

PLAN ANALYSIS
OF
THE MEDIEVAL BOROUGHES
OF
NORTHUMBERLAND.

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P.H.D.

Edinburgh 1989

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Some images distorted

**CONTAINS
PULLOUTS**

In the first part of the first section, earlier work on boroughs is considered, highlighting the failure to study morphology. The changing emphasis after 1955 is identified, stressing the continued focus on individual towns. It is the failure to consider the basic elements which this research project is trying to overcome.

The second part of the first section discusses the reasons why boroughs rather than towns were chosen as the subject of the study. The common and peculiar features of boroughs are outlined, indicating the comparative ease with which Medieval boroughs can be identified in the surviving documents. Section one concludes with an explanation of why Northumberland was chosen as the area of study.

Section two involves a discussion of the sources used to identify the boroughs, including the problem of survival and the effects of desertion, replanning and industrialisation. The plans of three boroughs are traced back to 1500 and the evidence concerning change before then is analysed. A discussion of the comparability between Medieval and modern measurements is followed by an explanation of how to achieve the most accurate measurement of the plots. Finally, each of the reconstructed boroughs is analysed in detail and conclusions drawn with regard to the nature and survival of evidence of planning in Northumberland's Medieval boroughs.

Preface

This research project originated in the apparent ambiguity which existed between the regular plans of many Medieval boroughs in Northumberland and the accepted view that, apart from a minority of planted towns Medieval boroughs were characterised by a total lack of planning.

Many people have assisted me in my research and to all of them I extend my thanks but especially:

To His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, for granting me access to his archives;

The staff at The National Library of Scotland and Northumberland Record Office;

To Jennie Wilson and Margaret Pattinson, who spent days measuring burgage plots during the Northumbrian winters, while all around them questioned their sanity;

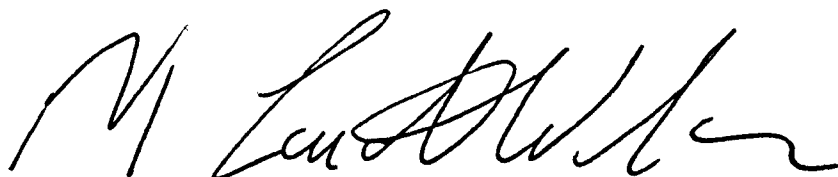
To Harry Wilson who transcribed many of the documents;

To Mike Stanley, who showed remarkable patience and control on occasion, in coping with me as a post graduate student;

To June Sheppard who gave me encouragement to continue when an apparent impasse had been reached;

And lastly to my family who believe in me and give me every opportunity and encouragement to do things in my own way.

This thesis was composed by myself and is my own original work.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. L. Wilson', written in a cursive style.

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SECTION 1

The Nature of the Problem and the Subject

Part 1-The Nature of the Problem

(A) Work on boroughs in the first half of the C20th and the failure to study morphology

Although English Medieval towns have been studied for a considerable time by lawyers(1) and local antiquaries up to the C19th, and later by historical scholars(2), research has tended to concentrate on the administrative and/or political history of individual towns(3). A notable exception to this tendency was Thomas Madox' 'Firma Burgi' published in 1726(4). He and most other scholars virtually ignored morphology(5) and it is not until fairly recently that this has been studied seriously(6). From the beginning of this century, several prominent scholars began to study Medieval towns. Tait has commented that:

'The C20th began with the brightest prospects for study of early municipal history in this country.... a group of scholars had made a remarkable and unprecedented advance in the solution of the most obscure problems presented by the initial growth of urban life in England'(7).

Among these scholars were F.W.Maitland(8), A.Ballard(9) and others(10), who discussed the origins of the town and the importance of agricultural links and the origins of institutions and the nature of tenure. Gross(11), on the other hand, examined an aspect of the constitutional history in the 'Merchant Guild' and Round(12) and Bateson(13) illustrated the links with Europe through the cinque ports and the Laws of Breteuil.

Bateson commented in 1900 that:

'By collecting charters which proposed to found new boroughs in these islands and offered building plots of a fixed size, a means may be afforded to direct inquiry into the outward features of the artificially created towns'(14).

Yet despite this, morphology continued to be neglected as a subject for study. The only exception is an article by St. John Hope(15) which began by reiterating Bateson's observation that:

'the topographical study of our old towns is one of the most fascinating subjects still awaiting investigation'(16).

The article, however, went on to look at the general form of the town plan of Ludlow(17). Perhaps the above mentioned scholars would have turned to the study of morphology but by 1915 they were, with the exception of Round, all dead(18).

'The loss to this particular branch of historical research was irreparable'(19). As a result, there was very little research of any kind into Medieval towns during the following 20 years(20), other than Hemmeon's, 'Burgage tenure in Medieval England(21), the second volume of the borough charters 1923(22) and very detailed studies of ecclesiastical boroughs by Wooler(23), Hope-Dodds(24) and Trenholme(25).

Moreover, (up to 1959), there were few attempts to study morphology except Page's fourfold classification of Herefordshire towns(26) and Dickinson's work on the Medieval towns of Germany and England(27) in which he stated that:

'We are able to discern not merely recurring systems of urban plan but also families of towns which in plan and build have the same basic elements, representing the needs of the community they served, but also the ideas and the traditions of the planners who designed them'(28),

because these settlements have still essentially the same features of functional layout and size that they had in the Middle Ages when they originated(29).

The 1950's saw the publication of research on individual

towns by Smith(30) and Evans(31), but Stephenson's statement made in 1933 that 'investigation of local topography has commonly been carried out in isolation'(32) was still seen to be true by Mackenzie(33) in 1949:

'One avenue of evidence has not been explored in England.....namely the original topography of early boroughs'(34)

and six years later by Houston:

'little attempt has been made to relate its (the Borough's) distinctive features of organisation and function to its layout'(35).

SECTION 1

The Nature of the Problem and the Subject

Part 1-The Nature of the Problem

(B) Work Since 1955

Since 1955 some research has been undertaken into the morphology of Medieval borough plans in the fields of archaeology as well as historical geography. The work can be divided into two distinct groups:

1. The superficial classification of form;
2. Detailed morphological analysis of individual towns and areal and systematic studies.

1. Superficial Classification of Form.

Dickinson's work(36) on the town plans of East Anglia and parts of Germany included the pioneering method of looking at street systems of towns in a given area and assigning them to one of several form types(37). He argued that the application of a conception of layout to the design of a part or whole of the plan resulted in three basic form types: grid; irregular and radial concentric(38). Ennen(39) in a comprehensive study of Europe concluded that:

'within the vast area of Europe, numerous subspecies of urban form were created due to the variations and mixing of the principal types of towns, sometimes to different regional and chronological combinations, sometimes to outside influence or chance'.

Thus she identified three zones:

- a. North Germany and east of the Rhine;
- b. Northern Europe, Rhine and Danube;
- c. Southern Europe(40).

Each is characterised by a particular form.

Houston(41) and later Whitehand and Allaiddin(42) carried out a similar descriptive analysis of Scottish burghs while Beresford(43) in 1967, Platt(44) and Aston and Bond(45) in 1976 used essentially the same method of classification in their chapters on morphology. The classification used by Aston and Bond (ch.5 The Landscape of Towns 1976) is typical and will be used to illustrate the method of classification used. It is based on overall street patterns. The recurring types are divided into six categories:

1. Open, triangular or irregular plans such as Alnwick where the focal point is the meeting place of two roads;
2. Defended castle boroughs which have a single street linked to a castle such as Norham;
3. undefended linear plans which focus on pre-existing routeways such as Felton;
4. Grid plans which although ambitious were common in new towns such as Stratford because they were easy to lay out;
5. Unique plans such as Great Yarmouth which has three parallel streets dissected by 150 cross streets;
6. Composite plans made up of several of the above types.

Noble(46) concluded, however, that this type of classification has suffered more than it has benefitted from generalisations which have not been based on detailed study and Straw(47) remarked that:

'Too often in the study of plans, reference is made only to streets and street spaces, the internal structure of the street blocks being ignored'(48).

It is indeed true that this method of studying Medieval town plans often overlooks the differences between and within plans because it concentrates at a scale beyond which the essential differences are registered in the plans, i.e. the basic elements, including the burgage plots, market place, church and castle location(49). Hindle stated this most forcibly in 1980:

'It seems more logical to look at Medieval towns in terms of their various internal features rather than trying to classify them by using only street plans'.(50)

Organic and Planned towns

The broadest classification of Medieval towns is into organic and planned. By planned it is assumed that there was an intention to create a new borough where none existed before, being distinct from those which developed from existing settlements and those that were created by planned additions to smaller settlements(51). The vast majority of boroughs are assumed to be organic. Johns' statement that:

'the typical Medieval town was characterised by irregular street plans and widths, erratic building lines, amorphous open spaces and a haphazard arrangement of building groups'

has found very few dissenters(52).

These boroughs apparently grew in an ad hoc manner. However, boroughs appear only in sophisticated societies and are unlikely to develop spontaneously without a degree of deliberate creation(53). Moreover, towns with a completely contemporary plan are very rare compared to those which exhibit accretions over a period of time. Although new towns exhibit the most highly developed Medieval planning they are not a distinct category but extreme examples of a more widespread phenomenon(54).

On the other hand because many boroughs do not appear to show a great degree of regularity it does not mean that they were not planned:

'That a town looks to us tidily or untidily laid out is not sufficient evidence that its ground plan was or was not determined at a single moment' (55).

Planned towns can contain more than one different plan unit with some apparently irregular towns being made up of a series of planned extensions. It seems that the line between new towns, multi-phase plantations and promoted villages is an arbitrary one and could be likened to a continuum. Therefore the distinction between organic and planned boroughs will not be assumed in this thesis.

2. Detailed Morphological Analysis of Individual Towns and Areal and Systematic Studies

Morphological Analyses may be divided into three different and yet related approaches:

- a. Plan Analysis;
- b. Retrospective Reconstruction;
- c. Archaeological Excavation.

a. Plan Analysis

Although Savage(56) devoted a chapter in his book 'The Making of our Towns' to the study of the basic elements of a town plan, contemporary studies were still thought, by British geographers, to be more important(57). Slowness to accept plan analysis as a method of study contrasts with the rich German tradition, dating from the C19th, of studying the evolution of form in terms of the underlying processes which created them(58).

In 1960, however, Conzen(59) outlined a method of in-depth town plan analysis which had its origins in this German

tradition(60) and in the pioneering discussion by Smailes(61) in 1955 of the townscape.

The German influence on Conzen's work can be traced to three distinct and yet related sources:

- a. Classification of form and architectural style, originating in Schluter's study (62) of grid plans in Thuringia in 1899 which was later developed into morphographical classification by his pupils, Geisler and Martigny, and by Hassinger's study of architectural form (63);
- b. Urban historical research by Reitshel and Frolich into the planned nature of old German towns (64);
- c. Bobek's work on the nature of the dynamic forces which give rise to particular forms(65).

From consideration of the above studies, Conzen(66) became interested in the basic elements of note in present day plans and the use which could be made of them to distinguish periods of growth which went beyond the broad phases identified in the past. Once identified, they could be considered in conjunction with the parallel social and economic developments in order to emphasise the processes which contributed to the explanation of the resultant forms(67). Since Conzen's study of Alnwick(68) several other studies of individual plans have been produced including the analyses of Nottingham(69), Ludlow(70), Hexham(71), Conway(72), and St Andrews(73).

Many of these studies have been made with reference to C19th maps, but with little, if any cross checking by means of retrospective reconstruction being carried out:

'This type of analysis depends on the assumption that street patterns and plot boundaries do not easily change over time and that older patterns have become part of the modern scene'(74).

As the research continued this became the key question: is

the assumption of continuity justified by the evidence?

This approach using retrospective reconstruction is clearly exemplified in the Atlas of Historic towns(75) which attempts to superimpose Medieval details on to the earliest large scale plans of a town.

'It is only meaningful in the context of documentary and archaeological evidence so that the topographical features can be explained by the processes that shaped them'(76).

Moreover, the studies have been confined to individual towns:

'and during the last two decades there have been no published town plan analyses of individual towns and cities comparable in conceptual richness and analytical depth to Conzen's studies of Alnwick and Newcastle'(77).

'There has been no attempt either, to provide wide ranging comparative studies of the Medieval town plan elements'(78).

Here then are the two basic questions to be tackled:

1. Is acceptance of continuity of plan units justified by the evidence?
2. Does comparative, systematic study of the town plan elements reveal anything about Medieval borough planning?

b. Retrospective Reconstruction

The reconstruction of Medieval town plans, working backwards from the present day, using rentals, surveys, deeds and court rolls, has been successfully completed for several towns - namely Winchester(79), Ledbury(80) and, of course for the Atlas of Historic Towns(81). This work is, however, time-consuming and has been confined to individual towns. Biddle(82) and Beresford(83) have both argued that plan analysis must however involve a measure of retrospective reconstruction if conclusions drawn from C19th maps are to be substantiated. The evidence from retrospective reconstruction appears to justify acceptance of the

assumption of continuity but without exception this approach has been confined to the Medieval boroughs in southern England where local government was well established in the Middle Ages. Can this evidence be used to infer that similar continuity of plan units exists in Northumberland - a politically unstable area for most of the Middle Ages where legal title to property may not have been sacrosanct?

c. Archaeological Excavation

There has been very little archaeological research into town plans, apart from individual studies such as Homan's work on Winchelsea(84) and Chambers' research into the French Bastides(85) published in the 1950's, but recently archaeologists have begun to consider Medieval town plans as worthy subjects for study with resulting publications concerning the late Saxon planned towns(86), Southampton(87), Winchester(88), Lydford(89), Wimborne(90) and York(91). This work has also concentrated on streets and street-systems rather than the basic elements i.e. the burgage plots and there have been no comparative studies, apart from the C.B.A. report(92) which only considered the classification of form based on a similar method to that of Aston and Bond mentioned earlier. Indeed, Carter suggested that he was putting forward tentative ideas concerning the analysis of plan elements in his contribution to the report (93).

To summarise the work so far - although there have been several detailed reconstructions of individual plans in historical geography, history and archaeology, there has been no attempt to reconstruct the borough plans of the smaller Medieval boroughs, to make a comparative analysis of the basic elements of these borough plans or to question the

assumption of continuity of these basic elements from the early Middle Ages to the first documentary record of their existence.

In order to carry out such a systematic comparative study the following structure was adopted. Firstly an explanation of why boroughs rather than towns were chosen as the subject of the study was undertaken. Once this has been explained the reconstruction of the Medieval boroughs where possible was attempted. This is because without retrospective reconstruction it would be impossible to prove whether or not the plan elements have remained unchanged and that the ground measurements of the burgage plots which survive today, are the same burgage plots which were originally laid out. After careful consideration of all the plan elements (market place, street system, church and castle) it was decided that these plan units had apparently little in common and it was considered that perhaps the similarity existed at the level of the smallest plan unit namely the burgage plot which was after all the only common feature within all boroughs. Perhaps here is the plan unit that they have in common.

Measurements were taken of burgage widths in all the boroughs despite the reconstruction only being possible in four. It was assumed that if continuity of plot boundary existed in boroughs where reconstruction was possible, this continuity would also exist in the other boroughs. It was critically important to the analysis to prove whether or not continuity of plan units was discernable in the reconstructed boroughs. This would allow acceptance of the measurements for boroughs for which there was no reconstruction. However, analysis of the reconstructed boroughs of Alnwick, Alnmouth, Rothbury and Warkworth

appears to suggest that this assumption may not be justified.

Although this aspect of the research appeared to form a small part at the outset, it became increasingly apparent that here lay the key questions to be answered:

1. Can continuity of plot boundary from the late Middle Ages to the present day be assumed in Northumberland?
2. Do the documentary references to boroughs confirm the existence of the same pattern of burgages in the early Middle Ages?
3. If not is there any way of discovering the changes that might have taken place since foundation from a. C16th plan and ownership patterns, b. field measurements of the surviving plots (1983)?
4. Does this analysis give any clues about the original burgage pattern in any of the boroughs?

It was found that plots held by institutions in the C16th may hold a clue as to the original plan units because the founder, wanting to ensure settlement, might have offered plots to the institutions at the outset. These plots may not have been subject to the same subdivisions and amalgamations as those plots held privately. If the assumption of continuity is not justified this will have implications for future work on town plan analysis using partly reconstructed plans.

If a link can be established to the early Middle Ages it may be possible to ascertain the original size of burgage plots and to discover whether standard units of measurement were used:

'In the great planning eras and not least in the Middle Ages, ideas became fixed as stereotyped culture - forms and some ideas in detailed planning practice were repeated again and again' (94).

The field measurements today may help to identify the

original plot pattern, especially if the local measuring unit can be identified from the surviving burgage plots. These then are the main questions which the research project hopes to answer using evidence from Northumberland because within the county there are royal, lay and ecclesiastical boroughs originating at different times during the Middle Ages. Thus Medieval Northumberland provides the ideal conditions in which to test the above assertions.

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SECTION 1

The Nature of the Problem and the Subject

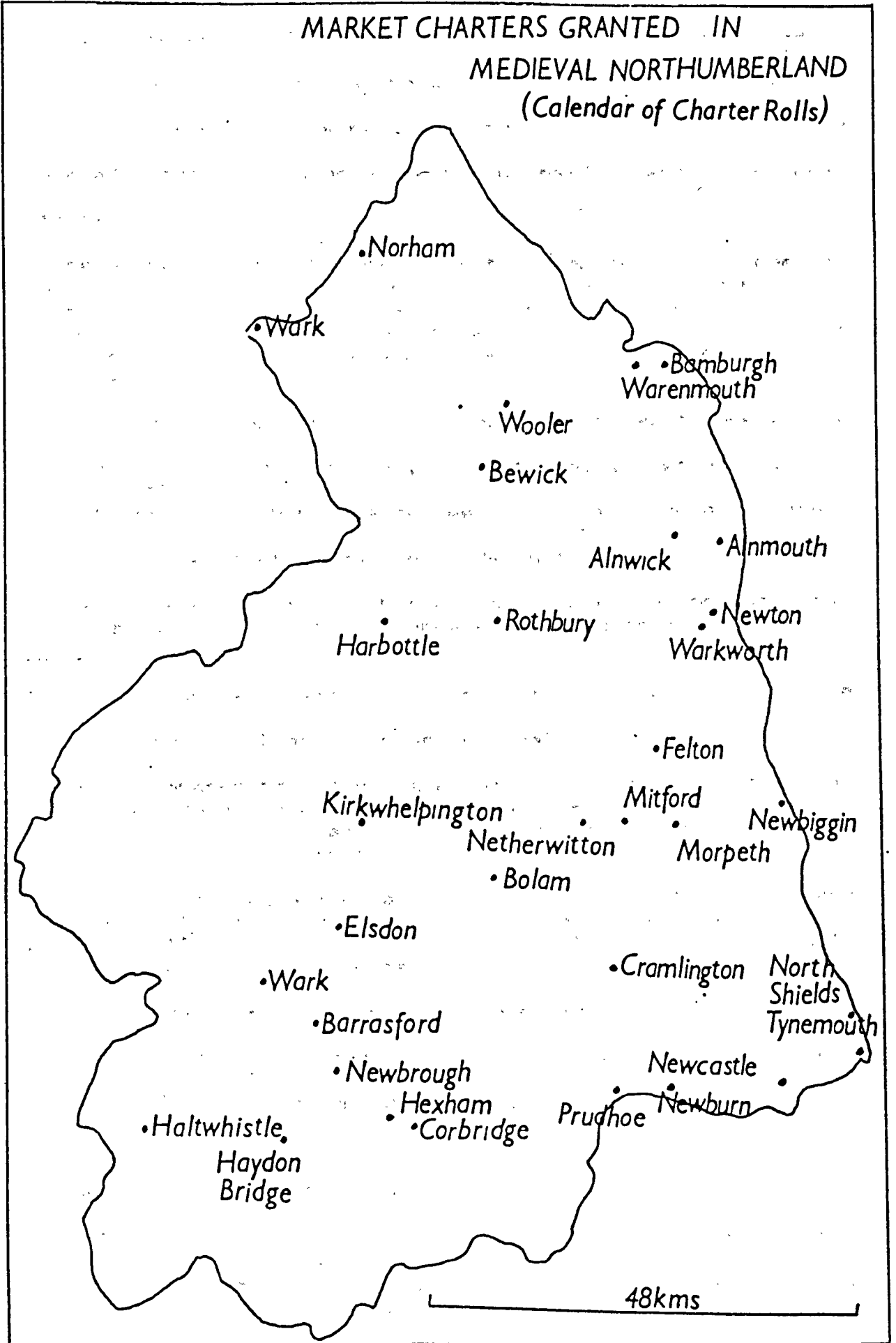
Part 2-The Subject Of The Study

(A)What is a Medieval Borough?

An understanding of what constituted a Medieval borough is most easily achieved by first explaining what it was not. It was not merely an incorporated borough with a Royal foundation charter setting out its rights and privileges. As Ballard(1) stated 'Foundation charters are very rare and so many boroughs must have been created by word of mouth' Nor was it a Parliamentary borough sending two burgesses to Westminster. Only three Northumberland boroughs were included in the list of enfranchised boroughs(2), Newcastle, Bamburgh and Corbridge compared to Devon's six. The criteria for the selection of a place as a borough is unknown and the status changed in the C14th in some areas(3). Again it cannot be classified as a taxation borough paying at a higher rate than the surrounding countryside when a subsidy was levied. As the payment was higher, the number of boroughs contributing at the higher rate in any one county was arbitrary and chosen by the Sheriff(4).

Although several Northumberland boroughs were included in one or more of the above categories, the total number of places in the county which were known to be boroughs is not included within one of the above categories.

MARKET CHARTERS GRANTED IN
MIEVEAL NORTHUMBERLAND
(Calendar of Charter Rolls)



Indeed Hexham(5) and Wooler(6) which were both considered as boroughs are excluded from each category. This exclusion is only to be expected as the categories were all introduced in the C13th to distinguish between different categories of boroughs for administrative purposes and many boroughs had already been in existence for centuries(7). Martin concluded that:

'The borough cannot be defined -it is impossible to compose a single definition which applied to boroughs, burghs and ports throughout the Middle Ages. Burghs were distinguished from ports by their defensive role but by 1066 there was little to distinguish between them and the term borough was applied to both'(8).

The research outlined in the next section went some way to achieving an objective analysis of Medieval town plans, from which decisions about the degree of planning could be made.

Graham did attempt to outline a definition:

'The existence of a charter of incorporation and two documentary evidences of burgages or burgesses'(9) but even he admits'This is arbitrary'(10).

Although an all embracing definition appeared to be impossible, Maitland did conclude that:

'When compared to the village there is something artificial about a borough' and - 'the borough was being treated by Royal administrators as a community different from the other units of local administration'(11).

(N.B.)- 'The economic and physical reality did not always match the title borough ...for all were not endowed with a sufficiently advantageous geographical situation to enable them to hold a place in the urban mesh'(12).

If boroughs were a distinctive group, what did they all have in common which was peculiar to them and which marked them as different from other forms of settlement?

Common Features of Boroughs

1. Burgesses were quit from toll throughout England - but this was also given to members and tenants of monasteries(13).

2. Burgesses were exempt from suit at the shire and hundred

Courts - but so were the tenants of monasteries(14).

3. The borough held markets and fairs but the franchise or royally granted right of holding a market is quite distinct from the legal essence of the borough. Lawful markets were held in many places which were not boroughs(15). As map 1 shows, there were 34 market charters granted in Northumberland during the Middle Ages, but only 23 places were actually recorded as having borough status. All except one market which was not held in a borough were in the south of the county. This is possibly a reflection of the higher population density and therefore greater need for trading centres in the south compared to the more harsh, hostile and unstable north where only Bewick market was held outside a borough.

Tait stated:

'A market by itself was not sufficient (for borough status).... most were Norman creations, a few are definitely stated to have existed before the Conquest'(16).

Towards the end of the C14th smaller mesne boroughs whose privilege did not extend beyond burgage tenure were losing burghal status and were descending into, 'mercatoriae villae' because burgage tenure by this time was not sufficient qualification for burghal status(17) but this occurred later - the documentary existence of the borough is all that is required for this study.

4. Boroughs had a separate Court - but boroughs in the South West did not have a court except in the hundred in which they were situated(18).

5. Many boroughs were granted to the burgesses in fee farm - but so were many villages(19).

6. Boroughs were characterised by tenurial heterogeneity -but this was not unusual to them(20).

7. The borough had the right to elect a reeve but the reeve

on royal manors were also elected(21).

So far the discussion on the characteristics which were common to boroughs has been rather negative. A more positive approach lies in consideration of the critical and distinctive feature of a borough which was the form of land tenure(22). Each borough was a vill in which the tenements were held in burgage tenure. Although Maitland(23) did cite Pilton in Devon and Athers⁶one in Warwickshire as two non-boroughs held in burgage tenure, Tait(24) has shown that both places were in fact boroughs. Glasscock(25) has also tried to differentiate between rural and true boroughs but if the original foundations are considered then there is no such dichotomy(26). According to Ballard(27) burgage tenure was placed first in the privileges granted by charter and 'where there were burgages and burgesses there was a borough' Tait (28) concluded that:

'So intimately was it, ie burgage tenure, connected with the existence of the borough that the grant that all the inhabitants of a vill should henceforth hold their houses by free burgage, appears to have had the effect of raising that vill to the rank of borough' (29).

Therefore the only characteristic peculiar to the borough was that the land within the borough was held by burgage tenure.

B. Why were boroughs chosen as the subject of the project?

The settlement group boroughs was chosen rather than towns for the following reasons:

1. It is difficult to decide what constituted a Medieval town, remembering that England in the Middle Ages was never intensively urbanised - even in 1500 95% of the population was rural(30). It is also difficult to decide which criteria should be used to distinguish towns - the percentage employed in agriculture, the size, the number of dwellings

(from rural settlements) are all worthy of consideration. Indeed, the list is endless and any choice, no matter how well considered, must be arbitrary.

2. There is also the added disadvantage of imposing a 12th century classification on to a Medieval distribution. By using boroughs instead of towns, these problems can be avoided because the classification is, by definition Medieval.

3. The criterion for the identification of boroughs is straightforward - they are settlements in which the land is held by burgage tenure(31).

C. What was burgage tenure?

Although there is much debate concerning the origins of burgage tenure, there appears to be general agreement as to what it actually was(32):

'It appears as the characteristic system by which a burgess holds urban land, a system universal among boroughs and peculiar to them. It was a heritable tenure by a fixed money rent, normally in return for services, and unlike villein tenure, it involved neither agricultural labour nor manorial dues'(33).

Hemmeon went as far as to say that:

'Burgage Tenure was the distinguishing mark of the borough - for every borough must have it and it could not exist outside the borough'(34).

D. Origins of Burgage Tenure.

Two major theories concerning the origin of burgage tenure have been postulated. Bateson(35) and Stephenson(36) favour a continental origin and introduction into England after the Norman Conquest and Stephenson has commented:

'The tenurial system which came to characterise the English burgess communities is earliest encountered in the great commercial towns of the continent'(37).

The evidence for this, he argues, lies in the granting of the laws of Breteuil to many English boroughs, rather than the customs of Bristol which had always been assumed before, and in addition both he and Bateson argued that burgage is

not a Saxon word - its origins lie in France(38).

Such origins have been challenged by Ballard(39), Hemmeon(40) and Tait(41). Ballard(42) showed that the laws of Breteuil referred to the 12d amercement of officers and the absence or presence of Breteuil from the foundation charter does not provide a case for or against the influence in British borough charters after 1066(43). Although Tait(44) did find many inconsistencies in the argument for a post Conquest origin for burgage tenure, he preferred to rest his case on the similarity between burgage tenure and gable:

'If the pre - Conquest burgess was a free man who held a messuage in a borough by render of customs which the money rent or landgable was the most vital, the general likeness of this tenure to burgage tenure of the C12th seems sufficiently obvious'(45).

In saying this, he is not dismissing the Norman influence but tending rather to diminish its importance.

RELIEF and BOROUGHES

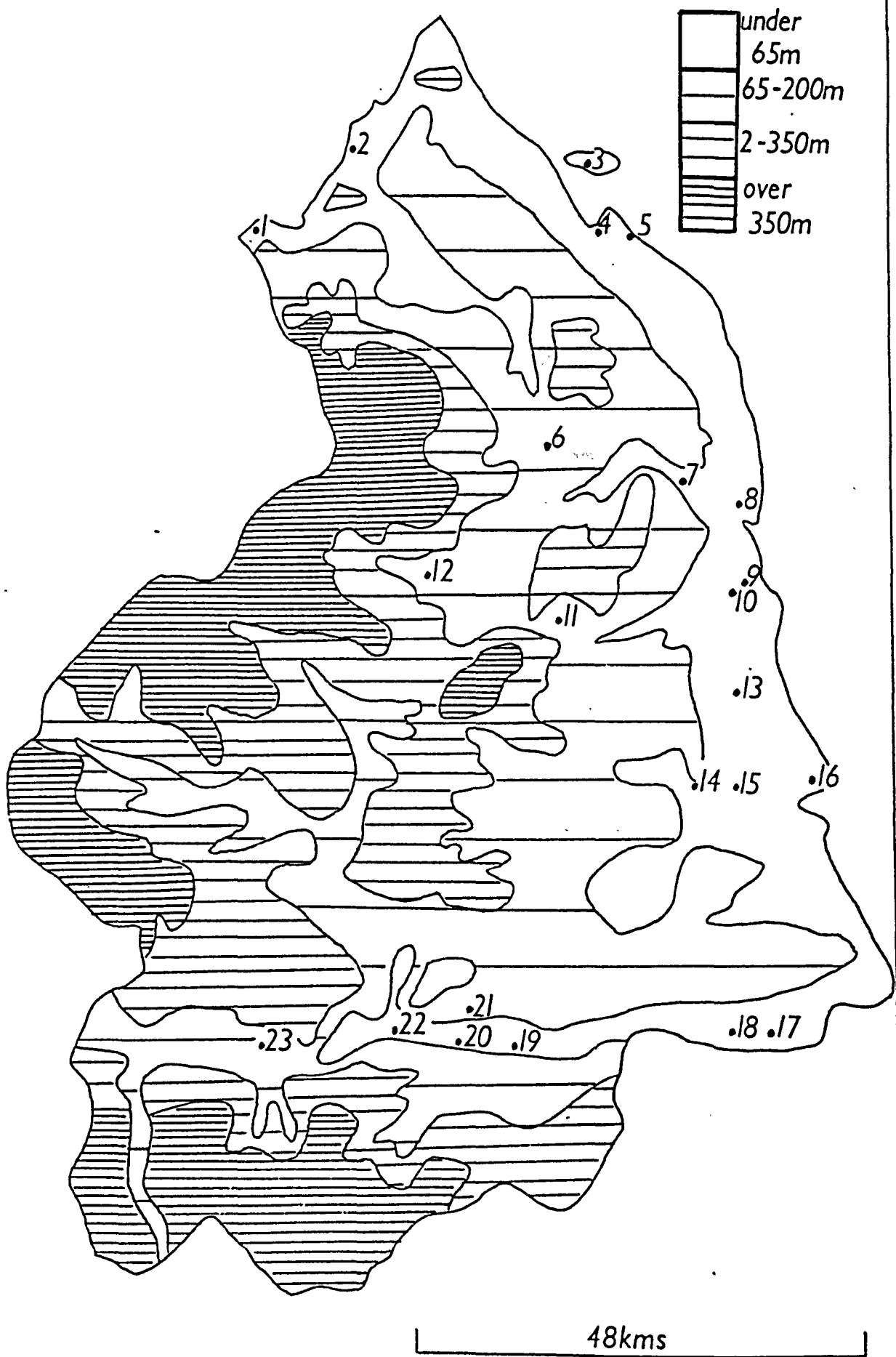


TABLE 1

MEDIEVAL BOROUGHS OF NORTHUMBERLAND

<u>Number</u>	<u>Map Reference</u>
1	Wark
2	Norham
3	Holy Island
4	Warenmouth
5	Bamburgh
6	Wooler
7	Alnwick
8	Alnmouth
9	Newton
10	Warkworth
11	Rothbury
12	Harbottle
13	Felton
14	Mitford
15	Morpeth
16	Newbiggin
17	Newcastle
18	Newburn
19	Corbridge
20	Hexham
21	Newbrough
22	Haydon Bridge
23	Haltwhistle

To summarise the main conclusions: firstly it is generally accepted that the term burgage tenure has derived from the pre-Conquest gable, but the name has its origins in Europe; secondly the major characteristics of burgage tenure are that the burgess held land for a money rent, but after payment was exempt from all services; finally he had freesale and or devise of the said burgage (the land held in burgage tenure).

E. What was a burgage?

Although in the later Middle Ages 'a burgage was almost anything holden in free burgage in which it was possible to live' (46):

'The term burgage was first applied to the land when the borough was created by charter where no town existed before when a house was built on an allotment of land it too was a burgage and both were called burgage' (47).

So the burgage in essence was an area of land sometimes with an adjoining house held in the borough by a burgess under burgage tenure. It was characteristically long and narrow, often with a ratio of greater than 6:1 (48) and the narrow end invariably faced the street. The width or area of the burgage was sometimes specified in the foundation charter, (49), but the only example in Northumberland is that of Morpeth (50). (N.B. the land held in burgage was completely separate from the land rent, i.e. the majority holder of messuages was not necessarily the greatest holder of lands in the fields. This is distinct from the village where the tofts and lands in the common fields were tenurially linked) (51).

F. Why was Northumberland chosen as the area of the project?

Firstly, Northumberland has a very varied physiography from the Cheviots to the Eastern Coastal Plain (52) and the borough foundations have very different physical locations within the county as shown on map 2. This can be seen

clearly on map 2 which shows 18 boroughs sited below 65 m.a.s.l. and the remaining five below 200m.a.s.l. River valleys attracted settlement while high altitudes were avoided. Secondly, all of the borough types which have been identified in the sources, are found in Northumberland: boroughs by prescription, promoted villages and planned new towns are represented as shown in table 2. Thirdly, the various land ownership systems under which boroughs were founded are all represented in the county as shown in table three(53). Map 3 shows the great diversity of land ownership under which boroughs were founded. As well as the Royal boroughs, it is clear from the map that totally independent territories such as the Palatinate of the Bishop of Durham and the Regality of the Archbishop of York contain Medieval boroughs. Even within the lay category there is great diversity. Some of the boroughs were founded in baronies while others were founded on smaller manors. It is interesting that no boroughs are recorded in Tynedale controlled by the King of Scotland. The significance of this may be simply a failure to register borough status in England.

The foundations in Northumberland span the whole of the Medieval period from pre-Conquest Bamburgh to C14th Haltwhistle(54).

Fourthly, with the exception of Newcastle and Newburn, the area has not suffered greatly from the effects of C19th industrialisation which brought with it the widespread destruction of the pre C19th landscape(55) and so the evidence for the original form of the borough plans appears to be well preserved.

Lastly, there is a wealth of unpublished historical evidence dating right back to the rentals and surveys of the Middle

Ages which has not been explored by scholars, particularly the archives of the estates of the Duke of Northumberland (56).

