Carham Through the Ages

by

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Carham and Scotland

Carham is at the extreme north-west corner of Northumberland. Standing in Carham churchyard you can look north over the Tweed towards Scotland; and you can look south over the fields towards the Cheviot hills, also in Scotland. Carham is the only place in England which has Scotland both to the north and to the south.

Contents

This is the history of the village of Carham and its immediate surrounds.
You can read straight through or click on the headings to select your area of interest:

This article may be updated from time to time as new information becomes available.

Abbreviations: ASC = Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
HES = Historic Environment Scotland
HER = Historic Environment Record Durham and Northumberland

Carham: The Name

Originally Carrum = (at the) rocks, *carr* being an O.E. word of Celtic origin (Mawer 1920: 39).
The modern word 'cairn' meaning 'a pile of stones', is cognate.

Geology - Volcanoes and Glaciers

There are two noteworthy rock types in the Carham district, both from the Lower Carboniferous period about 360m years ago (Fig 1). The first is the Kelso Traps, a form of basalt lava from widespread volcanic intrusions. The second is Carham Stone, 'a cherty magnesian limestone up to 7.5m thick, which is thought to have been accumulated by chemical precipitation from waters enriched in lime by showers of volcanic dust towards the end of the main period of volcanic activity' (Grieg 1971: 81). Carham Stone 'has been much used for building as well as being burnt for lime' (Ibid 103). So the stone gave Carham its name and then Carham gave the stone its name.

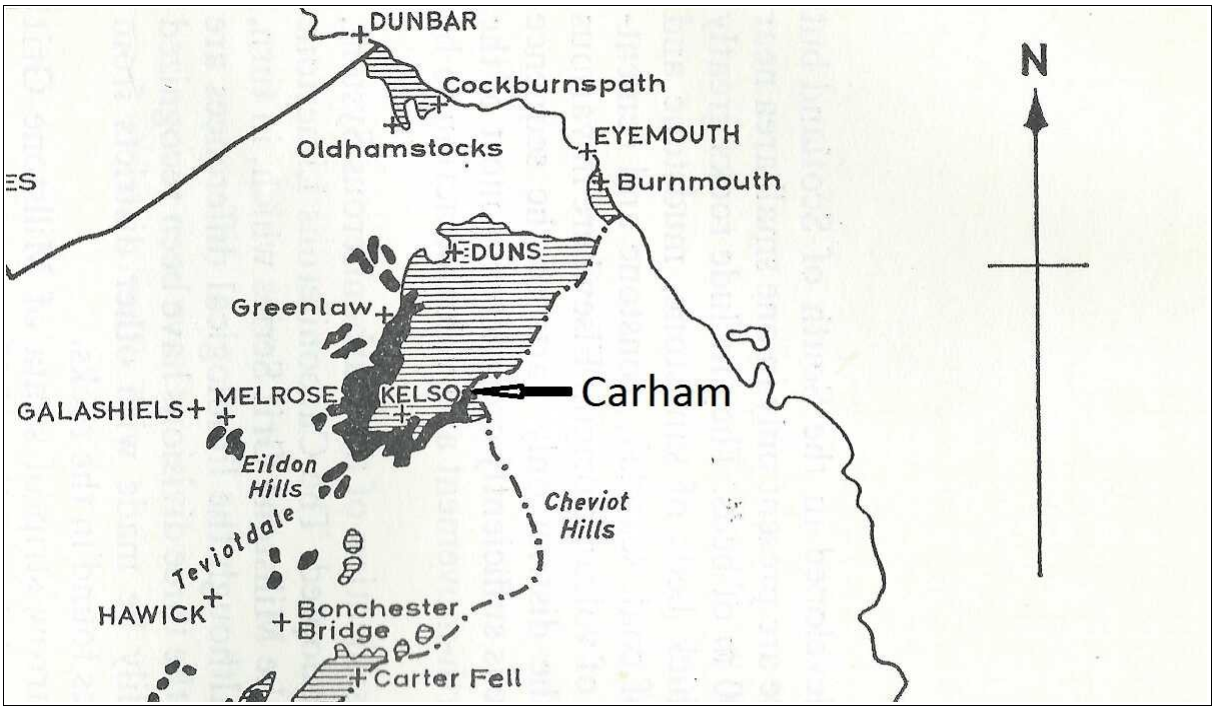

Figure 1: Outcrops of Carboniferous rocks in the South of Scotland
Source: Adapted from Grieg 1971: P 62

- *Stripes = Carboniferous Limestone Series (including Carham Stone)*
- *Black = Igneous Rocks of Carboniferous Age (including Kelso Traps)*

Holocene (c. 11,700 BC to the present)

In more recent geological times, as the last Ice Age thawed, the glaciers moved eastwards and, as they reached what is now the coast, they were diverted southwards by the larger Scandinavian ice-sheet (Fig 2). 'In front of the ice margin, outwash valley trains of cobbles and gravels extended far down valley. The modern rivers have cut down through these deposits, leaving the former meltwater river beds as wide, flanking terraces. These are conspicuous by the Tweed in the Carham – Wark – Coldstream area' (Lunn 2004: 58). Much of the soil dragged by the glaciers was deposited on land around the Tweed flood plain to form what is now the rich arable and pastoral farming district of the Merse. (Waddington & Passmore 2004: 10-16).

Mesolithic (c. 10,000 to 4,000 BC) and Neolithic (c. 4,000 to 2,500 BC)

This was good land for occupation by Mesolithic hunters and for settlement by Neolithic farmers. Archaeological field-walking in Carham parish has found numerous stone implements of these

periods, in some instances over 20 items per hectare (Passmore & Waddington 2009: Vol 1, 102-3).

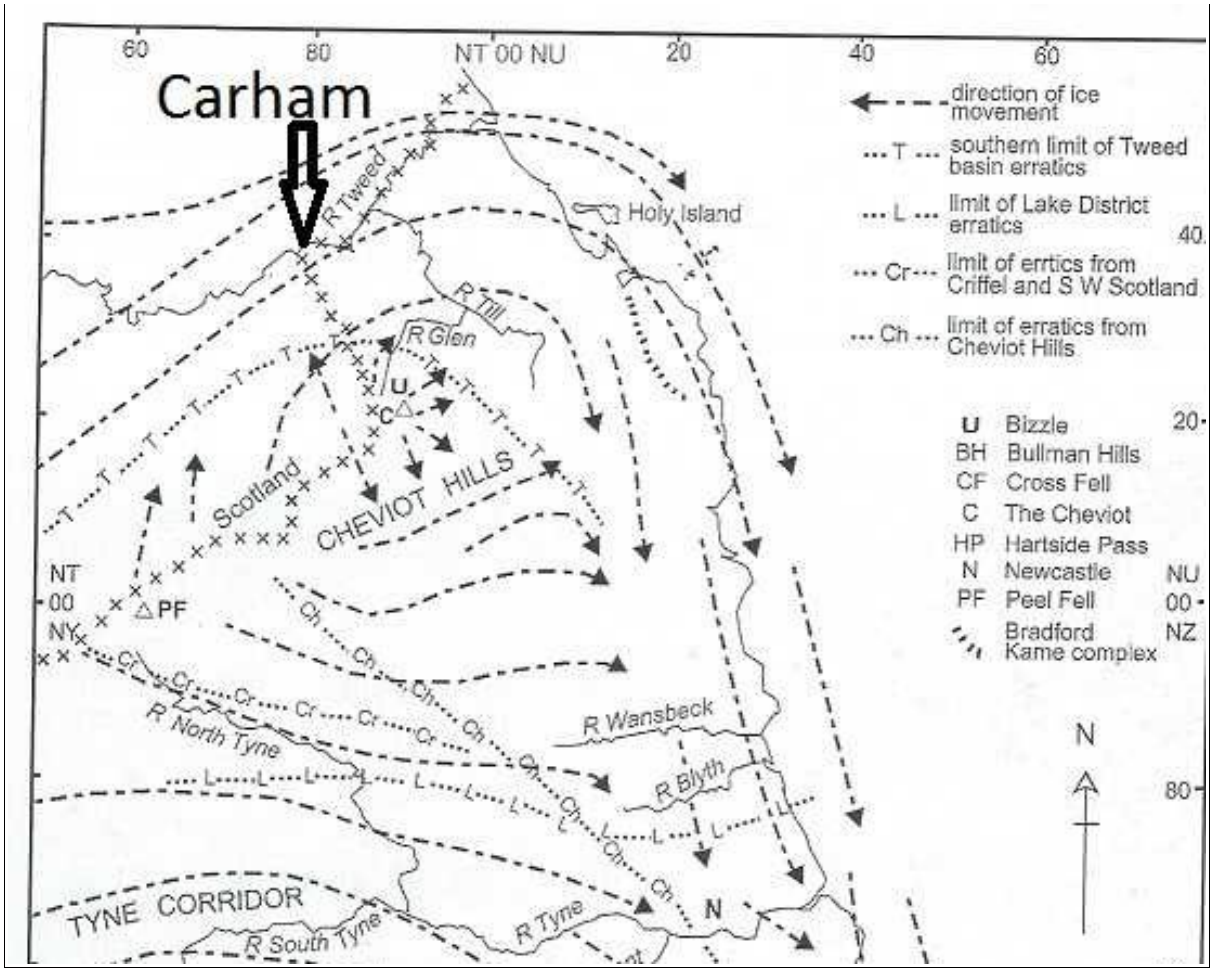

Figure 2: North Northumberland; Ice sheet flow lines of the Dimlington Stadial, about 20,000 years ago. (Source: Adapted from Lunn 2004: 51)

Pre-Historic settlements - Dagger - Scabbard

Bronze Age (c. 2,600 to 700 BC)

The oldest item yet found in Carham is an Early Bronze Age dagger blade fished out of the river in 1853. This is held by the Great North Museum, Newcastle (Object Number NEWMA: 1853.5). The dagger is 197mm long, 48mm wide and 6mm thick. On the right hand end are the remains of two rivet holes by which the blade was originally attached to the hilt, probably of wood (Fig 3).

