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**Beyond the defensible threshold: the house-building
culture of Berwick-upon-Tweed and the East March,
1550-1603.**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History, Durham University

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Beyond the defensible threshold: the house-building culture of Berwick-upon-Tweed and the East March, 1550-1603.

Catherine Laura Kent.

The thesis questions the assumption that housebuilding in England's far north was limited by a need for defensibility until after the Union of the English and Scottish Crowns in 1603. Only a few houses survive to provide evidence but the concept of a 'house-building culture' enables an interdisciplinary approach to the subject, using historical, architectural and archaeological evidence originating in the culture within which houses were conceived, constructed and altered.

A proposed model for the house-building culture also structures the thesis. Chapters 3-6 examine some individual elements. The character of pre-existing houses suggests what builders might have expected from a house, while alterations indicate a desire for more rooms with specific functions, wider stairs and new chimneys, hallmarks of Hoskins' 'Great Rebuilding'. Changing tenure encouraged higher-quality housebuilding, and urban plots provide evidence of Johnson's 'closure'. The 'builders' who instigated particular house-building or alteration projects, and their motives for building, are examined, as are the craftsmen and artisans and their materials, and finally the communication between builders and craftsmen within the construction process.

Chapters 7 and 8 provide six 'building biographies' which show this house-building culture at work in various situations. They demonstrate how the culture can form a useful lens with which to view houses which no longer exist or about which little is known, as well as to expand understanding of those apparently better understood. Overall, the study indicates that Berwick and the East March were involved in national trends such as 'rebuilding' or 'closure', albeit in a locally-defined way. Defence was by no means its primary driver or defining characteristic, although the presence of a previously unrecognised non-domestic type of military 'stronghouse' is suggested.

Key words: Sixteenth century, early modern, interdisciplinary, building biography, Northumberland, Berwick, bastle, stronghold.

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Abbreviations

BL: The British Library

BRO: Berwick upon Tweed Record Office

CBP: Calendar of Border Papers

CMS: Calendar of the Papers of the Marquis of Salisbury

DNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

DPRI: Durham University Archives and Special Collections: Probate

EH: English Heritage

HE: Historic England

HER: Historic Environment Record

HHA: Hatfield House Archives

HS: Historic Scotland

NA: Northumberland Archives

NCC: Northumberland County Council

OED: Oxford English Dictionary (online)

RCAHMS: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

RCHME: Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England

TNA: The National Archives, Kew

Conventions

Spelling and punctuation is modernised except in printed book titles, as justified in Chapter 2. Years are taken to begin on 1 January. Berwick upon Tweed is referred to as 'Berwick'.

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should be acknowledged.

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

1.1 Prologue

The ruins of Twizel Castle, less than a mile from the Scottish Border in Northumberland, were until recently understood to be ‘a medieval tower house incorporated into a ruined 18th century folly’.¹ This echoes the regionally common narrative of a medieval house or tower which survived the period when ‘warfare was still endemic’ to be enlarged and refaced in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.² The descriptions of many houses in Northumberland include this narrative. However, the author’s MA dissertation demonstrated an intermediate phase at Twizel, when the house was remodelled in the late-sixteenth century for a Berwick-based civil servant (subsequent research undertaken for this study shows it functioning as a summer ‘lodge’).³ This suggested the possibility that other local gentry houses which apparently fitted the understood pattern also had unrecorded sixteenth-century phases, and the question arose as to how to discover whether this was the case.

A review of the evidence for surviving houses revealed little relating specifically to gentry houses but uncovered a surprising amount and variety of documentary evidence relating to houses over a much wider social spectrum, about which even less is known and of which none are known to survive (sources are discussed in Chapter 2). This encouraged wider-ranging research along the lines of proposals in regional and local archaeological research agendas which emphasise the need to understand houses at *all* social levels, in urban as well as rural settings, as well as revealing a limited understanding of the materiality of the late-medieval/early post-medieval period more generally in this area of England.⁴ Thus the research question became one of how to recognise archaeological evidence for *any* sixteenth-century

¹ NCC, ‘Historic Environment Report: Twizel Castle’ printed 13 December 2013.

² Grundy, J. and G. McCombie, ‘Architecture from 1550 to 1800’ in Grundy, McCombie, Ryder and Welfare (ed), *The Buildings of England: Northumberland* (New Haven, London: 1992) p.67.

³ Kent, C., ‘Twizel Castle: the creation and re-creation of a Northumbrian gentry house’ (University of York: 2010: M.A.).

⁴ Recent agendas include Petts, D., C. Gerrard and D. Cranstone, *Shared Visions: the North East Regional Research Framework for the Historic Environment* (Durham: 2006) pp.85-90, 178-9, 181-3 (under review at the time of writing) and Marlow, J., A. Williams and K. Derham, *Berwick-upon-Tweed: Northumberland Extensive Urban Survey* (Morpeth: 2009) pp.46-7.

houses, below- as well as above-ground. This somewhat limited, practice-based question remains relevant to planners, conservation architects and archaeologists but results in another, with wider import; why does this gap in the knowledge exist? As research continued, one answer soon appeared – the evidence is too diverse, and too little understood, to be easily synthesised. Thus a methodology was required which allowed the evidence to “speak” about buildings, even if they no longer exist.

The research presented here uses the concept of a social and physical ‘building culture’ within which the houses were constructed as a structure within which to frame all the evidence, rather than merely the surviving houses. This makes it potentially relevant to houses built by rich or poor and does not rely on survival of any one type of evidence. Rather, it allows both built and documentary evidence to become more comprehensible and informative, ultimately illuminating not only the houses but also the society which produced them. It is also potentially transferable to vernacular building cultures elsewhere.

1.2 Boundaries

Since the study began with late-sixteenth century north Northumberland, this period and area remained the focus. Although originally intended to cover a wider time-scale and/or include the Scottish Borders, once the nature and extent of the potential evidence became clear a necessity for tightly defined geographic and temporal limits became apparent.

The selected area is shown in Figure 1.1. Older residents would have recognised it as the early-sixteenth century East March, an established local ‘country’ (as opposed to a larger region or ‘pays’) which both provided and defined ‘the geographical and social framework for human life’.⁵ This, of course, begs the question of which ‘human’ is being framed; female or male, old or young, rich or

⁵ Hey, D., 'Reflections on the local and regional history of the north' *Northern History* 50, 2 (2013) p.165; Phythian-Adams, C. (ed) *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester: 1993); Phythian-Adams, C. 'Differentiating provincial societies in English history: spatial contexts and cultural processes' in Lancaster, Newton and Vall (ed) *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 2007).

Figure 1.1. The study area.

BL, Royal MSS 18.D.III, ff.71v-72, Saxton, C., *Northumbria*.

Detail from BL, Royal MSS 18.D.III, f.6, Saxton, C., *Anglia*.

The study area, outlined in red, mapped onto Lord Burghley's proof copy. Figure 4.x shows the area in more detail.



Saxton's maps provide a contemporary overview of the area in context. Burghley's marginal notes outline the political landscape, with lists of local gentry and a note describing the southern boundary of the East March (the black dotted line ending at Alnwick).

The March boundary had been altered within living memory. In 1580 the more northerly line used for the study area was affirmed as the earlier boundary by 'the old borderers of the Middle March' (Bain 1894, 30).

The change was probably implemented following the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536-7); by using the River Aln as the boundary it moved some of the Percies' estate into the East March, effectively reducing their regional influence. At the same time Chillingham Castle (the seat of the Greys of Chillingham, traditionally loyal to the Percies) was moved into the Middle March while the bulk of its estates remained in the East March.

poor, English or Scottish? The local gentry may have recognised Meikle's wider definition of 'north Northumberland' (suggested on the basis that the river Coquet marks 'a recognised geographical and linguistic divide') since they carried out their duties in the courts at Alnwick or Morpeth while Berwick's Council (Chapter 5) ran

an assize court for the town.⁶ The transient poor would also have ranged more widely, as did Scottish temporary workers. By contrast, some poorer rural tenants may not have travelled regularly further than their local muster and many Berwick residents would never have crossed the River Till. However, administrative regions tend to exist in a recursive relationship with their inhabitants, both shaping and being shaped by everyday practice; most of the area's inhabitants used Berwick's market, and many credit and friendship networks were based on the town, while the area south of Bamburgh was strongly oriented towards Alnwick.⁷ Berwick's economic hinterland was in fact wider, extending into the Scottish 'Merse', but extending the boundary here would have reduced the depth of the study and as argued in Chapter 6 certain aspects important to the building culture, such as apprenticeships, respected the national boundary. The social consistency within the 'country' implies that it could have been the focus of a specific house-building culture.

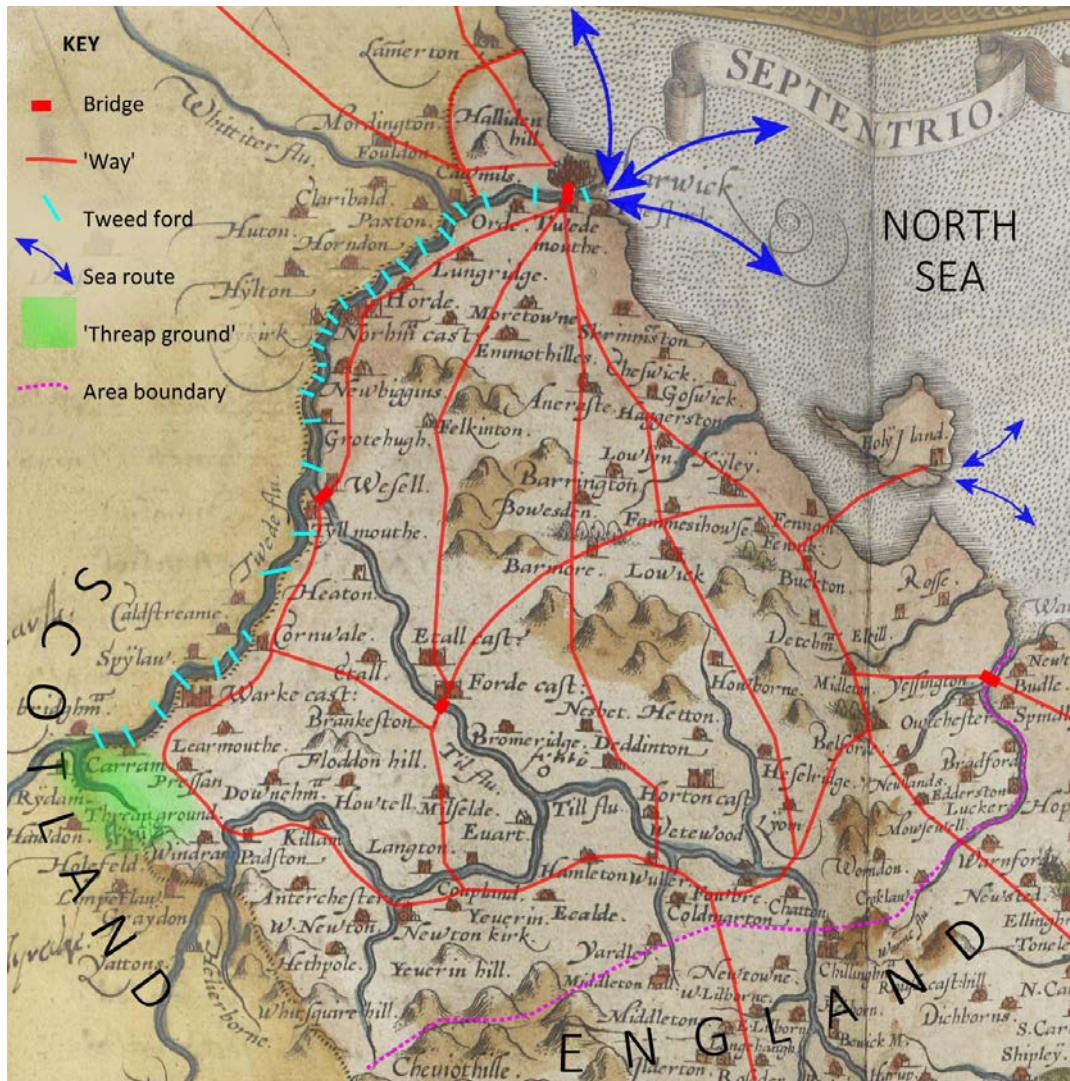
While geographical boundaries affected everyday practice, some being literally 'set in stone', equivalent temporal markers are seldom available. Even where these *were* recognised at the time (as was regnal union in 1603) they seldom had an immediate effect on house-building, where structural changes to individual houses tend to be measured in generations rather than years. While technical or formal changes within a house-building culture can be seen in retrospect to have taken hold over a short period (Chapter 6), the individual acts of building or rebuilding which embody the changes tend to be prompted by life-events such as marriage or change in social status (Chapter 5). The period chosen here falls within the scope of Hoskins' 'great rebuilding' and Johnson's period of 'closure', widely recognised as

⁶ Meikle, M. M., *A British frontier? Lairds and gentlemen in the eastern Borders, 1540-1603* (East Linton: 2004) p.10; Menuge, A. and C. Dewar, *Berwick-upon-Tweed: three places, two nations, one town* (Swindon: 2009) p.6.

⁷ Galloway, J. A., 'Urban hinterlands in later medieval England' in Giles and Dyer, *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: Contrasts, Contacts and Interconnections, 1100-1500* (Leeds: 2006).

Figure 1.2. The study area in more detail.

Detail from Lord Burghley's proof copy of Saxton (1570s), showing communication links.



The 'ways' (a term used by Rowland Johnson) were routes rather than roads (Allen and Evans (2016, 3-4)). These were merely the most important ones; evidence for them includes a plan by Johnson (HHA, CPM/1/22A) and the routes of muster masters in 1580 and 1584. They show the limits imposed on east-west travel by the River Till and the ridge of hills between the river and the coast.

The four bridges are the only ones shown by Saxton. Berwick's was a vital link with England, bridges at 'Wesel' [Twizel] and Ford crossed the dangerous river Till (only fordable upstream of Wooler) and Budle bridge linked Bamburgh castle with Berwick, particularly important after Bamburgh became part of the East March.

Berwick's port served the east coast and North Sea trade routes, as did the smaller and less well-regulated harbour at Holy Island.

The 26 fords recorded on the Tweed in 1541 (TNA, SP 1/168 f.15) and the 'Threap ground' between Carham and Mindrum (both disputed and shared between local English and Scots) facilitated informal cross-border links.

important in the English house-building culture, but these long-term processes would not provide the close focus needed here.⁸

The work on Berwick's fortifications in the 1550s affected the urban building culture and beginning the study at c.1550 allows the effects to be traced as well as coinciding with the beginning of useful evidence from probate records over the whole area. It could be argued that the end date of 1603 is too exact, relating as it does to politics rather than the building culture, but life in the East March was intimately connected with its relationship to Scotland and once this changed so too did the nature of the building culture. Some results of this are traced in the case studies of Chapter 8; a more general extension of the timescale into the seventeenth century would have provided a greater understanding of the transition but (like a geographical extension into Scotland, which could also be argued for) at the expense of depth. As Tittler pointed out 'if chronological boundaries are to have any value, they must be custom-calibrated for each topical approach to the past' and the fifty-year span is long enough to show changes such as the development of new streets in Berwick and the change in amount and type of rural and urban house-building after 1580.⁹

1.3 'Debateable lands'

England or Borderland?

There be certain parcels of ground upon the edge of the frontier doubtful, to whether [sic] realm they appertain, and these are called the Debateable Lands.¹⁰

Studying houses in the far north of England at this period is complicated by their situation in physical or conceptual 'debateable lands'. Architectural history tends to treat the river Tweed as a cultural rather than merely political boundary and thus

⁸ The 'great rebuilding' suggested in Hoskins, W. G., 'The rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640', *Past & Present*, 4 (1953), has been questioned and redefined (although not abandoned) in, for example, Machin, R., 'The Great Rebuilding: a reassessment' *ibid.* 77 (1977); Platt, C., *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: revolutions in architectural taste* (London: 1994); Dyer, C., 'Vernacular architecture and landscape history: the legacy of 'The Rebuilding of Rural England' and 'The Making of the English Landscape'', *Vernacular Architecture*, 37 (2006). 'Closure' was used by Johnson, M., in *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape* (London: 1993). Both terms relate primarily to rural houses but have been introduced into urban studies such as King, C., 'Closure' and the urban Great Rebuilding in early modern Norwich', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 44 (2010).

⁹ Tittler, R., *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences, 1540-1640* (Stanford: 2001) p.5.

¹⁰ Bain, J., *The Border Papers: Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland 1560-1603. Vol. 1: 1560-1594* (Edinburgh: 1894) p.31.

buildings in Northumberland tend to be compared (unfavourably) to their equivalents several hundred miles away in the south of England, with the result that they are treated as non-canonical and risk being ignored or misunderstood.¹¹ In fact they have at least as much in common with houses a few miles north in the Scottish Borders, and while it is difficult to make the case for a specific Borders buildings history it is interesting to speculate how the current understanding would differ if, for example, Girouard's *Elizabethan Architecture* and McKean's *Scottish Chateau* had been co-written from a British perspective.¹² Although the two countries were separate kingdoms, and this study is of an English house-building culture, cross-border links and comparisons are made where possible.

History or archaeology?

A second 'debateable land' is academic context. Buildings history occupies the overlap between history, archaeology and architecture and while interdisciplinarity is essential it is acknowledged to be problematic in practice.¹³ Archaeologists recognise the potential of Berwick's documents, without being able to relate them to the physical environment.¹⁴ Historians can analyse the special characteristics of local society but are not trained in 'reading' buildings. The major problem is in approaching diverse types of evidence even-handedly; to give one example a professor of English has recently been criticised for understanding written texts more deeply than buildings, hardly a surprising fault.¹⁵ Difficulties in relating the

¹¹ Phythian-Adams, *Societies*; Camille, M., 'Rethinking the canon: prophets, canons and promising monsters', *The Art Bulletin*, 78, 2 (1996) and Steiner, C. B., 'Can the canon burst?', *ibid.* In Scotland, Richard Oram points out 'the difficulties of working in a broad British context'; Oram (ed), *Tower Studies, 1 & 2: a House That Thieves Might Knock at* (Donington: 2015) p.xi and a European context is sometimes more acceptable; Macinnes, A., 'Contextualising Scotland's early classical architecture' in 'The Architecture of Scotland in its European Setting' University of Edinburgh conference 22-25 April 2015.

¹² Girouard, M., *Elizabethan Architecture: its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (New Haven, London: 2009); McKean, C., *The Scottish Chateau: the Country House of Renaissance Scotland* (Stroud: 2001).

¹³ Tittler, R., 'Early modern British history, here and there, now and again', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 31, 2 (1999) p.205. For an extended discussion, see Jacobs, J. A. *In Defense of Disciplines: Interdisciplinarity and Specialization in the Research University* (Chicago, London: 2014). The normalisation of interdisciplinarity can be traced in the change from the predominance of papers to that of book reviews in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* since 1975.

¹⁴ Marlow, et al. *Extensive Urban Survey* p.37.

¹⁵ McKeon, M. *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: 2005); Adamson, G., 'Review of "The secret history of domesticity"', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 16, 2 (2009) 179-81). The problem of relating the materiality of buildings to the content of documents may be one reason that the *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* has almost no content relating to buildings.

materiality of buildings to the text of documents may be one reason that the *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* hardly mentions buildings. This study, undertaken in a history department by a scholar with a professional career in architecture and a MA in standing buildings archaeology, takes a primarily archaeological approach where all the available sources (whether two- or three-dimensional, surviving above- or below-ground, found in situ or archived) are understood primarily as part of the material world, giving them a common basis. Chapter 2 provides a more extended discussion.

A specific interdisciplinary problem is periodisation, with the preconceptions this implies. In the context of architectural history the late-sixteenth century is still firmly 'Elizabethan'.¹⁶ For social historians it is 'early modern' although from the more specific viewpoint of land tenure, basic to the house-building culture (Chapter 3), Macfarlane suggested a continuity stretching from before the late-fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries.¹⁷ In the recent archaeological research agenda for Berwick it is 'medieval' (although too late to be interesting to 'medieval' archaeologists) as it often still is in Scotland.¹⁸ For many English archaeologists it is 'post-medieval'.¹⁹ Given this confusion, perhaps the most realistic term is the archaeological 'age of transition' which serves to blur the boundaries to any extent necessary.²⁰

Location within these debateable lands implies that it may be most useful to understand building studies as a specific interdiscipline, taking advantage of its Border situation to borrow theories and concepts from its neighbours and shape them to its own use.²¹ Within this interdiscipline an internal boundary is often observable (at least in Britain) between students of urban and rural buildings. It is based in part on the legacy of architectural history, which traditionally traced style

¹⁶ A recent example is Gent, L., 'Elizabethan architecture: a view from rhetoric', *Architectural History*, 57 (2014).

¹⁷ Macfarlane, A. *The Origins of English Individualism* (Oxford: 1979) p.97.

¹⁸ Marlow, et al., *Extensive Urban Survey* p.47; Crawford, I. A., 'The divide between medieval and post-medieval in Scotland', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 1 (1967).

¹⁹ 'Editorial', *ibid.* 1-2.

²⁰ Gaimster, D. R. M. and P. Stamper (ed), *The Age of Transition: the Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600* (Oxford: 1997). Stone, the relevance of whose social history to the building culture is discussed in Chapter 4, defined 1580-1620 as 'the watershed between medieval and modern England'; Stone, L., *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: 1965) p.14. The 'medieval to post-medieval transition' has a short sub-section in Petts, et al., *Visions* p.175, and it will be interesting to see whether this is strengthened in the current updating.

²¹ Klein, J. T., *Interdisciplinarity: history, theory, and practice* (Detroit: 1990) p.65.

through country houses, but also on the apparent variance in survival of built and documentary evidence between town and country (Chapter 2).²² However, most builders and some craftsmen and artisans moved regularly between the two contexts and the materials available in each were similar; the benefits of a more integrated approach are increasingly recognised and the geographical boundaries described above were deliberately drawn to enable such connections to be made.²³

Two other 'debateable lands' (more often assumed than debated) fall within the context of this study. The first is the assumed requirement for defence in the area and period under review, and the concept of 'defensible buildings' more generally; the second concerns the way in which houses are studied and leads into a discussion of buildings as process, the foundation of the thesis.

Defensible or 'normal'?

The first assumption is that of the need for, and expression of, 'defensibility'. The belief that the Borders was a lawless and backward place, where people lived by the sword and had no time for comfort and the finer things of life, is found in many contemporary sources.²⁴ Camden's well-known description of Northumberland in 1586 told how the county's poor soil and Scottish neighbours produced a deprived but warlike society, useful for protection against the Scots.²⁵ The *Ditchley Portrait* c.1592 shows the Queen shedding light across southern England and protecting it from the dark clouds and lightning flashes of the northern lands behind her, and in 1600 Berwick's Governor Peregrine Bertie, Baron Willoughby of Eresby, expressed a common complaint by linking Northumberland's climate with its distance from London and the Court,

²² Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, while ostensibly a general survey, is based almost entirely on country houses. For difficulties of evidence, see for example Dobson, B., 'General survey 1300-1540' in Palliser (ed), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume 1 600-1540* (Cambridge: 2000) p.273; Giles, K. and C. Dyer (ed), *Town and Country in the Middle Ages: contrasts, contacts and interconnections, 1100-1500* (Leeds: 2006).

²³ Pantin, W. A., 'Medieval English Town-House Plans', *Medieval Archaeology* 6-7 (1962-3) proposed that urban houses were adapted from rural types, and this has only been seriously challenged relatively recently in, for example, Pearson, S., 'Rural and urban houses: 'urban adaption' reconsidered' in Giles and Dyer (ed), *Town and country*; Grenville, J., 'Urban and rural houses and households in the late Middle Ages: a case study from Yorkshire' in Kowaleski and Goldberg (ed) *Medieval Domesticity* (Cambridge: 2008).

²⁴ Jewell, H. M., 'North and south: the antiquity of the great divide', *Northern History*, 27, 1 (1991); Jewell, H. M., *The North-South Divide : the Origins of Northern Consciousness in England* (Manchester: 1994).

²⁵ Camden, W., *Britannia: or, a Chorographical Description of the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland... v.3* (London: 1789 (1586)) pp.231-2.

[i]f I were further from the tempestuousness of Cheviot hills, and were once retired from this accursed country, whence the sun is so removed, I would not change my homeliest hermitage for the highest palace there. In the mean season give me leave to commend and pray for your happiness, that are blessed with the sun of the South, and that one rayon of such brightness may deliver me from the darkness here: which I protest is no less to me then Hell!'²⁶

Royal commissions reported on the process of 'decay' (reduction in rural tenancies, seen elsewhere in the country as potentially beneficial agricultural improvements, Chapter 3) and the State Papers are peppered with the pleas of Southern gentlemen who used the concept of "rough northerners" to excuse their own shortcomings, and who begged leave to return to London, seat of the blessings bestowed by the Sun Queen of the portrait.²⁷ Borders historiography retained and extended this understanding, confirmed in Rymer's *Foedera* (1704-13) and Nicholson's *Leges Marchiorum* (1747) which were collated with overtly Unionist motives at a time when Jacobitism encouraged fears of Britain's disintegration.²⁸ By the end of the century it was a boon to Walter Scott, whose readers could contrast it to the peace and politeness of their united British nation.²⁹ Scott influenced a generation of antiquarians such as the Northumbrian Aeneas Mackenzie, who in 1825 suggested that

until the death of Queen Elizabeth, Berwick endured every evil which can afflict a people from the guilty passions of rival sovereigns, and the turbulent manners of men who had been involved in hostile broils

²⁶ NPG 2561. In context the portrait represents 'forgiveness', but this does not detract from the imagery; *The Ditchley Portrait*, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02079/Queen-Elizabeth-I-The-Ditchley-portrait> accessed 4 May 2015. Bain, J., *The Border Papers: Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland 1560-1603. Vol. 2: 1595-1603* (Edinburgh: 1894) p.718. Bertie was defending himself from a rumour of over-friendliness with Scots, another drawback of life in Northumberland.

²⁷ A traditional understanding of 'decay' based on the Border Papers is found in Tough, D. L. W., *The Last Years of a Frontier: a History of the Borders During the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Oxford: 1928) pp.173-185; for a more nuanced view see Butlin, R. A., 'Enclosure and improvement in Northumberland in the sixteenth century', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th series, 45, (1967); Meikle, *Frontier*, p.3.

²⁸ Alford, S., 'Introduction to the State Papers Online and the sixteenth century State Papers, 1509-1603', *State Papers Online: The Government of Britain, 1509-1714* [go.galegroup.com.%22researchtools/essays/Introduction to State Papers Online and the Sixteenth Century State Papers, 1509-1603.html%22, 'content essays'](http://go.galegroup.com.%22researchtools/essays/Introduction%20to%20State%20Papers%20Online%20and%20the%20Sixteenth%20Century%20State%20Papers%201509-1603.html%22,%20content%20essays), accessed 29 August 2013 n.p.; Sherbo, A., 'Rymer, Thomas (1642/3-1713)', *DNB* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24426>, accessed November 2014; Rymer, T., *Foedera [electronic resousource]* (per A. & J. Churchill: 1704); Nicholson, W., *Leges Marchiarum or Border Laws* (London: 1747) title page and 'epistle dedicatory'.

²⁹ Scott, W., *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (London: 1931 (1802-3)); Scott, W., *The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (London, Edinburgh: 1931 (1814)).

during the space of three centuries... The Union of the two crowns at length terminated a horrid and almost uninterrupted scene of rapine and bloodshed.³⁰

The *Calendars of State Papers*, compiled from 1825, continued the theme (although stressing governmental rather than merely royal benefits). Since more decisions are taken in times of stress, history based on Government records of the Border will almost inevitably result in an emphasis on crisis and disorder (Figure 2.4).³¹ This tale of 'rapine and bloodshed' is still a desirable image for some; modern tourists, like Scott's readers, appreciate a shiver of gothic horror before returning to a comfortable hotel room for the night and the tourist industry is happy to oblige, with "reivers" and their culture forming a basic trope and castles included in many iconic images.

However, as Tony Pollard points out 'north-eastern England was not the lawless, ungovernable, backward, impoverished, dark corner of the land of received wisdom'.³² Until 1557 the Scottish army was still feared and the East March considered most at risk, since 'ordinance [could] not enter [the] high and rocky hills, mosses, marshes and strait passages' of the Middle March.³³ However, after the French troops left Scotland and the Treaty of Edinburgh was signed in 1560, England and Scotland were no longer actively at war and heavy artillery ceased to be a threat; the last major Scottish incursion was an unofficial one, by a joint Scots and rebel English force following the Rising of the North in 1569. The 'mosses and marshes' of the Middle March were a positive advantage to the cattle-raiding activities of the "reivers" and other lawless Borderers of both Kingdoms but they provided access to the Middle and West Marches rather than the East March, much of which was in any case within reach of the Berwick garrison.³⁴ There was a

³⁰ Mackenzie, E., *A Topographical, Historical and Descriptive View of the County of Northumberland... Vol. 1* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 1825) p.285.

³¹ Alford, 'Introduction'; Knighton, C. S., 'The Calendars and their Editors, 1856-2006', *State Papers Online: the Government of Britain, 1509-1714*, <http://go.galegroup.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/mss/page.do?page=%2Fpage%2FManuscriptEssaysAndCalendarXTL>, accessed 29 August 2012. Examples of this type of writing include Tough, *Last Years*; Watts, S. J., *From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland, 1586-1625* (Leicester: 1975); Brown, R. A. and H. M. Colvin, *The History of the Kings Works, Volume II (The Middle Ages)* (London: 1963).

³² Pollard, A. J., 'Use and ornament: Late-twentieth century historians on the late-medieval North-east', *Northern History* 42, 1 (2005) p.67.

³³ Raine, R. J., *The History and Antiquities of North Durham: as subdivided into the shires of Norham, Island and Bedlington...* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1852) p.xxxii; Tough, *Last Years* pp.191, 208-10.

³⁴ Tough, *Last Years* pp.192-198.

continuous subculture of feuding among the gentry (for example over Ford Castle, Chapter 9) but such problems were also experienced elsewhere, and ‘when the rhetoric [is] compared with the reality, Northumberland does not emerge as significantly less law-abiding than elsewhere in England’.³⁵ By the later-sixteenth century the East March had become its most peaceful area.³⁶

In spite of this it is still generally assumed that houses in the area had to be defensible and that this explains their form. In *Buildings of England: Northumberland* the section on ‘fortified buildings’ is followed by another on ‘architecture from 1550 to 1800’ where it is proposed that ‘of C16 secular buildings there is absurdly little to talk about which has not already been covered in the discussion of defensible buildings’.³⁷ However since this introduces a discussion of the new work at Ford Castle, which had been defended in a siege only forty years previously (Chapter 9), it is obvious that the term is being used not primarily in a functional context but as a synonym for ‘vernacular’ (below). Like the stories uncovered by Dell Upton, describing houses created to be defensible against attack by native Americans, this conflation of ‘vernacular’ with ‘defence’ ‘take[s] physical attributes of the house and imbue[s] them with imaginary elements, thus strengthening their role in mythological thought’, in this case the instability of the pre-Union Borders.³⁸ One outcome of this study is to limit how far ‘defensibility’ can explain the local vernacular (Chapter 3).

Buildings or architecture?

It is not accidental that the previous paragraph began with quotations from the “Pevsner” guide. His memorable definition ‘a bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture’ has long been seen as problematic but still flourishes, based on and promoted by the British tendency to study art-history and visual culture (‘architecture’) separately from archaeology and material culture

³⁵ Newton, D., *North-East England, 1569-1625: governance culture and identity* (Woodbridge: 2006) pp.71, 106; Meikle, *Frontier* p.247.

³⁶ Meikle, *Frontier*.

³⁷ Ryder, P., ‘Fortified Buildings’ in Pevsner et. al., *Northumberland*; Grundy, J. and G. McCombie ‘Architecture from 1550 to 1800’ in *ibid.* p.67.

³⁸ Yentsch, A., ‘Legends, houses, families, and myths: relationships between material culture and American ideology’ in Beaudry (ed), *Documentary archaeology in the New World* (Cambridge: 1988) p.11.

(‘buildings’).³⁹ Very few of the buildings in this study have ever been considered as ‘architecture’; Grundy mentions Ford as the only building where ‘any domestic improvement [was] introduced’ during the sixteenth century and Chillingham is the only one to appear in Girouard’s magisterial *Elizabethan Architecture*.⁴⁰ For this reason alone, an art-historical approach would have little to offer here.

Pevsner’s ‘building’ equates roughly with what is now known as ‘vernacular architecture’.⁴¹ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ‘vernacular style’ in buildings was equated with Gothic; in 1857 Gilbert George Scott could describe ‘vernacular architecture’ as ‘the spontaneous productions of our builders [past and present], where no external influence is brought to bear upon them’, including cathedrals and castles along with cottages and bicycle sheds.⁴² However, usage became more limited through the late-nineteenth and twentieth century, in part following interest in folk-life studies and also because the design role of medieval craftsmen was increasingly recognised.⁴³ Great houses and churches were soon excluded and by the early 1950s the Vernacular Architecture Group confined itself to the study of ‘buildings’.⁴⁴ In 1971, based on the work of well-known scholars such as Beresford and Hurst, Brunskill further limited ‘vernacular architecture’ to ‘permanent’ buildings (i. e. of lasting construction, although in practice this meant buildings which had survived until 1971), defining them as being above the ‘vernacular threshold’.⁴⁵ The atheoretical way in which vernacular buildings were

³⁹ Pevsner, N., *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: 1968 (1942)); Draper, P. (ed), *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner* (Aldershot: 2003).

⁴⁰ Grundy, et al., *Architecture from 1550 to 1800*; Girouard *Elizabethan Architecture* p.445. and n.73, p.497. He suggests that the south façade may date from the 1590s, rather than the early-seventeenth century as normally assumed, because Sir Ralph Grey was ‘in a friendly correspondence’ with Burghley at the time (although none of the letters in the State Papers or Cecil Papers mention building-related subjects).

⁴¹ To be more precise, modern definitions of ‘vernacular’ do not refer to aesthetics; Asquith, L. and M. Vellinga (ed), *Vernacular Architecture in the Twenty-First Century: Theory, Education and Practice* (Abingdon: 2006); Brown, R. and D. Maudlin ‘Concepts of vernacular architecture’ in Cryslar, Cairns and Heynan (ed) *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory* (London; California; New Delhi; Singapore: 2012). For a definition in practice, see English Heritage *Designation Listing Selection Guide: Domestic 1: vernacular houses* (2011) http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/dlsg-vernacular-houses/domestic1_final.pdf accessed 26 May 2014.

⁴² Scott, G. G., *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Past and Present* (London, 1857) p.6.

⁴³ An early example is Nichols, J. G., ‘Henry de Yevele’, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 2 (1864).

⁴⁴ Hall, R. d. Z., ‘The origins of the Vernacular Architecture Group’, *Vernacular Architecture* 5, 1 (1974) p.5. For these developments see articles in *Vernacular Architecture*, particularly Green, A., ‘Confining the vernacular: the seventeenth-century origins of a mode of study’ *ibid.* 38 (2007); Johnson, M., *English Houses, 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life* (Harlow: 2010).

⁴⁵ In Beresford, M. W. and J. G. Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (New Haven: 1991)

being studied tended to result in their being reified, classified and described in loving detail but ‘at the expense of any real understanding of the processual nature of the vernacular traditions concerned’.⁴⁶ However by 2000 Brunskill had revised his book to take into account ‘layers’ of rebuilding and the vagaries of survival, in recognition of the fact that vernacular architecture was by then open to new approaches derived from archaeology and anthropology (Chapter 2).⁴⁷

1.4 Buildings as process

‘How buildings learn’

While inevitably set within this background the thesis also draws on alternative understandings, in particular the work of Stuart Brand and Howard Davis.⁴⁸ Both were influenced by the North American architect and theorist Christopher Alexander whose ‘pattern language’ suggested an architectural expression of the twentieth-century linguistic turn.⁴⁹ Each avoids reification of buildings by understanding them as part of a process, whether taking place within the building itself (Brand) or in the culture within which it was constructed or reconstructed (Davis).⁵⁰

Brand suggests that buildings are best understood as hierarchical ‘layers’ rather than unitary objects. The longest-lived (‘slowest’), and therefore most influential, layer is the site; the structure on the site changes rather more frequently, while the rate of change increases with the services, internal planning, contents (‘stuff’) and finally the inhabitants.⁵¹ The inhabitants are ‘constrained’ to varying degrees by the

the authors comment critically on their earlier approaches. Brunskill, R. W., *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (London: 1971).

⁴⁶ Asquith, et al., *Vernacular Architecture* p.5.

⁴⁷ Brunskill, R. W., *Vernacular Architecture: an Illustrated Handbook* (London; Boston: 2000); Johnson English Houses.

⁴⁸ Brand, S., *How Buildings Learn* (New York: 1994); Davis, H., *The Culture of Building* (New York: 2006).

⁴⁹ Alexander, C., S., Ishikawa and M. Silverstein, *A Pattern Language : Towns, Buildings, Construction* (New York: 1977).

⁵⁰ Brand, S., *How Buildings Learn*; Davis, H., *The Culture of Building* (New York: 2006); Alexander, et al., *Pattern Language*; Bluestone, D., ‘How Buildings Learn... by Stewart Brand: review’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 54.2 (1995) pp.235-6 discusses the book’s relevance to architectural historians.

⁵¹ Brand, *How Buildings Learn* p.13. He includes a layer of cladding, assuming a framed rather than solid-walled structure, but the principle remains the same. He adds ‘souls’ to the list only as an afterthought (p.17) but human agency is obvious throughout the book, for example in his description of the Duchess of Devonshire’s sitting-room pp.166-7. ‘Stuff’ is outside the parameters of this study but is related to change in ‘structure’ by Anthony Buxton; Buxton, A., *Furnishings and Domestic Culture in Early Modern England*, PhD thesis, Oxford University (2012); Buxton, A.,

various layers of the house but also have agency over them, altering the ‘fastest’ layers most frequently.⁵² The model provides a context not only for the physical changes in old houses but also in the domestic practices which precede them. Equally importantly, by emphasising the site as the most influential element of a building Brand not only underlines the need to understand landscape context but also problematises the definition of ‘survival’.⁵³

The building culture

While Brand understands buildings as continually subject to change, Davis emphasises the systems that combine to create and enable change, breaking down the distinction between ‘architecture’ and ‘buildings’ by concentrating on ‘the social process that results in the form of the built world’, or the ‘building culture’.⁵⁴ A ‘building culture’ is common to all the houses built within it and thus provides a common starting point for evaluating them and understanding the relationships between them. It also provides a context for the various strands of evidence (Chapter 2), much of which is not directly related to recognisable surviving buildings.

This disparate evidence can be usefully organised within a structural model of the type of small-scale, pre-industrial, unprofessionalised and largely uncommodified building culture under discussion here. The basic relationship at its core is shown in Figure 1.3. The builder is here, as elsewhere in the thesis, taken to mean the instigator of an act of building any ‘layer’. The builder does not influence the house directly but through a recursive relationship with the artisans, each influencing the other in planning the work. Even when they are the same person, the builder-as-instigator will have an internal discourse with the builder-as-artisan. The artisan has direct agency over the building itself but is also influenced by the act of building it.

‘Building domestic life: the interaction between domestic practice and the built structure evidenced from 17th century probate inventories’ at VAG Winter Conference 2013/14, Leicester.

⁵² Brand, *How Buildings Learn* p.17.

⁵³ Anschuetz, K. F., R. H. Wilshusen and C. L. Scheick, ‘An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions’, *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, 2 (2001) 157-211.

⁵⁴ Davis, *Culture* pp.10-11.

Figure 1.3. The core process.

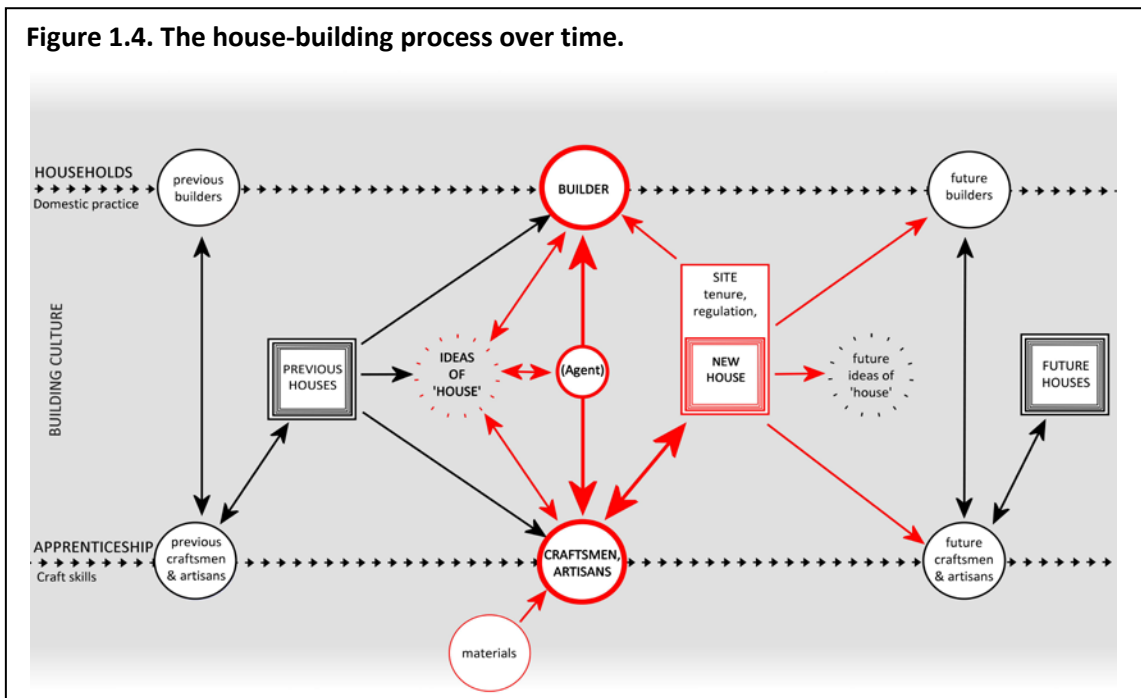
The core process of constructing or altering any 'layer' of a house (the builder and artisan may be one individual).



The simple relationship is shown in more detail and repeated over time in Figure 1.4 (both this and the previous figure represent the author's own interpretation). The continuous lines of arrows at top and bottom suggest some of the ways in which ideas are passed on within the building culture. It is not a closed system; the faded edges of the local 'building culture' in the background imply that it is open to other building cultures and 'culture' more generally, resulting in the type of change labelled as 'influence', 'emulation' or 'diffusion'.

Although the diagram may imply a certain similarity with non-representational theories, in particular actor-network theory (ANT), it is clear that unlike in ANT human agency is different from, and more influential than, non-human agency.⁵⁵

Figure 1.4. The house-building process over time.



⁵⁵ Johnson, M., *Archaeological Theory: an Introduction* (Chichester: 2010) pp.225-6.

The major human actors (builder and artisan, Chapters 5, 6) are assumed to communicate and affect each other in ways which are impossible in their interactions with the non-human elements such as houses, sites and building materials, even though these are acknowledged to be socially determined (Chapters 4, 6). Human mediation is an essential part of every element. In spite of this rejection of ANT's basic claim of 'symmetry' between human and non-human actors the theory's ability to relate global and local expressions of "history", as well as its emphasis on the material world, provide insights relevant to this study.⁵⁶

During a house-building project (at any level) the generalised process becomes particular and one household with its own domestic practice and concepts of 'house' and one set of artisans with their own abilities and understanding come together (for both, ideas may be drawn from inside or outside the culture). The resulting house affects the household's domestic practice, and artisans not only shape it but learn through building it. By its presence it affects society's understanding of what a house should (or should not) be. The process of building and experiencing a particular house thus influences those built later, shaping the vernacular tradition of a particular location and time.

The process is, of course, slightly different for each building project. In houses built for rent such as Tweedmouth New Row (Chapter 7), "domestic practice" was mediated by the landlord's understanding of how tenants would live. The soldiers who built in Guisnes Row (Chapter 7) were not constrained by tenure or legislation and probably had little input from trained artisans, while Toby Rugg communicated with his artisans through an agent and a written specification (Chapter 7). Berwick's MP Anthony Temple may have picked up Renaissance ideas on his trips to London (Chapter 5), and the Scottish artisans at Coupland (Chapter 8) came from outside the local craft tradition. The structure provided by the diagram makes it possible to define the importance of these variations both to the individual house and the house-building culture as a whole.

⁵⁶ ANT has recently been used to explore a subject related to the present one; O'Donnell, R. P., 'Landscape, agency and enclosure: transformations in the rural landscape of north-east England' (Durham: 2014: PhD); O'Donnell, R., *Assembling Enclosure: Transformations in the Rural Landscape of Post-Medieval North-East England* (Hatfield: 2015). Ultimately, he concludes that since the theory 'rejects the possibility of explanation in favour of description' while useful in organising evidence it tends to result in description rather than analysis.

1.5 Thesis structure

The thesis is structured around the diagram of the house-building process. Chapters 3-6 synthesise the evidence for four major elements of the process, with particular emphasis on locally specific features. Chapter 3 examines the evidence for house sites, individually and in their setting, as physical, tenorial and social entities. Chapter 4 deals with the houses surviving at the beginning of the period and those built and altered during it, in particular how aspects such as defensibility and room use changed over time. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the builders and some of the reasons they had for building, emphasising aspects such as urban/rural links and the opportunities for links with house-building cultures elsewhere. Chapter 6 looks at those who carried out building work, their opportunities, the materials they used and aspects of the construction process.

Following from this, Chapters 7 and 8 contain case studies or 'biographies' which show the local culture in action, testing the model's ability to make sense of the available evidence. Chapter 7 examines three houses or groups of houses which are documented but where only the site survives in recognisable form, two in Berwick and one in its suburb of Tweedmouth. Chapter 8 does the same for three houses where some fabric but relatively little documentary evidence survives. These are all in the western half of the rural East March, indicating the strong geographical bias of the evidence.

Before the synthesis or the case studies can be prepared, a body of evidence is required. The most important sources are described and contextualised in the next chapter, Chapter 2, which gives an idea of their scope and variability and also outlines two research tools used to analyse and combine them. By linking the evidence with the events which produced it, the chapter also provides a historical overview of the area during the period.

Chapter 2 : ‘Viewed, described and set forth in picture and plate’: sources of evidence

2.1 Introduction

We came to His Majesty’s town of Berwick... where we viewed and did see as well the castle and buildings as well such as be already performed and done as those that [have] been devised and [are] in doing or intended to be done... The description whereof we omit and forbear because the said castle and town hath been of late sundry times viewed, described and set forth in picture and plat by those of high and notable considerations and experience in such devices.⁵⁷

The variety of evidence for Berwick’s buildings discovered by the Crown Commissioners Bowes and Ellerker, visiting in 1544, forms a useful reminder of the variety of evidence for modern students of its building culture, the subject of this chapter. They could take for granted the equivalence between a building (complete or ‘devised’) and a verbal or pictorial description. Today this equivalence is problematised, each division and subdivision between and within history, archaeology and architecture approaching ‘their’ type of evidence with a different methodology. This is particularly true for archaeologists working within historic or text-based cultures because the objective approach of mid-twentieth century ‘new archaeology’, while useful in understanding pre-historic cultures, was not always easy to integrate with subjective texts.⁵⁸

There is no easy solution to the difficulties of working with such various sources of evidence; a pragmatic approach, using methodologies stemming from the disciplinary background of each researcher, may be inevitable and can be seen as positive.⁵⁹ For this author, with a background in the architectural profession where text is generally subservient to image and both are less important than built fabric, it has proved helpful to approach all the evidence primarily as material culture.

⁵⁷ BL Harleian 292 f.97.

⁵⁸ Beaudry, M. C., (ed) *Documentary Archaeology* (Cambridge: 1988); Funari, P. P. A., M. Hall and S. Jones, *Historical Archaeology: Back From the Edge* (London: 1999); Tilley, C., W. Keane, S. Kúchler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (eds) *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: 2006).

⁵⁹ Finley, G., ‘The Gothic revival and the Victorian church in New Brunswick: toward a strategy for material culture research’, *Material Culture Review* 32 (1990) p.6.

Although several ways of classifying the evidence were attempted, the very different ways in which two- and three-dimensional evidence is collected, recorded and understood means that the traditional division between 'documents' and 'structures' is retained and these form the two central sections of the chapter. The issue of 'survival' is, however, common to both and is discussed first.

2.2 Survival

One difference between historical and archaeological approaches to evidence is the importance placed on its survival, resulting in part from archaeologists' understanding of evidence as 'data' rather than 'text'.⁶⁰ It is particularly relevant in this study, where the evidence is spread so unevenly both geographically and by type. Berwick is relatively well documented, but almost all its houses were rebuilt (or altered out of all recognition) during and after the eighteenth century as the port grew in importance.⁶¹ In contrast, very few documents survive from the rural area; many estate archives were damaged during political crises such as the Civil War of the 1640s (Chillingham) or broken up through changes in ownership (Twizel, Ford), leaving only the Crown surveys of fortified buildings to provide an overview.⁶² It does, however, retain a considerable number of earlier structures. Even these are unevenly spread, with the majority sited in the west of the study area, in and around Glendale and the Till valley, although there is documentary evidence for at least an equal amount of building work to the east (Figure 2.1).

In southern England Currie suggested differential survival of vernacular houses as a plausible alternative to one or more waves of 'rebuilding', on the grounds that 'differential attrition rates exaggerate the extent and suddenness of change'.⁶³ He

⁶⁰ Johnson, *Archaeological Theory* p.27.

⁶¹ Menuge, et al., *Three Places*.

⁶² Dodds, M. (ed), *A history of Northumberland v14: The parishes of Alnham, Chatton, Chillingham, Eglingham, Ilderton, Ingram and Whittingham; the chapelries of Lowick and Doddington* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1935); Vickers, K. H., *A History of Northumberland v11: the Parishes of Carham, Branxton, Kirknewton, Wooler, and Ford* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1922).

⁶³ Currie, C. R. J., 'Time and chance: modelling the attrition of old houses', *Vernacular Architecture* 19 (1988) 1-9 pp.45-7; Pearson, S., *The Medieval Houses of Kent: an Historical Analysis* (London: 1994) pp.45-7; Grenville, J., *Medieval Housing* (London: 1997) pp.123-33; Dyer, 'Vernacular architecture' p.29; King, 'Closure' p.56.



particularly stressed the importance of urban fires in the period when thatched roofs were still common, and the north was no exception. A fire in Berwick on the eleventh of June 1659 resulted in the loss of thirty-nine houses in and around Hidegate (Silver Street) and Ravensdowne.⁶⁴ In another fire in Hidegate, in 1687, 'the house of Sir Thomas Haggerston, bart., ... Governor, was burnt down, when most of the ancient deeds and writings belonging to his family were destroyed.'⁶⁵

⁶⁴ NRO, EP/38/1. The rate of loss by fire is inextricably linked with the form of buildings, and such fires became rarer after the mid-eighteenth century with the widespread use of tiles and slates; Jones, E. L., 'The reduction of fire damage in southern England, 1650-1850', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 2 (1968) 140-149 pp.144-145.

⁶⁵ Sykes, J., *Local Records; or historical register of remarkable events, which have occurred in*

The Haggerstons' documents were in their town house because 'the greater part of Haggerston Castle' had burned down in 1618.⁶⁶ In 1562 three lower-status owners in Berwick blamed 'sudden fire' for their lack of property deeds.⁶⁷

Wealth and changing practice were among Currie's other suggestions for differential survival; 'we can be sure only that a house survives from the last period at which its owner or occupier had the means and motive to rebuild it'.⁶⁸ The specialised design of buildings such as Pressen and Akeld (built primarily to house a garrison for Border defence, discussed below) meant that many were demoted to agricultural use when this function disappeared. Improvements in agriculture, industry and transport encouraged rebuilding and this may help explain the difference between survival of houses in the east and west of the study area; Glendale remained relatively poor until the efforts of local improvers Bailey and Culley in the early-nineteenth century whereas on the coastal strip eighteenth-century agricultural wealth provided a longer period of demolition and rebuilding (and possibly occurred at a time when old houses were less valued).⁶⁹

Currie also cited physical or biological decay, incompetent builders, the desire to rebuild in a more modern style and depopulation caused by demography or landowners. All these factors are evident here; Doddington's partial collapse was due to poor masonry work combined with a loss of status, Twizel was fashionably remodelled at least twice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and townships such as Ford and Chillingham were cleared of houses to create parkland.⁷⁰ While some of these houses survive, even if only as ruins, others vanished in the face of similar threats. Pearson explores losses resulting from the difficulties of altering low

Northumberland and Durham, Newcastle upon Tyne and Berwick upon Tweed... (Newcastle: 1824) p.65.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.86.

⁶⁷ 'A General Survey of all the Queens Majesty's town of Berwick upon Tweed' BRO, BRO/B6/1, 186, 309, 367.

⁶⁸ Dyer, A., *Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400-1640* (Cambridge: 1995) p.35; Pearson, S., 'Medieval houses in English towns: form and location', *Vernacular Architecture* 40 (2009) p.1; Currie, C. R. J., 'Time and chance: modelling the attrition of old houses', *ibid.* 19 (1988) p.6.

⁶⁹ Barnwell, P. S. and C. Giles, *English Farmsteads, 1750-1914* (Swindon: 1997) pp.67-70 ; Johnson, *English houses* pp.59-60; Lake, J. and B. Edwards, 'Buildings and place: farmsteads and the mapping of change', *Vernacular Architecture* 37 (2006); O'Donnell *Enclosure* p.138.

⁷⁰ All these events are referenced in Chapter 8.

Figure 2.2. Berwick's first *Book of Enrolments* prior to conservation.

Photograph: Reproduced by kind permission of Berwick Record Office, BRO/1758/2.

One of the documents described by the Historic Manuscripts Commissioners as 'much injured by damp and neglect' (Macray 1901, 25) the book has since been conserved but much of the information on the Greens in the *General Survey* was already lost.



single-storey houses, and this is particularly relevant to some of the rural and quickly-built urban houses in this study.

Parallels could be suggested for documentary survival. Urban fires are mentioned above. Paper decays at a faster rate than parchment or vellum, inks can fade (part of Berwick's 'General Survey' of 1562 has been lost for this reason), archiving or retention is dependent on changing understandings of value and importance. The only survivor from Chillingham's early estate papers is the survey book of c.1570, retained when the estate changed hands for its boundary descriptions and possibly its illustrations. In 1901 a visitor from the Historical Manuscripts Commission blamed losses in Berwick's documents on 'the vicissitudes to which the town by its situation was exposed', sympathising that 'those that remain increase the regret for those that have perished', although mention of 'fragmentary' documents and poor

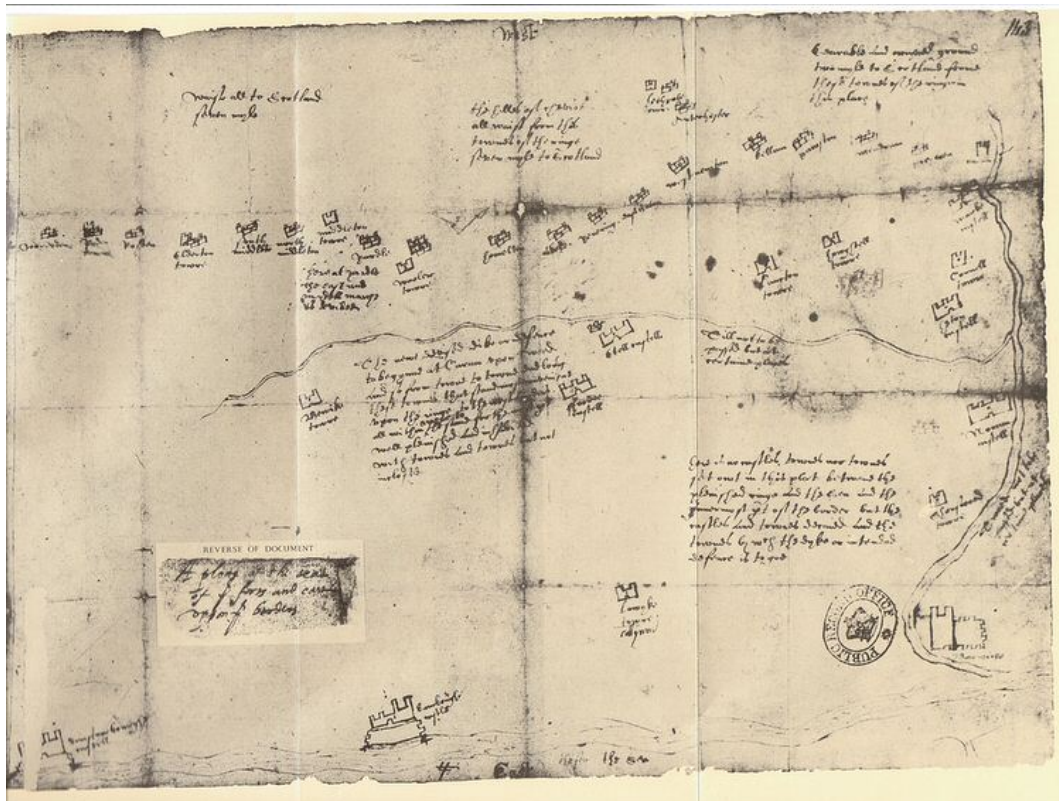
binding hint at less inevitable reasons for their loss.⁷¹ Following his visit the Town Council appointed a committee to 'consider the better preservation of the records', to which modern researchers are no doubt indebted (Figure 2.2).⁷²

The remainder of the chapter outlines and contextualises the main sources of evidence for the house-building culture. Classifying the evidence was not straightforward; eventually, the traditional 'documents' and 'structures' was retained although their overtones of 'historical' and 'archaeological' remain problematic. Documents are treated first, those which are primarily word-based followed by those which are image-based, although the distinction can become ambiguous. Some written documents provide paratextual visual information; the

Figure 2.3. 'Plan of the seats of the fortresses and castles upon the borders'.

TNA, MPF 1/284 *Christopher Dacre* (1584).

Northern half, with the river Tweed to the right (unusually, with west at the top). The text and the images interact; although set out as a plan the images would be meaningless without the annotations and vice versa.



⁷¹ Macray, W. D., 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Berwick-upon-Tweed' in Historical Manuscripts Commission (ed), *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections Vol.1* (London: 1901) p.5.

⁷² *Ibid.* p.1.

scribe of the Grey Survey Book, for example, used three colours, four different scripts, a variety of line spacing and more- or less-ornamental capitals to illustrate the social gradation of the tenants he was listing.⁷³ Conversely, many of the maps, plans and illustrations include written notes and most were intended to be used in conjunction with a written text. Dacre's sketch-plan of 1584 (Figure 2.3) is an example of a document which brings together words and images so closely that it is misleading if either is ignored. After this, structural evidence begins with below-ground archaeology and continues to a rather fuller discussion of the surviving houses. In both cases written records are given equal weight to the structures to which they refer; all have gone through a similar process of analysis and translation by various 'experts', whether the result is a piece of 'grey literature', a conserved ruin or a "Jacobethan" 'castle'.

2.3 Documents

Few, if any, of the pictures or plans which Bowes and Ellerker saw in 1541 survive, but after this the town certainly played its part in the nationally increasing production and preservation of documents.⁷⁴ Tough's cross-Border "Elizabethan" history provides a useful account of most of the surviving printed sources of written documents, interspersed with refreshingly pithy comments.⁷⁵ The following section mentions a few of these, in particular the State papers, but concentrates on groups of unpublished documents such as probate and borough records and some of the individual documents found among them.

State Papers

The Calendaring of State Papers has been touched on in Chapter 1, and Figure 2.4 uses the digitization of Calendar entries to provide a graphic demonstration of how the Crown's interest in the area rose and fell. Housing is generally marginal to the writers' interests, even when it is mentioned; for example, records of a dispute over Sir Richard Lee's accommodation in Berwick (Chapter 3) end suddenly at the discovery that the house in question was under the authority of the garrison

⁷³ Genette, G., *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation* (Cambridge: 1997); NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

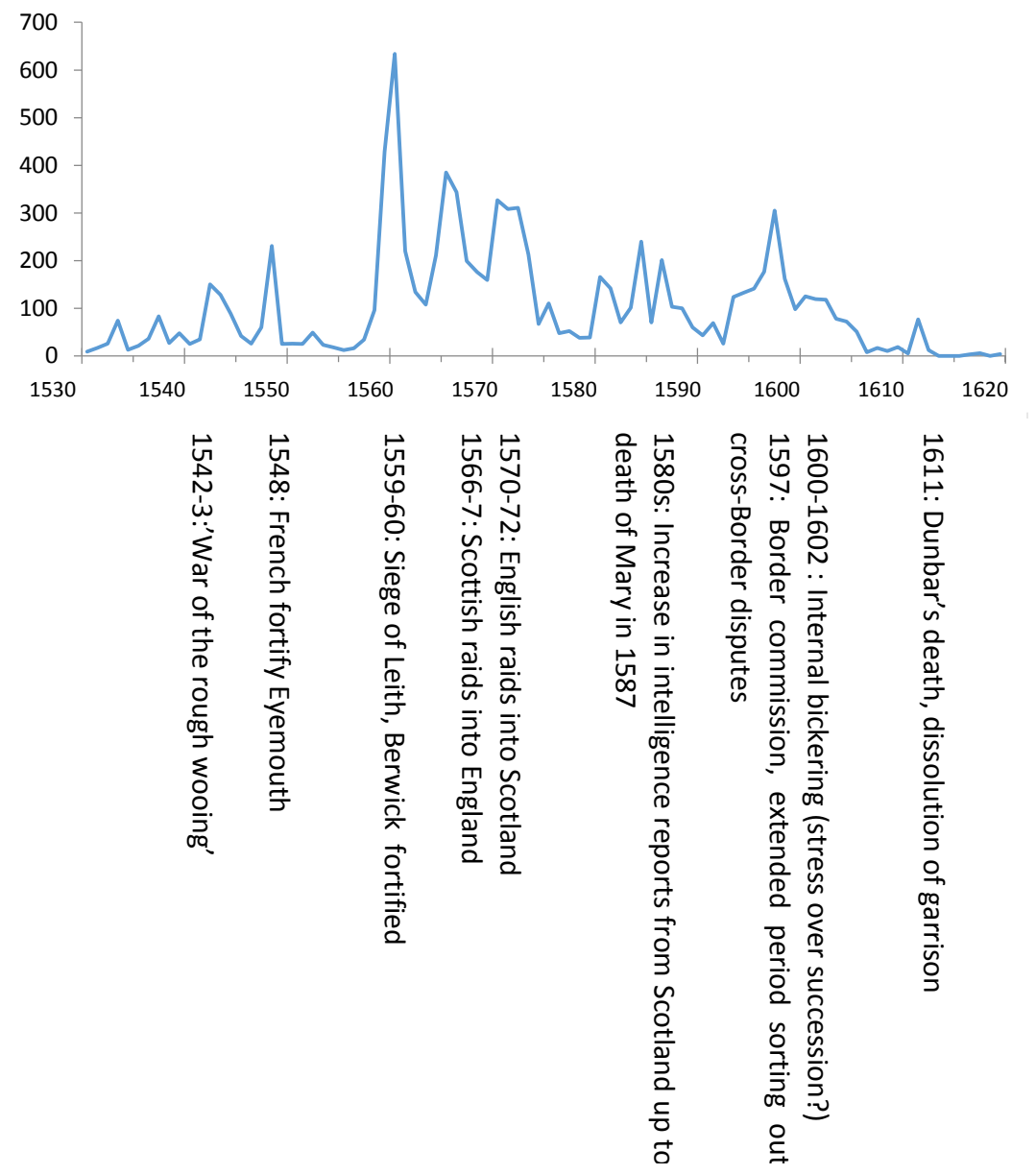
⁷⁴ Eliassen, F.-E. and G. A. Ersland (eds), *Power, Profit and Urban Land: landownership in medieval and early modern northern European towns* (Aldershot: 1996) pp.15-21.

⁷⁵ Tough, *Last Years* pp.xi-xvi.

Figure 2.4. Calendar entries in State Papers including ‘Berwick’ or ‘Barwick’.

Figures taken from *State Papers Online, 1509-1714*.

From 1550 until the accession of Elizabeth in 1559 the French in Scotland were seen as allies against Spain, reducing cross-Border stress. The almost total lack of papers after 1606 shows the reduced importance of the Border following the accession of James VI and I, and the Border’s re-fashioning as the ‘Middle Shire’.



quartermaster and thus the decision did not involve letters to London. However the State Papers provide useful evidence of the relationship between Berwick’s garrison and civilians and the effect of the Crown works on civilian housing (Chapters 3, 6). The only evidence that Sir John Selby’s rebuilt house at Twizel was used as a summer lodge comes from addresses on his letters (Chapter 8).⁷⁶ A

⁷⁶ Scargill-Bird, S. R., *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved*

muster of Berwick taken in 1598 when Peregrine Bertie, Lord D'Eresby, became Warden of the East March and Governor of Berwick, lists not only the names of the seven hundred and ninety-seven garrison members but also 'their several ages, countries where they were born, and time of their service', making it more useful for identifying individual house-builders than many such lists.⁷⁷ Other documents contain more weighty information and these are detailed below.

Probate Documents

Wills are often assumed to have little to say about buildings, although they can exemplify issues such as the use of urban property as investment or the value of the family home to the testator in both urban and rural settings. However the benefits (and problems) of inventories as a source for the study of buildings are well recognised.⁷⁸ Probate documents are most often used as a source for quantitative analysis; the short time-scale and small geographic area of this study considerably limits their usefulness in this way but they still provide examples of the type and size of houses at various levels of society and how individuals' domestic practice interacted with their building practice (Figure 2.5).⁷⁹

The Durham Probate Registry includes 159 testators from the study area with surviving wills and/or inventories dating from 1545-1605, only 10% of the equivalent total for Northumberland and an under-representation since it probably

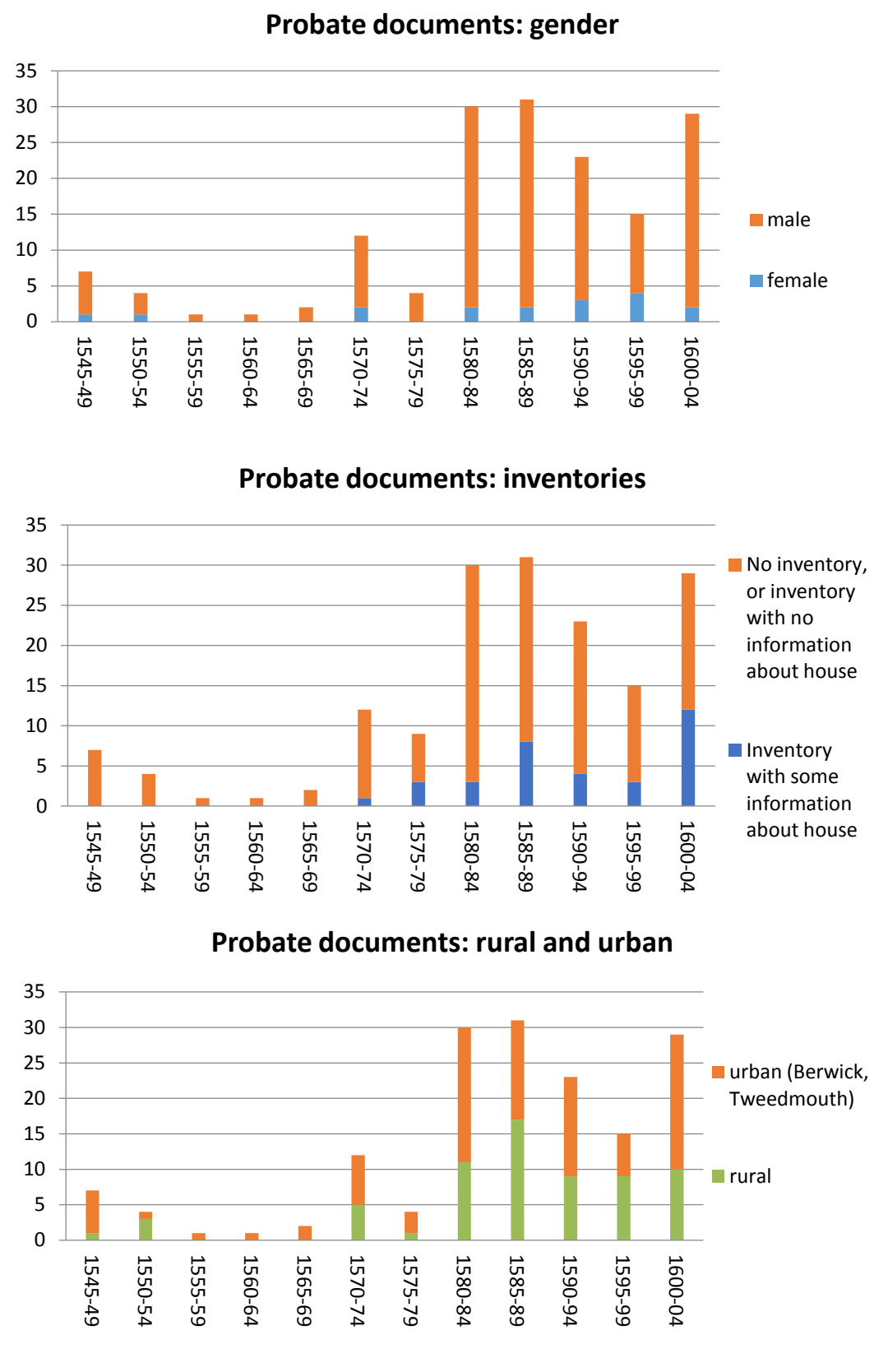
at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Vol. 3 (London: 1889) p.416; Boyd, W. K. and H. W. Meikl, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603. Volume No.10: 1589-1593* (Edinburgh: 1936) p.166; Green, M. A. E., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, Addenda, 1580-1625* (London: 1872) p.267; Bain, *CBP 1* pp.179, 184, 185, 186.

⁷⁷ TNA SP 59/37 f.79.

⁷⁸ For probate documents in general, see Arkell, T., N. Evans and N. Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford: 2000). For inventories, see Priestley, U. and P. J. Corfield, 'Rooms and room use in Norwich housing, 1580-1730', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982) 93-123; Spufford, M., 'The limitations of the probate inventory' in Chartres and Hey, *English Rural Society: essays in honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge: 1990) 149-74; Alcock, N. W. (ed), *People at Home. Living in a Warwickshire village, 1500-1800* (Chichester: 1993); Howard, M., 'Inventories, surveys and the history of great houses 1480-1640', *Architectural History* 41 (1998) 14-29; Drury, J. L., 'Inventories in the probate records of the diocese of Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th series*, 28 (2000); Arkell, T., 'Interpreting probate inventories' in Arkell, Evans and Goose, *When Death Do Us Part*, particularly pp.85-89; Buxton, *Furnishings and Domestic Culture*.

⁷⁹ Beaudry, M. C., 'Words for things: linguistic analysis of probate inventories' in Beaudry, *Documentary archaeology*; Buxton, *Building Domestic Life*.

Figure 2.5. Scope of probate documents used in the study.



contained about 20% of Northumberland's households.⁸⁰ Four military men who died in Berwick had property in the south of England, their wills being registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Others, with a major property elsewhere in the north, would have been registered in the Prerogative Court of York but since the Borthwick archives collection does not allow searching by secondary properties it was considered too time-consuming to find them.⁸¹ As with other documents, the majority (57% of wills and as many as 69% of inventories containing useful information) are from Berwick and its suburb of Tweedmouth although only about 30% of households in the study area lived there. Thus the evidence for rural houses is particularly unrepresentative, although still useful in providing examples of building practice.⁸²

Berwick's civic records

Even though Berwick's civic records do not survive in full, enough has been preserved to give an insight into the changing physical and social topography of the town during the second half of the sixteenth century. They record the dealings of the town's unequal but mutually reliant power bases, the 'Mayor and his brethren' and the Common Council (see Chapters 4 and 5 for the structure of Berwick's government). Building-related presentments include problems such as waste disposal, paving, external stairs and property transactions. The Common Council were responsible for recording land grants, and the majority of their 'Book of Enrolments' is a record of their sporadic attempts to document changing tenancies and the formation of new burgage plots during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, providing an insight into the changing pattern of tenancy in the town.⁸³ Soon after the Union of the Crowns in 1603 the Council's role was taken over by the Guild and at some point a copy of the important 'General Survey' of 1562 (below) was bound with the land enrolments.

⁸⁰ Percentages for Northumberland are from www.familyrecords.dur.ac.uk/nei/data, accessed 19 November 2013. They record 21% of Northumberland's households within the study area.

⁸¹ TNA PROB 11/53/8, PROB 11/49/235, PROB 11/29/316, PROB 11/77/20 <http://www.york.ac.uk/library/borthwick/research-support/probate-courts/> accessed 26 November 2013.

⁸² www.familyrecords.dur.ac.uk/nei/data accessed 19 November 2013.

⁸³ BRO BRO B6/1.

Parish Records

From 1597 parish records in England had to be recorded in a book and a transcript sent to the Bishop every month, although 'no 16th century transcripts survive for Durham diocese' since 'the majority of the earlier transcripts were lost at an unknown date'.⁸⁴ Berwick's original register survives, recording marriages from 1572 and christenings and burials from 1574.⁸⁵ With very few exceptions the book records only the names of the individuals concerned but in pointing to social and familial relationships it provides a fuller understanding of the builders (Chapter 5), for example allowing the subjects of the marriage-stone (Figure 6.5) to be identified.

Surveys

The Crown regularly surveyed Border defences, often following the succession of a new monarch or when military resources were needed abroad; like the State Papers, surveys chart political and military relationships with Scotland and elsewhere. The first surviving list was created early in 1415 before Henry V crossed the channel to fight at Agincourt and another was produced after Henry VIII's succession in 1509.⁸⁶ Both were drawn up for the Crown by the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, and provide little information beyond the name and status of the buildings although they are useful in confirming the presence of a medieval building on a site. The Earl's involvement in the rebellion of 1536 resulted in their fall from grace and after this the Crown managed Northumberland more directly, and later surveys were carried out by Crown-appointed commissioners who could be trusted to provide fuller information, often defining the condition, ownership and occupier of a building.⁸⁷ The first under the new regime was drawn up by the lawyer Sir Robert Bowes and the soldier Sir Ralph Ellerker in November 1541, after James V's marriage with Mary of Guise strengthened Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Durham University Library Special Collections Catalogue: the Diocese of Durham*, <http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ead/ddr/ddrbioghist.xml> accessed February 2014. The earliest surviving rural register is Norham, 1653; NRO, EP/4/1a.

⁸⁵ NRO NRO EP 38/1.

⁸⁶ BL Harleian MS 309 ff. 202-203; Bates, C. J., *The Border Holds of Northumberland* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 1891) pp.13, 22-24.

⁸⁷ James, M., *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: 1986); Ellis, S., 'Frontiers and power in the early Tudor state', *History Today* 45, 4 (1995) 35.

⁸⁸ BL Harleian 292 f.97. Bowes and Ellerker 'possessed a rare combination of local experience and

It described 'the present state' of houses along the Border and although like all these surveys its scope was specific and limited both in geography and subject matter, in this case defensible buildings west of a line between Haggerston and Chillingham, it provides much useful information. In 1551 Bowes, by now vice-president of the Council of the North and 'the acknowledged expert of his generation' on Border affairs, produced *A book of the state of the frontiers and marches between England and Scotland*, a topographical and legal introduction to the area for the Marquis of Dorset, who had been made Warden-General of the Marches in February of that year.⁸⁹ (The manuscript does not show signs of much use; Dorset, like many of the southern magnates posted north to be a "safe pair of hands", evidently could not cope with life so far from London and resigned soon after being created Duke of Suffolk in October of the same year.) The book concentrates on a much narrower strip of the 'frontiers and marches' within two miles or so of the Border but includes the coastal fortresses of Holy Island and Bamburgh, reflecting heightened tensions over the growing French presence in Scotland following the Anglo-Scottish war of 1541-50 and the infant Queen Mary of Scots' marriage to the Dauphin in 1548. Although with less information about individual houses, it includes suggestions as to where and in what form new houses could be built as well as imaginative proposals such as doubling the size of Wark township and making it economically self-supporting, providing insights into contemporary expectations and understanding of the possibilities for building within the East March (Chapters 3, 4).

Surveys were also essential aids to land management. In 1559 an Act of Exchange allowed the Crown to exchange monastic lands with bishoprics when sees fell vacant; Bishop Tunstall of Durham was one of those deprived of his see in that year and Norham and Islandshire (part of the Palatinate) was alienated to the Crown (although in the mid-1560s it reverted to the Bishop on payment of an annual

relative impartiality' and carried out several such reports during the later sixteenth century; Newman, C. M., 'Bowes, Sir Robert (1493?-1555)', *DNB* (2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3058>, accessed 18 Feb 2014; MacMahon, L., 'Ellerker, Sir Ralph', *ibid.* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8644>, accessed 18 Feb 2014. Mackie, J. D. *A History of Scotland* (London: 1978) p.133.

⁸⁹ BL Cotton Titus F/XIII f.136-189; Newman, 'Bowes'.

rental).⁹⁰ The Act provided for a survey of the affected estates and in 1561 Anthony Roone, Crown Auditor and Thomas Bates, Surveyor for the North, produced the *Survey Book of Norhamshire and Islandshire*, describing townships and listing owners and tenants in the two parishes.⁹¹ The original document has been lost but in the following century William Orde of Orde copied it into his commonplace book, implying that the information was still relevant for his local and regional duties as magistrate.⁹² The original survey was accompanied by plans, mentioning a 'mansion house' on Holy Island 'built in four square in two courts, as appeareth by the platt thereof' but unfortunately Orde did not copy the platt.⁹³ From the viewpoint of the building culture the *Survey Book's* particular value is the description of the plots and tenants of 'Tweedmouth New Row' (Chapter 7).⁹⁴

By this time work to Berwick's new fortifications was well under way, with major effects on the town's topography (Chapter 3). In 1562 the Crown commissioned the 'General Survey' as a starting-point for regularizing what had become a somewhat anarchic pattern of landholding in 'Her Majesty's town' (Chapter 3).⁹⁵ (Documents connected with its production provide insight into various problems with property regulation in the town and appear in Appendix 6). It is a key document for understanding the physical and social topography of sixteenth-century Berwick, providing data on physical and social aspects as well as illuminating elements of its earlier history such as land ownership and street development. The *Extensive Urban Survey* of Berwick notes its potential as a source for understanding 'the ancient arrangement of burgage plots', and it forms the basis of the plans in Chapter 4.⁹⁶ The town's copy of the survey was used to decide boundary disputes during the sixteenth century and was still considered useful in the 1640s when William Orde copied out the portion dealing with rights to salmon-fishing, one of Berwick's most

⁹⁰ Heal, F., 'The Bishops and the Act of Exchange of 1559', *The Historical Journal* 17, 2 (1974) 227-246.

⁹¹ Raine, *North Durham* p.26. Norhamshire and Islandshire were subsequently leased to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Warden of the East March and Governor of Berwick; *ibid.* p.30.

⁹² Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 23 ff. 4-.

⁹³ Raine, *North Durham* p.26.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.15-27. Raine claimed that he printed the survey 'as a whole' although he merely summarised the tenants of Spital, named individually by Orde, as 'thirty-nine cottagers'; the fishing hamlet's poor reputation only improved in the later nineteenth century when it became popular with holiday-makers (*ibid.* p.25).

⁹⁵ BRO BRO/B6/1.

⁹⁶ Marlow, *Extensive Urban Survey* p.47.

important sources of income.⁹⁷ It was bound into Berwick's *Book of Inrollments* in the early 19th century. During the 1990s it was transcribed and although the transcript is as yet uncorrected and contains a few errors the paragraph numbering makes it possible to refer easily to individual burgage plots and has been followed in this study.⁹⁸ It is complemented by a rental dated 1577 which, although much less detailed, allows assessment of tenurial change in each street over the intervening fifteen years (Chapter 4 and Appendix 1).⁹⁹

An illustrated terrier of the lands of Sir Thomas Grey of Chillingham is assumed to have been produced c.1570 when he came of age and left the London household of William Cecil (Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's chief advisor and an important architectural patron) to take up his extensive inheritance in Northumberland (Doddington, Chapter 8).¹⁰⁰ The volume contains a narrative account of each township's bounds as they would have been experienced at the Rogation-tide perambulations and triangulated and scaled plans of each township's fields which seem to owe something to the guidance in contemporary surveyors' manuals.¹⁰¹ Its lists of landholders' tenants and cottagers provide information about the size and layout of the townships, and its illustrations of Grey's castles may be one of the reasons it is the sole survivor of the sixteenth-century Chillingham papers.

The 'years of uncertainty' (1581-4) following the Scottish regent Morton's execution prompted the Crown to produce 'an Act for fortifying the Borders towards Scotland' which resulted in the commissioning of another survey and in a *Certificate* of 1584 the Commissioners listed 'all the decayed castles and fortresses by them thought meet to be repaired' as well as proposing 'certain new fortresses there to be

⁹⁷ DUSC MS Hunter 23 ff. 261-3.

⁹⁸ Linda Bankier pers. comm.. February 2014.

⁹⁹ TNA SC/12/32/14.

¹⁰⁰ B.D., 'Grey, Sir Thomas II (1549-90), of Chillingham, Northumb.' in Hasler (ed), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603 [online edition accessed 21 January 2015]* (Woodbridge: 1981); NCA NRO 4118/01/173/81. The only information about the book's origin is a pencil note in the flyleaf stating 'This Survey & Extent was taken in the lifetime of Sir Thomas Grey - who was in his minority in 1568'.

¹⁰¹ Wood, A., *The Memory of the People: custom and popular senses of the past in early modern England* (Cambridge; New York: 2013). The Archaeological Practice Ltd, *Akeld, Northumberland: an archaeological and historical study of a border township* (Northumberland National Park Authority: 2004) p.32.

devised and made' (for 'decay', see Chapter 3).¹⁰² They ignored buildings which were considered to be fulfilling their function but with this proviso the *Certificate* gives a useful overview of 'decayed' buildings and their owners 'within twenty miles of the Border', thus including most of the study area. An *Abstract of Presentment of Decays* was also drawn up, with information on aspects such as land-holding and enclosures as well as houses.¹⁰³ The lists of tenants in this can be compared with those in Grey's survey book to provide information about changes in the intervening years (Chapter 4 and Appendix 2). The Commissioners' proposals were accompanied by a sketch plan by Christopher Dacre of Lanercost (Figure 2.3), together with a long document written by him 'for the better understanding of the plat or cart'; the pairing of documents emphasises the overlap between verbal and visual information.¹⁰⁴

Maps and plans

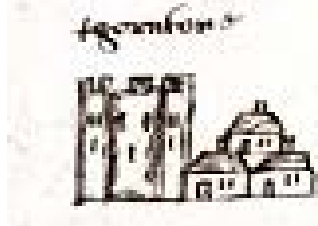
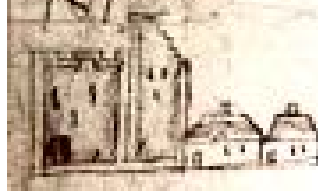


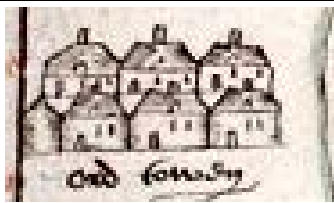

Bowes and Ellerker's reference to the various visual descriptions of Berwick available 'in picture and plate' is a reminder of the role of state, and particularly military, influence in the development of cartography and surveying; although none of the images they referred to in 1541 have survived, the remainder of the century has left a rich and informative collection of visual information covering both town and country, much of it produced for the Crown and documenting the growth in surveyors' and cartographers' skills.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Tough, *Last Years* pp.232-236. Bates, *Border Holds* pp.66-67 quotes from the Act and examines its relationship with the 1584 report. TNA SP 15/28/2 ff.31-.

¹⁰³ Bain, *CBP 1* pp. 14-33.

¹⁰⁴ TNA MPF 1/284.

¹⁰⁵ Skelton, R. A., 'The Military surveyor's contribution to British cartography in the 16th century', *Imago Mundi* 24, (1970) 77-83; Buisseret, D. (ed), *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: the Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: 1992); Barber, P., 'Mapmaking in England, ca. 1470-ca. 1650' in Woodward (ed) *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: 2007). For the growth in skills, Evans, I. M. and H. Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton, Elizabethan Map-maker* (Wakefield 1979); Tyacke, S., *English Map Making 1500-1650: Historical Essays* (London: 1983); Smith, C. D., 'Cartographic signs on European maps and their explanation before 1700', *Imago Mundi* 37 (1985) 9-29; Woodward, D. (ed), *The History of Cartography v. 3, 1 & 2: Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: 1987); Harvey, P. D. A., *Maps in Tudor England* (London: 1993); Delano-Smith, C., 'Signs on printed topographical maps, ca. 1470-ca. 1640' in Woodward *Cartography*. For meanings, see Harley, J. B. 'Meaning and ambiguity in Tudor cartography' in Tyacke (ed) *English map making*; Harley, J. B. 'Maps, knowledge, and power' in Cosgrove and Daniels (ed) *The iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments* (Cambridge: 1988); Gordon, A. and B. Klein (eds), *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: 2001); Smith, D. K., *The*

Figure 2.6. Rowland Johnson's images of houses. Text from BL Harleian 292 f.97 Images reproduced by kind permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House, CPM I/22 & I/22A.	
Bowes & Ellerker, 1541	Rowland Johnson, 1560s
THORNTON 'At Thornebie there is a little tower in reasonable good reparations' (Bates 1891, 38)	
SHORESWOOD 'At Shoreswood... stands a piece of a tower that was rased and cast down by the King of Scots in a time of war sixty years and more past.' (Bates 1891, 37)	
TWEEDMOUTH 'At Twedemouthe... there is two little towers in reasonable good reparations the one belongs to the hospital of Kepeyere within the bishopric of Durham & the other is of the inheritance of' (Bates 1891, 37)	
LONGRIDGE Not mentioned, i.e. no 'defensible' house, (although Orde's new two-storey house is prominent by the 1560s)	
ORD Not mentioned, i.e. no defensible house	
HORNCLIFFE Not mentioned, i.e. no defensible house	

Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: re-writing the world in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell (Aldershot: 2008); Herva, V.-P., 'Maps and magic in renaissance Europe', *Journal of Material Culture* 15, 3 (2010) 323-343.

The majority of surviving plans used in this study were drawn up by Rowland Johnson, the Crown's master mason in Berwick from 1558 and surveyor from 1559 to his death in 1583.¹⁰⁶ Plans of Berwick, drawn up to accompany letters to London describing the progress of the fortifications, show the development of streets as well as details like the windmills and lime kilns (Figure 4.8).¹⁰⁷ Surveys of Ford, Wark and Norham castles provide invaluable evidence of their mid-century form and condition.¹⁰⁸ A plan of the area several miles around Berwick, prepared in 1566 as accompaniment to a letter describing a typical Border fray, is the earliest surviving image of the local countryside and provides details of individual larger houses (Figure 2.6).¹⁰⁹ Johnson's training as a mason apparently gave him an understanding of building and eye for detail which made him useful not only in recording Berwick's new walls but in gathering intelligence; he mapped the siege of Leith in 1560 and advised on the slighting of Scottish country houses, making him *persona non grata* north of the Border.¹¹⁰ His plans were often metrically accurate and individual details can be tested by comparison with independent sources. This degree of accuracy in the *type* of buildings he portrayed is echoed in his account of their *appearance*. Taking into account his characteristic mix of signs, symbols and specific details, his plans form a very informative source of evidence for the local building culture.¹¹¹

A decade or so later an anonymous artist or artists produced a colourful birds-eye view entitled *The True Description of Her Majesty's Town of Berwick* (Figure 2.7).¹¹² Its patron is not known but the inclusion of men leaving to cut grass in the town meadows and fishing for salmon in the Tweed (activities under the control of

¹⁰⁶ These plans have only recently become available at *The Cecil Papers* <http://cecilpapers.chadwyck.co.uk.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/home.do> accessed 10 December 2015 and are not referred to in the *Extensive Urban Survey* of Berwick. Colvin, H. M., *The History of the King's Works. Vol. 4, 1485-1660 (Part II)* (London: 1982) gives 1560 as the commencement of Johnson's surveyorship, but he is entitled 'surveyor' in December 1559 in Stevenson, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589. Vol. 2: 1559-1560* (London: 1864) p.159.

¹⁰⁷ HHA Maps 1.22; HHA Maps 2.29.

¹⁰⁸ HHA Maps 2.25; HHA Maps 2.24; HHA Maps 2.26.

¹⁰⁹ HHA CPM I.22 A.

¹¹⁰ Stevenson, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth, 1560-1561, Vol. 3* (London: 1865) p.46; Crosby, A. J., *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589. Vol. 10: 1572-1574* (London: 1876) p.269.

¹¹¹ Delano-Smith, 'Signs' pp. 528-9.

¹¹² BL Cotton Augustus 2 MS.18 D.III f.72.

Figure 2.7. 'The true description of her Maiestes town of Barwick' c.1570.

© British Library Board, Cotton Augustus I.ii f.14. Ink and tempera on parchment: 745x554 mm.



More than one artist may have been involved in creating the plan, since the town walls are painted more skilfully than the remainder of the plan. Streets are drawn to a larger scale than the walls, resulting in the omission of Love Lane and the north end of Marygate; the scale bar does not define any units of length. Windmill Hole, Ratten Row/Ravensdowne and streets in the Greens are omitted.

In the details below, the Tweedmouth salmon-fishers celebrate a source of the town's wealth. The fingerprint below the Windmill Bastion indicates the scale and shows the skill of this artist.



burgesses) hint that it may have hung in the Guildhall of the Tolbooth. It has been dated to the 1570s, the exact date depending on the interpretation of the length of sea-wall or pier to the south-east of the town.¹¹³ The ‘truth’ of the *True Description* is conceptual rather than physical; the north ends of Wallis Green, Marygate and Briggate are omitted, and some streets known to exist at the time do not appear at all (possible reasons are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). However the amount of work which has gone into depicting individual details implies that it is, at least to some extent, drawn from life.¹¹⁴ Parallel lines in back gardens echo features found in archaeological excavation.¹¹⁵ The site and orientation of the Maison Dieu is based on its actual position relative to the road and the wall. An analysis of the south side of Bridge Street shows correspondence with the tenements defined in the 1562 ‘General Survey’ (Figure 2.11). Thus within the limits of the colour palette (which for the houses includes only red, brown, ochre and blue/grey) and the extremely small scale, the plan can be expected to provide useful information about the houses it shows.

Speed’s plan of Berwick, published in 1611 as part of his map of Northumberland in the *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, includes details not shown by Johnson or the *True Description* such as the areas of late-sixteenth century development near the churchyard recorded in land grants.¹¹⁶ Its emphasis on movement round the town provides evidence for alleys and lanes which the others omit.¹¹⁷

2.4 Structures

Ruined strong house. 1584 for Lord Grey. Very large roughly-dressed stone with dressed stone quoins and window surrounds. T-shaped. 3-storey main block with projecting 3-storey gabled stair tower. Main

¹¹³ The British Library Online Gallery suggests ‘around 1570’ (<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/unvbrit/b/001cotaugi00002u00014000.html>, accessed December 2013) and Adam Menuge ‘around 1580’ (Menuge, *Three Places* p.29.) on the basis that the new pier was complete by then (Adam Menuge, pers. comm. 2011).

¹¹⁴ Menuge, *Three places* p. 29. I am grateful to Professor Paul Harvey for discussing the map with me.

¹¹⁵ Hindmarch, E., ‘Excavations at 119-125 Marygate, Berwick-upon-Tweed’, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 40 (2011) 199-222.

¹¹⁶ Cambridge University Library, Atlas.2.61.1 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-ATLAS-00002-00061-00001/47> accessed October 2015.

¹¹⁷ Skelton, R. A, ‘Tudor town plans in John Speed’s *Theatre*’, *Archaeological Journl*, 108, 1 (1951). Archaeological reports still occasionally reproduce a town plan of Berwick dated 1564, referred to by Ellison as ‘an insert into Speed’s map of Northumberland’. However, as pointed out in 2009 by the authors of the *Extensive Urban Survey* it was drawn for Sheldon’s 1849 *History of Berwick*.

block c.60 ft x 25 ft. West wall stands to full height, north wall to c.20 ft.
Doorway formerly to right of stair tower...¹¹⁸

The Historic Environment Record (HER) for 'Doddington Bastle' purports to provide an objective account of a ruined building that provides evidence for this study (Chapter 8).¹¹⁹ However the phrases '1584 for Lord Grey' and 'doorway formerly to [the] right of [the] stair tower', neither of which are attested by the ruins themselves, show that the compiler needed to include information from other sources. S/he also tapped into the historical narrative of 'strong house' (Chapter 3). As with plans and their associated word-based explanations, even the information provided by a ruin or standing building cannot be divorced from documentary mediation.

Below ground level

As well as the ruins and the associated documents, a third potential source of evidence for Doddington would be below-ground archaeology. Here the reliance on information mediated by others would be even greater, since although excavations expose new potential primary sources for historians the 'document' must be transcribed and interpreted by those who find it but is then 'destroyed by the very process which enables us to read it.'¹²⁰ Even the transcription can only be read through what can be, for non-archaeologists, the sometimes obscure and inaccessible lens of published or unpublished archaeological reports.¹²¹

As with Doddington there is seldom comparative above- and below-ground evidence for the same building or site, or even for analogous ones. In his study of Norwich, Chris King deliberately drew on both sources, recognising that the separation of standing buildings from below-ground archaeology presents a significant challenge to be overcome if a rounded view [of the building type] is to be

¹¹⁸ <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1303459> accessed February 2014.

¹¹⁹ Matthew Johnson has commented cogently on this type of description; Johnson, M., 'Ordering Houses, Creating Narratives' in Parker Pearson and Richards (eds), *Architecture & Order: Approaches to Social Space* (London: 1997).

¹²⁰ Barker, P., *Techniques of Archaeological Excavation* (London: 1982) p.12.

¹²¹ Roth, B. J., 'An academic perspective on grey literature', *Archaeologies* 6, 2 (2010); Seymour, D. J. 'Sanctioned inequity and accessibility issues in the grey literature in the United States', *ibid.* 233-269 and other articles in the same volume. Even if the evidence is in fact 'displaced' rather than 'destroyed', the effect is the same in practice; Lucas, G., 'Destruction and the rhetoric of excavation', *Norwegian Archaeology Review* 34, 1 (2001).

achieved'. However even in that city, where a considerable corpus of surviving buildings is complemented by extensive recording of below-ground remains, King acknowledged that his analysis 'focus[ed] on standing buildings over excavated evidence'.¹²² Combining the two sources proved problematic because

[t]he different sources of evidence have all been affected by various factors of survival, selection and retrieval, making comparison between them difficult. In many cases they tell us about different groups of urban society, or different areas of the city. In particular, whilst the standing buildings largely represent the houses of the prosperous middling sort, the excavations have revealed the dwellings of a broader spectrum of urban society.¹²³

The situation is even more challenging for the East March, where the only standing houses are from rural high-status contexts but the limited evidence from excavations is almost entirely urban and from a wider social spectrum. As in King's research the lack of accessible below-ground evidence inevitably means that this study has a strong bias towards standing buildings and ruins.

Even in Berwick very few archaeological reports mention the sixteenth century specifically. This is partly due to its position between the interests of medievalists and post-medievalists (Chapter 1) and consequent lack of understanding of what might remain, but also to a genuine lack of dateable evidence.¹²⁴ An excavation on the Greens just outside Berwick's sixteenth-century wall looking specifically for 'early post-medieval' settlement found only some 'cut features', although this is unsurprising given its location in a lightly built-up area affected by demolition connected with the fortifications.¹²⁵ Since rubble walls or wall bases were typical of houses from the medieval period until at least the nineteenth century, and it is likely that both clay and lime mortars were in use at the same time (Chapter 6), excavated walls are often difficult to date without related pottery or other dateable finds, themselves scarce; even at the front of a plot near the top of Marygate (363-

¹²² King, C., 'The interpretation of urban buildings: power, memory and appropriation in Norwich merchants' houses, c. 1400–1660', *World Archaeology* 41, 3 (2009) 471–488 pp.474–5.

¹²³ King, C., 'House and Society in an English Provincial City: the Archaeology of Urban Households in Norwich, 1370–1700' (Reading: 2006: PhD) p. 199.