TABLE 2














BOROUGH TYPES FOUND IN NORTHUMBERLAND

<u>Promoted</u> <u>Village</u>	<u>Planned</u> <u>New Town</u>		<u>Borough by</u> <u>Prescription</u>
Alnwick	Alnmouth	C12th	Bamburgh
Wark	Felton	C12th(late)	Corbridge
Warkworth?	Haltwhistle	C14th	Holy Island
Wooler	Harbottle	C12th	Newcastle
	Haydon Bridge	C14th	Newburn
	Mitford	C12th	Rothbury
	Morpeth	C12th(late)	Hexham?
	Newbiggin	C13th	
	Newton	C13th	
	Warenmouth	C13th	
	Newbrough	C13th	
	Warkworth?		

Sources - See Appendices 5 and 6

BOROUGHS OF NORTHUMBERLAND

LANDOWNERSHIP AT FOUNDATION

-  CROWN
-  BISHOP OF DURHAM
-  KING OF SCOTLAND
-  ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
-  DE VESCI
-  UMFREVILLE
-  BERTRAM
-  MERLAY
-  LANGLEY
-  DE ROOS
-  WARK
-  MUSCHAMP
-  CUMIN

sources
 foundation charters
 and
 Nbl. Co. History

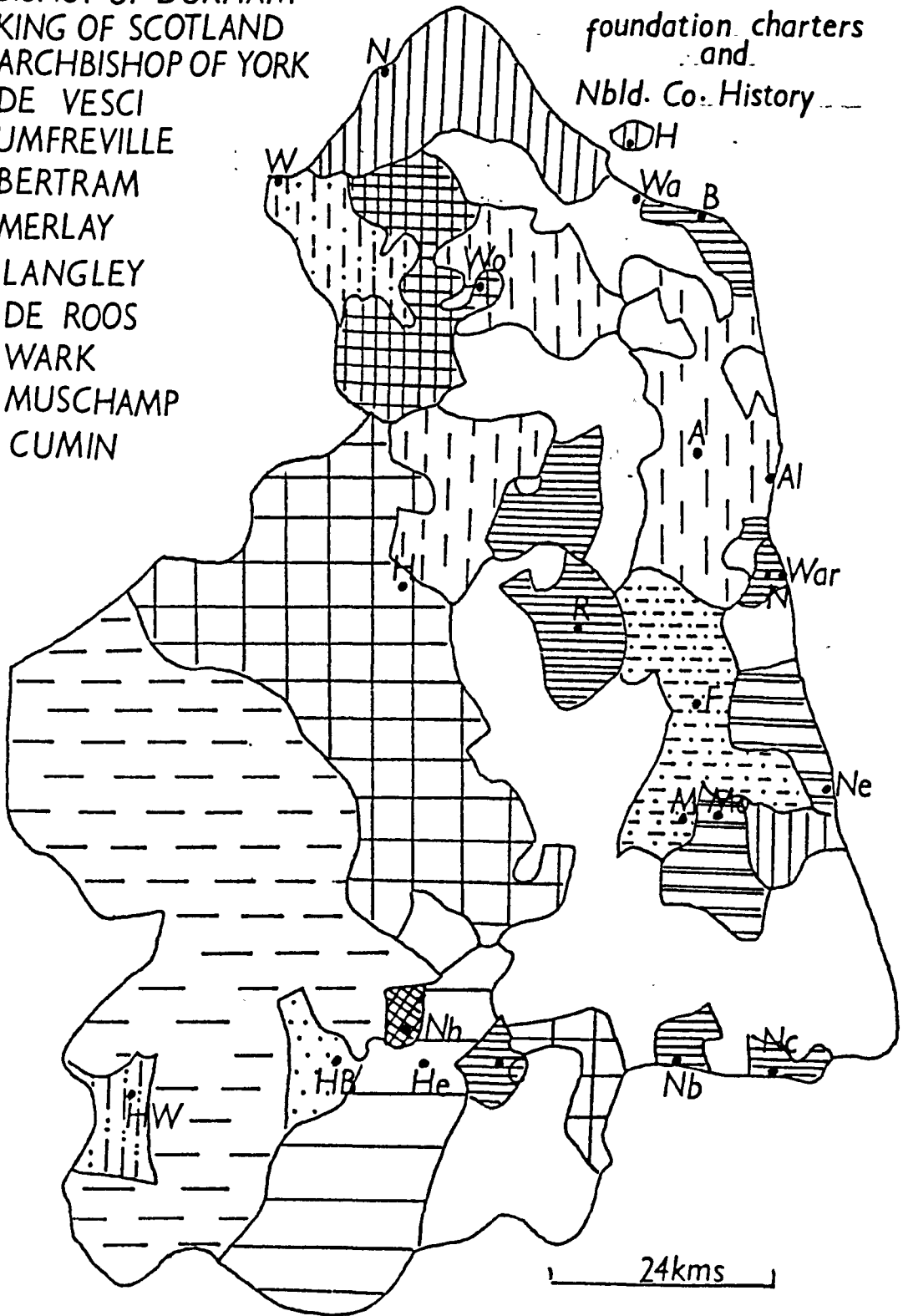


TABLE 3

BOROUGH LANDOWNERS

<u>Ecclesiastical</u>	<u>Lay</u>	<u>Royal</u>
Norham	Alnwick	Bamburgh
Holy Island	Alnmouth	Warenmouth
Hexham	Harbottle	Rothbury
	Felton	Newcastle
	Newton	Newburn
	Mitford	Corbridge
	Morpeth	
	Newbiggin	
	Haltwhistle	
	Haydon Bridge	
	Wark	
	Wooler	
	Newbrough	
	Warkworth	

Source material - See Appendices 5 and 6.

R E F E R E N C E S

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1913 pxli.
2. Parliamentary Papers 1878 Returns of the names of every member returned to serve in each parliament 1.4.19
lxii.
3. Martin G.H. - The English Borough in the C13th in
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4. Fraser C.M.(Ed.) - The Northumberland Lay
Subsidy Roll 1296 Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle Record
Series 1 1968 p.xv.

In addition there were baronial boroughs within the county which also had special juries but paid wholly at the county rate. These boroughs include Morpeth, Rothbury, Alnwick, Alnmouth and Newbiggin-The quasi-boroughs.
5. Survey of Hexham 1547 in N.C.H. III pp66-86.
6. I.P.M. 1250 Robert de Muschamp held Wooler Borough
Calender of Inquisitions Post Mortem vol.1.
7. Eg. Bamburgh see appendix 6.
8. Op cit Martin G.H. p125.
9. Graham B.J. - The Evolution of Settlement Pattern of Anglo-Saxon East Meath in Buchanan R.H., R.A.Butlin, McCourt D. Fields, Farms and Settlement in Europe
1976 p11.
10. Ibid.
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A Systematic Geography of Britain 1964 p 391.13.

13. St Edmunds in English Historical Review 24 p429.
British Borough Charters vol.1 1913 pp182-85.
14. Eynsham Cart 11 p155 British Borough Charters
vol.1 1913 p116.
15. Maitland F.W. - Domesday Book and Beyond 1898 p235.
Calender of Charter Rolls p416 1253.
See also Map of Market locations in Northumberland
map 1.
Op cit Beresford and Finberg pp36-7. For England as a
whole 2000 market grants were made between 1199 and
1350 of which 266 were in boroughs.
16. Tait J. - The Medieval English Borough 1936 p105-6.
17. Ibid Tait p.205-6.
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1427-1616 p449.
20. Berwick 1302 - Calender of Charter Rolls vol.III p27.
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22. Tait J. - The Medieval English Borough 1936 p135.
Hemmeon M.deW - Burgage Tenure in Medieval England
1914 p5.
23. Op cit Hemmeon p101.
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25. Glasscock R.E. - Moated Sites and Deserted Boroughs:
Two Neglected Aspects of Anglo-Norman
Settlement in Ireland in Stephens N. and Glasscock R.E.
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26. Ibid p171
Op cit Graham B.J. The borough designation cannot
be applied as the data is insufficient to

- assess the balance of non agricultural and urban functions to identify true towns.p15.
27. Ballard A. - Domesday Boroughs p55.
 28. Tait J. - The Medieval English Borough 1936 p 354.
 29. Ibid Tait p354.
 30. Platt M. - The English Medieval Town 1976 p 19.
 31. This is the the critical distinction of boroughs compared with other settlements.
 32. Summarised by Benton J. Town Origins - The Evidence for Medieval England 1968.
 33. Stephenson C. - Borough and Town 1933 p88.
 34. Op cit Hemmeon p157.
 35. see note 13 p14.
 36. Op cit Stephenson p99.
 - 37 Ibid p94.
 38. Ibid p.106.
 39. Ballard A. - The Law of Breteuil in English Historical Review vol.xxx p646-58.
 40. Op cit.Hemmeon p166,171.
 41. Op cit.Tait J. p96.
 42. Op cit Ballard vol.xxx p653.
 43. Op cit Tait p.92.
 44. Ibid p92-5.
 45. Ibid p96.
 46. Op Cit Hemmeon p93 In some charters burgage tenure appears to be a form of socage(Tait The Medieval English Borough p107)and appears to be used in the towns on the ancient desmesne of the crown(e.g.Basingstoke)which without being formally referred to as boroughs had burghal liberties and were ultimately incorporated.
 47. Op cit Hemmeon p92.
 48. Platt C - The English Medieval Town 1976 p.35.

49. Ballard A. - English Boroughs in C12th 1916 p18.
(24px4p in Burton on Trent)
Op cit Aston and Bond p98(200'x 60' in Stratford(quarter acre)) (1 acre in Thame)
Charter indicating the size of burgages in Morpeth.
The Latin originals of the deeds are in Hodgson J.
Northumberland pt2 vol.2 p118-9 where there is a reference to the granting of 43 tofts and half acre of land in free burgage to hold with all franchises and easements by paying 16d annually for a full toft and 2d for half a rood. Therefore because 4 roods = 1acre it may be that 1 toft was equal to 1 acre.
50. Ibid Hodgson J.
51. Op cit Ballard A. 1913 p.xci.
52. See Map 2
53. Map 3 The map was compiled from, a.foundation charters of boroughs and b. Northumberland County History references to borough ownership at foundation or first mention of these places.
54. Table 3.
55. O.S. maps of the boroughs comparing the 1st edition and the latest edition of the 25" series.
56. Muniments Room Alnwick castle.

SECTION 2

The Method of Study

Part 1-The Identification of the boroughs.

(A) Problems of the Sources

From the preceding discussion it seems clear that the only characteristic common to and peculiar to boroughs was that the land within them was held by burgage tenure:

'A borough could not be established without also establishing burgess franchise and burgage tenure'(1).

It therefore seems reasonable to assume that the record of burgage, borough, burgess, burh or burg in Medieval documents is sufficient evidence to classify a place as a borough. Graham(2) did question the validity of using single references, pointing out the problems of accuracy and changing classifications, but his criteria of:

a) a foundation charter and

b) two separate references to burgage tenure

seems too rigid because many charters granted before 1199 have been lost(3) and many places which were designated as boroughs after that date were not recorded in the Calendar of Charter Rolls because it was not a legal requirement and the process of registration was very costly(4). Thus, if Graham's classification was used, many boroughs would be excluded. It appears more appropriate to use the classification procedure first developed by Beresford and Finberg(5) in which any reference to borough status is sufficient to classify a place as a borough. The problem of single incorrect classifications does not apply to

Northumberland boroughs because each is referred to in more than one document as a borough(6).

The documents used to identify the Northumberland boroughs fall into three groups:

1. The Great Rolls of State;
2. Lay and Ecclesiastical Chartularies;
3. Miscellaneous Medieval documents.

After consultation with all the available sources as outlined in Appendix 5, it was concluded that there were 23 boroughs recorded in the Medieval documents relating to Northumberland(7).Appendix 6 gives a list of all references referring to each borough,while Appendix 8 gives a complete list of all the Inquisitions Post Mortem which refer to burgage holdings.

(B) Discussion of the Origins of the Boroughs with special Reference to those which have no surviving Evidence of the Original Plan.

It is important to remember that the first record of borough status does not always coincide with the foundation of settlement at that place.A place which is likely to be Alnmouth is mentioned in 7th century documents but it was not chartered until the 12th century(8). In some cases settlements had been in existence for many centuries before being granted borough status. Hexham was not recorded as a borough until 1547(9) while others have not survived beyond the foundation charter(10). In Northumberland, eight borough plans show no evidence of Medieval elements because of either:

- 1.Desertion during the Middle Ages;
- 2.Possible resiting at a later date;
- 3.Replanning consequent on industrialisation.

1. Desertion

The first record of a borough at Warenmouth is in 1247 when Henry III granted to the new borough of Warenmouth, all the liberties of Newcastle(11) and it must have existed as a borough because it paid fee farm arrears in 1257(12). It was recorded as a borough in the 1296 Lay Subsidy(13) when three inhabitants were rich enough to be assessed for taxation. However, in 1328 it was described as 'burnt completely'(14) and although there is no evidence to indicate exactly when it fell into permanent decay, the Exchequer Commission sent to view the 'See Towne' recorded that any memory of the new town had gone(15). By 1621 it was recorded as 'desolate'(16). Today there is no evidence on the ground of a settlement.

It is difficult to determine where Warenmouth was actually sited. In 1293 a jury stated that the town was built on the common pasture of Bamburgh and Ballard and Tait suggest it was intended as a port for Bamburgh(17). It has been suggested that Warenford is Warenmouth but Warenford is in the parish of Budle whereas Warenmouth was planned on the common fields of Bamburgh. The more accessible coastal site at Heather Cottages(18) was a more likely choice of location. It lies directly below the pasture called Newton Hill and in 1472 Warenmouth was referred to as Newtown tenement(19).

Newton was a planned suburb of Warkworth, laid out in a field east of the river(20). Both Warkworth and Newton are recorded in 1249(21). By 1293 Newton had its own market and fair(22) and in 1310 there were newly let tenements 'que vocantur villa novi burgi'(23). Clarkson's survey of 1567 recorded its existence(24) as a fisherman's suburb but by 1570 it had degenerated to a parcel of land called

Tenterhughe and Newtown containing 119 selions.

The site of Newton is described as a block of 50 acres cut out of Birling parish(25). Although Beresford concludes that 'nothing has been noted on the ground', the aerial photograph(26) clearly shows evidence of burgage tenements east of Warkworth.

Mitford was sited at the first crossing of the River Wansbeck(27). It could have originated as a defended borough laid out when the castle was built in 1100(28). It was granted a market in 1157 and burgages are recorded in the early C14th(29). The borough probably declined when Morpeth began to expand at a lower bridging point of the River Wansbeck(30). By 1317 Mitford had been destroyed and today there is no evidence of the burgage series.

Wark on Tweed probably originated when the castle was built in approximately 1100 but it too shows no sign of burgage tenements today.

2. Possible Resiting at a later Date

Newbrough was probably founded in the C13th by the Cumin family(31) and there were burgages there in 1369(32). The settlement had been referred to as a 'novus burgus'(33) in 1320 but there is no evidence of burgages today. The church is over a mile from the present village suggesting that the settlement could have been resited in the later Middle Ages.

3. Replanning Consequent upon Industrialisation or

Reorganisation.

Bamburgh was not recorded as a borough until C12th(34) when there is a reference in the Pipe Rolls to a fine paid by the burgesses, although it was founded by Ida in 617 A.D.(35) and descriptions of the pre-Conquest settlement can be found in Bede(36). After the destruction of the settlement by the Danes in 993(37) it was resited after the Conquest as a

consequence of the building of the stone keep on the area previously occupied by the settlement within the walls(38). The parish church was built soon after and the town appears to have prospered in the C14th but it was destroyed by the Scots in 1464 and was totally decayed in 1575(39). Bamburgh's plan is a product of C19th(40), however, being a planned village laid out on the estates of Lord Crewe with little evidence of the Medieval plan other than the village green and the parish church(41). There is no mention of a borough at Newburn after 1201(42). Sited on the Tyne, it has seen many changes in plan particularly since the early C19th and there is no evidence on the ground today of the original plan(43).

(C) Brief Discussion of the Origins of the Boroughs which have Surviving Medieval Plan Elements.

Of the remaining 14 boroughs all have, superficially, at least remnants of the Medieval plans.

Although Alnwick did not receive a charter until 1157(44), Conzen has suggested that the plan exhibits Anglian Elements(45) including a triangular market place, but the church is dependent on Lesbury suggesting that the settlement is comparatively late(46) and even Conzen admits that the original plan must have been disrupted by the building of the castle so close to the original village(47). It is conceivable that Alnwick like Warkworth was partly replanned in C12th by Eustace de Vesci and clear that Alnwick's composite plan today reflects several periods of growth(48). The plan units of Bondgate, Clayport Street, Narrowgate and Fenkle Street form a distinctive unit which was probably laid out on the common fields of the original

village which could have been sited between the castle and the church. The curved shape of the burgage plots would suggest that this unit has its origins as ploughed strips in the village fields.

Hexham is unusual in that it is not recorded as a borough until a borough survey of 1547(49) but the settlement probably originated before the building of the monastery in C7th(50). The existence of a settlement before 687 A.D. when the abbey of St Andrew was built comes from the actual grant of the land for the building of the abbey. This mentions the settlement in terms suggesting that it already existed(51), probably as a small settlement (Halgutstald) near Halgut Burn at the foot of present day Gilesgate. The whole orientation of the settlement was changed by the siting of the abbey on a spur of land between Cowgarth and High Shields Burns. The stimulus to the growth of a settlement in the vicinity of the largest church north of the Alps must have been enormous. The expansion of the settlement was interrupted by the destruction of the town by the Danes in 871 and after 875 there is no record of a settlement until 1080 (52) when the abbey was rebuilt, initiating a period of uninterrupted development to 1296 including the granting of a market in 1239 (53). The firing of the town in 1296 was followed by its fortification in 1330 (54). The town grew throughout the Middle Ages and a possible sequence of events is outlined by Wilson (55).

It was uncommon that ecclesiastical boroughs beyond the jurisdiction of the crown should not be recorded in the royal charters as a borough(56). Therefore it seems odd that

Hexham was not recorded as a borough. However Hexham was located in the totally independent Regality of the Archbishop of York and did not come under the jurisdiction of the Crown.

Although it was declining in the C12th, losing importance to Newcastle, borough status at Corbridge was first recorded in 1201(57) when the burgesses were granted the fee farm but a settlement is referred to in the Northumberland Annals (58) and parts of the church date from the C8th(59). The town was destroyed by the Danes in C10th and resettled in a relatively peaceful period after 1079(60). The decline of Corbridge continued throughout the C14th due to a series of Scottish raids. The plan today exhibits a typical burgage series centred on a small market place. Rothbury is similar, being identified as a borough for the first time in 1201(61) and there is evidence in the Percy Chartulary(62) that part of the town was replanned in C13th. North Row appears to be a planned extension to the existing village. The Northumberland Assize Rolls record a burgage in Rothbury as being 1 acre(63) - similar to Morpeth but it is not clear whether this refers to the planned section of the plan, or the original settlement. If it refers to the planned area then a considerable amount of subdivision has occurred. It is interesting to note that Warkworth, Corbridge and Rothbury are all recorded as boroughs for the first time in 1201. This could just record a change of status but it could just as easily be associated with replanning of the boroughs.

Although Norham is not recorded as a borough until 1160(64), when Bishop Hugh granted the burgesses the privileges of Newcastle, village had existed for some time before the building of the castle in the C12th(65). The

effect of the castle was to stimulate the growth of the settlement:

' whatever might have been the extent of the population of Norham previous to the building of the castle by Bishop Flambard in 1121 the accession of strength and security materially increased the number of residents under its walls and the people of Norham became burgesses' (66).

Shortly after 1121 when the church was rebuilt, the settlement was renamed Norham.

Further evidence of possible replanning came from Reginald of Durham who stated that:

'there is village, Norham, close to the limits of Lothian situated on the River Tweed at the extreme end of Northumberland which was knowne even before the time of St Cuthbert. In the above named vill is an old church dedicated to St Cuthbert'

but the church is outside the village today (67). It appears that Norham may have been replanned when the castle was built; a similar sequence of events occurred in Warkworth. The double burgage row at Norham is characteristic of a defended borough with the castle at one end, church at the other end and the market place between them.

A settlement existed at Warkworth as early as 738 (68) when Ceolwulf gave it to St Cuthbert's monastery and the village is again mentioned in 848-67 (69) but the settlement was destroyed by the Danes in 875 (70).

The present church, however, may hold a clue to the origin of the present day plan. It was built in the C12th (71)

'Such a church must owe its erection to more than ordinary influence; to the possession of means beyond what might be expected from such a community as existed there at that time.'

Moreover, the market was granted at this time (72), shortly after the castle was built and Newton was chartered. The town prospered in the C14th as shown by the increased lay subsidy between 1296 and 1334 (73). Like Hexham, Holy Island was an ecclesiastical borough outside the jurisdiction of the Crown. It was first settled in C7th (74) but abandoned in

793(75) after the Danish raids, and only resettled after 1093 when the Benedictine monks from Coldingham rebuilt the church(76), on being granted Lindisfarne. By the reign of Edward I it was partly decayed:

'more part of the towne is nowe decayed in houses and yet the tofts and crofts where the houses did stand remaiyne'.

and it reverted to the monks of Durham on dissolution.

Wooler was granted a market in 1199 and was first recorded as a borough in 1259(77). There is also evidence of a Norman motte but the settlement did not prosper as in 1340 it could not pay the subsidy and was destroyed in 1409 and again in 1560(78). Of the remaining seven boroughs there is evidence of deliberate planning on a large scale after 1066. The first record of Alnmouth was in C7th(79) when it was the site of a synod called to elect a successor to Trumbriht as Bishop of Hexham and Lindisfarne. The church dates from 687A.D.(80) and there are remnants of an Anglo Saxon church(81), although it was deserted after C9th. Clarkson's survey of 1567(82) suggests that Alnmouth was completely remodelled by de Vesci who 'took an angle of the parish of Lesbury'(83) in order to provide the land for his new town of St Waleric (Alnmouth) in mid C12th at the time of the rebuilding of the church and the granting of the market charter(84). Its fortunes fluctuated in the following centuries. It prospered after the granting of a market before 1178 as can be seen by the 1296 Lay Subsidy(85). Its subsequent growth was associated with the expansion of Alnwick (five miles to the west) but the river course was uncertain and by 1614 it was recorded in 'great ruin'(86)

despite 74 tenements being listed. By 1727 a survey(87) shows 'this town consists of near 100 ancient burgages with croft lands'. The later analysis of the reconstructed plan will show that the town has since shrunk but an undefended double burgage series is still visible.

Although Felton is first recorded as a borough in 1323(87), it dates from at least a century before when a market was granted and the church was granted to Brinkburn Priory by William Bertram(88) and the first record of old Felton appears in 1203(89) suggesting that a new settlement had been founded(90). Felton survives to this day but there is very little evidence of the old settlement(91), except as a farm. Today Felton is a single street borough.

Haydon Bridge and Newbiggin have a similar origin as planted boroughs although Haydon Bridge is not mentioned until the C14th(92) when Thomas de Lucy was said to hold burgages on both sides of the river. It remained a borough throughout the C15th as shown by the suspension of John Parker for felony in 1422 and his forfeiture of two burgages in Haydon Bridge. Newbiggin was granted a market in 1203(93) and taxed as a borough in the C14th.

Harbottle and Haltwhistle appeared after the building of castles by the Normans(94). Haltwhistle was settled in late C12th(95), a market was granted in 1306 and there are two C15th deeds which mention burgages in Haltwhistle. Harbottle was probably planned when the capital of Redsdale was moved from Elsdon in 1154(96). Increased security, similar to Wark and Mitford, stimulated the growth of settlement at Harbottle. In 1244 the borough was mentioned on the death of Gilbert de Umfreville(97). In 1604 there were 24 houses held by 16 burgesses(98) but today there is little evidence of burgage plots.

Morpeth was first mentioned in 1199(99) but this is a regranting of existing privileges to the borough south of the river between the church and the castle(100). The charter of C12th could refer to the replanning of the settlement north of the river by the granting of 43 tofts in free burgage(101). A lord of a rural manor seeing what was happening (evolving gradually) and seeing the prospect of a considerable increase in income from the growth of the town upon his lands issued a charter granting to the nascent community certain rights and privileges(102). This type of planned extension reflects the guarded optimism of Northumbrian lords. This extension to the borough of Morpeth was probably a consequence of the increased prosperity after the building of Newminster Priory in 1138(103). This area was later to become the focus of the town. The increased prosperity together with the rebuilding of the castle and bridge in 1216 is probably part of the reason for the decline of Mitford which was further up river(104).

TABLE 4

The Boroughs Ofa. Northumberland, b. Durham, c. Cumberland, d. Westmorlandand England-The Distribution in time

<u>Date</u>	<u>a</u>		<u>b</u>		<u>c</u>		<u>d</u>		<u>England</u>	
1100	1	4%	0	0	1	11%	0	0	184	27%
1200	6	25%	7	64%	0	0	2	67%	96	14%
1250	9	38%	3	27%	1	11%	1	33%	135	20%
1300	1	4%	1	9%	3	33%	0	0	131	19%
1400	5	21%	0	0	4	45%	0	0	95	14%
1500	2	8%	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	3%
no date	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	3%
total	24	100%	11	100%	9	100%	3	100%	675	100%

source - Beresford and Finberg 1973



TABLE 5

Borough Foundations

After Beresford and Finberg 1973.

County	A/S	D.B	1200	1250	1300	(13)	(14)	(15)	Post Med	Sum
Beds	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	6
Berks	1	1	2.5	6.5	1	0	2	0	0	14
Bucks	1	1	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	10
Cambs	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
Ches	0	1	0	1	10.50		2.5	0	0	15
Cornwall	0	1	2.5	9.5	7	0	8	0	2	30
Cumberland	1	0	0	1	3	0	4	0	0	9
Derby	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	6
Devon	5	1	6	12.5	14.5	3	21	4	7	74
Dorset	4	1	0	3	6	0	1	0	2	17
Durham	0	0	7	3	1	0	0	0	0	11
Essex	2	1	2	3	2.5	0	4.5	0	0	15
Glous	2	2	6	6	7	0	5	0	1	29
Hants	3	0	5.5	8.5	2	0	1	0	2	22
Hereford	1	2	0	3	8	0	2	0	0	16
Herts	1	4	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	11
Hunts	1	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	8
Kent	3	6	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	16
Lancs	0	1	2.5	5	7.5	0	3	0	0	20
Leic	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Lincs	2	3	3	1.5	2.5	0	0	1	0	13
London	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Middlesex	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Norfolk	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	6
Northants	2	0	3	1.5	1.5	0	1	1	0	10
Northumb.	0	0	6.5	7.5	0	0	6	0	+2	23
Notts	1	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	3
Oxon	1	0	2	5	1	0	1	1	0	10
Rutland	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Salop	2	0	3	3	8	0	3	2	1	22
Somerset	7	3	5	6	3	0	7	0	0	31
Staffs	3	1	5	3	8	1	1	0	0	22
Suffolk	2	5	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	11
Surrey	2	0	1.5	4.5	0	0	0	1	0	9
Sussex	3	5	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	16
Warwick	1	0	3	3	5	0	2	1	0	15
Westmorland	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Wilts	5	5	3	5.5	2.5	0	3	2	0	26
Worc	2	2	0	2.5	1.5	0	2	1	0	11
Yorks	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
E.Riding	0	2	3	1	2	0	1	0	0	9
N.Riding	0	0	8.5	0.5	4	0	1	0	0	14
W.Riding	0	2	4	2.5	5.5	0	4	0	0	18
Total	66	52	96	135	126	4	95	17	17	628

A/S = Anglo Saxon

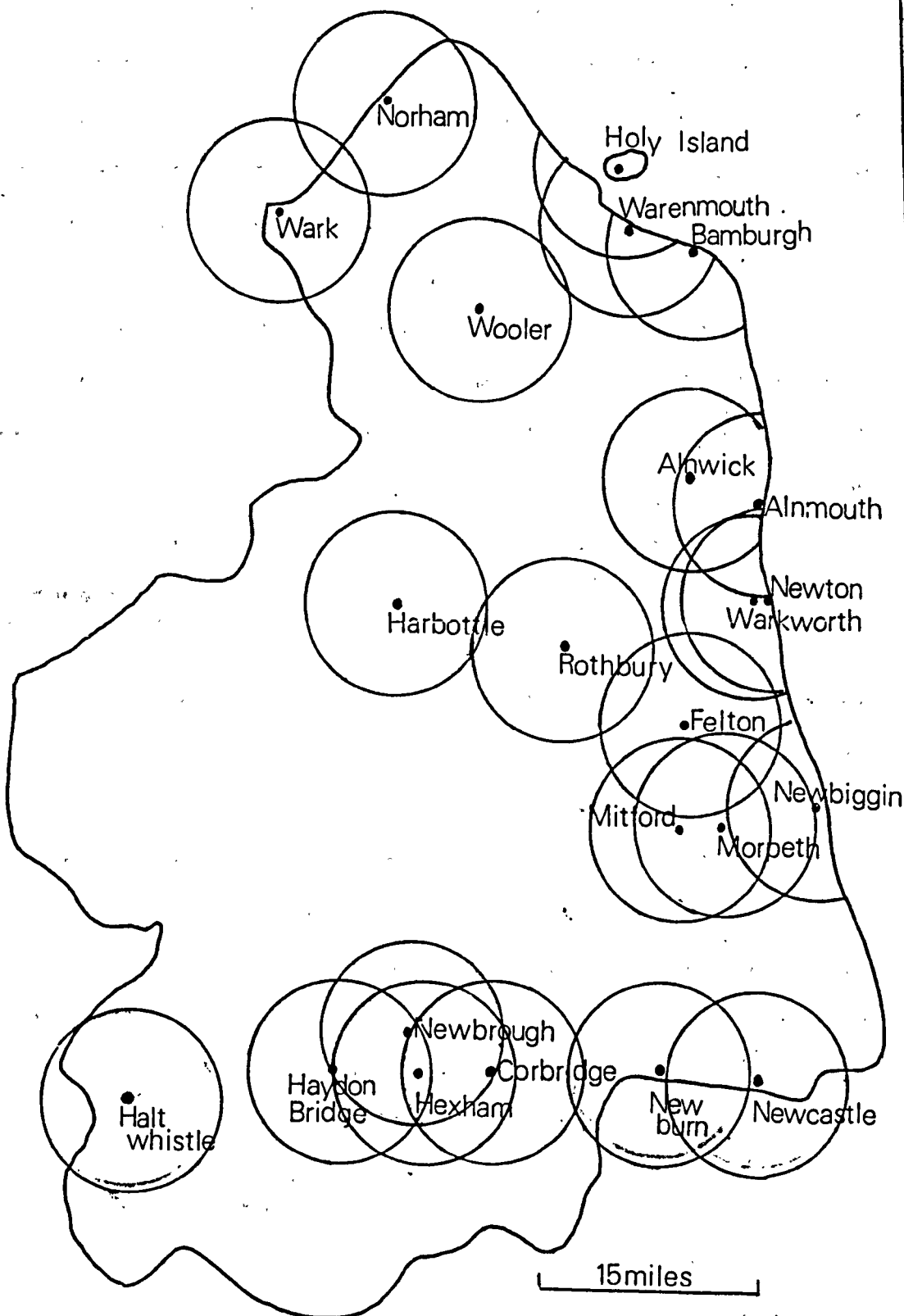
D.B. = Domesday Book

(13) (14) (15) = Undefined C13th, C14th & C15th

Post Med = Post Medieval references to borough status

MAP 4 - THE BOROUGHES OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

(with Bracton's market areas of 6 mile radius)



(D) Discussion of the Numerical, Temporal and Spatial problems associated with any discussion of the Northumberland Boroughs

1. The Number of Northumberland Boroughs

When the total number of boroughs identified in Northumberland is compared with the totals for the other counties in England(105), it becomes apparent that the Northumberland total of 23 is unusually high(106). Of the other counties, only five had more borough foundations. They are:

Devon74; Somerset312; Cornwall130; Gloucester29 and Wiltshire26. The national average is 14.5 while Middlesex has only one. As well as this, Table 4 shows that Northumberland had many more boroughs than any of the other northern counties Beresford's research indicates that

'there does not seem to be any systematic bias within the sources to explain the large number of boroughs in certain counties'(107)

Instead he suggests that the high totals were related to the diversity of the economies, the remote and difficult terrain and the relative hostility of the inhabitants(108). These factors encouraged more frequent nodal places. Although this could be true in Northumberland, indeed Newton spoke of North Tynedale and Redesdale forming a separate world from the rest of the country,(109) there is another factor that may be of significance, namely land ownership.

'Multiplication of market towns reflected the fragmentation of the Medieval political and economic structure and the small scale urban mesh that was required to serve the countryside even in the most elementary way'(110).

Borough foundations were seen by the majority of seigneurs as an easy way to increase their revenue. If the spatial pattern of boroughs in the Tyne Valley is considered in conjunction with a map of landownership patterns(see map 3), a clear relationship becomes apparent with Haltwhistle on

the Roos estate, Haydon Bridge in the Langley Barony, Newbrough on the Cumin estate, Hexham in the Regality of the Archbishop of York and Corbridge on the Percy estates(111) all being located within the river valley.

2. The Distribution of boroughs in time

When the boroughs are considered by the date at which they were first mentioned as boroughs and compared with the same data for the other three northern counties of Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland as well as the whole of the country, several interesting features become apparent(112). Table 4 indicates that the number of borough foundations increased dramatically after the Conquest and a stable political situation, coupled with the feudal system, were conducive to their development. This can be seen from the national data in which 184(27%) were mentioned for the first time before 1100. There is a time lag, however, between the foundations in the country as a whole and the northern area, with only one borough founded in Northumberland and none at all in the other three counties during the period. The pace quickened soon after, with 6 foundations in Northumberland and 7 in Durham before 1200. Following the national trend, the majority of Northumberland's boroughs were first mentioned in the first part of the 13th, confirming Newton's statement that:

'As elsewhere the 13th saw a great age of development of towns'(113)

Similarly in Durham 10 boroughs were mentioned before 1250 and all Westmorland's boroughs existed by the middle of the 13th. The Northumberland pattern diverges from the national pattern of foundations in the second half of the 13th with a dramatic decline in borough foundations probably related to the unstable situation after the death of Alexander III

which prompted Edward I to attempt to extend his control to Scotland. The reduction in the number of foundations in Northumberland common to the country in C14th was related to the high incidence of plague and the depressing effect which that had on the economy as a whole(114). Northumberland borough foundations span the whole of the period which could give scope to detect possible changes in planning style.

3. The distribution of boroughs in space

When the boroughs of Northumberland are mapped(115), it becomes apparent that they are not regularly spaced throughout the county and therefore like the pattern of market foundations shown in map5, do not adhere to Bracton's law(116). Indeed, as would be expected, the pattern is closely related to relief, with the vast majority being sited below 200' along the coastal plain and the river valleys which traverse the region from west to east. Of these, 20 boroughs are located on the coastal plain and river valleys) Norham, Berwick and Wark are situated in the Tweed Valley, Alnwick and Alnmouth in the Aln Valley, Warkworth, Harbottle, Felton and Rothbury on the Coquet, Morpeth and Mitford on the Wansbeck and Newburn, Newcastle, Corbridge, Hexham, Haydon Bridge and Haltwhistle on the Tyne. Of the remainder Wooler in Glendale is sited in an area of level ground projecting from the Cheviots. Bamburgh is sited on the Whin Sill which is an excellent defensive site. Warenmouth in a sheltered inlet north of Bamburgh and Holy Island is located off the coast of Northumberland. The pattern appears to be affected by three factors: accessibility; the need for defence and landownership. As the borough survived by trading, it was essential that it had good communications with its markets and sources of

marketable goods. It is therefore not unusual that the boroughs concentrated on the coastal plain avoiding the harsh Cheviots and the remoter parts of Tynedale and Redesdale where population would be lower. Similarly it is clear that defence in such a vulnerable part of the country was vital. Morpeth and Warkworth are classic defensive sites in the loops of the Rivers Coquet and Wansbeck, while many of the sites were at important river crossings such as Newcastle, Norham and Felton. As stated earlier the pattern of land ownership directly affected the location of the boroughs as each seigneur saw, and tried to capitalise on the benefits which accrued from having a borough within his estates (See map 3 which shows the location of the boroughs and the land ownership pattern at foundation).

