Northumberland National Park Authority

Historic Village Atlas 15:

Rochester

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ROCHESTER
NORTHUMBERLAND

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF A BORDER VILLAGE AND TOWNSHIP

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PART 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.   BACKGROUND, AIMS AND METHODS

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

Despite a considerable amount of historical and archaeological research within NNP, much of this work has been targeted on outlying sites and areas and there has been little targeted study of the historic villages themselves. Previous studies undertaken into the history of the villages, including those provided by the antiquarian, Hodgson (1827), 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John Grundy's impressive work on the buildings of the National Park completed as recently as 1988 has been rendered out of date by the conservation, renovation, adaptation and, in some cases, demolition of many buildings covered in his report.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.

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

> ➢ To provide a springboard for future community-led initiatives by supplying information which community groups can use to develop their own proposals.

> ➢ To facilitate the management of the cultural heritage by the NNPA

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

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

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

Modern villages exist within clearly demarcated territories known as civil parishes, which are generally based on the boundaries of earlier territorial units labelled townships – units of settlement with pre-Norman origins which were regarded as discrete communities within each 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

the present section (Section 1) the location of the village is discussed and an indication is given of the area covered by the present study. Section 2 provides a background to the sources of information used to compile the report, listing the archives consulted and some of the most significant maps, documents and photographs used to compile a list of cultural heritage sites. Section 3 provides a listing of all the historic and archaeological monuments identified within the study area and synthesizes the collected data to provide a summary of the known history of the settlement. Section 4 contains suggestions for future work and sets out the report's conclusions regarding the village's historical development which in turn inform the judgements regarding the levels of archaeological sensitivity applied to different parts of the settlement and displayed graphically on the 'sensitivity maps'. The appendices contain catalogues of the various categories of collected data. A glossary of historical terms used and a full bibliography are also provided.

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

2. LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

2.1 Location and topography

Rochester is situated in the upper reaches of Redesdale in central Northumberland, at the heart of the Northumberland National Park. Today, it comprises two main settlements, the hamlet of High Rochester that is located within the walls of the Roman station of Bremenium, and secondly the settlement of Rochester about half a kilometre to the south, along the north side of the A68 road linking Newcastle to Scotland and the borders. The western limit of the settlement is marked by the valley of the Sills Burn, which flows into the Rede just above Rochester village. To the north lies a vast expanse of high barren moorland, incorporated in the Otterburn Training Area.

2.2 Area of Study

During the the 17th and 19th centuries Rochester was the centre of the large Poor Law township or 'ward' of Rochester. However this area, which extended from Rochester right up to the head of the valley and the border with Scotland at Carter Bar (excluding only extra-parochial Ramshope), was too large to use as the basis of this study. Accordingly, a much smaller study area has been adopted which is focussed on Rochester village. This embraces the pre-1662 territorial township which is still depicted on tithe, enclosure and estate maps of the 18th and 19th centuries. It covers both High and Low Rochester and the surrounding farmsteads of Hillock, Dykehead and Petty Knowes, and is bounded by the Rede to the south and the Sills Burn to the west. A number of sites on the west side of the Sills Burn are also listed in the Site Catalogue, for convenience. The development of the parochial and township structures is discussed more fully in the following section and in the historical synthesis contained in Part 3.

Fig. 1: *Location of Rochester in Northumberland*
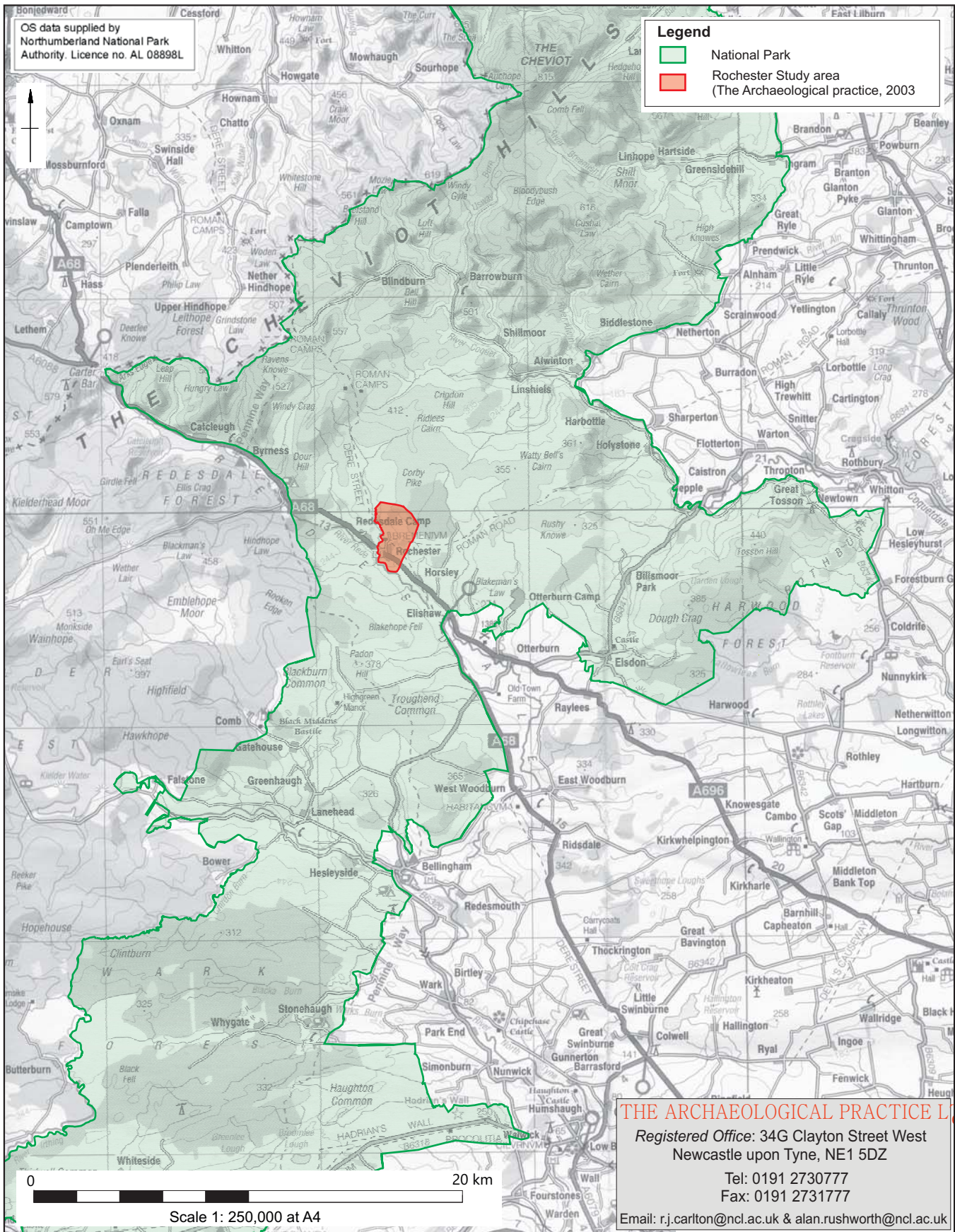
Fig. 2: *Location of Rochester study area, Northumberland National Park*
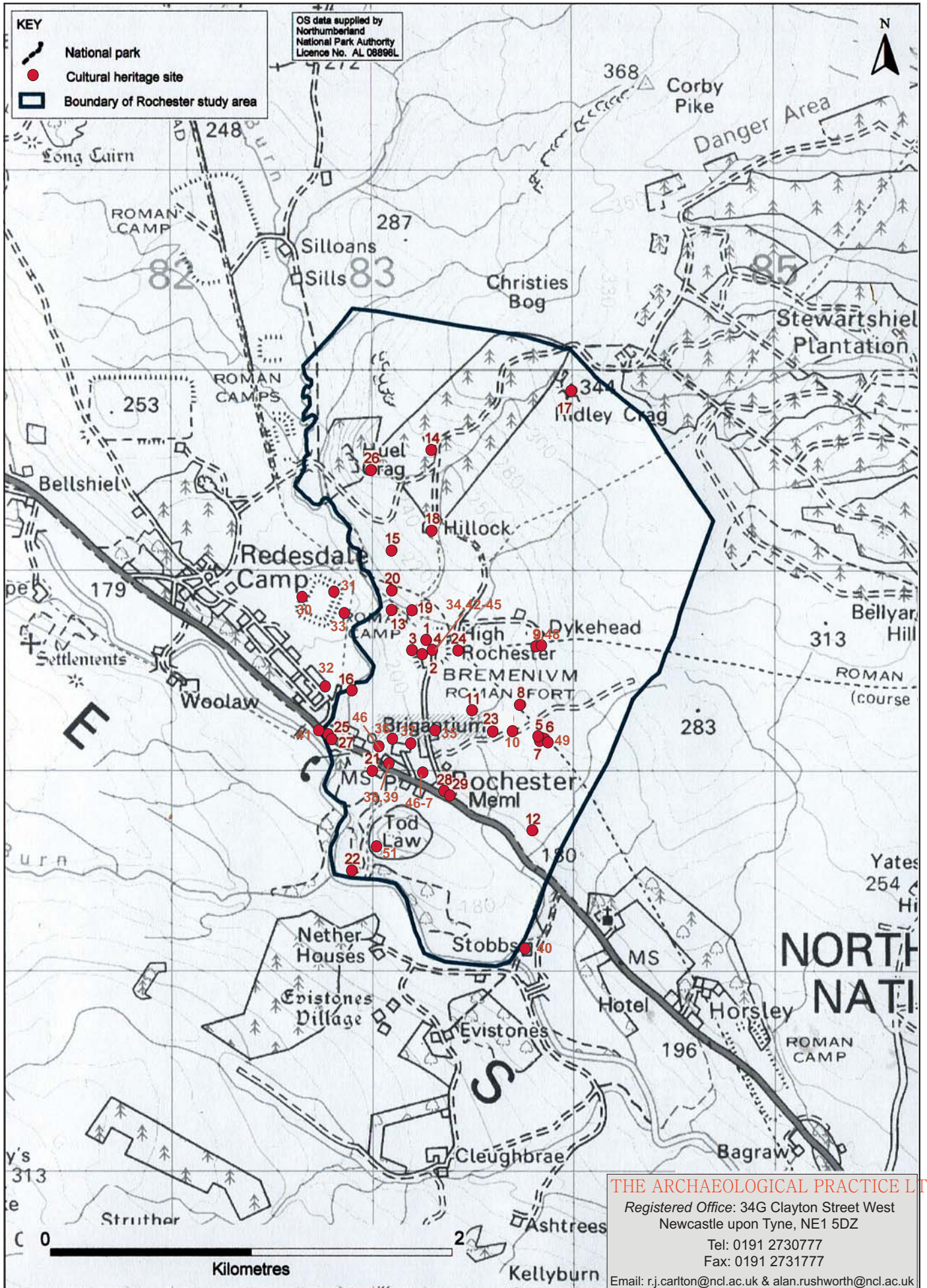
Fig. 3: *Cultural Heritage Sites in Rochester Township (Keyed to Table 1 and Appendix 4).*
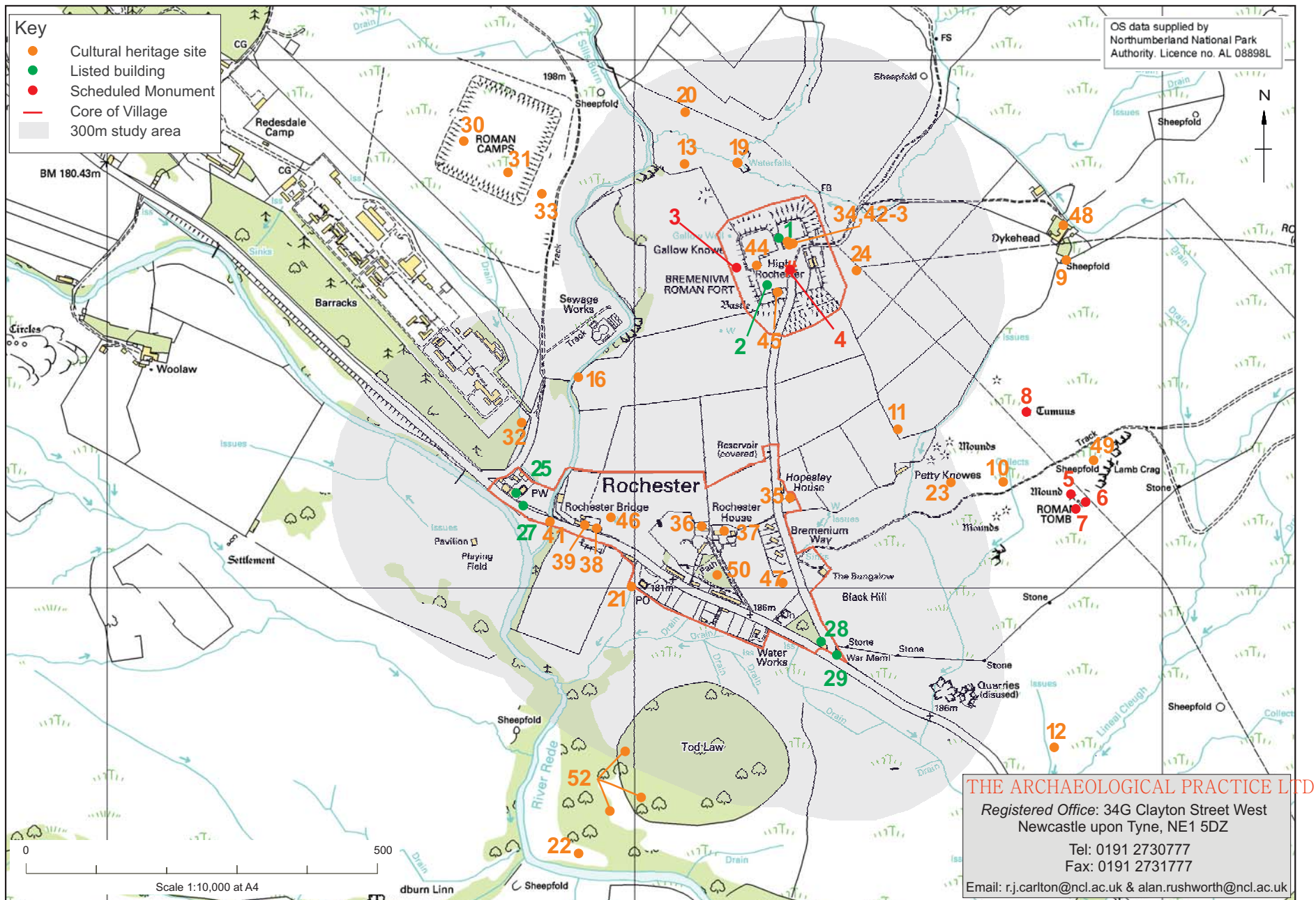
Fig. 4: *Cultural Heritage Sites in the vicinity of Rochester Village, showing sites of known cultural heritage value (keyed to Table 1 and Appendix 4).* [The 300m study area defines the main focus of the present study]
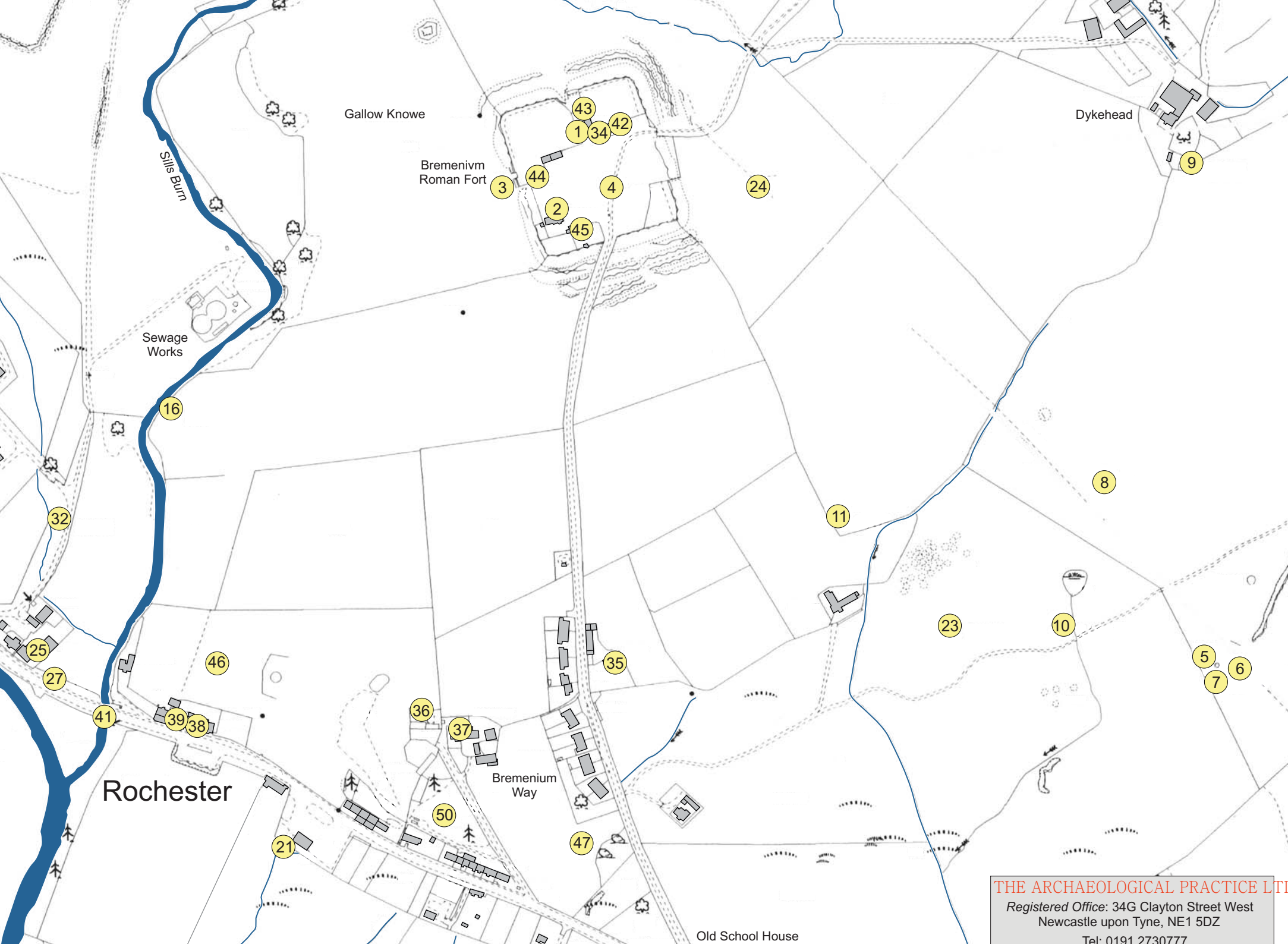
Gallow Knowe

Sills Burn

Bremenivm
Roman Fort

Dykehead

(43)
(1) (34) (42)
(44)
(3)
(2)
(45)
(4)
(24)
(9)

(16)

(8)

(32)

(11)

(23)
(10)

(25)
(46)
(35)
(5)
(7) (6)

(27)

(36)
(41)
(39) (38)
(37)

Bremenium Way

Rochester

(50)

(21)
(47)

Old School House

3.   TERRITORIAL UNITS AND SETTLEMENT TYPES

3.1   Parishes and Townships, Baronies and Manors

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

The Parish was the basic unit of ecclesiastical administration and essentially represented 'a community whose spiritual needs were served by a parish priest, who was supported by 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, Kirknewton in Glendale and Elsdon itself (which included most of Redesdale) were amongst the largest parishes in the country. Alwinton, Ingram and Alnham were not quite in the same class, but, in common with almost all the upland parishes, they embraced several civil township communities or *vills*. In all, six of the seventeen villages studied in this survey were parochial centres in the medieval period, namely Elsdon, Holystone, Alwinton, Alnham, Ingram and Kirknewton. Others, such as Falstone, Harbottle, Akeld, Kilham, Hethpool and perhaps Byrness were the site of dependent chapels of ease. The presence of early medieval carved stonework at Falstone suggests it had long been an ecclesiastical centre and may have had greater significance in the 8th and 9th centuries (as a small monastic site?) than it possessed later on. However several of our study villages, including Rochester itself, contain no places of worship whatsoever,[1] and it is clear that the traditional, almost unconscious, English equation of village and parish church does not apply in Northumberland, and certainly not in the Northumbrian uplands.

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

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[1] The construction of a church or chapel at Rochester to remedy the inconvenience to parishioners resulting from the huge size of Elsdon Parish was in fact recommended in the Survey of Church Livings undertaken in 1650, but this proposal was never implemented (see below - Historical Synthesis - for more detail). The survey is reproduced in Hodgson 1835, lxxvi ff.

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 (*villa*), 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).[2] 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). This idea of the vill as an area of land with defined boundaries, potentially enclosing a number of settlements, rather than a the territorial resource of a single community, is expressed in a passage by Sir John Fortescue, writing towards the end of the medieval period, and makes an interesting contrast with Bracton's decription over two hundred years earlier (Fortescue, 54-55; *cf*. Winchester *ibid*. n.27):

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[2] 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).

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

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

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

The administration of poor relief was originally established at parochial rather than township level, with the requirement of the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601 that overseers for the poor be appointed in every ecclesiastical parish in England (*Statutes* 43 Eliz. I c.2; *cf.* Winchester 1978, 56). Following pressure in parliament to permit the subdivision of the huge ecclesiastical parishes in the northern counties into smaller, more convenient units, the 1662 Poor Law Act allowed 'every Township or Village' in northern England to become a unit for poor-rate assessment and collection with their own overseers (*Statutes* 14 Charles II c.12, s.21; *cf.* Winchester 1987, 27). Winchester has argued, on the basis of the arrangements he documented in the Copeland district of west Cumbria, that it was the territorial townships rather than the administrative vills which were most frequently adopted to serve as the new poor law townships. In Northumberland north of the Coquet there was relatively little difference between the medieval territorial and administrative units, as noted above, and about three quarters of the townships identifiable in the 13th century may be equated with the poor law townships recorded by the Ordnance Survey. The disappearance or radical alteration of the remaining 25 percent was the result of settlement abandonment or colonisation during the late medieval period and estate reorganisation in the post-medieval period (Dixon 1985, I, 79-84)[3]. The upland dales south of the Coquet were a very different matter, however. 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

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

1987, 98-9).[4] 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 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. Elsdon, Simonburn, 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):

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

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

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 inquisitions 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 11, 12, 17 & 25) - but more importantly the tithe (c. 1840) (figs.26 &27) and enclosure maps (figs. 19-22) and Ordnance Survey editions (figs. 29-33), 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 have 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, notably considerable information from the section covering Redesdale and Rochester Ward or Township in Part II, Volume 1 of John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* (1827). Especially useful is the overview of settlement history based on documentary research and archaeological fieldwork in Redesdale and upper Coquetdale by Charlton and Day (Charlton & Day 1979; Charlton 1986).

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

4.1.3   Archaeological Survey

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

Listed Building Records were consulted through the NMR along with Grundy's survey of the historic buildings in the National Park (1988) in order to compile a gazetteer of historic buildings in the township. Photographs of the exterior of each building have been incorporated in the archive gazetteer. A small number of structures, which by virtue of their importance and complexity of fabric are considered by the project team to merit stone-by-stone recording, have also been identified.

4.1.4   Survey of Village environs

The wider setting of the villages have been assessed, using the territorial framework of the historic township where relevant, through a combination of aerial photographs, historic maps, documents, previous historical syntheses and site visits. Where possible the various components - infield arable

and meadow, outfield pasture, woodland – have been identified and different phases of activity evidence of change over time have been noted in the historical synthesis. Information regarding the extent of outlying settlement has also been summarised in the synthesis, and particular attention has been paid to essential components as watermills which could often be located some distance from the main settlement.

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

4.1.5   Site inspections

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

4.1.6   Public information and involvement

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

It was also anticipated that these methods would also identify questions concerning the historical past of the villages which were of particular interest to members of the local community and which the project might address in its report, or alternatively might form the basis for follow-on community based projects. It was clear from the meetings and presentations that there was a significant degree of interest amongst several communities in the past of their settlements. It is hoped that this engagement with the past can be supported through future community-led projects, aimed at facilitating more detailed, long term studies of these villages and their landscape settings. The meetings and presentations were particularly successful in prompting local participation in data collection, inspiring the 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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[6] See *A Report on the Oral History Recording made for the Historic Village Atlas Project 2004*. The Archaeological Practice Ltd & Northumberland National Park Authority; 2004.
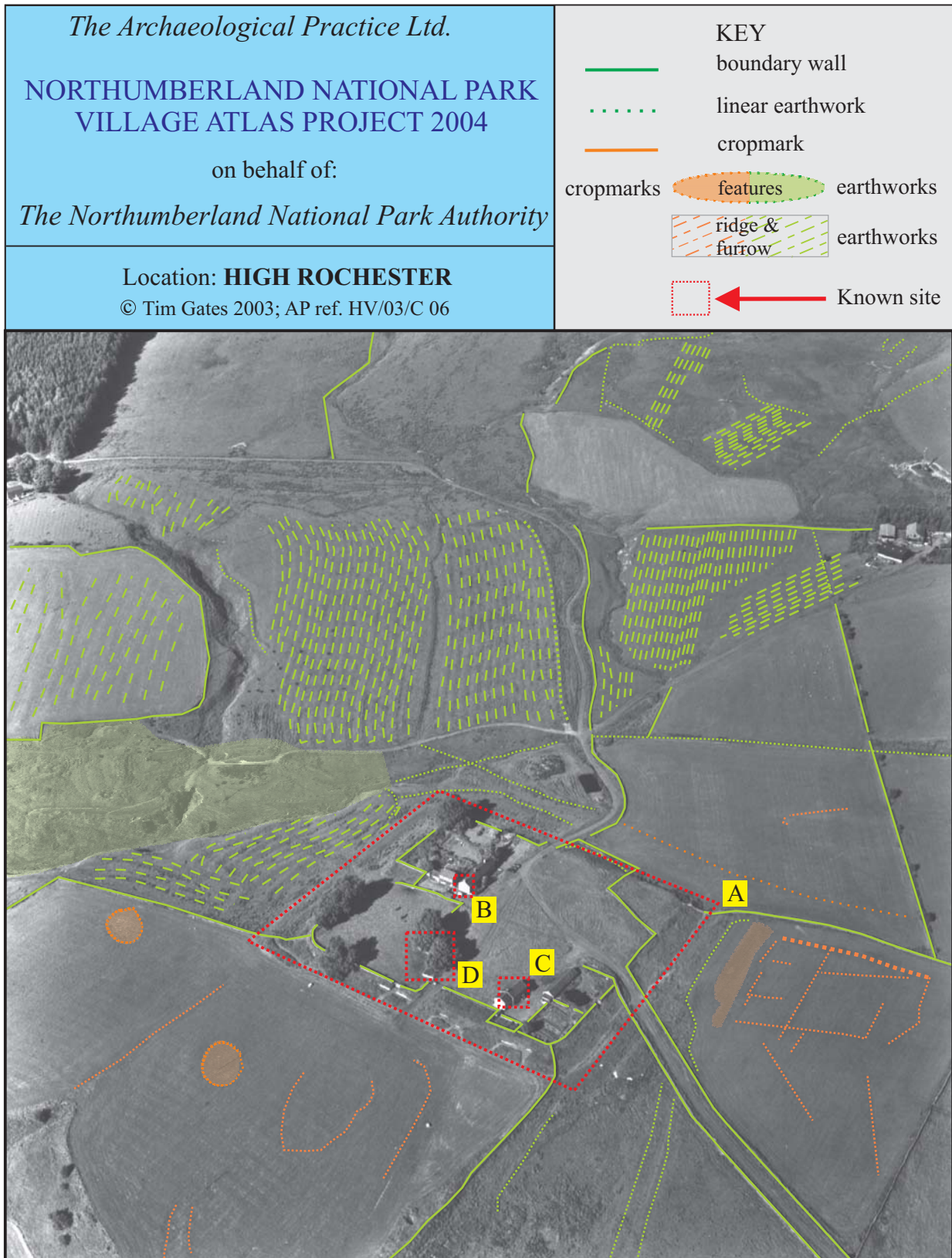
Fig. 6: *Aerial photograph of Rochester marking features of potential interest.*

This view of High Rochester from the south-west shows the 'playing card'-shaped outline of the Roman fort (A) with various masonry remains visible on the south and west sides. Inside the fort are the remains of two bastles (B & C), one of which is substantially complete (C), although recently extended westwards, and the remains of two early modern structures of 'long-house' type (D). In arable fields south and west of the fort are cropmarks, some of which may be associated with Roman extra mural settlement activities. North of the fort on broken and higher ground are various earthworks of medieval or later origin, including extensive areas of ridge & furrow cultivation features and surface mining works which have largely obliterated traces of Dere Street and the succeeding drove road which passes through the site in this area from south-east to north-west.

The Archaeological Practice Ltd.

NORTHUMBERLAND NATIONAL PARK
VILLAGE ATLAS PROJECT 2004

on behalf of:

The Northumberland National Park Authority

Location: **HIGH ROCHESTER**

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KEY
boundary wall
linear earthwork
cropmark
cropmarks   features   earthworks
ridge &
furrow   earthworks
Known site

Roman
Marching
Camp

Fig. 7: *Aerial photograph of Rochester marking additional features of potential interest (see Figure 6).*

This aerial view from the east shows the position of the fort in relation to one of the Sills burn marching camps. The complex of earthworks, including fort defences, ridge & furrow, mining works and linear boundary banks on the north side of the fort is shown clearly here.

KEY

The red dotted line indicates approximately the extent of the area considered to display moderate or high archaeological potential (see Figure 75)

Fig. 8: *Aerial photograph of Rochester marking the area in and around the hamlet of High Rochester considered to display high or moderate archaeological sensitivity.*

This oblique view from south-east of the Roman fort (A) shows the course of Dere Street Roman Road (C) running northwards away from the Sills burn marching camp (B). Various other features are also visible, inlcuding many highlighted on Figures 6 & 7. The extensive areas of ridge & furrow north of the fort are particularly prominent here

KEY

The red dotted line indicates approximately the extent of the area considered to display moderate or high archaeological potential (see Figure 75)

.... linear earthwork

.... cropmark

cropmarks   ridge & furrow   earthworks
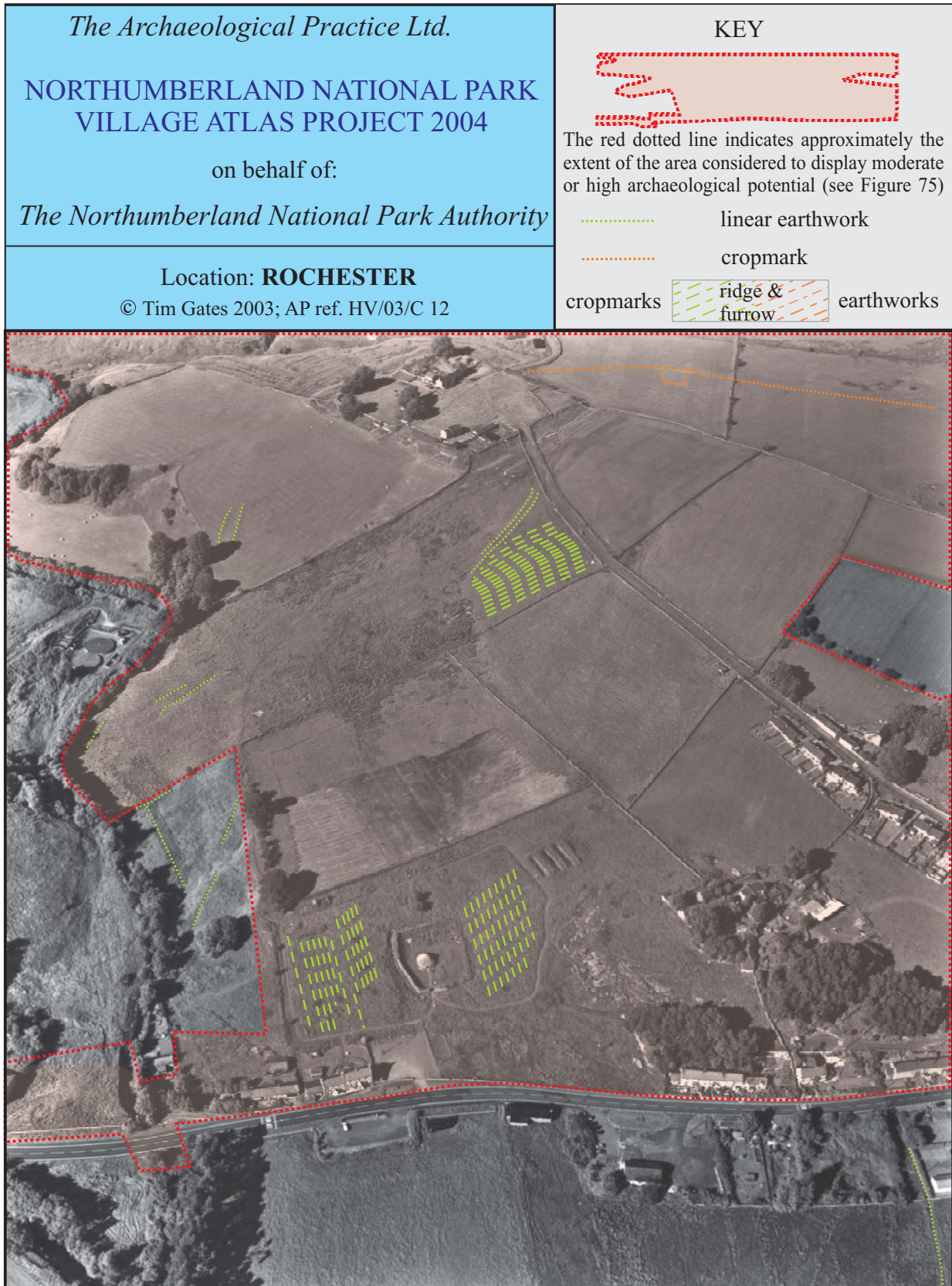
Fig. 9: *Aerial photograph of High and Low Rochester marking additional features of potential interest (see Figures 6-8).*

This aerial view from the south shows the Brigantium archaeological centre in the foreground, with the remains of original ridge & furrow cultivation features amongst a reconstructed late prehistoric enclosure (centre) and other features. A number of othe rpatches of ridge & furrow are also highlighted, as are some other earthwork and cropmark features close to the Roman fort that appear on this oblique view.

