an early seventeenth century farmhouse) is also disguised. This manipulation of classical 'rules' served to deliberately accentuate the height and symmetry of the enlarged house. Although reputedly the house of the bailiff of the Edens at the Old Manor House, there is no documentary evidence for this, and the house may well have been held by an independent lesser gentry family in the late seventeenth century, extending an early seventeenth century farmhouse. The house at West Auckland has an elaborate provision of fireplaces, in every room in the house, including the small rooms off the staircase in the rear projection off the hall. Even the small first floor space (presumably used as a closet or space for study) in the porch turret,

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[108]Girouard 1983: 286-94.
[109]DCRO D/Cr/1-273/45.

with windows looking over the green towards West Auckland Manor House, has a fireplace. If built by 1666 or 1674, then this enlarged house must be the eight hearth household in the Hearth Tax (headed by Jonathon Tongue in 1666), and only equal to Jonathan Eden with eight hearths at West Auckland Manor House. In 1674, the remaining chargeable households at West Auckland consisted of twenty two single hearth, twelve two hearth, four with three hearths, three with four hearths and one with five hearths. The presence of a shield on the porch at West Auckland may support either the occupation by an armigerous family or mark the Eden's ownership.

One of the best surviving County Durham examples of a late seventeenth century house, with symmetrical fenestration to the main facade, is New House, Ireshopeburn (near St. John's Chapel; 'surprisingly' located in upland Weardale).[110] A linear house of two and a half storeys, with twin projecting stair turrets to rear. The fenestration 'is advanced in style for its probable date; no longer has it low mullioned windows, but it is well lit with tall stone mullion and transomed crosses, windows typical of the last years of the seventeenth century, although these are still with hood moulds'.[111] The mullion and transom windows are very similar to those in the central entrance bay of Stanhope Hall.[112] The form of New House, Ireshopeburn, of a single-pile linear plan, of two and a half storeys, is paralleled at Holywell Hall, Brancepeth (built on to the site of a fifteenth century open hall, previously the residence of the Constable of Brancepeth Castle, and owned by the Swinburne family, recusant Northumberland gentry, from the 1620s).[113] Holywell was refenestrated with sash-windows in the eighteenth century, masking the otherwise late seventeenth century house.

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[110]Bowes 1990: 91; Appendix 14.
[111]Whittaker 1975: 25
[112]Whittaker 1975: 25
[113]DULA, Leybourne Deeds, Small Gift and Deposit No. 54 (1979).

The sash-windowed facade of Thornley Hall has hitherto been regarded as evidence of an eighteenth century house, but its two and a half storeys parallel Holywell and New House, Ireshopeburn - with both New House and Thornley having dual entrances and staircases, possibly relating to sub-division either between the main house and services, or two households. The major distinction between the late seventeenth century houses and their early eighteenth century successors, is the appearance of sash windows. Croxdale Hall has the earliest documented reference to sash windows in the county, for 1704.[114] Sash windows were arranged symmetrically; in the same fashion as the cruciform mullion and transom windows of the late seventeenth century. Littleburn farmhouse, is another seventeenth century house refaced with sash windows in the eighteenth century. Inside, Littleburn has both seventeenth century small-field and eighteenth century large-field panelling, surviving in the same upstairs room.[115] A blocked mullion and transom window survives on the main (garden) front of Littleburn, refenestrated in the eighteenth century, and seventeenth century stone mullions remained unaltered at Tudhoe Hall, despite the insertion of sash-windows on the garden-side of the house (where, as at Littleburn a blocked mullion window was left in situ). The survival of stone mullion windows (even where blocked) is testimony to the fact that despite the shift in stylistic culture, between the seventeenth and eighteenth century, householders were content to retain vestiges of the earlier material form of houses. Georgianisation amended rather than replaced pre-existing housing forms.

New built Georgian Houses did appear in County Durham from around 1700. For example, Whitfield House, Wolsingham; a rendered stone house, double-pile and three storeys, similar to Sedgefield Manor House, Sedgefield, of brick and double-pile. Both houses were built on the market places of smaller market towns, in upland and lowland

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[114]DCRO D/Sa/E/630-1 & Martin Roberts pers. com.
[115]Appendix: 11.

County Durham, indicating that 'up-to-date' housing was not limited to the main county centre of Durham or regional centre of Newcastle. Housing change was a product of individual rebuildings, and inter-personal connections, rather than predictable models of centre-to-periphery diffusion.

Whitfield House in Wolsingham was built by Matthew Whitfield, of the eponymous gentry family from Whitfield in Allendale in Northumberland. Wolsingham provided a location roughly equidistant from Allendale and Durham, and the location of this large house in a small market town (rather than a 'country' location), on the main road through Weardale is probably explained by a desire for ease of communications between Durham and Allendale. Matthew Whitfield married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Robert Eden of West Auckland, first Baronet, and father of Sir Robert, builder of Eden House, Durham, who Surtees describes as 'ruined his family by his extravagence'.[116] Eden House, *c.*1730, on the gentry street of the Bailey in Durham, is very similar to Whitfield House, on the market place in Wolsingham, built a generation earlier. Both are large square double-pile houses, in 'urban' locations, with imposing facades, and far less ornamented faces to the rear. Both also have services, and probably the kitchen, located in a cottage to the side of the house. Although this arrangement was probably created after our period, it underscores the parallels between these two gentry houses of similar size, and linked to the same family. Most significantly, the Georgian house at Wolsingham (an upland market town), marks the appearance of a genteel housing form which was to endure through to 1730, when Eden House was built in the gentry centre of Durham City. Crook Hall, on the edge of Durham, has a brick double-pile, three-storey and three bay block added to the earlier sixteenth and seventeenth century ranges, in 1736 for the Hopper family of Shincliff, with large field pine panelling and china display niches

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[116]Surtees 1929: 18-19.

inside.[117] It is difficult to detect a gradation in the quality or chronology of Georgian houses appearing across County Durham, centred on the county town, or Newcastle. New House, Ireshopeburn, in upland Weardale, appears to be a late seventeenth century house with an elaborate stair, similar to Bessie Surtees House, Newcastle. For the gentry at least, there was clearly no issue of upland isolation in styles of building.

Room Use

Earlier in this chapter, I outlined the pattern of rural rebuilding, where the long-houses of larger tenants in the sixteenth century were successively rebuilt from *c.*1600. The common pattern appears to be that the main house (originally single storey and open to the roof) was rebuilt as a one and a half or two story hall and parlour house, with a low-end beyond the cross-passage. This low-end was invariably rebuilt as a kitchen and services (buttery and dairy), in the early eighteenth century. Until the provision of a separate kitchen, the hall, was the main living room and cooking space. This pattern of yeoman rebuilding was common across County Durham, occurring at Slashpool Farm, Hett, in the central lowlands of the Wear valley near Durham, as well as at Greystone Hall, in Gainford parish on the Tees. The Hearth Tax indicates that at Hett, Slashpool Farm was the largest house in the community, whereas at Gainford there was a higher proportion of large middling households in the community.[118] The socio-economic profile of Gainford parish is closer to the North Riding of Yorkshire, than central County Durham, yet yeoman rebuilt houses in closely comparable ways, as they did across England as a whole.

The centrality of the hall in the seventeenth century is underscored by the nomenclature of 'hall-house' in County Durham inventories.[119] Railph Allinson,

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[117]Roberts 1994: 76.
[118]Chapter Three, Table 3.6.
[119]see James 1974: 12-13.

carpenter, of Neasham, Hurworth upon Tees, died in 1643, with substantial husbandry goods and livestock, worth some £60.[120] His house consisted of the 'Hallhouse', containing 'one table and long settle one presse two glasse Cases two formes', ten cushions etc., and cooking implements for the fireplace: 'two Recking crokes one Iron pot one pare of tongs and fire Shule', and a dripping pan. Also on the ground floor, was the parlour (containing the principal bed) and cooking utensils 'within the buttre'. The house was evidently of one and a half storeys, with 'the loft over the Hall house' containing 'one chare one table one bed' etc., and 'in the loft over the parlour', a press, two beds, and 'one part of weigh scales' and six cheese vats. There was no third room upstairs, implying the buttery was either in an outshut, or partitioned within the space of the hall. Outside, was 'the barne' with farming equipment, and in 'the working house' his carpentry tools. This was presumably a one hearth house, with no fire tools in the parlour. Allinson's will implies he was a widower, 'sick in body but perfect in mynde', leaving bequests of livestock to his grandsons, Nicholas, Anthony and Edward Stevenson, and the remainder of his goods to two daughters, Susan and Francis. No households headed by an Allinson are present a generation later, in the 1666 Hearth Tax for Neasham. An Anthony Stephenson was assessed for one hearth (while two Richard Stephenson's headed two-hearth households).

In the later seventeenth century there was a greater change in the ways in which houses were lived in. The basic room use of the hall as the main living and cooking room, continued for lower middling groups. The layout of the house, with parlours or chambers off the 'high end' of the hall, and service rooms off the low end, also continued. Entrances to the hall, with doors to both sides, usually formed a cross-passage between the hall and low end of services or byre. Wealthier households with increasing numbers of rooms, and

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[120]DULA Probate, Railph Allinson, Carpenter, Ne[a]sham, County Durham, 1643 will and inventory.

specialised room use (such as kitchens, dairies, buttery, and second parlours on the ground floor, and on higher floors chambers and closets), produced more complex plan arrangements, although the basic disposition of higher status living rooms to one side of the hall and services to the other, continued and was often replicated on higher floors.

High Shipley House, Marwood, built *c.*1600, three-storey and three-bay, of rubble and stone with stone-flagged roof; extended, dated (with initials) 1670, with the addition of a kitchen. The new kitchen freed the former space as an entrance hall - off which there were two parlours. These two parlours, were perhaps specialised in their use, as dining room and sitting room. More convincingly, both rooms were used for sitting and eating, but on different occasions, with the smaller private parlour and a larger parlour available for more public sociability with others from outside the household.

The inventory of Henrie Brickwell of Darlington, records goods 'In the dyninge parlure' in February 1590. Brickwell's 'dyininge parlure' was furnished with 'one carpett of grene brode-cloth, and one carpett of darnex' and the walls were hung with 'Painted clothes, of anticke worke'. There was a 'table, with a frame, and six joyned stooles', 'a little side borde and two chayers' 'drinkinge glasses and bottels, three 'cupbord carpitts and fifteen cushions' another 'long table, with a frame', and 'certaine books £3' with 'desks for books 3s.'. The parlour was heated by an 'iron chimney' (a coal burning stove). Clearly more than eating went on in the dining parlour, and the room apparently served as a study. Other rooms in the inventory, were 'the haull', 'the butterie', 'the pantrie', 'the kytchine', 'brewhouse', 'chamber over the brewhouse, 'chamber over the kytchin', 'the litle antree chamber', 'the chamber called the greate chamber', 'his owen chamber', (with his own bedchamber next to the great chamber, as at Houghton Hall and Gainford

Hall)[121] 'the chamber over the butterie', 'the garrett over the same chamber', 'a back chamber'. The inventory totalled £107 8s.[122]

In several lesser gentry County Durham houses, it was the hall rather than a second parlour which became the 'dining room' in the later seventeenth century, while continuing the wide variety of activities carried out in the hall. The dining room was a thorough-fare, communal room, rather than a purely private, specialised space. In seventeenth century County Durham houses the hall had a central place with access to the kitchen and parlour. In houses of varying social grades the stair is also accessed from the hall, even where a separate entrance hall is present (e.g. Horden Hall, West Auckland Old Hall, Slashpool Farm, Hett).[123] In the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century the dining room in some cases continued this thoroughfare aspect (e.g. Tudhoe Hall, Ramshaw Hall).[124] It appears that through the seventeenth century the hall retained its significance as the centre of household activity - the scene of daily domestic work (though food preparation was removed to the kitchen) as well as dining. The location of 'dining rooms' in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century between the kitchen and the rest of the house, suggests a continuity of this role. The term dining room is not found in inventories before the later seventeenth century, and perhaps not before the 1680s. Robert Hilton, Esquire, of The College, Durham, had a 'dining room' in his inventory of 1684.[125] At Ramshaw, the room referred to as Hall in 1666, is named Dining Room in 1688.[126] The position of this room as a thoroughfare, is underscored at Ramshaw by the reference to the 'roome beyond ye dining room'. However the dining room was not always the direct descendant of the hall; where access to the dining room

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[121]Appendix 5 & 10.
[122]Wills & Inventories II 1860: 168-70.
[123]Appendix 9, 18 & 22.
[124]Appendix 17 & 21.
[125]DULA Probate Box 1683, Robert Hilton, Esquire The College, Durham, 1684 Inventory.
[126]Anthony Pearson 1666; Thomas Pearson 1688; Hearth Tax 1666, Mrs Grace Pearson of Ramshaw with 8 hearths; in 1674 the 8 hearth house is the largest in Evenwood.

and parlour are similarly restricted, the dining room represents the specialisation of a second parlour.

Parlours in early seventeenth century houses tend to be off the hall, with entry into the house being either directly into the hall (Horden Hall) or via a cross passage separating hall and parlour from the kitchen (West Auckland Old Hall, Slashpool Farm, Hett).[127] Parlours occasionally had separate external access, though this probably represents a movement from inside the house to the garden, rather than a principal point of entry. In late seventeenth and early eighteenth century houses the parlour is usually situated directly off the entrance hall (e.g. Ramshaw Hall, Tudhoe Hall, Thornley Hall and Whitfield House, Wolsingham).[128] This contrasts with the location of second or little parlours, studys and closets which were invariably accessed from a reception room or chamber and not from a vestibule. This suggests parlours were intended for the reception of guests entering the house into the entrance hall and going directly into the parlour. This entrance hall also separates the parlour from the service areas of the house and from the hall/dining room which it seems likely were still used for daily household tasks. Many seventeenth century tables had a work surface on the reverse of their polished dining board.[129] At Ramshaw Hall in 1688, the 'great parlour' was accessed from the entrance hall (which contained the stair) while 'ye little parlour' was probably off the dining room while another 'roome beyond the dining room' had the most valuable contents of any room at £5 (the great parlour and dining room were both valued at £4 and the little parlour at £2). The dining room, and as at Tudhoe Hall not the entrance hall, had direct access to the kitchen and service rooms.[130] The medieval arrangement of living rooms to one side of the hall, and services to the other, continued in linear plan houses through the

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[127]Appendix 9, 18 & 22.
[128]Appendix 17, 20, 21 & 24.
[129]Chinnery 1979.
[130]DULA Probate, Thomas Pearson, gentleman, 1688 inventory.

sixteenth and seventeenth century houses: the sequence of room names in the 1588 inventory of John Eden of Windlestone, describes the 'halle howse', then 'the kitching', upstairs 'the chamber over the hall', downstairs to 'the parler within the hall', before moving outside.[131]

These late seventeenth century alterations in room use in gentry status households, followed from a more marked discontinuity in room arrangements in higher status houses in the early seventeenth century. The compact plan, explained for the county gentry family at Horden Hall, and the Durham Cathedral prebendaries at Gainford Hall and Houghton Hall, above, was shared by middling status households, as at Byers Green Hall. These compact plans were obviously the progenitor of the 'Georgian' double-pile house, presenting a key difference from the H-plan house. While the H-plan involved continuity from the medieval arrangement of high- (living) and low- (service) ends, the compact plan house involved more integrated living arrangements. H-plan houses were not built after the early seventeenth century, from which date the compact plan, or continued use of single-pile linear plan houses, were the uniform plan type. This suggests that the early seventeenth century was a key period of discontinuity in plan forms, and by extension living arrangements.

Outside the House

Several of County Durham's lesser gentry halls have their main facade towards the garden, rather than the main road or village green; for instance Tudhoe Hall and Ramshaw Hall (perhaps significantly the centres for Catholic and Quaker activity). Elsewhere, as at West Auckland Old Hall, the main facade was very much meant to be seen. At New House, Ireshopeburn, the main facade faced the garden, but was equally visible from the main road through Weardale, in the valley bottom below. As already emphasised, yeomen

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[131] Wills & Inventory II 1860: 326-331.

and husbandmen houses (in nucleated and dispersed locations) were usually visible from afar in County Durham's sweeping landscape.

Summerhouses were an important part of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century genteel houses, and point up the importance of gardens and the landscape surrounding houses. A two-storey summerhouse with pyramid roof at Bishop Auckland palace over-looking the park is illustrated in Buck's view of 1728.[132] A similar square summer house with pyramid roof survives below the terraced gardens at Ramshaw Hall, which probably dates from Thomas Pearson's occupation between the 1660s and 1680s.[133] Another late-seventeenth-century two-storey summerhouse survives at The Hermitage, Sunderland Bridge (placed diagonally from the house across the garden, as at Ramshaw Hall).[134] Summerhouses were also present in Durham, especially along the banks of the Wear, at the rear of the Bailey gardens. Summerhouses are present in Buck's engraving of 1749 and several survive along the line of the Bailey walls.[135] Ralph Lee's inventory for a house in the South Bailey in Durham in 1666 included 'in ye Garden house a little table 2 stooles'.[136] A mid-late seventeenth century two storey summerhouse with pyramid roof has recently been restored at Old Durham gardens, near Durham City, overlooking terraced gardens. Near Wolsingham, at Bishop Oak, a three storey four bay of *c.*1700, is accompanied by a three storey summer house set in the garden, similar to the summer house at Staindrop, and another at Fawnlees Hall, near Bishop Oak.[137] All of these summerhouses, or 'banqueting houses', take the form of a small pavilion, usually set above a utilitarian ground floor room, with the entertaining space above it providing views over the gardens or landscape, views of the house, and were capped with a stone tiled or

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[132]Cornforth 1972.
[133]Appendix: 17.
[134]Appendix: 7.
[135]Green nd.
[136]DULA Probate, Ralph Lee, rough mason, South Bailey, Durham 1666 will & inventory.
[137]Whittaker 1975: 27.

pantiled pyramid roof. They occur right across the county, from Weardale to Durham and further east, as well as in and around Newcastle,[138] and appear to date from the Restoration onwards. Summerhouses remained popular in the north-east in the early eighteenth century. An advert in the *Newcastle Courant* in November 1724, had 'To be LET or SOLD, against May-day next, AT Cockerton, nigh Darlington, in County of Durham, a very good Dwelling House, containing 10 or 12 Rooms with Back-Housing, a good Orchard, Kitchin-Gardens, a large Flower Garden, wall'd about, and furnished with Plenty of Choice Wall Fruit-Trees, Greens, Grass, and Gravel-walks, and a good Summer-House'. The house also had 'a good Dye-House, vessels, and every Thing fitting for the Business of Dier'.[139] By the 1720s, summerhouses and elaborate gardens could form part of the lifestyle of a dyer; a tradesman with a gentleman's house - and garden. These garden houses in the north-east parallel the chronology and social spread of such structures in the London area.[140]

Conclusion

In 1570, the Crown ordered a survey of the estates seized from the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, 'traitors implicated' in the Northern Rising of 1569.[141] The surveyor, Homberstone, described the castle of Raby as 'a marvelous huge house of building wherein are three wardes and builded all of stone and covered with lead, and yet is there no ordre or proportion in the building thereof'.[142] This comment on the lack of order and proportion in building, relates specifically to the perceived architectural

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[138]Chapter Eight.
[139]*Newcastle Courant* 229 November 7 1724, 'belonging to Mr. Robert Goldsbrough: Enquire of him at Cockerton, or of Mr. Thomas Hodgson of Newcastle'.
[140]see McKellar 1999: 211-12.
[141]PRO: E/164/37 quoting title of Homberstone's Survey 1570; see Emery 1996: 123-136.
[142]PRO: E/164/37 Homberstone's survey 1570.

deficiency in a house of nobility. By *c.*1730, most propertied people were building as a matter of course, in a classically derived style.

County Durham participated in the changes to middling and lesser elite housing, well established for England generally between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century. The archictectural development of these houses present a well-studied series of changes in ways of living, affecting the lesser elite and upper middling sort, common to England as a whole. Although the social profile of communities in County Durham meant that there were always fewer larger houses than in parts of southern England, those with parallel social status and levels of wealth were living in comparable housing.

Houses cannot be studied in isolation, if the reasons for altering houses are to be understood in social context. The next chapter relates rebuilding to life-cycle, and the importance of property relations is brought out in Chapter Seven. I will return to architectural change in Durham and Newcastle houses in Chapter Eight and to the mechanisms of architectural change in Chapter Nine. In Chapter Ten, I will comment on the larger issues of Renaissance architecture and the Great Rebuilding, and Georgianisation, to elucidate the relationship between architectural and social change.

Chapter Six: Housing through the Life Cycle

Hoskins and Machin in assessing the evidence for a 'Great Rebuilding' in early modern England, stressed the relevance of housing to social historians interested in family structure and demography.[1] This chapter extends the importance of houses for understanding early modern society by investigating the experience of housing through the life-cycle. The relationship between house rebuilding and marriage is analysed to further contextualise the account of rebuilding in north-east England, presented in the previous chapter.

Housing the Household

Standing houses were occupied by people sufficiently well resourced, and at a stage in the life cycle, to count as householders. A householder meant possession of a house, and contemporaries defined the household in terms of living space.[2] People lower in the social scale or at an earlier stage in the life-cycle who were not householders, would not have inhabited the standard of housing that survives as standing buildings. Barry and Brooks have emphasised that the middling sort of people defined themselves by the household. The household was the basic framework of middling sort life and the shop, craft and farm all pivoted around and partly constituted the household.[3] To establish a household the middling sort needed a house to occupy.

Social status was partly defined by an individual's place in the household, and this altered through the course of the life-cycle. Infants and children usually dwelt with their parents, although higher social status families practised wet nursing and some children were educated away from home. While childhood was mostly spent within the parental home, adolescence often involved living in another household. Historians of the family

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[1]Machin 1977a: esp. 33 & 56 quoting Hoskins 1967: 94.
[2]Chapter Three.
[3]Barry & Brooks 1994: 3-4 & passim.

have emphasised the cultural significance of sending adolescents away from home. For the middling and lower sort, this was the service stage of the life cycle, where boys were apprenticed in trade or husbandry, and girls sought domestic service in other middling households.[4] The 1623 will of Robert Wilson, yeoman, of Middleton in Teesdale, stipulated that Ralph Bainbridge 'shall be brought up and maintained at my now dwelling house with meat, drink, cloth, lodging, fyre and candlelight untill such tyme as he shall accomplish the full age of thirteene years' when presumably he was to be apprenticed, and free of his guardian's charge.[5] Ralph's father, Ralph Bainbridge of Middleton, had died but his widow, Elizabeth, was still living, and received a bequest of clothes and linen in Wilson's will. Wilson's wife had died, and he may have remarried Elizabeth Bainbridge; certainly the Bainbridge furniture was in Wilson's house and was left, along with certain roods of land, to Ralph junior and his heirs. If this was a 'reconstructed' household,[6] then non-kin juniors required careful provision of house-space and victuals in wills.

The adolescent life experience of going away from home was not the preserve of the middling sort, in need of earnings. The sons of elite and professional families went away to the universities or Inns of Court, and many others, including daughters, received tuition in the households of relatives.[7] In the north-east, there was increasing provision in schools and training 'academies' for the youth of lesser elite and upper middling sort adolescents to go away from home. In 1729 the *Newcastle Courant* carried a notice 'that Mr. William Donkin of South Gosforth, Northumberland, proposes to instruct any young Gentleman, that are curious, in the Act of Surveying, and Mensuration of Lands, both in the Theoretic and Practice Parts' who 'may board'.[8]

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[4]Kussmaul: 1981.
[5]February 17, 1623 will of Robert Wilson of Middleton in Teesdale, County Durham, yeoman, in 'Wills & Inventories IV' *Surtees Society* 142 1929: 170-1.
[6]Houlbrooke 1984: 202-22.
[7]Houlbrooke 1984; Fletcher 1995.
[8]*Newcastle Courant* 234 October 18 1729.

There was a distinct difference in life-cycle trajectories between urban and rural areas, even though the composition of households, and their spatial arrangement, was in many ways the same in towns and the countryside. In urban places, an ideal trajectory involved apprenticeship to journeyman to small master or dealer in a given trade to advance through guilds and trade. In rural areas, the occupational life-cycle was less structured by age, and more affected by the inheritance of farms and downward social mobility (or a move away to different employment) for non-inheritors.[9] For wage-labourers and small farmers, men who worked as living-in servants in husbandry in their teens and early twenties were often better housed than after marriage.[10] Whereas newly married lower middling and wage-labourer couples in the countryside and market towns had the option of occupying a cottage (however poorly constructed), similar social groups in larger towns were more likely to occupy lodgings on marriage.

Middling and lower sort men and women usually continued to dwell in their employer's household until their early twenties. Prior to marriage, on average in their late twenties, men and women either continued to dwell in employers households, or returned to the family home to care for older parents or younger siblings, and many young adults occupied lodgings. John Cannon's 'Memoirs' reveal that this lower middling sort son of a small Somerset yeoman (born 1684), occupied lodgings with other young men, in his twenties as an excise officer in Reading, after farm service living-in an uncle's household.[11] The proportion of the population occupying distinct forms of housing, and the degree of house sharing, is largely unresearched. The provision of commercialised lodgings increased through the period, and may have increased in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in response to rising demand for accommodation from unmarried adults, and newly married couples. The wider process of commercialisation contributed to

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[9]Barry & Brooks 1994: 14-17.
[10]Houlbrooke 1984: 67 citing Kussmaul 1981: 84.
[11]Hitchcock 1997: 28-38.

this, and if the fragmentary evidence from court records and newspaper adverts is reliable, the increased provision of lodgings occurred after population increase stabilised to near-replacement level in the mid-seventeenth through to the early eighteenth century. Together with expanded employment opportunities for single adults, the rising average age of marriage and increasing proportion of people who remained unmarried would appear to be a causal factor.[12]

In the mid-late twenties most people married, and occupied an independent household. The house occupied at marriage may have been a 'starter home', as a stepping stone to a more substantial house, and lodgings were often occupied immediately after marriage. A newspaper advert contains the suggestion of a starter home on the Market Place in Durham, for a young family in 1724: 'A Freehold House, with good conveniencies of Chambers, Shop, Stable and Cellars all in Good Repair; and another Tenement thereunto adjoining, with a Shop and 3 Rooms, very convenient for a small Family'.[13] The extent to which the house occupied at or a few years after marriage, remained the family home for the remainder of the marriage, or either partner's lifetime, is unclear. There may have been a widespread second stage of moving house as a married couple, in middle age. This might involve improved business premises, or a larger farm. Alternatively, economic pressures might force households into smaller or less expensive housing. Later in life, retirement was an option for the more prosperous, and wealthier tradesmen evidently moved home, often from town to country. In old age, house sharing, especially as a dependent in a relative's household was probably the norm.

Wills often include references to the provision of space for widows, usually in the house of the son, and inventories sometimes imply that widowers lived in part of the house, while the son or son-in-law assumed the role of head of the house. Occasionally,

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[12] Wrigley & Schofield 1981: 421-30 & see Wrigley et. al. 1997.
[13] *Newcastle Courant* 206 May 30 1724.

the room in which the widow is to dwell is specified. In 1579, the will of Henry Richardson, husbandman, of Tudhoe, left his land and house to his son Robert, providing in his will that his wife Isabel should have her own chamber in the house 'if they could not agree'.[14] Robert rebuilt the house between 1600 and 1609, probably after the death of his mother. House sharing was a wider practice in early modern England than simply accommodating the old, and involved more complex households than excessive attention to the nuclear family would imply. The 1567 will of William Anderson, a Newcastle merchant, made provision of house space for his brother: 'I wyll that my wyff shall ffynde my brother Robert Andersonne meatt drynke and clothe so long as he will abide wth hir and be rewled by hir'.[15] These late sixteenth century wills precede the wave of rebuilding in the early seventeenth century north-east, and possibly housing space was less acute an issue after *c.*1600. However, Houlbrooke has stressed for the entire period from 1450 to 1700, that house sharing among the old, and the young, was high.[16]

The 1624 will of John King, of Durham, Notarie Public, records that £15 was to be distributed to each of his grandchildren, by his son in law Cuthbert Sisson, from the £60 value of his Durham house 'situate near the Pallace Green in Durham'. 'And the said testator having some speeching with his wife about the providing her a house after his death, willed that his sonne [in law], Cuthbert Sisson, should have his interest of his house in King's Street [Newcastle] after his death, and out of the same should content his, the testator's wife, for house rent.'[17] This bequest shows that the widow's house room was being provided from the house's monetary value, in place of physical accommodation. Such commercialisation of house provision through the life-cycle, correlates with the increasing provision of cash rather than goods bequests in early seventeenth century

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[14]Green 1998: 34, DULA Probate 1579.
[15]Raine ed. 'Wills & Inventories I' *Surtees Society* 1835: 269.
[16]Houlbrooke 1984: 189-92.
[17]May 19, 1624, will of John King, of Durham, Notarie Public, in 'Wills & Inventories IV' *Surtees Society* 142, 1929: 174.

wills,[18] as well as the commercialisation of the property market explored in the next chapter. King's will also records that, 'The said testator did give and bequeath to his sonne [in law], John Benson, and his assigns, right, title, interest and tenure of years in the house in Higate wherein his sonne [in law], Benson, lately dwelt'. This may have been King's country residence, which he passed over to the use of his son-in-law before his death, while retaining ownership of the leasehold; similarly the King Street house (which passed to his other son-in-law and provided for his widow) was an additional (investment) property to King's own residence in Durham.[19]

Wright has emphasised the prevalence of house sharing among the gentry in East Anglia, at all ages.[20] Inventories for individuals occupying part of a house are difficult to identify, but several gentry houses in County Durham included 'lodging rooms'. The 1644 'Inventory of all the estate reall and personnell of John Trolop of Thornley Esq., papist and of Mr. John Trollop the younger' included 'His own Chamber £1' and 'Young Mr. Trolops lodging room £2' as well as 'Little John Trollope's stuff 10s.'.[21] At Tudhoe Hall, in 1729, 'the best lodging room' was inventoried with a dressing room and closet off it, in a suite of rooms built since 1705.[22] Both Tudhoe and Thornley were catholic households which received Jesuit priests, but this was a particular context rather than an exceptional provision of house space for lodgings.[23] Dorothy Featherstonehaugh, spinster, was living with her brother John (and possibly their father Ralph), at Stanhope Hall in the mid-seventeenth century. In her will, Dorothy appointed her brother executor 'in regard of my present maintenance which I have received of my said brother as alsoe of the natural love which I bare unto him'.[24] The arrangement of Dorothy's estate was complicated;

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[18]Wrightson 1982: 23-38.
[19]'Wills & Inventories IV' *Surtees Society* 142, 1929: 174.
[20]Wright nd.
[21]DULA Probate 1644, Sequestrators Book; Appendix 20.
[22]Green 1998: 37; DCRO D/Sa/F40; Appendix 21.
[23]see Chapter Five, below.
[24]DULA, will made 11 Nov. 1646, proved 1646; quoting probate inventory 1646.

with a bed, bible and other goods unwillingly retained via a 'deed of gift' by Christopher Lodge in Wolsingham and another bed, a desk, and more mundane goods 'in the house, and hands of one Mr. Kennett, at Hunwicke'. It would appear that Dorothy had been betrothed to Christopher Lodge, who jilted her after Dorothy had given goods (including an elaborate bed) to him in anticipation of establishing a household together. At any rate she spent 'her great Extremitie' (illness and misfortune) in her brother's household at Stanhope Hall. Her goods in 1646 included a few items of furniture at Stanhope Hall, mainly tables, chairs and cushions, beds and bedding and a wide array of kitchen implements, a cow and a mare.[25] More straightforward house sharing is evident in the 1683 inventory of Christopher Hutton, gentleman of Houghton-le-Spring. The inventory itemised cattle, horses, kitchen equipment, furniture in the hall, and two beds in the parlour, but at £37 9s. 4d. presents either an independent household of limited means, or more likely house sharing in Houghton Hall with his father Captain Robert Hutton.[26] The reverse pattern, of fathers sharing their son's household, is apparent from John Eden's will and inventory of 1634, whose son and heir Robert Eden apparently had taken charge of the household prior to his father's death, when John left limited furnishings at West Auckland Hall.[27] Will and inventory evidence for house sharing is plentiful, but skewed since most wills were made shortly before death and inventories shortly after, and do not record housing conditions earlier in the life cycle. For instance, evidence for 'starter homes' early in marriage are largely absent from inventory evidence.

The more prosperous of the upper middling sort were increasingly able to retire, and this occasionally involved moving house. A Newcastle watch-maker retired to his 'country seat' near Morpeth in the early eighteenth century. Notice was given in the *Newcastle Courant* 27 July 1723, that 'DEODATUS THRELKELD being gone from

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[25]Together with bonds owed to her, her goods at Stanhope Hall totalled £95 5s. 8d; Appendix 19.
[26]DULA Probate 1683.
[27]DULA Probate John Eden 1634 Inventory.

Newcastle, to reside at his House at Tritlington near Morpeth, will continue to make and sell as many Gold and Silver Watches as he, with his own Hand, can finish'.[28] Threlkeld continued his trade from Morpeth, while the Newcastle business was passed on to his assistant (presumably originally his apprentice). A separate notice to the advertisement of Threlkeld's services in Morpeth stated that 'James Rollo, Clock and Watch-Maker, who served Mr. Deodalus Threlkeld, has now set up that Business, at the Sign of the Dyal, near the custom-House, on the Key, Newcastle; where any person may be furnished with Clocks and watches of all Sorts, at reasonable Rates. N.B. His aforesaid Master, is now gone to his country-seat near Morpeth.'[29] Prosperous tradesmen, at least from the early eighteenth century, evidently took the opportunity of retirement, although they need not relinquish their trade (and income) altogether. The significance of urban tradesmen taking 'country seats' in middle age, often as a signal of gentility, will be explored further in Chapter Seven. For those with fewer resources, moving house might be a symptom of declining fortunes.

Middling sort men and women moved house throughout the life-cycle in the early eighteenth century north-east. Historians of rural and urban early modern England, have shown the high degree of turnover in wage-employment; often necessitating a change in accommodation.[30] Houses often became available as the result of death of the previous occupant. For example: 'Mrs. Mary Searles is removed from Pilgrim Street, to the House that Mr. Hankin deceased, did lately inhabit, at the Head of the Big-Market, at the Scot's Arms, against the Foot of the Entry, over against the Nun's Gate: And that she there diligently follows her Business of Washing and Dressing, etc. as formerly performed by her after the best Method, and to full satisfaction. She likewise teacheth her Art, in great

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[28]*Newcastle Courant* 162 July 27 1723.
[29]*Newcastle Courant* 160 July 13 1723.
[30]see Snell 1985; Wrightson & Levine 1995.

Measure, upon reasonable Terms and Conditions'.[31] Mary Searles was unexceptional in moving house within Newcastle during the early eighteenth century, although such a lower middling woman's relocation is only known to us because Searles had a service to advertise. The newspaper adverts reveal higher status middling shopkeepers relocating their business premises (and household) more regularly: In 1727 'THE House and Shop, now in the Possession of Mr. Thomas Munk-house, and Mr. William Henderson Upholder, at the Foot of the Side in Newcastle' was to let: 'AT Martinmas next, the aforesaid Mr. William Henderson, Upholder, goes to the House and Shop where Mr. William Hanby, Surgeon now lives'.[32]

Housing and Marriage

I will now focus on the experience of housing after marriage, before investigating the relationship between rebuilt houses and marriage. Marriage brought with it social responsibility and marked full membership of the community. Cressy emphasises the symbolism of the marriage ceremony as marking the transformation of men into householders and women into housekeepers. Furniture, and household goods (or simply cash towards them) as marriage gifts were to bolster the resources of the married couple, and the substance of their household.[33] William Vaughan in *The Golden-grove* (1608) described the shower of money that often helped a young couple to set up their household, 'But this custom is only put in use amongst them which stand in need'.[34] Cressy has shown that men and women gained status in the community as well as the household on marriage, with married men, as male householders, becoming eligible for local office. Unlike single people, married couples were expected to attend church

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[31] *Newcastle Courant* 154 April 6 1728.
[32] *Newcastle Courant* 107 May 13 1727.
[33] Cressy 1997: 286-89 & 365-370.
[34] Cressy 1997: 366.

regularly; church seating by family group meant that 'the newly established household was visually and physically made manifest'.[35] A further and equally public way in which the newly established houshold was made visually and physically manifest, was in the house that they occupied. The word 'husband' originally implied mastery and control, and 'husbandman' extended this control to work on the land; the appellation 'yeoman' indicating a prosperous independent farmer, was originally reserved for freeholders who were married.[36] On these definitions, Hoskins' yeoman and husbandmen rebuilders could be nothing but married.[37]

The cultural importance of establishing an independent household on marriage, underlay the relatively late age of marriage throughout this period, as couples had to save up for their own household.[38] Marrying young was an expedient of the aristocracy and lower social orders, especially as the outcome of parental retirement and inheritance. For most middling and lesser elite couples, the notion of newly married couples living with either parents' family is believed to have been unlikely, even for a short period. Wrightson has stressed that 'only rarely did newly married couples share the same roof as the parents or one of the parents', and argues that 'a strong cultural prejudice existed to discourage such living arrangements'.[39] The ideals of the time, however, may have led historians to underestimate the degree of house sharing in practice, which need not have depended on kin links. Houlbrooke, citing Laslett and Wall's ten sample communities, claims that one in ten households contained resident kin. A higher proportion of households containing extended kin, and greater geographical endogomy, has been suggested for the north of

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[35]Cressy 1997: 288.
[36]Cressy 1997: 287.
[37]Hoskins 1953 & Chapter Five, above.
[38]Houlbrooke 1984: 64-5, suggests late age of marriage develops in fifteenth century.
[39]Wrightson 1982: 69.

England, especially for the sixteenth century.[40] Issa's recent study of kinship, however, minimises the difference between the north-east and the rest of England.[41]

Wrightson concludes that social group and geographical variations in age of marriage were due to varying socio-economic circumstances for providing for a house and living. Social and regional variations in the average age of marriage have largely been explained by functional economic and demographic factors, without recognising the powerful cultural component of marriage patterns (as recognised by anthropology, in other cultures).[42] Social groups varied in the age of marriage. Those below the expectation of inheriting property, had to wait till they saved from their own wages, along with parental assistance, to establish a household. Marriage and an independent household often meant leaving the service stage of the life cycle and finding capital for land or to stock a shop. The labouring poor required the security of regular employment and a rented cottage (perhaps provided by their employer) was key, but they still needed savings for basic household goods. The propertied (ranging from prosperous husbandmen and craftsmen to the aristocracy; i.e. those who had deeds, held leases, and left wills and inventories), were also more likely to receive parental assistance by providing marriage portions of goods and money. For 'common people' parental contributions were not sufficient to set up their own household. Erickson has stressed the equitability of resources which wives and husbands brought to marriage, and this bolsters my contention that establishing an independent household, and rebuilding a house, was a joint enterprise of the married couple.[43]

Parents, especially those with greater resources, were likely to have an input into housing during the first years of marriage. In 1637, Barbara Davison married Thomas

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[40]Houlbrooke 1984: 42-3 & 51; Laslett & Wall eds. 1972: 13-14, 149-50.
[41]Issa nd.
[42]Wrightson 1982; Houlbrooke 1984: 63-7.
[43]Erickson 1993.

(later Sir Thomas Riddell of Fenham) and the young couple leased a house in Newcastle on the Tuthill stairs (connecting the Close and Westgate) from her father (Sir Alexander Davison, merchant). Only two years later they left it; in 1639 the vicar of Newcastle, Yeldard Alvey was living there, and another tenant Edward Stote, merchant, died there in 1648. Alexander Davison had bought the house in 1629, which had been built in the 1580s by Henry Chapman, merchant and alderman, and his wife Joan, with a panelled oak ceiling and carved oak wainscotting dated 1588; none of the later occupants felt moved to update this date inscription.[44] Other married couples took lodgings; Edward and Anne Mould married in November 1709 and seem to have gone straight into 'lodging' in Mr. Johnson's house in St. Petergate York. This may have been very temporary as Anne later estimated her husband's real estate as £150 per annum, and personal estate at about £1000.[45] Whether newly married couples entered lodgings, or were helped to find a house by their parents, the ideal was to gain a permanent house, which might be rebuilt to suit their living requirements. There is evidence to suggest rebuilding houses was closely associated with marriage.

The relatively late age of marriage in early modern England was a very high age when considered in relation to the comparatively short life expectancy of the period.[46] This narrows the time-scale in the life-cycle when middling sort people would have been resourced and motivated to rebuild: as soon after marriage as possible and as long as possible before death. Wrightson and Levine's figures for Whickham calculate the mean age at first marriage as 27.5 for men and 25.5 for women (somewhat lower than in the 12 parishes of the Cambridge survey: 28 for men and 26 for women).[47] Wrightson and Levine's figures for adult mortality in Whickham, show that the life expectation at age 30

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[44]Charleton *Newcastle Town* (1885) 1978: 271-4.
[45]Borthwick Trans. C.P.I./542.
[46]Wrightson 1982: 70, longevity lower in late 17C than late 16C.
[47]Wrightson & Levine 1991: 177, Table 3.3.

was 25.5 years for men (Cambridgeshire 29.8) and 29.1 years for women (Cambridgeshire 29.6).[48] Middling sort men and women might hope to live to be three score years and ten, but more realistically faced a further twenty to thirty years of life after marriage. Although we cannot make normative assumptions about the desire to rebuild houses, we do know that middling sort couples sought to establish an independent household at marriage, and that the core component of such a household was an adequate house.

Marriage in early modern England was meant to be permanent; the corollary of the ideal companionate marriage was an orderly household in a permanent house.[49] Legal, religious and communal prohibitions, made living in sin (as if man and wife) culturally unacceptable.[50] Some marriages, however, did fail. Bailey's research into marital breakdown in the eighteenth-century north of England, reveals that women often went to live with their own family when marriages failed.[51] The causes of marital breakdown also provide insights into housing arrangements outside the conventions of the middling household. In Barnsley in the 1670s, Anne Silvester and Joseph Oates lodged together (adulterously) in Ann and Thomas Burgess's ale house.[52] In Leeds, around 1700, another adultery case resulted from John Wheatley, clerk, lodging at Richard Street's inn, for about six months with Dorothy Cunliffe. Dorothy met John Wheatley when he was her husband's clerk and lodged in their house.[53] Barbara Dobby, left her husband in about 1718 and returned to her parents, but Robert Dobby threatened those who harboured her - so she took a room in Pickering where she worked for her living.[54]

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[48]Wrightson & Levine 1991: 201, life expectancy at birth: 42.78 in Whickham, 46.61 in Terling.
[49]Cressy 1997: 289 'Marriage was a permanent commitment with no turning back'.
[50]Cressy 1997: 329-332.
[51]Bailey nd., I am extremely grateful to Joanne Bailey for providing me with the Borthwick references cited in this section.
[52]Borthwick C.P.H./4737.
[53]Borthwick C.P.I./54.
[54]Borthwick Trans. C.P.I./581.