¹²⁴ Gaimster, *Transition*; Ellison, M., 'An archaeological survey of Berwick-upon-Tweed' in Clack and Gosling (eds) *Archaeology in the North* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1976) 147–64; Petts, *Visions*; Marlow, *Extensive Urban Survey* pp.45–49.

¹²⁵ Glover, G. and R. Taylor-Wilson, 'An Archaeological Evaluation at Brucegate, Berwick-upon-Tweed' Northumberland (1999).

6), probably in continuous use since at least the thirteenth century, 'assemblages of specifically fifteenth- to sixteenth-century date were rare, and post-medieval artefacts of all types were also rare.'¹²⁶ Occasionally an item is singled out. The imprint of a sixteenth-century timber floor is recorded in Walkergate.¹²⁷ A padstone (the base for a cruck or possibly a vertical post) was found on the east side of Hide Hill, again assigned to the sixteenth century.¹²⁸ The rear of a large tenement on Castlegate (later the Albion Tavern) produced

quantities of European pottery... typical of a later medieval to early post-medieval port [and comparable to] assemblages from other east-coast ports such as Newcastle and Hull as well as with the southern ports of London and Southampton

providing a glimpse into the otherwise unrecorded culture of what may have been an inn or ale-house.¹²⁹

There is even less data from rural sites. No excavation has been carried out at high-status houses, although some is planned at Barmoor in the near future.¹³⁰ In Cornhill, the masonry base courses of a medieval house assumed to have had clay or timber-framed walls and still inhabited during the sixteenth century were uncovered.¹³¹ The most useful data is from the Middle March, where West Whelpington was extensively excavated in the 1960s and 70s and two houses at Alnhamshiels in the 1980s, although both townships were in upland settings and thus not directly comparable to those in the East March.¹³²

¹²⁶ Heawood, R. G. L. and C. L. E. Howard-Davis, 'Excavation of medieval remains at Marygate, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series 33 (2002) p.157.

¹²⁷ Williams, A., 'Land at Tweeddale Press Buildings, Northumberland. Archaeological and Standing Building Assessment' (2004). Unfortunately no reasoning is provided for the date.

¹²⁸ Young, G., 'Land to the Rear of the King's Arms, Hide Hill, Berwick upon Tweed, Report of Archaeological Trial Trench Evaluation: BRP 08/03' (2008).

¹²⁹ Archaeological Services University of Durham, '26-30 Tweed Street, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland: an archaeological evaluation' (2002); Ordnance Survey, 1859 [1852], *Town Plan of Berwick-upon-Tweed* 1:528.

¹³⁰ Ann Lamb, pers. comm. October 2014.

¹³¹ Hatherley, C., 'Main Street, Cornhill-on-Tweed, Northumberland: An Interim Report and Post-Excavation Assessment of an Archaeological Excavation' (2006).

¹³² Jarrett, M. G. and S. Wrathmell, 'Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century farmsteads: West Whelpington, Northumberland', *The Agricultural History Review* 25, 2 (1977); Evans, D. H. and M. G. Jarrett, 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: third report, part one', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th series 15 (1987); Evans, D. H., M. G. Jarrett and S. Wrathmell, 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: third report, part two' *ibid.* 16 (1988); Dixon, P., 'Survey and excavations at Alnhamshelles deserted medieval village, on the Rowhope Burn,

More common are records such as this, of an unexcavated upland site near Kirknewton:

The remains of a stone building and a series of earthworks... [which] seem to form a range of buildings ... thought to be medieval longhouses. At each end of the range are some quite sharply defined wall footings that could be subdivisions of the main longhouse or smaller adjoining annexes and outbuildings... The date of the [later] cottage is difficult to determine but is most likely to be post-medieval.¹³³

These earthworks and ruins link below-ground evidence with that above ground.

Above ground level

Before examining the surviving structures, some discussion of terminology is necessary. Although there is a continuum of building types across the Border, vocabulary differs with Scottish terms remaining closer to earlier practice. (Sixteenth-century terms are discussed in Chapter 3). Thus the Royal Commission for the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) defines 'small, barn-like, stone buildings built with clay mortar and usually unvaulted' as 'peles'. '[L]arger houses built with lime mortar and usually with vaulted ground floors', stone chimneys and, often, at least two upper rooms are 'bastles'. A 'tower' is either a stand-alone house or a block attached to a hall.¹³⁴ Traditional usage in England named the smaller houses 'bastles' or 'peles', the larger ones 'bastles' or 'towers' and the tower-blocks 'towers' or 'peel towers'. In 1977 Dixon suggested a cross-Border typology, with eleven categories based on the Scottish understanding of 'pele', 'bastle' and 'tower', but he acknowledged its complexity and it was not commonly adopted.¹³⁵ This is in part because in 1970 the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) had limited 'bastle' to the small two-storey upland farmhouses built in the late- sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.¹³⁶ This usage quickly became the norm in England and a grievance in

Alnham Moor, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th Ser 43 (2014).

¹³³ 'West Hill, Kirknewton' <http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archsearch/record.jsf?titleId=967215>.

¹³⁴ McKean, C., 'A taxonomy of towers; a reconnaissance of the difficulties in Scotland' in Oram (ed) *Tower Studies, 1 & 2: 'A House That Thieves Might Knock At'* (Donington: 2015); Cruft, K., J. Dunbar and R. Fawcett, *The Buildings of Scotland: Borders* (New Haven, London: 2006) p.93.

¹³⁵ Dixon, P. W., 'Fortified houses on the Anglo-Scottish border: a study of the domestic architecture of the upland area in its social and economic context, 1485-1625' (Oxford: 1977: DPhil) pp.167, 199-202.

¹³⁶ Ramm, H. G., R. W. McDowall and E. Mercer (eds), *Shielings and Bastles* (London: 1970).

Scotland (a footnote in *The Buildings of Scotland: Borders* notes grumpily that 'classification differs from that used in *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*').¹³⁷ A new word was needed in England to describe the larger buildings (such as Doddington) previously known as 'bastles'.

Another sixteenth-century term, 'stronghouse', was suggested by Peter Ryder in 1990 and adopted in Northumberland's HERs following his important but unpublished survey *Towers and Bastles in Northumberland* in 1994.¹³⁸ The Northumberland HER makes its meaning clear; stronghouses are

defensive buildings built at the end of the 16th century. They have substantial thick walls, with living accommodation above a basement. Strong houses can stand three or four storeys high but are *different from a tower* in that they are usually elongated in plan. They are also *different from bastles*.¹³⁹

While potentially useful as a catch-all term for buildings 'different from' towers or bastles, it is a somewhat problematic one. Not only does it assume a traditional 'defensiveness' but structures within the group include diverse features and their sizes and circulation patterns imply different functions. A more nuanced understanding is now necessary.

Based on the analysis in Figures 2.8 and 2.9 it is argued in Chapter 3 that some of the 'stronghouses' (Akeld, Pressen and Heaton) were a late-medieval design, in use until the late-sixteenth century primarily as barracks to house a garrison with their horses while the others, all built during the last quarter of the sixteenth century with a stair tower, were domestic.¹⁴⁰ It is, in fact, this latter group which forms the basis for Ryder's definition of "stronghouse": 'a more elongate rectangle than most towers, three stories high and often with a small gabled stair wing either housing or flanking the entrance door', illustrated by a reconstruction of Whitton Shields

¹³⁷ Cruft, *Borders* p.93. A table of these classifications is found in Appendix 7.

¹³⁸ Ryder, P., 'Fortified medieval and sub-medieval buildings in the north-east of England' in Vyner (ed) *Medieval Rural Settlement in North-East England* (Durham: 1990); Ryder, P., 'Towers and Bastles in Northumberland, a survey in 1994/5. Part II: Berwick District' (1994-5), an unpublished study commissioned by the NCC to update their HER records.

¹³⁹ Durham and Northumberland County Councils *Keys to the Past: glossary* (2012) <http://www.keystothepast.info/Pages/pgGlossary.aspx?HER=2654267> accessed 15 May 2015 (italics not in original).

¹⁴⁰ Dixon remarks on the 'resemblance to a barrack block' of his Tower type 4; Dixon, *Fortified Houses* p.200.

Tower.¹⁴¹ It is probably now too late to suggest that only the structures built primarily for defence should be known as ‘stronghouses’ (although this would be closer to contemporary practice) but an alternative term would help distinguish between them as well as allowing all of the group to be better understood. In this study they are referred to by the phrase ‘houses of strength’, another contemporary term closely related to ‘stronghouse’ but which emphasizes their role of housing the ‘strength’ of a garrison.¹⁴²

Moving on to the surviving structures themselves, Appendix 8 supplies a list of HERs for the structures currently assumed to include sixteenth- or early-seventeenth fabric. The impression of an agreed canon of buildings is, however, misleading since the difficulty of dating built fabric below-ground is also true above-ground.¹⁴³ A few houses incorporate their own text; Doddington’s ‘1584 for Lord Grey’ is uniquely precise, being based on a reproduction of a lost image of a vanished inscription on the parapet. Barmoor once had a fireplace dated 1584.¹⁴⁴ A stone was found in Berwick reading ‘T[&]S 1589’, although its house had already disappeared (Fig 6.5).¹⁴⁵ At Coupland ‘1594’ is carved twice on a door reveal but as graffiti rather than an inscription. Close dating is something of a holy grail for students of vernacular buildings, and in spite of advances in scientific dating methods remains problematic.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Ryder, ‘Fortified Buildings’ p.64.

¹⁴² Their function links them with the official Historic England definition of a ‘pele tower’, a ‘strong, fortified dwelling, of between two and four storeys. *Occupied only in times of trouble*, built mainly in the border country of the North from the mid 14th to the 17th century’; Historic England *FISH Thesaurus of Monument Types* http://thesaurus.historicengland.org.uk/thesaurus.asp?thes_no=1&thes_name=FISH%20Thesaurus%20of%20Monument%20Types accessed 14 May 2015., my emphasis. In practice, however, even HE does not always use the term in this way; for example one their NHLE descriptions reads ‘Pele’ is an alternative term to ‘tower’, and ‘pele towers’ are members of the wider family of defensive buildings in the northern borderlands which also include tower houses and bastles’; Historic England *High Grains medieval pele tower* (2015) <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1015867> accessed 1 January 2016.

¹⁴³ <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/protection/process/national-heritage-list-for-england/> accessed December 2013.

¹⁴⁴ Northern Counties Archaeological Services, ‘Barmoor Castle and Estate, Lowick, Northumberland: Conservation Management Plan. Appendix A.1: Historical and Archaeological Appraisal’ (2011).

¹⁴⁵ The stone is on display in Berwick Museum. Its provenance is discussed in Chapter 5.

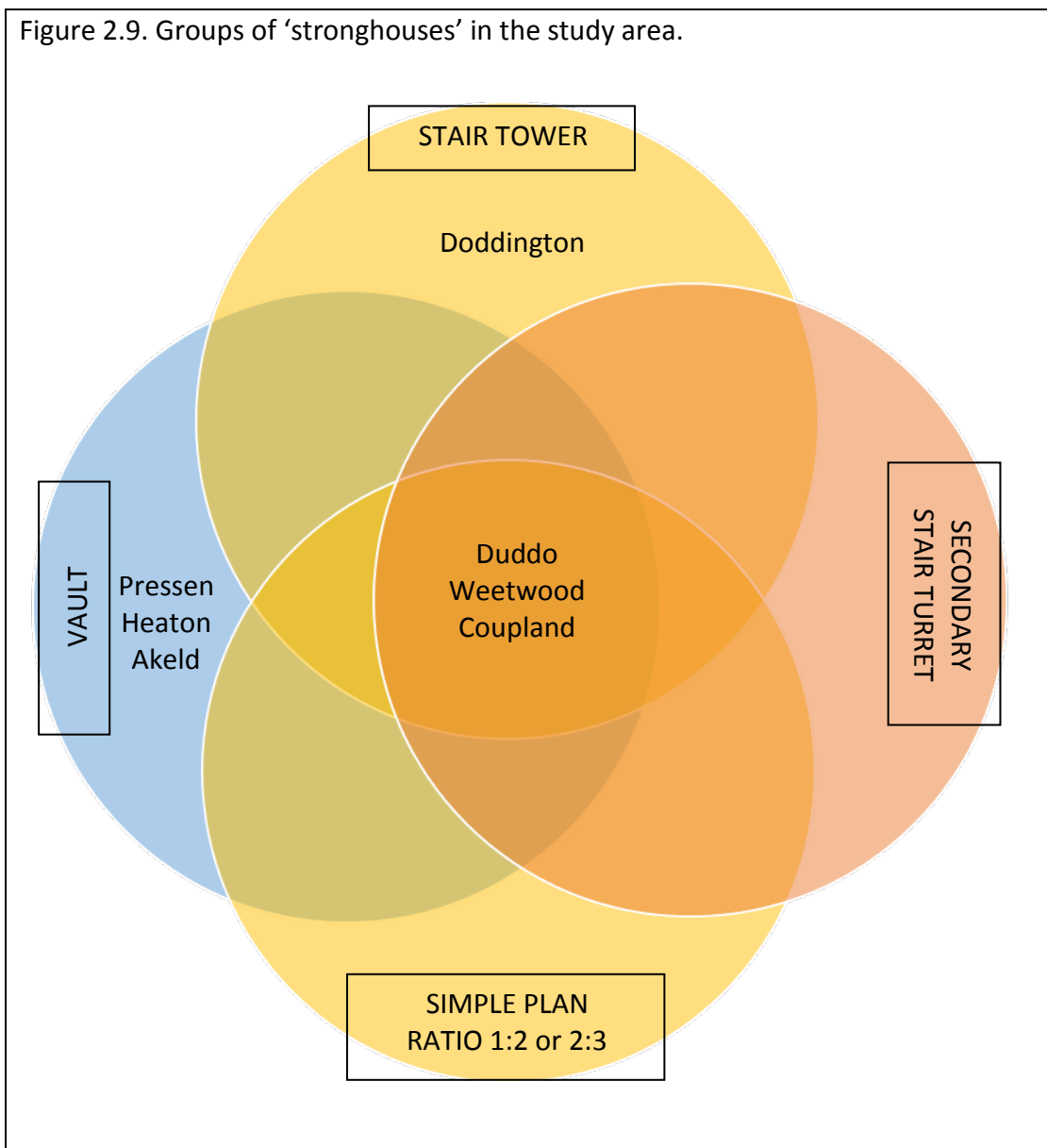
¹⁴⁶ Smith, J. T., ‘The dating of buildings: problems and fallacies’, *Vernacular Architecture* 3, 1 (1972) 16-20; Wood, J., ‘The archaeological study of buildings’ in Carver, Gaydarska and Montón-Subías (eds) *Field Archaeology from Around the World: ideas and approaches* (Cham, New York: 2014) 53-61.

Figure 2.8. Comparison of surviving 'houses'.
 Cornhill is omitted as it was not accessible, no survey was available and it has been much altered.

Sketch plans of ground floor, to same approx. scale	Name	Condition, use	Site	Approx. plan ratio	Ground floor	No. of full stories	Eaves	Stair	Sixteenth-century descriptions	Signifiers (from HER Reports)
	Weetwood	Extended and altered, inhabited	On or near earlier tower	1:2	? no Vault?	2?	Battlements	Tower, turret from first floor (2)	'little tower' (1541)	Hall' (traditional) 'Tower' (1828) 'Strong house' (1966)
	Duddo	Ruin, fragment	On or near earlier tower	1:1.5	Vault	3	Battlements	Tower, turret from second floor	None	Tower' (traditional) 'Strong house' (1996)
	Coupland	Extended and altered, inhabited,	New	1:2	Vault	3	Battlements	Tower, turret from first floor	'[permission for] a seat house' (1570)	'Castle' (traditional) 'Tower-house' (1957) 'Tower' (1996)
	Doddington	Ruin, fragment	Site of earlier manor	1:2.7	No vault	3	Battlements	Tower	'gentleman's house' (1584)	'Bastle' (traditional) 'Strong house' (1996)
	Pressen	Altered, agricultural	No evidence	1:2.8	Vault	1	Eaves	No evidence (currently external)	None	'Bastle' (traditional) 'More a stronghouse than a bastle, as at Akeld' (1992)
	Akeld	Altered, agricultural	No evidence	1:3.4	Vault	1	?	No evidence (currently external)	'Tower' (1522) 'little fortlet or bastle house' (1541)	Bastle' (traditional) 'Bastle forerunner' (1992) 'Strong house' (1996) 'Very different from the other bastles in the county' (2003)
	Castle Heaton	Altered, agricultural	Within Heaton Castle	c. 1:5	Vault	1	?	No evidence (currently external)	'a vault that a hundred horse may stand in' (1570)	'A large vaulted stable' (1891) 'Vaulted defensible building' (1992)

The group includes eight ‘towers’ or ‘stronghouses’ assumed to have been built, or largely rebuilt, during the century (Figure 2.8). Only at Coupland, Pressen, Akeld and Heaton is the original form still visible. Duddo and Doddington survive as partial ruins, with nineteenth-century records providing additional evidence. Cornhill and Weetwood are enclosed within later work but the earlier structure is apparent in their plans. None of the buildings has contemporary documentation beyond brief mentions in surveys but Figure 2.9 shows that they can be divided into three distinct groups, of which one is the ‘houses of strength’ outlined above and discussed further in Chapter 3.

Figure 2.9. Groups of ‘stronghouses’ in the study area.



Altered medieval houses are also included. These include three major ‘castles’ or ‘towers’, the hall blocks of which were rebuilt or converted as a *corps de logis* or horizontally-planned central block; Ford and Chillingham are roofed and in use, and Twizel in ruins.¹⁴⁷ Each has been altered subsequently (including, at Chillingham and Twizel, a change in floor levels) and refaced at least once, but each retains a considerable amount of earlier masonry including stair towers at Ford and Chillingham. Chillingham has no early documentation but Ford was surveyed c.1560 by Johnson before the work was carried out, and sketched by Purdy and Buck in the early-eighteenth century; and Twizel was the subject of an inventory in 1595, repairs contract in 1699 and sketch plans in the 1770s (Chapter 8).¹⁴⁸ Barmoor ‘castle’ is a late-medieval tower re-ordered in the 1580s to include a large new kitchen and later smothered in castellated Georgian fancy-dress; a survey carried out in 1778 hints at its earlier form.¹⁴⁹ Weetwood has a similar, although undocumented, history. The ruined Hebburn (Chillingham), a large late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century tower, was also re-ordered in the late-sixteenth century but then abandoned, leaving the new work more obvious.¹⁵⁰ The much smaller Howtel (Kilham), now ruinous, had its basement vault cut back and a second floor (and possibly a first-floor doorway) added before finally becoming redundant in the seventeenth century.

Although these houses have all been categorised as “defensible”, no gunloops are recorded. Their only potentially defensible features are the universally small windows (which could merely result from the climate and the difficulties of obtaining glass and glaziers in the countryside, Chapter 6) and the battlemented parapet walks at Coupland, Doddington and Duddo, which were no doubt useful as look-outs but could equally be interpreted as ‘chivalric’ (Chapter 3).¹⁵¹ Pressen and Duddo have areas between the door head and relieving arch which have been interpreted as ‘quenching holes’ against firing of the door in a siege but these are

¹⁴⁷ ‘*Corps de logis*’, more commonly used in Scotland, describes a multi-storey block with principal rooms arranged horizontally.

¹⁴⁸ For Ford see Chapter 9, and for Twizel see Kent, *Twizel*.

¹⁴⁹ Ryder, ‘Towers’ pp.23-24; Northern Counties Archaeological Services, ‘Barmoor Castle’.

¹⁵⁰ Dixon, P. W., ‘Hillslap tower, masons, and regional traditions’, *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club* 40, 1 (1974) 128 – 141.

¹⁵¹ McKean argues cogently for this in contemporary Scotland; McKean, *Scottish Chateau* especially Chapter 3.

normally placed *above* a relieving arch and here could equally be interpreted as space for an inscription (at Duddo, as at Twizel) or ventilation for livestock (Pressen).

2.5 Using the sources

The approach taken here is to treat both structures and documents primarily as material culture. One implication of this is that not only their fabric or content but their creation, use and survival can provide useful information.¹⁵² Like buildings, documents have a life after their original creation; the pristine condition of the survey of the East and Middle Marches prepared for the Marquis of Dorset's short-lived tenure as Warden (above) contrasts with the Berwick Bailiffs' Court Books, where the landliners' oath (Chapter 6) is partially illegible from being rubbed by generations fingering the corner during the annual civic ceremony.¹⁵³ However, this attractive patina can be distracting and so in this study the text of contemporary documents is generally quoted with modern capitalization, spelling and, occasionally, punctuation; although this risks losing some information it helps to 'transcribe' the text into the here-and-now, giving it greater equivalence to the archaeological reports and three-dimensional built evidence which are equally devoid of contemporary context.¹⁵⁴

The two-dimensional evidence was the basis for two major analytical tools: a database, prepared with the aim of linking individuals over the whole area to their houses, and a digital map of Berwick which 'placed' the plots described in the 'General Survey' of 1562 in the town, allowing its information to be seen in context.

Database

The aim of the database widened as the project developed and more sources of information came to light. Originally set up merely as a method of linking builders with their houses, as more names were added it eventually provided information on users as well as builders of houses, making possible some of the maps of Berwick's

¹⁵² Johnson, M., 'Rethinking historical archaeology' in Funari, Hall and Siân (eds) *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge* (London: 1999) 23-36 pp.31-32.

¹⁵³ BL Cotton Titus F/XIII ff.136-189; BRO, B6/8 f.7.

¹⁵⁴ Hall, M., *Archaeology and the Modern World: colonial transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake* (London: 2000) p.16. quoted in Wilkie, L. A., 'Documentary archaeology' in Hicks and Beaudry (ed) *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* (Cambridge: 2006) 13-33 p.14.

social structure and revealing links between town and countryside. Many of the names found in the documents mentioned above were included (and others of less direct relevance to the house-building culture, such as the Berwick garrison muster roll of 1598 which gives the age and birthplace of each soldier in the town).¹⁵⁵ The flat, source-oriented database design facilitated this change of emphasis; a new column was added for each new source, and the columns arranged in date order to allow an immediate visual understanding of the time dimension.¹⁵⁶ Some names were linked with houses at source (such as those in the 1562 'General Survey', or 1577 rental, but nominal linkages provided by the wider selection of sources allowed others to be similarly linked, and use of the GIS map (below) as an intermediary provided other linkages via records of neighbours in property enrolments (for example in Windmill Hole, Chapter 7).

While populating the database from the lists produced as the inevitable outcome of bureaucracy, it became obvious that the original list order often had relevance in itself and re-configuring them in this way risked disguising, as well as revealing, information. In 1561 Berwick's Treasurer complained that individuals were being paid twice for the same work and he would be

forced to make a calendar of all, both in the garrison and the works, by letters of their surnames to try for the double pays, whereby he shall not in that way be deceived, unless they change their names.¹⁵⁷

This is a useful reminder about reliance on such lists. The 'calendar' would involve numbering each entry on the list and re-copying the whole alphabetically, involving much additional time and paper.¹⁵⁸ The original list presumably represented the order in which men lined up to be paid, making it possible that the clusters of two or three soldiers with similar ages or birthplace (particularly obvious in the garrison muster list of 1597/8) may represent friendship groups and possibly provide clues

¹⁵⁵ TNA SP 59/37 f.79; Wrigley, E. A., (ed) *Identifying People in the Past* (London: 1973) remains an accessible introduction to the problems and possibilities of linking names in disparate documents, in part because of the author's philosophical rather than mathematical approach.

¹⁵⁶ Merry, M., *C3: Conceptual models of database design* (n.d.) <http://port.sas.ac.uk/mod/book/view.php?id=75&chapterid=133> accessed 6 December 2012.

¹⁵⁷ Stevenson, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1561-1562, Volume 4* (London: 1866) p.50.

¹⁵⁸ Kuhn, S. M., 'Lloyd W. Daly, contributions to a history of alphabetization in antiquity and the middle ages', *Speculum* 47, 2 (1972) 300-303 p.302.

to billeting arrangements, for which there is otherwise very little evidence.¹⁵⁹ Names in manorial rentals, normally presented in street order, were found to match the order of rural muster lists, implying that some sort of register was kept at township level and brought along to the muster and hinting at the importance of ‘place’ in the township street (Chapter 4). Further research might uncover other unexpected relationships.

Mapping

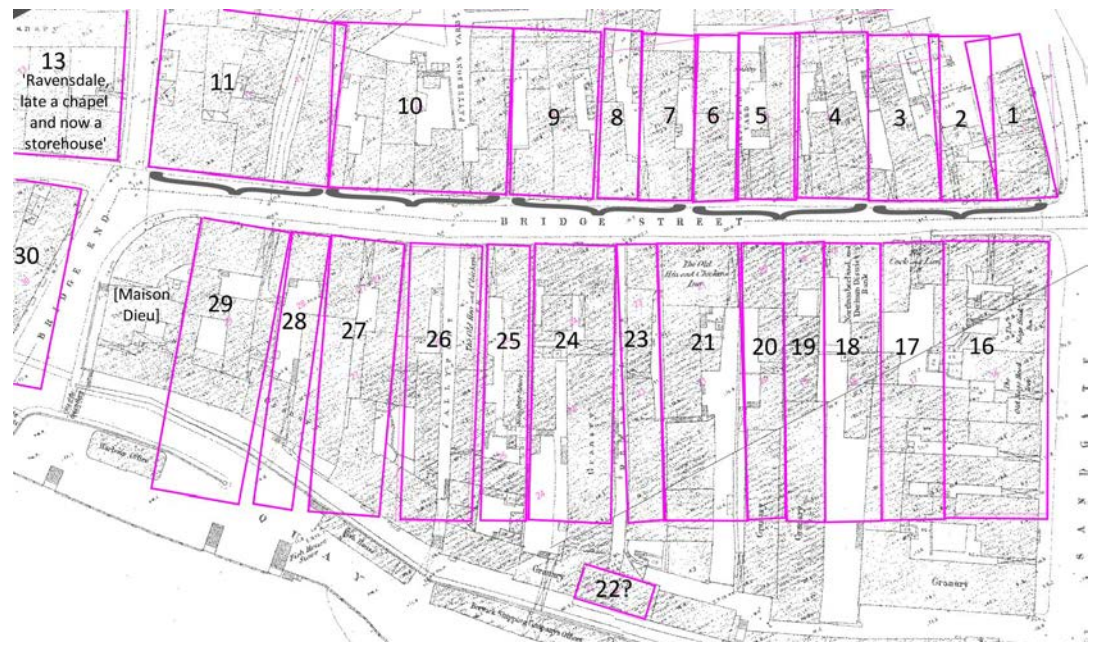
The *Extensive Urban Survey* of Berwick points out that

the ancient arrangement of burgage plots ... is of particular interest, but no comprehensive survey has been conducted. The Ordnance Survey maps of 1852/55 offer a very suitable base for such an enquiry and one

Figure 2.10. Detail taken from GIS mapping of the *General Survey*.

Rectangles were plotted onto the 1859 OS 1:528 Town Plan, using the dimensions given in the Survey. ‘Yards’ and ‘ells’ were both taken as 36” long, accurate enough since almost all dimensions are in whole yards.

In Bridge Street, early 33 x 30 yard plots can still be traced on the north side of the street (bracketed below). On the south side, the plots are all listed as 50 yards long although some extend beyond the medieval walls. These measurements must all predate the walls and the formation of Eastern Lane on the west side of plot 10.



¹⁵⁹ TNA SP 59/37 ff.79-102.

potentially valuable source of information is the ... Survey of 1562.¹⁶⁰

The challenge was met using ArcGIS mapping. Rectangles, sized from dimensions in the 'General Survey', were drawn over the 1:528 Ordnance Survey map of 1856, as far as possible retaining the order in which they were listed but experimenting to find the best 'fit' with the Victorian property boundaries.¹⁶¹ In a few cases the order was amended from information in later enrolments or other sources and some plots, particularly in areas of new housing or affected by demolition for the fortifications, could only be positioned very approximately. Using GIS meant that information such as value and ownership could be linked to these rectangles to produce the analytical maps in Chapter 3. As shown in Figure 2.10, it also provides information about the earlier development of the town.

Figure 2.11. Mapping the *True Description*.

Here, the GIS rectangles on the south side of Bridge Street (Figure 2.10) have been redrawn to align with the OS map. The *True Description* provides a birds-eye rather than orthogonal view, but when its fenced boundaries are aligned with the map they show a considerable degree of congruity. The worst 'fit' is at the east end, where the artist has characteristically shown the impressive building on plot 18 at a larger scale and left too little room for nos. 16-17. This interest in buildings does, however, support the idea that they too were drawn from life.



¹⁶⁰ Marlow, et al., *Extensive Urban Survey* p.47.

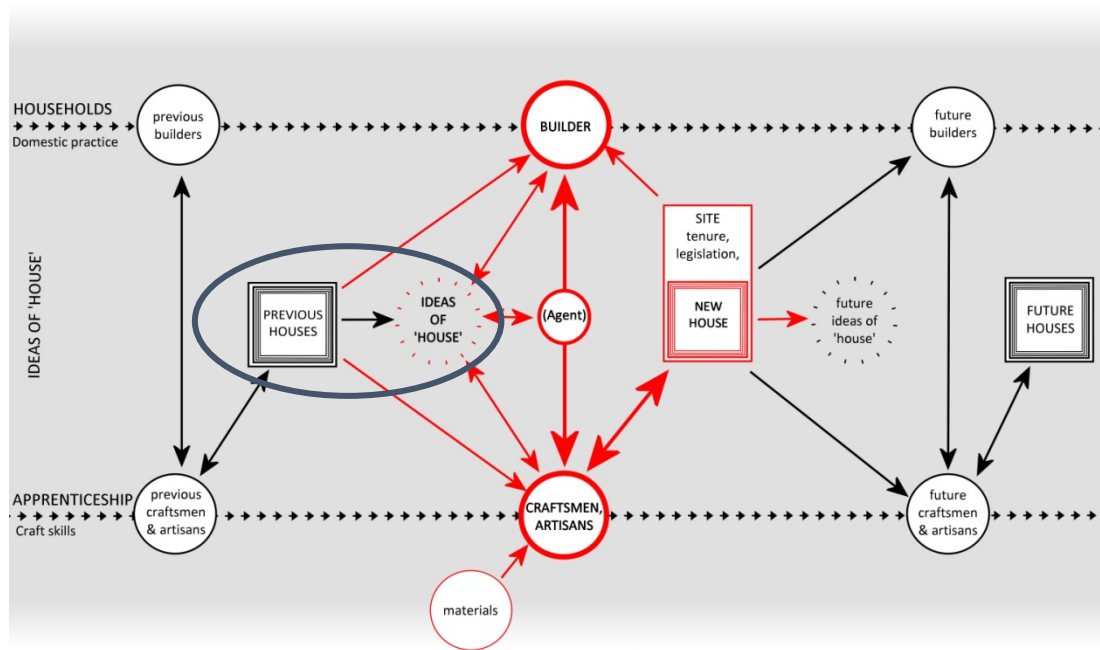
¹⁶¹ For changes in urban boundaries see Chapter 3.

2.6 Summary

The range of evidence outlined in this Chapter is in some ways particular to the spatiotemporal boundaries of the study. Crown surveys, the State Papers, Rowland Johnson's plans and the 'houses of strength' were created in response to its geographic and political position on the Border and make the area and time unique. However the majority of evidence is typical of that found elsewhere and the presence of Guild and Corporation minutes, rentals, estates surveys, probate documents, records of pre-construction archaeology and the remains of built fabric corresponds to early-modern England as a whole. Taken together the evidence builds up a historical and geographic understanding of the area, its uniqueness and familiarity, hinting at the variables which might be expected in its building culture.

Understanding the evidence primarily as material culture emphasises issues of production and survival and these surface throughout the thesis, often in the context of urban/rural comparisons. Production of evidence is not merely a historical phenomenon; much of the archaeological evidence comes from Berwick, where pre-construction research is more often required than in rural areas. Historically, although the majority of the population lived in the countryside, most documents were produced in Berwick where factors such as tenure, education, income and status made them both necessary and attainable (Chapters 5, 6). Other factors influence survival; individual burgage tenure means that evidence for house sites, and the sites themselves, survive more commonly in Berwick than in the rural area where landlords controlled groups of sites (Chapters 3, 7) while the houses themselves only survive in the west of the rural area with its subtly different timetable of agricultural improvement (Chapters 4, 8).

This chapter lays the foundation for those which follow, the breadth of the sources providing wide-ranging evidence for individual elements of the building culture in Chapters 3-6 and their depth informing the close studies of individual houses in Chapters 7 and 8.



At the core of the house-building culture are builders' and craftsmen's ideas about the term 'house' and houses in general, and one of the most important sources for these are the houses which already exist within the culture.

Chapter 3 : 'A gentleman's house or tower': existing houses

This chapter examines knowledge about houses within society as a whole, the social "vocabulary" by which they were understood and ideas exchanged. Although this includes words and their meanings, a larger and more influential element is the stock of existing buildings which builders and craftsmen experienced or used as exemplars.¹⁶² The ways in which they were being altered provides insights into changing domestic ideals and practice, and since an 'existing house' might have been finished yesterday the chapter includes new houses. Inevitably, much of the chapter is descriptive; as seen in the previous chapter few of the houses survive, none in their original form, and as argued in Chapter 1 later preconceptions have

¹⁶² Airs, M., *The Tudor & Jacobean Country House: a Building History* (Stroud: 1995) pp.54-5.

tended to obscure understanding of what existed or was being built during the sixteenth century. A clear overview is essential to interpreting the building culture.

The limited survival of built sources, and difficulties in dating below-ground ones, makes documentary sources important. Signs on maps can provide a clue to archetypes (Figure 3.4) but potentially more useful is the vocabulary used by those within the culture. Did 'castle' signify the same thing in the Borders as in southern England? What might 'hall' mean to various builders? What made a house 'beautiful'? There was still very little distinction between form and function, and thus the same building could be described in very different ways depending on the context.¹⁶³ The Crown surveyors of 1541, assessing the defensive potential of buildings along the Border, classified two dwellings at Middleton Hall near Wooler as 'stone houses or bastles', hinting at their physical strength and their ability to house garrisons.¹⁶⁴ In the 1584 muster, when the number of tenants was at issue, the same buildings were criticised as 'gentleman's mansion houses' since the land of which they were part was by now held in demesne and provided no tenants.¹⁶⁵ All the terms were accurate and, it could be argued, together provide something closer to a contemporary understanding of the buildings than would a mere description of their form. A nineteenth-century record of these houses is equally reflective of contemporary assumptions; 'faint traces of [an] old tower or pele... The tower walls were about 7 feet thick and 7 feet high, and of the usual strength of that period when it is supposed to have been built. Among the ruins was found an iron spear-head'.¹⁶⁶ Documented vocabulary is, of necessity, heavily biased towards the élite and in the Border context is often from sources outside the local building culture, problematic because sixteenth-century 'language of property' varied regionally as well as with individual or institutional customary usage, but

¹⁶³ For the difficulties fifteenth-century civil servants faced when distinguishing between 'towers', 'fortresses' and 'castles', see King, A., 'Fortresses and fashion statements: gentry castles in fourteenth-century Northumberland', *Journal of Medieval History* 33, 4 (2007).

¹⁶⁴ Bates *Border Holds* p.34.

¹⁶⁵ Bain, *CBP* 1 p.14. It could be argued that 'house' here refers to the entire landholding, but elsewhere in the document the term is clearly used for a building.

¹⁶⁶ MacLauchlan, H., *Notes Not Included in the Memoirs Already Published on Roman roads in Northumberland* (London: 1867) p.42.

nomenclature provides otherwise unavailable insights into the products of the house-building culture.¹⁶⁷

3.1 Defensibility

The need for houses to be ‘defensible’ in this Border area was touched on in Chapter 1, where it was suggested that although by the 1560s the East March was less unstable than the remainder of Northumberland and the threat from heavy artillery had lessened a prudent householder would still take precautions against reiving or the small-arms fire of factional neighbours. Another locally-specific requirement was the continuing expectation that higher-status owners and tenants of larger houses would ensure protection for less well-resourced inhabitants (discussed further in Chapter 5). This resulted in a range of built responses, from stone-built houses with vaults and a surrounding walled enclosure which would shelter dozens of households with their goods and animals – a ‘tower’ or ‘castle’ – to lightly built ones which could easily be rebuilt after the household had fled with their valuables and livestock.

Stone house, vault

Any well-built stone house could be perceived as ‘defensible’. Ironically, this might make it particularly liable to attack; when the Earl of Sussex raided Scotland after the rising of the northern Earls in 1569 he ‘avoided the burning of houses and corn and the taking of cattle and goods, to make the revenge appear to be for honour only, and yet [did not leave] a stone house to an ill neighbour ... that is guardable in any ordinary raid.’¹⁶⁸ The distinction between ‘stone houses’ and more lightly built ‘houses’ would also have been recognised in the East March. Tenants rarely built their own defensible house, and landowners were expected to provide ‘stone houses’ so that local inhabitants ‘with their goods may be relieved in time of necessity’ and they, in turn, would contribute to its defence. In 1541 Bowes and Ellerker suggested that

¹⁶⁷ Rimmer, J., ‘The language of property: vernacular in the context of late medieval urban identities’, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 17, (2011) 269-293.

¹⁶⁸ Crosby, A. J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589. Vol.9: 1569-1571* (London: 1880) p.325;NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

at the least forty persons or more be assigned to every fortress, for as we think the more men that be together in a fortress, so that it may conveniently contain them with their goods, the more stronger shall be the defence thereof

although 'a little tower without barmkin or iron gate' (at Carham, belonging to the Crown, would serve) 'for the defence of the inhabitants of the said town in a suddenly occurring skirmish [but] in time of war they may resort for their relief to the ... castle of Wark.'¹⁶⁹

Figure 3.1. Kylee Tower, East Kylee.

Basement plan and section (parapet walk and roof conjectural). Based on drawings by author.

The size and layout is typical of smaller late-fourteenth/early-fifteenth century towers and as normal it was set within a barmkin which would have held other buildings. The entrance and stairs are in the common position in one corner of the block and the stair is only c.0.8m radius.

The vault was about 3.7m high, with ventilation and lighting via two narrow slips allowing it to function as a stable, but with corbels to hold a partial intermediate floor if required for storage or sleeping (red dotted line). In emergency it could be barred from inside (draw-bar hole circled) but there is no trace of a communicating hatch with the upper floors.



¹⁶⁹ TNA, SP 1/168 f.15; Bates, *Border Holds* p.30.

Some parish churches (Kirknewton, Ancroft) also fulfilled this function, supplementing the spiritual safety they represented with the physical safety of thick stone walls and barrel vaults.¹⁷⁰ There were, however, already a few exceptions to this pattern of community provision; at Beal for example, which had been converted to pasture with absentee landlords, there was in 1561 ‘no tower or house of defence but certain little houses of stone and lime that the inhabitants have built for their own defence’.¹⁷¹

Almost all these ‘stone houses’ included a vaulted basement (Figure 3.1), but vaults had wider uses. They could stand alone as stable blocks or, in the case of Kirknewton, churches; with an upper garret storey to house soldiers they could function as a cavalry barracks (below). Whatever their position, vaults could normally be locked and barred from inside and were at least 3.5m high internally, allowing headroom for horses and for a demountable loft (over the whole or a part) which could be used for storage or sleeping. This combination made Berrington (near Ancroft) a suitable refuge for the Earl of Bothwell following his escape from Edinburgh Castle in 1563. Early one morning a party of soldiers from Berwick caught up with him there and were told by the owner John Revely that

the Earl was in his vault without his lodging. On coming to the door they asked for the key, which he said the Earl had within. Those within having opened the door, thinking those abroad to be their friends, they entered, where they found the Earl in bed, and two of his men standing with their weapons and apparel about them, and their horses saddled.¹⁷²

Revely’s ‘vault without his lodging’ may have been the basement of his house or a separate stable block; ‘vault’ and ‘stable’ could be used synonymously, as when the Grey’s surveyor described ‘a vault that a hundred horse may stand in’ at Heaton.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Pevsner et al, *Northumberland* pp.146, 366-7.

¹⁷¹ Raine, *North Durham* p.22.

¹⁷² Stevenson, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589 Vol. 6: 1563* (London: 1869) p.50.

¹⁷³ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

Figure 3.2. The 'vault' at Heaton castle.

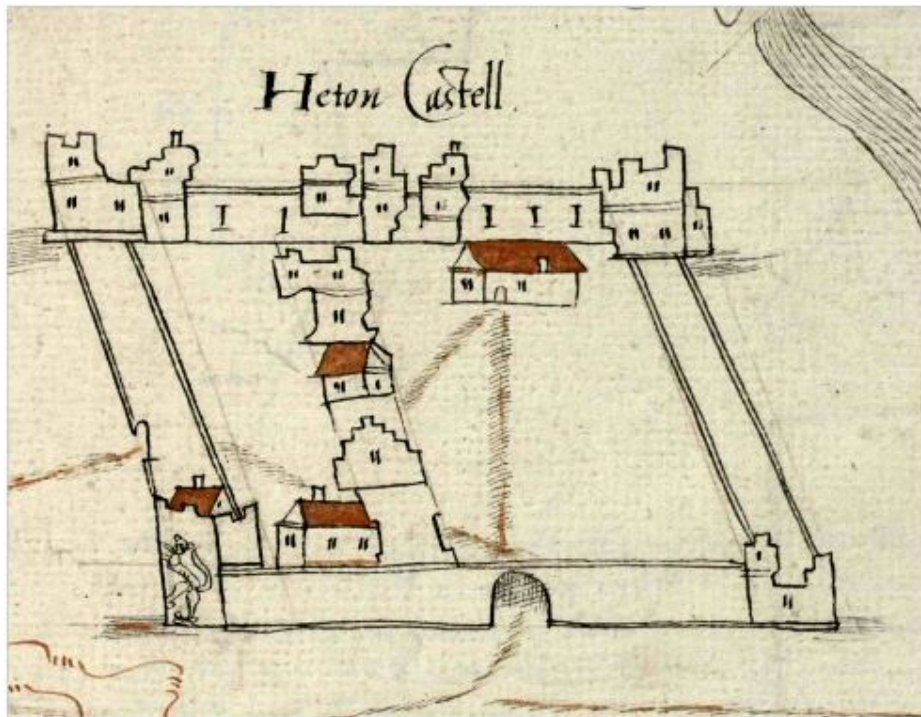
Below: Heaton Castle from NRO 4118/01/173/81, *Manuscript volume containing a formal and detailed description...* **Permissions applied for**

The text reads

This house or castle of Heaton hath been a pleasant and beautiful building, in manner square, with goodly towers and turrets as the yet remaining the Lion's Tower on the west side there of the south coin or corner, and on the north side or part a mention of a vault that a hundred horse may stand in with a number of shells and walls that hath been glorious buildings and housings, now ruinous and all in decay.

The 'vault' is the long tiled building with no chimney at top right, with paths leading to it.

Bottom: the 'vault' today. Photographs © www.northofthetyne.co.uk, by permission. The vault itself is 3.5m high internally. The first floor walls and gable end are modern; the building may have originally been longer, with lower eaves.



'House of strength'

The 'vault for a hundred horse' at Heaton Castle, almost the only building standing there in 1570, would house a garrison without the expense of repairing and maintaining the whole castle and, as suggested in Chapter 2, could have been an example of a non-domestic building type specifically designed for Border defence.¹⁷⁴ The concept was that of Rockcliffe, used as an exemplar by Bowes and Ellerker:

Mindrum ... might be fortified ... if there were made a strong tower with stables beneath and lodgings above after the fashion of Rockcliffe, my Lord Dacre[']s house upon the west Borders, able to contain many men and horses, and in circuit about it a large barmkin or fortilage for safeguard of cattle which might easily in that place have water in a ditch round about. And that town so fortified might be a safeguard for men, horse and cattle of sundry villages in that quarter which now for lack of such fortresses lie waste in every war or troublesome time.¹⁷⁵

Buildings of this type were often referred to by contemporaries as 'strong houses' and while the term could be used at face value (in 1558 a 'strong house' was rented in Berwick as a home for the new Treasurer and a store for coin, and later referred to as 'a couple of chambers') it had a specific meaning in the context of defence.¹⁷⁶ It was not new; in 1538 the Council of the North pointed out to the King that 'Sir Reynold Carnaby has lately made suit for a strong house to be provided for him and the future keepers of Tynedale [since w]ithout such a strong house ... it will be hard to reduce the King's misordered subjects to due obedience'.¹⁷⁷ It is not clear whether the Crown or a local landowner should fund it, but its function was obviously to ensure the presence of soldiers in the area. As suggested in Chapter 2, the type is referred to here as a 'house of strength'. It seems reasonable to suggest that these 'houses of strength' were primarily a late-medieval building type (Rockcliffe was built before 1522), possibly specific to the Borders, designed to

¹⁷⁴ Historic England's *Castle Heaton, Cornhill-on-Tweed, Northumberland: An Investigation of the Vaulted Building and Adjacent Earthworks* <http://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=15266> accessed 10 March 2016 provides a thorough description of the building, although this author disagrees with some of the conclusions.

¹⁷⁵ BL, Cotton Titus F/XIII f.146. Nothing was built at Mindrum, and Rockcliffe has vanished under a road.

¹⁷⁶ Green, M. A. E. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1601-1603 with Addenda 1547-1565* (London: 1870) p.467.

¹⁷⁷ Gairdner, J., (ed) *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 13: Part II: 1538* (London: 1893) p.431.

Figure 3.3. Possible 'house of strength' at Wooler.

Above: detail from NRO, 4110/1/47 (c.1570). **Permissions applied for**

Below: based on detail from OS *Northumberland XX* (Surveyed 1860, published 1866).

Features shown in the Grey's survey are recognisable on the Ordnance Survey map, indicating that the long building to the right of the tower was also present. It may have been a 'house of strength,' since troops were garrisoned in the town in the 1570s although the surveyor described the 'proper little tower ... which hath standed pleasantly on a hill' as 'now ruinous and altogether in decay'.



ensure that horse garrisons would be present when needed. Akeld and Pressen fit the same mould. A garrison of ten men was based at Akeld in 1522, under the control of the Bailiff James Wallis, and in 1571 the building was confirmed as Crown property; ‘the Queen’s majesty hath a house in Akeld standing north and south on the west side of the burn’.¹⁷⁸ There is no record of the builder of Pressen, but it could well have been constructed to solve the problem at nearby Mindrum pointed out by Bowes and Ellerker in 1551; it is on higher, dryer ground than Mindrum and would not have needed a moat to drain it. The need for strategically placed garrisons along the Border continued throughout the sixteenth century and as late as 1596 Lord Eure, Warden of the Middle March, repeated Carnaby’s request of 1538 (and made a link with the term ‘bastle’, Chapter 2) when he petitioned for ‘a “bastile” or strong house where an officer “stronglie attended” might dwell’ to subdue Tynedale and Redesdale.¹⁷⁹

Further research might elucidate details such as the design of their upper floors; Pressen’s low first-floor walls appear to be original, but those at Akeld and Heaton are later. Other examples may be discovered; the Grey survey of Wooler shows a long, low building just north of the tower which could be a ‘house of strength’ (Figure 3.4).¹⁸⁰ Finally, seeing them as a specific type allows the other surviving houses, designed for more domestic functions, to be understood more clearly.

Barmkins and town walls

Bowes’ and Ellerker’s proposal for Mindrum included a ‘barmkin or fortilage for safeguard of cattle’. Although the term was in use by the fourteenth century the building of barmkins seems to have been particularly encouraged in the English and Scottish Borders during the early-sixteenth century.¹⁸¹ A Scottish statute of 1535 required barmkins ‘for the protection and defence of [the builder], his tenants and

¹⁷⁸ Brewer, J. S., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. v.3 Part II: 1521-23* (London: 1867) p.852; NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81 p.81.

¹⁷⁹ Historic England, *Rockcliff Castle*

http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=10833&sort=4&search=all&criteria=rockcliffe&ratio nal=q&recordsperpage=10 accessed 25 August 2015; Bain *CBP* v.2 p.203.

¹⁸⁰ Finlayson, R., C. Hardie, A. Williams and K. Derham, *Wooler, Northumberland, Extensive Urban Survey* (Morpeh: 2009) p.23.

¹⁸¹ OED ‘barmkin’ suggests a derivation from ‘berm’ and ‘-kin’, i.e. a little earth bank, or possibly a corruption of ‘barbican’; as Bates noted, ‘it seems impossible to explain satisfactorily the origin of the word’; Bates, *Border Holds* pp.64-5.

their goods in troublesome times' to be 'of stone and lime, containing three score foot of the square, one ell thick and six ells high', equivalent to a large, high- and thick-walled domestic courtyard.¹⁸² The Statute emphasises the importance of community protection, the builder merely being allowed to provide 'a tower in the same for himself if he thinks it expedient'. In England, barmkins seem to have been normally understood as adjuncts to stone houses or towers. In 1541, when Cornhill tower had been 'new embattled, covered and put in good repair' by Gilbert Swinhoe, Bowes and Ellerker noted approvingly that he was also preparing to build a barmkin which would be 'a great succour, defence and relief in time of war, as well for the inhabitants of the said town ... as for other neighbours near adjoining'.¹⁸³ In the early-seventeenth century Ulster plantations the presence of a barmkin distinguished a 'strong house' from a merely 'good house'.¹⁸⁴

In some ways Berwick's fortifications played a similar role, the Crown (as landlord) supplying a defensive enclosure which the local inhabitants helped to defend (the whole population took part in night watch duties, although access to the walls was one of the flashpoints in friction between the Mayor and Council).¹⁸⁵ Even though effectively indefensible their presence signified a 'defended town' and they formed the location for impressive cannonades for distinguished visitors; The *True Description* shows them c.1580 in great detail, shining in the sun and bristling with cannon, implying the pride which the Guild took in 'their' walls (Figure 4.9).¹⁸⁶

Both barmkin and town wall required active defenders, and neither were defended easily. Gilbert Swinhoe completed his barmkin at Cornhill and when in 1558 a large group of 'Scots and French' came over the Border he 'fortif[ied] his stone house, caused the door to be rammed up, and put himself with his garrison, townsmen and others, to the number of seven score, many horses and much cattle, into the

¹⁸² James V, 'For building of strengths on the borders' in Brown *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (St Andrews: 1535) <http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1535/31>, accessed 3 September 2015. Bates, *Border Holds* (p.64) gives the area as 'sixty square feet', but this would be very small and the phrase probably indicates a square with sides sixty feet long. In the Ulster plantations they were to be '200 feet compass' (Hamilton 1890, below).

¹⁸³ Bates, *Border Holds* p.30.

¹⁸⁴ Hamilton, *CSP Ireland, Vol. 5* p.230.

¹⁸⁵ Kesselring, K. J., 'Berwick is our England': local identities in an Elizabethan border town' in Jones and Woolf (ed) *Local identities in late medieval and early modern England* (Basingstoke: 2007).

¹⁸⁶ B L, Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72.

barmkin'.¹⁸⁷ Very soon, however, Swinhoe was killed 'with a shot', a breach made in the barmkin 'past six feet broad ... and so, the captain slain, the barmkin was won, all within it taken prisoners without resistance, like beasts'.¹⁸⁸

Abandon and rebuild

A third built solution to 'defence' was to live in a house which could be quickly rebuilt. This was a long-established practice on both sides of the Border and two centuries previously the builders themselves had pointed out the benefits: in 1384 the Scottish countryside had been 'destroyed' but 'the people did set but little thereby, and said how with three or four poles they would soon set up their houses again'.¹⁸⁹ In 1546 Sir Robert Bowes was frustrated by their practice of decamping with precious cattle and horses at the threat of a raid, since 'if such cottages or cabins where they dwell in be burnt one day they will the next day make other and not remove from the ground.'¹⁹⁰ This was a strategy only for those with few valuables, and commentators often saw it merely as a sign of poverty. In 1555 Andrew Borde described how

they which do dwell by Nycoll forest, and so upward to Berwick, beyond the water of Tweed, live in much poverty and penury, having no houses but such as a man may build within three or four hours.¹⁹¹

Speedy, lightweight building was not merely a Scottish practice. Belford township was described on a wet autumn in 1639 as 'the most miserable beggarly sodden town, or town of sods, that ever was made in an afternoon of loam and sticks'.¹⁹² Houses such as these treated all threats equally; the householders' safety did not rely on the house's solidity but on the knowledge that they could soon rebuild or repair it.¹⁹³ However while it may have remained a positive choice in the upland

¹⁸⁷ The French had fortified Eyemouth in a local manifestation of the Franco-Spanish war, and were taking advantage of the uncertainty over governance at Elizabeth's succession: Tough, *Last Years* pp.187-8.

¹⁸⁸ BL, Harleian 292 f.97; Stevenson, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589. Vol. 1: 1558-1559* (London: 1863) pp.47-8.

¹⁸⁹ Froissart, 'Chronicles' 1384, quoted in Scott, *Antiquities* p.61.

¹⁹⁰ Gairdner, J. and R. H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 21: Part I: 1546* (London: 1908) p.461.

¹⁹¹ Boorde, A., *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London: 1555) p.26.

¹⁹² Rawdon, 'Court and Times of Charles I', quoted in Bateson, E. *A history of Northumberland. v1: The parish of Bamburgh with the chapelry of Belford* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1893) p.364.

¹⁹³ A similar practice occurred in early-modern urban Japan, where textiles rather than the buildings they decorated were saved from fires: Sand, J., 'Property and persuasion' in Shammass (ed),

areas of the Middle March, where reiving was more common and valuables were in the form of livestock, it was less attractive in the more productive East March where a 'small house of stone and lime' for the static defence of one household and its goods was the preferred solution (above).¹⁹⁴

3.2 Form

A household's 'defence' could be individual or communal, founded in strength or weakness; but for the great majority it was unlikely to be their main concern and the next section includes concerns more relevant to a wider range of builders, the overall form of their house. The difficulty of distinguishing form from function in written text has been mentioned, but an alternative is provided by the signs used for buildings by mapmakers (Figure 3.4). Although sixteenth-century symbology was not standardised these cartographers assumed that their user would not need a legend, and thus their symbols should have been comprehensible to the contemporary reader.¹⁹⁵ Both Dacre and Saxton link 'castles' and 'towers' but differentiate them from mere 'houses' and the two basic categories are defined by Sir Robert Ker's well-known advice that battlements make a house 'look like a castle, and hence so noblest, as [their removal] would make it look like a peel [smaller, unfortified house]'.¹⁹⁶

Large houses

All the castles shown by Saxton c.1570 (Figure 3.5) were in poor condition, badly damaged in James IV's attempted invasions of 1496 and 1513. Reasons for lack of repair were many. Their significance was debated at the time, as it is today, but there was no question as to the unsuitability of their high, thin walls against artillery.¹⁹⁷ In 1548 the Scots derided Cornhill Castle as being '*beildit eftir the ancient maner of fortefeing*' (soon afterwards it was abandoned, and Saxton did not






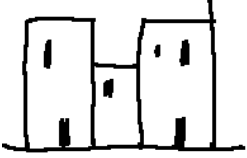
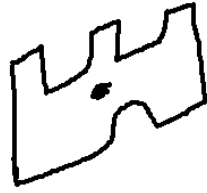
Investing in the Early Modern Built Environment (Leiden: 2012) p.50; Oliver, P., *Dwellings: the vernacular house world wide* (London, New York: 2003) p.149.

¹⁹⁴ Raine, *North Durham* p.22.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, 'Signs'.

¹⁹⁶ Quoted in McKean, *Scottish Chateau* p.57.

¹⁹⁷ Johnson, M., *Behind the Castle Gate: from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (London: 2002); Coulson, C., *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, New York: 2003); Higham, R., 'Castle studies in transition: a forty year reflection' *Archaeological Journal* 167, 1 (2010); Wheatley, A., *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval*

Figure 3.4. Symbols for buildings from maps and plans.				
	Johnson, R. HHA CPM 2/29, <i>Berwick-upon-Tweed, with Tweedmouth tower.</i>	NRO 4118/01/173/81, <i>Manuscript volume containing a formal and detailed description</i>	Royal MSS 18.D.III, ff.71v-72, Saxton, C., <i>Northumbria</i>	TNA MPF 1/284, Dacre, C., <i>Plan of the seats of the fortresses and castles upon the Borders</i>
House				
	Always repeated, as one side of a street	From street of identical houses at Wark	Indicates township with no defensible house	
Tower				
Castle				
<p>Both Saxton and Dacre used symbols consistently in a recognisably modern way while Johnson and the Grey's surveyor individualised larger houses but used a repeated symbolic house form to represent a street.</p> <p>A 'house' was single storied with an attic floor (sometimes with an attic window), door(s), window(s) and a chimney. Johnson normally drew houses in pairs, showing the importance of backhouses, outhouses etc.</p> <p>A 'tower' had two full stories and a flat roof, with an entrance at ground level and windows above; Dacre included battlements. A castle was an extended version of a tower, wider rather than higher.</p>				

even recognise it as a 'castle').¹⁹⁸ They attracted attack and were expensive to maintain. Contemporaries tended to assume their continued importance but in fact

England (York: 2015); Thompson, M. W., *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge: 2008 (1987)) especially Chapter 6.

¹⁹⁸ Leslie, J. and Bannatyne Club, *The History of Scotland, From the Death of King James I. in the Year M.CCCC.XXXVI, to the Year M.D.LXI* (Edinburgh: 1830 [1578]) p.225.

their main role was to house garrisons of horsemen, which could be equally well done in 'houses of strength'. By the end of the century several had become 'dwelling houses for noblemen', like the southern castles about which Harrison complained in 1577.¹⁹⁹

Even at Berwick, where the Crown invested heavily in fortifying the town, the castle remained ruinous and was used mainly for storage; 'a fair indication of the contemporary view of the efficacy of the Elizabethan defences compared to those of the Middle Ages'.²⁰⁰ From the late 1590s it became the site of the first of two short-lived 'gentlemen's houses' built for and by Berwick's Governors (Figure 3.11).²⁰¹ Along the Tweed, Norham Castle was garrisoned but remained under-resourced. Wark had £1,846 16s.7d. of Crown money spent on repairs in 1543 but by 1562 was 'used more like a farm than a house of strength'; this became embarrassingly obvious when in that year

certain of the company of the Lord of the May Game of Wark went to Cornhill in the night, and took the Lord of the May Game of Cornhill, and brought him in sport as a prisoner to Wark Castle before day, whereupon certain men of Cornhill and Tillmouth assembled, and three of them suddenly entered the breach in the said Castle wall before the watch was discharged.²⁰²

Of the castles on the River Till, Etal, purchased by the Crown in 1547, received basic repairs and a small garrison.²⁰³ The privately owned Heaton remained almost completely ruinous (Figure 3.2) while Twizel, Ford and Chillingham, also privately owned, were remodelled between 1580-1600 as high-status dwelling houses (Chapter 8).²⁰⁴ They retained their walled courts, but these were not upgraded against artillery.

¹⁹⁹ TNA, 15/28/2 f.114; Harrison, W., *An Historical Description...* (London: 1577) p.20.

²⁰⁰ Thompson, *Decline* p.116.

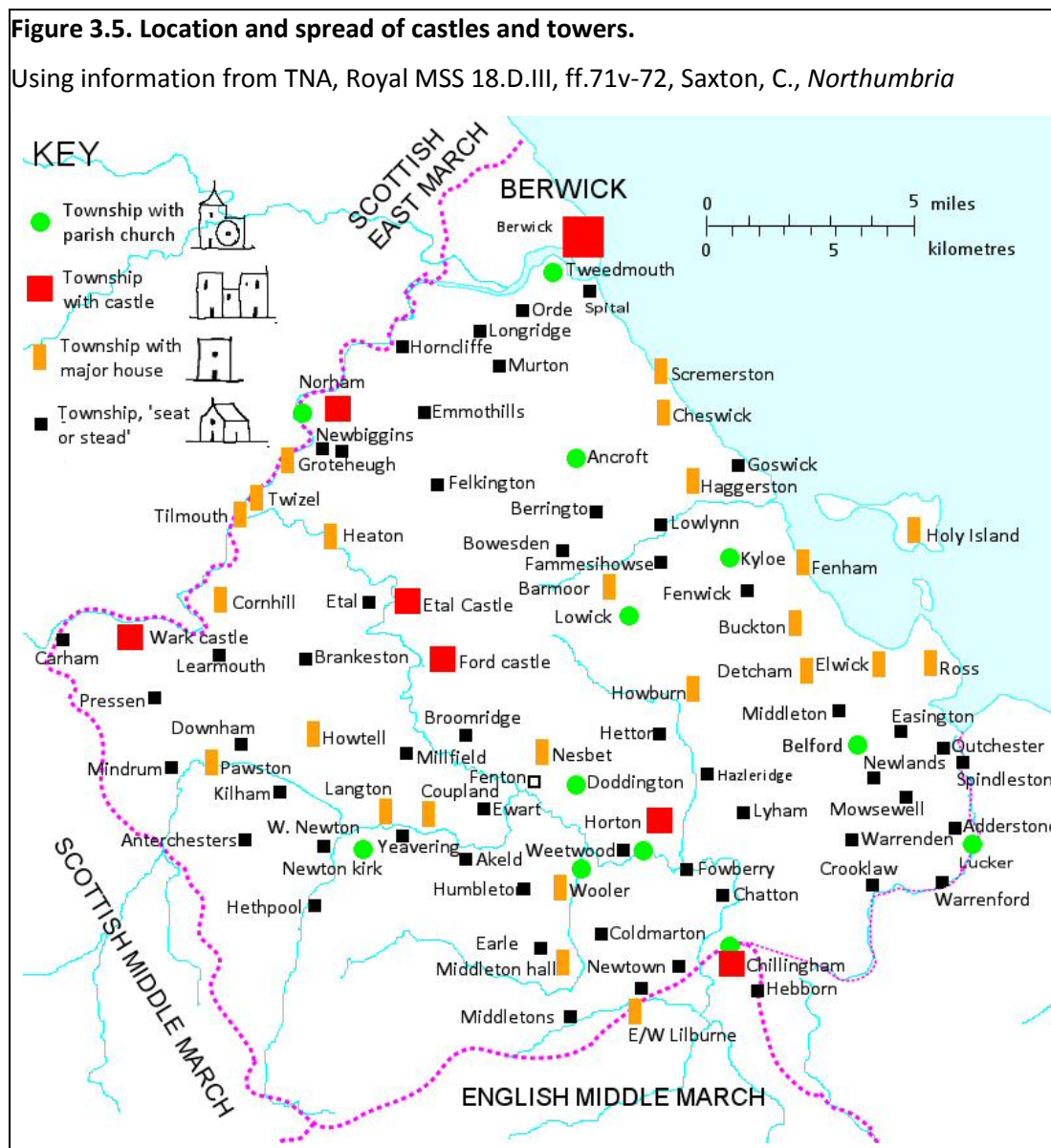
²⁰¹ The first was for Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby (below) and the second for George Dunbar, favourite of James I & VI, who died before it was completed.

²⁰² Bain, CBP v.2 p.694; Stevenson, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562, Volume 5* (London: 1866) p.143.

²⁰³ Nelson, I. S., *Etal Castle: a short history of the Castle* (Newcastle, 1975); Green, *CSP Dom. 1601-3 Add.* p.329

²⁰⁴ Vickers, *Northumberland* v.11.

Towers were shown on maps as minor castles (Figure 3.4), but were often referred to by contemporaries as 'a gentleman's house or tower' (Grindon), 'a great tower... his chief house' (Horton) or 'my manor house, viz, the tower with all other housings & buildings whatsoever to the same belonging' (Weetwood), indicating a closer equivalence to manor houses further south.²⁰⁵ In contrast to castles most of these smaller 'towers' were both used and valued by their owners throughout this period. In the 1570s Saxton used 'tower' symbols for twenty-three settlements in the area, and nine of the eleven townships with 'church' symbols also had towers in use, in



²⁰⁵ Thompson, *Decline* p.2 specifically links castles and towers; BL, Harleian 292 f.97; DPRI/1/1587/W10; DPRI/1/1605/S9/1.

total about half of all townships (Figure 3.5).²⁰⁶ Camden reported in 1586 that ‘there is not a man [in Northumbria] of the better sort that hath not his little tower or pile’ and gave up enumerating them north and west of Etal since ‘an endless piece of work it were to go through them all one by one’.²⁰⁷

The earliest dated from the late-thirteenth century, and Ryder provides a good introduction to their variety of form.²⁰⁸ They were occasionally used on their own as houses for those such as wealthier priests who had a degree of status (or a rich patron) but few or no dependant tenants, but it is generally assumed that they were more often attached to a hall, functioning as a chamber or solar block.²⁰⁹ Most common by the sixteenth century were the vaulted basements with two or three stories of chambers described above (Figure 3.1), the local version of the residential towers constructed in fifteenth-century England and Scotland as a fashionable way to provide extra chambers for household or guests and ‘a way of giving an extra fillip to a house of manorial type’.²¹⁰ They were built as a mark of landownership until the last quarter of the century, one of the last being Coupland, a modified tower (Chapter 8) built in the 1570s, but by the end of the century their rigid vertical hierarchy no longer allowed the domestic practices desired at gentry or sub-gentry level. Berwick’s last castellated domestic tower, the ‘Burrell Tower’, survived until c.1561 when its site and stones were taken for the fortifications. It had overlooked Sandgate and the fish market in a similar way to the stone houses at the head of township streets, and may have been on the site of the ten-roomed ‘roundele’ recorded in the vicinity before Berwick’s capture in 1296.²¹¹ The Tollbooth, home of the town’s corporate ‘house’, was in many ways similar to a domestic tower/hall complex with a tower of chambers above a vaulted prison and

²⁰⁶ BL, Royal MSS 18.D.III, ff.71v-72.

²⁰⁷ Camden, *Britannia* v.3.

²⁰⁸ Ryder, *Fortified medieval and sub-medieval buildings*; Ryder, *Fortified Buildings*.

²⁰⁹ Dixon, P., ‘From hall to tower: the change in seigneurial houses on the Anglo-Scottish border after c.1250’ in Coss and Lloyd (ed) *Thirteenth Century England IV: proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne conference 1991* (Woodbridge: 1992); Ryder, *Fortified Buildings* pp.62-3.

²¹⁰ Emery, A., ‘Late-medieval houses as an expression of social status’, *Historical Research* 78, 200 (2005) 140-161 pp.152-157; Girouard, M., *Life in the English Country House* (Harmondsworth: 1978) p.73; King, ‘Fortresses and fashion statements’; Coulson, C., ‘Structural symbolism in medieval castle architecture’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132, (1979); for a rearguard action against this perspective, Thompson, *Decline* especially Chapter 2.

²¹¹ Marlow, *Extensive Urban Survey* p.32.

an attached hall for larger or more public meetings; as in the domestic context the two parts were rebuilt independently at various times, in this case as late as the eighteenth century.²¹²

In sixteenth-century Northumberland the status and martial character implied by battlements was still appreciated and Coupland and Duddo, built in the 1570s and 80s, included them. However, both vaulted basement and battlemented roof-walk required very thick walls, which reduced the space available inside the house, allowed only small windows, took time to build and probably increased the cost.²¹³ Towards the end of the period there is evidence that some builders valued a quickly-built house with more spacious rooms and the possibility of larger windows over the martial implications of vault, wall-walk and battlements. The gentry had strong social links with their peers across the Border (Chapter 5) and the impetus may have come from Scotland where a large new block at Hutton Hall, only three miles outside Berwick's bounds, was built without battlements as early as the 1560s.²¹⁴ In the East March Hebburn's owner updated his house by replacing the battlements with a double-pitched roof with closed eaves (i.e. a roof which reaches or oversails the outer wall-face) in the 1580s, and at some point Hetton and Weetwood received the same treatment (fig 3.13).

Two-storey houses

In their survey of 1541 Bowes and Ellerker recorded that Sir Cuthbert Ogle (of Eglington in the Middle March) had recently purchased Downham and 'built therein a new tower as yet but of two houses height and not fully finished by one house height and battlements, nor hath not as yet any barmkin'.²¹⁵ Their expectations of a third storey, battlements and barmkin were almost certainly never met, and the building work seems to have been completed to a more domestic pattern with a garret, closed eaves and less defensible yard.²¹⁶ Saxton's

²¹² Herbert, J., *Berwick Town Hall* (Berwick upon Tweed: forthcoming). The first recorded use of the word 'house' for urban corporations was at Oxford in 1563; OED, *House* n.1 5b.

²¹³ The cost differential would depend on the relative costs of stone and timber and the number of artisans needed to work them.

²¹⁴ RCAHMS, *Hutton Castle* <http://canmore.org.uk/site/59718/hutton-castle> accessed 30 October 2015.

²¹⁵ BL, Harleian 292 f.97; Meikle *Frontier* p.208.









²¹⁶ It was presumably complete by 1568, when Captain Carvill of Berwick stayed there with a posse of

map does not show a ‘tower’ symbol at Downham in the 1570s, the 1584 survey does not mention a defensible building and there is no subsequent record of a ‘tower’ there.²¹⁷ The vertical hierarchy and battlements of a tower would in any case have been unsuitable for the situation, since Ogle was merely renting the house to a farmer who, since he would bear no responsibility for community defence, would not need a barmkin.

The resulting first-floor house, with access to the upper floor by a mural stair, would have been similar to those in south Northumberland described by Peter Ryder, such

Figure 3.6. Details of urban houses.

From Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72, *The True Description of Her Majestys Town of Barwicke*.

			
Groups end-on to street: Three stories, with booths in front as part of the tenancy, Hidehill (left). Smaller and cheaper on Wallis Green (right).		Unusual double-width backhouses; Walkergate Lane (left) and Walkergate (right), where the front of the plot is built up with buildings round a yard.	
			
Decorative details; doorcase and pediment, Soutergate (left), possibly on an ex- Mayor’s house. Finials on street-front gables, Walkergate (right).		Towers in Hidegate, possibly built as lookouts for ship-owners. The one on the right has demolition or building work going on next door.	

soldiers; Bates, *Border Holds* p.31.

²¹⁷ Stevenson, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589 Vol. 8: 1566-1568* (London: 1869) p.515; BL, Royal MSS 18.D.III, ff.71v-72; Northumberland and Durham County Councils, *Tower Carham, Downham* (2012) <http://www.keystothepast.info/Pages/pgDetail.aspx?PRN=N846> accessed 24 August 2015.

as Pockerley (Beamish) which has 'living accommodation above a vaulted basement; access ... by a ground-floor door and mural stair.'²¹⁸ The ground-floor entrance and mural stair, the same arrangement as a traditional 'tower', distinguishes this type of house from an upland 'bastle' which relied on a first-floor entrance originally approached by a ladder.²¹⁹ If 'bastles' were built in the East March they have not survived, being too inflexible to alter as agriculture improved. But similar two-storey houses with ground floor rooms rather than vaults were certainly being built, particularly where land was changing ownership or when 'seats' or 'steads' were formed (Chapter 4). Johnson illustrates a house of this type at Longridge, where land had been enclosed from the common (fig 2.6). High Humbleton Farmhouse might fall into this category, since its name implies an outlying farm of Humbleton township, although its date and original form are very uncertain. Some of the 'little houses of stone and lime' at Beal (above) could have had two storeys, particularly if they used lime mortar, and may even form the basis of surviving houses. The same may be true in Berwick, where houses had no need for the thick walls which can be recognised within a seventeenth- or even eighteenth-century conversion.²²⁰

Similar houses had been built in Berwick since at least the thirteenth century; a fragmental survey dated 1297 indicates that, like Durham and many other towns, the typical burgage contained living quarters (*solario*) over a shop/workshop (*shopa*) or store (*celaria*).²²¹ By 1560 the Council required two-storey houses to be built on newly-granted land within the walls; the 'General Survey' records a few excuses for not building them, implying that most builders complied.²²² The *True Description's* artist showed the majority of houses in the town as two-storied (Fig 3.7), agreeing that this type of house was 'true' to the nature of the town.²²³ It also

²¹⁸ Ryder, P. F., 'Bastles and bastle-like buildings in Allendale, Northumberland' *Archaeological Journal* 149, 1 (1992) pp.370-1.

²¹⁹ Ramm, *Shielings and Bastles*.

²²⁰ Ryder, *Fortified buildings* p.63.

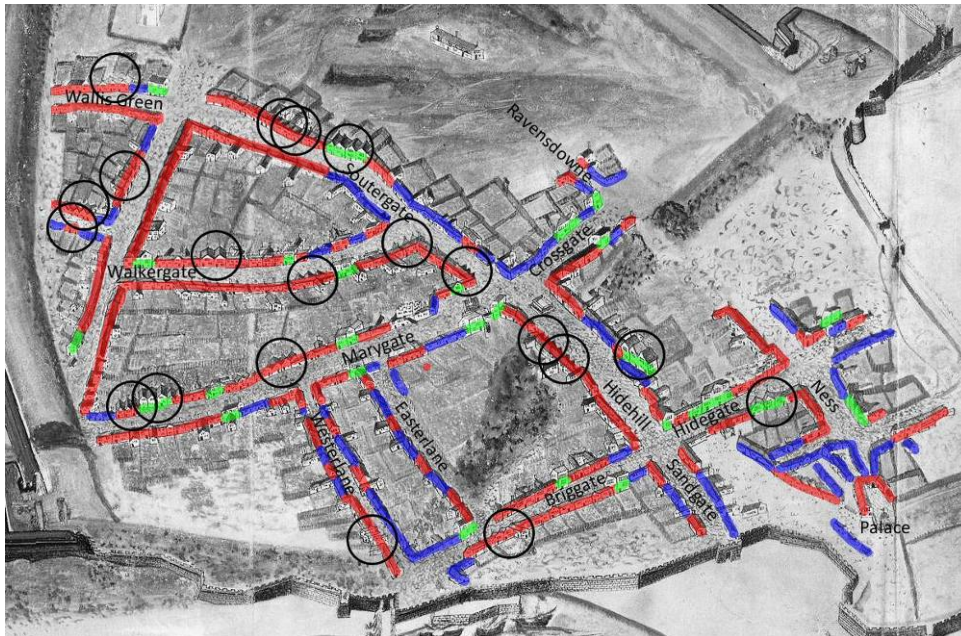
²²¹ Stevenson, J., *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland... 1286 - 1306 II* (Edinburgh: 1870) pp.152-6; Bonney, M., *Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and its overlords 1250-1540* (Cambridge: 1990) pp.86-7; Leech, R., *The Town House in Medieval and Early Modern Bristol* (Swindon: 2014) p.281.

²²² BRO, BRO/B6/1 89, 96

²²³ This was in fact inaccurate, achieved by omitting houses in the Greens and Windmill Hole.

Figure 3.7. Number of storeys and groups of houses, Berwick.

Based on detail from BL Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72, *The True Description of Her Majestys Town of Barwicke*



Blue: 1 or 1½ storey. Red: 2 or 2½ storey. Green: 3-storey. Circle: group of houses gable-end on to the street.

Castlegate (omitted here, for clarity) is almost entirely single-storey, unsurprising since it had very low rents (fig. 4.11). The same is true for the single-storey housing near the Palace. Westerlane, Easterlane and the corner of Crossgate/Soutergate (Woolmarket/Church Street) commanded the highest rents in the town); however, like Castlegate these were socially stable areas and possibly inhabitants had a conservative attitude towards alterations, and incomes which were not dependant on living in an impressive house.

In Marygate, and probably some of the other streets, ground floors would have been taken up by shops and two-storey houses would have been present for some time. Much of the two-storey housing coincides with area B in fig. 4.3, where the majority of land was granted or re-granted at least once during the sixteenth century and thus became subject to the Council's requirement for two-storey houses.

Three-storey houses appear in all the major streets, with only a slight preponderance in wealthier areas such as Hidegate (Sliver Street). A high proportion have tiled or slate roofs, underlining an increased investment in property.

Groups of two- or three-storey houses with gable ends facing the street may be a new type for Berwick, since they occur most often in the newly-developed areas, and probably indicate development for investment (Chapter 4).

shows some houses rebuilt or raised to three stories high; Chapter 7 (Marygate) provides an example of the party wall problems which could ensue. Groups of identical two- or three-storey houses built gable-end on to the street may have been built speculatively in response to the mid-century pressure on land and housing. There are even a couple of four-storey towers attached to houses in Hidegate, showing their civil credentials by their closed eaves and suitably sited as look-outs for ship-owning merchants (Figure 3.6).

Single-storey houses

Many of Berwick's houses either had, or once had, a cross-passage plan and evidence for these persists in the alleys, generally closed with gates or doors, which

Figure 3.8. Cross-passage houses in Church Street , Berwick.

Below: image from Google Maps accessed January 2016.

Bottom: detail from *True description* c.1570.

One and a half units of Berwick's typical cross-passage plan. The *True Description* shows it as basically similar in c.1570, two stories high and with two cross-passage doors. In 1562 the 19-yard wide plot belonged to a burgess, James Ritchison.



still open from the street into Berwick's back yards (Figure 3.8). Better known as a rural house type, they may have originated at the same time as longhouses in the rural townships laid out at a similar period. They allowed a continuous street frontage without the need for a back lane, and also meant that houses and plots could be divided easily. In 1589 the soldier Ralph Harrison left half his house 'from the doors southwards both backside and foreside' to one son, while the other son had the remainder 'from the doors northward both backside and foreside'.²²⁴ The plan was suitable for both single- and multi-storey houses.

Although the *True Description* shows more than half of Berwick's houses as multi-storey, several streets of single-storey houses are omitted and thus the proportion is skewed. Single-storey houses were also the norm in the rural area for almost all below the level of the small (but gradually increasing) number of farmers and yeomen. Some of these would have had a garret floor, implied by the dormer windows in the signs drawn by Johnson and the Grey's surveyor; although none of the single-storey houses in the *True Description* have dormers, the artist had little interest in detailing houses which were not 'true' to the ideal.

Many of the houses held 'at will' in Berwick c.1560 (Chapter 4) were described in the 'General Survey' by the number of 'couples' in their construction (Figure 3.9).²²⁵ They are examined in greater detail than others in this section, being unrecorded elsewhere and easily missed in the archaeological record. 'Couples' were structurally similar to crucks but this word has developed specialised meanings within the vernacular architecture community and many of the 'couples' would probably not be included in the classification. Alcock's well-known maps, based on 'true crucks' which survived to be mapped, omit much of Northumberland.²²⁶ 'Couple' construction was common in rural houses across the Border (in 1698 all the cottages at Twizel used couples) but their lack of headroom and structural inflexibility made it difficult to add an upper floor to suit changing domestic practice

²²⁴ DUSC, DPRI/1/1589/H3.

²²⁵ For the link between 'couples' and 'bays' as units of measurement see Chapter 6.

²²⁶ Alcock, N. W., *Cruck Construction: An Introduction and Catalogue* (London: 1981) p.1; Dixon, P., 'The medieval peasant building in Scotland: the beginning and end of crucks' in Klapste (ed), *The Rural House, from the Migration Period to the Oldest Still Standing Buildings* (Turnhout: 2002) p.188.

Figure 3.9. Cruck-framed cottage, Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire.

Below left: The house in 2009. HS SC00383456.

Below right: Interior view, 1973. RCAHMS DF 1515.

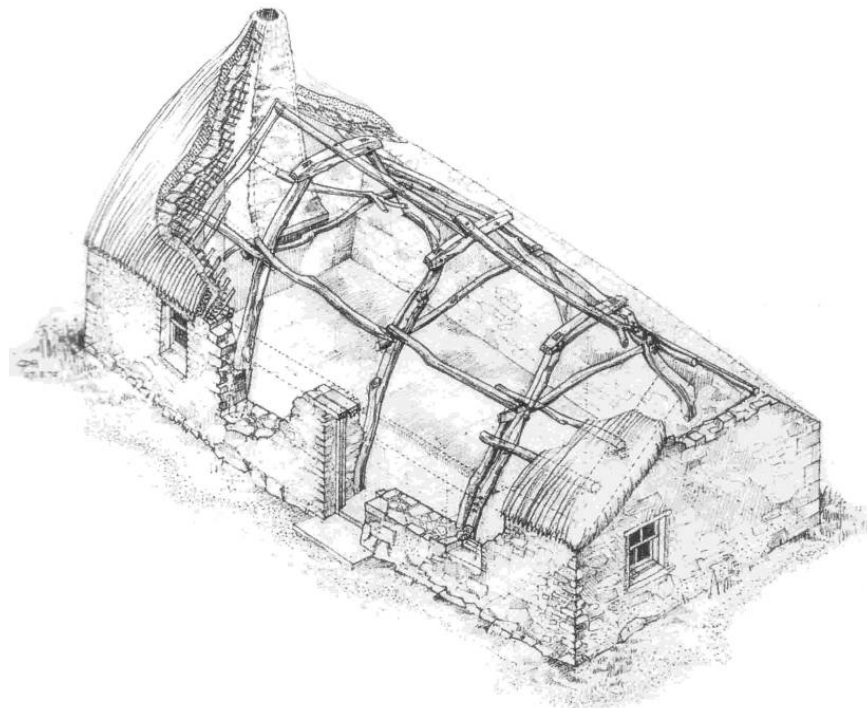
Bottom: Isometric drawing. Detail of HS SC 735271.

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The (undated) house gives an idea of ‘couple’ construction, although the houses in Berwick would have differed depending on the available materials. This house has three couples, as did several of those in Berwick. The photographs show some of the advantages of couple construction, particularly the use of poor quality timber and the possibility of altering or repairing the non-loadbearing walls. Drawbacks include the difficulty of inserting an upper floor and positioning furniture between the couples.

The house still has its timber-framed chimney.



and almost all were demolished in connection with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agrarian reforms.²²⁷

The houses in Berwick were between one and five couples in length, similar to a row of 'couple'-based cottages recorded at Twizel Mill and the much larger group of rural cruck buildings recorded by Dixon in Scotland (in all these groups the most common size was two or three couples). In Scotland, Dixon suggested a spacing (bay length) of 2-3.3m and width of 4.25-5.25m and in Cumbria Jennings quotes spacing of 2.4-4m and the majority of widths 4.5-5.75m.²²⁸ Even using the more conservative Scottish figures, a one-couple house could measure 5x6m internally and a five-couple house could be as long as 12-18m.

In Berwick many of these houses can be shown to have belonged to soldiers, who used similar structures on a smaller scale when on campaign (Figure 3.10).²²⁹ An observer at the siege of Haddington in 1548 commented on their link with rural construction, being amused by

the tenticles or rather cabins and couches of their soldiers, the which (*much after the common building of their country beside*) had they framed of four sticks, about an ell long apiece, whereof two [were] fastened together at one end aloft, and the two ends beneath stuck in the ground an ell asunder, standing in fashion like the bow of a sow's yoke.²³⁰

The Spanish mercenaries refused even to sleep in these 'cabins' and threatened to mutiny unless provided with normal tents, since they were 'men of war... not artificers nor can make no cabins'.²³¹ The English troops were more pragmatic; those who arrived in Berwick with families may have built 'cabins' of this type as soon as they arrived, wherever they were allowed (Chapter 7). Any not posted elsewhere would have then begun to construct something rather larger, but using similar 'couple' technology. Most entries of this type in the 'General Survey'

²²⁷ A similar process took place much later in France, where large numbers of crucks survived until the reforms funded by the European Economic Community in the 1970s; Meirion-Jones, G., 'Cruck construction: the European evidence' in Alcock, *Cruck Construction* p.53. NCA, SANT/DEE/1/25/6/75; Alcock, *Cruck Construction* pp.1, 80; Roberts, M., 'A preliminary roof typology for the north east of England', *Vernacular Architecture* 39 (2008).

²²⁸ Jennings, N., *Clay Dabblers: Vernacular Buildings of the Solway Plain* (Kendal: 2003).

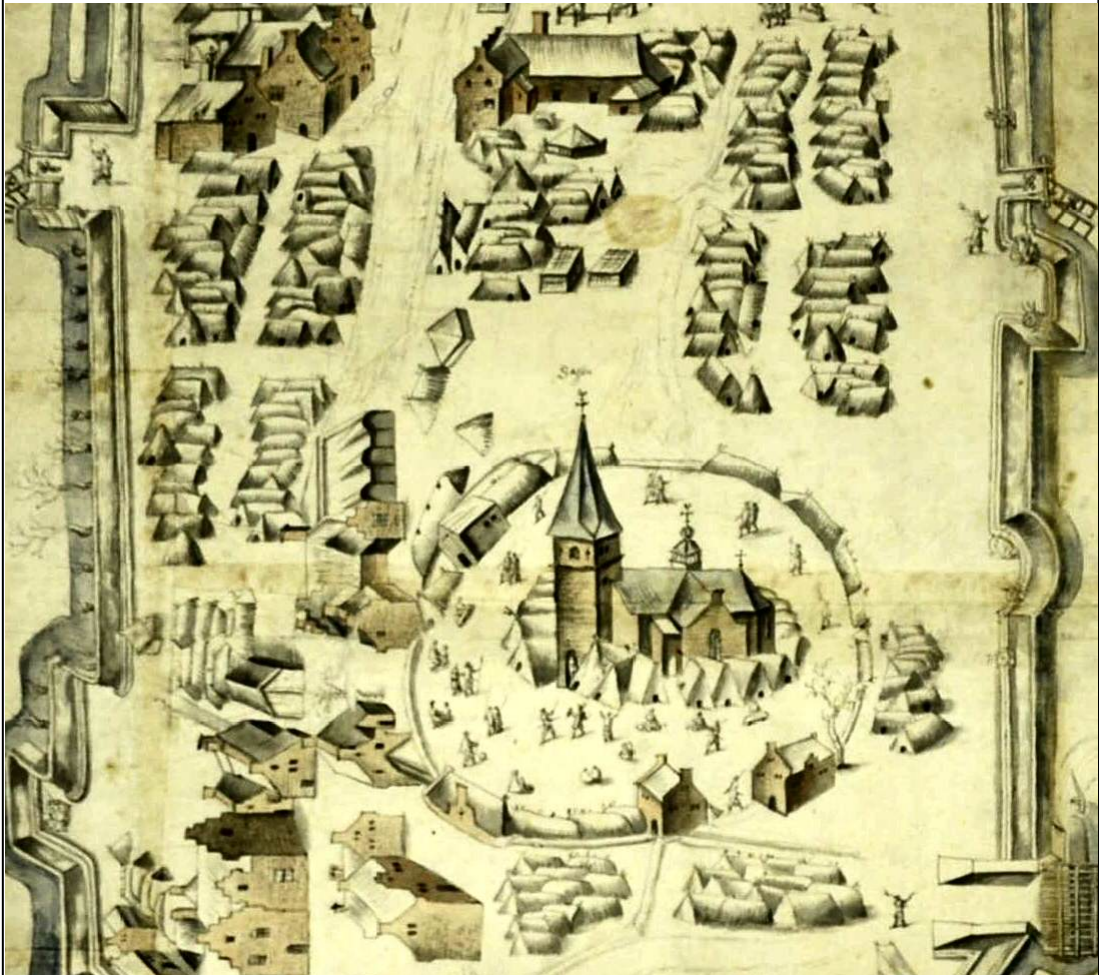
²²⁹ 'Barack' in *The Builder's Dictionary: or, Gentleman and Architect's Companion v.1* (London: 1734).

²³⁰ Patten, W., 'The Expedition into Scotlande...' in Dalrymple (ed) *Fragments* pp.71-72; my emphasis.

²³¹ TNA, SP 50/4 f.12.

Figure 3.10. Soldiers' huts or barracks.

Detail of HHA CPM/1/39, *Birds eye view of a fortified place* [Sassenheim, North Holland, 1573]. Reproduced by kind permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



The village is fortified with earth ramparts, within which the soldiers' thatched cabins create informal streets with a more orderly row at the command post surrounding the church.

The ends of timber couples stick up above the ridges, forming gable ends and supporting a door frame. The largest cabin, beside the church door, has a more complex plan with two wings.

probably record a house functioning like those built by settlers in seventeenth-century Virginia and Maryland, where

For many newcomers a hut was followed, as soon as could be, by a weatherproof but cheaply built house, which was not expected to last longer than it took its owner to accumulate enough capital to build yet another more substantial dwelling.²³²

²³² 'General Survey' 170; Carson, C., N. F. Barka, W. M. Kelso, G. W. Stone and D. Upton, 'Impermanent

All these three stages are evident on William Dixon's plot in Windmill Hole, the subject of a case study in Chapter 7. The use of couples for temporary houses was common practice; in 1611, when the town of Dunganon, Co. Tyrone was being planted, it was recorded that 'there are families of English and other civil men who for the present have built houses of couples, but are bound to build of cage work [timber frame] or stone after the English manner'.²³³ However, the reaction of the Spaniards to 'tentacles' was echoed by that of civil society to Berwick's 'houses of couples', and as seen in the previous chapter they were criticised by Thomas Romney and ignored in the *True Description*.²³⁴

3.3 'My hall, my Kitchen and my Bed-chamber in one': rooms

How many rooms?

In November 1523 Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, appealed to return south for the winter in a dispatch 'scribbled at Lowick, the poor village, in my Hall, my Kitchen and my Bed-chamber all in one.'²³⁵ His one-room lodging was apparently the final straw in a cold, wet autumn's campaign, and his complaint is relevant for its hint about the rooms he considered a necessary minimum. The three rooms together still represented a reasonable standard of living by the end of the century; in 1582 the constable of horse Thomas Corby, a widower with one servant, lived in Castlegate North in a house consisting of a chamber (with two beds and two chests), a hall (table, forms and three chairs, a lot for this period) and a kitchen (of the scullery/storage type, below).²³⁶ He was relatively well-off, owning two horses, two coats of plate armour, steel caps, swords and a cloak given him by the Duke of Bedford, and was owed £36 17s. 3d wages. This tripartite arrangement would have been common, and multiplied as required the rooms formed the basis of even very large late-medieval houses in both England and Scotland.²³⁷ Figure 5.2 gives the

architecture in the Southern American colonies', *Winterthur Portfolio* 16 2/3 (1981) p.140.

²³³ Russell, C. W. and J. P. Prendergast (eds), *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I, 1603-[1625] Vol. 4: 1611-1614* (London: 1877) p.129.

²³⁴ Thomas Romney's letter is given in Appendix 6.

²³⁵ BL, Cotton Caligula B/II f.179.

²³⁶ 'General Survey' 445; DUSC, DPRI/1/1582/C11; Buxton, *Furnishings* Table 7.26. shows that over the course of the seventeenth century there was a marked trend for stools and forms to be replaced by chairs in halls.

²³⁷ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* p.59; Dixon, P., 'Mota, aula et turris: the manor houses of the Anglo-Scottish border' in Meirion-Jones and Jones (ed) *Manorial Domestic Buildings in*

approximate number of rooms in houses belonging to various social groups in Berwick, based on information from probate inventories, although the normal caveats about information from this source apply (Chapter 2) and Berwick is particularly problematic because divided houses were so common even at high social levels. Forty-three per cent of the inventories used for this study imply that the deceased person lived in only one or two rooms, but at least half these were apparently part of a larger house, as one might expect from the strong bias towards wealthier urban testators (below).

There is too little evidence for rural houses to attempt any approximation of their size, although Hearth Tax figures show that by the following century a large percentage still only had one hearth (as did just over half of urban houses).²³⁸ This need not imply only one room; the medieval two-cell plan of heated hall and unheated chamber with storage loft above (its comic potential exploited in the fifteenth-century fabliau *The Friars of Berwick*, where it was home to a monastic victualler) may have been common.²³⁹ Even one-room houses could have notional or semi-permanent divisions. Chambers and byres in the longhouses excavated at West Whelpington did not gain permanent dividing walls until the seventeenth century (fig. 4.6), although similar houses at Alnhamshiels had divisions in the fifteenth century.²⁴⁰ Similar separation of function over time can be traced at Chatton (Figure 4.5). Even apparently single-cell houses could have been divided with partitions or furniture in a similar way to that of a farm labourer in Norham in the 1840s, described by Canon Gilly as if on a pastoral visit:

We will suppose that it is the month of December, when we open his door. At first... we are put a little out of humour at finding that a cow is

England and Northern France (London: 1993); Fawcett, R., *Scottish Architecture: from the Accession of the Stewarts to the Reformation, 1371-1560* (Edinburgh: 1994); Emery, A. *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500*, 3 Volumes (Cambridge: 1996, 2000, 2005).

²³⁸ On average, 88% of houses in each township in the study area had only one hearth. The equivalent figure for Berwick and Tweedmouth is 58%, and for the whole of Northumberland 80%; TNA, ER179

²³⁹ Salter, D., 'He is ane haly freir': the Freiris of Berwik, the Summoner's Tale, and the tradition of anti-fraternal satire', *Scottish Literary Review* 5, 2 (2013) 23-40; Green, A. G., 'Heartless and unhomely? Dwellings of the poor in East Anglia and North-East England' in Sharpe and McEwan (eds) *Accommodating Poverty: The Housing and Living Arrangements of the English Poor, C. 1600-1850* (Basingstoke: 2011) 69-101 p.89. Even new urban chambers were not always heated (Marygate, Chapter 7).

²⁴⁰ Dixon, 'Alnhamsheles' p.214.

installed in the space, through which we pass into his “parlour and kitchen and all,” but ... he takes care to ... keep the cow-house as distinct as he can from his own part of the house, though no partition wall divides them. It is but a slight wainscot work of his own contrivance which separates Richard from his cow: but as soon as we have entered within his own domicile, the general aspect within will gladden our hearts. There are two beds placed within a framework, which takes up the whole of one side of the room. In the centre of the framework, and between the two beds, is a door which opens into the space behind the beds, where many useful articles such as pails and tubs are stowed away, and perhaps, if you look in, you will see another bed on the floor in the corner.²⁴¹

These one-room houses were still common, and Gilly bemoaned that ‘of the ... 174 , which I am discussing, there are but 27 which have two rooms each’.²⁴² As Surrey experienced, it was possible to incorporate the roles of hall, kitchen and chamber in one.

Hall

The hall which Surrey probably had in mind would have been the iconic large ground floor room centrally positioned in a multi-room house, open to the roof, with a cooking fire and socially ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ ends, the ‘basic building block of late medieval society’ enabling the defined hierarchical domestic practices which ‘symbolis[ed] the ideal of the integrated but structured community’.²⁴³ The *Friars of Berwick* describes this type of hall in a rural setting. In 1573 Thomas Rugg’s hall was similar, a single-storey ‘backhouse’ entered at the end adjoining his house and shop which thus functioned like a chamber block (Chapter 7). Whether urban or rural, open halls of this type often had chambers built over them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, some halls may have been of less permanent construction. The term ‘hall’ could be used synonymously with ‘tent’, as when in 1577 Martin Frobisher shipped ‘ten halls or tents’ to accommodate 150 men on their arctic landfall; in 1562 Berwick’s Governor Lord Grey of Wilton objected to dining ‘in a tent or hall as [the Duke of] Norfolk did in the summer’.²⁴⁴ If the ‘hall’

²⁴¹ Gilly, W. S., *The Peasantry of the Border: an appeal in their behalf* (London: 1842) pp.22-3.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p.17.

²⁴³ Johnson, *English houses* p.68; Cooper, N., *Houses of the Gentry: 1480-1680* (New Haven, London: 1999) p. 275; Girouard, *English Country House* Chapters 2 & 3.

²⁴⁴ Stefansson, V. and A. M. McCaskill, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher 2* (London: 1938) p.153; TNA, SP 59/4 f.151. Grey built himself a small ‘dining chamber’ to replace it, drawing criticism from

attached to a tower was built using timber-boarded or other lightweight technology, it might help explain why these halls often leave no trace.²⁴⁵

However in multi-storey rural houses, and where there was no scope for a hall in a backhouse, 'upper halls' were common.²⁴⁶ These were central to the house but in a vertical rather than horizontal relationship and therefore did not support the same formal domestic practices as an open ground-floor hall; but hierarchy could still be expressed by fenestration, furnishings and decoration. Coupland (Chapter 8) shows that even in the later-sixteenth century halls of this type were still important for wealthy sub-gentry or yeomen households. Upper halls could also function when required as a great chamber in conjunction with a ground-floor hall, which was often built and rebuilt on a different time-scale to the chamber tower.²⁴⁷

There is little local evidence for the hall as focus for economic activities. Most inventories are from Berwick, where the garrison was the major employer and arms and armour are the only relevant items. Frequent references to Scottish spinsters may explain the lack of spinning equipment. Farmholders' inventories tend to list farm stock and equipment but merely provide a lump sum for 'inside goods'. The only indication of home-based industry is in the hall of Phyllis Collingwood, widow of a leaseholder in Kimmerston near Ford, who grew and prepared her own flax, spun wool and sold the woven cloth (Appendix 3). Her hall contained 'three spindles of harden and strokings [cardings] and half a stone of plaid yarn, a spindle of linen yarn, and three pounds of lint' as well as finished cloth for sale to the garrison for 'jacks' (soldiers' jackets).²⁴⁸

garrison members and civilians who might otherwise have benefited from his hospitality.