KEY

.... linear earthwork

The red dotted line indicates approximately the extent of the area considered to display moderate or high archaeological potential (see Figure 75)

Fig. 10: *Aerial photograph of Low Rochester marking features of potential interest south of the road*

This view of Low Rochester from the south shows the cottages built by Lord Redesdale at the end of the 19th century. Their associated quarter-acre gardens lie on the south side of the road, drained by a series of ditches extending onto rough pasture between Low Rochester and the river Rede. The heart of Low (or Nether) Rochester lies east of Brigantium (its prominent roundhouse and enclosure, as well as Roman defences are visible to the left of the picture), north of the cottages within and around a small stand of conifers. East of the original Low Rochester is a row of modern dwellings on the road towards High Rochester. Directly south and south-east of this row are various remains of quarrying, which extend into the wooded gardens of the Old Schoolhouse and include signs of quarrying as well as various channels, tracks and holloways.

Fig. 11: Mercator's Map of 1595 showing the Rede Valley, with Rochester absent
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 250))

Fig. 12: Rochester shown on Speed's Map of 1610
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 242))

Fig. 13: Rochester shown on Jansson's Map of 1646
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 242))

Fig. 14: Rochester shown on Morden's Map of 1695
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 252))

Fig. 15: Rochester shown on Kitchin's Map of 1750
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 247))

Fig. 16: 'H Rochester' and 'Nether Rochester' shown on Horsley and Cary's Map of 1753
(NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 249))
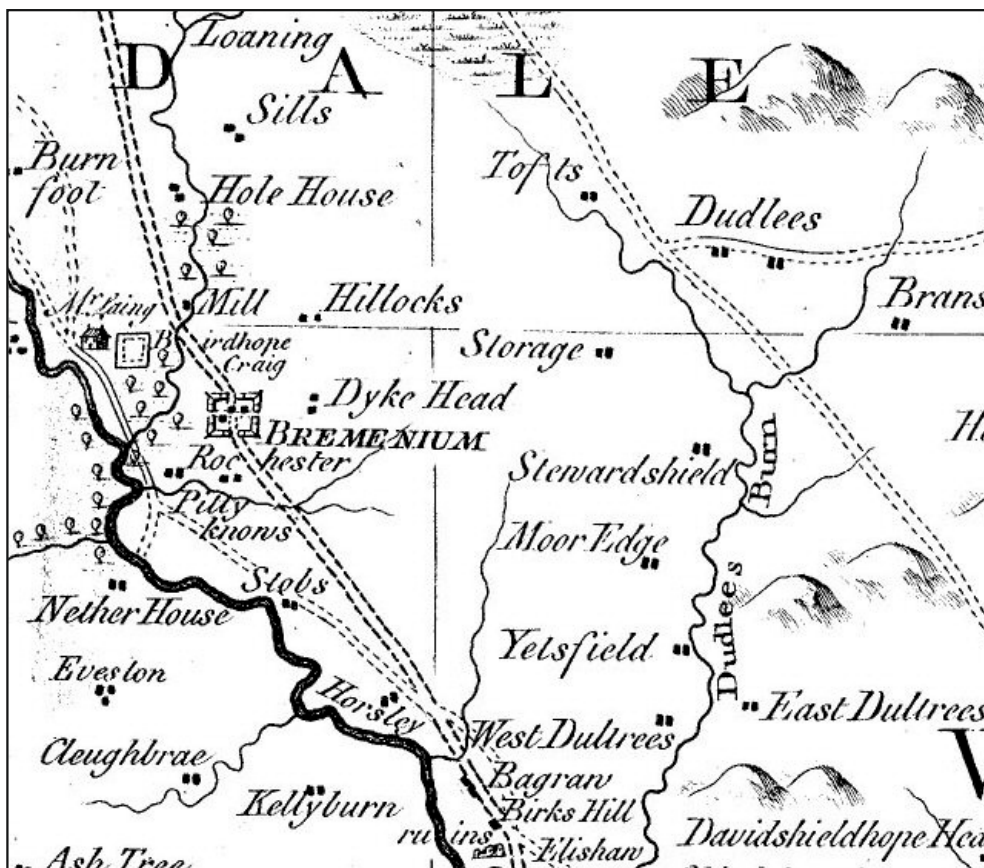
Fig. 17: *Rochester (and Bremenium) shown on Armstrong's Map of 1769*

Fig. 18: *Bremenium (but not Rochester) shown on Cary's Map of 1789 (NRO ZAN M16-B21 (p. 254))*
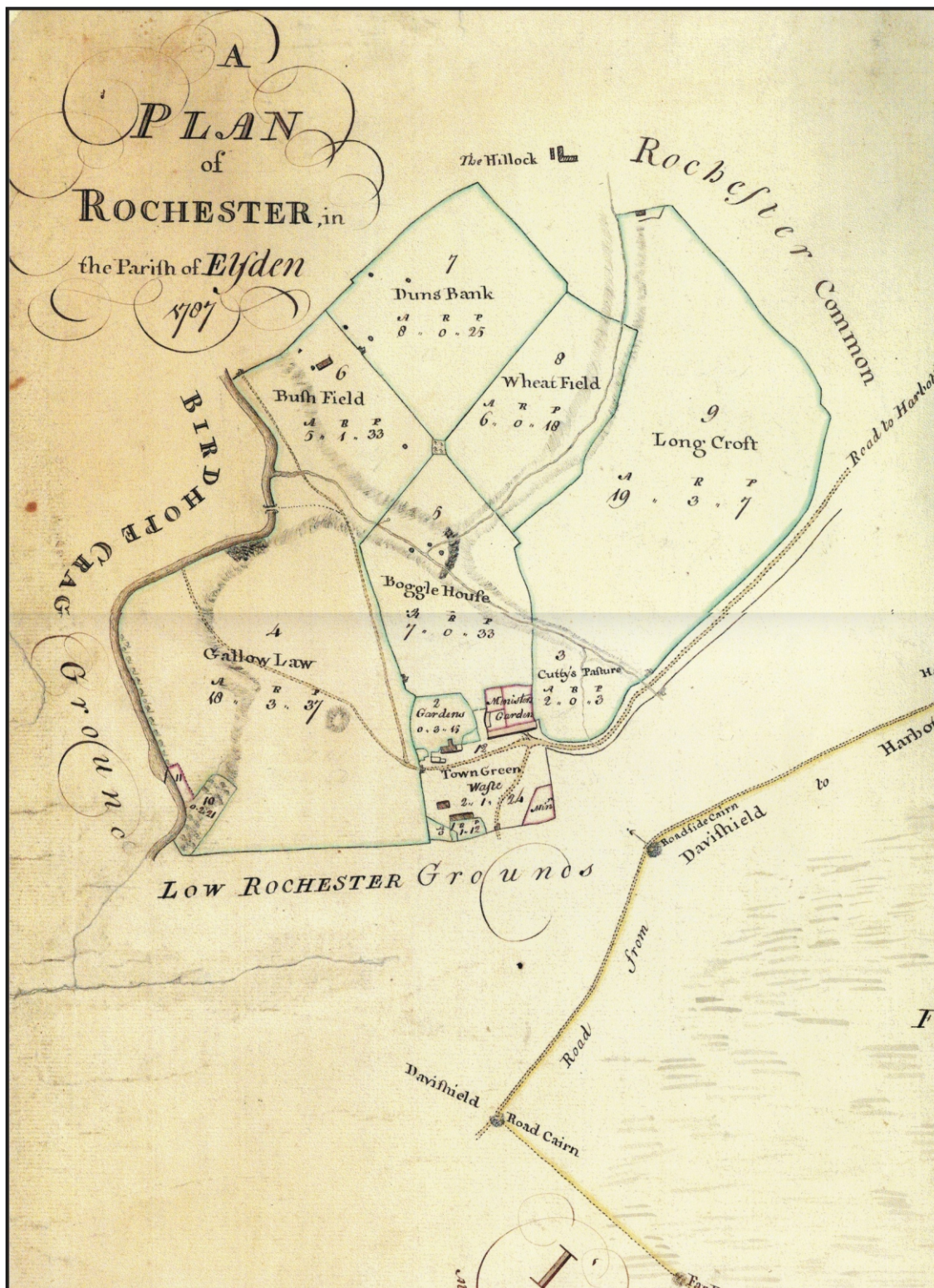
Fig. 19: *'A plan of Rochester in the Parish of Elsden, 1787'* (RO_M&D 049)

Fig. 20: *Detail of the 1787 Rochester plan showing High Rochester.*
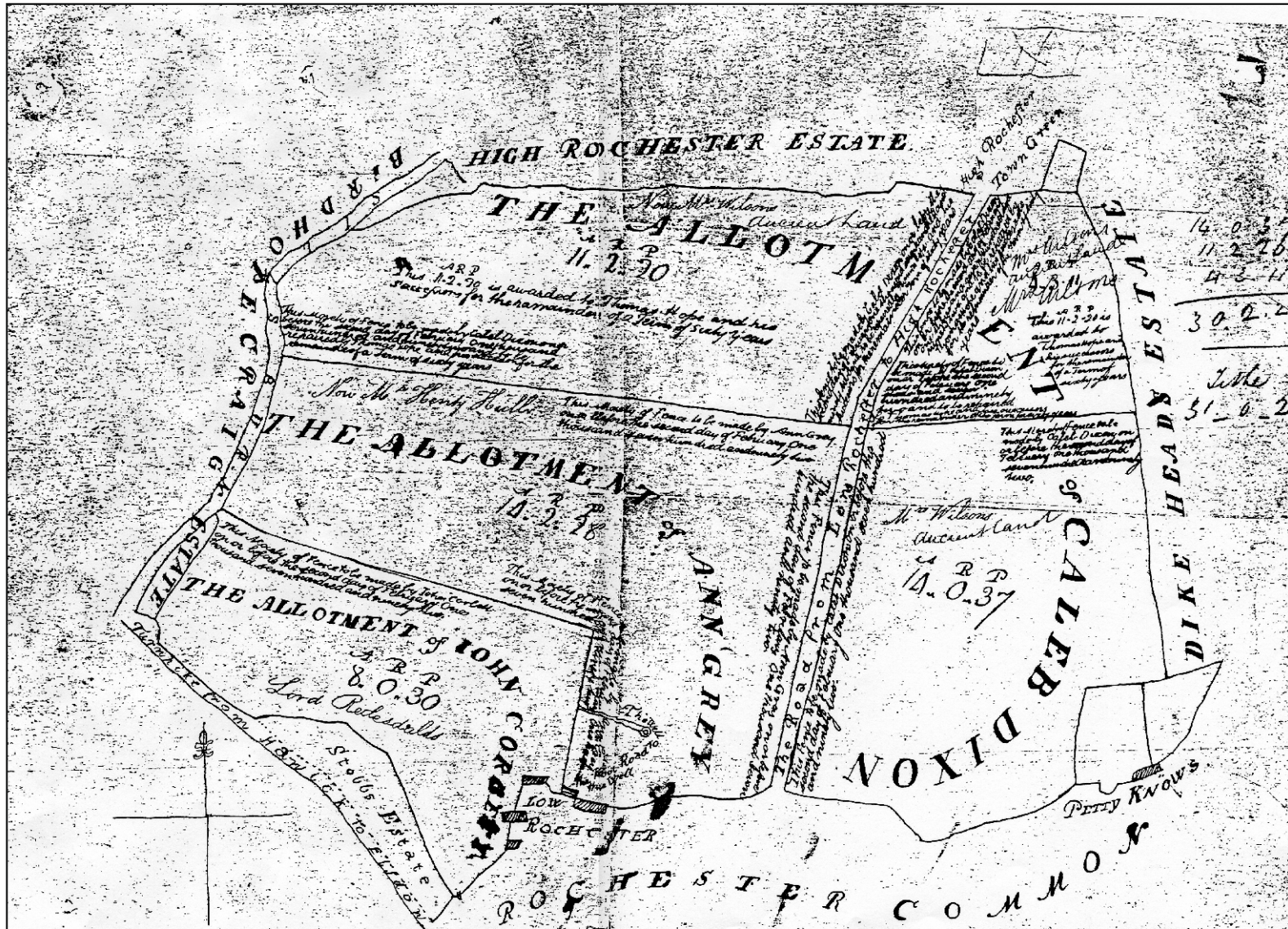
Fig. 21: *Plan of an enclosure by private agreement of land between High and Low Rochester, 1791*
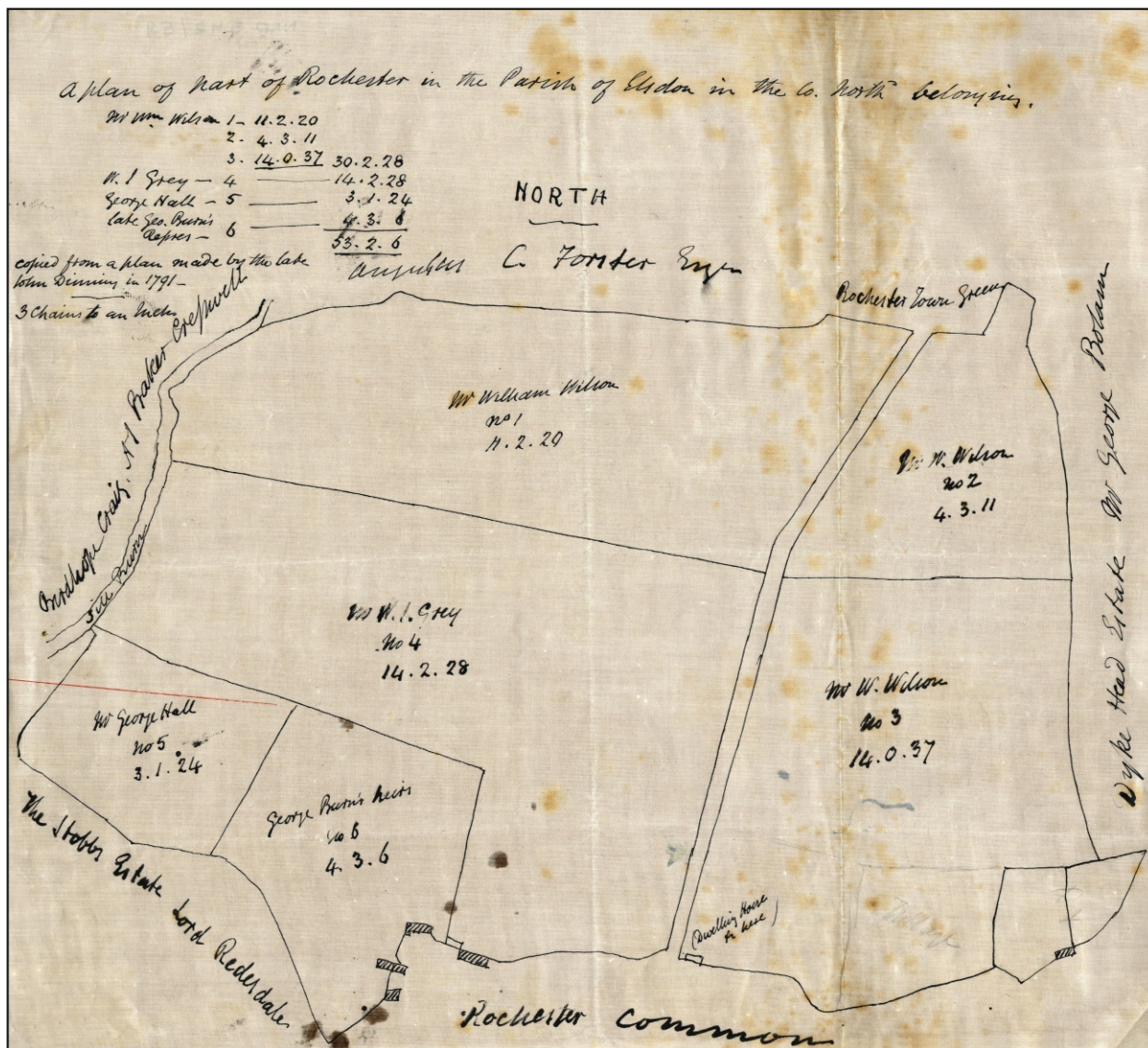
Fig. 22: *19th century copy of the 1791 private enclosure award at Rochester (ROC_M&D 025)*

Fig. 23: *Enclosure map for Rochester, 1866 (ROC_M&D 036)*

Fig. 24: *Section of plan relating to the Newcastle to Jedburgh Turnpike Road near Rochester, 1828 (ROC_M&D 038)*
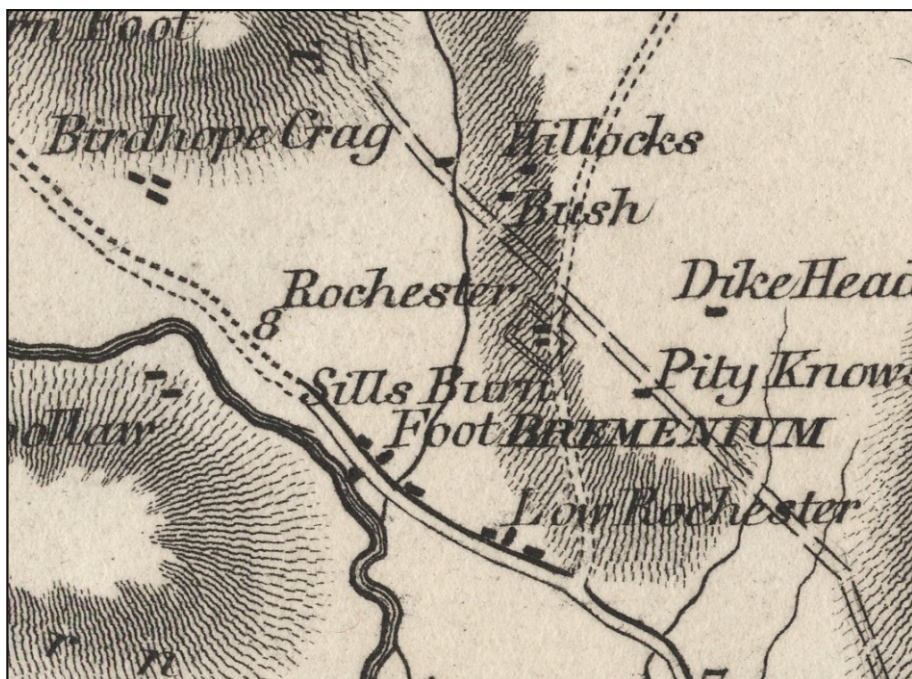
Fig. 25: *Rochester, Low Rochester and Bremenium shown on Fryer's Map of 1820*

Fig. 26: *Tithe Plan for the High Rochester/Low Rochester area, December 17th 1840 (ROC_M&D 020)*

NORTHUMBERLAND NATIONAL PARK VILLAGE ATLAS PROJECT 2004: ROCHESTER

Fig. 27: *Tithe Award in relation to lands around Rochester, December 17th 1840 (ROC_M&D 022)*
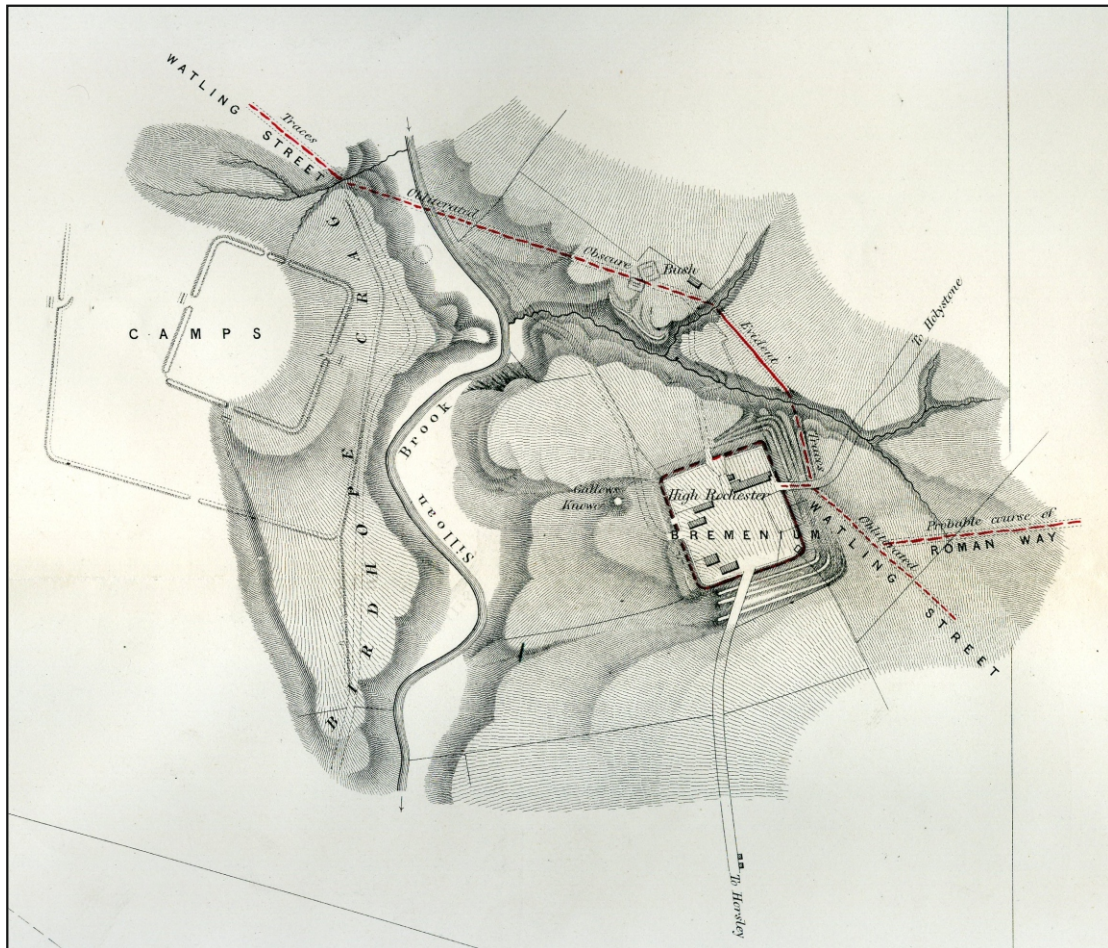
Fig. 28: *McLauchlan's Plan of High Rochester Roman fort, 1852 (RO_M&D 046)*

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Fig. 29: *First Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Rochester, 1860 (6" scale) (ROC_M&D 030)*

Fig. 30: *Second Edition Ordnance Survey Map of High Rochester, 1897 (25" scale) (ROC_M&D 024)*

Fig. 31: *Second Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Rochester, 1897 (6" scale) (ROC_M&D 031)*

Fig. 32: *Third Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Rochester, 1920 (6" scale) (ROC_M&D 032)*
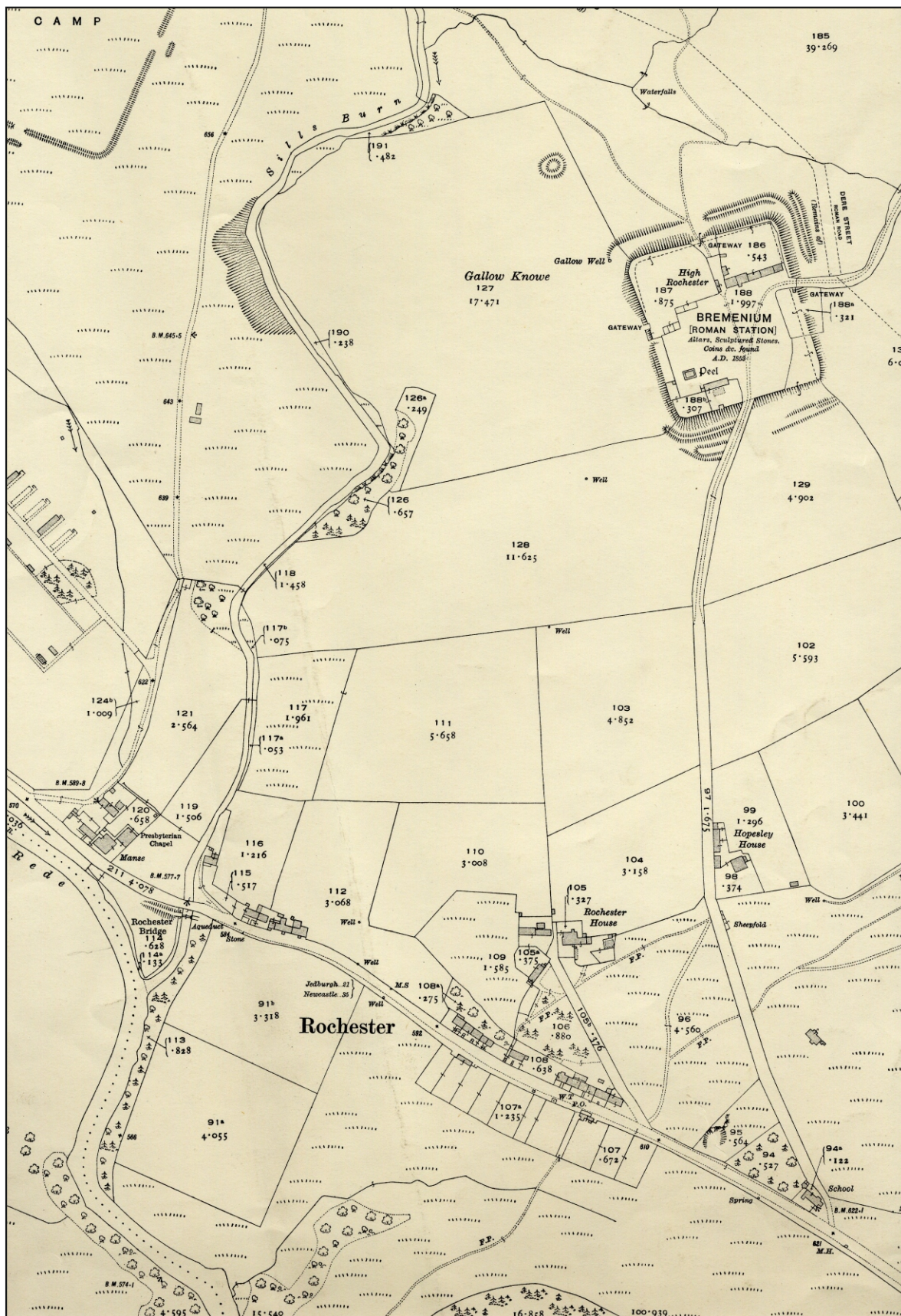
Fig. 33: *Third Edition Ordnance Survey Map of Rochester, 1920 (25" scale) (ROC_M&D 033)*

Fig. 34: *Militia lists relating to the Rochester Ward, 1762 (ROC_M&D 039)*

Fig. 35: *Militia lists relating to the Rochester Ward, 1762 (ROC_M&D 0040)*

Fig. 36: *Militia lists relating to the Rochester Ward, 1762 (ROC_M&D 041)*

ROCHESTER is a straggling village and township, 7½ miles WNW. of Elsdon. About half a mile north of the village and the high road, are a few houses called *High Rochester*, which occupy the site of the distinguished Roman station, called BREMENIUM, which had previously been the principal fortress of the *Ottodini*. (*See* p. 16.) This station was esteemed the strongest the Romans had in the north : it was defended by three ramparts of earth, and a wall seven feet thick, and fancifully chequered with ashlar work, of different colours ; parts of these walls, on the west and south-west still remain, but are concealed by heaps of ruins. The *hypocaust* mentioned by Hutchinson, was within the walls in the north-east compartment ; it was built upon large flat stones, upon which stood rows of short pillars, bearing a roof of thin flat stones, above which was a layer of small stones, filled up with sand, and covered three or four inches thick with strong bath-plaster. The conduits to it were, in the last century, very perfect. Many altars, urns, and inscriptions have been found here, which clearly prove that this is the *Bremenium* of Ptolemy and the Itinerary. It is said to have been one of the twelve stipendiary cities of Romanized Britain, and to have obtained its name from being *Castrum in Rupe*, which is the true description of its site—being placed on the brow of a steep rocky hill ; or rather, as Camden calls it, a rocky mountain, commanding the pass of Reedsdale. Steep and rugged mountains rise on every side, except the

south, where the Reed is seen winding through a deep valley. Ptolemy, speaking of *Bremenium*, places it in this very site, from whence Antonine begins his first journey in Britain, as from the utmost limit of the Roman provinces at that time, when the barbarous nations had broken through the wall of Antonius Pius, and Adrian's vallum was neglected. (*See* p. 17, and from 133 to 144.) Watling Street crosses the Reed at Elishaw, and passes close by the east side of this station, and that at Chew Green, whence it proceeds northward, and enters Scotland, at Black Hall hill. When this was one of the principal cities of that warlike nation, the *Ottodini*, the neighbourhood must have been frequently the scene of sanguinary conflicts, as is attested by the many rude funeral monuments of the ancient Britons, still to be seen on the adjacent moors. A little to the east of Rochester is a mass of loose stones, 12 feet high, and 180 feet in diameter. It is called the *Hair Cairn*, which signifies the " *Army's Tomb.*" A similar monument near High Carrick has been used in building a kiln. In its centre was a cavity, formed by four stones set on edge, and covered with one about 8 feet long and 5 broad. *See Birdhope Craig* and *Byrness*, in this township, pages 466-7. *Vide also Tod-Law*, page 465.

Fig. 37: *Notes relating to Rochester in Parson and White's trade Directory, 1827 (ROC_M&D 034-035)*
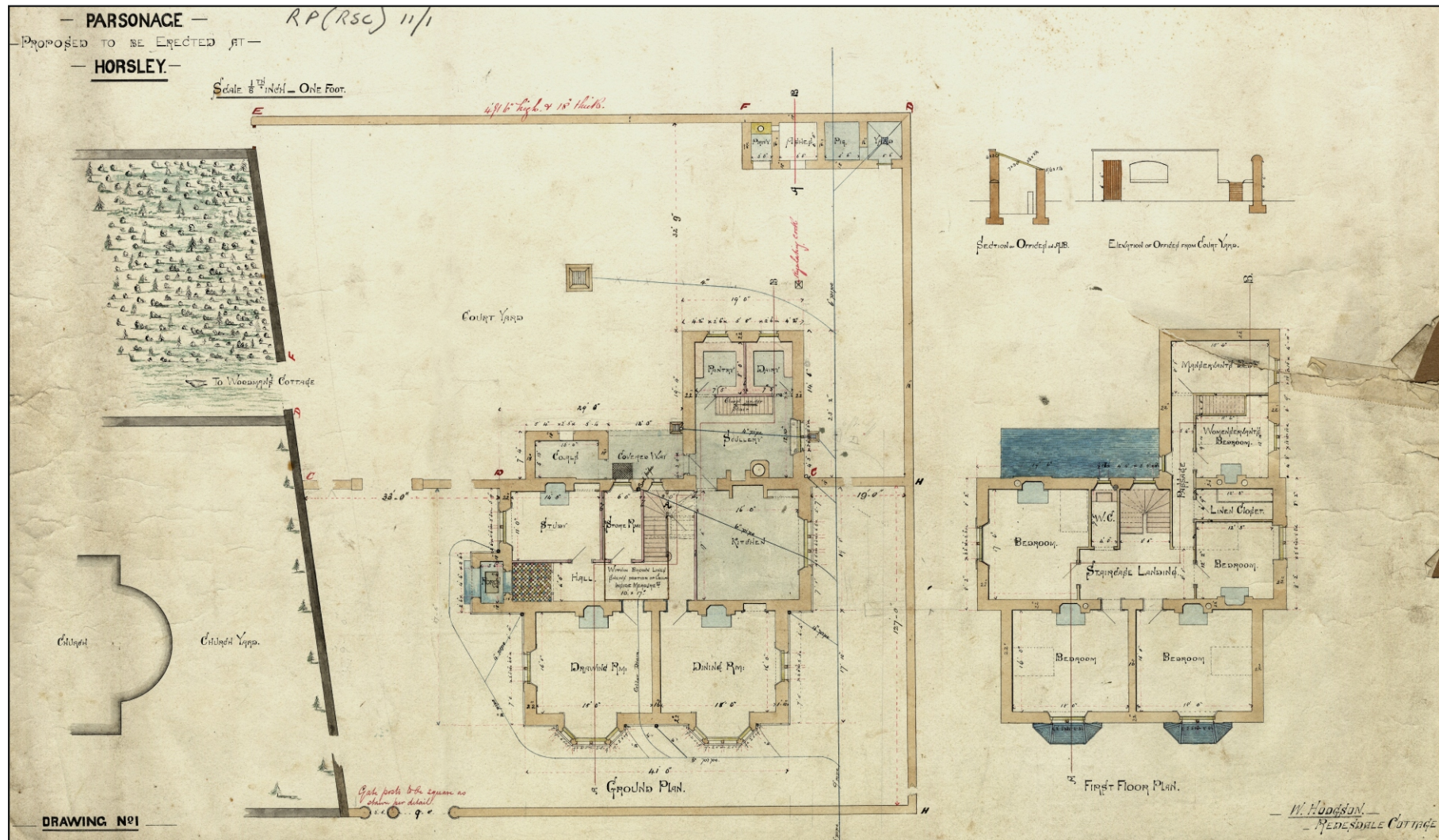
Fig. 38: *Plans relating to the construction of a parsonage at Horsley, 1880's (ROC_M&D 026)*

SOUTH ELEVATION.

SECTION ON A.B.

