THE CHURCH, THE MANOR AND THE SETTLEMENT: THE EVIDENCE FROM THE TEES VALLEY, ENGLAND

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the physical relationship of the churches and planned settlements of the Tees Valley, England. The dominant settlement type in the north-east of England throughout the later medieval period was the large nucleated village taking the form of two rows of properties separated by a green. This settlement form penetrated even the most marginal areas including the North Yorkshire Moors (*Harrison - Roberts 1989*, 72-112). The concept, form and date of planned villages of the north-east have been examined in detail by Brian Roberts (*Roberts 1990*) and it is not intended to tread this path again other than to state those premises which have been adopted for this survey.

The dating of the planned two-row green villages of north-east England is potentially the most controversial assumption underpinning this study. The proposition is that prior to the Norman Conquest the settlement pattern comprised a system of farmsteads and small hamlets with only a few nucleations. Subsequent to the Norman Conquest this pattern was replaced with one featuring large nucleated settlements of two-row plan developed as part of a deliberate Norman re-organisation of the regional economy. A substantial number of two-row green villages have now been excavated and none have provided evidence that their form pre-dates the Norman Conquest (e.g. *Austin 1989; Beresford - Hurst 1990; Evans - Jarrett - Wrathmell 1988*). There is, therefore, a growing body of archaeological evidence to associate the planned villages of north-east England with the Norman takeover of the area. The chief physical component of these settlements was the row of farmsteads, most commonly taking the form of two opposing rows with a green or road between and fields behind. The agency behind the establishment of these villages is presumed to have been the landowners of the period.

In the same way that the main phase of village establishment had taken place by the end of the 12th century, a major phase of church building was coming to completion at the same time. While there may have been up to c. 5000 churches in existence by the Norman Conquest the large majority were timber built (*Morris 1985*, 53). By 1200 A.D. these had been replaced by a greater number of stone structures in an immense programme of stone church construction and repair which took place in the century and a half following the Norman Conquest. To what extent the stone Norman churches replaced existing timber version on the same site or occupied substantially different locations is an open question. Morris has suggested that the majority of Pre-Conquest churches owed their siting to the presence of the local power holders, being sited adjacent to their properties and that this trend continued into the later medieval period (*Morris 1989*, 274). The main driving force behind the establishment of churches was the personal wishes of local Saxon, Scandinavian and Norman landholders.

It is the intent of this paper to examine the interaction between these two broadly contemporary processes of Norman village creation and church construction. Both require positive decisions on location and size, both represent investments of time and money and the decisions made will reflect the values of the period. The particular decision to be examined is how the church should physically relate to the settlement,

given that both are being constructed and there is an opportunity to make a choice between incorporation of the church into either the manorial complex or settlement or siting it remote from both.

This study began within the modern administrative county of Cleveland (*Daniels 1995*) but has now been extended to comprise the three medieval administrative districts of the Wapentakes of Langbaurgh and Sadberge and the Ward of Stockton. The two wapentakes were in existence as administrative areas by 1100 and Stockton Ward was in existence by 1300 (*Fig. 1*). These districts occupy the south-east and north-east corners of the historic counties of Durham and Yorkshire, Sadberge and Stockton lying in County Durham and Langbaurgh in Yorkshire. These areas were politically distinct in the medieval period; the King's writ ran in one and the Bishop of Durham's in the other, but they were unified by the dominant landholdings of the Brus family. This was a relatively prosperous part of the north-east albeit damaged to an uncertain extent by two centuries of virtually continual warfare including William the Conqueror's 'Harrying of the North' in 1068 in response to a northern rebellion.

