THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT RECORD (HER)

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Legend:

- = Modern (green)
- = Early Modern (red)
- = Post Medieval (red)
- = Medieval (blue)
- = Prehistoric (yellow)
- = Linear Monuments
- = Village Atlas Study Area

Scale: 0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 1km

7. CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES

7.1 Gazetteer of Cultural Heritage Sites

Summary gazetteers listing all the sites of significant cultural heritage interest in the Hetton Town Council area are set out below with an accompanying location map. These are principally derived from the Tyne and Wear Historic Environment Record (HER). Further sites noted during field examination have also been added.

ID.	HER No.	Description	Summary	Period	Grid	Ref.	
1.	100, 114	Houghton-le-Spring, Copt Hill, Neolithic cremations	Cremation	Prehistoric	NZ	3534	4922
2.	249	Hetton-le-Hole, Fairies Cradle or Castle cairn	Burial cairn	Prehistoric	NZ	3537	4771
3.	250	Great Eppleton, flints	Flint Scatter	Prehistoric	NZ	368	482
4.	251	Hetton-le-Hole, Carr House Farm, stone axe	Axe	Prehistoric	NZ	376	476
5.	259	Great Eppleton village	Shrunken village	Medieval	NZ	369	482
6.	261	Hetton-on-the Hill village (manor)	Village	Medieval	NZ	351	452
7.	262	Hetton-le-Hole village	Village	Medieval	NZ	352	474
8.	266	Houghton-le-Spring, Houghton and Rainton mill	Watermill	Post Medieval	NZ	33	48
9.	272	East Rainton village	Village	Medieval	NZ	336	479
10.	278	Moorsley village (High Moorsley)	Shrunken village	Medieval	NZ	337	458
11.	279	Rainton manor	Manor	Medieval	NZ	33	47
12.	424, 426, 437	Houghton-le-Spring, Copt Hill, cremations	Cremation	Prehistoric	NZ	3534	4922
13.	486	Middle Rainton, curvilinear cropmark	Curvilinear Enclosure	Unknown	NZ	328	469
14.	488	Hetton-le-Hole, arrowhead	Arrowhead	Prehistoric	NZ	355	479
15.	1602	Warden Law, Salter's Way	Road		NZ	3583	5533
16.	1750	Hetton-le-Hole, Caroline Street, Railway sleeper blocks	Railway Sleeper Block	Modern	NZ	353	477
17.	1751	Hetton-le-Hole, Methodist Chapel, Railway Sleeper Blocks	Railway Sleeper Block	Modern	NZ	354	476
18.	1752	Hetton Downs, Colliery Housing	Terrace	Modern	NZ	355	485
19.	1756	Ryhope Colliery, site of waddlefan	Waddlefan	Modern	NZ	399	534
20.	2474	Hetton-le-Hole, Eppleton Old Hall, Possible Moat	Moat	Modern?	NZ	3686	4681
21.	2775	Great Eppleton, Sand Pit	Sand Pit	Early Modern	NZ	3678	4771

22.	2848	Hetton Company's Railway	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3899	5764
23.	2894	Londonderry, Seaham and Sunderland Railway	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	4099	5714
24.	2976	Rainton and Seaham Railway	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3745	4965
25.	2979	Houghton-le-Spring, Copthill Engine	Engine	Early Modern	NZ	3570	4966
26.	2981	Great Eppleton, Brick Ponds	Pond	Early Modern	NZ	3724	4885
27.	2982	Great Eppleton, Eppleton Colliery	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3625	4826
28.	2983	Great Eppleton, Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3598	4839
29.	2984	Great Eppleton, High Downs Quarry	Limestone Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3568	4835
30.	2985	Great Eppleton, Coal Depot	Coal Depot	Early Modern	NZ	3564	4825
31.	2986	Great Eppleton, Hetton Railway, Eppleton Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3613	4827
32.	2987	Hetton-le-Hole, Hetton Tunnel	Railway Tunnel	Early Modern	NZ	3568	4721
33.	2988	Hetton-le-Hole, Refuse Heap	Spoil Heap	Early Modern	NZ	3570	4731
34.	2989	Hetton-le-Hole, Hetton Colliery (Lyons Colliery)	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3592	4698
35.	2990	Hetton-le-Hole, Hetton Colliery Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3575	4698
36.	2991	Hetton-le-Hole, Lime Kiln	Lime Kiln	Early Modern	NZ	3573	4688
37.	2992	Hetton-le-Hole, Sand Pit	Sand Pit	Early Modern	NZ	3603	4670
38.	2993	Hetton-le-Hole, Eppleton Engine	Engine	Early Modern	NZ	3704	4723
39.	2994	N.E.R, Durham and Sunderland Branch (South)	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3769	4728
40.	2995	Hetton-le-Hole, Gravel Pit	Gravel Pit	Early Modern	NZ	3729	4673
41.	2996	Easington Lane, Brick Ponds	Pond	Early Modern	NZ	3691	4654
42.	2997	Hetton-le-Hole, Gravel Pit	Gravel Pit	Early Modern	NZ	3717	4639
43.	2999	Easington Lane, Elemore Vale Mill	Steam Mill	Early Modern	NZ	3569	4591
44.	3000	Easington Lane, Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3633	4587
45.	3001	Easington Lane, Brickfield	Brickfield	Early Modern	NZ	3609	4528
46.	3179	Houghton-le-Spring, Black Boy Bridge	Road Bridge	Early Modern	NZ	3199	4929
47.	3180	Londonderry Railway	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3233	4976
48.	3181	Houghton-le-Spring, Chilton Moor, Smithy	Blacksmiths Workshop	Early Modern	NZ	3226	4916
49.	3184	Houghton-le-Spring, Rainton Bridge	Road Bridge	Early Modern	NZ	3386	4874
50.	3190	East Rainton, Hetton and Rainton Mills, and Brewery	Watermill	Early Modern	NZ	3398	4861
51.	3193	East Rainton, Rainton Bridge, Coal Depot	Coal Depot	Early Modern	NZ	3401	4846

52.	3194	East Rainton, Rainton Old Engine	Engine	Early Modern	NZ	3351	4853
53.	3195	Rainton and Seaham Railway, Adventure Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3285	4831
54.	3196	Rainton Bridge, Timber Waggonway	Wagonway	Post Medieval	NZ	3326	4869
55.	3197	Rainton Bridge, Rainton Colliery, North Pit	Colliery	Post Medieval	NZ	3319	4868
56.	3198	Rainton Bridge, Rainton Colliery, Plain Pit	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3228	4872
57.	3199	Rainton and Seaham Railway, Plain Pit Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	2309	4885
58.	3200	Rainton and Seaham Railway, Framwellgate Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3285	4831
59.	3201	Rainton Bridge, Rainton Colliery, Nicholson's Pit	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3283	4837
60.	3202	East Rainton, Reservoir	Reservoir	Early Modern	NZ	3267	4765
61.	3203	East Rainton, Coal Depot	Coal Depot	Early Modern	NZ	3370	4844
62.	3204	East Rainton, Railway Spur	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3369	4844
63.	3205	Rainton and Seaham Railway, North Hetton Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3403	4853
64.	3206	East Rainton, Rainton Colliery, Dun Well Pit	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3384	4814
65.	3207	Hetton-le-Hole, Trial Shaft	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3469	4835
66.	3208	Sunderland, Sunderland to Durham Road	Toll Road	Early Modern	NZ	3927	5682
67.	3209	Hetton-le-Hole, Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3540	4824
68.	3210	Hetton-le-Hole, Bleach Green	Bleachfield	Early Modern	NZ	3527	4726
69.	3211	Hetton-le-Hole, Hetton Engine	Engine	Early Modern	NZ	3556	4720
70.	3212	East Rainton, Rainton Colliery, Hazard Pit	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3406	4772
71.	3213	East Rainton, Quarry Pit	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3363	4745
72.	3214	East Rainton, Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3358	4737
73.	3215	East Rainton, Pontop Pit	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3338	4773
74.	3216	Rainton and Seaham Railway, A Pit Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3287	4666
75.	3217	Rainton and Seaham Railway, Pittington Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3278	4673
76.	3218	East Rainton, Robney Engine	Engine	Early Modern	NZ	3287	4663
77.	3219	East Rainton, Rainton Colliery, Alexandrina Pit (Letch Pit)	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3330	4632
78.	3220	East Rainton, Stobley Moor, Brick Field	Brickfield	Early Modern	NZ	3414	4713
79.	3221	Hetton-le-Hole,	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3553	4650

		Pemberton's Quarry					
80.	3222	Hetton-le-Hole, Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3462	4640
81.	3223	Moorsley, Low Moorsley Quarry	Limestone Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3428	4618
82.	3224	Moorsley, North Hetton Colliery (Moorsley Colliery)	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3419	4636
83.	3225	Moorsley, Shaft	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3371	4594
84.	3226	Moorsley, Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3360	4591
85.	3227	Moorsley, High Moorsley Quarry	Limestone Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3332	4546
86.	3228	Moorsley, Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3296	4541
87.	3229	Moorsley, Old Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3328	4518
88.	3230	Easington Lane, Elemore Colliery	Colliery	Early Modern	NZ	3560	4568
89.	3282	Hetton-le-Hole, Hetton Hall, Ice House	Ice House	Early Modern	NZ	3505	4762
90.	3620	Rainton Bridge, waggonway	Wagonway	Post Medieval	NZ	3228	4953
91.	3621	East Rainton, Railway	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3210	4879
92.	3623	North Eastern Railway, Rainton Meadows Branch	Railway	Early Modern	NZ	3201	4921
93.	3624	Hetton-le-Hole, Wagonway	Wagonway	Early Modern	NZ	3627	4605
94.	3625	Hetton Company Railway, Elemore Branch	Inclined Plane	Early Modern	NZ	3564	4725
95.							
96.	4534	Easington Lane, Thomas Cordon's Brewery	Brewery	Early Modern	NZ	36	46
97.	4535	Easington Lane, The Traveller's Rest Public House & Brewery	Brewery	Early Modern	NZ	3604	4629
98.	4537	East Rainton, The Village Inn and Brewery	Brewery	Early Modern	NZ	33	47
99.	4538	East Rainton, John Smales' Brewery	Brewery	Post Medieval	NZ	33	47
100.	4965	Middle Rainton, Robin House, Smallpox Hopital	Infectious Diseases Hospital	Modern	NZ	3315	4653
101.	5109	Easington Lane, Elemore Pithead Baths	Pithead Baths	Modern	NZ	3575	4560
102.	5185	Easington Lane, Elemore Colliery Disaster Memorial	Commemorative Monument	Early Modern	NZ	3614	4622
103.	5186	Hetton-le-Hole, St. Nicholas Church, Tomb of Nicholas Wood	Tomb	Early Modern	NZ	3534	4733
104.	5244	Eppleton Hall	Garden	Early Modern	NZ	367	469
105.	5300	Hetton-le-Hole, Bracken Hill, possible enclosure	Rectilinear Enclosure	Prehistoric?	NZ	3698	4749
106.	5301	Hetton-le-Hole, flint flake	Flake	Prehistoric	NZ	370	470

107.	5302	Great Eppleton, medieval pottery	Vessel	Medieval	NZ	368	477
108.	5303	Great Eppleton, flint scraper	Scraper	Prehistoric	NZ	364	485
109.	5304	Warden Law, possible hollow-way	Hollow Way	Unknown	NZ	3637	4934
110.	5391	East Rainton, High Glebe Farm	Farmstead	Post Medieval	NZ	3358	4786
111.	5504	Houghton-le-Spring, Rough Dene, Home Guard Bunker	Underground Military Headquarter	Modern	NZ	3551	4895
112.	5566	Easington Lane, Searchlight Battery TT223	Searchlight Battery	Modern	NZ	36	46
113.	5568	Ryhope, Ryhope Road, Searchlight Battery TT226	Searchlight Battery	Modern	NZ	41	53
114.	5663	Middle Rainton, Grange Farm	Farmstead	Early Modern	NZ	3297	4723
115.	5665	Great Eppleton Farm	Farmstead	Early Modern	NZ	3685	4816
116.	6057	Houghton-le-Spring, Southern Hospital for Infectious Diseases	Infectious Diseases Hospital	Early Modern	NZ	3400	4839
117.	6059	East Rainton, Church of St. Cuthbert	Parish Church	Early Modern	NZ	3355	4777
118.	6060	East Rainton, Church of St. Cuthbert, vicarage	Vicarage	Early Modern	NZ	3361	4764
119.	6849	Rainton Bridge, The Meadows Brickfield	Brickfield	Early Modern	NZ	3202	4865
120.	6850	Rainton Bridge, fishponds (Joe's Pond)	Fishpond	Early Modern	NZ	3284	4864
121.	6851	Rainton Bridge, Rainton Brickworks	Brickworks	Early Modern	NZ	3288	4845
122.	6852	Rainton Bridge, North Pit Farm	Farmstead	Post Medieval	NZ	3322	4881
123.	7005	Hetton, Front Street, Church of St. Nicholas	Parish Church	Modern	NZ	3533	4741
124.	7008	Easington Lane, High Street, war memorial clock tower	War Memorial	Modern	NZ	3634	4605
125.	7010	Hetton, Railway Street, Primitive Methodist Church	Primitive Methodist Chapel	Early Modern	NZ	3539	4757
126.	7706	Hetton-le-Hole, Hetton Hall	Country House	Post Medieval	NZ	3506	4750
127.	7846	Great Eppleton, Curlew Hope Quarry	Quarry	Early Modern	NZ	3642	4847
128.	7009	Hetton House, Park View, Hetton-le-Hole	C18 House	Early Modern	NZ	3518	4740
129.	8622	Low Moorsley, North Hetton Colliery Firebrick Works	Fire Clay Works	Early Modern	NZ	3409	4636
130.	8623	Hetton-le-Hole, Hetton	Brickworks	Early Modern	NZ	3573	4707

		Lyons Colliery Brickworks					
131.							
132.	11054	Easington Lane, Pemberton Bank, 'Pigeon Race'	Sculpture	Modern	NZ	3603	4627
133.	11223	Houghton-le-Spring, Hetton Houses Wood	Wood	Post Medieval	NZ	3444	4849
134.	11230	Houghton-le-Spring, Rough Dene	Wood	Post Medieval	NZ	3563	4894
135.	11268	Hetton-le-Hole, North Road, Aged Miners Homes	Almshouse	Modern	NZ	3522	4694
136.	11269	Hetton-le-Hole, Pemberton Street, Town Hall, clock	Clock	Modern	NZ	353	475
137.	11338	Rainton Bridge, coal pit	Colliery	Post Medieval	NZ	3346	4855
138.	12354	East Rainton, Fieldside, mortar	Mortar (Vessel)	Medieval	NZ	334	473
139.	13263	Hetton-le-Hole, Richard Street, air raid shelter	Air Raid Shelter	Modern	NZ	3548	4741
140.	13277	Easington Lane, rectilinear enclosure	Rectilinear Enclosure	Prehistoric	NZ	3607	4653
141.	13510	Hetton-le-Hole, South Market Street, band hall	Meeting Hall	Early Modern	NZ	3561	4763
142.	-	Eppleton Quarry, High Downs enclosed settlement	Curvilinear enclosed settlement	Late Prehistoric - Bronze Age?	NZ	3620	4885
143.	-	Constitution Hill, Little Eppleton, enclosure (cropmarks on aerial photographs)	Trapezoidal enclosure and possible round houses	Late Prehistoric?	NZ	3722	4670

MAKING THE GRADE
Some Listed Buildings of Hetton

Elemore Colliery baths
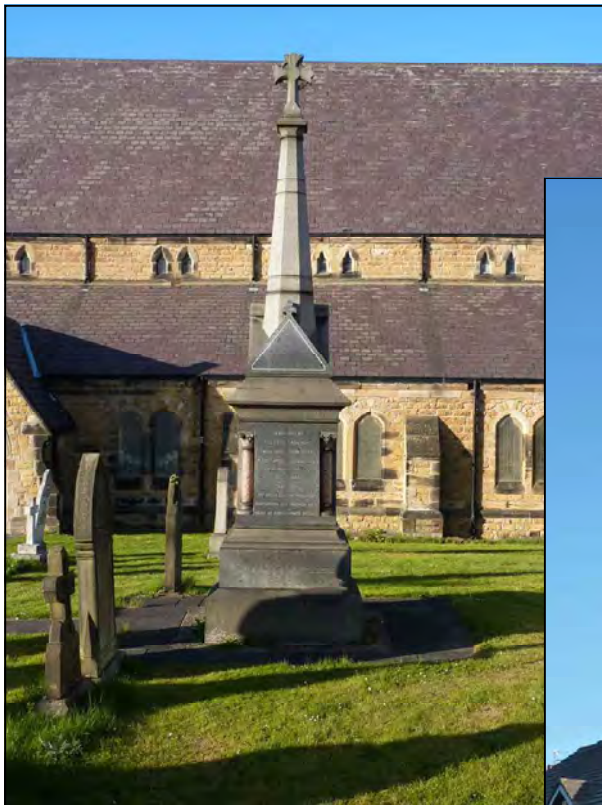
*Elemore Colliery disaster memorial,
St Michael & All Angels Church,
Easington Lane*

Easington Lane clock tower war memorial

MAKING THE GRADE
Some Listed Buildings of Hetton

Wall plaque at Hetton House

View of Hetton House from the north

View of Hetton House from the west, showing the different 18th- and 19th-century building phases.

Nicholas Wood's tomb at St. Nicolas' Churchyard

St. Nicholas' Church Hetton - de-listed and recently demolished

8. HISTORIC BUILDINGS

8.1   Introduction

A survey of historic buildings was carried out with Peter Ryder, historic buildings consultant, in order to identify and describe buildings of significance in Hetton and its environs. The survey identified a variety of buildings of local importance.

8.2   Hetton-le-Hole – A tour around the centre

Caroline Street, north side. A former public house, now **James A. McMurchie (1)** (Butchers); probably early 19th-century, of 2 storeys and 3 bays. Limestone rubble with alternating quoins, Welsh slate roof with coped gables and yellow brick stack with dentil cornice at right end, truncated stack at left.

In angle of Houghton Road and Caroline Street, **Public Library (2)**, formerly 1873 Infants School (supported by Hetton Coal Company, closed in 1950s and reopened 1961 as Library). Roughly-squared and coursed limestone with cut dressings, Welsh slate roofs with red tile ridge. T-plan buildings, the gables all have rather odd round-arched openings with brick heads apparently infilling larger Gothic-arches, with blind quatrefoils above. The other windows have stop-chamfered lintels; modern porch to south gable end.

Main Street, west side**. Tesco Express (3)** partly housed behind surviving walls of former 'National and Barrington School' (1st edition OS), of coursed and roughly-squared limestone with coped gables on shaped kneelers and modern tile roof. Main part single storey and 7 bays, central 3 bays (with a big 20th-century opening) set slightly forward under a shallow gable with a square finial, containing at tablet on which only the world 'SCHOOL' is now legible; old window openings with wedge lintels. A small old porch block at the south end, and contemporary rear wing, all altered. Notable in that an old but undistinguished building, of local historical interest, has been sympathetically retained (and extended in a matching style) in a modern development.

Park View (4). On the north a series of early 19th-century properties; a series of perhaps four cottages with Yorkshire sash windows to the upper floors, tucked directly under the eaves, then a taller two-bay house, all built of coursed limestone rubble, with various straight joints and blocked openings which could be quite instructive if a detailed analysis was carried out. None now have any doorway onto the street. Welsh slate roof and brick stacks.

On the south of the street are a continuous line of much-altered properties, then the early-20th century **(5)** half-[timbered **Mill House**, and **Hetton House** said to have been built in the mid-18th century as the vicarage, when the first chapel-of-ease in the village was founded. The street front is in three parts, all of two storeys, all roughcast and painted, with Welsh slate roofs, On the right is a steep-roofed five-bay part with 4-pane sash windows (leaded) in architraves with key blocks, and moulded kneelers. In the centre is a two-bay block with the entrance in a lugged architrave; on the left a block of three narrow bays, with a tall flat-topped parapet, with plain sashes in architraves; where the render is coming off this part looks to be fairly modern brick.

On the north side of the street is **Dene Villa (6),** named and dated '1894' on its door lintel, an attractive but plain late Victorian houses of dark sandstone ashlar, with canted bays to the ground floor

Further down Park View curves to run north-south, and becomes 'The Quay'; here on the west is a range of late 19th-century brick houses with an older roughcast property (**Brook Villa**)**(7)** at the

north and which was originally a police station. It has quoining at its north end, but these are of render, an attempt to raise the visual status of the building; its back wall, much patched, is of rough limestone rubble.

South again are the remains of a humble house probably of 18th-century date **(8)**, of coursed limestone rubble (behind render), the northern section ruinous (but with falling render exposing a wedge-shaped lintel with fine diagonal tooling), the southern heightened in brick, with a truncated stack. Immediately to the south the road crosses the Hetton Burn.

Where the Quay joins North Road is a small open area, probably once a green, with, on the north, a good **School (9)** of fawn brick with grey sandstone quoins and dressings, and Welsh slate roofs with conical-capped ventilators to the ridge. The central block is of ten bays, the central two set forward as a projection with a pair of round-arched windows and a gable over with a tablet inscribed ' GIRLS SCHOOL 1894' and a quatrefoil above. The windows in the side parts have chamfered stone lintels; set back to the right is a lower section again with a projecting central gable with similar detail.

On the corner to the west of the school is the recently-restored **Smithy (10)**, partly limestone rubble and partly brick, with a pantile roof; it has a boarded door and a window with external shutters, and an end stack of white engineering brick with a stepped cornice. Attached to the north, and facing onto North Road, is **West View (11)**, a three-bay house; the left bay (with a garage door) is rendered, the other two, with a straight joint between them, are of coursed limestone rubble (rather yellower in colour in the centre bay); this part has a central doorway in a restored doorcase, and renewed windows in old openings. At the north end an east-west block**, 'The Old Fox' (12)**, all rendered, looks modern, but represents the 19th-century Fox and Hounds Inn.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries this area was known as Bog Row; back on the east side of the Burn a metalled path runs east to, joining the south end of Front Street by the former Wesleyan Chapel. On the north side of this path are two later 19th-century houses **(13)**, **Holly House** and **Glenside**, the adjacent entrances each have a pair of square ashlar piers with moulded bases and low pyramidal capitals, linked by short S-plan wing walls with chamfered plinths to similar outer piers.

On the east side of Station Road just beyond the end of Front Street is the **Masonic Hall (14)** of orange brick. The gabled r. part, of three narrow bays, is the original hall of c.1900 (it first appears on the 3rd edition OS); narrow central window probably replacing original door, flanked by windows with keyed segmental arched heads, with elaborate hoodmoulds springing from foliate capitals; panel with mason's square and compasses above, and three similar stepped windows on upper floor, and a keyed oculus in the pedimented gable. Later 4-bay part to left, perhaps c.1940, has a doorcase with pilasters and cornice, but is otherwise plainer.

On the east side of Front Street, at its south end, stood the **Parish Church of St Nicholas (15),** built in 1898-1901 (replacing an 1831 chapel-of-ease), S. Piper being the architect. It was in the Early English style and was a cruciform building with a three-bay aisled nave and transepts; its west front, towards the street, had a triple gabled baptistery projecting at the foot of the main gable, which had five lancets and was topped by a bellcote. Much of the internal architectural detail was of brick, rendered over. The church initially closed due to structural movements and was then gutted by fire in November 2006; it remained an increasingly overgrown ruin until demolished early in 2014.
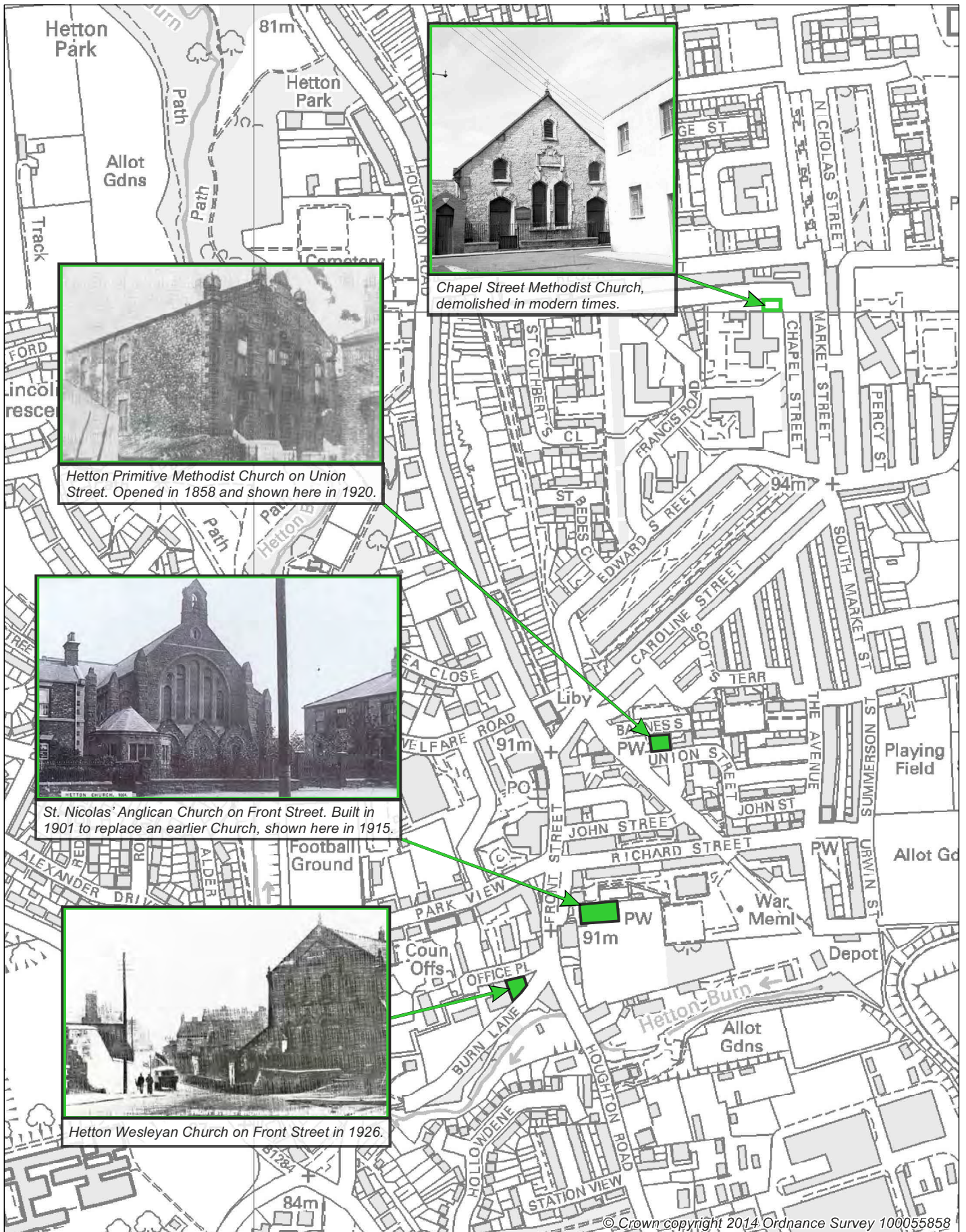
On the east side of Front Street, immediately to the south of the site of St Nicholas' Church, is **Laburnum House (16),** set east-west at right angles to the street, built of coursed limestone rubble and colourwashed lemon. The north elevation is of six bays, with straight joints dividing it into three

Tour of Historic Buildings in Hetton Village Core

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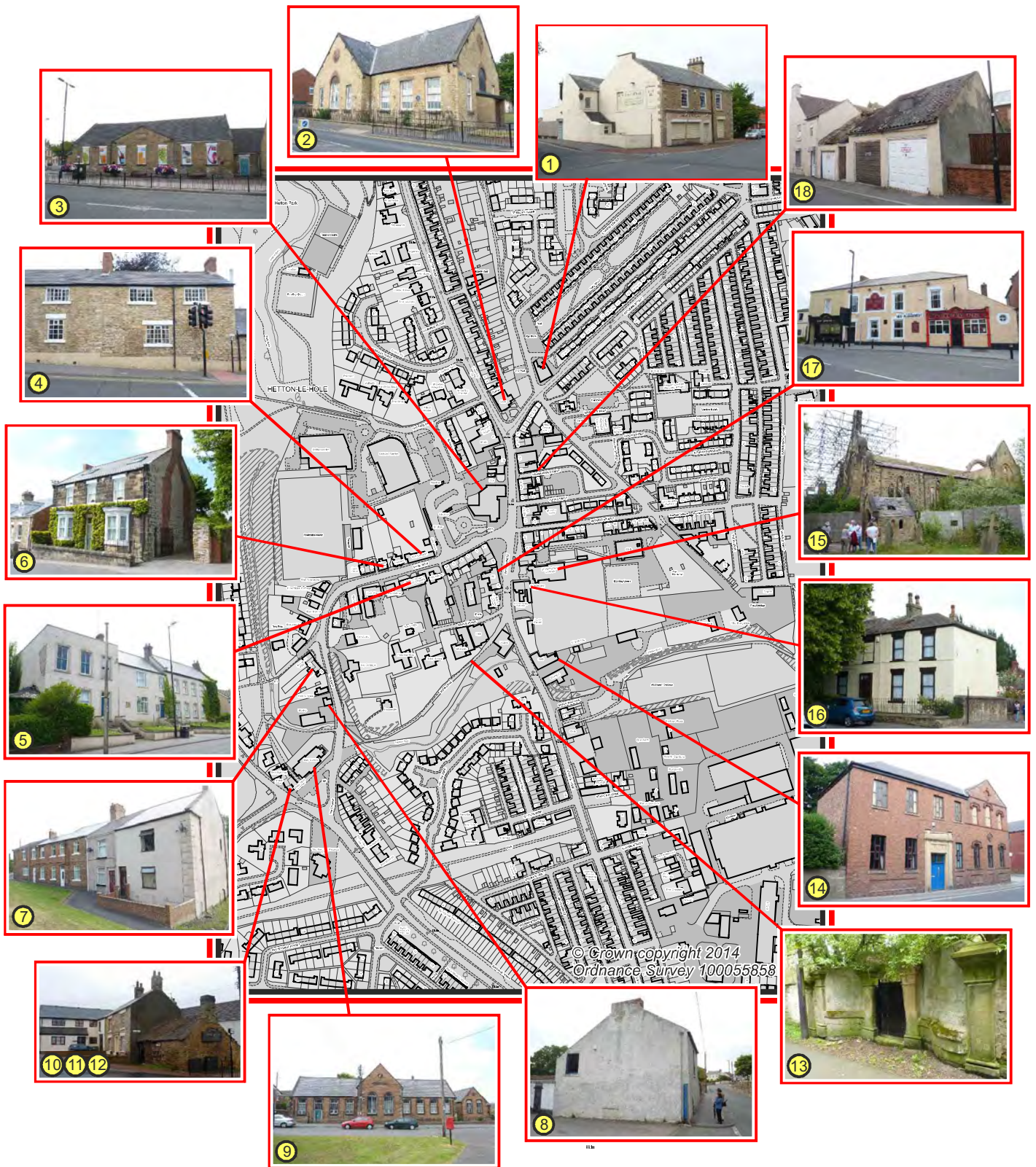
HETTON-LE-HOLE - CHURCHES & CHAPELS

Chapel Street Methodist Church, demolished in modern times.

Hetton Primitive Methodist Church on Union Street. Opened in 1858 and shown here in 1920.

St. Nicolas' Anglican Church on Front Street. Built in 1901 to replace an earlier Church, shown here in 1915.

Hetton Wesleyan Church on Front Street in 1926.

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Scale 1:5000

0 40 80 120 160 200 240 280 320 360 400 m

Extract from the Modern Ordnance Survey Plan showing Hetton le Hole.

■ = Existing Building   ☐ = Demolished Building

sections, and the windows have wedge lintels. The roof is hipped at each end, with two stacks on the ridge; the west end, towards the street, has an oculus window with radial glazing, now painted over, at first-floor level. A blue plaque at the east end of the north front records that Nicholas Wood (1795-1865) colliery engineer and partner of George Stephenson, lived here during the sinking of Hetton Lyons Pit in 1822.

On the opposite (west) side of Front Street is the **Colliery Inn (17),** a substantial two-storeyed building of five bays, rendered and colour-washed, with a big hip-ended roof now of Welsh slate roof; despite much alteration it retains some interesting detail such as the end pilasters and a moulded plinth, and an outshut at the north end with another oculus window, typical of the early years of the 19th century. The 1st edition OS map shows it as the Hetton Colliery Hotel.

On the north side of **Pemberton Street (18)** are the remains of two of the earliest generation of miner's cottages, converted into garages so that all features of their front walls have been lost. They had pantile roofs (which still survive in part) and first floors/lofts at the level of the wall tops.

8.3   Chapels

8.3.1   Easington Lane

Bethel Chapel (Independent) NZ 36234607. 1832-c1960? Enlarged 1842, with reading room 1850 (Whellan 1856, 621), 'a 'small structure.

Brickgarth, Christian Lay Church (now Independent Methodist Church)NZ 36084611. 1884. Brick, gable fronted, stone at corner inscribed 'Christian Lay Church', the original name of the North-Eastern Independent Methodists.

Brickgarth, Central Methodist Church (Primitive Methodist) NZ 36154612. ?-2005. Rebuilt and enlarged 1853 at a cost of £400 (Whellan 1856 p.621), rebuilt again 1870 and 1981. Photographs show a gable-fronted building with similarities to the Houghton-le-Spring Primitive Methodist Chapel ,with an attached school room in similar style to the west (Richardson 1989, 90, 1991, 85)

Wesleyan Methodist Chapel. ? -1954

8.3.2   East Rainton
Gillas Lane, Methodist Church (Wesleyan) NZ 3362 4791. 1823, rebuilt 1899. Whellan (1856, 774) describes first chapel as 'a small brick building, c180 sittings'. Present chapel seats 100. Stone with brick dressings, Gothic.date stone on porch. (HER 6058)

8.3.3   Hetton-le-Hole
The Avenue, Independent Methodist Church NZ 3556 4751. 1884- Site purchased 1884 by 'Christ's Army' (breakaway group from local Salvation Army (estab. 1881) but soon joined Christian Lay Church. Cottages and schoolroom built first, chapel completed 1889. Brick, gable fronted.

Railway Street (?Union Street), Central Methodist Church (Primitive Methodist) NZ 3539 4757. 1858, by Martin Greener (Whellan 1856, 621 mentions earlier Primitive Methodist Chapel). Impressive chapel with squared stone front, other walls rubble, hall beneath. Galleried interior. Said to incorporate stone sleeper blocks from George Stephenson's Hetton Colliery Railway and to have been built by the miners of Hetton Colliery (HER 7010). Grade II listed.

Railway Street, Primitive Methodist Church I. NZ 3542 1858. Possibly chapel mentioned by Whellan (1856, 621) Brick gable-fronted building immediately east of Central Methodist Church, now EPA environmental consultants.

Front Street, Wesleyan Methodist Church. NZ 35284733 1824-1965. 'Enlarged' 1858; might the original chapel be the schoolroom (dated '1859') alongside? 350 sittings of which 150 free (Whellan 1856, 621). Now house.

Chapel Street, Low Downs Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan) *NZ 48013550. 1874-1972.*

Lindsay Street, High Downs Chapel (Primitive Methodist)*. NZ 3554 4844. 1865-1968, enlarged with schoolroom 1877.*

The Avenue, Salvation Army*. 1881-?(Richardson 1991, 60).*

8.3.4   Low Moorsley
Western chapel (Wesleyan). NZ 3406 4616. 1858 (dated) – 1960s? Whellan (1856, 773) refers to chapel erected in 1844 by North Hetton Coal Co. 'the lower part is used as a school', presumably a previous building? Now industrial; premises; stone with ashlar detailing.

Eastern Chapel (Primitive Methodist). NZ 3409 4619. On 1896 OS only

8.3.5   Detailed Case Study: Hetton le Hole Central Methodist Church

Chronology of development (Taken from *Hetton le Hole Methodist Church 1858-1008, 150th anniversary souvenir booklet*)

1812	Primitive Methodism was founded.
1821-4	First Primitive Methodist Church in Hetton, 'the third building from the railway on Barnes Street'; it seated 300.
1856-8	Present chapel built fronting onto Union Street, after ground was excavated down to the level of Barnes Street to allow a full basement containing a schoolroom, Martin Greener of Sunderland was the architect; it could seat 800, and accommodate 600 scholars in the school. In plan a rectangle with a small north-east wing containing a vestry on the upper floor.
1865	Galleries constructed, increasing seating to 1,000.
1872	Single storey addition at north-west angle of basement to accommodate Infant School.
1874	North extension housing kitchen in basement, central (Preacher's) vestry on first floor and orchestra gallery (from 1878 organ loft) at top. The architect was Thomas Southrow of South Shields.
1888	Alterations, new communion rails and rostrum
1898	Internal alterations; western vestry and room on east partitioned off from main body of chapel.

HINTS AND ALLEGATIONS
Clues to studying historic buildings

Traces of an earlier, steeper roof line for thatched roof

Blocked doorways, windows, butt joints etc

Lintel of a predominantly demolished building...

...Quoins from the same building

| 1907-8 | New plaster ceiling, upper piers (hollow) inserted. |
| 1914 | Movement of east wall, four brick buttress built to counteract this |

Methodology: Looking at a Building

Looking at a building is Archaeology; you don't need to dig holes to be an archaeologist. Archaeology is about learning about our past from things, anything other than deliberately-written-down records. That is history. For the remote past, everything we know is from archaeology. For the Romans, some documents but a lot of archaeology. For the Middle Ages, a mixture; you could say archaeology puts the meat on the historical bones. Kings and queens, they were important enough to be written down as history, how ordinary folk lived, what they ate, we get that from archaeology. But here we are examining a building at Hetton le Hole which is just over 150 years old. We have quite a lot of written history to help us – but archaeology is still useful, in looking at the building as well as the written records. We can ask two questions. What sort of building is it? How did it fulfil its purpose. This might seem obvious; it is a chapel, it is a religious building, it is about human spiritual needs, a special place where people hope to encounter God. But it is quite different to say, Canterbury Cathedral, or on a humbler level, an old village parish church like Houghton le Spring. That is because a parish church is part of a tradition in which people meet God through the Sacrament, through repeated actions following a set pattern. In contrast, a nonconformist chapel is about people meeting God through the Word, through what you hear, the Bible readings and primarily the preaching. Now of course both those are present in Anglican and Catholic worship as well, but it is a matter of emphasis. Nonconformity split from the State church in this country in the 17th century, when people like Baptists and Congregationalist and Quakers appeared, but there was a second great wave of it – sometimes called the New Dissent, as opposed to the 17th-century old Dissent- in the mid-18th century. And in this country that was largely the work of one man John Wesley. Wesley came at a time of social change, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, when new communities were springing up based on developing industries. Wesley was a brilliant preacher and organiser, who tried to stay within the Church of England, but what was in effect a separate new church developed, which after his death formalised that split. But the terrific burst of spiritual life that Wesley had left behind would not be formalised that easily, so it went on dividing and splitting. Two preachers, Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, were into big open-air camp meetings, in the tradition of Wesley's open air preaching; they were uneducated working men. Nationally there was a fear of big gatherings; the French had just had a revolution. So Bourne and Clowes were forced out of Wesleyanism, and in 1810 formed the Primitive Methodist Church – or, as it was popularly known, the Ranters. This is a Ranter's chapel, and as such is a pragmatic building. The ranters – or as they were later known, the Prims – were founded on a tradition of open-air meetings, or camp meetings. Buildings were secondary, something the British climate forced upon them. The building really only had to be one thing, an auditorium, a preaching box. The acoustics must be good. And it was built be local people, not a centralised authority. People's religion and politics were closely interlinked; central authority was distrusted. In the 1870s Primitive Methodism itself split and the Christian Lay Church – soon renamed the Independent Methodists – appeared. That really brings us to today, because in Hetton le Hole both branches survive.

Now, to be specific and look at this one building.

Description

Built of local stone, incorporating stone sleeper blocks from George Stephenson's Hetton Colliery railway. Changes in stone type, in how windows were treated… Probably always designed from galleries, put in 7 years after initial construction. Infant school extension, then N extension –

orchestra loft at top, but by 1878 organ – something happening all across the country, slowed down hymns. Various blocked openings…
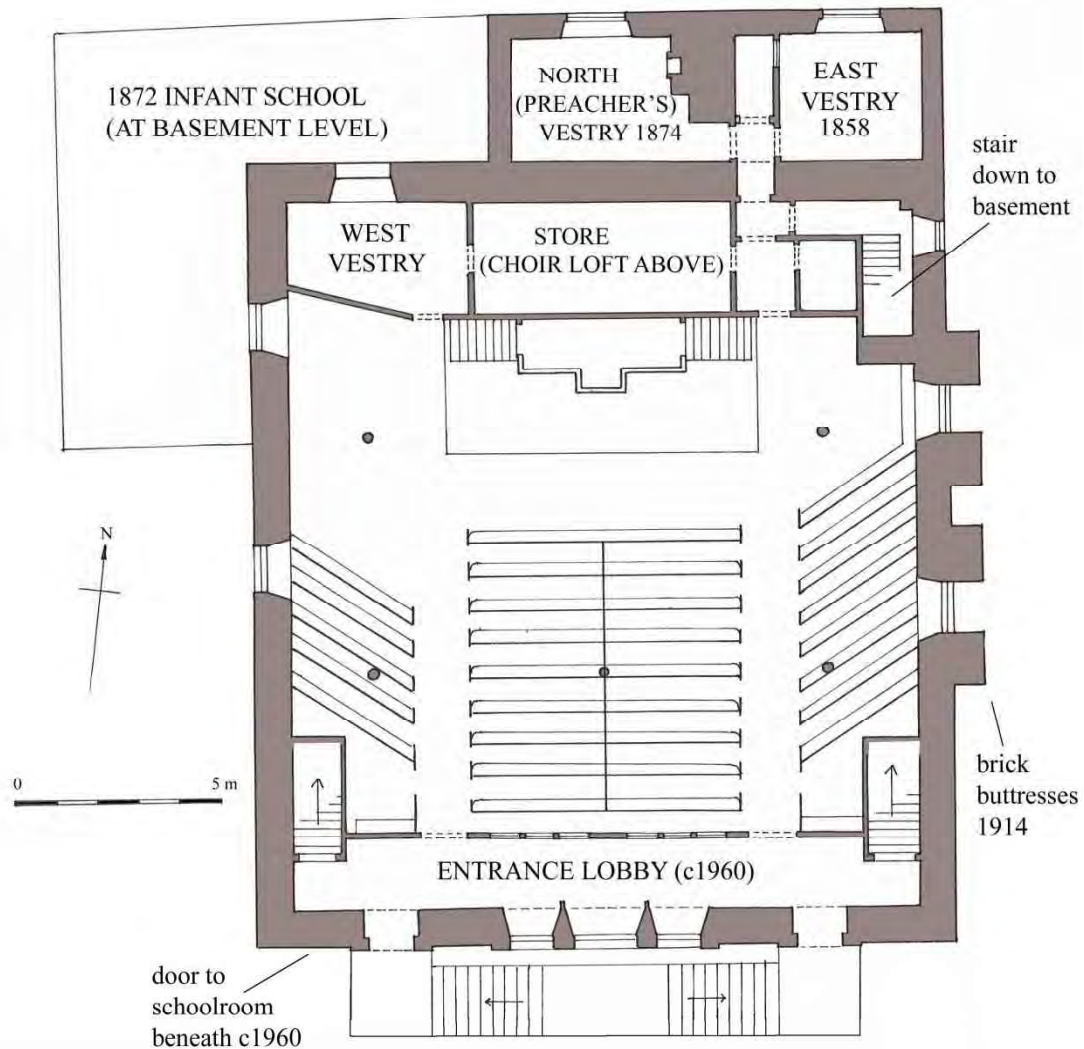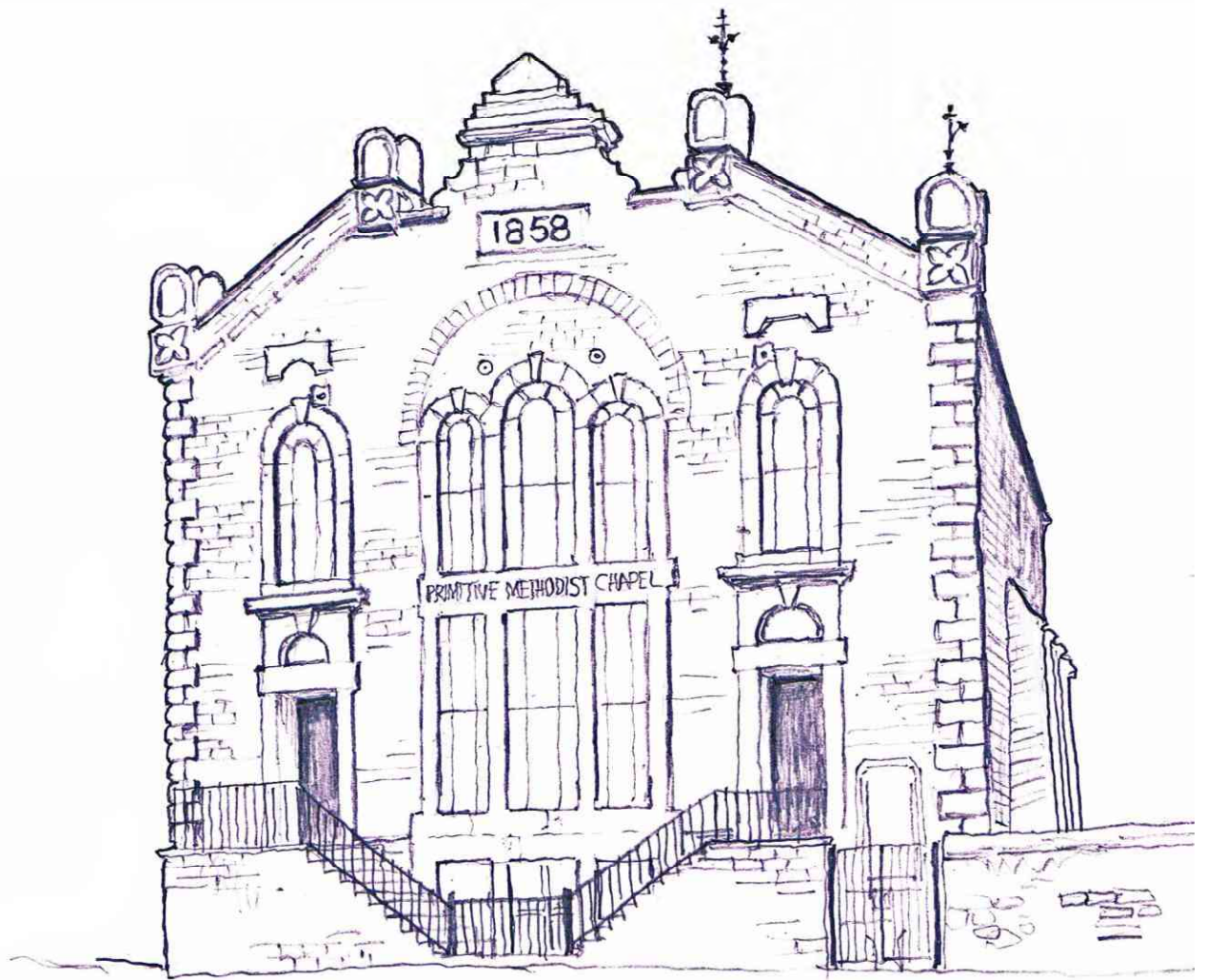

HETTON LE HOLE METHODIST CHURCH
(PRIMITIVE METHODIST, 1858)
Sketch Survey 28 2 2013 P F Ryder

The façade of the Hetton-le-Hole Primitive Methodist Church (now Central Methodist Church
Sketch 28-2-2013 PF Ryder

8.4   Country Halls and Farms

8.4.1   Little Eppleton Hall
A substantial complex of buildings, the main house forming the south range of a roughly square courtyard. All its walls are rendered. Facing south, the house (now subdivided) is in three parts, a three-storeyed centrepiece and two flanking two-storey and three-bay sections. The groundfloor is of three symmetrical bays, and has a central doorway with a swan-neck pediment, flanked by tripartite windows with fluted shafts, and under a bold panelled frieze; all this is colour-washed, and much of the detail seems to be timber. The floors above are of five irregular bays, narrowing to the r. so the third is quite out of register with the central doorway below, giving the whole front a very strange appearance. The eaves line of the range would appear to have originally been continuous, but the flat-topped parapet of the centrepiece is now stepped up to accommodate the low second-floor windows, in front of the (presumably earlier) quite steeply-pitched roof. The main rooms are quite shallow, backed up a substantial longitudinal wall which might have been the rear of the original building. Inside the centrepiece has a central stair hall with a good stair, and the ground floor room in the western block quite a spectacular plaster cornice. All this looks late Georgian work (c. 1800?) and goes with the ground-floor façade of the centrepiece, but the core of the house is clearly older, its irregular bays and steep roof suggesting a 17th- or early 18th-century origin.

The brick range on the east of the courtyard has a five-bay façade, the end bays forming projecting gabled porches with big round arches (the northern blocked, the southern now the entry to the courtyard); the bays between have round arches to the ground floor as well, all clearly 18th century work. The other ranges look largely 19th century, but attached to the back of the western one is a big brick arch, a little higher than the eaves, which must have carried something substantial, probably a water tank. A little to the west is an old brick barn set east-west with slit vents and a band at mid-height, and tumbling to the coping of the east gable (the west gable has been partly rebuilt); it looks of late 17th- or early 18th-century date.

There is another east-west range, single storeyed, to the north of the main courtyard complex, partly of limestone rubble; it is old in parts but has been much altered.

Old walled garden to the south-west of the house, with a heated wall on the west.

(For analysis of the historical background to Little Eppleton Hall see Hetton Local History Group 2010b; 2012, 20-22, and 10.7.4.)

8.4.2   Carr House
A farm on a humbler scale; the old buildings surround a yard opening to the east, and are mostly of coursed limestone rubble and mostly without cut dressings; roofs are Welsh slate or asbestos sheets. The house forms the eastern part of the south range; its general proportions and quite steep roof suggest a mid-18th-century date (the walls are aid to be 'about two feet' thick, which would tally with this as well); the rear outshut looks to be an addition (it is slightly shorter than the house, and has big sandstone quoins at its north-west corner – also it is not present on the 1839 tithe map (if this can be trusted) but there by the c.1860 OS). A sandstone north-east wing looks late 19th or perhaps early 20th century.

The farm buildings show little in the way of datable features; there are patches of 20th-century brick around the heads of several openings, probably inserted when decayed timber lintels were renewed. The western part of the south range and the west range look of one build with the house, except that the northern half of the west range was originally been single-storeyed, but was raised in slightly browner coursed stone.   There was once a gingang on the west side of the south end of

Little Eppleton
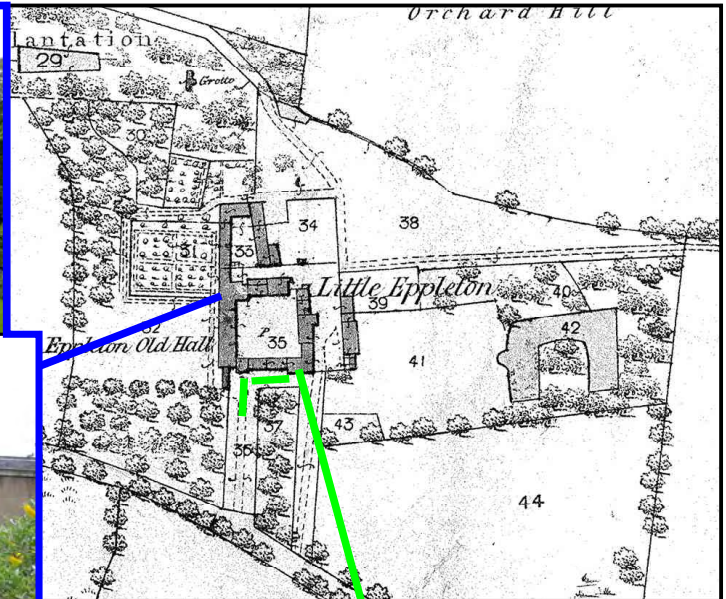
Extract of the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey 1857, 1:2500, showing Little Eppleton.

The west side of the main house, Eppleton Old Hall.