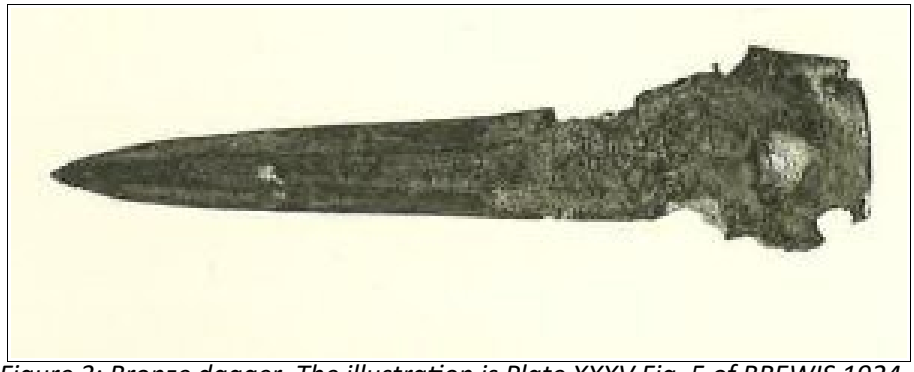

Figure 3: Bronze dagger. The illustration is Plate XXXV Fig. 5 of BREWIS 1924.

Iron Age (c. 700 BC to 43 AD)

On the north bank of the Tweed's flood plain, crop marks reveal an Iron Age fort and enclosure at Birgham Haugh. On the south bank aerial photographs have identified two Iron Age enclosures at Redden (HES). The river is fordable between these ancient settlements; predecessors of Birgham and Carham. The British Museum holds a late Iron Age sheath also found in the river Tweed at Carham. The copper alloy sheath is 536mm long, 51 mm wide and 8mm thick (Fig 4).

Figure 4: Copper alloy sheath of the Iron Age found in the river Tweed at Carham. The illustration is from the website of the British Museum (Item 1880,0802.114). The sheath is on long-term loan to the Great North Museum (Hancock) in Newcastle, which also holds a facsimile.

The Romans - Army on the March {Romano-British (43 to 410 AD)}

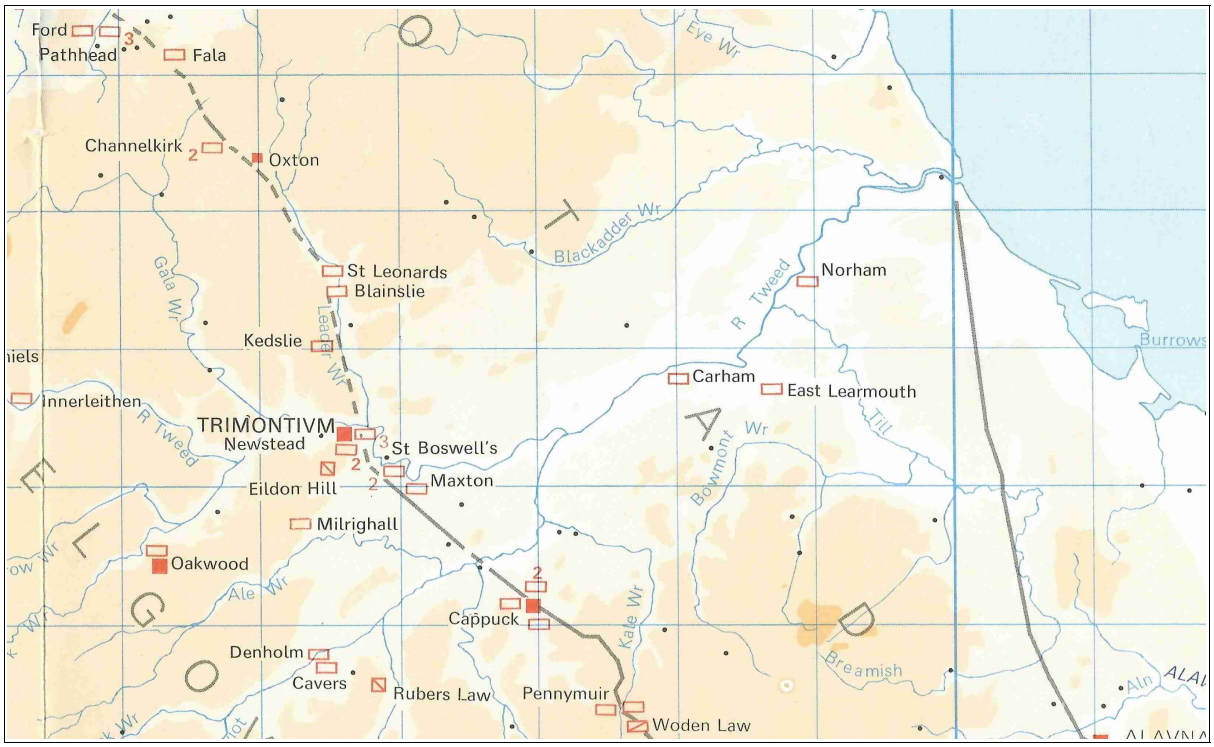

Figure 5: Carham and Trimontium
Source: Roman Britain - North Sheet (Ordnance Survey 1978, Scale 1:625k)

A temporary Roman camp is at Carham, suitable for an army on the march. Carham is halfway between the north end of the Devil's Causeway at Tweedmouth and the major Roman base at Trimontium, on Dere Street, the Romans principal route into Scotland. This may have been a supply route for Trimontium along the Tweed from ships at Berwick.

St Cuthbert and King Ecgfrith

Early Medieval (410 to 1066 AD)

The earliest written reference to Carham is in a document known as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto (HSC)* or *The History of St Cuthbert* (HSC 2002). This is a history of the lands of the Cuthbertine church mostly written in Chester-le-Street in about 945 AD (Simpson 1989: 397). HSC Chapter 7 says:

> 7. In that time King Ecgfrith fought against the king of the Mercians, Wulfhere, son of Penda, and having cut down [his] army he vanquished him and put him to flight with only one small boy accompanying [him]. And he [i. e. Ecgfrith] obtained this through the aid of St Wilfrid, who was with him, but especially through the prayers of St Cuthbert, who was absent. After this battle King Ecgfrith gave Carham and whatever pertains to it (*my emphasis*) to St. Cuthbert and held him in the highest veneration as long as he lived, himself and all his kindred, until after his death the Scaldings [Danes] came and crushed York and devastated the land. (HSC 2002: 49)

We know that Ecgfrith's battle against the Mercians took place in 674 AD (Stenton 1971: 85). However, at that time, Cuthbert was not yet a saint and not yet a bishop and not yet at Lindisfarne. According to Cadwallader Bates, at that time he was the prior of Melrose (Bates 1895: 61-2). As Craster observes: 'It may be doubted whether . . . . the Cuthbertine community in the tenth century knew in every case who the donors were to whom they owed their estates.' (Craster 1954:185). Perhaps Carham was gifted to the church of Lindisfarne some time before it became known as the church of St Cuthbert; or perhaps some time later but by someone else. Ecgfrith and Cuthbert both died in 687.

Simeon of Durham (d. 1129?)
Simeon was precentor of Durham Cathedral. He is recorded as being present at the re-interment of the body of St Cuthbert in the cathedral in 1104. He wrote extensive histories incorporating material from older records, such as the *History of St. Cuthbert* (above). Two of his best known works are: • *History of the Kings of England* • *History of the Church of Durham* All his books are in Latin, but translations are available (see bibliography). He does not report anything that happened after 1129, so he may have died or become very infirm then.

Patrimony of St. Cuthbert

In his *History of the Kings of England* Simeon of Durham records the Patrimony of the church of St. Cuthbert as it had been in 854 AD:

> AD 854: Eardulf received the bishopric of Lindisfarne; to which belonged Lugubalia, that is, Luel, now called Carlisle, and Norham, anciently called Ubbanford. Also all the churches from the river Tweed to the South Tyne, and beyond the wild country to the west, at that time belonged to the aforesaid church; and these manors, Carham (*my emphasis)*, and Culterham,

and the two Jedburghs, which bishop Ecgred built on the south side of the Teviot; and Melrose, and Tigbrethingham, and Eoriercorn [Abercorn] on the west side Edinburgh, and Pefferham, and Aldham, and Tyningham, and Coldingham, and Tillmouth, and the aforesaid Norham, Warkworth also, with all its appurtenances, was the property of the said church by the gift of king Ceolwulf.' (Simeon 1858: 72)

It appears that Carham continued as part of the Patrimony of St Cuthbert until the 1120s (see below).