Within the area of study information has been collected for all surviving medieval churches (*Tab. 1*) and the following criteria assessed. The earliest surviving fabric of the church is used to give the earliest reliable date for its present position: only churches of twelfth century date or earlier have been included in the analysis. The relationship between these churches and settlements deemed to be planned was then assessed and it was concluded that there were fifty seven instances in which a relationship between a church of twelfth century date or earlier and a planned settlement could be investigated (*Tabs. 2, 3*). In addition the relationship between the churches and manorial complexes was examined (*Tabs. 2, 4*). The decision about the relationships was based on the earliest cartographic evidence available, site visits and aerial photography. The interpretation of the position of a church in relation to settlement, particularly the degree of integration into the settlement structure is to an extent subjective and further research may alter the assignation of some buildings, however it is hoped that this should not affect the general trends apparent. *Table 1* presents the evidence for each of the settlements in the study area, indicating whether or not there is any evidence of a church prior to the Norman conquest; whether the settlement is rural or urban in character; the physical relationship of the church to the settlement and to the manorial complex; and including information about the major landholder before 1200 A. D. This information is then analysed in *Tables 2-4*.
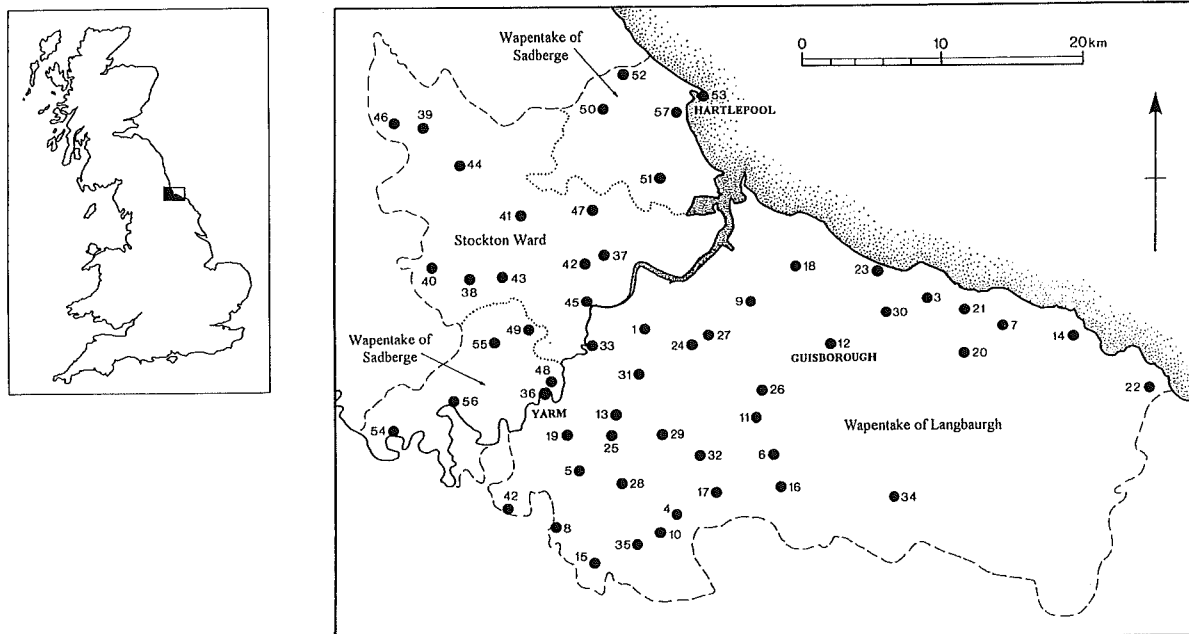

Fig. 1: Location map.

WAPENTAKE OF LANGBAURGH

Church, No. and Name	Status	Pre-Conquest Evidence	Settlement Type	Relationship to Settlement	Relationship to Manorial Complex	Lord of the Manor pre-1200
1. Acklam, St. Mary	Chapel	Documentary	Rural	Remote	Integrated	1086-1120 Chester 1120>Brus
2. Appleton Le Wiske, St. Mary	Chapel	—	Rural	Plan	Unknow	Brus
3. Brotton, St. Margaret	Chapel	—	Rural	Adjacent	Remote	Brus
4. Carlton in Cleveland, St. Botolph	Chapel	—	Rural	Row	Remote	Meynell
5. Crathorne, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Integrated	Percy
6. Easby	Chapel	—	Rural	Remote	Adjacent	Balliol
7. Easington, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Row	Remote	Chester 1120>Brus
8. East Rounton, St. Lawrence	Chapel	—	Rural	Row (?)	Unknown	Meynell
9. Eston, St. John	Chapel	—	Rural	Remote	Unknown	Meynell
10. Faceby, St. Mary Magdalene	Chapel	—	Rural	Remote	Remote	Brus
11. Great Ayton, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Adjacent	Adjacent ?	Meynell
12. Guisborough, St. Nicholas	Parish Church	Documentary	Urban	Plan	Integrated	Brus
13. Hilton, St. Peter	Chapel	—	Rural	Row	Adjacent	Meynell
14. Hinderwell, St. Hilda	Parish Church	—	Rural	Adjacent	Unknown	Percy
15. Ingleby Arncliffe, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Adjacent	Ingram
16. Ingleby Greenhow, St. Andrew	Parish Church	—	Rural	Remote	Unknown	Ingleby
17. Kirkby in Cleveland, St. Augustine	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Row	Unknown	Ingleby
18. Kirkleatham, St. Cuthbert	Parish Church	Documentary	Rural	Remote	Adjacent	Kilton
19. Kirklevington, St. Martin	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Row	Adjacent	Brus
20. Liverton, St. Michael	Chapel	—	Rural	Remote	Adjacent	Liverton
21. Loftus, St. Leonard	Parish Church	Documentary	Rural	Row	Integrated	Barde
22. Lythe, St. Oswald	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Unknown	Fossard