²⁴⁵ Dixon, *Mota*; Quiney, A., 'Hall or Chamber? That is the question. The use of rooms in post-Conquest houses', *Architectural History* 42 (1999). The possibility of semi-permanent halls has not been explored in the historic context, although the practice continues; in 2013, the hall of New College, Oxford was replaced by a timber-panelled marquee during alterations; *Temporary dining hall for New College* (2013) <http://oxfordstudent.com/2013/04/18/temporary-dining-hall-for-new-college/> accessed 31 March 2015.

²⁴⁶ Dixon, *Mota* pp.27-31; Cooper, *Gentry* p.284.

²⁴⁷ Quiney, 'Hall or chamber' pp.41-2.

²⁴⁸ DUSC, DPRI/1/1603/C8. Her voice is heard clearly in the inventory, transcribed by 'Ezekiel the clerk'. Among other items of interest it includes an unrecorded local dialect word, mentions a 'clock [click] mill' (almost certainly common but not often recorded) and hints at measures taken to smooth the entrance of King James VI and I into Berwick in April 1603.

For the great majority of households some form of multi-purpose hall remained essential, a single space where the complexities of work and domesticity were negotiated through rules embedded in long practice. But for an increasing number this practice was understood and expressed in new ways and the hall's role and symbolism altered as other rooms were formed to house some of its roles. A dining parlour allowed the hall to function more efficiently for cooking. A new kitchen could free up the hall to become an eating room. Additional chambers might reduce the need for beds in the hall. New stairs could alter access around the house, changing the way in which the hall was experienced.

Urban houses had limited potential for creating large new rooms and the hall was often retained as the main space for entertainment. Thomas Morton, an alderman who died in 1581, had a six-room house but still entertained in his hall.²⁴⁹ It combined new and traditional features; the fireplace had an 'iron chimney' for burning coal but retained its old jibcrooks, betraying (or celebrating) its earlier use for cooking. It was well-furnished, with a valuable walnut 'drawing table' (i.e. with leaves) and 'hanging flower candlestick' as well as a clock, three chairs and 'three hanging pictures of Flemish work', but a servant's bed was hidden behind an 'old screen'. The mixture of old and new would have formed a reminder of his family's position in the long-established urban hierarchy as well as celebrating his personal wealth and good taste.

Another possible transformation was to turn the hall into a cooking kitchen, since it already had a suitable fireplace. At some point between 1573 and 1589 (when it was ceiled over) the open hall of the Ruggs' house in Berwick became known as the 'kitchen' (Chapter 8). This use was particularly suitable for urban halls sited behind, rather than within, the main house; a dedicated cooking kitchen implied greater separation of owner and servants, which could be difficult to provide in a kitchen converted from a centrally-placed hall.

In larger or extended houses, if the social focus moved elsewhere in the building the hall might be demoted to a servants' common room. A rural example is the hall at

²⁴⁹ Greenwell, W. (ed), *Wills and Inventories from the Registry at Durham, Part II* (Newcastle: 1860) p.70. The house also had a separate chamber and cellar, probably in a backhouse.

Fenham, Sir William Reede's large house, which in 1603 had only an iron chimney, a table and forms, a spear and five 'Jedworth staves' and was listed between the 'nursery' (used for spinning and sewing) and a 'little chamber' with no obvious function.²⁵⁰ In Berwick, Sir Henry Woodrington's hall appeared at the end of his inventory of 1593, between the buttery and kitchen, and held only a table, bench and form, in stark contrast to his well-furnished chambers.²⁵¹

By the end of the century some halls in Berwick were already functioning merely as entrance halls, providing a display of status aimed at visitors who would not enter further into the house. In 1593 the only furniture in Captain Carey's hall (listed first in the inventory) was a press; but it also held a large amount of arms and armour, some of it decorative, as well as a drum and a case of fifes.²⁵² Carey was related to Henry Lord Hunsden, a cousin of the Queen who had been Governor of Berwick and Warden of the Marches, and the display of equipment celebrated his position in both the garrison and wider society; its public presence in this urban setting made the hall 'a potent symbol of the nexus between local and national politics', as has been demonstrated in larger urban centres such as early modern London and Bristol.²⁵³

At gentry level a large traditionally-ordered hall had become only marginally relevant to everyday practice, although as complaints about neglected commensal hospitality increased over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries its mere presence could still have considerable social significance.²⁵⁴ In 1598-9 Berwick's Governor Peregrine Bertie, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby, built or re-ordered a small hall within the Castle, resulting in complaints from the Master of the Ordinance that he had 're-edified it with buildings of pleasure for his own

²⁵⁰ Cooper, *Gentry* p. 275; DUSC, DPRI/1/1593/W11, 1604/R1; the stave was 'a stout pole 7 or 8 feet long, with an iron head shaped either as a hook or hatchet' used in Jedburgh' Groome, F. H. (ed), *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: a survey of Scottish topography, statistical, biographical and historical. Volume 4* (Edinburgh: 1885) p.332.

²⁵¹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1593/W11.

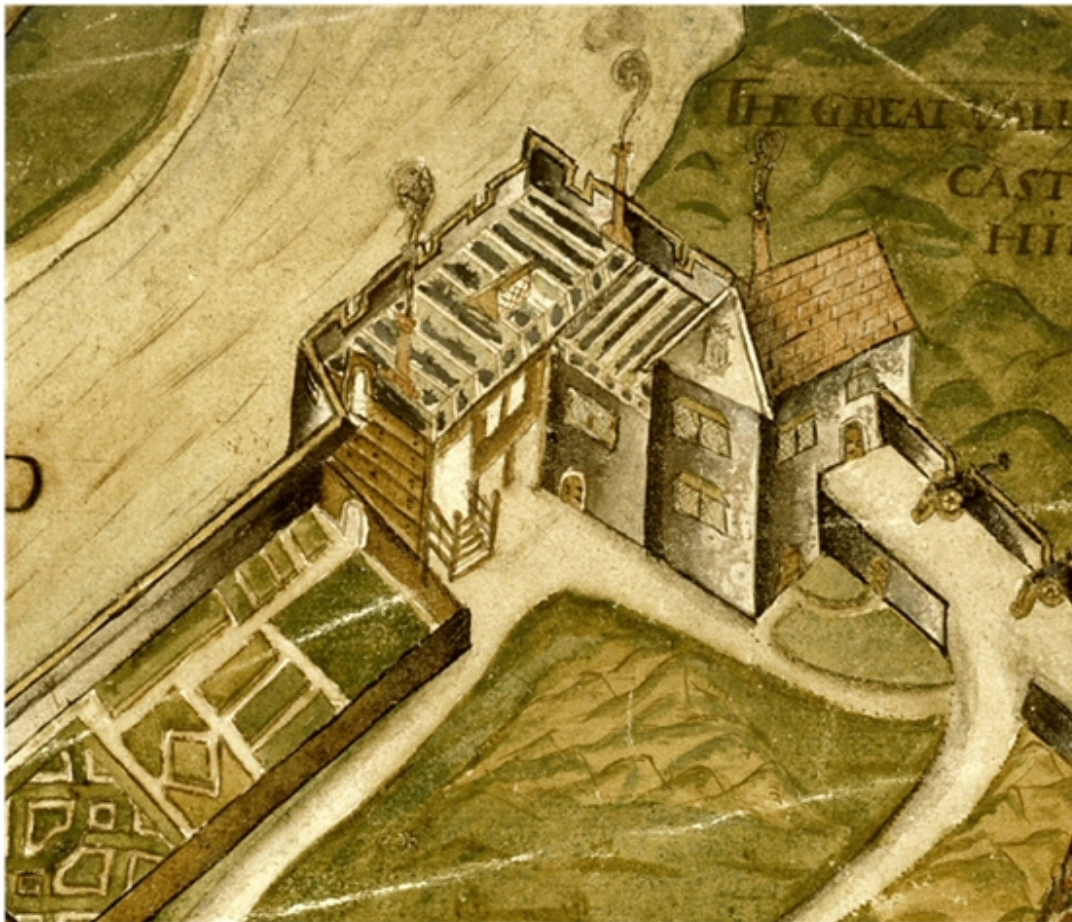
²⁵² Greenwell, *Wills II* pp.231-2.

²⁵³ Leech, R., 'The symbolic hall: historical context and merchant culture in the early modern city', *Vernacular Architecture* 31, 1 (2000) p.9.

²⁵⁴ Cooper, *Gentry*; Girouard, M., 'Elizabethan architecture and the Gothic tradition', *Architectural History* 6, (1963) p.23; Heal, F., *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: 1990).

Figure 3.11. House in Berwick Castle.

Detail from Bodleian Gough/Gen/Top/374 p.256 'The Great Valle of the Castel Hills' (Anon, c.1600). © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



Rowland Johnson, and the *True Description*, only show the footprint of these buildings. Did Lord Willoughby, the Warden, rebuild them as 'buildings of pleasure'? Is the view a record or a proposal? The painting itself has no provenance before entering the Bodleian collection, and there is no other record of a building on the site before the Earl of Dunbar's 'palace' was begun in 1609.

The stone walls have been re-roofed and re-fenestrated. The gable has an oriel looking east over the ornamental garden towards the sea and is finished with eaves boards rather than crowsteps; this is a non-local detail, as are the brick chimney stacks.

The timber-boarded block is also on earlier foundations. There were few or no windows in the castle's external wall so the space inside is lit from above. A cap-house in the end wall opens on to the roof leads. The circular stair visible through its window leads down to the garden, formed within the basement walls of an earlier timber-framed hall removed to build a powder store.

private use, without respect of public good'.²⁵⁵ His work almost certainly including the buildings shown in Figure 3.11. The timber-boarded block had architectural features signifying a traditional open hall: it was approached up an external stair

²⁵⁵ Bain, *CBP* v.2 p.694.

which led through an entrance passage into one end; and it was open to the roof, with a lantern echoing the traditional louvre over a central hearth. However it facilitated 'private use' rather than 'public good'. The passage, rather than being a busy public space linking the hall with the service rooms, contained only another stair leading to even more private spaces. Upstairs was the leaded roof, with views across the river Tweed. Downstairs a formal garden sheltered within the walls of a larger old hall.²⁵⁶ Bertie had abandoned large-scale entertainment in favour of secluded enjoyment for himself and his chosen intimates. He may have seen the historicist details as a decorous way to update a ruinous medieval castle, but their context of 'private pleasure' makes it unsurprising that the garrison was not impressed.

Kitchen

In the majority of houses covered by this study food was cooked in the hall. Although a 'kitchen' is listed in a large minority of inventories (46%) this was normally 'a space primarily dedicated to the preparation of food for cooking, and the storage of cooking irons and utensils and eating vessels' – what would later be called a 'back kitchen' or 'scullery'.²⁵⁷ The smallest inventoried house, belonging to the soldier William Sympson, comprised a hall and kitchen; he and his wife lived, slept and cooked in the hall while the 'kitchen' contained merely 'an old vessel bank & certain earthen & wooden platters'.²⁵⁸ The house was in Ravensdowne, and thus probably built during or after the 1560s, but although the apparent prioritising of a kitchen over a chamber as a second room might indicate an increasing separation of functions this was probably not the case; the separation of cold/wet from warm/dry activities was not new, and the Symsons' inventory is more likely to represent a standard practice which was not often documented.²⁵⁹ It can probably be assumed

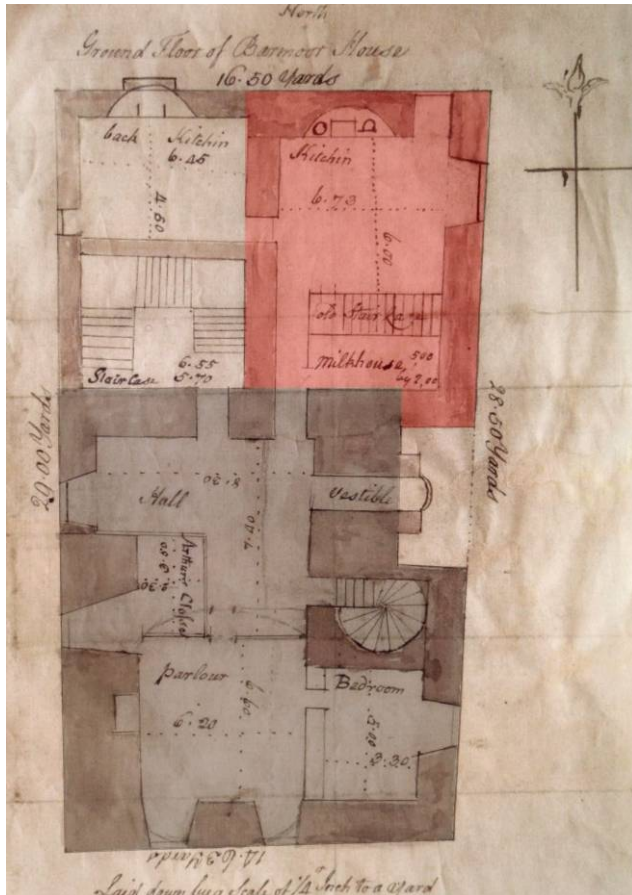
²⁵⁶ The hall's timber frame was removed to the citadel between 1565 and c.1580, to form a new powder store: Stevenson, *CSP For v.7* p.374.

²⁵⁷ Buxton, *Furnishings* p.287.

²⁵⁸ DUSC, DPRI/1/1586/S9. This dwelling in Ravensdowne seems to have been a small, rather than partial, house; in his will Symson referred to it as 'my house' and left it to his wife and eldest son in the normal way without mentioning any lodgers or other complications.

²⁵⁹ Wood, M., *The English Medieval House* (London: 1981 (1965)) pp.247-8; Martin, D. and B. Martin, 'Detached kitchens in eastern Sussex: a re-assessment of the evidence', *Vernacular Architecture* 28 (1997) p.91 and articles in response by various authors.

Figure 3.12. New kitchen, Barmoor Castle.



Left: ground floor plan, based on BRO, NRO 2372 Box 2 'Ground Floor of Barmoor House' (1778).

Awaiting permission.

The medieval tower is shown in grey and the new kitchen block in pink.

Above right: the kitchen looking north.

The new kitchen may have been built when the upper floor was divided to create a room with a fireplace dated 1584 (now lost), known by 1778 as the 'dining room'. The new block provided the façade with a degree of 'symmetria'.

that many houses had a separate 'kitchen' space of some sort even if it was only behind a partition, in a lean-to 'outshot' or in the cross-passage of a rural long-house, as recorded in eighteenth-century Scotland.²⁶⁰

Dedicated cooking kitchens begin to be recorded in inventories towards the end of the century. Sir William Reed's kitchen at Fenham (d.1604) may have been a survival from the monastic grange but the other six were in Berwick, all in houses with at least six rooms.²⁶¹ Toby Rugg's new kitchen (formed from his hall in 1589, Chapter 8) was part of a re-ordering which enlarged his house from four or five rooms to seven or eight. This tallies with Buxton's findings that cooking kitchens were most

²⁶⁰ Beaton, E., *Scotland's Traditional Houses: from cottage to tower-house* (Edinburgh: 1997) p.41.

²⁶¹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1592/A1;1593/W11; 1593/C1; 1603/C1; 1603/A2.

likely to be found in houses of five or more rooms, and illustrates the link between specialisation and number of rooms.²⁶² The first new rural house which can be shown to have an internal kitchen for cooking is Doddington, built in 1584 with a large fireplace in the gable wall at basement level (Chapter 9). The kitchen added to Barmoor may be contemporary with the fireplace dated 1584 found in the main tower block (Figure 3.12), and more such kitchens (for example Weetwood and Coupland) were probably added in the early-seventeenth century as builders' circumstances permitted.²⁶³

Chamber

Although almost all houses probably had an informal internal or external 'kitchen', it may not have held much of value, and a chamber is more commonly mentioned as the second room in inventories. It could duplicate all the functions of a hall except for major cooking but the desire to create more, and more specialised, chambers was obvious.²⁶⁴ Even in single-cell houses a chamber "within the hall" could be formed by division, a process difficult to trace from documents alone although recorded in Treswell's surveys of early-seventeenth century London.²⁶⁵ On restricted urban sites chambers could be formed by building over a single-storey open hall, or even a stable. Barmoor's (now vanished) fireplace dated 1584 hints at division of an upper hall in the same way as happened later at Coupland (Figure 8.7).²⁶⁶

At times, new rooms were in use before the vocabulary defining them was fixed. One example of this is the intersection of the old 'great chamber', the most richly furnished room in the house and the alternative to the hall for select dining, and the new 'dining chamber', a term first recorded in the south of England around 1525.²⁶⁷ Sir William Reed, a very old man at his death in 1604, dined in the room still known as the 'great chamber', furnished with table, two chairs, twenty stools, cushions,

²⁶² Buxton, 'Furnishings' p.289; Leech, *Town House*

²⁶³ Northern Counties Archaeological Services, 'Barmoor Castle', 2.2.10. For Coupland see Chapter 9.

²⁶⁴ Cooper, *Gentry* pp.289-92.

²⁶⁵ Schofield, J., *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell* (London: 1987) p.18.

²⁶⁶ Hodgson, J. C., 'Barmoor and the Muschamps' *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Society* 22 (1913) 98-117 p.113.

²⁶⁷ Cooper, *Gentry* p.293.

pictures and 'three pieces of overseas hanging' but no bed.²⁶⁸ In contrast, at Sir John Selby's house the great chamber's dining function had been taken over by a dedicated 'dining chamber' before 1595; it seems to have been sparsely furnished, hung with dornex and containing a cupboard, table, chair, form and stools. The adjacent room, furnished like a traditional great chamber with tapestry hangings and the best bed, as well as chair, stools, cupboards and chests, was merely referred to as 'the chamber on the west end of the dining chamber', balancing 'the chamber to the east end of the dining chamber'. In a traditionally-ordered house they might have been labelled 'great chamber' and 'parlour' but the appraisers of his probate inventory, possibly following the family's practice, no longer had a specific term for these rooms.²⁶⁹ A direct equivalence between the two terms is recorded when in 1560 Lord Grey, Berwick's Governor, built two new upper chambers at the Palace which he justified as being merely 'spare lodging for his friends ... [and] to lodge persons of merit about him'.²⁷⁰ The garrison Treasurer (from the lower gentry) referred to them as 'dining chamber' and 'lodging chamber' but the clerk drawing up the accounts used the terms 'great chamber' and 'his bed chamber', a more domestic and, in the case of 'great chamber', more traditional understanding of the rooms' functions.²⁷¹

3.4 Other elements

Stairs

Stairs in medieval towers could be straight or spiral but were normally intramural and therefore narrow, suitable for a hierarchical rather than companionable ascent; they were also placed at a corner, limiting the number of rooms which could be reached directly from them (Figure 3.1). There is considerable evidence that by the end of the century neither their number, width nor site was considered adequate. Stairs were added to serve new upper floors or provide access to individual rooms.

²⁶⁸ DUSC, DPRI/1/1604/R1.

²⁶⁹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1595/S1.

²⁷⁰ TNA, SP 59/4 f.152.

²⁷¹ TNA, SP 59/4 f.153,156.

As more, and higher status, rooms were formed on upper floors, formal access and a companionable rather than hierarchical ascent became more important.²⁷²

Builders attempted to enlarge existing stairs, not always successfully; at Hebburn, altered in the 1580s, the earlier intramural stair-well was widened to c.1.5m radius and emphasised by being allowed to break out of the building envelope into an attached corbelled turret at ground floor level (Figure 3.13).²⁷³ The stair later collapsed, and the presence of 'rough footings' may suggest that it had to be underpinned at some point before the house was abandoned in 1755.²⁷⁴ In addition, widening the stair did nothing for its inconvenient corner position. Both position and width could be improved by adding a stair tower. These had been used in larger houses for centuries (Edlingham, near Alnwick (c.1300) had a stair in one of its corner turrets) but were increasingly adopted locally including in smaller houses.²⁷⁵ New stair turrets between the wings and hall of Twizel, Chillingham and Ford provided separate access to three rooms on each floor while disguising the joins between the blocks and providing a new 'symmetria' to the facades (Chapter 8). In new houses, Doddington's central stair tower did the same for its simpler plan (Chapter 8). As with enlargement, expressing stairs in this way pointed to up-to-date domestic practice even to those denied entry to the upper floors to which they pointed.

These towers were conceptually simple, with a single stair rising the whole height of the house. Graduated access could be created by using the Scottish motif of a stair-and-chamber tower containing the main stair to the first floor hall, with access to upper floors via a secondary stair in a corbelled turret. The concept may have been introduced by Scottish masons working on Coupland in the 1570s (Chapter 8) but it proved easily adaptable to English requirements. At Duddo for example, built for a gentry owner, the main stair led to the great chamber above the upper hall before

²⁷² Cooper, *Gentry* p.310.

²⁷³ Dixon, 'Hillslap' p.139; Ryder, *Towers* pp.8-10.

²⁷⁴ Ryder, *Towers* p.10.

²⁷⁵ Howard, M., *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven: 2007) pp.42-3.

Figure 3.13. Alterations to roofs and stairs.



Left: Hetton Hall from south-west (Author).

Right: Hebburn Bastle from south-east (Robin Kent)

Both houses are late-medieval towers altered in the late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth centuries; Hebburn c.1588 (Dixon 1974, 139), Hetton possibly 1620s. Each originally had gable-end parapets and was entered from one corner, with access to an intramural stair beside the door (Hetton's door is blocked, its approximate position shown in red; Hebburn's is in its original position but rebuilt).

Alterations included inserting windows (enlarged in the seventeenth century at Hebburn and the early-nineteenth at Hetton), removing or building up the parapet to form a roof with closed eaves (twin-gabled at Hebburn because of the wide span) and widening the mural stair to create a decorative corbelled turret, which has collapsed at Hebburn.

branching out.²⁷⁶ At Dilston, further south, the first four floors are served in this way. Dixon, writing from a Scottish perspective, considered these to represent 'the degeneration of a functional arrangement into a decorative motif' but it seems more reasonable to assume that builders and masons were adapting the concept to suit the particular local situation.²⁷⁷

External stairs still provided a ceremonial access to high-status halls within a protected enclosure, as at Ford Castle c. 1560 and Berwick's Tolbooth, although both also had ground-floor doors for everyday use. The motif was adopted by Lord Willoughby in his new work within Berwick castle in the 1590s (Figure 3.11) and a shorter, central flight was provided when Ford was remodelled in the 1580s (Figure 8.4). The upper floor(s) of a small urban house could also be served by an external stair or "foresteps", whether or not each floor was separately tenanted; this was defined by Defoe as 'the Scots way of living ... which we see in Alnwick and

²⁷⁶ Bates, *Border Holds* p.409.

²⁷⁷ Dixon, 'Hillslap' p.139.

Warkworth, and several other towns'.²⁷⁸ One problem was the space they took up, as recorded in Berwick's Bailiffs' Court book; in the 1590s 'four pairs of stairs builded in the Easter Lane which is a very narrow street ... are very noisesome and inconvenient to be suffered'.²⁷⁹ The *True Description* does not show any foresteps, so possibly they were a mark of low status or too obviously Scottish to be 'true' to Berwick.²⁸⁰

Chimneys

Harrison's well-known comment on 'the multitude of chimneys lately erected' in 1577 records the inevitable consequence of fragmenting the hall's role into separate rooms.²⁸¹ At this period 'chimney' could still refer to 'the whole heating structure including the fireplace'.²⁸² Heley suggests that the 'metal chimneys' found in probate inventories were braziers or basket-grates, but cast iron fire-backs such as the one surviving at Ford (Chapter 8) might also be included in the description; both were necessitated by the increasing use of coal.²⁸³ The building culture already had technical terms for some elements. By 1589 a specification in Berwick could include a double chimney 'with beckets, cans and tops of stone as the order of building in the town now is'.²⁸⁴ 'Becket' was probably an ash-pit in front of the hearth (Figure 3.15) and 'can' is still in use in Scotland for "chimney-pot". 'Top' implies that the two cans were joined to make them more structurally secure, a detail shown in several places in the *True Description* but 'double chimneys' were too recently introduced for it to have developed a more specific term.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁸ Quoted in Stell, G., 'Urban buildings' in Lynch, Spearman and Stell (ed) *The Scottish medieval town* (Edinburgh: 1988) p. pp.72-3.

²⁷⁹ BRO, C/C1,2 f.72.

²⁸⁰ OS, *Berwick* 1856.

²⁸¹ Harrison, *Description* Chapter 10.

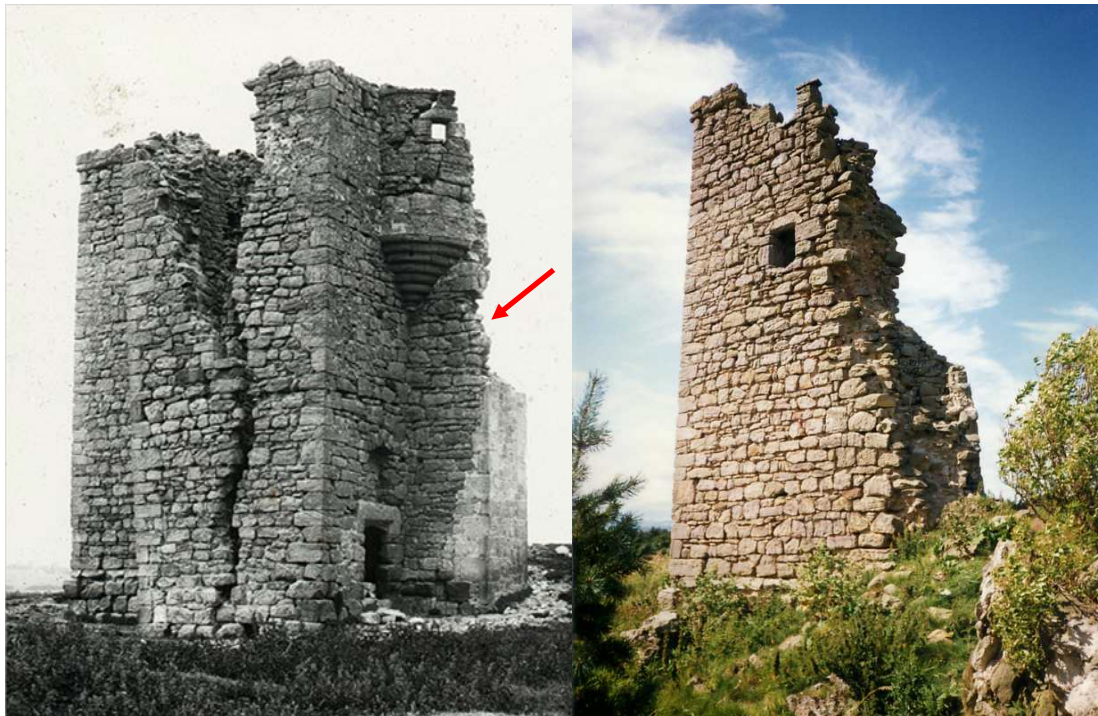
²⁸² Wood, *Medieval House* p.281.

²⁸³ Heley, G., 'The Material Culture of the Tradesmen of Newcastle upon Tyne 1545 - 1642: The Durham Probate Record Evidence' (Durham University: 2007: PhD); Spufford, M., 'Chimneys, wood and coal' in Barnwell and Airs (ed) *Houses and the Hearth Tax* (York: 2006) 22-32 p.23.

²⁸⁴ BRO, ZMD/94/30, Appendix 4.

²⁸⁵ 'Becket' does not appear in Pride, G., *Dictionary of Scottish Building* (Edinburgh: 1996) but OED has 'backet' as a Scots word for 'a shallow wooden trough used for carrying ashes, coals, mortar, salt, etc.' Oxford English Dictionary *backet* (Oxford University Press: nd) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/14384?redirectedFrom=backet>. In southern England the 'top' was termed 'cornice'; Cooper, *Gentry* p.181.

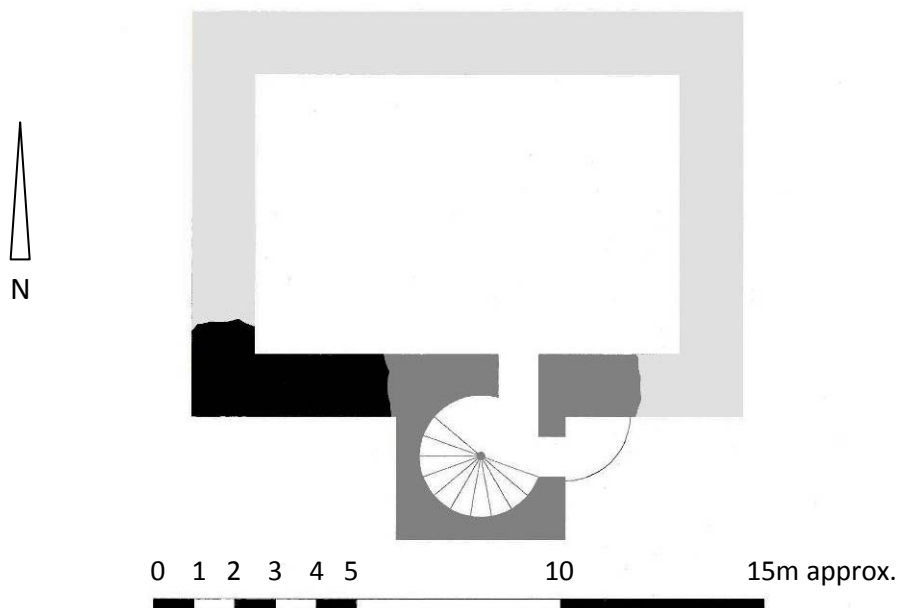
Figure 3.14. Duddo Tower



Above left: Arrow indicates a window jamb similar to that surviving. With permission of The Society of Antiquaries, NRO SANT/PHO/SLI/8/54. (Photograph dated 1884 in Bain 1891, 408).

Above right: the corner of the main block, from the same angle (author). The masonry in the foreground is the fallen remains of the stair tower.

Below: sketch plan of ground floor based on measurements in Bain (1891, 408) but elongated to the east to take into account the window jambs behind the corbelled turret. Black represents surviving walls, dark grey those visible in 1884 (author).



A notable change over the period is a gradual movement of hearth and chimney from the long wall to a gable end, linked to changes in room use and improvements in building technology. The ends of a traditional hall had specific functions (seating for the owner and access to service rooms) and the chimney was most conveniently sited on the long wall. The central blocks at Ford, Chillingham and Twizel each had two wallhead chimneys, although at the latter the structural difficulties involved in adding multi-flue chimneys to an existing wall meant that they had to be rebuilt a century later (Chapter 6).²⁸⁶ If the hall was divided or changed its function (for example to a kitchen) the fireplace might more usefully be sited at the end, and the stronger gables required for multi-storey buildings could easily incorporate new chimneys; this was the approach taken by Thomas Rugg in Marygate (Chapter 7).

'Beauty'

There is little evidence for architectural (as opposed to interior) decoration within the local building culture. Dixon based his argument for Scottish masons working in England on Renaissance-influenced architectural detailing of window and door surrounds (a window and fragment of door jamb at Hebburn, and the entrance door at Coupland), and in doing so unwittingly emphasised the limited evidence for such detailing locally.²⁸⁷ Surviving or archaeologically recorded elements are restricted to chamfered arrises for window and door jambs (Pressen, Doddington, Duddo) and occasional four-centred arches for door-heads (Duddo, Doddington) and fireplace surrounds (Figure 3.15). The most decorative fireplace at Doddington only had 'double chamfered jambs, the outer chamfer being carried square across the head, and the inner one shaped as a four centred arch'.²⁸⁸ The most complex surviving example of decorative carving is the simple raised initials and knot on a date-stone from Berwick (Figure 6.6). For the previous two hundred and fifty years there had been little call for carved stonework. Rural churches were poor, and the large religious foundations had left Berwick after its capture by Edward I; the wealthier

²⁸⁶ BRO, NRO 1216/f.4.

²⁸⁷ Dixon, 'Hillslap'.

²⁸⁸ Knowles, W. H., 'The bastle house at Doddington, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 2nd series 21 (1899) 295-301 p.300.

gentry preferred to invest in their houses further south, and the Crown had to be seen to be investing in defence rather than display.

In spite of this there are hints of richer visual possibilities than might be guessed from the limited surviving evidence. The *True Description* shows decorative elements such as the ball-and-spike finials on gables in Walkergate (Figure 3.6) and the pedimented door-case and eaves nearby; the latter may be on the house of Anthony Temple, a prominent merchant who travelled to London as MP in 1563 and could have recorded some of the latest architectural ideas there.²⁸⁹ There are also hints of rich interior decoration, again some with a non-local provenance but which could have influenced later craftsmen. The monochrome wall-painting which survived to be recorded and is partially reconstructed in Berwick Museum (Figure 3.15) was almost certainly carried out by an itinerant painter but may have been sited in an inn parlour, accessible to many in the town.²⁹⁰ Several inventories mention tapestries, some from 'overseas'. Thomas Rugg's shop had 'painted borders', presumably hanging above the shelves, and in 1584 the Berwick glazier Richard Parratt produced painted glass for the Council chamber in part payment for his elevation to burgess status.²⁹¹ Pigments, however, may have had to be purchased in Newcastle or London (as recorded at Hardwick Hall); the standard finish for rooms was white lime-wash and only in Sir William Reed's house is a coloured chamber recorded (green, as were the 'dornex' hangings on Sir John Selby's walls).²⁹²

The only record of visual delight is in the ruined Heaton Castle when c.1570 the Grey's surveyor waxed uncharacteristically lyrical when describing the 'pleasant and beautiful building ... goodly towers and turrets... glorious buildings and housings' (Figure 3.2). As well as the ruins themselves he was mourning Heaton's glorious past, and that of its Percy overlords (who were then, like their lion badge, 'ruinous and all in decay'). Another northerner, Robert Aske, had similarly described

²⁸⁹ 'General Survey' 294.

²⁹⁰ Kirkham, A., 'The Wall Painting from the Old Bridge Tavern (formerly the Old Hen and Chickens public house) 19-23 Bridge Street, Berwick-upon-Tweed' (2009).

²⁹¹ BRO, BRO/B1/3

²⁹² DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4; *Airs, Tudor & Jacobean Country House* p.130; TNA SP 59/4 f.153; BRO ZMD 94/30; DUSC, DPRI/1/1604/R1.

Figure 3.4. Wall-painting from The Old Hen and Chickens, Bridge Street, Berwick.

Below: the painting in situ, late-nineteenth century. From photograph said to be in Berwick Museum (currently unavailable).

Bottom: detail of the painting in Berwick Museum, after conservation.

Photographs: Andrea Kirkwood.



The painting is likely to have been produced by a non-local artist (Kirkham 2009, p.11). The only legible part of the frieze carries the Socratic aphorism 'Wysedom and Sience, which are pure by kynde / Should not be hid in bookes, but in mynde'.

The timber lintel, designed for a wider fireplace, is centred on the dotted line (as are the beams carrying the hearth on the upper floor, although this may have been added later). The columns on the wall painting are also centred on this line, and seem to have been set out on the wall in relation to it. However the fireplace is narrower, at the right hand end of the (?blocked earlier?) opening. Painting continues without a break over the blocked section. From this it appears that the painting may have been carried out at the same time as the work to the fireplace.

The fireplace opening is similar to that in 7-9 Marygate, and the hearth has a 'becket' (ash-pit), as required by the sixteenth-century regulations.



monasteries as 'one of the beauties of this realm' when defending his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace.²⁹³ In both cases 'beauty' had moral and utilitarian as well as visual components. The word was still used in this sense in Berwick towards the end of the century and in 1569 the strength of a party wall would contribute towards 'the beautifying of the ... town'.²⁹⁴ In 1594 the inhabitants could cart stone through the Cow Gate 'considering it is for the building & beautifying of the town', 'beauty' here implying the moral overtones of clean streets as well as stone houses.²⁹⁵ The term still embodied the whole Vitruvian triad of *firmitas, utilitas, venustas* with little of the distinction between form and function becoming evident in non-vernacular building cultures elsewhere.²⁹⁶

3.5 Summary

This chapter has focused as much on the contemporary language used for houses as their physical form, allowing the fabric of those which survive to be understood in a way which would not be totally foreign to contemporaries. The assumption that houses inevitably remained 'defensible' until after the union of the English and Scottish Crowns in 1603 (Chapter 1) may result from the survival of only the most massively built structures; even among these it is suggested that the 'houses of strength' were not in fact domestic but a specialised type of secure barracks for the long- or short-term use of horse-soldiers. This interpretation requires further research, but appears to explain some of their otherwise atypical features.

In Berwick, towers were already outdated except in a domestic form as prospect towers for merchants. By the 1570s a few houses here had three storeys and nearly half two storeys. Some, at least, of the town's single-storey houses may have been indistinguishable from their rural equivalents and of these, some were very temporary, built as part of the process of 'planting' the new plots discussed in Chapter 4. In the rural area the message of vault, battlements and barmkin still had value and was used in smaller 'towers' as a useful way to denote land ownership

²⁹³ Quoted in Aston, M., 'English ruins and English history: the Dissolution and the sense of the past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973) 231-255 p.244.

²⁹⁴ BRO, ZMD 94/28.

²⁹⁵ BRO, BBA B/B1, C/C1,2 f.39.

²⁹⁶ Cooper, N., 'The Gentry House in the Age of Transition' in Gaimster and Stamper (ed) *The Age of Transition* (Oxford: 1997) 115-126 p.122.

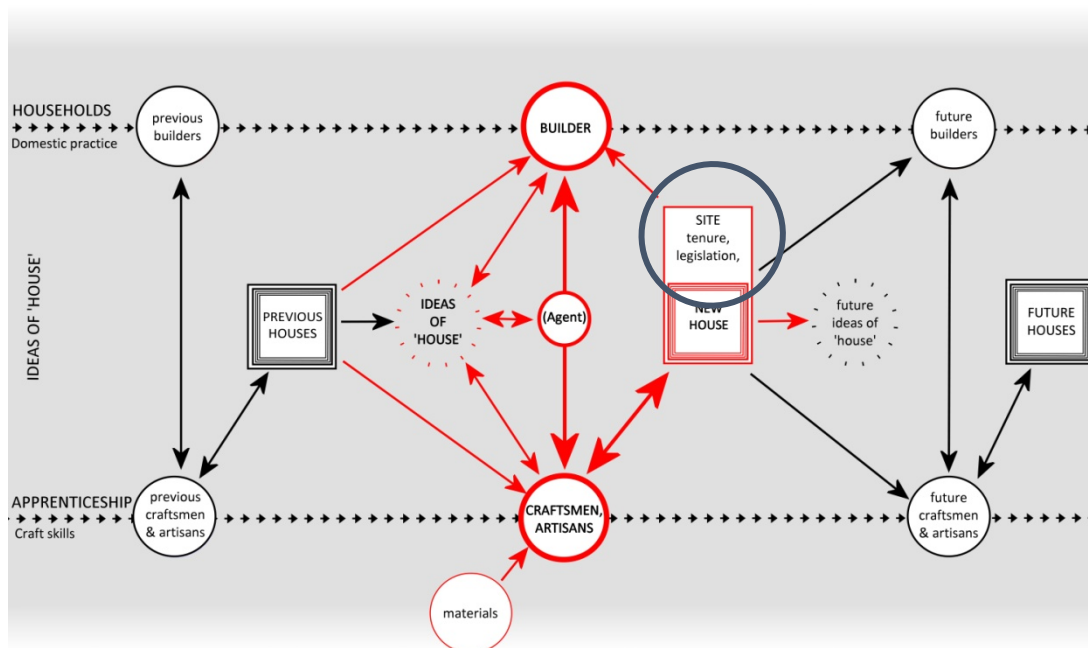
and provide a degree of safety for tenants and other local residents. However by the mid-century stone houses for non-landowners were being built with a vault but no third storey, battlements or barmkin and by the 1580s, even a large rural house such as Doddington could be built without a vaulted basement, implying a downgrading of either the need for, or desire to provide, community defence. In a similar way, smaller rural houses were designed to serve individual 'seats or steads' rather than a whole township. However, there was still a marked discontinuity between even these smaller houses with loadbearing stone walls and the single-storey, one- or two-roomed houses with 'couple' or cruck roofs and non-loadbearing walls, which remained the norm for most in the countryside.

The changes recorded here challenge Hoskins' assumption that the 'Great Rebuilding' was 'not much in evidence' in the four northern counties.²⁹⁷ As Adrian Green found for County Durham and Newcastle, most of the changes Hoskins suggested can be seen in rural and urban north Northumberland during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.²⁹⁸ The multi-purpose hall was being replaced by separate kitchens, dining rooms and extra chambers. New chimneys and stairs were constructed to serve these rooms. In Berwick, glazed windows were becoming normal. It seems that the North was not as out of step with the rest of the country as has been believed.

As elsewhere this national change was expressed in local terms, and the close examination of elements of the building culture provided in this and the following three chapters allow its local manifestation to be better understood. Having discussed houses at many of Brand's 'layers', from 'structure' to 'services', we will look next at their sites, the most basic and influential layer of any house and the subject of the following chapter, before moving on to study the human actors in Chapters 5 and 6.

²⁹⁷ Hoskins, 'Rebuilding' p.48.

²⁹⁸ Platt, 'Great Rebuildings' p.vii; Green, A. G., 'Houses and households in County Durham and Newcastle c.1570-1730' (Durham: 2000: PhD).



The site is the most influential 'layer' of a house, and as such is examined separately from the building on it.

Chapter 4 : 'The tofts and crofts where the houses did stand': sites

4.1 Sites

[Most] of the town [Holy Island] is now decayed in houses, and yet the tofts and crofts where the houses did stand remain, of which the burgh rent is now for the most part collected and raised.²⁹⁹

In 1561 the surveyors of Northhamshire and Islandshire were impressed, on reaching Holy Island township, by the tenacity of its house plots and the fact that their owners were willing to pay 'burgh rent' for what a twentieth-century archaeologist might have taken to be a deserted medieval village.³⁰⁰ Their comment serves to introduce the three main strands of this chapter on house sites: the plots' tenure (one of the main influences on builders, and thus on the building culture as a whole), their boundaries (which included not only their visible and tangible

²⁹⁹ Raine, *North Durham* p.26.

³⁰⁰ Beresford, M. W., *The Lost Villages of England* (Cambridge: 1954); Dyer, C. and R. Jones (eds), *Deserted Villages Revisited* (Hatfield: 2010) p.xviii.

elements but also the socially constructed legislation attached to them) and the changes which they were undergoing. The chapter concludes with a brief comment on the financial and other values of a site which might influence a builder. All these aspects influenced the form of the houses built on them, and examining their local expression in detail deepens understanding of this particular building culture.³⁰¹

The title is deliberately taken from a rural context because this chapter is otherwise weighted towards evidence from Berwick. The town's 'General Survey' of 1562 provides a wealth of information, both anecdotal and data-based, which links with other contemporary records. The 1856 large-scale *Ordnance Survey Town Plan* allows this to be positioned in space, and thus analysed further; archaeologists have uncovered buried features, and elements of some plot boundaries still exist to be traced in back lands. By contrast the only comparable rural document is Thomas Grey's estate survey of c.1570, which provides no details about house plots *per se*.³⁰² Early Ordnance Survey mapping hints at the position and earlier form of some rural townships, and a very few earthworks survive, but there has been little archaeological research.³⁰³ In spite of this some comparisons between the two contexts are possible.

Streets

While the 'landscape context' of building plots is acknowledged to be important there is too little scope to explore it in detail here.³⁰⁴ It is, however, essential to note that in this area of nucleated settlement almost all house plots were set within a street, many of which had common origins.³⁰⁵ Many rural townships, laid out by Anglo-Norman landowners in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, consisted solely of one long planned street although those like Doddington and Ancroft which

³⁰¹ Stell, G. and R. Tait, 'Framework and form: burgage plots, street lines and domestic architecture in early urban Scotland', *Urban History* 43, 1 (2016) goes some way to linking the form of plots and the houses on them in the Scottish urban context.

³⁰² NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

³⁰³ Dixon, P. J., 'The Deserted Medieval Villages of North Northumberland: a settlement history from the twelfth to the nineteenth century' (University of Wales: 1984: PhD) includes some sketches of earthworks.

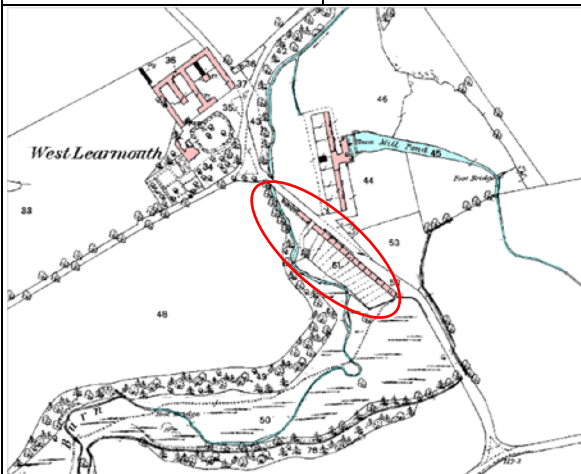
³⁰⁴ Longcroft, A., 'The importance of place: placing vernacular buildings into a landscape context' in Barnwell and Palmer (ed) *Post-Medieval Landscapes* (Macclesfield: 2007).

³⁰⁵ Roberts, B. K., 'Back lanes and tofts, distribution maps and time: medieval nucleated settlement in the north of England' in Vyner *Medieval Rural Settlement*; Roberts, B. K., *Landscapes, Documents and Maps: Villages in Northern England and Beyond AD 900-1250* (Oxford: 2008).

Figure 4.1 Tenancies and sites in Learmouth

Other examples in Appendix 2

Rent & proportion of assumed basic amount (11s.4d) from NRO 4118/01/173/81	From the Grey's survey, NRO 4118/01/173/81, 1570	From the 1584 muster, Bain (1894, 156)
27s. -	John Selbie ●	John Selbie ●
11s. 4d. 1	William William	Thomas Johnson
5s. 8d. ½	Thomas Swarlande	John Swarland ●
8s. 6d. ¾	John Swarlande ●	Roger Fetters ●
8s. 6d. ¾	Odnell Fetters ●	Raph Tomson ●
11s. 4d. 1	Rauff Thomson ●	John Cuthbert ●
5s. 8d. ½	Rauff Cuthberte ●	Roger Cuthbert ●
5s. 8d. ½	John Cuthbert ●	John Cuthbert ●
11s. 4d. 1	John Cuthbert thelder ●	Raph Johnson ●
5s. 8d. ½	Rauff Johnson ●	Wilfrair Bowton ●
5s. 8d. ½	George Bowton ●	John Frost ●
11s. 4d. 1	John Froste ●	William Johnson ●
11s. 4d. 1	Floraunce Foster	Awstylene Lawdour ●
11s.4d. 1	Austylene Lawder ●	Robert Swane ●
11s. 4d. 1	Richard Cuthbert	Thomas Johnson ●
11s. 4d. 1	Robert Swanne ●	John Johnson ●
13s. 6d. (half of 27s)	Thomas Johnson ●	John Pulton ●
11s. 4d. 1	John Johnson ●	George Bolton ●
5s. 8d. ½	John Bowton ●	Thomas Clarke ●
5s. 8d. ½	George Bowton ●	John Johnson ●
8s. 6d. ¾	Thomas Clarke ●	John Clarke ●
11s. 4d. 1	John Johnson of ye yette ●	
5s. 4d. -	John Clarke ●	
5s. 4d. -	John Peirson	



The lists indicate that sixteenth-century Learmouth consisted of one or more simple rows of houses. Part, at least, may have survived to be rebuilt as cottages for West Learmouth farm. The farmhouse ('Old Learmouth' on earlier maps) may be the successor to John Selby's house at the head of the township.

Based on Ordnance Survey 1st edition 25" to 1 mile map, 1860s.

originated as earlier manorial centres had a more complex pattern, and the same was true of very small towns such as Wooler, Norham, and Holy Island.³⁰⁶ Berwick included both elements, with the early routes such as Soutergate converging on the quayside and river crossing, the Anglo-Norman Bridge Street and Silver Street planned and formalised by 1124, and the town walls and further streets added after its capture by the English in 1296.³⁰⁷ Similarities in street patterns such as these meant that young rural immigrants to Berwick would already be familiar with the social practices involved in neighbourhood along a street, helping their integration into the town in a similar way to that suggested by Grenville for a common domestic *habitus* centred around a hall.³⁰⁸

Many township streets, and the two market streets in Berwick (Marygate and Sandgate), had a larger house at one end, either to one side or facing down the length of the street. Johnson's plans show that both Ford 'vicar's pele' and Wark castle were in this relationship with their township street during the 1560s and the excavations at West Whelpington found evidence of a stone-built house at the west end of the village green which was interpreted as a 'bastle'. Berwick's town hall has a similar relationship with Marygate, and the position of the Burrell Tower site implies that it had a position of oversight looking down the fish market in Sandgate.³⁰⁹ Several townships in the Grey survey list a tenancy in a similar position at the "head" of the street (Figure 4.1); in Akeld and Learmouth these belonged to members of gentry families and at Doddington Robert Thomson was the Bailiff. As well as a physical expression of the local hierarchy (Chapter 5) these houses were those which sheltered the community in time of trouble (Chapter 3).

4.2 Tenure

The tenacious survival of Holy Island's tofts and croft boundaries was linked with the continuing payment of burgh rent. Tenure of a plot provided legal rights, and this link between physical plot and tenurial privileges meant that the plot's very

³⁰⁶ Raine, *North Durham* pp.15-27.

³⁰⁷ Marlow, *Extensive Urban Survey* pp.13-15.

³⁰⁸ Grenville, *Urban and rural* pp.112, 117; Wrightson, K., 'The 'decline of neighbourliness' revisited' in Jones and Woolf (ed) *Local Identities in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: 2007) 19-49; Tadmor, N., *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: 2012) Chapter 1.

³⁰⁹ HHA, Maps 2.25, Maps 2.24; Evans, et al., 'West Whelpington 2'.

existence had value whether or not its house still stood, making it Brand's longest-lasting building layer, 'whose boundaries and context outlast generations of ephemeral buildings'.³¹⁰ Long-term survival of boundaries was a key assumption for Conzen in his seminal study of burgage plots in Alnwick.³¹¹ However, an easy equation of a site's 'boundaries' (or physical expression) with its 'context' (tenurial expression) can be deceptive. Scrase carefully details the interaction of incremental physical and tenurial changes that eventually obscured evidence of the first plot on sites in Wells.³¹² Even in Holy Island, burgage boundaries altered considerably over time and 'the original street pattern was, in places, quite different from that of today.'³¹³ Even in a town as small as Holy Island, much of a plot's value lay in its tenure rather than its physical form.

While less convoluted than in previous centuries, tenure was still experienced as complex in the sixteenth century, with a single plot often being subject to several levels of tenure.³¹⁴ Each might have agency over one or more layers of the house; for example the subtenant over the furniture, the tenant over the sanitary arrangements, the leaseholder over the structure, the freeholder over the site. The intention here is not to explain the possible relationships but merely to bring out aspects of tenure which directly affected the houses built on a site.³¹⁵

At will

The most obvious factor was that a builder with a short-term, insecure tenure tended not to construct a long-lasting house. The link was pointed out by the

³¹⁰ Brand, *How Buildings Learn* p.13. In spite of this, historic urban boundaries are often unacknowledged in planning decisions; Hudson, J., 'Boundaries and conservation' *Structural Survey* 18, 5 (2000).

³¹¹ Conzen, M. R. G., 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis' *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)* 27 (1960).

³¹² Urry, W., *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London: 1967) p.150; Keene, D., *Survey of Medieval Winchester* (Oxford: 1985); Scrase, A. J., 'Development and change in burgage plots: the example of Wells', *Journal of Historical Geography* 15, 4 (1989).

³¹³ NCC, *Holy Island Extensive Urban Survey* (Morpeth: 2009).

³¹⁴ Erickson, A. L., *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: 1993). Glossaries of contemporary regional terms relating to tenure include Northumberland National Park Association's *Glossary* (n.d.)

<http://www.nnpa.org.uk/understanding/historyarchaeology/historicvillageatlas/hvacommoninformation> accessed 16 July 2014; Bush, M. L., *The Pilgrimage of Grace: a study of the rebel armies of October 1536* (Manchester, New York: 1996) p.xiii.

³¹⁵ Johnson, *English houses* pp.60-3.

London lawyer Thomas Romney who drew up the ‘General Survey’ of Berwick in 1562;

the inhabitants having slender or no title are discouraged to build, other than thatched cottages. [These] are both incommodious to the inhabitants and dangerous and perilous for fire, a great discouragement to civil inhabitants and loss to the Queen’s yearly revenues.³¹⁶

Many of these ‘inhabitants’ were newly-arrived garrison members, who had built on plots set aside for them by the Council. Their ‘cottages’ were held at will, the tenants having no right to formally assign the property to anyone else and the tenancy ending with death or if the landlord sold or leased the property to another. A typical entry in the *Survey* reads

John Scott holds [in Ratten Row] one tenement ... worth *per annum* five shillings ... at will. He has built out of the waste five couple rooms on it and prays the preferment thereof, and pays to the Queen *per annum* of new [burghmail] rent sixpence.³¹⁷

All entries for tenants-at-will include the phrase ‘he/she prays preferment [to a more secure tenure]’. Romney had little sympathy with what he saw as the Council’s corrupt inefficiency and may have been trying to provide the tenants-at-will with some agency in their ‘discouraged’ situation. In fact, this may not have accurately expressed their feelings and in some cases the desire for ‘preferment’ may have been Romney’s rather than the tenants’. The ‘General Survey’ records sixty-three tenements held at will, over thirteen percent of Berwick’s total and ownership was already being transferred, showing that it had some value (Chapter 7, Guisnes Row). In spite of its drawbacks tenure at will provided a cheap, speedy and flexible response to the town’s temporary population increase (below). It was not so suitable for longer-term residency, however, and many of these tenancies were regularised with land grants in the following decades.³¹⁸

Other tenancies-at-will were set up without any permission; in 1592

John Snawe, [soldier] under Sir William Reade, dwelleth in a little house on the Greens belonging to old Widow Corbytt which was taken out of

³¹⁶ TNA, SP 59/7 f.10 (Appendix 6).

³¹⁷ ‘General Survey’ 87. ‘Burghmail’ was the urban burgage rent, equivalent to ‘landgable tax’ elsewhere; de Wolf Hemmeon, M., *Burgage Tenure in Mediaeval England* (Harvard: 1914).

³¹⁸ BRO, BRO/B/B6/9.

the Common, and now doth enlarge yet more upon the Common Greens, and causeth clay pits to be cast to the great hurt and annoyance as well of people as of horse and cattle.³¹⁹

Rural tenancies at will are more difficult to trace. Coal was being dug at Ford by the seventeenth century, and an informal aggregation of miners' plots on Ford Moss probably represents holdings at will, but they are unlikely to be dateable.³²⁰

Tenancies, leases

The majority of the population, rural and urban, held their plot under some type of more formal rental or lease, with varying degrees of security.³²¹ Rural copyhold tenancies, where the manor court held a copy of the tenancy documents, varied in their terms but were often considered beneficial to tenants; in 1567 Clarkson, the Percy's surveyor, suggested that the tenants of High Buston in the Middle March should build better houses, 'seeing they have now their tenements by copyhold' with more security.³²² Even in this case, however, the fines required at a change of tenant or landlord could still limit tenants' ability or desire to build anything but cheap houses. In 1586 some of the Percy tenants complained that they could be fined 'sometimes once or twice [for] three or four years or more' at a rate of between two and four times the annual rent, and high fines were among the excuses for tenants being unfurnished for Border service (Figure 4.2).³²³

The overall trend was for landlords to replace customary tenures with commercial leases, aiming at their own profit rather than their tenants' stability.³²⁴ Like other forms of tenure, leases were subject to fines at entry and renewal as well as an annual rent; at New Etal in 1579/80 the fines were equivalent to three years' rent.³²⁵ In Berwick they might be as much as seven or eight years.³²⁶ Although possibly totalling no more than the previous rent, they were paid as a lump sum;

³¹⁹ BRO, BBA B/B1, C/C1,2 p.27.

³²⁰ 'Ford Colliery, Ford', <http://www.keystothepast.info/Pages/pgDetail.aspx?PRN=N1975> accessed 11 November 2015.

³²¹ Baer, W. C., 'Landlords and tenants in London, 1550–1700', *Urban History* 38, 2 (2011).

³²² Dendy, F. W., 'The ancient farms of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 16 (2nd series) (1894) p.142; Houston, R., 'Custom in context: medieval and early modern Scotland and England', *Past and Present* 211, 1 (2011).

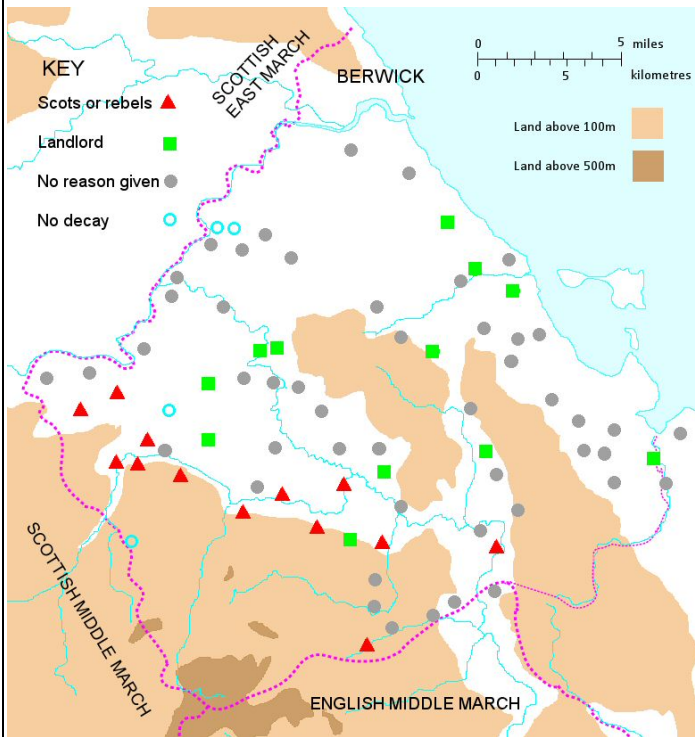
³²³ Tate, G., *The History of the Borough, Castle and Barony of Alnwick* (Alnwick: 1866) p.269.

³²⁴ James, M., *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: a study of society, politics and mentality in the Durham region, 1500-1640* (Oxford: 1974) pp.79-80; Butlin, 'Enclosure'.

³²⁵ Bain, *CBP 1* p.15.

Figure 4.2. Reasons given for ‘decays’, 1580 and 1584

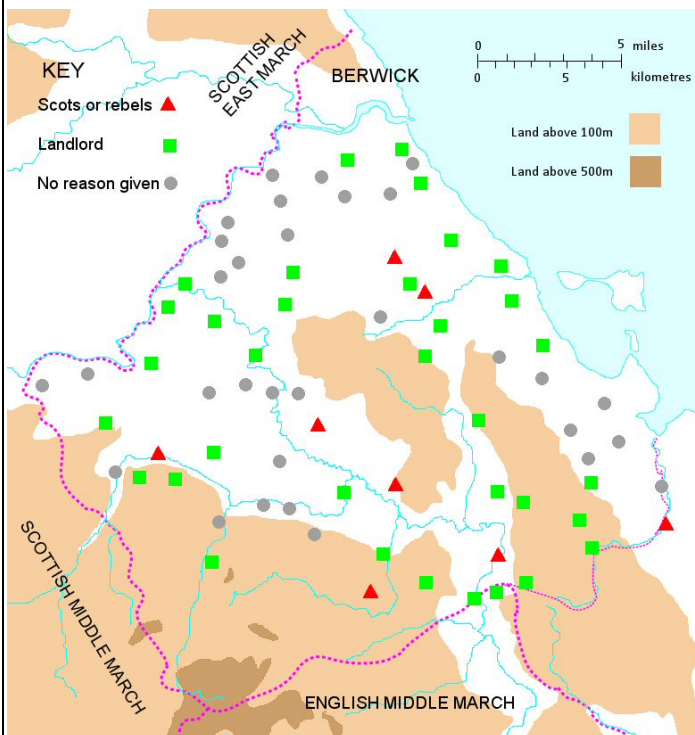
Causes of Decay at the Muster of the East Marches, 1580. SP 59/20 ff.92-



Almost all townships have some decayed tenements. The muster was taken by John Selby, as deputy warden; it may not be coincidental that one of the three undecayed townships belonged to him and the other two to the Ordes, his neighbours and colleagues.

Decay by landlords was blamed on high fines and tenants ‘discharged’ in order to convert land to pasture. Although the muster was a decade after the Rising of the North, many townships along the Cheviot foothills still attributed their ‘decay’ to damage suffered in the subsequent raid by the Earl of Westmoreland and the lairds of Ferniehurst and Buccleugh.

Causes of Decay presented to the Commissioners of the Borders in 1584. SP 15/28/2 ff.114-118



The Commissioners did not record undecayed tenancies, but were less reticent in blaming defaults on local landowners.

As before, much of the decay was blamed on high fines and enclosure for pasture. Other causes included divided tenements, enhanced rents, conversion to demesne and unreasonable services for landlords. By now, Scottish depredation seems to represent small-scale raiding, although at Ancroft seventeen tenements were ‘made unable by losses they sustained in the commotion time’.

³²⁶ BRO, ZMD 94/32 (Appendix 4).

thus the creation of several leases simultaneously enabled a landowner to gain a considerable capital sum in a short space of time. Indeed, conversion to leasehold may well have been used originally as a short-term measure to anticipate income rather than a longer-term mechanism to alter the pattern of landholding; the money raised would certainly have eased the burden of funding a building project.³²⁷ Thomas Carr of Ford created leases between 1550 and 1558, unusually early for the East March but a time when he needed money for repairs to Ford Castle which had been badly damaged in the French raids of 1549 (Chapter 8).³²⁸ The increase in leases and complaints about 'great and irksome fines' over the second half of the century is echoed by a rise in building or rebuilding of country seats (Chapter 5), although the lack of manorial records makes it difficult to show whether these were specifically linked to new leases or coincide with building projects.³²⁹ The effect on the building culture, however, was to increase landlords' investment in their own large house at the expense of tenants' smaller ones. The opposite was the case in Berwick, where building leases were framed to finance house-building by tenants who might then benefit from living in an improved house. Building leases of this type (discussed further in Chapter 6) would have raised the quality of houses in the town as a whole, although also serving to concentrate capital in the hands of lessors in the long term.³³⁰

Lessees had to return the property in good condition at the end of a lease, making the house itself a better investment for the landlord, and some provided help with this. In 1556 Durham's Dean and Chapter provided 'great timber' for repairs in a twenty-one year lease at Bowsden, near Lowick.³³¹ A lease of 1592 in Marygate contained the clause that

if any underwater [ground water] happen to break out in any of the two cellars ... during the continuance of this lease ... the pipes for conveyance

³²⁷ Hoyle, R. W., 'Tenure and the land market in early modern England: or a late contribution to the Brenner debate', *The Economic History Review* 43, 1 (1990).

³²⁸ DUSC, DPRI/1/163/C8.

³²⁹ Bain, *CBP 1* p.14; TNA, SP 15/28/2 f.119.

³³⁰ Hoyle, 'Tenure'.

³³¹ DUSC, Loc.XXIX:71.

of the said water shall and are to be scoured and maintained by and at the charge of the [lessor], his heirs and assignees.³³²

These examples indicate concern for the long-term future of the house itself rather than merely the site.

Freehold

Freehold was the most secure form of tenure, but even freehold land belonged ultimately to the Crown. Freeholds in Castlegate and the Greens, outside Berwick's new walls, were potentially subject to demolition to create a clear field of fire from the walls and in spite of its 'freehold' status few houses here were built of stone until the early-nineteenth century, well after the final Jacobite rebellion of 1745. Freehold could also involve ongoing responsibilities to the primary or secondary landowner. All urban burgages were held freehold but paid 'burghmail rent' to the Crown as landowner, but others also paid the Crown annual 'quit rents' in lieu of services as well as rents originally due to the Church. In Akeld and Coupland James and William Wallis held freehold land but paid 'knight's service, that is to say by the [sixth] parte of a knight's fee' to the castle of Wark and also an annual rent to Grey, the manorial landowner.³³³

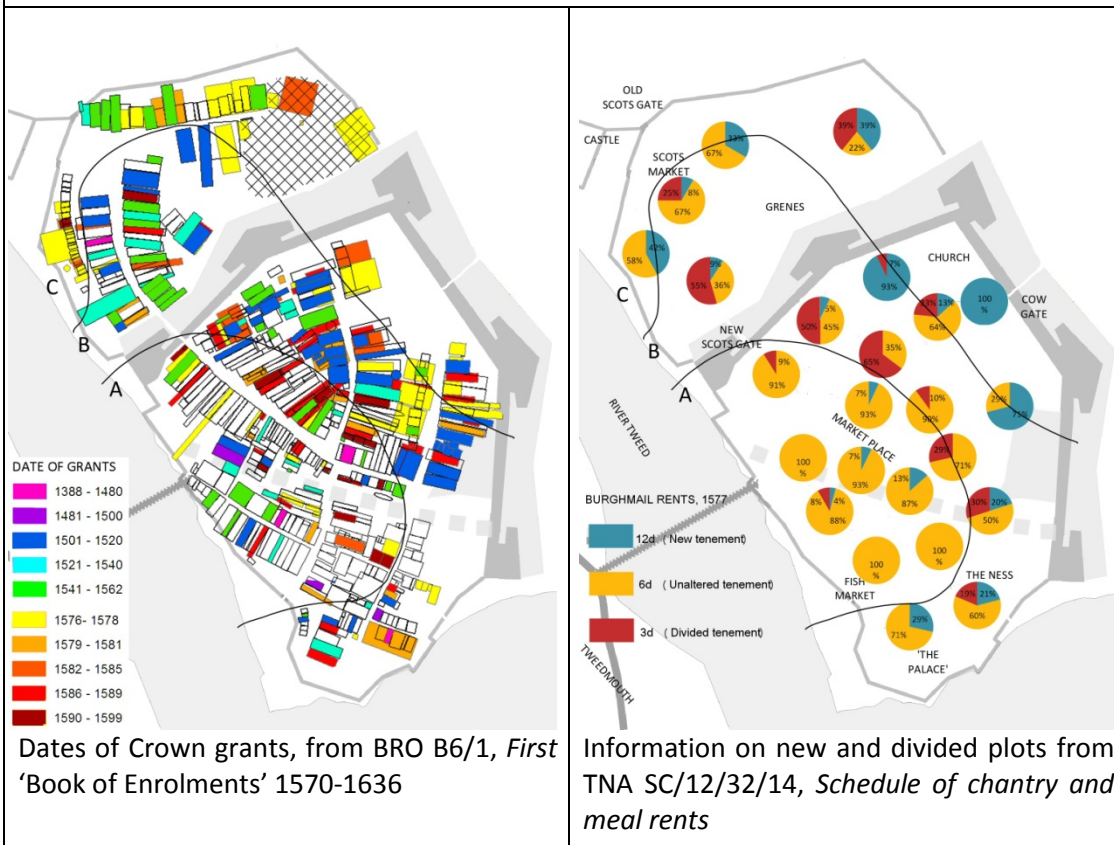
In Berwick the Chamberlain (a post generally held by another Council officer) was responsible for granting and registering new or re-allocated freehold plots (Figure 4.3) although the system broke down at times of political stress. The *Re-edification Act* of 1542 which gave civic authorities permission to take over and improve derelict sites or houses if their tenants or owners did not do so; this did not imply decline in the amount or condition of housing in a town but rather a desire to be able to control potential problems, and while not strictly necessary in Berwick it should have reinforced the Chamberlain's powers.³³⁴ However, by 1558 the Chamberlain Robert Ellerker was away fighting in Scotland and France and the 'General Survey' makes it obvious that by the 1560s land registration had broken

³³² BRO, ZMD/94/32 (Marygate, Chapter 8).

³³³ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81 ff.6,7; appendix 4 contains an example of a quit rent.

³³⁴ Tittler, R., 'For the "Re-Edification of Townes": the rebuilding statutes of Henry VIII', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 22, 4 (1990). As in other towns which were effectively controlled by a large landowner the burgesses did not benefit directly from the Act, and this situation only changed in 1604 when the Crown handed over its powers to the Corporation.

Figure 4.3. Stability and change in Berwick's burgage plots



The town divides into three areas which developed in differing ways.

In area (A) grants survive for only a third of plots, including almost all those from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Property here changed hands by inheritance or 'lease and release' rather than being re-granted. This area was also the most physically stable, with the lowest proportion of new or divided tenements in 1577.

In area (B) there was a considerable redistribution or confirmation of land-holding between 1500-1520 (following the Treaty of Perpetual Peace with Scotland in 1502) and another between 1540-62 (the period of citadel- and wall-building). Several plots were later re-granted, as garrison personnel changed. Although this area had been settled for some time (the earliest grant, in Castlegate, dates from 1450) it was less physically and socially stable than the core of the town, with many divided tenements and some new ones in 1577.

In Area C, the periphery, many new house plots are recorded in 1577 and a very high proportion of plots have grants dating from the late 1570s, when the Chamberlain's Court resumed its work. By 1577 the Greens had a unique mix of new, old and divided plots but missing information in the 'General Survey' makes it difficult to compare with its earlier character.

Plots positions are approximate, and at least twelve plots in the hatched area of the Greens are unrecorded in 1562.

down.³³⁵ Plots had been granted but not enrolled, the Chamberlain's seal had vanished, a counterfeit was in use and there was blatant favouritism of locals when property disputes came to court.³³⁶ In one instance a local man (Lionel Corbett) 'procured the chamberlain's seal to be annexed to a naughty [worthless, i.e. fake] deed bearing date the twenty-ninth year of Henry V' (!); when the surveyor Thomas Romney questioned this, the jury preferred his claim to the more legitimate one of the 'southerner' John Wheldale.³³⁷ Romney blamed the Council for the problems since 'the burgesses be not answerable to the Queen nor parties out of the towne of Berwick', although with Ellerker's absence and the physical disruption caused by the defence works some problems were probably inevitable.³³⁸ By 1573 a new seal had been sent up from London and grants were again being enrolled, with the Governor acting as Chamberlain.³³⁹

However the uncertainty over titles to land continued and (according to a later mayor) when Cary became governor in 1585

he called a Chamberlain's Court, forced all to show their titles to lands there, and made divers take new "Chamberlain's seals" for his own gain... and when some would not yield he gave away their houses, forcing the poor men to be at "double charges" in taking new leases from him.³⁴⁰

The complaint about excessive fees is reminiscent of those over rural fines; around the same time the Bailiff's Court complained that 'the Ancient fee appertaining to the Chamberlain for the Seal of his office is 6s. 8d. and the chamberlain was of late years taking a great deal above that sum.'³⁴¹ By 1594 it had been reduced, and in 1600 new Orders for Berwick included a requirement for the Chamberlain to swear

³³⁵ Ridpath, G. and T. Gale, *The Border-History of England and Scotland* (London, Berwick: 1776) p.589. Ellerker preferred soldiering to office work; he had been Chamberlain since 1533 and only relinquished the post in 1561, but complaints about his absence began in 1543; Taylor, M. J., 'Ellerker, Sir Robert' in Hasler (ed) *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603* (Woodbridge: 1981).

³³⁶ TNA, SP 59/7 f.10 (Appendix 6).

³³⁷ Plot 425, Castlegate ('Wheldale' appears elsewhere as 'Weldon').

³³⁸ TNA, SP 59/7 f.10.

³³⁹ BRO, BRO B6/1.

³⁴⁰ Bain, *CBP 1* p.433. This may have been in 1587, when at least thirty-two grants were enrolled, although none are obviously for their previous owners; BRO, BRO B6/1.

³⁴¹ BRO, BBA B/B1.

to 'exact no more fees in his office, than in the first year of the Queen's reign'.³⁴² The complaints may have been indicative of a wider concern about land registration; similar worries about over-regulation caused the failure of the near-contemporary 'Secretary's Register' in Scotland.³⁴³ In spite of these complaints, however, a considerable amount of land was granted and the security this provided is likely to have encouraged higher quality house-building.

In rural areas, landlords could sell individual plots for house-builders, sometimes referred to as 'seat houses'. The term seems to have been used for any freehold plot which was inhabited by its owner, whether or not it had a manor attached.³⁴⁴ In Akeld the Grey survey records 'James Smallshanks hath a seat house there standing east and west betwixt John Thomson and James Carr'; Thompson and Carr were tenants in the township street, implying that Smallshanks' holding had originally been part of a farmhold tenancy.³⁴⁵ The presence of a freehold house in the township street would tend to limit the degree to which other plot boundaries could be altered by the landlord, but this may not have been seen as a problem. Smallshanks' house probably remained similar to his neighbours', since like others in Akeld Eleanor Smallshanks paid for only one hearth in 1666 and in 1746 when James Smallshanks divided 'the house ... which his father hath in possession to leave to him' between his wife and eldest son he had very few other goods to bequeath.³⁴⁶ The plot on which Coupland Castle was built had also been part of the Greys' estate; however the Wallis family held much more land than the Smallshanks and could afford to build a new, high quality 'seat house' on it (Chapter 8).³⁴⁷ Between these two extremes were other 'seat houses', indistinguishable in form

³⁴² BRO, BBA C/C1,2 p.40; Bain *CBP* v.2 p.673.

³⁴³ Ockrent, L., *Land Rights: an Enquiry into the History of Registration for Publication in Scotland* (London, Edinburgh: 1942) pp.69-70.

³⁴⁴ OED, 'seat (16 c. =country seat)'

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/174373?redirectedFrom=seat+house> accessed 29 October 2015.

³⁴⁵ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81 f.81; Appendix 2.

³⁴⁶ TNA, ER179. The will was a nuncupative one, presumably necessitated by the division of the house, and the only one relating to the Smallshanks family in the Durham Probate register; DUSC, DPRI/1/1746/S4.

³⁴⁷ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

from tenanted farmsteads; the confusion is reflected in Hunsdon's muster of 1584 which refers to several small settlements as 'seats or steads'.³⁴⁸

4.3 Boundaries

Holy Island's plots were held under burgage tenure, although its urban status was only marginal; the surveyors described them as 'tofts and crofts', terms normally used in England for rural holdings. The toft contained house, outhouses and garden or orchard while the croft had a more agricultural character. Locally-produced deeds of Holy Island refer to the tofts as 'burgage and garth', which usefully describes the bipartite arrangement of an urban 'toft'.³⁴⁹ Before examining the boundaries whose longevity so impressed the surveyors, it is necessary to know what was being protected within them.

Burgages and garths

By the sixteenth century most houses were positioned on or near the street- or green-frontage of the plot. This had not always been the case; as in Scotland, at least some had been previously set back from the plot frontage with a small open yard in front.³⁵⁰ A front yard of this type was discovered in Marygate, and the *True Description* appears to show one in Walkergate (Figure 3.6).³⁵¹ Tweedmouth New Row still had 'squares' in front of the houses in the 1790s (Figure 7.6), although this may have been a response to the topography rather than a normal part of a new plot (Chapter 7). Excavations at West Whelpington shows that space in front of the houses was used in conjunction with them (Figure 4.6). Siting a new house on the court would allow the old one to remain inhabited during building and this may have coincided with the use of solid stone walls, more likely to be retained in later developments. The *True Description* implies that many houses in Berwick were in

³⁴⁸ A 'seat', with the connotation of sitting, may have implied more permanence than a 'stead' or standing; OED, 'seat'; OED, 'stead', <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/189433> accessed 28 October 2015; Bain, *CBP 1* pp.152-3.

³⁴⁹ BRO, 685/5/1.

³⁵⁰ Quiney, A., *Town Houses of Medieval Britain* (New Haven, Conn.: 2003); Stell, 'Framework' p.6.

³⁵¹ Heawood, et al., 'Marygate, Berwick-upon-Tweed'; Johnson, B., '77 Marygate, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland: Archaeological Assessment' (2006).

their modern positions by 1580, and early-nineteenth century maps show almost all on the street frontage.³⁵²

Behind both urban and rural tenements were outbuildings such as stables, or the Selbys' 'kitchen and henhouse' at Tweedmouth Tower.³⁵³ This was so normal that Johnson's sign for 'house' was a double range of buildings (Figure 3.4). One or more of these might have been known as a 'backhouse'. This could be a rear extension which formed part of the main house; Toby Rugg's lease described 'the long backhouse containing about forty and four feet in length ... extending along the courting from the fore house unto the stable' which contained the kitchen.³⁵⁴ It could be detached; at West Whelpington a detached single-room structure with a hearth formed a 'backhouse' for the forehouse on the green.³⁵⁵ William Thompson, a footsoldier, had both in his tenement in Walkergate; in 1589 he left his daughter

the south end of that my Burgage or tenement in which I now dwell [332], with the Backhouse lying on the backside of the same, and also one Backhouse lying at the end of the yard ... with free ingress, egress, and regress into and from the same passage through the entry and Backside of the same at all times.³⁵⁶

This implies a plot almost as closely developed as those shown on the 1856 Ordnance Survey map, and the final phrase hints at the potentially complex access rights through the common cross-passage when such backhouses were let or sublet.

The 'backsides' of plots were increasingly seen as problematic over the course of the century. In 1588 Berwick's Common Council made an 'order for avoiding [removing] of all new-come people and back tenements' and in the same year, 'for the good policy and welfare of the whole estate of this town', they refused a baking or brewing license 'to any person dwelling in any by-lane, backside or other suspect

³⁵² Wood, J., (1822) *Plan of the Town of Berwick from actual survey*; EH BB 63/49; Hindmarch, '119-125 Marygate'; Kirkham, 'Wall Painting'.

³⁵³ Raine, 1835 p.143.

³⁵⁴ BRO, ZMD 94/30.

³⁵⁵ The authors interpreted it as a 'cottage', but this term is more useful as a description of tenure than a house type; it may have been an inhabited backhouse or possibly a detached kitchen (a building type which has sparked considerable debate; Martin, 'Detached kitchens'; Smith, J. T., 'Detached kitchens or adjoining houses?' *ibid.* 32, (2001); Martin, 'Detached kitchens or adjoining houses? - a response', *ibid.*; a more recent viewpoint is Pearson, S., 'The provision of services in medieval houses in Kent', *ibid.* 43, (2012).

³⁵⁶ DUSC, DPRI/1/1589/T1.

or unmeet place.’³⁵⁷ Backhouses did not attract separate burghmail rent and this emphasised the inhabitants’ lack of social responsibility. Women and youths who were not part of a settled household were a particular threat; in 1598 the Bailiff’s Court presented that, among many others, ‘these people are in Thomas Brown’s back side in Hyde Hill; Elizabeth Cock, a young woman forth of service, and one Elizabeth Hodge, also a young woman. Richard Paine, [a] boy lately come forth of Tweedmouth and in house with Margaret Burrell and found by them in George Bourne’s backside.’³⁵⁸ This hints that the unease may also have related to the female “ownership” of the tenement backside (below), although since stables and workshops were also sited here a functional ‘uncleanness’ could also be suggested.³⁵⁹

Behind the yard and backhouse many plots had a ‘garth’ or garden, an integral part of most plots. It was considered particularly suitable for a housewife to work in, and thus an extension of the house.³⁶⁰ In 1603 Phyllis Collingwood, an elderly widow from Kimmerston near Ford, viewed the ‘garden’ and ‘cornyard’ associated with her house as peculiarly her domain, objecting to her stepson John sowing them without consulting her.³⁶¹ She used them to grow flax (for her linen-weaving) and barley (for brewing). A Berwick housewife would presumably have had a similar relationship with ‘the backside, garth, garden and ground belonging and appertaining’ to her house, even if she used it differently; one such ‘garden’ in Marygate may have been used to grow raspberries, and the *True Description* shows several with decorative planting schemes.³⁶²

There were several ways to mark plot boundaries. The *True Description* shows many as fenced c.1580, although this may merely imply that this was the ideal. Walls at the Palace were of mud, protected with thatch or slate tops (Chapter 6). Dikes (ditches) were also used; in 1561 it was ruled that

³⁵⁷ BRO, BBA/C/C1

³⁵⁸ BRO, BBA/B1/6 (13 March 1598).

³⁵⁹ Johnson, *English houses* p.171.

³⁶⁰ Markham, G., *The English House-wife: Containing the Inward and Outward Vertues which Ought to be in a Compleat Woman ...* (London: 1664) p.2.

³⁶¹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1603/C8.

³⁶² BRO, BRO/B/B6/9; Hindmarch, '119-125 Marygate'.

Figure 4.4. Backlands in Berwick.

Based on detail from Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72, *The True Description of Her Majestys Town of Barwicke*



The detail highlights two backland areas. Area A is divided into several enclosed 'garths', possibly used by groups of surrounding plots, although in the *General Survey* the whole area belongs to plots on Marygate. Area B is not assigned to any plots in the *General Survey*, possibly because the junction between the old and new walls was problematic here, but it was probably used by plots on Marygate and was later granted to them(ff.22,45)).

George Palmer shall have the ground of his backside from his south gable right down the garth to Brown's house dike according as they have staked the ground and to hold his dike as the stakes doth stand.³⁶³

A 'house dike' would be prone to silting up, and stakes could be moved by an unscrupulous neighbour, whereas a fence would provide more security. Evidence

³⁶³ BRO, BBA/C/C2/5 (3 May 1561).

for both is found in excavations, and the remains of wattle fence panels are recorded in the Scottish Borders.³⁶⁴

The *True Description* shows a few 'gardens' backing onto an unfenced area of land (Figure 4.4). Whether used for grazing geese, kept clean for drying laundry or planted, these would require a communally agreed 'neighbourhood' similar to rural commons.³⁶⁵ However these areas were only common in practice since all those shown on the *True Description* were included in the measurements of the surrounding sites in the 'General Survey'. Possibly they were unfenced but divided with dikes or banks, like strips in common fields. Given the pressure on housing even these were probably being fenced by the surrounding owners. Evidence for enclosure at this period is not surprising, but in the urban context it raises questions. Was this land once held separately from the burgage, like some 'burgages' and 'garths' in Holy island (Figure 4.12)? Was the process disputed by neighbours? Hints of this appear in 1581 when Ralph Selby complained that Elizabeth Seamark had built her stable on land at the rear of his tenement in Hide Hill, the Bailiffs' Court found that 'the former landliners' had recorded the plot and when the current landliners re-measured the ground, 'they [found] seized and taken away in the length of the same tenement seven yards and a half from the back of that house'.³⁶⁶

Landliners, Supervisors

These 'landliners' could be called to rule on a boundary dispute by any resident able to pay their fee. The post had a long history. As one of David I's royal burghs Berwick adopted the early-twelfth century *Leges Burgorum*, possibly based on Newcastle's laws, where landliners are mentioned several times.³⁶⁷ Their role in safeguarding the boundary lines that made for good neighbourhood made them equivalent to London's 'sworn masters' or York's 'searchers of the masons and

³⁶⁴ Coleman, R. and C. Smith, 'The archaeology of burgage plots in Scottish medieval towns: a review', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 134 (2004) p.291.

³⁶⁵ Roberts, *Back Lanes* p.114; Winchester, A. J. L., *The Harvest of the Hills: rural life in Northern England and the Scottish borders 1400-1700* (Edinburgh: 2000) esp. Chapter 5.

³⁶⁶ BRO, BBA B/B1, C/C1,2 (January 1581).

³⁶⁷ Scottish Burgh Records Society, *Ancient laws and customs of the burghs of Scotland v.1 A.D. 1124-1424* (Edinburgh: 1868) pp.51,58,96.

wrights'.³⁶⁸ They were chosen from the group of '*probos et legales homines*' who formed such an important part of both urban and rural community life, and their responsibilities were stressed in their annual oath:

You shall swear that you shall do equal right and truly determine such matters of controversy as shall be put unto you for trial of the metes and bounds of lands, houses, grounds and gables between party and party within the town during this year following until Michaelmas next coming, and that you shall duly, truly and instantly and indifferently award, order and present the right metes and bounds between party and party in all controversies of ground put unto you and yield to only what is right to the uttermost of your wits, powers, knowledge or skills without any ...of ... means or pursuit of partiality. All fear, affection, love, favour and ... reward set aside, and the same your determination, you shall put ... set in writing under your hands and the same present to the Mayor ... being and to be declared to the parties in controversy. So help you ...³⁶⁹

The lacunae show where script at the corner of the page has been rubbed away as generations of town clerks read out the oath at the annual civic ceremony. In Berwick four landliners were sworn in each year, and names include men such as John Martyn and John Tendall (both of whom had been paid as wallers for the Crown works), John Brown (a garrison pensioner), John Dobson (who rented a shop under the Tolbooth) and William Harrett (a 'rough mason').³⁷⁰ The burden of their responsibilities was recognised by a fee of two shillings for 'every ground and house which they are called unto to line or try upon'; divided between the four this represented half a day's pay for a master craftsman, probably only just compensating for the time taken.³⁷¹

Their combined 'wits, powers, knowledge [and] skills' included all the expertise needed by an early modern surveyor. They might be called on to compare documented measurements with those on the ground, as with Elizabeth Seamark's plot. They had to understand property law; in 1573 they were consulted over the ownership of a plot in Soutergate where Gilbert Robinson, having married his

³⁶⁸ Stell, et al., 'Framework' pp.3, 25, and references cited there; Salzman, L. F., *Building in England Down to 1540: a Documentary History* (Oxford: 1997 (1952)) p.44.

³⁶⁹ 'General Survey' Preamble; Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*; BRO, B 6/8 f.7, n.d.

³⁷⁰ BRO, BBA/C/C2/5; B1/1 f.57; Scott, J., *Berwick-upon-Tweed: the history of the town and guild* (London: 1888) p.265; BRO, ZMD 94/28.

³⁷¹ BRO, B1/1 f.57 (October 1559).

neighbour Margaret Fender and moved in to her house, claimed that the plot was hers by inheritance and could therefore pass to him at her death. After studying the deeds (and possibly, like the London ‘searchers’, talking to older residents) it was ‘found by the landliners to pertain to the heirs of the said [John] Fender’, Margaret having only a life interest.³⁷² Another aspect of “good neighbourhood” in which the landliners arbitrated was party wall or ‘gable’ disputes, which required a knowledge of construction as well as advanced arbitration skills. In a dispute between Thomas Rugg and his neighbour Leonard Trollop in 1569 the judgment involved specifying a three-storey gable (still unusual in Berwick) which would ensure the ‘benefit and commodity’ of each party and the wider interests of the town, ‘for all manner of chance of sudden fire (which God forbid) as for the beautifying of the same town and other good considerations’ (Chapter 7).³⁷³ On this occasion the group, although recorded as landliners, was of higher status than normal and included the town’s master carpenter John Roffe, presumably to avoid accusations of prejudice since Rugg was by this time a burgess while the absentee landlord Trollop was ‘of the County of Durham, Yeoman’ (probably a grazier supplying the garrison).³⁷⁴

The landliners would presumably have recognised Arabic numerals, understood simple place value and possibly basic fractions, as assumed by Leonard Digges for his proposed readership of surveyors in 1556.³⁷⁵ In Berwick, land measurement was based on the ‘Berwick yard’ of thirty-seven inches, equivalent to a clothyard or Scottish ell, ‘the foundation of land-measure in Scotland’.³⁷⁶ The dimensions of Doddington (1584) hint that the unit may also have been in use in rural areas (Chapter 8). Even the 1602 *Proclamation for Measures* had little effect on everyday practice, and in 1616 the Bailiffs’ Court ‘present[ed] the Mayor, unless he will counsel the Berwick yard to be used, and not the London yard, which has been used

³⁷² Loengard, J. S. (ed), *London Viewers and their Certificates, 1508-1558: Certificates of the Sworn Viewers of London (1989)*; BRO, BBA B/B1, C/C1,2, September 1573.

³⁷³ BRO, ZMD 94/28, transcribed in Appendix 6.

³⁷⁴ In 1562 Thomas Trollop held a very large tenement next to the Castle slaughterhouse; ‘General Survey’ 433.

³⁷⁵ Digges, L., *A booke Named Tectonicon* (London: 1556); Thomas, K., ‘Numeracy in early modern England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Fifth Series)* 37 (1987) pp.118-9.

³⁷⁶ *Encyclopaedia Perthensis: or Universal Dictionary ... v.14* (Edinburgh: 1816) p.105. The ell had been used for land measurement as far south as Essex; Jones, A., ‘Land measurement in England, 1150-1350’ *The Agricultural History Review* p.14; Knowles, ‘Doddington’.

in the town.³⁷⁷ This conservatism is understandable if surveying skills, like other building-related crafts, were handed down and internalised through the apprenticeship system rather than being learned at school (Chapter 6). More advanced arithmetic would have been available for those whose parents could afford schooling. Although, unlike geometry, it was still not part of the grammar school curriculum (implying a connection with trade or physical labour and seen as ‘antipathetic to the rhetorical skills which a Latin education was supposed to inculcate’), Berwick’s schools were open to the sons of any burgesses and garrison members who could pay and many of these would have required arithmetical knowledge.³⁷⁸

Landliners were primarily reactive and concerned with the status quo but a separate group, under the control of the Council rather than the Guild, had the task of managing change in the town’s land. Referred to as ‘*ensoratores et pro tem supervisors*’, their role was to ensure accuracy in granting or re-granting house sites, including new plots. They were generally headed by the town’s Master Mason or Master Carpenter, in recognition of their responsibility for Crown property, as well as including at least one of the higher status landliners. In 1577 a group comprised Leonard Fairley (the Master Carpenter) and three civilians, Thomas Haggerston, George Thompson (who had recently bought land from the Haggerston family) and Christopher Morton (later an alderman).³⁷⁹ By the 1580s and 1590s, when work on the defenses had effectively come to a halt and the Office of Works was often underemployed, it was normal for only one civilian to be included in the group; in 1593 William Acrigge (the Master Mason), Leonard Fairley (Master Carpenter), John Hick (a garrison member who had previously been paid for building work) and Charles Haslop (a retired mercer) formed one group.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ Elizabeth I, ‘A proclamation for measures, published by the Queenes commandement’ (London: 1602); Scott, *Berwick* p.306. Local units of measurement were normal until well into the seventeenth century; Thomas, ‘Numeracy’, p.124. To add to the confusion, the garrison probably used the normal English ell of forty-five inches since the mensuration table in Thomas Smith’s *Art of Gunnerie* (written ‘from my poor house in Berwick’ in 1600) defines an ell as ‘five quarters of a yard’; Smith, T., *The Art of Gunnerie* (London: 1643 (1600)) p.1.

³⁷⁸ Thomas, ‘Numeracy’ p.109; Scott, *Berwick* pp.392-6; Smith, *Gunnerie*.

³⁷⁹ BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.17.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, f.62.

A quest for greater arithmetical accuracy can be seen by the end of the century as the *supervisors* used more, and more detailed, dimensions, possibly reacting to increasing land values.³⁸¹ For example in 1562 plot 51 in Crossgate was recorded as 'in length xvj yards and in breadth ix yards dim [half]' but in 1593 its Latin description translates as 'eight and three quarter yards to the front, seven and a half to the rear and sixteen and a half between the south and north parts'.³⁸² Use of words rather than Latin numerals was an accepted way of ensuring accuracy, and during the 1590s the *supervisors* also began to record frustration with inexact measurement by adding the phrase 'plus or minus' to some lengths.³⁸³ Greater accuracy could have been obtained by using feet and inches; in thirteenth-century Bristol, some plot measurements were recorded to half an inch.³⁸⁴ Local surveyors presumably resorted to half- and quarter-yards because the 'Berwick yard' did not easily combine with the statutory duodecimal division. It continued to be preferred by some surveyors; in 1788 Barmoor House was surveyed in yards, maintaining accuracy by division into hundredths (Figure 3.12).³⁸⁵

Regulation

There was still very little legislation linked specifically to sites. The re-edification acts have already been mentioned, and other regulation tended to be locally rather than nationally defined. In the countryside, permission to turn land into a house site by building on it had to be obtained from the landlord; in Ancroft Raphe Jackson's widow could only rebuild a ruined house 'with the licence of my master' and in Coupland the Grey's surveyor noted that Edward Wallis was 'to be allowed ... for lands he has there one seat house on the north side of the burn standing north and south'.³⁸⁶ Here, agricultural requirements were the guiding factor but in Berwick the priority was the new walls. The Council took greater control over new house sites in 1561, during the time of peak pressure on building sites (below), and a note about

³⁸¹ Thomas, 'Numeracy' p.129.

³⁸² BRO, BRO/B6/1, /B6/9 f.61.

³⁸³ Thomas, 'Numeracy' p.121; BRO BRO/B/B6/9 f.66.

³⁸⁴ Leech, *Town House* p.60.

³⁸⁵ BRO, NRO 2372 Box 2. A metric system of this type was suggested as early as 1608 by the engineer and artillery officer Robert Norton; Stevin, S. and R. Norton, *Thiende* (London: 1608); Glozier, M. R., 'Norton, Robert (d. 1635)' in *DNB* (Oxford: 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20355>, accessed 12 November 2015.

³⁸⁶ DUSC, DPRI/1/1588/J1.

the fortifications included a reminder 'to consider the manner of the building of the inhabitants' houses, and not to suffer any to be built without the Governor and Lee first seeing the plan, and to see that none be built to interfere with the repair of the soldiers to the walls'.³⁸⁷ The position of a site could also define the cost of building on it, and thus its value to the builder; by 1560, newly-granted plots within the walls had the requirement for a two-storey stone house to be built within two years, while those outside only had to be built on.³⁸⁸ The effects of urban building regulations, which also only applied within the walls, are discussed in the following chapter.

4.4 Change

Rural

In the countryside the role of *supervisor* would be taken by the landlord's surveyor or agent, and he would have been managing the reduction in rural tenancies which was the subject of national legislation in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries and seen as particularly problematic locally because it reduced the number of men available for Border service.³⁸⁹ Although 'decays' were still often blamed on raiding (Figure 4.2), the process of taking previously tenanted land into demesne or leasing it to farmers or graziers had begun before the sixteenth century and continued well beyond it and both Dixon and Roberts and Wrathmell suggest that the period around 1550 was a tipping point when the cause of shrinkage shifted from economic decline and Scottish depredations to agrarian innovations.³⁹⁰ As the Dean of Durham wrote to Cecil in 1597 'the decays are not, as supposed, by the enemy, but private men have dispeopled whole villages'.³⁹¹ The local gentry, already benefiting from enclosure and pasturage, ensured that legislation encouraging a growth in the number of tenants furnished for Border Service such as

³⁸⁷ CSP, For. Vol 4 . p.341.

³⁸⁸ 'General Survey'.

³⁸⁹ Newton, R., 'The decay of the Borders: Tudor Northumberland in transition' in Chalklin and Havinden (ed) *Rural change and urban growth, 1500-1800 : essays in English regional history in honour of W. G. Hoskins* (London: 1974).

³⁹⁰ Dixon, 'Deserted Medieval Villages' p.10; Roberts, B. K. and S. Wrathmell, *Region and Place: a study of English rural settlement* (London: 2002).

³⁹¹ Green, M. A. E. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1595-1597* (London: 1867) p.542.

the 1581 *Act for Fortifying the Borders* had little force in practice.³⁹² Even Watts, generally sceptical of the effects of 'depopulating enclosure', admits that 45% of 'decays' in the East March in 1596 were due to increases of fines, rents and services by landlords.³⁹³

At Dilston, in the Middle March, around 20% of farmhold tenancies disappeared between 1558 and 1597, only partially offset by an increase in cottagers.³⁹⁴ Even more drastically, tenancies on the Grey's estates in the East March reduced by 18% between c.1570 and 1584 (Appendix 2).³⁹⁵ The townships most affected (Ancroft, Chillingham and Chillingham Newtown, Doddington, Ewart) were in the fertile Millfield Plain, hinting that agricultural 'improvement' was a major cause although at Chillingham the Greys may already have been taking land into demesne in preparation for a large-scale emparkment registered in 1629.³⁹⁶ Figure 4.2 maps the reasons given for this reduction in tenancies in 1579 and 1584. However, as at Dilston, decayed tenancies did not necessarily mean depopulation; a proportion of tenants probably remained on their previous house plots, but working as cottagers rather than running their own farmhold.

Tenant status merely indicated landholding, and the physical impact of 'decay' on house plots is harder to trace. In Holy Island, for example, only the surveyor's comment records that in 1561 the tofts were tenanted but had no houses on them; the manor court enrolment of property deeds merely relates to the sites (Figure 4.12).³⁹⁷ Within a depopulated row individual plots could be enlarged, as at Chatton where a row of four tenants' houses in 1620 had become one by 1720 and West Whelpington where Phase 3 showed a similar development by the seventeenth century (Figure 4.6). An empty plot could be taken over by existing tenants to provide a secondary house; in his will dated 1588 Raphe Jackson of Ancroft

³⁹² Watts, *Border to Middle Shire* p.31.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.49.