Note infilled arch

View of the South Range

Gateway into the courtyard beside the Old Hall

Gazebo in the garden

Little Eppleton

Arched support for the water tank supplying the heated garden attached to the north range

The farmhouse & outbuilding in the east range

North Side of Site

East Part of Site

Pump in the courtyard

17th-century barn on the north side of the farm

The courtyard & east face of the main house - the original house may have faced this way

View of the barn and north range from the NE

Earthworks north of the pond, east of the house

Extract from the 2nd Edition Ordnance Survey 1896, 1:2500, of Little Eppleton

Carr House Farm

Carr House Farm from the north-east
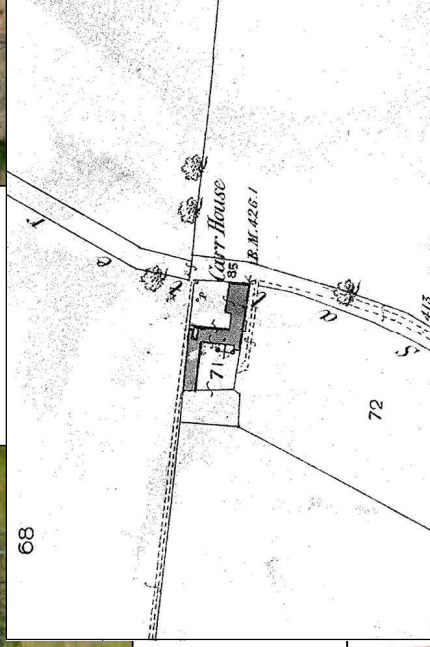
Carr House Farm shown on the 1st edition 1:2500 Ordnance Survey map

Old farm equipment finding a new use.

Carr House farmhouse viewed from the south

The rear of the farmhouse, looking east
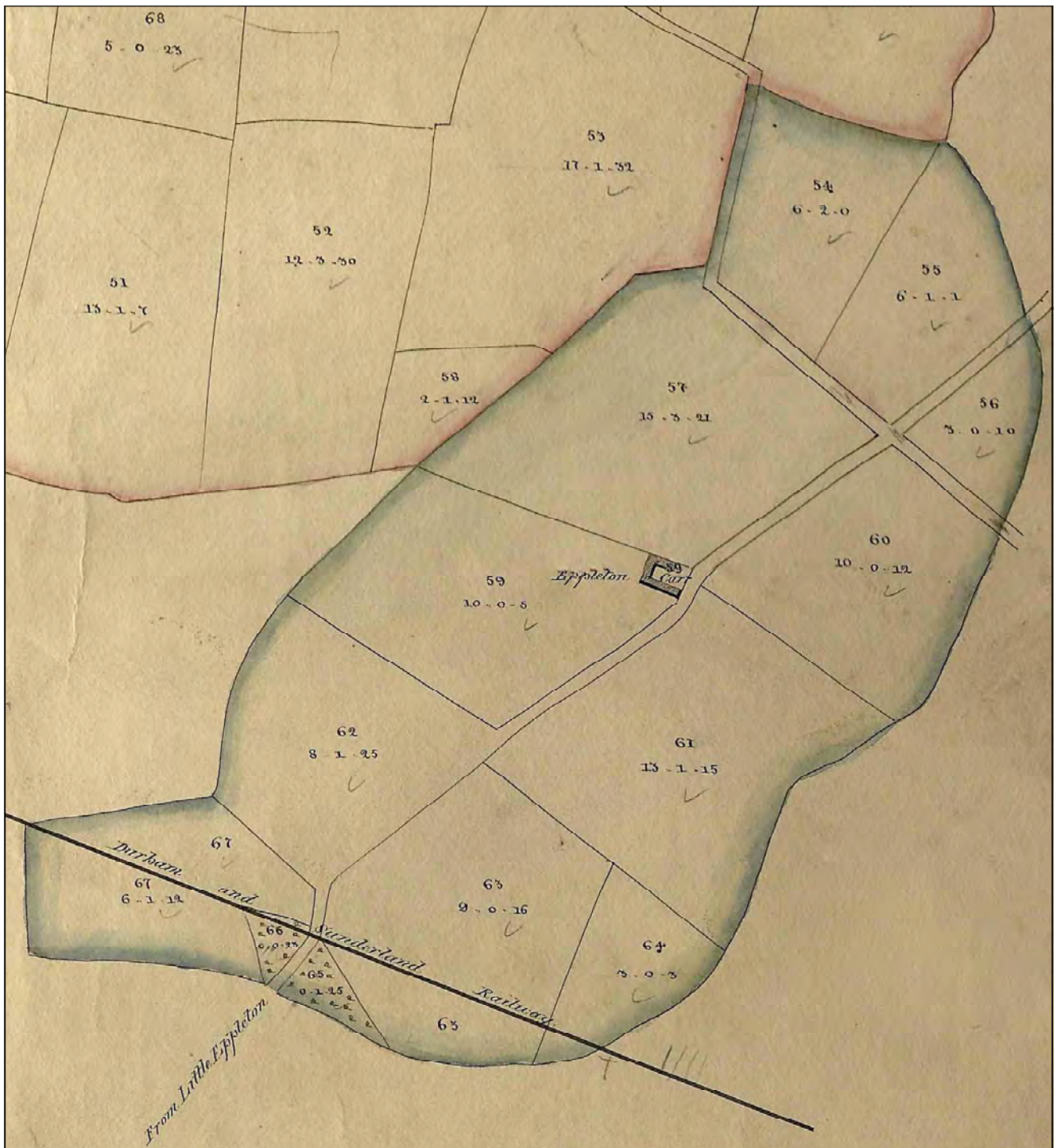
Carr House Farm on the Great Eppleton Tithe Map of 1838 (DDR/EA/TTH/1/89). Reproduced by permission of Durham Diocesan Registrar.

the range (shown as an apparently roofless structure on the 1860 OS) and various evidences remain; the south part of the range has old roof trusses with carpenter's numbering. A north range is shown on the 1839 tithe but not the 1860 OS; the present range here is largely in mid-20th century brown brick, and has cartsheds with cast-iron columns and concrete lintels, but its western half incorporates older stone walling in its south and end walls. The 1860 map also shows a range extending west from the north end of the west range, which has now gone.

8.4.3   Elemore Hall
A brief visit – the Hall is now a special school, and we had a look round some of he ground floor after the kids had gone home for the weekend. Quite a dramatic house, in what feels a fairly remote location, down a long track, in a wooded fold of the Magnesian Limestone escarpment east of Pittington. The house is of old orange brick with stone quoins and dressings, and faces south; it has a tight E-plan, and is of two three floors on a basement, with a grand stone stair up to the recessed centre wing which has a dramatic heraldic stone pediment, now badly worn. There is some odd asymmetry here – the narrow sections on either side of the centre piece are recessed by different distances, and the proportions of the whole building are narrow, apparently because the plan and lower walls of an earlier supposedly 16th-century house were retained. Presumably the entrance to this earlier house would have been at one end of the hall rather than the centre, so does this asymmetry reflect the position of the original porch? The only clearly-visible section of the early house is on the west, from the service yard, where a blocked four-centre arch door is visible on the ground floor (which does look 16th-century) and blocked two- and three-light mullioned windows at a higher level. A ceiling collapse a few years ago is said to have revealed timbers 'from Spanish galleons'.

The house as it stands today was built 1749-53 for George Baker, Robert Shout of Helmsley being the architect, and Italian Guiseppe Cortese his plasterer. The main door opens into a spacious entrance hall, with a good coffered ceiling; beyond are two rooms, now knocked together, the eastern (the original Dining Room) with a fine ceiling with Cupid and Psyche as the centrepiece. The western room has lost its fireplace – the top of the chimney breast survives, above what looks to be an obvious inserted window, although outside this is less obvious – this is not a straightforward building to read! The main stair, a fine cantilevered one with wrought-iron balustrades and another fine ceiling (Neptune or Jupiter – Pevsner and the List Description disagree) above, is in the centre of the East Wing, and a third good ceiling survives in the southern room of the wing (Drawing Room). A lot of features including ten chimney pieces were removed to Sedbury Hall (North Yorkshire) in 1947. The list description refers to 16th-century archways in the basement – not seen.

The outbuildings, mostly clustered round two yards on the north, are a hotch-potch of different dates. A lower block attached to the north-east corner of the house, with a big blocked archway on the south, looks contemporary with the original fabric, as are a doorway and a second big archway on the west but much of the rest is of late 19th- or early 20th-century dates, although not without interest; there is a clock tower between the two yards and a dovecote on top of the north range. Other buildings further away look interesting; to the north-east is a brick-fronted barn with a hip-ended roof and an arcade of round arches on the west, and to the north-west the detached Gardener's House, also brick and of mid-18th-century character.

We also had a look at Elemore Grange farm a couple of hundred metres to the south; there is a suggestion that this began as a monastic grange (perhaps belonging to Finchale Priory) and it is certainly an interesting group of buildings. How it relates to the main house is not clear (a home farm?); the principal L-shaped block of building is high-status work of the mid-18th-century date, the North Range having an open barn with three round arches, turned in brick, on each side, and the East Range (which the List Description suggests might have been a timber factory) having recently

been partly converted into a house. For some odd reason the two parts are listed separately, although clearly of one build. There is a further group of rather humbler farm buildings to the east; the present house looks early 20th-century but parts of the buildings are of the late 18th or early 19th. Everything seems derelict now, and needs recording; there is a good smithy, and a sizeable stream is culverted beneath the complex. Several buildings have brick fronts and limestone rubble rear walls and one block a long arcade of arches in white brick; when was this first used hereabouts?.

Elemore Hall, Elemore Grange and Haswell Grange: The medieval and early modern origins
Surtees (1816, 119a) indicates that Elemore Hall was originally called Elemore Haswell. The earliest reference he was aware of was the Inquisition Post Mortem of William Hall in 1632, but Gosden has noted that 'Elimoure Hall' is named in 1587, when it paid 8d towards bread and wine for the Church of St Lawrence, Pittington (1982, 31; *Pittington Churchwardens's Accounts*, 24, 34). However the estate as a whole may still have been called Haswell Grange. The pedigrees cited by Surtees suggest that it was not until the estate was purchased by William Hall from Sir Henry Anderson of Newcastle and Haswell Grange in 1631 that the shift occurs, William's son being entitled Sir Alexander Hall of Elemore.

Gosden (1982, 31; cf. Pevsner and Williamson 1985, 264) has shown that Elemore Hall was probably first built by Bertram Anderson, alderman and mayor of Newcastle, between 1553, when he acquired the dissolved Finchale Priory's Haswell estate, and his death in 1571. Bertram's will and the inventory of his goods mention two properties, Haswell and Haswell Grange (*Wills and Inventories*, I, 340-41; III, 59). Of the two, it is Haswell which was clearly the larger dwelling and seems likely to represent the 16th-century house, the remains of which are encased within the 18th-century Elemore Hall. A hall, two parlours, kitchen, pastry, buttery, milk house, work house, barn and stack garth are mentioned in the 1571, whereas only a hall house with parlour and a barn and stack garth are mentioned in relation to Haswell Grange in the same inventory. Haswell Grange was clearly the working medieval farm inherited from the monks of Finchale and presumably did not provide adequate accommodation for a wealthy Elizabethan merchant, prompting the construction of the hall. The presence of agricultural equipment in the work house, stack garth and barn would suggest that Haswell/Elemore Hall was still involved in the farming operations at this stage and the number of rooms named imply a large farmhouse or hall house rather than anything more substantial. It is possible that Bertram's eldest son, Henry Anderson, who inherited the estate, further enlarged the house, for the inventory compiled on Henry's death in 1605 listed over 20 rooms. Perhaps it was Henry who added the wings which are implied by documents in the later 17th century, when the building had become divided between multiple heirs (for the division see Gosden 1982, 31; Hetton Local History Group 2010b; 2012, 11-12), and thus gave the building an E- or U-shaped form. In the 1674 Hearth Tax return Thomas Hall was assessed for seven hearths (Gosden 1982, 31).

Finchale Priory's manor, Haswell Grange, and the 'Haswell Grandge' of the 1571 will and inventory were probably located at Elemore Grange – the home farm to the south of the hall shown on Ordnance Survey and other 19th-century maps. Surtees (1816, 119a) indeed states that Elemore Grange was originally called Haswell Grange. Richard Britnell (2004, 22) suggests that the Elemore estate originated as Finchale Priory's holding (though one would suspect the boundaries of the estate as existing by the 19th century may have been enlarged by acquisitions by the Bakers). The name Elemore points to the area originally having been moorland – 'Elder-tree moor' perhaps. It was located within Pittington township in the 19th century, but presumably became attached to Finchale's Haswell estate. (Curiously Elemore Grange actually lay within the bounds of Haswell township – in Easington Parish – as defined on 19th-century Ordnance Survey and tithe maps, whereas Elemore Hall lies in Pittington township and parish. In the late Middle Ages Haswell Grange paid tithes to Durham Priory as part of Pittington parish.)

Elemore Hall

Detail of 18th century ceiling decoration - Cupid & Psyche - in original dining room

Main building facade on west side of the Hall
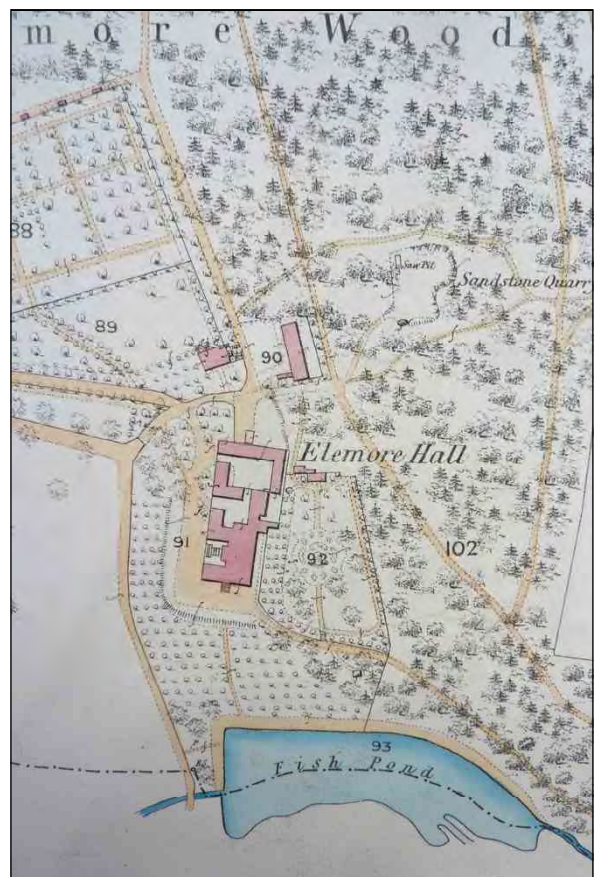

Main entrance on west face

Surviving 16th century door & windows on the west side visible in the rear service yard

Clock Tower between the two service yards

Main Hall viewed from the south-east

1st edition Ordnance Survey (1857) showing Elemore Hall and grounds

North of Elemore Hall

Brick fronted barn north of Elemore Hall

Mid-C18th Gardener's house north of Elemore Hall

Main L-shaped range of farm buildings of mid-C18th

Arched North range of main L-shaped range

Elemore Grange Farm

Forge in one of the buildings

Extract from a plan of the Elemore Hall Estate, 1853, showing the hall and Elemore Grange Farm to the south (Baker Baker 119/16 reproduced by permission of Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections)

Block with long arcade of arches in white brick

The earliest documentary references to Haswell Grange cited by Surtees are charters mentioning the Grange Field in 1341/1374 and Haswell Grange in 1431. The Durham Priory Inventory of 1464, itemising the monastery's holdings, revenues and income (printed in Greenwell *FPD*, 208), also lists 'Heswel Grange' as paying 20s in tithes to the priory, with the other vills of Pittington Parish, including 'Hepton' (Hetton le Hill). This is repeated in the Durham Bursar's Rental of 1539: 'Heswellgrange, 23s 4d' (op. cit., 330).

Moreover there are ample references to Finchale Priory holdings in Haswell extending from the late 12th century right up to the Dissolution, though the geographical indications provided in the various medieval charters are usually difficult to situate in the modern landscape (see Raine, *Finchale*; DCD Finc.). Indeed Haswell was one of Finchale Priory's three principal manorial farms listed in the 14th-century accounts published by Raine (*Finchale*), along with Wingate and Thorpe Thewles, all three being referred to as 'manors', the normal term for such demesne farms or monastic granges in north-east England. It was clearly operating by the early 14th century and there is every reason to believe that a separate grange farm was established to manage the exploitation of Finchale's Haswell lands, soon after the priory acquired its main holdings there and in the adjoining parts of Hetton-le-Hill (Heppedon/Hepton) in the late 12th century.

(For recent detailed analysis of Elemore Hall, its architecture and its 18th-century and later designed landscape, plus some archaeological investigation in the grounds see Mosedale Gillatt Architects 2013; Green 2013, Green and McCombie 2013; Pre-Construct Archaeology 2013; 2014)
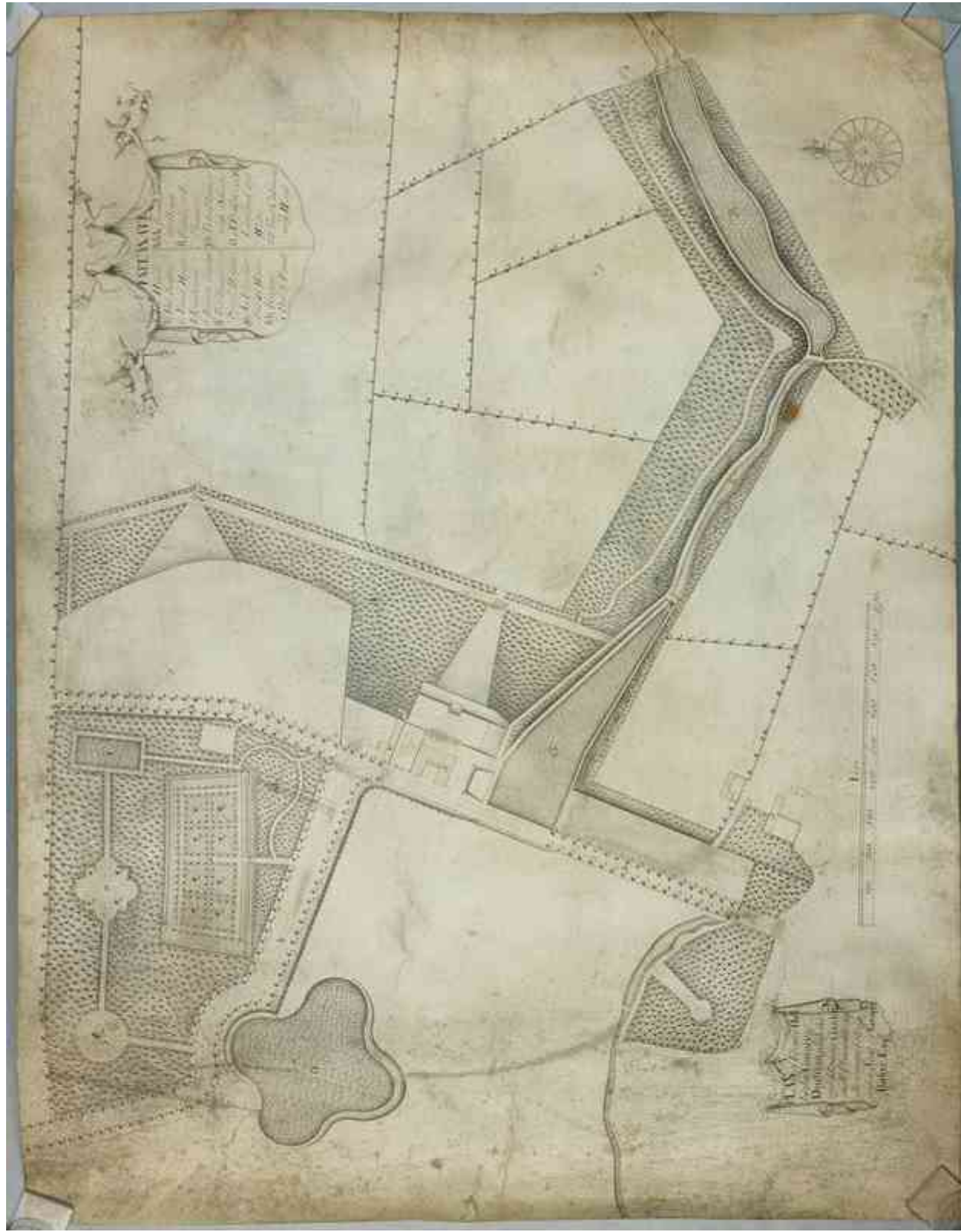
A mid-18th-century Plan of Elemore Hall (Baker Baker/119/11/1), reproduced by permission of Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections.

Plan of H I B Baker's Elemore Hall Estate, 1853 (Baker Baker 119/16). Reproduced by permission of Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections.

9. COMMUNITIES AND SETTLEMENTS

9.1 Introduction: What is a Community?

Today we are familiar with many different forms of community. Almost any grouping with some shared characteristic may be termed a community. Thus, in addition to communities of place, which encompass all the inhabitants of a particular settlement, we encounter communities defined by ethnicity or race, by religious belief and practice, by gender or sexual orientation, and by professional or industrial association, what we might term 'conceptual communities'. This is not a uniquely modern phenomenon. The medieval world, for example, knew its craft guilds, its monastic communities and lay religious confraternities and even 'the community of the realm'. However, in undertaking a study of Hetton, it is the community of place that we are primarily concerned with. The following chapter sets out the different ways that such communities were defined, particularly in a territorial sense, in the past.

Before c. 1800 most of the population of Britain belonged to relatively small rural communities, living in villages, hamlets or scattered farmsteads. The bonds of association and the institutional structures tying their members together were often much stronger in the past than today, being based on shared labour in the fields, particularly during ploughing and harvest time, or in pits, quarries or other local industrial enterprise, on regulated access to common resources, such as moorland grazing, as well as on ties of neighbourliness.

Modern settlements can be substantially disconnected from the wider landscape, largely just places of residence, from which the majority of its inhabitants commute some distance to their place of work, a pattern made possible by the widespread car ownership. In contrast, a comparable medieval community was organised around the exploitation of a defined tract of land, the vill or township, which formed the territorial resource of the people living in the settlement, whether the latter was a village, one or more hamlets or a group of scattered farmsteads. This would have been inscribed in the landscape in the form of large open fields, walled or ditched and embanked head-dykes, and moorland markers such as cairns or natural topographic features. Familiarity with the territory's limits would have been periodically reinforced by senior members of the community 'walking the bounds'. Even in the industrial age people would live close to the pit, quarry or factory where they worked as they had to walk to work.

Even in the Middle Ages, however, village townships were not islands, entirely isolated from one another. Their inhabitants might in some cases rent land in neighbouring villages and might be tenants of more than one lord, whilst patterns of landholding by lords and free tenants could be very complex indeed. Nevertheless the bonds of collective labour and membership of common institutions gave each community a distinct identity or personality.

Overlain on top of these basic territorial units of rural subsistence was the tenurial framework of manorial estates, which extracted rents and labour from the cultivators of the village townships. The priests who ministered to these communities' spiritual needs were supported by yet another kind of the territorial unit – the parish – each of which, in the north of England, usually incorporated several townships.

To understand the more distant past of settlements like Hetton it is therefore necessary to distinguish, define, and as far as possible map the various different territorial units within which the villages were incorporated, and which provided the framework for the development of those communities. Each of the units related to a different aspect of the settlements' communal relations – religious, economic and administrative, and seigneurial – and their function changed over time.

Parish and manor are still terms familiar to us today, if not always perfectly understood, but the term township has largely dropped out of use (its modern equivalent being the civil parish), though it is, in many respects, the most important of these territorial institutions for the study of historic village settlement and its development was remarkably complex.

## 9.2 Parishes, Townships and Manors

9.2.1 The Parish

The basic unit of ecclesiastical administration was the parish, which essentially represented 'a community whose spiritual needs were served by a parish priest, who was supported by tithe and other dues paid by his parishioners' (Winchester 1987, 23). It was the payment of tithes – established as a legal principle since the reign of King Edgar 959-75 (Platt 1981, 47) – which gave the parish a territorial dimension so that the boundaries of the parish came to embrace all that community's landed resources. Only the most remote areas of upland waste were left outside the parochial framework, but in some cases territories which fell under the control of ecclesiastical corporations over a long period, evolved into 'extra-parochial' townships.

With mental images and impressions of settlement norms which are largely derived from southern and central England – 'chocolate box' photographs of ancient parish churches nestling in picturesque honey-coloured Cotswold villages for instance – we now tend, almost unconsciously, to consider a church as being synonymous with a village and assume every such settlement was the centre of a parish. However this is far from being the case in the North of England. Ecclesiastical parishes in County Durham typically incorporated several townships and those in sparsely populated west of the county, embracing Pennine dales such as upper Weardale and Teesdale were very large indeed. Houghton parish, which incorporated the townships of the Hetton area, once contained a total of 15 or 16 medieval vill or township communities, not a unusual number for a parish in North-East England.

It is thus evident that these large medieval parishes contained many distinct communities and the church was often too distant to conveniently serve all the spiritual needs of the parishioners in the outlying townships. However, there are relatively few instances of new parishes being carved out of a well-established parish, and practically none after 1150. The payment of tithes created a strong disincentive to do so, since creating a new parochial territory would inevitably reduce the income of the priest in the existing parish. The widespread programme of ecclesiastical reform in the 12th and early 13th centuries gave added impetus to the fossilisation of parish territories, as ownership of the parish churches was transferred from the hereditary priests or local lay lords whose predecessors had founded the churches, over to monasteries and other ecclesiastical corporations. These powerful ecclesiastical corporations strenuously defended their legal and economic rights (Lomas 1996, 111, 116-17; Dixon 1985 I, 64), and to all intents and purposes put a block on the formation of new parishes. Instead the needs of the more distant township communities were sometimes catered for by the construction of dependent chapels of ease, which were established either by the ecclesiastical institutional patrons or on the individual initiative of local lords (Lomas 1992, 107-8). No chapels are mentioned in the southern part of Houghton parish, however.

In the medieval era the parish was a purely ecclesiastical institution and was to remain so until the beginning of the 17th century when the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601 made this territorial unit responsible for the maintenance of the poor through the appointment of overseers for the poor and the setting of a poor rate (*Statutes* 43 Eliz. I c.2; cf. Winchester 1978, 56). This is in many respects typical of the history of English local government whereby 'new administrative units have generally been created by giving new functions to existing territorial divisions' (Winchester 1987, 27).
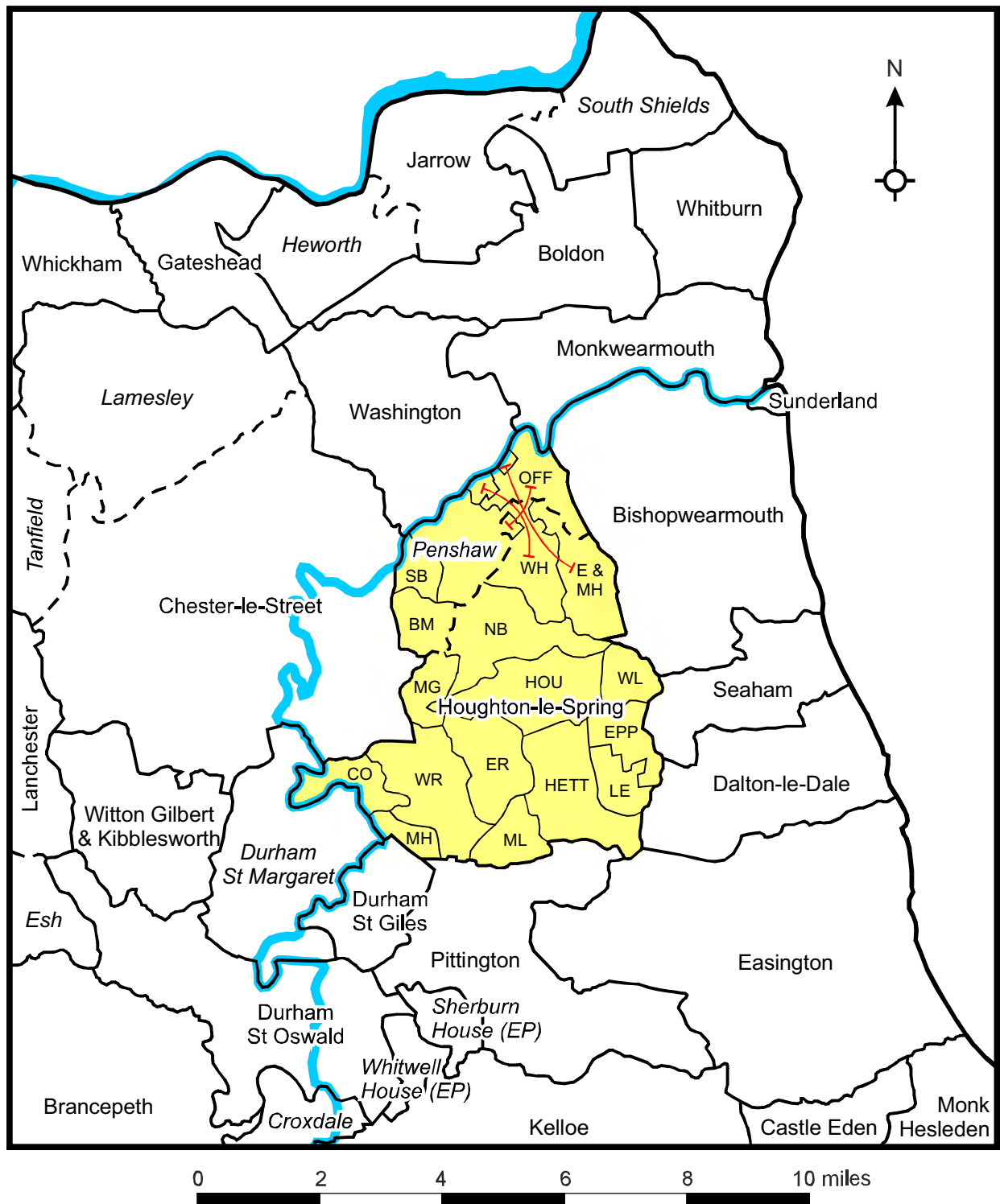
Houghton-le-Spring Parish Townships:

OFF = *Offerton*	SB = *South Biddick*	WL = *Wardon Law*
WH = *West Herrington*	MG = *Morton Grange*	ER = *East Rainton*
E&MH = *East & Middle Herrington*	HOU = *Houghton-le-Spring*	WR = *West Rainton*
NB = *Newbottle*	HETT = *Hetton-le-Hole*	ML = *Moorsley*
BM = *Bournmoor alias Biddick Fence*	MH = *Moorhouse*	EPP = *(Great) Eppleton*
LE = *Little Eppleton*	CO = *Cocken*	(EP) = *Extra-parochial*

The ecclesiastical parishes and chapelries (italicised) of East Durham c.1800 with Houghton-le-Spring parish highlighted in yellow and it's constituent townships abbreviated.

- Township Boundary Map -

First Edition Ordnance Survey 1861, Scale: 6" per mile

Legend:
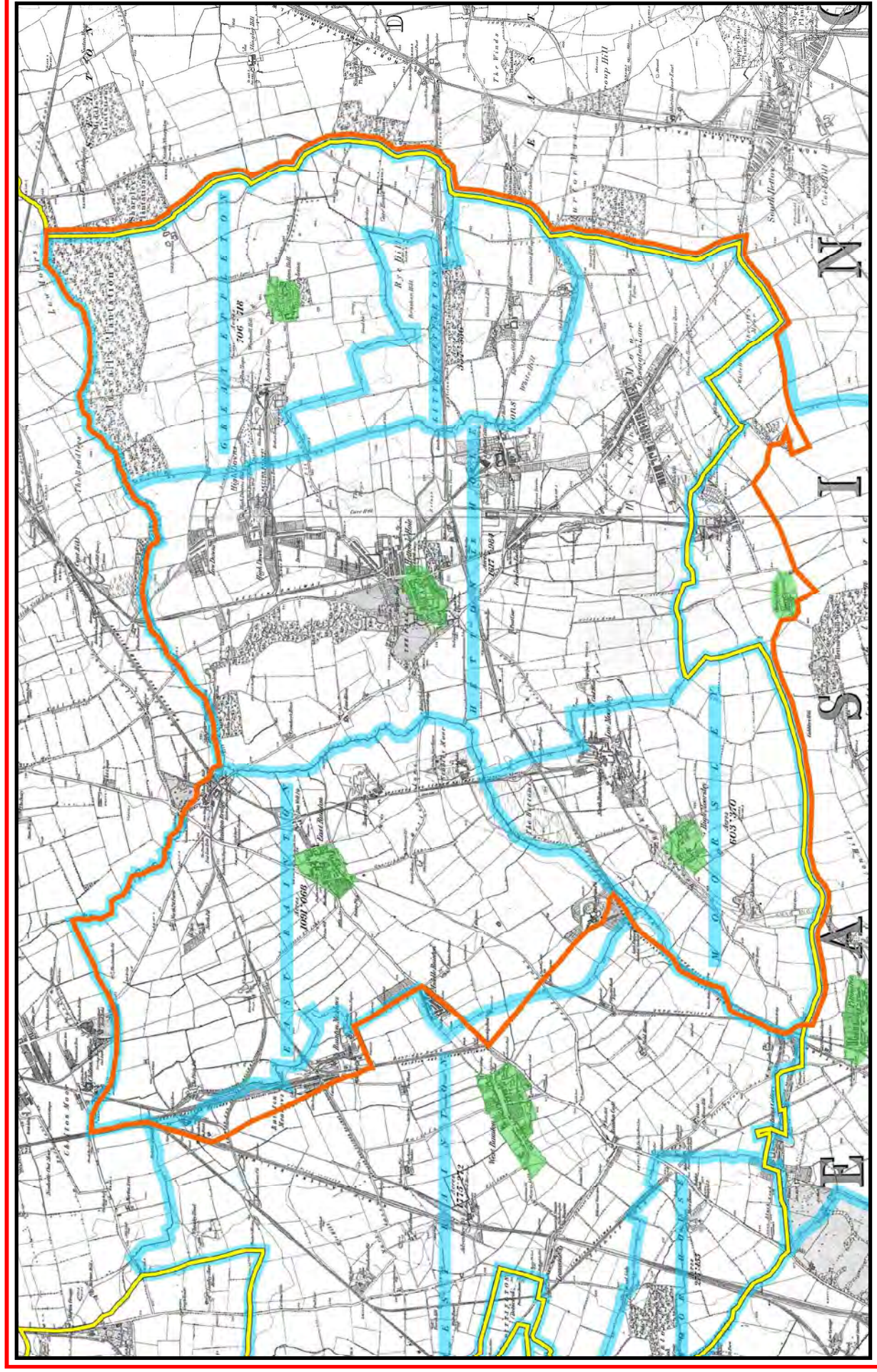
= Village Atlas Study Area

= Historic Township Boundary

= Boundary of Houghton-le-Spring Ecclesiastical Parish

= Medieval Village Sites

Thereafter parochial administration of poor law was particularly prevalent in southern and midland England, where parishes were generally smaller and often coterminous with the civil townships. However, in northern England even these additional functions tended to devolve down to the constituent townships, which were a more convenient and manageable size than the extensive parishes. The modern civil parishes were established by the Local Government Act of 1889 and were substantially based on the earlier townships rather than the ecclesiastical parishes (Statutes 52/53 Vict. c.63).

Over the same period, the increasingly dramatic growth in population associated with industrialisation eventually made it necessary to subdivide the great ecclesiastical parishes in the 18th and 19th centuries in order to improve pastoral care. Initially this was achieved by establishing subordinate 'chapels of ease' within the parish. Thus within Houghton parish, All Saints Church was built in Penshaw in 1745 as the centre of a chapelry encompassing the townships of Offerton, South Biddick and Burnmoor, and Penshaw, to provide more convenient access to religious worship for the northernmost inhabitants of Houghton parish. The chapelry was eventually elevated to the status of an independent parish in 1838, when Houghton Parish was finally subdivided, at which stage other parishes were also established in Hetton and Rainton, embracing the south-eastern and south-western portions of the ancient parish.

9.2.2 The Township or Vill

The basic territorial unit in County Durham was the township or vill (*villa* in medieval Latin), not the ecclesiastical parish. The term *vill* can be defined in two ways, on the one hand as a territorial community, which may be labelled the *territorial vill*, and on the other as the basic unit of civil administration in medieval England, the *administrative vill*. The two units were related and they could indeed cover identical territorial divisions, but this was not always the case and they must therefore be carefully distinguished.

The territorial vill

In its most basic sense *vill* is synonymous with the English words *town* or *township*, deriving from the Old English *tun*, the commonest element in English place names, i.e. a settlement with a distinct, delimited territory, the latter representing the expanse of land in which that particular community of peasants lived and practised agriculture. A township/territorial vill was not the same as the village itself, which was simply the nucleated settlement which commonly lay at the heart (though not necessarily the geographical centre) of the township, and where the bulk of the individuals who made up the community might reside. A classic township, centred on a nucleated village settlement, was composed of three main elements, the village itself, the cultivated arable land and meadows, and the moorland waste or common. However a township community might live scattered about in dispersed farms instead of or as well as being grouped together in a nucleated village or hamlet. Any combination of these elements was possible, but some permanent settlement was required for there had to be a community for a township to exist. Writing between 1235 and 1259, the lawyer Henry de Bracton defined the township thus (*De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*, iii, 394-5; cited by Winchester 1978, 69; Dixon 1985, I, 75-6):

> If a person should build a single edifice in the fields, there will not be a *vill*, but when in the process of time several edifices have begun to be built adjoining to or neighbouring to one another, there begins to be a *vill*.

A township's consciousness of itself as a distinct community would have been reinforced by the communal agricultural labour required to work the land. This is particularly obvious in the cases where the township was centred on a nucleated village, its members living and working alongside one another, but even in townships composed of scattered hamlets or farmsteads it was just as vital

to regulate access to the use of communal resources such as the upland waste or commons. Such activities would have generated a sense of communal cohesion however fragmented the framework of manorial lordship and estate management in the township might have become over time.

The boundaries of such township communities would have become fixed when the land appropriated by one community extended up to that belonging to neighbouring settlements (Winchester 1987, 29). In the lowlands intensive cultivation had been practised for millennia prior to the medieval period, when townships are first documented. It has been argued that many of these boundaries were of considerable antiquity, particularly where obvious natural features such as rivers and streams and watersheds were followed, although such antiquity is difficult to prove conclusively. In the uplands, settlement is thought to have experienced successive cycles of expansion and contraction in response to a variety of stimuli, including environmental factors such as climatic change, but doubtless also political and economic issues. This may have resulted in periodic obscuring of the boundaries when communities were not fully exploiting the available resources and hence had less need to precisely define their limits. In all areas the definitive boundary network recorded by the first Ordnance Survey maps is obviously a composite pattern, in which precise delineation occurred in a piecemeal fashion over the centuries.

The administrative vill
The term vill also designated the basic unit of civil administration in medieval England, representing a village or grouping of hamlets or farmsteads, which were obliged to perform a range of communal administrative duties. The latter included the delivery of evidence at inquests, the upkeep of roads and bridges, the apprehension of criminals within its bounds and the assessment and collection of taxes (Vinogradoff 1908, 475; Winchester 1978, 61; 1987, 32; Dixon 1985 I, 78). The most comprehensive listing of these administrative vills is provided by the occasional tax returns known as Lay Subsidy Rolls. In many areas these administrative vills correspond very closely to the territorial vills and with the later poor law townships (see below). Dixon has shown this to be the largely case in north Northumberland (north of the Coquet), for example (1985 I, 78-9). This was by no means the case everywhere in the border counties, however. In the district of Copeland in West Cumbria, where a predominantly dispersed settlement pattern of scattered 'single farmsteads, small hamlets and looser groupings of farms' prevails, Winchester has demonstrated that the administrative vills had a composite structure, frequently embracing several 'members' or 'hamlets' which correspond to the basic territorial townships (Winchester 1978, 61-5). In many instances administrative vills were significantly larger than the later poor law townships. These relatively large, composite administrative vills correspond to what were termed *villae integrae* ('entire vills') elsewhere in England. Finally, Winchester also suggests that the term vill gradually acquired a more specific administrative connotation as the organisation of local government became more standardised after the Statute of Winchester in 1285, with the result that in his Copeland study area, from the end of the 13th century, the term was restricted to the administrative units and no longer applied to the basic territorial townships (1978, 66-7).

This idea of the vill as an area of land with defined boundaries, potentially enclosing a number of settlements, rather than the territorial resource of a single community, is expressed in a passage by Sir John Fortescue, writing towards the end of the medieval period, and makes an interesting contrast with Bracton's description over two hundred years earlier (Fortescue, 54-55; *cf*. Winchester *ibid*. n.27):

> Hundreds again are divided into vills . . . . the boundaries of vills are not marked by walls, buildings, or streets, but by the confines of fields, by large tracts of land, by certain hamlets and by many other things such as the limits of water courses, woods and wastes . . . . . there is scarcely any place in England that is not contained within the ambits of vills.

The Poor Law Township

Angus Winchester (1978) coined the term 'Poor Law township' to describe the form of township community which is most familiar today, particularly through the various county histories for Durham, from Hutchinson (1794) onwards. (Surtees (1816-40), however, uses the term 'constabulary', deriving from the parish constables who performed many of the administrative tasks required in each township, such as welfare of the poor and collecting the county rate.) There, along with the parish, it provides the framework for the historical narrative of individual localities. The boundaries of these territorial communities were mapped by the First Edition Ordnance Survey in the mid-19th century and they have generally been presumed to have had a long and largely uninterrupted history stretching back in most cases to the townships of the medieval period. In the case of the townships of the study area estate maps from the late 18th and early 19th centuries show that the boundaries shown on the Ordnance Survey were in use earlier, though the earliest map for Great Eppleton is the tithe map (1838). In this latter case however there was clearly a difference since only one Eppleton vill was referred to in medieval documents, the post medieval townships of Great and Little Eppleton thus represent a subdivision of the earlier unit.

The assumption that the medieval administrative vill was the direct ancestor of the post-medieval poor law township, and hence of the modern civil parish, was a reasonable one since functionally they are somewhat similar, representing the most basic level of civil administration. However the actual line of descent is much more complex.

The administration of poor relief was originally established at parochial rather than township level, with the requirement of the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601 that overseers for the poor be appointed in every ecclesiastical parish in England (*Statutes* 43 Eliz. I c.2; *cf*. Winchester 1978, 56). Following pressure in parliament to permit the subdivision of the huge ecclesiastical parishes in the northern counties into smaller, more convenient units, the 1662 Poor Law Act allowed 'every Township or Village' in northern England to become a unit for poor-rate assessment and collection with their own overseers (*Statutes* 14 Charles II c.12, s.21; *cf*. Winchester 1987, 27). Winchester has argued, on the basis of the arrangements he documented in the Copeland district of west Cumbria, that it was the territorial townships rather than the administrative vills which were most frequently adopted to serve as the new poor law townships.

In Houghton Parish itself similar post-medieval changes are evident, reflecting adaptions to cope with Poor Law administration. By the early 19th century the number of townships in the parish had grown to 18 (1816, 145), with Eppleton having been subdivided into Great Eppleton and Little Eppleton, whilst Bournmoor or Biddick Fence having been hived off from South Biddick in the mid-18th century. The farmsteads of Moorhouse had also become a separate township which additionally incorporated Rainton Park, established by Durham Priory, formerly an integral part of the medieval monastery's Rainton estate. This increase reflected tenurial changes and population growth. Eppleton Field House, established in the southern part of Eppleton township during the 16th or early 17th century, became the centre of a separate estate, as Little Eppleton Hall, distinct from Great Eppleton, the site of the medieval village and centre of the main 18th/19th-century estate. In Bournmoor, the rapid colliery development in the later 18th century and consequent influx of miners fuelled population growth in this part of South Biddick township, known as Biddick Fence, meaning it was large enough to set its own poor rate and perform the other administrative tasks required of a township.[1] Conversely, parishes in some other parts of County Durham, where there was no early industrial development and consequent population growth, saw an overall reduction in the number of townships, with several being amalgamated, as changes to agriculture associated

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[1] But note that when functioning as an area for hearth tax assessment, in the mid- to late 17th century, Penshaw township also included South Biddick township (and with it Biddick Fence, later Bournmoor).

with field enclosure and a shift towards rearing livestock rather than growing crops resulted in a reduction in the rural population.

It is from the 'Poor Law townships', however ancient or recent their origins, rather than the medieval administrative vill, that the modern civil parish is directly derived in northern England. The Local Government Act of 1889, which established the civil parish, specifically stated it was to be 'a place for which a separate poor rate is or can be made' (*Statutes* 52/53 Vict. c.63 sec. 5). Today's civil parishes, however, are generally somewhat larger than the preceding townships, in part as a result of more recent amalgamations.

Township boundaries

The changing nature of the township as an institution, which has been outlined above, also resulted, in some instances, in alterations to their territorial boundaries. These boundaries were not fixed in stone since time immemorial, as is sometimes assumed, but were in fact subject to quite a lot of alteration in the post-medieval period as a result of the disruption of the late Middle Ages, changes in land ownership patterns and the creation of Poor Law townships in the 17th and 18th centuries. There are also discrepancies between the boundaries shown by Greenwood in 1820 and those on the tithe maps and the 1st edition Ordnance Survey, but this may reflect inaccuracies on Greenwood's part.

9.2.3 The Manor

The manor was the basic unit of seigneurial estate administration and territorial lordship. Jurisdiction was exercised by the manorial lord over the estate, its assets, economic activities and customary and legal rights, through his manor court sometimes termed the *court baron*.

Feudal lordship: baronies and manors

Manorial lordship represented only one link in the chain of feudal and tenurial relationships which extended from the lowly peasant through to the baronial superior lord and ultimately right up to the king himself. In County Durham much land was held directly by the bishop or by the cathedral priory. However many manors were granted to other lords, usually men of lesser rank, a process known as subinfeudation. Thus Eppleton and Hetton-le-Hill (Heppedon) were held by families who took their names from their manor, and held only a single knight's fee each, whilst Hetton-le-Hole was held by another family with a limited number of estates. In some cases such men may have belonged to longstanding Northumbrian families who transformed themselves into Anglo-Normans adopting the names of the incoming elite..

Feudal tenants held the manors granted to them as a 'fief' or 'fee' in return for an oath of homage and fidelity, becoming the baronial lord's vassals, 'his men'. As such they were expected to perform a stipulated amount of military service and generally support and counsel their lord, attending his court periodically (a service known as 'suit of court'), and perhaps providing an annual gift of a sparrowhawk or pound of pepper or something similar. Military service was measured in terms of a knight's fee, or a multiple or fraction thereof representing, notionally at least, a certain number of days service. This might involve guarding the baron's principal castle (*caput*), a duty known as 'castle guard', logically enough, or campaigning by his side when the lord was called upon to contribute forces to a royal army.

Manor(s), township and parish

In its simplest form a single manor would encapsulate an entire township and the two would therefore have the same territorial limits. Indeed parish, township and manor could all be coterminous, with a small parish serving the spiritual needs of a single township community whose landed resources formed a single manorial estate and whose members were bound by a variety of

personal and tenurial relationships to a single lord. However this simple arrangement was highly unusual in County Durham. As we have seen, the number of vills or townships greatly exceeded that of the parishes, whilst the number of manors would have been greater still. The 'classic' manor which encapsulated an entire village and its township was much rarer than primary school history lessons might have us believe. Then as now, the processes of succession and inheritance and the inevitable variability in human fortunes resulted in the amalgamation or, more often, fragmentation of estates. If the male line of a seigneurial family died out, the estates were usually divided between all the surviving female heiresses and this frequently involved subdividing individual manors rather than simply distributing different intact manors to the various heiresses (perhaps with the aim of ensuring the division was absolutely equitable). The detailed tenurial histories contained in the volumes of Surtees' county history provide plenty of examples of such processes at work and their impact on specific Durham manors. In other cases portions of the township which had originally formed part of the original manor might be granted to other lords, to free tenants, or to institutions of the church, such as neighbouring monasteries. Most townships therefore were divided between a number of manorial landholders (*cf*. Bailey 2002, 5-7).

The structure and development of the manor
A manor typically consisted of two principal elements, on the one hand land known as 'demesne' over which the lord maintained direct control – what we would today perhaps term the home farm – and on the other hand a series of permanent unfree tenant holdings. These two elements were integrated together with the tenants being compelled to provide labour to work the lord's demesne as part of their rent.

Demesne farming
The management of the demesne varied over time and depending on the size of the manorial lordship. A lord who just held one or two manors in a compact holding might supervise the farming of the demesne himself. In addition to the rents provided by any tenants he would retain all the profit from the demesne, using the produce to feed his household and selling any surplus to provide money to purchase anything else the household might need. On larger estates, however, such direct supervision by the lord was impossible. Instead two management strategies were possible. The lord might simply lease the demesne out for a predetermined annual sum in money or produce to someone who could directly manage the land, a local free tenant or a lesser manorial lord who resided on an adjacent estate perhaps, or even to the township community as a whole. By doing so the lord of course lost control over the full produce of the demesne, some of which the leaseholder would retain as his share, but the system was simple to administer and the lord gained a predictable income, with the leaseholder in effect bearing the risk of any fall in production as a result of a bad harvest, for example. The lease would run for a set number of years, or for the lifetime of the lessee and even one or more of his heirs. The rent paid by the lessee, rather than the landholding itself, was referred to as the farm (*firma*) and the lessee was accordingly known as the farmer (*firmarius*), the modern terms having shifted in meaning over time.

This system of leasing was prevalent throughout England (and indeed the rest of Europe) right up until the late 12th century when it began to give way to a system of direct seigneurial management by means of paid employees who acted as the lord's agent supervising the workforce, including the tenants' compulsory labour services, paying any expenses and maximising the profit. By the 1220s this system of demesne farming had become the norm on large estates across England (though it was adopted nowhere else in Europe). This required more elaborate record keeping than was necessary for the old system of demesne leasing, with the lord's agent, variously entitled a reeve, bailiff or sergeant, having to prepare annual accounts which could be auditted by a hierarchy of more senior officials. In addition various other types of document were drawn up using juries of local tenants: surveys were detailed written descriptions, rather than drawn maps or plans, which

itemised all the manor's assets – buildings, land, stock and tenants; custumals listed all the rents and services owed by the tenants; extents added leasehold valuations to the assets listed in a survey; terriers were detailed topographic descriptions of the manor, parcel by parcel; whilst rentals listed the tenants with the rent in money or produce due from each. As a result England has the most detailed and informative manorial records of any country in Europe (for excellent introductions to manorial records and their usefulness as a source for local historians see Ellis 1994, Harvey 1999 and, incorporating translations of numerous examples, Bailey 2002).

The tenants

The second key component of a typical manor were the unfree tenants known as bondmen or bondagers, who are more generally labelled 'serfs' today (although that term is not usually encountered in medieval manorial estate records such as Inquisitions Post Mortem). These tenants formed the core of the community. They would usually have numbered between ten and thirty and were alloted standard-sized holdings or tenements, notionally around 24-30 fiscal acres, though the actual area might be more variable. They paid the same rents in cash and in kind and were bound to perform a certain number of days labour on the lord's demesne farm – the amount of each type of work – ploughing, harvesting, carting etc being carefully specified.

In addition there were usually also a number of lesser tenants known as cottars, cotmen or cottagers who held little or no land and had to earn a living by labouring for a wage or providing some specialised service such as smithing. Finally there would be a number of free tenants whose rights and obligations were much closer to those of feudal tenants. These would have been fewer in number than the unfree tenants and in many instances their holdings may have been smaller, but they had greater security of tenure and may have held land in more than one manor.

Manors in the late medieval period: the growth of the manor court

The nature of the manor changed in the later medieval period. As a result of economic and social shifts, population decline and recession (following the Black Death), The labour shortages resulted in the progressive extinction of serfdom as unfree bond tenants, dissatisfied with the terms of their tenure could simply migrate to find a lord who was willing to set less onerous conditions. Hence terms like bondmen or bondagers and bondage holdings (*bondagium*) disappear from the documentary sources along with the unpopular labour services on the demesne lands which could no longer be enforced and were replaced by husbandmen and husbandland (*terra husband*). The husbandmen paid rents in cash. No longer able to compel tenants to labour on the demesne and with the cost of wages spiralling upwards, lords, both secular and ecclesiastical, found direct management and cultivation of their demesne farm was no longer viable and simply leased the land out to one or more tenants instead. At the same time the manor court became more prominent in the definition of manorial status so that by the 15th century a new definition of the manor was emerging: a property was only a manor if its owner held a court for the tenants – a court baron (Harvey 1999, 2-3, 55). In the words of the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, in the early 17th century 'a Court Baron is the chiefe prop and pillar of a Manor, which no sooner faileth but the Manor falleth to the ground' (Coke 1641, 56-7, cited in Harvey 1999, 2).