Church	Type	Setting			Lordship
23. Marske, St. Germaine	Parish Church	Documentary	Rural	Remote	Unknown	Brus
24. Marton, St. Cuthbert	Parish Church	Documentary	Rural	Row	Unknown	Malebiche
25. Middleton on Leven, St. Cuthbert	Chapel	–	Rural	Row	Unknown	Meynell
26. Newton U Rosebry, St. Oswald	Chapel	Sculpture	Rural	Row	Adjacent	Rosel
27. Ormesby, St. Cuthbert	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Integrated	Percy
28. Rudby, All Saints	Parish Church	Documentary	Rural	Remote	Adjacent	Meynell
29. Seamer, St. Martin	Chapel	–	Rural	Row	Unknown	Meynell
30. Skelton, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Urban	Remote	Adjacent	Brus
31. Stainton, Ss. Peter & Paul	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Plan	Unknown	Brus
32. Stokesley, St. Peter	Parish Church	Documentary	Urban	Plan	Integrated	Balliol
33. Thornaby, St. Peter ad Vincula	Chapel	Sculpture	Rural	Adjacent	Unknown	Chester 1120>Brus
34. Westerdale, Christ Church	Chapel	–	Rural	Integrated	Remote	Bovincourt
35. Whorlton, Holy Cross	Chapel	–	Urban	Row	Remote	Meynell
36. Yarm, St. Mary Magdalene	Chapel	Sculpture	Urban	Row	None	Brus

STOCKTON WARD

Church	Type	Setting			Lordship
37. Billingham, St. Cuthbert	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Plan	Remote	Prior of Durham
38. Bishopton, St Peter	Parish Church	–	Rural	Plan	Remote	Conyers
39. Bishop Middleham, St. Michael	Parish Church	–	Rural	Plan	Integrated	Bishop of Durham
40. Great Stainton, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Unknown	Bertram
41. Grindon, St. Thomas a. Beckett	Parish Church	–	Rural	Plan	Unknown	Fulthorpe
42. Norton, St Mary	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Plan	Integrated	Bishop of Durham
43. Redmarshall, St. Cuthbert	Parish Church	–	Rural	Adjacent	Integrated	Bishop of Durham
44. Sedgefield, St. Edmund the Bishop	Parish Church	–	Rural	Plan	Unknown	Bishop of Durham
45. Stockton, St. Thomas	Chapel	–	Urban	Adjacent	Remote	Bishop of Durham
46. Thrislington	Chapel	–	Rural	Row	Integrated	Fulthorpe

	Chapel	—	Rural	Row	Adjacent	Various
47. Wolviston, St. Mary Magdalene	Chapel	—	Rural	Row	Adjacent	Various
WAPENTAKE OF SADBERGE						
48. Egglescliffe, St. Mary	Parish Church	Documentary	Rural	Plan	Integrated	Egglescliffe
49. Elton, St. John	Parish Church	—	Rural	Plan	Adjacent	Humez
50. Elwick Hall, St. Peter	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Adjacent	Brus
51. Greatham, St. John Baptist	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Plan	Unknown	Bertram
52. Hart, St. Mary Magdalene	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Integrated	Brus
53. Hartlepool, St. Hilda	Chapel	Sculpture	Urban	Row	None	Brus
54. Hurworth, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Row	Unknown	Waldof
55. Longnewton, St. Mary	Parish Church	—	Rural	Row	Adjacent	Balliol
56. Middleton, St. George	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Remote	Adjacent	Baard
57. Stranton, All Saints	Parish Church	Sculpture	Rural	Adjacent	Unknown	Brus

Tab. 1: The Evidence.

Relationship of church to settlement	RELATIONSHIP OF CHURCH TO MANORIAL COMPLEX					
	Integrated	Adjacent	Remote from	No manorial complex	Unknown	Total (percentage)
Integrated into rows	2	5	3	2	6	18 (31.6%)
Integrated into plan	5	1	3	–	5	14 (24.6%)
Adjacent to settlement	1	1	2	–	3	7 (12.2%)
Remote from settlement	4	8	1	–	5	18 (31.6%)
Total (percentage)	12 (21.1%)	15 (26.3%)	9 (15.8%)	2 (3.5%)	19 (33.3%)	57

Tab. 2: The Relationship of all the Churches to Settlements and Manorial Complexes.