³⁹⁴ Healey, J., 'The northern manor and the politics of neighbourhood: Dilston, Northumberland, 1558-1640' *Northern History* 51, 2 (2014).

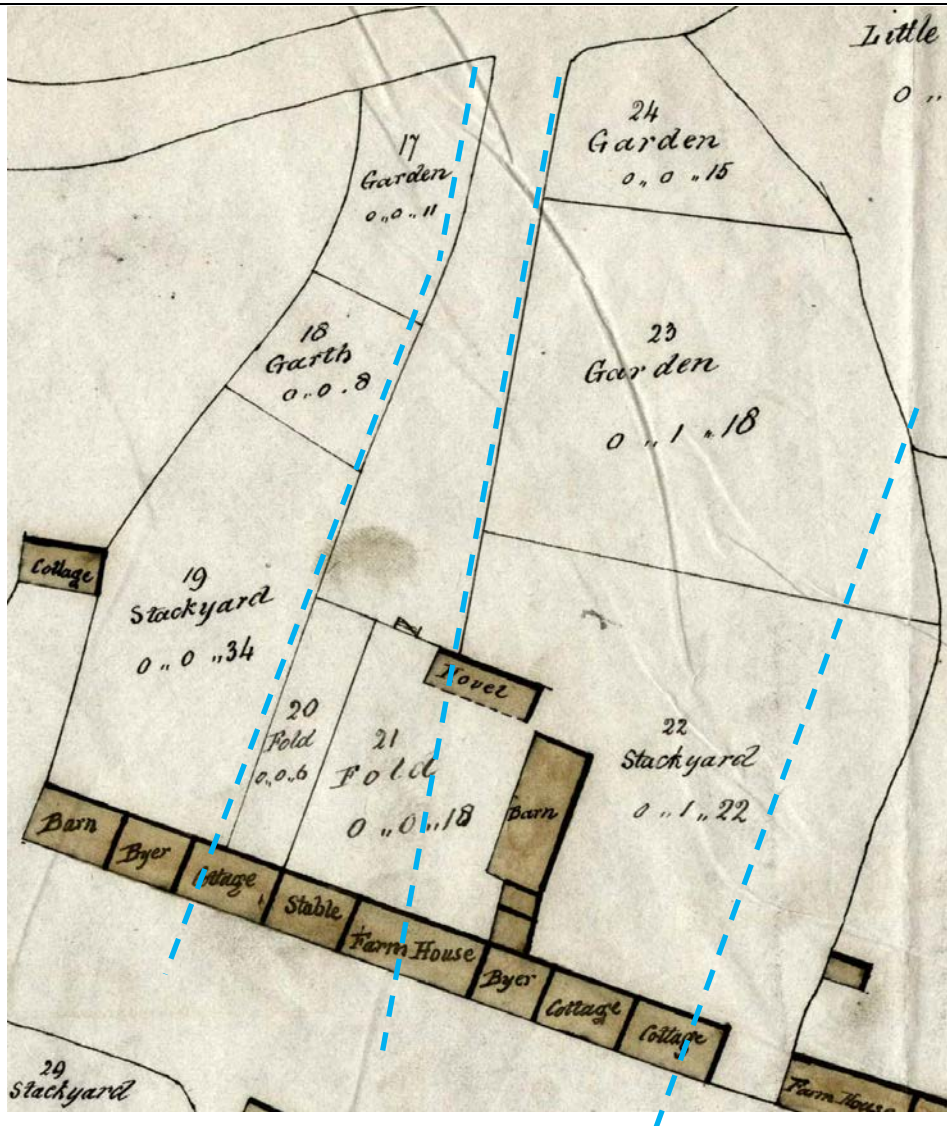
³⁹⁵ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81; TNA, 15/28/2 f.114.

³⁹⁶ Permission was given for 1,100 acres in addition to the earlier 400-acre park, home of the wild cattle; TNA, SP 16/139 f.34.

³⁹⁷ BRO, NRO 683/5/002.

Figure 4.5. Chatton township, four farmhold tenancies converted to one.

Based on detail from 'A Plan of Chatton', NRO, SANT/BEQ/5 3 3 10 (1780). With permission of The Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle upon Tyne and Northumberland Archives.



In c.1620 Chatton had thirty farmhold tenancies, four of which made up this row to the north of the village green, divided roughly as shown by the dashed lines (Dixon 1984, 150). The alignment suggests that the two tenancies at the core, containing the later 'farm house', had already undergone some alteration by this date.

By 1780 only fifteen farmholds remained in the township core and the row had become a single unit, housing a farmer and three cottagers.

instructed his widow and younger children 'to pass to the farmhold on the far side of the gate, and to [re]build the house belonging to the same', leaving his eldest son

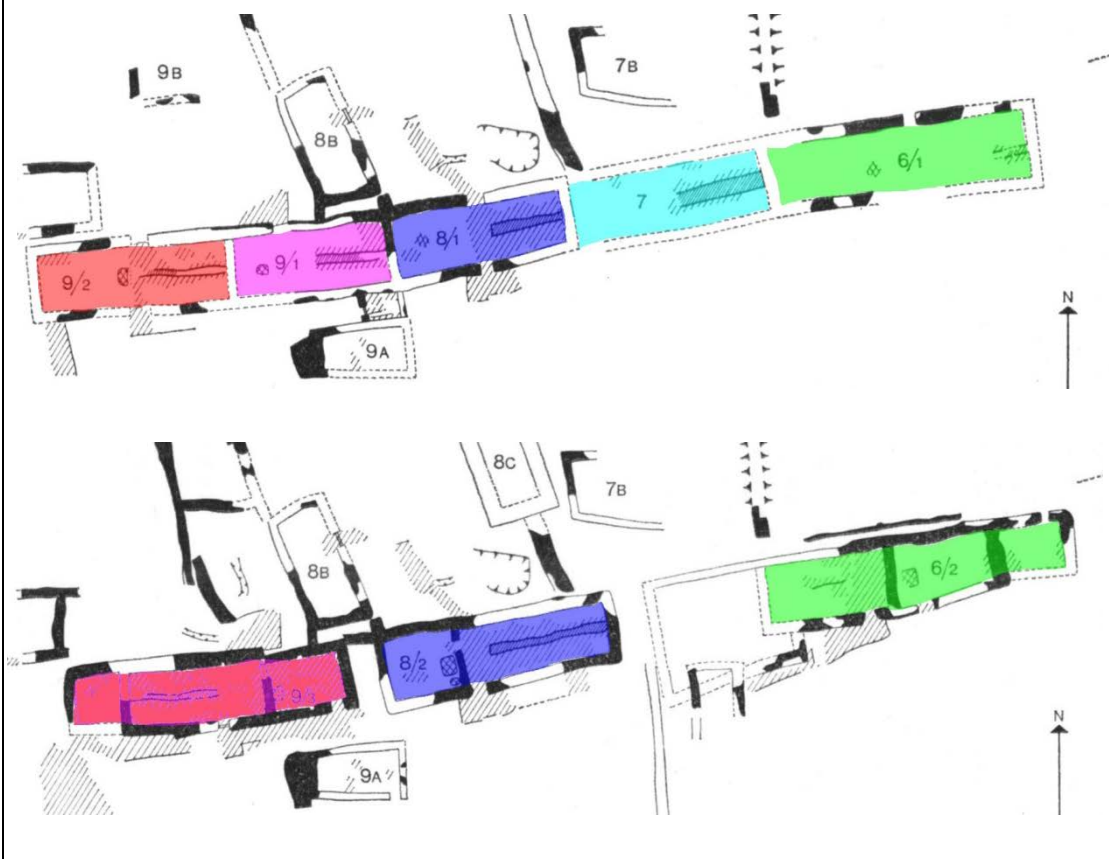
in their current house.³⁹⁸ Alternatively, a farmhold house site could be repackaged as a cottage with only a small amount of land as in South Middleton where in 1570 there was 'belonging to Luke Ogle (the owner of Middleton Hall) a house ... on the north row or side [of the township] between Anthony Brown's and Rafe Jollie's farmholds with a garth or croft and ... two riggs'.³⁹⁹

Figure 4.6. Change at West Whelpington.

Phases 1 and 2, after Evans, Jarrett and Wrathmell (1988)

Below: terrace of five longhouses before c.1650. No house had a permanent partition between living room and byre, although in 9/2 the hearth backed onto the cross passage, presumably with a timber chimney or smoke hood. Only 9/1 had an outbuilding in front.

Bottom: the same row after c.1650, partially rebuilt as three detached houses with larger byres. Each had a hearth backing on to a stone wall separating living room from byre, some byres were entered separately and some had stables or barns attached. More development had taken place in front and behind the houses.



Not all townships were shrinking. The number of tenancies in Wark increased slightly between 1570 and 1584, and at nearby Akeld and Kilham remained stable; these were all near common access point for Scottish raids, where it was in the

³⁹⁸ DUSC, DPRI/1/1588/J1/1.

³⁹⁹ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81. Ogle had probably purchased the house for one of his own tenants; see 'tenure', below, for another example of this.

Greys' interest to encourage plenty of furnished tenancies. Likewise Norham, the centre of operations for a large garrison charged with keeping the peace in the East March, had eighty tax-paying tenants in 1561 and many more unlisted ones, hinting at rapid growth.⁴⁰⁰ In Horncliffe twelve earlier husbandlands had by 1561 been divided into about twenty-six 'tenements' held by sixteen individuals, possibly raising capital towards a new house at Longridge for one of the prolific Orde family, minor Northumbrian gentry (Chapter 5).⁴⁰¹ These holdings were effectively cottage rather than farmhold tenements, and too small to provide a living on their own; their attractions presumably included Horncliffe's position between Norham and Berwick, which provided customers for crafts or produce, and possibly fishing rights in the Tweed.

One area of rural growth was the small but increasing number of new sites being created on re-ordered or enclosed land either as freehold 'seat houses' with their own land or leased to farmers as a 'farmsteads'. The process was not new; Gatherick, linked with the Muschamp's township of Barmoor, was in 1549 leased by Janet Muschamp of Berwick and it was listed as a 'stead' in the 1584 muster.⁴⁰² Sixteen 'seats or steads' are listed in 1584, the designation implying that their status was not clear to the muster master Lord Hunsdon. They typically mustered only one or two horsemen and a few footmen, implying one larger house served by a few cottages. Figure 4.7 shows that while a few were associated with townships owned by major landowners they were particularly common nearer Berwick, where ownership was more varied and there was an active market in agricultural land. At least one, Morton, was created by a Berwick merchant (George Morton) with overtly gentrifying aims (Chapter 5).

Thus changes in rural townships was mainly tenorial rather than physical, as farmholds were reduced to cottages, although a slow reduction in population may have resulted in some plots disappearing. Growth was experienced away from the

⁴⁰⁰ Raine, *North Durham* p.17.

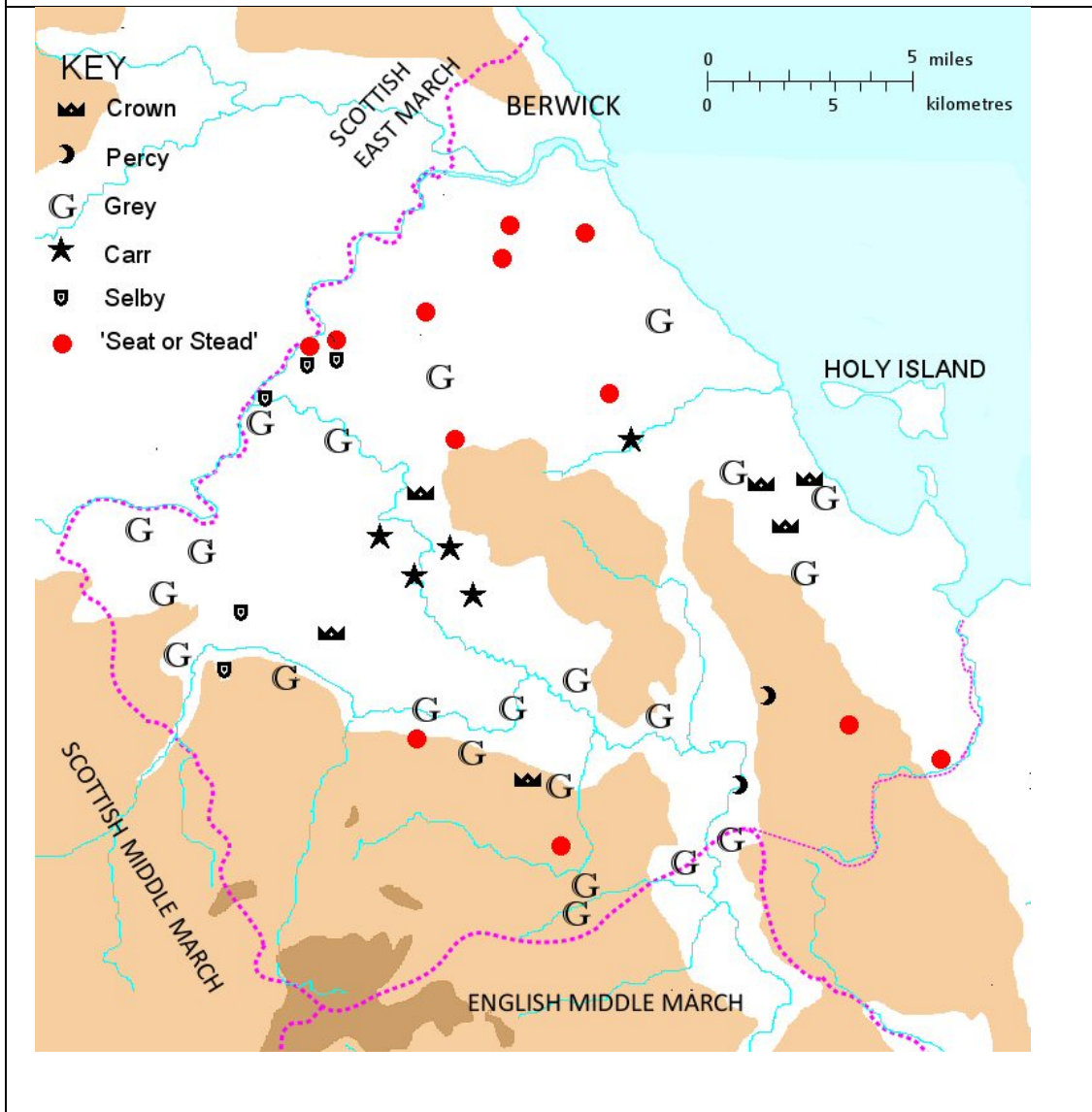
⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.24.

⁴⁰² By 1666 the main house at Gatherick had four hearths, so the farm was apparently successful. Hodgson, J.C., 'Barmoor and the Muschamps', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Society* 22 (1913) p.113; Bain, *CBP 1* p.153.

township core, as new 'seats' or 'steads' were formed to make best use of re-allocated land.

Figure 4.7. Land ownership and distribution of 'seats or steads'.

From Bain (1894, 152). The map shows only townships wholly or mainly under one landlord and those recorded as 'seats or steads' in the 1584 muster.

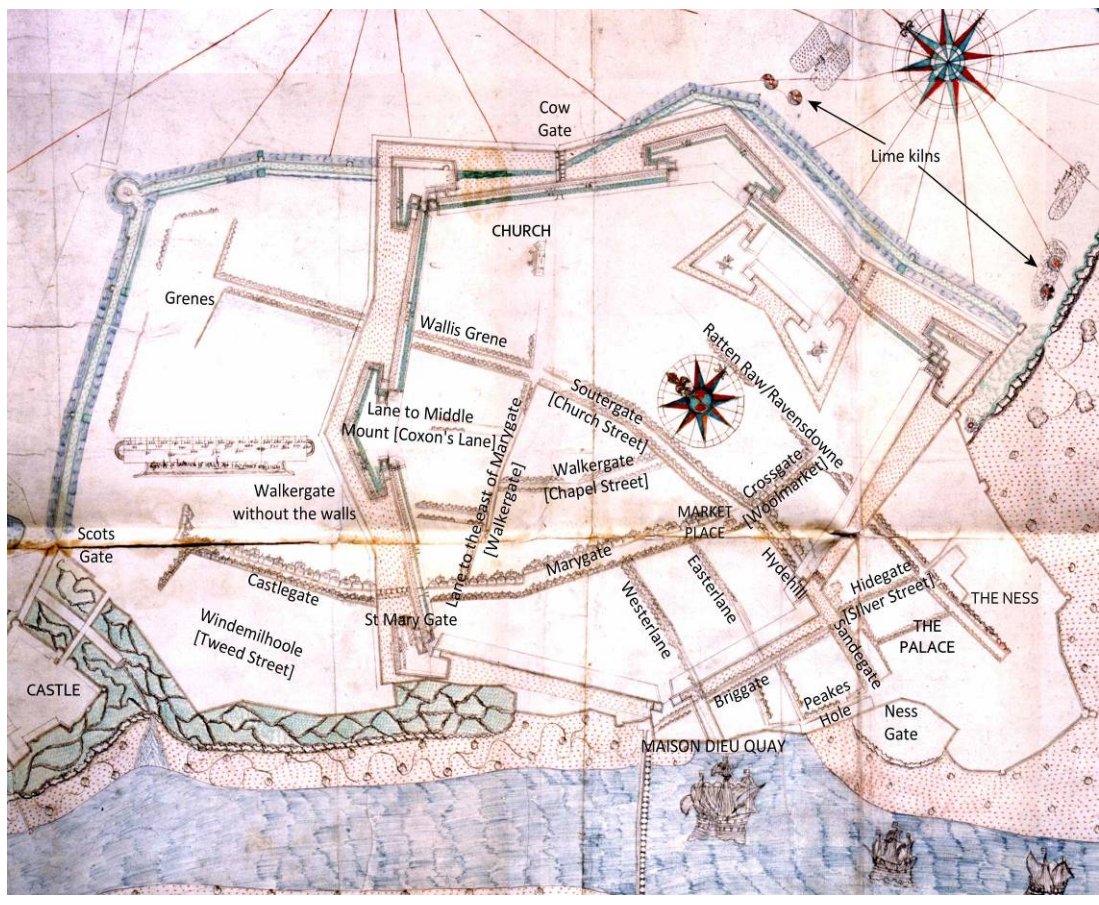


Berwick

In contrast to this slow rural change Berwick's population varied considerably during the century. The medieval walls had become embarrassingly outdated and after the abortive attempt at imposing a citadel over part of the town, work began in 1558 on a full scheme of up-to-date *trace Italienne* fortifications (Figure 4.8). The project was at its height between c.1550 (when work began on a citadel at the east

Figure 4.8. Berwick's streets.

From HHA CPM 1/22, Rowland Johnson (c.1560?). Reproduced by kind permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.



wall) and 1563 (when money was needed for the French wars and work on the defences effectively ended), and involved the greatest capital expenditure of the Queen's reign. The additional manpower needed for building, and increased garrison size in response to the threat of French troops in Scotland, could have nearly doubled the town's population from time to time.

Population was estimated at 3,571 in the summer of 1565, recording the number who might be reliant on the garrison during a food shortage (Table 5.1).⁴⁰³ At this time the garrison was larger than the normal five or six hundred and work to the wall was still ongoing so the 'workmen' would have been temporary residents impressed from elsewhere.⁴⁰⁴ In 1584 there were said to be 'two thousand or

⁴⁰³ TNA, SP 59/9 f.131.

⁴⁰⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission (ed), *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury ... Part 1* (London: 1883) p.462.

thereabouts, men, women, children and families... under the name and privilege of the corporation' in Berwick.⁴⁰⁵ This total corresponds well to a figure of 2,185 gained by multiplying the 460 tenements listed in the 1562 'General Survey' by Moore's suggested average of 4.75 people per household in the North East at this time.⁴⁰⁶ It presumably included soldiers' wives and children, and possibly married soldiers but not those unmarried, which could raise the total population to nearer 2,500, probably the best estimate for the town towards the end of the century. All the estimates ignore the town's unlicensed Scottish inhabitants who were the subject of so many complaints in the Bailiffs' court.

The new walls profoundly influenced Berwick's topography, changing it from a spacious walled town to a citadel half the size.⁴⁰⁷ The course of the walls was problematic. In 1558 Lee, the surveyor, was ordered 'to take the advice as well of the Lord Eure [Warden of the East March and Governor of Berwick] and other of the discrete gentlemen within Berwick as of the Mayor and inhabitants of that town', although there is no record of consultations with the inhabitants.⁴⁰⁸ The southern 'Catwell' wall was particularly difficult and in 1559 the Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant-General in the North, was asked for advice. Even he, however, could not judge

'whether it be more expedient to have that side of the old towne next to the haven cut off away, wherein consisteth all the Queen's storehouses and the best houses of the towne; or else to fortify the old wall, and by that means to save all the houses'.⁴⁰⁹

As he hinted, his indecision owed nothing to matters of defence - the new wall would certainly improve security - but was governed by expediency: the 'best houses of the towne' belonged to the influential merchants of Briggate and Hidehill,

⁴⁰⁵ Quoted in Tomlinson, W. W., *Life in Northumberland During the Sixteenth Century* (London and Newcastle-on-Tyne: 1897) p. 19; Bain, *CBP* 1 p. 540.

⁴⁰⁶ Moore, J. S., 'Population trends in North-East England, 1548 - 1563', *Northern History* 45, 2 (2008) p. 244. However the assumption of one household per tenement may well be unrealistic, particularly towards the end of the century when divided houses and inhabited 'backhouses' are frequently recorded. In addition Moore's multiplier may be too high for Berwick, being based on county-wide data which does not distinguish between rural and urban households. In towns of comparable size elsewhere Nigel Goose gives multipliers ranging from 6.05 (in Poole, 1574) to 4.05 (Stafford, 1622); Goose, N., 'Household Size and Structure in early-Stuart Cambridge' in Barry (ed) *The Tudor and Stuart Town* (1990).

⁴⁰⁷ Macivor, I., *The Fortifications of Berwick-upon-Tweed* (London: 1990); Pattison, P. *Berwick Barracks and Fortifications* (London, 2011).

⁴⁰⁸ CSP PC 2/8 f.136.

⁴⁰⁹ *CMS* 1 p. 172.

Figure 4.9. Berwick c.1580.

Detail from Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72, *The True Description of Her Majestys Town of Barwicke*. © Bodleian Library, Oxford University.



The artist has had to omit the north-west end of Marygate and Briggate, but the map still gives a useful impression of the town from the point of view of the burgesses. They are happy to ignore the new house plots in Ratten Row (Ravensdowne), Windmill Hole (Tweed Street) and the Greens, which do not 'truly' describe the town. The walls, however, are a source of pride.

The unfinished southern wall is merely a scar, possibly a reminder of their victory over the Council. It seems not to have cut through Westerlane, Easterlane or Hidehill, although may have been built up across Ratten Raw where the road cuts through an earth bank.

and their co-operation was important to civic order. Ultimately the wall seems to have been only partly completed, and the *True Description* shows its course as an earth bank with Easter Lane, Wester Lane and Ravensdowne reinstated as through routes. Possibly, only Ravensdowne was ever blocked (Figure 4.9).

Exclusion of the less developed northern part of the town from the defended area may have been expected, since it was the most vulnerable to attack; when the French were in Eyemouth in 1548 the Captain had 'begun to take down all the houses which are near to the castle' (although according to a Scottish spy this left

the inhabitants ‘very crabbit’).⁴¹⁰ It profoundly altered circulation in the town, with all traffic funnelled through one gate, ensuring that the Greens (already less densely built-up) developed an even stronger suburban character.

The area just inside the walls was drastically affected. It is obvious that the wall blocked Soutergate (Church Street), once the main road to Scotland (Figure 4.8).⁴¹¹ Unrecognised, but equally affected by this section of the walls, is the blocking of modern Chapel Street. Mapping the plots recorded in the ‘General Survey’ shows that it was known as Walkergate in 1562 and had, like Soutergate, previously continued further north; in 1562 one section outside the new walls was labelled ‘Walkergate without the rampier’.⁴¹² Modern ‘Walkergate’ was merely a lane between Marygate and Soutergate.⁴¹³ Once the walls were complete the ‘lane’ immediately became an important east/west route between the new gate and what was now the only church in Berwick. Tenements between it and the walls were re-aligned to front it and new lanes (modern Hatter’s and Coxon’s Lanes) created to provide access to the walls. Plot boundaries remained fluid for some time, and it is no coincidence that these areas proved problematic to map for this study. A sense of the disruption can be gained from the 1577 rental, where several groups of tenements are listed under different street names from those in the 1562 ‘General Survey’ (Appendix 1).⁴¹⁴ In 1575 a frustrated clerk placed a new plot

in the street containing parcel of the Wallis Green and now called Finkel Street or the head of Soutergate or by what name or addition of name sooner the same street now is or hath been known or called.⁴¹⁵

Neither the longevity of plot boundaries nor the names of streets in property deeds could be relied on.

⁴¹⁰ Colvin, *King’s Works* p.641.

⁴¹¹ Berwick Museum, *The Edwardian Defences of Berwick* (Berwick: n.d.). ‘Gate’ in the street names is from the northern ‘gait’, or road, rather than ‘gate’.

⁴¹² ‘General Survey’ 301-5. This paragraph presents a rather different interpretation of the area than those summarised in Marlow, et al., *Extensive Urban Survey* pp.16-17, and like them will no doubt be questioned and refined.

⁴¹³ Known as ‘Walkergate North’ in 1562, the 1577 rental calls it ‘a lane on the east side of Marygate’ and a land grant of 1585 ‘a vennel ... called the head of Walkergate’. Even in the 1850s it was still referred to as ‘Walkergate Lane’; OS, *Berwick 1856*.

⁴¹⁴ TNA, SC/12/32/14.

⁴¹⁵ BRO, ZMD 170/2 22. This makes fast-changing early-modern Berwick very different to medieval Marseille, where Smail suggests that the slow ‘re-engineering of streets was linguistic before it was physical’; Smail, D. L., *Imaginary Cartographies: possession and identity in late medieval Marseille* (Ithaca: 2000) p.185.

By 1560 at least forty houses had been demolished along the course of the new wall.⁴¹⁶ Compensation was awarded, ranging from one to ten pounds with an average around five pounds four shillings, but this was not always considered adequate.⁴¹⁷

Plot division

Twelfth-century plots in Bridge Street were thirty-three yards wide and by the sixteenth century many had been divided into three, allowing two small shops or a sizeable hall on the street frontage for their merchant owners (Figure 2.10).⁴¹⁸ In the more commercial Marygate, as elsewhere in the town, similar plots may have been halved to house what had become, by the sixteenth century, the town's normal house-plan, two rooms or shops divided by a cross-passage. These dimensions became the expected norm, also used for new plots (below). The plots could be further divided at the passage to create seven- or eight-yard wide plots, enough for one sizeable ground-floor room with a passage beside it. This process of division was normal, but became more common when space for housing was at a premium in the mid-century. Some plots were divided into three, each house having a narrow gable ends on the street frontage (Figure 3.5). The sisters Barbara Bradforth and Isabel Jackson, widows from high-status civic families, inherited a site from their father which they divided into seven tenements; they let out six and lived in the largest.⁴¹⁹ The Council responded to this type of division by setting new burghmail tax rates, and by 1577 the flat rate of 6d. per plot had changed to 3d. for any part of a divided plot, 6d. for a pre-existing one and 12d. for a new one.⁴²⁰ Many of those paying 3d. were in the zone surrounding the more stable town centre, where property also changed hands and was granted more frequently (Figure 4.3).

⁴¹⁶ BRO, 1380/1/38.

⁴¹⁷ 'General Survey' 326, 326.

⁴¹⁸ The 'True Description' shows two of these plots with large courtyards, presumably once high-status merchants' houses but already divided by 1562.

⁴¹⁹ 'General Survey' 102-8.

⁴²⁰ TNA, SC/12/32/14.

New plots

Existing streets could not accommodate all the houses required, even by division of tenements, and house plots were also laid out on virgin land. These are particularly significant because development on new land was relatively uncommon until later in the century, even in cities. Bristol, for example, had a quantity of empty ex-monastic land but no demand for new housing and ‘the lack of interest shown by the landlords of these newly acquired lands in laying out new streets and building new houses stands in stark contrast to the... new developments and building projects during the 12th and 13th centuries.’⁴²¹ London’s population was booming and although new land was taken into use this was not encouraged, becoming the subject of a Royal prohibition in 1580 and licensing after 1607.⁴²² In Berwick, by contrast, the increased population and loss of houses to the fortifications resulted in both an urgent need for additional houses and official permission to supply them, while the generous area within the medieval walls and on Tweedmouth common provided the space.

Most new plots were in ‘rows’. Rows (or ‘rentals’) of small houses are a well-recognised feature of medieval and later towns and a continuum with later terraces is increasingly acknowledged, although whether it will ever be possible to bridge the medieval/early modern divide by terming them all ‘terraces’ (Quiney) or ‘rows’ (Leech) seems unlikely.⁴²³ Like rural township streets, urban rows were traditionally constructed by institutional landlords who had land and capital available.⁴²⁴ The medieval Church filled both these criteria and in the churchyard of St Boisil’s, Tweedmouth the footprint of just such a cottage row survives.⁴²⁵ By the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries, however, both rural and urban landlords were more likely to supply the land and encourage tenants to construct their own houses or act

⁴²¹ Leech, *Town House* p.32.

⁴²² Baer, W. C., ‘The house-building sector of London’s economy, 1550-1650’, *Urban History* 39, 3 (2012) p.410.

⁴²³ Quiney, *Town Houses* p.254; Leech, R., ‘The prospect from Rugman’s Row: the row house in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century London’, *Archaeological Journal* 153 (1996) p.232.

⁴²⁴ Quiney, *Town Houses* Chapter 17; Rimmer, J., *Small Houses in Late Medieval York and Norwich* (University of York: 2007: PhD).

⁴²⁵ Houses in the row have been rebuilt at various periods.

as developers for a small group of plots (Chapter 6).⁴²⁶ When London's St Bartholemew's Fair was redeveloped from 1597 the owner, Lord Rich, leased one or more 'rows' of booths to developers who created rows of timber-framed houses on the sites, using timber from the booths.⁴²⁷ In the early-seventeenth century Ulster plantations the Archbishop of Armagh leased land to his agent, who divided it into standard plots and leased it to individual builders under building leases (Chapter 6), since the houses were of stone and could be constructed sequentially by individuals rather than being framed as one.⁴²⁸ Like Lord Rich, the Archbishop provided building materials.

The Berwick 'rows' show several variations on this theme, although all were laid out c.1560. Tweedmouth New Row may have been a money-making venture, laid out on Crown land with the local landowner Selby acting as agent (and, possibly, builder) and stone coming from the nearby Crown quarries (Chapter 7). Ratten Row, on the section of Ravensdowne which had been re-aligned in 1550 in connection with Edward VI's citadel, had new plots laid out which were leased from the Crown either individually or in groups of two or three, allowing allowed builders to act as developers on their own account.⁴²⁹ Guisnes Row in Windmill Hole was originally a temporary arrangement and its soldier builders marked out their own small plots and built individually (Chapter 7). High Greens already contained a group of plots granted in 1551, presumably in connection with works to the citadel; nine more plots were marked out but built up individually by their tenants in a similar way to Guisnes Row.⁴³⁰ The design of these four rows provide insights into some contemporary principles of town planning and questions some current understandings of burgage plot layout.⁴³¹

The recorded dimensions of the new plots imply that they differed in size and proportion from the traditional medieval burgage-and-garth. Widths clustered around two measurements, 6-8 yards (in Guisnes Row) and twice this, 12-16 yards,

⁴²⁶ In the rural context, this is implied in Raphe Jackson's will (Chapter 6); DUSC, DPRI/1/1588/J1.

⁴²⁷ Leech, 'Rugman's Row' pp.206-7.

⁴²⁸ Hunter, R. J., 'Towns in the Ulster plantation', *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971) p.59.

⁴²⁹ 'General Survey' 89-98; Marlow, *Extensive Urban Survey* p.19.

⁴³⁰ 'General Survey' 126-135, 137.

⁴³¹ Tait, R., 'Burgage patterns in Alnwick, Berwick-upon-Tweed and Cockermouth', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th Series, v. 40 (2011).

in the others (Figure 4.10). These figures differ markedly from those recorded for medieval streets. In medieval Alnwick Conzen suggested a plot width of 28-32 feet (c.9-11 yards) and in the twelfth century 33-yard wide units were laid out in Briggate, some later divided into 11-yard (2-perch) plots (Figure 2.10).⁴³² The range of 12-16 yards in the sixteenth-century plots was presumably taken as suitable for a house of the quality desired by the Council. By this date the plots in Marygate and Castlegate also clustered around 12-16 yards and 7-8 yards, possibly because commercial owners had re-ordered the street to make it suitable for their needs. The width continued to be popular. A late-sixteenth century house platform c.16 yards wide was excavated at Mogeely (Munster) and in 1617, plots in Armagh were to be 16 ½ yards wide. Properties in Wolstenholme, Virginia (1619-22) were on average 15 yards (45') wide.⁴³³ Some of these could have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by Berwick's new rows; the Munster plantation, for example, was surveyed by Berwick's Treasurer Sir Valentine Brown, who may have exported an element of Berwick's house-building culture.⁴³⁴

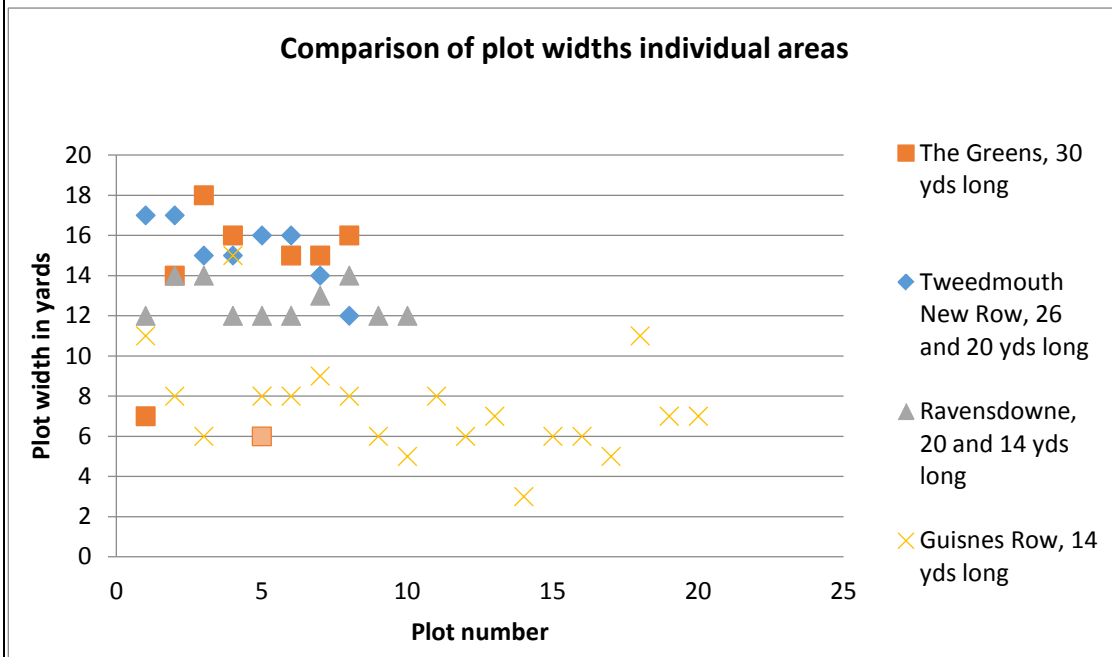
The plots are recorded as being shorter than the majority of earlier ones. However there are hints that the measurements may only represent the 'burgage', or house-and-yard part of the plot, since like those in Figure 4.4 additional land to the rear seems to have been used in practice. In 1562 Elizabeth Story, a soldier's widow, held a new plot 30 yards long in the Greens but when her son Jerrard later purchased a grant for it the length was set at 55 yards, presumably including a section of the common land to the rear. The same can be seen for grants in Windmill Hole (Chapter 7). Plots in Tweedmouth New Row were listed as being only 26 yards long but hundred-yard long garden strips are recorded by the late-eighteenth century (fig 7.6).

⁴³² Stevenson, *Documents* pp.152-6; Coleman, 'Burgage plots' p.285. Tait suggests a 'unit width' of 8.2-8.4m (just under 9 yards) for Briggate but this is not borne out by the 'General Survey'; Tait *Berwick* p.188.

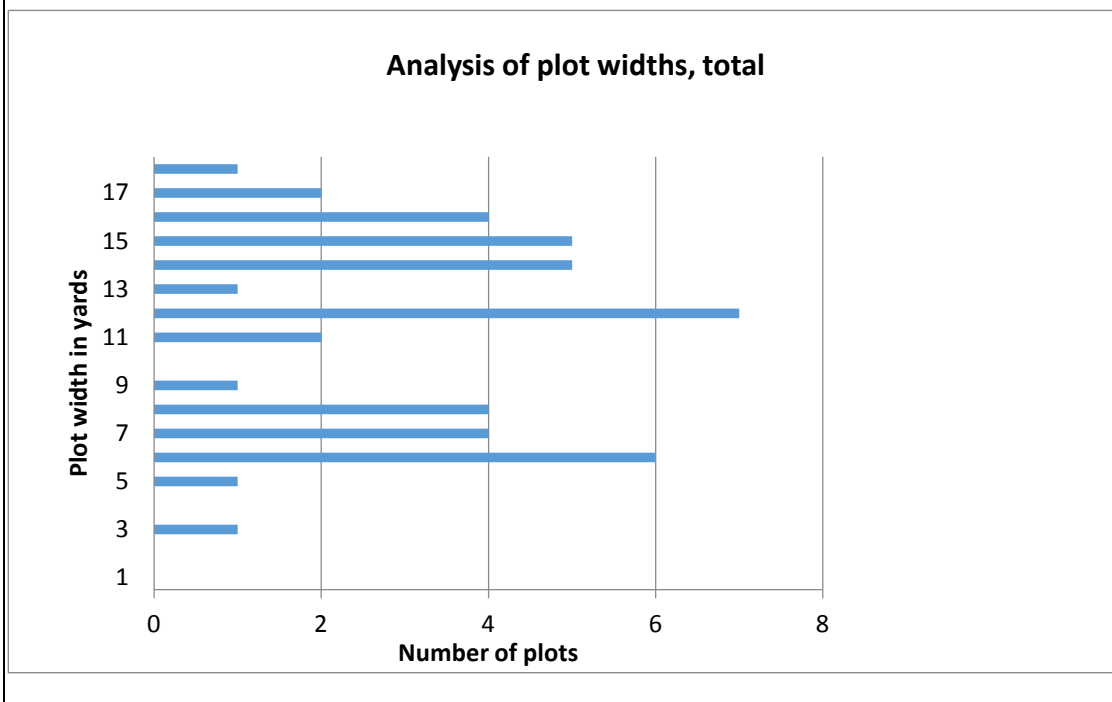
⁴³³ Klingelhofer, E., 'Proto-colonial archaeology: the case of Elizabethan Ireland' in Funari, Hall and Jones (eds) *Historical Archaeology*.

⁴³⁴ *ibid.*

Figure 4.10. Plot widths in four mid-16th century housing developments, Berwick and Tweedmouth.



Each row has a limited number of plot widths. Mapping suggests that the six-yard wide plot in the Greens could be a scribal error for 16 yards, which would make the row more regular. The 34-yard plot at the head of Tweedmouth New Row has been assumed to represent 17-yards plots in a single ownership. Widths cluster around 6-8 and 12-16 yards (below).



4.5 Values

House plots have not only financial but also social and personal values. These are not always distinguishable from the values attached to the house built on it, discussed in Chapter 4, and those personal to its builder which appear in Chapter 5. However some values can be seen as specific to the plot.

Financial

Detailed economic analysis is outside the scope of this study, but a few points can be made. Although farm land was already commoditised over much of the area, the house plots on it were not necessarily valuable in their own right; there is no record of what James Smallshanks paid for his 'seat house' plot, but if most of the land had already been united with another farmhold it may have had very little monetary value. One exception to this is Holy Island where the 1561 survey pointed out that many plots were unbuilt but a court roll from 1597 shows that fairly small plots had been changing hands throughout the sixteenth century, and (since they were already divided) probably before (Figure 4.12). Presumably merchants benefited from lower duty on goods unloaded there; when the Earl of Bothwell was captured at Berrington (Chapter 3) John Revely's servant had been at Holy Island purchasing a barrel of wine, presumably shipped from the continent.⁴³⁵

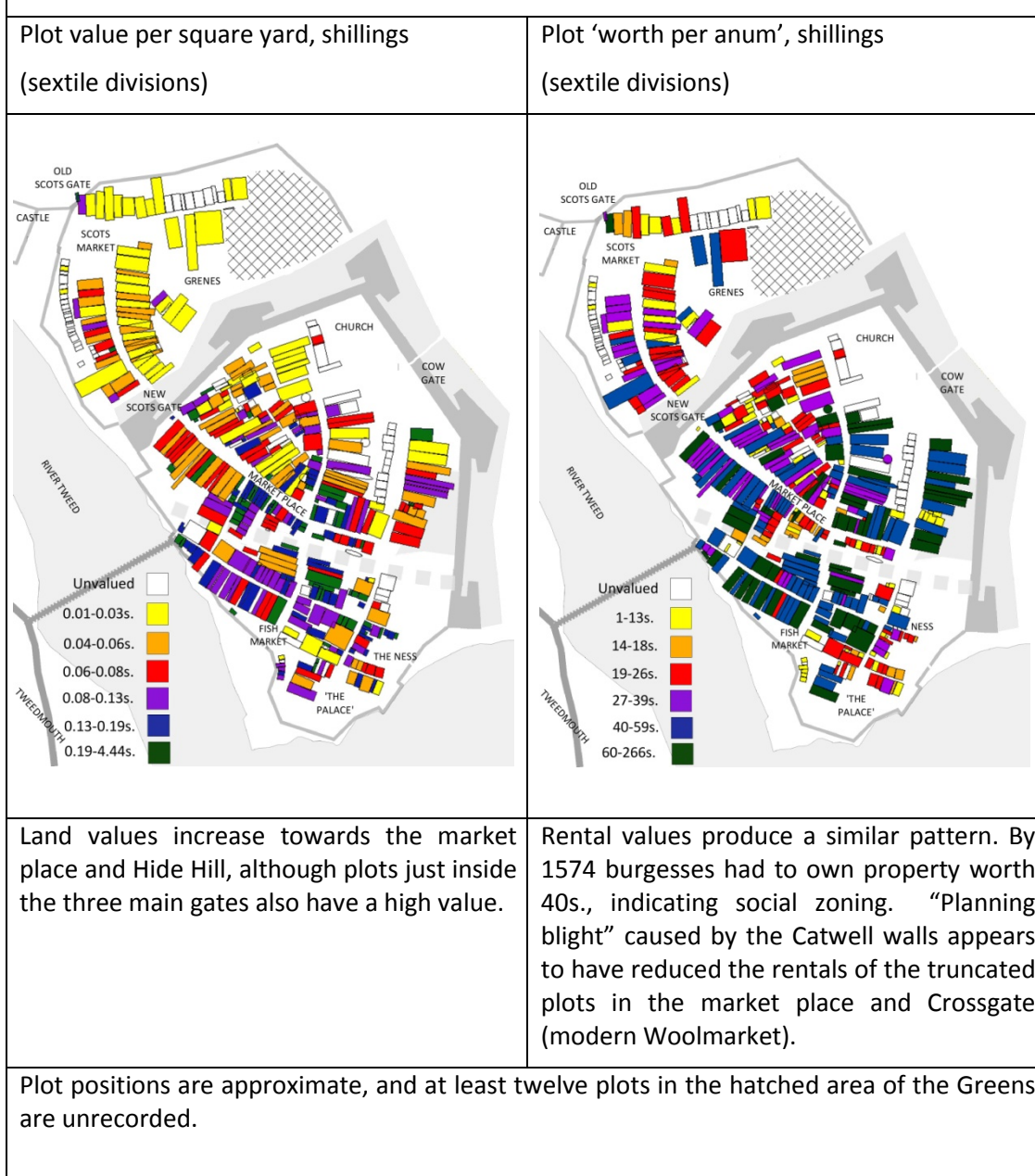
Individual examples such as these are of limited use. It is, however, possible to gain an indication of relative value in Berwick using annual rentals from the 'General Survey' (Figure 4.11). Rental was only very loosely related to plot size. The house was more important; plots were not valued at all until they had some sort of house on them, and a larger house could raise the value. In the Greens, a plot 30 x 16 yards with a five-couple house was worth ten shillings while a nearby plot 40 x 16 yards had a two-couple house and was only worth five shillings.⁴³⁶

But by far the most important determinant of plot value was position in the town. A few locations commanded premium rents; the high value of plots near the old Scots Gate may reflect their position near the market where produce from the Scottish

⁴³⁵ Stevenson, *CSP For. Eliz. 6* p.50.

⁴³⁶ See Chapter 4 for 'couple house'.

Figure 4.11. Values of burgage plots in Berwick, based on figures from ‘General Survey’.



countryside was sold, or for those with animals pastured in the bounds outside the gate. Small plots beside the gates and bridge, carved out from larger burgages, were also relatively costly; they were essential to the role of the Porters.⁴³⁷ Conversely values near ‘the Palace’, the garrison headquarters, may have been set at an artificially low rate. Overall, however, both land value and rental rose strikingly from north to south, with Briggate and Hide Hill having the highest rental and land value. By 1574 burgesses had to own property worth at least 40s. p.a. (or £40 of goods)

⁴³⁷ Meikle, *Frontier* p.133.

and even in 1562 rentals at this value or above presumably had social as well as financial significance.⁴³⁸

Lineage

House sites did not merely embody financial or practical value. The merchant William Morton made considerable efforts to amass land in his ancestral township of Murton, just outside Berwick, apparently to re-establish a 'seat' there (Chapter 4). Lineage values, taken for granted for the sites of gentry houses, are also recorded in several entries in the 'General Survey'. George Taylor's plot in Westerlane 'conveyeth title as son and heir of Thomas Taylor, son and heir of John Taylor and so hath continued in his ancestors above sixty years as he saith'.⁴³⁹ Westerlane had a particularly stable population, plots were seldom available for grants and several plots had a single-family history. The longest was Henry Manners, whose plot descended to him 'by purchase of William Manners ... who had it by the devise of Thomas Manners ... who had it as son and heir of Thomas Manners ... son and heir of Thomas Manners'.⁴⁴⁰ Urban lineages averaged only three generations, and continuing histories such as this were carefully protected; several wills forbid that property be mortgaged or sold out of the family.⁴⁴¹

The lineage might have belonged to a previous owner: both Thomas Carr and Sir John Selby benefited from high-status sites which had belonged to the illustrious Heron family (Chapter 8). A minor site could still claim a place in regional history: in Easterlane,

Alexander Racabie... conveith title by purchase of Thomas Good, as he saith, who had it ever since Berwick was English, and sheweth forth a grant thereof by Charter under the Chamberlain's Seal made by King Richard [II?] purporting that it did come to his hands by the conquest of King Edward III. Charter Dated anno domini MCCCIII^{xx}IX at XIII^{to} Aprilis anno regni sui XII^{mo}.⁴⁴²

Positioning a plot within this type of historical time-frame also allowed the middling sort to construct new values. Rather than celebrating a borrowed 'patina of age'

⁴³⁸ BRO, B1/2 f.49v.

⁴³⁹ 'General Survey', 146.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁴⁴¹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1589/H3, 1583/R1.

⁴⁴² 'General Survey', 225.

they could build on a virgin plot and record the date on which they had done so.⁴⁴³ Date-stones on houses were just beginning to be used in England and the only dated sixteenth-century stone from Berwick (fig 6.6) was found in Coxon's Lane, one of the new roads laid out to provide access to the new walls, an ideal place for a gentleman soldier such as Thomas Smith to make a statement about his place in history.⁴⁴⁴

Place

'Place' in an urban or rural street was defined by the names of neighbours and property deeds documented this for posterity. Builders might therefore value sites for social reasons. When bequeathing his property Robert Jackson the elder, a merchant and alderman, celebrated the place of both his extended family and the wider civic society within which he lived and did business; it included

the house which joineth on the church wall against Mr Clarke's [the minister] which I purchased from Richard Raffalde... the house which I purchased of James Swinnoe [a minor gentleman] being next to the house of Leonard Farlay [Master Carpenter] ... my house which was Rowland Johnson's [Master Mason] standing on the High Street... the house which was lately ... Lyonel Thompson's [his brother-in-law] standing in the Westerlane next above Mr Matthew Johnson [son of Rowland Johnson].⁴⁴⁵

These indicate not merely financial but social investment.

A final celebration of the value of sites, combining their ancestry with that of local families, is found in Holy Island. Raine, whose knowledge of medieval Northumberland was unparalleled, wrote that 'a tenement in Holy Island could, *pro se*, have at no time been a thing much to be desired; and yet I find the names of almost all the chief families of the North, at one time or another, occurring as proprietors at Holy Island of larger or smaller estates.'⁴⁴⁶ The value of these 'estates' is commemorated in an enrolment of properties, dated 1592, recorded in

⁴⁴³ Wrightson, K., *Earthly Necessities* (London: 2002); Mytum, H., 'Materiality and memory: an archaeological perspective on the popular adoption of linear time in Britain', *Antiquity* 81, 312 (2007).

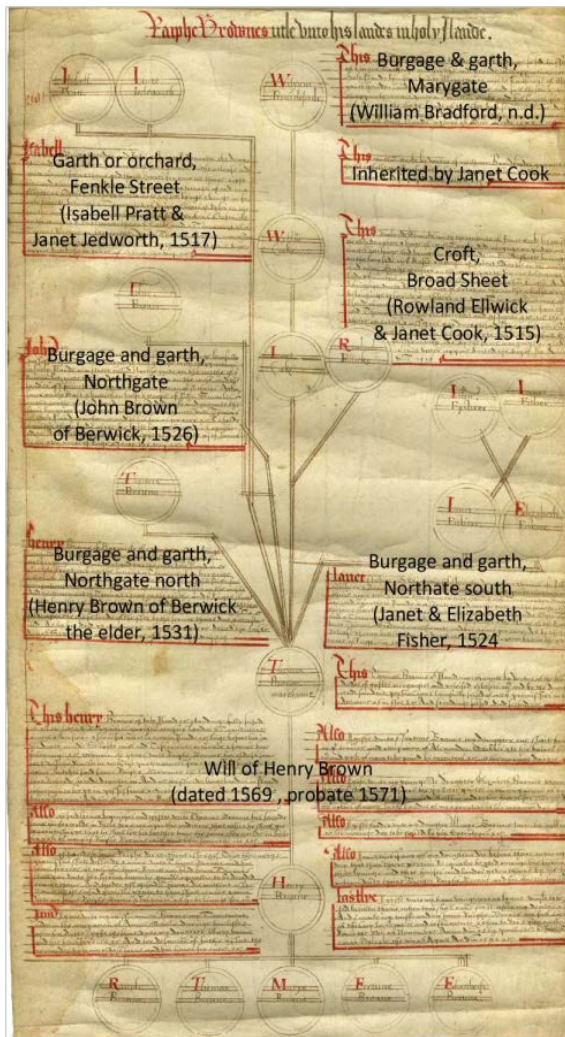
⁴⁴⁴ Mytum, 'Materiality'; Smith, *Gunnerie*.

⁴⁴⁵ DUSC, DPRI/1/1603/J1.

⁴⁴⁶ Raine, *North Durham* p.160.

Figure 4.12. 'Family tree' of plots in Holy Island.

Details from BRO 685/5/1, *Parchment roll of evidences examined at Holy Island*, 1592. Reproduced by kind permission of Berwick Record Office.



Left: Raphe Brown's title. It is set out like a genealogical pedigree, but relates to a 'family' of land. The six properties, part of the complex mesh of burgages, garths and crofts once under the control of 'Thomas Brown, merchant', gained a transitory group identity when they passed to his grandson Raphe.

Above: head of a man (wearing a sailor's cap?), from the document's initial capital. A rare surviving contemporary portrait of someone below upper gentry status.

the form traditionally used for family pedigrees (Figure 4.12). Previous owners gain a transitory status as parents-in-law when their properties link over the generations, giving birth to a particular holding and assuring its owner a place in the Holy Island heritage. The context of this apparently medieval document, however, is a recognisably modern one of individualised house-plots in an active land-market.

4.6 Summary

Although Brand prioritised the site as the 'layer' of a house which changes most slowly, detailed research shows that site boundaries were more mutable than is

sometimes assumed.⁴⁴⁷ A site's existence as a legal entity guaranteed its long-term survival in *some* form and landliners ensured that the relationship between legal and physical survival remained a close one, making them an essential part of the building culture. However, 'backside' areas were not always included in a site's description or measurements, creating another layer of uncertainty over its exact form.

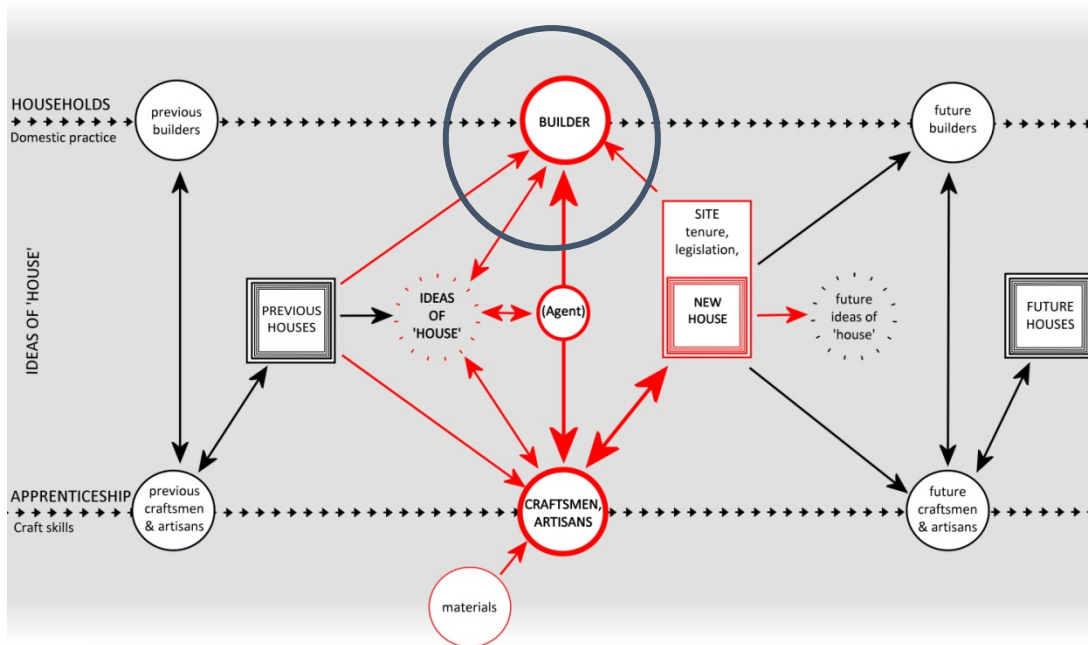
A site's tenurial status was of vital importance to the house built on it. Insecure or short-term tenure discouraged high-quality house-building although it was a cheap and, in certain situations, a suitable and even a valuable option. Freehold, the most secure form of tenure, made a more permanent construction worthwhile although the correlation was not inevitable and freeholders who were under-resourced or whose plots were in a problematic location continued to build cheaper houses. Freehold's permanence did, however, make it particularly significant for the landowner who granted it, making the Crown's problems with land grants in mid-century Berwick a particular source of embarrassment. As an alternative, a lease allowed a landlord greater control not only over the site but the structure and services of the house on it.⁴⁴⁸ At the same time, it provided a capital sum which could fund building work; increasing use of leases encouraged urban and rural landowners to build higher-quality houses both for themselves and their lessees.

The number and form of sites changed over the period, although causes and results differed. In Berwick, loss of houses to the fortifications and the mid-century population increase resulted in division of burgage plots but also the creation of several groups of new plots. All were on Crown land but each was laid out according to different principles, implying a reactive rather than proactive approach to development and one for which there may have been little recent precedent. All, however, followed the traditional 'row' layout. A reduction in rural tenancies changed the status of house sites in township streets, in some cases leading to sites being combined or the whole street re-planned. New house sites were created outside the township core in smaller settlements functioning as individual 'seats or steads' serving a discrete area of land. Parallel to this 'enclosure' of rural seats or

⁴⁴⁷ Brand, *How Buildings Learn* p.17.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.13.

steads is the process whereby Berwick's burgage plot tails, originally unfenced and used in common, were being physically divided from each other over the period; this in turn is linked to the gradual building up of plots with 'backhouses'. All these processes can be seen as expressions of 'closure', indicating that Berwick's building culture was informed by that of the wider society. They appear even more obviously in the alterations being carried out to existing houses discussed in the next chapter.



The builder is one of the two important human actors in the building process, and the one about whom much more is generally known.

Chapter 5 : 'She hath builded a house': the builders

Having examined house sites and the houses on them the following chapters introduce the human actors in the house-building culture, beginning here with the range of individuals who could be classified as builders. House-building is intimately connected with identity, and played an important role in the 'self-fashioning' involved in every aspect of contemporary life from clothing and furnishing to choice of friends and patrons; this chapter examines builders' identity from a variety of viewpoints including gender, status and social networks, and identifies some of their reasons for building.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ Greenblatt, S., *Renaissance Self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: London: 1980); Johnson, M., 'Reconstructing castles and refashioning identities in Renaissance England' in Tarlow (ed) *The Familiar Past?: Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain* (London & New York: 1999); Morris, R. K., 'I was never more in love with an olde howse nor never newe worke coude be better bestowed': The Earl of Leicester's remodelling of Kenilworth Castle for Queen Elizabeth I', *The Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009); Stevenson, J., *Texts and Textiles: Self-Presentation among the Elite in Renaissance England* 2011) <http://www.northernrenaissance.org/texts-and-textiles-self-presentation-among-the-elite-in-renaissance-england/>, accessed May 2014.

5.1 Identities

Gender

The wide definition of the verb 'building' argued for in Chapter 1 could result in almost any member of society being defined as a 'builder', but this study follows contemporary practice in assuming that a builder is also a householder. This means that 80-90% were male. In the sixteen rural townships on the Grey estate 82% of the cottages were held by men in 1570 (and as many as 97% of the farmhold tenancies) and a century later 83% of those paying hearth tax outside Berwick were men.⁴⁵⁰ 87% of Berwick's burghmail payments were made by men in 1562, but although the presence of the garrison would have considerably skewed the gender balance in the town most soldiers would have been billeted on townspeople rather than building their own houses.

Married women retained a degree of title to any property they brought into the marriage, and in 1562 16% of all tenements in Berwick were held in this way (Figure 5.1). The 'T&S 1589' datestone in Berwick Museum (fig 6.6) seems to have recorded Annis Thompson's initial before her husband's, implying that ownership could have provided women in this situation with considerable agency over their house. Women were not usually considered as householders unless widowed, when they were accepted as builders without comment. However the wives of sailors or soldiers serving abroad were treated in the same way and this has particular relevance in Berwick where at least twenty percent of households might be headed by a garrison member.⁴⁵¹ In the township of Ancroft the husbandman Rafe Jackson suggested that after his death his wife could 'pass to the farmhold on the far side of

⁴⁵⁰ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

⁴⁵¹ Some exceptions included the wives of soldiers serving abroad; Erickson, *Women and Property*; Mendelson, S. H. and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: 1998) p.173; BRO, C/C1 f.29. For female builders in general see; Rees Jones, S., 'Women's influence on the design of urban homes' in Erler and Kowaleski (ed) *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., London: 2003); for elite women, Cooper, *Gentry* p.33; Laurence, A., 'Women using building in seventeenth-century England: a question of sources?', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003); Howard, *Building* pp.155-63; Doolittle, I., 'Property law and practice in seventeenth-century London', *Urban History* 42, 02 (2015) pp.212-6.

the gate, and [re]build the house belonging to the same.'⁴⁵² In Berwick the widowed sisters Barbara Bradford and Isobel Jackson created an area of high-density housing from the tenement(s) they inherited from their father.⁴⁵³ Even widows' agency in housebuilding has left little evidence, however, and this is even more true of married women 'since the presumption is always that the work was done for the husband who paid the bills'.⁴⁵⁴ Unmarried "maids" could be householders but were seen as problematic; in 1594 the Berwick's Bailiff's court was informed that 'there is one Eppie Fettes, a young woman who keepeth house by herself. She is fit to be called before the magistrates that her living may be examined'.⁴⁵⁵

Figure 5.1. Female householders and houses with garrison members, Berwick.

Below left: Information on female households from *General Survey* in BRO B6/1, *First Book of Enrolments* 1570-1636. Red denotes a female owner, pink a house in joint ownership, i.e. brought into a marriage by the wife.

Below right: Information on garrison accommodation from various sources.



Both categories are spread over the town, making use of gradations in rental value (Figure 4.11), although they tend not to overlap.

⁴⁵² DUSC, DPRI/1/1588/J1.

⁴⁵³ 'General Survey', 102-8.

⁴⁵⁴ Rees Jones, *Influence* pp.97-100; Laurence, 'Using building' p.293.

⁴⁵⁵ BRO, C/C1 f.29.

This underlines the importance of gender in the quotation in the chapter title, found in two entries in Berwick's 'General Survey' of 1562 describing newly-settled areas where soldiers had marked out tenements and built small houses on them. Like the men around them, Jane Gerom and Katherine Floster are each recorded as having 'builded a house' on the tenement they held.⁴⁵⁶ Unlike other entries, neither is described as a widow; possibly their husbands were serving abroad. Whatever the reason, the phraseology makes their personal agency in the building process explicit.

Nothing suggests that these women's houses differed in form from those surrounding them. Floster's is described as 'one house of two couples', one of the commonest descriptions of this house type (Chapter 3). Ultimately, the question of a house-builder's gender may be irrelevant to the building itself; it has been shown to be influential at Brand's lowest level of 'stuff', or the organisation of interiors, but while the evidence for a gendered *use* of built space is persuasive that for a gendered *design* of it is very limited, even when the builder was as powerful and well-resourced as Elisabeth Shrewsbury or Mary Sidney.⁴⁵⁷ As with the houses of urban York examined by Rees-Jones, 'class was more important than gender' in house-building.⁴⁵⁸

Status

'Class' (or, less anachronistically, 'status') has a recursive relationship with housebuilding, both influencing and influenced by the act of building. In this respect Stone's memorable model of social mobility is particularly relevant to house-builders, and although based on late-medieval society is still applicable to the sixteenth-century north. He described

a tall skyscraper erected on top of a vast low podium. Within the podium, which extends over many acres, live 95% or more of the population, who are free to move along wide corridors and to rise and descend very shallow staircases within this limited level. The skyscraper itself, within which dwell the remaining 5% or less, is composed of a

⁴⁵⁶ 'General Survey', 132,173.

⁴⁵⁷ Brand, *How Buildings Learn*; Flather, A., *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: 2007); Laurence, 'Using building'; Williamson, F., 'Space and the city: gender identities in seventeenth-century Norwich', *Cultural and Social History* 9, 2 (2012).

⁴⁵⁸ Rees Jones, *Influence* p.102.

series of floors for status groups based on the ownership of land. Within it is a single infrequent elevator which always goes down with a full load of failures and superfluous younger sons, but often rises half empty. Around the skyscraper itself, however, there wind several ascending ramps, labelled Church, Law, Commerce, and Office. Some people camp out on the ramps, but it is draughty and wet out there, and most of them struggle upwards and then take shelter inside at the highest floor they can comfortably reach.⁴⁵⁹

Like the modernist architecture it evokes, Stone's design can be criticised (for the lack of definition within the podium, the junction between the podium and skyscraper and the effectiveness of the elevators, among other aspects).⁴⁶⁰ However his emphasis on mobility is a reminder that building or re-building is often related in some way to alteration in status. Self-presentation, both marking and enabling status, included house-building; of the six case-studies in Chapters 7 and 8, five have an obvious link with social mobility. Wallis, for example, rose from the podium up the 'elevator' of increased land-holding to build his own house at Coupland (Chapter 8). Neither 'Church' nor 'Law' held many possibilities for advancement locally but office-holding was a particularly important 'ramp', as exemplified in the career of Sir John Selby of Twizel, Gentleman Porter of Berwick (Chapter 8, Ford). Conversely, a 'failure' could result in division of a dwelling, as with Charles Heslop of Berwick after the death of his wealthy wife.⁴⁶¹ Changes such as marriage could be more subtle, often involving movement along the 'wide corridors' of the podium, but equally significant for the new household's building practice as seen in the building career of William Dixon in Windmill Hole, Berwick (Chapter 7). Temporary movement to other households, for example as a servant or apprentice, provided experience of new domestic and building practices which could eventually be incorporated within a new household.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁹ Stone, L., 'Social mobility in England, 1500-1700', *Past & Present* 33 (1966) pp.16-7. Stone suggested that by 1700 the model had altered to one where the professions provided comparable status to landholding.

⁴⁶⁰ With relevance to the building culture under discussion here, Meikle, *Frontier* p.24 criticises Stone's concentration on the upper gentry in Northumberland.

⁴⁶¹ DUSC, DPRI/I/1601/H4.

⁴⁶² Chapter 6. Grenville, *Urban and Rural*.

Figure 5.2. Social hierarchies, rural and urban.

Rural	Upper gentry ('knight')	Middle gentry ('Esq')	Lower Gentry ('gent')	Tenants	Cottagers	Others
Berwick, civilian		Mayor, Aldermen		Burgesses	Stallengers	Transients
Berwick, garrison	Warden, Governor	Treasurer, Victualler, Porter etc	Captains	Lieutenants, Master Artificers	Ordinary Soldiers	Temporary labourers
Approx. no of rooms in inventory	14+	8-12	5-10		2-5	1-2?

The three strands represent rural, urban civilian and garrison society. At the lower end there was considerable movement between all three strands.

Status indicates approximate equivalence. Contemporaries recorded clear distinctions within each strand, for example between tenants and cottagers or burgesses and stallengers, but there was no direct equivalence between the strands.⁴⁶³

Room numbers are based on probate inventories and therefore relate mainly to urban or suburban houses (Chapter 2). The number correlates only approximately to house size or household status since factors such as divided houses, sublet rooms and life-stage at death are also relevant.

This movement took place within a society which was in some respects atypical, a result of its Border location and the needs of central government (Figure 5.2). There was no longer any resident aristocracy, and their place in the hierarchy was taken by the March Warden and/or Governor of Berwick.⁴⁶⁴ These men were often aristocrats or members of the upper gentry for whom a posting to the north was an unwelcome interruption to court life, and they did not carry out large-scale building work in the area on their own behalf. It was not until 1605, when Berwick became potentially important in James VI and I's 'Middle Shire', that Berwick's Governor

⁴⁶³ Wrightson, K., *English Society 1580-1680* (London, New York: 1982 (2003)) Chapter 1, particularly pp.26-31.

⁴⁶⁴ Although the Percy estates were temporarily restored in 1557, the execution of the seventh Earl following the Northern Rising marked the end of the family's influence locally for more than a century. Watts, *Border to Middle Shire* p.56; Newton, *North-East* pp.45-53.

(the Earl of Dunbar) began to build a splendid (although short-lived) prodigy house within the ruins of the medieval castle.⁴⁶⁵

In the countryside the Wardens were supported (at least in theory) by the local gentry, who had specific responsibilities to provide defensible shelter for the local community (Chapter 3).⁴⁶⁶ There were roughly seventy gentry families in the study area including four 'upper' and ten 'middle' gentry, a figure comparable to elsewhere in the country.⁴⁶⁷ However the gentry's unwillingness to inhabit their houses near the Border was a continual cause of complaint; in 1541 Bowes and Ellerker grumbled that owners

for their more easy quietness & saving of expenses did withdraw from their houses standing near to the [Borders] towards Scotland and inhabit themselves in farms or other smaller houses within the countries further distant from the said Borders to the great decay of the same

blaming this on a preference for 'their own private profit or sensual appetite' over 'the common wealth of their country and the preservation of their inheritance'.⁴⁶⁸

In 1569 the Warden complained that 'the gentlemen dwell 16 and 20 miles off, and 40 miles, and some at London where the country hath no help of them'.⁴⁶⁹ Even resident gentry did not always live up to the government's expectations, keeping their establishments 'like gentleman's houses rather than fortresses of war'.⁴⁷⁰

Local responsibilities included providing safe storage for goods and vulnerable tenants in 'time or war or troublous peace' but as seen in Chapter 3 the rural gentry were becoming more confident in displaying self-interest rather than a sense of community, in their house-building as well as other areas of life.⁴⁷¹

Figure 5.2 indicates an equivalence between the gentry and the Mayor, aldermen and richer burgesses. (Berwick's single Guild, inherited from its Scottish origins,

⁴⁶⁵ 'Prodigy house' was coined by John Summerson for the large houses built by courtiers in the decades around 1600 and often designed for royal visits; Summerson, J., *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: 1980) p.70. Stevenson, *CPS For Eliz 5* p.79; Menuge, et al. *Three Places* p.29.

⁴⁶⁶ Meikle, M. M., 'Lairds and gentlemen: A study of the landed families of the Eastern Anglo-Scottish Borders c.1540-1603' (University of Edinburgh: 1988: PhD); Meikle, *Frontier*; Newton, *North-East*.

⁴⁶⁷ Meikle, *Frontier* pp.22-23 and Chapter 3, especially pp.89-92. Although research carried out for this study implies some omissions in Meikle's list of rural gentry, and there was a degree of movement between the three groups, it provides a reasonable indication of total numbers.

⁴⁶⁸ Bates, *Border Holds* p.41.

⁴⁶⁹ HHA, CP 3/117.

⁴⁷⁰ Bain, *CBP 1* p.14.

⁴⁷¹ Newton, *North-East* pp.43-2.

meant that these were all drawn from the merchant class; it was not until the end of the century that masons or joiners took part in urban life at this level (Chapter 6)).⁴⁷² They exhibited similar preferences, including being criticised for non-residence; in 1573 a Guild meeting ruled that ‘all freemen that be not indwellers within the walls shall resort unto the town with their families betwixt this and the next head Guild’, although not all complied and in 1581 seven burgesses were listed by name.⁴⁷³ Contemporaries might have seen equivalence between burgesses and gentry as contentious; in 1555 the social commentator William Turner of Morpeth reminded his readers that ‘many merchants [build costly houses] better than many gentlemen do and yet for all that are no gentlemen’.⁴⁷⁴ However ‘the distinction between leading burgesses and the minor gentry could be very blurred indeed’.⁴⁷⁵ The two were often close kin and money from trade could lead to a position at court in the next generation (as it did in the 1590s for Toby Rugg, son of a mercer in Marygate, Chapter 8). In terms of housing both groups experimented with ways to incorporate a new, more complex domestic geography to house new practices such as cooking in a separate kitchen or eating in a dining chamber, and thus tended to live in houses with five or more rooms (Chapter 3). They also used the exterior of their houses to fashion or express themselves, as the Mayor and MP Thomas Parkinson seems to have done by incorporating classical details to the façade of his house in Soutergate (Figure 3.6) and Sir Thomas Grey with his datestone at Doddington (Figure 6.6).

In many parts of the country ‘yeomen’ might be expected to appear between gentry and tenants on the top strand of Figure 5.2. Since the term occurs only occasionally in local documents, and there was no equivalent term in use, it is possible that the category was not widely recognised. By the mid-century, however, a few rural dwellers were *de facto* yeomen; they owned more land than normal, some of it freehold, and could

⁴⁷² By contrast, in late-sixteenth century Newcastle the wrights (house-carpenters), joiners, slaters, and glaziers, plumbers and painters each had their own ‘ordinary’ as one of the ‘fifteen by-trades’ by the end of the century; Brand, J., *The History and Antiquities of ... Newcastle upon Tyne* (London, 1789) pp.345-342.

⁴⁷³ BRO, B1/2 f.39r; B1/3 f.16v.

⁴⁷⁴ Turner, W., *A new booke of spirituall physik for dyuerse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande* (Emden: 1555) quoted in Cooper, *Gentry* p.15.

⁴⁷⁵ Dobson, *Cambridge Urban History 1* p.284.

'live wealthily, keep good houses, and travel to get riches and with grazing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of servants ... buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen', providing them with 'a certain pre-eminence, and more estimation than labourers or artisans'.⁴⁷⁶

This was one of the groups building 'seat houses' (Chapter 3). In Berwick their nearest equivalent were the ordinary burgesses. All burgesses were allowed to trade from their own premises, and thus might live over their shops. Probate documents can be misleading, providing an insight into their accommodation in old age; for example when the merchant Edward Walsingham of Berwick died his shop had very little stock and his inventory only mentions two rooms, a hall and parlour.⁴⁷⁷ This was probably equivalent to many of the 'stallengers', who traded in the market place, and others including building craftsmen and artisans. The majority of rural tenants also lived in one or two rooms (Chapter 3).⁴⁷⁸

Soldier or civilian?

At times, Berwick's garrison was almost as large as its civilian population (Table 5.1) and because of its position as the 'key to Her Majesty's kingdom' the Crown had control of the town's power structure. The Council was made up of the Governor and garrison functionaries, the Mayor being merely one of the members. Thus the Crown retained many of the benefits often accruing to a corporation, such as licensing land for building.⁴⁷⁹ The Master Carpenter and Master Mason were paid by the Mayor but with money provided by the Crown, which selected them.⁴⁸⁰ Garrison society was to some extent a closed one, with captains acting as patrons to their men, lending them money and sponsoring their children just as did wealthy relatives of civilians. In spite of the inevitable friction which resulted, the relationship between the single merchant Guild (the 'Mayor and his brethren') and

⁴⁷⁶Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* p.39. The description is William Harrison's, from Edelen, G. (ed), *The Description of England: the Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life* (Ithaca, New York: 1968) pp.117-8.

⁴⁷⁷ DUSC, DPRI/I/1587/W1.

⁴⁷⁸ Jarrett, 'West Whelington'; Dixon, *Deserted Medieval Villages* p.128; Watts, *Border to Middle Shire* p.2.

⁴⁷⁹ Scott, *Berwick*; Tittler, R., 'The incorporation of boroughs, 1540-1558', *History* 62, 204 (1977); Tittler, R., 'Reformation, resources and authority in English towns: an overview' in Collinson and Craig (ed) *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: 1998) 190-201; Van Vliet, J., (Draft title) 'The contest for authority in England's northern border towns: Scots, soldiers, and townsmen in Berwick-upon-Tweed and Carlisle, 1558-1625' (University of Pennsylvania: Forthcoming: PhD).

⁴⁸⁰ BRO, SP 59/4 f.6.

the Council was in many respects similar to that between town and gown in Cambridge where 'jurisdictional hostilities were routinely overcome and superseded by the mutual interest of both governing bodies'.⁴⁸¹ Soldiers and civilians were mutually reliant. Berwick's merchants often lent large sums of money as well as housing soldiers and selling food to the garrison, and townsmen took part in night watches. The garrison protected the townspeople and at times of shortage shared its stores with the town, as well as benefiting some builders financially; four of the six builders in the case studies of Chapters 7 and 8 gained directly from the Crown investment in Berwick.⁴⁸²

Table 5.1. Population of Berwick in 1565.	
Figures from SP 59/9 f.131.	
'An estimate as well of the numbers of men in Her Majesties pay there as also of the townsmen and corporation with their families'	
Chief officers with their retinues and servants	100
Captains and officers of their bands	60
Pensioners	42
Soldiers	860
Gunners	70
Horsemen	88
The old garrison	42
Workmen, artificers and labourers	845
Freemen and their servants	228
Stallengers and their servants	203
Women servants and widows	275
Children under the age of 13 years	251
Men's wives of all sorts	507
Sum total	3411 [sic: actual total 3,571]

⁴⁸¹ Kesselring, 'Berwick is our England'; Shepard, A., 'Contesting communities? 'Town' and 'gown' in Cambridge, c.1560 - 1640' in Shepard and Withington (ed) *Communities in Early Modern England: networks, place, rhetoric* (Manchester, New York: 2000) 216 - 234 p.231. For similar challenges in the garrison town of Chester at this period see Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation* pp.147-55.

⁴⁸² *Cecil Papers* 1 p.167; The Deputy Keeper of the Records (ed), *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward VI vol. v 1547-1553* (London: 1926) p.408; Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz* 3 p.481.

Military households were seen as potentially problematic. If they diluted the civilian economy, values and skills on which the garrison depended then 'there would be but one kind of people within the town, for all soldiers would become merchants, and merchants soldiers'.⁴⁸³ This worry was not unfounded, since not only were soldiers and civilians interdependent but the distinction between them was not always clear-cut in practice. A married soldier became a householder, needing more accommodation than the lodgings used by single men, and although the town's Statutes of 1560 stated that 'no captain or other of the garrison [was] to have a freehold in the town' soldiers could and did hold property in all parts of Berwick (Figure 5.1).⁴⁸⁴ They enjoyed some of the same benefits as burgesses, cutting grass in the town meadows and sitting on juries at the Bailiffs' court. Their wives, some of whom came from local families, used the town's markets. Their children attended the same schools and may have served a civilian apprenticeship or other training; the army did not have an apprenticeship system and soldiers were expected to have a civilian trade before entering (the 1598 muster lists only two eighteen-year-olds, the great majority of soldiers being over twenty-four).⁴⁸⁵ However homeless soldier families were, like all vagrants, a greater threat to settled society and as the garrison grew the Council set aside land in Berwick for soldiers to build their own houses, encouraging their integration into an increasingly civil and 'ordered' society (Windmill Hole, Chapter 7).⁴⁸⁶

It was normal for burgesses' younger sons to spend time as soldiers and some of these eventually became Guild members in their own right, strengthening the links further. In 1589 Captain Carey recommended James Temple to the Guild to become a freeman 'as his father lately was'; this role would normally be taken by the apprentice-master, implying that Carey had been his captain.⁴⁸⁷ When in 1603 the garrison was threatened with dissolution, mutual reliance was stressed; the Mayor and aldermen reminded Cecil that 'the poor families of the dissolved garrison... in respect of their birth and residency [in Berwick], by the law are there to be provided

⁴⁸³ TNA, SP 59/1 f.195.

⁴⁸⁴ Bain, *CBP 1* p.268; Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 3* p.546.

⁴⁸⁵ Smith, *Gunnerie*; TNA, SP 59/37 f.79.

⁴⁸⁶ Tlusty, B. A., 'The public house and military culture in Germany, 1500-1648' in Kumin and Tlusty (ed) *The World of the Tavern* (Aldershot: 2002) 137-153 p.140; James, *Family*.

⁴⁸⁷ BRO, B1/4b f.22r.

for' and that 'the town and garrison are and must be all one body ... they have lived so long together, that the townspeople are content the garrison shall have every liberty with them.'⁴⁸⁸

Urban or rural?

Only 19% of surnames recorded in the database for this study occur in both Berwick and the countryside, although this figure is skewed by the non-survival of rural parish and manorial documents and the actual proportion would have been considerably higher.⁴⁸⁹ Early modern towns required a degree of immigration merely to keep their population stable; in early-seventeenth century Cirencester between 50% - 80% of the population may have been first-generation immigrants.⁴⁹⁰ Rollinson suggests that a considerable proportion of immigration into towns was from some distance away and this was certainly true of Berwick, since even by 1598 nearly half the garrison was born outside Northumberland; indeed the garrison, like the labourers impressed for the fortifications, could be seen as merely a special case of this general principal.⁴⁹¹

Even so, the records reveal a variety of links between Berwick and the rural East March. A poignant example comes from Berwick's Enrolment Book (Figure 5.3).⁴⁹² In 1579 John Stephenson, his mother, wife, young son and 'divers others' were living in Marygate when the whole family became ill; John nuncupatively divided his tenement, bequeathing the house to his wife Isabell and their son and the remainder to John Wilson, whose father held land in Chatton and Chillingham Newtown and may have been his apprentice.⁴⁹³ Just before her own death Isabell confirmed her husband's disposition before his relative Norman Stephenson and

⁴⁸⁸ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury...preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire v. 15* (London: 1883) pp.336, 351.

⁴⁸⁹ 170 of 891 surnames occur in town and country. Only about 30% of individuals in the database were from the rural area (1,130 of 3,831 names), and even these form an unrepresentative sample of all rural dwellers.

⁴⁹⁰ Clark, P. (ed), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: volume II, 1540-1840* (Cambridge: 2000); Rollison, D., 'Exploding England: the dialectics of mobility and settlement in early modern England', *Social History* 24, 1 (1999) p.12.

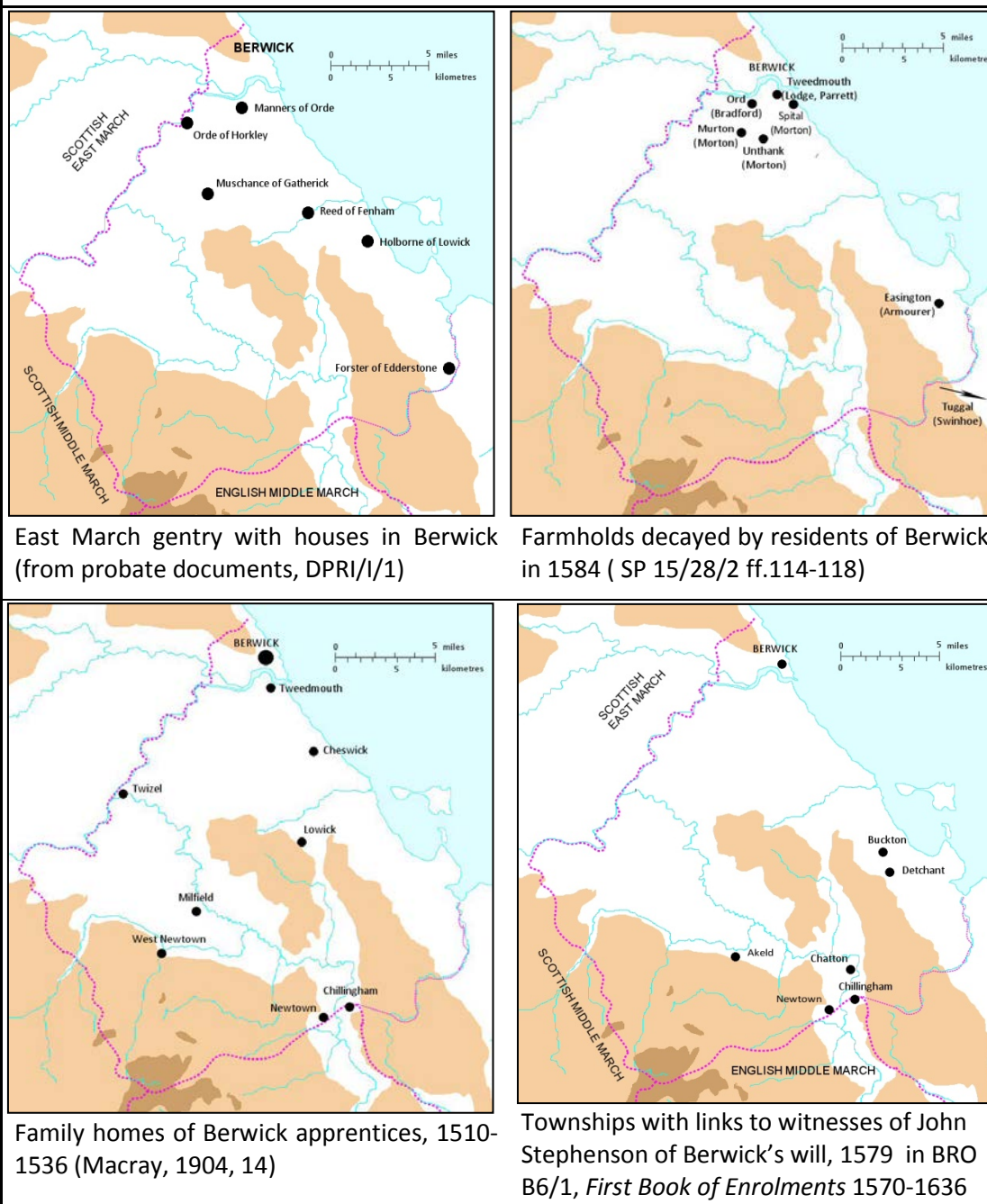
⁴⁹¹ Rollison, *ibid*; TNA, SP 59/37 ff.79-97. Of 706 soldiers 166 (24%) were born in Berwick, 206 (29%) in Northumberland.

⁴⁹² BRO, BRO/B/B6/9.

⁴⁹³ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

Norman's wife Phyllis Fettiplace, who also had relatives in Chillingham.⁴⁹⁴ Other witnesses included William Wilson, a stonemason who lived in nearby Walkergate and held land at Akeld and Detchant, and Raphe and John Fenwick, garrison horsemen living in Marygate whose father held tenements in Buckton, close to

Figure 5.3. Indications of rural/urban links.



East March gentry with houses in Berwick (from probate documents, DPRI/1/1)

Farmholds decayed by residents of Berwick in 1584 (SP 15/28/2 ff.114-118)

Family homes of Berwick apprentices, 1510-1536 (Macray, 1904, 14)

Townships with links to witnesses of John Stephenson of Berwick's will, 1579 in BRO B6/1, *First Book of Enrolments* 1570-1636

⁴⁹⁴ BRO, 1380/4; Maxwell, H. *The Registers of Berwick-upon-Tweed: Marriages, 1572-1700* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 1907) p. 4; NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81 ff.105, 112.

Rural gentry only held houses in Berwick if they had easy access along the North Road. Similarly, land held directly by Berwick residents tended to be near the town. However, there was in-migration to Berwick from all over the area and, at least in the case of the case of the Stephensons, residents retained these rural links.

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small group was linked not only by urban neighbourhood but also by ties to two small areas of the rural East March.

The countryside was generally healthier than the town, and this type of social and familial link would facilitate temporary residence outside the town at times such as childbirth or plague.⁴⁹⁶ A small proportion of urban wills mention rural property (13%), although its value was generally as agricultural land rather than the houses on it.⁴⁹⁷ Surveys also indicate several owners in Berwick with 'decayed' land near the town, possibly in use as a type of demesne (Figure 5.3).

Some burgesses lived permanently outside the town, even though this was forbidden in the Guild regulations.⁴⁹⁸ In 1581 the list of non-residents included George Morton, who died later that year leaving his eldest son George first his 'seat or stead of Morton, in Norhamshire', only afterwards mentioning 'my burgage [in Berwick], in which I now dwell', possibly emphasising residence as a rejoinder to the Guild.⁴⁹⁹ The Mortons owned a considerable amount of rural land, including the eponymous Murton which they had farmed from the Carrs before purchasing it in 1501 and where they apparently hoped to create a landed estate, building on the lineage value of the Murton/Morton name.⁵⁰⁰ George jr.'s 'gentleman's mansion house' in Morton was 'void' of tenants in 1584 and like his father he did not value residency in Berwick but at his death in 1618 he was living in suburban Tweedmouth rather than Murton, possibly as a compromise between town and country.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁵ Raph and John were either cousins or twins, both aged fifty-six in 1598, TNA, SP 59/37 f.79; BRO, BRO/B6/1; 'Muster Book of Berwick' SP, 59/37 f.79.

⁴⁹⁶ Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities* p.125; Griffiths, P., J. Landers, M. Pelling and R. Tyson, 'Population and disease, estrangement and belonging 1540-1700' in Clark *Cambridge Urban History II* pp.219-220.

⁴⁹⁷ 14 of 96 urban wills, excluding Council members whose main property was elsewhere.

⁴⁹⁸ BRO. B1/2 f.39r, B1/3 f.16v.

⁴⁹⁹ TNA. SP 15/28/2 f.114.

⁵⁰⁰ Greenwell. *Wills II* p.70.

⁵⁰¹ Raine (ed). *Wills and inventories illustrative of the history, manners, language, statistics, etc. of the*

The Selby family, who originated in the lower gentry, were marginally more successful in creating a rural foothold and its progress can be traced over time. John Selby of Branxton, a small estate near Flodden, had received a Crown pension for services rendered at the battle of Flodden in 1513. His son John became Gentleman Porter of Berwick and lived in the town while adding a lease of Twizel, only about seven miles from Berwick, to his rural estate. His son, another John who followed him as Gentleman Porter, lived much of his life in Berwick but re-fashioned Twizel into a secondary house or lodge and was knighted as 'Sir John Selby of Twizel' c.1580.⁵⁰² In the early 1580s Sir John had to explain to his superiors where the house was, emphasizing its proximity to Berwick and the fact that staying there would not affect his work, but by April 1589 he could excuse his dilatory reply to a letter by explaining that 'I was at my house in the country, upon some affairs of the Borders, when it arrived'; in June of the same year his son William instructed correspondents to send letters to Twizel, 'where my father hath promised that he or I shall be continually remaining for the receipt of the same'.⁵⁰³ However the family apparently only used the house in summer; no letters are subscribed 'Twizel' between November and March and in Selby's probate inventory dated February 1595 the rooms have expensive beds and cupboards but smaller articles of furniture and textiles are 'in the [store]house'.⁵⁰⁴ The house was only valuable for its relation to the Crown's presence in Berwick; Sir John's son William inherited it but moved south to his wealthy wife's estate in Kent soon after 1603, leaving the house to junior branches of the family. For neither the Selbies nor the Mortons did the benefits of a mansion on a small estate near Berwick continue after Berwick's national importance diminished in the seventeenth century.

Only 9% of willmakers from the East March left houses in Berwick, all from the lower gentry. All lived within easy reach of the town, either nearby or on the line of the north road (Figure 5.3).⁵⁰⁵ Several had Crown pensions or at least a record of Crown service and may have needed to keep contact with the heart of local

northern counties of England (London: 1835) p.70 fn; DUSC DPRI/1/1575/M3; TNA SP 15/28/2 f.114; DUSC DPRI/1/1618/M11.

⁵⁰² Kent. 'Twizel' p.22.

⁵⁰³ Green. *CSP Dom Add Eliz James I* p. 267; HHA. CP 18/8.

⁵⁰⁴ DUSC, DPRI/1/1595/S1.

⁵⁰⁵ 6 of 64 rural wills.

government.⁵⁰⁶ Their houses may have been a relic of their previous role in the town, and retained as a source of rental income. Since the assizes or quarter-sessions were held in Alnwick or Morpeth the gentry in general had no need to keep a house there to support a role as magistrate or JP and for many, social and kinship links would ensure that they could be accommodated in Berwick without needing a separate house.⁵⁰⁷

A major difference between rural and urban builders was their religious identities. The ancestral Catholicism of some rural landowners was as important to their identity as their ancestral tower, and a specifically Catholic understanding of sacred spaces may have influenced their building practice (Doddington, Chapter 8), although there was relatively little recusancy and the majority of the rural East March seems to have been merely indifferent to religion rather than positively Catholic or Protestant.⁵⁰⁸ No sixteenth-century parish records survive from the rural area and many baptisms, marriages and deaths may have passed unrecorded; it was notoriously difficult to find ministers willing to work in such physically, spiritually and financially challenging parishes.⁵⁰⁹

In contrast Berwick had a markedly Protestant religious character by the mid-sixteenth century.⁵¹⁰ Exposure to the Scottish Reformation, and in particular to Scottish clerics fleeing persecution, meant that it had at least as much in common with Scottish Presbyterianism as with English Puritanism. John Knox preached there for two years between 1549 and 1551, and by 1560 it was boasted that due to the work of 'the Dean of Durham and good Mr Sampson ... every holiday in the church are sung sundry psalms and prayers only by gentlemen and soldiers, and the most part gentlemen ...[and] Berwick has become a civil town, almost void of vices' although the writer worried that additional soldiers might 'infect' it.⁵¹¹ In the 1570s

⁵⁰⁶ Menuge, *Three Places* p.6; Meikle, *Frontier*.

⁵⁰⁷ Newton, *North-East* p.59.

⁵⁰⁸ Newton, D., 'The clergy, identity and lay society in the diocese of Durham, 1561-1635', *Northern History* 44, 1 (2007); Rushton, P., 'Law in north-east England: community, county and region' in Green and Pollard (ed) *Regional Identities in North-East England* (Woodbridge: 2007) p.77.

⁵⁰⁹ Watts, *Border to Middle Shire* pp.75-77; Newton, 'Clergy'.

⁵¹⁰ Newcastle was similar; Newton, *North-East* pp.125-135.

⁵¹¹ 'Mr Sampson' was presumably the Calvinist Thomas Sampson, who returned from Continental exile in 1559 and in 1561 was installed at Durham but continued to object to what he saw as religious compromises; Ryrie, A. 'Sampson, Thomas (c.1517-1589)' in *DNB* (Oxford: 2004)

Thomas Rugg stocked psalm books and catechisms by the dozen in his shop.⁵¹² 'Lectures' or sermons were held in private houses including one belonging to Sir Henry Widdrington, Marshal from 1580, who also housed Andrew Melville and other ministers banished from Scotland during Arran's regency.⁵¹³ Partaking in the 'international, radical Protestant identity' of the North Sea region opened new routes for exchange of ideas about houses and domestic practice.⁵¹⁴ It may even have resulted in built expressions such as a conscious 'concord' in neighbouring houses, suggested by Graves for seventeenth-century Newcastle and hinted at in some of the groups of houses on the *True Description* (Fig. 3.6).⁵¹⁵

English or Borderer?

For the London-centric sixteenth-century the North seemed very far away.⁵¹⁶ Robert Carey, carrying the news of the Queen's death to Scotland in March 1603, famously took only two and a half days to reach Norham from London and as a young man had managed to walk the distance in twelve days as a wager in the summer of 1589.⁵¹⁷ However, in poor weather the post could easily take eight days and the seasoned traveller von Wedel with his party of friends spent twelve days on the same journey, hiring post horses for speed (although this proved so expensive that they returned more slowly on horses purchased in Scotland).⁵¹⁸ The physical distance implied social and political 'otherness' and it has been suggested that although 'the idea of the North was largely the creation of people from outside the region ... it was nevertheless a powerful vehicle for identification within the region itself'.⁵¹⁹ Superficially the commonly understood northern characteristics of

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24595>, accessed 12 January 2016; Scott, *Berwick* pp. 135, 146; Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 3* p.331.

⁵¹² DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4.

⁵¹³ Melville, V., S. W. Arbuthnot, S. H. Jardine, R. Dundas, C. Mackenzie and J. Borthwick, *The Diary of Mr James Melvill, 1556-1601* (Edinburgh: 1829).

⁵¹⁴ Newton, *North-East* p.128.

⁵¹⁵ Graves, C. P., 'Building a new Jerusalem: the meaning of a group of merchant houses in seventeenth-century Newcastle upon Tyne, England', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 13, 4 (2009) p.405.

⁵¹⁶ Keene, D., 'Medieval London and Its Region', *The London Journal* 14, 2 (1989); Warren, I., 'London's cultural impact on the English gentry: the case of Worcestershire' *Midland History* 33, 2 (2008).

⁵¹⁷ Anon. (ed), *Memoirs of Robert Carey Earl of Monmouth* (Edinburgh and London: 1808) p.20.

⁵¹⁸ Von Bulow, G., 'Journey Through England and Scotland Made by Lupold Von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (New Series)* 9 (1895).

⁵¹⁹ Holford, M., 'The North and the dynamics of regional identity in later medieval England' in Lancaster, Newton and Vall (ed), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 2007) p.304.

belligerent backwardness, poverty and the potential for sedition do not present an attractive self-image, although Holford also suggested that they were used positively by the protagonists of the Pilgrimage of Grace to present themselves as bravely defending traditional religion with all the resources they could muster.⁵²⁰ This, however, was as much a social as a geographic understanding and they also expressed other identities.

Berwick's population was certainly determinedly English by the mid-sixteenth century; as one Mayor put it, 'Berwick *is* our England'.⁵²¹ The understanding was enshrined in the common phrase 'ever since Berwick was English', the local equivalent to 'time out of mind'. It denoted the limits of the civilised past, as when in 1583 the burgesses complained that Widdrington, the deputy Governor, had used 'such lewd and naughty speeches as never no man had presumed nor durst to use the like to the Mayor of this town since Berwick hath been English.'⁵²² It could convey a specifically historical consciousness, as when an inhabitant claimed title to his property 'by purchase of Thomas Good... who had it ever since Berwick was English' and showed the court 'a grant thereof by charter under the Chamberlain's seal made by King Richard purporting that it did come into his hands by the conquest of King Edward the Third'.⁵²³ In Wood's phrase it 'generate[d]... a kind of *usable* past, a sense of the past that legitimated claims to rights, spaces and resources in the present.'⁵²⁴

This legitimation was particularly important for Berwick's house-builders, since in the sphere of property law (which dealt with parcels of land more permanent than the vagaries of Scottish or English ownership) the town's identity was still provisional. While drawing up the 1562 'General Survey' the London lawyer Thomas Romney worried that 'their law they use now they do according to the Scottish law and they own also of Scotland ground their order of law'.⁵²⁵ This may have included such practices as transfer of seizin (ownership) witnessed and confirmed by

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Kesselring, 'Berwick is our England' p.102.