WEST ELEVATION.
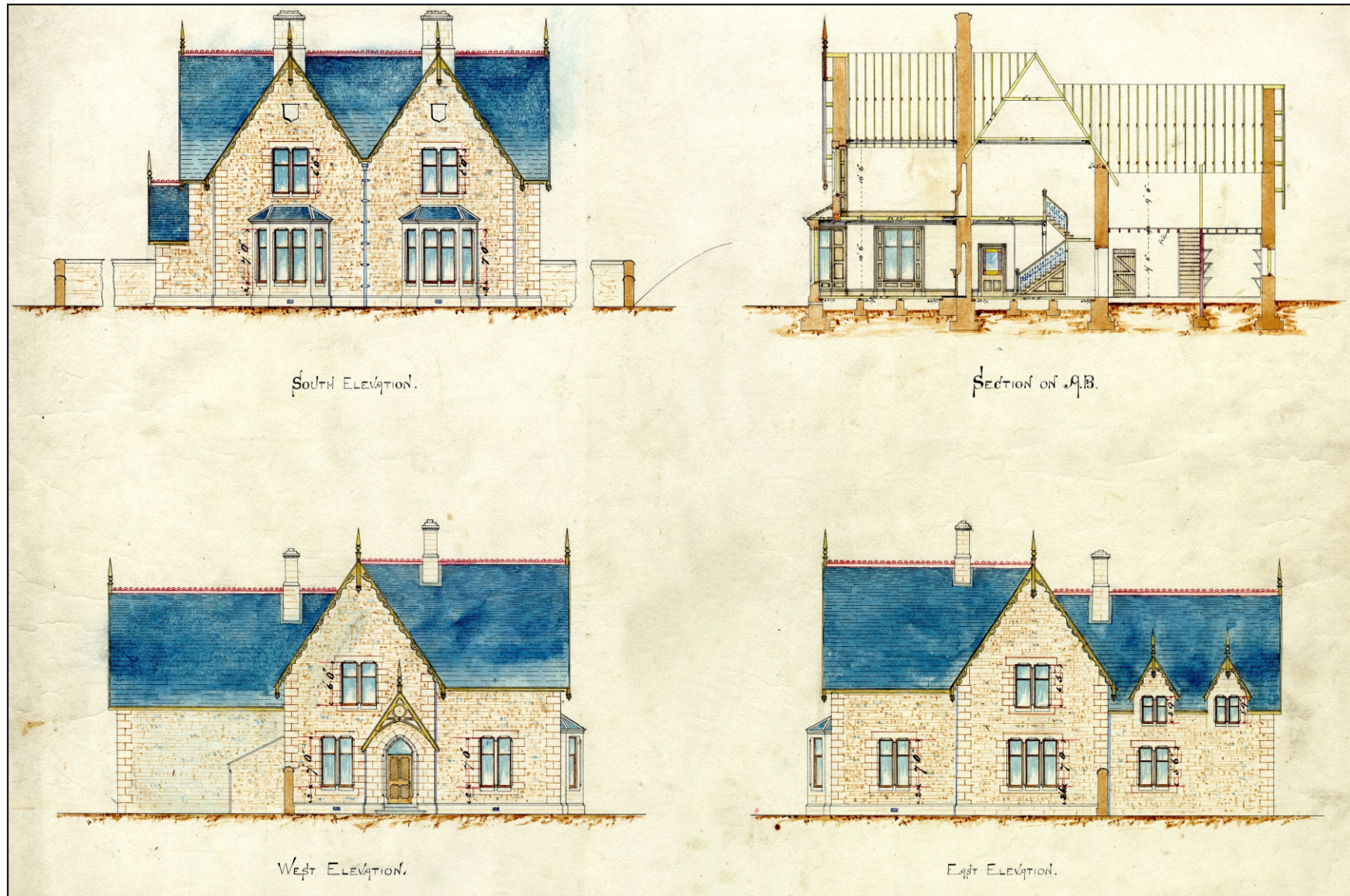
EAST ELEVATION.

Fig. 39: *Elevations relating to the construction of a parsonage at Horsley, 1880's (ROC_M&D 027)*
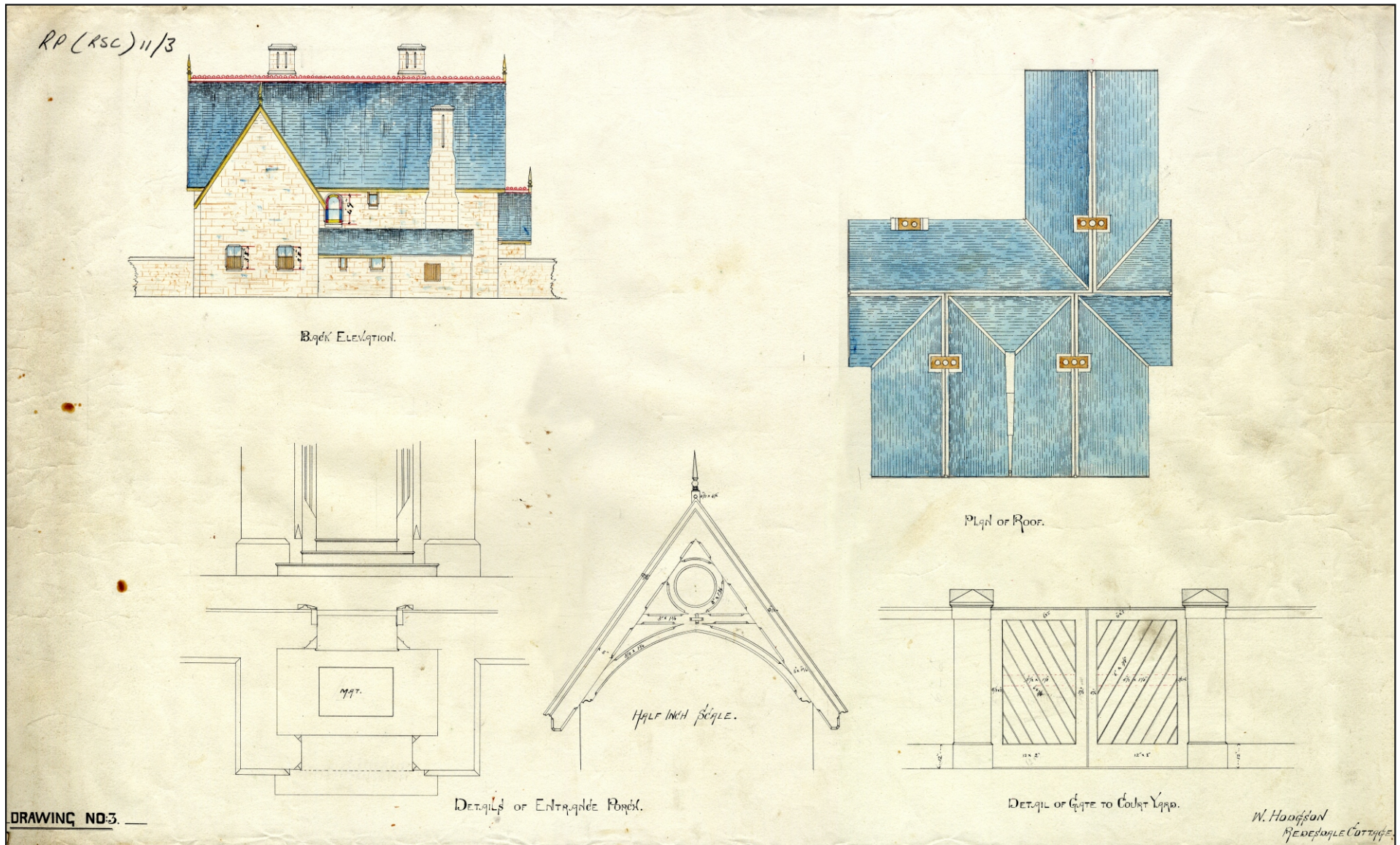
Fig. 40: *Elevation and plans relating to the construction of a parsonage at Horsley, 1880's (ROC_M&D 028)*
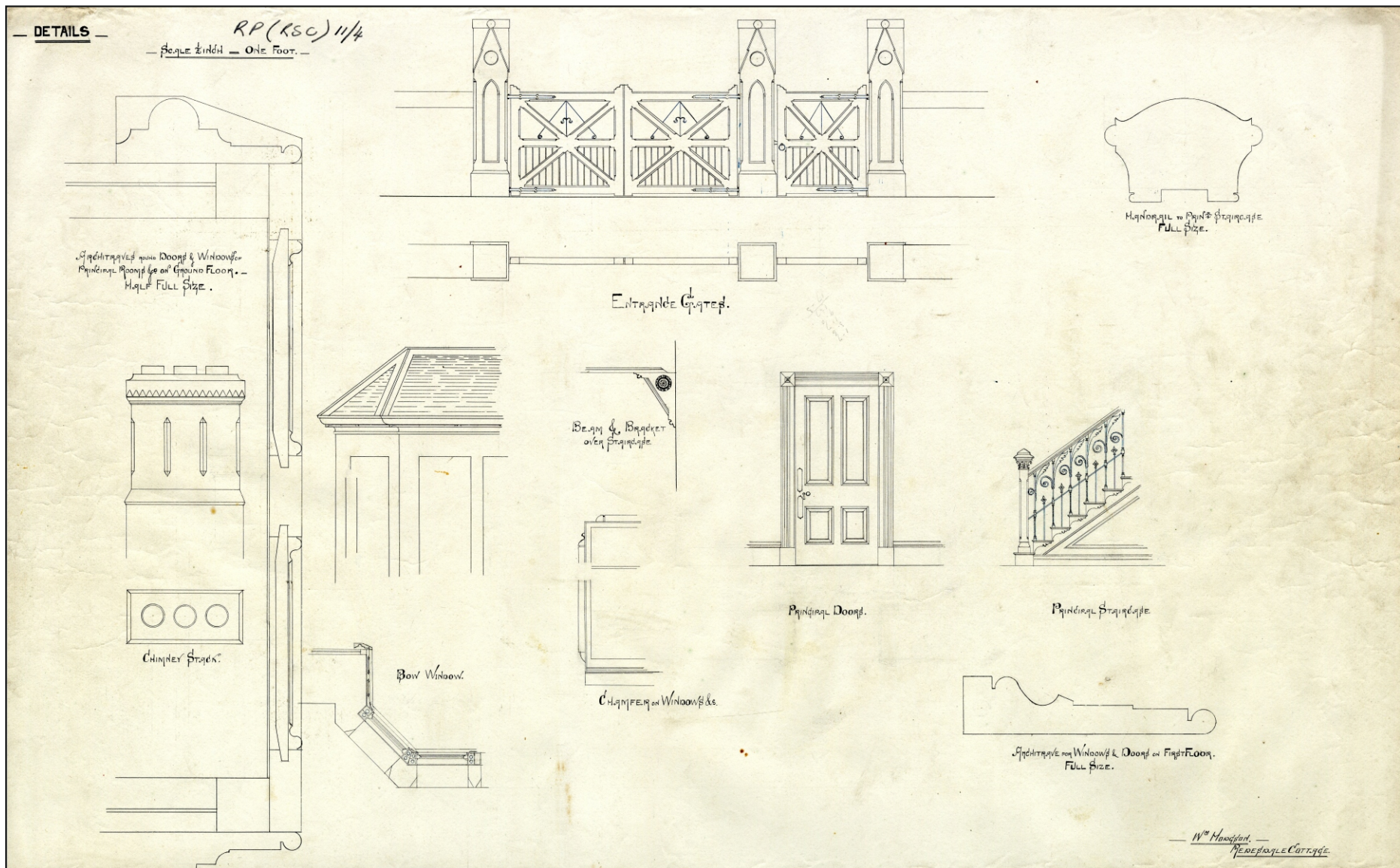
Fig. 41: *Architectural notes and sketches relating to the construction of a parsonage at Horsley (ROC_M&D 029)*
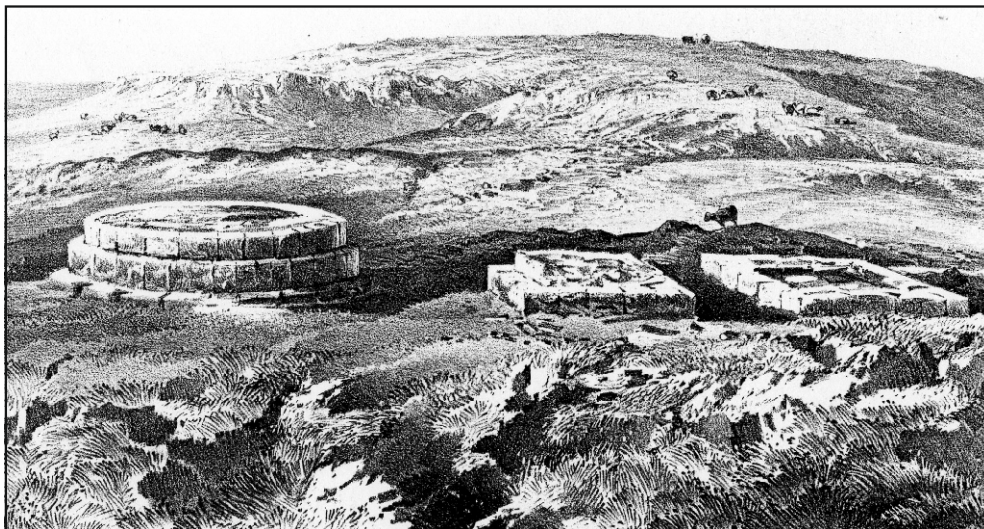
Fig. 42: *Mid 19th century Richardson view of Petty Knowes Roman burials (RO_M&D 044)*
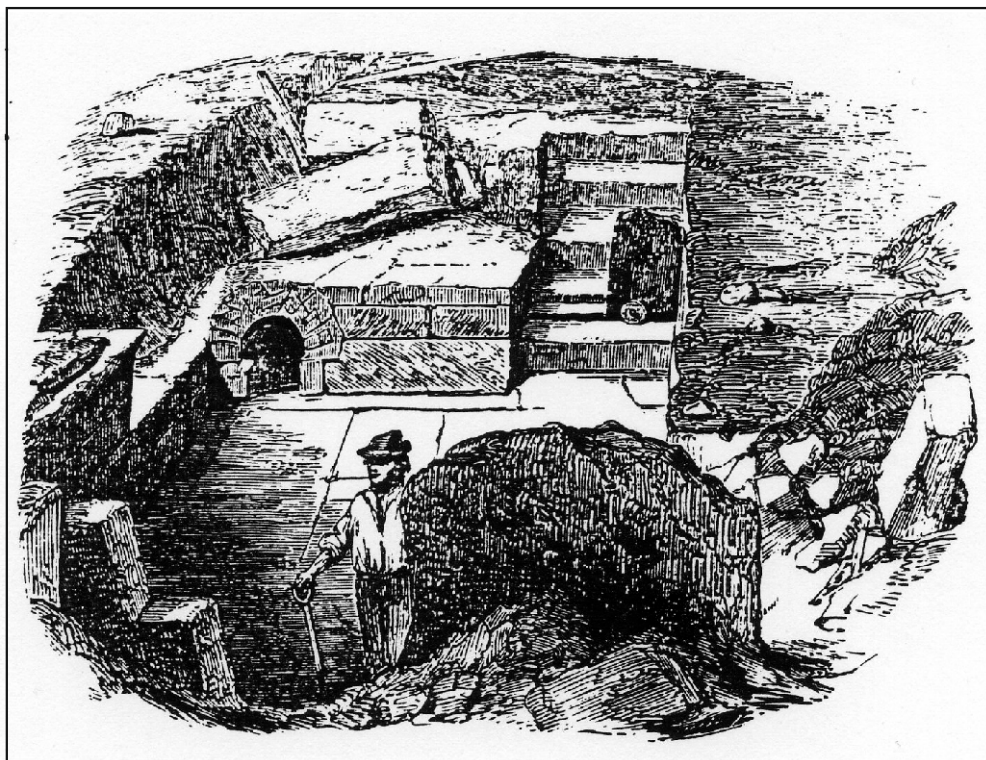
Fig. 43: *Strongroom uncovered during mid-19th century excavations at High Rochester (RO_M&D 045)*

Fig. 44: *Early 19th century view of High Rochester from the South-East (RO_M&D 042)*
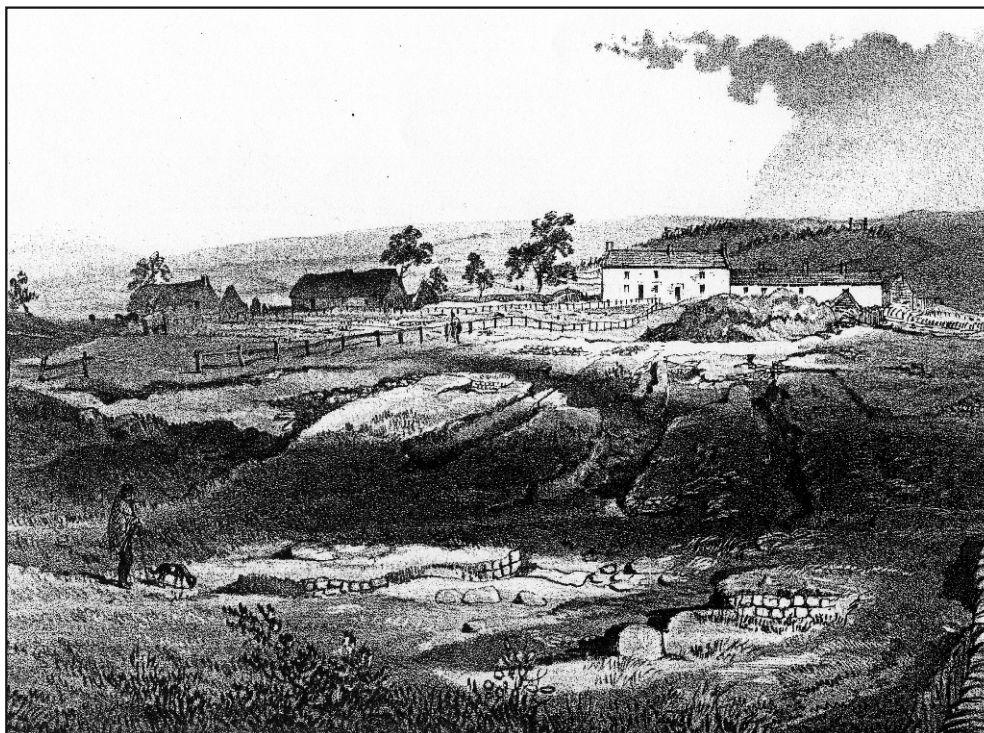
Fig. 45: *View showing mid-19th century excavations at High Rochester (RO_M&D 043)*

Fig. 46: *Low Rochester viewed from the South-East, with Redesdale Camp beyond, c.1915 (RO_HP 002)*

Fig. 47: *Low Rochester viewed from Tod Law, c.1910 (RO_HP 006)*

Fig. 48: *Redeswater View viewed from the South-East, c.1910 (RO_HP 005)*

Fig. 49: *High Rochester viewed from the East, c.1910 (RO_HP 008)*

Fig. 50: *Aerial view of High Rochester, c.1980 (ROC_HP 004)*

Fig. 51: *High Rochester, ruins of post-medieval buildings (RO_MP 018)*

Fig.52: *High Rochester Roman Fort, blocked West gate (RO_MP 019)*

Fig. 53: *High Rochester Roman Fort, north-west side (RO_MP 020)*

Fig. 54: *High Rochester Roman Fort, south-west side, blocked interval tower (RO_MP 022)*

Fig. 55: Shaped stone at Dykehead, High Rochester (RO_MP 029)

Fig. 56: Reused gatepost at Dykehead, High Rochester (RO_MP 031)

Fig. 57: Dykehead farmhouse (RO_MP 028)

Fig. 58: Outbuildings NW of Hopesley House, Rochester (RO_MP 036)

Fig. 59: *Rochester House (RO_MP 038)*

Fig. 60: *Redeswater view and attached terrace, Rochester (RO_MP 058)*

Fig. 61: Pinfold near Petty Knowes (RO_MP 042)

Fig. 62: Dere Street Roman Road at Petty Knowes (RO_MP 043)

Fig. 63: *Petty Knowes Roman burial (RO_MP 039)*

Fig. 64: *Possible site of Birdhopecraig Mill (RO_MP 009)*

Fig. 65: *War memorial (RO_MP 055)*

Fig. 66: *Roman masonry reused in The Old Schoolhouse (RO_MP 058)*

Fig. 67: *Milestone on Birdhopecraig bridge (RO_MP 007)*

Fig 68: *Birdhopecraig URC (RO_MP 013)*

Fig. 69: *Site of Tod Law Mill, Rochester (RO_MP 011)*

Fig. 70: *Kiln at Tod Law Mill, Rochester (RO_MP 013)*

Fig. 71: *Multi-phase field wall near Dykehead (RO_MP 107)*

Fig. 72: *Judging in progress at Rochester showground, 2003 (RO_MP 108)*

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 3 and, in the case of those in the immediate vicinity of the village and in the village core, on figures 4 and 5 respectively. For convenience, figures 3 and 4 are reproduced in this section as figures 73 and 74, whilst the village core sites are marked on the archaeological sensitivity plan in Part 4 (fig. 75). For further ease of identifiability, the site catalogue numbers are placed between square brackets when cited in the report text. Thus catalogue number 1, for example, would normally appear as [1].

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

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period	Site Name	Grid Ref.	Status
1	8090	POST MEDIEVAL	North and South-West bastles, High Rochester	NY 383270 598650	Grade II
2	8090	POST MEDIEVAL	North and South-West bastles, High Rochester	NY 383270 598650	Grade II
3	8091	ROMAN	Bremenium Roman fort, High Rochester, with annexe to W	NY 383300 598600	Grade II, SAM
4	8091	ROMAN	Bremenium Roman fort, High Rochester	NY 383300 598600	Grade II, SAM
5	8092	ROMAN	Roman Tombs within Petty Knowes Roman Cemetery	NY 383830 598170	SAM
6	8092	ROMAN	Roman Tombs within Petty Knowes Roman Cemetery	NY 383830 598170	SAM
7	8092	ROMAN	Roman Tombs within Petty Knowes Roman Cemetery	NY 383830 598170	SAM
8	8093	BRONZE AGE	Round barrow	NY 383740 598330	SAM
9	8097	BRONZE AGE		NY 383820 598620	
10	8105	ROMAN	Petty Knowes Roman Cemetery, Rochester	NY 383700 598200	
11	8105	ROMAN	Petty Knowes Roman Cemetery, Rochester	NY 383700 598200	
12	8114	POST MEDIEVAL	Linnels Cleugh ironstone workings	NY 383800 597700	
13	8116	POST MEDIEVAL	Mining remains by the Sills Burn	NY 383100 598800	
14	8117	POST MEDIEVAL	Huel Crag coal workings	NY 383300 599600	
15	8118	POST MEDIEVAL	Mining and quarrying remains near Hillock	NY 383100 599100	
16	8121	POST MEDIEVAL	Birdhope (Bidhopecraig) Mill, site of	NY 382900 598400	
17	8124	POST MEDIEVAL	Estate or farm boundary stones	NY 384000 599900	
18	8133	POST MEDIEVAL	Hillock	NY 383300 599200	
19	8135	POST MEDIEVAL	Coal Cleugh coalmining activity	NY 383200 598800	
20	8135	POST MEDIEVAL	Coal Cleugh coalmining activity	NY 383200 598800	
21	8144	MEDIEVAL	Rochester, deserted medieval village	NY 383000 598000	
22	8146	POST MEDIEVAL	Netherhouses limekiln	NY 382900 597500	
23	8148	ROMAN	Roman quarry	NY 383600 598200	
24	8149	ROMAN	Vicus at High Rochester	NY 383430 598600	
25	8152	POST MEDIEVAL	Birdhopecraig United Reformed Church	NY 382780 598180	Grade II
26	8155	BRONZE AGE	Hillock, unenclosed round house	NY 383000 599500	
27	13595	POST MEDIEVAL	Milestone south of Birdhopecraig United Reformed Church	NY 382790 598150	Grade II
28	13597	POST MEDIEVAL	Rochester Old School House	NY 383359 597895	Grade II
29	13598	MODERN	Rochester War Memorial	NY 383384 597872	Grade II
30	8094	ROMAN	2 Roman camps 550m E of Birdhopecrag Hall	NY 382670 598830	SAM

31	8119	POST MEDIEVAL	Mining remains at Birdhopecrag	NY 382800 598800	
32	8120	POST MEDIEVAL	Sills Burn bell pits	NY 382800 598300	
33	8130	POST MEDIEVAL	Ruined building W of Bellshiel Bridge	NY 380500 599200	
34		POST MEDIEVAL	Rose Cottage	NY 383270 598620	
35		POST MEDIEVAL	Hopesley House	NY 383270 598620	
36		POST MEDIEVAL	Nether Rochester, Rochester Vilage	NY 383159 598105	
37		POST MEDIEVAL	Rochester House, Rochester Village	NY 383159 598105	
38		POST MEDIEVAL	Post Office and Snack Bar, Rochester Village	NY 383010 598001	
39		POST MEDIEVAL	Cottage by the Post Office, Rochester Village	NY 383010 598001	
40		POST MEDIEVAL	Stobbs	NY 383849 597199	Grade II
41		POST MEDIEVAL	Rochester Bridge (on the A68 in the village)	NY 382829 598199	
42		POST MEDIEVAL	House attached to the right of Rose Cottage, High Rochester	NY 383270 598620	
43		POST MEDIEVAL	House behind Rose Cottage, High Rochester	NY 383270 598620	
44		POST MEDIEVAL	Ruined cottage in the centre of the Fort, High Rochester	NY 383270 598620	
45		POST MEDIEVAL	Farmbuildings, High Rochester	NY 383270 598620	
46		POST MEDIEVAL	Ridge and furrow, Brigantium	NY 38295 59815	
47		POST MEDIEVAL	Holloways	NY 38325 59800	
48		POST MEDIEVAL	Dykehead, enclosure walls incorporating reused masonry (gate posts etc)	NY 38380 59870	
49		POST MEDIEVAL	Pinfold	NY 38385 59825	
50		PREHISTORIC	Unknown mound. (possibly prehistoric)	NY 38315 59805	
51		POST MEDIEVAL	Quarrying	NY 38295 59750	
52		IRON AGE	Sub-rectangular double-banked enclosure W of Bremenium Roman fort	NY 383300 598600	

Fig. 73: *Cultural Heritage Sites in Rochester Township*

Key

- ● Cultural heritage site
- ● Listed building
- ● Scheduled Monument
- Core of Village
- 300m study area

Redesdale
Camp

ROMAN
CAMPS

BM 180.43m

Barracks

Circles

Woolaw

Settlement

Pavilion

Playing
Field

Rochester

Rochester Bridge

Rochester
House

Hopesley
House

Reservoir
(covered)

Petty Knowes

Bremenium
Way

The Bungalow

Black Hill

Water
Works

War Meml

Quarries
(disused)

Tod Law

River Rede

dburn Linn

Sheepfold

Sheepfold

BREMENIVM
ROMAN FORT

Gallow Knowe

Dykehead

Sheepfold

Tumuus

Mounds

Mound

ROMAN
TOMB

Lamb Crag

Sewage
Works

0   500

Scale 1:10,000 at A4

Fig. 74: *Cultural Heritage Sites in the vicinity of Rochester Village*

6.   HISTORICAL SYNTHESIS

6.1   **Standard Reference Works**

Hodgson 1827, 138-162.

6.2   **Prehistory**

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

The long cairns on Dour Hill and Bellshiel Law, further up the valley, provide impressive and atmospheric relics of these early communities. Such monuments would have been the focus of communal burial practices centred on worship of the ancestors. It has also been suggested that by placing such a prominent monument to their forefathers in the landscape these early farming groups were also establishing a powerful ancestral claim to this land. The Three Kings, a four-poster burial monument located on the southern slopes of the valley above Low Byrness and Cottonshopeburnfoot, may be somewhat later in date, perhaps relating to the early-middle Bronze Age. It would have performed a similar function, although individual burials were generally interred in these monuments, rather than collections of bones from many individuals, disarticulated as a result of outside exposure of the corpses, typical of the Neolithic long cairns. Such changes in burial practice are considered important indicators of social change, perhaps signifying a move towards a more stratified society led by a chiefly elite.

Although relatively few hillforts and palisaded hilltop enclosures, typical of the late Bronze Age and Iron Age, have been identified in this part of Redesdale, one example of just such a defensible enclosure has been discovered through geophysical survey at High Rochester itself, in the level field immediately west of the Roman fort (Crow 2004a, 216-217). It takes the form of a sub-rectangular, double-banked enclosure [52][7] extending as far as the break in the slope down to the Sills Burn and was partly overlain by a smaller annexe associated with the fort itself. It is almost identical in shape and size to other large Iron Age enclosures known in the southern part of the county, notably at Manside Cross some 15km south east of Rochester. These well-fortified sites represent obvious central places or focal points for entire communities. Indeed Crow (*ibid.*) has suggested that the fact that *Bremenium* was included in the geographer Ptolemy's map of the ancient world signifies not so much the presence there of the Roman fort, but perhaps its significance as a pre-Roman centre. The

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[7] The gazetteer sites referred to in the text are all located on figures 3 and 73. Those in the immediate vicinity of the village and in the village core are also shown on figures 4 & 74 and 5 & 75, respectively. For ease of identifiability the site catalogue numbers are placed between square brackets in the report text; thus site no. 52 appears as [52].

enclosure may have functioned as an assembly point or gathering place for the surrounding tribal community.

Settlements fortified on this scale are however much commoner further north, around the Cheviot massif for example, and their relative sparsity in Redesdale makes it difficult to map a clear late Bronze Age and early-mid Iron Age settlement pattern for this area. By the late Iron Age, in contrast, a widespread, dispersed settlement pattern of enclosed farmsteads was probably becoming established in the valley and this persisted throughout the succeeding Romano-British era (see below). These settlements were smaller and less defensible than the examples at High Rochester and Manside Cross, previously described, but, like those two, the farmstead enclosures were predominantly rectilinear in plan.

6.3   Romano-British Period

From the later 1st century AD, Redesdale along with the rest of the Northumbrian uplands fell under the control of expanding Roman empire. The principal bases of Roman power lay to the north west and south, at the forts of High Rochester (*Bremenium*) [3-4] and Risingham (*Habitancum*) along Dere Street, the main road into Scotland. A shorter lived fort was situated at Blakehope between the two. Another road was constructed to link High Rochester with Low Learchild (*Alauna*) on the Devil's Causeway, the route which led north from Corbridge towards Berwick (*cf*. MacLauchlan 1864a, 48-57; 1864b). The link road crossed the high moors west of Rochester, before crossing the Coquet just north of Holystone. A shrine probably dedicated to Cocidius has been discovered at Yardhope (Charlton & Mitcheson 1983), not far south of the link road, and may well have become a focus of veneration for members of the garrison of *Bremenium*.

6.3.1   Romano-British settlements

The local rural population have left abundant traces of their presence in the shape of the rectilinear enclosed sites, which were characteristic form of settlement in Redesdale and North Tynedale during this period (see Jobey 1960). These settlements typically comprise a roughly squarish, rectangular or slightly trapezoidal enclosure, defined by a stone wall or a ditch and bank, pierced by a single causewayed entrance in the middle of the front wall. Just inside the enclosure, on either side of the entrance, a couple of yards or pens, probably intended to hold livestock, can generally be found. Several round houses usually lay towards the rear of the enclosure.

Rescue excavation of a group of these sites in upper North Tynedale - at Tower Knowe, Belling Law, Kennel Hall Knowe near Plashetts, and Gowanburn Camp - directed by George Jobey in the 1970s, prior to the construction of Kielder Water, revealed that this type of settlement originated during the late Iron Age (Jobey 1973; 1977; 1978; 1983, 199ff; Higham 1986, 122-3, 134-7, 193-5). The original sites were built of wood, featuring timber roundhouses and palisaded enclosures, which were replaced several times over. Radiocarbon dates clustering in the last two centuries BC and 1st century AD were associated with these earlier phases, which were followed by a rebuilding in stone no earlier than the mid second century AD. However, whilst the building material was different, the overall form of the original settlements was very similar to the later ones and the change in material was probably related to an increasing shortage of good building timber as settlement, cultivation and population expanded during the late Iron Age and the Romano-British period. Indeed, some of the settlements provide evidence for population growth with the single round house usually evident in the earlier timber phase being replaced by up to three roundhouses when the sites were rebuilt in stone, accompanied by a corresponding increase in the size of the enclosures.

In Redesdale itself a stone-built rectilinear settlement very similar in form to the North Tynedale examples was excavated at Woolaw (NY 815 985) only 1.65km north-west of Rochester and just outside the study area (Charlton & Mitcheson 1978, 61-72). This formed part of a wider programme

of fieldwork in the valley and in the Otterburn Training Area to the north, undertaken in the mid-late 1970s by the Field Research Group of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne under the direction of Beryl Charlton and John Day. Three structural phases were identified at Woolaw and the presence of a circular groove beneath one of the stone round houses of phase II implies that here too the earliest houses were constructed of timber. In the third and last phase, two smaller stone houses were added to the centrally-situated pair erected in phase II. This required the realignment of the north and south sides of the perimeter wall to accommodate the additions. Similar evidence for expansion which could not be contained within the established compound is apparent at other rectilinear settlement sites in the valley, notably Woolaw East, Rattenraw and Blakehope (*op. cit*., 77).

The rectilinear settlements of the 'North Tynedale type' were largely restricted to the south or west side of the river in Redesdale, in marked contrast to their almost universal distribution in North Tynedale itself (*op. cit*., 77, 85 fig. 17). On the north side of the river above Otterburn the form of these enclosed settlements changes from rectilinear to oval or circular in plan, a form more characteristic of settlements in the hills of north Northumberland, particularly in and around the Cheviot massif, and the Scottish Uplands. These 'Cheviot type' settlements are also found in the uppermost reaches of North Tynedale, around and above Kielder. The adoption of this different settlement form was probably largely a response to topography rather than cultural differences. The narrower valleys and steeper slopes of the upper dales and the Cheviots perhaps caused the settlements to be terraced into the hillsides, giving rise to a different architectural tradition defining the proper form of a settlement. The boundary between these two vernacular building traditions clearly passed through Redesdale and displays remarkably little overlap between the two types. Nevertheless the basic components of all these settlements remain the same, i.e. walled enclosures, stockyards and roundhouses, and there is no reason to believe that the two settlement types mark the territories of distinct cultural groups.

Despite featuring stone-walled, ditched and embanked or palisaded compounds, these settlements were not fortified in the way that the earlier hillforts were. It would be better to see their enclosures as protective rather than defensive, i.e. they were designed to secure the livestock from predation by wild animals and perhaps keep out small groups of thieves and rustlers. The enclosure ditches would also have helped to create well-drained site platforms. Indeed a further variant form found on the north side of the Rede dispensed with the enclosure altogether. Labelled 'unenclosed forecourt settlements' these comprised one or more unenclosed round houses which opened onto a large stone-walled forecourt. Their typological parallels again lie in the southern Scottish uplands and the Cheviots, and, like their rectilinear enclosed counterparts, some of these forecourt settlements show signs of expansion. The type is undated, as none have been excavated, but is generally assigned to the same overall late Iron Age/Romano-British period as the other two types. Finally, it is intriguing to note that none of these settlements, whatever their typological form, extend much higher up the valley than their much later counterparts the bastle farmsteads and small hamlets of the 16th and early 17th centuries. Thus Woolaw and Burdhope figure amongst the sites highest up the valley in both these dispersed settlement patterns.

We should imagine all the Romano-British settlements as housing individual family groups - extended families at the most - who were perhaps linked with the inhabitants of neighbouring homesteads by notional bonds of kinship to form lineages, clans and tribes. The sites were distributed relatively evenly along the valley to form a dispersed settlement pattern of farmsteads not dissimilar to that prevailing in more recent periods. It is likely there was a strong emphasis on pastoralism in their economy, based on the exploitation of the extensive moorland grazing which was available to these upland communities, enabling them to rear substantial herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Cattle may have been more important than sheep at this time, as was also the case in the medieval and early modern periods periods, with the latter vulnerable to foot-rot and liver fluke and less suited to the poorly-drained pastures prevalent before the agricultural improvements of the later

18th and 19th centuries. However sheep would still have been essential for their wool. In a largely unmonetized economy, livestock would have been the principal form of transferable wealth, and represented a family's savings to be drawn on in times of crisis, as is the case in pastoralist societies in the developing world today – a deposit account on the hoof.

