SOUTH STREET, DURHAM: TOPOGRAPHY, TENURE AND OCCUPATION 1540 TO 1900

PART 1

This is a preliminary account of work in progress. It gives some general information about South Street, describes some of the sources being used, and discusses its former place in the Great North Road. Part 2, in a forthcoming issue of the *Bulletin*, will deal with two vanished features: a watercourse and well at the lower end of the street and a rope walk at the upper end.

Every street has a history. Easy enough to say, but how many streets have a *written* history? Precious few. Better perhaps to ask why *any* should have, since a street is rarely a suitable unit for historical analysis in the way a village, parish or ward is. So a justification of South Street as a subject is called for.

And what do 'tenure' and 'occupation' mean?

From about 1900 until his death in 1951 the Revd. Herbert Salter collected and collated, from property deeds, rentals, surveys and wherever he could find it, information about the ownership and tenancy of every tenement (land holding) within the city of Oxford. He was able to assemble this into a virtually complete gazetteer, street by street, showing the history of each tenement from an early date, generally the 13th century, up to modern times. The work, a tenurial history, was published posthumously as *A survey of Oxford* in two volumes in 1960-1969.[1] Currently a collaborative *Survey of ancient houses in Lincoln*[2] has reached volume 4. Kathleen Major writes in the Preface: 'It is now 26 years since we started ... Mr. Jones has other work to do and Mrs. Varley and I are both now ninety or more'.

'Occupational' history, it has to be confessed, is a play on words. Before the mid 19th century it is difficult, often impossible, to establish who was actually living in a burgage, house or cottage referred to in a property deed, as distinct from being its owner or lessee. And in particular where an adjacent owner or occupier is named it is liable to be one from the quite remote past. However, a deed does quite often specify the owner or lessee's status or profession. Also, he or she may turn up in other surviving records of the time - parish, gild, municipality, courts, etc. - from which his/her occupation may be ascertained. In this way we can get a fragmentary picture, partly of what those who certainly lived in the street did for a living, and partly of what those who owned or leased property there did. And of course for the modern period we can use newspapers, census returns and a range of other printed and unpublished material to form a much more complete picture of life in the street.[3]

Salter was helped in his task by two peculiarities of Oxford: a high proportion of tenements 'had the good fortune to fall into the "dead hand" of a corporation'[4] - such as a church or college - from which they were unlikely to wriggle free for a very long time; and the property and other records enjoyed a good survival rate. So many survived, in fact, that one is lost in admiration that Salter should have been prepared to tackle the whole city.

The present project, being limited to one not very long street, with fewer than 150 tenements at any stage, even if each 'household' in the 19th century censuses is counted separately, and probably about half that in true tenurial terms, is manageable enough to allow time for a more rounded history of the street before 1900 as it emerges from the available sources. (Vol. 4 of the Lincoln survey covers 76 tenements and runs to 160 pages, plus the equivalent of three times that in microform, but it is the work of professionals.)

Several reasons justify choosing South Street in Durham as a subject for study:

- **Antiquity**. It is part of what was probably an important pre-Conquest north-south route avoiding a double crossing of the river Wear.

- **Survival of records**. As in Oxford, the land in this part of Durham City from a very early date was either in the prior's (or one of the cathedral priory's obedientiaries') hands or, although freehold, was paying the priory landmale, a form of ground rent. And there has been a good survival of deeds, leases and rentals from both before and after 1541, when the dean and chapter of Durham succeeded to the property rights of the former priory.

- **Strategic importance**. Once it was a link in the great chain joining the Scottish and English capitals.

- **Intrinsic interest**. While the view *from* South Street has been repeatedly acknowledged to be amongst the finest in Europe, the street itself seen from across the river gorge has great charm. The street also has features arising from its physical location and historical development that are interesting in themselves.

Antiquity. The relief map of northern England shows that one of the preferred routes for prehistoric peoples moving either north or south and wishing to avoid the coastal river estuaries and the more difficult terrain of the eastern flanks of the Pennines would have passed immediately west of the incised meander at Durham. Evidence for settlement of the peninsula before the arrival of the Cuthbertine community in 995 is scanty, but it probably was settled, and the identification of *Aelfet ee* in one version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in 762 with Elvet suggests that the area surrounding the peninsula was inhabited much earlier.[5] Fords at the present locations of Framwellgate Bridge on the west of the peninsula and Elvet and/or Kingsgate Bridge on the east - and possibly also Prebends on the south - would have linked the various parts of pre-Cuthbertian Durham.[6]

But before continuing let us establish exactly where South Street is. To do so we need simply add a narrow strip to the west side of Speed's 1611 city plan as reproduced on the cover of this *Bulletin*. The street climbs southwards, from a node (the site of the Norman church of St. Margaret of Antioch) at a river-crossing, gaining about 100 feet in height, in the course of a fifth of a mile, as it follows the line of a ridge parallel with the Wear. It then crosses another east-west route to the next bridging point, which connects with the tip of the peninsula.

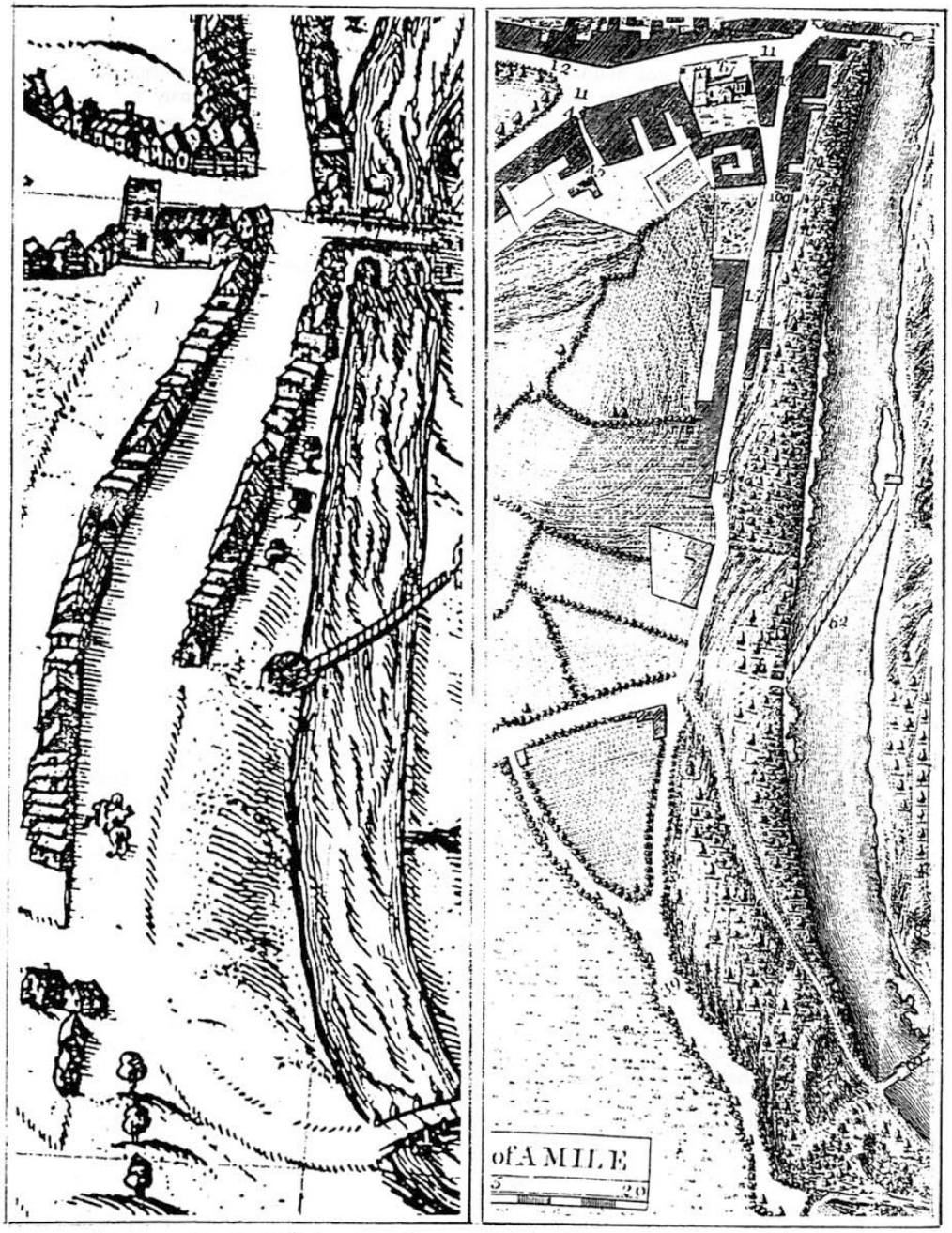

Fig. 1a (Speed 1610, based on Patteson 1595). Note great width of South Street; cross-roads at south end (Pimlico) with link to old bridge; absence of trees. Is the horse rider significant?

Fig. 1b (Forster 1754). Note narrowness of street, but width of 'Ambling Barns' (present Pimlico); extensive tree planting.

Speed's plan (*Fig. 1a*) is based on Matthew Patteson's of 1595. Since then the pattern of almost unbroken housing on the west side, with a small cluster at the southern end (from at least the late 17th century called Pimlico), and a line of houses only on the northern half of the east side, has remained the same. Bonney[7] cites convincing evidence for the view that by the end of the 12th century Durham had reached its greatest stage of development before the 18th century, so the plan is indicative of the general character of South Street as it has been for the past eight hundred years, i.e. for the four centuries before it was drawn and the four since, even indeed to the present day.

