Historic Village Atlas 12:

Ingram

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INGRAM
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, [*] 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John Grundy's impressive work on the buildings of the National Park completed as recently as 1988 has been rendered out of date by the conservation, renovation, adaptation and, in some cases, demolition of many buildings covered in his report.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.

➢ 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.

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

> ➢ 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 ecclesiatical 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 this part of the report (Part 1) the location of the village is discussed and an indication is given of the area covered by the study. Part 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. Part 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. Part 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 Ingram is situated in the Breamish Valley in north Northumberland, on the eastern edge of the Northumberland National Park (see figures 1 and 2). The settlement is located in the Breamish Valley, about 8km east of the border with Scotland, beside the road which links the head of the valley at Linhope to a junction with the A697 Morpeth to Wooler and Coldstream route, just north of Powburn. Today Ingram comprises of a small cluster of buildings laid out on either side of the road, plus a smaller group, including the church and vicarage, slightly to the east of the main settlement. The River Breamish passes along the northern edge of Ingram, flowing from its source in eastern limits of the Cheviots, which dominate the village to the west, before turning north near Powburn where the valley opens out.

2.2 Area of Study

The area of study adopted is represented by the historic township of Ingram (see figure 3). This was, by far the largest of three townships incorporated in the ecclesiastical parish of Ingram (the others were Fawdon and Reaveley), and covered an area of 6522 acres in the 19th century, making up the bulk of the parish (see figure 3). The township not only incorporated the area immediately surrounding the village, but also stretched westward almost as far the border with Scotland, covering a substantial chunk of the Cheviot Hills and including much of the north side of the upper Breamish Valley (the southern side falls within Alnham parish and township). The development of parochial and township structures is discussed fully in the following section and in the historical synthesis in Part 3.

Fig. 1: *Location of Ingram in Northumberland*
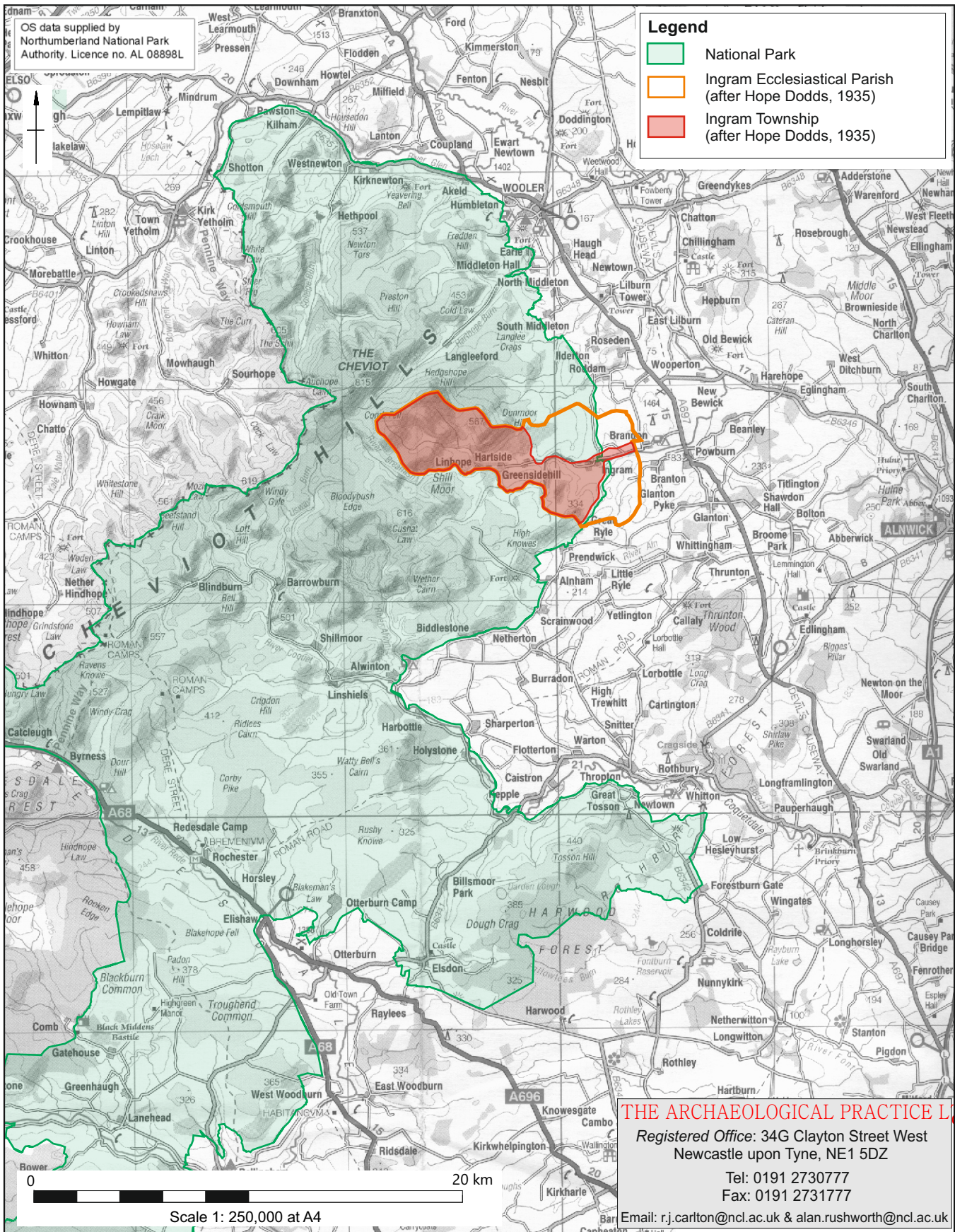
Fig. 2: *Location of Ingram Township and Ecclesiastical Parish, Northumberland National Park*
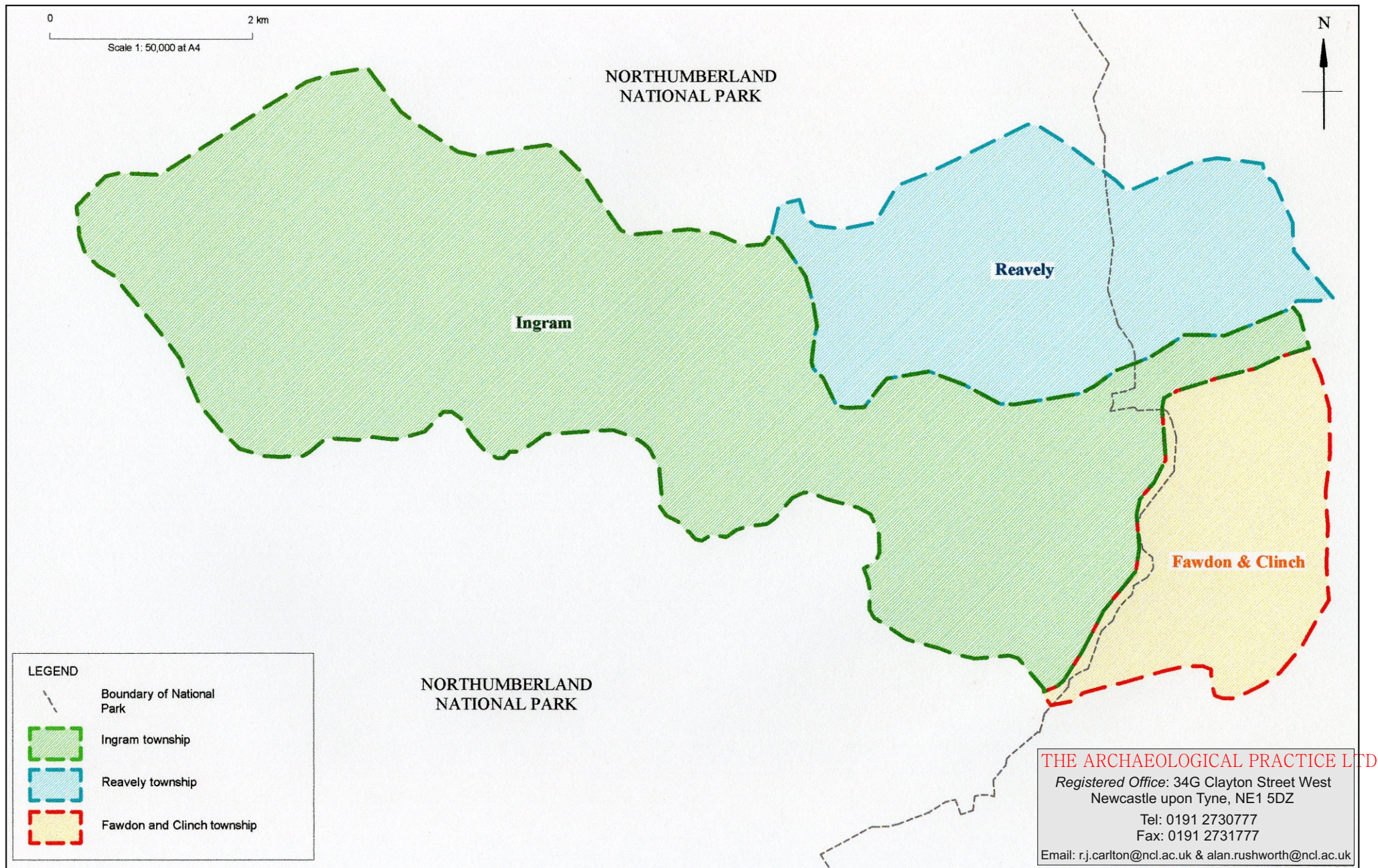
Fig. 3: *Map showing the location of Ingram Township in relation to the surrounding parishes*

Map labels and legend:

- 0 — 2 km
- Scale 1: 50,000 at A4
- N
- NORTHUMBERLAND NATIONAL PARK
- Reavely
- Ingram
- Fawdon & Clinch
- NORTHUMBERLAND NATIONAL PARK

LEGEND
- Boundary of National Park
- Ingram township
- Reavely township
- Fawdon and Clinch township

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Fig. 4: *Cultural Heritage Sites in Ingram Township (Keyed to Table 1 and Appendix 4).*
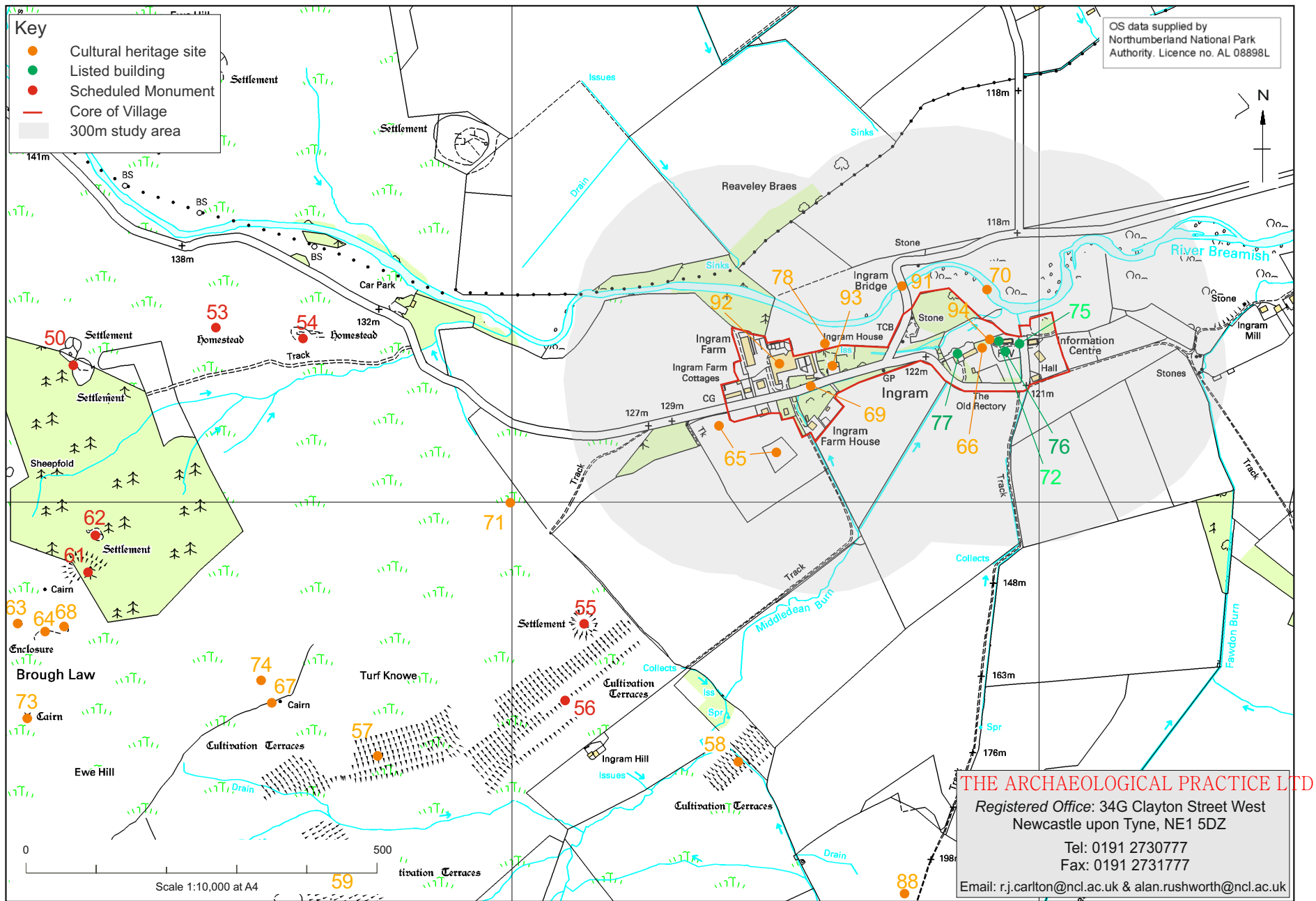
Fig. 5: *Cultural Heritage sites in the vicinity of Ingram Village, showing sites of known cultural heritage value (keyed to Table 1 and Appendix 4).* *[The 300m study area defines the main focus of the present study]*

Reaveley
Braes

River Breamish

Ingram Bridge

Middledean Burn

Ingram Farm

Ingram

St. Michael's Church

The Old Rectory

Ingram Farm House

Fig. 6: *Cultural Heritage Sites in Ingram Village Core (Catalogue numbers keyed to Table 1 & Appendix 4)*

3.   TERRITORIAL UNITS AND SETTLEMENT TYPES

3.1   Parishes and Townships, Baronies and Manors

To understand the history of a particular village settlement, like Ingram, 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, both external and internal and their corresponding religious spheres – religious, economic and administrative, and estate management.

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 tithe and other dues paid by his parishioners' (Winchester 1987, 23).   It was the payment of tithes - established as a legal principle since the reign of King Edgar 959-75 (Platt 1981, 47) - which gave the parish a territorial dimension so that the boundaries of the parish came to embrace all that community's landed resources.   Only the most remote areas of upland waste 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.   Others, such as Ingram or Alnham were not in the same class as Simonburn or Kirknewton, but, in common with almost all the upland parishes, it embraced several of the civil township communities or *vills*, including that centred on Ingram village itself.   In all, six of the seventeen villages studied in this survey were parochial centres in the medieval period, namely Ingram, Elsdon, Holystone, Alwinton, Alnham and Kirknewton.   Others, such as Falstone, Harbottle, Akeld, Kilham 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 mo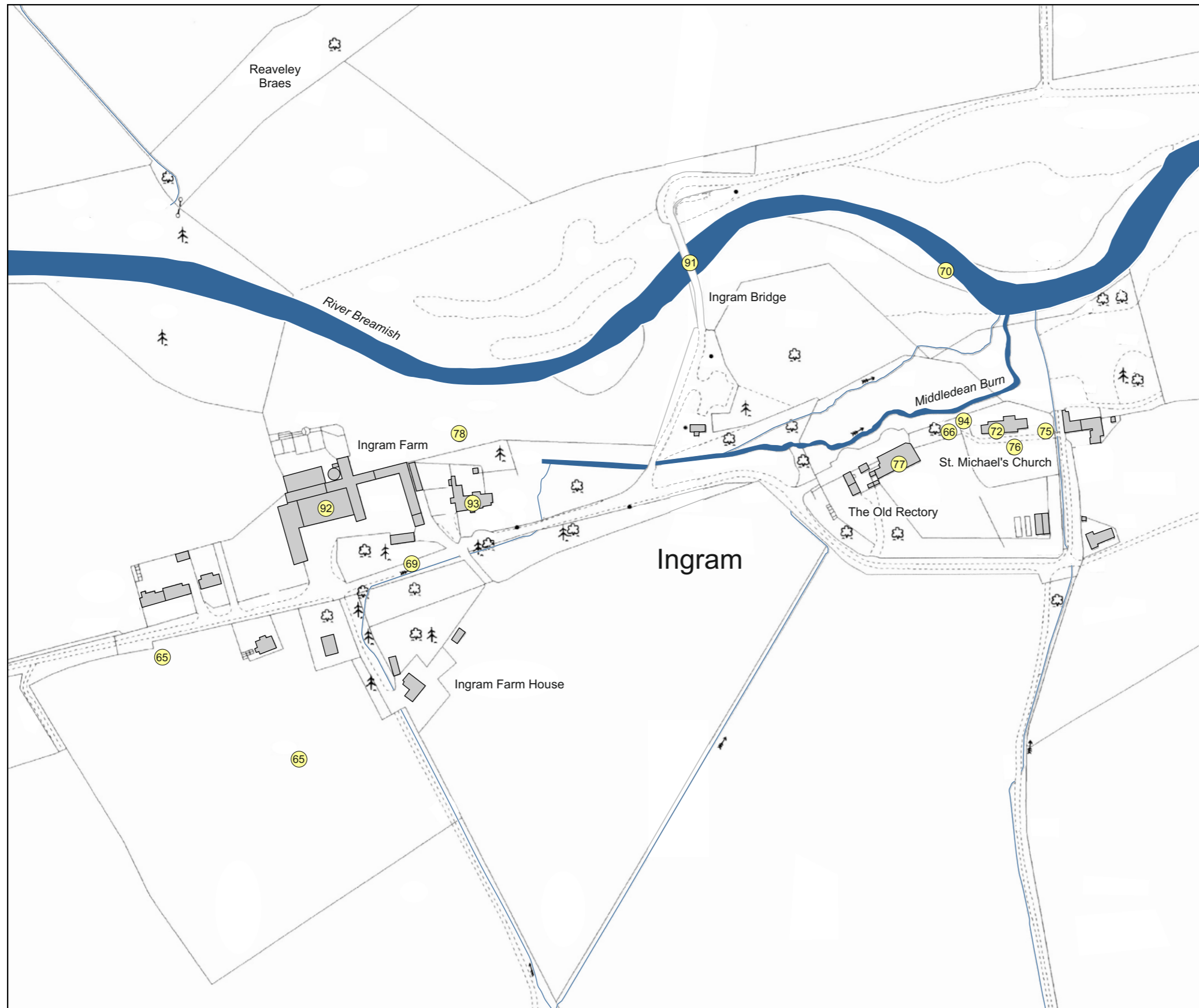nasteries in the 12th and 13th century, since these ecclesiastical corporations strenuously defended their legal and economic rights (Lomas 1996, 111, 116-7; Dixon 1985 I, 64).   Instead the needs of the more distant township communities were catered for by the construction of dependent chapels of ease, 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 vills is provided by the occasional tax returns known as Lay Subsidy Rolls. The assessment units recorded therein essentially correspond to the vills 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).[1] In many areas these administrative vills correspond very closely to the territorial vills and with the later poor law townships (see below). Dixon has shown this to be the largely case in north Northumberland (north of the Coquet), for example (1985 I, 78-9). This was by no means the case everywhere in the border counties, however. In the district of Copeland in West Cumbria, where a predominantly dispersed settlement pattern of scattered 'single farmsteads, small hamlets and looser groupings of farms' prevails, Winchester has demonstrated that the administrative vills had a composite structure, frequently embracing several 'members' or 'hamlets' which correspond to the basic territorial townships (1978, 61-5). In many instances administrative vills were significantly larger than the later poor law townships. These relatively large, composite administrative vills correspond to what were termed *villae integrae* ('entire vills') elsewhere in England. It is possible that a similar pattern of composite administrative vills 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).

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 here 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 these post-medieval poor law township, and hence of the modern civil parish, was a reasonable one since functionally they

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[1] The 1296 roll omits Alnham, as well as Fawdon and Farnham (two of the 'ten towns of Coquetdale'), Caistron, 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 vills 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).

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)[2]. 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 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).[3] Some of these townships may have been based on earlier territorial units, but others have rather artificial names – West Tarset 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

[2] 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.
[3] 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.

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 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 analysis[4]), 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 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.

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[4] 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.

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. 24-28), 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 XIV of the Northumberland County History (NCH XIV (1935)) and from P.J. Dixon's unpublished PhD thesis on medieval settlement in north Northumberland (Dixon 1985). Other published sources include: Inquisitions Post Mortem (IPMs), the Lay Subsidy Roll for 1296 (Fraser 1968) and Bowes and Ellerker's Border survey of 1541 (reproduced in Bates 1891).

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 provided 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.[5]

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 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 individual Historic Atlas 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.