6.3.2   High Rochester Roman Fort

The Roman fort of Bremenium [3-4] lies within the modern parish of Rochester in upper Redesdale, and is situated just to the north of Rochester village on bluffs overlooking the Sills Burn to the west.[8] The hamlet of High Rochester is enclosed within the fort circuit, and includes two bastles still used as dwellings and a couple of ruined cottages of uncertain date, as well as farm buildings and holiday cottages. The site is a scheduled ancient monument and lies within the Northumberland National Park.

The Roman name of the site, *Bremenium*, signifies "the place on the roaring stream" (Rivet and Smith 1979, 276-277), presumably a reference to the Sills Burn in spate. Bremenium long played an important role as an outpost fort beside Dere Street, the easterly Roman route into Scotland, and had a large mixed garrison usually consisting of a milliary equitate cohort and a unit of scouts (*numerus exploratorum*). The base was occupied during Flavian period and from Antonine period onwards with rebuilding phases in the early 3rd century and at the beginning of the 4th century. Military withdrawal from the site seems to have taken place in the early 4th century, perhaps under Constantine (Casey & Savage 1980).

A civil settlement [24] has recently been located by geophysical work, lining Dere Street in the dip just to the east of the fort, an area previously dismissed as having been too marshy before modern drainage (Tomlinson 1888, 322; cf. Charlton & Mitcheson 1984, 1). A small annexe has been identified attached to the west side of the fort (Crow 1992; 1993, 2004a, 215-17), and a possible Iron Age (?) promontory fort has also been identified on this side beyond the annexe. The main mortuary zone lay to the south-east of High Rochester. Four tombs [5-7], three square and one circular, situated beside Dere Street 750 m to the south-east of the fort, were excavated in the middle of the last century (Bosanquet 1933-1934). Only the circular one survives today. In 1975 a large cemetery of small barrows [8-11] was discovered c. 250 m north-west of the tombs, next to Petty Knowes farm (Charlton & Mitcheson 1984). A quarry exploited in the Roman period lies beside the cemetery. Other smaller clusters of similar burials are dispersed in the neighbourhood. A second funerary zone, attested by the reported finding of two tombstones, may have lined Dere Street just north-east of the fort on the north bank of the small stream known as Coal Cleugh.

6.3.3   Late Antiquity

The evidence regarding the date the fort of High Rochester was relinquished by permanent Roman garrisons presents some intriguing contradictions (cf. Crow 2004a, 222-3). The coin evidence recovered to date suggests that the fort was abandoned in the first or second decade of the 4th century, whilst examination of the pottery from the recent excavations directed by James Crow has revealed an almost complete absence of the East Yorkshire grey wares (Crambeck etc.) which become common on the northern frontier from the late 3rd century onwards (J Shipley *pers. comm.*). Yet the repairs to the west curtain between the west gate and the south west angle appear more characteristic of modifications made at other northern frontier forts, such as Housesteads and Vindolanda along Hadrian's Wall, much later in the 4th century or even later still. Could this reflect continued military occupation of the fort by a reduced force until at least the middle of the 4th century, or perhaps even its transfer to a friendly federate Britthonic chieftain?

6.4   Medieval Upper Redesdale

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[8] See most recently Crow 2004a which provides full references to earlier work in the fort.

6.4.1 Early Medieval Period

Whatever the precise circumstances regarding the Roman withdrawal from the Dere Street outpost forts in the 4th century, there is an almost complete dearth of evidence concerning the subsequent history of Rochester, and indeed Redesdale as a whole. In addition to the lack of documentation the archaeological fieldwork conducted in the valley has so far shed very little light of the early-medieval era. Some placenames incorporating personal names may hint at early-medieval patterns of land holding and lordship in the valley. Gamelspath, denoting the moorland stretch of Dere Street near Chew Green incorporates an Old Scandinavian personal name whilst Corsenside (*Crossensete*) combines an Irish personal name, Crossan, with the Norse term for hill pasture *saetr*, and may hint at Irish-Norse settlement. Elsdon (*Ellesden* in the earliest sources) presumably signifies Elli's or perhaps Aelf's valley. Nearby Troughend (*Trocquen* in medieval documents) may even be a Celtic survival (Beckensall 1992; Mawer 1920, 55, 74, 91, 201).

Early ecclesiastical activity in Redesdale and the neighbouring valleys is equally elusive. Early-medieval carved stonework has been discovered at Falstone in upper North Tynedale, but none in Redesdale itself. Antiquaries, from Leland onwards, have declared that King Edwin and 3000 others were baptised by St. Paulinus at Holystone, in Coquetdale, on Easter Day 627, but the most plausible interpretation of these events as recorded by Bede (*HE* 186-7) is that they took place at *Sancti Petri* - the newly built church of St Peter's at York - not *Sancta Petra* - Holy Stone (NCH XV (1940), 454-455).

However, one possible clue to the early-medieval framework is provided by St Cuthbert's Churches at Elsdon and Corsenside. These belong to a string of churches in the upland hinterland of Northumberland - Elsdon, Corsenside, Bellingham, Haydon Bridge, Beltingham - which are consecrated to St Cuthbert (cf. Bates 1889, 326-327). Whilst some dedications to St Cuthbert can be related to the medieval holdings of the Prince-Bishops of Durham the same cannot be said of this upland series. It is possible the series in some way reflects early proselitisation by Cuthbert himself (as suggested by Bates, *ibid*.), however a more attractive hypothesis may be advanced. The dedication sites can be linked to form a single itinerary leading from north Northumberland along the edge of the uplands and through the Tyne-Solway gap to Cumbria. It is tempting to identify this with the route followed by the Community of St Cuthbert during the late-ninth century, when it fled from its first refuge at Norham to a temporary haven in Cumbria in the face of the Danish onslaught (cf. Higham 1986, 310 with regard to Cumbrian church dedications). Indeed, just such a tradition of extensive church and chapel foundation 'in the western districts', by the itinerant Community, is preserved by the 15th-century prior Wessington of Durham (cited by Bates 1889, 327 n.38). The dedications may reflect a process of alliance-building between the Community and the local secular elite, marked by the establishment of chapels on important estates. It also falls within a broader pattern of similar activity, as the foundations of the English parochial structure were laid by the widespread creation of estate chapels from the ninth century onwards.

Altogether, however, this is a meagre haul to represent nearly a millenium of human activity.

6.4.2 Medieval settlement and tenure

Rochester lay beyond or on the very edge of the zone of permanent settlement and cultivation during the medieval era. It was situated within the liberty of Redesdale which was held by the Umfraville lineage "by service of defending the said lands from wolves and robbers" (*Cal IPM* V, 14, no.47, cf. Hodgson 1827, 109). Rochester itself does not feature in the various *inquisitiones post mortem* and legal documents relating to the Umfraville tenure of the liberty. Settlement did steadily advance up the valley during the climatic optimum lasting up until c. 1300. Assart-men (*cresmanni*), associated with the clearance of new land for cultivation, are mentioned in the inquisition of Gilbert de Umfraville in 1245 (*Cal IPM* I, 12, no.49, cf. Hodgson 1827, 108). Davyshiel and Garretshiels, which must have begun life as seasonal shieling sites, had clearly developed into permanent settlements by the end of the

13th century. They are mentioned in such terms in court cases in 1291 and 1293 (cf. Hodgson 1827, 24, 27, 129, & 134), but both lie well below Rochester[1].

The wide tracts beyond the zone of permanent settlement formed the Forest of Redesdale embracing the entire northern half of Redesdale. The forest comprised a series of "waste" grounds, mostly based on the side valleys, or "hopes" (OE. *hoppa*), created by tributary burns. Redeshead, Earlside (W side of the dale opposite Byrness), Ramshope, Spithope and Cottonshope are all mentioned in the detailed inquisitions post mortem of the 14th century, where they are variously described as moor, woods, waste and occasionally pasture (cf. Hodgson 1827, 31 - AD 1325; 1827, 109 - 1331; 1827, 110, 135 - 1363). In one of the inquisitions there figures the toponym *Suleshope*, which might conceivably refer to the valley of the Sills Burn beside Rochester, though considerable doubt exists over this identification (*Cal IPM* VI: 380, no. 607 - 1325, Hodgson 1827, 31 & 147)[9].

This upper dale area was under direct Umfraville control. Richard de Umfraville was granted by charter the privilege from King John, in 1199, that none might graze their cattle, or hunt or fell wood in his forests of Redesdale and Coquetdale unless they had common rights there (Hodgson 1827, 14; cf. NRO 3635/13 p. 7). This was presumably an attempt to prevent or at least control assart enclosures and need not imply that the forests were solely hunting reserves. The inquisition valuations of pasture, wood, and moor etc., alone refute that notion, although hunting was of course one of the purposes for which the forests were used. Rather these tracts might better be envisaged as extensive upland demesne, exploited through pastoralism rather than agricultural cultivation. Pastoralism was a prominent element in the manorial economy of Redesdale by the mid-13th century, and doubtless much earlier. In 1245 the Umfraville manors were testified to have pasture for 1140 sheep, pasture for mares worth 12*l*, and 1400 acres of cattle pasture - or perhaps pasture for 1400 cattle - (*CalDocScot* I: 305, no.1667).

6.4.3   Pastoralism in upper Redesdale

Vaccaries and bercaries
Pastoralist exploitation of the upland demesne was effected by two distinct means. The first was through the establishment of directly managed stock farms, a practice especially associated with great ecclesiastical landowners such as the Cistercian abbeys of Fountains, Rievaulx and, more locally, Newminster. The Umfravilles themselves definitely ran a herd of mares in the forest on the west side of Cottonshope during the later 12th and 13th centuries. The tithe foals from this herd were granted to the Abbot and Convent of Kelso, probably in the later 12th century, and confirmed by Gilbert de Umfraville in 1227/28 (*Liber de Calchou*;[10] cf. Hodgson 1827, 15-18), when the Abbey successfully

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[1]. **N.B.** A degree of caution needs to be exercised when searching for references to Rochester in the early documentary sources. The existence of other sites in Northumberland with very similar names can give rise to some confusion in this respect, for example Rowchester near Birtley and, most notably, Rudchester on Hadrian's Wall. Both lay within the barony of Prudhoe also held by the Umfravilles. Rudchester formed one of the townships in the barony and was held by the Rudchester family. Consequently it features in many medieval documents, where it is variously written as Roffa (a latinisation also applied to Rochester in Kent – NCH XII (1926), 200), Ruhcestr, and Rouchester. Thus the Simon de Roffa mentioned in the Great Pipe Roll in the year 1208 (cf. Hodgson 1835, 102; NCH XII (1926), 200) has no connection with Rochester in Redesdale (*contra* Beckensall 1992, 41). He should be identified with the Simon de Ruhcestr, steward of Richard de Umfraville (1195-1226). Simon was one of the witnesses on the charters relating to the Cottonshope tithe foals grant in 1227/8 (Hodgson 1827, 16-17).

[9]Robert Umfraville, earl of Angus, was stated to have held at his death, in 1325, 100 acres of moor in 'Suleshope' This was an error, the location of the moorland holding later being corrected to Fulhope (presumably the valley of that name at the head of Coquetdale) in an inquisition of 1331. It is unclear whether 'Suleshope' is simply a confused form of Fulhope or whether it does actually represent a genuine medieval toponym, denoting the valley of the Sills Burn, which had mistakenly been listed as the location of the moorland holding.

[10]The author has not yet had the opportunity to consult this source, which is cited for the record. The Cottonshope charters are, however, set out *in extenso* by Hodgson (*op.cit*).

defended its claim to the foals in a dispute with the rector of Elsdon. There may have been a permanent settlement of some kind associated with the maintenance of the herd, akin to the vaccaries, or demesne cattle farms, common further south in the baronial "forests" of the West Riding Calder valley and the Lancashire Pennines (Faull & Woodhouse 1981, 758-761; McDowell 1988, 8-9; cf. Charlton & Day 1979, 209). Such an installation would clearly be of especial interest if its precise location could be identified and a start might be made by examining the neighbourhood of the present Cottonshope farm. The existence of 24 "vaccaries or cow pastures" in the manor of Otterburn was noted in the inquisition of Gilbert de Umfraville in 1308 whilst 10 were totalled there in 1330 on the death of his wife Elizabeth (*Cal IPM* V, 14, no.47; VII, 156, no.208; cf. Hodgson 1827, 109). Unfortunately in the absence of any further detail none of these dairy farms can be located more precisely within the manor, but it is likely that at least some lay in the hopes of upper Redesdale. It is noteworthy that the Cottonshope ranch, itself can only be identified because its stock figured in a grant to an ecclesiastical institution, which thereby ensured the preservation of the associated documentation in the Chartulary of the Abbey of Kelso and also gave rise to a legal dispute over the rights to the tithe foals.

Transhumance

Otherwise, exploitation of these areas was doubtless mainly on a seasonal basis by means of regular transhumance from the lower valley to the sheiling grounds in the upper valley and hopes where stock would be grazed from April to August (Charlton & Day 1979, 209-210; McDonnell 1988, 8, 14-15). It is significant in this context that designated 'forests' or free chases are particularly characteristic of the large but territorially compact baronies to be found in the uplands of northern England. Forests form one of the most strikingly common features of the Cumbrian baronies examined by Winchester (1987, 3-5, 16-22) for instance. Moreover the forest zones correspond to areas where the practice of transhumance can be documented either directly in historical records or indirectly through scale/shield placename evidence or can be attested archaeologically in the form of the shieling cottages and associated remains. Further, the baronies may themselves be based to a considerable extent on pre-Conquest units of lordship or "multiple estates" as suggested by successive scholars (Jolliffe 1926; Barrow 1973, 7-68; Jones 1976; Kapelle 1979, 51-85). The forests thus, in part, represent a device for drawing profit from the longstanding seasonal pastoralism prevalent in the northern region, a profit derived through agistment charges on the use of pasture and woodland by the peasantry of the dependent manors. Whether this method of exploiting the subsistence practices of northern communities was entirely a Norman innovation or was based at least to a limited degree on the customs of pre-existing "multiple estates" is a matter for debate.

The upland tributary hopes recorded in the inquisitions do not, therefore, comprise the full extent of Umfraville land in upper Redesdale, the acreages recorded being far too small. Rather they represent merely the parcels which were being leased out at any one time to tenants at will, for the grazing of livestock. The valuations recorded were the sums payed by those tenants as indicated by the inquisition of Robert de Umfreville held in 1331 (*Cal IPM* VII, 290 no.390). Similarly another Umfraville inquisition (*Cal IPM* V, 14, no.47 - 1308, cf. Hodgson 1827, 109) specifically labels the value of four unnamed wastes in the liberty as their 'worth in agistment'.

No messuages are listed along with the 'diverse parcels' of wood, moor, pasture or whatever in the upland hopes and it is clear that there were no permanent farm tenancies situated there (though demesne stock farms may have been). The highest recorded settlements in Redesdale at the time of the mid 13th-early 14th century climatic optimum were situated at Elishaw, where there was a hospital, and Shittleheugh on the north bank, and at Blakehope and 'Smallburne' (mod. Dargues) on the south (Hodgson 1827, 20, 24-28, 146; Hodgson 1916, 8; *Lib. Feod.*, 1122 - 1244).

The exploitation of the valley above these points was therefore almost certainly effected by means of seasonal transhumance from lowland farmsteads to upland summering grounds. There is only limited evidence for transhumance in Redesdale at this date. The placenames Davyshiel and Garretshiel demonstrate that transhumance was practiced in the area at some date before the late 13th century by

which time these had become permanent settlements. The tract of upper Coquetdale incorporated in the Umfraville liberty has preserved more explicit evidence for this period. For example in 1244 Batailshiel, in the Usway valley next to the lordship of Kidland, was described as the shieling (*logia*) "formerly belonging to William Batalle but now to John of Letelwell". It featured in the boundary delimitation of a land grant to Newminster abbey by Gilbert de Umfraville (NCH XV (1940), 436-437; *Newminster Chart*: 78). Later on, in 1398, sheilings are specifically mentioned in Redesdale in the inquisition post mortem of Matilda, wife of Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland, and formerly wife of Gilbert Umfraville (*Cal IPM* XVII, 468 no.1246). The shielings were presumably located on Earlside and Over Redeshead which figure amongst the places listed therein.

6.4.4   Recolonisation and the emergence of Reiver society
Much reduced rental valuations are recorded for the Redesdale manors in the 14th-century inquisitions, reflecting population fall and settlement contraction caused by the warfare, climatic decline and disease of that period. By the end of the century, however, there are hints that settlement was beginning to creep further up the valley. The 1398 inquisition (see above) includes amongst its list of 'divers places, scalings and wastes' a series of placenames not hitherto encountered, including 'Kirkestilland' (Birkhill?) and 'Mekilhyresfeld' (Horsley ??). Their position in the list and tentative identification imply that these 'places' - which probably represent farmsteads or assarted parcels of valley-bottom arable or meadowland - lay above the previous limit of cultivation and settlement, Elishaw-Shittleheugh-Blakehope.

Indeed it is possible that the turbulent conditions of the later medieval era may, paradoxically, have ultimately favoured an expansion of peasant colonisation and seasonal transhumance, and an improvement in the status of the border tenants. Formerly the exploitation of the uplands, whether by means of permanent stock farms or seasonal shieling pastures and lodges, appears to have been tightly controlled by the Umfraville feudal overlords or their principal vassals such as the Battaille lineage in the Usway valley noted above. A weakening of feudal lordship over the Northumbrian dales during the 14th-15th centuries and the attendant growth of the kinship 'surnames' may conceivably have afforded the tenant peasantry more opportunity for assarting coupled with less strictly regulated shielding on upland pastures. Thus far greater acreages of pasture are listed in 1495 (*Cal IPM* Hen VII, 414 no.971) in the upland hopes by comparison with those recorded in the 14th century. Whereas in 1325 there were 100 acres of wood and 200 of waste in Cottenshope 1000 acres were rented at the end of the 15th century, likewise 20 acres of wood and 200 of moor in Spithope in 1325 as opposed to 1000 in 1495. Moreover new grazing areas figure in the 1495 document, including 'Thillez' (clearly the Sills Burn valley from its position in the list) and 'Byrdhop' (by the mid 16th century the site of a settlement on the west bank of the Rede a little way above Rochester). All this is presumably indicative of some measure of agricultural recovery, but may also signify that any earlier restriction on the extent of grazing in the upper valley, to safeguard the lord's hunting rights, had effectively been abandoned.

Many of the socio-economic processes operating in Redesdale during these years are illuminated by a statute enacted in 1421. It was intended to curb the depredations of the 'thieves and felons, called intakers and outparters, dwelling within the franchise of Redesdale where the king's writs runneth not' ("*appellez Intakers & Outputters*" - *Statutes,* 9 Hen V, 7; cf. Hodgson 1827, 60). Three points emerge from this source. Firstly it makes clear reference to the characteristic twofold pattern associated with transhumant agriculture, namely enclosed (taken in) arable and meadow in the lower valleys and summer grazing outfields in the higher hopes and moors. Furthermore, the mention of intakers tends to confirm that a renewed process of upland colonisation was underway by this stage. Finally the document demonstrates that the patterns of lawlessness and petty violence associated with what is now termed Reiver society were already established by the early 15th century.

The development of this distinct frontier society is a complex issue, doubtless arising from the interplay of several factors. These have been most recently analysed by Tuck (1971, 27-28, 1985, 51-52), and include a decline in feudal lordship and attendant growth of kinship groups as alternative providers of security, along with the government economies in military spending in the 15th century and consequent

need to rely on the manpower resources of the Border dales to fill the gap. The transformation of upland-valley inhabitants into a kinship-structured frontier militia embedded patterns of low-medium level reciprocal violence within Border society for more than two centuries, but also brought about a rise in status and greater freedom for the Redesdale tenantry. This process is again highlighted by the inquisition of 1495 (*Cal IPM* Hen VII, 415 no.971):

> *There are in the said manor (of Otterburn) divers free tenants, holding their tenements there of the lord of the said manor within the march . . ., who are want to pay . . . ., but in time of war between England and the Scots they shall pay no rent or anything else, but give their help together with their lord there to keep the vale, or valley, of Reddesdale and those who dwell there from plunderers, enemies and robbers.*

6.4.5   Conclusion

It is within the framework of the above processes that the establishment of a settlement at Rochester should be envisaged, perhaps in the 15th or early 16th centuries.

One further question which might be resolved by future excavation and fieldwork concerns the location of the vaccaries recorded c.1300. High Rochester with its ready-made compound and abundant building stone for the erection of sheds and cottages might have proved an attractive site for such an installation, but this can only be regarded as a tentatative suggestion. It is equally possible that sites higher up the tributory hopes were preferred as better situated to provide access to a wider variety of resources - from moorland top to valley bottom meadow.

6.5   Early Modern Resettlement

The earliest certain reference to a settlement at Rochester occurs in the schedule for the day and night watches of Redesdale, which is incorporated in the 1552 Border Survey conducted by John Dudley, earl of Northumberland, and Lord Dacre, (cf. Hodgson 1827, 71). The inhabitants of Birdhope and 'Richester' were to furnish two men to mount the day-watch on 'Berehope-law' under the direction of Clement Hall and Matthew Cookson. On the night watch Birdhope and 'Ratchester', Horsley and the Stobbs, Allshaugh and the Spitelhaugh were to watch the street of Acamside Moor and Pringlehaugh, providing a total of four men. The setters and searchers' for this duty were Clement Hall, again, and Thomas Anderson of Birdhope. 'Richester' and 'Ratchester' should clearly both be identified with Rochester, particularly as they occur in conjunction with Birdhope. Although Clement Hall himself was probably a resident of Birdhope (perhaps the father of George Hall in the Border survey, cf. *1604 Survey*, 94), the Halls also formed the inhabitants of Rochester when more detailed records become available early in the following century. Hodgson (1827, 70) noted that the Halls were the senior clan of Redesdale. Even at this date Rochester, along with Birdhope, Woolaw and Evistones still represented the uppermost limit of settlement in the valley.

Rochester appears on Saxton's map of 1576 (fig. 11) and subsequently on Speed's maps of 1611 and 1623 (fig. 12). Harrison's geographical description of Redesdale in 1577 also includes mention of the site (1586, 90; cf. Hodgson 1827, 161).

In 1546 the manor of Harbottle including Redesdale had been absorbed into the crown on the recommendation of Sir Robert Bowes, to improve Border security and exert greater control over the lawless district (Hodgson 1827, 66-67). A subsequent survey of crown property and that of other principal proprietors, compiled in 1568 by Lawson the Queen's feodary in Northumberland (cf. Hodgson 1827, 75; 1835, lxi), includes mention of a site called 'Whitchester'. It is sandwiched in the following sequence of royal possessions in Redesdale: .... Elishaw, Stobbs, Whitchester, Evistones, Kellyburn, Rattenraw, etc, exactly where one would expect to encounter Rochester. It seems reasonable therefore to correct Whitchester to 'Ritchester' and equate it with Rochester, bearing in mind

the ways in which the place-name is spelt in the 1552 schedule. The list does not mention any site in the valley above Rochester, again suggesting that Rochester stood on the high-tide mark of permanent occupation at that stage.

An upland settlement like this, so far up Redesdale and close to the Border, was obviously vulnerable to raiding despite the watch arrangements noted above. In 1581 the inhabitants of Rochester lodged a complaint with the Queen's commission, against the Elliots of Liddesdale, declaring that the latter had raided the settlement on several occasions "taking 180 kye and oxen, gotes, sheep and household stuff, so that the town has laid waste for five years" (Hedley NRO 542.19: Rochester; Charlton 1986; Mitford 1989, 41).

Habitation gradually advanced, however, and Rochester had become less isolated by the start of the 17th century. In the Border Survey of 1604 the settlements of Bellshield, Birdhopecraig and Sills are listed above Rochester, as well as Birdhope and Woolaw mentioned by earlier sources (*1604 Survey*, 82, 94).

Recognition of the site's historical importance also began around this time, with a visit by the intrepid Bainbrigg in 1601, his notes subsequently forming the basis of Camden's account in the 1607 edition of *Britannia*.

6.6   Medieval & Early Modern Communications

An important factor influencing the creation of a settlement at High Rochester must have been its relationship to the medieval communications network in the area and in particular to the former Roman road, Dere Street, which skirted the north and east sides of the fort.

6.6.1   Dere Street
It is clear that Dere Street remained a recognised feature after the Roman withdrawal and continued in use as a highway throughout the medieval era.

Most frequently mentioned was the stretch across the high moors near Chew Green, known as Gamelspath (which incorporates an Old Scandinavian personal name). The earliest documentary reference occurs in 1249 when 'Kenmylispeth' was a recognised place of trial for the inhabitants of Redesdale and Coquetdale (Nicholson 1747, cited by Bosanquet - BosanPap IV *Roman Roads, Dere street* typescript: 'Bat ridisdale and Cokdale sall ansuere at Kenmylispeth'). Kenylpethfeld was one of the waste grounds mentioned in an Umfraville inquisition of 1380 (*Cal IPM* XV, 177 no. 434). Thereafter it figures continuously in documentary sources relating to the Anglo-Scottish conflict of the 15th and 16th centuries (assembled by Bosanquet - BosanPap IV, *Roman Roads in N'land*), the border crossing being one of the designated meeting places between the wardens of the English and Scottish Middle Marches. Thus 'Gallespeth' was the launching point for a major English raid into the valleys of the Kale Water and Teviotdale in 1513 (Hodgson 1827, 159-161), whilst the Scots undoubtedly used that route in a similar fashion for their raids into England. The frequent occurence of Gamelspath in the sources was of course directly related to its role in border conflict and mediation.

References to other stretches of Dere Street are naturally more difficult to find. However, the border watch schedule incorporated within Dudley and Dacre's 1552 Border Survey shows the inhabitants of Birdhope, Rochester, Horsley and Stobbs were responsible for maintaining a night watch on the "street of Acamside Moor" (cf. Hodgson 1827, 71). This is presumably a reference to the moorland stretch of Dere Street north of the fort. Akenside was one of the upland pasture grounds in upper Redesdale and figures in the documentary sources from 1363 onwards, when Eleanor, widow of Robert de Umfraville was found to have held 20 acres of woodland there (*INQ. P.M.* 1363; *Cal IPM* I, 414 no.971 - 1495; *1604 Survey,* 83, 104; *1618 Rental*: 335; cf. Hodgson 1827: 82, 110). It does not feature on modern OS

maps but should probably be identified with the hillsides between the Rede, Cottonshope Burn, Sills Burn and northward to the Rede-Coquet watershed.

The Golden Pots

The high moorland stretch of Dere Street, on the watershed between Cottonshope and Ridleeshope, is marked by two cross sockets called the Golden Pots. The "Outer Golden Pot" lies at NT 8045 0722 above Pepper Side and the "Middle Golden Pot" at NT 8120 0633. Both feature on Armstrong's map of 1769 (fig. 17) along with a third near Featherwood, at the point where the moorland drove or drift-road leading directly to Elsdon branches off Dere Street (NT 81 04). This last stone (presumably once termed the "Inner Golden Pot") had already disappeared by Hodgson's day (cf. Hodgson 1827, 150-151). The date of these stones is uncertain. Honeyman (1927) suggested the crosses were erected in the late 14th-century, partly on stylistic grounds but also by rather fanciful association with the battle of Otterburn, considering them to be funerary memorials for the Earl of Douglas. A location named Golding Pottes does actually figure in the Redesdale Forest boundary delimitation, which is set out in a Kelso Abbey charter associated with the Cottonshope foals dispute of 1228 (*Liber de Calchou,* 264; cf. Hodgson 1827, 17). If the 13th-century 'Goldingpottes' did indeed refer to the socket stones the implication would be that the sockets were of considerable antiquity for it would imply they had already lost their cross shafts by 1228. This identification is far from secure however. Golding Pottes would be more appropriate name for a field containing some sort of pits, like 'Sand pottes', 'Colpottes', 'Claypots' etc (Honeyman – 1927, 99-103 - suggested it was an early name for the earthworks of Chew Green fortlet and camps). It is therefore more likely that Golding Pottes was the name given to a stretch of moorland near Dere Street, which had perhaps been scarred by some kind of extraction, and which, when deformed into Golden Pots, was subsequently transferred to ancient cross sockets alongside the road, whose true purpose had been forgotten as had the original meaning of the placename.

The function of the crosses is also uncertain, but they most likely served served as waymarkers defining the moorland course of Dere Street, and were perhaps situated at points where other trackways joined or crossed the route - a correlation suggested in particular by Hodgson's description of their location (1827, 150-151). Alternatively it is conceivable that they were boundary stones, in which case they may signify that Dere Street formed a convenient limit for some early estate.

Route deviations

It should not be assumed that this medieval route exactly adhered to the line of its Roman forebear. A highway in use over such a long period would most likely have been subject to considerable detailed deviation in its course. The moorland stretches in the vicinity of the Golden Pots present a confusing multiplicity of trackways to the extent that it is difficult to determine the line of the original Roman route on the ground (pers. comm. A. Williams). Evidence for a further significant deviation during the medieval or early modern eras can be traced south-east of Rochester between Horsley and Elishaw/Blakehope. On their respective maps neither Fryer (1820) (fig. 25) nor Greenwood (1828) mark any trace of the former Roman road between Horsley and Blakehope. Instead only the Elsdon-Carter Fell turnpike road is shown in this stretch of the valley. Dere Street joined this route at Horsley and diverged from it at Elishaw to cross the river and rejoin its former course at Blakehope. Armstrong in 1769 (fig. 17) presents a more complex picture. Dere Street is shown as passing through High Rochester-*Bremenium* fort, emerging from the south gate. It then appears to resume its former course, passing to the east of Petty Knowes farm, continuing on until it reached Horsley where it crossed the road which ran from Elsdon along the length of the dale. Rather than continuing to follow the line of the Roman road straight on towards the river, Dere Street then apparently proceded through Bagraw and Birkhill, duplicating the valley track, which it rejoined at Birkhill before diverging again beside the ruins of the medieval settlement of Elishaw. Dere Street then crossed the Rede to resume its original course at Blakehope whilst the other route continued along the north side of the Rede passing through Otterburn to reach Elsdon and thence Newcastle, Morpeth or Corbridge.

Elishaw

The establishment of a hospital at Elishaw, during the medieval era (Hodgson 1827, 20, 146; Hodgson 1916: 8), may be related to the possible deviation, discussed above. Situated near the junction of two routes and at the very limit of recorded permanent settlement in this area, the institution may have served as an ultimate lodging place on the limit of the inhabited, cultivated realm for travellers making the arduous border crossing, as Hodgson (1827, 146) suggests, in addition to providing a hospice for the local poor and sick. Certainly such a very limital, pioneer location is difficult to parallel exactly with regard to other ecclesiastical establishments in the area. The nunnery of Holystone, in neighbouring upper Coquetdale, whilst situated high in the dale nevertheless still lay below and close to the capital of the Umfraville liberty at Harbottle. Gilbert de Umfraville's claim, during legal proceedings at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1279, of the right to levy a transit toll at Elishaw on Scottish citizens, though not on Englishmen, provides a further indication of Elishaw's 'frontier' status (*Northumb. Assize R.* SS 88, 373). It was evidently the highest permanently settled point where what was in effect a customs toll could be levied on Scotmen crossing over the border into Gilbert's liberty.

6.6.2 Other Routes in Redesdale

The above discussion emphasises that Dere Street was not the only important route in the area during the medieval era. The other significant trackways are outlined below.

Redeswire

The valley road, mentioned above, ran from Elson to Otterburn and then followed the river right up to the head of the dale. It crossed the border at the watershed of the Rede, known as Redeswire (the equivalent of the modern Carter Bar crossing). The route was notable for the number of times it forded the Rede (cf. Hodgson 1827, 161). It was doubtless the Elsdon road which was followed by the Scottish army of Earl Douglas and the pursuing force of Henry Percy in 1388, after they decamped from Newcastle in the run-up to the battle of Otterburn. Like Gamelspath, the Redeswire border crossing figures prominently in the warfare of the 15th and 16th centuries and was one of the designated meeting places between the wardens of the English and Scottish Middle Marches. In 1575 one of these meetings at Redeswire degenerated into a bloody skirmish, the Redeswire Fray. This meeting had initially been scheduled for "Kemelspeth", but was subsequently rearranged for the convenience of the Scottish deputy keeper of Liddelsdale (Hodgson 1827, 155-162 with full sources). An earlier battle is recorded at Redeswire in 1400, when Sir Robert Umfraville routed a Scottish force there.

Elsdon-Gamelspath

Another trackway diverged from Dere Street proper near Featherwood, at the head of Sills Burn, and continued south-eastwards along the moorland watershed of the Rede and the Coquet systems to provide more a direct link between Elsdon and the Gamelspath border crossing. Like the route beside the Rede this moorland track may have a long history. It has even been suggested that the Elsdon-Gamelspath route was derived from a prehistoric ridge-way (Charlton and Day 1976, 229).

6.6.3 Later history

The later history of all these routes is closely intertwined. The steady advance of permanent settlement beyond Rochester, to the very head of Redesdale, in the 17th and 18th centuries, may help to explain why the valley road gradually overshadowed and eventually supplanted Dere Street altogether. The latter was marked in preference to the valley route on many 18th-c. maps, eg. Warburton's (1716) and Horsley's (1753) (fig. 16), and still figured in its entirety north of Horsley on Fryer's map in 1820 (fig. 25), but perhaps more as an ancient monument than a functioning highway. The valley route was clearly the more important of the two by 1828, when its course was surveyed by J. L. MacAdam in preparation for its incorporation into the Newcastle-Edinburgh turnpike, the precurser of the modern A696 and A68 (Lawson 1971, 194, 204; NRO QRUp. 22). The main work involved in the creation of this through route was the construction of the Belsay-Knowesgate-Otterburn cut-off, which bypassed a lengthy meander through Cambo, Harwood and Elsdon. The new turnpike was fully opened in 1841

when an improved line over the Carter was completed (Lawson 1971, 205-207). However, the road from Elsdon up to the head of Redesdale had been transformed into a turnpike some years before 1828. It was clearly designated as such on Smith's map of Northumberland in 1804, with its continuation beyond Carter Fell labelled the "New Road to Edinburgh by Jedburgh" (cf. Lawson 1971, 204). The map also shows that Dere Street, south of Elishaw, had been upgraded to a turnpike by this stage. Writing in 1825, Hodgson (1827, 83-84) considered the turnpike through Redesdale had already had a marked impact on the area's agricultural economy, substantially reducing local arable cultivation by providing easier access to the cheaper Scottish grain. Furthermore, the course depicted by both Fryer and Greenwood differs greatly from that shown earlier on Armstrong's map in 1769. The Fryer-Greenwood line sticks to the north side of the river and is essentially the same as that followed by the modern road, whereas Armstrong's trackway repeatedly crosses from one bank of the Rede to the other by means of numerous fords, particularly above Byrness (cf. Hodgson 1827, 161). The course traced on Smith's map, though inevitably less detailed because of the scale, appears to correspond to Armstrong's track rather than Fryer-Greenwood's road. Clearly, the Elsdon-Carter route had been thoroughly upgraded in the intervening years following the establishment of the Elsdon and Redewater turnpike.