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SECTION 2

The Method of Study

Part 2 The Reconstruction of the borough plans

(A) The Usefulness of present day Plans

It is not possible to use large scale O.S. town plans as a guide to establishing the original plan details of the Medieval boroughs because many small changes could have been made before the large scale plans were drawn, which would result in an unreal representation of the original plan. Many of the boroughs had been in existence for more than 700 years before the first large scale O.S. maps were produced in the middle of the C19th(1). Neither is it possible to use in isolation maps and plans which survive from earlier dates, to reconstruct the Medieval plans(2). Such a collection of early maps differing in scale and reliability cannot portray a reliable or readable picture of town development because, while there are no maps surviving from before 1500(3), the time interval between maps which do survive suggests that they are only useful 'combined with as much information as possible about the intervening period'(4). Moreover, there are many inaccuracies. Speed for example, preferred 'antiquarian rhetoric rather than topographical fact'(5) and surveying did not begin to improve dramatically until the C18th(6). The maps that do survive of Northumberland borough plans before C19th are variable in their usefulness. Although plans of all the boroughs on the Duke of Northumberland's estates accompany the Mayson Survey of 1616, the open spaces are probably

exaggerated(7) and the scales are grossly inaccurate(8). Later maps such as Wilkin's map of Alnwick 1774, Fryer's plan of Corbridge 1779 and the Wood plans of Morpeth in 1826 and of Hexham in 1827 are valuable, but more for the detailed representation of landownership units than for any measuring exercises(9). Such problems of inaccuracy and survival however, do not mean that the maps cannot be of use. Provided the cartographical evidence is used along with historical and other field evidence, these maps can help with the reconstruction of even the early Medieval borough(10). They can provide important evidence of the stages and processes of topographical changes in towns(11) allowing comparison of the Medieval borough with the C19th plan represented by the 1st edition O.S. 25" to the mile. The coverage of the county by plans before the C19th is patchy (See Appendix 9), with, as one would expect, Alnwick, the central borough of the Percy estates, and Holy Island, the heartland of Christianity in the North, having good, if not always accurate, map coverage compared to Haltwhistle and Wark, small boroughs within minor baronies having scarcely any plans before the C19th(12).

(B) Other Sources

The Tithe Awards, Surveys, Rentals, Court and Suit

Rolls, Deeds and Land Tax Assessments

Tithe award maps can, in some cases, provide a means of tracing back land ownership to the beginning of the C19th. Tithe maps are large scale manuscript plans belonging to the same cartographic family as estate plans. They differ however in that estate plans are the result of local administration of private property whereas the Tithe plans were the result of legislative activity of as far reaching character i.e. the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836(13). Tithe

documents were prepared in triplicate ,one set going to the Tithe Redemption Commission H.Q., one set to the Diocesan records and one set to the parish incumbent(14). The Tithe Commissioners conceived their task as a national cadastre, a general survey and a register of real property - comparable to the domesday Survey(15). The advantage of the plans in the reconstruction of early borough plans are that: they were made within a fairly restricted time period,1836-41, and they cover all of the Northumberland boroughs except, Alnwick,Hexham and Morpeth(16); They follow a similar format, and are immensely detailed(17). The plans are, however, difficult to interpret because: the scales used could be very small, being proportional to the size of the parish; the variety of scales(18); and the different levels of accuracy which depended heavily on the skill of the local surveyor.Care must also be taken because in some cases Tithe surveys were copies of earlier surveys. If the Alnmouth Tithe Award map is considered in conjunction with the first edition 25" O.S. map of the borough, the problem of fitting together topographical and cadastral boundaries becomes apparent. Although some Tithe maps are merely copies of earlier maps, while others are no more than topographical sketches, they do provide a means of plotting the land ownership boundaries on to the O.S. 25" maps in order to begin the reconstruction. This is essential because the continuity of plot boundaries can only be traced through land ownership (with cross checking to the court rolls,suit rolls and admittances and surrenders for evidence of changes in the location of the boundaries).

It was originally assumed that the plots could be traced back to the Middle Ages using rentals and surveys which do survive in considerable numbers from 1500 for some boroughs,

and they are particularly useful before accurate plans and maps become available because: they give abutments, that is the surveys are written in borough order -although in some cases it is not clear where the survey begins; they give the previous tenants up to 100 years before; and, in some cases they are accompanied by a reference plan(19). Surveys can be divided into two categories:

- 1.Parliamentary;
- 2.Manorial.

Parliamentary surveys from the 16th which are useful were

'an enquiry into the nature and value of estates and perquisites on the authority of the House of Commons per se in the period 1646-60'(20)

and the name has been especially applied to a series of Crown Bishop's and Dean and Chapter lands made prior to their sale for the benefit of the Commonwealth. There were three types: Bishop's Estate Surveys; Dean and Chapter; and Crown Lands. The surveys had a uniform format; date from 1649-53; are accurate; cover all types of land holding and are virtually complete. Surveys survive for several Northumberland boroughs(21).

Although manorial surveys are more likely to be descriptive before 1500(22), increasingly after 1600 more accurate surveys become available, probably associated with the increase in the number of professional surveyors who had some knowledge of manorial law, latin and the use of the plane table and the theodolite(23). Nevertheless, even after 1600 surveys were usually taken by inquisition, beginning with the collection of previous surveys as a basis. Tenants brought deeds and the Court Rolls were checked(24). The manorial survey is therefore, more often than not, an abstract of writing and not a field survey of land. Often it was the work of the lawyer rather than the surveyor. The task

of the surveyor was the scrutiny and enrolment of writing(25). The surveys may take the form of a map(26) amplified by a description or may be a description arranged by street, usually in Latin, thus constituting an early directory(27). The estates of the Duke of Northumberland are extremely well covered by surveys and Clarkson¹⁵⁶⁷, Mayson¹⁶¹⁶ and Anderson¹⁷⁰³ are particularly useful as they also give abuttals and previous tenants(28). Rentals survive from 1500 and provide a means of checking the accuracy of the surveys(29).

A second check can be made using the land tax assessments. They have rarely been employed to trace land ownership and property change in urban areas(30). These assessments were levied between 1692 and 1960, although few survive before 1780, being introduced to broaden the basis of direct taxation by assessing the wealth produced by industry and commerce as well as agricultural, and personal property(31). Land tax is less useful for the purposes of this project after 1798 when it changed to a perpetual rent charge with the right of redemption(32). Redeemed rents were listed separately, thus preventing their use to cross check abuttals even with lay before 1798. There are, however, several problems which have to be taken into account: abbreviations eg. himself et al gives no idea of the number of owners or occupiers; himself in the occupier column could be indicated by 'ditto' but this could also refer to the above occupier; owners of less than 20 shillings were exempt; there are a vast number of entries for even a small town, 'the assessments have always been regarded as a difficult source to handle and the sheer volume of data that they contain makes them a formidable proposition'(33); sometimes the property of a landowner was listed at one site

and not in physical location; alphabetical listing of owners was introduced after 1800 and so is of little value to this research project; the returns are not consistent, redemptions as already stated are listed separately; tax evasion was common as early as 1696 and finally mistakes could be made in the names and entries(34).

Despite these problems the land tax did prove valuable in linking the Tithe Award and the C16th and C17th surveys of Alnmouth(35). Appendix 10 shows that the survival of documents and therefore the ability to reconstruct the original borough plans varies throughout the county. Alnmouth, Alnwick, Corbridge and Warkworth are well documented whereas many places such as Felton, Haltwhistle and Harbottle have very little surviving evidence.

Consideration of the surviving documentary evidence indicates that if cross checking is carried out using the Court Rolls, Suit Rolls, Deeds, Admittances, Estreats, encroachments recorded in the Court Roll and Admittances, together with the above mentioned sources the borough plans for Alnmouth, Alnwick, Warkworth and Rothbury can be traced back to the C16th.

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(C) The Reconstruction of the Borough Plans of Warkworth,
Alnmouth, Rothbury, Alnwick and Corbridge

In order to show how the reconstruction was completed Warkworth will be considered in detail. However, essentially the same technique was used for Alnmouth, Alnwick and Rothbury.

Warkworth is a single street borough with a restricted site in a meander of the River Coquet(1). Southward expansion is also restricted by the castle which occupies the neck of the meander(2). The single street forks north of the castle to form a triangular market place occupied in part by the church and many later buildings which became incorporated into the burgage series(3). The main street runs down the western side of the meander and consequently the eastern burgages are longer than the western ones(4)

The burgage plots for East and West Row in Warkworth were traced back from the present day to 1498 as follows:

1. The Tithe Map land ownership pattern was transferred on to the first edition O.S. map of Warkworth;
2. Each plot was traced back to 1498 using the followings:
 - a. Land Tax Assessments 1830 18201810;
 - b. Wilkins Map 1772;
 - c. Survey of Warkworth 1723 1616 1567;
 - d. Cartington Rental 1498 (5).

The changes in ownership/amalgamation/subdivision are shown on the maps/reconstruction table p82.

It was straightforward to find correspondence between the plots from 1498 to 1616 because the surveys were recorded in plot order. It was also comparatively easy to trace plots back from 1841 to 1772 as there were two reference maps at these dates. However, between 1616 and 1723 (Anderson's Survey) and 1723 and 1772 there appeared to be little similarity in plot ownership. This problem of continuity was eased by Warkworth Call book for 1731(6) which listed previous holders back to 1616 and had alterations made in 1738. This together with many records of surrenders and admittances throughout the C17th and C18th(7) allowed a detailed reconstruction of the burgage series of 1498. The corresponding field measurements of 1983 could then be plotted onto the C15th burgage series(8).

At this stage it is necessary to explain the arrangement of the tables on p82 showing the reconstruction of Warkworth burgage series from the present day back to 1498.

1. The burgage series is shown along the top and each burgage has been assigned a number corresponding to the number of burgages in 1498 eg. there were 31 burgages with frontages on East Row in 1498. *and so thereafter*
2. Key survey and rental dates used in the reconstruction correspond to the rows with the dates given on the left hand side.
3. Where there is evidence of ownership • is used
Where there has been a change in ownership it is recorded by X .
Amalgamation or ownership by the same person is shown by \leftarrow \rightarrow .
Subdivision is shown by a vertical dashed line.
4. Any change in the type of tenure is identified by letters outlined in the key.

5. Burgages held by institutions are highlighted and named.
6. Maps showing the ownership patterns at the key dates follow the tables showing the reconstruction.

The format outlined above has been used for the reconstructions of Alnmouth and Rothbury North Row as well as Warkworth.

It proved impossible to trace Corbridge burgage plots beyond 1703 because, before that date, surveys, rentals and even the Call Book were listed by burgess ie. if a man had four plots they were recorded in one reference regardless of the physical location of each burgage plot within the town(9). A series of Medieval deeds does however indicate that the borough plan has remained essentially the same since the Middle Ages(10).

Alnmouth proved difficult at first because the number of burgages in 1567 did not correspond to those surviving in 1841. The discrepancy was resolved when the survey map which accompanied Mayson's survey was consulted(11). All the burgages north of Watson's Wynde recorded in every survey up to 1727 are actually in Lint Close and the allotments, and the individual plot boundaries had disappeared by the C18th. A similar problem emerged in the south of the settlement, caused by a shrinking of the actual borough. The burgages which do survive to the C19th are easily traced back through the surveys of 1727, 1703, 1659, 1616, 1586 and 1567. There has been a considerable amount of amalgamation and subdivision, these events are recorded and the C16th burgage series can be identified in places(12). The reconstruction tables are included in the analysis pp120-3. Again maps have been included to facilitate comparison and help to understand the nature and amount of change which has taken

place since C16th. Alnwick burgage plots were easily traced back using a large scale C18th map(13), the map accompanying Mayson's Survey and the surveys of 1586 and 1567. The burgage series has seen little subdivision or amalgamation(14).

The burgages in Rothbury can be traced back to 1567 using the surveys of 1709, 1616, 1586 and 1567(15). The suit rolls have been particularly useful in this settlement, in the reconstruction of the C18th burgage series and in allowing checks to be made throughout the C17th and C18th(16). Similarly the Call Book which recorded any change in ownership was used to check any changes in the burgage series(17). The reconstruction tables are included with analysis pp134-7.

(D) Problems of Continuity before 1500

1. Documentation

There are some documents surviving from before 1500 which would allow the reconstruction of at least parts of some of the Medieval boroughs eg Corbridge where C12th and C13th deeds confirm in part the same borough plans recorded in Mayson's survey of 1616, but there are extensive areas for which no evidence survives(18). There is, however, a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence from other parts of the country which suggests that once established, plot boundaries rarely if ever were allowed to be changed(19).

'The most important point about these plots was their endurance, for they seemed to have come down from Medieval times virtually unaltered. Any redevelopment was done one plot at a time, thus preserving the property lines'.(20)

Slater also makes a very valuable point that it was difficult to change individual boundaries in a close urban environment(21). However it is not possible to consider Northumberland boroughs as being truly urban. Working on

Ayr(22), Dodds concluded that changes in function were frequent, alienation or rebuilding were less so but until modern times change of plot boundary or street frontage lines was exceptional. Burgages had clearly defined legal attributes which were a fixed part of local government, and all changes in ownership or measurement had to be recorded in the court rolls(23). This is clearly demonstrated by the extracts found in appendix 11,12,13(24).

Land measurers were also employed to check that encroachments were not allowed to take place(25), to remeasure boundaries if disputes arose(26) and demolishing encroachments as small as 1'(27). As late as 1814 John Appleby was presented at Alnmouth Court for building a wall which encroached by 9". Part of the land measurer's job was also to ensure that boundaries were maintained in good repair and tenants were presented for non compliance.

'The surveyors of the time showed great exactness in measuring out the respective burgages even the inches were taken into consideration and any subsequent encroachment was a cause of immediate remedy in the borough or King's Court'(28)

This would appear to confirm the assumption of continuity.

In the boroughs of Northumberland for which reconstruction was possible however, groups of plots have experienced amalgamation and/or subdivision since 1500 and therefore caution must be used in interpreting the field measurements of the plots.

2. Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological evidence from other parts of England also suggests that plot boundaries were unlikely to change (29).

'Archaeological Excavations have confirmed the long term perpetuation of plot boundaries in cities with histories as diverse as York and Winchester' In York Radley(30)

discovered that the arrangement of Danish structural remains along Ousegate suggests that the present subdivision of property was already in existence in Danish times, while Field working in Wimborne(31) showed that any demolition in the Middle Ages was followed by rebuilding within the original plot boundaries. Similar findings have been found in West Whelpington (Durham)(32). However, documentary evidence is lacking for many areas within the boroughs, therefore can the assumption be made that plot boundaries did not change between the foundation of the plan and 1500 unless it was, as in the case of Warkworth, the complete replanning of the settlement during the C13th(33)?

Let us consider Warkworth:

In 1249(34) there were 60 burgesses recorded in the borough and newtown whereas in 1498 there were 98 houses. Even if this included secondary building other counts of burgages in 1567(64), 1581(74), 1616(85), 1623(77) and 1667(71) indicate that amalgamation and subdivision were more common in this borough. The amalgamations and subdivisions may not have been even (into halves or quarters). If this process had been operating before 1500 the original burgage plots might be difficult to identify. Also, there is considerable evidence that some of the Northumberland boroughs were in ruin or deserted in part at times during the Middle Ages(35). Can continuity of plot boundaries really be assumed under such conditions?

The plots held by institutions are less likely to have experienced such amalgamations and subdivisions and may have been resettled. If these plots can be identified they may help to identify the original burgage series as discussed later in the analysis of Warkworth.

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9. See Appendix 1
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reference 78 p61

Alnmouth was recorded in 'great ruin' in 1614 see
reference 86 p62

SECTION 3

The Analysis of the Borough Plans

Part 1 Influences on Borough Form

Site is considered a major influence(1) but the motive of the founder is a significant influence on settlement form. However in the unstable conditions of Medieval Northumberland each borough form was influenced by the environment in which it originated. Being situated in the unstable borders between England and Scotland must have affected the choice of site and the subsequent growth of boroughs such as Warkworth and Morpeth, both of which were laid out in river meanders(2). River crossing sites such as Haydon Bridge, Felton and Corbridge are all built above the haughs. Newbiggin straggles along a level part of the coast, whereas Alnmouth is restricted to a narrow sandstone ridge at the mouth of the river Aln(3). However, as trade was an important consideration in borough foundations accessible sites were sought. Changing functions may also be reflected in the plan detail. Alnwick expanded away from the defended single street borough near to the castle(4), presumably due to its increasing importance as a trade centre.

The plan detail could also have been affected by relief. Alnmouth block two is restricted in length because the land falls away to the sea(5) while burgages in Watling St (Corbridge) and Felton West Row(6) are short for a similar reason (except that the fall away is to the river). Hexham did not expand to the north of Haugh Lane because of a sharp drop in height north of Market St(7).

Pre-urban nuclei have affected some of the borough plans. According to Conzen Alnwick has grown up around the junction of three Anglian routeways(8) resulting in a distinctive triangular central area, while the site of a pre-Conquest

church has been incorporated into the plan of Warkworth, by rebuilding the church on the same site(9). Indeed, if each borough plan is considered in its broadest form, then the factors outlined above, site, situation and pre-urban nuclei would prevent any generalisations being made. It is however at a more basic level, that of the individual components which make up the total form, the market place, church, castle, street system and especially the fundamental distinguishing unit of the borough - the burgage plot - that this analysis concentrates.

(A) The Town Plan

Before beginning to analyse the borough plan it is imperative to have a clear understanding of what is meant in this research project by the term town plan. A restricted definition of a town plan has been used in the analysis.

Town Plans contain three distinct complexes of plan element:

1. Streets and their arrangement into street system;
2. Plots and their aggregation into blocks;
3. Buildings or more precisely their block plans;

(with streets referring to the area between street lines, the areas bounded by the streets being blocks and each block representing a group of contiguous land parcels i.e. plots and the block plan of a building defined on the ground by the line of its containing walls)(10).

In this analysis section 3 will be excluded because few individual, and no contiguous blocks survive in the Northumberland boroughs. The block plans like the buildings they represent are the least conservative element in the town plan(11) but rebuilding is thought to have taken place within the existing property boundaries. Therefore street systems and plots will be analysed together with the more

obvious Medieval remnants in the present plans viz: the church; castle and market place; in order to discover whether there are any common features between the Northumberland boroughs, thence to attempt to explain any similarities.

TABLE 7

Borough Plan Elements

TOWN	CHURCH	CASTLE	STREET SYSTEM	MARKET PLACE
ALNMOUTH	South of Borough pre Conquest	None	1 single street 2 rows of burgages	None
ALNWICK	Outside Borough	North of the Borough	Radial Concentric back lanes	Triangular Converging of 3 Anglo Saxon roadways
CORBRIDGE	In the Northern part of the Market place	None	Converging on Market place	Rectangular, Wide Main Street for driving
FELTON	To the West of the Borough	None	1 single street 2 rows of burgages back access	None
HALT - WHISTLE	South side of the main street and secondary market	Remains South of Main Street	Single street 2 rows of burgages	Triangular and later smaller square
HARBOTTLE	None	North of Main Street	As Above	None
HAYDON BRIDGE	North of the river East side of the burgage series	None	Double single streets with back access	Wide street in North
HEXHAM	West of the Market place	None	Composite	Square
HOLY ISLAND	South of the Market place	Outside the town	Converging on Market Place	"
MORPETH	South of the borough	South of the borough	Inverted letter T	"
NEWBIGGIN	Western Promontory	None	Single street 2 rows of burgages	None
NORHAM	North West of Borough	East of the borough	As Above	Triangular
ROTH - BURY	South side of Market area	None	"	Wide Main Street
WARK - WORTH	North of Borough in the Market Place	South of the borough	"	Triangular
WOOLER	In centre of Market Place	Motte near Church	Concentric Radial	Amorphous

(B) Elements to be Compared It has been suggested that the location of the church, castle and market place shape may be common elements(12) at different periods or within planned towns or towns in the control of certain landlords, but this has not proved a fruitful avenue of research.

1. Church

Looking at the siting of the churches (see table 7) within the boroughs, 3 are in the market place (Warkworth, Corbridge and Rothbury). Although Corbridge and Rothbury are pre-Conquest, the evidence suggests that Warkworth was replanned in the C12th(13). However as the first reference to borough status in Corbridge and Rothbury as well as Warkworth is in 1201 it is possible that they too were replanned in part in the C12th(14). Although all of these boroughs eventually belonged to the Percies, Corbridge originated as a Royal borough. Four of the boroughs have churches which form one side of the market place (Haltwhistle, Hexham, Holy Island and Wooler)(15) but they were laid out at different times. Although Hexham and Holy Island have ecclesiastical seigneurs the other two, Haltwhistle and Wooler, were lay foundations(16). Four churches are sited away from the present street system (Alnmouth, Newbiggin, Felton, and Morpeth)(17) and all are in planned towns but other planned towns have churches with different locations. Moreover, Alnmouth and Felton have shrunk but Morpeth's church is the remnant of an earlier settlement. Norham, Bamburgh and Alnwick have churches within the street system as do Newburn, Haydon Bridge and Mitford but there is no link between them in terms of landownership pattern, foundation date or degree of planning(18). Therefore, there appears to be no common

CASTLES BUILT IN NORTHUMBERLAND IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

(after HUNTER-BLAIR 1944)

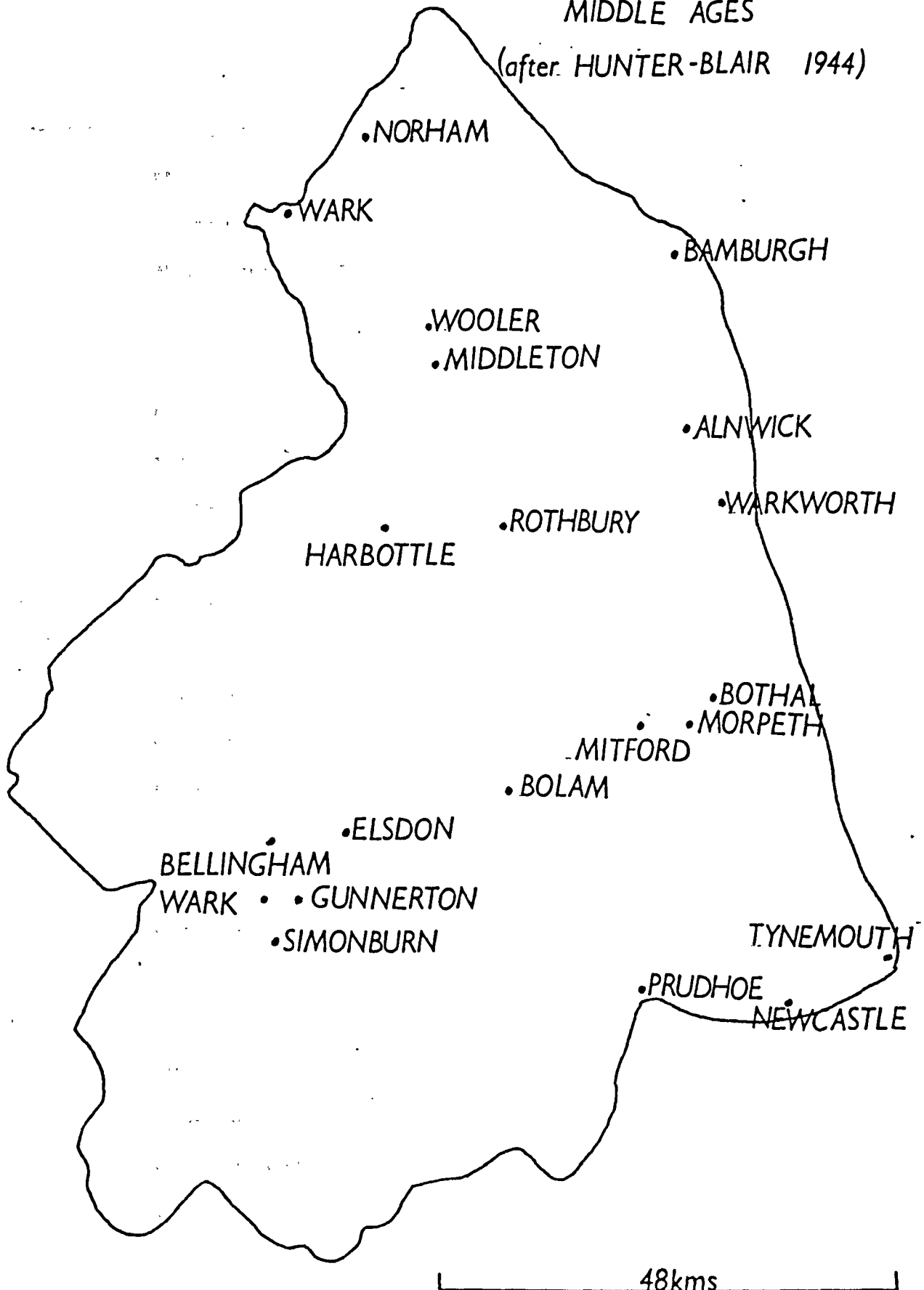


TABLE 8

Castles Built in Northumberland

after Hunter-Blair

<u>Earldom</u>	*Bamburgh	1070	
	*Newcastle	1080	
	Tynemouth	1081	
	*Warkworth	1139	
<u>Liberty</u>	Elsdon	1080	
	*Harbottle	1157	
	*Norham	1121	
	Wark (Tyne)		1139
<u>Barony</u>	*Alnwick	1100	
	Bolam	1100	
	Bothal	1150	
	*Mitford	1100	
	*Morpeth	1090	
	Prudhoe	1100	
	*Wark (Tweed)		1100
	*Wooler	1100	
<u>Uncertain Origin</u>	Bellingham		
	Gunnerton		
	*Haltwhistle		
	*Rothbury		
	Simonburn		

* Denotes borough status.

location between any group of churches within the boroughs of the county.

2.Castle

Eleven boroughs have castles but they date from before and after the Conquest, and although 50% of the planned towns have castles it is by no means correct to assume that all planned towns are associated with castles, as is the case in 80% of the Welsh foundations(19). Moreover, if the castles in the county are mapped it is apparent that they were not all accompanied by planned settlements(20). There is no evidence of borough status at Middleton, Bothal, Bolam, Elsdon, Gunnerton, Simonburn, Wark(on Tyne) and Prudhoe.

3.Market Place

Market places come in all shapes and sizes(21), although a rectangular form is common in England. Within the Northumberland boroughs it is possible to identify four major types of market place as shown in Table 7. Single street markets are characteristic of Alnmouth, Felton, Harbottle and Newburn whereas triangular markets in Alnwick, Bamburgh, Haltwhistle, Norham and Warkworth. Although it was postulated as an Anglo Saxon form by Thorpe, these markets date from periods as diverse as early post Conquest Alnwick and the C19th when Bamburgh was replanned. Rectangular markets are found in Corbridge, Holy Island and Hexham. Although Hexham and Corbridge had flourishing cattle markets in the Middle Ages which would necessitate large markets; the same can not be said of Holy Island. In Wooler, the smaller more amorphous form of market is found, while no recognisable market places survive in Newton, Newbrough, Wark, or Mitford. The often used phrase 'market based town' was merely a way of uniting a mottley collection of towns

with nothing more in common than having their market at their centres(22). As can be seen from map 1 the granting of a market did not correspond to burghal status in Northumberland.

Many market places have experienced colonisation due to the pressure on open space:

- a. Stall holders left their stalls out overnight and eventually built on the site.
- b. People with frontages on the market place tried to gain space by pushing their shop front forward.
- c. The market place was often used for structures of public benefit such as a market cross or church.

Market colonisation has taken place in Alnwick, Hexham, Corbridge, Haltwhistle and Warkworth. The site of the church at Warkworth however may be a pre-urban nucleus(23). Having considered all possible permutations with regard to church location, castle location, street system, market place shape together with date of foundation, land ownership, planned or non planned town, location within the county it is clear that this element of the town plans show no recurring patterns(24).

4. Street systems and Burgage Plots

The most common street system appears to be the single street, double burgage series found in Alnmouth, Felton, Haltwhistle, Harbottle, Haydon Bridge, Newbiggin, Norham, Rothbury and Warkworth but the reason for this appears to be locational: being situated in a hostile and unstable border region cannot have been conducive to the development of trade and subsequent growth of the borough(25)

Alnwick, Corbridge, Hexham, Morpeth and Wooler all have street systems focussed on centrally placed market places. With the exception of Morpeth and possibly Corbridge they

appear to have grown over a period of centuries. Hexham, Corbridge and Wooler all have one wide main street as would be expected in cattle rearing areas (to facilitate cattle marketing). The converging street system of all five is also a reflection of the nodal marketing function for their respective hinterlands. It would appear then, that no common street system is evident in the Northumberland boroughs. However, the composite nature of some plans may hide common patterns which are obscured, eg. Hexham appears to have grown throughout the Middle Ages (26). The original single street borough of Market Street and Gilesgate is obscured by later accretions including the market place, Fore Street and the Priestpopple area, Priestpopple, Battle Hill and Hencotes appear to be three distinct plan units although today they are one continuous street. Thus what appears today as a converging system was originally a single street borough. Alnwick too, may have originated as a single street defended borough between the castle and the church (27) in the Bailiffgate area with the extension of the settlement later in Bondgate, Fenkle Street and Clayport Street which gives the plan a converging street system.

The burgage plots, however, seem to offer a more rewarding line of inquiry. The critical and distinguishing feature of the borough was the form of land tenure and burgage tenure was placed first in the privileges granted by charter (28). Indeed, the burgage tenure is the only characteristic which all boroughs had in common and as the tenure was represented on the ground in the form of a burgage plot, then perhaps it is here that the group of settlement boroughs, can be distinguished as a spatial form.

Perhaps it is at this level of planning that the planned and organic towns can be distinguished from each other. Was a

burgage a measurement unit? Rarely was burgage size recorded. Was this the exception, and unless otherwise stated was a common size (whether by area or by width) assumed?

It is of some value to consider whether planned and organic towns have different burgage sizes, with organic having no one common size, or whether it was likely that Royal and seigneurial boroughs may have had distinctive patterns, with the probability that Royal boroughs were planned in multiples of the statute perch and the seigneurial boroughs laid out using the local standard perch of 18'. Again it might be useful to consider whether burgage sizes change depending on the date of foundation or whether there is a burgage plot size common to Northumberland, which is different from the statutory size for the country as a whole. It is also probable that the land ownership system whether royal or ecclesiastical might have affected the size of the burgage plot.

Width of plot rather than the area or length appears to be the most common method of planning burgages but comparison of Medieval and modern measurement units is difficult.

(C) Comparing Medieval and Modern Measurements

A major problem in trying to establish whether or not there was regularity in the burgage plot widths in Northumberland stems from the problem of establishing what was the size of the Medieval perch in Northumberland at the time when the plots were laid out.

The statute perch was not used consistently throughout England in the Middle Ages. Norden discussed the existence of 16.5', 18', 20', and 24' poles (29) and despite many attempts at standardisation from 787 A.D. onwards the most comprehensive being in 1196 and 1305 (statute of

Royal Commission on Weights and MeasuresPerch Sizes in the U.K.

<u>County/Country</u>	<u>Perch length</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
	16.5'	
	8yds	Fencing
	7yds	Forest
	25'	Sherwood
	6yds	Coppice
Devon	16'	Stonework
Berks	18'	Roughwork
Hereford	7yds	Fencing
Lancs	5.5-8yds	
Herts	20'	
Leics	8yds	Hedging
Oxford	6yds	Draining
Westmorland	7yds	
Guernsey	7yds	
Jersey	22'	
Scotland	18'	
Ireland	7yds	

Northumberland Medieval Church Measurements

	INTERNAL NAVE WIDTH	INTERNAL NAVE LENGTH
C7th BYWELL	feet 19	feet 54
CORBRIDGE	18	47
JARROW	19	90
HOLY ISLAND	53	90
pre 1066 INGRAM	11,	30
Saxon Norman HEDDON	17	51
WOODHORN	18	45
OVINGHAM	20	51
WHITTINGHAM	18	53
HOUGHTON	18	33
MITFORD	20	57
WARKWORTH	19	90
BAMBURGH	21	58

SOURCE... ANGLO SAXON ARCHITECTURE 1965.....

Northumberland Aisled and Tower House MeasurementsH.M. Taylor Anglo SaxonArchitecture 1965 and Fieldwork

Aisled House	Inches	16.5'	18'	Inches	16.5'	18'
Bishop Auckland	1020	5.15	4.75	540	2.72	2.5
Warkworth	684	3.45	3.16	492	2.48	2.25
Aydon	570	2.87	2.6	216	1.09	1

Tower House

Corbridge	204	1	1	264	1.33	1.22
Chipchase	624	3	2.8	240	1.2	1.1
Bamburgh	396	2	1.8			
Holy Island	552	2.75	2.5	204	1	1
Norham	1008	5.09	4.66	720	3.6	3.3

admeasurement) (30), local custom continued to prevail until the early C19th(31) because the opportunity to use the local customary perch remained, and no clearly intelligible system was applied nationally. The term rod, perch or pole in many cases simply meant just that, with precise values being attributed to the pole when it was used as a measuring instrument. Evidence can be found for the wide variety of perch lengths in use throughout England in the 1820 Report of the Commissioners on Weights and Measures which recorded values ranging from 16 to 24 feet still used at the beginning of th C19th(32), the size depending on the nature of the measurements to be taken and usually different for urban, arable and forest land(33). In some places differences were recorded within the same type of settlement(34). As Grierson concluded

'It(the perch) is one of the most imprecise and elusive of all medieval measurements'(35)

But he added that

'while variations over space were common there was stability over time in the length of the local perch. The structure of society, neither called for or allowed wide communication of length standards'(36).

Although no medieval measuring rods have survived Jones(37) has argued that the local perch was derived from the church perch which was often sculptured on the side of the church, e.g. Harleston but none survive in Northumberland. Some Medieval buildings do survive in the county however, and it is possible that the local perch can be established from church or aisled house dimensions. After consultation with Taylor's Anglo-Saxon Architecture(38) it was apparent that the heights of the towers at Bywell, Corbridge and Bolam, the width of the Nave at Corbridge, Jarrow, Woodhorn, Ovingham, Houghton and Mitford, the length of the Nave at Jarrow, Holy Island, Woodhorn, Ovingham and Warkworth, the

height of the nave at Houghton and the width of the Chancel at Ingram all fit into exact multiples of 18'. Other church measurements however such as the nave at Hexham and all the measurements at Warden fit more closely to multiples of $16\frac{1}{2}$.

The dates of the buildings span the whole of the Medieval period(39) and it appears unlikely that the perch size changed over time, as Bamburgh and Houghton are both post Conquest and have different multiples while Hexham and Bywell are pre Conquest and have different multiples.