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[5] 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.
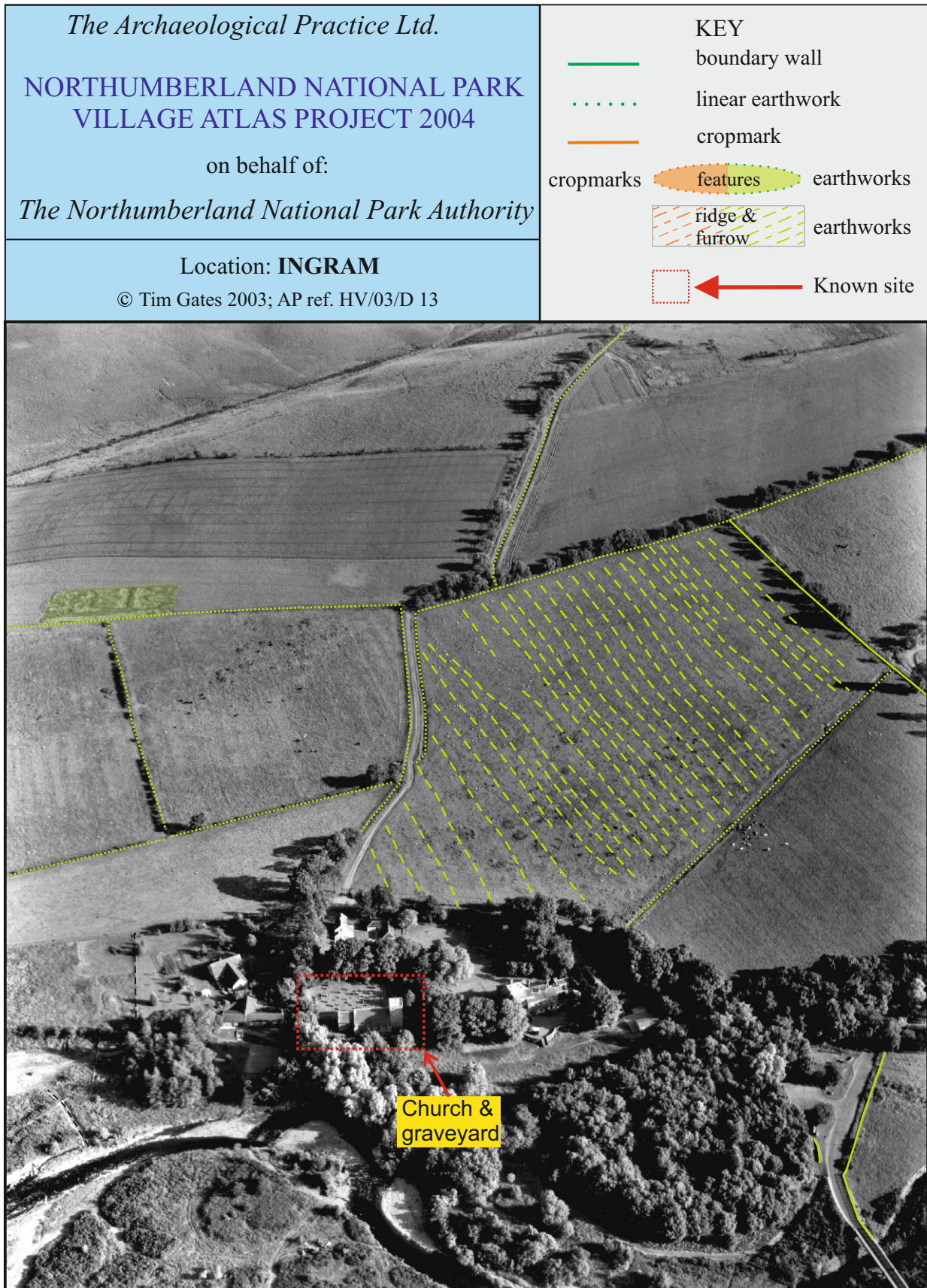
Fig. 7: *Aerial photograph of Ingram marking features of potential interest.*

The medieval church and its associated graveyard occupy a riverside position in the foreground and it is assumed that there would have been medieval settlement in this area, as well, perhaps as in the vicinity of the present Ingram Farm (see Fig. 8). However, little trace of such settlement is visible on this photograph, other than the slight remains of ridge & furrow cultivation features. Most of the visible field boundaries are probably fairly modern in origin.

KEY
— boundary wall
······ linear earthwork
— cropmark
cropmarks   features   earthworks
ridge & furrow   earthworks
Known site
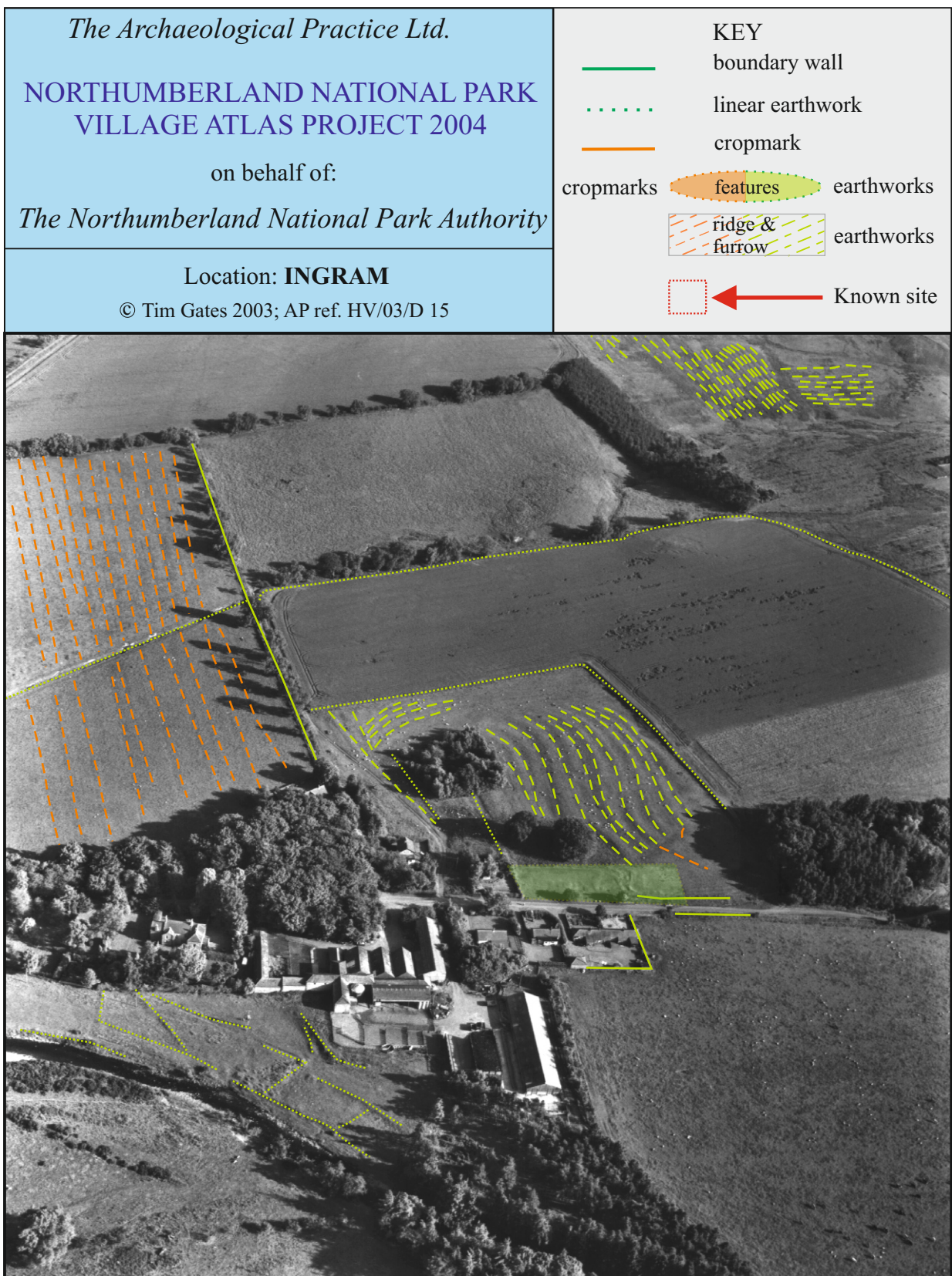
Fig. 8: *Aerial photograph of Ingram Farm marking features of known and potential interest.*

Ingram Farm lies in the foreground, with the assocaited farmhouse immediately to the east. There are a number of earthwork features in the field north-east of the farm, which are best interpreted as former or temporary boundaries and tracks, but may also be flood deposits. More impressive are the ridge and furrow cultivation features immediately south of building remains on the south side of the village road. The width and curved nature of the ridge & furrow earthworks suggests a medieval or early modern origin. There are various other linear earthwork and wall in the wider vicinity of the village south of the road, most of which appear to be field boundaries of relatively modern origin.

The Archaeological Practice Ltd. NORTHUMBERLAND NATIONAL PARK VILLAGE ATLAS PROJECT 2004 on behalf of: *The Northumberland National Park Authority* Location: **INGRAM** © Tim Gates 2003; AP ref. HV/03/D 16	KEY The red dotted line indicates approximately the extent of the area considered to display moderate or high archaeological potential (see Figure 53)
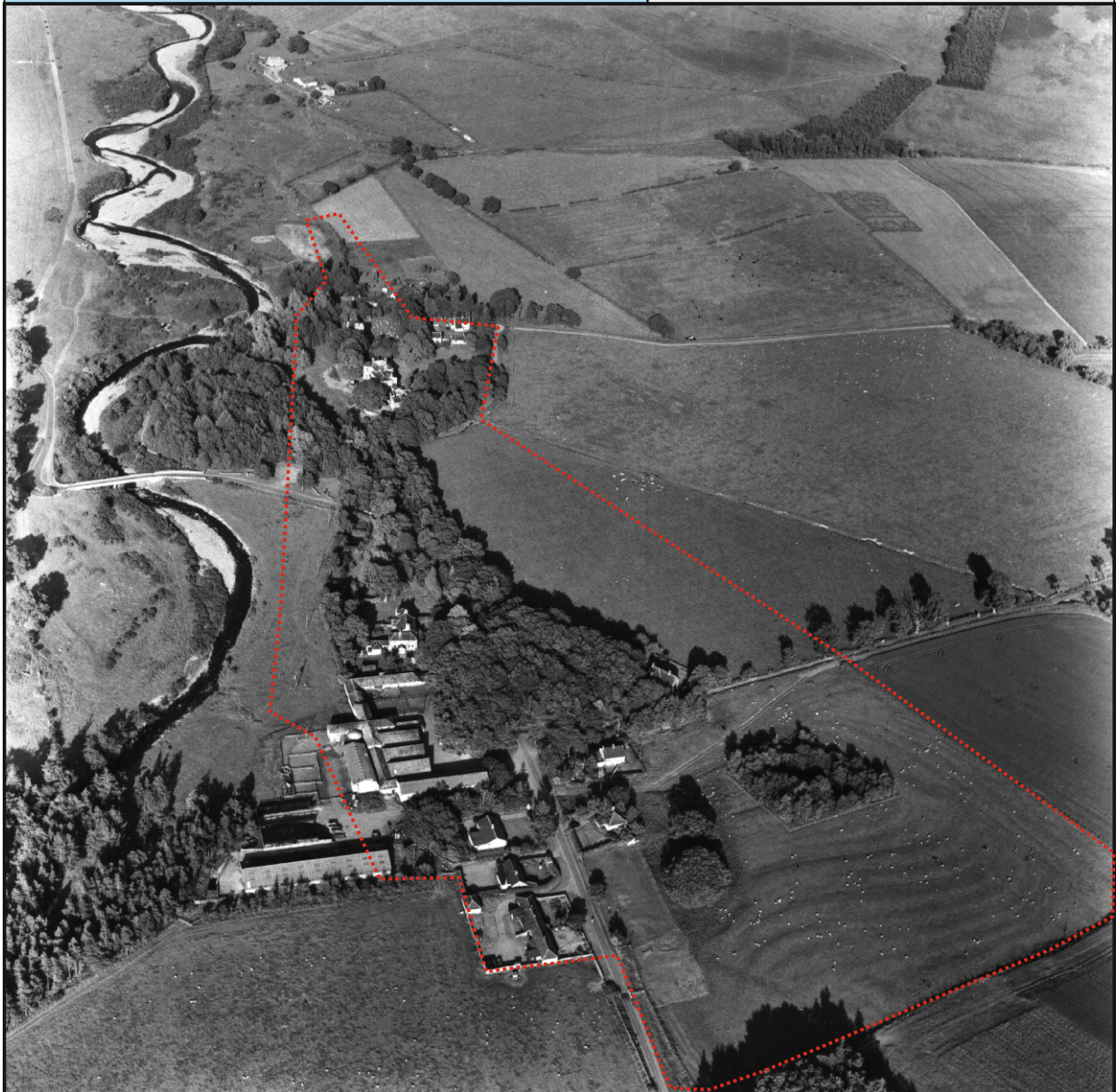
Fig. 9: *Aerial view of Ingram from the west*

The church provides an obvious fixed point in the above view - the tower mentioned in documentary sources (notably in 1509) almost certainly lay close to it, probably in the grounds of the Old Rectory. The medieval and later mill site probably lay down-stream of the church & tower at the site still known as Ingram mill. The main part of the medieval village probably lay to the west of the church, although some settlement in the direction of the mill cannot be discounted. The present agglomeration of settlement is mirrored in early maps of the area. The prominent earthworks on the south side of the road, next to the ridge & furrow and south-west of the farm indicate some recent shrinkage of the settled area .

Fig. 10: *Ingram on Mercators Map of 1595*
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 250))

Fig. 11: *Ingram on Speed's Map of 1610*
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 242))

Fig. 12: *Ingram shown on Jansson's Map of 1646*
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 242))

Fig. 13: *Ingram shown on Morden's Map of 1695*
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 252))

Fig. 14: *Extract from Warburton's Map of Northumberland, 1716*

Fig. 15: *Ingram shown on Kitchin's Map of 1749
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 247))*

Fig. 16: *Ingram shown on Horsley and Cay's Map of 1753
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 249))*

Fig. 17: *Ingram shown on Armstrong's Map of 1769*

Fig. 18: *Ingram shown on Cary's Map of 1789*
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 254))

Fig. 19: *Plan of the Estate and Lordship of Ingram,1820 (IGM_M&D 019)*
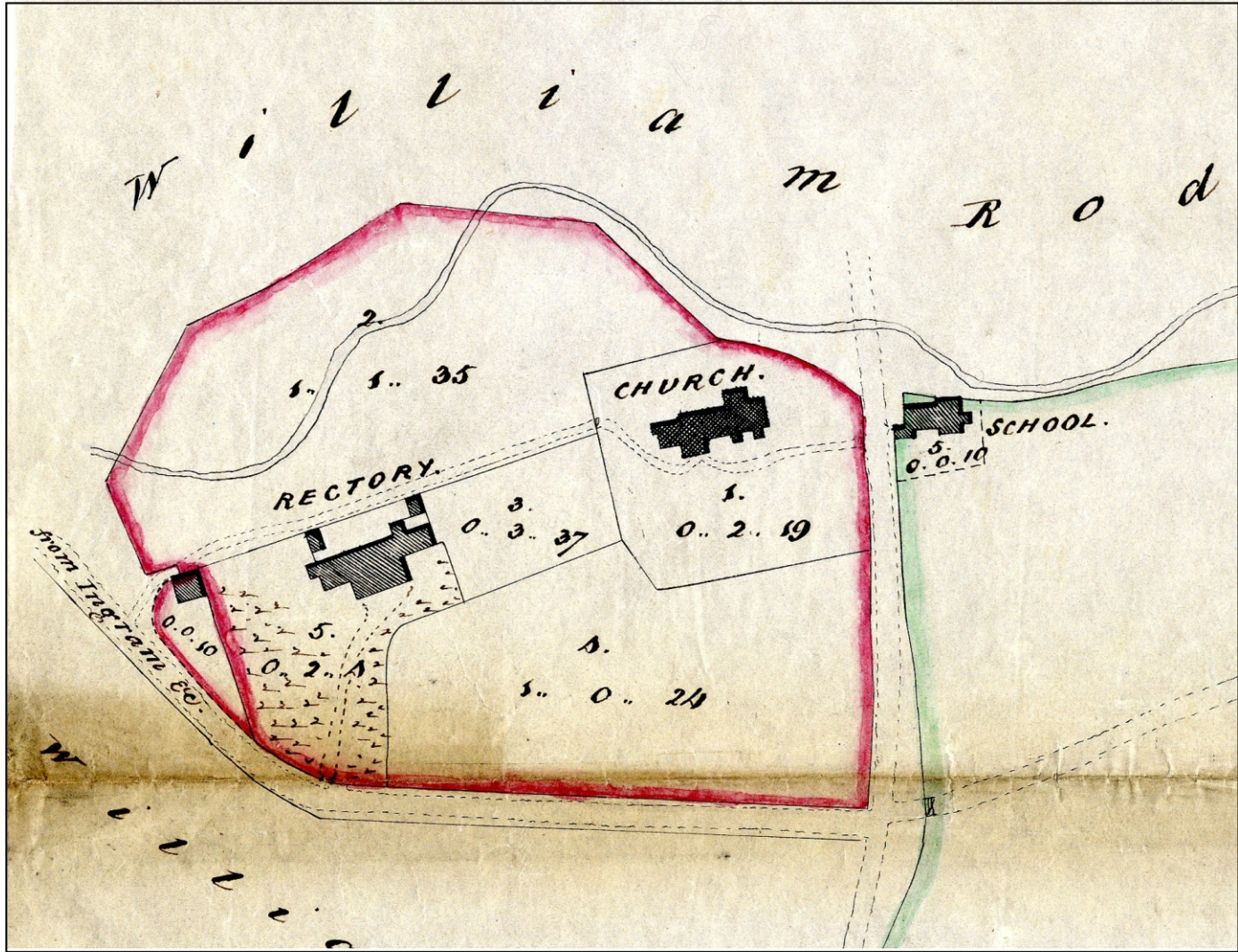
Fig. 20: *Plan showing the Glebe land at Ingram,1841 (IGM_M&D 020)*
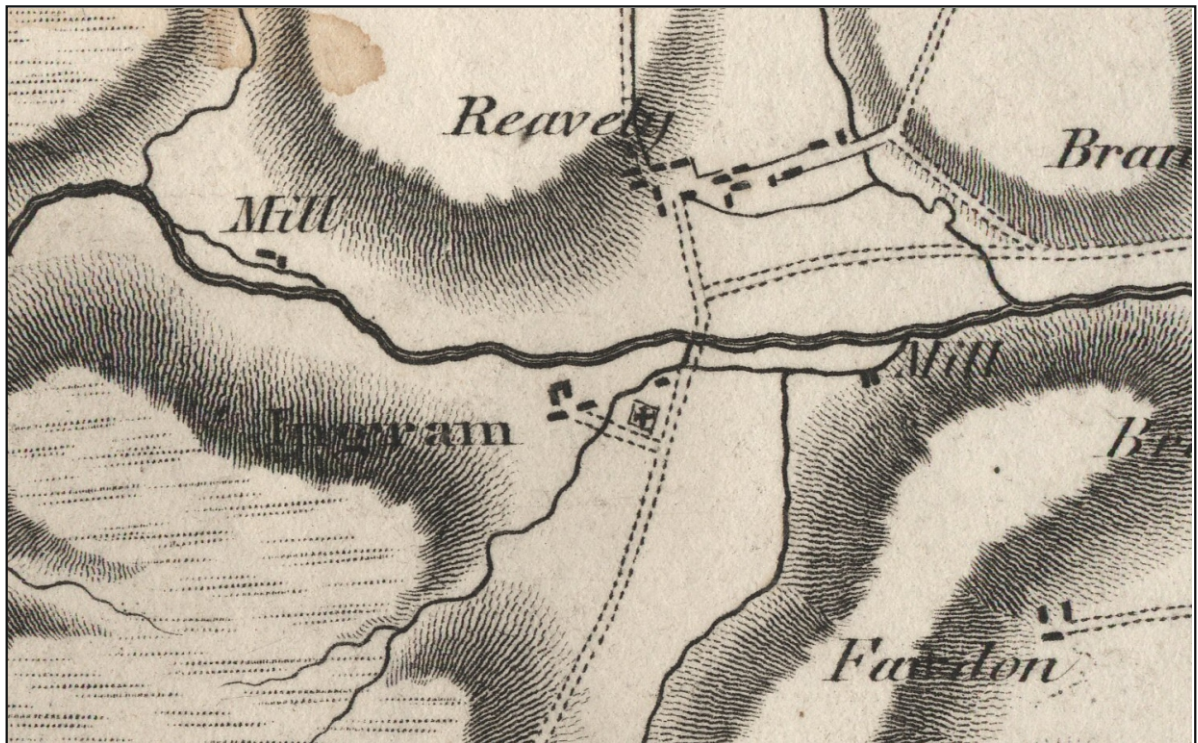
Fig. 21: Ingram shown on Fryer's Map of 1820
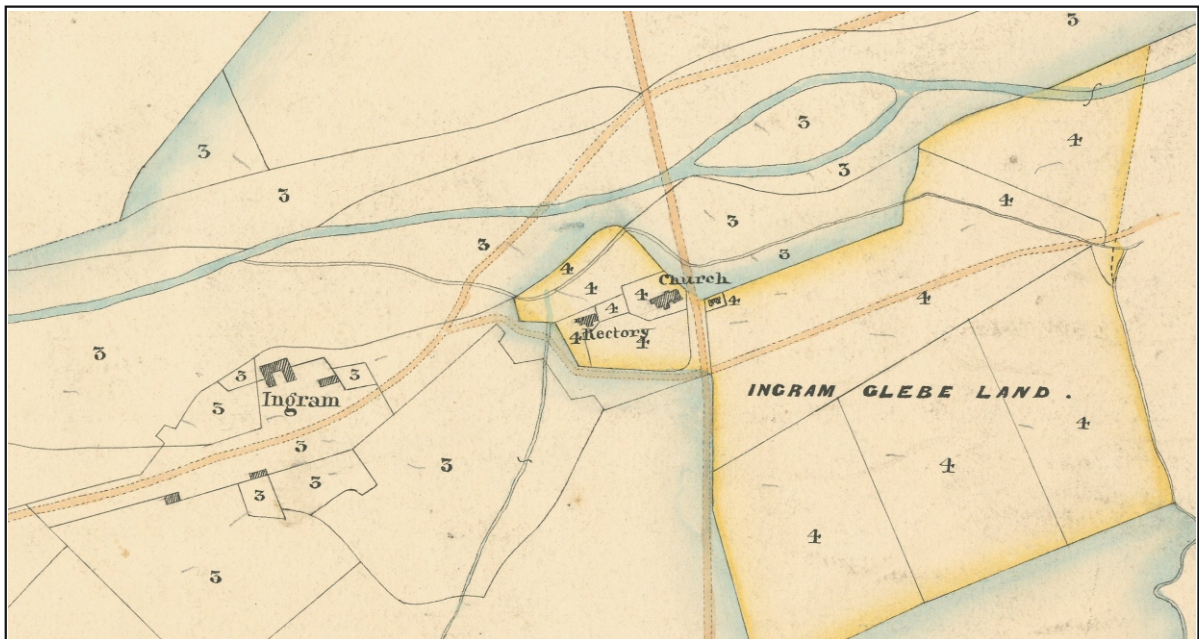
Fig. 22: Tithe Plan of Ingram, September 30th 1843 (IGM_M&D 004)

C.C.—London : Printed and Published (By Authority,) by Shaw and Sons, 137 & 138, Fetter-lane.