Greenwood's map of Northumberland (which provides more detailed coverage of Redesdale than Fryer's) suggests that the section of Dere Street between Rochester and Horsley was partially abandonned by 1827/1828. Much of the route, immediately south-east of the fort, had to be restored by MacLauchlan on his 1852 plan (fig. 28) and indeed the more apparent traces which he recorded correspond very closely to the stretches still marked as in use on Greenwood's map. Further confirmation is supplied by the 1840 tithe commutation map (NRO: DT.164) and the 1866 enclosure award (NRO: QRA.44). Neither records the course of Dere Street as a trackway or as a corridor of common passing through the 'ancient' enclosed lands, comparable to those leading south from the fort itself or north east.

The gradual disuetude of the High Rochester-Horsley stretch of Dere Street need not have had any major impact on the route north of Rochester. Traffic could readily have used the track leading from High Rochester common green through the south gate towards Low Rochester. This was formally demarcated by the 1791 award which divided the hitherto unenclosed land south of the fort (cf. NRO 542.59), but was probably long-established by then. Alternatively High Rochester could be avoided altogether simply by remaining on the west side of Sills Burn, following the track marked by Greenwood, MacLauchlan and the Ordnance Survey, to join the valley road beside Birdhope Craig chapel. However the position of the toll bars along the Redesdale turnpike may be significant in this regard. On their respective maps Fryer (1820) and Greenwood (1827/28) marked the toll-gates (*'T.B.'*) on either side of the border at Carter and Whitlee, at Monkridge Hall between Otterburn and Elsdon, at Elsdon Gate west of the village and at Elishaw Gate on Dere Street. These were located to catch the main flows of traffic joining the turnpike. The fact that there was no toll point at Rochester, Birdhope Craig or Horsley to charge traffic coming off the northern stretch of Dere Street, corresponding to Elishaw Gate at the junction of the Redewater and (southern) Dere Street turnpikes, may be an indication that traffic on the former Roman road north of High Rochester was much diminished.

Cattle-droving from Scotland to the markets of England probably accounted for the bulk of the traffic along Dere Street, once the trackway's role as a conduit for cross-border conflict was ended by the Union of the Crowns, and it was presumably this traffic which ensured the route's survival as a major long-distance thoroughfare up to the early-19th century. Stagshaw Bank just north of Corbridge, at the hub of the old Roman road network, was the site of reputedly the largest provincial cattle fair in Britain, second only to Smithfield and already in existence by 1204 (Charlton & Day 1979, 225, citing Bonser 1970, 134; cf. Cowper 1970-1971, 31). It is doubtless significant that the final demise of Dere Street was contemporary with the terminal decline of droving in the 19th century (Charlton & Day 1979, 225; Cowper 1970-1971, 33; Haldane 1968, 204-222). Even for this purpose the stretch past High Rochester may, by the beginning of the 19th century, have been largely superceded by the more direct moorland

route from Gamelspath to Elsdon, which stayed clear of the enclosed fields in the valley. The Highland drover, Alexander Munro, was obviously following the latter route when he died at Dudlees on 15th June 1801 (*EPR*, 226).

6.6.4 Conclusion

Dere Street played a prominent role in medieval and early modern Redesdale, the border crossing serving as a meeting place for the judgement and resolution of disputes, both international and intercommunal, and as a jumping off point for the raids which generated those disputes. When conditions permitted, it formed a throughfare for long-distance cattle-droving of a more legitimate kind. It must have had an important influence on the growth of settlement at High Rochester in the 16th century and would clearly merit further study, both documentary and archaeological.

6.7 Upper Redesdale 1700-2000

6.7.1 Background

During the eighteenth century and for much of the nineteenth, the whole of upper Redesdale was contained within the parish of Elsdon. This was an enormous parish of in excess of 77 000 acres that had been divided up for administrative purposes into seven townships.[11] According to Hodgson, with the exception of Ramshope, an extra-parochial district, the townships had been named after principal areas of settlement. Only the three most northerly of these historic townships are in the present Northumberland National Park – Troughend, Rochester and Ramshope, but they contain around two-thirds of the acreage of the original parish.[12] On the east, the townships were bordered by the North Tyne parishes of Bellingham, Thorneyburn and Falstone, on the west by the Coquetdale parishes of the Chapelry of Holystone and the Parish of Alwinton, while to the north lay Scotland. The Park does not contain all of the original Troughend township, but it is important to begin any historical survey from the nearest available geographic boundaries.

During the medieval period, Redesdale, which was part of the huge Manor of Harbottle, had the status of a Liberty. Lordship of the area was granted to families, principally the Umfravilles, who would exercise the powers of the Crown within its borders maintaining public order and defence against the Scots. In the fifteenth century, this system of government was further complicated by the imposition of local control through a system of Wardens of the Marches on both sides of the Border. The role of the Wardens was essentially the maintenance of government along the Border and the conduct of local relations between the rulers of England and Scotland. With the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the new King, James VI of Scotland and I of England, imposed a new form of government along the Border similar to those elsewhere in his kingdoms.

One survival among these changes was the Lordship of Redesdale. One reason for this was that since the 1540s the Lordship had been in the hands of the Crown, and administered directly by royal officers. Another was that there were still considerable property rights attached to the Lordship that made it a valuable gift that could be used by the King to secure his own authority among his nobility. Thus, in January 1604, James granted the Lordship of Redesdale to one of his favourites and close supporters, George Home, Earl of Dunbar. Dunbar held the Lordship until his death in 1611, upon which event the King, in 1614, granted the Lordship and other property rights in England to the Earl's daughter, Anne, and her husband, Theophilus, Lord Howard de Walden.

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[11] The main source for the early history of upper Redesdale is the section on the parish of Elsdon and its townships in Part 2, Vol. I of John Hodgson's, *A History of Northumberland in Three Parts*, (1827, 82–162). Hodgson states that the parish was 96 000 acres, 77, 000 is the figure given by the Tithe Commutation survey in the 1830s and is the figure usually cited in other works of reference.

[12] The Tithe Commutation Schedule (NRO 486 – Tithe Commutation Map and Schedule) lists Rochester as 22 068 acres, Troughend 26 010 acres and Ramshope as 1467 acres.

6.7.2 Redesdale under the Lordship of the Howards

The Howard ownership of the Lordship of Redesdale lasted from 1614 until 1750 and marks the transfer from a medieval government, society and economy in the Rede valley to a more modern one. The *Survey of Debateable and Border Lands*[13] carried out in 1604 shows clearly the disposition of property in Redesdale at that time, a situation that was likely to be little altered by 1614 when it was transferred to the ownership of Dunbar's daughter and her husband. In the context of the area that now lies within the National Park, members of local families tenanted the land around the present villages of Elsdon and Otterburn and along the river valley. Their small farms were located adjacent to the flat land in the bottom of the valley and extended up its sides for a short distance. This land was used for cultivation and for growing hay for winter feed for the farmers' livestock, which consisted of herds of black cattle and small flocks of sheep. The stock was pastured around the homesteads during the winter and then grazed during the summer on hill land either close to the farmsteads or in the upper parts of the valley, where there extensive "summer and shieldinge grounds" available to all who held farmland within the Manor. The arrangement of small farms continued up the valley to Woolaw, Bellshield and Birdhope, which are located approximately two miles north of the village of Rochester. At that point the land available for summer pastures began and continued to the head of the valley and the border with Scotland.[14]

The tenants of the Lordship in the Rede valley, as shown in the 1604 *Survey* were either freeholders, who performed military service for their right to hold property, or customary tenants, who performed service and paid some rent for their holdings. The Howards inherited this situation from the Crown and, more recently, Dunbar. Undoubtedly the abolition of the military Border Tenure by King James brought about some changes, but the Howards effected a much greater transformation when they began to break up the real estate of the Lordship through sales commencing in 1640. By 1747, as a result of a series of sales over the century after 1640, as one member of the family after another came into possession of the Lordship and required to repair their finances, the Howards were reduced to the ownership of a single farm, Overacres. At this point, the owner, William Howard, sold the farm together with the title to the Lordship and its remaining medieval seigniorial rights to the Duke of Northumberland.

The effect of the Howard sales had been to transform the agriculture and settlement of the Rede valley. In the townships of Troughend and Rochester, the seventeenth century farms had been enlarged to include areas of hill land that may have previously been grazed, but whose ownership had not been allocated to be within the boundaries of particular holdings. At the same time, the areas which had previously been described as shieling grounds and were used solely for transhumance summer grazing had ceased to exist in that form. Instead they had been broken up into large farms. For example, at Catcleugh, just north of Byrness, in 1658, Sir Charles Howard and his trustees sold the summer pastures at Catcleugh and the neighbouring Spithope to Henry Widdrington of Black Heddon. Widdrington, in turn, sold the property on and this land, together with other neighbouring property, ultimately came into the possession of Gabriel Hall. By his death in 1733, Hall had accumulated a substantial estate that mainly passed to his son Martin, but he also made some bequests to other children. The whole had been divided into farms and when subsequently some of the property was sold in the 1760s, the Duke of Northumberland bought Catcleugh, Spithope, Babswood and Chattlehope. Previously all of these four properties had been part of the commonly used summer grazing in upper Redesdale, which in total had exceeded 21 000 acres, but now they formed a single farm of 6000 acres.

6.7.3 Redesdale in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

As a result of the changes brought about during the period since 1600, by the late eighteenth century practically all the land in Redesdale was divided up into separate farms. Such a process had taken place throughout Britain, but the pattern of farm creation in Redesdale was significantly different

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[13] R P Sanderson (Ed), *Survey of the Debateable and Border Lands adjoining the Realm of Scotland and belonging to the Crown of England, taken A D 1604* (Alnwick, 1891) cited here as *1604 Survey*.

[14] For further details concerning Redesdale in the seventeenth century, see Watts 1975.

from elsewhere. Enclosure of farmland into separate holdings in other regions of the country had often begun by private agreements among landowners in the Tudor period and then been carried forward to the eighteenth century when the process was streamlined and extended through Parliamentary legislation. In Redesdale, the first enclosures had come about as the result of the purchase of land from the Howards as they dismembered the Lordship they had acquired in 1614 and was then supplemented by Acts of Parliament in one or two places. This was most typically the case with the enclosure award at Elsdon in 1731 which brought about the redistribution of over ten thousand acres of land surrounding the village. However, in the area of upper Redesdale within the boundary of the present National Park, this was not the case.

Historic reasons associated with settlement in the valley and the effects of Border warfare and civil unrest in the period 1300 to 1600 account for underlying differences in land holding between the townships and, as a result of this, the process of enclosure was also substantially different. Only a handful of Enclosure Acts applied to the northern part of the valley or affected this area. The reason for this is that these particular Acts, such as the ones dealing with Troughend or Rattenraw, included some land which is now within the portion of the Rede valley which is within the present Park. However, the total area covered by such legislation was less than 2000 acres in a total area of nearly 50 000 acres. The Acts which applied particularly to the northern part of the valley were essentially ones which tidied up land boundaries and the ownership of small parcels of land, rather than dealing with any substantial enclosure which entailed the creation of new farms. Typical of these is the Rochester Enclosure Award of 1866, which dealt with 286 acres of land around and within the village of Rochester.[15]

The bulk of the land in the northern part of the Rede valley was enclosed either by agreement among the landowners or by an individual landowner, who, having purchased a very large block of land from the Lordship, subsequently divided it into a number of farms. The arrangement of the property at Catcleugh, described above, is typical of this process. One feature resulting from the application of this mechanism was that the average size of holdings in the three townships of Rochester, Troughend and Ramshope was much larger than in any of the other four townships in Elsdon parish. The northerly townships had an average farm size of in excess of 800 acres, while the average farm size in the remainder was less than 300 acres. In addition, there were 20 farms in excess of 1000 acres in the three northern townships while the remainder contained only 5.[16] At the same time, as a reflection of the way in which the lands of the Lordship were broken up, the majority of the farms were not owner-occupied. Instead, they were farmed by tenants on leases of up to twenty-one years in length from landlords who were likely to own several holdings in the valley. Initially, the tenants continued to employ the same mixed system of farming that they had in former times. However, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, a transformation took place in the upper Rede valley that considerably altered this state of affairs.

In response to population growth in other parts of the country creating new demands for meat and wool, the farmers of upper Redesdale began to abandon grain cultivation and reduced the numbers of black cattle reared on their holdings. In their place much larger flocks of sheep were kept and the farmers began to concentrate on the production of wool, wether lambs for the meat market and breeding ewes. One effect of these changes was that, by the early nineteenth century, only two of the thirteen mills which had been operated along the river to process the grain grown by local farmers had not ceased production.[17]

By the 1830s, it is possible to give a much more precise picture of land owning and leasing in upper Redesdale. The Schedule of agricultural property attached to the Tithe Commutation map of Elsdon parish contains detailed lists of landed proprietors, their properties and the tenants broken down into

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[15] NRO, QRA 47/1, Rochester Award and Plan.

[16] Figures are taken from the Tithe Commutation Schedule.

[17] For readily accessible information on this point, see D B Charlton 1986.

townships. According to the Schedule, there were 34 properties in Rochester, 28 in Troughend and a single farm in Ramshope. Of these, only eleven were in the hands of owner-occupiers, while the remaining farms were the property of landowners, most of whom were resident outside the township itself or the parish of Elsdon. The most important of these landlords was Lord Redesdale who owned 13 of the properties in Troughend and Rochester with a total area in excess of 11900 acres, over a quarter of the area of all three townships. During the remainder of the century, further properties were purchased from other landowners, until the estate extended to over 16000 acres and occupied approximately one third of the land in the three townships. It is also interesting to note that all of this part of the estate was located within the boundaries of the present National Park.

A brief study of the way in which this estate was managed reveals many of the basic features of all land ownership in the Rede valley during the nineteenth century. The foundations of the estate were laid in the 1790s when Sir John Mitford, then a noted lawyer and Member of Parliament for Beeralston, a pocket borough belonging to the Percy family. For reasons which are not entirely clear, Sir John, who had lived most of his life in the South of England, decided to purchase property in Northumberland, not far from the families ancestral home at Mitford, near Morpeth. Sir John became Lord Chancellor for Ireland under William Pitt and assumed as his title Lord Redesdale. Although he inherited an additional estate in Gloucestershire, Lord Redesdale continued occasionally to visit his estate in Northumberland and also added to it from time to time.[18]

From the extant evidence, it appears that, for much of the first Lord Redesdale's lifetime, the estate was managed by local men, themselves farmers, who collected the rents and carried out simple managerial tasks on behalf of the owner. On the death of the first Baron in 1830 and with the accession of his son to the title, this practise changed. The new owner, John Thomas Freeman Mitford, second Baron Redesdale, introduced estate management methods that were similar to those being used on other large estates in England.[19] In 1834, an agent, Edward Lawson, was appointed to conduct the management of the estate. Lawson was resident in a property, Redesdale Cottage, located on the estate and also took over the tenancy of one of the farms, Stewartshields. The purpose of this latter act was not only to augment Lawson's income, but also to allow him to develop modern farming methods on the holding. Thus, he would be able to familiarise himself with the problems faced by tenants and suggest ways of solving them and also be able to provide an example to them of sound agricultural practice.

At the same time, Lawson was able to advise his employer on reforming the leasehold system on the estate, carry out repairs and other necessary improvements to the farms generally supervise at first hand the day-to-day conduct of the tenants. Like many other land agents of the time, Lawson also involved himself closely in local affairs. He acted as a churchwarden in Elsdon, was road surveyor for two of the public roads in the area and canvassed on behalf of the Tory interest in elections. When his employer acted as a major local benefactor and had built the Church of the Holy Trinity at Horsley, near Rochester (see below), Lawson acted as the clerk of works superintending all building operations and, later, acted as one of the first churchwardens. He also made a significant contribution to the development of Rochester (see below) and took a major role in refurbishing Birdhopecraig Hall, his employer's country house on the estate.

Lawson died in 1878, but he had already taken on as his assistant his nephew, William Hodgson. Hodgson succeeded his uncle as agent and was to continue in service until his own death in 1907. During this period, he maintained the high professional standards established by his uncle and continued to conduct affairs on the estate to the mutual benefit of owner and tenants. When prices of sheep and wool fell in the 1880s and 1890s, Hodgson not only adjusted rents to reflect the

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[18] For the life of Sir John Mitford see, Mitford 1939.

[19] There is no biography of the second Lord Redesdale although information can be found in the appropriate volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. For a study of estate management in this period see Spring, 1963. For information and sources on the administration of the Redesdale estate see Roberts 1992.

significantly poorer returns to the farmers, but also introduced policies such as the construction of additional hay sheds on estate farms which would permit farmers to diversify their farming operations. In this way the farming community was supported and its welfare fostered until prosperity began to recover in the years immediately before the First World War.

The prosperity of farming in the upper Rede valley was essential to the well being of the whole population, not just to the farmers and their employees. There were coal measures in the valley and some of the stone was useful for building purposes, but there were only limited local markets for such commodities. The only railway line to enter the valley crossed it at West Woodburn, several miles from the upper valley and too far for minerals to be exported to lucrative urban markets. With this heavy dependence on upland pastoral farming, there was an underlying weakness in the economy of the upper Rede valley that was to cause considerable changes in the twentieth century.

6.7.4 The upper Rede valley in the twentieth century

The progressive estate management policies, which characterised the work of Lawson and Hodgson on behalf of the Mitford family, were similarly pursued by the agents of the Dukes of Northumberland and other major landowners in upper Redesdale. Evidence suggests that their policies bore fruit as there is little evidence of bankruptcy among the farmers in the upper Rede valley. However, apart from some attempts to increase the amount of leased shooting on the farms, there is much less evidence of successful diversification of enterprise by the landowners or farmers. Unlike some of the Yorkshire dales, where it was possible to introduce the production of milk and milk products, the absence of rail transport precluded this in the same way that it prevented the exploitation of mineral resources (Hallas 1999). Consequently, the area attracted the development of other enterprises that could make use of marginal upland countryside. Such activities became a features of life in Redesdale at the very end of the nineteenth century and continued throughout the twentieth.

The first of these new developments was the construction of the Catcleugh reservoir at the head of the valley in the period 1894 to 1905. The detailed story of this undertaking has been told elsewhere (Rennison 1979), but it is important to note that it brought considerable economic activity into the most northern part of the valley for a short time, including a large temporary increase in the population. By the end of the project a substantial reservoir had been constructed which occupied several hundred acres of land, but which only created a few jobs related to water supply and property maintenance at the dam.

The next development in the valley was one that continues to contribute significantly to the life of the valley in a number of ways. This was the purchase of over 17 000 acres of land for use as a military training area.[20] Popularly believed to have been suggested for such purposes by Winston Churchill, the area was originally designated for artillery training for Territorial Army soldiers, but was later extended to include the Regular Army and, after the Second World War, NATO forces. Additional purchases of land for the Training Area took place between 1940 and 1943, 1951 and 1954 and in 1987 so that the present Otterburn Training Area extends to 56 600 acres in the upper Rede and Coquet valleys. Within this area, two camps at Otterburn and Rochester (Redesdale Camp) have been created. The latter is within the area of the National Park and is due for demolition in 2004/2005. Farming has continued within the Training area, although there has been some amalgamation of the holdings to produce fewer and larger farms. What has been of considerable significance has been the employment opportunities for civilian workers on the Training Area. These have been considerable and the Ministry of Defence has employed up to 100 people on the Training Area estate undertaking a wide variety of jobs. As a result of the nature of military training, businesses other than farming have been precluded from operating on the Training Area.

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[20] For information about the Army ranges see, Charlton 1996 and Owen 2003.

Nevertheless, the Training Area has been perceived by local people as a considerable asset, providing a source of local employment that farming and tourism simply could not match.

The final change that has taken place in the upper Rede valley, is one which has also occurred in the neighbouring valleys of the North Tyne and the Coquet and one which has become a distinctive feature of the National Park. This is the work carried out in the valley by the Forestry Commission (Walton 1962). The Commission first began planting in rural Northumberland in the neighbouring North Tyne valley in the 1920s but extended its activities into Redesdale as land became available. The second Lord Redesdale of the second creation (David Mitford 1878 – 1958) inherited the Redesdale family estate in 1916 shorn of the two and a half thousand acres purchased by the Army for the Otterburn range. In 1918, Lord Redesdale sold the outlying portions of the estate and over 8 000 acres around Byrness was purchased by a Teesside industrialist Sir James Marr. In 1930, following Marr's death, the property was sold to the Forestry Commission who began planting shortly afterwards. The Marr property was to be the foundation of the 17 000 acre Redesdale Forest that was an extension of the Kielder and Wark Forests in North Tynedale. The Redesdale Forest, which is within the National Park, brought some additional employment to the area and a substantial increase in the population of the village of Byrness (see below). In recent years, this trend has been reversed as increasingly the routine work of forest planting, harvesting and some maintenance has been carried out by contractors whose workers often do not live in the Rede valley and whose labours have been substantially mechanised.

As a result of these three developments, the topography and economy of the parts of the Rede valley within the National Park have been changed considerably as has the way of life in the communities within this area.

6.7.5 Communities and communications
The two largest villages in the parish of Elsdon, Elsdon itself and Otterburn, lie outside the townships of the upper Rede valley. In fact, Otterburn is completely outside the area of the National Park altogether. Within the upper Rede valley, it is possible to trace the development of three small village or hamlet communities only. These are Horsley, Rochester and Byrness.

6.7.6 Horsley
Horsley was noted in the *Debatable Lands* survey of 1604 as being a property held under customary tenancy and occupied by seven men and their families. By the nineteenth century this property, all of which belonged to Lord Redesdale, constituted the first village/hamlet community in upper Redesdale. The community was centred on the Turnpike road (see below) approximately a mile south of Rochester. Hodgson notes that it was sold by the Howards to Lord Cranstoun, a Scottish peer, who sold it to the Earl of Warwick in 1763. In turn, probably in the 1790s, it was sold to Sir John Mitford. Unfortunately, Hodgson does not provide any details of the composition of the property. An estate map drawn up by Thomas Arkle in 1839 shows the area of "Ancient Land" which was probably some of the property referred to in the seventeenth century survey.[21] Around this had grown up a number of buildings centred on the structure known at the time as the Horsley Inn, now the Redesdale Arms. By 1839, this building had become a posting inn and a place where stage coaches changed horses. The inn also had farmland attached to it and some of the buildings marked on the map close to the inn were agricultural as well as including ones used for the coaching business. The buildings along the Turnpike to the south of the inn housed a blacksmith's shop and homes for the smith and his assistants.

By the time that the map was made, a large house, occupied by the agents for the estate, had been built to the east of the inn. This was Redesdale Cottage, but there are no details of its construction. Another property is located in the wood alongside the road to the north of the inn. This was a cottage of indeterminate age that was used to house the estate woodman known as Horsley Wood Cottage.

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[21] NRO 2534/1 Redesdale Estate Papers, Map Book.

Just to the south of the cottage, a small enclosure has been sketched in the corner of High Field. This became the sight of the present Holy Trinity Church which was built at the expense and under the patronage of Lord Redesdale between 1842 and 1844 as a chapel of ease for the district. At the time, it was served by a curate of the Vicar of Elsdon living at Byrness, but a vicarage was built by Lord Redesdale in 1883 and a separate parish of Horsley was created with its own clergyman (Pevsner *et al*. 2001).

A number of farms surrounded Horsley, Bagraw, Stewartshields and Elishaw, all of which belonged to the Redesdale estate. Hodgson describes one farm, Stobbs, as a hamlet. Although it had become a single farm by the early nineteenth century, the buildings which are associated with the present farm contain evidence which suggest that some may have been cottages in former times.

6.7.7 Rochester

The settlement at Rochester gave its name to the ward of the parish of Elsdon and was of considerable antiquity. The earliest settlement was in and around the Roman fort of Bremenium, the remains of which are located to the east of the Turnpike road on high ground overlooking the Sills Burn. This settlement was, and is, referred to as High Rochester and has already been the subject of a detailed survey (Rushworth 1996). This survey also gives considerable evidence about the rest of the village.

The remainder of the village grew up in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries along the Turnpike road. The first buildings have been detected in the seventeenth century and may have been centred around the bridge over the Sills Burn at the northern end of the present village. There is evidence of a Presbyterian chapel and associated cottages at this time. The present chapel was built in 1826 to replace the earlier building and a manse for a resident Minister was erected in 1876. It is likely that the school at the other end of the village was built under the orders of Lord Redesdale early in the nineteenth century. Correspondence between Edward Lawson and his employer in the 1830s about the appointment of a new schoolmaster suggests that it had been in place for some time. A map attached to an Award for settlement of disputed property in 1791 shows that the school had yet to be constructed and that the remainder of the land alongside the Turnpike had yet to be developed. This area is marked as belonging to the Stobbs estate and was shortly afterwards purchased by Sir John Mitford. A contemporary survey in the Rededsale papers of this property suggested that it would be ideal for the construction of cottages for estate workers etc. It would appear that this was carried out as the Tithe map for 1840 shows a number of buildings on this section of land corresponding to the location of the school and several of the present cottages. Dates found on some of these buildings during refurbishment in the late twentieth century would confirm this to be the case.

By 1886, Bulmer's Directory (Bulmer 1887) indicated that the village was an important local centre containing the dwellings of a number of local trades people as well as the school and the Presbyterian chapel. This was confirmed in the 1891 and 1901 census returns. The village hall was opened in 1928 and by this time the village had also acquired a garage selling petrol and repairing motor vehicles. Although later construction in the twentieth century included the building of a number of houses along the road connecting the lower part of the village to High Rochester, decline had begun after the Second World War. The village school closed in 1953, the garage and the last shop in the 1990s and there was no longer a resident Presbyterian Minister or a Vicar at Horsley. Village life must now depend on tourism and commuting for its sources of income.

6.7.8 Byrness

In the seventeenth century Byrness was located in the shieling grounds of the upper Rede valley and there is little or no evidence of permanent post-medieval habitation. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, Hodgson reported that there was a burial ground in the area and the sale of the Lordship by the Howards had resulted in the construction of some farms in the area, such as Catcleugh and Byrness.

The first real evidence of attempts to create a permanent centre of settlement in this part of upper Redesdale came in the 1790s with the erection of the Church of St Francis and also a school by the Rector of Elsdon, the Rev Louis Dutens. The school was only built to house twelve children and gives some indication of the small size of the surrounding agricultural population. This population remained fairly stable throughout the nineteenth century, but was obviously given a huge increase with the construction of Catcleugh reservoir and the introduction of several hundred workers and their families into this remote rural location. The village for the workers constructed by the Water Company supplied many of the workers' needs. However, aspects of the building operations, such as the narrow gauge railway to Woodburn and the Saturday market held for the dam workers by local tradesmen were of direct benefit to the local people.

When the dam was completed, a small number of workers remained to manage the reservoir, but the next influx new people did not take place until the 1930s. In an effort to assist the long-term unemployed, a number of labour camps to provide industrial training were opened throughout Britain. One of these was built at Byrness as a summer extension camp for the facility at Kielder in North Tynedale and operated as a training centre from 1934 until the Second World War when it was closed down. It is known that workers from this camp assisted with forestry work as there was clearly a requirement for workers as parts of upper Redesdale was planted. After the war, this work was undertaken by forestry staff who were provided with a purpose built village just north of the church at Byrness. Dr Thomas Sharp, a highly regarded expert in local authority housing, designed the houses, which are similar to the ones built at Kielder and Stonehaugh. The village has now been sold off to private home-owners as working practices in the forestry industry no longer necessitate a permanent, resident work force. At the same time the school is now housed in a modern building close to the village while the old school is now a private house. The former Byrness farmhouse is now a hotel.

6.7.9 Communications

At the present time, the upper Rede valley has only one major road through it, the A68 trunk road. Armstrong's map of 1769[22] on the other hand shows three roads in use in the valley at that time. One ran from the North Tyne valley over the moors to link to the Ruken or Rooken road, which ran from Bellingham to the valley, at Blakehope just north of Rochester. In turn this road linked with the main road through the valley, which ran from Otterburn over the Carter into Scotland, at Byrness. All evidence suggests that these were ancient tracks that had been in use for many years.[23]

In 1774, the road from Carter Bar to Elsdon was made into a Turnpike Trust by Act of Parliament. This permitted the Trustees to improve the road by widening, repairing and altering it and then charging a toll for its use. The subsequent road was highly successful and up until the 1840s was heavily used. In 1833, it was linked to Newcastle by the opening of a new road that joined it at Monkridge just south of Otterburn. Suggestions were made about this this time that a railway might be constructed through the valley to Scotland, but nothing came of this scheme. However, the opening of the East Coast line from Newcastle to Edinburgh, coupled with improvements in the road system, badly affected traffic on the Elsdon Turnpike. By 1880 local people were no longer prepared to see it remain in private hands and it was taken into county ownership. From this, it was gradually transformed into a national highway.

Of the other roads, the Rooken road was maintained by a local committee for much of the nineteenth century but was not taken into county ownership. Like the road from the North Tyne, it was eventually incorporated in the system of forestry roads for use in planting and harvesting trees.

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[22] NRO (Melton Park office) Armstrong's Map of Northumberland (1769).

[23] For further information see, R L Plackett 1996/97.

6.8 Parishes, Townships and Wards

In the usual manner of county histories, John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* discusses the history of Redesdale primarily within the framework of ecclesiastical parishes and their constituent townships, an example which was later followed by all 15 volumes produced by the Northumberland County History Committee.

A township is conventionally defined as the territorial resource of a particular rural community. Their boundaries became fixed when the land appropriated to that community extended, as a result of colonisation, up to land belonging to neighbouring settlements. The term used to designate a township in medieval documents was *vill* (*villa* in Latin). Rochester probably formed a township following its establishment in the late medieval/early modern era. This township would only have embraced the settlement and its surrounding fields meadows and moorland. Its scale may be gauged by the size of the community of customary tenants listed under the heading of Rochester in the 1604 Border Survey and the 1618 Rental (*1604 Survey*; *1618 Rental*, 337), whilst its territorial extent can still be traced as a subunit within the larger ward or township of Rochester on tithe, enclosure and estate maps of the 18th and 19th centuries. It covers both High and Low Rochester (initially Nether Rochester) and the surrounding farmsteads of Hillock (Over Rochester), Dykehead and Petty Knowes, and is bounded by the Rede to the south and the Sills Burn to the west.

6.8.1 Elsdon Parish and Rochester Ward

Between the mid-17th and mid-19th centuries, Rochester was one of the constituent wards or townships in the vast parish of Elsdon. The inconvenience for worshippers of having such a distant parish church had been acknowledged by the mid 17th century. In a Survey of Church Livings held at Morpeth in 1650 it was declared[24]

> That some part of the said Parish (of Elsdon) being twelve myles distant from the said Church, it is ffitt a Church or Chappell be erected at Rotchester.

The recommendation was never carried out, but it is an intriguing thought to imagine a chapel installed in the middle of High Rochester fort, perhaps set in the middle of green overlying the Roman headquarters building!

Hodgson writing in the early 19th century, lists the seven townships which made up the parish of Elsdon, comprising Elsdon itself, Otterburn, Monkridge, Troughen, Woodside, Rochester and the small extra-parochial Ramshope (Hodgson 1827, 82-3). These arrangments are illustrated by the Elsdon Parish tithe map of 1840. Each of the townships maintained its poor separately, according to the terms of the 1662 Poor Law Act, which designated 'every Township or Village' in northern England as the unit for poor-rate assessment and collection (cf. Winchester 1987, 27).

Six of the townships were labelled 'wards' and formed integral parts of the parish. The remaining one, Ramshope, was extra-parochial, for reasons which are unclear, although anomalies of this kind can often provide useful clues regarding the development of local settlement patterns and communities, and might therefore repay further investigation. Elsdon, Otterburn, Monkridge, Troughen were long established communities which had probably formed townships since the medieval period (although they were perhaps not the only settlements in the lower part of the valley which functioned as townships in that period). Woodside too fell within the zone of medieval settlement, comprising the valley of the Grasslees Burn and its tributaries. Rochester, probably settled in the first half of the 16th century, may have marked the limit of permanent occupation in the Redesdale at that stage. The small township of Ramshope, by contrast, was still just listed as a

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[24] The survey is reproduced in Hodgson 1835, lxxvi ff.

shielding ground or summer pasture in the early 17th century surveys (*1604 survey*, 83, 104 (where it is labelled Ravenshoulme); *1618 rental*, 334). It was probably settled in the mid-late 17th century and consisted of only a single house and seven inhabitants in 1821 (Hodgson 1827, 154-5).

Although the townships or wards recorded in the 19th century were for the most part based on longstanding settlements, which may once have been the centres of territorial townships, there is no indication that they existed before the mid 17th century. The wards 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 no more than hamlets, groups of farms or individual farmsteads and represent the kind of small, territorial township typically found in upland areas in the medieval and early modern eras. They were clearly much smaller than the six 18th-19th century wards. The latter, by contrast, were established specifically to administer poor relief, following the 1662 Poor Law Act which had enabled 'every Township or Village' in northern England to serve as a the unit for poor-rate assessment and collection (Charlton 1987, 98-9; cf. Winchester 1987, 27). Each of these new wards was henceforth responsible for the maintenance of its own poor and setting a separate poor rate.

In other words the 19th-century townships did not result from the collective labours of a medieval farming community, but, rather, were mid 17th-century creations designed to facilitate the provision of poor relief.[25]

6.9   Rochester: Population and Settlement 1600-1850

In attempting to estimate the population in the hamlet of High Rochester a number of difficulties must be confronted. Firstly the most detailed source of information, the Elsdon Parish records (*EPR*; NRO 1511 & 1649-50, EP.83), do not survive any earlier than 1672. Secondly most of the individuals named in the earliest parish records and other documents relating to the 17th and early 18th centuries belong to only one of the Redesdale 'surnames' or clans, namely the Halls. Obviously this creates plenty of opportunity for confusion, with homonymous individuals and others who may have been members of the same household - father and son, etc. Furthermore, settlement at Rochester was dispersed in several hamlets or farmsteads, including the present-day Hillock and Dykehead farms. This was probably true from a quite early date, Nether Rochester and Over Rochester (Hillock) being mentioned in 1618, but the earliest documentary sources do not make such distinctions, individuals simply being said to come from Rochester. High Rochester itself is not encountered before 1753 (Horsley and Cay's map - fig. 16) and not until 1776 in the parish records (*EPR*: 152, 197). This renders problematic the task of determining the population inside the fort alone.