Heal has described the practice of letting rooms in inns, as a commercialisation of hospitality in early modern England.[55] Lodgings were also available in private houses, and may have been increasingly provided as an extra means of income during the period, and in response to rising demand from unmarried adults. Early eighteenth century lodgings are recorded in the newspaper adverts (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Commercial or private lodgings could provide accommodation to married couples on a semi-permanent basis. In the early 1730s, Margaret Shale, a petticoat quilter, aged twenty one, and Peter Shale, a cabinet-maker, lodged in William and Ellen Harvey's house, 'The Shoulder of Mutton', in Wrexham, Denbyshire. In 1730-1 Mary Buckley, a glover, lodged in the same house and shared Margaret Shale's bed when Margaret's husband was absent on business in Chester.[56] Lodgings for newly married couples were not restricted to the middling sort. Godfrey and Dorothy Wentworth (Esquire) were married in March 1728 in York. Godfrey was twenty three and Dorothy sixteen. They lived initially at Dorothy's mother's (Lady Anne Dalston) house at Stanley. After a month, they went to his widowed sister's house for a year, and after a year of marriage they then moved to their own house. This may well represent a common experience of acquiring a house within a year of marriage. When the Wentworths separated in October 1749, Dorothy lived with her sister in Chevet, York, for a year. From *c.*1750 to the time of suit (1756) Dorothy seems to have lodged on her own in York and in two or three lodging houses, often above the owner's shop, in Knaresborough (where she seemed to go for the summer season and often had a servant with her in lodgings).[57] Commercial lodgings were apparently a respectable option for separated women, and while living with relatives was perhaps a more economic and emotionally satisfying arrangement, lodgings may in some cases have been necessitated by family disapproval of marital breakdown. When Elizabeth Finch left her husband she and

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[55]Heal 1990: 202-3.
[56]Borthwick Trans. C.P. 1732/4.
[57]Borthwick Trans. C.P.I /1376.

her adult daughter took lodgings in Gilesgate, Durham. A few months later she went to live with her cousin Robert Spencer in Old Elvet. Her husband Samuel moved to Jedburgh in 1780. Although he owned two houses and messuages in Durham, on St. Margaret and Crossgate Moor, he lived in lodgings until his death in 1781, when £18 19s. and £2 1s. 4d. was paid to the landlord for board charges, linen, nursing, wine and spirit.[58] Together with the property adverts discussed in Chapter Seven, these examples may imply an increased practice of commercialised lodgings in the eighteenth century, compared to earlier in our period. However, lodgings were present in the seventeenth century: for instance, as rebuilt above stables behind an inn in Saddler Street, Durham, in the 1630s.[59]

The house as the physical embodiment of the household, was a carefully 'ordered' space. When familial relations were strained, individuals might be excluded from the house. Houlbrooke provides examples of parents, usually fathers, excluding sons and daughters from their house when they courted or planned to marry undesirable partners.[60] Self-exclusion was also a strategy for demonstrating disapproval, by at least the head of the household. In 1630, Susan, wife of Thomas Barlow a Lancashire yeoman, gave birth to a child of which he was not the father. Susan's father agreed to take the child away immediately after it was born, although she gave birth to it in her own house. Susan's husband described in court after the child subsequently died, how 'when the childe was borne in this examinant's house the examinant walked all that night abroad and refused to come into his house till his said father in lawe (according to promise) had taken the childe and provided for it'.[61] Just as the early modern household was the fundamental social unit, the physical presence (or absence) of household or family members within the house was a powerful expression of individual relationships.

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[58]Borthwick Trans. C.P. 1779/1.
[59]PRO DURH 2/43 & 7/33 Part 3 in Knight 1990: 289-90, 1636 Durham Chancery case.
[60]Houlbrooke 1984: 68-73.
[61]quoted in Wrightson 1975: 17.

Dated Houses, Rebuilding and Marriage

Machin's reassessment of the Great Rebuilding, emphasising a continuum in rebuilding between 1530 and 1800, with a peak around 1700, used dated houses as an index of rebuilding. Machin's thesis has been widely critiqued for neglecting the fact that the practice of inscribing dates on houses is a culturally varying practice. The fact that Machin discovered a peak in dated houses in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is more accurately an index of the practice of inscribing dates than a direct record of the general level of rebuilding. Machin was confident that dates recorded rebuilding, dismissing as exceptional documentary evidence for inscribed dates recording marriage or a change in occupancy.[62] Yet inscribed dates were frequently accompanied by the initials of husband and wife. Distinguishing between dated inscriptions as recording a date of marriage or a date of rebuilding may be misleading, and the two were not mutually exclusive. Hutton and Martin claim inscribed dates relate to rebuilding work first and foremost, and 'do not usually record a marriage except when, as often happened, the couple married at the time when they had a home to go to, and so the house and the marriage are of the same date'.[63] Since not all houses bear dates, it may be that the proportion of houses which were substantially altered to make ready a newly married household, are those most likely to be dated and initialled. Abell Robinson of Skirton near Skipton, Yorkshire, married Mary Brogden in June 1666, but their house was not completed for another two years when the lintel was inscribed 'A 1668 R'. In the same year, a son Abell was born; five years later the young couple built a barn behind the house inscribed '1673 A ^{R} M', when the wife's initials appear for the first time.[64] Dated and initialled houses imply that rebuilding occurred soon after marriage, and usually emphasise the initials of both marriage partners, although (according to resources) rebuilding often

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[62]Machin 1977a: 35 & passim; see also Johnson 1993(b): 118-19.
[63]Hutton & Martin 1986: 1-2.
[64]Hutton & Martin 1986: 1-2.

occurred one or two years after establishing the household. The inclusion of wife and husband's initials underscores the impression that rebuilding a house after marriage was an enterprise of the couple, despite the patriachal restrictions on the companionable marriage.

The social and life-cycle context to rebuilding suggests that middling sort rebuilding was intimately connected to marriage and establishing an independent household. It was the wealthier middling sort, the yeomen farmers and better off craftsmen, who rebuilt their houses during our period. The phenomenon of inscribing dates and the initials of marriage partners on houses was directly involved in the changing living conditions of this strata of the middling sort. By returning to Machin's calculations of dated houses for seventeen English counties, and comparing them with my own calculation for surviving dated houses in County Durham, I will explore the relationship between rebuilding and the life cycle, and the changing material and social experience of the upper middling sort.

Contemporaries were concerned that married couples should have a house ready for marriage, and those who married ahead of providing themselves with adequate housing were regarded as irresponsible. In the late sixteenth century, Sir Anthony Thorold expressed anxiety to Lord Burleigh that young marriages were entered into with 'no regard how to live nor where to dwell'.[65] The connection between difficulties in establishing a household and marriage were most acutely expressed lower down the social scale. Finding and funding adequate housing was probably a pressing problem for the lower middling sort.[66] Elite concern over premature marriage as a source of social ills, was especially acute in the late sixteenth century (related to parallel concerns over vagrancy and the creation of the Elizabethan Poor Laws).[67] A 1563 statute required all cities and corporate towns to fix the age of twenty four as the earliest termination of

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[65]quoted in Wrightson 1982: 124.
[66]see Wrightson 1982: 69-70.
[67]Slack 1988: 113-31.

apprenticeships, based on the 1556 London regulation that apprenticeship should not be completed till at least the age of twenty four, prompted by anxieties of 'ouer hastie maryages and over sone settying upp of householdes of and by the youthe'.[68] According to Houlbrooke, 'In 1583, the pamphleteer Philip Stubbes complained of adolescents who rushed into marriage without thinking how they would support themselves and then built flimsy cottages in which they lived like beggars'.[69] Houlbrooke connects this sentiment directly to the Act of 1589 prohibiting the building of cottages without four acres of land to support their occupants, and to the tightening of Poor Law parish settlement qualifications - with clergy refusing to marry marginal immigrants.[70] The fact that such anxieties were less articulated in the seventeenth century, may be a product, firstly of the success of measures to discourage early marriage, and secondly, that newly married couples were increasingly able to occupy adequate housing and commercial lodgings. Perhaps most significantly, a rising proportion of the population chose never to marry at all. Houlbrooke estimates that among those born between the late sixteenth and late seventeenth century, the proportion remaining unmarried at the age of forty was one in six and sometimes one in four.[71]

The cultural primacy of marriage is underscored by inheritance practices, recorded in wills, where jointure and settlement were often reserved till marriage. However, especially in the late seventeenth century, a rising proportion of men and women never married.[72] Lodgings and house-sharing perhaps provided for the bulk of these people. Those who remained unmarried were not fulfilling the ideals of the time. Seventeenth century advice literature and proverb books, articulate the ideal life-cycle trajectory. A contemprary proverb ran: 'A Little house well filled, A Little land well tilled, And a little

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[68]Houlbrooke 1984: 66.
[69]Houlbrooke 1984: 67.
[70]see also Slack 1988 & Hindle 1998.
[71]Houlbrooke 1984: 63.
[72]Houlbrooke 1984: 88.

wife well willed.'[73] Another reaffirms the connection between the idealised household and marriage: 'Better one house filled than two spilled [spoiled]', said when two unpleasant people married.[74] The household, and the house which contained it, was as important as marriage in early modern society. The ideal of middling sort marriage and establishing an independent household connects directly to the phenomenon of rebuilding houses. The practice of inscribing dates and the initials of husband and wife, on houses, increased through the seventeenth century, as more middling couples marked their success in accommodating their household in a well built house.

The peak in dating houses came (on Machin's figures) in the 1690s, and was generally far higher in the late seventeenth century than in either the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. During the late seventeenth century, the age of marriage was also somewhat higher than previously. The age of marriage rose during the seventeenth century (reducing fertility and correlating with the gradual stablization of population growth from 1620), due to the greater difficulties of setting up an independent household.[75] The relationship of increased housing standards, in the form of rebuilt houses, cuts both ways in relation to the rising age of marriage, and more significantly to the related increase in the numbers of men and women who never married.[76] A part of the increased difficulty faced by middling sort men and women in establishing an independent household may have included an increasing expectation of living in a well built house. Conversely, the relatively smaller proportion of people who were able to marry and establish independent households, may have been especially proud of their achievement in fulfilling the contemporary ideal of an independent household - and rebuilt house. The practice of inscribing marriage partner initials and the date of either marriage or rebuilding

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[73]Ray 1670.
[74]Ray 1670.
[75]Wrightson 1982: 146; Wrigley & Schofield 1981: 423-4, being closer to 28 than 27, in comparison to the early seventeenth century; Wrigley et. al. 1997: 121-197.
[76]Wrigley & Schofield 1981: 257-65, 423-4; Wrigley et. al. 1997: 195.

may well have been a marker of this achievement in the late seventeenth century. At Kirkleavington, Yorkshire, the usual practice of dates and initials was expanded to provide an articulate inscription for rebuilding by a married couple; a stone raised panel on the first floor of Sanderson Cottage records 'Rebuilt by John and Elizabeth Sanderson A.D. 1744'[77]

I have repeated Machin's calculation of the chronology of dated houses, for County Durham, by plotting by decade the number of dated houses known from the Listings and RCHME archive: Table 6:1.[78] The volume of the number of dated houses broadly matches Machin's chronology, with far more dated houses in the late rather than the early seventeenth century; with a slight peak in the 1620s and 1630s, followed by fewer dated houses during the 1640s and 1650s, and an increase in the late seventeenth century to a level (13 per decade) around 1700 which remained fairly constant through the early eighteenth century. It might be thought that the low survival of houses generally in County Durham would reduce the value of this exercise. Yet County Durham, with 138 known dated houses, has more dated houses than Machin counted (from between 1530-1800) for Leicestershire (109) or the smaller county of Rutland (93) or the home counties of Berkshire (53) and Hertfordshire (51). Westmoreland, Machin's only northern county, does have far more known dated houses (369), than County Durham. Machin calculated from the 1690 Hearth Tax that 1 in 33 of the 'total housing stock' were known to be dated houses. For County Durham, all pre-1750 dated houses represent 1 in 113 of the total number of households in the 1674 Hearth Tax, and of those dated before 1700, 1 in 155. If we take only the chargeable households in the Hearth Tax, on the assumption that those too poor to pay the tax (almost all single hearth households) had insufficient

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[77]Middlesborough City Library, DoE List of buildings of Special Architectural or Historical Interest.

[78]RCHME archive (including NYCVBSG reports) are listed in Appendix; extra dated houses in Pevsner & Williamson 1983 are also included in my calculation.

Table 6.1 Known Dated Houses in County Durham

Dated Houses Arranged by (post 1974) Listings	pre1600	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s	1730s	1740s	post1750
Durham Ward			1									1					
Derwentside					1				1	1		1		1			
Easington											1						
Chester-le-Street														2			
Sedgefield												1	1	1			
Darlington													1	1	1		1
Weardale		1	2					1	4	3		1	1	1	1	2	
Teesdale		1	0	1	2			1	0	2	4	1	2	3	9	5	6
Tyne & Wear																	
Newcastle				1													
South Tyneside												1					
North Tyneside														1			
Cleveland				3	1					1	1	1		1		1	1
Totals Listed Co. D.	0	2	3	5	4	0	0	2	5	7	6	7	5	11	11	8	8
Miscl not-listed as dated	2	0	2	3	1		1	2	3	5	5	7	2	3	2	4	5
Total Known Dated H's	2	2	5	8	5	0	1	4	8	12	11	14	7	14	13	12	13
				peak							c. 1700 peak			early - mid 18C Great Rebuild			
Westmoreland Dated Houses (Machin 1977)	15	5	7	8	11	8	10	31	42	67	73	40	25	8	6	2	11

Total Known Dated Houses					
	1550-1599	1600-1649	1650-1699	1700-1750	1750-1799
County Durham and adjacent areas	2	20	36	60	11

All Listed Totals County Durham (post 1974)	pre 1500	16C	E 17C	M 17C	L 17C	E 18C	E - M 18C
Durham Ward	3	2	4	6	67	62	28
Teesdale Ward	3	7	18	8	65	80	44
Weardale Ward	2	2	12	0	48	37	2
Darlington Ward	1	1	8	0	20	27	3
Sedgefield Ward	1	0	1	3	8	13	1
Derwentside Ward	1	1	2	2	9	12	6
Chester-le-Street Ward	1	0	0	0	0	3	1
Easington Ward	0	0	2	1	5	1	4
Total County Durham (post 1974)	12	13	47	20	222	235	89

	pre1600	1600-1649	1650-1699	1700-1750			
Tyne & Wear (historic County Durham)	0	1	7	23			
Cleveland (historic County Durham)	3	3	46	115			
County Durham (post (1974)	25	47	242	324			
No. of Listed Buildings (Co. D. incl. Teesdale)	28	51	296	462	all years	836	
No. of dated buildings	2	20	36	60	all years	118	
Proportion of Listed buildings dated	7.14%	39.20%	12.20%	12 99%	Overrall =	14.12%	

means to rebuild houses, then the total number of known dated houses for County Durham from before 1750 represents 1 in 62 of all chargeable households in the 1674 Hearth Tax, and of dated houses before 1700, 1 in 86.

The number of known dated houses can be calculated as a proportion of all Listed houses to provide a measure for the proportion of surviving houses bearing dates. I calculated in Chapter Four that 5% of seventeenth century houses are known to still stand in County Durham. Fourteen per cent of all pre-1700 surviving houses are dated (equating to 0.36% of all households in the 1674 Hearth Tax). Comparison of the pre-1700 dated houses with households in the Hearth Tax, gives 1 in 155 of all Hearth Tax households as surviving as dated (0.64%). Of the charged households in the Hearth Tax, 1 in 86 survive as dated houses (1.16%). This compares to 3.52% in Westmoreland, on Machin's figures.[79] This does not represent three times as many dated houses in late seventeenth century Westmoreland than in County Durham. Rather, three times as many survive.

The NYCVBSG have collected every surviving inscribed date in Yorkshire: over 2,000. Almost all these dates on doorways are from *c.*1650-1750, and are mostly between 1660 and 1700. In the North Riding dales, the majority are post 1700, whereas in the West Riding (which was more prosperous as a result of textile production) the majority were pre-1700. In upper Airedale, the earliest surviving dates (early seventeenth century) are found higher up the dale, presumably because the houses were not altered later. In Swaledale (closest to County Durham) 'a region of later building' two thirds of inscribed dates are post 1700, and a third seventeenth century.[80] It remains unclear, however, how confident we can be about the relative chronology of rebuilding on the basis of surviving dated buildings.

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[79]after Machin 1977a.
[80]Hutton & Martin 1986: 4 & 22.

Dates on houses are present as low socially as houses survive. An example of a small stone farmhouse in County Durham, Newhouses, Hunderthwaite, is dated 1668.[81] There are also 'row houses' (i.e. terraces, housing lead miners and small holders) with late seventeenth-century dates.[82] Dated houses appear across lowland and upland County Durham, roughly in proportion to the number of surviving houses. Dated houses appear in dispersed and nucleated house locations, and on byres (although much less frequently than on houses). There is a slight chronological difference in the occurrence of dated houses between Weardale and Teesdale, with both having roughly equal numbers before 1700 (10 and 11 respectively 1600-1700; 7 and 8 1650-1700) but significantly more dated houses in Teesdale after 1700 (6 houses with dates are known from Weardale, and 20 from Teesdale, 1700-1750). Although this may represent somewhat greater rebuilding in Teesdale in the eighteenth century, with more rebuilding occurring earlier in Weardale, the issues of survival discussed in Chapter Four prohibit certainty. The uplands contain more surviving dated houses, but this is largely a reflection of greater survival of houses generally. The County Durham lowlands have a sprinkling of dated houses, roughly in proportion to survival and it is not clear that dated houses are an upland phenomenon. Dated houses are also present in smaller towns and market centres; for example, Barnard Castle and Staindrop. Larger towns have very few dated houses: a solitary example is Listed for Durham City, and none for Newcastle, apart from dates on institutional buildings.[83] Survival would seem to be the key factor, but more research on geographical variations in the incidence of inscribing dates on houses is needed.

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[81]Brown 1982: 200.

[82]'Onset' was an alternative term for a linear range of houses or outbuildings, such as *Newcastle Courant* 141 January 6 1727-8, 'AN onset of Houses in Smitfield, Stockton' & *Newcastle Courant* 189 December 7 1728, 'two good Farm Houses, Barn, Byers etc. (one Onset of which is entirely New)' at West Morton, County of Durham.

[83]eg doorway dated 1670, with heraldic shield of craft guilds, The Backfriars Monk Street, Newcastle.

The practice of dates and initials follows a regular '17 X^{Y}Z 00' format; where X is the husband's Christian name initial, Y the surname inital and Z the wife's inital, with the date usually either below the initials, or to either side (as shown). This inscription format transcends the middling sort and lesser elite. Denton Hall, dated 1622 for Anthony and Dorothy Errington on the door lintel '16AED22', was a large gentry house to the west of Newcastle; of local stone with stone mullion windows, and no academic architectural ornament, but embellished with porches and gables.[84] The form of inscription at Denton Hall is identicical to those on farmhouses. Denton Hall was part of the early seventeenth century rebuilding of lesser elite houses in the north-east. Westholme Hall, near Winston, County Durham, is a H-plan house, with the hall in the centre, and a large fireplace dated 1606.[85] Many of the early seventeenth century dated houses in County Durham appear to be lesser elite buildings. This does not present an index of the social spread of rebuilding, given the evidence for middling rebuilding from *c.*1600 presented in Chapter Five. Rather, the culture of inscribing dates on houses and fireplaces was more prevalent among the lesser elite before the mid-seventeenth century. Elite portraits from the sixteenth century were also dated and initialled in a similar way, which Ariès has suggested was an attempt to represent the permanence of the family.[86] The specific practice of dates with initials on houses transcends the middling sort and lesser elite; who built houses in a similar way, in external appearance and use of local materials. The chronology of surviving inscribed dates and initials suggest that it was initially a practice specific to the lesser elite, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, but became a more widely middling sort practice in the later seventeenth century. This was not simply a process of emulation; rather, the substance of the house, and the initials of the householder, became a more acute middling concern in the later seventeenth century. The practice of dates and initials

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[84]formerly East Denton Hall; Hope Dodds 1930: 185-200 & Tomlinson 1893.
[85]Whittaker 1975: 22.
[86]Ariès 1981.

were in any case not applied by the national elite. Grander elite architecture usually placed dates on architectural features such as rainwater heads and sundials (although less refined sundials were also placed on farmhouses). Polarising elite from popular culture, in analysing decorative detail on houses, is probably unhelpful. There was a continuum in decorative detail, from the 'folkart' of crudely carved skulls on a door lintel (as at Kilmond View, Boldron, dated 1684, where a skull was engraved on the jamb of the rear door),[87] through dating and initialling houses, to ornate heraldic crests on elite houses and sculpted skulls on elite funerary monuments. Related forms of decorative detail were added to houses and artefacts of all forms.[88] Moreover, dates on houses are known for all social groups, for which houses survive, from the sixteenth through to the eighteenth century.

Inscriptions on houses do not always relate to the date of construction, and often record remodelling or additions. As shown in Chapter Five, houses were successively rebuilt, with linear-plan houses having the main hall and parlour range rebuilt ahead of the low-end's conversion to services. At Slashpool Farm, Hett, the 1708 date records only the rebuilding of the low-end and as a dated building has distracted attention from the significance of a large farmhouse rebuilt in the late seventeenth century.[89] High Shipley House, Marwood (near Egglestone), was rebuilt by E. G. Simpson, in the late seventeenth century, as a narrow fronted three storey house with projecting bays. The earlier part of the house reputedly served as a hunting lodge for Marwood forest. A carved block depicting a stag (also described as a deer and two fauns) on the facade was present before 1628 when a written description was made. Simpson added a date inscription '1670 $E^{G}S$' to the earlier plaque, to mark his possession, and remodelling, of the house.[90]

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[87]NYCVBSG 435.
[88]ceramic and earthernware pottery, for instance, was dated and initialled in the late 17C.
[89]Appendix: 18.
[90]Whittaker 1975: 23; NYCVBSG 948; see also Mercer 1975: 153-4.

High Shipley Cottage has 'J. Lamb' and 'S. High' inscribed on the door jamb; presumably referring to the occupants, and unusually giving the full surname rather than initials.[91] There are few examples of inscriptions bearing the occupation of the occupant, but at Heighington a twentieth-century vicarage incorporates a door surround and lintels from the earlier vicarage inscribed 'I.M. Vicar 1685' and 'R.S. Vicar 1720'.[92] The vicarage at Heighington in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, may only have been distinguished as such from other substantial houses in the village by this inscription. At Shotley Bridge a terrace of two-storey cottages in Wood Street (demolished), built for the sword cutlers brought over from Solingen in Germany, had one house dated 1691 and two were inscribed in German, referring to Deutschland and Vaterland.[93] In addition to marking out ethnic identity on houses, these inscriptions are further testimony to skilled workers in County Durham being provided with well built housing in the late seventeenth century.[94]

Dates, and marriage partner initials, were not only inscribed on houses in early modern England. The new popularity of inscribing dates and initials on the door-lintels and fireplaces of houses, correlates with the same social group's dating and initialling of furniture (or ceramics). An early example, is a log chest, from Wiltshire, inscribed 'Q:E:R: XXI 1579 IOHN WELSTED', including both the regnal and calendar year.[95] A New England chest of drawers is inscribed '$I^{S}M$ 1678' on the drawers;[96] in exactly the same form as initial and date inscriptions appear on houses. It is unclear whether any one household would have had both a dated door lintel and dated furniture; dating furniture may have been a substitute for dating a rebuilt house (and dated and initialled betrothal

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[91]NYCVBSG (no. unknown).
[92]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 323, referring to the original south wing.
[93]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 409.
[94]see Chapter Three, above.
[95]Chinnery 1979: 71.
[96]Chinnery 1979: 208.

tokens may have been more widely crafted and exchanged still lower down the social scale).

The chronology of dating and initialling things is quite specific to the early modern period, from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.[97] Literacy rates obviously help explain the lack of inscriptions in earlier periods, but it may have been a sign of status to do so in a still semi-literate society.[98] Chinnery's unsystematic selection of dated furniture (mostly seventeenth century, especially late seventeenth and some early eighteenth century) correlates with the chronology of dating houses plotted by Machin. More generally, 'vernacular' furniture represents the refurnishing of early modern houses by the same upper middling social groups who rebuilt houses. Chinnery states that for 'middle class joined oak furniture', constituting much of the 'vernacular' furniture which survives today, 'the bulk of such work dates from the century 1620-1720'.[99] This is the same century as witnessed the Great Rebuilding and Georgianisation. It was the same social groups, especially the upper middling sort and lesser elite who rebuilt and refurnished their houses; furniture and stylistic detail of houses were part of the same stylistic culture, and underwent the same alterations in style. I will return to this point in Chapter Nine.

Few houses bear more than one date, and those with dated fireplaces rarely have dated door lintels in addition. East Oakley House, West Auckland has a parlour fireplace inscribed 'IKK' on the lintel, with '16 / 31' divided between the spandrels of the four-centred arch. Forty The Bank, Barnard Castle, has a fireplace in a first floor living room above the shop, inscribed 'MS ◆ AS ◆ ANO ◆ DMI ◆ 1621' (Appendix: Plate 3). Neither house has an external date. In the few cases where houses survive with more than one date, this clearly relates to successive rebuilding by separate generations. Sledge

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[97]this was not distinctive only to England, with close Anglo-Netherlandish and probably wider European parallels.
[98]see Cressy 1978 & 1980.
[99]Chinnery 1979: 411.

Meadows farmhouse, at Nookton Burn in Weardale, is of two builds, each dated, with 1619 and 1679 on door lintels.[100] This confirms the impression of surviving houses and documentary evidence, detailed in Chapter Six, that County Durham generally experienced a significant degree of early seventeenth century rebuilding, followed by further alteration or extension to the house in the late seventeenth century.

While inscribed dates recorded marriage and the establishment of an independent household, death was also marked in new ways by the late seventeenth century middling sort. For it is precisely in the late seventeenth century, that inscribed external memorials in churchyards first appear in 'permanent' form.[101] As with dated houses, these appear at the same date across England as a whole. The typography and decoration of carved doorways is very similar to seventeenth century gravestones. Late seventeenth century Yorkshire doorways are reminiscent of Leicestershire gravestones, indicating a national stylistic culture across the material markers of the middling sort.[102] The overlap between gravestones and inscriptions on houses (which were often executed by the same craftsmen, as well as created for the same social groups) is made explicit at Grinton Manor House, Swaledale, where a plaque on the porch reads 'HELP LORD FOR VAINE IS THE HELPE OF MAN R O HILLARY 1670'.[103] Another (ex situ) door lintel in Barnard Castle reads 'O REMEMBER / MAN IS MORTALL'.[104]

Houses, furniture and gravestones are all usually treated as vernacular artefacts, rooted in their local communities and craft traditions. Yet seventeenth century furniture, gravestones and houses all deploy a national stylistic repertoire and appear at the same time. Ariés has suggested that dates on painting, furniture and personal belongings in

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[100]DoE List of buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest.
[101]Burgess 1963; Cressy 1997: 470, mistakenly claims that 'permanent outdoor headstones were rare before the eighteenth century, even for the gentry'.
[102]see Hutton & Martin 1986; Barley 1948 & Davies 1987.
[103]Hutton & Martin 1986: 22.
[104]26 Newgate, Barnard Castle, late 17C or early 18C.

houses, generally commemorate marriage, and 'helped to answer the desire to give the family a greater historical consistency'.[105] If Ariés is correct to identify a new cultural interest in the 'historical consistency' of individual families, then the new permanence of gravestones and houses may be culturally significant in itself. This may have been a particular interest of the upper middling sort, who were aware of themselves as the most substantial families in their community; Wrightson and Levine's 'parish gentry'.[106] The same middling groups owned dated oak furniture, rebuilt (and dated) their houses and erected external memorials to commemorate the death of family members in the curchyard.

I have argued that inscribed dates and initials signalled the success of the occupants in rebuilding (or remodelling) their house as an expression of their substance in the community and success as a household. Dating things is a culturally significant practice; not least because it varies over time (and there were presumably regional variations in the prevalence of the practice within early modern England). If Ariés is correct, then dates on elite portraits, lesser elite and middling sort houses, middling furniture and gravestones, were about the permanence of the family. The permanence of houses themselves may be culturally significant as an expression/representation of family permanence and more particularly substance in the community. In a semi-permanent housing stock, rebuilt houses had a significance, perhaps in a manner analogous to texts and books in a semi-literate society. Gravestones, as a newly permanent memorial to the middling sort at death, overlapped with furniture and houses, in their stylistic culture and new-found solidity. Gravestones, refurnished and rebuilt houses, were all created for the middling sort at the same period. All these artefacts signalled substance in the community, and marked out the middling sort married couple.

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[105] Ariès 1973: 15-16.
[106] Wrightson & Levine 1995.

Elite material culture frequently facilitates more elaborate readings than middling material, but this only serves to underscore the fact that cultural practices such as making inscriptions on houses were culturally significant - at whatever social level. Several seventeenth century inscriptions on houses bear Latin text. This was an obvious signal of learning, and distinguished the occupant and educated visitors from those who only read the vernacular. Stephen's Hall at Ryton Woodside, was rebuilt for Stephen Coulson, with the doorway inscribed 'Non nobis domine non nobis sed nomini tuo da gloriam' meaning 'Not to us Lord, not to us, but to your name give glory'. The inscription also bore the date 1635 in a shield in the centre with initials S.C.. The arch over this doorway bears the inscription 'Laus Deo' (Praise be to God) with the date 1653 and 'Dum spiro spero' (While I breath I hope). Within the courtyard another door bears the motto 'Omnia bona bonis anno MDCLII' meaning 'To the good all things are good, in the year 1652'. Each inscription relates to a separate phase of remodelling the house, and together form a sequence of meanings disclosed to (latinate) visitors as they passed through to the courtyard of the house. These texts had religious and political overtones; the 1635 inscription implies an anti-puritan, high church, theology, while the 1652 and 1653 texts relate to the political situation of the Commonwealth (and regicide) and to the vagaries of trade. Coulson was a royalist, and his estate was sequestered by the Parliamentarians.[107] Coulson only leased the property, indicating that house 'ownership' was not required for householders to mark out their houses.

Conclusion

This chapter has moved from the documentary evidence for housing through the life-cycle to consider the significance of the material culture of inscribed dates and initials for relating house rebuilding to marriage. The findings of this chapter demonstrate the

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[107]Maddison (ed.) 1998: 15-20.

benefits of integrating an archaeological approach to houses with documentary social history. I have argued that house rebuilding by middling sort couples occurred shortly after marriage. House rebuilding was an expression of the substance of the household, and a marker of success in the community, as the couple demonstrated that they had achieved an independent household. The decrease in the proportion of the population marrying in late seventeenth-century England, suggests that the achievement of an independent household, and a rebuilt house, may have been especially significant in the late seventeenth century. The cultural practice of inscribing dates on houses with the initials of husband and wife peaked during this increasingly strained context of making marriage.

The regionally varying age of marriage across England (which was generally late, but whether closer to 25 or 30 in certain areas) was related to the local socio-economic circumstances affecting the opportunities to accrue resources and establish independent households.[108] The economic opportunities for earlier marriage, and the proportion of couples with sufficient resources to rebuild, may well mean that regional variations in the age of marriage relate to the vexed issue of regional variation in the volume of rebuilding.

The typical experience of housing through the life-cycle, for all social groups, involved living in several different households. The following chapter will investigate the prevalence of moving house further, through an analysis of houses in the property market. As Machin has recently written, 'studying surviving houses is not the same thing as studying the history of housing'.[109]

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[108]Wrightson 1982: 68-70.
[109]Machin nd: 23.

Chapter Seven: Houses in the eighteenth century Property Market

Newspaper advertisements for property, from the beginning of newspapers in Newcastle in 1710 through to 1730, are analysed in this chapter.[1] These adverts provide evidence for housing and building development, and reveal a commercialised property market advertising in the press. This hitherto ignored commercial context to housing was central to property and social relations and the frequency with which people moved house. Investigating the commercial exchange of houses in the property market extends the analysis of the social and economic context of housing, already explored for housing through the life-cycle in the previous chapter. The commercial discourse of advertising emphasises what the seller, or their agent, thought the buyer would be attracted by. As such, the newspaper property adverts provide a source which indicates what mattered about housing to contemporaries, which other documentary evidence, such as taxation or rental records, had no interest in recording.

Newspapers and the Property Market

Property and commercialisation have recently received a great deal of attention from historians.[2] Yet the most fundamental way in which these two key facets of eighteenth century society came together, in the commercial exchange of property, has been neglected. Landed property has been researched by Habakkuk and others, but the significance of housing in the property market, and in the wider economy, has not been.[3] The advent of newspaper advertising offers one route into studying the property market. This chapter presents an unprecedented analysis of property adverts, over a twenty year

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[1]All surviving issues of the *Newcastle Gazette or Northern Courant* between 1710 and 1712, and the *Newcastle Courant* from its start in 1711 through to 1730, were read for property adverts and associated evidence, excluding repeats 1412 adverts were transcribed (microfilm Eighteenth Century Provincial Newspapers, Unit 6, series 4: Newcastle Papers).
[2]Brewer & Staves 1995; McKendrick, Brewer & Plumb eds. 1982.
[3]Habakkuk 1940 & 1994; economic histories have neglected housing in their focus on land and undifferentiated treatment of rentals, e.g. Floud & McCloskey 1994; Brown 1991: 266-288.

period. The sheer volume of property adverts and the print, political and leisure priorities of newspaper historiography have left the detailed and substantial evidence for housing in property adverts largely unexploited.[4]

In defining a property market in the press, I am referring to property as houses, land, and commercial and industrial premises. The contemporary definition of 'property' was admittedly wider than this, extending to moveable goods and financial investments. This was precisely because the changing forms of wealth in a commercial society were legitimised and contested via a more traditional discourse of property and its attendant right to power. Legal and political theorising was based on property as land, but encompassed the 'reification of intangible forms of property'.[5] Brewer and Staves have recently formulated 'property régimes' as constructing political and personal identities through 'particular régimes of ownership'. To be propertied, and participate in propertied politics, involved possession above a certain threshold.[6] Interestingly, only three property adverts in the *Newcastle Courant* between 1710 and 1730 mentioned the franchise qualification of the property; one for Northumberland county and two in Gateshead.[7] This suggests the political entitlements of property were more often assumed than stated in the property market. For Locke property was embedded in social relations, but during the eighteenth century conceptions of property became ever more diffuse.[8] A legal definition of 1762 could only submit that 'It should be something, that may be seen, felt, given,

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[4]Wiles 1965: 149-186; Looney nd: 7-21 & 1989: 483-510.
[5]Brewer & Staves 1995: 1-18, 10.
[6]Langford 1994.
[7]1712 'A Freehold Farm' nr. Bellingham North'd 'Entitles the Purchaser a Vote in Northumberland'. Gateshead 1727 'SEVERAL Freehold Estates' 'consisting of good Messuages or Houses, convenient Shops, cellars, and Lofts...' described as 'so well scituated, to make several Votes for Members of Parliament'. Gateshead 1728 'A House and Garden' was to be sold, 'belonging to Mr. Thomas Finley, Chandler' 'being Freehold, and having a Vote for the Members of the said County'; given the volume of properties advertised (see Chapter Seven) the incidence of advertising a franchise entitlement is very low.
[8]Ashcroft in Brewer & Staves 1995: 43-61.

delivered, lost or stolen, in order to constitute the Subject of Property'.[9] On these grounds, most categories of newspaper adverts concerned property: books, maps, medicines, lost horses, and tangentially even theatre performances, race meetings and runaway servants. Yet the adverts for farms, houses, and commercial premises, are distinct from other categories. Notices for the print trade, professional services, leisure activities and transport never occur in the same advert as houses or land for sale. Sales of moveable goods, in the form of household or trade goods, were regularly advertised with houses and land. Most historians of newspaper adverts have employed the term 'real estate' to refer to what I am calling property adverts, and have distinguished these from 'moveable goods'. 'Moveable goods' is a contemporary term, but 'real estate' is anachronistic. In land and houses we are dealing with a primary category of property, and the newspaper adverts are testimony to the existence of an eighteenth century 'property market'. However, the term is not a contemporary one; in addition to property's increasingly diffuse definition, the term market had only recently come to refer to a concept of supply and demand in addition to place of trade.[10]

Property transactions 'had of course always taken place', and are well documented from the thirteenth century.[11] Braudel identifies a property market as developing when the volume of property transactions 'reached a certain level' and property speculation develops. This had occurred in Paris by the sixteenth century, where rents fluctuated in line with the economy and inflation and property was speculated on through building houses for rent. Landed estates followed a parallel development, and England parallels France. Habbakuk has charted land sales in England, and emphasised the fluidity of the land market in the late sixteenth century.[12] The development of advertising in the press in

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[9]cited in Langford 1994: 3.
[10]Smith (1776) Sutherland ed. 1993: 26 & n..
[11]quoting Braudel 1985: 49.
[12]Habakkuk 1994.

the seventeenth century (outlined below) was an extension of the commercial and print practices of the 'Renaissance' recently charted by Jardine.[13] Within this wider context, the early eighteenth century Newcastle newspapers are witness to the development of a commercialised (and regional) property market, with specialised agents and advertising techniques.

The value of early eighteenth century property adverts to historians of building development was recognised by Read in 1957, and Colvin has noted that the main medium for leasing grand houses in the eighteenth century was advertisements in regional newspapers.[14] However, Looney has given the only thorough account of property adverts to date, from Yorkshire papers. Looney's sampling of York and Leeds papers at twenty year intervals from 1720 to 1807 indicates a low level of property advertisement in the early eighteenth century, increasing in the mid-eighteenth century with a parallel development of attorneys as property agents (see Table 7:1).[15] The Newcastle papers contain a dramatically higher number of property adverts and a commensurately earlier involvement by attorneys as agents. Newcastle had a much more developed property market in the press than York or Leeds, by the 1720s. The early development of a property market in the north-east is explained by Newcastle's greater commercial vigour as the third largest provincial town, after Bristol and Norwich, yet the furthest from London. Newcastle's property market would be better compared with Bristol than York or Leeds, as a broadly comparable port and commercial centre for a wide economic hinterland, but no data is available from anywhere other than Yorkshire.

Newcastle's early newspapers served the commercial interests of the town and region, providing a more directly relevant conduit of trading news than the London papers and an alternative medium for advertising property. Middling commercial property in

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[13]Jardine 1996.
[14]Read 1957: 200-215, 201; Colvin 1999: 276-291, 287-9.
[15]Looney nd: esp. 106-155.

Table 7.1 Property Agents in *Newcastle Courant* adverts 1710-30

Agents in Newcastle Courant Property Adverts 1710-1730																		
Several agents may appear in one advert				each advert may score several times - London, lawyer, auction, extra agents....														
Year	Named only	% Women	Lawyers	London	Printer	Post-master	Merchant	Captain	Surgeon	Clergy	Inn	Trade	Owner	Occupant	Estate	Auction	Misc.
1710			1														
1711	15	9	2				1					3	6	3			
1712	62	21	5				6	1	2			6	10	8	5	1	1
1713	11	2	2							1		2					1
1714	no data																
1715	no data																
1716	12	3	3		1		1			1				1	2		1
1717	3	3	1														
1718	1							1									
1719	no data																
1720	7	1	1				1						1	1			
1721	41	5	10		1		4			1			4	1			1
1722	68	13	19	1			5			4		1	4	2	4		1
1723	131	19	21	1	1		2		2	3	1	9	2	1	2	4	
1724	147	15	29	2			3		3		1	7	4	2	5	1	
1725	107	11	31	2			3				5	3	4	2	4		1
1726	169	18	38	4	2		5	2	1	1	4	11	6	5	6	4	1
1727	96	8	23	2		1	6	1		1	2	6	3	1	6	2	
1728	209	29	51	1	1	1		1	3	7	3	8	11	8	7	4	1
1729	167	19	41	1	1	3	6		2	6	6	10	9	5	3	7	1
1st quarter 1730	48	6	14	2			1		1			1	6	1		1	1
Total 1710s	208	38	14	0	1	0	8	2	2	2	0	11	16	12	7	1	3
Total 1720s	1190	144	278	16	6	5	37	4	12	23	22	56	54	29	37	24	7
Total 1710-1730	1398	182	292	16	7	5	45	6	14	25	22	67	70	41	44	25	10
Total properties = 1542; Total no. of agents = 2259																	
% Total 1710s	65%	12%	4%	0%	0.30%	0%	2%	0.60%	0 60%	0 60%	0%	3%	5%	4%	2%	0.30%	1%
% Total 1720s	61%	7%	14%	1%	0.30%	0.30%	2%	0.20%	0 60%	1%	1%	3%	3%	1.50%	2%	1%	0.40%
% Total 1710-30	62%	8%	13%	0 70%	0 30%	0 20%	2%	0.30%	0 40%	1.10%	1%	3%	3%	2%	2%	1%	0 40%

Newcastle and the rapidly expanding industrial settlements of Tyne-side and Wear-side, were also frequently advertised. As explained in Chapter Two, Newcastle was the 'regional capital', and its newspaper served as the advertising sheets for a widespread land market across Northumberland, County Durham, the North Riding of Yorkshire and parts of the north-west. The property market in the north-east was composed of onion-like layers of commercially exchanged property radiating out from Newcastle. At its centre was the core of commercial properties for sale or lease in Newcastle (and to a much lesser degree Gateshead), surrounded by similar properties from North and South Shields on the Tyne, and Sunderland on the Wear. In the immediate environs of Newcastle 'rural' property was advertised in a manner clearly centred on Newcastle, with commuter houses, market gardens and farms. Further afield, agricultural land was advertised with agents in the nearest market towns and in Newcastle, as well as directing enquiries to the occupier or owner. Land was advertised from as far north as the Scottish border, but very seldom included property from 'North Britain'. The Newcastle newspapers serviced the whole of County Durham, with a distinct property market centred on Durham City. Further south, a cohesive segment of the North Riding of Yorkshire was clearly orientated to the north-east rather than south to York, with agents in the Tees-side towns and in Durham and Newcastle, yet seldom in York.[16] To the west, more dispersed property from Cumberland, Westmoreland and occasionally Lancashire, was advertised in the Newcastle newspapers. The distribution and density of property adverts, and their agents, provides a key to the intersecting layers of this regional property market. This property market involved merchants, professional and landed gentry, tenant farmers and the commercial middling sort, who bought, sold and rented houses and the property which provided their livelihood.

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[16]Looney nd: 151, notes that Durham agents did advertise in York papers.

The practice of advertising property in the Newcastle newspapers began and matured between 1710 and 1730, and by the 1720s operated with a geographical range and volume not known elsewhere till the mid-eighteenth century. The *Newcastle Courant* was the main paper during this period.[17] By the 1720s, over a third of the print space of the *Newcastle Courant* was taken up by advertisements, and around a third of all adverts were for property for sale or let. The *Newcastle Courant* on 25th September 1725, contained twenty two adverts taking up 37% of the print-space.[18] Four of these adverts (excluding repeats) were property adverts, being 18% of all adverts. In the 1710s most of the properties advertised came from Newcastle itself, or its immediate hinterland. In the 1720s, the volume and geographical range of properties advertised increased dramatically, constituting a regional property market in the press, across the north of England. Property was advertised in the *Newcastle Courant* on a much greater scale in the 1720s than in Yorkshire papers, and appears to have been, as in Yorkshire by 1741, the predominant category of advert between 1710 and 1730.[19]

The prevalence of lawyers acting as property specialists correlates with the decline in litigation, nationally after 1700, and locally in the palatinate courts.[20] Conveyancing had long presented a lucrative element of attorney's practice, and lawyers specialising in property transactions and the housing market, were already established by the early seventeenth century. While the development of advertising property in the press is testimony to the commercial practices of propertied society in the early eighteenth

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[17]The other papers were the *Newcastle Gazette or Northern Courant* (Gateshead) 1710-12 and *The Newcastle Weekly Mercury* 1722-3; see Wiles 1965: 451-60 for the complete series of known eighteenth century Newcastle newspapers.

[18]Black 1987: 52 & 57, by 1787 56% of the *Newcastle Courant* was advertisements.