LANDOWNERS.	OCCUPIERS.	Numbers referring to the Plan.	NAME AND DESCRIPTION OF LANDS AND PREMISES.	STATE OF CULTIVATION.	QUANTITIES IN STATUTE MEASURE.			Amount of Rent-Charge apportioned upon the several Lands, and Payable to the Rector of Ingram			REMARKS.
					A.	R.	P.	£	s.	d	
Atkinson Christopher Esquire	Himself	1	Linhope Farm		3132	.	28	16	3	.	
Roddam William Esquire	Robert Donkin	3	Ingram Farm		2239	3	.	88	18	10	
Weallans John William Esquire	Christopher Weallans	2	Greenshaw Hill Farm		1468	3	22	38	12	11	
Revᵈ James Allgood (Glebe)	Andrew Waugh	4	Ingram Mill and Land		41	2	19	4	.	.	
					1882	1	29	147	14	9	East Hills

Signed Edwᵈ Grace

Fig. 23: Tithe Award regarding Ingram, September 30th 1843 (IGM_M&D 0006)

Fig. 24: *First Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Ingram,1860 (6") (IGM_M&D 009)*
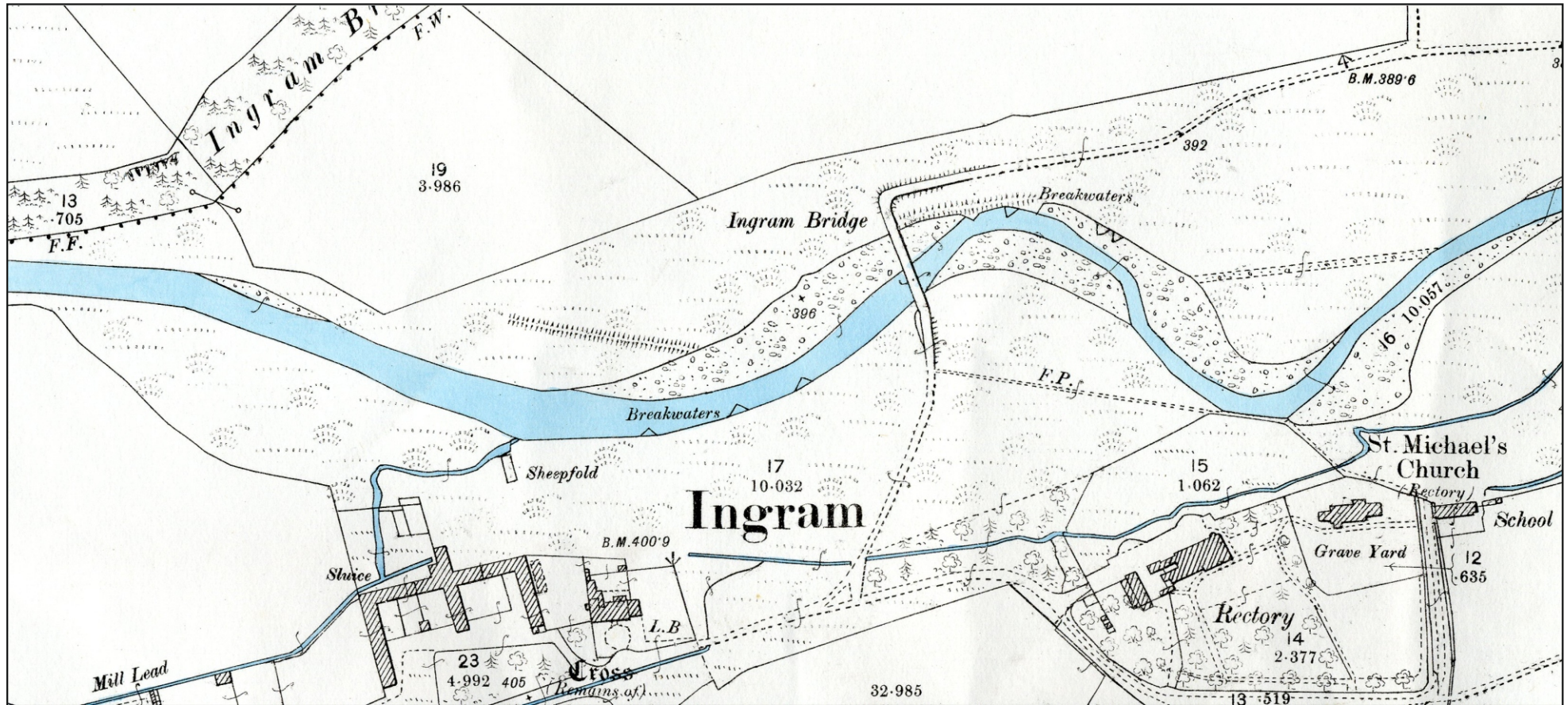
Fig. 25: *Second Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Ingram,1897 (25") (IGM_M&D 010)*
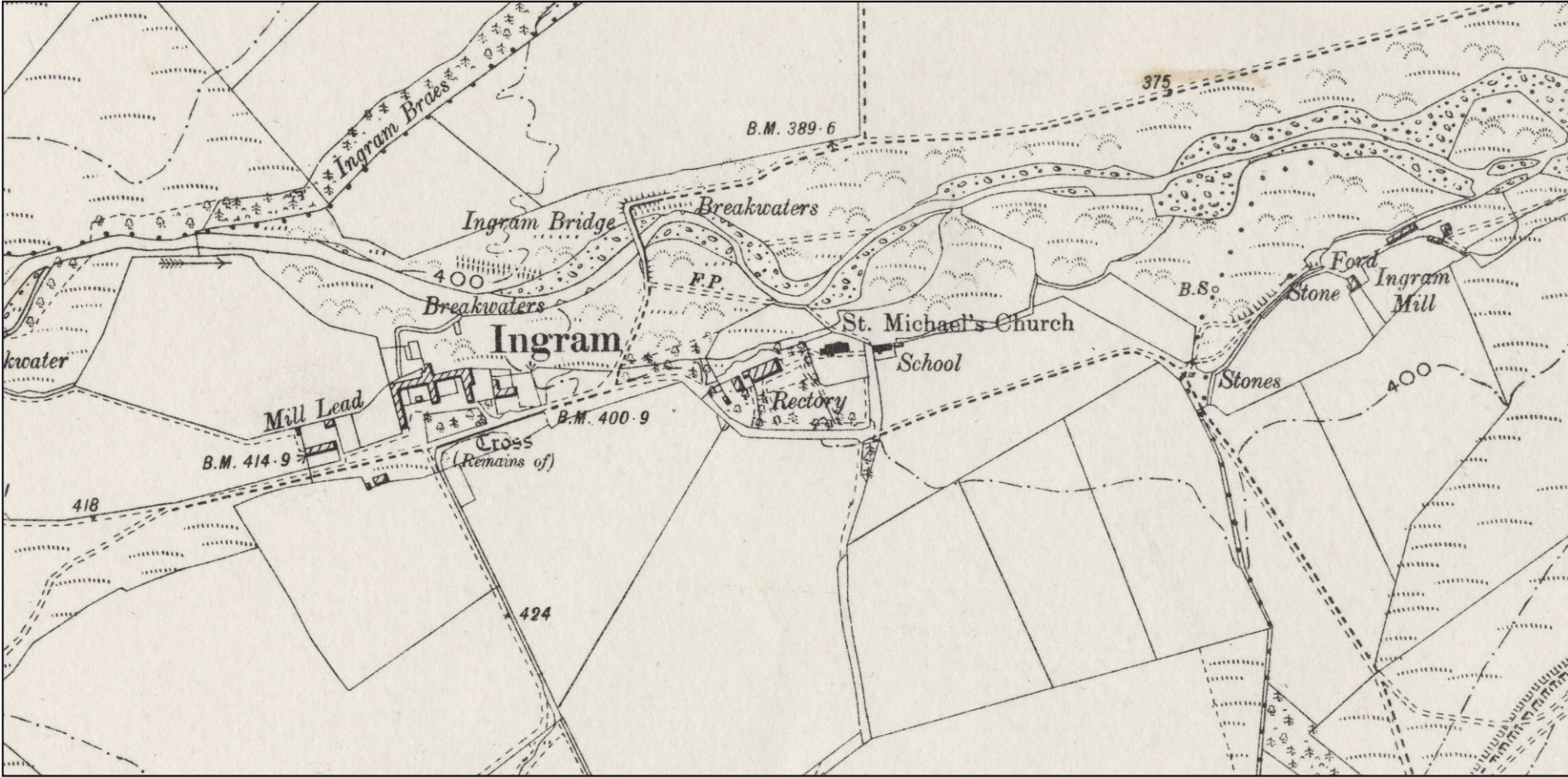
Fig. 26: *Second Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Ingram,1897 (6") (IGM_M&D 016)*
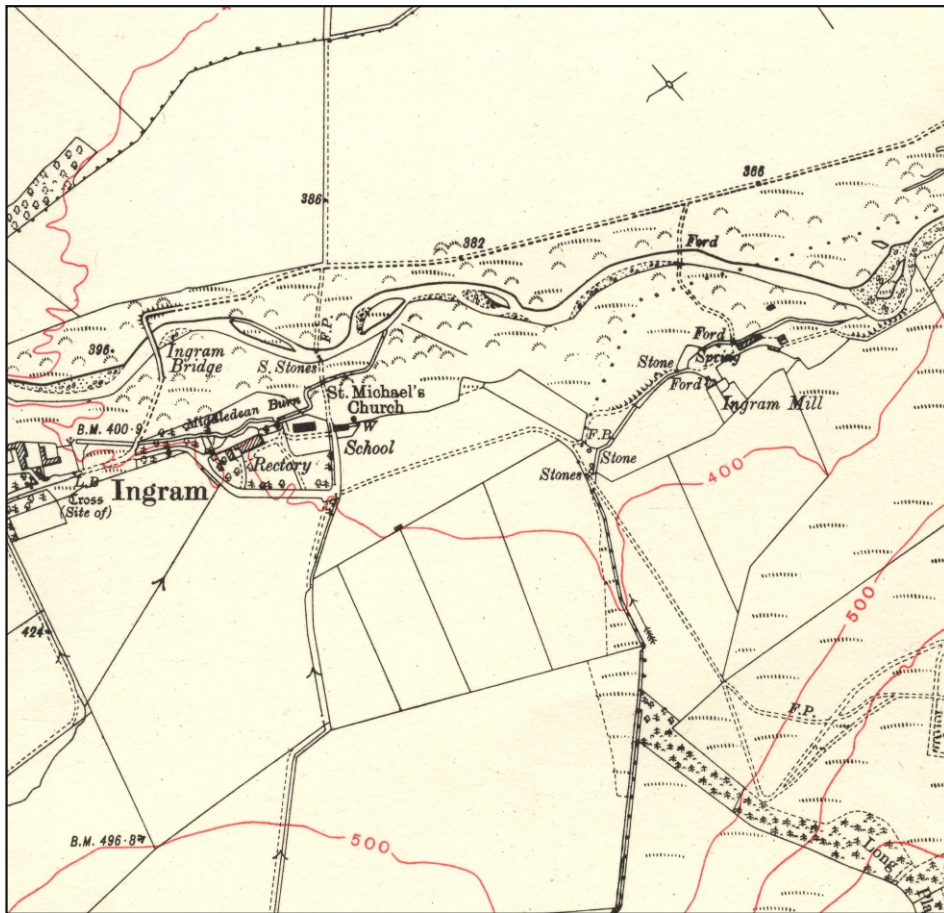
Fig. 27: *Third Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Ingram,1920 (6")*
(IGM_M&D 012)
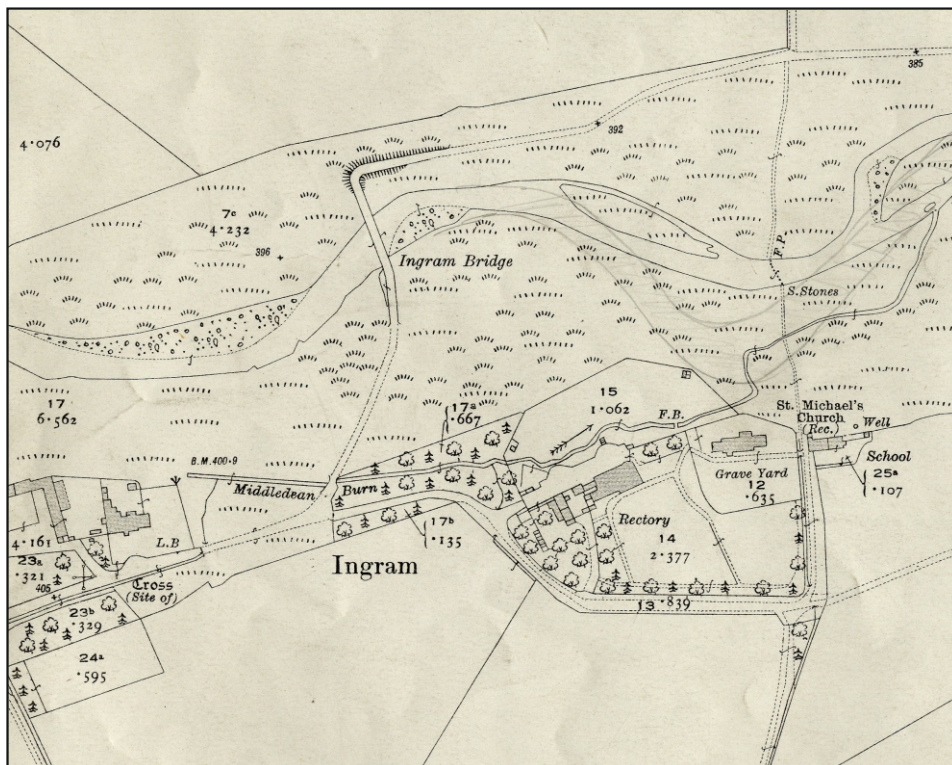
Fig. 28: *Third Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Ingram,1920 (25")*
(IGM_M&D 015)

INGRAM PARISH

Comprises an irregular, mountainous, picturesque, and thinly peopled district, which is intersected by the impetuous Breamish, and is bounded by the parishes of Ilderton, Eglingham, Whittingham, and Alnham. It contains three townships, of which the following forms the enumeration, with the returns of the number of inhabitants in 1801, 1811, and 1821, and the estimated annual value of the lands, messuages, and buildings in 1809:—

INGRAM Parish.	POPULATION.					Annual value. £
	1801. Persons.	1811. Persons.	1821. Houses.	Families.	Persons.	
Fawdon, Clinch & Hartside Tp.	50	68	15	15	80	1020
Ingram, Linop and Greenside Hill ....Twp.	66	61	11	11	74	2033
Reaveley ....Twp.	55	51	11	11	74	1010
Total........	171	180	37	37	228	4063

INGRAM is a very small village, situated on the south side of the river Breamish, 9 miles S. by E. of Wooler, and 11 miles W. by N. of Alnwick. The *Church* is dedicated to St. Michael; the living, which is a rectory, valued in the king's books at £24 16s. 8d. is in the patronage of Prideaux John Selby, Esq. and incumbency of the Rev. Matson Dodd. The Ingram estate belongs to John Collingwood Tarleton, Esq.

CLINCH, 1½ mile SE. of Ingram, is a hilly district, with only one house, and forms a joint township with Fawdon and Hartside.

FAWDON, a hamlet and joint township with Clinch and Hartside, 1 mile ESE. of Ingram. The Fawdon and Clinch estates are the property of the Duke of Northumberland.

GREENSIDE-HILL, 1¾ mile W. of Ingram, with which it is a joint township, contains only one house, on the north side of the Breamish.

INGRAM PARISH DIRECTORY.

Armstrong John, corn miller, *Ingram*
Donkin Robert, farmer, *Ingram*
Dodd Rev. Matson, rector, *Ingram*

Storey Ann, farmer, *Fawdon*
Thompson George, farmer, *Reaveley*

Fig. 29: *Sections from the Parson and While Trade Directory relating to Ingram, 1827 (IGM_M&D 017-018)*

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Oct 7th	A very wet day indeed - only 8 children able to get to school
Oct 11th	Taught new song - "Going to school."
Oct 11th	Small average this week 14.7
Oct 15th	Rev. Canon Ilderton visited school and gave a scripture lesson.
Oct 15th	Missionary meeting held in school-room & lecture on "Japan & the Japanese" by Rev. Dolphin, Rural Dean of Newark.
Oct 15th	Admitted John & Mary Balmbra (Infants)
Oct 18th	Usual routine in work of school
Oct 21st	Admitted Elizabeth Douglas (Infant) Opened school with 15 only present Sent in the names of Alice Duncan & John Hannah, & Adam Sisterson to Attendance officer for the second time since the holidays.
Oct 25th	Attendance officer visited school.
Oct 28th	Opened school with 22 present
Oct 29th	Taught Addition & subtraction of Fractions to Standard V.
Nov 1st	Usual work during the week. This was a very stormy day & only 10 children were present.

Fig. 30: *Page 177 from the Ingram School Logbook (IGM_M&D 001)*

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Feb 24th Sixteen present. Thirty five on Register.
Feb 25th Twenty five present.
Examined all the classes in their work.
Standard III did especially well in all subjects considering the time some of them have been absent.
Standard V were the weakest. Two of the 3 children in the standard are very dull.
Standard I did well.
Feb 28th Owing to stormy weather only 12 present.
Average for the week 19.5.
March 4th Isabella & Thomas Armstrong returned to school to day after their illness.
Several hill children absent owing to depth of snow.
Population 1890

Ingram	Reaveley	Fawdon	Brandon
61	48	36	34

Total 179

Fig. 31: *Page 183 from the Ingram School Logbook (IGM_M&D 002)*

236 1893

May 5th — Jane, Eliz.th & Hannah Oliver and Dorothy Short left school to day owing to their parents leaving the neighbourhood

May 16th — Opened school to day with 26 present. Admitted Jane, Mary Ann, & Margaret Sinclair Maggie, Joan, and John Young & Thomasina Lumsden —. Mark "Good" awarded for Drawing.

Report of H. M. Inspector on Ingram School 1893. "The children passed a fair examination in the elementary subjects. The Reading was inaccurate in the first standard, monotonous below the sixth standard, and not sufficiently understood in the third and fourth standards. Spelling, Composition and Handwriting were very fair The written arithmetic above the second standard and the mental arithmetic generally were very weak. Singing and order were

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very fair. Grammar was fair on the whole and the infants were fairly taught Needlework Fair"

H. M. Inspector reports that there are no urinals and that the closets are dark and not provided with separate approaches. I am to remind you that the provision of suitable offices is one of the conditions of Annual Grants (Article 85 (a) of the Code). My Lords trust that the defects will be remedied at an early date. Special attention is requested to the enclosed Form 6.9.

Thomas Marston June 1st 1893.

May 19th — An average attendance of 25.