Figure 6 (right): Tenth century, late Bernician Cross-shaft from Carham. Height 788mm; Width 406 mm; Depth 240mm (Source: ASCorpus)

Sculptured Stone Crosses

The Great North Museum in Newcastle holds sections of three sculptured stone crosses of the tenth century from Carham, donated by Lady Compton Thornhill of Carham Hall in 1902. These may be viewed online as part of the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture (ASCorpus). One is illustrated here (Fig 6).

If Carham had stone crosses in the tenth century then it must have had a Christian community and probably a church.

The Vikings - Battle in 833 AD – Question Mark?

On the OS First Edition map of 1896 an entry at Carham near Dunstan Covert to the south of the Kelso road reads 'Site of battle between Saxons and Danes 833 AD'. The Wikipedia page for Carham says this information comes from Leland.

John Leland (1503-1552)

John Leland was Royal Antiquary to King Henry VIII. He travelled widely within the realm but much of his writing is copious notes rather than organised books, leaving a nightmare for his subsequent editors and publishers. Notable editions of his *Itineraries 1535-43* are by:

- Thomas Hearne 1774-5 (Vols 1-9) and
- Lucy Toulmin Smith 1906-10 (Vols 1-5).

Hearne also edited Leland's *Collectanea* 1770-74 (Vols 1-6)

In his *Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea,* John Leland says:

> In the 33. Yere of Ecgbrighth the Danis arrived at Lindisfarne, and fought with the Engles at Carham, where ii Bishops, and 2. English Countes were slayne, and great Number of People. (Leland 1770: 1, 520)

Egbert was king of Wessex from 802 to 839, so the '33. Yere of Ecgbrighth' would have been 835 AD. It seems odd that early northern writers such as Simeon say a great deal about the depredations of the Danes at Lindisfarne in the 790s and at York in the 860s but they do not mention this alleged event at Carham in the 830s. However, an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reads:

> 833 [836]. Her gefeaht Ecgbryht cyning with -xxxv- sciphlaesta aet Carrum. thaer wearth micel wael geslaegen, tha Denescan ahton wael stowe gewald ; Hereferth Wigthen tuegen biscepas forthferdon, Dudda Osmod tuegen aldormen forthferdon. (ASC 1892: 1, 62)

The first sentence mentions Egbert's battle with 35 ships companies 'aet Carrum'. Carrum is the old spelling of Carham but also of Carhampton in Somerset (ASC 1972: 62-3) or it could be Charmouth in Dorset (ASC 1892: 2, 94), both on the coast. The second sentence says: 'And Herefrith and Wigthegn, two bishops, passed away; and Dudda and Osmod, two ealdormen, passed away.' (ASC 1972: 62) Hereferth and Wigthen were bishops in Wessex at about this time (ASC 1861: 2, 54). John Sadler provides a spirited account of a battle against the Danes in Northumberland (Sadler 1988: 30) but the 21st century view is that 'Carham' is a case of mistaken identity which actually refers to a battle in Wessex, probably at Carhampton in Somerset (HER).

The Battle of Carham 1018 AD

This battle in 1018 was the single most momentous event in Carham's history. The earliest record of the battle is by Simeon of Durham. In his *History of the Kings of England*, Simeon says:

> AD 1018. A great battle between the Scots and Angles was fought at Carrum between Huctred, son of Waldef, earl of the Northumbrians, and Malcolm, son of Cyneth, king of Scots, with whom there was in the battle Eugenius [Owain] the Bald, king of the Cumbrians (Simeon 1858: 113)

In his *History of the Church of Durham*, Simeon says:

> In the year of our Lord's incarnation ten hundred and eighteen, while Cnut ruled the kingdom of the Angles, a comet appeared for thirty nights to the people of Northumbria, a terrible presage of the calamity by which the people of that province was about to be desolated. For, shortly afterwards, (that is, after thirty days) nearly the whole population, from the river Tees to the Tweed, and their borders, were cut off in a conflict in which they were engaged with a countless multitude of Scots at Carrum (Simeon 1865: 675).

Site of the battle

On OS maps prior to 1940 the site of the battle is shown east of Wark castle with the date 1018. Following a footnote in *Anglo-Saxon England* (Stenton 1943) the OS changed the date to 1016. In the *Scottish Historical Review* Professor Duncan clarified definitively that 1018 was the correct date (Duncan 1976) but since then the site has been omitted from OS maps. Geomorphological survey indicates that east of Wark castle was the site of paleo-channels which suggest that in the medieval period this ground would have been too wet for a battle (Fig 7). The Carham 1018 Society concluded that a site further west closer to Carham Hall and Carham church was more likely.

Birth of the Border

Huctred (sometimes spelled Uhtred) of Bamburgh lost the battle. As a consequence, Northumbria lost all of its lands north of the Tweed. In July 2018 a commemoration and re-enactment of the battle was organised on Carham Holme by the Battlefields Trust and the Carham 1018 Society.

The history of the battle and its decisive influence in setting the Anglo-Scottish border on the river Tweed was set out fully in the book *Birth of the Border* (Daly 2018), a copy of which was provided to every household in Carham parish as part of the commemoration. The battle has also produced a collection of essays by noted historians (McGuigan & Woolf 2018) and at least two works of historical fiction by Howard Culley (both in 2019).

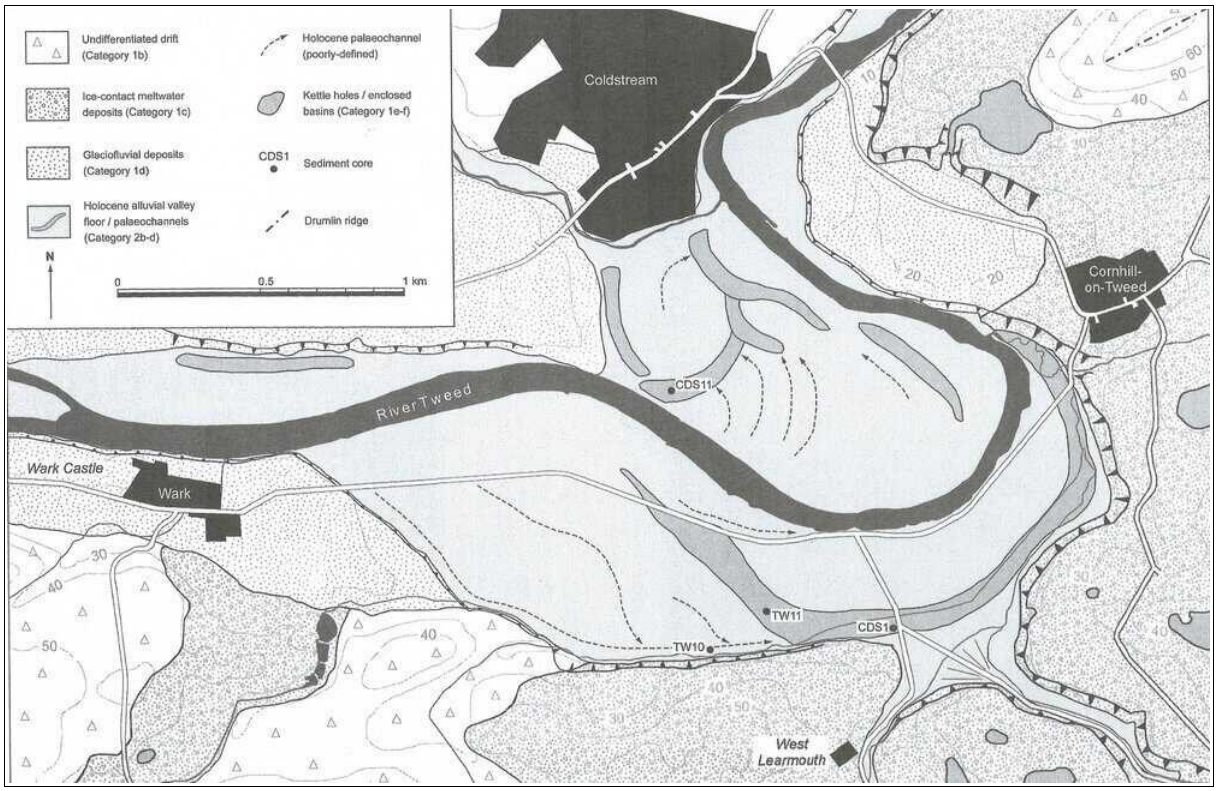

Figure 7: Geomorphological map of the Lower Tweed valley from Wark to Coldstream.
Alluvial valley floor: Very pale plain grey
Present course of the river: Dark grey
Paleo-channels (clearly defined): Mid grey
Paleo-channels (poorly defined): Dotted lines with arrows
Source: Adapted from Passmore and Waddington 2009: Fig. 2.51

The Normans - How they came to Carham

Late Medieval (1066 to 1540 AD)

William the Conqueror was king of England from 1066 till his death in 1087. Two of his sons became kings of England: William II (1087-1100) and Henry I (1100-1135). From about 1070 till about 1160 the position in Northumberland was both complex and fraught. The traditional local powers of the bishop of Durham and the Earl of Northumberland were challenged from the south by the Normans and from the north by the Scots. Carham was right in the middle.

William I conquered most of England but he never conquered Northumberland. The Domesday book of 1086 says nothing about Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland or Northumberland. The first Norman castle in Northumberland was the 'new castle' on the Tyne founded in 1080 by William's eldest son Robert 'Curthose'. William did not complete the colonisation of Northumberland but he did set it in motion. He deposed the traditional Earls of Northumberland, who fled to Scotland, appointing a new Earl, Roger de Mowbray, complete with the land of '280 manors in England' (Hartshorne 1858: 100). He granted land in Northumberland to at least eight other Norman barons including Umfraville in Redesdale and Vesci in Alnwick.