[19]Looney nd: 25 & 119, higher than in 1720s Yorkshire, 32 adverts *York Mercury* and 15 *Leeds Mercury* in the whole of 1720. In 1741 26% of adverts were for real estate in the *York Courant* and 36% in the *Leeds Mercury*, outweighing the print trade and all other categories; Ferdinand 1997: 193, *Salisbury Journal* in the 1740s had 25% of adverts for 'real estate' but print trade higher proportion of adverts.

[20]Brooks 1998; Knight nd: 91.

century, there were considerable continuities. Knight regards the contractual obligations of property transactions appearing at Durham Chancery in the seventeenth century as an element of continuity in regional society and not part of any 'modernising processes' affecting County Durham, though the specifics of each case bears witness to industrial and social change.[21] Brooks has indicated that attorneys had a developing role as property specialists during the early seventeenth century, stemming from their consultation on conveyancing and role as estate stewards.[22] In Durham, the predominant players in the town's property market, were the large estates of the Bishopric and Cathedral Dean and Chapter. The concentration of lawyers in Durham, working for the palatinate courts adjacent to the administrative buildings of the ecclesiastical estates on the peninsula (see Chapter Eight) may well have promoted a particular engagement in the property market, between the inter-twined groupings of lawyers, clergy and clerks. Furthermore, lawyers played an active role in the early-seventeenth-century property market, as personal investors in land and houses in towns.[23] The key role of lawyers acting as property agents in the early eighteenth century property market in the press, has clear antecedents in the early seventeenth century. For related reasons, the development of advertising property in print followed a similar chronology.

The development of advertising in the press

English provincial newspapers following seventeenth century antecedents became established in the first decade of the eighteenth century, encouraged by the lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695.[24] London papers were only published on a securely regular basis from the 1690s, and the first daily paper started in 1702.[25] The time lag between the

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[21]Knight nd: 463-4.
[22]Brooks 1986: 195-203.
[23]Brooks 1986: 256-7 & Chapter Eight, below.
[24]Wiles 1965: 11-12; Black 1987: 12-13 & Cranfield 1962.
[25]Borsay 1989: 129; recent studies (Black 1987; Looney 1989 & Barker 1996 & 1998) imply that

appearance of provincial papers and their London counterparts was minimal. The *Norwich Post-Boy* led the way in 1701, and the *Bristol Post-Boy* followed in 1702. The next largest provincial town, Newcastle, gained its own newspaper in 1710, when the *Newcastle Gazette or Northern Courant* was established.[26] The rival *Newcastle Courant* was begun by John White in 1711. The *Newcastle Gazette* sought to discredit the interloper the following year, accusing White of 'stuffing his Paper with Notorious Falcities'.[27] The *Newcastle Courant* eclipsed its rival by 1712 and was the main regional paper throughout our period with a remarkably complete survival of early issues.

The term 'advertisement' was a creation of the seventeenth century.[28] Print advertising emerged in London in the early seventeenth century, and the earliest adverts dealt in the print products of newspaper proprietors.[29] Property began to be advertised in mid-seventeenth century London newspapers, including land for sale in the country.[30] This was an alternative means of publicity to the practice of posting bills around the city, which similarly became a common business practice during the mid-seventeenth century. Separately printed advertising included notices for the sale or lease of houses, lands and other property, but their survival is negligible and little is known of provincial parallels.[31] Given the immediate presence of property adverts in the Newcastle newspapers in 1710 it is probable that printed notices were used in the north-east in the late seventeenth century.

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the division between London and provincial newspapers in older works (Cranfield 1962 & Wiles 1965) represents more the assumptions of the twentieth than the eighteenth century.

[26]Styles Eighteenth Century Newspapers microfilm intro. & Black 1987: 12-15 & 304.

[27]Wiles 1965: 198, & see Cranfield 1962: 41.

[28]Raven 1993: 103; however OED gives 1582.

[29]Wood 1958: 32 cited in Frank 1961: 11 & 301.

[30]Cranfield 1978: 11-18; Frank 1961: 182 & 256-259; Sommerville 1996: 54-55; Wiles 1965: 150-1; Ferdinand 1997: 182.

[31]Sommerville 1996: 54-55; Raven 1993: 103, most surviving examples date from after 1760; Looney 1983: iv & 106-114, believes advertising outside London developed 'hand in hand with newspapers'.

Newspaper proprietors recognised the potential to profit from property transactions in addition to advertising revenue. In the late seventeenth century, papers specialising in property advertising developed in association with agencies acting as intermediaries for employment and property transactions, producing weekly advertising sheets with their own office as agent.[32] Outside of London, lawyers, and to a lesser degree merchants, acted as specialised property agents advertising in the newspapers, and in Newcastle printers played a negligible role (see Table 7:1).[33] The scale of property advertisement in provincial papers may have inhibited printers from acting as agents, who were content instead with advertising revenue. The development of advertising was not limited to England; adverts of properties for sale appeared in gazettes in late seventeenth-century France,[34] where lawyers and merchants presumably played a similar role as agents.

Property advertisements outnumbered all other types in English provincial papers.[35] The London market was socially differentiated and a variety of titles catered to separate social readerships and advertising markets. Walker found from the mid-seventeenth through to the mid-eighteenth century that a higher social class readership correlated with a greater volume of property and book adverts, whereas more middling and lower class readers were targeted with quack medicines and the few property adverts were for urban property to let not country estates.[36] In the provinces social differentiation was encompassed by single titles. The *Newcastle Courant* catered for several markets, with the large urban population of Newcastle able to read adverts of middling urban property in Newcastle, with a plethora of commercial premises in other

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[32]Walker 1973: 113-4 & 124; Cranfield 1978: 28.
[33]Looney nd: 82, a proprietor of the *York Mercury* was listed as agent for a property advert in 1720, but this was exceptional and the legal profession were dominant in York.
[34]Braudel 1985: 49.
[35]Walker 1973: 124.
[36]Walker 1973: 121-123.

towns, and a wider country readership differentiated by gentleman's seats and farm tenancies.

Generally, advertising in provincial newspapers got off to a slow start, with only modest insertions in the first decade of the eighteenth century, but by 1730 over a third of all column space might be given over to advertisements.[37] The general view of provincial newspaper advertising has been of limited adverts in the early eighteenth century, 'increasing more dramatically during the mid to late eighteenth century with the take off of commerce and industry'.[38] Looney found only very limited advertising in York and Leeds papers in 1720: fewer than one a week on average.[39] In the north-east, industrialisation came early and it is no surprise to see a greater volume of advertising in the Newcastle papers. In fact advertising was prominent from 1710 onwards in many places and Wiles noted their prolific presence in the *Newcastle Courant*.[40] The government recognised the significance of advertising; the Stamp Act of 1712, in addition to the penny on each printed sheet, imposed a duty of 1s. on every printed advertisement.[41] The Stamp Act did not discourage advertising, and advertising space may actually have increased after 1712 to fill the extra sheet used to avoid Stamp Duty.[42] The closing of the tax loophole in 1725 had no discernible effect on the *Newcastle Courant* and few papers anywhere ran fewer adverts.[43]

Placing an advert in the press involved taking an advert to the printer's, though book-sellers and coffee-houses were also named as accepting adverts in conjunction with being distributors.[44] Most printers required ready money for adverts, although the number

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[37]Raven 1993: 105; Porter 1990: 271; Cranfield 1962: 210, by 1740 the *Newcastle Journal* and *York Courant* contained 2000 advertisements a year.
[38]Cranfield 1978: 56 & 72.
[39]Looney 1989: 486 n.11.
[40]Wiles 1965: 150, & see Black 1987: 52-3 & 57.
[41]Sutherland 1986: 32; Looney nd: 34-9.
[42]Raven 1993: 111.
[43]Cranfield 1978: 39 & 41; Cranfield 1962: 224-6; Walker 1973: 120; Wiles 1965: 153-61.
[44]Sutherland 1986: 81-2 & 216-7.

of repeats may have been made at the printer's discretion and were charged at a lower rate owing to the reduced cost of type setting. Repeat adverts for property in the *Newcastle Courant* often involved slight alteration and contraction (possibly on the initiative of the printer to economise on type). Repeat adverts could account for up to half the advertisements in an eighteenth century newspaper, and property adverts could be repeated without alteration for months.[45] In 1720 the *Newcastle Courant* took 'Advertisements at 2s. 6d. the first Time for inserting each, and 1s. 6d. every Time after, provided, each don't exceed ten Lines.'[46] The placing of adverts was made easier by the use of out-of-town advertising agents through the peregrinating newsmen, who usually received a commission of 1d. or 2d..[47] In 1720 the *York Mercury* had an advertising revenue of just £3 from all adverts, whereas by 1741 the *York Courant* took in £61.[48] In 1721 the *Newcastle Courant* earnt £4 12s. 6d. from new property adverts alone, and probably over £9 including repeats. If property adverts provided around 40% of all adverts (18% of adverts in a single issue in 1725 were new property adverts and Looney states that around half the adverts in any given issue were repeats) then total advertising revenue may have been around £25. In 1729, 189 new properties were advertised, providing £23 12s. 6d.; using the modest multiplier that each was advertised only twice then advertising revenue from property was over £40 in 1729. These figures suggest that property adverts in 1720 were far more significant to the *Newcastle Courant* than to the *York Mercury*, and that by 1730 the *Newcastle Courant* probably outdid the *York Courant's* income of 1740.

The *Newcastle Courant* took in adverts from all the towns where it was sold across the region, as listed on the title page of October 8 1720. This distribution network

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[45]Looney nd: 90 & 114-5.
[46]Wiles 1965: 162-4, compare 3s. in Plymouth in 1718 and 2s. in the *York Mercury* in 1719; Looney nd: 89, suggests 1½s. plus duty was the standard national rate.
[47]Wiles 1965: 163-166.
[48]Looney nd: 98.

covered the main towns of the four northern counties. The *Newcastle Courant*'s apparent neglect of Yorkshire was probably a deliberate policy of establishing and maintaining market share. Durham, Westmoreland and Cumberland did not gain their own papers till after 1730.[49] In Yorkshire, the *York Mercury* (alias *York Journal*) was established in 1719 and the *York Courant* in 1725.[50] Respect for the York papers' circulation in Yorkshire was probably underpinned by family links between the York and Newcastle proprietors.[51] A list of distributors in 1722 underscores the *Newcastle Courant*'s westward and northern emphasis of distribution, rather than south into Yorkshire:

> *Newcastle Courant* 112 August 11 1722
>
> Newcastle, Printed and Sold by J. White, Mr. Shaw Bookseller in Newcastle, Mr. Bryson, Bookseller on Tine Bridge, Mr. Waghorn, Bookseller in Durham, Mr. Robert Simpson in Darlington, Mr. John Thompson in Kirkbystaven, Mr. Birkhead, Cheese-Factor in Kendal, Mr. Bradley in Appleby, Mr. Bramwell in Penrith, Mr. Cook bookseller in Carlisle, Mrs Dixon in Hexham, Mr. Robert Mitford in Morpeth, Mr. John Fenwick in Alnwick, Mr. Robert Alder in Belford, & at the Post-Master's in Berwick.

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[49]Wiles 1965: 43-44, 373, 410-11, 427-8 & 504-5; Cranfield 1962: 26; the *Durham Courant* (1733?-174?; no known copies survive) was possibly only a special title of the *Newcastle Courant* as was the *Kendal Weekly Courant* 1732.

[50]Wiles 1965: 510-19; Looney 1989: 487, Leeds gained a paper in 1718.

[51]Black 1987: 16; Cranfield 1962: 128, 143-4 & 186; Cranfied 1978: 186, & Looney nd: 29. Grace White was propretor of the *York Mercury* till her death in 1721 when its distribution covered North Yorkshire and the Tees towns: 'sold in Whitby, Scarborough, Stoxley, North-Allerton, Hull, Beverley, Darlington, Easingwold, Rippon, Richmond, Stockton, Kirby, Pocklington, Wetherby, Selby, Skipton, Burrowbridge, Howden, Casselton, Yarm, Hunnanby, Glaisdale, Knarsborough, and Settle' (emphasis added): the *York Mercury* was eclipsed by the *York Courant* established by John White in 1725, who remained proprietor till 1734. In 1731 the *York Courant*'s distribution focused on the East and West Ridings with almost no coverage of northern Yorkshire: 'sold at Hull, Beverley, Malton, Scarborough, Hallifax, Whitby, Selby, Pontefract and Knaresborough'. If John White or Grace White were related to John White, printer of the *Newcastle Courant*, then earlier historians have failed to make the connection.

The geography of advertisements provides a different catchment area to the distribution network. In contrast to the distribution networks, the paper included adverts from northern North Yorkshire more regularly than west of the Pennines (see Table 7.2). This southern rather than western emphasis may well represent the reality of economic ties constituting the region of the north-east. The most substantial market towns in southern County Durham were on the Tees, bordering Yorkshire. Barnard Castle catered for Teesdale and Richmondshire, and the lowland Tees towns of Darlington and Stockton were market centres for the area between Yarm and Northallerton. Property was rarely advertised in the *Newcastle Courant* from further south than Thirsk. To the east property from 'Cleveland' was advertised with agents in Stokesley and Guisborough, but seldom included land or houses on the North Yorkshire Moors, though Whitby (linked to Newcastle by the coastal trade) features occasionally.

Cranfield suggests the geography of advertising (towns with agents and places of origin of adverts) represent a newspaper's 'sphere of influence' but are not a reliable guide to circulation.[52] However, these need not be mutually exclusive.[53] By 1746, the *Newcastle Gazette*'s distribution network did extend south of the Tees: from a distribution base in Sedgefield John Robson went to Stockton, Yarm, Stokesley and Guisborough.[54] In the 1740s the York and Newcastle newspapers both served northern Yorkshire, with the *York Courant*'s newsmen visiting Stockton and Darlington, as well as Richmond, Northallerton and Guisborough[55] - places regularly featuring in the property adverts of the *Newcastle Courant* by the late 1720s. In the 1720s the competition for circulation and advertising between the York and Newcastle papers is unclear. The detailed evidence for the geography of property adverts in York papers is unavailable. In 1741 most adverts in

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[52]Cranfield 1962: 203-4.
[53]Barker 1996: 53-5.
[54]Wiles 1965: 125.
[55]Cranfield 1962: 198 fig. 6.

NUMBER OF PROPERTIES BY PLACE										
	Newcastle	North'd	Co. Durham	Yorks	Cumb.	Westm.	Lancs.	Scotland		
1710	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		
1711	20	4	4	0	0	0	0	0		
1712	58	15	23	0	0	0	0	0		
1713	5	7	8	0	0	0	0	0		
1714	no data									
1715	no data									
1716	8	4	6	0	0	0	0	0		
1717	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0		
1718	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
1719	no data									
1720	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0		
1721	9	16	20	0	0	0	0	0		
1722	11	46	46	2	0	0	0	0		
1723	20	88	50	6	1	2	0	0		
1724	37	39	65	12	1	3	0	0	1Co. unknown	
1725	33	24	63	11	0	0	0	0		
1726	38	39	74	13	4	6	1	0	2 Co. unknown	
1727	26	16	58	10	1	2	0	0	1 Co. unknown	
1728	50	54	88	23	9	5	1	1		
1729	30	44	83	13	6	0	1	0		
1st quart. 1730	7	6	30	6	2	0	0	0		
TOTAL ALL	354	409	624	96	24	27	3	1		
TOTAL 1710S	93	33	43	0	0	0	0	0		
TOTAL 1720S	262	376	581	96	24	27	3	1		
TOTAL ADS										
1538										
PER CENT ALL	23%	27%	41%	6%	2%	2%	0.20%	0.06%		
1710S% (169)	55%	20%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
1720S% (1373)	19%	27%	42%	7%	2%	2%	0.40%	0.07%		

Leeds came from within ten miles, whereas in York 27% came from between twenty six and fifty miles. Almost all of the long distance adverts were for property, and most of them were repeats.[56] The geography of the Newcastle newspaper property adverts (sketched in Map 7:1) is based on new adverts only, but presents a more extensive and active property market in the 1720s than York in the 1740s.

The form and language of property adverts was common across the country. Property adverts in the *Manchester Weekly Journal* from 1724 were identical in form and syntax to those in the *Newcastle Courant* at the same date.[57] An advert for the 'late Lord Chief Justice Hale's house' at Acton in *Mercurius Civicus* (a free London weekly advertiser) of 1680, is interchangeable with adverts from the *Newcastle Courant*. Hale's was 'a very convenient House, containing 4 Rooms on a Floor', with itemised services, and a garden 'Walled in, and excellently planted with Choice Fruit' and 'a Tarras Walk, with 2 Banqueting-Houses newly painted'.[58] In 1729, the Rev. Mr. Bryan Turner advertised 'A Large Dwelling house' in New Elvet, Durham, for sale or lease, with conveniences 'fit for any Gentleman' and 'built after a modern and substantial Manner; consisting of fifteen Rooms, with both light and dark Closets to most of them; six of which are Wainscotted, and four hung with Tapistry and Paper' ... with 'a pleasant Summer House and Garden'.[59] The term 'conveniencies' was used as short hand in all classes of property advertised, for out-housing *et cetera*; literally 'all mod. cons'.

To a late twentieth-century reader, the newspaper adverts appear needlessly verbose. Yet it is the wordy detail itemising advantages and appurtenances for properties advertised that is of interest. Looney claims the lack of brevity in local adverts contrasts with the sophistication of London style adverts. This does not apply to *Newcastle Courant*

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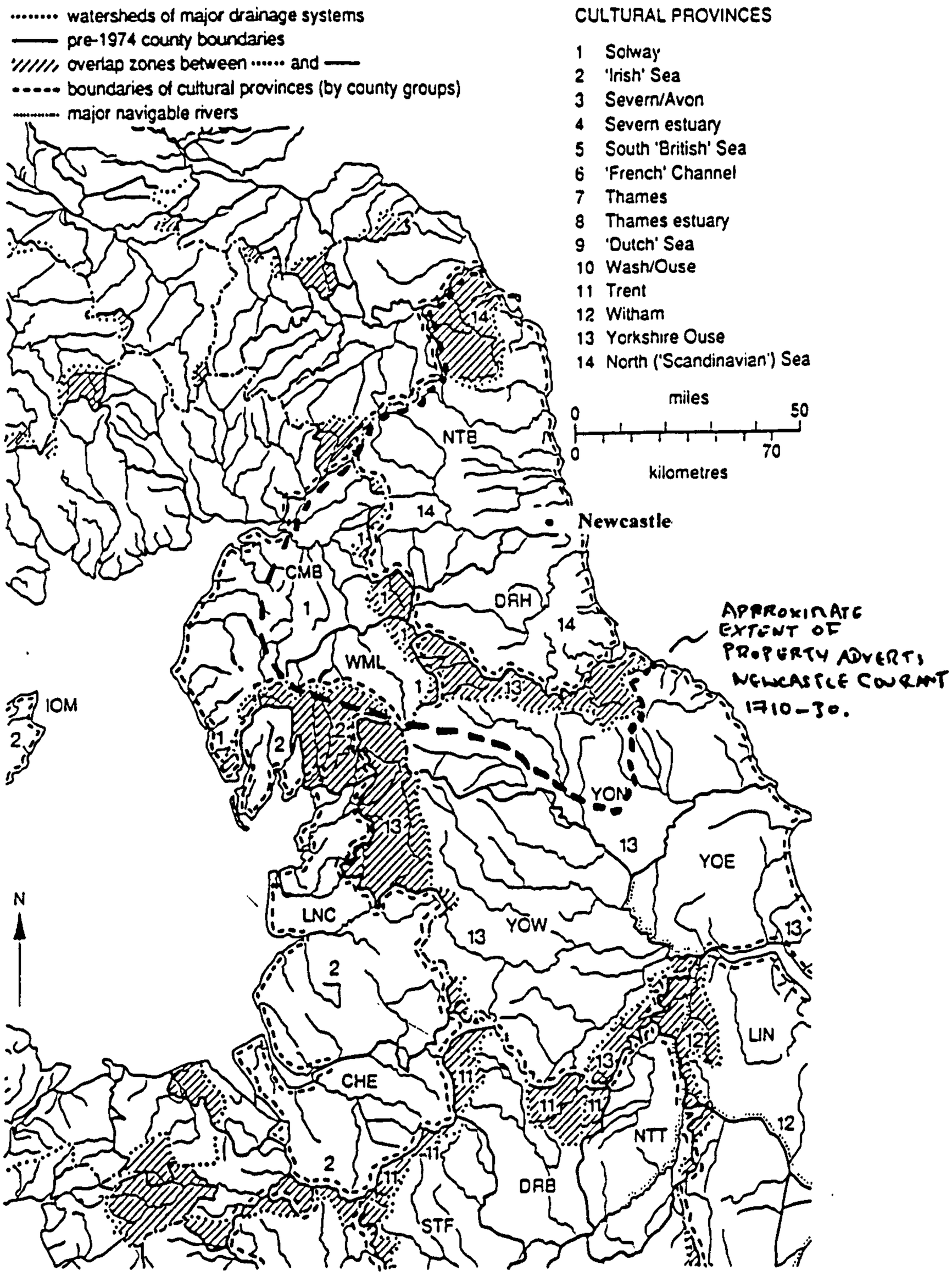
[56]Looney nd: 41-2 & 46, 1741 York 41% 1-10m.; 5% 11-25m.; 20% 26-50m.; 27% over 50m..
[57]Read 1957: 201.
[58]Sommerville 1996: 86.
[59]*Newcastle Courant* 217 June 21 1729.

Map 7.1 Sketch map of *Newcastle Courant* property adverts[60]



Northern 'cultural provinces'

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[60]base map, Phythian Adams 1993.

property adverts, as those from London or Edinburgh are usually even longer. The greater the detail in which a property was set out, the more impressive and attractive it appeared to potential buyers.[61] There is no suggestion that the more 'provincial' property adverts were 'pedestrian and mundane' let alone 'clumsy and incompetent'.[62] Nor is there any sense of stylistic development over time, and the overriding impression is that a discourse of property notices was already fully formed when they appear in Newcastle newspapers in 1710.

The form of adverts affected how they were read. Advertisements were not grouped by subject, though they usually appeared together at the end of the paper (as in the *Newcastle Courant*). The scanning of pages was aided by woodcuts to draw the eye and variations in typography.[63] In the *Newcastle Courant* adverts were initially marked apart by odd typographic symbols. After 1711 this practice was replaced by the capitalisation of the first words of an advert. By the 1720s advertisers were bringing pre-cut blocks of wood-cut illustration to the newspaper offices, but this probably relates more to branded goods than property.[64] The *Newcastle Courant* used a wood-cut of a symmetrical sashed house to mark out seat-houses from 1725 (Figure 7:2).[65] There is no evidence that additional charges were made for preferential placing of adverts on the page, or even that any particular place was thought to be especially desirable. Such practices did develop in the late eighteenth century.

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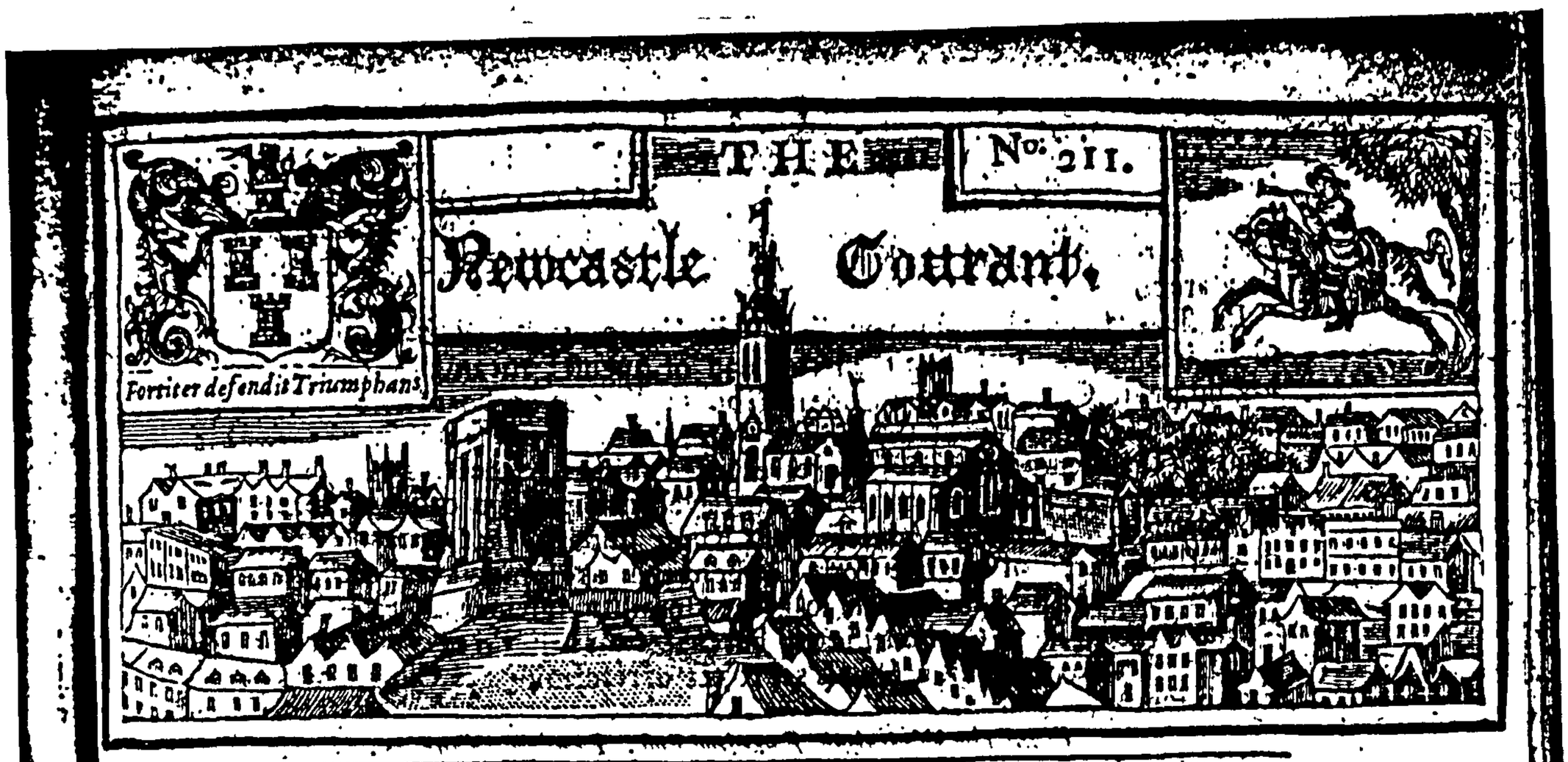
[61]The 'Estate of Swinton in the County of Berwick' with an Edinburgh agent, was advertised at considerable length in *Newcastle Courant* 250 February 7 1729-30.
[62]Looney nd: 250-256 & 278-9, quoting 256.
[63]Wiles 1965: 171-77; Raven 1993: 111.
[64]Raven 1993: 114.
[65]First instance in *Newcastle Courant* 241 January 30 1724-5; Joyce Ellis pers. com., observes that newspaper property adverts rarely give much attention to classical architectural features, suggesting limited interest in emulating elite architectural style; see Chapter Ten below.

Figure 7.1 *Newcastle Courant* 211 July 4 1724 title page


THE No. 211.

Newcastle Courant.

Fortiter defendit Triumphans.

SATURDAY, JULY 4. 1724.

Advertisements are desired to be sent in on each Friday before Twelve in the Forenoon.

From the St. James's Evening-Post, London, June 25.

Since our last arrived one Mail from France.

Moscow, May 21.

HIS Czarish Majesty has publish'd an Ordinance in Behalf of Foreigners, who shall come to settle themselves at Petersburg, or in the other trading Towns of his Dominions: His Majesty promises to pay their Expences of coming, to build Houses for them, to exempt them from all Duties for twenty Years, to supply them with the necessary Sums to set them up in their Business, to tollerate the Exercise of their Religion, (that of the Jews excepted) and to pay one hundred Rubles a Year to the Minister of each Community of Foreigners, in Case they shall not be able to maintain them out of the Produce of their Commerce. The Person who undertook to turn Iron into Steel, not having succeeded to the Czar's Satisfaction, is banish'd into Siberia. His Czarish Majesty has sent Orders to Olonitz, to found there a certain Number of Brass Cannon.

Copenhagen, June 17. We see here in Print a Manifesto, which makes it out by authentick and undeniable Proofs, that the Succession to the Dutchy of Ploen belongs by Right to the Duke of Norbourg, formerly named Carlstein, and not at all to the Duke of Ratswick. The Latter being of the Roman Catholick Religion, has many Friends on his Side, who espouse his Interest with the outmost of their Power. The said Manifesto has been sent by this Post to most of the Foreign Courts, as likewise to all the King's Ministers abroad, and will be now sold publickly. They are very busie in unloading the East-India

Figure 7.2 *Newcastle Courant* 241 January 30 124-5 adverts on the page

[101]

To be Sold or Let against Mayday next,

A Very convenient Dwelling-house, in Cross-gate in Durham, now in the Occupation of the Co-heiresses of Mrs. Swainston deceased, consisting of ten Fire-rooms, with Closets, and Cellars under-ground; having handsome Conveniencies back-wards, now used as a Making, but capable of being converted into Granaries, Hay-lofts, or Dwelling-houses; with a good Stable, a Brew-house, a little Garden, and a Well: Farther Particulars may be had at Mrs. Margaret Swainston's at the said House in Cross-gate Durham, or at Mr. Lodge's at the Spital in Westgate, Newcastle.

To be SOLD,

A Free-hold Estate, consisting of 90 Acres, or thereabouts, of very good arable, meadow, and pasture Ground, scituate in the Parish, and very nigh the Town of Sowley, a Market-Town in the County of York; 5 Miles distant from Gisbrough, Yarm, and Stockton, three other Market-Towns; Enquire of Mr. Marmaduke Cotterell of Ingleby under Arncliffe, and Mr. William Hewardine of Maltby, who will treat about the same.

To be SOLD,

A Messuage, scituate in Silver-street in Newcastle upon Tine, late belonging to Thomas Sayburn Taylor: Also 3 several Messuages scituate in Morpeth, in the County of Northumberland, in or near the Market-place there, with a large Orchard lying behind one of 'em, late the Estate of Robert Nichols, deceased: Enquire of Mr. John Airey of Newcastle aforesaid, Attorney at Law, or Mr. Tho. Shipley at Morpeth, who will treat about the sale thereof.

THE new Ingredient (in the Powder) for improving Husbandry, &c. only known and prepar'd by John Dickson Merchant, in Edinburgh, and practis'd in Scotland these 3 Years past, in the Fields, with Success, on Wheat, Rye, Pease, Beans, Oats, and Barley; is only to be sold, and no where else, by the said John Dickson, at his House in Carrubers-land, opposite to Foresters-wind-head-well, Land-Market, Edinburgh, and at Edward Bell's Chandler, in the Flesh Market, Newcastle upon Tine, at 3 s. per Pound, with printed Directions to each Pound.

THE Houses in North-Shields, with the Key and Wharf adjoining, belonging to Mrs. Catherine Cotesworth, as also the Houses at the Wood-bridge in North-Shields aforesaid, late the Estate of Mr. Ralph Harrison deceased, are to be Sold: Enquire of the said Mrs. Cotesworth, and Mrs. Susanna Downes, at North-Shields aforesaid, who will treat about the Sale thereof.

To be Let against Mayday next,

A Very good Dwelling-house, with Brew-house and Stable, and a very good Garden, at West-Whorlton. Enquire of Mrs. Dorothy Kelly at the Upper-Dean-Bridge, Newcastle, or of Mr. Richard Peck at Newbiggin who will treat about the same.

To be SOLD,

A Freehold Estate at Goosepool, nigh Sadberge in the County of Durham, of the yearly Value of 80 l. being four Miles from Darlington, three from Yarm, three from Stockton, and eleven from Durham, with a very good Tenant-House, Barn, and other good Conveniences thereon, and well fenced and watered. Also a Freehold Estate in Sunderland, near the Sea, consisting of several Houses, Kilns, Mill and Stables, with some Ground adjoyning thereto, situate in the Church-Lane; and a House and Backside in the Low-Street there, opposite to the Low Ferry-Boat Landing. Enquire of R. Rakes Fulthorp, Esq; at North Allerton, Mr. George Fulthorp, or Mr. William Dent in Sunderland aforesaid, who will treat with any Person about the same.

THIS is to give Notice, That there is a large Parcel of good Oak Timber and Bark at Smeales and Lockhaugh, within the Lordship of Winlaton, to be sold; whoever have a Mind to buy the same, may apply to James Wetherby, and Albert Silvertop, who will attend at Mr. Jacob Richardson's at Stella-hall, on Thursday in every Week, till the said Wood and Bark be sold.

BOOKS of all Sorts, and all Stationary Wares, are now to be Sold by Mrs. Ann Shaw, at the Bridge-End in Newcastle upon Tyne, at very low Prices.

To be SOLD,

A Great Quantity of very large Wood, consisting of Oak, Ash and Birch, at Brinkburn, in the County of Northumberland: Enquire of JOHN FENWICK, Esq; at Stanton or Bywell in the said County.

TO be Sold out of the King's Ware-house in Newcastle, a large Quantity of good old Brandy, legally condemned in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, viz. Ten half Anchors and upwards at 27 s. 6 d. each; and all less Quantities 28 s. 9 d. per half Anchor: Enquire of Mr. Ralph Trotter and Mr. John Holme at the Custom-house, Newcastle.

NEWCASTLE, Printed and Sold by JOHN WHITE.

The property market in the north-east

The sole surviving issue of the *Newcastle Courant* from 1710 includes a property advert for the sale of a house and lands with 'a good Spring of Wood upon the Grounds', near Chopwell in County Durham: 'Enquire of Mr. Thomas Davison, Attorney at Law'.[66] Our first property advert incorporates land, timber and 'A Freehold Messuage', situated in industrialised northern County Durham. Most significantly, the agent is already a lawyer. The presence of a property advert in the first surviving issue of the *Newcastle Courant* suggests that the new media was not the decisive promoter of the property market (or its commercialisation) but more likely that a previous practice of printed notices in coffee-houses, shops and inns was being extended to the new papers. The incidence of advertising, and its increase, does not of course indicate the real rate of property transactions, but their commercialised practice and a willingness or perceived need to advertise.[67]

Newspaper advertising of property began in the 1710s with a heavy concentration of Newcastle properties. Land was advertised increasingly, and in the 1720s the counties of Northumberland and Durham contributed a greater volume of properties than Newcastle. The total number of properties advertised and the proportions by county are set out in Table 7.3. Between 1710 and 1730 a total of 1,538 properties were advertised in surviving issues of the Newcastle newspapers; 1,373 of these were in the 1720s; an eight fold increase on the 169 in the 1710s. In the 1710s, 55% of properties were from Newcastle itself, falling to 19% in the 1720s although the number of Newcastle properties advertised almost tripled. In the 1720s and over the period as a whole, dwelling-houses and commercial premises in Newcastle were outnumbered by land, farms and houses in Northumberland and County Durham. In both the 1710s and the 1720s property in

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[66] *Newcastle Courant* 65 December 23-25, (the previous 64 issues do not survive).
[67] see Looney nd: 119-132 & Ferdinand 1997: 182-93.

County Durham outnumbered Northumberland properties, despite the latter being the larger county. The industrialisation of northern County Durham, the expansion of Sunderland and the commercialisation of agriculture (and possibly the smaller size of farms) all contributed to a greater volume of property on the market in County Durham than in Northumberland. Six-hundred and twenty-four properties were advertised from County Durham between 1710-30, with 409 from Northumberland: being 41% and 27% of all properties advertised (or 37% and 27% if Durham City is excluded). Property from outside Northumberland and County Durham did not appear at all in the 1710s, whereas in the 1720s, 96 properties from north Yorkshire amounted to 7% of the total, and Cumberland and Westmoreland each contributed 2% (24 and 27 properties respectively). Three stray properties from Lancashire were advertised after 1726 and a solitary Scottish property appeared in 1728.

Table 7.3 Properties advertised by county

	N'castle	North'd.	Durham	Co. Durham	Yorks	Cumb.	Westm.	Lancs.	Scot.	Totals
No.										
1710s	93	33	0	43	0	0	0	0	0	169
1720s	262	376	67	514	96	24	27	6	1	1373
1710-30	354	409	68	566	96	24	27	3	1	1538
Per cent										
1710s	55%	20%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
1720s	19%	27%	5%	37%	7%	2%	2%	0.40%	0.07%	
1710-30	23%	27%	4%	37%	6%	2%	2%	0.20%	0.06%	

These figures indicate the rising volume of property advertised in the Newcastle press, and its widening geography. The detail for the property adverts by year is presented in Table 7.2. As Looney found in Yorkshire, there is no clear evidence for seasonal variation in property advertising.[68] The fixed dates in the property market year were

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[68]Looney nd: 55-61, though slight decline in adverts through the year, being highest January to March: (figures in parenthesis with print adverts removed) York Courant 1741 1st quarter 65 (29) 2nd 55 (30) 3rd 52 (22) 4th 48 (24); Leeds Mercury 1st 38 (18) 2nd 46 (19) 3rd 29 (15) 4th 35 (19); 'real estate' shows no seasonal variation.

Michaelmas (29 September) and Mayday (1 May), the traditional dates for rentals, leases and sales. The vast majority of property either changed hands at Mayday or Michaelmas, and if it suited the parties to exchange before these dates then actual payment in full was often deferred till Mayday or Michaelmas. The lack of seasonality in the property adverts implies that people did not move house at specific times of year. Though there are some indications that Mayday was significant as a moving day: 'To be SOLD The House in the North Bailey in Durham, in which Joseph Hall Esq; now liveth, and will be empty at Mayday next'.[69]

Table 7.4: Number of Properties advertised stating Yearly Value

Value\Yr	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719	1720	
under £20						2			1	
£20-£50						1				
£50-£100	5	1				1				
£100-£200	1	3	1		1					
over £200										
	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730
under £20	2	1	1	3	5	2	5	9	4	0
£20-£50	3	3	8	5	7	10	16	17	12	7
£50-£100	1	8	9	3	6	14	6	11	15	5
£100-£200	2	3	10	7	2	4	5	9	2	4
over £200	1	1		3	3	2	3	1	4	2

The value of properties advertised was rarely stated, except for the annual rental value of landed estates and tenant farms. The occasional commercial properties and individual dwelling houses which were valued, were also calculated in this way. The estate of the Dean and Chapter of Durham also calculated its property values on the basis of their commercial value for rent per annum.[70] The practice of calculating the value of property through its yearly value at rent, applied even for properties which clearly were

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[69]*Newcastle Courant* 86 December 17 1726.
[70]Mussett nd., Henry VIII's Cathedral statutes insisted on a fixed rent, but property values were calculated for the seven year renewal fines on twenty-one year leases, by the seventeenth century.

not being let. Table 7.4 sets out the range of annual property values from those stated in advertisements.

During the 1710s few adverts included a yearly value, and it was mostly larger landed estates which did so, valued at over £100 per annum. Only in 1717 and 1720 are properties valued lower than £50 per annum detailed, with three under £20 per annum. In the 1720s a clearer spread of valued properties is available. This is commensurate with the increasing volume of property being advertised, and may reflect some maturing in property advertising with a greater readiness to indicate the annual value of the property in print. However, these figures are not conclusive for the range of values of property advertised, since only a small proportion of adverts ever include a value, and there is a tendency for the larger estates to include the yearly value more regularly. Moreover, almost all these values refer to the rental value of farms. Indeed, larger values, over £100, mostly refer to estates with several farms let. Those properties valued at less than £100, are mostly individual farms. The value per acre, of farms was occasionally given, ranging from 8s. to 15s. per acre, presumably a fixed rent, as farms were also advertised as for sale at £10 per acre.[71] A few urban properties were given values. For instance, a house in Sunderland with a 'Rent Charge of £6 per annum'; a house in Sandgate in Newcastle at £7 per annum rent, and an apartment in Newcastle with a yearly rent of 11s..[72] Or, 'SEVERAL Houses situate in the Mannor Chair, let at the yearly rent of £10 6s. and the yearly Out-rent of 5s. from a Messuage scituate on the Key-side, and another yearly

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[71] *Newcastle Courant* 32 January 28 1720 'AT Newbottle in the County of Durham, is 75 Acres of Copyhold Lands, lying 5 miles from the City of Durham, and 3 from Sunderland, with a good House, Barn, and Stables in the Middle, well water'd, no ways through it, Limestones on the Ground, Bishop's Rent 17 shillings and 9 Pence for all, Tythe 16s. is to be sold at ten Pounds per Acre, by George Hall of Pelton'.

[72] *Newcastle Courant* 148 Fenruary 17 1727-8; *Newcastle Courant* 129 October 14 1727 'To be SOLD A Messuage in Sandgate, now in the possession of Stephen Scott and others, consisting of Seven Rooms, with a Brew-house, Cellar and other conveniencies, of yearly Rent £7; Enquire Mr. William Ratter, Junior, Attorney at Newcastle'; *Newcastle Courant* 17 August 21 1725.

Out-rent of 3s. 4d. from a Messuage situate in the said Mannor Chair'.[73] Possibly only exceptionally low annual (and probably fixed) rents were stated in adverts; in many cases the value was negotiable, and 'best bidder' was a frequent phrase even for properties not being auctioned, or sold 'by inch of candle'.

Urban property values in the newspapers are comparable to those itemised for lower middling groups (half a century earlier) in Durham and Newcastle probate records.[74] An inventory commission of 1675, valued the remaining years of a leasehold on a 'little house' in Silver Street, Newcastle, at £14.[75] Dean and Chapter leasehold houses, occupied by buildings trade craftsmen in mid-late seventeenth century Durham, were valued at between £15 and £25. William Rowell had 'One house holden of the right Worshipful Dean and Chapter of Durham' worth £25, and moveable goods of only £2 9s. 6d., in his 1684 inventory for a house in Crossgate.[76] John Palmer, mason, of Old Elvet, died in 1680, with a 'cottage house' held from the Dean and Chapter worth £24.[77] Nicholas Palmer, freemason, died in 1681, with a Dean and Chapter house in New Elvet, worth £15.[78]

The adverts regularly included property held on long leases from institutional estates, primarily the Bishop's and Dean and Chapter estates of Durham. When these properties were advertised for sale, the leasehold was exchanged. For example, 'THE Crown Tavern, with the Messuages and Houses thereunto belonging, scituate in South Shields, now Mrs. Isabel Lunns; as also the Messuages and Houses lying in South Shields aforesaid, lately belonging to Mrs. Margaret Killerby, and held by Leases from the Dean

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[73]*Newcastle Courant* 111 June 10 1727.
[74]see also the property values for London & elsewhere in Earle 1989: 405-8.
[75]DULA Probate, John Langstaffe, Newcastle, 1675 Inventory & commission, 'The remainder of a Terme of yeares of and in a little house situate lying and being in Silver Street in Newcastle, we estimate to be worth £14', apprised by Nicholas Thompson & Henry Scott.
[76]DULA Probate, William Rowell, Crossgate, Durham, 1684 Inventory.
[77]DULA Probate, John Palmer, mason, Old Elvet, Durham, 1680 Inventory.
[78]DULA Probate, Nicholas Palmer, freemason, (New) Elvet, St. Oswald's parish, Durham, 1681 Inventory.

and Chapter of Durham, are to be sold'[79] Where Dean and Chapter properties are advertised to let, this was sub-letting by the leaseholder (known as the owner) to the occupier.

