

HOLYSTONE NORTHUMBERLAND

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF A
BORDER TOWNSHIP



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PART 1
INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1. BACKGROUND, AIMS & METHODS

The Northumberland National Park Historic Village Atlas Project is a collaborative project between the National Park Authority and local communities,¹ the main product of which is an atlas of Historic Villages in the Northumberland National Park (NNP) area.

Despite a considerable amount of historical and archaeological research within NNP, much of this work has been targeted on outlying sites and areas and there has been little targeted study of the historic villages themselves. Previous studies undertaken into the history of the villages, including those provided by the antiquarian, Hodgson (1820-1840), those contained in the County Histories, as well as the later work of Wrathmell (1975) and Dixon (1985), cover some of the same ground as the present studies, but are now in need of revision in the light of subsequent archaeological discoveries and historical findings, as well as changes to both the built fabric and community of the villages in the National Park area. Even John Grundy's impressive work on the buildings of the National Park completed as recently as 1988 has been rendered out of date by the conservation, renovation, adaptation and, in some cases, demolition of many buildings covered in his report.

The increased pace of modern development within the National Park has put pressure on its cultural heritage resource, specifically its historic buildings and villages. One of the aims of the Historic Village Atlas Project, therefore, is to provide additional information which NNPA can use to further inform its approach to the management of sites of cultural heritage importance.

Changes in the social fabric of the area, often linked to the development work outlined above, mean that traditional lifeways maintained over many generations are now becoming increasingly rare or extinct. In particular, many traditional farming practices and the skills, tools and buildings used to support them have been lost and are being lost, and along with these has gone a regional vocabulary of specific terms and expressions. However, within the same communities there is also a considerable interest in the history and archaeology of the villages. Part of the purpose of the Historic Village Atlas Project, therefore, is to provide information and advice to facilitate not only greater understanding, but also active participation by community members in investigating and preserving aspects of the past. Some of the ways in which this can be achieved is through the presentation of data, guided walks and oral history recordings, all of which have been built into the project brief.

The study presented here was commissioned in order to redress the lack of systematic research into the historic settlements of the Northumberland National Park area, with the intention not only to contribute to the Regional Research Agenda, but to inform the planning and heritage management process, and provide impetus and encouragement for local communities to carry out their own work.

The main aims of the project are as follows:

- To further the study, understanding and enjoyment of the historic villages, both by interested individuals and community-based groups.

¹ See the Acknowledgments section of the Synthesis volume for a list of institutions and individuals that have provided assistance in various ways.

- To reinforce and develop the existing sense of place and belonging of individuals within the communities of the region.
- To provide a springboard for future community-led initiatives by supplying information which community groups can use to develop their own proposals.
- To facilitate the management of the cultural heritage by the NNPA

Village settlements, traditionally recognisable as clustered assemblies of houses and farmsteads, are scarce within the Park, where most settlements are isolated farms and hamlets. However, on the basis of their current status and what was known about their historic importance, the NNPA identified seventeen historic villages for study:

Akeld	NT 957 296	Glendale
Alnham	NT 996 108	Alndale
Alwinton	NT 923 065	Coquetdale
Byrness	NT 764 026	Redesdale
Elsdon	NY 937 934	Redesdale
Falstone	NY 724 875	North Tynedale
Great Tosson	NU 027 006	Coquetdale
Greenhaugh	NY 795 873	North Tynedale
Harbottle	NT 935 046	Coquetdale
Hethpool	NT 896 284	College Burn
High Rochester	NY 832 982	Redesdale
Holystone	NT 955 026	Coquetdale
Ingram	NU 019 164	Breamish Valley
Kilham	NT 884 325	Glendale
Kirknewton	NT 915 303	Glendale
Tarset	NY 788 855	North Tynedale
Westnewton	NT 903 303	Glendale

Villages do not exist as self-contained units, but rather as focal points within the wider landscape. It is important, therefore, in attempting an understanding of the development of villages themselves, that the study villages are investigated in the context of their wider landscapes which may be definable by bounded areas, such as parishes and townships, or by topographic features such as river valleys.

Modern villages exist within clearly demarcated territories known as civil parishes, which are generally based on the boundaries of earlier territorial units labelled townships – units of settlement with pre-Norman origins which were regarded as discrete communities within each ecclesiastical parish. The ecclesiastical parish represented a unit of land paying tithes to a parish church, and in upland Northumberland, these parishes were often vast, incorporating entire dales and numerous townships. A township has its own settlement nucleus and field system and is thus an area of common agricultural unity and is often equivalent to the medieval *vill* – though the latter frequently refers to a taxation unit or administrative entity, whereas a territorial township refers to the physical fabric of the community (fields, buildings, woods & rivers). Township boundaries sometimes follow pre-Norman estate divisions and in some cases may even be earlier - it seems likely that a system of land organisation based around agricultural territories was in operation in Roman or pre-Roman times. Therefore, in some instances very ancient boundary lines may have been preserved by later land divisions. The various forms of parish and township and their development over time are discussed more extensively in the historical synthesis in Section 3.

In order to carry out a study focussing on the village core whilst attempting also to understand it within the local and regional context, a variety of approaches has been taken using information derived from a wide range of sources, including existing archaeological and historic buildings records, historic maps and documents, historic and aerial photographs and published information. In the present section (Section 1) the location of the village is discussed and an indication is given of the area covered by the present study. Section 2 provides a background to the sources of information used to compile the report, listing the archives consulted and some of the most significant maps, documents and photographs used to compile a list of cultural heritage sites. Section 3 provides a listing of all the historic and archaeological monuments identified within the study area and synthesizes the collected data to provide a summary of the known history of the settlement. Section 4 contains suggestions for future work and sets out the report's conclusions regarding the village's historical development which in turn inform the judgements regarding the levels of archaeological sensitivity applied to different parts of the settlement and displayed graphically on the 'sensitivity maps'. The appendices contain catalogues of the various categories of collected data. A glossary of historical terms used and a full bibliography are also provided.

One final point cannot be over-emphasized. Too often the completion of a substantial work of this kind tends to create the impression that everything is now known regarding a particular subject and thereby discourages further investigation. In compiling this report, the consultants have on the contrary been all too conscious of barely scratching the surface and aware that many additional avenues of research could have been pursued. The Historic Village Atlas should be a starting point not a conclusion to the exploration of this broad and fascinating field.

2. LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

2.1 Location and topography

The village of Holystone is situated about 12km west of the small market town of Rothbury in upper Coquetdale in west-central Northumberland, and lies on the eastern edge of the Northumberland National Park (see figures 1 and 2). Today Holystone comprises a settlement centred around the church, with the fine house of Holystone Grange at the settlement formerly called Woodhouses, located about 2km to the south of the village. Holystone Burn runs along the southern edge of the settlement, and flows into the River Coquet a short distance to the east. A stream, leading down from the evocative Lady Well to the north, joins a former mill race to flow through the village in a stone-lined channel. To the north and west, Holystone is overlooked by the afforested hills of Harbottle Wood, while to the south Holystone Common rises towards Harehaugh Hill, and to the east the River Coquet cuts her way through central Northumberland towards the coastal plain.

2.2 Area of Study

The wider area of study adopted is represented by the historic township of Holystone. This was one of four townships incorporated in the ecclesiastical Chapelry of Holystone, which covered a large area on the south side of the Coquet, extending almost up to the border, and is now combined with the Parish of Alwinton on the north side of the dale (see figure 3). As well as the village of Holystone itself, the township embraced the ancient communities of Harbottle and Woodhal to the north, Dues Hill and Woodhouses to the south, and Lanternside, North and South Yardhope to the west, all of which may once have constituted 'territorial townships' (see below) in their own right during the medieval and early modern periods. The development of parochial and township structures is discussed more fully in the next section and in the historical synthesis contained in Part 3.

3. TERRITORIAL UNITS AND SETTLEMENT TYPES

3.1 Parishes and Townships, Baronies and Manors

To understand the history of a particular village settlement, like Holystone, it is necessary to distinguish and define the various different territorial units within which the village was incorporated, and which provided the framework for the development of that community. Each of these units related to different aspects of the settlement's communal relations – religious, economic and administrative, and seigneurial – and their function changed over time. The development of the institution of the civil township, in particular, was remarkably complex.

The Parish was the basic unit of ecclesiastical administration and essentially represented 'a community whose spiritual needs were served by a parish priest, who was supported by tithes and other dues paid by his parishioners' (Winchester 1987, 23). It was the payment of tithes - established as a legal principle since the reign of King Edgar 959-75 (Platt 1981, 47) - which gave the parish a territorial dimension so that the boundaries of the parish came to embrace all that community's landed resources. Only the most remote areas of upland waste or 'forest', such as Kidland and Cheviot Forest, remained 'extra-parochial'. Ecclesiastical parishes in the Northumbrian uplands typically covered extensive areas, sometimes very extensive areas, Simonburn in North Tynedale, Elsdon in Redesdale and Kirknewton in Glendale being amongst the largest parishes in the country. Holystone, like Alwinton, Ingram and Alnham, was not quite in the same class as Simonburn or Kirknewton, but, in common with almost all the upland parishes, it embraced several civil township communities or *vills*. In all, six of the seventeen villages studied in this survey were parochial centres in the medieval period, namely Holystone, Alwinton, Elsdon, Alnham, Ingram and Kirknewton. Others, such as Falstone, Harbottle, Akeld, Kilham, Hethpool and perhaps Byrness were the site of dependent chapels of ease. The presence of early medieval carved stonework at Falstone suggests it had long been an ecclesiastical centre and may have had greater significance in the 8th and 9th centuries (as a small monastic site?) than it possessed later on. However several of our study villages contain no places of worship whatsoever, and it is clear that the traditional, almost unconscious, English equation of village and parish church does not apply in Northumberland, and certainly not in the Northumbrian uplands.

It is thus clear that these large medieval parishes embraced many distinct communities and the church was often too distant to conveniently serve all the spiritual needs of the parishioners in the outlying townships. However there are relatively few instances of new parishes being carved out of a well-established parish and practically none after 1150. The payment of tithes created a strong disincentive to do so since creating a new parochial territory would inevitably reduce the income of the priest in the existing parish. This relatively early fossilisation of parish territories was given added impetus once ownership of parish churches was largely transferred from the hereditary priests or local lay lords whose predecessors had founded the churches over to the monasteries in the 12th and 13th century, since these ecclesiastical corporations strenuously defended their legal and economic rights (Lomas 1996, 111, 116-7; Dixon 1985 I, 64). Instead the needs of the more distant township communities were catered for by the construction of dependent chapels of ease, which were established either by the monastic institutional patrons or on the individual initiative of local lay lords. Even so many townships had neither a church nor chapel of their own (Lomas 1996, 111-4).

In the medieval era the parish was a purely ecclesiastical institution and was to remain so until the beginning of the 17th century when the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601 made this

territorial unit responsible for the maintenance of the poor through the appointment of overseers for the poor and the setting of a poor rate (*Statutes* 43 Eliz. I c.2; cf. Winchester 1978, 56; Charlton 1987, 98). This is in many respects typical of the history of English local government whereby ‘new administrative units have generally been created by giving new functions to existing territorial divisions’ (Winchester 1987, 27). Thereafter parochial administration of poor law was particularly prevalent in southern and midland England, where parishes were generally smaller and often coterminous with the civil townships. However in northern England even these additional functions tended to devolve down to the constituent townships which were a more convenient and manageable size than the extensive parishes. The modern civil parishes were established by the Local Government Act of 1889 and were substantially based on the earlier townships rather than the ecclesiastical parishes (*Statutes* 52/53 Vict. c.63).

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

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

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

A township’s consciousness of itself as a distinct community would have been reinforced by the communal agricultural labour required to work the land. This is particularly obvious in the cases where the township was centred on a nucleated village, its members living and working alongside one another, but even in townships composed of scattered hamlets or farmsteads it was just as vital to regulate access to the use of communal resources such as the upland waste or commons. Such activities would have generated a sense of communal cohesion however fragmented the framework of manorial lordship and estate management in the township might have become over time (see below).

The boundaries of such township communities would have become fixed when the land appropriated by one community extended up to that belonging to neighbouring settlements (Winchester 1987, 29). In the lowlands intensive cultivation had been practised for millennia prior to the medieval period, when townships are first documented. It is therefore

conceivable/has been argued that many of these boundaries were of considerable antiquity, particularly where obvious natural features such as rivers and streams and watersheds were followed, although such antiquity is difficult to prove conclusively. In the uplands, settlement is thought to have experienced successive cycles of expansion and contraction in response to a variety of stimuli, including environmental factors such as climatic change, but doubtless also political and economic issues. This may have resulted in periodic obscuring of the boundaries when communities were not fully exploiting the available resources and hence had less need to precisely define their limits. In all areas the definitive boundary network recorded by the first Ordnance Survey maps is obviously a composite pattern, in which precise delineation occurred in a piecemeal fashion over the centuries.

The administrative vill: The term vill also designated the basic unit of civil administration in medieval England, representing a village or grouping of hamlets or farmsteads which were obliged to perform a range of communal administrative duties. The latter included the delivery of evidence at inquests, the upkeep of roads and bridges, the apprehension of criminals within its bounds and the assessment and collection of taxes (Vinogradoff 1908, 475; Winchester 1978, 61; 1987, 32; Dixon 1985 I, 78). The most comprehensive listing of these administrative villas is provided by the occasional tax returns known as Lay Subsidy Rolls. The assessment units recorded therein essentially correspond to the villas and, although clearly incomplete, sufficient survives of the 1296 and 1336 Northumberland rolls to provide a good impression of the number and distribution of the administrative units in many parts of the county (*cf.* Fraser (ed.) 1968, xv-xvi).² In many areas these administrative villas correspond very closely to the territorial villas and with the later poor law townships (see below). Dixon has shown this to be the largely case in north Northumberland (north of the Coquet), for example (1985 I, 78-9). This was by no means the case everywhere in the border counties, however. In the district of Copeland in West Cumbria, where a predominantly dispersed settlement pattern of scattered 'single farmsteads, small hamlets and looser groupings of farms' prevails, Winchester has demonstrated that the administrative villas had a composite structure, frequently embracing several 'members' or 'hamlets' which correspond to the basic territorial townships (1978, 61-5). In many instances administrative villas were significantly larger than the later poor law townships. These relatively large, composite administrative villas correspond to what were termed *villae integrae* ('entire villas') elsewhere in England. It is possible that a similar pattern of composite administrative villas might be have been introduced in areas of the Northumbrian uplands such as Redesdale and North Tynedale, where hamlets and farmsteads were more common than nucleated villages. However these areas were liberties or franchises, like the lands of the Bishops of Durham, i.e. the normal apparatus of royal government was absent and their administration was entrusted instead to the baronial or ecclesiastical lord. This may have resulted in administration and justice being exercised through the structures of manorial lordship rather than a separate tier of specifically administrative land units. Finally, Winchester also suggests that the term vill gradually acquired a more specific administrative connotation as the organisation of local government became more standardised after the Statute of Winchester in 1285, with the result that in his study area, from the end of the 13th century, the term was restricted to the administrative units and no longer applied to the basic territorial townships (1978, 66-7).