(Table 1: Grants of land in Northumberland by William 'the Conqueror')

Robert 'Curthose' became Duke of Normandy. The Conqueror's second son, Richard, died young. As a consequence, when William I died in 1087, he was succeeded as king of England by his third son, King William II 'Rufus'. In 1092 Rufus took Carlisle. In 1095 he removed Robert de Mowbray and replaced the Earldom of Northumbria with a Norman sheriffdom.

The Conqueror's fourth and youngest son was King Henry I (1100 – 1135). His queen was Matilda, sister of three Scottish kings; Edgar (1097-1107), Alexander (1107-1124) and David (1124-1153). Henry granted further swathes of Northumberland to further Barons, including Wark to Walter Espec, continuing the Norman settlement of Northumberland (Lomas 1992: 15-30).
(Table 2: Grants of land in Northumberland by King Henry 1)

The Honour of Carham and the Barony of Wark

From about 1120, in the reign of Henry I, until about 1560, in the reign of Elizabeth I, the histories of Wark castle and of Carham church are so closely intertwined that they cannot be completely disentangled. Responsibility for the castle became known as the Barony of Wark and responsibility for the church became known as the Honour of Carham (Hartshorne 1858: 31). In the 1120s Henry I granted both to Walter Espec. When Walter died in 1153 he left no children. He had three sisters:

- Hawise, married to William de Bussei;
- Albreda, married to Nicholas de Trailly;
- Adeline, married to Peter de Ross.

The Honour of Carham/ Barony of Wark fell firstly to his nephew, Jordan de Bussei, and then to his grandson Robert de Ross. There were four successive generations all called Robert de Ross until the fourth rebelled against Edward 1 causing his lands to to be seized by the crown in 1296. By 1400 the lands were in the possession of Thomas Grey of Heaton. Lands at Wark remain within the Grey family to this day in their modern incarnation, the Earls of Tankerville.
(Table 3: Holders of the Barony of Wark/ Honour of Carham from c. 1120 to 1400)

Teviotdale - Diocese of Durham or Glasgow?

In his study of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (see above) Craster notes : 'A grant of lands in Teviotdale in Roxburghshire, namely, the two Jedworths [Jedburgh] and whatsoever belonged to them, is said in the *Historia* to have been made to Lindisfarne by its bishop, Ecgred (830-45). The writer attributes to Ecgred much more [territory] than his due, but there is no reason for doubting that Jedburgh, like the Scottish monasteries in Symeon's list [the Patrimony of St Cuthbert, above] had a Lindisfarne connexion.' (Craster 1954: 180) (see also Fig 8).

In 1099 William Rufus appointed Rannulf Flambard as bishop of Durham. In 1100, however, William died on 2 August, his brother Henry was crowned king on 5 August and Henry imprisoned bishop Flambard in the Tower of London on 15 August because he had 'so shamefully abused the bishopric' (Poole 1955: 171). 'Out of his hatred to this bishop, the king had commanded that the charter, by which the church had obtained the confirmation of her possessions from king William, should be cancelled and rendered ineffective.' (Simeon 1855: 715)

After negotiation, Henry reinstated Flambard at Durham in 1101. In a series of charters he ordered that Flambard's land and property be restored as before (Craster 1930: 33-54) but, with regard to:

> 'the recovery of two of the districts of his diocese, namely Carlisle and Teviotdale, which some bishops had appropriated to their own dioceses during the time when he had been in exile, and the church had no protector; these he could not regain' (Simeon 1855: 715).

Either during the vacancy before Rannulf's appointment (1096-99) or during his imprisonment in

1100, Thomas, Archbishop of York (d. 18 Nov. 1100), wrote a letter to a clerk called Algar which suggests inter-Diocesan rivalry between York/Durham and Glasgow, over the churches of Teviotdale:

> Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of York, to Algar the clerk, greeting.
> I prohibited you by word of mouth, when I sent chrism and oil by you to the church of Glasgow, from giving that chrism or oil in the diocese of Durham. But, contrary to my prohibition, you gave it in Teviotdale of which I found the church of Durham seised.
> I command you therefore, and prohibit you and all the priests of Teviotdale, by episcopal authority, from making any ministration henceforth of chrism and oil except during eight days only after you have seen this writ, so that in the meantime you may ask for chrism from the church of Durham which used to give it to you. But if after those eight days you presume to make any religious use of the chrism which I sent, I suspend you from divine office until it is proved at law to what church it belongs. Farewell. (Craster 1930: 39)

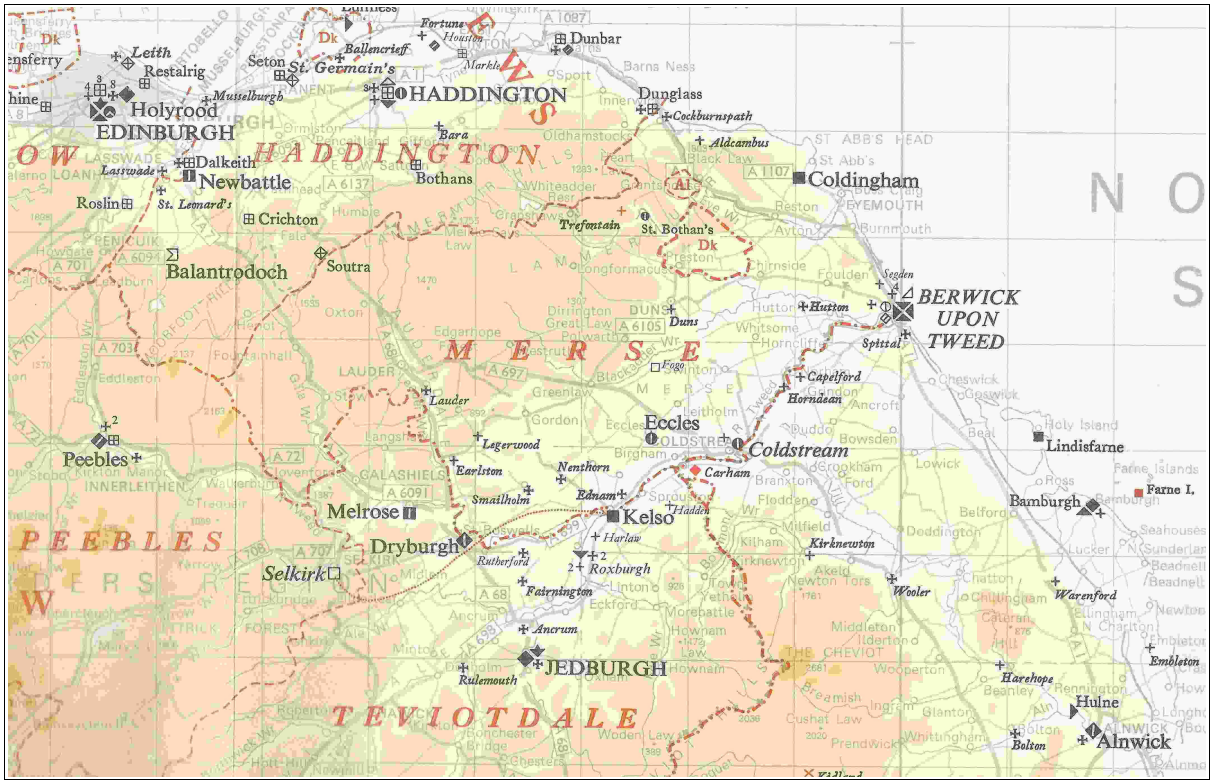

Figure 8: Carham and other medieval ecclesiastical sites
The red diamond at Carham indicates a minor Augustinian house of the period. The border south of Carham includes two small areas where the border ran on both sides; east and west around disputed lands. The disputed area nearest to Carham became known as Wark Common. The border west of Carham separates the Diocese of St. Andrews, to the north, from Glasgow, to the south.
Source: Monastic Britain 1066 to 1540 AD - North Sheet (Ordnance Survey 1978: Scale 1:625k)

The many charters of Henry I restoring Flambard were addressed to all the important people in the north of England but, of course, none of them were addressed to anyone beyond England. If the bishop of Glasgow had been interested in extending his See southwards he might well have taken advantage of turmoil in Durham to intrude himself into Carlisle and Teviotdale. Perhaps Teviotdale became detached from Durham about this time, creating an ecclesiastical boundary between Durham and Glasgow at the eastern extremity of Teviotdale, the Redden burn at Carham.

The Tweed border had three sections which had all been held, until now, by the Bishop of Durham:

- Islandshire, from the sea to Horncliffe;
- Norhamshire, from Horncliffe to the Duddo Burn at Cornhill; and
- Carham, from the Duddo burn at Cornhill to the Redden burn at Carham.