⁵²² Bain, *CBP 1* p.436; Bain, *CBP v.2* p.370; BRO, BRO/B6/1.

⁵²³ 'General Survey', 225. Other examples include TNA, SP 59/28 f.11, SP 59/35 f.66.

⁵²⁴ Wood, *Memory of the People* p.ix, his italics; Kesselring, 'Berwick is our England' examines other examples of this legitimation.

⁵²⁵ TNA, SP 59/7 f.10.

neighbours rather than recorded in the burgh court, anathema to a lawyer.⁵²⁶ Property deeds repeated earlier phrases even when obviously inappropriate; in 1562 the owner of a tenement in Walkergate was required to 'war against all English born persons'.⁵²⁷ A consciously independent approach to property law may already have become part of Berwick's identity and as late as 1767 deeds could be 'endorsed according to ancient custom used within the said borough'.⁵²⁸ The townspeople's professed Englishness could be flexible in practice.

Newton suggests that an equivalent rural assertion of identity might be that of the Border ballads, which 'represented an exceptionally potent sense of local identity grounded in its own particular customs and practices'.⁵²⁹ Based on customary cross-Border lawlessness rather than customary Englishness, they certainly exemplify the contrast between urban and rural mores. Even in Berwick Scots were 'servants, nurses, spinsters and such like', but many more, including miners and ploughmen, worked in the countryside. In 1568 'above three thousand' Scots were resident in the East March; in 1586 'Monylaws (Carham) hath not an English man that dwelleth in it ... [and] every third man within 10 miles of the Borders is ... a Scot, tenant or servant to an English man'; in 1565 one hundred and sixty-six Scots mustered 'unfurnished' (without equipment) in North Durham.⁵³⁰ These figures come from official complaints, and may be exaggerated, but there is no evidence that residents of the East March complained about the situation (unlike Berwick and the Middle March). Scots were necessary to their economy, and reivers were less likely to raid the belongings of their countrymen and could provide them with advance warning of raids.⁵³¹ The Wallis family employed Scottish masons and carpenters to build a house whose plan and style were Scottish in origin, and other rural builders could use similar elements such as the turret stairs for their projects (Chapter 8), apparently without any hint of disloyalty to their sovereign. In contrast to Berwick's staunch Englishness (but in common with many frontier zones) the rural Borderer's

⁵²⁶ Scottish Burgh Records Society, *Ancient laws* p.186.

⁵²⁷ 'General Survey', 332; BRO, ZMD 94/2.

⁵²⁸ Indenture of Lease and Release, January 1762, for 22 Palace Street, private collection.

⁵²⁹ Newton, *North-East* p.146.

⁵³⁰ Bain, *CBP 1* pp.228, 373; BL, Cotton Titus B/V f.11.

⁵³¹ Meikle, *Frontier* pp.264-6. Even the Scottish farmholders from north of the Tweed who brought produce to market in Berwick were more likely to be molested by their own countrymen than by the English; HHA, CPM I 22 A.

national identity remains hard to define, whether from a cultural, political or ethnic viewpoint.⁵³²

Networks

Berwick's liminal position between Scotland, England and the North Sea ports opened routes for shared ideas as well as goods and services.⁵³³ Land-based trade linked England and Scotland; grain crossed in both directions depending on prices, as did wool and textiles.⁵³⁴ Thomas Rugg used Berwick as the centre of his cloth trade between London and Edinburgh, improving a house in Marygate to fashion a suitable setting for his retail goods (Chapter 7). John Brakendare of Tweedmouth had cloth being waulked and dressed at Alnwick for 'Robert Weste of Folden', presumably Foulden in the Scottish Borders.⁵³⁵ Cross-Border smuggling was common.⁵³⁶ The east coast shipping route was also important and Berwick's main export was salmon, barrelled in salt and shipped to London 'fishmongers'; strong relationships of trust and kinship provided direct contact with the capital and its fashions as well as the opportunities and resources it offered. William Rhys, a postmaster on the important Berwick-London route, relied on his 'especial friend and factor' Thomas Trumble, a London fishmonger with relatives in Berwick, to see that his wages were delivered to his widow in 1560.⁵³⁷ Richard Pendlebury, a burgess, had a brother Nicholas who was a London fishmonger and who in 1560 acted as agent for a parcel of Crown property, including the estate of the Bamburgh Friars and a plot in Briggate, purchased by Roger Widdrington.⁵³⁸ Other contacts were found in east coast ports such as Newcastle, Hull and Kings Lynn, and the Scottish ports; the mariner George Lordsman of Hull owned a house by Berwick's quayside, and had several relatives in the town.⁵³⁹ Across the North Sea, Norway

⁵³² Kidd, C., *British Identities Before Nationalism: ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: 1999).

⁵³³ Smith, J. C., *The Northern Renaissance* (London: 2004).

⁵³⁴ Greenhall, M. R., 'The Evolution of the British Economy: Anglo-Scottish Trade and Political Union, an Inter-Regional Perspective, 1580-1750' (Durham: 2011: PhD) pp.78-92; Meikle, *Frontier* pp.260-4.

⁵³⁵ DUSC, DPRI/1/1584/B10.

⁵³⁶ Meikle, *Frontier* pp.262-4.

⁵³⁷ TNA, PRO E101/483/15 f.1, PROB 11/49/233. Rhys was a 'burgess and lieutenant to Captain Reed'; lieutenantcy is problematic when combined with burgess status, but may refer to his role in the postal service.

⁵³⁸ TNA, C 66/950 ff.39, 40; TNA, PROB 11/70/211.

⁵³⁹ 'General Survey' 34, 46, 154.

and the Baltic provided timber and the Low Countries specialised in framed timber structures, shipped with the carpenters to erect them (Chapter 6). Other material culture also followed trade routes; pottery from Castlegate was comparable to that from 'other east-coast ports such as Newcastle and Hull as well as with ... London and Southampton'.⁵⁴⁰ Foreign sailors and other visitors spent time ashore, and in 1573 Jacob Haggstock 'High Almaine' married An Loott 'Duch [sic] woman' in Berwick's parish church.⁵⁴¹

Trade was not the only medium for exchanging ideas about buildings. Most of the soldiers who settled down in Berwick had served on the continent and in Scotland. Several landowners owned property further south in England. High-status royal wards such as the Carrs of Ford and Grays of Chillingham were brought up in London, and Grays Inn was a popular place for the sons of the gentry to finish their education.⁵⁴² Sir John Selby, Berwick's Gentleman Porter, travelled regularly to London and could have experienced the building process at his patron Cecil's houses of Burghley (under construction 1555-87) and Theobalds (1564-85), both conveniently sited on the route, as was his fellow Berwick functionary Jenison's Walworth Castle, remodelled after 1579 in a similar way to Twizel (Chapter 8, Ford). Anthony Temple, Berwick's MP in 1563, may have brought back with him the pedimented decoration shown over his front door in Berwick in the *True Description* (Figure 3.6).

Sir John Selby was married to Margaret Douglas, illegitimate daughter of the Laird of Parkhead (Glasgow); they had met when the family was taking refuge in Berwick in the 1550s. Cross-Border marriage was illegal, but Selby's Scottish contacts were useful in his role as Berwick's gatekeeper.⁵⁴³ As well as visiting Edinburgh in an official capacity he used his 'house in the country' at Twizel and his friendship with the family of Lord Hume, Warden of the Scottish East March, to ensure that spies could pass safely; he may even have chosen to rebuild Twizel because of its position

⁵⁴⁰ Archaeological Services University of Durham '26-30 Tweed Street, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland: an archaeological evaluation' (2013).

⁵⁴¹ Maxwell, *Marriages* p.1. He was from south Germany, she from the Low Countries or north Germany.

⁵⁴² Meikle, *Frontier* Chapter 5.

⁵⁴³ Boyd, W. K (ed), *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603 Vol. 6: 1547-1563* (Edinburgh, 1910) p.127; Bain, *CSP Scot 1* p.424

across the Tweed from Hume land.⁵⁴⁴ In 1594, Hume brought a party over the Tweed to purchase hunting dogs;

he crossed the water at Carham [as far as possible from Berwick], rode to Newham that night, and hunted all Saturday in Bambroughshire with some of the gentlemen there. On Sunday he rode to Alnwick and dined with the Lord Warden [of the Middle March], coming back to bed at Newham [Newstead]. On Monday he hunted with Sir William Read at Fenham all day and lay there that night. Next day, having got four or five couple of hounds among them, he returned to Scotland.⁵⁴⁵

Hume was taking advantage of his king's absence dealing with his northern earls and taunting Carey, Warden of the English East March, by emphasising his relationship with the local gentry; but at the same time was cementing his ties with them. Thomas Grey of Chillingham's friendship with his relative the Scottish Master of Grey resulted in several visits, and social occasions such as this were important in reducing cross-Border tension.⁵⁴⁶ Return visits would have provided experience of the lairdly houses being built along the Scottish Border such as Ancrum (1558), Riddell (1567), Hutton Hall (1573), Cowdenknowes (1574), Hillslap (1585), Edgerston (1596) and Ferniehurst (1598), and influence may have passed in both directions.⁵⁴⁷

5.2 Motives for building

Self-fashioning

'Do I want to be the sort of person who lives in a place like this?'⁵⁴⁸ The question, posed by a twenty-first century architect and academic, sums up a common motivation for late-sixteenth century builders. 'Renaissance self-fashioning' involved every aspect of life from clothing and furnishing to choice of friends and patrons, including building.⁵⁴⁹ It is often discussed at the level of the élite (who tend

⁵⁴⁴ Bain, *CBP 1* p.28; Meikle, *Frontier* p.268; Bain, *CBP 1* p.72; HHA, CP 21/23.

⁵⁴⁵ Bain, *CBP 1* p.549.

⁵⁴⁶ Meikle, *Frontier* p.269.

⁵⁴⁷ Meikle, M. M., 'The sixteenth-century Border lairds: a study of the links between wealth and house building', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* 46, 1 (1993).

⁵⁴⁸ Ballantyne, A., *Architecture: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: 2002) p.3.

⁵⁴⁹ Greenblatt, *Self-fashioning*; Johnson, *Reconstructing castles*; Morris. 'Olde howse'; Stevenson, J., *Texts and Textiles: Self-Presentation among the Elite in Renaissance England* (2011)

to leave more evidence of both their thoughts and their material culture); Greenblatt, the originator of the phrase, suggested that his exemplars were all 'middle-class' but 'upper-middle class' might be more accurate.⁵⁵⁰ However, it was not restricted to them. Greenblatt also recorded 'a profound mobility... in most cases social and economic', a reminder of the importance of social mobility in the decision to build noted at the beginning of the chapter.⁵⁵¹ It explains the prioritising of speed over quality which is apparent in some of the buildings in the study (Chapter 6). Unlike the creation of a dynasty, self-fashioning must take place over a short time if it is to be effective.

Even though house-building may be rationalised as a response to an immediate practical need, self-fashioning is evident in the outcome. The datestone in Fig 6.6 can be read in two ways, but still provides a good example. Annis Thompson (daughter of a garrisonman) and Thomas Smith (a soldier, later a captain) married in 1589.⁵⁵² Their new house in Coxon's Lane, an area where many of the military had houses, was not merely a functional necessity but recorded the creation of a new household connected on both sides with the garrison, Berwick's *raison d'être*, which could confidently celebrate the value of the new.⁵⁵³ The remainder of the chapter examines some of the *immediate* reasons why builders in general built new houses or altered or improved old ones, while the case studies in Chapters 8 and 9 explore the motivation of some builders in more depth.

New houses

Superficially, there was little need for new housing. In Berwick, population was similar at the beginning and end of the study period (Chapter 4) and there was a diminishing number of rural tenants. The gentry had an over-supply of rural medieval 'towers' which could be repaired.⁵⁵⁴ This may help explain the contrast with the Scottish Borders, where fifteen new large houses are known to have been

<http://www.northernrenaissance.org/texts-and-textiles-self-presentation-among-the-elite-in-renaissance-england/> accessed May 2014.

⁵⁵⁰ Greenblatt, *Self-fashioning* p.9.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.7.

⁵⁵² *The Registers of Berwick-upon-Tweed: Marriages, 1572-1700*, ed. Maxwell, H., (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1907) p.1,

⁵⁵³ Mytum, 'Materiality' p.393; Green, *Houses and Households* p.176.

⁵⁵⁴ Bates, *Border Holds* pp.69-76.

built between 1573 and 1601.⁵⁵⁵ Although Meikle suggests that the English gentry chose not to build new houses ‘in the style of [those] being built further south in England’ in case their affluence became obvious, there is considerable evidence that they valued their old ‘towers’ and preferred to re-use them in a ‘decorous’ way.⁵⁵⁶

However the evidence hints at two clusters of house-building projects. The first, in Berwick and Tweedmouth around 1560, had a specific local cause; residents whose houses had been demolished for the new walls, and the married soldiers and workmen who had arrived in Berwick as part of the enlarged garrison, needed to accommodate their families. The Council laid out new ‘rows’ of plots for soldiers to build, but private individuals also made their own arrangements; for example Griffith Jones, on the garrison pay-list as a labourer in 1552, in 1561 held a cottage in Tweedmouth ‘*nuper per se de novo edificat*’, having apparently decided to settle down in the area.⁵⁵⁷ ‘Tweedmouth New Row’ also seems to have been inhabited by retired soldiers, who could benefit from the proximity of the garrison without the responsibilities of living in Berwick (Chapter 7).

The second cluster of houses, built and rebuilt in the countryside in the last quarter of the century, is less easy to explain in what is assumed to have been still a belligerent society. Houses built or rebuilt at this time such as Coupland (Chapter 8) have been ascribed to an outbreak of loyal fervour following the 1584 *Survey* (Chapter 2) but there is little evidence for this other than the coincidence of dates.⁵⁵⁸ The timing may relate in some way to Machin’s ‘building cycle’, which reached a peak in 1586, but the totals in both this and Machin’s study are too low to draw significant conclusions.⁵⁵⁹ The most likely impetus is gradually increasing income, from a combination of agricultural improvements and the money invested in Berwick by the Crown, which benefited a wide range of builders both directly or indirectly, allowing and encouraging “yeomen” and the lower gentry to establish

⁵⁵⁵ Meikle, ‘Border Lairds’.

⁵⁵⁶ Meikle, *Frontier* p.151; Relph, V., ‘The Medieval Tower-house Transformed: gentry housing in the English West March 1540-1603’ (Royal College of Art: 2013: MA dissertation).

⁵⁵⁷ BRO, BRO 1380/4; Raine, *North Durham* p.25.

⁵⁵⁸ Bates, *Border Holds* pp.77-80; see also Coupland and Ford, Chapter 8.

⁵⁵⁹ Machin, ‘Great Rebuilding’ pp.45-6.

new 'seat houses' (Chapter 4) and others with existing buildings to repair and extend them.

Investment

A major reason for building in Berwick was to provide rental income. In London '[p]erhaps three-quarters of ... households were tenant occupiers' and Baer suggests that the proportion could be similar in other urban contexts.⁵⁶⁰ In Berwick only sixty-three of the three hundred or so individuals in the 'General Survey' are listed as paying burghmail tax on more than one property, although many of the others may have had subtenants in their house or backhouse and the anarchic situation revealed by the 'General Survey' makes it difficult to discover whether the taxpayer was also the owner (Chapter 4).⁵⁶¹

The professional builder-as-developer was still virtually unknown, even in rapidly expanding London. Baer lists the occupations of men and women prosecuted for building speculatively in London between 1580-1605, ranging from vintner down to riverboat man, and similarly in Berwick a range of soldiers and civilians held (and therefore built or rebuilt) one or more properties which brought in an income.⁵⁶² At least some of the small clusters of taller houses with gable-ends on the street shown on the *True Description* would have been speculative developments, designed to make a more efficient use of the site than the traditional double-fronted cross-passage houses (Figure 3.7). Property development was a particularly useful source of income for women, since it needed no formal training or guild membership.⁵⁶³ The sisters Barbara Bradforth and Isabel Jackson, widows from high-status civic families, inherited three tenements from their father, an army captain; two were already divided into 'sundry rents' and the sisters divided the third site into six parts, leasing out five and living in one (which itself had a separately tenanted 'backside'), making them the owners of the largest property portfolio recorded in the 'General Survey'.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶⁰ Baer, W. C., 'Landlords and tenants in London, 1550–1700' *Urban History* 38, 2 (2011).

⁵⁶¹ Of the 63, 11 individuals had more than three plots, and the largest holding (9) belonged to the burgess John Shotton.

⁵⁶² Baer, 'House-building' p.415.

⁵⁶³ Baer, 'Landlords' p.235.

⁵⁶⁴ 'General Survey', 102-8. This type of division may have been common practice but is only recorded

Rental property was often bequeathed to children. While it was standard practice to apportion an estate between all children, it is often stated that sons were left 'real' property (houses and land) while daughters more often received money or articles which could be easily sold.⁵⁶⁵ This was normal over the rural East March but many Berwick residents held multiple houses as provision for daughters, who could benefit from the rental income and if necessary become part of the sixteen per cent of households where the wife provided the family home (above).⁵⁶⁶ In 1575 Thomas Clarke, a garrisonman, left his eldest daughter the family home and the younger 'my house which is now in the tenure and occupation of Alexander Hardman'.⁵⁶⁷ In 1584 the smith Martin Shell left houses to his two granddaughters in the 'street or lane on the backside of [his] tenement', now Crawford's Alley.⁵⁶⁸ Sergeant Thomas Brown's provision was more complex; he died in 1602 leaving his two legitimate daughters the rentals from two houses and his two 'reputed' daughters income from a shop occupied by one of them and the 'hall of the messuage in a part whereof I now dwell', currently occupied by John Dent.⁵⁶⁹ Even part of a house had value. The burgess Thomas Beckham died young in 1603, leaving a pregnant wife and an infant daughter. His house in Berwick was relatively large, three stories high with a shop, hall, at least three chambers and a separate kitchen as well as cellar, stable and gardens, but at this stage in his life he owned no other houses; in his will he left his daughter 'the chamber over the hall on the foreside of the street and the little garden, the courtyard' as her portion, although he also owned land 'in Berwick and elsewhere'.⁵⁷⁰ Even a few years' lease could be bequeathed; in 1582 William Cowley, a gunner, left his daughters 'the rent of my house wherein I do now dwell for four years and a half'.⁵⁷¹ Only occasionally is this not the case. For example Anthony Bradford, a merchant and 'foyman', left money to his daughter and two younger sons and houses in Briggate to his wife and eldest son; but these were

here because each lessee paid 1d. burghmail tax rather than Bradforth and Jackson paying the whole 6d.

⁵⁶⁵ Erickson, *Women and Property* p.19.

⁵⁶⁶ Doolittle found a similar situation in seventeenth-century London and this may have been the case in urban areas generally; Doolittle 'Property law' pp.212-6.

⁵⁶⁷ DUSC, DPRI/1/1575/C3.

⁵⁶⁸ DUSC, DPRI/1/1603/M5; DPRI/1/1584/S4.

⁵⁶⁹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1602/B8/1.

⁵⁷⁰ DUSC, DPRI/1/1603/B2.

⁵⁷¹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1582/C13.

warehouses related to his business and therefore had to be passed on undivided, like rural land.⁵⁷²

Domestic practice

Building was also linked to changing domestic practice, and this is particularly obvious in alterations carried out to existing houses (Chapter 3). Hospitality forms a good example. Commensality was still important in helping to maintain order within large households or organisations such as the garrison; in 1560 Berwick's Marshall was reminded that 'being the second person there, [he] must keep a good house' since he 'would not wish any of the officers of the town to haunt the ordinary boards at 6d the meal amongst common soldiers'.⁵⁷³ It also played a role in public welfare and during a food shortage in 1592 the Mayor complained that the Governor, Warden and the captain of Norham were no longer 'keeping hospitality' in town or country, echoing similar sentiments expressed countrywide.⁵⁷⁴ However, in garrison as well as civilian life the character of hospitality altered irrevocably over the sixteenth century as links within peer-groups replaced duties to those above and below in the social hierarchy.⁵⁷⁵ Lord Grey, Berwick's Governor from 1561, felt that the Governor's house lacked not only suitable space for dining (his predecessor had to 'entertain abroad [away from home] in a hall or tent') but also 'spare lodging for his friends ... [and] to lodge persons of merit about him'.⁵⁷⁶ His solution was not to provide a new hall but a smaller 'dining chamber' and 'lodging chamber', obviously designed for intimate gatherings of friends and equals rather than traditional 'entertainment'.⁵⁷⁷

His work is the first evidence in Berwick of what became a widespread trend for the two-storied rear extensions visible on the *True Description* in the 1570s, their tiled roofs contrasting with the thatched street frontages.⁵⁷⁸ The desire for this type of 'closure', providing a more complex domestic geography with rooms which fulfilled

⁵⁷² Hodgson, J. C., (ed) *Wills and Inventories from the Registry at Durham, Part III* (1906, reprinted 1967) p.108.

⁵⁷³ Heal, *Hospitality* Chapter 2; Stevenson, *CSP For 3* p.294; TNA, SP 59/3 f.58.

⁵⁷⁴ Bain, *CBP 1* p.433; Heal *Hospitality* Chapter 3.

⁵⁷⁵ Heal, F., 'The idea of hospitality in early modern England' *Past & Present*, 102 (1984); James, *Family; Cooper, Gentry* pp.264-272.

⁵⁷⁶ TNA, SP 59/4 f.156, Appendix 5.

⁵⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁷⁸ BL, Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72. See also Chapters 3,7.

distinct roles and within which social equals would feel comfortable, shows that Berwick's inhabitants were in the mainstream of domestic practice; in Norwich, for example, King dates similar extensions to the late-sixteenth century.⁵⁷⁹ This may be in part due to the influence of garrison members such as Lord Grey, but merchants' experience of the domestic practice of colleagues and kin along the east coast trading routes is likely to have been at least as important. In the rural area, there is evidence that builders began to make similar changes at around the same time although there is too little surviving evidence to assess its scope (Chapter 3).

Cost

The economic situation of the Borders, and of individual builders, is too complex to be covered in a short section. Meikle concluded that in spite of relative poverty, the local gentry's income and spending followed wider-scale trends and to a degree this was also true in Berwick, where the increasing demand for luxury goods in the later-sixteenth century is evidenced in the stock of Thomas Rugg's mercery which funded his building work of c.1570.⁵⁸⁰ Also following wider trends, in both town and country cash 'played only a marginal part in ... day-to-day dealings, which were often conducted on credit... it was a unit of reckoning, rather than a regular means of exchange.'⁵⁸¹ However this was more problematic than normal in Berwick, where the economy was reliant on the delivery of soldiers' pay; any coin was valuable, particularly around the time of national re-coinage, and the exchange rate with Scottish testons (shillings) was a constant concern. Many entries in the town's Court books refer to settlement of rent arrears 'at the next pay'.⁵⁸² 'Tickets' or vouchers were common currency; Edward Walsingham, a wine merchant, had 18s. 8d. in 'small tickets' in 1587 and the Garrison clerk John Wood had £475 12s of 'warrants and tickets owing' for the half-year ending 29 Sep 1603 and £483 1s 9d of 'warrants directed to the bringer and tickets' in his desk at the 'Palace'.⁵⁸³ An ex-

⁵⁷⁹ Johnson, *Housing Culture*; King, 'Closure'; Ridly, F., 'Burgeis' domesticity in late-medieval England', in Kowaleski and Goldberg (ed) *Medieval Domesticity* (Cambridge: 2008).

⁵⁸⁰ Pound, J. F., 'The social and trade structure of Norwich 1535-1575', *Past and Present* 34 (1966); Goose, N. R., 'In search of the urban variable: towns and the English economy, 1500-1650', *The Economic History Review* 39, 2 (1986) 165-185.

⁵⁸¹ Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities* p.52.

⁵⁸² BRO, C/C2/5,6.

⁵⁸³ DUSC, DPRI/1/1587/W1, 1603/W12.

soldier, he had apparently been the garrison's banker although with a total credit of £1,092 14s 6d and debts of £958 13s 9d at his death late in 1603 he was not personally wealthy and no doubt the garrison's reduction in size had been bad for his business. While 'tickets' were useful for internal deals the merchants eventually needed something more widely accepted, and in 1598 Fynes Morrison discovered that in Berwick 'for the lending of sixtie pound, there was wanted not good Citizens, who would give the lender a faire chamber and good dyet, as long as he would lend them the money'. Shortage of cash might have limited the amount of building timber which could be imported, and possibly the employment of specialist building craftsmen from outside the area (Chapter 6).⁵⁸⁴

As common in the sixteenth century there is very limited evidence of building costs. In 1483 a Council memorandum stated that 'there should be at least six houses made at Berwick this year, which would cost by estimation 20 marks [£13.6s.8d.] a house' and this was also the maximum recorded as compensation for houses demolished for the fortifications between 1557-60.⁵⁸⁵ Compensation for houses demolished or reduced in size by the wall works ranged from 10s. to £13 6s. 8d., averaging £5 4s., although the recipients complained that these were too low.⁵⁸⁶ In 1562

Harry Johnson holds half a tenement ... at will and prays the preferment in consideration of one other house of his taken into the Queens works and had £6 13s. 4d. only in recompense.⁵⁸⁷

His complaint is not surprising, since when the Tolbooth was repaired in 1561 the bill for timber and nails alone came to £12 4s. 6d. and 'glass for the windows' £8. Fir 'dales' were 3s. each, and 'great timbers' cost 6s. 8d.⁵⁸⁸ However this was a public project, and possibly carried out at a period when prices were inflated by the fortification works; around the turn of the century, deals were valued at 6-9d. each in probate inventories.⁵⁸⁹ For larger rural houses, in 1561 the Border surveyors hopefully suggested that 'for the repairing of castles, towers, and houses of stone,

⁵⁸⁴ *Fynes Moryson II* (Glasgow: 1907) pp.116-7.

⁵⁸⁵ Brown, *Kings Works II*; BRO, BRO 1380/1/38.

⁵⁸⁶ Even then, 8d. in every pound had to be paid to a lawyer to 'suit the seisin'; BRO, B1/1 89r.

⁵⁸⁷ 'General Survey', 326.

⁵⁸⁸ Scott *Berwick*, p.266.

⁵⁸⁹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1604/R1/2.

the owners shall employ the sixth part of their yearly revenue' although there is no evidence that the owners agreed.⁵⁹⁰ In 1584 the Commissioners' estimates of the cost of repairing the region's decayed 'castles and fortresses' ranged from £50 for repairs at Lowick to £1,200 for rebuilding Norham Castle with all its five turrets. Three new 'towers and fortifications [barmkins?]' to be built along the Border would cost £500 each; Pressen 'bastle' might have been one of these (Chapter 4).⁵⁹¹

5.3 Summary

Other reasons for house-building can and have been suggested including emulation, rivalry, posterity and even a compulsive 'passion for building' (which could explain why Robert Jackson, with his large collection of houses in Berwick, still had an ongoing building project at his death aged 84 (Chapter 4)).⁵⁹² Examples of these, as well as the necessity for a new house, building for investment and social status discussed above, are found in the case studies in Chapters 7 and 8. However, as stressed at the beginning of the chapter, whatever the builder's motivation, his or her identity – both in the present and the desired future – is key to the decisions he or she made during the building process.

Although most builders were male some women were recorded as builders, not only widows but also soldiers' wives; women's ownership of houses could also be recorded in marriage stones. Nothing shows that their houses were physically different from those of their male counterparts, just as there is no evidence that soldiers' houses differed from civilians' (although a Protestant identity, particularly strong at times among the garrison, may possibly have influenced some builders in Berwick). More important was whether builders saw themselves as urban or rural. Berwick had no role for the rural gentry and they did not build grand urban houses. Most already had substantial stone houses with a locally important status which they updated or added to. The majority of new stone-built rural houses were built by or for the growing number of farmers and the sub-gentry of 'yeoman' status who held land but had few tenants. A few urban builders invested in houses on country estates but living outside Berwick was frowned on by the Guild; instead, urban

⁵⁹⁰ Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 4* p.223.

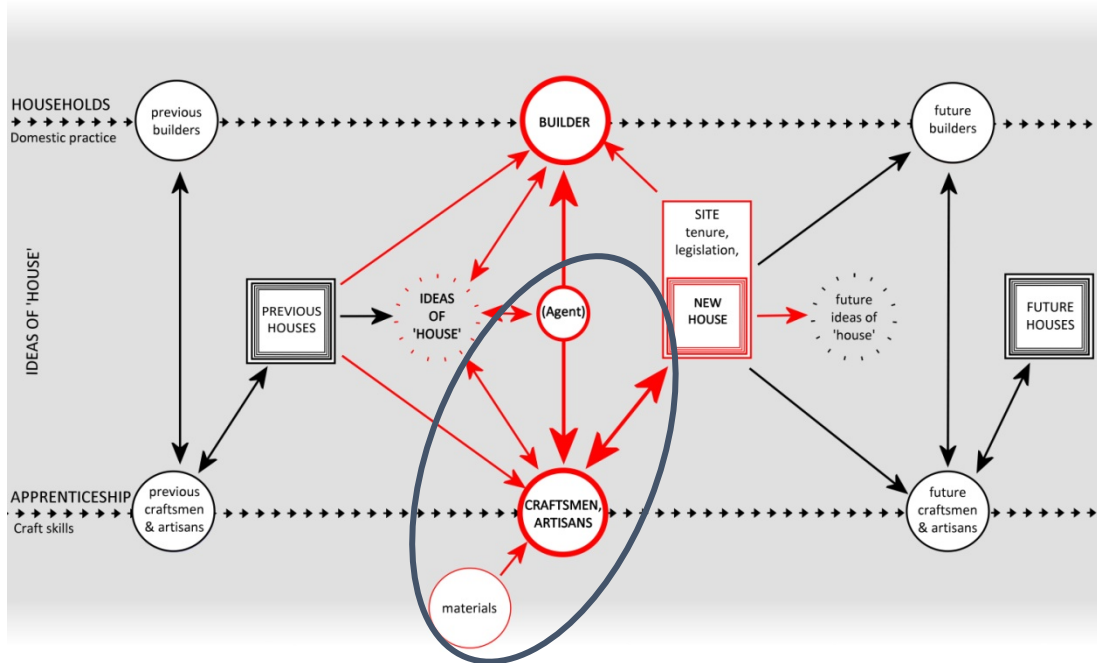
⁵⁹¹ Bates, *Border Holds* pp.72-5.

⁵⁹² Airds, *Country House* Chapter 1, quote from p.21; DUSC, DPRI/I/1603/J1.

builders tended to hold, improve or divide multiple town houses which brought in a rental income but unlike a landed estate could be more easily shared between their children.

The major factor in house-builders' identity was their place in the social hierarchy and this was, to a degree, in a recursive relationship with their house-building practice. Higher-status builders were more likely to have the wide-spread connections with London, Scotland and the wider North Sea area which allowed new design ideas to enter the building culture, but were more likely to own a house whose existing fabric had important lineage value and were still expected to entertain and protect those below them. Members of the urban and rural 'middling sort' could build or update their houses to allow more up-to-date domestic practice using new technologies and fashionable detailing to mark their place in history. Even ordinary soldiers could establish themselves in Berwick's society by building small houses in the extramural suburbs.

The previous chapter emphasised tenure as a key factor affecting a builder's agency, and this one has highlighted builders' identity as of major importance in their practice. Their desired identity is the spark which ignites the building process. However without craftsmen and artisans able to carry out the project there can be no building; these important individuals, and the complexities of the construction process itself, form the basis of the next chapter.



This chapter examines the construction process, beginning with the craftsmen and artisans who directly control the house's structure. Their role is defined by (and helps define) the available materials and craft traditions, and their communication with the builder is a key link in the house-building process.

Chapter 6 : 'The workmanship': craftsmen, artisans and the construction process

Andrew Boorde advised house-builders in 1534

There goeth to building, many a nail, many pins, many lathes, and many tiles, or slates, or straws, beside other greater charges, as timber, boards, lime, sand, stones, or brick, beside the workmanship and the implements.⁵⁹³

It is still easy to imply that a building is primarily a product of the available materials, with the 'workmanship' remaining secondary and the individuals who carry it out invisible.⁵⁹⁴ To take one example, a well-reasoned article on the evidence for pit-sawn timber in Herefordshire houses skims over the way in which the county's carpenters apparently chose simultaneously to invest in an expensive

⁵⁹³ Furnivall, F. J. (ed), *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge ...* (New York, Philadelphia: 1870 (1542)) p.237.

⁵⁹⁴ To be fair to Boorde, he was writing primarily about the cost of house-building rather than the process. Johnson, *English houses* Chapter 2.

new technology.⁵⁹⁵ This is not helped by the available terminology, since there was (and is) no single word to identify construction workers as a class. 'Construction' itself is not recorded as a verb until the early-seventeenth century; Boorde understood the house's 'builder' to be its instigator and funder.⁵⁹⁶ Here, those who used, shaped or combined the available materials and technologies into a house are variously referred to as 'artisans', 'artificers', 'craftsmen' or occasionally 'men' since 'the building industry in the Tudor and Jacobean period was still very much a male preserve'.⁵⁹⁷

For artisans, the existing houses discussed in Chapter 3 may be even more influential than they are to builders, being understood as constructed objects as well as the setting for a household. Of course, as householders they share domestic practice with builders but the diagram emphasises their specific link with previous craftsmen through the local (or, occasionally, another) apprenticeship system. Locally available materials, or those which builders are prepared to source, both restrict and enable creativity; as with sites, materials may appear to be independent of 'culture' but what is considered suitable for use as a building material is of course culturally defined. This chapter also examines the links between builder and artisan at the core of the process. Their relative influence will vary depending on the building project, but only artisans have direct agency over the material outcome and thus clear communication of ideas with the builder is important. This communication may be either improved or complicated by the interpolation of an agent, normally employed by the builder, either acting as designer or intermediary or both; a common example in the sixteenth century was the master mason or clerk of works, who often had authority to make important design decisions on behalf of the builder.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁵ James, D., 'Saw marks in vernacular buildings and their wider significance', *Vernacular Architecture*, 43, 1 (2012); Ruddock, T., 'Repair of two important early Scottish roof structures', *Proc. Inst. Civ. Engrs. Structs. & Bldgs* 110, (1995).

⁵⁹⁶ OED, 'construction' in *OED Online*, accessed 25 February 2013; 'construct' in *OED Online* (2012).

⁵⁹⁷ Airs, *Country House* pp.169-70; Woodward, D., *Men at Work: labourers and building craftsmen in the towns of Northern England, 1450-1750* (Cambridge: 1995) pp.53, 89, 108-14.

⁵⁹⁸ Airs, *Country House* Chapter 5.

Research into artisans inevitably relies heavily on documents such as guild records or building contracts, normally only preserved by large organisations.⁵⁹⁹ Since Berwick had no crafts guilds (a relic of its Scottish past, Chapter 5) and the Church and large households left almost no records from the period, much of the information here comes from sources produced by the Crown or indirectly through Council or Borough records. A little can also be gleaned from the surviving buildings. The chapter first examines artisans as a group, beginning with themes common to craftsmen in every building culture and continuing by discussing aspects specific to the local culture. Following this it briefly looks at evidence for the main trades within the local culture and the materials which they used. Finally, it discusses aspects of the construction process itself.

6.1 Artisans

In 1589 (February, always a lean month in the building industry) a group of Berwick's artisans found time to complain to the Bailiff's Court:

sundry artificers as carpenters, joiners, masons, wallers, thatchers and others that hath been brought up in and about this town, ... find themselves grieved and not able to live by reason of Scots born persons that come and other strangers in taking their work which they should live upon.⁶⁰⁰

The 'sundry artificers' are referred to by their separate trades, echoing the contemporary understanding of the building process as the work of separate, directly contracted tradesmen, each carrying out a specialist activity defined by the materials they used and with interest limited to one particular element rather than to the completed building.⁶⁰¹ However they complained as a group, exploiting the benefits of mutuality increasingly expressed among building tradesmen even where they had no formal guilds.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁹ Knoop, D. and G. P. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason: an economic history of English stone building in the later middle ages and early modern times* (Manchester: 1933); Salzman, *Building*; Woodward, *Men at Work*; Ruddock, 'Repair'; B L, Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72.

⁶⁰⁰ BRO, BBA/C/C1 n.p.

⁶⁰¹ Baer, 'House-building'. For the same process at country mansions, see Airs, *Country House*; and for building work by civic authorities Woodward, *Men at Work*.

⁶⁰² Knoop, *Medieval Mason*; Blair, J. and N. Ramsey (eds), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London: 1991); Woodward, *Men at Work*.

They identified themselves as having been 'brought up in and about' Berwick, and since the great majority of evidence is from the town, rural craftsmen remain shadowy figures. This is reasonably representative, since only in towns were such men likely to be employed full-time on building work and for anything requiring more than basic skills rural builders tended to depend on itinerant craftsmen or on specialists based in towns.⁶⁰³ A typical story may be that told in Chapter 5; John Wilson was brought up in Chatton but after inheriting his master's yard and masonry business he gave up his father's farmhold and settled in Berwick.⁶⁰⁴

Status

While the 'artificers' who presented the complaint are the main focus of this chapter, as elsewhere the house-building process involved not only skilled craftsmen but also labourers, whose presence on the building site was particularly evident during certain processes; digging foundations, raising a frame, or during masonry work.⁶⁰⁵ They had neither specific training nor, generally, their own tools.⁶⁰⁶ Although an essential to the building process they were not included in the artificers' complaint as their interests did not align; they may well have been as happy to work for 'strangers' as for local employers or even, given their unskilled status, to have been Scottish themselves. Although some may have had specific specialities (some individuals, for instance, were paid both as 'labourers' and 'masons' or 'mudwallers' in the royal works at Berwick) many would have taken whatever work was available.⁶⁰⁷ Female labour on building sites was not uncommon, but is acknowledged as being particularly difficult to trace. Women are recorded at Wark Castle in the 1540s, but not on later Crown pay lists; the garrison presumably provided all the labour required in Berwick.⁶⁰⁸

Woodward points out that the labourer's 'lowly social position... is neatly symbolized by their anonymity in many contemporary accounts'.⁶⁰⁹ Although the Berwick rolls list many hundreds of men paid as labourers on the Crown works very

⁶⁰³ *Airs, Country House* p.147.

⁶⁰⁴ *Bain, CBP 1* p.14.

⁶⁰⁵ *Airs, Country House* p.166.

⁶⁰⁶ *Woodward, Men at Work* p.93.

⁶⁰⁷ BRO, 1380/1/38.

⁶⁰⁸ *Woodward, Men at Work* pp.93-115; *Airs, Country House* pp.166-70; BL, Cotton MS Caligula B vii.

⁶⁰⁹ *Woodward, Men at Work* p.94.

few of their surnames occur in the other sources, and the majority were probably impressed from elsewhere. Those working within the house-building culture are almost impossible to trace. Even those who laboured all their lives would seldom have identified themselves solely with the building trade, but for many labouring was a life-stage occupation. This was not limited to poorer sections of society, at least for the Crown works in Berwick; John Greenhead, paid as a labourer in 1552, owned eight houses in the town by 1560 and several members of the wealthy Jackson family were paid as labourers in 1552 including Robert, who served as Mayor in 1576.⁶¹⁰ For others, labouring could precede a career as an artisan as it did for John Sneade, an impressed labourer in 1552 who was by 1585/6 a carpenter paid at the top rate of 12d. an hour.⁶¹¹ Examples of others who benefited from the Works occur below.

The Crown's local high-status labourers, men whose future as burgesses was assured and who laboured for pocket money or to show support for the works, were atypical. Even building craftsmen were 'rarely... very far up the social ladder' although 'above the bottom stream of urban society'.⁶¹² The only local information available on pay is from the Crown works, where rates ranged from 6d. a day for labourers to 12d. for craftsmen, but since these are similar to those recorded by Woodward elsewhere in northern England they are probably representative of rates for domestic work.⁶¹³ In Newcastle, those working in building, carpentry and manual labour occur very low down Andrew Burn's list of wealth as indicated by seventeenth-century hearth tax and probate records and none were wealthy enough to appear in Heley's study of Newcastle's 'middling sort' of tradesmen, based on evidence from probate records 1545-1642.⁶¹⁴ Only two men within the study area identified themselves with building trades in probate documents (although this is roughly 10% of the total for Northumberland, very similar to the proportion of probate documents as a whole; see Chapter 2). However, the figures

⁶¹⁰ BRO, 1380/4; BRO, 1380/1/38; Scott, *Berwick* p. 479.

⁶¹¹ TNA, SP 59/19 ; BRO, 1380/4; BRO 1380/5.

⁶¹² Woodward, *Men at Work* p.16.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ Of 33 occupations recorded by Burn 'building' ranked 28th, 'carpentry' 30th and 'manual labour' 31st. Fishing was 29th, and only those involved in coal transport and mining were ranked lower; Burn, A. 'Work and society in Newcastle upon Tyne, c. 1600-1710' (Durham: 2014: PhD) p.190; Heley, 'Tradesmen'.

may not reflect the whole picture, since some who left wills worked as artisans without identifying themselves as such. In Berwick, links with the garrison were considered more important; Robert and Martin Shell worked as smiths, making items such as locks and hinges, but Robert identified himself as a gunner and Martin as 'a footman, one of the Queens majesties cannoneers of the great ordinance'.⁶¹⁵ Nicholas Saint, in the township of Warkworth, carried out masonry work on Warkworth Castle but called himself a yeoman.⁶¹⁶ Limited self-identification as an artisan in probate documents reflects its potential as a part-time or life-stage occupation, particularly in rural areas.

Training

Some sort of craft association was essential to oversee apprenticeships, by which artisans received formal or informal training from those who had learned in the same way themselves and whose standards were overseen by a formal or informal group of their peers.⁶¹⁷ There are few sixteenth-century records of apprentices to any trade in Berwick, possibly because the system was expensive and inflexible for both parties and even in large cities 'apprenticeship was undertaken as a more flexible period than the formalities of contracts ... would suggest'.⁶¹⁸ Given Berwick's limited resources and small number of craftsmen this 'flexibility' would have been even more normal here and it is likely that the majority of trainees in all building trades were related to their masters and received only an informal apprenticeship.⁶¹⁹

Whatever the exact framework, like other apprenticeship-based building cultures such as that of modern Djenne in Mali

pedagogy was not language based ...Rather, skilled performance and embodied practices were taught and learned in a participatory forum

⁶¹⁵ DUSC, DPRI/1/1549/S5, 1584/S4.

⁶¹⁶ DUSC, DPRI/1/1586/S1.

⁶¹⁷ For building apprenticeships in general see Knoop, *Medieval Mason*; Salzman, *Building* particularly Chapter 3; Woodward, *Men at Work* Chapter 3.

⁶¹⁸ Wallis, P., 'Apprenticeship and training in premodern England', *Journal of economic history* 68, 3 (2008); Minns, C. and P. Wallis, 'Rules and reality: quantifying the practice of apprenticeship in early modern Europe', *LSE Working Papers* 118/09 (2009).

⁶¹⁹ Harding, V., 'Sons, apprentices, and successors in late medieval and early modern London: the transmission of skills and work opportunities' in Eliassen and Szende (ed) *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies* (Newcastle: 2009).

located 'on-site', and the standards of the apprentice-style training were negotiated and maintained within a hierarchical context of professional interactions between builders.⁶²⁰

The type of experience-based learning provided by an apprenticeship resulted in a literally "embodied" understanding of techniques and expected outcomes, which allowed the craftsman to devise his work before making it. The French writer Geoffrey of Vinsauf, writing c.1200, pinpointed the conscious or unconscious design process (as relevant today as it was then):

[i]f a man has a house to build, his impetuous hand does not rush into action. The measuring line of his mind first lays out the work, and he mentally outlines the successive steps in a definite order. The mind's hand shapes the entire house before the body's hand builds it. Its mode of being is archetypal before it is actual.⁶²¹

A successful training regime therefore resulted not only in a "maker" with the ability to reproduce craft skills but a creative "deviser" whose mind's 'measuring line' and 'hand' had been trained to use his bodily skills in performing a new or re-ordered building and enabled a degree of creative innovation.⁶²² This creativity was not always positive for the building culture; in some areas of England complex but inefficient joints developed to become part of the 'language' of framing learned during a carpenter's training, even though simpler and more effective alternatives were available.⁶²³ It also depended on the experience available to the apprentice, and limited opportunities during apprenticeship are suggested as a possible cause of the poor masonry practice outlined below.

Practice- rather than language-based training continued to be the norm but over the nation as a whole a small but increasing number of building craftsmen could

⁶²⁰ Marchand, T. H. J., 'Endorsing indigenous knowledge: the role of masons and apprenticeship in sustaining vernacular architecture - the case of Djenné' in Asquith and Vellinga (eds), *Vernacular Architecture in the 21st Century: Theory, education and practice* (London, New York: 2006) p.47. The system which Marchand experienced had several similarities with the medieval English tradition including an association, the *barey ton*, roughly equivalent to a mason's guild whose members oversaw training.

⁶²¹ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova* trans. Nims (Toronto: 1967) p.15. quoted in Hallissy, M., 'Writing a Building: Chaucer's knowledge of the construction industry and the language of the "Knight's Tale"', *The Chaucer Review* 32, 3 (1998) p.255. Although 'builder' here may primarily refer to 'instigator', the process described is also relevant to the craftsman.

⁶²² Marchand, *Indigenous* p.60.

⁶²³ Harris R., 'The grammar of carpentry' *Vernacular Architecture* 20 (1989).

own, read and gain information from books related to construction practice.⁶²⁴ The process of learning from the written word was itself a skill to be learnt; in 1556 Digges advised 'landmeters', carpenters and masons to read his *Techtonicon* through at least three times, 'first confusedly... then with more judgement... [then] at the third reading wittily to practice', encouraging them that 'oft diligent reading, joined with ingenious practice, causeth profitable labour.'⁶²⁵ Berwick's groups of '*mensuratores*' or 'landliners' included men of high status who might have read this type of book and passed the ideas further into the building culture.

Mutuality

By the later-sixteenth century building craftsmen over the whole country were exploring the benefits of mutuality, echoing the increasingly corporate tone of wider society and emphasising the interests of the 'fellow' over the 'master'.⁶²⁶ This could be an informal grouping, as with the Berwick artificers' complaint (above). An incident in 1561, among a group of 'English hardhewers' impressed from various places to work on Berwick's walls, shows another aspect: on suspicion that some workers were being overpaid,

the Governor... took the musters on the sudden... which he accomplished until he came to the masons' lodge among the English hardhewers, who refused to come together from their banks, which he perceiving, said that he would check their wages, and so did; whereupon came one with his mallet in his hand as though he would smite therewith, and said that if he checked him then he would break his brow, *or if he checked any of them*, and so handled him amongst them that he was glad to avoid.⁶²⁷

Mutuality was particularly obvious among masons, who habitually formed temporary communities with strong bonds of fellowship in their peripatetic lifestyle. The hardhewers left the authorities in no doubt as to their willingness to stand together, and their attitude may have encouraged local masons to use their corporate strength. The Newcastle Masons' Company was incorporated in 1581 and

⁶²⁴ Howard, *Building* Chapter 3.

⁶²⁵ Digges, L., *A booke named Tectonicon* (London: 1556) p.1.

⁶²⁶ Knoop, *Medieval Mason* pp.178, 217. Although Edinburgh, like Berwick, had only a single merchant guild, its masons had been part of the 'Incorporation of Mary's Chapel' since at least 1475; 'Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh' <http://edinburghtrades.org/> accessed 23 April 2015.

⁶²⁷ Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 4* p.50, my italics. Eventually the Governor 'so punished the chief offenders that [they became] very quiet, confessing their folly'.

those in Alnwick formalised their 'constitution' around this time or soon afterwards.⁶²⁸ Berwick's masons followed, and in 1594 the Bailiff's court objected that

there can no company nor fellowship of any occupation in this town challenge or claim any frelidge [heritable freedom] or brotherhood amongst themselves, thereby to debar or hinder others of the same occupation to work (as it is informed to this court that the free masons do) without the privity, license and grant of the Mayor and Corporation who are to ordain and dispose of this matter as they may think most fit and commodious for the good of the common wealth.⁶²⁹

The masons appeared to be forming a guild, and while ostensibly objecting to restrictive practices the Corporation was equally concerned about the perceived challenge to its authority. Multiple guilds could in fact increase a town's control over its local labour force, as well as providing income, but Berwick's oligarchy was not confident enough to take this step (even though by this time it could occasionally manipulate even the powerful Council).⁶³⁰ A *de facto* 'company' obviously existed, however. The town's carpenters may either have developed their own 'brotherhood' or have been linked with the masons as in Edinburgh. As elsewhere, this 'corporatism' provided influence in urban affairs and more building craftsmen were received into the Guild; in 1607 one of the oldest aldermen, named Carpenter, was known as 'a man very good for timber-work' and in 1609 and 1611 James Burrell, master mason and Crown surveyor, and in 1610 Leonard Fairley, master carpenter, became mayors, temporarily breaking the merchants' monopoly on the post.⁶³¹

⁶²⁸ Knoop, *Medieval Mason* p.231; Stephenson, D., *The Origins of Freemasonry: Scotland's century 1590-1710* (Cambridge: 2003) p.8; Brand, Newcastle p.346; Schmitger, F. F. and W. Davidson (eds), *The Alnwick Manuscript, No. E10, Reproduction and transcript* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1895). The manuscript is dated 1701, but extracts from the Geneva Bible imply a late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century origin.

⁶²⁹ BRO, BBA/C/C1-3 f.38

⁶³⁰ Woodward, *Men at Work* pp.28-35; Swanson, H., 'The illusion of economic structure: craft guilds in late medieval English towns', *Past & Present*, 121 (1988) p.39; Kesselring, 'Berwick is our England'.

⁶³¹ Gross, C., *The Gild Merchant: a Contribution to British Municipal History v.1* (Oxford: 1890) pp.213-226. These particular mayoral posts may have been influenced by the Crown's desire to oversee spending on bridge repairs but Woodward *Men at Work* p.29 cites building-trades guilds influencing mayoral elections at Carlisle, Durham, Newcastle and York. In Edinburgh, the incorporated trades were allowed seats on the Council. Guiseppi, M. S. (ed), *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury. Vol. 19: 1607* (London: 1965) p.153; Scott, *Berwick* p.414; TNA, E178/4344; TNA, SP 59/30 f.326.

The Border

The majority of Berwick's apprentices probably came from within the town, and certainly from within the East March.⁶³² The artificers' complaint about 'Scots born persons' taking their work might imply that they would not have considered taking on a Scottish apprentice, although it was a response to the amount of work available rather than local loyalty *per se*; in Carlisle 'any resident ... taking a Scottish boy as an apprentice was to be fined £10', in Newcastle the fine was forty shillings, and the practice may not have been unknown in Berwick.⁶³³ However, by the sixteenth century the Border had been in place long enough for its recursive influence to produce different 'languages' of building on each side, just as Border Scots had become differentiated from Northumbrian English.⁶³⁴ The country of apprenticeship would determine a craftsman's use of locally- or regionally-specific practices. This would be particularly true if he became a carpenter, since their static workshops meant that they tended to work within a limited area; the face-fixed ashlar posts of Coupland's roof, used throughout England in the thirteenth- and early-fourteenth centuries, were probably recognisable as the work of Scottish carpenters by the sixteenth century (Figures 6.1, 6.2).⁶³⁵

In the relatively poor, sparsely populated rural area masons had to travel long distances to find work and this made it essential to work on both sides of the Border. Scottish masons may also have been moving into the roles vacated by local craftsmen employed by the Crown works in Berwick. Dixon has shown that, at least during the later-sixteenth century, one or more teams which included both Scottish and English masons were involved in house-building across the Border.⁶³⁶ It is not clear whether this was an occasional or normal practice; Dixon's evidence is based

⁶³² Records are very scant and burgesses' sons were not often recorded but between 1510-35 ten apprentices are recorded, all but one from the East March (Figure 5.3); *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: 1872) p.14.

⁶³³ Woodward, *Men at Work* p.54 n.3, Brand *Newcastle* p.346.

⁶³⁴ Maguire, W., 'The north above the North' in Hickey (ed) *Researching Northern English* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: 2015) pp.440-1.

⁶³⁵ Roberts, 'Typology' p.29.

⁶³⁶ This may not always have been from choice; in the West March 'in 1520, when Thomas first Lord Dacre was building in northern Cumberland, Lord Maxwell's men captured sixteen masons and wallers' as well as carrying off 'four draughts of oxen bearing stones'; Dixon, 'Hillslap' p.129. By the later-sixteenth century, however, it is assumed to have been more or less consensual; Dixon, 'Fortified Houses'.

Figure 6.2. Scottish and English roof structure, 1.

Left: Face-fixed ashlar pieces in the garret at Coupland; author's photograph.

Right: comparison of English and Scottish detailing (based on Ruddock 1995, 297-8)

Coupland's ashlar pieces suggest Scottish design. The definitive difference between the two systems is the presence or absence of a wall-plate (not currently accessible).

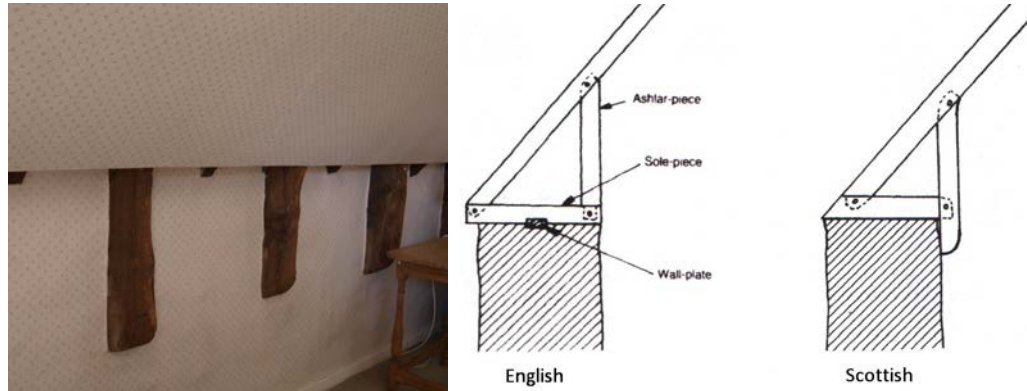


Figure 6.1. Scottish and English roof structure, 2.

Below left: Coupland (left) and Doddington (right); left, author's photograph; right, detail from newspaper clipping (untitled, undated, c.1940s?) RCHME 4617/12.

Both roofs were probably originally thatched and later tiled with pantiles but Coupland has Scottish-style sarking boards between the rafters while Doddington has battens, normal in England. Saw-cut carpenters' numbering at Coupland (highlighted) is similar to that recorded in Scotland (Hanke 2006). Each has common rafters, in contrast to the principal trusses recorded in Berwick where large-section imported timber was more easily available (BRO, ZMD/94/30).



on the design of carved mouldings, of which few survive, particularly in English houses. However the Scottish stair tower, which may have been introduced in its “classic” form at Coupland, seems to have been adapted to suit local domestic and construction practices over a wide area, implying its adoption by English masons who may have seen or heard of it rather than been involved in constructing it (Chapter 3). This type of occasional cross-Border work would provide a mechanism for reinforcing and disseminating the ‘northern style’ argued for by some authors.⁶³⁷

Crown works

Specialised building craftsmen or artisans are assumed to have comprised between four and ten per cent of the male working population of early modern English towns and using these figures Berwick might be expected to contain only about twenty-five building artisans at any one time.⁶³⁸ In addition, the Crown had a small office of works.⁶³⁹ Thus for large or urgent projects such as the new walls even the addition of Berwick’s civilian craftsmen would be insufficient and artificers were impressed (ordered to work in Berwick) from elsewhere in the country. At times during the 1540s-60s Berwick was home to a thousand additional building workers from all over England, Wales and even, in 1561, ‘103 hard hewers out of Ireland.’⁶⁴⁰ These workers were paid ‘conduct money’ to return home but not all did so. Of the 276 surnames recorded among the artisans and labourers in 1552 at least 124 (45%) reappear in later documents, and while some would have already been residents, others were impressed men who chose to remain in the area.⁶⁴¹ John Sowthe, a labourer ‘taken out of the City of Gloucester’ in 1558, married Isabel Rowle, a local widow with life interest in a house in Westerlane; they were living there in 1562.⁶⁴² Marriage may have been a way of avoiding the charge of ‘stranger’ used by the close-knit artisanal society in 1572.

⁶³⁷ Dixon, ‘Hillslap’; Dixon, ‘Fortified Houses’; Relph, ‘Medieval Tower-house’.

⁶³⁸ Baer, ‘House-building’; Woodward, *Men at Work*.

⁶³⁹ Colvin, *King’s Works*.

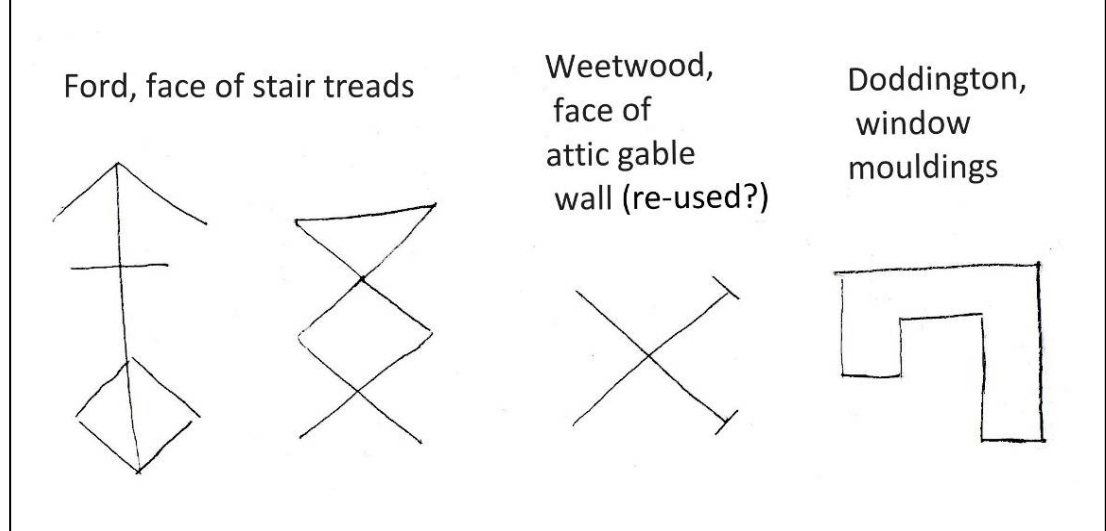
⁶⁴⁰ Hamilton, H. C. (ed), *Calendar of the State Papers, relating to Ireland of the reign of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. 1509-1573...* (London: 1860) p.166; Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 4* p.2. The Irish were not a success, and in October 1561 Rowland Johnson intended to replace ‘twenty or more of the Irish hard-hewers, and as many of the English that are sickly’ with ‘as many able men’; TNA SP 59/5 f.115.

⁶⁴¹ BRO, BRO/1380/4.

⁶⁴² GBR, B2/1 f.75v; BRO, BRO/B6/1.

Figure 6.3 Sixteenth-century masons' marks.

The right-hand mark is recorded twice on the windows at Doddington. Its double lines are unusual, but similar to one recorded by Bates at Cartington Castle, which has inserted late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century windows (Bates 1891, 10).



It is tempting to suggest that the assembling of a trans-national workforce would have facilitated an interchange of technical knowledge and ideas about building that affected the local building culture, as P. D. Smith tentatively suggested for Edward I's castles in Wales three centuries earlier, but as in Wales the scarcity of built evidence means that this must remain merely a surmise at present.⁶⁴³ A study of masons' marks might be informative and some have been recorded on Berwick's walls, although their positions were not noted.⁶⁴⁴ Most of the sixteenth-century masons were paid by day- rather than piecework, and thus would not have marked their work, but marks might be found in the casemates (gun enclosures) and other areas where skilled shaping was required.⁶⁴⁵ A very few marks were noted in the rural houses visited for this study, although they do not match any previously recorded in Berwick.

⁶⁴³ Smith, P. *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (London: 1988 (2nd ed.)) p.431.

⁶⁴⁴ Medieval marks are recorded in Borders Archaeology Society *Medieval Defences of Berwick-upon-Tweed* (Berwick: n.d.).

⁶⁴⁵ Alexander, J. S., 'Masons' marks and stone bonding' in Tatton-Brown and Munby (ed) *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* 42 (Oxford: 1996); Alexander, J. S. and K. A. Morrison, 'Apethorpe Hall and the workshop of Thomas Thorpe, mason of King's Cliffe: a study in masons' marks' *Architectural History* 50 (2007).

A hint of outside influence occurs in the 'General Survey' of 1562. Most of the speedily-built soldiers' houses are defined by the number of couples in their construction, following local practice (Chapter 3) but a few were described by 'couple roomths', a phrase which implies the spaces between the 'couples' and equates with 'bays', the normal way to describe houses in many places elsewhere in England. Thinking of buildings as made up of 'bays' might originate from timber-frame construction, where the whole building is framed as one and the spaces between the main structural members are as important to the carpenter as the members themselves. In a mass-wall cruck-roofed building, 'couples' are recognisably separate from the walls and could be the most costly element of a house, making their total number relevant to its value or to its landlord's liability for repair.⁶⁴⁶ The 'General Survey' was carried out by twenty-four '*probos et legales homines*' from the town, and some of these apparently came from a building culture where houses were more normally measured in bays.⁶⁴⁷

A specific influence may have been the alterations to the Castle carried out by the Governor Peregrine Bertie around 1600 (fig 3.11). The project was probably led by his own craftsmen since the oriel window, overhanging eaves and gable boards of his new gable end originate in timber construction, and possibly a milder climate; the local preference was for exposed gable skews and clipped eaves, to protect the roof covering from wind. Its brick chimneys were also abnormal, since Berwick's late-sixteenth century building regulations specified stone chimneys. However, local men might well have acted as assistants or labourers. Brick chimneys began to be used in Berwick in the following century, as the local Carboniferous sandstone eroded from sulphate attack, and timber framing became more common in the town; Bertie's house may have acted as an exemplar for both these developments.⁶⁴⁸

The chapter began by outlining the low expectations of most building artisans. For some, however, the royal works improved their prospects. It has been estimated

⁶⁴⁶ NCA, SANT/DEE/1/25/6/75.

⁶⁴⁷ 'General Survey', preamble.

⁶⁴⁸ English Heritage, *A Building Stone Atlas of Northumberland* (London: 2012); Melville, I. A. and I. A. Gordon, *The Repair and Maintenance of Houses* (Bath: 1984 [1973]) pp.630-1.

that a skilled building tradesman needed to work for 142 - 186 days each year to feed a small household.⁶⁴⁹ During the Crown's building season (which ran from late May to late October and in 1552 included 158 days) many men were paid for the complete season, with no deductions for bad weather or Sundays.⁶⁵⁰ Some of those in pay are likely to have been apprentices whose wage would have gone to their masters, several families had more than one member on the Crown payroll and some would have worked on other projects during the winter. As a result some individuals or families appear to have amassed enough capital to purchase or improve property or extend their business.

One example is the extended Harratt/Harrold family of stonemasons of whom at least nine members are recorded working for the Crown as artisans between 1552 and 1598.⁶⁵¹ William and John Harratt may have begun their career in the town by marrying the sisters Jennet and Margaret Sanderson, since they lived in property held through their wives.⁶⁵² Their houses were of average value in the town and the family played their part in the middle rank of urban society. This included working for the garrison where necessary; in 1552 seven with the surname were paid as wallers and masons, and four of the next generation as wallers during the 1585/6 works.⁶⁵³ William Harratt the elder, a 'rough mason', helped adjudicate in the party wall dispute between Thomas Rugg & Leonard Trollop in 1569 (Appendix 4).⁶⁵⁴ John also acted as a landliner, assisting in measuring plots for Crown grants in the 1570s and 1580s.⁶⁵⁵ James was described by the Crown Surveyor as one of the 'substantialest workmen' when he signed his name as witness in a dispute over pay in 1576/7.⁶⁵⁶ The family not only benefited from regular paid work but also from the disordered property market. In 1559 and 1560 John and William purchased five tenements in Crossgate (modern Woolmarket) which were suffering what would now be known as 'planning blight' from the uncertainty over the course of the

⁶⁴⁹ Woodward, *Men at Work*.

⁶⁵⁰ BRO, 1380/4.

⁶⁵¹ BRO, 1380/4, 5, 38; TNA, GBR/B2/1 75v; TNA, SP 59/37 f.79.

⁶⁵² 'General Survey', 109,110.

⁶⁵³ BRO, 1380/5.

⁶⁵⁴ BRO, ZMD 94/28.

⁶⁵⁵ BRO, BRO/B/B6/9.

⁶⁵⁶ TNA, SP 59/19 f.301-5.

Figure 6.4. The Harrat family's property.

Based on detail from BL, Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72, *The True Description of Her Majestys Town of Barwicke*

By 1580 the Harratts' houses (highlighted) were higher than their neighbours', John's corner house having an up-to-date three-storey gable facing the street. John's son, John jr., followed his father to become a carpenter and his corner tenement was eventually rented by John Roffe, the town's Master Carpenter, continuing the connection with the garrison.



Catwell wall (Chapter 4).⁶⁵⁷ Once work ceased, in the late 1560s, the street's location near the market place once again made it a desirable address and the Harratts improved the houses on the plots (Figure 6.4). For this family, at least, the Crown works provided opportunities which might not have been available otherwise.

The Crown works also encouraged the introduction of new technology which directly influenced the building culture. Robert Tromble was from a burgess family with relatives in London acting as fishmongers for Berwick salmon.⁶⁵⁸ Paid a labourer's rate of 6d a day as a young lime burner in 1552, by 1577 he was earning

⁶⁵⁷ 'General Survey', 51, 52, 54 (resold to John Horsley), 55, 68.

⁶⁵⁸ BRO, 1380/4; TNA, PRO E101/483; TNA, PROB 11/49/233.

8d a day as part of a group of sawyers, one of the ‘most substantial’ workmen.⁶⁵⁹ At least two of the other three sawyers were his neighbours in Walkergate south.⁶⁶⁰ By 1585 Tromble is recorded as an employer with his own saw pit, paid “by the great” (as a lump sum, rather than by time) on Crown projects as well as selling privately.⁶⁶¹

As well as these positive outcomes the Crown works may have had a deleterious effect on the competence of artisans, particularly masons; this is explored in the following section, which looks at the relationship between the available building materials and the craftsmen who used them.

6.2 Trades and materials

‘Masons’

Much of the East March has easily worked Carboniferous sandstone at or near the surface; in 1541 Bowes and Ellerker commented favourably on its ‘convenient store of limestone, freestone and rough stone’.⁶⁶² Stone could even be considered for export and in 1561 John Bennett, one of the officers of the Works, shipped Cecil some paving stones and offered more, ‘sixteen or eighteen feet [sic] square’ at 26s. 8d. the hundred.⁶⁶³ It was not only easily available but also embodied a range of values particularly important to the Borders of which the most obvious is strength, which equated to defensibility (Chapter 3).⁶⁶⁴ Permanence was another factor; in 1552 a division of the debatable lands defined ‘a line [which] leaves the stone house of Thomas Graeme on its west side, and leaves the stone house of Alexander Armstrong on the east’, equating these houses with boundary stones.⁶⁶⁵ Within Berwick, defence was provided by the new town walls but stone was still desirable, representing not only physical permanence but also urban order and stability, as

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid; TNA, SP 59/19.

⁶⁶⁰ TNA, SP 59/19; TNA SC/12/32/14. Tromble lived at plot 306, John Broke at 311 and Frances Gibson at 314; the address of the third is not recorded.

⁶⁶¹ BRO, 1380/5.

⁶⁶² In the Cheviot foothills, igneous boulders are more common. Grundy, J. ‘Building stones’ in Grundy, McCombie, Ryder and Welfare (ed) *Northumberland* 28-30; English Heritage *Building Stone Atlas*.

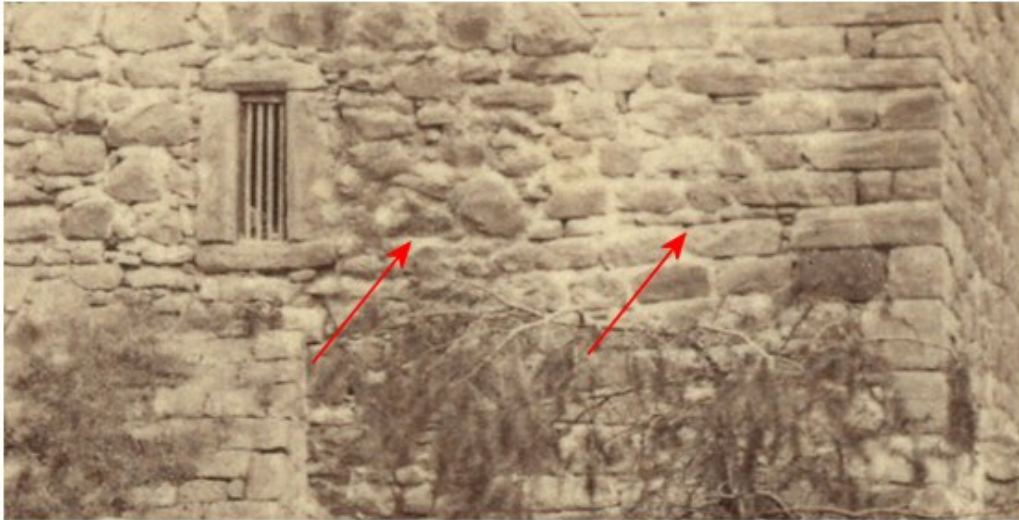
⁶⁶³ Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 4* p.328.

⁶⁶⁴ BL, Harleian 292 f.97.

⁶⁶⁵ Bain, J. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603 Vol. 1: 1547-1563* (Edinburgh: 1898) p. 190.

Figure 6.5: Masonry defect, north front of Doddington.

Detail of NRO, ZMD/148/15 (mid-late nineteenth century). **Permissions sought.**



The slump in the coursing indicates separation of the wall faces and subsequent bulging, occurring during the first building season. The buttress below the window is part of a series of subsequent attempts to prevent the defect progressing further.

well as contributing to the moral 'beauty' discussed in Chapter 3. By the 1560s its use was a legal requirement for new houses within the walls.⁶⁶⁶

The lack of evidence for decorative stonework within the local building culture is mentioned in Chapter 3. This apparent lack of skill was not limited to decoration and there is a body of evidence for poor practice in house-building by local masons at least until the end of the century. At Doddington, constructed 1581-4, the north wall developed defects during the work (Figure 6.5) and later had to be strengthened with buttresses and thickened; collapse of the east end in the late-nineteenth century was blamed on a lack of 'adequate bonding stones' in the wall core, which could also explain the previous defects.⁶⁶⁷ The massive buttressing required by the remains of the house at Duddo may hint at a similar defect (Figure 3.14) and the same problem was evident at Twizel, where as part of repair works in 1698 the mason had to 'mend all cracks, draw [out] stones at every yard or four feet and put in through stones & secure all where there is an insufficiency'. Twizel's chimneys also caused problems and had to be taken down by the mason 'until he

⁶⁶⁶ Ironically, the walls' strength resulted from their earth banks rather than their stone facings.

Defaults in the requirement for stone houses are recorded in 'General Survey', 89, 96, 345, 347, 374.

⁶⁶⁷ Knowles, 'Doddington' p.298.

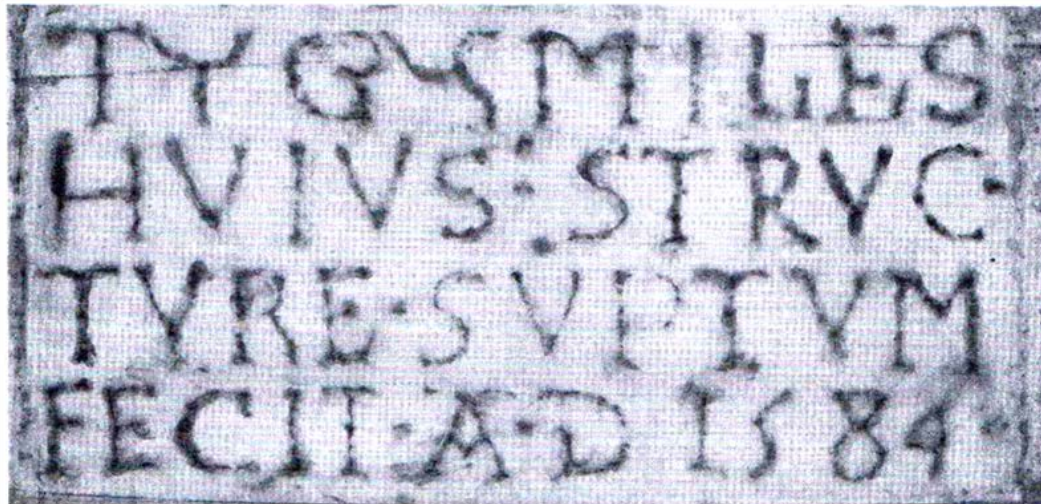
Figure 6.6. Decorative inscriptions.

Below left: Marriage stone dated 1589, found in demolition rubble in Coxons Lane. Berwick Museum, photographer Jim Herbert, with permission.

Below right: 'EGD' on stone c.1610 re-used in Ravensdowne, photographer Robin Kent.

Below: Inscription originally on parapet at Doddington, dated 1584. From photograph in Knowles (1899).

The '1589' stone has raised lettering and a decorative knot; the workmanship is basic but requires more skill than the incised stone on Sir Thomas Gray's manor house at Doddington produced by a rural mason. Neither approaches the sophistication of the lettering on the stone in Ravensdowne which may originate originating from the Earl of Dunbar's prodigy house in the Castle, begun in 1609 and the work of Scottish masons.



comes to a good foundation for walling' before rebuilding.⁶⁶⁸ It may not be coincidental that the only house of this period to survive intact is Coupland, constructed by a team which included Scottish masons.

⁶⁶⁸ BRO, NRO 1216/f.4.

Several possible explanations can be suggested for this lack of what might be regarded as masons' basic competence.⁶⁶⁹ At a time when houses, like clothes, were essential in marking and sustaining status, a speedy build could be perceived as more valuable than a high-quality one (although the fact that Doddington's failure was evident even during construction shows a risky attitude to what might be considered "just good enough").⁶⁷⁰ A second factor may have been cost; through stones, even though readily available, were expensive to cut and transport and in 1555 George Brown of Marygate owed as much as £4 for a 'through stone' provided by Odnell Selby, the current lessee of the Crown's quarry at Tweedmouth.⁶⁷¹ A third might be the movement away from vaulted basements; a vault required thick walls at basement level and created a foundation for the wall above, making it effectively one storey lower than in the equivalent unvaulted building (both Doddington and Twizel, above, had three stories but no vault).

A more locally specific factor may be the extent and duration of the Crown works in Berwick. Although local masons benefited financially, the work mainly involved the relatively straightforward winning, squaring and setting a single skin of large stone blocks rather than employing the full range of a mason's skills. Between commencement of the citadel in 1550 and the virtual halt to work on the new walls in 1569 several cycles of apprentices might have experienced relatively little other work, and thus became journeymen while lacking competence (not only at the level of craftsmanship but possibly also in responding to a house-builder's other needs, although this is less easy to test). These two decades could have been enough to destabilise an entire apprenticeship-based tradition; in Djenne, droughts in the 1970s and 80s during which young masons left the city resulted not only in a reduction of the traditional authority and structure of the *barey ton* but difficulty in integrating traditional practice with new materials and techniques on their return.⁶⁷² The effects in Berwick were not as severe, since domestic work was still

⁶⁶⁹ A similar decline in competence is noticeable in brickwork during the century; Gurling, T., *Luminescence Dating of Medieval and Early Modern Brickwork* (Durham University: 2009: PhD) p.30.

⁶⁷⁰ Howard, M., *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London: 1987) p.172; Johnson, Reconstructing castles.

⁶⁷¹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1555/S1.

⁶⁷² Marchand, *Indigenous* pp.48-9. As a qualification to this argument, no era or culture has a monopoly on poor workmanship and Salzman, who knew more than most about the subject,

taking place, but it is reasonable to suggest that they had some effect on practice.⁶⁷³

'Carpenters, joiners'

In contrast to the local availability of stone, Bowes and Ellerker noted in 1544 that 'there [was] no store of timber wood' in the East March although in the College Valley just to the south were "allers' and other 'ramell' wood [from natural copses], which serveth much for the building of such small houses as be used and inhabited by the husbandmen in those parts.'⁶⁷⁴ Both Northumberland and the lowlands of southern Scotland had been effectively deforested since the previous century.⁶⁷⁵ Land tended to be managed for short- rather than long-term gain; in 1561 the Crown surveyor suggested that woodland at Fenwick in the East March would grow if properly fenced, although elsewhere we learn that its lower-gentry lessee Oliver Ord preferred a more immediate income from grazing.⁶⁷⁶ The well-resourced Bishopric supplied its tenants with roof timber in the traditional way from St Maurice's Wood at Ellingham but its extensive Chopwell wood south of the Tyne, heavily exploited by the Crown after 1536, was barren by the late-seventeenth century.⁶⁷⁷ Fears of a 'timber famine' may have been unfounded in much of the country, but Harrison's statement that timber was scarce in the 'northern parts' was realistic.⁶⁷⁸

Scarcity, of course, can be a precursor to status. Although the period after 1540 has been seen as marking a general change in preference from timber-framing to stone in house-building, some authors point out that where stone was already common timber became the material of choice for display in later sixteenth-century, particularly in towns.⁶⁷⁹ This was probably true of Berwick, where an internal

pointed out that even 'the medieval craftsman was at least as ready as the much abused modern workman to scamp his work if not carefully watched' (1997, 29).

⁶⁷³ Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*.

⁶⁷⁴ BL, Cotton Caligula B/VIII f.6; Raine *North Durham* p.15.

⁶⁷⁵ Airs, *Country House* p.123.

⁶⁷⁶ Raine, *North Durham* pp.15, 24.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.160; Searle, L. *Chopwell Wood: past and present* (Rowlands Gill: 2000) p.6.

⁶⁷⁸ Warde, P., 'Fear of wood shortage and the reality of the woodland in Europe, c.1450–1850', *History Workshop Journal* 62, 1 (2006); Furnivall, F. J., *Harrison* (1877) p.233.

⁶⁷⁹ Airs, *Country House* p.108; Johnson, *English houses* p.99; Laithwaite, M., 'The buildings of Burford: a Cotswold town in the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries' in Everitt (ed) *Perspectives in English Urban History* (London: 1973).

display of oak in rooms such as Toby Rugg's new upper chambers (Chapter 7) was followed in the mid-seventeenth century by 'low-built houses ... with the upper stories projecting over the ground floors, with immense beams of black oak, quaintly carved, with high gable ends and crowned with steep roofs' at the end of the new bridge (completed 1634), possibly in conscious echo of the merchants' houses on Newcastle's waterfront.⁶⁸⁰

Timber had been imported from Scandinavia or from eastern Europe via Holland since at least the thirteenth century, and a survey of 1361 described the decayed state of Berwick Castle's great hall which 'used to be roofed with double boards of Eastland'.⁶⁸¹ Imported timber came in standardised lengths which dictated roof spans and thus the maximum plan width of houses; the great majority of newly-built houses which survive in the study area are only between seven and eight metres wide (Chapter 3).⁶⁸² It was usual to ship timber already converted from tree trunks to baulks or planks and in 1572 the garrison Treasurer complained that using local timber for bridge repairs cost 'more for felling, squaring, and carriage than it could be bought at any place in England ready wrought.'⁶⁸³ Later in the century, however, local conversion may have been more common and by 1585 Robert Tromble's saw pit (above) enabled the conversion of low quality, unevenly-grained timber from trees grown in hedgerows and pastures rather than managed woodland.⁶⁸⁴ The saw pit had been known in England since at least the fifteenth century but pit-sawn timber was not generally used in house-building until the mid-sixteenth century and its use would have reduced the cost of timber-framing for housing in Berwick, enabling constructions such as the upper floors which survive off Bridge Street.

⁶⁸⁰ Sheldon, F., *History of Berwick-upon-Tweed... to which are added notices of Tweedmouth, Spittal, Norham, Holy Island, Coldingham, etc* (Edinburgh, London: 1849) p.348; Graves, 'Jerusalem'; Graves, C. P. and D. H. Helslop, *Newcastle Upon Tyne, the Eye of the North: an archaeological assessment* (Oxford: 2013) pp.227-236. The houses were presumably demolished during road widening in the 1820s; Menuge, et al., *Three Places* p.100.

⁶⁸¹ Newland, K., 'The acquisition and use of Norwegian timber in seventeenth-century Scotland', *Vernacular Architecture* 42, 1 (2011) 67-83.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*; Howard, D., *Scottish Architecture: Reformation to Restoration, 1560-1660* (Edinburgh: 1995) p.68; McKean, *Scottish Chateau* p.66.

⁶⁸³ Bates, *Border Holds* p.36; TNA, SP 59/2 f.34; Crosby, *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589. Vol. 10: 1572-1574* p.95.

⁶⁸⁴ James, 'Saw marks'.

Other components could also be imported; the marbled timber Renaissance obelisks and plaque added by Sir Thomas Grey to his family tomb are assumed to have been made in London, and Anthony Temple may have brought similar architectural items on his trip to London as MP (Chapter 5).⁶⁸⁵ Ready-framed elements were also imported. This was not a new practice but during the sixteenth century both capacity and techniques were improved, at least in part to meet the needs of exploration and colonisation.⁶⁸⁶ The garrison purchased horse mills framed in Essex and ‘two windmills bought at Ghent ready made, with all their furniture’.⁶⁸⁷ The English mills, and presumably the Dutch ones, were erected by those who had built them rather than by local craftsmen and as in Scotland ‘such imports would have reduced demand for the services of carpenters, sawyers and wrights’, limiting not only the number of craftsmen but also their skill-base although possibly introducing new technologies into the local building culture.⁶⁸⁸

Builders who could neither rely on their landlords nor afford to buy imports used sources such as second-hand timber, driftwood or local hedgerow trees but such material, limited in size and strength, would not be suitable for complex jointing techniques. Alternative materials such as the whalebone which survived until recently in a (possibly eighteenth-century) roof in Berwick would have been even more problematic.⁶⁸⁹ This would have encouraged the use of simple structures such as common rafters or couples (Chapter 3), possibly even using tied rather than cut joints, further reducing the need for skilled carpenters and helping to explain the lack of surviving sixteenth-century roofs in the area.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁵ Heslop, D. and B. Harbottle, ‘Chillingham Church, Northumberland: the south chapel and the Grey tomb’ *Archaeologia Aeliana 5th series* 27 (1999).

⁶⁸⁶ In 1578 Sir Martin Frobisher took a ‘strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed and cunningly devised by a notable learned man here at home’ to protect his crew from the weather and marauding natives of Baffin Bay (although, in an incident typical of his voyages and possibly common to flat-pack technology in all eras, only half the ‘house’ could be found on arrival). Richardson, A. J. H., ‘Early pre-fab for Canada: 1577-78’, *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 5, 4 (1973); McDermott, J., *Sir Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan privateer* (New York: 2001).

⁶⁸⁷ Stevenson (ed), *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-1589 Vol. 4: 1561-1562* (London: 1866) p.367. The windmills had a relatively short life and by 1590 the main posts were ‘broken and unserviceable’; Bain, *CBP 1* p.370.

⁶⁸⁸ Hanke, T., ‘The Development of Roof Carpentry in South-East Scotland until 1647’ (University of Edinburgh: 2006: M.A.); Newland, ‘Norwegian Timber’ p.78.

⁶⁸⁹ 68 Church Street, Berwick, staff at Saints Hairdressers, pers. comm. October 2012.

⁶⁹⁰ Holden, T., *The Blackhouses of Arnol* (Edinburgh: 2004).

Carpenters used various roof technologies. Common rafters, still normal in Scotland, were by this period used only for small houses in much of England but appear at Coupland, where the carpenters were almost certainly Scottish, and at Doddington where they may have been local (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). It is possible that only small-scantling timber was available at this distance from Berwick. Houses built of 'couples' were described in Chapter 3 above; upper-crucks, with bases higher up the wall, may also have been used although fragmentary survivals such as those at the undated house at Yeavinger known as 'King Edwin's Palace' are not yet adequately dated or understood.⁶⁹¹ For his new upper storey in Marygate (Chapter 7) Toby Rugg specified 'couples... to be set up seven foot asunder or thereabouts between every couple' in 1589, and these may have been either upper crucks or trusses.⁶⁹²

Other changes in timber technology were taking place over the period. Floor joists at Doddington (1584) were two feet apart and eight inches square, a normal size and proportion for medieval floors.⁶⁹³ In Berwick in 1589 Toby Rugg's lease specified floor joists also at two-foot intervals but 'seven inches, seven and a half and eight inches deep or thereabouts and five inches broad', in other words positioned upright.⁶⁹⁴ This concept might have arrived from the south; in Surrey, for example, floor joists in timber-frame houses were found to have been always laid flat in 1500 but by 1550 were always vertical.⁶⁹⁵ There, the researchers noted that '[t]ime and again, a [constructional] feature or method was dropped in favour of a successor within a generation'. The same is likely to have been true in Berwick; it implies good communication between all the carpenters within a particular building culture, hinted at by their joint complaint, and the saving on timber would have been a strong incentive for builders to encourage its use in their houses.⁶⁹⁶ Rural

⁶⁹¹ Ryder, P., 'King Edwins Palace', Old Yeavinger' (1991) www.pastperfect.org.uk/sites/yeavinger/archive/.../edwinspalace.pdf accessed 17 November 2015; The Archaeological Practice Ltd, *King Edwin's Palace, Old Yeavinger, Northumberland* (2014); Alcock, *Cruck Construction*.

⁶⁹² BRO, ZMD 94/30.

⁶⁹³ Knowles, 'Doddington' p.299.

⁶⁹⁴ BRO, ZMD 94/30.

⁶⁹⁵ Wild, R. and A. Moir, 'Key dating features for timber-framed dwellings in Surrey', *Vernacular Architecture* 44 (2013) p.56.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.59.

practice in areas some distance from Berwick may have been more conservative, but at present there is too little dated evidence to make a judgement.

'Wallers'

The third major material used in house-building, mud or clay, enabled many more builders to take on the role of artificer.⁶⁹⁷ Mud was widely available, normally on or very near a house site, although this could be problematic; in 1598 there was 'a clay pit nigh Capten Twyforde's house [in High Greens, Berwick] which is very noisesome and dangerous'.⁶⁹⁸ At least three techniques were in use. The most skilled was mass clay construction, known elsewhere as 'cob', used for house and garden walls in both England and Scotland.⁶⁹⁹ Dyer echoes the common assumption that this work could 'be done by labourers at relatively low cost' but figures provided by Machin covering the fifteenth-eighteenth centuries show that the order of costs for a cob house was similar to stone or timber-frame.⁷⁰⁰ In June 1586 sixteen 'mudwallmakers' were employed by the Crown repairing walls on the palace site, recognising that a degree of craftsmanship was involved in this type of construction.⁷⁰¹ When well protected it could be stronger than stonework; part of the stone wall of a rear extension to a burgesses' house in Berwick's market place was replaced in the seventeenth or eighteenth century by a ten-foot high loadbearing wall 'of clay and barley-straw mixed' (and probably including lime) which by the time it was demolished in the 1960s was 'very strong and hard ... the workmen had some work to pick it to pieces' (Figure 6.7).⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁷ Hurd, J. and B. Gourley (eds), *Terra Britannica* (London: 2000).

⁶⁹⁸ BRO, BBA/C/C1-3 f.44.

⁶⁹⁹ Dyer, C., 'Building in earth in late-Medieval England' *Vernacular Architecture* 39 (2008); Jennings, *Clay Dabbins*; Messenger, P., 'The clay dabbins of the Solway plain' in Hurd and Gourley, *Terra Britannica*; Longcroft, A., 'Medieval clay-walled houses: a case study from Norfolk' *Vernacular Architecture* 37 (2006) p. 64; Walker, B., *Earth Structures and Construction in Scotland: guide to the recognition and conservation of earth technology in Scottish buildings* (Edinburgh: 1996).

⁷⁰⁰ Dyer, C., 'Building in earth' p.69; Machin, R., 'The mechanism of the pre-industrial building cycle' *Vernacular Architecture* 8 (1977) p.816.

⁷⁰¹ BRO, 1380/5.

⁷⁰² Carr, M., 'Notes on the demolition of an old house in Berwick-upon-Tweed' *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* 36 (1962). The author also describes the wall as 'clay and claut', which in England can be equivalent to "wattle and daub" but in Scotland is 'a handful of straw mixed with soft clay used in repairing and building walls'; Scottish National Dictionary Association, *Scots Thesaurus* (Edinburgh: 1999) p.318. Measured drawings of the house are at HE, BB 63/49.

Figure 6.7. Clay and straw wall at 7-9 Marygate, Berwick.

Detail of RCHME 460/5, c.1962, photographer D. M. Smith. Reproduced by permission of Historic England.

The man appears to be examining a length of straw. Taken during demolition; pickaxe marks indicate the wall's hardness.



Other techniques required less skill. For the walls of cruck- or couple-roofed houses, where the bearing strength was not important, clay-bool (clay and stones in varying proportions, either built with shuttering like mass walling or laid as discrete lumps) could be used.⁷⁰³ In 1698 the byre of a couple-roofed rubble-walled cottage near Twizel Mill had walls of 'boule' and at West Whelpington the scatter of stones around some house sites has been interpreted as the remains of clay-bool, a more

⁷⁰³ Walker, B., 'Claywall' in Riches and Stell (ed) *Materials and Traditions in Scottish Building: essays in memory of Sonia Hackett* (Edinburgh: 1992) 48-51; NCA, SANT/DEE/1/25/6/75. 'Bool' does not appear in this context in OED, but presumably derives from the French 'boule', i.e. ball.

reasonable explanation for the lack of walling stones than their removal for building elsewhere.⁷⁰⁴ A third technique, turf walling (and thatching), was also used in rural houses; in 1639 the disgruntled Edward Norgate described Belford's inn as having 'the top, sole, and sides .. all earth ... for beauty and conveniency like a covered saw-pit'.⁷⁰⁵ Turf was common for 'shielings', upland huts used in summer.⁷⁰⁶ Its use leaves little archaeological evidence but was probably common, being readily obtainable on township commons (subject to the turbary laws enforced by the manor court) and the walls can support a roof load so less timber is needed.⁷⁰⁷ Both clay and turf walls could be constructed by householders themselves although the work may have been shared among a group of relatives or neighbours, as documented at a later date in Cumbria and Scotland; such communal work would ensure that the relevant skills were passed on and practiced often enough to make them within the competence of a good proportion of the population.⁷⁰⁸ Given the mixed population along the Border these could well have included residents who had learned the craft in Scotland, explaining continuity in practice across the Border.⁷⁰⁹

Another use of earth was in building hearths and chimneys, traditionally timber- or wicker-framed, plastered or 'catted' with clay (Fig 3.9). These needed regular upkeep (in 1697, 'the chimney want[ed] catting' at every cottage in Twizel Mill township), generally only served one floor and were not particularly suitable for coal fires, which needed smaller fireplaces and narrower flues.⁷¹⁰ However, they

⁷⁰⁴ Fenton, A. and B. Walker, *The Rural Architecture of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1981) p.77; NCA, SANT/DEE/1/25/6/75; Evans, 'West Whelpington 2'.

⁷⁰⁵ Douglas Hamilton, W. (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I, April-Sept 1639. Vol. 14: April-Sept 1639* (London: 1873) p.248. Norgate, a court artist and musician, was constitutionally unsuited for campaigning in the north but had an eye for detail; D'Israeli, I. *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First, King of England, vol. 4* (London: 1830) p.33; Howarth, D. 'Norgate, Edward (1581–1650)' in *DNB* (Oxford: 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20252>, accessed 23 Feb 2015.

⁷⁰⁶ Ramm, Shielings and Bastles.

⁷⁰⁷ Noble, R. R., 'Turf-walled houses of the central highlands: an experiment in reconstruction' *Folk Life - Journal of Ethnological Studies*, 22, 1 (1983); Winchester, *Harvest* pp.126-133; Dixon, 'Alnhamshelles'.

⁷⁰⁸ Messenger, *Clay dabbins*; Jennings, N., 'The Building of the clay dabbins of the Solway Plain: materials and man-hours' *Vernacular Architecture* 33 (2002); Holden, *Blackhouses*.

⁷⁰⁹ Jennings, 'Building'; Dixon, P., 'A rural medieval settlement in Roxburghshire: excavations at Springwood Park, Kelso 1985-6', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128 (1998).

⁷¹⁰ NCA SANT/DEE/1/25/6/75; Barnwell, P. S., 'Houses, hearths and historical inquiry' in Barnwell and *Airs Houses and the Hearth Tax* p.180.

Figure 6.8. Lime kilns at Berwick.

Details from HHA CPM I 22, *Plan of Berwick*, Rowland Johnson, 1560. Reproduced by kind permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

Photograph: Google maps.

were lightweight and relatively easy to repair, remaining in use in places until the nineteenth century.⁷¹¹ Even after stone chimneys became normal, their “pots” could still be timber; in 1561 the new upper floor in the Governor’s house at Berwick had chimneys of stone up to the wall-tops but above this they were ‘brought up with spars and lathes and so daubed with loam’.⁷¹²

‘Thatchers and others’

The ‘thatchers’ in the artificers’ complaint would have carried out all sorts of roofing. The term was equivalent to ‘slater’; in 1586 two ‘slaters’ were ‘thatching’ the tops of the mud walls at the garrison headquarters in Berwick.⁷¹³ They also laid roof tiles; ‘a number of pantile fragments’ was included in thirteenth- to sixteenth-century material deposited on Berwick’s foreshore and on Holy Island John Smythe paid rent ‘*pro domu tegul.*’ in 1561.⁷¹⁴ Some were probably imported but the kiln at ‘Kiln Hill’ in Tweedmouth (recorded in 1584) is likely to have been a tile kiln.⁷¹⁵ There were no local slates but John Denton, an alderman, was importing Scots slate in 1589.⁷¹⁶ However, thatching with organic materials was still the norm. In 1584 von Wedel described Berwick as ‘thatched with straw’ although he may have mistaken the material since straw was often in short supply and was required by the garrison for its horses.⁷¹⁷ Heather was a common alternative, although during the 1560s even heather was banned for civilian use because it was needed to bind the earth ramparts.⁷¹⁸ The *True Description* shows several textures of brown roofs, some of which are in squares and may imply turf. The Bucks’ view of Berwick (fig. 7.3) shows houses still thatched in the mid-eighteenth century.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹¹ Gilly, *Peasantry* opposite p.15.

⁷¹² TNA, SP 59/4 f.153 (Appendix 5).

⁷¹³ Dyer, ‘Earth’; BRO BRO/1380/5.

⁷¹⁴ Raine, *North Durham* p.26; Griffiths, W. B., ‘Excavations at New Quay, Berwick-upon-Tweed’ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series 27 (1999) p.91.

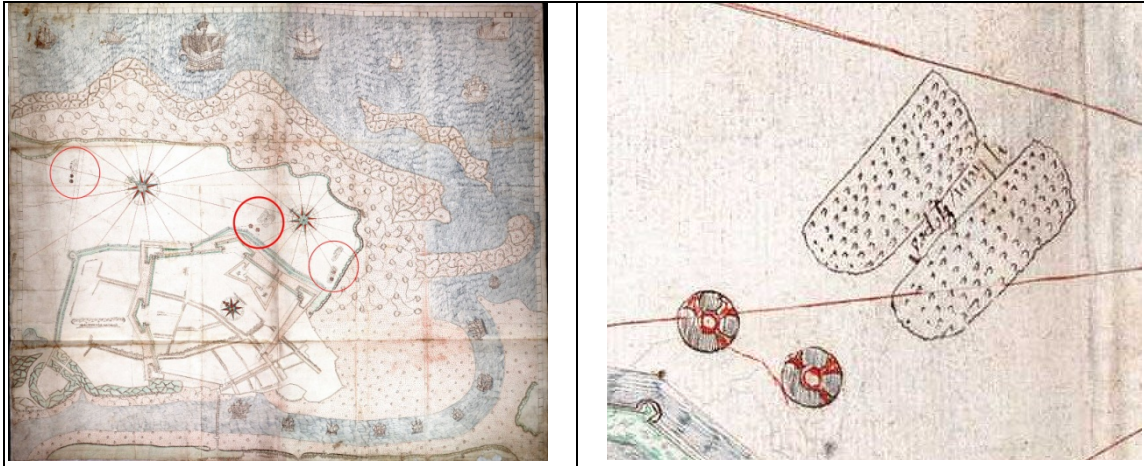
⁷¹⁵ Carr, ‘Demolition’; DUSC, DPRI/1/1584/B10.