9.3 Villages, Hamlets and Farmsteads

9.3.1   Definitions

The territorial labels discussed above can all be defined with relative ease, despite the complexity caused by their changing role over time (which is especially marked in the case of the township), since they describe specific entities which figure in legislation and other formal records from the medieval period onwards. However it is a very different matter when it comes to precisely defining the terms used to describe different types of settlement, such as 'village' or 'hamlet'. As the

foremost scholars of landscape and settlement studies have admitted (e.g. Roberts 1996, 14) it is extraordinarily difficult to define these terms with precision in such a way as to impose any absolute consistency of usage upon them.

For the purposes of this study the following definitions of settlement were used, all drawn from Brian Roberts' extensive work, in particular the succinct discussion provided in *Landscapes of Settlement* (1996, 15-19):

FARMSTEAD:
'An assemblage of agricultural buildings from which the land is worked'

HAMLET:
A small cluster of farmsteads

VILLAGE:
- A clustered assembly of dwellings and farmsteads, larger than a hamlet, but smaller than a town;
[and] A rural settlement with sufficient dwellings to possess a recognisable form (Roberts 1976, 256).

TOWN:
A relatively large concentration of people possessing rights and skills which separate them from direct food production.

9.3.2   Morphology

The most substantial body of work on village morphology is that undertaken by Brian Roberts (e.g. 1972; 1976; 1977; 1990) much of it focussed on County Durham. Roberts has identified a complex series of village types based on two main forms, termed 'rows' and 'agglomerations', multiplied by a series of variable factors – such as their complexity (e.g. multlple row villages), degree of regularity, building density and the presence or absence of greens.

This provides a useful schema for classifying villages, but it is difficult to determine what these different morphological characteristics actually signify. Dixon (1985, I,) is sceptical of regularity or irregularity as a significant factor, noting that irregularity does not necessarily mean that a village was not laid out in a particular order at a particular time; that the regularity of a layout is a subjective judgement; and that an irregular row may simply be a consequence of local terrain or topography. He also points out that however irregular it might appear, by its very existence the row constitutes an element of regularity. He is especially dismissive of the presence or absence of a green as a significant factor in village morphology, arguing that a green is simply an intrusion of the common waste into the settlement; if such a space is broad it is called a green, if narrow it is a street or gate.

Another problem is that the earliest detailed maps for settlements in County Durham and southern Tyne and Wear, date long after the Middle Ages and even, in most cases, well after the 17th-century period of field enclosure and division. In the case of the Hetton area, the earliest maps to show the village layouts, belong to the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Although the village settlement is somewhat crudely drawn on some of these maps map, the main building rows depicted do appear to tally with those shown on the later more accurate maps, particularly the more reliable 1st edition 1:2500 Ordnance Survey. Using these plans as a baseline, it is then possible to attempt to restore the form of the earlier village layout by analogy with better documented examples, but the speculative nature of such analysis must always be acknowledged.

Village morphology in Houghton Parish

Nevertheless, simply by comparing the 1st edition 6in Ordnance survey plans of the villages of Houghton Parish, it is strikingly evident how much larger and more regular Newbottle and Houghton are, with long, well-defined rows, in comparison to the villages of Penshaw, Offerton, West, East and Middle Herrington (see Illus. 6.1). It is tempting to suggest this may be connected in some way with the medieval tenurial status of these villages. Newbottle and Houghton were villages held directly, in demesne, by the bishop, whereas by the 14th century the other five were all held in one way or another by local gentry lords, whether the latter were classed as feudal tenants-in-chief, holding land in return for the notional military service of a specified number of knights (Offerton), free tenants paying a monetary rent and performing certain specified services (Penshaw), or drengage tenants, with a little more onerous combination of rents and services (the Herringtons).

Similarly, in the southern part of Houghton Parish, East and West Rainton, which were directly held by Durham Priory, again displayed clearly defined building rows and a substantial degree of regularity, whereas the settlements of Hetton-le-Hole and Great Eppleton, which both had secular lords holding land as feudal tenants, were far less well-defined. Like Houghton and Newbottle, East and West Rainton remained under church control after the Reformation, passing from the Prior and Convent of the Benedictine monastery to the Dean and Chapter of Cathedral.

Moreover, the regularity in plan of the villages belonging to the bishop or the prior and convent, such as Houghton and Newbottle or the Raintons, is perhaps also mirrored in the elaborately catalogued servile tenancies of those villages.

Both these factors – marked regularity in plan and tightly controlled tenancies – may be testimony to the greater degree of control that a powerful ecclesiastical landowner was willing and able to exert over its tenants – their terms and conditions, and the layout of their settlement – by comparison with a gentry lord, even in the dramatically changed conditions of the late Middle Ages and beyond.

9.3.3 Archaeological Investigation

Whilst Brian Roberts, using the methods of historical geography, has perhaps done more to shape current thinking on the overall pattern of medieval village settlement than any other scholar, at the micro level of the individual village and its components the seminal investigation in the North-East has been Michael Jarrett's archaeological excavation of the deserted village of West Whelpington in Northumberland and, to a lesser extent, David Austin's rescue excavation of Thrislington, near Ferryhill, at the south-west corner of the Durham Limestone Landscape Plateau (Austin 1989). Jarrett's work was conducted over a period of fifteen years from 1966 onwards and revealed a substantial proportion of a medieval village (Evans and Jarrett 1987; Evans *et al*. 1988). Lomas (1996, 71-86) has recently emphasised the fundamental degree to which our understanding of life in a medieval Northumbrian village rests on the programme of research at West Whelpington. Austin's excavations were carried out over a briefer timeframe of only two seasons (1973-1974), but it was successful in establishing the plan of the medieval village and remains the most extensive excavation of a medieval rural settlement in County Durham and certainly on the Magnesian Limestone Plateau.

More recently, work in advance of opencast coal mining at Shotton, near Cramlington in south-east Northumberland, has shed potential light on the early development processes of medieval villages in the region. Two successive phases of early medieval settlement were uncovered there, each occupying a different location c. 300m from the site of the later medieval village (McKelvey 2010). This process, whereby village settlements were initially established on different sites from those currently occupied and then underwent one or more shifts of position between the 8th and 12th centuries, before reaching their present locations, has been documented for certain sites elsewhere in England and is sometimes termed 'the Middle Saxon shuffle'.

Comparative Villages Plan, extracts of the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey 1857, 6" per mile

West Rainton

East Rainton

(High) Moorsley

Hetton-le-Hill

Hetton-le-Hole

Great Eppleton

Houghton-le-Spring

0   100   200   300   400   500m

10.   HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS FROM PREHISTORY TO 1850

10.1   Evidence for early prehistoric activity – the Stone Age

10.1.1 The earliest settlers

The earliest inhabitants of northern Britain would have been groups of Stone Age hunter-gatherers who were able to colonise the area in the intervals between the successive Ice Ages. However any traces left by such Neanderthal and earlier populations of the Palaeolithic era, or Old Stone Age, were obliterated by the ice sheets and glaciers which covered the region and scoured away landscape features during successive Ice Ages. Hetton would in any case have been very different before the river valleys such as that of the Wear were formed, sculpted and moulded by the action of the glaciers.

Mesolithic hunter/gatherers (8000BC to 4000BC)

It is only with the end of the last Ice Age (around 10,000-8,000 BC) and the onset of the Middle Stone Age, or Mesolithic era (c. 10,000-4000 BC), that we can begin to chart the human story of northern Britain. As the ice sheets retreated, dense forest gradually regenerated and advanced northwards, bringing with it communities of hunter-gatherers, attracted by the more abundant resources which the new environmental conditions provided. We can envisage extended family units ranging widely over large territories, following the movement of deer and exploiting seasonal resources such as autumn berries and migrating salmon. These extended family groupings may have shared wider clan or tribal affiliations with similar social groups through ties of kinship, and real or imagined common ancestry. Occupation of any one area like Hetton may have been occasional and intermittent.

The evidence for such occupation is not easily located, since it is not usually marked by substantial structures or dense scatters of material. The most abundant trace of their presence across the region is represented by scatters of flint tools, which reveal the presence of such early communities in the landscape. A scatter of flint dated by Dr Rob Young to the Mesolithic period was found at nearby Great Eppleton in 2010 (Archaeological Practice 2011).

10.1.2 The Neolithic period 4000-2400 BC: the first herders and farmers

From around 4000 BC onwards, the first identifiable farming and pastoral communities emerged in northern Britain, marking the beginning of the New Stone Age, or Neolithic era. These communities practiced 'slash and burn' agriculture in what would still have been an extensively forested landscape, cutting down trees with the stone axes and burning off the undergrowth, then cultivating for a number of years until crop yields began to decline through soil exhaustion when the group would move on to clear another parcel of woodland. However it is now considered that the herding of newly domesticated livestock – small, hardy cattle and agile sheep – is likely to have been more important to these communities than the cultivation of crops, with only limited evidence for arable agriculture across northern England as a whole until the Early Bronze Age.

Burial monuments belonging to this period have been recognised in the immediate vicinity of Hetton, the best known being the round barrow of confirmed Neolithic date on Copt Hill, just beyond the northern boundary of the study area, which was excavated by Greenwell in 1877 (Site 1 & 12; TWHER 100). This was found to contain several partially cremated skeletons burnt in situ beneath a mortuary structure of limestone slabs, plus nine secondary cremation and inhumation burials, one of which may be early medieval (TWHER 114, 424, 426, 437; Trechmann 1914, 123-30; Miket 1984, 53, 55; Young 1985; for more recent work see Harding 2003, and Fletcher and Morrison

2004). Other Neolithic burials have been found at Warden Law (TWHER 254-5, 447), just under 1 km north-west of the study area where several barrows have been identified.

Most impressive of all, located over 5km to the north of the Hetton district, is the major monument complex on Hasting Hill (Miket 1984, 68-70, 74-6, figs 21-3, 125 pl. 7; Hewitt 2011, 35-7; TWHER 110-13, 325, 451-2, 467, 480). This included two large ditched earthwork structures, which are evident today only as cropmarks visible on aerial photographs and are thought to have had a ceremonial or ritual function. Perhaps forming the central focus was an irregular oval or 'D-shaped' enclosure, measuring roughly 92m by 65m, surrounded by a single interrupted ditch (a type of monument often called a 'causewayed enclosure'). To the south, a linear 'cursus' monument, defined by two parallel ditches some 30m apart, squared off at the end next to the enclosure and extending over a distance of at least 200m, is thought to have functioned as some kind of ceremonial processional way. In addition, several round barrows or ring ditches have also been identified. One of the barrows survived as at upstanding monument at the beginning of the 20th century and was excavated by in 1911 (Trechmann 1912; 1913; 1914). Overall the life of the complex probably spanned the Neolithic era and continued on during succeeding early Bronze Age.

The construction of substantial ceremonial and burial monuments is one of the characteristic features of the Neolithic period and the succeeding Early Bronze Age. As well as this grouping in the Wear valley, similar complexes have been identified elsewhere in northern England, in the Millfield basin of north Northumberland and at Thornborough next to the River Ure in North Yorkshire, where a trio of massive, circular, embanked and ditched enclosures, or 'henges', can still be seen. Better known still, of course, are the famous monuments of Wessex, such as Avebury or Stonehenge.

On a day to day basis people in the Neolithic period probably lived in relatively small scale communities – extended family groups of subsistence farmers and stock herders – but the existence of monument complexes like Hasting Hill suggests they were capable of coalescing periodically into much larger groupings, which we might label tribes, for important seasonal festivals or other social and ritual events.

Traces of settlement sites associated with this period are much more elusive however, perhaps implying that the population was still engaged in a predominantly nomadic existence, migrating with their herds from one seasonal pasture to the next and living in impermanent dwellings similar to the tepees or wigwams of native Americans.

10.1.3 The Early Bronze Age (2400-1500BC)
The construction of substantial ceremonial and funerary monuments continued in the Early Bronze Age, the period when the first metal tools – initially of copper then bronze (copper and tin alloy) – were adopted.

Most notably, until the middle of the 19th century a monument of this kind, the stone burial cairn variously known as the Fairies Cradle, Maiden Hill or Castle Cairn (Site 2, HER 249) survived just north of Hetton village centre, on the north side of the lane leading to Eppleton (the cradle was the depression in the top of the mound). The site was later covered by the terraced row of Fairy Street. The urns found when the mound was removed strongly imply the burials within the cairn were of Bronze Age date. There were also Bronze Age burials in the barrows on Copt Hill and Warden Law. As the excavated remains at Copt Hill and Warden Law demonstrate, a variety of burial rites were practised during this period. Cists were constructed with sides formed by stone slabs and covered by a large capstone, and were large enough to contain a crouched inhumation burial (an intact body). They have been found, either within cairns or even as unmarked sites (although in these cases it is possible that the cairn was removed at an earlier date as a result of agricultural stone clearance but

the cist was not disturbed). Cremations are also found in this period usually placed in a large funerary urn or a type of large pot known as a food vessel, which typically featured incised or scored decoration.

Ritual activity also continued well into the Bronze Age at the monument complex of Hasting Hill, which may have remained the ceremonial focus for the surrounding community for well over a thousand years. A number of other circular and sub-circular features are visible as cropmarks near the Neolithic cursus and interrupted ditch enclosure have been interpreted as either ring ditches or burial mounds/barrows of probable Bronze Age date. Moreover some of the cremation and inhumation burials in the excavated round barrow belong to the 2nd millennium BC with finds of beaker potter and Food Vessels.

Whether they contained the remains of a crouched body or a cremation, the burial practices associated with the round cairns and stone cists were very different from those encountered in the long barrows and long cairns more typical of the preceding Neolithic period. The former generally contained individual burials –whether cremation or inhumation – though there might be more than one cist or other form of burial in a particular round cairn. In contrast, when the internal chambers were relatively undisturbed, the Neolithic burial mounds and cairns often contained the remains of many individuals, though frequently in an incomplete and disarticulated condition suggesting they had previously been kept elsewhere, probably exposed in the open air for birds and other wild fauna to remove the flesh from the corpse.

Round barrows and cairns give the impression of being family mausolea, or monuments built to commemorate a particular individual, perhaps an important chief. The two functions were not necessarily mutually exclusive, as monuments which may have started life as the burial mounds of particular individuals were transformed into family tombs by succeeding generations, who sought to maintain a direct, overt association with the first occupant, perhaps the founder of their lineage, by interring further burials in the same monument.

This contrast with the funerary traditions of the earlier Neolithic implies that quite fundamental changes in views of death, the afterlife and possibly religion in general, may have occurred during the transition to the Bronze Age. It suggests a greater focus on the journey of the individual into the afterworld, and the relationship of that ancestor to a more tightly circumscribed family group or lineage, in marked contrast to the largely undifferentiated tribal ethos of the Neolithic. These may in turn be linked to equally profound changes in social structure, with a gradual shift from the more egalitarian, kinship-based tribal communities of the Neolithic, with their communal burial monuments housing the remains of multiple ancestors, towards a society in which burial was one means of expressing social power on the part of individuals who were beginning to play more prominent, controlling roles as tribal chieftains. The enhanced status of such individuals, with respect to the other members of their tribe, was reflected in the prestige grave goods deposited with the deceased. Moreover such commemoration could represent an attempt to ensure hereditary transmission of social power from one generation to the next and the establishment of a permanent chiefdom based on a particular lineage.

EARLY PREHISTORIC SITES INVENTORY

Hetton-le-Hole, Fairies Cradle or Castle cairn: Site 2, HER 249, NZ 3537 4771
Surtees records "a remarkable tumulus, consisting entirely of field-stones gathered together", situated in a field "on the right-hand side of the road from Eppleton to Hetton and only one field from Houghton-Lane". In the top of the cairn was a small oblong hollow known as the Fairies Cradle. It is marked on O.S. 1st edition 1:2500 as "Fairies Cradle Maiden Hill (Tumulus)". Greenwell wrote "... a barrow was removed several years ago, when I believe some urns were met with; " and the VCH recorded the finding of "a vessel of pottery" when the mound was destroyed. Young lists it in his Group B, "Sites which upon destruction or complete excavation have proved to be barrows".

Houghton-le-Spring, Copt Hill, Seven Sisters barrow: Site 1, HER 100, 114, NZ 3534 4922
(HER 100) Round barrow (cairn) on a false crest on the scarp slope of the magnesian limestone of the East Durham Plateau. It was excavated in 1877 by Dr. Greenwell and T.W.U. Robinson, and was described by Trechmann thus: "It measured 66 feet in diameter and 7.75 feet in height. It was made chiefly of magnesian limestone with pieces of sandstone intermixed. Some soil, probably remains of turf, also occurred, together with pieces of burnt limestone. The stone on the surface was small for a depth of about 1.5 feet and then became much larger without much admixture of earth. Some large limestone flags above 2 feet long and 1.5 feet wide together with large sandstone boulders also occurred". The primary burial was a Neolithic cremation, probably in a mortuary structure. There were also several Bronze Age cremations and inhumations, and a possible Early Medieval inhumation.

Copt Hill, Neolithic cremations, HER 114: Excavations of this barrow in 1877 by Dr. Greenwell revealed that the primary burial was Neolithic, and consisted of several cremated disarticulated bodies burnt in situ in some form of mortuary structure. It was not possible to say how many bodies had been placed there, and no article or pottery was found associated with them. This primary deposit was situated some 5 feet south of the centre of the mound, and aligned east-west.

Copt Hill, cremations, Site 1/12, HER 424: "At a place 23 feet S.E. by S. from the centre of the barrow and about 2 feet above the ground level was a deposit of burnt bones rather widely scattered over a space of about 2.5 feet in diameter. Amongst the bones was a piece of calcined flint, probably the remains of a small implement which had been burnt with the body". A secondary burial, usually thought to belong to the Bronze Age.

Copt Hill, inhumations in a cist, HER 426: "At a distance of 16.5 feet S.S.W. of the centre was a small cist..." in which had been placed "the body of a child laid probably on its right side, the head having been to the N.N.W.". A secondary burial, usually thought to be BA.

EARLY PREHISTORIC FINDS INVENTORY
The excavations of the barrow at Copt Hill yielded finds of flint tools of various types plus pottery urns used as burial containers, whilst isolated finds have also been made throughout Hetton district notably the Neolithic polished stone axe found at Carr House Farm (Site 4 HER 251) and the barbed and tanged arrowhead found on waste ground in the centre of Hetton (Site 14, HER 488). Additionally, scatters of flint artefacts of Neolithic or Early Bronze Age date have been made during fieldwalking exercises in the district, for example north of Great Eppleton, west of Little Eppleton (Sites 3, 106-8, HER refs. 250 & 5301-5303), and in particular on the north side of Eppleton Quarry, where recent developer-funded works by The Archaeological Practice, including geophysical survey and fieldwalking, have resulted in the identification of a later prehistoric settlement and flint scatter. At nearby Bracken Hill (HER ref. 5300), site of a possible rectilinear enclosure, six further worked

Assemblage of worked stone finds recovered during fieldwalking north of Eppleton quarry, October 2010.

Geophysical survey showing prehistoric enclosure and field systems north of Eppleton Quarry, August 2010.

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= Village Atlas Study Area

Neolithic/Bronze Age Axe

Mesolithic/Bronze Age Flint Scatter

Neolithic/Bronze Age Barrow/Cairn
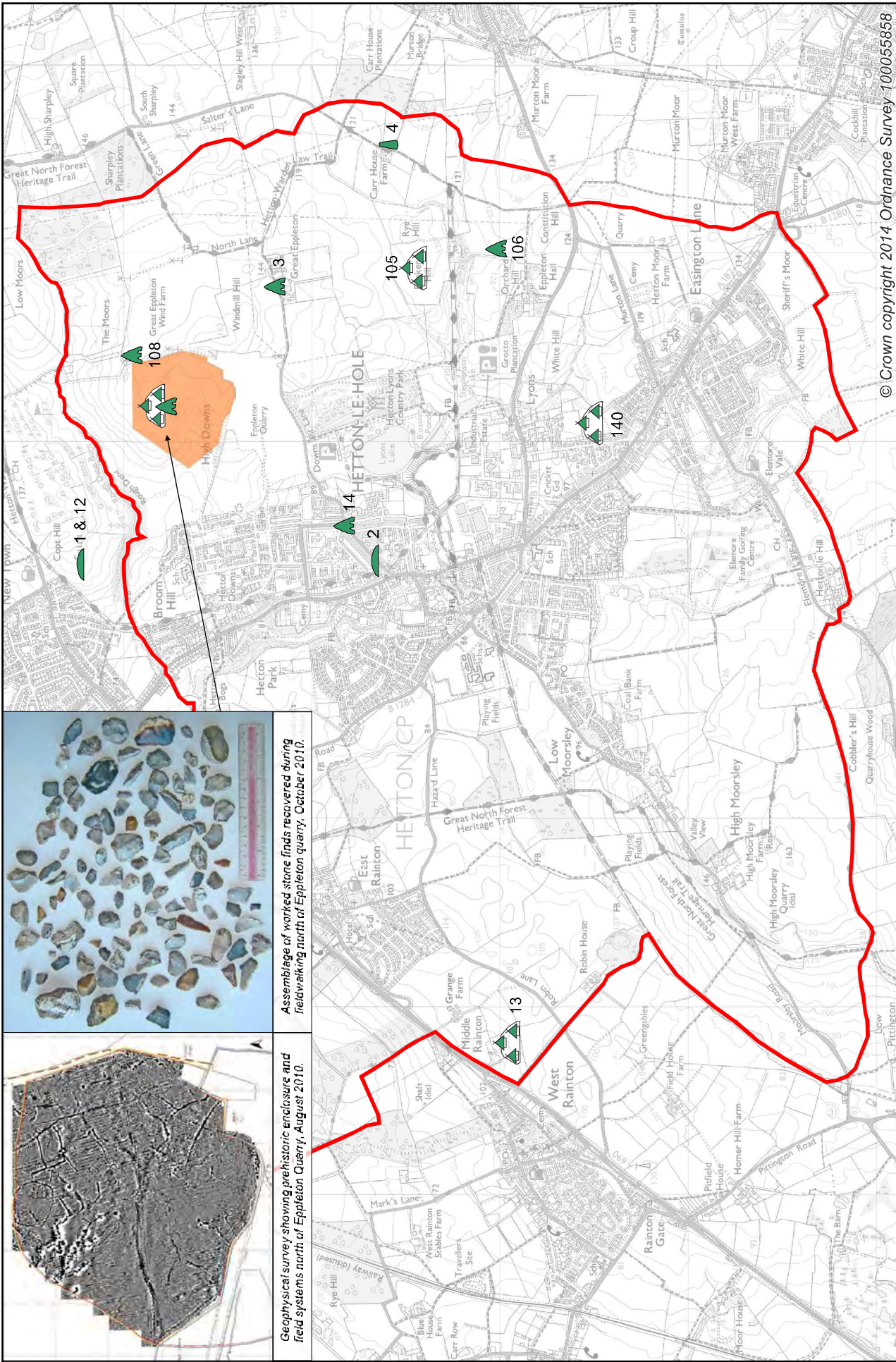
Late Bronze Age/Romano-British Enclosure

Plan showing Prehistoric sites identified on the County Durham Historic Environment Record.

PREHISTORIC SITES & FINDS
Copt Hill Late Neolithic Burial Mound & Carr House Axe
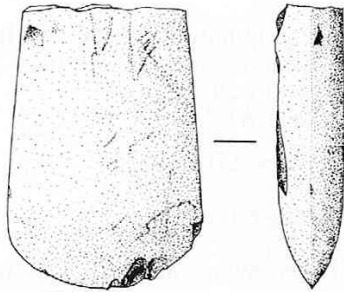
Sketch of a Neolithic Axe-Head found at Carr House Farm in Great Eppleton (after Miket 1984 fig 17/4).
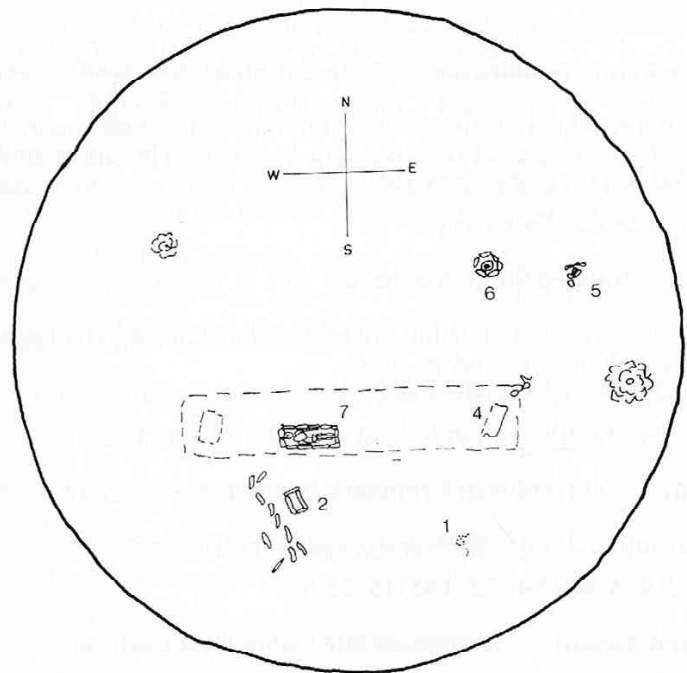
Plan of the Neolithic Barrow at Copt Hill (after Miket 1984, fig 17).

View of the ancient burial mound at Copt Hill.

The barrow is crowned by beech trees known as the 'Seven Sisters', the seventh of which was allegedly chopped down during the miners strike.

flints of probable prehistoric origin were recorded through fieldwalking. The inventory below summarises the flint finds known in the study area and recorded on the T&W HER.

Hetton-le-Hole, Carr House Farm, stone axe: Site 4, HER 251, NZ 376 476
"Part of a Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age stone axe found in 1962 by I. Dryden (farmer's son) during ploughing at Carr House Farm. Professor Dunham examined the axe and classified it as Pike of Stickle (Group VI) type, made of volcanic tuff".(2) Source 2 quotes a letter to Sunderland Museum as the original report of this discovery, and goes on to say that in 1977 the axe was in "Murton Modern School". Source 3 gives dimensions, 123 mm long, 82 mm wide, 32 mm thick, - were these in the letter or had he seen the axe? - and changes the name of the school to Easington Comprehensive. A different school or renamed?

Great Eppleton, Flints: Site 3, HER 250, Grid Reference NZ 368 482.
Gibbs recorded flakes and a scraper or spearhead from north-west of the water tanks at Great Eppleton. Young, though extending the O.S. 4 figure grid reference to 6, points out that it is only approximate. He also reports that the objects cannot now be traced.

Copt Hill, Seven Sisters Barrow, Site 1, Grid Reference NZ 3534 4922.
Bronze Age Flint Implement,HER 425: "At a place 23 feet S.E. by S. from the centre of the barrow and about 2 feet above the ground level was a deposit of burnt bones... Amongst the bones was a piece of calcined flint, probably the remains of a small implement which had been burnt with the body". A secondary burial, usually thought to belong to the Bronze Age. Young notes that this flint is probably lost.
Bronze Age Flint Implement, HER 429: At 3.5 feet S.E. of the centre and 1.5 feet below the surface of the barrow was an unburnt body with probably another disturbed one. A flint scraper was found accompanying the disturbed body, apparently with the bones of the upper part of the skeleton". The burial is secondary and usually thought to be BA. Young notes two scrapers among the Copt Hill lithic material now in the British Museum, - an oval side and end scraper and a "thumb scraper". He adds "One of the scrapers may well be that recorded with burial number 3... However, no further information is available on the context...".
Bronze Age Flint Implement, HER 439: "Unifacial, plano-convex flint knife, exhibiting patches of orange staining and some white cortex-like material on the dorsal face. Finely pressure flaked. 60mm x 20mm x 10mm".(1) "All over invasive retouch; limited inverse retouch on obverse, burnt".(2) Trechmann does not mention the knife in his report. Miket locates it west of the short cist (SMR 427), with eight upright stones and burnt bones, but does not say where the information comes from.
Bronze Age Flint Implements, HER 440: Two flint scrapers survive among the finds from the barrow, but only one was mentioned by Trechmann, with the double inhumation, burial 3, SMR 428, and it is not known which one. Oval side and end scraper, edge and distal end retouched. One source says totally white patinated, the other mottled grey. 60mm x 43mm x 11mm. Horseshoe or "thumb" scraper, steep retouch around circumference, marked bulb of percussion. 20mm x 20mm x 5mm.
Flint and Stone Artefacts, HER 441: In addition to those with individual entries in the HER 10 pieces of flint and stone exist from this site in the British Museum. There are 8 unbroken flakes and 1 irregular lump of flint. Kinnes and Longworth (1985) note a shale pebble, which has not been located; Young notes a shale plaque which he describes.

Hetton-le-Hole Arrow Head: Site 14, HER 488, NZ 355 479,
Black cherty shale barbed and tanged arrowhead, found on waste ground off Regent Street/Market Street/Edward Street, by S.D. Wallace, of 19 Regent Street, Hetton-le-Hole, DH5 9AB. Lent to Sunderland Museum for 4 years, Nov. 1991.

Flints – Hetton-le-Hole, Bracken Hill, possible enclosure: Site 105, HER 5300, NZ 3698 4749.
A fieldwalking survey over the site of a possible rectilinear enclosure (see below) collected six pieces of flint (including an Early Bronze Age blade, a late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age blade and a post medieval gun flint from a flintlock firearm).

Hetton-le-Hole, flint flake: Site 106, HER 5301, NZ 370 470.
A flint flake of Late Neolithic or Bronze Age date was recovered during fieldwalking along the line of a proposed gas pipeline.

Great Eppleton, worked flint and medieval pottery: Site 107, HER 5302 NZ 368 477.
One piece of worked flint and three sherds of medieval pottery were collected during fieldwalking along the line of a gas pipeline. Two sherds were C12 or C13, the third was C14 in date.

Great Eppleton Flint Scraper: Site 108, HER 5303, NZ 364 485.
A Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age side-end scraper was found during fieldwalking along the line of a proposed gas pipeline.

10.2   Later Prehistory and Romano-British Period (1000BC to AD 44)

10.2.1 Bronze Age and Iron Age enclosures
Several possible settlement or stock enclosures have been identified in the Hetton Atlas Study Area, beside Eppleton Quarry, Bracken Hill, Easington Lane, Middle Rainton and Constitution Hill east of Little Eppleton. These sites were manifested either as cropmarks revealed by aerial photography or as patterns of magnetic anomalies in the subsoil traced by geophysical survey in the course of developer funded archaeological investigation. Morphologically they are characteristic of the enclosed settlements which typically first appear in the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age – in some cases preceded by phases of unenclosed settlement – and become particularly common in the coastal lowlands of north-east England in the later Iron Age. Some may continue on into the Roman period or might even be first established then.

However the only one of these sites that has been subjected to excavation in the Hetton area, the rectilinear enclosure near Easington Lane, was considered by the excavators to be a Bronze Age stock enclosure.

Our overall knowledge regarding Iron Age settlement in the North-East has been transformed in recent years by this kind of development-led investigation, and in particular by a series of extensive open-area excavations in advance of opencast coal extraction and housing development in south-east Northumberland, East Durham and the Tees Valley. The major sites examined include Thorpe Thewles and Faverdale in the Tees Valley (Heslop 1987; Procter 2012) and East and West Brunton, Blagdon Hall Estate (Delhi Opencast) and Pegswood Moor, near Morpeth, all in south-east Northumberland (Hodgson et al. 2012; Procter 2009). Some of the rectilinear settlement enclosures were very sizeable, containing multiple roundhouses and having supplementary enclosures attached. Complex structural sequences, comprising multiple distinct phases of activity potentially extending over several centuries were revealed. At Faverdale and Pegswood Moor extensive remains of fields, stock enclosures or paddocks, tracks and droveways were uncovered around the central settlement enclosures. What is especially noteworthy in relation to sites not as yet either excavated or subjected to geophysical survey, is that in many cases these subsidiary features were not apparent on aerial photographic coverage. Furthermore, not only were roundhouses found surrounding the central enclosure in a number of instances, but, at Pegswood, and East and West Brunton, the enclosed settlements were preceded by unenclosed settlements comprising as many as
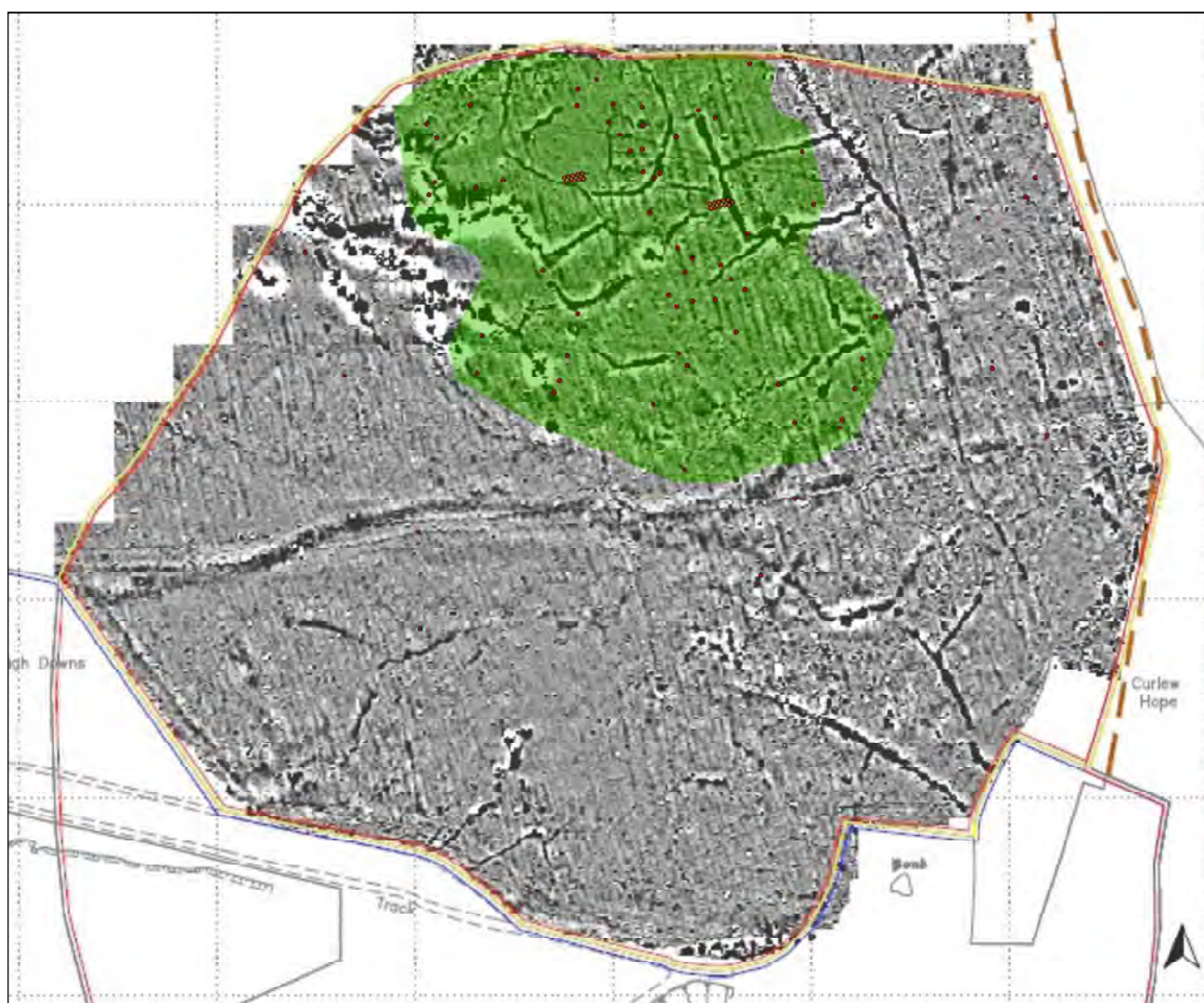
PREHISTORY IN HETTON
Geophysical Survey & Fieldwalking North of Eppleton Quarry in 2010
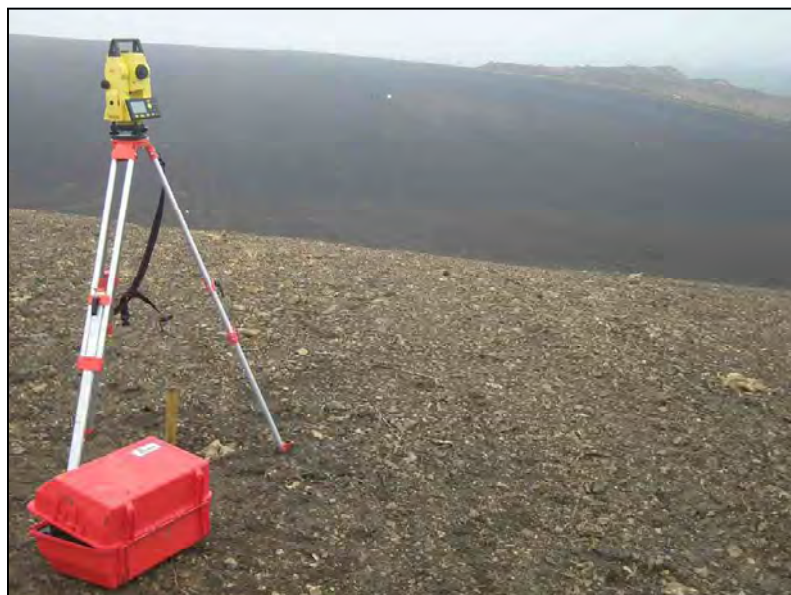
Surveying in the mist; a team of archaeologists field-walking on land to the north of Eppleton Quarry.

A geophysical survey showing a possible Bronze Age settlement and field systems on land to the north of Eppleton Quarry near Great Eppleton. The green shading shows the area subsequently fieldwalked with findspots highlighted in red.

PREHISTORY IN HETTON

Geophysical Survey & Fieldwalking North of Eppleton Quarry in 2010

Copt Hill Barrow

Site of possible
Bronze Age Settlement

View of the survey and fieldwalking area looking NW across the Seven Sister's Barrow to Copt Hill on the opposite hillside. The settlement identified by the geophysical survey lies on the ridge in the middle distance.

A selection of prehistoric worked flint tools found during fieldwalking north of Eppleton Quarry.

Sherds of medieval pottery discovered on the site, perhaps spread with manure from the medieval village of Aplingdene (Great Eppleton).

15-20 roundhouses, though many of the latter overlapped one another and were therefore clearly not all contemporary. On the other hand at Thorpe Thewles the enclosed settlement was *succeeded* by an unenclosed one, as an increased number of roundhouses – perhaps a reflection of population growth – could not be contained within the enclosure making it redundant. Thus, whilst many of these enclosed settlments doubtless represent the home of an extended family group, some are sizeable enough to be termed villages.

A detailed inventory of the sites within the Hetton Study Area, deriving from the Tyne & Wear HER and unpublished archaeological reports, is provided below.

LATER PREHISTORIC INVENTORY

Eppleton Quarry, High Downs: Site 142, NZ 3620 4885
Several curvilinear and rectilinear positive magnetic anomalies were detected during geophysical survey of the proposed quarry extension north of the present Eppleton Quarry, north-west of Great Eppleton Farm. The features predominantly on the higher ground to the north and east. These anomalies almost certainly represent the remains of soil-filled ditches. Most significantly, a sub-circular curvilinear positive magnetic anomaly detected at the north of the survey measuring *c*.65m x 85m almost certainly reflects an enclosure ditch. Within this a number of circular positive magnetic anomalies, between 10-15m in diameter, were detected which, given the proximity of known archaeological features of prehistoric date, are thought likely to reflect the remains of ring-ditches associated with prehistoric roundhouses. Further sub-rectangular and linear anomalies to the east south and south-east of the curvilinear enclosure may represent the ditches of stock enclosures and field systems. Associated with the soil-filled ditches in the north and east parts of the survey area are possible areas of burning which may reflect features such as hearths and ovens. It is noteworthy that the settlement and field/stock enclosures stretch in rough arc around the head of a steep-sided valley which descends towards the west. Traces of a palaeo-channel, belonging to a long dried-up stream which once flowed westward, were identified on the geophysical survey at the bottom of this valley. The settlement itself appears to occupied a spur or headland, overlooking the small valley to the south and the equally steep sided valley of the Rough Dene Burn to the north.

Middle Rainton, curvilinear cropmark: Site 13, HER 486, NZ 328 469
An apparently single-ditched sub-oval enclosure.

Hetton-le-Hole, Bracken Hill, possible enclosure: Site 105, HER 5300, NZ 3698 4749
Possible rectilinear enclosure. Measures 100-150m x 60m. The western end may be open ended. A probable later track from Great Eppleton SMV (SMR 259) crosses the end of the enclosure. A fieldwalking survey collected six pieces of flint (including an EBA blade, a late Neolithic or EBA blade and a post-medieval gun flint from a flintlock firearm) along with post medieval tile and clay pipe.

Easington Lane, rectilinear enclosure: Site 140, HER 13277, NZ 3607 4653
A rectilinear enclosure was identified through geophysical survey in 2007 and evaluation trial trenching by Tyne and Wear Museums Archaeology in 2008. The enclosure is formed by gullies or shallow ditches. A number of flint flakes including a scraper blade were found within the ditches. Environmental results also suggest a prehistoric date for the feature (false oat-grass-tubers and hazlenuts were present). A limited amount of fuel waste and fragments of burnt and unburnt mammal bone suggest a background level of domestic waste associated with habitation. A trench excavated in the centre of the enclosure did not record any features, which suggests truncation. The enclosure is situated on a small plateau near the crest of a hill on sandy soil. A fragment of charred hazel nutshell was radiocarbon dated to 4755 BP +/- 30. Another fragment was dated to 3005 BP +/-

30. The enclosure was fully excavated in 2010-11. The enclosure was 0.39 hectares in size. It was orientated approximately east-west and was formed by a single ditch along each side. Entranceways were found in the west and southern sides. The ditches varied in width and depth. The southern ditch was 1.70m wide and 0.60m deep at its eastern end and 2.10m wide and 0.28m deep at its western end. The ditch contained a single fill which contained flint tools. The sides of the ditches were sloping and it had a concave base. No internal features were found inside the enclosure. The excavators suggested that the enclosure may have been used as a stock corral. This would explain the lack of internal features (although plough damage and natural erosion may have removed these). The entrances are unusually wide. Traditionally late prehistoric enclosures have a single entrance facing east or south-east. Here the entrances face west and south. The excavators suggested that cattle could have been corralled from the dry western part of the site into the enclosure, with the southern entrance leading towards water at the burn. Cattle require daily water. Sheep prefer more upland drier areas and they don't require large amounts of daily water. Flints from the site date from the Mesolithic period (a residual flint which pre-dates the enclosure) to the Bronze Age. Of special note is an Early Bronze Age fabricator or knife. Radiocarbon dates from charcoal from the ditch fills confirm a Bronze Age date for the enclosure: 2350-2130 BC, 2140-1930 BC, 1640-1490 BC, 1380-1120 BC.

Constitution Hill, Little Eppleton, trapezoidal enclosure: Site 143, NZ 3722 4670
A narrowly proportion trapezoidal enclosure, aligned roughly east-west, can be seen on Constitution Hill in a field on the north side of the B1285 to the east of Little Eppleton. The enclosure appears to narrow slightly towards the west. A number of possible circular, sub-circular or arcuate cropmarks can be detected on the colour air photograph (NMR-12299-33) to the south of the enclosure and further east in the adjoining field. These might represent round house ring ditches but some appear very irregular and difficult to interpret and it is possible that a geological interpretation – frost-cracking perhaps - should be preferred in this case.

10.3 The Romano-British Period (AD 44 – 400)
No remains which can definitely be dated to the Roman period have been found in the Hetton Study Area. Nevertheless, this probably just reflects the present state our knowledge and the lack of intensive research in this part of Tyne and Wear. Even if there were no traces of Roman officialdom in the area, such as forts and roads with inscribed milestones, it is likely that the local population was farming the area in some way, just as it had been in the Iron Age, but we have simply failed to identify the traces.

10.3.1 The Roman military presence
With the conquest of the Brigantian tribal confederation during the later part of the 1st century AD, the Wear Valley and East Durham plateau, fell under the control of an expanding Roman empire along with the rest of what is now northern England,.

The principal bases of Roman power in the wider area were the forts housing garrisons of auxiliary troops, all connected together by the metalled highways for which the Romans are famous. The nearest of these forts to Hetton is located at Chester-le-Street to the north-west. This was situated on the north-south road known as Cade's Road after the 18th-century Durham antiquary who first traced its probable course (Bidwell and Hodgson 2009, 177; Margary 1973, 431-3, 441: roads 80a, 80b), at the point where another route, known as the Wrekendyke, branched off to reach the fort at South Shields at the mouth of the Tyne. The possible presence of another fort at Wearmouth, forming part of the late Roman coastal defences has also been suggested, principally on documentary evidence, though definitive proof is lacking. Cade's Road cut across the southern part of the East Durham Limestone Plateau and escarpment before descending into the valley of the

Wear and continuing northwards to Newcastle, passing well to the south-west and west of Hetton. It is less well understood than its more famous counterpart, Dere Street, further west, which was lined by forts at Piercebridge, Binchester, Lanchester and Ebchester. Chester-le-Street is the only fort known along Cade's Road, but recently evidence of a large civil settlement has been identified further south, beside Sedgefield (see below). This is equivalent in size to the substantial Romanised villages or small towns, known as *vici* (singular: *vicus*), which grew up outside the walls of each fort, and suggests there was a significant amount of commercial traffic along the road, which led directly to the legionary and provincial headquarters at York.

10.3.2 Civil and rural settlement in the wider environs

Hetton was thus not directly impinged by the main road network or distribution of military bases but would doubtless have been home to a number of local farming communities/settlements. Unfortunately the rural settlement pattern in East Durham and Wearside is still less well understood, although significant advances have been made recently (cf. Hewitt 2011, 68-70). Some of Iron Age enclosed sites are thought to have remained in use, at least up until the end of the 2nd Century AD. Some appear to have evolved into Romanised estate centres or villas, for example Faverdale, north of Darlington, where a two-room, stone-built, hypocaust heated structure, perhaps a bathhouse, was found (Proctor 2012). The main residential core of the villa complex there was not discovered, perhaps because ploughing had severely truncated the surviving archaeology on this site, but it may nevertheless be counted amongst the several villas to have been revealed in the Tees valley in recent years (e.g. Quarry Farm, near Ingleby Barwick, Chapel House Farm at Dalton-on-Tees, and Preston-on-Tees). This significant extension of the villa distribution north of Yorkshire has made the presumed villa site at Old Durham, on the east side of Durham City, appear altogether less isolated. A bathhouse, believed to have formed part of a villa settlement, was found there, plus two nearby round houses, although the main residential and agricultural components of the villa have not been located (Richmond *et al*. 1944; Wright & Gillam 1951). The Roman road known as Cade's Road is thought to pass close by the villa which remains the northernmost of these high status rural estate centres yet known in the Roman empire (Richmond *et al*. 1944; Wright and Gillam 1951).

In addition, archaeologists have also begun to identify nucleated roadside villages, with the discovery, geophysical survey and partial excavation of a 2nd-3rd century site covering at least 30 ha at East Park, Sedgefield (Carne & Mason 2006; Mason 2007; Carne 2009; Petts & Gerrard 2006, 54). This settlement straddled Cade's Road, with a series of plots, enclosed by fences or ditches and sometimes containing timber buildings, lining the road and extending eastward of it along an irregular network of minor roads or tracks. The enclosed plots were used for a variety of purposes including small-scale industrial activity such as pottery manufacture and stockpens. It is likely that future developed-funded archaeological work will bring to light further examples of this type of site, sometimes termed a ladder settlement, along with more villas and provide a clearer understanding of the lower status farmsteads of the period. It is eventually possible that such work will bring to light Roman period settlement in the area of Hetton itself.

10.4 The Early Middle Ages (AD 400 – 1100)

10.4.1 Introduction

Very little is known of Hetton and the other communities of the study area in the early Middle Ages. Only one archaeological site which can be ascribed to this period having been identified – one of the burials in the Copt Hill barrow, which was laid in a stone cist aligned east-west and was not accompanied by grave goods suggesting the decease may have been Christian. Lucy assigns a 5th- to 6th-century date to this burial (1999, 34).

Given the paucity of evidence plus the uncertainty regarding the settlement pattern in the preceding Roman period, it is currently impossible to determine with any precision how the rural population of the Hetton area were affected by the collapse of Roman imperial authority in the North at the beginning of the 5th century and settlers and cultures in the aftermath. There is great academic controversy over the extent of the immigration by people from the North Sea coastlands of the Netherlands, Germany and western Denmark in this period, though the existence of some degree of population movement is difficult to deny, given the linguistic change from Latin and Brythonic to English as the spoken language during these centuries. That is to say it is uncertain what proportion of the people Bede calls Anglians or Saxons in the late 7th-early 8th century were direct descendents of men and women who had crossed the North Sea at some stage to settle in Britain and how many had adopted Anglo-Saxon customs, culture and language as they were absorbed into the following of successful immigrant warriors. However this process eventually culminated in the emergence in the late 6th and 7th centuries of a new polity, the Kingdom of Northumbria, which espoused an Anglo-Saxon cultural and ethnic identity.

Copt Hill, Seven Sisters barrow, early medieval burial: Site 1, HER 437, NZ 3534 4922
"An unburnt body occurred on the summit of the mound about 10 feet S.S.W. of the centre. It was laid on its back at full length with the hands to the sides, in an E. and W. direction with the head to the W. It occurred in a... cist...4.5 feet above the ground level and 3 feet below the surface of the barrow. No implement occurred with this interment and it was judged to be of Anglo-Saxon and possibly Christian times". A secondary burial in the original mound.

10.4.2 Christianity, Monasteries and the emergence of parishes
Christian conversion (or reconversion- late Roman Britain was substantially Christianised) resulted in the emergence of new types of religious settlements and eventually new forms of territorial organisation of organising the landscape. Initially the Northumbrian church was based around a number of monasteries and what might be termed mission churches, known as minsters, monastic or quasi-monastic in character. The best known of the monasteries, such as Lindisfarne, Hexham and of course Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, where the famous Anglian double monastery was established in the 7th century, home to the great scholar Bede, were substantial sites with many buildings, some of stone, all provisioned by great estates. These institutions were severely damaged by the Viking invasions of the 9th century, most ceasing to exist as monasteries even if some activity persisted on the sites. However, partly through pressure from local landowners to establish more convenient centres of worship, churches were established in more widespread locations from the 9th century onwards and this ultimately gave rise to the network of territorial parishes which has persisted in modified form to this day. The parishes eventually provided an all-encompassing system of pastoral care and supervision, supported by the system of ecclesiastical taxation (tithes).

Early medieval ecclesiastical sites – monasteries, churches or estate chapels – can be identified through the discovery of pre-Conquest carved or inscribed stonework at later churches, often built into the later wall fabric. The nearest pieces lie at Monkwearmouth, Bishopwearmouth and at Chester-le-Street and Durham, where the monks of the Community of St Cuthbert found successive refuges during the late 9th and 10th centuries, after their previous home on Holy Island was menaced by Viking raids (*Corpus*, 53-9, 122-34). A little carved stonework also derives from the parish churches at Dalton-le-Dale and Seaham (*Corpus*, 61, 135). Although no equivalent stone work has been found there, an early medieval origin can also be postulated for the church of St Michael and All Angels at Houghton-le-Spring, the parochial centre for Hetton and its associated communities. The foundations of a Anglo-Saxon nave with flanking lateral chambers known as a porticus were found during archaeological supervision of works to install underfloor heating in Houghton church in 2008 (Ryder 2011, 62-6; Archaeological Practice 2009).

10.4.3   The Community of St Cuthbert and the bishopric of Durham

In terms of land tenure or ownership things become a little clearer towards the end of the period. From the late 9th century, the quasi-monastic corporation known as the Community of St Cuthbert (*congregatio sancti Cuthberti*) became increasingly dominant in the region between the Tyne and the Tees. The community was descended from the monastery established on Lindisfarne or Holy Island in the 7th century, where the celebrated saint Cuthbert was bishop in 685-7. Increasing pressure from Viking raiding from 793 onwards finally caused the monks to abandon their island home in 875, carrying the undecayed body of their saint with them in its coffin, before eventually settling at Chester-le-Street in 883 and re-establishing the seat of the bishopric there. Just over a century later the bishop and community moved again, this time to the better protected site of Durham in 995.