The earliest mention of our street comes in the Durham Benedictine monk Reginald's account, written in the last quarter of the 12th century, of one of the miracles performed by St. Cuthbert after his remains were enshrined in the cathedral.[8] A young Norwegian of royal blood, stricken with blindness and other afflictions, is brought to the shrine. The monks pray on his behalf to their saint.

> The saint did not delay his answer ... For when the sufferer happened to go out on the following day for some purpose within the precincts of the church, suddenly his eyes were cleared and he saw below the piled-up banks and the rims and spokes of the mill-wheels as they revolved in the current of the river ... When he lifted higher the eyes which were dazzled by the unusual clearness, he caught a more level view of the roofs of the white houses on the other bank of the river-valley.

Reginald concludes his story:

> These events happened in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1172, on a Sunday night, April 30th, after he had spent in this illness seven whole years and sixteen days.[9]

30 April 1172 was indeed a Sunday. Well-connected visitors to the cathedral would at that time have been put up for the night in the hostillar's Guest Hall above the 'Dark Passage' which still leads out from the cathedral precincts - now The College - to a viewpoint high above the river Wear. This place would have been well-known to Reginald and a very natural one for his Norwegian pilgrim to find his way to. Even now, as you emerge blinking from the gloom of the narrow, sloping tunnel on a sunny morning in winter or spring, there is a striking view of the mills at either end of the weir immediately below (although neither has a water-wheel), and of the houses on the upper part of South Street immediately across the river gorge. In summer and autumn tree cover on both river banks obscures the scene.

An alternative path for Reginald's pilgrim to have taken is Windy Gap, leading from Palace Green outside the north door of the cathedral westwards to the top of the river bank. From here the mills are just visible far below to the left. South Street faces you, rising from Framwellgate Bridge low down on the right to a level a little higher than the spectator and to his left. This view also needs to be appreciated on a bright morning when the trees are not in leaf.

Bonney reports that the almoner was collecting just under £4 *per annum* from South Street in 1290, and that Peter de Vallibus, knight (ancestor of the Vaux family?) had a substantial house with a hall, probably stone-built, in the street in the late 13th century.[10] These seem to be the earliest references to South Street by name.

Survival of records. Up to about the 13th century real-estate transactions, the setting of rentals or feudal obligations, the renewal of leases and other understandings between individuals or institutions involving property, land or buildings - and indeed all legal agreements - were not necessarily written down. It was enough that there were witnesses who could later testify to what had been agreed. Written records were a strange novelty which gradually caught on. Conservative in other ways, the church grasped the advantages of written records, and of their preservation, early on. Over the long period during which its holdings and sources of rent in the city accumulated, and as the framework of law - in particular the statutes of Mortmain from the mid-13th century onwards - was extended, the keeping of accurate and efficient records of them by Durham Priory grew more and more vital. The Old Borough of which South Street was part was under the overlordship variously of the bursar, the almoner and the sacrist. And thanks no doubt partly to the relatively tranquil progression from prior and obedientiaries to dean and chapter at the Dissolution, (most actors getting rôles both before and after), a great wealth of information was passed on, which has been the source and inspiration for much research. Similarly, post-Dissolution property records are impressively extensive, and can yield a great deal of evidence about South Street since 1541.

For the period before then, the necessary ground work for the street's study has been meticulously carried out by Bonney and much is incorporated in her book.[11] The aim of the present project is to derive as far as possible a post-Dissolution tenurial and occupational history of the street from the Dean and Chapter of Durham's records (DCD), and from such other pre-1900 records as can be found locally, and to link this with the tenurial gazetteer covering the years up to 1541 which Dr. Bonney has compiled.

The main DCD records under scrutiny are the Receiver's Books, the Renewals Books, the counterpart leases, the Durham Chapter Acts (minute books), and Matthew Woodifield's survey of 1799. To take these in turn:

Receiver's Books were compiled annually from 1541 and almost 250 are available, up to 1870, with mostly minor lacunae apart from a gap during the Commonwealth between 1642 and 1660. Each one forms a property register giving the location, the name of the tenant, nature of tenement and tenure, amount due for the year, whether the rent was 'decayed', i.e. reduced from its original value, and occasionally details such as who held it previously. After compilation, the Receiver or his assistant used the book to enter rent payments, which were mostly half-yearly. As common sense would suggest, one year's book normally served as the source for the compilation of the next. Some highly valuable topographical information was included, which showed the Receiver where he was in the whole series of properties and serves to help us pinpoint the sites today. Thus in 1541 the sequence we are concerned with begins: 'The Parish of St. Margaret's Chapel commencing on the southern side at the bridge'. After nine entries for the tenements corresponding to the present block from the river to the Fighting

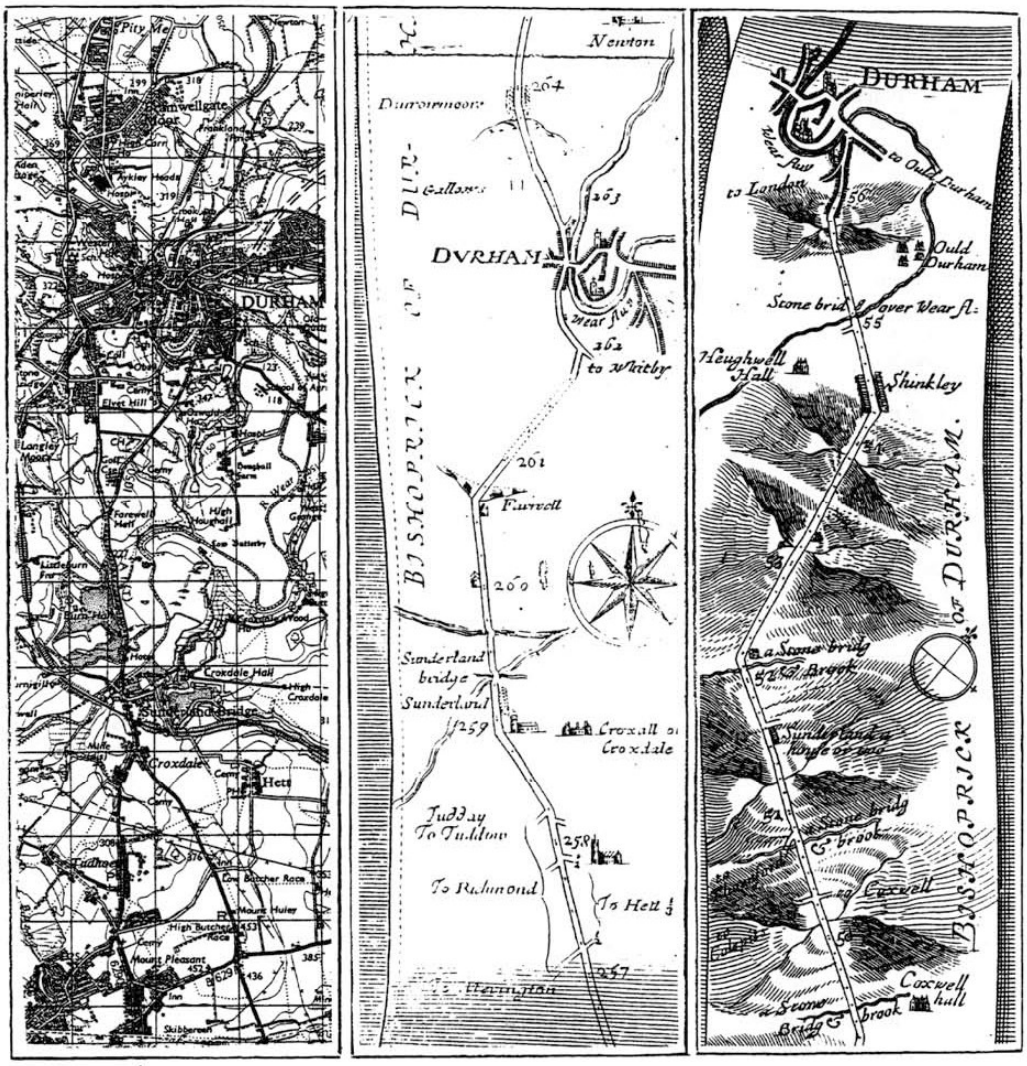

Fig.2a (Reproduced from 1961 Ordnance Survey map). Pre-motorway Great North Road by-passing Durham to the west.

Fig.2b (Ogilby 1675) London to Berwick route by-passing city centre via South Street. Note connection to Whitby.

Fig.2c (Ogilby 1675) Whitby to Durham route. Note alternative connection to London.

Cocks inn, including one for the communal bakehouse, comes 'The corner of South Street on the east side ascending towards the south'. (In fact, although when house numbering began around 1840 the street was deemed to begin at the bridge end, before then the houses below this corner were variously referred to as in Milburngate, Framwellgate Bridge End, or Crossgate, and the custom died hard.) Then follow another ten entries, and then 'The common vennel to St Helen's well'. Twelve more entries conclude the east side. Some are for tenements which have become gardens or orchards [12], one is described as in the millers' hands because it gives free access to the mill (meaning the one at the west side of the weir), another is 'an orchard called Hoglyngclose or Boklyngclose now held by the said millers' and the last two are a close 'above a stone quarry' and a close 'called Farthingcroft'. Efforts to find out what hoglyng or boklyng signified have not borne fruit so far. Farthingcroft, a house in Quarry Heads Lane, now continuing the southern end of South Street, stands on part of the former close.