6.10   c. 1600: Rochester in the Border Surveys

Nevertheless progress can be made. In particular two early 17th-century documentary surveys of Border settlement, the 1604 "Survey of the Debateable and Border lands" (*1604 Survey*) and the 1618 "Rental of the ancient Principality of Redesdale" (*1618 Rental*) shed considerable light on Rochester. The relevant passages are tabulated in full overleaf.

The two surveys usefully complement one another. Whereas the inventories of the 1604 Survey preserve considerable detail concerning the composition of the tenancies not found in the 1618 Rental the latter is more informative with regard to their location, enabling a start to be made in identifying the

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[25] Further discussion of the Poor Law townships is provided above in the section devoted to *Territorial Units and Settlement Types* in Part 1.

various farmsteads. Together a picture of the settlement in the first two decades of the 17th century can be built up.

Table 2: Rochester Customary Tenants

Individual	Descent	Rent	Buildings	Quantity of ground
Roger Hall	5s by descent and 15s by purchase for £16 6s 8d	£1	1 house 3 outhouses	11 acres meadow 12 acres arable
Thomas Hall senior	by James his father	2s 6d	1 house	2 acres meadow 4 acres arable
Thomas [Hall] junior	by Nicholas his father	2s 6d	1 house	2 acres meadow 4 acres arable
Robert Hall	5s by William his father	5s	1 house	6 acres meadow 4 acres arable
Thomas Hall	by Robert his father	10s	1 house 1 outhouse	8 acres meadow 7 acres arable
Total:		£2	5 houses 4 outhouses	29 acres meadow 31 acres arable 80 acres pasture 140 acres in total

Table 3: Rents for Rochester and associated lands in 1618

Location	Individuals	Tenement	Rent
(*1618 Rental*, 337) At the feast of St Michael the Archangel: Rochester	Ralphe Hall of Rochester	for 2 pts of a messuage in Rochester	5s
	Michael Hall	for the like	3s 2d
	Roger Hall	for the like	20s
Nether Rochester	Thomas Hall of Neather-Rochester	for the like	2s 6d
	Robert Hall	[for the like]	2s 6d
Burdhope Cragg:	-	-	-
Over Rochester	Robert Hall son of Thomas Hall	for 2 parts of a messuage there	6s
(*1618 Rental*, 338) Lease lands in Harbottle	Roger Hall & Ralphe	for the third part of Rochester	£4
(*1618 Rental*, 335) Earlsyde	over 40 individuals, including: Roger Hall of Rochester Thomas Hall of Rochester Ralphe Hall of Richester (and 5 others)	some pasture	in all 10s (10d) (6d) (2d)

Five customary tenants are listed at Rochester in 1604, all bearing the Hall 'surname' but each belonging to a different lineage. Their holdings varied considerably in size from that of Roger Hall valued at a rent of £1 per annum to those of Thomas Hall senior and junior which were each worth no more than 2s 6d annual rent. Roger had purchased the larger part of his tenement and seems to have been the senior figure in the settlement. Though listed as liable for border defence (a duty which he had neglected), he was named as a felon by the juries of the Middle and East Marches in 1597 and considered one of those Redesdale men "more fit to be punished, than trusted for defence against thieves" (*CBP*, 404). The acreages of land attached to each tenancy and the number of buildings is also included. Again Roger Hall's holding - with one house, three outbuildings, 11 acres of meadow and 12 acres of arable land - is by far the largest. Only one tenancy besides Roger's had more than one building, that of the third

Thomas Hall. It was, not surprisingly, the second largest holding with 15 acres of meadow and arable land worth 10s per annum. The rough rule of thumb appears to be one building per five shillings of rent.

The five 1604 tenancies can readily be identified in the 1618 list by comparing the rents and the personal names, though some of the individuals have changed in the 14 years between the compilation of the two surveys. It appears that the two smallest holdings lay in Nether Rochester, where one of the Thomas' (senior?) has presumably died and been succeeded by his son Robert. One might speculate, on the basis of their very small size, that the Nether Rochester tenements had originally been a single tenancy subdivided at some stage between two brothers. Similarly, Robert Hall, possessor of the fourth (5s) tenancy in the 1604 list, appears to have been succeded by Ralph Hall by 1618. The greatest change, however, must have overtaken the 10s tenement of Thomas Hall 3, which has been divided unequally between Robert Hall son of Thomas, at Over Rochester, and Michael Hall at Rochester, with a rental values of 6s and 3s 2d respectively.

A far more significant innovation revealed by the 1618 survey is the establishment of leasehold tenure over a third of the lands at Rochester, and the acquisition of that lease by Roger and Ralph Hall. This marks the beginning of the transition from the Border customary tenure or tenant-right - with its low rents, partible inheritance and border service - to more conventional leasehold or tenant-at-will (cf. Charlton & Day 1979, 215; Watts 1971). The new landlord of Redesdale, Theophilus, Lord Howard de Walden, who obtained the manors of Harbottle and Wark from the Crown in 1614, played an instrumental role in this process in his efforts to establish a form of tenure more convenient and profitable for himself.

The significance of the Rochester third is explained by a correspondent of the earl of Northumberland in 1635 discussing the way in which Lord Howard had come to terms with his Redesdale tenants some years earlier:

> *...The tenants of Redesdale did agree with (Lord Howard) that he should have the third part of their tenement and they continue the two parts paying the whole ancient rent, which was divided and set forth with some of them accordingly and my lord disposed of that third part set forth for him to his best profit and the tenants do at this time the two parts according to the agreement and pay the whole rent* (Alnwick Castle Archives, Syon P ix, 2/a; *cf.* Watts 1971, 80 & NCH XV (1940), 286-287).

As Watts (1971, 80) notes, by accepting this agreement Lord Howard's tenants in the manor of Harbottle effectively admitted that they were mere tenants-at-will. The appearance of leasehold lands in the 1618 rental, at Rochester and elsewhere, shows that even before his final victory in the courts in 1621-22 over the more recalcitrant of his Redesdale tenants Lord Howard had already had some success in coercing the Redesdale men to settle on terms favourable to himself.

6.10.1 Location
The holdings can be loosely identified. As one might suspect from its title, Over Rochester is Hillock farm. The two are equated in a document confirming the sale of part of Sir Edward Widdrington's sequestered estate to John Rushworth in 1654 (*Compounding Record*s, 372). The name Hillock itself first appears in 1629 when Cuthbert Milburne, alias Cuddy of the Leam, was sentenced at Newcastle assizes to be sent to the wars with Captain Clarke for - amongst other crimes - stealing a colt and breaking into the house of John Dunn of the Hillock (Hodgson 1822b, 159-160, 162; 1827: 76-77). It subsequently figures in compounding documents of 1654-1655, which also preserve a deed of 1632 (*Compounding Record*s, 371-372), and was clearly a well-established settlement by the time the earliest surviving parish records start in the 1670's.

Nether Rochester similarly figures in the parish records at the end of the 17th century, but is known as Low Rochester by the later 18th century. Since Petty Knowes, to the east of Low Rochester, occurs separately in the earliest parish records it is conceivable that one of the 1604/1618 Nether Rochester farmsteads was located there and one somewhere in the area of Low Rochester, where Rochester House, Hopesley House and South Chester now stand. Alternatively both may have lain at Low Rochester, with Petty Knowes only being established after 1618.

Thus by a process of elimination Rochester itself is likely to represent the hamlet within the fort, comprising in all probability two of the 1604 tenancies, that of Roger and Robert Hall. This gives a total of five buildings in the fort. It is also possible that one of the buildings of the third Thomas Hall's 1604 holding was also sited within the fort and later became the seat of Michael Hall. It is tempting to equate these buildings with the two bastles [1&2] and the ruined cottages still visible within the fort or known from 19th-century illustrations,and further, to identify each of the two bastles as the seat of one of the earlier 1604 tenements.

Finally what of the leasehold lands apparently carved out of the pre-existing tenements between 1614/1618 and representing a third of the farmland at Rochester? A preceding passage in the lease lands section (*1618 Rental*, 338), which refers to lease lands at Stewartshiels - '*two ptes of Stewartsheels as it is divided by years*' - might suggest that up until that point the arable and meadowland associated with each holding was not permanently fixed on the ground, but reallocated in proportion each year as former arable was left fallow etc. Establishment of the leaseholding may have brought about a gradual formalisation and consolidation of the various tenancies. Moreover, there is an intriguing suggestion in Percy Hedley's notes (NRO 542.59) that the leasehold lands may equate to the modern farm of Dykehead. Dykehead is first referred to in 1655 when Michael Hall of that place was suspected of being a royalist (NRO 542.17), and, like Hillock and Petty Knowes, it is present in the earliest parish records (e.g. *EPR*, 14). Over 40 years later, in 1698, two freeholders were registered as residing in the Rochester farmsteads: John Hall of Rochester and William Hall of Dykehead. It is possible that John and William's freeholds represent the former lease farms, divided into a Rochester property (derived from Roger's share?) and a Dykehead one (Ralph's portion?) and purchased outright at some point during the upheaval of the mid-17th century.

6.10.2 Summary

A clear picture thus emerges of several farm-steadings dispersed around a small hamlet nestling within the fort itself. Aside from the reuse of a Roman military site this pattern is fairly typical of upland as opposed to lowland settlement. The community had a limited amount of arable land for cereal cultivation, but its main wealth was clearly livestock - cattle goats and sheep - as reflected in the larger acreages of pasture and hay meadows. Between April and August the Halls of Rochester regularly grazed their stock on the higher shieling grounds of Earlside, for in Redesdale it was the custom that "each man knoweth his sheildinge steed, and they sheylde together by surnames" (*1604 Survey*, 104).

6.10.3 Population estimate

The men named in the early-17th-century surveys were the senior figures in the community. A rough estimate of five or six people per messuage would probably be reasonably accurate for these tenancy holders and their immediate families. In addition it is important to note that there may have been other individuals dwelling at Rochester, as landless labourers, sub-tenants or craftsmen, particularly on Roger Hall's larger holding, who did not all belong to one of the various branches of the Hall 'surname'. John Dunn of Hillock has already been noted. Another may figure in the list of prisoners and crimes committed in Redesdale and Tynedale, presented at Morpeth on 21st October 1618 and preserved in the Delavel papers - NRO 92 = 1DE/7/63, entry 19: "*Thomas Hall of Nether Rochester for stealing sheep from Andrewe Wandless for the same,* (sic = of the same?) *fled and became a fugitive*". Thomas is doubtless the very same Thomas Hall listed as a tenant at Nether Rochester in the survey of the same

year. The wording is unclear, but might suggest that Andrew Wanless was then living at Rochester, athough the Wanless surname is more commonly associated with other settlements, notably nearby West Durtrees - sometimes labelled Wanless Durtrees in distinction from Potts Durtrees - where an Andrew Durtrees was a customary tenant in 1604 and 1618 (*1604 Survey*, 96; *1618 Rental*, 338). Certainly Andrew's kinsfolk were present at Rochester later on in the 17th century, for one Ann Wanlass of Rochester is recorded as having married Edward Wilson of Ashtrees in April 1679 (*EPR*, 13).

Thus a total of perhaps a little over 20 individuals for the population of the settlement within the fort and 40-50 for the community as a whole (including the outlying farmsteads of Nether Rochester, Dykehead and Hillock) would represent a convincing estimate for any given point in the first half of the 17th century.

6.11   Mid 17th-18th Centuries

6.11.1 Population - Mid-17th century
There is no documentation as comprehensive as the two early 17th-century surveys until the parish records begin in 1672,   but some evidence relating to the Howard tenure of the manor of Redesale, preserved amongst the Blackgate deeds now held at Northumberland Records Office, indicates that the picture did not change significantly in the intervening period (NRO - Blackgate and Delavel deeds). An account of the farm rents in the manor in 1651 (B25/VI/34) shows John, Michael and Antony Hall paid a total of £2 for 'Rotchester'. A slightly later (11 Dec. 1660) schedule of the manor's farm tenants, which was attached to an arbitration award made in a dispute involving Charles Howard (B25/II/10), lists Roger Hall, Michael Hall and John Hall for Rochester. An Antony Hall appears again in 1687 (a son or relation of the earlier Antony?), named as the tenant for Rochester in a deed listing the principal manorial properties. The Roger Hall of the 1660 tenant schedule may be identical to the Roger Hall of Rutchester, who was said to be in arms with others against the Parliamentary forces on the 13th March 1654 when information was laid at Morpeth (*Compounding Records*, 376). Furthermore, a certain Michael Hall, of Dykehead, was similarly suspected of Royalist sympathies in 1655, as noted above.

It is possible that two of the tenancies listed in the 1651 and 1660 documents had been converted into freehold by 1687 to leave only a single tenement in Howard possession. Certainly two freeholders were listed for the area in 1698: John Hall of Rochester and William Hall of Dykehead, their superior status further emphasised by the fact that both were church wardens in the 1680's (*EPR*, 41). William Hall might be the successor of the 1655 Michael Hall of Dykehead and the homonym of 1651 and 1660. Similarly John Hall of Rochester was perhaps a descendant of the mid 17th-century homonym and may have held land centred around the fort itself. At any rate the mid 17th-century documents suggest there may have been a reduction and consolidation of tenancies (Hillock was probably in Widdrington hands from at least 1632 and thereafter followed a separate course - see above).

6.11.2 Documentary sources for population: 1670-1850
From the late 17th century the population of Rochester can once again be examined in detail as the parish records become available. However, the establishment of the Presbyterian chapel of Birdhope Craig in 1672 was obviously having a major impact on the devotional allegiance of Rochester's population by the mid-18th century, perhaps in part simply through the convenience provided by the chapel's proximity. Indeed there is a virtual hiatus in the Elsdon parish records as far as references to individuals from Rochester are concerned during the middle decades of 18th century (1730-1760). In part this is also due to the imprecision of the marriage registers for this period, which overwhelmingly use the phrase 'of this parish' to record the husband and wife's place of origin. For these years we are reliant on the registers (baptisms only) of Birdhope Craig itself, which are preserved from 1728 onwards (NRO 1953). The Elsdon registers resume more prominence later in the century. From 1797

the records of Byrness church (cf. *PSAN*[3], 3, 1907, 23-29), which was erected in 1796 in an earlier burial ground (Hodgson 1827, 148, 153, Grundy 1988: 289 - ROC 5), must also be taken into consideration for these too mention individuals from Rochester.

6.11.3 Toponymy and settlement

A further problem is posed by site toponymy. Petty Knowes, Hillock, Dykehead and Nether Rochester (ie. Low Rochester) all figure in the late 17th century registers, as noted above, as well as Rochester itself. This enables the population of the surrounding farmsteads to be distinguished from that of the High Rochester. 'Rochester' still denotes the hamlet in the fort in the registers for the period 1670-1730, but the placename was also be used in a broader sense in documents such as freeholder lists to designate the settlement as a whole, embracing particularly Nether/Low Rochester and Petty Knowes as well as High Rochester itself. This trend increased as the 18th century progressed and is marked the appearance of the parallel site-names of High and Low Rochester, the latter supplanting Nether Rochester in the registers. High Rochester is first mentioned in the parish records in 1776, when John Murray of Petty Knowes married Jane Main of High Rochester (*EPR*, 197) and Margaret, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Corbit of that place, was baptised (*EPR*, 152). However 'H. Rychester' is marked on Horsley & Cay's map of Northumberland of 1753. Low Rochester appears in the parish records in 1777, when the same Margaret, whose parents had by now moved down the hillside, was buried (*EPR*, 214). The case of Margaret Corbit illustrates the problems involved in using the parish registers for this period. All other references to Joseph and Hannah before and after 1776-1777 simply record their domicile as Rochester and it is clear that that placename was now being used indifferently to cover both the upper and lower settlements. Indeed Rochester remains by far a more common designation than either High or Low Rochester.

These changes in toponymy are not simply of antiquarian interest for they probably signify that there was no longer a single focus to the site - Rochester proper - there being instead two settlements - High and Low - of broadly similar size. This shift was probably caused by a drift of population southward towards the road bringing the two settlements roughly into balance. The new pattern was witnessed by Bishop Pococke in 1760 (1914, 228), who describes Rochester as two or three hamlets and implys that some of the buildings within the fort were in a state of decay: "there are modern ruins in (the fort)". The southward movement gathered even greater force in 19th century after the completion of the turnpike in 1841 (Lawson 1971, 204-207) to the extent that Rochester now denotes the roadside village and it is High Rochester which is the outlying settlement.

6.11.4 Population 1670-1720

The earliest reference to Rochester in the parish records relates to 1675 when Mary Hall, a widow of Rochester, was buried (*EPR*, 7). The Hall's were still the predominant element in the population at Rochester, Neather Rochester and Dykehead at the turn of the 17th century, comprising 10 out of the 12 individuals recorded for Rochester proper between 1672-1720, but two other names, Jane Hedley and Ann Wanlas, also appear (*EPR*, 13, 17). There is more variety at Hillock and Petty Knowes. Rochester hamlet still seems to have been the largest settlement, though the parish registers may through imprecision slightly overstate population there relative to the neighbouring farms (Nether Rochester: 4; Petty Knowes: 5/6; Dykehead: 5/8; Hillock: 7). These totals represent the number of individuals resident over a period of 38 years and not all were resident at any one time. However, some people may have gone unrecorded which would tend to compensate partially. Analysis of the registers points towards the existence of at least two households at Rochester, with other individuals perhaps resident as indentured labour, one household each at Nether Rochester and Dykehead, two at Hillock and one or perhaps occasionally two at Petty Knowes.

6.11.5 Population and settlement - Mid 18th-early 19th centuries

By the later 18th century the Halls were no longer the dominant element in Rochester's population. Indeed a bewildering variety of surnames are recorded, no less than eighteen between 1760-1800 in the parish registers alone, though eight of these are only mentioned once. It is possible that some of these

individuals or families were not long-term residents. Instead they may represent farm labourers etc., lodging in the settlement for a limited number of years.

The Militia List of 1762 (figs. 34-36) supplies a single period snapshot to balance the broader but more diffuse picture provided by the parochial records. This document (typed copy held at NRO Morpeth) sets out the number of able-bodied adult males for each settlement in Northumberland during that year with details of the men's occupations. In all eight men are listed for Rochester, including two freeholders predictably named John and William Hall. The relevant parts of the list (vol 8, pp. 370-371) are tabulated below.

Table 4 1762 Militia List		
Lower part of Rochester Ward		
Name:	**Occupation:**	**Resident of:**
John Hall	freeholder	Rochester
John Brown	farmer	"
Robert Penmin	workman	"
George Temple	weaver	"
William Turnbull	joiner	"
James Cowens	workman	"
John Ore	weaver	Dykehead
John Charlton	herdsman	"
Edward Dun	miller	Stobs Mill
John Corbet	smith	Rochester
William Hall	freeholder	"
Robert Laing	freeholder	Birdhope Craig
(5 more names for Birdhope Craig)		

There is no stated distinction between High and Low Rochester in the list, but the division of the Rochester entries into two discrete groups separated by several other site entries may be significant in this regard. It is conceivable that the group of six men should be assigned to High Rochester whilst the remaining two men lived at Low Rochester or Petty Knowes. Certainly John Corbit, the smith, was a resident of Low Rochester in 1774, when he voted for a freehold and built himself a new house there (cf. Hutchinson 1778, 200; Hodgson 1827, 145; Grundy 1988, 306 - ROC 32; below *Land Tenure* and 5.3). Corbit was still resident in the lower hamlet in 1791, when he was awarded one field (3/24 of the total) in the division of land between High and Low Rochester (cf. NRO 542.59). Conversely, John Brown the farmer, the second individual in the upper part of the 1762 list and who should therefore be assigned to High Rochester, was actually described as being 'of Low Rochester' in 1789-1795 when his children were baptised (*EPR*, 185). It is possible, however, that Brown had moved in the intervening 27 years. On balance, therefore, this hypothesis still merits consideration although the evidence is too ambiguous to be conclusive. On this basis the inhabitants of High Rochester would still greatly outweigh those of the lower settlement in numbers in 1762. Multiplying by a factor of 4 or 5 one might estimate a mid 18th-century population of 30-40 in High and Low Rochester and Petty Knowes with perhaps 8-10 in the each of the neighbouring farmsteads like Dykehead.

6.11.6   Land Tenure
Land Tenur
The tenurial history of the site during the 18th-early 19th centuries has to be teased out from less detailed sources such as the lists of voting freeholders in the Northumberland Poll Books, which provide some clues as to land-ownership.

Table.5 Freeholder Lists	
1698	John Hall
	William Hall

1710	John Hall of Rochester, for Rochester Roger Hall of Rochester, for Rochester James Hall of Rochester, " " William Hall of Dykehead, for Dykehead
1715	Reynold Hall of Newbegin, for Rochester John Hall of Rochester, " " Roger Hall of Woodlaw, " " William Hall of Dykehead, for Dykehead
1722	John Hall of Rodchester, for Rodchester John Buckham, juror, of Dykehead, for Dykehead Ralph Anderson, juror, of Birdhope Craig, for Dykehead Antony Brown, juror, of Saughenside, for Dykehead
1734	Roger Hall of Rochester, for Rochester
1747	No freeholders listed for Rochester
1762(Militia List)	John Hall of Rochester William Hall of (Low ?) Rochester
1774	Ralph Hedley of Woodhill, for Hillock John Hall of Rochester, for Rochester John Corbett of Low Rochester, for Low Rochester Robert Hall of Low Rochester, for " " George Laing of Dykehead, for Dykehead Thomas Heron of Dykehead, " "
1826	Robert Brown of North Shields, for houses at Rochester William John Grey of Rochester, for Rochester George Hall of Rochester, for Rochester William Wilson of Rochester, for Rochester Joseph Edmundson of Callaly Mains, for Dykehead

The freeholder lists do not of course provide a complete picture, but much useful information can be extracted if they are used in conjunction with other sources such as the parish registers and some holdings can be traced through the period with a degree of confidence. Moreover, they do occasionally preserve a distinction between (High) Rochester and Low Rochester.

For Rochester as a whole it is only towards the end of this period that copious documentation becomes available with tithe map of 1840 (DT 164.2), the Rochester Common award and map of 1866 (QRA 44.1) and the 1863 copy rate (NRO 542.59), which set out and map land ownership, farm tenancies with the acreages of the respective holdings, tithe commutation payments, quit rents to the lord of the manor, the Duke of Northumberland, copy rates and rentals and all such like.

Prior to this a good deal of material is available for Petty Knowes and the fields between High and Low Rochester, starting with an 'Award on Umpirage' of 1703 by Gabriel Reed relating to a dispute between Robert Hall of Newcastle and William Coxon of Woolaw over Petty Knowes (*PSAN2* **9**, 1899-1900: 196-197). Documents amongst the Coleman Deeds (*PSAN3*, **9**, 1919-1920: 58) trace the eventual passage by, marriage and inheritance, of Robert Hall's Petty Knowes property to Ann Grey of Newcastle. Grey participated along with John Corbett and the Reverend Caleb Dixon in the division of the hitherto unenclosed land between High Rochester, Low Rochester and Petty Knowes in 1791 (fig. 21).[26] The latter document also includes reference to an earlier agreement of 1755 leasing the use of land in this area to the incumbent minister of Birdhope Craig chapel. The minister's rights to use the two new fields immediately south of the fort, which lay in Caleb Dixon's portion, were safeguarded by the 1791 award until the expiry of the 60 year lease. Despite passing through various hands and one temporary subdivison after 1791 the three holdings delineated by that award were still intact in 1866.

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[26] The authors are grateful to Dr I R Roberts for providing a copy of the original ward with its attached plan. A later copy (1860s?) of the award, including a traced map is preserved in Percy Hedley's notes in Northumberland Record Office – NRO 542.59.

The 18th-century ownership pattern on the other sides of the fort is less clear, but is likely there were three main holdings, Hillock, Dykehead and one embracing the land immediately north and west of High Rochester. This was certainly the arrangement in 1840, when Rochester Peel, in the hands of Augustus Caesar Forster of Campville near Holystone, was the only estate centred on a farm within the fort. One might tentatively suggest that the freehold of John Hall in 1762 represented an earlier phase of the Rochester Peel estate and, still more audaciously, trace that freehold right back to the tenement of Roger Hall in the 1604 and 1618 surveys. Much of the fort interior, the open square or green, was still held in common in 1866 (QRA 44.1) and it was by exercising his rights as lord of the manor that the Duke of Northumberland was able to sponsor a programme of excavation there in 1852-53.

6.11.7 Conclusion: Settlement pattern and agricultural practice

The tithe commutation and common award maps show the limit of the enclosed 'ancient land', though the acreages stated there (235-0-35) greatly exceed the total (140) set down in the 1604 survey (cf. figs. 26). Only to the south-west does Rochester ancient land abut Stobbs ancient land. Otherwise they are separated by a glacis of unenclosed common grazing lands. To the west Rochester is separated from Birdhope Craig ancient land by the Sills Burn. The pattern of settlement is striking, with the outlying farmsteads of Hillock, Dykehead, Petty Knowes and even Low/Nether Rochester all set along the boundary between the ancient lands and the unenclosed common. The name of Dykehead even emphasises such a position, head-dyke being the common term in Scotland and parts of northern England for the main wall, hedge or bank separating a community's enclosed fields of arable and winter pasture from the rough common or waste beyond (Winchester 1987, 59-60; 2002, 52-5, 146-7). The antiquity of this boundary may be reflected in the structure of the wall, especially around the northern side of Dykehead ancient land. The wall there comprises large, irregular boulders, changing abruptly to upper courses of smaller, more homogenous stonework markedly different in appearance (see fig. 71). The surviving field-walls within the ancient lands are built of regular dry-stonework similar to that along the top of the head-dyke. These inner field-walls may therefore represent a later phase of field division, replacing hedging or fencing, a phase which perhaps included recapping the head-dyke.

Early-modern agricultural practice is further illuminated by the 1791 award cited above (cf. NRO 542.59). This did not constitute an enclosure and partition of commonland properly speaking, like Rochester Common. Rather it seems to represent a private agreement formally and permanently dividing unbounded parcels of land which had hitherto been proportionately realloted every year. Thus one surviving extract from the award refers to the Rev. Thomas Hope's pre-existing rights to a moiety of 'the lands and tenements of the said Caleb Dixon lying dispersed and intermixed'. These 'lands and tenements' presumably comprised unbounded parcels of rig and furrow which may well have shifted position each year according to the prevalent system of arable-fallow rotation - a continuation of the practice alluded to by the 1618 Rental ('*as it is divided by years*' - *Rental*, 338). Rights to use the wetter meadowland beside the Sills Burn and below the fort walls may well have been shared. The 1995 season geophysical survey, coupled with aerial photography, does show evidence for rig and furrow alignments and a single boundary wall preceding the field divisions and road-line set out in the 1791 map (which largely survive to this day). The position of this wall suggests, however, that its function was simply to separate meadowland from the arable cropland (cf. Crow 1996).

From c. 1850 onwards fortunes of the settlement can be followed with ease and there is little need to recapitulate its more recent history here. The census lists and the first 6 inch series OS maps appear in 1841 and 1866 respectively to supplement the information provided by the tithe and common award maps. Furthermore, pictorial evidence now becomes available, with the Duchess of Northumberland's sketch in the 1820's (fig. 44), reworked for Hodgson (1827, facing p.149) by Swinburne, and the watercolours of the 1850's excavations reproduced by Bruce (1867; fig. 45 here). Detailed plans of High Rochester were also drawn up as a result of the archaeological interest in the fort. Two aspects, however, do need more detailed scrutiny, namely the evidence for mining activity in the neighbourhood and Nonconformist religious activity, represented most tangibly by the Presbyterian meeting house at Birdhopecraig.

6.12   Non conformist Churches in the National Park

P F Ryder

There are only three nonconformist churches within the Park, all formerly Presbyterian (and now United Reformed Church), making it a sharp contrast to the Pennine Dales thirty miles to the south where virtually every hamlet had either a Wesleyan or Primitive Methodist Chapel, and frequently both. None of the three buildings are of outstanding architectural merit, but chronologically they are spaced out through the 190th century, and are each very typical of their era. Birdhopecraig of 1826 is very much an archetypal nonconformist meeting house; it could equally well have been an urban Wesleyan chapel. Well-built but plain, it is very much a Georgian 'preaching box' with a gallery sweeping around three sides and a hipped roof. It survives relatively unaltered, except for one very typical 20th-century change; the rear part of the gallery, the seating that it offered long surplus to requirements, has been partitioned off to form a separate room. Then comes Harbottle of 1854, now disused. It is not clear whether anything of the internal arrangements survive, but externally this is a building that looks much more like a church; the form is still a simple rectangle but the style is the popular lancet-Gothic, not particularly scholarly, in vogue across the whole country, relatively plain but with exuberant touches in a bell-cote-like turret on one end and a spiky finials on the other.

Finally, Falstone combines the contrasting aspirations of Georgian and High Victorian nonconformity, chaste functionality and prosperous display. The original 1807 preaching box was very much a typical Georgian independent chapel (*cf*. Glanton) in having a characteristic elevation in which two larger arched windows flanked the pulpit, and originally had a vertical pair of smaller windows to each side, lighting the spaces above and below the galleries. In 1876 it was remodelled to suit current taste, and to give more of the impression of being a church. The interior was turned round to face one end – admittedly west rather than the Anglican east – rather than the side, and a porch-cum-tower with some quirky architectural detail added, topped by a spire. The galleries were done away with. Later still came 20th-century changes, again typical throughout nonconformity, the altar replaced the pulpit as the central liturgical focus, and declining numbers allowed the rear part of the interior to be partitioned off, like the back of the gallery at Birdhopecraig, to provide a separate room for social functions, or small meetings..

Birdhopecraig United Reform Church [25]

Set back a little from the north side of the A68 road at the west end of Rochester village, this church is accompanied by a fairly plain Victorian house built in 1876 for the minister (but only ever occupied by one incumbent.

The church is a rectangular building with a hip-ended roof, with three-bay elevations and two tiers of windows. The front, facing the road (to the south-west), is of squared close-jointed stone of near-ashlar quality, the other walls of roughly-squared coursed stone with ashlar dressings. quality, with three-bay elevations and two levels of windows. The openings are all square-headed, with chamfered surround; the windows have slightly-projecting sills The central doorway has double doors under a two-pane overlight; above it is a slab with the relief inscription

<div align="center">

BIRDHOPE
CRAIG
SCOTCH
CHURCH
1816

</div>

The windows all now hold 20th-century casements. There are a series of moulded stone corbels to the overhanging eaves and the hip-ended roof, of quite low pitch, is of Welsh slate.

The doorway opens into an entrance lobby with its back wall following the curve of the gallery; doors on left and right give access to the body of the church and also to minster's room and gallery stair respectively. The church has its semi-octagonal pulpit set centrally against the end, with a communion table in front and a modern electric organ to the right; there is a boarded dado, set higher on the end wall. The gallery, apsidal in plan, runs round the sides and back of the building and is carried on six square timber posts, with moulded capitals; it has a simple panelled front.. At gallery level a room has been created above the entrance lobby, and separating the usable area of the gallery into two sections. Simple fixed pewing. The ceiling is underdrawn, with a single quite elaborate central chandelier. The gallery has a clock by W Murray of Rothbury.

6.13   Education

A school [28] was built at Rochester beside the A68 in 1852. This was a national school, endowed by Lord Redesdale with a sum of £10 perannum, but also aided by a state grant, and as a result open to government inspection (Roberts & West 1998, 81; Taylor n.d., 500. Such grants, initiated in 1833, were intended to stimulate local support for education and a recipient school had to demonstrate it also received local subscriptions. The school could take as many as 60 children, but average attendance towards the end of the 19th century was around 38. A house and garden attached to the school provided living accommodation for the schoolmaster.

The main block of the school building is an unremarkable single-storey, 4 bay structure, with a 20th-century extension to the left. The porch to the right, however, is very distinctive, incorporating much reused masonry from Bremenium fort, including many channelled gutter stones and stone ballista ball projectiles which are used as ball finials to the kneelers.

6.14   Coal Mining and other Industrial Activity

6.14.1 Coal Workings

North of the fort and particularly beyond Coal Cleugh, the small stream on that side, lie the traces of a group of coal workings [19&20] (NY 831 991 - Day & Charlton 1981, 292 App. 1.6; Charlton & Day 1976, 232, 241 nr. 113). These generally go under the name Hillock or Bush Colliery in the documentary sources (Bush being the name of a cottage on the north bank of Coal Cleugh shown by MacLauchlan and the early OS maps, and occupied by the end of the 18th century - *EPR* 224, death of Richard Smith of Bush, cartman, in 1798). Numerous grass-grown mounds left by similar workings can still be discerned on the surrounding moorland, at Huel Crag (NY 833 996), Christie's Bog (NT 837 005), and near the Sills Burn [13] (NT 834 022) to the north, and at Petty Knowes (NY 836 983) south-east of the fort (Day & Charlton 1981, 292 App. 1.6; Charlton & Day 1976, 232, 241 nos. 114, 117). At least some of these were probably associated with Hillock Colliery.

Hillock Colliery is first attested in the land tax assessments of 1774-1777 (NRO - QRP 1774-7, cf. Day & Charlton 1981, 273). It features again in the 1806 land tax returns (QRP 1806) and was still working in the 1820's (Miller 1887, 25-26), whilst Hodgson (1827, 86) notes that the seam worked at Hillock in 1819 was 20 inches thick and that the clay spoil heaps would spontaneously combust 'the fire ... often so intense as to burn the clay into a hard cindery scoria and to leave little or no ashes'. This technique may have been deliberately used to produce fire-clay for bricks (Charlton & Day 1976, 232, 241 nr. 113). Other seams, as yet unworked, were also known in Hodgson's day.