Nash(40)

'favoured local variation upheld by rigid tradition against change from neighbouring measures, time, and acts of Parliament'

Either the measurement errors obscure the consistent use of one measurement or different lengths were used in the county. However when the ratio of length to width of naves(internal measurement) is considered, the evidence suggests an 18' multiple may have been used. The following ratios of width to length are taken from table (each measurement was divided by the local perch of 18'):

Bywell 1:3; Corbridge 1:2.5; Holy Island 3:5; Ingram 1:3; Heddon 1:3; Woodhorn 1:2.5; Ovingham 1:2.5; Whittingham 1:3; Houghton 1:2; Mitford 1:3; Warkworth 1:3.5; Bamburgh 1:2.5.

This evidence suggests that an 18' perch might have been used in church/ecclesiastical measuring. Even if 18' is accepted as the perch length used in Northumberland in the Medieval period in ecclesiastical building it is not wise to use ecclesiastical building measurements for other purposes, without checking their validity. After all arable and woodland perches are very different(41).

Aisled and tower house measurements maybe a more suitable source of information(42). Table 11 shows that of the eight

aisled and tower houses surviving in Northumberland (Bishop Auckland has been included as it was built by the bishops of Durham), it is not clear that one multiple was used. Bishop Auckland Aydon and Warkworth fit loosely to an 18' multiple while Bamburgh, Holy Island, Norham and Chipchase are unclear but fit more closely to a 16.5' multiple. It would appear then two different perch lengths were in common use for building in Northumberland throughout the Medieval period, namely 16.5' and 18'

Documentary evidence may be more useful in trying to establish the local standard. The Black Book of Hexham Priory(43) mentions 'Idem Ricardus similiter retenuit latitudinem duarum perticartarum per perticam xx pedum' similar references can be found in the other local chartulries(44). This would appear to confirm Sheppard's conclusions from Wheldrake(45) but these references are all ecclesiastical and may be purely ecclesiastical in use (aisled house measurements do not fit into the same groupings as the chancel and nave measurements). It may be possible that xx pedum was stated because that was unusual, alien to local custom, as many references to perches are mentioned without a specified feet multiple(46).

When attention is focussed on urban perches in the documentary evidence the most common multiple appears to be 18'(47). The laws of the four burghs indicates that the perch size used in Glasgow was 6 ells which is approximately 18'(48) and as the laws were based on the Anglo Saxon Laws which prevailed in Northumberland, this may be an important clue in the search for the Northumbrian borough perch. It would however be impossible to choose one perch from the two possibilities. Conzen(49) did attempt to find 33' multiples in Alnwick in line with the statute perch. However his

results may be suspect because: the measurements were taken from a map of 1774 and the accuracy of the document has been questioned(50); 28-33' were taken as belonging to one category which is a possible error of 25% .

Some doubts have been raised by Roberts and Taylor(51) about the accuracy of Medieval surveying,

'What can be said about the actual methods of Medieval land measuring must largely be conjectural but there is little doubt that the results achieved were very approximate'

Roberts argued that a rod of 16.5' was less likely to have been used than a 1/2 or 1/4 rod and even if great care was taken, an error would be expected to accumulate as a result of repeated measurement on sloping or uneven ground(52). Such doubts have been rejected by Darby(53) and Nash(54) while Crummy's work on Winchester and Salisbury(55) and Slater in the Midlands(56) show that planning showed a high degree of accuracy in some cases. The Court Rolls of the C15th and later(57) also attest to the zeal with which the 'measurers' carried out their task. Therefore an error of 25% is perhaps overgenerous and may result in forced groupings of statute perch multiples being found in Alnwick and Stratford(58).

It would appear then that 16.5' and 18' are the most likely perch multiples used in Northumberland but how can the plots be measured accurately in order to distinguish which perch was used in town planning?

(D) Measuring Accuracy

There are four alternative ways in which the plots can be measured:

1. Direct measurement from O.S. 25" 1st edition plans
- b Direct measurements from earlier maps checked against the 1st edition 25" O.S. plans
- c Digitising
- 2 Air Photo measurement
- 3 Chain Books
- 4 Field Measurement

A method using the 19th and earlier maps was pioneered by Hannerberg and Göransson(59) in Sweden and has been widely used in England by Sheppard and Roberts(60) working on villages in the North of England. Essentially it involves measuring whole street lengths of tofts with a premarked ruler (marked with different multiples)(61) to try to establish a regular toft multiple, assuming that the error would be cancelled out over a whole row. A modified version of this technique was used by Conzen(62) in his analysis of the plan of Alnwick and his major problem was that

'When applying these considerations to the evidence of 1774, the main difficulty is to obtain accurate measurements within 1 foot on the MS original of Wilkins map. Therefore a margin of error of 1 foot has been allowed wherever measurements deviate from either units or multiples of those dimensions which are most frequently found'(63)

Both of these methods however, suffer from a problem of accuracy because they use maps. Bearing in mind that 1mm = 8' on the 25" O.S. plans, a line on the map which is 0.5mm wide is actually 4 feet on the ground, thus introducing a possible error of up to 8 feet on every plot measurement

which is 25% of the statute double perch and this is a level of inaccuracy which is unacceptable, if the degree of planning is to be established. Even if the plans were digitised the level of accuracy required would be impossible to achieve(64). An alternative source of accurate measurements would have been the O.S. Chain Books of the original Survey but these were destroyed during the Second World War(65).

This leaves field measurements of the plots which have survived (traced back to the Middle Ages using documents). Thus a higher degree of accuracy can be achieved. Although some plots have not survived, there remains a large enough sample from which to make worthwhile conclusions. The measurements have been taken in feet because it is not certain which perch multiple was used in Northumberland during the Middle Ages(66).

Problems arise in deciding where to take the measurements from - to the outside, inside or middle of boundaries. To be consistent the midpoint was chosen bearing in mind that the 1983 building line might obscure some boundaries. Comparing the field measurements with those taken from the 1774 map of Alnwick by Conzen indicates that either redevelopment has obscured the 18th century burgage series or that field measurements are more accurate.

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2. O.S. map NU2405-2505 1960 Warkworth.
O.S. map NZ1885-1985 1971 Morpeth.
3. O.S. map NY8264-9364 1954 Haydon Bridge.
O.S. map NU2410-2510 1959 Felton.
O.S. map NY9864-9964 1962 Corbridge.
O.S. map NZ3088-3188 1965 Newbiggin.
O.S. map NU1800-1900 1965 Alnmouth.
4. Op cit Aston and Bond p85.
See pp138-9
5. See the reconstructed plan of Alnmouth p130-33.
6. See the plan of Felton p145.
7. See the plan of Hexham p151.
8. Op cit Conzen p13.
9. Symeon - Hist Dunelm Ecclesiae lib.ii cap.1 rolls
series vol.i p47.

'intravit autem (Ceolwulfus) Lindisfarnense
monesterum, sancto Cuthberto secum conferens thesauros
regios et terras, id est Bregsne et Werceworde, arm suis
appendiciis simul et ecclesiam quam ibidem ipse
aedificaverat; atias quoque quattuor villa wudcestre
Hwittingaham, Eadulfingham, Ecgwulingham'.
10. Op cit Conzen p4-5.
11. Ibid p7.
12. Op cit Hindle p17.
13. Private Discussion with B.K. Roberts.
14. See Appendix 6.
15. See Table 7.
16. See Table 7.

17. See Table 7.
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19. Op cit Beresford p181.
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'The iron yard of the king the lord containeth three feet
and no more, and a foot ought to be 12' by the right
measure of the yard measured to wit the 36th part of a
yard rightly measureth 1" niether more or less and
five yards and one half maketh one perch that is 16'and
a half measured by the aforesaid iron yard of our
lord the king'.
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34. Rothbury North Row compared to the rest of the settlement and Holy Island.
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38. See Table 10
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39. Ibid.
40. Op cit Nash p58.
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See Table 9.
42. See Table 11
43. Surtees Society 1864 p120.
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See Appendix 16.
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46. Op cit Surtees Society 1878.47. A.P.S. i p751 'De rude off lande in baronyis sal conten six elne pat is to say xviii fut off a mydling mane.'
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references to perch sizes discussed in this section.

SECTION 3

Part 2 - Analysis of Burgage Plots

In the past burgage widths were usually considered at the scale of the individual borough(1). The widths were plotted on to graphs and analysis based on the search for recurring multiples(2). When these graphs are constructed for Northumberland boroughs it is apparent that no unit dominates in any of the Northumberland boroughs, although 36'(two 18'perches) is the most common size in Alnwick, Haydon Bridge, Rothbury, Warkworth and Wooler, while 33' is the most common size in Morpeth(3) (See appendix 17).

However can the assumption of continuity of plot boundary be made? It may be more revealing to consider individual blocks of burgages within boroughs because it is not at all certain that continuity of plot boundary can be assumed or that any of the boroughs was planned as a single unit, using the same multiple, or even whether one multiple was used within a block.

The reconstructed plans of Warkworth, Alnmouth, Rothbury and Alnwick will be considered first. Each borough will be discussed using the reconstruction table, field measurements of burgage widths and any early Medieval references to the burgage series

WARKWORTH

When the reconstruction of Warkworth burgage series for 1498 was completed burgage No. 30 corresponded to plot 29a on the Tithe Award (the last burgage in East Row before the

Castle). It would appear that plots 31 and 32 are part of plot 30, lying behind it and having a side frontage. Plots 33 34 and 35 in the table seem to be plot 71a on the Tithe Award. Therefore, because plots 31 to 35 do not form part of the main burgage series of East Row they will not be included in the analysis and no further speculation regarding their location will be made.

Analysis of the Burgage Series

Warkworth East Row(See table 12)

As the table shows, there is a clear correspondence between the burgage plots in 1498 and 1983. There are only a few anomalies which must be pointed out. Firstly there is no record after 1498 of a plot between plots 12 and 13. This is the site of the Kilnhouse and the burgage referred to may have been located behind the Kilnhouse. Subsequently the plots were referred to as one. Secondly, the 1498 rental records two rents of 4 shillings which cannot be traced. As these are particularly high rents they may refer to land held outside the burgage series. If the anomalous plots are excluded there are 31 plots in 1498 but from 1567 onwards the number is constant at 30 plots. The only changes after 1567 are amalgamations and divisions (which are clear from the table) and the recording of plots 12 to 15 as freehold in 1616. Although Mayson's survey of 1616 includes plot sizes they do not correspond to the 1841 measurements. This is not surprising as the 1616 survey states at the beginning that the sizes are estimated.

In order to assess whether or not a common burgage size exists in Warkworth Map 7 showing all the measurements has been included but it may prove more worthwhile to concentrate on certain groups of burgages.

Firstly, let us consider the plots held by the institutions: (Church Wardens; the chaplains of St. Mary's Chantry and the Bridge Keeper). The following plots were held by the Church Wardens.

Plot 5 and 6 75' (Approx. 4x18' perch)

Plot 12 and 13 139' (Approx. 8x18' perch)

Plot 27 and 28 72' (Approx. 4x18' perch)

It is possible that plot 5/6 and plot 27/8 represent one burgage of four perches subsequently divided into two plots of two perches (36'). Plot 12 on the Tithe Award looks like two burgages therefore plot 12/13 could represent two 4x18' burgages (subsequently divided into three plots (one of 4x18' and two of 2x18')). Therefore, it is possible that a burgage width of 4x18' was used in Warkworth for some burgages at least.

Secondly, let us consider the burgages held by the chaplains of St. Mary's Chantry and the Bridge Keeper.

Plot 8 118' Shared with the Bridge Keeper.
 (6.5x18' perch)

Plot 19 34' (2x18' perch)

Plot 24 and 25 58' (3x18' perch)

One can only speculate on the division of plot 8. It could represent two plots each of 3 perches belonging to the Chantry and Bridge Keeper similar to plot 24/25. Despite plot 19 being two perches in width, this evidence would suggest that a burgage width of 3 perches was assigned to St. Mary's Chantry and the Bridge Keeper (see evidence in

West Row). This compares with a plot width of 4 perches assigned to the Church Wardens. This would be consistent with a theory which assigned constant burgage widths to individual institutions but different widths for each institution.

When the plots 20 to 23, lying between the Church Wardens and St. Mary's Chantry plots, are considered they too support the theory of a plot of 3 perches in width.

Plot 20 to 23	102'	(Approx 6x18' perch)
Plot 20 and 21	50'	(Approx 3x18' perch)
Plot 22 and 23	52'	(Approx 3x18' perches)

Conclusions related to Warkworth East Row

From table 12 it appears that the most likely perch size used in Warkworth East Row was 18' but a standard burgage plot width is not easily discernable. The Church Wardens had plots of 4 perches in width. However, St. Mary's Chantry 3 perches in width and plots 3/4 (56'), plot 11 (52'), plot 15 (58'), plot 20/21 (49') and plot 22/23 (52') indicate that a common burgage width of three perches may have been used.

Towards the south of East Row the plot width corresponds more closely to 36' (see plots 26-30). This suggests that either these plots were laid out at a different time using a smaller common width but the same perch size (18') or they were located in a more sought after location and therefore the burgages may have been smaller than those to the north in order to maintain a constant rent over different land values, or subdivision before 1567 was more active at this end of the row.

Warkworth West Row

The burgage series of West Row was traced back to 1498 in the same way as East Row but the analysis can be divided into two sections which reflect the division of West Row into two, separated by Todd's Lane.

Section A - From the Castle northwards to Todd's Lane (Table 13)

There are 17.5 burgages recorded in 1498 but by 1567 this becomes 18 because plot 13 to 14 is referred to as two burgages and not 1.5 as in 1498. They remain unchanged until 1841 with no amalgamations and only the subdivision of 13/14 into two.

Analysis of the Burgage Measurements

The only plots held by institutions are 13/14 held by St. Mary's Chantry in 1498 and plot 8 and 11 held by the church wardens. Plots 13 and 14 measure 51' which could be 3x18'. This fits with the evidence of a constant burgage width unit for institutions. However, plots 8 and 11 are both 30' and the burgage plots tend to be narrower on the whole than those in East Row. Many eg. 1,3,4,8,9,10,11 and 15 being nearer to 30 or 33' which might suggest a later origin when the statute perch of 16'6" was in common use or subdivision was more active, or perhaps this row was originally the selions of East Row. Conzen did find 30' was a common unit in Alnwick.

If the measuring rod used was a yard rather than a half perch of nine feet then it is perfectly possible that plots in West row were laid out in smaller units (10x3') compared to 18x3' in East Row with larger units being given to the

institutions, regardless of the location. This would suggest that although plot measurements were documented in perches they were in practice laid out using a yard measuring rod. This cannot be verified.

Section B - Todd's Lane northwards to the Vicarage (Table 14)

This section contains ten burgages all of which are larger than those in section A. Plots 1, 2, 4, 8, and 9 fit into 2x18' multiples and the only double burgage 7/8 is 78' wide (4x18')

Conclusions relating to West Row

The evidence from West Row suggests that burgages near to the castle (as in East Row) are smaller. Although there is evidence for an 18' perch in West Row especially in the north, it is clear that there are marked differences between section A and section B with regard to burgage width. This suggests a different origin from East Row or more active subdivision before 1567.

Generally speaking the burgage plot measurements for Warkworth suggest that the 18' perch was used in 2, 3 and 4 perch multiples but that the plan which exists today may not have originated at one time. The southern part of the borough and especially West Row appears to have been laid out at a later date (if it is accepted that the statute measurements were introduced later rather than earlier in Northumberland). It is interesting to note that two thirds of the plots held by institutions are in East Row. These institutional holdings were often held from the borough's early history and in the case of Warkworth this seems to suggest that East Row could be older than West Row. This

would fit with a difference in plot measurement. The existence of 3 and 4 perch burgages held by institutions is not clear from a simple discussion of the 1983 measurements traced back to 1567. In order to establish the possibility of ancient burgages of 3 and 4 perches in Warkworth, detailed analysis of ownership in the Middle Ages is required.

WARKWORTH BURGAGES

COQUET RIVER

Church

WEST ROW

EAST ROW

Castle



originally held by churchwardens



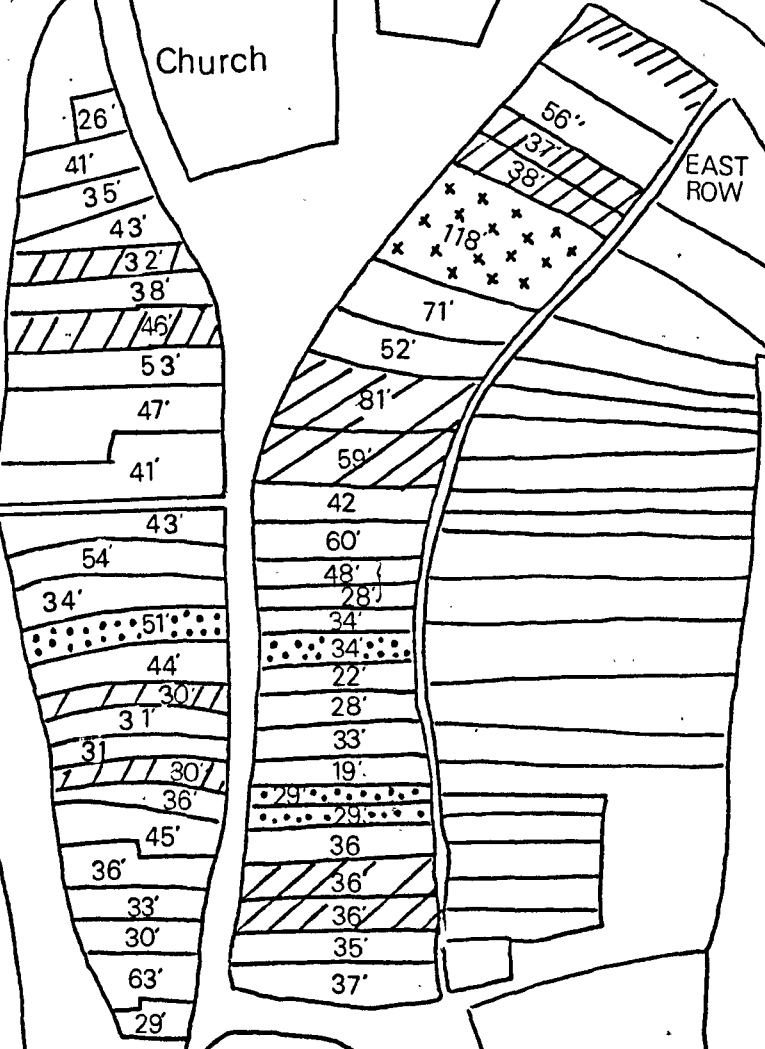
originally held by St. Mary's Chantry



originally held jointly by St. Mary's Chantry and bridge keeper.

measurement equals burgage width in feet

25=1mile



North		WARKWORTH EAST ROW																												South								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	DATE	Total							
ch				ch	ch	br	sm				ch	ch						sm					sm	sm		ch	ch			1498	31							
	14	98																																				
				56'	37'	38'																											width					
x	x	x	x	.	x	.	.	.	x	x	x	x	.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	x	x	x	.					
	15	67																															1567	30				
.	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	15	86																																1586	30			
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	.	x	.	x	.	x	x	x	x	x	x	.	x								
	16	16																																	1616	30		
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	v	x	.	.	x	x	x	x	.	x	.	.	.	.	x	x	x	.	x				
	16	67																																		1667	30	
x	x	.	.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	.	.	x	x	x	.	.	x	x	.	x	.	x									
	17	23																																		1723	30	
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
	18	41																																			1841	

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ch -
church
wardens
sm -
St Mary's
Chantry
br -
bridge
keeper
f -
freehold

TABLE 12

South

WARKWORTH WEST ROW PART A

North

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	DATE	burgages
							ch			ch		sm	sm						TOTAL
•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	1498	17.5
14	98			W	L						L	←→			←→				
29'	63'	30'	33'	36'	45'	36'	30'	31'	31'	30'	44'	51'		34'	54'	43'		width	
x	x	x	x		x	x	•	x	x	•	•	•	•	x	x	x	x	1567	18
15	67			W							L	←→	SM	←→	←→				
x	x	x	x	W	x	x	•	x	x	x	x	•	•	x	x	x	x	1586	18
15	86										L	←→	SM	←→	←→				
x	x	•	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•	•	x	x	x	x	x	x	1616	18
16	16				←→	←→						←→	←→	←→					
x	x	•	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1667	18
16	67				←→							←→							
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•	x	x	•	x	x	x	x	•	x	•	1723	18
17	23																		
←→	←→	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	L	x	x	x	x	L	x	x	x	1841	18
18	41			←→															

W-WASTE
ch-church wardens
sm-St Mary's Chantry
L-Lord

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TABLE 13

South WARKWORTH WEST ROW PART B North

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	DATE	TOTAL
				CH		CH					
1498	←	→		•	•	•	•	•	•	1498	10
26'	41'	35'	43'	32'	38'	46'	53'	47'	41'	WIDTH	
x 1567	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1567	10
x 1586	y	•	•	•	x	•	•	x	x	1586	10
x 1616	x	•	•	•	x	•	•	x	x	1616	10
x 1667	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1667	10
x 1723	•	x	x	x	•	•	x	x	x	1723	10
x 1841	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1841	10

CH-
churchwardens

TABLE 14

Therefore, in view of the evidence from the burgage series in Warkworth, plot analysis of the boroughs where no reconstruction is possible must be treated with extreme caution. It may be possible to distinguish whether or not the local perch was used in planning from the remnants of the original burgage series but subdivision and amalgamation are likely to have obscured the original plan.

ALNMOUTH

Alnmouth occupies a ridge of level ground at the mouth of the River Aln(4). The borough consists of one main street which extends lengthways across the ridge from north to south, bounded on both sides by burgage plots trending from east to west(5). The East Row is divided into four blocks of different length and in the analysis each block will be considered separately with its own reconstruction table. West Row will be considered as one unit. The reconstruction of the borough in 1567 is made possible using:

1. Tithe Award 1841;
2. Gallon's Map 1744;
3. Anderson's Survey 1727;
4. Mayson's Survey 1616;
5. Clarkson's Survey 1567;
6. Cross Checking was possible using surrenders, admittances and the Court Rolls.

Analysis of the Burgage Series

Alnmouth East Row(See Table 15)

Block One

The 1567 survey(6) identifies 17 burgages and 1 tenement but the accompanying map only shows 13 plots and 16 buildings. This is probably the result of map inaccuracy(7). Of these burgages, one belonged to the church, two to the monastery and two were waste. Apart from the monastery paying one penny and the waste for which nothing was paid, all the burgage rents were three pence. Does this suggest the burgages were a similar size? By 1616 the number of burgages

had increased to 20 because

- a. The waste plot (plot A on table 15) was now recognised as two burgages and
- b. The tenement (plot B on table 15) was also recorded as two burgages.

The burgages varied in area from 25 to 56 perches altogether 690 perches. Bearing in mind that Mayson's survey was by estimation(8), if approximately 700 perches is the area and remembering that three pence was the standard rent twenty burgages of 35/36 perches is a possible fixed unit. A conveyance of 1735 records the size of a burgage in West Row as 11 yards by 99 yards(9) which is approximately 2x16.5 which equals 33 perches in area. The street measurement of block one is 200 yards. If this was divided into 20 burgages they would be 10 yards wide. A length of 99 yards would give an average size of 2x16 perches which is 32 perches (a common size recorded in 1616). However, by 1841 the whole area was held by one man and known as Lint Close(10). Therefore, any discussion of the burgage sizes in block one cannot be verified by field measurement (other than the street frontage).

Block Two

In 1567 nine burgages are identified but the map shows eight. This discrepancy is accounted for because plot 7 and 8 (plot B on table 16) are recorded together. By 1616 and thereafter plot 7 and 8 were referred to as one burgage. Five of the burgages recorded in 1616 are 26 perches in area while the remaining three are 33 perches. Comparing the measurements in 1616 with 1841:

Plot	1	2	3	4	5	
Area	26p	26p	26p	26p	26p	in 1616
Area		70p		41p	31p	in 1841

p=perch

there is an apparent discrepancy of 10 perches overall and even greater differences at the level of the individual plot (See above). This however is probably no more than 1616 survey inaccuracies. Therefore areal units do not seem to be a fruitful avenue of research. The field measurements for the front and the back of the plots shows similar discrepancies and it is possible that boundaries may not have been carefully maintained, especially behind the frontage. Rent and area do not correspond in 1616 eg three pence was paid for 26 perches and also for 33 perches. This may be a result of:

- a. Different number of buildings;
- b. Location and attraction;
- c. Land use (low rents for waste burgages).

Considering the field evidence for burgage width. All the burgages in block two fit into 18' multiples with two and a half perches being the most common width (45'). Plots 1, 2 and 3 from 1567 are probably an old double burgage which after 1727 was referred to as one plot. Thus, this plot has experienced subdivision of two ancient burgages into three, followed by amalgamation to form one unit which is discernable today. Plot 4, 5 and 6 are approximately 45' wide as are plots 7 and 8 together. Plots 7 and 8 were recorded as one plot after 1616. This could be a reversion to the ancient burgage size. There is a common way between

plots 5 and 6 but this does not seem to have been taken into account in the measuring of plots 5 and 6. However, if the total length is considered it is 324' which is approximately 7x45' giving ancient burgages of 2.5 perches in width.

Block Three (See Table 17)

The survey of 1567 records fifteen burgages with eleven on the map. However, plots 5 and 6 (plot A on table 17) were recorded as one burgage in 1616. Plot 15 (plot B on table 17) was referred to throughout the period as one burgage except in an admittance of 1724 when William Baird transferred to Thomas Valentine half a burgage with Mr Brown's burgage to the north and the lane to the south. As he owned the burgage to the north this is strictly one burgage of two. Therefore, this piece of land and possibly all other holdings was by the 18th referred to as one burgage regardless of the number of ancient burgages which it contained.

Considering the field measurements: plots two and three measure 97' (approx. five perches) this is the site of the church and could represent a double ancient burgage or a larger unit given to institutions. This fits with the evidence from Warkworth. Of the remaining measurements plots 5, and 7 (45') plots 10 and 11 (45') and plots 12 and 13 (41') appear to be burgage plots of two and a half perches (the most common unit in block two). Of the remainder plot 1 measures three perches, plot 4 two perches, plots 8 and 9 three perches all using the 18' perch. Only plots 14 and 15 fit neatly into a 16.5 multiple (66'). When the street length of block 3 is considered this adds weight to the evidence for an 18' perch in use. Block 3 is 445' in length which is 25x18' perches, which would be ten ancient burgages. However, the field measurements today are for

combined ancient burgages and it would be difficult to find a size common to all fifteen burgages in block 3, or the original burgage series.

The most southerly block in East Row contained four units in 1567 in order (two burgages, a field/stockyard and one burgage). By 1727 they were referred to as eight burgages with one owner but field measurements cannot be taken because the southern end of block 4 has been affected by the change in the course of the River Aln as it reaches the sea. The lengths of the burgage plots in East Row fit into multiples of 18' being

Block One 212' (12x18' perch)

Block Two 222' (12x18' perch)

Block Three 234' (13x18' perch)

Variations of 10' over 212-234' may be the same measurements with a slight error of 8%.

Similarly the side streets (The Wynd, Crow's Nest Land and Pease Lane) all fit into 18' multiples. The whole of East Row, south of The Wynd has a back lane (Marine Road) which gives the three blocks a degree of unity. This together with the evidence for a 2 1/2 perch burgage width in places suggests that East Row could have been planned at one time. The variation in burgage width may be the result of competition and therefore the search for constant recurring multiples within the planned newtowns may be fruitless. The evidence for possible ancient burgages indicates clearly that much subdivision and amalgamation may have occurred before the first recorded surveys.

Alnmouth Burgage Series

West Row(See Table 18)

The survival of burgage plots in West row is more patchy especially in the south where Argyll Street has been

completely redeveloped in the last 100 years and one block south of Argyll Street has completely disappeared (last mentioned 1616). As the 1567 and 1616 surveys make no mention of the river which is just south of Riverside Road, and do mention the old church which is south of the river, it must be concluded that the burgages were destroyed by a change in the course of the River Aln.

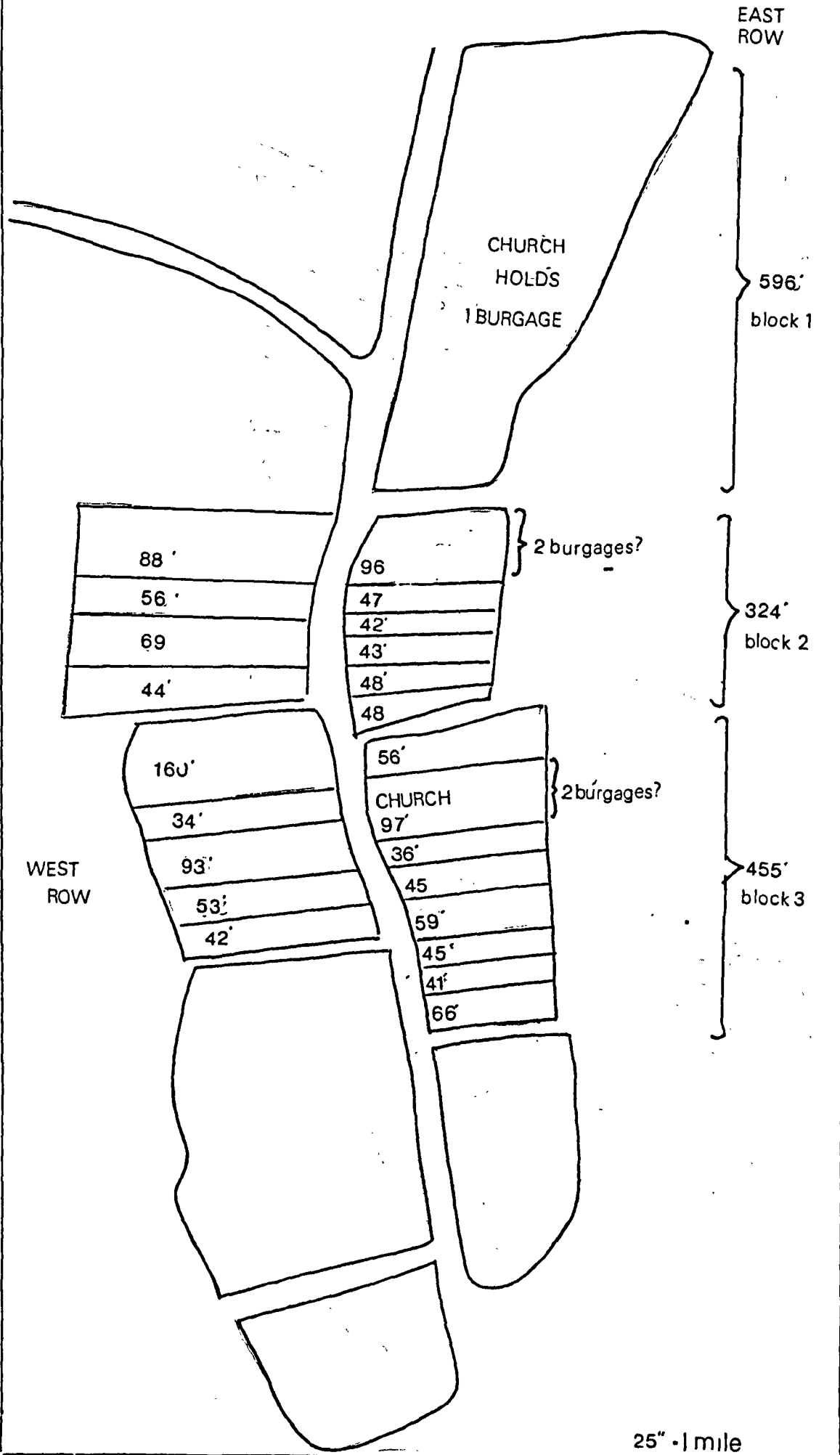
A second group of burgages north of the Methodist chapel have also been lost. This leaves West Row more disrupted and less likely to indicate the same degree of planning as East Row. However, ten burgage plots can be successfully reconstructed but only plots 3, 5 and 10 appear to fit into 45' widths. The other burgages vary in size from plot 7 which is 34' to plot 6 which is 160' wide. This together with the fact that no institution holds burgages in West Row suggests that like Warkworth, Alnmouth West Row is subordinate to the East Row. Perhaps West Row was originally selions and the original planted settlement consisted of East Row only.

Conclusions on the Burgage Series of Alnmouth From the evidence of East Row at least the following can be concluded.

1. Although the burgages did not have a common width throughout the borough they do appear to have been measured in multiples of 18'.
2. The most common width appears to be 2.5 perches. If the blocks are considered 45' units are discernable but the individual plots are much smaller suggesting that subdivision and amalgamation were common before 1567. It is not clear however whether the division was into quarters and half burgages. Indeed plots 1, 2 and 3 in block 2 suggest this was not the case.

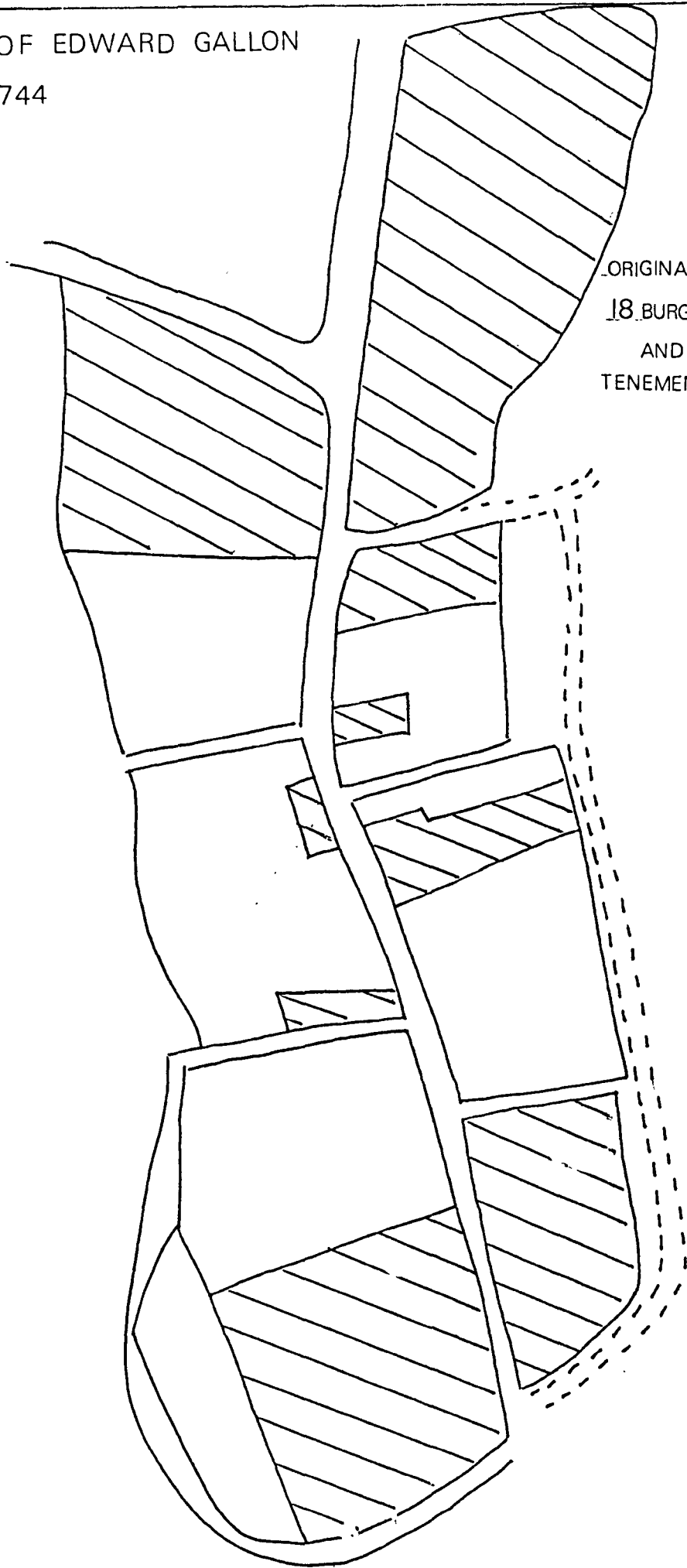
3. Medieval new towns with a Foundation Charter may not have a plan which was laid out and settled at one moment in time. Alnmouth East Row appears to have been settled first.
4. In this single street borough one row appears to be subordinate and could originally have been selions belonging to the burgesses of the dominant row or
5. Perhaps the subordinate row was planned later when different units were used or
6. Because it was subordinate boundaries were not as strictly controlled. The evidence for its substatus includes the fact that there are few units held by institutions.