Hitherto Bede's monastery of Jarrow-Monkwearmouth had probably been the dominant landowner in this region in the 7th and 8th centuries, at least in what is now South Tyneside and Wearside (cf. Roberts 2008b). However the documents associated with the Durham Cuthbertine community (in particular the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* compiled in *c.* 1050) record that it was the recipient of numerous grants of land made by the Viking kings of York, notable rulers of newly emergent Kingdom of England – Athelstan and Canute – and prominent local lords during the course of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries (Roberts 2008a, 154-7, 226-36). Indeed this process of land acquisition may have actually begun earlier in the 9th century, before the community's move southward, as part of a deliberate effort to build up its southern holdings.

10.4.4   The origins of the villages

It is uncertain how long the dispersed arrangement of villas and farmsteads, which is presumed to characterise the Romano-British settlement pattern, was maintained after the end of the Roman period. Furthermore we only have occasional windows on the kind of estate centres, such as Yeavering, and smaller nucleated settlements (e.g. Thirlings in north Northumberland) and hence no clear understanding of how widespread such sites were. Nevertheless, at some stage a distinct and coherent arrangement, consisting of nucleated villages and hamlets, emerged, at least in the lowlands. This new configuration may have begun to take definitive shape from the 8th or 9th centuries onwards, but could quite conceivably not have been completed, or even to any substantial degree commenced, before the 11th or 12th centuries in many parts of County Durham and Northumberland. It is, moreover, unclear whether the nucleated settlements of Hetton-le-Hole, East Rainton, Moorsley and Great Eppleton occupied their present sites from the moment of their foundation. They may initially have been established on different sites and could have undergone one or more shifts of position before reaching their current locations (a process which has been documented for certain sites elsewhere in England, being known as the 'Middle Saxon shuffle'). This appears to have been the case at the recently discovered site at Shotton, near Cramlington in south-east Northumberland, where two successive phases of early medieval settlement were uncovered, each occupying a different location c. 300m from the site of the later medieval village (McKelvey 2010).

The earliest documentary references mentioning the various territorial communities or vills date to the 12th century, however in one case, that of Rainton, the records can be projected backwards as they relate to events which occurred at the end of the 9th or early in the 10th century.

1 - Rainton

The first appearance of Rainton in documentary sources occurs at the beginning of the 12th century in the writings of the monk Symeon, a member of the Benedictine convent attached to Durham cathedral, who attributed the foundation of the vill of Rainton (*Reiningtun*) to one Reingwald (Symeon, *Libellus*, III, 1 (*SMO*, I, 79-80)). Reingwald, who gave Rainton its name (i.e. the estate or vill

called after *Rægna*, short for *Rægenwald* – cf. Watts 2002, 100-101), was the son of Franco, one of the seven porters who carried the St Cuthbert's coffin during the wanderings of the Lindisfarne Community in 875-882. The pedigree provided by Symeon traced the descent through the seven generations from Franco through Reingwald right down to Elfred who was alive whilst Symeon was writing his *Libellus de exordio et processu istius, hoc est Dunelmensis ecclesie* in 1104-1107 (Aird 1998, 117, 119 fig. 3.2; cf. Watts 2002, 101). This suggests that Rainton originated as a distinct territorial unit around the end on the 9th or beginning of the 10th century, embracing the area of both the later townships of East and West Rainton, and presumably already formed part of the Community of St Cuthbert's holdings. In granting Rainton to Reingwald, the Community may have been rewarding him for his father's conspicuous loyalty, allowing him to draw revenue from the cultivators of that estate without actually ever fully relinquishing control over it.

Rainton still figures as a single entity in the earliest full list of Durham priory's estates, a diploma purportedly issued by Bishop William of St Calais in 1083 (*DEC*, no. 3, p. 8; *FPD*, xxxviii-xliii; cf. Aird 1998, 159-62) , but actually a forgery compiled by the Durham monks in the early 12th century (certainly post-1107 and probably c. 1123). Rainton is listed alongside the two Pittington vills (North and South Pittington), but there is no mention of Moorsley (. . . *nec non et Reinuintun, duo Pittindunas*, . . .), implying that the latter settlement had not yet been established. The earliest reference to two Raintons occurs in mid-12th century charters suggesting that the estate had been divided in two by this stage with a village settlement inhabited by tenant farmers established in each half to cultivate the land on the Priory's behalf.

10.5 The High Middle Ages (1066 – *c*. 1540)

10.5.1 Lordship and land tenure 1100-1500

Following the Norman Conquest, the hereditary, married priests, who had comprised the Community of St Cuthbert since the abandonment of the Holy Island monastery in the late 9th century, were replaced by a fully monastic convent of Benedictine monks, established by Bishop William de St-Calais in 1083 and attached to the rebuilt cathedral (Aird 1998, 100-141). The great landholdings of the Church of St Cuthbert were then divided between the Benedictine priory and the bishop (Aird 1998, 145-7, 155-66). In addition, during the period up to 1150, the bishop granted some of his estates to a number of barons and knights – the *barones et fideles sancti Cuthberti*. (In some cases this may have done no more than confirm local families in the possession of estates they already held.) As a consequence of these two processes the bishop came to be recognised as the universal, superior landlord between the Tees and Tyne – the area known as the *Haliwerfolc*. That is to say he was not only a major landowner in his own right, but also the 'sole landlord', subordinate only to the king (Liddy 2008, 25). Even those estates which the bishop did not hold directly and which were held instead either by the priory or by his barons and knights were all notionally held of the bishop as 'tenant in chief' in a feudal relationship.
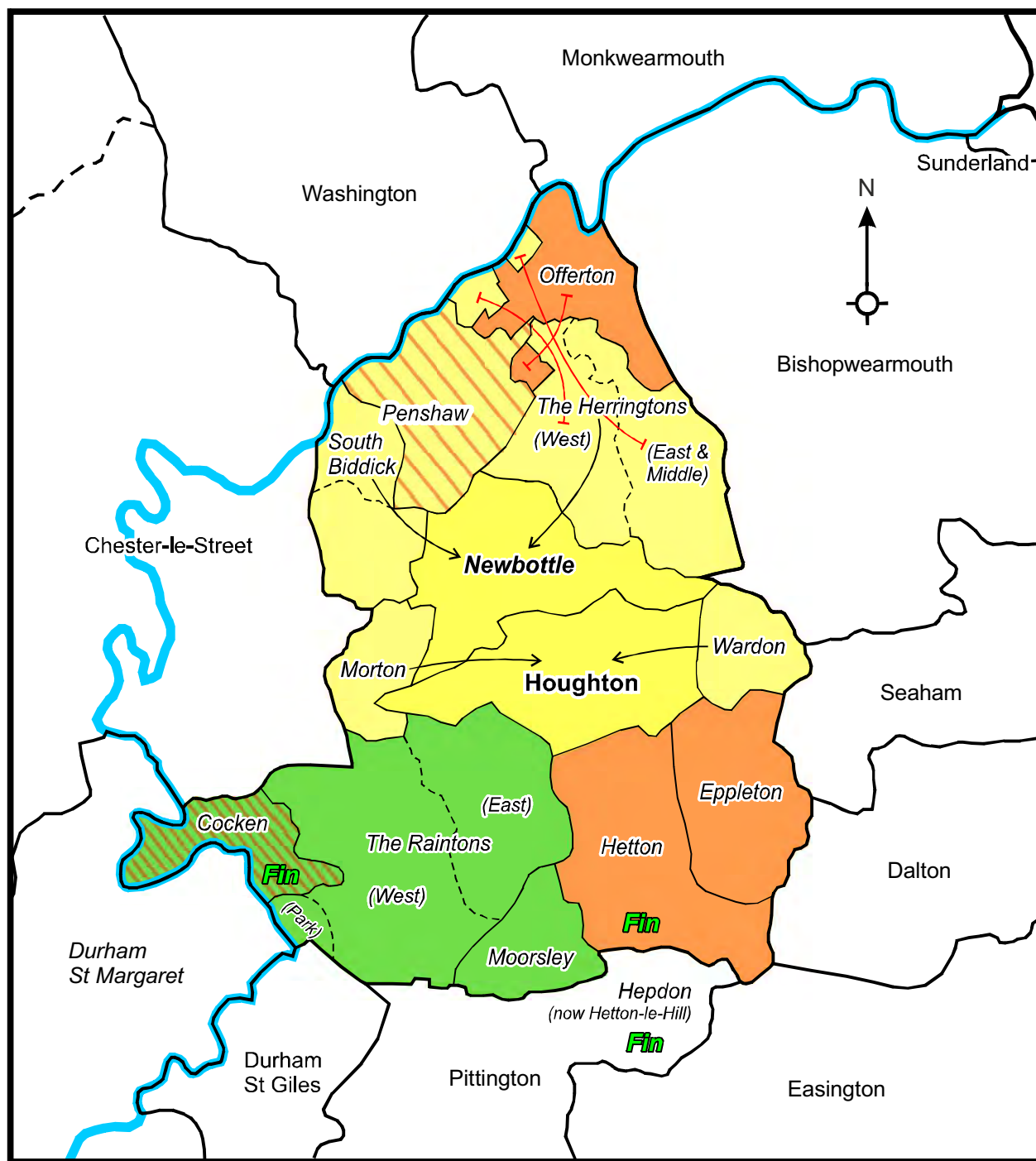
Thus landed estates in medieval County Durham, a large proportion of which must previously have been held by the disbanded Cuthbertine community, now fell into three categories of lordship:

1. The bishop's directly managed estates – an extensive collection of lands distributed throughout the region retained under the bishop's immediate control.
2. The patrimony of the cathedral priory established in 1083 or its subordinate daughter monasteries, or 'cells', such as Finchale priory or Jarrow and Monkwearmouth priories – another large block dispersed throughout the region[2].

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[2] In practice the estates held by the cells like Finchale were often conflated with those of Durham in medieval records, with those held by Finchale for example often being referred to casually as estates of the main priory.

Hetton Village Atlas
Medieval Lordship in Houghton Parish

Monkwearmouth

Sunderland

Washington

N

Offerton

Bishopwearmouth

Penshaw

The Herringtons

South
Biddick

(West)

(East &
Middle)

Chester-le-Street

Newbottle

Wardon

Morton

Houghton

Seaham

Eppleton

(East)

Cocken

The Raintons

Hetton

Fin

Dalton

(Park)

(West)

Fin

Durham
St Margaret

Moorsley

Hepdon
(now Hetton-le-Hill)

Durham
St Giles

Pittington

Fin

Easington

0	1	2	3	4 miles

☐ = Bishop's Estates   ☐ = Bishop's Demesne Manors   ☐ = Estate's of Bishop's Barons & Knights (feudal tenants)   ☐ = Durham & Finchale Priory Estates

Fin = Location of Finchale Priory Land   ← = Labour service performed by tenants of outlying vills on bishop's demesne farms
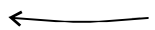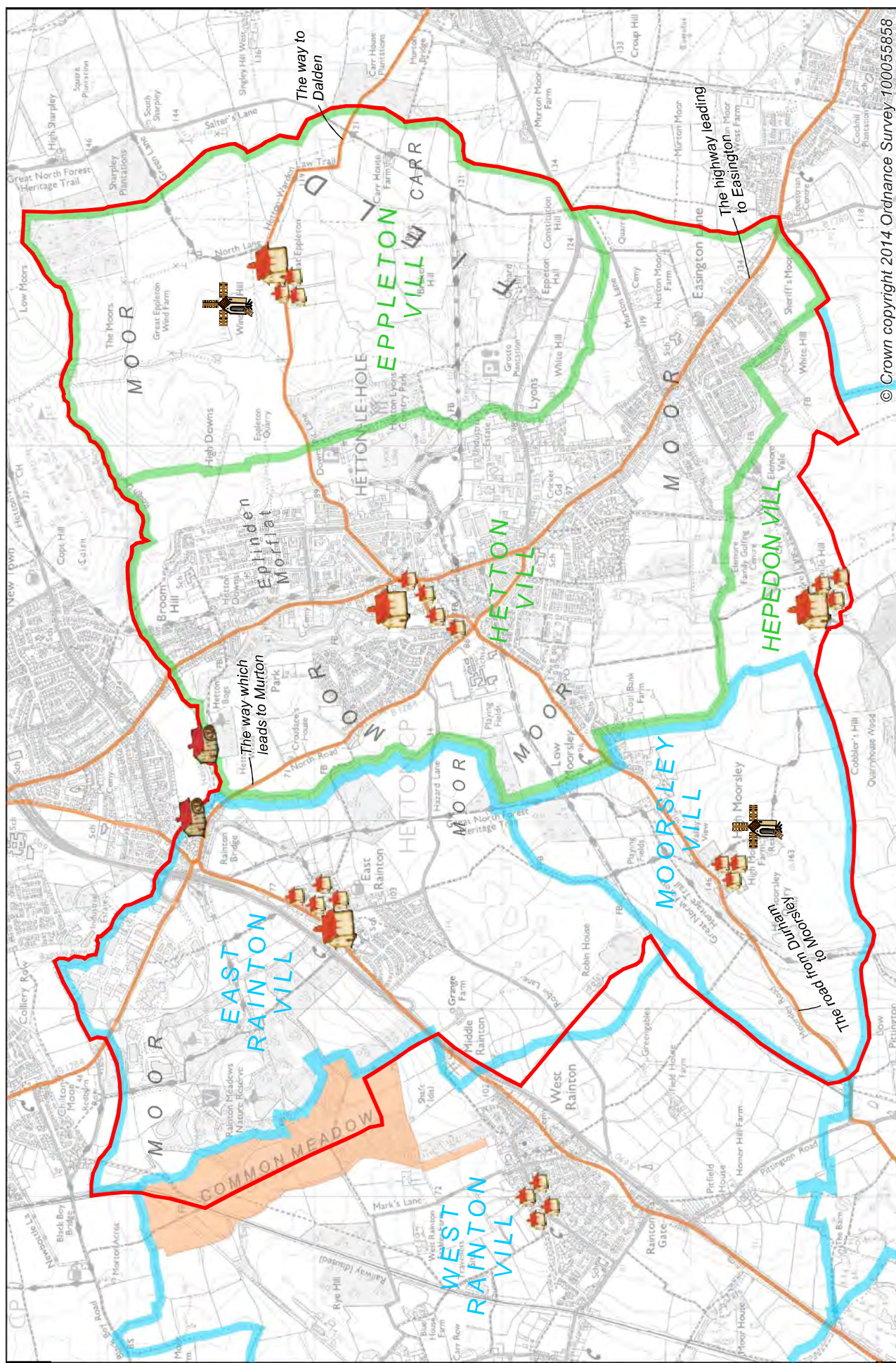
Plan showing Medieval points of interest in the Hetton le Hole study area.

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Watermill

Windmill

Medieval Village

Manor House/Grange

= Village Atlas Study Area

= Township with a Secular Lord

= Township under Durham Priory Lordship

The way to Dalden

The highway leading to Easington

EPPLETON VILL

CARR

HETTON VILL

HEPEDON VILL

The way which leads to Murton

MOORSLEY VILL

The road from Durham to Moorsley

EAST RAINTON VILL

COMMON MEADOW

WEST RAINTON VILL

3. A third category held by the subordinate barons and knights who were the bishop's feudal tenants and formed his military following.

The creation of this last group, sometimes termed the 'knights of St Cuthbert', was by a process known as 'subinfeudation', whereby the bishop retained nominal possession, as the superior lord, over the land granted to the baron or knight, but in practice the recipient exercised largely unfettered control over their fiefs, extracting rents and labour services from the peasants of the manor. Consequently the actions of these manorial lords would have had a much greater day-to-day impact on the life of village communities which fell under their control than would those of the nominal overlord, the bishop.

In return, the inferior lords were supposed to provide military service, in support of the bishop, the tenant in chief, who was himself bound to provide the king with military support. Some of these subordinate lords, those holding the largest number of knight's fees and most numerous estates, would in turn have enfeoffed followers of their own to enable them to fulfil their military obligation to the bishop. The bishop's feudal tenants were also supposed to attend his court and generally act as faithful, supportive vassals, forming what is known as an honorial community, honour being another term for barony (for the composition of this group of barons and knights in the 12th century see Aird 1998, 184-226; Scammell 1956, 222-9).

The area corresponding to the parish of Houghton-le-Spring, which encompasses Hetton provides a good example of these different types of tenures. Thus, the south-west quarter of the parish, comprising the two Raintons (East and West), plus Moorsley and Cocken townships were held by the priory. Cocken was subsequently exchanged for land elsewhere, but the majority of the vill was then gradually reacquired by Finchale priory over the course of the 13th and 14th centuries. The Finchale cell may also have held a little land in Hetton proper, but their main holding in this part of the parish was in Hetton-le-Hill (Heppedon, later Hepdon and Hepton) in neighbouring Pittington Parish, where they eventually held more than a third of the vill adjoining their substantial landholdings in Haswell, which formed one of their principal estates, centred the manorial farm of Haswell Grange. Most of Hetton-le-Hole township, however, as well as Eppleton immediately to the east, together making up the south-east quarter of Houghton parish, lay in the hands of secular lords – barons or knights who belonged to the bishop's feudal following[3]. The same was true of Offerton and parts of Penshaw and the Herringtons at the parish's northern extremity, but most of the townships or vills in the northern half of the parish – South Biddick (including the later township of Bournmoor or Biddick Fence), Newbottle, Moreton, Warden Law and Houghton itself, plus the remainder of the Herringtons, and of Penshaw – were all held by the bishop in the late 12th century when the Boldon Book was compiled.

It should be emphasised that this picture was never static. Whilst the great monastic institutions, like Durham Priory or its Finchale cell, tended to hold on to their principal estates and where possible enlarge them, even they would exchange lesser properties to enable them to acquire full control of properties elsewhere as was the initially the case in Cocken before Finchale built up its own holding there. Or they might grant them to free tenants for fixed rents as occurred in Moorsley (though again the monks subsequently reacquired full control of that vill). The episcopal estates saw even more evolution over time to enable the bishop to reward followers and further expand his network of patronage when necessary. Thus South Biddick, which was leased collectively by the villagers (*villani*) directly from the bishop in 1183, was split between two knightly families, the Conyers and

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[3] **NB** The suggestion in the Tyne & Wear HER entry (262) that Hetton figured in the Boldon Book and hence, was held by the bishop is incorrect. The 'Heton' listed as held for half a knight's fee in the Boldon Book represents Castle Heaton in Norhamshire, in what is now north Northumberland (formerly North Durham).

Burningills in the following century, who held the vill by charter as freeholders. Penshaw, which had been held directly by the bishop in its entirety before c. 1170 was granted in part to one of his barons, Jordan Escolland, during the 1170s, in return for lands the latter held in Bishop Middleham, which was in the process of being converted into one of the bishop's principal estate centres. (Escolland in turn granted his share of Penshaw to the same free tenant who had held the Middleham lands from him and who had been granted the rest of the township by the bishop, so that, in practice, virtually all of Penshaw was held by a single free tenant.)

Sources
The particular type of lordship to which any community was subject is significant because it has profound implications for the type and quantity of documentation pertaining to the estate. Because so much documentation relating to the Benedictine convent was preserved after the Middle Ages in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral (now held in Durham University Archives and Special Collections), there are abundant documentary sources relating to the estates held by Durham priory and its daughter cells. These include manor court records, account rolls, charters and surveys of one type or another. Hence there are copious records relating to Moorsley and the Raintons, particularly in relation to the 14th 15th and early 16th centuries. Whilst not quite as well served as the priory's lands, the estates of the bishop are fairly well documented with two major surveys (the Boldon Book *c.* 1183 and Bishop Hatfield's Survey *c.* 1381 – cf. Austin, *Boldon Book*; Greenwell, *Boldon Buke*; and *Hatfield Survey*) and numerous charters having survived from the Middle Ages. The third category, the lands of the bishop's barons and knights, which includes Hetton itself and Eppleton, is the least well recorded. There are however a number of charters and deeds relating to such estates, some preserved because they were deposited in Durham priory for safe keeping, notably the **Greenwell Deeds**, which are now held by Durham Record Office and were fully calendared in 1927 and 1930 (cf. *Greenwell Deeds* and *Greenwell Deeds 2*). In addition there is an important class of material known as *Inquisitions Post Mortem* or **IPMs**. These were surveys undertaken by the bishop's officers on the death of one of the bishop's tenants-in-chief, that is a baron or knight holding land directly from the bishop in return for military service, in theory at least. The purpose of the IPMs was to determine the extent and value of the feudal tenant's estates, whether his heir was of age (if not the land reverted to bishop as universal landlord in the palatinate until the heir attained majority), and to make provision for the widow, if surviving (who was normally entitled to a third of the estate during her lifetime). Abstracts of these inquisitions were made subsequently by the bishop's officers, and these have survived, beginning in Bishop Beaumont's tenure (1318-33) and providing full coverage for the period from 1333 onwards (Liddy 2008, 28-9; cf. *Cursitor's Records*).

10.5.2 The origins of the villages and descent of the manors
Although there is no direct archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement within the assessment area, it is likely that the townships within what is now the Hetton Town Council district originated as rural communities with defined territories during the early medieval period. Certainly Rainton seems to have been established as a distinct estate or land unit *c*.900, taking its name from the son of one of the bearers of St Cuthbert's body in the late 9th century, to whom the Community of St Cuthbert first allotted the property. In this case we can chart the process of subdivision into two vills, East and West, in the 12th century. The other vill communities, Hetton, Eppleton, Moorsley and Heppedun (Hetton-le-Hill) are first mentioned in charters of the 12th and 13th century.

Hetton
According to the standard account of the early development of Hetton, formulated by Surtees in the early 19th century, Hetton-le-Hill and Hetton-le-Hole originally formed a single manor and vill designated by the placename 'Heppedun', derived from the Saxon words 'hēope' and 'dūn', together meaning 'Wild Rose Hill' or perhaps 'Bramble-hill'. This name subsequently mutated into 'Hepedon',

'Hepden' and 'Hepton' finally forming the modern name of Hetton. After the Norman Conquest, Surtees further argued, the manor of Hetton was then split into two parts, or moieties, represented by present-day Hetton-on-the-Hill and Hetton-in-the-Hole, which themselves were later subdivided during the course of a particularly complex of succession and inheritance (Surtees 1816, 120, 212-13; Watts 2002, 59; cf. Hetton Community Association 1973, 1). Surtees was followed by later county historians, Mackenzie and Ross (1834, 368) and Fordyce (1857, 579), and has never been systematically reconsidered since.

There were always a number of problems with this reconstruction of manorial development. Firstly the two settlements lay within separate ecclesiastical parishes, namely Pittington (Hetton-le-Hill) and Houghton-le-Spring (Hetton-le-Hole). A township would normally be contained with the bounds of a single parish. Such a division would imply that the split occurred before the parochial structure of Durham had fully developed. Secondly the suggested division into moieties was extremely unequal. Surtees suggests that Hetton-on-the-Hill was the original core of the manor, not unreasonably since the placename Heppedun implies a hilltop location. However this 'core' is situated at the south-western extremity of the combined area and moreover encompasses only a small fraction of the area of Hetton-le-Hole township, which had a very extensive territory. Moreover the tenurial history reconstructed on the basis of all this was particularly confusing with moieties of moieties.

Close reading of the medieval sources however demomnstrates that there were in fact two separate placenames from the beginning – Heppedun/Heppedon which mutates to Hepden' and 'Hepton', acquiring the tag 'on the Hill' by the early 16th century; and Hetton, Hettona, or Hettune, which is similary qualified 'in the Hole' from the early 16th century onwards when such labels became fashionable.

This enables us to better distinguish which Hetton – Hill or Hole – is being referred to in the documents, something that has hitherto been rather problematic.

Heppedun (Hetton-le-Hill)

Heppedun appears earlier in the documentary sources than Hetton (Hetton-le-Hole) primarily because it figures in several, closely related, late 12th-century charters which concern a complex set of land grants involving Finchale Priory. These charters name the lord of the vill as Bertram de Heppedun, son of William de Heppedun. The father earlier featured, as 'William de Hoppedene', in the list of the Durham bishopric's barons, knights and other feudal tenants drawn up by the Bishop Hugh of Le Puiset, in 1166, in response to the feudal enquiry initiated by Henry II (cf. Aird 1998, 186-7, 195). William was listed as holding a single knight's fee.

In 1187 Bertram mortgaged the vill to Henry du Puiset, probably the son of Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham, as security for a loan of 30 marks (DCD 3.7.Spec.3, 4.1.Finc.35 (copy); printed: Surtees 1816, 213, I).

> **3.7.Spec.3** [1187]
> Agreement that Bertram de Hepedon at the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1187, with the permission of Dom H[ugh of Le Puiset] bishop of Durham, leased (*dimisi in vadium*) to Henry de Puteaco his vill of Hepedon for 40 years for 30 marks paid to him in his great necessity, and which Bertram and his heirs warranted, with the proviso that if they could not warrant it then he would substitute his vill of Aldingrange (*Aldincricg*) for the same term, and at the end of that term, Bertram and his heirs were to redeem their *wagium* for 10 marks, with Henry to keep the vill, and be able to assign it, until the 10 marks was paid.

Witnesses: Dom William archdeacon of Northumberland, Simon the chamberlain, Master Richard of Coldingham, Master William Blesen, Master Stephen Lincoln, Henry Marshal, Gilbert de Leia, Philip son of Hamund, Henry de Broc, Richard de Parco, Roger Bordon, Robert de Watevill, Alan of Chilton and Hugh his brother, Roger de Audri, Philip de Colevill, Henry of Farlington and Walter his brother, Peter Harpin, Hugh de Crauden, Robert of Lincoln, Drogo of Middleham.

Henry subsequently granted the vill to Finchale Priory, though the process was more complex that some of the charters might suggest (*Finchale*, 54 = DCD 4.1.Finc.36). Henry was endeavouring to establish a new monastery, initially at Haswell, and later at Baxterwood, beside the River Browney, to be constituted as a cell (subordinate monastic house) of Guisborough Priory (see the confirmation by Bishop Hugh, dated 1189/94: DCD 1.1.Finc.14 = *Episcopal Acta 24*, 59-60 no. 65). However, in the face of fierce opposition from the Benedictine monks of Durham Priory, Henry was eventually forced to abandon his project, giving the land he had amassed for the monastery's patrimony instead to the newly established cell of Durham Priory at Finchale (Lomas 1992, 129).

Bertram's fortunes must subsequently have recovered for him to redeem the loan he received from Henry of le Puiset and recover his title to Heppedon. Initially he seems to have acquiesced in the donations to the successive religious houses, with charters confirming the grant of the vill first to the Guisborough canons at Haswell and then to Finchale (DCD 4.1.Finc.37; printed: Surtees 1816, 213, II). Indeed in another charter records what was either a pre-mortgage or supplementary grant of land adjoining Haswell to the monk established there.

4.1.Finc.34 No date
Grant in free-alms, by Bertram son of William of Heppedon, for the souls of himself, his kin and all his friends, to God, St. Mary of Haswell and the brothers there, of all his meadow and moor towards Haswell attached to Heppedon, and all his land from the Heppedon -Durham road as the brow of the hill descends into the valley of Whitwelldene, with all his land in the valley by the brow.
Witnesses: Henry of le Puiset, Gilbert de la Lega, Gilbert de Laval, William de Ofdene, Robert Bruntoft;, William Tusard, William of Guisborough, Adam of Bedale, & *multis aliis*

However later charters restrict the grant to a third of the vill, specifically those parts nearest to their estates in Haswell. These are later confirmed by Bertram's son Geoffrey.

1.7.Spec.2 (cf. **4.1.Finc.44**) [1197 x 1217]
Grant in free-alms, by Bertram of Heppedon, for the souls of himself, his father and mother and all his kin, to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Cuthbert, Blessed Godric, the monks of Durham; God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St Godric at Finchale, of his vill of Aldin Grange with the service of the Browney and the Relley and a third of his vill of Heppedon: —
  ❖ ⅓ of the arable nearest their vill of Haswell to the south,
  ❖ ⅓ of Hudesley,
  ❖ ⅓ of Hililaw moor,
  ❖ ⅓ of the other moor,
  ❖ and ⅓ of the meadow
also confirming the grant in free-alms by Alice daughter of Richard of Heppedon to them of 3 bovates in that vill.
Witnesses: Aimery, archdeacon; Master John of London; Master Henry, son of Simon the chamberlain; Leo de Heriz sheriff; Jordan Escolland; Alan of Wilton; Osbert, son of William; Robert, son of Melebred; Thomas de Amundeville; Roger de Conyers; Geoffrey son of Geoffrey; William of Layton; Robert, son of Thomas; Walter Musters; Simon of Hawthorn.

4.1.Finc.40 No date [perhaps April 1209 x 1217, when first two witnesses were joint custodians of vacant bishopric. *Rot. Litt. Pat.* - Rec. Com. - p.91].
Confirmation in free-alms, by Geoffrey of Heppedon, son of Bertram, son of William of Heppedon, for the souls of himself, his father and mother, and all his kin, to God, B.V.M. St. Cuthbert, blessed Godric and the Durham monks at Finchale, of the vill of Aldin Grange and all right his father had in it, with the service of the Browney and the Relley, and of a third of the vill of Heppedon, both arable and otherwise … [itemised as above] [4] … those parts nearest Haswell, - as his father granted to the monks; also confirming the grant of Alice daughter of Richard of Heppedon to them of 3 bovates in the vill of Heppedon, in free-alms.
Witnesses: Emericus, archdeacon of Durham, Philip of Oldcoates, William Briton, Roger d'Audre, Geoffrey, son of Geoffrey, Robert son of Thomas, Ralph of Eppleton, Reginald Basset, Walter Musters;, Robert Musters, Walter d'Audre, Robert Burdon, Alan of Chilton, Robert de Humez, Adam de Lumesden, John of Thorpe, Matthew of Lumley, Uthred of Woodstone, John de Peshale, & *multis aliis*.

Thus Finchale appears to have amassed a considerable estate from the grants of Henry of le Puiset, Bertram de Heppedon and others, combining very substantial landholdings in Haswell, with the adjoining area of Hepdon (Hetton-le-Hill), amounting to more than a third of that vill. Its operations were centred the manorial farm of Haswell Grange, which was probably on the site of Elemore Grange farm, just south of Elemore Hall, This represented one of Finchale's principal estates.

In addition some part of the de Hepdon holding was also acquired by William de Worcester in the late 12th-century, probably by marriage to Alice, daughter of Richard de Heppedun. It is not clear what relation Richard de Heppedon was to William or Bertram (perhaps William's brother), but it is likely this landholding was relatively small by comparison to the main de Heppedon estate. Moreover William de Worcester, with the agreement of his wife Alice, granted two bovates with toft and croft (30 or 32 acres) as a free tenement to Norman de Stanton (DCD 3.7.Spec.1a; printed in Surtees 1816, 213), whilst Alice herself granted three bovates near to Haswell to Finchale, enabling further rounding off of the priory estate:

4.1.Finc.38 No date
Grant in free-alms, by Alice of Heppedun daughter of Richard, to God, Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Cuthbert and the Durham monks at Finchale, of 3 bovates in the vill of Heppedon, which lie near their land of Haswell towards the south, by divisions agreed between her and the monks.
Witnesses: Reginald Ganaunt, sheriff of Durham, Jordan Escolland, William, son of Thomas, Bertram of Hetton, Geoffrey, son of Richard, Robert, son of Meldred, Roger of Kibblesworth, Roger of Eppleton, Roger Burdon, Roger of Puncherton, Ilger Burdon, Simon of Hawthorn, Peter Harpin;, & *multis aliis*.

Nevertheless the bulk of Hetton-le-Hill appears to have remained in the hands of Bertram de Heppedon's descendants. One Roger de Epedon 'lord of the same' is recorded witnessing a charter dated 28 May 1340, implying the de Heppedons were still the most important landlords in the vill at that point. However at some stage in the 14th century tenure of the Hepdon estate became divided between two lineages, the de Hepdon and the de Dalden (formerly Escolland), each of which seems to have held a moiety of the vill in the second half of century. Their name would imply the de Hepdons were the descendants of Bertram de Heppedon. Thus, William de Hepdon held a moiety (half) of the vill jointly with his wife Sibil, at his death in 1362-3, leaving daughters Margaret (11) and Isabella or Sibilla (7) as his heirs (IPM: *Cursitors Records II*, 212; pedigree: Surtees 1816, 213, under

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[4] Hillilaw moor of 1.7.Spec.2 is here called the moor of Hillilane.

Hetton-le-Hole), though Sibil continued to hold the manor until her death in 1382 (IPM: *Cursitors Records II*, 214). This estate seems to have passed to Margaret's son Robert de Preston (IPMs Margaret de Hepdon: *Cursitors Records II*, 215 (1395), 218 (1414)). Likewise, at his death in 1369, William de Dalden was seized of half the manor of Hepdon, valued at 26s 8d, which he had held jointly with Alina his wife (IPM: *Cursitors Records II*, 183). He left a son, Jordan, as his heir, but the male line subsequently expired, and the heiress of the Dalden family married Sir William Bowes (Surtees 1816, 120).

This would imply that the de Hepdon's either granted half their manor to the Escolland-Daldon lineage at some stage after the early 13th century or the lineage may have failed in the male line with the manor consequently being split between two heiresses, the husband of one of whom may have taken the de Hepdon name. This would explain why both William de Dalden and William de Hepdon were said to hold their Hetton-le Hill estates jointly with their wives Alina and Sibil (who may represent the two heiresses).

Hetton (Hetton-le-Hole)
The earliest references to Hetton (le-Hole) are slightly later – dating to the early 13th century rather than the late 12th. This reflects grants of land from this vill played in the establishment of Finchale Priory – with donations being made by the lord, William de Laton, only after the monastery was established. William de Laton's grants were less substantial than those of his neighbours to the south: 30 acres of demesne arable land, an acre of mmeadow, plus associated pasture and milling rights (DCD 3.7.Spec.5; confirmed by William's son Gilbert: DCD 3.7.Spec.5*), and in a separate grant one serf, Philip, son of Osbert of Hetton, and his family (DCD 4.1.Finc.41; printed: *Finchale*, 164). However William de Laton, his son Gilbert, or descendants with the same names, figure in several 13th century charters preserved amongst the Greenwell Deeds (*Greenwell Deeds*, nos 29, 81-4, 90). Surtees (1816, 213) dated William's main grant to Finchale much later (c. 1380), failing to appreciate how early the de Laton lineage was exercising lordship in Hetton, which helps to explain why he wasn't able to fully disentangle the two separate vills and lordships. It is noteworthy that in Laton's charters the Hetton referred to always figures as Hetton or similar, not Heppedon or Hepdon, though Geoffrey of Heppedon is given his proper name when he appears as a witness, confirming the difference between Hetton (Hetton-le-Hole) and Heppedon/Hepdon (Hetton-le-Hill).

> **3.7.Spec.5** [c.1220s]
> Grant by William of Layton (*Latona*), for the salvation of the souls of his lords the bishops of Durham, himself, his father, mother, and heirs, to God, St Godric, and the prior and monks of Finchale, in exchange for all the corn rent which he ought to pay, of 30 acres of land and an acre of meadow in his vill of Hetton, that is 10 acres of his demesne with a toft and croft which Stephen Halling held and an acre of his demesne which Arnald Cambam held, and 2 acres of his demesne which William Parvus held, and 2½ acres in *Kirkeforde*, 2½ acres in *Sexhope*, an acre of meadow in *Holewelle*, 12 acres of arable on his moor towards Rainton in the south which Ralph son of Acolf held, to be held in free, pure and perpetual alms, with the demesne pasture except for his *dena* for 100 sheep for a year, 6 cows for a year, 8 oxen and 2 horses, and milling their corn at his mill without multure.
> Witnesses: Dom Adam de Yeland steward, Robert his brother, Roger Daudre, Walter his brother, Jordan Hayrun, Jordan of Dalton, Geoffrey son of Geoffrey, Walter of the monastery, Ralph of Eppleton (*Appligdene*), William of Lumley, John of Thorpe, William of Haswell, Geoffrey de Heppedon, Adam of Lumsden (*Lummesdene*), Hugh of the chapel, Robert of the monastery, Ranulph of Fishburn.
> Dated by comparison with the next.

3.7.Spec.5* [?1229 x 1235]
Grant by Gilbert of Layton (*Latona*), for the salvation of the souls of himself, his wife, his father, mother, and heirs, to God, St Godric, and ?M prior and the monks of Finchale, of 30 acres of land and an acre of meadow in his vill of Hetton, that is 10 acres of his demesne with a toft and croft which Stephen Halling held and an acre of his demesne which Arnald Caymbaym held, and 2 acres of his demesne which William Parvus held, and 2½ acres in *Kirkeforde*, 2½ acres in *Sexhope*, an acre of meadow in *Hollewelle*, 12 acres of arable on his moor towards Rainton in the south which Ralph son of Acolf held, to be held in free, pure and perpetual alms,with the demesne pasture except for his *dena* for 100 sheep for a year, 6 cows for a year, 8 oxen and 2 horses, and milling their corn at his mill without multure.
Witnesses: Dom John de Rumessey, Dom Geoffrey son of Geoffrey, Walter de Audery, Nigel de Rungetoll, William Hayrun, William of the monastery, Ralph of Eppleton (*Applindene*), William of Lumley, William of Haswell, Hugh of the chapel, Adam of Lumsden, Geoffrey of Thorp, John de Rungeton.
Rumessey's position in the witness list indicates he may then have been steward (as Yeland was in the previous, similar document) and he is recorded as such 1229x1235.

4.1.Finc.41 No date (printed: *Finchale*, 164)
Grant, by William of Layton, to God, blessed Godric and the Prior and monks of Finchale, of Philip, son of Osbert of Hetton, and all his household (*sequela*).
Witnesses: Adam de Geland, Roger d'Audre, Walter Musters, Geoffrey, son of Geoffrey, Robert Musters, Peter Harpin, Jordan Dalden, Ralph of Eppleton (*Epplinden*), Geoffrey of Heppedon, William of Haswell, Walter Tusard, Simon of Wingate, John Harpin, Walter of Wingate, William his brother, Robert of Cambois
Cambois, Henry clerk of Giggleswick, & *multis aliis*.

The male line of the de Latons failed in the early 14th century, leaving Cecilia, wife of Peter Brackenbury, as sole heiress (the pedigree in Surtees 1816, 215 is incorrect). The manor was in Peter de Brackenbury's hands by the 1340s indicating Cecilia's father must have been deceased by then. From Cecilia, who outlived her husband (ob. 1349), dying in 1370, Hetton passed to her son Thomas and grandson William, both of who took the name de Laton. On William's death (1420), however, the estate passed to his surviving daughter Elizabeth, wife of Sir Peter Tilliol. Their only son, Robert, died shortly after his father (1436) and the estate was divided between their two daughters, Isabel and Margaret, passing by marriage to the Colvyle and Moresby families. The Colvyle portion was thereafter (1479) subdivided further between heiresses who both married into branches of a Cumberland lineage, the Musgraves, each holding a fourth, whilst the Moresby moiety, which passed by marriage to the Pickering family in 1499, amounted to half the manor (Surtees 1816, 215, Mackenzie and Ross 1834, 368-9*)*.

The Raintons (East and West)
The origins of Rainton were discussed above (10.4.4). Still mentioned as a single entity in the forged charter prepared by the Durham monks in the early 12th century, by the mid-12th century both Raintons are mentioned. They feature along with Moorsley in the comprehensive lists included in the 1157 papal confirmation of Durham Priory's properties (*PU* ii.274) and in a similar charter of confirmation Henry II issued between 1154 and 1166 (DCD 3.1.Reg.1; printed in *FPD*, Appendix no. II, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi). There they form part of a block of contiguous territories centred on Pittington – 'Pittington with the church of that same vill, and the other Pittington, Moorsley and Hardwick, Rainton, and the other Rainton with the vill of Cocken' (. . . *Pitindunam cum ecclesia eiusdem villae, et aliam Pitindunam, Moreslau, et Herdwich, Raintonam, et aliam Raintonam cum villa de Cochena*, ...).

Taken together these documentary references imply that the Rainton estate was divided in two between c. 1125 and c. 1150, with each half now centred on a nucleated village of tenant farmers. It is unclear whether one of the settlements existed previously at the centre of the unified estate, whether there was an earlier village settlement on an entirely different as yet unidentified site or whether the pre-12th-century unit was characterised by dispersed settlement comprising several individual farmsteads and small hamlets.

Moorsley (*Moreslau*)

The charter evidence summarised above suggests that Moorsley (or *Moreslau* as it first appears in the documents – perhaps 'Morulf's hill': Watts 2002, 80) perhaps was established as an autonomous territorial community during the second quarter of the 12th century (it is not mentioned in the early 12th-century forgery but does figure in the 1157 papal confirmation). As it appears to have belonged to Durham Priory from the start and there is no record of it originally being granted to the monastery by either the bishop or another lord, the territory of Moorsley was probably carved out of one of the priory's existing estates, that is to say either Pittington or Rainton, rather than Hetton, the other adjoining township (which was probably in the possession of a secular lord).

Moorsley later formed part of Houghton parish rather than Pittington parish, so Rainton would seem to be the most likely candidate to be its 'parent', as suggested by Greenwood (*FPD*, 126 n.1), but it follows immediately after the two Pittingtons in the charter referred to above and is sometimes associated with the Pittington in other ways so Lomas favoured Pittington (*Bursars Rentals*, 206)[5].

Ilbert the mason and Adam of Moorsley

The charter evidence tells us something about the circumstances of Moorsley's foundation. Whether or not the vill first took its name from someone called Morulf or something similar, as Watts implies (2002, 80), it is first mentioned in the hands of one Ilbert *cementarius* (Ilbert the mason), perhaps around the mid-12th century. Ilbert may have received the land in reward for his building work at the priory and cathedral, but it is also possible that Ilbert was exploiting limestone quarries there to provide lime for the building works he was engaged in, as Greenwell suggested (*FPD*, 126n). Ilbert's son Adam (whose late 12th-century charters provide the evidence for Ilbert's possession of the vill) treated the holding as though it were a feudal holding, a fee, though Greenwell suggests may originally have been a leasehold or a free tenancy.

Later in the century, but not later than 1184, Ilbert's son Adam of relinquished or 'quitclaimed' control of the vill to the priory in return for a substantial corrody for himself – board and lodgings in the priory for the remainder of his life – and a six bovate (probably 96 acre) tenement to sustain his wife rent free for the remainder of her life (charters: DCD 4.7.Spec.9, 4.7.Spec.15, both printed in *FPD*, 127n). Adam may well have been of advancing years when he made this donation, conscious of his own mortality and concerned for the salvation of his soul. By this act he ensured he would remain well fed and cared for during the remainder of his life in a spiritually beneficial environment, less vulnerable to the perils of earthly temptation, and made adequate provision for his wife, who, as a woman, would have been barred from residing the priory with her husband. However Adam appears to have substantially disinherited his offspring since he also granted a second vill, Hardwick, near Monk Hesledon, to the priory at the same time. Nevertheless his eldest son, Elias, seems to have been content with the arrangement since the latter simultaneously granted to the priory the 80 acres of arable land and 2½ acres of pasture with toft and croft, which he held in Moorsley

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[5] In 14th-century rentals Moorsley follows directly after the North and South Pittington entries, which are themselves preceded by East and West Rainton; also Pittington and Moorsley mills were leased together in the 1270 rent roll (*Bursars Rentals*, p. 28), and Moorsley seems to be more closely associated with Pittington manor than with Rainton in the Halmote Court Records.

(presumably a previous grant from his father), in return for a corrody similar to the one his father held, plus a toft with two acres of land in Moorsley to sustain his wife during her lifetime (DCD 4.7.Spec.1, *FPD*, 127-8n). Perhaps the family was quite pious. Adam had previously granted the tenement held by Astinus (presumably a peasant farmer), comprising a toft and croft, plus 16 acres of arable land (1 bovate or oxgang) with associated pasture, to his second son, Bertram (DCD 4.7.Spec.7, 4.7.Spec.20; printed in *FPD*, 128n). Alan, the third son, was to receive the tenement if Bertram died childless. Since the charters recording this granted ended up in the priory's archives it would appear that even this tenement was eventually acquired by the monks.

Eppleton

The medieval vill of *Æpplingdene* ('Appletree valley') encompassed both the post-medieval townships of Great Eppleton and Little Eppleton. The village settlement which formed the central focus of the vill was located at Great Eppleton.

Little Eppleton township was a post-medieval creation, the result of the division of the township between two landowners at the end of the 17th century. The settlement of Little Eppleton is first mention in c. 1665 as Eppleton Field House, that is to say 'the (farm)house established in the "Field" (the cultivated arable land) of Eppleton'. The tenurial history of Eppleton suggests this farm might have been established in the 16th century but is unlikely to be any earlier.

Eppleton proper is first mentioned in a charter cited by Surtees (1816, 217), recording that the lord of the manor, Roger de Epplingdene, had granted a carucate of land (60-120 acres) and 20 acres of his demesne land (the directly managed land attached to the lord's manorial farm) to Durham Priory in the later 12th century (DCD 3.7.Spec.13):

> Grant by Roger of Eppleton (*Epplingdene*), for the salvation of his soul, to God and St Mary and St Cuthbert and the prior and monks of Durham of a carucate of land in the vill of Eppleton which lies to the east in the field of the vill, with the increase (*incremento*) of 20 acres of his demesne together with 2 tofts which were of Ralph de Fonte and Norman son of Spron, that is 7 acres of his demesne cultivation at **Estwell** and 7 acres of the cultivation of **Barewes** on the east part and 6 acres of the cultivation of the croft on the east part, to hold in pure and perpetual alms.
> Witnesses: Jordan Escott, Leo de Heriz sheriff, William de Latun, Roger of Conyers (*Coiners*), Jordan Harrun, Simon Vitulo, Richard de Rana, Ranulph of Fishburn, William of Lumley, John of Ketton, Richard Brun.

His son Ralph subsequently granted this same land, with some additions, to Kepier Hospital in Durham, perhaps c. 1225/35, implying that the initial grant had never been fully implemented.

Roger himself was included in the list of barons, knights and other feudal tenants submitted by the bishop of Durham, in 1166 (Roger of *Heplingdene*; cf Aird 1998, 186-7, 195, 204, 218), and is attested witnessing the charters of Bishops Hugh of Le Puiset and Philip of Poitou between 1170/1174 and 1203/1208 (*Episcopal Acta 24*). He obviously took his name from his principal estate, Eppleton itself, which was held for the feudal service of one knight's fee (as indicated in the 1166 inquest, though his estates are not named therein). His family continued to hold Eppleton until 1391 when the last member of the lineage, Robert de Epplingden, sold his estates to Sir John Heron, a famous gentry family of the East March, whose heirs continued to hold the estate for the rest of the Middle Ages.

10.5.3 Landlord and tenants

We tend to think of medieval peasants as a single group, an undifferentiated mass of downtrodden subsistence farmers at the mercy of their lord's whim. However, just like any modern community,

the true picture is more complex. A village like Hetton or East Rainton would have contained well-to-do peasant farmers with more substantial landholdings, who might well control the affairs of the village, as well as poor ones, with little or no land, who were dependent on finding paid work and were always on the breadline, at risk of hunger, particularly at slacker times of the year. The majority lay somewhere in between, generally growing enough to feed their families, pay their rent and perform the required labour for the lord, but vulnerable to a series of bad harvests or a prolonged recession.

Moreover circumstances changed over time. In particular conditions for the rural population in the aftermath of the Black Death were very different from those which had prevailed before. Instead of an expanding peasant population hungry for land and obliged to accept the terms their lords imposed, the calamitous mortality meant there was a shortage of agricultural labour. Lords found it impossible to maintain their income at the previous levels and their relations with their tenant farmers were an increasing source of anxiety.

However, as far as the present study is concerned, we only have sufficient information to examine the different categories of tenant farmer in the western half of the Hetton Study Area, where the medieval communities in question – East Rainton and Moorsley – formed part of the estates of Durham Priory. The wealth of detailed records kept by the monastic community and subsequently preserved by the cathedral's Dean and Chapter and now housed in the Archives and Special Collections of Durham University Library demonstrate that several different categories of tenant farmer were present in these communities. Each village and township tended to include a mixture of the different categories though that mix could vary quite markedly. To some degree every village was unique:

- ❖ **Free tenants** were generally of higher status and had less onerous conditions imposed upon them.
- ❖ **Customary tenants**, so called because they held their tenements according to the custom of the manor, regulated through the lord's manorial court. At West Rainton they comprised **bondmen**, whose rent took the form of compulsory work on the prior's home farm, but did not include money rent, **husbandmen** who just owed money rent. At East Rainton and Moorsley there were tenants of medium-sized plots, known as **bovaters**, who owed a combination of money rent and limited labour services. The 7 bondmen and 6 husbandmen at West Rainton all held 32 acre tenements, whilst the 33 bovaters at East Rainton each held 16 acre plots and their 12 counterparts at Moorsley held 12 acres apiece.
- ❖ **Cottage holdings** which comprised a cottage and a few acres of land or sometimes just a garden.
- ❖ **Leaseholders**. From the end of the 14th century onwards an increasing number of tenants came to hold their tenement on a **short-term lease**, between 3, 6, 9, 12 or 15 years being typical, the great majority being for 9 years or less (Lomas 1977, 37-8; 1992, 178-9). These paid a money rent and were not liable for an entry fee (*gressum*) when they took over the holding, of the kind which was imposed on husbandmen who held their tenements for life. It has been suggested that the multiple of three years may have been to accommodate a crop rotation system.

These categories are examined in more detail below in specific relation to Moorsley and East Rainton. West Rainton is also included as in certain respects it was treated by the priory as a single estate with East Rainton. (See *Feature: The Tenurial Structure of Durham Priory's Vills*.)

The evidence is derived from the various bursar's rentals, rent books and similar documents (in particular the bursar's rental of 1340-41: *Bursars Rentals*, 40-44 = DCD Bursar's Book A folios 25r-

26v), and on a series of early 15th-century written surveys. The latter include the 1430 feodary survey of freeholdings (Greenwell, *FPD*, 19-20) and a survey of c. 1411 listing all the tenements in topographical order (DCD Bursar's Book E folios 1-22), which was utilised by Louise Campey to plot the layout of the tenements in relation to the village plans of East and West Rainton (1987, 82-3, 99-100; 1989, 69). Of particular importance is the schedule of tenements liable for an ancient due known as *gilly-corn* paid in sheaves of corn to the almoner of Durham Priory, which was compiled in 1424 (Fraser 1955, 50-60; DCD Almoner's Cartulary II, fols. 27v-30). Although late in date this only listed tenements which originated at a much earlier date, since tenements established after about 1200 were not liable for gilly-corn. It thus provides an indication of what form the tenurial structure of the priory's vills took in that earlier period, around the late 12th/early 13th century, which may be usefully contrasted with pattern illuminated in more detail by the later documents.

Freeholders

The early 15th-century surveys which document the freeholdings in detail show their size varied considerably. The terms by which free tenants held their tenements were equally varied. It should be emphasised that freeholders did not 'own' their holdings outright – the modern sense of freehold – but free tenure was governed by common law rather than the custom of the manor, with the result that free tenants paid rents fixed in perpetuity, could sell or grant their holdings without seigneurial interference and could sue their lords in court (Lomas 1996, 76-7; Bailey 2002, 26). All free tenants swore homage and fealty, becoming the landlord's sworn followers, and paid a fee known as relief when they first acquired their inheritances and all were required to attend the prior's free court at Durham, either fortnightly or three times a year at the capital sessions. Most in theory also owed 'military service', though it is not clear what this meant in practice, and paid a small amount of money in annual rent. Some might have to provide a pound of pepper or cumin or a sparrowhawk instead of money (Lomas 1977, 28-9; 1996, 19; Bailey 2002, 27-8).

More unusually, some of the priory's free tenants were burdened with having to perform labour services on the lord's manor and other obligations more usually imposed on customary tenants. These latter included *merchet*, the fee sometimes levied when a tenant's daughter or non-inheriting son was married, the death duty fee known as *heriot*, levied on a deceased peasant's estate, and the obligation to grind their corn at the prior's mill (suit of mill), with a set proportion of the ground corn, or multure, usually a thirteenth (*ad XIII vas*), being paid to the lord.

Finally it is worth noting that freehold tenants might hold land in several townships often some distance from one another.

Bondlands

In return for their holdings the bondmen originally just owed labour services to the priory, in the form of works on the manorial farm in the vill. The type of survey known as a customary or *Landbok*, which documented these services, itemising what type of labour had to be performed and how much and how often, has not survived for the prior's estates so the details for the West Rainton are unclear. Nevertheless the comparison with priory manors where such information has been recorded in account rolls, such as Pittington, probably gives a reasonably accurate impression of the level of imposed on the seven bond tenants of West Rainton. The fundamental obligation was weekly work (*opera annualia*) on the priory's manorial farm, normally two days a week, but rising to three days a week during the busy period between June and September. Extra works were also exacted at harvest time (*opera autumpnalia*) and bond tenants may have to perform certain other specified tasks (Lomas 1977, 30-31). Bondmen were, or had been originally serfs, or **neifs** to use the term current in northern England (Latin: *nativi*). They had to swear a personal oath of feality to the prior and were bound to hold their land at the lord's will. Hence they were tied to their tenements unless the lord released them.