	RELATIONSHIP OF CHURCH TO SETTLEMENT				
	Sample size	Integrated into row	Integrated into plan	Adjacent to settlement	Remote from settlement
Combined total	57	18 (31.6%)	14 (24.6%)	7 (12.2%)	18 (31.6%)
Langbaurgh	36	13 (36.1%)	5 (13.9%)	4 (11.1%)	14 (38.9%)
Stockton	11	2 (18.2%)	6 (54.6%)	2 (18.2%)	1 (9.0%)
Sadberge	10	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	1(10%)	3 (30%)
Combined north of river Tees	21	5 (23.8%)	9 (42.9%)	3 (14.2%)	4 (19.1%)
Pre-Conquest	33	10 (30.3%)	7 (21.2%)	3 (9.1%)	13 (39.4%)
Brus	13	3 (23.1%)	3 (23.1%)	2 (15.4%)	5 (38.4%)
Meynell	9	6 (66.7%)	–	1 (11.1%)	2 (22.2%)
Towns	7	3	2	1	1

Tab. 3: The Relationship of Churches to Settlements.

	RELATIONSHIP OF CHURCH TO MANORIAL COMPLEX					
	Sample size	Integrated	Adjacent	Remote from	No manorial complex	Unknown
Combined total	57	12 (21.1%)	15 (26.3%)	9 (15.8%)	2 (3.5%)	19 (33.3%)
Langbaurgh	36	6 (16.7%)	10 (27.8%)	6 (16.7%)	1 (2.7%)	13 (36.1%)
Stockton	11	4 (36.4%)	1 (9%)	3 (27.3%)	–	3 (27.3%)
Sadberge	10	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	–	1 (10%)	3 (30%)
Combined north of river Tees	21	6 (28.6%)	5 (23.8%)	3 (14.2%)	1 (4.8%)	6 (28.6%)
Pre-Conquest	33	9 (27.2%)	10 (30.3%)	2 (6.1%)	2 (6.1%)	10 (30.3%)
Brus	13	2 (15.4%)	3 (23.1%)	2 (15.4%)	2 (15.4%)	4 (30.7%)
Meynell	9	–	3 (33.3%)	2 (22.2%)	–	4 (44.5%)
Towns	7	2	1	2	2	–

Tab. 4: The Relationship of Churches to Manorial Complexes.

The relationships of churches to settlements has been categorised in four ways; integrated into the row structure; integrated into the settlement plan; adjacent to the settlement; remote from the settlement. Examples of each category are shown in *Figure 2*, based on 1st Edition 6" Ordnance Survey maps. The tables are based on the premise that planned settlements comprise a series of properties assembled into rows. The row or a combination of rows represent the form of the settlement. Not all the rows need to have been contemporary; for instance it has been demonstrated that Billingham developed as an accretion of rows through time (*Fig. 2: Campey 1989*). The ultimate form of the settlements not being pre-planned.

Row integrated churches occupy a property within a row e.g. Newton under Roseberry (*Fig. 2*); whether or not the establishment of the two are contemporary this does indicate the full integration of the church within the fabric of the settlement and that a deliberate decision has been taken to firmly associate the church with the settlement. Eighteen churches (31.6 %) fall into this category (*Tab. 2*).

Plan-integrated churches are incorporated into the overall plan of the settlement without being an integral part of a row structure. This may be the result of a settlement developing around the church, as in the case of Billingham (*Campey 1989; Fig. 2*) or of the execution of a concept of settlement form. Fourteen (24.6 %) churches are deemed to be plan-integrated (*Tab. 2*). As with churches integrated into the row structure this shows a clear desire to associate the church with the settlement and if these two categories are combined they comprise 56.2 % of the sample. A clear but slim majority.

In seven (12.2 %) instances the church is immediately adjacent to the settlement rather than a part of it (*Tab. 2*). This proximity yet separation implies that the church was not seen as an integral part of the structure of the village. In one of these cases, Brotton, the church is a later addition to the settlement plan and immediately adjoins it (*Fig. 2*).

There are eighteen (31.6 %) instances of churches being remote from the settlement they are supposed to serve e.g. Liverton (*Fig. 2; Tab. 2*). This indicates a very clear and deliberate separation of the church from the settlement; churchgoers are being placed at a considerable and deliberate inconvenience.

Church and Manor

Having defined the basic pattern of relationships between the church and the settlement, the third major component in settlement dynamics, the manorial complex, needs to be entered into the equation. This is an area where it is much more difficult to be certain about the precise location of a site before 1200, but nevertheless relationships have been plotted on the basis of the best available information.