⁷¹⁶ BRO, B1/4 f.5.

⁷¹⁷ Von Bulow, ‘Journey Through England and Scotland’.

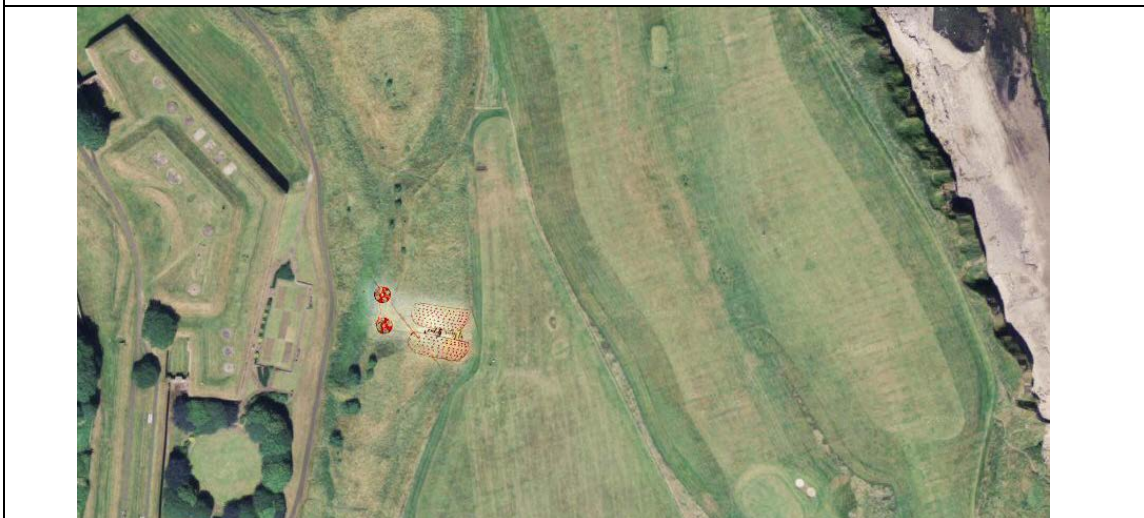
⁷¹⁸ Grundy, ‘Small domestic buildings of the countryside’ in Pevsner, *Northumberland* p.78; HHA, CP 155/95.

⁷¹⁹ *The South View of Berwick upon Tweed*, Yale Center for British Art, B1987.19,



Johnson shows three pairs of lime kilns (circled). The central pair is shown in detail, with 'a lime heap'. Johnson shows them as normal flare kilns but with three flues or stoke holes, more elaborate than the medieval one- or two- hole type and sited in pairs to allow continuous burning.⁷²⁰ Similar kilns in mid-sixteenth-century Calais were twenty feet high with a ten-foot wide pot and ten-foot thick walls, an overall width of thirty feet (10m).⁷²¹ Johnson has drawn these twice this size, for emphasis (his normal practice), since they were mentioned in the letter accompanying the plan (CSP For Eliz 1558-89 v.2, 374). They supplied civilians as well as the Crown works.

The position of the central pair is shown at approximately the correct size on an overhead photograph, below. The ground here is particularly lime-rich, and some evidence might remain *in situ*. The other two sites are below modern housing.



The Guild minutes are silent about the identity of the 'others' who complained. The 1548/9 *Statute of Victuallers and Handywork men* contains a list of building crafts which begins in a similar way to that of the Berwick artisans, with 'free-mason,

<http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3643074> accessed September 2014.

⁷²⁰ English Heritage, *Pre-industrial Lime Kilns* (English Heritage: 2011) <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/iha-preindustrial-lime-kilns> accessed February 2014.

⁷²¹ TNA, Exchequer K R Accounts 504/4 quoted in Salzman, *Building* p.150.

rough-mason, carpenter', but continues with 'bricklayer, plasterer, joiner, hard-hewer, sawyer, tiler, pavier, glazier, lime-burner, brick-maker, tile-maker [and] plumber'. There is no mention of mudwallers or thatchers; these crafts fell outside the urban context of the legislation.⁷²² However, all the elements implied by the *Statute* (bricks, plaster, sawn timber, paved floors, glazed windows, lime mortar and leadwork) were in use locally, and some of the skills listed are documented. Richard Parratt was entitled 'glazier' on his entry to the Guild in 1584, and supplied glass for the Tolbooth and the Crown works.⁷²³ The sawyer Thomas Tromble has already been mentioned. In 1542/3 Edward Muschamp's kiln at Gatherwick (near Barmoor) supplied lime for the repair of Wark Castle, ten miles away; kilns tended to be built near sources of limestone and coal rather than on building sites since burned lime is high in value compared to its weight.⁷²⁴ The 'small houses of stone and lime' at Beal show that its use was not restricted to large houses, although clay mortar continued to be used in many small rural houses.⁷²⁵ The Crown had at least three large lime kilns near Berwick's walls (Figure 6.8), manned by men 'such as be aged or least skilful', paid at the same rate as ordinary labourers; the town's house-builders probably purchased lime from them.⁷²⁶ The Crown also experimented with brick-making near Berwick, to supplement its imports from Hull. As normal for much of England there is no evidence that bricks were used in house-building until the following century, although luminescence dating of some of the early brick chimneys in the town might provide further evidence.⁷²⁷

6.3 The construction process

Supply of materials

In 1588 Rafe Jackson of Ancroft could make his will knowing that his widow and children could use 'the stones that lie here about the house [and] the timber in the bastle, and so much more as is out of use', together with profit from 'the [barley] in

⁷²² Woodward, D., 'The background to the Statute of Artificers: the genesis of labour policy, 1558-63' *The Economic History Review* 33, 1 (1980).

⁷²³ BRO, BRO/B1/3b f.77.

⁷²⁴ BL, Cotton MS Caligula B vii.

⁷²⁵ Raine, *North Durham*.

⁷²⁶ TNA, SP 59/5 f.98, SP/2 f.276.

⁷²⁷ TNA, SP 59/4 f.45; Smith, T. P., *The Medieval Brickmaking Industry in England 1400-1450* (Oxford: 1985) p.27; Airs, *Country House*; Antrobus, A., 'Luminescence dating of brick chimneys', *Vernacular Architecture* 35 (2004); Gurling, *Luminescence Dating*.

the barn at this present' for the limited amount of rebuilding he proposed.⁷²⁸ However larger projects were normally funded from income rather than capital, and gathering the requisite materials could involve the most lengthy as well as the most costly period for the builder.⁷²⁹ This may help to explain the apparently random collections of building materials found in inventories, and the Bailiff's Court's frequent complaints about heaps of stone outside urban houses (although some of these may have been for road repairs).

For a large project, ownership of a quarry provided not only stone but also the skilled labour to shape it.⁷³⁰ By 1561 the Selbies of Tweedmouth leased the Crown's quarry in Tweedmouth, employing quarrymen and hard hewers not only to fulfil orders from the Crown and private builders but also provide material for projects such as the 'stone houses' they built in Tweedmouth.⁷³¹ The quarry passed to Sir John Selby in 1576, around the time he began work at Twizel (Chapter 8). However Twizel is several miles away and Selby is more likely to have been investing in the quarrymen and hard hewers, relocating them to Twizel to win stone nearer to the house.⁷³² Other material was ordered from merchants; when the Tolbooth was repaired in 1561 an itemised account included 'a piece of timber [already] on shore', implying that the remainder had to be imported.⁷³³

Some merchants stocked popular items.⁷³⁴ When Thomas Rugge died in 1573 he left two hundred 'firdeals', one hundred 'double spars', one hundred and twenty 'rafter boards' and three hundred 'paving tiles', as well as rope, nails, hammers, steel, timber, paving tiles and four stone of rosin [for waterproofing stonework] listed alongside the fabrics and other items in his shop. The quantity suggests that they were part of his stock-in-trade, although since he also invested in property he may also have used them for his own projects.⁷³⁵ Also relevant to the building

⁷²⁸ DUSC, DPRI/1/1588/J1.

⁷²⁹ *Airs, Country House* pp.100-1; Bates, *Border Holds* p.30.

⁷³⁰ *Airs, Country House* p.112.

⁷³¹ Bain, *CBP 1* p.367; NCA SANT/DEE/1/18/1/2. The Selbies may have been running the quarry for some time before 1561, since at Odnell Selby of Tweedmouth's death in 1555 he was owed £4 for a 'through stone' by George Brown of Marygate; DPRI/1/1555/S1.

⁷³² Kent, 'Twizel' Chapter 3.

⁷³³ Newland, 'Norwegian Timber' p.77; Scott, *Berwick* p.266.

⁷³⁴ *Airs, Country House*.

⁷³⁵ DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4.

culture is that although his stock included a wide variety of garment cloth, as well household items including curtain rings, he did not sell furnishing textiles or pigments for paint; these may have been available from the specialist craftsmen who installed and used them.

There were, of course, other ways of acquiring materials. There would have been a market for second-hand timber.⁷³⁶ The clay-pit outside Captain Twyford's house appears above, and others are mentioned in the Burgh records. In 1578 the Council reported to Burghley that 'only sixteen of the trees felled by Sir Valentine Browne in Chopwell woods [for pier repairs] remain, the rest being purloined', possibly for use in domestic buildings.⁷³⁷

Much of the above is centred on Berwick, and the materials available to many rural builders were probably more limited.

Building controls

A series of grants dated 1560 imply that the Council had recently ruled that new houses within Berwick's new walls should be stone-built and at least two 'floors' high.⁷³⁸ By 1589 a building specification refers to 'the order of building in the town' which included chimneys 'with beckets [ash pits], cans [pots] and tops of stone'.⁷³⁹ This 'order' may be the same as that mentioned in 1560, and had certainly been in place since before 1573 since there is no mention of it in the Council minute books which survive after that date. Frustratingly, no further details of or comment on (or earlier 'orders') survive in the Borough records.

Project organisation

Apart from the Crown works, largely outside the scope of this investigation, records of the construction process are almost non-existent.⁷⁴⁰ This is unsurprising, given the lack of estate archives and the fact that even in early seventeenth-century London '[d]espite great population growth and the considerable numbers of houses

⁷³⁶ Salzman, *Building* pp.198-200.

⁷³⁷ Bain, *CBP 1* p.10.

⁷³⁸ For example 'General Survey', 89, 96, 345, 347.

⁷³⁹ BRO, ZMD/94/30.

⁷⁴⁰ Brown, *King's Works II*; Colvin *King's Works*.

built in response, comparatively few records remain that were directly created by builders in the building process.⁷⁴¹

Many builders could have carried out their project themselves; in this case the basic link in the house-building process, between the builder and the craftsmen who produced the final product, if not unproblematic was at least fairly straightforward. Almost as simple was the type of communication possible in a small-scale or limited building project where the builder had enough understanding of the construction process to organise skilled or semi-skilled help where necessary, giving orders and making decisions personally on site. This is an efficient way to manage works of limited size and complexity as long as the processes involved are within the builder's comprehension and s/he has the time and ability to programme and oversee the construction process.⁷⁴² The minister James Melville implied that he personally supervised the construction of his manse in Fife, very similar in plan and scale to Coupland (Chapter 8):

This was undertaken and begun at Whitsunday in 1590, but would never have been perfected, if the bountiful hand of my God had not made me to take the work in hand myself, and furnished strangely to my consideration all things needful, so that never [a] week past but all sort of workmen was well paid, never a day's intermission from the beginning to the completing of it, and never a sore finger during the whole labour. In June I began, and in the month of March after, I was resident therein. It exceeded in expenses the sum of three thousand and five hundred [Scots] marks, and of all I had naught of the parish but about a three thousand sleds of stones, and fourteen or fifteen chalders of lime... scarcely the half of the materials, lime and stone, and therefore justly I may call it a spectacle of God's liberality.⁷⁴³

His implication that it was unusual for the workers to be paid in full each week, turn up every day, experience no accidents and complete the house within a year is easy to believe.

⁷⁴¹ Baer, 'House-building' p.411.

⁷⁴² Although the terminology and contractual complexity has changed, small-scale building work is still commonly organised in this way; Joint Contracts Tribunal, *Building contract for a home owner/occupier who has not appointed a consultant to oversee the work (HO/B)* (2009) <http://www.sweetandmaxwell.co.uk/jct-homeowner-contracts/bc.aspx> accessed 15 May 2014.

⁷⁴³ Melville, *Diary of Mr James Melville*. The cost equates to £194 sterling at the rate of 12:1 used in 1603.

One potential problem for builders would have been that of coordinating the work of the individual craftsmen. Another might have been losses from theft or damage when rebuilding or extending an existing house; houses were not yet highly enough valued for formal insurance, although it was already possible to insure merchant ships.⁷⁴⁴ Not all who wished to build had the time or knowledge to coordinate a group of artisans, and even fewer could afford to employ a full-time administrator such as an estate steward.⁷⁴⁵ A common solution was for a third party to organise the work on production of a promissory note or 'bond'; for the Tolbooth repairs in 1558 the burgess Thomas Morton

agreed to build and finally set up the said tollbooth betwixt the present day and Candlemas day next ensuing after the date hereof and for the true performance of this order ... laid in his obligation and bond to the said Mr. Mayor and burgesses aforesaid.⁷⁴⁶

Morton was a fish-merchant, not a building craftsman; he may have relied on his own experience as a builder or employed an agent, but his bond acted as insurance that the work would be completed and, by implication, the site remain safe and secure.

These problems could also be solved through a building lease where the lessee acted as a contractor, organising and paying for the work in lieu of an entry fine. (The builder would purchase materials in the normal way.) A lease of this type was drawn up by an absentee owner in 1589 'for and in consideration that the said Henry Rugg [the owner's uncle, and already a tenant]... shall well and freely build and re-edify of his ... own proper cost and charges' two chambers over the rear kitchen within two years. The first six years' rent of one penny annually rose to seven pounds for the final six years (Chapter 7, Marygate). A similar arrangement may have been in place when in 1580 Robert Cook 'sold' his plot in Briggate to Hugh Gregson, re-selling it to him in 1590 'newly builded or re-edified by the said Hugh Gregson and now in his tenure and occupation'.⁷⁴⁷ In both cases, the lessees later

⁷⁴⁴ Ibbetson, D., 'Law and custom: insurance in sixteenth-century England', *The Journal of Legal History* 29, 3 (2008).

⁷⁴⁵ Airs, *Country House* especially Chapter 5; Colvin, *King's Works*.

⁷⁴⁶ BRO, B1/1 f.57, f.82.

⁷⁴⁷ BRO, B/B6/9 f.60. The process may have been similar to one recorded in 1748 in Berwickshire (Scottish Borders); a town-house was auctioned among local masons, the winner 'owning' the house for a fixed term, carrying out agreed improvements and 'selling' it back to the previous owner

benefitted from the improvements and may even have lived on site, helping to ensure security and providing close oversight for the work.

Communication

Communication between builders and craftsmen is not always easy, particularly where builders have precise requirements which require a written specification. However the specification set out within a building lease was to be understood primarily by the lessee rather than the craftsmen; as the builder's agent he was responsible for translating the document, where necessary, into a form the craftsmen could use and thus enabling, rather than complicating, communication. It is no coincidence that the only example of a written specification found during research for this study comes from the building lease mentioned above.⁷⁴⁸ The language is informative about what could be taken for granted by the lessee, artisan or both, and what needed to be defined more closely. General clauses were used where elements could be left to the craftsmen's discretion. The walls were to be 'in good, sufficient and substantial order', of 'convenient height', 'well and orderly cast with lime' and the whole building 'well timbered, wattled, thatched, repaired and furnished with windows, doors or portals, locks, keys, partitions and other necessary furnishings thereunto reasonably appertaining'. Other aspects, however, were innovative or non-standard and needed reference to an outside source or a more detailed specification. For the floor joists, not only were the size and the species of timber specified but also that they be used upright rather than flat. The chimneys were to be built 'as the order of building in the town now is', with 'beckets, cans and tops', words understood by all parties but referring to elements which might otherwise have been omitted or constructed incorrectly.

Communication, of course, need not be verbal. In 1544 Bowes and Ellerker could assume that seeing evidence of a building 'devised' was in some way similar to seeing it 'already performed'.⁷⁴⁹ By the end of the century drawing was understood to be an aid to budgeting, at least among those who might attend London's playhouses;

(author's collection).

⁷⁴⁸ BRO, ZMD 94/30.

⁷⁴⁹ BL, Harleian 292 f.97.

...When we mean to build
We first survey the plot, then draw the model;
And when we see the figure of the house,
Then must we rate the cost of the erection;
Which if we find outweighs ability,
What do we then but draw anew the model
In fewer offices...⁷⁵⁰

As late as 1693 the printer Joseph Moxon had to remind builders of the advantages of drawings when planning a project; if

a draught of each front... and also... a draught of the ground-plat or Iconography of every storey... [is] drawn on papers, or a model made thereof, before the building is begun, there will be no need of alterations, or tearing and pulling the building to pieces after it is begun.⁷⁵¹

Ichnographic principles had been in use among masons for centuries, and in 1519 the educationalist Horman could use sentences such as 'he drew out the plat of the house with a pen' and 'he is not worthy to be called master of the craft [of masonry or carpentry] that is not cunning in drawing and picturing' as uncontroversial but useful scaffolding for Latin grammar and vocabulary.⁷⁵² Because of its military importance Northumberland, and particularly Berwick, had been drawn and mapped from an early date.⁷⁵³ The *trace italienne* fortifications adopted from the 1540s needed to be set out accurately in order to function correctly, but the political situation required Crown agents to oversee projects across the country and overseas rather than concentrating on one site; communication between their builders, designers and artisans had to be externalised through the medium of technical drawings, producing 'the first tentative steps towards the separation of design and construction – a defining attribute of modern architectural practice.'⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵⁰ Shakespeare, W., *King Henry IV. Part 2* (London: 1600) n.p. (Act 1 Scene 3).

⁷⁵¹ Moxon, J., *Mechanick exercises, or, The doctrine of handy-works* (1693) pp.15-16.

⁷⁵² Horman, W., *Vulgaria viri doctissimi Guil. Hormanni Caesarisburgensis* (London: 1519) pp.243, 245v; Howard, *Building* p.167. See also Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* Chapter 6, pp.95-101; Salzman, *Building* p.21.

⁷⁵³ BL, Harleian 292 f.97; Skelton, 'Military surveyor'.

⁷⁵⁴ Gerbino, A. and S. Johnston, *Compass and Rule: architecture as mathematical practice in early modern England, 1550-1750* (New Haven: London: 2009) pp.32-3.

In spite of this potentially educated population of builders and craftsmen, communicating the design of houses in drawings was still unusual for the great majority of houses. None connected with the local house-building culture survive, although this does not mean that none were produced. Anthony Temple and others may have brought back sketches of the new buildings they saw in London or elsewhere, and encouraged local craftsmen to translate them into reality for their houses (Figure 3.6). The increasing use and local availability of paper would have made their production quite feasible; in Berwick Edward Walsingham, John Sleight and Thomas Rugg all sold paper.⁷⁵⁵ While paper was cheaper than the vellum it replaced it was considerably less durable and even modern drawings do not generally survive the rigours of a building site.⁷⁵⁶ But in any case they were almost certainly rare. Toby Rugg did not refer to a drawing of his new extension and his written specification shows that the combined understanding of builder, craftsmen and agent, together with a few specific requirements and references to other buildings or the 'manner of building' in the town, were expected to produce a satisfactory result. The only hint of a drawing used in communication between builder and craftsmen is at Sir Thomas Grey's house in Doddington (Chapter 8) but the apparent confusion which resulted is evidence that although builders or masons might produce drawings for their own purposes they were not normally used for communication between builder and craftsman.

6.4 Summary

The artificers within the local building culture had much in common with those elsewhere in England. All were trained within a traditional (if informal) apprenticeship system which relied on a range of experience during the training period. Most were of relatively low status, with only urban craftsmen relying solely on construction for their earnings, although by the end of the century a few rose to enter the ranks of Berwick's merchant Guild, benefiting from the practice of an increasing mutuality. Nevertheless, some aspects of the building culture were locally particular. The limited amount of high-status building work in the countryside meant that masons (and possibly carpenters) worked on both sides of

⁷⁵⁵ DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4; 1587/W1; 1594/S5.

⁷⁵⁶ Gerbino, *Compass and rule* p.32.

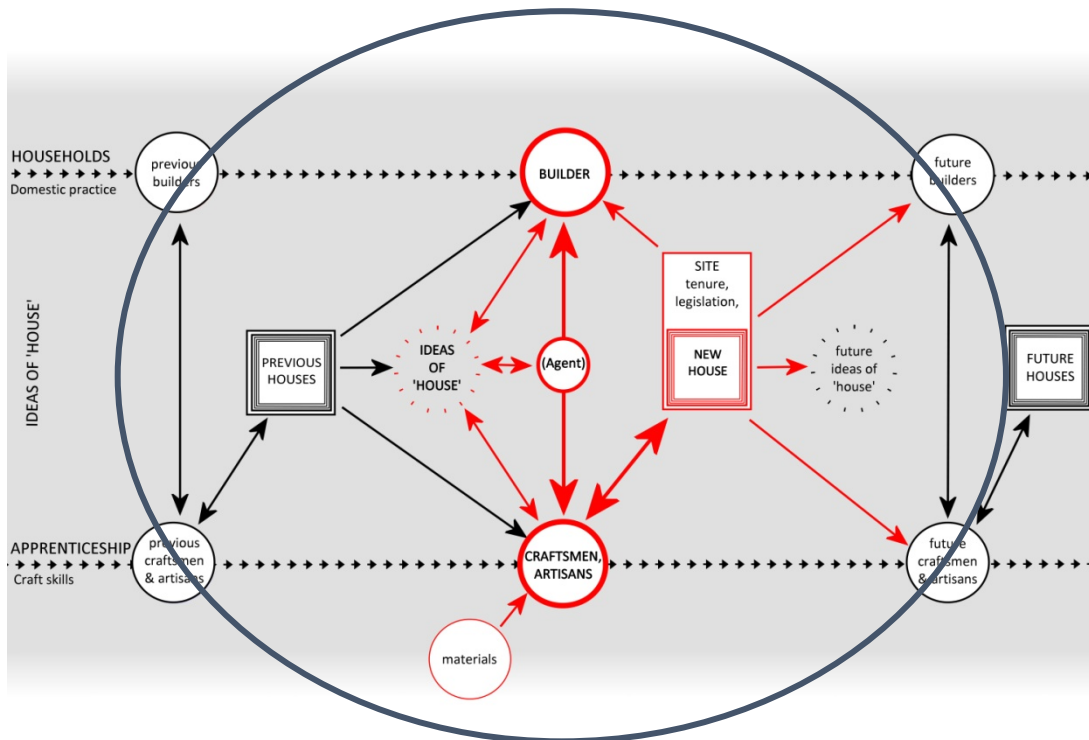
the Border and although an individual's training in Scottish or English practices was obvious in their work it is likely that each influenced the others' practice to some degree. The new fortifications in Berwick employed a large number of local and non-local craftsmen and labourers; this not only provided a secure income but introduced new ideas into the local building culture, particularly where men from other parts of the country settled in Berwick.

Specific local factors limited the ability of the building culture to create high-quality houses. The abundance of stone and lack of local timber made masonry the most common skill, although because of the area's history very little of this was decorative. Although the Crown's works provided employment for masons, the limited range of experience may have adversely affected the training of apprentices, resulting in some of the poor quality masonry in evidence later in the century. Where a new technique was required, such as the three-storey unvaulted walls of Doddington, it was at times unable to produce the technical innovation required; the failure of houses which might otherwise have been expected to survive has skewed later understanding of the culture. For carpenters, similarly, the lack of local timber and increase in imports of ready-framed elements reduced opportunities to practice their skills, although the Crown works provided the opportunities for investment in new technologies such as the pit saw.

Apart from locally-sourced stone, mud, tiles and poor quality timber, much building material was imported into Berwick; boards and structural timber from Scandinavia or Eastern Europe via Danzig and the Low Countries, slates from Scotland, bricks from Hull and glass from London. Berwick's mercers acted as builders' merchants, stocking common items such as deal boards, tools and nails. The construction process itself was similar to that elsewhere; once a builder had gathered the required materials s/he might carry out some or all of the project him/herself, possibly with the help of local labour or a group of friends who had built similar houses. One or more elements may have needed the employment of a craftsman, employed and paid directly by the builder, and some builders would have taken no direct part in the construction process themselves but paid for every part of the project to be carried out by others. A project involving several different trades could

require considerable organisation, and while some builders undertook this themselves others used an agent, possibly an employee or a third party who put up a bond. Another possibility was use of a building lease, where the builder specified work to be carried out or organised by the lessee in lieu of rent.

In spite of their unique relationship with the houses they built, the craftsmen, artificers, artisans and labourers working in the building culture remain the most difficult element to trace. They remain conspicuously absent even in the close studies of individual buildings in the next two chapters.



The case studies in this and the following chapter use all the information gained about the house-building culture in previous chapters to follow the processes involved in the building trajectory of one house or group of houses.

Chapter 7 : Biographies of urban houses

7.1 Introduction to building biographies

By studying individual buildings as planned, designed, built, used, maintained, and even destroyed, I understand the processes that shape urban form, in its large sense... By connecting [fieldwork] to the literature on city structure at a more abstract level, I ... nail down what often appear to be vague processes.⁷⁵⁷

Investigating and experiencing individual buildings as an essential complement to understanding large-scale social processes is as relevant to landscapes of the past as to contemporary American cities.⁷⁵⁸ While previous chapters have emphasised processes within the building culture, those which follow 'nail them down' in case studies or 'biographies' which provide models of the processes at work.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ Ford, L. R., 'Building Biographies: to know cities from the inside out' *Geographical Review* 91, 1/2 (2001) p.382.

⁷⁵⁸ The relationship between an individual building and a cultural process, the micro- and macroscopic scale, is of course more complex than implied here. Ginzburg, C., J. Tedeschi and A. C. Tedeschi, 'Microhistory: two or three things that I know about it', *Critical Inquiry* 20, 1 (1993) p.28; Putnam, L., 'To study the fragments/whole: microhistory and the Atlantic world', *Journal of Social History* 39, 3 (2006).

⁷⁵⁹ Johnson, *Ordering Houses* p.156.

Biographies of buildings (among other artefacts) became popular in the later-twentieth century as a way of allowing individual agency to become evident when analysing and presenting archaeological information.⁷⁶⁰ Unfortunately in the English-speaking world the term itself is problematic, since a traditional biographer's primary interest and identification is with the individual at the centre of the narrative; this implies that a 'house biography' might tend towards reification.⁷⁶¹ In fact it would be possible to centre such a study on a builder, craftsman or other element within the building culture. In practice such a biography should have more in common with microhistory, where process and agency are given prominence and the authorial voice can potentially be more developed.⁷⁶² This subjectivity marks the work of Althaus and Glaser, whose study of twentieth-century housing is mentioned in Chapter 2 in relation to evidential survival.⁷⁶³ Rather than being merely a way of presenting evidence they see biography as a tool, a research instrument that analyses the qualities and conflicts as well as the dynamic development of the lived and built space of a house ... [referring] not only to the 'built space', i.e. the material and construction of the structure, but also to the cultural and historical dimension of the

'lived space ... [as well as] the residential environment, with its infrastructure and its social and spatial aspects, with which the residential building and its residents are in a relationship.'⁷⁶⁴

For want of a better term the studies in the following section are titled 'biography', even though at best they only provide the equivalent of a chapter entitled 'Birth and Early Life'. But whatever the terminology, the understanding gained by this approach has potential to illuminate the building culture working at the scale of individual houses.

⁷⁶⁰ Mytum, H., 'Ways of writing in post-medieval and historical archaeology: introducing biography', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 44, 2 (2010); Gilchrist, R., 'Archaeological Biographies: Realizing Human Lifecycles, -courses and -histories', *World Archaeology* 31, 3 (2000); Hurcombe, L., *Archaeological Artefacts as Material Culture* (London, 2007).

⁷⁶¹ Lepore, J., 'Historians who love too much: reflections on microhistory and biography', *The Journal of American History* 88, 1 (2001).

⁷⁶² Ginzburg, 'Microhistory' p.28; Lepore, 'Reflections' p.142.

⁷⁶³ Althaus, E. and M. A. Glaser, 'House biographies: housing studies on the smallest urban scale' in Rassia and Pardalos (ed) *Cities for Smart Environmental and Energy Futures* (Berlin, Heidelberg: 2014) 283-290. The context within which they work (European, rather than British or American, and architectural/ethnographic, rather than historical or archaeological) provides a fresh view of house biographies.

⁷⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp.282-3.

The houses are not representative of what was being built since three of the six were on new sites, even though the period was not known for widespread settlement change. In microhistory 'the more improbable sort of documentation [is] potentially richer' and the selection is inevitably based on the improbabilities of evidential production and survival; four of the six were built on land belonging to an organisation which thought it worthwhile to record the act of building, or proposal to build, in a document which survived at least long enough to be copied.⁷⁶⁵ They have, however, been chosen to provide as wide a social, geographical and architectural variety as possible, and to include include both surviving and non-surviving buildings.

The biographies fall into two distinct groups. Chapter 7 deals with houses on urban or suburban sites, two of which were new (Tweedmouth New Row and Windmill Hole) and one existing (Marygate). Only the sites survive above ground; the studies are therefore based on documentary and map evidence. The builders represent a wide social range, from a lowly garrison gunner to a wealthy burgess and a landowner building houses to let. Chapter 8 comprises rural houses which survive above ground, at least in part; again, two (Coupland and Doddington) were new while Ford was an alteration to an existing dwelling. Here the fabric provides an additional source, compensating to some extent for the paucity of documents. The builders were rather wealthier, from a yeoman building his first 'seat house' to an upper-gentry landowner with two castles and widespread estates.

Each biography uses generalised information from the preceding chapters to contextualise the particular house, although the elements are not necessarily in the order in which they appear in the thesis. Information recorded in the previous chapters is assumed, rather than always referred to specifically.

7.2 'Windmill Hole alias Guisnes Row': 17 Tweed Street, Berwick

The first study focuses on a house in Windmill Hole (now Tweed Street) just outside Berwick's Scots Gate. Its existence is recorded in the 1562 'General Survey' of Berwick and later in Berwick Council's 'Book of Enrolments' but it left few other traces.⁷⁶⁶ It began as a temporary military 'cabin' (Chapter 3) on a site held at will

⁷⁶⁵ Ginzburg, et al., 'Microhistory' p.33.

⁷⁶⁶ 'General Survey', 157-180; BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.19.

but a change to freehold tenure encouraged rebuilding on the same plot, illustrating the process of colonising a new site and allowing three cycles of building to be examined. Later documents hint at a long familial continuity on the site, not often expected in an urban context.⁷⁶⁷

Phases 1-2: Builder

The 'General Survey' records that, among other newly built houses in Windmill Hole,

William Dickson holdeth at will one tenement containing in length XIII yards and in breadth VIII yards. It is worth per annum XII d. He hath builded upon it III Couple roomths, prayeth the preferment and payeth per annum of new rent VI d.⁷⁶⁸

Dickson was among the influx of soldiers which caused Berwick's rapid population increase in the late 1550s. He had been born in Scotland around 1526, his mother presumably travelling with his soldier father as part of the occupying forces during the period of Douglas influence over the young James V.⁷⁶⁹ The surname was (and remains) fairly common locally and a few other men named Dickson/Dixon were in garrison pay during the study period but William does not appear in the 1552-3 payroll; he may have been a gunner at Calais or Guisnes, since this group was given preferential places in the Berwick garrison after the defeat of 1558.⁷⁷⁰ Whatever the reason, around 1560 he was in Berwick, ready to set up his own household. The uncertainties of a military career may have encouraged him to assure his family's future, ideally by ensuring access to some type of real estate (Chapter 4); he may also have wanted to provide a more settled home life than he had experienced. His 10d. a day as a cannoneer would not provide high-quality accommodation, and in any case pay for the Calais and Guisnes garrisons was still in arrears in 1562, but rather than beginning married life in a rented 'backhouse' or part of a divided house he put his limited resources into building 'three couple roomths' of his own.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁷ Griffiths, *Population*.

⁷⁶⁸ 'General Survey', 162.

⁷⁶⁹ TNA, SP 59/37 f.79; Mackie, *History of Scotland* p.128.

⁷⁷⁰ Berwick was England's northernmost territory, as Calais had been its southernmost. BRO, BRO 1380/4; BRO, BRO 1380/2; BRO, BRO 1380/5.

⁷⁷¹ Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 3* p.265; Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 5* p.358.

Phases 1-2: Site, tenure

The site he chose was on a fourteen-yard deep strip of land on the west side of Windmill Hole, a lane at the rear of plots in Castlegate leading from the castle to the garrison slaughterhouse (Figure 7.1).⁷⁷² It soon became known as 'Guisnes Row' in commemoration of the Calais garrison's last stand and may well have been laid out specifically for soldiers returning from Calais by their captain Lord Grey of Wilton, who became Governor of Berwick from 1559.⁷⁷³ The plots were a uniform fourteen yards deep but the inhabitants probably also had use of the remaining space between the end of their plots and the medieval wall, since when the land was officially granted later in the century several plots extended as far as the wall.

Unlike the other rows discussed in Chapter 4 Guisnes Row was not designed to attract well-resourced developers. The plot depth was defined but not the widths and individual plots were probably marked out by the builders themselves to suit their own needs and resources. They varied from three to fifteen yards, averaging only about half that of contemporary new plots elsewhere in Berwick and Tweedmouth (Figure 4.10). Individual 'cabins' may well have been laid out end-on to the street, possibly as irregularly as the double-sided rows in Sassenhein (Figure 3.10). Dickson chose eight yards at what was originally the northern end of the lane, near the castle and far from the stench and mud of the slaughterhouse; plots towards the middle of the row tended to be narrower, possibly implying that they were laid out last (Figure 7.2).

In spite of its initially temporary character Guisnes Row, more socially homogenous than many streets in Berwick, would have embodied a specifically military understanding of 'neighbourhood'. Dixon's long-term future in Berwick must have seemed uncertain but if he were to be killed or injured his wife would have had understanding neighbours. A few doors away lived 'Widow Dome... [who] had bought the goodwill thereof of Nicholas Florence, soldier under Captain Brickwell,

⁷⁷² 'General Survey', 180; The street is not shown on Johnson's plans HHA, CPM I 22 (1), 25 f.4 or 25 f.5, but appears on CPM I 27 which may have been drawn up to accompany a letter of 5 October 1561. Much of the east side appears under 'Castlegate' in the 'General Survey' 422, 458.

⁷⁷³ A field of pasture for garrison horses, added to the bounds around the same time, was known as 'Guisnes Law'; Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 4* p.26; Lock, J., 'Grey, William, thirteenth Baron Grey of Wilton (1508/9–1562)' in *DNB* (2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11568>, accessed 29 Sept 2014.

Figure 7.2. The setting of William Dickson's house.

Based on Roland Johnson's plan HHA CPM 1/27 c.1561 (east at top right). This is the first surviving plan to show Windmill Hole, which is drawn more lightly and may have been an afterthought.

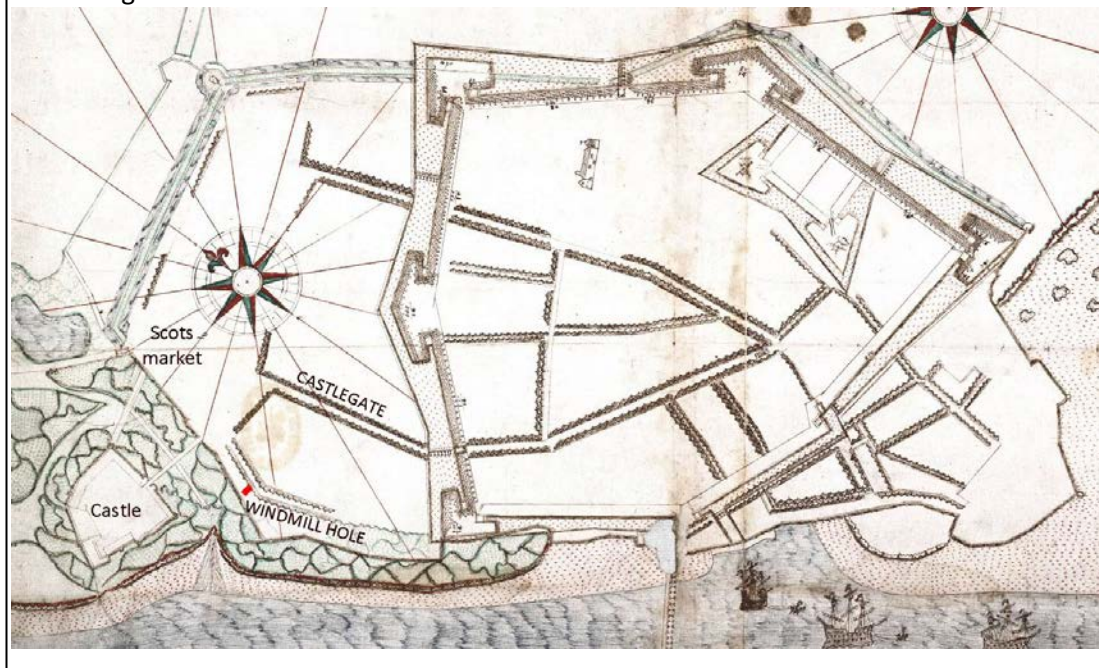
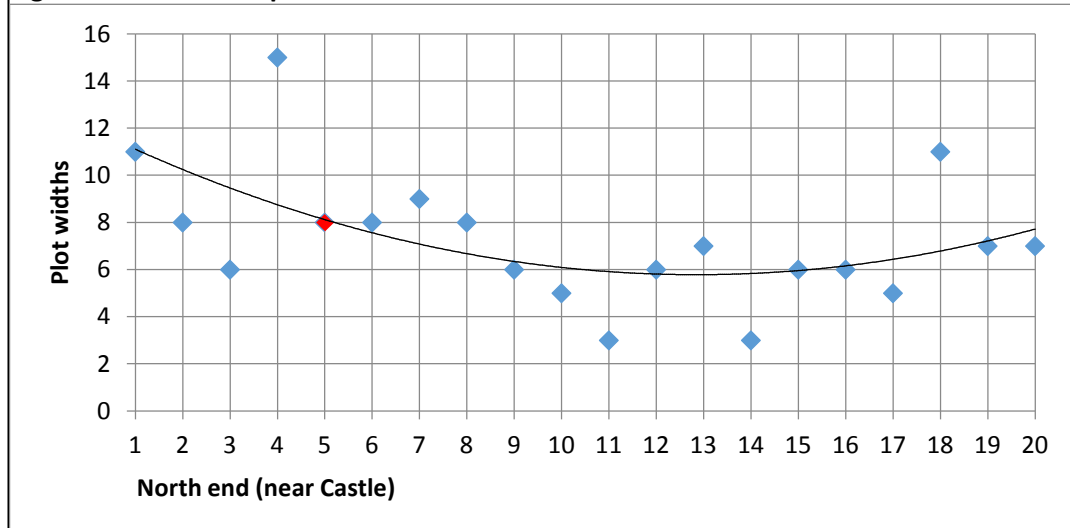


Figure 7.1: Widths of plots in Guisnes Row.



Plots are listed from north (left) to south (right), with Dickson's plot in red. The graph indicates their width diminishing towards the centre of the row (2nd order polynomial curve).

at his going into France'. Elisabeth Etherington, widow of the gunner Stephen Etherington and one of the Dixon's immediate neighbours in 1562, was still living in the street in 1577 as were Elisabeth Taylor, Eleanor Hall and Isobel Wall, all widows of men paid as garrison labourers in 1552-3.⁷⁷⁴

In addition to this social benefit, building in Guisnes Row could be seen as a good economic investment in the years around 1560. Thomas Romney had included in the 'General Survey' the standard clause 'he ... prayeth preferment' (to a more permanent form of tenure) but this probably reflected his criticism of what he saw as a somewhat anarchic situation rather than the tenants' expressed wishes. They would have had to pay a fee to obtain an official grant, and in any case might be moved elsewhere at short notice. The Council had plenty of other urgent problems and since the garrison had to be housed they were apparently happy for the situation to continue, provided the builders paid burghmail tax.⁷⁷⁵ This meant that the 'goodwill' represented by these tenures was valuable, at least in the short term.

There was already a market for plots in the row; Nicholas Florence and Widow Dome's transaction has been quoted above and in 1562 'Andrew Fenwick... bought William Rook's goodwill' in a tenement just down the road.⁷⁷⁶ The 'General Survey' even assigns a monetary value to the Dickson's property (and one other in Guisnes Row) although at 12d. per annum this was the lowest in Berwick, equal only to a much smaller tenement held at will in Walkergate and one in The Ness 'utterly decayed and left waste'; a tenement of similar size to Dickson's held at will in Walkergate was worth 2s.⁷⁷⁷ Even this small sum, however, represented a degree of security for his household.

Phases 1-2: House, artisans, materials

His first house on the site had probably been little more than a 'cabin', like the two still in use further down the road in 1562.⁷⁷⁸ But by 1562, when it had become obvious he was going to stay in the town, he had built a two-couple (three-bay) structure which would house his family until they were either posted elsewhere or

⁷⁷⁴ 'General Survey', 161, 165; TNA, SC/12/32/14; BRO, BRO 1380/4.

⁷⁷⁵ TNA, SP 59/7 f.10.

⁷⁷⁶ 'General Survey', 174.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 158, 228, 352.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

could afford a more substantial house (Chapter 3). Either he or his wife had rural relatives (their son William was born c.1564 in Northumberland, rather than Berwick) and so would have experience of the locally available building materials most of which – stone, clay, small timber, turf for thatching – would be available on or near the site.⁷⁷⁹ The row's social homogeneity means that neighbours may have been involved in construction as a matter of course. The only problematic elements could have been the roof couples, which needed to be relatively long and strong; since the Crown was not acting as landlord it is unlikely to have provided timber although individual captains, or in this case Lord Grey, may have contributed towards their housing. Second-hand or 'purloined' material might also have been available but in any case Dickson probably sized his house to suit the materials to hand.

Phase 3: Builder, tenure

William survived to become part of Berwick's permanent garrison, both he and William junior being in pay in 1598.⁷⁸⁰ In 1577 he also paid burghmail tax on a small tenancy in the Ness, either inherited or purchased to provide an income and further security for his wife and younger children.⁷⁸¹ By this time the garrison was reduced in size, pressure on housing decreased and the Council no longer needed to ignore houses held at will. Renewing its control over the Queen's land, it had already begun to grant such plots to anyone who could afford to purchase.⁷⁸² Guisnes Row was not immune; in 1570 the two plots to the north of the Dicksons' house were granted as one and in 1576 three others were granted as a block to a single owner.⁷⁸³ This continued throughout the century until in the 1580s the Row was held by fewer than half the tenants at will of 1562 (Table 7.1).

Dickson recognised the potential threat and in 1578 purchased a grant for what was, in effect, his original plot.⁷⁸⁴ The purchase secured the site as a 'seat' for his descendents; his son William had survived infancy and was in his mid-teens, possibly already planning to join the garrison, and would eventually have a

⁷⁷⁹ TNA, SP 59/37 f.79.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁸¹ TNA, SC/12/32/14.

⁷⁸² In the next decade, this formed one of the Mayor's many complaints about Lord Carey: Bain, *CBP 1* p.433.

⁷⁸³ BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.12.

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., f.19h.

household of his own. The following year William sr. purchased a grant for the Ness property also, ensuring that it, too, would continue benefiting the family; the fact that he could afford to pay the fee of ten shillings two years running is another indication of his financial security.⁷⁸⁵

Phase 3: Site, house

By this time the plot was officially defined as waste, either cleared in readiness for a new house or judged to be inadequately built up, the physical equivalent of 'unfurnished' or 'decayed' rural tenancies.⁷⁸⁶ The grant records the plot in Windmill Hole as now nine and a half yards wide, and this is the width of the (rebuilt) frontage shown on the 1852 OS map. However the strip to the rear seems to have remained at eight yards; the extra yard and a half at the front of the plot may result from aligning the new house fronts with the street.⁷⁸⁷

Like other couple-roofed houses in the row the couple-roofed house's existence was no longer justified by the need for temporary housing. The artist of the contemporary *True Description* underlined this by omitting Windmill Hole from his view altogether, underlining that its character was not 'true' to Berwick's essence. The grant of 1578 required Dickson to clear the plot, rebuild it and keep it in use and in good repair.⁷⁸⁸ There was no requirement to build in stone (as for plots inside the fortifications) but rather a proviso that the grant could be revoked if the plot was needed for military purposes, underlining the 'otherness' of this part of town.⁷⁸⁹ Dixon's new house may well have had mud walls, since masonry would be wasted if the house was repossessed. However the base of the party walls, at least, would have been stone rubble since the road slopes (in 1852 the floor level of the house to the south was 16" (40cm) lower than the Dixons', and the one to the north 20" (50 cm) higher) and the party walls would have acted as retaining walls. The house was probably single storey with a garret similar to those shown in Castle

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f.27.

⁷⁸⁶ 'sine solum vastu murum' *ibid.* f.19.

⁷⁸⁷ Stell, 'Framework'.

⁷⁸⁸ 'edificand escurand includend et inhabitand et sumptibus suis proprie supportand' BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.19.

⁷⁸⁹ Houses at the southern end of Windmill Hole and Castlegate were demolished in 1715 in preparation for an expected Jacobite siege. As late as 1747 it was proposed that all houses between the old and new walls should 'be pulled down and the ground laid open' in case of future attack; Scott, *Berwick* p.223; HE, MP/BWF0012.

Table 7.1: Guisnes Row, showing consolidation of ownership over time.		
Occupational definitions are from various sources; names without definitions may be garrison or civilian.		
Plot no.	Taxpayer 1562: all held at will (from 'General Survey')	Grants 1570-1598 (from BBA B6/9)
157	Thomas Baldwyn	William Price, soldier (1576)
158	Morris Peers [Price?]	
159		
160	Adam Sawyer	John Ladyman, soldier (1570)
161	Stephen Etherington, gunner	
162	William Dickson, soldier	William Dixon, soldier (1578)
163	John Evore, garrison	John Saint, cannoneer (1598)
164	John Lucas	Charles Forster, stallenger (1580)
165	Widow Dome, garrison widow	
166	James Rowtles	
167	Robert Rede, garrison labourer	
168	Thomas Storey, soldier	
169	William Musgrave	
170	John Soychyne	
171	Robert Roulath	
172	John Tailor	Eleanor Hall, garrison widow (1579)
173	Jane Gerom	William Todd (1583)
174	Andrew Fenwick, garrison labourer	
175	Richard Townsend	William Harratt, garrison labourer (1577)
176	George Allison, garrison labourer	John Allison (1576)

Street on the *True Description* and the Bucks' sketch from the 1740s (fig 7.3), and the wider plot makes the possibility of a second ground-floor room very likely. The 1856 OS map marks the southern section of the house as a stable.

Forward links, further research

The house still had only one hearth; in 1666 the hearth tax return listed a 'William Dixon' living in a group of single-hearth houses in Castlegate Ward, very likely to be

Windmill Hole.⁷⁹⁰ In January 1805 another William Dixon was born to ‘Robert Dixon, Master Gunner... & Margaret his wife’ in the Castlegate area.⁷⁹¹ The census return of 1841 lists Robert, Margaret and William living in the same position in Windmill Hole as Dickson’s original plot, and Robert was entitled ‘Master Gunner’ in his will dated 1839.⁷⁹² William was still in residence in 1871.⁷⁹³ If the family did indeed own and occupy the site for three centuries this continuity would be both unusual and impressive.⁷⁹⁴ The location presumably remained economically and practically suitable for a garrison gunner but as well as this pragmatic reason there may have been an element of ancestral pride, suggesting that ownership of a ‘seat house’ (Chapter 3) was not merely the prerogative of the wealthy.

Figure 7.3: Guisnes Row in the eighteenth century.

Detail of ‘The South View of Berwick Upon Tweed’, Samuel Buck c.1743-5. Pen, ink and wash over graphite. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund.

Small single-storey houses in Guisnes Row appear in the left foreground, in front of the larger houses in Castle Street.



It was not until the late-eighteenth century that the threats from warfare receded and houses could be built in a more permanent form but at some point after that the majority of houses in Windmill Hole were rebuilt at least once. The stonework on neighbouring houses shows that Dickson’s plot was rebuilt on a different timescale to its neighbours, underlining its individual ownership, and its building history still shows this independence (Figure 7.4).

⁷⁹⁰ Using figures from transcript of TNA, ER179.

⁷⁹¹ PRO, RG4/1400/0/0079.

⁷⁹² DUSC, DPRI/1/1843/D9.

⁷⁹³ 1841 Census, TNA, PRO HO 107/844/4/33/19; 1871 Census, TNA, PRO RG10 5181/44/25.

⁷⁹⁴ Eliassen, F.-E. and K. Szende (eds), *Generations in Towns: succession and success in pre-industrial urban societies* (Newcastle: 2009).

Figure 7.4: 17 Tweed Street.

William Dixon's land grant of 1578 enabled this rather obtrusively individual mid-twentieth-century rebuilding.



7.3 'Tweedmouth New Row': Brewery Bank, Tweedmouth

Tweedmouth New Row was a new development laid out c.1560 on the edge of Tweedmouth, a township which functioned as a bridgehead suburb of Berwick. Like Guisnes Row it was built in response to an immediate need and, in this case, to the immediate availability of land. However unlike Guisnes Row it was built by one developer, linking medieval row houses with later row or terrace developments like those described by Leech.⁷⁹⁵ It is examined as a whole, since very little can be deduced about its individual houses; its importance stems from its status as an early, dated example of an extensions to Tweedmouth's medieval core and also from its possible function, which may have been an attempt to regulate the drinking culture of off-duty soldiers from Berwick's garrison and provide an income for ex-garrison members.⁷⁹⁶

⁷⁹⁵ Leech, 'Rugman's Row'.

⁷⁹⁶ Curl, J. S., *Moneymore and Draperstown: The architecture and planning of the estates of the Drapers Company in Ulster* (Belfast: 1979).

Evidence is based on the 1561 *Survey of Norham and Islandshire* carried out following alienation of the Bishopric's land in 1559 (Chapter 2).⁷⁹⁷ Following a list of twenty-five tenancies in Tweedmouth is a section headed 'Tweedmouth New Row', providing the information in Table 7.2; it is described as '*de novo edificat, nunc et non ante arrentat*', emphasising that it was both physically and tenurially 'new' in 1561. New Row does not appear as a street name in modern Tweedmouth but using the map analysis technique described for Berwick (Chapter 2) the first three plots listed in the *Survey* align well with those of modern Brewery Bank (Figure 7.5). The houses, pub and brewery now on the site have been altered or rebuilt at various times and have no obviously sixteenth-century fabric, and no archaeological research is recorded nearby, but no other site in Tweedmouth shows the same degree of correspondence. A survey of freeholders' property in 1797-9 provides further information about the site.⁷⁹⁸

Site

Little is known of Tweedmouth's early development.⁷⁹⁹ In 1561 the Crown surveyors noted that 'fishing is the chief maintenance of the said town' and described it as 'a great [i.e. long] street ... inhabited by fishermen that doth fish the river for salmon and also go to sea in fishing for sea fish'.⁸⁰⁰ This 'street' was a continuation of the early route from the south which ran up from the beach (modern Dock Road) and linked the low-tide ford at the south end of the township to the bridge at the north end. The township therefore had a bipolar plan; to the south, Well Square and Church Square appear to be remnants of a large market place set between the Church and Tweedmouth Tower and opening onto the ford. To the north, at the bridgehead, a cluster of buildings spread along the road to Norham (modern West End), held from Norham Castle and its tenants not named in the 1561 survey 'because they pay for the same no yearly rent or other service [to the Crown] but their suit of court and foreign service, and also the certainty thereof is not known.' The whole street was backed by a river terrace leading up to Tweedmouth Common.

⁷⁹⁷ DUSC MS Hunter 23 ff. 4- , published almost entirely in Raine, *North Durham* pp.15-27.

⁷⁹⁸ BRO, BRO Q8/10.

⁷⁹⁹ North-East Civic Trust, *Tweedmouth Conservation Area: Character Appraisal* (2008); Menuge, et al., *Three places*.

⁸⁰⁰ Raine, *North Durham* p.25.

	Tenant	Tenement	Length	Breadth	Rent
[1]	Thomas Hutte	<i>cotag[ium]</i>	26 <i>uln</i>	34 <i>uln</i>	ij s.
[2]	Thomas Larke	<i>cotag[ium]</i>	26 <i>uln</i>	15 <i>uln</i>	ij s.
[3]	Henry Younge	<i>cotag[ium]</i>	26 <i>uln</i>	15 <i>uln</i>	ij s.
[4]	Thomas Hamblyn	<i>cotag[ium]</i>	26 <i>uln</i>	16 <i>uln</i>	ij s.
[5]	Nich. Palmer	<i>cotag[ium]</i>	26 <i>uln</i>	16 <i>uln</i>	ij s.
[6]	Henr. Grene	<i>cotag[ium]</i>	20 <i>uln</i>	14 <i>uln</i>	ij s.
[7]	Chr. Clerisby	<i>cotag[ium]</i>	20 <i>uln</i>	12 <i>uln</i>	ij s.
[8]	Tho. Bothwell	<i>dom[us]</i>	<i>sed obit, et Alexand. fil eius admis. est tenens...</i> the deputy to appoint the custody of the child to some friend during his nonage.		ij s.

New Row, at the south end but on the higher ground of the common to the west, was one of the first developments to break away from this linear pattern. The site belonged to the Church; in the 1790s its plots were described as 'standing and lying in the Kirk Hill' and the 1848 tithe plan, although conceptual rather than metrically accurate, implies that church land extended from the churchyard as far as the North Road on the common.⁸⁰¹ It would thus have been subject to alienation to the Crown in 1559, and possibly the only part of the township not under the control of Norham Castle.

Builder, materials

The builder is not recorded but is most likely to have been the local landowner William Selby of Tweedmouth. His father Odnell, a Berwick fish merchant and alderman who had served as the town's MP, died in 1555 leaving William 'thetower that we do dwell in [Tweedmouth Tower], the barn, the byre, the henhouse and the kitchen' but when William sold the estate to John Selby, Gentleman Porter, in 1576 it included 'all the stone houses and other tenements' in Tweedmouth, implying that he had carried out building work in the township.⁸⁰² William Selby leased the Crown's large quarry at Tweedmouth, running it on behalf of the Crown to provide stone for Berwick but also for his own building works.

The 'Row'

The most likely layout for New Row is shown in Figure 7.5. Towards the end of the 1561 *Survey* New Row is listed as a separate township, possibly suggesting that its

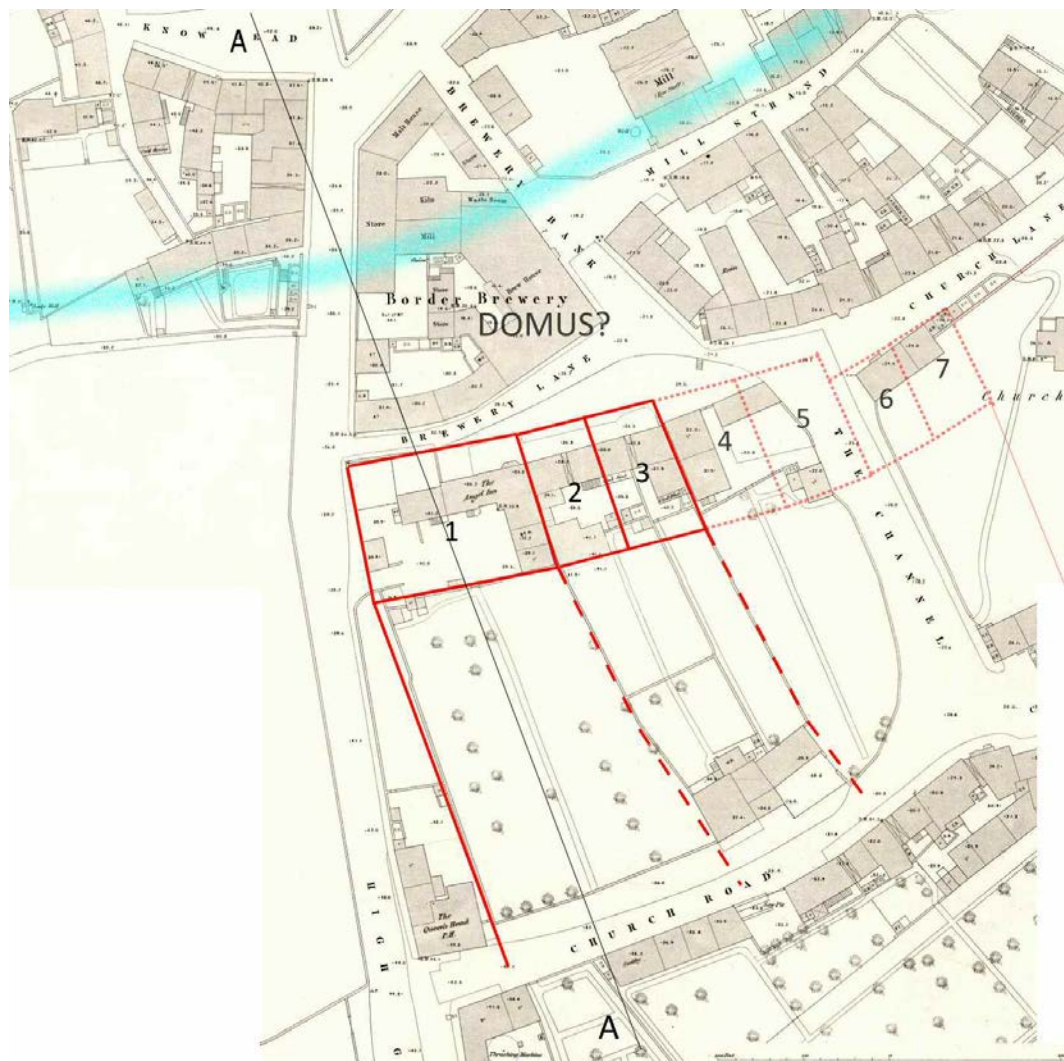
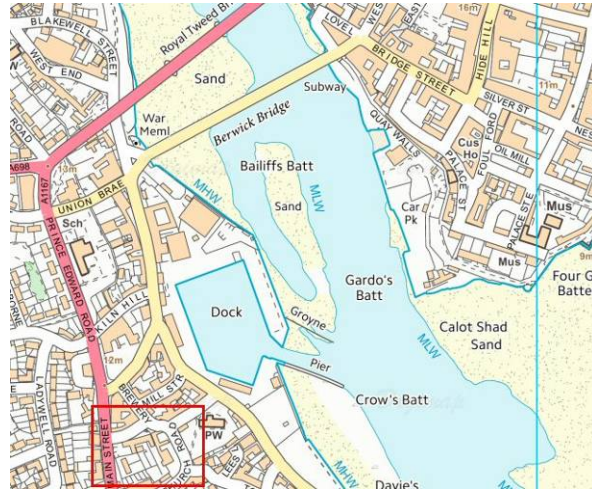
⁸⁰¹ BRO, BRO Q8/10/70; TNA, IR 30/11/265.

⁸⁰² DUSC, DPRI/1555/S1; DPRI/1/1586/S3; NCA, SANT/DEE/1/18/1/2.

Figure 7.5. Tweedmouth New Row, location and suggested reconstruction.

Below: location. © Crown Copyright and database rights 2016, Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence).

Bottom: suggested plot layout, based on OS *Town Plan of Berwick-upon-Tweed* Scale: 1:528 Surveyed: 1852



economy or ownership was distinct from the remainder of Tweedmouth.⁸⁰³ This latter possibility is also hinted at by the presence of the *domus*. The term is not used for houses elsewhere in the township, so it was probably not a domestic building.⁸⁰⁴ Neither was it a mill (the mill downstream is defined as *molend. aquatic.*), but it could have housed another industry which required water; by the late-eighteenth century there was a brewery on the site with ‘an excellent set of machinery, [driven] by water’.⁸⁰⁵ The 1561 *Survey* only records the measurements of the house plots but in 1799 the remains of the southern row is shown with gardens or crofts which, like the similar plots in Guisnes Row and the Greens in Berwick, were probably part of the original layout (Figure 7.6).⁸⁰⁶

Houses

William Selby is recorded as having built ‘stone houses’, had access to a quarry, and may well have built up the plots himself as soon as the land became available. One indication is that they were already commanding rent by 1561, and similar new plots in Berwick were not valued until houses had been built on them.⁸⁰⁷ The plots were fifteen, sixteen or seventeen yards wide, a common width for new house sites (Chapter 4). By the 1790s each plot had a cross-passage house (or two single-cell houses separated by a cross-passage), creating a terrace (Figure 7.6); the double plot (now the Angel Inn) had a cross-passage house on one half and a workshop on the other. Since the cross-passage plan was common locally during the sixteenth century it would be reasonable to suggest that this echoed their original layout. Given the difficulties of terracing and building house-platforms on a sloping site it is also likely that the houses are in their original positions on the plots. The narrower plots on the steeper slope could have supported houses with their gable-end to the road, like the building converted in the nineteenth century to become the Parish Hall.

⁸⁰³ Raine, *North Durham* p.27.

⁸⁰⁴ Its only other occurrence in the *Survey* is in Holy Island, where it denotes a building as opposed to a plot of land; for example ‘Rob. Cotes iiijd. pro dom. ante ostium Geo. Beard, iiijd. pro uno horto ex orient. de ---- iiijd., dim. j crofti in St Colomes iiijd’ and ‘Joh’s Smyth pro dom. tegul. cor. ost. Rob. Lilborn ijs. xd.’ (ibid. p.26).

⁸⁰⁵ Fuller, J., *The history of Berwick upon Tweed* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 1973 [1799]) p.383.

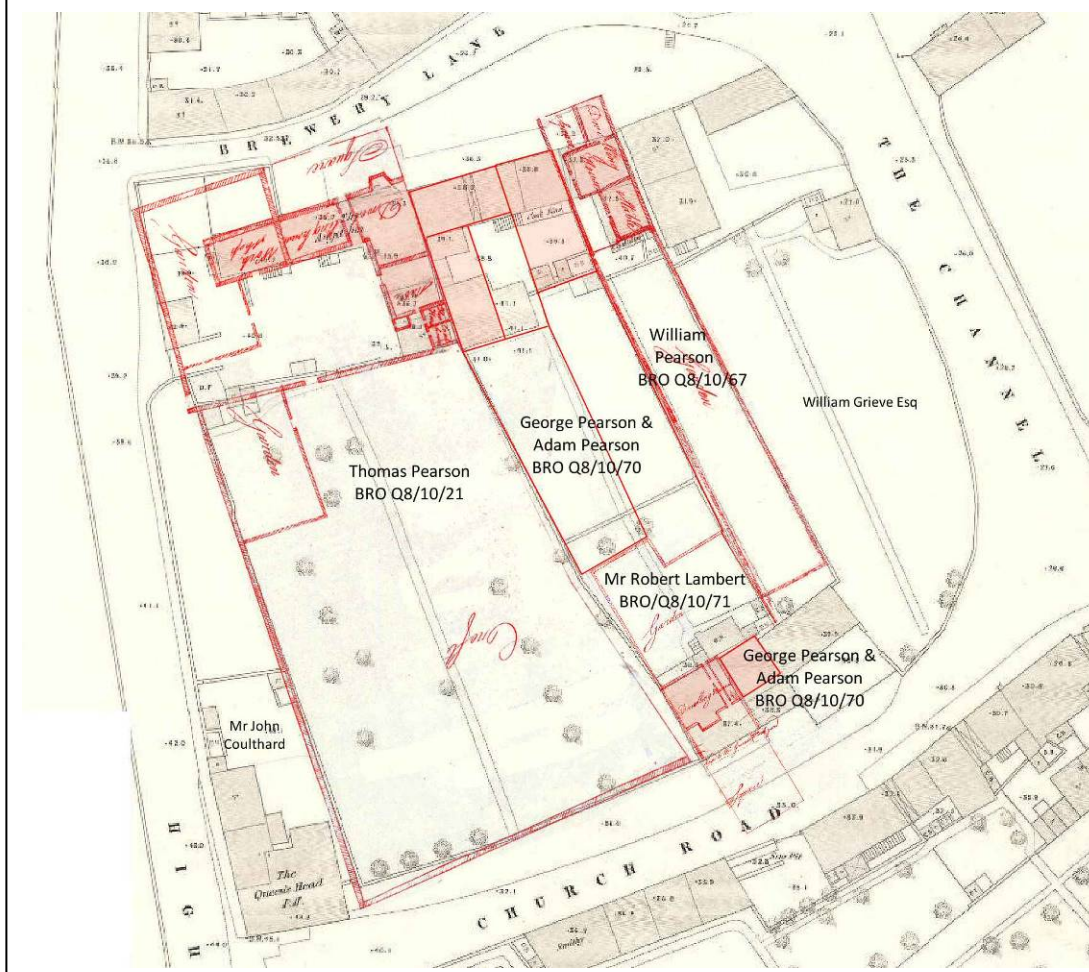
⁸⁰⁶ The back lane was described as the ‘road to William Grieve’s stack yard’ in 1799; BRO Q8/10/71.

⁸⁰⁷ The rents were not high; other cottagers in Tweedmouth paid 1-3s. and many rural cottagers 2-5s., while in Berwick the average rent for burgages of similar width was 35s., which was also the average for the town as a whole.

Figure 7.6. Tweedmouth New Row in the eighteenth century.

Based on details of OS *Town Plan of Berwick-upon Tweed*, 1:528 (1859) and plans in BRO, Q8/10 (c.1798).

Plans were drawn when Tweedmouth Common was divided, and only showing freeholders. William Grieve had a 'stackyard' on his site. Thomas Pearson's house has a cross-passage plan and William's is a half version, with an extension onto his 'square' at the front. Only external dimensions were recorded for George and Adam's houses.



Inhabitants

The original tenants were mainly ex-soldiers or garrison building workers. Henry Young, possibly the only local man, had been paid as a labourer on the citadel in 1552; he was a local juror for the 1561 *Survey* and one of those appointed to oversee the subsequent defence works in Tweedmouth. His widow Katherine remained in Tweedmouth and in 1586 left her house to her daughter.⁸⁰⁸ Thomas Lark, born in Winchester c.1528, was a garrison member in 1561; he may have been

⁸⁰⁸ BRO, BRO 1380/4; BL, Cotton Caligula B/X f.162; DUSC, DPRI/1/1586/Y1.

one of the soldiers mentioned in the *Survey* as being licensed to run a victualling house in Tweedmouth, since serving soldiers were not normally allowed to live outside Berwick.⁸⁰⁹ By the 1580s he was a pensioner and still involved in Tweedmouth society, in 1582 witnessing the will of William Preston of Tweedmouth, another pensioner.⁸¹⁰ Thomas Hutte shared his surname only with Everarde Hutte, who arrived in Berwick in 1560 as part of a band of horsemen from Ashby-de-la-Zouche (Leicestershire) and is not recorded elsewhere.⁸¹¹ Christopher Clerisby, paid as a labourer in 1552, is likely to have been an impressed worker who decided to settle or invest in Tweedmouth, since his surname has not been found elsewhere in the study area; like him the majority of New Row's tenants had unique surnames, implying that they were garrison members or workers with no local family.⁸¹²

Purpose

The final section, based on informed conjecture, suggests a reason for New Row's creation in this place at this time. It is easy to imagine that Selby could have leased the 'Kirk Hill', and the combination of stone from the Crown quarry and newly available land could have made speculative development an attractive proposition. However there are further possibilities. The surveyors of 1561 noted that although Tweedmouth was basically a fishing village 'of late, soldiers that have licence have built there upon the common certain victualling houses'. New Row's position 'upon the common', together with its tenants' links with the garrison, suggests that some of these 'victualling houses' may have been in New Row. The Garrison's problems with soldiers drinking in Tweedmouth are well recorded but encouraging them away from the north end of Tweedmouth, with its strong links to Norham, might have been helpful in keeping order. The tenants of New Row understood military culture and might be able to keep control over soldiers drinking there. Their lack of local kinship links would ensure loyalty to the government on which they relied not only for their license but their home, since their houses were built on land leased from the Crown. Breweries were also licensed and this also helped ensure order;

⁸⁰⁹ Bain, *CBP 1* p.274; TNA, SP 59/37 f.79.

⁸¹⁰ DUSC, DPRI/1/1582/P3. Preston bequeathed Agnes Lark 'a brass pot called Isbell Selbie's pot', and both he and Lark may have served under Captains William or John Selby of Tweedmouth.

⁸¹¹ TNA, SP 12/11 f.35.

⁸¹² BRO, BRO 1380/4.

not only would their owners refuse to supply disorderly alehouses but could be assumed to uphold the values of the “middling sort”.⁸¹³ The tenant of the *domus*, Thomas Bothwell, apparently came into this category since the building was valuable enough for ‘the deputy’ to choose a guardian for his heir. House-building in the service of social and economic ends was not a new idea; in 1541 Sir Robert Bowes had proposed funding improvements to Wark castle by doubling the number of houses in the township and licensing the existing unofficial cross-Border trade, attracting ‘artificers and merchants’ to settle there.⁸¹⁴ His scheme was apparently never attempted, but the proposal indicates that the potential for house-building as a social instrument was being explored.⁸¹⁵

The development could have had more than merely commercial or public order motives. There was no official provision for disabled soldiers until the following century (although individual captains seem to have retained a paternal interest in their men). The licensing act of 1552 enabled rural and urban authorities to license those who might otherwise become a burden to the community, and among their other roles public houses soon became ‘versatile instruments of poor relief that came at little charge to the town’.⁸¹⁶ Thus victualling-houses in New Row could have provided for disabled soldiers both through income from beer-selling and from the resulting subsidised accommodation. A link between new settlements and provision for ale- or beer-production and consumption is paralleled in late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century military and civil Irish plantations.⁸¹⁷ New Row may have appeared as an unusually neat solution to two of the Council’s problems, suggested

⁸¹³ Hailwood, M., *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: 2014), especially Chapter 1.

⁸¹⁴ Bates, *Border Holds* p.351.

⁸¹⁵ There is a man-made bank round the proposed area, but recent archaeological investigation on the site produced no evidence of settlement (Dr Chris Burgess, pers. comm. October 2014).

⁸¹⁶ Hudson, L. G., ‘The English Privy Council and the relief of disabled soldiers, 1558-1625’ (McMaster University: 1988: M. A.); Hailwood, *Alehouses*; Brown, J. R., ‘The landscape of drink: inns, taverns and alehouses in early modern Southampton’ (University of Warwick: 2007: PhD) p.173.

⁸¹⁷ The results were not always beneficial. In 1600 the short-lived fort at Dunlalong had a ‘great brewhouse newly built’ serving garrisons along the river Foyle but immediately after its completion the local landowner Sir Arthur O’Neil ‘died at Dunlalong... from immoderate drinking’; TNA, SP 63/207/6 f.218 ; Atkinson, E. G., (ed) *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-[1603] Vol. 9: Mar-Oct 1600* (London: 1903) p.454. In Moneymore, a plantation of the Drapers’ Company from 1617, the contractor monopolised the village mill, malt-house, brewery and tavern but ‘the collective effect... was to plunge the small settlement into a frequent state of drunken chaos’; Blades, B. S., ‘English villages in the Londonderry plantation’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 20, 1 (1986).

by the fortuitous combination of land availability and recently introduced licensing laws.

Figure 7.7. Brewery Bank, looking east.

The land slopes down northwards towards the brewery straddling the mill stream (left) and east towards the Tweed just beyond the churchyard trees. The roadway in front of the modern houses is on the site of the eighteenth-century 'squares'.



Forward links, further research

Unfortunately Tweedmouth's manorial records only survive from 1612 but research might clarify the role of the '*domus*' and the subsequent history of the site as a whole. By the 1790s several of the plots were owned by members of the Pearson family, who in 1806 ran two public houses in Tweedmouth, and one by William Grieve who owned two breweries in Berwick and a number of farms in the surrounding area.⁸¹⁸ New Row's plots continued to define the layout of what was later known as Brewery Bank, and the amount of levelling needed to create house platforms (Figure 7.7) implies that the modern houses are probably in their original positions. Although the majority have been completely rebuilt the Angel Inn still has a cross-passage and very low ground floor window heads, and a measured survey could indicate whether the walls contain early fabric.

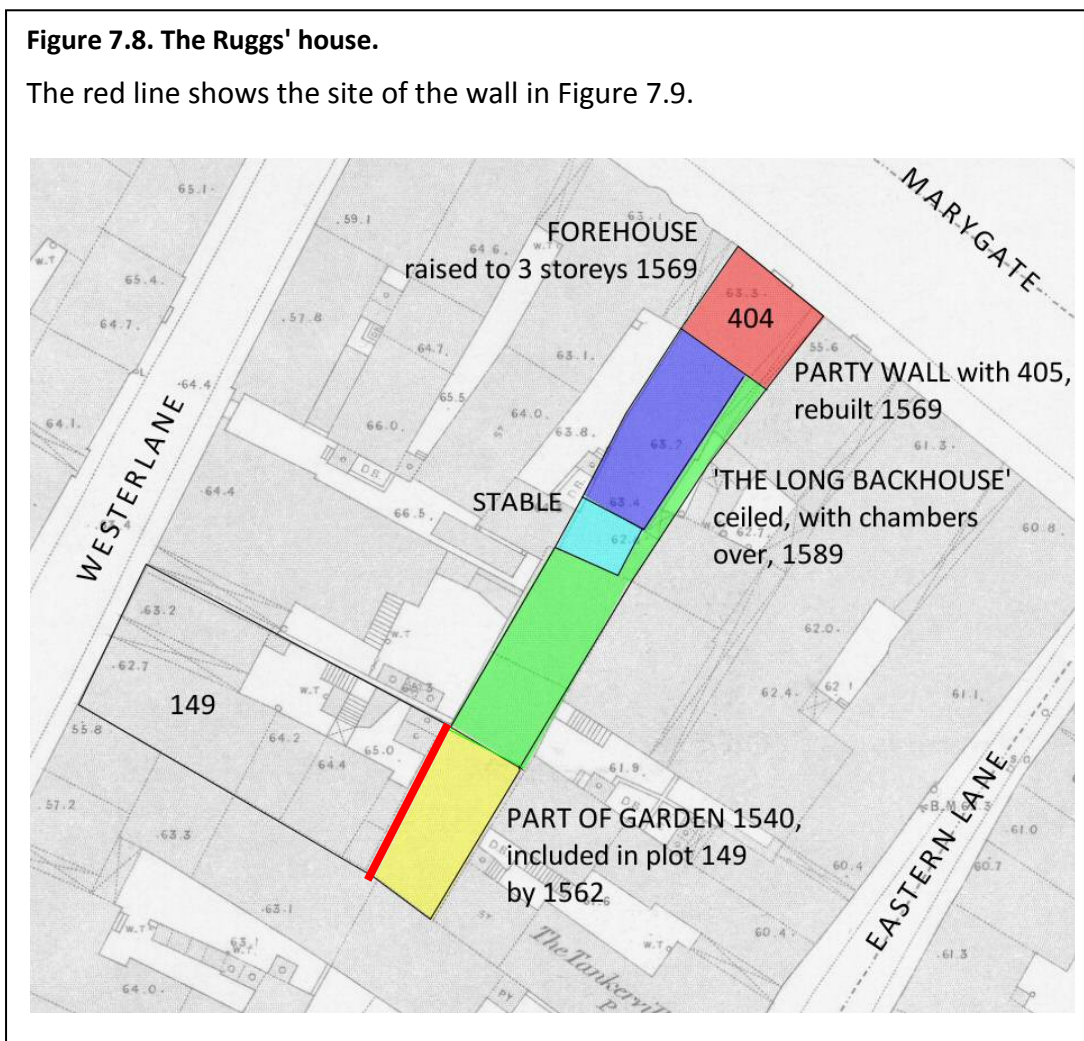
⁸¹⁸Lothead, W., *A Directory and Concise History of Berwick-upon-Tweed* (Berwick: 1806) pp. 54-5,151.

7.4 'My new house in the market place': 49-51 Marygate⁸¹⁹

The final biography in this section is of a high-status house and shop at the south end of Marygate, 'in the market place' with the social and economic benefits which this provided for its cloth-merchant owners. Its history of purchase and alteration shows its builders' sensitivity to the economy of commerce, and the ways in which they used the house to improve their standing; the variety of commercial owners and tenants over the study period forms an interesting comparison with the Dixon's longer-term commitment to life in Windmill Hole and garrison service. It also provides a clear example of 'closure' in the urban context.

Figure 7.8. The Ruggs' house.

The red line shows the site of the wall in Figure 7.9.



⁸¹⁹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4.

Figure 7.9. Wall behind 49-51 Marygate.

Composite photograph, author.

The site of the wall is shown as a red line in Figure 7.8. In 1540 the land seen here was part of 49-51 Marygate (404), but by 1562 it had been transferred to a plot in Western Lane (149). It was then built up as a single-storey stable or other outbuilding, entered through the wide opening in the foreground with timber inner lintel and large squared quoins. The openings were altered several times, and an upper storey added, and by the later-twentieth century it had reverted to being part of the Marygate plot.

**Site, tenure**

The site was the normal narrow-fronted urban burgage, recorded as eight ells wide by forty-six long in 1540.⁸²⁰ By 1562 it was only thirty yards long, sixteen yards having been transferred to plot 149 on Western Lane, an example of the flexibility of rear boundaries discussed in Chapter 4 (Figure 7.8).⁸²¹ In 1540 Lionel Shotton, a burgess with interest in several sites nearby, sold the property to the soldier Ralph

⁸²⁰ BRO, ZMD 98/26

⁸²¹ 'General Survey', 404. The 'General Survey' gives the width as 7 ½ rather than 8 yards in 1562, but this may merely indicate the trend towards more accurate measurement (Chapter 6).

Ferrar.⁸²² Ferrar was from a family with links to several townships in Northhamshire, and was known as 'merchant' by 1567; the purchase may have marked his move from garrison to burgess society.⁸²³ The deed of sale records an abnormally large number of witnesses including Ferrar's captain (Ralph Selby), the Mayor (Odelin Selby), the garrison victualler (William Wallis), a Bailiff (Lionel Thompson) and many other high-status garrison-men and civilians. This emphasised the close relationships which so worried the government, and transactions like this may have been in the minds of those who drew up the 'New Orders' of 1560 which made it illegal for soldiers to own freehold property in Berwick.⁸²⁴ In 1567 Ferrar sold it to the mercer Thomas Rugg, also a newcomer to Berwick's merchant society. The number of transactions over a short space of time emphasises the commodification of houses in this part of the town following their use as vehicles for creation and confirmation of burgess status.

As with the other houses in this chapter virtually no sixteenth-century fabric survives, but the study is made possible by the survival of a group of deeds in Berwick's archives, including the important specification document referred to in previous chapters, as well as probate documents from two of its sixteenth-century inhabitants and extracts from the borough records.⁸²⁵

In the early-sixteenth century the house probably consisted of a 'forehouse' of shop with chamber (and possibly garret) above, with an open hall and service buildings to the rear accessed via a side passage. There was also a store or 'cellar'.⁸²⁶ The shop may have been entered at the side from the gated passage, a secure arrangement which also allowed the maximum window display space and daylight into the interior.⁸²⁷ This is similar to Clark's type B1a which 'indicates a degree of privacy for the family ... [and] suggests common 'ownership' of the street door, and hence that the [shop owner] lived behind and over the shop.'⁸²⁸

⁸²² BRO, ZMD 98/26.

⁸²³ BRO, ZMD 94/27; ZMD 94/29.

⁸²⁴ Stevenson, *CSP For Eliz 3* p.329.

⁸²⁵ The documents are calendared as Appendix 4.

⁸²⁶ This may have been below the shop, and plot 403 had a cellar in this position in 1859; OS, *Berwick 1859*.

⁸²⁷ Similar passage entrances are still visible in Berwick, although the entrances are normally blocked, for example in 66 and 68 Church Street.

⁸²⁸ Clark, D., 'The Shop Within? an analysis of the architectural evidence for medieval shops',

Ferrar left no evidence for building work but in 1567 he mortgaged the property to Thomas Rugg, a newcomer from rather a different background.⁸²⁹ A wealthy cloth-dealer who traded across the Border into Scotland, Rugg's credit network linked London, Yorkshire, Newcastle and Berwick.⁸³⁰ He first appears in Berwick's records in 1562 when he supplied the Guild with its annual set of Sergeants' gowns.⁸³¹ At this date he was not a burgess and probably ran his business from rented rooms, since he did not pay burghmail tax.⁸³² However in 1563 he was made a freeman, having supplied the considerable sum of £13. 6s. 8d. towards travelling expenses for Berwick's M.P.⁸³³ He was either married or ready to marry (at his death ten years later he and his wife Jane had five young children) and Berwick was not only convenient as a base for cross-Border trade in the new draperies but also contained a pool of potentially cash-rich customers in the single men of the garrison as well as the burgesses and country gentry.⁸³⁴ Rugg's household began life in what he referred to as his 'mansion house... in Berwick' but becoming a Guild member allowed him to trade as a mercer from a shop in the town.⁸³⁵ If his 'mansion' was the 'house standing near to the new rampier adjoining upon the tenement of James Smith, soldier' bequeathed to his eldest daughter it would have been poorly sited as a shop.⁸³⁶ But purchase of the new plot near the market-place in Marygate provided a central location, and living above the shop would help protect his valuable stock as well as emphasising and enhancing his recently-purchased position in the urban hierarchy.

Architectural History, 43, (2000) p.78.

⁸²⁹ BRO, ZMD 94/27.

⁸³⁰ DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4.

⁸³¹ BRO, B1/1 f.102.

⁸³² 'General Survey'. It was not unusual for traders to keep stock in Berwick; in 1605 Henry Ellyott, a London mercer, sold high-quality cloth to John Rede, a London haberdasher, through his shop in Berwick; TNA, C 1/1261/7-10.

⁸³³ BRO, B1/1 f. 104.

⁸³⁴ For soldiers' taste in clothing see inventories such as that of Hector Woodrington (DUSC, DPRI/1/1593/W8) whose doublets included black satin, crimson satin, black velvet, black rashe, white and ash-coloured canvas; and Stephen Ayres (DUSC, DPRI/1/1586/A9) who owned not only a large amount of clothing but also a 'seeing glass' in which to admire it.

⁸³⁵ DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4. The term 'mercier' is not documented locally but 'in provincial towns in the early modern period, the term *mercier* was generally applied to retail tradesmen of high social status and economic importance, who had invariably served an apprenticeship and who sold a wide range of goods not produced in the locality'; OED, '*mercier, n*', accessed 17 December 2015.

⁸³⁶ *ibid.* 'Mansion house' in this context refers to his principal dwelling place.

Phase 1: Regulation

As early as 1569, the year before Ferrar's quitclaim was signed, Rugg was planning to raise his new house to three storeys as other owners in the town were beginning to do.⁸³⁷ By this time every new house within the walls was required to be two stories high and a third storey would differentiate and emphasise his status as a wealthy and respected (even though non-local) burgess, as well as providing additional rooms for his growing family and business. Either Rugg himself or his team of craftsmen proposed building the new, taller gable off the existing timber-framed party wall to the south. Its owner, Leonard Trollop 'yeoman of Edon Parva in the Palatinate of Durham', objected and in June 1569 three landliners were called in to adjudicate.⁸³⁸ They ruled that Rugg should build a new stone party wall on Trollop's land, 'for all manner of chance of sudden fire ... for the beautifying of the same town and other good considerations', strong enough to 'serve and bear both the said tenements'.⁸³⁹

Phase 1: Artisans, construction

By the time he died in 1573 Thomas Rugg owned three other properties in Berwick, and would have purchased the materials and some tools for his building projects, as was normal.⁸⁴⁰ However he was able to buy these wholesale, since in 1573, well after the house was finished, his 'shop goods' included the large stock of building materials listed in Chapter 6 and Appendix 4.⁸⁴¹ No records of the design or construction process survive but the finished house must have impressed those who saw it towering above its neighbours and may well have acted as an advertisement for the craftsmen involved as well as encouraging other builders to consider constructing similar houses.

Phase 1: House

Leonard Trollop may have added a third floor to his fore-house also (either during construction of the party wall or possibly around 1577 when he purchased a grant

⁸³⁷ BRO, ZMD 94/29 ; BRO ZMD 94/28.

⁸³⁸ BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.20. The only other 'Trollop' recorded in Berwick rented the large field beside the Garrison slaughterhouse, and Leonard Trollop may have been a cattle-dealer or grazier; 'General Survey' 433. The house was leased by John Sleigh, another mercer; BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.20; BRO ZMD 94/28 . Further details are given in Chapter 3.

⁸³⁹ BRO, ZMD 94/28.

⁸⁴⁰ Airs, Country House.

⁸⁴¹ DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4.

Figure 7.4. Thomas Rugg and Leonard Trollop's houses.

Left: possible rear view c.1580. Based on BL Cotton Augustus 2 MS. 18. D.III f.72 c.1580

Right: front view 2015. Author's photograph.

The block may have been completely rebuilt in the eighteenth century but the two halves are still separated by a party wall which supports the right hand house while the left sags down the hill.



for his property), since the *True Description* of c.1580 shows a large house on the site with a double chimney stack in each gable end (Rugg's probate inventory mentions only one 'iron chimney' on each floor).⁸⁴² If true, this would manifest the neighbourly unity expressed in a marginal note on the 'city compact together' in the Geneva Bible translation of Psalm 122 v.3; '[b]y the artificial joining and beauty of the houses, he means the concord and love that was between the citizens'.⁸⁴³ The suggestion agrees with the properties' later form (Figure 7.10) but must remain speculative, particularly since the *True Description's* depiction of the backhouse does not fit the context of a double-fronted house with central passage implied by the Victorian OS map.

Rugg's probate inventory of 1573 gives a view of his house's interiors.⁸⁴⁴ The shop was opulent, with the smell of spices, 'painted borders' of cloth hanging on the walls and a 'long settle' on which customers could lounge to view not only a wide

⁸⁴² BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.20.

⁸⁴³ Quoted in Graves, 'Jerusalem', p.338.. Although Berwick was strongly Protestant, there is no evidence for the overtones of a Godly commonwealth which Graves suggested for houses in seventeenth-century Newcastle.

⁸⁴⁴ DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4.

variety of high-quality cloth and ready-made hats, gloves and stockings but also household necessities and leisure items such as lute-strings and playing-cards.⁸⁴⁵

Display and small purchases were important but a merchant's business included deals involving large sums and wealthy customers, more conveniently enacted in private, and for such transactions the shop could act as a showroom while the transverse entrance passage or an internal door allowed easy access to the chamber above to finalise and celebrate larger deals.⁸⁴⁶

These clients would have entered through the hall-passage, but rather than turning into the hall they would have ascended stairs to a chamber above the shop. Assuming that the two 'iron chimneys' were listed last in the rooms where they were sited, as was often the case, one room (on the first floor?) contained two beds, along with chairs, stools and forms; drinking vessels and an 'aquavit' bottle imply use as a parlour and possibly business entertainment. However no table is listed; the young family probably ate in the hall. The other floor housed the best bed but no chairs; it also had a separate study but this was sparsely furnished with a table and stool and was apparently a private room rather than one for entertaining customers. If the house was indeed that illustrated in the *True Description* then the long window to the rear of the newly-built upper floor would have provided spectacular views over the 'lower town' and river and could have illuminated a passage or gallery forming a semi-private and well-lit alternative to the parlour for examining goods or small-scale, high-status entertainment.⁸⁴⁷ It expresses a similar appreciation of the values of height and viewpoint as Sir Thomas Grey's spectacular upper chamber and parapet walk at Doddington (Chapter 8); the *True Description* does not show anything similar elsewhere and when built it was probably one of very few in Berwick, possibly indicating Rugg's experience of town houses elsewhere on his trading route.

Even after the forehouse had been raised to three stories the Ruggs' hall was still the traditional single-storey multi-purpose room, used for eating as well as cooking and furnished traditionally with table, chair, forms and stools as well as cooking

⁸⁴⁵ The shop furnishings appear in DUSC, DPRI/1/1573/R4/4 and Appendix 4.

⁸⁴⁶ Clark, 'The shop within' p.73.

⁸⁴⁷ Orlin, L. C., *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: 2007), especially Chapter 6 'Galleries'. In a rural area this type of window could indicate a weaving shop or tailoring workroom but this was uncommon in sixteenth-century towns; Brunskill, *Vernacular Architecture* pp.180-181.

equipment and a bed, a convenient living space for a family with young children. The cellar, like many in Berwick, would have been damp and thus of little use to a cloth-merchant.⁸⁴⁸ Rugg's inventory includes 'four stone of rosin' which could have been mixed with lime mortar and used to waterproof the walls or floor. However, severe problems with damp continued; a building specification of 1589 (below) includes the requirement to 'make such means as the same cellars ... may be kept dry from under water' and in 1592 pipes for draining the cellar were to be maintained by the owner rather than the tenant as would normally be the case.⁸⁴⁹ Berwick's building culture never developed a way to waterproof these cellars; in 1850 the Board of Health Inspector Robert Rawlinson noted that 'almost every house has [a cellar]... often filled with water; they require to be frequently pumped out' and the great majority were filled in soon afterwards.⁸⁵⁰

Phase 2: Builder

In 1574, a year after Thomas Rugg's death, his widow Jane married his 'man' Charles Heslop. By this time women were unable to be burgesses in their own right in Berwick, and the marriage would have ensured the continuity of the business.⁸⁵¹ In 1584 Jane's second son Toby Rugg inherited the house which was by now tenanted by his uncle Henry.⁸⁵² Toby, however, had his sights set higher than a career as a mercer in Berwick. In 1589 he was 'servant of Dame Thomasina Brown of Widdrington' and by 1592 styled himself 'gent, of Widdrington'; living in Widdrington, forty miles from Berwick but only twenty from Newcastle, may have encouraged him to update the house in Marygate in order to make it more profitable in supporting his new lifestyle.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁸ Schofield, J. and G. Snell 'The built environment 1300-1540' in Palliser (ed) *The Cambridge urban history of Britain vol. 1* (Cambridge: 2000) p.388.

⁸⁴⁹ BRO, ZMD 94/30 ; BRO, ZMD 94/32

⁸⁵⁰ Rawlinson, R. *Report to the General Board of Health...* (London: 1850) p.23). Some research has been carried out on cellars in Berwick; Derham, K. *Berwick-upon-Tweed: distribution and significance of urban waterlogged deposits* (2013) <https://www.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/berwick-upon-tweed-distribution-significance-urban-waterlogged-deposits/> accessed 24 June 2015.

⁸⁵¹ Maxwell, *Marriages* p.2; DPRI/1/1601/H4. In 1511 the Guild had ruled that widows and daughters of burgesses could become members, but at some point later the provision was struck out (Macray, *The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Berwick-upon-Tweed* pp.8,11.

⁸⁵² TNA, SC/12/32/14 ; BRO, BRO/B/B6/9 f.37.

⁸⁵³ BRO, ZMD 94/30; BRO ZMD 94/3 . He eventually moved to London and in 1627 sold his Berwick property by giving power of attorney to 'my well-beloved in Christ Thomas Moore of the town of Berwick and Andrew Moore of the same town, merchants' (BRO, ZMD 94/36).

Phase 2: Site, tenure

By 1589 the hall had been relegated to the status of 'kitchen', implying that one of the chambers in the fore-house was by now used for dining.⁸⁵⁴ This would have limited the chambers available for other purposes and Toby decided to build over the hall/kitchen, forming 'two good upper chambers and a fair garret above' along the entire forty-four feet of 'the long back house'.⁸⁵⁵ In 1589 he converted his uncle Henry's tenancy to a twelve-year building lease, with a requirement to carry out the specified building project within the first two years.⁸⁵⁶ Instead of an entry fine Henry had to 'well and freely build and re-edify of his ... own proper cost and charges ... according to the manner and form hereinafter in the present indenture expressed'. For this he was excused the first six years' rent. The forty-two pounds he saved would have presumably covered the cost of the work, but nothing shows whether he made any profit from the deal. He had the option to extend the lease after twelve years, 'paying as any other will do and rather better cheap'.

There is no proof that the work was carried out, and the subsequent tenure is typically unclear. Only three years later, in 1592, Toby Rugg leased the house again, this time for twenty years at eight pounds a year, to a consortium of two burgesses, Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson; this was not a building lease, although Gregson had previous experience in building under lease (Chapter 6).⁸⁵⁷ Henry Rugg was referred to as a tenant, but in 1607 bequeathed 'the lease of my house wherein I do dwell against the Tolbooth in Berwick' to his son Valentine.

Phase 2: Regulation, artisans, construction

As with the party wall two decades previously, the design was subject to regulation by the Council; Toby Rugg specified the new double chimney with its hearths to be constructed 'as the order of building in the town now is', presumably the orders laid down before 1560 (Chapter 6).⁸⁵⁸ At first sight it seems odd that Rugg's specification mentions thatch, since an urban 'order of building' would be likely to

⁸⁵⁴ BRO, ZMD 94/30

⁸⁵⁵ King, 'Closure'; BRO, ZMD 94/30.

⁸⁵⁶ BRO, ZMD 94/30.

⁸⁵⁷ Lease to Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson BRO, ZMD 94/32 .

⁸⁵⁸ BRO, ZMD 94/30.

require slates or tiles as a fire precaution; but this was in a list of standard clauses and may have referred to roofing in general.⁸⁵⁹

Toby Rugg's specification provides an insight into the skills expected of local craftsmen, and is discussed in Chapter 6. Elements such as the 'fair transom window[s] of five lights' in the chambers show that he also had some input into the detailed design. Most interesting in this context is his close specification of the floor joists, for which not only the sizes and the type of timber is specified but also that they be used upright rather than flat in the traditional way. This would not only be economical in timber but also show an up-to-date attitude to the material world, advantageous to a business which relied on changes in fashion for its success.

The alterations include several other features which indicate a new approach to house design. The hall fireplace, probably originally on the side wall, was to be replaced by a new fireplace with an oven on the end gable wall, more suitable in function and position for a kitchen. The chamber above was also to have a fireplace, the flues 'raised up together within one gable' to produce a double chimney stack, still new enough to the building culture to be worth recording. It would be approached through an unheated chamber, functionally different from the heated inner one. Each chamber would be impressive internally, with large five-light windows and oversized oak ceiling joists (smaller softwood joists were specified for the kitchen below). In the garret the 'couples ... seven foot asunder' would define bed spaces for servants or older children. The project not only provided additional rooms but ones with individual character.

Forward links

The Ruggs' well-resourced building projects, informed by the need to impress their high-status clients, had not only enriched the house-building culture but also benefited them. However after the reduction of the garrison in 1603 the number of high-spending customers dropped, and thus the need for shops to supply them. In 1627 Toby, now 'of Westminster in the county of Middlesex, gent' sold the freehold to George Parker, originally a garrison soldier, using the merchants Thomas and

⁸⁵⁹ Jones, 'Fire damage'; Currie, 'Time and Chance'; BRO, ZMD 94/30.