FEATURE: THE TENURIAL STRUCTURE OF DURHAM PRIORY'S VILLS

This summary below is largely based on that provided by Lomas and Piper (*Bursars Rentals*, 205-6).

EAST RAINTON

Demesne: the priory's manorial farm was located at East Rainton in the village and most if not all the demesne land probably lay there as well. Directly managed until 1314, it was leased out thereafter and included in the syndicate land from 1482.
Freeholdings: Evidence for four originally:
1) 60 acres (recovered by priory 1388)
2) 10 acres (also recoved 1388)
3) one messuage and 48 acres (named Coldinghamland – recovered 1424)
4) one messuage and 60 acres with 5acres 3 roods of meadow (recovered 1451).
Customary holdings: originally thirty three 12 acre bovates (Fraser 1955, 53).
Late medieval syndicate: Formed by 1482, with eight shares (DCD Halmote Book II fols 161v-162r).

WEST RAINTON

Demesne: No manorial farm in the village itself, but the bondmen of West Rainton would originally have had to work on the farm in East Rainton.
Freeholdings: Evidence for two originally:
1) 40 acres (recovered 1321/41 and granted to the communar – *FPD*, 19-20)
2) 20 acres (half recovered in the mid-13th century and granted to the communar; the remaining 10 acres passed to the Guild of Holy Trinity – *FPD*, 313).
Customary holdings: Originally six husbandlands and seven bondlands (Fraser 1955, 53).
Syndicate: Formed by 1471, initially one share, increased to eight in 1486 (DCD Halmote Book II fols 119v, 175v-176r).

MOORSLEY

Demesne: None known. There was no manorial farm in the settlement itself. Curiously the gilly-corn schedule mentions demesne land in Moorsley (Fraser 1955, 53: '26 acres of the Commoner and the Manor, which render nothing'), the only vill where it does so.
There were also 54 acres of *leylandes*, presumably meadow, which seem to have been treated as separate from the main tenant land.
Freeholdings: (See above – Moorsley) The vill was granted to the priory by Adam of Moorsley not later than 1184, return for a substantial corrody providing accommodation in the priory, plus provision for his wife. His son, Elias, granted 80 acres to the priory on similar terms (*FPD*, 126-8n).
Several small freeholds belonging to the Scayfe and Casse families were recovered in the 13th century. (DCD 4.7.Spec.1-20, Misc.Ch. 2131-2).
Customary holdings: Originally twelve bovate holdings of 16 acres apiece (Fraser 1955, 53).
***Syndicate***: Formed by 1514 with three tenants (DCD Halmote Book III fol 126r).
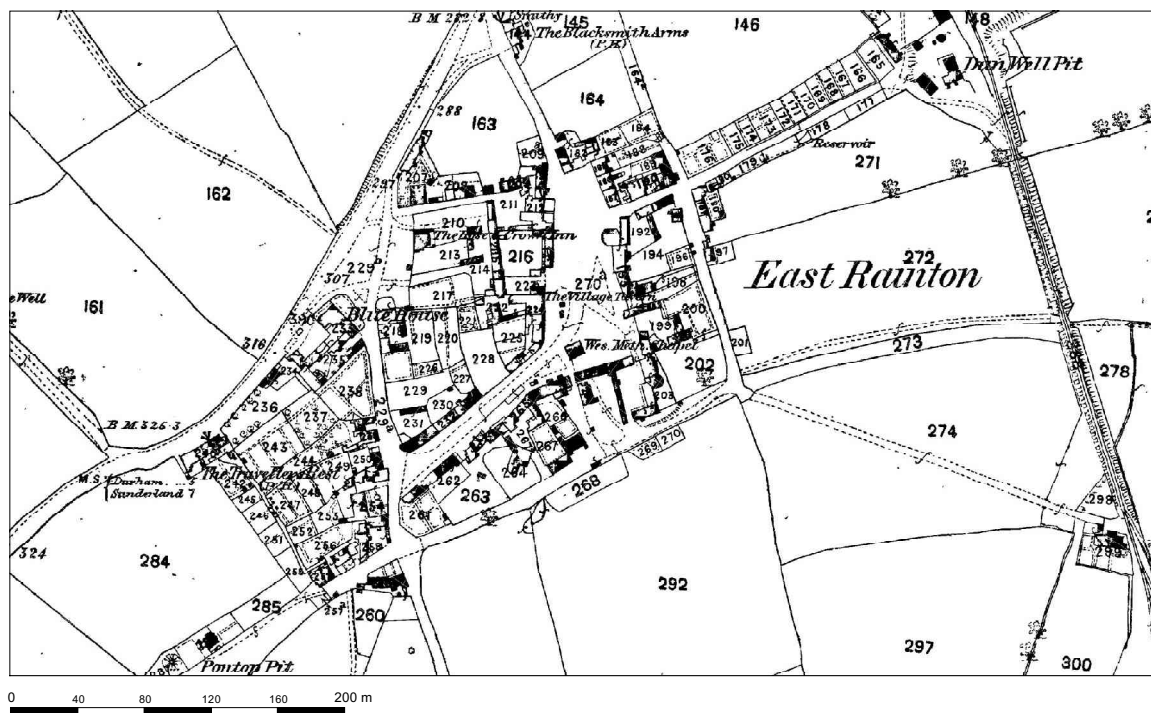
The Tenements of East Rainton Village

East Rainton village shown on a late 18th-century estate map DRO NCB I/X 228, reproduced by permission of Durham County Record Office.
Below: The type and disposition of medieval tenements in East Rainton based on a survey of 1411 (after Campey 1987, fig.13).
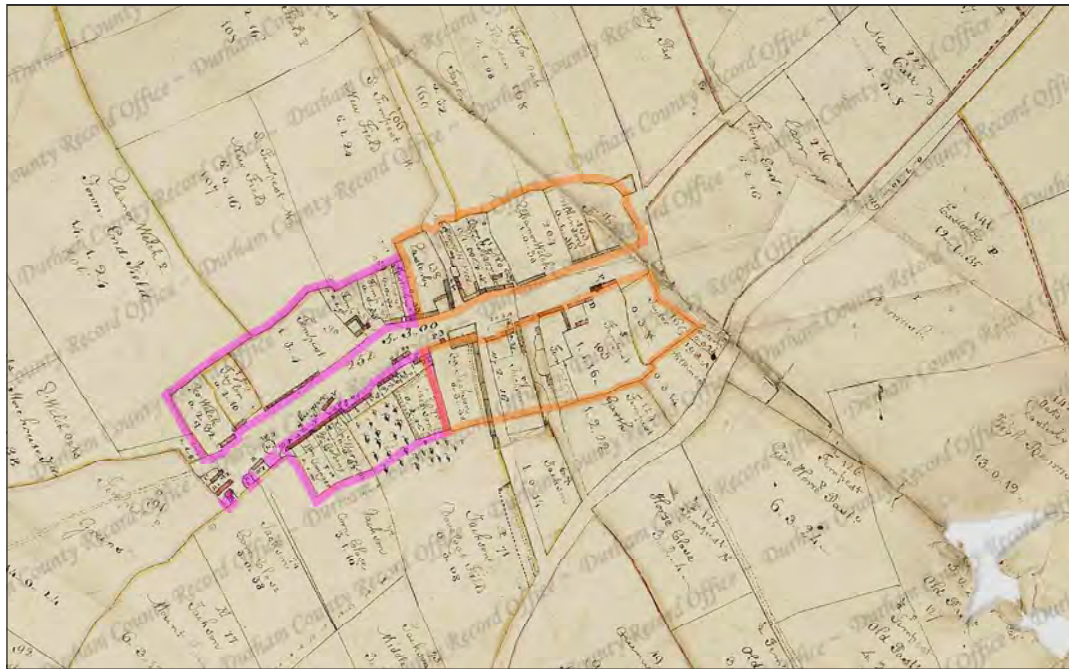

North Row
F2   F3
West Row
F1
South Row
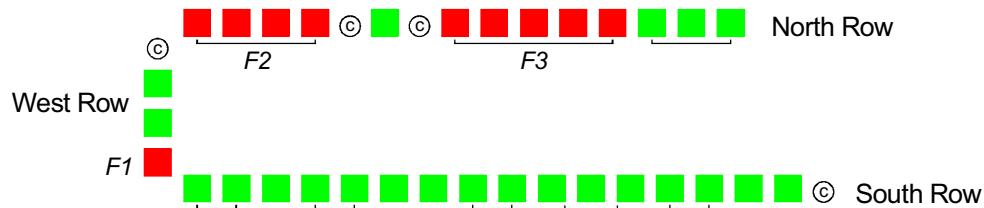
Key: ■ = Freehold bovate (12 acres)   ■ = Customary bovate (12 acres)   ■■ = Tenement contains multiple bovates as shown   © = Cottage holding

Extract from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, 1856, showing East Rainton village.

The Tenements of West Rainton Village

West Rainton village shown on a late 18th-century estate map (DRO NCB I/X 228), reproduced by permission of Durham County Record Office.
Below: The disposition of medieval tenements in West Rainton based on a survey of 1411 (after Campey 1987, fig14).

North Row at west end ©©©©© L c L L L ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮

©© L ©©© L © L ▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮ L South Row at east end

Key: ▮ = Bondland (32 acres) customary tenement   ▮ = Husbandland (32 acres) probable location of five of the six husbandlands   ▮ = Freehold (60 acres)

L = Leasehold tenement   © = Cottage holding
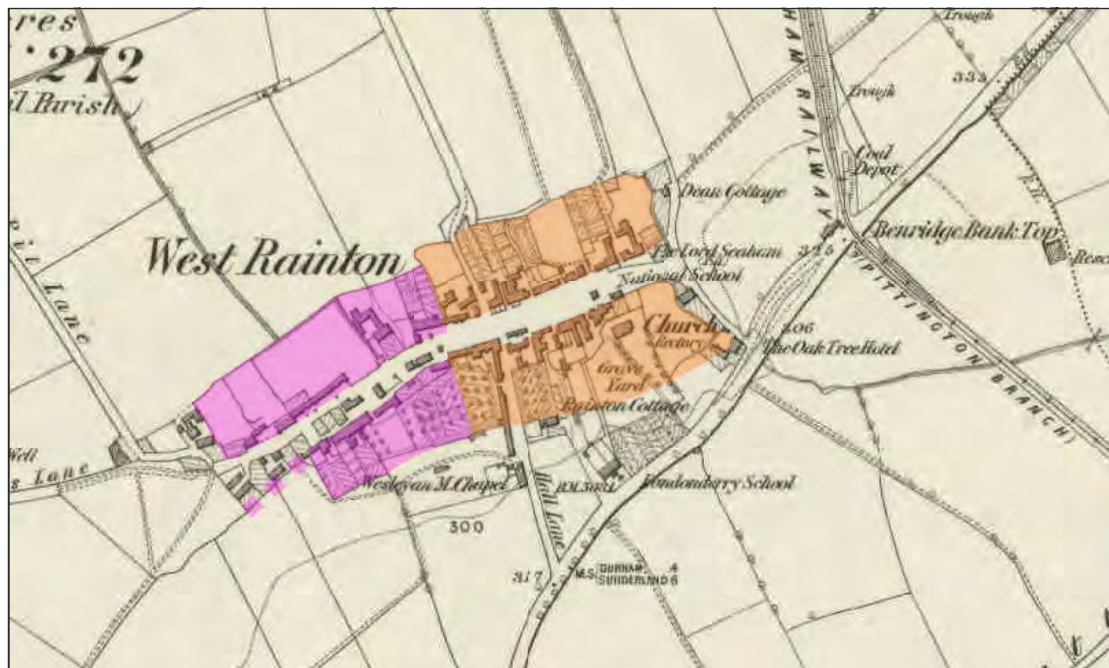
Extract from the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey (6" per mile), 1857, with the two phase development of West Rainton village highlighted.

◯ = Original core of village - - site of customary tenements   ◯ = C13/early C14? extension leasehold & cottage tenements

Husbandlands
The other main class of customary tenement was the husbandland. There were originally six of these at West Rainton. Like the corresponding bondlands, the West Rainton husbandlands each amounted to 32 acres, but they owed only money rent to the lord (Lomas 1977, 31 n 22). The husbandlands also paid an ancient cash sum known as **cornage**, which originally represented the commutation into money of a levy paid in cattle. The other crucial difference between these tenements and bondlands, initially at least, is that their occupants, the husbandmen, were of free condition. They typically held their tenements for life and when the tenant died his widow had the right to take over the holding and pass it on to their eldest son or, if there were no children, to one of their kin. These heirs were, however, liable for an often hefty entry fee, known as a *gressum*, when they took them over the tenancy.

Bovate holdings
The customary tenants in East Rainton and Moorsley did belong to either of the two above categories. Instead they had smaller holdings – 12 acres at East Rainton and 16acres at Moorsley – which probably owed a combination of money rent and limited labour services (Lomas 1977, 32).

Customary tenements – discussion
The similarity of the bondland and husbandland tenements in size led Lomas (1977, 31-2) to suggest that they originally all the same type of holding. It is possible that none of these holdings performed labour services initially, simply paying rent in cash or kind instead, and that it was the establishment of the priory's manorial demesnes in the vills which resulted in the conversion of many of the tenancies into bondlands. On the other hand it is also possible that labour services were originally incumbent on all the tenements but were commuted to money rent in some instances during the 12th century, perhaps because the prior wished to increase the cash income from the estates. Whether it evolved over time from a single category of tenement or was part of a deliberate remodelling of the vill effected at a particular point in time it must reflect the judgement in the 12th century as to what balance of labour services and money rent was required from the customary tenements of the vill to satisfy the needs of the prior's manorial farm, whilst also making a contribution to the priory's central coffers. In any case by 1340 the original pattern at West rainton had substantially disintegrated. Thirty-three customary holdings figure there in the Bursars rentals for that period, ranging in size from a half-acre to 48 acres. Very few were of identical size and almost all included fractions of an acre (Lomas 1977, 32-3).

Later developments
The final centuries of the Middle Ages, from c. 1350 onwards, saw continual and profound change in the tenurial structure of village communities like East Rainton or Moorsley. The Black Death, which may have wiped out half the priory's tenants, dramatically altered the social and economic environment in which arrangements between landlord and tenant were negotiated. Those peasants who survived the demographic catastrophe could prosper from the subsequent labour shortages, and this led to a shift in the balance of power between lord and tenant and a gradual improvement in the status of the peasant farmers. Had the plague simply been a one off event its long-term impact would not have been as profound and things might have returned to something close to their previous norm as population levels recovered and the pressure on land gradually returned. However there were repeated recurrences of the disease with bubonic plague revisiting in 1361 (when it carried off the young children born to the survivors of 1349), 1369, 1379 and so on throughout the remainder of the 14th and 15th centuries, accompanied by epidemics of sweating sickness and tuberculosis. These effectively checked any resumption in demographic growth and gave rise to periods of prolonged economic recession (Lomas 1992, 160; Platt 1996, 1-18). Nationally, the population did not begin to grow again until the early 16th century, and outbreaks of bubonic plague continued to affect parts of the country until about 1700 when, inexplicably, it disappeared.

The various consequences of these altered demographic and economic conditions for land tenure on the prior's estates can be charted over the course of the next two hundred years.

The growth of leasehold tenure

Firstly there was a rapid growth in the proportion of tenancies held on shorter fixed term leases (typically for three years or multiples thereof) with no entry fee, or *gressum*, being levied on the new incumbent, as it had or those inheriting husbandlands and other leaseholds acquired for life terms. In the new circumstances such tenancies seemed to have been preferred by peasants because it gave them to more opportunity to buy and sell land and effectively abolished the entry fine which new tenants evidently often found to be a heavy burden (Lomas 1977, 37-8; 1992, 178). Moreover the long-term security of tenure offered by the customary husbandland tenancy, which was held for life and could be passed on to a tenant's son, was perhaps no longer so important when widespread labour shortages meant there was no difficulty renewing a lease or finding a new holding when leases expired.

The end of serfdom (neifty)

A further development doubtless related to abolition of the bondland labour services in favour of money rents (or sometimes goods in kind) was the gradual elimination of serfdom or neifty. By 1500 there were no neifs left on the prior's estates in County Durham. All his tenants were of free condition, holding their tenements either on a short term lease or as freeholds (Lomas 1977, 31, n 24; 1992, 178-9).

Syndicates

A final development saw the establishment of a syndicate – a group of men (syndics) each of whom took an equal share in the land and the responsibility for paying a single rent – in each of the priory's vills during the late 15th and early 16th century. These embraced the entire township with the exception of the freeholds and thus included the priory's manorial farm or demesne in Rainton, as well as the leasehold and former customary tenants' land. The syndicates in East and West Rainton were established by 1482 and 1471 (the latter re-divided in 1486) respectively, whilst the syndicate in Moorsley had been created by 1514.

This had become standard practice on the prior's estates. The earliest occurrence of this practice occurred in the late 14th century (South Pittington 1371). There were 8 members of the East Rainton syndicate, initially only one member in West Rainton, but increased to eight in 1486, and three members in the hamlet vill of Moorsley (Lomas 1977, 36-7; 1992, 178; *Bursars Rentals*, 205-6). In 1539 the syndicate members each paid £2 12s 3½d per annum in East Rainton (where another tenant paid £2 13s 4d for a half share of Rainton mill), £2 10s 7d in West Rainton and £2 5s 6d in Moorsley (1539 Bursar's Rental, printed in Greenwell, *FPD*, 312-13). It is not particularly clear why the priory reorganised its estates in this way. It was not generally adopted by other great landowners, of the period though may be found in some of the townships belonging to the Percy earls of Northumberland (Lomas 1977, 38-9; 1992, 179-80). It may however have brought a semblance of apparent order to the tenurial structure of its demesne townships, and simplified the priory's book-keeping – the rental lists are certainly a lot shorter.

Who farmed the land at the end of the Middle Ages?

It is clear that the priory as landowner had given up any direct role in farming its estates by the end of the 15th century. Indeed their manorial farm at Rainton, was leased out as early as 1314, one of the first to be so treated.

When the tenant syndicate was established early in the 16th century the land belonging to the farm was included in its combined holding, indicating the farm had ceased to function as an independent

unit, its land presumably being divided up amongst the syndicate members like the leasehold and customary tenements (Lomas and Piper, *Bursars Rentals*, 205-6). This pattern was relatively typical of the priory's estates. Many of the priory's other manorial farms in County Durham were leased out later in the 14th century with most of the remainder following in the early to mid-15th century. Although a good many of the priory's farms were still functioning in this way in the 15th and early 16th centuries, very few were run directly by the priory's officials, those that were being specialised stock farms (Lomas 1992, 187-94, 1998, 111). In this the priory was no different from other great landowners who all tended to become *rentiers*, content simply to collect their rents and leave the farming decisions to their tenants, during this period.

The farming economy – rent and the produce of Rainton and Moorsley
A good idea of what was being cultivated and reared by the inhabitants of East and West Rainton, Moorsley and the neighbouring townships towards the end of the Middle Ages can be gained from the Priory's rent books. The rentals and surveys of the late 14th and early 15th centuries give the impression that all the tenants paid their rent in money (with additional services in the case of freehold tenants). However the rent books (the earliest dating to 1495) show that in actual fact this rent might be paid in kind, with the produce from the tenant's farm, and occasionally in services, as well as in cash (Lomas 1977, 37; 1992, 177; 1998, 118-20). In each case when this occurred the equivalent monetary value of the produce or service was calculated and carefully noted. This seems to have been designed for the mutual convenience of tenant and landlord alike.

The bulk of these payments in kind from the three townships were in grain – barley, wheat and oats – plus small, unspecified payments of items into the cellarer's book (*in libro cellerarii*) which may have included dairy produce, eggs and poultry (*Bursars Rentals*, V. Rent Book, 1495-6, pp. 151-4). Payments in livestock were also made, however, with several tenants in East Rainton providing one or two cows whilst their counterparts in West Rainton made payments of oxen (three being the maximum number furnished by any one tenant. Finally one entry, later deleted, shows that one of the West Rainton tenants, Edward Chilton, paid his rent for his cottage by making faggots (*in factura le fawgottis*), conceivably with brushwood drawn from Rainton Park (op. cit., 153).

The Manor Court: regulating the farming community
The day to day life and practices of rural communities like those of the Hetton study area were regulated through the manorial courts of the respective vills. These courts were presided over by the lord's representative, a bailiff or other official, and enforced the byelaws of the manor. The fines levied as penalties for infractions of the byelaws were a useful source of income for the landlord particularly when the receipts from general farming activities were static or declining as throughout much of the 15th century, for example. Thus, whereas lords generally abandoned direct participation in agriculture, leasing out their manorial farms or even allowing the demesne land to be divided amongst their tenants with the other leasehold land, as in the case of the syndicates established by Durham priory in many of its estates, their manorial courts were still vigorously maintained. Again, it is only the communities in the western half of the study area – those in the hands of the priory – that are covered by surviving records of this kind. No manorial court records relating to Hetton or Eppleton have been preserved. In contrast East and West Rainton and Moorsley were covered by the proceedings of Durham Priory's manorial court, known as the Halmote Court, which undertook a circuit of the monastery's estates three times a year, presided over by two or three of its senior officials the steward, bursar or terrar and occasionally the prior himself. The court rolls from the end of the 13th century up to the Dissolution are preserved amongst the priory's muniments at Durham University, though there are many gaps, with those covering the period from 1296 to 1384 having been published in an excerpted version (Booth and Longstaffe, *Halmota Prioratus Dunelmensis,* Surtees Society **82** (1889)).

Much of the work of the manor court was concerned with recording the transmission of tenements

from one tenant to another, which was often triggered by the death of the sitting tenant and its takeover by the deceased's heir, and levying the appropriate entry fine or other dues if applicable to the tenement in question. However the Halmote Court Rolls also provide information which is much more evocative of daily life.

Tenants were meant to keep their farms in good repair. In 1378 the jury found that a barn (*grangia*), formerly in the tenure (*tenura*) of Emma, wife of Adam del Vikers, had fallen down during Emma's tenure. The cost of repair was estimated at 26s 8d. Adam del Vikers was ordered to rebuild the barn within one year, with timber from the priory demesne on pain of a fine of £2. The same court also heard that John Lile had carried off timbers from the former tenement of William de Southwick in Moorsley to his freehold tenement in East Rainton without the lord's permission (*Halmota*, 152). Inventories were taken by the manor court jury on the death of a tenant The goods of Robert de Southwick (*Suthwyk*) at Moorsley were valued in 1378 at 60s in total, excluding the sown land, comprising two oxen worth 16s, two horses worth 13s 4d, one *celdr.* of grain worth 13s 8d, plus all plough equipment and cart worth 8s, one sow and four piglets 2s 4d. The utensils of the house were valued at 6s 8d (*Halmota*, 151).

Tenants were also fined for encroachment (*purprestura*) – enclosing common land without authorization of the lord or the court. Thus the East Rainton court dealt with an encroachment made by Alice, widow of John de Lile, on le Halleson and one by Richard Widouson at Farnyside in 1380 (*Halmota*, 162).

Grazing livestock were a frequent cause of problems since they might get loose and break into the land of neighbouring tenants and damage crops. William Massham and all the villagers of East Rainton who possessed plough oxen, with the exception of William Farmer (*Firmarius*), were fined for damage to John del Wra's pasture in 1345 (*Halmota*, 18). In 1378 the East Rainton tenants were reminded not to allow their sheep to trample their neighbour's corn or enter the ox pasture on pain of a fine of 40d (*Halmota*, 146). Pigs were a particular problem because they damaged ordinary pasture land by digging in the ground to find roots and worms. In 1366 the tenants of East Rainton were ordered to watch over their pigs and fit rings in their snouts to stop them uprooting permanent pasture land and in 1373 they were specifically instructed to prevent their pigs uprooting the ground in Dunwell Meadow immediately to the east of the village (*Halmota*, 50, 119). Wherever possible pigs would be pastured in woodland or on stubble that was due to be turned over by the plough in any case.

The vills' common facilities such as the pound or pinfold, where stray cattle were penned under the supervision of the pounder (*pundarius*), and the common spring, from which each village derive its main water supply, often feature in the court records. In 1378 the villagers of East Rainton were ordered not to put their plough irons in the common spring nor put any *filth* or *butchers waste* there. Later that year, however, perhaps following much grumbling by the farmers, the court authorised the construction of a well next to the spring where the plough irons could be cleaned, so that the spring itself was not polluted. Similarly, in 1379, all the tenants of West Rainton were prohibited from washing cloth or any utensils in the common spring on pain of a fine of 40d (*Halmota*, 143, 151, 161). Finally, the court also regulated sexual misdemeanors. Thus Alice, wife of John Punchon, was fined 2s by the Moorsley court for having lain adulterously with two men in 1359 (*Halmota*, 26). The court rolls do not record what impact this affair had on Alice's marriage.
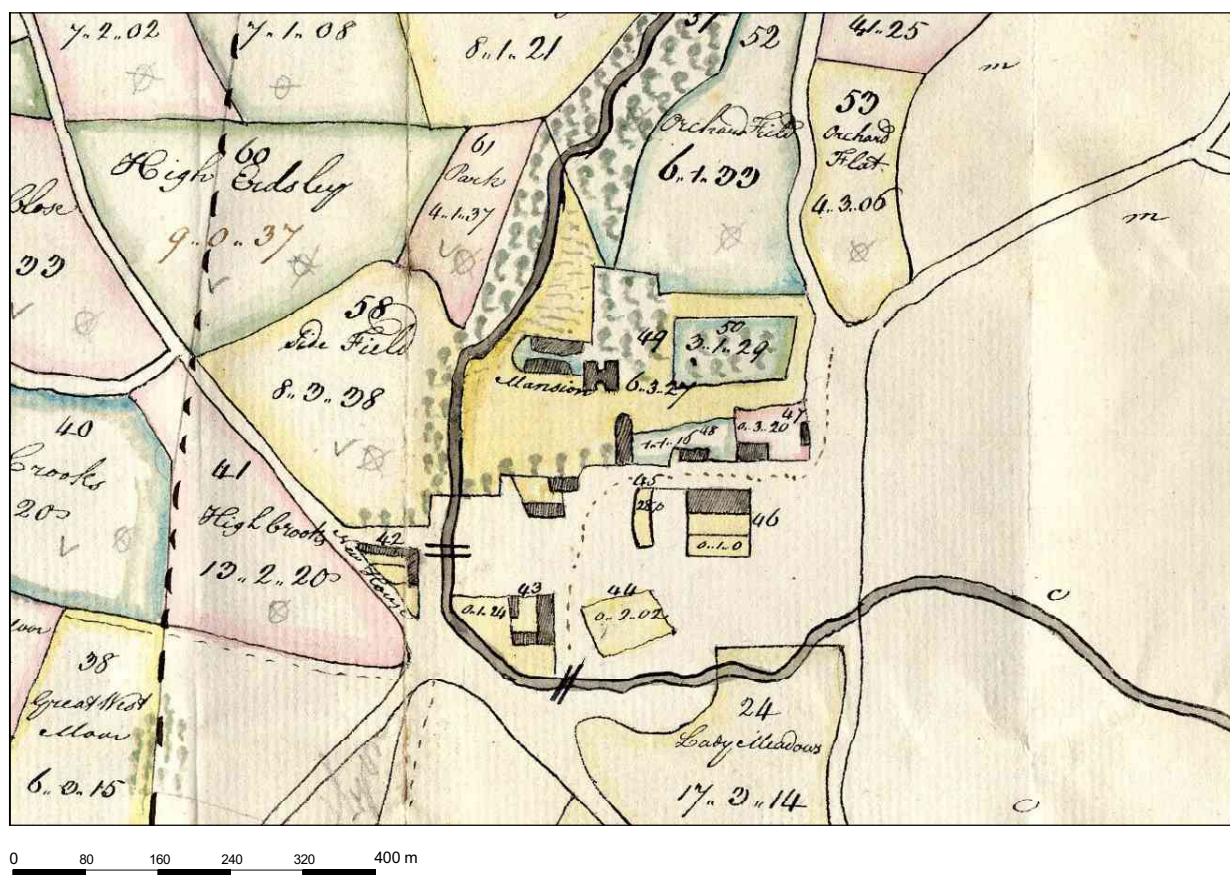
Ridge & Furrow in the Hetton Study Area

= Village Atlas Study Area

= Ridge and Furrow

Extract from the 1952 Edition Ordnance Survey, 6" per mile, with the location of ridge and furrow earthworks identified on aerial photographs plotted.

Extract from the Plan of Thomas Lyons' estate at Hetton-le-Hole,1776, showing the village.

Extract from the Hetton Coal Dispute Plan (Durham County Record Office, Londonderry Estate Archives, D/Lo/B 309/14), 1820, showing the village. Reproduced by permission of Lord Londonderry and Durham County Record Office.

10.6   The medieval landscape and settlement pattern

10.6.1 The Villages

Hetton-le-Hole
Hetton-le-Hole is depicted on Saxton's county map of 1576 ('Hetton in ye Hole') and Speed's of 1611 ('Hetton in the Hole'), implying a nucleated settlement as with the other communities of the study area. It had acquired 'in le Hole', i.e. 'in the hollow', by the beginning of the 16th century (IPM 1507; cf Watts 2002, 59), when such additions became fashionable. This strongly implies that Hetton village was located in the same position, nestling in the loop of the Hetton Burn, that it is shown occupying on the county maps and estate plans of the mid- to late 18th and early 19th centuries, the earliest historic mapping which preserves adequate detail to make any judgement. Thus Armstrong's county map of 1769, Lyons estate map of 1776 and the Hetton Colliery estate map of 1824 and Greenwood's 1828 county map show buildings clustered around the crossings of the Hetton Burn and extending ENE along the street now known as Park View. A further straggle of buildings are shown scattered along the Sunderland-Easington road (now Front Street) on the 1824 Hetton Colliery estate map, but this is less evident on earlier, though admittedly less accurately drawn, maps so it may represent early 19th century growth. This area still forms the core of the Hetton today. The settlement serves as a kind of extended crossroads, with Park View forming a continuation of a route from Durham via Moorsley, linking the two roads which led from Newcastle and Sunderland towards Easington (these two road actually met a little further south at Four Lane Ends where another lane diverged off to the east heading towards Murton, Dalden-le-Dale and Seaham).

Thus the whole appears to form a somewhat irregular agglomeration, particularly around the burn, but the eastward extension along Park View provides an element of linearity and it is possible this was more apparent at an earlier date. The possibility cannot be excluded that the establishment of Hetton Hall, with its extensive grounds, might have resulted in some replanning of the settlement, conceivably suppressing some elements of a linear village plan, such as toft and croft enclosures on the north side of Park View.

In addition to the peasant farmers' tenements, the de Latons must have had a manor house, with ancillary buildings and associated farm to manage their demesne, from the start of their lordship over Hetton. This may have lain somewhere in the area of the later Hetton Hall, to the north of Park View, though there is no conclusive evidence. However, the Parkes, part of Hetton manor, and a close called Hetton-Parke are mentioned in 1613 and 1615 respectively. These may represent the land around the hall designated the Park and also the close north west of the hall on the opposite side of Hetton Burn, designated 'Parck' on the Lyons estate map. Together these may have originated as a medieval manorial park, providing secure enclosed grazing for deer or cattle and an arena for the lord's pleasure.

A tantalising, fragmentary glimpse of the medieval village, and the place of the manor house within it, is provided by one 13th-century charter (*Greenwell Deeds*, no. 83; DRO D/Gr 83):

❖ John, son of Walter, and Emma his wife, relinquished to William de Latone, knight, son of Sir Gilbert de Latone, all right they had over a toft with a certain plot of land in the vill of Hettone, lying between the curtilage (manorial enclosure wall) of the said William and land formerly Alan Galeway's, which John had been given by Mariot his mother, for the term of his life.
   In exchange John and wife were given a plot of land lying outside of William's wall, beginning at the dyke of William's curtilage, and extending to the high way leading to Easington ('Essington') on the east side.

We can see from this that William de Laton's manor house lay within the village, with other house plots and properties directly adjoining the dyked and walled enclosure (*curtilagium*) of the manorial complex, which was usually termed the hallgarth in the local vernacular. It is also clear that the hallgarth and the other properties described as adjoining it all lay to the west of the road to Easington, doubtless the present Houghton Road-Front Street-Station Road (A182), which corresponds with what was suggested above.

Hetton le Hill (Heppedon/Hepton)

By the early to mid-19th century when the earliest surviving maps which show Hetton-le-Hill in detail were drawn up the settlement comprised just two substantial farms. The estate maps contained in the Baker Elemore Hall estate collection, the Pittington tithe map and 1st edition Ordnance Survey thus depict a shrunken medieval village, though they provide little clue as to what form the village might have taken, whilst the medieval charters cited above give relatively little clue as to the size of the settlement. However the Inquisition Post Mortem for Sir William Bowes in 1466 describes his half of the manor of Hepton as consisting of two messuages with two granges (barns) and a dovecote worth 5s in leasehold value (cited by Surtees 1816, 120). Attached to this were 60 acres of arable land, 6 acres of meadow and 60 acres of pasture. If the other moiety is assumed to be of similar size, it would imply that Hepton was a hamlet rather than a village by this stage. The size of the settlement may, however, have shrunk somewhat over the course of the previous 100 years as a result of the demographic decline caused by the Black Death and further repeated outbreaks of plague, which led to much amalgamation of tenements. The Heppedon of the 12th and 13th centuries may have been somewhat more sizeable – a large hamlet or small village perhaps.

Great Eppleton (Eplingdene)

Like Hetton-le-Hill, it is a much shrunken village which is depicted on the earliest maps showing Great Eppleton, essentially just comprising a substantial gentry residence, Great Eppleton Hall, probably first erected in the 17th century, and two or three farms. Surtees indicates there were four tenements when he was writing in the early 19th century (1816, 217). The tithe map and apportionment list two 'homesteads', though it is not clear that Great Eppleton Hall is one of these or indeed that it figures in the apportionment list at all (DDR/EA/TTH/1/89 – 1839).

A road runs through the settlement from east to west and it is possible that there were once two rows of tenements on either side of this lane, with the southern row set back along a line perhaps marked by the hall and nearest farm to the west forming a broad green. The overall effect appears similar to Moorsley in plan – a settlement enclosing a fairly short rectangular green. The remains of a possible toft platform were identified during field reconnaissance survey for a gas pipeline in 2002, taking the form of a large level platform some 50m to the north-west of the farm. This measured 25m north to south and 70m west to east and abutted the northern edge of Downs Pit Lane. However subsequent geophysical survey of the platform revealed two ditches 8-10m apart, perhaps a former trackway, but no indications of medieval farmstead remains.

Again it is possible that the medieval manorial centre, with the lord's residence and demesne farm, home to the de Epplingdenes and the Herons, was located on or near the site of the later hall. Reference to a park also figures in the field names preserved by the tithe map.

The Raintons

The priory managed the two townships as a single manor. There was a single manorial farm, which was located in East Rainton village, and the tenants from both East and West Rainton were obliged to grind their grain at Rainton mill, located beside the Rainton Burn, near Rainton Bridge, on the very northern edge of East Rainton township.

0 80 160 240 320 400 m
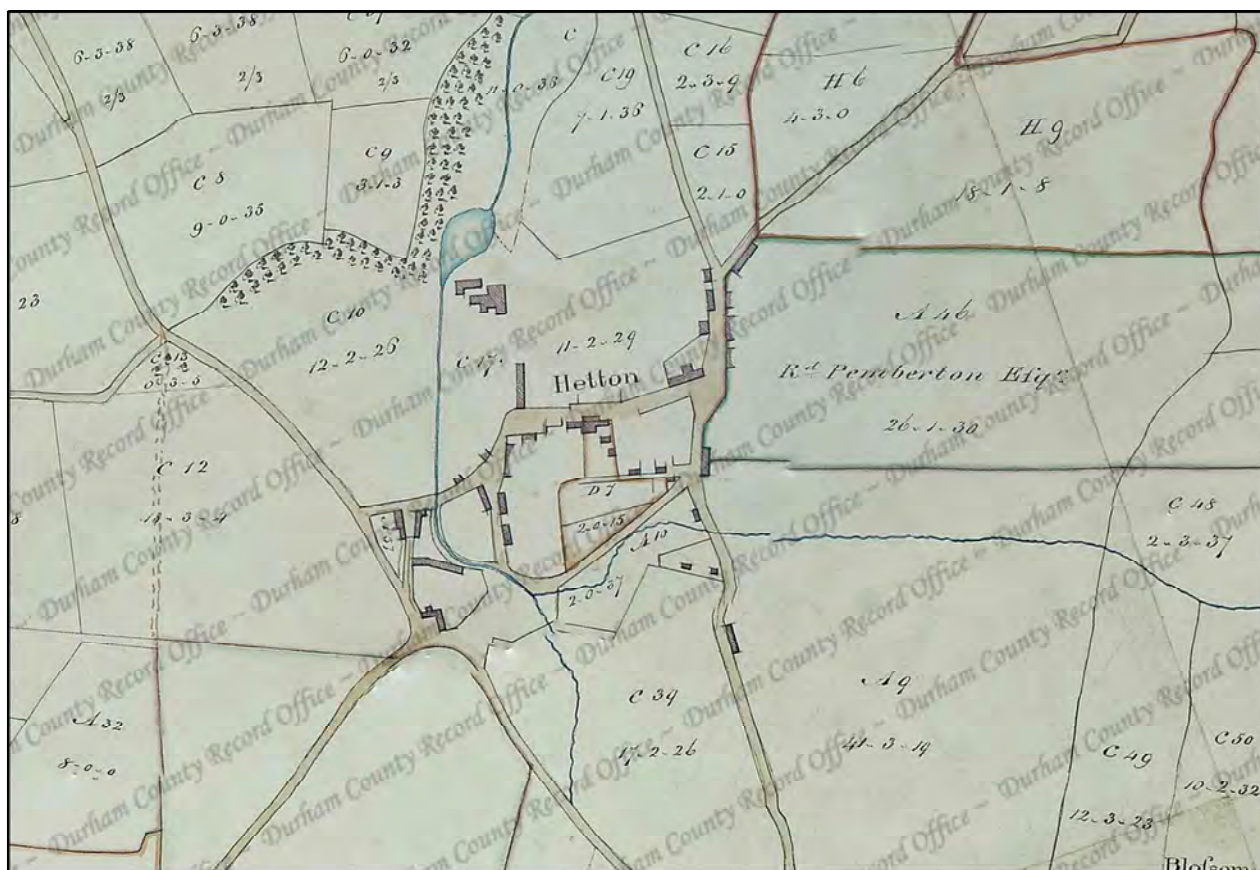
Extract from a plan of the estates let to the Hetton Coal Company,1824, showing the village of Hetton-le-Hole. Reproduced by permission of Durham County Record Office (DRO D/Br/P 165).

0 80 160 240 320 400 m

The settlement of Hetton-le-Hole shown on the Tithe Map for Hetton-le-Hole township (DDR/EA/TTH/127),1839. Reproduced by permission of Durham Diocesan Registrar.
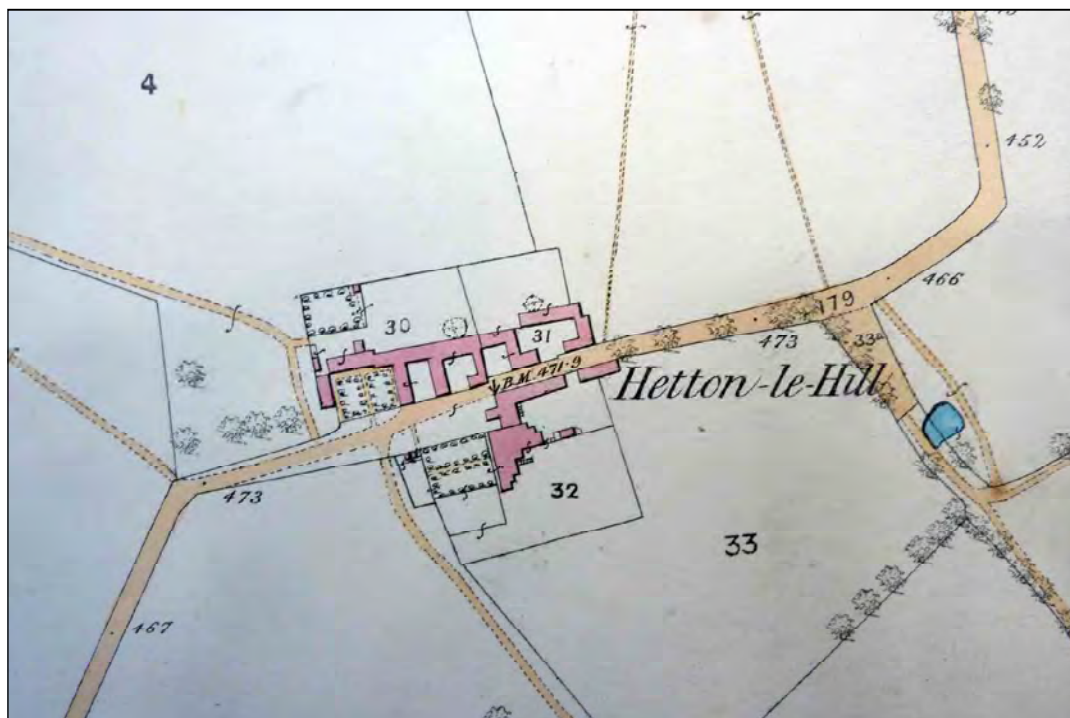
Village Core Regression - Hetton le Hill

Extract from Pittington Tithe Map (DDR/EA/TTH/1/189), 1841, showing Hetton Le Hill, reproduced by permission of the Durham Diocesan Registrar.
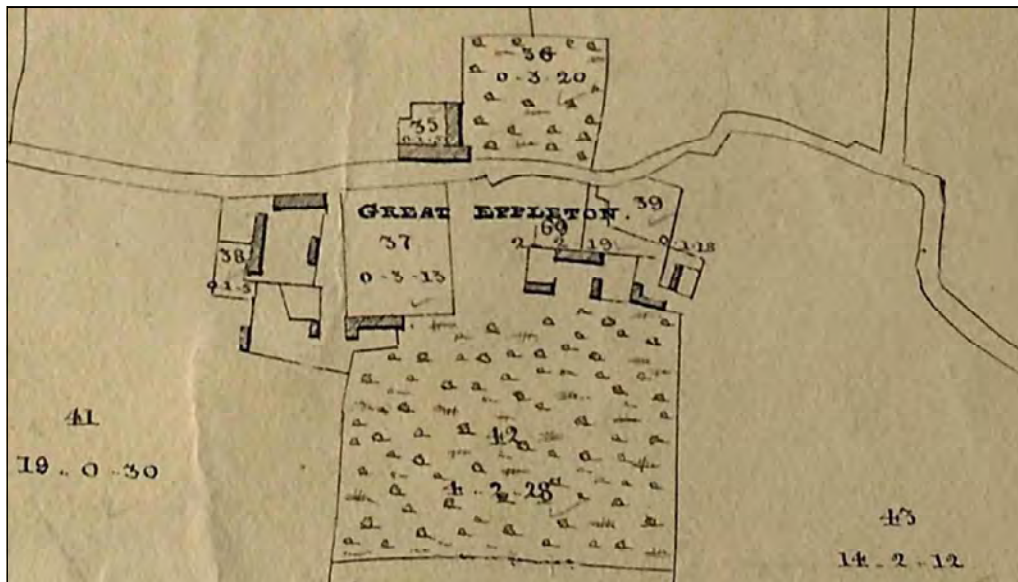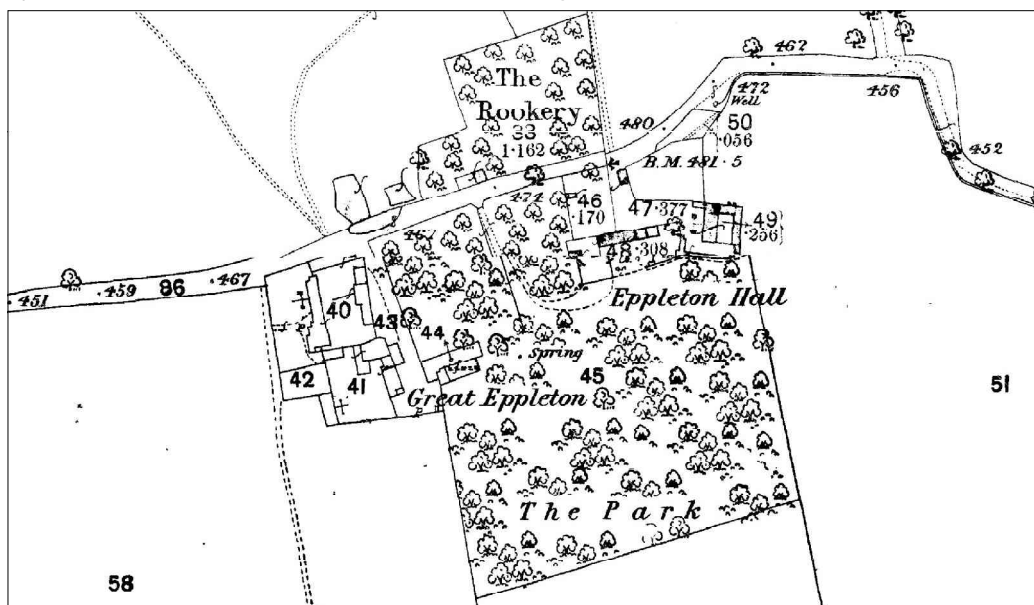

Extract from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, 1856, showing Hetton le Hill farmsteads.
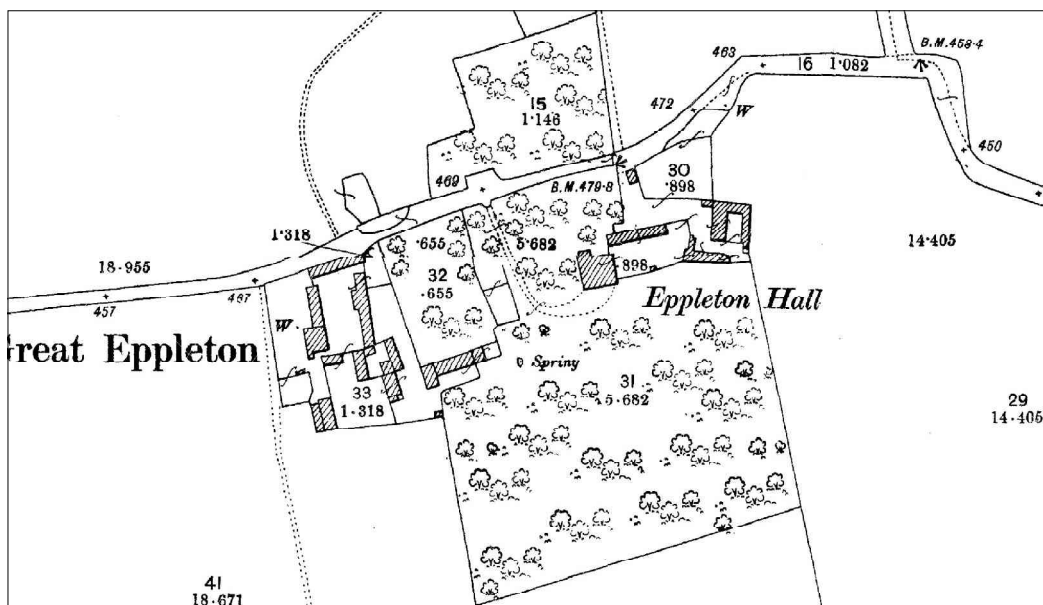
Village Core Regression - Great Eppleton

Extract from the Great Eppleton Tithe Map (DDR/EA/TTH/189), 1838, reproduced by permission of the Durham Diocesan Registrar.

Extract from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, 1856, showing Great Eppleton hamlet.

Extract from 2nd Edition Ordnance Survey, 1896, showing Great Eppleton hamlet.

0   40   80   120   160   200 m

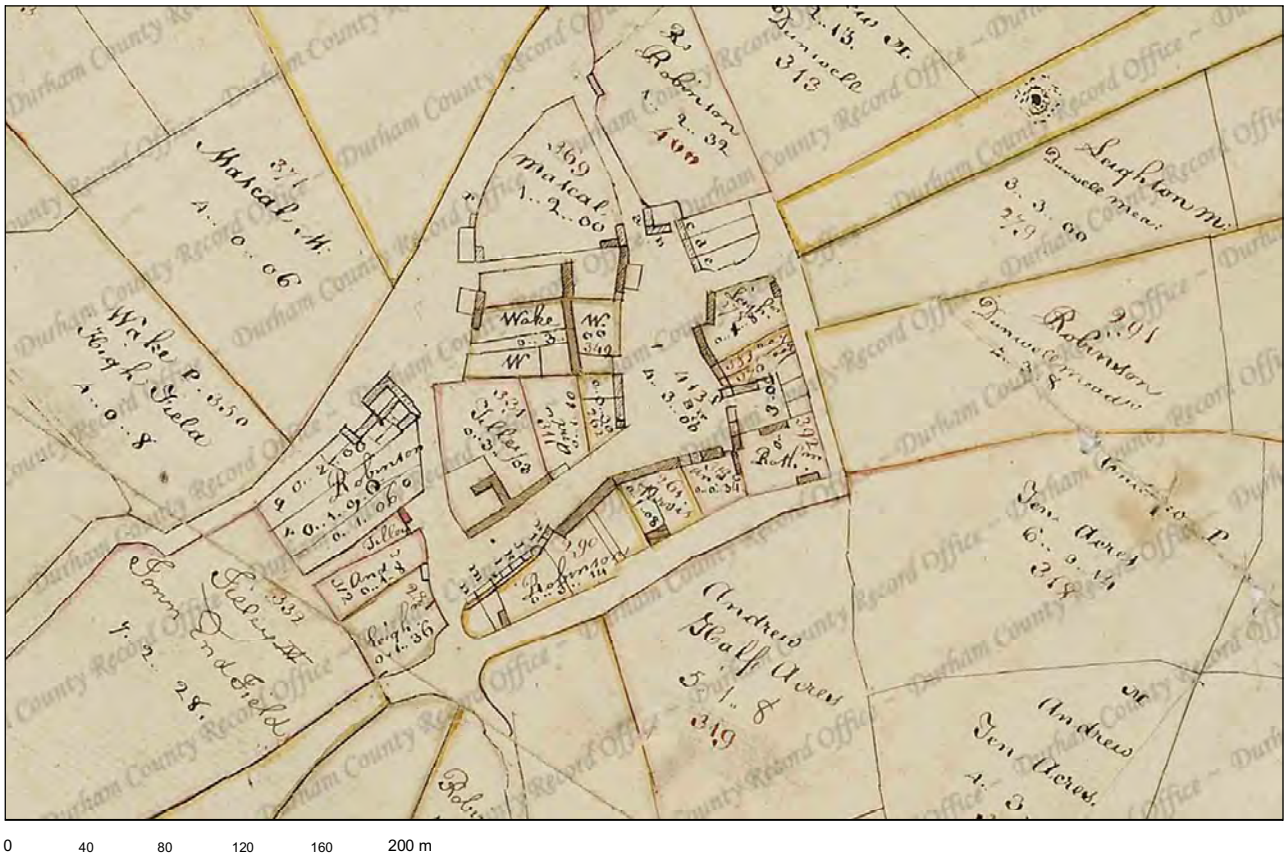# Village Core Regression - West Rainton

Extract from the late 18th-century estate map of the Raintons (DRO NCB 1/X 228), showing West Rainton village. Reproduced by permission of Durham County Record Office.

Extract from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey (6" per mile), 1857, showing West Rainton village.