The majority of medieval churches were seigneurial in origin, constructed by the local landowner or manorial tenant as indeed the planned villages were laid out on their behalf. The evidence above would not seem to indicate any single clear concept of the physical relationship of the church to the settlement, it remains to ask if there is any clear relationship between the position of the church and that of the manorial complex (*Tab. 2*).

Thirty two churches are integrated into the rows or plan of a settlement and in the 21 instances in these categories where the relationship of the church to the manorial complex is known in 13 cases the church is either an integral part of the manorial complex or immediately adjacent to it e.g. Newton under Roseberry (*Fig. 2*). This represents 61.9 % of the total. Suggesting that where churches were sited in settlements the position of the manorial complex had a substantial impact on its precise location.

Seven churches are adjacent to settlements and in three cases the relationship to the manor is not known. The remaining four comprise two which are remote from the manorial complex (e.g. Brotton, *Fig. 2*) and two which are integrated or adjacent to it (e.g. Redmarshall, *Fig. 2*). Brotton (*Fig. 2*) is quite intriguing, St Margaret's Church at Brotton was positioned immediately south of the row of what appears to be a classic two row settlement. The current church at the west end of the north row is a nineteenth century replacement and

Brotton Hall which may represent the manorial site is in the middle of the north row. There is therefore no clear reason for the position of the medieval church other than to suppose that the settlement had been established and fully occupied prior to the construction of the church. The church was part of the Brus endowment to Guisborough Priory and on this basis must have been in existence by the 1130's, suggesting a 'terminus ante quem' for the village plan.

Eighteen churches are remote from settlements and in the thirteen cases where the relationship between church and manor is known, the church is either part of or adjacent to the manorial centre in twelve instances e.g. Liverton (*Fig. 2*). This is a clear indication of the importance of the manorial complex in deciding the location of the church. There is only one instance of a church being remote from both its related planned settlement and manorial complex (Faceby) and this may be due to a later movement of the manorial complex.

If one looks at the overall figures (*Tab. 2*): there are 36 instances where the relationship of the church to the settlement is known, in 27 (75 %) cases the church is sited adjacent to or within the manorial complex. This compares to the 56.2 % of cases where the church is integrated into the plan or row structure of the settlement and clearly indicates that the position of the manorial complex was the most influential factor in deciding where to place the church. In effect the next question is why are some manorial complexes integrated into the settlement structure and some not.

The results outlined above have established a pattern of relationships between settlements, churches and manorial complexes in the lower Tees Valley. The next step is to introduce a selection of variables to see if the pattern changes significantly. *Tables 3* and *4* look at three main variables; churches which have a Pre-Norman Conquest origin; different medieval administrative areas and different landholders. While the results of introducing these variables is set out and commented on, it is done so in the knowledge that the samples are very small and that increasing the size of the sample may change the picture.

Pre-Conquest Churches

Thirty three churches (57.9 % of the total) show evidence for a Pre-Conquest origin. This suggests a relatively high level of ecclesiastical provision prior to the Norman Conquest. However it does not necessarily mean that all structures were in their present position, and if one ignores the documentary references as not evidencing siting and non-structural stonework such as hogbacks, cross shafts and heads then only three structures contain indisputable evidence of in situ Anglo-Saxon structure (Billingham, Hart and Norton). Of these Norton is generally regarded as being of 11th century date, constructed for the 'Community of St. Cuthbert' following its expulsion from Durham by the Normans (*Taylor - Taylor 1980*, 465-470; *Daniels 1983*, 30). This reduces the total of structures whose pre-Conquest siting is absolutely certain to two (3.5 %). This begs the question of the reliability of the presence of sculptural stonework as an indicator of siting of a pre-Conquest ecclesiastical centre. It is generally held that such stonework is sufficiently large to be unlikely to have moved any distance, but against this one must set the status that gathering such stonework together might convey on a new church and overlord. The symbolic use of early stonework has recently been demonstrated in a paper by *Stocker (1993)* and this may be the reason for the positioning of a fragment of cross shaft in the south chancel wall of the crossing at Norton (*Cramp 1984*). The recovery of stonework some distance from the church has been evidenced at Hart where a fine Saxon crosshead was ploughed up some 500-600 metres away from the church (*Cramp 1984*).

Comparison of the analysis of the Pre-Conquest sites to the full analysis shows no major difference in the relationship of the churches to settlements except a slightly higher tendency for the churches to be remote from settlements (*Tab. 3*). If however one examines the relationship of the church to the manorial complex there is a substantially greater tendency for the Pre-Conquest church to be adjacent to or integrated into the manorial complex; 57.5 % as against 47.4 % (*Tab. 4*). This shows a clear preference of the new, Norman landholders to site their new manorial headquarters in the close proximity of an existing church, there is no such clear preference for siting settlements next to an existing church. The corollary of this is that substantially fewer Pre-Conquest churches are remote from Norman manorial sites and that there must have been a tendency for new Norman churches to be integrated into the row and plan structure of the settlements.