The significance of renting, and the social relations of leasees and sub-leasees, constituted a social network, which coalesced with the communities of credit recently charted by Muldrew.[80] Property and credit relations were intimately connected via the financing of property transactions, and paying the rent. Numerous houses were evidently sold as a result of debt,[81] and occasionally mortgages feature in adverts. For example, 'A Freehold Estate, lying at Haughton near Darlington, in County Durham, of yearly value £50' was for sale, 'being about 70 acres'...'any purchaser may have £300 or £400 continued in mortgage upon the said Estate'.[82] I will return to the social significance of property transactions at the end of this chapter, after detailing the evidence for housing in the adverts.

In January 1742 the *Manchester Mercury* was 'oblig'd to have more News than others in his Paper, which must certainly be more entertaining to almost all Persons than Advertisements of such a House, Farm, etc. to be let at 30, 40 or more Miles Distance.'[83] Advertisements, however, involved more than the simple notification of property on the market. Property adverts created gossip and constituted news to readers; informing them of people selling or letting property and moving house.[84] Addison in the *Tatler* (14 September 1710) wrote: 'tis my custom, in a Dearth of News, to entertain my self with those Collections of Advertisements that appear at the End of all our publick Prints.'[85]

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[79] *Newcastle Courant* 181 December 7 1723.
[80] Muldrew 1998.
[81] see examples cited for Sunderland below.
[82] *Newcastle Courant* 254 March 7 1729-30.
[83] quoted in Cranfield 1978: 184.
[84] Sommerville 1996: 86 & 70; Wiles 1965: 184.
[85] cited in Sommerville 1996: 147-8.

Housing in advertisements

The majority of adverts primarily concerned land or commercial premises, but with the housing for owner-occupiers, tenants, or workers invariably itemised. Only the houses of the gentry, professions and more prosperous middling sort were advertised primarily as dwellings. The appurtenances of these houses were listed as secondary in the reverse manner to which housing featured with farms, shops or salt-pans. The distinction between houses advertised separately from agricultural, industrial or commercial property, presents a class of 'private' houses which were bought and sold by the upper middling sort. For instance, 'A very good Dwelling-House, with good Stabling, Cellars, and Brew-house, and all other Conveniencies for a Private Family, situate in Pilgrim Street in Newcastle'.[86] Or, again in Pilgrim Street, 'To be Let: AN House fit for a private Family'.[87] In some cases public house refers to an inn, but its more general usage encompassed any form of commercial activity where the public entered the house: as in 'A very good Dwelling-house, in North-Shields' ... 'now used as the Salt-Office there', but 'fit either for a publick or a private House'.[88] Associated to these private dwelling-houses were houses that were marketed as commercial entities in themselves; especially as lodging houses or investment property. In Newcastle, lodgings and 'apartments' catered to a surprisingly wide social range. In the countryside, 'gentleman's seats' were rented out with only a minimal amount of land for grazing and gardens.

The detailed evidence for housing in Newcastle and Durham will be employed in Chapter Eight. The following sections discuss adverts for dwelling-houses and commercial premises in Gateshead and Sunderland, and the evidence for housing in the industrial districts of Tyne-side and Wear-side. Property adverts are a particularly valuable source for these places, given the negligible level of built survival (demonstrated in Chapter

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[86] *Newcastle Courant* 18 August 28 1725.
[87] *Newcastle Courant* 184 November 2 1728.
[88] *Newcastle Courant* 248 March 27 1725.

Four). I then discuss houses in market towns, the condition of tenants housing on farms, and the attractions of gentlemen's seats.

Gateshead

Gateshead makes an early appearance in the property adverts, with ten adverts in the first couple of years of the *Northern Gazette*, which was printed in Gateshead, and in the *Newcastle Courant* from 1711. There is a hiatus however between 1713 and 1723, with only a single advert for an inn in 1722, suggesting that the housing market in Gateshead may have been depressed. Three adverts a year appeared for the rest of the 1720s, rising to six adverts in the first quarter of 1730. Apart from a few inns, all of these were for dwelling houses, mostly with shops and the commercial appurtenances of warehouses, cellars, brewhouses and yards. Several of the houses were sub-divided, or possibly built as tenements, such as 'A House in Gateshead, consisting of divers Tenements, to be Let apart' in 1712. There is evidence for more salubrious decoration; for instance 'a good Dwelling-house, and one Room hung, standing near the Church, in the low Church Chair, in Gateshead, late in the Possession of Madam Maddison, is either to be Let, the whole, or in part, or to be Sold'.[89] The property market was such that this house might more easily be let if sub-divided, in 1713. By 1723 there is evidence of a revival in Gateshead's housing market, with 'A New built house, in the High-Church-Chair in Gateshead, with Nine very good Fire rooms, and two Stair-Cases, is to be let together, or in two Tenements'[90] In 1724, 'Mark Browell the Solicitor', a prominent property specialist in Newcastle, was at pains to stress the advantages of Gateshead and to gain a good price:

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[89] *Newcastle Courant* [issue no. unknown] March 1713.
[90] *Newcastle Courant* 191 February 15 1723-4.

'THE House and Shop under it, and the Ground behind, whereupon great conveniencies may be made for Trade, all standing together in Gateshead, in the County of Durham, near the Bridge-End there; the House and Shops before, fronting the King's high-Street on the East, and Pipewellgate on the south, and behind bounded by the River Tyne on the North, as Commodious for a Retail trade as any Place in that Part of England, now in the Occupation of Thomas Coulson, Merchant, are to be sold by Mrs. Elizabeth Thickpenny, or by Mark Browell the Solicitor: Whoever would be a Purchaser, must in his Bidding have regard to the advantages premised'.[91]

To judge from the property adverts, most of Gateshead's shops were located at the end of the Tyne-Bridge or indeed on the Gateshead end of the bridge itself. For example 'A Dwelling-House, situate in Pipewellgate, in Gateshead, and a Shop on Tine Bridge'.[92] The southern third of the Tyne Bridge was owned by the bishop of Durham; in 1771, when the bridge collapsed in flooding, 21 houses were built up on this Gateshead portion with far fewer on the northern side owned by Newcastle Corporation. The apparently timber-frame houses were leased from the bishop of Durham and Newcastle Corporation accordingly.[93] The bridge-dwellers in 1771 were all craftsmen and retailers (shoemaker, ironmonger, draper, cheesemonger; booksellers, flax-dealers, milliners, glovers and a medical doctor), and their households on the bridge were as complete as their counterparts on land, with maids, apprentices, store rooms and even cellars.[94]

Gateshead's dependence on the metropolis of Newcastle over the Tyne was of undoubted importance, and it is surprising that Gateshead featured so little in the Newcastle based property market. By the end of the 1720s better quality houses in

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[91] *Newcastle Courant* 203 May 9 1724.
[92] *Newcastle Courant* 240 November 29 1729.
[93] Welford III, 1867: 364.
[94] Horsley 1970: 1-24.

Gateshead were occasionally being advertised: 'A House and Garden' 'consisting of 8 Fire Rooms, and one Garret, Freehold', apparently belonging to Mr. Thomas Finley, Chandler.[95] Most Gateshead properties were advertised through Newcastle or Durham attorneys, though Gateshead tradesmen and inns did occasionally feature as points of enquiry for land and houses elsewhere.

Sunderland

Sunderland expanded rapidly in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, as the shipping centre for the Wear coalfield. Overshadowing the original parish settlement of Bishop Wearmouth, in 1712 the '4000 souls and upwards' of Sunderland petitioned for a new church.[96] New houses were being built around the church in the 1720s, especially in the High and Low Streets.[97] The Sunderland property market does not feature in the Newcastle newspapers in the 1710s, but between 1721 and 1730 thirty-two adverts appeared for Sunderland property, of which twenty-seven deal with housing and building land in the town rather than agricultural land nearby. The adverts for Sunderland town refer to over seventy individual houses, and may involve nearer a hundred since many adverts state 'several houses'.[98] Many of these houses were newly built, and some adverts included building land. Speculative house building in the rapid expansion of Sunderland in the 1720s is clear. The degree of speculative building in Sunderland, characterised by a low involvement of attorneys as agents, is not paralleled anywhere else in the early-eighteenth-century north-east.

The new houses were often built to impressive specifications, and were undoubtedly targeted at those prospering most from Sunderland's dramatically increased

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[95]*Newcastle Courant* 194 January 11 1728-9.
[96]Hughes 1952: 12-13.
[97]e.g. *Newcastle Courant* 241 January 30 1724-5.
[98]conversely, this may be an over-estimate if the same houses appeared in different adverts over the period.

share of the coal trade.[99] These new houses, up to five or six storeys, invariably had shops on their street frontages, with living quarters, described as 'chambers', above, and cellars and vaults beneath. Many on the Low Street had keys or wharfs to the River Wear.[100] These were mostly built on freehold land, though some was held on lease from the bishop of Durham.[101] One family emerges as the most prominent speculators advertising new houses in Sunderland. Mr. Edward Robinson and Mr. Edward Robinson senior advertised houses in Sunderland in 1722, 1724, 1725, 1726 and 1728. In 1724 they had building land for sale 'together or in Parcels, a Frontstead, all those Riggs or Lees of Land near the Market Place, to the south of Samuel Langdale's Dwelling-House, adjoining to the Church-yard' and 'Houses in the Market-Place on the West-side of the Passage, together or in Parcels; likewise other Houses in the low street of Sunderland'.[102] These last included the 'New House five storey high near the Custom-house in the Low street in Sunderland, with one large, or two small shops, a Brewhouse, Vault and Cellars, to be Let by the Year for a Term of Years by Mr. Edward Robinson'.[103] The houses in the Low Street, near the Custom-Houses, with vaults and cellars, were evidently timber-framed: 'having a substantial Frame of Oak, fit to put into Shops with Windows'.[104] These were brick fronted, and in 1726 'several lately built Brick Houses, scituate in the High-Street, near the Market-Place, and in Low-Street, near the Custom-House and Ferry-Landing, viz. a House & Shop, Cellars & Vault, with convenient Chambers, Low-Rooms, etc. on the South-side of the said Low-Street' were advertised for sale or lease.[105] The speedy construction of Georgian Sunderland was at least in part timber-framed behind a brick

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[99] see Chapter Two, above & Dodds 1995: 25-49.
[100] e.g. *Newcastle Courant* 199 February 15 1728-9.
[101] *Newcastle Courant* 250 February 7 1729-30 & 240 November 29 1729.
[102] *Newcastle Courant* 198 April 4 1724.
[103] *Newcastle Courant* 82 January 13 1722.
[104] *Newcastle Courant* 198 April 4 1724.
[105] *Newcastle Courant* 38 January 15 1725-6.

facade; paralleling speculative house building in London at the same period.[106] Timber-framing may have been favoured for the flexibility it afforded for fenestration: 'To be Let at Lammas: A New built Brick House, six Storey high, with cellars, vault, and a Frame of Oak fit to be sash'd, or made (Part of it) into a Merchant's Shop in the Front, situate in the Lowstreet near the Customhouse, and Passage to the Low Ferry Boat Lane, very commodious for a Merchant, having three Rooms on a Floor: The Low-Rooms, Vault and Cellers to be Let against Lammas, and the other Part together to be Sold'.[107]

Sunderland houses were not always occupied as single units, as in one Low Street house 'Part of which Mr. James Christy now liveth'. The houses may have been erected as terraces, as with 'the next House on the west Side, the Passage in the Possession of Mary Sidgwick, in the said Low-Street; Also, a House and Shop and Back-Houses, in the High Street, on the south-side of the same, now in the possession of Mr. Thomas Partis, Silver-Smith and Jeweller: Also a Parcel of Ground containing forty Yards Southward from the said House: Also, the House on the south-side of the High Street, near the Market-Place now in the Possession of Samuel Langdale, with the Houses adjoyning Backwards, with two Riggs of Land extending from the said Houses southward, towards the New Church'. This land was advertised as 'very commodious for Fronts to build on' and again as 'very fit to build a Malting or other Houses, with a commodious Entrance for a Cart'.[108] The same land had also been used 'to make Tyles or Bricks; being very good Clay, in good repair.'[109] This parallels the practice of building on land used to produce bricks after production finished in the London area, between 1660 and 1720.[110] Despite the parallels to speculative building in London, the Robinson's building enterprise was highly localised and probably included ship building: six months earlier the same ground

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[106]McKellar 1999: 159-161.
[107]*Newcastle Courant* 57 May 28 1726.
[108]*Newcastle Courant* 57 May 28 1726.
[109]*Newcastle Courant* 38 January 15 1725-6.
[110]McKellar 1999: 74.

was advertised with 'four Keels lately built, in good Repair'.[111] The houses in Sunderland were all freehold, and the Robinson's usually acted as their own agent, but in 1728 enquiries for houses 'scituated in the most elegible Parts of the Town' were also directed to Henry Lambton of Lambton, Esq; and the attorney Mr. Ralph Gowland, junior at Durham.[112]

Those making their living from shipping invested in Sunderland property. In 1723 John Mason, Master and owner of 'The Endeavour' died with 'several Free-hold Houses, in the High-Street, Sunderland, well Tenanted, at the yearly rent of 31 l. and upwards'.[113] In 1727 Mr. John Mason, Master (probably son of the above) auctioned 'the good Pink, John and Elizabeth of Sunderland' at 'Mrs. Anne Masons in Sunderland Market Place' 'And is to be Sold his Houses in the High-Street, either together or separately, rented at £30 per annum'.[114] Similarly, Mr. John Wilkinson Master, sold 'THREE very good Houses, with a Key for landing all manner of Goods, all Freehold in Sunderland, of the yearly value of 40 l.'.[115] Another ship owner, 'John Peirson, late of Sunderland by the Sea, Coal Fitter, deceased, died seised of several Houses and Keys, or Wharf, in Sunderland'.[116] Houses in Sunderland were also owned by those with property in land, such as Mr. Andrew Ayres with freehold land to the value of £28 10s. a year at 'Hetton in the Hole', to the south of Sunderland, and 'Also, several Houses in Sunderland by the Sea, well situated for the high and low Street; now in the possession of Mr. Andrew Ayres and his Tenants; of yearly value of about 60 l.'.[117] Owners of houses in Sunderland were also occasionally resident in Newcastle, such as Dr. Richard Huntley, whose widow had

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[111] *Newcastle Courant* 11 July 10 1725.
[112] *Newcastle Courant* 153 March 30 1728 & 216 June 14 1729.
[113] *Newcastle Courant* 147 April 13 1723.
[114] *Newcastle Courant* 137 December 9 1727.
[115] *Newcastle Courant* 218 August 22 1724.
[116] *Newcastle Courant* 240 November 29 1729.
[117] *Newcastle Courant* 132 November 4 1727.

to sell his houses in the Low Street 'valued at about £54 per annum' to pay his debts.[118] Property speculation was part of the web of debt and credit that bound together the eighteenth century economy and society, but it was not without risk: a bankruptcy commission auctioned 'all the Houses in Sunderland' lately belonging to Peter Hodshon, Butcher.[119] Women, usually widows, also disposed of houses in Sunderland; Mrs. Hannah Weardale sold 'several Freehold Houses, most new built, with a Key or Landing fit for a Ship Carpenter' in the Low Street and several Houses in the High Street in 1729.[120]

The range of property for sale in Sunderland included 'A very good Apothecary's Shop'[121] and a 'Carpenter's Key or Landing adjoining on the high Ferry-Boat'.[122] There was also 'A Messuage call'd the Customhouse contiguous to the Custom-Office near the End of the Low Street'.[123] 'A Good Dwelling House' in the Low Street had commercial potential, being 'fit for a publick or private Family'.[124] By the late 1720s the street frontage plots must have been nearly entirely built up and building land was offered for sale behind the market place[125] and 'waste Ground' behind houses in the High Street was advertised as 'fit to build Houses upon' in 1729.[126]

Housing along the Tyne and Wear

Between the main centres of the Tyne and Wear, Newcastle and Sunderland, an 'industrial agglomeration' developed across what had been predominantly rural parishes in 1600, over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Properties advertised with collieries on them, were surprisingly sparse in the newspapers. The high

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118*Newcastle Courant* 197 February 1 1728-9 & 250 February 7 1729-30.
119*Newcastle Courant* 79 October 29 1726.
120*Newcastle Courant* 223 August 2 1729.
121*Newcastle Courant* 107 May 13 1727.
122*Newcastle Courant* 123 September 2 1727.
123*Newcastle Courant* 41 February 5 1725-6.
124*Newcastle Courant* 238 November 15 1729.
125*Newcastle Courant* 78 October 22 1726.
126*Newcastle Courant* 229 September 13 1729.

capital investment required for coal mining had already established in the seventeenth century a practice of shared-ownership and only the great merchants and greater gentry were serious players.[127] This small group evidently did not need to use the newspapers to notify each other of mines for sale, and given the relatively short working life of most collieries few working mines would have been sold. One exception is the 'Town Moor Colliery' on the edge of Newcastle, and owned by Newcastle Corporation, advertised in 1724, along with 'Tudhoe Township Colliery' for sale or let 'many hundred acres and several seams'.[128] The latter was in the land-sale mining district (in Brancepeth parish, south of Durham). Tudhoe and Newcastle Town Moor collieries were at either end of the coal field, and in separate ownership (enquiries were directed to the Guildhall in Newcastle and for Tudhoe to Mrs. Elizabeth Trollop in Durham). The appearance of both collieries in the same advert, implies that coal mines were dealt with by specialist property agents. Those collieries advertised made no mention of housing.

The coal industry spawned a varied industrial economy, with glass-making and salt-pans utilising coal unfit for transport to London. The salt-pans constituted a large industry but were owned and operated on a smaller scale than the coal mines. Sixteen adverts for salt-pans, held in numbers from one or two to a dozen, appeared in the 1720s from South and North Shields. Twelve of these sixteen adverts involved female ownership. This may simply document widows selling up, such as 'A Very good Salt Pan belonging to Mary Southern Widow, with a very good Granary', in South Shields.[129] Alternatively, salt-pans provided an investment on which to sustain a genteel rentier living. In August 1724 Mrs. Mary Roddam and Mrs. Winifred Roddam, living 'at their Mansion-House at Chirton near North Shields' sought to sell their salt-pans 'commonly

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[127] Wrightson & Levine 1991.
[128] *Newcastle Courant* 216 August 8 1724.
[129] *Newcastle Courant* 84 January 27 1722.

called the Ten Pans' in North Shields.[130] In January 1728 the Mrs Roddams were again advertising 'The Ten Pans', having moved to Newcastle and the Mansion-House at East Chirton was also for sale. 'Note There is a Lease of the Pans for four years from Christmas last, at the yearly Rent of £150.'[131] The 'Ten Pans' was a substantial enterprise: 'with Salters Houses, and all conveniencies with Salt Works used, and Liberty for laying of Pan Rubbish on grounds adjacent, a Steward's House, and smith's shop there; also some Houses standing together' all freehold at the Half-Moon Bank in North Shields. In both 1724 and 1728 the property was advertised by Mr. Mark Browell their Solicitor in Newcastle, though other salt-pan enterprises were advertised by attorneys in North and South Shields: such as Mr. Richard Harrison Attorney at Law of South Shields[132] and Mr. Robert Loadsman Attorney at Law in North Shields.[133]

The salt-pan adverts provide our clearest evidence for workers housing. Tied housing was evidently routinely provided for salt pan workers, and this housing may have been more substantial than the 'hovels' erected for the highly mobile coal mining workforce. Widow Crisp sold 'ONE Salt Pann, with the Salter's Houses, and several other Dwelling houses' in North Shields.[134] The presence of additional housing to the workers and managerial 'Steward's house' in several adverts, may indicate property speculation by the salt-pan owners, to house the growing population of Shields. Social differentiation in the houses advertised with the salt pans is clear; the owners dwelt in a 'mansion house' or 'seat house' and the steward was better accommodated than the workers. Mrs. Johnson, in Durham, advertised 'Six Salt-Pans at South Shields, with a Mansion-House, and other Houses'.[135] Mrs. Jane Shipperdson of South Shields had 'Six

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[130]*Newcastle Courant* 216 August 8 1724.
[131]*Newcastle Courant* 142 January 13 1727-8.
[132]*Newcastle Courant* 145 February 3 1727-8.
[133] *Newcastle Courant* 52 April 23 1726.
[134]*Newcastle Courant* 180 October 5 1728.
[135]*Newcastle Courant* 159 July 6 1723.

Salt-Pans, with several Tenants-Houses and Seat-house'.[136] In North Shields Mrs. Elizabeth Emmerson, living at her house in Pilgrim Street in Newcastle, had 'To be SOLD, between this and Christmas next, A Good House, with two Salt Pans, Graineries and Salters Houses.[137] Mrs. Margaret Moore sold 'THE Seat-House of two salt-Pans at the upper End of South Shields'.[138] Terraced workers housing is also recorded at South Shields: 'A Row or Onset of Houses, at the East End of South Shields'[139]

Most of the salt-pans and housing were apparently freehold though 'ONE SALT Pan and several Houses in North-Shields' were 'held by Lease under his Grace the Duke of Somerset, newly renewed' by Widow Crissip.[140] Although the salt-pan properties might be advertised for several years, suggesting a sluggish market, there was demand as far afield as London:

> 'ANY Person that has Two, Three or Four Salt Pans to be Leased or Sold; Let them repair to Mr. John White, Printer, Newcastle, Mr. John Clark, of Sunderland or to Mr. Thomas White at the Crown and Lamp in Tully-Street, Southwalk, London, who is the person to be treated with. N.B. His stay in these Parts will be about a week from the Date of this Paper. And any Person that has Land commodious for the Building of a Salt Pan, or Pans thereon, he will be willing to receive their Proposals either for a Lease or the Sale thereof.'[141]

Available land and access to the river were not the only requirements for erecting salt-pans; the disposal of their waste product was a real problem and the pollution of agricultural land brought litigation in Durham's Chancery court.[142] The property adverts

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[136]*Newcastle Courant* 244 February 20 1724-5.
[137]*Newcastle Courant* 134 November 18 1727.
[138]*Newcastle Courant* 145 February 3 1727-8.
[139]*Newcastle Courant* 213 May 24 1729.
[140]*Newcastle Courant* 141 January 6 1727-8.
[141]*Newcastle Courant* 190 December 14 1728.
[142]Knight nd: 423-424.

stressed any waste-disposal facility: 'FIVE Salt Panns at South Shields' were advertised 'with Rubbish Room above Bank'.[143]

South Shields was not entirely grim, and diversion was provided by bowling greens. One advert listed 'A Great many Tenements, with Coble-landings convenient for the Fishery, a Muck-Key, two gardens, a Bowling-Green, [...] all at the lower End of South Shields'.[144] As is apparent from the 'mansion houses' sold with the salt pans, those who profited from industrialisation enjoyed comfortable housing. In Whickham, Wrightson and Levine noted the increasing residence in Whickham town of the genteel beneficiaries of the coal trade.[145] Such as 'a very good Dwelling House, containing eight Fire Rooms, four Garrets, with a Garden, Stable, Brew-House, Cellar, Stack-yard, Barn and Backside, with three other Tenant Houses, all freehold' in Whickham.[146] In neighbouring Ryton, 'AT Greenside, a convenient Dwelling House' was advertised 'consisting of 8 good Fire-Rooms, three Rooms on a Floor, two Stories High, besides Garrets, with a Court before the Door, and good Gardens, very commodious for a Gentleman's Family'.[147] The same house was separately advertised as 'fit for any Person that desires to live Private, and in good Air, or for a Tradesman's Country-house'.[148]

Market towns

Adverts for houses in the smaller towns of Northumberland, County Durham and north Yorkshire, regularly featured in the *Newcastle Courant*. The houses in these towns were either part of commercial businesses, or advertised for sale or lease as dwelling-houses. Many of these were of sufficient status to be advertised as appropriate to

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[143] *Newcastle Courant* 232 October 4 1729, & also in *Newcastle Courant* 20 September 11 1725.
[144] *Newcastle Courant* 229 November 7 1724; *Newcastle Courant* 20 September 11 1725, another was advertised with a malting, house and two good gardens.
[145] Wrightson & Levine 1991: 238-9.
[146] *Newcastle Courant* 250 February 7 1729-30.
[147] *Newcastle Courant* 245 January 3 1729-30.
[148] *Newcastle Courant* 124 September 9 1727.

a gentleman's family. At Bishop Auckland, 'A Good convenient Capital Messuage or Mansion-House, containing 12 handsome Rooms, with fire Places in each Room, fit for a Gentleman and family to live in, pleasantly scituated, Flat roof'd' was advertised for sale.[149] Somewhat smaller houses also qualified as suitable for those defining themselves as genteel: 'A Good House in Sedgefield, fit for a Gentleman's Family, three Rooms on a Floor, with Clossets, a good Garden, stables, and all Conveniencies belonging thereunto' ... ' furnish'd or unfurnish'd'[150] Such houses appear to have been little different from the gentlemen's seats advertised for rent in the countryside (see below). Other houses were of more ambiguous status: 'A Large Dwelling-house [for sale] in Yarm, in the county of York, with Ware-House, Granaries, Stable, Garden and Orchard, fit either for a Gentleman or Tradesman'.[151] These adverts amplify the picture of fluidity in the definition of gentility, and what grade of house was defined as appropriate to a gentleman, in the early eighteenth century.[152]

Housing demand was not sufficient for all larger houses to be inhabited by one family. 'A very good House in Hexham', was for sale as one house, 'but may be very conveniently inhabited by two Families'.[153] Renting rooms was one way of generating income from a large house, as at Morpeth where a house 'with the following Conveniencies, viz. a large Hall, Kitchin and Parlour, with a handsome Dining Room [and] 6 Lodging-Rooms'.[154] The presence of lodgings and gentry houses in the larger market towns of County Durham and Northumberland indicate a range of housing comparable to that of Newcastle and Durham (discussed in Chapter Eight). Conversely, the dwelling houses described differ little from their rural counterparts. If anything defines

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[149] *Newcastle Courant* 8 June 19 1725.
[150] *Newcastle Courant* 253 April 17 1725.
[151] *Newcastle Courant* 183 December 21 1723.
[152] Corfield 1996.
[153] *Newcastle Courant* 8 June 19 1725.
[154] *Newcastle Courant* 177 November 9 1723.

these houses as urban it is their greater propensity to be associated to commercial premises. Even inns could be advertised as houses: such as, the 'House, known by the Sign of the Ship, in Yarm, Yorkshire', which boasted 'a new built Cock-pit after the best Manner'.[155]

Tenants' housing on farms

The property market in farms, and land, dominated the newspaper adverts. There is a distinction between farms advertised to let for tenants, and farms advertised for sale to landlord investors. Contemporaries were aware that land changed hands remarkably frequently, but the importance of landed property to power and privilege, promoted the myth of longevity in land-holding. Both tenants and landlords changed their holdings with greater frequency than a belief in a static, slow-changing, countryside would imply.[156] Commercialised agriculture, and higher rents, required good quality tenants,[157] and good quality buildings were evidently intended to attract good tenants. At least on those estates where farm tenancies were advertised in the press, the rebuilding of farms and farm buildings was already underway in the early eighteenth century. A 300 acre farm at Newton by the Sea, near Alnwick, was advertised for a tenant: 'the owner will oblige himself to build new Barns, Byars and Farm-house, in the most convenient Place of the Farm'.[158] At Eppleton, in County Durham, a grass farm 'fit for Breeding, Feeding or Dairy', 'The Buildings are all new, and well fitted up for all Conveniencies for a Farmer'.[159] Rebuilt farmsteads, in conjunction with an emphasis on enclosure, suggest that ring fence farms in 'isolated' locations (away from the nucleated village) were present in the early eighteenth century, whereas their presence on estate maps is not usually

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155 *Newcastle Courant* 219 July 5 1729.
156 Langford 1994: 329-30, quoting 330.
157 Langford 1994: 38-39, & see Stones 1984.
158 *Newcastle Courant* 175 August 31 1728.
159 *Newcastle Courant* 230 November 14 1724.

documented till the later eighteenth century.[160] For instance, 'A very good Farm, near Great Barrington', in Northumberland, 'called Clay Walls (now in the tenure or Occupation of Jeffrey Robson) with a good Dwelling-House, Barns, Byers, and Stables in the middle of the Ground'; 'all inclosed'.[161] These adverts show that the rebuilding of tenant farms by landlords in the north-east, occurred prior to the better known planned farms and 'cottage ornée' of the later eighteenth century. The tone of the adverts imply that we are witnessing the start of this tenant farm rebuilding, in the 1720s. A 'Farm of Land, 236 acres of Meadow, arable and Pasture', to let 'at Ashington, near Morpeth' had 'a large Hall-House', referring to the older type of house, rebuilt in the seventeenth century, but 'N.B. There are two new Barns, a large Stable, a Byar, built this last summer'.[162]

Farm adverts regularly emphasised the proximity of limestone and coal, illuminating the inter-dependence of agriculture and industry in the north-east. The stress on proximity to markets, underscores the fact that advertised farms were commercial enterprises. For instance, a farm at Heighington in County Durham, 'extraordinary well water'd and fenced, lies in a Healthful country, and well situated betwixt two good market towns, viz. Darlington and Bishop Auckland'.[163] Farms also included workers' housing. At 'Cross-Fines, nigh Houghton-le-Spring', the farm was 'well hedg'd, with a dwelling-house thereon, and all Out houses convenient', and the workers lived in tied houses in the village: 'six Cottage Houses in good Repair in Houghton aforesaid'.[164] It is unclear how many farms provided tied housing, and whether the quality of housing attracted varying qualities of worker, but the cost of repair was a factor for some. Farm houses themselves, were often advertised as 'in Tenantable Repair'.

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[160]Morin nd: 217-263.
[161]*Newcastle Courant* 131 October 28 1727.
[162]*Newcastle Courant* 136 January 26 1722-23; see Chapter Five, for definition of 'hall-house'.
[163]*Newcastle Courant* 214 May 31 1728.
[164]*Newcastle Courant* 241 January 30 1724-5.

Gentleman's seats

Adverts for 'gentlemen's seats' connotate the contemporary ideal of landed life, in rural retreat: At Hurworth, near Darlington, 'The Seat House is pleasantly seated on the River Tees, and the Ground lies all Contiguos thereunto, in a fine Country for Fishing, Fowling, Hunting, and all other Diversions'.[165] However, gentlemen's seats were often advertised separately from land. Land was more often a commercial investment than the setting for a seat-house, and landed estates were advertised separately for sale to investors. Genteel houses were often advertised with only a minimal amount of land, for gardens and grazing. Moreover, this class of housing was often advertised to rent rather than buy. For instance, 'To be LET, A Good convenient Mansion-house, fit for a Gentleman's Family, with Stables, Coach-house, a Dove-coat, good Gardens and Orchards, and with divers Closes of Meadow and pasture Grounds, belonging to the same, at Helperly, County of York, pleasantly situated for Hunting, Fishing and other Diversions; and lies within 12 miles York [...] in good Repair'.[166] Hunting and fishing were the selling points, but this house did not provide a landed estate, although it constituted genteel living. In other cases, a farm might provide the potential for a gentleman's seat, without amounting to an extensive landed estate. Such as, 'A FARM, call'd, The Oak Wood, 330 acres, near the River Tine, and Town of Hexham, in Northumberland, pleasantly situated for a Seat'.[167] Or, 'A Farm of Freehold Land, lying below Easington near the sea, in County Durham, called Beacon Hill, with an extraordinary Seat House, fit for any Gentleman's Seat, with a very fair Prospect o'er to the Sea...'.[168] The appreciation of sea views was not limited to gentlemen's seats, as a

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165 *Newcastle Courant* 180 November 30 1723.
166 *Newcastle Courant* 5 May 29 1725.
167 *Newcastle Courant* 241 January 30 1724-5.
168 *Newcastle Courant* 204 May 16 1724.

tenant farm, worth only £20 per year, at Easington was advertised 'with a fine Prospect of the Sea'.[169]

The letting of a seat house was regarded as a distinct form of property to the commercial investment of a farm. In 1723, 'the Rev. Mr. Edward Shanks, Vicar of Lesbury and Shilbottle, hath obtained a Promise of Non-Residence, for Reasons to him the said Vicar best known'. Shanks advertised the vicarage 'a pleasant Vicaridge-house' with, 'Dove-Coat, Garden, Stable, Byer, Brew-house, etc.', as 'a pleasant Country Seat', separate from the 'profitable Farm' also to let.[170] A gentleman's seat, particularly the class of house which might be rented, evidently did not require land for genteel status. 'A Very good House at Blackwell nigh Darlington' with all 'Conveniencies fit for a private Gentleman' was advertised to let with option on a few fields: 'Note, The House may be taken either alone or with the land'.[171] Gardens were apparently more significant as a selling point, and may have been valued as giving the impression of greater land-holding. 'To be LETT ready Furnished, Heburne Hall and the Gardens which are now in their Prime' ... 'Also several Meadow and Pasture Fields, with or without the said House'. Outhouses were a requirement for a genteel lifestyle, notably the provision of stables and coach-houses, Heburne Hall had 'Coach-houses, and other Conveniencies, in good Repair, fit for a Gentleman'.[172] The stress on coaches and horses emphasises the importance of mobility to those who sought a gentleman's seat, to buy or rent, with or without land. We can also detect a degree of sensitivity to the industrialised landscape of Tyneside, and a desire to live in an unpolluted atmosphere. For Heburne Hall, again: 'N.B. It is scituate in a good Air, four Miles below Newcastle, 3 miles from Shields, and half a miles south of the River Tyne, whereis a convenient Key for landing and shipping of

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169 *Newcastle Courant* 19 September 4 1725.
170 *Newcastle Courant* 148 April 20 1723.
171 *Newcastle Courant* 22 September 25 1725.
172 *Newcastle Courant* 77 October 15 1726.

Goods, to or from Newcastle or London.'[173] Direct access to shipped goods from London underscores the importance of Tyne-side's maritime links to the metropolis.

Gentlemen's seats were not the preserve of the gentry. In the early eighteenth century the status of gentleman was becoming more fluid, and merchants, professions and tradesmen could be expected to purchase gentlemen's seats in the vicinity of Durham and Newcastle. I have already noted the instance of a 'tradesman's country-house' advertised for sale in Ryton parish.[174] Merchants and tradesmen may have taken these houses at the peak of their careers, and commuted to their business interests in Newcastle, Durham or the coal field. This parallels the development of sub-urban style living around London at the same period, with the same upper middling commercial groups occupying commuter houses in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[175] The issue of relative residency between town and country will be addressed in Chapter Eight.

Rented houses, such as the 'late Mrs. Shipperdson's deceased, at Pittington, under two miles Durham' and 'at a very reasonable Rent', were often advertised 'furnished or unfurnished'.[176] The experience of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu renting a house in Yorkshire in 1713 illustrates the minimal furnishings of rented houses. Lady Mary looked for a house, from York, while her husband was in Newcastle on coal business. Half a dozen houses were available, among them two furnished houses, one near Sheffield and another near York.[177] Wortley was prepared to pay £800 per annum, and reserved the right to complain if the house or furniture turned out badly. Lady Mary wrote to Wortley on 7 August 1713, from York 'I am of your opinion that the objections to Mr. Barlow's

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[173]*Newcastle Courant* 77 October 15 1726.
[174]*Newcastle Courant* 124 September 9 1727.
[175]Stone 1986: 286-88 & Earle 1989: 152-57.
[176]*Newcastle Courant* 222 July 26 1729.
[177]quotes in this paragraph are from Paston 1907: 176-180 & Halsband 1965: I, 29; II, 91, 161 & 169; Grundy 1999: 66-74, 66 n.35, 'the houses were Bramley Grange, Attercliffe Hall, Car House, Pule Hill Hall, Dodworth (all near Wortley) and Middlethorpe Hall, or possibly a house in York'.

house [the house at Middlethorpe, which they were to occupy for eighteenth months] are not very material. As to the want of Iron bars, it will give me no apprehensions in a house where I know there is nothing to be stole but chairs and stools.' The Wortleys shipped their own furniture by sea and river from London. Lady Mary was persuaded that "tis better to buy what is wanting in the Kitchen and sell it again, than hire, and I may do it with less loss.' Although she was advised that they could hire 'pewter plates at 2/6 a dozen for four months [...], and then you have plates hired for 5/- and other pewter at the rate of a penny per pound, but we are like to have a good deal of trouble to get Brazerie'. Renting houses was no easy business in the early eighteenth century. The newspaper adverts indicate a surprisingly active market in short-term lets of gentlemen's seats, which were advertised with only the minimum accoutrements of genteel living.

Conclusion

The property market was the commercial context to housing, and pivotal to property relations, social relations and regionality. Renting property was a predominant feature of middling and elite life in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Economic historians have demonstrated that the importance of property in land and housing for the national economy was far more significant in our period than in the nineteenth century.[178] Rents from housing were so important because most people rented rather than owned their own home.[179] The property adverts demonstrate that not only were farms and middling houses rented, but also the town and country houses of professionals, merchants and gentry. These adverts also indicate that all social groups moved house more frequently than has sometimes been imagined. In conjunction with the prevalence of

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[178]Deane & Cole 1967: 241, 251 n.3 & 301, estimate 27% of national income was derived from rents from land and housing in 1688 (lands £10m.; housing about £2m. and all other hereditaments about £1m.), falling to 20% by 1801.
[179]see Sweet 1999: 183.

renting houses rather than home-ownership, there was a class of property owners whose principle income was derived from house rents. These included retired tradesmen and unmarried or widowed women.[180] The practice of rentier living was clearly established in the early eighteenth century north-east. In the *Newcastle Courant*, occasionally two women together, often resident in the genteel streets of Durham and Newcastle, advertised property (including land and salt pans) to let, and many urban properties were let by middling sort tradesmen or their widows.

The property market in the press, with attorneys as agents, emerged alongside the expansion of both print culture and the legal profession during the seventeenth century, and expanded dramatically in the eighteenth century in line with broader commercialisation.[181] Buying and leasing houses was an integral part of this commercialised economy, and property transactions were particularly suited to maximising the potential market of buyers or tenants. Property adverts were the largest category of newspaper adverts in the eighteenth century, although the need to frequently repeat property adverts in the press is testimony to the limitations of the housing market. Whereas other parts of England appear to have experienced the greatest expansion of advertised property in the mid-eighteenth century, the Newcastle newspapers carried an unusually early, and extensive, property market in the press. Distance from London, and its newspapers, and the presence of a concentrated legal profession in the north-east which specialised as property agents in line with a decline in litigation, partly explain this. The vigour of the regional economy and a broad range of propertied social groups engaged in commercial practices, explain the degree of participation in the advertised property market. Chapter Ten will return to the implications of the property market for the frequency with which people moved house, and the motivations for doing so. First,

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[180]Shoemaker 1998: 113-122.
[181]Ferdinand 1997: 182-193.

evidence for housing in the property adverts from Durham and Newcastle is discussed in the next chapter, as part of a broader analysis of housing in the urban centres of the region, during the entire study period.

Chapter Eight: Durham and Newcastle Houses

Housing conditions in Durham and Newcastle are analysed in this chapter; serving as an in depth study of the themes associated to housing, developed for the region in preceding chapters. The social topography of each town is established from the Hearth Tax, and via a thick description of the property adverts. By investigating architectural change in the urban centres of north-east England, I also address the issue of urban and rural difference in houses.

Durham and Newcastle as Places

Newcastle was the fourth largest town in England, with a population of 10,000 in the mid-sixteenth century, and with Gateshead of 16,000 in the 1660s, nearly doubling to around 29,000 in the mid-eighteenth century.[1] Durham was a small cathedral city, with a population of 3-4,000 in the sixteenth century, possibly declining to 2-3,000 by 1635 and not much more than 3,000 by 1700, and 4,500 in the mid-eighteenth century.[2] These population estimates make explicit the difference in place, and scale, between Durham and Newcastle. Yet, Newcastle and Durham were strongly linked within their regional context, as defined in Chapter Two.

Within the north-east region which they partly defined, Newcastle and Durham fulfilled roles analogous to London. Sir William Brereton wrote of Newcastle in 1635, that 'This towne, unto this countrye, serves in steade of London: by means whereof the countrye is supplyed with money: whereas otherwise: soe much money is carried out of the countrye to the lords: and land-lords: as there would bee neither sufficient money to pay the tenants rents: nor would the countrye be supplyed with moneye'.[3] While Newcastle's position in its region was analogous to the city of London, Durham was

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[1]Howell 1967: 1; Ellis 1984: 192-194; Woodward 1995: 8.
[2]James 1974: 11; Roberts 1994: 21 & 87; Woodward 1995: 8.
[3]North Country Diaries I 1915: 19.

something more like the city of Westminster, with its court and social season. John Aston wrote of Durham in 1639, that 'In this towne are much gentry, it beeing the London (as it were) of those north parts, which extend as farre as Barwick'[4]

Visitors saw the prosperity manifest in buildings: Newcastle was described in 1633 'beyond all compare the fairest and richest town in England, inferior for wealth and building to no city save London and Bristol'.[5] Celia Fiennes visiting Newcastle in 1698, described it as 'a noble town ... it most resembles London of any place in England, its buildings lofty and large of brick mostly or stone'. Characteristically, Fiennes was equally pleased by Durham's urban landscape: "I must say of the whole city of Durham it's the noblest - clean and pleasant buildings, streets large, well pitched".[6]

The Social Topography of Houses in Newcastle

Before analysing the Hearth Tax records it is salutary to recall the reality of under-recording, stressed in Chapter Three. Newcastle had experience in 1666 of fierce opposition to collection of the Hearth Tax by the poorer inhabitants, only diffused when the Mayor intervened after collectors were stoned and driven out by Sandgate residents; the Mayor declared that only those willing to pay would be collected from.[7]

Comparing the aggregate proportions of households for Durham, Newcastle and York, illuminates the distinctive balance of housing in the main north-east towns. Thirty per cent of York households had one hearth; 22% had two hearths, while the top 4% dwelt in houses with over ten hearths.[8] In Newcastle, 62% had one hearth; 13% two hearths, and 0.01% over ten hearths. The industry of Newcastle produced a predominant

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[4]North Country Diaries II 1910: 7.
[5]Ayris 1997: 22, citing quote in Wilkes 1971: 109.
[6]Morris ed. 1995: 176 & 179.
[7]Smith 1978: 88-89.
[8]Hibbard in Alldridge 1983: 59-83.

population of single hearth entries (a proportion of which refer to lodgers),[9] and the town lacked a strong gentry element, which the merchants fail to compensate for in house size. In Durham, 51% had one hearth; 13% two hearth, and 4% over ten hearths. In 1674, only forty-eight of Durham's one hundred and twenty three single-hearth households were non-solvent. York and Durham as county gentry centres have the same proportion of larger houses. The exemption figures fit the pattern; York in 1672 had 20% exempt, and Durham in 1674 had 27% (higher, as it is in single hearth households), while Newcastle is of a different order with 43% exempt in 1665. This compares with the 40% recorded for Norwich and Exeter, representing larger towns with a more diverse economy.

The 1665 Newcastle Hearth Tax records 2,510 householders, of which 1,472 were liable to pay.[10] Large houses and low exemption rates were found towards the centre of the town.[11] Langton calculated that the Company of Hostmen, the most powerful and wealthy merchant group (controlling the coal trade), had on average 5.7 hearths per house compared to 4.3 for other merchants (both lower than the merchant average for York).[12] Those Hostmen who held the office of mayor and governor averaged 8.4 hearths per house - closer to the gentry community in York. Langton found marked tendencies towards occupational concentrations, particularly in the service trades, and especially for the Barber Surgeons. These groupings were cross-cut by wealth levels across occupations, such that the core areas of the wealthier trades contained their wealthiest practitioners, but also included wealthy individuals from generally less prosperous trades. As in York, retailing trades had larger houses than manufacturing crafts.

