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SETTLEMENT, FIELD SYSTEMS AND LANDOWNERSHIP IN
TEESDALE BETWEEN 1600 AND 1850 :-
A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY.

Thesis Submitted to the University of Durham for the
Degree of Master of Arts, 1972.

David Ashley Alexander, B.A. (Dunelm), 1967.

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"One cannot understand the English landscape,
town or country, ... without going back to
the history that lies behind it."

W.G. Hoskins.

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PREFACE

'The real world, as it actually existed in the past, has been the main object of study of most professional historical geographers.'

Baker, Butlin, Phillips and Prince,
'The Future of the Past', 1969.

Three major issues provide a framework for discussion. These involve an outline of the study itself, a consideration of the reasons which prompted its undertaking, and a brief comment on the adopted approach and method of study.

This study of the historical geography of the 'rural landscape'¹ of Teesdale between 1600 and 1850, lays emphasis upon four interrelated aspects; settlement, field systems and agrarian structure, landownership and the extraction and processing of minerals. The scope of the study has been limited by the availability of documentary material and by the time factor, and these were contributory to establishing 1600 as the starting point. The technique adopted has been to examine in general terms the development of settlement within Teesdale, using such sources as are relatively easily accessible. Although endeavouring to consider the dale as a whole between Barnard Castle and the upland expanses of Yad Moss, at its head, it has been necessary to emphasize the Durham bank at the expense of the



North Riding of Yorkshire, since documentary material for the latter is largely confined within the County Record Office at Northallerton, and was less readily accessible for a worker based in Durham. The general study has provided a framework within which to make a detailed appraisal of one dale township, Eggleston, selected because of its better documentation. Clearly, Eggleston is unique, but by viewing it as part of a wider context it is hoped to use it as a laboratory within which to observe post 1600 developments in the landscape of the whole dale. The mid-nineteenth century was chosen as a point of conclusion because it represents a significant break point in the documentation of economic activity within the rapidly accelerating pace of industrial growth, and as Hodgson pointed out, by about 1850, 'nearly every parish in the county bore scars of industrial exploitation' and 'the surface had been sacrificed for the wealth which lay beneath it'.² In essence the period 1600-1850 is one of convenience.

The first two chapters are concerned with the broad setting of man and land in Teesdale, examining the story of man's occupance from earliest times up to the present day, as a backcloth against which to set the main period of study. This section incorporates significant points

concerning the physical landscape. Chapter three attempts to reconstruct a 'cross-section' view of the landscape circa 1600,³ while the four succeeding chapters examine certain basic themes, settlement, field systems and agrarian structure, landownership and mineral extraction, laying emphasis on the landscape changes which took place in the period between 1600 and 1850. This is followed by a final 'cross section' of the dale, this time in 1850, and the work ends with a brief outline of the general and specific conclusions, set alongside the major problems and possible lines of further work within the framework of current thought.

In selecting this particular Pennine dale, personal interest in the foothills and uplands of the Pennines was a factor of prime importance, for the writer was born and brought up in one of the more industrialised valleys of Lancashire, where the tributaries of the rivers Hyndburn and Calder flowed from the Forest of Rossendale, to join the River Ribble in its lower reaches before entry into the Irish Sea. Many of these more southerly dales occupy similar positions relative to the industrialised areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire, as do the Durham Dales to those of North East England. In Lancashire, however, the textile industry assumed larger proportions for a variety of reasons, and a significant proportion of the

rural landscape was submerged beneath the advancing tide of industry and urbanisation. The opportunity to examine more easily the less industrialised patterns of the Pennines, offered, by contrast, in Teesdale, was an accepted challenge.

Secondly, Teesdale occupies an important position within the County of Durham, lying largely outside the direct influence of the Palatinate from the early Middle Ages, and exhibits certain differences in its cultural landscape when contrasted with the remainder of the county, in particular neighbouring Weardale. Teesdale exemplifies a zone of contact between Highland and Lowland England. Thirdly, there is a surprising lack of any detailed work on Teesdale, and indeed County Durham as a whole is remarkably deficient in historical geographical and economic historical studies. Joan Thirsk has herself indicated, for example, that 'much work could profitably be done on the enclosure history of these northern counties'.⁴ The current situation has been outlined in the recent volume published in connection with the British Association Meeting, held in Durham during September 1970.⁵

Finally, this study was designed to fit into the context of a wider framework of studies in historical geography,

being undertaken within County Durham and the Durham Dales in particular. The Department of Geography at Durham has been instrumental in developing such studies, and one can cite as an example work currently in progress on central and western Durham.⁶ It is hoped that this study on Teesdale will contribute to this framework and perhaps also prove useful in further studies undertaken in neighbouring Pennine dales and other similar areas.

The approach adopted in this thesis derives from using the landscape itself as a focus for detailed study. If the overall aim in historical geography is to strive for the reconstruction and understanding of the real world as it was at some particular time in the past, then this can perhaps best be achieved through an intimate understanding of the area studied, in which landscape, documents and where available, archaeological materials, are integrated. Landscape can provide a vital link between the often all too inadequate documentation and the reality of the past. The aim is to 'comprehend land and life in terms of each other',⁷ and Sauer emphasised the importance of this link between land and document when he wrote, 'Take into the field ... an account of an area written long ago and compare the places and their activities with the present, seeing where the habitations were and the lines of communication ran,

where the forests and fields stood, gradually getting a picture of the former cultural landscape concealed behind the present one'.⁸ So far as is possible, that advice has been followed in this study.

This is but one viewpoint which the author finds congenial and stimulating, but there are others.⁹ Within the body of this study a variety of techniques have been used, some of them indeed deriving from the quantitative thinking of the 'new geography'. The main theme of the thesis however, is pre-eminently concerned with the evolution of the cultural landscape. Recently, a group of recognised historical geographers produced a short paper in which they suggested that, 'practising and prospective historical geographers may pause to consider the contribution they are making to the development of the subject and ... ask how the work of other specialists can assist their own researches'.¹⁰ The most significant point to emerge from this paper for the future of study in historical geography, is that in line with most other branches of geography, it is currently accepted that, 'Both the real and perceived worlds may be understood in greater depth in a theoretical framework'.¹¹ The logical result of following more precise studies would seem to be a growth in the use of models, 'which may be used

successfully in the creation of a large number of changing abstract landscapes, against which their real-world counterparts may be measured and appraised!¹². However attractive this trend may be,¹³ it should be noted that many precise and highly detailed studies in Scandinavia and Western Europe have been produced without overemphasis upon abstract models.¹⁴ Such models are but tools, to be used as a means to a wider end, which may be seen as the reconstruction, interpretation and possible explanation of the real world. This necessarily also involves an intimate knowledge of the unquantifiable 'human motives, attitudes, preferences, and prejudices.'¹⁵

David A. Alexander.

Morecambe and Heysham,
Lancashire,
January, 1972.

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1. Man and Land in Teesdale: An Overview.

Situated to the west of the Exe-Tees line,¹ and clearly a part of Highland Britain with its characteristically older rock core and rugged terrain, the valley of the Tees can be seen as a north-westerly extension of the lowland of eastern England, which stretches up through the Northallerton Gate, beyond the Tees, and narrows northwards into Northumberland. It is an area of contact between east and west, an area exhibiting a symbiotic relationship between highland and lowland and known within the north of England as a 'dale'.²

Standing at about 1,000 feet on Barningham Moor, a few miles to the south east of Barnard Castle along the Yorkshire bank of the Tees, one can both observe and appreciate the position of Teesdale in terms of its highland and lowland associations. Eastwards, the Tees lowland stretches away, beyond Piercebridge and Darlington, towards the Tees estuary. To the north east, the land rises beyond the banks of the Tees to reveal the undulating and hilly terrain of the Pennine spurs and Magnesian Limestone ridge, which penetrate deep into County Durham. To the south east,

the lowland focuses upon the Northallerton Gate, towards which the Pennine spurs sweep down, and beyond which rises the Jurassic scarp of the North York Moors. Narrowing the focus of vision and following the Tees westward, the lowland gradually takes on a more distinct boundary of higher land and is finally reduced to a thin wedge pushing into the encroaching fells. Here, where the River Greta flows into the Tees at Rokeby, three miles to the east of Barnard Castle, the true dale begins.³ To the west of Barnard Castle, first within the lower dale and then beyond Middleton in the upper dale, the contrast between highland and lowland becomes less accentuated as the valley sides merge with the upland fells and moorlands of the Pennines, which reach to over 2,000 feet along the distant watershed. The plateau nature of the interfluves is brought out clearly to the north west, where they stretch away to the watershed with Weardale and on beyond as far as the Tyne Gap. To the south west, the interfluves of the Askrigg Block stretch away to Swaledale, Wensleydale and Craven. (Fig. 1).

Teesdale, thus defined, comprises some 30 miles of the approximate 70 mile course of the Tees, and forms the major focus of this study. Containing over 100,000 acres of land in some fourteen administrative parishes, it has a number

TEESDALE IN NORTH EAST ENGLAND.

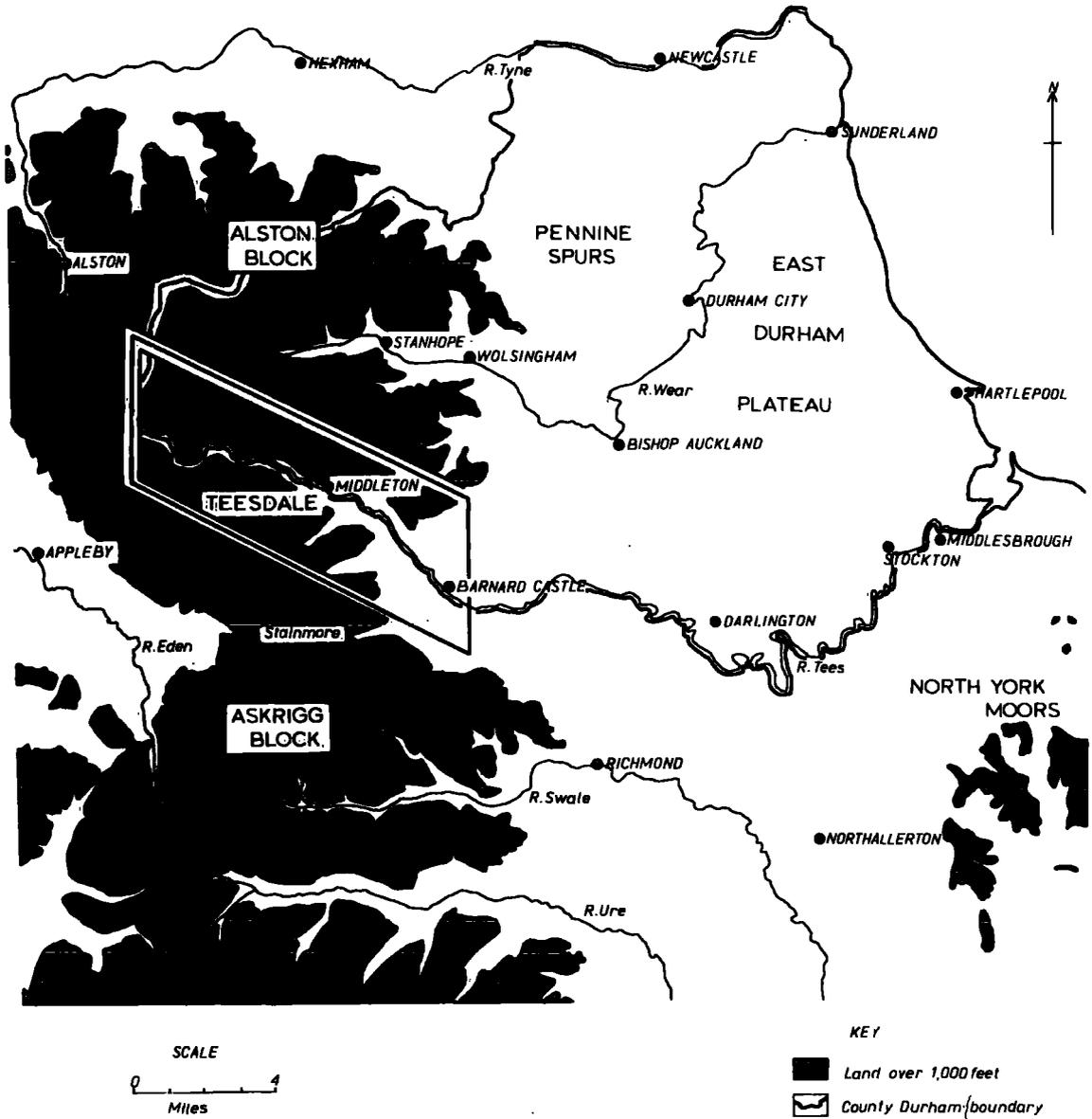


Figure 1 The general setting of Teesdale within North East England.

D.A.A.

of essential human contrasts within the framework of its physiographic setting. 'Before proceeding to a consideration of the people whose successive appraisals of the environment, in terms of developing capacities and changing needs, have developed the country from its primeval state into the present humanised landscape, one may venture to summarise the salient contributions to the distinctiveness of the environment.'⁴

Perhaps the most pointed contrast is that between the open expanses of fell and moorland, and the occupied and cultivated areas of the lower slopes and valley bottoms. The sombre brown moorland, heightened only during late summer and autumn by the purple hues of the heather, and the absence of trees which gives rise to open uninterrupted views and bold skylines as at Romaldkirk, contrasts vividly with the valley lands of green fields and grey walls and buildings, found within the more subdued parts of the dale. Here, the oak, sycamore, ash and birch predominate in the hedgerows, with alder and willow closer to the watercourses. Along the Durham bank, the predominance of the whitewashed farm buildings of the Raby Estate - a condition of their tenancy - contrasts sharply with the gritstone buildings along the Yorkshire bank.⁵

Within the settled lands of the lower slopes and valley bottoms there is a succession of closely interrelated and often overlapping cultural landscapes from past periods, which have gradually coalesced through time to form an amalgam which is continually subject both to expansion and growth, and to contraction, decay and abandonment. Adaptation to specific social, economic and political climates, whether slow, taking place over a number of generations, or rapid, lasting but several decades, when perhaps the economic climate in the dale was particularly propitious, has produced specific patterns of population and settlement distribution which provide many contrasts.

An examination of population statistics for Teesdale emphasises a 'widening of the inhabited zone down the dale'.⁶ Of the total population of just over 10,500, over 55 per cent live in Barnard Castle and neighbouring Startforth, both at the foot of the dale. Of the remainder, just under 15 per cent live in the smaller nucleus of Middleton, leaving 30 per cent - about 3,000 people - spread throughout the rest of the dale. These are mainly located in the small village clusters along the banks of the Tees, with only a shrinking minority in the outlying hamlets and farmsteads of the upper dale, such as Forest-in-Teesdale, which has

lost over 250 people since the turn of this century.⁷

The distribution of settlement closely correlates with that of population. The urban areas of Barnard Castle and Startforth dominate the pattern at the foot of the dale, where routeways from Barnard Castle, along both banks, converge, while in contrast, the villages are evenly distributed over the remainder of the settled land, with a gradual thinning of farmsteads in the upper reaches of the fell slopes.

Significant contrasts are also provided by the pattern of agriculture. As far up the Tees valley as Barnard Castle, arable fields of barley and oats are conspicuous landscape elements, a fact reflecting both the physical and economic climates. Beyond Barnard Castle, pastoral farming predominates in the meadows and pastures. Dairy farming is well established on the better grasses, while cattle rearing remains important in the upper dale, and sheep, as elsewhere in the Pennines, are ubiquitous.⁸

The variety and distribution of dry stone walls is a characteristic feature of the dales agrarian landscape, contrasting with the hedgerow boundaries in parts of the lower dale, where timber was often more readily available than free stone.⁹ Closer examination has emphasised the

contrast between the irregular small field boundaries of the valley bottoms, 'the drunken irregular maze of the older enclosures', and the essentially regular field boundaries of the upper slopes and interfluves, laid out during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.^{10.}

Further changes in field size and shape have taken place under the progressive influence of the Raby and Strathmore estates, in particular the amalgamation of smaller fields to accommodate the tractor and its growing range of implements. The traditional pattern of dales agriculture is now largely a feature of folk history, preserved in the writings and illustrations of such local sources as Raistrick^{11.} and Hartley and Ingilby.^{12.} A number of old farming implements are preserved in the Teesdale Collection of the Bowes Museum, at Barnard Castle.^{13.}

In contrast to the vast empty chasms of Carboniferous limestone created by extensive quarrying in the neighbouring dales, particularly Wensleydale, there is little active quarrying taking place in Teesdale. While evidence of small, disused slate and gritstone quarries is prominent within the lower dale, only Whin Sill dolerite is currently quarried in the upper dale, at Crossthwaite near Middleton. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this was one

of the renowned 'Lead Dales' of the London Lead Company. Relic features from this period of lead fever are still visible in the present landscape and add to its character. Derelict mine buildings, waste tips and hushes or gullies, formed by intense water action separating the lead from the waste, make up the majority of these features, but in addition there remains an atmosphere of past activity, where the wind howls around disused tips and vegetation refuses to grow in ground poisoned by lead.

Smailes has emphasised the importance of this period of lead mining in producing significant characteristics within the dale.¹⁴ Part time farming among the mining community was one reason why over 90 per cent of the cultivated land in the upper dale is situated at over 700 feet and some of it at over 1,500 feet. The need for lines of communication between lead mines, smelt mills and market centres, brought about the improvement of drover roads across the interfluves and the construction of turnpike and other roads, including that from Stanhope to Eggleston. Many of these roads allow present day penetration of the uppermost reaches of the dale along a metalled surface. Lead was also a potent factor in the construction of the railway as far as Middleton by 1868.¹⁵

There were no plans implemented to extend this further up the dale, perhaps ultimately as far as Alston, although such extensions did take place in neighbouring dales. In Swaledale, as late as October 1911, a light railway was proposed from the terminus at Richmond as far as Reeth, with possible extensions to Muker and Arkengarthdale.^{16.} By this time, however, the lead boom was over and the railways within the dale were in decline. Despite the many possible uses of such a scenic railway line in an age of increasing leisure, its relic features, epitomised perhaps best of all by the derelict station at Barnard Castle, now standing in an otherwise empty field, are all that remain. Another characteristic feature, particularly strong within the former lead and quarrying areas was the presence of Nonconformism, in particular Methodism and Baptism, illustrated in the landscape by the chapel. In addition the philanthropic Quaker movement was closely associated with the rise of the London Lead Company.^{17.}

Changes within recent decades have produced further significant contrasts in Teesdale. There have been drastic reductions among those employed in agriculture and quarrying, although in neighbouring Weardale, the Blue Circle Cement

Company employed a total labour force of nearly 400 at the close of 1968, of which some 75 per cent were local dales folk.¹⁸ Employment opportunities are now focused upon Barnard Castle and the Tees valley centres of Darlington and Teesside, while neighbouring Bishop Auckland acts as a smaller focus. This pattern, strengthened by a similar one of educational opportunity at secondary and tertiary levels, has been emphasised by the transport network. The familiar red and cream buses of United Automobile Services serve Teesdale as far as Middleton, but there are no longer thirty buses a week to High Force, from Bishop Auckland via Woodland and Eggleston.¹⁹ Only the rusting bus stops remain as micro-landscape evidence of the former extensive pattern of services in the upper dale.

A change has also taken place in the nature of raw materials now extracted from the dale. Lead has vanished and in its place have risen water and timber. Since the establishment of the Forestry Commission in 1919, in response to a national shortage of timber, large areas of the dales have been acquired for forestry plantations. Stands of quick maturing conifers - mainly spruce and larch - have added a further dimension to many fell slopes,

reducing their bare nature and mellowing a number of skylines. Perhaps partly because of opposition from the two major landowners in Teesdale - the Raby and Strathmore Estates - the Forestry Commission has been unable to purchase land for plantations except in the parish of Eggleston, which falls outside the jurisdiction of either estate. Elsewhere in the dale, there are only small stands of timber for estate purposes. The largest acreage of forest - that of Arkengarthdale Forest covering over 1,100 acres - occupies the upper fell slopes and interfluves along the watershed with Swaledale.

Water requirements for the major urban and industrial centres of County Durham and Teesside have been so great, that many available sites within the dale have been acquired for reservoirs. Such large expanses of water have changed the character of the Lunedale and Balderdale tributaries of the Tees.²⁰ The recent enlargements to an earlier reservoir in Balderdale have been unable to satisfy demand, and even the controversial 9,000 million gallon Cow Green Reservoir, on the headwaters of the Tees, is unlikely to be sufficient within a decade.²¹

The growth of leisure activities within the dale, has been emphasised by the rapid rise in the car owning

population in the years since 1945. Along with the car has come the caravan, camping, skiing, boating, the rise in bed and breakfast accommodation, and the growth in weekend cottages. With this increased pressure on the land, the creation of the Yorkshire Dales National Park, the selection of areas of Special Scientific Interest and of Outstanding Natural Beauty, and the growth of Nature Trails and Country Parks, have all helped to create a growing conflict in land use. Broader changes in the total way of life are also important. The spread of electricity and piped water supplies, greater mobility, and the impact of newspapers, radio and television, have together created a society that has become increasingly assimilated within a common national framework, and regional contrasts have become blurred. There is amalgamation and mechanisation within the specialised farming system; the growth of the area complementary to Teesside for dormitory and recreational facilities; and the growing use of such material assets as water, stone and timber.

While much of the legacy of the present landscape dates from the growing implementation of agrarian and

industrial changes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and most of it from the beginning of the 'modern period' in 1500, fragmented documentary evidence remains from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²²

Evidence of earlier occupation is only slowly being unearthed by the archaeologist and pollen analyst.²³

In the second part of this chapter, it is intended to trace the major periods of land occupation in Teesdale through to the present day, in order to provide both a background to further study and a context within which to see the more detailed research of the period from 1600 to 1850. This was a period which gradually emerged from the legacy of the Middle Ages and the burgeoning influence of thought and practice derived from the Reformation, and ended amidst the fever of growing industrial change in Northern England and the rise of 'carboniferous capitalism'.²⁴

Five major periods of land occupation can be recognised - Prehistoric, Roman, the Dark Ages, the Conquest and Middle Ages, and the Modern Period - the last beginning in the north about 1570, with the disappearance of monastic life and ideals, the establishment of the Society of Mines Royal, which heralded the future mining

growth in Teesdale, and the collapse of the Northern Rebellion, which allowed the effective integration of Northern England within the realm as a whole.^{25.}

Difficulties of reconstruction are met, even with the greater availability of documentary material after the Conquest,^{26.} and for the earlier periods, despite modern methods within the new analytical framework of archaeological studies, much speculation remains and extreme caution is necessary in both description and interpretation.^{27.}

At the present time, consensus of opinion would suggest that the earliest human occupance in Teesdale took place, 'about eight thousand years ago'.^{29.} Clark has emphasised the maximum afforestation of this period within the dale,^{30.} although Raistrick has pointed out that, 'Even ... at the maximum of forest development it is unlikely that dense forest would develop on the fell tops and that shallow limestone soils would support only juniper and hazel scrub'.^{31.} The earliest settlers were generally attributed to the Mesolithic culture, encompassing a nomadic hunting and collecting economy,^{32.} and perhaps responsible for woodland clearance on the upper slopes and interfluves, which first

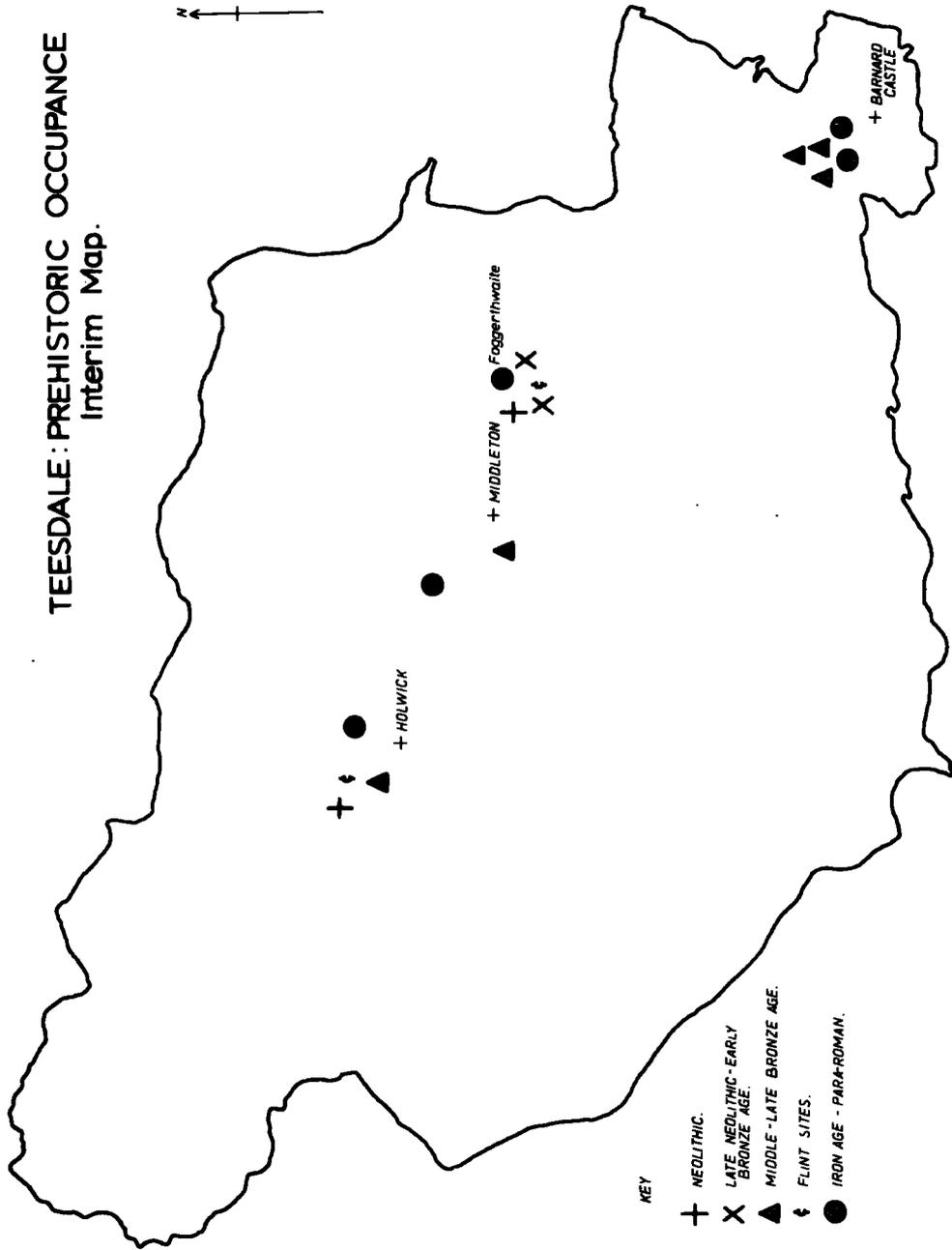
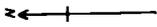
disturbed the ecological balance and brought about changes in the soils and vegetation of the dale.³³

Horns of the wild ox or auroch have been found preserved within peat deposits in Forest and Frith, and may have been the quarry of these Mesolithic hunters. (Fig. 2).

After c.3,000 B.C., artifacts associated with the Neolithic culture, in particular stone axes and arrow heads, found recognition in the dale. Such gradual changes associated with drier and colder climatic conditions, and perhaps resulting in a widespread occupation of the uplands, are dominated by the emphasis upon domesticated plants and animals. Proctor and Coggins have indicated the presence of stone axe finds at Forest-in-Teesdale, Bow Lees, and Holwick, and suggested possible evidence, though as yet largely unsubstantiated, on further earthworks, which might lead to a greater understanding of the impact of Neolithic settlement on the lighter and better drained soils in the dale.³⁴

With the evolution and development of recognisable Bronze Age implements in around 1650 B.C., a more organised and permanent pattern of occupation very probably appeared within Teesdale and had a far greater impact on the landscape, in view of its utilisation of metals and its

TEESDALE: PREHISTORIC OCCUPANCE Interim Map.



KEY

- + NEOLITHIC.
- + X LATE NEOLITHIC-EARLY BRONZE AGE.
- ▲ MIDDLE-LATE BRONZE AGE.
- ⚡ FLINT SITES.
- IRON AGE - PARA-ROMAN.

SCALE
0 1
Miles.

Figure 2 An interim map of prehistoric occupance in Teesdale.

D.A.A.

higher degree of technological advancement. In addition to bronze axes, spears and swords, found, for example, around Barnard Castle, and which in themselves provide little evidence of detailed sites, larger features such as stone circles and tumuli, provide more positive evidence. While the focus for colonisation remained on the dale's lighter soils, it is probable that the use of metal for simple ploughs permitted at least some advance to be made upon the heavier soils, together with a movement away from the interfluves and higher valley slopes towards the lower ground, a move necessary in view of population pressure. Burnt ash from woodland clearances and animal manure would almost certainly provide fertiliser for cultivation, and traces of small fields, perhaps organised within a simple agricultural framework, have been dated in Weardale.³⁵

What proportion was this cultivated ground to that of the pastoral fell land? To what extent can one conclude that such forms accompanied by settlement clusters of some size, were present in Teesdale? Tentative evidence may suggest some form of Bronze Age occupation at Foggerthwaite near Eggleston, about one and a half miles from the present village core. Strong evidence is provided by the site itself - a structural bench of the Carboniferous, lying

at about 900 feet, with an open southerly aspect - and clearly it is worthy of more detailed examination in terms of soil structure and vegetation cover. The presence of a stone circle, removed for walling during nineteenth century enclosure, together with a tumulus several hundred yards away, sited, perhaps unusually, in the slight depression of a small stream or sike, might raise a question over the exact location of the community to which they belonged.^{36.}

By the time Iron Age cultural traits were recognisable within Teesdale, at some stage after about 550 B.C., climatic conditions were becoming much damper and cooler.^{37.} Further advances in the use of metals and in technology in general, enabled a greater degree of cultivation within a well organised and stratified society who were now living in permanent settlements of both clustered and single dwellings. It is probable that the heavier soils, beyond those previously cultivated, were coming under cultivation within small rectangular fields, especially in view of the rapid growth of peat in the poorly drained upland areas, a process which would reduce their potential value for cultivation. Here, a combination of pottery finds, pollen analysis, and aerial photograph interpretation, can provide invaluable assistance in site detection and field examination. While

Little work has yet been carried out or published on the imposition of Iron Age culture in Teesdale, this period may have been of only short duration prior to the Roman invasion, as in the Lake District.³⁸ Few fossil features however surpass the seventeen acre earthwork fortifications at Stanwick, south east of Gainford, which would appear to have been the major command post guarding the lowland route from the south.³⁹ While Hoskins may claim that, 'The English Landscape is almost entirely the product of the last fifteen hundred years',⁴⁰ its roots are now generally thought to go much deeper than this. Work on the continent among historical geographers, historians and archaeologists, has stimulated study in this country, and the origins of the organisation and stratification of societies, expressed through their tenurial structure, agrarian framework and settlement pattern, may well go back as far as the Iron and Bronze Ages.⁴¹ Patterns of occupation and development within the dales show a gradual move from the less densely wooded areas and lighter soils of the interfluves, to those of the intermediate slopes, and finally, with the help of the frame plough, to the heavier soils of the valley bottoms.⁴² Evidence of Iron Age occupation has been traced by pollen analysis at Steward Shield Meadow and Bollihope, in Weardale,⁴³ while closer

cooperation between work at present in progress within the Departments of Archaeology, Botany and Geography at Durham, may yet produce a framework, within which to set the prehistoric contribution to the evolution of the dales landscape.^{44.}

By the advent of Roman occupance in Northern England, at some time after A.D. 69, the Brigantian descendants of earlier Iron Age cultures would seem to have been organised within a framework of discrete or federal estates often known as shires.^{45.} These estates comprised a capital or mansio, together with a series of attendant settlements known as berewicks or sokelands, which formed a small and often complementary, economic, social and political unit. The Stanwick fortification may have been associated with the adjacent capital or mansio of Aldbrough, which in turn may well have had its attendant berewicks and sokelands scattered throughout both the Tees valley and Teesdale. The more advantageous soils of the Tees lowlands were available for cultivation around the capital, while at greater distances, the uplands could accommodate pasture rights and perhaps some form of transhumance.

Roman influence in the dale was essentially military in nature, since beyond the Tees the Civil and Military

Zones met. With the close proximity of Hadrian's Wall to the north, the key objectives for such a frontier area were to maintain regular and trouble free access for troops and supplies, via routes both east and west of the Pennines, involving a number of cross Pennine links. Roads and fortification points were, therefore, major landscape elements in this period, although Roman influence in wider cultural fields upon a population with whom a certain amount of market trade and social contact must have taken place, is difficult to assess on the evidence currently available.⁴⁶ Lead and silver may have been worked within the dale, but of greater prominence was the road network over Stainmore, with its branches from the fort at Bowes. The first of these ran through the settlements of Barnard Castle and Bishop Auckland, at the foot of both Teesdale and Weardale, to the fort at Binchester, while a second branch ran along the southern flank of the Tees valley to Scotch Corner, from which Dere Street ran north to the key fortress at Piercebridge close to Stanwick and Aldbrough, and on to Binchester, from which there was access to the eastern end of Hadrian's Wall. It is possible that in addition, there may have been some small increase in corn growing within the more favourable parts of Teesdale, since indicative pollen analysis has been forthcoming from

similar sites in north west England.^{47.}

With the waning and final disappearance of direct Roman influence in northern England, by the early fifth century, the dales entered a veritable 'dark age' which lasted until the emergence of a greater degree of documentary material, shortly after the Conquest. During this period, there took place a succession of Germanic and Scandinavian colonisation which added yet a further dimension to the cultural landscape. The Tees became a dividing line between the two parts of the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria, with Bernicia lying to the north and Deira to the south. Symeon of Durham's description of the land between the Tyne and the Tees in the sixth century, 'a deserted waste ... and thus nothing but a hiding place for wild and woodland beasts',^{48.} may give some indication of the nature of the dale at this period and can perhaps partially explain the large number of place names of Anglian primary and secondary colonisation, as for example at Barningham, Lartington, Mickleton, Wackerfield, Ingleton and Middleton.^{49.} How far such occupation absorbed and modified the existing framework of settlement, fields, farms and tenurial arrangements, however sparse, is difficult to assess. Land may have been cultivated collectively or in severalty,

and was probably gradually extended from its original nucleus, over the better drained parts of the valley floor and the gentle slopes of the valley sides.

An examination of the surviving literary sources of the Northumbrian Kingdom, in particular Symeon and Bæde, together with the results of archaeological research and pollen analysis at likely sites, would appear to be the most fruitful paths towards a better understanding of the cultural landscape of this period. Woodland clearance, the use of the heavier plough, the organisation of agrarian and tenurial arrangements, and the development of a pattern of nucleated primary settlement, would all appear to have taken place at this time. Here may well be a significant 'intermediate' period, containing not only the roots of much that has since shaped the cultural landscape, but also pointing towards earlier origins.

The second major colonising influence, from the end of the ninth century, was largely of Norwegian origin, reaching the dale via the Pennine escarpment from north west England and dominating much of the upper dale, in contrast to the earlier Germanic influence in the lower dale and Tees lowland.⁵⁰ Danish influence may well have been limited to a few riverine and valley sites closer to the

east coast, where place names such as Eppleby and Thorpe suggest their presence. In a physical environment not unlike parts of Norway, particularly in the upper dale, the settlement pattern was one of hamlets and single farmsteads. This contrasted with the predominantly nucleated pattern of the Tees lowland, and was indicated by linguistic elements found in such place names as Eppers Gill, Maize Beck, Cornset, and Hunderthwaite. Such elements are particularly dominant along the Yorkshire bank of the Tees and within the tributary dales of the Lune and Balder. It is probable that several families, together with their closer kin grouping, occupied a number of farmsteads here, comprising several timber or stone buildings, including dwelling houses, cowsheds, food and clothes stores, wood sheds, and barns, the latter perhaps characterised by a sloping roadway leading to the second storey, a feature still seen in both Norway and the upper dale today.⁵¹

A patch of cleared ground - the innmark - used for grain and hay cultivation, surrounded the farmstead, while beyond the transitional outfield - the utmark - lay the fells with their considerable tree cover of oak and birch. Here may have been a series of outfarms or seters, occupied only between late spring and late summer, for the transhumance of cattle.⁵² A similar pattern survives in the cultural

landscape of eastern Norway, and the parallels with parts of the northern Pennines and the southern Lake District are perhaps strong enough to warrant further profitable research.⁵³.

'From the blending of Anglian or Norse with British elements, in varying proportions but, except locally, without either being really dominant, there arose in North England a new and distinctive society, a hybrid developed in the province, adapted to the distinctive milieu, and reacting in its own distinctive manner to new, intrusive features.'⁵⁴ In this way, Smailes bridges a rather fragmented period prior to the Conquest. During the Dark Ages the roots of all facets of society were strengthened or replenished, changes were made in response to particular local conditions and needs, and a beginning was made in what Bloch has labelled the 'Great Age of Clearing'.⁵⁵ This was a period during which the acreage of cultivated land was extended, in association with a corresponding increase in settlement and in the organisation of field systems. This expansion, correlated by demographic research,⁵⁶ and minor climatic changes, lasted from about 1050 to 1300 and saw the maximum acreage of cultivated land in many areas,

including the use of marginal land in the uplands.^{57.}

Twenty years after the Norman Conquest of England, the Domesday Book provided the most comprehensive survey of the dales area in the eleventh century, although its coverage was limited to the Yorkshire side of the Tees. This survey indicated the rural framework of the period, and pointed to its systematization and development.^{58.}

The southern side of the dale formed a part of the wapentake of Terra Alani Comitis - Count Alan's land - later known as Gilling West Wapentake.^{59.} The term 'wapentake' emphasized the evolution of a linguistic term of Scandinavian origin, which, with the notable exception of Sadberge wapentake, was absent from the Durham side of the dale. From the scanty population, plough land and plough team evidence, Darby and Maxwell have concluded, in deference to the general wave of expansion and clearing after about 1050, that Teesdale south of the river, and perhaps also, by inference, north of it, was largely waste as late as 1086, and recovery was delayed until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Bishop has supported this view and proffered the Norman 'harrying of the north' and the ravages of Danes and Scots in 1069 and 1070 as the major causes.^{60.} Perhaps as many as 58 per cent of the villis in the North Riding as a whole were

either wholly or partially waste in 1086, with those along the Tees in the first category. Can such uninhabited or waste vills be used to indicate the total abandonment of the surrounding cultivated land, or is it possible to suggest the survival of islands of cultivation on the areas of better drained soils in the valley floor and on the more gentle slopes? Absolute conclusions are uncertain from the evidence available, but Darby and Maxwell's indication of a 'truly negative' area is perhaps overstating the case. Some cultivation must have survived, however small, if the population, plough land and plough team evidence is to be interpreted strictly, and this very probably formed the spearhead for later recolonisation and further occupation of much of the uplands. Bowes, with its Norman castle guarding the Stainmore route, claims to date from 1172, while Gilmonby and Holwick, recorded in 1146⁶¹ and 1251 respectively, may be recolonisations on or close to sites of earlier occupation⁶¹. (Fig. 3). Advance and retreat in the uplands during the early medieval period is currently attracting the attention of historical geographers, both in this country and elsewhere in Europe.⁶²

Because of the failure of Domesday Book to cover the Palatinate of Durham, in which the Prince Bishop held sway

TEESDALE: SETTLEMENT DOCUMENTATION From Place-Name Evidence

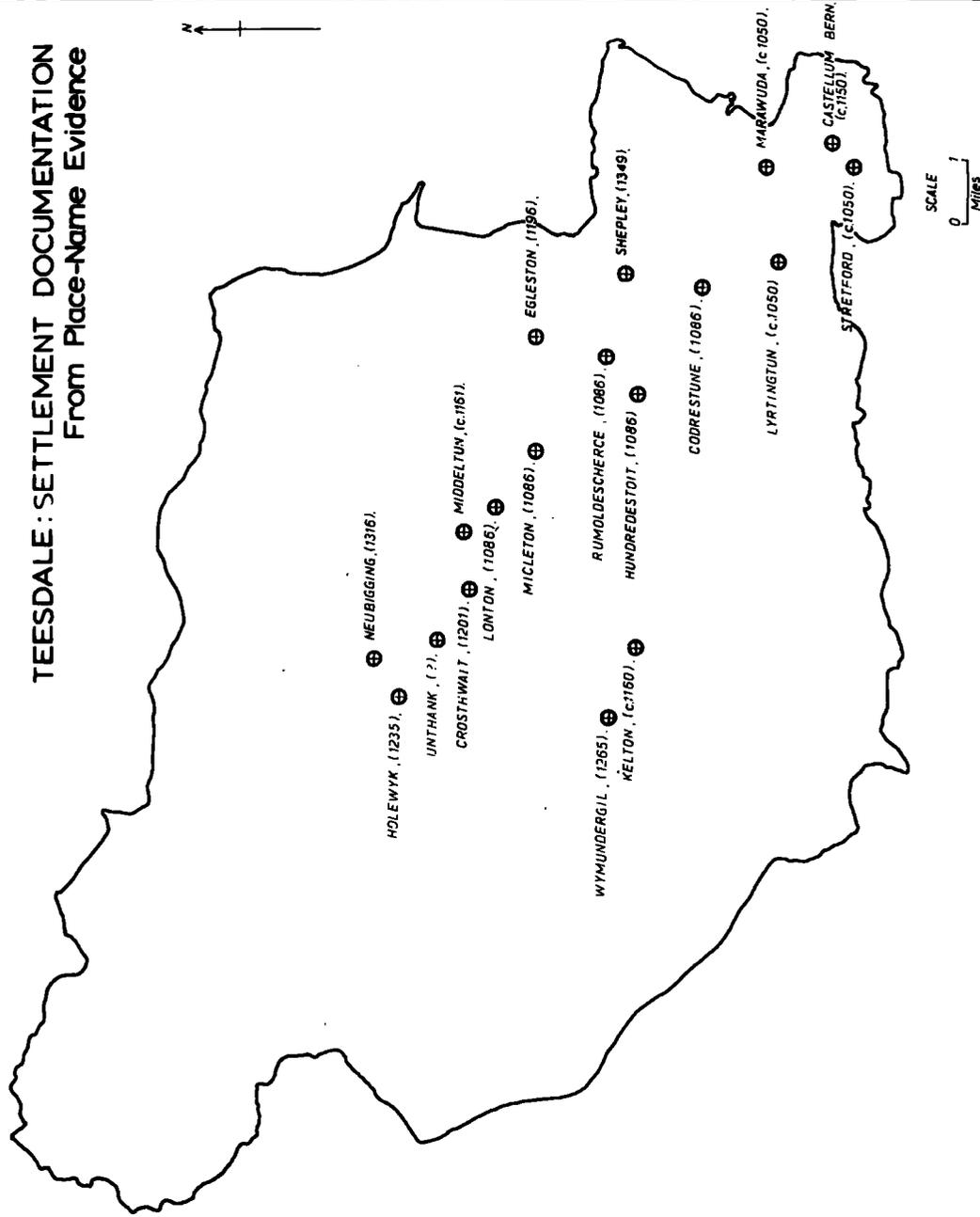


Figure 3 Earliest recorded evidence of major settlements in Teesdale derived from E. Ekwall. D.A.A.

with little or no subservience to the Crown, the first comparable survey here, did not take place until 1183, when Bishop Hugh Pudsey commissioned a rental survey of his episcopal possessions. The Teesdale lands were, however, excluded from the survey and formed a hot bed of contention between the territorial ambitions of the Bishop and those of its holders, the Baliols.⁶³ William II had granted the forests of Teesdale and Marwood, together with the lordships of Middleton-in-Teesdale and Gainford, to Guy de Baliol in 1093, removing them from the wapentake of Sadberge. Before the Conquest, the Teesdale lands, stretching approximately from Piercebridge to the head of the dale, had been ecclesiastical land leased or mortgaged to laymen.⁶⁴ This exclusion from the Bishop's Survey or Boldon Buke⁶⁵ cast a shadow over an assessment of the cultural landscape at this point. The few faint shafts of light which do peep through, permit only guarded comment.

References to the forests of Teesdale and Marwood give little or no real indication of the nature of the vegetation cover and state of cultivation, since the term forest is used here to indicate a judicial area subject to forest law. However, it is unlikely that such areas would be without tree cover at this period, prior to the peak of colonisation attained at the beginning of the

fourteenth century.⁶⁶ Archaeological evidence from the remains at Barnard Castle itself, would suggest a late eleventh or early twelfth century origin for this Baliol stronghold, although an earlier form of settlement may have existed here.⁶⁷

Further detailed evidence of occupation and colonisation within the dale is closely related to the colonising movement of the Cistercian, and to a lesser extent Premonstratensian monastic houses, in the latter half of the twelfth and early part of the thirteenth centuries.⁶⁸ Egglestone Abbey was founded between 1195 and 1198, a mile or two south of Barnard Castle, occupying a bluff above the Tees on the Yorkshire bank. In view of its small size and continued poverty, which lasted until the Dissolution in 1535, its influence on the cultural landscape would appear minimal.⁶⁹ Certain sources claim that 'the manor of Eggleston once belonged to Egglestone Abbey',⁷⁰ while the Valor Ecclesiasticus claimed that the abbey received twenty shillings annually from both Barnard Castle and Eggleston.⁷¹

Of much greater significance to colonisation in the dale was Rievaulx Abbey, founded in 1131 along the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering, to the south east of Teesdale, but within which it held certain privileges, as a result of

endowments by Bernard de Baliol in the middle of the twelfth century.⁷² The detail of these endowments provides the earliest clear picture of a considerable part of the Durham bank of the dale.⁷³ In addition to pasture rights for sixty mares throughout the whole of the Forest of Teesdale, Rievaulx held a small assart or clearing as far up the dale as Ettersgill. This occupied some five acres and was surrounded by a hedge and ditch. A dwelling of proportions 165 feet in length by 20 feet in width was situated on this assart, 'ad caput de Kauesete', in close proximity to the confluence of Ettersgill with the Tees, and would seem to have been used both as a tiny hermitage for the monks, and also for looking after horses, colts, and other animals, and for taking in hay. A similar assart existed further down the dale - at Hope House - between Egglehope and Hudeshope, close to an area now known as Monk's Moor, and here pasture rights existed for as many as 120 sheep, 12 cows and 2 bulls. A dwelling of similar proportions to that in Ettersgill was situated here, containing gardens and closes, and rights to collect hay and to fold horses and other animals. Both dwellings were permanently occupied by lay brothers or 'conversi', and were undoubtedly vaccaries or loggias for the Cistercian stock economy. Timber rights existed within

the Forest for construction, roofing, and fencing, while finally, two bovates of land, approximately 26 acres, were held at Middleton, along with pasture for 3 horses, 10 oxen, 120 sheep, 8 cows and a bull.

Recent research by Donkin has indicated the presence of Cistercian granges near Cotherstone in 1325, showing approximately 100 acres of arable land.⁷⁴ Whether this belonged to Rievaulx or to another Cistercian foundation, is uncertain. Until many of the monastic holdings were sold or leased to laymen during the economic and social reversals of the latter part of the fourteenth century, the monks played a significant part in pushing back the frontiers of colonisation, through a policy of land management involving direct exploitation. They foreshadowed the impact of the large landowners who succeeded them from the latter part of the sixteenth century. Thus from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, colonisation took place within the upland Pennine dales. The land was required not only for agricultural needs, within the framework of a growing economy based largely upon wool, cattle and grain, but also to accommodate the growing demand for metals, in particular iron for agricultural implements and construction in general. Iron smelting was first recorded in the Forest of Lune as early as 1235, and

contributed to the reduction in the forest cover.^{75.}

By the time of Bishop Hatfield's Survey of the Palatinate of Durham in 1381, and that of Bishop Langley in 1416, significant changes had taken place within the cultural landscape of the dale.^{76.} Again, the Teesdale lands were omitted because of their lay ownership in the Neville family, who had rebuilt and castellized the old manor house at Raby, a few miles north east of Barnard Castle, and established themselves there between 1315 and 1331.^{77.} It is probable, however, that the major changes found within the Teesdale lands were not totally dissimilar from those found elsewhere in the Bishopric, particularly in neighbouring Weardale. Perhaps the most significant change was the clear recognition of secondary colonisation since the earlier Domesday and Bolden surveys. A gradual extension of settlement and cultivated land had taken place along the valley sides, in the form of tiny hamlets, farmsteads, vaccaries, and associated small fields, now held in severalty as opposed to the communal subdivided field holdings of the primary village settlements. This pattern may have been stimulated by land hunger which was common on both a national and wider European scale at this time.^{78.}

With the exception of Burden's thesis on the historical geography of County Durham,^{79.} and the work of Dickinson,^{80.}

very little can be said about the evolution of the dale during this period. The Calendar of Inquisitions indicated that Eggleston was held in 1317 by the Nevilles, Earls of Warwick, by service inclusive of $1\frac{1}{2}$ Knight's Fee and 20 shillings rent, and that certain tenements and the benefice of the church at 'Middiltonne in Tesdale' were held by one Hugh de Mawborn at a rent of $13\frac{1}{2}d$.⁸¹ The Victoria County History has recorded the presence in 1424-5, of Thringarth Park at the foot of Lunedale and of West Park associated with the castle site at Cotherstone, and indicated that each was stocked with game.⁸² At this juncture, it would be relevant to pose two questions. What influence did the pestilence and in particular the Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century, have upon the cultural landscape of the dale, in terms of reducing population and bringing about a contraction in the area of cultivation? Secondly, what was the effect of the unsettled political situation, in particular the Scots raids from the north and the hill brigands? It should be remembered that Egglestone Abbey was ravaged several times by the Scots in the early fourteenth century, and that 1340-1 saw the duration of the Border War. This threat to political stability in and around the Middle Marches was almost a constant fear within the dale until after the Union of England and Scotland in

1707.^{83.}

By the close of the Middle Ages, it was possible to recognise in Teesdale, a firmly stratified society, created under the influence of powerful feudal lords and ecclesiastical and monastic authorities. The Fitzhughs held much of West Gilling wapentake, focused upon Cotherstone, while the Nevilles dominated the Teesdale lands from Barnard Castle and Raby. Trade was growing concomitant with agriculture, and together with the increasing movement of minerals and metals, was giving rise to the development of tracks, which provided an important line of access to the market town of Brough in Westmorland.^{84.} These focused upon incipient market settlements at the mouth of the dale, where lowland and upland economies intermingled. These developed at Barnard Castle under the military protection of the castle; at Cotherstone, under similar protection at the foot of Balderdale; and at Middleton and Mickleton at the foot of Lunedale. Smailes claimed that probably almost all the village groups that exist today had been established by this time, while perhaps several others had been deserted or depopulated, as at Crossthwaite between Middleton and Holwick.^{85.} In essence this framework would appear characteristic of many of the

Pennine dales.^{86.}

With the Dissolution of the Monasteries by 1540 and the replacement of monastic landlords by laymen, the beginnings were made in a series of changes of growing momentum and magnitude which were to end with Teesdale taking its place within the economic and social framework of the present day. Backhouse has emphasised the increasing availability of documentary material from the sixteenth century and it is the consideration and analysis of such material which has facilitated a more detailed and accurate reconstruction of the cultural landscape of this period.^{87.} The closely associated links of settlement form and function; the detailed organisational arrangements of the agrarian structure; the growing dominance of the Nevilles and Bowes families as landlords; and the dawning of an age of growing importance for stone and lead, all emerged as important elements within the cultural landscape during the second half of the sixteenth century, and form the focus of study within the main body of this thesis.

From the numerous small beginnings of consolidation and enclosure during the sixteenth century, and perhaps dating back in several instances to the early fifteenth century, as in Weardale, the enclosure movement gained

momentum.^{88.} Agricultural improvements were introduced on a growing scale, and reached a climax with the large rectangular enclosures of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

After the Rising of the North in 1570, the Bowes family of Streatlam emerged as significant landowners in Teesdale, having acquired the Fitzhugh lands along the Yorkshire bank of the Tees, in addition to their own at Streatlam in County Durham. The Nevilles or Earls of Westmorland on the other hand, fell from fortune after their failure in 1570, and were obliged to forfeit their estates. The Humberstone Survey was instituted at this date to evaluate and assess the Teesdale lands for the Crown,^{89.} and appeared along with the earliest known map of the dale, in c.1569, providing the first real account of the dale at the beginning of modern times (Fig. 4). In the early years of the seventeenth century, the Crown invested these lands in the Vane family, with one or two exceptions such as the manor of Eggleston, and this family has held them down to the present Lord Barnard of Raby. Another manorial survey of the dales lands took place in about 1605, as part of a wider survey including parts of Weardale, and is paralleled by a number of similar surveys covering many of the neighbouring Pennines dales to the

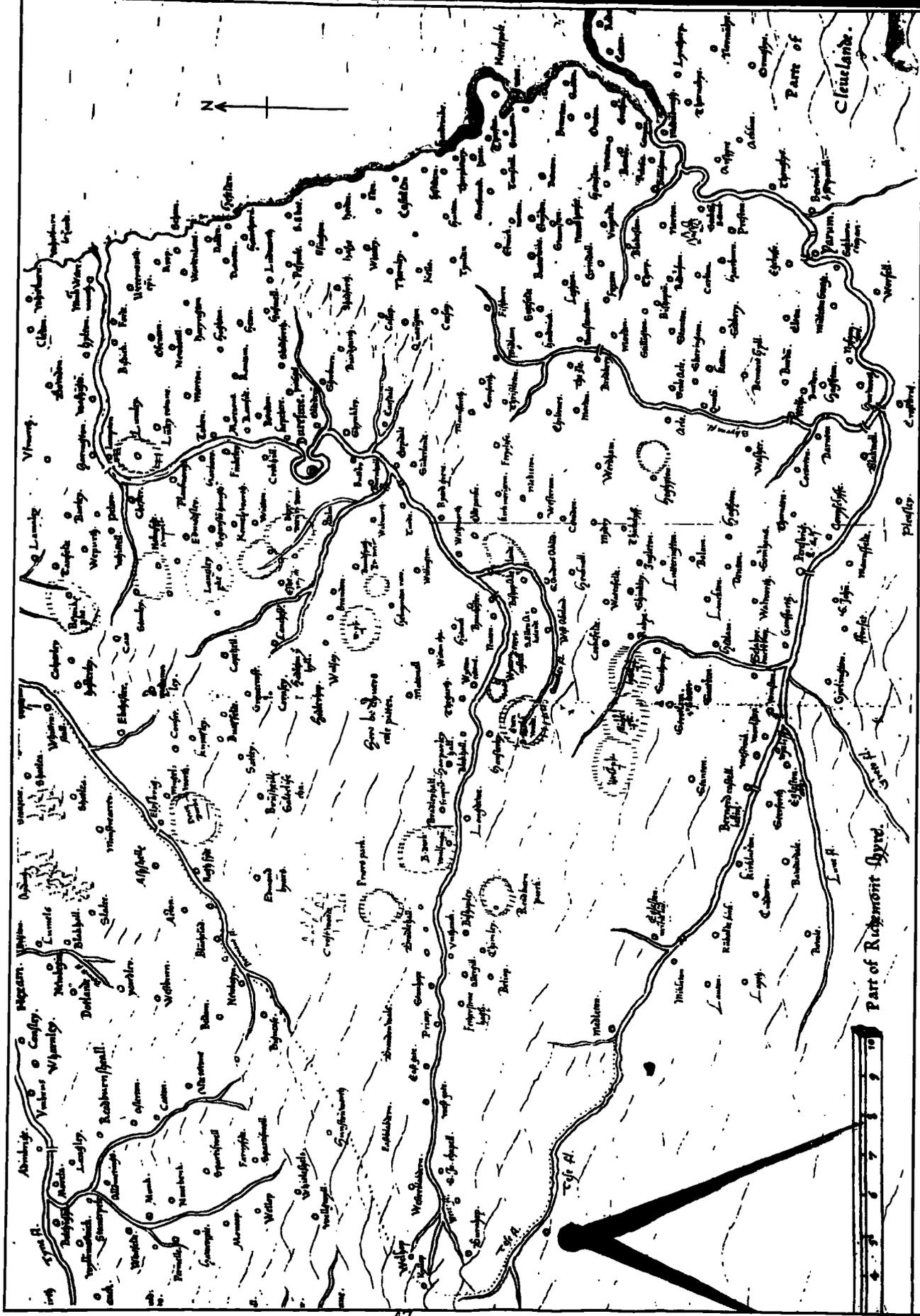


Figure 4.

Teesdale in County Durham, c. 1569.

south.^{90.}

In addition to agrarian changes, which influenced settlement form and function during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the beginnings of industrial change had a significant effect upon the cultural landscape by the latter half of the eighteenth century. While stone had long been quarried locally for construction and repair, the availability of gritstone and Whin Sill for a rapidly growing industrial population on the eastern fringes of the dale, soon produced more significant gashes and scars along the valley sides. Coal was the password for many of the western parts of County Durham at this period, with the uppermost coal bearing seams of the Carboniferous present only a few miles to the north east around Woodland, Copley and Cockfield. The resultant economic and social impact on the cultural landscape was little short of revolutionary.^{91.} Perhaps slightly less revolutionary in its impact, and this partly a factor of scale, was the re-emphasis and further extension of lead mining and smelting above Middleton in the upper dale. Settlement increased, cultivated land was extended, roads and tracks were improved, and the overall economic balance swung for a dynamic, albeit short period, towards the hunting and forest preserve of the Forest of

Teesdale. After the middle years of the eighteenth century, the philanthropic London Lead Company came to epitomise lead working.⁹² By 1850, at the close of the detailed period of study selected here, it is possible to visualize a bipartite division of the dale. In the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth, Teesdale was an area marked by gradual agrarian reforms, closely associated with consolidation and small scale enclosure within a growing pastoral economy. After this period, a more marked impact was made upon the cultural landscape as a result of lead fever and the optimistic enclosure of the uplands by industrialists and large landowners. Between the two was a period of transition, reached perhaps during the first two or three decades of the eighteenth century (Fig. 5).