This idea of the vill as an area of land with defined boundaries, potentially enclosing a number of settlements, rather than a the territorial resource of a single community, is expressed in a passage by Sir John Fortescue, writing towards the end of the medieval period,

² The 1296 roll omits Alnham, as well as Fawdon and Farnham (two of the 'ten towns of Coquetdale'), Castron, Wreighill, Prendwick and Unthank and probably Branton, Hedgeley, Glanton, Little Ryle and Shawdon (Fraser (ed.) 1968, xv-xvi), but this is most likely simply to reflect the loss of parts of the original roll rather than the absorption of these villas in a larger 'villa integra'.

On the other hand the regalian liberties of Redesdale, upper Tynedale and the Northumbrian holdings of the Prince Bishops of Durham were never included in the roll (*ibid.*, xiii).

and makes an interesting contrast with Bracton's description over two hundred years earlier (Fortescue, 54-55; cf. Winchester *ibid.* n.27):

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

The Poor Law Township, to use Winchester's term (1978), is the form of township community most familiar today through in the works such as the Northumberland County History and Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, where, along with the parish, it provides the framework for the historical narrative of individual localities. The boundaries of these territorial communities were mapped by the 1st edition Ordnance Survey in the mid-19th century and they have generally been presumed to have had a long and largely uninterrupted history stretching back in most cases to the townships of the medieval period. They are conveniently depicted on the maps which front of each volume of the Northumberland County History, from which figure 3 in each of the individual village reports is derived. A more detailed record of each township territory is provided by their respective tithe and enclosure maps and other historic maps catalogued and reproduced in the village reports.

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

The administration of poor relief was originally established at parochial rather than township level, with the requirement of the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601 that overseers for the poor be appointed in every ecclesiastical parish in England (*Statutes* 43 Eliz. I c.2; cf. Winchester 1978, 56). Following pressure in parliament to permit the subdivision of the huge ecclesiastical parishes in the northern counties into smaller, more convenient units, the 1662 Poor Law Act allowed 'every Township or Village' in northern England to become a unit for poor-rate assessment and collection with their own overseers (*Statutes* 14 Charles II c.12, s.21; cf. Winchester 1987, 27). Winchester has argued, on the basis of the arrangements he documented in the Copeland district of west Cumbria, that it was the territorial townships rather than the administrative vills which were most frequently adopted to serve as the new poor law townships. However in Northumberland north of the Coquet there was in any case relatively little difference between the medieval territorial and administrative units, as noted above, and about three quarters of the townships identifiable in the 13th century may be equated with the poor law townships recorded by the Ordnance Survey. The disappearance or radical alteration of the remaining 25 percent was the result of settlement abandonment or colonisation during the late medieval period and estate reorganisation in the post-medieval period (Dixon 1985, I, 79-84)³. The upland dales south of the Coquet were a very different matter. Redesdale and North Tynedale fell within the vast parishes of Elsdon and Simonburn respectively, the latter with a dependent chapelry at Bellingham which itself embraced all of upper North Tynedale. In Redesdale, six large 'wards' or townships are found, namely Elsdon, Otterburn, Woodside, Rochester, Troughen and Monkridge, plus the small extra-parochial township of Ramshope (Hodgson 1827, 82-3). The wards were almost certainly created in response to the 1662 act and presumably represent subdivision of the parish to facilitate the administration of poor relief. There is no indication that they existed at an earlier date. They are not recorded in the 1604 border survey, which instead lists a great

³ Dixon (1985, I) provides a comprehensive summary of these changes for north Northumberland, including lists of abandoned early townships, new townships and identifiable boundary shifts or rationalisations.

number of 'places' or 'parts of the manor' within the constituent parishes of the Manor of Harbottle. These places were in most cases more than hamlets, groups of farms or individual farmsteads, the kind of small early territorial township found in upland areas. The twelve townships of upper North Tynedale, described in the County History (NCH XV (1940), 234-80), were established in 1729 by Thomas Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, specifically to administer poor relief, each township being responsible for the maintenance of its own poor and setting a separate poor rate (Charlton 1987, 98-9).⁴ Some of these townships may have been based on earlier territorial units, but others have rather artificial names – West Tarsset or Plashetts and Tynehead- indicative of institutions established by bureaucratic fiat.

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

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

Manorial lordship thus represented only one link in the chain of feudal and tenurial relationships which extended from the lowly peasant through to the baronial superior lord and ultimately right up to the king himself. In its simplest form a township would be encapsulated within a single manor and would therefore have the same territorial limits. However such 'classic' manors were much rarer than primary school history lessons might have us believe. Then as now, the processes of succession and inheritance and the inevitable variability in human fortunes resulted in the amalgamation or, more often, fragmentation of estates. Most townships therefore were divided between a number of manorial landholders.

Thus a parish, township and manor could all be coterminous, with a small parish serving the spiritual needs of a single township community whose landed resources formed a single manorial estate and whose members were bound by a variety of personal and tenurial relationships to a single lord. However this simple arrangement was highly unusual in Northumberland, and particularly so in the upland areas of the county, where, as we have seen, the parishes were often very large (e.g. Simonburn, Elsdon, Alwinton-Holystone, and Kirknewton). Thus there were only 63 parishes in the county in 1295, whilst the total number of townships at the same time, although not precisely quantifiable, was probably not far short of 450 (Lomas 1996, 71, 108-10). The number of manors would have been greater still.

3.2 Villages, Hamlets and Farmsteads

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

⁴ Prior to 1729, the Chapelry of Bellingham had been subdivided into four wards for more convenient collection of the poor rate, but these wards had not set a separate rate.

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

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

VILLAGE: A clustered assembly of dwellings and farmsteads, larger than a hamlet, but smaller than a town

and

A rural settlement with sufficient dwellings to possess a recognisable form (Roberts 1976, 256).

HAMLET: A small cluster of farmsteads

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

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

The most substantial body of work on village morphology is that undertaken by Brian Roberts (e.g. 1972; 1976; 1977; 1990). Roberts has identified a complex series of village types based on two main forms, termed 'rows' and 'agglomerations', multiplied by a series of variable factors:

- Regular or irregular
- The presence or absence of greens
- Complexity – e.g. multiple row villages
- Building density – infilling of toft areas
- Fragmentation – 'exploded' versions of row villages and village agglomerations

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

In the case of the Historic Village Atlas Project a still more substantial problem is posed by the lack of detailed mapping earlier than c. 1800 for many of the 17 villages considered. In other words, there is no reliable cartographic evidence which predates the late 18th-19th century transformation of populous village communities of the medieval and early modern era into 'farm hamlets', i.e. settlements focussed on one or two large integrated farm complexes. In Northumberland, particularly in the northern half of the county, the 1st edition Ordnance Survey – so often the first resort in analysing settlement morphology – and even the relevant tithe map do not provide a reliable guide to the early modern or medieval form of any given village. Moreover the documentary evidence assembled by Wrathmell and Dixon suggests there was often a marked reduction in the size of the village population in the later 17th and early 18th centuries, accompanying a gradual reduction in the number of tenancies. Thus,

even where 18th –century mapping does survive for a particular village, it may actually under-represent the extent of the earlier, medieval and 16th-17th century phases of that settlement.

If Brian Roberts, using the methods of historical geography, has perhaps done more to shape current thinking on the overall pattern of medieval village settlement than any other scholar, at the micro level of the individual village and its components the seminal investigation in Northumberland has been Michael Jarrett's archaeological excavation of West Whelpington village. Conducted over a period of fifteen years from 1966 onwards this revealed a substantial proportion of a medieval village (Jarrett et al. 1987; 1988). Lomas (1996, 71-86) has recently emphasised the fundamental degree to which our understanding of life in a medieval Northumbrian village rests on the programme of research at West Whelpington.

Two major studies (both regrettably unpublished), which to some degree were able to draw on the work of Roberts and Jarrett, comprise Stuart Wrathmell's PhD thesis on medieval village settlement in south Northumberland (Wrathmell 1975) and Piers Dixon's equivalent doctoral research on the medieval villages of north Northumberland (Dixon 1985). Dixon's work, in particular is of fundamental importance for the Historic Village Atlas, as the citations in the text of the individual reports and the synthesis makes clear, since it covered many of the settlements in the northern half of the Northumberland National Park included in the Project. The villages in the central band of the county between the River Coquet and the North Tyne catchment remain as yet uncovered by any equivalent study, however.

This lacuna particularly unfortunate because a similar level of coverage of the south side of the Coquet and Redesdale would have served to emphasise how similar the settlement pattern in these areas was to that prevailing in upper North Tynedale and how different from that encountered in north Northumberland, even in the Cheviot uplands and Glendale. Lomas (1996, 86), has characterised the long Pennine dales in the eastern half of the county as areas of 'commons with settlements' rather than 'settlements with commons'. These areas – North Tynedale, Redesdale, and the south side of Coquetdale, along with South Tynedale, and East and West Allendale largely outside the National Park – were distinguished by a prevailing settlement pattern of dispersed farmsteads and hamlets. In marked contrast, a more nucleated pattern predominated in the upland Cheviot valleys of north Northumberland, although the density of such settlements was inevitably reduced by comparison with the lowland districts in the northern part of the county. The excellent fertility of the Cheviot soils permitted intensive agricultural cultivation during optimal climatic phases, but only at locations within the massif where there was sufficient level ground – such as Hethpool – and even there substantial terracing of the adjacent hillsides was required to create enough ploughland to make the settlement viable.

To some extent the gap left by Wrathmell and Dixon in Redesdale and southern Coquetdale has been filled by the programme of investigation conducted by Beryl Charlton, John Day and others on behalf of the Ministry of Defence, which resulted in a series of synthetic discussions of various aspects of settlement in the two valleys (Charlton & Day 1978; 1979; 1982; Day & Charlton 1981; all summarised in Charlton & Day 1976 and Charlton 1996 and 2004). These may be compared with the summary of the development of medieval and early modern settlement in upper North Tynedale provided by Harbottle and Newman (1973). However the former was restricted in scope by its emphasis for the most part on the Otterburn Training Area (although the authors did extend their scope beyond the confines of the military range where this obviously provided a more coherent analysis⁵), whilst the principal focus of Harbottle and Newman's work was the rescue excavation of a series of early modern and later farmsteads threatened by the construction of Kielder Water, to which the settlement overview

⁵ In particular the initial overview provided by Charlton & Day 1976, plus Charlton & Day 1978, covering the late prehistoric and Romano-British settlements, and Charlton & Day 1982, dealing with the corn mills and drying kilns, extend their treatment well beyond the Otterburn Training Area.

provided an invaluable but all too brief introduction. Hence all three valleys still merit comprehensive syntheses of their medieval/early modern settlement patterns, combining analysis of the historic maps and documents – including what is known regarding the pattern of seigneurial and ecclesiastical landholding – with the evidence of the surviving physical remains and site layouts.

PART 2

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

4. LOCATION OF EVIDENCE

Accessible regional and national archives, libraries and record offices consulted for documentary, cartographic and pictorial material relevant to the present study include the following:

- Northumberland Record Office, Melton Park, Gosforth (NRO-MP)
- Northumberland Record Office, The Kylins, Morpeth (NRO-TK)
- Northumberland County Council Sites & Monuments Record, County Hall, Morpeth (NCC-SMR)
- Morpeth County Library, Local Studies Section (ML)
- Museum of Antiquities Records Room, University of Newcastle upon Tyne (MA)
- Newcastle Central Library, Local Studies Section (NCL)
- The Robinson Library, Newcastle University (NUL)
- Palace Green Library, University of Durham (DUL)
- The Public Record Office, Kew (PRO)
- National Monuments Record (NMR)

4.1 Compiling the project database

Assembly of the research material required to produce the Atlas has been achieved by the following methods:

4.1.1 Air Photographic coverage

All locally accessible air photographic coverage of the listed villages was inspected and catalogued, including photographs held by Northumberland National Park, the Northumberland County Sites and Monuments Record (SMR), Newcastle Central Library and the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. In addition, a considerable body of new oblique aerial photography, specifically commissioned for the project and covering all the designated villages was analysed in order to provide pointers for further research both within and outside the scope of the present study.

4.1.2 Documentary survey

A wide range of medieval and early modern documentation, including *inquisitiones post mortem*, ecclesiastical chartularies, royal charters and judicial proceedings, Border Surveys and other official correspondence, has been used to illuminate the history and development of the village and its setting. In addition several categories of more recent archival material - maps, sketches, photographs - and local historical descriptions, have proved informative.

Documentary sources provide most of our information on certain aspects of the village's past, notably its medieval origins and development, and its tenurial and ecclesiastical framework. A targeted approach to the analysis of data from such sources was adopted in order to maximise the amount of information gained in the available timescale. Accordingly, data gathering focussed on cartographic, pictorial and photographic evidence, whilst the County History volumes and other historical syntheses covering sub-regional geographic units or settlements were used to identify particularly important documentary source material worthy of further scrutiny.

Historic Maps

All available historic maps and plans were examined and, where possible, copied. These include the successive county maps - Saxton 1576, Speed 1611, Armstrong 1769, Smith 1808, Fryer 1820, Greenwood 1828, etc. (figures, 10, 11, 17 & 21) - but more importantly the tithe (c. 1840) (figs. 22 & 23) and enclosure maps and Ordnance Survey editions (figs.25-29), as well as other detailed mapping, privately commissioned during the 17th-19th centuries. The tithe and enclosure maps for the relevant townships, provide evidence for the layout of field patterns to assist in interpreting the extant earthwork systems. The 1st edition Ordnance Survey in many instances constitutes the earliest reliable and comprehensive evidence for the settlement pattern in each village. The relationship of this baseline record to surviving earthworks is key to understanding the dynamic processes involved in the development of the settlement.

Pictorial representations

Pictorial representations - prints, sketches and paintings - and early photographs, were examined and, where possible, copied. The principal source of such representations was the NRO Photographic archive. Such photographs show the appearance of buildings shown in plan on historic maps, as well as features not included on such plans. In some cases they also provide useful information on the function of such buildings. The participation of local individuals who have made available their collections of earlier photographs, postcards or paintings, has been particularly useful and may provide a source of additional material in the future.

Published Syntheses and published collections of sources

Existing published research covering the historic village has been summarised for inclusion in the historical synthesis, including information from the Volume XV of the Northumberland County History (NCH XV (1940), 454-72), from John Crawford Hodgson's study of the township (Hodgson 1907) and from David Dippie Dixon's celebrated study of Upper Coquetdale (Dixon 1903, 273-85). Part II, Volume 1 of John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* (1827), reproduces much important source material, notably Umfraville Inquisitions Post Mortem. Especially valuable are the overviews of settlement history based on documentary research and archaeological fieldwork in Redesdale and upper Coquetdale by Charlton and Day (Charlton 1996; Charlton & Day 1979). The detailed documentary survey of Harbottle Castle completed for NNPA by Rushworth & Carlton (1998), also provides useful coverage of the wider seigneurial background.