" 22nd — Admitted Margaret Nichol & Dorothy Douglas. They know their letters & can count a little & are over seven yrs of age. Thirty five present.

May 22nd — Maggie Fraser & Sarah Nesbit have left school — were examined in St. VI & VII respectively.

May 24th — Attendance Officer visited school

Fig. 32: *Section from the Ingram School Log book, pages 236-7 (IGM_M&D 003)*
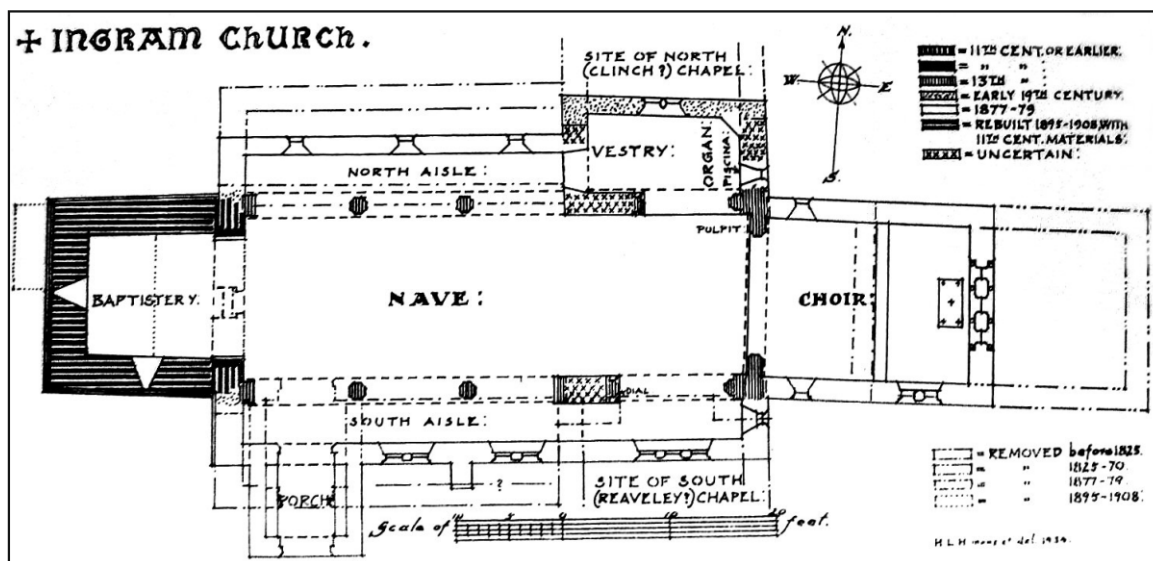
Fig. 33: Plan of Ingram church, from the Northumberland County History, 1940 (Igm_M&D 022)

Fig. 34: Ingram church interior, 1950 (Igm_HP 003)

The Church and School, Ingram.
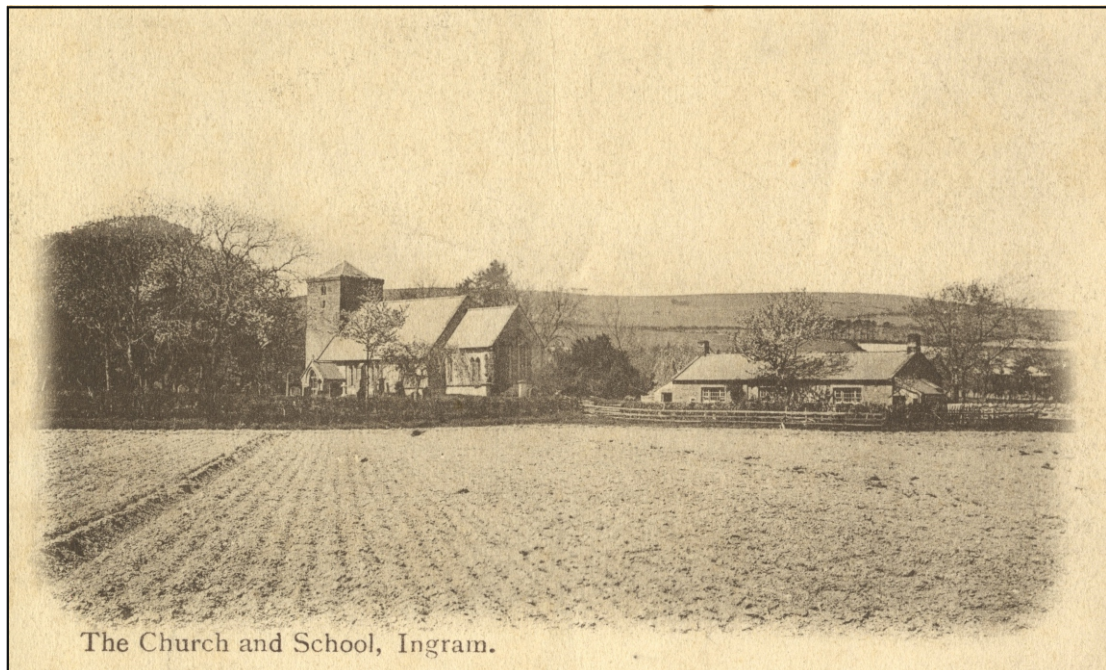
Fig. 35: *St Michael's Church and School, Ingram, early 20th Century
(IGM_HP 001)*

Ingram Church.

Fig. 36: *Photograph of St. Michael's Church, Ingram, early 20th Century
(IGM_HP 002)*

Fig. 37: *St Michael's Church, Ingram (Igm_MP 001)*

Fig. 38: *Lychgate/war memorial, Ingram (Igm_MP 021)*
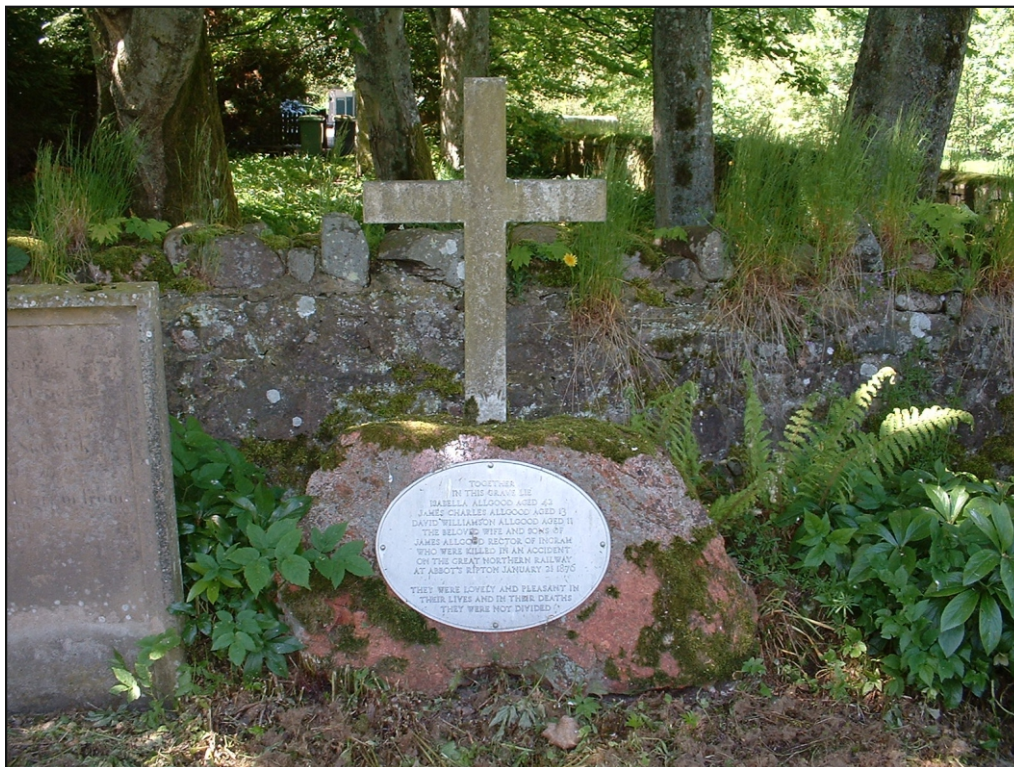
Fig. 39: *Allgood family train disaster memorial, St Michael's Church, Ingram (Igm_MP 015)*

Fig. 40: *The Old Rectory, Ingram (Igm_MP 030)*

Fig. 41: *Ingram Farm Cottages, Ingram (Igm_MP 037)*

Fig. 42: *Earthworks in the area of the medieval site of Ingram (Igm_MP 038)*

Fig. 43: Farmbuildings at Ingram Farm, with earthworks (mounds near telegraph poles) from Ingram Mill in foreground (Igm_MP 048)

Fig. 44: River Breamish at Ingram with Ingram Farm in the centre (Igm_MP 050)

Fig. 45: Water channel (possible mill leet) on Ingram main street (Igm_MP 043)

Fig. 46: Ridge and furrow to the east of Ingram (Igm_MP 060)

Fig. 47: *Interior of St Michael's Church (Igm_MP 002)*

Fig. 48: *Lower part of a medieval tomb effigy, probably of a churchman, re-used in the north wall of St Michael's Church, Ingram (Igm_MP 004)*

Fig. 49: *View of Ingram farm buildings, including date stone on stone-built barn (Igm_MP 062)*

Fig. 50: *Ingram Farm, lambing shed (Igm_MP 075)*

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 51 and 52, whilst the village core sites are marked on the archaeological sensitivity plan in Part 4 (fig. 53). For further ease of identifiability the site catalogue numbers are placed between square brackets when cited in the report text. Thus catalogue number 16, Brough Law hillfort, would normally appear as [16], 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	1252	IRON AGE	Axe, iron implement and whetstone	NT 392000 618000	
2	1254	ROMAN	Greaves Ash Camp	NT 396600 616600	SAM
3	1254	ROMAN	Greaves Ash Camp	NT 396600 616600	SAM
4	1257	POST MEDIEVAL	Hartside	NT 397500 616200	
5	1258	UNKNOWN	Hollow way	NT 396000 616400	SAM
6	1259	ROMAN	Unenclosed settlement, two prehistoric settlements and enclosure, field system and cairnfield on Ritto Hill north west of Linhope	NT 395890 616590	SAM
7	1264	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn	NT 398900 615800	SAM
8	1266	MEDIEVAL	Medieval farmstead and field system	NT 396770 616430	
9	1269	MEDIEVAL	Hartside deserted medieval village S of Hare Law	NT 398600 617600	SAM
10	1269	MEDIEVAL	Hartside deserted medieval village S of Hare Law	NT 398600 617600	SAM
11	1270	UNKNOWN	Field clearance cairns	NT 399880 615600	
12	1271	POST MEDIEVAL	Field clearance cairns	NT 397700 617500	
13	1274	ROMAN	Romano-British homestead	NT 397760 615300	
14	1280	ROMAN	Hartside Hill Romano-British enclosed settlement	NT 398010 615650	
15	1281	ROMAN	Ancient settlement on Hartside Hill	NT 398730 615770	SAM
16	1282	IRON AGE	Brough Law multivallate hillfort	NT 399850 616350	SAM
17	1285	ROMAN	Ancient settlements on Hartside Hill	NT 397990 615750	
18	1286	UNKNOWN	Four mounds, probably natural	NT 397740616900	
19	1287	ROMAN	Ancient Settlements on Hartside Hill	NT 397600 615640	SAM
20	1288	ROMAN	Ancient Settlements on Hartside Hill	NT 398330 615730	SAM
21	1289	ROMAN	Romano-British settlement on Hartside Hill	NT 397830 615480	
22	1290	ROMAN	Ancient Settlements on Hartside Hill	NT 398020 615550	SAM
23	1291	POST MEDIEVAL	Ancient settlements on Hartside Hill	NT 398830 615850	SAM
24	1293	BRONZE AGE	Hunt Law round barrow and two round barrows 1000ft (300m) to north of it	NT 398590 616530	SAM
25	1294	BRONZE AGE	Hunt Law round barrow and two round barrows 1000ft (300m) to north of it	NT 398580 616920	SAM
26	1294	BRONZE AGE	Hunt Law round barrow and two round barrows 1000ft (300m) to north of it	NT 398580 616920	SAM
27	1296	MEDIEVAL	Medieval silver cross	NT 397290 616130	
28	1297	MEDIEVAL	Field clearance cairns	NT 398400 617100	
29	1298	MEDIEVAL	Field clearance cairns	NT 398520 616650	
30	1299	MEDIEVAL	Hunt Law medieval farmstead and field system	NT 398570 616520	
31	1300	ROMAN	Romano-British homestead	NT 397870 615340	
32	1301	ROMAN	Romano-British homestead and field system	NT 396540 616260	
33	1302	BRONZE AGE	Unenclosed hut circle settlement, field system, cairnfield and cord rig cultivation north west of Linhope Spout	NT 395780 617280	SAM

34	1303	UNKNOWN	Rectangular enclosure	NT 377000 616400	SAM
35	1304	MEDIEVAL	Linhope	NT 396300 616300	SAM
36	1305	BRONZE AGE	Unenclosed hut circle settlement, associated field system and cairnfield on Standrop Rigg, 820m north west of Linhope Spout	NT 395070 617400	SAM, SSSI
37	1306	BRONZE AGE	Cat Crag settlement of unenclosed round houses	NT 397200 617100	SAM
38	1309	POST MEDIEVAL	Bomb crater	NT 395160 618220	
39	1310	LATER PREHISTORIC	Field clearance cairns	NT 396600 616950	
40	1311	UNKNOWN	Hartside Hill, ridge and furrow	NT 399000 616000	
41	1313	LATER PREHISTORIC	Flint flake	NT 396200 616400	
42	1314	IRON AGE	Hartside Hill	NT 397800 615600	
43	1315	IRON AGE	Hartside Hill	NT 398100 615300	
44	1316	POST MEDIEVAL	Sheepfold 3/4 mile north of Greensidehill	NT 398600 617610	Grade II
45	1317	POST MEDIEVAL	Sheepfold 200 yards north of Greensidehill	NT 398220 616640	Grade II
46	1318	POST MEDIEVAL	Sheepfold 1/2 mile north of Hartside	NT 397720 616850	Grade II
47	1334	UNKNOWN	Field clearance cairns	NT 399600 614750	
48	1367	BRONZE AGE	Chesters Burn unenclosed round house platform, field plots and clearance cairns	NT 399800 614900	
49	1377	LATER PREHISTORIC	Chesters Burn, unenclosed settlement and field system	NT 399680 614880	
50	3072	ROMAN	Enclosure on Brough Law	NU 400170 616260	SAM
51	3073	ROMAN	Haystack Hill settlement	NU 400600 615230	SAM
52	3074	ROMAN	Haystack Hill settlement	NU 400580 615050	SAM
53	3075	ROMAN	Enclosures on Brough Law	NU 400440 616330	SAM
54	3075	ROMAN	Enclosures on Brough Law	NU 400440 616330	SAM
55	3078	ROMAN	Ingram Hill Camp and Lynchets	NU 401140 615770	SAM
56	3079	UNKNOWN	Ingram Hill lynchets	NU 401100 615620	SAM
57	3080	POST MEDIEVAL	Ewe Hill cultivation terraces	NU 400750 615520	
58	3081	MEDIEVAL	Cultivation terraces	NU 401430 615510	
59	3082	POST MEDIEVAL	Cultivation terraces	NU 400680 615250	
60	3086	BRONZE AGE	Site of Cairn	NU 400010 615040	
61	3087	MEDIEVAL	Ewe Hill settlement	NU 400210 615940	SAM
62	3087	MEDIEVAL	Ewe Hill settlement	NU 400210 615940	SAM
63	3088	MEDIEVAL	South Brough Law, enclosures	NU 400120 615750	
64	3088	MEDIEVAL	South Brough Law, enclosures	NU 400120 615750	
65	3090	MEDIEVAL	Site of possible Medieval settlement including earthworks	NU 401500 616100	
66	3090	MEDIEVAL	Ingram	NU 401500 616100	
67	3091	BRONZE AGE	Turf Knowe cairn	NU 400550 615620	
68	3092	MEDIEVAL	cairn or mound	NU 400150 615760	
69	3096	MEDIEVAL	Market cross, Ingram	NU 401570 616220	
70	3099	POST MEDIEVAL	Site of Ingram Tower	NU 401900 616400	
71	3103	BRONZE AGE	Pottery, Ingram	NU 401000 616000	
72	3106	MEDIEVAL/ POST MEDIEVAL	Church of St Michael	NU 401930 616300	Grade II*
73	3107	BRONZE AGE	Cairn	NU 400080 615590	
74	3112	BRONZE AGE	Turf Knowe, settlement of unenclosed round houses	NU 400530 615660	
75	3128	MODERN	Lychgate 20 yards east of Church of St Michael	NU 401960 616300	Grade II
76	3129	POST MEDIEVAL	Monument to John Barteram (?) c.2 yards south of Church of St Michael	NU 401940 616290	Grade II
77	3130	POST MEDIEVAL	The Vicarage	NU 401870 616280	Grade II
78	3135	UNKNOWN	Ingram watermill	NU 401600 616300	
79	3190	IRON AGE	Middle Dean camp	NU 400420 614630	SAM
80	3191	IRON AGE	Wether Hill camp	NU 401300 614430	SAM
81	3192	UNKNOWN	Cultivation terraces	NU 400800 614990	SAM

82	3196	IRON AGE	Cochrane Pike camp	NU 400770 613880	SAM
83	3213	IRON AGE	Cochrane Pike, unenclosed settlement	NU 401170 614000	
84	3216	IRON AGE	Corbie Cleugh Camp - cord rig	NU 401300 614500	
85	3225	IRON AGE	Cross ridge dyke south west of Wether Hill hillfort	NU 401200 614400	
86	3226	BRONZE AGE	Timber built site north east of Wether Hill hillfort	NU 401540 614650	
87	3227	BRONZE AGE	Round cairn north east of Wether Hill hillfort	NU 401500 614600	
88	3138	LATER PREHISTORIC	Two enclosures at Fawdon Dean	NU 401750 615250	
89	12607	LATER PREHISTORIC	Field system, cairnfield and prehistoric settlement on Ritto Hill	NT 396140 616230	SAM
90	12608	ROMAN	Later prehistoric/Romano-British settlement	NT 396120 616130	SAM
91		POST MEDIEVAL	Ingram Bridge	NT 399660 616660	
92		POST MEDIEVAL	Ingram Farm House and farmbuildings	NT 401560 616240	
93		POST MEDIEVAL	Ingram Cottage	NT 401560 616240	
94		POST MEDIEVAL	Site of memorial to the family of the Rector of Ingram who were killed in a railway accident in 1876 (to W of church)	NU 401930 616300	