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[9]Husbands nd: 112.
[10]PRO E 179/158/109; the 1674 exchequer returns for Newcastle are too damaged to allow comparison of Newcastle with County Durham for the same year (PRO E 179/254/21 Newcastle 1674 1,000 names; ms. faded & illeg.).
[11]Husbands nd: 373.
[12]Langton 1975; Hibbard in Alldridge 1983: 59-83.

NEWCASTLE HEARTH TAX IN 1665*													
	1 HEARTH	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	<12
CLOSEGATE WARD	23	9	8	8	7	1	3	0	2	0	2	0	[13][13[17]
WHITE FRIAR WARD	29	7	4	5	6	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	[15]
DENTON or NEVILLE TOWER WARD	39	19	6	3	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	[17]
WEST SPITAL WARD	3	14	7	8	3	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	
STANK TOWER WARD	7	3	5	8	2	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	
GUNNER TOWER WARD	10	9	9	3	4	3	1	0	1	2	0	0	[16]
PINK TOWER WARD	0	0	2	7	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	0	[13][14]
WESTGATE WARD	13	16	2	5	3	2	1	4	0	0	0	1	[14]
DURHAM TOWER WARD	19	10	1	2	6	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	
HERBER TOWER WARD	23	8	6	3	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	
MORDON TOWER WARD	22	19	8	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
EVER TOWER WARD	24	9	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ANDREW TOWER WARD	20	15	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
NEWGATE WARD	4	7	2	7	3	4	1	1	0	2	0	1	
BERTRAM MONBOUCHER T'R W'RD	7	6	4	6	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	[14]
FICKET TOWER WARD	7	2	4	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
PILGRIM TOWER WARD	49	24	11	11	7	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	
CARLIOL TOWER WARD	32	15	10	5	3	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	
PLUMMER TOWER WARD	16	27	15	9	4	6	2	0	1	0	0	0	
AUSTIN TOWER WARD	27	19	16	25	11	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	
CORNER TOWER WARD	8	2	9	10	4	5	2	2	2	0	1	0	
PANDON TOWER WARD	33	25	10	14	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	
WALL KNOLL TOWER WARD	51	32	13	14	9	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	
SANDGATE WARD	62	36	20	6	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
TOTALS	528	333	180	169	98	68	26	18	11	9	9	4	10
* Publ. in Welford, R. 'Newcastle Householders in 1665' Archaeologia Aeliana (3), vol VII 1911: 49-76													

NEWCASTLE HEARTH TAX IN 1665*				
	ILLEGIBLE	LIABLE	EXEMPT	TOTAL
CLOSEGATE WARD	0	66	10	76
WHITE FRIAR WARD	0	59	11	70
DENTON or NEVILLE TOWER WARD	0	75	32	107
WEST SPITAL WARD	0	40	16	56
STANK TOWER WARD	0	33	4	37
GUNNER TOWER WARD	0	43	2	45
PINK TOWER WARD	0	30	0	30
WESTGATE WARD	1	49	20	69
DURHAM TOWER WARD	1	43	36	79
HERBER TOWER WARD	0	47	12	59
MORDON TOWER WARD	0	54	12	66
EVER TOWER WARD	0	38	58	96
ANDREW TOWER WARD	0	41	45	86
NEWGATE WARD	0	32		32
BERTRAM MONBOUCHER T'R W'RD	0	30	6	36
FICKET TOWER WARD	0	18	31	49
PILGRIM TOWER WARD	0	108	46	154
CARLIOL TOWER WARD	0	70	35	105
PLUMMER TOWER WARD	0	80	14	94
AUSTIN TOWER WARD	3	109	9	118
CORNER TOWER WARD	1	47		47
PANDON TOWER WARD	3	99	33	132
WALL KNOLL TOWER WARD	0	127	96	223
SANDGATE WARD	0	134	510	644
TOTALS	9	1472	1038	2510

The 1665 Hearth Tax assessment (Table 8:1)[13] shows that the largest houses in Newcastle were in the Close, Sandhill, Westgate and Pilgrim Street. Large houses and low exemption rates were found in the centre of the town. The most populous and poorest area was Sandgate, where 510 out of 644 householders (over a quarter of the town) escaped duty. The highest number of hearths recorded in Newcastle in 1665 was seventeen, which two houses scored: Mr Thomas Errington, in Denton or Neville Tower Ward, and Sir John Marley, in Close Gate Ward.[14] Langton shows that the Hostmen and mayors (averaging 5.7 and 8.4 hearths respectively) occupied houses in Pink Tower Ward near the Guildhall and Quayside, but also up Pilgrim Street in Pilgrim Tower Ward. Bakers and mariners had just over three hearths. Barber surgeons and Joiners had 2.5, Cordwainers 2.4, Weavers 2.2. Shipwrights, Butchers, Coopers, Tailors and Tanners had two hearths per household on average. Housecarpenters and Blacksmiths had around 1.5.[15]

Among the Hearth Tax assessments sent to the exchequer, survives 'An account of the removal of Tenantes with the Increase and decrease of Fire hearths in the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne for ye year ending Michaelmas 1671'. The 1670-1 amended assessment includes information for some 330 named occupants, divided by ward, involving 183 properties with either a change in occupancy or a change in the number of hearths assessed.[16] 'Removal of Tenantes' refers to changes in occupancy, and relates to the complex social history of individuals leasing property from freehold owners (often institutional or large lay estates) and sub-letting to tenants. The 1670-1 assessment captures for one year the innumerable shifts in tenancies and house rebuilding which went on in a large town like Newcastle.

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[13]Welford 1911: 49-76, Newcastle 1665 Hearth Tax Assessment transcript.
[14]Smith 1978.
[15]Langton 1978.5
[16]PRO E179 index estimates 150 names; in fact 183 entries involving about 336 names.

Table 8.2 Newcastle Hearth Tax Alterations in Assessment 1670-1[17]

WARD	Liable & (exempt) 1665	No. of households 1670-1 (% of 1665 liable)	Changes in occupancy 1670-1 (% change 1665 liable)	Changes to hearth nos 1670-1
Bertram M'onboucher	30 (6)	4 (13.3%)	4 (13.1%)	no change
Newgate Ward	32 (-)	7 (21.9%)	7 (27.9%)	no change
Durham Ward	43 (36)	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.3%)	no change
Gunner Ward	43 (2)	7 (16.3%)	7 (16.3%)	no change
Carlisle Ward	70 (35)	4 (5.7%)	2 (2.9%)	2 decayed, 1 erected
Plumber Ward	80 (14)	3 (3.8%)	2 (2.5%)	1 decayed , 1 erected
Corner Tower	47 (-)	9 (19.2%)	6 (12.8%)	6 burnt, 5 erected
Pilgrim Ward	108 (46)	17 (15.7%)	11 (10.2%)	2 demolished, 4 erected
Pincke Ward	30 (0)	0	0	no change
Mordon Ward	54 (12)	7 (13%)	6 (11.1%)	3 erected
Stanke Ward	33 (4)	5 (15.2%)	4 (12.1%)	1 erected
Walknowell Ward	127 (96)	6 (4.7%)	5 (3.9%)	6 erected
Pandon Ward	99 (33)	18 (18.2%)	13 (13.1%)	4 demolished, 2 erected
Closegate Ward	66 (10)	6 (9.1%)	5 (7.6%)	1 demolished
Whitefriarward	59 (11)	6 (10.2%)	5 (8.5%)	3 erected
Nevill Ward	75 (32)	21 (28%)	20 (26.7%)	2 erected
Westgate Ward	49 (20)	10 (20.4%)	9 (18.4%)	1 demolished (5 empty)
Herber Ward	47 (12)	3 (6.4%)	3 (6.4%)	no change
Fickett Ward	18 (31)	0	0	no change
Ever Ward	38 (58)	0	0	no change
Austin Ward	109 (9)	33 (30.3%)	32 (29.4%)	one demolished
Andrew Ward	41 (45)	0	0	no change
Sandgate Ward	134 (510)	16 (12%)	11 (8.2%)	2 demolished, 12 decayed, 7 erected
West Spital Ward	40 (16)	not mentioned 1670-1	-- --	[poss. incl. Pilgrim ward?]

[17]source: 1665 Newcastle assessment, Welford 1911; 1670-1 Newcastle alterations in assessment PRO E179/158/109

Table 8:2 shows the number of changes in occupancy (for householders rather than houses), and the alterations in hearth numbers, between 1670 and 1671, by ward. Totals for the wards are taken from the 1665 assessment, and the proportional change in occupancy (turnover of householders) is calculated from the number of changes in occupancy by ward for 1670-1 against the total number of liable householders (by ward) recorded in 1665.[18] The degree of under-recording is unknown. The percentage figure calculated against 1665 must be taken with a larger grain of salt; this cannot be a precise figure but does differentiate the relative rate of turnover in householders by ward. No full assessment for 1670 is available to provide a tighter calculation.[19]

For the year ending Michaelmas 1671, the total number of assessed hearths in Newcastle increased by thirty four, but decreased by thirty three. Apart from these amendments, the exchequer assumed all occupants and hearth numbers remained the same. According to the altered assessment, Newcastle only gained one extra hearth between 1670 and 1671. This does not reflect a low rate of rebuilding in the late seventeenth century, but indicates that the rate of new house building (and extension of existing houses) was almost entirely off set by the decay or demolition of older houses. Tax evasion may mask a real increase in house building, but the Hearth Tax is more likely to exclude poorer groups. What is striking about the 1670-1 assessment is the turnover of hearths in use.

The 1670-1 assesment distinguishes changes in occupancy from changes in hearth numbers. In four wards (Pink, Ficket, Andrew and Ever Tower Wards) there were no changes in occupancy and no hearth alterations recorded. In an additional five wards (Bertram Monboucher, Newgate, Durham, Gunner and Herber Tower Wards) there were

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[18]Twenty two wards appear in the 1670-1 Hearth Tax.; Hodgson 1812: 8, & Gray (1649) 1980: 78-9, refer to twenty four wards.

[19]PRO E179 index: PRO E179/158/101 Newcastle 1664 1,750 names, PRO E179/158/104 Newcastle 1666/7 2,000 names, PRO E 179/158/109 Newcastle Alterations in assessment 1670-1, 150 names, PRO E 179/254/21 Newcastle 1674 1,000 names (ms. faded & illeg.).

changes in occupancy but no changes in the number of hearths assessed. All nine of these wards involved 'noe alteration' in the number of assessed hearths by household, possibly relating to lower levels of rebuilding than elsewhere in the town. In Pink Tower Ward, this may be related to the predominantly commercial character of the area, and in the 1664-65 Hearth Tax only five out of thirty householders in the ward were not distinguished as 'master'.[20] In Plumber Tower Ward there was no change overall, with one hearth decayed but also one erected. In five wards (Carliol Tower, Corner Tower, Closegate, Westgate and Austin Tower Wards) the overall change in hearth ownership was down by one. The slight drop in assessed hearths in Corner Tower Ward was created by six of John Garstill's twelve hearths having 'burnt', whereas in the same ward Thomas Marlan 'erected' four hearths (increasing his assessment to eight) and Mr Clearke 'erected' one hearth in addition to the six he was assessed for previously. Pandon Tower Ward dropped by two hearths overall, as a result of four instances of hearths 'demolished'; three involved three hearth households being reduced to two hearths; the other involved Widow Jefferson reducing her hearths from eight to seven.

It is not clear that the Hearth Tax was a sufficient imposition to make the demolition of hearths an economic necessity. While some areas of housing were decaying (occupied by households who could not afford to support as many hearths as previous occupants), there was no corollary of recovery, with hearths once decayed now being put back into use. Whereas 'erected' relates to rebuilding (with the addition of a hearth to a previous assessment), the only two cases of 'new erected' refer to new building. In Pilgrim Tower Ward, Henry Jobling and Robert Andrew each appear in 1671 with one hearth, where none had been before.

Since the tax assessed households not individual houses, it is unclear where the 1670-1 assessment relates to individual houses or households in sub-divided houses.

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[20]Fraser & Emsley 1978: 117-129, 123.

Sub-division may have been most pronounced in the poorer parts of town; especially those areas that had once been occupied by higher status groups in substantial houses. Yet shared housing and sub-division, particularly in a period of population growth and life-cycle changes in accommodation, undoubtedly existed in all wards and at all social levels. The property adverts, discussed below, show that lodgings were occupied by high status individuals. The reverse problem of individuals in the Hearth Tax being assessed for hearths in more than one house, appears minimal in this assessment given the emphasis on changing tenants and the rare instances of owners being charged. Every case of altered hearth assessments not referring to changes in occupancy, which might relate to more than one building, all involve 'erected' hearths, and do not imply the simple purchase of additional property.

Sandgate Ward experienced the greatest alteration in hearths assessed, dropping by seven overall. Where Thomas Browne had been assessed for three, Widow Parke was assessed for two hearths, 'one demolished'. Ralph Wilson replaced Roger Jobling as tenant, and the hearth assessment fell from five to four, 'one demolished'. In addition to the downgrading of these properties, eight hearths were 'decayed' in the thirteen-hearth house owned by Thomas Otway.[21] Mr Jack Hensey's assessment fell from twelve hearths to ten, with 'two decayed'. Thomas Lawson's four hearth assessment 'decayed' to zero. This corroborates contemporary observers who described Sandgate as an area dominated by the lower middling sort and poor.[22] The two large hearth assessments (the thirteen owned by Otway, and twelve owned or leased by Mr Hensey), probably refer to large older houses, which had been of some status, now sub-divided as tenements and occupied by poorer social groups. These large houses decaying in Sandgate differ from the two largest households recorded in 1665 with seventeen hearths; Mr. Thomas Errington in

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[21]Otway taken to be the owner since he payed for the tenant.
[22]Gray (1649) 1980: 37; Hodgson 1812: 82.

Neville Tower Ward, and Sir John Marley in Close Gate Ward. Neither of these houses involved tenants or altered hearth numbers in 1670-1. Although a Mr. Thomas Errington assessed for four hearths in Mordon Tower Ward was replaced by Richard Turner in 1671.

The picture for Sandgate was not one of unremitting decay, and where William Lawson replaced Rowland Reid as occupant the hearth assessment rose from zero to a respectable four. This most probably relates to new building, rather than the new occupant raising the property above the exemption threshold. In other wards, the overall hearth ownership rose. Stanke Ward gained one hearth; Pilgrim and Nevill Tower Wards gained two; Mordon Tower Ward gained three, and Wall Knoll Tower Ward increased by six. Again, overall changes mask individual experiences. Pilgrim Ward had two instances of one hearth being 'demolished'. Widow Hickrongell halved her hearths from two to one, whereas William Johnson reduced his assessment from six to five. In two cases, one hearth was 'erected' adding to Alexander Hall's two, and William Robson's five.

In addition to the evidence from changing hearth assessments, and the explicit recording of altered occupancy, two 'empty' houses bear testimony to turnover in housing. Westgate Ward and Austin Tower Ward each contained a five hearth house recorded as 'empty'. Any distinction between upwardly and downwardly mobile changes in occupancy is probably anachronistic. While some wards had a disproportionate number of decayed hearths (most prominently Sandgate), and signal the declining status of the district, most people probably moved house horizontally in terms of status. Life-cycle and population mobility were far more significant to changes in occupancy than social mobility.

The 1670-1 assessment includes one-hundred-and-eighty-three entries, for either changes in occupancy or changes in hearth numbers; representing about 7% of all entries in the full assessment of 1665, and over 12% of the 1665 liable (the 1670-1 assessment does not list the exempt). Thus, over 10% of all (recorded) liable householders were

involved in either a change in occupancy or a change in hearth assessment. One-hundred-and-fifty-three of the one-hundred-and-eighty-three households mentioned in 1670-1, involved a change in occupancy (whether or not they also had an altered hearth assessment). Of the remaining thirty, two were empty, and twenty-eight households had an altered hearth assessment but no change in occupancy. A total of thirty eight householders had a change in hearth numbers, irrespective of changes in occupancy.[23]

Eleven householders involved both a change in occupancy and a change in hearth assessment. This implies a negative correlation between changes in occupancy and changes in hearth numbers; over two thirds of changes in hearth numbers involved no change in occupancy. Twenty entries had an increased hearth assessment, four of which involved a change in occupancy; but sixteen householders with increases in hearth assessment had no change in occupancy. In the majority of cases additions to householders' hearth assessments did not involve moving house, within the same year. Although one fifth, a significant minority, of increased hearth assessments did involve a change in occupancy, where a house was enlarged in association with moving house. However, very few of all changes in occupancy involved an increase in the number of hearths: 2.6% of recorded occupancy changes involved an increase in hearth assessment. Overall, 80% of householders building new chimneys in Newcastle had not moved house.

For eighteen entries in 1670/1 the number of hearths declined. Including an entry for six burnt but no change in occupancy and one instance of owner paying for tenant (eight decayed; down to five hearths from thirteen in Sandgate Ward). Only six entries involved a change in occupancy and a reduction in hearths (decayed or demolished), being 4% of the changes in occupancy. We are dealing with low figures but the incidence of declining hearth numbers following a change in occupancy is twice the proportion of changes in occupancy involving a rise in hearth numbers. The incidence of decaying

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[23] not counting the two empty.

hearths correlates with the high proportion of poorer households in Newcastle (43% of recorded households were exempt in 1665, compared to 27% in Durham in 1674). Newcastle's poorer population presumably placed considerable pressure on the housing stock. Given that only two houses were recorded as empty in 1670-1, the population's demand for housing allowed for little slack.

In Chapter Six, I showed that life-cycle was pivotal to housing demand. The evidence presented above for the high degree of turnover in the occupancy of households in Newcastle, provides supporting evidence for changing housing conditions through the life-cycle. The fragility of life and buildings must also have had an input into the turnover of house occupants and house building. Plague struck Newcastle in 1636 when 5,037 died, and in 1675, nine hundred and twenty four died in a plague nicknamed the 'jolly rant'.[24] Plague was not a factor within the year 1670-1, but may have had a wider impact on the replacement of housing during the seventeenth century. Fire was also a regular feature of urban life; in 1726 'A Malting at the Head of the Broad-Garth on the Key' was advertised for sale, 'the Roof of which has lately burnt down'.[25] Besides death, disease and burnt buildings, the life-cycle must account for a high proportion of turnover in house occupancy in late-seventeenth-century Newcastle.

A house on the Tuthill-Stairs (mentioned in Chapter Six), provides evidence of turnover in the occupation of one Newcastle house, from the late sixteenth through to the early eighteenth century. Built in the late sixteenth century by Henry Chapman merchant and alderman and his wife Joan. The house was sold to Alexander Davison in 1629, whose daughter Barbara married Thomas Riddell (later Sir Thomas Riddell of Fenham) and the young couple leased the house from the wife's father in 1637. Only two years later they left it and in 1639 the vicar of Newcastle, Yeldard Alvey was living there.

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[24]Ayris 1997: 22.
[25]*Newcastle Courant* 44 February 26 1725-6.

Another tenant Edward Stote, merchant, died there in 1648. In 1720 Mr George West of Gateshead bought it for the Baptists as a house of worship, with a chapel on the first floor and dwelling house for the minister, above.[26] These changes in occupancy, for a higher status house in Newcastle, indicate that residency was not simply an issue of generational turnover, but that the requirements of newly weds, and the commercial opportunity of letting to tenants (not to mention religious worship), were integral to the housing history of early modern towns.

The Social Topography of Houses in Durham

There is no altered assessment for Durham in the Hearth Tax records to compare with Newcastle for 1670-1. The clearest demonstration of the variations in housing across Durham are instead brought out from the 1674 Exchequer Return, by calculating the proportion of hearth ranges across the city by parish: Table 8.3 (see Table 3.6 for number of households).

Table 8;3 Durham Hearth Tax 1674, Hearth Ranges across the City

	Exempt	1 hearth	2-4 hearths	5-9 hearths	10+ hearths
Durham City	16%	28%	39%	42%	8%
High Bailey	15%	6%	6%	9%	18%
Low Bailey	0%	0.40%	3%	9%	44%
St. Margaret Crossgate	15%	18.60%	13%	6%	5%
Framwellgate	14%	14%	14%	11%	5%
St. Oswalds	5%	2%	5%	11%	10%
Barony of Elvet	17%	15%	7%	9%	5%
St. Gyles	18%	16%	13%	3%	5%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The South Bailey (Low Bailey in the Hearth Tax, which includes the College despite it being extra-parochial),[27] was an almost exclusively elite street.[28] This street

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[26]Charleton (1885) 1978: 271-4.

[27]The Hearth Tax refers to 'Low Bailey' rather than St. Mary le Less parish (South Bailey only) since the College and Cathedral were extra-parochial; similarly 'High Bailey' includes the extra-parohial Palace Green and Castle (22 hearths 1666; 28 hearths 1674) rather than limited to

mainly housed the county gentry and clergy. Widows, wives and relatives of cathedral clergy and staff possibly benefited from beneficial leases from the Dean and Chapter,[29] and the Hearth Tax demonstrates the dramatically higher social status of South Bailey in relation to the rest of Durham. The South Bailey contained no exempt households, and only 0.4% of Durham's single-hearth households. Even middling-sort households were few, with only 3% of Durham's two-to-four hearth households and 9% of its five-to-nine hearth households, but 44% of the largest households, with over ten hearths, were in the South Bailey. The North Bailey was always a rather more complex area. Whereas only fifteen households on the 'High Bailey' were able to pay, forty-seven households (15%) were exempt on North Bailey; in contrast to the complete absence of exempt households along South Bailey. The high figure for the also prestigious North Bailey, probably relates to lodging lawyers or living-out clerks, who may have lacked £10 estate. Such exemption does not indicate poverty, and the 'High Bailey' contained 18% of Durham's largest households, over ten hearths. The greater wealth of South Bailey is reflected in the collections for the relief of the Fire of London, in 1666, when the North Bailey contributed 14s., and the South Bailey £1 1s. 4d..[30]

In Bishop Cosin's correspondence, the North and South Bailey are described as 'are no part of nor parcell of the City'.[31] Outside of the peninsula, St. Oswald's parish was the next wealthiest area, with ten per cent of Durham's ten-plus hearth households. The Barony of Elvet (see Map 8.1) contained a higher proportion of poorer households, with 17% of Durham's exempt and 15% of its single hearth households. The central Bishop's borough (listed as Durham City; see Map 8.1) including the Market Place, Silver Street, Saddler Street and Claypath, was very mixed, and contained the greatest

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St. Mary le Bow parish (covering North Bailey, Dun Cow Lane, Owengate and Bow Lane).
[28]Green nd.
[29]Green nd, via reduced renewal fine.
[30]Cosin Correspondence II 1870: 331.
[31]Cosin Correspondence II 1870: 385-6.

proportion of mid-range hearth numbers along with 16% of Durham's exempt and 28% of its single hearth households. St Margaret's Crossgate contained a similar but poorer profile to the Bishop's borough. In Framwellgate, households were more evenly spread across the hearth-ranges below five, with few houses over ten hearths.

The history of house occupancy for lower status streets in Durham is illustrated by the changes in tenure and occupation of one set of Claypath houses. In 1670, two shops on the 'south' side of Claypath, owned by 'Christopher Whitfield of Clapeth' were sold to John Spearman of Durham, gentleman (and presumably one of the Durham lawyers of that name), and Robert Gray of Durham, dyer. These shops with chambers for first floor living over, abutted the tenement of Francis Crosby, gentleman, on the east and the passage 'entry' to Christopher Whitfield's own dwelling house on the west. The rooms above the shop had been occupied by Robert Forster, but were now made over to the use of Christopher Whitfield's son John and Margaret Gray, soon to marry John Whitfield.[32] By February 1705, Margaret was widowed and leased the two 'messuages' to her son-in-law Jacob Readshaw of the City of Durham, plumber, and his wife Mary, only daughter of John and Margaret Whitfield.[33] In the same deed, John Gray of Durham, alderman (brother and heir of Robert Gray), leased to Michael Knaggs and George Kirkley of Crossgate, weavers, two messuages on Claypath 'called together the Poarch House and the Tenter Garth' and another messuage in Claypath now 'abutting a tenement belonging to John Hetherington'. Witnessing this deed were Thomas Vasey of Durham, currier and William Brocket of the City of Durham, plumber. These deeds confirm the life-cycle and marriage links which underpinned property transactions and house occupancy. The Whitfields and Grays typify the social stratigraphy of Claypath; predominantly craft occupations with family and social links to established figures in the community, such as

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[32]DCRO D/X/826.
[33]DCRO D/X/826/2.

Alderman Gray and John Spearman, gent. The Brocketts were prosperous plumbers with a house on North Bailey.[34] Property transactions reveal the web of social relations extending across Durham, and although the geography of housing was broadly distinctive to certain social strata, gentlemen lived on Claypath (a largely middling area) and plumbers had houses on the Bailey (the most prestigious gentry address).

Table 8.4 *Newcastle Courant* Property Adverts 1710-30 in Newcastle by street

against St. Nicholas's Church-yard	1
Baker Chair,	1
Bigg Market,	5
Big-Market	1
Broad chair	5
Broad Garth on the Key	6
Burnbank near to the New Key	1
Butcher Bank	7
Bykar-Chair, nigh the Key,	6
Castle-garth	1
Close	13
Close-gate,	2
Cow-gate,	2
Custom House Entry	1
Denton Chair, (alias Cromes-Chair)	4
Fenckel Street, near the West Gate	1
Flesh-market,	2
Galley-gate	1
Grindon-Chair, on the key-side,	6
Groat-Market,	6
High-end of the Back-Row,	1
High-Friar Chair,	1
Hornsby's Chair	1
Key side,	15
Long-Stairs,	4
low-Fryar Chair,	1
Mannor Chair,	4

[34]Green nd, William Brockett is presumably William Brockett, the younger, son of William Brockett, the elder, plumber, of North Bailey, d.1688; DULA Probate Box 1688, William Brockett, North Bailey, Durham, Probate Account & Inventory 1693.

Middle-Street	4
near the Sandifer-Stone,	1
Newgate Street	2
nigh to the Town's Walls, leading to the White Fryar Tower	1
Nolt-Market in Newcastle	1
North Shoar	2
Nun's Gate:	2
Painter Haugh,	3
Pandon,	2
Pandon-Gate	3
Pilgrim Street	28
Pilgrimstreet Gate,	1
Pipewellgate	4
Plummer Chair on the Key-side,	2
Pudding Chair	3
Pullen Market	1
Sandgate	15
Sand-Hill,	5
Side	32
Sidegate	4
Silver-street,	1
Spicer-Lane, near the Keyside	5
St. Anthony's Key	1
Tine Bridge,	3
Trinity Chair, facing the Keyside	1
Tuttle Stairs	1
Upper dean Bridge,	1
Vine-Entry,	2
Walk-Knowles	1
Westgate-Street	9
White Cross,	2
within Pilgrim-street Gate,	1
without Pandon gate, Newcastle,	2
without Pilgrim Street Gate,	5
without the Close-gate in Newcastle	2

Newcastle Houses in the Property Adverts, 1710-30

Ninety three Newcastle properties were advertised in the 1710s and two hundred and sixty two in the 1720s, accounting for 23% of all property adverts during the study period of the property market in the Newcastle press (Chapter Seven). Table 8.4 presents the breakdown for properties advertised by street. These adverts provide a lively insight into housing across Newcastle in the early eighteenth century, which is worth describing in some detail given the negligible survival of standing buildings from this period (Chapter Four).

The area of the Quay-side was the mercantile centre of Newcastle, with the Customs House and Guildhall at the foot of The Side, faced by timber-frame merchant houses. According to Bourne in 1736, 'The Side is from the one end to the other filled with the shops of merchants, goldsmiths, milliners, upholsterers &c.', and in 1729 'AT the House of Mrs. Anne Anderson, on the Side, Newcastle, are to be sold at very reasonable Prices, all sorts of Mercery and Milinary Goods, exceeding Fresh and Good; she designing to give over the Business, and for the future, only to deal in Mournings'.[35] Fully equipped shops in the Side were occasionally advertised, such as 'THE late dwelling-house of Mr. Robinson, Surgeon, situate at the Foot of the Side in Newcastle upon Tine, together with a Shop belonging to it, compleatly furnish'd with Drugs and Medicines, and fit for the immediate Use of a Surgeon or Apothecary'.[36] Mr. Benjamin Heslop, Surgeon, advertised in 1726 'THE House on the Side, which was lately Mr. Thiboue's Coffee-house'.[37]

Houses were evidently sub-divided on the Quayside: 'A Convenient Dwelling-house and Yard, fit for two Families, having a Brew-house and Cellars to each Apartment, scituate by the Key-side'.[38] Houses in this area, however, were not yet

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[35]Bourne 1736: 122; *Newcastle Courant* 211 May 10 1729.
[36]*Newcastle Courant* 134 January 12 1722-23.
[37]*Newcastle Courant* 78 October 22 1726.
[38]*Newcastle Courant* 141 January 6 1727-8.

decayed, but occupied by middling households. For instance 'A Messuage with the Appurtenances, situate there, by the Key-side, up a Lane, called Hornsby's Chair, and known by the Name of the Cross-house, belonging to the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Bewicke'.[39] Or 'A very good House and Garden, at the Foot of the Tuttle-Stair, now in the Possession of Mr. Roger Lawson, is to be sold'.[40] There was also evidently new building: 'To be LET, A New built House, containing 6 Fire-Rooms, two Cellars, and a Brew-house, with all Things convenient for a Publick House, situate in Grindon-Chair'.[41]

In the Close, which Bourne claimed in 1736 had fallen out of favour as the primary location for merchant houses, elaborate houses were being advertised in the 1720s for use as inns or private houses. For instance 'A Large House in the Close, with great Conveniencies of stabling, Coach-house, Brew-house, Cellars, and three several Pipes of Water to it, with many other Conveniencies, either for Inn, or private Dwelling, is to be Let, whole or part, at Lammas next. Enquire of Mr. Utrick Whitfield at the said House, or of Mr. Edward Harle in Pilgrim street'.[42] Or again, 'THE House that Mrs. Newton now lives in, is to be Let: And the House adjoining to it, over against the Bird and Bush in the Close, is to be Let, either for private or publick House, with all Conveniencies for either. Enquire at Mrs. Newton's in the Close in Newcastle upon Tine'.[43] Houses in the Close were being sub-divided, but not all the apartments were for poorer occupants: 'In the Court which Mr. Peter Bernardo dwells in the Close in Newcastle, is a sumptuous Apartment to be Let at Lammas next, consisting of several Lodging Rooms, Brewhouse, Stables, and the Conveniency of a Garden. Enquire of Mr. Henry Peareth at his House in the Close. Rent 11 s. per annum'.[44] This same house was readvertised after Peareth's

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[39]*Newcastle Courant* 84 January 27 1722.
[40]*Newcastle Courant* 176 Sept 10-13 1712.
[41]*Newcastle Courant* 134 January 12 1722-23; *Newcastle Courant* 227 October 24 1724.
[42]*Newcastle Courant* 107 July 7 1722.
[43]*Newcastle Courant* 107 July 7 1722.
[44]*Newcastle Courant* 17 August 21 1725.

death, four years later: 'To be Lett - Lammas, A Very good Dwelling House, with a Brew House, Stable, and all other Coneveniencies necessary for a Private Family, where Mr. Henry Peareth deceased, lately lived, (next door to Mr. Mayor's House) in the Close Newcastle, at which Place is now to be Sold, the Household furniture, Plate and Linen lately belonging to the said Mr. Peareth'.[45]

Pilgrim Street in the 1720s contained elaborate houses, such as 'A Large House in Pilgrim Street, next Door to the House, at the Head of the George Stairs, which leads to the Butcher Bank, with 12 Fire-Rooms, Brew-house, and good Cellars, a Summer House, and a large Back Yard, with a Pair of Stairs which leads to the Low Town, through the said George'.[46] Pilgrim Street also included commercial premises such as a Malting with 'A Very good new House in Pilgrim Street', 'lately belonging to Mrs. Henry Clark, Cooper, deceased'.[47] There was also 'A Large House in Pilgrim Street, consisting of several Tenements in good Repair, with a Yard where the Factory of Leather is now carried on'.[48] An apparently separate Tanyard was advertised in 1728, 'THE Messuage or Tenement, and Tann Yard, with Gardens, Lofting, Stables, Hay-lofts, and other conveniencies, situate in Pilgrim Street'.[49] Pilgrim Street occupants included 'John Cuthbert, Esq; Serjeant at Law, late recorder'[50] and other high status residents mentioned as late occupants and property agents.

Away from the mercantile centre of Newcastle, to the west of the higher part of Newcastle, was the gentry quarter of Westgate. Grey described Westgate-street in 1649 as 'broad and private; for men that lives there hath imployment for town and country'.[51] Whereas the merchants were inclined to move uphill away from the Quay-side, the gentry

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[45] *Newcastle Courant* 210 May 3 1729.
[46] *Newcastle Courant* 211 May 10 1729.
[47] *Newcastle Courant* 217 August 15 1724.
[48] *Newcastle Courant* 72 Sepember 10 1726.
[49] *Newcastle Courant* 214 May 31 1728.
[50] *Newcastle Courant* 206 May 30 1724.
[51] Grey (1649) 1980: 20.

and clergy in Westgate stayed put throughout our period. In 1736 Bourne found it 'chiefly inhabited by clergy and gentry: and indeed it seems all along to have been inhabited by such more than others'.[52] A typical gentry residence in Westgate might comprise 'A Large House, containing 12 Rooms, good Garrets and Cellars, with Brewhouse, Lodgings for men servants, and other Out-houses, a large handsome Courtyard, Garden and Summerhouse, all in very good Order and well placed for Air and Prospect'.[53] Coach houses, often let separately, were required for the mobile Westgate residents. 'Two Houses in Westgate' were to let together or separate, 'And a Coach-House will be built to oblige a good Tenant, if desired'.[54] 'A Coach-House in Fenckel Street, near the West Gate in Newcastle, that will hold two coaches' was advertised for rent separately in 1729.[55] Gardens, invariably with summerhouse, were also held apart from the house. For instance, 'A Garden in Galley-gate, with a Summer-House with two Rooms in it'.[56] Gardens were also available outside the walls, and the summerhouses suggest they were often genteel day retreats, rather than market gardens. In 1728 'The Garden and Summerhouse without Pilgrimstreet Gate, are to be sold'.[57] In 1729 'A Summer House and Garden in Newcastle, nigh to the Town's Walls, leading to the White Fryar Tower, late the Estate of Mr. Francis Batty, Goldsmith, deceased' was for sale.[58]

Although Sandgate is invariably characterised as the poorest part of Newcastle, the property adverts indicate some new house building towards the river; such as 'several new Houses in Sandgate extending from the Fore-street to the River-side' in 1728.[59] In 1723, houses in the same area had been for sale, 'together, or in Parcels, the several

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[52]Hodgson 1812: 76 quoting Bourne 1736: 22.
[53]*Newcastle Courant* 239 January 16 1724-5.
[54]*Newcastle Courant* 321 Aug 19-22 1713.
[55]*Newcastle Courant* 197 February 1 1728-9.
[56]*Newcastle Courant* 143 January 20 1727-8.
[57]*Newcastle Courant* 214 May 31 1728.
[58]*Newcastle Courant* 210 May 3 1729.
[59]*Newcastle Courant* 141 January 6 1727-8.

messuages, burgages or Tenements scituate in Sandgate, extending from the Forestreet there unto the River of Tyne, late belonging unto Mr. William Harrison Fitter, all of them in good repair, and part of them but lately built.'[60] Along with redevelopment of the waterfront, very large houses were occasionally advertised for sale in Sandgate: 'A House at the Squirl in Sandgate, consisting of 20 Fire Rooms'.[61] This house was presumably sub-divided into tenements. As even 'A Large Freehold House, scituate in Bell's Chair, alias Singleton's Chair; in Sandgate, containing 8 Rooms' was large enough to be 'fit for a Publique House'.[62]

Durham Houses in the Property Adverts, 1710-30

Durham did not appear at all in the property adverts of the 1710s, except a solitary advert for Crook Hall on the edge of town in 1712. Sixty-seven adverts appeared in the 1720s. These were for seventy-three houses, ten inns and eleven shops. These houses were concentrated in the town's commercial centre; the market place and the streets of Silver Street, Saddler Street and Claypath off it. The shops, invariably with or under houses, were mainly in this area, with a marked concentration in Silver Street and Saddler Street. Houses, often with commercial premises such as maltings, a bake-house or wine-merchant's were also advertised from the districts of Framwellgate and Crossgate traditionally favoured by merchants.[63] Outbuildings were flexible in their use - including conversion to dwellings: 'A Very Convenient Dwelling-house in Cross-gate Durham [...] consisting of ten Fire-rooms, with Closets, and Cellars under-ground; having handsome Conveniencies backwards, now used as a Malting, but capable of being converted into

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[60] *Newcastle Courant* 163 August 3 1723.
[61] *Newcastle Courant* 75 October 1 1726.
[62] *Newcastle Courant* 78 October 22 1726.
[63] *Newcastle Courant* 190 February 8 1723-4; Green nd.

Granaries, Hay-lofts or Dwelling-houses'.[64] Houses without any commercial concern were advertised from the gentry quarters of the Bailey and Elvet.

Table 8.5 *Newcastle Courant* Property Adverts 1710-30 in Durham by street

Baileys (North & South)	13
Claypath	2
Crossgate	7
Elvet (Old & New)	19
Framwellgate	14
Gilesgate	2
Market Place	8
Milburngate	1
Saddler Street	3
Silver Street	1
South Street	2
Total	72

The newly fashionable quarter of Elvet, which witnessed significant building activity in the 1720s, had the most adverts, with nineteen properties advertised. The traditional merchant quarter of Framwellgate, had the next highest presence with fourteen properties. The Baileys, predominated by the gentry, clergy and lawyers, had the next most adverts, with thirteen. The market place had eight adverts, and the remainder of the town, mainly inhabited by middling sort shopkeepers and craftsmen, had a few adverts from each street. To the rear of the market place tenements, away from the street frontages, the poor were crowded together near the river banks.[65] This suggests that the middling sort, who moved house as frequently as the elite, were less likely to hear of houses to rent or buy through the newspapers. Traditional word of mouth, and the availability of property owned by the Dean and Chapter, and other substantial landlords

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[64] *Newcastle Courant* 243 February 13 1724-5.
[65] Durham Archaeological Unit, 1997 excavation ahead of High Street development; Rimmington 'Durham Market Place' unpublished University of Durham BA dissertation 1997.

such as the Bishop (whose urban estate was concentrated in the Bishop's borough around the market place) must have served the middling sort's housing demands. The newspaper adverts only included Dean and Chapter or Bishop's property which was being sub-let, as with 'a House on the South of the Clock-Miln, in Milburn-gate, being 42 Years Lease, from the Dean and Chapter'; the original leasee had to approach the Dean and Chapter directly, to discover available property.[66]

Adverts from the Market Place were dominated by houses with shops, such as 'a House near the Market-Place in Clapeth, most Part of it new Built, fronted with 9 Sash-Windows, and 2 Shops, a large Brickbuilding, 3 good Arch'd Cellars, 2 Stables, brewhouse, and Garden', 'where Ralph Nielson Merchant, now liveth and keepeth Shop'.[67] Or 'A House and Shop'...'in the possession of Mr. John Dent, Barber'[68] Brick was evidently prized on the Market Place, and 'a large convenient new Brick Dwelling-House' with 'a large good Malting' was advertised in 1721.[69] The Nagg's Head 'adjoining to the Market Place', was described in 1727 as 'A Very good and large Mansion-house'...'Part whereof is now used, and for many Years past has been used as a Publick-House'.[70]

Commercial premises, invariably with living accommodation, were advertised for the streets leading off the Market Place. On Claypath, an inn, the 'Sign of the Wind Mill' was advertised 'with several other Tenements on the Backside, in the occupation of other Tenants'.[71] The same house was readvertised a year later as 'very useful for an Alehouse'[72] Also on Claypath, 'A Large Freehold House'...'where Joseph Vipond and

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[66]*Newcastle Courant* 190 February 8 1724.
[67]*Newcastle Courant* 129 December 8 1722.
[68]*Newcastle Courant* 200 February 22 1728-9.
[69]*Newcastle Courant* 69 October 14 1721.
[70]*Newcastle Courant* 51 April 16 1726 & 123 September 2 1727.
[71]*Newcastle Courant* 56 May 21 1726.
[72]*Newcastle Courant* 106 May 6 1727.

John Bradley the Bailiff now lives, the whole let for 18 l. a Year'.[73] Claypath was lined with houses and sub-divided tenements, with the area closest to the Market Place more likely to contain shops. On the other side of the Market Place, Silver Street, which connected to Framwellgate Bridge and the Great North Road, was more given over to shops. Such as 'Two Houses, and two Shops, with Brew-house, stabling, a large Back-side, and Garden, all of them Freehold, at the high end of Silver-Street'.[74] Saddler Street (alias Sadlergate), connecting the trading Market Place to the elite space of the peninsula, was lined with shops underneath more substantial tradesmen's houses: 'A Freehold House in Saddler Street, Durham, in the Possession of Mrs. Barbara Harramond, with two Shops under it'.[75] Or, again 'ONE Freehold House and Shop, situate in Saddler Street, in the Possession of Mr. John Hodgson, Merchant; together with one other Shop thereunto adjoining, in the possession of Mr. Andrew Craggs'.[76]

To the west of the central Market Place area, across Framwellgate bridge, were the areas of Framwellgate and Crossgate, with the Great North Road running along South Street above the banks of the Wear. On South Street, only the Sign of the Cock was advertised, 'with 6 Fire rooms, a good Brew-house, Cellar, Stable, Garden'.[77] In Framwellgate, traditionally favoured by merchants, fourteen properties were advertised. These included some quite lavish houses: 'a Large Dwelling-House, situate on Framwellgate Bridge-End, with 17 Fire Rooms' and 'a fine Garden'.[78] Or 'A Large House in Framwelgate, Durham, consisting of 13 Fire Rooms, and five of them hung with Hangings; with a good Garden', which might more easily be let if sub-divided: 'in good repair, and may be very Conveniently inhabited by two Families'.[79] Another 'Large

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[73] *Newcastle Courant* 29 November 13 1725.
[74] *Newcastle Courant* 171 August 3 1728.
[75] *Newcastle Courant* 129 October 14 1727.
[76] *Newcastle Courant* 194 January 11 1728-9.
[77] *Newcastle Courant* 113 June 24 1727 & 182 October 19 1728.
[78] *Newcastle Courant* 189 February 1 1723-4.
[79] *Newcastle Courant* 3 May 15 1725.