Village Core Regression - East Rainton

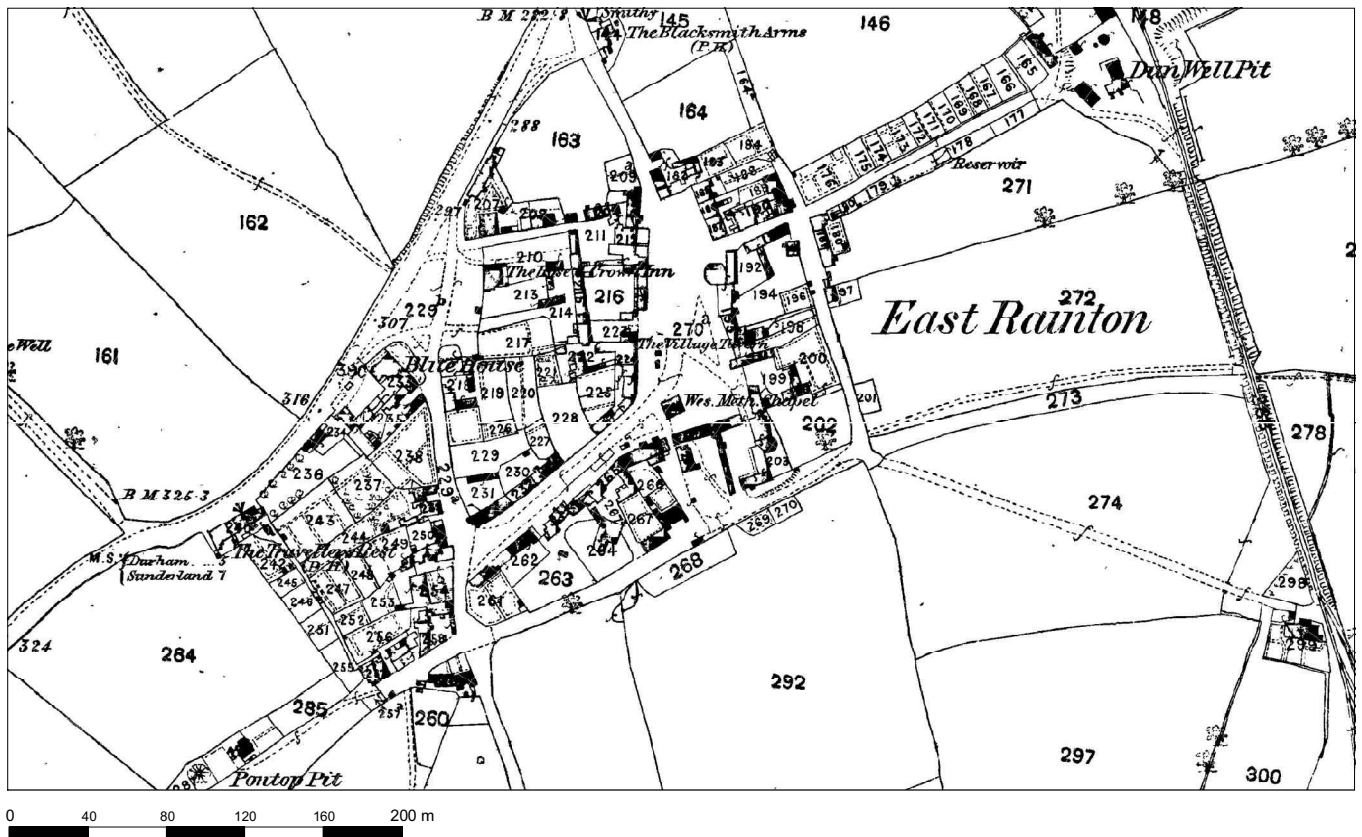Extract from a late 18th century of the Raintons, showing East Rainton. Reproduced by permission of Durham County Record Office (DRO NCB 1/X 228).

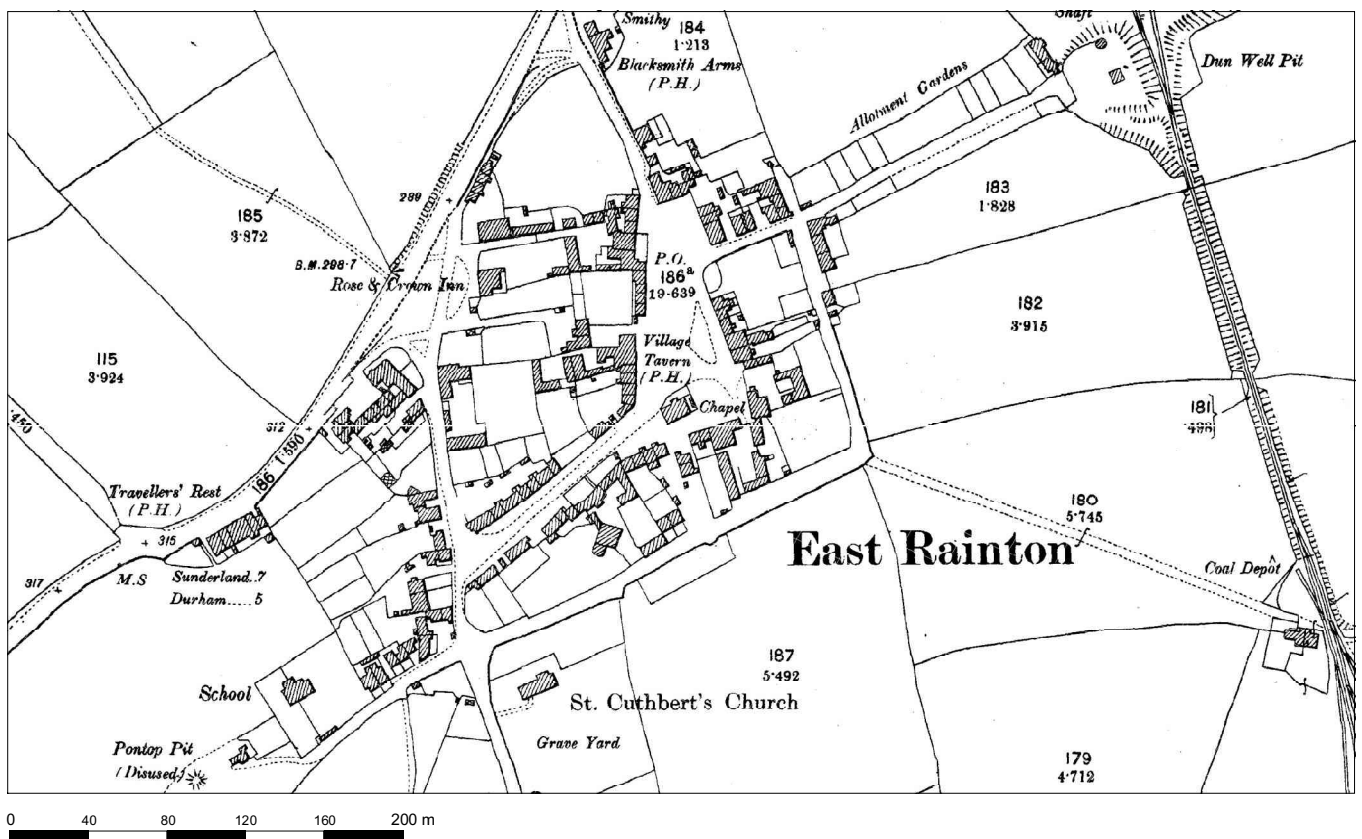

Extract from the 1840 Dean and Chapter estate map of East Rainton, showing the village core. Reproduced by permission of the Church Commissioners of England.

Village Core Regression - East Rainton

Extract from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, 1856, showing East Rainton village.

Extract from 2nd Edition Ordnance Survey, 1896, showing East Rainton village.

The documentary corpus associated with the priory's holdings is particularly rich, including a 1411 survey of tenements in topographic order in the volume of bursar's rentals of c. 1395-1411, the *gilly-corn* schedule of 1424 and the priory's feodary of 1430 listing all the free tenants (the latter two apparently superimposed on Prior Thomas of Melsamby's survey of 1235, which has not survived). This material was exploited by Louise Campey to reconstruct the plans of a number of the priory's villages including East and West Rainton (1987, 82-3, 99-100, 1989, 69, fig 5). Her reconstruction may in turn be compared with detailed historic map evidence, notably the late 18th-century estate map both East and West Rainton (DRO NCB I/X 228), which was perhaps associated with the Tempest family and forms the earliest comprehensive cartographic record of these townships. Like the later estate, tithe and initial Ordnance Survey maps, this depicts West Rainton as a two-row village, a classic County Durham type, whilst East Rainton also features distinct toft rows but its overall form appears more complex. These two respective plans can still be recognised in the layout of the villages today.

West Rainton

West Rainton is composed of two rows of peasant farmstead plots, or tofts, facing each other across a narrow rectangular green. These basic structural components are still apparent today in the historic core of the village along Benridge Bank, where many of the houses are set back from the present roadway, particularly on the south side.

Based on her analysis of the documents, in particular the 1411 survey, and the positioning of the various tenements, Campey noted that the 12 customary tenements, the bondlands and husbandlands, plus the single surviving freehold, were all grouped in the eastern half of the village (with bondlands to the east and husbandlands to the west). The western half was made up of a further 8 customary leasehold tenancies and numerous cottage holdings. Only one leasehold was attached to the east end of the south row. The bondlands, husbandlands and freehold were all listed in the gillycorn schedule which only recorded tenements in existence c. 1200, whilst the leaseholds and cottages do not figure in that survey indicating they must have been established after 1200. Moreover there is a noticeable kink and shift in alignment of the central street axis of the settlement midway along effectively dividing it into two halves. On this basis Campey reasonably concluded that the village experienced a large scale westward expansion during the 13th or 14th centuries (1989, 69, 78).

East Rainton

The village is structured around a green with an inverted L-plan and openings to the north-east and west. A continuous toft row ran along the north-west side, plus further rows on the south and east sides and a short west row lining the side of a north-south orientated street running perpendicular to the west end of the green. The 1411 survey lists the tenements in a north row, a south row and a west row, the south row containing many more tenements than the north row which would imply that what appear on the plans to be a separate south and east rows were treated by medieval surveyors as a single, continuous south row.

Back lanes ran along the rear of the south and east rows of tofts. The main Durham to Sunderland highway skirted the north side of the village at the back of the north row. The road provided a focus for some buildings in the 18th and early to mid-19th century, but it is not clear that it did so in the Middle Ages.

The Prior's manorial farm at Rainton

The second principal element of a classic medieval settlement was the lord's manorial complex, with hall, residential chambers and the requisite farm buildings. There is some confusion in previous descriptions compiled by Jane Fielding (1980) and Louise Campey (1987) since the former, though

focused very firmly on the buildings of the Durham priory's manors, was using the 14th- and 15th-century bursar's account rolls as her principal window, whilst the latter was looking at the village settlements more broadly, but with a particular emphasis on uncovering the development of the village plans. Together however the two studies enable the history of the prior's demesne manor to be disentangled with a greater degree of confidence.

It is clear that the original manor was located in East Rainton. The farm was leased out from 1314 onwards (Lomas 1978, 345; 1992, 189), and was listed separately under East Rainton vill in the bursar's 14th-century rentals. Thus, at the head of the East Rainton section of the 1340-1 rental, one William is listed as paying £3 6s 8d for the lease of the manor (*Bursars Rentals*, III. Rental 1340-1, 40), whilst in 1396-7 the tenants of East Rainton jointly leased the manorial farm and demesne land (*de tenentibus Estraynton pro manerio et dominicis* – *Bursars Rentals*, IV. Rental 1396-7, 88). In the Halmote Court Rolls it is always listed under East Rainton. Indeed once the labour services of the bondmen were commuted to money rents it is not clear that the tenants of West Rainton were involved in its workings in any way, implying that most if not all the farm's land lay in East Rainton. The terms by which four of the East Rainton tenants, John Freman, Robert de Coldingham, Hellias Paternoster, and Thomas Gibson, took a 15-year lease on the manor farm are set out in the Halmote Court Rolls, and may be regarded as fairly typical (*Halmota*, xx, 100). The farmers were to provide one plough-service of 54 acres and manure a certain proportion of the land each year (10 acres), to leave the land and buildings in the same condition as they received them, with the same amount of land ploughed, and were to grind their corn at the lord's Rainton mill on the same terms that those who held husbandland tenements were liable to grind there. They were to pay to the Priory exchequer and terrar a total of 8½ marks per annum (£5 13s 4d).

The demesne farm's location cannot be precisely pinpointed on the ground today, but Campey (1987, 82) suggests that the manor house must have lain somewhere on the north side of the village, based on lease of 1295 relating to a toft which is described as being on the north side between the prior's demesne toft and the toft of John Freman. Further, the fact that the demesne plot was sandwiched between other tofts implies it was situated in the village's north row, rather than being set off to one side for instance. On the other hand an early 14th-century charter (DCD 2.7.Spec.47) recording a grant by John Buskes of East Rainton to Thomas his son and heir, of all his messuage, with the buildings etc., in East Rainton, between the tenements of the prior of Durham on the south and Richard Currer on the north, might imply it was in the west row or the east side of the green. (The way the north row curves round from west to north, however, means a location on the north row could still be consistent with this charter.) **NB** It cannot be located at Rainton Grange Farm, between East and West Rainton, as suggested by Fielding (1980, 106), as the historic map evidence clearly demonstrates that farm was not established until c. 1840. Nothing is shown in that location on the late 18th-century estate map (DRO NCB I/X 228).

There is relatively little information regarding the layout and composition of the manorial farm, with few documentary references to its buildings having been identified, perhaps because the complex was leased out at a fairly early stage. The lease of 1370 does refer to the demesne land with buildings (*Halmota*, 100; cf. Campey 1987, 82, n.4). The few, more detailed records, which relate to individual buildings and predominantly derive from the Bursar's Account Rolls, have been summarized by Fielding (1980, 26, 63).

The main building mentioned in the bursar's account rolls is the **barn** (*grangia*), though the park gate is also mentioned (Fielding 1980, 26, 38, 63). Thus the construction of a new barn is recorded in 1350 (Bursars Account Rolls) and this may be the same as the 'great barn' (*unum magnum orium*) reportedly built at some point during the tenure of Prior John Fossor, between 1341 and 1374 (*Tres Scriptores*, clxi). Repairs to the gate of the park are also mentioned in 1342, 1350 and 1370, though

Village Core Regression - Moorsley
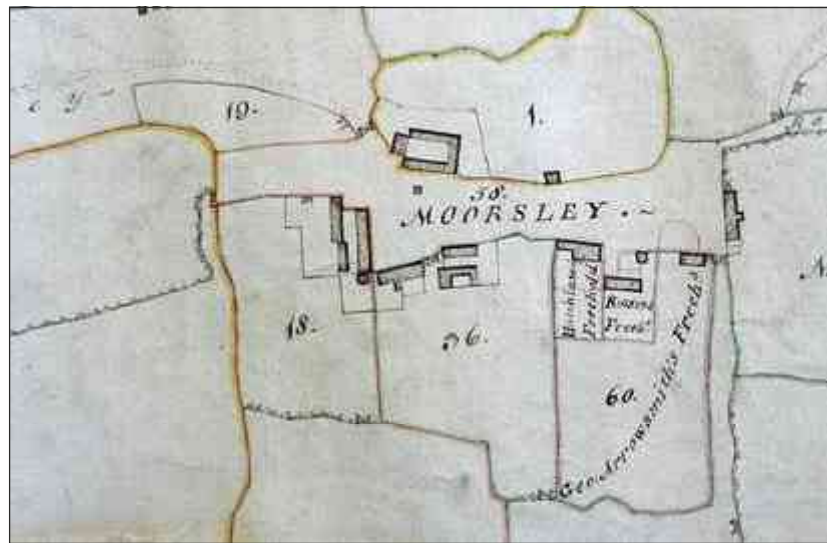
Extract from the 1805 Dean and Chapter Estate Map of Moorsley (DCD E/AA/7/1), showing the historic village site. Reproduced by permission of the Church Commissioners of England.
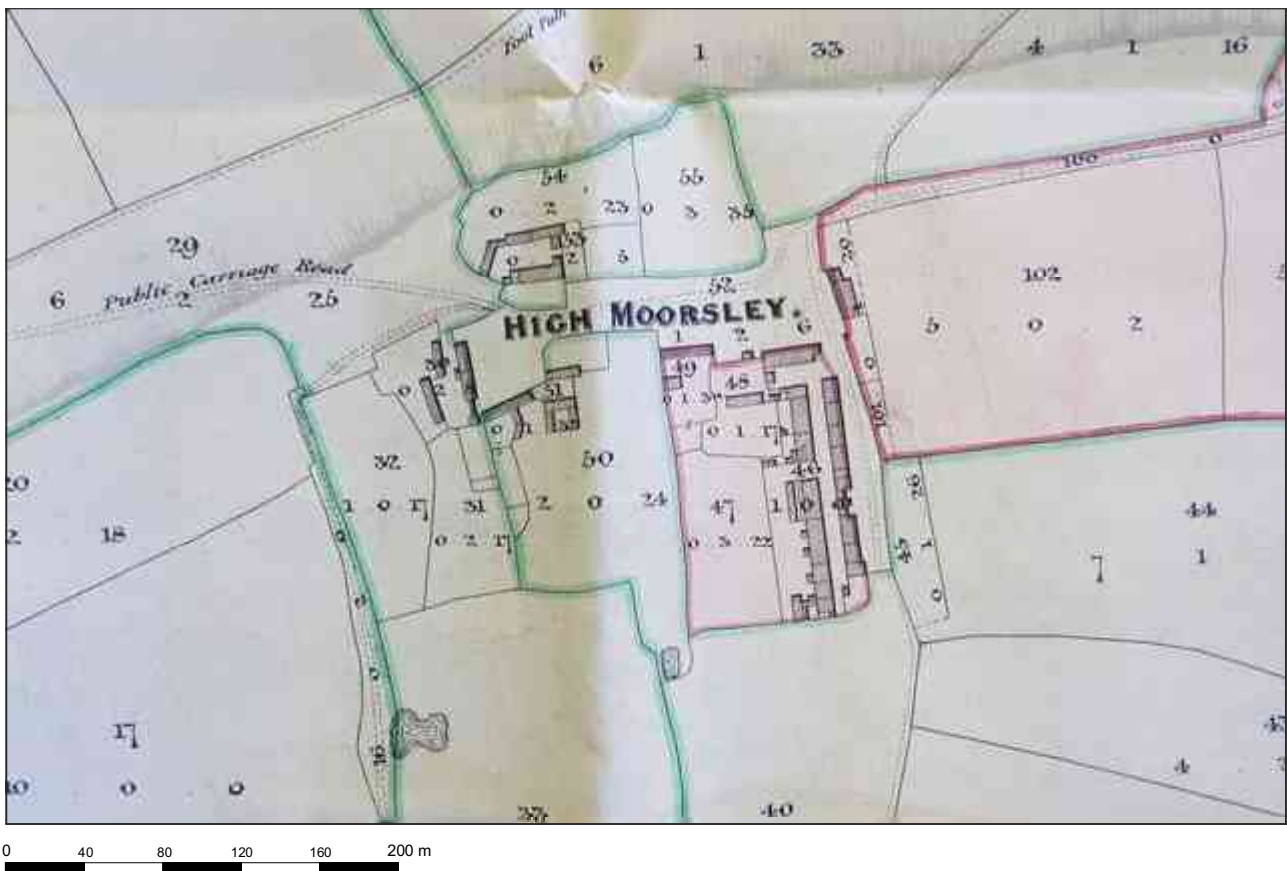
Extract from the 1843 Dean and Chapter Moorsley Estate Map (DCD E/AF/4/1), showing the old village settlement now renamed High Moorsley to distinguish from the colliery village of Low Moorsley to the north-east. Reproduced by permission of the Church Commissioners of England.

Village Core Regression - Moorsley
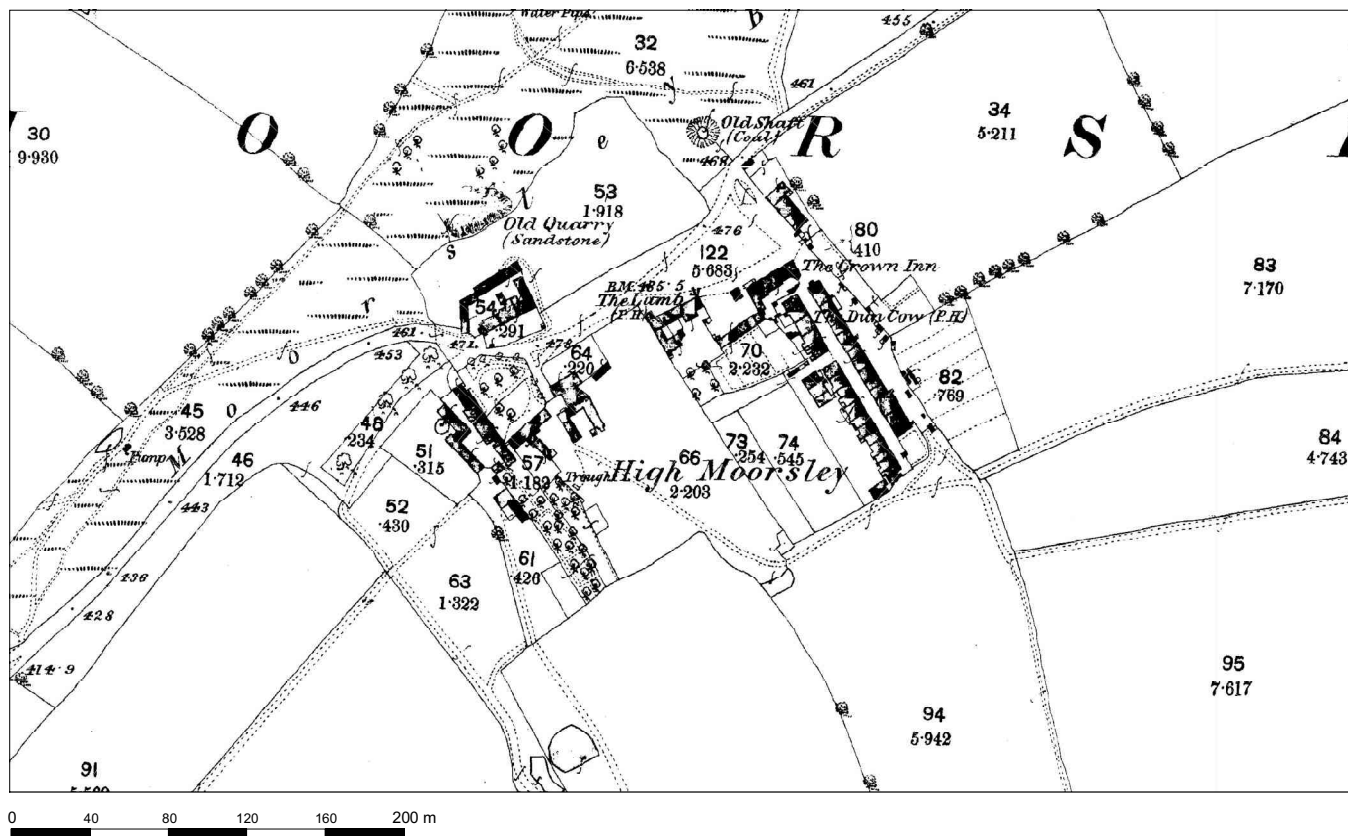
Iextract from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, 1856, showing High Moorsley.
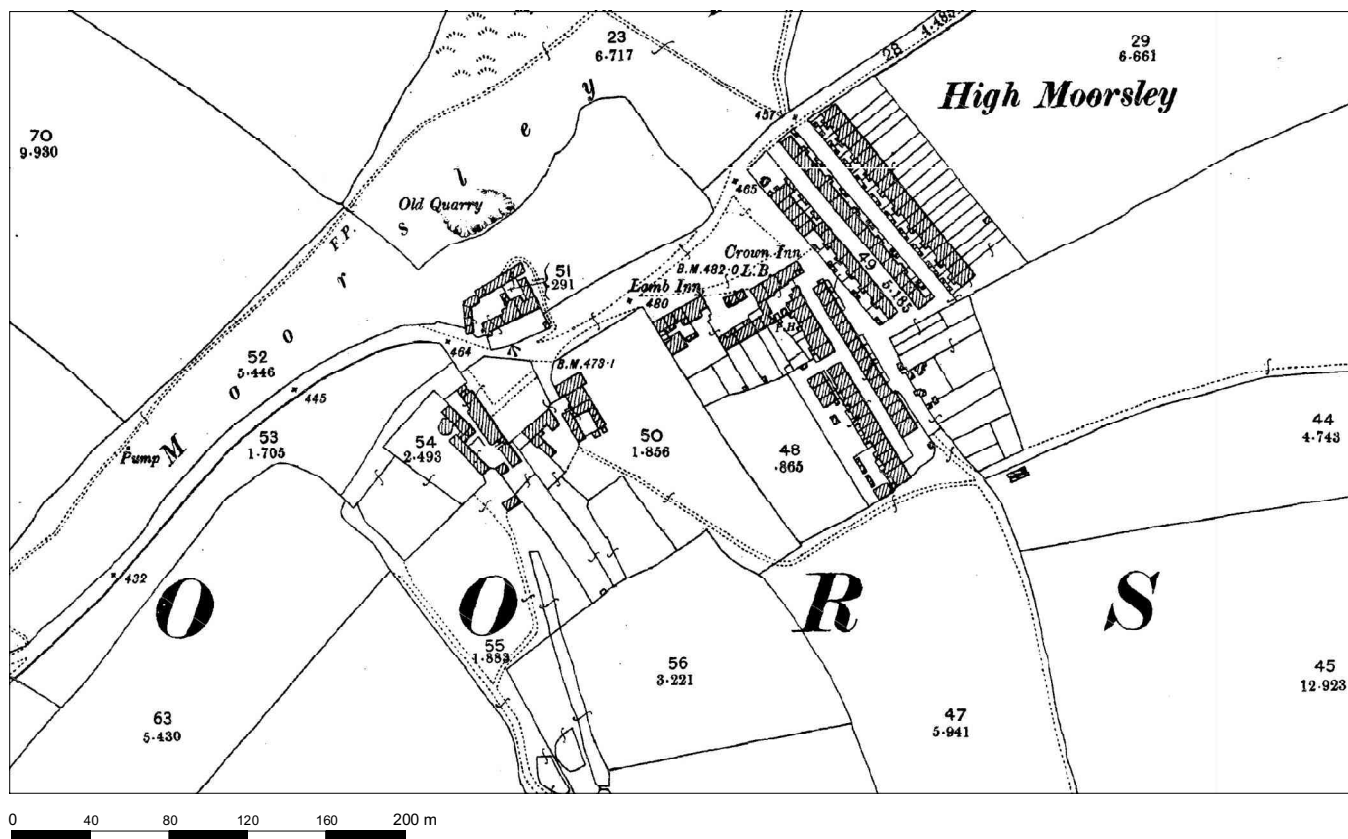
Extract from 2nd Edition Ordnance Survey, 1896, showing High Moorsley.

this formed another distinct component of the manor, located beside the River Wear, on the western edge of the combined estate, far removed from the manor farm. Although it is not mentioned in the Bursar's Account Rolls analysed by Fielding, there was clearly also a manor house associated with the farm. Thus in 1373 the four tenants who had taken over the lease of the demesne estate (*dominicum*) were ordered to make repairs to the manor house (*domus manerii*), with further general repairs to the manorial farm (*manerium de Estraynton*) being demanded in 1380 (*Halmota*, 118, 162; cf. 100 for terms of the 1371 lease of the farm to John Freeman, Robert de Coldingham, Helias Paternoster and Thomas Gibson). One of the most important functions of the manorial hall was to house the proceedings of the priory's manorial court, known as the Halmote Court, which was held three times a year. In many respects this was the heart of the manor, particularly in the later Middle Ages. Not only did the fines which the court imposed as penalties for infringements of the bylaws of the manor and vill represent a useful source of income, but the court regulated the life of the township and its tenants, not just the workings of the demesne farm, manifesting the priory's control and lordship over the entire community (for proceedings of the East Rainton and West Rainton courts see Booth and Longstaffe, *Halmota*).

When tenant syndicates were established the demesne farmlands were included in the land allocated to the syndicate members. This occurred by 1471 in West Rainton and 1482 in East Rainton (Lomas and Piper *Bursars Rentals*, 205 citing DCD HB II ff.119v, 175v-176r and HB II ff.161v-162f; but cf. Fielding 1980, 63, 104, 106, who cites DCD H(almote) B(ook) I, 1409). It is likely that the manorial farm ceased to function as an autonomous unit at this point, its land divided between the syndicate members, though it is conceivable that the syndicate jointly operated it for a time.

One exception to this pattern may be discrete close in the north-west corner of West Rainton township, adjoining Cocken, which is evident on successive historic maps beginning with DRO NCB I/X 228 and is labeled Prior's Close. This may represent the site of the barn in West Rainton where repairs are recorded in 1457 in the Bursar's Account Rolls This barn cannot have been part of the original manor complex referred to in the 13th- and 14th-century documents, which was evidently located in East Rainton, and is therefore unlikely to represent the same building mentioned in the mid-14th-century records. The close may represent the site of the priory communar's 50 acre freehold tenement, one of only two freeholds remaining in West Rainton during the 15th and early 16th centuries (for the history of the freeholds see Lomas and Piper *Bursars Rentals*, 205). Prior's Close farm still functioned as a unit in the mid 19th century, though the area is given as 115 acres in the West Rainton tithe award (DDR EA/TTH/1/197 − 1840).

Moorsley (High Moorsley)
The medieval village of Moreslau was situated at High Moorsley on the hilltop (Low Moorsley represents a 19th-century colliery village). The present settlement forms another much shrunken village. At its height in the 12th-14th centuries there were 12 customary tenements in the village, each with 16 acres, known as bovate holdings (Lomas and Piper *Bursars Rentals*, 206). By the end of Middle Ages this had reduced to a hamlet of three tenants organised in a syndicate, which was established by 1514 (DCD HB III f.126r). It is the latter pattern which is reflected by the detailed historical maps, with the earliest dating to 1805 (DCD E/AA/7/1), before the expansion of mining had disrupted the earlier pattern by fuelling renewed settlement growth. However the form of the village suggests there were originally two rows, north and south, on either side of a relatively short, rectangular green orientated NNE to SSW, with outgangs at the north-east and north-west corners of the green. By 1805 the north row had largely vanished with only one farm located there, but the number of customary tenements recorded in the bursar's rentals and surveys would imply that this side on the green was once fully built up and on the early 19th-century maps there does appear to be a distinct toft compartment forming a kind of island on that side.

10.6.2 The wider medieval landscape

The clearest understanding of how the medieval agricultural landscape contained with the territory of a vill functioned is provided by the case of East and West Rainton which benefit from both abundant documentary source material and an excellent series of historic maps which commence in the late 18th century.

Fields and moor of Rainton

Analysis of the late 18th-century map of East and West Rainton and Moorhouse (DRO NCB 1/X 228), supported by subsequent mid-19th-century estate and tithe maps, and the 1st edition Ordnance Survey, provides the clearest impression of the medieval and early modern layout of these two townships (see the illustration of *Durham Priory's Rainton Estate*, transposing the data onto the 1st edition 6in Ordnance Survey).

Townfields

The **townfields** – the open arable fields of East and West Rainton – probably lay to the north and south of the two villages and may have increased in area over time as population expanded. The continuous, sinuous east-west lines running along the edges of groups of later enclosed fields, which can be traced on the historic maps, may mark successive head-dykes marking divisions between the arable lands and common waste. The arable land was subdivided into numerous, long, narrow strips of ridge and furrow ploughland, each strip representing part of a tenant's holding and generally containing several parallel cultivated ridges. Each tenant typically held multiple strips scattered throughout the township, with the typical bondland or husbandland customary tenement in West Rainton comprising 32 acres of arable land plus meadow and common rights, though the majority in East Rainton were bovate holdings comprising just 12 arable acres, though some of these bovate holdings had been amalgamated by the late Middle Ages. The strips were in turn grouped into named flatts or furlongs – parcels of land separated by narrow baulks of uncultivated land which formed the principal subdivisions of the townfield. It is noteworthy that there were few hedges or fences in this landscape. The outer limit of the arable land would have been demarcated by a ditch and bank in all probability, perhaps reinforced by a fence or hedge. Some meadowland or areas of permanent pasture distinct from the moor might also have been fenced off, whilst any intakes or 'assarts' of cultivated land made into the moor would also have been fenced off to protect the crops from the livestock grazing on the moor.

An impression of the highly fragmented nature of individual tenants' landholdings can be gained from the descriptions preserved in a couple of the charters preserved in Durham Priroy's muniments. These relate to freeholdings in East Rainton which eventually came into the priory's possession, however the tenements of the priory's customary tenants are likely to have been similar in character, though they may, initially at least, have been more uniformly balanced in their distribution of the individual strips around the township's lands:

DCD 2.7.Spec.20 [9 March] 1387
(repeated in 2.7.Spec.21 – grant by Robert de Rainton to Robert de Hesilrigg, 1 July 1387; cf. 2.7.Spec.22 (1415) & 23 (1424) completing its acquisition by the priory)
Grant by Robert of Coldingham to Robert of Rainton, burgess of Newcastle upon Tyne, of all his land, formerly the almoner of Durham's, with a toft and croft in the vill of Rainton, with these bounds:
- ❖ at *Lydesate syde* 2½ acres
- ❖ at *Heredburgh* 9 acres
- ❖ at *Stodefalde* 9½ acres
- ❖ at *Burneland* 1 acre
- ❖ under *la Lawe* 1 acre
- ❖ at Eastland on the moor 3 acres and a rod

- Durham Priory's Rainton & Moorsley Estates -

The Layout of East & West Rainton in the Middle Ages (displayed on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, 6" per mile)

Rainton Mill

Dunwell Meadow
1396-7 rental

East Rainton, site of Priory manorial farm in C13 & C14

Rainton Meadows
(still common land
in C18th)

West Rainton

Prior's Close - possible Priory commoner's freehold post 1409 reorganisation? Site of barn in West Rainton in 1457?

MOORSLEY

PITTINGTON

(le Lemside 1380 Halm) Another Assart?

Remains of medieval coal mining

Rainton Park gate repaired 1340, 1350 and 1370

COCKEN
(Finchale Priory Estate)

Legend:

= Arable land (open fields)

= Medieval farm colonising moorland (Moor House)

= Durham Priory estates

= Moorland & common waste

= Meadows

= Medieval village sites and other settlements

= Meadows

= Rainton Park (hunting & enclosed pasture)

Reconstruction of the study area environs in the medieval period using historic map evidence transposed on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map base, 6" Per Mile Scale.

Map labels (in red):

(le Lemside 1380 Halm) Another Assart?

Early Coal Mining

C13th Assart

Legend:

= Open Arable Fields

= Common Moor and Green

= Tofts and Crofts of West Rainton Village

= Township Boundary (West Rainton/Moorhouse, Moorhouse/Pittington)

- ❖ at Westland on the moor 4½ acres
- ❖ at *Midewland* 1 acre 3 rods
- ❖ at Edmundsknoll 1 acre 3 rods
- ❖ at *La Leys* by the marsh 12 acres

DCD 2.7.Spec.44 [later 13th century]

Grant by John son of Thurstan to John son of Robert of 10 acres of arable land in the territory of East Rainton consisting of:

- ❖ 3 rods under Pelaw between the lands of Robert of Coldingham and Robert of Elwald
- ❖ lying between the lands of Robert son of Elwald and John Serghant:
  - ➢ a rod next to *Kyrkeway*
  - ➢ 3 rods in *Milne Holme*
  - ➢ half a rod on Deneside
- ❖ 3 rods on *Deneside* between the lands of John Serghant and Thomas son of Elwald
- ❖ half a rod on the east side of the vill of Rainton between the lands of John Dunnig and William of West Rainton
- ❖ half an acre in *le Hoph* between the lands of Henry the son of Giles the clerk and William of West Rainton,
- ❖ half an acre between *Holeway* and the land of John Serghant
- ❖ a rod beside *Trecros* between the lands of Henry son of Giles and Robert son of Elwald
- ❖ 1 rod beside *Tremere* between the lands of John Dunnig and Robert son of Elwald
- ❖ 1 rod and a half beside *Wudeway* between the land of John Dunnig and Elwald
- ❖ a rod beside *Tremer* between the lands of Henry son of Roger and Robert son of Elwald
- ❖ half an acre beside *Ellis* bounded on both sides by the lands of Robert son of Elwald
- ❖ an acre beside *Bradegate* near the lands of the house of the community of Durham
- ❖ a rod by Caldwell between the lands of John the reeve and Robert son of Elwald
- ❖ 3 rods on *Everhill* between the lands of John Dunnig and Thomas son of Elwald
- ❖ a rod there between the lands of Thomas son of Elwald and Robert son of Elwald

Charters such as these open up a lost world, a landscape of forgotten placenames where every furlong or flatt had a name, just like the post-enclosure fields, and every individual strip of ploughland could be identified by reference to its flatt, other prominent landscape features and the names of the tenants whose lands adjoined the strip in question on either side. These places cannot be identified on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey or the earlier estate maps. Evidently, the division and enclosure of the townfields which created numerous hedged closes, plus the widespread development of small coal-pits in East Rainton during the early modern centuries, radically transformed the perceived landscape of the township establishing an entirely different framework of topographic reference for its inhabitants. The placenames of the old open landscape of the medieval townfields were thereby rendered largely redundant.

Dunwell Meadow

One exception to the above was the parcel of meadow land labelled 'Dunwelmedowe', 'Donwelmedow' or 'Douwelmedowe', which figures in several documents and can be identified with the area to the east and ENE of East Rainton village where the Dunwell Pit was later located. The fields here are still labelled 'Dunwell Medow' on the late 18th-century estate map and the 1839 tithe map.

Right to pasture their stock on this meadowland after the hay crop had been gathered (known as 'herbage') was rented collectively by the tenants of the vill for the sum of £1 in 1396-7 (*Bursars Rentals*, 89; cf. Campey 1987, 82). It was clearly regarded as an important resource. In the proceedings of the Priory's manorial Halmote Court there are injunctions ordering the tenants not to

allow their pigs to uproot the ground there in 1373 and not to permit any of their livestock to trample the meadow in 1379 (*Halmota*, 119, 161).

The Moorland

The historic maps are of much greater assistance in plotting the location and extent of the moorland. A number of fields retain the element 'moor' in their name, at the north end and south-east corner (Stobley Moor) of East Rainton and west side of West Rainton, for example. In addition the overall morphology of the field pattern provides clues to the extent and layout of the moorland in relation to the townfields. The extent of the common moor of both East and West Rainton can thus be traced with reasonable confidence. A particularly characteristic feature is the funnel-like corridor which can be seen emerging from the western end of West Rainton on the maps, gradually widening out before its side boundaries abruptly diverge sharply away to the south and north-west. This is characteristic of the outgang passages by which livestock could be driven out from the village green and the farmers' byres on to the moorland pastures.

The communities of West Rainton and Pittington probably intercommoned on the moorland to the west and south-west of West Rainton village, which may have caused problems when the moor was eventually enclosed. This would explain the dispute – resolved in 1691 – between the parishes of Houghton and Pittington over the status of Pitt Houses (Rainton Gate), which is mentioned by Surtees (1816, 211), and also the existence of a very peculiarly-shaped, detached portion of Pittington further to the west, sandwiched between Cocken and Moorhouse townships and intertwined with parts of West Rainton.

Rainton Park, Moorhouse and Leamside

Rainton Park was probably carved out of this common waste along the east bank of the Wear at the western edge of West Rainton township. It is mentioned as early as 1296 (see below). The appointment of a park keeper is recorded in 1338 (Surtees 1816, 210), and a forester (*forestarius*) is mentioned in 1367 (*Halmota*, 67).The Bursar's Account Rolls show that repairs to the gate of the park were required in 1342, 1350 and 1370 (Fielding 1980, 63). The historic maps show that much of the park was wooded in the 18th and early to mid-19th centuries and it is likely that one of the principal functions of the park was to supply timber for the priory's building operations. It may also have provided secure enclosed grazing for livestock and perhaps also for deer. In 1508 Prior Thomas Castell had a grant of free warren from Bishop Bainbridge authorising him to hunt, though this was not restricted to the park but applied throughout East and West Rainton (Surtees 1816, 210).

The location of Rainton Park is indicated by successive historic maps from the late 18th-century estate plan (DRO NCB I/X 228) through to the 1st edition Ordnance Survey, and much of its northern boundary can be unambiguously traced extending eastward from the park's north-west corner, defined by the limit of the western half of the later township of Moorhouse. However the precise position of the eastern end of the park is less clear. The hypothetical plan of the Priory's Rainton estate presents one possibility, in which case the moorland intake represented by Moorhouse farm would not have impinged on the park.

Moorhouse, which is mentioned as early as 1296 when Walter del More was fined for felling two oak trees in Rainton Park (*Halmota*, 11), was presumably an 'assart', or clearance, established by Finchale Priory to colonise part of the waste, as cultivation intensified and expanded during the 13th century (see *Illus 19*). Originally this probably comprised a single farmstead, but it is called Moorhouses in an inquisition post mortem of 1369 indicating there was more than one dwelling by then, subsequently further specified as *Nethirmorhous* and *Overmorhous* in an IPM of 1481 (cf. Watts 2002, 80). One leasehold tenant is listed in a survey of Cathedra Dean and Chapter's lands in 1580 (*Halm.*, 205).

Another settlement which apparently existed by the late Middle Ages is **Leamside**, mentioned in Durham Priory's Halmote Court records in 1380, when Richard Bateson held one messuage (a building tenement plot), 18 acres and 3 roods 'in le Lemsid' (*Halm.*, 162). It is not clear whether this lay on the same site as the present settlement of Leamside, which seems to have been called Low Pitt Houses in the 18th century, but it presumably represented another encroachment into the common moor.

Hetton, Eppleton and Moorsley
Less evidence is available to reconstruct the equivalent agricultural landscape in Hetton, Eppleton or Moorsley. It is more difficult to discern a clear pattern of inner townfield and outer moor on the earliest maps of Hetton, such as the Lyons Estate map of 1776, although that township was divided and enclosed in 1617, only slightly earlier than Rainton (1628-38).

Nevertheless, as with Rainton, an impression of the landscape's character can be constructed by reference to the charters and deeds associated with the lords and free tenants of these townships.

HETTON – DCD 3.7.Spec.5 [c.1220s]
Grant by William of Layton (*Latona*), for the salvation of the souls of his lords the bishops of Durham, himself, his father, mother, and heirs, to God, St Godric, and the prior and monks of Finchale, in exchange for all the corn rent which he ought to pay, of 30 acres of land and an acre of meadow in his vill of Hetton, that is:
- ❖ 10 acres of his demesne with a toft and croft which Stephen Halling held
- ❖ one acre of his demesne which Arnald Cambam held
- ❖ 2 acres of his demesne which William Parvus held
- ❖ 2½ acres in *Kirkeforde*
- ❖ 2½ acres in *Sexhope*
- ❖ an acre of meadow in *Holewelle*
- ❖ 12 acres of arable on his moor towards Rainton in the south which Ralph son of Acolf held

EPPLETON – DCD 3.7.Spec.13 [later 12th century]
Grant by Roger of Eppleton (*Epplingdene*), for the salvation of his soul, to God and St Mary and St Cuthbert and the prior and monks of Durham of
- ❖ a carucate of land in the vill of Eppleton which lies **to the east in the field of the vill**
- ❖ with the increase (*incremento*) of 20 acres of his demesne together with 2 tofts which were of Ralph de Fonte and Norman son of Spron, that is:
  - ➢ 7 acres of his demesne cultivation at **Estwell**
  - ➢ 7 acres of the cultivation of **Barewes** on the east part
  - ➢ 6 acres of the cultivation of the croft on the east part

MOORSLEY – DCD 4.7.Spec.1* [13th century]
Grant by Nicholas Scayfe of Moorsley to the prior and convent of Durham "ad eorum Communiam" in pure and perpetual alms, of 3 acres, 1½ rods and 7 perches of arable in Moorsley:
- ❖ at *Hettum*, and *Fuleslat* 3 rods and 11 perches,
- ❖ at *Farvihop*, *Le Gybet* and *Flittacres* 3 rods and 4 perches,
- ❖ at *Westerlawe* 1½ rods and 4½ perches,
- ❖ at *Le Pottes* 1 rod and 2 perches,
- ❖ at *Wodeway* 1 rod and 3 perches,
- ❖ at *Sandilandes* 1 rod,
- ❖ at *Langeford* and *Le Shawe* 2½ rods and 2½ perches.

Again the fragmented nature of individual tenements composed of many widely scattered strips of ploughland is abundantly apparent as is the impression of a forgotten agricultural landscape filled with named topographic features the location of which is now almost entirely irrecoverable. Even so a few specific comments can be made.

Hetton

Some of the place-names associated with the arable lands of Hetton, such as Sexhope and the morflat of Eplinden, recur in more than one charter. It is possible that with further detailed analysis it may be possible to narrow down their location. Eplinden morflat may lie on Hetton Downs or High Downs, but it is not altogether clear whether it lay in Eppleton vill or in Hetton itself.

The community's moorland lay mainly in the southern part of the vill to judge from the evidence of the names preserved on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey and the field names recorded by the tithe apportionment schedule. Thus Hetton Moor, including the small parcel labelled Sherrif's Moor, occupy the entire south-east corner of Hetton township on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey. The medieval moor must have been more extensive than this, however. DCD Charter 3.7.Spec.5 itemised above refers to a grant by William de Laton of '12 acres of arable on his moor towards Rainton in the south which Ralph son of Acolf held'. This implies that the moor extended from the south-east corner round to the west side of the vill at least as far north as the boundary with Rainton, though the fact that there was arable land there indicates that this part of the moor had already been encroached on by the early 13th century. Other charters suggest there were also areas of moorland further to the north. Thus there is reference to one parcel of land on the moor of Hetton, lying between the way which leads to Morton on one side and Eplinden morflat on the other (DRO D/Gr 82; *Greenwell Deeds*, no. 82), and another parcel the boundary of which descended 'near **le** Morflat de Eplingdene unto the way leading to Dalden' (DRO D/Gr 84; *Greenwell Deeds*, no. 84). The 'way leading unto Daldon' is probably Downs Pit Lane which winds its way eastward from Hetton through Great Eppleton, whilst the way which leads to Morton is presumably now North Road (the B1284), with the second parcel in question thus lying between North Road and Hetton Downs.

The two Greenwell Deed charters referred to above, along with a third example (DRO D/Gr 90; *Greenwell Deeds*, no. 90) form a group of grants by William de Laton, lord of Hetton, to William, son of Hugh Mody de Hetton, also called William Mody de Hessewell, and Geoffrey, son of William Mody de Hetton, perhaps the son and heir of the first named William. The terms and subject matter of the three grants are so similar that it is reasonable to believe they were fairly closely spaced in time, at most a few years apart (there are also some overlaps in the witness lists attached to the end of the three charters). They all relate to grants to the Modys of small parcels of arable land and the right to enclose and cultivate an area of moorland made by William de Laton in return for William and Geoffrey Mody's agreement to Laton's enclosure of various tracts of moorland:

❖ *Greenwell Deed* 82. Grant: Two ½ acres of land on the east side of the cultivated land of Geoffrey Mody at Rannutuden [Rainton], and on the west of the high road.
  ➢ In return for the right to make approvement of (enclose) 30 acres of land in the moor of Hetton which lie *inter riaden et raden* of which one head extends towards the way which leads to Morton and the other to Eplinden morflat.

❖ *Greenwell Deed* 84. Grant: 2 acres of land lying at *Sexhope*, west of Laton's cultivated demesne in Hetton.
  ➢ For the right to make approvement from the moor called *Cotewall* – the boundary beginning at *Wydehope*, descending near *le Morflat de Eplingdene* unto the way leading to Dalden

❖ *Greenwell Deed* 90. Grant: 14 acres upon *Crosfarnes* near *Wylieslawe* in the moor of Hetton, for cultivating, building and making to Mody's own advantage generally.
  ➢ For leave to bring back to cultivation 26 acres of land in Hetton near *Wylieslawe* (Laton guaranteed not to till or bring into cultivation any part of the moor of Hetton except *le Donmore*).

The Modys were evidently substantial landowners in Hetton, if not on the same scale as Laton himself, and were probably free tenants. As such, Laton required Mody's acquiescence to the loss of year-round, common grazing rights on the moorland, which it was proposed to enclose, and obtained this by grants of arable land totalling 17 acres. The charters probably all belong to the 13th century, perhaps the early decades of that century, and show that this was a time of agricultural expansion in Hetton, with the manorial lord energetically driving the process forward, nibbling away steadily at the common waste.

Eppleton

It is likely that Eppleton's common moor (some of it at least) lay along the northern edge of the township, directly north of the village – an area still called 'the Moors' today – extending as far as the boundary with Hetton. A number of charters relating to Hetton refer to Eplinden Morflat and this may represent a flat of ploughland, perhaps on Hetton Downs and High Downs, in the northern part of Hetton vill, which adjoined Eppleton Moor. Alternatively it could have formed a furlong (flat) of arable land carved out of Eppleton Moor, alongside the boundary with Hetton vill.

The settlement of Little Eppleton, in the south-western part of Eppleton vill is first referred to, in the mid-17th century, as Eppleton Field House, implying it was located in the former townfield of Eppleton. The late 12th-century charter DCD 3.7.Spec.13, excerpted above, refers to the grant of a carucate of land (typically 90-120 acres) in the vill of Eppleton which lies **to the east, in the field of the vill**. This would suggest that the arable 'field' also extended around the east side of Epplinden village (Great Eppleton). In the south-east corner of the Great Eppleton township the presence of Eppleton Carr House, a parallel name to Eppleton Field House would suggest this area had once been carr – a marshy area. This may not have been intensively cultivated and may have been used as seasonal pasture, and for the gathering of rushes and similar activities.

Moorsley

The arable flatts or other features named in 13th-century charter DCD 4.7.Spec.1*, set out above, are like most of their counterparts in the other vills not locateable with any precision. In addition the historic maps and surveys relating to Moorsley do not contain any fieldnames preserving the element 'moor' to assist in determining the location and extent of the medieval vill's moorland, but Moorsley was a fairly small township and it is possible that it contained relatively little moorland waste. However some waste certainly existed. The bursar's rentals of 1340-41 and 1396-7 and the Halmote Court Roll for 1357-8 refer to payments made by the entire vill for the waste at the exit of the vill or village (*Bursars Rentals*, 44, 92; *Halmota*, 20). The 1340-41 and 1396-7 payments were 4d, the former being qualified as the exit on the west side, whereas the payment of 8d in 1357-8 was for the waste at either end (*pro vasto ad exitum villae de utroque termino*). These payments must relate to the grazing on the outgang corridors leading out from the east and west ends of the village, which can be traced on the historic maps.

Furthermore, the steep slope on the north side of the village, which represented the edge of the magnesian limestone escarpment, would have posed a challenge for arable cultivation and it is possible that this too was either regarded as waste and used for grazing livestock or was used as meadowland instead. Several documents mention Leyland, its name suggesting was meadow (Lomas and Piper, *Bursars Rentals*, 206), and it is possible that this represents either the sloping escarpment

face or the level area at the foot of the slope. The latter appears to be subdivided into large rectangular fields, typical of post-medieval enclosure patterns when fields were laid out across formerly undivided moorland or similar pasture. Little or no trace can be discerned of the kind of curving field boundaries evident on the hilltop south of the village, which fossilise the layout and orientation of medieval arable strips. This would imply the community's principal resource of arable land spread across the magnesian limestone plateau, extending south, south-west and east of the village.

The Leyland seems to have formed a distinct element of the township from an early stage. Totalling 54 acres, it features in the gilly-corn schedule, the record of an ancient payment of thraves of corn made to the priory almoner, which was compiled in 1424, but which only lists tenements which were in existence c. 1200 or earlier (Fraser 1955, 53). Four tenants are recorded renting three- or six-acre parcels of the Leyland in the 1396-7 rental (*Bursars Rentals*, 92). It is not clear whether these represent enclosed parcels of meadowland or whether they were converted to arable cultivation.

The Corn Mills
Corn mills were a vital piece of medieval infrastructure, generating substantial income for the manorial lord, and virtually every township was furnished with one. Tenants were compelled to grid their corn at the lord's mill and hand over a proportion of the milled corn, usually a thirteenth, in return, a levy known as multure. The mill was usually leased out for a fixed sum by the lord to a miller, who, unsurprisingly, was often an unpopular figure since his interest lay in maximising his earnings over and above what he paid to the lord, and hence was often suspected of short-changing the tenants (perhaps it was this reason that the men of West and East Rainton jointly took over the lease of Rainton Mill for three years in 1345 (*Halmota*, 19)).

The watermills: Hetton and Rainton
Best known of those in the study area are the two watermills, **Hetton Mill** and **Rainton Mill**, which continued in use as the sites of functioning mills into the 19th and 20th centuries. Because of the elaborate nature of the weirs, leat channels and dams required to enable them to function efficiently, watermills tended to occupy the same site over many centuries, once the earthworks had been put in place, even if the mill building itself may have been rebuilt several times over during the same timeframe. Both Hetton Mill and Rainton Mill lay at the northern end of their respective townships, the former on Hainton Burn, just below the confluence of Hetton Burn and Rough Dene, which together provided a sufficiently copious flow of water, and the latter a little further downstream, beside Rainton Burn which was formed by the confluence of Hainton Burn and Robin Burn (for more detailed analysis of the remains of these mills see Hetton Local History Group 2010c = 2012, 27-34).