Augustinian Cell at Carham

The present church at Carham was built in 1790-1 (Fig 9) and altered to its present appearance in 1864 (Fig 10). One April in 1107-1116, when King Henry 1 was absent in Normandy, Queen Matilda, in her capacity as Regent of England (Bates 1895: 116) issued a document from Windsor which is the earliest appearance of Carham church in the historical record. It reads:

> Precept by Matilda Queen of England to Ranulf Bp. of Durham and the sheriffs Aluric and Liulf,* and all the barons of Northumberland: That she has granted to St Cuthbert and his monks, the church of Carham and whatever pertains to it (*my emphasis*), in alms, so far as pertains to her; for the salvation of her husband and children and for herself and for the souls of her own and the King's parents. (Johnson 1956: Calendar 1143)
>
> - Note: In 1116 Liulf the sheriff was succeeded by Odard

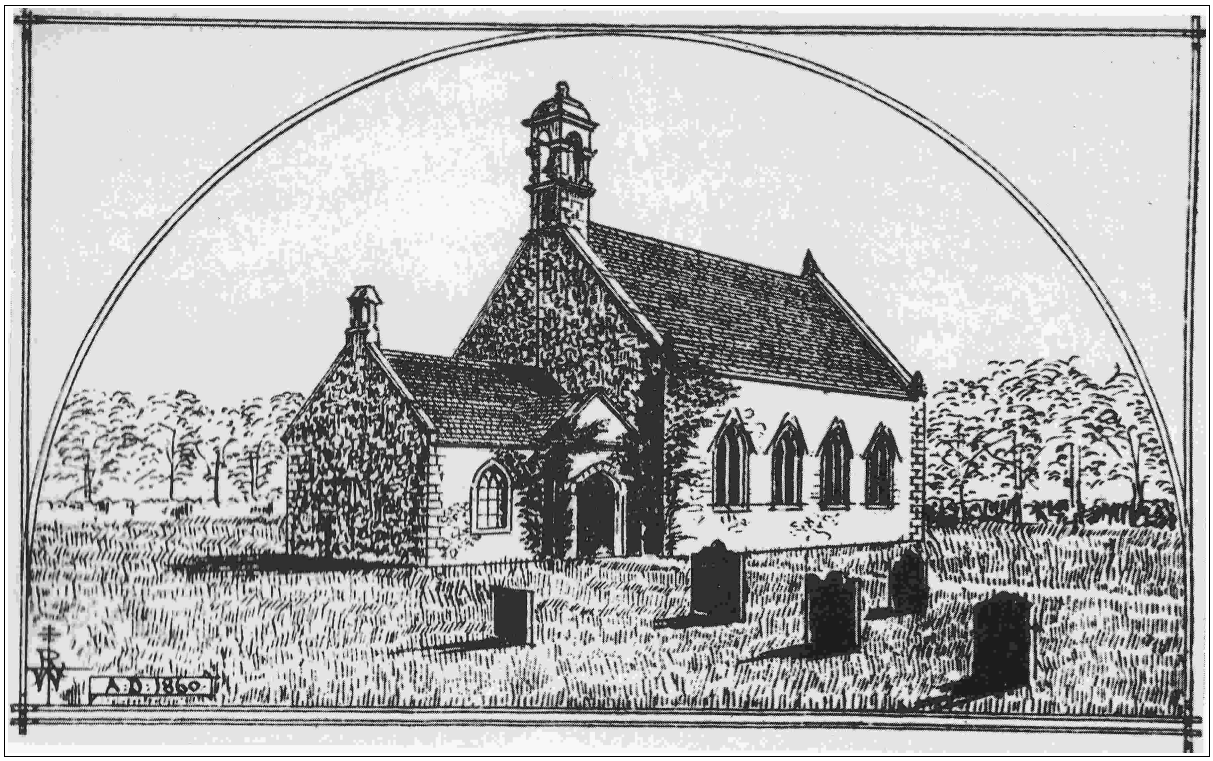

Figure 9: RW's drawing of Carham church as it was in 1860
Source: Straker-Smith 1954: 26

Ulchill the clerk 1126

A notification of Henry I in 1126 issued at Rockingham indicates that he had previously granted Carham to Walter Espec of Helmsley and now approved Walter's grant of the church at Carham to the Priory of Kirkham, Yorkshire. The document mentions 'the church of Carham' but also 'Ulchill the clerk', the earliest named resident of Carham. The document reads:

> Notification by Henry I generally addressed, and to all of Yorkshire and Northumberland: that he confirms the gifts of Walter Espec to the church of Kirkham; namely, the church &c. of

> Kirkham, the manor of Whitwell [on the Hill] (Witewella), the minsters (monasteria) of Garton [on the Wolds] and Kirby Grindalythe, the church of Helmsley [co. Yorks.]; the church of Carham, the church of Kirknewton (Niwetona in Glendala), the church in Ilderton, the vill of Titlington [in Eglingham], the houses of Ulchill the clerk in Carham and all his land with the services which he rendered to Walter de Espec (co, Northumb.) (*my emphasis*); the tithe of Walter's demesnes and of all the lands which he owns or shall hereafter acquire in Yorkshire or Northumberland. (Johnson 1956: Cal. 1459).

Carham had been part of the lands of St Cuthbert for over 400 years but it appears that, after the death of Queen Matilda in 1118, King Henry's old antipathy towards Bishop Flambard re-asserted itself and he granted the land of Carham to Walter Espec. Henry could kill two birds with one stone: by intruding Espec into Carham he could dilute the power of Flambard, as Prince-Bishop, whilst at the same time strengthening the Anglo-Scottish border defences. Espec proceeded to build the castle in Carham which became known as Wark and to make Carham church a minor cell of the Augustinian Priory of Kirkham, Yorkshire, which he had founded, probably in 1122 (Fig 8).

Matilda's precept and Henry's notification both mention the church at Carham, which seems to have already been in existence at that time. The 10th century cross sculptures (see above) suggest that Carham almost certainly had a church at the time of the battle in 1018 but we have no information about when it was founded. The History of St Cuthbert written in 945 does not mention a church. However, as the tale of Canon Cokewald reveals, it was certainly there in the early 14th century.

Figure 10: Carham Church in 2018

Canon Cokewald c.1310

As the Rev. James Raine observes: 'It was usual for every Austin house to have one or more cells to which their sick or refractory canons might be sent and to be a home for the superfluous members of the parent monastery. Kirkham in Yorkshire had a cell at Carham on the Tweed' (Raine 1864: c).

After a visit to Carham's parent Priory of Kirkham, the Archbishop of York, William Greenfield (1306-1315), wrote a letter to the Prior confirming two punishment decisions; firstly, that canon Peter de Gousehill was to be sent to Hexham and, secondly, canon Humphrey de Cokewald to Carham (in the Latin original the Archbishop spells it 'Karreham' – *Ibid App. XXVI p. xl*). Austin canons were not allowed to have private property but it had been learned that Cokewald had acquired jewels, plate and cash (14 marks), probably by inheritance from his father, which he had kept concealed. The valuables were taken by the Priory Treasury and the cash was disbursed to charitable causes but, in the words of the Rev. Raine: 'The loss of his treasure was not the only punishment to which the offender was subjected. He was sent off to Carham in the far North on the banks of the Tweed.' (*Ibid p. xl)*

Dissolution of the Monasteries

The church at Carham may have been destroyed during the dissolution of the monasteries; the stone certainly appears to have been available for recycling at this time. On 30 September 1542, a message recorded in Bain's edition of the *Hamilton Papers* reported that:

> Also upon Tuysdaye last in the mornyng, the workmen at Warke castell being in worke, and the kinges cartes careing stone fro Caram churche to the said castell, the Scottes cam and ther hathe taken thre of the kinges cartes with the horses and cart harnesse, ...
> (Hamilton 1890: 242)

Birgham - Treaty of 1290

Carham's twin village of Birgham, just across the river, also has a medieval history: St. Magdalene's chapel is recorded in 1250 near the burial ground (HES). In 1290 the Treaty of Birgham agreed a marriage between Edward 1's infant son (later Edward 11) and Margaret, the 'Maid of Norway' (very briefly, Queen of Scotland). Margaret died in Orkney a few months later aged six, before the marriage and before her enthronement.

Figure 11: Plaque at Birgham village playing field

The earliest use of the word parliament in Scottish documents is by burgesses of Berwick describing the gathering of magnates who had assembled in Birgham for this purpose (Nicholson 1978: 20). The Treaty is commemorated in Colonel Egerton's gift of the village playing field (Fig 11).

William Wallace and Edward 1

The OS First Edition map of 1896 identifies Wallace's Croft at Carham as the place where 'the Scottish Army under Wallace encamped AD 1296'. This may be a little misleading as it appears to conflate two separate events; one in 1296 and one in 1297.

We know that in March 1296 King Edward I of England was in Northumberland with a huge army. He took Wark castle from Scots insurgents, crossed the border at Coldstream on 28 March, attacked

Berwick on Easter Friday, 30 March, and massacred most of the inhabitants (Barrow 1988: 69-71). Of these events at Easter 1296, the Lanercost Chronicle says:

> 'The stubbornness of these misguided people [the Scots] being thus manifest, the troops were brought into action, the pride of these traitors was humbled almost without the use of force and the city was occupied by the enemy. Much booty was seized, and no fewer than fifteen thousand of both sexes perished, some by the sword, others by fire, in the space of a day and a half, and the survivors, including even little children, were sent into perpetual exile. . . .
> These events took place on the third of the kalends of April, being the Friday in Easter holy week, a penalty exacted by God corresponding to the crime. For it was on the Friday in Passion week that a detachment of the Scottish army made their first incursion into England, devastating with slaughter and fire some country villages and the monastery of Carham (*my emphasis*) (Lanercost 1913: 134-5).

Thus, in March 1296 the Scots, under the leadership of Malise, Earl of Strathearn (Barrow 1988: 93) had briefly gained possession of Wark castle and had devastated 'the monastery of Carham'.