ALNMOUTH BURGAGES



25" = 1 mile

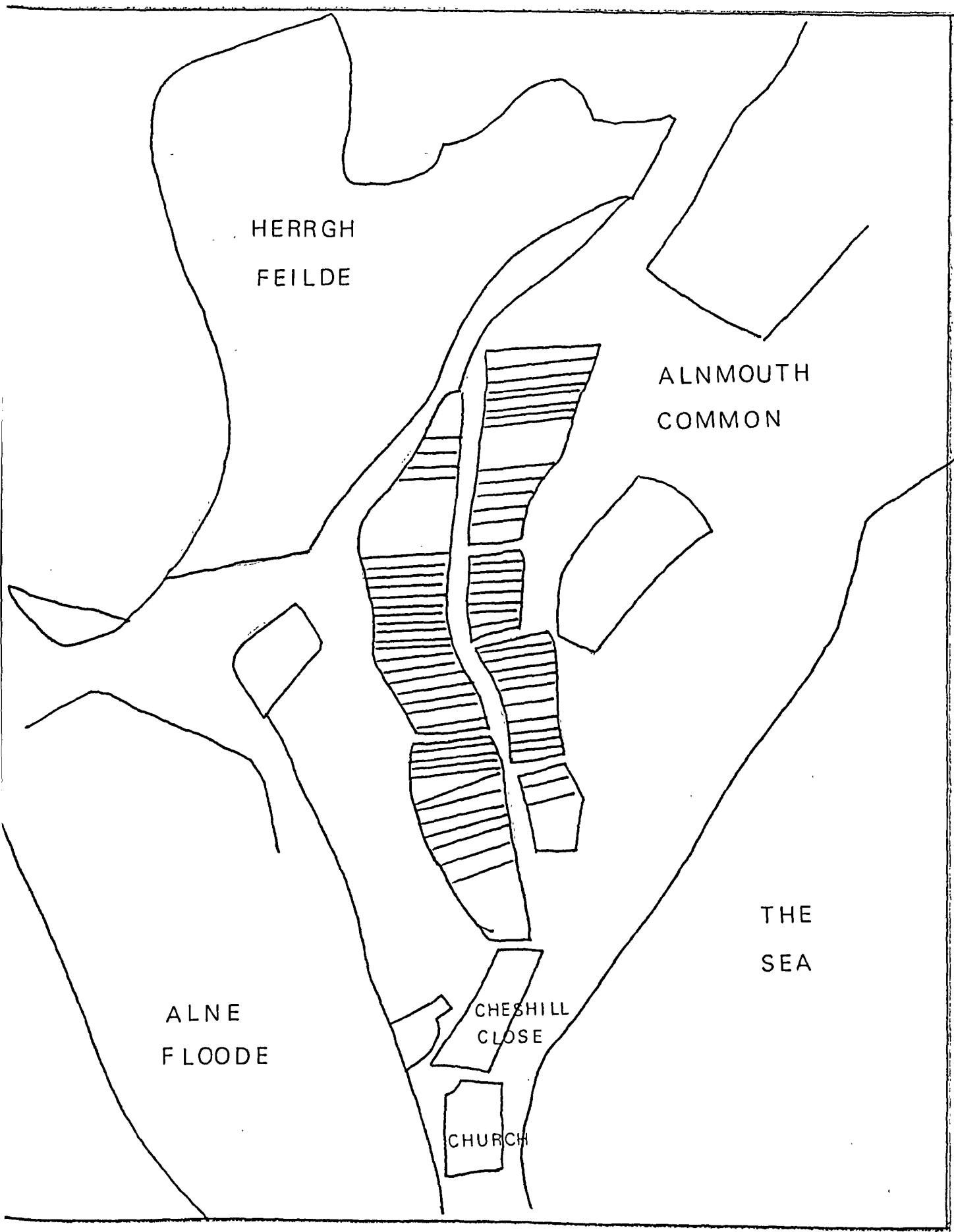
THE LANDS OF EDWARD GALLON
IN 1744

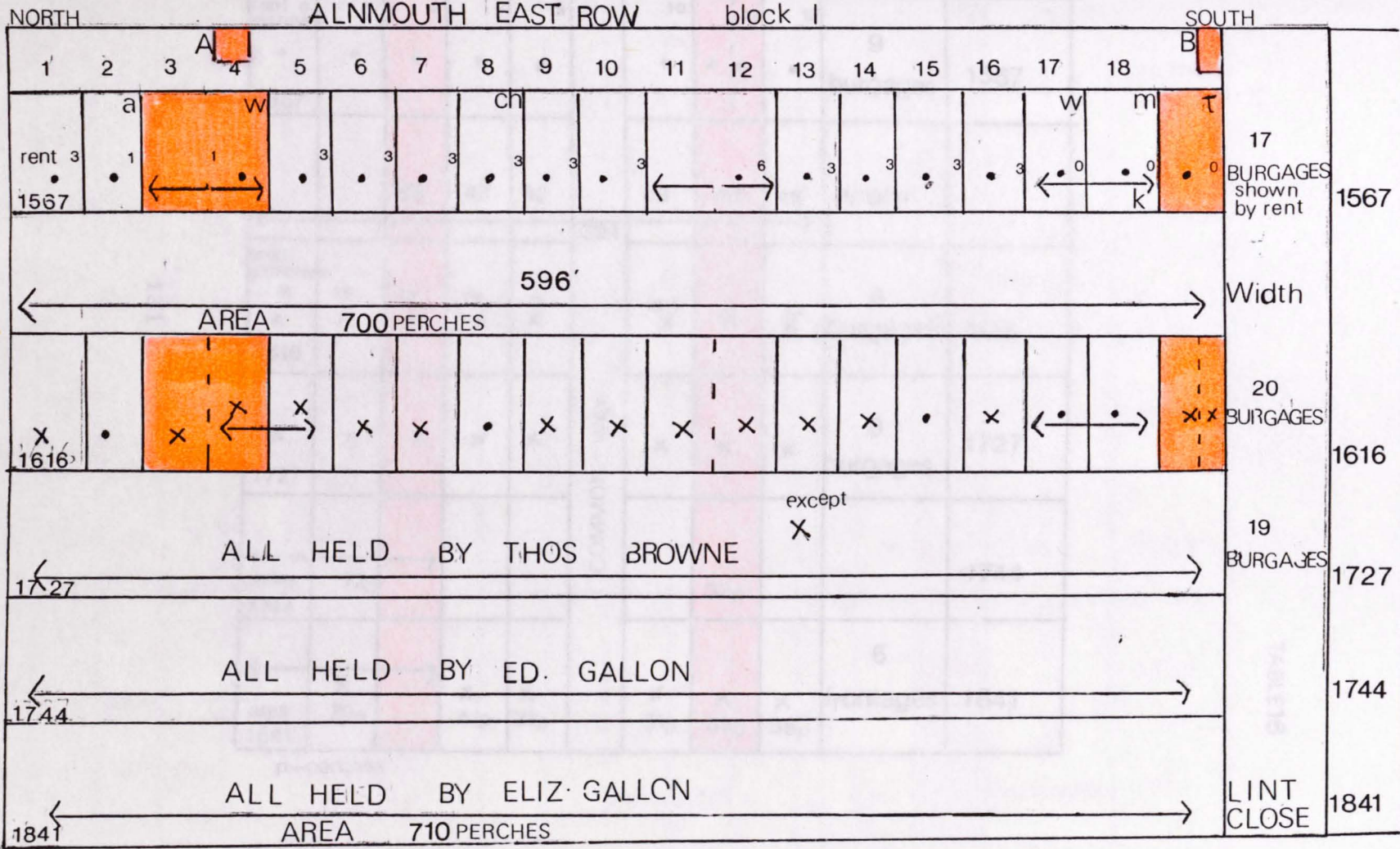


ORIGINALLY
18 BURGAGES
AND
TENEMENT.

Scale 25" - 1 mile

Alnmouth - Mayson's Survey of 1616





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- w WASTE
- T TENEMENT
- K KING
- a ALNWICK MONASTERY
- CH CHURCHWARDENS

TABLE 15

ALNMOUTH EAST ROW

NORTH					block 2				SOUTH	
		A				B				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7 8	9	TOTAL	DATE	
rent o pence	3	3	3	4	10	12	12	9	1567	
1567								burgages		
		96'	47'	42	43'	48'	48'	WIDTH		
←					→					
324										
area perches	26	26	26	26	32.5	33	33	8	1616	
1616	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	burgages		
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8	1727	
1727								burgages		
←	→								1744	
area 1744	72p				32p					
←	→								6	
area 1841	x		x	x	x	x	x	frontages	1841	
	70p		41p	31p	31p	36p	38p			

p - perches

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TABLE 16

ALNMOUTH EAST ROW

NORTH														A	block 3														B	SOUTH	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	TOTAL	DATE															
0	7	7	8		14	7	7	0	7	5	8	0	0	7																	
rent																															
pence																															
15	67														15	1567															
56'	97'	36'		45'			59'		45'		41'		66'		WIDTH																
31.5	3.5	55.25		36		34	33.75	43		43		20	26.25	26.25																	
area																															
perches																															
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	14	1616															
16	16																														
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	15	1723															
17	27																														
17	44															1744															
X															9																
CHURCH															frontages	1841															
18	41																														

NO INSTITUTIONAL HOLDINGS

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TABLE 17

ALNMOUTH, WESTLROW

NORTH										SOUTH	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTAL	DATE
.	11	1567
88'	56	69'	44'	160'	34'	93'	53'	42'	WIDTH		
x	x	x x	x	x	x x x x x	x	x	x	x	15	1616
x	x	x x	x x	x	x x x x	x	x	x	x x	16	1727
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10	1791
x x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	frontages 11	1841

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TABLE 18

ROTHBURY

Rothbury is sited north of the River Coquet on rising ground(11). It is a single street borough which has remained essentially the same since the C16th. The main street is very wide by Medieval standards with a wide section in the centre, north of the church, probably where the market was held.

There is evidence of a planned extension to the borough in the Percy Chartulary. This appears to be North Row, bounded by the common way. North Row was reconstructed from 1841 back to 1567 using:

1. A Court Roll of 1770;
2. A rental of 1720;
3. A rental of 1709;
4. Mayson's survey 1616;
5. The Stockdale Survey 1586;
6. Clarkson's Survey 1567;
7. Cross checking was possible using surrenders and admittances from the Court Roll.

Some plots have apparently survived intact, despite being registered as 'waste' for part of the period (plot 2). Plots 4 and 5 have experienced amalgamation and later resubdivision while plots 22 to 24 have experienced more changes, being amalgamated with plots on either side and resubdivided at a later stage. This might affect measuring accuracy on the ground today and puts into question the assumption of continuity. The evidence on the ground today suggests that the local perch of 18' was used in planning. There are six consecutive plots which fit exactly into 18' multiples (plots 24-30). However no institutions held burgages in North Row in the Clarkson's survey (an

indication of its late addition) and therefore speculation as to the size of the ancient burgages cannot be undertaken. The length of the plots is 229' which is approximately 13 local perches. The South Row has experienced a great deal of redevelopment and only 6 plots remain. However, all of these plots fit into multiples of the statute perch but they vary enormously in size from 60' to 123'. Rothbury like Corbridge was a Royal borough and possibly laid out using the statute perch but it passed into the hands of the Percies in the C12th when the North Row could have either been added or replanned using the local 18' perch. The first record of borough status at Rothbury is in 1201, like Warkworth and Crbridge. Could this be linked to replanning as part of the change in status?

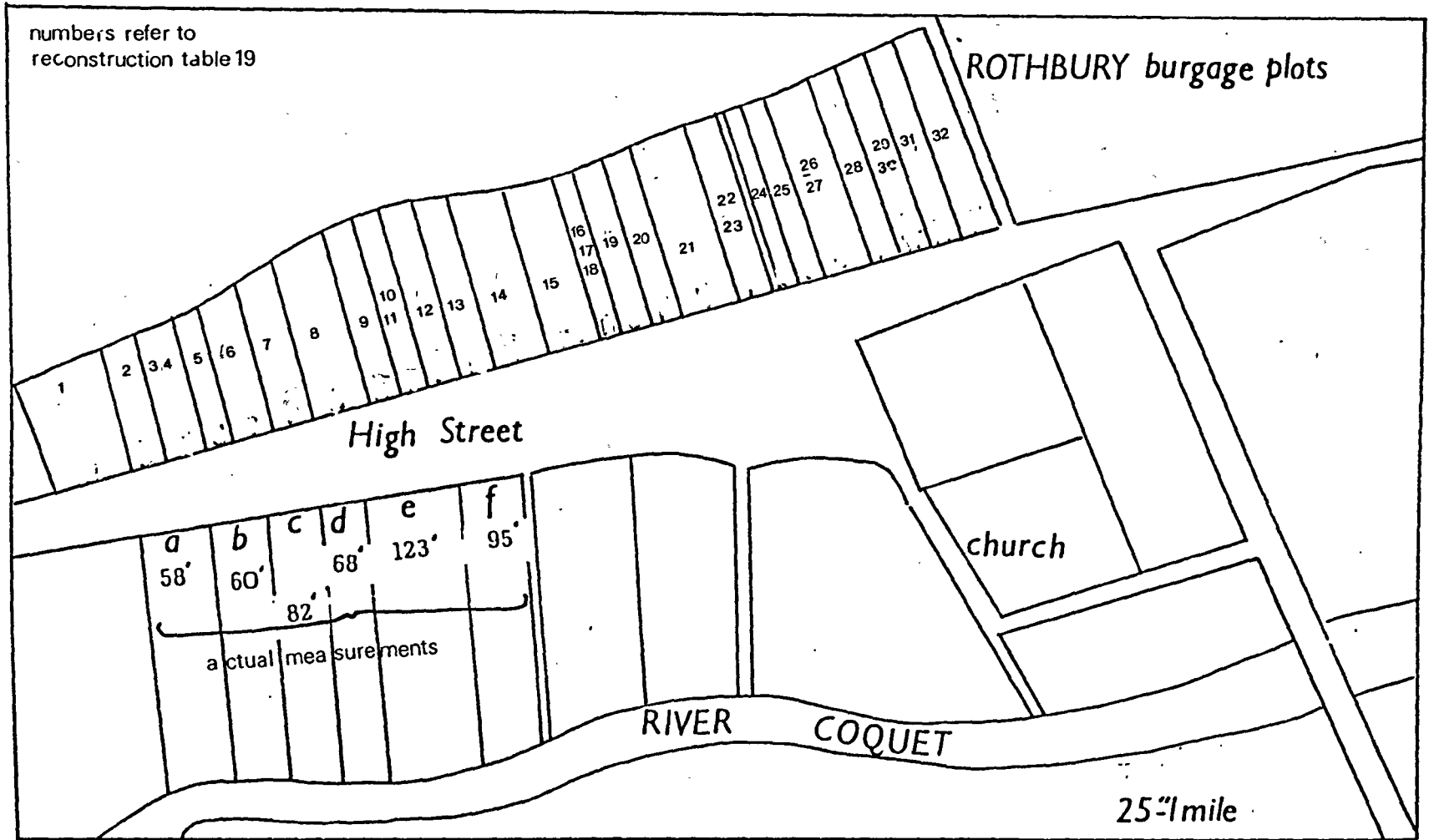
West

ROTHBURY NORTH ROW

East

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	TOTAL	DATE
	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	32	1567
	135'	33'	66'	36'	59'	48'	72'	46'	49'	47'	75'	51'	34'	31'	33'	106'	36'	82'	37'	36'	35'	36'	72'	39'	44'	77'							WIDTH	
	•	•	x	•	•	x	•	•	•	•	•	x	•	•	•	x	x	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	x	x	•	•	32	1586	
	•	•	x	x	x	x	•	•	x	•	•	•	•	x	•	•	x	x	x	•	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	32	1616
	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	•	•	x	x	x	x	•	x	x	•	x	x	x	x	32	1709
	x	•	•	•	x	x	•	x	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	x	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	x	x	•	•	32	1720
	•	x	•	x	x	•	•	•	x	x	x	x	•	•	•	x	x	x	x	•	x	x	x	x	•	x	x	x	x	•	•	•	32	1770
	x	Chapel trustees	•	•	x	•	x	•	•	•	•	•	x	•	•	•	•	•	x	x	•	•	x	•	•	•	•	•	x	x	•	•	32	1841

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ALNWICK

Alnwick is a post Conquest partly planned borough laid out around the triangular cross roads south of the castle(12). The burgages appear to have survived well in Bondgate, Market Street, Fenkle Street and Narrowgate. Conzen(13) suggests that this plan unit centred on the market place is a planned settlement based on the older village and bounded by Bow Burn and Green Batt forming an easily defended unit south of the castle. It has been suggested(14) that the unit is not the original borough but a planned extension to the original settlement lying between the castle and the church in the Bailiffgate area. A sequence of events similar to Norham can be identified:

1. The building of a motte and bailey in 1136;
2. The erection of a shell keep in 1157(15);
3. Mention of 'my burgesses of Alnwic' 1157x1185 in the granting of the customs of Newcastle(16);

all indicate much activity on site at Alnwick and could be linked to the addition of a planned unit.

Conzen analysed the burgage series(17) in this part of Alnwick after taking measurements from the 1774 map by Wilkins and cross checking boundaries back to 1567. He found that the most common unit appears to be related to 28' (50% of cases) and approximately 32' (33% of cases). From this he concluded that the most likely burgage unit was between 28 and 32'(18).

Evidence from Alnmouth and Warkworth suggests that ancient burgages were much larger than those reconstructed in 1567, being nearer to three or four local perches (54'/72') and that subdividing had been common in the Middle Ages. If Conzen's measurements are accurate his findings do not preclude this conclusion for Alnwick. 28' is approximately

1.5 local perches and the units he identified might have been subdivided ancient burgages.

Earlier in his work he suggests that because in Alnwick(19) there is continuity between 1567 and 1774

'This makes the assumption that in its general features the burgage pattern of 1567 inside the walled town is essentially that of the Middle Ages more reasonable than it might otherwise appear'

However earlier discussion of Alnmouth and Warkworth seems to suggest that the number of burgages fluctuated dramatically and the evidence from the analysis of institutional plots suggests that ancient burgages were much larger than those in 1567.

Conzen's measurements were taken from the 1774 map and the level of accuracy has already been discussed. When the measurements were taken on the ground the results differed from his(20). Indeed the most common unit was 36' and there were clusters around 27', 45' and 54' all multiples of the local perch (see table 20). The field measurement of South Bondgate length was 436' which is 24 local perches. It would seem therefore that Alnwick fits into the same conclusions as Alnmouth and Warkworth where:

1. The local perch was used in planning;
2. Larger units were originally laid out;
3. Subdivision before 1567 was active.

TABLE 20

CONZEN'S MEASUREMENTS IN ALNWICK

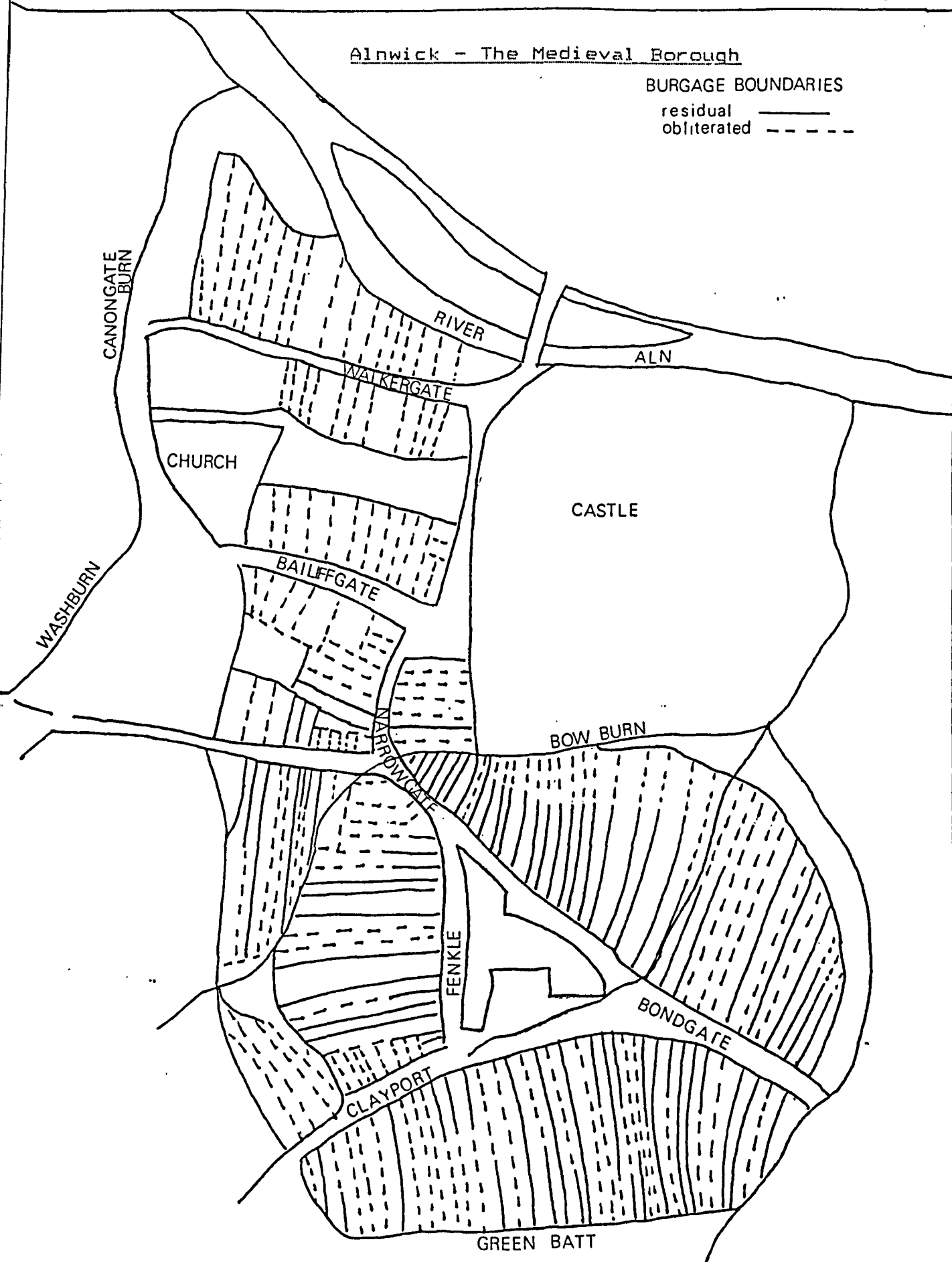
	BURGAGE TYPE	FRONTAGE FEET	STREET BLOCKS			NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL
			NE	W	S		
28' UNIT	1/2 a	14	-	3	-	3	45.87%
	3/4 a	21	3	1	-	4	
	1 a	29	8	5	4	17	
	1/4 a	35	2	5	1	8	
	1/2 a	42	3	3	3	9	
	3/4 a	49	3	3	2	8	
	2 a	56	-	-	1	1	
32' UNIT	1/2 b	16	1	2	-	3	33.94%
	3/4 b	24	4	2	4	10	
	1 b'	32	7	1	5	13	
	1/2 b	40	2	4	3	9	
	2 b	64	-	-	2	2	
	26	2	2	2	6	20.19%	
	30	2	-	2	4		
	37	1	2	5	8		
	45	1	2	1	4		

	FIELD MEASUREMENTS WILSON					NUMBER	%
	FEET	NE	W	S			
36' UNIT	3/4 c	27	5	-	4	9	52.11%
	1 c	36	1	2	9	12	
	1/4 c	45	3	1	4	8	
	1/2 c	54	-	2	2	4	
	3/4 c	63	-	1	-	1	
	2 c	72	-	-	-	-	
	1/24 c	81	1	1	1	3	

Alnwick - The Medieval Borough

BURGAGE BOUNDARIES

residual ———
obliterated - - - -



N.B The Location of the Castle, Church and Bailffgate - The Original Settlement?

N.B. The curved shape of the burgages in Clayport, Bondgate and Fenkle St - common fields?

SOURCE.. based on .. Conzen: Alnwick p27

300m

It has proved impossible to reconstruct the late Medieval borough plans of any of the remaining Northumberland boroughs. The field measurements have been taken and analysed bearing in mind the conclusions from the previous four reconstructed plans but any conclusions must be tentative. For each borough there is a short discussion of the findings together with a reference map showing the burgage widths

CORBRIDGE

Corbridge is a Royal borough sited on the north side of an easy fording point of the River Tyne(21). The borough is centred on a large market place which has experienced much colonisation. There are forty two burgages in the Medieval town (the bounds of which can be traced using a series of deeds reprinted in The Northumberland County History Volume X(22). Unfortunately it is not possible to trace the burgage plots back to the C16th, despite the existence of several surveys.

When the individual blocks are considered it appears that the statute perch was used in planning. Water Row fits completely into statute perch multiples both in width and length (11.5 statute perches in length). In Main Street a similar correspondence to the statute perch can be identified with three plots being exactly three, four and five perches wide respectively. The plots in Main Street are much wider than those in Water Row or the market place. Main Street was probably less attractive than more central locations and therefore larger plots could have been offered. The evidence from Watling Street and Scamblegate is inconclusive.

The measurements taken in Corbridge suggest that the statute perch was used in planning. Surely this would be expected in a Royal borough where national standards would have prevailed. Also like many of the planned boroughs plot size increased with distance from the market square. Looking at map 15, it becomes apparent that Corbridge is not any less planned than the so called 'new towns' discussed in the last section.

FELTON

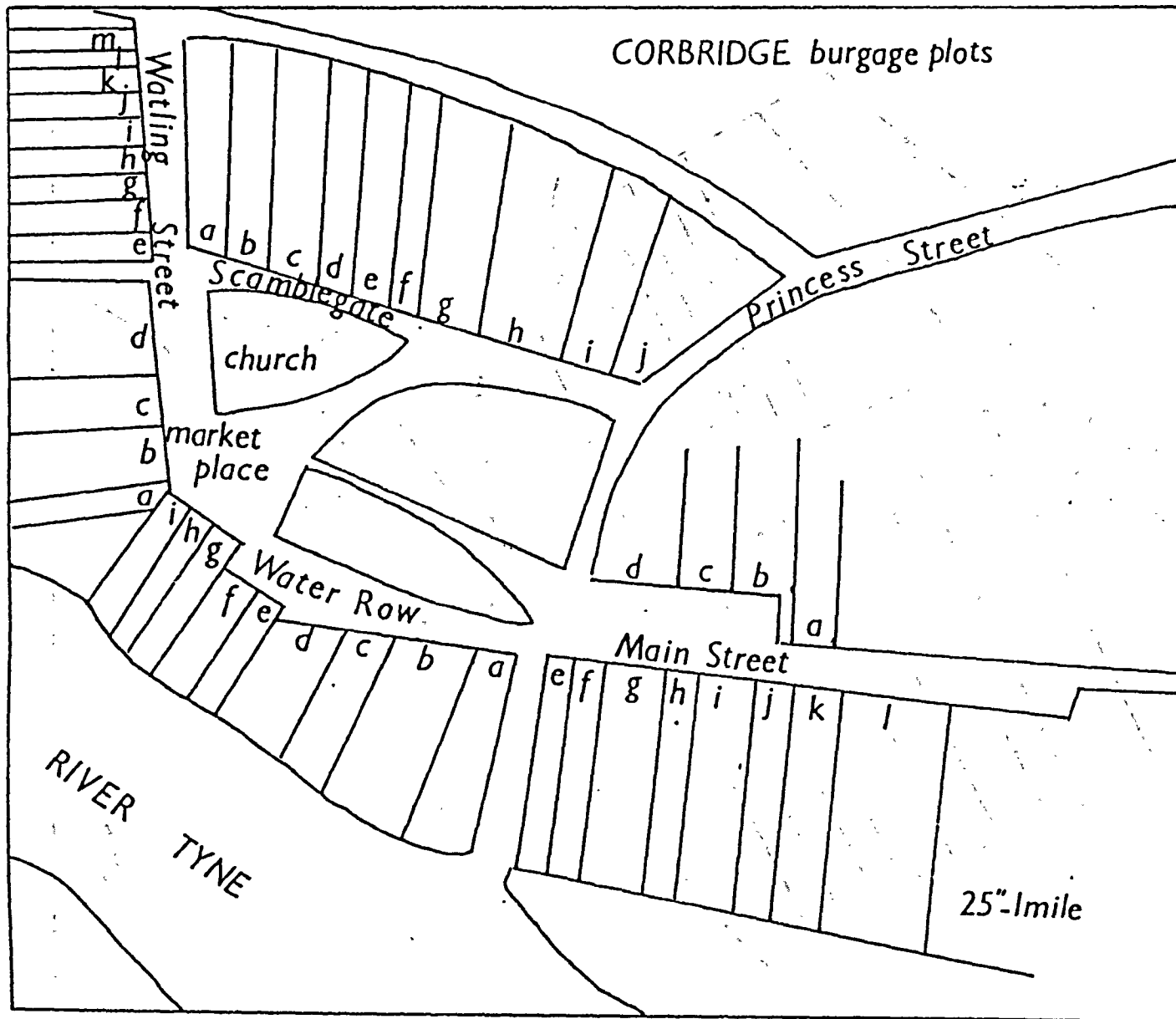
Felton is a C13th single street borough which extends northwards up a steep bank from the river Coquet, with burgage plots extending from east to west on both sides of the street(23). The burgage plots in East Row form a continuous block south of Prospect Place. West Row however has been redeveloped in the north (early C20th terraces) and in the south (C19th terrace facing the river)(24). The ten burgages in East Row are much larger than many in Alnmouth, ranging from 43 to 159' in width(25). The plot length in East Row is approximately 530' (32x16.5 and 30x18') If the plots are considered it is apparent that with a small error all of the plots fit fairly well to a multiple of 18'. The burgage series in West Row is less clearly defined. All nine burgages which can be identified fit similarly into 18' multiples but they are much smaller than the burgages in East Row being more than 100' shorter in length. This is in part due to the presence of a small tributary of the River Coquet and a sharp drop in height near to it(26). As in Alnmouth this could indicate that West and East Row were settled at different times. The evidence from Felton does not indicate any common plot width but it cannot be concluded that common widths were not originally laid out, because there is no documentary evidence with which to trace

Watling Street

a	37'
b	49'
c	58'
d	102'
e	35'
f	29'
g	28'
h	35'
i	38'
j	53'
k	30'
l	48'

Water Row

a	69'
b	126'
c	33'
d	67'
e	41'
f	49'
g	38'
h	38'
i	38'



CORBRIDGE burgage plots

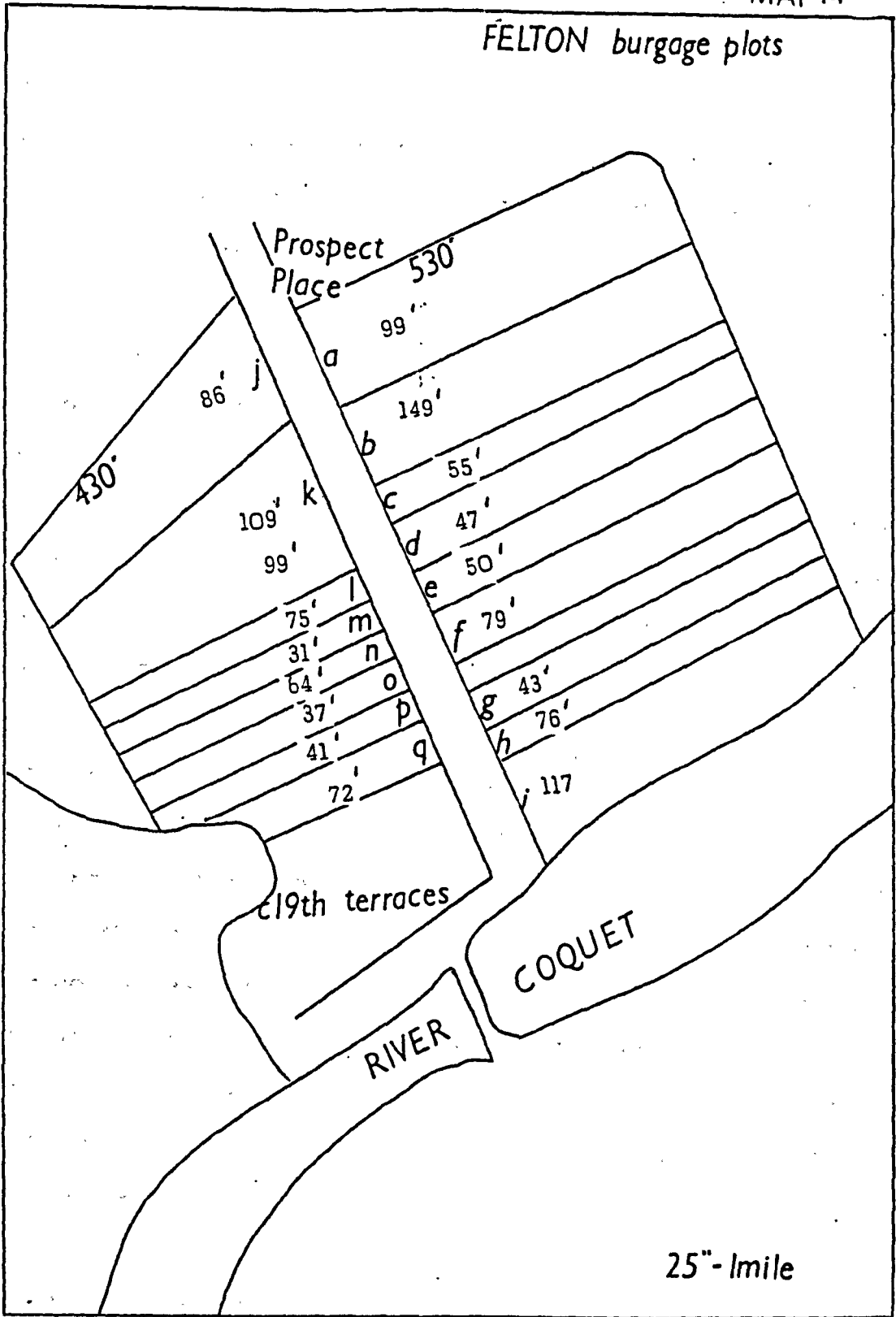
Scamblegate

a	39'
b	41'
c	67'
d	49'
e	40'
f	34'
g	61'
h	179'
i	73'

Main Street

a	60'
b	96'
c	51'
d	111'
e	41'
f	48'
g	57'
h	31'
i	83'
j	36'
k	66'
l	159'

FELTON burgage plots



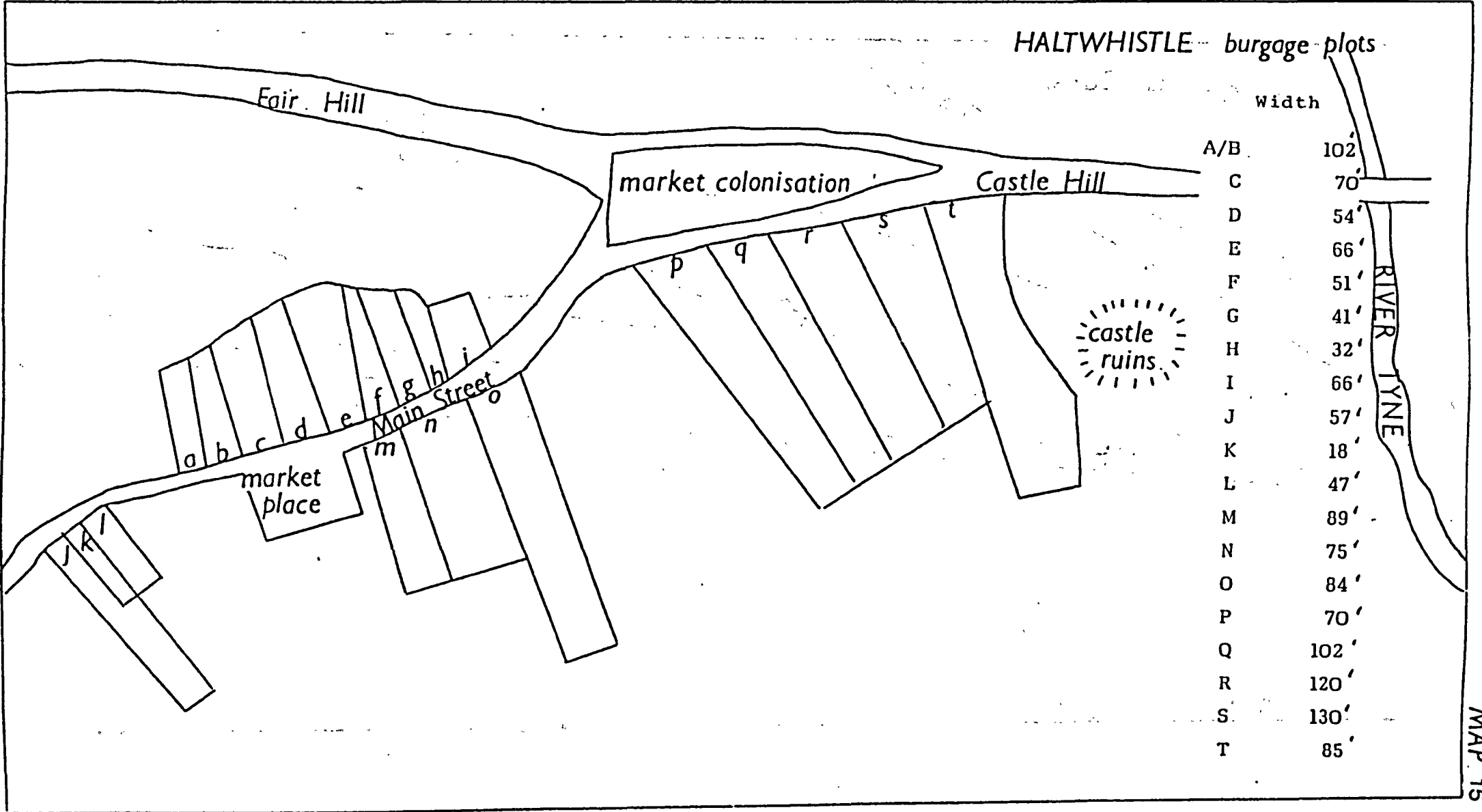
the burgage plots back beyond the first edition O.S. maps.