After 1850, the growing development and utilisation of the steam engine heralded an age not far removed from the present. Steam was used, for example, in several of the industries of Barnard Castle, including the flax and woollen mills, while the steam locomotive had a considerable impact on the growth and development of travel in the dale.⁹³ The large number of guide books which emphasize this growth, increased considerably from

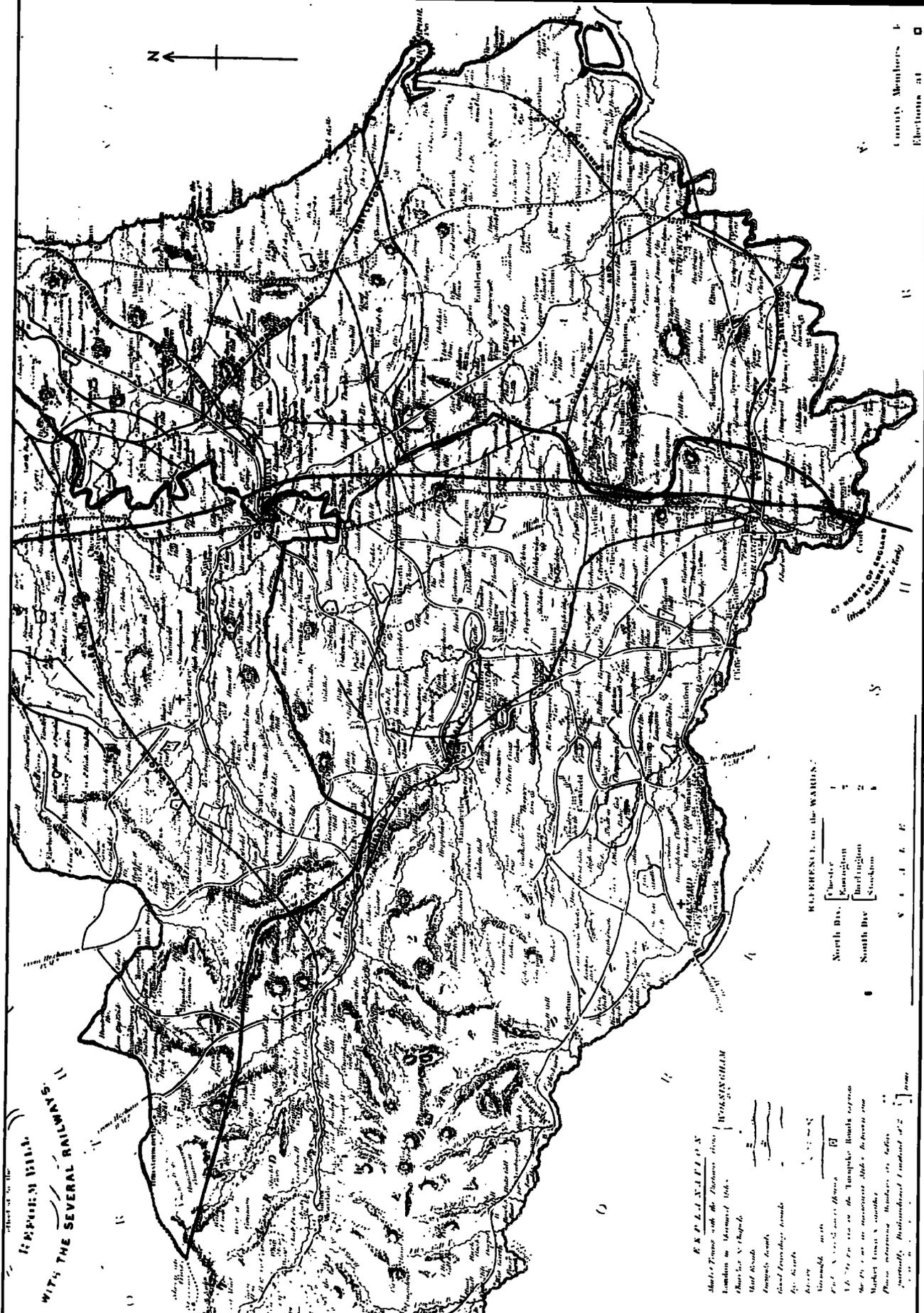


Figure 5.

Teesdale in County Durham, c. 1850.

the middle of the nineteenth century, and have passed in
ever more lavish and picturesque forms, into the present.^{94.}

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2. Teesdale: The Physical Landscape.

In any attempt to comprehend 'land and life in terms of each other',¹ a knowledge of the physical environment is essential, and in this chapter it is proposed to examine briefly the physiography of Teesdale.

From the highest summits of the Alston Block of the northern Pennines, bounded by a series of faults that have produced the Tyne and Stainmore Gaps to the north and south and Edenside to the west, the land reveals a wide extent of moorlands to the east, which 'steadily declines in broad ridges between valleys',² to produce the two major dales of Weardale and Teesdale (Fig. 6). Between the coast and the highest summits of over 2,000 feet, including Killope Moor, Wellhope Moor, Cronkley Fell and Mickle Fell, Thorpe has recognised three basic physiographic divisions: the High Pennine Moorlands, the Pennine Spurs beyond them to the east, and the Wear and Tees Lowlands.³

Geologically Teesdale has an underlying unity of rock and structure common not only to the Alston Block, but found throughout the whole length of the Pennines.

TEESDALE : PHYSIOGRAPHY.

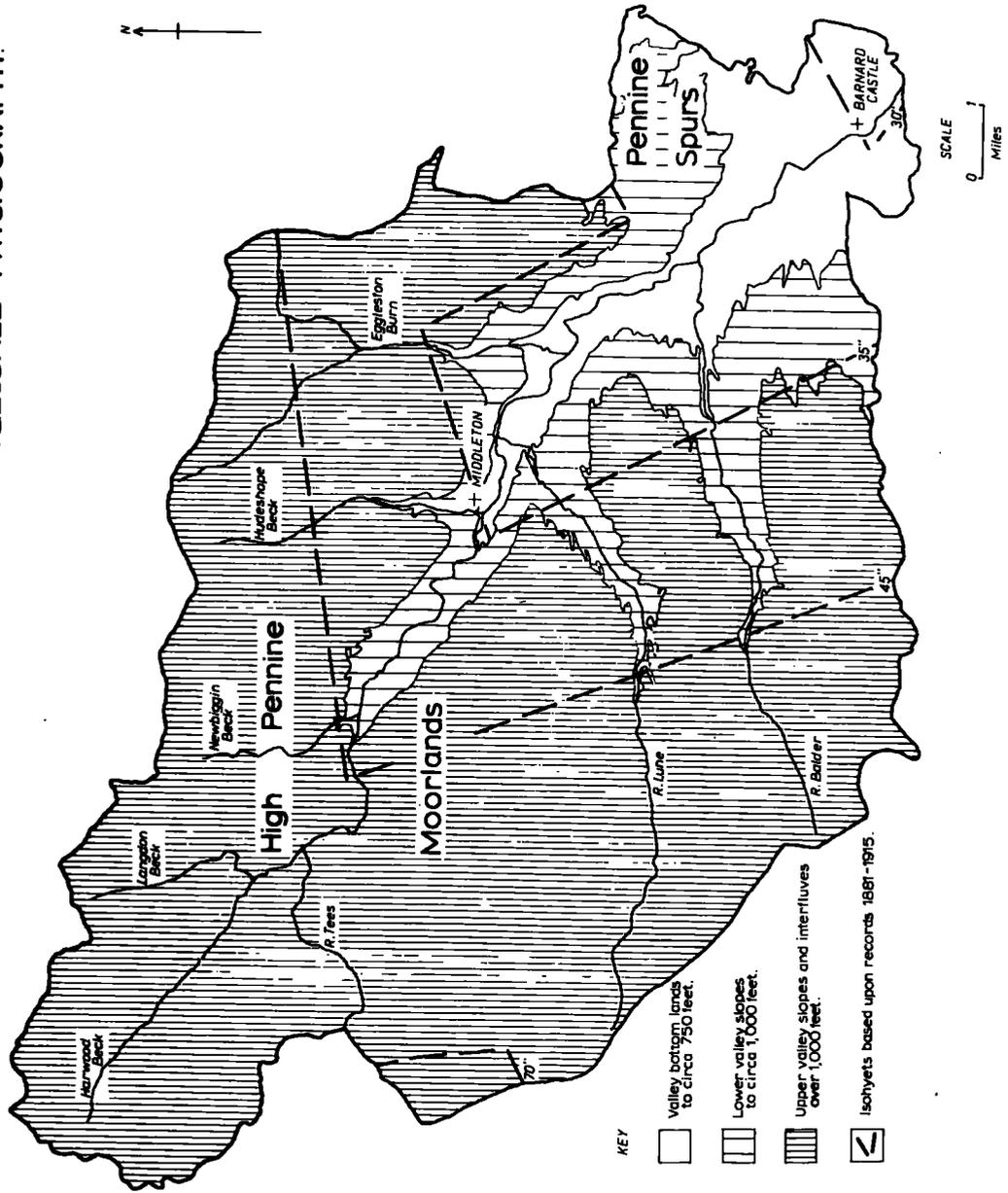


Figure 6 The physiographic setting of Teesdale within the Alston Block of the Pennines.

D.A.A.

In addition, within each specific dale there are certain local variations in topography which assist in the development of a particular individual character. This basic unity of rock and structure is a result of the predominance of rocks of Carboniferous age, and of their disposition in association with faulting which took place at the end of the Carboniferous period. This produced both the major fault systems, already outlined, and also numerous minor faults of more local significance which have brought about intrusions, such as the Whin Sill quartz-dolerite, and intense mineralisation.^{4.}

Johnson has indicated that the gentle eastwards dip of Teesdale, a result of the uplifting of the Pennine Fault, has produced a situation in which the oldest rocks outcrop in the higher west, with later deposits lying to the east.^{5.} Each major physiographic division - the High Pennine Moorlands (over 1,000 feet), the Pennine Spurs (500 to 1,000 feet) and the Tees Lowlands (below 500 feet) - has a vertical series of land facets comprising interflaves, valley sides and valley bottom.^{6.} This division, with its unity of rock and structure, and its local variations of both solid and drift deposits, has produced a number of distinct areas where the essential fabric of the dale varies and gives rise to a contrasting

human response.

There are two major divisions of the solid geology in the High Pennine Moorlands ⁷. (Fig. 7). In the uppermost reaches of the dale, as far as Cauldron Snout, the Tees flows through a relatively bleak and open area of Carboniferous sandstones, shales and limestones, flanked by a fell complex which rises to over 2,000 feet, and includes Dufton Fell, Backside Fell and Widdybank Fell. Between Cauldron Snout and Middleton-in-Teesdale, these sandstones, shales and limestones, become gradually more recent in sequence and are influenced by the intrusion of the Whin Sill, whose resistance to erosion has produced not only a valley form of narrow profile, with the dolerite cliffs towering above the valley floor between Holwick and Middleton, but also a fine series of gorges, waterfalls and cataracts within the course of the Tees itself.⁸

A certain degree of metamorphism accompanying the intrusion has altered the surrounding rocks and produced, for example, the famous sugar limestone of Teesdale, while mineralisation has also had an important bearing on the evolution of the area.⁹

Below Middleton, the dale begins gradually to open out, receiving several major tributaries in the form of the Lune, Balder and Greta, and passing from the High

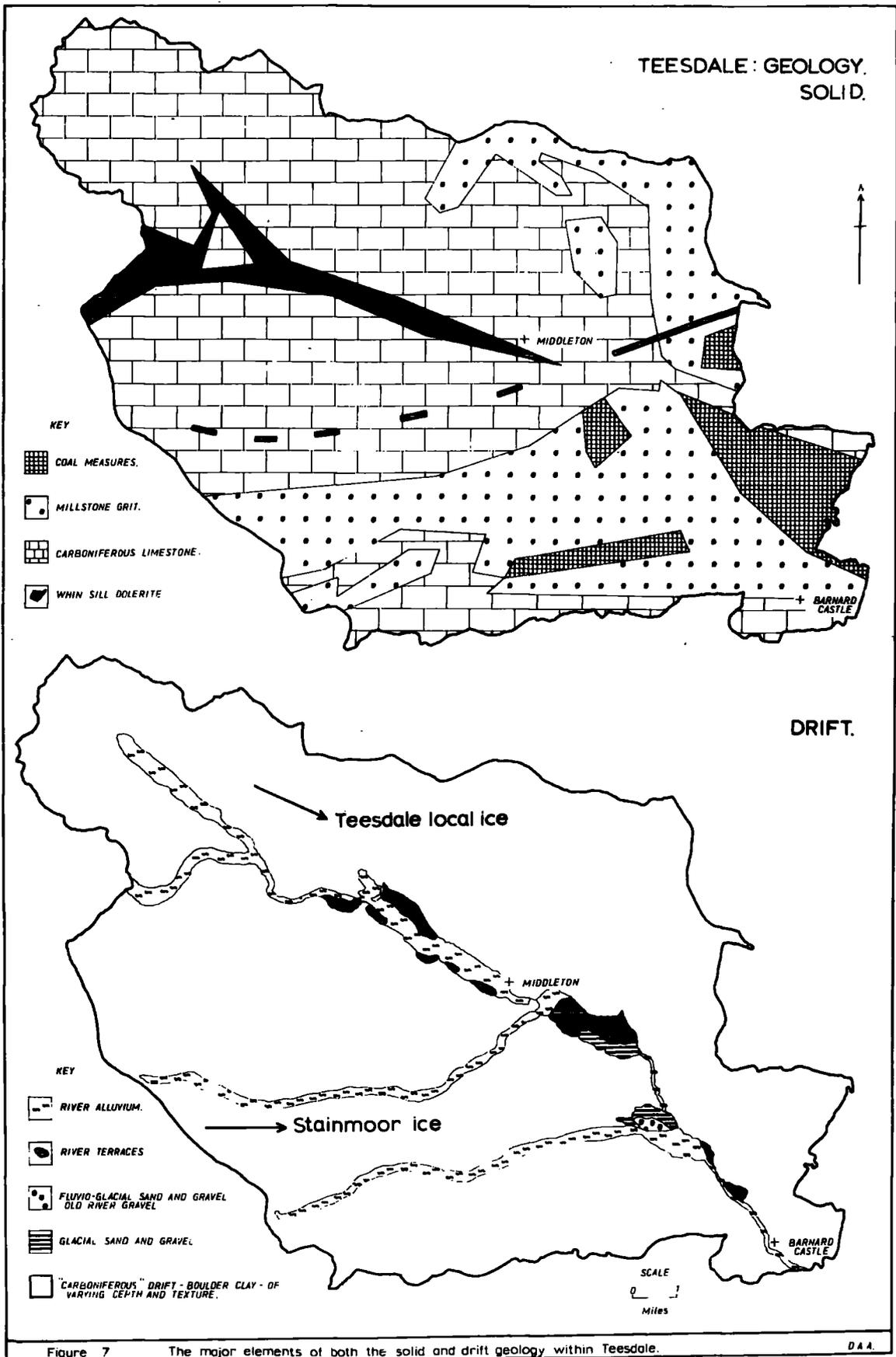


Figure 7 The major elements of both the solid and drift geology within Teesdale.

Pennine Moorlands in the vicinity of Eggleston, through the small zone of the Pennine Spurs, and out beyond Barnard Castle into the Tees Lowlands (Fig. 6). Here in the vicinity of Piercebridge, it leaves the Carboniferous series and flows over the more recent Permo-Triassic beds of the Magnesian limestone and the Keuper and Bunter sandstones, reaching the latter within the Teesside industrial complex. The alternating beds of Carboniferous sandstones, shales and limestones, have produced a number of structural terraces that are utilised for settlement and cultivation. These are well illustrated between Eggleston and Middleton.¹⁰

Where the Tees flows over more resistant beds, there is a return to a gorge profile, which restricts access to the river and has prevented the development of any sizeable area of river meadow, two points well illustrated between Shipley and Barnard Castle.¹¹ Along the south bank of the dale beyond Middleton, the sandstone, shale and limestone beds pass upwards into the dark sombre Millstone grits, which cover much of the moorland in Mickleton, Romaldkirk, Cotherstone and Hunderthwaite, and support a number of small gritstone capped residuals, such as Goldsborough and Shacklesborough. These may have had early significance as observation and defensive sites.¹² In County Durham, the geological sequence is similar on the moorlands of

Eggleston and Langleydale Commons, but here, the gritstones pass up into thin Coal Measure seams along the extreme edge of the West Durham Coalfield around Woodland, and introduce a mineral whose impact on the evolution of the surrounding cultural landscape has been considerable.^{13.}

While 'the greater part of the surface of ... Teesdale is formed of limestones, slates and sandstones of the Carboniferous Series',^{14.} the drift deposits 'for the most part (mask) the solid formations',^{15.} and play a vital part in determining soils, vegetation, and subsequently, human appraisal and occupation (Fig. 7). Drift deposits in Teesdale are the result of ice action from two major sources during the Pleistocene period.^{16.} Local ice, which formed in the semi-circle of hills containing the Tees, Harwood Beck and the valley of the South Tyne, swept down the dale beyond Middleton, where it became confluent with the Stainmoor ice spilling over from Edenside, and which entered the dale via Lunedale, Balderdale, Deepdale Beck and the Greta Valley. Where confluence took place, ice was forced over on to the Durham bank and gouged out a portion of the valley side, reducing the gradient and raising its advantages for possible occupation. This area is now occupied by the

township of Eggleston. Ice was in fact forced as far north as Middle End, some two to three miles up Eggleston Burn. The drift from the Stainmoor ice is clearly visible, with its reddish colour derived from the Permo-Triassic sandstones of Edenside, and is in sharp contrast to the darker local drift derived from the Carboniferous rocks. In this instance, Charlesworth has provided some indication of the final waning of glacial activity, 'the glaciers in the Pennine valleys fell back westwards multiplying the nunataks, depositing moraines, and ponding the streams in innumerable glacial lakes, whose levels fell as lower and lower cols were uncovered to offer alternative means of escape'.¹⁷ The results of this produced further local variations in the physical fabric of the dale.¹⁸

The effect of ice upon the dale has been to produce a more open profile and to further accentuate the differential nature of the underlying rocks. With the withdrawal of ice, drift deposits of varying form, depth and texture, were deposited throughout the dale, generally thinning out and becoming more patchy along the fell sides. This occurred at around 2,000 feet in the upper reaches and at correspondingly lower levels further down the dale, reaching around 1,500 feet near Middleton and the confluence

with Lunedale. The land at higher altitudes, as on Mickle Fell, remained above the general ice level as nunataks.¹⁹ Post glacial erosion further accentuated variations within the drift, resulting in corresponding influence upon soils, vegetation and human occupance. Vast uneven spreads of gravel and alluvial terraces were produced along the Tees and have left wide expanses of land stretching away from the river. These are particularly well drained when overlying limestone, as at Mickleton, where at least two major river terraces have been recognised and are now utilised by the townfields. Similar but less extensive terraces are recognisable at Middleton, Newbiggin and Bowlaes, and lower down the dale towards Gainford and Piercebridge.²⁰

Where expanses of water remained stationary for periods during the waning of the ice, forming lakes, further modifications to the fabric of the dale took place. The former lake floors are recognisable at the present day, producing valleys, whose greater width and flatter surface often prove advantageous to local farming, as in Eggleston Burn, where Hope House has taken advantage of the former lake floor. The overflow channels through which the lakes drained away, often add distinctively to the form of the dale, a good example being the Knotts - the triple

channels through which drained Eggleston Burn - and which now stands out boldly against the skyline.^{21.}

Pallet Crag Gill and Howe Gill, within Marwood parish, provide two further examples,^{22.} and are clearly marked on estate maps of the early eighteenth century (Fig. 29). These features have been recorded in connection with the survey of Sites of Special Geomorphological Significance.^{23.}

In assessing the most important effects of glacial activity in Teesdale, Raistrick has pointed out that by far the most important 'have been those on the soils and climate, on which the plant and animal life has been ... so dependent'.^{24.} The soil that has developed during post-glacial times, is that part of the weathered surface material that has been transformed by the combined action of moisture and living organisms.^{25.} It varies greatly in form and distribution^{26.} and its own individual properties influence strongly the utilisation of the land.^{27.} During the last few years, considerable work has been carried out on the soils of the Durham Dales,^{28.} in terms of their physical, chemical and biological properties, and in collaboration with work on settlement history. 'The present soil pattern is the result of an exceedingly complex interaction between the basic physical

landscape and the history of occupance and land management.²⁹ In particular, Dr. K. Atkinson and Mr. J.H. Stevens have undertaken work on local soils for the Soil Survey.³⁰

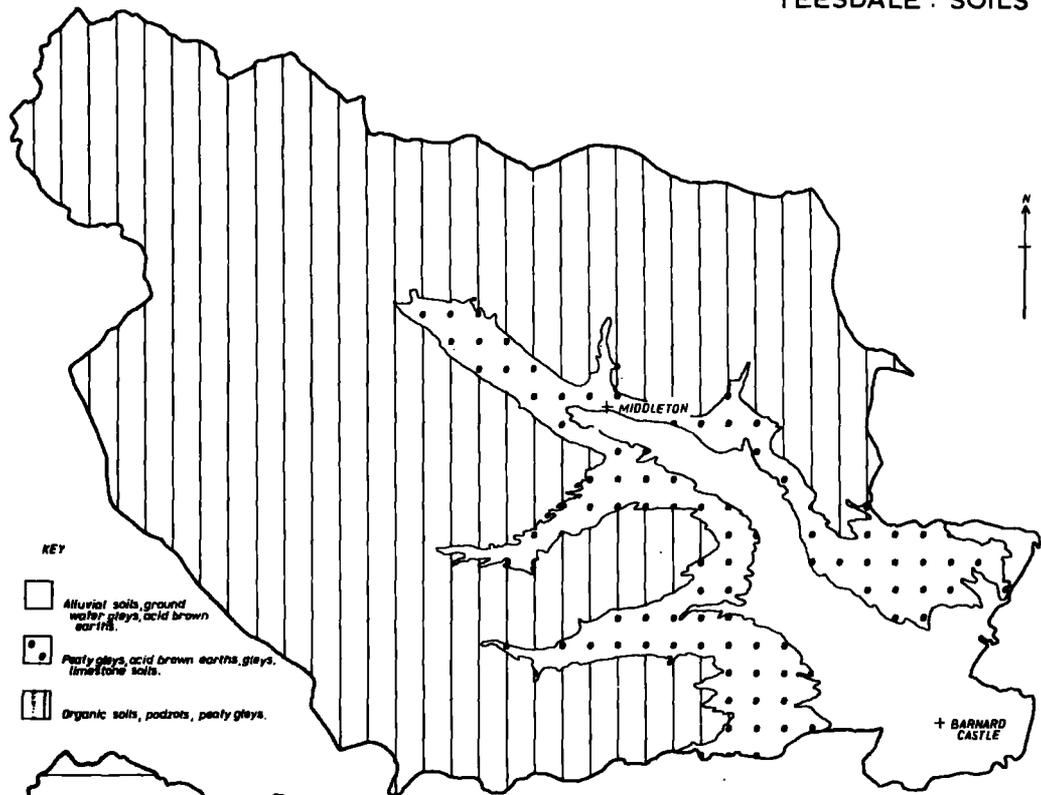
Within the overall physiographic framework of Teesdale and the tripartite divisions into valley bottoms, valley sides, and interfluves, the underlying parent materials are undoubtedly of importance in determining the nature of the soils. 'The most important parent materials are ... superficial deposits',³¹ and the majority of the cold, stiff and stony soils that are typical of much of the dale, are formed on 'Carboniferous drift'.³² On the interfluves, this is composed mainly of a frost sorted layer of loose rock or regolith and solifluction deposits, giving rise to organic soils of peats, podzols and peaty gleys, in which acidity is high as a result of heavy rainfall and waterlogging.

Along the valley sides periglacial activity has resulted in solifluction deposits and bare rocks outcrops, from which peaty gleys, acid brown earths, gleys and limestone soils are formed. In the valley bottom lands - the holmes, haughs and ings - morainic material, terraces and riverine deposits have brought about alluvial soils, ground water gleys and acid brown earths.³³ Whellan has indicated that at Lartington in 1859, the soils were

'loamy on a subsoil of blue and yellow clay, overlying freestone and millstone grit', while at Startforth, there was a predominance of 'loamy soil with clayey subsoil'.³⁴ Many additional complexities are involved in a detailed breakdown of soil forms, but these range beyond the scope of this study (Fig. 8).

In Teesdale and the Pennine Dales in general, climate 'is very closely related to topography',³⁵ with marked contrasts in the topo- and micro-climates of the exposed fells and the more sheltered valley floor and tributaries. The position of Teesdale, at right angles to the north-south axis of the Pennine chain, in relation to the predominance of the moist westerly rain bearing winds, is responsible for the clear correlation between total precipitation and relief (Fig. 6). Along the edge of the Pennine Fault scarp, in the High Pennine Moorlands, precipitation totals record over 70 inches (1750 mm) per annum, decreasing eastwards to between 45 and 35 inches (1125/875 mm) in the proximity of Middleton; 35 and 30 inches (875/750 mm) along the Pennine Spurs; and 30 and 25 inches (750/625 mm) in the Tees Lowlands, passing a shade below 25 inches (625 mm) in the Tees estuary.³⁶ In 1954 for example, over 71 inches (1775 mm) were recorded two miles north west of High Force, but a figure of only 37.45 inches (936.25 mm) was recorded at Barnard Castle,

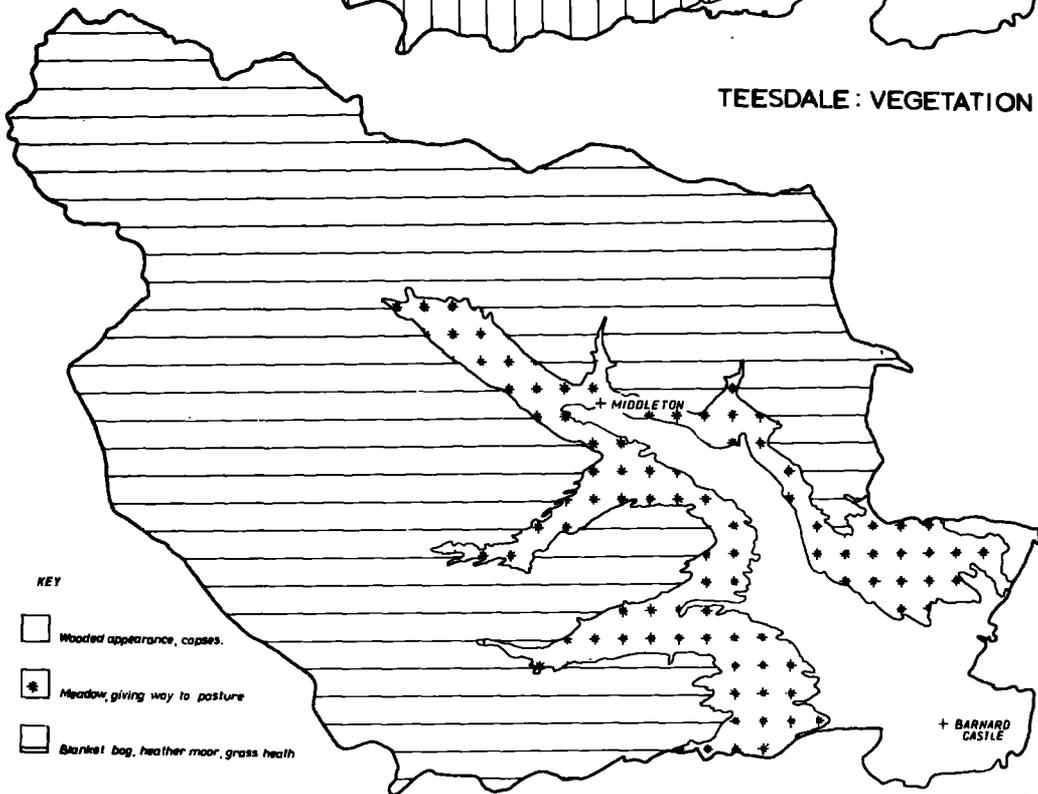
TEESDALE : SOILS



KEY

-  Alluvial soils, ground water gleys, acid brown earths.
-  Peaty gleys, acid brown earths, gleys, limestone soils.
-  Organic soils, podzols, peaty gleys.

TEESDALE : VEGETATION



KEY

-  Wooded appearance, copses.
-  Meadow, giving way to pasture
-  Blanket bog, heather moor, grass heath

SCALE
0 1
Miles

Figure 8 The generalised pattern of soils and vegetation in Teesdale.

D 4 A

emphasizing a shading effect of 2.5 inches (62.5 mm) per mile over a distance of 13.5 miles.³⁷ Climatic conditions tend to be progressively more favourable from west to east down the dale, a fact which has important bearings not only on soils and vegetation but also on human occupance.³⁸ Windward and leeward slopes and southerly and northerly facing slopes, exhibit climatic differences which result in such contrasts as hay, along southerly slopes, being ready for bundling as much as ten days before that along northerly slopes,³⁹ and in peaches being grown in sufficiently sheltered sites.⁴⁰ The configuration of the fells surrounding Harwood Beck in the upper dale, is an important factor in the provision of shelter for settlement and in the cultivation of a hay crop at around 1,400 feet. Recent research under the auspices of Moor House Field Station, near Garrigill, Alston, and of the Department of Geography at Durham, will perhaps significantly reduce the gaps in our knowledge of both the climatological and hydrological patterns in the dale, and their contribution to the development of the cultural landscape.⁴¹ In summary, Teesdale may be regarded as 'a land dominated by mountains and moors, where soils are poor and thin, the valleys and plains few and far between, where the whole countryside lies athwart the path of rain - carrying winds, affording a

cool, wet climate'.^{42.}

The interaction of soil, climate, and the hand of man, are major factors responsible for the evolution of the vegetation pattern in Teesdale.^{43.} (Fig. 8).

Bradshaw and Clark have emphasised how much the vegetation and flora contribute to the essential character of the dale. Within the valley bottom, meadow grasses are dominant and cover the lower slopes of the valley sides, reaching over 1,000 feet in places and even recognised at almost 1,900 feet along southerly facing slopes at Grass Hill, at the head of Harwood Beck. In addition, the valley floor has a wooded appearance provided by the small copses and numerous individual trees, which are component elements within many of the field boundaries. The area between Eggleston and Middleton provides a particularly good example of this. Remnants of a former widespread birch woodland have survived close to the river near High Force, and at Park End near Holwick. Above the valley bottom and lower slopes of the valley sides, the meadow and woodland have given way to pastures, which in turn are superseded by blanket bog, heather moor, grass heath of bent and fescue, mat-grass, and purple moor-grass, with flush vegetation dominant on the interfluves.^{44.}

In addition, the upper reaches of the dale are noted for

the rare arctic and high mountain flora, the detailed investigation of which may lead to a greater understanding of former vegetation patterns.^{45.}

Within the broadly homogeneous framework of the Pennines of northern England, a 'considerable variety of rock formations, earth sculpture, soil conditions, and climate is responsible for a wealth of scenic contrasts and of human opportunities'.^{46.} There are numerous local changes of rock type; variations in the composition of drift which are of great importance in the formation and utilisation of soils; small but significant changes in relief and orientation, which bring about differences in climate; and a vegetation pattern which owes as much to the varied responses of man, as to slope, soil and climate. While remaining part of this broad pattern, Teesdale exhibits sufficient variation in form to produce a character distinctly its own, a character enhanced by the deep rooted influence of settlement, cultivation, land-ownership and mineral extraction.

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3. Teesdale in 1600: A Reconstruction of the Cultural Landscape.

This chapter is an attempt to establish a line of reference by sketching an overview of the Tees valley in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Leland provided a contemporary description of the area as early as c.1540, in which he described the boulder strewn course of the upper Tees, where the river 'takith a course emong rokkes' and was joined by 'divers other smoul hopes or bekkes', cutting into the wild moor and fell at Yad Moss, which 'hath the hedde of Tese', and plunging down the steep valley sides into the main watercourse, which flowed 'much by wild ground for a 8 or X miles to Aegleston bridge'.¹ This has provided some indication of the physiography of the dale, and has emphasised the dominance of the fells, with their craggy slopes; rocky stream courses; exposure to the vagaries of climate; and vegetation of grassy heath, heather, and peat.

Camden echoed Leland's observations in the latter years of the sixteenth century, when he described the dales area as one in which 'the prospect among the hills is so wild, solitary and unsightly, and all things are

so still, that the inhabitants have called some brooks there Hell-becks.' To the south, Stainmore was described as 'entirely desolate and solitary, except one inn (the Spittle), in the middle, for the entertainment of travellers'.² More recently, Kerridge has summed up the bleakness of this landscape, in which 'the mountains had none but the most stunted and windswept of trees and the highest grew nothing but islands of heather'.³

In sharp contrast to the fells, the areas of cleared and improved ground utilised for both arable cultivation and animal husbandry, can have occupied only a small proportion of the dale. Within Eggleston township, the ratio of in-by land to fell would seem to have been approximately 1:10, and this was located on the lower and more hospitable slopes and in the valley bottom. Leland was able to refer to the 'corne and pasture' visible in the five miles 'from Stanthorp (Staindrop) to Barnardes Castel'. Of cultivation in the Pennine area in general, Leland recognised three important points. Firstly, that 'Whete is not veri comunely sowid in these partes'; secondly, that enclosure of improved land was taking place in the middle of the sixteenth century; and thirdly, that the majority of this enclosure was for pasture, 'alway the most part of Enclosures be for Pasturages'. Between

St. Andrews Auckland and Raby, Leland recognised 'Arable but more by Pastures and Morisch Hilly ground baren of Wood'.⁴

Leland's description has also emphasised the importance of the bridging points in the dale, 'Aegleston bridge wel archid; then to Barnard Castel very fair of 3 arches; then to Perse bridge e sumtime of 5 arches but a late made new of 3 arches. Then to Crofte bridge 5 miles, and so to Yarham Bridge, then to Stokton where is a fery 3 miles; and so a 4 miles to Tesemouth'.⁵ This emphasis upon bridging points can be used to indicate the developing nature of road communications and growing traffic by cart, waggon and packhorse, and also to give some suggestion of possible settlement sites at or close to crossing points, along the length of the dale.⁶

During his journey along the 'marginal hill spurs of the Pennines', Leland described the great parks and hunting preserves which covered large parts of Teesdale.⁷ Of these, 'the one is caullid Marwood, and thereby is a chace that berith also the name of Marwood', situated west of Barnard Castle and stretching both west towards Shipley and north towards Hauxley Hill. Marwood 'hath fallow deer, and is three miles in length'. Fallow deer were, in practice, common in unfenced chaces at this

period, while red deer were rather more numerous on the moorlands of the Pennines proper, and particularly within the Forest of Teesdale, 'that gaith on Tese rise up into Tesedale'.⁸ This area of forest stretched from Eggleston to the headwaters of the Tees and from the lower lands by the Tees to the watershed with Weardale. It was in Crown hands, 'the king hath a Forest of Red Deer in the moorland at Middleton', and Surtees estimated a total of 400 red deer in c.1670.⁹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Garland stated that it was still possible to see one or two native deer in this area.

In addition to these early descriptive works, the historical geographer must examine closely the earliest cartographic representations of the dale.¹⁰ These are three in number; the Anonymous Map of c.1569 (Fig. 4); Christopher Saxton's map of 1610; and John Speed's map of 1620 (Fig. 9). The earliest map has pinpointed the major settlements, including the Raby parks, and has given a broad pattern of landownership. Saxton and Speed have portrayed well the rugged nature of the dale, by means of pictorial cartography, and have demonstrated the way in which the fells begin to close in to the west of Barnard Castle. From these maps, the distribution of settlement, and by implication, the areas of improved and

cultivated land, are closely related to the detailed topography and can be seen to increase in intensity eastwards along the banks of the Tees. It is possible to divide up the area into the true dale to the west of Barnard Castle, and the fringes to the east and north of Barnard Castle.

Along the Durham bank the most westerly dwellings would seem to have been at 'Durtpit Chapel' in Ettersgill, where settlement can be documented as early as the twelfth century, and whose origin would appear that of an isolated hermitage deep within the Forest of Teesdale, and associated with Rievaulx Abbey.¹¹ One can suggest that by 1600 there was at least a hamlet here, in order to have attracted the attention of early cartographers. Downstream were situated Newbiggin and Middleton, the former in all probability little more than a small, rather loose agglomeration of farmsteads and cottages. The latter, shown to be located at the highest bridging point in the dale, was depicted by a symbol of sufficient size to suggest that it may have functioned as a small market centre for the surrounding area. It would appear from the discrepancy between Leland and Saxton that Middleton bridge was built between 1540 and 1610, perhaps replacing

a ford, and clearly an indication of the increasing importance of the settlement. Below Middleton, where the physical character of the dale changed to a more open form, Eggleston provided the major focus of settlement, flanked on either side by the two hamlets of Stratwith (now Toft House) and Shipley (now High Shipley). Between here and Barnard Castle were the unenclosed chases of Langley and Marwood, and the empaled area of Marwood Park.

There was undoubtedly a close link between the nucleated settlements of the dale, and the lower land by the Tees, for even the generalised early seventeenth century maps make it clear that settlements were sited on river terraces or structural benches. These were very often at points where tributary streams entered the Tees, giving rise to a slight lowering of relief, which could be utilised for occupation, and also provide for lines of communication along both east to west and north to south axes, a point of great significance in the economic advancement of the dale.¹².

Along the Yorkshire bank of the Tees, a similar pattern of settlement can be recognised. The small hamlet of Holwick lay opposed to Newbiggin and Durtpit, occupying a much restricted site beneath the towering outcrop of Whin Sill dolerite, which is dominant at this point.

Laithkirk, Lonton and the straggling linear settlement of Mickleton, at the foot of Lunedale, lay across the river from Middleton, while the village of Romaldkirk was situated across the river from Eggleston. At the foot of Balderdale, Cotherstone was linked by both ford and bridge with Shipley and Marwood, while from here to Barnard Castle, were the settlements of Lartington and Startforth. The latter, grew up across the bridge spanning the Tees from Barnard Castle and is comparable, among many examples, with the position of Bridge End and Warwick in the English Midlands. It is thus possible to recognise a series of small, nucleated settlements clinging to both banks of the Tees, occupying similar sites; separated by distances of about two to three miles; and seen as a number of small clusters, from two or three in number, focusing upon a bridging or fording point. It is plausible to suggest that such settlements regarded the Tees as a local economic and cultural link, overriding its defined function as an administrative divide, and were zealously occupied in cooperation to extend the improved ground yet further, from the fell land which swept down to encircle them.

A map has been constructed (Fig. 10) to show the major elements of the cultural landscape of Teesdale at

TEESDALE: ELEMENTS OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE, 1600.

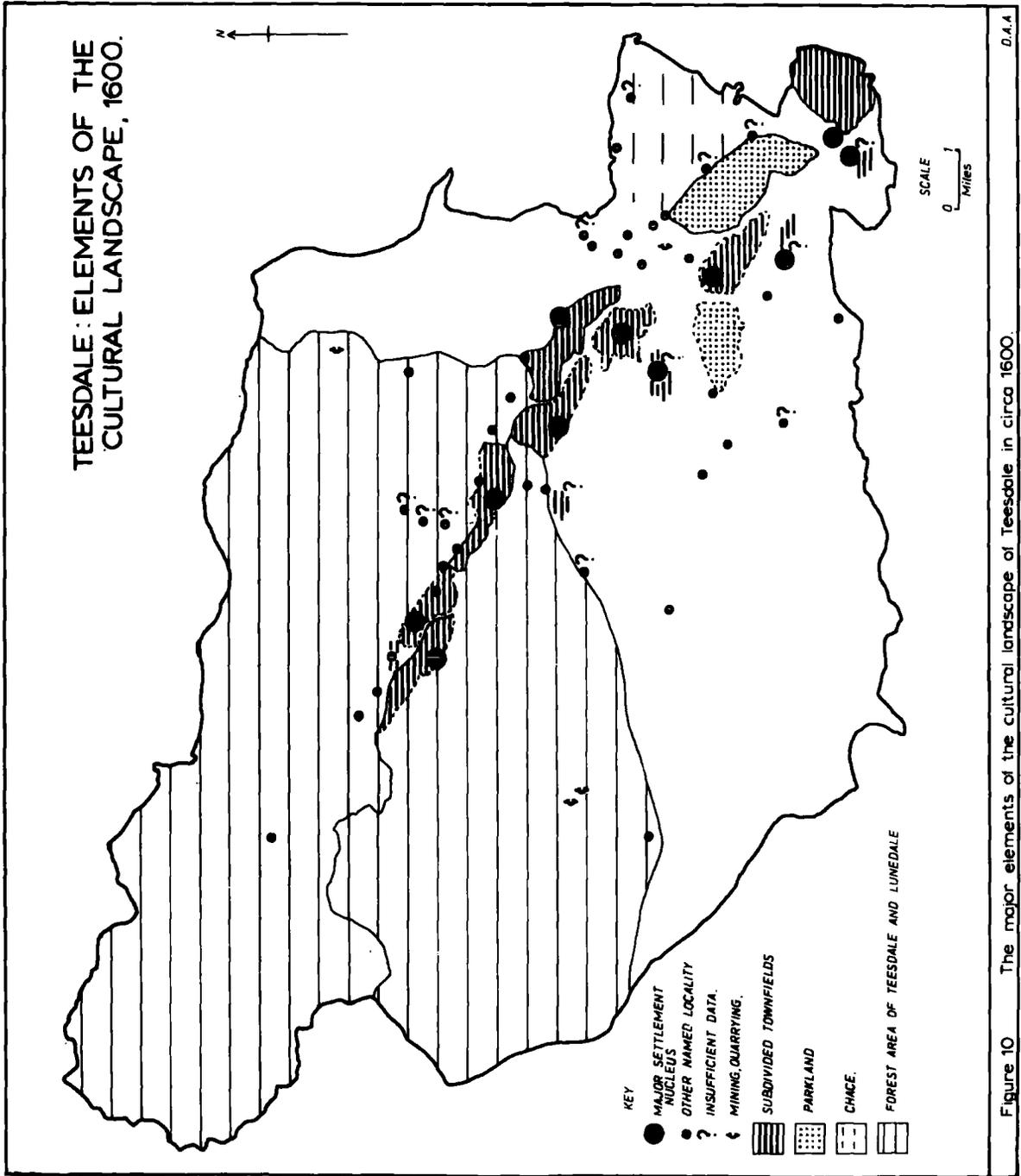


Figure 10 The major elements of the cultural landscape of Teesdale in circa 1600.

D.A.A.

the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in retrospect, it is possible to recognise a number of key land use zones, producing a distinctive pattern within the cultural landscape, which would have perhaps attracted the attention of a Leland or Camden.¹³ Firstly, were the individual settlement nuclei, each a tiny cluster of farms, houses, and cottages, with their attendant garths and a number of outbuildings, which occupied relatively level plots of cleared ground between the river and the fell, and were perhaps visible to Leland and Camden by the thin trails of smoke rising from the dwellings and curling away towards the fells. Closely associated with the settlement nuclei was the in-by land, under regular cultivation and situated on the better ground.¹⁴ The home closes very probably supported a few animals or grew a few vegetables for domestic consumption, 'near the village were a few small closes in which plough oxen could be penned at night during the ploughing season and perhaps a saddle horse or two would be kept, and in favoured areas there were ... small patches for the cultivation of vegetables'.¹⁵ The meadow land occupied the lower ground towards the river, and at a particular break of slope, often passed into a higher or intermediate zone in which arable cultivation was predominant. Meadow

was still present here and was significantly increasing in intensity and importance by 1600. Along the south facing slopes from field evidence, the in-by land extended to a height of approximately 800 feet, with perhaps a slightly lower elevation along the opposing slope.

Above and beyond the in-by land stretched the fell, much of it held in common, and upon which rights of pasture, turbary and estovers were exercised, the latter perhaps within the small areas of woodland which extended to around 1,000 feet. Such fell land occupied many thousands of acres and since as late as 1850, Bell calculated that Middleton and Eggleston Commons covered at least 13,000 acres, a figure of between 15 and 18,000 acres would not be an unreasonable estimate for the early seventeenth century, in view of subsequent enclosures.¹⁶ The fells extended as far as the eye could see, over summits such as Pelaw Pike and swept down almost to the Tees itself, in between the settlement clusters. This whole spectrum was interrupted by brighter splashes of green, indicating small intakes of improved land largely for grazing, and either occupied as permanent severalty holdings, as at Foggerthwaite and Stotley, or as summer shielings, in association with transhumance farming.¹⁷ Later enclosure of parts of the fell, together with the growth

of holdings in severalty and with improved accessibility, reduced the necessity for such a system. A number of shielings were probably developed as permanent farms, where both the physical and economic climates remained favourable and accessibility strengthened a personal decision to stay. This probably took place at Hope House above Eggleston, and at Cornset in Lunedale, the latter, judging from its name, perhaps a producer of temporary tillage. These three basic land use zones show clearly a decreasing intensity of use with an increasing distance from settlement.^{18.}

The miscellaneous materials of the local historian may be used to shed light on some of the wider aspects of the economy of Teesdale in 1600. Out on the fell were a number of tiny mineral pockets. Iron was certainly mined and smelted within the Forest of Lune, as early as the mid-thirteenth century,^{19.} while in 1549 Edward VI granted the lead mines lying within the Forest of Teesdale to Robert and George Bowes.^{20.} Medieval slag heaps associated with lead extraction have been recognised near High Force,^{21.} while in 1571, a survey and valuation were made of Flakebrigg lead mine out on Eggleston Common.^{22.} In 1608, stone and slate quarries were worked in both Eggleston and Marwood, and would seem to have been important sources of

local building and roofing material.²³ Closer to the settlements, water corn mills can be documented at Friar House in Ettersgill, Eggleston, and Langley, the latter in a state of decay in 1608. In Marwood, a water mill and parcel of pasture, jacens inter aqua de Tease et murus de la parke, would suggest the presence of a fulling mill, since in c.1750, a Streatlam estate map has shown such a mill on this site, while it may also be significant that in the 1608 survey, the word 'molendium' is not qualified by the term 'graina'.

Finally, there are those elements of the early seventeenth century cultural landscape which may be regarded as essentially recreational, and which occupied considerable areas of Teesdale.²⁴ Rights of piscary existed in the Tees and its tributaries, adding a valuable source of protein to the diet of the dale, while there is documentary evidence for a fishery along the Tees at Newsham, to the east of Darlington, and belonging to the Baliols in the mid-twelfth century.²⁵ Large areas were also set aside for the leisure of the manorial lord, in hunting, hawking, riding and enjoying the prestige attached to the possession of a park stocked with carefully managed flora and fauna.²⁶ In general, the lower ground to the east of Eggleston and Barnard Castle favoured the park and the chase, the former 'pointing to a characteristic man-made

landscape created by social tastes and a concentration of wealth',²⁷. the latter to an area of open, wild ground best suited to the hunt. Raby, Marwood, Strickley, and West and Thringarth Parks at Cotherstone, give some indication of the concentration of parkland in 1600, and of the influence of the lord on the landscape and the importance to the local economy of the provision of such men as palers, foresters and keepers.²⁸.

To the west of Barnard Castle lay the expanse of the Forest of Teesdale. Unlike the park, with its distinct physical boundary, the forest was in contrast, 'an area of jurisdiction, a man-made island in which the special measures necessary to protect the interests of the royal chase could be enforced'.²⁹. The Forest of Teesdale was the royal hunting forest of the dale, similar perhaps to that which occupied the head of Wensleydale.³⁰. The chief foresters were members of the Bainbridge family, who resided at Friar House in Ettersgill, and maintained several hunting lodges, including Valence Lodge, a few miles beyond Friar House.³¹. The present 1:25,000 map of this area still marks an enclosure close to Valence Lodge, as Deer Garth. The second major forest was the Forest of Lune, at the head of Lunedale, and seemingly under the control of the Bowes family with the chief forester's residence at Arngill House.³².

In contrast to the true dale above Barnard Castle, the second major division of the dale in 1600 was that of the area to the east and north east of Barnard Castle. Here, the land was more open and with reduced altitude and an amelioration in climatic conditions, settlement intensity increased, particularly along the broad, gentle south-east facing slope of the Tees lowland and the zone of Pennine spurs towards Staindrop and West Auckland. Within the zone of transition, a small market settlement grew up, to act as the focal and exchange point between the complementary economies of the pastoral upper dale and the grain areas in the lower lands to the east. Raistrick has argued that the 'change occurs at the line marking what was the edge of the pre-Norman and medieval forests',³³ and it is possible to recognise similar zones of transition in the neighbouring dales, each with their small market towns situated as far up the dale, as would permit reasonable accessibility across the ridges of the Pennine spurs.³⁴ Examples would include Leyburn in Wensleydale, Richmond in Swaledale, and Staindrop and Bishop Auckland in Weardale.

North of Barnard Castle, were the small settlements of Langley, Shotton, and Woodland, the first radically depopulated and reduced to a few small dwellings, at some

period between 1608 and Armstrong's surveyed map of Durham in 1768.³⁵ Shotton, for which only seven entries could be traced in 1608, was in all probability depopulated and incorporated within Raby Park in the early nineteenth century, sometime between the appearance of Cary's map of Durham in 1805 and Greenwood's half-inch map of 1819.³⁶ Woodland, sited along the westernmost extremity of the Durham coalfield, reached its zenith during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, closely linked with nearby West Pitts. Between these three settlements which acted as vanguards against the fell in 1600, and the Tees, lay a succession of small nucleated settlements utilising the south-facing slope of the Tees lowland. A similar but less intense pattern of settlement emerged on the opposite bank of the river.³⁷ Together these included Bolam, Stainton, Hedlam, Wharleton (Whorlton), and Westwick, within County Durham, and Boldron, Barningham, and Quinton (Ovington) in the North Riding. In terms of their size and associated land use, these townships may be regarded as microcosms of the larger townships of the upper dale. The major elements of meadow, arable and pasture were present, but in differing proportions and with variations in scale and intensity of cultivation. Here, cultivated land was more extensive and occupied a greater proportion of the total township area, since the rough

grazing element was substantially reduced or entirely absent, and pasture was generally of an improved kind. At Westwick, for example, the ratio of cultivated land to rough grazing was one of 1:1.4, as compared to the ratio of 1:10 in Eggleston, while in Long Newton, situated in the lower reaches of the Tees lowland east of Darlington, over 1,000 acres of land were recorded under arable cultivation in 1608.³⁸ Although Reid and Pallister working in Durham, have seriously questioned the accuracy of the Jacobean survey for this manor, this does, nevertheless, suggest the scale and intensity of cultivation in the lower Tees valley.³⁹ In Eggleston, for comparison, the total cultivated acreage was only a little over 450 acres, as against over 5,000 acres of fell land. In contrast to the large castles of Raby and Streatlam, with their spacious acres, parks and chases, and consistent with the variations in scale and intensity already mentioned, garden and parkland occupied only very small acreages in the lowland, notably surrounding many of the manor houses and hall-garth farms, as at Selaby, Headlam, and Cliff near Piercebridge.

Since there is a direct correlation between population and settlement distribution, population indices reinforce

the pattern of settlement in Teesdale, giving an indication of its distribution and size. The earliest available figures are those listed by Hutchinson⁴⁰. for a period of twenty years from 1660 to 1679 (Fig. 11). Although these figures are essentially for the later years of the seventeenth century and are rather generalised, they remain of value in commenting on the situation which very probably prevailed in the earlier part of the century. It is important to stress that during the whole of the seventeenth century, Teesdale lay within the primary stage of the population cycle, a position in which it remained until the latter part of the eighteenth century.⁴¹ The available data is meagre, listing only total births, marriages, and deaths, compiled from parish register sources, but 'Better a few figures - which though not entirely reliable, give at least some guidance - than no figures at all'.⁴² If the total number of births is an indication of population size, then the largest concentration during the seventeenth century lay at the point of transition between the upper reaches and the Tees lowland, in the area of Barnard Castle, including Streatlam and Stainton, Westwick and Marwood. A smaller concentration occupied the area around Staindrop, still along the line of transition. but several miles to the north east, and included Cleatlam, Hilton, Ingleton, Langleydale, Shotton,

POPULATION : 1660 - 1679.

Location	Births	Marriages	Births/ Marriage	Deaths	%Deaths of Births
BARNARD CASTLE with Streatham, Stainton, Westwick, and Marwood	1092	200	5.46	1049	96
STAINDROP with Cleatlam, Hilton, Ingleton, Shotton, Langleydale, Raby, Wakerfield and Woodland	657	142	4.62	650	98
MIDDLETON with Eggleston, Forest and Frith and Newbiggin	541	119	4.54	362	66

Figure II Population in Teesdale, 1660-1679

History of Durham
Hutchinson, Vol. 3

Raby, Wackerfield and Woodland. The upper reaches of the dale had a much lower concentration grouped around Middleton, and included Eggleston, Newbiggin and Forest and Frith. Some justification for using this data for the earlier part of the century may be found in the fact that, over this period of twenty years, the population of the dale remained fairly static. The figures of births and deaths come close to cancelling each other out, leaving only the Middleton area showing a small gain in population and thus, very probably, in settlement. It is impossible to indicate any major trend within such a short period, but the evidence is worthy of note. The relationship between marriages and births indicates the number of births per marriage at between four and five, a fact which suggests a high rate of infant mortality in view of the negligible population growth. Along the Yorkshire bank, the only population figures available were those of 1546 for the large parish of Romalldkirk, which had 1,400 'houseling people'.⁴³ In summary, the pattern discernible in Teesdale was one in which the greatest concentration of population and settlement existed where the dale opened out into the Tees lowland, in the vicinity of Barnard Castle, with considerably smaller numbers located higher in the dale. A population equilibrium was present in

spite of a high rate of births per marriage, although it is worth bearing in mind that medical standards were poor and that there were several occurrences of plague, particularly during the middle years of the seventeenth century, when the 'Great Plague' is reputed to have reached northern England.^{44.}

In sketching the framework of landownership in Teesdale at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it is necessary to be aware of the earlier underlying patterns. At the beginning of the eleventh century, 'England was already an old country', and landownership 'had its roots firmly and deeply set in a distant past'.^{45.} While landownership in the later Middle Ages was ostensibly related to the feudal impositions of the Norman Conquest,^{46.} its origins may relate to the earlier Anglo-Saxon folk or even to the distant realms of pre-history, a fact which lays emphasis on the element of continuity and takes the scholar to the frontiers of research.^{47.} In 1600, there was a contrast between the Crown lands, which may have reached one fifth of the kingdom as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, and the lay and ecclesiastical estates.^{48.} After the Conquest the Crown made large grants of land to lay lords. Within Teesdale, in 1093, William Rufus granted to Guy Baliol at Barnard



Castle, the Forests of Teesdale and Marwood, the lordships of Middleton-in-Teesdale and Gainford, and certain royalties, franchises and immunities.⁴⁹ By the fourteenth century, this grant was incorporated within the possessions of the Neville family, created Earls of Westmorland in 1397, and one of the two most powerful and influential lords in the dale by 1600 (Fig. 12). The seat of the Neville family lay at Raby Castle, and within their jurisdiction came the 'great lordships of Raby and Brancepeth in the County of Durham', in addition to numerous other lands scattered throughout the country.⁵⁰ This late fourteenth century structure, granted a licence by the Bishop of Durham, 'de son manoir de Raby faire un chastell', was situated outside the settlement of Staindrop, on a gentle south facing slope off the major north to south routeway; and was surrounded by three small parks.⁵¹ From here, the Earls of Westmorland could look out westwards over their 'highland' estate and eastwards over their 'lowland' acres away towards the Tees estuary.⁵²

Across the Tees, the major landowners were the Bowes family of Streatlam, occupants of an early castle structure which dated from at least 1331, although extensively rebuilt under Sir William Bowes in 1540.⁵³ Streatlam was situated

TEESDALE: LANDOWNERSHIP PATTERN IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

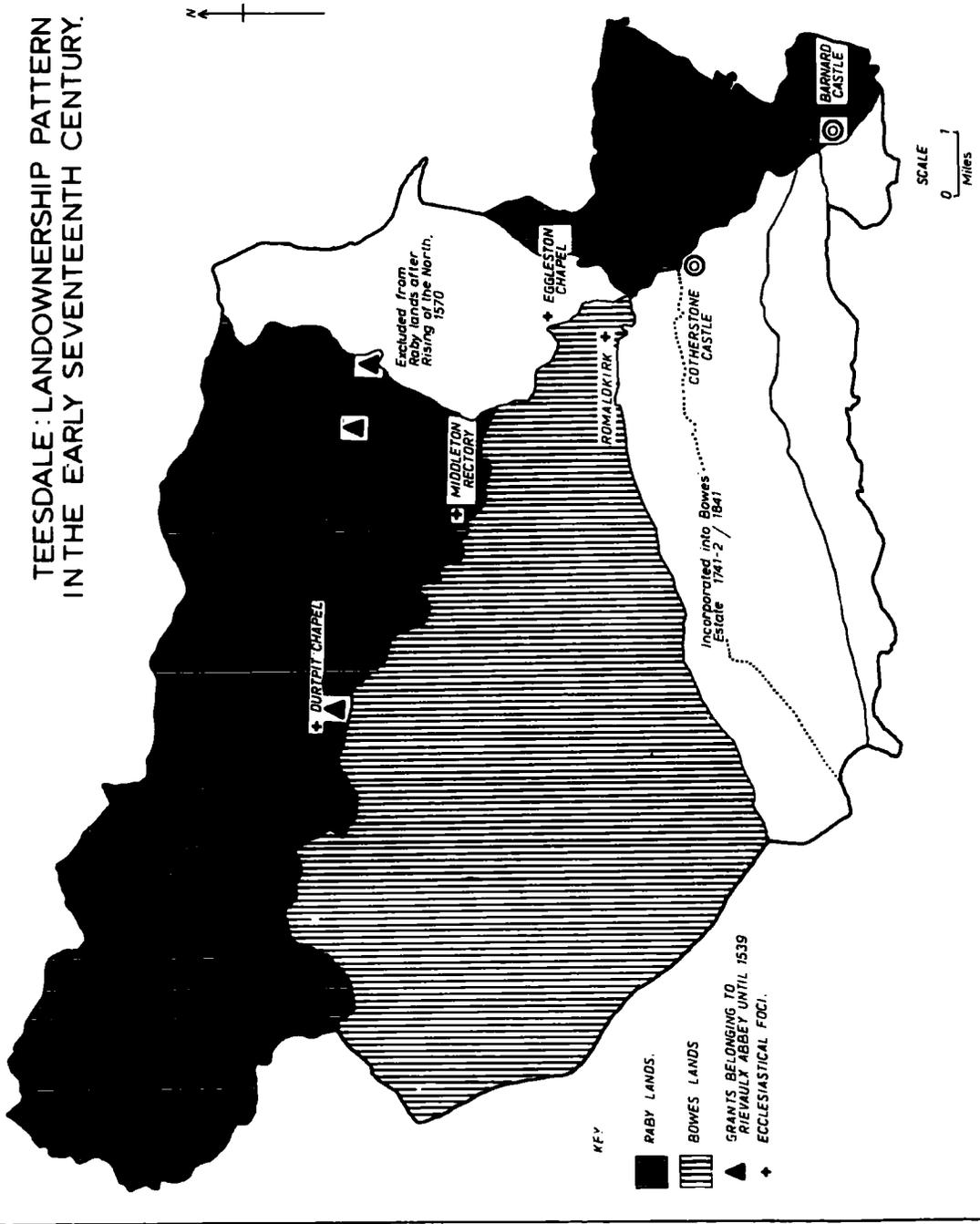


Figure 12 The basic pattern of landownership in the early seventeenth century within Teesdale.