MacLauchlan's reported discussions with local colliers (1852a, 33-34), regarding the geology of the area, imply that coal was still being extracted in the area north of High Rochester in the mid-19th century, the workings perhaps extending up towards Huel Crag by this stage. There is no explicit mention of coal-working on the 1st edition 6 inch series Ordnance Survey map of 1866 (surveyed 1863; *cf*. fig 29). Traces of former coal-working - heaps or pits - are however clearly marked on 1866 map

(and on its successor of 1897) in the fields and moorland around Hillock, whilst a particularly large bell-pit appears 100 yds NNW of the fort itself, in the immediately adjacent field (NY 831 987). This latter reappears on the 1897 OS map (fig. 30), but in a far less distinct form. It is distinct from the 'tumulus' or 'barrow' of 'Gallow Hill', mentioned by Hodgson (1827, 149) and MacLauchlan (1852a, 35) and marked on MacLauchlan's plan just west of the fort's NW angle. Charlton and Day (1976, 236, nr. 13) consider that the Gallow Hill tumulus too was the result of coal-workings or quarrying rather than a prehistoric burial monument, in which case that working must have ceased well before 1810 when Hodgson visited the site. A similar interpretation is advanced regarding the tumulus at Dykehead, first noted by MacLauchlan (1852a, 35; cf. Charlton & Day 1976, 236, 241 nos. 8 & 110). If correct, that would point to another pit which had gone out of use before 1851. The Hillock workings as a whole, if not already abandoned in the 1860's, probably did not last much longer. Certainly they had all ceased operating by 1910 (Day & Charlton 1981, 281).

Other collieries existed in the neighbourhood just to the west of Rochester. Rochester Colliery at Bellshiel (NY 816 995) seems to have started up around the same time as the workings at Hillock (Day & Charlton 1981, 273, 291 App. 1.4; 1976, 236, 241, nr.2 & 103). The establishment of Birdhope Craig Colliery (NY 828 988 & 828 983) between 1804 and 1806 has left extensive documentation (cf. Day & Charlton 1981, 274-280, 291 App. 1.5; 1976, 236, 241, nos. 4 & 106). Like Hillock, Birdhope Craig had ceased operations by the opening of the twentieth century, but the Bellshiel pit was one of the last commercial working mines in Redesdale, only closing in 1935 (ibid.: 281).

6.14.2 Lime Kiln

The evidence for other industrial activity in the vicinity of High Rochester may be summarised briefly. The lime kiln (NY 8440 9850) 500 m ESE of Dykehead farm is first marked on Greenwood's map of 1827. It was already described as 'the old lime-kiln' by MacLauchlan in 1851 (1852a, 35), but still features on the 1st edition 6 inch series Ordnance Survey map as simply 'limekiln' (Day & Charlton 1981, 294). During its working life it must have provided a market for the neighbouring collieries.

6.14.3 Water Corn Mills

Two water corn mills may also be noted. The Birdhope Mill [16] or Birdhope Craig Mill on the west bank of the Sills Burn immediately north of the point where Dere Street crosses the burn (NY 8291 9900) is recorded from 1705 onwards in the Elsdon Parish records (*EPR*; EP.83) and is cited by Hodgson as already operating in 1663 (1827, 84; but cf. Charlton & Day 1982, 169 n.9). It features in documentary sources - notably the Birdhope Craig chapel registers (NRO 1953), the 1748-79 land tax assessments (QRP 1748-79) and Armstrong's map of 1769 - throughout the 18th century and into the first two decades of the 19th century (Charlton & Day 1982, 164 App. 1). By 1804 it was said to be 'old'. A corn-drying kiln may be noted beside it (Charlton & Day 1982, 169, App. 2.12). A second water mill, Stobbs Mill or Todlaw Mill (NY 8291 9750), was situated beside the Rede below Tod Law, a little way south of Rochester. It is first mentioned in the 1748 land tax assessment and features in several other sources in the second half of the 18th century (Charlton & Day 1982, 167 App. 1). Again a corn drying kiln may be noted close by (Charlton & Day 1982, 168, App. 2.11). A further possible example of such drying kilns has been identified by the geophysical surveys of the field west of High Rochester itself, close to the fort curtain wall (Crow 1993, 34).

The existence of two mills in the immediate vicinity bears witness to the level of cereal cultivation at Rochester and surrounding farmsteads. On the basis of the number of mills in operation Charlton and Day (1982, 149-150, 162) conclude that cereal production was at its height in Upper Redesdale from the mid-17th century to the mid-18th century rather than the early 19th century. Certainly neither of these mills is mentioned by the Border Survey of 1604 (*1604 Survey*, 110-111), but Birdhope Craig is cited by Hodgson (1827, 84; but cf. Charlton & Day 1982, 169 n.9) as already operating by 1663. Arable cultivation was still being practised in the fields north of High Rochester in 1809 (Hodgson n.d.: 153; 1827: 90, cf. 82-83), but the Birdhope Mill was disused or ruined by the beginning of 1825 according to Hodgson (1827, 84) and is not marked or mentioned by either MacLauchlan or the 1st

series OS map. Similarly Stobbs Mill (Todlaw Mill) was in ruins by the time Hodgson was writing part 2, volume I of his *History of Northumberland* (1827, 111), and is designated as the 'Old Mill' on a map of the Stobbs estate in 1826 (NRO 2534/1). The estate map also shows an associated mill race and the corn drying kiln. The mill buildings are still marked by the Ordnance Survey 1st series in 1866, but only the 'kiln' is described.

Information supplied by the North East Mills Group

Site Name: Todlaw Mill
Grid Reference: NY829975
First recorded   1781
Last recorded
The ruins of this mill remain but little is known of its history. The Birdhopecraig Presbyterian Register of baptisms lists Dunn as being at Todlaw Mill in 1781 (Waddell 2003, 5-6). A Stob Mill also occurs in the register (1789) and this may also refer to the same mill or another, as yet unknown, mill.

Site Name: Birdhope (or Birdhopecraig) Mill
Grid Reference: NY829975
First recorded   1704
Last recorded   1820
The Elsdon Parish Registers and Birdhopecraig Presbyterian Register of baptisms gives some early information about this corn mill. The baptism records show Dunns, Bolam, Riddle & Dodds at the mill between 1732 and 1787 (Waddell 2003, 5-6). Rates and rental records show the mill in 1820 (Charlton 1996, 172). The mill is not shown on any of Armstrong, Fryer or Greenwood's county maps. Some traces of the races can still be seen (*ibid*.).

The Birdhopecraig Presbyterian Register of baptisms also lists a mill at Elishaw between 1740 and 1758. There is no other known evidence of a mill here and it may refer to the known site at Shittleheugh (NY865950). Further to confuse matters, a mill at Kellyburn (NY84 95) is also said to have existed in 1604 though its exact location is not known and it may actually refer to the same site as Elishaw, though probably not Shittleheugh.

6.15   **Rochester in the 20th Century**

Over the last 100 years upland districts of rural Northumberland, such as Redesdale, have experienced further profound social and economic change (see above, *The upper Rede valley in the twentieth century*). Despite this, the fabric of the village has altered relatively little during this period. The industries discussed above have all ceased, but three new forces, the army's training needs, forestry and tourism have all had a significant impact on Rochester or its immediate environs. One example is Redesdale Camp on the west side of the Sills Burn, one of two military camps built in the Otterburn Training Area during the century. It is now surplus to requirements and is to close and be demolished in 2004/2005. Large areas of conifer plantation cover the hilltops, with Stewartshiels Plantation to the north, just beyond Hillock farmstead, and the main mass of Redesdale Forest away to the west. A petrol station was built on the south side of the A68 opposite Low Rochester to serve the growing road traffic to and from Scotland. This has now closed but the village hall next to it is still in use. The café on the north side of the main road also draws on this passing trade, in addition to serving visitors to 'Bremenium', the reconstruction of a late Iron Age/Romano-British settlement and other prehistoric monuments, erected by Lord Redesdale as a tourist and educational attraction. The creation of this feature underlines just how dramatic the socio-economic changes in the upper Rede valley in the latter decades of the 20th century. Other changes included the closure of the school in 1953. Children from upper Redesdale now have to travel to Otterburn for schooling. Perhaps the one constant is farming which has remained an important element of the local economy.

Some new houses have been built on the northern edge of Low Rochester, beside the road leading up to High Rochester. A more poignant addition to the village's fabric is the war memorial [29] beside the junction of the road from High Rochester with the A68. This exceptionally distinctive yet sympathetic structure takes the form of an Arts and Crafts style tabernacle with a steeply-pitched gabled roof supported by four rounded columns and provides a fitting commemoration of the tragic human losses inflicted on the community by two world wars. In contrast very little change has occurred at High Rochester, within the precinct of the Roman fort, a reflection of the archaeological importance of the site acknowledged since the pioneering excavations sponsored by the Duke of Northumberland and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne. Indeed the fort remains a focus of investigation with a sustained programme of research being conducted by archaeologists from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne during the 1990s. With an increasing emphasis on tourism and cultural heritage, Rochester is once again adapting to changing circumstances and demonstrating that whatever challenges the village faces in this century will continue to meet them.

PART 4:

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS
& RECOMMENDATIONS:

7.   SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. There is no explicit documentary reference to any settlement at Rochester during the medieval era. The following points can be made with regard to the site and its position within the overall framework of medieval Redesdale:

- The earliest mention of habitation at the site is dated to 1552.
- The limit of permanent settlement during the 13-14th centuries lay at Elishaw and Blakehope 4 km below Rochester.
- Exploitation of the higher valley during the 13-14th centuries took three forms:
     Hunting reserve for the Umfraville lords
     Vaccaries (cattle farms) and other stock rearing (e.g. horses in Cottonshope) held in demesne by the lordship
     Transhumant use of shieling grounds by the Umfraville tenantry
- After economic recession in the 14th century the spread of settlement further up valley recommenced in the 15th-early 16th centuries, perhaps aided rather than hindered by the anarchic conditions of the time. The establishment of a hamlet within High Rochester fort probably occurred during this period.
- The possibility that the fort was used earlier as the site for a vaccary cannot be excluded, however.

2. Dere Street remained in use throughout the medieval period and right up to the end of the 18th century as a major cross-border throughfare. The gradual expansion of settlement up to the head of Redesdale in the post-medieval era may have influenced the choice of a road along the valley as the route of the Newcastle-Jedburgh turnpike in the early-19th century. Dere Street finally seems have fallen out of significant use in the early 19th century with the demise of cattle-droving.

3. The pattern of settlement at the beginning of the 17th century comprised a ring of farm-steadings (Nether Rochester, Dykehead and Hillock) dispersed around a small hamlet nestling within the fort itself.

A population total of a little over 20 individuals, for the settlement within the fort, and 40-50, for the community as a whole, can be estimated for the first half of the 17th century. These were almost exclusively members of a single surname, the Halls.

By the mid-18th century this population may have increased somewhat - to perhaps 45-60 for the entire community - but the focus was gradually shifting southward. This is marked by the appearance of the dual place-names High and Low Rochester in the 1770's suggesting that settlement no longer had a single focus but consisted of two roughly equal hamlets. By the early 19th century the main weight of settlement lay to the south alongside the newly opened turnpike. The increasing importance of this valley road in comparison to Dere Street was doubtless one of the key factors explaining this settlement drift.

4. Coal working in the immediate environs of High Rochester was centred on Hillock Colliery, to the north of site. The documentary sources show the 'colliery' was operating in the later-18th and first half of the 19th centuries. Other pits in the neighbourhood were in use at roughly the same time. The last, Bellshiel Colliery ceased operating in 1935.

Other extractive and processing structures can be identified from the documentary sources, notably the lime kilns near Dykehead (early-mid 19th century) and water corn mills at Stobbs and Birdhope Craig (18th-early 19th century).

8.   POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The archaeological identification of Umfraville vaccaries should be considered a priority within the overall study of medieval Redesdale to illuminate a site-category hitherto known locally only from the documentary sources and to establish whether such sites were later used as shielings and farmsteads.

There is still considerable potential for the examination of the earlier phases of Rochester's history. In particular significant, relatively undisturbed, Roman deposits should survive in the south-east corner of High Rochester fort which was not touched by the mid 19th century excavations.

The fate of High Rochester after the fort was relinquished by permanent Roman garrisons raises some intriguing questions. The coin evidence recovered to date suggests that the fort was abandoned in the first or second decade of the 4th century, whilst examination of the pottery from the recent excavations directed by James Crow has revealed an almost complete absence of the East Yorkshire grey wares (Crambeck etc.) which become common on the northern frontier from the late 3rd century onwards (J Shipley *pers. comm.*.). Yet the repairs to the west curtain between the west gate and the south west angle appear more characteristic of modifications made at other northern frontier forts, such as Housesteads and Vindolanda along Hadrian's Wall, much later in the 4th century or even later still. Could this reflect continued occupation of the fort, perhaps even its transfer to a friendly federate Britthonic chieftain?

The date of the reoccupation of High Rochester fort by members of the Hall surname remains uncertain and the form that reoccupation took is unclear. The earliest date provided by the documentary evidence is 1552. An inquisition post mortem of 1495 suggests the area of the dale around Rochester was still no more than seasonal pasture ground at that date.

9. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SENSITIVITY ISSUES

The grades of sensitivity shown on the accompanying archaeological sensitivity map (fig. 75) 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. The area of High Rochester fort plus associated elements known from geophysical survey and excavation including and the adjacent annexe and the Iron Age promontory fort to the west and the line of Dere Street with the vicus buildings lining it to the east should be accorded high sensitivity.

2. This high sensitivity area encompasses much of the area of the 16th/17th century settlement, including the two extant bastles. The headdyke wall, which separates enclosed ground from the common to the north of the fort and preserves clear evidence two phases, is also accorded high significance.

3. The area of the early 17th century settlement of Nether Rochester or Low Rochester to the south of the fort is accorded medium sensitivity.
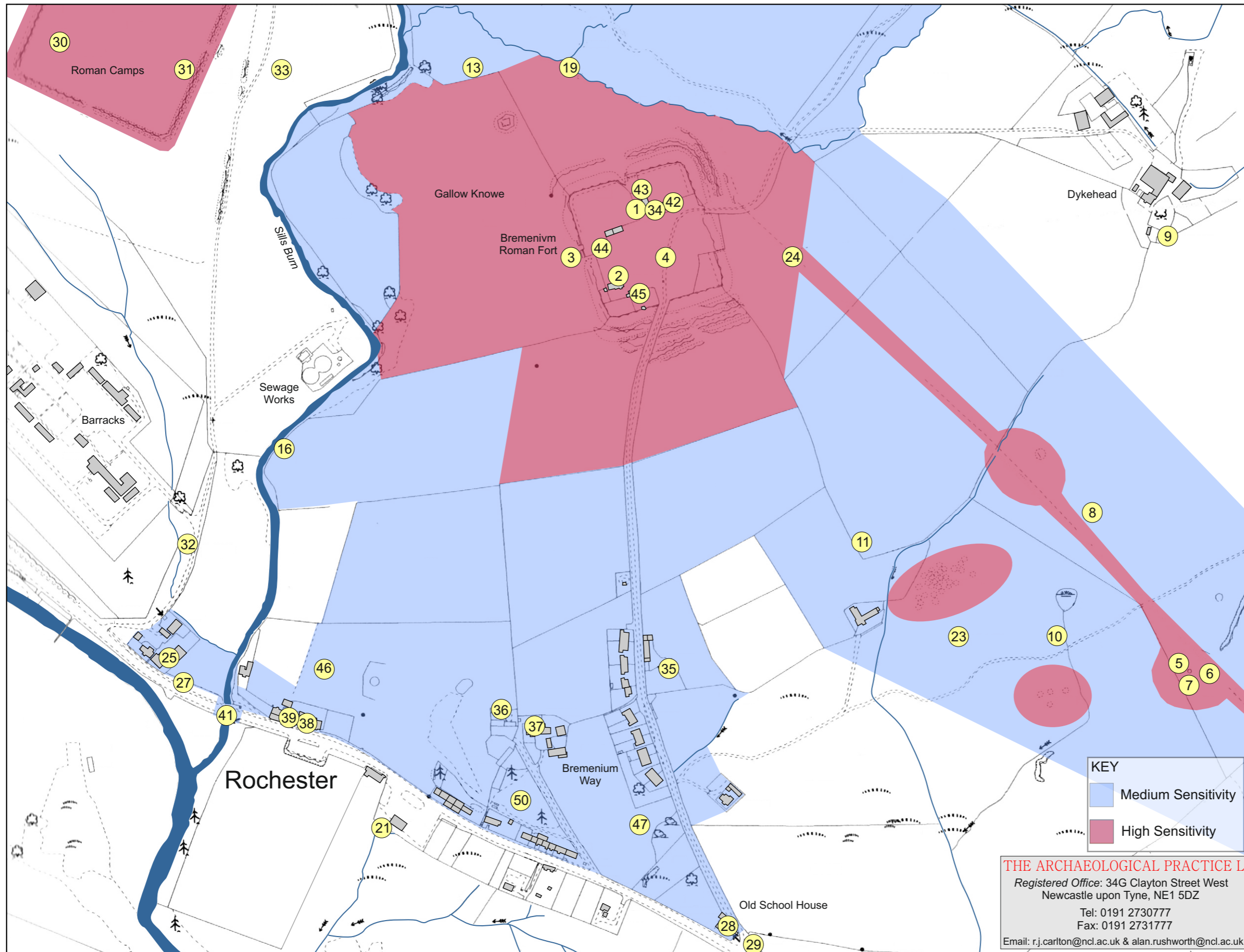
Commentary.

The first secure evidence for post-Roman settlement within the fort at High Rochester dates from the mid-16th century. Rochester is also included in the 1604 Border Survey, and both High and Nether Rochester are mentioned in a 1618 rental agreement. Dykehead, Petty Knowes and Over Rochester (Hillock) are also first mentioned as settlements in the 17th century.

While all of the above settlements are of interest for their possible medieval and known post-medieval archaeological and standing remains, the Roman fort at High Rochester and its associated roads, camps, burials and possible settlement remains are of greatest importance. Earthwork and masonry remains of the fort are visible on the ground but the full extent of its associated features is only apparent using evidence from aerial photography and geophysical investigations. Such features continue to be discovered, particularly in the fields south and east of the fort. The course of Dere Street Roman road is clearly traceable as an earthwork south-east of the fort, where it passes through or nearby the dispersed Roman cemetery east of Petty Knowes farmstead. The Roman camps over the Sills burn north-west of the fort are outside area of study, but are included on this map to highlight their close association with the fort. In view of the high density of Roman sites in the area, it is considered that a wide band between the Roman camps in the east and the eastern extent of the Petty Knowes cemetery complex should be considered archaeologically sensitive

In addition to known or suspected Roman remains, sites in the wider vicinity that may be considered sensitive to interference include the above mentioned medieval and post-medieval settlement sites, mill sites (at Birdhopecraig and Todd law), remains of industrial activities, particularly quarrying and coal mining, agricultural field boundaries and earthworks (such as the ridge & furrow cultivation features within the Brigantium site at Low Rochester), and various modern structures such as the war memorial, mileposts and Birdhopecraig chapel and bridge. The cultural heritage status of the army camp north-east of Birdhopecraig chapel should also be kept under review

KEY

Medium Sensitivity

High Sensitivity

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Fig. 75: *Archaeological Sensitivity Map of Rochester (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 73 & 74) will also display significant levels of archaeological sensitivity.

Figure 75

PART 5:

APPENDICES
&
BIBLIOGRAPHY

10. GLOSSARY

Advowson	the legal right to appoint a priest to a parish church.
Agistment	the grazing of livestock on pasture belonging to someone else.
Alienate	to grant land to someone else or to an institution.
Assart	land cleared for cultivation.
Assize	a legal procedure
Barony	the estate of a major feudal lord, normally held of the Crown by military tenure.
Borough	a town characterised by the presence of burgage tenure and some trading privileges for certain tenants.
Bovate	measure of arable land, normally equivalent to approx. 12-15 acres. This measurement especially popular in eastern and northern counties of England.
Burgage	A form of property within a **borough**
Capital Messuage	A **messuage** containing a high status dwelling house, often the manor house itself.
Cartulary	a book containing copies of deeds, charters, and other legal records.
Carucate	a unit of taxation in northern and eastern counties of England, equivalent to eight **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   Angl-Saxon land measurement, notionally 120 acres, used for calculating liability for geld. *See* **carucate**.

Homage   act by which a **vassal** acknowledges a superior lord.

Knight's fee   land held from a superior lord for the service of a knight.

Labour services the duty to work for the lord, often on the demesne land, as part of the tenant's rent package.

Leet   the court of a vill whose view of frankpledge had been franchised to a local lord by the Crown.

Manor   estate over which the owner ("lord") had jurisdiction, 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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CW[2]   *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Second Series etc.

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12.   APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:   LIST OF HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

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*APPENDIX 6:   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]

APPENDIX 1: Historic Documents

1.1 ROCHESTER: Catalogue of historic maps and documents

Location	Code	Date	Source	Description
Rochester	RO_M&D 001	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – Title page
Rochester	RO_M&D 002	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – Summary
Rochester	RO_M&D 003	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – Map of LOTS 1-7
Rochester	RO_M&D 004	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – Map of LOTS 8&9
Rochester	RO_M&D 005	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – p7 WOOLAW (1)
Rochester	RO_M&D 006	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – p8 WOOLAW (2)
Rochester	RO_M&D 007	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – p9 HILLOCK
Rochester	RO_M&D 008	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – Map dtl. of WOOLAW
Rochester	RO_M&D 009	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – p10 Sale of moorland and POTTS DULTREES FARM (1)
Rochester	RO_M&D 010	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – p11 POTTS DULTREES (2)
Rochester	RO_M&D 011	1913	(KM)	Lord Redesdale's Estate, Sale Catalogue 1918 – Map dtl. of Rochester
Rochester	RO_M&D 012	1951	SG	Newspaper cutting re. a court award of damages and strange advise of a judge, 1951
Rochester	RO_M&D 013	1952	SG	Newspaper cutting re. demolition of Troughend Hall, 1952 (1)
Rochester	RO_M&D 014	1952	SG	Newspaper cutting re. Demolition of Troughend Hall, 1952 (2)
Rochester	RO_M&D 015	1951	SG	Newspaper cutting re. N Tyne scheduled historic buildings
Rochester	RO_M&D 016	1951	SG	Newspaper cutting re. long service awards for farmworkers at Redesdale Show, Rochester (1)
Rochester	RO_M&D 017	1951	SG	Newspaper cutting re. long service awards for farmworkers at Redesdale Show, Rochester (2) - picture
Rochester	RO_M&D 018	?	BC	Summary of Birdhopecraig chapel history (1)
Rochester	RO_M&D 019	?	BC	Summary of Birdhopecraig chapel history (2)
Rochester	RO_M&D 020	1840	NRO	Tithe Award (enlargement)
Rochester	RO_M&D 021	1840	NRO	Tithe Award plan
Rochester	RO_M&D 022	1840	NRO	Tithe Award
Rochester	RO_M&D 023	1820	NRO	Fryer's Plan

Rochester	RO_M&D 024	1897	NRO	2nd Edition OS 42.14
Rochester	RO_M&D 025	1838-63	NRO	Notes/documents relating to the "Elsdon Lairds"
Rochester	RO_M&D 026	1881-82	NRO	Plans of the grounds, ground & first floor of Horsley Parsonage
Rochester	RO_M&D 027	1881	NRO	Views of the E, W and S elevations and cross-section of Horsley Parsonage
Rochester	RO_M&D 028	1881	NRO	View of rear elevation and details of gates (Horsley Parsonage)
Rochester	RO_M&D 029	1881	NRO	Details of various architectural features of Horsley Parsonage
Rochester	RO_M&D 030	1860	NRO	1st Edition OS rolls 9 & 10
Rochester	RO_M&D 031	1897	NRO	2nd Edition OS sheets 42 SW & 51 NW
Rochester	RO_M&D 032	1920	NRO	3rd Edition OS sheet 47 NE
Rochester	RO_M&D 033	1920	NRO	3rd Edition OS 47.7
Rochester	RO_M&D 034	1827	NRO	Parson & White Trade Directory
Rochester	RO_M&D 035	1827	NRO	Parson & White Trade Directory
Rochester	RO_M&D 036	1864	NRO	Inclosure Award
Rochester	RO_M&D 037	1828	NRO	Edinburgh to Newcastle Turnpike Road
Rochester	RO_M&D 038	1828	NRO	Edinburgh to Newcastle Turnpike Road (enlargement)
Rochester	RO_M&D 039	1762	NRO	Militia List Coquetdale Ward, South Division
Rochester	RO_M&D 040	1762	NRO	Militia List Coquetdale Ward
Rochester	RO_M&D 041	1762	NRO	Militia List Coquetdale Ward
Rochester	RO_M&D 042	Late-18thC	-	View of High Rochester from the SE
Rochester	RO_M&D 043	1850s	-	View showing excavations within the Roman fort. C.1853/5
Rochester	RO_M&D 044	Late-19th C	-	View of Petty Knowes cemetary
Rochester	RO_M&D 045	1867	-	The strongroom revealed during Bruce's excavations
Rochester	RO_M&D 046	1852	-	McLauchlan's Survey of the fort, 1852
Rochester	RO_M&D 047	1880	-	Plan of the fort (1880) as revealed in 1852 & 1855 excavations
Rochester	RO_M&D 048	1867	-	The south interval tower of the fort revealed during Bruce's excavations
Rochester	RO_M&D 049	1787	-	Rochester Enc Award 1787
Rochester	RO_M&D 050	1791	-	Rochester Enc Award 1791

1.2 ROCHESTER: Catalogue of historic photographs and images

Location	Code	Date	Source	Description
Rochester	RO_HP 001	c.1920	NL	Redesdale Camp from High Rochester (by Collier)
Rochester	RO_HP 002	c.1920	NL	Low Rochester with Redesdale Camp beyond, from SE
Rochester	RO_HP 003	c.1980	NL	Low Rochester from S
Rochester	RO_HP 004	c.1980	KM	AP of High Rochester, Spring c.1980
Rochester	RO_HP 005	c.1910	NL	View of Redeswater View, Low Rochester from the East
Rochester	RO_HP 006	c.1910	NL	View of Low Rochester from Tod Law
Rochester	RO_HP 007	c.1910	NL	View of Rochester Stores (the present Brigantium visitor centre) from the River Rede
Rochester	RO_HP 008	c.1910	NL	View of High Rochester from the East
Rochester	RO_HP 009	c.1910	NL	View of Low Rochester from foot of Tod Law

APPENDIX 2: Catalogue of modern photographs

Village	Code	Date	Description
Rochester	RO_MP 001	30/12/2003	Birdhopecraig URC (PR)
Rochester	RO_MP 002	30/12/2003	Birdhopecraig URC (PR)
Rochester	RO_MP 003	30/12/2003	Birdhopecraig URC (PR
Rochester	RO_MP 004	18/05/04	Remains of ridge & furrow in field NW of Woolaw farm, viewed from road
Rochester	RO_MP 005	18/05/04	Low Rochester viewed from Tod Law
Rochester	RO_MP 006	18/05/04	Low Rochester, including garage site and *Brigantium*, viewed from Tod Law
Rochester	RO_MP 007	18/05/04	Milestone on bridge over Birdhope burn
Rochester	RO_MP 008	18/05/04	Birdhopecraig URC
Rochester	RO_MP 009	18/05/04	Site of Birdhope mill, showing possible race or leat
Rochester	RO_MP 010	18/05/04	Rochester mill on the S side of Tod Law, showing opening of well-preserved drying kiln
Rochester	RO_MP 011	18/05/04	Rochester mill on the S side of Tod Law, showing kiln and remains of associated structures
Rochester	RO_MP 012	18/05/04	Rochester mill on the S side of Tod Law, showing drying kiln
Rochester	RO_MP 013	05/06/04	Birdhopecraig URC, from SE (PR)
Rochester	RO_MP 014	07/06/04	Rose cottage, S facing frontage
Rochester	RO_MP 015	07/06/04	Bastle remains, rear (N side) of Rose Cottage
Rochester	RO_MP 016	07/06/04	Corbett's house, High Rochester
Rochester	RO_MP 017	07/06/04	Longhouse remains, from East, High Rochester
Rochester	RO_MP 018	07/06/04	2 longhouse remains, from West, High Rochester
Rochester	RO_MP 019	07/06/04	Blocked West gate, High Rochester, W side
Rochester	RO_MP 020	07/06/04	West rampart wall, High Rochester, looking north
Rochester	RO_MP 021	07/06/04	Outbuilding adjacent to Beryl Charlton's bastle, High Rochester, S side
Rochester	RO_MP 022	07/06/04	Turret remains, High Rochester, S side W of road
Rochester	RO_MP 023	07/06/04	Ramparts & ditch, High Rochester, from modern entrance looking west towards Birdhopecraig
Rochester	RO_MP 024	07/06/04	Bremenium sign & Rose Cottage in fort interior, High Rochester, S side modern entrance
Rochester	RO_MP 025	07/06/04	Workshop/store interior, Dykehead, outbuilding N-E of house
Rochester	RO_MP 026	07/06/04	Barn interior, Dykehead, outbuilding N-E of house
Rochester	RO_MP 027	07/06/04	House and outbuildings, viewed from NE, Dykehead
Rochester	RO_MP 028	07/06/04	House frontage, Dykehead from SW
Rochester	RO_MP 029	07/06/04	Shaped stone – column-shaped and facetted, next to paddock wall S of Dykehead farmhouse
Rochester	RO_MP 030	07/06/04	Rough stone sheep shelter, Part of paddock S of Dykehead farmhouse
Rochester	RO_MP 031	07/06/04	Gate post with grooves – probably taken from doorway of a structure (?bastle), part of paddock E of Dykehead farmhouse
Rochester	RO_MP 032	07/06/04	N-W façade of outbuildings within modern barn, N of Dykehead farmhouse

Rochester	RO_MP 033	07/06/04	Ridge & furrow, N-E side of fort, view from ramparts
Rochester	RO_MP 034	07/06/04	Hopesley House, rear - view from NW, within yard

Rochester	RO_MP 035	07/06/04	Hopesley House, former outbuilding on roadside, view from E side, within yard
Rochester	RO_MP 036	07/06/04	Hopesley House, outbuildings on roadside -view from SE, within yard
Rochester	RO_MP 037	07/06/04	Stone, clearly facetted but unworked on reverse, in rockery in Hopesley House garden
Rochester	RO_MP 038	07/06/04	John Dixon's farmhouse, Nether Rochester
Rochester	RO_MP 039	07/06/04	Roman tomb, viewed from SW, E of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 040	07/06/04	Roman tomb, viewed from NW, E of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 041	07/06/04	Pinfold, viewed from South, Lamb's Crag, E of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 042	07/06/04	Pinfold, viewed from Lamb's Crag, looking towards fort, Lamb's Crag, E of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 043	07/06/04	Dere Street, looking towards fort, NW of Lamb's Crag, E of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 044	07/06/04	Mounds (presumed burial) NE of Petty Knowes, Distant view from East
Rochester	RO_MP 045	07/06/04	Roman quarry SE of Petty Knowes, with view towards Dykehead (presumed burial mound in line), SE of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 046	07/06/04	View NW towards fort and presumed burial mound from Roman Quarry, SE of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 047	07/06/04	View SW of quarry (poss. Shieling?) & Todd Law in background, SE of Petty Knowes
Rochester	RO_MP 048	07/06/04	Holloway/drain parallel with W side of Bremenium Way, running SE into quarry, Nether Rochester, Bremenium Way, S end
Rochester	RO_MP 049	07/06/04	Holloway/drain (as above), with new build in background, Nether Rochester, Bremenium Way, S end
Rochester	RO_MP 050	07/06/04	Holloway exiting onto main road E of Redeswater View, Nether Rochester, Dixon field E of Redeswater View
Rochester	RO_MP 051	07/06/04	View of houses & Redeswater View from West, Nether Rochester, main road
Rochester	RO_MP 052	07/06/04	Redeswater View from South, Nether Rochester, main road
Rochester	RO_MP 053	07/06/04	Outbuildings adjacent to above, Nether Rochester, main road, S side
Rochester	RO_MP 054	07/06/04	Sub-station at Nether Rochester, S side of main road
Rochester	RO_MP 055	07/06/04	War memorial, viewed from SW, East end of Nether Rochester, main road, N side
Rochester	RO_MP 056	07/06/04	War memorial, viewed from NW, East end of Nether Rochester, main road, N side
Rochester	RO_MP 057	07/06/04	The Old Schoolhouse, SE end, East end of Nether Rochester, main road, N side
Rochester	RO_MP 058	07/06/04	The Old Schoolhouse, SE extension of Roman fabric, East end of Nether Rochester, main road, N side
High Rochester	RO_MP 059	23/08/04	South west elevation of Rose Cottage and associated buildings.
High Rochester	RO_MP 060	23/08/04	South west elevation of Rose Cottage and associated buildings.
High Rochester	RO_MP 061	23/08/04	South west elevation of building attached to Rose Cottage.
High Rochester	RO_MP 062	23/08/04	South west elevation of Rose Cottage and associated buildings.
High Rochester	RO_MP 063	23/08/04	Building attached to the rear of Rose Cottage.

High Rochester	RO_MP 064	23/08/04	Building attached to the rear of Rose Cottage.
High Rochester	RO_MP 065	23/08/04	South west elevation of Rose Cottage and associated buildings.
High Rochester	RO_MP 066	23/08/04	South west elevation of Rose Cottage and associated buildings.
High Rochester	RO_MP 067	23/08/04	High Rochester Bastle from the north east.
High Rochester	RO_MP 068	23/08/04	Farm buildings next to High Rochester Bastle.
High Rochester	RO_MP 069	23/08/04	High Rochester Bastle and adjacent farm buildings from the north east.
High Rochester	RO_MP 070	23/08/04	High Rochester Bastle and adjacent farm buildings from the north east.
High Rochester	RO_MP 071	23/08/04	High Rochester Bastle from the north east.
High Rochester	RO_MP 072	23/08/04	High Rochester Bastle from the east.
High Rochester	RO_MP 073	23/08/04	High Rochester Bastle from the east.
High Rochester	RO_MP 074	23/08/04	High Rochester Bastle and adjacent farm buildings from the east.
High Rochester	RO_MP 075	23/08/04	Ruined cottage towards the western edge of Bremenium Fort, High Rochester.
High Rochester	RO_MP 076	23/08/04	Ruined cottage towards the western edge of Bremenium Fort, High Rochester.
Rochester	RO_MP 077	23/08/04	Rochester war memorial, south east end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 078	23/08/04	Rochester war memorial, south east end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 079	23/08/04	Rochester war memorial, south east end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 080	23/08/04	Rochester war memorial, south east end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 081	23/08/04	Rochester war memorial, south east end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 082	23/08/04	Rochester Old School House, south east end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 083	23/08/04	Cottage near the post office, north west end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 084	23/08/04	Cottage near the post office, north west end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 085	23/08/04	Rochester bridge, north west end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 086	23/08/04	Rochester bridge, north west end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 087	23/08/04	Rochester bridge, north west end of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 088	23/08/04	Rochester snack bar and post office, now Brigantium Visitors Centre.
Rochester	RO_MP 089	23/08/04	Rochester snack bar and post office, now Brigantium Visitors Centre.
Rochester	RO_MP 090	23/08/04	Rochester snack bar and post office, now Brigantium Visitors Centre.
Rochester	RO_MP 091	23/08/04	Rochester snack bar and post office, now Brigantium Visitors Centre.
Rochester	RO_MP 092	23/08/04	Rochester snack bar and post office, now Brigantium Visitors Centre.
Rochester	RO_MP 093	23/08/04	South elevation of Rochester House, north edge of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 094	23/08/04	South elevation of Rochester House, north edge of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 095	23/08/04	North elevation of Rochester House, north edge of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 096	23/08/04	South elevation of barn attached to Rochester House, north edge of village.
Rochester	RO_MP 097	23/08/04	Cottage next to Rochester House.
Rochester	RO_MP 098	23/08/04	Rochester village from the south east.
Stobbs	RO_MP 099	23/08/04	South facing elevation of Stobbs farmhouse, south east of Rochester.
Stobbs	RO_MP 100	23/08/04	Stobbs farmhouse and associated structures, south east of Rochester.
Stobbs	RO_MP 101	23/08/04	Stobbs farmhouse and associated structures, south east of Rochester.
Stobbs	RO_MP 102	23/08/04	Stobbs farmhouse and associated structures, south east of Rochester.