KEY

National park

Cultural heritage site

Boundary of Ingram Township

OS data supplied by Northumberland National Park Authority Licence No. AL 08898L

NORTHUMBERLAND NATIONAL PARK

NORTHUMBERLAND NATIONAL PARK

0   5
Kilometres
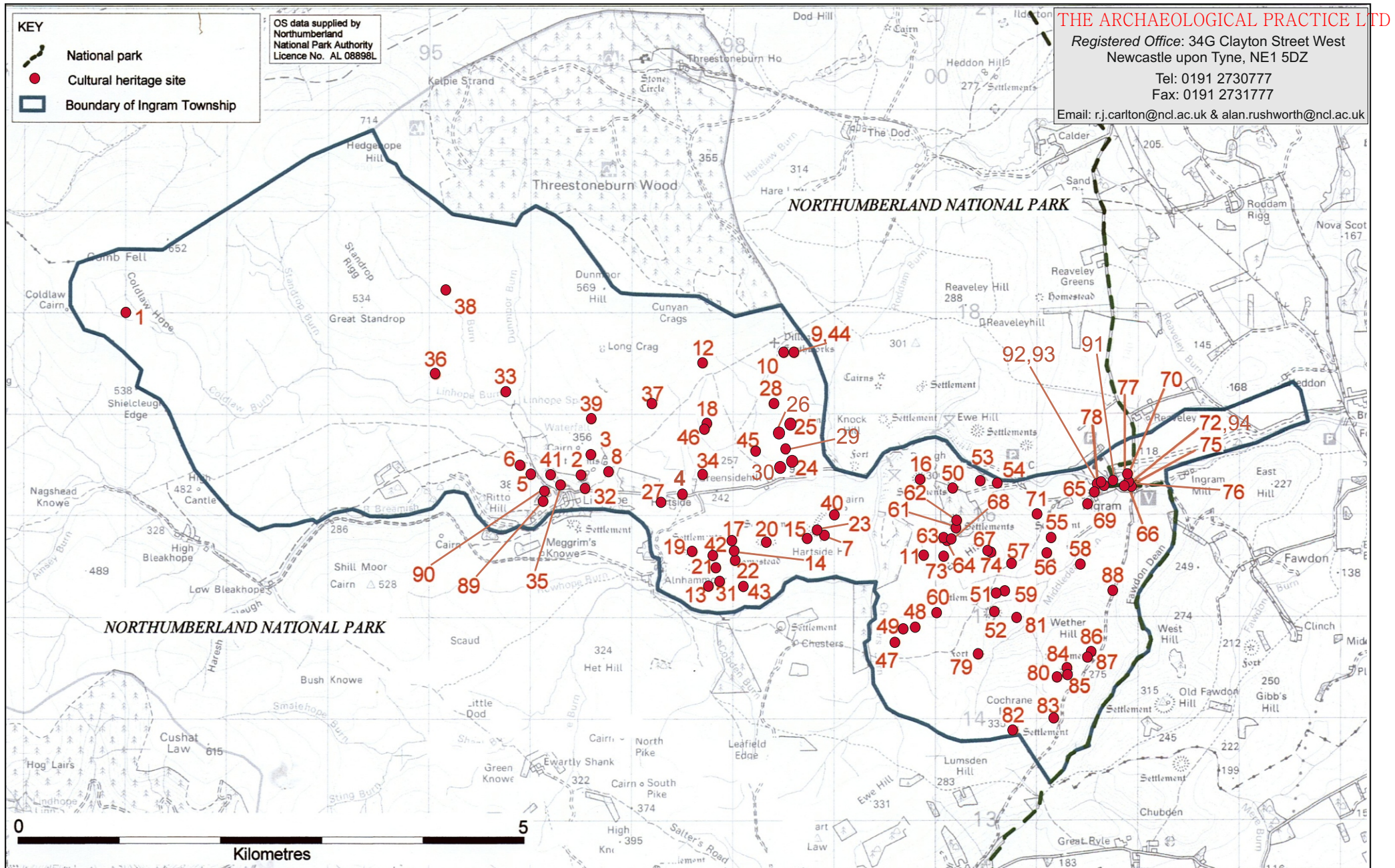
Fig. 51: *Cultural Heritage Sites in Ingram Township*
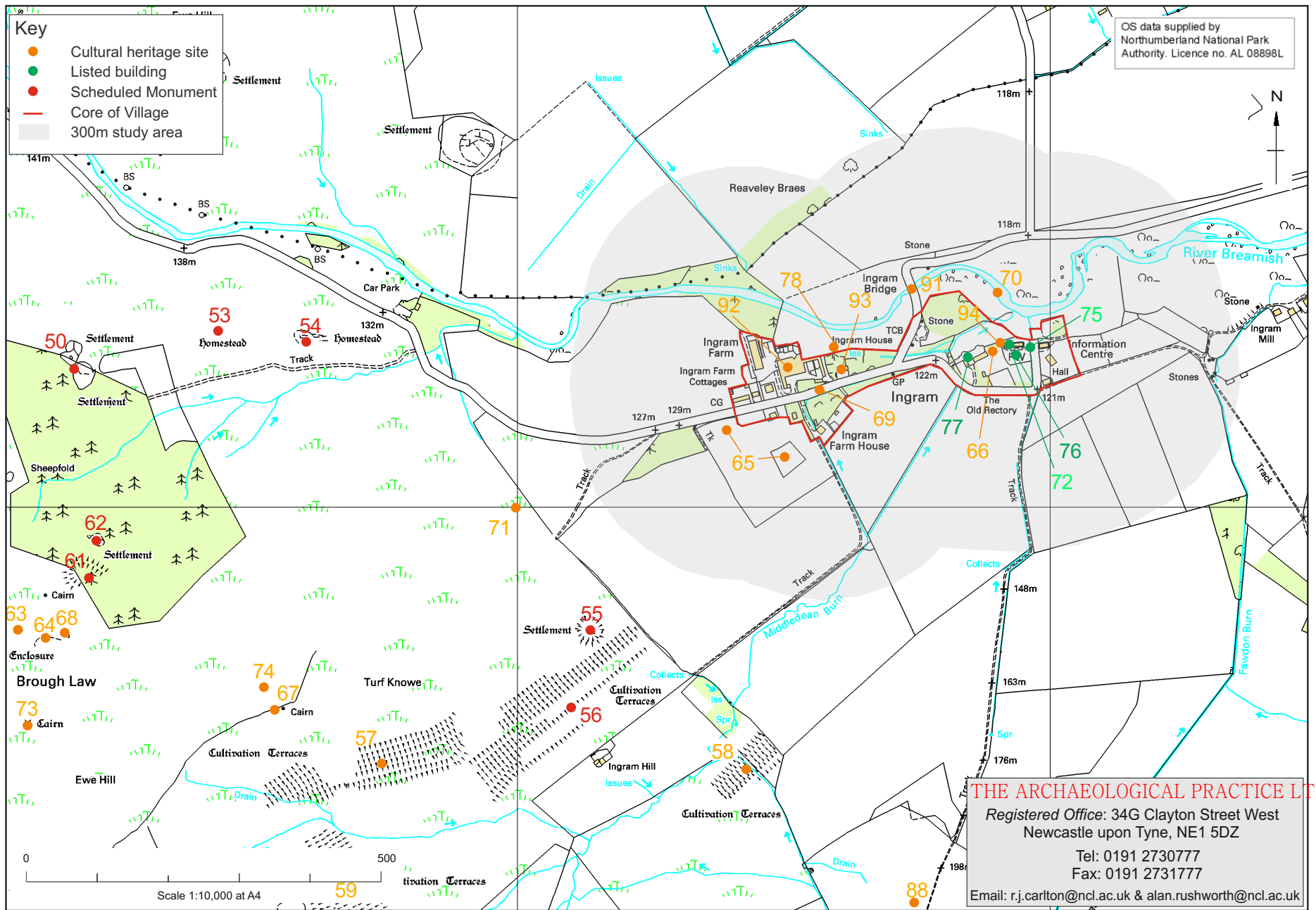
Fig. 52: *Cultural Heritage sites in the vicinity of Ingram Village*

6.   HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

6.1   Standard works

NCH XIV (1935), 456-81; Dixon 1985 II, 368-9.

6.2   Prehistoric Archaeology

6.2.1   Palaeolithic and Mesolithic (500,000 BC – 5000 BC)

There are no recorded sites on the Northumberland Sites and Monuments Record (NSMR) for either the Palaeolithic or Mesolithic periods within the Ingram study area, though this probably reflects the lack of detailed research in the area, rather than genuine absence of occupation. The recent landscape study of the Milfield basin to the north indicates that Mesolithic populations inhabited a wide range of environments and ecological zones (Waddington 1999, 104 -6). The Cheviot slopes to the west of Ingram, in common with other upland areas in the Cheviots, would have been wooded throughout the Mesolithic, and it is possible that hunting and foraging parties may have visited these areas on a seasonal basis.

6.2.2   Neolithic (c. 5000 BC – c. 2000 BC)

At Wether Hill (NU 013144), Neolithic pottery was recovered from a pit during excavations in 1997, though no associated structures were found. Just outside of the study area, a polished stone axe of distinctive Neolithic type was found in a garden at Brandon farm cottages, to the east of Ingram (NSMR 3098, NU 042172). Such axes were extensively traded throughout Britain and Europe during the Neolithic, and the Langdale area of the Cumbrian Mountains seems to have been a centre for axe production. Some examples were manufactured from local materials such as andesite, and there may have been a smaller axe factory in the cheviots (Waddington 1999). The functional role of these axes is often emphasised, for example, as tools for forest clearance (e.g. Higham 1986, 52) but they were also prized objects of value and beauty. It is possible that they were used as gifts between individuals, religious offerings or even as currency.

As with the preceding Mesolithic, the scarcity of Neolithic sites in this area probably reflects the lack of detailed research rather than genuine absence of occupation. The Breamish valley, like the Till valley to the north, was probably at least semi-permanently settled by the end of the Neolithic (Waddington 1999).

6.2.3   Bronze Age (c. 2000 BC – 700 BC)

Cairns, such as that known from Turf Knowe (Gazetteer site [67][6], NU 005156), are usually attributed to the Bronze Age, though many are not precisely dated, and they are known to have existed in the Neolithic period. This example is situated in a prominent position commanding views across to Ingram and the mouth of the Breamish valley to the east, and contained burials of at least three individuals. Though Early Bronze Age pottery was found at the site, cist burials from beneath the cairn may be Iron Age or later, and it is likely that this site was the focus for mortuary activity over a considerable period of time (NSMR 3091).

Not all cairns of this period contained burials. Cairns occur in considerable numbers as a result of field clearance in association with early agricultural remains. These are much more difficult to date, though, on the basis of their association with Bronze Age settlements or burial cairns, a Bronze Age

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[6] The gazetteer sites referred to in the text are all located on figures 4 and 51. Those in the immediate vicinity of the village and in the village core are also shown on figures 5 & 52 and 6 & 53, respectively. For ease of identifiability the site catalogue numbers are placed between square brackets in the report text; thus catalogue number 67 would normally appear as [67].

date can sometimes be established (Higham 1986, 92). At Standrop Rigg (No.36, NT 950174), an unenclosed settlement comprising at least five round buildings on slight platforms is associated with field clearance plots defined by linear banks and stone clearance cairns (Jobey 1983b). Radiocarbon dates from a pit associated with the settlement suggest that the site may have been occupied as early as the 3rd Millennium BC (Later Neolithic), though whether the extant houses and field systems are as early as this remains uncertain.

Small agricultural settlements of this kind are common in the cheviots throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, and were traditionally distinguished on the basis of type, particularly the presence or absence of an enclosure. Standrop Rigg is likely to be one of the earliest settlements of its kind, and its situation at considerable altitude may represent the efforts of an expanding population in the Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age to cultivate land that was previously regarded as unsuitable. Cultivation of such very thin upland soils is likely to have been a short term strategy resulting in soil exhaustion and destabilisation of the soil regime, which in some cases particular sites may have been abandoned as a result (Topping 1981a, 26; Higham 1986, 89).

6.2.4   Iron Age (700 BC – AD 70)
By the second half of the first millennium, hillforts such as those at Brough Law (No. 16, NT 998163), Greaves Ash (No. 2 & 3, NT 966166) and Middle Dean (No. 79, NU 004146) had been established in considerable numbers throughout the Cheviots. Some hillforts, such as Wether Hill (No. 80, NU 013144) seem to have had earlier origins. Here, the earliest enclosure seems to have taken the form of a timber palisade no more than 60m in diameter, perhaps dating to the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age. In the Cheviots and adjacent Scottish border region, there is some evidence to suggest that the construction of a timber palisade may have been a precursor of more substantial fortifications, such as stone walls or ramparts, as at Yeavering Bell, and Hownam Rings, Roxburghshire. While it is unsafe to assume that all hillforts necessarily originated as palisaded enclosures (Welfare 2002, 74), at Wether Hill, the bank, ditch and counterscarp bank postdate the palisaded phase and suggest an increasing need for defence into the Iron Age. Although the double ramparts and commanding situation suggest that defensive criteria were important, the hillfort's primary function may have been to demonstrate power and status through public display, with defence a secondary consideration (McOmish 1999, 113).

The remains of hut circles inside the inner enclosure indicate that Wether Hill served as a settlement at some stage, though not all the hut circles are contemporary with the ramparts, and in common with many other Cheviot hillforts, such as Castle Hill, Alnham and West Hill, Kirknewton, there seems to have been a significant settlement phase after the ramparts had fallen into disuse (ASUD 2002, 39). At Greaves Ash (Site nos. 2, 3, NT 920180) the western enclosure ramparts may date to the Iron Age, but the majority of the hut circles seem to be of Romano-British date, directly overlying the defences. In general, many hillforts are too small in interior area to have supported any sizeable population and are perhaps best explained as defended farmsteads (Oswald *et al.* 2000, 53).

In all likelihood, there is no single explanation for all so-called hillforts in the Cheviots; they may have served as animal enclosures, market places or trading stations, defensive enclosures, community centres, places of worship and expressions of power and status in a competitive society. Only detailed work, such as that recently undertaken as part of the Discovering our Hillfort Heritage Project, has the potential to understand this very complex situation.

6.3   Romano-British period and after (AD 70-500)

Towards the end of the first millennium BC, pollen evidence suggests that all remaining upland forest had been cleared, and small-enclosed settlements or "homesteads" were established in increasing numbers on slopes and high moorland. Some of these new settlements seem to have been established within the ramparts of earlier hillforts, or overlying the defences, which in some cases were seen to have been abandoned for some time (Welfare 2002, 75). The stone-built huts at Greaves Ash, the

Phase 6 stone-built roundhouses at Wether Hill, and the stone-founded huts at Brough Law (No.16, NT 998163) are typical examples of Late Iron Age and Romano-British period settlements. In the Cheviots – which for most of the period lay beyond the Roman frontier - the influence of Roman culture is likely to have been slight and very indirect (Higham 1986, 224-6). 'Homesteads' of this type are likely to have continued in use for several centuries.

These upland settlements were eventually replaced by the lower-lying hamlets and villages, although the processes by which this occurred are very unclear. The evidence for occupation in this area during the early medieval period is extremely scant, but the gradual adoption of lower-lying sites may have occurred in the eighth or ninth centuries AD (see below), probably as a result of a complex mixture of social, political and environmental factors, which included the arrival of some settlers from Northern Europe and, later, Scandinavia.

6.4   The Breamish Valley in the early medieval era

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, or 'History of St Cuthbert', a work probably compiled in the mid tenth century, included in a summary of the territory once held by the monastery of Lindisfarne (*Lindisfarnensis terrae*) 'all the land lying to either side of the River Breamish (*Bromic*), right up to its source' (*HSC*, 4; Craster 1954, 178; Hart 1975, doc. 152; Morris 1977, 89, map; Higham 1986, 288-9). It is widely accepted that 'it is difficult to regard this archaic description of the bounds of Lindisfarne territory as being other than authentic' (Hart 1975, 137). This would inevitably have included the area of the present village of Ingram along with the surrounding township. Indeed O'Brien (2002) has argued that the estate centre was probably located at Ingram itself, although Frodsham has suggested the large enclosed settlement at Greave's Ash, further up the valley, as another contender (Frodsham 2004, 70). Frodsham (2004, 73-4) has also raised the possibility that the small rectangular buildings set into the defensive bank of the late prehistoric enclosure of Ingram Hill might be explained as the dwellings of early medieval monks, rather than later medieval shielings, in which case such a detached monastic cell would surely have been an important administrative focus in an ecclesiastical land holding. It must be admitted that no church or chapel which could have provided a focus for such a monastic cell can be identified within this settlement, but worship may conceivably have been conducted in the open air around a stone or wooden preaching cross.

6.4.1   Shires and concept of the 'Multiple Estate'
This record reveals the sweeping extent of monastic land holding in the Breamish Valley, perhaps between the 7th and 9th centuries, before the upheaval unleashed by the Viking invasions. Such major estates – whether owned by the church, as in this case, the king, or members of the nobility – are generally termed 'multiple estates' or 'shires', and are considered typical of this period. They constitute large administrative districts cum landholdings composed of many separate communities. The constituent communities, or *vills*, all rendered the larger proportion of their surplus produce and labour to a single, central lord's hall or *caput*, rather than to their local manorial lord, as in the high medieval period from the 11th/12th centuries onwards.

Although there is much regarding the history and workings of such shires that remains contentious (*cf.* Kapelle 1979, 50-85), the individual rural communities, which must have made up such estates, are still more shadowy, particularly in the uplands. Little is known for certain of settlement patterns in the north Northumbrian uplands in the centuries following the collapse of Roman imperial authority. Nevertheless, is likely that the enclosed farmsteads which were such a feature of rural settlement in the preceding Romano-British period, continued to be occupied well into the early medieval era, but diagnostic dating evidence is lacking and at present it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty when they were replaced by a different type of settlement or what form that settlement took and how it was distributed.

By the 12th-13th centuries, when abundant documentary evidence becomes available again and archaeologically dateable pottery is found in significant quantities, communities were focussed in nucleated village settlements like Ingram. However the formation of these nucleated settlements may be relatively late. Brian Roberts (1972, 33-56; *cf.* Taylor 1983, 133-47) has argued that the regular row plans of many villages in County Durham and North Yorkshire were part of a reorganisation of rural settlement and landscape instituted by the Anglo-Norman lords in the late 11th and 12th centuries, following the devastation wrought by the conquest of those areas. Dixon (1985, I) was more cautious with regard to the evidence for widespread replanning of the villages of north Northumberland and it is clear that the implantation of Anglo-Norman lordship occurred later there (not till the early 12th century) and in different, less violent, circumstances. Nevertheless such evidence as we possess does suggest that settlement in the northern part of the county from the 12th century onward was predominantly focussed on nucleated village communities with defined territories.

What form rural settlement took prior to that time, i.e. what constituted a ---*tun* before 1100, remains unresolved. There may conceivably have been something of a retreat from the uplands from the later 7th or 8th-century onwards, perhaps affected by climatic deterioration, widespread warfare and political upheaval following the Viking invasions – the same kind of factors which led to a similar retreat in the 14th century – with exploitation henceforth achieved by seasonal transhumant migration up to the highland pastures, as was pursued in parts of Northumberland in the medieval and early modern eras. In these circumstances, permanent settlement may have moved off the Cheviot hilltops and slopes and become focussed on lower-lying sites to form township communities, designated *villa* in Latin documents.

It is noteworthy that the Romano-British settlements scattered along the Breamish Valley, tend to occupy elevated sites overlooking the valley bottom, often indeed overlying the ramparts of the earlier hillforts, whereas the medieval villages sit at the foot of the hillsides on valley terraces just above the land likely to be periodically flooded. In this the latter parallel the location of the Anglian palace complexes. Both types of community – settlement and village – were probably exploiting the same mixture of resources, but they doing so in different ways. The new township communities, whatever factors were responsible for their emergence, could have been based on village settlements, hamlets or groups of dispersed farmsteads. However aerial photography of the Breamish Valley, Glendale or the Milfield Basin has not so far revealed substantial numbers of sites which might, even tentatively, be proposed as candidates for 8th-11th century township settlements – aside from the major estate centres of *Ad Gefrin* and *Maelmin*, only the smaller complex at Thirlings and some sunken floored buildings (*grubenhäuser*) at New Bewick have been identified, all of which could be slotted with the 5th-8th century timeframe rather than later. In part, the problem is related to the difficulty in actually identifying these classes of site from the air. Even grubenhauser are relatively hard to spot and rectangular halls constructed with posts set in individual postholes, rather than continuous construction slots, are almost invisible. More grubenhäuser sites may be in the process of identification as a result of the re-examination of existing coverage in the quest for other types of monument (T.G. Gates pers. comm.) and this in turn may lead to the identification of timber halls which are often associated with grubenhäuser, either on the same site or very close by. [7]

Nevertheless, it is tempting to assume that the most successful settlements of the early medieval era, which may have formed the original township centres, lay on the same sites as the later villages and are as a result masked by the modern settlements or by the remains of the medieval period (*cf.* Dixon 1985 I). If this was the case, such proto-village, township centres would have been nucleated, forming either hamlets or villages, but, equally, many of the Romano-British settlements on the hilltops contain numerous round houses and represent sizeable communities – Greaves Ash near Linhope [2-3] is a particularly notable example - corresponding to villages or hamlets in scale, so there may actually may have been relatively little change in that regard. Indeed, the very act of bounding the Romano-British settlements by an enclosure wall would have created a strong impetus

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[7] The authors are grateful to Mr Tim Gates for discussing with them the problems currently faced in identifying early medieval sites through aerial photography.

to restrict the area occupied by such settlements, giving a misleading impression of their population size relative to the later villages. The suggested proto-villages might then, in turn, have been reorganised and formalised into regular village settlements by Anglo-Norman lords of the 12th century.

6.5   Township and Parish, Barony and Manor

Before examining the medieval village community of Ingram in detail, it is necessary to outline the various different territorial units within which it was incorporated, and which provided the framework for the development of the village. Each of these units related to a different aspect of the settlement's communal relations, both internal and external. More extensive definition and discussion of the different types of territorial unit and their development over time is contained in Section 3, above.

6.5.1   Ingram Parish and Township

The 19th century parish of Ingram, which forms the basic framework for the historical summary set out in volume XIV of the Northumberland County History (NCH XIV (1935), 457-81), embraced the townships of Fawdon and Reaveley as well that of Ingram itself. These are recorded as separate localities in the feudal aid of 1242, published in 'the Book of Fees' (*Liber Feodorum* II, 1117-8; see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no.1), and may therefore be considered territorial vills or townships by this date, although Reaveley was said to be member of Ingram. The same document – which reflects the mid-late 13th century zenith of medieval settlement expansion – records a further vill, Hartside, which formed another 'member' of Ingram manor. This township covered the north side of the upper Breamish Valley above Ingram, the settlement lying north east of the present Hartside Farm west of Ingram. The south side of the valley was incorporated in Alnham parish and Alnham township or, for a time, Alnhamsheles which was the counterpart of Hartside.

Following the retreat of permanent settlement in the late medieval period, Hartside was merged first with Fawdon and Clinch township and then, in the later 19th century, transferred to Ingram township. The arrangement of the townships in Ingram parish in the early-mid 18th century is succinctly set out in a entry in the parish register dated 28th June 1737 (reproduced by NCH XIV (1935), 456):

> The parish of Ingram is divided into three several divisions, the first Division whereof contains the Town of Ingram, Greenside Hill, Grieve's Ash, Lynhope, and Standrope, the second Division whereof contains the town of Faldon, the Clinch and Hartside, the third Division whereof contains Reeveley and the towns thereunto belonging.

Of all the 19th century townships, Ingram was by far the largest, covering an area estimated at 6523 acres in 1891, making up the bulk of Ingram Parish. At the same date Fawdon and Reaveley were estimated at 2110 acres and 2340 acres respectively.