One final point worth making about the Pre-Conquest churches is that considering the amount of devastation which is supposed to have taken place in the north it seems to have been remarkably easy for the incoming Normans to identify the major administrative and ecclesiastical centres and there is also a marked tendency for these sites to be taken over. This may indicate that the 'devastastion' of the north has been over-rated (*Palliser 1993*) and also that the Normans saw the annexation of existing centres as a key element of their take over of the area. Indeed there are no known Pre-Conquest centres which were not taken over by the Normans.

Administrative Districts

Tables 3 & 4 also split the information into the three administrative districts, while the sample size is very variable it is nevertheless interesting to compare the patterns revealed. Before examining the data it should be recalled that Langbaurgh lies to the south of the River Tees, within the county of Yorkshire, through which the King's writ ran. In contrast Sadberge and Stockton lie in County Durham, within the Palatinate of the Prince Bishops of Durham (*Fig. 1*). A large proportion of land in Durham had been held by the church from the 7th century onwards and the Norman Prince Bishops annexed and used the existing deference to the great Northern English saint, Saint Cuthbert as a means of consolidating their power. It is against this picture of strong ecclesiastical control to the north of the Tees and little overall control to the south that we must view the evidence.

The Wapentake of Langbaurgh follows the overall pattern quite closely although there is a slightly greater tendency for churches to be integrated into the row structure of the settlements rather than into the plan. There is a similarly slightly greater tendency for churches to be remote from settlement than set against the overall total. All of these tendencies are however relatively slight and are probably not statistically significant. The sample size for Sadberge and Stockton may be too small to be significant being 10 and 11 cases respectively nevertheless Stockton shows a significantly higher proportion of churches incorporated into the settlement plan and significantly fewer churches remote from settlement. In order to compare the situation either side of the River Tees more effectively the samples for Stockton and Sadberge have been combined (Combined North of Tees in *Tables 3 & 4*). This demonstrates a greater tendency for churches in the bishopric to be integrated into the settlement structure, a combined percentage of 66.7 % as against the overall percentage of 56.2 % and less of a tendency for churches to be remote from settlement (19.1 % against 31.6 %). There are however no significant differences in the relationship between the church and the manorial complex. If however one compares 'Combined North of Tees' to Langbaurgh then a number of contrasts between the two areas become apparent. In Langbaurgh a significantly higher percentage of churches are incorporated into the row structure of the settlement than north of the river, but conversely an even greater distinction applies to churches integrated into the settlement plan, where the bishopric scores 42.9 % against Langbaurgh's 13.9 %. In Langbaurgh there is also a greater tendency for churches to be remote from the settlement. There is much less variation in the relationship of churches to manorial complexes; north of the river 52.4 % of churches are integrated into or are adjacent to manorial complexes, in Langbaurgh 44.5 %, in both instances there are a large number of cases where the relationship to the manorial complex is not known.
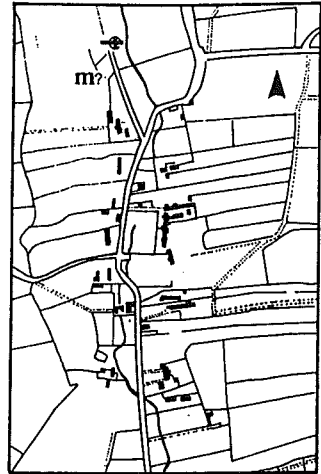
These results suggest that there was an acknowledged preference for placing the church in close proximity to the manorial complex, the main point of difference being how the church should relate to the settlement.
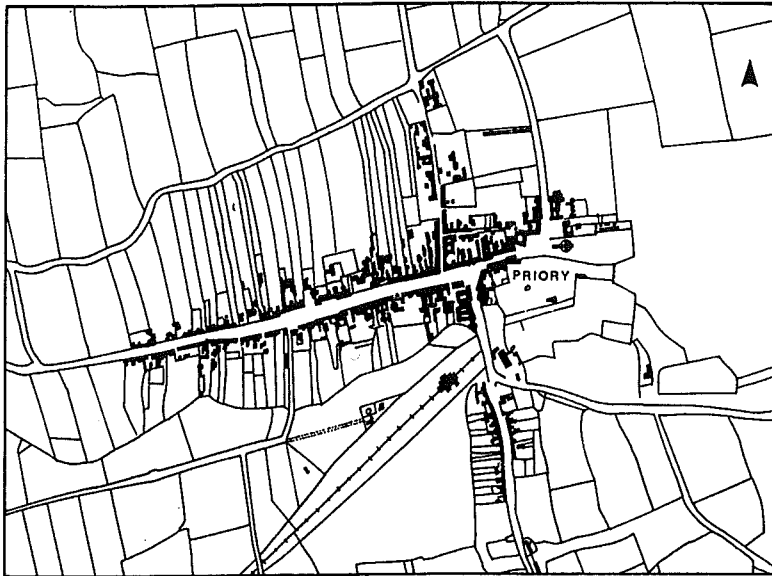
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3. Brotton. *1855*
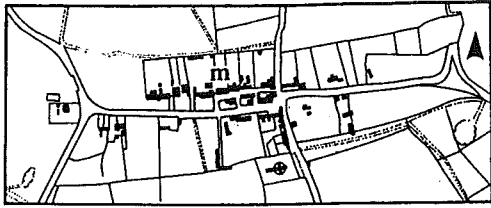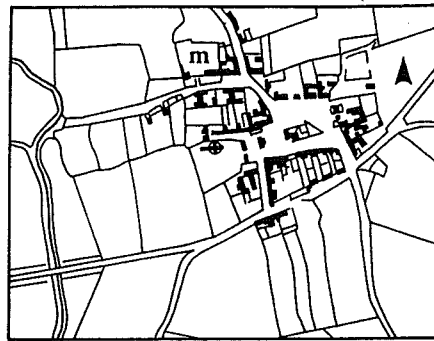