Stobbs	RO_MP 103	23/08/04	Stobbs farmhouse and associated structures, south east of Rochester.
Stobbs	RO_MP 104	23/08/04	Stobbs farmhouse and associated structures, south east of Rochester.
Stobbs	RO_MP 105	23/08/04	Livestock at Stobbs farm.
Stobbs	RO_MP 106	23/08/04	Livestock at Stobbs farm.
Dykehead	RO_MP 107	1993	Field wall showing evidence for two or more phases of building
High Rochester	RO_MP 108	Sept 2003	Judging sheep, Rochester showground

APPENDIX 3: Aerial Photographic Collections

Museum of Antiquities Aerial Photographic Collection, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne

Archive search results

4 fig NGR	Date Flown	Description
NY 8398	Not Known	8398 A to V. Series of photos in and around High Rochester. C shows ridge and furrow, well, aqueduct and corner of Redesdale Camp, but fort ramparts not so well. B, F and G are all excellent shots of the fort itself. I, H , J and V all show the wider lanscape around Rochester, including many field boundaries and the end (head-dyke) of an open field. All excellent views showing the great continuity of settlement in the landscape.

Arch. Interest?	Repository	Copyright	View
Yes	MoA (NCL)	Not Known	Oblique

English Heritage National Monuments Record Summary reports

Specialist collection (oblique)

Individual Record

NGR Index	Accession No.	6 Fig NGR	Date Flown	Description	Frame	Repository	Copyright	Copied
NY 8398/1	CAP 7979	NY 833986	7/6/1949	Unavailable	9	CAP	CAP	N
NY 8398/2	TMG 2735	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	113	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/3	TMG 2735	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	114	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/4	TMG 2735	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	115	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/5	TMG 2735	NY 837984	7/1/1985	Unavailable	116	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/6	TMG 2735	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	117	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/8	TMG 3012	NY 837984	7/1/1985	Unavailable	3	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/9	TMG 3012	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	4	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/10	TMG 3012	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	5	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/11	TMG 3012	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	6	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/12	TMG 3012	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	7	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/13	TMG 3012	NY 836983	7/1/1985	Unavailable	8	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/15	CCC 8894	NY 838986	4/6/1929	Unavailable	02896	CRW	NMR	N
NY 8398/16	TMG 147141	NY 832985	5/18/1993	Unavailable	24	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/17	TMG 147141	NY 832984	5/18/1993	Unavailable	25	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/18	TMG 147141	NY 834986	5/18/1993	See Descrip.	26	TMG	NMR	Y
NY 8398/19	TMG 147141	NY 837983	5/18/1993	Unavailable	47	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/20	TMG 147141	NY 836983	5/18/1993	Unavailable	48	TMG	NMR	N

NY 8398/21	TMG 147141	NY 836982	5/18/1993	Unavailable	49	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/22	TMG 147141	NY 836983	5/18/1993	Unavailable	50	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/23	TMG 147141	NY 837984	5/18/1993	Unavailable	51	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/24	TMG 147141	NY 837984	5/18/1993	Unavailable	52	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/25	TMG 147141	NY 837986	5/18/1993	Unavailable	53	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/26	TMG 147141	NY 836986	5/18/1993	Unavailable	54	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/27	TMG 147141	NY 839986	5/18/1993	Unavailable	55	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/28	TMG 147142	NY 831989	5/22/1993	Unavailable	42	TMG	NMR	N
NY 8398/29	TMG 147142	NY 831989	5/22/1993	Unavailable	43	TMG	NMR	N

Coversearch (vertical)

Sortie Record (5 sorties, 16 prints)

Sortie No.	Library No.	NGR ref Start	NGR Ref end	Date Flown	Description	Scale	Start Frame	End Fram	Cam Pos	Repository	Copyright	Copied
RAF/106G/UK/628	38	NY 835993	NY 834986	8/10/1945	Unavailable	10200	3160	3161	RP	MOD	RAF	N
RAF/106G/UK/628	38	NY 839986	NY 839986	8/10/1945	Unavailable	10200	3167	3167	RP	MOD	RAF	N
RAF/540/571	1202	NY 831995	NY 837995	7/30/1951	Unavailable	10000	3119	3120	RP	MOD	RAF	N
RAF/540/571	1202	NY 831976	NY 838976	7/30/1951	See Descrip.	10000	4119	4120	RS	MOD	RAF	Y
RAF/540/611	1222	NY 825994	NY 842975	10/9/1951	Unavailable	10750	3417	3418	RP	MOD	RAF	N
RAF/540/611	1222	NY 832993	NY 832980	10/9/1951	Unavailable	10750	4417	4418	RS	MOD	RAF	N
RAF/58/3610	2375	NY 832993	NY 832980	6/20/1960	See Descrip.	12000	321	323	F22	MOD	CRW	Y
OS/73170	10347	NY 834984	NY 835990	5/15/1973	Unavailable	7900	25	26	V	NMR	CRW	N

<u>Northumberland Sites and Monuments Record Collection</u>

Archive search results

Sortie No./Ref	4 fig NGR	Date Flown	Description	Frame	Repositor	Copyright	View	Copied
RAF/106G/UK/628	NY 832983	8/10/1945	Shows Rochester and H. Rochester. Poor image shows some ridge and furrow. Not reproduced.	3167	SMR	Out	Vertical	N
RAF/106G/UK/628	NY 832983	8/10/1945	Shows Rochester and H. Rochester. Note ridge and furrow Not reproduced	3166	SMR	Out	Vertical	Y
RAF/106G/UK/628	NY 832983	8/10/1945	Reproduced. Good vertical photo of Bremenium Roman fort and Redsdale camp	3161	SMR	Out	Vertical	N
RAF/106G/UK/628	NY 832983	8/10/1945	Shows series of Roman camps and enclosures (all marked on OS map)	4052	SMR	Out	Vertical	N
RAF/106G/UK/628	NY 832983	8/10/1945	Redsedale camp and Bremenium shown clearly	4107	SMR	Out	Vertical	N
RAF/106G/UK/628	NY 832983	8/10/1945	Note ridge and furrow around Bremenium Roman fort	3160	SMR	Out	Vertical	N
RAF/106G/UK/628	NY 832983	8/10/1945	Note ridge and furrow around Bremenium Roman fort	3168	SMR	Out	Vertical	N

Descriptions of National Monuments Record (NMR) photographs

NGR Index/Sortie No.	Frame No.	6 Fig NGR	Date Flown	Description
NT8398/18	26	NY 834986	5/18/1993	Oblique close up of Roman fort looking East. Shows fort very well and ridge and furrow at left of frame
RAF/540/571	4119	NY 831976	7/30/1951	Small scale vertical view. Rochester & H Rochester upper centre and top. Good details of Evistones & extensive broad ridge and furrow on hill slopes to W of Evistones. NB ?ridge and furrow on Tod Law
RAF/540/571	4119	NY 831976	7/30/1951	As above, view slightly to E. Note broad ridge and furrow N of Horsley.
RAF/58/3610	321	NY 832993	6/20/1960	Ordered but not supplied
RAF/58/3610	322	NY 832993	6/20/1960	Ordered but not supplied
RAF/58/3610	323	NY 832993	6/20/1960	Ordered but not supplied

File prints of sortie 58/3610 not held. Advised by NMR to Contact TPO at JARIC for further information.

Tim Gates Village Atlas Aerial Photographic Survey, August 2003

Film No. HV/03/C

Frame No.	Date Flown	6 Fig NGR	Site Name	Held by	Copyright	Description
3	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	High Rochester area looking S
4	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	High Rochester
5	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	Shows R & F W of fort
6	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	Very good view of fort, R & F, and poss field systems in field to E
7	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	Good view of R & F
8	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	High Rochester
9	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	West H. Rochester. Shows Roman camp well
10	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	Rochester
11	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	Void Number
12	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester			Shows H Rochester and W half of Rochester
13	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	Relationship of Rochester & H Rochester
14	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester			Good view of 'Nether Rochester' (old core of Low Rochester)
15	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	Poss best view of the 2 settlement foci
16	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester			Void Number
17	7/13/2003	NY 832 983	Rochester	NNPA	TMG	High Rochester

APPENDIX 4: Northumberland Sites and Monuments Record (SMR)

The following contains details of archaeological sites, monuments, and listed buildings in Rochester township listed in the Northumberland County Council Sites and Monuments Record. Catalogue numbers relate to site distribution plans reproduced in this volume.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
1	8090	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
South-West bastle High Rochester	Listed Grade II	Bastle

Description

The Bastle' (or south west bastle), High Rochester. Rectangular building 10.5m x 7.4m. Walls 1.5m thick of coursed quite small rubble with larger and irregular quoins and dressings to original openings; neatly squared quoins at west angles and upper part fort. South east corner probably indicate 18th/19th century refacing. Original byre entrance in centre east end, now window, has roll-moulded jambs and 19th century lintel under original relieving arch; blocked slit window above. First floor door on south has similar surround and is also now a window; to right is a blocked slit. Present door (inside 20th century porch) and other windows are early 19th century. Rear elevation shows small first floor window in chamfered surround. Interior: byre doorway has had checks for two doors (one hidden by frame of window); two drawbar tunnels. Within Roman fort.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
2	8090	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
North bastle High Rochester	Listed Grade II	Bastle

Description

Bastle incorporated in Rose Cottage, High Rochester (north bastle). Probable bastle; rectangular building 10.2m x 6.6m. Lower part of north wall of massive blocks, some re-used Roman material, with broad splayed plinth; thickness c.1.1m. South wall of squared and coursed rubble but also appears 0.9m+ thick. Blocked doorway at first floor level in west end, without cut dressings. All other features 19th and 20th century. Interior not seen. Within Roman fort.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
3,4	8091	ROMAN

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Bremenium Roman station, High Rochester	Listed Grade II Scheduled Monument	Fort

Description

(NY 832986) Bremenium Roman fort. Bremenium Roman fort measuring circa 482ft by 445ft across the defensive walls excavated in 1852, 1855 and 1935. Flavian-Trajanic period. The original Agricolan Fort (AD 78-85) consisted of a single ditch and rampart, later demolished and replaced by a larger rampart and elaborate ditch system.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
5-7	8092	ROMAN

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Roman Tombs within Petty Knowes Roman Cemetery	Scheduled Monument	Tombs

Description

(NY 832986) Bremenium Roman fort. Bremenium Roman fort measuring circa 482ft by 445ft across the defensive walls excavated in 1852, 1855 and 1935. Flavian-Trajanic period. The original Agricolan Fort (AD 78-85) consisted of a single ditch and rampart, later demolished and replaced by a larger rampart and elaborate ditch system.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
8	8093	BRONZE AGE

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Round barrow	Scheduled Monument	Round Barrow

Description

(NY 83739833) Tumulus (Urns found). Situated at NY 83749833 and bisected by a modern drainage channel, is a slightly raised rectangular of earth and stones, 8m north west-south east by 6m maximum and with a height of 0.4m. This low mound is hollowed at the centre and mutilated around the perimeter, with no traces of a ditch or retaining circle. The poorly preserved remains are not apparently associated with the coal workings and are almost certainly those of the tumulus referred to by authorities 1 and 2.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
9	8097	BRONZE AGE

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Barrow	None	Round Barrow

Description

(NY 83829862) Tumulus. A grass-covered mound, of 12m diameter, situated on a west-facing pasture slope. The interior has been excavated to ground level, leaving a rim of earth and stones, of a max height of 0.6m. No traces of a retaining circle of stones, or of a ditch. Now consists of a fragmentary bank forming a rectangle 7.5m x 6m and no longer recognisable as a tumulus. The area generally has been disturbed in the past by surface quarrying, and the feature may be a result of this.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
10,11	8105	ROMAN

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Petty Knowes Roman Cemetery, Rochester	None	Round Barrow

Description

(NY 83829862) Tumulus. Cemetery first located in 1975 by the Field Research Group of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle upon Tyne during field survey for University of Durham. One surviving monumental stone tomb, a large group of 75 barrows on north of shallow quarry, and six more 120m to south east, plus outliers. Excavated to try to determine if this was the cemetery for the Roman fort at High Rochester. Finds in Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle. Excavated one-fifth of the cemetery in 1978 and 1979. Bounds of burial ground uncertain. Cremations in rectangular pits, efficient and left little information on age, sex, cause of death, etc, of the dead.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
12	8114	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Linnels Cleugh ironstone workings	None	Slag Heap

Description

Ironstone workings in Lineal (Linnel's) Cleugh. Slagheaps. Not on MOD range.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
13	8116	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Mining remains by the Sills Burn	None	Bell Pit

Description

Over twelve crop pits and waste heaps by Sills Burn. On the edge of MOD range.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
14	8117	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Huel Crag coal workings	None	Bell Pit

Description

Over ten crop pits at Huel Crag on the edge of MOD range.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
15	8118	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Mining and quarrying remains near Hillock	None	Bell Pit

Description

Extensive area of pits and quarrying near Hillock. Not on MOD range.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
16	8121	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Birdhope (Bidhopecraig) Mill, site of	None	Corn Mill

Description

Site of a corn mill at Birdhope (or Birdhopecraig) on west bank of Sills Burn. Site now destroyed; had disappeared before 1887 but old mill race still visible. Recorded in Elsdon Parish Registers 1704-1778 and by a newspaper of 1777 (NRO ZHE 48 32). Not shown on Fryer's map of 1820 or Greenwood's map of 1828.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
17	8124	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Estate or farm boundary stones	None	Boundary Stone

Description

Estate/farm boundary stones between Ridley Crag and Ballyardley Hill. Five stones are marked on 1st ed 6 inch OS map and all were located in 1976 during fieldwork. They are inscribed 'R/S' for Rochester/Stewart Shiels. Three are in a plantation and were not searched for. Date c.1770-1850.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
18	8133	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Hillock	None	Building

Description
Present building occupied, 1976. Earliest recorded date and references 1675-1811 Elsdon Parish Registers; 1769 map; 1851 and 1871 Census returns.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
19,20	8135	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Coal Cleugh coalmining activity	None	Building

Description
Evidence of extensive mining activity on the north bank of Coal Cleugh. There are two ruined buildings, 11m x 6m and 9m x 5m, both with one room and south east facing entrances. Associated with small enclosures, a slagheap and nine or more crop pits. Earliest recorded date and references 1798 Elsdon Parish Register; 1866 and 1898 OS maps.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
21	8144	MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Rochester, deserted medieval village	None	Deserted Settlement

Description
Rochester deserted medieval village.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
22	8146	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Netherhouses limekiln	None	Limekiln

Description
Limekiln in moderate condition. Simple construction with no draw arch. Set in the hillside at the bottom of Tod Law. One pot, empty, circular plan c.3m diameter.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
23	8148	ROMAN

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Roman quarry	None	Quarry

Description
Quarry, probably exploited to build Dere Street. Possible the quarry was not used until the late 2nd or early 3rd century for High Rochester. Some quarrying took place while the cemetery was still in use.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
24	8149	ROMAN

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Vicus at High Rochester	None	Ditch

Description

A magnetic survey was carried out in the field to the east of the south-east corner of Bremenium Roman fort in 1993. Several archaeological features have been interpreted from the results:-possible line of Dere Street, remains of the vicus, Roman field system, bonfire sites and a kiln.A kiln site is suggested from an anomaly at NY 8340098575, either for pottery or corn drying.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
25	8152	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Birdhopecraig United Reformed Church	Listed Grade II	Scottish Presbyterian Chapel

Description

Birdhopecraig United Reformed Church, A68 (east side). Grade II listed building. Formerly Scottish Presbyterian. 1826. Inscribed over door, BIRDHOPE CRAIG SCOTCH CHURCH 1826. Interior has gallery around three sides on columns and central pulpit.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
26	8155	BRONZE AGE

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Hillock, unenclosed round house	None	Hut Circle

Description

Hillock,single unenclosed round house, east of Huel Crag.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
27	13595	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Milestone south of Birdhopecraig United Reformed Church	Listed Grade II	Milestone

Description

An early 19th century milestone. Made of sandstone and painted white, it originally stood 2 feet high but is now only 1 foot high and buried in the pavement. It is inscribed NEWCASTLE 35 MILES and JEDBORO 21 MILES.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
28	13597	POST MEDIEVAL

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Rochester Old School House	Listed Grade II	School

Description

Built in the mid-19th century as a school, it is now a private house. The porch was built in 1852 and is made of Roman stones from High Rochester. The stones include channelled gutterstones and ballistae.

Catalogue No.	SMR No.	Period
29	13598	MODERN

Site Name	Listing/scheduling	Type
Rochester War Memorial	Listed Grade II	War Memorial

Description

Erected in about 1920, it is built of stone with a stone slate roof in Arts and Crafts style.

A summary of buildings described by John Grundy in Rochester Township (*Grundy 1988*), with catalogue numbers referring to the distribution plans included in this volume.

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
3 & 4	ROC 18	High Rochester fort				383270 598620

Summary:
Outside the remit of Grundy's study - included only because of the setting it provides for the following group of buildings (and they for it).
Importance:
Present status: Condition substantially unchanged. Several small-scale excavations took place in the 1990s within and just outside the fort area, notably on the site of the bastle extension and, on the north ramparts and in the supposed enclosure to the north-west. RO_MP 019-020, 022-024

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
1 & 2	ROC 19	The Bastle, High Rochester	Late C16 and early C17	II	Random Rubble. WS roof	383270 598620

Summary:
This is a rarity - a complete and still occupied bastle. The restoration that made this possible has been done with care and the least possible damage. The original ground floor doorway is blocked in the E gable end. It has the roll-moulded surround typical of bastles in the area (cf Ridge end, Falstone Fm) and a relieving arch over. The original 1st floor door surround survives in part on the south wall. It now contains a window. On the north wall a tiny window with a broadly chamfered surround.
Importance: Listed Grade II
Present status: An extension was added to the north-west side of the bastle in the mid-1990s. RO_MP 015, 021, 067-074

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
34	ROC 20	Rose Cottage High Rochester	Late C16 and early C17	II	Random Rubble and squared Roman stone. WS roof.	383270 598620

Summary:
This cottage was clearly also a bastle but it is something of a puzzle. The exceptionally regular masonry at the rear is interpreted by the RCHM as the only remains of the original bastle. However it is not typical bastle masonry, while the very thick front wall is the more usual random rubble of the bastle period. It seems possible that the back wall is in fact a remnant of an earlier building. The front has C20 door and windows in C18 or early C19 openings The back has a ghastly C20 window.
Importance: Listed Grade II
Present status: RO_MP 014, 059-066

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
35	ROC 21	Hopesley House High Rochester	c. 1800	III	Ashlar w/ Lakeland slate roof	383270 598620

Summary:
Unspoilt and beautifully proportioned standard 2-storey 3-bay farmhouse built of the finest ashlar. Vertical-panelled Victorian door in a surround with a triple keystone. Sash windows with their intermediate glazing bars removed. Gabled roof w/ kneelers, flat coping and corniced end stacks. The rear façade is particularly attractive with the fine roof, a continuous outshut and a tiny dormer window. Unspoilt group of farmbuildings to the rear create an important sense of enclosure.
Importance: Local Importance
Present status: RO_MP 034-037

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
36	ROC 32	Nether Rochester Rochester Village	Late C18	III	Well-dressed stone. Welsh slate roof.	383 598

Summary:
An extremely attractive, 3-bay cottage with central boarded door, a small 9-pane casement to the left and a small renewed sash to the right. Above are 2 small, neat dormer windows.
The cottage is notable for its unaltered proportions, its fine stonework, and especially for the Roman alter built into the wall and inscribed with the date 1775, probably the date the cottage was built.
Importance: Local Importance
Present status: RO_MP 038

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
37	ROC 33	Rochester House, Rochester Village	c. 1820	III	Roughly-dressed stone with ashlar dressings. Welsh slate roof	383 598

Summary:
A very pretty house with a 2-storey, 2-bay front and an L-plan rear wing.
The house has raised alternating quoins and surrounds to door and windows. The door is C20 with a sun lounge in front; the windows are 16-pane sashes, most of them original. Gabled roof with slightly ridged coping and end stacks with projecting caps.
Inside a contemporary staircase with stick balusters and turned newels.
Attached to the right of the house a short range of single-storey outbuildings in much bigger rougher mason which looks considerably older, possibly late C17 or early C18. Also a privy.
Importance: Local Importance
Present status: RO_MP 093-096

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
38	ROC 34	Rochester Snack Bar and Post Office, Rochester Village	Mid C19	III	House to left ashlar; house to right well dressed stone with ashlar dressing. Welsh slate roof	382 598

Summary:
Formerly 2 houses, now connected internally. Both are standard 2-storey, 3-bay houses. The house to the right has a gabled stone porch and later-C19 four pain sash windows.
The house to the left is a better example in ashlar stonework. It has a good late C19 wood porch and original 16-pane sash windows. Single storey addition to the left.
Gabled roofs with ridged coping, kneelers and corniced chimneys.
Importance: Local Importance
Present status: Now the Brigantium Archaeological Resource Centre and café RO_MP 088-092

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
39	ROC 35	Cottage by Post Office, Rochester Village	1793	III	Rubble with dressings. Welsh slate roof	382 598

Summary:
Single-storey 3-bay cottage. The central door has a lintel inscribed WC 1793. Small sash windows. There is an outbuilding to the right under the same roof which has a small Yorkshire sash and boarded double doors.
Importance: Local Importance
Present status: RO_MP 83-84

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
28	ROC 36	Rochester Old School House, Rochester Village	c. 1852	II	Dressed stone with Welsh slate roof	383 597

Summary:
The main block of the building is the former school, single storey and 4 bays. It is not of much interest and neither is the C20 addition to the left.
The porch on the right, however is an object of great curiosity value being built entirely of stones excavated at Bremenium (High Rochester). The stones include many channelled gutterstones and the ball finals to the kneelers are ballistae, or projectiles from spring guns.
Importance: Listed Grade II
Present status: RO_MP 057-058, 082

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
29	ROC 37	War Memorial, Rochester Village	c. 1920	II	Ashlar with stone slate roof	383 597

Summary:
An exceptionally distinctive War Memorial in the Arts and Crafts style. It is in the form of a tabernacle with 4 round columns on a base of 2 chamfered steps, and with a steeply-pitched gabled roof. Set within it a square block with the names of the dead, and a Celtic cross on top.
The memorial and the adjacent old school porch make a fitting architectural preparation at the end of the lane to High Rochester
Importance: Listed Grade II
Present status: RO_MP 055-056, 077-081

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
40	ROC 38	Stobbs	C17, altered & extended 1724	II	Large random rubble blocks. Extended by 2-bays in ashlar. Welsh slate roof	383 597

Summary:
A house which might have started off as a Bastle. One can't be sure but the masonry is rough and substantial and the walls are c.40" thick. The old part is 2 storeys and 3 bays with a C20 central door in chamfered alternating-block surround with the lintel dated 1724; the lintel, though, is newer than the jambs and is probably an insertion. The right jamb has the date 1817 scratched in. C20 twelve-pane casements an C18 chamfered surrounds. The casements imitate 12-pane sashes quite convincingly. Steeply-pitched gabled roof with corniced end stacks.
Inside there are several doors with 2 large panels – an early C18 feature.
The attractive dressed stone garden wall with shallow arched coping are Grade II also for their group value with the house.
Importance: Listed Grade II
Present status: RO_MP 099-106

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
46	ROC 39	Whitelee	Early-mid C18 and early-mid C19	III	Squared stone with ashlar. Welsh slate roof	371 505

Summary:
A house with a complex building history. It started as a 3-bay C18 house which was then extended to the left in the early C19. The original C18 doorway is now a window and has retained its shouldered architrave surround which bears a shield, possibly inscribed JB: above it is an c18 armorial panel with shield and helm. The present front porch is of the late C19. It has a half-glazed door flanked by side lights. Elsewhere, irregularly placed 4-pane sash windows. Gabled roof with flat coping, kneelers, 2 end stacks and a ridge stack.
Behind the front block a 2nd span was added in the mid-C19
Importance: Local Importance
Present status:

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
41	ROC 44	Rochester Bridge (on A68 in village)	Early C19	IV	Ashlar	382 589

Summary:
The original bridge is still in existence under the A68. Only the south parapet has been taken down and re-erected when the bridge was doubled in width in the middle of the C20.
The bridge has a fine broad segmental arch with rusticated voussoirs and an arch band. A broader band marks the base of the parapet. The parapet is plain with a chamfered top.
On the bridge is an exceedingly strange structure. It looks like the stump of a square cross shaft set in a base of low curbing stones. The stump stands out about three feet high and has strong diagonal tooling. What its date is or what its function was is not known. The C20 widening of the bridge is of no interest.
Importance: Not of special architectural or historical note
Present status: RO_MP 085-087

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
42	Extra	House attached to right of Rose Cottage, High Rochester	Early C19	IV	Ashlar with stone slate roof	383270 598620

Summary:
The house attached to the right of Rose Cottage is a satisfactory example of an amalgam dates. The C20 addition to the right is sensitively handled and the big late-Victorian porch adds emphasis the whole group. The house itself is early C19
Importance: Not of special architectural or historical note
Present status: RO_MP 059-066

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
43	Extra	House behind Rose Cottage, High Rochester		IV	Ashlar with stone slate roof	383270 598620

Summary:
The house behind Rose Cottage has considerable group value which has been somewhat compromised by the insertion of a picture window on the ground floor.
Importance: Not of special architectural or historical note
Present status: RO_MP 059-066

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
44	Extra	Ruined cottage in centre of Fort, High Rochester	C18?	IV	Roughly dressed stone	383270 598620

Summary:
The ruined cottages in the centre of the fort are both atmospheric. One of them, however, is built entirely of properly coursed Roman stone and it seems possible that this might be a surviving Roman building. One gable end surviving to roof height.
Importance: Not of special architectural or historical note
Present status: Surveyed during late 1990's by the University of Newcastle. RO_MP 017-018, 075-076

Catalogue No.	Grundy ID	Name:	Date:	Grade:	Materials:	Grid Ref.
45	Extra	Farmbuildings, High Rochester	Early C19	IV	Ashlar with stone slate roof	383270 598620

Summary:
The small, plain single storey farmbuildings are early C19 and nothing special, but appropriate in their setting.
Importance: Not of special architectural or historical note
Present status: RO_MP 067-074

APPENDIX 6: Northumberland Records Office (NRO) catalogue

A catalogue listing documents relating to Rochester held in the NRO collection

NRO cat. No.	Details	Where
(E) DT 164/2	Tithe Award 1840	NRO
(H) QRA 44	Common Award 1866	NRO
(D) ZAN M17/22	Deeds to Silloans 1741-97	NRO
(H) QRA 17	Elishaw Common Award 1871	NRO
(H) QSI 1/103	The Sills - indictment	Morpeth
(H) QSI 1/671	The Sills - indictment	Morpeth
(H) QSI 1/119	Horsley - indictment	Morpeth
(H) QSI 1/97	Birdhope Crag - indictment	Morpeth
(H) QSI 1/367	Birdhope Crag - indictment	Morpeth
(H) QSI 1/442	Birdhope Crag - indictment	Morpeth
(H) CLAs 59	Sale catalogue. Portions of Redesdale Estate 1918 inc Ellishaw, Birkhill	Morpeth
(A) ZGI twl	Map of Carter Bar 1842	NRO
(A) ZHA 4/8-12	Deeds to the Silloans 1826-36	NRO
(E) QRUp	See Deposited Plans Index	NRO
(B) ZMD 113/7	Draft abstract of title, Earl of Carlisle 1795	NRO
(A) NRO 317/1	West Auckland to Ellishaw Turnpike Rd Act 1792	NRO
(A) NRO 317/11	West Auckland to Ellishaw Rd Act 1812-13	NRO
(D) B20/31	Deed 1687	NRO
(H) CES 207/1	Byrness County Primary School minutes 1958-1966	Morpeth
(H) CES 94	Byrness C of E School logbooks 1872-1937, timebook 1921-1937	Morpeth
(H) CES 225	Lord Redsdale's C of E school logbook 1943-1953	Morpeth
(J) NRO 980/30	Corres. Re Rochester housing scheme, 1931-43	NRO
(A) NRO 530.20/5	Action for debt: road repair work 1787	NRO
(C) EP 83/21	"Elsdon Parish" inventory for Byrness and 1859	Morpeth
(C) EP 83/27	Intrument regulating right to nominate minister for Holy Trinity Church, Horsley, 1882	Morpeth
(H) NRO 1652	Rochester Ward Byrness church school file, 1902-55	Morpeth
(H) NRO.1652/43	Rochester Ward Lord Redsedale's National School file, 1903-38	Morpeth
(C) EP.97	Byrness parish registers and records 1800-1978. Includes material on Horsley and Rochester, e.g. war memorials, school records, charity records	Morpeth
(A) Z CL/C/10	Map of land requ'd for Rede water supply, Catcleugh Reserv., 1896	NRO
(A) NRO.542/59	Rates list for Rochester Ward 1863, and maps of fields, 1838	NRO
(SR) NRO.1953	Transcript of baptism register of Birdhopecraig Presbyterian church 1728-1850, incl. index.	Morpeth
(G) NRO.2534/6&3	Photos of industrial railway for building Catcleugh reservoir, also line of water pipes.	NRO
(A) NRO.358/A/6/25-26	Bill and related papers re reconstructing Catcleugh reservoir 1889	NRO
(G) NRO.2534/1&5	Plans of Horsley on Lord Redesdale's estates C19th and 20th.	NRO
(A) NRO.1888/2	Deed re Birdhopecraig, 1793	NRO
(B) NRO.578/167	OS map of Rochester and river Rede 1866	NRO
(G) NRO.2718/57	Accounts of Byrness Chapel Trust 1908-9	NRO
(G) NRO.2718/77	Accounts of Byrness Chapel Trust 1903-7	NRO
(D) B.25/11/50,66	Copy cases re Upper and Nether Horsley, 1695 and 1703	NRO
(A) ZCE.7/1,2	Deeds re Lumsden, 1736-7, 1812, 1817	NRO

(A) ZHE 14/1	Plan, Silloans	NRO
14/9	Catcleugh Farm, 1856	NRO
14/12	Plan, Lumsden Moor, 1838	NRO
48/3	Plan, Catcleugh Farm, 1798	NRO
48/13	Plan, boundary between Catcleugh and Ramshope, 1848	NRO
(H) NRO.2100/3/231	Housing plan of Byrness, c. 1950	Morpeth
(D) ZAN M.15/A.34	Notes re Rochester, C19	NRO
(G) NRO.2803/17	Reciept for goods purchased by Mrs Robson of Byrness, 1885	NRO
(D) ZAN M.15/A.37	Notes re Featherwood, C19	NRO
(C) UR./P.5	Birdhopecraig Presbyterian church records, 1885-1904	Morpeth
(C) UR./P.14/6	Birdhopecraig Presbyterian church visitation schedules, 1930-54	Morpeth
(A) ZCL/B/270 & 272	Valuation and Arbitration Catcleugh, Newcastle and Gateshead Water Board and Earl Percy, 1898.	NRO
(H) QRH.67	Highway, 1818	Morpeth
(G) NRO.1920/3	Transcript of Byrness parish baptisms and burials 1797-1813	NRO
(BRO) NRO.2184/12/4	Historical notes on Birdhopecraig Presbyterian church	NRO
(A) NRO.542	Historical notes on farms and hamlets in Rochester Ward by W. Percy Hedley (see place index to list).	NRO
(C) EP.185	Horsely parish records 1844-1975	Morpeth
(C) UR/P.5/2	Birdhopecraig Communicants Roll book, 1853-1966	Morpeth
(C) UR/P.5/3	Newspaper cuttings re Birdhopecraig minister, 1842-1932	Morpeth
(A) NRO 3704	Rochester School collection c. 1860-1934.	NRO
(A) NRO 3704/2	Elishaw farm award papers, 1809-1916	NRO
(A) NRO 3704/3	Bellshield Colliery disputes papers, 1897 - 1910.	NRO
(A) NRO 2808/4	Old deeds relating to Allerwash estate 1844-1903. Parties incl William J Alky of Rochester.	NRO
(G) NRO 4237/8	Records of Closed Womens Institutes Byrness 1954 -1983	NRO
(A) NRO 3704/7	Catcleugh Reservoir papers, 1888-1904	NRO
(A) NRO 3704/11	Papers re Horsley parsonage, 1881-1882	NRO
(SR) NRO 3807/1	Monumental inscriptions of Horsley, C19 - C20 centuries.	Morpeth
(A) NRO 3704/13	Correspondance re. claim to ownership of Elishaw Farm, 1830	NRO
(G) NRO 750/1	Typescript copy of the verse " victory of the plantation at Corbridge in July 1879" by W. Bell of Low Birness [1905]	NRO
(G) NRO 832	Printed poem " Featherwood Fell" [Rochester] by V.R.Waitt 1910	NRO
(G) NRO 4702	Pedigree of Anderson of Birdhopecraig, Smith of Bidshopecraig	NRO
(A) HRO 322/Sale catalogue/29	Hopesley(?) house and Petty Knowes, High Rochester, 1895	NRO
(E) NRO 4720/B/52-55	Byrness, housing for forestry commission 1950-1952	NRO
(E) NRO 4720/B/261	Rochester War Memorial c. 1919 (Plans)	NRO
(C) UR/P14/54	Papers re Birdhopecraig URC, 1920-86	NRO
(H) NRO 4090/A/56	Byrness county First School Governor's minutes, 1966-1992	NRO