Other published sources include: Inquests post mortem, the Border Watch Schedule of 1552 (reproduced by Hodgson (1827, 71-2)), the *Survey of Debateable and Border Land, taken A D 1604* edited by R.P. Sanderson (*1604 Survey*) and the 1618 Redesdale Survey published in the second volume of *Archaeologia Aeliana (1618 Rental)*. The latter two providing very detailed information on contemporary settlement patterns in the upland valleys, from the names of the individual customary border tenants to the number of buildings in their settlements and the extent of arable, meadow and rough pasture.

4.1.3 Archaeological Survey

The Northumberland County Sites and Monuments Record was consulted in order to prepare a summary gazetteer of all archaeological sites recorded in each township, including industrial archaeological monuments, find spots and communications routes. Sites newly identified during the course of the study have also been added to the gazetteer.

Listed Building Records were consulted through the NMR along with Grundy's survey of the historic buildings in the National Park (1988) in order to compile a gazetteer of historic buildings in the township. Photographs of the exterior of each building have been incorporated in the archive gazetteer. A small number of structures, which by virtue of their

importance and complexity of fabric are considered by the project team to merit stone-by-stone recording, have also been identified.

4.1.4 Survey of Village environs

The wider setting of the villages have been assessed, using the territorial framework of the historic township where relevant, through a combination of aerial photographs, historic maps, documents, previous historical syntheses and site visits. Where possible the various components - infield arable and meadow, outfield pasture, woodland – have been identified and different phases of activity evidence of change over time have been noted in the historical synthesis. Information regarding the extent of outlying settlement has also been summarised in the synthesis, and particular attention has been paid to essential components as watermills which could often be located some distance from the main settlement.

More detailed recording of the surrounding field systems could form the basis of future community-led studies. These might involve recording the wavelength of ridge-and-furrow, examining field boundary walls to detect different structural phases present (sometimes evident in longstanding walls such as the head-dyke separating enclosed infields from the rough pasture (outfield) beyond, for example) or noting where a wall or sod-cast hedge has been replaced by more recent fencing and identifying ancient hedgelines by the variety of flora present. The data gathered could then be interpreted using the assembled resource of historic maps, aerial photographs and documented history provide by this report.

4.1.5 Site inspections

Site visits were undertaken to examine the village and wider township area, their principal monuments, built environment and field systems. Rather than being a comprehensive field survey, this was carried out to enable the project team to characterise the built fabric, archaeological landscape features and wider landscape setting of the village and to examine features which other data collection methods (air photography/documentary survey etc.) identified as being of particular importance. Photographs were taken of all the historic buildings and other sites or features of especial significance.

4.1.6 Public information and involvement

The NNPA Archaeologist organised presentations or guided walks at six of the largest villages under study. At least one member of the project team participated in these presentations/walks. It was anticipated that this would help to identify knowledgeable local informants who could be interviewed further during the site visits. This proved to be the case. A more informal process of gathering such local information was undertaken during the site visits at the smaller communities under study. This process in turn assisted in selection of suitable individuals for an associated oral history project, focussed on the communities of upper North Tynedale, Redesdale and upper Coquetdale, which was established as an important adjunct to the material Atlas research.⁶

It was also anticipated that these methods would also identify questions concerning the historical past of the villages which were of particular interest to members of the local community and which the project might address in its report, or alternatively might form the basis for follow-on community based projects. It was clear from the meetings and presentations that there was a significant degree of interest amongst several communities in the past of their settlements. It is hoped that this engagement with the past can be supported through future community-led projects, aimed at facilitating more detailed, long term studies of these villages and their landscape settings. The meetings and presentations were particularly successful in prompting local participation in data collection, inspiring the

⁶ See *A Report on the Oral History Recording made for the Historic Village Atlas Project 2004*. The Archaeological Practice Ltd & Northumberland National Park Authority; 2004.

villagers to assemble and bring in for copying numerous privately-held photographs, historic maps, photographs, deeds and other documents. These have all been scanned and incorporated in the project archive and many have been included in the Village Reports. Northumberland Record Office have also made digital copies of the maps and documents to ensure the preservation of this valuable record. Although much new material has been come to light by this means, it is doubtful that the potential has been exhausted.

PART 3
SYNTHESIS
&
ANALYSIS

5. GAZETTEER OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES

A summary site gazetteer is set out below. Fuller descriptions are provided in Appendix 4 and complete entries for those sites listed in the Northumberland Sites and Monuments Record (NSMR) may be consulted by contacting the Conservation Team at County Hall, Morpeth. The gazetteer sites are all located on figure 4 and, in the case of those in the immediate vicinity of the village and in the village core, on figures 5 and 6 respectively. For convenience figures 4 and 5 are reproduced in this section as figures 56 and 57, whilst the village core sites are marked on the archaeological sensitivity plan in Part 4 (fig. 58). For further ease of identifiability the site catalogue numbers are placed between square brackets when cited in the report text. Thus catalogue number 1, would normally appear as [1], although in some cases a site may be more fully identified.

Table 1: Known sites of cultural heritage importance within the wider study area.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period	Site Name	Grid Ref.	Status
1	1143	BRONZE AGE	Barbed and tanged arrowhead	NT 392000 600000	
2	1152	IRON AGE	Multivallate hillfort, 70m east of Campville	NT 394780 602510	SAM
3	1153	BRONZE AGE	Cross dyke, south of Campville	NT 394690 602220	SAM
4	1154	ROMAN	Romano-British farmstead	NT 392810 601350	
5	1154	ROMAN	Romano-British farmstead	NT 392810 601350	
6	1155	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn, 200m south-west of Campville	NT 394560 602350	SAM
7	1156	ROMAN	Roman camp, 1.58km west of North Yardhope	NT 390910 600900	SAM
8	1161	LATER PREHISTORIC	Barbed and tanged arrowhead	NT 392000 600700	
9	1162	LATER PREHISTORIC	Piper Shaws (Woodhouses) cairn and stone circle	NT 394300 600000	
10	1166	POST MEDIEVAL	Dod Hill, ruined building	NT 391600 600900	
11	1167	POST MEDIEVAL	South Yardhope, linear farmstead	NT 392000 600700	
12	1169	POST MEDIEVAL	North Yardhope, ironstone workings	NT 392500 601500	
13	1170	POST MEDIEVAL	Bell pits	NT 392500 601500	
14	1171	POST MEDIEVAL	Bell pits	NT 391700 601300	
15	1180	POST MEDIEVAL	Boundary stones	NT 394900 600400	
16	1180	POST MEDIEVAL	Boundary stones	NT 394900 600400	
17	1182	UNKNOWN	Woodhouses, possible cairns	NT 394400 600200	
18	1183	MEDIEVAL	North Yardhope, deserted medieval village	NT 392100 601100	
19	1185	NEOLITHIC	Flint flake	NT 392000 602000	
20	1186	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn, 700m north-east of Daw's Hill	NT 394500 601350	SAM
21	1187	ROMAN	High Rochester to Bridge of Aln Roman road on OS sheet NT90SW	NT 391800 601000	
22	1190	ROMAN	Romano-Celtic shrine 540m ESE of South Yardhope	NT 392560 600570	
23	1191	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn, 530m west of Holystone Grange	NT 396100 600380	SAM
24	1192	POST MEDIEVAL	Bastle, 100m south-west of Holystone Grange	NT 396570 600280	Grade II, SAM
25	1193	BRONZE AGE	Stone alignment, 900m south-west of Holystone Grange	NT 395740 600100	
26	1195	UNKNOWN	Natural mounds	NT 396770 600510	
27	1195	UNKNOWN	Natural mounds	NT 396770 600510	
28	1196	BRONZE AGE	Cairn	NT 395770 600090	
29	1209	POST MEDIEVAL	The Lady's Well and section of Roman road	NT 395280 602910	Grade I, SAM
30	1210	POST MEDIEVAL	St Mungo's Well	NT 395340 602560	Grade II
31	1211	POST MEDIEVAL	Holystone Priory (site of)	NT 395500 602600	SAM
32	1212	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn cemetery on Holystone Common	NT 395260 601840	SAM

33	1212	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn cemetery on Holystone Common	NT 395260 601840	SAM
34	1212	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn cemetery on Holystone Common	NT 395260 601840	SAM
35	1212	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn cemetery on Holystone Common	NT 395260 601840	SAM
36	1213	MEDIEVAL	Church of St Mary	NT 395500 02640	Grade II
37	1215	POST MEDIEVAL	Wood Hall	NT 395150 603710	
38	1217	BRONZE AGE	Perforated axe-hammer	NT 395700 602700	
39	1218	BRONZE AGE	Three urns	NT 396000 602000	
40	1219	NEOLITHIC	Polished stone axe	NT 395000 603000	
41	1220	NEOLITHIC	Polished stone axe	NT 395000 604000	
42	1227	BRONZE AGE	Farnham, cinerary urn and food vessels	NT 396000 602000	
43	1232	BRONZE AGE	Beaker found in cist	NT 397000 602000	
44	1240	LATER PREHISTORIC	Round cairn 340m west of The Beacon	NT 395170 600290	SAM
45	1241	MEDIEVAL	Dues Hill, deserted medieval village	NT 396100 601300	
46	1244	MEDIEVAL	Medieval pottery	NT 395000 603000	
47	1247	POST MEDIEVAL	Dovecote at Holystone Priory Farm	NT 395400 602700	Grade II
48	1251	POST MEDIEVAL	Water Mill at Holystone	NT 395500 602700	
49	9693	UNKNOWN	Earthwork, Hepple	NY 397080 599560	
50	9694	IRON AGE	Multivallate hillfort, 400m west of Harehaugh	NY 396950 599800	SAM
51	9702	POST MEDIEVAL	Harehaugh Old Farmhouse	NY 397330 599890	Grade II
52	9708	POST MEDIEVAL	Stone remains of farmstead at Pipershaws	NY 395300 599800	
53	9633	LATER PREHISTORIC	Piper Shaws, cairns	NY 394800 599800	
54	9727	MODERN	Hepple Pill Box	NY 397500 599800	Grade II
55	9729	POST MEDIEVAL	Harehaugh water corn mill	NY 397510 599860	
56	1240	LATER PREHISTORIC	Round cairn 340m west of The Beacon	NY 395170 600290	SAM
57	1212	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn cemetery on Holystone Common	NT 395260 601840	SAM
58	13503	UNKNOWN	Earthen mound south of Holystone	NT 395336 602518	
59	13504	UNKNOWN	Circular feature south of Holystone	NT395327 602509	
60	13505	UNKNOWN	Oval mound south of Holystone	NT395315 602508	
61	13506	UNKNOWN	Circular mound south of Holystone	NT395366 602521	
62	13507	UNKNOWN	Mound south of Holystone	NT395382 602522	
63	13508	UNKNOWN	Circular mound south of Holystone	NT395364 602505	
64	13509	UNKNOWN	Circular mound south of Holystone	NT395344 602394	
65	13510	UNKNOWN	Mound south-west of Holystone	NT395215 602306	
66	13527	POST MEDIEVAL	Churchyard wall to west of Church of St Mary, Holystone	NT395483 602645	Grade II
67	13528	POST MEDIEVAL	Mill House (The Kennels), Holystone	NT395593 602684	Grade II
68	13529	POST MEDIEVAL	Priory Farmhouse, Holystone	NT395446 602683	Grade II
69	13530	POST MEDIEVAL	Garden walls and corner buildings east and south-east of Priory Farmhouse	NT395447 602645	Grade II
70	13531	POST MEDIEVAL	The Salmon Inn, Holystone	NT395416 602758	Grade II
71	13532	POST MEDIEVAL	Garage and shed in garden of Woodbine Cottage, Holystone	NT395511602726	Grade II
72	13533	POST MEDIEVAL	Holystone Grange	NT396636 600372	Grade II
73	13534	POST MEDIEVAL	Garden balustrade, steps and urns south and south-east of Holystone Grange	NT396636 600345	Grade II
74	13535	ROMAN	Roman altar 20 yards south of Holystone Grange	NT396635 600343	Grade II
75	13536	MODERN	Garden house c.20 yards west of Holystone Grange	NT396604 600363	Grade II
76	13537	MODERN	Gates and gateway c.150 yards north-east of Holystone Grange	NT396700 600473	Grade II
77	13538	POST MEDIEVAL	Summerhouse c.60 yards west of Holystone Grange	NT396544 600383	Grade II
78		POST MEDIEVAL	Site of Mill	NT395416 602758	
79		POST MEDIEVAL	Ruined buildings	NT 395500 602600	
80		POST MEDIEVAL	Mill leet	NT 395500 602700	
81		POST MEDIEVAL	Mill (site of)	NT 395500 602700	
82		POST MEDIEVAL	Cocklaw Bush mound (possible prehistoric site)	NT 39525 60280	
83		POST MEDIEVAL	Spring/well (possible alternative location for Mungo's Well?)	NT 395340 602560	

6. HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

6.1 Introduction

Holystone village is one of the most intriguing and enigmatic settlements in the Northumberland National Park. Built out of the ruins of a medieval nunnery, it is logical to see that institution as the principal influence on the early development of this community. However, while not denying the important role played by the ecclesiastical institution in the development of the village, certain other elements, notably the proximity of a Roman route and a copious spring, may have had an significant influence on the settlement's early development/initial formation.

6.2 Prehistory

The attractions of the upper reaches of the Coquet valley for early hunter-gatherer populations can be readily appreciated and in an extensively forested landscape would have provided such groups with a convenient route for seasonal migration from the coast to the uplands allowing access to a wide range of resources. Communities in this Mesolithic - Middle Stone Age - period would have been small - essentially extended family groups - and foraged over very extensive areas. Following the introduction of farming c. 4000-3500 BC, more permanent settlement was possible, but evidence for Neolithic - New Stone Age - occupation and dwellings has proved elusive in this part of Northumberland. The possible persistence of regular seasonal migration, or 'transhumance', but now with domesticated flocks and herds, along the lines practised in the medieval and early modern periods, cannot be excluded. The adoption of agriculture and pastoralism enabled population sizes and densities to increase. Kinship groups probably grew larger as a result, whilst occasional festivals may have prompted wider population gatherings for the purposes of exchanging goods and marriage partners etc., providing a mechanism for the development of wider clan or tribal associations.

A radio-carbon date of c. 3000 BC from a burnt turf horizon sealed beneath one of the ramparts at Harehaugh hillfort hints at some form of activity on defensible hilltop sites in this period. This may be related to the recently discovered long mound adjacent to the hillfort, which may represent a Neolithic long burial mound, or barrow. Such long mounds would have been the focus of communal burial practices centred on worship of the ancestors. It has also been suggested that by placing such a prominent monument to their forefathers in the landscape the early farming groups were also establishing a powerful ancestral claim to this land.

In the late Bronze Age and Iron Age, impressive hillforts were built in this part of Coquetdale, particularly along the south-west side of the valley, representing obvious central places or focal points for entire communities. Notable examples include Campville [2]⁷, just to the west of Holystone itself, plus Harehaugh further south and perhaps Harbottle to the north, where it is suggested that the earthworks bounding the inner ward and the bailey of the castle represent an economical adaption of much earlier hillfort defences (*cf.* Welfare *et al.* 1999, 58-9; Welfare 2002, 77).