D.A.A.

along the line of transition between the highland and lowland reaches of the Tees, a few miles southwest of Raby. The Bowes family held most of the land between Lartington and Bowbank, to the southwest of Mickleton, and the Forest of Lune, in addition to their small estate at Streatlam, which formed an island within Raby property (Fig. 12). The earliest documentary evidence of the family would seem to be a reference to one John Bowes, as Lord of the Manor at Mickleton, in 1523.⁵⁴ These two powerful lords, clashing on political grounds during the Rising of the North in 1569,⁵⁵ were, by the early years of the seventeenth century, moulding the cultural landscape of Teesdale and wrestling with the hand of nature in order to reap the benefits of their growing investment in land. They sought to 'influence the activities of a whole community', through those over whom they had influence, down to the humblest labourer employed in draining or repairing buildings, so that together they 'might change the very look of the landscape itself'.⁵⁶

Beneath this upper stratum were the gentry and perhaps the very wealthy yeomen, occupying a residence of substantial proportions, situated within its own grounds and in a prominent position within the settlement nucleus, as at Headlam Hall, Killerby Hall, and Caldwell

Hall Garth.⁵⁷ In Eggleston in 1570 the descendants of 'Radulphi Aistrughe' occupied the 'domus mansionem' at the foot of the village, and were responsible for the daily administration of the township as a possession of the Nevilles.⁵⁸ Similarly, Richard Craddock held Gainford in 1608 with a house and grounds comprising barn, stable, oxhouse, garden, two orchards and several small closes.⁵⁹ Beneath the gentry were the tenants, who in the dales were divided into a majority of leaseholders holding land by Letters Patent for a stated number of years, and a minority of freeholders and tenants-at-will. At the lowest level were the cottagers and labourers, who were able to find work easily in good years, but in bad years, would be little more than paupers, 'the young and active people for lack of living, be constrained to steal or spoil either in Scotland or in England, for maintaining their lives'.⁶⁰ In 1570, Eggleston recorded thirty two tenants holding by twenty one year leases from the Earl of Westmorland. A further three held by 'socage', including the mesne lord of the manor, while nine were recorded as tenants-at-will.⁶¹

By the seventeenth century, changes in the economic and political climate had created a situation in which land 'as an investment ... offered the attraction of

relative safety combined with the prospect of a rising income'. A land market rapidly developed in which not only wealthy lords purchased chases and other lands, from a Crown in financial straits and willing to sell at a profit, but also 'merchants and men of all occupations and trades toil and labour with great affection but to get money, and with that money ... purchase land'.⁶² Such men provided evidence of the growing wealth of trade, business and finance, and there was a desire to plough back a percentage of profits into the land itself. The grazing sector of the economy produced cattle, sheep and horses, and wool for the domestic woollen trade, while the search for minerals, in particular lead, was stimulated during the seventeenth century by the increasing activity of the London Lead Company, on Alston Moor. Between 1691 and 1693, for example, one William Hutchinson Esquire, of Clement's Inn, London, purchased lands and buildings at Streethead (Startforth), across the Tees from Barnard Castle.⁶³ By 1727, he had purchased, in addition, the manor of Eggleston and later added land across the Tees, in Romalldkirk and Mickleton.⁶⁴ Although the exact source of his income is not known, it may well have been either as a result of his legal standing, since Clement's Inn was formerly an Inn of Chancery, or perhaps a result of

his merchant associations, since Clement's Inn was also the name of a London street, situated off the Strand. Such land speculation was not confined to the great lords and the rising merchant and professional classes, for wealthy tenants also gained additional holdings, and in 1610, an estate surveyor aptly commented that 'lands pass from one to another more in these days than ever before'.⁶⁵ The Dent family of Mickleton provide a good example. First recorded at Mickleton in 1523, they slowly amassed and consolidated property within the eastern part of the township, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁶

In 1600, the basic landownership pattern in Teesdale was that of two estates owned by great aristocratic families. Beneath these, several properties were held directly in demesne, but the majority were in the hands of tenants ranging in status from gentry to cottager. Society was intensely stratified, and although the period created 'opportunity for the capable, loss for the incapable',⁶⁷ there remained a vast chasm between the rich and powerful lords, and the poor labourer such as Peter Bainbridge, who in 1608, paid annual rent of 4d. on a room or chamber in Middleton valued at 1 shilling.⁶⁸

In assessing the ecclesiastical pattern of

landownership in Teesdale, three elements must be considered - the influence of the Bishop of Durham; ecclesiastical ownership along the Yorkshire bank of the Tees; and the monastic legacy. The earliest reference to ecclesiastical ownership, would seem to have been Leland's reference to the large parish of Gainford, which had the 'hed chirch' and was 'in the Bisshoprike'.⁶⁹ The Bishop of Durham was a Prince Bishop, with considerable temporal authority and a desire to increase his wealth and status by adding to his estates at every possible opportunity.⁷⁰ The considerable enclave of secular property which Teesdale excluded from the Bishopric, resulted in a certain degree of rivalry between the Bishop and the Earls of Westmorland, particularly during the early Middle Ages, but which did not reach a conclusion until the end of the Palatinate in 1836.

As late as the eighteenth century, the Lord Bishop was engaged in a dispute over the watershed boundaries of his Weardale lands, with William Hutchinson, Lord of the Manor of Eggleston, in which there was a hint of the lead fever so powerful in these moorland tracts at that time.⁷¹ Thus in 1600, ecclesiastical landownership, epitomised through the churches and smaller chapels which occupied the settlement nuclei throughout the dale, would appear confined to the glebe land of the local incumbent

and to the right to collect tithes from the populace in order to maintain and foster the Bishopric.

For example, the rector of Middleton had glebe land and the rights of tithe within Eggleston, which was a Chapel of Ease at this period.⁷² This form of indirect ownership should not be overlooked, since it emphasized the dual nature of authority, State and Church, and the fact that while being, 'far from ... the principal landowner in the parish, as owner of the tithes (the Church) was deeply involved'.⁷³

In the absence of any substantial documentary evidence for the Yorkshire bank of the Tees, one can perhaps suggest that a similar pattern existed. Until 1836, when the Diocese of Ripon became responsible for ecclesiastical administration, Teesdale lay within the Diocese of Chester, and was physically isolated from its diocesan centre, leaving room perhaps, for significant local initiative. In Romaldkirk, where the parish church was rebuilt in 1300, upon the site of an earlier structure, the rectory covered an area of over fifty thousand acres until the parish boundary adjustments of 1845. Romaldkirk would appear to have been an important ecclesiastical focus, perhaps similar to Gainford across the Tees in Durham.⁷⁴ Mineral wealth, especially lead in Lunedale

and in the vicinity of High Force, may have heightened ecclesiastical interest in the area.

Monastic land in Teesdale belonged to the Cistercian house at Rievaulx and the Premonstratensian house at Eggleston Abbey, and would seem to have remained in monastic hands until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, when it was taken by the Crown and sold to laymen. The Cistercian house of Rievaulx was founded in c. 1131, and between 1154 and 1189 was granted certain privileges and lands in Teesdale by Bernard de Baliol, possibly in return for spiritual blessing.⁷⁵ 'Until c.1250, most Cistercian houses were constantly receiving parcels of land of all kinds: open-field strips, cultures held in severalty, patches of waste and meadow and woodland, scattered in perhaps dozens of townships.⁷⁶ The Cistercians held pasture rights throughout the whole of the Forest of Teesdale for sixty mares, in addition to having a small hermitage and vaccary in Ettersgill, pasture rights for a large number of sheep and several cows attached to a vaccary between Egglesthope and Hudeshope, and arable and pasture rights at Middleton. At the Dissolution, an inventory of 1540 gave the rentable value of the former lands of the Abbot and Convent in 'Tyesdale cum Middilton', as £11 9s. 8d., and listed them as belonging to the

grange of Friar House, Ettersgill.⁷⁷ Was this the enlarged and expanded assart of the twelfth century? These lands covered 54 acres and included the water mill at Friar House, two tenements with closes and pastures, and the pasture rights of the former Abbot and Convent throughout the whole of Teesdale. Roger Baynebrige was named as tenant at Friar House.

There is less evidence available for the possessions of Eggleston Abbey in the dale, but on a smaller scale, the Premonstratensians 'resembled very closely the (Cistercians) in their constitutional framework, their domestic organisation, and their religious ideals'.⁷⁸ In the Valor Ecclesiasticus, there is a reference to the Abbey of Eggleston and to the rent payment from both Barnard Castle and Eggleston of 20 shillings a year. This would suggest that the Abbey held land in these two localities, and that the rents contributed to the gross revenue, which stood at just over £65 on the eve of the Dissolution.⁷⁹

This account, based largely upon contemporary sources, has posed many problems and left many questions unanswered. In the chapters which follow, some of these problems will be discussed in greater detail, following broadly, four themes of investigation; settlement; field

systems and the agrarian base; landownership and the framework of society; and mineral extraction, in particular the fortunes of lead. These four themes will be viewed dynamically over the whole dale between 1600 and 1850, but with particular emphasis placed upon the township of Eggleston.

References 3

Cartographic

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4. Rural Settlement in Teesdale: An Analysis.

In a study of rural settlement, closely dependent upon the direct exploitation of the soil, and involving a consideration of field systems and landownership, four basic elements must be examined. Firstly, settlement patterns, involving density, distribution, situation and location; secondly, settlement forms, the types of settlement plan from single farms to hamlets and villages; thirdly, settlement function; and finally, past conditions and possible genesis.

Settlement is the most fundamental cultural form, 'the geographical record of its own evolution', and is rarely susceptible to monocausal explanations.¹ Its contribution to the cultural landscape is necessarily linked to a continuum of change, both within itself and in its surroundings.² While such factors as ethnic origin, the availability of fresh water or defensive sites, and the limitations of terrain, cannot be overlooked, their part has been only contributory within a wider context of social and economic relationships. This analysis of rural settlement in Teesdale between 1600 and 1850 must examine site, form, function and possible genesis against

this continuum of change, based firmly upon the foundations laid down by Conzen and Thorpe.³

An examination of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century maps of Teesdale, would suggest a settlement density at its highest around Barnard Castle, at the foot of the dale.⁴ Eastwards, over the Tees lowland, there was a gradual rise in density. To the west, and in the upper dale, a corresponding decrease took place and settlement hugged the valley bottom lands and lower slopes (Figs. 4 and 9).

The movement of population into and throughout the dale, whether of an external nature, in the case of the influx of Germanic and Scandinavian settlers, or of an internal nature, resulting from growing colonisation during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, acted as important agents of cultural change. Such movements took place along selected routes, tracks and paths, scattered throughout the dale. These may have been of major importance, running along the east - west axis of the dale, or of a minor bearing, set at tangents to the major axis. Where two or more lines of communication met, whether at fording or bridging points along the Tees and its tributaries; at the foot of tributary dales such as Lunedale or Balderdale; or at other favourable sites such as river

terraces or structural benches, there arose potential nodes of settlement. The varying development of a number of these nodes, produced an elementary settlement hierarchy. By 1600. it was possible to recognise the small but growing market town, such as Barnard Castle; the larger village, such as Cotherstone, Mickleton and probably Middleton; the smaller village, such as Eggleston and Romaldekirk; the hamlet, as at Dirtpit Chapel and Bowlees; and the single farmstead, such as West Roger Moor and Parrock House, in Marwood parish. The integration of this hierarchy over the whole dale has produced a recognisable settlement system, although individual components represent different genetic levels in the landscape and the character of each is by no means static through time.⁵

Research work on settlement patterns in north west Germany has recognised a number of pattern-forming phases which, although subject to certain variations of scale and precise timing, are capable of wider application.⁶ Prior to 1600, the outlines of Flidner's major phases of settlement pattern formation, namely those of small scale clearance; larger scale clearance; urban influence; and significant social and economic upheaval and change, can be recognised in Teesdale. During the tenth and first

half of the eleventh century, small scale colonisation took place. This was followed in the early thirteenth century by a period of large scale colonisation and settlement along more established and uniform lines, which lasted up until the early fourteenth century, and was typified by the rise of the Cistercians and by a strong growth in small urban market centres, such as Barnard Castle. From the middle years of the fourteenth century, late medieval retreat of settlement and cultivation took place, in association with strong social and economic changes. Together, this brought about a necessary reappraisal and consolidation which perhaps lasted until 1450. After 1450, these four major phases were repeated at rapidly changing levels of technological achievement. Between 1600 and 1850 there was a period of slow expansion in which relatively small scale piecemeal re-advance took place in Teesdale. This was followed by a phase of more rapid expansion in which regular Parliamentary enclosure increased in intensity from the first decade or two of the eighteenth century. After 1850, coal and lead, together with urban growth, heralded a change in the economic structure of much of the dale. Since 1945 there has been a period of marked restructuring and renewal within the rural landscape, which is perhaps comparable with the economic and social upheaval of the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷

By 1600, the settlement pattern in Teesdale was one of expansion, marked primarily, by a series of clustered village and hamlet nuclei strung out along both banks of the Tees, focusing upon fording and bridging points, and separated from each other by a mean distance of two miles. Secondly, there were dispersed farmsteads and other single dwellings, situated beyond the limits of the cultivated land, partly the result of a hiving off process, and clearly a response to a growing number of social and economic changes including that of distance relative to services and markets.⁸

The site of a settlement is the end result of a process of selection, involving the appraisal of a number of offered possibilities of varying weight and magnitude, and a final decision based upon the acceptability of one or more of such possibilities. Site may be considered in terms of a virgin landscape or it may be assessed within the existing pattern of a currently evolving cultural landscape. Site must be considered within the framework of both past knowledge and experience, and present social and cultural ideas,

with certain factors gaining greater emphasis at different points along the time scale.⁹ Examination of the location and site of major settlements in Teesdale in 1600, would suggest a number of points. Firstly, there is a dominance of village and hamlet clusters at between 600 and 800 feet, along both banks of the Tees. These comprise Crossthwaite, Middleton, Lonton, Mickleton, Romaldekirk, Eggleston, Stratwith, Cotherstone and Lartington. In addition, a smaller concentration of tiny hamlets and single farmsteads are sited between 900 and 1,000 feet, at Holwick, Bowlees, Stotley and Foggerthwaite. Secondly, there would appear to be a strong correlation between such locations and the underlying nature of the terrain, since there is a predominance of level or gently sloping alluvial terraces and fans, together with structural benches of the Carboniferous series, the former well developed at Middleton, the latter, at Foggerthwaite. Thirdly, considerations of general aspect and situation indicate the prominence of a southerly position, with cumulative climatic benefits to both agrarian and social well being. A closer examination suggests a number of possible explanations for the suitability of these locations and sites, involving considerations of accessibility and

distance, shelter, safety from flood, landslip, rockfall, general safety of the community, availability of timber and stone for construction, provision of a continuous supply of water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and appraisal of soil and vegetation for both cultivation and pastoral pursuits. In addition, the elements of chance and personal whim may be significant.^{10.}

In view of this complex combination of factors, the outward manifestations of which, at a particular period, may well belie the original factors involved, each settlement must be considered individually. Future work may make fuller use of quantitative techniques, including factor analysis, to establish which variables are of prime importance, and perhaps produce a series of valid hypotheses capable of wider application.^{11.}

Morphology or formal layout is the most accessible manifestation of rural settlement available to the historical geographer, and one which, partly because of its physical presence and partly because it has often preserved former patterns, is attracting a good deal of attention.^{12.}

Settlement morphology can illuminate the pattern of former planned elements, at varying levels of sophistication. Although no one has yet produced a glossary for the

terminology of rural settlement, it is widely accepted that in essence, two basic morphological types exist, nucleated and dispersed.¹³ Within these two broad groups there are a number of variants based upon the oval, circle, square, rectangle, and triangle. Conzen has indicated, that in north-east England, 'the resulting picture is one of morphological diversity, causally related to that of settlement evolution, function, and density, and like this, reflecting the impact of physical and human factors on each other'.¹⁴

In 1949, Conzen produced his study of settlement analysis in north-east England, based upon forms of dispersal and nucleation. The dispersed forms ranged from single detached buildings, such as the cottage, to single farmsteads of small, medium or large size, and to large country residences such as the hall and manor house. The nucleated forms belonged to hamlets, with five variations of layout from irregular and loosely grouped to highly regular; to villages, with a variety of forms based on circular, rectilinear and triangular shapes and including the category of 'green' villages; and to non agricultural settlements such as fishing and mining villages.¹⁵

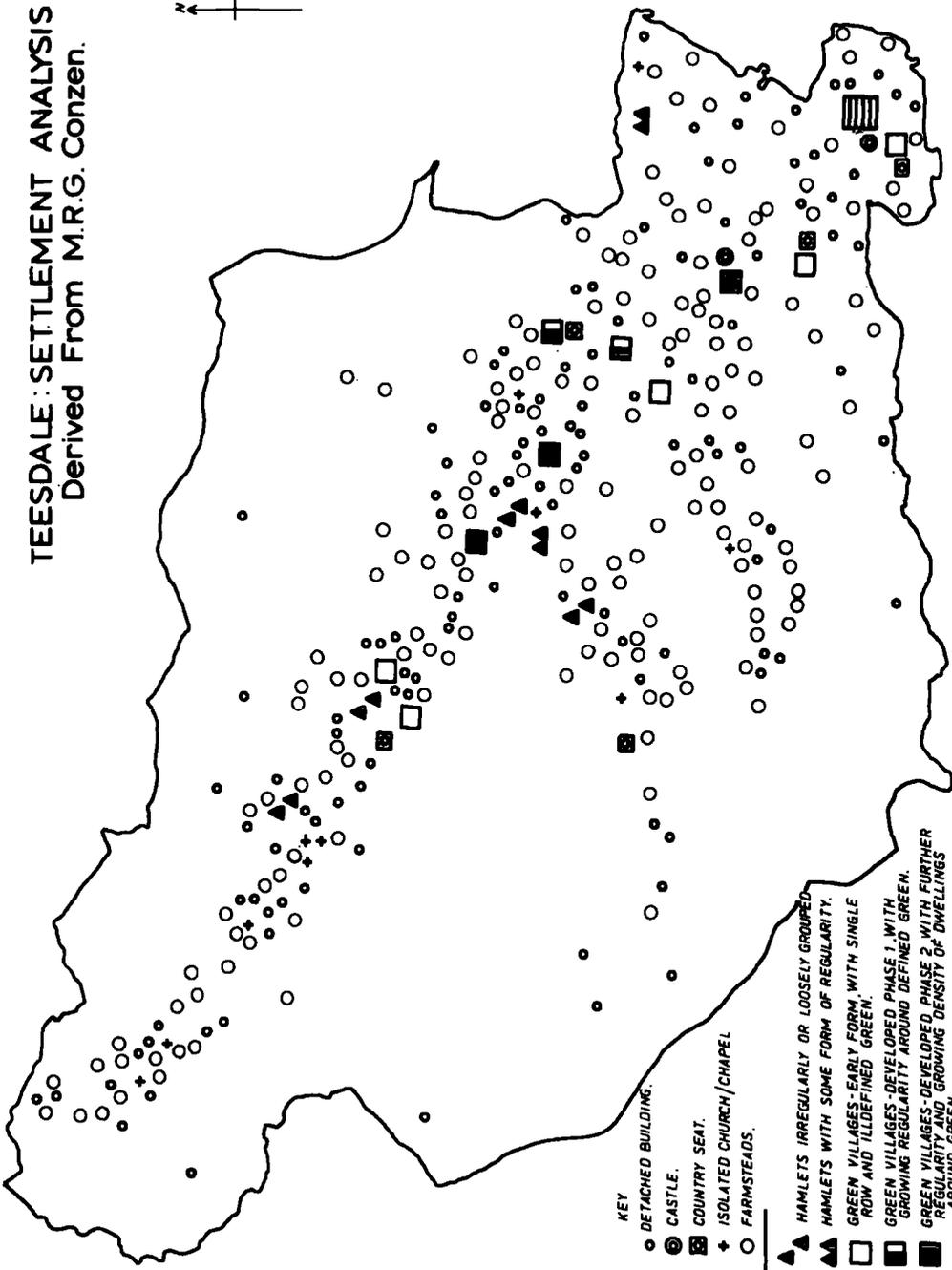
Refinements of this formal analysis of rural settlement are possible in the light of recent work, in relation to

the study of 'green' villages and hamlets.¹⁶ Thorpe was perhaps the first to consider the 'green' settlements of County Durham, in 1935.¹⁷ He recognised three basic patterns; broad green settlements, arranged around a wide rectangular space; street green settlements, arranged around a much narrower rectangular space; and irregular or indefinite shaped settlements (Fig. 13). Thorpe also recognised the 'green' as a distinctive form across the North European Plain,¹⁸ and further research has since been carried out in County Durham¹⁹ and over a wider area both in this country and in Western Europe as a whole.²⁰

The function of a settlement is an indication of the task that it performs as an integral part of the cultural landscape. A settlement forms the basis of social life and services within a given area, in addition to forming the hub of economic livelihood focusing upon the farms and fields of its agrarian infrastructure. Present day growth in mass communications and journey-to-work in urban centres, has ensured the survival of many villages and hamlets as dormitory and recreational settlements. Function is reflected in the overall formal layout, in for example the colliery village clustered around the pithead,

TEESDALE: SETTLEMENT ANALYSIS

Derived From M.R.G. Conzen.



SCALE
0 1 Miles

KEY

- DETACHED BUILDING.
- ⊙ CASTLE.
- ⊠ COUNTRY SEAT.
- + ISOLATED CHURCH/CHAPEL
- FARMSTEADS.
- ▲ HAMLETS IRREGULARLY OR LOOSELY GROUPED.
- ▲▲ HAMLETS WITH SOME FORM OF REGULARITY.
- GREEN VILLAGES - EARLY FORM WITH SINGLE ROW AND UNDEFINED GREEN.
- GREEN VILLAGES - DEVELOPED PHASE 1, WITH GROWING REGULARITY AROUND DEFINED GREEN.
- GREEN VILLAGES - DEVELOPED PHASE 2 WITH FURTHER REGULARITY AND GROWING DENSITY OF DWELLINGS AROUND GREEN.
- ▨ MEDIEVAL TOWN PLAN ELEMENTS, INCLUDING FORMS COMPARABLE WITH GREEN VILLAGES.

Figure 13 The formal analysis of settlement in Teesdale, derived from M.R.G. Conzen, 1949. D.A.A.

and in the component elements of this layout, ... Although Smith has stressed the need for a functional approach, it is perhaps a combination of a closely integrated formal and functional approach that is most likely to prove successful in attempting to understand the intricate evolutionary pattern of rural settlement.^{21.}

Excluding those functions related to wider regional and national patterns, current after 1850, two basic functions can be recognised in Teesdale. Agriculture dominated the dale, with increasing specialisation in arable cultivation within the Tees valley and a growing predominance of pastoral farming within the upper dale. These variations may be clarified from documentary and map sources by the early years of the seventeenth century, and they brought differences, not only in farm buildings and equipment, but also in field patterns and the general economic and social outlook.^{22.} The second basic function, that of mining and quarrying, was marked by the growth of settlements for which the winning of stone and the gaining of lead were the major pursuits. These were situated within the upper dale, for example at Holwick and Middleton, and their functions are clearly represented in their settlement form.^{23.}

Eggleston is a microcosm of historical process and form within the Pennine dales. The township is situated in lower Teesdale, approximately six miles north-west of Barnard Castle (Fig. 1). It has a total area of over 8,000 acres of which almost 5,000 acres are fell land, and extends a distance of five and a half miles, in the shape of a rectangle some two or three miles wide, from Eggleston Bridge over the Tees, to Pawlaw Pike at over 1,500 feet along the watershed with Wardale (Plate 1). Its present population is estimated at 420, of which the vast majority live in the village itself.²⁴

Ekwall has traced the name Eggleston to the Pipe Rolls of 1196, and suggested its origin as the home of Ecgwulf or Egcel during the period of Anglian colonisation, in the seventh and eighth centuries.²⁵ A brief consideration of the early history of the name has also been made by Sir William Gray, the present incumbent of the manor of Eggleston.²⁶ The earliest documented source located by the writer can be dated from 1317, when the Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem indicated that the manor of Eggleston was held by the Neville family.²⁷ In 1501, Surtees noted a reference to the small chapel at Eggleston, in the will of one William Henry Richardson.²⁸ Rather inconclusive evidence would seem to indicate that prior



Plate 1.

A General View of Eggleston Township, showing the hall, the settlement and cultivated lands, and the fells.

D.A.A.

to the Dissolution, certain payments were made to the Premonstratensian canons at Egglestone Abbey by the village of Eggleston.²⁹ In 1538, Surtees noted the purchase of the manor of Eggleston by the Earls of Westmorland. It was not, however, until the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that a satisfactory reconstruction of the township could be made, based upon the Anonymous Map of County Durham in c.1569 (Fig. 4); the corresponding Humberstone Survey of the manors of the Earls of Westmorland in 1570;³⁰ the early Jacobean Survey of the Neville lands in c.1608;³¹ and the beautifully detailed and accurate 1614 map of the manor of Eggleston by Richard Daines (Fig. 14).

Viewed from the crest of Folly Bank, at the eastern edge of the township, the site of Eggleston is clear (Fig. 15). It occupies a slight ice-scooped indentation within the valley side, which consists of a series of drift covered benches with slopes of approximately 5° . These are separated by a series of steeper slopes between 10° and 13° , where sandstone outcrops often appear at the surface.³² Three major structural benches can be recognised between approximately 675 and 800 feet, 900 and 1,175 feet, and over 1,300 feet. These benches have closely influenced the settlement pattern and agrarian



Eggleston Township in 1614.

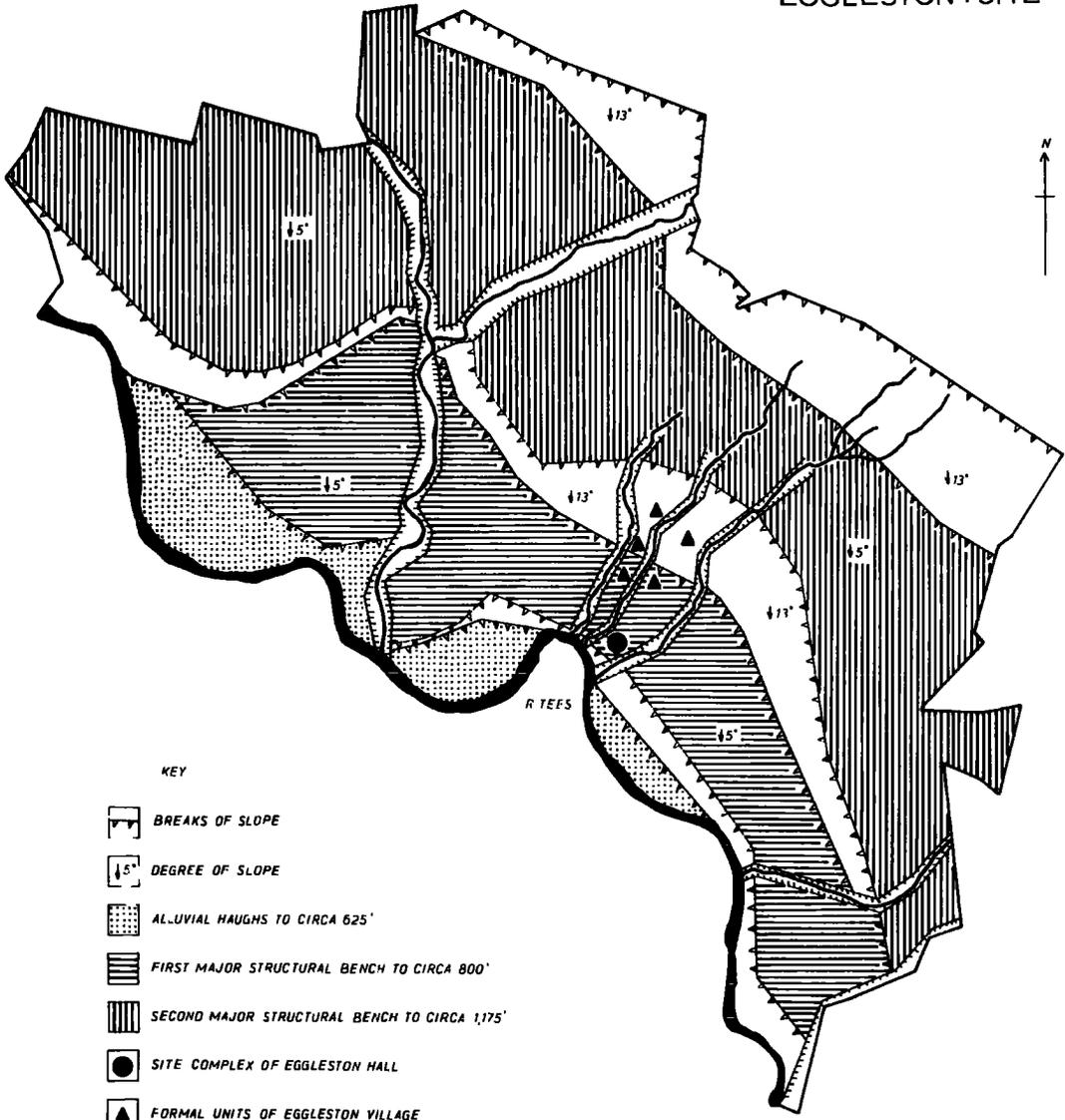
Figure 14.

framework within the township. The soils, derived largely from the drift, are locally diverse, and would in general seem free draining over the limestones in the western part of the township, but rather heavy and sticky over the less permeable shales and thicker drifts, along the eastern edge.

The village of Eggleston occupies a central position within the cultivated area of the township, orientated north-south and at right angles to the valley side. It is almost half a mile in length from the edge of the first major structural bench overlooking the Tees, towards the second bench at Town Head, almost 850 feet above sea level. In breadth, the village is much narrower, about a quarter of a mile, and is fixed within an area bounded by three small becks, each deeply incised into the drift plastering the level surface of the benches (Fig. 15). The beck which flows through the centre of the village must surely have supplied drinking water, while the two outer becks provided water for other domestic purposes and also marked the edge of the village tofts from the fields beyond.

Outside the village nucleus, to the west, and close by the Tees at about 625 feet, farmsteads such as Ornelly and Burn Foot occupied the rear of the alluvial

EGGLESTON : SITE



- KEY
- BREAKS OF SLOPE
 - DEGREE OF SLOPE
 - ALLUVIAL HAUGHS TO CIRCA 625'
 - FIRST MAJOR STRUCTURAL BENCH TO CIRCA 800'
 - SECOND MAJOR STRUCTURAL BENCH TO CIRCA 1,175'
 - SITE COMPLEX OF EGGLESTON HALL
 - FORMAL UNITS OF EGGLESTON VILLAGE
 - INCISED STREAMS
 - MAJOR SLOPE FACETS

Figure 15

The site of Eggleston township

haughs, with a significant break of slope behind them. A considerable number of farms and other outbuildings were sited up to about 800 feet on the first bench, which allowed as much of the level surface as possible to be used for cultivation. Eggleston Burn, with its deeply incised profile and small stream terraces, was associated with several sheltered sites such as those occupied at Eggesburn Bridge and Bend Holm farm. Above 800 feet, the field pattern was one of block enclosures from the late eighteenth century. On the lower perimeter of the second bench were situated the former lead mill manager's residence at Egglehope House and the two small terrace rows of North and South Terrace. Artisan dwellings occupied the steeper slopes of Gordon Bank, along the road leading from Eggleston to Blackton smelt mill.

Above 1,300 feet, over the third major bench, there was an absence of permanent settlement, although a number of former mining camps very probably existed during the nineteenth century. Only Hope House, situated a mile beyond the limit of Eggleston's cultivated land and along the present parish boundary with Middleton, occupied a small terrace site within the wide valley of Eggleston Burn. More recent dwellings, constructed with building

techniques which allow siting almost anywhere within the limits of price and planning permission, have extended Town Head between Folly Bank and Blackton.

By 1614, an essentially rectangular form was recognisable in Eggleston. The nucleus was an open area of green approximately 15 acres in extent, which swept down into the settlement from the fell, penetrating as far as the chapel and manor house (Fig. 16). Alongside the stream which flowed through the green, several small tenements were strung out in irregular fashion, and were probably the result of population and housing pressure. Along either side of the green two tenement rows stretched from the manor house, to curve away gently at their upper limits in amalgamation with the edge of the cultivated land. The tofts, many of them containing outbuildings, lay at right angles to the two rows and extended as far as the two outer becks. The spacing of these two becks provided for a much longer series of tofts on the east, although only on the west was there back lane development cutting across the shorter tofts. The upper limits of the settlement were still open to the fell in 1614, but the origins of a 'Town Head row' were clearly visible. Access was at the four corners of the settlement, with the fields

reached from individual tofts. Thus, by the beginning of the seventeenth century an essentially rectangular settlement form existed at Eggleston, composed of a series of interrelated elements which must be examined in greater detail (Fig. 16).

The site of the present Eggleston Hall and grounds was, in 1614, occupied by the messuage belonging to the mesne lord of Eggleston. Covering approximately 18 acres of relatively level terrain, the complex can be subdivided into a number of distinct units. There were three demesne meadows - Lady Meadow, Kitchen Meadow and Ox Close Meadow - together with the manor house, which occupied an enclosure of about $\frac{1}{2}$ acre along the upper boundary of the last two closes. If the pictorial representations on Daines' map are as accurate as the map itself, then the manor house probably comprised both a large and a small wing attached to each other in the form of an inverted - L. A detached wing backed on to Kitchen Meadow and probably incorporated the separate block of the kitchen, a common practice at a time when timber found greater use in domestic buildings and when kitchen fires were considered a dangerous source of household disaster. Together, these units were arranged around a small courtyard. The northern portion of the manor house

enclosure, at a point of access from the village, was occupied by a smaller dwelling similar in design to many of those in the village, and this probably belonged to a gatekeeper, gardener, or other member of the domestic staff.

In 1570, the heirs of 'Radulphi Aistrughe' were mesne lords at Eggleston, holding by socage from the Earls of Westmorland and paying rent of 6s. 8d. per year.³³ By 1608, the messuage was part of a much larger holding held by Richard Craddock of Gainford, ^{on} Letters Patent for 21 years, and dated 1595.³⁴ The messuage clearly represents an important component of the settlement complex and there is evidence to indicate that the site is one of long continued occupance. The British Museum has been able to authenticate glass found in the immediate vicinity of the present hall, as of twelfth or thirteenth century origin.³⁵ The presence and quality of this glass points to a dwelling of some significance, possibly an earlier manor house. Was this the nucleus of a post Conquest manor at Eggleston? Was the manor house sole occupant of the site or did the village tenements press more closely upon it, only to be gradually pushed back as the hall complex became divorced from the village? Place name evidence would suggest an Anglian origin for Eggleston, and the hall site would seem most favourable for occupance, occupying a level bench with

significant breaks of slope around three sides and only one side open to the fell. These questions are worthy of further consideration, emphasizing the key problem of village origin throughout the Pennine dales. This issue is given greater significance by the discovery of a few fragments of Roman pottery, again authenticated by the British Museum, and found within close proximity of the medieval glass. With so little known of Roman occupation in the area, was this perhaps a stray find or was it the result of trading or other cultural exchange in the Tees lowland, where Roman civilian life flourished at a higher level?³⁶ Closer analysis of the pottery itself would possibly tell us more. The fragmented evidence beyond 1570 would point towards great continuity and emphasize the site of Eggleston Hall as not only the invaluable key to the origins of Eggleston, but as one of perhaps several nuclei from which has gradually evolved the pattern of settlement within Teesdale.

Outside the manor house enclosure, on a similar site, stood the small half acre enclosure containing Eggleston chapel with its attendant land. This chapel, the 'cappella de Eggleston', is mentioned in the Romalldkirk parish register for early December 1608, and would appear a single

unit with a small cross attached to the gable end at the south corner.³⁷ With careful use of the 1614 map, the position of the building and its enclosure may be reconstructed from the present ruins of Holy Trinity Church which now occupy the site, and within which may be found some of the stonework from the earlier chapel. While little evidence is available on the ecclesiastical origins of Eggleston, the chapel and accompanying glebe land were associated with the Rectory at Middleton.³⁸ Richard Raine of Eggleston was buried in the churchyard at Middleton in 1624, and this would suggest that Middleton was the mother church at this time, and Eggleston a Chapel of Ease.³⁹ In the early post Conquest decades, Gainford may have been the mother church, since it was known to have been the centre of a large parish, and earlier the mansion of a discrete or federal manor.⁴⁰ Perhaps Eggleston was a berewick or appendage of Gainford at the time of the Conquest?

From the lay and ecclesiastical nuclei of Eggleston, the two village rows extended northwards along both sides of the green. An inventory of 1607 has indicated the presence of an east row, from which the opposing row may be taken as west row.⁴¹ In 1614, excepting a clearly

detached dwelling at its foot, east row extended in an unbroken line for approximately 91 rods as far north as Hell Beck. This measurement, taken from the map by Richard Daines, raises the whole question of measurement values in County Durham. Until the fifteenth century, non standard measurements were in use in County Durham. The Durham customary rod or perch was 21 feet against the standard measurement of 16.5 feet, while the Durham acre contained 7,840 square yards against the standard figure of 4,840 square yards.⁴² Measurement at Eggleston in 1614 appears to have been in both the standard rod and the standard acre, and such figures are used throughout this thesis. (1 rod = 5.5 yards : 1 yard = 0.914 metres).

East row (500.5 yards : 457.4 metres) had a basically straight building line, but displayed five noticeable insteps at approximately 13, 51, 61, 72 and 78 rods from its foot, which may have been the result of small local variations in terrain. With but a single exception, all the buildings at the head of the tofts faced outwards on to the green, and approximately sixteen tenements lay along east row, varying in size and shape and including a number of outbuildings (Fig. 16). In addition, a further seven buildings were located within the tofts, four of which were clearly outbuildings but

the remainder, depicted with chimney stacks, may have been dwelling houses and were perhaps the result of population pressure or separation between family units as in Scandinavia?⁴³ The significance of three buildings shown with lighter roofs is not clear, unless it is a cartographical error or an indication of buildings that were once the irregularly spaced predecessors of east row and now in process of decay? West row by contrast, had nine buildings in use and four of them were clearly related to the development of the back lane.

The east row tofts extended as far as Hell Beck and examination of the 1614 map would suggest a certain regularity. This suggestion is emphasized by detailed analysis. Similarity in length amounting to 35 rods (192 yards : 175.9 metres) is associated with similarity in area, in which seven tofts were between $\frac{3}{4}$ and 1 acre; ten between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 acre; three between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre; and one, $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres (Fig. 17). In 1570, five tofts had been between $\frac{3}{4}$ and 1 acre; seven between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 acre; and the remaining five between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre. The width of the tofts was a further consideration. In 1614, the toft breadth ratio of east row, measured in rods from the foot of the row, was very approximately 5 : 4 : 4 : 3 : 7 : 6 : 5 : 9 : 3 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 5 : 5 : 5 : 18, the latter clearly at variance with the overall pattern. With this exception,

EGGLESTON VILLAGE : EAST AND WEST ROWS.

WEST

EAST

NAME OF OCCUPIER 1614	NAME OF OCCUPIER 1570	BUILDINGS 1570		GARTHES 1570		RENT 1570		VALUE c.1608	NAME OF OCCUPIER 1570		BUILDINGS 1570		GARTHES 1570		RENT 1570		VALUE c.1608
		c.1608	1570	c.1608	1570	c.1608	1570		c.1608	1570	c.1608	1570	c.1608	1570	c.1608	1570	
EDWARD FIELDHOUSE	+	COTTAGE	+	+	+	1s.	+	3s. 4d.	RICHARD RAINE	JOHN RAINE	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1-5r.	1-5r.	6s. 8d.	6s. 8d.	53s.
MARGARET HILHOLSON	+	COTTAGE	+	+	+	1s.	+	3s. 4d.	RICHARD NEWBY	JOHN WALKER	STABILUM HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1-5r.	1-5r.	14s.	14s.	83s. 4d.
JOHN PINKNEY	FRANCIS WILKIF 1608 ?	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1r.	1r.	9s. 10d.	7s. 8d.	78s. 8d.	RICHARD LONSDALE	ROBERT LONSDALE	STABILUM HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	3r.	3r.	13s.	13s.	96s. 8d.
MARYE ARROWSMITH	CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON, 1608 ?	HOUSE, BARN	+	5r.	+	8s.	+	40s.	THOMAS CATESBIS	JOHN ADDISON THOMAS ADDISON 1608 ?	STABILUM HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1a.	1a.	15s.	15s.	106s. 8d.
ROBERT BAYLES	+	COTTAGE	+	1r.	+	2s.	+	5s.	RICHARD HODGSON	WILLIAM HODGSON	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	3r.	1-5r.	12s. 4d.	12s. 4d.	40/76s. 1r.
JOHN PINKNEY	+	HOUSE, BARN	+	3r.	+	2s. 2d.	+	+	JOHN HODGSON	THOMAS HODGSON	STABILUM HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	2r.	2r.	18s. 4d.	12s. 4d.	40/150s.
GEORGE BAYLES	+	STABILUM, HOUSE, BARN	+	1r.	+	12s.	+	86s.	ROBERT HANKLEY	JENET MATTERIS 1608 ?	BARN COTTAGE	+	+	2s.	+	+	3s. 4d.
ANN HODGSON	THOMAS HODGSON	STABILUM, HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	2r.	2r.	14s.	14s.	104s. 8d.	JOHN MORTON	JOHN MYERS	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	2-5r.	2-5r.	17s. 8d.	18s.	106s.
CHRISTOPHER BLAND	+	+	+	+	+	10s.	+	53s. 4d.	CHRISTOPHER HARRISON	WILLIAM HARRISON	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	2a.	3r.	11s.	11s.	100s.
ANTHONY BLAND	JOHN BLAND	STABILUM, HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	2r.	2r.	12s.	12s.	83s. 4d.	JOHN BELL	NICHOLAS CROSTON CHRISTOPHER CROSTON 1608 ?	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1a.	1a.	12s.	12s.	82s. 8d.
THOMAS GIBSON	..	STABILUM HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1r.	1r.	12s. 4d.	24s. 8d.	98s.	MICHAEL RAINE	RICHARD MYERS	HOUSE	HOUSE	1a.	1a.	2s.	6d.	8s. 6d.
JAMES NEWBY	..	HOUSE, BARN	+	1r.	1r.	12s. 4d.	25s.	35s.	THOMAS HEADLAM	NICHOLAS HEADLAM GEORGE HEADLAM 1608 ?	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	+	+	5s. 6d.	3s. 6d.	41s. 4d.
JOHN GIBSON	..	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	3r.	3r.	12s.	75s.	75s.	ANTHONY HEADLAM	GEORGE HEADLAM	STABILUM HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	3r.	+	5s. 6d.	5s. 6d.	9d.
JOHN HODGSON SENIOR	..	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	2r.	2r.	16s.	76s.	122s. 4d.	ROGER DOWSON	WILLIAM DOWSON Senior	HOUSE	HOUSE	2r.	1-5r.	12s.	12s.	76s. 1r.
WILLIAM NICHOLSON ?	+	COTTAGE	+	+	+	4d.	+	3s. 4d.	WILLIAM DOWSON	WILLIAM DOWSON Junior	STABILUM HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1a.	1-5r.	18s. 5d.	18s. 5d.	50/126s.
JOHN HARKER	+	HOUSE, BARN	+	5r.	+	33s. 4d.	+	91s. 8d.	FRANCIS ADDISON	+	HOUSE, BARN	+	1r.	+	5s.	+	50s. 8d.
GREGORY HARRISON	+	COTTAGE	+	1r.	+	1s.	+	5s.	+ No Information								
WILLIAM WHARTON	..	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	1a.	1a.	18s.	20s.	116s. 4d.									
JOHN MYERS	..	HOUSE, BARN	HOUSE	3r.	3r.	14s.	14s.	70s.									

Figure 17 The composition of east and west rows, Eggleston, during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, from survey and map sources. D.A.A.

the maximum variation was one of 6 rods, and over 66 per cent of the tofts fell between 4 and 6 rods. The observable insteps in the toft boundaries were perhaps associated with breaks in the building line and may well have marked the limits of earlier phases of growth which became fossilised within later extensions. It is possible that the pattern of tofts within east row reflects the interpretation put forward by Uhlig and by Smith, which suggests that it was an element within a former infield, divided up into a series of strips or tofts and known as Langstreifenflur. A number of the tofts reveal a curve at their outer margin, which strongly suggests plough team activity, and perhaps indicates an area of Esch lands forming an island of better soils in association with early colonisation at Eggleston. This may be attributed to the Anglian period or earlier, and was linked both physically and culturally with the early settlement nucleus or Drubbel, occupying the site of the hall complex. Such a small 12 acres of cultivated land represented a vital foothold, 'a stage in the shift from temporary and shifting cultivation to permanent, sedentary settlement'.⁴⁴ While there are no fiscal assessments available in terms of bovates or oxgangs, such as Sheppard has discovered at Wheldrake, there would appear to be strong links between the number

of tofts in the village and the number of households.⁴⁵

In west row, the frontage was approximately 118 rods (649 yards : 593.2 metres) with three noticeable breaks in the building line at approximately 23, 36 and 69 rods from the foot of the row. The first, marked by the entry of a roadway, and the third, at the widening of the green, would appear to correspond remarkably well with those along east row, and may possibly suggest a series of comparable growth stages? The second break, where a dwelling is set at an angle to the green, is similar to that along east row, but occurs further down the row. Complications of terrain may explain the significance of this angle setting. Back lane development has undoubtedly varied the pattern of settlement.

In contrast, the toft breadth ratio of west row, measured in rods from the foot of the row, was very approximately 5 : 12 : 7 : 13 : 8 : 5 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 5 : 6 : 4 : 8 : 8 : 9 : 7 : 3. These figures produce a variation of 10 rods at the maximum, with just over 41 per cent of the tofts falling between 4 and 6 rods. The west row tofts were much shorter in length and smaller in area than those of east row. Physiographic limitations are partially responsible for this, in particular Ashing (?)

Beck, but social stratification may also be an important factor, since with a single exception, the village cottagers in 1608 were all situated in west row. This stratification may still be seen in the style and layout of housing at the present day. At the foot of the row, toft length was about 20 rods (110 yards : 100.5 metres), but decreased to just over a half of this length at its head. Two tenements had a total area of $\frac{1}{8}$ acre; three, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre; three, $\frac{3}{4}$ acre; and one, 1 acre, leaving 40 per cent of the tenements with an area of $\frac{1}{4}$ acre. This compared with 1570, when four tenements had an area of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre; two, $\frac{3}{4}$ acre; one, 1 acre; and one, $\frac{1}{4}$ acre, clearly indicating a reduction in acreage, perhaps as a result of subdivision and population pressure. An element of regularity can be recognised in west row, but it would appear more fragmented in outline than perhaps it had been previously.

By 1614, a series of small intakes had developed along the upper margins of the green, facing the foot of the village. This incipient Town Head row, 50 rods in length (275 yards : 251.4 metres) if the intervening fell land is included, comprised three small tenements. At the eastern end was a cottage and backside of $\frac{1}{8}$ acre belonging to John Bland, followed by a smaller unidentified dwelling

with a miniscule patch of land, and a substantial dwelling and outbuilding on a 2 acre toft belonging to John Walker. Separated from these dwellings by fell land, was a small rectangular intake belonging to Ambrose Prakin, which formed the isolated western end of the row.

Eggleston greenfunnelled the fell down to the gates of the chapel and manor house, and was the predecessor of the improved and firmly delimited village green of the nineteenth century. In 1614, the green covered an area of approximately 15 acres, and had upon it eight tiny intakes, the majority of which were strung out irregularly along the beck. They varied in size from between $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre, and only one had no permanent dwelling house. This was referred to as a 'close in the street', and belonged to the Addison family of east row in both 1570 and 1608.⁴⁶ Of the remaining seven, five could be identified in 1608 but only two in 1570. Cottages were the predominant type of dwelling, but Richard Robinson and Isabel Hodgson both had more substantial houses with recognisable outbuildings. This growth of intakes on the green would seem to be a further indication of rising social and economic pressures within the village structure, and of the urgent need for expansion. Unlike Town Head, where expansion was more easily absorbed within the village

framework, these intakes had all disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century.

The green itself, loosely demarcated by the chapel and manor house and by east and west rows, was an integral part of the settlement form, and functioned for the communal use of the surrounding tenements. Its tenurial status reflected a clash between communal and severalty ownership, which resulted in the pushing out of the intakes on the one hand, and influential encroachment by the lord of the manor on the other. The whole issue of common land remains a vexed one, since 'nobody is sure what its precise boundaries are, who owns it, or who has rights to use it', and it is currently being looked into by the Commons Registration Committee.⁴⁷

A reference to the term 'street', would perhaps suggest the presence in Eggleston of recognisable trackways, running in front of the rows and joined by a series of paths across the green. This early pattern may be seen in many green villages at the present day.⁴⁸ Together, these trackways formed a broader driftway, drove road or outgang, leading from the settlement, and along which the animals were moved to the fell grazings.

The green has become the centre of controversy in

attempts to classify green villages as a preliminary to further detailed study. Although Eggleston was omitted by Thorpe in his study of green villages in County Durham, there is no doubt that under his classification based upon shape, it would be among the 37 per cent of villages regarded as street greens. While this was of value in showing that differences existed in formal layout, it was not perhaps best suited to an evolutionary approach. A recent interim report on green villages in County Durham by Roberts, has suggested an alternative approach 'based not on shape but partially on building density and partially on the degree of regularity'. Within this, Eggleston is seen as a 'primitive' green village characterised by 'an irregular street frontage and ... the fact that the green is merely a part of the open fell grazing land which sweeps into the settlement'.⁴⁹ The writer would accept this viewpoint and would recognise the probable logic of a sequence of development, from the small dales cluster such as Eggleston, to the larger market settlement such as Staindrop, and to settlements which have now added considerable urban forms, such as Stockton and Northallerton. Each exhibits a similar regularity, but with differences in scale and size. Without being drawn into the mire of classification, since 'classifications merely represent

useful working frameworks at a given state of information',⁵⁰. one can hope for the emergence of a more precise terminology on green villages, within which Eggleston will find recognition as a simple form of regular green village. However, as Roberts has pointed out, 'there is no simple chronological sequence of village forms, no inevitable progression of village plans from simple to complex, from irregular to regular or vice versa : rather we are dealing with parallel and interlocking developments of great diversity and complexity occurring over a long time span'.⁵¹.

Two final components of the overall settlement of Eggleston at the beginning of the seventeenth century, were the growing severalty holdings outside the village nucleus and the larger intakes out on the more distant fell land. Daines has depicted a series of severalty dwellings situated along the outer perimeter of both the Middle and West fields, and one can distinguish the smaller properties such as John Simpson's at Sisbank; the larger farm clusters such as Bogg House and Bendish Holm; and the small hamlet of Stratwith. Four small enclosures were depicted in the latter together with four distinct groups of buildings, which in view of the close proximity of the 'Lady Brown Lead Mylls', could well suggest an enlarged farmstead with a small group of miners' or smelters' cottages attached to it. Also within the

township lay the corn mill, sited along Eggleston Burn and in a central position relative to the arable lands. In addition, a tenement belonging to Thomas Gibson was placed centrally within the West field (Fig. I4).

Beyond the immediate fell land were three much larger intakes or grounds. Foggerthwaite Ground was held in 1614 by Sir Nicholas Tempest and covered 40 acres, its dwelling house tucked away in the north east corner. Stotley Hall Ground was held by Christopher Bainbrigge and covered almost 40 acres, with its small complex of buildings occupying the north west corner. The development of both these intakes to the west of Eggleston, between its cultivated lands and those of neighbouring Middleton, has been distinct and represents a phase in the evolution of the agrarian framework.⁵² There was no reference to Stotley in the survey of 1608, although Surtees indicated that it was a separate manor at this time and formed perhaps a separate entry, as yet untraced.⁵³ Similarly, there was no reference to the third intake, that of Hope House, which occupied an area of over 40 acres two miles to the north of Eggleston, on a small shieling site. Fordyce however, has traced its evolution from the Dissolution through to the nineteenth century.⁵⁴

By 1614, Eggleston had a settlement pattern which

comprised three major components, the village nucleus, showing pressure of occupance; the arm of severalty holdings around the Middle and West Fields; and the larger peripheral intakes (Fig. 14).

At a more qualitative level several points emerge. The winter of 1614 was one of very heavy snowfall in Teesdale, which produced drifts up to eighteen feet deep in places and remained severe until the end of February.⁵⁵ This may support the view of a general deterioration in climate, beginning in the fourteenth century and reaching its peak in the early seventeenth century, which undoubtedly had a considerable influence on the agrarian structure, when 'upland estates and farms on the Pennines became poorer'.⁵⁶ The winter of 1634 was also noted for its severity.⁵⁷

Richard Craddock Senior was mesne lord in the manor of Eggleston in 1614. He held the stone quarries within the 45 acres of Barrenlawe and Ellwinside, on the eastern edge of the township, which provided important sources of building and roofing material. The village miller at this time was John Kipling, whose millstream is clearly visible above the mill at Eggleston Bridge. William Hodgson occupied a tenement in east row in 1607, comprising a house and barn

together with a garth of $\frac{3}{4}$ acre. William was a smallholder - weaver, holding $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of arable in the East field and over 16 acres of meadow in the East and Middle fields. On this meadow grazed his five cattle and twenty four sheep, while rights of common provided additional pasture on the fell and in the fields. While they were alive, the cattle provided subsistence in the form of milk, cream and cheese, and when slaughtered, they were a useful source of meat and hides. The sheep clippings provided the raw material for weaving. By late October of 1607, William had two pikes (ricks) of winter hay in his barn. His house was rather bare and spartan, containing a large and small cupboard together with a table and domestic implements set not far from the hearth, whose welcoming coals kept the chills of the fells at bay. In the far corner of the living room were William's weaving frame and a stone of lint. Financially his assets totalled £12, from which the annual rent amounted to 12s. 4d., a figure which had remained constant since 1570. William was undoubtedly a poor man by comparison with his neighbours and his poverty was further increased by his debts. These totalled 30s. and included 7s. to Francis Wharton for a stone of lint; 1s. to Charles Richardson for hay to supplement his fodder; 1s. to Robert Martindale

for a hat; and 6d. to Elizabeth Raine for a cheese. In return, William was himself owed £2 by his neighbour John Hodgson, perhaps for certain woollen garments.⁵⁸

Richard Raine also lived in east row, close to Town Head, and was a yeoman farmer with a 'tenment or farmeholde' of over $\frac{1}{4}$ acre and with nearly 6 acres, 4 of them meadow, scattered throughout the townfields.⁵⁹ Richard also shared a toft of over $\frac{1}{4}$ acre with his neighbour Richard Newby. Corn and hay valued at £3 and £4 occupied the barn, together with 'implements belonging to husbandry' including 'ploughes and plough gear', and two horses. Richard had 10 cattle, including 6 cows, 43 sheep, and 9 lambs, many of which pastured under rights of common. Little is known of the house itself, although a meat table and cupboard were 'heirloomes in the house', and there were also two old bed stocks and a smaller cupboard. His total assets were £37. 10s. from which the annual rent was 6s. 8d., an increase of 2d. on that of 1570. Richard was a man very fond of his wife Janet and daughter Jane, through whose marriage he was related to Christopher Harrison of east row and to whom he had arranged to leave his tenement. His friends in the village included George Bayles, a yeoman of west row whose holding had its own stable; Richard Lonsdall, a yeoman and near neighbour whose property included a stable and oxhouse; and John Kipling, the

millar. Richard's debts included a sum of £8 to Prince Charles, who became Charles I of England in 1625, and who had commissioned a rent increase of nearly £27 in Eggleston.^{60.}

William Wharton was a yeoman of west row, whose substantial tenement at the foot of the row comprised a 1 acre garth together with house and barn. A further 16 acres lay in the townfields, while William's assets totalled the considerable sum of over £60 including debts worth nearly £40. The annual rent of 18s. was a reduction of 2s. on that charged in 1570. The farm house was perhaps typical of the wealthy yeoman at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Timber and thatch around a crucked frame were still common at this time, but stone, already used in the base, was becoming increasingly common as tenants 'began to improve their properties by a more convenient and fashionable manner of building'.^{61.} William's large living room-cum-kitchen contained two tables, one with a frame, together with two forms and two stools. The room was decorated with over fourteen pieces of pewter and had a number of candlesticks. Several wooden vessels occupied a cupboard, while two brass pots, two kettles and two little pans were arranged around three spits and their supporting cob irons. A quantity of salt lay in one corner, and was no doubt used in the preservation

of meat.^{62.} The end room or parlour, very probably William's bedroom, together with the upper chambers occupied by other members of the household, had within them a bedstead, an old featherbed, and two further old bedsteads. In addition, there was a long chest containing three pairs of linen sheets and four pairs of coarser canvas sheets. Outside the house, the barn was stacked with corn and hay valued at over £3; three bushels of oats; a cart; a pack saddle; and a hackney complete with saddle, and available for hire. A mare and colt added further to what must have been a small livery stable, no doubt a useful source of additional income. It was perhaps the unpaid hire charges from this which formed a considerable proportion of the debts owed to William.^{63.} The relative wealth and solidity of a yeoman farmer such as William, can be contrasted with the poverty of a man such as Gregory Harrison, whose tiny cottage plot lay next to William's and for which he paid a yearly rent of 1s. on property valued at 5s.