An unavoidable consequence of the limited options for the location of the two mills was that tenant farmers had to transport their grain a relatively long distance from their village settlements to get it milled. Indeed although it was located at the northern end of East Rainton township, Rainton Mill also served the villagers of West Rainton, who had an even longer trek, since the priory managed the two Rainton vills as a single integrated manor. In 1381 the tenants at West Rainton were reminded at the Priory's Halmote court that they were not allowed to mill their grain anywhere other than the mill in East Rainton on pain of a fine of half a mark (*Halmota*, 168)

Rainton Mill was half owned by the Bishop of Durham and as a result is listed in the Boldon Book *c.* 1183, where it is stated that, together with Newbottle and Biddick mills, it was worth 15 marks[6] (£10) in leasehold value (Greenwell, *Boldon Buke*, 7, 48). The other moiety of the mill was held by the priory like the rest of the Rainton estate. This partition was a relic of the division of the

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[6] A mark (*marca*) was not a coin but sum of money worth 13s 4d.

Hetton Mill

Historic photograph of Hetton Mill, with modern of equivalent opposite

Hetton Mill site from south with burn in foreground

Extract from 2nd Edition OS 1896, 1:2500, showing Hetton Mill

Coppiced trees east of Hetton Mill

View of Hetton Bogs

Hetton Mill 2

Bank of dam for Rainton Millpond

Millpond for Rainton Mill

Extract from 1st Edition OS 1857, 6" per mile, showing Rainton and Hetton Mills

Leat flowing from dam to Rainton Mill

Stone revetment of leat by Rainton footbridge

Northumbrian Community of St Cuthbert's holdings between the bishop and the new Norman priory at the end of the 12th century and would suggest the mill was already in existence at the time of the division. The *molendinam de Ranton* is listed amongst the building works of Prior John Fossor (1341-74), implying it was rebuilt or substantially repaired at that time (*Tres Scriptores*, cxli). It also figures frequently in the bursar's valuations, rent-rolls, rentals and equivalent documents from the 13th century right through to the dissolution of the priory in the 1540 and beyond:

Table: Rental value of Durham Priory's half of Rainton Mill

Document	Mill (half) leased to	Rent per annum
c. 1230 Valuation (Lomas & Piper, *Bursars Rentals*, 19)	-	£5 6s 8d
1270 Rent-roll (*Bursars Rentals*, 28)	-	£6
1340-41 Rental (*Bursars Rentals*, 65)	William de Masham	£5 6s 8d
1396-7 Rental (*Bursars Rentals*, 88)	-	£3 1s 8d
1464 Inventory (Greenwell, *FPD*, 125)	John Galoway	£2 10s
1495-6 Rent-book (*Bursars Rentals*, 152)	Robert Shotton	£2 13s 4d
1539 Bursar's Rental (*FPD*,)	John Speide	£2 13s 4d
1580 Book of Survey & Abstract of Rental (*Halm.*, 219)	Widow Stephenson	£2 13s 4d

It is noteworthy how much the value of the mill collapsed in the prolonged depression of the later 14th and 15th centuries. Nor was the priory and its successor the Cathedral Dean and Chapter able to increase the basic rent in the 16th century, a time of rampant inflation, implying that, like its ordinary tenancies, the priory's mills were effectively held on a lifetime lease. However in the late 16th century the cathedral did start to levy large entry fines, amounting to several years rent when a new tenant took over the lease.

Less is documented regarding the history of Hetton Mill, which belonged to the manorial lords of the township, the de Latons and their successors, but it does figure in a number of the charters issued by William de Laton in the 13th century, recording grants of land to free tenants, in particular Geoffrey Mody of Hetton and his descendants (*Greenwell Deeds*, nos. 82, 84, 90; original documents: DRO D/Gr 82, 84, 90). Geoffrey and his descendents were only obliged to hand over a twenty-sixth portion of the corn they had ground at the mill.

Both Hetton Mill and Rainton Mill can be seen on the earliest detail maps of their respective townships the Lyons estate map of 1776 and the late 18th-century estate map covering East and West Rainton (DRO NCB 1/X 228).

The windmills: Eppleton and Rainton

The vills of Eppleton and Moorsley lacked watercourses with sufficient flow to power a watermill, but encompassed prominent hilltop locations, so each was furnished with a windmill instead. Though no remains survive today their approximate location can be identified through the field-names recorded by their respective tithe maps (DDR/EA/TTH/1/89 and 167 – 1839 (plans dated 1838)) and, in the case of Moorsley, by the contemporary Dean and Chapter estate map (DCD/E/AF/4/1-2; 1843). Thus the fields numbered 166, 162 and 163 on the Moorsley tithe map represent Mill Hill, High and Low Mill Hill (39, 41 and 42 on DCD/E/AF/4/1), indicating that, as might be expected, the windmill was situated on the hilltop a short distance to the south of the village itself. A cart track and footpath leading out from either end of the hamlet of High Moorsley provide access to this hilltop and could date back to the days when the prior's tenants took their grain to the mill to be ground into flour.

Similarly Eppleton's mill was doubtless situated on Windmill Hill, 350m NNW of the farm hamlet of Great Eppleton, site of the medieval village. This corresponds to adjoining field numbers 21 and 27 on the Great Eppleton tithe map comprising North Mill Hill and South Mill Hill respectively. It is noteworthy that both of these mills were closer to the principal settlements of their respective townships than were the watermills, something the farmers of those two communities may have been grateful for.

Moorsley's mill is mentioned in Priory's records, like Rainton Mill, its annual rent in 1340-41 being 13s 4d (one mark), but does not feature in the above named sources after the mid-14th century. It may have gone out of use after the Black Death, the population being decimated to such a degree by the plague that the community of Moorsley was probably no longer large enough to maintain its own mill. Thereafter the tenants of Moorsley perhaps ground their cereal crops at Pittington Mill.

10.6.3   Early Coal mining in Rainton

There is documentary evidence for mining in the vicinity of West Rainton at a relatively early date. A mid-13th century refers to one Geoffrey the coal miner (*le Carboner*) of West Rainton who relinquished a 10 acre parcel of land there to the priory (DCD 2.7.Spec.42). The cathedral priory had a mine at West Rainton from the 1350s onwards whilst its subordinate cell, Finchale Priory, sank a pit at Moorhouse in 1408 and mined continuously there from the 1440s (Lomas 1992, 199-200, citing DCD Bursar's Accounts, and *Finchale*, SS2, lvi-clxxxi respectively). Significant investment was required to keep these pits operating, with the Finchale monks expending £9 15s 6d on a pump to extract water at Moorhouse in 1486/7 whilst the construction of a tunnel or watergate at Rainton consumed virtually all the income from the mine in the mid-1430s and suggests that this operation was a drift mine (Lomas 1992, 201-202).

Coal mining around Mallygill may have continued in the 16th century. Godfry Tofte is listed as paying £22 for the lease of the coal-mining rights in Rainton in the 1580 survey (*Halm.*, 205), but it is suggested that mining was abandoned in the 17th century allowing the present Mallygill Wood to begin to regenerate over the area of the workings.

By the 19th century Moorhouse was a small township in its own right, as shown on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey and the reflected in the township's separate tithe map and apportionment (DRO EP/WR 45/1-2). This lay immediately to the south of the proposed development area and extended as far west as the River Wear, where it also incorporated Rainton Park, which is recorded in medieval documents as belonging to the prior and convent and must originally have formed part of the greater Rainton estate. The area of Mallygill Wood SAM, located to the west of Moor House farmstead and containing extensive remains of early coal mining activity, falls within this township and is labelled Raintonpark Wood on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey. This area may include remains associated with the documented Finchale operations. The location of the Rainton mine is less clear, though, as outlined above, such is the uncertainty over what constituted the exact limits of Moorhouse, Rainton Park and West Rainton in the medieval period, that it too may have lain somewhere in this area. Alternatively the earlier name given to the settlement of Rainton Gate – Rainton Pitt Houses (cf. Surtees 1816, 211; NCB 1/X 228) – might conceivably imply that a mine had once existed in the vicinity

10.7   The Early Modern era

10.7.1   Landlord and tenant farmer – Cathedral and syndicates

Population decline and economic recession in the later medieval period, following the Black Death, may have led to a reduction in the number of tenancies and in the overall number of inhabitants in

the village. The clearest picture in the early 16th century derives from Durham Priory's three townships, East and West Rainton and Moorsley, where syndicates of eight, eight and three equal tenancies were established in late 15th and early 16th centuries. These are still recorded in the 1539 bursar's rental (*FPD*, 312-13) were maintained into the 19th century, with a longstanding impact on the character of the tenant farmer population.

Durham Priory was dissolved by Henry VIII on the last day of 1539, a consequence of the King's dispute with the Pope regarding his wish to divorce Catherine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn, which provoked the Reformation of the English Church. However most of the priory's former estates, including East Rainton West Rainton and Moorsley, remained in the hands of the church, being transferred from the Prior and Convent to the new cathedral chapter composed of the Dean and a body of secular canons, henceforth known as the Dean and Chapter. Thus the fate of East Rainton and Moorsley was rather like that of the monks themselves who were transferred en masse to the new structure, being transformed into secular canons, whilst their last prior, Hugh Whitehead, became the first dean (Moorhouse 2008).

As a result there was initially little disruption to the pre-existing pattern of life in the estate of the former priory. The syndicates of tenants for the three vills persisted, now paying their rents, whether in cash or kind, to the Dean and Chapter, as a comparison of the bursar's rental for 1539 and a corresponding survey and rental for 1580 demonstrates:

1539 Bursar's Rental: East and West Rainton and Moorsley (Greenwell *FPD*, 312-313)

Est Rauntone	Rent per annum
John Marshall	£2 12s 3½d
Robert Tunstall	£2 12s 3½d
Robert Brough (*Brughe*)	£2 12s 3½d
The widow of Thomas Wilkinson	£2 12s 3½d
John Jackson	£2 12s 3½d
William Wheatley	£2 12s 3½d
Thomas Chilton	£2 12s 3½d
Richard Wilkinson	£2 12s 3½d
John Speed (*Speide*) for half the mill there	£2 13s 4d
West Rauntoune	
Richard Tailzour	£2 10s 7d
William Robinson	£2 10s 7d
William Smith	£2 10s 7d
William Hodgson (*Hogesone*)	£2 10s 7d
Thomas Wilkinson	£2 10s 7d
William Crag	£2 10s 7d
The widow of Nicholas Wilkinson	£2 10s 7d
Ralph Wilkinson	£2 10s 7d
The Commoner of Durham (*Comunarius Dunhelm*.), for free farm	4s 6d
Robert Wilkinson, for free farm of the land of the Guild of the Holy Trinity (*terr' gildae Sanctae Trinitatis*)	2s 8d
Moresley	
Christopher Tunstall	£2 5s 6d
William Hall	£2 5s 6d
Robert Robinson	£2 5s 6d

1580 'Book of Surveighe' and Abstract of Rental of Durham Cathedral (Booth and Longstaffe *Halmota*, 218-221)[7]

East Raynton	Rent per annum
Widow Marshall	£2 12s 3½d
Robert Tunstall	£2 12s 3½d
Widow Brough	£2 12s 3½d
Widow Wilkinson	£2 12s 3½d
Widow Jackson	£2 12s 3½d
John Wheatley	£2 12s 3½d
Robert Chilton	£2 12s 3½d
Thomas Johnson	£2 12s 3½d
Widow Stephenson for half the mill there	£2 13s 4d
The tenants there for a close next to Cocken (*Cockin*)	2s
Weste Rainton	
John Sanderson	£2 10s 7d
Henry Smith	£2 10s 7d
Widow Smith	£2 10s 7d
John Laughton (*Hogesone*)	£2 10s 7d
Ralph Jackson	£2 10s 7d
Widow Cragges	£2 10s 7d
John Rutter	£2 10s 7d
William Wilkinson	£2 10s 7d
Thomas Wilkinson, for free farm there	2s 8d
Moresley	
John Tunstall	£2 5s 6d
William Hall	£2 5s 6d
Ralph Pendrith	£2 5s 6d
George Humble, for free farm there	-

The Wilkinsons are the most prominent local family though the Tunstalls and Robinsons also provide two tenant farmers apiece. It is not clear whether these individuals were brothers within single families or cousins in more extended lineages.

However significant changes did occur in the decades following the Dissolution as the Dean and Chapter sought to cope with the increasingly rampant inflation which was reducing the value of the rents they received. Whereas the 15th century had been a period of prolonged economic depression with stagnating population levels, the 16th century experienced rapid demographic growth which triggered high inflation, exacerbated by Henry VIII's debasement of the coinage and the influx of Spanish silver from the mines of the New World.

The inflationary pressure posed severe problems for large landowners like the Dean and Chapter unless they could increase the rents their tenants paid. This was difficult because their predecessors, the monks of Durham Priory, had allowed entry fines or 'gressums' – the sums that tenants paid

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[7] The 1580 Survey lists a number of small additional customary payments made by the tenants, such as gilly-corn, but these do not add significantly to the overall rent.

when they took over the leasehold tenement – to lapse in the 15th and early 16th centuries, and had permitted the tenements to become effectively inheritable. When the cathedral sought to impose 21-year leases and introduce substantial entry fines in the 1570s it encountered strong resistance from its tenants. The Dean and Chapter created a lottery system whereby at the end of the terms of individual leases they reverted either to the dean himself or to individual canons of the cathedral chapter, with tenants obliged to pay substantial sums to these reversionary leaseholders in order to retain their own holding (Brown 2014, 708-9). The figures recently paid or in the process of being paid for new leases in East Rainton and Moorsley are recorded in the 1580 Survey and Rental with sums ranging from £7 16s 10½d and £10 9s 2d to £20 and £24 in East Rainton and £7 2s to £20 in Moorsley being recorded, equivalent to between four and nine years rent and three and eight years rent respectively (*Halmota*, 218-21).

In response the tenants claimed what was known as tenant-right, that is to say their tenements were hereditary on fixed rents because they themselves were liable for border service and their tenements had customarily been passed from father to son or other family member. The whole issue was highly contentious and divisive, as tenants refused to pay and arrears mounted. As a result the issue was brought before the Council of the North. The latter imposed a compromise in 1577, mindful of the upheaval caused by the Rising of the North less than a decade earlier, in 1569, and anxious to ensure Durham Cathedral's tenants were not provoked into a repeat of the uprising. The Council ruled that the Dean and Chapter's tenants were indeed leaseholders, but imposed restrictions on the cathedral chapter which meant they could only charge modest entry fines and low annual rents (Brown 2014, 709). As a result rents failed to rise in line with inflation. It was not until 1626 that the Dean and Chapter were able to acquire some cushion against inflation by replacing entry fines consisting of three years' rent with ones representing three years' *improved value*, which took inflation into consideration.

10.7.2 Landownership in Hetton-le-Hole
The post-medieval pattern of inheritance and succession of estates has been summarised by the county historians Hutchinson (1794/1822, 724-5), Surtees (1816, 213-16), Mackenzie and Ross (1834, 368-9), and Fordyce (1857, 579), with Surtees being particularly thorough. It is complex, being characterised by with repeated changes in ownership, often after relatively short intervals.

At the end of the Middle Ages the manor of Hetton-le-Hole appears have been divided into three landholdings. Half the manor (1) passed from the Moresby family to a Westmorland family, the Pickerings, via the marriage of Anne Moresby to Sir James Pickering in 1499. The remainder of Hetton was in the hands of two branches of the Musgrave lineage of Cumberland, which each held a quarter of the township (2 and 3).

The Pickering half (1) continued in the family's hands till the death in 1582 of Anne Pickering daughter and heiress of Christopher Pickering. In 1586, Sir Thomas Knevett, heir from the second of her three marriages, granted the moiety of the manor to Robert Walsh, William Watson and George Brough. They in turn immediately conveyed several parcels of the manor to John Gargrave, John Shadforth, Richard Walsh, Robert Crawe, Robert Smith senior, John Taillor, Robert Smith junior, Thomas Mathew, John Hoope, Christopher Mann, John Unthank, William Hochonson, Ellen Robinson, widow, and John Watson, effectively breaking up the estate. The above named were presumably the other tenants of the moiety, and it was probably on their behalf, as well as their own, that Walsh, Watson and Brough were acting in the initial purchase.

A similar fate overtook the portion held by the Musgraves of of Hayton and Abbeyholme (2). The family retained possession up until 1613 when Edward Musgrave sold the Hetton estate and other County Durham lands to their tenants, the Hetton lands being disposed of as follows:

- ❖ 2 messuages, ancient value £2, to Cuthbert Welshe (9 May)
- ❖ 2 messuages, ancient value 7s 6d, to Christopher, Robert & Ralph Hopper (9 August)
- ❖ 1 messuage to Andrew Nicholson
- ❖ 1 messuage, ancient value £2 13s 4d, to Nicholas & William Forster (16 August)
- ❖ A fourth part of the manor of Hetton, including the Parkes, a fourth part of Hetton Mill, and several reserved rents out of the previously alienated tenements and out of a close called Raby Garth[8], which were purchased by Thomas Caldwell and John Booth in trust for William James, Bishop of Durham (20 October)

The Musgraves of Crokedayke appear to have held their portion (3) well into and perhaps throughout the 16th century (see pedigree: Surtees 1816, 215), but its fate is unclear in Surtees account. It may represent the strip of land SSW of Hetton village, comprising seven fields and one farm (Peat Carr House), which is shown as jointly in Musgrave and Spearman/Lyons hands on historic maps from 1727 (DUL-ASC GB-0033-SHA – *A Survey of land at Hetton in the Hole in the County of Durham belonging to Ralph Musgrave and John Spearman esqrs, taken by Jn Brack Apr 7th 1727*) through to the early 19th century (DRO D/Lo/B 288 and D/Lo/B 309/14: Eye Plan Rainton and Hetton Colliery Ground 1820; D/Br/P 165: Estates let to Hetton Coal Company 1824). However this seems insufficient to represent a quarter of the original manor. Perhaps, therefore, some parts of the Musgrave 3 holding passed to the Lewen family by sale or marriage during the course of the 16th century for, in 1607, Edward and Thomas Lewen of Hetton, Gents., conveyed to members of the James family 'all that capital messuage which did formerly come by descent to Robert Lewen father of Edward', and another messuage held by Anne, widow of Christoper Lewen[9]. This conveyance was probably related to the accumulation of an estate by William James, Bishop of Durham, on behalf of his youngest son Francis James.

Thus by the early 17th century the manor had largely fragmented. However over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries a substantial estate was gradually rebuilt through the efforts of Bishop William James, and later the Spearman and Lyons families. In 1615 and 1616 respectively, James purchased 'the cottage and close called Hetton-Parke' from John Hoope and lands estaimated as one fifth of the manor of Hetton from George Shadforth of Murton. These represented some of the tenements alienated to various tenants by Sir Thomas Knevett in 1586 and it is possible that George Shadforth had already amalgamated some of these before the 1616 purchase. The Shadforths subsequently shifted focus to Eppleton purchasing half of that manor from George Collingwood, elder and younger, in 1618, perhaps with the proceeds from the sale of their Hetton property.

Bryan James, grandson of Bishop William, sold the estate to George French, haberdasher, of London, in 1664, who in turn conveyed his Hetton lands to John Spearman, Under-sheriff of Durham, in 1686. Spearman also purchased another two of the 1586 parcels, those originally held by Richard Walsh and John Unthank, in 1682 and 1694. His grandson, also called John, in turn sold the estate to the Countess Dowager of Strathmore in the 1730s, who gave or devised it to her youngest son, the Honorable Thomas Lyon (Surtees 1816, 214). The extent of the estate thus amassed is evident in the Lyons estate map of 1776. Further additions were subsequently made to the Lyons estate, which are evident on maps of the 1820s (notably DRO D/Br/P 165 1824; DUL-ASC DHC11/V/70 1826) drawn up during the tenure of Thomas' son, John Lyons (see Sill 1979, 4-5, fig 2, for analysis). On the death of John the estate passed to his heir, Maria Bowes Barrington, as denoted on the tithe map of 1839 (DDR/EA/TTH/1/127). A number of smaller estates are also shown on these early 19th-century maps, originating in the fragmentation of the estates in the late 16th and early 17th century. The

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[8] Raby Garth itself was purchased from Robert Clarke by the same trustees on 20 July 1613.
[9] Surtees (1816, 214n) suggests the Lewens had held land in Hetton at least since 1543, citing an 'Agreement and award between Robert Lewen, Esq. and the tenants of Knivett and the two Musgraves, as to pasture gates and inclosures' dated 2 January 1543 and preserved amongst the Thornley Papers.

Pemberton estate, for example, belonging to the notable coal-owning family of that name resident at Barnes in Sunderland, was derived from the tenant holding purchased by John Watson in 1586 (Surtees 1816, 214 n; Hetton Local History Group 2012, 23).

10.7.3 Enclosure

One of the most fundamental changes ever to affect the landscape of Hetton and neighbouring townships was carried out during this period, with the enclosure of the medieval open arable fields, or 'townfields,' and their division into hedged fields or closes, plus the accompanying enclosure and division of areas of common moor. Later on, in the 18th and 19th centuries, land was increasingly enclosed by specific parliamentary acts, but this mostly affected the extensive tracts of upland common attached to townships in the west of the county, in the Pennine dales and moors. The enclosures carried out in east Durham in the 17th century or earlier were generally accomplished by private agreement on the part of the landowners and freeholders, and then in many cases confirmed by a Decree Award in the Durham Chancery Court (cf. Durham County Local History Society 1992, 36-7).

The table below presents the dates of the enclosure agreements relating to the townships of Houghton-le-Spring parish, where known, derived from the lists complied by W E Tate (1946, 132-8). No Chancery Decree has survived for Moorsley or Eppleton, nor is there any other record of when enclosure took place. However since all the enclosures by private agreement relating to the neighbouring communities in Houghton parish, fall within the 17th century, it is reasonable to suppose that the enclosure of the townfields and moorland of both Moorsley and Eppleton was undertaken during the same overall period.

Table: List of recorded enclosures in Houghton Parish (from Tate 1946)

Date	Description	Township	Area
1617	-	Hetton-le-Hole	-
1628-38	-	Rainton in Pittington and Houghton Parishes	-
c. 1635	Townfields	Houghton-le-Spring	-
1638	Townfields	West Herrington and Middle Herrington in Houghton Parish	-
Pre-1652	Haining Pasture	East and Middle Herrington	100 acres
1669	Hall Moor, Dubmire Moor and East Close	Newbottle	-
1683	Whitebread Flatt	Newbottle	50 acres
1700	East, North and West Townfields	Newbottle	485 acres

The document confirming the portion of land awarded by the enclosure commissioners to one Hetton-le-Hole farmer, William Todd, as part of this process, is preserved amongst the Greenwell Deeds held in Durham Record Office:

> *Greenwell Deeds*, no. 363 (Original DRO D/Gr 363)
> [E10] English. 4 September 1619. 17th year of James [I.].
> Award: Whereas wee whose names are underwritten and John Booth late of the cittie of Durham, deceased, were chosen by the inhabitants of Hetton in the Hole, Durham, to make partition of the lands belonging to the said township, and whereas the said neighbours were agreed to stand to our awarde: we certifie that our awarde concerning William Todd's parte and portion was and is that the hedges, ditches, and fences that were to be made for that parcell of ground and close which was assigned to the said William Todd of Hetton, and his heires, lying and adjoining on the south side of the ground called the Lady Meadow assigned

to John Robinson, should be cast, made, repaired and maintayned with good repairs by William James late lord bishop of Durham, his heires and assignes at their coste and charges. In witness whereof wee have hereunto sett our hands and seales. Geo. Collingwood, Robt. Robson, William [?]. Witnesses: Ra: Rokeby, Robt. Collingwood, Robert Megson (mark), [and other names not legible].
Seals missing.

It is probably not coincidental that the date of the enclosure process in Hetton-le-Hole – 1617-19 – followed directly on from the substantial transfers in land ownership there in the early 17th century, with dismantling of the Musgrave 2 moiety by sale to the tenants and the accumulation of a substantial estate by Bishop William James on behalf of his youngest son. Presumably some of the individuals involved in these acquisitions were keen to drive forward a process of tenurial consolidation and improvement which enclosure permitted.

10.7.4 Dispersed farmsteads

Enclosure in turn made it possible for landowners to reorganise their estates into a series of more coherent farm tenancies, each one forming a compact holding of conjoining fields and closes, comprising a varying mixture of arable and pasture land. Initially the farmsteads themselves may still have been clustered in the village, as previously, however the logical next step was to resite the majority of the farmsteads to the centre of their respective tenant holdings. However, again there marked differences in the degree to which this process was carried through in the townships of the Hetton Study Area and the consequent impact on the villages and the overall settlement pattern, with an east-west split once more evident.

East Rainton

The historic map evidence provides the clearest record. regarding East Rainton, the late 18th-century Tempest estate map (DRO NCB I/X 228) shows that there were no farmsteads dispersed in the wider township territory by that stage. Moreover little had changed a couple of generations later when the 1839 tithe map (DDR EA/TTH/1/196) and a Dean and Chapter estate map of 1840 (DCD E/AF/2/1) were surveyed. Quarry House had been established south of the village, but it is not clear whether this was a farmstead or was associated with the working of the quarry. Indeed East Rainton remained a densely packed, and evidently relatively populous village, doubtless in part a result of the demand for housing on the part of miners working in the nearby coal pits.

Moorsley

A similar pattern is evident in Moorsley, where all the farmsteads remained located in the hamlet of High Moorsley on the 1805 Dean and Chapter estate map (DCD E/AA/7/1) and on (DDR EA/TTH/1/167 – map dated 1838) and a later Dean and Chapter map of 1843 (DCD E/AF/4/1), though by the latter stage the settlement pattern in the township had been dramatically altered by the establishment of the colliery village of Low Moorsley, forming a second nucleated settlement.

Hetton

In contrast there is more indication of settlement dispersal in Hetton township. The 1727 plan of the Musgrave-Spearman lands (DUL-ASC GB-0033-SHA) and the Lyons tithe map (1776) both show an isolated farmstead at Peat Carr, SSW of the village. In addition the 1776 map depicts other farmsteads to the south-west – Coal Bank, adjoining Moorsley township – and north west –Lane House, beside the Newcastle-Easington road – plus a substantial house at High Down to the north-east. Even so the Lyons estate map probably doesn't provide a full record of the degree of farmstead dispersal in Hetton by this stage as doesn't necessarily show buildings in the parts of the township outside the Lyons estate. Later maps, such as the 1824 Plan of estates let to Hetton Coal Company (DRO D/Br P165) and the Hetton Estate Plan of c.1826 (DHC11/V/70), add other examples which

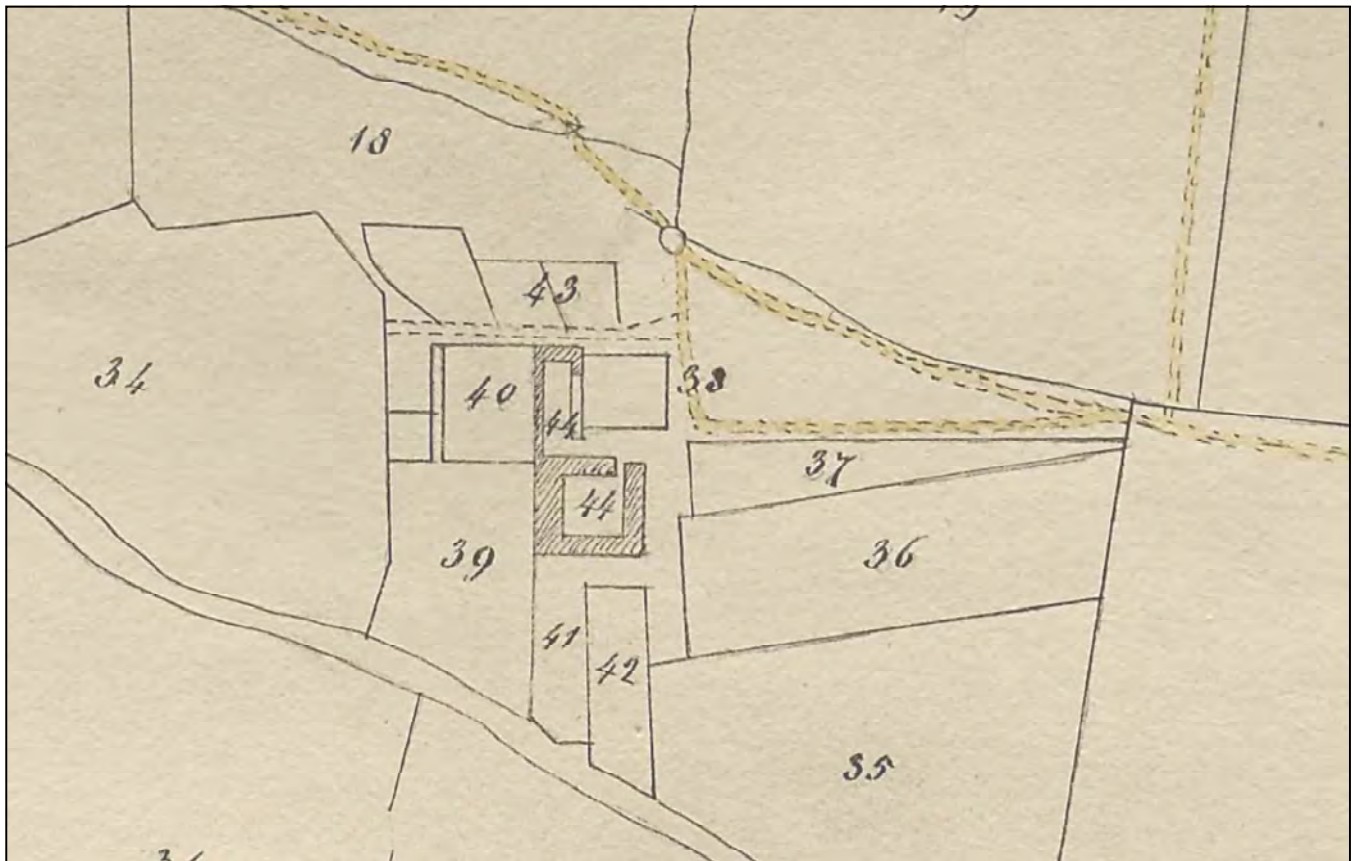# Isolated Farmsteads and Dispersed Settlement

Lane End Farm

*Hazard Grange
ex-Croudace's House*

*A view from the west
of Hazard Grange
ex-Croudace's House*
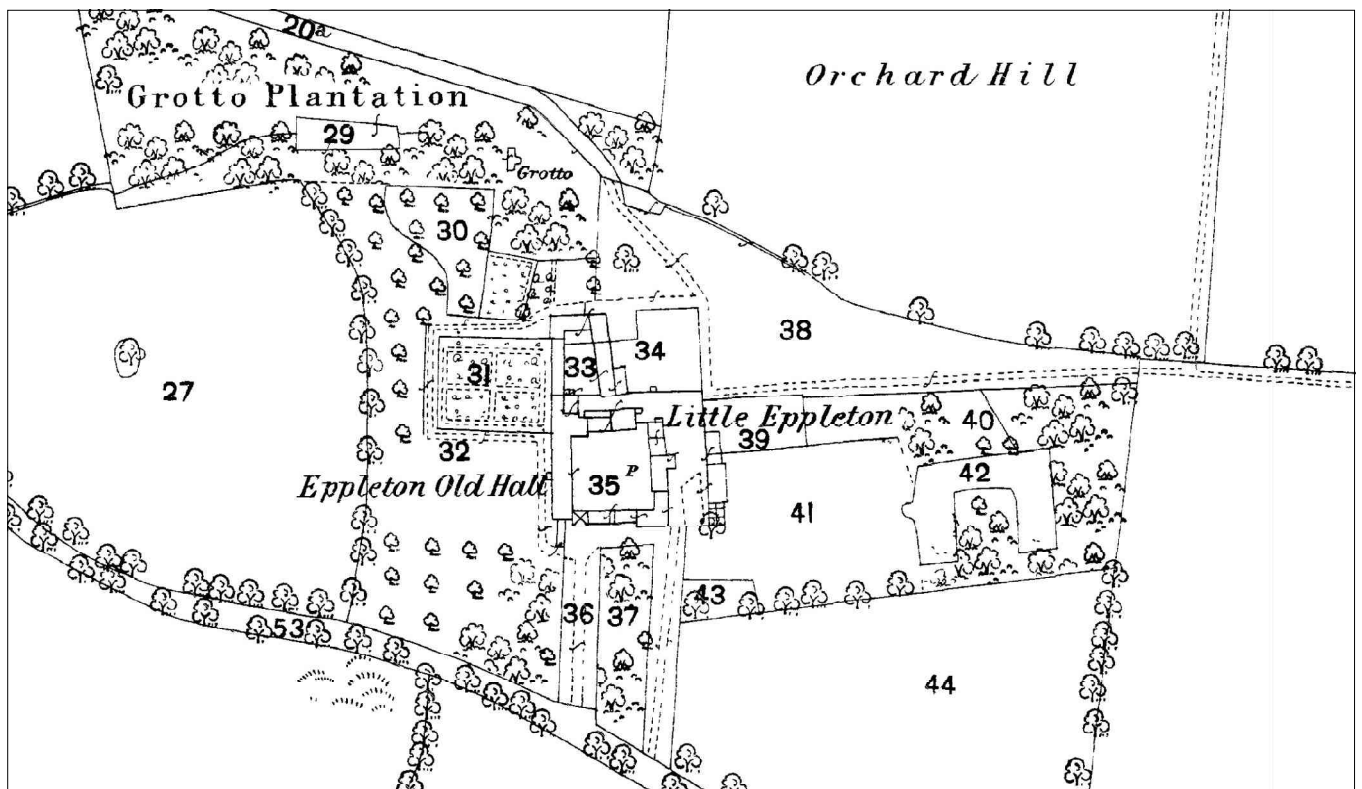
Settlement Regression - Little Eppleton

Extract from the Tithe Plan of Little Eppleton township (DDR/EA/TTH/1/90), 1839, showing Little Eppleton Hall and farmstead. Reproduced by permission of the Durham Diocesan Registrar.

Extract from 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, 1856, showing Little Eppleton..

may already have been in existence in the 18th century. These include Croudace's House to the north of Lane House, beside the same road (though this may simply represent an isolated dwelling rather than a farm), Gargrave House in the south-east extremity of the township, again beside the Easington road, and the Hemel, on the east side of Houghton Road, just south of the village. The map evidence thus demonstrates that the process of dispersal was already underway by the early 18th century and was probably substantially completed during that century and if not certainly during the first quarter of the 19th. It is quite conceivable that the process began during the 17th century, though further documentary research woulfd be required to confirm that. From the 1820s onwards, however, the rapid expansion of the settlement following the opening of Hetton Lyons coliiery and subsequently Eppleton colliery meant that the township was steadily by housiing development and industrial sites reducing the scope for agriculture.

Eppleton

Perhaps the most interesting case is Eppleton township, where settlement dispersal and division of the original estate was to result in the emergence of a second township, Little Eppleton, by the early 19th century. Here a dispersed farm is mentioned in as early as 1665 when Thomas Shadforth settled a messuage called the Field House on the children of the second marriage of his eldest son, George Shadforth (Surtees 1816, 221). The Field House, more fully entitled Eppleton Field House, was situated at what was to become Little Eppleton, and may form the origin of Little Eppleton Hall. Another farmstead was established near the eastern edge of the township, this taking the name Eppleton Carr House (now generally just Carr House Farm). It is shown on the Great Eppleton tithe map located at the centre of a discrete farmholding (DDR EA/TTH/1/89 – plan dated 1838). There is nothing definitive in the documentary record or the fabric of the surviving buildings to suggest the farmstead was any earlier than the mid-18th century (see 8.4.2 above). However the symmetry of the names Eppleton Field House and Eppleton Carr House is rather intriguing. Eppleton Field House was established in the 'field' of Eppleton, that is to say the core arable lands of the township which would have been open fields up until enclosure. Eppleton Carr House was set up in the 'carr', the marshier area at the south-east corner of Great Eppleton tithe map.

Both these parcels of the land – Little Eppleton = Field House and the Carr – may have originated as distinct units as early as the 16th century. The manor of Eppleton had a complicated history of inheritance after Sir William Heron sold it to his tenant John Todd in 1524 (Surtees 1816, 218-19). Todd's son died childless and the estate was divided between his seven sisters. However, between 1556 and 1564, Henry Todde, merchant of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Thomas Lawson of Little Usworth each acquired three-sevenths of the estate. These six portions were subsequently reunited in the hands Thomas Lawson's son in 1573, passing in turn to George Collingwood in 1592. This estate subsequently passed to the Shadforth family in two stages in 1618 and 1630 (therefore representing another temporary division of the estate), the outstanding seventh having previously come into their hands in 1601, when conveyed by John Todd of Newcastle, apothecary, to John and George Shadforth. It is conceivable that these divisions of the estate marked the point when the subsidiary farmsteads of Eppleton Field House and Eppleton Carr House were founded, to more effectively manage the different portions of the divided estate. Carr House may have related to the sngle seventh portion which was divided from the remainder of the estate for much of the 16th century, whilst Field House might relate to one of the three seventh portions. This remains conjecture only, however, in the absence of tangible structural or archaeological evidence from either of the sites.

Nevertherless a site visit identified a brick-built barn in the farm complex immediately north of Little Eppleton Hall as possibly being of late 17th-century date. Moreover Little Eppleton Hall is clearly a complex building, with a secondary façade on the west side, and may hide many structural secrets. For example ponds are shown to the east of the house on the tithe map and 1st edition Ordnance

Survey. These are characteristic of Tudor and Stuart formal gardens (cf. Aston and Gerrard 2013, 284-6), which might imply that the house formerly faced east rather than west as now. The entire site clearly merits much more intensive investigation.

Apart from Carr House, settlement in Great Eppleton remained concentrated at the old village site, where Eppleton Old Hall was located. The main Eppleton estate was purchased by Francis Mascall of Durham in 1692, the principal Shadforth lineage having become encumbered by debt. The Mascalls were still in possession in the mid-19th century.

10.7.5 Population and the Hearth Tax records

The earliest at all comprehensive indication of the number of households is provided by the 17th-century hearth tax records. A summary is provided below of the hearth tax assessment made on Lady Day (25 March) in 1666 for the five townships of Hetton-le-Hole, Eppleton, Moorsley and East and West Rainton (cf. *Durham Hearth Tax*, cxi, 55, 57-8, 145-8). It is immediately clear that there is a very marked difference between the eastern townhips of the study area and the western ones.

1666 Hearth Tax Records for Hetton-le-Hole, Eppleton, East & West Rainton and Moorsley

Totals of households and hearths, Lady Day (25 March) 1666 (*Durham Hearth Tax, Lady Day 1666*, Green *et al*. 2006, cxi)													Total house holds	Total hearths
HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING (part only), Easington North Division														
		No. of hearths												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+			
East Rainton	Paying	10	5	1									16	23
	Non paying	10											10	10
	Total	**20**	**5**	**1**									**26**	**33**
Eppleton	Paying	3	1	1							1 [13]		6	21
	Non paying	3											3	3
	Total	**6**	**1**	**1**							**1**		**9**	**24**
Hetton-le-Hole	Paying	16	7		1						1 [10]		25	44
	Non paying	21											21	21
	Total	**37**	**7**		**1**						**1**		**46**	**65**
Moorsley	Paying	6	4										10	14
	Non paying	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No	data		No data	
West Rainton	Paying	7	11	2	1	1	1	1					24	57
	Non paying	54	2										56	58
	Total	**61**	**13**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**					**80**	**115**

Moorsley and East Rainton are composed almost entirely of modest households with one or two hearths (one house in East Rainton, that of Philip Brough, possessed three hearths). Indeed the proportion with two hearths was perhaps higher than normal. West Rainton was rather more varied with one house, that of Ralph Carr, having seven hearths that Ralph Carr, gent.,, with other single houses having six, five and four hearths. Even here however as many as 11 of the 24 paying households had 2 hearths and another two had 3 hearths suggesting a degree of middling prosperity (though a further 56 non-paying households were also listed (op. cit., 147)). Moreover Ralph Carr's seven-hearth house could not match those of his eastern counterparts, the gentlemen residing in Hetton and Eppleton.

In contrast 'Hetton Hall' in Hetton-le-Hole was listed as having 10 hearths whilst the house of Thomas Shadforth, Gent., in Eppleton, had 13 hearths. This presumably represented Great Eppleton Hall. Shadforth also held the next most substantial house with three hearths, which may represent Eppleton Field House, which was to be transformed into Little Eppleton Hall later on in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Thus these records not only provide a summary of the number of houses and households, but also their relative wealth, and therefore a glimpse of the social structure of the townships. It is clear that the different patterns of medieval lordship still had enduring consequences in this era. Those where there had been a resident manorial lord in Middle Ages still contained a substantial house occupied by a member of the local gentry in the 17th century. In contrast those townships where lordship had been exercised by a religious corporation, Durham Priory and latterly the Dean and Chapter, displayed a much more even structure of middling farmers, sustained by the tenurial pattern imposed by priory and cathedral, with no dominant individual resident at Moorsley or East Rainton.

10.8 The onset of the Industrial Age – Waggonways, Staiths and Early Coal-mining

10.8.1 Origins
As described above, Rainton was one of the earliest centres of coal mining in the North-East, as it lay in the triangle of land between the Magnesian Limestone Escarpment in the east and the winding course of the Wear to the north and west which was rich in easily accessible coal (Turnbull 2012, 59, 73). Durham Priory and its daughter house, Finchale, maintained prolonged, serious operations at Moorhouses and in Rainton Park next to West Rainton during the 14th and 15th centuries. At least some of these early pits lay in Mallygill Wood, now a Scheduled Ancient Monument, but their development was doubtless complex and difficult to disentangle without much more extensive research.

Lomas (1992, 201-2) has emphasised that most of the elements that were associated with early modern coal-mining were already in use by the late Middle Ages. These include windlass pumps for draining bell-pits and channels known as watergates to remove water from drift mines or adits. specialised heavy draught waggons designed to carry the coal and dedicated cart-roads which required negotiated permissions, known as wayleaves, to cross neighbouring estates. There is even mention of the carriage of coal in river boats, precursors of the famous keelboats.

Nevertheless the profitability of these operations was constrained by the difficulty of getting the coal to a sizeable market. Even using large carts on dedicated routes, the cost of the coal doubled after only 12 miles overland transport (Lomas 1992). Water-borne transport was more economical but Rainton was well above the limit which could be reached by the river boats on the Wear, so the market for Rainton coal was initially largely limited to landsale to local customers, mainly for their domestic heating requirements. Such customers inevitably preferred to obtain their coal from the

nearest possible pit to minimise their own transport coal (even Durham Priory preferred to buy coal from pits nearer to Durham, whether or not those pits were under its control, rather than cart its Rainton coal all the way there), limiting demand and inhibiting the potential for growing the operations in areas a little further away.

10.8.2   17th-century mining in Rainton

Nevertheless mining did continue to expand in Rainton in the early modern era. The Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral took over the priory's Rainton, Moorsley and Pittington estates and leased out the mining rights to local entrepreneurs. The key figures in the development of the colliery in the late 17th and early 18th century were Sir John Duck and his successor Jane Wharton. John Duck rose from the trade of butcher to be mayor of Durham, acquiring the title of baronet and control of one of the most important collieries of the Great Northern Coalfield – Rainton Ducks. The Rainton Ducks colliery often known as Old Ducks was leased by Sir John Duck from the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral in 1683 and he successfully exploited the excellent house coal of the High Main seam which gained a high reputation on the London market.

Following the death of Sir John Duck in 1691 and that of his widow in 1695, the colliery was inherited by a relative, Jane Wharton, who ran the colliery for three decades following the death of her husband Richard Wharton in 1696, proof that a woman could survive and prosper in the often ruthless world of the coal-trade.

10.8.3   River staiths and the seacole trade

The most lucrative market for the coal of the Great Northern Coalfield was the seacole trade, which involved shipping down to the ports of London, East Anglia and the South-East where there were large and growing urban populations needing fuel and insufficient local coal or charcoal to meet demand. The collier ships generally preferred to take on coal at the river mouth because of the difficulty of navigating the Rivers Wear and Tyne, but it was still more efficient to move the coal by water wherever possible so smaller keelboats moved the coal from loading points known as **staiths** to the ships in port at Sunderland or lying off the river mouth, despite the risk of damage to the coal through double-handling that this entailed.

Accordingly, staiths were constructed along the riverbank at several locations in the six to ten miles upstream from Sunderland as far upstream as Rickleton, just north of Chester-le-Street, at the tidal limit of the Wear and the operational limit of the keelboats. Initially these were connected to the collieries by a network of **wain roads**, or **wainways**, enabling movement of the coal to the riverbank. The staiths are all shown on Burleigh and Thompson's map of the River Wear in 1737, the earliest map to plan the river in detail.

The plans and contemporary drawings demonstrate that the staiths consisted of two main elements: staiths proper, large timber sheds, usually aligned parallel to the river ban, where the coal arriving in wagons might be stored under cover to prevent damage from weathering if it could not be loaded immediately; and jetties known as '*spouts*' which projected out into the river channel and were furnished with shutes to enable loading of the keel boats.

Penshaw staiths

Particularly important was the stretch of riverbank extending for just under quarter of a mile (416 yards, c. 0.374km) in West Penshaw (Turnbull 2012, 73, 76). This formed part of the estate held by the Amcoats in the 17th century, which had descended via the Thirkelds from the Carlisles and ultimately the Bassets. On the death of Alexander Amcoats in 1680 the estate passed to his three infant daughters and thereafter came into the possession of Lancelot and James Carr, who sold the manor to Madam Jane Wharton in 1717 (Surtees 1816, 197; Turnbull 2012, 73). It was thus the only

stretch on the south bank of the river not held by one or other branch of the Lambton family and it was therefore vital for any colliery operator in commercial competition with the Lambtons if they were not to be excluded from access to the riverbank and the possibility of transferring coal to keelboats for the journey down to Sunderland. Three staiths are shown along this short stretch on Burleigh and Thompson's map, each with a different operator, Sir Edward Smith, Hilton & Nesham, and John Tempest. In addition Henry Lambton had a staith just downstream at Shiphaugh, whilst John Tempest leased a further 'spout' on the intervening bend leading round to West Penshaw, on land belonging to Henry Lambton.

Thus, whereas George Lilburne was able to cart his coal from Rainton on a direct route up Cutthroat Lane (Pithouses Lane) and past Floaters Mill to staiths at South Biddick in the mid-17th century, later on Sir John Duck was forced to divert the wain road from his Rainton pits to Penshaw staiths, further downriver, because of the animosity towards him shown by the Lambton family.

10.8.4 The waggonways
The wainways got very churned up in winter and even the largest carts or wains could only haul 17½ cwt of coal, typically requiring two horses and two oxen to do so. This led to the development of waggonways, involving the construction of tracks composed of wooden rails and sleepers, along which a wagon capable of holding 53 cwt could be hauled by only a single horse (Turnbull 2012, 7). Development of waggonways progressed more rapidly on Tyneside, the heart of the great Northern Coalfield, than it did on Wearside. It was not until the turn of the 18th century that networks of waggonways were constructed on the south side of the Wear, leading through the township to the staiths along the Penshaw riverbank. These systems were ultimately to give rise to the two large, private railways of the 19th century, the Lambton Railway and the Londonderry Railway (*ibid*., 60, 73-4, 76, 161-3).

Jane Wharton's Rainton-Penshaw waggonway
In order to better connect Rainton colliery to the staiths on the Wear at Penshaw, Jane secured wayleaves for a waggonway through Dubmire Moor, Hall Moor and Sedgeletch between 1697 and 1703 (Turnbull 2012, 76, 162-3, map 9). Further north, her line could follow the course of John Duck's old wain roads through Newbottle and Penshaw and down Waggon Hill to the West Penshaw riverfront. Coal from the Rainton High Main seam thereafter became the most important in meeting the demand for house coal in London. On Jane Wharton's death in 1730 the Rainton colliery, with associated waggonway and Penshaw staith, plus the Penshaw estate itself, were inherited by John Tempest, via marriage to Jane's daughter.

Burleigh and Thompson's *'Plan of the River Wear …'* (DRO D/XP 64) of 1737 gives a clear impression of the Penshaw riverbank in the first half of the 18th century. John Tempest's staith, where Rainton Colliery coal from the Old Ducks and other pits was loaded, was the furthest downstream of three staiths, all crammed into the short stretch of riverbank in west Penshaw which was not in Lambton ownership. All are shown as a mixture of staiths and spouts. The tracks of the Tempest waggonway are shown fanning out, like the channels of a river delta, on the approach to the staiths, with each staith being served by two or three tracks, described on Tempest's Penshaw estate map of 1775 (DRO NCB I/X 227) as the 'main way' and the 'back way'.

10.8.5 The 18th-century development of the Rainton Colliery
Rainton Colliery was not simply a single pit. In 1804 the celebrated colliery manager or 'viewer', John Buddle, described it in a report to the Dean and Chapter thus: the coal mines generally called Rainton Colliery lie under a large tract of country comprehending East Rainton, West Rainton, Moorsley, Pittington and Moor House' (cited by Turnbull 2012, 76) There were five seams of coal to be found Five Quarter, High Main, Maudlin, Low Main and Hutton, with High Main being the most

valuable as the provider of the best house coal. Over the course of the 18th century additional pits were sunk and connected by waggonway branches to the main Rainton-'Pensher' line, so that by the end of the century Rainton Meadows, Quarry Pit (south of East Rainton village) and Stubley Moor Pit (in the south-east corner of East Rainton township) were all connected by branches of this kind. Output increased from 65,000 tons annually in the 1760s to 82,000 tons in the 1780s. Evidence was presented to Buddle that there were over 20 pits working in the area in the mid-18th century, those dedicated to supplying the seacole trade being served by waggonways, tho pits devoted to local landsale, supplying kilns to lime kilns at Sherburn, Running Water and Moorsley, were not connected to the waggonway.

A good detailed snapshot of the situation in the colliery is provided by the **late 18th-century Tempest estate map** of the two Rainton townships (DRO NCB I/X 228), which shows the position of various pits in Rainton. Although this map is undated it clearly belongs to the latter stages of the 18th century, probably the 1770s or 1780s. Coal pits are marked as circular spoil heaps, usually with a circle with a dot or a cross in the centre. The lack of one of the latter symbols may indicate the pit was disused. Five pits are shown in East Rainton, lining two roughly parallel waggonway branches running from south to north. Four of these pits lay to the north of East Rainton village and one (Dunwell Pit) to the east. Though none are named, the pits those on the eastern branch appear to equate to those designated on other maps as North Pit, Engine Pit and Dunwell Pit (which is smaller than the others and not yet connected to the waggonway, so perhaps only in the process of development). An engine is shown beside the middle of the three easterly pits, interpreted as Engine Pit, but there is no dot or cross in the centre of the spoil so it is possible that the pit was abandoned at this stage, though it could have reopened later. No pits are shown to the south of Dunwell Pit, implying that Hazard Pit, Stubley Moor and Quarry Pit all postdate the compilation of the map. A further three definite pits are shown in West Rainton, one lying at the northern end of Prior's Close in the north-west corner of the township, and the other two located to the south of West Rainton village beside a track labelled 'Carr Road to the Coal Pitt'. Two smaller, irregular, sub-circular symbols lacking the obvious indication of spoil heap might represent abandoned pits, but isolated trees are another possible interpretation. One of the pits south of west Rainton village may have been abandoned and replaced by the neighbouring one, which the track clearly deviates towards.

By the end of the century the colliery was in decline as the High Main seam was exhausted. John Tempest had to resort to mixing the small poor quality coal extracted in Rainton from the Hutton seam with better quality material extracted from the High Main seam via the Wharton Main and Eden Main (also called Herrington Mill Pit or just Mill Pit) pits in Penshaw. At the beginning of the 19th century Tempest applied to the Dean and Chapter to reduce cost of his lease, even threatening to combine with the Lambtons to prevent the movement of any Dean and Chapter coal to the staiths along the Wear if his request was refused (Turnbull 2012, 76).

However this decline was reversed by the increasing demand for coking coal to fuel the iron industry and steam coal to power a wide variety of machinery, as the Industrial Revolution gained momentum in the early decades of the 19th century. Whereas High Main house coal to heat homes in the London metropolis had hitherto driven the growth of Rainton Colliery, now it was the needs of industry which increasingly provided the principal market, a market which the small coal from the colliery's other seams, the Maudlin, Low Main and Hutton being much better suited to meet.