⁷ The gazetteer sites referred to in the text are all located on figures 4 and 56. Those in the immediate vicinity of the village and in the village core are also shown on figures 5 & 57 and 6 & 58, respectively. For ease of identifiability the site catalogue numbers are placed between square brackets in the report text; thus catalogue number 2 would normally appear as [2].

Recent excavations at Harehaugh have provided a better understanding of these hillforts, revealing the impressive stone-faced defences crowning the rampart and evidence for iron-working in the interior. Nevertheless it is still unclear how these sites were used by the communities which established them. Were they permanent defensible settlements or occasional refuges, places where the community could securely store its grain stocks and other wealth, or ceremonial centres perhaps?

6.3 Romano-British Period

From the later 1st century AD, Coquetdale along with the rest of the Northumbrian uplands fell under the control of expanding Roman empire. The principal bases of Roman power lay to the west, at the forts of High Rochester (*Bremenium*) and Risingham (*Habitancum*) along Dere Street, the main road into Scotland. The most tangible impact of the Roman occupation on the district of Holystone, itself, was the construction of an road linking High Rochester with Low Learchild (*Alauna*) on the Devil's Causeway, the route which led north from Corbridge towards Berwick (cf. MacLauchlan 1864a; 1864b). The link road passed to the north and west of Holystone, crossing the Coquet only 600m north of the present village site. No permanent forts have been identified along the line of this road or indeed anywhere in Coquetdale, although temporary camps have been revealed near North Yardhope (Welfare & Swann 1995; Charlton 1996, 34-5), to the west of Holystone. This lack of military sites is conventionally explained by arguing that the local tribe, the Votadini, were pro-Roman, a somewhat circular historical rational. However it is very unusual for such military roads to be entirely devoid of regularly spaced forts and it would be no great surprise if future aerial photographic work were to reveal the remains of at least one timber fort between High Rochester and Low Learchild, associated with the initial occupation of the area.

Although constructed to serve the military requirements of a distant imperial power rather than the needs of the local farming communities, once built it created a passable east-west route across the moors separating Redesdale and Coquetdale which may have continued to influence settlement and communications patterns and remained a feature in the landscape long after the Roman troops had departed. During the later period of Roman occupation, following the abandonment of any posts along the Devil's Causeway, it would still have served military patrols from High Rochester, and may have been travelled by devotees visiting the small shrine, perhaps dedicated to Cocidius, south east of Yardhope (Charlton & Mitcheson 1983).

Coccuveda - Coquet

The name of the River Coquet is recorded for the first time as Coccuveda in a late 7th century document known as the Ravenna Cosmography, a geographical compilation of much earlier Roman maps and other sources (cf. Rivet & Smith 1981, 311). The Cosmographer's source for northern Britain is considered to have been a military map first drawn up in the late 1st century AD from information gathered during the campaigns of Agricola and later extensively revised, probably for the Scottish campaigns of the emperor Severus in AD 208-11 (Rivet & Smith 1981, 193-7). Coccuveda closely resembles the earliest medieval reference, Cocwud(a), in 1050 which is followed by Cocqued in 1104 (Beckinsall 1992, 26), indicating that the river's present name derives, as so often in the case of rivers, directly from its Celtic Brittonic antecedent. It is thought to signify 'red-appearance', referring to the red porphyritic detritus brought down by these waters from the Cheviots. Thus it can be shown that the communities along its banks have known the River Coquet by something like its present name for almost 2000 years. Moreover there is every likelihood that the name is even older still, stretching back into the Iron Age and perhaps beyond.

6.4 Early Medieval origins

Archaeological fieldwork conducted in upper Coquetdale has so far shed very little light on the early-medieval era and there is no contemporary documentation. The one historical reference which has previously been taken to apply to Holystone has now been shown to be based on a misreading of Bede's text. Early-medieval carved stonework has been discovered at Rothbury, in the shape of the fine early-mid 9th-century cross (*Corpus*, Rothbury 1; Cramp & Milet 1982, 17-19, no. 40), which may indicate the presence there of a monastery, or at any rate a centre of some importance, but nothing has been found further up the valley to compare with the stonework from Falstone in upper North Tynedale. In these circumstances, it is not possible to write a narrative history covering these centuries for the area corresponding to the later township of Holystone. Instead we are limited to analysing those features which may have influenced the siting of a settlement at this particular location, along with the wider processes which led to the formation of the village and its associated township.

The Roman Link Road

Roman roads remained the major axes of circulation in early medieval Britain, as evidenced by the close proximity of significant battle sites and important estate centres (Higham 1993, 122). Continued use throughout the medieval period and even later is clearly documented with regard to the two Roman highways in the Tyne-Solway corridor, the Stanegate (then known as 'Carelgate', i.e. Carlisle road) and the Military Way (cf. Crow 1995a, 99), for instance. Even with only minimal maintenance they remained effective as well-drained causeways. Although the east-west link road between the Devil's Causeway and Dere Street was probably relatively short-lived in its initial Roman military role and never appears to have been resurfaced, there is tentative evidence that it remained a significant route in the post-Roman era .

The most intriguing piece of evidence for the continued significance of the road is provided by the substantial cross dyke [Site Gazetteer no. 3] which cuts across its course some 800m south east of Holystone. The earthwork consists of the ditch and bank and runs between the Dovecrag Burn and Holystone Burn, blocking off the promontary formed the confluence of those two streams. To the north lies Campville hillfort [2], although this juxtaposition may be coincidental. The date of this earthwork is unknown. The relationship between the road and the earthwork at the point where the two intersect is too mutilated to be able to determine which was the earlier feature. Moreover both linear works appear to change direction in the vicinity of the intersection. Hence the cross-dyke may be a late prehistoric monument, in which case the road perhaps aimed for a pre-existing passage through the bank and ditch, but equally it is possible that the earthwork was erected at some point after the Roman period to control movement traffic along the road. Many linear earthworks or dykes of this kind elsewhere have been assigned Dark Age or early medieval date, the most famous example being Offa's Dyke. Whatever its date, the construction of this dyke certainly underlines the significance of Holystone's location.

A further indication that the link road long survived as a landscape feature and possible routeway may be provided by the placename Yatesfield (i.e. Gatesfield), as suggested by MacLauchlan (1864a, 48). Gate was the one of the terms traditionally given to the roads or streets and the transposition of Y for G is common in Northumbrian dialect (cf. NCH XV (1940), 250 for a parallel example – Gatehouse or Yethouse). Yatesfield farmstead lies some 1.3km south of the road line, but the name may initially have applied to the wider area - hence --*field* - and only later become fixed on a specific site.

The Lady's Well

Discussion of the early medieval history of Holystone has traditionally focussed on the 'Lady's Well' [29] or St Ninian's Well, situated a little to the north of the village. This remarkably

atmospheric site is one of the best known features of Holystone as David Dippie Dixon commented a century ago (1903, 274).

The powerful spring, said to discharge 560 gallons a minute (Dixon 1903, 274), now issues forth into a rectangular stone-lined basin, which is rounded at the north-east end and measures 13m by 7.8m. The tank is orientated south-west to north-east and is surrounded by fir trees within a stone-walled enclosure. The current layout is largely the result of extensive restoration of the pool in 1788 (or 1780) when the tank was repaired, the walls rebuilt and a statue intended to represent St Paulinus was erected on a pedestal in the centre of the basin. The statue was subsequently moved to the south-west end in 1861-62 and replaced by a simple wheel cross (Hodgson 1907, 109; NCH XV (1940), 455).

The most detailed description of the site prior to its reconstruction is provided by the antiquary and herald, John Warburton, who visited in 1715. His account, which suggests that the present site essentially maintains the earlier layout, is worth repeating in full (Hodgson 1916, 3):

In a field adjacent (to the church) is Paulinus' Well, a very beautiful fountain in a square figure, length 42 foot and 21 [foot] in breadth; wall'd about with a curious stone resembling porfire, p[ave]d in the bottome and incompos'd with a grove of trees and at each corner thereof the foundation of a small [illegible]. Out of the well floweth a . . . stream of water very cold, and clear as christall, and if cleaned out would be a most comodious cold bath and perhaps effect several cures without a marvell. At the east end lyeth a stone 3 foot in length and 2 in breadth called the holy stone, said to be the same whereon the forementioned Bishop [Paulinus] kneeled at his baptising of the heathen English; and was formerly held in great veneration by the gentry of the Roman Catholick religion who ofttimes come here on pilgrimage.

Warburton's dimensions - equivalent to 12.6m x 6.3m - are broadly comparable to those of the present site, but he does not refer to the rounded north-east end. However this is shown on an estate map of depicting the entire township in 1765 (NRO 6247.1; PRO MPI 242), some 15-20 years prior to the Lady Well's refurbishment in the 1780s, demonstrating that the latter did not alter the basic form of the monument.

The antiquary Leland (*Itin.* v, 62) associated this well with the site where King Edwin and 3000 others were baptised by St. Paulinus on Easter Day 627, and this has subsequently been followed by many commentators, notably Camden, Warburton (cf. Hodgson 1916, 3), Horsley and Wallis, becoming firmly entrenched in the secondary literature. However the modern consensus regarding the events recorded by Bede (*HE* 186-7), convincingly places the mass baptism at York, in the newly built church of St Peter's. Leland's identification is based on misreading *in ecclesia Sancti Petri apostoli* - in the church of the apostle St Peter - as *Sancta Petra* - Holy Stone (NCH XV (1940), 454-55). Hence this record provides no substantiation for the early medieval status of Holystone.

A local tradition, recorded by David Dippie Dixon, also associates the well with St. Ninian - 'the beautiful well at Holystone known to us as "The Lady's Well", also described as "The Well of St. Paulinus", was formerly known as "St. Ninian's Well"' (1903, 275). J. C. Hodgson (1907, 108) and the County History (NCH XV (1940), 455) in turn follow Dixon in speculating, progressively more imaginatively, on what role that saint may have had in the initial sanctification of the site. However it is very unclear how authentic this tradition is or when it first emerged.

Despite the unreliability and uncertainty of the historical traditions associated with the well, there are other grounds for arguing that it is a site of considerable antiquity. One of its most

intriguing aspects is its location right beside the line of Roman road linking Dere Street and the Devil's Causeway (cf. MacLauchlan 1864a, 50; 1864b). Although MacLauchlan (*ibid.*) indicated that no trace of the road had been found in the immediate vicinity of the well, despite field drainage work, its line was well established on either side, leaving little doubt regarding the road's general position and orientation. Moreover, the south-west to north-east alignment of the stone basin would appear to broadly parallel that of the road, implying that the well was laid out at a time when the road was still in use or at any rate still a significant landscape feature. As a consequence, it has even been suggested that the stone tank was first constructed during the Roman period at a halting place on the link road (NCH XV (1940), 455; Grundy 1988, 198: HAR 33; SMR 1209). However, although the provision of watering facilities for military convoys and other travellers in the Roman period is not inherently unlikely, there are considerable difficulties in accepting that this was the original function of the stone tank at Holystone. Such facilities would almost certainly have been associated with and protected by a fort or fortlet, yet no such site is known in the vicinity and, even if that lacuna were to be overturned by future discoveries, the likelihood that the link road was intensively utilised as a military highway for only a relatively short duration means it is less likely to have acquired elaborate stone-built waterworks. Similar objections apply if we imagine that the stone tank formed the plunge pool for a bathhouse associated with an as yet unlocated fort. Moreover cold plunges on this scale did not form part of the normal auxiliary-fort bathhouse, as demonstrated by examples excavated at Chesters and Vindolanda on Hadrian's Wall, for instance.

Much more plausible is the possibility that the site originated as a rural shrine. Stone lined wells or springs of Roman date, are known at elsewhere in the region, e.g. Coventina's Well at Carrawburgh (Allason-Jones & McKay 1985), the Shrine of the Nymphs and the Genius Loci at the same site (Smith 1962) or the temple of Mars Thincsus at Housesteads (Peter McGowan Associates *et al.* 2002, 202-3). A powerful spring, perhaps discharging into a natural pool, might well have attracted the interest of the garrison at High Rochester, as did the cave shrine of Cocidius at Yardhope, forming part of an imagined religious landscape created by the troops. Indeed such a spring and pool would in all likelihood have already been a focus of veneration for local Iron Age communities, as a portal between the tangible world and the underworld of deities and ancestral spirits. However the size of the stone tank at Holystone greatly exceeds that of any of stone lined springs of Roman date in the region. Hence, regardless of whether or not the well was a site of religious significance before the medieval period, it is difficult to believe that the form of the monument, as first described, represents actual Roman work, although only excavation could resolve the issue definitively.

Instead, the construction of the stone tank and the origins of the historical tradition linking it with St Paulinus should probably be sought in the medieval period and in particular may be associated with the activity of the Augustinian nunnery of Holystone. The well was certainly in existence by the end of the medieval period - as evinced by the reference to 'the Well-field' which figures prominently in the list of the demesne property held by Holystone Priory at the time of its dissolution in 1539. In later centuries the spring fed into the race supplying the water mill and it is likely that it did so during the medieval period as well. It may conceivably also supplied the convent, flushing latrines and such like. It is probable, therefore, that the arrangements described by Warburton were constructed by the priory. Certainly it is difficult to believe that this kind of attention was lavished on the site's infrastructure in the two centuries between the priory's dissolution and Warburton's visit. The Catholic gentry of Coquetdale, the Selbys of Biddlestone for example, who maintained a private chapel from the dissolution onwards, clearly continued to use the site, as Warburton indicates, but, given its obvious 'Popish' associations, any substantial remodelling of the well might have attracted unwelcome attention from the Protestant state and church authorities.

The convent was never a wealthy institution - quite the opposite - but it is possible that it had a further motivation in taking special care over the layout of the spring. A papal mandate of 1375 gave control of Alwinton parish church to 'the Augustinian abbess and convent of Haleston *alias Sacropetra*'. The use of this alias, which presumably figured in the priory's original petition, implies that the nuns shared the same awareness, albeit mistaken, of the potential historical significance of Holystone's name, in terms of the events recorded by Bede in his Ecclesiastical History (*HE*, 186-7), as was exhibited by the later antiquaries. It confirms that when Leland made the first explicit attested identification of Holystone with the site of St. Paulinus baptism of the 3000, he was in fact recording an established tradition, rather than making an original deduction⁸. Such saintly associations could be very lucrative for religious institutions, attracting pilgrims and pious donations, and once conceived were obviously worth fostering. Clearly, Holystone never became a major focus of veneration and pilgrimage, but Warburton's comments regarding the attitude of the local Catholic gentry towards the site suggest that the nuns' endeavours may have met with some modest success, helping to supplement the meagre income (£11 in 1536) they derived from their landholdings and parish churches.

The placename

Ironically, perhaps the firmest indication that Holystone was a site of some religious significance prior to the foundation of the nunnery is provided by its very name, which is first attested in 1242 in the form 'Helistan' (*Liber Feodorum* II, 1121). A parallel for this type of name is offered by Falstone ('Foustan' - 1318, 'Faustane' - 1371, 'the Fawe stone' - 1541), in upper North Tynedale. The latter is thought to signify the 'multicoloured stone' or 'speckled stone' and it has even been suggested that this may refer to a natural feature - a distinctive rock outcrop perhaps - which acquired a religious significance (Barrow 1974; Charlton 1987, 27). Fragments of 8th-9th century carved stonework have been recovered from Falstone and there was a chapel there by 1318. It is possible that Holystone's placename might have a similar origin, although no early medieval carved stonework has been found there. It may be significant however, in the light of the preceding discussion of the Lady's Well, that the site is not named Holywell.