6.5.2   The Barony of Alnwick and Manor of Ingram

Ingram formed one of the constituent manors of the barony of Alnwick which was held by the Vesci lineage. The Vescis were probably granted their barony by Henry I (1100-35), in common with the great majority of Anglo-Norman barons established in Northumberland (Kapelle 1979, 199, 207, 284, 287). They were certainly well established by 1166 when Henry II ordered all his barons, or 'tenants-in-chief', to render account of the service by which they held their lands and the holdings of all knights enfeoffed by them (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*, 329-39; *cf*. Hedley 1968, 21, 209; 1970, 90, 272). In the return he made for the barony, William de Vesci listed a total of 13 knights' fees created before 1135, plus a couple more established in the intervening thirty or so years, making it the single largest of all the Northumbrian lordships in these terms.

The earliest Vesci baron of Alnwick was probably Eustace`fitz John, William's father, one of the 'principal agents of (the first) Henry's government in Northumberland' (Kapelle 1979, 207). Eustace

witnessed his first act concerning Northumberland in 1119 and by 1121 he certainly held land north of the Tyne (Kapelle 1979, 287, n.80), suggesting that the barony was established around this time, when Henry I was finally tightening the Anglo-Norman grip on Northumberland, fifty or so years after the initial conquest[8].

The Vesci line was extinguished when William de Vesci III died leaving no legitimate male heirs in 1297. Possession of the barony of Alnwick then passed to Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, and in 1310 the bishop in turn sold the barony to Henry de Percy, who was establishing his family's position on the border at that stage (Bean 1954; Tuck 1971, 33-5). Thereafter the Alnwick barony has remained in Percy hands to this day, forming the core of their Northumbrian holdings.

Ingram, or Angerham as it is generally written in medieval sources, was one of ten vills in the Alnwick barony, known as the 'Ten Towns of Coquetdale' which the Vescis granted or subinfeudated to another powerful baronial lineage, the Umfravilles. Eight of these townships formed a compact block on the north side of the upper Coquetdale, coterminous with the Parish of Alwinton, opposite the Umfravilles' stronghold of Harbottle Castle in the Liberty of Redesdale, but Ingram and Fawdon lay much further north and were detached from the main block of the 'Ten Towns' (see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 1). Medieval administrative geography could throw up some odd phenomena – Harbottle Castle, the capital of the 'Liberty of Redesdale', was actually in Coquetdale, for instance. Gilbert de Umfraville was the incumbent recorded in the feudal aid of 1242 (*Liber Feodorum* II, 1118).

The Ten Towns of Coquetdale

Much ink has been spilt on the subject of the 'Ten Towns of Coquetdale', the ten townships within the Barony of Alnwick which were subinfeudated to the neighbouring Umfraville lord. The ten comprised Ingram, with its members Reaveley and Hartside, Fawdon, 'Chirmundesden' (Peels), Biddlestone, Clennell, Netherton, Burradon, Sharperton, Farnham and Alwinton, The townships did not form a single geographical territory. Ingram and Fawdon in the Breamish Valley were separated from the main block of eight townships in Coquetdale by the four townships of Alnham Parish, namely Prendwick, Scrainwood, Unthank and Alnham, The apparent allocation of Breamish Valley townships to Coquetdale may appears a little odd today, but in this context Coquetdale seems to refer to the ancient administrative subdivision, or 'ward', of Northumberland, which also bore that title, rather than the vale itself. The names given to such administrative districts often have an air of artificiality about them, today just as much as in the past.

The Ten Towns have aroused much interest because it is rather uncommon for such a large and compact block of manors to be subinfeudated to a neighbouring baronial lineage, the Umfravilles, whose status was equivalent to that of the Vescis, the baronial 'tenants in chief'. In effect there would appear to be two levels of tenants in chief or superior tenant in these vills above the direct manorial lord. Furthermore, by the end of the medieval period, the inhabitants of the ten townships were tied by obligations of military service to Harbottle castle, the capital of the liberty of Redesdale (later the royal manor of Harbottle). This obligation is most clearly expressed in the 1604 Border Survey:

(The ten towns in Coquetdale) *by their ancient custome owe their service to Harbotle in Rydsdale to be comaunded by the Capten there to serve in feild on horse or on foote in the Princes affaires for the defence of the Border lands* (*1604 Survey*, 116)[9].

It has been suggested that the customary service of the ten Coquetdale townships represented a relic of some Anglo-Saxon – perhaps even Anglian – military estate or district centred on Harbottle and embracing the Ten Towns, plus presumably the rest of upper Coquetdale at the very least (Anon. 1864;

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[8] It has often be argued that an earlier member of the Vesci lineage, Ivo de Vesci, was the first to hold the Alnwick barony (*cf.* Hedley 1968, I: 34, 198-9), but Kapelle's arguments, particularly with regard to Eustace' significant position in the Henrician regime in Northumberland, appear convincing.

[9] Cf. also *1604 Survey*, 114: 'The Survaie of the Tenn Townes which have ancientlie don and nowe do their service to Harbotle Castle'.

Dixon 1903, 177-8; NCH XV (1940), 472). Harbottle is one of a number placenames in northern England and southern Scotland which incorporate the Old English suffix -*botl*, generally translated as 'lord's hall'. The suffix is perhaps the equivalent of the Latin term *villa*, which is used frequently in the works of Bede and his contemporaries to denote royal and ecclesiastical estates (cf. Higham 1986, 293). This class of placename has been considered to represent an early element in Anglian place-name formation, i.e. belonging to the 5th-6th centuries, but it has recently been the subject reconsideration by Barrow (1998, 67-9), who points out that its distribution across southern Scotland suggests some of these names could have originated later on, in the 7th-8th centuries.. Such a defensive arrangement is not of itself implausible. However the evidence from earlier documents presents a rather different picture from those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Inquisition Post Mortem for Robert de Umfraville, taken in 1325, the tenants holding all or part of the manors of Clennell, Biddlestone and Burradon were each listed as having to to pay sums for the guard of the castle of Alnwick, not Harbottle, as part of their dues (*Cal IPM* vi, no.607; see the Harbottle Village Report)[10]. This was repeated as a simple total - '30s for the ward of the castle of Alnewike' - when the inquest into Robert's holdings at death was retaken in 1331 (*Cal IPM* vii, no.390). This suggests that the manorial tenants of the ten townships retained some military obligations to the Alnwick barony up until at least the early 14th century. Furthermore none of the 13th and 14th century inquisitions specify that the tenants of the ten townships had to perform castle guard at Harbottle.

Perhaps even more significantly, the obligatory military service performed by tenants of the Coquetdale was recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries, after centuries of association between the former Umfraville liberty of Redesdale and the Ten Towns, and following the profound transformation of the character of the Border as a result of the prolonged warfare and chronic insecurity prevalent during the late medieval period. In other words, the obligatory military service of the Coquetdale tenantry at Harbottle may result from the circumstances of the late medieval period rather than representing a fossilised relic of very much earlier arrangements.

More recently O'Brien (2002, 66-7) has put forward an alternative interpretation, arguing that the Ten Towns represent the territory of an early medieval 'multiple estate' or shire, which he labels 'Bromic'. As discussed above, there is convincing evidence that the Breamish Valley once formed part of monastic estate held by St Cuthbert's house of Lindisfarne, perhaps between the 7th-9th centuries. However the relevant passage of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* simply refers to Lindisfarne's lands (*Lindisfarnensis terrae*) embracing 'all the land lying to either side of the River Breamish (*Bromic*), right up to its source'. There is no mention of the estate embracing other areas further to the south, in upper Coquetdale and Alnham parish (which O'Brien also considers part of the shire of 'Bromic' although it never formed part of the Ten Towns). In the light of this, it would therefore seem preferable to regard both theories with great caution, unless new information emerges.

Indeed, there may be more straightforward reasons why a large block of the barony of Alnwick's vills was granted to the Umfravilles, which relate to the Anglo-Norman monarchy's goal of imposing order on the Northumbrian uplands (*cf*. Kapelle 1979). It is possible, for instance, that the Umfraville lords, with their powerful castle at nearby Harbottle, were considered by the royal authorities – or perhaps by the Vescis themselves – to be much better placed to maintain control over these vulnerable border townships, than the Vescis were, whose main stronghold lay down in the coastal plain at Alnwick.

Although it is not recorded in the 1242 feudal aid, the vill of Ingram was further subinfeudated to Geoffrey de Lucy, who, at some time around 1240, came to an agreement with Newminster Abbey regarding the boundary between Ingram and the monastery's extensive holdings in Kidland (*NC*, 80; *cf*. NCH XIV (1935), 472). It was probably a grandson of the first Geoffrey – also called Geoffrey de Lucy – who died in 1284 possessed of the manor of Ingram, including the dependancies of Reaveley and Hartside, having held it from Gilbert de Umfraville II in return for regular attendance ('suit') at the Umfravilles' court at Harbottle Castle and paying scutage (the tax paid in lieu of military service)

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[10] Clenyl. The manor held by Thomas Clenyl by service of half a knight's fee, 6s 8d for guard of the castle of Alnewyk and 15d for cornage.
Bedilsden [alias Bitelsden]. A moiety of the manor held by Robert de la Vale by service of . . . , 6s 8d [alias 3s 4d] for guard of the said castle . . .
Borouden. The manor, held by John de Borouden by service of . . . 13s 4d for guard of the said castle.

whenever it was levied (NCH XIV (1935), 473). It was at this level in the feudal hierarchy that direct manorial lordship was actually exercised at Ingram. It was, for instance, Geoffrey de Lucy and his successors, rather than the Umfravilles or the Vescis, who held the advowson of Ingram church – i.e. the right to nominate nominate a priest to the rectory of the parish whenever the post became vacant. Even so, Geoffrey did not permanently reside in the manor. He had other, doubtless more comfortable, estates in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire (*op. cit*, 472), but his tenure of Ingram would have provided an excellent opportunity for some occasional hunting on the high Cheviot moors. In 1279 Geoffrey did indeed claim free warren in the moor of Ingram. For most of the time, however, the Lucys would have been absentee landlords and manorial authority would have devolved to their bailiff, who would therefore have been one of the most important men in the area, effectively responsible for running the manor and maintaining a degree of order (see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 2).

The manor subsequently passed from Geoffrey's heir first to the Leyburn family at the end of the 13th century and then to the Heton family at some point between 1333 and 1347. At his death in 1353, Sir Thomas Heton was said to have held Ingram from his feudal overlord, Gilbert de Umfraville III, by homage and fealty and payment of 15d. annual rent for cornage and suit at the Umfravilles' court at Alwinton every three weeks (*ibid*.). Towards the end of the 14th century the manor was divided equally between three coheiresses of Sir Alan Heton and thereby passed into the hands of the Swinburne, Fenwick and Ogle lineages. The advowson was exercised by each family in turn. This threefold division persisted for the next two and a half centuries. On the failure of the Fenwick male line in 1459, their share of the manor passed to the Denton family, whilst Robert, lord Ogle granted his third of the manor to a kinsman, Cuthbert Ogle, rector of Ilderton, in 1526, whence it passed to Eglingham branch of the family, but none of this disrupted the essential tripartite structure of the manorial lordship during the late-medieval/early-modern period.

6.6 The medieval village

6.6.1 The components of the village
Successive Inquisitions Post Mortem give an impression of the scale and facilities of the settlement during the medieval period (*cf*. Dixon 1985, II, 368; NCH XIV (1935), 368). On the death of Geoffrey de Lucy, in 1284, his manor of Ingram was reported to comprise a capital messuage (i.e. a manor house of some kind with attendant ancillary buildings), a garden, 180 acres of arable and ten acres of meadow in demesne; ten bondagers, fourteen cottagers and fourteen freeholders (including one William de Grenside with twenty acres of land), sixty acres 'scheling' land, a forge, a mill, and brewhouse (NRO ZAN M15/A36). The same number of bondage holdings – by this stage labelled husbandlands – and cottage holdings was recorded at the death of Sir Thomas Heton in 1353 (PRO C135/124/5), though these were mostly described as waste, presumably as a result of the demographic devastation wrought by the Black Death. There was also a parish church and, by the early 16th century, a tower held by Lord Ogle, which subsequently seems to have been used by the rector of the parish or parson (Bates 1891, 24, 32-3; see below *Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 6).

6.6.2 Layout
It gauging the layout of the medieval settlement, we have relatively little reliable evidence to help us. The earliest detail map dates to *c*. 1820 by which time many changes to the settlement pattern, land tenure and farming practices had occurred. The church remains an obvious fixed point, however. The towerhouse mentioned in various sources from 1509 onwards probably lay close by as it was reported to be the residence of the parson in 1541 (see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no.6) and an 18th-century observer, George Marks, reports a the remains of an old tower called Lumphaugh lay at a pistol shot's distance from the church (Hodgson Hinde 1869, 82). It may well have lain within the churchyard, perhaps on the site of the present rectory or possibly somewhat closer to the river since it was reportedly threatened with being washed away in 1541. It is entirely unclear whether the tower occupied the same site as Geoffrey de Lucy 'the capital messuage' or manorial building complex

probably including a manor house of some kind. The mill probably occupied the same site as the present dwelling labelled Ingram Mill, downstream of the main settlement.

The most plausible candidate for the site of the medieval village is provided by the area to the west of the church. The estate map of *c*. 1820 (NRO ZAN Bell 67/6; Aln Cas O XV 7; see fig. 19) shows a leaf-shaped area or set of enclosures in this area to the west of the church. The map depicts relatively few buildings, but they all lay in this leaf-shaped area. It is possible that many of these buildings represent post-medieval encroachment on what had originally been an open, leaf-shaped green. The access from the settlement at its the west end narrows then widens out again in a pattern commonly found in medieval village layouts with a pinch point at the point of transition from the village green to the access corridor leading to the unenclosed pasture beyond the townships arable fields. Two fields to the south of the suggested green and the access corridor were labelled 'Tofts' on the 1820 map strengthening the hypothesis that there had formerly been a row of tenements along their northern edge, bordering the green. Indeed, traces of the foundations of former cottages [65] are evident on the south side of the green at this end of the settlement. A further row, perhaps comprising cottage smallholder tenements may conceivably have fringed the northern edge of the green.

Rectory Gardens excavation
Further evidence for the development of the village is provided by the small-scale excavations undertaken in Ingram Rectory Gardens in the summer of 2001 (Frodsham & Waddington 2004, 188-189). These were carried out as part of the Breamish Valley Archaeology Project, with the aim of investigating the area where it was proposed to construct a number of holiday cottages. The site lies adjacent to St Michael's Church and it had been hoped to find traces of early medieval settlement, however no such remains were uncovered. Instead more than 600 sherds of medieval pottery, predominantly of 12th-13th century date, were recovered by the excavation. These sherds represent the residue from the manuring of fields of ridge and furrow which clearly covered this area during the 13th century. By contrast the absence of significant quantities of material post-dating the 13th century in the overall pottery assemblage suggests these fields had been turned over to pasture by the early 14th century.

Some activity, which is most plausibly assigned to the late medieval/early modern period, was revealed in this area, in the shape of two pits and a drainage ditch which cut into the old ridge and furrow. These produced no dating evidence other than sherds of redeposited 13th century pottery deriving from the earlier ploughsoil. Some charred grain was found in these features, but also many charred seeds of grasses and weeds, suggesting an open, disturbed landscape in the immediate vicinity of the site.

All this would be consistent with the evidence from documentary sources for a much greater emphasis on pastoralism in the economy of Northumbrian upland communities during the later medieval period, as compared to the medieval high noon of the late 13th century. Whereas in the latter period arable land was in short supply and every available scrap was seemingly being used, after 1300 much arable land in the Northumbrian uplands was abandoned in response to first to a worsening climate and the chronic insecurity along the Border and then the savage onslaught of the Black Death. The latter had a catastrophic impact on the rural population levels, leading in turn to a steep decline in agricultural rents and land values. It is unlikely, however, that the late medieval/early modern populations along the Breamish entirely abandoned subsistence arable cultivation. In the face of such chronic uncertainty and so many hazards, a degree of economic diversification was essential to the survival of all the Border communities, but it is likely cultivation was restricted to the communities most favoured land with many former arable fields being converted to meadows.

6.6.3   Population and tenancies
As noted above, ten bondagers, fourteen cottagers and fourteen freeholders were recorded in Ingram manor by the Inquisition Post Mortem for Geoffrey de Lucy in 1284 (NRO ZAN M15/A36). In 1296, nine taxpayers were recorded for Ingram in the Northumberland Lay Subsidy Roll (Fraser 1968, 168, no 392; see below *Selected Sources and Surveys* 3). These would have represented the wealthier

members of community, found on assessment to have sufficient disposable goods to be eligible for the tax.

Half a century later the basic tenurial structure of the manor remained unchanged, but the number of actual tenants had been drastically reduced by the impact of border warfare and pestilence. Sir Thomas Heton died in 1353 seised of the ten husbandlands (which correspond to the bondage holdings listed in the 1284 inquisition) and fourteen cottages, most of which were waste (PRO C135/124/5), doubtless as a result of the Black Death. Population may have gradually recovered in the later medieval period. Twenty-four adults were accounted for in the Poll Tax return of 1377 (PRO E179/158/29).

Bondage holdings, unfree tenants and free tenants

A bondage holding would typically comprise a messuage (building plot) and a parcel of arable and meadow, 24-30 acres being the standard allotment in Northumberland. Bondmen were 'unfree' tenants, also known as customary tenants, villeins or tenants in villeinage. With their viable tenancies, the Bondmen generally formed the core of the township community and the foundation of the manor's financial productivity, in the lowlands at least. In addition there would typically be a number of freeholders, as well as other categories of unfree tenant, such as cotmen – smallholders who worked as day labourers. Unfree tenants generally bore a greater weight of rents, labour services and other obligations to their lord, by comparison with free tenants, although it should be noted that even the latter did not 'own' their holdings outright, in the modern sense of the term. Most importantly, whilst unfree tenure was determined by the custom of the manor, regulated through the lord's manorial court, free tenure was governed by common law, with the result that free tenants paid rents fixed in perpetuity, could sell or grant their holdings without seigneurial interference and could sue their lord in the royal courts (Lomas 1996, 76-7; Bailey 2002, 26). Free tenancies were generally held in return for performing certain limited services, principally attendance at the baron's court and support for its operations (an obligation known as 'suit of court'), and the payment of a fixed cash rent or perhaps a pound of spices (Lomas 1996, 19; Bailey 2002, 27-8).

6.6.4   Water mills

A water mill is mentioned in the Inquisitions Post Mortem of Geoffrey de Lucy in 1284 and Sir Thomas Heton in 1353, along with other facilities such as a brewhouse and a forge in 1284. It is quite likely that this mill occupied the same site as the present dwelling labelled Ingram Mill, downstream of the main settlement. However other mills are known in the township. A mill was included in the holdings in Hartside sold by Thomas son of John of Hartside in 1340 (NCH XIV (1935), 475). The remains of this structure have not been identified on the ground and it may have been lain some distance from the village. In contrast, the water mill site identified at Ingram Farm [78] is probably much later in date, representing a farm mill of the late 18th or early-mid 19th century. The mill leet canalising the water from various streams still flows through the village today.

(Information supplied by the North East Mills Group)

Site Name: *Ingram Mill*
Grid Reference: NU025164
First recorded   1353
Last recorded   1860s
The mill is mentioned in various estate surveys since 1353 with it being held by the vicar of Ingram in 1561. The 1827 directory lists a John Armstrong as miller while in 1841 & 55 Andrew Waugh is farmer and miller (Griffith 1974). The 1860s Ordnance Survey marks the mill as a corn mill but subsequent additions appear to indicate that the mill has fallen out of use.

Site Name:	*Ingram Farm*
Grid Reference:	NU016163
First recorded	1860s
Last recorded	1920s

This farm mill stood on the top end of a long race leading to Ingram Mill. A clear race on the 1860 Ordnance Survey indicates the presence of a waterwheel on this site. The 1890s edition of the Ordnance Survey still marks a 'Mill Lead' to the farm and the 1920s edition also appears to show this race.

6.6.5   Crosses

The socket stone for an standing cross [69] previously stood in the centre of the village, south of the east range of farm buildings, but no trace remains today. It is shown on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey (see fig. 24) and the subsequent 2nd and 3rd editions (figs. 25-8). It has been described as a market cross, although there is no record of a market at Ingram and it may have served some other function. Another cross socket is described by the County History (NCH XIV (1935), 456-7)on the pass leading from Ingram to Fawdon and Whittingham over the Fawdon Hills, and about half a mile from Ingram Church. It was presumably associated with a wayside cross and was situated not on the watershed but on the highest point where the curve of the hillside would not hide from Ingram. It was thus not visible to travellers coming from the Fawdon direction until they were within a few hundred metres of it, making it clear that the cross must have been erected by the inhabitants of Ingram rather than Fawdon.

6.6.6   St Michael's Church, Ingram
By P. F. Ryder

Ingram parish church [72] consists of an aisled nave of four bays with a west tower, a south porch, and an aisleless chancel.