Dwelling in Framwellgate' had 'fourteen convenient Lodging Rooms' as well as 'a large Garden with Fruit Trees, a good Summer House, and in neat Order'.[80] The owner or agent of that house was 'Richard Brabin, Esq; Mayor of Durham', and the prevalence of the Durham's civic elite (rather than gentry) resident in Framwellgates evident in other adverts, such as a A 'Convenient Dwelling-house' owned by Mr. Reuben Thornton of Framwelgate, gentleman'.[81] A tanner, Mr. Ralph Haswell, had 'a new erected convenient sash'd House in Framwellgate in Durham, with a good Tan-yard, and Conveniencies proper for a Tanner, and a Garden behind the same contiguous to the River Wear' in 1727, but the house was to be auctioned 'under a Commission of Bankruptcy'.[82] Haswell's house was readvertised, for sale in 1729 as 'A Good new built House, with Sash Windows, consisting of three Rooms on a Floor, with Closets, in good Repair'.[83] Another 'large new House in Framwellgate' was advertised in 1726, 'with all conveniencies, viz. Coach-house, Stables, and a pleasant Garden, now in the possesssion of the Rev. Mr. Forster'.[84] Indeed, rebuilding in Framwellgate may account for the relatively high number of properties advertised. For instance, for sale or let 'A Convenient new built House, with large Sash-Windows, situate in Framwelgate, containing four good Fire rooms, besides Garrets' and 'a pleasant Garden'.[85] Two other houses were advertised, one with six 'fire rooms'[86] and another with seven 'fire-rooms'.[87]

In Crossgate, adjacent to Framwellgate, was another house 'consisting of 7 Fire Rooms, with two other good Rooms' and '5 Stints upon Crossgate Moor'.[88] Also 'scituate at the Lower-End of Cross-gate in Durham, in the Possession of Mr. William

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[80] *Newcastle Courant* 69 August 20 1726.
[81] *Newcastle Courant* 107 July 7 1722.
[82] *Newcastle Courant* 106 May 6 1727.
[83] *Newcastle Courant* 203 March 15 1728-9.
[84] *Newcastle Courant* 43 February 19 1725-6.
[85] *Newcastle Courant* 220 July 5 1729.
[86] *Newcastle Courant* 179 September 28 1728.
[87] *Newcastle Courant* 232 October 4 1729.
[88] *Newcastle Courant* 179 September 28 1728.

Richardson, wine-merchant' was 'a very Convenient Messuage, with Malting, Stabling, and Cellars'.[89] Another 'Very Convenient Dwelling-house in Cross-gate Durham, now in the Occupation of the Co-heiress of Mrs. Swainston deceased, consisting of ten Fire-rooms, with Closets, and Cellars under-ground' illustrates the potential for out-houses to be converted to dwellings: 'having handsome Conveniencies backwards, now used as a Malting, but capable of being converted into Granaries, Hay-lofts or Dwelling-houses'.[90] Sub-division of houses, building on 'backsides' and converting outhousing to dwellings, helped house Durham's gradually increasing population within the medieval boundaries of the town.

The areas of Durham favoured by the gentry were most heavily advertised in the newspapers. In 1725 'THE House belonging to the late Right Honourable Lady Mary Radcliffe, in Old Elvet Durham, with a handsome Gallery all wainscot, and convenient Apartments within it: Also the House wainscot, and some Rooms with very fine Tapistry, Marble Harths, Stove-Grates, P. Ha's, good Garden, and Brew-house'.[91] Old Elvet was fashionable in the 1720s, especially in relation to the race course between Old Elvet and the river. In 1728 'A Large Dwelling House in Old Elvet, with very good conveniencies for a Gentleman's Family' was to let.[92] 34 Old Elvet built in the 1720s, a four-storey brick house with sashed windows, had a panelled first floor parlour overlooking the street, and a rear room facing over the race course which was presumably used as a viewing room for the races. As well as the attraction of the races, Elvet contained more free ground for building in the early eighteenth century, than the traditional gentry space of the peninsula; the Bailey streets were already built up along their entire length in 1600.[93] Building land in Elvet was offered for sale in 1727: 'To be SOLD, THE whole, or in two

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[89]*Newcastle Courant* 190 February 8 1723-4.
[90]*Newcastle Courant* 243 February 13 1724-5.
[91]*Newcastle Courant* 253 April 17 1725, the meaning of 'P.Ha's' is unknown.
[92]*Newcastle Courant* 159 May 11 1728.
[93]as shown in Speed's Plan of the City of Durham *c.*1611.

Parcels, the Gardens, and Frontsteads in New and Old Elvit, late belonging to Doctor Davison of New Elvit'.[94] The Georgianisation of Elvet houses was underscored by the use of the term 'modern' by 1729: 'To be LETT or SOLD A Large Dwelling house, situate in New Elvet, built after a modern and substantial Manner; consisting of fifteen Rooms, with both light and dark Closets to most of them; six of which are Wainscotted, and four hung with Tapistry and Paper' as well as 'a pleasant Summer House and Garden'.[95]

Urban Housing

The social topography of Durham and Newcastle was inter-related to the rebuilding of houses. House rebuilding in both towns is known for the late sixteenth century, after a period of limited building in the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth century, and increasing in the early and mid-seventeenth century. This was the urban corollary of Hoskins' 'Great Rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640', discussed in Chapter Five. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century many houses were further altered, and rebuilding continued apace. The medieval topography of Durham and Newcastle largely defined the streetscape and space for housing in both towns. Newcastle's expanding population encouraged the sub-division of existing houses. This is usually connected to the flight of the polite from the congested centre of towns, vacating older houses.[96] While this is clear as a long term process, the exact chronology is unclear. Merchants were erecting elaborate timber-frame houses along The Close and Sandhill, facing the Quay-side and Guildhall, in the 1650s. Alderman Fenwick's House, survives up-hill on Pilgrim-Street as a 1690s remodelling of the mid-seventeenth century house built by Thomas Winship, which replaced an earlier (presumably sixteenth century) one storey

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[94]*Newcastle Courant* 133 November 11 1727.
[95]*Newcastle Courant* 217 June 21 1729.
[96]see Floud & McCloskey 1994: 349-50.

house with gabled windows.[97] By the 1720s, properties in the traditional merchant centre, around the Quayside, were rarely occupied as elite houses, and were being sub-divided or put into commercial usage. For example, 'The Old Fleece Tavern on the Key-side, Newcastle, at the Back and adjoining the Customs house, now in good Repairs, convenient, as ever it was for a Publick House, or particular Dwellings, for it may be divided into two or three tenements, and done with great Conveniencies, it having three Pairs of Stairs'.[98]

The significance of medieval tenurial boundaries, and the inertia of the street plan, may have been more important in urban areas than rural settlements; topography and population density framed individual rebuildings to a greater degree than in rural places. The medieval topography of both Newcastle and Durham continued to constrain the ground areas for building development. Although burgage plots were amalgamated to provide a greater ground area for larger houses, the boundaries of burgage units were invariably retained without alteration.[99] Earlier tenurial boundaries, superseded on the ground by larger buildings, were retained because of the vulnerability of tenure to legal challenge. Freeholders, including large-scale landlords such as the Dean and Chapter of Durham, saw no reason to alter the basic units of tenure. The alignment of street-frontages (including high status streets, such as the Baileys) remained constant - and did so during the early eighteenth century despite Borsay's emphasis on straighter streets after 1660, as part of the 'Urban Renaissance'.[100]

Newcastle and Durham town houses were often divided into fore-houses and backsides, with the front of a house let separately from the rear. 'At the Head of the Flesh-Market, there is a Fore-House, with other Conveniencies, now to be Lett.'[101] And

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[97]Heslop & McCombie *AA* 5th ser. XXIV 1996.
[98]*Newcastle Courant* 158 June 29 1723.
[99]Bonny 1990: 71, 69-72.
[100]Green nd.
[101]*Newcastle Courant* 139 June 16-18 1712.

in the Pullen Market, 'A Shop in the Forestreet, and three Rooms above' as well as 'several Rooms 'down the Entry' and 'Also five Rooms in the New Houses on the Bridge'.[102] The presence of housing down passages, ('entrys' in Newcastle and 'vennels' in Durham) was a common practice in early modern towns. The newspaper adverts indicate a clear split between 'the fore-part' of houses, and their 'back-sides'. For example, 'THE Front-house and Shop in the Vine-Entry',[103] or 'The Fore House in Mr. Robert Johnson's Entry, within three Doors of the Mayor's House in the Close'.[104] The rear part of these houses was accessed through the entry, or passage. Although the front house often contained a shop, both front and rear houses provided living accomodation, as in 'THE Large Fore-house fronting the street, or a lesser House on the back Part of the same, now in the possession of Mrs. Swinburn, each of them very convenient for a Family'.[105] And again 'Mr Crow's House at the Head of the Side, both fore Part and back Part, being lately repaired, and improved by him, are to be Let against May-day, on reasonable Terms to private Families, with Cellars, Stables, and other Conveniencies, for the Use of each Tenant'.[106] These divisions of housing, and the tenure of fore-houses and back-sides, was a distinctively urban form of housing, which was not present in the countryside.

A peculiar feature of Newcastle within the north-east property adverts was the presence of lodgings and particularly 'apartments' for the genteel. Advertised lodgings were mostly high status; poorer, and perhaps more temporary, lodgings were not advertised in the newspaper. The availability of these lodgings were presumably communicated by word of mouth, or posted notices. Some 'apartments' were evidently self-contained households, such as 'AN Appartment in the Custom House Entry, where

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[102]*Newcastle Courant* 194 January 11 1728-9.
[103]*Newcastle Courant* 133 November 11 1727.
[104]*Newcastle Courant* 186 November 16 1728.
[105]*Newcastle Courant* 160 May 18 1728.
[106]*Newcastle Courant* 150 Fenruary 17 1727-8.

the late Mr. James Morton did live, consisting of six Rooms, a Kitchin, and two Garrets, with conveniencies'.[107] Or, 'To Lett in Mrs. Forster's entry, at the Upper dean Bridge, Newcastle, a very convenient Apartment, entire to itself, with four Rooms, Brewhouse and Cellar, with good Convenience for Water in the entry'.[108] Also, 'The Appartment where Mr. George Sadler now liveth: Also the Apartment where Mr. Joseph Turner now dwells, with all the conveniencies there'to belonging, both scituate in the Side'.[109] And again, 'in Pilgrim Streeet, Newcastle, there are to be Lett some very commodious and good Private Lodgings, to any Gentleman, during the Time of the Assizes'.[110] Other lodging rooms were more pragmatic and temporary, such as 'AN House standing in the Pudding-Chair in Newcastle, late belonging to John Story deceased, and since his Death let into several Rooms, is now to be let into one Dwelling house, or into two Tenement, being convenient either Way'.[111] Occasionally, lodgings feature as the address of agents; 'Enquire of Mr. Hollbrook at Killingworth, or at his Lodgings at Mrs Steel's in the Groat Market in Newcastle.[112] Holbrook's case suggests a room in town in addition to a house in the country.

Apart from lodgings behind inns, and the lodging houses on the Bailey for younger lawyers, there is no comparable evidence for lavish apartments in Durham. Humbler lodgings were not only a feature of town-centre houses. 'A very good new built House' without the Close-Gate, Newcastle, 'lying near to both pasturing and watering for Cattle', was advertised 'consisting of four good Fire-Rooms, and a large Garret, with two Firesteads in it and which at a small Expense may be made into two Lodging Rooms'.[113]

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[107] *Newcastle Courant* 234 December 12 1724.
[108] *Newcastle Courant* 248 January 24 1729-30.
[109] *Newcastle Courant* 137 December 9 1727.
[110] *Newcastle Courant* 172 August 10 1728.
[111] *Newcastle Courant* 25 October 16 1725.
[112] *Newcastle Courant* 231 November 21 1724.
[113] *Newcastle Courant* 137 December 9 1727.

While the commercial character of Newcastle produced distinctive forms of urban housing, absent from Durham, the primary social groups in each town occupied distinctive housing across both towns. The merchants occupied timber-framed houses (around the Quay-side in Newcastle and Market Place in Durham), while the gentry built stone houses (on Westgate in Newcastle and the Baileys in Durham).[114] The degree of interaction between the gentry in Durham and Newcastle appears to have been close. A 'House lying on the North-Side of north Ballie in Durham, where the Assembly was lately keep'd, leased of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, to be sold, and the Lease to be seen as aforesaid', was advertised in August 1724.[115] This was only a week after the assembly house in Westgate was advertised, and perhaps suggests a link between the commercial operation of the Durham and Newcastle assemblies.

John King's 1624 will (discussed in Chapter Six) provides evidence for a Durham lawyer participating in the north-east property market to make provision for his widow and married children's families.[116] Another lawyer's will of 1624, George Nicholson, Notary Public, of Newcastle, presents very extensive involvement in the commercial property market, and in building houses for rent.[117] Nicholson's will devised (in accordance with the will of his late father, George Nicholson, Cutler), that 'the house wherein I now dwell in Westgate in Newcastle, and another little house situate in Iron Markett in the same towne, and quit rent of 7s. 4d., issuing forth of Two Tenements in Westgate aforesaid' should pass to his children. In addition to this inherited property, Nicholson bequeathed 'unto my eldest sone, Richard Nicholson':

> 'my new house in Sandgate, which I latelie have erected and builded, with free passage, in, to and from the same through the yard there by a back Dore which I

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[114]Green nd.
[115]*Newcastle Courant* 216 August 8 1724.
[116]Wills & Inventories IV 1929: 174.
[117]Wills & Inventories IV 1929: 180-182.

will shall be built and added to the said house, together also with one house in Dent's Chaire there, now in the occupacon of Richard Smith, another house in the occupation of Edward Rotherforde, another in the occupation of John Storey, another being two lowe rooms of a new house which I latelie builded in Dent's Chaire aforesaid, now in the severall occupations of Edward Hodgson and Isabell Robson, together also with severall competent coalholes to be sett fourth to every of the said houses in the Black beare yard...'.

He also left to Richard, 'one third part of one house which I latelie purchased of one Christopher Watson, wherein one George Bitleye, miller now dwelleth in Dent's Chaire aforesaid'. Richard was to pay from this house's rent 'to Margarett Hunter, widowe and her heires for ever, the sume of 13s. 4d. yearlie rent', and 8s. to the poor of All Saints parish. Richard also inherited 'the house adjoining unto my now dwellinghouse in Westgate which I lately purchased of Isabell Maddison and others. And my lease of the Sadler's close, in Freare Chaire'. To his second son, Thomas Nicholson, George bequeathed 'my house or tenement in Sandgate [...] known by the name of Blackbeere, nowe in the occupation of Francis Clarke, Merchante'. In the yard of this house, Nicholson also rented out, 'the lint loft in the occupation of Thomas Robinson, and the upp dwelling adjoining into the said yard which I lately builded in the Milne Steads, and also the Cowe house and two shillings rent per annum for half of the Keye near unto the river of Tyne'. To Nicholson's third son, William, was left 'two tenements or farmeholdes with the appurtenances and a parcell of land called Bells lying in West Thirston in Northumberland', 'lately purchased of Robert Carr'. To his fourth son, Robert, rents from several houses in Sandgate (lately purchased of Mr. William Jackson), a house in Baileygate (purchased of John Stocoe 'when the same shall fall to me att the expiration of a lease which wilbe within two yeares'), 'and likewise my lease of tearme which I holde of one shoppe in the Sandhill granted from William Boone, Margaret Boone and others'.

George Nicholson's extensive property holdings represent substantial investment in property, and speculative building for rental income. Nicholson's father, a cutler, was presumably a well off middling tradesmen with sufficient wealth to own property and educate his son as a lawyer. Their house in Westgate represents the sixteenth century residency of middling tradesmen in the traditional gentry quarter of Newcastle, during a period when the gentry were not resident in town. In Durham, the Bailey streets were occupied by middling artisan households prior to the return of the gentry from c.1600; the Brocketts, a family of prosperous plumbers had their house in the North Bailey and Ralph Lee, mason, had a house in the South Bailey, provide seventeenth century examples of middling residency in the 'gentry quarter' of town.[118] George Nicholson's extensive involvement in Newcastle's property market, and rebuilding, provides an exceptionally well documented case of lawyers active in the property market a century before they appear as property agents in the newspaper adverts. Evidence for an active property market and house rebuilding, for middling groups, lawyers as property specialists, and the elite houses of the merchants and gentry, presents greater discontinuity during the early seventeenth century, than in the later parts of our period.

Rebuilding and commercialisation of the housing market, with attendant turnover in occupancy, present the early seventeenth century as the crucial period of change in housing conditions in the urban centres of the north-east. It was also in the early seventeenth century that the gentry began to take town residences, and rebuilt their houses. Merchants were certainly well housed from the sixteenth century, but continued to rebuild in the seventeenth century. These early seventeenth century changes, followed on from the complex social and economic reconfiguration outlined from the late sixteenth century in Chapter Two.

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[118]Green nd; DULA Probate Box 1688, William Brockett the elder, North Bailey, 1693 probate account; DULA Probate, Raiph Lee rough mason, South Bailey, 1666 will & inventory; DULA Probate, Elizabeth Lee widow South Bailey 1674 will & inventory .

Durham and Newcastle Houses and Architectural Change

Borsay's thesis of an 'English Urban Renaissance' in the century after 1660 has come to dominate accounts of early modern towns. This places excessive discontinuity on the post-Restoration period.[119] Borsay recognised that 'since the reign of Elizabeth there had been a significant upgrading in the domestic accomodation of the more substantial citizens, but this tended to concentrate on interior comfort rather than external elegance'.[120] This downplaying of the significance of external alterations to housing is untenable. Borsay claimed that a key manifestation of the 'Urban Renaissance' was that the late seventeenth century experienced an entirely novel interest in the aesthetic appearance of houses. According to Borsay, tall timber-frame jettied houses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, were a functional response to the pressure of space.[121] An early nineteenth century engraving of The Side, Newcastle, shows such tall timber-framed jettied buildings - with elaborately carved console brackets, decorative framing and projecting gabled bay-windows. Borsay admits such features but considered them 'idiosyncratic and did little to relate one house to another'.[122] Graves has suggested that these windows played a part in the civic pageantry of seventeenth century Newcastle.[123] The homogeneity of this style of merchant house and Graves' argument for the role of their exterior in civic ceremonial, undermines Borsay's notion that houses prior to 1660 were not part of civic consciousness and urban identity.

Borsay claimed that what 'was new about the late seventeenth century approach was that it introduced an urban aesthetic into urban architecture. At the core of this aesthetic lay an attempt to exploit the specific potential of the town (against the village) as

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[119]post-1660 discontinuity is also exagerated by periodisation of historiography on towns largely dividing before 1640 and after 1660, see Barry 1991: 198-234.
[120]Borsay 1989: 41, & 45-46, citing Hoskins 1953: 44-59.
[121]Borsay 1977 reprinted in Borsay ed. 1990: 159-187, 169-70.
[122]Aryis 1997: 26, 1827 engraving; Borsay 1990: 169.
[123]Graves & Heslop nd.

a social and physical unit.'[124] Yet the cultural shift from a seventeenth century stylistic culture (of elaborate decoration, shaped gables, projecting chimney stacks and porches, and mullion windows) to an eighteenth century interest in symmetry, sash-windows and single-plane facades, was shared in houses in town and country alike. The adoption of brick for external walling in Durham and Newcastle, might be thought to have emasculated the distinction between timber-framed merchants houses and stone-built gentry residences. However, brick was initially favoured by the mercantile groups and largely represented the replacement of timber-framing. The brick shaped gables of the late seventeenth century, for example, were mainly built by merchants or wealthy tradesmen (for instance on Saddler Street, Durham).[125] The gentry largely continued to build in stone, and even where brick was used, the appearance of stone was apparently preferred: Eden House on South Bailey in Durham, was built from a cleared site in *c.*1730 of brick but with a rusticated ashlar facade to the street.[126] Moreover, brick houses in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were often structurally dependent on timber, and timber-framing in Newcastle, Sunderland and Durham continued through to the mid-eighteenth century, beneath brick facades. Brick was rare outside of towns in the north-east before 1730; as was timber-framing previously.[127]

The extent to which the town houses of elite groups were tending towards uniformity in the early years of the eighteenth century, correlated with the increase in the gentry, professions and merchants having houses in both town and country. Such dual residency in town and country was not new to the late seventeenth century, and the discontinuity may be more marked from around 1600 in the north-east, as elsewhere.[128] The cultural context of what houses in town and country represented, did alter in the early

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[124]Borsay 1990: 169.
[125]Roberts 1994: 89.
[126]Green nd.
[127]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 73-4; Pevsner et. al. 1992: 70-71.
[128]see Brooks 1986: 183-6, 214-17.

eighteenth century as part of an increasingly diffuse notion of gentility, and genteel living. The genteel residences situated with easy access to Durham and Newcastle, discussed from the property adverts in Chapter Seven, bridged the supposedly separate worlds of urbane and rustic England.[129]

Among the elite of gentry, merchant and professional groups, a proportion of each evidently commuted between town and country in the north-east. This was again partly associated to the life-cycle. Lawyers in Durham were mostly resident on the Bailey, near to the law-courts on Palace Green.[130] In 1624 John King Notarie Public refers in his will to his house 'situate near the Pallace Green in Durham', and he desired to be buried at St. Mary-le-Bow on North Bailey.[131] In between Palace Green and the North Bailey, lodging-houses catered for young lawyers.[132] In Newcastle, young lawyers occupied lodgings. In 1726, 'Mr William French Attorney at Law living by the Keyside at the Trinity Coffee-House; gives Notice that he is admitted and sworn a Publick Notary'.[133] Established lawyers, in middle age, occupied substantial households in Newcastle and Durham, frequently with country houses out of town as well. Of sixty admissions of attorney allowing practice in the temporal courts of Durham, between 1660 and 1675, nineteen have been identified in the Durham probate registry before 1690.[134] Of these nineteen lawyers, ten died resident in Durham, while seven were resident in County Durham, and one in Northumberland.

The relative residency of the county gentry and civic elite is a neglected issue in the social life and governance of towns. This is thrown into relief, by considering the gendered residency of each group. Durham's gentry family houses were frequently

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[129]see Estabrook 1998.
[130]Green nd.
[131]Wills & Inventories IV 1929: 174, John King, of Durham, Notarie Public, 1624 will.
[132]Green nd.
[133]*Newcastle Courant* 52 April 23 1726.
[134]PRO DURHAM 3/218 1660-1723, list in DULA by C.W. Brooks; DULA Probate Registry.

occupied more permanently by women, especially unmarried daughters and widows, than by the men of the family who came and went according to business commitments elsewhere. Sir William Bowes' widow, Lady Elizabeth, lived in the Bowes' South Bailey house from her husbands' death in 1715 till 1736 when she was buried in the chancel of St. Mary the Less across the street. The wealthiest Durham gentry ladies also had housing in London; in 1712-14, Lady Bowes received correspondence about the rent of a house in London, and later received a request for advice from her London agent on the purchase of household goods so that the house will not stand empty.[135] Sir George Bowes preferred to dwell at Gibside, with his wife Mary, in the heart of their coal interests.[136] Sir Robert Eden's will of 1744, left Eden House (nextdoor to Bowes House) to his wife as the home she was so attached to, and from where she was instructed to supervise the education of their eight children at Durham school.[137] Lady Elizabeth Bowes' unmarried daughters, Jane and Elizabeth, lived with her and held the lease after her death.[138] Jane remained living in the Bailey house until her own death in 1771, whereas her elder sister Elizabeth made preperations to move to her own newly built house in Elvet in the year after her mothers death; a mortgage was taken out for the property (from Durham Corporation arranged by her brother Sir George) in January 1738 and she moved in in 1740.[139] Female residency in Elvet houses is further suggested by a 1724 advert for a house and land in Brandon, advertised as 'lately belonging to Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Brown of New Elvet'.[140] Female residency on the gentry streets of the Bailey and in Elvet, are paralleled by female residency in Newcastle's gentry quarter of Westgate; for instance 'A Large

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[135]DCRO D/St/C1/2/73 Letter n.d. to Lady Bowes; D/St/C1/2/80 Letter Gilbert Dawson, London to Lady Bowes at Gibside, 21 February (early eighteenth century); D/St/E15/2/2 list of plate in London at death of Elizabeth Bowes 1759.
[136]Wills 1995.
[137]DULA Probate Box 1744.
[138]D/St/E8/4 & will of Jane Bowes, DULA Probate Box 1771.
[139]DCRO D/St/C1/3/67-73; D/St/E8/9 & D/St/E8/7/1-5.
[140]*Newcastle Courant* 216 August 8 1724.

Dwelling House at the Foot of the Westgate, in the Possession of Madam Jennison and Mrs Barnes'.[141] Vikery has commented on the importance of urban sociability for women's lives in Georgian England, and it may have been even more important if elite women were more permanently resident in towns than men, as the evidence for gentry families in eighteenth century Durham and Newcastle suggests.[142]

The reverse pattern of gendered residency may have been true to some degree for merchants, whose business interests kept them in town. James identified early seventeenth century matriarchal households in the country, led by the daughters of Catholic gentry families who had married wealthy Newcastle merchants.[143] Some merchants and lawyers evidently only had lodgings in town, with a full household in the country - often within a short distance of town.[144] By the eighteenth century, this practice of town to country commuting was well established. When William Eltrick was away in the East Indies for four years, in the mid-eighteenth century, his wife rented two houses, one in Durham and one in Ferryhill (a small market centre, seven miles south of Durham), providing a house in town and one in the country, for her own convenience. Their house and estate at High Barnes was let to a tenant.[145]

The internal arrangement of town houses remained distinctive to specific social groups in the early eighteenth century. The requirements of commercial transactions, in counting rooms, or business offices, produced distinctive internal arrangements for households, which distinguished merchant from gentry houses. 'The design of a house for a merchant' in Bristol of 1724, describes a four-square room-plan for a double-pile house, with central projecting bay, containing the entrance.[146] In its external symmetry and mass,

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[141] *Newcastle Courant* 157 June 22 1723.
[142] Vickery 1998: 9-10 & passim.
[143] James 1974: 137-146.
[144] see Brooks 183-6, 215-6, 274.
[145] Borthwick Trans. C.P.I. /1480 [n.d. mid 18C, 1750s/60s] I am grateful to Joanne Bailey for this reference.
[146] Bold 1990: 75-82.

and four-square room plan, the closest surviving parallel of this design for a merchant's house, is the gentry town house of the Edens built in South Bailey, Durham *c.*1730.[147] Internally, however, the requirements of an ideal merchant household determined a room arrangement and pattern of circulation distinctive from the gentry house in Durham. The Bristol merchant house had the main stair set centrally at the rear, beyond the entrance vestibule, with the vestibule and main stair separated by closets. A second stair was situated between the compter and private parlour. At Eden House, the main stair formed a dramatic and highly fashionable display in the entrance hall. The 'explanation of the Draughts of a House Proposed for a Merchant', attached to the Bristol house plan, explains that the 'Vestibule [was] for the Conveniency of Common people attending till they can be spoken to, or Strangers Servants to wait in and is therefore separated from the Stairs that they may not be at liberty to walk about and that the Family may pass privately about their affairs'. The vestibule did give (controlled) access to the compter and withdrawing room. But considerations of access went even further; from 'either the Withdrawing Room or Compter [the front ground floor rooms], the disposition of the Windows gives opportunity of seeing whatever passes from one end to the other of the Street without opening the door'. The secondary staircase was situated to the side of the house, between the compter and private (family) parlour. The architect explains, 'it is by the Back Stairs, to the Chambers that the young Men may at night go to their Beds and in the morning come to their business without disturbing or dirtying the best part of the house'. The main staircase in this merchants' house was certainly a vehicle of display, as it was at Eden House in Durham; the stair-well measurements were such that 'this enlargement of the Well upwards gives a better view of the Stairs and Ceilings, and adds a beauty which cannot be imagined by those who have not seen the experience of it'.[148]

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[147]plan & illus. in Green nd.
[148]Bold 1990: 78-82 prints 'explanation of the Draughts of a House Proposed for a Merchant'.

The newspaper adverts confirm that the interiors of houses, had to meet recognised requirements of gentility, as in 'A Large Convenient Dwelling House next door to the Black Horse in Newgate Street, Newcastle' was described as 'having in it very fashionable Rooms fit for a Gentleman's Family' as well as 'a very handsome Garden'.[149]

Houses in the late seventeenth century were not simply the precursor of the ideal type Georgian House, of the eighteenth century. Indeed, late seventeenth century houses were often refaced in the eighteenth century to alter their appearance to conform with the Georgian aesthetic. Abbey House, on Palace Green in Durham, was a medieval stone house rebuilt in brick in the late seventeenth century, and received a new ashlar facade in the early-mid eighteenth century: five bays, symmetrical and sashed, with a central door (the focus for classical detailing of double acanthus brackets) and roof masked by a parapet. The late seventeenth century building had an aesthetic of its own, probably with mullion and transom windows to a symmetrical facade, shaped brick gables, including raised bands of vertical and horizontal brickwork to the chimney stacks, and a series of decorations in the brickwork of the gable end.[150] Many other houses in Durham and Newcastle, also had shaped brick gables, such as the merchant houses in Saddler Street, or the surviving example on Elvet Bridge.[151] The skyline of late seventeenth century Durham was certainly much 'livelier' than after the removal of such features in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The plan-form of late seventeenth century town houses has recently been recognised as more distinctive than simply a stage on the path towards the Georgian House. Kelsall identified a distinctive house type in later seventeenth century London, with a side-passage, central stair, and chimney against stair or side wall. This was quite different in spatial arrangement from the subsequent development of staircases to the rear

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[149]*Newcastle Courant* 76 October 8 1726.
[150]Appendix: 1.
[151]Roberts 1994: 89.

of the entrance passage. This central staircase plan is found in several surviving late seventeenth century houses in Durham, at 28 North Bailey and along Saddler Street. These houses invariably had a front ground floor room devoted to commerce, as either a shop or office, entered from the street or side passage. The side passage led directly from the street to the central stair, providing access to first floor living with service or commercial storage and workshops to the rear on the ground-floor.[152] The facade of 28 North Bailey, with windows positioned to the side containing the door, rather than symmetrically balanced on the central axis, parallels late seventeenth century facade drawings for London houses.[153] Kelsall observes that the London plans were related to the lobby-entry hall and parlour house of the seventeenth century; distinguished from cross-passage or gable-entry houses by relatively direct access to the parlour, without passing through the hall. Kelsall dates the central staircase plan specifically to 1660-80; after 1680 a preference for rear staircase appears.[154] There is no reason to presume Durham houses were behind this development, and appear contemporary with the London examples. McKellar shows that later seventeenth century London housing, represents a distinctive stylistic culture which was not simply an experiment in the pursuit of the Georgian House.[155] There were close chronological parallels in the development of plan-types and style between London houses and towns in the rest of England; the post-fire London town-house may be exaggerated as the template for building in the rest of England. Architectural affinities suggest that urban housing cultures transcended the metropolitan/provincial divide, with links to colonial towns and continental parallels.

Alderman Fenwick's House in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, was built in the 1690s.[156] Its closest known architectural parallel is Schomberg House, Pall Mall, London,

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[152]Green nd.
[153]McKellar 1999: 162 & 163.
[154]Kelsall 1974: 80-91.
[155]McKellar 1996: 10-18 & 1999.
[156]Heslop & McCombie 1996.

of the same date.[157] Summerson described Schomberg House (built for the Duke of Schomberg and supposedly inspired by Daniel Marot engravings) as 'that interesting freak'.[158] Alderman Fenwick's original cruciform mullion and transom windows were replaced by shorter, wider sashes in the early eighteenth century. At the same date, the main room (across the width of the front, first floor) was panelled, and the bays divided off to form closets; suggesting their original role, as viewing platforms over the street and towards the ships on the Tyne, had become redundant. The front range of both houses is set back from the street, with bay windows projecting forward at each end of the block. Alderman Fenwick's originally had a shaped brick gable and the gable wall had windows with bull-nosed brick sills. The stair tower to the rear rises all the way up to the roof, which is split to allow access onto the front parapet. Graves has pointed out the significance of viewing platforms on the roofs of seventeenth century Newcastle houses, probably used by merchants to show ships in port to business acquaintances, and McKellar has noted their prevalence in London at the same date.[159] The cupula lantern shown on Corbridge's map of 1723 parallels known late seventeenth and early eighteenth century examples in the City of London, other English ports, such as Whitehaven, and New England towns; for instance Boston, Massachusets or Portsmouth, New Hampshire.[160] Views from the leads were associated to viewing landholding and landscape from country house roof tops in this period, but roof top walks were equally a part of towns. In 1724, a 'House in Bykar-Chair near the Key' being 'a very good and convenient House', was advertised 'with large Leads on the Top'.[161] In Westgate, a surviving early eighteenth century house, has a small walk behind the roof parapet.[162]

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[157]illustrated in Summerson 1970: 383.
[158]Summerson 1970: 382.
[159]Graves & Heslop nd; McKellar 1999: 23 & 202.
[160]Edmund Gray pers. com.; Collier & Pearson 1991: 116-7 & Sarah Pearson pers. com.; Morrison (1952) 1987: 306-7 & 479.
[161]*Newcastle Courant* 199 April 11 1724.
[162]now Newcastle Arts Centre.

Conclusion

One model of cultural change in early modern England, posits towns and increasing civility as the promoters of national identity, national culture and economic integration. Provincial centres may well have served to promote regional cultures in the provinces.[163] The architecture of houses, however, suggests that regional and national cultures had a mutualist rather than antagonistic relationship. Although urban life in the north-east was connected to developments in London and elsewhere, we need to see these towns, and the region, in their own terms - not always as shadowing developments elsewhere. A key fact in the role of towns in the north-east, for consumption, commerce and sociability, was that they were simply so far from London; the national metropolis was too far away to meet most people's needs. In architectural style and the accomodation of houses, there was surprisingly little dissimilarity between London and Durham and Newcastle in the seventeenth century. The county gentry took town houses in Durham at the same date as the national gentry moved to London, from *c.*1600. The Newcastle merchants had enormous wealth and built houses as lavish as many in London. The plan form of late seventeenth century town houses in Durham was the same as in London. These houses, moreover, have wider parallels in continental Europe and colonial America. Durham and Newcastle houses are witness to a trans-national housing culture, specific to certain social groups, occurring in the north-east at the same date as they were being built in London.

The Hearth Tax has confirmed our general picture of Durham as a county town, dominated by the clergy, lawyers and gentry elite. Newcastle was a more mercantile town, and port, with a greater dominance of merchants. Together with the property adverts in the *Newcastle Courant*, for the early eighteenth century, this chapter has shown the degree of turnover in occupancy of households across the social range. This turnover in

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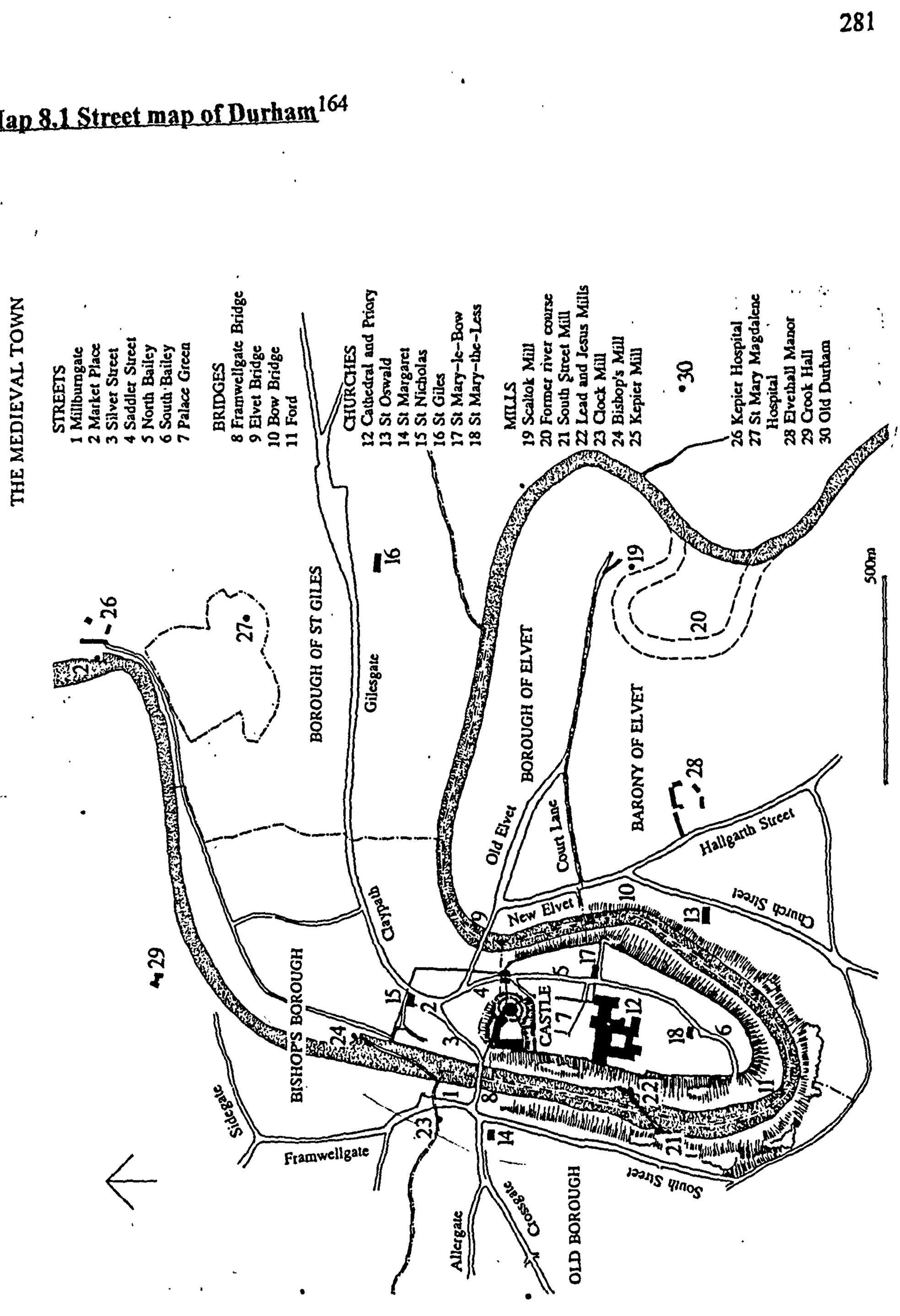
[163] Wrigley 1967; Everitt in Borsay 1990: 83-115; Estabrook 1998.

the occupancy of housing was part of the reason why architecture changed, since the mobility of the population underpinned individual interactions and rebuildings which constituted architectural change. The final chapter investigates the evidence for the usual mechanisms posited for the known changes in architectural style.

Map 8.1 Street map of Durham[164]



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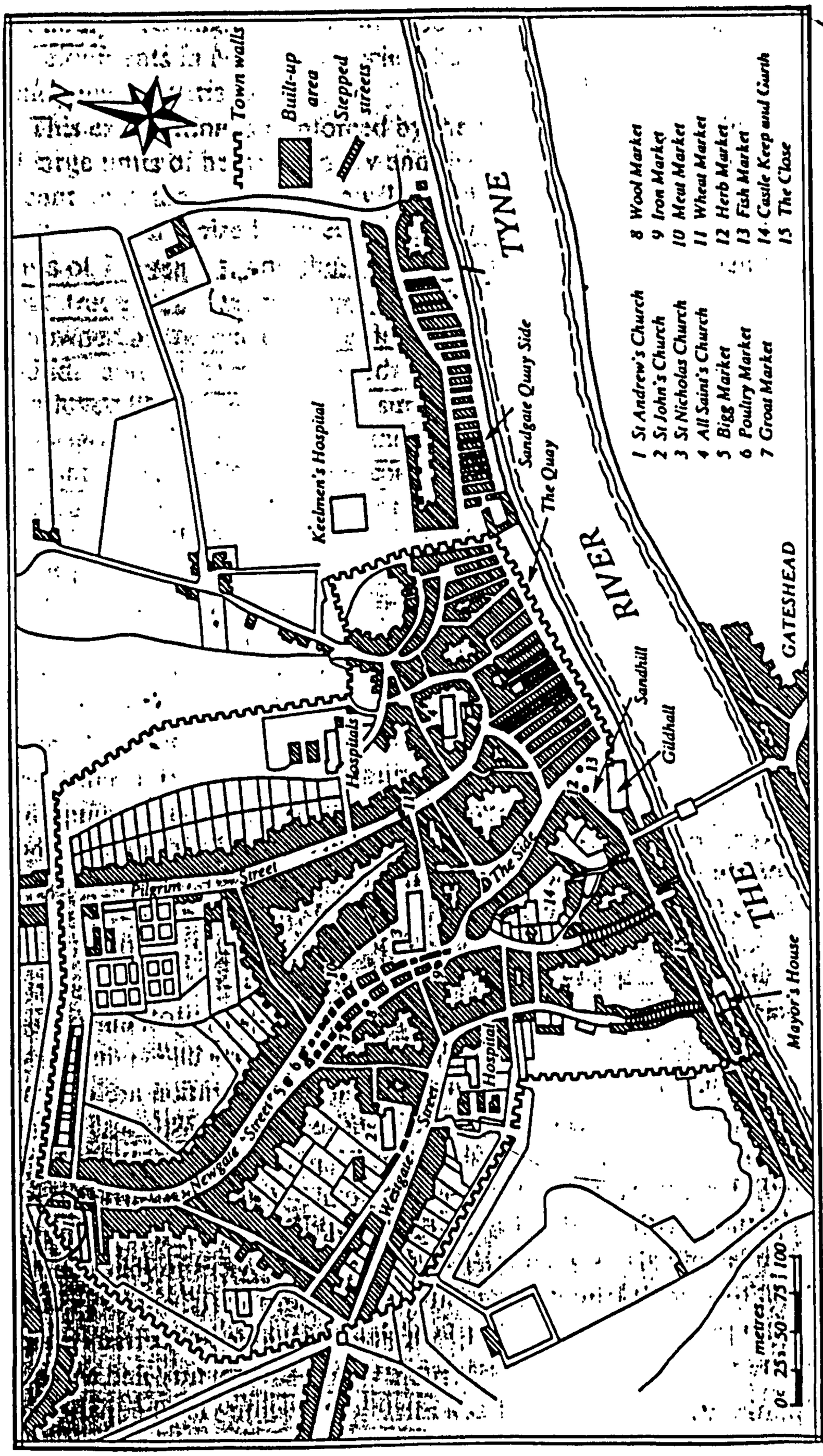
[164]Roberts 1994: 63.

Map 8.2 Street map of Newcastle[165]



Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the 1730s

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[165]Ellis 1984: 191.

Chapter Nine: The Building Process

The preceding chapters have shown that houses in County Durham and Newcastle largely conformed to nation-wide changes in architecture, differentiated by social group, but built using materials and stylistic features which created regionally distinctive architecture. To comprehend the cultural significance of architectural change, it is necessary to establish the processes involved in the construction of these houses. This chapter investigates the mechanisms usually cited for architectural change; print culture, the rise of the professional architect, and craftsmen mobility.

Print culture and architectural style in the seventeenth century

The diffusion of architectural style via print culture is a favoured mechanism for explaining architectural change, but this minimises the cultural significance of architectural variation since printed sources only provide the medium of transmission. Printed sources had specific roles in architectural style in the seventeenth century. For instance, in the early seventeenth century a series of ornamental oak overmantels were produced by a workshop of carvers in Newcastle, creatively employing engraved designs.[1] The 'Beehive Inn' overmantel, from an early seventeenth century timber-framed merchant house in Sandhill, Newcastle, dates from *c.*1630.[2] A similar overmantel at Hunwick Hall, County Durham (a late medieval courtyard house adapted in the seventeenth century), is somewhat later.[3] Both overmantels depict female figures personifying classical virtues, taken from prints published in Antwerp and Cologne *c.*1600.[4] Print culture could thus have a direct input into the material culture of houses, but direct sources for the figurative detail do not explain the exuberance or sophistication of Newcastle oak carvers in the

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[1]Wells-Cole 1997: 185-7.
[2]Pevsner et. al. 1992: 69 & Ryder nd.
[3]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 334-5; Emery 1997: 187.
[4]Wells-Cole 1997: 185-7.

early seventeenth century. Rather, the overmantels demonstrate that Newcastle participated in the stylistic culture of northern Europe, in the seventeenth century. The broader design of the overmantels, of oak carving in relief, framed by classical columns or caryatids, and entablature, are part of the English Renaissance stylistic culture as a whole. Colvin has emphasised the significance of classical virtues in the use of herms, terms and caryatids in sixteenth and seventeenth century English architecture, and carved chimneypieces were one of the most prominent aspects of internal decoration in the period.[5] The carved chimneypiece for the parlour at Horden Hall, County Durham, with its lozenge decorated pilasters to the sides of the fireplace, and herms above, is another local example of a national style.[6] The usage of classical orders and entablature in fireplace design demonstrates the adaptation of classical architecture in internal decoration, and shows that Newcastle craftsmen in the early seventeenth century were well versed in the use of 'academic' architecture.