Accordingly Lord Londonderry invested substantially in his Rainton Colliery in the second and third decades of the 19th century with new pits, Resolution, Adventure and Nicholson, being opened in 1816 and 1817, Low Moorsley 1821, Alexandrina or Letch Pit in 1824 and Pittington in 1826, all connected by new waggonway branches to the line to Penshaw staiths. A sketch map of 1815 (DRO D/Lo D889) showing all the Rainton coal mines, summarises the proposed improvements. Though
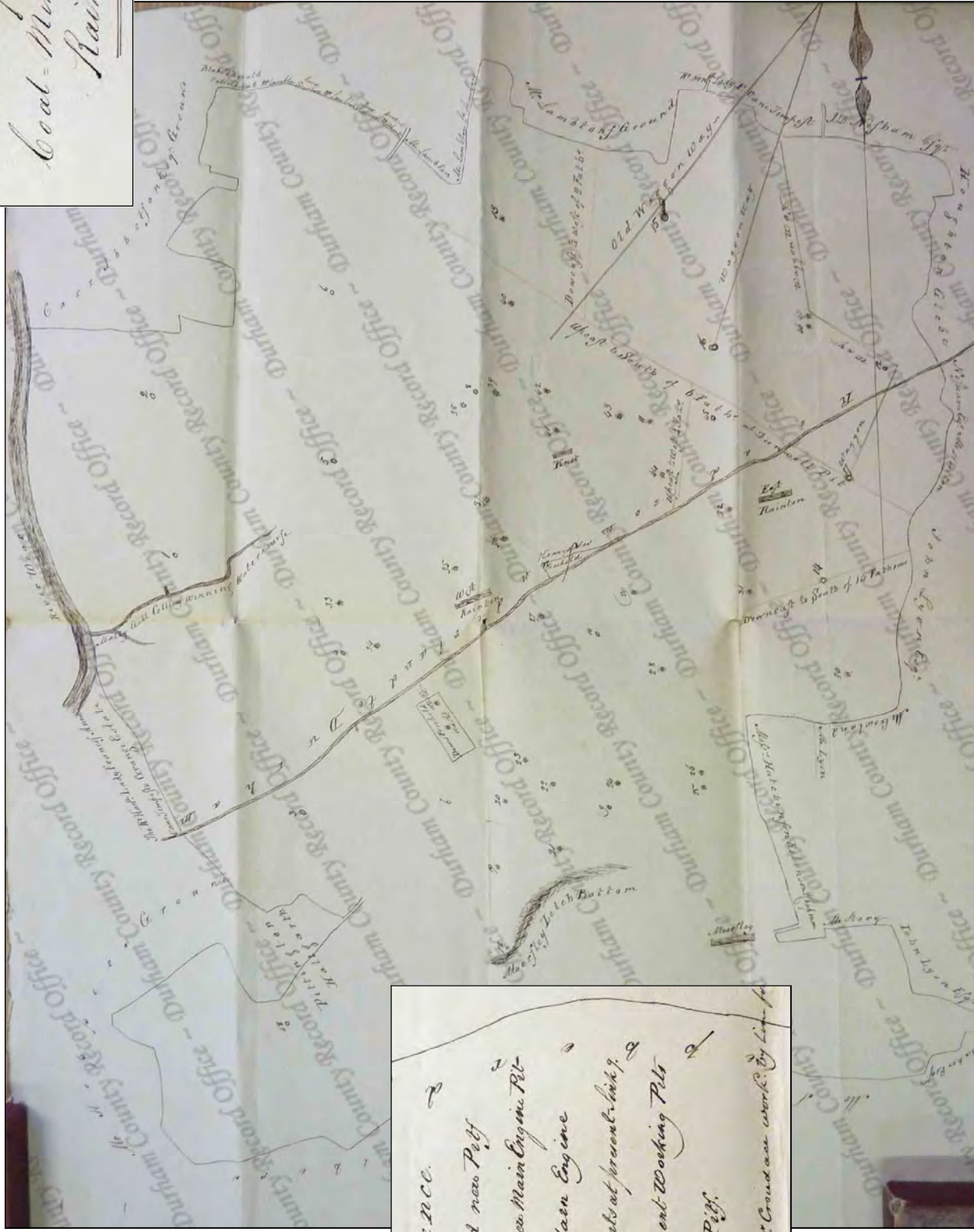
Early Coal Mining Features in East Rainton

Stationary engine for drainage next to abandoned pit
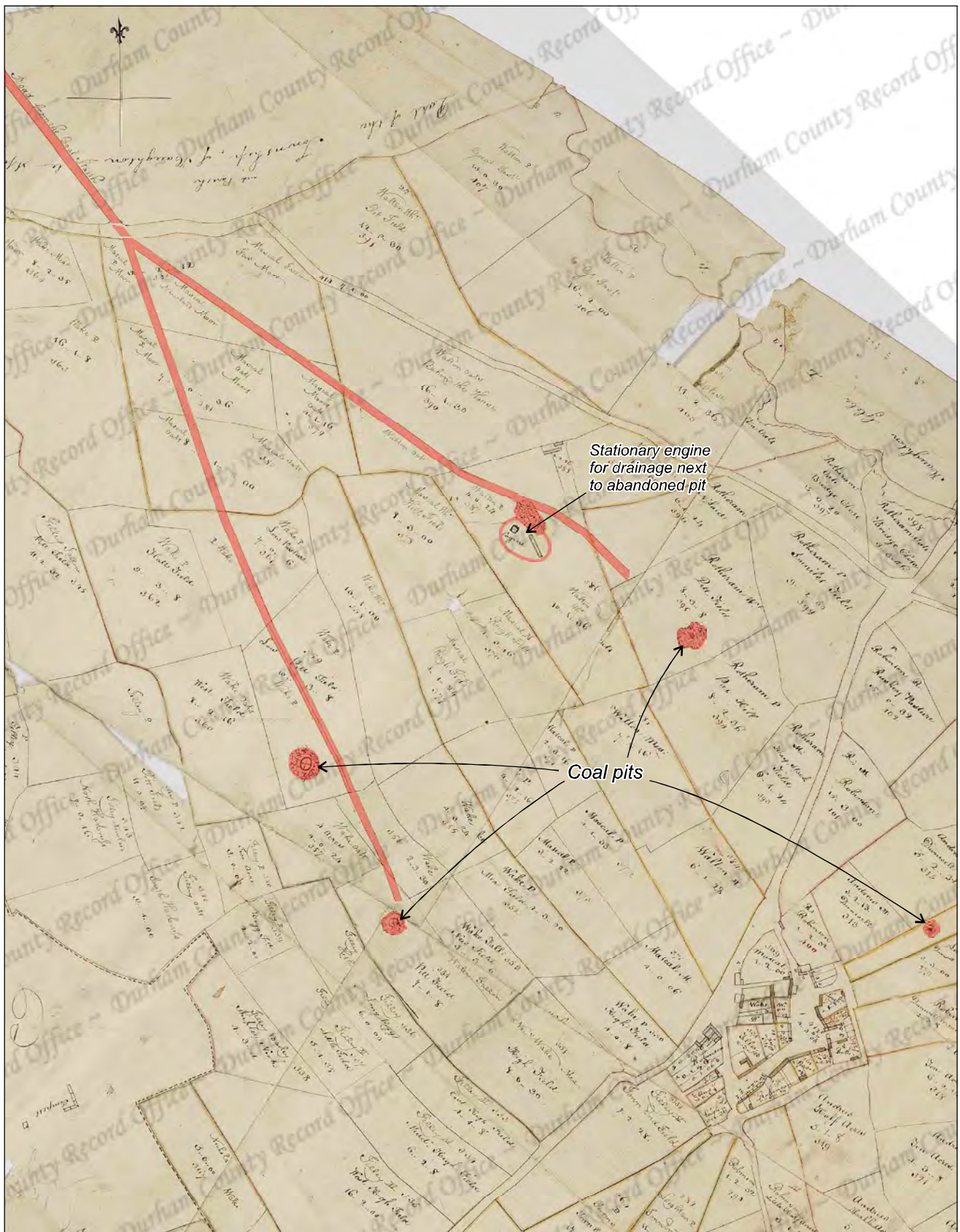
Coal pits

Extract from a late 18th century estate plan of East and West Rainton, showing coal pits, associated waggonways and the stationary engine which drained the mines. Reproduced by permission of Durham County Record Office (DRO NCB 1/X 228)

somewhat schematic in its topographic depiction the pits are located in relation to the principal village settlements, the Sunderland to Durham turnpike, the Wear and the combined boundary of the Dean and Chapter's Rainton and Moorsley estate. Marked on the sketch-map are no less than ten new pits that it was proposed to sink (nos. 1-10) and a new main stationary engine (11), the two pits which were currently being sunk (13 and 14), the three pits (15, 16 and 17), main engine (12) and connecting waggonways actually working at that stage, plus one pit leased to Mr Croudace (48) and no less than 30 'old pits' (18-47), which had presumably been abandoned at various stages in the past.

Significant improvements to the northern end of the railway line, in Penshaw, which are probably associated with this investment, are shown in a plan dated October 5th 1819 held by Durham Record Office (D/Lo/B 309/5). This involved realigning part of the Londonderry line from the point where it intersected with the Lambton line, near Penshaw Colliery Stables, so that it followed the same course as the latter until a point a little beyond its intersection with the Whitefield Colliery branch. From there it ran down Waggon Hill rejoin its former track, a route now followed by Station Road). Two stationery engines were to be constructed, one at the initial intersection with the Lambton Railway and the other at the point where the two railways diverged, the engines being designed to haul wagons along two inclined plains covering the distance from the intersection to Waggon Hill at the bottom of the long slope down to the staiths, from where the waggons were drawn by horse over the short distance to the actual staiths. It was noted that '*by these two inclined planes 16 waggon horses and men will be saved*.' An acre of land was also saved once the redundant stretch of track was lifted. The realigned route is that shown on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey. The southernmost engine is labelled '*Painshaw Engine*' on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey, but may have been out of use by 1864 when it is not coloured black on the OS map attached to the Penshaw Colliery Lease (DRO D/Lo/E 297). The northerly of the two engines, though unlabelled, is coloured black on the 1864 and if correctly identified, may have been hauling wagons.

A further 'eye plan' dated 11th February 1820 (D/Lo/B 309/8), drawn up by John Buddle, viewer for Penshaw Colliery, shows that it was proposed to connect the Rainton and Pensher Collieries belonging Lord Stewart (later elevated to Lord Londonderry), plus Sir John Eden's Mill Pit, directly to Nesham's line from Newbottle to Sunderland so that the coal wagons could '*branch off to Sunderland or go to the present staiths as occasion may require*'. A new stationery engine was to be constructed next to Nesham's Jane Pit in Newbottle to haul the Rainton wagons by rope and inclined plane up the new link from Sedgeletch. Turnbull suggests this was never proceeded with because of the financial difficulties which overwhelmed Nesham's business prompting the sale to John George Lambton (2012, 78). The Rainton pits shown on the eye plan comprised the Hazard Dunwell and Rainton pits on an eastern waggonway branch and Resolution Pit and Hunter's House Pit on a westerly branch.

Instead Londonderry was eventually to reorientate his Rainton Colliery lines to run eastwards by means of an entirely new line and, having become exasperated by the multiple inadequacies of the port of Sunderland, made the terminal of that line a new port that he had constructed at Seaham Harbour, right on the coast south of Sunderland (Turnbull 2012, 80). This railway and harbour opened in 1831 and remained an important conduit for Durham coal well into the 20th century. As a consequence the original line through Penshaw, which could trace its lineage right back to Sir John Duck's 17th-century wain road was abandoned in successive stages and by the middle of the 19th century the staithes at Penshaw were winding down, as train largely replaced keelboat.

10.9   Hetton village in the 18th and early 19th centuries

Hetton-le-Hole survived as a largely-rural village with an economy based on farming until the later 18th and early 19th century, its population actually decreasing during the period leading up to industrialisation. Small scale coal mining had begun in the Hetton area in the 18th century with limited success, but in 1819 the Hetton Coal Company was formed and three new pits were developed including the Hetton Lyons pit, sunk in 1820. The success and growth of the colliery led to the rapid growth and expansion of Hetton-le-Hole as a colliery town. Following the Hetton Coal Company, the colliery was then owned by Lambton and Hetton Collieries Ltd. 1911-1923, Lambton, Hetton and Joicey Collieries Ltd 1923-1947 and finally the N.C.B from 1947 to the closure of the pit in July 1950.

As a result of coal-mining the population of Hetton grew rapidly from 264 in 1811 to 919 in 1821, reaching 12,726 by 1891. The expansion in population led to over crowding problems and a dramatic change to the character of Hetton, from a rural village to a large industrial town. A sign of the growth in population was the rebuilding, in 1901, of St. Nicholas Church (TWHER 7005), originally built in Hetton in 1831. The impact that the introduction of deep coal-mining had on the settlement of Hetton-le-Hole and the different ways in which it shaped the expansion of the community has been analysed in detail by Sill (1974, 1979, 1982).
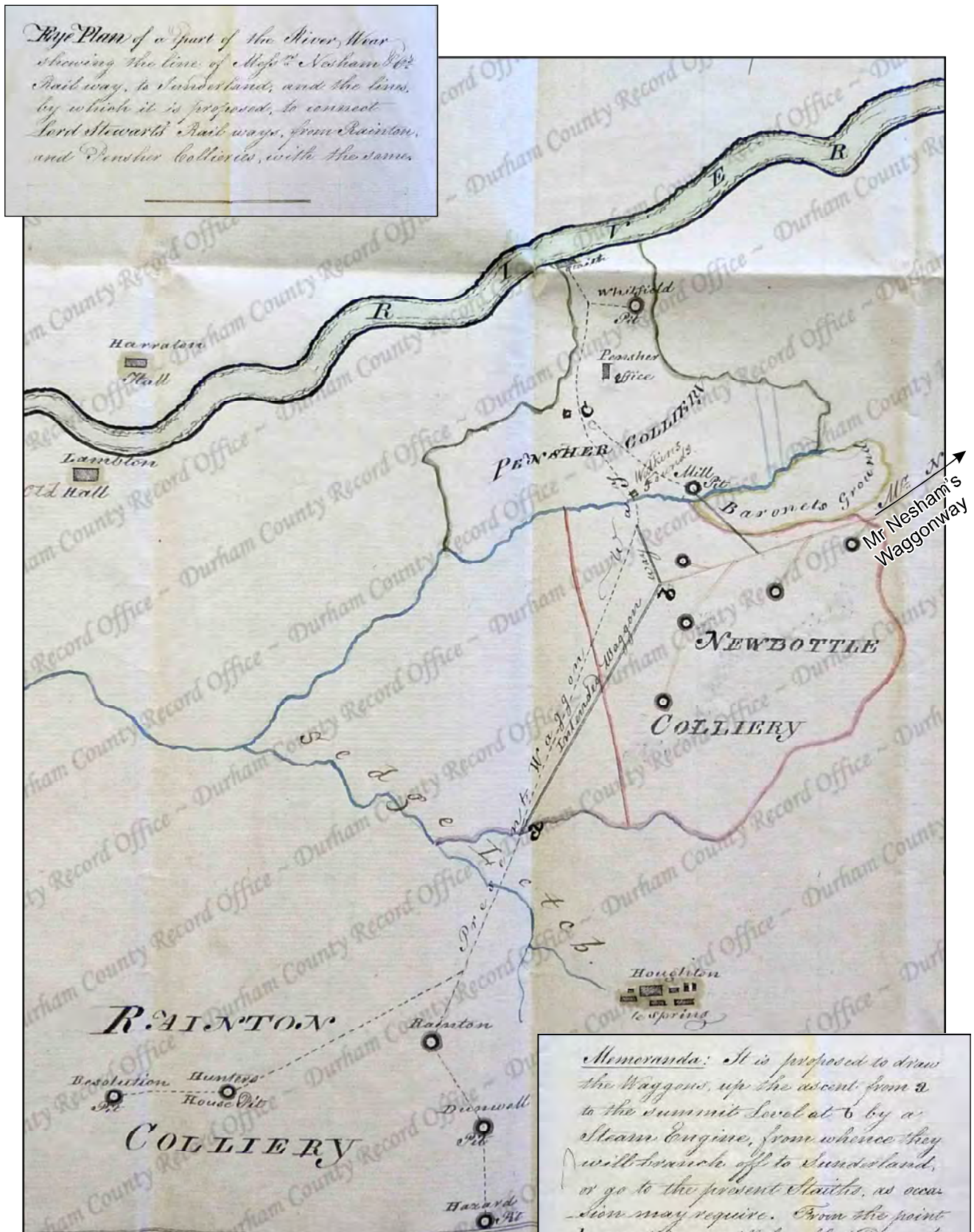
10.9.1   The development of the village core viewed through historic maps

The earliest known maps which record any detail regarding the layout of Hetton village include the schematic plan included at the top of the 1727 plan of Musgrave Spearman land south of the village (DUL-ASC GB-0033-SHA), the county maps of Armstrong and Greenwood, dating to 1769 and 1820, respectively, the Lyons estate map of 1776, a rather schematic map relating to a dispute over sub-surface coal rights (of which two copies survive – DRO D/Lo/B 288 and B 309/14), a much more carefully drawn map of 1824 showing land leased to the Hetton Coal Company (DRO D/Br P165), another estate map of c. 1826 (DHC11/V/70), the 1839 tithe map (DDR/EA/1/127) and of course the 1st edition Ordnance Survey. The 1727 plan provides a diagrammatic view of rows of housing on either side of a road which is probably Park View, with a mansion (doubtless Hetton Hall) to the north. Armstrong's plan shows Hetton as a village predominantly laid out on either side of a road running from north-east to south-west, with other roads leading off to the south-east and north-west. Making allowances for the limited detail and imperfect cartography of this map, the road can be identified with Park View and evidently led to one of the two fords across Hetton Burn (the orientation of the road would suggest the northern ford, but the layout of the road junction on the east side of the burn would argue more strongly for the southern one, but certainty is not possible and in any case there is no reason to assume that the street layout shown was comprehensive). To the north of the village, a gentry mansion, unnamed but obviously representing Hetton Hall, with its owner marked as the Earl of Strathmore, is depicted schematically by a house pictogram, in the conventional manner used by Armstrong.

The more detailed estate maps of 1776 and the 1820s plus Greenwood county map of 1820 show the road layout more fully, with increasing detail with respect to settlement. The road now known as Park View is clearly depicted running along the southern limit of Hetton Hall's grounds, and buildings are shown lining its both sides. Hetton House, on the south side of the road, the earliest part of which can be dated architecturally to the early to mid-18th century, can be seen clearly on the 1776 and 1824 estate maps. A large rectangular enclosure is shown to the north of the buildings lining Park View on the Lyons 1776 plan and on Greenwood's county map and this probably represents the possible walled garden associated with Hetton Hall which is shown clearly on the 1839 tithe map and subsequent Ordnance Survey editions.

Eye Plan of the River Wear with Rainton-Penshaw Railway, 1820 -

Eye Plan of a part of the River, Wear showing the line of Messrs. Nesham & Co. Rail way, to Sunderland; and the lines by which it is proposed, to connect Lord Stewart's Rail ways, from Rainton, and Pensher Collieries, with the same.

R I V E R

W E A R

Harraton Hall

Lambton Old Hall

Whitfield Pit

Pensher Office

PENSHER COLLIERY

Watkins Mill Pit

Baronets Grove

Mr Nesham's Waggonway

NEWBOTTLE COLLIERY

Houghton le spring

RAINTON

Rainton

Resolution Pit

Hunters House Pit

Dicanwell Pit

Hazard Pit

COLLIERY

Memoranda: It is proposed to draw the Waggons, up the ascent from a to the summit level at b by a Steam Engine, from whence they will branch off to Sunderland, or go to the present Staiths, as occasion may require. From the point b, one Horse will be able to draw 4 or 6 Waggons, to C, the present Engine, from whence, they pass down the inclined Planes to the Staiths.

Plan of proposed improvements to Lord Stewart's Rainton-Penshaw waggonway, linking it to Mr Nesham's waggonway to Sunderland (Durham County Record Office, Londonderry Estate Archives, D/Lo/B 309/8). Reproduced by permission of Lord Londonderry and Durham County Record Office.

Gone But Not Forgotten:
The Lost Stately Houses of Hetton

Photograph of Hetton Hall, taken around 1900. Demolished in 1923, it had been acquired by the Dowager Countess of Strathmore for her youngest son, Thomas Lyons and his descendants in the 1730s.
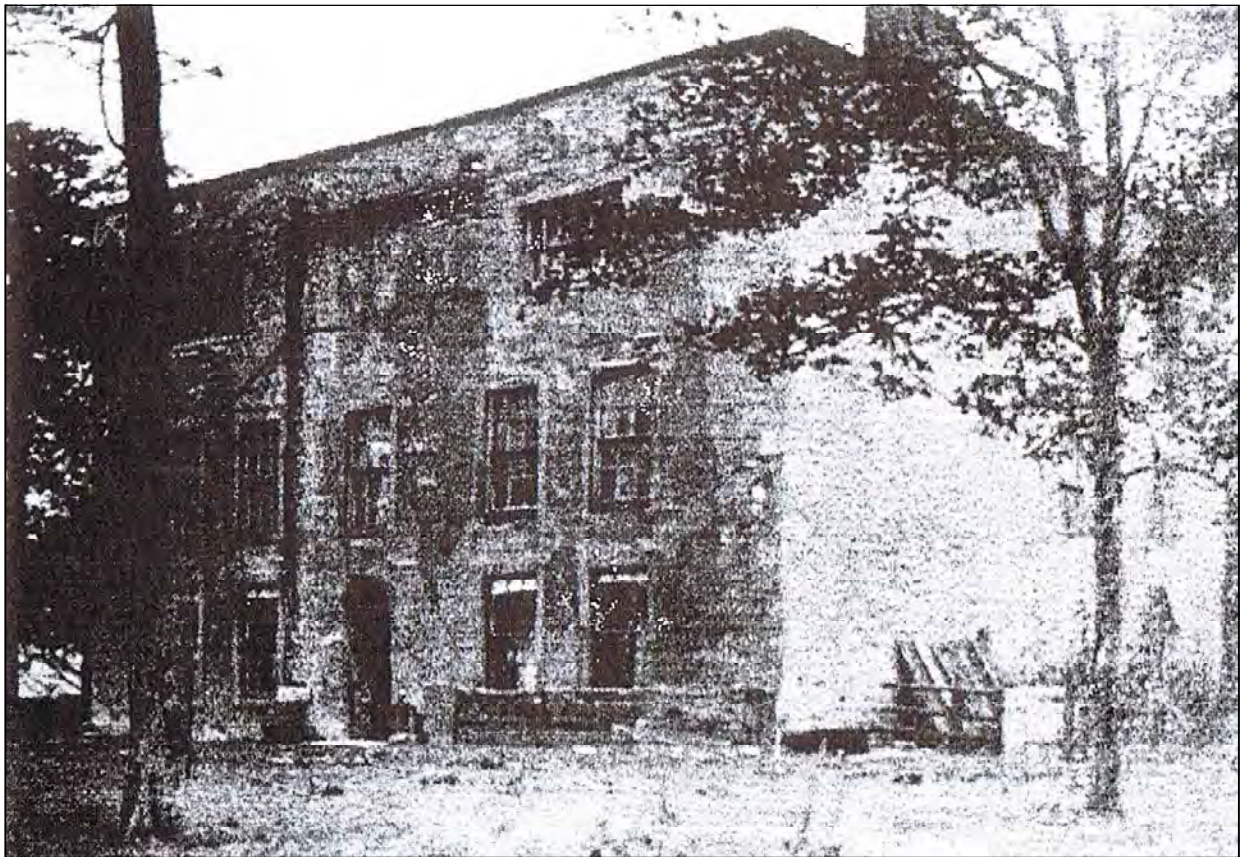
The old Eppleton Hall at Great Eppleton. Home to the Shadforths and later the Mascells, it was perhaps built in the 17th or 18th century, but who knows whether or not it incorporated fragments of earlier structures - the manor house of the de Epplingdenes and the Herons.

The 1839 tithe plan and still more the 1st edition Ordnance Survey (c. 1858) demonstrate the initial impact of the rapid growth of population and settlement prompted by the opening of Hetton Colliery. The most obvious indication of this are the east-west aligned rows of terraced houses to the north-west of the early village core, but it is quite likely that the arrival of the colliery, with its immediate demands for housing to accommodate the workforce, would also have led to additional building in the earlier part of the settlement, extending existing houses and infilling gaps in the building plots. The population more than tripled in the ten years between 1811 and 1821, as noted above, and this initial population growth was all absorbed in the existing settlement.

The 1839 tithe plan clearly shows a row of houses on Park View, whilst other buildings are shown further east next to the junction with the north-south oriented street, which is now Front Street. The lack of buildings elsewhere on the north side of the road might imply that these houses may have been built on a relatively late out-take from the park, but the evidence of Armstrong's map suggests, however tentatively, that this side of the street may have been partially built up since the later decades of the previous century at least. The apportionment accompanying the tithe map describes Park View as an unnamed lane and the dwellings as 'occupied exclusively as house sites'. The large enclosure east of Hetton Hall, probably representing a walled garden, is shown clearly. A boundary defining the limits of the built area is shown running to the rear of the houses on a north-west to south-east alignment.

The first edition OS plan c.1858 is similar to the 1839 plan described above. The line of Park View is shown in its current form (un-named), slightly straighter than the line of the road on the tithe plan (though this may simply reflect better cartography). The expansion of residential areas of terraced houses can be seen on the OS plans to the east. Park View is first labelled on this 1896 plan, the name apparently having come into usage between c.1880 and 1896. The extant buildings of Dene Villa and Park Place are also first shown on this plan.

Over the course of this period Hetton Hall entered a period of gradual decline. The seat of the Spearman and then the Lyons family, it was still occupied by John Lyons when the colliery development began in 1820-22. Indeed during his negotiations with the Hetton Coal Company in 1822 Lyons forbade the sinking of any pit within 500 yards of the hall and its landscaped grounds, anxious to preserve its tranquillity. However following Lyons' death the estate was inherited by Maria Jane Bowes Barrington who did not reside in the hall. For a time the eminent colliery engineer, Nicholas Wood, lived in the hall, but following his death in 1865, the hall was rarely occupied (Hetton Local History Group 2010b; 2012, 22-4). By 1902 Hetton Hall was unoccupied, and after falling into disrepair, was demolished in 1923 (TWHER 7706). The 4th edition plan 1939 reveals the impact of these changes on the settlement core. Several of the terraced streets to the east of Front Street have been demolished along with Hetton Hall to the north-west and the associated stables to the west. The former Hetton Hall land to the north has been converted to a football ground with a cricket ground to the west.

APPENDIX: *SIGNPOSTS TO A LOST LANDSCAPE*

THE CHARTER EVIDENCE

HETTON (Hetton-le-Hole)

DCD Charters
Charters in the collection of Durham Cathedral Muniments (DCD), held in Durham University Library – Archives and Special Collections (DUL-ASC), and mainly relating to the activities of the cathedral priory of Benedictine monks.

DCD 3.7.Spec.5 [c.1220s]
Grant by William of Layton (*Latona*), for the salvation of the souls of his lords the bishops of Durham, himself, his father, mother, and heirs, to God, St Godric, and the prior and monks of Finchale, in exchange for all the corn rent which he ought to pay, of 30 acres of land and an acre of meadow in his vill of Hetton, that is:
- ❖ 10 acres of his demesne with a toft and croft which Stephen Halling held
- ❖ one acre of his demesne which Arnald Cambam held
- ❖ 2 acres of his demesne which William Parvus held
- ❖ 2½ acres in *Kirkeforde*
- ❖ 2½ acres in *Sexhope*
- ❖ an acre of meadow in *Holewelle*
- ❖ 12 acres of arable on his moor towards Rainton in the south which Ralph son of Acolf held

to be held in free, pure and perpetual alms, with the demesne pasture except for his *dena* for 100 sheep for a year, 6 cows for a year, 8 oxen and 2 horses, and milling their corn at his mill without multure.
Witnesses: Dom Adam de Yeland steward, Robert his brother, Roger Daudre, Walter his brother, Jordan Hayrun, Jordan of Dalton, Geoffrey son of Geoffrey, Walter of the monastery, Ralph of Eppleton (*Appligdene*), William of Lumley, John of Thorpe, William of Haswell, Geoffrey de Heppedon, Adam of Lumsden (*Lummesdene*), Hugh of the chapel, Robert of the monastery, Ranulph of Fishburn.
Dated by comparison with the next.

DCD 3.7.Spec.5* [?1229 x 1235]
Grant by Gilbert of Layton (*Latona*), for the salvation of the souls of himself, his wife, his father, mother, and heirs, to God, St Godric, and ?M prior and the monks of Finchale, of 30 acres of land and an acre of meadow in his vill of Hetton, that is 10 acres of his demesne with a toft and croft which Stephen Halling held and an acre of his demesne which Arnald Caymbaym held, and 2 acres of his demesne which William Parvus held, and 2½ acres in *Kirkeforde*, 2½ acres in *Sexhope*, an acre of meadow in *Hollewelle*, 12 acres of arable on his moor towards Rainton in the south which Ralph son of Acolf held, to be held in free, pure and perpetual alms,with the demesne pasture except for his *dena* for 100 sheep for a year, 6 cows for a year, 8 oxen and 2 horses, and milling their corn at his mill without multure.
Witnesses: Dom John de Rumessey, Dom Geoffrey son of Geoffrey, Walter de Audery, Nigel de Rungetoll, William Hayrun, William of the monastery, Ralph of Eppleton (*Applindene*), William of Lumley, William of Haswell, Hugh of the chapel, Adam of Lumsden, Geoffrey of Thorp, John de Rungeton.
Rumessey's position in the witness list indicates he may then have been steward (as Yeland was in the previous, similar document) and he is recorded as such 1229x1235.

Greenwell Deeds

The Greenwell Deeds represent a collection of charters issued by a variety of secular lords the majority relating to land holdings in County Durham. They are now in held in Durham Record Office. These deeds are summarised and calendared in *The Greenwell Deeds preserved in the Public Library of Newcastle upon Tyne*, ed. J. Walton, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4 ser, **3** (1927), from which the entries below relating to Hetton are derived. The relevant Durham Record Office codes (D/Gr etc) have been added and some sections which were left in the original Latin in the catalogue have been translated.

Greenwell Deeds, **no. 29** (Original DRO D/Gr 29)
[A 23] Latin. Undated, ? c.1200-1250.
Writing whereby Geoffrey Modi de Hesewelle confirms to Henry Marescall de Raington and William, his own son [Geoffrey's], and the heirs of William, a messuage and 31 [sic] acres of land in Hetton with appurtenances, viz: a messuage and 20 acres held of the house of Finkhalle, and 10 acres held of the lord of Hetton. He confirms also to the said Henry Marescall and William, son of Geoffrey, and the heirs of William, the reversion of a messuage with 30 acres of land of his inheritance in Hetton, which Matilda, widow of William Modi holds by reason of dower, viz. 1 messuage and 20 acres held of the lord of Hetton and 10 acres held of the house of Finkhalle, and which after the death of the said Matilda ought to revert to Geoffrey that they may remain to Henry and William, and the heirs of William. To have of the chief lords. Geoffrey and heirs warrant to Henry and William and the heirs of William. Witnesses: Dno. Willmo. de Kilkenni, Dno. Willmo. Basset, militibus; Johne. de Yeland, Thoma de Besco, Waltero de Ludeworth.
Seal missing.

Greenwell Deeds, **no. 81** (Original: DRO D/Gr 81)
[A 22] Latin. Undated, ? 13th century.
Quitclaim by Stephen, son of Walter de Edene, to William de Latona [the deed does not actually say to William de Latona, but it is clearly implied] of all right and '*esciam*' he had in the moors and pastures of the vill of Hettona. Neither Stephen, nor his heirs, nor anyone in their name shall obstruct or keep away William or heirs in or from the moors and pastures aforesaid, whereas the latter may cultivate and make profit from them, as shall seem best to William [etc.]. Common of pasture, after the carrying in of the hay and corn, is retained by Stephen for himself and heirs. Witnesses: Dno. Rogero de Epplingden, Roberto de Hessewelle, Willo. Daudre, Roberto de Coldigham, Willo. Mody, Johe. de Edene, Roberto de Letham, Johe. Gategrant.
Seal missing.

Greenwell Deeds, **no. 82** (Original: DRO D/Gr 82)
[A 24] Latin. Undated. ? 13th century.
Chirograph whereby William de Latone, knight, confirms to Geoffrey, son of William Modi de Hettona, 2 1/2 acres of land lying on the east part of the cultivated land of Geoffrey at Rannutuden [? Rainton], and on the west of the high road. To have to Geoffrey and heirs, paying yearly to Laton and heirs 2s. for all services. Laton grants also to Geoffrey [etc.] that the heirs of Geoffrey, of whatever age, may he free of wardship for the land. 2s. at least are to be paid ad relevium suum; and if the heirs of Geoffrey be under age they shall remain in the custody of the nearest relative until they come to full age. Geoffrey and heirs shall mill the 3rd part of the corn growing on the land, at the mill of the lord of Hetton, rendering a twenty-sixth portion to the lord and theirs shall be the first from the mill hopper after the lord's corn (*ad vicesimum sextum vas et erunt propinquiores tremello post bladum domini*). For this donation Geoffrey grants to Laton and heirs that they may be able to make approvement as shall seem best to them, of 30 acres of land in the moor of Hetton which lie *inter riaden et raden* of which one head extends towards the way which leads to Morton and the other to Eplinden morflat. Geoffrey and heirs shall have right of common for their beasts in the said 30 acres in the open and fallow time after the corn and hay have been garnered. Laton and heirs

warrant. Witnesses: Waltero de Herford, Toma de Herl, Hugone de Luddeword, Radulfo de Morislau. Seal missing.

Greenwell Deeds, **no. 83** (Original: DRO D/Gr 83)
[A 25] Latin. Undated, ? 13th century.
Quitclaim by John, son of Walter, and Emma his wife, to William de Latone, knight, son of Sir Gilbert de Latone, of a toft with a certain plot of land in the vill of Hettone which John had of the gift of Mariot his mother, for the term of John's life, and of all right and claim they ever had in the toft and plot of land aforesaid, for a certain plot of land given to them in exchange for the preceding toft and land which lie between the curtilage of the said William and land formerly Alan Galeway's. The plot of land given to John and wife is outside of William's wall and begins at the dyke of his curtilage, and extends to the high way leading to Essington on the east. To have to William. Witnesses: Dominis Rogero de Lomeley, Thom. de Herington, Johe. de la Leye, militibus, Roberto de Bruninghill, Alex. de Bydick, Matheo de Lomeley, Radulfo de Epplingden, Jurdano de Dalden, Galfrido filio fabri de Seton, Jurdano Le Megir de eadem, Willo. Mody, Johe. Gategrant.
Seals missing.

Greenwell Deeds, **no. 84** (Original DRO D/Gr 84)
[A 26] Latin. Undated, ? 13th century.
Charter whereby William de Latona, knight, confirms to William, son of Hugh Mody de Hettona 2 acres of land lying at Sexhope west of Laton's cultivated demesne in Hetton. To have to Mody and heirs, Mody paying yearly to Laton and heirs 16d. Laton grants to Mody and heirs that Mody's heirs, of whatever age they be, shall be free of wardship (*warda*) by paying ad relevium 16d. If the heirs be under age they shall remain in the custody of the nearest relative until they come to full age. Mody and heirs must mill as much of the corn grown on the said land as it is necessary for them to mill, at Laton's mill at Hetton rendering a twenty-sixth portion to the lord and theirs shall be the first from the mill hopper after the corn from my demesne (*post bladum meum dominicum*). Mody grants to Laton and heirs that they may be able from the moor called Cotewall to make approvement as shall seem best; the boundary beginning at Wydehope, descending near **le Morflat de Eplingdene** unto the way leading to Dalden [etc.]; Mody and heirs shall have right of common in the said land for all beasts in the open and fallow season after the corn and hay have been garnered. The land shall produce in 2 years, and in the 3rd lie fallow. Laton and heirs warrant. Witnesses: Dominis Thoma de Herington, Willo. de Yelande, Johe. filio Marmeduci, militibus, Rado. de Eplingden, Alex. de Bydik, Thom. de Herle, Rado. de Morislawe, Hugo. clerico.
Seal missing.

Greenwell Deeds, **no. 90** (Original DRO D/Gr 90)
[A 27] Latin. Undated, ? c.1300.
Charter whereby William, lord of Laton, confirms to William Mody de Hessewell, for his homage and service and for his [Mody's] leave to bring back to cultivation 26 acres of land in Hetton near Wylieslawe, 14 acres upon Crosfarnes near Wylieslawe in the moor of Hetton, for cultivating, building and making to his own advantage generally. To have to Mody [etc.], of Laton and heirs in fee and inheritance, paying yearly to Laton 9s.4d. for all other services, aids [etc.]. Mody and heirs must mill the 3rd part of the corn growing on the 14 acres at Laton's mill at Hetton *ad vicesimum sextum vas, et erunt proximi tremulo post bladum meum prox*. It shall be free to Mody and heirs to sow the land in any year he wishes, and to enclose and ditch it. No one shall have common here [from February 2 to November 1] save Mody, and heirs. But Laton and heirs shall have common in fallow and in the 14 acres after the corn has been garnered, for all the cattle of their ploughs of Hetton. Neither any of the heirs of Mody or of their heirs, nor the land aforesaid shall ever be in the custody of Laton and heirs; but immediately Mody or any of his heirs die their heirs shall relieve the land whether they be of age or not and shall enter and possess it. They shall give for relief 9s.4d.

Laton guarantees not to till or bring into cultivation any part of the moor of Hetton except le Donmore. Laton and heirs warrant. If through defect of warranty Mody shall incur loss, Laton shall make restoration from his demesne land of Hetton. Witnesses: Dominis Waltero de Ludworth, Willo. de Yeland, militibus; Roberto de Hessewell, Gilberto Ayre de Holum, Johe. de Schroueton (?), Matho. de Lomeley, Waltero de Hessewell, Ricardo de Grendal.
Seal missing.

HEPPEDON (Hetton-le-Hill)

DCD 3.7.Spec.1a [later 12th century]
Grant by William of Wark (*Werc*), with the concession of his wife Alice daughter of Richard de Eppedun, to William son of Norman of Stanton of 2 bovates of land at Eppedun with a toft and croft, rendering 5s annually, half at Pentecost and half at St Martin.
Witnesses: Elias of Bywell, Master Johele, Walter nephew of Prior Germanus, William Cuning, Alexander de Risewic, Master Adam Portario, Master Elias Cook, Master Roger of Wallsend, Richard Brun.

DCD 3.7.Spec.2 [1153 x 1195]
Grant by Bertram de Eppedun to God, St Mary, St Cuthbert and the monks serving God, St Mary and St Cuthbert at Finchale, for the souls of his father and mother, his lord Hugh [of Le Puiset] bishop of Durham, of his vill of Heppedun and all his right there in free, pure and perpetual alms, and he had also received quit from the said monks his chief manor of Aldingris with the service of Brom and Rilli for the use of himself and his heirs in perpetuity which he had formerly given them, which manor and other lands he will acquit of all *forinsec* service.
Witnesses: Reginald Ganant sheriff, Jordan Escolland, William son of Thomas, William de Meignilharmer, Roger Daudri, Robert son of Meldred, Richard son of Geoffrey, Roger of Conyers (*Coigniis*), Geoffrey son of Richard, Roger of Eppleton, Roger of Hett, Simon of Hawthorn, Walter of the monastery, John of Thorp, Ralph Daudri.

DCD 3.7.Spec.3 [1187]
Agreement that Bertram de Hepedon at the Nativity of the BVM in 1187, with the permission of Dom H[ugh of Le Puiset] bishop of Durham, leased (*dimisi in vadium*) to Henry de Puteaco his vill of Hepedon for 40 years for 30 marks paid to him in his great necessity, and which Bertram and his heirs warranted, with the proviso that if they could not warrant it then he would substitute his vill of Aldingrange (*Aldincricg*) for the same term, and at the end of that term, Bertram and his heirs were to redeem their *wagium* for 10 marks, with Henry to keep the vill, and be able to assign it, until the 10 marks was paid.
Witnesses: Dom William archdeacon of Northumberland, Simon the chamberlain, Master Richard of Coldingham, Master William Blesen, Master Stephen Lincoln, Henry Marshal, Gilbert de Leia, Philip son of Hamund, Henry de Broc, Richard de Parco, Roger Bordon, Robert de Watevill, Alan of Chilton and Hugh his brother, Roger de Audri, Philip de Colevill, Henry of Farlington and Walter his brother, Peter Harpin, Hugh de Crauden, Robert of Lincoln, Drogo of Middleham.

Greenwell Deeds, **no. 126** (Original: DRO D/Gr 126)
[D 117] Latin. Undated, c.1313 - 1314.
Charter whereby Thomas de Herle confirms to Juliana de Boyes two messuages and four times twenty and ten acres of land with appurtenances in Hepedone with the meadow to the said tenements and lands everywhere belonging. Furthermore, he grants to the same Juliana all his purparty of waste and moor in Hepedone; also the reversion of one messuage and 30 acres of land with appurtenances in Seham which John de Boyes and Alice his wife hold for the term of the life of the said Alice and which after Alice's death to him must revert; the reversion of one messuage [and]

30 acres of land with meadow adjacent, with appurtenances, in Hepedone which John de Boyes and Alice his wife hold for the term of the life of the same Alice and which after her death to him must revert; the reversion of a messuage [and 30 acres of land with meadow adjoining, with appurtenances, in Hepedone which Thomasina, sister of Alice, holds for the term of her life and which after Thomasina's death to him must revert; the reversion of a messuage [and] 30 acres of land with meadow adjoining, with appurtenances, in Hepedone which Marieria, sister of Alice, holds for the term of her life and which after Marieria's death to him must revert. To have [etc.], to Juliana and heirs, of the chief lords. Thomas and his heirs warrant. Witnesses: Dominus Richard Marmaduk, knight, Thomas de Boyes, Walter de Ludworth, Peter de Trillesden, Robert de Lambton, William de Silkesworth, John de Wetley, and others.
Seal (Durham Seals, 1258)

EPPLETON

DCD 3.7.Spec.13   [later 12th century]
Grant by Roger of Eppleton (*Epplingdene*), for the salvation of his soul, to God and St Mary and St Cuthbert and the prior and monks of Durham of
   ❖ a carucate of land in the vill of Eppleton which lies **to the east in the field of the vill**
   ❖ with the increase (*incremento*) of 20 acres of his demesne together with 2 tofts which were of Ralph de Fonte and Norman son of Spron, that is:
      ➢ 7 acres of his demesne cultivation at **Estwell**
      ➢ 7 acres of the cultivation of **Barewes** on the east part
      ➢ 6 acres of the cultivation of the croft on the east part
to hold in pure and perpetual alms.
Witnesses: Jordan Escott, Leo de Heriz sheriff, William de Latun, Roger of Conyers (*Coiners*), Jordan Harrun, Simon Vitulo, Richard de Rana, Ranulph of Fishburn, William of Lumley, John of Ketton, Richard Brun.

RAINTON

DCD 2.7.Spec.20   [9 March] 1387
Grant by Robert of Coldingham to Robert of Rainton, burgess of Newcastle upon Tyne, of all his land, formerly the almoner of Durham's, with a toft and croft in the vill of Rainton, with these bounds:
   ❖ at *Lydesate syde* 2½ acres
   ❖ at *Heredburgh* 9 acres
   ❖ at *Stodefalde* 9½ acres
   ❖ at *Burneland* 1 acre
   ❖ under *la Lawe* 1 acre
   ❖ at Eastland on the moor 3 acres and a rod
   ❖ at Westland on the moor 4½ acres
   ❖ at *Midewland* 1 acre 3 rods
   ❖ at Edmundsknoll 1 acre 3 rods
   ❖ at *La Leys* by the marsh 12 acres
also grant to Rainton of a messuage and 8 acres of land at Moreslawe; rendering annually for the lands formerly the almoner's, to the almoner of Durham 20s, half at Pentecost and half at St Martin, and he is also to answer as free men of the priory of Durham for the almoner's lands in providing help to the almoner, and his corn is to be milled at the priory of Durham's mill in Rainton at the twentieth *vas*.
Witnesses: Ralph Eure steward of Durham, William of Bowes sheriff of Durham, William of Elmden constable of Durham, William Mortimer, John of Guildford.

Date: Rainton, Saturday in the third week of Lent 1386/7, 10 Richard II.

DCD 2.7.Spec.21 [?1 July] 1387
Grant by Robert of Rainton, burgess of Newcastle upon Tyne, to Robert de Hesilrigg and his wife Christiana of all his land formerly the almoner of Durham's, with a toft and croft in the vill of Rainton, with these bounds, at *Lydesate syde* 2½ acres, at *Heredburgh* 9 acres, at *Stodefalde* 9½ acres, at *Burneland* 1 acre, under *la Lawe* 1 acre, at Eastland on the moor 3 acres and a rod, at Westland on the moor 4½ acres, at *Midewland* 1 acre 3 rods, at Edmundsknoll 1 acre 3 rods, at *La Leys* by the marsh 12 acres; also grant to Robert de Hesilrigg and Christiana of a messuage and 8 acres of land at Moreslawe; rendering annually for the lands formerly the almoner's, to the almoner of Durham 20s, half at Pentecost and half at St Martin, and they are also to answer as free men of the priory of Durham for the almoner's lands in providing help to the almoner, and their corn is to be milled at the priory of Durham's mill in Rainton at the twentieth *vas*.
Witnesses: Ralph Eure steward of Durham, William of Bowes sheriff of Durham, William of Elmden constable of Durham, William Mortimer, John of Guildford.
Date: Rainton, Monday before St Margaret 1387, 11 Richard II.

DCD 2.7.Spec.30 [7 December] 1348
Grant by John son of Thomas of East Rainton, to William Whitehead (*Qwitheved*) of West Rainton, of all his lands in the vill and territory of East Rainton except for:
> ❖ 10 acres which John Freeman was given by John Bush in the same vill
> ❖ a third part of a tenement by the tenement of William of Masham on the north in the said vill of East Rainton
> ❖ half an acre of meadow at **Caldwell**
> ❖ a rod of land and meadow at **Elsyngforth** adjoining the land of William of Masham on both sides.

Witnesses: Nicholas of Skelton, William of Ludworth, John Harpyne, Gilbert of Washington, Gilbert de Holum, William of Masham.
Date: East Rainton, Sunday after St Andrew 1348.

DCD 2.7.Spec.44 [later 13th century]
Grant by John son of Thurstan to John son of Robert of 10 acres of arable land in the territory of East Rainton of which:
> ❖ 3 rods are under Pelaw between the lands of Robert of Coldingham and Robert of Elwald
> ❖ lying between the lands of Robert son of Elwald and John Serghant:
>> ➢ a rod next to *Kyrkeway* and
>> ➢ 3 rods in *Milne Holme* and
>> ➢ half a rod on Deneside
> ❖ 3 rods on *Deneside* are between the lands of John Serghant and Thomas son of Elwald
> ❖ half a rod on the east side of the vill of Rainton is between the lands of John Dunnig and William of West Rainton, and
> ❖ half an acre in *le Hoph* lies between the lands of Henry the son of Giles the clerk and William of West Rainton,
> ❖ half an acre is between *Holeway* and the land of John Serghant
> ❖ a rod beside *Trecros* is between the lands of Henry son of Giles and Robert son of Elwald
> ❖ 1 rod beside *Tremere* is between the lands of John Dunnig and Robert son of Elwald
> ❖ 1 rod and a half beside *Wudeway* is between the land of John Dunnig and Elwald
> ❖ a rod beside *Tremer* lies between the lands of Henry son of Roger and Robert son of Elwald
> ❖ half an acre beside *Ellis* is bounded on both sides by the lands of Robert son of Elwald
> ❖ an acre beside *Bradegate* is near the lands of the house of the community of Durham
> ❖ a rod by Caldwell is between the lands of John the reeve and Robert son of Elwald

❖ 3 rods on *Everhill* is between the lands of John Dunnig and Thomas son of Elwald
❖ a rod there between the lands of Thomas son of Elwald and Robert son of Elwald

to hold with all liberties and easements, except for pleas and assizes, rendering a halfpenny at Christmas each year in the tenement, and at the Exchequer of the prior of Durham 5s, half at Pentecost and half at St Martin, for which grant John had given him a certain sum of money at his will.

Witnesses: Dom Roger of Eppleton *miles*, Dom William of Layton, Dom W[illiam] de Ryblys cellarer of Durham, Geoffrey of Egglescliffe (*Eglisclyve*), W Serchant, Robert of Coldingham, John Dunnig.

DCD 2.7.Spec.47 [early 14th century]
Grant by John Buskes of East Rainton to Thomas his son and heir, of

❖ all his messuage with the buildings etc in East Rainton between the tenements of the prior of Durham on the south and Richard Currer on the north,
❖ along with 3 half acres of land, of which:
  ➢ 2 half acres are at *le Burn* between the lands of Robert Selvayn and John Ayre
  ➢ one half acre is at *Segiswel* between the road and the lands of the lord prior

Witnesses: Dom Jordan of Dalton *miles*, John de Yeland, Thomas de Haddam, Roger lord of Birdon, Stephen his son, John de Setona, William son of John of Pittington, Robert of Coldingham.

DCD 2.7.Spec.49 [23 May 1366]
Grant by John son of Thomas Freeman of East Rainton to Thomas Freeman his father, of:

❖ his messuage in East Rainton between the messuages of William of Masham and his own messuage
❖ also of 3 acres of land, that is:
  ➢ 1½ acres of land in *Ligetsyde* between the lands of William Masham to the east and Christian Paternoster to the west
  ➢ an acre in le Bromyclose between the lands of Robert le Fever to the east and the said John to the west
  ➢ an acre of land at *le Langlandes* between the lands of Robert Auncesson to the east and William Masham to the west

to hold for life, rendering a rose at the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, if requested.
Witnesses: Walter lord of Ludworth, William of Masham of East Rainton, John Herpyn, Roger de Epedon lord of the vill, Roger of Birden.
Date: Rainton, vigil of Pentecost 40 Edward III.
Endorsed (contemporary) as being an East Rainton charter *in gallicis*.
Language: French

DCD 2.7.Spec.51 [14th century]
Copy agreement, between R[alph Kerneth], prior, and the convent of Durham, and Matthew of Lumley, that the bounds between the former's lands of Rainton and the latter's land of Great Lumley should be from the spring-head called ***Hordewelle*** along the road from the forest west and east towards Hetton as far as the first road from the south running north to Biddick ford, all the land south towards Rainton and east to the bounds of Houghton [le Spring] and Morton being the prior and convent's, and likewise the land towards Great Lumley being Matthew's.
Witnesses: Robert of the Monastery, Alan of Pittington, Reginald clerk of Rainton, Henry of Marley, John de Peshall, William of Aycliffe, Walter of Selby, William of Bishopton, Robert de Birkenside, John de Carlan, Robert of Finchale, William miller of Pittington.
Endorsed (contemporary) as being bounds between the lands of Rainton and Lumley for the prior of Finchale.

DCD 2.7.Spec.52   [28 May 1340]
Copy grant by Walter son of Roger Hardschaw of East Rainton to Robert Annotson of the same of 5 rods of land in the territory of East Rainton, that is:
- ❖ half an acre of land on *Stanchester* between the lands of William of Masham and Robert of Pittington
- ❖ 3 rods between the roads, that is the road which leads to Durham from Moorsley (*Moreslaw*)

Witnesses: Walter of Ludworth lord of Ludworth, Roger de Epedon lord of the same, John son of Thomas Freeman of East Rainton, Robert of Coldingham.
Date: Rainton, Sunday after the Ascension 14 Edward III.
At the foot: Robert son of William aged 8 years on the vigil of the Nativity of St John the Baptist year etc 87.

MOORSLEY

DCD 4.7.Spec.1*   [13th century]
Grant by Nicholas Scayfe of Moorsley to the prior and convent of Durham "ad eorum Communiam" in pure and perpetual alms, of 3 acres, 1½ rods and 7 perches of arable in Moorsley:
- ❖ at *Hettum*, and *Fuleslat* 3 rods and 11 perches,
- ❖ at *Farvihop*, *Le Gybet* and *Flittacres* 3 rods and 4 perches,
- ❖ at *Westerlawe* 1½ rods and 4½ perches,
- ❖ at *Le Pottes* 1 rod and 2 perches,
- ❖ at *Wodeway* 1 rod and 3 perches,
- ❖ at *Sandilandes* 1 rod,
- ❖ at *Langeford* and *Le Shawe* 2½ rods and 2½ perches.

Witnesses: Dom Roger of Eppleton and Walter of Ludworth *milites*, William of Layton, Geoffrey of Egglescliffe, Robert of Burnigill, Robert of Haswell, Robert of Coldingham.