By 1614, Eggleston was a township depicting varying degrees of social status and economic stature, but above all it was a living community of dales folk. Although essentially introspective, it was not totally divorced from current issues and national events, and had numerous

associations with neighbouring areas. For example, William Hodgson owed 4d. to Thomas Huggison of Romaldkirk; the Addisons had relations in Ovingham beyond Barnard Castle; Richard Raine's son-in-law, John Walker, lived at Cotherstone; and William Wharton's featherbed had been left to his wife in 1578, by her cousin, John Glenton of Barnard Castle, and had come originally from Darlington.^{64.}

After 1614, it is not until the late eighteenth century that a further detailed reconstruction of Eggleston is possible, based largely upon a map of the period (Fig. 18) found among the Bowes papers.^{65.} In addition, several sketch maps of Eggleston dating from 1750, are located among the Chaytor papers, and together these maps emphasise the intricate series of landscape changes that had taken place since the early seventeenth century.^{66.}

The manor house still occupied its early seventeenth century site, but changing social customs and fashions together with rising economic prosperity, brought changes. The house plan now formed an E-shape characteristic of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.^{67.} After 1750, when it was first documented as Eggleston Hall, sketches

indicate the continuance of an enclosure around the hall and show turreted walls on at least the south side. This style is less obvious on the earlier Chaytor maps, and would suggest either artistic licence or the undertaking of structural alterations during the latter part of the century. Since the present hall was not built until 1810-11 (Plate 1), it would seem reasonable to suggest that the seventeenth century structure, though perhaps modified, was still in situ at the end of the eighteenth century. The style and design of rural housing in County Durham was generally considered to be about a century behind that of the south east of England.⁶⁸ The major change here was undoubtedly the expansion and growth of the hall complex at the expense of several of the village tenements. Access to the hall was now possible from both the north and the east. This process of expansion was common throughout much of England at this period, reflecting the growing wealth and influence of landed proprietors. At Streatlam it was even more noticeable, since the old town had been totally abandoned to make way for the expansion of Streatlam Castle (Fig. 21).

By 1662, the Sandersons were lords of the manor of Eggleston, an occupancy which lasted until 1715. The family diary has revealed little about settlement, but indicates that the family had close links with Barnard

Castle and possibly grew rich through trade there.^{69.} In 1663, Christopher Sanderson granted leases on the lead mines of Eggleston, while throughout the latter part of the century, a successful legal battle took place with Raby over the boundaries of the township, which then extended further west from Howgill north to Egglestope Head, and in which lead revenues were an important factor.^{70.} To maintain the integrity of the township, the inhabitants are known to have ridden the bounds in 1678, 1680 and 1694.^{71.}

After 1715, there was a period of intense legal and financial bargaining, the intricacies of which are well documented in the Cotesworth manuscripts.^{72.} In 1727, William Hutchinson purchased Eggleston outright for a sum little short of £5,000, and held it in fee simple. As a result of wealth thought to have been accumulated through merchant activities in London, the Hutchinsons began a period of occupance which lasted until 1919, and had a profound influence upon the cultural landscape. By 1749, there was a 'capital messuage called Eggleston Hall, with all the outhouses, courts, gardens and Calf Garth'. Boundary disputes raged with Raby to the east and west, and with the Bishop of Durham to the north, but the Hutchinsons proved themselves extremely capable in local diplomacy and maintained the status quo until the

nineteenth century boundary revisions.^{73.} The bounds were again ridden in 1748 and 1759.

By 1763, an area of parkland totalling 12 acres had been created along the structural bench adjoining the hall, and incorporated a number of former meadow closes and arable parcels from the Middle field. By 1790, a further area of similar acreage had been added, to create a park 25 acres in extent surrounded by a wall, and suitably landscaped in the fashion of the period.^{74.} While there are seemingly no complete records of the Hutchinson family estates, several scattered documents shed some light upon their stay in Eggleston. A number of letters written between 1733 and 1760 provide glimpses of the life of the period and are material for the social historian. They include letters to his steward, written by William Hutchinson in his absence from Eggleston, and contain references to his being 'in town', an indication that he was perhaps in Durham, for the Hutchinsons had a town house in the Bailey.^{75.} In addition, letters from the young Timothy in Cambridge would suggest that he was at the University for some time.^{76.} Details of estate business are given in account ledgers for the period 1726 to 1762, and it is known for example, that a Mr. Emerson was paid four guineas for carrying out repairs to Baranlee Lane in 1750.^{77.} In 1769,

Timothy Hutchinson became lord of the manor and it was during his residence, which lasted until 1810, that the late eighteenth century map of the township was produced.

Eggleston chapel also occupied the same site in the latter part of the eighteenth century. From the sketch map some rebuilding may be suggested, since the tower appears at the opposite end to that shown in 1614 and to that visible among the present day ruins, although artistic licence may be a simpler explanation (Fig. 18). In 1634, John Addison of Ovingham left 40 shillings to the poor of the 'Chappelrie' of Eggleston,⁷⁸ while in 1693 a terrier indicated that the glebe land belonged to the rectory of Middleton.⁷⁹ There was no mention of the chapel itself. The Reverend Mr. Emerson occupied the glebe lands in 1763 and by 1790 they were occupied by the Reverend Mr. Lascelles. It was not until 1795 that Eggleston became an independent ecclesiastical parish, and the parish register was first recorded in late September, with the christening of the village blacksmith's child. The Hutchinsons were undoubtedly significant benefactors in the upkeep of the chapel and after 1795, Holy Trinity Church, since a visit to the ruins has revealed plaques commemorating three members of the family who died in

1749, 1769 and 1826. Older plaques represents members of the Sanderson family who died in 1685 and 1695.^{80.}

Expansion was the major change within the hall and chapel of Eggleston by the close of the eighteenth century, and this transformed the essentials of the earlier fabric. Eggleston Hall now typified the fashions of the wealthy landed proprietor with his country seat and town house, gradually setting itself apart from the village as a whole. The lord of the manor had made a lasting impression on the landscape and by the end of the century the young William Hutchinson had sold his estate at Woodgate, near East Grinstead in Sussex, to enable the family to concentrate on developing their estates at Eggleston.^{81.}

In east row the essential pattern of 1614 remained, but the former tofts of Richard Raine and Richard Newbie were now excluded, reducing the length of the row to approximately 374 yards (341.8 metres). Changes had also taken place in the composition of the row. The Hutchinsons had purchased the lower portion and incorporated a total toft area of over $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, equivalent to the 1614 holdings of Anthony Headlam, Francis Addison, and William and Roger Dowson. Overall, there had been a reduction of nine tenements since 1614, while only two outbuildings

remained clearly visible. A gatehouse, either for the hall or for toll purposes along the Turnpike Road to Middleton, was now situated at the point at which this road cut through east row. Below this road, only two tenements remained, the gatehouse and Byres farmhouse. Above the road, four holdings remained of the eight in 1614. Mr. Hutchinson's holding combined those of John Morton and Robert Hankley. Anthony Headlam's had been that of John Morton but had lost the irregularity of its toft boundary. John Barnes's had been a part of that of Richard Hodgson and Thomas Catesbis, while finally, Joseph Dowson's had been part of the holding of Thomas Catesbis and Richard Lonsdale. Changes in the size of holdings had also taken place. The overall toft lengths had been reduced by about 28 yards to 164 yards (149.8 metres), as a result of road construction cutting off their tails. Toft area was less than 1 acre in four cases, and over 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 acres in the remaining two cases.

West row retained its length of 649 yards (593.2 metres) but had reduced its number of dwellings by four, to give sixteen distinct tenements in addition to two outbuildings. No buildings were shown abutting on to the back lane and it is probable that those present in the seventeenth century had been pulled down. There was no longer any evidence of

the trackway into the village which marked the first major break in the building line of 1614. The first part of the row as far as the crossing of the Middleton road, had been incorporated within the hall grounds, and where eight tofts lay in 1614 only three were now recognisable. These were equivalent to those of John Myres, John Harker and John Hodgson Senior. Above the roadway which ran through the upper half of John Gibson's toft, and which was rapidly becoming a distinct boundary between the hall complex and the remainder of the village, the overall toft pattern had changed considerably through amalgamation. Three clearly separated dwellings some 40 yards apart, and of uncertain status save for 'Anthony Raines house', contrasted sharply with the contiguous row of six dwellings which followed them. Here, William Dixon occupied a house and garth, while Timothy Hutchinson owned three of the following four houses and their amalgamated garth. John Addison's house and shop was the fourth dwelling and the first indication of retailing in Eggleston. Of the remainder, Charles Stephenson occupied a house and small garth; Nicholas Dawson, a house within Timothy Hutchinson's garth; the Reverend Mr. Lascelles, a house and land; and Mary Barnes, the smithy at the head of the row. Expansion of the tofts across the former boundary rivulet at the upper end of the township had now

taken place, and the whole interior framework of the row changed as a result of the amalgamation of holdings, and of the influence and purchasing power of the lord of the manor.

By the end of the eighteenth century the term Town Head was first recorded in Eggleston, and some five dwellings formed a still incomplete row in which development had not paralleled that of east and west rows.

Three major changes had taken place within the green. Firstly, almost $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres at the upper end of the green had been enclosed as Town Head Pasture. Secondly, there was a more precise delimitation of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ acre green within the village street. The Middleton road clearly divided it into an upper and lower green, and the latter was now planted with over an acre of trees to provide both an improved setting and shelter for the hall. Between the green and the village rows the street network had become more distinct, and the small intakes on the green had finally vanished.

Outside the village an increase in settlement had taken place by the end of the eighteenth century. In 1727 there was a lead or smelt mill with a building called a 'refinery house'; another lead or smelt mill belonging to John Collingwood; a fulling mill in the

hands of William Langstaffe; a water corn mill with Leonard Thompson as miller; and the more distant intake of Hope House occupied by Christopher Allison.⁸² The arm of severalty tenements which stretched around East and West fields in 1614 was less distinct on the estate map of 1790. Joseph Gibson occupied Bogg House, a structure which from field evidence was at least partially rebuilt during the late seventeenth century.⁸³ There was however no indication of Stratwith, which later became known as Toft House farm, or of Bend Holm, both of which were shown in 1614 and are clearly traceable from the middle of the nineteenth century. Sisbank is not mentioned again after 1614 and only irregular field evidence remains, while Christopher Harrison now occupied a dwelling on the Harrison's Bulmer Flatt meadow of 1614. At Eggleston Bridge, John Addison had a house close to the Burn corn mill, while Cuthbert Oliver was the miller and his mill race is shown on a map of the Middle field in 1763 (Fig. 25). In the East field, where no settlements were shown in 1614, three farmsteads had been constructed, in particular East and West Barranlee. There was no trace of the fulling mill and the only known example lay further downstream in the former area of Marwood Park.⁸⁴ Beyond the village fields the lead mill and enclosure of 1614 remained, while three additional mills were now ranged along Blackton Beck, the

largest belonging to David Crawford. The roads shown across the common in 1770-5 had all been incorporated within the rigid pattern of enclosures, and particularly in the east of the township, several farms had been constructed on these newly enclosed blocks. For example, 'a farm house lately built belonging to Timothy Hutchinson' lay beyond Town Head and was one of four between here and the eastern edge of the township.⁸⁵

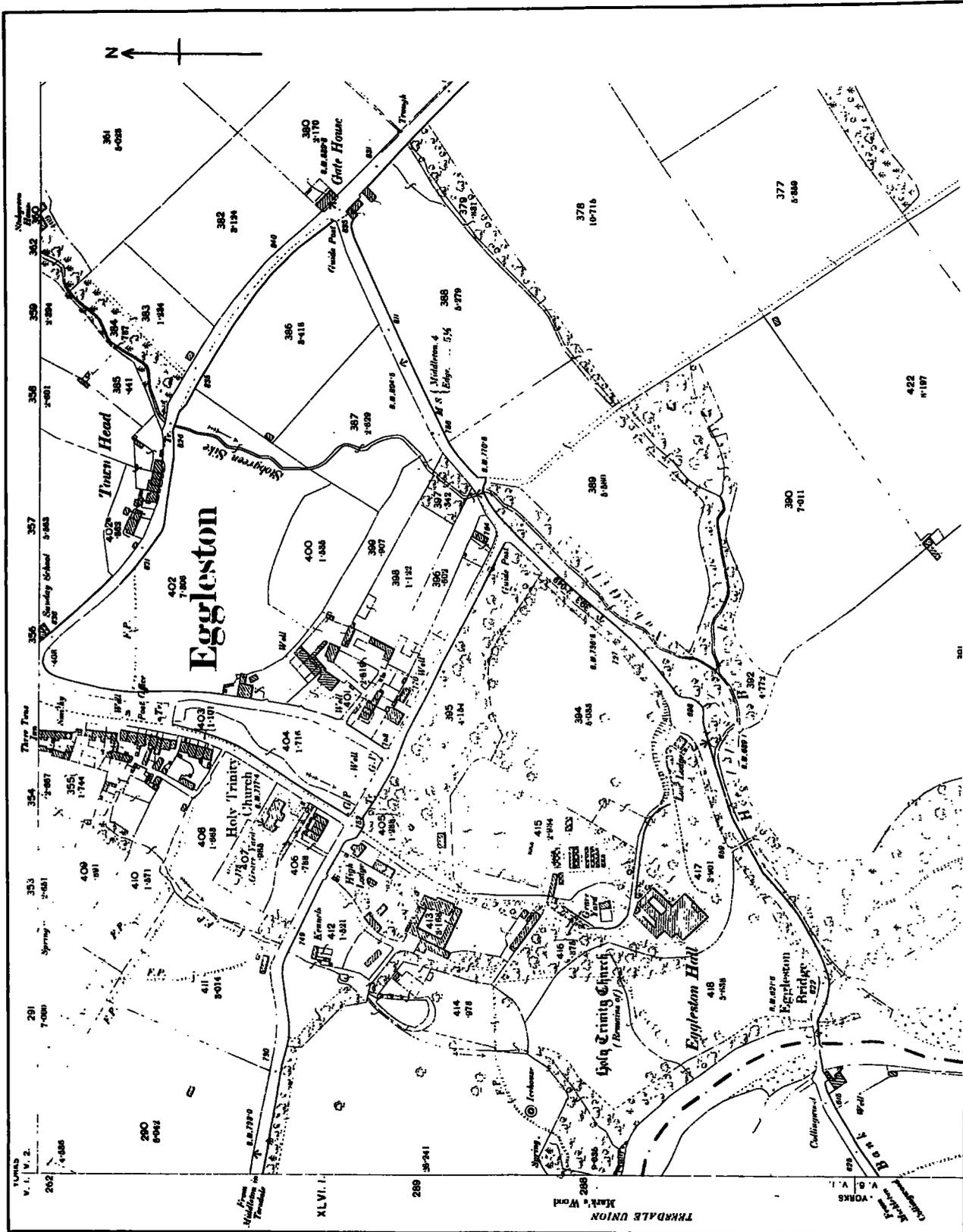
Significant changes took place in the settlement pattern at Eggleston during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They took place largely within an existing framework and reflected a degree of planning under the hand of the Hutchinson family. The hall complex grew at the expense of the village, which also witnessed an amalgamation of holdings; a precise delimitation of the green; and a considerable rebuilding of tenements. A cottage dated 1702 may be seen in Town Head, while a house dated 1761 stands in west row. In contrast, expansion took place along the perimeter of the village fields despite the temporary setback of 1771, when a great flood was recorded in the dale and much of the haughs and lower ground were inundated. Enclosure provided wider opportunities on the former fell grazings. Such changes should not be seen solely within the vacuum of Eggleston, but as examples of

change on a wider scale which was lessening the controls of tradition and custom upon the rural framework.^{86.}

Population growth and a growth in capital and markets were economic symbols whose social repercussions included the rapid rise of landed estates, changes in the nature and composition of rural society, and the imposition of eighteenth century planning in both townscape and landscape. Planning was founded on strict geometrical lines and contrasted with the irregular piecemeal patterns of earlier ages.

By 1850 a much wider range of documentary material was available in Eggleston, in particular the First Edition 25" and 6" maps of the Ordnance Survey;^{87.} the Tithe map of 1849,^{88.} and the enclosure award map of 1816.^{89.} In addition, careful use may be made of recent coverage by aerial photographs.^{90.}

During the early and middle years of the nineteenth century the hall complex reached its zenith, both in terms of its physical layout and its social and economic influence upon the township (Fig. 19). After the death of Timothy Hutchinson in 1810, the old hall was completely rebuilt by his son William, during the next two years. The present hall in a rather attractive Regency style, occupies



Eggleston Settlement Nucleus in c.1850.

Figure 19.

the same site as the old hall and has incorporated some of the earlier stonework within its domestic quarters. The imposing south front overlooks the Tees, while on the east an attractive Grecian colonnade fronts the main entrance. A small courtyard and cloister are among the closest links with the earlier hall and manor house. A detailed geometrical exercise using the 1614 map and the 25" Ordnance Survey map, has suggested a strong correlation between the hall area as it was after 1811, and the total $\frac{1}{2}$ acre manor house enclosure of the early seventeenth century. The Jacobean house and kitchen was barely half the size of the present hall.

The whole of the land between the Middleton road and the Tees had been incorporated within the hall grounds and formed a walled enclosure of about 37 acres. The landscaped grounds were now quite separate from the village and a well wooded perimeter emphasized the privacy of the hall. Only two points of access remained at High and Low Lodge. A walled garden of almost 3 acres covered much of the former green to the north of the hall, while houses occupied by the higher echelons of estate employees were ranged along the building frontage of the former west row, as far as High Lodge. In addition, there were numerous outbuildings, stables, cowhouses, a fine coach house, kennels, glasshouses and hothouses, and an icehouse. A

fishpond, very probably for ornamental purposes, completed the landscaping of the inner grounds. Beyond, stretched the 25 acres of open parkland within which lay a hawking stone complete with metal holding ring. The roadway between Eggleston Bridge and the village, which in 1790 had truncated the toft tails of east row, was diverted over 300 yards (274.2 metres) to the east in 1815, at the request of the Hutchinsons, a move which pushed it as far as possible towards Hell Beck and enabled it to be excluded from the hall grounds and become 'more commodious to the Public'.⁹¹ A footbridge over the new sunken roadway linked the hall with its lands in the east of the township. Eggleston Hall had reached its largest areal extent and after 1859, when the new village church was completed, became totally separated from the remainder of the village.

During the nineteenth century several documents provide glimpses of life on the Hutchinson Estate. In October 1804, George Benson, steward in charge of finances at Eggleston, was noted as giving 1s. 6d. to a boy for going to the Raby Estate Office at Staindrop for a plan, and then taking it on to Barnard Castle. In March 1810, Benson bought 100 quills from Isaac Nicholson at a cost of 2s. 4d.⁹² There were letters dated 1815 and 1816 between William Hutchinson and Thomas Wheldon, his estate agent in Barnard Castle, in which issues of estate business

were raised. In February 1815, William wrote to express his dislike for a man named Maddison who was destroying game on Eggleston Moor, while in August, he asked for a character reference on Charles Hutchinson, whom he had taken on as a groom from a racing stable at Wetherby. In October, Wheldon was asked to enquire why a Mr. Allison was allowed to continue whipping his boys and threshing his corn in the schoolroom at Romalldkirk, the first indication of an interest there which was later confirmed by a map of the township in 1822.⁹³ Finally, also in October, there was a letter to Wheldon with a black seal embossed 'W.H.', which referred to a Mr. Gibson sending his father's tithe book to Barnard Castle by the Kendal Mail coach. William lamented that for this service there was no longer a 'roomy old stage coach' at either Barnard Castle or Greta Bridge.⁹⁴

In 1826, William's death brought his younger brother, also called William, to manage the estate until 1842, when he also died and his nephew Timothy inherited Eggleston and managed the estate until the end of the century. The Hutchinsons held land in a number of neighbouring townships, including Romalldkirk, Hunderthwaite, and Startforth,⁹⁵ and in 1839 also raised boundary disputes with John Bowes of Streatlam, over the neighbouring Shipley estate.⁹⁶

The availability of census material for 1851 has

enabled a picture to be drawn of the household at Eggleston Hall, an important dimension to the settlement framework that is often underemphasized by geographers. Timothy Hutchinson, born at Brighton in 1819, occupied the main living quarters of the hall with his wife Elizabeth and their two sons and two daughters. Timothy was by this time farming some 105 acres in Eggleston and had eleven labourers in his direct employment. Elizabeth was the daughter of a wealthy north Yorkshire landowner and had been born in Durham in 1823. For this young family there was a domestic staff of sixteen, the majority aged between 17 and 31, and of whom only two were local folk. The remainder had been engaged from all over the country upon recommendations and social connections. Amelia Jane Robertson, 31, from Scotland, was the housekeeper, while Matilda Cook from Granton, in Suffolk, was Elizabeth's maid. The butler, Fleming Backhouse, 45, came from Lancashire and was the oldest member of the household. Sarah Wilson, the head nurse, came from Herefordshire. Lower in the household were two housemaids and two laundry maids from north Yorkshire; a kitchen maid and scullery maid, also from north Yorkshire; a dairy maid, Margaret Toppin, 22, from Haydon Bridge, Northumberland; an under nurse from Newcastle; a coachman and groom from Derbyshire; a footman, Samuel Astile, 30, from Minthorp in Lincolnshire; and finally, two gardeners,

Harrison Brown and Jonathan Foster, both of Eggleston. Such a young and heterogeneous household must have given Eggleston Hall an air of great activity and gaiety at this high point in its history.^{97.}

In the vestry of the present church in west row hangs a print of the old church made in 1868, a few years after it was replaced as the ecclesiastical focus of Eggleston.^{98.} The building has now fallen into ruin and the graveyard is sadly overgrown. There is an urgent need to preserve this small site as a monument to those folk who have played a part in fashioning the township of Eggleston through the centuries, and whose gravestones bear witness to such well founded dales names as Addison, Dowson, Pinckney, Raine, Headlam, Harrison, Gibson, Stephenson and Dixon.

The east row of the village had been further reduced in length by 1850. Below the Middleton road only fossil bumps and ridges within the hall grounds provide evidence of the former tenements. The gatehouse remained in 1848 as a toll gate for traffic crossing to and from Romaldkirk. Above the roadway, gardens had been taken in from the street and at the upper end, a single building stood considerably forward of the old building line. This

building is currently the post office and village store, and was built in 1824 by Emerson Dowson as a small Nonconformist chapel within its own grounds. It still bears the date and builder's initials, although its original function was in all probability transferred to the larger Wesleyan Chapel built at Town Head in 1828.

The four tenements above the Middleton road had their tofts lengthened as a result of the highway diversion, which together with the added garden frontage, produced overall lengths of 230 yards (210 metres). This compared with 164 yards (149.8 metres) in 1790 and 192 yards (175.9 metres) in 1614. The acreages ranged between 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Thus the essential differences in toft patterns were small and a number of the boundaries were clearly recognisable with those of 1614. Three large and detached houses, including Eggleston House and Beech Grove House, occupied the foot of the row together with their outbuildings, and would appear to have been rebuilt in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries in connection with the Hutchinson estate (Plate 2).

Although west row remained much the same in overall length significant changes can be recognised. Below the Middleton road estate houses occupied the row as far as High Lodge, as an integral part of the hall complex.

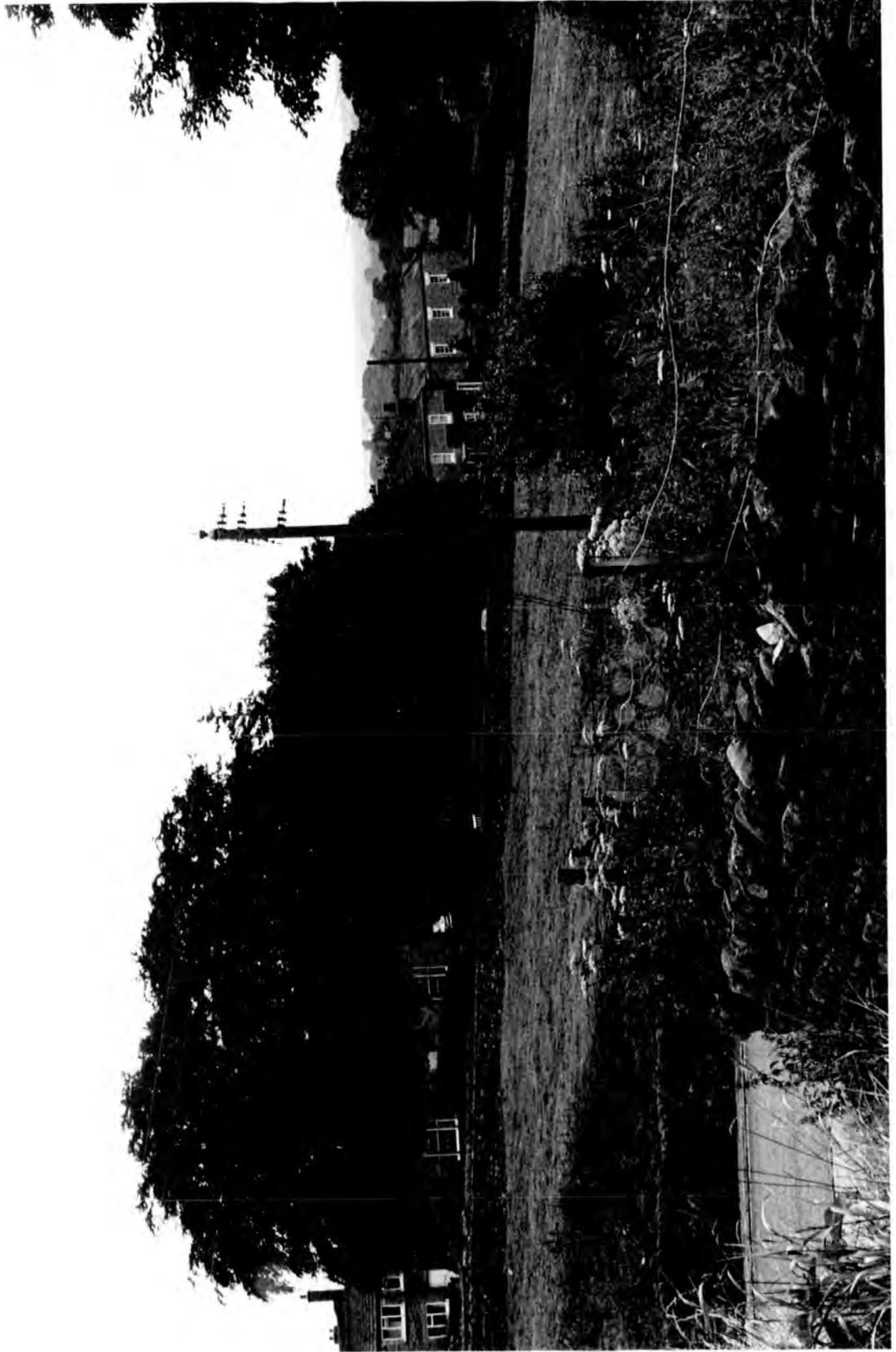


Plate 2.

East Row and Green, Eggleston, showing the enclosed green
and the substantial estate houses.

D.A.A.

Above the roadway four cottages and their gardens, built in a Neo-Gothic style, faced the hall gates and were owned by the Hutchinson estate. Above them was a holding tenanted by John Nicholson and comprising a garth of 1 acre, a cowhouse, and management of a further 1 acre garth from the foot of the village green. In 1859 the construction of the new church and graveyard obliterated much of this holding, and left only a number of earthworks in the present open space above the church.

William Dixon's house and garth of 1790 was occupied in 1850 by John Dixon and can be correlated with John Pinckney's holding of 1614. This house and its $\frac{1}{4}$ acre garth were probably removed shortly after 1859, when a lane was put in to link up with the back lane, since this could no longer run down to the Middleton road because of the new graveyard. The four succeeding dwellings were recognisable from those of 1790 while above them, Charles Stephenson's house and small garth was now tenanted by Joseph Addison, a farmer. Nicholas Dowson's house, a fine Georgian building dated 1761, would appear to have become the post office shortly after 1850 and may have been subdivided into two separate houses. Tiny cottages were attached on either side, the lower one tenanted by John Adamson, a carpenter, the upper one by Thomas Addison and his three sons. The back lane entered the street

beyond a nineteenth century house tenanted by William Coates, a shoemaker, and between here and the head of the row lay the commercial, social, and educational heart of the village. At the head, stood the former smithy, tenanted by one Hannah Raine in 1848. Between here and the back lane, on an area of former glebe land, stood a cottage tenanted by Jonathan Foster, stone-mason; a larger smithy tenanted by Matthew Hedley; and the Three Tuns Inn, occupied by Robert Hedley in 1829 and Joseph Ewbank in 1850. By 1850, the vicarage had been rebuilt on Hutchinson land in what had been Intake Close meadow in 1614, and the Reverend J.H. Brown, a 40 year old bachelor from Devon, was the incumbent. Beyond the old smithy the village school and school house were built after 1816, and by 1850 William Melrose from Scotland, had been appointed schoolmaster, together with Mary Pattison as teacher. This marked the maximum extent of west row which could be divided into three parts. There was one part within the hall grounds; another at the lower end of the village which was largely open and in which the new church was built in 1859; and a third at the upper end which contained certain characteristics of the urban terrace and was a major focal point in the village. The comparison with the estate appearance of east row is quite striking (Plate 3).

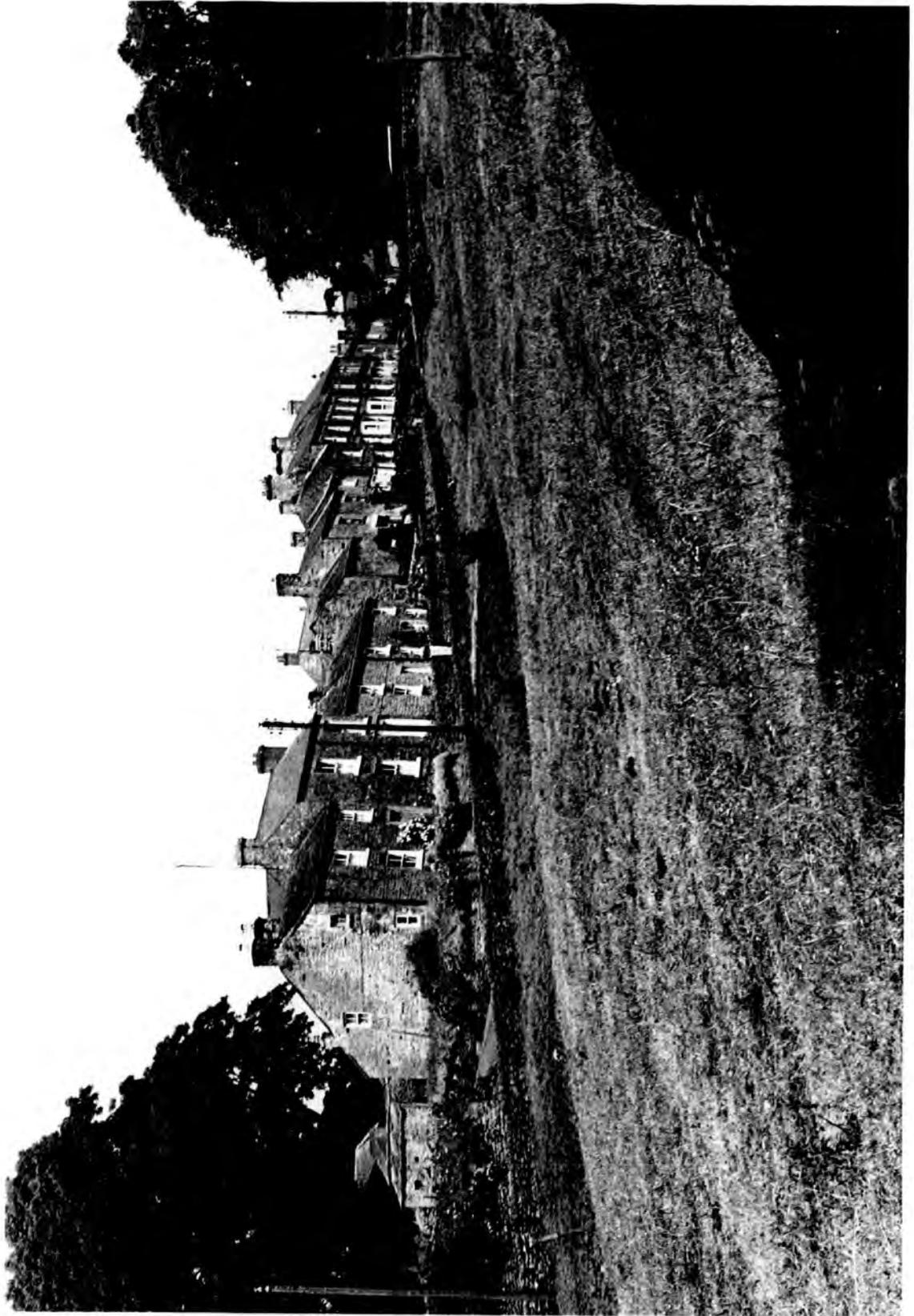


Plate 3.

West Row and Green, Eggleston, showing the enclosed green and terraced form of housing.

D.A.A.

Town Head row showed little change between 1790 and 1850. The farmstead at the west end, which formed an intake in 1614 and was occupied by William Stephenson in 1790, was now tenanted by Betty Robinson, who was a part-time merchant farmer. At the east end, the Stephenson's farmhouse remained, together with two small early eighteenth century cottages. Here there was a most perceptible row form, but it was not yet fully developed. In 1828 a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel had been constructed, and after 1850, a Reading Room was added to the row by the London Lead Company. A Methodist Sunday School was built next to the chapel in 1881, while in recent years several bungalows have brought about a virtual completion of the row, by infilling between the Sunday School and the earlier cottages.

By 1850, the green appeared very much as it does today. The lower portion of over 2 acres had been incorporated within the hall grounds since the end of the eighteenth century. Of the remainder, the larger part of just under $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres was walled off as private pasture and belonged to the Nicholsons of west row, although today this is used by the Bainbridges of east row (Plates 2 and 3). The smaller part which is separated from the rest by a roadway linking the two rows, had been extended by the

addition of under $\frac{1}{2}$ acre and formed a village green of 0.67 acres. This has remained open until today but was without its present tree cover in 1850. A tiny triangular annex to the green, close to the old smithy, had disappeared by this time and only hearsay evidence has suggested that it was the site of the village pound. The 11 acres of Town Head Pasture, walled in 1850, may well have been common in the late eighteenth century, and were certainly known as Town Pasture in 1816. As a result of the firm delimitation of the green and the garden encroachments, its area was reduced from over 15 acres in 1614 to just over $\frac{1}{2}$ acre by 1850.

The nineteenth century saw the virtual completion of settlement pattern in Eggleston. Shortly after 1850, there were 53 households and 1 uninhabited dwelling, with household size ranging from 1 to 10, giving modes of 2 and 5 and an average of just under 5. Including the hall, over 250 people lived in the village nucleus and their occupations are a good indication of changing function. Only three full-time farmers remained, together with two part-time farmers in Betty Robinson and John Raine, who were also merchant and grocer respectively. Thirteen households were primarily connected with lead working at the Blackton mill, while the majority had moved into the

supply and service sector. There were two tailors, three shoemakers, a blacksmith, three stone masons, an innkeeper, a carpenter, a potter, a groom, two teachers, a shopkeeper, a gamewatcher and a gamekeeper, a gardener and garden labourer, a joiner and a land agent. Six households were dependent on labouring services of either an agricultural or mining nature, while four were listed as retired.

A consideration of birth place for heads of household in 1850, has shown the growing importance of accessibility and willingness to move as a result of better roadways and forms of transport.⁹⁹ Employment in the lead workings and on the Hutchinson estate was widely sought in Eggleston. Twenty two heads of household originated from or were born in Eggleston during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Fourteen originated from the neighbouring townships, in particular Romalldkirk, Middleton, Mickleton and Barnard Castle, while a further seventeen came from outside the area, notably from other parts of the North Riding such as Catterick and Northallerton. Several came from even further away, including William Coates from Kirkby Stephen in Westmorland, William Melrose from Scotland, and James Row, a gamekeeper, from Downham in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

By 1850, George Benson had risen from the position

of steward to the Hutchinsons in 1802, to become land agent to Timothy Hutchinson, and he occupied a large detached house at the foot of east row, together with his daughter Elizabeth and a servant, Margaret Adamson. In contrast, William Coates was the shoemaker and tenanted a house in west row with his wife and their seven children. John Menals, a young apprenticed shoemaker from Gayle in Wensleydale, also lived with them. The village blacksmith was Matthew Headley from Darlington who, with his wife and their seven children, occupied the large smithy. Such large Victorian families were commonplace in Eggleston, a further example being that of Joseph and Elizabeth Ewbank, tenants of the Three Tuns Inn. Lodging here in 1851 were John Metcalf, a clerk from a foundry at Hexham, who may have had business at Blackton, and Isaac Walton, a plate layer from Harwood-in-Teesdale who was probably employed on the waggonways at the smelt mill. Joseph Helmer was the local surgeon, and shared Elizabeth Barnes' large house in east row with his wife and their two house servants and groom.

Perhaps the greatest changes of physical layout in Eggleston were those which took place outside the village nucleus. The completion of the fell enclosures and the rapid growth and predominance of the Blackton smelt mill

were undoubtedly the two key factors responsible for drawing settlement away from the village. This perhaps prevented the development of a more complex layout, although there is the probability that the Hutchinsons did not wish to see the growth of a mining settlement outside their own gates and preferred to either let it grow or to push it closer to the smelt mill. Enclosure brought a rapid extension of the area of cultivated land and also an improved infrastructure of roadways which assisted in the siting of settlement at Blackton, Nemour and Foggerthwaite. The latter dated from the early years of the nineteenth century and adjoined the old 40 acre ground, removing evidence of the old Eggleston road, a race ground, a duckpond, and undisclosed prehistoric features, all of which had been visible at the end of the eighteenth century. Between the two enclosure blocks of Blackton and Nemour was situated Blackton smelt mill, which attracted a straggling line of housing out from the village during the nineteenth century. This distinct area became known as Hill Top and from census evidence would seem to have grown up after 1808.¹⁰⁰.

The early perimeter arm of settlement around the townfields was still predominant in 1850, and resulted in the development of a distinct community of dispersed dwellings along the western edge of the township, between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 mile from the village. The area had its own

tiny focus at Haggie Hill, along the edge of the former West field where routeways converged, and where a Baptist Chapel together with watering and postal facilities, grew up to cater for local traffic to and from Blackton. West of Eggleston Burn, including Eggleston, Foggerthwaite and Hope House, there were 20 major dwellings with a combined population of about 120. The outer perimeter of Eggleston on the west was marked by Stotley Toll Bar along the Middleton road. Since 1816, four additional farmsteads had been laid out across the structural bench at Foggerthwaite, together with several houses and cottages close to the road. The corresponding demand for building stone can be seen in the presence of over eight small stone quarries in the area.

Between Haggie Hill and the village, the farms along the perimeter arm included Toby Hill, Burn View, Bog House, Bend Holm and Toft House. The predecessor of the present day Hillcrest farm occupied a site at the major break of slope of the former Middle field, above which stood Balmer House. This farm, on Bulmer Flatt meadow, was occupied by the Harrison family until at least 1816, and a new eighteenth century farmhouse had been built alongside the earlier seventeenth century building. Several developments had taken place within the perimeter arm. At Ornelly farm situated on a break of slope along the edge

of river terrace gravels, there was no recorded documentary evidence in 1816, but by 1848 the farm covered 98 acres and was tenanted by William Robinson. Field evidence would support an early nineteenth century structure. At Eggesburn Bridge, Thomas Forest occupied a late eighteenth century residence, but the Burn corn mill would appear closed and was perhaps a reflection of the concentration of milling at Barnard Castle and of the dominance of pastoral farming. The Oliver family now lived in a nineteenth century farmstead at Burn Foot, across from their former mill lands.

Outside the former townfields, was the small cluster of New Town, situated along the old roadway from Eggleston to Middleton over the post-1785 enclosures. By 1850 seven households lived here, including two blacksmiths, three labourers, a shoemaker, and an overman at Blackton smelt mill. The physically cramped site was perhaps partly responsible for the lack of expansion when compared with Hill Top, which lay directly above it on the structural bench and had greater flexibility for growth. Hill Top recorded 14 households by 1851 and had a total population of 68. Nine households were dependent on lead at the Blackton smelt mill; two were stone masons, which perhaps indicated the prosperity of their trade at that time; one was a butcher; and two were recorded as widows, a not

uncommon status in a mining area. Six heads of household were born in Eggleston, but the remainder were attracted from neighbouring mining areas in Allendale and from Stanhope and Alston. By 1861, further building had taken place along Gordon Bank, at North and South Terrace, and at Egglestone Place, including construction of a Methodist Chapel and the Moor Cock Inn.

Surrounding Hill Top were the farmsteads and cottages laid out on the enclosure blocks of Nemour and Blackton. The latter, to the west of Blackton Beck, had four dwellings including Laverick Hall and Blackton House, while the former, to the east of Blackton Beck, had five dwellings, including that occupied by the Hetherington family. Here, Ann Hetherington was head of household, having been widowed a year or so previously, no doubt the result of a mining fatality, and was now responsible for ten children between the ages of 18 and a few months, together with her 83 year old widowed mother.¹⁰¹

In the former East field, East and West Barranlee farms had been amalgamated as Barnley by 1850, and were tenanted by Thomas Smith. Mount Pleasant, formerly Bracken-le-Burn farm, was tenanted by John Finley and also accommodated his labourer, John Richardson and family. Pearson's farm, now separate from Bracken-le-Burn, was occupied by Thomas Stoddart and only recently has the

farmhouse at the foot of Folly Bank, fallen prey to road widening. After 1850, a new access lane was opened to link West Barnley and Barnley, a move which brought about the addition of the prefix 'East', to the latter. On the crest of Folly Bank, Joseph Bainbridge, a lead smelter, occupied Folly House together with a close known as Addison's Folly, although the significance of this name is obscure. Timothy Hutchinson's late eighteenth century farm at Town Head was known as Stobgreen House by 1850, and was tenanted by Thomas Adamson, a joiner from Whitworth near Willington. Above Stobgreen was the village saw mill, which first witnessed the introduction of the steam engine into Eggleston.

By 1850, Eggleston had a settlement pattern which focused upon the village nucleus of three rows laid out around a rectangular green, and with Eggleston Hall and grounds at its foot. Around this lay an arc of scattered farmsteads and cottages, from Ornelly in the west around to East Barnley in the east, and within which were integrated the two smaller concentrations at Hill Top and Foggerthwaite/Egglesburn. In 1801, the total population of the township stood at 306, made up of 68 families in 63 separate dwellings. Of this total, 160 were recorded as gainfully employed, 126 of them in agriculture and 34 in handicrafts. In 1811, the population

had reached 335, and consequent upon the completion of enclosure and the rising importance of Blackton, rose rapidly to 464 in 1821 and 623 in 1831. There was a steadying to 617 in 1841, a rise to 636 in 1851 and a peak of 788 by 1861. In 1851 there were 120 families in 110 separate dwellings, and of these, 236 were registered as gainfully employed. Only 32 were primarily engaged in agriculture and of the remainder, 73 were employed in lead working, 27 in labouring, 24 in retailing and 19 in handicrafts.^{102.}

From this detailed study of Eggleston between 1614 and 1850, it is possible to isolate the major trends taking place in the settlement pattern and the major processes involved in its evolution. The clearest trend, shown within the hall complex, was that of expansion, both physically in terms of its area, and economically in terms of its influence on the way of life of the township. From a $\frac{1}{2}$ acre enclosure of the mesne lord in 1570, the hall and grounds totalled 37 acres by 1850. Land purchase throughout the township and access to the substantial lead revenues from Blackton and Flakebrigge were responsible for the meteoric rise of the Hutchinsons, and in 1850 it would be true to say that they were a most influential force in Eggleston. Continuity of site was

another recognisable trend shown within the hall complex. The physical site was imposing, the soils potentially attractive for cultivation and grazing, and the central position within the township an advantage for communication.

Expansion also took place in the ecclesiastical importance of the township, with parish status achieved in 1795 and a larger church constructed on a new site in 1859. These developments were related to population growth, and by 1850 the small village curate had become a substantial vicar in his own Victorian vicarage. The growth of Nonconformism reflected expansion away from the established Church.

In the village, where the limits of basic form had largely been reached by 1614, the trend was not one of outright physical expansion, but one of restructuring and readjusting to changing social and economic conditions. From the latter part of the seventeenth century, a renewal of buildings in stone took place, while by the end of the eighteenth century, the amalgamation of tofts reflected social and economic pressures. Adaptation and change took place within a settlement framework showing continuity of site and basic form from at least 1570 and probably very much earlier, 'a system of continuity in which there are two elements, randomness and organisation, disorder and order ... alternating with each other in such

a fashion as to maintain continuity'.^{103.} In 1614 the pressure of occupance on the village resulted in signs of 'disorder' in the tiny intakes on the green and the numerous outbuildings on the tofts. Population growth had been considerable, particularly since 1550.^{104.} 'Order' was restored through expansion outside the village and a restructuring within it.

The village green saw a reduction in its total area from over 15 acres to under $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, of which all but $\frac{1}{2}$ acre were lost to communal use. Such a loss has emphasized manorial encroachment and raises questions over the rights attached to greens. This whole issue remains a thorny and intractable problem, recognised by Kirk and Sheppard in the Vale of York, and Conzen, Thorpe, Uhlig and Roberts in north east England.^{105.} The overall changes in the village form reflected changes in the social structure, and a widening range of ideas, viewpoints and reflections which had come about. as a result of the shift in the centre of gravity of the cultivated area away from the village nucleus to the compact farmsteads on the enclosures.^{106.} It is therefore possible to recognise four major interrelated processes at work in Eggleston between 1600 and 1850, namely those of expansion, restructuring and readjustment, continuity and planning.

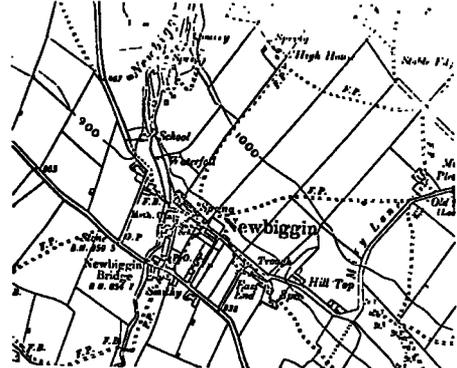
In the neighbouring Teesdale settlements, the pattern in the upper dale at the beginning of the seventeenth century was, with the exception of Dirt Pit hamlet, that of a series of 'houses and grounds' taken in from the fell and comparable to Stotley and Foggerthwaite. These included Arngill House in the Forest of Lune and Vallence Lodge above Langdon Beck in the Forest of Teesdale. In 1608 the latter stood within 52 acres of pasture and 7 acres of meadow, on a sheltered site above Langdon Beck, and the whole complex comprised as many as eight small dwellings with a similar number of barns, three stables, two oxbouses and a former granary called 'Le Kilne'. Although perhaps atypical of the forest grounds at this period, since it had been developed as a hunting lodge of some magnitude under the Bainbrigge family, Valence Lodge does provide a broad indication of the type of settlement expansion. This pattern remained predominant until the developments of the Raby estate during the eighteenth century and the appearance of numerous isolated farmsteads on newly enclosed blocks. Such expansion was encouraged by the developments in lead mining and the growth of the miner-farmer.

Newbiggin and Holwick exhibit remarkably similar patterns along opposing banks of the Tees (Fig. 20).

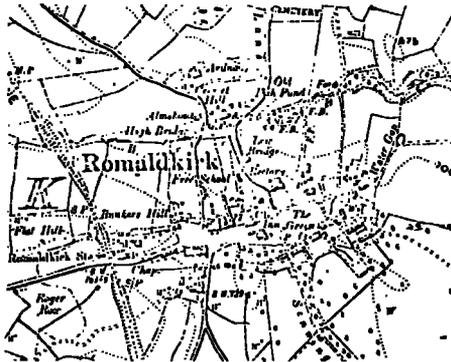
SETTLEMENT.



MICKLETON.



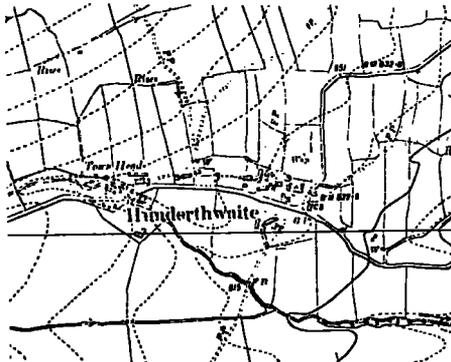
NEWBIGGIN.



ROMALDKIRK.



MIDDLETON.



HUNDERTHWAITE.



COTHERSTONE.

SCALE



Figure 20 Settlement patterns in Teesdale.

Ordnance Survey
Second Edition.

Holwick on a structural bench below the Whin Sill, and Newbiggin, at the rear of the first river terrace, were both regarded by Conzen as irregular grouped hamlets, but closer examination would suggest two basically one-row settlements with tofts and fields stretching down over lower ground to the Tees.¹⁰⁷ Both exhibit outgangs leading to the fell pastures and tiny greens along the outer edges of the single rows. In 1608, although the Jacobean survey appears incomplete, there were at least twenty tenement holders in Newbiggin, each occupying a house and barn and with a separate stable in three cases. Jacob Peake, for example, occupied a tenement of house and barn with a small close of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres and a similar acreage in Newbiggin field. Over a half mile west of the village lay the hamlet of Bowlees with four recorded tenement holders in 1608, two of whom held land in Bowley field. This would suggest an expansion of occupance over the more favourable lands of the valley bottom. Later expansion would appear to have taken place in the form of severalty holdings around the periphery of the cultivated land, and Woodside was one such holding, occupied by Cuthbert Allinson and made up of a house and barn with over 8 acres of meadow and 2 acres of arable in Newbiggin field. Further growth of settlement took place on the lower slopes of Newbiggin Common after enclosure

in 1763.^{108.}

Holwick, recognisable on place name evidence from 1251, was even more strongly influenced by terrain than Newbiggin, and was obliged to expand laterally along the more favourable lands of the valley bottom. This may explain the growth of the hamlet of Unthank, comparable perhaps in origin to Bowlees, but drastically depopulated shortly after 1803 when Garland recorded it on his map of Teesdale.^{109.} Holwick Fell was not enclosed until 1826.^{110.} The settlement pattern in both these upper dale townships was on a scale smaller than that in Eggleston but there were remarkable similarities in the early nuclei, lateral expansion around the early cultivated lands, and later expansion on enclosed fell land.

Middleton, which Surtees has suggested was the Anglian 'Middeltun',^{111.} was situated between Newbiggin and Eggleston and would appear poorly documented during the early seventeenth century (Fig. 20). The village nucleus occupied part of the first river terrace and alluvial fan formed at the confluence of Hudeshope Beck with the Tees. A clearly recognisable boundary, traceable in the field, marked the total extent of the cultivated land in the early seventeenth century, and around this grew up a number of severalty farms, Stonygill (Stannie Gill),

Middle Side and Stanhope Gate, the latter occupied by Thomas Bainbrigge in 1608.¹¹² Beyond these were several smaller grounds and intakes, including Turners and Skears.

The village itself was formed of two rows along either side of a green, but on an east to west axis unlike the north to south axis at Eggleston. In the east, at Town End, a trackway led out to the fields, while in the west, the settlement was bounded by Hudeshope Beck, across which lay a further area of cultivated land and beyond this, the fells. The presence of tofts along both north and south rows would suggest that this was the earliest part of the village, in contrast to the rather later extension along Market Place which was physically cramped and exhibited a pattern of much smaller tofts. Working retrospectively, the First Edition 6" Ordnance Survey map shows no more than six tofts along both north and south rows (Fig. 20). From the 1608 survey, it is possible to locate only seven tenements with certainty in Middleton, which would perhaps suggest that the settlement grew largely after this date. The northerly extension along Hudeshope Beck is most probably associated with the growth and expansion of Middleton, as a small market town for the upper dale, and as the administrative centre of the London Lead Company during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

To the west of the settlement nucleus were 50 acres of glebe land, an indication of the ecclesiastical importance of Middleton. Although the present church is situated on the northern edge of the village and dates from the late nineteenth century, the evidence of medieval crosses, grave corners, and a detached sixteenth century bell tower, are all indications of earlier constructions, perhaps on the same site.¹¹³ What is the significance of such a site, so detached from the earliest form of settlement? Unlike Eggleston and the other settlements so far considered, in which post 1600 expansion took place largely outside the village nucleus, Middleton favoured expansion within and around the existing framework. Between 1801 and 1851, the population rose from 796 to 1,850, a twofold expansion in forty years. Not until after 1834 when Middleton Common was enclosed, did further expansion take place outside the nucleus, closely related to the development of lead mining at Coldberry in upper Hudeshope. The growth of retailing in Middleton and, after 1868, the railway, reinforced and strengthened its importance.

Middleton was one of five north Yorkshire townships whose overall shape was that of a narrow strip with a width to length ratio of almost 1:4, in marked contrast to the rather wider strip parishes across the

Tees in Durham (Fig. 20). In the early nineteenth century, Hutchinson remarked, 'you look down upon Mickleton which winds its buildings round an extensive green in an oval figure'.¹¹⁴ Closer examination has revealed two rows - north and south row - running essentially east to west along either side of a sloping green, upon which encroachment for both gardens and buildings had taken place. The toft pattern is visible along both rows, but only along the north row do the toft lengths reach 290 yards (265 metres), which would suggest that this was the earlier form, comparable to Holwick and Newbiggin today, and perhaps also to east row at Eggleston at a much earlier period. Later developments took place across the green which was divided into three parts - High, Middle and Low. An outgang winds its way on to the fells to the west of the settlement.

Place name evidence suggests the Domesday entry of the settlement as 'Mickletun', while there is later documentary evidence to support the growth in the form of ownership indentures for 1565, 1607 and 1620.¹¹⁵ By the seventeenth century, Mickleton was a large market settlement perhaps greater than Middleton, situated on a structural bench above the Tees at the foot of Lunedale, and through which passed the trade route from the north

east to Brough in Westmorland. The writer would suggest that only after this period did Middleton succeed Mickleton in importance, partly as a result of the growth of lead working in upper Teesdale and the related reorientation of a number of routeways over Teeshead to Alston and Penrith. The enclosure of Mickleton Moor in 1802-3 led to limited settlement expansion along the flanks of Lunedale, and the population grew from 330 in 1801 to over 650 in 1851.¹¹⁶

Romaldkirk, across the Tees from Eggleston, was documented in Domesday Book, 'There is in Rumoldschere, one carucate of land of the gold, and there may have been two ploughs. Torfin held it, now Bodin holds it and it is waste'.¹¹⁷ Within the complex of roads and pathways can be recognised the broad pattern of two rows aligned along either side of a green on a broad east to west axis (Fig. 20). The early hallgarth farm was situated in the east of the township, while in the west, an outgang led on to the fell and has since been fossilised as a motor road. It is along north row and particularly in the west, that the early toft pattern is most clearly developed. The average length of tofts was 205 yards (187.3 metres), but this broad pattern had been disturbed by later developments and the attempts to reorientate the settlement along the line of an east to west roadway. The present green has remained

largely intact and a declaration or limitation has indicated the name and extent of 'Romaldkirk Town Street' and noted that it was commonly known as 'The Village Green'.¹¹⁸ Population expanded only slowly from 276 in 1801 to 357 by 1851. A hope for further documentary material depends upon the successful cataloging of parish documents and registers which date from 1578, and which is being undertaken by the rector, Canon Lee. The present church is claimed to have been rebuilt in 1300 from an earlier structure on the same site, while the pinfold and iron stocks remain on the green and the large number of substantial Georgian houses suggest a vigorous period of building or rebuilding during the eighteenth century.