Seventeenth Century Master Masons in the North-East

The most prominent seventeenth-century master-masons known for the north-east, indicate that grander architectural practice was comparable to leading works in the south of England. Robert Trollope (d.1686) came from York to Newcastle (although resident in Gateshead) in the 1650s, and gained the Freedom of Newcastle in 1657.[7] All of Trollope's known buildings are north of the Tyne: Newcastle Guildhall; Capheaton Hall (1668), and smaller country houses, such as Bockenfield (*c.*1675).[8] Pevsner et. al. describe Trollope's architecture as part of the 'provincial and endearing Mannerism indulged in between 1630 and 1675 by those who were oblivious to or unimpressed by the

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[5]Colvin 1999: 95-135; see also Rykwert 1996; Yarwood 1967: 181-4.
[6]Appendix 9.
[7]Colvin 1995: 837-838.
[8]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 38, 283 & 417.

academic virtues of Jones, Pratt and Wren'.[9] Trollope's architecture is distinguished by its use of rusticated pilasters on the principal facades, comparable to Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire (*c.*1670) and the Old Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1678-83).[10] Despite its resonances with styles current in England generally, Trollope's architecture wilfully departs from the academic code of classical architecture; the giant rusticated pilasters are disengaged from the cornice at Capheaton, and entirely without an entablature at Bockenfield. Yet his architecture demonstrates that provincially distinctive architecture in the seventeenth century north-east was related to English stylistic culture nationally.

John Langstaffe (1622-94), was master mason of Bishop Auckland, County Durham. Langstaffe, a Quaker, was responsible for work on Sir Arthur Haselrigg's classical house at Bishop Auckland Castle in the 1650s, and later remodelled Auckland for Bishop Cosin, after the Restoration. Langstaffe also rebuilt the complex of Palatinate buildings around Palace Green, in Durham, between the Bishop's Castle and Cathedral, in the 1660s.[11]

Haselrigg's house paralleled Chief Justice Oliver St. John's Thorpe Hall, Huntingdonshire (1653-6), an almost square double-pile house, comparable to Pratt's 'innovatory' Coleshill (*c.*1650 onwards, Berkshire).[12] Thorpe was in the vanguard of architectural change (once thought to be by Inigo Jones, or his pupil Webb).[13] In fact, Peter Mills, a city of London bricklayer, drew plans and elevations 'in the Italian style' and contracted local Ketton stone masons to build Thorpe Hall.[14] At Bishop Auckland, Langstaffe was the architect and master-mason, retained by Bishop Cosin after the Restoration - despite his Quakerism and association to the hated Haselrigg.[15] Langstaffe

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[9]Pevsner et. al. 1992: 211.
[10]Pevsner et. al. 1992: 211; Summerson 1970: 168; Pevsner & Sherwood 1974: 254.
[11]DULA Mickleton & Spearman MS.91; Colvin 1995: 504-5.
[12]see Platt 1994.
[13]Sitwell 1947: 39-40.
[14]Colvin 1999: 158-178.
[15]see Cornforth 1972: 266-70.

transferred Haslerigg's doorcase and windows onto the Porter's Lodge in 1666; one Haselrigg window survives on Auckland Castle, and more of Haselrigg's house was recycled onto the Castle by Cosin before being removed by Wyatt in the later eighteenth century.[16]

Pevsner describes the survivals of Haselrigg's house on the Porter's Lodge as 'Artisan Mannerist details: doorcase with a pediment on large brackets and a lugged architrave, architrave surrounds and cornices with pulvinated friezes to the windows'.[17] The surviving windows and lugged doorcase architrave by Langstaffe from the Haselrigg house closely match Mills' work at Thorpe. Moreover, Colvin identifies the innovation of the lugged architrave as a feature of the group of mid-seventeenth century classical compact plan houses in the south of England, listing six houses 'in a rigorously classical style' but excluding Haselrigg and Langstaffe at Auckland.[18] The classical houses at Thorpe, Coleshill and Auckland, were created for Puritan and republican leaders of the Commonwealth.[19] The Haselrigg house at Auckland has been omitted from this important group in the narrative of English architectural history, owing to its demolition and northern location. Langstaffe at Auckland ought to be recognised as part of the vangaurd of architectural change in house design in seventeenth century England.

Four sons followed Langstaffe into their father's trade, working across the north-east and beyond; Thomas (1655-1703) and Amos (d.1693) remained in and around Bishop Auckland. Thomas also worked in Cumberland, John (1649-1719) went to Whitby, and Bethwell apparently migrated to Philadelphia.[20] Thomas, Amos and John worked on buildings across the northern counties, with a similar geography to houses

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[16]Appendix: 2; Cosin Correspondence II 1870: 332-383; Langstaffe drawing in DULA Mickleton & Spearman MS.91; Cornforth 1972; Raine 1852: 82.
[17]Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 102.
[18]Colvin 1999: 158-78.
[19]Mowl & Earnshaw 1995: 203.
[20]Colvin 1995: 504-5.

advertised in the early eighteenth century newspapers. Meanwhile, Bethwell provides a link between the housing culture of the new colony of Pennsylvania, and County Durham.

These seventeenth-century master masons are known principally from the buildings accounts of a bishop and an urban corporation. No such documentation exists for the majority of houses surveyed for this study. Most houses, and the mainstream of architectural change, were the creation of historically anonymous craftsmen. The next section considers the rise of the architect in place of the master-mason, in the north-east, and the role of pattern books, in the early eighteenth century, before moving on to what we do know about craftsmen.

Eighteenth century pattern books in the North-East

The transition from English Renaissance and 'Artisan Mannerist' architecture to Georgian houses is often ascribed in part to the changing conditions of architectural practice in the eighteenth century, with the arrival of pattern books and professional architects. Whereas Summerson emphasised that 'Artisan Mannerism' was not a 'bookish' style, pattern books have been credited with promoting classical architecture in eighteenth century England.[21] However, evidence for the diffusion of classical and academic architecture in print in early eighteenth century north-east England is limited, and Colvin considers the use of pattern books in the region highly unlikely before the 1730s.[22] This is perhaps unsurprising, since Batty Langley, the most famous of eighteenth century pattern book writers, did not publish till 1727 *The Builder's Closet-book* and A *Sure Guide to Builders.*[23] In 1728, the *Newcastle Courant* advertised a sale of books by auction, at Mr. Bartho Pratt's in the White Hart in the Fleshmarket, Newcastle, which included Evelyn on

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[21]Summeson 1970: 170; Louw 1981: 9.
[22]Howard Colvin pers. com..
[23]see Harris & Savage 1990.

Architecture.[24] Yet, no other architectural or builders books are advertised in Newcastle newspapers before 1734, when *The Builders' Dictionary or Gentleman and Architects Companion* was advertised. Between 1734 and 1741 a total of nine separate architectural works are mentioned.[25] None are recorded from 1710 to 1733 when local booksellers were advertising and at a time when printers in London were producing books on building.[26] The first pattern books proper, a *List of Fourteen Architectural Pattern Books for Polite Buildings* and a *List of Eight Architectural Pattern Books for Rural and Farm Buildings*, were advertised in 1759.[27] The newspaper adverts are a reliable guide to the general availability of printed pattern books and architectural treatises, since they frequently included sales of books and lists of books available from booksellers, which included related subjects, such as gardening manuals. A systematic search of seventeenth and eighteenth century book lists in the north-east, might reveal up-to-date architectural books, but my researches have been largely negative before 1730.

As McKellar has emphasised, the architectural books which were available in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were very different from the later eighteenth century pattern books, 'being less prescriptive in terms of style'.[28] McKellar attributes the post-1660 increase in printed books related to architecture to the contractual context of speculative building in London, where craftsmen needed to satisfy patrons about the future form of buildings (which might be contested at law) rather than to a heightened demand for advice on style.

The appearance of pattern books from the 1730s onwards means that printed architectural source books followed rather than preceded architectural change. The sale of pattern books was arguably demand rather than supply led. This means that the period of

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[24] *Newcastle Courant* 177 September 14 1728.
[25] Chamberlain nd.
[26] see Harris & Savage 1990.
[27] Chamberlain nd.
[28] McKellar 1999: 138-154, quoting 139.

innovation in architectural change in the north-east, in the fifty years before 1730, was apparently not affected by pattern books. Even when pattern books were in use, their role in architectural design is often misrepresented. Pattern books have been attributed with encouraging a greater uniformity in architecture, but this fails to account for the creative use of pattern books. Pattern books were a creation, rather than a cause, of architectural change.

Eighteenth Century Architects in the North-East

In August 1727, the first newspaper reference to an architect appears, when 'Ralph Wilson lately from London: Surveys lands, makes models, draws Draughts of Architecture, Plans of Gentleman's Seats etc.' was to be found in Barnard Castle.[29] The term 'Plans of Gentleman's Seats', corresponds to the class of house referred to as 'Gentleman's Seats' in the property adverts (Chapter Seven). Such convenient houses, often with sash windows and panelled rooms, and presumably symmetrical facades, were already present in the north-east before architects or pattern books appeared to promote them, around 1730.

The 'London' architect, Ralph Wilson, at Barnard Castle in summer 1727, advertising his services in the newspapers, marks a break from the master-masons working on houses in the region during the seventeenth century. The advert signals the advent of the professional (or jobbing) architect in the north-east, at the very end of our period. The context of the newspaper adverts, suggests that the language of London skills, and new techniques, was a distinctive discourse of entrepreneurial tradesmen. Wilson 'who serveys Lands', was following a broader trade in expertese, whereby surveyors and book-keepers promoted their services in the newspapers to north-eastern landowners, and

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[29] *Newcastle Courant* 120 August 12 1727.

coal-owners.[30] The adverts emphasise their advanced and London-based knowledge, such as in 1723 'Lately come from London, a Person who surveys Land with the newest Instrument, called the Teololite, also Protracts Lands measur'd in the most exact Manner, with the Prospects and Elevations of Houses and Platforms of Gardens'.[31] We do not know how successful such adverts were. According to Deetz and Johnson, the Georgian Order involved both the new symmetry in houses and the new geometry in town-planning and surveying of the landscape as part of a mentality of control over nature (and by extension social inferiors).[32] The unitiated were seemingly being drawn into the Georgian Order in the early eighteenth century north-east: in 1729, 'Mr. William Donkin of South Gosforth, Northumberland, proposes to instruct any young Gentleman, that are curious, in the Act of Surveying, and Mensuration of Lands, both in the Theoretic and Practice Parts'[33]

By the mid-eighteenth century, architects and pattern books had a more established role in house building in the north-east. In 1747 Daniel Garrett published *Designs and Estimates of Farm Houses for the County of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland and Bishoprick of Durham.*[34] These northern counties correlate with the regionality in the property market, charted in Chapter Seven. The earlier eighteenth century property adverts already expressed an interest in the tenantable repair of farmhouses, and Garrett's book catered to this landowning clientele, rather than farmers directly. Garrett stated that his work answered the 'complaints of gentlemen who have built Farm-Houses, that they are irregular, expensive and frequently too large for the

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[30]e.g. *Newcastle Courant* 251 February 14 1729-30, 'A Person thoroughly experienced in Book Keeping, and well versed in all Sorts of Colliery Accompts, is now ready and desirous to serve any Gentleman in, or near the Town of Newcastle, in the like Affairs, upon reasonable Terms; Enquire of the Printer of this Paper'.
[31]*Newcastle Courant* 168 September 7 1723.
[32]Deetz 1977; Johnson 1996: 119-154 & see Leone & Hurry 1998.
[33]*Newcastle Courant* 234 October 18 1729.
[34]Harris & Savage 1990: 34.

Farms they were intended for'. Garrett (d.1753) was an established architect, practising in the northern counties, and a disciple of Burlington's Yorkshire-based Palladianism. He proposed applying regularity and proportion to farm houses, whereas hitherto (he claimed) 'regularity and proportion' had been reserved for grandiose buildings. Garrett also proposed that Farm Houses and Barns, if placed at a proper distance from the gentleman's houses, and artfully masked by trees, would be 'very agreeable objects' to ornament their parks. None of this was entirely new, however. Sir George Bowes (and his wife) at Gibside landscape park, near Gateshead, had already sought to mask the industrialised landscape of Tyneside in the 1730s, and farmhouses were already regular and proportioned before 1747.

In 1749, Ellemore Hall was transformed from a 'stone manor house into a brick mansion of 'Palladian reticence' with features 'from the pattern books of the time' by the architect-mason Robert Shout, of Helmsley (Yorkshire), for George Baker.[35] The pattern book elements present, include a doorway with a Gibbs surround. Yet this was not entirely a pattern-book house, since the U-plan (and walls at least to first floor level) were retained from the *c.*1553-71 house.[36] Itinerant specialist craftsmen were also employed; Robert Corney and Richard Lockley carved the chimneypieces and Guiseppe Cortes (who also worked at Croxdale Hall, *c.*1760) installed three Rococco stuccowork ceilings.[37] The Italian Cortes was based in York, and linked to the Yorkshire architect John Carr (son of a stone mason).[38] The tradition of York plasterers was long established, and many worked away from home earlier in our period. A *c.*1600 plaster ceiling in Saddler Street, Durham, was possibly by the Yorkshire plasterer 'John Johnstoun'.[39] The prevalence of York craftsmen appearing in County Durham in the early seventeenth century and again in

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[35]Gosden 1982; Pevsner 1985: 264-5.
[36]Appendix: 20, Thornley Hall late 16C U-plan walls retained in 18C remodelling.
[37]Pevsner 1985: 135-6 & 264-5 citing Baker MS.
[38]Pevsner & Neave 1995: 71 & 73.
[39]Roberts 1994: 98.

the mid-eighteenth century, correlates with the degree of movement south to York by north-east men seeking apprenticeship in the buildings trade. As I demonstrate in the next section, the period of greatest change in architecture, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, involved far lower craftsman mobility.

This section has shown that by the mid-eighteenth century, pattern books and itinerant specialist craftsmen played a significant role in the creation of houses in County Durham, as they did across the north, and England generally. The period before *c.*1730, however, did not witness such obvious mechanisms for architectural change. This section has argued that wider cultural change, and specifically architectural change, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century created the conditions in which pattern books and specialist craftsmen thrived in the early-to-mid eighteenth century.

Craftsmen, the building process and stylistic diffusion

A few famous architects influenced work in the north-east during our period. A tenuous Smythson connection to the Cradocks at Gainford has been suggested to explain the creative 'compact house' at Gainford Hall of *c.*1600; Smythson is unlikely to have visited Gainford, but 'plats' in the 'Smythson-style' may well have circulated in manuscript amongst the intellectual Craddock family.[40] Inigo Jones supposedly contributed to the redesign of rooms at Raby Castle, but never visited.[41] In the eighteenth century, Vanburgh designed Seaton Delavell in Northumberland (1718-29), and redesigned Lumley Castle in County Durham (1721), and appears to have influenced (possibly via William Wakefield, his follower in Yorkshire) Helen Auckland Hall, County Durham (*c.*1730).[42] Vanburgh only briefly visited Lumley in 1721, and evidently regarded the north-east as foreign, if diverting, territory; he wrote from York in 1721: "I return'd

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[40]Girouard 1983: 181-2 & 289.
[41]*A Short Guide to Raby Castle*; see also Emery 1996: 123-136.
[42]Pevsner et. al. 1992: 561-3; Pevsner & Williamson 1983: 359 & 357; Whittaker 1975: 48.

but last night from the North (for here we are in the South).... If I had had good weather in this Expedition I shou'd have been well enough diverted in it; there being many more Valluable and Agreeable things and Places to be seen, than in the Tame Sneaking South of England."[43]

The canonical architects of 'the Tame Sneaking South of England' were never central to the process of architectural change in the north-east. Even where they were involved, the building process of architecturally avant garde houses was managed more directly by mason-contractors. At Seaton Delavell, a member of the Etty family of master-masons of York, was in charge (1718-29). According to Beard, the Ettys, in common with other leading York buildings trade craftsmen, travelled extensively out from York; plasterers went north to Scotland, and south to London in 'search of work and ideas'.[44] One of the glaziers and plumbers at Seaton Delavell, Thomas Allanson, also worked at York Mansion House, 1731 (where William Etty was probably the architect, not Burlington).[45] None of the Seaton Delavell craftsmen are known to have been Freemen of Durham building trades.

The 'household book' and correspondence of Bishop Cosin document a range of craftsmen in Durham and Bishop Auckland, in the 1660s.[46] For instance, the master mason John Langstaffe worked alongside a stone carver Richard Herring, and the joiners and carpenters James Hall, Marke Todd, John Brasse and Abraham Smith, as the principal craftsmen converting the medieval hall into St. Peter's chapel at Auckland Castle. The direction of the building works was closely followed by Cosin, despite his long absences from the Bishoprick, via the supervision of his superior staff in Durham and Auckland. In 1669 Cosin wrote to his secretary Miles Stapylton, 'From Auckland he [Langstaffe] nor

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[43]cited in Sitwell 1947: 102.
[44]Beard 1966: 16-7.
[45]Beard 1966: 52; Pevsner et. al. 1992: 561-4; Pevsner & Neave 1995: 195.
[46]Cosin Correspondence II 1870, 'household book' kept by Ralph Fetherstonhalgh, clerk to Mr Arden, the Bishop's steward; Whiting 1939-43: 18-32.

you nor Mr Davison have given me any certificat that all things are done and adjusted there, so that I may find nothing out of order either within or without when I come thither'.[47] Cosin as patron, was insistent on the detail of the building works, which (as I have quoted above) were itemised in detail in the accounts.

Building accounts for Croxdale Hall, reveal craftsmen in charge of a gentry building project in County Durham. Jerrard Salvin made agreements with Christopher Shacklock of Elvet carpenter and John Palmer of Esh slater, dating from January 1649 to 1654, to extend Croxdale Hall.[48] Christopher Skirrey (alias Scurroe) was also employed at Croxdale in the 1650s, in altering the recusant chapel. In 1704, further work was documented at Croxdale, with the earliest reference in the county to sash windows, agreed between Gerard Salvin and George Palmer.[49] The organisation of building work for the Salvins at Croxdale in the 1650s parallels closely the arrangements documented in the 1770s for a house owned by the Bowes family in Old Elvet.[50] Both sets of accounts itemise the payment of wages on the basis of work done by measurement or the day, to each specific individual employed. At Croxdale, Christopher Shacklock, carpenter, was the master craftsman and itemised the cost of materials and wages paid to individual workmen and women.[51] Cosin's 'household book' provides a similarly minuted record of specific tasks. For instance, in October 1665, Humphrey Wharton, John Langstaffe and Bryan Langstaffe, 'for seven days a peece, dayes labouring worke at 8d. per diem, as per bill removing rubbish from Sir Arth. Heslerigg's new buildings, £1 15s. 8d', with William Carleton for four dayes joyner's worke, 5s. 4d., Jo. Maddison for four bushells of haire, 4s. and Rich. Lockey 9s. for one 'foother [of] slates'.[52]

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[47]Cosin Correspondence II 1870: 229.
[48]DCRO D/Sa/E 630.
[49]DCRO D/Sa/E 631.
[50]DCRO D/St/E8/4-14.
[51]DCRO D/Sa/E 630.9 & 10.
[52]Cosin Correspondence II 1870.

Building practice and the organisation of craftsmen apparently altered little between the mid-seventeenth and late eighteenth century in County Durham, at least for the gentry projects which are documented in estate papers. Woodward has concluded from his study of buildings trade craftsmen in the north of England that there was considerable continuity between 1450 and 1750, in both working practices and ways of life[53] The building process of houses in the period *c.*1570-1730, involved craftsmen (directed by master-masons) creating houses in co-operation. At Croxdale Hall, in the 1650s, Jerrard Salvin was responsible for procuring materials for the extension of his house.[54] Gentry building projects in the seventeenth and eighteenth century north-east involved a traditional practice in the organisation of separate trades, contracted by the patron or a master craftsman.

Surviving building accounts usually only document the larger country houses and institutional projects. In an attempt to gain a wider handle on craftsman mobility I have searched for north-east men in London and York apprenticeship registers. If York and London were regarded at the time as leading architectural centres, then some craftsmen might be expected to seek a training in the national metropolis, or the northern centre of York before returning to the north-east. The next section investigates the evidence for craftsmen mobility between the north-east and the 'advanced' architectural centre of York, and the national centre of London.

London craftsmen

The City of London guild records present very limited evidence of individuals moving to London for apprenticeship in the buildings trade, from the north-east.[55] In the London Mason's Company, between 1663 and 1694, only John Specke, son of Micheal

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[53]Woodward 1995:10-11.
[54]DCRO D/Sa/E 630.
[55]London Guildhall Library.

Specke of Raby in County Durham, was apprenticed to a London mason (Robert Beadles in 1675). After 1694 the company records do not list father's name and place of origin. The larger Carpenter's Company had six apprentices from County Durham and two from Northumberland, and one apprentice whose father had dwelt at Newcastle, between 1654 and 1694. Two of the County Durham apprentices came from Barnard Castle, and one from Stanhope, probably reflecting their relative distance from Newcastle rather than any pattern of attendance in London. The fathers of these apprentices were listed as yeomen or craftsmen (tanner and shoemaker), while only John Carr of the Bishoprick of Durham was a shipwright carpenter, with his son apprenticed to William Yardley citizen and carpenter of London. An index of all names appearing in the Carpenter's Company records for before 1700 reveals a further eleven apprentices from County Durham, four from Northumberland and two from Newcastle. All these went to London between 1580 and 1630. Only Francis Ripon (son of George Ripon of Hart, County Durham) followed his father's trade as carpenter. The figures suggest a halving in the number of carpenter apprentices from the north-east in London between 1580-1630 and 1654-1699. This probably reflects increased employment prospects within the north-east in the second half of the seventeenth century, but we are dealing with very small numbers.

The Apprenticeship Books instituted in 1711 under the Stamp Act, record the names, addresses and trades of the masters and the names of the apprentices with the date of the articles, and until 1752 the name of apprentices' parents are given.[56] The Apprenticeship Books are divided between the City or Town Registers and the Country Registers. The City Register provides the daily entries of the indentures upon which the duty was paid in London. The Country Registers are the entries made in London of the indentures upon which the duty had been paid to district collections and which were

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[56]PRO IR1; Stamp Duty apprenticeship registers omit those exempt from payment of Stamp Duty; it is thus unknown whether poorer apprentices were more likely to return to the north-east.

afterwards sent in batches to London to be stamped.[57] The Country Registers for the north-east districts, are discussed below. I have searched the City Registers up to 1720 for apprentices to London masters from the north-east.[58] As with the Guidhall Company records the incidence of this is paltry. Two apprentices came from County Durham, two from Northumberland and one from Newcastle. The City Registers do also provide references to masters outside of London, including some from the north-east, who for some reason registered in London rather than with their home districts. This would potentially provide the clearest connection between north-east builders and London. From the buildings trades only Jonathon Dawson of Sunderland by Sea, Plumber and Glazier, who apprenticed Robert son of George Green, of Durham, Glazier deceased, did so. In only two cases between 1711 and 1720 is there record of apprentices to any trade in London having fathers in the buildings trade in the north-east (both in 1715): Robert Wright, of Caister, Northumberland, Carpenter had his son apprenticed to an Upholder in London; the son of William Lind of Durham, carpenter, deceased, was apprenticed to Jonathon Morton, Barber Surgeon in London. These were prosperous and high status vocations, representing social mobility away from the poorly renumerated buildings trades.

York Craftsmen

In the fifteenth century, York and Durham craftsmen were associated via the patronage of these two major ecclesiastical centres.[59] After the Dissolution, the apprenticeship of north-east men in York buildings trade crafts declined.[60] Between 1573

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[57]Guiseppi *Guide to the Public Records* II, 113.
[58]PRO IR1: vols 1-12.
[59]Swanson 1983: 39-41, York building trades craftsmen were at the bottom of the occupation hierarchy in terms of wealth and social standing.
[60]York City Archive: 'Registers of Apprentice Indentures' D12 1573-1688, D13-15 after 1721; see Beard 1966: 21-25.

and 1632 for all trades in York, a very high number of apprentices, though a diminishing proportion, came from rural districts in Yorkshire, and a few from Lancashire, Lincolnshire and Durham and occasionally Scotland[61] By 1660-1688 none were from Durham, though some still came from Lancashire and Lincolnshire. Only in the later eighteenth century, did apprentices of non-Yorkshire origin increase again.[62] Despite the unfortunate absence of the 1688-1723 Indenture Register, the period between *c.*1660 and 1750 witnessed very few apprentices from County Durham or Northumberland entering the York buildings trades. Between 1600 and 1688, only one example of a York buildings trade craftsman with a County Durham connection, is known. In 1660 Thomas Richardson, son of Thomas Richardson of South Shields, County Durham, Fishmonger, was apprenticed to Edmund Gyles, York City, Glazier. In the mid to late seventeenth century there are more instances of apprentices whose parents dwelt in Cumberland and Lancashire, than County Durham or Northumberland. This is partly explained by greater employment opportunities in the north-east than the north-west. Industrialisation on Tyneside and Wearside, and agricultural change in County Durham, allowed rural apprentices to stay closer to home. It may be that industrialisation and agricultural change in the north-east lowered intra-regional population mobility during the seventeenth century.[63]

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, there were apprentices entering York crafts from County Durham and Northumberland, along with others from Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, and occasionally further afield. These apprentices never constituted more than a handful of the craftsmen working within the city, and guild rights and entry to being a freeman of the city were highly restrictive to outsiders. Yet there was a distinct decline (and near absence) of

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[61] York City Archive 'Registers of Apprentice Indentures' D12 1573-1688.
[62] York City Archive 'Registers of Apprentice Indentures' D12 index.
[63] Wrightson & Levine 1991; Issa nd.

non-Yorkshiremen between *c.*1630 and *c.*1730. From the mid-eighteenth century, the numbers of north-east men seeking apprenticeship in York building trades increased to something like its pre-1650 level. Malden found that between 1720 and 1820, of 1,325 claims for admission to the freedom of the City of York, 125 were from outside the City, mostly from rural Yorkshire, with fifteen from London.[64] There were wider reasons for a decline in the geography of apprenticeship from the early eighteenth century; masters increasingly apprenticed their own sons in the early eighteenth century and guild regulations tightened up on non-freemen working in towns.[65] There was also a relative decline in building activity in York during these years.[66] The significant point for the argument being advanced here, is that the chronology of apprentices entering the York building trades from the north-east, presents a negative correlation with the chronology of architectural change.

Woodward found that 48% of building trades apprenticeships in York between 1654-1752 came from York City, while in Newcastle about a third of apprentice joiners in the later seventeenth century were from Newcastle, with internal recruitment becoming more important in the early eighteenth century.[67] Internal apprenticeship was thus higher in York than in Newcastle. Immigrants to Newcastle came predominantly from Northumberland and County Durham; between 1650-1749: twelve were from Gateshead, eleven from Yorkshire, two from Lancashire, and one each from Cumberland, Westmoreland, London and Scotland. Many young bricklayers were also 'home grown' in Newcastle in the later seventeenth century: of fifty six whose origin is known, forty were from Newcastle, twelve from Northumberland and one from County Durham, with only three from outside the north-east - one each from Yorkshire, Scotland and King's Lynn.

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[64]Malden 1985: 155-159.
[65]Brooks in Barry & Brooks ed. 1994: 52-83.
[66]Malden 1989.
[67]Woodward 1995: 15.

Of York bricklayer apprentices 1654-1752, 21 out of 80 apprentices were the sons of brickmakers, of which half were bound over to their own father, and a further eight were sons of other buildings trade craftsmen.[68] Woodward shows that the social origin of buildings trade craftsmen was quite humble in the north, as it was nationally, and in London.

There was no causal relationship between craftsmen mobility and architectural change. Rather, the evidence suggests that craftsmen mobility was lowest between the north-east and York and London, during the period of greatest architectural change in the later seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. It would appear that the north-east, especially around Newcastle and Durham, had sufficient economic activity to support building and other employment, such that individuals felt little need to work further afield. Even the southern fringe of County Durham along the Tees, in many respects closer to Yorkshire than to Tyneside, provided no known buildings-trade apprentices to York between 1630 and 1730; whereas between both *c.*1530-1630 and *c.*1730-1830, apprentices went to York from Stockton and Cleveland. In the mid to late eighteenth century York did become a national centre for architectural craftsmen. However, between 1723 and 1750, no craftsmen of north-east origin were admitted to the Freedom of York, although as in the period before *c.*1630 Freemen did originate in Cumberland and Westmoreland (and Lancashire and Lincolnshire occasionally).[69] In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, more men from the north-east were admitted, and men from Middlesex sought training in the buildings trades of the nationally significant architectural centre of York.[70] This pattern of seeking specialist training in

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[68]Woodward 1995: 55.

[69]None came from north of the Tees 1723-50 (1723 statute Freedom of City and apprenticeship must be registered); York City Archive *City of York Chamberlain's Accounts* vol. 33: 1722-1728 & vol. 34: 1729-33, building accounts for corporation property include no known craftsmen of County Durham or Newcastle origin.

[70]Beard 1966: 21-6, argues there was no regional 'school' of plasterers at York, rather the craft was dominated by a few names; see also Beard 1975 & 1981.

nationally-acknowledged centres of expertese, in 1800, relates to a wider process of regional specialisation in the national economy during the eighteenth century, which was not the case a century earlier.

Post-apprenticeship craftsmen mobility

The mobility of craftsmen after apprenticeship is more difficult to document.[71] Journeymen and master craftsmen, are known to have moved around, and Newcastle joiners in the later seventeenth century occasionally gave money to travelling colleagues; 6d. 'to the country joiner' or 2s. 6d. 'to the London joiner' in 1672.[72] Generally, however, guilds presented an instituitional break against movement between towns. At Newcastle, on October 2 1637, it was 'Ordered, by the consent of the company of wallers and bricklayers, that every brother of the said fellowship shall pay sixpence each week towards the maintaining of a suit against foreigners'.[73] Colvin suggests Langtaffe may have had problems working for Bishop Cosin in Durham as a non-freeman.[74] The Durham Chancery case of a non-freeman bricklayer working in Durham, suggests that Cosin may have protected his workmen from guild regulations. In 1669, the Bricklayers of Durham launched litigation in Durham Chancery against a bricklayer from York, Huira Marshall.[75] Marshall, was to be fined £5 (40s. of which was due to the bishop) for 'useing the trade of bricklayer' within Durham, not being a freeman, within the last year: 'whereunto the defendant made answer alledging that the trade of Bricklayers was not anciently parcell of the said Companyes trades, And that he lawfully served his Apprenticeship to the trades of

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[71]Woodward 1995: 162-164.
[72]Woodward 1995: 71
[73]Welford 1887: III, 348.
[74]Colvin 1995: 504-5.
[75]PRO DURH 4/2/432 Bricklayers of Durham (with Attorney General) vs. Huira (or Phindan) Marshall, 1669. Relators: William Ridley & William Rowell (Gaurdians); Thomas Ridley & John Baker (Senescall); Christopher Skirrey & John Palmer (Secretarys of Society & fraternity of Free Masons, Rough Masons ...), whose inventories are discussed below.

Bricklayer, Tyler, Plaisterer and paver at the City of York'. He claimed the Durham guilds had refused his request to 'compound with the said Company', 'And that divers persons of quality certifyed to the now Lord Bishop of his ability in the said Trades, and of the inexperteese of the said City Company in Bricklaying'. This is a revealing jibe against the standard of craftsmanship in Durham, especially since brick building is unknown for the 1660s in the exterior walling of surviving houses. Marshall, however, claimed the Bishop 'did cause Henry Wanles Esqr: the Mayor' to 'admit him a freeman' of Durham, which was done on 29 August last, and Marshall insisted he had not worked in Durham prior to this. 'Except that he hath beene entertained by some of the members of the said Company to worke with and assist them in their worke'; implying again that the Durham craftsmen were in need of York trained assistance. The Chancellor was unimpressed by Cosin's intervention in forcing the Mayor's hand, and the freedom was judged invalid without the wider consent of the craft companies. This case demonstrates that Cosin, and unnamed 'persons of quality', were active in promoting the presence in Durham of expert buildings trade craftsmen. Marshall's own testimony, suggests that bricklayers in Durham were in need of assistance, and implied that the craft was not recently known in the town.[76]

Relations between the Bishop and Durham guilds were tense throughout the seventeenth century and there may have been an extra source of friction for the buildings trades, if the Bishop's perogatives in the area around Palace Green and the Cathedral superseded the rights of the Corporation to insist on Durham freemen working there.[77] The intervention of the Bishop in the Durham Chancery case just discussed, might support this, as would the 1664 Carpenters and Joiners Company's refusal to subscribe to the rebuilding of the County House on Palace Green, when they 'agreed that nothing should

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[76]Before the 1690s bricklaying in the north-east was largely restricted to vaulting and flooring cellars (eg 1630s cellar at Tudhoe Hall), chimney stacks and curtain walls (eg late seventeenth century brick wall, Bow Lane, Durham).

[77]Whiting 1941 & 1943; Malden 1989, in York building craftsmen working on Church buildings may have been exempted from Freedom.

be given to the building of the County House as is by my lord bishop desired'.[78] In 1699 the Carpenters Company gave £1 to the Mason Company to prosecute a suit against the country masons for working in the Cathedral College.[79] The concentration of craftsmen in towns, is usually credited as evidence for towns as the nodes of stylistic diffusion. Given the greater difficulties of 'foreign' craftsmen working in towns, country houses may have been more significant to architectural change than towns, if craftsmen mobility was indeed a key factor. Moreover, townsmen had no difficulty in working in the surrounding countryside.

County Durham & Newcastle craftsmen

The Stamp Duty Country Registers for the districts of Durham, Newcastle and Northumberland, have been searched up to 1730 for masters and apprentices in the buildings trades, and for other trades where the apprentices' father was in a buildings trade.[80] Scores of names of masters and their apprentices across County Durham and Northumberland reveal very neglible inmigration from outside the north-east. Of one-hundred-and-twenty-one buildings-trade apprentices to masters in County Durham between 1710-30,[81] all had parents resident in County Durham, except four from Northumberland, nine from Yorkshire and one from Westmoreland. Of two hundred and forty two buildings-trade apprentices registered for Newcastle and Northumberland between 1710-30, all came from Newcastle, Northumberland or County Durham, except for three individuals with parents much further afield: George, son of John Wallace of Donwick, Ireland, was apprenticed to William Garratt of Alnwick, Carpenter, in 1720; Jonathon, son of Thomas Hill of Root, Lincolnshire, was apprenticed to Thomas

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[78]Whiting 1943: 193; Whiting 1952: 83.
[79]Whiting 1943: 194.
[80]PRO IR1: 41-49, the volume of carpenters in the sample may be distorting, since not all would have worked on houses (some are listed as housecarpenters).
[81]1726-August 1727 missing.

Bickerdale of Low Durham, Joyner, in 1723, and William son of William Kennedy of Kerk Hill, Scotland, was apprenticed to George Jackson, Joyner in Newcastle. Such long-distance migration was presumably motivated by poverty rather than seeking specialist skills. Father's trade confirms the picture of the Durham and Newcastle guild records, of family continuity in the buildings trades in the early eighteenth century. Only eight individuals with father's in the buildings trades were apprenticed to other trades in Newcastle; all before 1715. The Stamp Duty Country Registers correlate with the findings of Woodward and Brooks on low intra-regional craftsmen mobility in the seventeenth and eighteeth century north-east, and there is no need to itemise the geography of masters and apprentices within the north-east here.[82] It is worth noting, that County Durham attracted several apprentices from rural north Yorkshire, whereas no apprentices were listed with Yorkshire origins for Newcastle or Northumberland. This limited evidence would suggest that Newcastle was not a regional metropolis for north Yorkshire, at the level of buildings trade craftsmen.

Woodward discovered a striking divergence between Newcastle and Durham wage-rates, and emphasises the relationship between building trade wage rates and the level of demand for their work. This connects to relative rates of rebuilding, though guild controls may distort this. By 1640 Woodward detects a clear split in wage rates among northern towns, which increased after 1660. Newcastle buildings trade craftsmen were in the higher wage bracket; Durham's in the lower. Newcastle shared with other east coast towns (York, Beverley and Hull), a high wage economy, whereas Durham craftsmen were paied lower wages, in common with north-west towns (Carlisle, Chester and Carlisle), and Lincoln.[83] Durham's low wage rate presumably relates to lower levels of rebuilding, but also reflects its smaller size in comparison with York, let alone Newcastle. Indeed, in size

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[82]Woodward 1995; Brooks in Barry & Brooks ed. 1994: 52-83.
[83]Woodward 1995: 5-9.

and character, Durham had more in common with the cathedral city of Lincoln. The northern towns as a whole confirm the evidence of the buildings, that any north/south divide can be exaggerated. Woodward demonstrates that wage-rates in northern towns were 'broadly similar to southern' wage rates, throughout the period 1560 to 1750; 'even at Durham, a relatively low wage rate town' wages were not far short of those in the south.[84]

Six probate inventories for buildings craftsmen present in the Durham Mason's Guild in 1657, have been identified.[85] This very limited sample suggests a close knit community amongst Durham's masons in the mid-to-late seventeenth century. They also demonstrate that few of Durham's masons became very prosperous from rebuilding houses in the late seventeenth century, with no clear discontinuity in volume of work or living conditions as a result of the supposed upsurge in rebuilding post-1660.[86] Christopher Scurroe, Mason, admitted to Durham City Mason's Guild 1657, died in 1683, living in a house 'situate att Framwellgate Bridge end'; described as 'Christopher Skirrey late of Milbourne Gate' in his inventory.[87] Christopher Scurroe (the son of a poor widow and originally a charity apprentice) had been the master mason at Croxdale Hall in the 1650s and worked for Bishop Cosin as a waller on Palace Green, Durham, in the 1660s.[88] The room names in the inventory imply a small house consisting of a 'fore house' (alias 'the low roome' in his will) and 'Middle Roome' on the ground floor, with a kitchen behind, and a 'fore chamber' (evidently the best bedroom), 'Kitchen Chamber' on the first floor and a 'Garrett Roome' above. Scurroe bequeathed his Durham house and a 'farmhold and tenement call'd Garbitt' leased from the Dean and Chapter of Durham, to his grandson, Christopher Page, after the death of his wife. Scurroe's inventoried goods

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[84]Woodward 1995: 177-179, quoting 179.
[85]5 The College, Durham City Trade Guilds records; DULA Durham Probate Registry.
[86]Kathleen Beer pers. com..
[87]DULA Probate Christopher Scurrey, Mason, Durham, 1683 will & inventory.
[88]Kathleen Beer pers. com.; DCRO D/Sa/E 630; Cosin Correspondence II 1870: 368-9 & 379.

amounted to £10 10s. 4d., but £90 4s. in debts owing by bond brought his worth up to £106 4s. 4d., excluding the value of his house and farm. Excluded from the inventory, were the goods bequeathed by Scurroe in his will: 'my will and pleasure is that the Wainscott Cupboards and Long Settle standing in the Low Roome of the said house wherein I now live and the firr Chest standing in the Garrett of the same house be left as Heirlooms in my said house not disposed of by my Executors'. Christopher 'Skarrow' of Crossgate was assessed in the 1666 Hearth Tax, for two hearths.

One of Scurroe's debts was to Nicholas Palmer of Elvett by Bond £3.[89] A bond from 1681 survives for £3 of Nicholas Palmer of New Elvet, near the City of Durham Freemason. Nicholas Palmer, Freemason, was admitted to Durham Masons guild in 1657. Nicholas Palmer Freemason was also an inventory appraisor for John Palmer, mason, of Old Elvet, in 1680.[90] John Palmer was a member of Durham Masons guild in 1657. His inventory records simply 'one Cottage house holden by Lease of the Worshipful the Dean and Chapter of Durham, valued to be worth £24' and 'one old cupboard worth 10s.'. This is apparently the inventory of an old man, probably living alone; Nicholas Palmer may well have been a relation, as well as a brother in trade. Nicholas Palmer's own inventory includes 'One Dean and Chapter Lease' presumably for his house in New Elvet, worth £15 (£9 less than John Palmer's cottage in the neighbouring street).[91] The most valuable moveable goods in Nicholas Palmer's inventory were the '24 little Flaggs', his stock in trade, which together with 'One Cow, one piece of hay, 13 sheep, one little Table, and other odd things' totalled £6. Even including the value of his Dean and Chapter lease, his inventory only totalled £29 6s. 4d.. Nicholas Palmer and John Palmer were not assessed in the Hearth Tax for either the Barony or Borough of Elvet (i.e. Old or New Elvet), in 1666; they may well have been exempt, unless living elsewhere).

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[89]cp.DULA Nicholas Palmer of Elvet, Bond 1681 (bond 409) Bond £3.
[90]DULA Probate: John Palmer, Old Elvet, Durham 1680 Inventory.
[91]DULA Nicholas Palmer Freemason (New) Elvet, St. Oswald's parish, Durham, 1681 inventory.

The 1684 inventory of William Rowell (present in Durham masons guild 1657), documents the contents of 'One house [in Crossgate] holden of the right Worshipful Dean and Chapter of Durham'.[92] The lease was worth £25; Rowell's moveable goods only amounted to £2 9s. 6d.. The only room named in the inventory, is the fore house, containing a 'Close Bed'; by the household stuff itemised, there was probably also a separate bedchamber and a kitchen; the lack of goods might imply Rowell only occupied part of the house rather than living in a very small house, whichever way, he was of limited means. William Rowell appears in the 1666 Hearth Tax assessed for 2 hearths. His work gear included 'An iron, two Harcks A spaid and a shovell Gavelin ~~Three Wedges~~' 5s., as well as 'One Shop Chest' 2s. 6d. and 'one Ladder' 1s.. Rowell also had a Bible, a red Mantle, and a seeing glasse.

More prosperous, was John Taylor, Mason, whose 1680 will & inventory, for a house in Bearpark, near Durham, includes more indications of a farmer than a building craftsman.[93] Possibly, Taylor had retired from the trade of mason, and now farmed outside Durham at Bearpark.[94] His moveable wealth totalled £89 5s., £50 of which was in bonds, but not including any leasehold property. The house consisted of a 'foar Roome'; 'the other Roome' conatining 'two beds, 3 chests, a chair and a kettle', and 'the Roome on the back of the Chimney' containing 'a Bed, 2 Chests, tubs, a Close presse and fatts and stand'.

Even more prosperous, at the opposite end of the building's trade to the poor masons discussed above, was Raiph Lee, rough mason, of the South Bailey (the elite part

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[92]DULA Pronate Box 1685, William Rowell, Crossgate, Durham City 1684 Inventory; Apprized by Mr William Wilkinson, Mr Thomas Bell, Mr Paul Dobson and Robert Knaggs

[93]DULA Probate, John Taylor, Mason, (present in Durham masons guild 1657) 1680 will & inventory, Bearpark, parish of St. Oswald's Durham City (will made 17 May 1680, proved 1680; inventory 23 June 1680); Apprisers: Edw: Duncon, John: Woodman, Ell: Duncon.