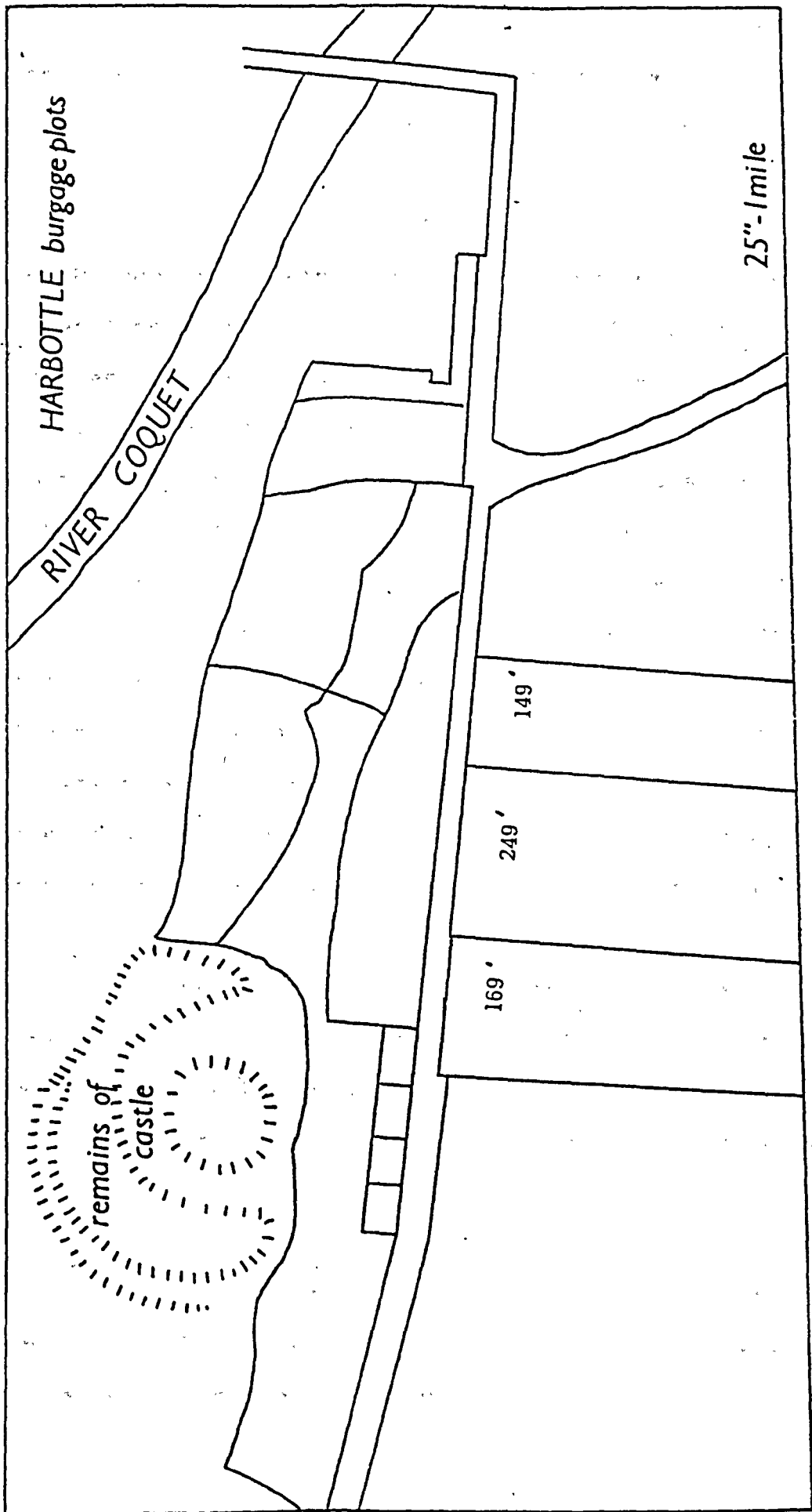
HALTWHISTLE

Haltwhistle is a C13th borough sited on the left bank of the south Tyne approximately 100m above the river. The borough is a single winding street, originally with a wide market place, now constrained in the west where the road forks to become Main Street and Fair Hill. A second smaller market place is found north of the church in Main Street. Evidence of the original burgage series is very poor (27) with no survival of burgages north of Castle Hill and only interrupted coverage west of the motte, and north of the market place. The burgage series west of the castle motte consists of four burgages of equal length and one longer plot. All of these are multiples of 18' (70', 102', 120', 130' and 85'). The two blocks of three plots near the market place are narrower and shorter, although length is not consistent. These plots also appear to be multiples of 18'. The North Row burgage series appears to have a greater degree of unity despite different lengths. This group of burgages appears to fit more closely into statute perch multiples. This could indicate a later origin when the statute perch was used but as there is no documentary evidence before 1800 concerning plot widths any conclusions must be tentative.

HARBOTTLE

Harbottle is sited south of the Upper Coquet and is a single street borough in the heart of Redesdale (28). It lies in the shadow of an C11th motte on an area of level ground about 150m above the river. Very little evidence, possibly three plots, remains of the original burgage series. These lie to the south of the main street. The rest of the borough consists of C19th and C20th terraces and bungalows





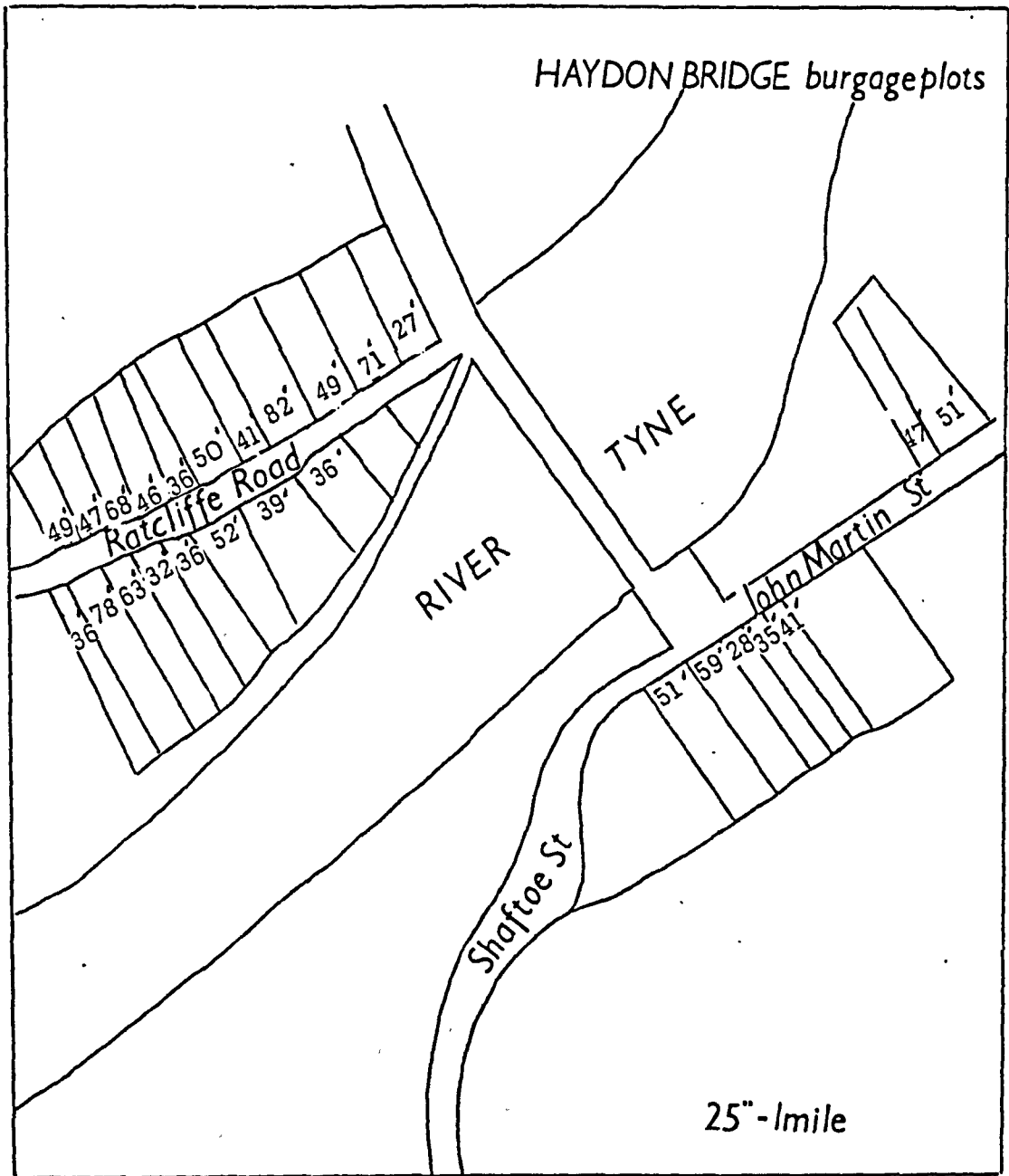
interspersed with farm buildings. The three plots are 150', 170' and 249' wide but these might not be original burgages because this part of Redesdale was completely destroyed in C16th and left in waste for a considerable time.

HAYDON BRIDGE

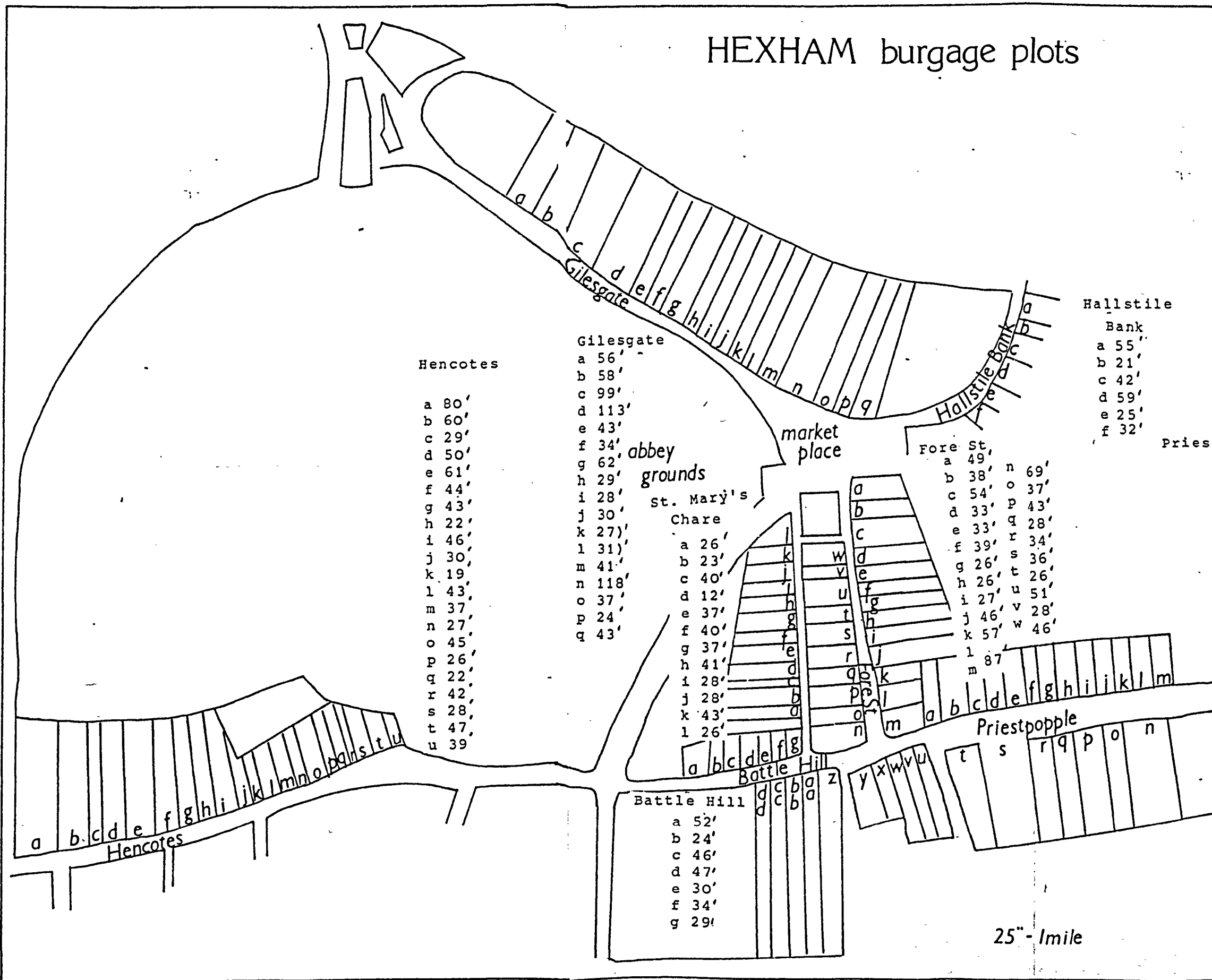
Haydon Bridge is a C14th borough extending on both sides of the River Tyne in the form of the letter 'H' (29). The burgage series has survived well in the north with 19 plots identifiable. As Map 17 shows the plots north of Radcliffe Road are consistently 180' long which is ten local perches. To the south of Radcliffe Road the length has been restricted by the river, especially near the bridge (30). North of Radcliffe Road the burgages all fall into 18' multiples and 2.5x18' is the most common unit. South of Radcliffe Road is also dominated by 18' multiples but the widths are closer to 36' (two local perches). The survival of burgages south of the river has been very poor with only seven burgages remaining, two in John Martin Street and five in Shaftoe Street. It's not clear if any perch length dominates although John Martin Street burgages appear to be the remnant of a larger block. Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence before 1800 of subdivision or amalgamation therefore conclusions drawn from this evidence must be tentative.

HEXHAM

Hexham is sited on a level terrace about 30m above the valley of the River Tyne (31). Today the town consists of an irregular street pattern centred on the market place, east



HEXHAM burgage plots



Hencotes

- a 80'
- b 60'
- c 29'
- d 50'
- e 61'
- f 44'
- g 43'
- h 22'
- i 46'
- j 30'
- k 19'
- l 43'
- m 37'
- n 27'
- o 45'
- p 26'
- q 22'
- r 42'
- s 28'
- t 47'
- u 39'

Gilesgate

- a 56'
- b 58'
- c 99'
- d 113'
- e 43'
- f 34'
- g 62'
- h 29'
- i 28'
- j 30'
- k 27'
- l 31'
- m 41'
- n 118'
- o 37'
- p 24'
- q 43'

abbey grounds
st. Mary's Chare

- a 26'
- b 23'
- c 40'
- d 12'
- e 37'
- f 40'
- g 37'
- h 41'
- i 28'
- j 28'
- k 43'
- l 26'

Fore St.

- a 49'
- b 38'
- c 54'
- d 33'
- e 33'
- f 39'
- g 26'
- h 26'
- i 27'
- j 46'
- k 57'
- l 87'
- m 87'

Hallstile Bank

- a 55'
- b 21'
- c 42'
- d 59'
- e 25'
- f 32'

Priestpopple

- a 39'
- b 64'
- c 32'
- d 37'
- e 45'
- f 38'
- g 38'
- h 53'
- i 34'
- j 31'
- k 28'
- l 41'
- m 42'
- n 112'
- o 27'
- p 46'
- q 36'
- r 50'
- s 100'
- t 82'
- u 28'
- v 30'
- w 42'
- x 34'
- y 41'
- z 31'
- aa 23'
- bb 29'
- cc 34'
- dd 54'

Hencotes

- a
- b
- c
- d
- e
- f
- g
- h
- i
- j
- k
- l
- m
- n
- o
- p
- q
- r
- s
- t
- u

Battle Hill

- a 52'
- b 24'
- c 46'
- d 47'
- e 30'
- f 34'
- g 29'

25" - 1 mile

of the abbey. The original site of the settlement was some 300m away at the north west end of Market Street at the confluence of Cockshaw and Haguld's Stream but after the Conquest a more easily defended site was preferred(32).

The original borough consisted of a single street (Market Street) running from Prospect Place to the abbey, with a distinctive back lane in Haugh Lane. The plots in Market Street vary in width from a few feet to 56' at the Abbey Institute and no common size is discernable. The most common multiple, however, is the local 18' perch.

Because the abbey grounds were not developed the next addition to the plan was Fore Street to the west which runs down to the main Newcastle to Carlisle Road. The burgages in Fore Street are smaller with three at 38' but it appears in this area as if the statute perch was used. The main road (Priestpopple, Battle Hill and Hencotes) form three distinctive blocks with different burgage lengths and widths, indicating that they may have had different dates of origin.

Priestpopple north side has a series of 18' multiples in the west but in the east redevelopment in the C19th has obscured the original pattern. Priestpopple south side shows very little evidence of any burgage series because it is dominated by the bus station, County Hotel and a supermarket.

Battle Hill, at the junction with Fore Street, has much smaller irregular plots with no dominant multiple. Hencotes burgages being further from the centre of the borough are larger and the local perch appears to dominate the pattern with several plots being approximately 45' wide(a common size in other boroughs). St. Mary's Chare appears to be a late addition and the plots are wider probably because they

were less attractive than Fore Street.

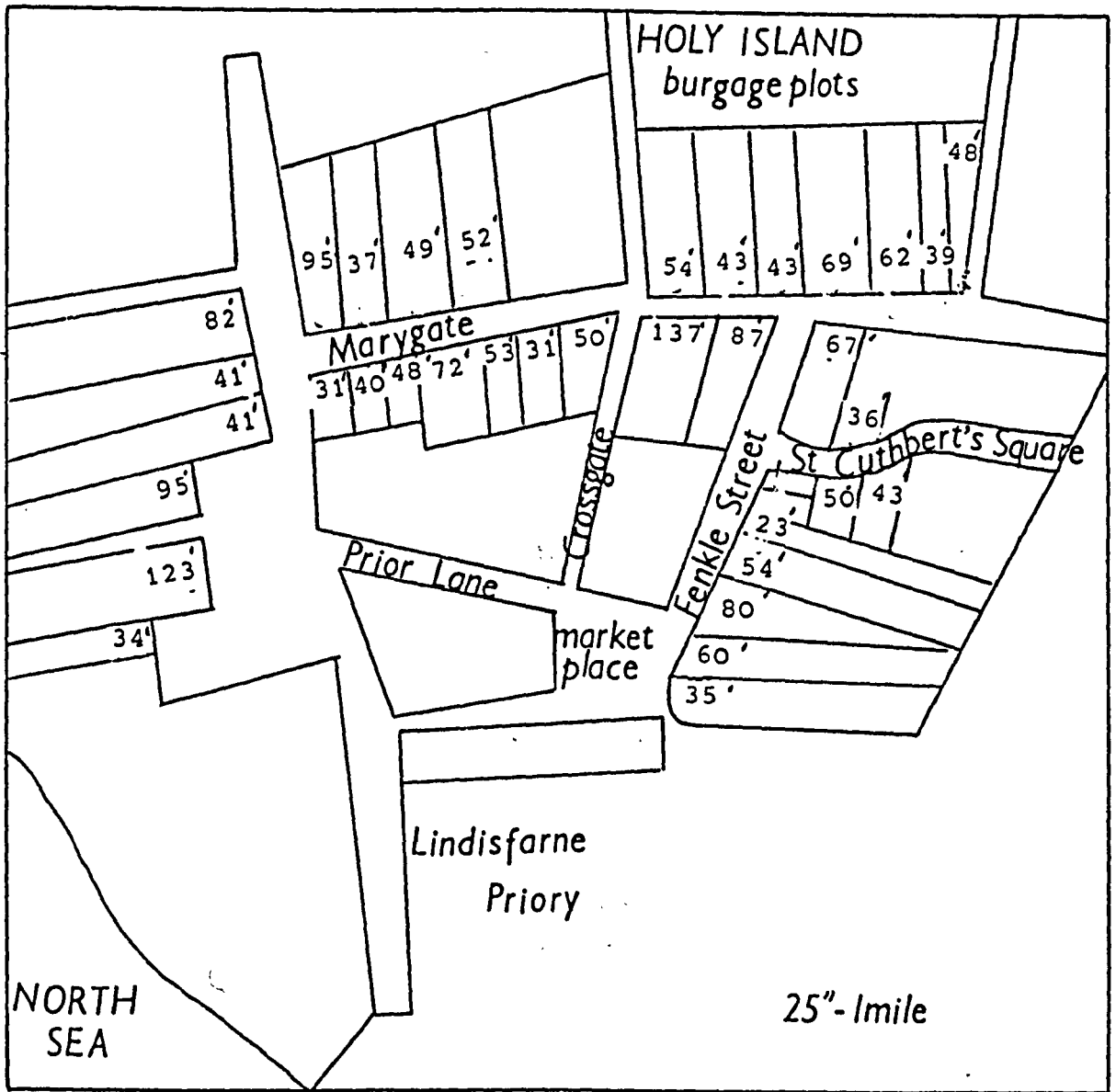
Hexham appears to have grown throughout the Middle Ages and although there is evidence of both perches being used it is not possible to pinpoint the time when each of them was used.

HOLY ISLAND

Holy Island is situated on an island off the east coast of Northumberland(33). The borough is sited north of the priory and consists of a few apparently irregular streets centred on the market square. Within the borough there are 37 recognisable burgages, of which 62% fit into multiples of the local 18' perch. When each street is considered in turn, however, although Marygate south side and Fenkle Street fit extremely well, Prior Row burgages all fit into multiples of the statute perch. The plan does not appear to have been laid down at one time but in stages when different perch multiples were in common use, or perhaps when different landowners controlled the borough. This is further substantiated by the fact that the plots which fit into the statute units are on the periphery and in the C15th the borough was in the hands of the Crown.

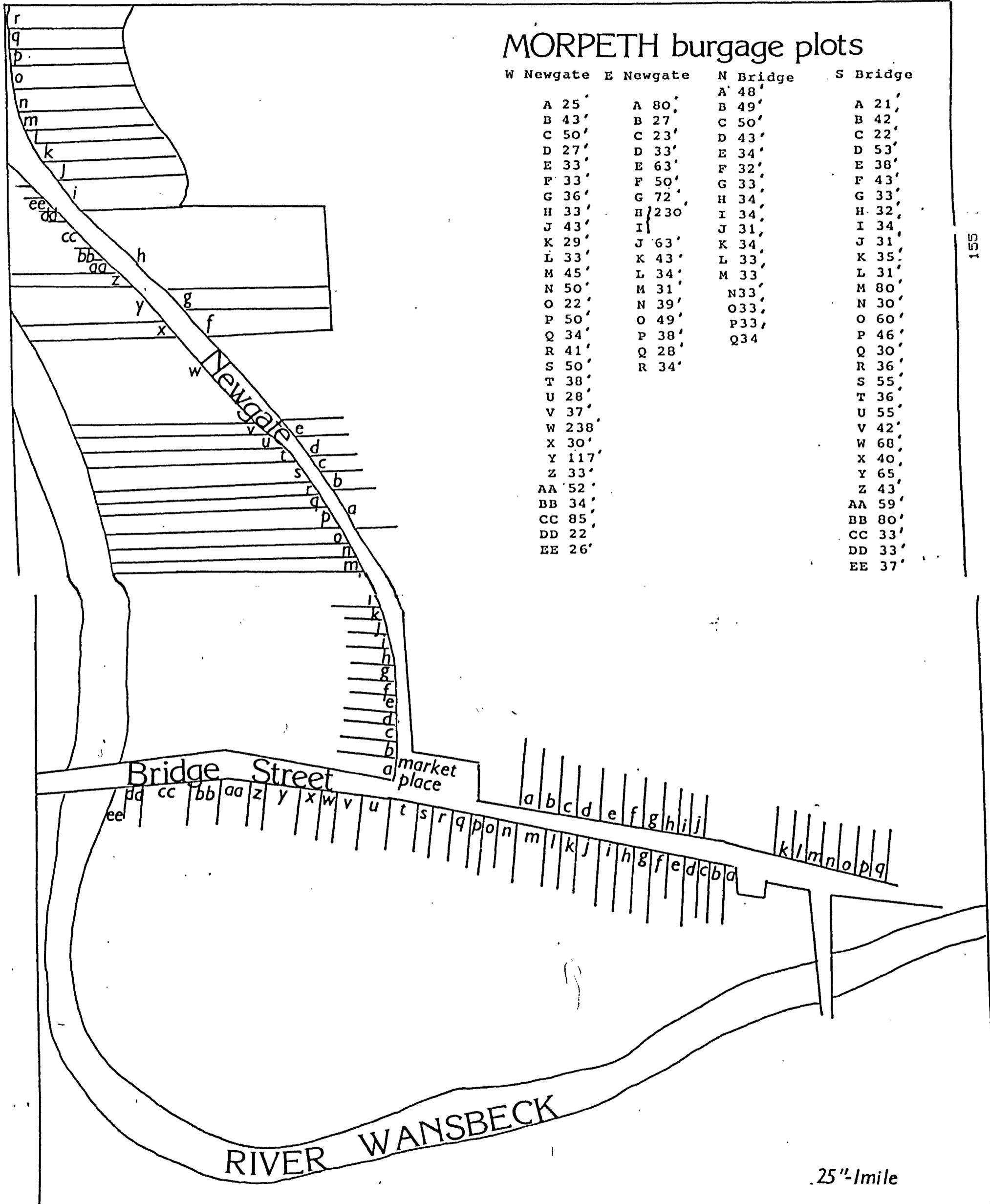
MORPETH

Morpeth is a late C12th town sited in a meander of the River Wansbeck(34). The plan is in the shape of an inverted 'T' with the market place at the junction of Newgate and Bridge Street. Because Newgate runs along the west side of the meander the burgages are longer in the east than the west of Newgate, but the longest plots are south of Bridge Street stretching as far as the river(35). Of the 16 burgages in the north of Bridge Street 12 plots are exactly two statute perches wide with a run of ten consecutive 33' plots in the east. In the south of Bridge Street, 21 plots fit into



MORPETH burgage plots

W Newgate	E Newgate	N Bridge	S Bridge
A 25'	A 80'	A 48'	A 21'
B 43'	B 27'	B 49'	B 42'
C 50'	C 23'	C 50'	C 22'
D 27'	D 33'	D 43'	D 53'
E 33'	E 63'	E 34'	E 38'
F 33'	F 50'	F 32'	F 43'
G 36'	G 72'	G 33'	G 33'
H 33'	H 230'	H 34'	H 32'
J 43'	I	I 34'	I 34'
K 29'	J 63'	J 31'	J 31'
L 33'	K 43'	K 34'	K 35'
M 45'	L 34'	L 33'	L 31'
N 50'	M 31'	M 33'	M 80'
O 22'	N 39'	N33'	N 30'
P 50'	O 49'	O33'	O 60'
Q 34'	P 38'	P33'	P 46'
R 41'	Q 28'	Q34	Q 30'
S 50'	R 34'		R 36'
T 38'			S 55'
U 28'			T 36'
V 37'			U 55'
W 238'			V 42'
X 30'			W 68'
Y 117'			X 40'
Z 33'			Y 65'
AA 52'			Z 43'
BB 34'			AA 59'
CC 85'			BB 80'
DD 22'			CC 33'
EE 26'			DD 33'
			EE 37'



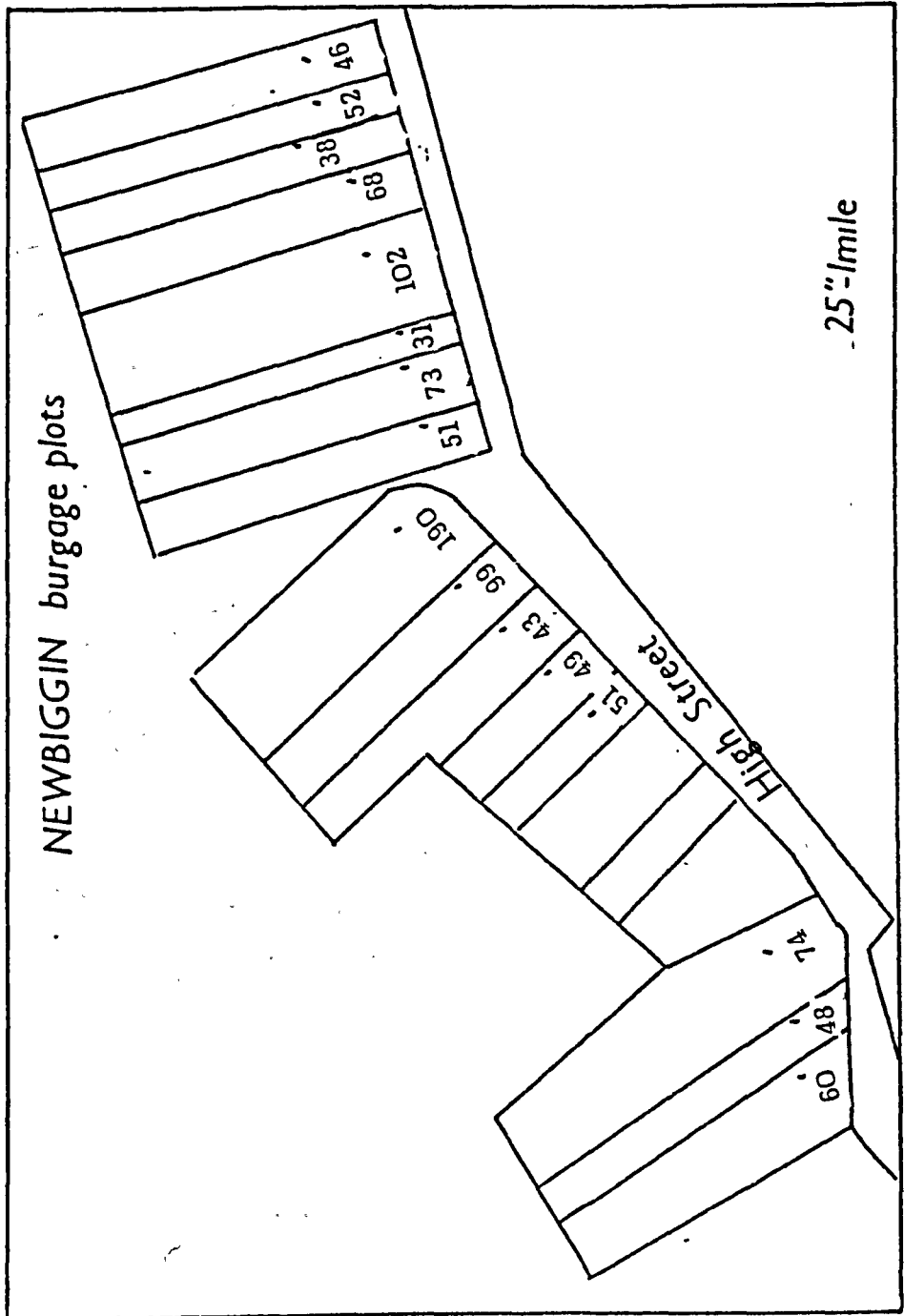
multiples of 16.5' and ten are exactly two statute perches wide. The correspondence to the statute perch is less striking in Newgate where only ten of the nineteen plots in East Newgate are multiples of the statute perch and only four are 33'. West Newgate also fits into multiples of the statute perch in twenty of the thirty identified plots(36).