The Exterior

The Tower is built of regularly coursed squared stone. In the tall lower stage, which has a chamfered plinth, the masonry is very much of 12th-century character, many of the blocks being almost square; there are simple round-headed windows, quite narrow, on west and south. There are short straight joints in the lower courses close to the east ends of north and south walls. Above a chamfered set-back the top stage is of more elongate blocks, rather more yellow in colour; the chamber below the belfry has chamfered square-headed windows on west and south and the belfry itself a pair of short lancet lights in each wall; below the eastern belfry openings is the roof tabling of a nave roof of similar pitch to but slightly higher than the present one. There is a hollow-chamfered oversailing course at the base of the parapet, which has a stone spout in the centre of each side, and a simple flat-topped coping.

Some accounts refer to the tower as having been rebuilt c1900. The NCH account refers to it being 'underpinned with new concrete foundations and then, commencing at the bottom, taken down in small sections and rebuilt piecemeal in cement mortar. All the facing stones were numbered and replaced as nearly as possible in their original positions....'

The remainder of the exterior of the church is virtually all of the 1870s; the walls are of coursed squared stone, the courses varying in height. The windows are all lancets have single or double-chamfered surrounds; the dressings of most have cut faces of ashlar quality, and others only roughly tooled; there is a chamfered plinth all round. There is no external division of break in roof-line between nave and aisles; the eastern bay of the north aisle, now the organ chamber, is wider than the remainder. The gables of nave, chancel and porch are all coped, with finial crosses. The south porch, projecting from the western bay of the south aisle, has a chamfered two-centred arch; to the east of it are two pairs of lancets (with a buttress between) and then a triple lancet marking the broader eastern bay, which has a single lancet on the east; all these have double-chamfered surrounds. The only pre-

19th century masonry visible on the exterior of the body of the church is a section of irregular fabric on the west side of the projecting eastern bay. The three western bays of the north aisle have single lancets and the broader eastern bay a pair on the north and one on the east, all single-chamfered. The chancel has a single lancet at the west end of each side wall, and a pair towards the east end of the south wall, all double-chamfered. The east end has a stepped triplet of rather more elaborate lancets with shafted jambs and smooth ashlar dressings. .

Interior

The walls of the interior of the church are of bare stone; those of the aisles and chancel are of typical 19th-century 'snecked stone'.

The Tower opens to the nave by a broad semicircular arch spanning its full width, its jambs including outwards. The arch is of a single square order, without any through stones; there is a rather odd outer series of voussoirs towards the nave, almost as if a projecting outer order had been trimmed back.. The responds are of simple square plan, with impost blocks that are chamfered only on their lower angles. Above the tower arch the wall of roughly-coursed and roughly-squared blocks, some quite large, shows remains of old roof lines, one springing from quite low down, and a clearer one c1 m below the present roof..

The internal walls of the tower are of regularly coursed blocks, many taller than they are wider; there are clear butt joints between the sidewalls and the outer face of the west wall of the nave. The two windows have slightly depressed rear arches, with diagonally tooled voussoirs, and 19th-century sloping sills.

Each side wall of the Nave has an arcade of three bays, with an elongate 'pier' (really a section of unbroken wall) to the east and then a larger arch to a former transept.. The arcades are each of three quite steeply two-centred arches, each of two chamfered orders, on octagonal piers with moulded capitals and bases; the piers of the southern arcade have an additional ornament in the form of a fleur-de-lys springing upwards from the capital at the intersection of the outer orders of the arches. The western responds of the arcades are rather strange, taking the form of square blocks of masonry with heavy imposts, roughly-hollowed on their lower angles, with, overlain by their bases, moulded semi-octagonal bases. The face of that of the south arcade has remains of an inscription, now illegible, possibly referring to a 17th-century restoration. The eastern responds are formed by rectangular blocks of wall, which have an impost-like band, hollow chamfered below, extending all round them (except on the south side of the southern one where this has been largely hacked away, except at its east end from which an arch to the aisle wall springs). This band is not horizontal but on each pier dips markedly to the east. At the west end of this block of walling there is also a hollow chamfered off-set c 0.80 off ground, but it is not clear whether this is an ancient feature.

The transept arches are also of two chamfered orders, but wider and higher than those of the main sections of the arcade; that on the south is wider and of segmental-pointed form rather than two centred. Each arch has a semi-octagonal respond to the east, with a moulded base and capital, and a peculiar western respond which consists of a short semi-octagonal shaft, with a moulded capital, rising from the impost band that runs all round the long rectangular 'piers'. On the face of the lower part of the western respond of the southern arch is an incised sundial, with a circle divided into 24 parts.

The roof of the nave is of five bays, with arch-braced collar beam trusses on moulded ashlar corbels, all of 19th-century date.

Within the aisles, the south doorway has a plain steeply two-centred rear arch and all the lancet windows, whether single or grouped, round-headed rear arches with chamfers to their heads only. The eastern bay of each aisle is divided from the remainder by a two-centred arch of one plain square

order. There is said to be a medieval piscina, now concealed by the organ, in the east end of the north aisle.

The arch into the Chancel is of two-centred form and of two chamfered orders, carried on semi-octagonal responds with mutilated moulded capitals and plain chamfered bases. The east wall of the nave has an oversailing course at the level of the respond capitals; the face of the outer order of the arch is flush with the wall above, and the face of the inner order with that below, possibly indicating that the lower sections have been cut back. In the northeast angle of the nave above the pulpit us an attractive little semi-octagonal bracket with carved foliage, set on a tiny angle shaft with a moulded capital.

The chancel is entirely of 19th-century date; it has a moulded string of semicircular section below the windows, stepped up slightly beneath the eastern triplet. The lancets in the sidewalls have round rear arches of the usual type, the eastern triplet a more elaborate surround with shafted jambs that have nail-head in their capitals, and richly moulded arches. It has a t32wo-bay roof with a central collar-beam truss with arch braces coming down onto ashlar corbels, and an upper king post.

Discussion
The structural history of the church is reconstructed in considerable detail in the Northumberland County History. The suggested building sequence outlined there is as follows, with some additional comments:

1) West wall of nave, mid to late 11th century. The main dating evidence seems to be a recorded 'restoration' during the earldom of either Siward or Tosti; but the wall has no particular diagnostic feature, It is suggested that this first church was of cruciform plan, with transeptal chapels, but again this seems pure conjecture.

2) Lower part of west tower, later 11th century. This is puzzling; the account refers to the tower as having been dated to the 12th century through an erroneous description of a 'double-chamfered base course'. The NCH does not mention the chamfered plinth on the tower at all; a single-step chamfered plinth is currently exposed (although a two-stepped plinth is clearly shown on the NCH plan). A mid-12th century date in fact seems far more likely.

3) 13th century, chancel and transept arches

4) Later 13th century, nave aisles and arcades. Differences in quality of work are seen as dividing phases (3) and (4); they should perhaps be regarded as a single phase.

5) End of 13th century; upper stage of tower added.

6) At unspecified dates various changes including the blocking of the tower arch, the wall including a rebated doorway.

7) Later 17th century; possible restoration after the church was described as 'ruinous and destitute' in 1663. The puzzling changes to nave arcades may date to this phase. Their rather clumsy western responds and elongate eastern 'piers', both with heavy impost mouldings hollow-chamfered on the underside, probable fit most easily with this period, although they are really rather strange, and stylistically could be seen as much earlier (even 11th or early 12th century) work If this were the case, then the moulded 13th-century bases to the western responds would have to be interpreted as the first phase of a piecemeal replacement that was never completed; an awkward hypothesis, although little stranger than the western responds of the transept arches, which on this reading must be read as a 17th-century encasing of the lower part of a 13th-century respond. The 19th-century restorer may however have had a hand here.

8) 1736. Strengthening of tower including added buttresses

9) 1792. Instructions were given for the stone-flagged vaults over the 'aisles' (which NCH interpret as meaning transeptal chapels) to be replaced by slates - the chapels were in fact demolished.

10) 1804. Spire and south aisle demolished, new south porch built

11) Between 1825 and 1870 the north aisle and north chapel (which was walled off from the aisle) were demolished, and the chancel rebuilt on a much smaller scale.

12) 1877-1879. A major restoration, with the aisles being rebuilt (considerably narrower than in their original form), a new south porch built and the chancel extended. The tower arch was re-opened

13) c.1899. The tower was underpinned and 'rebuilt'; as already noted this does not seem to have entailed total demolition, but reconstruction (or simply re-facing?) section by section, from the base to the top.

6.6.7   Outlying settlements

As noted above, the outlying settlements of Hartside and Reaveley seem to have formed separate territorial townships or vills from at least the time of the earliest comprehensive record of Northumbrian vills, the feudal aid of 1242 (*Liber Feodorum* II, 1117-8; see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no.1), which documents very nearly the high water mark of medieval settlement. However, they both remained integral parts (or 'members') of the manor of Ingram and the three townships of Ingram, Reaveley and Hartside probably formed a single 'administrative vill' for official governmental purposes. Hartside [9-10] was evidently a substantial village settlement in the 13th and 14th centuries. In 1340, Thomas, son of John of Hartside, and his wife Emma sold 10 messuages (house plots), one mill, 100 acres of arable land and 10 acres of meadow in Hartside to John Heron and John, son of Thomas of Hartside, for 100 marks of silver, whilst in 1349 Thomas Horsley granted a further two messuages and two husbandlands (customary tenant holdings of 24-30 acres) to Sir John Heron of Crawley, which Thomas had from John Forest, formerly lord of Hartside. In the late medieval period, Hartside seems to have formed part of the Swinburne third of the manor. The remains of the village [9-10] occupy a south-facing site at the headwaters of the Knock Burn, a tributary of the Breamish, 3.2 km WNW of Ingram. A series of rectangular house platforms with associated enclosure garths are evident, with ridge and furrow field systems to the south. Overlying the ridge and furrow are the remains of a much later, square, 18th/19th century sheepfold [44].

Hartside [9-10] was eventually absorbed by the other townships of the parish, after the village was abandoned in the late medieval/early modern era. By the 18th century it formed part of Fawdon and Clinch township – although its territory was not contiguous with that township – then, in the 1880s it was incorporated in Ingram township, to form a more coherent district.

Not all settlement in the valley was nucleated. An example of an isolated farmstead of probable medieval date, with attached field system, can be seen at Hunt Law [30], just east of Greenside Hill. The building remains are 18m long and 5m wide. Ultimately the settlement pattern in upper Breamish valley, above Ingram, was transformed into a series of such isolated farmsteads, such as Hartside [4] itself, about 1 mile (1.6km) south west of the deserted village site, Greensidehill and Linhope.

Most striking of all is the extent of the ridge and furrow field systems in the township. The earthworks not only cover large areas to the south and south west of Ingram village, but also the slopes south of deserted village of Hartside and covering Hartside Hill to the south of Greensidehill and Hartside farms. These testify to the degree of arable cultivation undertaken in the Cheviot uplands during the medieval period, most probably during the optimal conditions of the 13th century.

6.7   Border conflict

6.7.1   Raids and garrisons

Ingram was very vulnerable to Scottish raids because of its proximity to the border. In 1344 the parish was one of those which petitioned for relief from taxation because of the destruction wrought

by the Scots. In 1436 it had again been wasted by the Scots and further raids are recorded in 1532, 1587 (two) and 1588 (NCH XIV (1935), 471[11]).

The tenants of the Border townships were bound to do military service. At the muster held in 1538, nine men from Ingam attended 'able with horse and harness' (i.e. full military gear of helmet, lance, sword and protective 'jack' etc.) and 15 without horse and harness (*1538 Muster Roll*). The equivalent figures for Fawdon were 8 and 5 and for Reaveley 13 and 14. However such local levies could not protect the Border communities against the worst of the Scottish raids. One possible response was to station troops in the border villages to provide protection and mount counterattacks – 'as well as for defence of the said border as to the annoysance of the Scotts' (Lord Dacre's Ledger Book 1523-4; see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 5). In 1509, Ingram was listed as one of a series of 29 'holds and townships' where it was proposed to station garrisons of horsemen (Bates 1891, 24; *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 4), with 40 men being allocated to Lord Ogle's 'hold' there. In 1523, George Ogle, perhaps a younger brother of Lord Ogle, evidently agreed to provide board and lodging for 60 troops at Ingram for a sum of 2s 8d per soldier per week (see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 5). How long such garrisons were maintained is unclear, but in 1526 Robert lord Ogle granted his third of the manor to another relative, Cuthbert Ogle, a fighting priest (NCH XIV (1935), 263, 395-6, 461, 474), perhaps glad of the opportunity to escape the potential burdens and liabilities inherent in lordship of such a vulnerable border township.

6.7.2 The tower

A second means of defending the border townships was to erect a fortified building, such as a tower, a bastle-house or stronghouse, in the village settlements. A towerhouse is recorded at Ingram by a number of 16th century sources. The sources are evenly distributed throughout that century, beginning with the reference to the proposed stationing of troops at Ingram in 1509, noted above. The subsequent mention of a garrison of 60 soldiers being 'laid in' Ingram, in 1523, probably again implies that George, Lord Ogle's 'hold' was being used to accommodate these troops (*7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 5). Most of the individuals named as having agreed to provide board for the soldiers in the Coquetdale, Alndale and Breamish Valley settlements listed in Lord Dacre's ledger book, were evidently men and women of relatively moderate means – probably just local freeholders rather than members of the gentry or nobility.[12] The soldiers were probably billeted in their homes or outbuildings. George Ogle, who took responsibility for boarding the garrison at Ingram, was rather different. He was presumably a kinsman of Robert, lord Ogle, perhaps the younger brother of the same name who figures in the lineage's genealogies (Ogle 1902, 60, 160-1), and may therefore have been granted the use of the tower and lands at Ingram at this time. It would explain why he had agreed to board such a relatively large number of troops at Ingram if he had a tower at his disposal in which to accommodate them.

A fuller description of the building is provided by Bowes and Ellerker in their 'view and survey' of the borders of the East and Middle Marches in 1541. who refer to it as a little tower 'with a roof which had 'fallen in great decay' for lack of continual necessary repairs. At this time the building was functioning as 'the mansion of the parsonage', i.e. it was the residence of the rector of the parish church rather than one of the three manorial lords. This might seem to contradict the earlier references which implied the tower was held by the Ogles, however it does not seem likely that there were ever two towers at Ingram in the 16th century. Lord Ogle never resided in the tower, which was specifically said to be uninhabited in 1509. Two members of the Ogle lineage held the position of rector in the early 16th century (see (NCH XIV (1935), 461), including, in 1532, Cuthbert Ogle who had been granted the Ogle third of the manor, with the advowson (the attendant right to nominate the rector) in 1526.[13] In these circumstances it easy to see how the tower could have become associated with the parsonage – being used as the Ogle rector's residence whenever he was present in the parish

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[11] Sources cited by the County History for these events comprise: 1344 – *Cal Pat R* 1343-5, 409; 1436 – Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem 15 Henry VI no.36 (unpub.); 1532 – *LP Hen VIII*, iv, no.132; 1587 – *CBP* i. 263, 267; 1588 – *CBP* i. 359.

[12] Percival Selby of Biddlestone and John Unthank of Unthank can be classed as members of the lesser gentry (cf. Meikle 2004,).

– particularly as Cuthbert Ogle, the owner of the tower after 1526 and one-time rector, was still alive at the time of Bowes and Ellerker's survey.[14]

Towards the end of the century, Ingram was depicted on Christopher Dacre's plat or plan of the castles, towers and townships along 'the plenished ringe of the borders', which marked the line of his proposed defensive frontier 'dyke' (PRO MPF 284; reproduced in Bates 1891, between pages 78 and 79; and Long 1967, facing p. 186, *cf*. p. 47). Although the site is not labelled Ingram tower, a tower is depicted schematically, in addition to a collection of houses implying an inhabited village township, again a purely schematic symbol. This would suggest the tower was still serviceable in 1584, despite Bowes and Ellerker's gloomy comments in 1541. A century and a half later, in 1734, George Mark observed 'the remains of an old tower called Lumphaugh, at the distance of a pistol shot from the church' (Hodgson Hinde 1869, 82).

As regards its date of construction, the tower or hold had evidently been erected by 1509, when it is first recorded. It does not, however, figure in the list of border fortifications compiled for Henry V, prior to his embarkation for France in 1415 (cf. Bates 1891, 12-20),[15] implying that it was built later in the 15th century or perhaps at the very beginning of the 16th century.

No trace of the tower survives today and its precise location is uncertain. The fact that it was serving as the parsonage in 1541 might be a consequence of the tower's history of ownership, specifically its transference from main Ogle baronial line to a member of another, less senior, branch of the lineage, who at least temporarily held the rectory of Ingram, as noted above. However George Mark's comment that the old tower of Lumphaugh was located at a pistol shot's distance from the church would imply that it was situated fairly close to the church, as was the case with the vicars' towers at Alnham, Corbridge and Elsdon, for instance. It may even have occupied the site of the present parsonage [72].

6.8 Ingram from 1600

6.8.1 Manorial tenure

The 1604 Survey of royal holdings in the border and debateable lands found twelve tenants of the freeholders with 1600 acres of land (*1604 Survey*, 116; see below *Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 7). In the same year, Thomas Swinburne sold his third of the manor, which included part of 'Huntlake' and Greenshields and his third of the advowson to Henry Collingwood of Eslington (NCH XIV (1935), 474). In 1646, George Denton conveyed his third of Ingram, the advowson and a third of the farms of Huntlaw, Greenshields, Blakehope and Great and Little Hardish to John Ogle of Eglingham who already held the remaining third. Following the Civil War, the share of the royalist Eglingham Collingwoods was acquired by another branch of the family, the Collingwoods of Little Ryle. Otherwise this arrangement whereby the larger part of the township was the property of the Ogles of Eglingham, with the smaller share belonging to the Collingwoods persisted throughout the remainder of the 17th-18th centuries. The Ogles seem to have held Ingram town, parsonage and mill, whilst the Collingwoods held the glebe lands. The manor was finally reunited at the beginning of the 19th century. The male line of the Collingwoods of Little Ryle was extinguished in 1795, with their third of Ingram passing to Isabella, wife of John Tarleton. In turn, John Ogle of Eglingham released his Ingram estate to John Tarleton in 1802. Tarleton's manor, excluding the glebe land, is shown in the *Plan of the Estate and Lordship of Ingram in Northumberland* (NRO ZAN Bell 67/6; Aln Cas O XV 7; see fig. 19), which was probably produced in preparation for the sale of Ingram in 1821 (the

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[13] This was one of many rectories or vicarages Cuthbert held in a long ecclesiastical career, distinguished by repeated service alongside his kinsmen in wars with Scotland, as much as any evident devotion to the cross (Ogle 1902, 57, 191-3; NCH XIV (1935), 263, 395-6).

[14] The lists of incumbent rectors do not show Cuthbert Ogle as rector in 1541 (NCH XIV (1935), 461), but there is some confusion with two nominees to the rectory listed in 1532, Cuthbert being the King's candidate.

[15] The 1415 list is preserved in the Harleian manuscripts (*Harl. MS*. 309, fo. 202b-203b). It was reprinted by Hodgson (1820, 26-30) and, from a more reliable copy, by Bates.

paper is watermarked 1817), as a result of which the estate was acquired by the Roddam family. It subsequently passed to the Bryants in 1920 (*op. cit.*, 475). The glebe land formerly held by the Collingwoods is not shown on the 1820/21 estate plan. It later seems to have been associated with Ingram Mill lands (cf. NRO ZAN Bell 67/7 (1841); fig. 20) and was presumably dealt with separately.

6.8.2 The 17th century
The ending of the Anglo-Scottish hostilities conflict on the border brought about by the Union of the Crowns and the accession of James I in 1603 served to throw into starker relief the other faultlines in Border society, notably the religious divisions between Protestant and Catholic, Puritan and high church. An example of highlighted by Watts (1975, 89), namely the difficulties faced by Richard Satherwaite, parson of Ingram and vicar of Whittingham, also provides an indication of the state that parish ministry had sunk to by the early 17th century. For many years Satherthwaite did not attempt to collect the tithe of corn due to him from Fawdon and Ingram for fear of antagonising the leading member of the local gentry, the crypto-Catholic, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, who controlled the tithes> Instead, 'for quietude's sake and his own safety', he accepted a sum of £2 13s. 4d. a year in lieu of tithes. This prevailed until 1613, some years after Sir Cuthbert's death, when Satherwaite finally attempted to collect the tithes at Fawdon and Ingram, only to be met with bitter opposition from Sir Cuthbert's younger son, Cuthbert of Thrunton. The case was brought before the Council of the North but before the case could be decided Cuthbert took direct action. The parson later informed the Lords of the Star Chamber that in the autumn of 1613 James and Robert Scott had destroyed a hundred cart loads of hay and sizeable quantities of tithe grain. In turn, Robert Collingwood, Sir Cuthbert's grandson, presented counter-charges against Satherwaite in the Star Chamber to the effect that Satherwaite was a pluralist who had not preached a sermon for the last five years. He also declared to the court that the rector kept a 'common ale house or tippling house in his parsonage.' These accusations had little impact on Satherwaite's fortunes, however, and retained both his livings, valued at £200 pounds per annum, until his death in 1625.