KEY: ⚓ – Church

m – Manor

20. Liverton. *1855*

12. Guisborough. *1856*

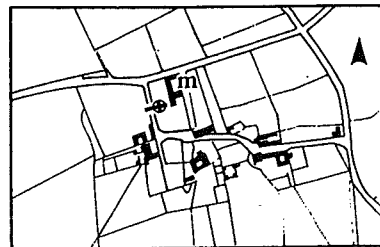**26. Newton U. Roseberry.** *1855*

37. Billingham. *1857*

36. Yarm. *1895*
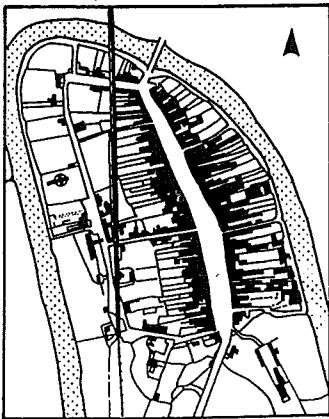
43. Redmarshall. *1857*

0   0·5   1km

Fig. 2: Sample selection of Settlements.

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The last variable to be tested is that of landowner. Within the sample area only two families held sufficient manors to warrant analysis, the Meynells and the Bruses. The Meynell holdings were all in Langbaurgh and were largely held from the Archbishop of Canterbury while the Brus holdings lay on both sides of the river. The samples are small, 9 and 13 respectively but it was nevertheless deemed an exercise worth carrying out. In fact the Meynell lands show two interesting phenomena; a very high percentage of churches placed within the row structure (66.7 %) with none integrated into the plan and no churches integrated into the manorial complex. In contrast the Brus holding shows less of an inclination to be integrated into the settlement structure (46.2 % against the overall total of 56.2 %) and a slightly higher tendency for the church to be sited remote from the settlement. The Brus holding also includes the two sites where no manorial complex was present, the new towns of Hartlepool and Yarm.

Towns

There were seven urban or proto-urban settlements in the area of study Guisborough, Hartlepool, Skelton, Stockton, Stokesley, Whorlton and Yarm. All were planned settlements of post-Conquest origin which were founded with the intention of developing into towns, the exception to this is Guisborough which was founded as the service centre for the Augustinian Priory at whose gates it sat. In addition to the above, a number of settlements were granted markets in the hope of fostering their economic development, but these failed to develop to any great extent and are not discussed. Skelton and Whorlton are also failed boroughs, nevertheless this group provides an opportunity to define any obvious differences in the provision being made for towns to that being made for rural settlements.

The number of urban settlements is too small to allow statistical analysis. These settlements all only have one church and there is a tendency for the church to be integrated into the row structure [Hartlepool, Yarm (*Fig. 2*) and Whorlton] while Guisborough (*Fig. 2*) and Stokesley are integrated into the plan, only Skelton appears truly remote from the settlement; Stockton is slightly strange in that the church is integrated into the plan of the settlement which predated the borough and is therefore set apart from the borough.