NEWBIGGIN

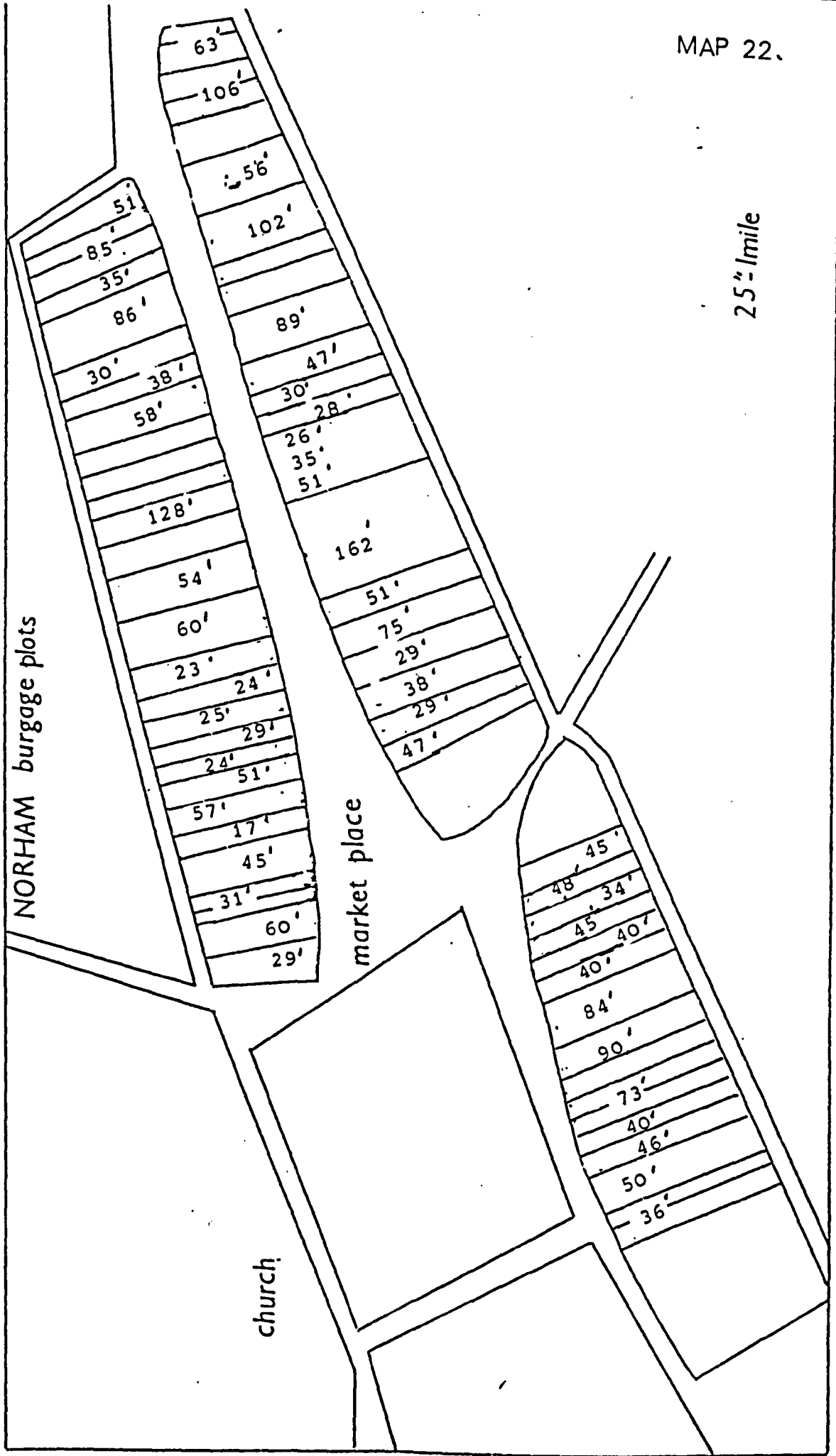
Newbiggin is a C13th borough which has undergone a considerable amount of redevelopment and only 18 possible burgages can be identified on the north side of High Street(37). The burgages do not form one continuous block, being divided into four units distinguished by different lengths and orientation of plots(38). The most easterly block of nine burgages is 21 local perches in length (380') but only one plot is exactly four local perches wide. The widths range from 31' to over 100'. The second group of four plots is about 100' shorter and three of the plots fit into 18' multiples. However the widths vary enormously. The third group has a more restricted length due to a minor stream(39). However the plots do not appear to have survived and therefore no measurements were taken. The last block of three plots are approximately the same length as block two but they are much wider. These plots also fit into 18' multiples. Four of the plots are approximately 45' wide (being the most common plot width) but it is not possible without documentary evidence to say whether or not this was the original burgage width.

NORHAM

Norham is a single street borough sited on the south bank of the River Tweed at an easy crossing point(40). The present settlement dates from the building of the castle by Bishop Flambard in the C12th and although it was not chartered as



25" = 1 mile



a new town it has many hallmarks of a planned town. There are two rows of burgages, each stretching back ten local perches (180') from the main road and each block is given a degree of unity by the encircling back lane.

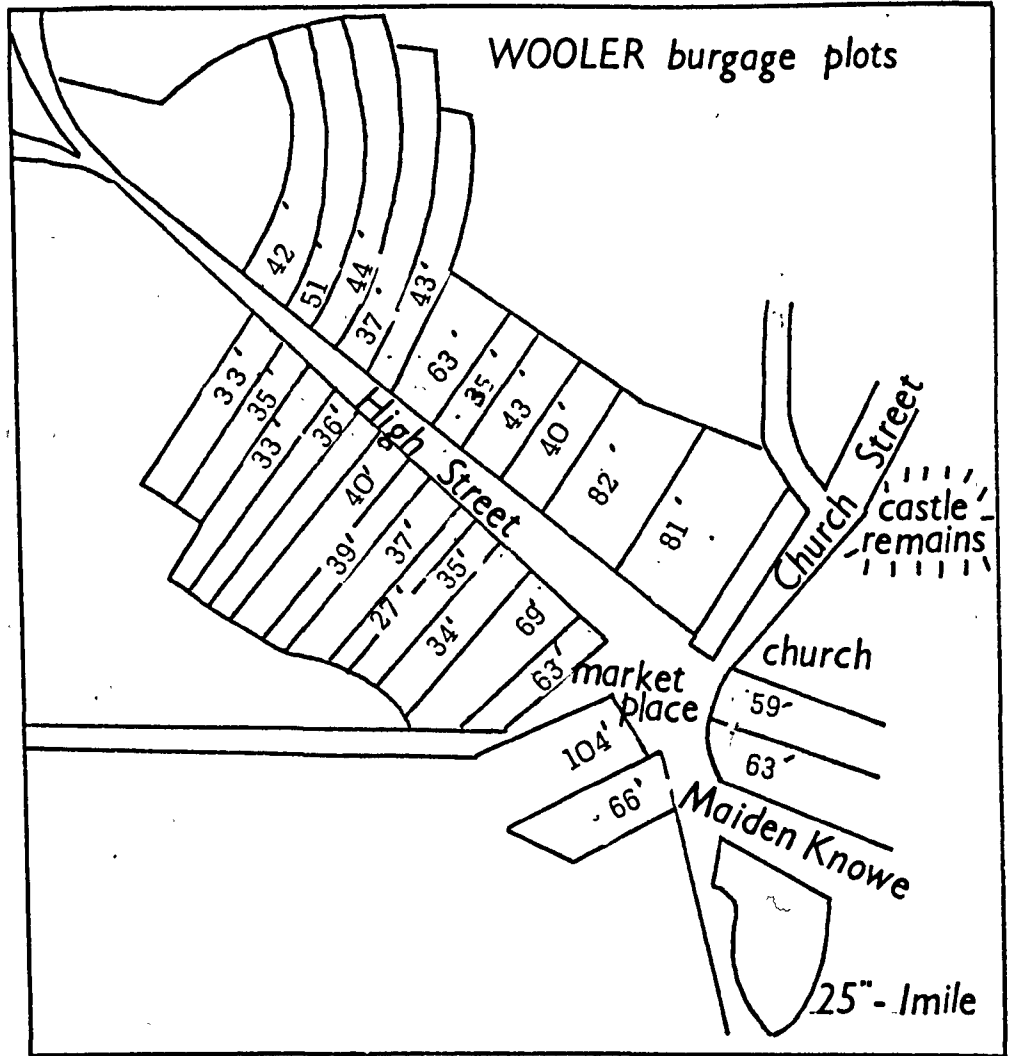
As map 22 shows, although the south row is interrupted near the public hall and the road widens, the burgage plots continue to be the same length as in the rest of the south row. Generally the burgage plots fit into multiples of the local perch but there is a reduction in the width of plots in both the north and south rows near the market place. It is possible that the size variation was deliberate and incorporated into the original plan, or that less attractive plots suffered less subdivision, as was apparent in Alnmouth and Corbridge.

WOOLER

Wooler is a single street borough situated at the foot of the Cheviots in Glendale on the banks of the River Tilem. It has a market place in the south east of the settlement near to the church(41).

The north row of the High Street is not dominated by one multiple, although five of the thirteen plots are approximately 36' wide. The south row has a more even length but has no back access. Several burgages in the south row are approximately 43' wide which is 2.5x18' perch(42).

Unlike many of the other boroughs there is apparently no width reduction near to the market place, although the burgages in the High Street are small compared to for example Felton(43) (see map 14 p145).



REFERENCES

1. Op cit Hindle.
Op cit Slater.
Op cit Straw.
2. Ibid Hindle.
3. See appendix 17.
4. O.S. map NU2410-2510.
5. Ibid.
6. Duke of Northumberland MSS A.1.1.s.
7. Mayson stated that the survey was by estimation.
8. Ibid.
9. Alnmouth Court Roll 1735 D.III.6a.
10. See the Tithe map p127.
11. O.S. maps NU0401, 0501, 0502, 0602, 0702.
12. See Conzen's map p141.
13. Op cit Conzen p28.
14. Ibid p28-9.
15. Op cit Pevsner p68.
16. Op cit Ballard p25.
17. Op cit Conzen p32.
18. Ibid p33.
19. Ibid p25.
20. Ibid p32.
21. O.S. map NY9864-9964.
22. Northumberland County History vol.X.
23. O.S. map NU1800-1900.
24. Ibid.
25. See p145.

26. Op cit O.S. map NU1800-1900.
27. O.S. map NY7064-7164, NY7063-7163.
28. O.S. map NT9204.
29. O.S. map NY8264-8364, NY8464-8564.
30. Ibid.
31. O.S. map Hexham NY9263-9363, 9264-9364,
9463-9563, 9464-9564.
32. Op cit Wilson p6.
33. O.S. map Holy Island NU1241-1341.
34. O.S. maps NZ1885-1985, NZ2085-2185, NZ1886-1986.
35. Ibid.
36. See p155.
37. O.S. map NZ3088-3188, NZ3187, NZ3087.
38. See p157.
39. See reference 37.
40. O.S. map NT9047-9147.
41. O.S. map Wooler. N79827 9927.
42. See p160.

CONCLUSION

The original aims of the research were to establish whether or not Northumberland's boroughs were planned and if so what was the burgage plot size. However, during the course of the analysis it became apparent from the number of amalgamations and subdivisions after 1500, many references before 1500 to fluctuations in the number of burgages in boroughs and the variety of burgage widths which survive today in even the planted boroughs that:

1. The assumption of continuity of plot boundary before 1500 could not be justified;
2. Yet close inspection of the individual blocks of burgages -especially institutional holdings yielded conceivable ancient burgage sizes which were considerably larger than many that had survived since 1500. These plots also differed in size within boroughs and between holders as shown by the evidence from Warkworth;
3. Thus the search for recurring perch multiples is fruitless in boroughs where the burgage size was not specified or institutions held plots;
4. From the analysis of the burgage series in Alnmouth and Warkworth it became apparent that even planted towns were laid out in phases and that subordinate areas of later origin could be identified;
5. Nevertheless all Northumberland boroughs can yield evidence not of the original burgage plot size but of the unit of measurement with which they were laid out. Therefore all boroughs regardless of whether planted or

not indicate an element of planning. Thus in Northumberland at least the distinction between organic and planned boroughs is artificial;

6. Within most of the boroughs the local perch of 18' was used in planning by both lay and ecclesiastical seigneurs but only the Royal Boroughs used the statute perch of 16.5'. This can be seen most clearly in Rothbury and Holy Island. While Rothbury was a Royal Borough the plan was dominated by the statute perch but the extension planned by the Percies in the C13th used the local perch. Holy Island originally part of the Palatinate of Durham, was planned using the local perch but later additions, when it was controlled by the crown were laid out using the statute perch.

Therefore the analysis of Medieval borough plans using field measurements of the surviving burgage plots must be accompanied by:

- a. The reconstruction of the burgage series as far back as possible;
 - b. Close inspection of the ownership patterns within the boroughs;
 - c. Consideration of any Medieval references to borough size, burgages and fluctuations in the wealth of the settlement;
- to yield any worthwhile conclusions.

APPENDIX 1

DOCUMENTS HELD IN THE MUNIMENTS ROOM

ALNWICK CASTLE

Class A Surveys and Terriers

Division I

No.1	1566	Clarkson Survey n.Warkworth g.Rothbury r.Newburn s.Alnmouth (rental)
No.4	1727	General Survey of Northumberland
No.5	1769-75	Warkworth 1775 Corbridge 1762 Rothbury 1775

Division II

No.1 1586

Division III

No.1 1607 Stockdale

Division IV

No.2 Newburn
No.3 Alnmouth
No.4 Warkworth
No.6 Rothbury

This is Mayson's Survey

Division VI

No.1 1702 Warkworth, Rothbury

No.2 Corbridge, Newburn

No.4 1709 Rothbury

Division VII

No.1 1539 Corbridge

No.9 1710 Newburn

No.15 1614 Alnmouth

No.16 1702 Rothbury

Class B Rentals

Division I General and Promiscuous

No.1 1626 General rental of possessions of
Earl of Northumberland

No.2 1656 Warkworth, Rothbury, Newburn

No.3 1668 Locke rental

No.5 1695-1700 Rental

No.6 1700 Warkworth, Newburn

No.8 1720 Corbridge

No.10 1748

No.13 1748-77

No.15 1756-80 Alnmouth

No.20 1785

No.27 1848

Division III

Alnmouth 1659, 1720, 1724

Division V

1 1700 Warkworth Rental

2 1723

3 1724

4 1725

Division VII

1 1674 Newburn Rental

2 1701

3 1724

5 1756

Division VIII

1 1695 Rothbury Rental

3 1702

4 1708

5 1720

Division IX

1 1615 Corbridge Rental

2 1664

3 1682

4 1712

5 1719

Class C Minutes of Court Presentments for
diverse manors in the Barony of Alnwick

Division IV

5 1682 Alnmouth

12 1625-49

Division V

1a 1597-1620 Warkworth

1b 1674-1735

3 1666 Call Book

4 1672-1703

5 1731

Division VI

1 1667 Rothbury Minute

1 1668, 1674, 1699

4 1666 Call Book

Division VII

1 1675-1738 Corbridge

2 1727-1795

Division IX

Newburn Court Minutes 1647-49, 1673-1738.

Class D Court Rolls

Division I

1 1587 Evidence of Alnwick

Division III

5 1703 Alnmouth Court Roll

7 1741-89

9 1833-54 Court Book

Division V

1 1667 Rothbury Court Roll

3 1703

5 1675

6 1702

9 1740-91

12 1774 Suit Roll

Division VII

1 1667,68 Warkworth Court Roll

2 1674

4 1742-95

5 1796-1831

8 1710-23 Suit Roll

Division VIII

1 1675 Corbridge Court Roll

2 1703

3 1741-92

4 1793-1834

5 1835-55

Division X

1a 1663 Newburn Court Roll

b 1667-68

2 1741-90

Class E Copies of Admittances

Division I

3 1703-5 Rothbury

4 1686-1703 Warkworth

Class J Papers and Mediums relating to Dispute,
Incroachment in Corbridge

Division VI

1 Concealment of Domain ,

2 Division of common land

24 Terrier of the vicarage of Corbridge

26 Survey of 1664

Division 11

10 Borough rents of 1767, 68, 77 and 84

Class M

Division III

Estreats of courts of Alnmouth 1677, 1728, 1750, 1757
burgage rents 1694-1711

Division V

estreats of courts of Corbridge 1678, 1720.

Class O

Division VI

1. Alnmouth maps from Mayson's Survey

23. Wilkins' map 1791

34. The lands of Edward Gallon

Division XVI

5. Thomas Wilkins' map 1772

Division XX

6. Corbridge 1778

Division XXIII

20. Abuttals in Rothbury

APPENDIX 2

CATALOGUE OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND

RECORD OFFICE

Alnwick 1QRD P96, 220-DEEDS 1726,1736
 1QRD 4-6 P325,326,436
 51 B17/5-6 DEEDS 1723
 25 2MD 114/12-15 Papers Relating to
 Lindsay 1674-56
 /32 Case of shop 1767
 /192 Suit claim 1730
 /196 1 messuage 1754
 /215 1 house 1770

 Land Tax Assesment
 Census Books

Bamburgh 5 DT 21M Tithe Award

 Bell plans of Bamburgh

Corbridge 1 QRD P305 1741 DEED
 P330 1743 DEED
 P349 1745 DEED
 P389 1746 DEED

 10 ZSW 836/7 1719 NIC. LEADBITTER
 51 B1/1/1,2,5-7,11,13,23,31,32,39,50
 51 B4/1/8,12-14
 51 B16/11/12
 53 D26/41,78,81,85
 36 ZHE 104 1777-1851 DEEDS Market Street

56 NRD 605/4/5
NRD 467/16

25 ZND 2/1-4,12 1611-1733 DEEDS
DT 1142 TITHE AWARD

Felton 1 QRD P96,227,421 1748
35 N1R 10 Land Tax Assesment 1769-1842
5 DT 182M TITHE AWARD

Haltwhistle NRD Survey of Haltwhistle 1653

Harbottle DT 2095 TITHE AWARD

Haydon Bridge DT 2232 TITHE AWARD

Hexham 1 QRD 2/1 DEEDS
53 B26/1-3,8-16,25-7,34-5,39-40,46-48,
51,54,57,66,75,86,97,103
NRD 322/B/23 COURT ROLLS 1579-1668
BB19-25 COURT ROLLS BOROUGH BOOKS 1634
- 1872
COURT ROLLS, SURRENDERS 1584 -
1886
COURT ROLLS- COPYHOLD 1713 -
1866
BB93-117 SUIT ROLLS 1526-1845

Morpeth 16 ZAN M16/B27 COURT ROLL 1654
5 DT 327L TITHE AWARD
A68 54/4,8,11 BOROUGH AND FREE RENTS
1717-1822
A68-108/6 RENTAL 1775
A212 ZRL7/19 GRANT OF LAND 1250

Newbrough 15 ZLO 1V/ 1556-1802 DEEDS

Newburn 5 DT 341M TITHE AWARD 1849
6 ZAN BELL 45/2 PLAN 1767

Wark ZBM-4 CALL ROLLS 1724-1846

Wooler 5 DT 518M TITHE AWARD

37 ZBM 5 COURT ROLLS 1689-1850

37 ZBM 6 CALL ROLLS 1743-1846

NRO 1862 PLAN OF WOOLER 1828

Warkworth

64 NRO 304/109-125 BOROUGH RENTS

APPENDIX 3

GENERAL COLLECTION OF MSS. NEWCASTLE SOCIETY
OF ANTIQUARIES HELD IN THE BLACK GATE LIBRARY

MSM4	PLAN OF ESTATE OF EDWARD GALLON IN ALNMOUTH 1744
MSM15	PLAN OF ALNMOUTH 1791
MSM21	O.S. 1898 OF CORBRIDGE
M16B27	MORPETH COURT ROLL 1654
M16B1-11	MORPETH COLLECTANTS
PM19	MAP OF ROTHBURY 1816

APPENDIX 4

ALLENDALE MSS PT.I HEXHAM AND ANICK GRANGE 1662

COURT ROLLS	COURT OF RECORD 1559-1743 1-4 VOL 1-10
" "	COURT LEET AND BARONY WITH VIEW OF FRANKPLEDGE 1606-1748
" "	BOROUGH BOOKS 1634-1872
" "	SURRENDERS, ADMITTANCES 1584-1886
COURT FILE	SUIT ROLLS 1626-1845 PP10-11

NO COURTS HELD AFTER 1867

APPENDIX 5

DOCUMENTS USED TO IDENTIFY THE NORTHUMBERLAND BOROUGHES

1. The Great Rolls of State:

Calendorium Rotulorum Chartorum - charters of John after 1199;

Calendar of Charter Rolls - grants, confirmations of liberties, privileges, offices, dignities lands and pensions granted to corporations and individuals, lay and ecclesiastical;

Calendar of Patent Rolls - leases and grants;

Calendar of Pipe Rolls - revenue and expenditure of sheriffs on the crown's behalf;

Calendar of Close Rolls - private correspondence;

Placito Quo Warranto Edward I, II, III;

Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions - Henry III-Richard II;

Inquisitions Post Mortem - assessments for duty after death showing the size and composition of urban land held by lay and ecclesiastical landowners.

2. Lay and Ecclesiastical Chartularies:

These were registers of title deeds of privilege and include the chartularies of the priories of Brinkburn, Newminster, Coldingham, Tynemouth, Hexham and the Percy Chartulary.

3. Miscellaneous

Book of Fees - 1198-1242 - lands held directly from the King;

Lay Subsidies -1296 & 1334 - but these are subject to evasion and avoidance as with all taxes;

Parliamentary Returns of the years 1298 and 1356;

Feet of Fines from 1189, compromises over land disputes;

Wills from 1500;

Doddworth Deeds

Boldan Buke - a list of the holdings, tenants, rents and services of the Bishop of Durham;

Bishop Hatfield's survey 1382;

Feodorum Prioratus Dunelmensis 1430;

Northumberland Assize Rolls

Documents relating to the Palatinate of Durham have been included because the Bishop's lands included the parishes of Islandshire and Norham in the north of Northumberland.

APPENDIX 6

REFERENCES TO BOROUGH STATUS Alnmouth

- 1147 Grant by Eustace de Vesce to Alnwick Abbey of
a messuage in the borough of St Waleric (Tate i p153)
- 1240 Charter of John de Vesce granting the Carmelites of
Hulne the right to make purchases in the borough of
Alnmouth without hindrance from the burgesses (CCR)
- 1249 Borough of Alnmouth held by the Percies (Book of Fees)
- 1333 Richard Embleton held a waste burgage in Alnmouth
(IPM)
- 1352 Henry Percy held the borough (IPM)
- 1368 Henry Percy held the borough (IPM)
- 1396 John Middleton held a burgage in the borough (IPM)
5 references to the borough in the Percy Chartulary
in the c14th.

Alnwick

- 1157x1182 Charter of William de Vesce granting to
the burgesses of Alnwick the custom of Newcastle
(Ballard p25)
Further Charters in 1226-53, 1290, 1506
- 1352 Alnwick borough held by Henry Percy (ipm)
- 1355 Robert de Manors held a burgage in Alnwick (IPM)
- 1368 Henry Percy held the borough of Alnwick (IPM)
- 1429 Isabel Swan held a burgage in Alnwick (IPM)
- 1529 R.Lasse held a burgage in Alnwick (Percy
Chartulary p95)

Bamburgh

- 1169-70 Fine paid by the burgesses (pipe Roll xv 1892 52)

- 1197 Borough mentioned in the Pipe Roll (£18 6s 8d)
- 1212 John Viscount holds 6 bovates in the 'burgo de Bamburgh' (Book of Fees)
- 1255 Fee Farm granted to the burgesses (CCR)
- 1296 Taxed as a borough (Lay Subsidy) (Willard p433)
- 1323 Burgage land in the town (IPM)
- 1332 In future it would be known as a borough (Weinbaum p88)
- 1334 Mentioned as a borough in (Percy Chartulary)
- 1336 Taxed as a borough (Lay Subsidy)
- 1399 Henry Heton held 8 burgages (IPM)
- 1436 Robert Ogle held 8 burgages (IPM)
- 1465 Radolphus Grey held 4 burgages (IPM)

Corbridge

- 1201 Charter of the King granted the fee farm to the burgesses (Ballard)
- 1212 Borough held by John fitz Roger (Percy Chartulary)
- 1296 Taxed as a borough (Lay Subsidy)
- 1301 Robert fitz Roger held burgages (IPM)
- 1353 Henry Percy held the borough (IPM)
- 1368 Henry Percy held the borough (IPM)
- 1378 Andrew Tindale held a burgage (IPM)
- 1529 Burgages in the Dodsworth Deeds p117
Deeds in the Vestry of St Margaret's in Durham refer to burgages in (14 N.C.H. X. app 94)

Felton

- 1256 Represented at the Assizes as a borough.
- 1323 Burgage tenants who in peace paid 46/- now pay 8/- (PRO c134/83/5)
- 1373 Burgages in N.C.H.vii p240,p242

Haltwhistle

- 1468 Conveyance of a burgage is recorded by deeds reproduced in Hodgson pt2 vol.2 deed 60/1
- 1481 Nicholas Ridley received burgages (IPM)

Harbottle

- 1245 borough valued at £2. 12s. (PRO c132/3/9)
- 1308 borough called Harbottle
- 1331 Robert de Umfreville held the borough (IPM)
- 1635 3 burgages conveyed (deeds)

Haydon Bridge

- 1365 Burgages held by Thos de Lucy on both sides of the river (IPM) (PRO c135/201/5)
- 1420 Two burgages and 1 waste held in the borough (IPM)
- 1422 Forfeiture of 2 burgages in the ville of Haydon Bridge
- 1607 20 tenements were burgages (IPM) (PRO LR2/223)

Hexham

- 1547 Burgesses mentioned in borough survey NCH III pp66-86 Hexham court rolls C16th, C17th surrender and admittance to burgages (N.R.O. Allendale Collection)

Holy Island

- 1396 Burgages (IPM) PRO Durham 3/2/11 F123d
- 1466 Burgesses received a grant from th steward of the borough (Raine N.Durham p156)

Mitford

- N.D. Quit claim for burgesses (Newminster Chartulery)

ss lxvi 1878 p29)

1326 20 burgages held by John de Eure (IPM)

1335 David de Stabolgi held burgages (IPM)

Morpeth

1188x1289 Charter of Roger de Merlay granting free customs
to his burgesses (Ballard)

1239x1266 Charter of Roger de Merlay granting an extension
of the area of the borough (Ballard and Tait p48)
(Hodgson pt.II vol II pp480-2)

1294 Burgages (IPM)

1314 Robert de Bertram held 1 burgage (IPM)

Newbiggin

1267 John de Balliol held Newbiggin in burgage (IPM)

1307 Taxed as a borough Willard p433

1372 Borough (IPM) (PRO c135/231/3)

Newbrough

1320 Newbrough in the manor of Thornton (Hodgson IV p383)

1330 Novus Burgum (CCR)

1369 Burgages (IPM) (PRO c135/207/12)

1583 13 tenement burgages (IPM)

Newburn

1201 Granted in fee farm to the burgesses (rot. Chartorum
p87)

1204 Payment of 40 pounds in fee farm (Pipe roll soc.NS
XVIII 1940 p41)

Newton in Warkworth

1249 Nova villa (CCR C132/a/1)

1310 Tenements called the borough of the new town (PRO
C134/17/6)

Norham

1160x80 Bishop Hugh grants the burgesses the privileges of
Newcastle (Raine p257)

1183 A borough of the Bishop of Durham (Boldan Buke)

Rothbury

1201 Burgesses farm the borough for 20 pounds (NCH XV p344)

1310 Burgages (IPM)

1368 Held by Henry Percy (IPM)

Warenmouth

1247 Charter of Henry III granting the customs of Newcastle
to the burgesses of the new borough (Ballard
and Tait p21)

Wark

1257 William Heron rendered 100 shillings for the borough
of Wark (pipe roll)

1330 Burgage (IPM)

1344 Borough destroyed (IPM)

1387 Burgage (IPM)

Warkworth

1249 Borough farmed (PRO c132/9/1)

1310 burgages (IPM)

1368 Held by Henry Percy (IPM)

Wooler

- 1250 Borough held by Isabel de Muschamp (IPM)
1255 Borough held by Isabel Fitz Odinel de Ford (IPM)
1305 Nicholas de Graham held the borough (IPM)
1341 Nicholas Meynel received a moiety of the town which is
a borough (IPM)
1454 Henry Percy held Wooler in burgage (IPM)

Abbreviations:

- CCR Calender of Charter Rolls
IPM Inquisitions Post Mortem
NCH Northumberland County History
NS New Series
PRO Public Record Office (c= Chancery)
SS Surtees society

References to books give the author and page number.

APPENDIX 7

A COMPARISON OF THE FIELD MEASUREMENTS BY SLATER (1979)
AND WILSON 1981 FOR STRATFORD

STREET	FEET	A	B
HIGH ST.WEST	26	0.45	0.33
	28	0.56	0.5
	34	0.68	0.66
	40	0.8	0.66
CHAPEL ST.WEST	68	1.18	1.16
	28	0.56	0.5
	26	0.52	0.33
	44	0.88	0.55
	59	1.19	1
	37	0.75	0.33
	94	1.9	2

COLUMN 1 = STREET NAME

2 = MEASUREMENT IN 1981

A = 1981 MEASUREMENT DIVIDED BY 3.5 STATUTE PERCHES
(THE PLANNING UNIT IN STRATFORD)

B = SLATER'S RESULTS IN 1979 IN MULTIPLES OF 3.5
PERCHES

APPENDIX B

INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM

- 1245 Gibert de Umfreville to W Baird -Harbottle Manor and Borough.
- 1249 Robert fitz John - Newtown in Warkworth, Rothbury Manor with the town of Rothbury.
- 1250 Robert de Muschamp -Wooler borough.
- 1250 Isabel daughter of Robert de Muschamp -1/3 of Wooler borough.
- 1251 Ade alias Eda de Balliol - Newburn Manor.
- 1255 Isabel fitz Odinel -1/3 Wooler Borough.
- 1267 John de Balliol - Newbiggin held in burgage.
- 1270 Hugh de Balliol - Newbiggin Township.
- 1289 William fitz Thomas of Craystock - the whole manor of Morpeth.
- 1300 Will. le Coronier - Bamburgh.
- 1305 Nicholas de Graham - Borough of Wooler.
- 1305 Robert de Stuteville - Mitford.
- 1307 Gilbert de Umfreville - Redesdale including the castle of Harbottle.
- 1310 Elinor widow of Robert de Stuteville - reversion of the towns of Felton and Mitford.
- 1312 Walter de Huntercombe - moiety of the manor of Wooler.
- 1314 Henry Percy - Castle and Barony of Alnwick.
- 1314 Robert Bertram - a burgage.
- 1321 Xpiana widow of John Middleton - Wooler hamlet.

- 1322 John de Euire - Mitford 6 messuages.
- 1323 William Gotoun 28 acres of land held in Bamburgh in free burgage by rendering 2/5d for the farm of the King's town of Bamburgh.
- 1326 John de Eure 20 burgages in Mitford (the castle was burnt to the ground)
- 1329 John Comyn Newbrough township.
- 1331 Robert
de Umfreville - a borough of Harbottle in which are free tenants.
- 1333 Richard de Embleton - burgage now waste in Alnmouth.
- 1335 David de Strabolgi - farm of the borough of Mitford.
- 1341 Nicholas de Meynyl - moiety of the manor and town of Midford.
- 1344 William de Monte Acuto - Castle, Manor and Borough of Wark on Tweed.
- 1345 Robert Dareyins - tofts held in burgage.
- 1350 Robert fitz Roger - Newburn Manor, Corbridge Manor, Warkworth Castle and borough including the tenements of the New Borough called the town, Rothbury Manor and Borough.
- 1352 Henry Percy - Alnwick, Alnmouth, Corbridge, Rothbury boroughs.
- 1365 Thos. de Lucy - 20 burgages in Haydon bridge.
- 1368 Henry Percy Warkworth Newtown 10/- burgage rent, Rothbury, Corbridge and Newburn boroughs.
- 1387 Alan de Heton - 13 burgages in Newton near Bamburgh.
- 1389 John de Monte Acuto - Wark on Tweed which is worth nothing on destruction.
- 1399 Henry de Heton 8 burgages in Bamburgh.

- 1408 John de Mitford 8 burgages in Morpeth.
- 1436 Robert Ogle - 12 burgages in Bamburgh.
- 1465 Radolphus Grey - 4 burgages in Bamburgh.
- 1495 Richard Tailboy - Castle of Harbottle.
- 1498 Thos Grey - 3 burgages in Bamburgh.
- 1504 Thos. Bradford - messuage in Bamburgh.

APPENDIX 9

MAPS AND PLANS

Alnmouth

- 1854 O.S. NU2411, NU2310, NU2311
1843 Tithe Award
1791 Thomas Wilkins
1744 Lands of Edward Gallon
1616 Norden's Plan in Mayson's Survey

See Appendix 1 for references.

Alnwick

- 1866 O.S. NU1813-1913
1827 Wood Plan
1774 Wilkins' Plan
1769 Armstrong's Plan
1760 Thompson's Plan
1616 Norden's Plan in Mayson's Survey

See Appendix 1 for references

Corbridge

- 1863 O.S. NY9865, NY9965, NY9764
1779 J. Fryer
1778 Wilkins' Plan

Felton

- 1866 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

Haltwhistle

- 1863 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

Harbottle

1863 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

Haydon Bridge

1864 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

Hexham

1862 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

Holy Island

1862 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

1793 Enclosure Award

1742 T. Phillip

1685 P. Lea

1680 G. Valk

1610 J. Speed

Morpeth

1862 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

1826 Wood Plan

1606 Haiwarde Plan

Newbiggin

1863 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

Norham

1861 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

Rothbury

1865 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

1816 E. Smith

Warkworth

1866 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

1843 Tithe Award

1772 Wilkins' Plan

1616 Norden's plan in Mayson's Survey

See appendix 1 for references

Wooler

1863 First edition O.S. 25" to 1 mile

1827 Wood Plan

DOCUMENTS SURVIVING TO RECONSTRUCT THE BURGAGE SERIES IN THE BOROUGHES IN NORTHUMBERLAND

Alnmouth	Alnwick	Corbridge	Felton	Haltwhistle	Harbottle	Haydon Bridge	Hexham	Holy Island	Morpeth	Newbiggin	Norham	Rothbury	Warkworth	Wooler
1843 Tithe 1848 R CT L	ORDNANCE SURVEY 1ST EDITION TWENTY FIVE INCHES TO ONE MILE 1827 Wood L		1847 Tithe L	1844 Tithe 1811L	1844 Tithe	1841 Tithe	1827 Wood 1811L	1850 Tithe 1829 L	1826 Wood L	1847 Wood 1811L	1848L 1842 Tithe 1824 Plan	1848 Tithe 1848R L	1843 Tithe 1848R	Tithe 1843 1841 1828 Cross
1791 Wilkins 1752C 1750E 1744 Gallon CT 1728E 1727R 1720R CT	1774 Wilkins 1769 Armstrong 1760 Thomson 1702S	1779 Frye 1778 Wilkins C 1727R 1712R 1702R					1792 1748	1791 Plan 1742 Phillip 1738 1700 Plan 1695 L ea 1680 Valk 1664 1660 1632R 1610 Speed	1775R 1692 1655A 1603 Halwarde		1772C 1730C 1698C	1770 S 1720R 1709R 1703A 1695 C	1772 Wilkins L 1762R S 1723R C 1703 1700R 1692R 1694 A 1667C 1666C P 1616C 1616 Mayson	1743 C
1699P 1682P 1677E 1659R 1649R 1616 Mayson	1616 Mayson	1682R 1664R 1622R			1618R 1604R		C 1630							
1586R 1567 CLARKSON 1500	1586R 1567	1586 1500R					1547R	1560R 1550R			1560R	1586 1567R	1586R 1567R	

1498 Rental

1475

R = Rental D = Deeds L Land Tax
 C = Call Book A = Admittances Court Roll CT
 S = Suit Roll E = Estreats P Minutes, Presentments

MORPETH COURT ROLL - REFERENCES TO THE CONSERVATION OF
PLOT BOUNDARIES.