There then follows a sequence of twelve entries under the heading of 'Bellassis'. This comprises agricultural land extending to the south-west, described in terms of burgages, selions (a ridge or strip of land between two furrows, says the *Oxford English Dictionary*) and headlands; the final two items being a three-acre and a twenty-acre meadow. Next comes a close 'called Holcroft' which must also have been a large one, as its rent was the same as that for the twenty-acre field. The Bellasyse estate was purchased by the Dean and Chapter of Durham in 1842 (much of it was freehold in 1541) to rehouse the Grammar School, which was outgrowing its ancient home on the peninsula, and it constitutes the part of Durham School's commodious grounds west of Quarry Heads Lane. [13] Holcroft or Howlcroft or Howle Crofts is an area of land to the north, now the Archery Rise housing estate. It appears on a mid-19th century map as just under 33 acres 'formerly belonging to the third Prebend [of Durham Cathedral] now to the University of Durham'. [14]

The book now returns to South Street proper, 'on the west side descending towards the north'. Thirty entries cover the mainly built-up west side of the street, from the area later called Pimlico at the top to the junction with Crossgate at the foot. The fourth entry is for 'three gardens on the south side of the common fold and now joined into one and it is separated from Mr. Bowes' close'. This pinfold appears on Wood's 1820 map (*Fig. 3a*), and in July 1834 we find the Cathedral chapter agreeing that Mr. James John Wilkinson may change the site of the pinfold to the south side of his field (i.e. move it a few yards along the street). [15] No further immediate clues to the location of entries appear until the next to last one, for a freehold burgage held by the chaplain of the Blessed Virgin in the chapel of St. Margaret 'at the east end of the said chapel in use as a poor house'. The poor are with us later on here.

In total South Street accounts for 74 entries in the 1541 book. Thirteen are for Bellassis and Holcroft, leaving 61 for the street proper. Some of these entries are for two or more properties, giving us 79 properties, which can be broken down as follows:

1 Bakehouse	
43 Burgages	of which the 17 leased include 3 orchards and the 26 freehold include 4 orchards/gardens and 3 'wastes'.
7 Tenements	all leased.
3 Closes	2 leased and one free.
7 Gardens or orchards	all leased.
7 Wastes	6 leased and one free
11 Unspecified properties	6 leased and 5 free

With a good deal of licence we may speculate that the street then contained about 45 *built* properties paying some form of rent to the receiver. Neither Patteson's 1595 nor Speed's 1611 map can be regarded as representational; it is nevertheless interesting that the first shows about 40 and the second about 48 houses.

As the years pass, the Receiver's Books reflect some changes, but their remarkable feature is stability. Rents of four shillings for a burgage or fourpence halfpenny for two freeholdings in 1541 are still being paid in 1841. Indeed, the curious variations in payments from property to property, bearing witness to the long history of the street, are a valuable check on the correctness of sequence from year to year. In 1541 the 31 entries for the east side contained 21 different amounts, ranging from suit of court (nil) to 40 shillings (£2). No single amount occurred more than three times. It is true that the west side shows more uniformity: no fewer than twelve properties owed four shillings. But there were still twelve different payments to be made on 29 entries, and for the whole street the total is 26 on 61 (see Table below). The lowest rents in 1541, unchanged in 1799, were one at a penny, three at 2d., one at 2½d. and two at 3d.. (The rent on Farthingcroft, sad to say, was not a farthing but four shillings.)

From 1841 censuses naming the inhabitants of the street begin to be available; it is curiously satisfying that for a long period the house at the top end of the long western terrace, no. 37, was occupied by William Peele, responsible as deputy receiver from 1837 for compiling the Receiver's Books, while in the bottom house, no. 57, lived Thomas Clamp, appointed about the same time as registrar for the parish of St. Oswald's, Durham and thus organizer of the decennial censuses - in which post he was succeeded by his son Thomas in the same house.

After 1870 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in London administered the cathedral estates. Rents did not change: in 1931 that body accepted 3s. 4d. from the owner of no. 42, to extinguish for ever a liability for 2d. *per annum* which had continued at least since about 1436 and probably for centuries before.[16]

Renewals Books record the successive leases of the Cathedral chapter's properties, in the same order as the Receiver 's Books, although unfortunately they only begin at the Restoration, 1660. With their aid one can trace who held each tenement, how much the rent was, the yearly value and the 'fine' set at each renewal or change of lease, i.e. the amount charged to the lessee before a new lease could begin; as the annual rents did not rise and were frequently modest the fines - which could be adjusted - were a significant source of income. They were of the order of twenty times the rent, and formed the

chapter's hedge against inflation. The system, known as 'beneficiary leasing', did treat lessees fairly generously in comparison with those whose rents were related to the market value of their holdings, but it inevitably bore heavily on anyone with little or no capital to pay a substantial lump sum every seven or fourteen years. It is fully discussed by Mussett.[17] The first Renewals Book covers the period from the 1660s to about the middle of the 18th century. A second, overlapping with it, takes us to the 1790s. Later renewals are in the **Notitia Book**.

Counterpart leases exist for a large number of the properties. Once a chain of chronological succession has been established, providing there is a lease document for later than about 1830, there will normally be a ground plan, from which the present site can often be identified. Also, as previously mentioned, leases may contain information not otherwise easily found about the lessees.

Durham Chapter Acts. These minute books run from 1578, with an interruption from 1583 to 1619. The preoccupations of the Dean and Chapter of Durham are there revealed, amongst them questions of repairs, of recalcitrant tenants or hardship cases meriting abatement of rent or fines, of tree felling and wayleave negotiation, of the building of boathouses and the keeping tidy of Count Borulawski's garden, of the admission of suitable outsiders to the Cathedral Library and the exclusion of cattle and cyclists from the river banks. Amongst the mass of details gleams now and then a nugget connected with South Street.

Matthew **Woodifield Survey**. This survey of certain Chapter properties was carried out in 1799, when the government's need for funds to prosecute war led it to offer exemption from future payment of Land Tax in return for cash. In order to benefit from this the Dean and Chapter had to value and sell some of its properties. The result was an invaluable document for our purposes. Out of 68 properties still listed in the Receiver's Book in 1799 (compared with 79 in 1541), all the leasehold ones with three exceptions, including unfortunately the mysterious 'Hoglin' or 'Brockling' Close, were surveyed. The remaining 28 were freehold, but still paying the old ground rents. Each entry in the survey gives the lessee's *and* occupier's names, the date of the current lease, the rent, annual value (from which the renewal fine was calculated) and value of fee simple. Most importantly for us, a simple scale drawing, reliable as to the street frontage if not the depth of properties, shows the position of doors and windows and the functions of particular areas. The proprietors of adjacent property are named.

Some fifty years later, in the great wave of enthusiasm for sanitary improvements which necessitated accurate large-scale town plans, the Ordnance Survey produced a 1:500 (c. 40 feet to one inch) plan of the city on which it is possible to identify every Woodifield property and give it the house number(s) allocated a few years earlier (*Fig. 4*) , for the middle portion of the street). And that corresponds, after allowing for demolition or amalgamation, with today's address. It then becomes relatively straightforward to link most of the freehold properties as well to their present locations. (Although there can be tantalising ambiguities: Woodifield's no. 5, an area of garden leased to William Shields measuring 55 by 73 yards, easily located on the 1856 plan, is bordered on the south by a freehold named as 'Sixpenny Hall'. This ought to be the present 22 South Street, but the Receiver's Book has the adjacent freehold paying only

4d., and the 6d. freehold two properties further south.) However, the aim of linking each house to its chain of lessees/occupants back to 1540, and thence to the beginnings, does start to seem feasible.

An idea of the stability of Dean and Chapter rents is given by the table below. Not only are the (modest!) totals for each section of the street little changed after 258 years; in two thirds of the instances the rents are the same. (Indeed it appears from an initial scrutiny of the pre-Dissolution sacrist's and almoner's rentals of 1500 and 1502 respectively that these figures may in most cases be of still greater antiquity.[18])

TABLE: Receiver's Books, 1541 and 1799; Woodifield Survey 1799; 1856 O.S. plan

Receiver's Book 1541		**Receiver's Book 1799**		**Woodifield 1799**	**South street. 1856+.**
Entries (Properties)	Total rents	Entries (Properties)	Total rents	No.	House no.
<EAST SIDE					**EAST SIDE>**
1-9 (13)	£5 19s 11d	1-6 (14)	£5 19s 5½d	W1	no. 2-3 + land beside no. 1
<(CORNER)					(CORNER)>
10-19 (12)	£1 1s 6½d	7-13 (10)	£1 3s 5d	W2	no. 10
				W3	no. 14
				W4	nos. 15-16
<(VENNEL)					(VENNEL)>
20-31 (15)	19s 9d	14-22 (12)	15s 11d	W5	Garden between nos. 21 & 22
				W6/1	Farthing Croft
<WEST SIDE					**WEST SIDE>**
32-61 (39)	£5 19s 2d	23-49 (32)	£4 19s 0½d	W7+8	Grove+pinfold
				W9	no. 32
				W10	nos. 33-34
				W11	nos. 35-36
				W12-16	nos. 37-41
				W17-21	nos. 46-50
				W6/2	no. 51?
				W22	nos. 60-62? (Malting)
1-61 (79)	£14 0s 4½d	1-49 (68)	£12 17s 10d		