Neighbouring Hunderthwaite can be seen as a single row settlement aligned east to west (Fig. 20). The tofts average 200 yards (182 metres) in length while a cattle track leads from Town Head on to Hunderthwaite Moor, enclosed in 1858.¹¹⁹ Cotherstone by contrast, has the most developed and complex form within the dale.¹²⁰ The intricate toft pattern may have been associated with the continuance of the subdivided fields well into the nineteenth century, together with the expansion of settlement around the village nucleus (Fig. 20). Remnants of a green can be seen between north and south rows along

a north west to south east alignment, while back lane development is further advanced than elsewhere in the dale. The length of tofts along south row is almost 440 yards (402 metres) and this is a high figure for the dale. An outgang leads on to the moor from the east end of the settlement and some form of expansion has taken place around its foot. 'Codrestune' was recorded in Domesday Book and during the Middle Ages was occupied by the Fitzhugh's, a situation which may have influenced landownership and consequently the pattern of holdings on the ground. Cotherstone is currently the subject of a study being carried out within the Department of Geography at Durham.^{121.}

Returning to County Durham, the writer has uncovered two eighteenth century estate maps of Streatlam and Stainton to the north east of Barnard Castle, which reflect significant changes in settlement pattern.^{122.} The early clearings or grounds are shown and remain fossilised within the later township and parish boundaries (Fig. 21). Each settlement is aligned east to west with two rows facing each other across a green. By 1750, Streatlam had been depopulated and left to decay in order to make way for the expansion of the castle grounds. 'Streatlam Old Town' is shown on the map with a recognisable two row form. At Stainton, a funnel shaped green swept the fell down into

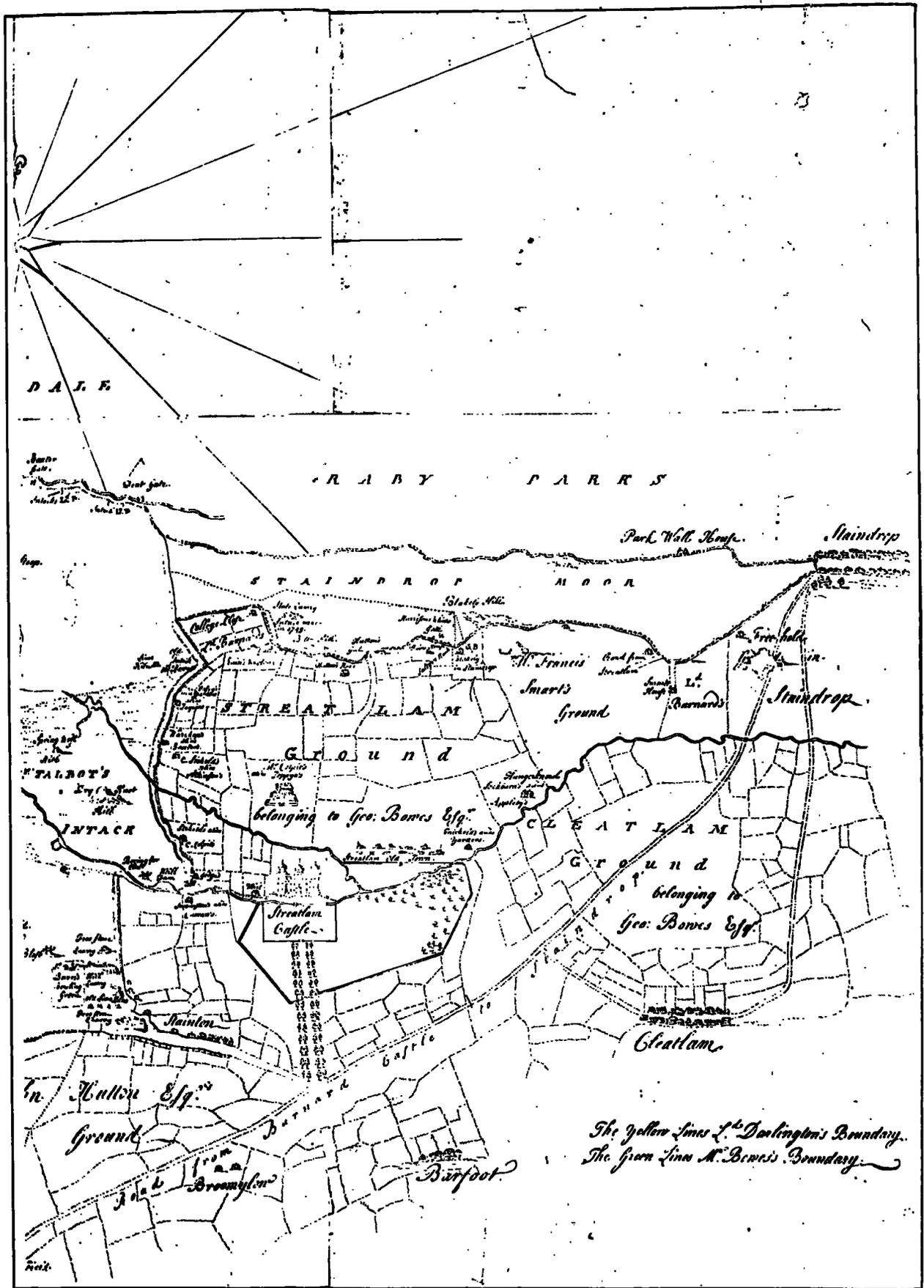


Figure 21. Streatlam and Stainton in the mid-eighteenth century.

the village from the west, and along south row, a number of tenements were shown as tiny open blocks, perhaps an indication of the planned future pattern. Expansion on the green is shown by means of a group of cottages drawn together into a compact block facing south row. An examination of the 25" Ordnance Survey map has shown that this group of cottages had been incorporated within north row by 1850. A considerable degree of planning and restructuring had therefore taken place between 1750 and 1850. The enclosure of Streatlam Common as a part of Barnard Castle Moor, took place in 1795, and brought an expansion of farmsteads beyond the village nucleus.¹²³.

From this brief review of the major trends and processes apparent in the settlement pattern of Teesdale parishes between 1600 and 1850, a sequence of developments can be recognised. This ranged from the tiny one row settlements such as Newbiggin, Holwick and Hunderthwaite, to the more developed two row forms such as Mickleton and Cotherstone. This sequence has close relationships with agrarian practice and enclosure, the growth in lead mining, and landownership. When compared with Eggleston, there is a marked similarity in the trends and processes involved, although each differs in degree and scale to

suit local physiographic, economic and social conditions. A common factor present throughout is that of the arrangement of the settlements in rows along one or more sides of a green and with an access lane leading out to the fells. There is a distinction between one of the rows, exhibiting long tofts and probably an early form, and the opposing row or rows usually abutting on to the fell and indicative of later expansion.

This evidence would support the suggestion that such basic underlying patterns were already present by 1600 and that one must look back beyond this in the search for origins. Detailed work carried out by European historical geographers, including Uulig, Pallin, Göbransson and Krüger, may provide an answer.¹²⁴ Göbransson's work in Scandinavia has shown a high degree of regulation between settlement and the organisation of field parcels, in particular the 'solskifte', which may have originated in England during the Dark Ages and which in turn may well have been a refinement of even earlier pre-Roman patterns. Krüger's work in Germany may prove particularly fruitful, since he too recognises several common diagnostic features, 'the rows of more or less equally spaced houses on either side of an axis, the strips running behind each house, the roughly equal size of the holdings'. It may be, as June Sheppard has pointed out for Wheldrake in the Vale

of York, that 'a case could be made for a widespread tenth or eleventh century replanning of settlement in north-east England'. While settlement origin perhaps remains the zenith of our aspirations, there are other problems worthy of examination which could in themselves shed considerable light on the processes of settlement evolution. Such problems include settlement expansion, restructuring, continuity, planning, and changes in the related social and economic pattern.

Three suggestions may be put forward for future work. Firstly, there is a need to examine in detail all the individual townships in Teesdale. Each may be traced back in both space and time as far as documentary evidence and prudent use of the landscape will allow. The task will not be easy, since the search for documentary sources alone can be arduous, often unrewarding, and sometimes incomplete. However, 'the absence of full data is no reason why what survives should not be used'.¹²⁵ Secondly, the data gained for Teesdale may be measured alongside that available from neighbouring Pennine dales and other 'dale' environments. Finally, both can be seen within a wider European framework 'against which the generalisations of broader studies can be checked'.¹²⁶ Settlement is a cultural form and 'the development of cultural forms over space is not an haphazard process'.¹²⁷

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5. Field Patterns and the Agrarian Landscape
in Teesdale.

'Agricultural landscapes represent the interaction of nature and the life and work of human groups.'¹ This has been the underlying theme behind the cyclical nature of agrarian studies in this country, from the basis established by H.L. Gray in 1915, to the work of C.S. and C.S. Orwin in 1938, and to that of Finberg, Thirsk, Titow and Postan in the early and middle 1960's.² At present English field systems are caught up in the thorny problem of an agreed and accepted terminology which has wider European associations.³ The origins of field patterns and agrarian practices are closely related to those of associated settlement patterns, and have been considered in a broad context by Smith.⁴

Within Gray's basic framework of field systems Teesdale occupied a transitional zone.⁵ To the east, lowland Britain followed approximately the line of Dere Street into County Durham and was associated with the generally regular two or three field layout of the Midland model.⁶ To the west, highland Britain was associated with the large townfield and variants of the infield-outfield system.⁷ Three basic field patterns were

recognised in Teesdale. Spread around the settlement core in each township, lay the area of early cultivation in the form of the subdivided townfields. Beyond these were the grounds, intakes and shielings associated with irregular settlement expansion out on the fell. The final pattern was a result of piecemeal enclosures, early block enclosures of the seventeenth century, and late block enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The subdivided fields represented almost the total extent of cultivated acreage in Teesdale at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Inventory material has shown that barley, oats and rye provided the staple bread crops and a small amount of animal fodder, while in the barley lay the basic ingredient of the local ale.⁸ A considerable increase in the acreage of permanent meadow was a notable development at this period and would suggest a growing number of stock both for meat, milk and dairy produce, and for wool, leather and fats. While the diminishing subdivided fields still provided much of the grain, and the crofts often supplied vegetables and fruit, pasture was sought out on the fell. In addition the fell provided timber and faggots for fuel and pannage for swine, and played an important role in the local economy.

The subdivided fields were irregular in form, and surrounded the settlements in a series of lobes critically determined by physical, economic and social factors. Open field acreage in the Tees valley ranged from over 300 acres in Long Newton to about 60 acres in Westwick and Shotton, although for the majority of townships west of Piercebridge it varied widely between 100 and 200 acres.⁹ The distinctive layout of the fields formed a series of individual parcels or strips long in relation to width, which together formed a group of furlongs, and many of which remain fossilised within the present landscape. In Long Newton, regrettably the only township surveyed so far down the Tees in 1608, there were three subdivided fields. North, South and West fields each contained 334 acres, and apart from 9 acres of meadow in North field, 14 in South field, and 34 in West field, arable cultivation occupied 92 per cent of the three fields. Recent research at Durham by Reid, has however, claimed these figures as fictitious.¹⁰

For the area between Piercebridge and Barnard Castle, there is evidence for three field arrangements from Whorlton, Staindrop, Wackerfield, Raby, Ingleton, Westwick, Langton, Gainford, and Bolam.¹¹ Gray had recognised these by 1915, together with Wolviston along the edge of the Tees

valley beyond Long Newton, where the three field pattern had first been recorded by 1325. As the 1608 survey showed, meadow closes were growing in all townships and were often predominant in one of the fields. At Staindrop for example, West field had almost 60 acres of meadow against 70 acres of arable, while both East and North fields had just over 25 acres each of meadow as against arable acreages of 111 and 138.¹²

In at least two townships, Piercebridge and Summerhouse, there was an indication of more than three fields in 1608. This would suggest a breaking down of the earlier pattern in association with conversion to meadow. Summerhouse had a South field of 106 acres, a North field of 109 acres, and reference to a Low field of 61 acres and to 60 acres in 'East and West Fields'. At Piercebridge there may have been as many as seven fields, including a reference to $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of arable in 'Le Gainford Field'.¹³

Headlam and Houghton had no mention of subdivided fields, and in these relatively small townships enclosure may well have taken place alongside conversion to meadow. In Houghton there were 44 acres of arable closes and 151 acres of meadow, while at Headlam, over 88 acres of arable lay among ten closes and an enclosed block still called West field. Almost 35 acres of meadow were laid down in enclosed closes and parcels and there were over 69 acres of enclosed pasture. A considerable variety was therefore

present within the composition and organisational structure of the subdivided fields in the Tees valley at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

West of Barnard Castle, the appearance of meadow within the former arable fields was considerably greater. In Marwood and Woodland there was no indication of arable cultivation, and only in Marwood was there a reference to the remains of East and West fields, in which there were now 26 acres of meadow. Woodland had almost 150 acres of meadow and 40 beastgates of pasture on Woodland Fell. Langley had the remains of five fields - East, West, Clewe, Low and Middle - but they were all under meadow and the only arable was a series of severalty blocks ranging from 1 to 20 acres. Shotton was an exception here, since the township maintained three arable fields with just under 60 acres each and a separate 20 acre meadow and common pasture. Over 85 per cent of this small township remained in arable cultivation and was perhaps the result of Raby landownership or particular local circumstances. In the early nineteenth century the township was depopulated to make way for extensions to Raby Park.^{14.}

Further up the dale at Middleton, the documentary material was too poor to provide more than a glimpse of the

townfields, for in 1608 there was only a single reference to $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow in East field. Prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Rievaulx Abbey held approximately 26 acres of cultivated land in Middleton, and St. Mary's ~~Abbey~~ at York held two oxgangs.¹⁵ References to land exchanges in 1824 have indicated an 'East Field', while the Tithe Map of 1842 has shown 'Town Field' and 'Town End Field'.¹⁶ Further evidence from the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey map and from fieldwork, would suggest the presence of at least two and possibly three fields.

The documentary material for Newbiggin is better and suggests a single field - Newbiggin field - of over 140 acres of meadow and 50 acres of arable in 1608. This pattern may have been common elsewhere at an earlier date, perhaps supported by the previous reference to Gainford field, and its survival in the upper dale was undoubtedly related to a complex of physical, economic and social factors. To the west of this large field, Bowley field was associated with the neighbouring hamlet of Bowlees and recorded 11 acres of meadow and 7 acres of arable, while to the east Scarlett field recorded 10 acres of meadow.

At Eggleston, shortly to be considered in greater detail, Tate recognised certain irregularities in the field structure, within which there were three subdivided fields and a considerable growth of meadow closes by 1608. From the seven documented Teesdale townships a clear sequence of development emerges, ranging from Shotton, still a highly regular township, through Eggleston, Middleton and Newbiggin, where the fields maintained a significant arable acreage in face of the growth of meadow, to Langley and Marwood, where only remnants of the fields remained, and to Woodland, where both fields and arable acreage had vanished. Throughout the Bishopric of Durham in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, 'five hundred ploughs have decayed in a few years and corn has to be fetched from Newcastle, whereby the plague is spread in the northern counties ... of eight thousand acres lately in tillage, now not eight score are tilled; those who sold corn have to buy ... tenants cannot pay their rents'.¹⁷

The trend away from tillage was not just a local occurrence and was found throughout County Durham and the marginal corn growing areas of the north.¹⁸ This was related to wider national patterns of population growth and to rising prices, particularly for wool, which was

three times as expensive in Durham in 1600 as in 1500.^{19.} In addition were profit motives in land and rent values, labour costs, and locally variable factors such as soil and climate, tenurial arrangements, and the state of the market. Climatically the period between 1550 and 1850 has been regarded as the 'Little Ice Age', when the length of the growing season, a critical factor for corn production in marginal areas, changed by 15 to 20 per cent between sea level and 600 feet.^{20.} Postan has emphasised that 'local differences appear sharpest at points at which local topography, soil and climate bear directly on agriculture and rural life'.^{21.} The land values in the neighbouring lordships of Middleham and Richmond, in Wensleydale and Swaledale, reflected these varied factors and meadow fetched 5s. per acre, arable 4s. and pasture 3s. 4d.^{22.} In 1603 the manor of Wensleydale 'was a pastoral manor with no arable land and it was enclosed, only the moor and the cowpastures being held in common, and the latter were for the most part enclosed too'.

Enclosure was the second major development within the agrarian structure of Teesdale in the early seventeenth century, and was associated with conversion to meadow.^{23.}

Gray pointed out that much of this conversion was open meadow within the arable strips, and involved a relatively straightforward changeover within the existing field framework. The introduction of fences, hedges, and banks, was a further stage which demanded a more positive approach to enclosure based on significant capital and cooperation, and associated with the regrouping and consolidation of strips into severalty holdings.

The procedure of piecemeal enclosure in Teesdale was no doubt similar to that outlined by Kerridge.²⁴ Land could be enclosed by manorial custom, by unity of possession or, as was more usual, by consent or agreement. It could take place at will, depending upon satisfactory commoning arrangements; by composition, depending on the consent of all the strip holders; or by commission, depending on the 'multilateral agreement for the mutual extinction of common rights'.²⁵ Enclosure in the dale was generally by agreement on a relatively unrestricted basis, either at will or by composition. The Chancery Decrees in the lower Tees valley were indicative of enclosure by commission but they produced an early form of block enclosure rather than a piecemeal pattern.

Field evidence has indicated the predominance of

enclosure by Chancery Decree Award in the Tees lowland, with large blocks of enclosed land surrounding the villages of Wolviston, Langton, Headlam, Houghton and Summerhouse, bounded by narrow lanes which carefully wind their way around the former furlongs. The farmsteads remained within the villages unlike those associated with the later Georgian and Victorian enclosures. Curtler and Leonard have confirmed most of this enclosure from the Durham Chancery Decrees.²⁶ In Billingham, for example, at the eastern tip of the Tees lowland, enclosure took place in 1620, while Whorlton Town Pasture was divided in 1677.²⁷ The two cases in which total enclosure was delayed until the late eighteenth century, were Bolam, where enclosure was not completed until 1786,²⁸ and Barnard Castle, which maintained its six townfields until 1783.²⁹

By contrast, the enclosure of townfields in the dale was a piecemeal rather than a block procedure, and in 1608 it was complete in Woodland and almost complete in Marwood and Langley. In Newbiggin, where in 1608 Jacob Peake held a single acre of enclosed meadow within Newbiggin field, field evidence would suggest that enclosure was not completed until at least the eighteenth century. At Middleton also, field evidence would suggest that at least

east of Hudeshope beck, the long strips and furlongs may have remained open until the eighteenth century, but west of Hudeshope Beck the evidence is less clear. In 1805 there was 'An Act for inclosing lands in the Parish of Middleton-in-Teesdale in the County of Durham' and it may be that this referred to the townfields, since the only known award here was in 1834 and covered only fell land.³⁰ The term 'lands' may also be used in the north of England to refer to subdivided field strips. Even earlier, in 1770, Young was able to look down on Middleton and witness 'an extensive valley intersected by hedges and a few walls into sweet inclosures'.³¹ In Eggleston Gray claimed that there was little enclosure by 1608, but there had certainly been some, particularly in the West field, by the time Richard Daines produced his map of the township in 1614. The process was not finally completed here until 1785-6.

Along the Yorkshire bank all the evidence points to a late enclosure of townfields. Those in Holwick, which covered 302 acres, were not enclosed until 1826,³² while in Bowbank at the foot of Lunedale, there were 250 acres of townfields upon enclosure in 1827.³³ In neighbouring Mickleton at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hutchinson commented that 'below the town is a

plot of rich meadows and the intercommon or town-field, striped by the variety of cultivation, variegated with ribs of corn, grass and fallow land and rows of bushes, intermingling in different directions, spreading forth a beautiful inclining plane to the margin of the river'.³⁴ When enclosure took place between 1802 and 1810, there were 400 acres of 'divers fields or grounds called Mickleton Town Fields ... lying together and mostly open and uninclosed'.³⁵ This pre-enclosure pattern has remained exceedingly well fossilised in the present landscape. At Romaldkirk cartographic and field evidence suggest a piecemeal pattern going back in part to the seventeenth century, while in both Hunderthwaite and Cotherstone the fossilised field patterns suggest that enclosure may not have been completed until the early nineteenth century. In Teesdale as a whole there was clearly no urgency to enclose the townfields during the seventeenth century, at a time when this process was gathering momentum in the Tees lowlands.

In a detailed examination of Eggleston township, the Homberstone Survey of 1570 provided the first evidence of the Campis de Eggleston,³⁶ but it was not until the Jacobean Survey of 1608 that the three subdivided townfields

were first recognised.³⁷ These fields formed one of five major components in the agrarian structure of Eggleston, interrelated with the complex of the village and demesne, the meadows or haughs close by the Tees, and the common pasture of Eggleston Moor. By 1614, the first cartographic record of the three large fields had been made (Fig. 14).

Broadly, the townfields occupied the first major structural bench and reached to about 800 feet. The soils were derived from the Carboniferous drift and were particularly well drained in the west. The average slope of the land was under 15° , but it rose considerably along the outer perimeter of the fields. East field was rectangular in shape and occupied almost 106 acres, while Middle field was much squarer and covered 94 acres, and West field triangular in shape with 145 acres, giving a total acreage of over 345 acres (Fig. 22).

East field lay across Hell Beck and stretched for three quarters of a mile to Thursgill Beck. Beyond this were the 40 acres of Barrenlawe pasture which extended to the edge of the township at Raygill Beck. By the Tees was a sharp break of slope along a sandstone bluff, while along the outer perimeter of the field, a boundary bank has remained visible in a number of places, particularly at the eastern end. An examination of the map of the field

EGGLESTON: ELEMENTS OF THE CULTIVATION PATTERN, 1600-1850.

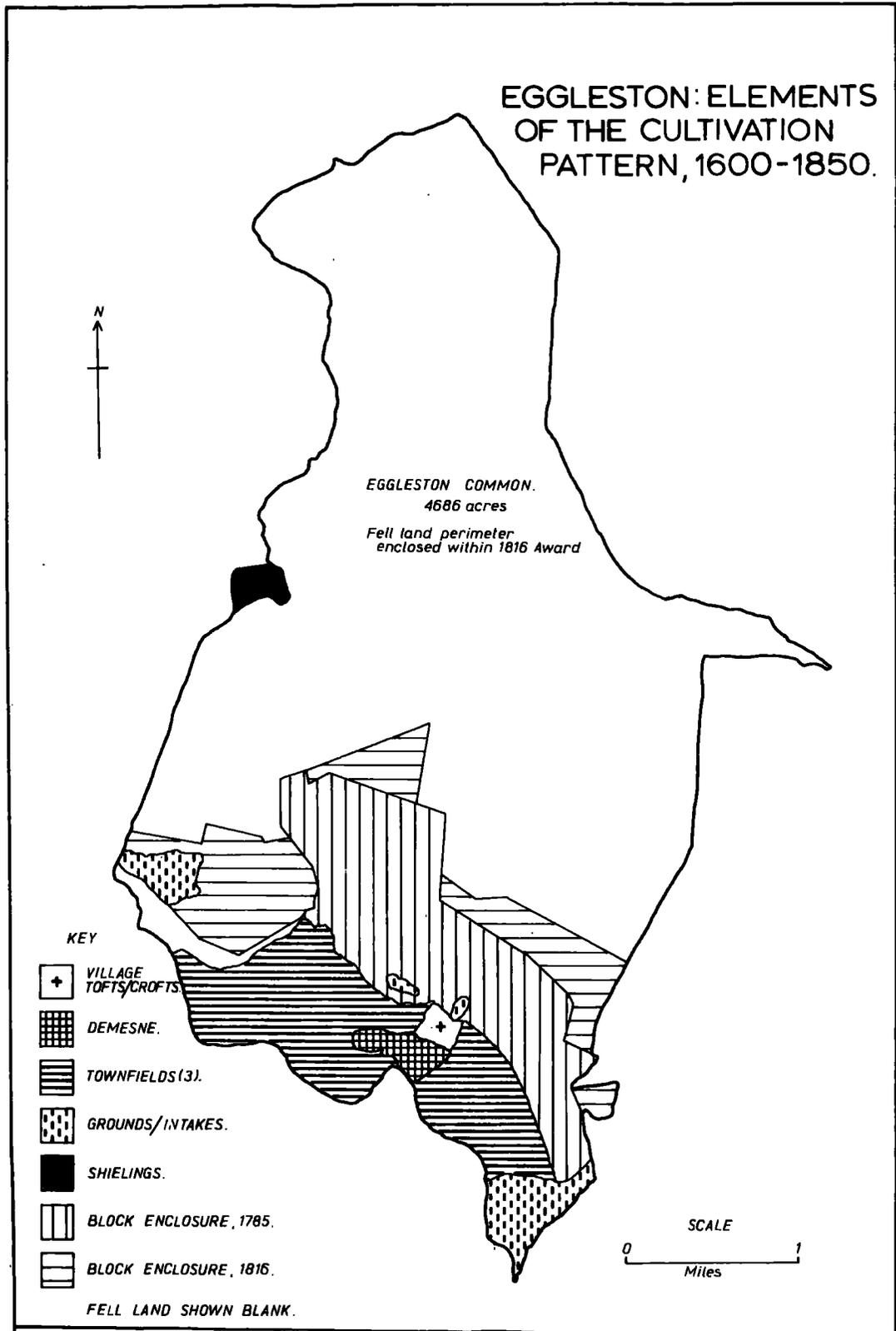


Figure 22 The pattern of cultivation in Eggleston, 1600-1850.

D.A.A.

area in 1614 has revealed several points. A track crossed the centre of the field from the lower end of east row crofts, while over 150 yards (137.1 metres) to the north, a further track crossed the western part of the field. Both of these later became the axes around which field reorganisation took place.

Secondly, three remaining blocks of arable land occupied the central belt of the field, and were recorded as $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres or under 10 per cent of the total townfield arable in 1608. Over $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres were held by 7 tenants from east row in acreages between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ acre, which represented figures of 38, 21, 16, 100, 13, 10 and 40 per cent of their total arable acreages in the townfields. The remaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres were held by 4 tenants, three from west row in acreages between $\frac{1}{2}$ acre and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres and representing 28, 33, and 6 per cent of their total arable, and the final $\frac{1}{2}$ acre by Thomas/Anthony Addison, who held a close in the street and was later recorded in east row.

Covering both the lower and upper perimeters of East field and already infiltrating into the central area by 1608, were the meadow closes. These occupied 97 acres and represented 37 per cent of total meadow in the township. Large blocks of demesne meadow occupied the lower perimeter while the upper perimeter was largely occupied by consolidated blocks belonging to tenants and ranging from

1 to 6 acres. For example, Michael Raine of east row had a 2 and a 4 acre block of meadow which lay intercepta between neighbouring holdings. By 1614 the two blocks had become the single compact unit of 'Mich. Raynes Meadowe'. Conversion and consolidation was far less advanced in the centre of the field, and the tiny $\frac{1}{2}$ acre strip of meadow belonging to Anthony Bland was still surrounded by arable strips in 1614. Of the thirty six parcels of meadow held by tenants, only nine belonged to tenants living outside east row, one of which - a block of 4 acres - was referred to by Daines as 'Ancient of East Field'. The remaining twenty seven blocks varied in composition from four contiguous blocks totalling 15 acres, and representing over 92 per cent of Richard Hodgson's total meadow, to four widely separated blocks totalling 9 acres, and representing over 63 per cent of William Dowson's total meadow.

By the late eighteenth century consolidation and amalgamation were further advanced in East field (Fig. 23), and the term 'inclosures' is shown across the central part of the field on maps within the Chaytor papers.³⁸

Excluding the demesne meadow and later fell enclosures, there were eight holdings in 1790. These comprised the glebe fields; an area belonging to William Stephenson at Town Head; a small acreage belonging to Mr. Surtees; and

four recently laid out farmsteads at Byer's farm, Pearson's farm and Bracken le Burn, and West and East Barranlee. The award of 1816 represented the final stages of enclosure, and only 5 acres were recorded as 'East Field'. By this time, there were twenty regular rectangular fields bounded by straight stone walling and between 5 and 7 acres each in area. All of them were under meadow and fodder crops, while woodland covered the steeper slopes and the banks of the incised streams. Only careful detection has revealed the former pattern of banks and ditches beneath the regular enclosures, and at Hell Beck eight former strips have been detected running north east to south west with the slope, each about 18 to 25 yards in width and up to 140 yards (127.9 metres) in length.

West field lay across Eggleston Burn between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Eggleston village. The deeply incised Eggleston Burn marked the eastern boundary of the field, while on the south the land fell away gently towards the haughs along the Tees. On the west and north the field maintained an irregular boundary with the fell. Several points emerge from a detailed examination of West field.

Although not shown by Daines, field evidence has located an access track winding its way around the strips

and furlongs from Burn Beck to the south west corner of West field (Plate 4). This would not appear to have been vitally important in field reorganisation, since it was later surpassed by the present road to Middleton. The remaining subdivided arable strips, which covered 11 acres in 1608, occupied the central part of the field and formed nearly 13 per cent of the total township arable. Six tenants from west row held $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres in small units ranging from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 acres, which represented 8, 6, 11, 12, 50 and 100 per cent of their total arable acreages in the townfields. The remaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres were held by a further six tenants, four of them from east row, in microscopic units ranging from $\frac{1}{8}$ to 1 acre and representing 21, 25, 14 and 4 per cent of their townfield arable. One acre belonged to Cuthbert Nicholson, who occupied a small intake on the village green, and $\frac{3}{4}$ acre to Charles Richardson, who held a severalty holding along the perimeter of West field. In addition, Roger Dowson of west row held $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres recorded as both arable and meadow.

Around the field perimeter, as in East field, were a series of meadow closes ranging from large parcels of demesne meadow along the western edge, including Wicketts Meadow, Haggon Flatt Close and Great Close which totalled 24 acres, to small tenant meadows such as Christopher Bland's



Plate 4.

Field Path, West Field, Eggleston.

D.A.A.

4 acres in Waters West Meadow and Selbank Close. West field had a total of over 134 acres of meadow which represented 52 per cent of the total townfield meadow, and of the sixteen separate parcels shown in 1614, excluding the seven demesne parcels and the single block of glebe meadow at the foot of the Burn, eleven belonged to tenants in west row. Only four closes occupied central positions within the field. In marked contrast to East field was the arm of severalty holdings which lay dotted around the perimeter of West field, and which comprised seven dwellings together with the corn mill on Eggleston Burn. Stratwith could perhaps be considered a hamlet in its own right, since there were at least four buildings here in 1614. Thomas Gibson's dwelling stood out distinctly from its position in the centre of the field (Fig. 14).

An examination of these two subdivided fields on the map of 1614 raises an important point concerning documentary evidence. The areas shown by Daines as East or West field cannot represent the meagre acreage of arable strips listed in the Jacobean Survey. Since neither source is seriously in doubt in view of later detailed reconstruction, these areas must surely represent in addition, the common meadow. This point is

substantiated by the forty seven references to commons without stint and by the two references to free tenants with 'common in the fields' in 1608. The stinted common on the fell came much later.

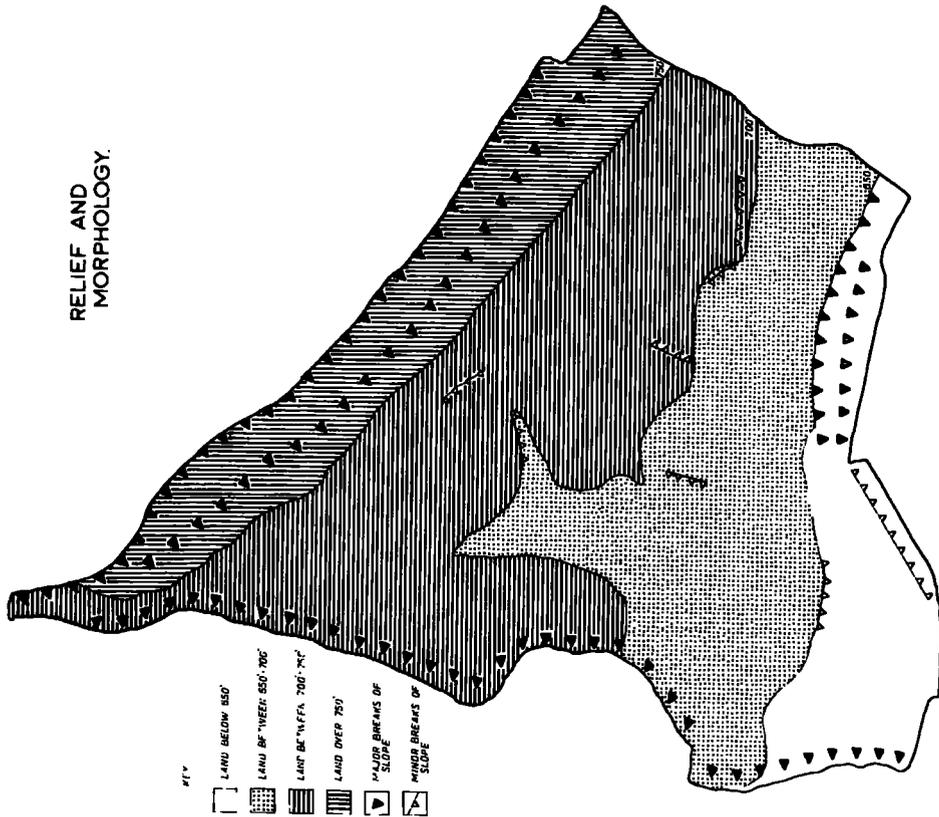
Between 1772 and 1776 the maps within the Chaytor papers indicate the presence of 'Egleston West Inclosures' along the outer perimeter of West field. The ten parcels shown here can be equated with the severalty units of 1614. The term 'Egleston West Field' still appeared over the remainder of the area, while on the most elaborate of the maps a reference to 'Egglesburn Enclosure' lay across the lower part of the field, and was perhaps indicative of later regular enclosure. On the map of 1790, the small area of West field indicated that further consolidation, amalgamation and enclosure had taken place, while the Egleston enclosure map of 1816 revealed a number of closes which had undergone ownership adjustment by exchange, particularly in the central part of the field. Acreages varied between 1 and 6 acres and field names included Bush Close, Low Tofts, Scale Riggs and New Close, the last two preserving a former headland and exhibiting several strips. While the outline of Thomas Gibson's meadow close of 1614 remained, the dwelling house had now gone, and was probably incorporated within the minor changes

which have taken place since 1816, as a consequence of changing technology in agriculture. Eggleston West field is a good example of piecemeal consolidation, amalgamation, and enclosure of former arable strips and meadow closes. Its field boundaries remain far more irregular than those of the East field and exhibit greater variety, ranging from the straight hedgerows with standards of eighteenth century date, to the irregular hedgerows and stone walling of the seventeenth century and before.

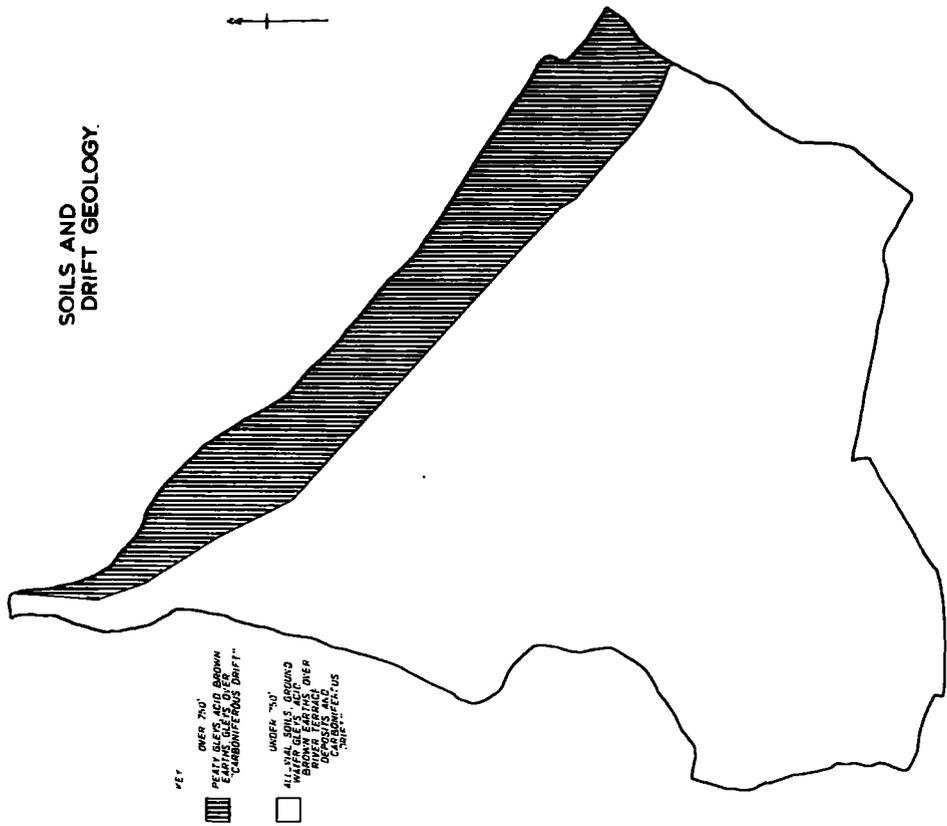
Eggleston 'Myddle Comon Feild' covered an area from the small beck behind west row to the left bank of Eggleston Burn or Burn Beck, a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. It stretched from the haughs along the Tees at about 625 feet to the break of slope of the first major structural bench at about 800 feet, a distance ranging between $\frac{3}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles over gradually sloping terrain. The soils have been derived from Carboniferous drift, with a predominance of gravelly soils in the lower half of the field, and more exposed soils derived from sandstone in the upper half (Fig. 24). Bailey considered the soils to be 'mostly dry intermixed with Clayey and Moist Loams'.³⁹ During the early years of the seventeenth century

EGGLESTON : MIDDLE FIELD.

RELIEF AND MORPHOLOGY.



SOILS AND DRIFT GEOLOGY.



The simplified physiography of Eggleston Middle Field

Figure 24a

EGGLESTON : MIDDLE FIELD

LAND-USE IN 1849.
FROM TITHE MAP SOURCES

- KFY
-  TILLAGE
 -  MEADOW
 -  PASTURE
 -  MEADOW AND PASTURE
 -  WOODLAND
 -  PARKLAND
 -  ROADWAY

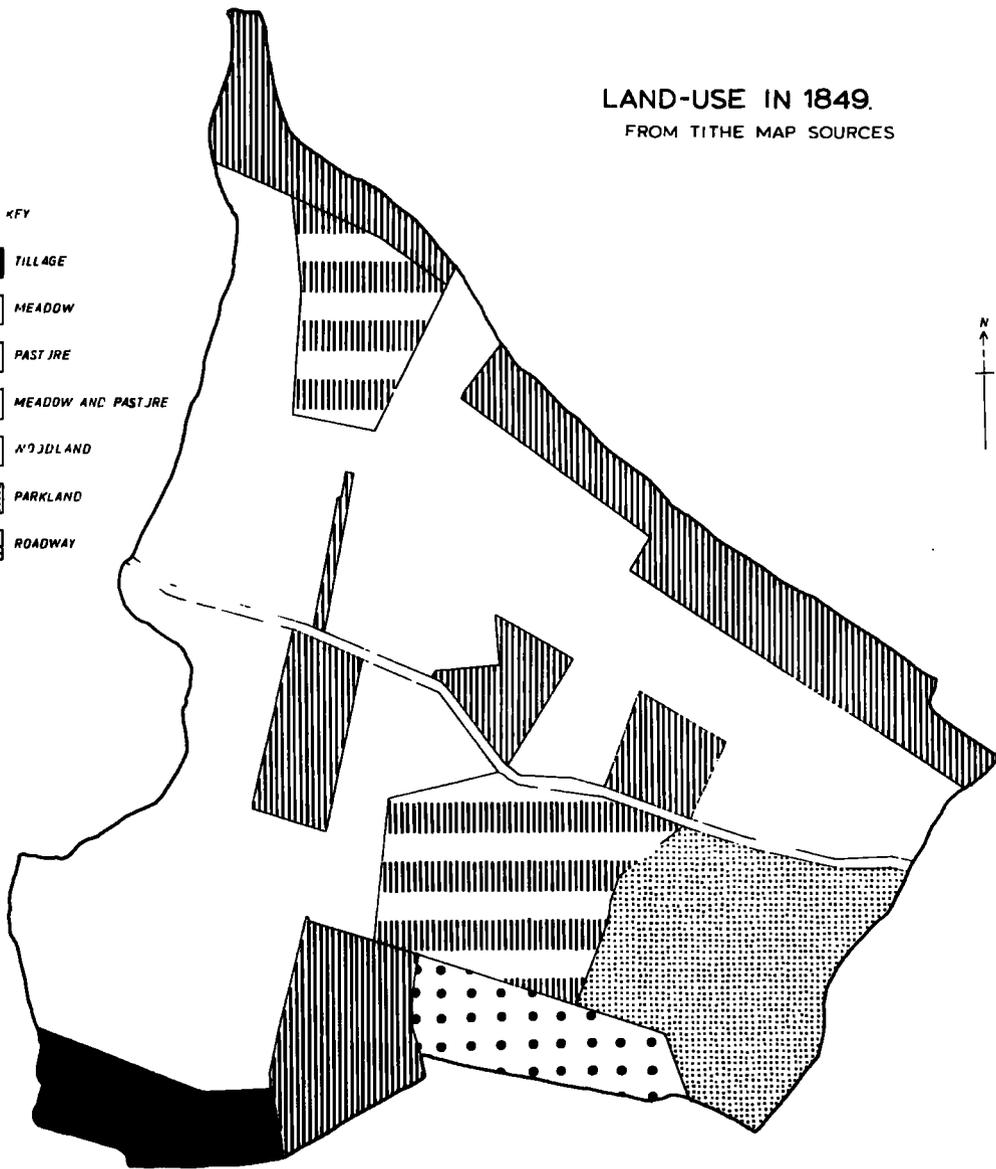


Figure 24b.

The land use of Eggleston Middle Field.

DA 4

subdivided arable strips were dominant, in contrast to the growth of meadow closes in the other two fields. Of the total field area of just over 94 acres, almost 67 acres were arable in 1608, representing over 77 per cent of the total townfield arable. Perhaps a conscious effort was made during the late sixteenth century to maintain arable cultivation of barley, oats and rye in this field. Why was Middle field selected, if indeed it was? Physically, there would appear to be superficially little to choose between the fields, save that perhaps the soils of the Middle field were a little drier and the overall slope more favourable. The key factor may have been one of distance and accessibility, for the majority of farmers still occupied dwellings within the village rows, while the influence of the lord of the manor may have been a further consideration.

In 1608 twenty seven out of the forty-nine tenants recorded in Eggleston, held arable land in the Middle field, in acreages ranging from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Nineteen tenants had 2 acres or over, nine 3 acres or over, and two over 4 acres. Ten of the tenants lived in west row and twelve in east row, while a single tenant lived at Town Head and four tenants occupied severalties outside the village. Between them, the west row tenants held 32 acres in

holdings ranging from 2 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, while those in east row held 25 acres in holdings between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The west row holdings represented 72, 56, 92, 100, 100, 88, 88, 100, 100 and 50 per cent of their owners total townfield arable, which compared with figures of 100, 88, 60, 100, 75, 90, 63, 100, 50, 100, 76, and 88 per cent for east row holdings. The more substantial arable holders were those from west row with direct access from their tofts, while the high percentages from east row would suggest that with a reduction in arable cultivation in the other two fields, there was a corresponding concentration in the Middle field, which accentuated its arable dominance. This raises a question concerning the equality of holdings within each field, which is often claimed for the Midland model. If this was the case in Eggleston during the early Middle Ages, then the pattern had become radically distorted by 1608, when only five out of the forty nine tenants had both arable and meadow in all three fields and only sixteen had single meadow holdings. William Wharton of west row had percentage arable of 33, 56 and 11 for East, Middle and West fields, and percentage meadow of 31, 10 and 59, which was the most equal division of any at this time. In contrast Richard Lonsdale of east row had comparable

arable percentages of 16, 63, and 21, together with meadow figures of 39, 10 and 51.

Only 27 acres of the Middle field consisted of meadow closes, which represented just over 10 per cent of the total townfield meadow, in comparison with over 37 per cent and almost 52 per cent in East and West fields. The meadow was distributed around the compact arable blocks and was arranged in nineteen units, of which at least three - Houghill, Middle and Thorney Carrs, and Low Carrs - were demesne meadows on the haughs. These made up over 12 acres and accounted for almost a half of the total meadow. A further six small closes of between 1 and 3 acres also occupied the haughs, but damage to the Daines map may have obliterated several others. Only one of these belonged to a west row tenant. Within the upper part of the field, an additional six small closes, again between 1 and 3 acres, lay in close proximity to west row and were held by tenants there. On the northern perimeter of the field, four holdings completed the arm of severalty settlement around the West field. These belonged to Christopher Harrison at Bulmer Flatt; Dr. Croples at Bendisholme; John Simpson and John Gastall at Sisbank; and an untraced occupier at Bogg House, in front of which field evidence has revealed former Middle

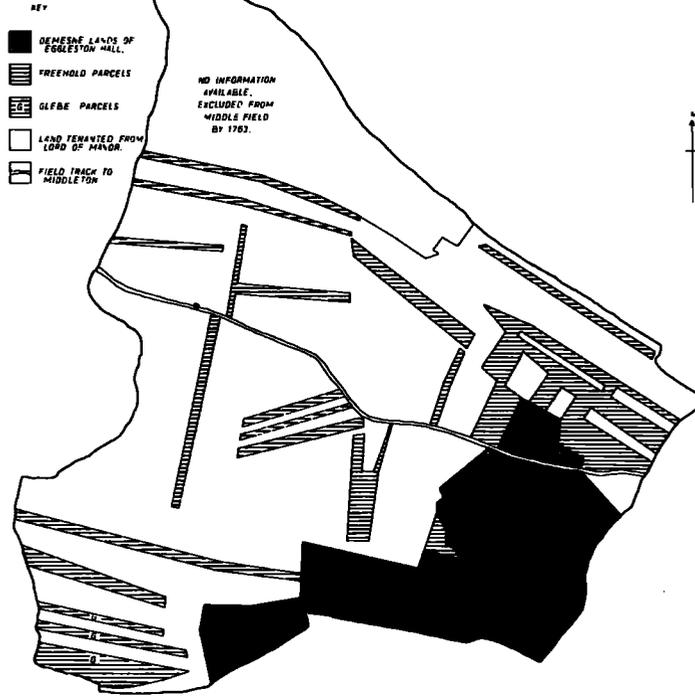
field strips. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a number of key elements can be recognised in Middle field. It was dominated by 67 acres under arable cultivation at its core, while surrounding this was a large portion of demesne meadow, a considerable growth of tenant meadow, and a rising number of severalty holdings.

By 1763, when John Greenwell produced his superb plan of Eggleston townfields (Middle field) for William Hutchinson, the central block of arable land could be examined in detail (Fig. 25). Two significant changes had taken place since 1614. The expansion of Eggleston Hall grounds incorporated the meadow closes of 1614 within the demesne, and left only the fossil boundary banks to be detected at the present day. In the north west corner of the field, Bendisholme, Bulmer Flatt, Bogg House and the two holdings at Sisbank, had ceased to form a part of the Middle field, although the fossil strips have remained even at this extreme edge where the slope surpassed 20° . Over the remainder of the field Greenwell recorded 102 acres bounded by quickthorns and in the north east, stone walling. Within this boundary a field track which later became the Middleton road, wound its way around the strips and furlongs and divided the

field into two major parts. A total of over one hundred and fifty individual strips or parcels averaging under $\frac{3}{4}$ acre, occupied the field in 1763, and were grouped into a number of larger furlongs varying in size, but succinctly blended with the topography to produce three major belts. At the lower end of the field, twenty five parcels were arranged along an east to west axis over a relatively flat surface between 625 and 675 feet. Above this, sixty parcels were laid out along a north to south axis up to about 750 feet, while this was broken by a third belt which ran east to west above about 750 feet and was made up of seventy five parcels.

The parcels were allotted between twenty seven holders, all but six of them direct tenants of William Hutchinson as lord of the manor (Fig. 26), and they held 81 acres in acreages varying from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 12 acres. For example, Anthony Stephenson's $\frac{3}{4}$ acre comprised just a single parcel in the middle belt while John Dent's $\frac{3}{4}$ acre on the other hand, comprised two widely separated parcels of over $\frac{1}{4}$ acre. Robert Haxwell's 12 acre holding was indicative of progressive consolidation, and comprised seventeen separate parcels ranging from under $\frac{1}{4}$ acre to over $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, many of which were very small and widely scattered, together with a block of $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres at the

EGGLESTON : MIDDLE FIELD
LANDOWNERSHIP
1763.



LANDOWNERSHIP
1849.

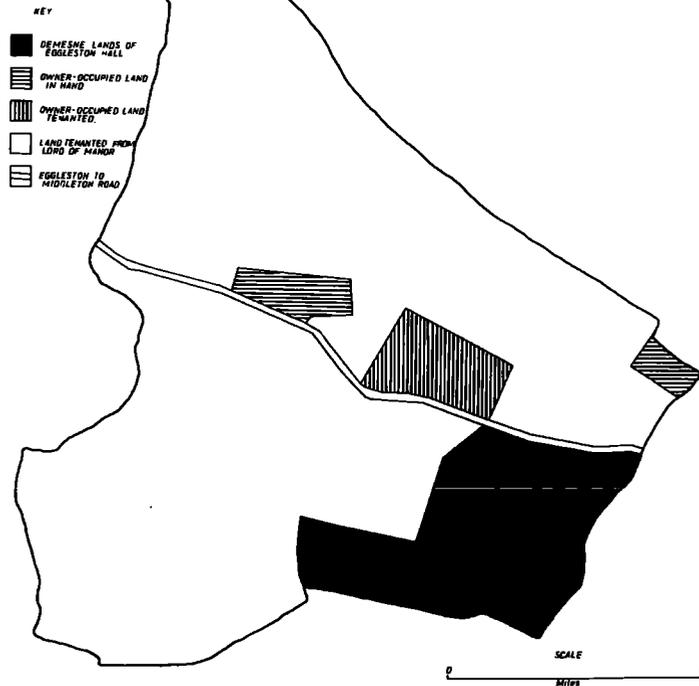


Figure 26

The landownership pattern of Eggleston Middle Field in 1763 and 1849

D 4 4

eastern end of the field. Six owner occupiers held parcels totalling over 20 acres, each generally under 1 acre in size and widely scattered, with John Addison's $8\frac{3}{4}$ acres showing the most advanced degree of amalgamation. This consolidation of holdings by 1763 would appear coterminous with a further move away from arable cultivation. Later map evidence would suggest that the pattern had changed little by 1775.⁴⁰

In 1786, from a trace of a map produced by William Downing for Timothy Hutchinson, enclosure of the Middle field had taken place, and the broad pattern has remained to the present day (Fig. 26). The one hundred and fifty subdivided field parcels of 1763 had been enclosed within about thirty small fields of between 2 and 7 acres. They were bounded by quickthorn, and had names which included Hoppyland, Woof Angle and South Peaseland.⁴¹ On the map of 1790 a further extension of the Hall grounds had incorporated parcels enclosed as Car Nab and Crooklands in 1786, while six gateways leading from the Middleton road were indicative of the progress of enclosure. The majority of fields had been organised into the two large units of Staggs Farm and Dowson's Farm, and this marked a considerable change from the twenty one tenant holders of 1763. The freehold and glebe land remained.⁴² When

Garland looked down on Eggleston in 1803 he was conscious of the chequered pattern before him, 'with arable and pasture grounds, trees, village and farmhouses'.⁴³ The Enclosure Award of 1816 brought only minor adjustments and ownership exchanges within East field, particularly in the lower part of the field and close to west row.⁴⁴ Since the Tithe Map of 1849, the significant changes have been the loss of North and much of South Peaseland to quarrying, and minor consolidation in Crooklands.⁴⁵

An attempt has been made to summarize the developments in the Middle field in the form of two maps. The first map is an indication of the composition of field boundaries, as a result of field mapping on to the First Edition of the Ordnance Survey 6" sheet (Fig. 27). Although mapped in 1969, the predominance of the quickthorn hedgerows planted at enclosure is overwhelming. Many of these are interspersed with shrubs and small trees, 'the most general fences are earth mounds planted with quicks', and have often been patched with post and rail and to a much lesser degree stone, to produce a rather composite form.⁴⁶

Hoskins has referred to a significant botanical approach to field boundary studies, using hedgerows to date particular blocks of enclosure. Further investigations are being undertaken by Dr. Max Hooper of the Nature

EGGLESTON, MIDDLE FIELD;
FIELD BOUNDARY FORMS
1969.

- KEY
-  PARK BOUNDARY WALL.
 -  LESS REGULAR DRY-STONE WALLING (LATE 18th ?)
 -  REGULAR DRY-STONE WALLING (19th ?)
 -  POST AND RAIL.
 -  PALING.
 -  HEDGEROW.
 -  HEDGEROW WITH SHRUBS/SMALL TREES.
 -  HEDGEROW WITH STANDARDS.

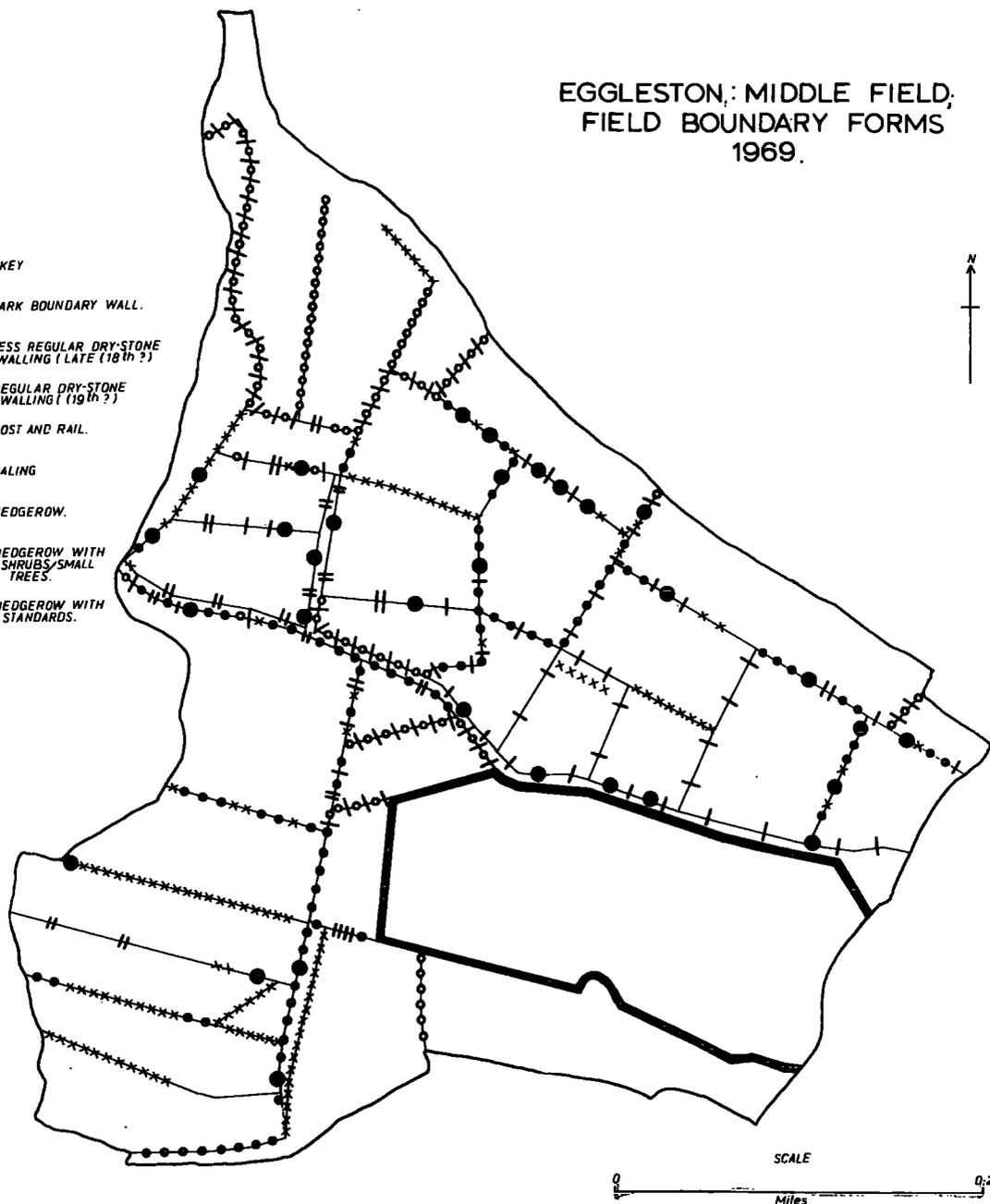


Figure 27

The composition of field boundaries in Eggleston Middle Field.

D.A.A.