A glebe terrier of 1663 provides some impression of the village in the mid 17th century. It indicates that the glebe lands were scattered in small parcels; i.e. butts, headlands or rigs in various parts of the town fields (NRO ZAL 6/7/1; reproduced by NCH XIV (1935), 460; see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 8). Five cottages ('coat houses') and associated 'coat landes' are mentioned, as well as a parsonage house with a close on the foreside of the house. This was not necessarily the full extent of the village at this date. The 'corn mill with a house and a close called the mill lands' in Fawdon township was probably situated at the present Ingram Mill.

6.8.3 The development of Ingram in the 18th and 19th centuries
A colourful impression of the depressed condition of the village in the first half of the 18th century is provided by George Mark, writing 1734, who noted that:

> "the houses are for the most part poor and despicable, and the inhabitants . . . . exceedingly poor. The village is plentifully watered by the river Beamish, which runs through the village. There are the remains of an old tower called Lumphaugh, at the distance of a pistol shot from the church".

He also reported that the inhabitants concentrated on rearing cattle and sheep rather than growing corn, although barley and oats were cultivated (Hodgson Hinde 1869, 82), a state of affairs which had probably prevailed since the late medieval period. The 1663 glebe terrier shows that land was still parcelled out in the medieval fashion, in individual ridges and butts in the mid 17th century (see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 8), but by the time of the earliest detailed map evidence, the 1820 township plan, the field pattern had evident been regularised. Only five fields near the farm were cultivated at that stage (Aln Cas O XV 7; NRO ZAN Bell 67/6), much as today.

By this stage the village was probably considerably smaller in terms of population, tenancies and number of buildings than it had been in the high medieval era,. A sketch plan of Fawdon, Clinch and

Ravenscragg dated 1745 (Aln Cas O XV 1) shows Ingram as a settlement of five buildings to the west of the church. The depiction appears somewhat schematic and it is unclear how much reliance can be placed on the number of buildings shown as an accurate record of the size of the village. but it probably conveys a general impression of the layout of the village. Further downstream, Ingram Mill is represented by two buildings. The layout of the mill complex is broadly echoed by the detailed estate map of c. 1820-21. Armstrong's map of 1769 (fig. 17) shows two small clusters of houses to the west of the church (NRO ZAN PM9). The more westerly cluster may represent the present site of Ingram Farm, 200–300 metres west of the church. More tentatively the easterly cluster could represent the parsonage or perhaps a group of cottages at the east end of the green which no longer survive.

By the early 19th century the farm hamlet was beginning to attain its modern form,. Both Fryer's map and the 1820/21 estate plan show a U-shaped plan with two projecting ranges. Greenwood's county map appears to show three projecting ranges forming a E-shaped arrangement in plan. However the tithe map dated to 1843 shows only two ranges, as in Fryer and the estate plan. It is unclear whether Greenwood's map was simply inaccurate in this respect, whether the tithe map was based on an older (pre-1828) survey, or whether the development of the farmbuildings was more complex than is immediately apparent. In its developed form, as shown on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey in c. 1860, the large E-plan farm complex consists of a long 2-storey rear range of shelter sheds with six segmental arches and a granary on the upper floor. Three projecting ranges of byres and stables frame a pair of stockyards (see fig. 49). On the gable of the central range a datestone inscribed M. R. MDCCCXXVI suggests this part of the building was erected in 1826. In front of this range is a pair of single-storey brick-built byres, which Grundy has argued may be the only extant pre-Victorian brick structures in the Northumberland National Park (1988, 238, 242). The buildings are attributed to the Newcastle architect, John Green (Grundy 1988, 238; Pevsner *et al*. 2001, 358).

The map evidence demonstrates that the remodelling of the farm into a coherent integrated complex had begun by the time of John Tarleton's tenure, but was expanded under the Roddams, who must have set up the datestone on the central projecting range. The datestone may have been a case of the Roddams setting their mark on a structure that was already standing, but is clear that they must have been responsible for one of the projecting ranges and part of the rear range. The standard, two-storey farmhouse, immediately to the east of the farm buildings, was probably built by John Tarleton, as it figure on Fryer's map and the 1820/21 estate plan and is early 19th-century in form.

The later development of the settlement can be traced in successive Ordnance Survey editions (see figs. 24-28). By 1860, the village essentially consisted of three main clusters of buildings, namely, in the centre, the church, rectory and school, grouped in and adjacent to the churchyard; to the west, the farm hamlet comprising house and farm buildings with a range of cottages at the west end of the village; and, further to the east, the group of buildings comprising Ingram Mill. This layout persisted with relatively little change. A number of alterations to St Michael's Church [72] were made during the 19th century, which are detailed by Ryder (see above). The Rectory [77] is a large and complex house which was begun in 1803 and added to in several stages during the course of the century (Pevsner *et al*. 2001, 358; see fig. 40). There was certainly been at least one previous parsonage, which is mentioned in the 1663 terrier (see below, *7. Selected Sources and Surveys* no. 8). It is unclear whether the 1663 parsonage corresponded to the tower house, which was being used for that purpose in 1541, or was a replacement, and it is equally uncertain whether either or both stood on the same site as the 19th century rectory.

The Church of England school is clearly shown and labelled on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey c. 1860. The building is also marked on the plan of glebe land dated to 1841 (NRO ZAN Bell 67/7; see fig. 20), and on the tithe map, although it is not labelled on the latter. It may even figure on Fryer's map (allowing for a slight mis-siting from the east to the west side of the north-south trackway which runs past the churchyard). The school does not figure on the 1820/21 estate map, but this may not be significant as the building is located within the glebe land, which is not detailed on that plan.

6.8.4   Population

The Militia List of 1762 gives a total of 30 men from the parish of Ingram, including Reaveley, Fawdon and Clinch. This is just under half the total of 64 given on the muster roll of 1538;. The occupations of the men recorded in the 1762 list were predominantly associated with farming, as might be expected in this rural district. There were 5 farmers, 10 herdsmen, 7 husbandsmen, 2 shepherds, 1 miller, 1 boulouner, 2 servants and 2 clerks.

The census figures for Ingram township which included Linhope and Greenside Hill (and later Hartside), show population of the township remained relatively constant throughout the 19th century. 66 persons were recorded, rising to a peak of 92 in 1841 before dipping back to 65 by 1881. The inclusion of Hartside in Ingram township in the 1880s brought the level up to 82 by 1891, falling only slightly to 77 by the onset of the 20th century. By contrast, the populations of Fawdon and Reaveley, which both very nearly equalled that of Ingram in the early and middle parts of the century, declined significantly towards its end (down to 40 and 50 respectively by 1901) and, moreover, continued to do so in the early part of the following century (down to 27 each by 1931), whereas that of Ingram township remained relatively stable.

Bulmer's directory in 1887 records the school was attended by 36 pupils on average. However the school logbooks (see figs. 30-32) make clear just how difficult it could be to achieve such attendance levels in the last decades of the 19th century, in the face of severe winter weather and periodic bouts of sickness. Daily attendance figures as low as 12 and 15 are mentioned in 1890 and 1889, with totals no higher than 25-26 and weekly averages of 14.7 and 19.5 being recorded. In 1910, Kelly's directory stated the school could cater for 50 children, butaverage attendance was a mere 9 (Kelly 1910, 174).

6.8.5   The 20th Century and beyond

During the last century Ingram witnessed profound social, economic and demographic changes which are reflected in the fabric of the village. The terrible cost of two world wars is symbolised in the Lynchgate war memorial ([75] see fig. 38) built around 1920 at the entrance to the churchyard. The village population has declined with the result that there were too few children to sustain school. Agriculture now employs far fewer people, although it remains a crucial element in the local economy and Ingram Farm is a working operation. Leisure and tourism have assumed much greater importance following the creation of the Northumberland National Park in 1956 and the increasing recreational time and opportunities available to all sections of the population in the second half of the 20th century. This is reflected in the construction of National Park Visitor Centre (recently refurbished to include material from the Breamish Valley Archaeology Project) and the construction of holiday cottages in Rectory Gardens. It is likely that this will continue to grow in significance as Ingram adapts to the new challenges of the 21st century.

7.   SELECTED SOURCES AND SURVEYS

1.   *Liber Feodorum* (*The Book of Fees*) II, 1117-9; Northumberland, 1242

Baronia de Vescy:
Willelmus de Vescy tenet in capite de domino rege Aunewic, Aunemue, Denwye, Haukehall, Bylton, Lescebyr, Schipplingbothill, Neuton super Moram, Heysandan, Gynis, Ruggeley, Morewyc, Chivington' del Est, Houcton' Magnam, Houcton' Parvam, Howyc, Renigton', Rok', Charleton' del North', Charleton del Suth, Falwedon, Burneton Batayll, Neuton super Mare, Preston, Tughal, Swinhou, Neuham Cumyn, Lukre cum Hopum membro suo, Hetheriston, Spinlastan, Ewrth, Dodington cum Nesebit membro suo, Horton, Turbervill, Hesilrig, Leum, Chatton, Folebir, Wetwod, Caldemerton, Yherdhill, **Angreham***, cum Reveley et Hertishevid membris suis, Faudon Batayll, Prendewic, Alneham, Chirmundisden, Bidlisden, Clenhill, Nedderton, Burweton, Alwemton, Hetton, Ambell, Scharberton, Thirnum, Scravenwood, Hauekislawe, Chevelingham et Hibburn.*
. . . . .
Gilbertus de Humframvill tenet Alwenton, Bidlisden, Clenhill, Chirmundisden, Scharberton, Thirnum, Burwedon, Neddirton, Faudon et **Angerham** *per duo feoda de veteri feoffamento et per unum austurcum sorum.*

Translation:

Barony of Vesci:
William de Vesci holds in chief from the lord king Alnwick, Alnmouth, Denwick, Hawkhill, Bilton, Lesbury, Shilbottle, Newton-on-the-Moor, Hazon, Guyzance, Rugley, Morwick, East Chevington, Longhoughton, Littlehoughton, Howick, Rennington, Rock, North Charlton, South Charleton, Fallodon, Brunton, Newton-by-the-Sea, Preston, Tughall, Swinhoe, Newham, Lucker with its member Hoppen, Adderstone, Spindlestone, Ewart, Doddington with its member Nesbit, Horton, Turvelaws, Hazelrigg, Lyham, Chatton, Fowberry, Weetwood, Coldmartin, Earle, **Ingram, with its members Reaveley and Hartside**, Fawdon, Prendwick, Alnham, 'Chirmundesden' (Peels), Biddlestone, Clennell, Netherton, Burradon, Alwinton, Hetton, Amble, Sharperton, Farnham, Scrainwood, Hauxley, Chillingham and Hepburn.
. . .
'Gilbert de Umfraville holds Alwinton, Biddlestone, Clennell, Chirmundesden' (Peels), Sharperton, Farnham, Burradon, Netherton, Fawdon and **Ingram** for two (knight's) fees by ancient feoffment and one sparrow hawk.'

2.   *Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions, from Henry III to Edward I (CalMisc)*

"Writ to Richard de Middelton to enquire whether William de Rodum slew Adam Scot in self defence or of malice. The sheriff of Northumberland has been ordered to find a jury. Kenilworth. 12 August 50 Henry III. (1266).

Inquisition:- Newcastle upon Tyne. Friday after the Nativity of the St. Mary.
'On the Monday after St. James last, William de Rodum came to the house of Thomas son of Alan de Faudon, and there dined; and while he was there, his son Henry, a boy of eight years, being in the street of Faudon, found a stray greyhound and took it home to his father's house at Rodum without his father's knowledge. After the meal, when the said William had taken his leave and was going home, Adam le Escot, with one Fyni le Escot met him in the said town of Faudon, and so assaulted him as to throw him from his horse and beat him and very evil treat him, and gave him several dry blows, so that they nearly killed him, and took him from his horse and a surcoat of burnet and a green hood and a sword. Then came one Richard Mansel, bailiff of Geoffrey de Luscy of Angram, hearing

the noise, and with difficulty rescued the said William and took him with him to his lord's manor of Angram. And when the said William thought that all was quiet, and that he could return in peace to his house at the Rodum, he found when he came there the said Adam and Fyni breaking in under the door of the house, which his wife had shut for fear of them; and seeing this he cried out and raised a hue and cry upon them for the burglary and the robbery; and they straight away rushed on him, and one of them struck him on the head with a bow, making two wounds; and his wife hearing from the noise and her husband's voice, opened the door and let him in; and the said Adam and Fyny rushed in with him, and straightway laid hands on him, the said Adam taking him in his arms and throwing him to the ground and squeezing his throat with his hands so hard as he could so as nearly to strangle him; and the said Fyny caught up a great stick like a cowstaff meaning to kill him as he lay; and the said William, seeing that he could not escape death unless he defended himself, drew out a little knife and struck the same Adam, who was lying upon him; and this he did in self-defence, as aforesaid. And unless he had given this blow he could not have escaped death."

3.   ***The Lay Subsidy 1296*** (Fraser (ed.) 1968, 168, no.392)

Ingram (*Angram*) in West Coquetdale Ward

Taxpayer	Tax		
Robert son of Tuwe	£4	8	8
Robert *le Provost*	£8	12	6
William son of Agnes		16	4
Walter son of Henry	£1	8	7
Ralph Cale	£1	6	9
William of *Molle*	£4	1	2
William *le Provost*	£1	14	2
Emma daughter of Walter		12	0
William Spenser	£2	0	0
Total Assessment of Ingram	**£25**	**0**	**2**
Tax Due	**£2**	**5**	**5¾**

4.   ***List of Holds and Townships in north Northumberland capable of holding garrisons of horsemen in 1509*** (Chapter House Book, B1/24 Northumberland fo. 116 (PRO); *cf*. Hodgson Hinde 1858, 339; Bates 1891, 23-24)

Owners, inabytaunttes or officers	Holdis and Towneshyppes too lay in Garynsons of horsmen. And how far from Tevedale (*Teviotdale*) & the Mars (*the Merse*) & who be the owners & the inabytaunttes in the howses
-------------------- Lord Ogell Inb't nihil	Inggerram xl & from tevedale iii myle & from the mars xv m.

5.   ***Extract from Lord Dacre's Ledger Book for 1523*** (reproduced in Hodgson 1832, 476 and Dixon 1895, 15; *cf*. NCH XIV (1935), 471)

Places on the middle mches hereafter written by John Eure, peticapitan, in thabsence of Sir William Eure, knight lieutenant of the said mche, by the commandment of Thomas lorde Dacre, to him given

by his familiar and trusty s(er)vant Cuthbert Heton, gentilman, thought unto the said John most beneficiale for garrisons to be laid in as well as for defence of the said border as to the annoysance of the Scotts, whiche townships and places has promised and ar contented to take soldeors to burde that is to say:

	Heppell	John Bilton, Sande Snadon & Thomas Johnson	xx persons
➢	Heppell	John Bilton, Sande Snadon & Thomas Johnson	xx persons
➢	Harbottell	Ann Lighton & Hew Grene	xviii
➢	Alwenton	William Brown	xii
➢	Burroden	John Wardhaughe	xii
➢	Bittlesden	Persevell Selby	xx
➢	Scranwood	Sande Layng, John Scroggs, Robert Howey & George Howy	xxxii
➢	Alnem	Robert Howy, Robert Watson, William Gair, & Thomas Mantyll	xxx
➢		& between the towns of Scranwood & Alnem	x psons
➢	Ingham	George Ogle	lx
➢	Whittingham	Thom. Roull, Thomas Tailyor, Cuthbert Dycheburn & Thomas Yong	xxxvi
➢	Unthank	John Unthank	xii

At 2s. 8d. per week each persons borde.

6.   *A View and Survey . . . of the borders or frontier of the East and Middle Marches of England, Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker'1541* (cf. Hodgson 1828, 184; Bates 1891, 32-3)

Margin	*Description*
Ingrame a little towre decayed	At Ingrame ys a lytle toure which ys the mansion of the parsonage there & for lacke of contynuall necessary repac'ns ys fallen in grett decaye in coverynge & rooffes thereof.
The water like to wear the towne of Ingram	Also a lytle by west the said toure of Ingrame the ryv' or water of the Brymyshe by rage of floodes hath worne sore upon the southe banke thereof that except there be shortely made a weir & defence of the same yt is very lyke in continuance of tyme to were away both the said towne of Ingram & tower aforesaid.

7.   *1604 Border Survey* (Sanderson 1891)

THE SURVAIE OF THE TENN TOWNES IN CUBEDALE

Township	Descent	Number of Tenants	Rent			Quantitie		Rate	Value		
			li.	s.	d.	acr.	ro.		li.	s.	d.
INGRAM	Freehoulders havinge tennants	12		5		1600					5

8. ***1663 Terrier of Glebe land*** (reproduced in NCH XIV (1935), 460)

The terrier shows that land was still parcelled out in the medieval fashion, in individual ridges and butts in the mid 17th century:

> ➤ Imprimis a parsonage house and a close on the foreside of the house and five coat houses (*cottages*) with five coat landes belonginge to them and are now in the possession of Mr Cuthbert Collingwood, fower butts at Heddernburn, one butt in the meadow head, nine rigs in the nether cross sheat amd one ridge and one butt in the upper cross sheat, two butts in the crossway end, one butt at the peace end, one butt at the foot of the peace.

> ➤ Item, a ridges in the longe lengthes and one little butt in the burnehead, six ridges in the upp landes, fower butts in the shape and a peace of meadow ground called Windyflat, thre ridges in weatforelands, one headland in the back of the Sheeld.

> ➤ Item, thre butts at the deen burne and two ridges in the Melmans, one ridge called the mill ridge, one little yard called the mill yard.

> ➤ Item, there was twelve ridges in the Hawcrofts whereof the water hath taken away six of them except some small pieces of the ends, in the Hew crofts heads thre little buts and one headland, one little croft called the short croft.

> ➤ Item in the stead meadow thre bales of hay and in Reveley two ridges in the Carlen law now in the possession of Mr Ralph Collingwood.

> ➤ Item, in Talddon (*Fawdon*) one house and a croft of land and a parcell called the acre and one corn mill with a house and a close called the mill lands (*perhaps Ingram Mill which actually lay just within the bounds of Fawdon township*)

PART 4:

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS
& RECOMMENDATIONS:

8. POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The village of Ingram is situated amidst a landscape, which, in addition to its outstanding natural beauty, represents an archaeological palimpsest of staggering quality and preservation. Unfortunately the traces of the village's own past history have survived rather less well.

The village had already shrunk from its full medieval extent by the time it is depicted on the earliest detailed map, a plan of Ingram estate dating to *c*. 1820. Thus the layout of the medieval village cannot be reconstructed with certainty though its general location can be estimated. The most obvious surviving component is the Church of St Michael

The precise location of the 'little tower' mentioned in Bowes and Ellerker's Border survey in 1541 is uncertain, but since it was the residence of the vicar in 1541 it probably lay close to the church, perhaps on or near the site of the current rectory. Since it was reportedly being threatened with being washed away by the Breamish, along with the rest of the 'town', it must have lain relatively close to the river.

The corn mill lay downstream of the main settlement on a site still occupied today.

There is slender but convincing charter evidence that the Breamish Valley formed part of a large estate belonging to St Cuthbert's monastery of Lindisfarne. Ingram is one of the sites which has been proposed as a candidate to be the centre of this 'multiple estate' or 'shire', though Greaves Ash and Ingram Hill have also been proposed. No conclusive evidence has yet been recovered to support any of these candidates, though Ingram is probably as convincing as either of the other two. No evidence for early medieval activity was found during the recent excavations in St Michael's churchyard.

9.   ARCHAEOLOGICAL SENSITIVITY ISSUES

The grades of sensitivity shown on the accompanying archaeological sensitivity map (fig. 53) 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.

1. St Michael's Church is a major monument containing surviving medieval fabric (see above) and is accordingly assigned a high sensitivity.

2. The area of the village, as shown on the historic mapping, is accorded medium sensitivity with an appropriated surrounding zone of equivalent status as a buffer against uncertainty.

3. Medium sensitivity is also attributed to the site of the water mill.

KEY

Medium Sensitivity

High Sensitivity

Reaveley Braes

River Breamish

Ingram Bridge

Ingram Farm

Middledean Burn

St. Michael's Church

The Old Rectory

Ingram

Ingram Farm House

Figure 53

© The Archaeological Practice Ltd. [Ordnance Survey data supplied by Northumberland National Park Authority: Licence no. AL 08898L]

Fig. 53: *Archaeological Sensitivity Map of Ingram (Catalogue numbers keyed to Appendix 4)*

Areas of the map designated 'High Sensitivity' are those known to contain important visible or buried archaeological remains; those designated 'Medium Sensitivity' are areas thought likely to contain such remains on the basis of map & documentary evidence or their proximity to known sites. The above map covers the modern village core and its environs; other sites and localities in the wider vicinity (see Figures 51 & 52) will also display significant levels of archaeological sensitivity.

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.
Bondman	Tenant of a bondland , usually 24-30 acres in size, held according to the custom of the manor, not the common law of England. The term did not necessarily imply serfdom in the north of England.
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 **bovate**s 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 lad 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	Anglo-Saxon land measurement, notionally 120 acres, used for calculating liability for geld. *See* **carucate**.
Homage	act by which a **vassal** acknowledges a superior lord.
Husbandman	the term which gradually replaced **bondman** from the mid-late 14th century.
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, excercised 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 14th 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 13th 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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13.   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]