In other words, some tradition of an earlier Christian presence, perhaps even supported by tangible evidence - a holy stone (a prehistoric standing stone?, early medieval cross? or a natural feature?) *may* have been one of the factors which contributed to the foundation of a priory at this spot. This tradition could in turn have been 'explained' and embellished over the centuries by the nuns and others, by attaching various early medieval saints and significant events to the site.

Estates and parochial centres

A further clue regarding the origins of Holystone is provided by its status as the centre of an ecclesiastical parish which is firmly attested from the early 14th century onwards and can be traced back to the early 13th century at least. Many parish churches are thought to have begun life as estate chapels established by local landowners during the 9th-11th centuries, with the possible result that the parishes associated with those churches may, effectively, have fossilised the boundaries of the original estates (cf. Winchester 1987, 22-7). It is noteworthy that the parochial centres of medieval Redesdale and North Tynedale all have toponyms incorporating personal names. Thus Elsdon (*Ellesden* in the earliest sources) presumably signifies Elli's or perhaps Aelf's valley, whilst Corsenside (*Crossensete*) combines an Irish personal name, Crossan, with the Norse term for hill pasture *saetr*, and may hint at Irish-Norse settlement⁹ (Beckensall 1992; Mawer 1920, 55, 74). Similarly the parish of Simonburn

⁸As indeed Leland himself suggests: '*some hold opinion that at Halistene or in the River of Coquet thereabout wer 3000 christenyd in one day in primitiva ecclesia Sax*' (*Itin.* VII, 59); cf Hodgson 1916, 107-8.

⁹Note also Gamelspath, the moorland stretch of Dere Street near Chew Green, which incorporates an Old Scandinavian personal name.

('Simondeburn' in 1228-9), which embraced most of North Tynedale, seems to incorporate a personal name, Sigemund (Mawer 1920, 180). It is tempting to infer that such placenames preserve some memory of early estate holders. That this form of placename can be associated with early landholdings is demonstrated by the case of Gilsland (Gilles' land) which derives from the territory of Gille son of Boet, who held the western end of the Tyne gap up until the reign of Henry II.

However, as noted above, Holystone does not fall into this toponymic pattern, and there is no conclusive evidence that the parish of Holystone actually does represent a pre-Norman estate covering the south side of upper Coquetdale, and Holystone itself the original *caput*. Indeed, the pattern of settlement and landholding in upper Coquetdale during the 9th-11th centuries is very obscure. Three sites might plausibly represent the centres of wider estates on the basis of their later medieval significance: Holystone, a medieval parochial centre next to a copious spring beside a Roman road; Alwinton, another parochial centre; and Harbottle, later the *caput* of the liberty of Redesdale and the site of the Umfraville lordship's principal castle in the upland dales. The latter could conceivably be the site of a much earlier estate centre, if *-botl* placenames are correctly interpreted as signifying 'lord's hall' and as forming an early element in Anglian placename formation (but cf. Barrow 1998, 67-9). Hence it is unclear whether upper Coquetdale was divided between two or three late Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian estates or formed a single landholding centred on one of the above sites which was later subdivided between separate parishes and baronies following the Norman feudal settlement of the area in the early 12th century.

Two alternative hypothetical outlines of the origins of Holystone can therefore be presented:

1. Holystone was the centre (*caput*) of a late Anglo-Saxon estate covering an extensive area on the south side of upper Coquetdale coterminous with historic parish. As well as the lord's dwelling there would have been a chapel, but not necessarily a large nucleated village. When this estate was incorporated in the Norman Liberty of Redesdale under the Umfraville barons, probably in the early 12th century, it was chosen as the site of the nunnery which the Umfravilles founded. In addition to their initial bequest of land adjacent to the priory, the nuns were also given control of the parish church with the right to appoint the rector.
2. The priory was established on a previously uninhabited site, chosen because of its good communications, water supply, proximity to the centre of the lordship and conceivably some tradition of an earlier Christian presence. The convent church also served a parish carved out of one of the neighbouring parishes - Elsdon or more probably Alwinton - to provide further revenue for the nuns. A parallel is provided by Lambley parish in South Tynedale, which comprised the land given to the nunnery of Lambley, although this parish is much smaller than Holystone. Alternatively, a parish with similar boundaries may already have existed but centred on Harbottle, where there was later a chapel of ease, the church being shifted to Holystone following the foundation of the priory.

6.4.1 Territory

The core of Holystone township probably comprised the endowment of land bestowed on the Augustinian nunnery by the religious institution's aristocratic founder, presumably one of the Umfraville barons - lords of Redesdale and upper Coquetdale. The village itself may have developed in the late medieval period when the nunnery, in common with monastic institutions everywhere, gave up farming its lands directly and leased them out to tenants.

The nunnery's endowment probably embraced the full extent of the township of Holystone, as recorded in the 1539 Dissolution survey (see below, 7. *Selected Sources and Surveys* 1). This township was not as extensive as the later township, which is described and mapped in volume XV of the County History (NCH XV (1940), 469-72) and which was the result of

later amalgamation of several communities for administrative convenience. In the 1604 survey, the parish of Holystone embraces the discrete settlements ('places') of Wood Hall, Yardhope (North and South), Lanterncleughs (i.e. along Lanternside Cleugh, near the present Campville), Woodhouses (beside the present Holystone Grange) and Harehaugh, as well as Holystone itself (see below, 7. *Selected Sources and Surveys* 4). There is no explicit mention of townships in the survey, but each of the 'places' listed probably represents a small but distinct territorial township community.

6.5 Medieval and 16th-century Settlement

Ironically some of the best information regarding the priory comes at the end of its life, when the institution's assets were listed following its dissolution. As well as the main conventual complex, a dove-cote, dairy and barns were listed plus a field known as the 'well field', which presumably contained the Lady's Well, and 100 acres of 'poor upland pasture' (see *Survey I*). At this stage the township contained ten houses and a mill. This compares with the four customary tenancies, comprising 3 houses and a mill, listed in the 1604 Border survey of the royal manor of Harbottle, when Holystone was said to have 1 acre of meadow, just over 10 acres of arable, 20 acres of pasture (see below, 7. *Selected Sources and Surveys* 4).

6.5.1 The Church

The Church of St Mary the Virgin[36] was almost totally rebuilt in 1848, removing most of the earlier remains, however a little remains to provide some idea of likely development of the medieval church. A detailed description of building and an account of its known history and that of the Augustinian Priory was provided in volume XV of the Northumberland County History (NCH XV (1940, 455-9) and this is reevaluated by Ryder here. The earliest remains probably date to the early 12th century and may be contemporary with the foundation of the nunnery. As well as serving the nunnery this building probably also provided the parish church.

Holystone Church: Architectural Description and Analysis

P.F. Ryder

The church of St Mary the Virgin (19th-century dedication; the original is unknown) is a fairly humble building, just a low three-bay aisleless nave and a chancel with a north vestry. The nave in fact represents the much-altered chancel of a larger medieval church which had a nave with at least a south aisle. This was the church of the medieval Augustinian nunnery, which may have had parochial functions as well; it is not clear which part belonged to the parish and which to the nuns. Honeyman (NCH XV (1940), 456) suggests that the nave formed the nunnery church (as at Marrick in North Yorkshire), which would explain its destruction.

The only visible evidence for the lost nave is in the eastern respond of its south arcade, at the south-west corner of the present building; its moulded capital is now only c 1 m above the ground, showing how much the ground level must have risen in this area, and perhaps boding well for the preservation of sub-surface remains. Above the respond, which is partly concealed by the churchyard wall that joins this corner of the church, are post-medieval angle quoins.

The west end of the nave has a central shoulder-arched doorway, and a round-headed window with a simple hood above, all of 19th century date, as is the round-arched bell-cote that caps the gable. The wall has a rough chamfered plinth that extends for c 1 m northward from the medieval respond at its south end, then reappears again c 2 m short of the north-west angle.

The south wall of the present nave is of coursed squared stone, the masonry of its upper parts rather less regular than that below. It contains three chamfered round-arched windows, all of 19th-century

date, with the sill of an earlier two-light window visible beneath each; there is also a possible straight joint, perhaps the jamb of an earlier doorway, just to the west of the central window, and another, rather clearer, c 0.40 m to the east of the eastern window..

The north wall of the nave has the same chamfered plinth as is seen on the west wall, extending as far as a straight joint 0.36 m from the west wall of the vestry that overlaps its east end. Above are three round-arched 19th-century windows, clearly inserted in older walling. A little to the west of the central window are the lower jambs of a blocked doorway. The east gables of nave and chancel have slab coping, moulded kneelers, and ring-cross finials.

The south wall of the short chancel has a pair of 19th-century round-arched windows near its centre; built into the wall c 1.5 m above ground level are three sections of medieval cross-slab grave covers, two at the west end and one at the east. The east end has big stepped clasping buttresses at each angle, and a stepped triplet of round-arched lights, with a linked hoodmould. The north wall of the chancel is partly covered by the vestry, gabled east-west and with a round-arched window in each end; a stack caps the east gable. East of the vestry is a lower pent-roofed outbuilding with a square-headed doorway in its north wall.

The interior of the church is plastered, the only exposed dressings being those of the chancel arch; no pre-19th-century features are visible. The nave has a round-headed rear arch top its west door, with a big chamfered set-back above running the full width of the gable. The chancel arch is semicircular; the chamfered order is carried on responds of the same section, with impostes that are grooved and chamfered on their lower angle; the square outer order is continued unbroken to the ground. At the west end of the north wall of the chancel is a shoulder-arched doorway to the vestry, chamfered round; there is a square-section band below the sills of the triplet of windows on the east. Both nave and chancel have 19th-century collar-beam roofs with arch braces carried on moulded ashlar corbels.

The ground level of the churchyard, on the north of the building, has obviously risen considerably over the years; a drainage trench c 1 m deep has been dug alongside the north wall of the church. On the north side of the rather wider section of this trench alongside the chancel is a chamfered course a little over 2 m long, with rough walling above it. At first this looks like the chamfered plinth of an adjacent building, but it would seem more likely to represent the chamfered edge of some sort of monument, perhaps a medieval cross slab¹⁰. A cross slab at approximately this level was found in 2003 when a grave was being dug, c 10 m north of the north-east angle of the vestry. It was broken into two, just below the head; the upper section was lifted and currently lies in the grass a few metres away, on the east side of the churchyard.

Discussion

Honeyman gives a detailed description of the church, stating that it was rebuilt, except for its lower walls, in 1848-9 by the vicar Aislaby (or Aislabye) Proctor, George Pickering being his architect. He sees the present nave as representing the nave of an 'early Norman' 12th-century building, apparently on account of its 'two-square plan' and the character of some of its masonry, and that at the end of 12th or beginning of the 13th century it became the choir of an aisled nave. As elsewhere, Honeyman's detailed descriptions are useful, but he has a tendency to interpret more detail of a structural history than the evidence will actually allow. He did carry out an excavation, to reveal the base of the surviving respond of the medieval nave arcade 6' (1.8 m) below the capital. He sees the lower parts of both of the walls of the present nave as being medieval, but does not mention the plinth on the north and west which would appear from its level to indicate that the former wall had been rebuilt. He cites works in 1720 when a pulpit and reading desk were provided, which could give a date for such a reconstruction. He sees the present chancel as an addition of 1848-9, although possibly incorporating some fabric from a school room that previously stood in this position.

¹⁰Could this be the 'plain medieval stone coffin and cover' that Honeyman mentions in revealed in 1848 in the 'sunk area on the north side of the church'

Honeyman's plan marks the wall on the south of the western portion of the churchyard as being built on an older foundation, which he interprets as the north aisle wall of the medieval nave of similar dimensions to that at Alwinton. This is another statement that runs beyond the evidence; it should also be pointed out that his dimensions of the Alwinton nave are based on the surmise, perhaps unwarranted, that the post-medieval west wall there stands on earlier foundations.

6.5.2 The Augustinian Priory of Holystone

The nunnery was probably established during reign of David I of Scotland, by the Umfravilles, the lords of Redesdale. A detailed description of the known history of the Priory was provided in volume XV of the Northumberland County History (NCH XV (1940, 459-66). Throughout its life it remained a relatively poor institution. As such it was one of the minor religious houses which were targeted in the first of Henry VIII's acts of dissolution in 1539. Following its dissolution, the priory site was leased to John Heron who paid £40 in rent. In 1562 it was granted to Francis Baker.

Little apparently survives of the remainder of the conventual buildings. Dixon noted that large stones - evidently old foundations - were visible in the some of the road surfaces in the village, particularly near the church, but didn't provide any further details. However the possible layout of the priory can be restored using various pieces of evidence.

It is generally assumed that the church served both the Augustinian nuns and the parish, and was incorporated into the priory complex (NCH XV (1940), 456). Abundant comparative evidence provided by the surviving remains of monasteries demonstrates that the main claustral ranges were usually attached to one of the long sides of the church (i.e. to the north or south), more commonly the south side. At Holystone the north side of the church is occupied by the graveyard, which may well have seen continuous use and therefore represents cemetery for both the priory and the parish. Monastic cemeteries were commonly positioned on the north side of the church. Moreover, the recent discovery of a medieval grave slab at a depth of c. 1m during grave digging would tend to confirm the longevity of this burial place.

Nevertheless Ryder favours the north side of the church as the location of the main claustral range, rather than the more usual south side, because of the general lie of the land (see below, *Priory Farm*). It is clear that only a limited area of level ground would have been available to the south of the church. Here the tithe map and 1st edition Ordnance Survey (fig. 22 & 25) mark a row of cottages, probably comprising three or four dwellings, parallel to the axis of the church and some 20m distant. The cottages have since been demolished (pre 1940), but their foundations are still visible covered in vegetation. Their orientation suggests these cottages could conceivably stand on the site of the southern range of conventual buildings, with the intervening space forming the cloister garth, although latter would be relatively small. The cottages extend further west than the present church, which probably only represents the chancel of the medieval church, and give an approximate idea of the size of the possible cloister garth. The nave of the priory church would probably have extended at least as far as the present western edge of the graveyard.

It is further noteworthy that Priory Farmhouse and the attached range of farm buildings, plus the cottage to the east, are also on a parallel alignment to the church, whilst the range of farm buildings on the west side of Priory Farm garden lie at at 90° to the church. The possibility that the core of Priory Farmhouse predates the visible 17th century features is noted by Ryder below (*Priory Farm*; see also Northumberland Sites and Monuments Record: no. 13529). It is tempting, therefore, to envisage an outer courtyard in this area, to the north west of the priory church, forming another part of the overall ecclesiastical complex. This may have contained elements of the institution's demesne farm, or grange, which would in turn imply a functional continuity on this site, with the grange becoming Priory Farm after the dissolution of the nunnery. Ryder notes that the presence of an outer courtyard in this area would support

the hypothesis that the main cloister garth was located immediately to the east, on the north side of the church.