In contrast there is a tendency for the churches to be remote from the manorial complex. This is particularly the case at Whorlton, while there is no manorial complex present in the newly founded towns of Hartlepool and Yarm. Whorlton is particularly interesting as it was the centre of the Meynell estates and there was a castle on this site. We have already seen a tendency for the Meynells to place the church within the row structure of the settlement rather than adjacent to the manorial complex and this trend is continued (started?) here.

Yarm and Hartlepool were foundations of the Brus family and might therefore be expected to entertain some common ideas. St. Mary Magdalene at Yarm dates from the mid 12th century and was founded with the status of a chapel. St. Hilda's at Hartlepool dates from the late 12th century in its present form but may have been preceded by an earlier Norman church on the same site, it was also founded as a chapel. Both churches are substantially more elaborate and in the case of Hartlepool, larger than their mother churches. The size of the 12th century church at Yarm is not known, only the fine and extraordinary west end surviving an 18th century rebuild (*Heslop 1990*). These two churches and that at Whorlton far outshine their rural counterparts and must have been constructed as an expression of urban ambition. In so doing their construction would have provided a much needed boost to the faltering economies of these new towns, bringing in skilled craftsmen and providing a market for the local economy in the process. All three churches occupy plots which are integral to the structure of their settlements and at Hartlepool the church is sited to command the medieval town and harbour. There can be no doubt that these churches were conceived as an integral part of the establishment and status of their respective centres.

By comparison, Guisborough, Stockton, Skelton and Stokesley all had competing centres of attention. The town of Guisborough was founded to serve the Augustinian Priory and the date of the establishment of the parish church is not clear while the other three were clearly subordinated to the seigneural centres.

Discussion

This paper has introduced the concept that the siting of the Norman churches of the 11th and 12th centuries and their relationship to newly founded settlements involved deliberate decisions by the new Norman landowners. The analysis has attempted to chart those decisions and to isolate sources of variation to a defined pattern. The results of this study show two areas where there is a significant variation to the established pattern. The first of these variations is defined by the major political and landowning differences either side of the River Tees. The second variation is associated with the churches of one particular landowner, the Meynell family.

Having defined the process and variations within the pattern the question remains as to what is driving these decisions, what is the background to these decisions.

There is a current tendency in England to see churches as neutral. Fascinating architectural and archaeological relics worthy of study but containing no power. The situation was very different in the 11th and 12th centuries. Religious belief was an essential part of everyday life and the church at which one worshipped was a corner-stone of life. Nobody understood and exploited this better than the Normans. In taking control of the country they tore down existing timber churches, cathedrals and monasteries and rebuilt them installing Norman and continental clerics and monastic orders. The political and social impact of this is often overlooked. If we examine the physical phenomenon of the Norman Conquest of the north of England; farmers were gathered together from scattered hamlets and farmsteads into new, large villages and placed into a strictly controlled agricultural regime. Previous social and land based ties would have been broken as northern society was moulded into a new form. This moulding naturally extended to the church. The timber structures of the pre-Norman landowners were torn down and the incumbent clergy evicted. This process is clearly documented on a larger scale at Durham where the Community of St Cuthbert were evicted from the city, replaced by Benedictines and dispersed to new Norman churches at Chester le Street, Darlington and Norton. The new stone churches were therefore potent symbols of Norman power and control and they expanded the areas of life which the Normans controlled to the religious. People now had to go to church in a Norman building, grander than anything which had gone before and to listen to Norman clergy emphasising the rightness of the current order.

In the planned villages everday life would have been a reminder of Norman control and the church structure would have been an essential focus of this. It is perhaps worth reflecting that at a time of seigneural construction and control of churches the village church may not have been viewed as the church of St Mary Magdalene at Hart but My lord Brus' church at Hart. If one applies these ideas then the 'neutrality' of a church soon disappears and it quickly becomes a potent symbol of overlordship.

It is hoped that this study has shown that the relationship of church to settlement and seigneural centre was not some happy accident but the result of a very deliberate process of decision making. In the north of England we have a process of settlement re-organisation going hand in hand with the re-organisation of the church. This throws the whole process into sharp relief in a way which it might not appear elsewhere in the country.

It is clear that this exercise should be seen as the beginning of work to examine the interrelationship of church, manorial centre and settlement. In this context this study has established a means of categorising the physical relationship of churches to settlements and manorial complexes and has established a numerical pattern for that relationship. This numerical pattern can be established for other regions and used as a basis for comparison. It would be particularly interesting to define and compare the provinces of settlement postulated by Brian Roberts in this way and to extend the study to a European setting (*Roberts - Wrathmell 1994*, Fig. 2 and this volume).

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