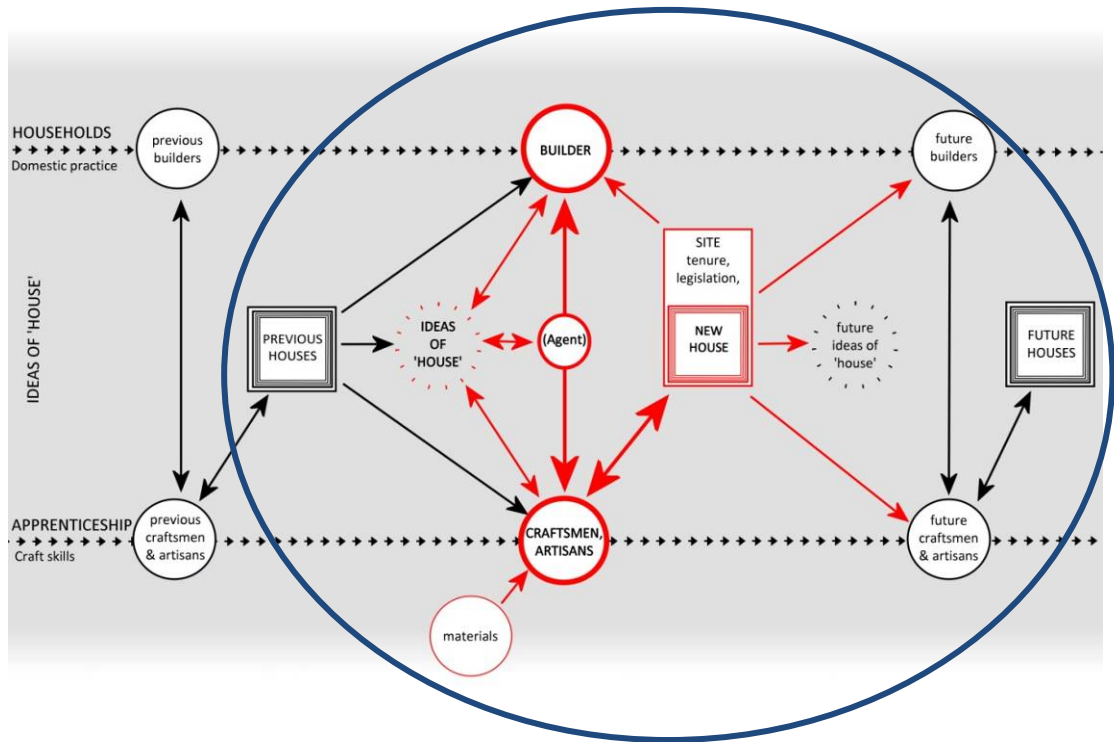
Andrew Moore of Berwick as attorneys.⁸⁶⁰ The outline of his house and hall, however, can still be traced in the plot.

7.5 Summary

Each of the biographies illuminates particular elements of the house-building culture. In Guisnes Row tenure is important. The change from holding at will to freehold provided William Dixon and his descendants with a secure 'place' in the town, which seems to have become inextricably linked with their 'place' in the garrison even though the position of their plot discouraged construction in stone for more than two centuries. In Tweedmouth New Row, the motive for laying out new house-plots on this site at this period is of particular interest; although a reason has been suggested this is only speculative, and further research into the township's history (for example in the Manor Court books) may provide a more accurate answer. Whatever the exact motive, Tweedmouth New Row and Guisnes Row illustrate alternative ways in which the Crown used the house-building culture to answer specific needs.

In contrast to these suburban sites, the Ruggs' building work in Marygate shows the building culture responding to commercial requirements and integrating new technologies in the town centre. Alterations to the house and shop demonstrated its owners' taste and appreciation of up-to-date fashion, and possibly also a desire for order and good neighbourhood. By normalising three-storey street-frontages, houses such as these set the scale for the Georgian rebuilding which now defines the town.

⁸⁶⁰ BRO, ZMD 94/36,37.



The case studies in this chapter assess the contribution of some of the standing structures to an understanding the house-building culture as well as illuminating their particular histories.

Chapter 8 : Biographies of large rural houses

The three houses in this chapter are all larger than those in Chapter 7, and like the great majority of the surviving structures are found to the west of the sandstone hills which divide the March. As well as contributing towards knowledge of the house-building culture as a whole, the biographies show how this knowledge also enhances our understanding of the buildings themselves by putting them into their local context.

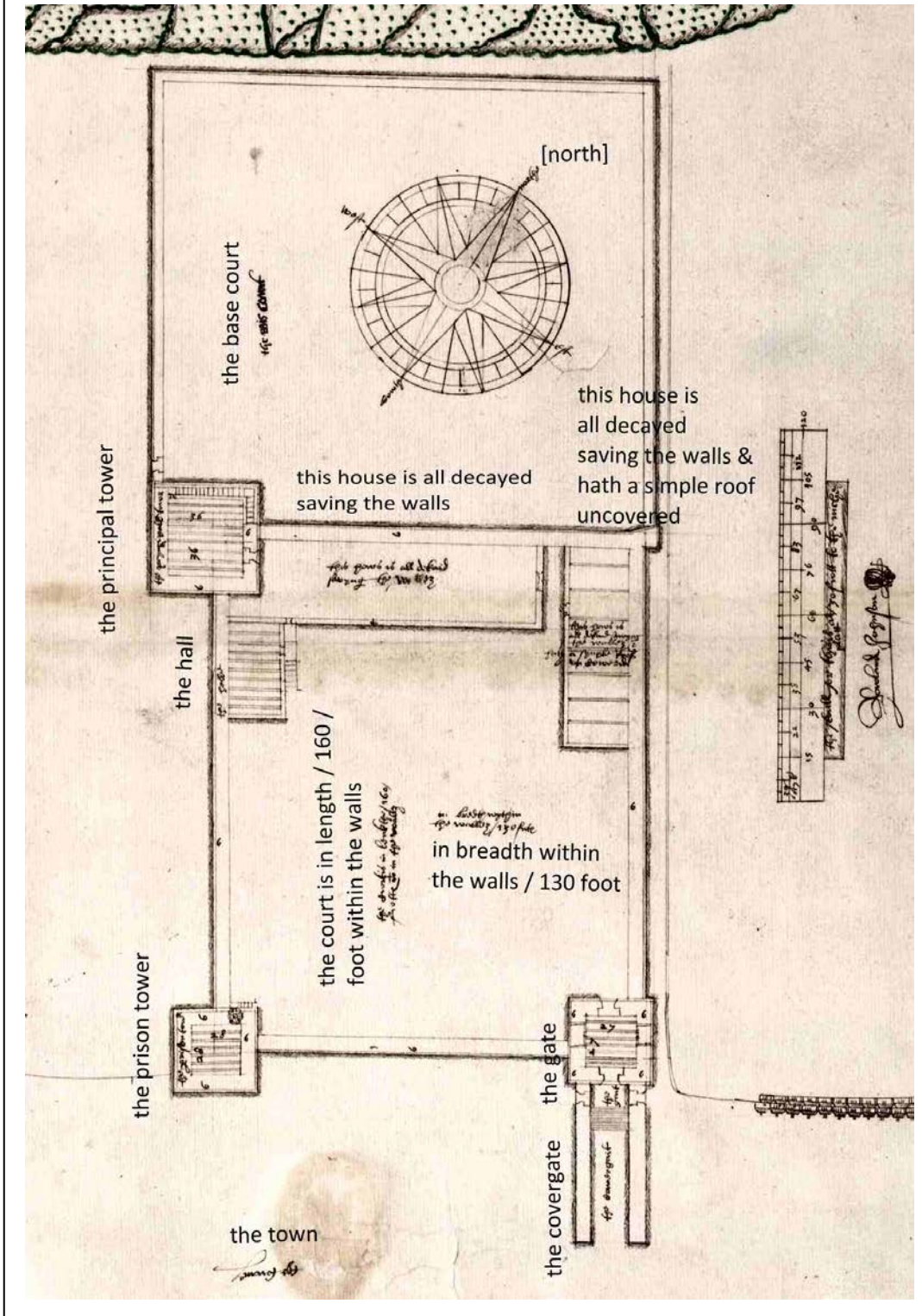
8.1 Ford Castle

Ford's early history is better-documented than other houses in this chapter. Its strategic importance meant that it featured regularly in Crown defence surveys, and it was surveyed by Rowland Johnson while its owner was a minor under Crown wardship (Figure 8.1). Further evidence stems from its contested ownership over

Figure 8.1. Ford Castle in 1560.

Based on detail from 'Plan of Ford Castle, Northumberland', Rowland Johnson, n.d. [c.1561]. HHA CPM/2/25. Pen, ink and watercolour.

Johnson's notes indicate the poor state of the castle but show that the building project of the 1580s was based on existing fabric rather than requiring new buildings, as previously assumed (Fawcett (1976)).



much of the sixteenth century. The amount of documentation reduces in the later-sixteenth century; redesign as a country seat removed it from the public sphere, and its archives were plundered in 1648 during the Civil War.⁸⁶¹ A document dated 1667 describing the division of the house between three heiresses gives some idea of how it was laid out, while later-seventeenth and eighteenth-century drawings also provide some evidence of its earlier form. Some early masonry is incorporated in the house, visible on modern plans, and a few early features survive internally.⁸⁶²

Site

Ford was one of a line of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century castles stretching from Chillingham northwards to Twizel along the Till valley. In 1338 the influential Heron family added curtain walls and a tower to their stone house and hall, probably laying out the township street at the same time (Chapter 4). By 1340 it was their main power-base in the East March, with the honour of being referred to '*per nomon castris*'.⁸⁶³ By the late-sixteenth century, however, it was in poor condition; in 1584 the Commissioners for the Borders described it as 'decayed by want of reparations of a long continuance'.⁸⁶⁴ It had been captured and burnt by James IV of Scotland before the battle of Flodden in 1513, in 1541 'the great buildings & most necessary houses rest[ed] ever since wasted & in decay' and following a siege by French troops from Scotland in 1549 only one of its four towers was capable of sheltering a garrison.⁸⁶⁵ In 1561 Johnson detailed the decay on a plan, showing the original three-storey house 'all decayed saving the walls and ... [the] roof uncovered', the medieval hall (detached from the earlier chamber block) 'all decayed saving the walls' and the upper story of a block at the lower end in use as a hall (Figure 8.1).⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶¹ Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* p.413.

⁸⁶² Fawcett, R., 'Ford Castle' *The Archaeological Journal*, 133 (1976).

⁸⁶³ Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* pp.386-425; Fawcett, 'Ford Castle'; Mackenzie, *Northumberland* p.369.

⁸⁶⁴ TNA, 15/28/2 f.114.

⁸⁶⁵ Bates, *Border Holds*; Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* p.410.

⁸⁶⁶ HHA, Maps 2.25.

Builder

All the local castles were 'decayed' to some extent (Chapter 4) but a particular problem at Ford was its contested ownership and repeated minorities. In 1535 the three-year-old Elizabeth Heron inherited the castle from her grandfather and until 1544 she remained a ward of the Crown. In spite of her significant inheritance she was not married off to one of her Heron relatives, possibly because the potential candidates could not agree between themselves, and in 1549 or 1550 she took matters into her own hands by marrying Thomas Carr, a younger son of the Carrs of Hetton and commander of Ford and Etal castles, following his 'brilliant defence' of Ford in the French siege of 1549.⁸⁶⁷ Her dispossessed Heron relatives disputed Carr's right to the estate, beginning the longest-running and highest-profile feud in the East March which escalated after her early death in 1555. In 1557 the Herons attacked Ford and the following year Thomas Carr was murdered, apparently by George Heron.⁸⁶⁸ It was not until 1581 that Thomas and Elizabeth's son William was confirmed as the legal owner of the property, and even after this the Herons contested the judgement in the Star Chamber.⁸⁶⁹

William had been aged only seven at the time of his father's murder and spent much of his youth as a royal ward under the guardianship of his uncle John Carr of Hetton. He completed his education at Gray's Inn but also spent time in Northumberland, paying the Berwick cutler William Wood to 'furnish' his rapier and dagger with velvet sheaths and laying out a considerable amount to celebrate 'Fastings Eve' (the northern term for Shrove Tuesday).⁸⁷⁰ These northern visits imply that despite his Catholicism he was not seen as a threat to Crown interests in the Borders.⁸⁷¹ As the son and grandson of captains of royal castles could presumably

⁸⁶⁷ Meikle, M. M., 'Northumberland divided: anatomy of a sixteenth-century bloodfeud', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, 20, (1992) p.80; Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* p.413. The Scots were less impressed, merely recording that M. de Desse 'took the castle of Ford and burned it'; Leslie, *History of Scotland*, p.226.

⁸⁶⁸ The ramifications of the feud are covered in Meikle, 'Northumberland Divided'; Braddick, M. J., *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge; New York: 2000) p.375; Meikle, *Frontier* p.104.

⁸⁶⁹ Meikle, *Frontier* pp.232-4.

⁸⁷⁰ TNA, SP 15/19 ff. 80, 81, 82.

⁸⁷¹ This distinguished him from another Catholic ward, the much wealthier Thomas Gray of Chillingham, who lived in Cecil's household and was prevented from returning to his extensive estates until reaching his majority (see Doddington, below).

be trusted to look after the Crown's interests at Ford, in contrast to the Herons who had 'an independent, even truculent, attitude with regard to service under the Crown'.⁸⁷² In 1572 he cemented his place in the ranks of the modernising middle gentry by marrying Ursula Brandling, eldest daughter of a wealthy and influential Newcastle merchant.⁸⁷³ She brought a marriage portion of four hundred marks (£260 13s. 8d) into the relationship, a considerable amount since when William came into his estate it was described as 'worth yearly in time of peace £66 6s. 8d., but recently yielding only half this sum'.⁸⁷⁴ The couple owned other property and lived at least part of the time in Newcastle (all their eight children were baptised there) but they also needed suitable accommodation on the historically important and high-status Ford estate. The 1583 Star Chamber judgement in Carr's favour effectively ended the Herons' claims to the estate, making it a much more secure vehicle for economic and social investment. Ursula had died in 1580 but they had three sons, so it would have been reasonably certain that at least one would survive to inherit it. In addition, carrying out building work so soon after the 1584 report would demonstrate his loyal response to the Crown's need to 'defend the country and annoy the enemy'.

In spite of its 'decay' the Commissioners of 1584 considered that Ford Castle was potentially useful for defence and estimated that repairing it to accommodate the standard garrison of a hundred horsemen would cost three hundred pounds (although they were, as usual, doubtful as to who should or would foot the bill). The County History concludes that '[d]oubtless this three hundred pounds was never spent, for the days of border warfare were nearing their end, and indeed, we hear no more of Ford Castle as a fortress' but this illogical argument led to a false conclusion and before William's death in 1589 he and Ursula began to update the house.⁸⁷⁵ The dating is based on an eighteenth-century sketch of heraldry over the

⁸⁷² Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* p.412.

⁸⁷² Dodds, *Northumberland* p.305; Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* p.412.

⁸⁷³ Dodds, *Northumberland* p.305.

⁸⁷⁴ Greenwell, *Wills II* p.243; Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* p.393.

⁸⁷⁵ Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* p.413.

front door, recording William's descent (Figure 8.2).⁸⁷⁶ The herons appear in the prestigious first quarter normally reserved for the husband's device, acknowledging his late mother's higher status.⁸⁷⁷ Ford's surviving medieval walls provided proof of his father's martial ability as well as his mother's lineage.

After William's death in 1589 his eldest son Thomas was only nine. However in 1598 Thomas married Isabella Selby, and her experience of her father's similar project at Twizel may have suggested possibilities for further improvements. Their marriage agreement included descent of the estate specifically to her children, implying that her dowry of £1,000 may have been used for building work. The resulting entail, and Thomas' profligacy, eventually resulted in the house being divided between three female heirs and it is unlikely that more building work was done until Ford passed to the Blakes in the later-seventeenth century.⁸⁷⁸

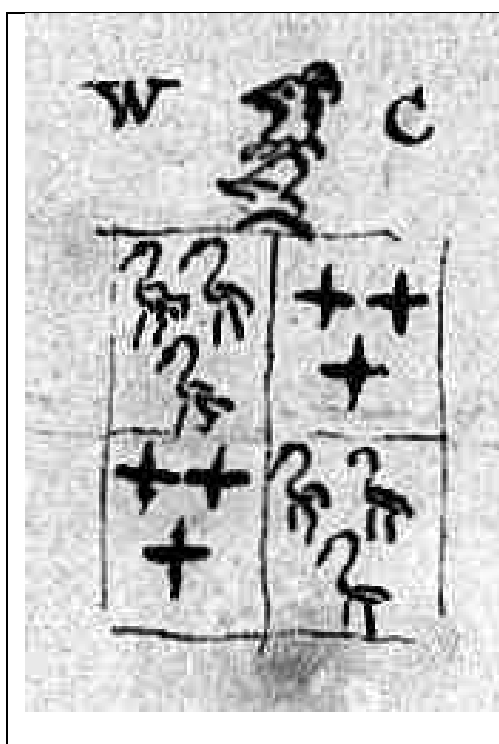


Figure 8.2. William Carr's arms.

Detail from Buck 'The South View of Ford Castle in Northumberland' n.d. [c.1728]. Bodleian, Gough Maps 25/f.70c. Pencil and pen on paper.

The arms set over the front door of Ford Castle. The County History, followed by others, describes this as 'Heron quartering Muschamp' but neither the Herons nor the Carrs had Muschamp connections and the black shapes on the sketch could equally easily be Carr 'stars sable' as Muschamp 'flies'.

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid. p.416.

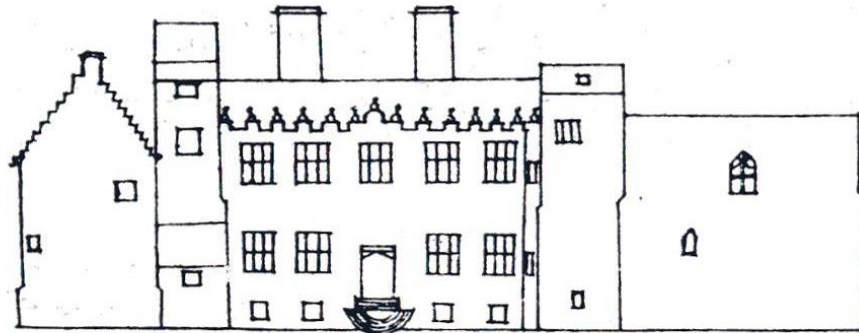
⁸⁷⁷ The *County History*, followed by others, describes this as 'Heron quartering Muschamp' but neither the Herons nor the Carrs had Muschamp connections and the black shapes on the sketch could equally easily be Carr 'stars sable' as Muschamp 'flies'; Burke, J., *Encyclopaedia of Heraldry* (London: 1851) n.p.

⁸⁷⁸ Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* pp.395-9.

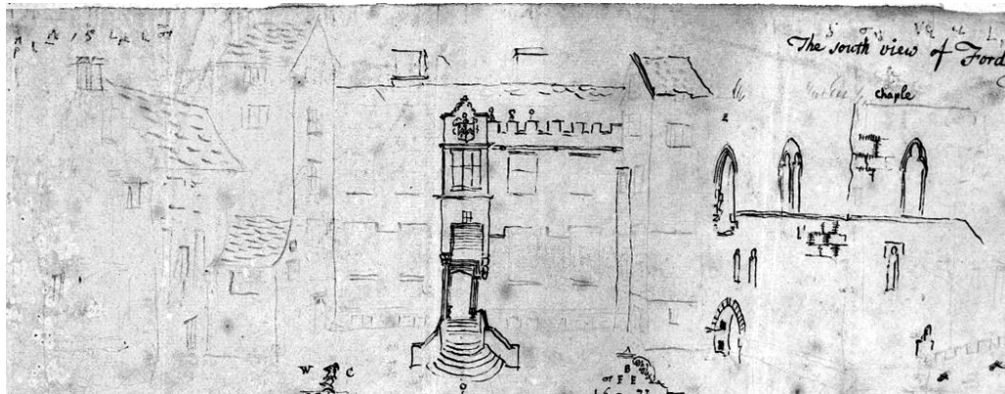
Figure 8.3. Ford castle from the south.

Below: Detail from survey by John Purdy (1716) reproduced in Vickers (1922, 415).

Bottom: Detail from Buck 'The South View of Ford Castle in Northumberland' n.d. [c.1728]. Bodleian, Gough Maps 25/f.70c. Pencil and pen on paper. © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



The South Prospect within the Inner Court.



The porch is dated 1672; the west stair tower was enlarged and the façade refenestrated at the same time.

The façade has been carefully manipulated to make the earlier door appear exactly central but the narrow section at the east end, with smaller windows, remains from the sixteenth century.

House

Using the medieval walls had not only lineage and status but also pragmatic benefits, among them a faster and cheaper building project.⁸⁷⁹ Figure 8.4 indicates that the Carrs remodelled the castle with the minimum, but by this time essential, new elements of extra chambers, stairs and chimneys (Chapter 3). The large,

⁸⁷⁹ Knowles' plan in the *County History* assumes that the northern and eastern blocks were newly built, but he had not seen Johnson's drawing which clearly shows medieval structures in these positions; *ibid.* p.420.

roofless hall may already have had an undercroft and Johnson shows stairs leading to an upper entrance door which was used as an entrance into the new stair tower although the front door shown in Figure 8.3 must have been in position before Blake's major refenestration of 1672.

A document dating from the division in 1667 indicates three new chambers above the hall accessed by stair towers which provided access to linked the main rooms while disguising the joints between the separate blocks, negating the medieval low/high end hierarchy and enhancing the *symmetria* of the composition (Figure 8.4).⁸⁸⁰ At least one of these stairs continued to roof level, providing access to 'the battlements and roof above the dining room and broad hall' whose upkeep was shared between two of the residents in 1667. Two new chimney stacks against the north curtain wall, tall enough to be visible over the roof ridge, hinted at the comfort and hospitality within. A new more-or-less central doorway allowed the earlier large hall to be divided to form a parlour (or possibly service rooms) at the west end. The gap between the hall and the original hall-house to the east, visible on Johnson's plan (Figure 8.1), was roofed to allow direct access between the two blocks. The western block (marked 'hall' by Johnson) was rebuilt with crow-stepped gables to incorporate a wider stair, possibly by Thomas Carr since it was described as 'the last built part of the castle' in 1667.⁸⁸¹

The lasting feature of the Carr's remodelling was the creation of the horizontally-planned suites of rooms on the upper floor. The central block with its battlemented roof contained two major chambers on the upper floor (by 1667 the 'dining room' and 'broad hall', but possibly originally a great chamber and bed-chamber) each entered from a separate stair and linked with rooms in the towers.⁸⁸² The presence of the 'room between the dining room and the upper chamber in the Cowed tower' implies a suite of three rooms and the 'middle chamber, easter[n] chamber and closet' indicates an equivalent suite off the 'broad hall', extending into the eastern tower. Of course the document provides a seventeenth- rather than sixteenth-

⁸⁸⁰ Cooper, *Gentry* pp.282, 313.

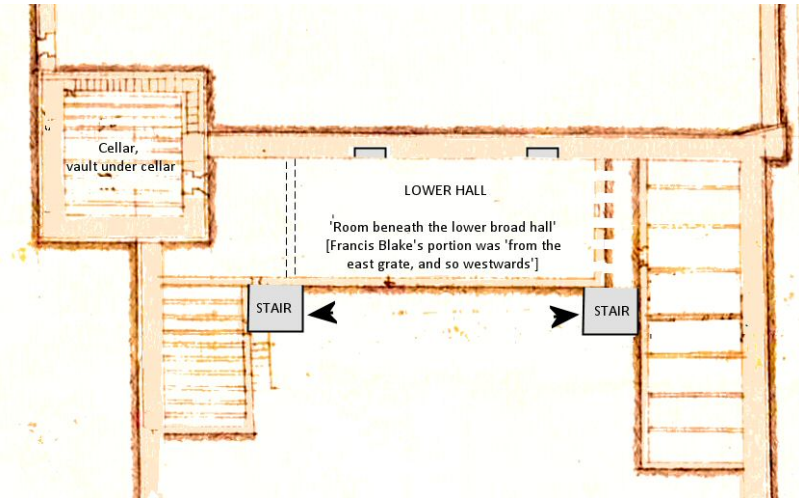
⁸⁸¹ *Lord Joicey's Deeds* v.iii p.20, quoted in Vickers, *Northumberland* v.11 p.414.

⁸⁸² *ibid.*

Figure 8.4. William Carr's remodelling of Ford Castle.

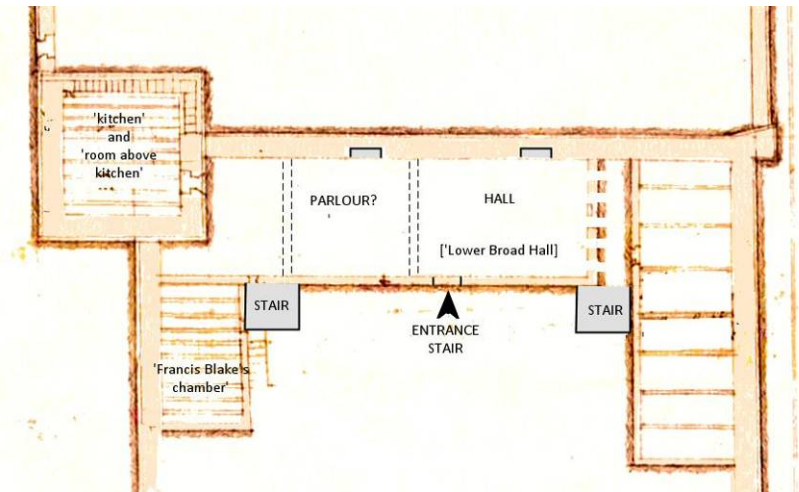
Conceptual sketch plans based on Johnson c.1561.

Sixteenth-century rooms in capitals, information from 1667 document in lower case. Additions to the medieval castle in grey, entrances arrowed.



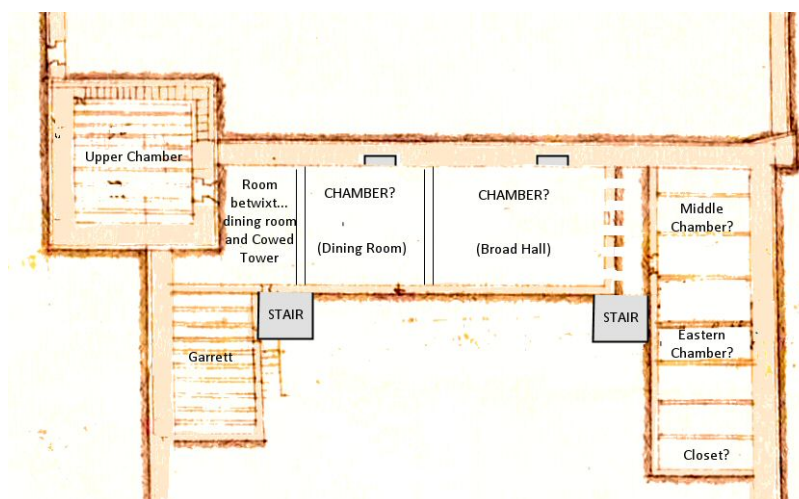
BASEMENT

Informal entry is via the new stair turrets. The east wall of the hall may have been demolished to link it with the east tower, or the space merely roofed over. The division implies a large space, possibly a servants' hall.



MAIN FLOOR

The central formal entrance probably led into one end of the hall, with parlour or service rooms to the west, although no division is mentioned in the 1667 document.



UPPER FLOOR

By 1667 this functioned as two separate suites, one based on the 'dining room' linked with two rooms to the west and one on the 'broad hall' with two rooms to the east.

century understanding of the rooms, but it is likely that the underlying planning was the Carrs'. The resulting *symmetria* is emphasised externally by the twinned stair turrets which provide independent access to as many spaces as possible, leaving only the central rooms acting as links across the width of the house. By rebuilding the medieval hall while retaining the castle walls and towers, and setting the Heron/Carr quartering over the new central doorway, William Carr incorporated centuries of Heron power and influence into his more modest but locally important heritage while underlining the legality of his own title to the property. The new work thus defined and confirmed his ownership of Ford, his status in the community and his allegiance to the Crown.

Links with other houses

Ford was one of a number of local large houses or castles refashioned in this way during the period. In the late 1570s Carr's rival Sir John Selby, Berwick's Gentleman Porter, had used profits from his government posts to repair and update the medieval hall house at Twizel to create a 'lodge' or summer residence, incorporating a new wing and at least one stair tower. Carr's improvements of the 1580s may have been a deliberate statement in view of his continuing feud with the Heron/Selby faction.⁸⁸³ However feuding, like sibling rivalry, implied the social equality expressed in the next generation when William Carr's son Thomas married Sir John Selby's daughter Isabel, another potential source of ideas from Twizel.⁸⁸⁴ Both houses were largely built on profits gained in urban situations, whether Ursula Brandling's wealthy merchant father or Sir John Selby's Crown service.

A group of lairds across the Tweed remodelled their houses in a similar way at around the same time, often using money from newly-feued lands; these included the Homes, who built new wings at Huttonhall (1573) and Cowdenknowes (1574), and the Kerrs who extended Ferniehurst in the 1570s and again in 1598.⁸⁸⁵ Members of the Home family were on visiting terms with John Selby of Twizel and the Kerrs of Ferniehurst were distantly related to the Carrs of Ford, but there is too little evidence to show whether or how these builders influenced each other across

⁸⁸³ Meikle, 'Northumberland Divided'; Kent, *Twizel* Chapter 3, findings refined by later research.

⁸⁸⁴ Vickers, *Northumberland* v.11 p.395.

⁸⁸⁵ Meikle, 'Border Lairds', esp. p. 34.

the Border. However all these houses mark a change to horizontally- rather than vertically-organised living, evidence of a new societal order taking hold among the middle- and upper-gentry at around the same time on both sides of the Border.⁸⁸⁶

The survival of these and other horizontally-planned blocks indicates the extent to which they represented a new mindset. Within buildings whose historic values were retained (even though their specific meanings changed over time) they did not merely reproduce earlier forms but responded to and produced new social practices, thus accommodating subsequent generations of their gentry owners. At Ford, Carr's intervention was merely one of a series which updated the original tower-and-hall within a castle of enclosure to suit contemporary requirements for a "castle". Its late-seventeenth century owners built a new stair and updated the façade to form the ensemble shown by Purdy and the Bucks. In the eighteenth century it was updated with a corridor behind the north curtain wall and a "Saxon-Gothic" skin, and in the late-nineteenth century was further enlarged and remodelled in the "Jacobethan" style.⁸⁸⁷

In spite of what seem in retrospect to be new ideas, there is no evidence to show that Carr or Selby were conscious of doing anything other than repairing their castles. Likewise, the artisans involved were working within a similar building culture to that which had constructed their castles in the first place. The same may be true at Coupland, which shows how similar concepts were applied in a non-gentry house.

8.2 Coupland

In 1904 the owner of Coupland Castle followed the historians of his day in suggesting that the tower at the centre of his house 'was doubtless one of the results of the report on the frontier defences ... by the Border Commissioners in 1584' and that 'the great strength of the building shows plainly that ... little or no

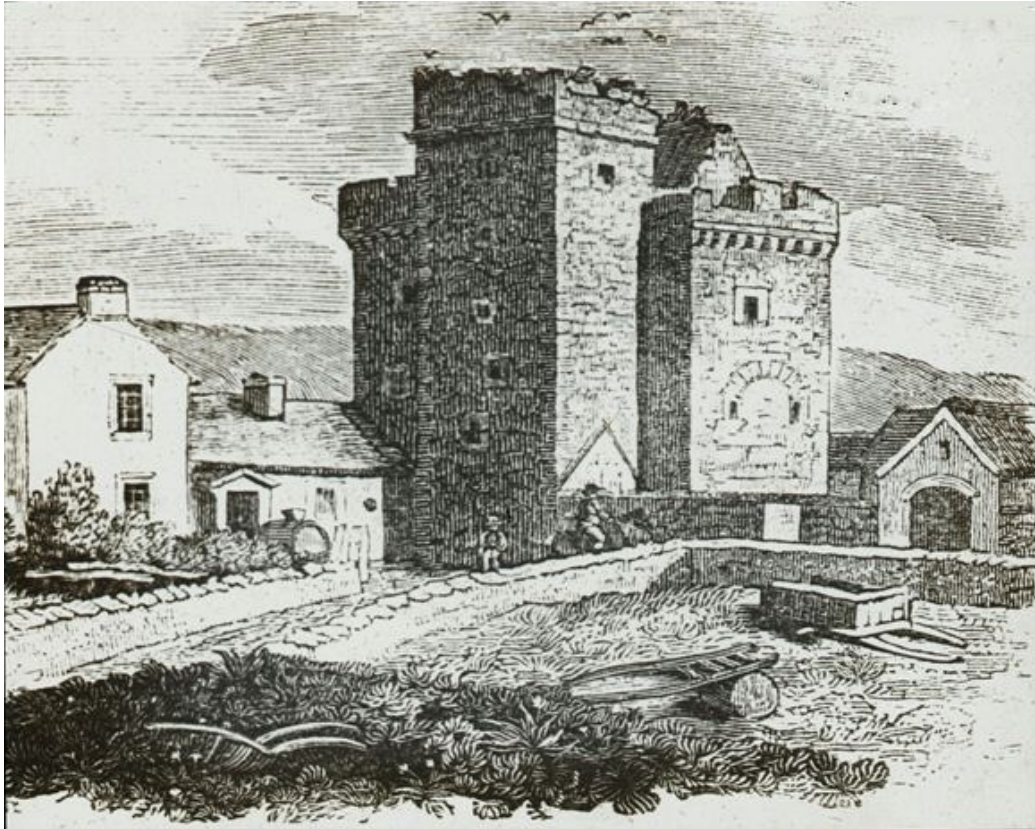
⁸⁸⁶ McKean, *Scottish Chateau*; James, M. E., 'The concept of order and the Northern Rising 1569', *Past & Present* 60 (1973).

⁸⁸⁷ NRO, 1216/C.1/2/11; Macaulay, D., *The Gothic Revival* (London, Glasgow: 1975); Faulkner, T. and P. Lowry, *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland* (York: 1996); Wallis, J., *The Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland* (London: 1769).

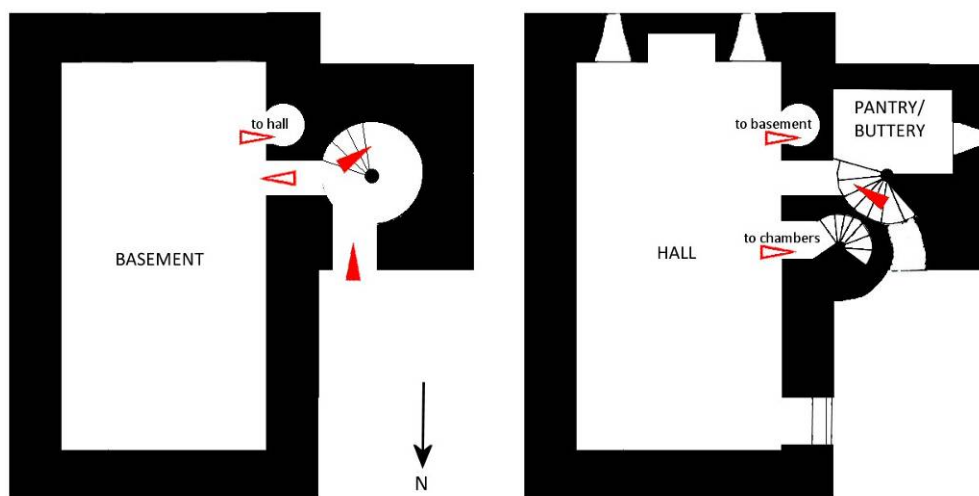
Figure 8.5. Coupland Castle from the south-west.

Below: Woodcut, c.1810, possibly by Thomas Bewick. Owners' collection.

Bottom: sketch plans of original ground and first floor, based on Dixon (1977, 45).



The semi-circular relieving arch on the south wall marks the original hall fireplace. The surround of the chamber window above, like that of the west-facing hall window, is marked in some way, possibly with decorative carving as at Hebburn. The single-storey block to the west was originally the seventeenth-century kitchen.



hope was entertained, at the time, of any immediate friendship between the two sides of the border.⁸⁸⁸ However the building shows a rather less straightforward relationship with the border than might be assumed from comments such as this. It was in fact built by Scottish craftsmen, the best surviving local example of a house-type that had been in use since at least the fifteenth century in Scottish towns and small estates.⁸⁸⁹ Of two or three stories, with a plan proportion of approximately 1:2, these houses had a stair tower at the centre of one long side containing the stair to the first floor and a secondary stair in a turret serving the upper floors. Several examples survive in the East March, possibly introduced by masons who worked on both sides of the border (Figure 8.6) and Coupland appears to be an early example; although currently assumed to date from after 1584, it is argued below that a date in the 1570s may be more accurate. Its origins are almost undocumented, since it did not feature in government surveys and its sub-gentry owners did not take part in affairs of state.

Site

The township of Coupland is sited in Glendale at the foot of the Bowmont valley, a common entry point for Scottish raiding and used for example by the Earl of Northumberland and Duke of Buccleugh in their large-scale incursion following the 1569 rising. In spite of its position, in 1541 the township had 'neither fortress nor barmkin', possibly because of its historic identification with nearby Akeld where 'the Queen's Majesty ha[d] a house' which held a small garrison (probably the stronghouse currently known as Akeld Bastle).⁸⁹⁰

Builder

Coupland was within the sizeable estates of the Greys of Chillingham but during the 1560s the owner, Sir Thomas Grey, was a minor living in London with his lands leased to local gentry.⁸⁹¹ Among others to take advantage of this were members of the Wallis family, long-term residents of Berwick who were first recorded in the

⁸⁸⁸ Culley, M., 'Coupland Castle', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 2nd series 25 (1904) pp.169-70.

⁸⁸⁹ MacGibbon, D. and T. Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century v.4* (Edinburgh: 1977 (1887-1892)) pp.81-4; Quiney, Town Houses pp.282-3.

⁸⁹⁰ The Archaeological Practice Ltd, 'Akeld'; Bates, *Border Holds* pp.33,34; NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

⁸⁹¹ For Sir Thomas Grey see 'Doddington' below.

Glendale area in 1509.⁸⁹² Gilbert Wallis, Bailiff of Akeld in 1530 and in charge of the garrison there, bought land from Thomas Forster in 1563 and in 1567 James Wallis purchased land in Coupland from Sir John Forster, which Forster had obtained in the previous year from the Herons of Eshott.⁸⁹³ Also in the 1560s William Wallis bought land near Wooler from 'Lord Conyers [and] one Manners... for his farmhold'.⁸⁹⁴ By 1584 seven of the eight tenants in Coupland, and others in Akeld and Wooler, had the surname Wallis. Unlike the upland areas of the Middle and West Marches this did not result from partible inheritance; in 1589 William Wallis left 'all his inheritance in Akeld, Humbleton and Wooler' to his eldest son, with portions for his other ten children funded from his rights to salmon fishing in Berwick.⁸⁹⁵ However it resulted in a similar localised kinship network which would benefit its members, for example by providing mutual protection.

In 1589 William Wallis styled himself 'gentleman' but others in the extended family had much in common with Harrison's description of 'yeomen' (although as discussed in Chapter 4 the term was only beginning to come into use locally). They owned more land than normal, some of it freehold, and could 'live wealthily, keep good houses, and travel to get riches and with grazing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of servants ... buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen', providing them with 'a certain pre-eminence, and more estimation than labourers or artisans'; they had obligations to the local community but did not need to host large gatherings of tenants or regularly entertain those above their own status.⁸⁹⁶ Coupland represents a type of house new to the area, suited to this new role.

The identity of Coupland's builder is unknown but the Grey Survey records that around 1570 there was 'to be allowed to Edward Wallis of Coupland for lands he has there one seat house on the north side of the burn standing north and south'

⁸⁹² Meikle, *Frontier* pp.135-6; Culley, 'Coupland Castle' p.175. Wallis, in his *History* (p.33), states that Coupland was the family seat in the time of Edward I, but he was attracted to spurious genealogies.

⁸⁹³ Culley, 'Coupland Castle' p.175; Vickers, *Northumberland v.11* pp.222-3.

⁸⁹⁴ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81 ff.62-3.

⁸⁹⁵ DUSC, DPRI/1/1589/W3. Unfortunately it is very difficult to define the exact relationships of the Wallis tenants.

⁸⁹⁶ Wrightson, *English Society* p.39. The description is William Harrison's, from Edelen, *Description of England* pp.117-8.

which may well refer to the site.⁸⁹⁷ The wording is not entirely clear, but may be permission to build on the land. A *terminus ante quem* for the construction may be provided by Saxton's map which uses his sign for a 'tower' rather than a mere 'township' to represent Coupland, implying that a defensible building was in existence when his survey was carried out in the mid-1570s.⁸⁹⁸ Thus work could have been begun in the early 1570s, soon after Wallis had gained permission for his 'seat house', making it a very early surviving example of a house not built by or for a member of the gentry.

Artisans

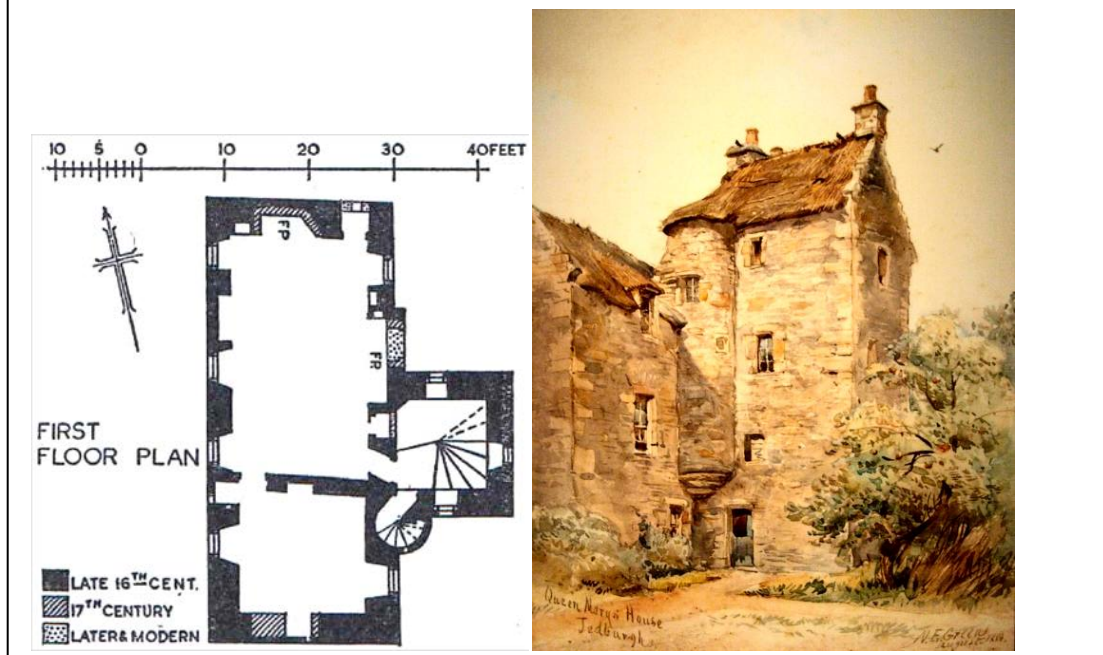
Dixon argued that Coupland was built by a team of English and Scottish masons who worked on both sides of the border, and none of this research contradicts his findings; rather, they suggest that Scottish carpenters may also have been working

Figure 8.6. 'Queen Mary's House', Jedburgh, Scottish Borders.

Below left: plan of main floor, based on RCAHMS (1956, p.212).

Below right: watercolour from painting in house.

The house, built for a laird's steward, is assumed to date from the 1590s. The size and circulation pattern is similar to Coupland although alterations have obscured some details. The area at the top of the main stair once had timber partitions creating a small pantry or servery. Battlements would not have been suitable to the house's status or function, and without them the walls can be considerably thinner.



⁸⁹⁷ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81 f.81.

⁸⁹⁸ BL, Royal MSS 18.D.III, ff.71v-72. See Chapter for the reliability of Saxton's symbology.

with them since the roof structure may well be unique in England, certainly in the north-east.⁸⁹⁹ The entrance doorway with its bold roll-moulded arched opening is of a Renaissance type embraced enthusiastically by Scottish masons following James V's work at Stirling Castle, in marked contrast to the squarer perpendicular style used by local English masons well into the next century (for example at Doddington, below).⁹⁰⁰ The secondary stair turret corbelled out over the basement is also recognisably Scottish.

The rafters have assembly marks similar to contemporary Scottish examples, implying that it may have been framed in Scotland or possibly imported from the same source as Scottish roofs (Figure 6.1)⁹⁰¹ The feet are apparently held in place by face-fixed ashlar plates, a technique common in Scotland but not in use elsewhere in England at this time (Figure 6.2).⁹⁰² Unlike Scottish roofs the ashlar plates only occur on every alternate rafter couple; this feature seems to be unknown elsewhere, and while it may result from later repairs it could indicate that Scottish carpenters worked in conjunction with local craftsmen. However the roof structure cannot be fully understood until enough is exposed to show whether the rafters originally relied only on the ashlar plates or also on a fixed wallplate, which is the standard English wallhead detail.⁹⁰³

House

Coupland's small windows, battlements, and high vaulted basement ideal for protecting horses or other valuables in an emergency puts it in the tradition of small gentry towers built on both sides of the border during the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰⁴ Reiving was still a part of everyday life and these were tried

⁸⁹⁹ Martin Roberts pers. comm. 29 January 2014.

⁹⁰⁰ Dixon describes the door as 'unique in the area, but closely resembl[ing] those at Oakwood and Todrig in Selkirk [Scottish Borders]' (ibid. p.138).

⁹⁰¹ Hanke, T., 'Newark Castle, Port Glasgow: a proto-modern roof of the late 16th century', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 46, 1 (2012); Newland, 'Norwegian Timber'.

⁹⁰² Ruddock, 'Repair'; Hanke *Roof Carpentry*; Roberts, 'Typology'.

⁹⁰³ Thorsten Hanke pers. comm. 26 February 2014. For Scottish roofs see Hanke, *Roof Carpentry*. Common rafters do not appear in Roberts' 'Typology', which concentrates on the development of new techniques rather than the survival of older ones, but Barry Harrison records 73 common rafter roofs in North Yorkshire dating 'from the 15th to the late 17th century'; Harrison, B. and B. Hutton, *Vernacular houses in North Yorkshire and Cleveland* (Edinburgh: 1984) p.166.

⁹⁰⁴ The basement could have held 20-25 horses of the size common at the time; Gillian Clarke (horse-breeder) pers. comm. 16 January 2015.

and tested features, providing both the practical and conceptual aspects of defence. The hall had elements of the traditional “upper” and “lower” ends, with a spacious fireplace for cooking at one end and at the other a rather larger window ‘of great strength, with much ironwork about it’ in ‘a recess, with stone seats on either side’ (Figure 8.7).⁹⁰⁵ The herald Warburton recognised Coupland’s medieval character when he described the house as ‘an ancient pile’ in 1715.⁹⁰⁶

However, Coupland had important and informative differences from earlier towers. It stood alone rather than being attached to a hall, emphasising its role as the owner’s personal ‘seat’ rather than the centre of a dependant community. The stairs and secondary chambers were expressed externally in tower and turret rather than hidden within the walls; in the 1570s stair towers, common in elsewhere in England and Scotland, had only recently become popular here and would have been seen as out of the ordinary. The main stair is about 3m diameter, much wider than its medieval equivalent and allowing two people to walk side-by-side to the first floor hall; the importance attached to this is indicated by the insertion or adaptation of stairs in medieval houses such as Hetton and Hebburn (Chapter 3). Its central position and the use of mezzanine floors in the tower chambers allows separate access to each room, and together with the elongated footprint of the main block this provided a plan flexible enough to be altered with changing domestic practice. Figure 8.7 illustrates how this compact design elegantly retains the basics of a traditional hall while tightly controlling circulation, using the minimum amount of space and ensuring that unlike in the traditional layout there is little cross-traffic and the ‘upper’ end of the hall is undisturbed by people passing through.

Changes

As with the Rugg’s house in Berwick (Chapter 7), it is possible to recognise something of how Coupland both encouraged and accommodated changing domestic practice. The hall plan allowed a clear separation of functions, and this was formalised in 1619 when it was physically divided to form a separate parlour,

⁹⁰⁵ Culley, 'Coupland Castle', p.170. The Bewick engraving shows a large relieving arch at the east end, originally spanning the fireplace.

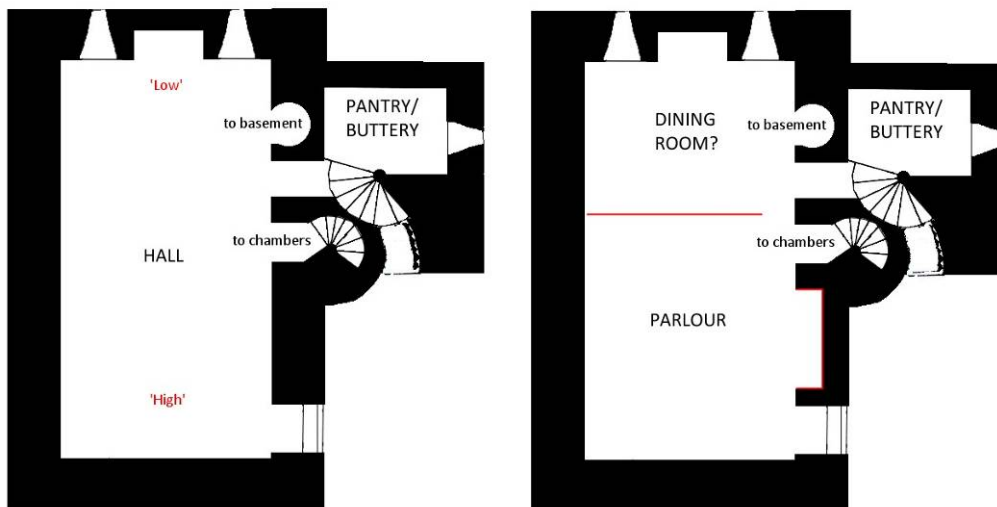
⁹⁰⁶ Culley, M., 'Notes on Akeld and Coupland', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Society* 9 (1886) p.411.

Figure 8.7. Coupland's early-seventeenth century alterations.



Above: Coupland's parlour fireplace. Inscribed 'GW 1619 IW', it may celebrate the marriage of Gilbert Wallis (Culley 1904, 176). The door on the left leads to the stairs, and the curtained door covers the site of the original hall window. (Photo: author)

Below: The basic first floor layout (left) indicating how easily it can be converted to two rooms (right). There may always have been a physical division of some kind, but construction of the new kitchen (Figure 8.) and fireplace allowed the ends to function as a suite of two rooms with linked but discrete functions.



heated by a new fireplace with a dated and initialled surround, emphasising the Wallis' emerging gentility (Figure 8.7).⁹⁰⁷ The lower end probably retained some of the social functions of the hall but it is likely that the two-storey kitchen wing was also added at around this time (Figure 8.3); it was certainly in use by 1666, when 'Mr James Wallis' paid tax on six hearths.⁹⁰⁸

Forward links

Houses of this plan type survive over much of the East March, implying that they were seen not as specifically Scottish but rather as an updated version of the traditional tower, readily available from local artisans. That some of these artisans were Scottish would not be surprising, given the large number of Scots working for wages locally (Chapter 5). Coupland may have been one of the earliest, available for local builders and masons to copy and adapt.

8.3 Doddington

Doddington is the only house in the study to have been dated and signed by its builder, Sir Thomas Grey of Chillingham, although the inscription is lost or at least inaccessible (Figure 6.6).⁹⁰⁹ No other contemporary documentary evidence survives. The east end collapsed in 1896 but just before this the archaeologist and architect W.H Knowles visited and took measurements and notes; his paper published in 1898 includes plans and elevations, and in conjunction with various nineteenth-century photographs and sketches provides a good account of the building (Figure 8.10). Much of the remainder collapsed during the early twentieth century and roof and floor timbers were removed soon afterwards (Figure 8.12). Peter Ryder surveyed and reassessed the ruin in 2005 and his unpublished report reconsiders the phasing and records some *ex situ* shaped stones.⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁷ Mytum, 'Materiality'. It is possible that this division was expressed physically when the house was built, as was the case twenty years later at Queen Mary's House, but the inserted fireplace makes it unlikely.

⁹⁰⁸ TNA, ER179.

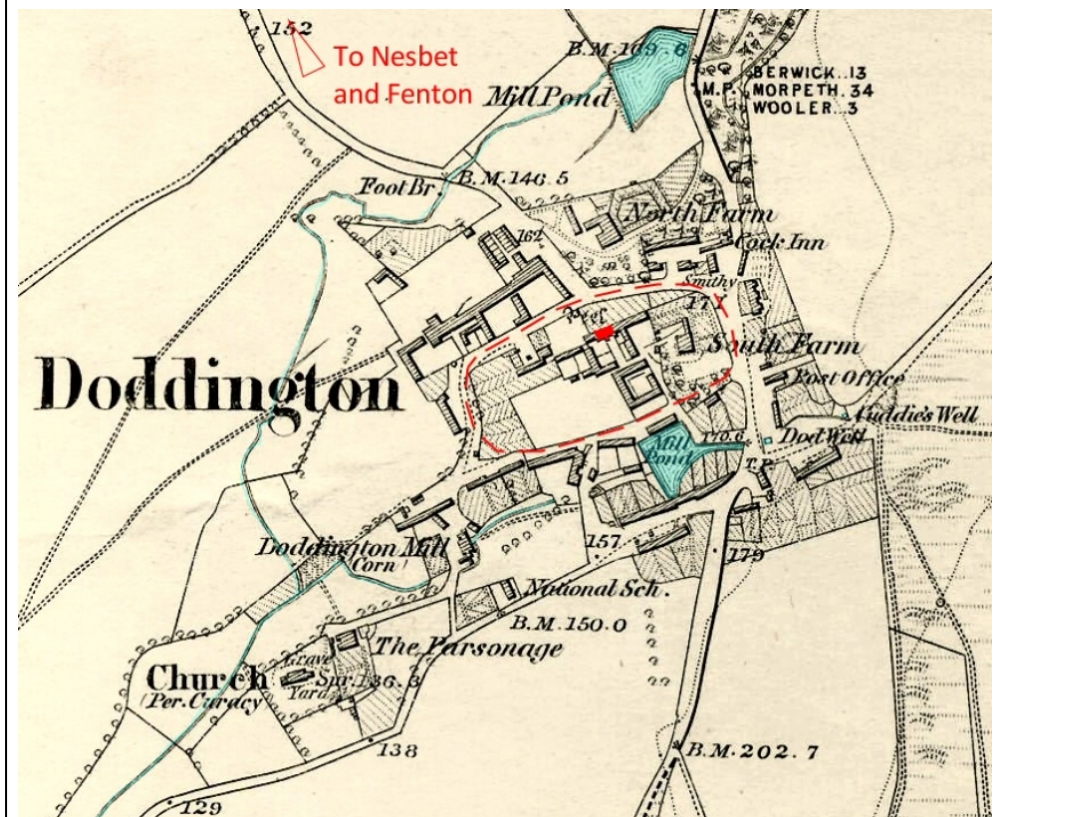
⁹⁰⁹ It was at one point in Ewart House; Knowles, 'Doddington' p.300.

⁹¹⁰ Ryder, P., 'Doddington Bastle:Archeological Recording 2005/6' (2006).

Figure 8.8. Site of Doddington 'Peel' .

Based on Ordnance Survey Sheet 15, 25 inches to one mile, 1860.

The suggested early manorial centre, on a sandstone outlier between two streams, is shown with a dashed outline. Doddington Bastle, in red, is on the high point between the mill streams, facing the road from the other townships in the manor.



Site

Doddington township, sited on the spring-line of the sandstone fells that provided pasture for sheep and good building stone (still quarried locally) was the *caput* of a small manor including Fenton and Nesbit.⁹¹¹ Its Anglo-Saxon roots gave it a more complex plan than the normal twelfth-century 'street' and the new house was in what was probably the ancient manorial centre.⁹¹² Although the subsequent development of South Farm has disguised any traces of previous yard or garden, the hill-top position of the house overlooking the remainder of the manor implies that Grey may have re-used a previous manor-house site.

⁹¹¹ Stancliffe Stone Datasheet: Doddington Carboniferous Sandstone <http://www.stancliffe.com/Content/ProductInformation/PDFs/StoneTypes/Stancliffe-Stone-Doddington-Pink-Sandstone.pdf> accessed 10 October 2013.

⁹¹² For Doddington's Anglo-Saxon origin, see <http://communities.northumberland.gov.uk/Doddington.htm>; the inference from the village plan, however, is the author's.

Figure 8.9. Doddington, north front before 1896.

NRO ZMD/148/15. **Permissions sought.**

Viewed from the Nesbit/Fenton road junction (the larger window and buttresses are later alterations). Sir Thomas' inscription is at the centre of the parapet, just below where the elderly woman is standing. The house towers over the surrounding farm buildings as it would have done over contemporary houses.



Builder

The manor formed part of Lady Isabel Grey of Horton's portion at her marriage to Sir Ralph Gray of Chillingham and she apparently lived there as a widow after his death in 1564.⁹¹³ Sir Thomas, their eldest son, was only fifteen when his father died but unlike their younger siblings he spent his later teenage years in London with his brother Ralph and other royal wards. This was not only an indication of their future importance in local governance but also reflected concern that their Catholic background could affect their loyalty (still seen as problematic in 1587, when he was listed among the local gentry who were 'papists or addicted to papistry').⁹¹⁴

On coming of age in 1570 he moved north to take ownership of his considerable estates; by 1574-5 he was High Sheriff of Northumberland, although his feuds with the Selbys and secret marriage to Katherine Neville (daughter of the exiled Earl of

⁹¹³ The first bequest in her will was 'to thirty of the poorest householders in Doddington'; Greenwell, *Wills II* p.50.

⁹¹⁴ DNB, 'Grey, Sir Thomas II (1549-90), of Chillingham, Northumb'; TNA, WARD 2/62/241/137; Green, *CSP Dom Add Eliz James I* p.231.

Westmoreland) in 1585 may have prevented him serving in any higher capacity.⁹¹⁵ As part of Cecil's household he had access to current architectural literature and ideas, as well as the opportunity of seeing Burghley House and Theobalds under construction; once back home he carried out a considerable amount of building work on his property, including celebrating and taking ownership of his grandfather's tomb in Chillingham church by adding up-to-date classical obelisks and a strapwork plaque, probably commissioned in London.⁹¹⁶

The inscription on Doddington implies that Grey had a personal interest in the house, and he must have begun construction soon after his mother's death in 1581. He may have funded it in part from the manor itself, since at least two tenements there had been 'converted into demesne by Sir Thomas Grey knight' before 1584.⁹¹⁷ However, his '*fecit*' may imply more than merely financial input.

House

Figure 8.11 shows that the façade design may have been based on the golden section. The possibility of proving such a claim by drawing lines on an inaccurate reproduction of a superficial hand survey of a dangerous structure is rightly disputed, as is the link between the presence of such a proportion and intention on behalf of the designer.⁹¹⁸ It may also seem inherently unlikely, since the proportion was not part of the medieval craftsman's standard repertoire.⁹¹⁹ However, other factors give it more credence. Only the measurements of the main elevation are involved, implying that the building was first conceived on paper rather than with the three-dimensional understanding of the craftsman. Intellectual and theological interest in the golden section was (re)kindled in the fifteenth century and promoted by the Franciscan Luca Pacioli in his *Divina proportione* of 1509, and his argument that the ratio embodies the nature and character of God may have made it seem

⁹¹⁵ For Grey's disagreements with the East March gentry see Meikle, *Frontier*. He was obviously worried about the implications of the marriage for his relationship with the Crown, and it was not announced until after the event.

⁹¹⁶ Husselby, J., *Architecture at Burghley House: the patronage of William Cecil 1553-1598* (University of Warwick: 1996: Ph.D.). The most up-to-date discussion of Grey's work at Chillingham is Heslop, 'Chillingham Church'. The authors point out that even in this important situation the new 'marble' obelisks on the tomb are actually made of wood, which would have made them easier to transport.

⁹¹⁷ TNA, 15/28/2 f.114.

⁹¹⁸ Ostwald, M. J., 'Under siege: the golden mean in architecture', *Nexus Network Journal* 2, 1-2 (2000) pp.75-6, 80.

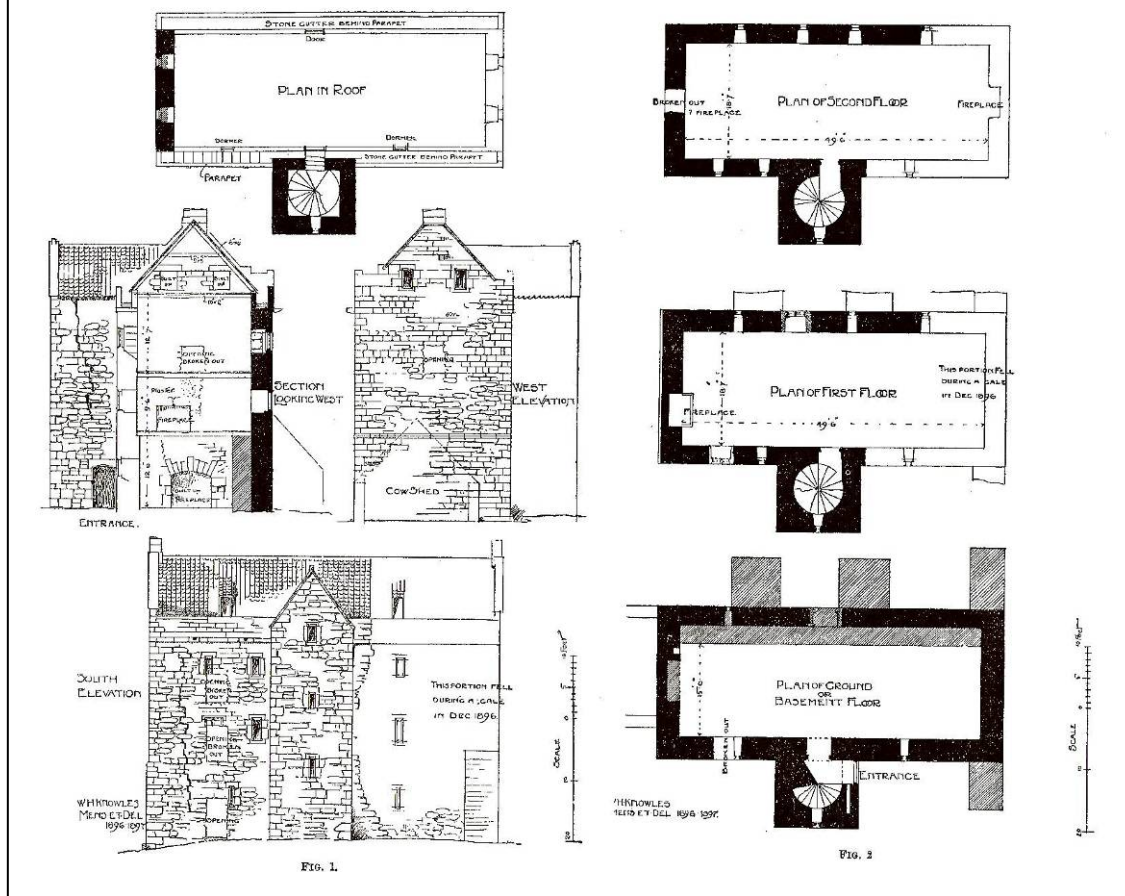
⁹¹⁹ Frings, M., 'The golden section in architectural theory', *ibid.* 4, 1 (2002).

Figure 8.10. Doddington, plans, section and elevations.

From Knowles 1899, 299.

Knowles based these drawings on notes made before the collapse of the west end. He saw no traces of partitions or facilities for water or waste. The original windows of the stair and second floor were grooved for glass, the remainder being 'rebated for wood shutters or window frames'. The floor joists, 'eight inches square... about two feet apart... covered with flooring boards nine inches wide', and the roof timbers, were 'chiefly of beechwood'.

All doors in the stair tower had four-centred arched lintels. The fireplace on the second floor had 'double chamfered jambs, the outer chamfer being carried square across the head, and the inner one shaped as a four centred arch.' The basement (kitchen) ceiling was twelve feet high (3.7m), the first floor nine feet six inches (3m) and the second floor twelve feet seven inches (3.84m).



particularly suitable for a house where manorial order and justice was central.⁹²⁰

'Embodying' divine proportions may also have made the building more meaningful for a Catholic such as Grey, particularly if it were to be used as a location for the

⁹²⁰ Unfortunately there is no surviving record of Burghley's architectural library, or whether Gray had access to the book; Gent, L., *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620: Relations Between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa: 1981) Appendix 1; van der Schoot, A., 'The divined proportion' in Koetsier and Bergmans (eds), *Mathematics and the Divine: a Historical Study* (Amsterdam: 2005) p.665.

Catholic mass (itself an act of 'embodiment').⁹²¹ The use of proportion (as opposed to decoration and furnishings) in the creation of early modern 'sacred spaces' has not received attention, and the lack of contemporary comment on geometrical conceits in buildings more generally means that these suggestions are likely to remain speculative.⁹²²

Unfortunately, as suggested in Figure 8.11 the design may not have been carried out exactly as the builder required. Extending the metaphor of language, the problems stemmed from difficulties in translation. The masons, fluent in basic geometry, found it difficult to use the language of mathematics. Grey, conversant with two-dimensional representations of exteriors, did not understand their practice of "designing" in three dimensions and from the inside outwards. Unlike at Chillingham church, where he may have used London craftsmen, his sophisticated text was to be articulated in the vernacular.

The façade is only one example of how carefully Gray scripted the building's rhetoric. In spite of its length the plan is modelled on small central-stair tower houses, and it was constructed by local artisans who used the vernacular of contemporary houses nearby. Both these factors could be argued to exhibit *decorum* in the context of a local manor.⁹²³ However, these traditional features were used in new ways. Opposed entrance doors emphasised access rather than defence.⁹²⁴ The roof walkway echoed medieval battlements and commanded the view over the countryside but its flat-topped parapet negated any defensive use. In place of

⁹²¹ Davidson, P., 'Recusant Catholic spaces in early modern England' in Corthell (ed), *Catholic culture in early modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2007). To balance the suggestion presented here, Professor Davidson has not come across any mention of the golden section in his research (Davidson pers. comm. 19 January 2015).

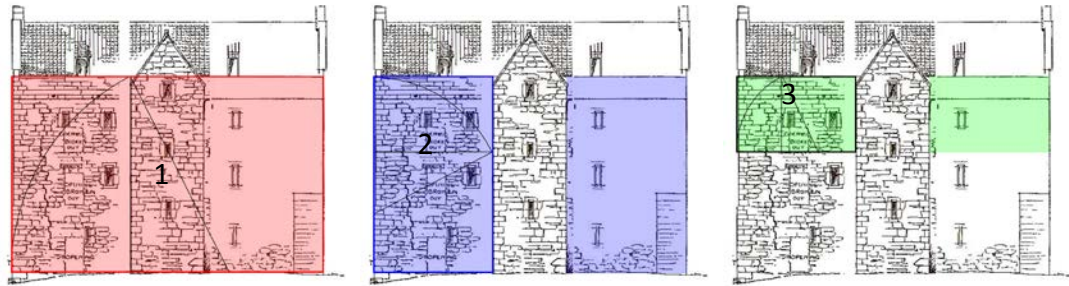
⁹²² Williams, R. L., 'Forbidden sacred spaces in Reformation England' in Spicer and Hamilton (eds), *Defining the Holy; Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: 2005). For an overview of geometrical conceits see Cooper, *Gentry* p.30; Howard, *Building* Chapter 4. McKean noted that the façade of Craignethan, Lanarkshire 'appears to have been based on Fibonacci proportions', although whether this refers to the keep of c.1530 or the house of 1695 is not clear; McKean, *Scottish Chateau* p.69.

⁹²³ Gent, 'Rhetoric' p.86.

⁹²⁴ This follows Peter Ryder's suggestion that the street door is part of the original build; Ryder, *Doddington Bastle: Archeological Recording 2005/6* p.2.

Figure 8.11. Suggested basis for façade design.

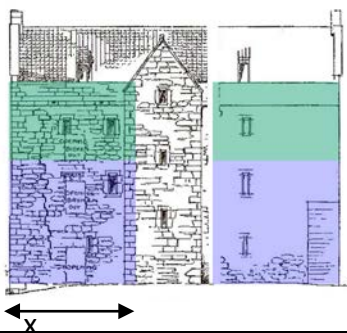
Based on detail from Knowles 1899, p. 299.



In the illustrations above, the stair turret on Knowles' drawing has been moved a little to the right, making it central; it is suggested that this was the original intention (below).

Three related golden section rectangles are evident. Number 1 fixes the relationship between the external length of the house (at ground level) and the height of the upper edge of the parapet above the solum (ground floor). Number 2, constructed from the short sides of 1, defines the size of the stair turret. Number 3, constructed from the short sides of 2, marks the floor level of the upper chamber, the height of which therefore defines the size of the entire façade.

The likelihood of these three relationships occurring accidentally is very slight, and taken together they imply that the façade was designed as a whole by someone conversant with the golden ratio, and that the stair should have been exactly central.



As built, the stair turret was positioned off centre by approximately the thickness of its walls. This could be because the masons were given figured external dimensions rather than using traditional internal geometric setting-out techniques. After marking out the first section of wall from the left-hand corner of the façade someone assumed that dimension 'x' marked the inside rather than the outside of the turret.

historically-informed genealogic and patronal heraldry it displayed a dated, verbal message of contemporary personal authorship and ownership.⁹²⁵ The view was to be admired rather than anxiously searched, the inscription and wall-walk joining to become 'a metonym for the original owner and the domination of his eye' in a similar way to the prospect-rooms of contemporary prodigy houses but within the context of a Northern 'tower'.⁹²⁶ The identical windows were arranged symmetrically, with no clues as to the position or function of rooms behind, making

⁹²⁵ Mytum, 'Materiality'.

⁹²⁶ Gent, 'Rhetoric' p.89; she is discussing Wollaton Hall, Derbyshire.

the exterior illegible to anyone used to hierarchical, self-explanatory medieval facades and stating clearly that the manor was subject to a new order.⁹²⁷

This illegibility extended to the interior. The stair tower provided a high quality route from the basement to the roof, with four-centred arched doorways giving access to the centre of each floor allowing separate access to a maximum of six rooms (including garrets) and the kitchen. However, each floor had only one fireplace and its position allowed little scope for the sophistication of closets or inner chambers. The second floor had fixed glazing, a decorative chimney-piece and the highest ceiling, making it obviously the most important in the building even to those who did not appreciate the subtleties of its geometrical position. Doddington is thus reminiscent of contemporary or slightly later houses with 'skied' great chambers such as Hardwick Old and New Halls (Derbyshire) which have been interpreted as emphasising not only the (self?) importance of their owner but the potential for entertaining high-status guests.⁹²⁸ In the upper-storey chapels built by early-modern Catholic families this could be extended to the ultimate visitor, God.⁹²⁹ However at Doddington the stair continued beyond this level to the garret floor where what may have been intended as a gallery, lit by twin windows in the gables, led to the climactic experience of standing on the wall walk overlooking Grey's inscription and gazing across his estates.⁹³⁰

The uncommunicative planning leads to difficulties in defining Doddington's exact role. The conceptual and decorative emphasis on the upper floor implies that it housed an important function; this presumably included sittings of the manor court, although in 1570 the court was only held 'once or twice a year' and an additional

⁹²⁷ Cooper, *Gentry* p.75. The 'ordering' may also have implied a new masculinity, negating the feminine rule of Gray's mother; Gent, 'Rhetoric' pp.97-98.

⁹²⁸ Girouard, M., *Robert Smythson & the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven: 1983). Stanton Old Hall (owned by the Fenwicks, who were related to the Greys by marriage) has a similarly high upper storey, added to an earlier two-storey 'tower', which has been dated to the 'late-sixteenth century'; however its roof had closed eaves rather than a parapet, implying a date nearer 1600; http://www.pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob_id=23301&sort=4&search=all&criteria=stanton%20old%20hall&rational=q&recordsperpage=10 accessed 2 December 2013.

⁹²⁹ Camm, B., *Forgotten Shrines: an account of some old Catholic halls and families in England, and of relics and memorials of the England martyrs* (London: 1910).

⁹³⁰ Coope, R., 'The 'Long Gallery': its origins, development, use and decoration', *Architectural History* 29 (1986); Cooper, *Gentry* pp.301-305.

role seems likely.⁹³¹ Given its basis in the golden section, it may have been designed as a setting for Catholic services in the same way as the panelled and stuccoed room on the topmost floor of Witton Shields (Morpeth) two decades later.⁹³² With its spectacular views the house could have functioned as a lodge, for entertainment or pleasure; possibly Sir Thomas foresaw a role in entertaining important guests, just as Bess of Hardwick hoped for a royal visit to her skied great chamber at Hardwick Hall.⁹³³ He may have intended it as a dower house for Katherine, as the previous house had been for his mother. Roger Grey, one of his younger brothers, probably lived there; he had been part of his mother's household in Doddington until her death and in 1584 held 'one gentleman's house' in Doddington.⁹³⁴ Possibly all these functions were to be combined.

Future links

In the event Sir Thomas died childless in 1590, the manor was added to the already extensive lands of his brother Sir Ralph Grey of Horton and Katherine spent the rest of her short life at Chillingham Castle. However it was originally meant to function, Doddington did not alter to suit changing practice as did Ford and Coupland and had little obvious effect on later builders, unless its upper chamber can be shown to have influenced houses such as Witton Shields and Stanton Hall. Its size and inflexibility may have played a part; it was too large for a non-gentry household but inadequately complex for the gentry. In 1666 it still had only three hearths, the tax being paid by Henry Morton whose family had been collecting tenancies and leases in the area since at least the 1570s.⁹³⁵ In the early eighteenth century it became a granary and wool store until by 1869 'the decayed state of the upstairs flooring render[ed] it of little use'.⁹³⁶ Even the farmstead it once served is now disused (Figure 8.12).

⁹³¹ NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81 f.131.

⁹³² http://www.pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob_id=23521&sort=4&search=all&criteria=witton%20shields&rational=q&recordsperpage=10 accessed 3 December 2013.

⁹³³ Cooper, *Gentry* pp.109-27; Girouard, *Robert Smythson*.

⁹³⁴ TNA, 15/28/2 f.114.

⁹³⁵ TNA, ER179; NCA, NRO 4118/01/173/81.

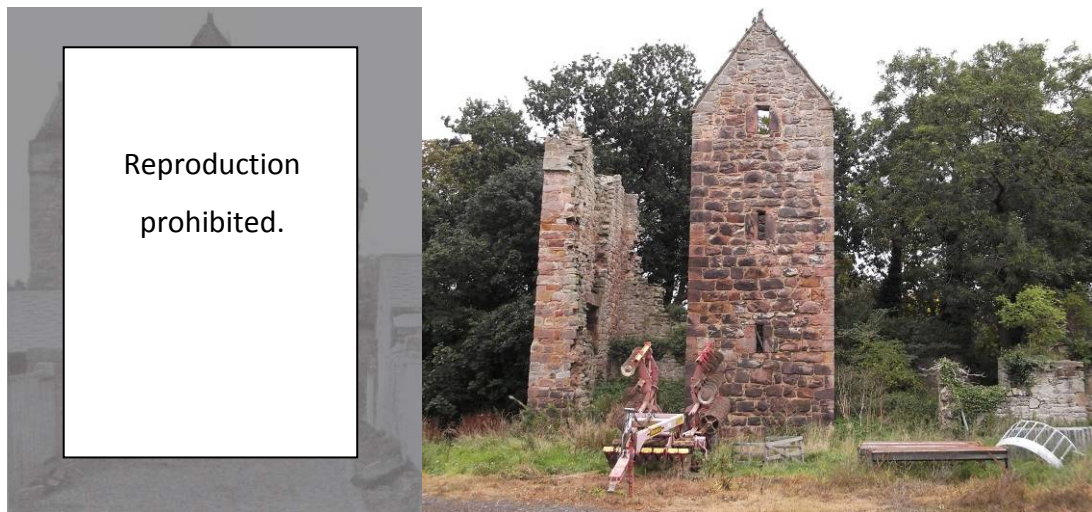
⁹³⁶ Procter, W., 'Doddington', *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club* 6 (1869) p.152.

Figure 8.12. The south front.

Below left: RCHM 4617/12, newspaper cutting c.1940.

Below right: in 2014 (author)

The first photograph was taken just before the roof and other internal timber was removed. The west gable only disappeared after 1994 (Ryder 2006, 1). The ruins were consolidated c.2005.



The building still defies classification. Bastle, peel or stronghouse? Manor house with court room or dower house with chapel? More relevant to this study, vernacular or designed? Ultimately, categories such as these can distract. The 'mute rhetoric of shape and substance' enunciated by Doddington's site, scale, proportions and the conspicuous reminder of its provenance and ownership sent a variety of messages to its users and viewers, many of them now incomprehensible (and some possibly so at the time).⁹³⁷ While some of the suggestions made in this section must remain speculative until a greater body of comparative research is available, Doddington hints that conceptual design was not confined to churches and large, high-status buildings. It is also a warning against unthinkingly using 'vernacular' as a stylistic term; contemporary elite builders commonly 'ma[de] informed choices from the classical vocabulary while working within systems distinct from those of classicism' and while it is easy to recognise the use of classical details on traditional buildings, the use of classical forms with traditional detailing may be harder to spot.⁹³⁸ As Rowe argued for Le Corbusier's villa at Garches, using

⁹³⁷ Hazard, M., *Elizabethan Silent Language* (Lincoln, Nebraska: 2000) p.110.

⁹³⁸ Gent, L. (ed), *Albion's Classicism: the Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660* (New Haven: London: 1995).

elevations based on pure geometry within a building culture with other ideals can be problematic.⁹³⁹ However a manorial centre, where the rights and responsibilities of all were expressed as part of an ordered society, would be an good place to experiment with blending the civility and order of metropolitan classicism with the strength and martial reputation of the north.

8.4 Summary

Like the houses in the previous chapter, all the builders here were making their mark on a site which was “new” to them. William Carr was the first of his surname to build at Ford; Coupland was the family’s new ‘seat house’ on a new site; and although Grey may have re-used an old site he was making a very personal statement about his relationship with the manor following his mother’s death. In the previous chapter only the Ruggs, however, were well resourced enough to build beyond their immediate needs. Like them, these biographies show the house-building culture producing instruments of ‘self-fashioning’ expressing the ideals rather than merely meeting the everyday needs of builders. The horizontal suites of rooms in the hall block at Ford provided for and communicated an up-to-date lifestyle; but their position within a castle with such a long and illustrious history counteracted suspicion that Carr had created a mere ‘gentlemans’ house’ (Chapter 5). Like Ford, Coupland’s battlements spoke of land ownership and its more modest accomodation incorporated equally complex and subtle planning, allowing traditional rooms to take on new functions and be used with new domestic hierarchies. It stemmed from a foreign building culture but one which was related closely enough to be understood by, and therefore to influence, its local cousin.

Doddington speaks equally loudly but rather less clearly, and there are hints that the house-building culture was not functioning smoothly during the building process. Its over-simple planning was probably unsuitable for normal domestic practice from the outset, resulting from the fundamental mismatch between a “designer” from outside the culture, for whom the façade was primary, and the realities of a traditional house-building culture where the ‘measuring line of the mind’ began with the interior.

⁹³⁹Rowe, C., *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Massachusetts: 1987 [1976]) pp.8-9.

Chapter 9 : Conclusion: the house-building culture

The biographies in the previous chapter were of houses which survive (at least in part) in physical form; the ones which can be clambered over and photographed, whose particular smells or sounds can be remembered, and which provide a setting for imagined 'histories'. To this researcher, brought up visiting National Trust and Ministry of Public Buildings and Works (Historic England) properties, trained in and practicing architecture and later gaining a Masters degree in buildings archaeology, the physical presence of a building tends to be assumed rather than questioned. However the experience of research within a university history department has allowed the relationship between surviving and lost houses to be problematised and suggested other ways to approach the material world, in particular the concept of studying a 'house-building culture' within which evidence from non-surviving houses becomes as important as the surviving houses themselves.

A 'building culture' is, by definition, common to all the buildings created and altered within it. It provides a single starting point for their evaluation and minimises the often unhelpful distinction between 'buildings' and 'architecture', 'vernacular' and 'designed'. The process outlined in Figure 1.3 and reproduced as chapter headings emphasises selected elements of the house-building culture as well as some of the more important links between them. The builder and artisans are key actors, and dialogue between them (possibly mediated by one or more other people) determines a house's character, although only the artisans have direct agency over its structure. It is these human actors who can introduce concepts from outside the culture, enabling it to change and develop. Its non-human elements can also be seen as actors, although their role in the process is mediated by humans.

9.1 The culture as a whole: Chapters 3-6

The houses known by contemporaries influenced the understanding and range of choices of those who altered them but also shaped the expectations of those building new houses. The traditional battlemented 'tower', where hall and chambers were set over a basement vault, remained in use as a mark of rural land ownership until the late-sixteenth century. Some new houses, such as Coupland,

Duddo and Weetwood, used the height and battlements of medieval towers for their status but enabled a more up-to-date domesticity through the Scottish practice of placing the stair to the main room in a separate tower with access to the rooms above by a secondary stair in a smaller turret. Towards the end of the century large rural houses such as Doddington could be built without vaults, although battlements remained an important status marker. Two-storey 'towers' built with roof eaves rather than battlements built for tenants or lessees of the new smaller rural 'seats or steads' are very difficult to distinguish from later two-storey houses. Berwick's last domestic battlemented 'tower' was demolished c.1560; symbolically, the stone went into the new fortifications that protected the inhabitants as a body. New houses within the fortifications were required to be at least two storeys high and built of stone, but this was for reasons of civic pride rather than defence. Single-storey houses, in both town and country, often retained the cross-passage plan. In Berwick, where the second room was domestic rather than an animal byre, this provided considerably flexibility of use as well as the possibility of division and extension; the footprint of this type of house remains obvious in later rebuilding.

Alterations to these houses indicate builders' changing requirements. The classic manifestation of 'closure' in a house, ceiling over an open hall, was not always relevant in the local context but there is ample evidence of the hall's role becoming divided between separate dining chambers, cooking kitchens and a variety of parlours and chambers. By the end of the century, the halls of larger urban and rural houses might be downgraded to kitchens or servants' halls or function as a symbolic display of status on entering the house. Houses were extended, either outwards or (particularly in Berwick) upwards; the cross-passage-plan made for easy access to rear extensions and separate backhouses. New chimneys served the extra chambers and the ascent to them was celebrated with wider stairs expressed in their own towers. Rural longhouses are less well-recorded and changes more difficult to date, but closure might take the form of a more permanent division between 'hall' and byre (possibly including a new chimney), division of the hall or addition of a chamber. Eventually, animals also benefited from separate byres and stables. As elsewhere in the North-East the house-building culture closely followed

national trends even though its locally specific expressions may not be immediately recognisable.

'Closure' can also be traced in house sites. In Berwick, burgage plot tails formerly used in common were fenced by their owners and there was an increase in the number of 'backhouses' built on them. These were long-term changes but in Berwick the demolitions required by the new fortifications, and the influx of workmen and the additional garrison, created a sudden shortage of houses and house plots. Many burgage plots were divided around this time and the Crown set aside waste land for new housing, in some places allowing soldiers to define their own plots or elsewhere (particularly on the higher-status plots within the new walls) marking them out more regularly. Grazing on the coastal plain created actual depopulation, and as agricultural land was increasingly re-ordered elsewhere the township houses might be held under a different tenure, as farmhold or customary tenures were replaced by leases, freeholds or cottage holdings. New 'seats or steads' were created away from existing townships, for the lessees or farmers of newly enclosed land.

Tenure of sites was acknowledged by contemporaries to be a vital factor in the quality of houses built on them, with short-term or insecure tenure resulting in poor quality houses. In spite of this, for the soldiers and builders flooding into mid-century Berwick a plot held 'at will' allowed them to gain a foothold in urban society and even plots held in this way became valued commodities in the overpopulated mid-century town. Since many among this fast-changing population would have experience of house-building elsewhere, and would have built or have been closely involved in the construction of their own houses, the availability of these plots may have been instrumental in introducing new ideas into the local house-building culture.

There is evidence for the widespread trend away from rentals towards leasehold tenure. In the countryside the capital sums raised when leases were set up enabled builders to carry out work on their own houses, or construct new ones for the leaseholders of their new 'steads'. Building leases were used when rebuilding or improving houses in Berwick, and formed a vehicle for written specifications which

indicate a greater interest in the fabric of houses; houses improved in this way became more valuable in relation to their sites and there is evidence that landlords increasingly recognised this, not only building more substantially but also investing in maintenance.

A builder's identity was key to his or her decisions about house-building, and often connected with change in status. A major project often reinforced a newly-acquired status or increased the likelihood of gaining it. For this reason, very little house-building was carried out locally by those above the level of the lower gentry; aristocratic and upper gentry builders would gain more by investing in houses further south. The status of the middle and lesser gentry was more locally defined but they normally already owned high-status houses, and although beginning to benefit financially from agricultural changes tended not to carry out large-scale improvements until the following century. They were just as likely to invest in smaller houses for junior members of the family to serve the 'seats or steads' on their enclosed or divided land. The growing sub-gentry or yeoman class who farmed this land, like Berwick's merchants, were more likely to exhibit and consolidate their local importance through altering and building houses for themselves or, particularly in and near Berwick, as investments.

As implied above, builders at all levels of society were altering various 'layers' of their houses but another group of new builders stands out. These were the-soldiers and workmen sent to Berwick in the 1550s and 1560s who chose to invest in the town by building on one of the new plots set out by the Crown. Even though many of their houses began as impermanent structures, their investment strengthened their links with the town as a whole rather than merely with the garrison. The fact that these first houses coincided with the 1562 'General Survey' provides a record of their structure which is otherwise rare.

There were many other opportunities for builders to introduce new ideas into the house-building culture. Both Berwick and the East March had well-used land routes to the rest of England and Scotland, while Berwick and Holy Island linked the area to ports up and down the coast as well as across the North Sea. The salmon trade required close links with London fishmongers. Berwick's mayors and MPs regularly

travelled to London and Crown functionaries also to Edinburgh. The garrison, and the additional workers employed on the fortifications, came from elsewhere in England, Wales and even Ireland and some stayed on in Berwick to become part of the permanent population. Many Scots worked for wages in Berwick or the rural area, and rural Scots sold produce in the market at Berwick's Scotsgate. English and Scottish gentry had social and political links (Chapter 5). The ideas introduced through these connections ensured that the local culture partook in the wider processes of 'rebuilding' or 'closure'.

The range of available building materials remained largely unchanged; stone (more suitable for squared rubble rather than for ashlar masonry), mud, thatch, clay tiles, lime for mortar and render, and imported timber. The most commonly surviving decorative moulding, a simple chamfer to window and door openings, was also a medieval feature. The construction process was still small-scale and unprofessionalised, with much of the technology communicable in general terms. Although artisans might have come across examples of Renaissance design, there is no evidence that they copied it themselves; the wall-painting in Bridge Street, Berwick is assumed to have been by a travelling artist, and Sir Thomas Grey imported the architectural details for his ancestral tomb from London. However, some building craftsmen rose in status over the period. Money gained directly or indirectly from the Crown's presence in Berwick encouraged investment in new technologies, and together with a growing appreciation of the benefits of mutuality resulted in craftsmen joining the Guild and rising to high office. As might be expected this was paralleled by their own house-building practice, shown for example by the Harrats' projects in Silver Street.

9.2 The culture in detail: Chapters 7-8

Chapters 7 and 8 provided 'biographies' of some of the better-documented building projects carried out within the culture, and for which the site can still be traced and provides evidence even though no structure survives. Each highlighted specific features of the house-building culture which add nuance to the generalisations above. The first two concerned new 'rows' of house or house plots laid out to serve Berwick's increased garrison. Guisnes Row, which began as a temporary expedient

to house soldiers from the Calais garrison posted to Berwick, showed the process of colonising a new building site as well as tracing the impact of changes in tenure and the status of the site in relation to Berwick's walls. It also revealed houses built of ground-based 'couples' or simple crucks, a house type not often recorded in the urban context at this date although common in the countryside. They were likely to have been constructed by their builders, who may have come from other building cultures, but would in any case have acted as exemplars to other builders. Tweedmouth New Row, in contrast, was laid out with stone houses and a '*domus*' by a member of the local gentry who leased the local quarry from the Crown. It was suggested that the Crown made use of the Bishopric's resources very soon after gaining control over them, possibly to house and provide employment for ex-garrison members and workmen who chose to stay in the area after working on the fortifications. The other house in this section, in Berwick's market place, was of higher status. Alterations carried out by two generations of the Rugg family illustrate 'closure' in the urban context, as the house was first raised to three stories high and then chambers built over its open hall. Specified features such as large windows and decorative ceilings designed for display showed the extent to which the building culture could be expected to respond to individual builders' requirements.

The second group of biographies concerned houses where surviving structure forms an important proportion of the evidence. Ford Castle's remodelled hall block (and Sir John Selby's related project at Twizel) showed a gentry builder using a medieval hall block to create a '*corps de logis*' interior with a central entrance, new chimneys and new stair turrets with very little additional structure. Both they and their artisans may have seen themselves as "repairing" their houses in a way which suggests that the contemporary building culture had strong links with its previous expression. The next structure, Coupland, while superficially familiar was in fact based on a Scottish design, given a vault and battlements in response to its builder's requirements for a recognisable 'tower'. The local building culture had nothing as suitable as this plan for the wealthy sub-gentry builder who needed to mark land-ownership without having responsibility for many tenants. However, the ease with which it was adopted by builders and artisans in other parts of the area indicated

that the two cultures had much in common. The final biography concerned Doddington, whose builder came from a very different building culture, where façades were important and house design could be communicated using images and measurements. Although the house was constructed by artisans used to working within the local culture it could not easily adapt to change and the constructional defects resulting from its unusual form and the speed at which it was built soon became obvious. Unlike the others in this chapter it did not long survive as a house.

9.3 Thresholds

Defensible?

Studying its house-building culture has enabled several assumptions about house building during the period to be questioned. The first is the need for houses to be more defensible than elsewhere in England. In particular, the contemporary meaning of a 'strong' house has been questioned. It has been pointed out elsewhere that during the second half of the century any threat from Scotland was of small scale raiding rather than heavy artillery, and thus 'defence' relied on mobile bands of soldiers. This was equally true in Berwick, where although the up-to-date *trace Italienne* fortifications were a source of civic pride and provided a platform for an impressive display of artillery their unfinished state left them unuseable against any level of attack (Chapter 3). In the countryside, defence still centred on the presence of the local landowners' stone-built houses to which the wider community could resort if a raid was threatened (Chapter 3). However, this system was already in decline; many of the local gentry preferred to live further south and land was increasingly being purchased by owners from outside the area and let to tenants without community responsibilities (Chapter 5). Of the surviving newly built rural houses, all were owned by locally-based landowners but none has the gun loops (practical or symbolic) which might be expected if they had been designed to be 'defensible'. Even small houses were considered to be 'defensible' merely by being built of stone (Chapter 3) but on the basis of the findings here it seems that this was normally the limit of a house's 'defence'.

Urban or rural?

One of the 'debateable lands' mentioned in Chapter 1 is the divide between rural and urban. Did the house-building culture differ markedly between Berwick and its hinterland? The biographies in Chapters 7 and 8 show the limitations of evidence taken from individual houses. In the rural area, often all that remains of a house is its structure; in Berwick it is possible to uncover details of old and new house-sites and know about the 'stuff' inside the houses on them, but the main evidence for their 'structure' and 'skin' is the *True Description*, whose 'truth' is particularly subjective.

Differences in the house-building culture between the two contexts are obvious. Berwick was better resourced than the countryside, having more builders with money to spend on their houses and reasons to spend it as well as easy access to imported materials. The presence of the Crown works meant that its craftsmen were influenced by those trained further south in England. Evidence for Scottish artisans in the countryside might imply that there were not enough rural craftsmen to fulfil the needs of builders, or possibly that some rural builders preferred the work of Scottish artisans. In spite of these differences, town and country had many factors in common. Social and trade links with builders from outside the area were most obvious in Berwick but also normal for many in the countryside. There were strong social and economic links across the area resulting from rural in-migration and the town's status as the main market for rural produce and as the centre of local government. Most craftsmen would have been trained or apprenticed in Berwick but retained familial links with a rural area. A shared early history meant that house types, street and plot layouts were related. The common materials and technologies were similar, giving a basis for understanding between builder and artisan. These factors suggest that in spite of Berwick's advantages the evidence can be expected to provide a useful account of a shared house-building culture in Berwick and the East March.

England or Borderland?

The limitations of a doctoral thesis have made it impossible to study the nearby Scottish Borders house-building culture in any depth, but some generalisations can

be made. As mentioned above the culture seems to have been closely related at artisanal level and its builders had social and, sometimes, kinship links. However the builders had different priorities and sources of income, were working within a different tenorial system and were geographically much closer to their court and capital city, explaining the differences apparent in the surviving buildings.

Further research

This study has reached far beyond its original starting-point, and despite being closely bounded in space and time the amount of material has risked a superficial treatment. Tighter limits could have been imposed; most obvious would have been to restrict the research to Berwick, but this would have meant ignoring evidence from surviving buildings. The wide-angle view given by study of the house-building culture as a whole provides the context for further research as well as suggesting particular areas of interest.

One of these is the group of surviving houses distinguished from other 'stronghouses' by their length, having only one storey, or even merely a garret, above their vault, and no evidence for original stairs. It is suggested that these 'houses of strength' were built primarily to support temporary garrisons of horse soldiers in areas where raids were threatened. Research into the military history of the fifteenth or early-sixteenth century, as well a closer examination of similar buildings, might prove or disprove this.

Another area of research is into surviving but unrecognised structures, and here the mapping of plots in Berwick (and Tweedmouth New Row) is potentially informative. While it is obvious that many houses are on the same site as their sixteenth-century forbears it is also possible that some will retain the same structure, particularly if this includes retaining walls. The same is true for walls on boundaries, such as that in Figure 7.9. Mapping will also inform archaeology, for example in pinpointing houses or other buildings owned by the medieval Church.

The most obvious area for research is into what happened next. How did the house-building culture change after the Union of the Crowns in 1603? Some aspects are touched on above – brick began to replace stone in Berwick's chimney stacks at an

early date, and new kitchen blocks became popular additions to rural houses. The impact of the early-seventeenth century building programmes for Berwick's new bridge and church might also be traced.

The 'threap [debatable] land' west of Carham and Mindrum (Figure 1.2) was regularly re-defined, but in 1564 the Wardens were ordered

to acquaint [them]selves with the borders, and especially with the grounds which have been previously called threap grounds ... and cause a draught in manner of a chart to be made thereof ... informing [them]selves of as good proofs and reasons as [they could] ... forbear[ing] to make any alterations or innovations but where the same shall seem most necessary and profitable.⁹⁴⁰

If this thesis performs a similar function for the history of houses in the borderlands, using 'good proofs and reasons' to re-draught previously charted territory where it seems 'most necessary and profitable', it will have achieved its aim.

⁹⁴⁰ TNA, SP/52/9/f.97.