Chronicle of Lanercost
The Augustinian Priory of Lanercost, founded in 1169, is on the south side of Hadrian's wall about twelve miles east of Carlisle. The Lanercost Chronicle, written in Latin, covers the years 1201-1346. Its authors have been described as 'patriotic haters of the Scots' (Little 1943: 36). Herbert Maxwell's English translation of 1913 covers only the years 1272-1346.

On 27 April 1296 the English army won the battle of Dunbar. Edward I proceeded through Scotland to capture the Scots king, John Balliol , at Montrose on 8 July (Barrow 1988: 72-4). The famous uprising of William Wallace did not start until the following year when he slew Heselrigg, the English sheriff of Lanark, in May 1297. Wallace defeated an English army at the battle of Stirling Bridge on 5 August and he led a retaliatory raid into Northumberland through Rothbury Forest at least as far south as Hexham in October 1297 (*Ibid:* 90-3). His route into Northumberland in 1297 may have been via Redesdale or via Carham.

Carham Tower

According to the Northumberland Historic Environment Record (HER) a tower was built in the 13th century on what is now the site of Carham Hall (see below). In 1541 Robert Bowes and Ralph Ellerker carried out an extensive survey of the border lands, particularly their defences, for Henry VIII. Their comments on Carham include 'a lytle tower' and the 'castell of Warke':

> 'The townshippe of Carrame conteynes in yt viij husbandlands well plenished & ys all of the inherytaunce of the Kinges Mytie (as of the augmentacons of his graces crowne and late belonginge to the suppressed monastery* of Kyrkeham within the countie of Yorke). Hereyn ys a lytle tower wythout barmekyn or iron gate metely for the defence of thinhabytants of the said towne in a sodenly occurrante skyrmyshe and in tyme of warre they may resorte for theyr relefe to the said castell of Warke.' (Bates 1891: 30)
> *Note: the term 'suppressed monastery' is a reference to the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII in the 1530s.

Leland's Itineraries

Leland's *Itineraries 1435-1543* include his notes on Wark Castle, Carham Tower and the cell of

Kirkham Priory at Carham with two canons:

> Twede risythe in Twydedale in Scotland at a towne (as I here say) cawllyd Pybbell, [Peebles] and so comithe thrwghe the forest of Eterik in Scotland, and so thorwghe Tynedale [Tweeddale] in Scotland, the people where of robbe sore and continually in Glyndale and Bamborowshire; and at a litle broke, cawlyd Ryden burne, [Redden burn] the whiche partithe England and Scotland by este and west, and comithe in to Twede, the greate streame of Twede towchithe on the Englyshe grownde as a limes [border] betwene Scotland and it. So to Carham a good mile off, a litle village, where is a cell of 2 chanons of Kyrkham [Kirkham] in Yorkeshire. At this Carham is a litle towre of defence agayne the Scotts *(my emphasis).* So to Werke [Wark] Castle a mile off and more, a meatly stronge fortrese, to Cornehil a litle pile 2 miles of, agaynst the whiche on the farthar rype [river bank] in Scotland is Cauldstreame a place of nunes*. So to Norham Castle where is also a meatly good toune about 3 miles off. So to Berwike at 6 miles stondinge on the northe syde of Twede a litle. There by at the bridge on the sowthe syde of the watar is Twemowthe [Tweedmouth] as a suburbe to the towne, and thens . . . . . (Leland 1910: 67)
>
> *The Cistercian Nuns of Coldstream Priory, which was destroyed by the Earl of Hertford in 1545 as part of the 'Rough Wooing', Henry VIII's unsuccessful attempt to force a marriage between his infant son Edward (later Edward VI) and the infant Mary Queen of Scots.

Carham tower may have come to an end in 1542. A letter printed in the *Hamilton Papers (1890)* reports that on 19 August 1542:

> And albeit may like your lordshipis to knowe that the Scottes upon the xviij daie of this said instaunte come to Carhame and haithe wone the towre and burnte it, (*my emphasis*) and like case burnte waiste houses in Cornell ; and John Carr capitain of Warke hade the mornyng befor burnte twoe waiste townes in Tyviotdaile called Ryden and Halden. (1890: 150)

Wark Castle - Border Stronghold

Not all of the Norman barons in Northumberland built castles but many did; Alnwick, Bolam, Bothal, Mitford, Morpeth, Prudhoe, Wark and Wooler (Lomas 1992: 29). The bishop of Durham did likewise at Norham. In his *History of the Kings of England*, Simeon says: 'AD. 1121. Ralf, bishop of Durham, . . . began also the castle of Norham, on the banks of the Tweed, ... ' (Simeon 1858: 188)

Wark castle has its own extensive history. The few remarks below are the merest introduction. Cadwallader Bates, in *The Border Holds of Northumberland* (Bates 1891: 331), says:

> The Honour of Carham was bestowed by Henry I on Walter Espec, one of the leading men of his day in the North of England, whose principal residence was at Helmsley, in Yorkshire. - - - [In the 1120s] Walter Espec founded a castle on a steep ridge or *kaim* about sixty feet above the river. To this Norman castle the English in the neighbourhood gave the name of Werch or Wark, probably from its being the great Work at which they were obliged to assist.

Richard of Hexham's references to Wark in his *Acts of King Stephen, and the Battle of the Standard* are the earliest surviving record of a castle in Carham (Hexham 1850s: 53-76). Richard's original Latin text reveals that, in all seven instances, he called it the castle of 'Carrum' (Raine 1864: 63-106).

Richard of Hexham (12th Century)
Richard was prior of Hexham from 1141. He died some time between 1155 and 1167. He copied from Simeon and other previous

writers but also continued Simeon's chronicles into the 1140s. He is a valuable source for 'the Anarchy' after the death of Henry I in 1135, including the invasion of the north by David I of Scotland.

The illustration below accompanies Froissart's account of an attack on Wark Castle in July 1385 when the Scots were led by James, Earl of Douglas, and their French allies by Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France (Fig 12). Richard II personally led the English retaliation in August 1385 in which 'the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh were destroyed' and 'Edinburgh put to the flames' (MacDonald 2000: 89-92).

Figure 12: French and Scots attacking the English-held Wark Castle
(Source: British Library – A late C.15th illumination from Chroniques de France et d'Angleterre by Jehan FROISSART.)

In the first instance, Norman motte and bailey castles were built of wood. In due course these were repaired and/ or embellished and some were then rebuilt in stone as permanent seats of power. This appears to have been the model followed at Wark with Walter Espec's wooden castle being the one which was attacked by David I of Scotland in 1136 and 1138. In 1138, as David was retreating from his defeat at Northallerton in the Battle of the Standard, the Wark garrison held out against a prolonged siege until 'the timely arrival of William, abbot of Rievaulx, who was commissioned by Walter Espec to negotiate a capitulation.' (Hartshorne 1858: 33). The Scots king allowed the garrison to walk away. He then razed the castle to the ground. It was not regained by the English until 1157, at which time it was rebuilt in stone and 'the castle of Wark was completed in 1161' (*Ibid* 29-33).

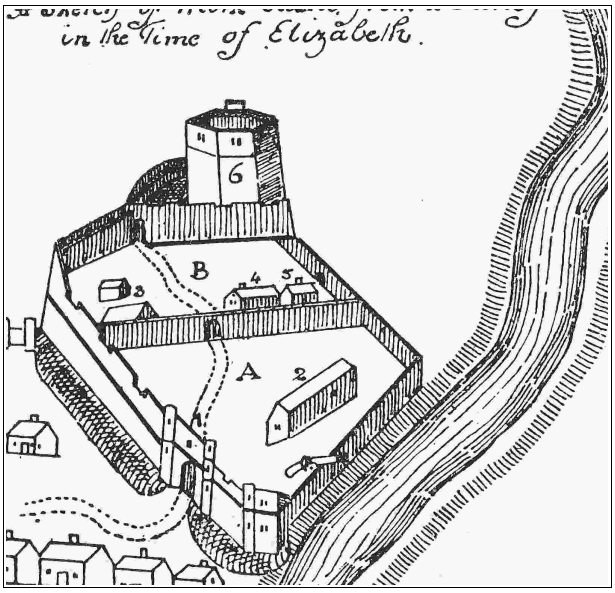

Figure 13 (right) : Wark castle in the 16th century. Source: Bates 1891

As Leland recorded in his *Itineraries* (above), in the 1540s the 'lytle tower' at Carham was 'without barmekyn' (a barmkin is a defensive wall or palisade surrounding a tower which might serve to safeguard cattle). 'In time of war' the people of Carham (and their cattle?) took shelter at the 'castell of Warke'. Today the Outer Ward, the 'barmkin' (marked A in Fig 13), is the site of the village of Wark (Pevsner 2001: 610). Wark castle is now in the care of Historic England.