- 1708 George Young built his fence on Ralf Fenwick's ground - to be removed.
- 1712 Robert Nockle for taking in 10yds of unlawful ground -called to court (several other examples)
- 1730 Demand of the Bailiffs to re-erect Buller's Green Boundary. Several references to fence repair required.
- 1736 Note attached to the Court Roll stating that Sam. Arthur of Morpeth did build a house which fronts that Market Place in the said town - the house was measured by three land measurers of the borough, who found by exact measurement that he hath removed the ancient bounds into the Market place by 1'10".
- 1752 Patrick Hardy for the fence of his gardens not kept up and set up by the land measurers fined 39/11
- 1760 Robert Cooper's fence with Jacob Lamb not intact.
- 1764 Thos. Vaughn for the brick wall belonging to his tenant not being repaired.
- 1771 Lists of repairs to boundaries.
- 1778 J. Thompson for encroaching to add to his garden.
- 1782 Pillars built in the street by Thos. Earle next to his messuage - fined.
- 1803 Robert Cooper encroached on the commonway.
- 1827 Robert Clarke for a fence erected outside his boundary line.
- 1832 Thos. Percy built a Pighouse outside his boundary line.

APPENDIX 12

HEXHAM COURT ROLL

REFERENCES TO THE CONSERVATION OF PLOT BOUNDARIES

- 1638 G. Thompson wrongfully pulled up and took away marks and stone boundary betwixt himself and Edward Little.
- Oct 1630 R. Errington felled trees in the hedge between his and R. Oliver's land -redress to be given
- May 1634 Priestpople house encroachment
- May 1634 J.Coulson built a barn on the land of W.Coulson
- May 1634 A.Todd encroached upon land in the Market Place when he built his house - redress granted.
- Oct 1634 Encroachment on a burgage in Costly Row
- 1634 W. Coulson problem of encroachment
- Oct 1634 Y.Yeldeart encroached upon the land of G.Henderson -removal demanded
- May 1637 W.Little presented for selling a burgage out of court.
- Oct 1639 The bounds of a burgage in St Mary's Chare are to be checked.
- Oct 1643 R.Errington encroached on land in Hencotes.
- 1647 W.Jefferson burgage bounds checked.
- 1647 Half of the burgage of George Sharpe are transferred to N.Cooke is transferred to correct an encroachment.
- 1647 Enquiry into the bounds of a house now occupied by Thos. Tirry.
- 1649 J.Wood encroached on the backside of R.Wood. J.Sparks was granted 1' from T. Liddell but R.Fairbridge has taken another foot and should

replace the boundary. Borough jury called for
the resetting of a ledge between burgages
Will Marquesse encroached on the burgage of
J Soulsby in Priestpopple.

1650 T Johnson wrongfully built a stone wall on the
ground of Will. Coulson

1654 T Hutchinson ledge reset in R. Dobson's ground

1655 W. Gibson encroached on J. Brown's land.

1671 Enquiry into the ownership of a wall in
St Mary's Chare

1673 Enquiry into the length of Ben Can's burgage
in Battlehill

1690 R Fenwick encroached on the house of J Kirsopp
in Gilligate

1691 How far does the garth of Cuthbert Ellwood
extend East to West and has J. Bell encroached
upon it

APPENDIX 13

ROTHBURY COURT BOOKS - REFERENCE TO THE
CONSERVATION OF PLOT BOUNDARIES.

- 6.10.1685 W. Donkin licensed to build part of a dwelling house near wellhouse .Three feet beyond the boundary of his ancient freehold.
- 13.10.1785 Complaints about non suits at court - redress given
- 16,10,1789 R.C.Brewer presented at court for taking away the ancient boundary between land in the borough of Rothbury,certain waste ground and hath erected contiguous to his freehold messuage/burgage and made other encroachments.

APPENDIX 14

EVIDENCE FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF LAND MEASURERS

MORPETH COURT ROLL 1701

Three land measurers appointed to help Mr A. Fenwick - they are Thos. Gayre, Geo. Mann and Will. Fenwick.

MORPETH COURT ROLL 1723

Land Measurers ordered to get fixed bounds of Barn Garth

MORPETH COURT ROLL 1752

New Land Measurer Geo. Nichols sworn in.

APPENDIX 15

BOROUGH OWNERSHIP 1900-1600

	900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600
ALNMOUTH	DE VESCI					PERCY		
ALNWICK	DE VESCI					"		
CORBRIDGE	CROWN			ROBERT FITZ ROGER		CROWN		
FELTON				BERTRAM STUTEVILLE				
HATLW	SCOTLAND		DEROOS		MUSGRAVE			
HARBOTTLE			UMFREVILLE					
HAYDON BRIDGE					LANGLEY			
HEXHAM			ARCHBISHOP OF YORK					
HOLY ISLAND	BISHOP OF DURHAM							
MORPETH		MELRAY		GREYSTOKE		DACRE		
NEWBIGGIN		BALLIOL						
NORHAM	BISHOP OF DURHAM							
ROTHBURY	CROWN			ROBERT FITZ ROGER	PERCIES			CROWN
WARKWORTH	CROWN			"	"			CROWN
WOOLER				MUSCHAMP				CROWN

DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES TO 20' PERCH

Newminster Chartulary

P.211-2

Haec autem terra sicut hoc ambitu continetur a latere orientale ab aqua currit subtus Gloucestre versus aquitonem habet longitudine lxiiij perticatas, perticam xx pedum.

P.243

Parte mei dominici tofti continentem quindecim perticatas et dimidium in longitudine, et tres perticatas in latitudine - scit per perticam viginti pedum.

Feodorum Prioratus Dunelmensis

P.99

Willian de Grenville et patris et matris meae et omnium parentum meorum ecclesiam de Ellingham cum terra ad eam pertinet et unam caractatum terrae in Cramlingtona cum toftus habentibus in latetude singulis iiiij perticas quaram unaquaeque habebit xx pedes, in longitudine.

P.111

Viginti acrecum perticas xx pedum.

P.173

Quae furunt Radulfi generi Roberti, et cum vacres prati in magno prate sub molendino de Trillesdere mensuaratis pertica xx pedum.

Brinkburn Chartulary

P.24

Cum omnibus pertinentiis suis perticam viginti pedum.

P.58

In super etiam in villa de Bohenfelde unam toftam continentam V perticas in latitudine et xl in longitudine in

oxidentoli et oustrali parte egosdem villae.

The Black Book of Hexham Priory

P.3

Communem pasturam ultra Birkburne quae cont. in latitudine x
perticas, xx pedum.

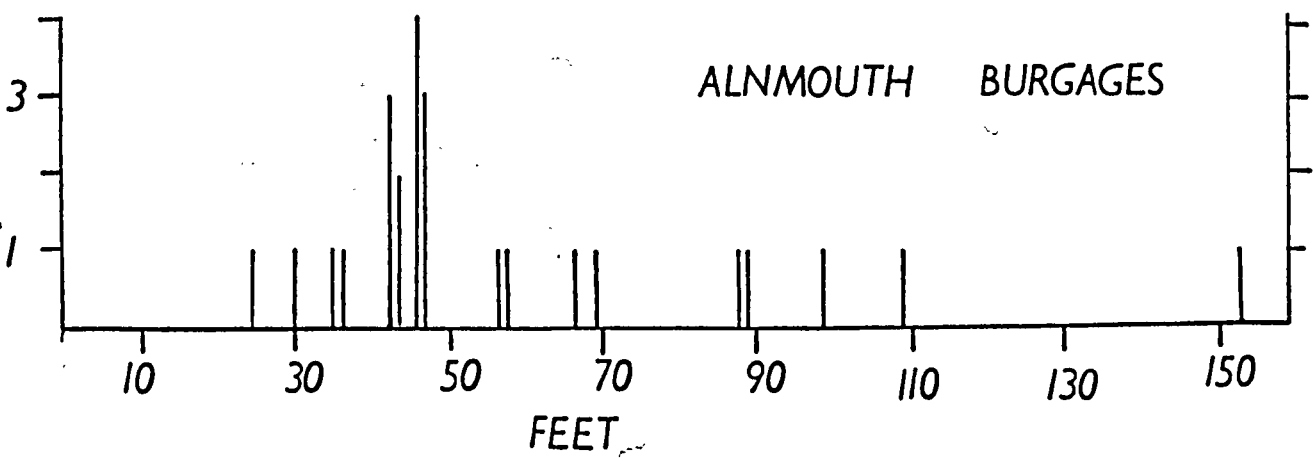
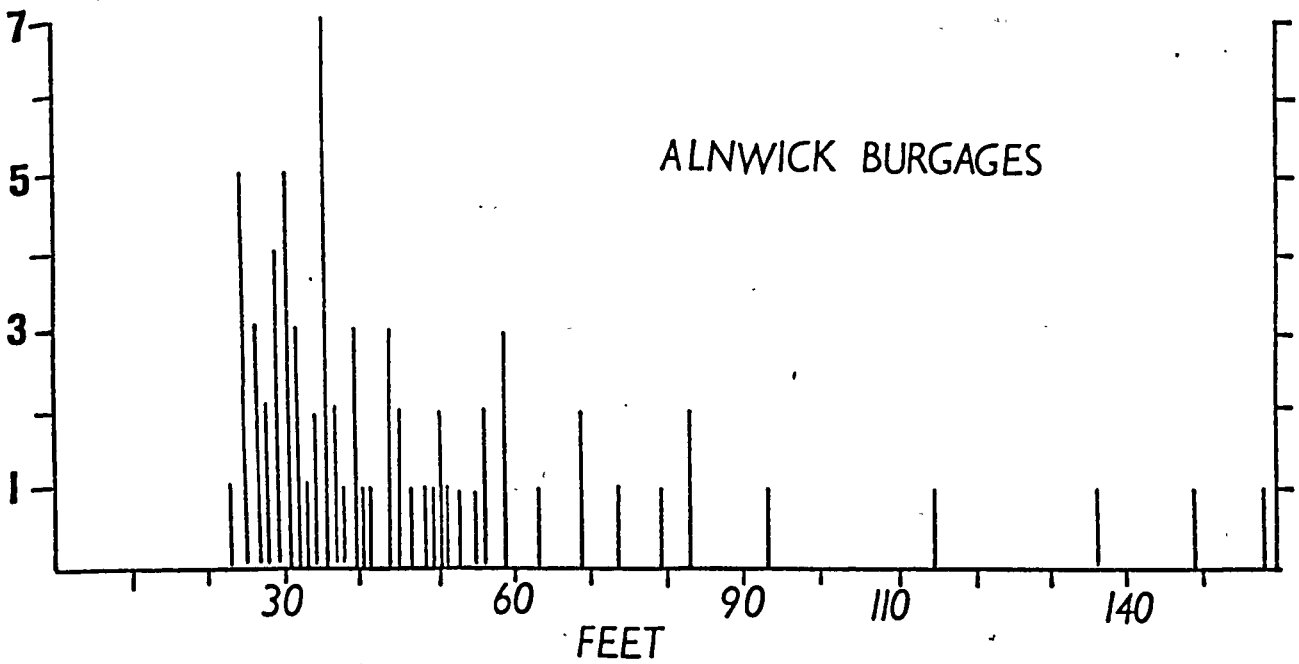
Percy Chartulary

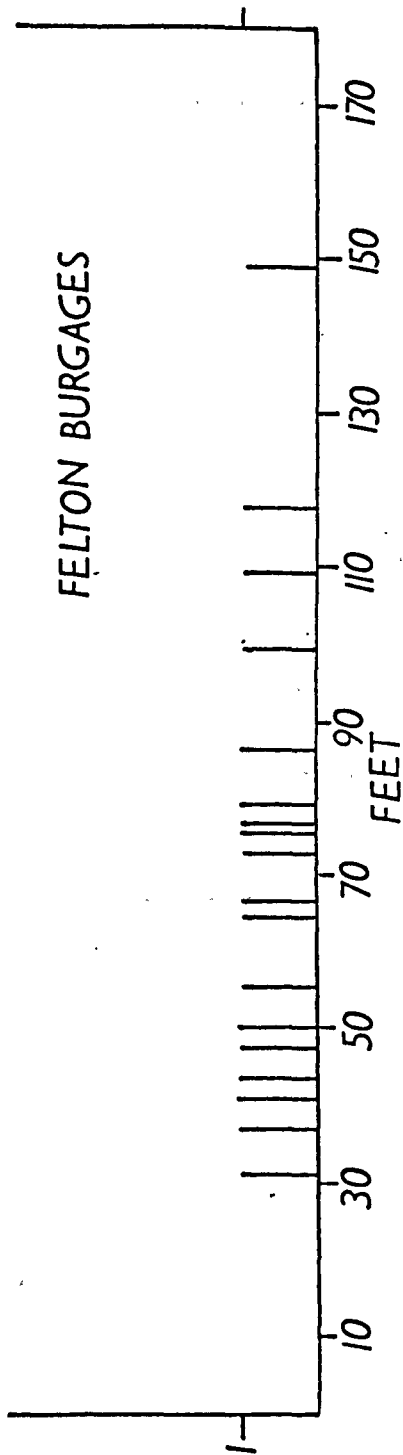
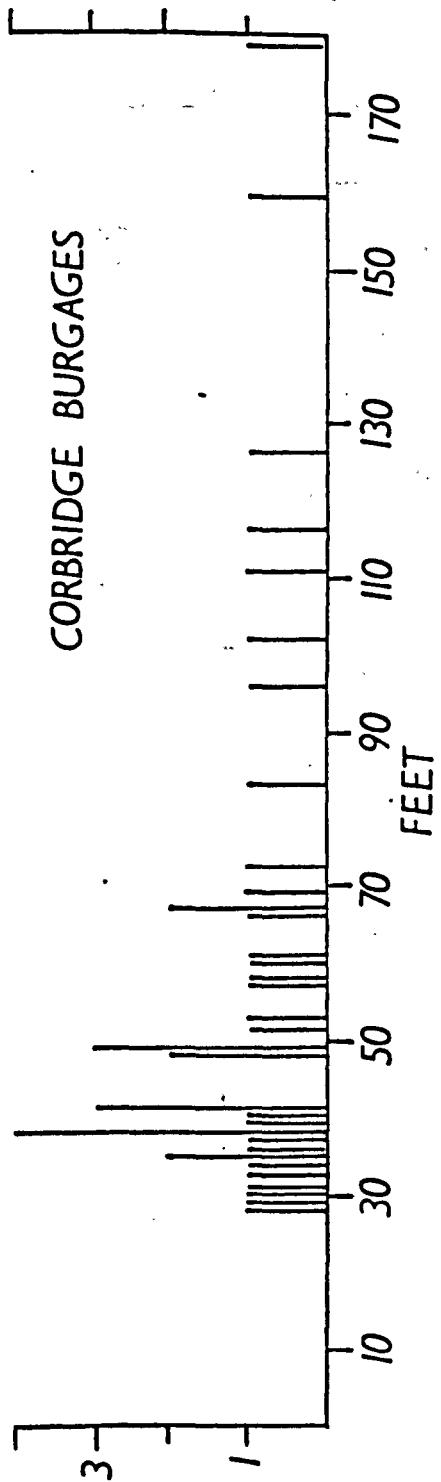
P.120

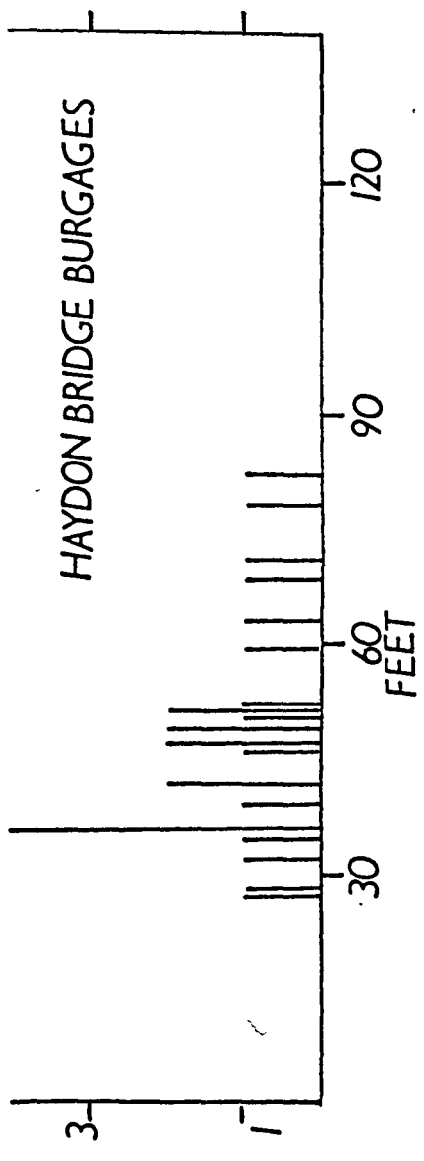
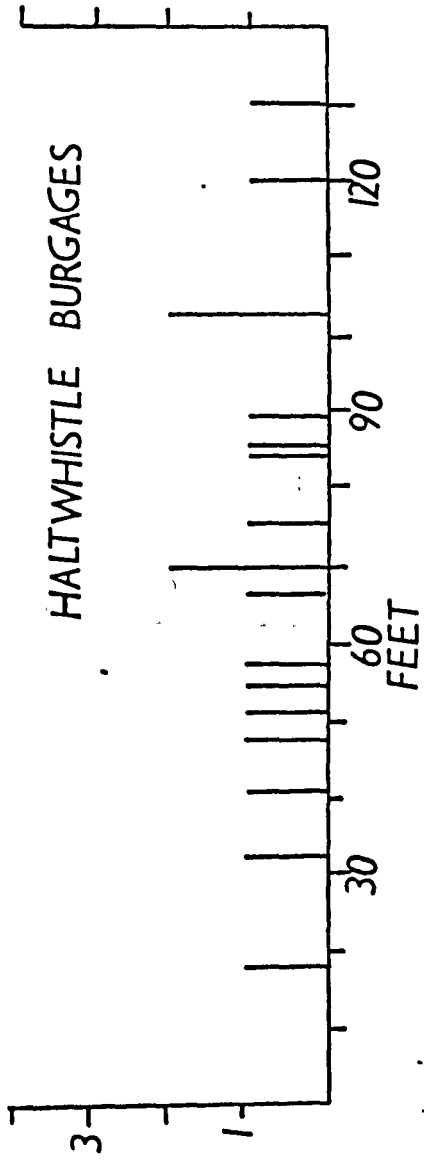
Idem Ricardus similiter retinuit latitudinem duarum
perticatarum per pertica xx pedum.

APPENDIX 17

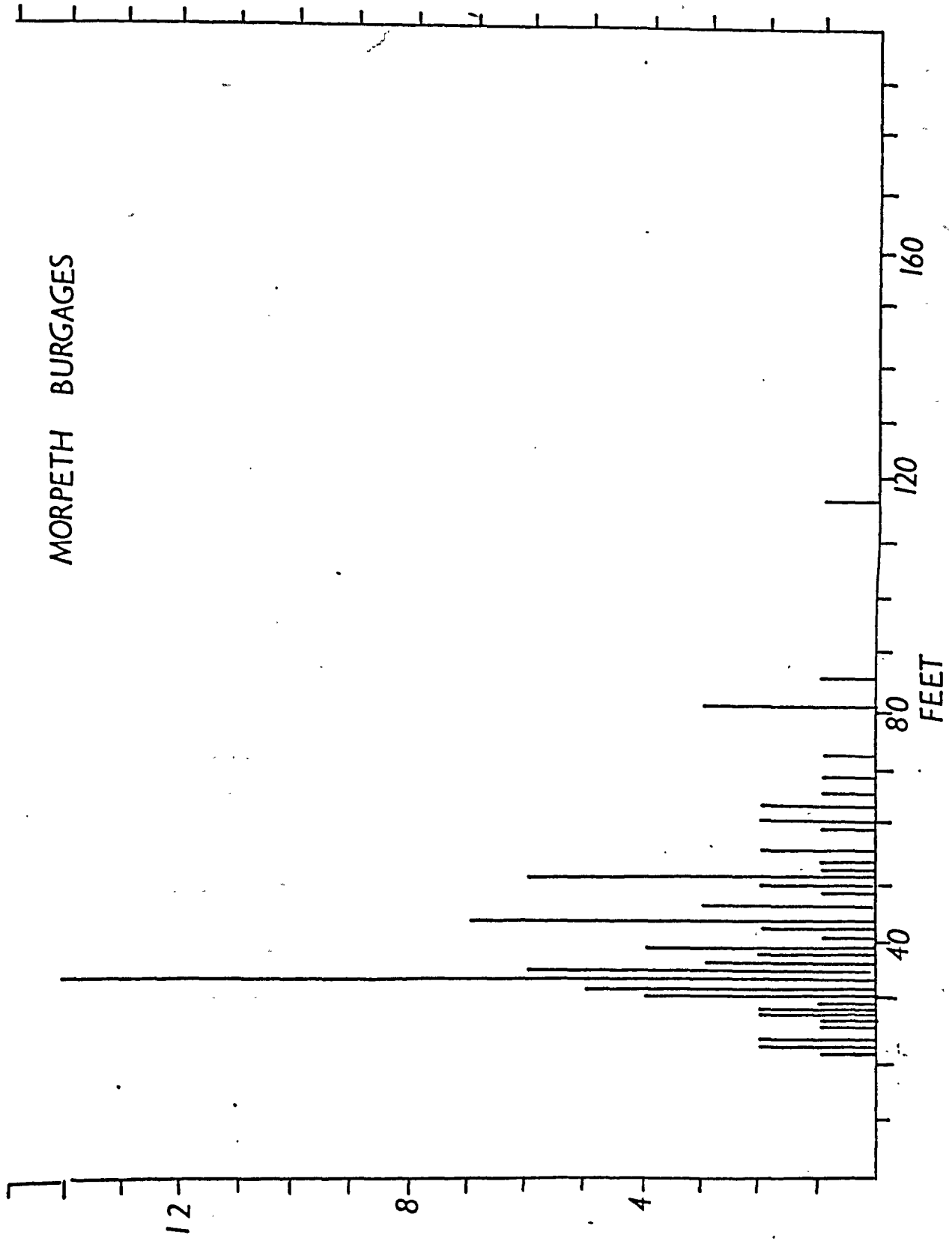
GRAPHS SHOWING BURGAGE WIDTH AND FREQUENCY IN EACH OF THE
NORTHUMBERLAND BOROUGHES WHERE MEASUREMENTS WERE TAKEN

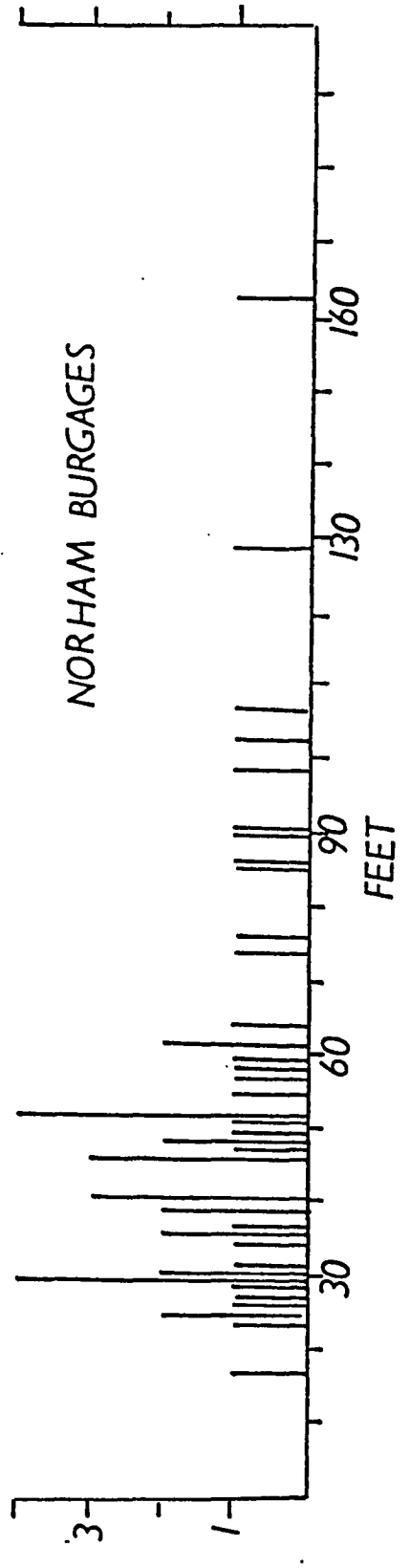


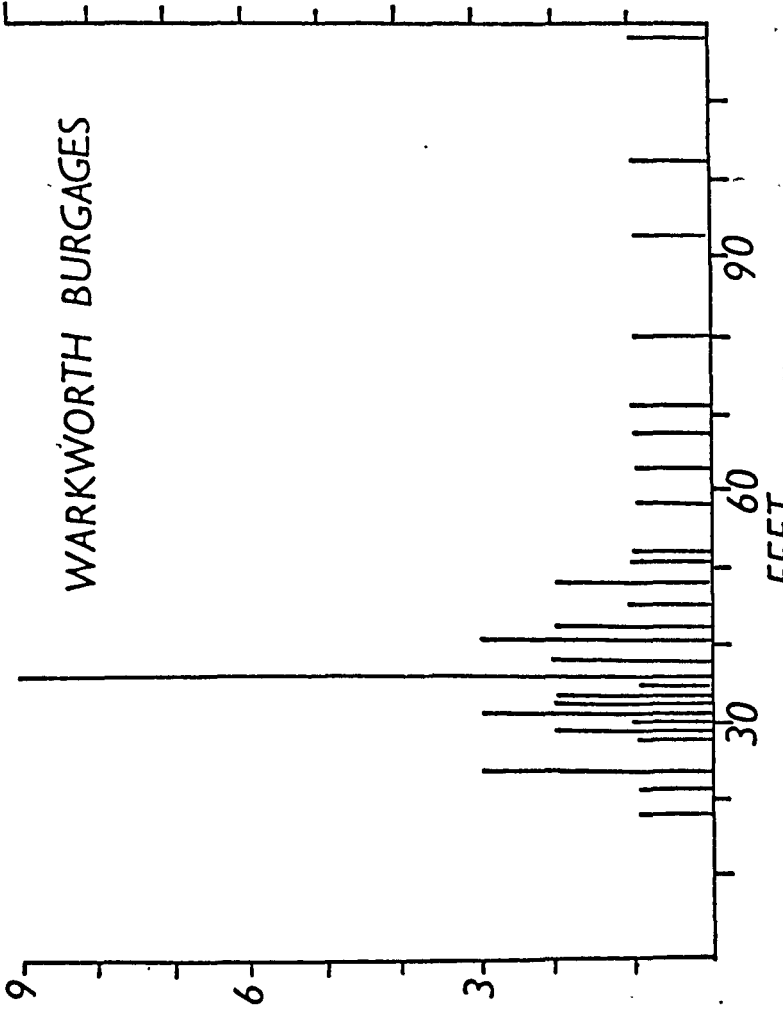
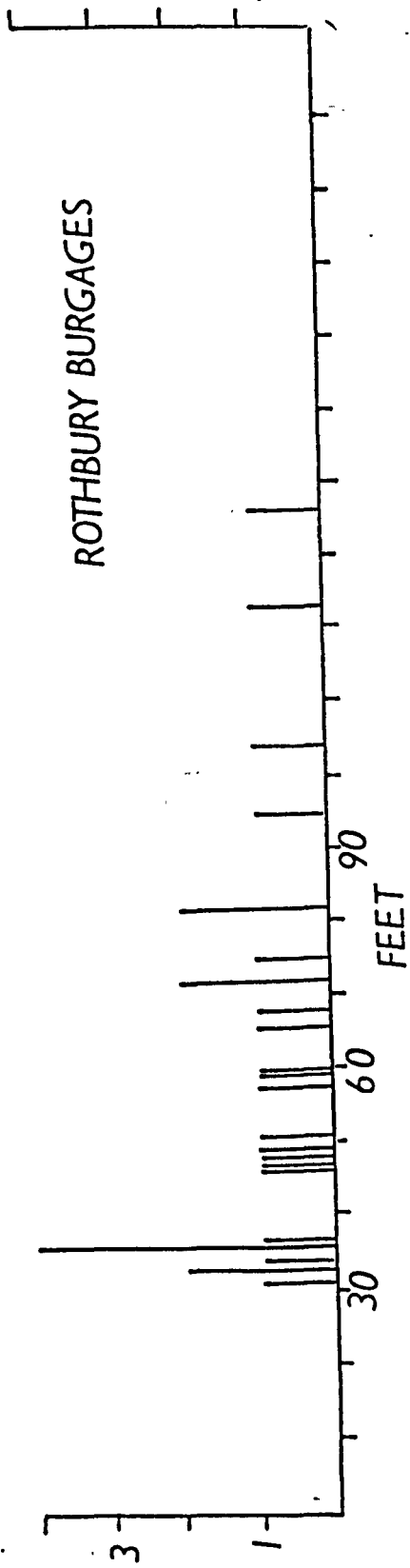


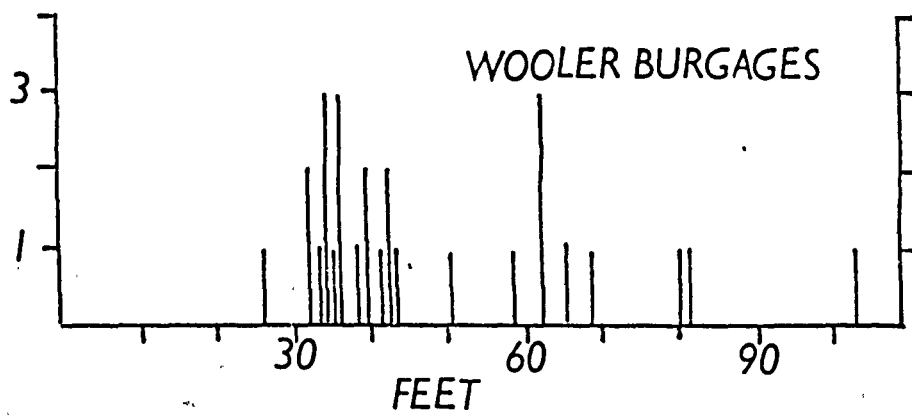


MORPETH BURGAGES





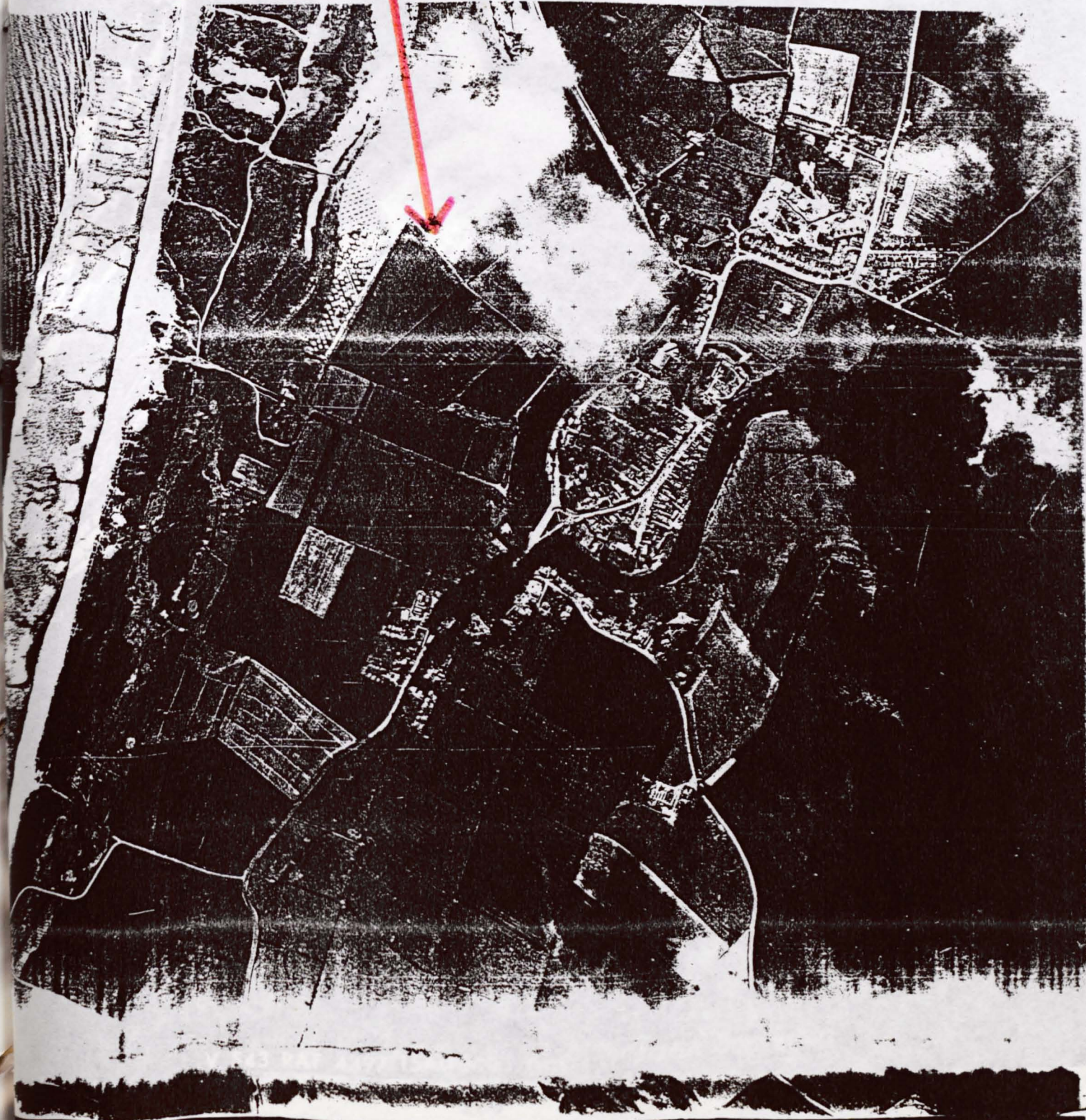




AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF WARKWORTH AND ALNMOUTH

NEWTON

WARKWORTH



ALNMOUTH



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ABBREVIATIONS FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A.H.R.	Agricultural History Review.
A.H.	Amateur Historian.
Antiq. Jour.	Antiquaries Journal.
Archit and Arch Soc.	Architecture and Archaeology Society.
A.A.	Archaeologia Aeliana.
Arch. Jour.	Archaeological Journal.
Bull. of J.R. Lib.	Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library.
Cart. Jour.	Cartographic Journal.
Ec.H.R.	Economic History Review.
Geog. Jour.	Geographical Journal.
Geog. Mag.	Geographical Magazine.
Geog. Rev.	Geographical Review.
I.B.G.	Institute of British Geographers.
Jour. Hist. Geog.	Journal Of Historical Geography.
M.A.	Medieval Archaeology.
M.O.W.	Ministry of Works.
N.R.O.	Northumberland Record Office.
S.A.C.	Sussex Archaeological Collection.
S.G.M.	Scottish Geographical Magazine.
S.H.R.	Scottish Historical Review.
S.H.S.	Scottish History Society.
T.P.R.	Town Planning Review.

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