Note the division of Woodifield 10 and 11 into four houses by 1856. Nos. 33-34 are discussed and illustrated by Martin Roberts.[19]

Strategic importance. Although little evidence (two coins, part of a quern for hand-grinding corn and about two dozen fragments of pottery dating from the first to the fourth century A.D.) of Roman occupation of Durham city has been found, the most recent verdict is that there was a settlement, most likely a native site which became Romanized. [20] The two north-south routes about a mile from each side of the peninsula, converging somewhere south of Chester-le-Street, suggest that the Romans were no keener to tackle the terrain close to the gorge than were the first railway builders. But the establishment from 995 of a great ecclesiastical, military and administrative centre here clearly transformed the situation. As has been suggested, there was probably already a settlement centred at the west side of the fording point where Framwellgate Bridge now stands. South Street would have been its artery south. It could be significant that the first bridge to be built in Durham - and an expensive one - was Framwellgate, *c.*1120, by Bishop Ranulph Flambard, who had a London power base and was no doubt keen to improve his lines of communication to the south. (You may prefer to believe that the weir downstream was built in order to deepen the river, for reasons of defence, as well as to provide a power source for a mill, and this made a bridge essential.) The city became a port of call for English kings on their way north, whether for peaceful purposes or otherwise. The Conqueror is supposed to have left hurriedly by way of Bow Lane on the east[21], but many later monarchs can be assumed to have made their progresses up or down South Street in the manner nicely evoked by Edmund Hastings' 19th-century watercolour (reproduced as a Christmas card by the City of Durham Trust in 1994) of a ceremonial troop of horse arriving, with the head of the column crossing the bridge and the rear just about to disappear from sight over the hump two thirds of the way down the street. A hint that the street was known to the outside world survives in a copy of Baron Hilton's will of 1640 preserved at the beginning of a volume of St. Margaret's chapelwardens' accounts for the years 1665-1720: he left a group of eighteen parishes in the county £24 each, naming last, after 'Branspeth, Lenchester and Birkley', the parish of ***South Street***[22]. (This is followed by a bequest of £48 to Durham City and further sums of £24 to Newcastle, St. Clement's Danes in London and fourteen Sussex parishes.) Although it is in one sense gratifying that the street should give its name - at least for an outsider - to the chapelry or parish, this also opens up the worrying prospect that a person described as 'of South Street' may merely be a St. Margaret's parishioner, in modern terms.

Dr. Gibby summarised map evidence for South Street as part of the Great North Road in a paper 50 years ago; at about the same time he collaborated with Bertram Colgrave (living at no. 56 South Street) to write *A short tour of Durham*. In both it is firmly stated that the street 'was once the main road south'.[23] The earliest printed county map, Saxton's of 1576, does not show roads. Neither does Speed's of 1611, nor any other, so far as is known, for a century after Saxton. Gibby cites John Ogilby's *Road Book* of 1698 as the earliest printed source of information about the line taken by the Great North Road before it became the A1. In fact it was first published in 1675.[24] It is a strip map, showing the course to be followed and the towns, villages and topographical features encountered on one hundred itineraries, some radiating from London, the rest cross-country. The title-page claim that it was 'actually survey'd' is apparently justified: Robinson states that the statute mile of 1760 yards became the standard from the time of Ogilby's survey, and Morris in his introduction to Celia Fiennes' journeys refers to 'Ogilby's wonderful road-book'.[25] So far as the local area

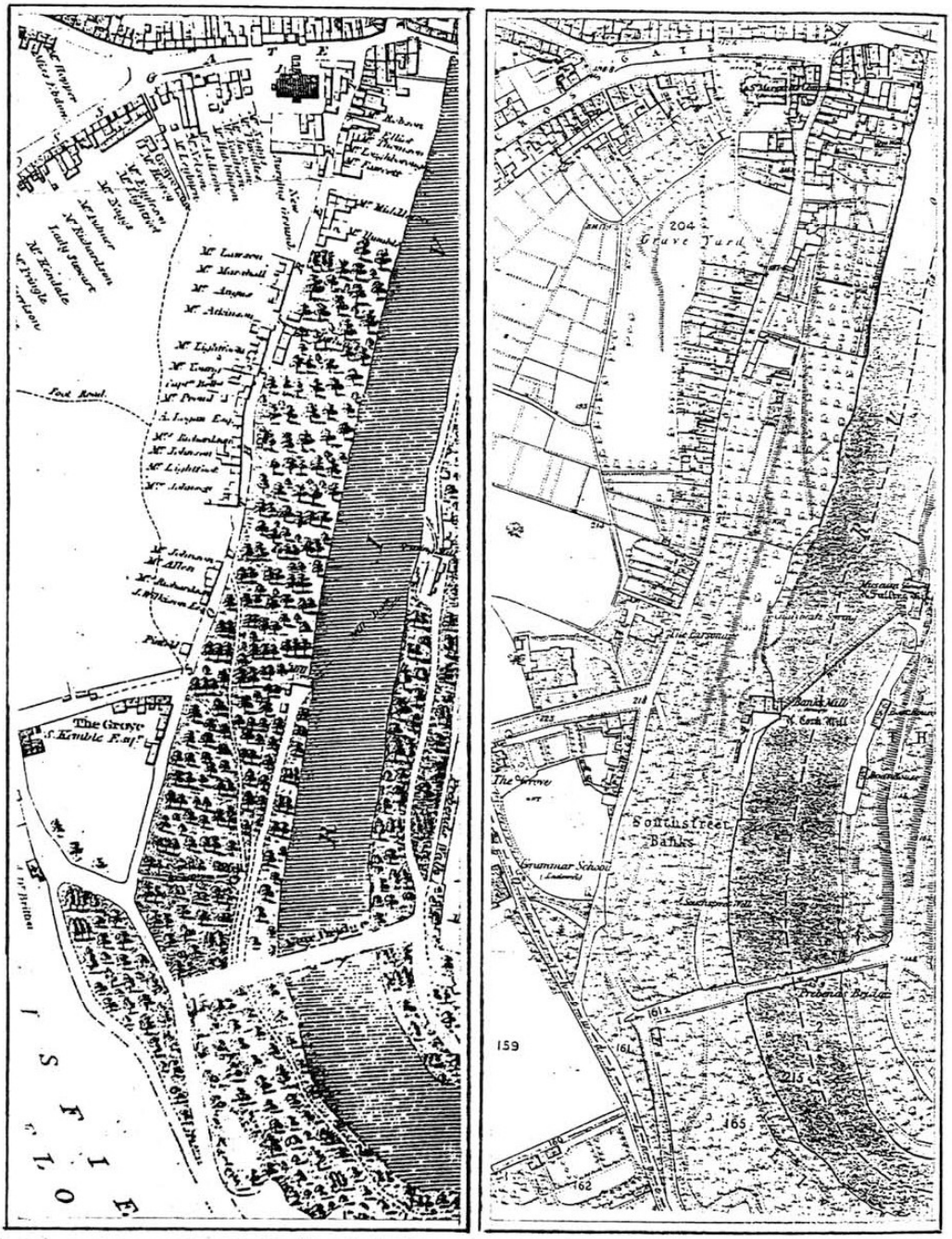

Fig. 3a (Wood 1820) New Prebends Bridge directly linked to South Street, but street itself by-passed at south end, and earlier road to river downgraded to path.

Fig. 3b (Reproduced from 1856 Ordnance Survey map, 1:2500 plan) New parsonage and Durham School buildings; street diverted from Prebends Bridge to link with by-pass instead; first phase of allotments and extended graveyard.

is concerned it is surprisingly accurate, when placed alongside a pre-motorway Ordnance Survey map to the same one-inch scale (*Fig. 2a*). And the distance given 'by dimensuration' of 262.5 miles from the centre of London to Durham serves quite satisfactorily today. Ogilby's map and accompanying text make clear that his route includes South Street (*Fig. 2b*).

> By *Hett* and *Croxdale* 3 Furlongs on the Right, at 259 M(iles) enter *Sunderland* Village and 2 F(urlongs) farther *Sunderland* Bridge over *Were fluvius*. Then by *Farwel* House on the Right (i.e. turn right), at 262 M. 3 F. you come to the West Suburbs of *DURHAM* , lying 5 F. on the Road, leaving the City it self almost Encompass 'd by the River on the Right ... At 263 M. beyond the Suburbs, a small Ascent between the Gallows and *Crokehal* alias *Crockshal*, succeeded by another Hill, leads to *Durham-Moor* village at 263 M. 7 F.

On their own, and so far as the situation in 1675 is concerned, this map and text seem hard to argue with. However, the book also has a Durham to Whitby route. This includes a spur to the south marked *to London* from the road leading south-east from Elvet Bridge. The text reads: 'Turnings to be avoided between Durham and Whitby: I. In Durham the forward to Old Durham [i.e. Old Elvet at the east end of Elvet Bridge], and *the right to London.* ' (*Fig. 2c*). This demolishes any argument that in 1675 travellers to or from Durham city *had* to use South Street. They could equally take a route by the 'East suburbs ' to reach Farewell Hall. The western route was simpler, shorter and better for anyone not wanting to visit Durham nor bothered by the steepness of South Street (see later).