At the very least it is likely that the layout of some of these later buildings was substantially influenced by elements of the priory complex, whether or not they occupy the actual position of medieval building ranges. The narrow field to the south of farm, which is shown as a garden on the 1765 estate map (fig. 19) may represent the little unenclosed garth of half an acre mentioned in the 1539 Account. By 1604 it was described as our one little garden in Haliston . . . , lately enclosed. The fields to the west certainly represent the close called Barne-yardes in the 1539 Account. The Barn Yards field is shown on 1765 map, described as 'in pasture'. The name of this field, with its reference to barn(s) suggests it was next to the priory's demesne farm, or grange, and the most logical site for that is the present Priory Farm. The 1539 survey indicates there was a **dovecote** in the Barn Yards. A dovecote-like symbol is shown in this field, to the north of Priory Farm and east of the Salmon Inn, on the 1765 map and it is logical to presume that this was the dovecote referred to in the survey. Archaeological remains of this structure may still survive in the field.

Whether the priory buildings were located to the south or north of the present church, substantial remains could survive. Excavation would clearly not be possible in the area of the graveyard, but investigation could be undertaken in the area of the former cottages to the south of the church.

Architectural fragments associated with the priory buildings have been found (and are still being found) at a number of locations around the village and can still be seen incorporated in the walls of much later structures.

The churchyard wall west of the church incorporated several examples of such carved stonework, including a medieval gravestone and a fragment of 13th century stone panelling similar to that found at the Augustinian Priory of Hexham, with which the nunnery had strong links. Fragments of window surrounds, grave covers and columns are now incorporated in the south wall of the house variously known as The Kennels and Mill House. These architectural fragments were dug up in 1929, along with a large millstone, from a depth of 2-3ft on land approximately 30m to the east. The kitchen window incorporates a 14th century windowhead with cusping and the base of a two-light window reused as the sill; the porch has parts of two medieval gravecovers.

6.5.3 Mills

A water mill is recorded at Holystone [48] from 1539 when it features as one of the tenancies listed under the heading of Holystone township (see below *Selected Sources and Surveys – 1539 Survey*). It is likely it had been established much earlier in the medieval period. It was probably still functioning when the Border Survey was compiled in 1604. Percival Potts claimed the right to quarry millstones on Harbottle Craggs (*1604 Survey*, 105, 111; *1618 Rental*, 337) and was paying the sum of £2 4s. for his one house and single acre of arable at Holystone, an exorbitant sum unless there was a mill attached to the house (*1604 Survey*, 92).

This mill has been identified with the present Mill House, or Mill Cottage, previously known as The Kennels ([00]cf. NSMR 13528; NCH XV (1940), 169; Pevsner *et al.* 2001, 341). The lower storey of the north wall is built of fine medieval masonry composed of even, well-dressed blocks, similar to the stonework of Hepple Tower and Great Tosson Tower further down the valley.

However it must be emphasised that this is not the site of the mill marked on the 1765 estate map (NRO 6247.1; PRO MPI 242), the tithe map and the 1st, 2nd and 3rd edition Ordnance Survey maps and depicted in Dippie Dixon's study of the valley (1903, 282; illustrated here). The latter building is still stands to the south east of Mill House and retains pretty much the appearance shown in Dixon's illustration at the beginning of the 20th century, except for the loss of the waterwheel. It was an overshot mill fed by the mill race – that 'copious runnel of fine clear water' reckoned 'the pride of the villagers' by Dixon (*ibid.*). The race is clearly aligned on this building rather than Mill House. This might imply that the masonry walling incorporated in Mill House belonged to an entirely different medieval building, or was simply robbed from another site elsewhere in the village.

The alternative possibility is that Mill House was the original medieval mill, but was replaced by the later building, at which stage the relevant section of the mill race was realigned. Grundy (1988, 199: HAR 34) has suggested that a blocked arch visible in the west gable may once have admitted the mill race, which would support this hypothesis. However significant structural complexity is evident in lower part of this gable wall and proper structural recording to resolve these problems and illuminate the history of the building would clearly be beneficial.

The 1765 estate map marks a second, smaller mill labelled 'Walk mill' (i.e. fulling mill), situated just south east of the Salmon Inn. This was fed by the combined flow of the mill race and the stream from the Lady Well, which at stage ran past the *east* end of the Salmon Inn. By the time the next detailed map – that associated with the tithe commutation award – was drawn up, in 1840, the mill race had been realigned to run past the west end of the Salmon Inn and the 'walk mill' was evidently out of use, although the building remained standing and is still appears to figure at least as late as the 3rd edition Ordnance Survey (1920).

Holystone Mill

(Information from the NE Mills Group)

Site Name:	Holystone Mill
Grid Reference:	NT955027
First recorded	1539
Last recorded	1920

At the dissolution of Holystone Nunnery in 1539 there were ten houses and a mill in the township, the mill is mentioned again a few years later, in 1546, when John Herron was in arrears with his rent. Directory entries for 1827 and 1855 list a Joseph Loiver as farmer and miller. The 1890s Ordnance Survey shows a mill, but by the 1920s edition the mill is shown as disused. In 1929 the estate was offered for sale with a workable mill (Griffith 1974). By 1940 the mill is reported to have become a house (NCH XV (1940), 469, but this may refer to the Kennels/Mill House – see above).

6.6 Upper Coquetdale 1700-2000

6.6.1 Background

The term "Upper Coquetdale" is usually taken to signify the portion of the valley of the river Coquet and its tributaries lying between the source of the river in the hills along the Scottish border and the town of Rothbury. For the purposes of the Historic Atlas project, this terminology produces some difficulties as only part of this geographical area lies within the Northumberland National Park. The town of Rothbury lies to the north and east of the boundary of the Park which itself runs south of the river Coquet near Great Tosson. The river only becomes part of the Park a few hundred metres west of Hepple, where for several miles it forms the eastern boundary of Park from this point northwards to the farm of Angryhaugh. At Angryhaugh the Park boundary swings eastwards and the whole of the Coquet valley northwards is contained within the National Park.

Historically, the whole area of upper Coquetdale was contained within the parish of Alwinton and the extra-parochial district of Kidland, but this integrity has been destroyed by the Park boundary. Although all of Kidland, an ancient Lordship, is contained within the Park, areas of the valley formerly linked to the villages of Alwinton, Harbottle and Holystone are now outside the boundary of the Park. At the same time, two families, the Selbys and the Fenwicke-Clennells, owned much of the land in the upper Coquet valley, in the period 1700 to 2000. Neither of these families reside in the valley at the present time, nor have they left significant records from which to reconstruct details of estate management, both of which omissions present problems for the historian. The survey which follows is thus limited in its scope and suggests that much still needs to be done before a detailed account of the economic and social life of this area of the Northumberland National Park can be written.

6.6.2 Communications and economy

Although the northern boundaries of Alwinton and Kidland lay along the border with Scotland, unlike North Tynedale and Redesdale, there was no direct road through the Coquet valley into Scotland. A number of drove roads, such as the Street, crossed the Border and permitted cattle and sheep to be driven down the Coquet valley into England, but these did not constitute a permanent highway. The only road that followed the river from Alwinton to Makendon, the last farm in the northern part of the valley, finally led over the watershed into the neighbouring Rede valley. The status of this road was simply a track that crossed and re-crossed the river on a number of occasions as it went steadily northwards. In addition, there were no bridges at these crossing points and travellers simply had to ford the river, a process not helped by the Coquet's propensity to rise rapidly following rain in the hills making passage of the river very dangerous. Progress of goods and people up and down the valley was limited and Barrowburn, where one of the major fords was located, became a dropping-off point for many trades people. Goods would be left at this farm to be collected by residents in the upper part of the valley at times which were convenient for the purchasers and when the river could be safely crossed.

This situation began to change in 1881 when a new bridge was erected across the Alwin, near to Alwinton, by public subscription. This bridge was adopted by the County Council and permitted access to the valley as far as Linbriggs where the first of the fords was encountered. Further work on the road and bridges did not take place until the 1930s, when road improvements were carried out and a bridge constructed at Linbriggs. No further work took place until after the Second World War when, in the 1950s, concrete beam bridges were installed that carried the road to the northern end of the valley, where final small bridges were built at Makendon and Fulhope in 1968. Even with these improvements, local people remember that goods were left at Barrowburn for collection up until the early 1970s! Another important feature of the Coquet valley was the absence of any railway development. Rothbury was the nearest railway station to the upper valley and access to it was subject to the same problems that afflicted the transport of goods and livestock in general.

Such limited means of communication meant that travel to and from much of upper Coquetdale was limited. Although stock wagons might reach the farms if the weather was good, driving continued to be the usual method of sending stock to market until the second half of the twentieth century. In many ways, this was not a major problem as farming in upper Coquetdale was limited to the production of cattle and sheep and wool. There was very limited cultivation of grain and root crops and, on the few farms where this did take place, it was strictly for home consumption and not for sale. Purchases of grain and fodder crops were also limited so that there was little need for extensive transportation of agricultural goods.

Beyond agriculture, there was virtually no other economic activity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There were limited coal deposits in the valley of the Wilkwood burn lying to the east of Harbottle and Holystone, but these were only mined for purely local sales

and employed only a small number of miners. Because of the limited numbers of employees and sales, this activity receives no mention in nineteenth century directories of trades in the area. The only trades that are mentioned are those usually connected with rural village life – shop keepers, innkeepers, cobblers, stonemasons and estate workers such as agents and gamekeepers.

Although there may have been some visitors to the upper Coquet valley for the purposes of shooting and other field sports, the absence of game books and other evidence from the local estates means that this type of activity cannot be quantified. Tourists probably penetrated as far as the villages of Harbottle, Holystone and Alwinton in Victorian times, but the absence of a road system to the upper valley probably meant there were few visitors other than the most intrepid walkers before the second half of the twentieth century. At this point, the advent of travel by private motor car for greater numbers of people than previously increased the number of tourists to the area. Local sources suggest that many of these visitors were from other parts of Northumberland, for example the mining districts of the county, rather than from other parts of the UK or overseas. Even this trade dipped in the 1980s and early 1990s, but has since recovered.

Such a resurgence is to be welcomed as a result of the decline in the number of farms in the valley and the loss of employment opportunities that has been characteristic of upper Coquetdale as much as North Tynedale and Redesdale in the twentieth century. During the late nineteenth century, farms and estates in upper Coquetdale had been affected by the depression in prices for both wool and sheep meat. As far as can be determined from the limited evidence available, prices and rentals decreased in a comparable manner to those experienced in the neighbouring valleys. Thus, there was little resistance from some of the landowners when the Army offered to purchase property to form part of the new artillery training area for which land in the Rede valley was also being purchased. In the case of one estate, that belonging to the Selby family, it was already being offered for sale due to massive financial problems faced by the owner. In consequence, the Army was able to purchase over 12 000 acres of upper Coquetdale for military purposes. Although this did not lead to an immediate loss of work in farming, the way was paved for the future.

In a similar manner to the experience of North Tynedale and Redesdale, farming in Coquetdale also suffered from a further collapse in prices in the 1920s and 1930s. Although this produced some loss of jobs as labour was reduced on farms, the eventual outcome was the sale of some parts of the valley to the Forestry Commission. Tree planting followed, particularly in the period 1950 to 1970, resulting in substantial areas of woodland around Uswayford, in Kidland and to the west and south of Harbottle. Initially the replacement of sheep farming by afforestation created alternative employment for those who would have formerly worked in agriculture. However, the development of mechanical aids for forest work and the increasing use of contractors, rather than labour directly employed labour by the Commission, has resulted in rural depopulation and an increasing need for alternative work. This has increasingly taken the form of work in the tourist industry, but the shortness of the season has meant that there are only a small number of seasonal jobs that has only reduced the loss of population, not stemmed it.

In order to understand the changes that have taken place in the valley, have impacted on the individual communities, the history of the settlements of Harbottle and Holystone is examined in more detail below.

6.6.3 Holystone and Harbottle: overview

These two settlements will be dealt with together because their histories are intertwined. Initially, Harbottle was the centre of the Lordship of Redesdale after it was removed from Elsdon in the twelfth century. However, with the decline in the status of the Lordship after

the seventeenth century, the Chapelry of Holystone, with its five associated townships, became the more prominent description of the area surrounding the two villages. Most of the chapelry, with the exception of some land on the east bank of the Coquet forming part of the two townships of Holystone and Harbottle, is contained within the boundary of the Northumberland National Park.

Ownership of the land in these two townships, as well as in the three others, Barrow, Dueshill and Linsheels, was dominated by the same three families in Alwinton, although there were also a number of other, smaller proprietors. Of the three largest estate owners, the Fenwicke-Clennells appear to have been the greatest with their seat at Harbottle. Their estates had belonged to the Clennell family until the early nineteenth century when they passed to the Fenwicks through a surviving female line. The new owners changed their name to Fenwicke-Clennell in recognition of their good fortune.

Of the two principal settlements, Harbottle was the larger. Bulmer's Directory of 1886 lists Harbottle as having ten retail businesses and two inns, while Holystone boasts only six businesses and a single inn. Outside these villages, the principal occupation was farming. Thus, the economic pattern described for the Alwinton townships applies to the Holystone ones as well. Agriculture dominated until after the First World War, some land having been taken for the Army ranges immediately before the War. Subsequently, land was purchased for forestry, more land was sold to the Army and the number of farms declined. Although the main landed proprietors, other than the Selbys, continued to operate their estates into the second half of the twentieth century, they were ultimately forced to sell out. More land than in the Alwinton townships was retained in private hands and a number of new estate owners, for example the Renwicks at Holystone and the Beavans at Linsheels, appeared on the scene in the twentieth century. They helped to retain some employment and continued local traditions from the past, for example Major Renwick's support for the Coquetdale Coursing Club before and after the Second World War, but they have inevitably had to relinquish land in the face of adverse economic conditions.

These conditions have had effects elsewhere. Holystone no longer has a shop, nor an inn, while Harbottle has fewer shops than in the past and only a single hostelry. As in Alwinton, hopes for the future tend to be centred on tourism or an influx of commuters to the villages whose incomes are derived from sources outside the valley, but whose spending may cause an upturn in the local economy.

6.7 Holystone in the 17th-18th centuries

In the 1604 Border survey of the royal manor of Harbottle, Holystone was said to have 4 customary tenants and comprise 3 houses and a mill, 1 acre of meadow, over 10 acres of arable and 20 acres of pasture. It is not detailed in the 1618 rental.

Several of the buildings still standing in the village probably date to these centuries. The Salmon Inn is a former cross-passage house of the 17th century or early 18th century, with a large external chimney breast. Priory Farmhouse is also 17th century in date, although it may have an even older core (see above). It has thick walls built of random rubble (squared stone for the upper courses) with irregular openings. Two square, stone-roofed pavilions at the corners of the garden were probably early 18th century additions, whilst the remains of a cottage, now used as a garage and shed in the garden of Woodbine Cottage was probably built in the early-mid 18th century.