Conservancy and are based on the number of shrub species over a sample area of hedgerow.^{47.}

The second map is a result of detailed cartographic examination together with field investigation, in plotting all the recognisable landscape features on to the Third Edition of the Ordnance Survey 25" sheet, which has marked on it many of the surviving strip banks.^{48.} This has produced a series of patterns dating back to the early seventeenth century which emphasize the composite nature of the cultural landscape (Fig. 28). It was possible to recognise fields laid out in the eighteenth century and to discuss them and their names with one or two farmers. Tarn Close, for example, was aptly named in view of its badly drained hollow and is now called Betty's Pond! More significantly, it was possible to reconstruct most of the pre-enclosure pattern shown on the 1763 map and to recognise earlier parcels from the Daines map of 1614, including William Wharton's Sand Close, now within the Hall grounds, and the Sisbank holding of John Simpson and John Gasthill.

A problem of formal layout arises from a consideration of the construction of the subdivided field strips. Within the general pattern of the Midland model, Tate^{49.}

EGGLESTON: MIDDLE FIELD; LANDSCAPE RECONSTRUCTION 1600-1850.

- KEY**
-  PRESENT FIELD BOUNDARIES DOCUMENTED 1814 (R. DAINES).
 -  BOUNDARIES DOCUMENTED 1786 (W. DOWNING).
 -  1786 BOUNDARIES SINCE REMOVED.
 -  BOUNDARIES DOCUMENTED 1849 (TITHE MAP).
 -  FOSSIL FIELD PARCELS DOCUMENTED 1814.
 -  FOSSIL FIELD PARCELS PRE-1763 ?
 -  FOSSIL FIELD PARCELS 1763 (J. GREENWELL).
 -  FOSSIL LYNCHET ACCESS PATHS.
 -  RIDGE/FURROW EARLY (19TH ?)

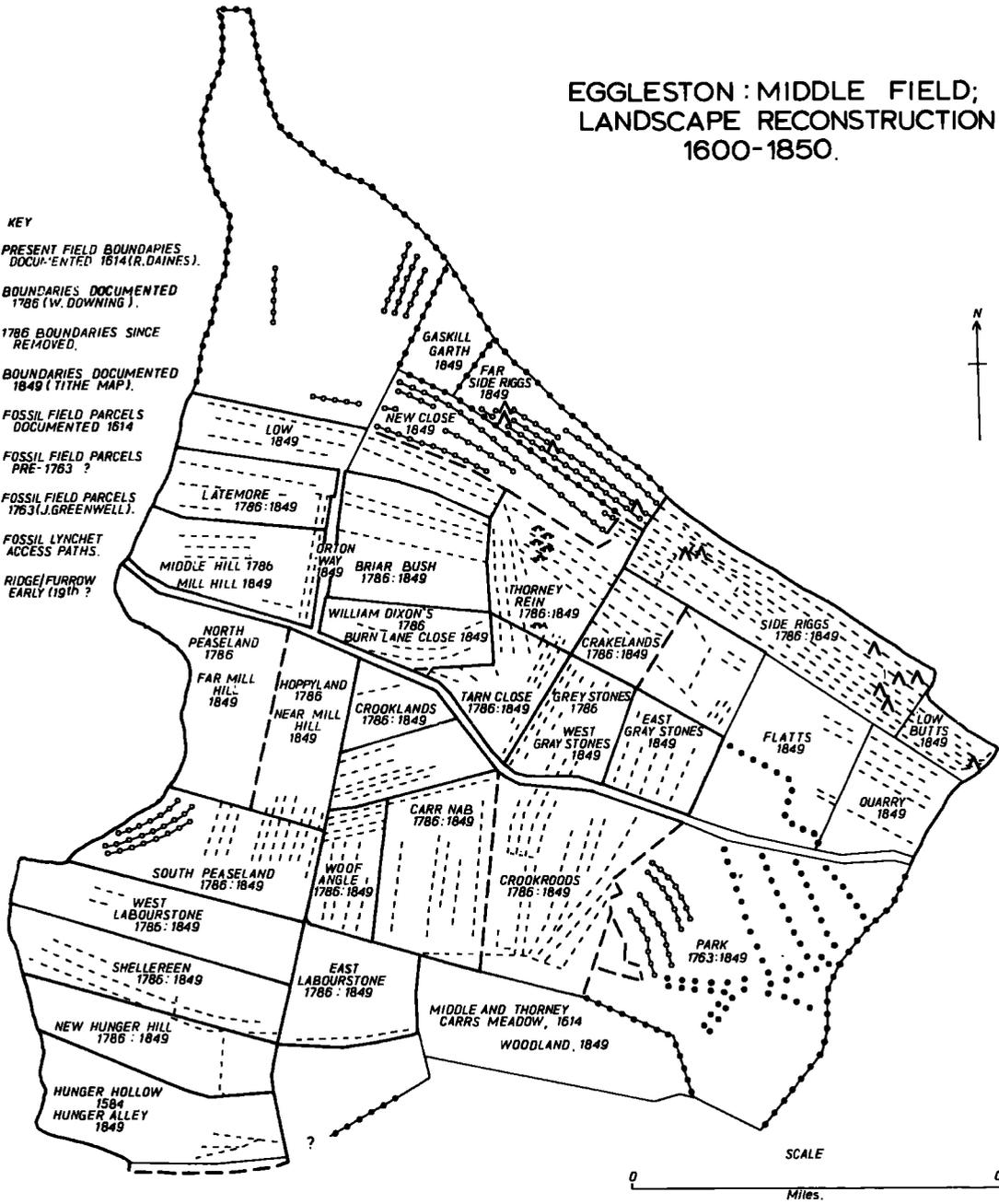


Figure 28 The landscape reconstruction of Eggleston Middle Field, 1600-1850.

D.A.A.

described them as 'patches of diverse proportions and areas, each ... composed of long narrow strips, doubtless every one of them originally an acre, a day's work, in area, and perhaps on an average something like ten times as long as they were broad' (220 yards x 22 yards : 201 metres x 20.1 metres). The lengths and breadths of parcels were however, strongly, conditioned by the slope of the land and by the nature of the soil, not to mention more complex considerations of plough types, farming technology, and landownership.⁵⁰ Over much of the Midlands the strips were characterised by ridge and furrow, with the ridge indicative of the cultivated area, and the furrow indicative of the drainage ditch, with the higher ridges often termed 'highbacks' on the heavier clay soils.⁵¹

In Teesdale, where relief, even on the lower land, is more accentuated than in the Midland Plain, slope becomes increasingly important in the laying out of parcels, and technology has countered this by producing a series of flat surfaces for cultivation. The result, so well expressed in the Middle field at Eggleston, was the lynchet, running along the slope and creating a series of scarps or 'risers' which acted as the baulks between the strips, and whose slope varied with that of the terrain. Bowen has considered the detailed construction of these features,⁵² while

Seebohm has provided a valuable description : 'It may often be observed remaining when every other trace of an open field system has been removed by enclosure. Its right of survival lies in its indestructibility. When a hill side formed part of the open field the strips almost always were made to run, not up and down the hill, but horizontally along it; and in ploughing, the custom for ages was always to turn the sod of the furrow downhill, the plough consequently always returning one way idle. If the whole hill side were ploughed in one field, this would result in a gradual travelling of the soil from the top to the bottom of the field, and it might not be noticed. But as in the open field system, the hillside was ploughed in strips with unploughed baulks between them, no sod could pass in ploughing from one strip to the next; but the process of moving the sod downwards would go on age after age just the same within each individual strip. In other words, every year's ploughing took a sod from the higher edge of the strip and put it on the lower edge, and the result was that the strips became in time long level terraces one above the other, and the baulks between them grew into steep rough banks of long grass covered often with natural self-sown brambles and bushes. These banks between the plough-made

terraces are generally called lynchets, or linces, and the word is often applied to the terraced strips themselves which go by the name of "the linces".^{53.}

The strip lynchets in the Middle field at Eggleston are known locally as side riggs, and their freshness when compared with many of those found elsewhere in the dale must be indicative of their relatively recent use and the limited effects of erosion.^{54.} These features have aroused much discussion and controversy during the past few years, and notable contributions on their origin and construction have been made by Miller, Wood, Whittington, McNab, Taylor, and a group of research workers in the Peak District.^{55.} While 'there is no dispute that they were cultivated in the medieval period',^{56.} there is an opinion, expressed by McNab, which suggests that they are not medieval in origin and associated with the subdivided fields, but that they have their origins 'in the Roman or Iron Age period'.^{57.} Without going too far into the depths of the controversy, most recent opinion would suggest that 'their origin must be related to the medieval system of agriculture and they can ... be seen as nothing more than the adaptation of the medieval strip farming system to slopes, where or when flatter more easily cultivated land did not exist, was in short supply, or already under the plough'.^{58.} Research at Eggleston would

support this viewpoint, although much more detailed work is required, particularly in view of the widespread but by no means systematic distribution of these features, both within Teesdale and elsewhere in the dales. A distribution map of strip lynchets covering the whole of the Pennine dales would form a useful basis from which to try and relate them to settlement and other agrarian forms.

Within the Middle field each strip lynchet can be identified with a strip parcel on the townfield map of 1763 and represented a distinct holding. By this date, several parcels along the outer periphery in 1614 had ceased to be a part of the field. The lynchet 'treads' vary in width from 6 yards (5.48 metres) to 16 yards (14.6 metres) with the majority ranging between 8 yards (7.31 metres) and 13 yards (11.88 metres). They range in length from 100 yards (91.4 metres) to over 420 yards (383.88 metres), with an overall crescentic plan reflecting the movement of plough teams (Plate 5). In addition to a slight drainage camber, the lynchet 'risers' vary in slope between 16° and 37° and in height from 3 yards (2.74 metres) to 10 yards (9.14 metres). In Side Riggs field, for example, there is a flight of seven lynchets, interconnected by a similar number of inclined ramps. Although 'the connection between the lowland strip system and the hillside



Plate 5.

Strip Lynchet Complex, Middle Field, Eggleston.

D.A.A.

long benches is not proved, ... it looks extremely likely', and strip lynchets may find their origin alongside ridge and furrow, in the period of agricultural expansion during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, as a particular response to local conditions of soil and slope in the face of available technology.⁵⁹.

Within the formal layout of the subdivided fields were the functional arrangements involving the crops grown, the rotations practised, and the known farming implements. The precise details for Eggleston are sketchy since functional evidence is by its very nature more transitory than the forms resulting from it. In the Midland model, the eight ox plough team hitched to a heavy mouldboard plough was for long the characteristic form of ploughing, but it is questionable whether such large and cumbersome teams operated in Teesdale, in view of the greater physiographic restrictions. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, horses were used both alongside and in place of oxen in the dale plough teams. In 1608 ten oxhouses were recorded, one in Eggleston and the remainder in Middleton, Newbiggin and the upper dale. In 1589 John Cottisforth had two oxen, a horse and a stot or young plough beast, while also in Eggleston, Agnes Myers made use of a yoke of oxen and stots

to pull her plough.⁶⁰ In 1624 Richard Raine had two horses and two young stots for his plough team, which would suggest that the practice of two oxen yoked to a plough with a horse leading them was common in the dale at this time, perhaps using a young boy as driver. This method is illustrated for neighbouring parts of Yorkshire in 1635.⁶¹ A similar practice was recorded by Arthur Young on the Raby Estate in the eighteenth century, where 'In Lord Darlington's manner of farming, five horses and four oxen are necessary for the culture of 100 acres of arable land. At first ploughing, he uses four oxen and one horse in a plough, but afterwards three horses, and when in tilth, only two ... Upon the most attentive observation he prefers oxen greatly to horses upon strong land'. On many of the neighbouring farms, the farmers 'In the management of their arable lands ... reckon eight horses and as many oxen necessary for 100 acres of ploughed ground, if the soil be clay; but if gravel, four of each will do. In the first they use two oxen and two horses in a plough, in the last three horses; and the common quantity they do in a day is about three fourths of an acre ... they reckon each horse, in all expenses, costs about £4. 10s. or £5 a year ... Their working oxen they feed on straw in winter and work them on it. They reckon them better and more

profitable than horses'.^{62.} Many of the characteristic implements of dales farming, including hay sledges, farm carts, reapers and ploughs are well described by Raistrick^{63.} and by Hartley and Ingilby,^{64.} and a fine example of a local plough is exhibited in the Teesdale Rooms of the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle.

Inventory material may be used as a guide to the field crops in Eggleston. There are references to oats and to bigg, a form of northern winter barley, at the close of the sixteenth and opening of the seventeenth centuries, and William Wharton had three bushels of oats in his possession in 1622.^{65.} From the diary of Christopher Sanderson, lord of the manor at Eggleston between 1662 and 1681, the pattern of cropping becomes even clearer. In 1662 rye was grown and priced at 10 shillings a bushel, while a wet harvest in 1672 resulted in the oats standing out in the townfields until mid-October. In 1673 there was little hay cut by 1st September and the corn was unsound, with oats fetching 6 shillings a bushel, bigg 6s. 6d., rye 6s. 4d. and malting barley 18 to 20 shillings. By contrast, 1676 produced a fine harvest in which all the corn was gathered before September and prices were very low indeed, with rye and bigg at 2 shillings a bushel and oats at from 4 to 5 shillings a rood. Wheat was priced at 3s. 4d. a bushel which is an indication that at least in a good year it was

grown as far up the dale as Eggleston. In the summer of 1681 a great drought resulted in cattle from Baron Lee being carried up to the high fell pastures.^{66.}

This short account has provided a valuable insight into the vagaries of both the physical and economic climates, and the high annual fluctuations in the yields and prices within dales agriculture towards the end of the seventeenth century, before the full beneficial effects of the Agricultural Revolution were felt.

Thirsk has emphasised the hazards of the corn harvest in the northern Pennines at this period, when particularly during the poor harvests of the 1590's, 1622-3, 1629, and 1672-3, rye was shipped into Newcastle from Danzig and on occasion, from the corn growing counties of eastern and southern England.^{67.} In contrast, by the late eighteenth century, exports of wheat, rye and barley from Stockton were fluctuating wildly and 138 quarters of foreign grain were imported in 1792.^{68.}

Kerridge has claimed that in Weardale and Teesdale, a three-field rotation was the general framework ~~with the~~ ~~which the~~ ~~rotation~~ ~~was~~ ~~organised~~ at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Successive seasons were sown to winter and to spring corn and then bare - fallowed for a year. Winter crops included wheat, rye, maslin (a mixed rye and wheat), and bigg, while oats constituted the major

spring crop.⁶⁹ Both Kerridge and Thirsk consider that Teesdale was an area of predominant cattle and sheep rearing together with a little dairy farming, 'the pasture was ample and was the mainstay of the farming system, the arable was subsidiary'.⁷⁰ It was not until the late eighteenth century that the agriculturalist Arthur Young first visited Teesdale. In 1770, on Raby home farm, he recognised two four-course rotations in operation, the first made up of fallow, wheat, fallow and barley, and the second of fallow, wheat, pease and oats. On neighbouring farms three-course rotations were in operation, involving either fallow, wheat and barley or more likely in the higher dale, turnips, barley and oats.⁷¹ Regrettably, all too little is known about the intricate and particularly local arrangements which operated in Eggleston. Although Garland was able to recognise arable cultivation here in 1803,⁷² there is little doubt that enclosure in 1785-6 brought it effectively to a close, and by 1849 only 5 acres were recorded in tillage within the former Middle field.⁷³ Earlier in 1810, Bailey saw that much of the old arable lands were still subject to wild oats, wild mustard and other weeds, as a result of inadequate drilling and hoeing, and that the 'absurd custom of confining the tenants to lay all their dung upon the old meadow grounds ... which

prevented turnips being grown upon the fallows of the old arable lands', still remained over much of the dale.⁷⁴ As late as 1869 only 160 acres of arable remained on Raby home farm, a mere 14 per cent of the improved land.⁷⁵

In relation to the wider evolutionary pattern of the subdivided fields a recent study by Sheppard has emphasised two points.⁷⁶ Firstly that a considerable degree of continuity must be taken into account, and secondly that there seems every likelihood of a significant rearrangement and modification of field patterns and settlement between the sixth and thirteenth centuries, as a result of 'the growth of population, changes in social organisation and the spread of technical innovations'. The outline and basic pattern of settlement and cultivation at Eggleston in 1600 would suggest similarities with that in the Tees lowlands and that of the Midland model in general. Individual differences are the result of local physiographic, economic, and cultural variations.⁷⁷ Both Thirsk and Postan have suggested that the subdivided field system was the result of a slow evolution, reaching its climax 'not earlier, and in most places later, than the second half of the thirteenth century'.⁷⁸ This may explain both the pattern in Eggleston and the need to push arable cultivation on to fairly marginal land in

response to both population increase and growth in demand for agricultural produce. The latter reached its peak in about 1300 and thereafter declined in the face of a strong reversion to grass.^{79.}

The work of Uhlig has thrown considerable light on the development of the field pattern in Eggleston.^{80.} The original site of early settlement, in German terms the Drubbel, was undoubtedly on the present site of the hall complex, and the long curving crofts behind east row suggest that here was the Esch, divided up into long strip parcels or Langstreifen and occupying a small island of better land surrounded by ample grazing. From this 'ancient core to which later developments of open field have been added', a tentative sequence of development and expansion may be put forward.^{81.} The earliest expansion was probably across Hell Beck into East field, and while gradual enlargement was taking place here, the former Esch was becoming a series of tofts as the pattern of settlement took on a more regular appearance. The growth in population may have witnessed the gradual development of west row together with colonisation in Middle field, and at a later stage this would probably have been linked with East field. Further consolidation and expansion no doubt kept pace with the rising demand for food from a growing population up until the twelfth century, and witnessed an extension

of the cultivated acreage into West field. The inclusion of West field within the agrarian framework gradually produced a pattern of three subdivided fields, which perhaps reached its climax in Eggleston at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Outside the subdivided fields lay a series of irregular grounds, intakes and shielings, intermediate between the communally organised and regulated townfields and the more systematic enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of them originated as areas of temporary cultivation and manifested themselves as economic thermometers in periods of advance or retreat of cultivation. Notable advances took place during the second to fourth centuries, the seventh to ninth centuries, and the thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries. By the seventeenth century, population growth and the demand for crops favoured permanent cultivation, and from this period up until the nineteenth century many intakes were incorporated into later enclosures (Plate 6).

Within Eggleston township were the two large grounds at Stotley and Foggerthwaite together with a shieling at Hope House. The latter, from its Cistercian origins in the twelfth century, maintained a vegetable garden and a series of closes whose major product was hay for cattle

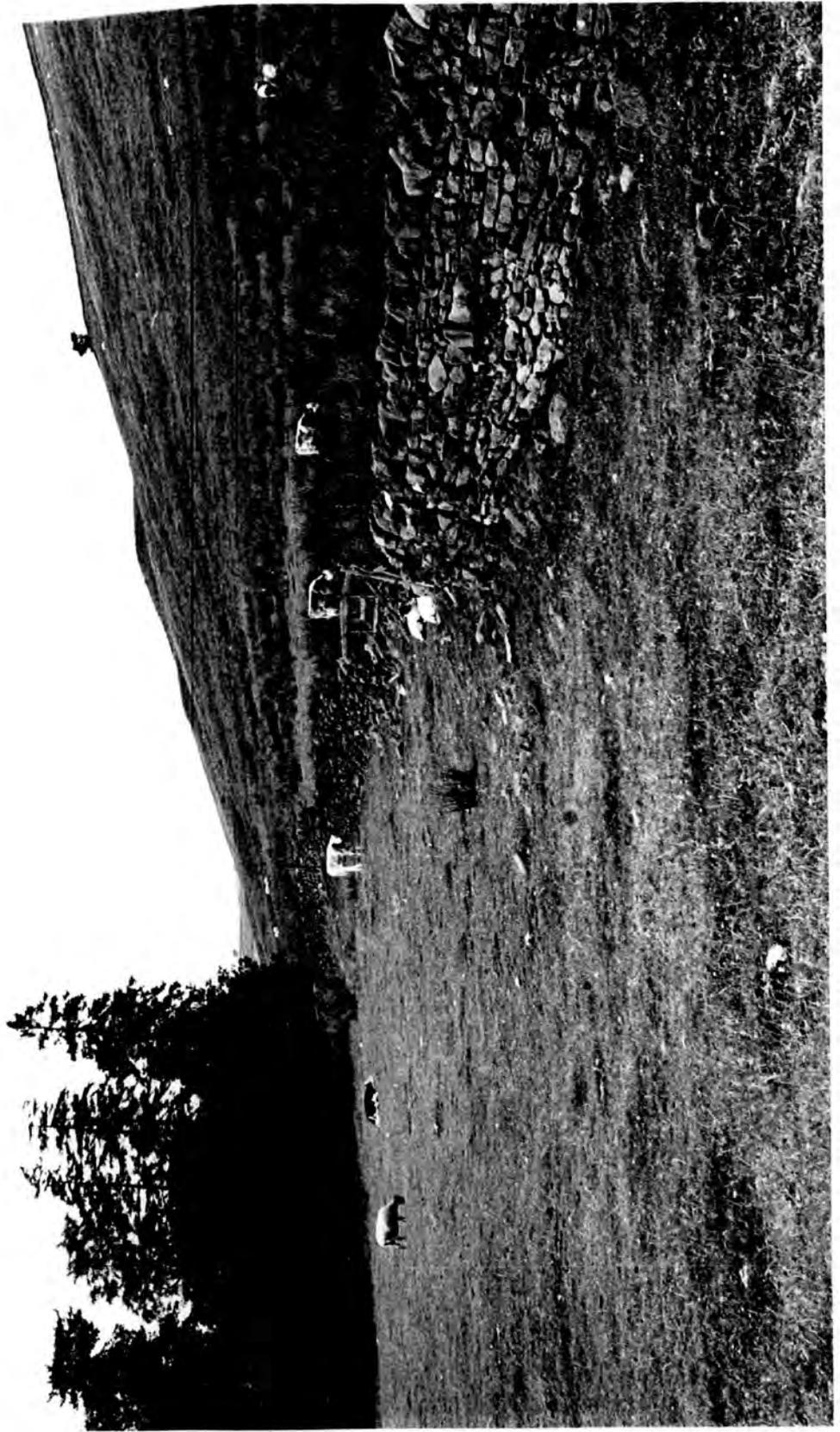


Plate 6.

Cultivation meets Fell, Ornelly, Eggleston.

D.A.A.

feed, while beyond these lay the wider fell pastures containing numerous cattle and sheep rights. Foggerthwaite for example, recorded 40 acres of land in 1570, and this was known to be in use as meadow by 1608.⁸² In the neighbouring township of Marwood a fine series of grounds and intakes were recorded, stretching from the eastern boundary of Eggleston over the western part of Barnard Castle Moor (Fig. 29). This area of the Forest of Marwood covered wild and broken ground reaching to 1,000 feet and contained a number of ill draining carrs such as Garfoot Tarn, and a considerable percentage of heavy, wet, clayey soils. A rather poorly defined trackway wound its way across the area to Barnard Castle. Here, Shipley (Shoopley) formed the nucleus of a small complex of dwellings which included the adjoining tenement of Hole House Field, held by Michael Raine and George Simpson and first documented in 1538. To the north was Marwood House, first recorded in 1577 and occupied by John Leekley, while between them West and East Roger Moor belonged to George Hodgson and Nicholas Raine and were first recorded in 1577. Robte Knott lay to the north east and Parrock House further along the Barnard Castle road. A number of slate quarries were recorded nearby and a fulling mill was situated along the Tees.⁸³

By 1608 these seven intakes were recorded as either meadow or pasture. Robte Knott comprised 12 acres in three units, the original clearing of 10 acres, a smaller parcel of 1 acre, and a later intake - Le Intake - also of 1 acre. West Roger Moor was made up of a single 16 acre meadow field, triangular in shape and with the dwelling house in the apex. Marwood House comprised 13½ acres in parcels of 6, 4, and 3½ acres, and together with the previous two intakes, had rights of common in the Forest of Marwood. The size and complexity of the grounds increased in the neighbouring area. Parrock House totalled 30 acres in five meadow parcels of between 2 and 8 acres and a pasture close of 4 acres. Hole House Field had seven meadow closes between 1 and 4½ acres each, within its 27 acres, together with a 2 acre pasture. East Roger Moor had 30 acres of meadow in five closes including the original clearing of 16 acres, and 27 acres of pasture in two closes. Finally, Shipley was the largest of the grounds and covered over 90 acres, of which 50 acres of pasture were concentrated in Marwood Hagge, a rather ill drained area between Shipley and the Tees. The remaining 40 acres of meadow were divided between five closes of 2 to 7 acres each. In 1638 Surtees recorded the partition of Shipley including reference to the 'pasture ground' and to the 'great timber wood and underwoods in Marwood

Hagge and the West Spring', where 'no great oaks (were) to be cut without mutual consent'.⁸⁴ Throughout Marwood 'the farmer's main business was the breeding of cattle which were sold as stores into more southerly counties, and the keeping of sheep, which were pastured on the hills and were kept mainly for their wool'.⁸⁵ It is probable that vegetables and bees were found close to the farmsteads, together with a few horses for farm and local journeys, and an odd goat or two to give additional yields of milk. Dairy cattle provided milk for the local market at Barnard Castle.⁸⁶

A Streatlam estate map for the mid-eighteenth century has provided a picture of the Marwood grounds prior to enclosure (Fig. 29). Marwood House was depicted largely as it had been described in 1608, but with an additional incroachment known as 'The Parson's Incroachment', while by the west gate at Shipley lay 'Scotch John's Intake'. An indication of the growth of severalty holdings during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, is shown by the line of dwellings along the lower side of the Barnard Castle road from Trotters to Hodgson's and Allison's (High House).

Enclosure is the fencing or hedging of hitherto open

land.⁸⁷ According to Tate, 'The replacement of (subdivided) holdings by individual hedged or fenced closes and farms, and the replacement of communal control by that of persons pursuing policies of "enlightened self-interest", is the process technically known as enclosure'.⁸⁸ There are three basic forms of enclosure; piecemeal, small in scale and associated with local cooperation; early block enclosure, larger, and in County Durham recorded through private act or Chancery Decree; and later block enclosure, widespread and regular, and associated with Parliamentary acts and awards in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An examination of the enclosure acts and awards for Teesdale suggests two categories of enclosure, one, already considered, covering the remaining areas of townfield, and another covering the many acres of hitherto unenclosed fell. After 1750, and reflecting a growing industrial and commercial age whose towns and cities were rapidly expanding along lines laid down within grid iron plans, Teesdale witnessed the superimposition of regular grid iron fields over much of its fell land. This reduced the acreage of common; firmly established mineral rights to lead, silver and coal; and placed the fells within a commercial framework based on consolidated farms and fields.

Bearing in mind the probability of 'concealed enclosures' in County Durham between about 1680 and 1760, the earliest documented block of late enclosure was at Newbiggin in 1763.⁸⁹ Here the award covered 2,490 acres on Newbiggin Common and was claimed by Tate as enclosure by agreement.⁹⁰ This was followed by 356 acres of fell pasture at Lartington in 1775, and by a division at Startforth in 1779.⁹¹ In 1785 a private act was passed to enclose fell land at Eggleston 'not exceeding two thousand five hundred acres'.⁹² The 4,786 acres of Barnard Castle Moor were enclosed by an award of 1799, and thus by 1800 a minimum of 10,000 acres had been arranged in block enclosures in Teesdale in thirty five years.⁹³ This process accelerated during the first half of the nineteenth century (Fig. 30). By 1810 3,350 acres of moor and 596 acres of the East and West pastures had been enclosed in Mickleton, while in 1816 a further award of 5,987 acres was implemented in Eggleston.⁹⁴ In 1822 about 1,000 acres on Romalldkirk Moor were enclosed together with 2,614 acres on Holwick Moor in 1826.⁹⁵ The following year witnessed the enclosure of 3,330 acres in the Lunesdale fells, while in 1841, 9,225 acres were enclosed on Middleton Common.⁹⁶ It was not until 1858 that enclosure of 4,500 acres on

TEESDALE : BLOCK ENCLOSURE IN THE (18th AND 19th.

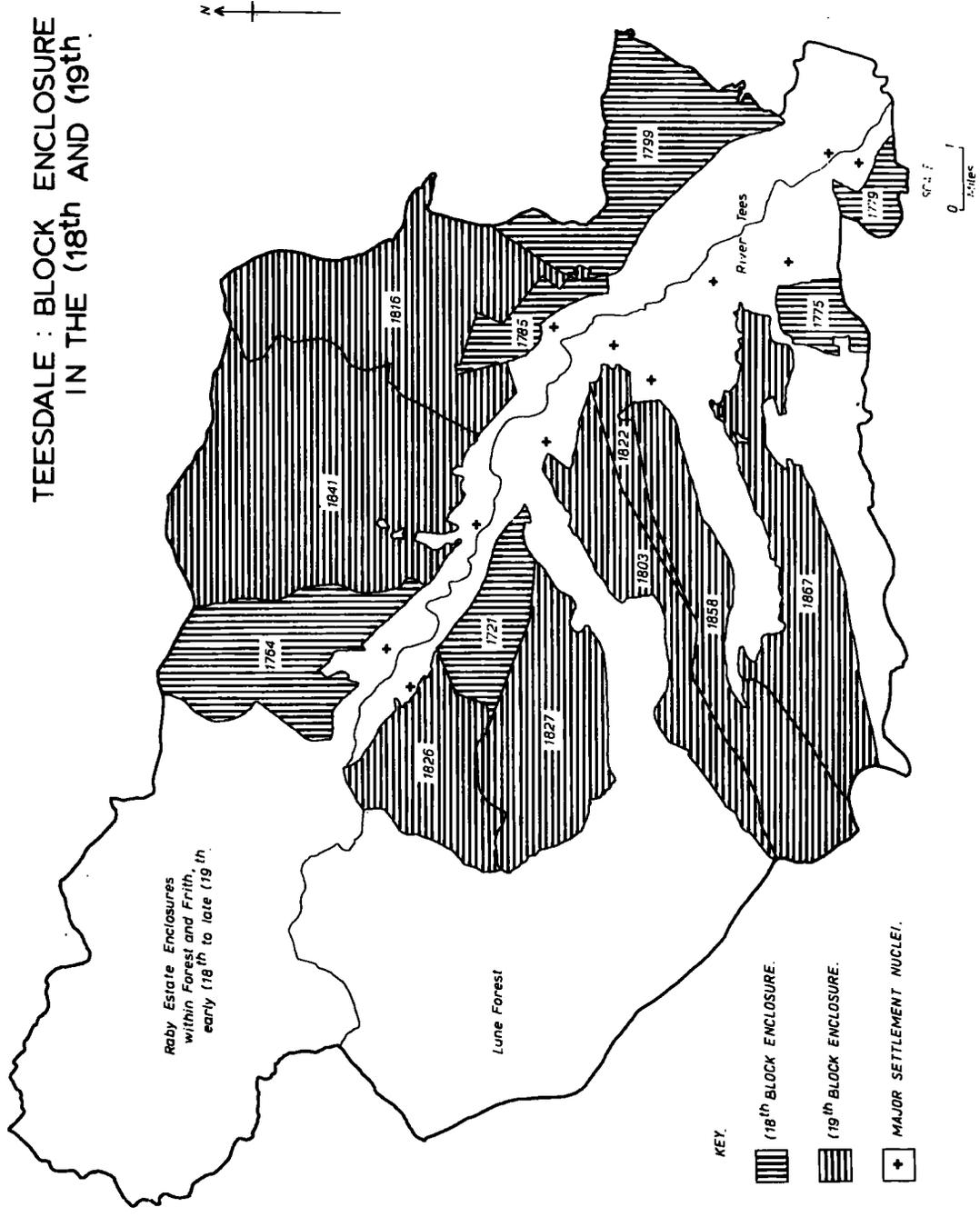


Figure 30 The pattern of eighteenth and nineteenth century enclosure in Teesdale

Hunderthwaite Moor took place, nor until 1867 that 5,000 acres on Cotherstone Moor were enclosed.⁹⁷ For the 17,000 acres of Raby land in Forest and Frith, the dates and acreages of enclosure are less readily available. There are references to farmsteads at Ettersgill in 1763, while Proctor has claimed that 'In 1769 more land was enclosed at Forest and Harwood to provide smallholdings for incoming miners'.⁹⁸ In his tour of c.1770 Young referred to enclosures by the Earl of Darlington in and around Newbiggin, while maps and plans, locating mines, farms and moors, are recorded among the Raby records for 1732, 1763 and 1769.⁹⁹ The evidence would favour an intensive period of enclosure during the 1760's and even a little earlier, under the first and second Earls, continuing until the early decades of the nineteenth century. Recent work by Crudass has in fact confirmed this, and she has shown that much of Forest and Frith was enclosed between the late 1760's and 1848.¹⁰⁰ Here, as elsewhere in the dale, an overwhelming factor influencing enclosure was the desire to gain mineral rights, and the development of an upland agricultural estate based largely upon sheep and cattle rearing was almost a secondary consideration. It should certainly be noted that in 1810 when Bailey drew up his

list of the remaining undivided commons and fells in County Durham, Forest and Frith were not amongst them.^{101.}

A total of c.35,000 acres of fell land had been enclosed along both banks of Teesdale in the seventy years beginning in 1800. If to this is added the total enclosed between 1763 and 1800 and the acreage for Forest and Frith, the total for the whole of the dale would reach perhaps 60,000 acres. From 1763 to 1841 Chapman has estimated a figure of about 20,000 acres for the Durham bank between Westwick and Newbiggin.^{102.}

In attempting to interpret these figures it should be remembered that enclosure here was in two contrasting forms. On the bleakest and most inhospitable land enclosure was rudimentary, since physical conditions practically excluded all but the roughest of grazing and perhaps the growth of some timber in more sheltered locations. Here, in areas which included the upper parts of Eggleston, Middleton and Newbiggin Commons, one or two large blocks of land were set out as summering grounds for young cattle and sheep, drained only by open surface channels cut to feed the natural drainage system. In contrast, the second form which covered the fell slopes below the rudimentary enclosures, was more characteristic of the late block enclosure pattern, and was laid out with regular roads, farmsteads and fields,

and intended both for arable and pastoral farming.^{103.}

The formal arrangements and legal procedures for enclosure have been outlined and discussed by Hoskins, Tate, Gonner, Beresford, and more locally, Russell,^{104.} while the results of recent research by Chambers and Mingay, have produced a more favourable impression of enclosures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.^{105.} The major benefit was to bring into permanent cultivation several million acres of land which had previously been used either for a small amount of temporary cultivation or for none at all. In County Durham, Bell has recorded that over 86,000 acres 'formerly lying dormant or almost valueless' were brought into cultivation by Parliamentary enclosure.^{106.} Upon many of these newly won acres, the interplay of a spirit of improvement, intertwined with factors of relief, soils, communications, and supply and demand, created a more efficient and intensive pattern of cultivation in the face of a rising population. The population of County Durham rose from under 150,000 in 1801 to over 250,000 in 1831 and 390,000 in 1851, and the average value per acre of enclosed land compared with that before enclosure, had risen from between 4d. and 10d. to the region of 18 shillings.

Associated with enclosure was the spread of flexible crop rotations, including roots, legumes and improved

grass strains, all of which added phosphates and nitrogen to the soil and provided fodder for animal husbandry. Chambers and Mingay have claimed that the two most important farming changes were those of the four course rotation along the lines of the Norfolk system, and the growth of convertible husbandry (ley farming) allowing alternate cropping or pasture, and particularly valuable on heavier lands such as those in the dale. By 1800 County Durham was rapidly improving upon its reputation of backward agriculture, based upon two years crop followed by two years fallow, and was making use of adaptable four course rotations.¹⁰⁷ These improvements were well illustrated on the lands of the Raby estate at Staindrop, and the Streatlam, Gibside and Hylton estates of the Earl of Strathmore. Enclosure brought about better drainage, larger, and more compact and manageable farms, and an improved balance between arable and pasture farming through both ley farming and a better care of animals. The whitewashed Raby farmsteads set out on their compact enclosure blocks, and employing four course rotations, improved arable crops, and developed livestock breeds such as the Durham Shorthorn and Teeswater sheep, epitomised eighteenth and nineteenth century agrarian practices at their most successful.¹⁰⁸ The ill effects of enclosure upon agricultural life were felt more acutely in the

Midlands, where it took place on the intensively cultivated subdivided fields, rather than in the Pennine dales, where it largely concerned wide expanses of hitherto unoccupied fell. Nevertheless there were a number of problems which followed in the wake of enclosure in County Durham, but these mainly concerned the extension of draining on meadow and pasture; the planting of woodland for commercial and shelter purposes; and technical improvements in cattle and crop management. Landownership was also a problem in County Durham, since there was a tendency for a prevalence of small properties on often insecure tenures, giving little or no initiative for improvement and providing insufficient capital. This tendency could still be found in the nineteenth century and was particularly common on ecclesiastical property.^{109.}

There were two Parliamentary enclosure acts and awards in Eggleston during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fig. 22). A private act of 1785 has been traced to the House of Lords Record Office, while a subsequent award and map of 1816 is lodged in the Durham County Record Office.^{110.} In 1785 the Eggleston Enclosure Bill became law, and although there is no indication of the whereabouts of either an award or a map, field and cartographic evidence would suggest that the act had been implemented by 1790.

Excluding the townfields and the later enclosures of 1816, it is relatively easy to delimit the area enclosed in 1785 and indicated as Eggleston allotments by 1790. Two distinct blocks occupied an area on either side of Blackton Beck between 800 and 1,150 feet. Between the beck and Eggleston Burn was a block called Blackton, while across the beck as far as Folly Bank, lay the much larger block of Nemour, which from its name may suggest a local association with the town of Nemours, to the south east of Paris in the Forest of Fontainebleu? There was no authority to enclose west of Eggleston Burn and Tate has claimed that the total award covered about 1,500 acres.¹¹¹ The area had to be marked out, divided, and allotted on or before 1st May, 1785, and the three appointed commissioners were Robert Elliot of Grayston Hall near Gainford, John Philipson of Bradwood Hall near Foosterley, and William Downing of Catterick. All three were to be paid 6d. per acre of enclosed land, while William Downing was to act as surveyor at the additional rate of between 3d and 4d. per acre. He was to be responsible for constructing the award map and a copy of this was to accompany the written award in the town chest. William Downing also produced for Timothy Hutchinson a map of the enclosed townfields in 1786 (Fig. 28). In accordance with the act, Timothy Hutchinson had to give

three weeks notice of intended enclosure in the Newcastle newspapers, and pin a written notice on the chapel door at Eggleston, at least fourteen days before the meeting 'to mark and set out by stakes and other landmarks the plots and parcels of land which they shall adjudge fit for improvement and capable of cultivation'. All encroachments or intakes made on the fell since about 1755 had to be marked out and were presumably reallocated. There was reference here to a 'New Intake' in 1750 and also to Christopher Harrison paying 2d. per year for his enclosure out on the common.¹¹².

Timothy Hutchinson and a further twelve freeholders then met to determine enclosure. As lord of the manor, Timothy was 'seised of the soil of the said moors or commons or tracts of waste land and of the mines and minerals within and under the same'. Robert Lascelles as curate in lieu of the rector at Middleton, had the tithe rights of corn and wool together with those paid on lambs and calves. The other freeholders were Andrew Bowes of Streatlam Castle, through his wife's property, Lancelot Harrison, Joshua Gibson, Thomas Colpitts, Joseph Todd, Joseph Dowson, William Dixon, Christopher Harrison, John Stephenson, Anthony Raine and John Addison. Each had to supply details of his rent and the yearly value of his property.

On the ground, consequent upon 'good and sufficient

repair being made in the turnpike form', the high road from Eggleston to Barnard Castle, Middleton and Stanhope, formed the major axis of enclosure. This was improved to a width of forty feet and it was unlawful to erect a gate or other structure across it. From this base the roads, footways, drains, common quarries such as Mickleside, watercourses, and stiles, were laid out and appropriated. The major occupation roads such as Coal Road at Nemour, together with minor farm roads, were laid out at right angles to the major axis. Timothy Hutchinson was given a holding equivalent to a 'sixteenth part of all and every such plots and parcels of land as shall be so adjudged improveable and capable of cultivation'. The remaining area was assigned and allotted to both the lord of the manor and the other freeholders, in fields of between five and six acres, and was farmed either from existing buildings or from newly erected farmsteads out on the enclosed blocks. Hedging, ditching and fencing costs were met by the freeholders and stone was used for field boundaries. Robert Lascelles' plots for example, were fenced with a stone wall which was well capped and some five quarters high (5 feet 3 inches), while the cost of this, perhaps 14 shillings per rood, was met by the other freeholders. The cost of the 'out fence wall' was shared between the freeholders and formed the outer

boundary of the enclosed land. This was a considerably stronger and higher wall of six feet or over, constructed for the purpose of keeping out unwanted fell stock.

This block of enclosure was intended for tillage, 'from the time of making up into tillage', and ~~no~~ no sheep were to be pastured on the newly enclosed land for at least seven years. Such determination to grow grain on this marginal Pennine land reflected both population growth and the high price of cereal crops noticeable in England after 1750. Prices rose even higher during the Napoleonic Wars and on into the early years of the nineteenth century.¹¹³ The average arable index for England as a whole between 1750 and 1799 was 137.7 against a base of 100 from 1720 to 1744, a figure higher than for either dairy farming or meat production.¹¹⁴ In 1761 the port of Stockton exported 25,897 quarters of wheat, 603 quarters of rye and 600 quarters of barley. By 1786 this had dropped to 451 quarters of wheat, while by 1794 corn was no longer a recorded export and instead there was a modest import of oats.¹¹⁵ There are no direct figures available of the cost of enclosure, but by using an estimated 40 shillings per acre in the Eggleston award, the cost of enclosing 1,500 acres in 1785 was probably in the region of £3,000.¹¹⁶

Eggleston was subject to another enclosure award in 1816, and this further reduced the fell acreage and enclosed the remainder of Eggleston Common as stinted pasture. Five blocks of rudimentary enclosure were laid out beyond the earlier enclosure blocks, and the largest of these was the Common, which covered over 4,000 acres and was divided up among the lord of the manor and the freeholders into thirty eight stints and eight hundred and sixty-two cattle gates. At Foggerthwaite there was a single large pasture allotment of 582 acres and below this as far as the Middleton road, a formally laid out enclosure block covering over 1,300 acres. This area had been described by Garland in 1803, as 'high common ... bleak and barren'.¹¹⁷ The enclosure block covered a relatively level surface between 800 and 1,000 feet and incorporated the earlier ground of Foggerthwaite (Plate 7). In its form it was similar to the earlier enclosures and the Middleton road formed the axis of the layout. The major enclosure roads were rather smaller in width at 33 feet and included Stanhope or Smelt Mill Road running along the boundary of Foggerthwaite with West field, and the Great Occupation Road running across the centre of the block. Footways, drains, watercourses, stiles and quarries were provided, and the latter were a particularly conspicuous and important



Plate 7.

Block Enclosure, Foggerthwaite, Eggleston.

source of local stone.

Foggerthwaite was divided up between the lord of the manor, whose holding amounted to 57 acres, and the remaining freeholders, who together held thirty fields either singly or in groups of up to three or four. The individual fields ranged in size from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 acres, although many of the smaller ones have since been amalgamated. The rector of Middleton for example, through his incumbent, held 19 acres in three fields, while Joseph Gibson held 21 acres in six fields. Stone was extensively used in the field boundaries including the out fence wall which reached to almost six feet. This enclosure was originally intended for tillage, and there is field evidence in the form of ridge and furrow, together with Garland's observation in 1834 that Foggerthwaite was 'now enclosed and in a high state of cultivation'.^{118.} By 1849 however, the tithe award recorded the major land use as meadow and pasture, and this was a clear reflection of market trends and prices.^{119.} There was a marked reduction in cereal prices after 1820, although they were still higher than in the period 1760 to 1790. However, regional specialisation was increasing with improvements in transport, and corn was no longer a major proposition in the marginal dales of the Pennines.^{120.}

In both of these enclosure awards the processes involved were typical of moorland enclosure during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹²¹ Once the land had been marked and set out for improvement and cultivation, 'Where the fern, broom, or heather grows, the turnip may with safety be cultivated', the first task was one of drainage. This involved making careful use of topography, and tapping subsurface springs by a series of deep cut drainage channels leading to a permanent drain such as Bell Sike at Foggerthwaite. Once drained 'it is surprising how soon a deserted morass, bog or channel of a river, obtains verdure and suitable plants for its improved occupation'. The succeeding stages were paring or cutting off the surface, and burning, followed by a series of ploughings, harrowings and dressings. After this a root crop such as potatoes or turnips was grown in association with heavy liming, which was essential on newly broken land. This was followed by a further root crop and a gradual sowing to grass in order to substantially improve the soil structure and provide for cattle and sheep. Corn was unlikely to be successful if sown straight after roots and a seven year course was recommended, following roots, grass and four years of pastures, before producing a successful crop of oats in the seventh year. Bailey has put forward an alternative

rotation for moorland soils based on fallow, oats, and clover and grass seeds for two years, before producing a crop of oats.¹²² Alongside the improvements to the land were the considerable tasks of walling and building. These created employment for quarrymen, carriers, masons, and labourers, who were required to break up the stone, shape it and lay it in walls and farm buildings.¹²³ Capital outlay was also an important factor and for a single 5 acre field in 1850, this could amount to over £15 in the first year. This is particularly valid bearing in mind that no good tillage crop could be gathered until between three and seven years after enclosure.

Field systems as agrarian forms are closely related to settlement, and their evolution reflects changes in both population and social and economic organisation consequent upon the advances of technology. These changes vary in scale and proportion, from the Midland three-field model whose evolution took many centuries, to the relatively rapid Parliamentary enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the present day technology is again changing the field patterns of enclosure with the removal of hedgerows and consequent enlargement of fields. Within this continuum of change the historical geographer

should emphasize three elements; the formal pattern of field layouts; their spatial development at local, regional and national levels; and the character of regional agricultural patterns. There is a great need for studies of this kind 'particularly (in) the uplands of Northern England'.¹²⁴.

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6. Landownership in Teesdale : A Consideration.

Three aspects of landownership form the basis of this chapter; its characteristics; spatial extent and development; and its reflection in the landscape. Landownership has become increasingly important in considerations of rural settlement and the agrarian pattern, and Pfeifer has suggested that 'We cannot understand the landscape unless we also recognise the influences of tradition and social institutions created by man, for these influences became the means by which the patterns of land distribution were established'.¹ The origins of landownership are deep rooted and its evolution complex. Basically however, there were two groups; landowners and tenants, with between them a wide variation, 'The gradations between ownership and tenancy were so subtle that it is sometimes difficult to know exactly where to draw the line between the two'.²

As a legacy of the feudal organisation in western Europe, a product not of a monetary economy, but of a natural economy based upon land grants or produce of the

soil, and which in England at least has been generally attributed in its most developed form to the early Middle Ages, land tenure became the 'medium in which and by which social status and order are expressed'.³

Kerridge has pointed out that 'The manor was the basic unit of feudal landownership',⁴ while ownership in any but the king's hand was regarded as tenure. This was very probably the pattern in Teesdale when William II granted the forests of Teesdale and Marwood and the lordships of Middleton-in-Teesdale and Gainford, to Guy de Baliol as tenant-in-capite in c.1093. The Baliols subinfeuded many of the smaller manors and townships, such as Gainford and Eggleston, to lesser lords or mesne tenants, who until 1290 held them directly through the tenant-in-capite, but after this date undertook a firmer bond of allegiance with the Crown itself. Beneath the mesne tenants were the upper and lower ranks of the peasantry directly concerned with working the land. Within this simplified pattern ecclesiastical ownership remained a complicatory issue, for Teesdale had been ecclesiastical land prior to the Conquest, although leased or mortgaged to laymen.⁵

The growth of an economy based increasingly upon monetary values and growing trade and commerce during and

after the thirteenth century, saw the rapid decline of the feudal system. Obligations were now based upon money rents rather than land or soil service, 'money payments were the acid that wore away the feudal bond and opened the way to the development of a land market'.⁶ This process continued into the later Middle Ages, with many wealthy lords purchasing land from their immediate overlord. There was also the gradual emergence of a professional and merchant class, who were to exert a growing influence upon land as a sound financial investment during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ecclesiastical influence upon land remained, but it was a conservative force and served as a point of contention impeding the improvement of agriculture within parts of County Durham until after 1850.⁷ Although the feudal element may be excluded from considerations of landownership by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there remained a clear social hierarchy from the great lord to the humblest cottager.

At the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the landownership structure of Teesdale became apparent through the Humberstone Survey of 1569-70.⁸ The Nevilles, as Earls of Westmorland and successors to

the Baliols, occupied the fourteenth century castle at Raby and maintained overlordship of the lands along the Durham bank of the Tees from Gainford to the head of the dale. By the twelfth century, lordship along the Yorkshire bank had been vested in the Fitzhugh family at Cotherstone Castle, the descendents of Count Alan of Brittany. When the family line died out in 1512, their lands passed into the hands of the Bowes family at Streatlam, who correspondingly rose to prominence as influential landowners and saw George Bowes hold office as steward to Elizabeth I in 1570.⁹

Beneath the upper stratum of influential landowners, were the mesne lords in the smaller manors, and the mass of the peasantry beneath them. In Eggleston by 1570, the mesne lord held by socage, that is in free tenure in exchange for a given service to the Earls of Westmorland and the Crown. This may have been the provision of military service in the northern marches, or a financial payment such as the yearly rent of 6s. 8d. paid to Raby. The legacy remained until the early nineteenth century, when Timothy Hutchinson as lord of the manor at Eggleston, was required to pay 3s. 4d. a year to Raby and was consequently free of tolls at Barnard Castle.¹⁰ Two other tenants also held by socage in 1570, a tenement holder of 13 acres, and a cottager. For the remaining

thirty two tenants, tenure was by a 21 year lease from the Earl of Westmorland. In a further nine cases, the tenants were recorded as tenants-at-will. By 1608, when the Jacobean Survey made possible a wider examination of tenure, several changes had taken place. At the highest level the Earls of Westmorland had fallen from grace as a result of the Rising of the North in 1571, and their estates escheated to the Crown. They remained in Crown hands until given to the Vane family in the early years of the seventeenth century, 'to be held of the Crown in chief by knight service for a yearly rent of £100. 19s. 4d.'. With the sole exception of the manor of Eggleston, a buffer separating the upland and lowland acres, the Vane estates have remained intact until the present day. In 1608 the mesne lord in Eggleston held by Letters Patent from the Bowes family for 21 years, but shortly after this, the manor must have become involved in a series of financial transactions, which witnessed its sale by the citizens of London in 1631 and its conveyance to Tobias Ewbank of Staindrop. By 1650 the manor was held by the Sandersons, from Barnard Castle, by tenure of fee simple or permanent inheritance.^{11.}

Until the seventeenth century, there were probably several examples in Teesdale of 'Northern Customary Tenure' or tenant right, recognised during the sixteenth century

in Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and County Durham. This was 'tantamount to freehold' and had certain common characteristics. The eldest son or daughter occupied the tenement as a clear recognition of primo-geniture, and the tenant had certain duties and obligations which included payment of rent; perhaps a few days lord service in ploughing and reaping, although this had been commuted in many cases by the sixteenth century; border service; and the gressum fine at the change of tenancy or death of the lord. In return, the tenant was secure within the hereditary nature of customary tenure. From the lord's point of view, by the latter part of the sixteenth century, there were increasing benefits to be gained by overcoming this form of tenure, benefits which were decidedly favoured in a number of cases by the problem of poverty and vagabondage among the tenantry. The lord could either persuade customary tenants to accept period leases; he could deny the existence of customary tenure and buy out the poor tenant; or he could maintain the form as it was, at least in name, but add to it in order to make it less attractive. In spite of government insistence on the maintenance of the status quo, for fear of growing vagabondage and the risk of rebellion and border defence, 'that descent of the Crown of England upon your majesty's father did neither

alter nor determine the customary estates of inheritance in the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham and Westmorland, or the services due out of the same, but the said estates and services continue as formerly', the substitution of leasehold for customary tenure continued in Teesdale.¹²

In Eggleston by 1570, the tenants-at-will were on the whole poorer than the leaseholders. Five of them held cottages with tiny gardens; were shown without holdings in the townfields, and had rents ranging from 1s. to 3s. 4d. The remainder occupied larger dwellings with adjacent crofts; held between 6 and 10 acres in the townfields; and paid rents ranging from 6s. to 9s. Only Elizabeth Ridley of Foggerthwaite occupied as much as 40 acres of land and paid rent of 43 shillings. Denman has claimed that 'The least interest that anyone could have in land was a tenancy at will'.¹³ By comparison, all the leaseholders occupied houses with crofts ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 acre or more; held slightly larger holdings in the fields; and paid larger rents under 21 year leases. These were perhaps of sufficient length to encourage the leaseholder to farm his holding enthusiastically and renew his lease. While the lease perhaps strengthened the hand of the landlord, material benefit resulted in the short term and it was in the landlord's own interest

to see as little disruption as possible. By 1608 customary tenure would appear all but extinct in Teesdale, and references to leases can be found even as early as 1584, in the will of Elizabeth Hodgson of Eggleston.¹⁴ The leases were drawn up by Letters Patent, and where specified, which was in all but a very few instances, were either for 21 years, 40 years, or three lives, the latter perhaps showing the greatest degree of flexibility. Kerridge has equated 21 years and three lives, and suggested that leases in general became shorter after 1540, with renewals every seven years.¹⁵ Previously leases in excess of 40, 60 or even 90 years had been common. While several of the leases recorded dates in the early 1570's, the majority were dated within the last decade of the sixteenth or the first decade of the seventeenth century. In Eggleston, reference to the term termino expirato in the Jacobean Survey, would seem a firm indication that the leases had expired by this date and were awaiting renewal.¹⁶

The size of holdings is an important factor in landownership. An examination of the Homberstone Survey for Eggleston has shown that with the exception of the 40 acre Foggerthwaite ground, holdings were between 3 and 20 acres, with a distinct grouping of 20 holdings between 10 and 15 acres, and a smaller grouping of 11

holdings between 3 and 7 acres.¹⁷ Eggleston was a township of small size holdings, comprising both arable and meadow land in the subdivided fields and in severalty parcels and closes, all predominantly under leasehold tenure. How far was this typical of the dales townships as a whole? It may be compared and contrasted with the holdings recorded for both Eggleston and the neighbouring townships of Middleton, Newbiggin, Marwood, Langley, Shotton and Woodland, in 1608 (Fig. 31). Of the 141 recorded holdings, 95 of them, a figure of over 67 per cent, were between 3 and 20 acres. Only 9 holdings were under 3 acres and 37 holdings over 20 acres, with 11 of these in excess of 50 acres, and 1 in excess of 100 acres.¹⁸ Eggleston, Middleton, and Newbiggin, in which the subdivided townfields remained largely intact at the beginning of the seventeenth century, maintained the closest association with the small size holdings of the late sixteenth century. In Eggleston, the pattern was remarkably similar to that present less than forty years earlier. Excluding Foggerthwaite and the mesne lord's 100 acre holding, all but 6 of the 36 holdings remained between 3 and 20 acres in size, but there was a more even spread which gave 13 holdings between 10 and 15 acres and 9 holdings between 3 and 7 acres. There were 6 holdings of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre or less which would strongly

HOLDING SIZE IN EGGLESTON,

1570, 1608, 1849.

WITH MARWOOD AND MIDDLETON/NEWBIGGIN, 1608

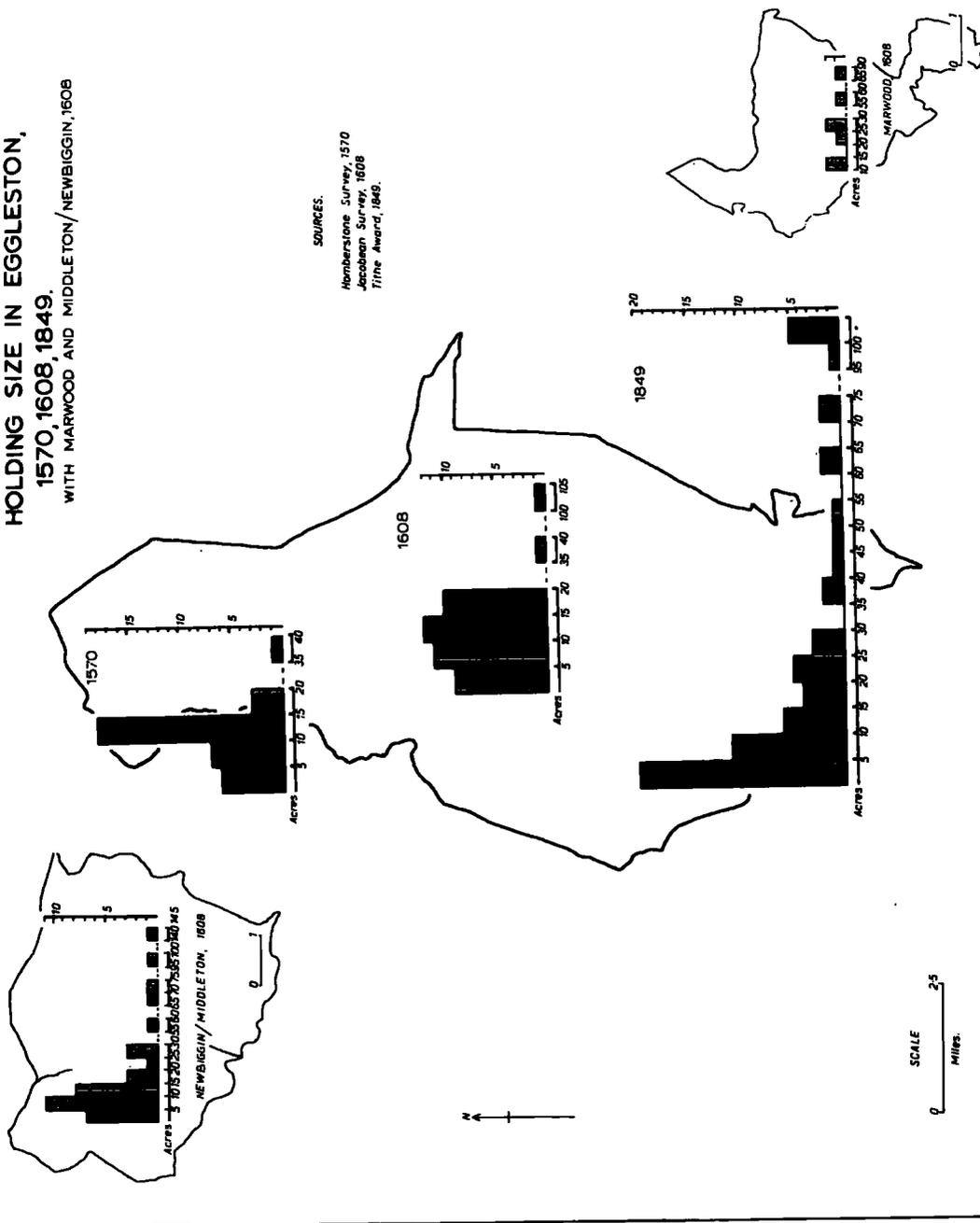


Figure 31 The size of individual holdings within Eggleston and neighbouring Teesdale parishes.

suggest a widening of the gulf between holding sizes.