If we re-read Ogilby's London-Durham text carefully, we can see it describes how to get *past* Durham, not how to get *into* it. Durham was highly unusual if not unique amongst British towns in having not only a route involving three crossings of the same river but also the chance of ignoring two of them Normally you had to go through a town to cross a river because that was where the single local bridge was. However, on at least one ceremonial occasion the western road *was* taken into the city. In January 1672 a Durham bishop, John Cosin, died in London. His body lay in a lead coffin until the roads should be fit for the journey north. On 27 April the hearse with six horses, accompanied in 'solemn procession [by] the greatest part of the gentry, with the clergy of the County Palatine', rode from Farewell Hall to where the Mayor and Aldermen stood waiting to receive them 'within the West-gate'. This must be the east end of Framwellgate Bridge.[26]

Several maps after 1675 up to about 1800 are mentioned by Gibby, but the effect is a confused picture in which all three bridges serve as entry/exit points for the city (despite Prebends' accepted status before 1771 as a footbridge). He concludes that by the 1820s Church Street and Elvet Bridge had taken over as the preferred means of entry to the city.[27] (They were certainly better adapted to carry the increasing traffic, even if they could not quite rival the view.)

However, in 1745 an Act established a turnpike road from Boroughbridge to Durham, and two more informative city maps, surveyed in 1754 by Forster (*Fig. 1b*) and in 1768 by Armstrong (engraved by Jeffreys)[28] clarify the picture for that period. In 1754 the eastern route leading south from Elvet Bridge divides into Hallgarth Street and Church Street as now, and they are labelled respectively as the turnpike roads to Stockton and from London. At the south end of South Street its continuation (present Quarry Heads Lane) is the 'lane leading from the lane by Amling Barns (i.e. Pimlico) to the turnpike road' - which can only be the London turnpike (*Fig. 1b*). Hence South Street is certainly not regarded by Forster as a principal entry to or exit from the city. The 1768 map, although Gibby says it 'marks South Street and Church Street as both mail and turnpike roads'[29], tells the same story as Forster, at least as far as the copy in the University Library is concerned. Both Forster and Armstrong, incidentally, show Prebend's Bridge with refuges above cutwaters, similar to the other bridges, as in the 1745 engraving, and these, presumably dating from its rebuilding in stone in 1695, suggest that it was not merely for foot traffic. Another Armstrong produced in 1776 a map of the area around the city at about two miles to the inch[30], with the mileage from Darlington marked. The Farewell fork at 16 miles is shown with the left branch truncated; the right fork leads to Charley's Cross just beyond 17 miles and then directly into Church Street and Elvet Bridge. The 18 mile mark near the west end of Framwellgate Bridge is too close to the previous mark for the shorter, South Street, route, but about right for the more roundabout Elvet Bridge - Market Place one. It has to be concluded that the argument for a 'Great North South Street' as the principal way into and out of Durham is debatable at best and untenable for later than 1745. Nevertheless, it remains true that until a 'western by-pass' linked Farewell Hall with Neville's Cross and Durham Moor, all traffic between Darlington and Newcastle was more or less obliged to pass through Durham, and if a double crossing of the Wear were to be avoided passage via South Street, as shown by Ogilby, was the obvious way (see remarks later on gradients and the delivery of Stephenson's *Locomotion* via Durham in 1825). In 1785 the Durham Court of Quarter Sessions approved the replacement of 237 yards of the 'highway called Banks or Old Quarry between South Street and Potters Lane', i.e. the steep connection to Prebends Bridge, by the present stretch of Quarry Heads Lane alongside Durham School playing field, as far as the house called 'The Grove', and this would have both made the west suburban route easier and helped to isolate the new bridge from through traffic. Almost fifty years later the present direct link from South Street into Quarry Heads Lane was made and the old steep stretch demoted to a footpath.[31]

An initial search in travellers' accounts by John Leland (c. 1540), William Brereton (1635), Celia Fiennes (1698), Daniel Defoe (1724-1727 but based on earlier journeys), Robert Harley (1725), and Arthur Young (1770) has not shed much light on the matter.

Leland arrived via Brancepeth, coming over the 'pleasant' River Deerness at Stonebridge and hence by Crossgate - he describes it as 'Cross Street which leads to Auckland' - and over Framwellgate Bridge, whose three arches were then all still visible. Framwellgate is 'the road to Chester-le-Street and Newcastle'. Significantly, Leland names South Street (the only one of our travellers to do so) as the third street in the western suburb, without saying that it *leads* anywhere.[32] He left Durham by Elvet Bridge, allowing it fourteen arches, a challenge to modern investigators, and is dismissive

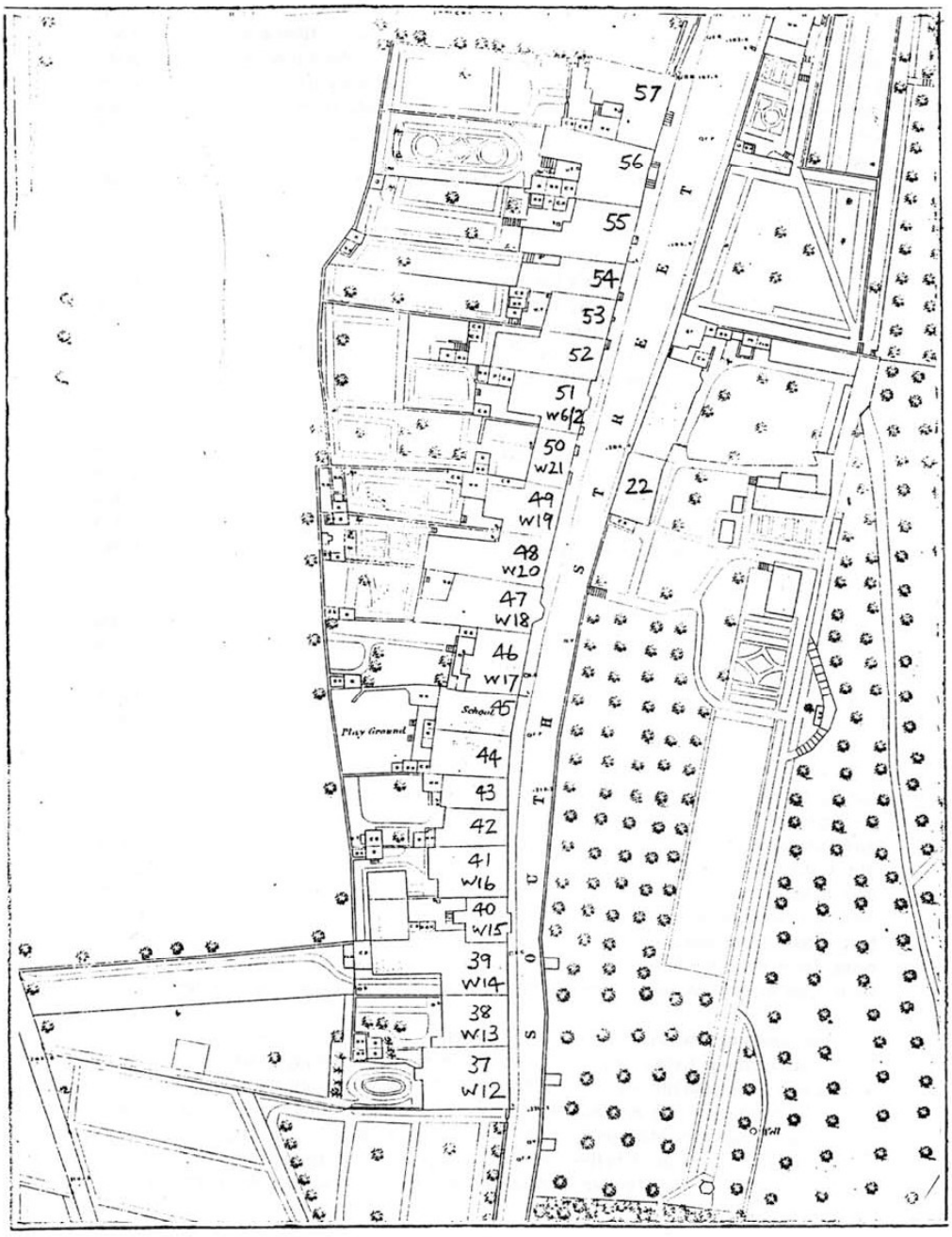

Fig.4 (O.S. 1856, 1:500 plan). Note details of outhouses, garden paths, etc.. Nos. 22 and 37-57 with identifications in Woodifield Survey. Possible hexagonal gazebo at south end of long terrace.

of the belief of the time by some that the Wear used once to flow across the narrow isthmus just north of the two bridges, making Durham the island town its name suggests. Later miners and geologists were to realise that it was actually the pre-Ice Age Browney that flowed to meet the Wear in its old course by that route (now followed by the inner relief road): the 'wash' of glacial sand and clay filling up the earlier valley blocked mining in the direction of the cathedral from the north, while the loop of the Wear blocked it from all other directions, effectively making the peninsula an island for mining purposes and saving it from the danger of subsidence to which buildings elsewhere fell victim in the 19th and early 20th centuries. [33]