The extent to which the Ecclesiastical infrastructure and institutions of the Northumbrian upland communities had fallen into decay by this stage is vividly illustrated by Warburton who described the condition of Holystone church in the early part of the 18th century (c.1715):

At present there is nothing to be seen of the nunnery but the rubbish of the walls overgrown with grass and the little church is sunk so deep in the ground that the tops of the doors are almost level with the surface of earth and so out of repair that the parson has only a heap of stones for a pulpit. It is preached at quarterly by the vicar.
(reproduced by Hodgson 1916, 3)

Armstrong does not even depict a church or chapel at Holystone on his map of 1769 (fig. 17), only 'ruins' to the east of the village, but a church is shown on the estate map of 1765 (PRO MPI 242; NRO 2132) and on the tithe map of 1848 (fig. 22). In 1724 William Potts left 30 shillings, yearly, for the education of the poor children of the township.

17th –19th century Buildings in Holystone Village

(P.F. Ryder)

Priory Farm stands immediately to the west of the churchyard, on the opposite side of a minor north-south road. This is the 'exotic-looking walled farmyard' then called 'The Curtain' which Honeyman suggests may have been the site of a Roman fortlet and later a Pre-Conquest church. The farmhouse on the north side of the yard is a doorway with a segmental arched head within a square chamfered surround, and some chamfered windows (perhaps enlarged) that would seem to point to a 17th-century date; there is also evidence at the west end that it was originally a building of one or two very low storeys, later raised to its present height. The chamfered windows of the present first floor would at first sight suggest that this heightening took place prior to their insertion (ie that the lower walling could be pre-17th century) but it is possible that their chamfered jambs have been re-used. The walls of the house little more than 0.6 m thick, which is surprisingly thin for any building before c1700 hereabouts¹¹. Inside there are few old features, other than a fireplace at the east end with a chamfered stone jamb and a heavy timber lintel, the southern part of which has been cut through to allow the insertion of a door communicating with the 19th-century cottages that adjoin this end of the building. There are traces of a small fire window in the south wall.

The range on the west side of the yard is currently undergoing conversion. Its northern part is formed by an old barn with heavy squared stone of late 17th or early 18th-century character; here again there is clear evidence for heightening in its junction with the adjacent building on the south, which added as a two-storey block before the older building was raised. In its north wall is an odd doorway with a chamfer to its jambs that ends in neatly curved stops below the lintel; one possibility could be that it originally had a shouldered arch, and another that earlier stonework has been re-used.

The most distinctive feature of the farm buildings are seen on the south side of the yard, at each end of which stand small tower- or pavilion-like block, with stone flag roofs gabled east-west; although both have had dovecotes in their upper parts, their function must have been in part decorative; they stand at the top of a steep natural scarp that falls away to the south.

Whilst the Roman fortlet and Anglian church site suggested by Honeyman remain totally conjectural, it is possible that Priory Farm represents the outer court of the medieval nunnery. The lie of the land would seem to suggest that the claustral buildings lay on the north rather than the more usual south side of the church, in which case one would probably find the outer court precisely in this position, adjacent to the cloister on the west. The large square courtyard arrangement of the Priory Farm buildings – itself an unusual form for a post-medieval farm in this area – could perpetuate this, although it seems unlikely that medieval fabric survives here above ground.

¹¹This could in fact be a pointer to a much earlier date, before the need for defensibility, but there seem to be no other visible features in the house to back this up.

The Salmon Inn

Now a private house, this appears to have originally been an 18th-century cross-passage house of one-and-a-half storeys, later heightened; the front door has a chamfered surround and there are traces of the original upper windows below the later half-dormers.

Outbuilding to Woodbine Cottage

In the garden of a 19th-century cottage, an attractive little building, probably of the later 18th-century with some good vernacular features in its raised gable coping using large triangular stones and roof of pantiles with stone slates to the eaves. Inside is an old fireplace, but the roof timbers have been renewed.

Mill House

On the south side of the road; its most notable feature, is the close-jointed square stone of the lower part of its north wall, which, it has been suggested, may be medieval masonry, although perhaps re-used. There are traces of an older opening, possibly with a crude arched head, beside an inserted window in its west end. The south side has been heavily altered, but re-set in the wall of a modern porch are the upper part of a 12th-century cross slab, and beneath the window of a small extension at the east end the sill of a medieval window. A fragment of a medieval window head lies at the foot of the wall beneath.

The site of the old mill appears to have been a little to the south of this building.

6.8 Holystone in the 19th Century

David Dippie Dixon (1903, 282) noted that there were some twenty to thirty houses in the village during the early 19th century, with the population numbering around 180, whereas by his day there were only half that many houses and the population had dwindled to 81. However the census figures which Dixon himself quotes (*ibid.*, 283) suggest that the 182 inhabitants listed in 1821 was something of an aberration with the population otherwise remaining stable between 122-136 until the end of the century when it began to decline.

A wide variety of trades were represented in the village at this stage including a blacksmith, corn miller, schoolmaster, tailors, shoemakers, weavers, masons, joiners and besom makers. Some had more than one occupation

His engaging description of the early 19th century cottages suggests that living conditions for the villagers had not greatly changed since the end of the medieval period:

The houses were all thatched and consisted of one floor divided into two apartments by "box beds" with sliding doors, in which the villager of the day enjoyed "tir'd nature's sweet restorer" on a "calf bed", amid homespun blankets, the cow being housed in the entry, underneath the same roof.

Even twenty years before Dixon was writing the houses were still mostly thatched, but these had gradually given way to 'the present neat modern buildings . . . more in keeping with our ideas of health and comfort' by the beginning of the 20th century (1903, 273). The village then comprised about a dozen houses, plus the church and school, and included the Salmon Inn and a functioning water corn mill. The Church of St Mary had been completely rebuilt by the architect G. Pickering in 1848-9.

6.9 Holystone in the 20th century and beyond

The development of the village in the twentieth century can be traced in the maps and especially the photographs reproduced in this study. Comparison of the 2nd, 3rd and later editions of the Ordnance Survey demonstrates the layout of the village changed relatively little in these years. The overall picture during the 20th century is one of a gradually declining population. Agriculture now employs far fewer people and facilities within the village itself have dwindled. The nearest school is now Harbottle. Only the church remains open, a possible future focus for a wider range of information services. A definitive history of Holystone in this period remains to be written, a task which might perhaps most appropriately be undertaken by members of the local community. Through the use of oral history recordings as well as a range of photographic, cartographic and documentary media such a project might not only chart the development of the village throughout the century, but, perhaps more importantly, capture the personalities who enriched the life of Holystone during this period. A hundred years ago, David Dippie Dixon was able to accomplish just that, covering the village and the wider valley in the 19th century, with the result that his history of Upper Coquetdale (1903) has become a sought-after classic – a local history in the truest sense. With the documentary, visual and other resources available today it would not be overly ambitious to seek to equal Dixon's achievement.

7. SELECTED SOURCES AND SURVEYS

1. Account of George Wilkinson, Collector of Rents and Farmer of the Late Dissolved Priory of Halystone, in the County of Northumberland, from Michaelmas, 1539, to Michaelmas, 1540. (reproduced in Hodgson 1907, 115-117)

Tenant	Holding	Rent		
	FARM OF DEMESNE LANDS.			
John Herron... ..	Site of the late priory, together with one little unenclosed garth of half an acre; one close called the Well-field containing 20 acres of arable, wood, and waste; one close called the Whete-banke containg six acres of arable; one messuage and one cottage in Thare-manne, late in the hands of the said priory; one close called the Barne-yardes, with one dove-cote within the same, containing 2 acres; one close called the Daye-house-hill (<i>probably Dues Hill</i>) now lying unenclosed, containing 100 acres of poor upland pasture.	£	s.	d.
		40	0	0
	HALYSTONE TOWNSHIP.			
George Lynton	One tenement	0	12	0
Ralph Grene	One cottage	0	2	0
Elizabeth Lynton	“	0	2	0
John Soppeth	“	0	2	0
Edward Grene	“	0	2	0
The miller	One tenement	0	4	0
— Robson	One cottage	0	2	0
Gilbert Stephenson	One tenement	0	4	0
George Stephenson	“	0	4	0
Andrew Meenes	One mill	2	0	0
John Hyminshe	One tenement in Sharperton	0	12	0
—	One parcel of land in Clyfton, containing 200 acres of poor pasture, lying waste.		—	
	Total for Halystone (sic)	£4	0	0
	RIDDESDAYLL.			
John Rede, Edward Rede, and Gilbert Rede.	One tenement called Corsensyde	1	0	0
William Rede and his mother, Arthur Browne and John Browne.	Diverse tenements called the Brighouses	2	0	0
— Chaters and other tenants	Diverse tenements called the Wodhouses	2	0	0
— Clyfton	One tenement called Risingham	0	4	0
	Total for Riddesdayll	£5	4	0

DIVERSE TOWNSHIPS.		
John Galon	One parcel of land called Nunchope, in Wrighell.	0 4 0
— Browne	One cottage called Clay-porte in Alnwick	0 4 0
John Fenwyke	One parcel of land in Wallyngton	0 10 0
The rector of Meldon	One messuage in Babyngton	1 0 0
John Howden senior and John Howden junior	Diverse tenements in Nune-rydyng	1 6 8
Cuthbert Shafto	One tenement in Shokryngton (Thockrington)	0 1 10
John Bell	One tenement near <i>Slamm</i> the of the parish church of St. Nicholas, 14.; one cottage outside the New-gate, 2s.; and one cottage in a street unspecified, 2s. 10d.; all being in the town of Newcastle	0 2 10
Richard Rutherford	Rent from the manor of Rowchester; one quarter of wheat or	0 8 0
Perceval Smith	One cottage in Thirenam	0 1 0
	Total for Diverse Townships (<i>sic</i>)	£3 15 10
SPIRITUALITIES.		
John Herron	The rectory of Alanton with the glebe and all other small tithes of the rectory	24 6 8
"	The rectory of Corsynsyde, with the small tithes	7 13 4
"	The rectory of Halystone, with the small tithes and oblations	4 0 0
	Total for Spiritualities	36 0 0
	Sum Total	50 19 10
Deduct from the above rent of £12 19s. 10d., paid from Halystone, Riddesdayll, and diverse townships, one half year's rent due at Martinmas, 1539, which was received by the nuns of the said priory before December 21 st , 1539, when the monastery came into the king's hands		6 9 11
Deduct one half-year's rent for Corsensyde, which tenement was lying waste and was in dispute with the inhabitants of Riddesdayle, so that no rent could be collected		0 10 0
Carried Forward		6 9 11
Deduct for stipends of curates: namely for the vicar of the parish church of Alanton. £4 13s. 4d.; for the vicar of the parish church of Corsensyde, £4; for the vicar of the parish church of Halystone, £4		12 13 4
Deduct for a pension or synodal payment to the archdeacon of Northumberland out of the churches or rectories of Alanton and Corensyde		1 6 8
Deduct for John Howden's fee for one half year as wood-ward of Nunrydyng, 4s., for George Wilkynson's fee for one half-year as collector, 10s.; for George Stephenson's fee for one half-year as wood-ward of Halystone, 2s.; for the fee of the auditor's clerk, 2s.; total		0 18 0
Total of Deductions		21 17 11
Balance, of which £3 13s. 4d. has been paid to the receiver, William Grene, at diverse times, without reseipt given; of which £25 6s. 8d. has been paid by John Herron (namely £2 for farm of the demesne and £23 6s. 8d. for spiritulities) and of which 2s. is in arrear		29 1 11

In 1543, the site of the house with the demesne was granted by the crown on a twenty-one years' lease to Richard Lisle, at the reserved rent of 2*l*. By the same lease the lessee held the rectories of Alwinton, Corsenside, and Holystone, at the rent of 36*l*., out of which there was paid sums amounting to 12 *l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. to the respective curates of these churches for their wages or stipends. A similar lease was granted in 1579 for the like term, to Tristram Fenwick (query of Brinkburn) and John Fenwick of Walker.

2 *Letters Patent dated 21 December, 1604*, (reproduced in Hodgson 1907, 119)

James I granted to his

‘dearly beloved and faithful counsellor’ George Hume, Lord Hume of Berwick, his heirs and assigns, ‘All that our site of the late priory of Haliston in the aforesaid county of Northumberland, and our one little garden in Haliston etc. lately enclosed containing by estimation half an acre of arable land, and all that our close in Haliston aforesaid called Well-field containing by estimation twenty acres of arable, wood and waste land, and all that our close of land there called the Wheatbank, containing by estimation six acres of arable land, and all that our close there called the Nun-close, containing by estimation twenty acres of arable land, and one messuage and cottage in Thormane (Thernham, now Farnham) in the aforesaid county of Northumberland, heretofore and lately being in the hands of the prior (*sic*) of the said late priory of Haliston, and all that our close there called the Barn-yards containing by estimation two acres, and one dovehouse being within the said close, and all that our close there called the Dayhouse-hill now not enclosed containing by estimation one hundred acres of pastureland upon the mountain there, and all that our rectory and church of Hallanton, etc. etc., and all that our rectory and church of Haliston, etc. etc., lately parcel of the lands and possessions of the said late priory of Haliston.’

3. *Survey of the Debateable and Border Lands adjoining the Realm of Scotland and belonging to the Crown of England taken A.D. 1604*, (ed.) R P Sanderson (Alnwick, 1891), 106 (cited elsewhere as *1604 Survey*)

Section of the Survey dealing with the former priory’s lands now held by the Crown

Demeanes

There is the demeanes of the late dissolved Abbey of Hallistones, ⁽¹⁾ wth the } xxx^{li}. vj^s. viij^d. tythes thereunto belonging; the yearlie rent wherof is

The perticuler.