Border Laws – 1249 to 1603

Although the battle of Carham in 1018 was the birth of the border it was more than 200 years before this was formally agreed between the two countries; by King Alexander II of Scotland and King Henry III of England in the Treaty of York in 1237. Of course, once agreed, a border needs a set of border laws, a *Leges Marchiorum.* Carham provided an early test case. In the 1240s 'a squabble erupted between the canons of the little priory of Carham [Wark priory] and the Scotsman Bernard de Hadden, concerning lands claimed by both' (Neville 1998: 1-5). Bates described this as 'the old-standing boundary dispute between the canons of Carham and Bernard de Hawden.' (Bates 1895: 136). In October 1245 Hugh de Bolebec, Sheriff of Northumberland, met with David Lindsay, the Earl of Dunbar, at the Redden burn in an attempt to resolve the dispute. Bolebec's letter to Henry III of England illustrates both side's frustrations:

> I and the knights of Northumberland met the Justiciar of Lothian, David Lindsay, the earl of Dunbar, and many other Scottish knights at Reddenburn. Six English and six Scottish knights were elected as a jury to make a true perambulation of the march between the two kingdoms, and in particular the lands of Carham (in England) and Hadden (in Scotland).
> The Six English knights, with one accord, immediately set off along the rightful and ancient marches between the two kingdoms, but the Scottish knights entirely disagreed and contradicted them. I and the Justiciar of Lothian thereupon decided to elect a second jury to reinforce the first. Once again, the English knights agreed on the boundary and the Scots dissented.
> Since the Scots had thus obstructed the business, I took it upon myself to empanel a third jury, this time of twenty-four English knights, who declared the true and ancient marches on oath. But when they started to make a perambulation of this line, the Justiciar and his fellow Scots forcibly prevented them and stopped them carrying out the perambulation by threats (Barrow 1973: 156).

The squabble described by Bolebec dragged on for decades and centuries. The Scots called it Hadden Rigg and the English called it Wark Common. It was resurrected in 1291 and again in 1331, it was noted in Border surveys in 1542 and 1550 (Hartshorne 1858: 14) and it was not finally resolved until 'a special Enclosure Award dated 1799' (Straker-Smith 1954: 21).

According to Bates 'The principles of Border jurisprudence were still more clearly enunciated in the code drawn up by twelve knights of each country at Ridingburn, on the feast of SS. Tiburtius and Valerian, April 14, 1249.' (Bates 1895: 137-8). The details are set out in Ridpath's *Border History*:

> a meeting was held on the marches of England and Scotland for ascertaining the laws of those marches, and enforcing their observation. This work was committed to twelve knights of each kingdom, under the direction of the sheriffs of Northumberland, for the king of England, and of the sheriffs of Roxburgh and Berwick, for the king of Scotland; by which sheriffs the twenty-four knights were sworn to make a faithful inquest and report, concerning the laws and customs that regulated the intercourse between the inhabitants on each side of the limit between the kingdoms. (Ridpath 1848: 95-6)

Ridpath goes on to list Articles 1-13 of the Border Laws based on 'a MS. copy of these laws from the Advocate's Library in Edinburgh' which includes, in Article 1, the designation of Ridding Burn as a place of trial (*Ibid* 96-8). The two kingdoms each appointed Wardens of the Marches who would meet on 'Days of Truce' at the designated places of trial on the border to resolve matters arising. The Redden burn was more convenient than other designated locations on the East March because at that point the border was a tiny stream rather than the full width of the Tweed. Rae observes:

> On the East marches, the fords of the Tweed at Norham, Coldstream, Wark and Carham were most frequently used, especially that at Coldstream, which is named eighteen times between 1513 and 1603 as the place where a day of truce was held. The most frequently used trysting place on the middle marches was Reddenburn, a tributary of the Tweed forming the international boundary near Carham, which is mentioned forty-nine times in the records; its popularity was due to the fact that it was convenient not only for meetings of both wardens on the Middle marches , but also for meetings between the Middle and East marches. (Rae 1965: 50)

Despite the popularity of Redden burn as a meeting place, that did not mean that all local matters were resolved speedily. According to Maureen Meikle:

> A 1551 survey of March boundaries recorded the different English and Scottish descriptions of the disputed borderlines; approximately 100 acres at Carham, 300 acres at Haddenrig and forty acres at Wark (Meikle 2004:253).

Figure 14: West side of Redden burn

Figure 15: East side of Redden burn

In the *Calendar of Border Papers* is an extensive Memorandum of 1580 by Thomas Philips, secretary to Wolsingham in the government of Elizabeth 1 of England, which includes a description of the border from Berwick to Solway (Borders 1894: 1; 31). The section concerning Carham reads:

' [From Berwick bounds] It goeth upp the river of Twede - - - unto the Riding burne mouth, so south west upp the burne to a place called the Bushment hole, without plea. From the Bushement hole, as the feldes of Carram bownd uppon Scotland, and from Carram feld side following the mouwnd (?) of an old ditche called the Marche dike endlong all the feldes of Warke and Presfen with moch variance, to a place called Cauldron burne.'

On 17 July 1596 Sir Robert Carey, Deputy Lord Warden of the Marches, informed Lord Burghley that:

' - - - yesterday at one in the afternoon, 50 horse of Tevidale took away the "hariadge"* of Carham. And this day, an hour after sun rise, 20 horse took three score kyen and oxen from Mindram and killed a man (Borders 1896: 2; 154)'.
*Note: 'Harriage *n.* service due by tenants, in men and horses, to their landlords.' (Chambers 1911: 250)

Nine days later, on 26 July, showing less than total commitment to the 'Days of Truce', Carey added that in response he had: ' - - - allowed some of my March to revenge the late spoils at Carham and Mindram, they have been quieter since '(Borders 1896: 2; 157).

In 1603, on the Union of the Crowns, the two final Wardens of the East March were Sir John Carey on the English side and Alexander, 6th Baron Home, on the Scottish side (Tough 1928: 280-2). The battle of Carham had been the birth of the border. Reddenburn had been a site of both Border Law and also of border lawlessness (Figs. 14 & 15).

Border Maps

Figure 16: Roy's Map of Scotland 1747-55 showing Coldstream, Birgim and Carrum (note spellings). The present church and houses at Carham had not yet been built. It is not clear whether Roy intended each red dot at Carrum to represent a specific, individual building.
Source: National Library of Scotland

After the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 the UK government wanted easier access for troops to suppress any future revolt in Scotland. John Smeaton's bridge over the Tweed at Coldstream was completed in 1766 (Coldstream 2010: 64). In addition, to ease the movement of troops, William Roy was

commissioned to produce a detailed map of Scotland. His survey of the border at Coldstream includes Carham (Fig. 16) . 'Roy's Map of Scotland', as it became known, was the progenitor of all subsequent Ordnance Survey maps.

Unlike Roy's map, Armstrong's map of Northumberland of 1789 is less concerned with military matters and more concerned to give detail on the English side of the border (Fig 17). His tiny drawing of Carham Hall is labelled with the name of the landowner, Compton Esquire.

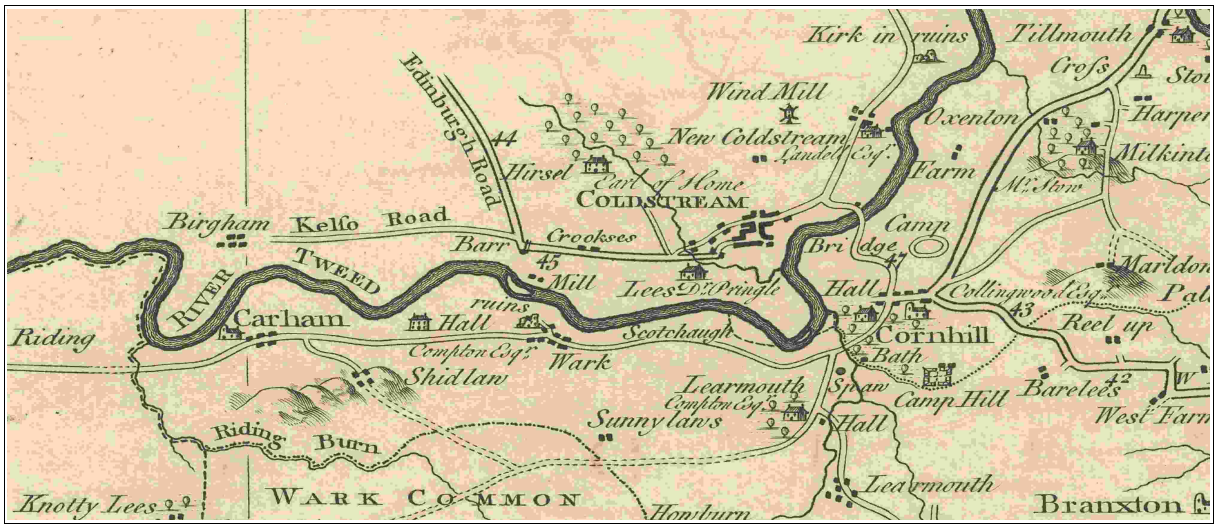

Figure 17: Armstrong's map of Northumberland of 1789 (extract)
Note that Carham and Birgham have their modern spellings but that Redden is spelled Riding.
Source: https://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A79584

Carham Hall

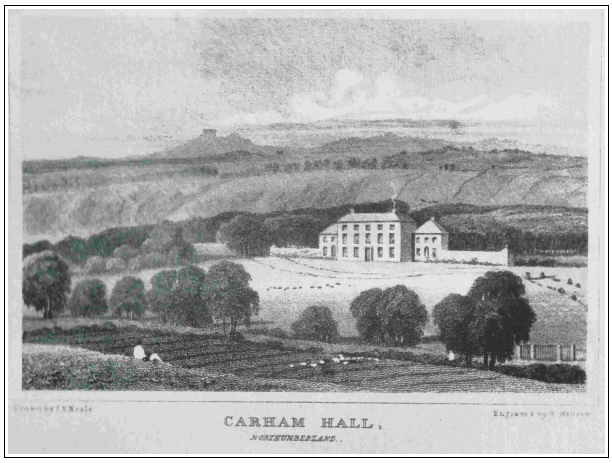

Figure 18: Carham Hall in 1818.
Drawn by J. P. Neale; Engraved by H Hobson
Source: Straker-Smith 1954: 10

The private publication *A Short History of Carham* (Straker-Smith 1954) sets out the history of the Carham estate. Henry VIII took the church lands during the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s. In 1579 Queen Elizabeth I granted the manor and church of Carham to Sir Christopher Hatton. The Forster family purchased the estate in the late 17th century but, following General Thomas Forster's role in the abortive Jacobite uprising of 1715, the estate was again forfeited to the crown until sold to Anthony Compton in 1745. In 1919 the Comptons sold the estate to Mrs Beatrice Cayley who sold it in 1940 to Lady Helen Straker-Smith and her husband, Thomas, who was knighted in 1953 (*Ibid* 13-14). The family continued to farm the estate (2,350 acres in 1954) but the Hall became a residential care home, which closed in 2020.