In Middleton and Newbiggin, 28 of the 38 recorded holdings were between 3 and 20 acres, with a distinct grouping between 5 and 10 acres. The largest holdings were the severalty farms of the Bainbrigge family in the Forest of Teesdale, which recorded over 60 acres, and in the case of Roger Bainbrigge at Friar House, 145 acres. Where consolidation and enclosure had been largely completed by 1608, there was a much wider range between the size of holdings. Marwood and Woodland had a number of holdings between 12 and 20 acres, but the tendency was towards those of 25 to 30 acres and above. At Shotton, holdings were between 33 and 35 acres, while in Langleydale there were 16 between 3 and 20 acres, with the majority between 15 and 20 acres, and a further 16 from 22 to 52 acres, with 2 holdings at 60 and 90 acres. The trend was clearly towards the growth of larger holdings in association with the rise of enclosed severalty blocks, leaving the smaller holdings where ownership remained largely a collection of strips and small closes within the townfields.

There are no records of the annual values of holdings in the Humberstone Survey, but full records are available for Eggleston and the neighbouring townships in the Jacobean Survey (Fig. 32). The money values would seem

HOLDING VALUES EGGLESTON, 1608. WITH MARWOOD AND MIDDLETON/NEWBIGGIN.

SOURCE.

Jacobean Survey, 1608

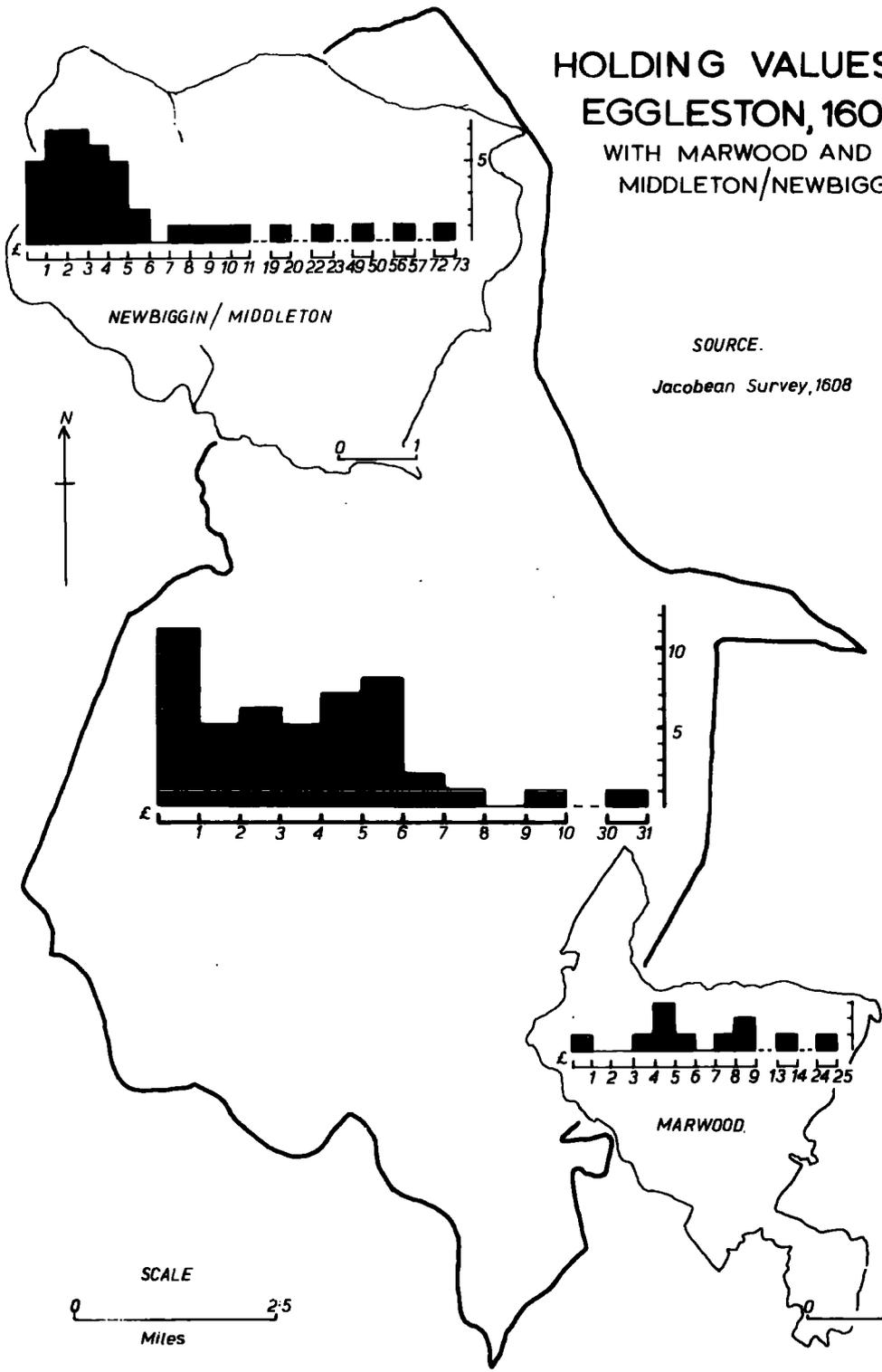


Figure 32 Holding values along the Durham bank of the Tees.

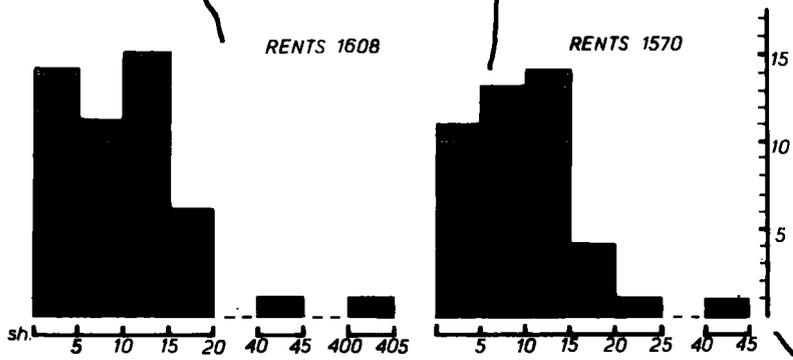
D.A.A.

to indicate a clear relationship between the size of holding and its recorded annual value. From a total of 160 holdings in 1608, 120 were valued at up to £7. 10s. each, with a distinct grouping between £2 and £5. 10s. Eggleston, Middleton and Newbiggin, with their predominance of small size holdings, had by far the greater percentage of them at low values. In Eggleston, only Foggerthwaite valued at £10 and the lord's demesne valued at £31, exceeded £7. 10s, while in Middleton and Newbiggin, the larger holdings of the Bainbrigges accounted for the recorded high values. In the neighbouring townships, the presence of larger holdings reflected value figures in excess of £7. 10s. Three holdings in Marwood recorded high values between £8 and £25, while William Bankes' 90 acres and three storied house were valued at £45.

The annual rent from holdings bears a relationship to both the size of holding and to annual value. An examination of the available figures in 1608 has suggested that rent payments were by and large under £1, the exceptions belonging to the minority of high value holdings. For example, Richard Craddock as mesne lord at Eggleston, paid over £20 rent on his 100 acre holding. Rents were on average between 10 and 21 per cent of values, with a majority between 11 and 16 per cent. In a minority of

cases, rents were as low as 6.8 per cent, which was the amount paid by Cuthbert Allinson on his Newbiggin tenement valued at £2. 18s.; or as high as 64 per cent, the amount paid by Richard Craddock on his demesne lands. A more detailed examination in Eggleston has shown that relative to value, the higher percentage figures were often paid by the poorer cottagers occupying the tiniest holdings (Fig. 33). Cuthbert Pinckney, the holder of an $\frac{1}{2}$ acre cottage intake on the green, paid rent of 1s. on property valued at 5s., a figure of 20 per cent. Anthony Johnson, the occupier of a small intake close to the chapel on the green, paid rent of 3s. 4d. on property valued at 5s., a figure of 60 per cent. Of the 9 recorded holdings in Eggleston where rents as a percentage of values surpassed 20 per cent, 7 belonged to cottagers. Similar instances were recognisable in Middleton and Newbiggin, where for example, Peter Bainbridge occupied a single room under the roof of a wealthier tenant and paid 4d. on a value of 1s., a figure of 33 per cent. On the other hand, a number of cottagers paid only average rents, such as William Nicholson of Eggleston, who paid only 4d. on a value of 3s. 4d., a figure of 11 per cent. This situation reveals only one of the many complexities of landowner - tenant relationships.

EGGLESTON RENTALS, c.1608.



SCALE.
0 ————— 2.5
Miles.

SOURCES.
Humberstone Survey 1570.
Jacobean Survey c.1608.

Figure 33 Rents : rents as percentage of values, in Eggleston. D.A.A.

Using the two surveys available for Eggleston, the stability of rents between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has shown little change. Richard Newby and Richard Lonsdale, for example, paid 14s. and 13s. respectively in both 1608 and 1570. In 7 out of 23 cases a change was recorded, with 5 of them showing an increase, from as little as 2d, from 6s. 6d. to 6s. 8d., for Richard Raine, to 6s., from 12s. 4d. to 18s. 4d., for John Hodgson. In only two cases was a decrease recorded, and this varied from 4d, from 18s. to 17s. 8d., in the case of John Morton, to 2s., from 20s. to 18s., in the case of William Wharton. Rents were thus not static at this period, but capable of individual adjustment over time. Perhaps the most fundamental change took place in respect of the mesne lord, for in 1570 Radulphi Aistrughe held the manor of Eggleston by socage at a nominal rent of 6s. 8d. per annum. In 1608 Richard Craddock held the manor on a 21 year lease dated 1595, and paid an annual rent of over £20.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Teesdale had witnessed the virtual disappearance of customary tenure and the rise of leasehold agreements. Similar developments can be traced in the neighbouring dales, and in Swaledale, where customary tenure had been strong in the early part of the sixteenth century, an abstract

of a decree recited that from 1588 tenants would no longer hold by customary tenure but by 40 year leases, giving up their ancient rents and services.¹⁹ At the end of every lease, the eldest son of the tenant would have a new lease comparable to that which had just expired. In Wensleydale by 1623, George Cole as lord of the manor, had begun to issue 2,000 year leases in return for a capital sum and a nominal annual rent from his tenants. Reference to the lordship of Barnard Castle has indicated that here too, the tenants exchanged customary tenure for leasehold tenure, but without the Exchequer decree required in Swaledale and Wensleydale.

Holdings in Teesdale were essentially small in size, with low values per annum and low rents as a percentage of values. Where enclosed severalty blocks had replaced the small townfield strips and meadow closes, there was an overall increase in size, value, and rent. The influence of this landownership pattern on rural settlement and the agrarian landscape has been significant. In Eggleston at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the structure of society, from the mesne lord to the established village yeoman and the smallest cottager, was well illustrated in the patchwork of arable and meadow strips and closes, interspersed here and there by larger demesne blocks nestling above the valley floor of the Tees

and set against the wild fell land covering much of the valley sides and interfluves. Eggleston was small, organised, and intimate, with roots deep in the past.²⁰ Above all, it was a functioning dales community of the early seventeenth century. Where expansion had taken place outside the township, as in neighbouring Marwood, a pattern of intakes emerged, occupied by men whom Sir John Clapham equated with 'those eighteenth and nineteenth century ironmasters, coal owners and mill owners who so often come of yeoman stock'.²¹ This spirit was applicable to men such as Michael Raine and George Simpson of Shipley, who raised the quality and output of their holdings through careful attention to both land and market prices within the terms of their 40 year lease. Piecemeal colonisation was the dominant influence on the landscape, and although there was a 'labyrinthine complexity of tenures', security was safeguarded for the majority of tenants.²²

As the seventeenth century progressed, a number of recognisable trends developed in landownership. There was a rapid rise and growth of the merchant, banking, and professional classes, particularly associated with the development of English overseas trade, which began to express itself in a profitable land market. At Raby by the end of the century, the lands of the Vane family;

on whom the title Baron Barnard had been bestowed in 1699, were being reorganised along commercial lines. Similarly at Streatlam, the Bowes family had acquired Shipley, East Roger Moor, and Hullerbush, all in Marwood, by the early years of the eighteenth century, and were later to incorporate Robte Knott and West Roger Moor.²³ It is known for example, that even by 1630, Marwood House had almost doubled its 1608 value to reach £10, while the rent had fallen from 9s. 10d. to 5s. 6d.²⁴ At East and West Roger Moor the position was largely unaltered, while at Robte Knott there had been an increase of over 6s. in value to over £3. 16s., and a smaller rent increase of under 1s. to 7s. 6d. Flourishing markets were established at Barnard Castle, Staindrop, and perhaps also at Middleton, by the end of the seventeenth century. It was from Barnard Castle that the Sandersons, in all probability with capital gained from merchant activity, purchased the manor of Eggleston in the middle years of the seventeenth century, and when Christopher Sanderson finally retired to Houghton-le-Spring in 1715, he sold the manor outright to William Hutchinson, formerly of Clements Inn, London.²⁵ William had purchased land at Startforth between 1691 and 1693 and epitomised the rise of the professional classes as landed proprietors.²⁶

There was a rise in the fortunes of a number of

individual tenants, who gradually rose above the majority of the tenantry, and built up their lands with a combination of capital gained from judicious attention to market prices and land values, and considerable personal effort and determination. The relatively small scale but prosperous yeomen were able to purchase their lands outright and achieve freehold status, sharing proportional common rights with the lord of the manor. In Mickleton for example, the Dent family gradually built up a freehold block at the eastern end of the village,²⁷ while in Eggleston by 1681, there were five recorded freeholders including the lord of the manor, Francis Applebey from Yorkshire, John Dobson from Newcastle, Cuthbert Sanderson, and the heirs of John Bell.²⁸ In 1681 there were forty two registered freeholders in Barnard Castle, Marwood and Shipley, Eggleston, Middleton and Newbiggin. Those in Barnard Castle included a barrister and an attorney, while in Marwood and Shipley, the occupiers of Shipley House, Roger Moor and Hullerbush were all registered freeholders. In the upper dale, Middleton had four freeholders and Newbiggin twelve, including the Bainbridge family in the Forest of Teesdale. Below the yeoman freeholders remained the husbandmen and labourers, still perhaps very close to subsistence and vitally dependant

on the soil and their crops to produce a small surplus in order to make ends meet. Clapham has emphasised that the dividing line between yeomen and husbandman was not necessarily a very sharp one, but in general the yeoman held at least 20 acres of land.²⁹

Finally, the Church was an important landowner during the seventeenth century. Although the Durham bank of the Tees was no longer a temporal possession of the Palatinate of Durham, it remained ecclesiastically a part of the Bishopric, and particularly through the glebe lands and tithe collection, the Church maintained an important hold on the land as a source of revenue. In 1614 there were four small blocks of glebe land shown in Eggleston at the head of west row, while by the end of the century, the glebe consisted of two 10 acre holdings let by the rector at Middleton.³⁰ Hughes has suggested that feudal obligations still existed on ecclesiastical land in the south of Durham as late as 1662.³¹ In addition to the glebe, tithe charges were collected from each township in the dale. At Eggleston by the end of the century, tithes included those on corn, hemp and flax, while until 1672, there was a hay tithe of 3d. per acre due on the first Sunday after Michaelmas from all lands in the township whether grazing, meadow, or corn. One tenth of the corn was paid by kind. After 1672, an

agreement was reached on the payment of 6d. for every acre of pasture, corn and hay, and the lord of the manor was required to pay a customary rent of 3s. 4d. for his mill. The Church thus maintained a firm hand on the purse strings of its parishes. Romalldkirk rectory was the ecclesiastical focus along the Yorkshire bank, and was in the Archdeaconry and Deanery of Richmond.^{32.}

The eighteenth century saw an extension and enlargement of the earlier trends in landownership, as the land market remained a favourable and profitable form of investment and as the pace of the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions intensified, 'Trade has two daughters ... manufacture and navigation'.^{33.} The slowly rising population quickened during and after the 1740's, and was accompanied by an increasing demand for the produce of the soil, which produced 'an incessant demand for wool and the government bounty on corn'.^{34.} An increase in literacy percolated through to perhaps all but the poorest labourers by the end of the century, and the effect of this led to a growing understanding of both local and national issues, and encouraged a greater participation in affairs of the land and a better documentation of ownership.

The large landowners expanded and consolidated their

estates, and reorganised them on solidly commercial lines under their agents, bailiffs, and stewards. Improved methods of cultivation and crop strains were evidence of their commercial intentions, while the lavish dwelling houses and grounds stood as social monuments to their achievements. At Raby, Baron Barnard, who after 1754 became Viscount Barnard and Earl of Darlington, vastly improved his grounds and estates.³⁵ In 1770, Arthur Young was most impressed by the castle, 'it strikes by its magnitude, and that idea of strength and command are naturally annexes to the view of vast walls, lofty towers, battlements, and the surrounding outworks of a baron's residence'. The seventeenth century designs of Inigo Jones were recognisable in the frontage, while 'the park and ornamental grounds around the castle are disposed with very great taste', and the views commanded over the Raby lands were most impressive.³⁶ Raby old village had been pulled down during the century to allow for park and wood improvements near to the castle, while between 1780 and 1790, New Raby was built to the east of the castle in order to provide accommodation for estate employees.³⁷ In terms of land management and improvement, Young stressed the important initiative of such a large landowner and landlord.

Similarly at Streatlam, expansion and development took place around the castle and was well depicted on the eighteenth century maps of the Bowes estate.³⁸ The castle itself was rebuilt by Sir William Bowes in 1540, and clearly illustrates the Tudor Gothic style, although modified in the form of an E-plan. It was refronted between 1708 and 1710 with a fine portico entrance, and supported an avenue of trees which stretched southwards away from the Lodge house and gates to the west of the castle, to meet the Barnard Castle to Staindrop road.³⁹ The old village of Streatlam had been abandoned to allow for expansion of the castle grounds, while throughout the whole township there was much evidence of the hand of the Bowes family on the landscape. This ranged from Sir Talbot's Intack on the common, which by mid-century supported a number of both active and defunct lime kilns, slate and freestone quarries; lead blasts; a boring for coal; and sheep folds; to the tenant farms, and Sir William Bowes' bowling green to the west of Stainton village. Surrounding the estate were the lands of the Earl of Darlington, and there were no less than eight references to his incroachments upon the estate. At Huller Bush, in the north east corner of Marwood, there was even a reference to an 'Intack in Partnership' which, since it lay between the three small intakes of George

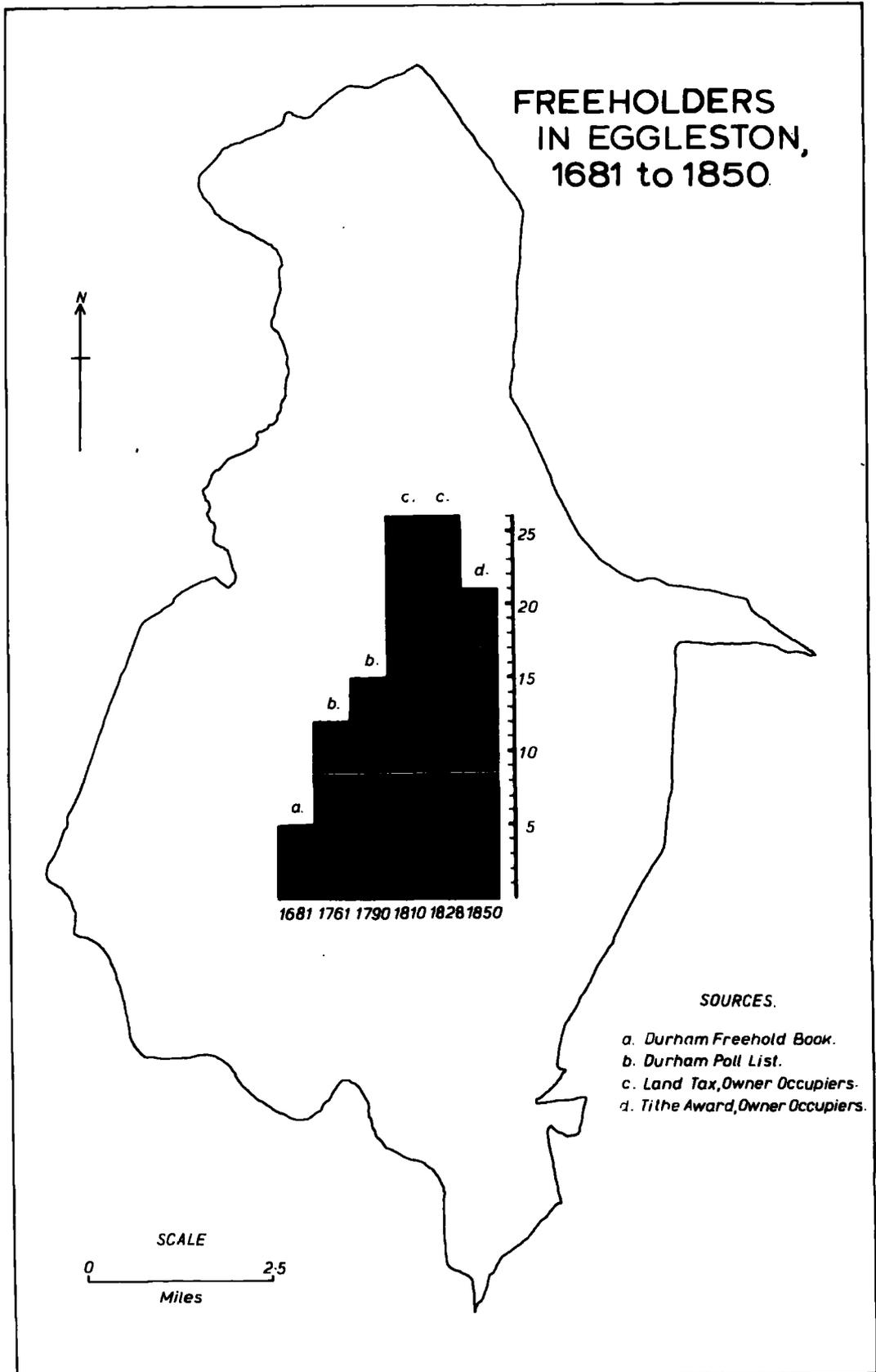
Bowes on the east and a small encroachment of the Earl of Darlington on the west, was perhaps an area of joint usage (Fig. 21).

On a smaller scale, and surrounded by both Raby and Bowes lands, the township of Eggleston had its influential landowners in the Hutchinson family. To the east and west of the township, the Earl of Darlington laid claim to parts of the fell, under a long standing dispute which no doubt originated when Eggleston ceased to be a part of his estate, and which did not produce a satisfactory compromise until the nineteenth century, when part of the claims were substantiated in boundary revisions with Middleton.⁴⁰ The Hutchinson presence was marked by a vigorous and successful attempt to gain complete control of the land and its wealth, both by right as lord of the manor and also by purchase, while their influence on settlement and agrarian life has already been considered in detail.⁴¹ Improvements and extensions to the manor house and grounds were made by William, his nephew William, and his son Timothy, and by 1763 there had been an expansion of parkland and an incroachment on the green. In 1770, Young commented on Eggleston's 'fine assemblage of the noble touches of nature', and indicated that 'Mr. Hutcheson's house is sweetly situated in the midst of these rural wonders'.⁴²

By the end of the century, the lower half of the village below the Middleton road, had been incorporated within the expanded hall grounds, while many of the houses in the remainder of the village were now owned by the Hutchinsons. In the former Middle or townfield in 1763, William Hutchinson was paid rent on over 81 of the 100 acres, while on the common and the late block enclosures, the Hutchinsons maintained the largest acreage; the majority of the stints and cattle gates; and the sole mineral rights. The rapid rise of lead mining and smelting was perhaps the most significant spurt given to landownership during the eighteenth century and brought with it a need for the re-assertion of many ownership rights.

Beneath the large landowners were the lands of their tenants. These were smaller and more modest in layout and value, although there was a continuation of the trend towards the growth of freeholders with perhaps 20 acres or more. In 1761 along the Durham bank of the Tees between Marwood and Newbiggin, there were 58 registered freeholders of houses, land, or both, of whom 21 were full owner occupiers.⁴³ In 1790 the corresponding figures were 72 and 29.⁴⁴ Eggleston recorded 12 freeholders in 1761, an increase of 7 in the eighty years since 1681, of whom 6 were owner occupiers (Fig. 34).

FREEHOLDERS IN EGGLESTON, 1681 to 1850



SOURCES.

- a. Durham Freehold Book.
- b. Durham Poll List.
- c. Land Tax, Owner Occupiers.
- d. Tithe Award, Owner Occupiers.

Figure 34 Freeholders and owner occupiers in Eggleston.

D. A. A.

Anthony Headlam lived at Eggleston, but his house and land were occupied by Anthony Morton. John Stephenson's house and land was occupied by William Stephenson, who had sub-let his own holding to Anthony Pratt. Consequently one can begin to see the complexities of landownership, and recognise that a small number of acres in Eggleston were now owned by freeholders living outside the township. Of those who were owner occupiers, the names of Harrison, Bailes, and Addison can be traced back to small leaseholders in 1614 and 1608. William Harrison and John Addison were leaseholders to the Earls of Westmorland in 1570, and occupied tenements and crofts in east row with holdings of just over 9 acres and 14 acres in the townfields. In 1614 Christopher Harrison and Thomas Addison held similar holdings, but had now begun to consolidate and enclose, and by the middle years of the eighteenth century they were both among the more comfortable freeholders in Eggleston. Christopher Harrison had moved from east row to his severalty holding at Bulmers Flatt and by 1753 he was paying 2d. per annum for his enclosure on the common.⁴⁵ In 1763 he held only a single acre strip in the Middle field, which formed a lynchet adjacent to his severalty holding, and it is a further indication of the complexity of landownership that for the purposes of this single acre strip, the Harrisons were tenants of William Hutchinson. As freeholders, an area of land totalling

about 100 acres was allocated to them in the 1785 enclosure award, and by 1790 they occupied Balmer House, a superior dwelling alongside the earlier, less grandiose farmhouse.

By the late eighteenth century, John Addison occupied a dwelling in west row, together with a large consolidated block of freehold strips totalling over $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the Middle field. In 1785, he too was allocated almost 100 acres in the enclosure award and by 1790 he held two tenements in Eggleston, a house and shop in west row and a house and field at Eggleston Bridge, together with a close in the now enclosed Middle field. Here was a farmer - shopkeeper who was among the wealthier inhabitants of Eggleston by the end of the eighteenth century. At this time in the township there were 15 recorded freeholders, of whom 8 were owner occupiers. Anthony Raine lived at Rokeby to the east of Barnard Castle, and his houses at Eggleston were occupied by Timothy Brown, while Joseph Todd lived at Streatlam, and George Allison tenanted his holding. This emphasised a growing remoteness of some freeholders who were in effect landlords, which added a further complication to the landownership pattern. This paved the way for the growth of owner occupiers on into the nineteenth century.

Below the freeholders in the eighteenth century hierarchy, were the majority of the tenant farmers. Their obligations and links with the large landowners and the lord of the manor remained stronger both economically and socially, than those of the freeholders. Slowly, many of them emerged from being farmers working their own small holdings on a given lease, to employees working on land which through consolidation, amalgamation, and enclosure, was in fewer hands. Leases continued and were probably relatively long term to favour the benefits of security of tenure. In terms of rent values, in 1744 the half yearly rent from Hope House was £11. 10s., while in 1795, Thomas Robinson paid a half yearly rent of £27. 10s. on land at the west end of Eggleston.⁴⁶

Accompanying this gradual change, which perhaps marked the final supremacy of an economy and social structure based on finance, and extinguished the last vestiges of customary rights, was a process of sifting which produced its own hierarchy. This ranged from the more successful farmer managing a farm for a particular landowner, and who in time might become more prosperous than his freehold neighbour, since economies of scale were in his favour, down to the smaller farmer working the land of a smaller freeholder, and to the farm labourer occupying a small house or cottage in the village or on the farm itself.

The Land Tax returns may be used to evaluate the composition of landownership in Teesdale.⁴⁷ These are available for Barnard Castle, Marwood, Eggleston, Middleton, Newbiggin and Forest and Frith, for a period of over twelve years between 1759 and 1827. For each holding in a township the returns record the name of the occupier, the owner, and the tax paid. The tax was first raised in 1697, based upon income of profits and salaries; value of goods and merchandise; and annual value of land; but by 1733 it had been reduced to the annual value of land to simplify its collection. After 1772 it was fixed at 4s. in the pound, having previously varied between 1s. and 4s., and was assessed on the figures for 1692, which was favourable to those owners who had since improved their holdings. The value of these returns in studying the position of tenant farmers alongside owner occupiers, has been shown by Grigg.⁴⁸

In Eggleston, 12 freeholders were recognised from the poll lists in 1761. The Land Tax returns for 1759 and 1760, which in these two years made no immediate distinction between occupiers and owners, provide a record of the number of holdings, and if used together with the poll list and the distinctions of ownership shown for the Middle field on the map of 1763, can distinguish between tenants and owner occupiers. Of the 37 recorded holdings

in 1759-60, 10 of the 12 freehold units of 1761 were distinguished. The remainder of the recorded holdings belonged to tenants of William Hutchinson, 12 of whom held strips in the Middle field in 1763. Many freehold tenants such as Christopher Harrison and John Dixon, paid lowly sums amounting to 6s. and 10s. 5d., while other tenants of sizeable acreages, such as Mark Nicholson and Robert Haxwell, paid much higher amounts of 16s. 1d. and 15s. 7½d. William Hutchinson paid £1. 4s. 0½d. as lord of the manor, which perhaps reflects the size and status of the estate at the end of the seventeenth century. The owner occupiers recorded in the 1783 and 1789 returns, when the distinction between owners and occupiers was much clearer, compared favourably with the 15 registered freeholders in the general election list of 1790.

Little change had taken place in ecclesiastical landownership since the seventeenth century. The glebe land remained, and in Eggleston in 1763 it included three strips of just over 3 acres in the Middle field, together with land at the head of west row. The rector of Middleton, under whose jurisdiction lay the curacy of Eggleston until 1795, had in effect the rights of a freeholder on the common and was allotted land in the 1785 enclosure award.⁴⁹ Tithe collection appeared unchanged from the

seventeenth century and involved part money and part kind payments. Hughes suggested that ecclesiastical rents never varied after 1662 for as long as 150 years, which is an indication of the conservative nature of ownership.⁵⁰ Changes only finally came with the reorganisations of the nineteenth century under the Tithe Redemption Commission.

In summary, by the close of the eighteenth century land remained 'the basis for a certain sort of political and social power and a certain style of life', but there was a growing emphasis on successful commercial management.⁵¹ Landowners such as the Earl of Darlington, the Bowes family, and the Hutchinsons, exerted their influence through the lease, the supply of permanent capital for improvements such as enclosure, and through their position as agents of institutional change. Direct incentives were also given to mineral extraction and to improvements in the economic infrastructure, especially communications. The Hutchinsons for example, were an important influence in turnpike road construction at Eggleston. There was undoubtedly a genuine wish to develop land for profit at this time, a wish initiated by the most influential landowners, and implemented by the growing number of owner occupiers and more directly by their tenants. Such developments had a strong impact on the

development of the cultural landscape, with its regularly laid out enclosures and improved agricultural methods, and were observed at first hand by such travellers as Arthur Young.

In the nineteenth century, the social structure of Teesdale remained rigid, and Mills has put forward a generalised pattern applicable in the dale.⁵² At its head were the gentry, landed families and members of the squirearchy or the aristocracy. In Teesdale this was a highly localised group which correlated closely with the large landowners, and comprised the Earl of Darlington at Raby, the Bowes family at Streatlam, and perhaps the Hutchinsons at Eggleston Hall. Below the gentry were the upper middle class, which included professional men such as clergy, doctors and schoolmasters, and significantly, the large tenant farmers. This group was less localised and was represented within each of the major townships in the dale. At Eggleston by mid-century, one could recognise the Reverend J.H. Brown; Joseph Helmer the surgeon, who was born in Romaldkirk and trained in London; William Melrose, the schoolmaster from Scotland, and Jonathan Brown of Eggleston, a tenant farmer of almost 100 acres at Foggerthwaite House.⁵³

The lower or rural middle class followed, made up of

yeoman farmers or relatively small owner occupiers; the upper ranks of tradesmen and skilled craftsmen; and the smaller tenant farmers. This group was widely distributed and its growing numbers contrasted with the much smaller numbers of the previous groups. In Eggleston, John Dixon was the owner occupier of a 40 acre farm whose lands lay both in the townfields and on the later enclosures; Jonathan Foster was a stone mason; Thomas Nodding a tailor; and John Parnaby a tenant farmer of 29 acres at Foggerthwaite. In addition, the upper ^eechalons of the administration at Blackton Smelt Mill were no doubt making indentations within the social structure at this level, although the mill manager very probably found himself included within the upper middle class. Mobility was growing only slowly within a rigid social hierarchy.

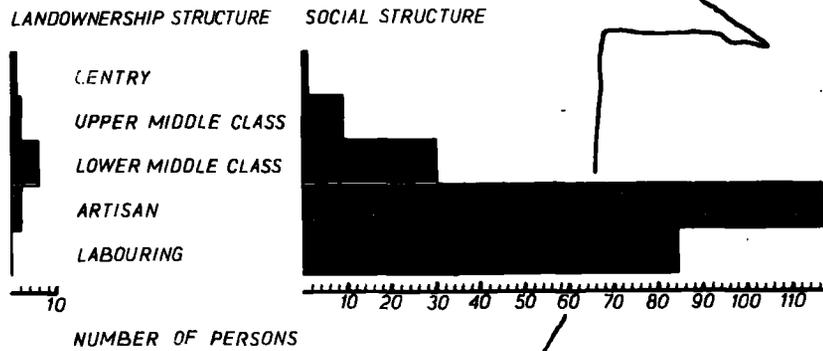
A fourth category, both greater in number and wider in distribution, was the artisan class, which included estate workers employed directly in the homes and grounds of the gentry. At Eggleston Hall, James Raw and John Stephenson were gamekeepers; Fleming Backhouse, the butler; and Amelia Jane Robertson, the housekeeper. In addition there were the lower ranking craftsmen and tradesmen in the village, together with the apprentices working under them such as John Menals of Wensleydale, who was an apprentice shoemaker to William Coates. Finally within

this group, were the numerous workers employed at the smelt mill or in the lead mines, as smelters, refiners or miners.

At the foot of the hierarchy were the labourers, large in numbers and widely distributed around the key points of employment on the estates, large farms, and in the smelt mill and lead mine complexes. These included farm labourers such as Joseph Raine of Romaldkirk, employed by Jonathan Brown at Foggerthwaite House; lead mine and smelt mill labourers, such as Joseph Brown of Foggerthwaite; gardeners such as Harrison Brown, employed at Eggleston Hall; and house servants and maids such as Hannah Anderson of Middleton, employed at Eggleston Hall. The accompanying graph provides a summary of the social structure in Eggleston in 1851 (Fig. 35).

The gentry remained influential and prosperous in Teesdale throughout this period.⁵⁴ If the seventeenth century witnessed the beginnings of commercial estate development, with the reorganisations at Raby; the growing influence of Streatlam; and the period of the Sandersons at Eggleston; then the eighteenth century saw the period of major expansion and growth. This process was largely completed by the early decades of the nineteenth century, and consolidation began to dominate a gradually changing economic situation, in which industry occupied the forefront

LANDOWNERSHIP AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN EGGLESTON, 1851.



SOURCES.

Tithe Award, 1849.
Census Returns, 1851.

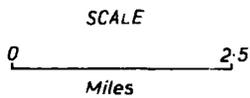


Figure 35 The landownership and social structures, by employment.

D.A.A.

of economic development. Agriculture witnessed a series of minor 'revolutions' in which it sought a more efficient and viable future.⁵⁵ Particularly during the first half of the century, the Earl of Darlington continued to develop his Teesdale estates along specialised lines. There was a concentration of arable acreage in the 'lowland' estate as far as Piercebridge, for which the estate office at Staindrop largely functioned, while in the 'highland' estate administered from Middleton, emphasis was on pastoral pursuits in the form of cattle and sheep rearing and some dairy farming. The growth of urban settlement in the lower Tees Valley and in neighbouring parts of County Durham, provided a stimulus for such developments. 'The highly cultivated condition of this exposed and elevated district is principally due to the very large amount of capital expanded in the course of the last fifty or sixty years upon their estates by ... the Dukes of Cleveland.'⁵⁶ The Earl of Darlington in fact became the Marquis of Cleveland in 1827, and the Duke of Cleveland and Baron Raby after 1833, but he is now generally known as Lord Barnard. The whitewashed farmsteads of solid eighteenth and nineteenth century construction were surrounded by regularly laid out rectangular enclosure blocks, which together comprised tenant farms of between 30 and 100

acres, and were a testimonial to Raby landownership. The home farm itself, which including the deer park totalled over 1,000 acres by mid-century, has been well documented.⁵⁷ This compared with the largest holding on the estate at Valence Lodge, a former residence of the Bainbridge family, which together with moorland grazing amounted to over 4,000 acres.⁵⁸ The total income from land at Raby had reached an annual figure of around £70,000 by 1850, and an indication of the social splendour and gracious living of such a wealthy and influential landowner was shown in the cut back on the cost of servants to about £2,000 per annum in 1845. The success of lead mining provided much of the investment capital for agricultural improvements at Raby.⁵⁹

At Streatlam, the Bowes had successfully married into the family of the Earl of Strathmore during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and in 1815 the title of Baron Bowes of Streatlam was conferred on the family.⁶⁰ The farms on the estate were generally let annually, and at the beginning of the century between £20,000 and £30,000 were spent on the estate at Streatlam alone, in order to improve its profitability.⁶¹ For the lands across the Tees from Cotherstone to Mickel Fell at the head of the Forest of Lune, an estate office

was established at Bowbank at the foot of Lunedale. There are numerous estate papers, including deeds and leases, farm plans and accounts, estate maps, family papers, rents, and manorial count rolls for the period 1626 to 1746, among the Bowes-Strathmore papers in the Durham County Record Office. When the Streatlam estate itself was auctioned in 1922, the sale catalogue offered an area of 4,800 acres, a late Renaissance mansion, gardens, a timbered deer park, home farm, and twenty tenant farms.⁶² Such was the impact of the Bowes family on the cultural landscape of Teesdale.

In Eggleston, the Hutchinson family, Timothy until 1810, the two Williams until 1842, and Timothy grandson of his namesake, until the end of the century, continued the development of their estates. The hall was rebuilt in a Regency style during 1810-11, and on a visit made in 1834, Garland noted that it was a 'handsome building, in a style well suited to so wild a region as surrounds it; the pleasure grounds are most judiciously and tastefully disposed, containing an artificial waterfall of considerable height, and a subterranean walk which has been blasted in the rock by the river's side. The late Mr. Hutchinson laid out a most extensive Botanic garden'.⁶³ There were further enclosures in 1816, while financial and personal support were raised for the lead smelt mill at Blackton

and the lead mine at Flakebrigg. Road improvements were encouraged, and by 1850 the Hutchinsons owned almost 2,600 acres out of a total cultivated acreage of approximately 3,050 acres. In addition, they held over 700 cattle gates and stints on Eggleston Common out of a total of 900.⁶⁴ An agent in Barnard Castle was responsible for estate administration, for which there remain a few documents and letters. For example, in 1816 William Hutchinson wrote to Thomas Wheldon at Barnard Castle to convey his suspicions over the accounts of the Eggleston Coal Road, which crossed the block enclosures and the fells to reach the western fringes of the Durham coalfield at West Pitts. Mr. Hutchinson also referred to William Raper renting a turnpike gate at Eggleston from May 1805, at a rent of £127 per annum.⁶⁵

While the gentry were busy on their Teesdale estates, three basic changes took place among the tenantry. These involved their status; their holdings; and the rise of the miner-farmers. At the end of the eighteenth century, there had been a notable rise in the number of freeholders or owner occupiers, many of whom held small acreages of land, but a number of whom were no longer occupiers and had their own tenants. The complex pattern of landownership was reflected in the layout of holdings, and of a total of 53 holdings, 10

were occupied by their owners and the remainder were under a tenancy agreement. Between 1802 and 1828, the Land Tax returns indicated that in Eggleston there were between 22 and 27 landowners in any one year. In the forefront were a small group of more influential owners, the Dixons, Joshua and William Raine, the Dowsons and the Gibsons, who owned perhaps 30, 40 or even 50 acres each, and were freeholders recognisable from the early years of the eighteenth century. Between them, these four or five families owned about 220 acres, while the Bowes family and Lord Barnard owned a further 97 and 15 acres respectively. A further 50 acres were glebe land, which left a total of about 60 acres distributed among the remaining fourteen or so small owners. Their ownership was largely confined to a house and garth with perhaps a single field or one or two small closes. Where farming still remained their prime occupation, they held additional land as tenants. William Robinson of Ornelly for example, farmed almost 98 acres, of which only 6 acres were directly owned by him. What was the essential difference between him and Jonathan Brown, a tenant farmer of 97 acres at Foggerthwaite House?

The final demise of the manorial structure in Eggleston during the nineteenth century, ensured widespread acceptance of the term owner occupier rather than freeholder,

and perhaps reduced the status formerly attached to this term in earlier periods. The Manorial Documents Register has a reference to the court rolls for the manor of Eggleston between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, but although deposited in the Bowes Museum by Lord Barnard in 1956, the writer has been unable to trace them.⁶⁶ It is probable that leases and rents remained in force during the nineteenth century, for in 1812, Joshua Raine sold his 70 acre allotment at Foggerthwaite to John Colpitts Esquire, on a 99 year lease.⁶⁷ On the Raby lands however, leases were largely discontinued during the 1820's and replaced by yearly tenancies. Rents from the Raby lands rose from over £9,000 in 1790 to almost £15,000 in 1815, at which level they remained until 1855, when increases of about 20 per cent were deemed necessary.⁶⁸

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, over 80 per cent of the 36 recorded holdings in Eggleston were between 3 and 20 acres. By the middle of the nineteenth century, over a cultivated area whose acreage had increased almost ninefold, there were 64 holdings. Of these, only 25 or about 37 per cent, were between 3 and 20 acres, and there were concentrations at around 8 and 5 acres. Below 3 acres there were 15 holdings, 12 of them under 1 acre and comprising perhaps a house and

tiny garth. Above 20 acres there were 24 holdings within a vast range. At the bottom, 5 holdings were between 20 and 25 acres; a further 3 between 25 and 30 acres; 5 between 35 and 50 acres; and 6 between 50 and 75 acres. Above this, there were holdings of 97 acres at Foggerthwaite; 121 acres at Ornelly; 163 acres at East Barnley; and 166 acres at Laverick House, Blackton, all of which were tenant farms. The Hutchinsons maintained a holding of over 440 acres, while the largest holding was tenanted by Joseph Allinson at Toft House, who with the large allotment of over 500 acres, had a total holding of 608 acres. A considerable widening in the size of holdings had taken place since 1608, when the largest holding of the mesne lord had been about 100 acres. In that year an equal sharing of holdings would have given a figure of just over 9 acres, which was not far from the mean, but a similar calculation for 1850 would have given a figure of over 47 acres, a long way from the mean. Growth in holdings had been selective and this rise in the controlling influence of the few, with a reduction in the numbers employed on the land, has been a dominant theme in agrarian studies, 'the overall picture is one of a steady transfer of land from small to large owners'.^{69.}

A summary reflecting current work and opinion on this issue has been produced by Mingay, in a short paper for the Economic History Society.^{70.} Nationally he considered that

small farmers declined 'but certainly did not disappear', while small owner occupier farmers tended to decline more rapidly. In Eggleston, all but a very few were small farmers, but a scarcity of documentary material has made it difficult to measure the exact decline in numbers, particularly during the eighteenth century. A rough guide may be gained by examining those occupying and cultivating strips in the Middle field on the maps of 1763, with their family names in the tithe records and census material of the mid-nineteenth century. In only a few cases did they hold as many as 20 acres, the minimum figure for a small farmer laid down by Mingay. In 1763 Robert Haxwell held a consolidated holding of almost 12 acres, while in 1850 one Henry Haxwell was a farm labourer living at Gate House on the eastern edge of Eggleston. Names such as Bayles, Locky, Lattimour, Prudy, and Spencer had disappeared by 1850, and were probably among those absorbed by the growing industrial areas of the North East. Others such as Dent, Lee, and Nicholson had become associated with craft work and the lead industry.

Owner occupiers may not have totally disappeared or even rapidly declined in numbers in Teesdale, since on the contrary, an increase had taken place from the earliest poll records in 1681 through to those of 1761 and 1790 and on to the early Land Tax returns. Mingay considered the

decline to have taken place nationally during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but Eggleston did not conform. Neither did Middleton, for where there were 4 freeholders recorded in 1681, by 1761 the number had reached 40 and by 1790, 50.⁷¹ Newbiggin showed greater conformity and the corresponding figures were 12, 2, and 4. Mingay suggested that low market prices, heavy taxation, and farming failure, were the major reasons for the decline of small farmers. But what about the chance to sell out at a reasonable price, to a buyer who had both the capital and the desire to enlarge his estate? The Sandersons and Hutchinsons provided this opportunity in Eggleston, and with it an opportunity to follow 'alternative occupations in trade, industry and the professions'.⁷²

'All we know is that industrial manpower was recruited from people who, for one reason or another, found themselves wholly or partially excluded from farming; and that some enclosures slightly assisted this exclusion.'⁷³ There was, however, an alternative to selling out and leaving the land altogether, and that was a partial reduction of holding size and, or, a move into an alternative occupation. Two tradesmen - farmers were already recorded in Eggleston in 1850, but a much greater influence came with the rise of the miner - farmers.

Of the 37 families in Eggleston for whom lead mining and smelting were the major sources of employment in 1850, 22 were miner - farmers, holding small acreages attached to their dwellings. The majority were between 2 and 12 acres, and were made up of perhaps two, three, or four fields on the enclosure blocks of 1785 and 1816. Several holdings reached 15 to 17 acres, while 3 were recorded at over 25 and even 50 acres. Richard Nicholson for example, at Bend Holm, occupied over 60 acres and was a lead ore smelter. His son Richard was a labourer smelter, while his eldest and youngest sons were both named as labourers and may have worked both in the mill and on the farm. The family also recorded a house servant. With one exception all the miner - farmers were tenant occupiers. A brief examination of the neighbouring parishes in which lead was important, in particular Middleton, Newbiggin, and the uppermost reaches of Forest and Frith, would suggest that the miner - farmer was also numerous there in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.^{74.}

Little fundamental change took place in ecclesiastical landownership between the seventeenth century and the commutation of tithes during the nineteenth century. Glebe land together with tithe collections were maintained, but opposition to the latter grew during the period, as land improvements resulted in increased tithe commitments.

The allotment of a parcel of land in the terms of enclosure awards, was an attempt to compensate for the neighbouring landowners' obligations under tithe regulations, but between 1836 and 1860, a series of Tithe Commutation Acts were passed which substituted a money rent or modus for surviving payments in kind.⁷⁵ The modus was based upon average corn prices for the previous seven years. Such acts replaced unpopular payment in kind in Newbiggin and Middleton in 1842.⁷⁶ Among the charges were those of 2d. for every new calved cow, which replaced milk tithes, and of 1d for every house, which replaced tithes on eggs and poultry. The tithes on wood were abolished. In both these townships, from a total of over 14,500 acres, only 270 acres were recorded in tillage in 1842, and of these, 70 acres were in Newbiggin. Over 13,600 acres were recorded as meadow and pasture and under 300 acres were woodland. This change in land use compared with the pattern in 1608, when the arable totalled 75 acres and the pasture and meadow 735 acres.

In Eggleston, the Tithe Commutation Act took place in 1849, when tillage recorded 191 acres and meadow and pasture 1,774 acres. This compared with 86 acres and 425 acres in 1608. There were over 550 acres of woodland. The references among the Bowes papers to the tithes in 1830 and

1841, highlight several of the complexities of landownership and the growing annoyance with such payments.⁷⁷ John Brown of Foggerthwaite for example, had paid 6s. to the receiver or collector of tithes in lieu of hay tithe for his farm, but in 1803 the rector of Middleton refused to accept a money payment. When he returned to the tenancy after an absence of three years he was expected to pay the tithes due for the period when Robert Rowell and Joshua Raine had been tenants. At Stotley, where additions and improvements were made consequent upon the private Middleton enclosure of 1834, the tithe values increased from £7. 3s. 10½d. in 1830, to £8. 2s. 6d. in 1833. The Church generated a certain degree of ill feeling and resentment in Teesdale, which although largely alleviated after commutation, still remained a bone of contention, through the Church Commissioners, to the present day.

Landownership is by its very nature complex, representing the intimate and intricate way in which each individual holds his own segment of the cultural landscape. As society has grown more complex, so too has the pattern of landownership, and throughout the period from 1600 to 1850, the changing economic, social, and political framework in Teesdale has been closely related to landownership. From the feudal framework of a natural economy, evolved a

monetary economy based on the acquisition and exploitation of land by both the gentry and influential merchant and banking interests. The issues of ecclesiastical influence; individual tenancy agreements; and common rights; remain outstanding problems. In particular, the Commons Registration Act of 1965 may prove invaluable in uncovering some of the complexities relating to common land. Much of the moorland, the village greens, and other open space in Teesdale has already been registered as common,⁷⁸ but former common moorland, now held by Lord Barnard, has not been registered, and will cease to be such when registration ceases. Over the 4,800 acre common at Eggleston, where at the present time over 2,100 stints are claimed, a figure of roughly 1 stint for every 2 acres, there are serious problems of land management. These stints are registered by 25 people, the majority of whom occupy farmsteads in the township but the others live as far away as Stockton and Newcastle and let their stints. The map (Fig. 36) is an attempt to show the location of farms holding stints on the common, together with the number of stints held. These range from over 600 in the case of Sir William Gray, the present lord of the manor, to as few as 8 among the smaller tenants. The comparisons with the pattern in the first half of the nineteenth century are significant, for in 1848, only 12 people had rights over the same acreage of common, although

EGGLESTON : THE STINTS UPON THE COMMON, 1969.

SOURCE
COMMONS REGISTRATION ACT, 1965

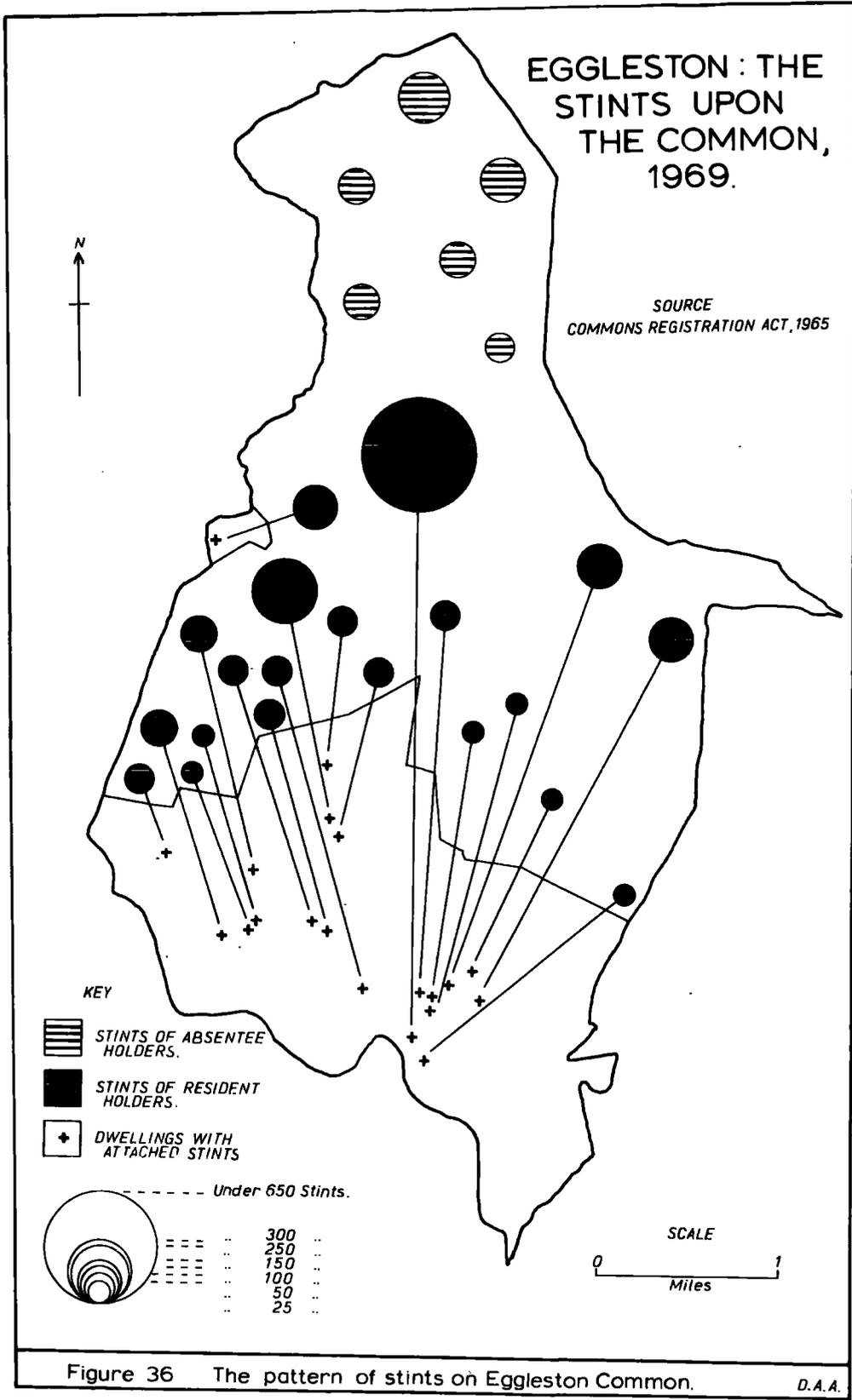


Figure 36 The pattern of stints on Eggleston Common.

D.A.A.

in all but three cases, many stints had been leased or sold to other tenants. In 1816, 17 people had stinting rights on the common, which then included almost 40 stints and over 800 cattle gates.⁷⁹.

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7. Mineral Extraction within Teesdale
between 1600 and 1850.

Man has always sought to make fullest use of the underlying geology to provide not only essential building materials, but also valuable metals such as iron, lead, silver, and coal. In Teesdale the disposition of the geological strata, and in particular the Carboniferous beds, has produced distinct areas within which mining has flourished. The coal seams of the higher Carboniferous series outcrop along the north eastern fringes of the dale around Woodland, while many shallow beds of 'eraw' coal are found further west.¹ Between Barnard Castle and Eggleston there are good quality shales and slates, while both at Shipley and in the Forest of Lune tiny quantities of iron were once mined.² It was the mining and refining of lead and to some extent silver, within the mineralised lower Carboniferous series, that has been of major importance in its impact upon the cultural landscape of the dale.³ Although part of a wider complex covering upper Weardale, Nentdale and Allendale, and extending south into Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, lead mining in Teesdale was concentrated above Eggleston.⁴ The smelt mills were situated on the eastern periphery, which gave

favourable access to both coal supplies and marketing facilities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This chapter will attempt to emphasize the growth and development of lead mining and smelting from its relatively small scale beginnings, through its meteoric rise during the eighteenth century, and on to its fully fledged development during the first half of the nineteenth century (Fig. 37). By comparison coal, iron, and the quarrying of stone played only a minor role in the shaping of the cultural landscape.

Relatively small quantities of iron, lead, and silver have almost certainly been extracted in Teesdale since the Roman period. A small lead market was in existence at Barnard Castle by 1306, while eleven small medieval slag heaps have been recognised close to High Force.⁵ Ramsden recorded lead mines here from the Pipe Rolls of 1130, and noted a whole series of booms and slumps during the succeeding centuries, in particular the slump in silver mining in 1492 and that in lead mining in 1538.⁶ These fluctuations were related to market prices which in turn reflected supply and demand in the face of foreign competition. Lead was an important source of piping, coinage, roofing, and later a whole

TEESDALE : LEAD WORKING.