The seate of the Abbye, with the severall grounde thereunto belonginge, conteyneth

The tithes of Harbotle and Allington

	Quantitie		Rate	Yearly Value		
	acr.	ro.		li.	s.	d.
	150	...	ijs <i>Per</i> <i>annum</i>	15
Summa	150	...		95

4. *Survey of the Debateable and Border Lands AD 1604*, (ed.) R P Sanderson (Alnwick, 1891), 86

Freeholders and customary tenants of the royal manor of Harbottle in Holystone Parish

Freeholders

	Area	Individual	Rent	Buildings	Quantity of Ground
HALLYSTONES PARISHE	Lynsheyls	Mr Roger Witherington	1s 6d	3 houses 3 outhouses	2200 acres pasture
	Limbridgs (<i>Linbridge</i>)	Mr Carnabie	5s		
	Barrowe	John Barrowe	2s 6d		
		George Wilkinson	1s		
	Cockatt haughe	Christofer Wilkinson	6d		
	Earls Crofts	The E. of Rutland			1090 acres pasture
	Hare Haugh	Roger Hangingshawe	3s	1 house 2 outhouses A mill	3 acres meadow 12 acres arable 24 acres pasture
	Common	Common proporcionall			250 acres
	Summa			13s 6d	4 houses 5 outhouses

Customary Tenants

	Area	Individual	Descent	Rent	Buildings	Quantity of Ground
HOLLISTONES PARRISHE	Wood Hall	Gyles Hall	By Alexander their father	12s	1 house 2 outhouses	12 acres arable
		George Hall		8s	1 house 2 outhouses	8 acres arable
	Summa			£1	2 houses 4 outhouses	20 acres arable 70 acres pasture 1 rod pasture
	Hollistones	William Linton	By John his father	6s		1 acre meadow 9 acres arable
		Persivall Pott		£2 4s	1 house 1 mill	1 acre arable
		John Wilkinson	By John his father	1s 4d	1 house	1 rod arable
		John Steeles		2s	1 house	1 rod arable

Summa			£2 13s 4d	3 houses 1 mill	1 acre meadow 10 acres arable 2 rod arable 20 acres pasture
Lenteron Clughe	Edward Potte	By Roger his father	1s 8d	1 house 1/3 outhouse	3 acres arable
	Bartholomew Potte	By Robert his father	1s 8d	1 house 1/3 outhouse	3 acres arable
	Thomas Potte	By Geo. his father	1s 8d	1 house 1/3 outhouse	3 acres arable
Summa			5s	3 houses 1 outhouse	9 acres arable 32 acres pasture
Yardope	Edward Hall	By Alex. his father	3s 4d	1 house 2 outhouses	3 acres meadow 14 acres arable
	Thomas Pott	By Robt. His father	10d	1 house	1 acre meadow 1 rod meadow 3 acres arable
	Peter Potte	By Wm: their father	10d	1 house	2 rows meadow 3 acres arable
	Robert Potte		10d		1 acre meadow 2 rods meadow 3 acres arable
	Persival Potte	By discent	10d		1 acre meadow 2 rods meadow 3 acres arable
Summa			6s 8d	4 houses 2 outhouses	9 acres meadow 26 acres arable 98 acres pasture 2 rods pasture
Woode Houses	John Charter, senr.	By Ambrose his father	7s 6d	1 house	2 acres meadow 2 acres arable 2 rows arable
	John Charter, junr.	By George his father	10s 10d	1 house 1 outhouse	3 acres meadow 4 acres arable
	William Potte	By Anthony his father	10s	1 house	2 acres meadow 4 acres arable
	Andrew Charter	By Cuthbert his father	8s 4d	1 house 1 outhouse	2 acres meadow 3 acres arable 2 rods arable
	John Hedley	By Robert his father	3s 4d		1 acre meadow 2 acre arable
Summa			£2	4 houses 2 outhouses	10 acres meadow 16 acres arable 56 acres pasture
Prates Crofte	William Hall	By discent	2s		20 acres pasture
<i>COMMON PROPORTIONALL 3500 ACRES</i>					
<i>Summa totalis</i> of this Parishe is			£6 7s	16 houses 9 outhouses	20 acres meadow 77 acres arable 2 rods arable 310 acres pasture 3 rows pasture

PART 4:
SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS
& RECOMMENDATIONS:

8. POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

8.1 Conclusions

Holystone is unique amongst the villages selected for the Historic Village Atlas Project in being built on the site of a substantial medieval ecclesiastical complex, the Augustinian nunnery. The layout of many of the village's present buildings clearly reflects this origin notably the demolished cottages to the south of the church and the ranges of Priory Farm, which are aligned parallel or perpendicular to the long axis of the church. It has generally been supposed that the main claustral ranges of the priory lay to the south of the church on the site of the cottages, however Ryder (see above) suggests the north side where the present graveyard is located. Certainly the alignments of Priory Farm imply some ranges of the nunnery lay in this area – perhaps the outer court with service ranges such as barns, stables etc. The field to the west was called Barn Yards at least as early as 1539.

The combination of a clear estate map of 1765 (PRO 242, see figure 19) and a detailed rental made in 1539, following the nunnery's dissolution, allows us to trace elements of the surrounding township through time, showing that field plots such as Well field and the Barn Yards preserved a remarkable continuity over time. The map reveals additional details such as the existence of a second watermill, situated beside the Salmon Inn, which evidently functioned as a fulling mill ('walk mill'). Most intriguing of all, the 1765 map depicts a conical dovecote of typical medieval form in the north-east corner of the field labelled Barn Yards, the same field where the 1539 rental also records the existence of a dovecote.

To the north of the village, the Lady's Well (or Lady Well as it is named on the earliest map evidence) is a particularly atmospheric site. Roman origins have been suggested for this monument. Although the current stone lining of the basin reflects late 18th century refurbishment and perhaps medieval construction work, a Roman origin cannot be excluded. The close proximity of this powerful spring to the Roman road link road between High Rochester and Low Learchild, which passes to the north west of the village, would have undoubtedly resulted in it attracting some attention in that period. Numerous shrines with a watery focus have been identified along Hadrian's Wall, and these obviously reflect a longstanding Iron Age, or earlier, religious tradition focussing on pools, springs, rivers and lakes. There is, however, no firm evidence for any associations with St Ninian during the early medieval period and, despite the comments of local historians during the early-mid 20th century there is no indication that the name 'St Ninian's Well' was traditionally applied to the site. This name which is first recorded at the beginning of the 20th century may reflect a local desire for a saintly association with the well, once the earlier link with St Paulinus' baptising of the Northumbrians had been demolished by more careful textual analysis of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.

The authenticated traditional name – the Lady Well – implies an association with the nunnery and the Virgin Mary, to whom the church is dedicated, and although the nuns may not have been the first to make use of the spring, it is likely that the Priory played the major role in fashioning the well into its present form. This would have had both a practical purpose, to provide the nunnery with a reliable water supply, and perhaps a more spiritual and economic one, to foster the development of Holystone as a centre of local pilgrimage based on its erroneous association with St Paulinus' baptising of the Northumbrians in AD 627. The belief that Holystone was the site of the events recorded by Bede had certainly taken hold by the early 16th century and perhaps had a much longer pedigree. The current plan of the basin, with a rounded north end, is already shown on the 1765 estate plan (fig. 19), prior to the late 18th century refurbishment. In the early 18th century the antiquary Warburton records that the

well still remained a focus of devotion for the local catholic gentry in the centuries following the nunnery's dissolution. The Lady Well is thus a monument which has been continuously reinvented to suit the needs of different ages and it would clearly merit detailed archaeological investigation.

8.2 Potential

1. The nunnery is interesting precisely because it was never a grand or wealthy institution like the great Cistercian monasteries of Rievaulx or Fountains, which have received much attention. It provides an example of a how a minor religious institution in a remote Northumbrian valley survived the most turbulent events over a period of around four hundred years.
2. Many components of the village would merit investigation. The precise location of the dovecote could be revealed by geophysical survey. The intriguing nature of Priory Farm has been noted (see Ryder above), apparently 17th century in date, but with relatively thin walls which might conceivably point to a much earlier, more peaceful era. At Mill House it is unclear whether the fine medieval stonework is *in situ* or reused. Targetted excavation might resolve some of these questions.
3. Assembling and documenting all the fragments of medieval stonework which have been uncovered over the years could shed light on the appearance of the priory buildings.
4. The Lady Well would also merit further study. Geophysical survey could be used to trace the course of the Roman link road in this area and define well's spatial relationship to it. More invasive investigation could test some of the interpretations arrived at in the course of this study.

9. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SENSITIVITY ISSUES

The grades of sensitivity shown on the accompanying archaeological sensitivity map (fig. 58) are based on the conclusions drawn from the available archaeological, documentary and cartographic evidence. The following guidelines have been adopted as the basis of classifying the sensitivity areas. Sites or areas where the survival of archaeological remains can be demonstrated are accorded high sensitivity. Areas where the former existence of historic settlement is known or suspected, but the degree of survival of any associated archaeological deposits is uncertain, are generally accorded medium sensitivity. In the case of Holystone, the likely area of at least some of the priory building ranges can be established with sufficient certainty to merit a rating of high sensitivity, even though little if any of the original fabric survives above ground level.

1. The Church and the core of the village, embracing the areas of the claustral ranges, have been accorded high sensitivity.
2. The Lady Well, with its immediate surroundings, is also monument of high sensitivity.
3. A buffer zone of medium sensitivity embracing the rest of the village and its immediate environs is shown.

PART 5:
APPENDICES
&
BIBLIOGRAPHY

10. GLOSSARY

Advowson	the legal right to appoint a priest to a parish church.
Agistment	the grazing of livestock on pasture belonging to someone else.
Alienate	to grant land to someone else or to an institution.
Assart	land cleared for cultivation.
Assize	a legal procedure
Barony	the estate of a major feudal lord, normally held of the Crown by military tenure.
Borough	a town characterised by the presence of burgage tenure and some trading privileges for certain tenants.
Bovate	measure of arable land, normally equivalent to approx. 12-15 acres. This measurement especially popular in eastern and northern counties of England.
Burgage	A form of property within a borough
Capital Messuage	A messuage containing a high status dwelling house, often the manor house itself.
Cartulary	a book containing copies of deeds, charters, and other legal records.
Carucate	a unit of taxation in northern and eastern counties of England, equivalent to eight bovates or one hide (120 acres).
Charter	a legal document recording the grant of land or privileges.
Chattels	movable personal property.
Common land	land over which tenants and perhaps villagers possessed certain rights, for example to graze animals, collect fuel etc.
Common law	a body of laws that overrode local custom.
Copyhold	a tenure in which land was held by copy of an entry recording admittance made in the record of the manor court.
Cotland	a smallholding held on customary tenure .
Cottar	an unfree smallholder.
Croft	an enclosed plot of land, often adjacent to a dwelling house.

Custom	a framework of local practices, rules and/or expectations pertaining to various economic or social activities.
Customary tenure	an unfree tenure in which land was held “at the will of the lord, according to the custom of the manor”. In practice usually a copyhold of inheritance in Cumbria by the sixteenth century.
Deanery	unit of ecclesiastical administration consisting of a group of parishes under the oversight of a rural dean.
Demesne	land within a manor allocated to the lord for his own use.
Domain	all the land pertaining to a manor.
Dower	widow’s right to hold a proportion (normally one-third) of her deceased husband’s land for the rest of her life.
Dowry	land or money handed over with the bride at marriage.
Enfeoff	to grant land as a fief .
Engross	to amalgamate holdings or farms.
Farm	in medieval usage, a fixed sum paid for leasing land, a farmer therefore being the lessee.
Fealty	an oath of fidelity sworn by a new tenant to the lord in recognition of his obligations.
Fee/Fief	hereditary land held from a superior lord in return for homage and often, military service.
Fine	money payment to the lord to obtain a specific concession
Forest	a Crown or Palatinate hunting preserve consisting of land subject to Forest Law, which aimed to preserve game.
Free chase	a forest belonging to a private landholder.
Freehold	a tenure by which property is held “for ever”, in that it is free to descend to the tenant’s heirs or assigns without being subject to the will of the lord or the customs of the manor.
Free tenure	tenure or status that denoted greater freedom of time and action than, say, customary tenure or status, a freeman was entitled to use the royal courts, and the title to free tenure was defensible there.
Free warren	a royal franchise granted to a manorial lord allowing the holder to hunt small game, especially rabbit, hare, pheasant and partridge, within a designated vill .
Furlong	a subdivision of open arable fields.
Glebe	the landed endowment of a parish church.

Headland	a ridge of unploughed land at the head of arable strips in open fields providing access to each strip and a turning place for the plough.
Heriot	a death duty, normally the best beast, levied by the manorial lord on the estate of the deceased tenant.
Hide, hideage	Angl-Saxon land measurement, notionally 120 acres, used for calculating liability for geld. <i>See carucate.</i>
Homage	act by which a vassal acknowledges a superior lord.
Knight's fee	land held from a superior lord for the service of a knight.
Labour services	the duty to work for the lord, often on the demesne land, as part of the tenant's rent package.
Leet	the court of a vill whose view of frankpledge had been franchised to a local lord by the Crown.
Manor	estate over which the owner ("lord") had jurisdiction, exercised through a manor court.
Mark	sum of money equivalent to two-thirds of a pound, i.e., 13s. 4d.
Merchet	a fine paid by villein tenants.
Messuage	a plot of land containing a dwelling house and outbuildings.
Moot	a meeting.
Multure	a fee for grinding corn, normally paid in kind: multure can also refer to the corn thus rendered.
Neif	a hereditary serf by blood.
Pannage	payment for the fattening of domestic pigs on acorns etc. in woodland.
Perch	a linear measure of 16½ feet and a square measure equivalent to one fortieth of a rood .
Quitclaim	a charter formally renouncing a claim to land.
Relief	payment made by a free tenant on entering a holding.
Rood	measure of land equivalent to one quarter of an acre; and forty perches.
Serf	an unfree peasant characterised by onerous personal servility.
Severalty	land in separate ownership, that is not subject to common rights, divided into hedged etc., fields.

Sheriff	official responsible for the administration of a county by the Crown.
Shieling	temporary hut on summer pasture at a distance from farmstead.
Socage	a form of tenure of peasant land, normally free.
Stint	limited right, especially on pasture.
Subinfeudate	the grant of land by on a lord to another to hold as a knight's fee or fief .
Subinfeudation	the process of granting land in a lordship to be held as fiefs
Suit of court	the right and obligation to attend a court; the individual so attending is a suitor .
Tenant in chief	a tenant holding land directly from the king, normally termed a baron.
Tenement	a land holding.
Tenementum	a land holding (Latin).
Tithe	a tenth of all issue and profit, mainly grain, fruit, livestock and game, owed by parishioners to their church.
Toft	an enclosure for a homestead.
Unfree tenure	see customary tenure .
Vaccary	a dairy farm.
Vassal	a tenant, often of lordly status.
Vill	the local unit of civil administration, also used to designate a territorial township community (prior to the 14 th century)
Villein	peasant whose freedom of time and action is constrained by his lord; a villein was not able to use the royal courts.
Villeinage	see customary tenure and unfree tenure .
Virgate	a quarter of a hide ; a standardised villein holding of around 30 acres. Also known as a yardland .
Ward	administrative division; the word implies a guarded or defended unit. The term most commonly relates to large administrative subdivisions of the county (usually 5 or 6) from the 13 th century. Equivalent to a Poor Law township in Redesdale from 1662 onwards and in upper North Tynedale (Bellingham Chapelry) between 1662-1729.

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- Statutes* *The Statutes of the Realm: Printed by Command of His Majesty King George III, from original Records and authentic Manuscripts.* Vol II. (London, 1816; repr.1963).

11.2 Secondary Bibliography

Journal and Corpora Abbreviations

AA ¹	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , First Series etc.
Corpus	<i>Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture. Volume I: County Durham and Northumberland.</i> R Cramp, (1984), Oxford University Press for the British Academy; Oxford.
CW ²	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i> , Second Series etc.
PSAN ⁴	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne</i> , Fourth Series etc.
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.</i>

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12. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF MODERN PHOTOGRAPHS

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF SITES AND MONUMENTS

APPENDIX 5: LIST OF HISTORIC BUILDINGS (GRUNDY 1988)

APPENDIX 6: PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE CATALOGUE

*APPENDIX 7: NORTHUMBERLAND RECORDS OFFICE
CATALOGUE*

[NOTE: Historic Maps & Documents (M&D), Historic Photographs (HP) and Modern Photographs (MP), listed in Appendices 1 & 2, are archived in digital form with the Northumberland National Park Authority and Northumberland Records Office]