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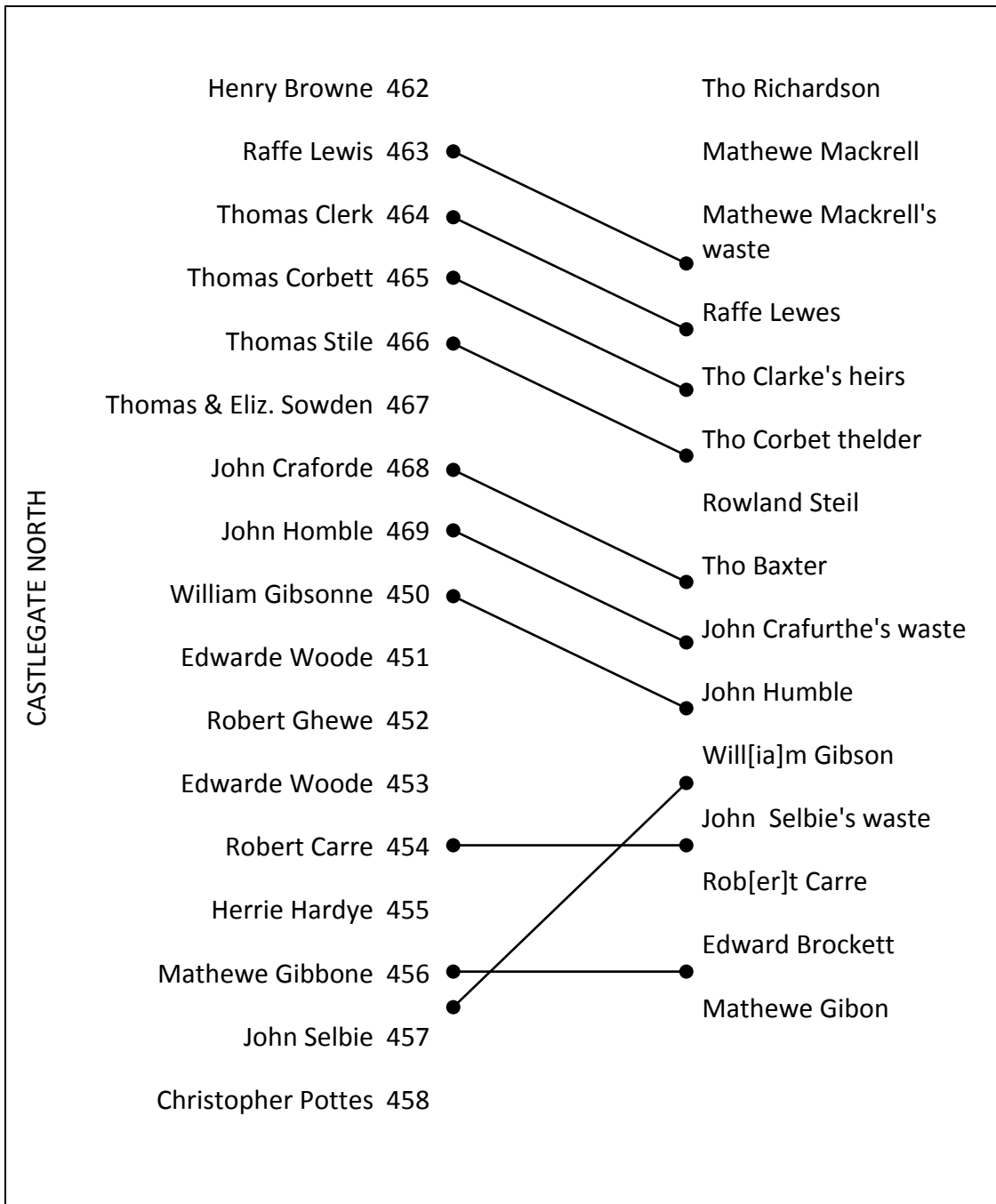
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BRIGGATE			
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)		Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)	
BRIGGATE NORTH	Robert Wattson	1	Lionell Burrell's heirs
	John Barrowe	2	Allan Leache
	Jennet Paupert	3 ●————●	___ Pawpert's heirs
	Lyonell Thompson	4	Robert Jackson
	John Borel	5 ●————●	John Burrell
	Henry Swynno	6	William Morton th'elder
	Leonarde Makerell	7	William Morton th'elder
	William Mortton	8 ●————●	Robert Morton
	Robartt Coycke	9 ●————●	William Cokes's heirs
	Oliver Selby	10	William Glover
	Roger Wetherington	11	Mathewe Johnson
	Alison Browne	12 ●————●	Widowe Browne
	Nich[ol]as Coultherd	13	George Robynson
	George Robinsonne	14 ●————●	
BRIGGATE SOUTH	Thomas Brodforth	15 ●————●	Nicholas Bradfurthe
	Thomas Brodforth	16 ●————●	Thomas Bradfurthe's heirs
	Raffe Ferror	17	Lionell Bradfurthe
	Robartt Scott	18 ●————●	Robert Scott's heirs
	Robartt Burges	19	William Morton the younger
	Thomas Burrell	20 ●————●	Thomas Burrell
	Thomas Bowinge	21	Edward Merry
	William Cotchame	22	Lionell Thompson
	Thomas Thompson	23 ●————●	Thomas Postegate
	William Simpson	34	Richarde Lewes
	Rowlande Burrell	35	Robert Wrastlinge
	Richard Lewes	36 ●————●	Robert Bradfurthe
	Roger Wetherington	37	Robert Bradfurthe
	Robartt Bradforth	28 ●————●	Edward Merry
	Christopher Saunders	29	
	Thomas Jacksonne	30	
	Margaret Hewine	31	
	Raphe Smithe	32	
Thomas Mourton	33		
Oliver More	34		

Nos. 30-34 were probably demolished as part of the bridge defences.

CASTLEGATE	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
Oswalde Oyle 419	George Hamlyn
Margaret Maxwell 420	George Strowther
John Craforde 421	Tho Morton
George Bullock 422 ●	George Twedy
Jennet Thirben 423	George Peerson
John & Agnes Wheldale 424 ●	● George Bullocke
Lyonell Corbett 425 ●	Robt Brankston
George Huntingdon 427	Willm Lowe
Wm & Jennett Dickenson 428 ●	Peter Baker
William Gibsonne 429	● John Wheldon
John Lawhter 450 ●	● Wm Corbie's heirs
John Carre 451 ●	● Willm Dyckynson
Thomas Creke 452 ●	Raphe Diell
John Hubston 453	John Kirbie
Thomas Jowey 454 ●	● John Lowther
John Ritcheson 455	● Widowe Carre
Margaret Whitecocke 456	● Tho Crook
Elizabeth Clifton 457	Tho. Clarke
Thomas Smyth 458	Michaill Lambert
	● Harry Jowstey's waste
	James Jowstey
	Nos. 456-8, opposite the Castle gate, may have been demolished to create the new Scots Market

CASTLEGATE SOUTH



EASTERLANE	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
EASTERLANE WEST	<p>Barbara Maxwell 204 ●————● Barbara Maxwell's heirs</p> <p>Raphe Harrison 205 ●————● Raffe Harrison</p> <p>William Moreton 206 ●————● William Morton thelder</p> <p>Margaret Selbie 207 ●————● Widowe Selbie</p> <p>John Wrighte 208 ●————● John Wrighte</p> <p>Thomas Wallis 209 ●————● Thomas Wallis per Mrs Merry</p>
EASTERLANE EAST	<p>Gawen Dawson 210 ●————● Thomas Kendrowe</p> <p>Thomas Peersonne 211 ●————● Gawan Dansone</p> <p>James Robinsonne 212 ●————● Christofer Michelson</p> <p>●————● Thomas Pearson</p> <p>(in 1562, an area of ex-ecclesiastical land belonging to the Crown)</p> <p>Christofer Michelson</p> <p>John Morton</p> <p>William Gardner</p> <p>John Crafurthe</p>

GREENS WEST	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
John Griffine 120	John Tule
Elizabeth Moore 121	Thomas Knapp
John Grene 122	● Capteyne Wood
George - 123	● Nicholas Eastmost
Mathewe Storey 124 ●	● Martyne Bullocke
Cuthbert Coyke 125 ●	● Willm Mold
Roger Storther 126	● Jarret Story
Thomas Bennett 127	● George Lynson
Robert Whitton 128	● Robert Saunderson
Edwarde Scatergood 129	● Thomas Hoggerd
Raffe Hoggearde 130 ●	Robert Neale
William Saunderson 131 ●	Wm Story
Katherine Floster 132	John Younge
George Lyndesey 133 ●	George Thompson
Elizabeth Storye 134 ●	John Fallowe
Widoo Millne 135	James Bedenell
George Bullock 136 ●	● Cuthbert Coke
Nicholas Estmose 137 ●	John Richardson
William Woode 138 ●	Isabell Gardiner (widow)
William Nodder 139	● John Story
John & Eliz. Shafter 140	Elizabeth Temple (widow)
Edmonde Bell 141	Anthone Atchison
Symon White 142	Edward Preston
Thomas Tompson 143 ●	Raffe Wray
Edwarde 144	Anthone Atchison
Robinsonne	● Willm Thompson
	Tho. Hope
	James Forster
	Willm Willynson
	Wm Cockyn
	John Revelye

Nos. 140-44, listed under 'the Greens near Whitwell Tower' in 1577

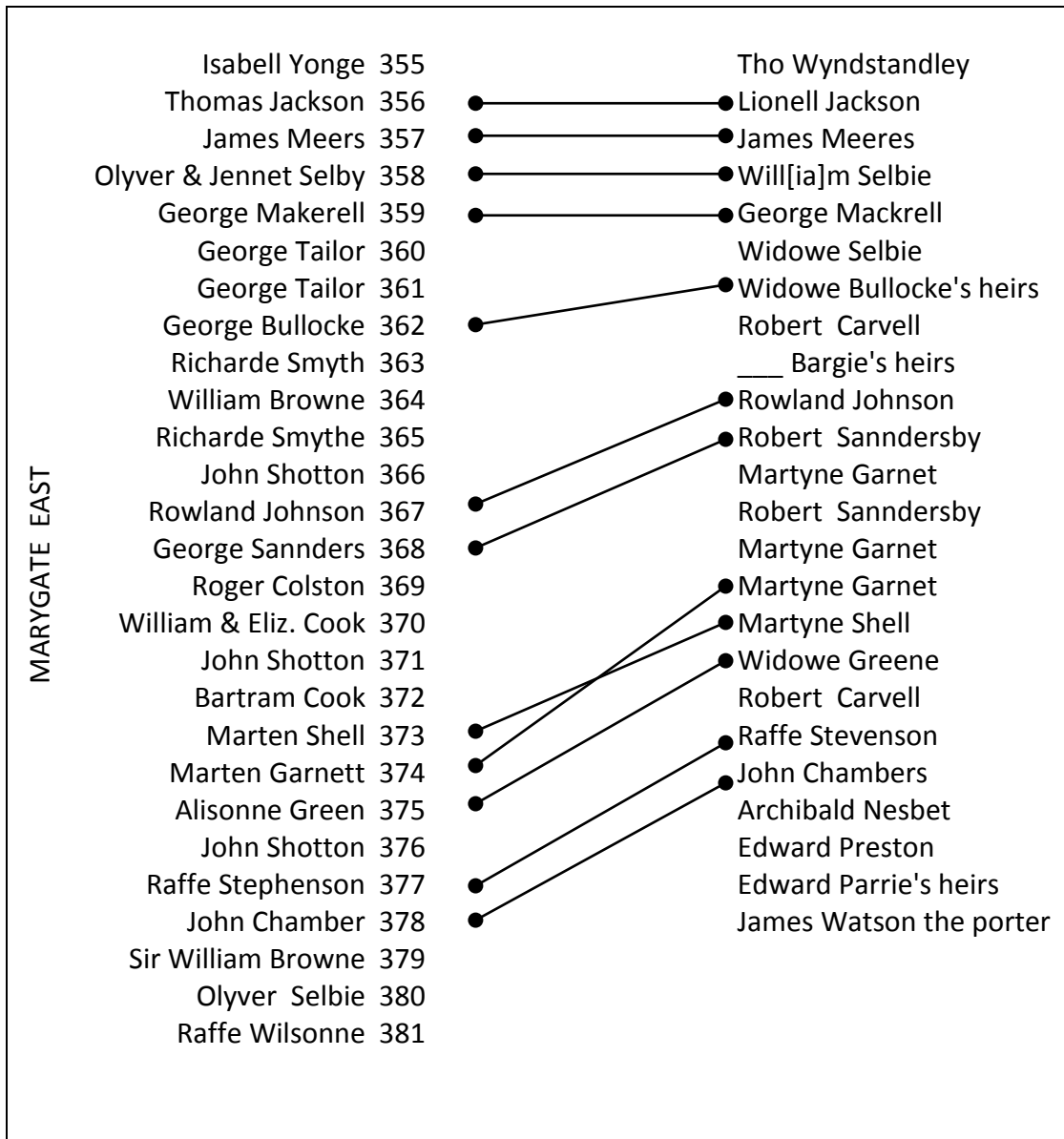
HIDEGATE															
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)														
HIDEGATE NORTH	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: right;">Mathew Browne 36</td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Jennet Pawpert 37</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Isabell Gascon 38</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">John Barrowe 39</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Cuthbert Johnson 40</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">William & Jane Walker 41</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: left;"> ● William Walker William Henmarche Walter Wharton Leonard Farley Thomas Jenyson Esq </td> </tr> </table>	Mathew Browne 36		Jennet Pawpert 37		Isabell Gascon 38		John Barrowe 39		Cuthbert Johnson 40		William & Jane Walker 41			● William Walker William Henmarche Walter Wharton Leonard Farley Thomas Jenyson Esq
Mathew Browne 36															
Jennet Pawpert 37															
Isabell Gascon 38															
John Barrowe 39															
Cuthbert Johnson 40															
William & Jane Walker 41															
	● William Walker William Henmarche Walter Wharton Leonard Farley Thomas Jenyson Esq														
HIDEGATE SOUTH	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; text-align: right;">John & Margaret Selby 42</td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Raphe Lawrence 43</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Cuthbert Johnson 44</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">John & Margaret Barrowe 45</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Leonard Foster 46</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: left;"> Thomas Forster Esquire ● John Selbie Esquire ● Cuthbert Johnson George Morton's mill ● Leonard Forster </td> </tr> </table>	John & Margaret Selby 42		Raphe Lawrence 43		Cuthbert Johnson 44		John & Margaret Barrowe 45		Leonard Foster 46			Thomas Forster Esquire ● John Selbie Esquire ● Cuthbert Johnson George Morton's mill ● Leonard Forster		
John & Margaret Selby 42															
Raphe Lawrence 43															
Cuthbert Johnson 44															
John & Margaret Barrowe 45															
Leonard Foster 46															
	Thomas Forster Esquire ● John Selbie Esquire ● Cuthbert Johnson George Morton's mill ● Leonard Forster														

HIDEHILL	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
<p style="text-align: center;">John Barrowe 69</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mathewe Mackerall 70</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Anne Selby 71</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thomas Mourton 72</p> <p style="text-align: center;">George Mourton 73 ●</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Jane Browne 74 ●</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Raffe Swynno 75</p> <p style="text-align: center;">James Richerdsonne 76 ●</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thomas Browne 77</p> <p style="text-align: center;">John Craforde 78 ●</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">John Preston</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● James Richardson</p> <p style="text-align: center;">John Wooler's heirs</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● Widowe Browne</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● George Morton</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thomas Hogge</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● John Crafurthe's mill</p> <p style="text-align: center;">John Seamarke</p> <p style="text-align: center;">George Barrette's waste</p> <p style="text-align: center;">William Morton</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Constance Burrell 79</p> <p style="text-align: center;">John Denton 80</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● Thomas Morton 81</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Edmonde Larime 82</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thomas Clerke 83</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● John Clerke 84</p> <p style="text-align: center;">John Shotton 85</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thomas Pygge 86</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Merideth Griffyn</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● George Morton</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Henry Bell</p> <p style="text-align: center;">John Story</p> <p style="text-align: center;">● John Clarke</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Thomas Anfelde</p>

THE LANE TOWARDS MIDDLE MOUNT (Coxons Lane)	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
John Ritchson 323 ●	William Coley
William Wilsonne 324 ●	Walter Wharton
Roberte & Marie 325	Edward Robson
Wharcoppe	Thomas Freman's heirs
Herrie Johnsonne 326 ●	Robert Askewe
	● William Wilson
	Widowe Blackborne
	John White
	● Widowe Johnson
	● John Richardson
	Widowe Ellice
	Henry Pigge
	Widowe Archer
	Michael Abram
	Henry Hardie

MARYGATE	
Tenants as listed in General Survey, 1562	Tenants as listed in Rental, 1577
George Brown 382	● George Peerson
John Selbie 383	Thomas Chatterton
George Peerson 384 ●	● Richarde Browne
Elizabeth Selbie 385	● Widowe Barrowe
Richard Browne 386 ●	● Richarde Browne
William Barrowe 387 ●	Will[jia]m Selbie
John Browne 388 ●	John Shell's waste
Robert Storie 389	● John Crafurthe
William Shell 390 ●	● John Denton
John Crawford 391 ●	Robert Carvell
John Denton 392 ●	Mathewe Johnson
John Shotton 393	John Fenwick
Roger Wetherinegton 394	● Raffe Shell
Elizabeth Marten 395	Randolfe Davis
Rafe Shell 396 ●	● Widowe Mylle
Isabell Mylne 397 ●	Tho Jackson's heirs
George Selbie 398	John Sympson
John Barrowe 399	● Richarde Clark
William Cokeray 400	● Tho Sannderson
George Dymes 401	Martyne Garnet
Elizabeth Parish 402 ●	● Willm Wallys
William Jones 403	● Widowe Hathewick
Raffe Ferrour 404	John Creamer
Jennet Pawpert 405	Mathewe Sharpe
Isabell Younge 406	Willm Nodder
William Herrison 407 ●	● Gawyn Parrie's heirs
John & Jennett Ourde 408 ●	Henry Rugge
John Shotton 409	John Dixson
Herrie Lorymer 410	Tho Wyndstanley
Gregory & Eliz. Burdet 411	● Willm Harrison
Richarde Clerke 412 ●	● John Ourde
Thomas Saunderson 413 ●	
John Dickeman 414	
William Wallis 415 ●	
Jane Hethericke 416/7 ●	
and Roberte Jerrarde	
John Barrowe 418	

(Nos. 400-8, i.e. Matthew Nodder to John Ourde, were between Eastern and Western Lanes)



THE NESS/THE NESS EVERY WAY	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
Roberte Howtell 213	Henry Jackson
John Craforde 214	Widowe Forster
Mathewe Moreton 215	● Raffe Lawson
Nickolas Ricabie 216 ●	John Stawkins
John Barrow 217	● Mathewe Fettize
William Gibsonne 218	● Richarde Plomley per Raffe More
Cuthberte Johnson 219	John Crane
Jennet Todd 220	William Swynowe
William & Isabell Powell 221	Hewe Fewell
B & I Bradforth & Jacksone 222 ●	● Alexander Richabee
John Carter 223	● Alexander Richabee
Edwarde Jacksonne 224 ●	● John Jackson
Alexander Recabie 225	● B. Brown's heirs and Julian Jackson
Roger Colstone 226	● Julian Jackson
- Foster 227 ●	● Thomas Forster esquier
Isabell Gardener 228	John Selbie esquier for Carter
William Gibsonne 229 ●	● __ Carter (per John Selby esq)
Thomas Rosse 230	● John Humble
William Braddie 231	● Eppie Fisher
William Gibsonne 232	● Thomas Morton
John Barrowe 233	Adrian Lavile
Raffe Hewtonn 234 ●	Edward Merry
John Craforth 235 ●	Widowe Swale
Mathewe Blackewell 236	Robert Douglas
George Walker 237	Capteyn Brickwell per William Powell
Thomas Moreton 238	George Forster
Thomas Moreton 239 ●	● William Worthe
John Humble 240 ●	Jarrett Dewer
John Selbie 241	Henry Grey
Henrie & Jane Kendledur 243 ●	John Henderson
Margaret Faireley 244	● Anthonie Selbie per Mr Smythewike
Roger Stephenson 245	Cuthbert Harrison
Thomas Grey 246	James Grason
William Barrowe 247	● Alexander Armstrong
Isabell Squire 248	● Robert Sanndersby
Gawen Blackelnie 249	● John Crafurthe
Walter Wharton 250	● Raffe Hewton
John Wrathe 251 ●	● Mathewe Mackrell's heires
William Jelison 252	William Gibson
Richarde Rooke 253	Robert Arderne
Harrie Johnsonne 254	William Dixson
James Greshame 255	● William Gibson
Agnes Moreton 256 ●	Widowe Malibourne per Ball
John Pettice 257 ●	John Crane
John Wetherington 258	William Wilson
Thomas Joyner 259	
Raffe Lawrence 260 ●	
William Rede 261	
Isabell Harrison 262	
Stephen Beste 263	

RATTEN RAW		
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)		Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
		Widowe Swan and Charles Hazellopp
John Scott	87	
Thomas Smythe	88 ●	● James Smythe
Thomas Johnsonn	89	James Smythe
Thomas Johnsonn	90	John Scott's heirs
Thomas Johnsonn	91	Allison Smythe (widow)
Raffe Rivelley	92 ●	Widowe Scott
Roger Willoughby	93	Hewe Fewell
William Caston	94	Raffe Riveley ●
Roberte Waker	95 ●	● Robert Walker
Roberte Walker	96	John Saltonstell
James Richardsonne	97	Thomas Wallys
William Richardsonne	98	Hewe Clarke
George Selby	99	Robert Hudson
Alexander Racaby	100 ●	William Sympson
William Harrawde	101 ●	Thomas Johnson
James Goff	102	William Pigge
Robert Jacksonne	103	Henry Rugge
James Stephensonne	104	Nicholas Smythe
William Grene	105	Capteyne Wood
Nicholas Bigge	106	Edward Merry
Barbara & Isabel	107	Robert Gibon
Bradforth	108	John Lowrie
Anthony Benedic	110	Thomas Johnson
William Harrawde	111	Henry Strowther
Raphe Finche	112	Thomas Pigge
Edwarde Robinsonne	113	Thomas Pigge
Cuthbert Browne	114	Martyne Cabe
John Richardsonne	115	Widowe Yonge
William Scott	116	● Alexander Richerbie
Robert Jacksonn	117	Edward Johnson
William Harrande	118	● Wm Harrett of Grindon
George Amyers	119	
William Ewarte		

RATTEN RAW EAST

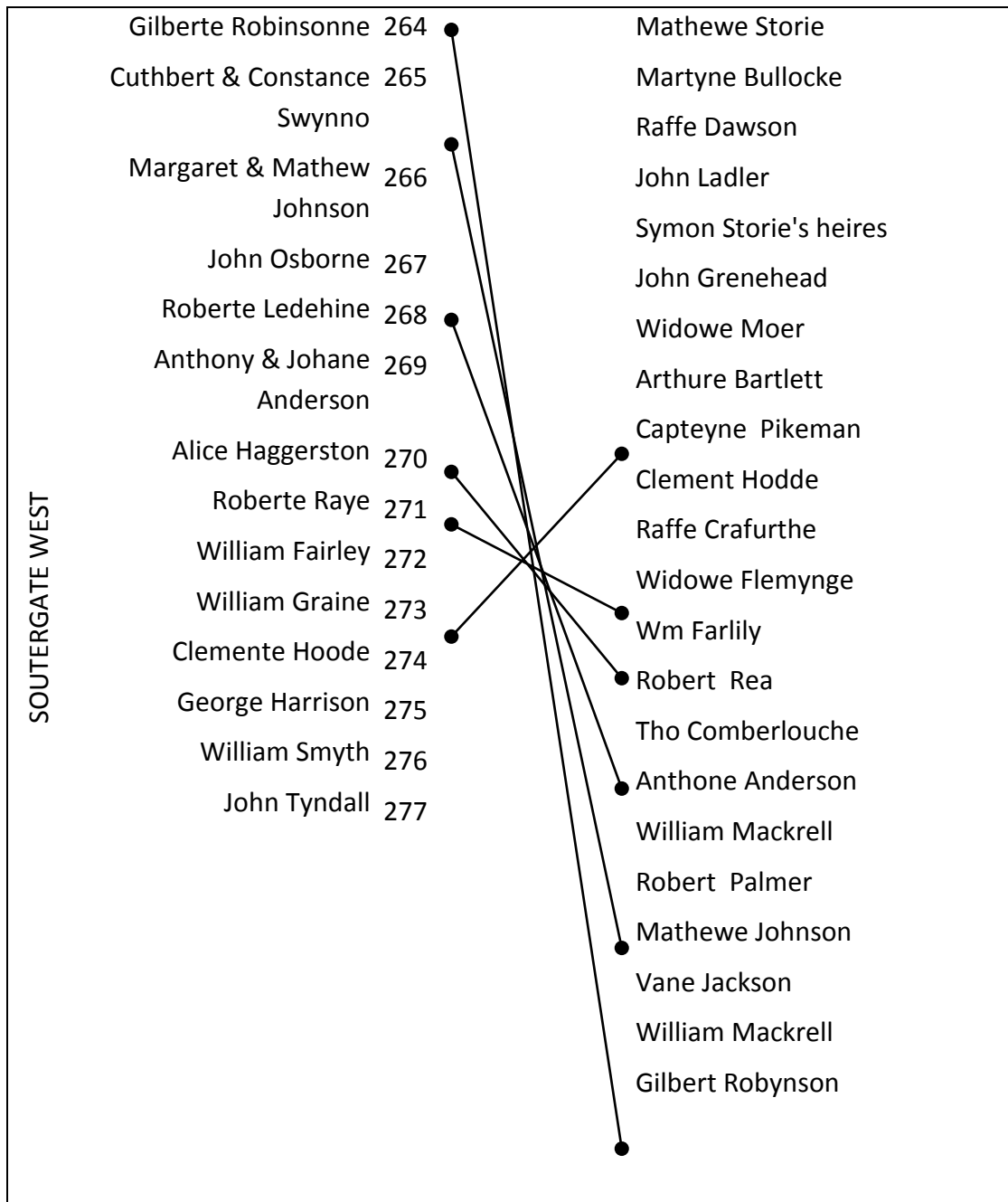
RATTEN RAW WEST

SANDGATE (& PEAKES HOLE)		
	Tenants as listed in General Survey, 1562	Tenants as listed in Rental, 1577
SANDGATE EAST	Isabell Gardener 193 ●	William Morton jr.
	Thomas Foster 194	William Browne per Meredethe Griffyn
	Thomas Prince 195 ●	Thomas Morton
	Matt. & Jane 196 Blackwell	Robert Sannderby
	Thomas Moreton 197	Thomas Prince ●
	Mathewe Browne 198 ●	Mathewe Mackrell's heirs
		Mrs Gardner ●
SANDGATE WEST	Henrie Watsonne 181	___ Pawpert's heirs per Bartholemew Bradfurthe
	Jerome Gardener 182	
	Jennet Pawpert 183	John Crawfurthe thelder (2) ●
	John Craforde 184 ●	Thomas Wallis ●
	Thomas Wallis 185 ●	Thomas Bowringe
	William Cock 186	William Sympson
	Thomas Jenyson 187	George Donkyn
	Thomas Moreton 188 ●	Thomas Morton ●
	John & Margarett 189 Brown	Widowe Morton
	John Barrowe 190	William Morton the yonger
	Rafe Ferroe 191	William Farrer per Hazellop
	Thomas 192 ● Bradforth	Bartholmewe Bradfurthe ● Henry Watson of Goswick
		PEAKES HOLE

SOUTERGATE	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
<p style="text-align: right;">Symonde Bowker 279</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Roberte Lowther 280</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Thomas Haggerston 281</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Richarde Maie 282</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Cuthbert Preston 283</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Thomas Adamsonne 284</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Clemente Hoode 285</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Anthony Little 286</p> <p style="text-align: right;">James Ritcheson 287</p> <p style="text-align: right;">John & Jennett Cutler 288</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Elizabeth Parish 289</p> <p style="text-align: right;">George Chamber 290</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Rafe & Agnes Rogerson 291</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Roger Carie 292</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Henrye Raye 293</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Anthony Temple 294</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Matt. & Jane Blackwell 295</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Thomas Carre 296</p> <p style="text-align: right;">John & Jennett Ourde 297</p> <p style="text-align: right;">John & Jennett Ourde 298</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Margarett Graie 299</p> <p style="text-align: right;">George Alisonne 300</p>	<p style="text-align: left;">Robert Robson</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Raffe Selbie</p> <p style="text-align: left;">_Corrie's heires per Gilbert Robynson</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Widowe Morton</p> <p style="text-align: left;">William Mackrell</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Widowe Rea</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Roger Carre</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Raffe Rogers</p> <p style="text-align: left;">George Chambers</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Gawen Parrie's heires</p> <p style="text-align: left;">George Westfelde</p> <p style="text-align: left;">John Smythe's heires per Thomas Rea</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Anthone Litle</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Clement Hoodde</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Anthony Crippes</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Cuthbert Preston</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Raffe Wray</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Lionell Haggerston's heires per Quyntyne Stringer</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Robert Lowther</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Tho Harper's heires per Hewe Lewis</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Danyell Thompson</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Edward Merry</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Robert Robson</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Tho Ferror</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Wm Parret</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Wm Larkyn</p> <p style="text-align: left;">William Crafurthe</p> <p style="text-align: left;">Leonard Lenowce</p>

SOUTERGATE EAST

Appendix 1: Changes in Berwick's streets, 1562-1577



WALKERGATE [Chapel Street]		
	General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
WALKERGATE SOUTH	Roberte Trombull 306 ●	Robert Morton
	Hen. Chamberlaine 307 ●	Frannces Gibson
	John Jacksonn 308	● Richarde Smythe
	Rafe Chamberlaine 309 ●	● Ed. Browne's heirs
	Roger Burrell 310 ●	● John Broke
	John Greke 311 ●	● Roger Burrell per George Thompson
	Edwarde Browne 312 ●	● Raffe Chamberleyne
	Richarde Smyth 313 ●	● Henry Chamberleyne
	Thomas Archer 314	● Robert Tromble
	Jennet Tailor 315	
WALKERGATE NORTH	Roger Burrell 316	Hewe Fewell
	Thomas Rose 317 ●	● George Wilson
	Raffe Chamberlaine 318 ●	● Thomas Nelson
	Herrie Raie 319 ●	● Thomas Rea
	Thomas Nelsonne 310 ●	Widowe Grue
	George Wilson 311 ●	● Widowe Chamberleyne
	Roberte Sueynton 312	● Thomas Rose
	George Glaston	

WESTERLANE			
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)		
WESTERLANE EAST	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>John Archer 145 ●</p> <p>George Taylor 146</p> <p>Isabell Taylor 147</p> <p>Henry Manners 148 ●</p> <p>John & Margaret 149 Browne</p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>___ Cokes's heirs</p> <p>Cuthbert Grey</p> <p>Henry Manners ●</p> <p>William Morton thelder</p> <p>John Archer ●</p> <p>Stephen Huntington</p> <p>Lionell Thompson</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p>John Archer 145 ●</p> <p>George Taylor 146</p> <p>Isabell Taylor 147</p> <p>Henry Manners 148 ●</p> <p>John & Margaret 149 Browne</p>	<p>___ Cokes's heirs</p> <p>Cuthbert Grey</p> <p>Henry Manners ●</p> <p>William Morton thelder</p> <p>John Archer ●</p> <p>Stephen Huntington</p> <p>Lionell Thompson</p>
<p>John Archer 145 ●</p> <p>George Taylor 146</p> <p>Isabell Taylor 147</p> <p>Henry Manners 148 ●</p> <p>John & Margaret 149 Browne</p>	<p>___ Cokes's heirs</p> <p>Cuthbert Grey</p> <p>Henry Manners ●</p> <p>William Morton thelder</p> <p>John Archer ●</p> <p>Stephen Huntington</p> <p>Lionell Thompson</p>		
WESTERLANE WEST	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>John & Isabell Southe 150</p> <p>Jamys Pawline 151 ●</p> <p>Gennett Brukett 152</p> <p>Raffe Ferror 153</p> <p>Thomas Lordesman 154 ●</p> <p>John & Jennett Ourde 155</p> <p>John & Jennett Ourde 156</p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <p>Lionell Thompson</p> <p>Martyn Garnet</p> <p>Widowe Barrowe</p> <p>Raffe Lodesman ●</p> <p>Benedict Cantrell</p> <p>John Wocke</p> <p>George Pawlyn ●</p> <p>Thomas Rowlle's heirs per Nicholas Smythe</p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p>John & Isabell Southe 150</p> <p>Jamys Pawline 151 ●</p> <p>Gennett Brukett 152</p> <p>Raffe Ferror 153</p> <p>Thomas Lordesman 154 ●</p> <p>John & Jennett Ourde 155</p> <p>John & Jennett Ourde 156</p>	<p>Lionell Thompson</p> <p>Martyn Garnet</p> <p>Widowe Barrowe</p> <p>Raffe Lodesman ●</p> <p>Benedict Cantrell</p> <p>John Wocke</p> <p>George Pawlyn ●</p> <p>Thomas Rowlle's heirs per Nicholas Smythe</p>
<p>John & Isabell Southe 150</p> <p>Jamys Pawline 151 ●</p> <p>Gennett Brukett 152</p> <p>Raffe Ferror 153</p> <p>Thomas Lordesman 154 ●</p> <p>John & Jennett Ourde 155</p> <p>John & Jennett Ourde 156</p>	<p>Lionell Thompson</p> <p>Martyn Garnet</p> <p>Widowe Barrowe</p> <p>Raffe Lodesman ●</p> <p>Benedict Cantrell</p> <p>John Wocke</p> <p>George Pawlyn ●</p> <p>Thomas Rowlle's heirs per Nicholas Smythe</p>		

WINDMILLHOLE		
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)	
Thomas Baldwyn	157	Willm Price
Morris Peers	158	John Ladyman
Morris Peers	159	Isabell Wall
Adam Sawyer	160	● Willm Dixson
Stephan Etheringtonne	161	Hewe Sainte
William Dicksonne	162 ●	Peter Griame
John Evore	163	Mathewe Sharpe
John Lucas	164	Willm Baker
Wydowe Dome	165	Mathewe Sharpe
James Rowtles	166	Helyn Hull
Roberte Rede	167	● Elizabeth Taylor
Thomas Storye	168	Willm Harrett
William Musgrave	169	● John Allison
John Spychyne	170	John Forster
Roberte Roulath	171	Hewe Goffe
John Tailor	172 ●	Robert Trott
Jane Gerom	173	● Christofer Pottes
William Rooke	174	Lawrence Norton
Richarde Townsende	175	Tho. Sherlock
George Allisonne	176 ●	
Anthonye Fenwick	177	
Thomas Ritche	178	
Christopher Pott	179 ●	

EXTRAS (not listed elsewhere)	
General Survey, 1562, numbering from transcript in BRO (BRO, BRO/B6/1)	Rental, 1577 (TNA, SC/12/32/14)
GREENS (part)	GREENS NEAR WHITWELL TOWER
Edmonde Bell 141●	● Robt Bell
Symon White 142●	Innomi[na]t Bell
WALKERGATE WITHOUT THE RAMPIERS	● Symon White's heirs
George Bullock 301	● Tho Clarke the Preacher
George Bullock 302	John Twist
Thomas & Eliz. Harper 303	Morgan Lane
James Richardsonne 304	Edward Mylle
Thomas Clerke 305●	James Watson the porter
WALLIS GREENS	Wm Worthe
Cuthbert Bullock 459	Robert Atkynson
Eliz. Martin(Crawford) 460	Randolphe Tedder
Elizabeth Beck 461	Wm Lyall
Thomas Ferror 462	NEAR TO THE CHURCH
WALLIS GREEN	Robert Beawmounte
Elizabeth Parishe 199	William Larkin
Lyonell Corbet 200	Capteyne Brickwell
William Thompsonne 201	Mr Clarke the Preacher
William Bonny 202	RATTEN ROW
Richard Maie 203	Thomas Noddyn
	Richarde Lane
	William Godderd
	Alexander Richabee
	John Adamson
	Edward Rawlynson
	William Summerset p.
	Walter Powell

Appendix 2: Physical and social change in rural township streets between c.1570 and 1584.

AKELD		
Rent (basic unit 13s. 4d, i.e. 1 mark.)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
66s. 8d.	Thomas Gray	Thomas Graye
20s.	John Thomson	Lenerd Walles
20s.	James Carre	Gilbert Yowle
13s. 4d.	Francies Woodde	Robert Anderson
22s. 8d.	James Dunn	William Meale
13s. 4d.	Leonard Waller	John Tomson
13s. 4d.	Rych. Anderson	James Carre
13s. 4d.	John Foorde	John Forde
26s. 8d.	Rauff Roderforde	John Donne
13s. 4d.	Gylbert Yoole	Frauncis Wood
13s. 4d.	James Wilson	Robert Anderson
13s. 4d.	Wylyam Yoole	Henry Forde
13s. 4d.	Henry Foorde	James Donne

ANCROFT		
Rent	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
21s. 5d.	Wylyam Ruter	William Smith
36s. 8d.	Margaret Reaveley	Thomas Denyse
23s. 6d.	Wilyam Gray	Henry Chaunler
21s. 5d.	William Smithe	Thomas Havery
24s. 1d.	Thomas Dennisse	Henry Stell
15s. 8d.	John Wray	John Stell
22s. 3d.	Henry Challener	John Pette
22s. 3d.	Wiliam Dennesse	John Tomson
19s. 5d.	William Tailer	William Crosbey
16s. 11d.	Henry Steile	Adame Roter
20s. 1d.	Richard Reveley	Raph Wraye
21s. 4d.	Rauf Mille	William Tayler
21s. 8d.	William Crosbie	Adame Denis
19s. 4d.	John Steile	Adame Bell
19s. 4d.	John Thomson	John Selbye
23s.	Edmund Ruter	
19s. 4d.	Rauff Wray	
21s. 1d.	Edward Bell	
25s.	Richard Ray	
21s.	John Peete	
21s.	John Symson	
8s.	John Gilbert	

CHILLINGHAM		
Rent (Not specified)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
	Wilyam Henrison ●	Edward Stanley ●
	Dame Fittiplace	William Harrison ●
	George Marshall ●	George Marshall ●
	George Adon	William Lyndsay ●
	Gawyne Watson ●	James Smallshanks ●
	Thomas Bolome	<i>Gawen Watson</i> ●
	Wilyam Lynsay ●	
	James Smaleshankes ●	
	Edmonde Meanes	
	Rauff Newton	
	Edmond Stanley ●	

EWART		
Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)		Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
26s.	1	Henry Muschiens
8d.	½	Mathew Keethe ●
13s.	-	John Myller
21s.	1	Thomas Arkle ●
26s.	½	John More ●
13s.	1	Thomas Wilkynson ●
26s.	-	Rauff Hebburne
24s.	1	Edward Wilkynson ●
6d.	½	Henry Walles
26s.	-	Oswyne Paton ●
13s.	-	Peter Wilkinson ●
20s.	1	Robert Jackeson ●
26s.	1	Thomas Wilkynson (cottager?)
26s.	-	Henry Walles (cottager?)
4s.	-	
6d.		Total: 14
4s.		
6d.		

FENTON		
Rent (basic unit 25s.?)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
25s.	Wylliam Atkynson	John Graye
25s.	Roger Mille	William Roger
21s. 10d.	Thomas Laidlai	William Archebalde
25s.	Wilyam Smawe	Roger Mylne
25s.	William Murton	Thomas Ladeley
25s.	Robert Murton	William Smalle
25s.	Richard Murton	William Mortone
28s.	Iohn Murton	Robert Mortone
25s.	Nicholas Smawe	Iohn Mortone
28s.	William Murton	Nicholl Smalle
25s.	Iohn Gray	Thomas Mortone
21s. 10d.	Wilyam Roger	

KILHAM		
Rent (basic unit 13s 4d, i.e. 1 mark)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
26s. 8d	Thomas Gray	John Burrell
26s. 8d	John Burrell	Andrew Donne
13s. 4d	Thomas Howke	Thomas Huke
13s. 4d	Wedow Dunne	Roland Pott
13s. 4d	Rowland Dunne	Nicholl Donne
13s. 4d	Andrew Dunne	Roland Done
13s. 4d	Rowland Potte	William Huke
13s. 4d	Robert Burne	William Davison
13s. 4d	Ragnold Routledge	Jeffray Pott
13s. 4d	William Howke	Robert Moffatt
13s. 4d	William Dauison	Christofer Storie
13s. 4d	John Potte	Edward Storie
13s. 4d	Robert Muffett	William Burrell
13s. 4d	Christoffer Storie	John Armstronge
13s. 4d	William Howke	Androwe Glendonye
13s. 4d	William Burrell	John Rutliche
13s. 4d	Humphra Armiestronge	Christofer Rutliche
13s. 4d	Munghoo Storie	Thomas Rutliche
13s. 4d	Thomas Gray	Rigmone Rutliche

LEARMOUTH		
Rent (basic unit 11s. 4d.)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
27s.	John Selbie ●	● John Selbie
11s. 4d	William William	Thomas Johnson
5s. 8d.	Thomas Swarlande	● John Swarland
8s. 6d.	John Swarlande ●	● Roger Feters
8s. 6d	Odnell Feters ●	● Raph Tomson
11s. 4d.	Rauff Thomson ●	● John Cuthbert
5s. 8d.	Rauff Cuthberte ●	● Roger Cuthbert
5s. 8d.	John Cuthbert ●	● John Cuthbert
11s. 4d.	John Cuthbert thelder ●	● Raph Johnson
5s. 8d.	Rauff Johnson ●	● Wilfrair Bowton
5s. 8d.	George Bowton ●	● John Frost
11s. 4d.	John Froste ●	William Johnson
11s. 4d.	Floraunce Foster	● Awstyne Lawdour
11s. 4d.	Austyne Lawder ●	● Robert Swane
11s. 4d.	Richard Cuthbert	● Thomas Johnson
11s. 4d.	Robert Swanne ●	● John Johnson
13s. 6d.	Thomas Johnson ●	● John Pulton
11s. 4d.	John Johnson ●	● George Bolton
5s. 8d.	John Bowton ●	● Thomas Clarke
5s. 8d.	George Bowton ●	● John Johnson
8s. 6d.	Thomas Clarke ●	● John Clarke
11s. 4d.	John Johnson of ye yette ●	
5s. 4d.	John Clarke ●	
5s. 4d.	John Peirson	
	Total: 24	

MINDRUM		
Rent (basic unit 13s. 4d, i.e. 1 mark)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
25s. 8d.	Katrine Foster	Robert Ferrour
13s. 4d	Iohn Thomson●	● John Tomson
13s. 4d	Iohn Robson●	Roger Swane
13s. 4d.	Rauff Johnson●	● John Robson
20s.	George Hudspeth	Thomas Lettas
20s.	Wilfride Hudspeth	● Robert Johnson
13s. 4d	George Bowton●	● Raphe Luke
13s. 4d	Rauffe Looke●	● George Bolton
13s. 4d	Odnell Selbie	Nicholl Bolton
13s. 4d	Iohn Froste	● Thomas Bolton
13s. 4d	Nicholas Bowton●	John Ferrour
13s. 4d	Robert Sawyer	
13s. 4d	Thomas Bolton●	

NAMES IN REVERSE ORDER FROM ORIGINAL

CHILLINGHAM NEWTOWN		
Rent (basic unit 21s. 4d)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
21s. 4d.	Edmonde Dixson ●	Edward Dixsone ●
21s. 4d.	Gawyne Bolome ●	Gawene Bollome ●
21s. 4d.	Iohn Tuggelde ●	Rauf Tugell ●
21s. 4d.	Christoffer Wilyamson	John Dixsone ●
21s. 4d.	Iohn Tuggelde ●	John Tugell ●
21s. 4d.	Edmond Allason	John Fawdone
21s. 4d.	Iohn Dixson ●	George Tugell
10s. 4d.	Iohn Ferrer	Edmon Meanes
10s. 4d.	Rauff Tuggelde ●	
20s. 4d.	Mychaell Wilson	

WARK		
Rent (basic unit 25s.)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
		Thomas Graye
27s.	Gilbert Chalmerhy ●	● Gilbert Chamberlen
11s. 6d.	Mathow Robson ●	● Mathewe Robson
25s. 6d.	Alexander Clarke ●	● Alexander Clarke
25s.	Thomas Euworthe ●	● Thomas Eward
18s. 9d.	Christoffer Euworthe ●	● Alexander Eward
24s.	William Johnson ●	● Prestir Eward
12s. 6d.	John Moore ●	● William Johnson
25s.	Jesper Frannche ●	● John More
25s.	Edwarde West ●	● Jesper Frenche
25s.	Edwarde Charleton ●	● Edward Weste
12s. 6d.	Paule Euworthe ●	● Edward Charleton
25s. 6d.	George Euworth ●	● Pawle Eward
12s. 6d.	Humphrai Euworth ●	● George Eward
25s.	John Scotte ●	● Humfrey Eward
12s. 6d.	Wylyam Euworthe ●	● John Scott
12s. 6d.	Alexander Euworthe ●	● William Eward
25s. 9d.	George Euworthe ●	● Alexander Eward
13s. 3d.	Richard Euworthe ●	● George Eward
6s. 3d.	John Geddie ●	● John Gedie
6s. 3d.	William Caskie ●	● Richard Eward
6s. 9d.	John Ruter ●	● John Rutter
4d.	George Froste (cottar?) ●	● William Kaskey

WOOLER		
Rent (basic unit 13s. 4d. i.e. 1 mark)	Grey Survey, c.1570 (NRO 4118/01/173/81)	Muster, 1584 (SP 59/23 f.47)
11s.	Henry Gray	● Roger Strother
13s. 4d.	Henry Nevelson ●	● Thomas Watsone
13s. 4d.	Edmonde Huntely ●	Jenkyne Maddour
26s.[sic]	Lyonell Gray ●	● Henry Nevelson
13s. 4d.	Roger Scotte ●	● Edmond Huntley
13s. 4d.	Iohn Younge ●	● Lyonell Graye
13s. 4d.	Henry Walles ●	● Roger Scotte
13s. 4d.	Iohn Watson ●	● John Yonge
26s. 8d	Gilbert Scotte	● Thomas Nevelson
13s. 4d.	Mathewe Dixson ●	● Henry Walles
11s.	Thomas Watson ●	● Oswald Watsone
20s.	Thomas Nevelson ●	● Mathew Dixson
13s. 4d.	Richarde Strothe ●	

Appendix 3: William Collingwood's inventory.

This 'inventory' probably represents part of a larger house (on the site of Mill Farm at Kimmerston?) inhabited by John Collingwood. The voice of his step-mother Phyllis is heard through the medium of Ezekiel [the] clerk. The document includes several unique features, including the fullest mention of home-based manufacturing in the study and details of the wider house-site. The problem with the Collingwood's devalued horse hints at measures taken to smooth the entrance of King James VI and I into Berwick in April 1603.

DPRI/1/1603/C8/1

An inventory of the goods of William Collingwood of Kimmerston in the parish of Ford deceased the 6 of March last past, taken upon the oath and report of Phyllis late wife of the said William with the assistance of two of the sufficient neighbours whose names are hereunder written. The 3 of May 1603.

In the hall: & chamber	
A table and a vessel bank and a bedstead	5s
Two feather beds, one lying in the chamber	5s
Two coverlets in the hall, six more in the chamber, valued at 18d the piece	12s
Of sheets one pair lying in the hall and three in the chamber, valued at 18d the piece	6s
Ten pieces of pewter vessels great and small together: and one brass candlestick	6s
A brass kettle	18d
A spinning wheel for woolen	6d
Three spindles of harden and strokings [cardings] and half a stone of plaid yarn	3s
A spindle of linen yarn, and three pounds of lint	16d
A cloak of russet with the guard, having in it 5 yards of cloth	5s
Three stands for water: and four barrels for drink etc	3s 4d
An aumbry : and two chests then standing in the hall	4s
In the chimney a crook, a pair of pot crooks, a pair of iron of racks and a spit	2s
Two bolsters and four pillows	2s
Four pillow bears [pillowcases]	20d
A dozen yards of rough cloth for jacks, after a groat a yard	4s
A winding cloth	12d
In the byre	
Two kine with two calves both calved since Candlemas, the one taken with the other valued at 20s the piece	40s
Two wheyes [wethers/ewes?] of two years old, at 8s the piece	16s
A horse, which the said William had recovered out of the hands of Scotsmen, a few days before he departed, which had been out of his hands above two years, and within that time sworn to £40, for the which he had a man lying perforce at Berwick for bond that there should be satisfaction made to him, the horse, both in their hand: and since his [capture] hath been employed in plough work etc and is now valued at	40s

He hoped to have had some recompense for the forbearance of his horse according to the laws of the border, by promise of the Lord Warden of the marches, but the prisoner at the King's Majesty's coming in escaped by the neighbours of they who should have solicited the King in the matter.	
Six quarters of land lying unoccupied and no commodity reaped of it, saving the grass which grows upon it, which land we imagine may be valued at 5 marks.	
A clock mill [click mill, i.e. with a horizontal wheel] standing near the town, which hath no resort but the neighbours, the number of tenants and inhabitants being but small. The commodities of it are valued at 20s by the year.	
A bushel of rye sown upon a parcel of the foresaid land being sown somewhat after ryeseed time seems to come ill forward, valued at the price of the seeds which were sown, and not like to yield so well.	5s
Three bowls of oats, which John Collingwood the son of the said William hath sown (since his father deceased) in the aforesaid twelve riggs lying severally in the fields being his father's land	20s
A garden and a corn yard, which the said John hath sown, the garden with lint and the yard with beare[barley], not permitting his mother to have any part of the land, though it did belong to his father, which land the said William did hold by lease, without paying of rent saving one year by the year at the bequest of the Lord of the Lordship who then was, the grandfather of the Lord, that now is. Valued at the price of the lint and the beare when they were sown	2s
The said William was indebted	
To Mr Raphe Carr of Holbourn	30s
To Christopher Beady of Ford	20s
To Thomas Unthank of Kimmerston	18s
To Thomas Watson bailiff of Wooler	14s
To Robert Forster of Morpeth	26s
To John Selby of Tindall House	26s
To Jasper Cuthbert of Learmouth	28s
The said Phyllis late wife of the said William is indebted to Lancelot Creak and his wife of Ford for the aruall dinner [from the same root as 'rue' – i.e. sympathise or mourn] upon the day of the burial of her husband.	17s
The rest of the debts, if there be any, the said Phyllis doth refer to the knowledge and report of the before named John Collingwood.	
Written in the presence of these witnesses,	
Thomas Unthank of Kimmerston – his mark	
John Sley of Kimmerston – his mark	
Ezechiell Clark the writer	
Memorandum, that the within named William Collingwood and Phyllis his wife had in their possession a brass pot, which was bought in the former husband Peter Forster's days, and he willed it to be given to his daughter Phyllis Forster, now after the husband's name Phyllis Watson, which pot the said William while he lived would not part from.	
A kettle, which the said Phyllis Collingwood and Phyllis Forster alias Watson bought for the use of a young wench, who is daughter to the within named John Collingwood.	
1603 I – bonored Wm, Collinwood do, Garrison captn [John Selby?] 20 May 1603 TR	

Appendix 4: Documents relating to 49-51 Marygate, Berwick

1539/40; Lionel Shotton passes the tenement to Rafe Ferrar

ZMD 94/26 (Latin) 3 March 31st Henry VIII

..I Lionel Shotton of Berwick burgess ...to Raffe Ferrar, soldier... tenement or burgage .. in Marygate west..46 ells long x 8 wide.

Witnesses; Odinell Selby, mayor, Cuthbert Hardy [?] alderman, William Wallis victualler, John Anthony [mason?] Lionel Thompson bailiff, Raffe Selbie captain, & many others.

1562 General Survey [plot 404]

Raffe Ferrour holdeth one tenement there containing in length 30 yards and in breadth 7 ½ yards. It is worth per annum 40 s. He conveith his title by purchase of Lyonell Shotton by deed dated 3 March 31st Henry VIII, who had it as son and heir of Gawen Shotton, and paieth per annum VI d.

Thomas Rugg mentioned in the Guild Book

B1/1 f. 102 Mayor's accounts 1562-3: Thomas Rowgge the last year 1562 and this year 1563 £4 (the largest amount in the list).

f. 104 Thomas Rugg was made freeman the second day of November 1563 for the sum of £13.6s.8d. which is accounted and returned over to Mr Temple in recompense for part of his sum for his voyage to the parliament which makes up the sum of £81. 11s 10d and the said Thomas Rugg not to occupy hides, wool or fells.

23 December 1563 Paid to Thomas Rugg of the town's money for the Sergeants' gowns - £4 [every year].

1567; Rafe Ferrar mortgages it by deed of gift to Thomas Rugg for £20

ZMD 94/27 1 August 9th Eliz (1567)

THIS INDENTURE MADE the fourth day of August in the ninth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith as BETWEEN RAPHE FERROR of the Queen's Majesty's town of Berwick upon Tweed, merchant, on the one part AND Thomas Rugg of the said town of Berwick, merchant, on the other part WITNESSETH that the said Raphe Ferror for and in consideration of a certain sum or money to him at the ensealing hereof well and fully contented and paid by the said Thomas Rugg, wherewith the said Raphe Ferror acknowledges himself fully contented and satisfied and paid AND OF any part and parcel thereof clearly acquitted and discharges the said Thomas Rugg his heirs executors and administrators by these presents, HATH given, granted and by this present indenture doth give and grant unto the said Thomas Rugg all that his burgage or tenement as it is set, built

and standing within the said town of Berwick on the south side of the Market Place now in the tenure and occupation of Leonard Dodd and others, between the tenement of Giles Commyng and Jennet his wife, daughter and heir of William Johns, Gunner, late deceased on the west side, and the tenement of Leonard Trollop in the tenure and occupation of John Sleigh, John Nick[le]son and others on the east side. With all other shops, edifices houses, buildings, lofts, chambers, cellars, solars, garths, gardens, entrances and outgates whatsoever to the said burgage or tenement in any wise belonging or appertaining and all other escripts, muniments, charters, evidences and writings which concern the premises or any part thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said burgage or tenement and all other the premises with all and singular the appurtenances to the said burgage or tenement belonging or appertaining and all other escripts, muniments, charters, evidences and writings which concern the same to the said Thomas Rugg his heirs executors and assignees to his and their only uses for ever. Of the chief lords of the fee thereof by service and rent thereof due and of right accustomed. AND THE SAID Raphe Ferror covenanteth and granteth by this indenture for him his heirs executors administrators and assignees that he and they shall warrant and defend the peaceable and quiet occupation of the said burgage or tenement and all other the premises with their appurtenances unto the said Thomas Rugg his heirs and assignees against all English men for ever. NEVERTHELESS it is covenanted condescended concluded and agreed between the said parties that if the said Raphe Ferror, his heirs, executors or assignees or any of them on and upon the twentieth day of November next ensuing after the date of this indenture do well and truly content, satisfy and pay or cause to be contented, satisfied and paid unto the said Thomas Rugg in his mansion house now in Berwick, or to his heirs, executors or assignees, the sum of twenty pounds of good and lawful money of England that then this present deed and grant be utterly frustrate, void and of none effect, whatsoever sentence, covenant, clause, article or agreement heretofore contained notwithstanding. AND IF any default of payment shall happen to be made in payment of the said sum of twenty pounds or any part or parcel thereof contrary [to] the manner form and effect before mentioned that then this present deed of gift indented to be, stand and remain in full force, strength, power, virtue and effect to all intent, construction and purposes. IN WITNESS whereof either party to the part of these indentures interchangeably have set their hands and seals the day and year above said, 1567.

Rauff Ferror

T Graye [clerk]

Town seal, merchant's seal on reverse.

1569; Thomas Rugg agrees to rebuild the party wall with Leonard Trollop

ZMD 94/28; Articles of Agreement between Thomas Rugg and Leonard Trollop, 4 June 1569.

Be it known unto all men by these presents that whereas the fourth day of June in the year of the Lord God 1569 it is comprehended, concluded and agreed before the right honourable Henry Gray of the honourable order of the garter knight, baron of Hunsdon, Lord Governor of Berwick upon Tweed and lord Warden of the east Marches of England for anempst Scotland [etc] between **Leonard Trollop** of the County of Durham, Yeoman on the

one party and **Thomas Rugg** of Berwick aforesaid, burgess on the other party **Concerning the building up and maintenance of one stone wall or gable** between a tenement of the said **Thomas Rugg's** on the south side of the Market Place within Berwick aforesaid by the east next adjoining unto the tenement of the said **Leonard Trollop** on the south side of the market place within Berwick aforesaid, by their mutual assent and agreement to stand to, abide and fulfil all manner of ordinance, ward, sentence, judgement and decree whatsoever John Roffe, Master Carpenter of Berwick aforesaid, Henry Manners of the same burgess, and William Harrold the elder also of the same Rough Mason, ordinary viewers or landliners for indifferency elect, chosen and appointed, shall ordain. NOW KNOW YE that we, the said John Roffe, Henry Manners and William Harrold taking upon us the charge of arbitration ['arbytrymente'] and order between the said parties, well weighing and considering what benefit and commodity thereby may ensue unto the said Leonard Trollop, his heirs and assignees as well as unto the said Thomas Rugg, his heirs and assignees for all manner of chance of sudden fire (which God forbid) as for the beautifying of the same town and other good considerations, DO BETWEEN THE said parties order, judge, determine and award by these presents that the said Thomas Rugg his heirs and assignees on the good considerations before remembered shall take down the said wall or gable on the west side of the said Leonard Trollop's tenement adjoining to the tenement of the said Thomas Rugg and shall at his own proper costs and charges build or cause to be built up again a good wall or gable for to serve the full height and breadth of the house or houses which the said Thomas Rugg, his heirs and assignees shall at any time or times hereafter build or cause to be built the said wall or gable with stone to be set and built upon the ground of the said Leonard Trollop's tenement perpetually to continue, stand and remain to serve and bear both the said tenement as well of the said Leonard Trollop as of the said Thomas Rugg their heirs and assignees. And the same wall or gable so built to be sufficiently maintained and upheld by the said Leonard Trollop and Thomas Rugg, their heirs and assignees from time to time.

1570 William Ferrar sells the tenement to Thomas Rugg

ZMD 94/29 Quit Claim, 11 Jan 1570.

To all true and Christian people to whom this present writing shall come to be seen, heard or read; WILLIAM FERROR the Elder, son and heir of Raph Ferror late of the Queen's Majesty's town of Berwick upon Tweed burgess deceased, send greetings. KNOW YE THAT I the said William Ferror the elder HAVE REMISED, released, and for me and my heirs perpetually quit claimed unto Thomas Rugg of the said town of Berwick, burgess, and to his heirs and assignees for ever, ALL THAT my right, title, claim, demand and interest which ever I have had, have or by any means hereafter may have or my heirs may have of and in the burgage or tenement with all and singular the appurtenances now in the full and peaceable possession of the said Thomas Rugg or his assignees SITUATED AND BEING within the said town of Berwick on the south side of the market place between the tenements of Giles Coninges and Jennet his wife an the west side and the tenement of Leonard Trollope now in the tenure of John Sleigh, John Nickson and others on the east side SO THAT IS TO SAY that neither I the said William Ferror, nor my heirs nor any other persons for us by us or in our names, may or ought hereafter to claim require or challenge

any estate, right, title, demand or interest of in or to the said burgage or tenement with all or singular the appurtenances nor of, in or to any part or parcell thereof, BUT FROM ALL ACCUSATION of right, title claim demand and interest therein and thereupon utterly to be expulsed and excluded for ever by these presents. AND I THE SAID WILLIAM Ferror the elder and my heirs, the said burgage or tenement with all and singular the appurtenances unto the said Thomas Rugg, his heirs and assignees against all men shall warrant and defend for ever by these present. IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have subscribed this present writing with my own hand and set my seal AT BERWICK AFORESAID the eleventh day of January in the thirteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc. 1570.

Signed John Elles, William Attchison, William Farrer, John Johnson and Thomas Gray, clerks

[with seals of Ferror and town]

1573 Thomas Rugg died.

DPRI/1/1573/R4/1-19 Will 21 October 1573, inventory 29 October 1573. Actual total £1,321 1s 9d (with account of debts of £368 11s 0d), inventory of wares and household goods (£437 6s 11d) and debts (£776 3s 10d), and the wares sent into Scotland by 'his man' Charles Haslopp 17 Oct 1573 (£107 11s), with list of debts owing by the testator at London (£288 1s 10d) and at York (£80 9s 2d and more).

In the name of God amen this 21st day of October Anno Domini 1573. I, Thomas Rugg of Berwick upon Tweed Burgess, at this present sick in my body but in good and perfect remembrance praised be God, understanding and also knowing the mutability of this transitory world and that after many frailnesses and conditions death to every creature is certain and the hour thereof not known, do here instate, ordain and make this my present testament concerning herein my last will in manner and form following. Viz., first I bequeath my soul unto almighty God and my body to be buried whereat it shall please my friends at their discretion. Item: I give and bequeath unto William Rugg my oldest son ~~the~~ ~~whole~~ my new house in the market place with the appurtenances foreside and backside that I now presently dwell in [404], and to enter unto the same when he cometh unto the lawful age of 21 years. And I will that Jane my wife shall have and enjoy the said house with the said premises from the day of my death until the said William Rugg my son do come unto his said years, and if my son William do die do either die or he come to his lawful age aforesaid or after do die without issue lawfully begotten then I will that the said house shall descend and come unto Tobias Rugg my second son, and so from one of my sons unto another so long as any of them shall live, and for fault of them and their issue lawfully begotten the said house with the appurtenances so come to my daughter and to the issue of her body lawfully begotten forever. Item: I give and bequeath unto Margaret Rugg my oldest daughter my house with the appurtenances standing near to the new rampier adjoining upon the tenement of James Smith soldier [87], and failing of her any of her issue lawfully begotten I will that the said house with the appurtenances shall descend and come unto Tobias Rugg my son aforesaid and to the issue of his body lawfully begotten, and for want of such said issue to come and return unto the next of my sons or children and to their issue lawfully begotten.

Item: I give and bequeath to Tobias my said son my house with the appurtenances in the Ness now in the tenure of one Peter Gosling soldier, and failing of him and heirs of his body lawfully begotten the said house with the appurtenances to come and return unto my other children and to the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten forever.

Item: I give unto Charles Haslopp my servant my lease of the corner house near to the marketplace with the appurtenances now in the tenure of Richard Eastway and Robert Cass [blank].

Item: I give and bequeath unto Robert Rugg, [later Captain of Lindisfarne, d.1643?] my youngest son, one hundred pounds current money of England to be paid to him by my executors at such time as my supervisors of this my will shall think convenient, for the better bringing up and bestowing of my said preferment. ITEM I give and bequeath unto Margaret Rugg my daughter fourscore pounds in like case current money of England to be paid unto her by the executors of this my last will at such time as the supervisors of this my will shall think necessary and convenient for the better bringing up and the better bestowing of my said daughter, for her best preferment.

Item: I give and bequeath unto my foresaid daughter Margaret Rugg four score pounds current money of England to be paid unto her, as to her sister and brothers aforesaid, at the like discretion of my supervisors hereafter to be named.

Item: I give and bequeath unto Isabel my other daughter one hundred marks like current money of England to be paid unto her in manner and form as above said, like as my other children and by the like discretion of my supervisors for her best preferment as aforesaid.

Item I give and bequeath unto my said son William Rugg one hundred pounds like current money of England to be paid to him by my executors at the discretion of my supervisors in like case for his best preferment.

Item I give and bequeath unto Jane my wife two hundred pounds of current money of England to be taken and had out of my goods and debts indifferently.

Item I give and bequeath unto my mother in law Agnes Swan £3 a year to be paid unto her yearly by my executors during her natural life and I will that she shall have the sum paid unto her every quarter of a year 15s. at every quarter end yearly during her natural life as abovesaid.

Item I give and bequeath unto my brother Henry Rugg twenty pounds to be paid unto him by my executors at the discretion of my supervisors.

Item I give and bequeath unto Charles Haslopp my servant aforesaid twenty pound to be paid to him by executors at the discretion of my supervisors aforesaid.

Item I give unto James Grame's son 20s. and Anthony Madeson's son 10s. and to Thomas Winstanley's son 10s., to be paid by my executors at the discretion of my supervisors as abovesaid.

Item I give and bequeath unto William Turpin twenty pounds, to be paid unto him by my executors at the discretion of my supervisors as aforesaid. Item I give and bequeath unto the poor of this town forty shillings, to be distributed unto them by my executors at the discretion of my supervisors as aforesaid.

Item I give and bequeath unto Valentine Rugg my brother's son five pounds like current money of England, to be paid to him in form as aforesaid.

Item I give and bequeath unto Jane Tendering my niece 20s, to be paid unto her as in like case above said.

Item I give and bequeath unto James Foster and William Foster, brethren unto the said Agnes Foster either of them 10s current money, to be paid unto them in manner as aforesaid.

[inserted] And also I will and ordain that if my whole debts and goods will not extend unto the value of the goods by me herein bequeathed, that then I will that all they to whom I have any money shall be abutters portion and portion alike.

Item I so make my executors of this my present testament my said wife Jane Rugg, my brother in law Richard Fon[t?]same of London Salter, my brother Henry Rugg and they to receive all my goods, debts and demands wheresoever they may be had or found of any manner of person or persons. And they in like case again to pay and discharge all my legacies and bequests contained in this my last will and also to all manner of person and persons to whom of right or conscience I do owe anything unto.

Item and also I ordain and make to be supervisors and overseers of this my present testament whom I will shall have the whole government and ordering of all things contained in the same my right well beloved friends Robert Jackson of Berwick Alderman, Thomas Clerk preacher and Charles Haslopp aforesaid my servant, and I give to every one of them one cloak cloth for their pains and in like case to the writer hereof for his pains. And utterly revoke and admit all forms wills legacies and bequests before the date hereof at any time by me made or done and hereunto I have affixed my hand the day and year abovesaid.

/4-19

A perfect and true inventory of all the goods, chattels and debts of Thomas Rugg late of Berwick deceased taken and praised the 23 of October Anno Domini 1573 by Christopher Townson, John Saltonstall and Meredith Griffon of the said Berwick in the presence of Thomas Clark preacher, Robert Jackson alderman and others.

In the shop. [The inventory is eleven pages long but it includes (not in the original order)]

1 long settle, 'the painted borders'.

Hundreds of lengths of cloth: including baye, broadcloth, camlet, canvas (including coarse and striped), carsaye, cotton, diaper, frezadoo, grogram, Hampshire, Holland, Kendal freze, rugg (including Kendal rugg), louze, Manchester freze,

Appendix 4: Documents relating to 49-51 Marygate, Berwick

Millan, motley, Penistone, sackcloth, sarcenet, saye, Scottish harden, Scottish linen, silk, taffeta, velvet, worsted. Colours include black (by far the most popular), ash colour, crimson, flesh colour, frost, frost upon green, gallany colour, golden colour, green, grey, orange, purple, red, russet, rust, sky, tawny, veze, white, yellow.

Ready-made clothes: caps (including round, women's, Scots), gloves (including womens' gloves), hats (including felts, felts for women, velvet, lined with velvet, for women, black crowned, taffeta), leather jerkins, stockings (including yellow, red), trunk hose, women's hose.

Haberdashery: bells, brushes for combs, bombast, buttons [including long, Statute], cord, hooks and eyes, lace [including billament, bobbin, pearly, Statute], laces, pointing laces, purses, ribbons, shoe buckles, silk fringe, stocking silk, thimbles, thread (including brown, Colonsay, sisters', Spanish silk, white).

Goods for the home: alum, bolsters, cups, 300 curtain rings, frying pans, latten spoons, locks (including a chest lock), trenchers, pairs of pincers, pairs of snuffers, sheets, spices (aniseed, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, liquorice, sugar).

Goods for education and leisure: paper, pens and inkhorns, ink, sand boxes, 37 grammars, 1 dozen psalm books, 1 dozen catechisms, 1 book of the abridgement of statutes [possibly for his shop?], 1 book of philosophy, 6 dozen playing cards, lute strings.

Goods for soldiers: bowstrings, dagger, halberd, knives (great and little), sword crampers, sword girdles.

Building materials: rope, 3,000 nails, 2,000 double and penny nails, great spiking nails, hammers, 1 burden of steel, 2 hundred fir deals, 5 score double spars, 6 score rafter boards, 3 hundred paving tiles, 4 stone of rosin.

500 hoops, 13 salmon barrels, 84 sheep skins.

1 horse.

The House Stuff. [the document has no divisions but I have suggested separate rooms or groups of rooms, based on the iron chimneys and what might be fitted into the house as described later].

[First floor?] 1 counter, 2 chests, 1 chair, 1 bible, 2 harquebuses, 3 old daggers, 1 basin and ewer, 6 porringers, 3 platters, **3 flower pots** [Do not appear anywhere else except Charles Haslop who had 2 in his inventory – left to him by Jane?], 1 pair of linen sheets, 1 pair of other sheets, 1 pair of sheets, 1 other pair, 5 pairs of harden sheets, 3 pillowcases, 2 diaper towels, 1 table cloth, 1 cupboard cloth, 1 dozen of diaper napkins, 1 dozen of other napkins, 4 pairs of coarse sheets, 3 cupboard cloths, 1 pair of fustian blankets, 1 covering to a bed, 1 coverlet of dornex, 1 other old plaid, 1 featherbed, 6 cushions, 56 ounces of plate, 1 gold ring, 4 blankets, 2 mattresses, 2 bolsters, 1 bedstead of fir, 2 forms, j feaggan, j little aquavit bottle, 1 brass orter [dish], 1 pottle pot, 3 quart pots and a pint pot, 1 charger, 2 platters, 1 passon, a press-cupboard of wainscot, 1 bedstead with a trundle bed, 1

mattress, 1 straw bed and bolster and 4 pillows, 1 covering of frieze rug, 1 counter and a form, 1 iron chimney.

[Second floor?] 1 bed of red and green saye, 1 great brass basin, 1 chest banded with iron, 7 platters, 4 dishes, 1 basin, 4 saucers, 2 dozen of trenchers, 1 basin and ewer, 1 colander, 1 pottle pot and 2 quart pots, 3 candlesticks, 1 sheeps' colour cloak, 1 blanket and 1 pillow, 1 lute, j table in the study, 1 joined stool, 1 iron crow, 1 boull of corn, 1 piece of a caple, 1 iron chimney.

[Hall?] 1 chair, 5 candlesticks, 4 dishes, one joinered long table with a form and 6 stools, 3 brass pots, 1 copper pan, old tubs and trintillments, 1 long chest, 1 bedstead with the furniture, 2 spits and crooks, 1 pair of tongs and a poker, 1 half barrel of salmon, 1 latten [wooden] candlestick, 1 frying pan, 2 little brass pans, 1 long table between the doors, other old tubs.

Certain wares sent into Scotland by his man Charles Heslop the 17 day of October 1573 ...

A note of certain bonds: William Jackson, John Dawson, Peter Armourer, Peter Farley, Lionell Jackson, Robert Bradfurth, Henry Rugg, Mr Postgate, Davy Foullers, James Blount of the Newcastle, Richard Thompson of Harbottle, Thomas Lock etc.

Debts now owing in the shop book as followeth: [Many names, including] the Lord of Barmoor, John Scott of Alnwick, Johh Revely of Homilton, Robert Selby of Grindon, William Selby of Pawston, the Lord of Barrow. etc

Debts owing by Thomas Rugg: 'At London': Thomas Duffield, Thomas Archdale [draper in London 1628, Connected Histories], Henry Lee, Roger Wright, Michael Peneston, Rauphe Beadie, William Owen, Richard Fonshaen, 'Mr Turner his attorney' [Turner of Kirkleatham, Redcar?]. 'Owing in Yorkshire': John Littlewood [1555 husbandman, Bradford, York Cause Papers], William Brownhead, Thomas Hall, Edward Bentley, [from here, names are of local men] John Moor, Meredith Griffin, Hugh Fewell, Mr Merry, Sir Valentine Brown, Ellis Holmes, James Gaston, Ralph Shore etc.

1574

Charles Heslop m. Jane Rugg (Maxwell 1907)

1577 rental

TNA, SC/12/32/14

In Marygate south side: Henry Rugg – vi d.

1584 Charles and Jane give the property to Tobias (Thomas' eldest son William should have had it but he was unsatisfactory in some way, and living in Tweedmouth: bond dated 1585 DPRI/I/3/1585/B219)

BRO B6/1 n.p. 1584

The true copy of a deed of gift made from Charles Heslop, burgess, and Jane his wife unto Tobias Rugg his house on the south side of the market place, between a tenement

occupied by Richard Sherebourne ['Sherton' in 1562] on the west and occupied by Leonard Betson or Alwrn [sic] to the east ['Widow Betson' later had an alehouse in Marygate].

1589 Toby Rugg leases it to Henry Rugg, with building clause for 2 new chambers etc.

ZMD 94/30 29 September 1589

THIS INDENTURE made a the town of Berwick upon Tweed the twenty ninth day of September in the one and thirtieth year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God etc BETWEEN Toby Rugg one of the sons of the late Thomas Rugg some time burgess of Berwick deceased now servant of Dame Thomasina Brown on the one part AND Henry Rugg of the aforesaid town of Berwick upon Tweed, Burgess and merchant on the other part. WITNESSETH that the said Toby Rugg for and in consideration that the said Henry Rugg his heirs executors administrators assignees or some of them shall well and freely **build and re-edify** of his and their own proper cost and charges in and upon a certain burgage or tenement with the appurtenances of the said Toby Rugg's situated standing and being on the south west side of the market place in Berwick aforesaid wherein the said Henry Rugg now dwelleth according to the manner and form hereinafter in the present indenture expressed and for divers and sundry other good considerations moving the said Toby Rugg **HE HATH demised, granted and to farm letten ... unto the said Henry Rugg** ALL that his burgage or tenement aforesaid situate & standing and being on the southwest side of the market place of Berwick or Marygate right over against the Tollbooth of Berwick with all houses, buildings, halls, chambers, parlours, shops, cellars, solars, kitchens, stables, lofts, garrets, yards, courtings, garths, gardens, lights, easements, profits, commodities, and appurtenances whatsoever to the same burgage or tenement with appurtenances belonging or in any wise appertaining in as ample order manner and form as the said Henry Rugg now occupies and enjoys the same. BETWEEN a tenement of Giles Conning on the north side and a tenement of John Sleigh on the south side. TO HAVE and to hold the said burgage etc... unto the said Henry Rugg his heirs etc... from the day [above said] ... to the end and term of twelve years from thence next after following and fully to be complete and ended. YIELDING and paying therefore yearly unto the said Toby Rugg etc... by him and during the **six years next coming which shall be the full one half of the term aforesaid one penny** of good and lawful money of England at the feast of St Michael the archangel only every year and the same penny be lawfully --- and unto the Queen's majesty her heirs or successors the yearly sum of eleven shillings and sixpence lawful money of England to be paid to the collectors or receivers of Her Majesty's rents in Berwick aforesaid and yielding and paying therefore year and yearly after the end and expiration of the aforesaid first six years from thenceforth yearly by and **during the thenceforth six years the residue of the aforesaid term of twelve years then to come the yearly rent or sum of seven pounds** of lawful money of England unto the said Toby Rugg etc at two usual terms by even portions (that is to say) at the feasts of the Annunciation of our Blessed Lady the Virgin and St Michael the Archangel... and unto the Queens Majesty s' collectors etc... the above said yearly sum of eleven shillings sixpence... AND if it shall happen the said yearly rent [is unpaid, then Toby Rugg etc can enter and] distraint and the differences to take hold, lead,

drive, carry away and detain until the aforesaid rent etc... is paid. AND [Rugg must pay the 11s. 6d. AND... Henry Rugg etc...] before the expiration of two years next ensuing thereunto shall and will build and re-edify all the long backhouse containing about forty and four feet in length, parcel of the aforesaid burgage or tenement, extending along the courting from the fore house unto the stable in manner and form hereafter expressed that is to say to build and reedify the walls of the aforesaid house of the length aforesaid in good, sufficient and substantial order according to the sort and proportion of that parcel of wall already standing builded upon the said ground adjoining to the forehouse and of such good and convenient height as there may be made two good upper chambers and a fair garret above together with also two stone chimneys to be raised up together within one gable with beckettes, cans and tops of stone as the order of building in the town now is, whereof one for the kitchen with an oven in the same kitchen and the other chimney for one of the aforesaid two chambers and the same two chambers to be made with one fair transom window of five lights to be set in each of the two chambers and dormants [in this context, joists] of oaken timber for the uppermost lofting of both the same chambers of seven inches, seven and a half and eight inches deep or thereabouts and five inches broad and two foot between every dormant and the same two chambers to be lofted and made in form aforesaid and lastly boarded and rebated with good fir deals shall be well and sufficiently sealed as above said. And for the under lofting of the same house to use and lay in fair dormants of fir about six or seven inches thick and lastly boarded and rebated with good fir deals, and the said two chambers and the kitchen to be well and orderly cast with lime, viz., white limed and the uppermost garret of the said house to be well plastered up to the window beams which garret window and all the couples for service of the same house to be good strong and sufficient couples able for such a roof and to be set up seven foot asunder or thereabouts between every couple all along the same roof. And one cross stone wall to be made and brought up in the cellar at the end of the same cellar next the kitchen about seven or eight foot height. And the same cellar and kitchen to be paved and flagged with stone in very good sort and to make such means as the same cellars of the said tenement may be kept dry from under water. And also the same house to be well timbered, fir-sparred, wattled, thatched, repaired and furnished with windows, doors or portals, locks, keys, partitions and other necessary furnishings thereunto reasonably appertaining. And the said Henry Rugg his heirs etc... covenant and grant to keep all the demised tenement aforesaid in good repair and tenantable during all the term of twelve years and at the end thereof shall give up the same in good repair and tenantable. AND the said Toby Rugg for him, his heirs etc... covenants and grants to warrant and defend the aforesaid tenement to with the appurtenances unto the said Henry Rugg his heirs and assignees against all English people by and during all the said term of twelve years. And the said Henry Rugg covenants and grants by these presents that neither he, his wife nor children shall let or set the same whole tenement with the appurtenances to any person or

persons but the same to remain in the hands, possession and occupation of him, the said Henry Rugg etc... AND the said Toby Rugg etc... covenants and grants to these present that if they or any of them at or before the end and expiration of the said term of twelve years be in any mind or disposition to demise, let or set the aforesaid whole burgage or tenement or any part thereof, for any more further years or else to bargain and sell the same to any person or persons, that then the said Henry Rugg or his heirs shall have the first ---- and preferment thereof paying as any other will do and rather better cheap. IN WITNESS whereof...

1592; Toby Rugg leases it to Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson , but will ensure that the cellar drains are kept clear.

ZMD 94/32; indenture of lease

1 August 34 Eliz

THIS INDENTURE, made the first day of August in the three and fortieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth ... between Toby Rugg of Woodrington in the County of Northumberland, Gentleman, of the one part and Michael Sanderson of the town of Berwick upon Tweed, Alderman and Hugh Gregson of the same town, Burgess, on the other part, WITNESSETH that the said Toby Rugg for and in consideration of a certain sum of lawful money of England to him beforehand before the ensealing of these presents by them the said Michael and Hugh well and truly satisfied, contented and paid, and for sundry other good and reasonable causes and considerations him thereunto specially moving, hath demised, granted and to farm let ... unto the said Michel Sanderson and Hugh Gregson, their executors, administrators and assignees, all that his messuage, tenement or burgage set, lying and being in Berwick aforesaid in the Market Place of the same town between a tenement of the heirs of Giles Conning toward the north and the tenement of John Satherthet the younger towards the south, fronting upon the market stead towards the east and extending backwards to Michael Hill towards the west, together with all and any the shops, cellars, solars, rooms, chambers, buildings, edifices, backhouses, stables, gardens, garts and all the appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging now in the tenure and occupation of Henry Rugg of the said town of Berwick, burgess. TO HAVE and to hold the said messuage or tenement and all other the premises above by these presents mentioned, to be demised with all and singular their appurtenances to the said Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson, their executors and assignees from the feast of Michael the Archangel next after the date of these presents until the end and term of twenty years from thence next ensuing YIELDING and paying therefore yearly during the said term of seven years to the said Toby Rugg his heirs executors & administrators or assignees or any of them twelve pence of lawful English money at one payment that is to say at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel if the same shall be lawfully demanded. And unless they, the said Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson, their heirs, executors or assignees thereunto from them lawfully authorised, shall give notice or warning in writing under their hands to the said Toby Rugg or in his absence to the then mayor of the town of Berwick at the least one half year next before the end and expiration of the said term of seven years, that the said Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson, their executors, administrators or assignees will

at the end of the said term of seven years yield up the said messuage or tenement with all and singular the above demised premises into the hands of the said Toby Rugg, his heirs executors and assignees then, and the same warning not given further. To have and to hold the foresaid messuage or tenement, with all other the above demised premises, to them the said Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson, their heirs, executors, administrators and assignees for and during the term of seven years more next following from and after the end and expiration of the said term of seven years first by these presents mentioned to be granted.

On reverse;

Memorandum; that the within named Michael Sanderson and Hugh Gregson have and do undertake to discharge a certain quit rent of eleven shillings and six pence issuing yearly out of the messuage or tenement within demised due to her majesty payable to the Collector or Receiver of Her Majesty's rents within the town of Berwick during the term of this persons demise.

Memorandum; also that if any underwater happen to break out in any of the two cellars of the said messuage within demised during the continuance of this lease that the pipes for conveyance of the said water shall and are to be scoured and maintained by and at the charge of the within named Toby Rugg his heirs executors and assignees.

[signed] Michael Sanderson, Hugh Grigson.

1606: Henry Rugg leaves the lease of a house in Marygate to his eldest son in his will (the inventory implies it might be the same house)

1607/R9/1 – Henry Rugg's will

I Henry Rugg of the Borough of Berwick upon Tweed, Burgess... I give and bequeath unto my son Valentine Rugg the lease term of my house wherein I do dwell against the Tolbooth in Berwick, together with the debt with Richard Fish oweth me and also the rent of the house in Rattenrow nigh the windmill in Berwick, also I give and bequeath unto Isbell Satterthett the wife of Thomas Satterffett and to the heirs of her body the house wherein Margaret Dayes doth dwell in Fenklestreet. Item I give unto my said daughter out of my estate and as my debts may be gathered in the sum of twenty pounds proportionally. Item I give unto Isbell Rugg my youngest daughter and to the heirs of her body a house in Fenklestreet and now in the occupation of Fettes and Hallywell together with a waste that lyeth on the west of it - - - unto my said youngest daughter the sum of twenty pounds ... All other my lands and debts not bequeathed I give and bequeath to Jane Shotton the wife of John Shotton alderman and her heirs for ever, also I give and bequeath unto the said daughter Shotton [twenty pounds...] All the rest of goods and chattels not above bequeathed I give and bequeath unto my son in law John Shotton, whom I make my full and sole executor of this my last will and testament and I make my loving nephew George Muschamp of Lyham gent surveyor ... witnesses Thomas Parkinson alderman Thomas Anfold and Laurence Looker law clerk.

1607/R9/2 – inventory

Appendix 4: Documents relating to 49-51 Marygate, Berwick

8 fir deals 4s., 8 fir spars 10s. 6d., 36 lamb skins, 3 carr skins, 14 loof of hay, 52 bundles of lint

3 wainscot cupboards, 2 chests, 2 little chests, 2 chairs, 1 long settle, 1 little frame [for a table?] 2 bedspreads, one great press, 1 counter, 1 foot piece, 2 feather beds and bolsters, 2 coverlets, 2 blankets,

57 pieces of candlewick, 30 ???Erthangeinge???[only worth 2s 6d], 3 old pistols, 3 sugar blades, 2 sacks of h-ches being 5 [hundred?]weight (£3 6s. 8d.), 2 reams of paper (4s. 4d), 30 bl-- sloch (15s.) 10 old halberds, one chest, 42 salmon and grilse (26s. 8d.)

Total £37 2s. 2d

1627: Toby Rugg, now living in London, sells it to another merchant using attourneys.

ZMD 94/34 – Indenture of Bargain and Sale

12 July 1627. Between Toby Rugg of Westminster, Middlesex & George Parker of Berwick merchant for £20 'and other good considerations', All that his burgage or tenement as the same is set, builded and standing within the said town of Berwick, on the south side of the market place there, sometimes in the tenure and occupation of Leonard Dodd, and others and late in the tenure or occupation of Hugh Grigson and Michael Sanderson between the tenement some times of Giles Conyng and Jennet his wife daughter and heir of William Johns, gunner deceased, now in the tenure or occupation of the said Michael Sanderson on the west side, and the tenement sometimes Leonard Trollop's in the tenure and occupation of John Sleigh, John Nicholson and others, and now in the tenure or occupation of Robert Turvyn on the east side, together with all the houses, edifices etc....

ZMD 94/35 – Indenture of Bargain and Sale (the other half)

ZMD 94/36 power of Attorney, 12 July 1627

Know all men by these presents that I Tobias Rugg of Westminster in the county of Middlesex, gent, ... have put my well-beloved in Christ Thomas Moore of the town of Berwick and Andrew Moore of the same town, merchants, my true and lawful attourneys, jointly and severally to enter for me and in my name to all that burgage or tenement situate standing and being on the southwest side of the market place of Berwick or Marygate, right over against the Tolbooth [to sell it for him to George Parkes].

ZMD 94/37 – Bond for £80

The consideration of this obligation is such that if the within bound Tobias Rugg his heirs and executors etc do and shall at all times hereafter... oblige perform and truly observe ... all and every the covenants granted... which on his and their parts are or ought to be paid, performed etc... and comprised in one pair of indentures of bargain and sale bearing date the day of the date hereafter written, made between the said Tobias Rugg of the one part and the within named George Park of the other part.. then this obligation to be void.

Appendix 5: Documents relating to the Governors' building work

Documents produced in justification of an extension to the Governor's Lodging in Berwick built for Lord Grey in 1560.

Rowland Johnson, Surveyor and John Roffe, Master Carpenter , March 31 1561:

TNA, SP 59/4 f.153 An estimate made of such reparations as is done about the repairing of my Lord Grey's lodging now presently in Berwick viz:

First for the making of some stone walls 8 foot high where was made two chimneys the one chimney to serve the great chamber and the other his bed chamber being brought up of stone buttes 8 foot high, the workmanship whereof cost - £3. 6s. 8d

And from the stone wall the rest of the chimneys were brought up with spars and lathes and so daubed with loam, the workmanship whereof cost - 13s. 4d

And for 20 loads of lime for pargetting the chambers and to the bringing up of the chimney wall - 26s. 8d.

And there was occupied in shores for the staying of the old chamber and in partitions for stairs and windows the sum of three tons of timber the price whereof - £4

And for workmanship thereof to the Carpenters - 11s.

And of lathes occupied there 20 bunches - 20s.

And for nails of all sorts - 10s.

Total - £11. 16s. 8d. Witnesses: Rowland Johnson, John Roffe.¹

Thomas Jennison (Berwick's Treasurer) to Cecil, April 4 1561:

TNA, SP 59/4 f.156. It was almost finished at my coming hither, whereby I cannot declare the particular charges thereof, which I am sure could not amount to any great sum, insomuch [as] there was no new stuff therein spent, that I can prove, more than to make 4 new windows, a chimney of spars and lathes, loam and lime, a partition or two, a paire of stairs and two shores for the shoring up of the little lodging which would otherwise have lain on the earth ere this time. And the rooms enlarged were no more [than] a dining chamber and a lodging chamber of 14 foot wide, and yet His Lordship's room is so strait that he hath neither spare lodging for his friends nor yet to lodge persons of merit about him, and this is the truth of my knowledge therein.

¹ SP 59/4 f.153. Although called 'estimate' this is obviously the final account.

Appendix 6: The dispute over Berwick's *General Survey*, 1562-3.

On 12th May 1562 the Queen appointed a commission to survey Berwick, recording burghmail tax and other monies due to the Crown as well as '*aliis articulis et circumstanciis premissis cocervencia plenius veritatem*'. At some point two of the commissioners, Thomas Jennison and Roger Mainwaring, appointed Thomas Romney of London to carry out the survey. To pay for this the Commissioners suggested that each burghmail payer should pay four shillings towards an extra copy of the Survey which would benefit the townspeople, helping avoid 'all contraversyes or plees towching the rightes of their severell titles'.

In February 1563 the Mayor (Thomas Morton) and aldermen wrote to the Privy Council complaining that they still had no copy of the Survey, and asking for the townspeople's money to be returned if it was not forthcoming. In July 1563 Romney finally sent a copy of the Survey to Cecil, together with a letter blaming the town's problems on the Council (since 'the burgesses bee not answerable to the Quene nor part[i]es out of the towne of Berwike') and implying that they had spent the burgesses' money. The two letters are transcribed in draft below.

SP 59/6 f.191 Mayor & others to the Privy Council 7 February 1563

Please that your honorable L. to understand that where there was a comyssyon dyrected forth of the Quenes highnes cowrte of exchequier unto the L. governer of Barwick late disceased, Mr Browne treasurer, Thomas Baytes Surveyor Thomas Genyson and Roger Maynwairinge gent to Survey all the quenes majestys Landes and tenementes within her highneses towne of Barwick, By virtue of which comyssion there satt one daye within the sayd towne Thomas Genyson and Roger Mainwaringe aforesaid of the same comyssyoners and called before them the Maior and his Brethern, and sayd this comyssyon was not only for the quenes maiestes knowledge of the landes and tenementes belonginge to her highness, But also that all other inhabitantes within the same towne should certyenlerly know there wherbye all contraversyes or plees towching the rightes of their severell titles might be avoided. And for the better procedinge thereof the sayd commysyoners alledged that yt wolde take grate travaill in wrytinge and to leave

with the Mayor and his Brethern one perfytt Booke for the knowledge and quystines of Everie mannes severall tytells, Appointed to them a clerk one Thomas Romney a man unknown to thinhabitantes of The towne, Browghte from London by Mr treasurer and Requyred that he might have of every tenement within the sayd towne iiij s for his travayll, which was granted unto for that yt was thought to be a greate quyetnes to the poore Inhabytantes of the towne that they myghte knowe in what order to answeere the queens maieste of her dew and any other man to knowe his owne without further troble. The sayd Thomas Romney measured all the sayd landes and tenementes and had showed before him every mannes tytell severall and clayme and mayd a booke thereof, and had gathered by the mayors offycers and suche as he appointed the sayd fower shillinges of every tenement which amownteth to one hondreth powndes and above. After he had this received his money we called upon him for the Booke which was promysed which he frome tyme to tyme promised shold be had but in thend craftyly and subtylly he departid out of the towne neyther leavinge behind him any booke or mencyons of his doynges. Humbly besechinge your honorable L. that we maye have such a booke eyther delyveryd accordingly as was promysed or ells that the poore men may have their money restored which myghte verry evill have bene spared yf yt had not be thought a grete quyetnes to the poore Inhabytantes of the towne. Further we shall moost humblye requyst your honorable L. to stand and Be ower good Lordes concernynge the disburdeyninge us of the Imposte of wines

At Barwick the vijth of February 1563

Your honourable L. always to comawnde the mayor of Barwick and his Brethern

Thomas Morton, Thomas Jackson, Thomas Bradfurthe, Thomas Lordesman, John Barrowe, Jhon Shootton

SP 59/7 f.10 Thomas Romney to Cecil July 1563

[Terrible orthography, transcript unfinished]

Right honourable --- as by appointment of Mr Valentyne Browne Mr Tresarer I have made a boke of survey of the towne of Berwike upon Twede which although it be

rudely handelyd I pray henceforthe your honour to accept yt my travell therein in good parte I have compreded in yt the list of every particular title touching therein everie & each other matter they had to ofer or allege for the same wherby issueth many feynt titles the Quenes maiesties grete losse through nealigence & ignorance of her officers viz chamberleyne others and the grete wekenes of the towne agenst th'enymye for that that th'inhabitanttes havynge slender or no title are discouraged to buylde other than thacked cottages suche as are bothe incommodious to thinhabitanttes & dangerous & perilous for fyer a grete discoagement to cyvyll inhabitants & losse to the Quenes yerly revenues which might well be yerly reserved for the ----- rentes if the same were assuredly granted according to thannoynt ordinance by the under th chabrleyne sele and a perfect record or enrolment therof made & recorded which of long tyme hath bene neglected.

And where that sele hath bene estymed & used there ----- of the grete sele of Ingland it hath of late tyme bene unused by Sir Rafe Ellerker late chamberleyne threath -at the custody therof by fining of yt to the feoffmentes of common persons termynge yt the sele of the partes & ----- newly assigning to ---- leles of couner thr--- without any endeavor made why the same --- --- -undged And continues by passing of grantes from the Prince without enrolment or other records kept therof that if reformacon therof be not by your honour spedly taken grete lack & disorder be to that officer as well as the Quenes maiestes losse of her rightes and the good furytyre buyldynge of the towne by [the lack] of mens assurances ys like to ensue whereas by the dew use therof not only the premisses of old be safely provided for but also the aseyers baylifes & burgesys as of olde ----- to kepe a --- cytey with some -erinel hable to minister justice directly to ----- persons inhabitants & a-nyteyers there & like in aforetyme to bringe both towne & country being very good grounde & inhabyng grete & goodly ----- by perfecte -- of --- to reysede of ---- air of common good grounde goodly fishinges beside the yerly revenues of the realme with ther spent all to ther ---- use from beggars estate grewe by idelnese & filching whereby for the most parte they live to good cyvylyte & as to grete welth not only hable to live of them selves but also with out-- ayde of the realme to

defend there cuntrey / there law there uses now they -- according to the Scottishe lawe & they owne also of Scotland ground ther order of law – / one outreth has pleynt in the courte acuseth thother to be arrested and after sundry delayes do the parties --- ---- the matter is put to an inquest whereunto the parties of all not be resovyd to use any challenges to any pott or array but these p---- must iuge the accuse & not trye any assine nor no matter declared answered nor replied but now no parte may ousew to attynt any juror or for that they will not let any depoacond or prefers arpere but a----- their selves And commonly they ----- be according to ther asseances without respect of matter nor instance but to the ---- -- or contherar party / This not over mutche for me to appear or write but to refer me to my prufe In the boke of survey in Ferrour his entry in Briggate [18] that Tyndale the northyn optayned there agenst Jenett Fowbery thinheritance of jury make lat ----- for the debts & not the moyte tyll he kepe a ----- one also another entry Thomas Jacson there [31] as one mans –uech for lands by the legacy of his cosyn by will lawfully proved before the ordynary jury caused testamentary Thomas Jacson being the neyther a townes man after the testator has doth bought the title of his sister the jury founde that the cosyn whose will the ordynary has proved lawfull has no discreson to geve or sell lands So also Castelgate South in Lionell Corbettes entrye [424-6] how the defettes John Wheldale the Southerner has tittle by reson that theyre stepfather had sold away her lands in her orphancy and the matter being in sewte this Loinell [sic] Corbett has procured the chamberleyns sele to be annexed to his noughte dede yet ther verdict that Corbettes title was good / if my reporte be untrewre your honor have the boke conteyning these matters at large & I may be some disproved / And if they be trewe under certain amendment here necessary thonly way of amendmend for that by ther true none of their salver was out of the towne but before the chambleyn or justice to be assigned within the towne for any cowse dur in the towne / no other by a lerned chambleyn or by a parliament commission according to ther sute /

[He points out that there are too few workmen to lay stone prepared for the fortifications]

I beseeche your honor take this my rude enterprice in gode parte and although the comysioners where upon this survey are taken be [retynable?] in [th'isewe?] yet for asmuch as the burgesses bee not answerable to the Quene nor partes out of the towne of Berwike that thorder therof apperteyneth to the chamberleyne this boke of Survey and also the chamberleynes sele here necessary to be sent to Berwike --- another boke to be made for the chamberlayne there / for that I am restrained by the proclamatation for coming in to the corte to your honour I have taken this rewde enterprise this motche to wryte to your honour & dyd send ----- boke of survey to your honour this day by Troughton the porter beseeching your honour to take yt in good parte & to advertise Mr Browne therof wishing my self as well hable as willing to come there or --- whiche to lyve by my trew travayle and to avoyde the displesinge & infamy I am ----- -- but it is not so old as it so trew -ying /

Thus I par—in contynew your faith with increase of honor I rest at your honors commandment

All yours Thomas Romney

Appendix 7: Terms used for surviving sixteenth-century houses in England and Scotland

Fortified House	Historic England, FISH Thesaurus	Northumberland and Durham County Councils, Keys to the Past, Glossary	Buildings of Scotland: Borders, 'following the terminology employed by RCAHMS' (p.48)
	A house which bears signs of fortification. These often include crenellated battlements and narrow slit-like windows.	Not used.	Not used.
Tower House	A multi-storey, fortified hall house with one of the crosswings being raised in the form of a crenellated tower. Permanently occupied, they date from the mid 14th to the 17th century and are found mainly in the border counties of the North of England.	A fortified house built between the 14th and 17th centuries in counties along the Scottish borders. Some towers were attached to a hall house and others stood alone.	A castle of which the principal component was a defensible residential tower designed primarily for occupation by the lord and his immediate household. (p.43)
Pele	A strong, fortified dwelling, of between two and four storeys. Occupied only in times of trouble built mainly in the border country of the North from the mid 14th to the 17th century.	[A]n old name used to describe fortified tower houses. The term is no longer used to describe these buildings in Northumberland [except for] the fortified towers that were sometimes built next to churches to provide protection for the priest.	Small, barn-like, stone buildings built with clay mortar and usually unvaulted. (p.48)
Bastle	A fortified house of two or three storeys, the lower floor being used to house animals and the upper for domestic use. BASTLE (NON DEFENSIVE). A stone building with external access to the domestic accommodation via a permanent stair. The ground floor is normally used as a byre in rural contexts, but in an urban setting it may be intended for one of a number of other non domestic uses.	[D]efended stone-built farmhouses usually dating from the 16th-17th centuries ... two storied with thick walls, small windows and ... internal access to upper living quarters ... The lower door could be barred and protected against fire by a quenching hole ... The ground floor was used to house animals where they could be protected from theft ... The upper floor was for the family.	Larger stone houses built with lime mortar and usually with vaulted ground floors. (p.48)
Strong House	Not used.	[D]efensive buildings built at the end of the 16th century. They have substantial thick walls, with living accommodation above a basement. Strong houses can stand three or four storeys high but are different from a tower in that they are usually elongated in plan. They are also different from bastles .	Termed 'early mansions', p.51 or 'smaller mansions', p.55

Appendix 8: List of HERs relating to houses with possible sixteenth-century fabric

Title	NCC HER number
Akeld Bastle	1259
Barmoor Castle	1954
Cornhill House	774
Coupland Castle	2018
Doddington Bastle	2137
Duddo Tower	2339
Heaton Castle	2338
Hepburn Bastle	3601
Hetton Hall	3783
Howtel tower house	854
King Edwin's Palace, Old Yeavinger	2014
Kyloe tower house	3739
The Bastle, Pressen	713
Twizel Castle	972
Weetwood Hall	3298
Wooler Tower on east side of Church Street	1549