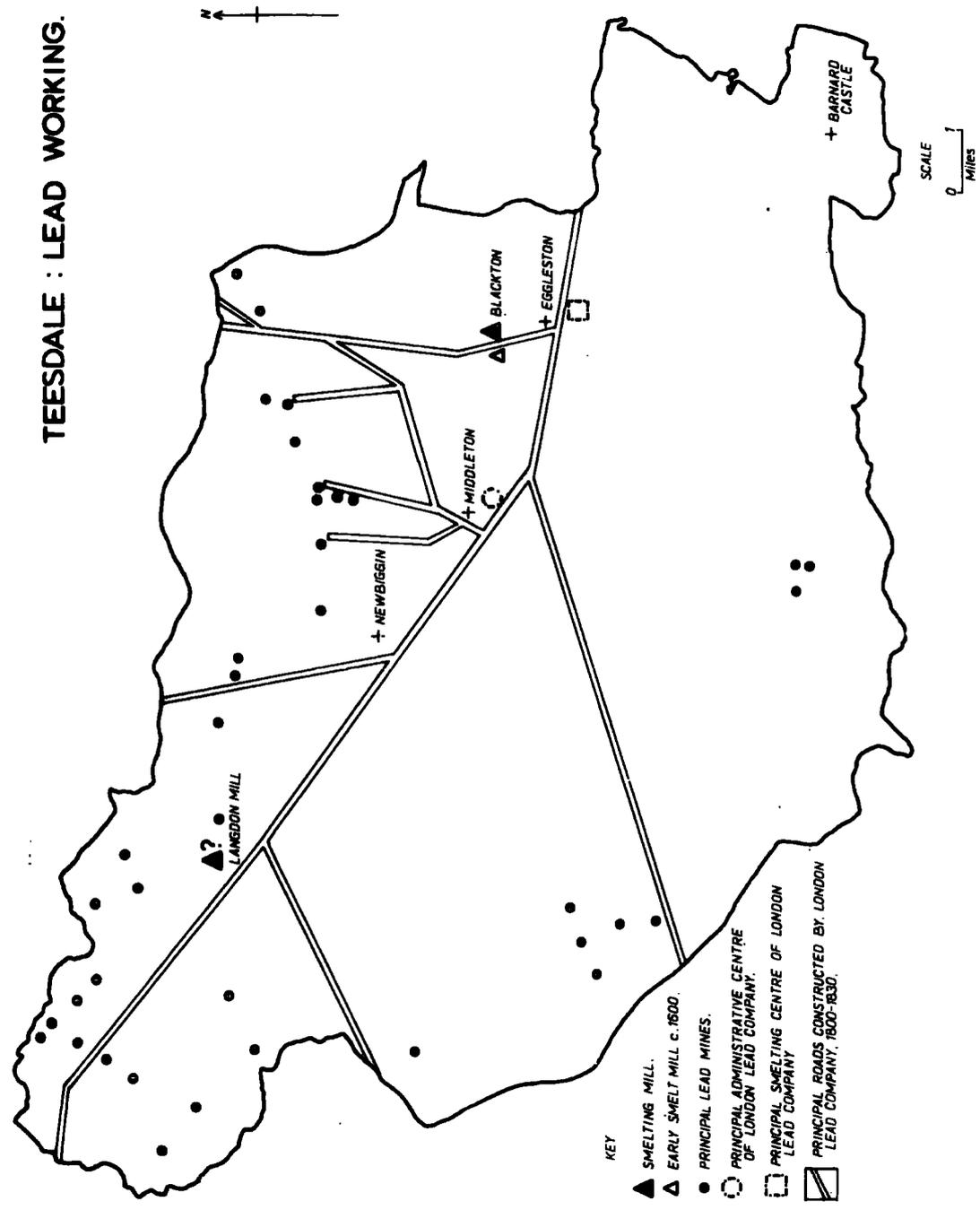


Figure 37 Elements of the extraction and working of lead in Teesdale, 1600 to 1850.

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host of metal alloys.⁷

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, when documentary material was more readily available, the lead industry was small and in the depths of a slump. Early in 1549 Edward VI granted the lead mines within the Forest of Teesdale to Robert and George Bowes of Streatlam, at a yearly rent of 40 shillings.⁸ By 1571, after Elizabeth I had renewed the grant, there was an enquiry at Eggleston to survey and value the Flakebrigg mine which was situated high on the fells and was formerly held by the Earls of Westmorland. It was reported to be in a state of decay and was leased to Ralph Bowes for 21 years at a rent of 60 shillings, 'it appeareth that the premises were much wrought in the time of the said Earl, and that presently they were in great ruin and decay!'.⁹

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, although the Jacobean Survey proved of little value in assessing the position of lead mining in Eggleston, Richard Daines' map of the township in 1614 showed the presence of 'The Lady Brown Leade Mylls', situated on Eggleston Beck just beyond the tiny hamlet of Stratwith.¹⁰ There would seem to have been two distinct buildings here; one along a watercourse

diverted from the beck, and perhaps the major smelting house with its two chimneys and water powered bellows; and another smaller building which may have been both an equipment and lead store. A visit to this small stream terrace site at the present day provides a good indication of its restricted nature and small areal extent. A little masonry of former buildings and an earthen bank are all that remain of the mill itself. It is very probable that this small mill serviced the mine at Flakebrigg, but it may also have smelted ore from neighbouring districts. At Flakebrigg, over 1,500 feet above the valley of Little Egglesthorpe Beck, a few old shafts, sears and spoil heaps, together with a notable absence of vegetation due to lead poisoning, are all that survive. Although redeveloped by the Hutchinsons later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Flakebrigg must have been one of the most famous and wealthy of the Teesdale lead mines during the Middle Ages. Authenticated glass from Germany and Austria was found on the fell by Sir William Gray in the 1940's, and would strongly suggest that here at least, skilled miners were being brought into the dale from mining areas in Germanic Europe, including perhaps such noted centres as Clausthal - Zellerfeld deep in the Harz Mountains.¹¹.

It is exceedingly difficult to produce even a

generalised pattern of lead mining for the whole of Teesdale during the seventeenth century. According to Smailes 'the history of metalliferous mining is not one of steady, uninterrupted progress. With primitive techniques and very limited geological knowledge, mining was a transitory and shifting activity, and after the medieval phase there is little record of much activity in the northern Pennines until the late seventeenth century'.¹² The century passed with a single reference to Christopher Sanderson, as lord of the manor at Eggleston, leasing the mines in 1663 to one Thomas Ireland, for a short lease of 14 years in return for 'one horse load of clean, washed ore out of every eight loads'.¹³ Even the rich Alston Moor mines were far from flourishing, and this can only reflect an unsatisfactory economic climate at both local and national levels. The rise and crowning glory of lead mining in Teesdale came much later during the Industrial Revolution.

For the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, Raistrick has carried out studies on the pattern of lead mining in the northern Pennines, emphasizing in particular the position of the London Lead Company as the largest agency in the north of England between 1704 and 1905.¹⁴ Apart from the work of

Jennings and Clough, whose specialised studies are most valuable for their depth and illustration, very little material is currently available on lead mining and smelting within the dales.¹⁵ During the early decades of the eighteenth century there was perhaps a continuation of the previous pattern, with a number of small mines producing a steady amount of ore and even witnessing a slight upward trend in output. When William Hutchinson purchased the manor of Eggleston in 1727, there was a reference to a lead mill or smelting mill with a house or building called 'refinery house' at a rent of 42s. 6d. per annum, and this was undoubtedly the successor to the 1614 mill. In addition there was also 'that other lead mill or smelt mill in possession of John Collingwood', rented at only 5 shillings per annum.¹⁶ This growth in smelting capacity at Eggleston must be indicative of rising demand since there are references to lead mining between 1733 and 1747 within the Chaytor papers, and between 1726 and 1749 in William Hutchinson's Lead Account Ledger.¹⁷ Rentals, records, and maps of the Earl of Darlington's mines in upper Teesdale during the 1730's, are kept under padlock at the estate offices in Staindrop and Middleton.¹⁸ In the neighbouring township of Streatlam a small lead blast was illustrated on the common in s.1750.¹⁹ It

would seem probable that until this date mining remained on a limited commercial scale, with the small mines owned predominantly by the Earl of Darlington and providing at least a useful supplement to his estate income.

After 1750 considerable changes took place. Elsewhere in the northern Pennines and particularly on Alston Moor, a more commercialised pattern was slowly beginning to emerge under the London Lead Company and the Blakett - Beaumonts. In 1768 there were over 100 small lead mines on Alston Moor, while by 1868 this number had been reduced to 40.²⁰ In contrast 'the Teesdale area, the last home of the London Lead Company, was only developed in their latest periods of activity; the first lease was taken in 1753, of a small group of mines at Newbiggin ... followed in 1771 by the lease of the mines and smelt mills at Egglestone ... Egglestone was made the smelting centre for Teesdale, with a group of three smelt mills, and Middleton became the office centre of the Company, and, after about 1850, the residence of the northern agent'.²¹ This would suggest a growing awareness, on the part of the Earl of Darlington and the Hutchinsons, of the commercial and financial success of lead, and with it a desire to lease the mining rights to a successful company with the skill, expertise, and capital to produce a considerable profit, both for itself and for its landlords. The Earl of Darlington's strenuous efforts to enclose and develop

his estates in the upper dale, particularly after 1750, can be largely attributed to the wealth of lead in the area. The Hutchinsons' mine at Flakebrigg was situated in a particularly rich vein of lead, and boundary disputes were raised not only with the Earl of Darlington between 1772 and 1776, but also with the Bishop of Durham during the 1760's.²² By 1790 three smelt mills were situated on Blackton Beck, only a short distance above the early seventeenth century mill site, but they were rather more accessible and far less restricted in area. The mills depended on water power and this complex of High, Middle and Low Mills was first leased by the London Lead Company in 1789.²³

At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, Teesdale lead was increasing in importance and passing from the hands of the small operator into those of the London Lead Company. By 1809, along the Durham bank of the Tees alone, there were 48 registered lead mines situated between Eggleston and the head of the dale. All the mines except Flakebrigg were owned by the Earl of Darlington, but at this time the London Lead Company held only six leases on the fells above Middleton. The remaining 42 mines were occupied by no less than 25 separate companies of whom only three, Sherlock & Co. (6),

March & Co. (4), and Bland & Co. (4), held more than two. Many of them, including Coldberry above Middleton, produced ore containing between 50 and 75 per cent lead for much of the nineteenth century.²⁴ The smelt mills in Teesdale included those at Eggleston, together with the Gaunless Mill near Raby on the River Gaunless and Langdon Mill, whose precise location remains uncertain but which may well have been in the upper dale not far from Langdon Beck. Both the Gaunless and Langdon mills smelted ore for the Earl of Darlington.²⁵ Over on the Yorkshire bank, lead leases were taken out by the London Lead Company on Cotherstone Moor, at Lunehead, and in the neighbourhood of Cauldron Snout.²⁶

The intensification and commercial development of lead mining and smelting during the nineteenth century was indicative of the Industrial Revolution as a whole. At this time the London Lead Company had consolidated its mining endeavours within the north of England, and since the company was founded upon strong Quaker traditions, the century witnessed a period of social and philanthropic work within the mining communities. The Company brought an element of stability to the industry based on 'very sound technical processes in mining and smelting constantly kept up to date, and a readiness to spend money on experiment and development'.²⁷ Its paternalistic approach

spanned education, recreation, health, and cleanliness, and its undoubted pride was Masterman Place at Middleton, built to plan in 1833 and consisting of cottages and gardens together with 'baths, Company schools, chapels, and all the social amenities that the old village did not possess'. Middleton has retained its 'company town' appearance through to the present day, and although accusations of enlightened self interest could well be levelled at the Company, there was a genuine feeling of well-being and a system of commercial rents was employed. For each cottage and garden in Masterman Place the rent was £4 per annum, and between 1800 and 1840 a total of almost £60,000 was spent on land and buildings in Middleton.²⁸ In cooperation with the larger landowners, encouragement was given to part-time miner-farmers, and Company money and expertise were invested in draining, liming, farm and cottage construction, and timber plantations for mine use. Schools and reading rooms were constructed in Eggleston, Miskleton, and Newbiggin, to give wider social provision for employees and their families.

At the foot of the mining hierarchy, below the general area agent, the district agents or local managers, the smelt mill agents, and the underground agents, were the mine overmen, each allocated to a mine, and under whose

immediate charge came the mass of miners and labourers. Ramsden has produced a useful account of life and work among these men in the Teesdale mines.²⁹ The basic process was to drive one or more levels and a number of ventilation shafts into the fellside, whenever there was evidence of lead ore. Once inside, the veins were tapped and Ramsden has suggested that they were worked up to the surface, with some of the waste used to pack in on the floor as the procedure progressed. Outside the mines lay the picking floors, to which the ore was carried from its bunker stores, and where it was primarily sorted with the clean pieces separated from the rest. The remainder was crushed and treated on washing floors to remove many of the impurities, and then it joined the clean ore and was ready to be moved. These processes necessitated water and led to the development of hush gullies and leats, carrying water from small reservoirs and producing a very distinct landscape pattern. The distance and inaccessibility of the mines forced many miners to spend their working weeks living in the mine shops, going home only at weekends and holidays. Pay was based on the number of fathoms of ground cut, or less fairly in some instances, on the amount of lead ore won. Amidst the rigours of climate and the dangers of the mines, life could be short. In 1836 very severe snowstorms stopped all work in Teesdale and made all

roads impassable. In 1833 a miner was killed at Flakebrigg by the falling in of rock. In 1844 one John Nixon was drowned at Mannergill, through the bursting in of flood water from old workings, while in 1852 John Allinson was killed at Ashgill Head, through riding in the waggon contrary to the regulations.³⁰

From the mines, the lead was transported first to the smelt mills and then on to the market centres. This development, and particularly its intensification during the nineteenth century, did a great deal to improve the pattern of communications within Teesdale, especially over the hitherto difficult fells. The transport of lead was essentially in trains of pack ponies known as jagger galloways, which usually travelled in teams of about twenty and were accompanied by a man and boy, together with a dog known as a 'heeler' to keep the team on the track. The lead was carried in panniers slung over a wooden saddle and each weighed about a hundredweight. Above the fords at Eggleston, which until 1859 were crossed by lead trains en route to Blackton, the old saddle house, used to lighten loads prior to descent to the fords, can still be seen.³¹ Although many earlier green trackways remained, the London Lead Company realised that they would gain ample returns from road and bridge

construction, and a number of significant works were constructed in Teesdale particularly between 1800 and 1830. A new line of roadway up and over to Alston was proposed in 1817, replacing the old and often flooded trackway 'to avoid the most serious drifting of the snow and to follow a line of easy drainage, well above the stream floods'.³² A larger road was constructed over Lunehead between Middleton and Brough, and over the watershed from Eggleston to Stanhope. The latter met opposition from the township of Frosterley in Weardale, which no doubt feared the growing concentration of Teesdale lead smelting in Eggleston, and did not wish to see the local smelting industry damaged. In 1819 a saving of £300 per annum had been made in carriage charges by sending ore to Eggleston instead of to Stanhope mill.³³

In addition to these major roadways, the construction of which provided an invaluable source of employment in times of local economic distress, were the myriad of smaller feeder roads between the mines and mills. The London Lead Company claimed that though they 'must never expect to see any direct return on the capital they advanced towards making and repairing roads and bridges, yet they would derive an ample return for the outlay, in the reduction in the rates of carriage of lead, stores, and in keeping down

the rates of wages by facilitating the ample supply of provisions and necessities for the work people and by economizing the time of the agents in their journies from mine to mine and district to district'.³⁴ Between 1815 and 1865, throughout the north of England, the Company spent over £12,000 in direct grants to road schemes. Carriage reductions were as much as 18d. per hing (8 hundredweights), and when the railways began operating in the middle years of the century, they were even further reduced. It was then possible to transport lead from Teesdale to Newcastle or from Stanhope to Stockton at about the same cost. Even as early as the 1790's, Bailey recorded the export of 340 tons of lead by sea from Stockton.³⁵ In Teesdale, Romaldkirk goods sidings were used both for the outward transportation of lead and the incoming stocks of coal used at the Eggleston smelt mills.

The vital link between the mines and the market were the smelt mills. Eggleston, with its three component units of High, Middle and Low mills, was by far the most important and advanced complex belonging to the London Lead Company. High mill was the major unit, opened in 1771 and shown as David Crawford's mill in c.1790.³⁶ The two smaller mills were opened around the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In 1820 High mill had two ore hearths, one cupola, one roasting furnace, two refining furnaces, and one reducing furnace. Of the two supporting mills, Middle mill had three ore hearths, one cupola, and two reducing furnaces, and Low mill had two ore hearths, one cupola, and one reducing furnace. The whole complex became known as Blackton Smelt Mill and remained in operation until 1903.^{37.}

The technical details of mill operation are discussed in depth by Raistrick, Jennings, and Clough.^{38.} At Eggleston the earliest form of lead smelting took place within the ore hearths, using coal and a blast of air driven through it from bellows operated by water power from Blackton Beek. The molten lead then flowed down a sloping sill into a number of containers, from which it was ladled out into moulds. A better method was later developed through the use of reverberatory furnaces or cupolas, in which the heat was deflected down on to the ore from an arched fire brick dome, and which produced a cleaner and better controlled product. The molten lead was roasted and ladled from the roasting furnace into the refining furnace, which converted it into lead oxide or litharge and often left behind a certain amount of silver. For a time silver was important in the dale, with about 8 ounces contained in every ton of lead ore. The litharge was in turn transferred

to the reducing furnace where the oxide was reconverted to lead. At Blackton a long ground flue took the fumes from the furnaces to a chimney over a mile away on the fell. A number of small reservoirs, clearly visible at the present day, provided the necessary water power required to operate the mill. Under the management of the Stagg family, Eggleston mill developed a hydraulic system of operation characteristic of nineteenth century engineering, and its layout was arranged to make the fullest use of all available water as it flowed through the mill complex. Adjustments were made to the mill between 1818 and 1826, and it became in effect a teaching and experimental school for smelting and refining processes.^{39.}

In the early years of the nineteenth century Blackton mill employed about 40 men recruited mainly from the local area, and was capable of achieving an output of around 400 bings (3,200 hundredweights) of lead each month.^{40.} In 1805 an axletree of the mill wheel was broken, but it was thought possible to survive the year before fitting a new one. The daily observer saw 'wagons moving along the tramways through the heather; men watching the pots of molten metal and skimming off the surface layers; molten lead pouring into the moulds; the careful examination of the sample tests; the extraction and weighing of the silver; the arrival and departure of ore carriers. Passers

by would see the men moving about their tasks, the glow of the furnaces, the plume of smoke from the high chimney; they would hear the noises from the engine house and the creaking waggons'.^{41.}

By 1850 the impact of lead working on the township of Eggleston was considerable. The London Lead Company had been encouraged by the Hutchinsons who, like the Sandersons before them, took $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the annual ore production. This compared with $\frac{1}{6}$ th taken by Raby from its mines, and with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who in the name of the Bishop of Durham took annually almost £5,000 and $\frac{1}{9}$ th of the refined ore produced from its Weardale mines.^{42.} Thompson recorded the total Raby income from minerals, based largely though not entirely on Teesdale lead, as rising from £6,000 per annum in the 1840's to a steady £14,000 per annum from the mid-1850's, only falling off in the late 1870's.^{43.}

Along the road from Eggleston to Blackton, housing grew up at Hill Top and Gordon Bank to accommodate lead workers and their families, while two terraced rows - North and South Terrace - were constructed near Hill Top for clerks and administrative staff of the London Lead Company. Egglesthorpe Place was the imposing residence of the mill agent and district superintendent. In Eggleston itself the day school, reading room, Wesleyan chapel, and Sunday

school, together with a number of Scots Pine trees planted on the green, testify to the presence of the Company and its employees. The old day school, since replaced by a new building, had carefully laid down regulations for the education of boys from six to twelve years, and girls from six to fourteen years.

As the annual output of lead from the Blackton mill rose from around 1,750 tons in 1845 to 5,200 tons in 1855, the population of Eggleston rose from 617 in 1841 to 636 in 1851 and 788 in 1861. The census data for 1851 lists in detail the households most strongly connected with the lead industry. The list includes lead ore workers (2), lead ore smelters (43), lead ore washers (1), refiners of lead (3), overmen smelters (2), other overmen (1), furnace smelters (2), crystallisers of lead (1), lead ore weighers (1), refiners of silver (1), overmen refiners of silver (1), engineers (1), and lead mill labourers (between 3 and 20). A total of between 65 and 70 men and boys from the township of Eggleston were directly employed at Blackton in 1851, which made up between 35 and 40 per cent of the total male labour force. In addition a further 13 men and boys were employed as miners or labourers at Flakebrigg. Many of the men were local dales folk born either in Eggleston or neighbouring townships, although several came from Weardale

and Alston, and the majority of families were large and poor unless the sons were old enough to work. John Bell for example, a miner-farmer from Alston who lived at Nemour, had all his four sons in the lead industry, the two eldest aged 21 and 19 as smelters at the mill, the younger ones aged 14 and 12 as miners working underground.^{44.}

Under the control of the London Lead Company, the lead industry was an important element in Teesdale during the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the smelting and administrative centres of Eggleston and Middleton. In 1809, 48 lead mines were recorded in the dale, while by 1821, largely through rationalisation, they had been reduced in number to 38, a total which remained fairly constant until the last quarter of the century. Statistical material is hard to uncover from the surviving records, but one or two salient figures can be deduced. An indication of lead production at Blackton may be gained from the figures for 1845, 1850, 1854-5, and 1860, which together amounted to over 16,000 tons. This may be compared with the total smelted lead sold from the northern mines of the Company between 1815 and 1865, which amounted to 203,000 tons together with nearly 2½ million ounces of refined silver. While Eggleston employed a total of over 80 men in 1850, Raistrick has estimated that in the north as a whole, the Company had an average of over 800 miners

alone in any one year between 1815 and 1865.⁴⁵ The London Lead Company was a product of its own particular outlook on life, and was bound firmly to its Quaker principles. It was a member of a select group of nineteenth century companies, including the woollen mills of Salts at Saltaire, and the chocolate magnates of Cadbury at Bournville and Rowntree at New Earswick, York, which held a firm social commitment to its employees, and it was among the forerunners in much of present day urban planning.⁴⁶

The decaying fabric of the lead industry in Teesdale has long remained a scar within the landscape, but is now gradually beginning to blend with its surroundings as nature follows her task of recolonisation. The decline of lead mining was part of a wider decline which crippled the industry throughout the country, in the face of strong competition from abroad and the growing use of substitute metals. There were also contributory factors associated with the internal composition of the Company during its closing period from 1882 to 1905, and with geological and hydrological conditions in the mines themselves. The economies of large scale commercial production were, however, the real reason, for many of the mines had far from exhausted their supplies of lead.⁴⁷ Few mines survived

beyond 1900 and at Blackton decay was rapid. Only the former weighing house has survived surrounded by ruined masonry and broken ground, and covered by rough vegetation and sheep pastures. The water continues to flow from a breached dam, as if to emphasize the ebbing away of time and the gradual erosion of the site by the elements of nature. In contrast, many of the Company's roads, houses, and other buildings have remained to be modernised, maintained, and gradually integrated within the present landscape.^{48.}

With iron and coal deposits peripheral to the dale, the only other significant form of mineral extraction in Teesdale was that of stone quarrying. Its growth paralleled both the extension of enclosure walling and farm building, and the rising construction demands of the London Lead Company. Much of the increased output during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was on a small and localised basis, which avoided unnecessarily expensive transportation costs. Only at Shipley, where stone and slate quarrying can be documented in the Jacobean Survey of 1608, and at Middleton, where an extensive band of Whin Sill dolerite has been increasingly quarried for roadstone, have large quarries developed. The limestone beds have been thinly quarried in Teesdale,

but a scattering of agricultural lime kilns can still be traced. For example in 1750, the estate maps at Streatlam depict most graphically the belching smoke from the two Heddrick Lime Kilns on Streatlam Common.⁴⁹

The growth of mineral extraction in Teesdale during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, together with its influence on the cultural landscape, has been closely associated with changing economic and social pressures and in particular the growing industrial image of north east England. Similar trends, but with local differences of scale and impact, can be recognised in the neighbouring Pennine dales from the Tyne as far south as Derbyshire. These uplands have long been the suppliers of basic raw materials, in the search by succeeding generations for economic and social satisfaction, within their own time and within the framework of their own philosophy and technology.

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8. Teesdale in 1850: A Reconstruction of
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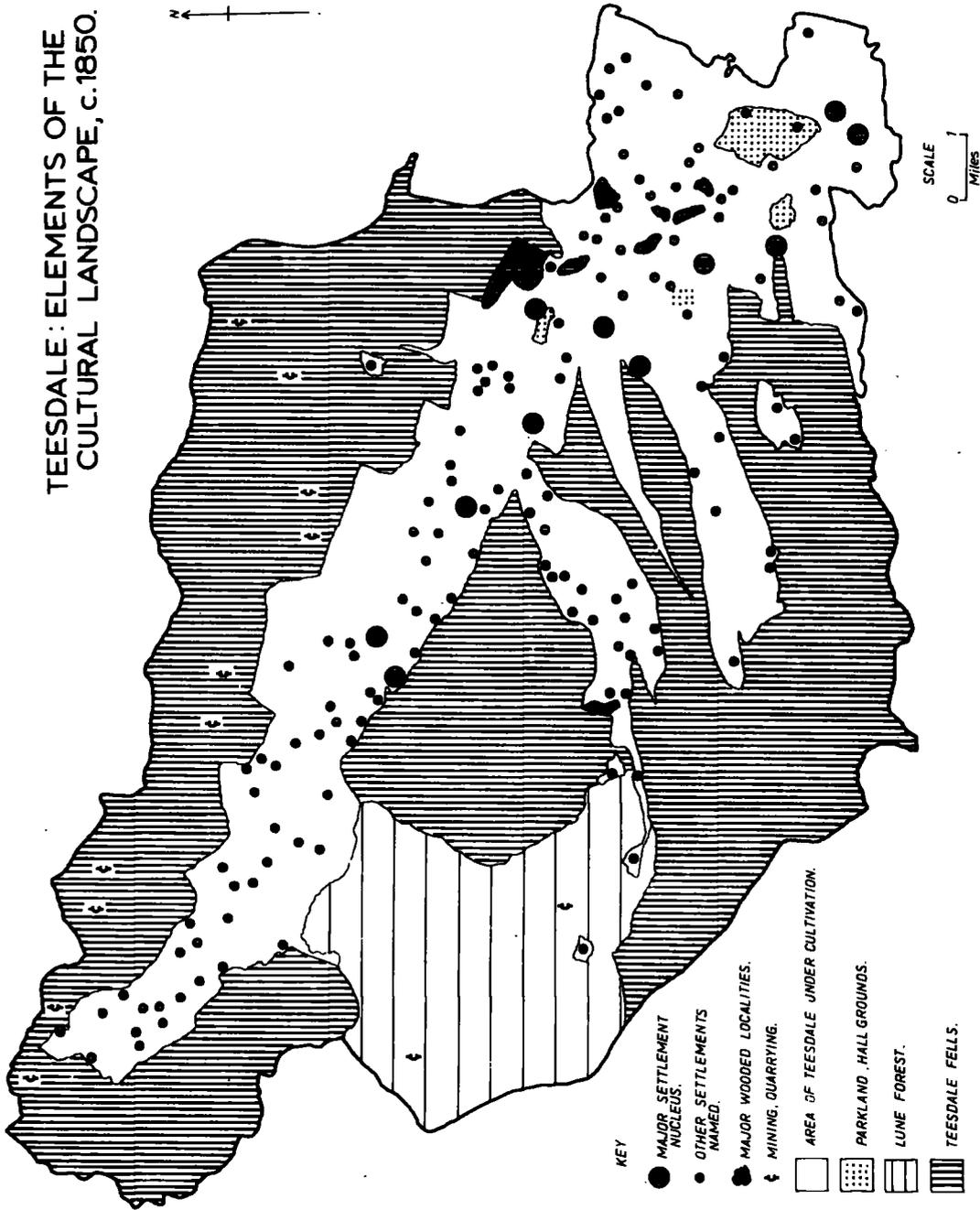
By the middle years of the nineteenth century, the social order in Teesdale was very different from that which existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was more heterogeneous in composition than the small, tightly knit post-feudal society of 1600. In agriculture, mining, trading, craft, transport, and service, a growing specialisation was leading to the emergence of more distinct social and economic groupings. Society was more secure both internally and externally, from the border rebellions and marauding brigands which had been the scourge of earlier days, and this removed a barrier to economic growth, which in turn placed a widening margin of safety between famine and the extreme results of poverty and destitution which had never been far away. Finally, there was a growing mobility, both physically with improved transport in the dale and neighbouring areas, and in terms of thought and ideas from enlarged contact with the country as a whole and the growing understanding of the printed word. Although individual differences remained strong in 1850, it was possible to consider Teesdale as part of a

wider grouping of dales, which in many ways were similar in outlook and attitude and which performed comparable economic roles.¹.

Such basic changes in the outlook of society were reflected in the cultural landscape, and may be compared with the pattern of 1600 (Figs. 10 and 38). The physiographic basis of Teesdale in 1850 was not far removed from the descriptions of Leland in c. 1540, or those of Young later in 1770.² The rocky and boulder strewn course of the upper Tees flowed over the wild and spectacular waterfalls at Cauldron Snout and High Force, and Garland could well claim in 1834 that it was 'a scene so wild and magnificent'. At the head of the dale 'the immense bog called Yad Moss' remained, where 'Not a house, a tree or inclosure of any kind interrupt the boundless waste:- not one dash of cheerful green animates the black and dreary heath'.³ While Leland commented on the wild and rugged terrain as far down the dale as Eggleston, so Garland saw Eggleston Hall well suited 'to so wild a region as surrounds it'.

In contrast to the fell, much of which had been enclosed by 1850, lay the area of cultivated and improved land. This occupied the valley bottoms as in 1600, but

TEESDALE: ELEMENTS OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE, c.1850.



- KEY
- MAJOR SETTLEMENT NUCLEUS.
 - OTHER SETTLEMENTS NAMED.
 - MAJOR WOODED LOCALITIES.
 - † MINING, QUARRYING.
 - AREA OF TEESDALE UNDER CULTIVATION.
 - ▨ PARKLAND, HALL GROUNDS.
 - ▧ LUNE FOREST.
 - ▩ TEESDALE FELLS.

Figure 38 The major elements of the cultural landscape of Teesdale in circa 1850.

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there were differences. First and foremost, there had been an overall increase in the acreage of improved and cultivated land with increased drainage and liming, and a consequent raising of the limit of cultivation to the lower and occasionally the upper slopes. In Eggleston the area under cultivation had increased nearly eightfold since 1600, with the large rectangular enclosure blocks of Foggerthwaite, Blackton, and Nemour surrounding the former acreage of subdivided fields. Only along the western edge of the township close to Ornelly, was there a small outlier of fell which reached down almost to the Tees. Elsewhere in the dale, similar trends and increases in the cultivated area had taken place by 1850. Almost 4,000 acres were brought into cultivation on Barnard Castle Moor, while land came under cultivation in Middleton, Newbiggin, and across in the Yorkshire townships. Chapman has claimed that about 20,000 acres were brought into cultivation along the Durham bank of the Tees between Newbiggin and Westwick in the years from 1763 to 1841.⁴ Well might Garland refer to this area as 'an Arcadian country'. With the increased acreage of improved land and the raising of the limit of cultivation from perhaps 800 feet to 1,100 or 1,200 feet, the field pattern by 1850 was almost entirely one of enclosed hedgerows and stonewalls. A number of these were small and irregular,

but the later fields were far more regular and averaged perhaps 5 to 7 acres in extent. The pattern was 'chequered in the most agreeable variety'.⁵

The type and form of agriculture had also changed correspondingly, and while broadly the tripartite division of tillage, meadow, and pasture remained, there was by 1850 a greater predominance of pastoral farming. Pasture and meadow land were at a premium for sheep and cattle grazing, and Cobbett declared that in the North East as a whole, 'Grass is the natural produce of this land ... the size and shape of the fields, the sorts of fences ... shows that this was ... a country of pasture'.⁶ Corn growing was still significant at the turn of the century, and east of Barnard Castle tillage remained important in the form of wheat and beans.⁷ While in 1785 enclosure in Eggleston had been primarily for tillage, by 1850, in Eggleston, Middleton and Newbiggin, only 461 acres remained in tillage out of a total of over 15,000 acres, a figure of 3 per cent. Cattle and sheep were now dominant, and Cobbett had high praise for the Durham Ox with its 'short horns, strait back, taper neck, very small in proportion where it joins on to the small and handsome head'.

The greater part of the upper dale was no longer a forest preserve by 1850, since lead mining had now broken much of the peace and tranquility and brought increased

accessibility for both population and cultivation. The private preserves of the large landowners were confined to the landscaped and often exotic parklands attached to their private residences at Raby, Streatlam, and Eggleston Hall, and each family 'could savour their own piece of countryside in privacy'.⁸

A more accurate record of Teesdale in 1850 is available from cartographic sources, in particular those of the Ordnance Survey, whose maps depicted a great deal more detail than did the early, largely pictorial maps of Saxton and Speed. The maps of C. and J. Greenwood covered both the Durham and Yorkshire banks of the Tees, and were first published in 1818-9 with a later issue in 1831.⁹ Teesdale's map covered the Yorkshire bank of the Tees in 1828, while Garland and Hobson also produced useful maps of the dale in 1834 and 1840.¹⁰ The Greenwood maps provided the basis for many maps and surveys prior to the first large scale editions of the Ordnance Survey, published during the 1850's (Fig. 39).

From a detailed examination of these maps, particularly that of Greenwood, the rising limit of cultivated and improved ground can be identified along with the changing pattern of settlement. A significant contrast with the early seventeenth century pattern was the intensification

of dispersed settlement, related to the growth of compact severalty holdings outside the early settlement nuclei. These settlement clusters at Eggleston, Middleton, Newbiggin, Holwick, Mickleton, Romaldkirk, and Cotherstone, were still of prime importance, and had all grown in size and increased their populations by 1850. Part of the growth in settlement may have been a permanent replacement for earlier squatter settlement on the commons during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but in the upper dale, lead provided the incentive for both increased settlement and agricultural improvements. Harwood and Forest-in-Teesdale witnessed a considerable growth in settlement as a result of the miner-farmers, a point emphasized by the maps of Greenwood and Hobson. This produced a distinctive dispersed pattern, ranging from the fellside mines to the farm houses, outbuildings, and the scattered facilities of church and chapel, burial grounds, schools, roads and bridges.¹¹ 'The miners in the dales were members of families who occupied scattered small-holdings and as mining employment expanded, these simply multiplied and incroached upon the moorland.'¹² A similar pattern emerged along the Yorkshire bank of the Tees, particularly in Lunedale.

In contrast to the maps of 1600, Greenwood and Teesdale depict the basic layout of the settlement in the

nineteenth century. The elements of planning in predominantly linear and rectilinear forms are clear, notably in Hunderthwaite and Cotherstone, while for example, the cattle tracks are clearly marked leading out on to the fell. The new farmsteads on the enclosed moorland contrast with the isolated shielings of the early seventeenth century, although by 1850 a number of these in Lunedale and Balderdale, together with Foggerthwaite and Stotley, had been incorporated within the expanding enclosures. Isolation still prevailed at Hope House, but it was perhaps not as marked as in 1600.

Over the wider aspects of the economy, the most dominant change had been the growing intensity and specialisation of mining. Under the auspices of the London Lead Company, mining had become the dominant form of mineral extraction in Teesdale, reaching its peak in about 1870. Many of the earlier mines such as Flakebrigg, and the earlier smelt mills such as Lady Brown, both at Eggleston, had been considerably enlarged or redeveloped, and together with the new mines and mills, became more dominant landscape elements. The mine waste tips grew larger as production increased, and stood out clearly on the fellsides, reminiscent of those associated with coal

mining a short distance to the east. Looming out of the mists which often shrouded the fells during cyclonic conditions, tips such as those in the Hudeshope valley above Middleton, belonging to Coldberry mine, must often have given an eery welcome to the miners as they trudged past them on their way to work. Of the other minerals worked on a small scale in 1600, only stone quarrying remained of any major significance, and the quarries around Middleton from which Whin Sill dolerite was blasted and extracted, produced towering cliffs whose dark tones, particularly in dull weather, added a sombre and slightly threatening appearance to the landscape.

Recreational activities such as fishing had probably changed little since 1600, although it is possible that effluent from the smelt mills had a distressing impact on the nature of many of the tributaries and consequently on the Tees itself. No large parks and hunting forests were set aside solely for the leisure pursuits of the great lords, and such men had largely restricted themselves to their own ornamental gardens and landscaped parks. The one notable exception was the hunt, which still commanded freedom of access across the lord's lands, but which could involve compensatory payments for any damage to tenant property. Although Garland claimed that up until the nineteenth century, deer could be found around Cauldron Snout at the

head of the dale, the major form of recreational activity by 1850 had become tourism, enjoyed by a growing number of wealthy families. Garland's book itself was the epitomy of tourism in the first half of the nineteenth century, before the intensification of relatively cheap access by railway opened the dale to the artisan from the 1860's and 1870's. In his preamble, Garland was at pains to point out that the beauties of Teesdale 'have powerful claims on the Painter and the Tourist'.¹³ The presence of horses and carriages along the roadways of the dale would have been a common sight during the more amenable months of 1850, while the visitng of country houses and parks was becoming fashionable, since Raby Park was on occasion open to visitors during the 1840's.¹⁴

By 1850 Barnard Castle was a thriving market town, which had prospered in its position of focal and exchange point for Teesdale. It was particularly important as a centre of carpet weaving, and could boast some four carpet factories before the industry died out in the face of competition in about 1870. In addition, there was a linen factory, dye-house, foundry, woollen mills, and all the trappings which made up a centre servicing a surrounding agricultural and mining community. Barnard Castle was a 'model' dales market town, paralleled many times in

neighbouring Pennine dales.

To the north east of Barnard Castle, beyond the large estates of Streatlam and Raby, the influence of coal mining along the western edge of the Durham coalfield was far greater in 1850 than in 1600. The landscape around Woodland and Cockfield took on an appearance characteristic of the coalfield, with the pithead, the waste tip, the waggons, the terraced rows of pitmen's dwellings, and the whole intimate social cohesion of a mining community. Companies such as the Woodland Coal Company were often comparable with those in lead mining, although many were a good deal less philanthropic. This area was the major supplier of coal to the lead industry in Teesdale.¹⁵

In sharp contrast to the commercial developments in Barnard Castle and to the mining and industrial fringes, the Tees lowlands remained predominantly agricultural, and little changed in basic pattern since the seventeenth century. The small whitewashed Raby villages such as Headlam, Langton, and Hilton remained nucleated in form, with their farmsteads clustered within them, and they were surrounded by the characteristic blocks of seventeenth century enclosure. This landscape was common to much of Midland England, with many thousands of rich arable acres interspersed with small villages, hamlets and country

houses such as Selaby Hall and Alwent Hall. The weight and importance of Raby ownership here, was captured with the funeral procession of the Countess of Darlington from London to Raby, for burial at Staindrop in 1807. From Piercebridge the procession passed through the many small settlements, and one can imagine the many tenants turning out to pay their last respects to the Countess on her final journey through the Raby lands.¹⁶

This intensification and modification of the landscape can be closely related to a growing population (Fig. 40). A rising life expectancy and a falling death rate from better medical care, had given a less erratic and fluctuating pattern of population than in 1600. Professor Clarke's stage of early population expansion lasted in Teesdale until about 1880, and numbers rose from the first recording of census data in 1801.¹⁷ In that year the population of the dale was 7,750, but by 1851 this figure had risen to almost 12,250, an increase of 36 per cent in 40 years. Increases were recorded during this period in all the dale townships except those which remained largely or entirely agricultural. Cotherstone for example, reached its population peak of almost 700, between 1811 and 1821, after which a slow decline took place and only 607 persons were recorded in 1851. This figure fell to almost 550, before

POPULATION IN TEESDALE 1801 to 1851.

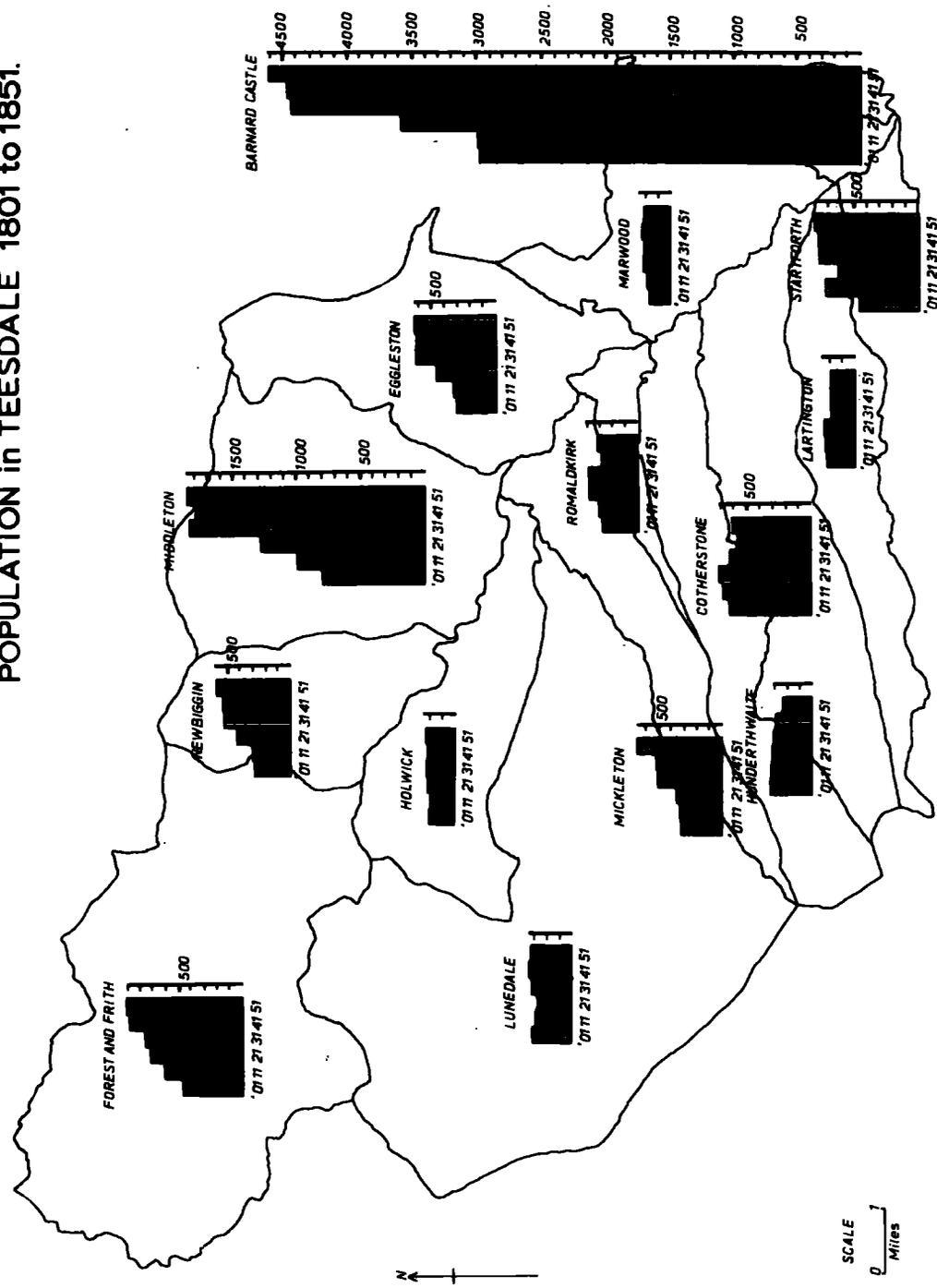


Figure 40 The population pattern in the parishes of Teesdale, between 1801 and 1851.

D.A.A.

the impact of greater accessibility began to stabilize the situation and bring about an increase from the late 1860's. The period from 1811 to 1821 probably witnessed in Cotherstone the final enclosure of the more labour intensive subdivided fields. Similar population trends were also recorded in neighbouring Hunderthwaite, where the numbers declined from 334 in 1801 to under 240 by 1851, to which the migration influences of the neighbouring mining and industrial areas may have contributed. At Lartington the population declined from its peak of 243 in 1821 to 185 in 1851. By far the largest increases took place in Barnard Castle and Startforth, where urban growth was strongest and where both reached their nineteenth century peaks of over 4,600 and 820, in 1851. Large percentage increases also took place in the mining and smelting areas, where figures ranged between 46 and 57 per cent between 1801 to 1851, including a figure for Eggleston of 51 per cent. Smaller increases took place in the surrounding townships of Marwood, Holwick, Lunedale, and Romaldkirk, but they ranged from only 4 to 23 per cent.^{18.}

Population data was more detailed by 1851, and the house to house survey of that year must form the basis of any detailed demographic analysis.^{19.} Basically there

were four loosely defined areas of population distribution. The urban area of Barnard Castle and its neighbour Startforth, both busy and prosperous settlements; the thriving lead mining and lead smelting areas between Eggleston and the head of the dale; the area which surrounded this, from Marwood, through Holwick, where the physical site undoubtedly contributed to limit growth, to Romaldkirk; and finally the agricultural south east, including Cotherstone, Hunderthwaite and Lartington. Population expansion was also notable along the north east fringe of Teesdale, while in the Tees lowlands the trend towards rural depopulation was paralleled by the rising industrial complex of Darlington, and the Teesside towns of Stockton and after 1836, Middlesbrough.

The changes in the pattern and framework of landownership in Teesdale appeared less revolutionary. Basically the pattern remained one of predominant lay ownership, with ecclesiastical ownership restricted to the glebe lands and tithe payments. Lay ownership was largely in the hands of Raby, Streatlam, and to a much lesser degree Eggleston Hall, interspersed with several smaller owner-occupiers. The large estates of the three major landowners were organised along commercial lines, and their incomes were heavily reinforced by wealth from lead, through profitable leases

made to the London Lead Company. The rising costs of maintaining these large estates was a factor which together with ever increasing taxation and crippling death duties, had serious repercussions on landowners. Thompson has indicated that at the back of changes in landownership lay the 'economics of the estates and the households they supported'.²⁰ While land remained a significant instrument of wealth and power politically, economically, and socially, there were competitors with wealth accumulated through mining and industry, and with changing social values, who were beginning to wield growing power in influential circles. The benefits of education lessened the overwhelming impact and power of the great landowners, although a number of them successfully adapted themselves to the changes. Finally, there were changing tenancy agreements which resulted in a general decline of the lease and its replacement by an annual tenancy. This was a step which gave greater flexibility and mobility to tenant-landlord relations. Through perhaps greater autonomy, the tenant became responsible for much of the working capital on the farms, and this began to have an effect upon the appearance of the landscape as the century progressed, perhaps paving the way for outright purchase from the landlord at a later date.

Within the clearly defined nineteenth century social structure, ecclesiastical landownership came to terms with the changing economic and social patterns, and by 1850 there had been a general replacement of the unpopular tithe payments by financial alternatives, under the Tithe Redemption Act.²¹ This reduced considerably the actual and potential influence of the Church on the land. The resulting influence on the landscape was not immediate, but was gradually reflected as a result of changes of attitude by farmers when no longer required to give tithes of milk, honey, eggs or meat. The cultural landscape was very much a reflection of attitudes. The spatial patterns which represented the apparently solid and unshakeable hierarchy of ownership and tenancy in 1850, did not immediately reveal the growing strains and problems faced by landowners in the dale, strains which increased as lead revenues fell after the 1870's, and as the virgin agricultural lands of the New World began to present serious challenges to farming throughout England.

Teesdale in 1850 was on the threshold of entry into the steam age, an influence far reaching in bringing the dale within the major regional and national economic and social framework of the country. The daily scene portrayed the intensification that had taken place in settlement and

in the area of improved land, with new buildings, improvements to old ones, newly improved fields on the fellsides, and active ditching and walling. More people were to be seen in the villages, in the fields, and at the market in Barnard Castle. The roads in the dale echoed to the sounds of the miners bound for the fellside mines, while the lead smelters worked amidst the bang and clatter of the mill with its plumes of steam and smoke. The hauliers clanked their waggons and guided their pack animals along the roadways, no doubt on occasions cursing the extremes of the dale climate. On the lips of the dalesfolk were issues of landownership, their tenancies, the profits and policies of their landlords; everyday issues of farming and mining; local and national events in the field of politics; and the latest inventions and fashions that appeared perhaps in Barnard Castle, Bishop Auckland, or Darlington. An atmosphere of prosperity and plentiful activity; of heterogeneous occupations; of basic security; and of growing mobility, characterised Teesdale in 1850. Much of the dale however, remained rugged, wild, and uncultivated, with little or no human habitation and with climatic conditions at best fair, and at worst difficult. From the slopes of Widdybank Fell stretched an area but little changed since before 1600, and only in this present technological age has it echoed to the sound of the

bulldozer and been changed by the concrete dam which has now risen below it. In Yad Moss even after 1850, the similarities with earlier centuries remain most vivid.

In contrast with many areas further south, for example Calderdale,²² the period after 1850 did not see the rapid industrialisation of Teesdale. The area remained peripheral to the industrial complexes of the North East, as they moved gradually eastwards and the lead industry and railways declined.²³

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9. Teesdale between 1600 and 1850 : An Assessment.

There are three broad aspects which must be considered by way of conclusion: the general overall conclusion; the separate conclusions and problems reached from the individual studies of settlement, field systems, landownership and mineral extraction; and a reiteration of the major problems within the framework of contemporary thought in historical geography.

The general overall conclusion is that of a growing intensification of land use and resources in Teesdale, within a changing economic and social framework whose foundations were laid during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The peak was reached between 1750 and 1850, with the enclosure and improvement of many thousands of acres of previously uncultivated fell land, together with an associated expansion of settlement; the growing wealth and influence on the landscape of the large landowners, and the sharp and significant boost given by rising incomes from lead and silver. Such intensification brought out contrasts with neighbouring upland dales where the process had been less intense, as in Balderdale. It also brought out contrasts

with those dales in which the process had gone perhaps a stage or two further, as in Airedale and Calderdale, where closer integration within the West Riding textile belt had already taken place by the early years of this century. Teesdale occupied a transitional position, with significant increases and variations in its cultural form until about 1850, followed by consolidation and later restructuring, within a framework which favoured more amenable and accessible areas astride the major national economic and social axes.

In 1600 the settlement pattern in Teesdale was made up of a number of distinct elements, each of which was the result of an interrelated series of recognisable processes and trends. An examination of the distribution, site, form, function, and possible origins of settlement between 1600 and 1850, based largely upon detailed evidence from Eggleston, has emphasized a number of points. In terms of distribution and site, the overall pattern in 1600 was one of several small settlements occupying the valley bottom lands from Holwick and Newbiggin as far as Barnard Castle, and reflecting the evolution of primary, secondary and even tertiary colonisation. By 1850 the pattern had been modified by the growth of settlement away from the early nuclei. There was

a strong correlation between settlement in 1600 and the positioning of river terraces and structural benches, while by 1850 there were suggestions of a more complex set of economic, social, and even political factors.

The formal pattern remains the most tangible evidence of settlement, since it is physically accessible and likely to contain at least some indication of fossilised patterns. The major conclusion has been one of a conscious recognition of regularity and planning in the formal layout of settlement in Teesdale at all periods between 1600 and 1850. This is shown in the green village forms and in the analysis of toft patterns. The problems raised involve origin, detailed lay out, adjustment, and readjustment. When were the settlements laid out and by whom? Why were they laid out in such a way, and can the historical geographer recognise a series of stages when such spatial patterns emerged? McCord, for example, has suggested a significant period of physical planning and readjustment between 1066 and 1087, of which Cowpen Bewley in the lower Tees valley is a particularly good example.¹ The growth of detailed studies would seem the most profitable line of research from which to seek rational explanation, but a dearth of documentary material prior to the seventeenth century is a serious barrier against

pushing back formal studies in search of their origins. The most urgent need is for a greater understanding of the detailed construction and evolution of the patterns of rural settlement in relation to field systems and agrarian structures.

In terms of the agrarian pattern, it is upon the formal analysis of field patterns that the historical geographer must concentrate, in order to try ~~and~~ ^{to} unravel the fundamental problem of origin. This study has examined two broadly contrasting patterns in Teesdale. The pattern of 1600 suggested by Thirsk, was the result of a gradual evolution around the settlement nuclei.² A growth of pastoral farming associated with conversion to meadow, reflected not only the seeds of specialisation but also local and national trends in farming. Enclosure was largely of a piecemeal nature within the existing farming framework, and the communal basis of cultivation was only gradually extinguished. In a majority of cases the subdivided fields lingered on, and were not finally enclosed until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In sharp contrast to the early irregular forms, were the large rectangular enclosure blocks whose pattern was superimposed over the fells in a form which has changed little. With enclosure came a more flexible pattern of cropping and farming organisation.

An examination of the evolution of the formal field layout and the associated organisational framework, must involve wider economic and social issues and the underlying tenurial arrangements. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, land was still the medium through which the social order was expressed, and in Teesdale as elsewhere, land continued to remain important as a land market developed among the rising merchant, banking, and professional classes. Three landowners owned the majority of Teesdale when 'Landed property was the foundation of eighteenth century society'.³ The large landowner was an important benefactor for rural society, able to play a crucial role in developing trends and establishing certain procedures and innovations, which through his tenants influenced the whole basis of life and work in the dale and were reflected in the cultural landscape. Although after 1850 a serious challenge to wealth in land arose from the growing investment in industry and mining, it is significant that many who became rich this way, still sought to invest their wealth in land. As the Hutchinsons purchased Eggleston in 1727, on the newly found wealth of their banking and merchant interests, so Sir William Gray purchased the manor in 1919, as the wealthy owner of a shipyard at Hartlepool.

Among the tenantry, leasehold tenure had largely replaced the older and more widespread form of customary tenure. The size of holdings was generally under 20 acres, and this was especially the case where ownership remained a collection of strips and small closes within the subdivided townfields. Holding values and rents were low, and the end result was a patchwork quilt of small meadow and arable holdings, complex in detailed arrangement and organisation. As the century progressed, a recognisable stratification developed among the tenantry with the rise of a number of freeholders, many of whom were small landlords themselves. During the nineteenth century the small owner occupier declined in some districts and increased in others, while there was a rise in the number of tenant farmers occupying large holdings of up to 100 acres. On the Raby lands leasehold tenure was gradually replaced by annual leases from the 1820's, which favoured more enthusiastic and successful farming. The nineteenth century produced a wider range of holdings, and there was a contrast between those who were still farming as tenants, and the majority who now occupied little more than house and ground. For those who left the land, the lead industry provided the largest opportunity for employment, together with developments in textiles at Barnard Castle and the pits of the Durham

coalfield.

The indirect influence of the Church on the land changed little until 'modus' payments replaced the traditional tithe collection, in the middle years of the nineteenth century. This removed a generally unwelcome influence among those who worked the land and perhaps belonged to the rising Nonconformist faith. The significance of ecclesiastical influence remains one of the outstanding problems of landownership, alongwith those involving tenancy agreements, and the highly complex issue of common rights and common land.⁴ What circumstances surrounded the tenurial status of the village green in Eggleston, as a tongue of the common fell, and what were the prerogatives of the lord of the manor in gradually extinguishing communal rights over the vast majority of it? Clearly, further progress in landownership studies has much to offer in uncovering patterns of the cultural landscape.

The rapid rise of lead mining and smelting in Teesdale from the middle of the eighteenth century, was an important boost and incentive to the extension of settlement and cultivation. The improvements in social amenities provided by the London Lead Company, had a lasting impact on the life and work of the dale well after the zenith of the industry between 1850 and 1870. Lead was an important consideration

in many enclosure decisions taken during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of the documents kept by the London Lead Company and by such interested parties as the Hutchinsons, would appear lost, but much valuable material remains among the papers of Lord Barnard at Raby. It is important to analyse population migration in the dale, and to consider its influence on settlement, cultivation, and communications, together with its relationships with the full force of the Industrial Revolution, rampant further east on the coalfield.⁵

The general problems that have emerged from this study are those common to many similar studies in historical geography, and involve both the collection and interpretation of data.⁶ In Teesdale documentary material is far from prodigious, and its sparsity during much of the later seventeenth and early and middle eighteenth centuries is a setback to research. Before 1600 there is an almost total lack of primary source material, and it would appear that future advances must rest heavily upon the work of the archaeologist, the soil and pollen analyst, and careful analysis of aerial photographs. The interpretation of available material, as Sylvester has pointed out, 'depends ... on invisible and visible cultural elements, on their

ethnic associations, and on the changing balance and interrelationships of all the contributory elements and factors with the passage of time'.⁷ It remains the task of the historical geographer to focus attention upon the recognition and detailed spatial examination of patterns of settlement and related agrarian and wider economic structures. The detailed study remains of great value if wider trends and processes are to be recognised, and the fullest use must be made of current thought in the wider field of geography, for 'while historical geographers have much to learn from experimental scientists about precision of measurement, systematic methods of analyzing problems and logical rigour in formulating generalizations, they can repay the debt by helping scientists to examine critically sources of evidence, and by testing theoretical models against the hard realities of experience'.⁸ Any study in historical geography poses many questions, and the most satisfactory answers may well be in the form of yet further questions. Our key aim must remain a critical understanding and assessment of 'the real world, as it actually existed in the past'.⁹

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