Sir William Brereton, later Parliamentary general, arrived from Auckland Castle in June 1635. He remarked on 'two fair bridges', and 'four or five other streets, placed straggling one from the other upon the hill tops'. There were 'some reasonable houses in this city, which is but poor by reason here is no trade'. Newcastle, on the other hand, was 'beyond all compare the fairest and richest town in England ... save London and Bristow'.[34]

Fiennes came through Chester-le-Street. She counted *three* 'large stone bridges with several arches apiece', confirming the new *proto*-Prebends was complete by 1698. In the evening she enjoyed a walk to Kepier, tasting the fruit there and sampling as was her custom the local spa waters. Interestingly, in view of our uncertainties, she required a guide for her next stage, to Darlington. He got her there but managed to lose her nightclothes. [35]

Defoe, enthusiast for commerce and improvements and scourge of bad roads, found Durham 'a little, compact, neatly contrived city, ... well built but old'. The last was not a compliment, and he evidently found little to delay him. He was more impressed by Lumley Castle, whose 'park, beside the pleasantness of it, has this much better thing to recommend it, namely that it is full of excellent veins of the best coal in the country'.[36]

Robert Harley, later Earl of Oxford, (for whom Defoe was engaged in undercover intelligence activity in the north in 1706) was likewise unimpressed on the whole in 1725. He approached from Bishop Auckland via Sunderland Bridge but unfortunately does not give the route from there, although he stayed at the White Hart, in the North Bailey. The Cathedral was 'indifferent', Prebends' Walk 'pleasant, but the common entrance into it mean and filthy'. However, Framwellgate Bridge now had 'two of the finest arches I have anywhere seen'. The final judgment seems to be that Durham is a backwater, 'there being no trade carried on here, and the chief dependence of the town being upon the church and courts of judicature'.[37] Perhaps this was a complaint locals were wont to impress on visitors, as they had on Brereton ninety years earlier?

The coaching era was now beginning. Whether or not South Street was on the main route, the Fighting Cocks Inn at its foot (at Framwellgate Bridge end, the Newcastle newspapers say) certainly was. From at least 1735, probably until the mid 1740s, it was the city's post-house, and by repute the Duke of Cumberland took his refreshment there in 1746 when the execrable state of the road at Sunderland Bridge disabled his coach, delaying his post-Jacobite rebellion business and possibly giving the turnpike movement a timely boost.[38] Citing *'Durham Antiquities'*, the Durham Directory for 1847 makes the

Fighting Cocks the city's principal inn until the mid-18th century. James II is said to have stayed there in 1685.

From 1820 onwards directories are available giving details of coach and carrier services in Durham. Pigot's for 1820-1822 reveals that four inns were stopping points for coaches travelling the Great North Road: the Three Tuns, the Waterloo and the Half Moon near the east end of Elvet Bridge, and the Hat and Feather in the Market Place. Thirty-five carrier services are listed, serving fifteen local or distant places. The great majority (26) started from the Market Place and would almost certainly not have been using South Street at that date. Of the other nine, only the twice-weekly Wolsingham run from one of the Red Lions (two in Silver Street, the other in Framwellgate) may conceivably have come that way rather than by the slightly steeper Crossgate. One carrier was operating from the Fighting Cocks, but his conveyances went north to Newcastle. The address is given as Crossgate; by the time directories came to be published in street order, it had become no. 4 South Street.

The Coach and Eight inn, now the Fighting Cocks' near neighbour at no. 1, evokes pleasant, ambiguous notions. But no coaching inn stood there. Nor can it have often seen a rowing eight. Only four or six-oared boats were used in the days when Charles Ebdy built and hired them from premises at the other end of the bridge, and, although Durham Regatta developed from the battle of Waterloo anniversary celebrations featuring (in 1828 and 1829) 'frequent firing of a cannon at the bottom of Mr. Stoddart's garden in South Street ... loudly answered from the opposite bank'[39], the races on the river figuring in Captain MacFarlane-Grieve's *History of Durham Rowing* are limited to the stretch above Prebends. The 1841 Census shows Ebdy operating from Paradise Lane, the present site of Brown's boathouse beside Elvet bridge. How fitting it would be, in view of his heroic feats during the great February 1822 flood, to name the new lane now under construction there Ebdy's or Paradise Lane, not the dull, insipid High Street.[40]

One relic at least of former glory may have survived near to the head of South Street. Built into an outside corner of the house at the north end of Quarry Heads Lane known as 'The Grove', now part of Durham School (and figuring again later in this narrative), is a small cupboard accessible to the passing driver of the London Coach, who, it is suggested, will have collected and deposited mail there without having to dismount.[41] As we have seen, between 1785 and 1834 traffic between South Street and the south was encouraged to go round that way, so this attractive explanation for the cupboard seems just plausible. However, The Grove would not have been on the route after 1834.

Intrinsic interest. Pevsner handed out no prizes to South Street in 1953, except for the view from no. 37. One cannot quarrel with his judgment that there are no houses of the very highest architectural distinction, although no fewer than seventeen were listed as of architectural or historic interest by 1976. But when he comments on the 'pleasant feeling of interior space' offered by the North and South Baileys one cannot help reflecting on how wonderfully the upper part of South Street is adapted to its open exposure to the magnificent prospect to the east.[42] The solemn grandeur of the Cathedral opposite and the romantic charm of the river, weir and mills below are responded to by a rising terrace of thirty 'town houses' in almost as many sizes, styles and

materials, as though a child had assembled as many different toy models as it could under the eye of a stern but fond parent. This is no mere personal impression. Pevsner's 1983 editor called the street 'one of the best in Durham', picking out details of several houses for mention. A writer in the *Northern Architect* in 1976 calls it 'a splendid tapestry of domestic styles, foibles and fashions'. And W.N.Illingworth, the highly-cultured head of a private school at no. 47, writing in about 1957, described it in its then context 'climbing from a mean, hideous shopping quarter to a district still graced by old walls, fields and woods, its houses [forming] a quaint, if not grotesque, array'[43]

Influenced by Beresford's *New towns of the middle ages*, in which Durham is accorded a place as one of the earliest planned towns (as might be reasonable to accept, given the deliberate nature of the Cuthbertine settlement in 995), and by Conzen's study of Alnwick, showing how an almost military regularity of property widths could be detected underlying the present boundaries, as well as by a number of other studies[44] - and in particular by the revelation that tenth-century fences dividing three tenements in Saddler Street were almost exactly one perch (5½ yards) apart[45] - the present writer attempted to extract from the 1856 map and from actual measurement the secret of the planning grid used when South Street was laid out, say for the benefit of the workforce building Aldhun's Cathedral. The sole possible conclusion was that such a multiplicity of different plot widths could only have arisen from gradual, organic *unplanned* growth. Evidence generally is compelling that property boundaries are extremely tenacious, disappearing only when amalgamations or reorganisations of multiple tenements take place. The only hope for a theory of a planned South Street relies on its later destruction, either by the usurper 'Bishop' William Cumin in the 1140s or by the Scots at any time, having been so utter that the very boundaries disappeared. But this is a slim hope, made slimmer by the fact that a regenerated street, like the Durham 'green villages' after the Conqueror's harrying, is more not less likely to be regular of plot width.[46] For any who are interested, the 23 South Street frontages on the west side, reading from no. 32 to no. 57, are to the nearest foot:

27, 23, 17, 20, 22, 28, 26, 26, 43, 35, 37, 30, 22, 23, 24, 28, 25, 19, 17, 17, 28, 33, 35

That is, there are fifteen different widths, none of them occurring more than three times. In their variety they reflect both the (mediaeval?) rents and the Georgian/Victorian/Edwardian building styles. Indeed, one can think of nothing about the street which submits to regularity. When we consider its width it becomes necessary to think for a moment of geology, that vital determinant of so much to do with Durham.

As Brereton observed in 1635, the street straggles along the top of a hill, or rather a ridge. So does Crossgate, its sister street at right angles to it. Between the two is a quarter-circle of land which sags markedly and is occupied by allotments and St. Margaret's extended and extensive graveyard. Johnson and Dunham in 1982, and Johnson and Richardson more recently[47], have shown that building stone for the Cathedral (and why not for Aldhun's 995 one?) could very well have been quarried from the Low Main Post sandstone lying near the surface in this area, where a substantial volume of building stone has been removed. Similarly, there has been quarrying all along the steep South Street river banks. Stone was taken from the river banks south

of Prebends Bridge into the 19th century. The course of South Street may have been partly determined by the quarries along whose lip it ran, and the same may be true of the route connecting it from the head of Crossgate, Margery (i.e. St. Margaret's) Lane and its short link to South Street, Lymekilngate *alias* Lane to Ambling Barns *alias* Grove Street *alias* Pimlico. And if South Street's course *may* have been dictated by quarries, its width almost certainly *has* been. You have but to walk up the east side from no. 22 onwards, using such pavement as there is space for, to realise that almost the entire length for four hundred yards is supported by a wall up to twelve feet high. The pavement + road + pavement width near the bottom of the street in feet is a generous 10 + 22 + 4 = 36 but higher up is a different story: 9 + 15 + 4 = 28 at no. 22/51; 4 + 10½ + 1 = 15½ at no. 40; and if you seek to enjoy Pevsner's view there is 2½ + 9 + 1 = 12½ feet to share with passing vehicles.[48] Thereafter the street widens a little, narrows again at the junction with Pimlico, widens once more to over 20 feet and then, in its rural phase, abandons pavements and narrows to 9 feet before debouching into the broad area at the top of its old track down to Prebend's Bridge. Compare this with New Elvet, Hallgarth Street and Church Street in the east suburbs, none of which on the 1856 plan was any narrower than eighteen feet, not counting pavements! The supporting wall seems certain to be the result of quarrying, either the consequence of collapses or the attempt to forestall them. What was the road width previously? Something more on a par with Church Street and New Elvet, perhaps, as Patteson and Speed (*Fig. 1a*) seem to suggest? Enquiries with the City Engineer's department will be pursued, but it is proposed meanwhile that the street was formerly rather wider and that sections of it fell - or threatened to fall - down the bank at some time or times in the past two or three hundred years. Whether one or two houses also fell is a further matter for speculation. [49]