[94]John Taylor not identifiable in 1666 Hearth Tax; he may be the John Taylor at Witton Gilbert, assessed for one hearth.

of town discussed in Chapter Five).[95] According to his will of 1666, Lee was 'to be Buried in the Churchyard of South Bayly', and left his wife, Elizabeth, the 'dwelling house, in South Bailey with all houses and gardens closes and edifices adjoyning to the same and now in the actual possession of me the said Ralph Lee'. His inventory included a 'Garden house' (probably overlooking the river Wear, in a garden towards the riverbanks of the peninsula). His house contained a 'fore house' with 'bedding, wood utensells & pewter, brass and Iron', a 'brewhouse and sellar', and 'ye low parlour' (with 'bedding and other implements'), on the ground floor. On the first floor, were 'ye little fore Chamber' (presumably over the fore house, to the street front) and 'ye best room', (a reception room probably over the parlour, to the rear of the house, looking out towards to the river banks) with '2 bedds and furniture a table and five leather Chaires £7'. If the best rooms functioned as a reception room, then the 'low parlour' represents a second parlour; a signal of gentility.[96] Despite Lee's well furnished house in the most salubrious part of Durham, he still practised his trade as mason: 'in ye Garth slates & flaggs 10s. 6d.' and he also owned 'one Cow and two Swine £2' and 'half a fother of hay 15s.'. Debts owing to Lee, including Sir Thomas Carnaby (deceased) £8 and ye lady Hodgson by bond £10, may relate to work done as a 'rough mason' for these titled individuals and others. When Ralph Lee's widow, Elizabeth, died in 1674, these debts were payed.[97] Her inventory itemised 'Goods in the fore house £6 1s.'; 'Goods in the round at the Staire head £1 6s. 8d.'; 'Goods in the gardin Chamber £1' plus 'brewehouse & Cellar'. Elizabeth's inventory was apprized by Christopher Scirvose; possibly the Christopher Scurroe (d.1683), whose inventory was discussed above.

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[95]DULA Ralph Lee, rough mason, South Bailey, Durham, 1662/6 will; present Durham City Masons Guild 1657.
[96]Wright nd.
[97]DULA Probate, Elizabeth Lee, widow St. Mary the Less, South Bailey, Durham, 1674 will.

Elizabeth Lee was assessed in the 1666 Hearth Tax, for 3 hearths in the South Bailey. In 1674, the year Elizabeth died, only six households on the South Bailey had three hearths; on the basis of the hearth figures, the Lee's occupied between the third and the sixth smallest household on the South Bailey.[98] This suggests that the Lee's were only just wealthy enough to occupy a house on the peninsula, despite their garden house and two parlours. Indeed, along with the Brockett Plumber's on the North Bailey, they represent a dwindling continuity from the sixteenth century of tradesmen dwelling on the Baileys. Yet both the Brocketts and the Lees had houses with the hallmarks of the gentility common to the Bailey; especially with the higher status rooms situated to the rear of the house overlooking the riverbanks.[99]

Craftsmen are also occasionally mentioned in the Newcastle newspapers - usually for misdemeanors rather than advertising their services. For instance, in October 1729, 'Cuthbert Moor, Joyner, Son of Cuthbert Moor of Framwellgate, in the City of Durham, did make his Escape from a Constable, that lives in Framwellgate'.[100] A month later, 'ALL Persons indebted to John Lamb, late of Newcastle, House-Carpenter, deceased, are to pay their Debts, to Mr. John Mills, Attorney at Law, Newcastle'.[101] 'Craftsman' in the eighteenth century could connotate craftiness and cunning, and these adverts confirm the stereotype for two individuals.[102] More recently, craftsmen in the north-east have frequently been characterised as backward and resistant to change by architectural historians.[103] This is part of a wider notion of the region as retarded. It is salutary, however, to quote the architect Nicholas Hawksmoor, writing in 1715 on the quality of

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[98]I calculated in Chapter Five, that only 3% of households in the South Bailey were of 2-4 hearths; whereas 9% were 5-9, & 44% were over ten hearths.
[99]see Green nd.
[100]*Newcastle Courant* 233 October 11 1729.
[101] *Newcastle Courant* 239 November 22 1729.
[102]McKellar 1990: 93 & 96-7.
[103]eg Chinnery 1984: 411.

craftsmen in London: 'The Workmen are soe far from skill or honesty that ye Generall part of 'em are more brutall and Stupid than in ye remotest part of Britain...'.[104]

The building process

This chapter has demonstrated that the leading architects of the period had a limited role in buildings in the north-east. There were, however, accomplished master masons in the seventeenth century who produced architecture comparable to leading works in the south of England. The known printed sources for classical architecture in the north-east are necessary to explain knowledge of classical orders, but not sufficient to explain architectural variation. Specific architectural parallels with houses in the rest of England, or on the continent, may also be explained by manuscript 'plats' or written descriptions, in private circulation rather than published sources. The compact plans of Gainford Hall and Houghton Hall, or the classical porches at Horden Hall and Gibside Hall, may have been 'chosen' in this way.[105] However, the architecture which resulted from the demand of patrons and repertoire of craftsmen was a product of a more complex, and undocumented, building process than single mechanisms of stylistic diffusion can explain. Whatever the source of specific architectural features, the overall form of both English Renaissance and Georgian style houses in the north-east is testimony to national forms of building. The 'vernacular' houses of the middling sort were equally national in architectural style and room arrangement. Population mobility and the correlation of architectural affinities by social grouping are more convincing (and complete) explanations of the geography and social stratigraphy of architectural style. Although printed sources were in circulation in the north-east in the seventeenth century, pattern books only came

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[104]quoted in McKellar 1999: 30.
[105]Appendix: 5, 9 & 10.

in after *c.*1730. The domination of print culture over architectural production only occurred after two revolutions in architectural style.

Houses in the north-east were produced by craftsmen, and only at the very end of our period do we witness the beginnings of the professional architect, providing plans for gentleman's seats and tenant farmhouses. North-east buildings trade craftsmen were relatively humble folk, of limited means, living in small households of one to two hearths, and at most three. The master masons of the seventeenth century, (and often architects in the eighteenth century) usually rose from such craftsmen backgrounds. The higher status of John Langstaffe is reflected in his four hearth house in the 1666 Hearth Tax, in Bondgate in Bishop Auckland. The building process of houses in the period *c.*1570-1730, involved craftsmen creating houses in co-operation with their patrons, with considerable continuity in the practice of building. Craftsmen were clearly not the primary motivators of architectural change, between 1570 and 1730.

Traditionally, the 'design' of houses was intermeshed with production, and ways of building were part of an oral culture.[106] McKellar has suggested that it was the legal vulnerability of oral agreements to retribution for unsatisfactory or incompleted work, which promoted the manuscript culture of written descriptions of building specifications and more rarely drawings, which developed in the seventeenth century.[107] McKellar argues that the increasing practice of documenting building design, was a product of high levels of litigation rather than an altered need to secure architectural style on paper. Indeed, it was the expense of building rather than the detail of architectural style, which was at issue in most litigation. In Durham Chancery, bonds applying to house repairs were the basis of litigation in both the early and the late seventeenth century, and Knight found that contracts for house-repairs 'seem to have been behind several Durham Chancery

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[106]McKellar 1999: 150 citing Rykwert 1984: 14-26.
[107]McKellar 1999: 93-137.

disputes, which failed'.[108] The remainder of this chapter will return to the buildings which craftsmen produced in the north-east, to elucidate the cultural context of architectural style and house forms.

Regional, national and trans-national housing cultures

In the late sixteenth and especially the early seventeenth century, there was clearly a national stylistic culture in England. The geographical dimensions of these housing forms and architectural features is convincingly explained by population mobility. The rebuilding of middling houses was a national phenomenon from the late sixteenth century onwards; seemingly in line with an increased notion of national identity from Elizabeth's reign. A yeoman house of *c.*1620 at Colly Weston, Northamptonshire, was used to illustrate Hoskins' thesis of a Great Rebuilding.[109] This house shares features with Whitfield Cottages, Wolsingham. Both houses were built of locally quarried stone, with stone slate roofs, and canted bays (to hall and parlour, and chambers over) to either side of a central entrance. The canted bays at Colly Weston are gabled, as is the *c.*1630 canted bay window (to parlour and chamber above) at East Oakley House, West Auckland. The same social group was rebuilding in the same style in Northamptonshire as in County Durham. Moreover, this was not simply a rural phenomena (as shown in Chapters Five and Eight). These early seventeenth century middling houses were just as much a national housing style, and way of living, as the typical eighteenth century Georgian house; for example, Whitfield House, Wolsingham (six bays, three storeys and roof behind parapet), or All Saints' Place, Stamford (five bays, three storeys, roof above cornice).[110]

Vernacular houses and furniture were national phenomena, representing a distinctive, and newly permanent, middling stylistic culture from the late sixteenth century.

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[108]Knight 1990: 278 & 289-91 quoting 289.
[109]Hoskins 1985.
[110]Clifton-Taylor 1987: 84.

This continued through the early seventeenth century and merged with the stylistic changes of the later seventeenth century. The significance of the later sixteenth century as the key period of change in the 'permanence' of middling material culture is supported for furniture. Chinnery observed that 'a mature provincial vernacular 'style' had begun to establish itself by *c.*1580'.[111] Chinnery suggested that this was rapidly propagated by the foundation of powerful Joiners' Companies in London (1570) and the major provincial centres, who promoted a policy of sound craftsmanship underpinned by a rigorous system of apprenticeship.[112] The Durham Joiners Guild separated from the carpenters and joiners, wheelwrights, sawyers and coopers in the late sixteenth century, and in 1589 the Newcastle Joiners formed their own Company, separate from the house carpenters.[113] The north-east participated in this national stylistic culture, and it was the localised creativity of craftsmen which produced regional variations within a nation-wide stylistic culture; in furniture as in houses. The use of localised building materials, in walling and roof coverings, as well as roof structures, produced regional variations in houses within what was an overwhelmingly national cultural development. Plan-arrangements in terms of conventions for the location of doors, chimney stacks and stairs, may similarly have been a product of localised craft traditions. The range and arrangement of rooms, however, was largely uniform across England as a whole. Entering a yeoman or husbandman house was a similar experience in County Durham or Kent, whether the house was 'gable-entry' or 'cross-passage behind the stack'. Each led to a hall with parlour beyond; while the 'lobby-entry' plan might allow direct access to either hall or parlour. The localised exterior appearance of houses, was more significant as a differentiated experience across England. Localised building materials promoted a

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[111]Chinnery 1979: 439.
[112]Chinnery 1979: 439-40.
[113]Welford 1887: III, 52; 5 The College, Durham City Trade Guilds records; Whiting 1941, 1943 & 1952.

difference in the texture of houses, which contributed via a reflexivity to place and landscape, to a sense of regionality.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, regional variation persisted in the supposedly newly national 'Georgian' style of architecture. Eighteenth century houses continued to use localised building stone, and even the clay used to make bricks and pantiles, or the source of thatch, contributed to a continuing geographical differentiation in the experience of the built landscape. Moreover, localised craft processes, and presumably patron preferences, promoted regional variation in the prevalence and adaptation of stylistic details. General population mobility across England was sufficiently extensive in the early seventeenth century to explain national housing cultures.[114] Possibly, such population mobility was in decline from the early eighteenth century. Arguably, regional identity may have been increasing in the eighteenth century, owing to a lessening of population mobility, especially in areas of industrialisation (such as the north-east). The expansion of the coal trade from the late sixteenth through to the early eighteenth century motivated massive in-migration to Tyne-side and northern County Durham. North Northumberland and the Borders provided the primary source for seventeenth century mining and keelmen labour on Tyne-side.[115] Enclosure and the amalgamation of farms, especially in south-eastern County Durham, squeezed small holders and the marginal poor off the land and down the pits. Although there remained significant mobility of labour across the coal field throughout the eighteenth century, intra-regional mobility may well have declined after 1730. While population mobility within the north-east remained high, especially for coal workers, the dampening down of intra-regional population mobility helped to promote a stronger sense of regional identity. Conversely, for higher social groups, there was increasing ease of mobilty, which

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[114]Wrigley & Schofield 1981; Wrigley et. al. 1997.
[115]Nef 1966: II, 137-8 & 148.

encouraged people to spend more time in London, and urban social centres, although the degree to which regional identity remained a strong source of social identity among higher social groups is unresearched.

Regional and national identity has become a fashionable subject in recent cultural history. Architectural style points to wider cultural affinities, as well as offering a means for differentiating English culture. The role of 'the Renaissance' as the progenitor of English Renaissance and Georgian architecture was underpinned by the real cultural contacts of people moving between continental Europe England. Louw has demonstrated that seventeenth century architecture, in for instance the appearance of shaped gables and the development of the sash-window, was a product of 'Anglo-Netherlandish architectural interchange'. Louw emphasises that such interchange was a symbiotic product of trade and population mobility (including craftsmen), and not a unilinear process of one ethnic style influencing another. Similarly, Friedrichs has challenged the usual emphasis on regional and national diversity, arguing instead the extent to which cities all over Europe shared a common 'urban civilization'.[116] Architectural style in County Durham and Newcastle has close parallels with the Netherlands. These links also extend to the British and Dutch colonies in America. Late seventeenth century tumbled-in brick gables in Durham and Newcastle parallel examples in Albany, New York (for instance). The gabled mansard roof at 23 North Bailey, Durham, has many parallels in Delaware and Maryland. The decorative brickwork of Abbey House, Palace Green, Durham, parallels a (now demolished) house in South Brooklyn. Such parallels are usually described as 'Dutch' inflence, but we should be wary of attaching ethnicity to architectural style. These styles of houses were appearing at the same date in Amsterdam, Durham and South Brooklyn at the same date; witness to a trans-national housing style.[117] Chinnery included New

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[116]Friedrichs 1995.
[117]Louw 1981; egs in Howells 1963 & Morrison 1952.

England as a 'regional style' of English furniture.[118] Georgian architecture in the American colonies ought similarly to be regarded as a 'regional' variation of English architectural style. Bethwell Langstaffe in Philadelphia in the 1680s is just one instance of the real links of people moving about, which underpinned the diffusion and creation of architecture.

In both the seventeenth and eighteenth century regional variation and national cultures in housing and furniture are present. The shift in style to 'Georgian' architecture and furniture, occurred without fundamentally altering the relationship between national and regional culture. A final pair of houses can help to illustrate the relationship between national house forms by social group, and local variations in the experience of the built environment. Appendix Plate 2 illustrates two late seventeenth century rows of houses, both operated as commercial premises, with shops on the ground floor to the street-frontage, and warehouses to the rear, with living accomodation for merchants or prosperous tradesmen above the shop on the upper floors. This was a housing form built by the commercial upper middling sort, throughout England. The Yarm houses are of brick with pantile roofs, and the plaster rendering is a later addition. The Barnard Castle houses are of stone with stone slate roofs. Both rows of houses illustrate the concern with symmetrically arranged window and door openings and the prevalence of sash windows. Note, that the Barnard Castle houses have greater classical detailing, with rusticated stonework and miniature pilasters to one of the door-cases. This is hardly upland isolation, from wider patterns of architectural style. The differences in the built landscape of Barnard Castle and Yarm, underscore the importance of a relexivity to the built landscape, which constituted part of peoples sense of place. And yet, Barnard Castle and Yarm, were unequivocally part of the same region. Barnard Castle, on the Durham side of the Tees, at the mouth of Teesdale, was a marketing and manufacturing centre, linking the

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[118]Chinnery 1979: 437-515.

lowlands and Pennine uplands. Yarm, on the Yorkshire side of the Tees, was a port, which exported the agricultural produce of the lowland vale of the Tees and Teesdale, and imported consumer goods which were marketed to the Tees uplands via Barnard Castle. These two towns were thus interdependent marketing centres, with a linked economy and society, and yet they contained houses with distinctive differences in appearance - the stone Barnard Castle houses were connected to the stone built uplands and central lowland County Durham, while the brick and pantile Yarm houses were part of a construction tradition extending along the east coast of England.

Conclusion

Francis Bacon 'On Building' (1625) advised 'Houses are built to live in and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had'.[119] Bacon's fantasy Renaissance prince's palace, emphasised that the appearance of houses should express the experience of their use. Uniformity in architecture was a product of similar or shared cultural requirements of use. The real connections of similarities in use and style provide the substance of cultural linkage. Population mobility provides the mechanism of cultural interaction, via face-to-face encounters, explaining the extent and speed of stylistic change. Shared cultural concerns, in the specific requirements for the internal arrangement of houses, contributed to the ways in which individual houses were built and lived in. Such living arrangements promoted certain styles of house, which were specific to certain social groups. There clearly were real links via population mobility and the interaction of people, which were part of the process of transmission in architectural development. These connections were trans-national, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to demonstrate such linkages in full. The national extent of elite and middling housing cultures is clear; as is its regional variation within that larger culture.

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[119]Bacon *Essays* 1625, Vickers ed. 1999: 100.

Those regional variations may well be the product of localised craft processes, rather than a manifestation of a regionalised culture for the occupants of these houses. Crucially, however, the regional variation in the appearance of houses helped to form regional identities via a reflexivity to the built landscape. National and regional cultural identities were not anti-thetical.

Georgianisation, has been regarded as representing a cultural watershed between medieval and modern world-views; associated to the nineteenth century construct of the Renaissance as an origin-myth for individualism.[120] Deetz suggested that the 'Georgian Order' was a delayed outcome of the European Renaissance; the architectural corollary of Enlightenment. The structuralist theory of the 'Georgian Order' relates to Foucault's notion of epistemic shifts, whereby 'In any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one *episteme* that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in theory or silently invested in practice'.[121] On a less theoretical level, Borsay claimed that the transition to classicism in house design required the 're-education' of craftsmen and their patrons.[122] This posits an external cultural force, or fashion as an over-arching entity, as the crucial dynamic to architectural change. It is more convincing that people altered their houses for their own reasons, and that the larger constructs of fashion and stylistic change occurred with (and as a result of) their participation. This is particularly convincing when we recognise that even Georgian houses of the eighteenth century differ in appearance from one town to another, in the distinctive appearance of building materials and particular local preferences for specific styles of window, brickwork, and decorative elements.[123]

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[120]Deetz 1977, and in revised form Johnson 1996.
[121]Foucault 1970: 168.
[122]Borsay 1989: 49.
[123]see Clifton-Taylor 1987.

What remains to be explained is the stylistic shift in houses, and the whole panopoly of elite and middling material culture, referred to as Georgianisation. Georgianisation, however, was not unique: the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century change in houses was an equivalent alteration in ways of living and stylistic culture. Alcock has argued so for Warwickshire, although these two changes in 'vernacular building' are scarcely explained by the metaphor of 'punctuated equilibrium'.[124] I am tempted to conclude with Auden, that new styles of architecture embody a change of heart: 'Harrow the house of the dead; look shining at / New styles of architecture, a change of heart'.[125] That might involve reverting to the nineteenth-century notion of architecture as embodying the 'Spirit' of the age. 'But 'the Spirit of the time' does not exist independently of the activities which manifest it'.[126]

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[124]Alcock 1996: 133-154, 148.
[125]Auden 1979: 7.
[126]Scott (1914) 1999: 33.

CONCLUSION: Material Culture and Social Process

This thesis has placed houses at the centre of an enquiry into society in County Durham and Newcastle, between *c.*1570 and 1730. I started with one central question in mind: 'what was the relationship between architectural change and social change in this period?'. The central conclusion of this study has been that houses in County Durham and Newcastle were far closer in their material form to England generally, for each social stratum, than previous accounts of the region and national picture have allowed. Houses were altered in a regional context of prosperity and poverty created by industrialisation, attendant agricultural change and the proliferation of service trades. A clear chronology of housing change can now be outlined for County Durham and Newcastle society, from *c.*1570 to 1730.

A proportion of the lesser elite and upper middling sort, in towns and the countryside, rebuilt their houses in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This was resourced through profit from rents, and participation in the coal trade and enclosure. The removal of the nobility from regional government and lordship after 1569 meant that the gentry, higher status lawyers and clergy, and merchants, as well as the wealthiest farmers and tradesmen, were more socially prominent in their local communities, the county and the region, than previously. Decisions to rebuild houses were an expression of this enhanced social status, as well as surplus wealth. As the late seventeenth century Hearth Tax shows, these groups were prominent in their communities and built environment, to a more acute degree than in southern England, where the gentry were more densely settled and communities contained a greater proportion of more substantial upper middling households.[1] The Great Rebuilding of lesser elite and upper middling sort houses thus had a closer cultural context in their immediate landscape and communities, in

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[1]Chapter Three.

addition to the social solidarity of groups building and living in very similar ways across England as a whole.

There was considerable overlap in ways of building and living between the lesser elite and upper middling sort, both in towns and in the countryside. The houses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century corresponded to a long-established arrangement of living space, in the tri-partite division of hall, parlour(s) and services. This basic room arrangement continued through the process of rebuilding which transformed the 'medieval' open-hall of elite and middling houses into an 'early modern' single storey space, with a chimney stack and chambers above. The seventeenth-century socially middling pattern of the main bed in the parlour, cooking in the hall and processing food in the service area involved greater continuity in living arrangements than reductive accounts of a shift away from the corporate household into more socially segregated space, convey. Where the lobby-entry plan was adopted, the chimney blocked the cross-passage and enabled access from outside either into the parlour or the hall, with service beyond the hall. In towns, the lobby-entry linear plan was positioned with its end to the street. The house was usually accessed by a side passage entering a central stair with access to first floor living (if space was used for commercial purposes below) and a pragmatic arrangement of service, hall and parlours to the street-front or back-side. In rural areas, where rebuilding retained a pre-existing cross-passage, the stack was placed within (or against) the hall, and the pattern of entry to the house retained the hall as the central space with parlour beyond.

These variations in the use of space relate to the process of rebuilding pre-existing houses, and to the requirements of the household, as to whether the parlour was to be accessible from the entrance or through the hall. The greater provision of chambers in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, and first floor living in towns, was the key differential from earlier housing arrangements, accommodating the complexities of the

middling household, which might contain children, servants, unmarried adults and elderly relatives, as well as lodgers.[2]

The lesser elite similarly perpetuated the tri-partite division of living space in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Whereas the H-plan, and its variants, continued the pre-existing room arrangement of the linear house, and may be regarded as testimony to a more 'traditional' pattern of living, the compact-plan represented more innovatory ways of arranging the same rooms.[3] As with middling households, room use on the upper floors represented greater discontinuity from before *c.*1570, in the adoption of a great chamber and long gallery by greater gentry households and increasing provision of closets as spaces for study or storage. Both the H-plan and the compact-plan had corollaries in upper middling rebuilding. The presence of gables, projecting porches and stair turrets echoed the architecture of the elite, and represent a form of the same stylistic culture, and signals of relative social status. Stair turrets and small upper storey spaces in porch turrets (often heated and always generously windowed) are also to be explained in relation to the more complex use of upper floors. The specific motivations of individual rebuildings explain why certain families built to a H-plan and others adopted a compact plan. Early seventeenth century compact-plan houses perpetuated the tri-partite division of the house, with no apparent differences in room use across these plan-forms. What had changed was the conception of the house. Room functions changed from being situated on a graded (and linear) continuum, from service through to parlours, to being arranged in ways which emphasised the separation of space for family and servants. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the physical form of the house reflected changes in social relations, but there was considerable continuity in the ways in which rooms were used, especially on the ground floor.

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[2]Chapter Six.
[3]Chapter Five.

In the later seventeenth century the tri-partite division of space was disaggregated by the greater specialisation of room use. Georgianisation involved a declining significance of the hall, with cooking removed to the service space, and in some cases the hall being renamed the dining room, parlours reserved for dining or sitting, as well as for more public or more private use. This relates to a further segregation of social groups within the household, especially in the separation of servants from family. Moreover, the activities within the house also seem to be more tightly demarcated. Sleeping was separated from sitting (by placing the main bed upstairs), and cooking was separated from eating (by cooking in the kitchen and eating in the hall/dining room or parlour). The eighteenth century seemingly possessed a sharper notion of public and private space, although the continuities in many households of retaining a bed in the parlour, or cooking in the hall, and performing household tasks in the dining room, should not be ignored. Tradition, and pragmatic accommodation of complex households, often transcended architectural change. The multiplicity of room arrangements in individual households reflects the complexities of accommodating the specific requirements of households, especially where constrained by remodelling a pre-existing house. The alterations in living space associated with Georgianisation, and the increasing prevalence of double-pile houses, were adopted by both the lesser elite and upper middling sort, differentiated by levels and means of wealth and scale of household.

The material form of houses marked out social status in clearly defined ways. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth century gentry houses frequently displayed emblems of lineage, while the upper middling sort occupied houses whose substance in the landscape or streetscape, marked out their place in the social order. The location of houses also underpinned their social status, via continuity in the pattern of residency of social groups in towns and the countryside. Yeoman houses were rebuilt around village greens, in lowland County Durham, on sites which reflected continuity of the largest landholdings from the sixteenth century and earlier. The gentry frequently rebuilt on 'lineage sites' in

Durham and Newcastle as well as on the site of family halls in the countryside. In towns, merchants and tradesmen occupied their traditional quarters. Much of this continuity in the social topography of house location, was very probably conscious to contemporaries. Furthermore, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century rebuildings were usually carried out by families who inherited their property. While a rebuilt house conveyed enhanced wealth and social status, and was often an outcome of security of tenure, it also reflected family continuity of substantial householders in the community; for upper middling groups as well as the lineage defined gentry.[4]

While the most prosperous groups continued to alter their housing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the lower middling sort rebuilt their cottages in greater numbers. This had an economic basis in rising real incomes for households headed by craftsmen, small farmers and the securely employed. Industrial workers, in particular, were relatively well housed in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century north-east. Wealth differences were reflected in housing, and managerial or skilled workers occupied larger or more substantially constructed housing than their poorer neighbours. Increasing dependence on wage labour in fragile employment implies that housing conditions for the poorest sections of County Durham and Newcastle society deteriorated over the period of this study. The high degree of population mobility across the coal field, and process of depopulation in more agrarian areas, suggest that housing was more temporary for the poorest groups than it had been in the sixteenth century. The housing stock reflected the economic fortunes of an increasingly stratified society.

Alongside the creation of considerable poverty in County Durham and Newcastle, industrialisation created a significant degree of prosperity and geographic mobility for those with property.[5] In the second half of our period, the increased proportion of the

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[4]Chapter Five.
[5]Chapters Two and Three.

population occupying well built housing, reduced the cultural significance of a rebuilt family house for expressing substance in the community for the middling sort and lesser elite. This encouraged the incidence of moving house via the property market rather than rebuilding an inherited house, as appears to have been the case to a greater degree in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. During the course of the seventeenth century, there appears to have been an increased practice of sub-letting property, as individuals moved away from their township or town of origin prior to inheritance and sub-let the family house having established their own household elsewhere.[6]

Changes in tenurial arrangements within County Durham re-enforced the changing conception of houses as property in the seventeenth century. The Dean and Chapter and Bishop's estate transformed traditional tenant arrangements from copyholder to leaseholder status, which effectively provided the entitlements of a freeholder on long leases.[7] The tenants of Brancepeth manor, had the option of purchasing their freeholds in the early seventeenth century, as the Crown disposed of the Neville estates, and where landlords invested in Brancepeth property, the security of tenure was seemingly enhanced after the uncertainties of the Crown's lordship.[8] Effective property ownership expanded dramatically in seventeenth-century County Durham, as the traditional tenurial arrangements of the dominant ecclesiastical and lay estates were 'modernised'.

Since houses embodied the social status of the household in the community, and landscape, the location of houses was a vital issue of social relations. Poorer housing was concentrated on marginal land, especially commons and the spoilt ground of the industrial districts. The infilling of village greens, presumably involved households who were not deemed vulnerable to charge on the parish via poor relief. Otherwise, the more settled householders, and more especially landlords, must have accepted that the wage-labouring

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[6]Chapters Six & Eight.
[7]James 1974; Mussett nd. & Morin nd.
[8]Green 1998 & see Hoyle 1992.

population were a necessary presence for the creation of prosperity via mining and enclosure. Although neighbourliness was a contemporary ideal,[9] there was a marked tendency for higher status houses to be rebuilt in more isolated locations, where depopulation occurred or in dispersed farmsteads in the enclosed fields. The community politics of house location, and degree of agency allowed to poorer social groups' accommodation requires much more detailed research, but the overall pattern indicates increasing social polarisation.

In the late seventeenth century the architecture of lesser elite and upper middling houses in County Durham and Newcastle underwent significant alteration. The prevalence of scrolled pediments over doorways and windows, and the appearance of shaped gables, represents a distinctive late seventeenth century form of architectural style, which was differentiated by social group. There were clear continuities from the early seventeenth century stylistic culture, but the altered context of a greater proportion of the population occupying well built housing suggests that classically derived (but creatively deployed) architectural style became an enhanced means of social differentiation in addition to the substance and silhouette of gables, stair turrets and porches which characterised the Great Rebuilding. The decline of the usage 'house' to connotate dynasty and building, by the gentry, correlates with the diminished cultural significance of occupying a well built house. The increasing definition of gentility in terms of learnt behaviour rather than inherited character reduced the importance of lineage as a sufficient expression of higher social status. Educated taste became a hall-mark of gentility, with architecture only one means among many by which the elite claimed to possess superior qualities.[10] Unsurprisingly, the majority of the population found little appeal in classical models of social authority.

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[9]Wrightson 1996: 18.
[10]Heal & Holmes 1994: 274-5.

The middling sort seem to have been largely uninterested in emulating architecture with studied classical precedents. The astylar nature of seventeenth and eighteenth century middling and lesser elite houses is in itself testimony to this; as is the lack of any emphasis on architectural style in the early-eighteenth-century newspaper property adverts.[11] Shaped gables and decorated brickwork also appear to have been a predominantly upper middling device, common to commercially engaged groups in England and the Netherlands. Merchant houses continued to be distinctive in their room arrangement and architecture, from gentry houses occupied without commercially designated space. The commercial middling sort, from wealthy tradesmen to shopkeepers, occupied housing common to a shared culture, which differed more in scale than type. This housing form was common to small market towns and villages as well as the larger urban centres. Constraints of property boundaries and construction processes and materials, created housing distinctive to place, but differentiated by social group. Architectural interchange with the Netherlands (especially for eastern England), may be a more accurate guide to upper middling housing culture than an insular emphasis on middling emulation of the landed elite. The sash-window, and brick construction, which mark apart the stylistic culture of the stone and mullioned Great Rebuilding in the north-east from the greater propensity for brick and symmetrical facades of Georgianisation, was an outcome of Anglo-Netherlandish architectural practice.[12]

After 1700, the appearance of sash windows and an enhanced emphasis on external symmetry, for upper middling and lesser elite architecture, represents socially distinctive versions of the same stylistic culture as grander architecture, in much the same way as the architectural style of these groups in the decades either side of 1600 presents a distinctive version of English Renaissance architecture. The chronology of architectural

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[11]Chapter Seven.
[12]Louw 1981; Chapter Nine, above.

change does not allow sufficient time-lag for the upper middling and lesser elite Great Rebuilding to be emulating English Renaissance architecture. Equally, middling and lesser elite architecture altered in parallel with elite architecture in the period of Georgianisation. The speed and spread of architectural change is better explained by a shared culture, underpinned by population mobility, within which the same social groups undertook to alter their houses in similar ways for similar reasons. This is all the more convincing on a European scale. Both 'Georgian' and 'English Renaissance' architecture are national versions of styles current across Europe. National and regional patterns of architecture, differentiated by social group, are testimony to scales of cultural behaviour varying within a larger cultural sphere.

The architecture of houses was only one aspect of material culture which involved an aesthetic clearly distinguishable between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Solid oak furniture, often elaborately carved, correlates with the style of staircases, fireplaces, doorcases and fenestration, pannelling and overmantels; testimony to a shared stylistic culture with clear continuities from the late sixteenth century through to the later seventeenth century. From the end of the seventeenth century, these forms of material culture, of which architecture is only one aspect, underwent significant change. An increased emphasis on symmetry, plain surfaces, and much reduced decoration, is common to furniture, internal fittings and architecture. The process of Georgianisation presents a stylistic shift, but the stylistic culture of the eighteenth century was equivalent to the stylistic culture of the seventeenth century. 'Vernacular' houses and furniture were built and bought by the same social groups as built and bought 'Georgian' houses and furniture. Moreover, the seventeenth century 'vernacular' was regionalised within a national cultural pattern, with clear parallels by social group in Europe and its colonies. 'Georgian' material culture in the eighteenth century was equally national in scope, with trans-national affinities, but regionalised in practice. County Durham and Newcastle houses show that England already possessed a national culture in the late sixteenth and

early seventeenth century, and that regional variation within that larger culture continued through the eighteenth century. Explaining the highly decorative stylistic culture of the English Renaissance and the plainer stylistic culture which resulted from Georgianisation, cannot be answered by a study of houses in one corner of England.

The social context of rebuilding may help to place stylistic change in perspective. The proclivity for rebuilding houses in this period indicates a cultural preference for investing surplus income in the house. This may reflect a degree of withdrawal from the community, but it also represents a greater volume of disposable income available to spend on housing as well as on socialising. House rebuilding was one aspect of consumption, and where undertaken indicates socially invidious practices which marked out status and substance, as well as wealth, in the community and landscape. The life-cycle was pivotal to rebuilding, which was undertaken primarily by married couples. Housing immediately after marriage for non-inheritors often involved lodgings or short-term housing, before moving on to a more substantial household. People of all social groups moved between town and country, and from village to village, in the course of their lives, to a greater degree than is commonly recognised. Male heads of households were not necessarily the only decision makers in rebuilding. Pragmatic considerations of livelihood, scale of household and house sharing or lodgers, framed decisions to rebuild as much as, if not more so, than instincts of display or emulation. Furthermore, the altered culture of the economy in this period, transfigured the social context of rebuilding.

The importance of houses to people as property, and the evident tension in this period between older conceptions of family continuity in the possession of a house and a more commercial emphasis on the value of property, is illuminated by my limited sampling of seventeenth-century craftsmen wills. Jarrard Brantingham, of St. Nicholas' parish in Durham, rough mason, dictated his will in 1645: 'being then visited with the plague (whereof he soone after dyed) yet of perfect memorie and having a desire to make his will and to settle his estate, and to that purpose caused the witnesses under named to come

unto the window where he was, he thereupon in the presence sight and hearing of the witnesses made a declaration of his minde and last will in manner etc. following or in words to the like'.[13] To Anne Brantingham, his wife and executor, he bequeathed for life 'my house land whatsoever now in my possession: and my mind and will' is that 'I doe likewise leave all my goods and household stuffe to her disposall'. After her death, the 'house wherein I nowe live with the appertenances thereunto belonging and a little Barne adjoining of my house wherein Thomas Atkinson lately dwelt' was to pass to his daughter Margaret. If the daughter 'dye without lawful issue' the house and barn were to pass to his 'grandsonne Thomas Brantingham and his heirs for ever'. He also bequeathed to his 'grandsonne Peter Brantingham the house wherein his father Hugh Brantingham at his death lived and the appurtenances belonging unto it'. 'And my minde and will is that my other houses remaine and goe as I have formerly hinted and appointed them'. 'And lastly my will and mind is that if any of my children or grandchildren to whome any of my houses are limited and given dye having noe lawful issue of their bodyes that they shall not sell or dispose thereof but that the abovementioned Houses withall thereunto belonging shall discend and come to the next of my kindred. And I desire you all to remember what I have spoken unto you that you may beare witness of it when occasion ariseth'. Brantingham was insistent that his property should remain in the family, and might be regarded as resisting the commercialisation of property relations, which had hitherto been central to conceptions of family via the kinship links inherent in the occupation (or ownership) of houses.

The 1633 will of John Brayles, freemason, bequeathed 'To [my] son John Bayles, my Burgage in Barnard Castle and all the same which my late father Thomas Bayles deceased gave unto mee'.[14] This formulation would seem to imply a felt need to

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[13]DULA Probate, Jarrard Brantingham, St. Nicholas parish, Durham, Rough Mason, 1645 will.
[14]DULA Probate, John Brayles, freemason, Barnard Castle, 1633 will.

emphasise the kin continuity of housing, in conjunction with protection against legal challenge to property rights. The 1641 will of William Banks, mason, of Newcastle, implicitly recognised the commercial value of his property, in response to the lack of a male heir, and the cultural conventions against allowing property to leave the family via a widow's remarriage.[15] Banks bequeathed that 'If [my] wife Elizabeth do die before [our] daughter Elizabeth come to full age, or otherwise be married, then my said House with all the appurtenances and all the rest of my goods and Chattels shall come to my children that are living and be equally divided amongst them'.[16] The potential to sell houses on the property market, enabled more equitable (or at least flexible) material provision for inheritors than occupation of the family house by an heir.

Debt was a further factor affecting housing on the property market. Thomas Richardson, Cordwainer, of Durham, died in 1677, occupying 'one Leased house in Clapath £40', with a kitchen, fore Chamber (the main living room over the shop), Garrett, back Chambers, brewhouse and Shop.[17] His will reveals that he also owned 'my burgage, tenament and house and garth in Elvitt, and all that my orchards, or parcell of ground adjoining upon the streets walle and sidgate'. Richardson died owing £152 19s. in debts, mostly by bond, and a further £48 4s. in 'desperate debts'. The value of his property was clearly insufficient to meet these, and his wife received no bequest in his will, while his eldest two sons received five shillings each. A younger son Joseph was to have £5 and his unmarried daughters £10, at the age of twenty one or upon marriage. Credit and debt in early modern England were central to the volume of property on the market, and the value of housing.

Moving house might have been a more common response to housing the household than rebuilding the existing house. Conversely, moving house itself may have

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[15]Erickson 1993.
[16]DULA Probate, William Banks, Newcastle, Mason, 1641 will.
[17]DULA Probate, Thomas Richardson, Durham, Cordwainer, 1677 will & inventory.

encouraged people to alter the property they entered into out of choice rather than inheritance. It is plausible to argue that there was a shift during the course of the seventeenth century, for middling and elite groups, away from an expectation and practice of inheriting the house, and sustaining the built form of that house as a container of the household and material embodiment of continuity in kin. In place of the house as family, emerged the house as property. This commodification of the house would help to explain the emergence of a property market. The property market in the press, appeared in the north-east in 1710 with a fully formed discourse of house advertising. Newspapers certainly facilitated property exchange, but the development of a commercialised property market, with attorneys as specialist property agents, appears to be a creation of the seventeenth century. The earliest indications of such activity in the north-east, with lawyers speculating in urban property, and acting as agents for others, comes from the middle decades of the early seventeenth century.[18] A century later, the newspaper adverts are testimony to a widespread market in houses, land, commercial and industrial property and farm tenancies, across the north-east.[19] Both the middling sort and those regarding themselves as genteel, moved house with greater frequency than has sometimes been imagined. In addition to this, rentier living, especially for retired tradesmen and unmarried women, was clearly a segment of society in the early eighteenth century north-east. The origins of rentier living appear to lie in the commercialisation of house rebuilding in the seventeenth century. House rebuilding, by owners or occupants, was a central aspect of social and economic change in this period.

This study has highlighted three aspects of social process as integral to the ways in which houses were built and lived in. In a period when the concept of property and process of commercialisation were culturally central, the commercial context of the

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[18]Chapters Six & Eight.
[19]Chapter Seven.

property market was as important to housing as social stratification and the life-cycle. The house was the frame for the household, and households were defined by social group. The Hearth Tax demonstrates that house size reflected levels of wealth more directly than occupation or status. The household, however, incorporated family members, servants and lodgers at varying stages of the life-cycle, and this directly affected housing demand.

In towns, a significant proportion of the housing stock may have been built by speculators who sought to meet the varied housing demands of the population, via the property market. This would include the instance of Thomas Atkinson occupying the barn next door to Jarrard Brantingham's house in Durham, cited above. Landlords also accommodated the degree of turnover in the occupancy of households recorded for Newcastle in the Hearth Tax.[20] Lawyers in Durham and Newcastle were rebuilding houses in the early seventeenth century, which they rented for profit. The 'ownership' of leaseholds held from the Dean and Chapter of Durham, in Durham City, were regularly sub-let to 'tenants'. The improvements to properties recorded in raised renewal fines may relate to rebuilding by the owner, which met the middling housing demand of the town, as often as houses were altered by the occupants of the house altering the space for their household.

The majority of standing houses, especially in the countryside, were mostly rebuilt by married couples at a certain stage of the life-cycle. Such rebuildings were very probably always undertaken by a minority of couples, in any one generation. Those houses bearing inscribed initials of marriage partners as well as a date, indicate that a significant proportion of rebuilding was undertaken shortly after marriage. The demands of the household placed on housing, by provision of lodging space, servant accommodation, children, and older relatives, who might be infirm or unmarried, affected the use of

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[20]Chapters Three & Eight.

existing space within the house.[21] Surprisingly few surviving houses reflect the complexities of early modern households, and conform instead to a regular room arrangement. This relates to the fact that most people did not occupy a house inherited by earlier generations of the same family, but bought and sold, or more regularly rented, their living accommodation on the property market. Perhaps only a minority of people, those well resourced couples with security of tenure, altered their house physically. The occupation of older houses indicates that other households found them adequate to their housing needs, or lacked the motivation or resources to alter them. Concentrating on the 'cutting edge' of architectural change is not the most reliable guide to the social history of housing. Rebuilt houses survived where they remained appropriate to later housing needs, via the property market rather than through continued occupation by generations of the same family.

Recognising the limited practice of rebuilding houses, within any one generation, makes the contention that specific acts of rebuilding were a product of individual motivations, or property speculation, rather than an unthinking response to pre-determined processes, all the more convincing. It is no longer tenable to regard architectural change as the product of clumsy mechanisms of diffusion, emulation or over-arching cultural trends. Stylistic diffusion and innovation, social emulation and long-term cultural patterns, only become convincing when their practice is explained. For instance, prescriptive stylistic pattern books developed after 1730 to meet the demand created by architectural change, rather than supplying its cause.[22] Eighteenth century pattern books and professional architects were an *outcome of the process of* commercialisation which had commodified the house during the period of greater change in style and materials.

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[21]Chapter Six.
[22]Chapter Nine.

This thesis has been about houses, and their contemporary meanings. Houses, not to mention hearths, were central to social life during the period of this study, as they have been in most cultures since prehistory. As such, placing houses at the centre of an enquiry into past society, offers a route into understanding continuity and change in social process. I opened this thesis with a seventeenth century proverb: 'An Englishman's house is his castle', and suggested the ways in which the built form of houses affected the meaning of that aphorism. Those houses surviving as built at specific periods represent specific choices to rebuild by certain families or individuals. It is unproven that they accurately chart the experience of the majority of the population's living arrangements, who were presumably in any one decade occupying 'out-of-date' housing. Very probably, more households in seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century England engaged in the commercial exchange of houses, and the prevalence of moving house, than rebuilt the house they inherited. It thus seems apposite to close with another seventeenth century proverb: 'Fools build houses, and wise men buy them'.[23]

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[23]J. Ray *English Proverbs* 1670.

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Abbreviations:

AA	*Archaeologia Aeliana*
DAJ	*Durham Archaeological Journal*
DCA	Durham Cathedral Archive, 5 The College, Durham
DCRO	Durham County Record Office, Aykley Heads, Durham
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
DULA	Durham University Library Archives, Palace Green, Durham
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationers Office
JNDFHS	*Journal of Northumberland and Durham Family History Society*
NEVAG	North East Vernacular Architecture Group
NYCVBSG	North Yorkshire & Cleveland Vernacular Buildings Study Group
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
RCHME	Royal Commission for Historical Monuments in England (now English Heritage)
TDNAAS	*Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society*
TIBG	*Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VAG	Vernacular Architecture Group
VCH	*Victoria County History*

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RCHME buildings survey reports
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