Like the width, the gradient of the street is variable. It is also quite steep. David Butler in his paper in an earlier edition of this *Bulletin* on the building of Durham's North Road demonstrates the importance of hills in impeding traffic.[50] When Telford in 1828 proposed by-passing the city on the west the effect was quite electric; a complete replacement road for Milburngate and Framwellgate was speedily suggested, and eventually built. Instead of gradients of 1:14, 1:9 and even 1:7 the new route, opened in 1830, had nothing more severe than 1:12 and was mostly less than 1:20. For comparison, South Street, starting at the same end of Framwellgate Bridge, presents an immediate short climb of 1:6½, a sharp left turn, an easy stretch, a hundred yards between 1:7 and 1:8, and then a gradual easing off, which gives, however, a misleading impression: until 1834 the street followed the present 1:5 incline down towards Prebends Bridge as shown on Wood's 1820 map (*Fig.3a, 3b*).[51] Crossgate, from its junction with South Street, rises at a steady 1:7½,then 1:9 and 1:10. No proposals seem to have been made to alleviate the problems these two streets posed; the city fathers were concerned to improve their route to Newcastle, but not that to Darlington. This is further evidence that South Street was not then considered as part of the Great North Road, although Stephenson's *Locomotion,* weighing with its tender seven to eight tons apiece, is said to have been conveyed up it in the course of delivery to Shildon in September 1825, presumably to avoid the bridges, Silver Street and the Market Place.[52] The other locomotives ordered from the Newcastle works must also have come by South Street. (On the great day the train proudly flew the company's flag with its motto 'Periculum privatum utilitas publica' - surely due for re-adoption? Jeans, in his 50th anniversary

history of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, still suffused with Victorian enthusiasm for new technology, proclaims that the railway pioneers 'upset nothing that was not hindering the march of progress'.[53] If, as one fancies, the passage of several fifteen-ton loads up South Street hastened its relegation from the status of main thoroughfare, he has a sort of point.)

Another facet of the street marked by variety is the social rank of its inhabitants. A great deal of light on this will be shed by the censuses from 1841 onwards, but other information shows that for a long period the lower end was much poorer. As late as the 1930s, according to recollections of a former pupil, boys at the public school (which moved to its commodious site at the head of the street from its original berth close to the Cathedral in the 1840s) could go into town at lunch time, but 'the only route permitted was via the Bailey to avoid the dreadful slum at the bottom of South Street'.[54] The carriage-owning classes were never drawn to the street; they had houses in the Bailey. Nevertheless some persons of standing did live here, as can be found from the censuses - but discussion of that needs an article by itself. Suffice for the moment to mention the actor-manager Stephen Kemble at The Grove from about 1814 until his death in 1822. The absence of coach-houses was succeeded in this century by a dire shortage of garages in the street. In a brilliant stroke of social engineering calculated to foster maximum social cohesion the Dean and Chapter of Durham have provided two dozen at the top end. This ensures most of the inhabitants have occasion to meet, as the upper residents walking downhill to the shops encounter the lower ones going up to fetch their cars.

There is one other matter of minor interest. The street does not exactly follow the ridge, but lies a little to the east, with the gardens behind each house running up to it. Quite why this should be is difficult to say; perhaps it was simply a desire for wind shelter? By the standards of burgage plots in many mediaeval towns, the South Street properties are short - from about 25 to 40 yards as a rule. The 1856 plan shows five boundaries in the present graveyard just conceivably relating to earlier extensions of the plots to 132 yards, which is 24 perches and would provide the kind of standard which everywhere else eludes us in the street. But the balance of probabilities is that this is a chimera.

This confessedly rambling survey of aspects of the history of the street has shown that a great deal remains to be done. The Lincoln survey mentioned at the beginning gives encouragement to persevere, even - indeed especially - to an amateur. Part 2 in a forthcoming issue of the *Bulletin* will locate the mediaeval St. Helen's Well and St. Margaret's Beck, discuss the question of the priory's fish-ponds, and show how rope-making was an activity in the street for a significant period. It is hoped that further work on the Receiver's and Renewals Books and associated deeds will do more to bring back to life some of the long dead and forgotten inhabitants of the street. Some other outstanding matters are listed below:

Construction dates of present houses? The *Archaeological Survey* published in 1993 includes maps locating a couple of pre-1650/75 and a dozen or so buildings of the following century, and it is hoped to make use of the data.[55]

19th century or earlier illustrations of the street? Morgan's illustration of the later infamous 'Curtain' at the foot of South Street matches the 1856 O.S. plan very well, though he romanticises it.[56]

Records of collapse/shoring up of the roadway? Was it allowed to deteriorate as an encouragement to traffic to use the eastern route? And when was the existing support made?

Details of the gardens shown on the 1856 plan, especially on the banks opposite the cathedral? The hexagonal building twenty yards south-east of no. 37 looks just like a gazebo.

Connection of the incised cross grave cover incorporated in the wall of the broad track leading from Durham School towards Prebends Bridge with this area? The cover is illustrated by Hodges.[57]

Origin of the name Pimlico? See the *Oxford Companion to English Literature.* A possible train of development is: Imitation of bird cry as name for bird > Bird name applied to Caribbean islet > Bird/islet name given to English sailor who returns to run pub in Hoxton, London, *circa* 1590 > His name adopted for local pleasure garden and later ones > More general district name.

Chronology and function of the various approaches to Prebends Bridge west end? (And what is the arched cavity below the road where the track from Durham School meets it?)

Difficulty in mapping southern end of South Street? The sheet which Captain O'Grady surveyed for Pimlico and the southern tip of the peninsula - or should have - was printed with the portion west of the river blank. Earlier cartographers made a point of extending no further south than the bend in the river, leaving the communication between Elvet and Crossgate townships a mystery.

How much rubbish has accumulated over the centuries on South Street banks and what might we learn from an archaeological dig there? Stop press, November 1997: a carved stone head with crown (14th cent.?) and a mullioned sill have been found beneath the banks path at the west end of Prebends Bridge.

Has a scanner that can transcribe 16th-century handwriting in Latin, with abbreviations, been invented yet?

REFERENCES AND NOTES

Manuscript sources for this project are in the care of Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections (DUL ASC), and Durham County Record Office (DCRO). I am very grateful to Alan Piper of the former, for guidance and for allowing me to use his transcript of the Receiver's Book for 1541/2; also to his colleagues for much help and advice. David Watkinson has given me much detailed information I could not have found on my own.

The various Ordnance Survey maps are reproduced with the sanction of the Ordnance Survey. The maps by Forster, Ogilby and Wood (figs. 1b, 2, 3a) are reproduced by kind permission of Durham University Library and the O.S. plan (fig.4) by that of Durham County Record Office.

1. H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford*, ed. W.A. Pantin (Oxford Historical Society, n.d. 14, 20, 1960-1869).

2. S. Jones et al., *The Survey of Ancient Houses in Lincoln* (Lincoln, 1985-), vol.4 published 1996.

3. David Butler has done a great service by publishing *Durham City: The 1851 Census* (Durham, 1992). This is an invaluable mine of information and starting point for research.

4. W.A. Pantin in his preface to Salter, *Survey of Oxford*. (Salter did not survive to prepare his monumental work for publication).

5. E. Cambridge, 'Archaeology and the Cult of St. Oswald in Pre-Conquest Northumbria' in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (eds.), (Stamford, 1995), p.149; P. Clack, *The Book of Durham City* (Buckingham, 1985), p.65.

6. M. Johnson. *The Walls and Towers of Durham* (Durham, 1980) - but no earlier confirmation of a ford near Prebends Bridge has been traced.

7. M. Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community: Durham and its Overlords. 1250-1540* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.17-36.

8. 'Reginaldi Monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus', trans. E. Pace (typescript). I am grateful to Mr. R.C. Norris for drawing my attention to this translation of Reginald's 'Miracles of St. Cuthbert' held by Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections. The Latin original was published by the Surtees Society (ed. J. Raine, vol.1, 1835).

9. *Reginaldi Libellus*, ed. J. Raine (see note above), chap. 112, p.252. The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (1975-), citing this passage, gives 'rims' for *cantos* instead of Pace's 'buckets'. But, since Reginald says that the man had the illusion of human heads revolving in the river, Pace may be more correct.

10. Bonney, *Lordship*, appendix 2, table 4, p.266, and p.86. Appendix 4 explains the rôle of the obedientiaries in the priory.

11. Bonney, *Lordship*.

12. Bonney, *Lordship*, p.43. The street was suffering from decline at its south end by the 15th century.

13. D. Baty and N.G.E. Gedye (eds.), *Durham School Register* (Durham, 5th ed., 1991), p.5, E. Halladay, 'The School'.

14. DUL ASC: DCD Plans P/4/5.

15. DUL ASC: DCD Ch.Acts, 21 July 1834.

16. Correspondence with deeds in the possession of Mrs. A. Alliston, Burn Hall.

17. P. Mussett and P. Woodward, *Estates and Money at Durham Cathedral, 1660-1985* (Durham Cathedral Lecture, 1988).

18. The sacrist's and almoner's rentals are among the numerous muniments of the Dean and Chapter utilised as sources by Dr. Bonney and listed in her bibliography, *Lordship*, pp.285-286. I am grateful to Dr. R.A. Lomas for making his transcripts of them available to me.

19. M. Roberts, *Book of Durham* (English Heritage, London, 1994), pp.91-92. But if, as he says, the cottage was subdivided in the 18th century, the builder had to look sharp, since it was a unity in 1799.

20. P. Lowther and others, 'The City of Durham: an Archaeological Survey' in *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 9 (1993), pp.105-106.

21. B. Colgrave and C.W. Gibby, *A Short Tour of Durham* (Durham, 1946), p.9.

22. DCRO: EP/DuSM/50.

23. Colgrave and Gibby, *A Short Tour*, p.9.

24. J. Ogilby, *Britannia or, The Kingdom of England ... actually Survey'd; with a geographical and historical Description of the principal Roads; explained by one hundred Maps* ... (London, 1675). Page 1 is headed *'Itinirarium Angliae or a Book of the Roads of England and Wales'*, and it is from this that it has become known as Ogilby's 'Road Book'. The copy in Durham University Library is the 1698 edition but the maps are unchanged from the first edition apart from ornamentation. Selected plates in Durham City Library, catalogued as 1675, are actually 1698 or later.

25. H. Robinson, *The British Post Office: a History* (Princeton, NJ, 1948), p.62; C. Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. C. Morris (London, 1949), p.xxv.

26. M. Johnson, 'John Cosin: an introduction to his life and work' in M. Johnson (ed.), *John Cosin: papers presented to a Conference to celebrate the 400th Anniversary of his Birth*, (Durham, 1997), pp.53-54. Other Cosin associations to be explored later are: his employment of a South Street stone-mason, Christopher Scurrey or Skirrey, said by one source to have built Cosin's Library on Palace Green; his construction of a belvedere or viewing tower looking directly to the street from the garden beside Durham Castle; and the painting, possibly by Samuel Buck, of him being rowed below in his Venetian-style barge.

27. C.W. Gibby, 'Some old Durham Roads' in *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 9 (1939-1943), p.421.

28. T. Forster, *Plan of the City of Durham* (1754); A. Armstrong, *The County Palatine of Durham, survey'd by Capt. Armstrong and engraved by T. Jefferys* (1768). Details of a large number of maps, some not available to Dr. Gibby in 1943, are in R.M. Turner, *Maps of Durham, 1576-1872, in the University Library, Durham* (1954), with *Supplement* (1960) by A.I. Doyle.

29. Gibby, 'Roads', p.421.

30. M.J. Armstrong, *An actual Survey of the Great Post-Roads between London and Edinburgh* (London, 1776), plate 24.

31. 1785 highway diversion: DCRO Q/S/OB/15, p.84; 1834 diversion and stopping up of carriageway: DUL ASC: DCD Ch.Acts, 21 July 1834, DCRO Q/R/HD/B1, pp.115-118 and QR/HD/6 (plan).

32. J. Leland, *Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, ed. and trans. J. Chandler (Stroud, 1993), pp.146-153. Chandler has re-organised Leland's text to make it more user-friendly. Durham material is conveniently brought together but Chandler identifies *Repaire* (Bearpark) with Ragpath.

33. P.A. Grant, *The Coal-Mines of Durham City* (University of Durham, Department of Geography, Occasional Publications, n.s.3, 1973), p.3.

34. W. Brereton, *Travels in Holland, ... England, [etc.], 1634-5*, ed. E.Hawkins (Remains historical and literary ... Chetham Society), 1 (1844), pp.82-84.

35. Fiennes, *Journeys*, pp.213-216.

36. D. Defoe, *A tour through England and Wales* (Everyman edition, London, 1927), vol. 2, p.248.

37. *Report on the Duke of Portland's Manuscripts, 6: Journeys ... to the Northern Counties and Scotland (by Lord Harley, afterwards 2nd Earl of Oxford, April-June 1725)* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1901) pp.102-103.

38. Dr. C.D.Watkinson kindly supplied information for this paragraph.

39. A.A. Macfarlane-Grieve, *A History of Durham Rowing* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1922), p.13. (Quoting local newspaper; Stoddart's house was the present no.22).

40. W. Henderson, *Notes and Reminiscences of my Life as an Angler* (London, 1876), p.46. He gives the date as 1824, but the details fit an account in the *Durham Chronicle* of February 1822.

41. *Let Durham Flourish* [photographs of Durham School; text ed. J. Malden] (Durham, 1996), p.38.

42. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England County Durham* (London, 1953), p.133.

43. *Ibid.*, 2nd ed. rev. E.Williamson (London, 1983), p.251; Lewington Black Partnership, 'Housing at South Street, Durham' in *Northern Architect*, n.s. 11 (1976), pp.30-35; W.N.Illingworth, *Sangreal School* (Chester-le-Street, 1982), p.4.

44. M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), pp.431-433, 437; M.R.G.Conzen, *Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in Town-Plan Analysis* (Institute of British Geographers Publications, 27, London, 1960); T.R.Slater, 'Analysis of Burgage Patterns in Medieval Towns' in *Area*, 13 (1981), pp.211-216; A.Rogers, 'The Use of Deeds for Medieval History' in P. Riden (ed.), *The Medieval Town in Britain*, (Cardiff, 1980), p.10 - but he says 'Urban land tenure is too complicated for anything approaching tenemental history to be feasible'!

45. M.O.H. Carver. 'Three Saxo-Norman Tenements in Durham City' in *Medieval Archaeology*, 23 (1979), p.68. In a note the tenement widths are given as 5.05 metres. One perch is 5.03 metres. See also P. Clack, *Durham City*, p.65.

46. B.K. Roberts, 'Village Plans in County Durham' in *Medieval Archaeology*, 16 (1972), pp.33-56. Bonney suggests (*pers. comm.*) that the irregular, unplanned character of the street reflects the multiplicity of owners and of land uses (part urban, part rural), as well as its distance from the city centre where pressure on space was always greater.

47. G.A.L. Johnson and K. Dunham, 'The Stones of Durham Cathedral: a preliminary note' in *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, n.s. 6 (1982), pp.53-56; G.A.L. Johnson and G. Richardson, 'Coal Measures of the River Wear Gorge at Durham' in *Transactions of the Natural History Society of Northumbria*, 55 (1990), pp.84-96.

48. The Durham Paving Commissioners were certainly alive to the problem of the street's narrowness in 1843. When William Peele (deputy receiver to the Dean and Chapter of Durham - responsible for our prime source, the Receiver's Book) set out to re-build no. 37 they offered to buy a slice of his freehold so as to widen it. He responded: 'It would do little good unless several other [houses] were set back also. However, I am wishful to assist in improving the footpath ...' and went on to offer, gratis, a triangular piece of his frontage, tapering from six inches to nothing, in exchange for their sanction for a first-floor window to project by six inches. A comparison of his professional-looking scale drawing with the 1856 O.S. plan and today's situation suggests that this widening of the footpath is exactly what happened. (The letter is DCRO: Du 2/4/125).

49. Dr. C.D. Watkinson informs me that the road *did* collapse in the mid 19th century and had to be re-built. A 1635 case in the Chancery court, concerning a (coal?) mine in South Street on Dean and Chapter land, possibly involving subsidence, is awaiting investigation.

50. D.J. Butler, '"A Plan So Replete With Advantages To The Traveller": the Building of Durham's North Road' in *Durham County Local History Society Bulletin*, 35 (1985), pp.22-34.

51. In 1833 the parishioners of Crossgate consented to 'a plan for stopping the road from the end of South Street to Prebends Bridge as a Carriage Road and for converting the same to a Bridle Road', and the Durham Chapter approved the diversion of the road to run along the South Bellassis Field the following summer. DUL ASC: DCD Ch.Acts, 20 November 1833, 21 July 1834.

52. D. Wilcock, *pers. comm*. However, Dr. C.D. Watkinson tells me the *Durham Advertiser* reported the breakdown of a wagon hauling a locomotive boiler up Silver Street at some time in the 1820s or 30s.

53. J.S. Jeans, *History of the Stockton and Darlington Railway,* (London, 1875, repr. 1974), p.75.

54. *Let Durham Flourish*, p.86 (from reminiscences by P.Jack, published in *The Dunelmian,* 1991/2). Illingworth, in *Sangreal School*, says Durham's slums were described in the 1940s as worse than Shanghai's. He characterised South Street's 1950 inhabitants as a 'good-natured freeemasonry of decayed respectability' (*op. cit.*, pp.4, 108).

55. Lowther, 'Archaeological Survey', pp.113-114.

56. F.W. Morgan, *Pen and ink sketches in the streets of Durham* (Durham, 1886; repr. with introduction by G.R.Batho and M.F.Richardson, 1993).

57. C.C. Hodges, *The Sepulchral Slabs, Grave Covers, ... of the Middle Ages ... in the County of Durham* (privately published, 1884), pl. 40, no.122.

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