Carham Hall is built on the site of the 13th century Carham Tower (HER). J P Neale's drawing of 1818 shows the hall of the Compton family (Fig 18) but the Comptons replaced it in the mid-late 19th

century by the present hall, 'a quite large, beige and pink sandstone house in a rather formless Tudor style' (Pevsner 2001: 213).

Geophysics at Carham - Magnetometry Survey in 2019

Bernician Studies Group (BSG)

After the re-enactment of the battle of Carham in 2018 (see www.carham1018.org.uk) the Carham 1018 Society invited the Bernician Studies Group (www.bernicianstudies.eu) to inquire further into medieval Carham. The BSG provided an aerial photograph of Carham (Fig 19) and a LiDAR image of the same area (Fig 20) and carried out a magnetometry survey of two sites on Carham Holme .

The aerial photograph (Fig 19) shows the village, the churchyard and The Holme, the large green field south of the river. Part of the garden of Carham Hall is on the top right, beside the river. The LiDAR image (Fig 20) reveals:

- ancient river banks showing where the river has migrated northwards;
- the lines of rigg and furrow markings in the field;
- an oblong enclosure in The Holme which fans out northwards;
- a link southwards from the oblong enclosure which may be an ancient track;
- perhaps a curving enclosure boundary to the west.

Figure 19: Aerial photograph of Carham
Source: Bing Satellite Image

Figure 20: LiDAR image of Carham
Source: Environment Agency

Magnetometry

The study area was surveyed in precise grid squares of 20mx20m. The gradiometer was then walked the full length of each grid forty times at intervals of 0.5m taking readings every 0.125m. Thus, in each 20mx20m grid the gradiometer took 6,400 readings of the tiny magnetic variations in the soil (Fig 21). When the gradiometer readings were interpreted in Geoplot 4 computer software they produced an image which revealed any underlying patterns such as ancient ditches, building foundations or metal objects.

Oblong Enclosure?

The magnetometry survey established that the oblong enclosure shown in the LiDAR could never have been a roofed building as there are no signs of walls or foundations. Its position beside the ancient river bank and the track south towards the Shidlaw road might add up to a drove route, a crossing and an enclosure for mustering cattle.

Figure 21 (right): BSG Technical Director Edward Pennie with the Fluxgate FM 256 Gradiometer about to 'walk the line'.

Medieval Ecclesiastical Settlement?

The other area surveyed, immediately to the north of the present church, appears to be full of buildings (Fig 22). The magnetometry patterns show shapes of several sizes which suggest the remains of stone walls with straight lines and 90 degree corners. Some of these are single rooms but other buildings may have several rooms. The survey area was less than 100 metres square and the buildings seem to extend beyond the area surveyed. Most of the shapes appear to be of stone buildings but some fainter traces may indicate buildings made of wood. The full report on Geophysics at Carham (Pennie 2020) is available under Fieldwork Reports on the BSG website (www.bernicianstudies.eu).

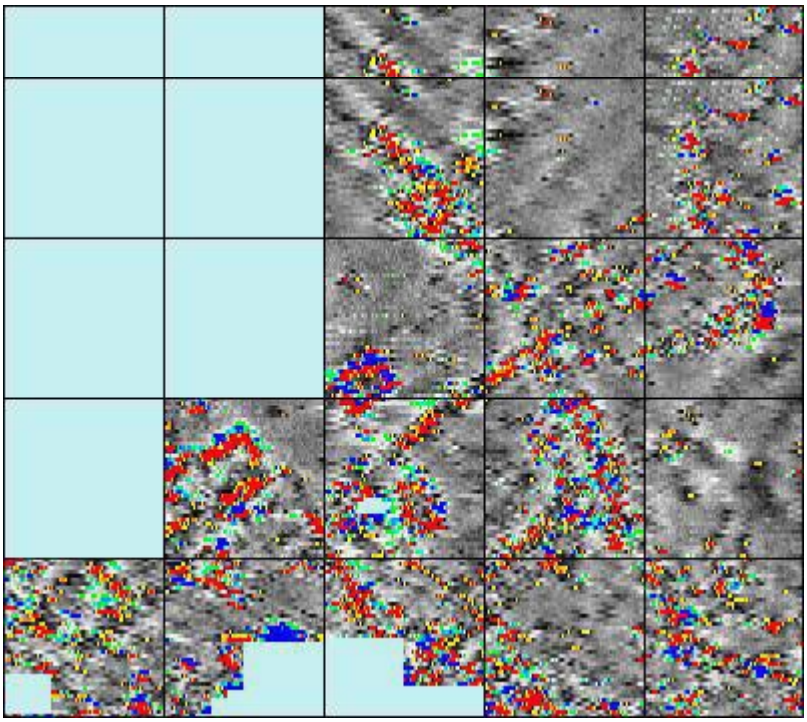

Figure 22: Geoplot 4 image in Greyscale 31 of magnetometry readings from 15 grid squares to the north of Carham church.

BSG Study Findings?

The findings from the magnetometry survey are very promising. The red and blue dots in Fig 22 are strongly indicative of stone and their layout suggests ruined buildings. The medieval priory is likely to have been at this spot, a few yards north of the present church, and this is what its ruins would look like. Fainter markings such as the dark grey smudges suggest ditches or the traces of older wooden buildings. We know that the early churches of Cuthbert's time were initially constructed of wood, as were houses and other buildings. The BSG are keen to examine Carham further.

Tables 1-3: Lands of Northumberland/ Wark and Carham

Table 1: Grants of land in Northumberland by William 'the Conqueror' (from Hartshorne 1858: 100)		
Name	**Barony**	**Knights' Fees**
Umfraville	Reedsdale lordship	Exempt
Vesci	Alnwick	12
Bertram	Mitford	5
Merlai	Morpeth	4
Burum, or Bolam	Bolam	3
De La Valle	Callerton	2
Morwick	Chevington manor	1
Divileston	Dilston manor	One third

Table 2: Grants of land in Northumberland by King Henry 1 (Ibid: 100)		
Name	**Barony**	**Knights'-fees**
Earls of Dunbar	Beanly, grand-sergeantry	
Bolebec	Styford	5
Muschamp	Wooler	4
Vesconte	Embleton	3
Grenville, afterwards Guage	Ellingham	3
Umfraville	Prudhoe	2
Espec, Bussei, Hurnez, Ross	Wark	2
Afterwards Heron	Ralph de WIncester	1
Bradford	Bradford	1
Super Teisam	Gosfutz	Two thirds

Table 3: Holders of the Barony of Wark/ Honour of Carham from c. 1120 to 1400 (from Hartshorne 1858: 25-37)		
Barons	**Date**	**Event**
Walter Espec of Helmsley	1122	Founded Augustinian Priory of Kirkham, Yorkshire
	1126	Henry I endorsed Espec's grant of Carham to Kirkham
	1120s	Built castle at Carham known as 'Werke'
	1132	Founded Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx, Yorkshire
	1138	Fought for King Stephen of England at the Battle of the Standard
	1153	Died: lands divided between several family members
*Nicholas de Trailly	1153	30 librates of land through his wife Albreda, sister of Walter
*William de Bussei	1153	30 librates of land through his wife Hawise, sister of Walter
Jordan de Bussei	1153	50 librates of land, including 'the Honour of Carham'. Jordan was the son of William de Bussei.
	1162 1163	Honour of Carham – in both years 'rated to the scutage for two knights fees' (Ibid 34)
*Peter de Ross	1153	Inherited the remaining Espec lands through his wife Adeline, sister of Walter. They had a son, Robert de Ross (1)
Philip de Humet	1169	Honour of Carham – rated . . . . 'probably as guardian of an infant heir'. (Ibid 34)
Robert de Ross (1)	?	Inherited the remaining Espec lands through Peter de Ross. Inherited the lands of Jordan de Bussei , including the Barony of Wark. Married Sibill de Valoines. Died and left a son Everard, a minor, under wardship of Ranulf de Glanville
Everard de Ross	1181	Had 'livery of the Yorkshire estates' (Ibid 34) With his wife Rose, had a son also called Robert de Ross (2)
Robert de Ross (2)	?	Married Isabella, daughter of William the Lion, king of Scots. They had two sons, William and Robert (3).
	1192	'He had livery of his lands in Yorkshire'. (Ibid 34)
	1199	Charter of King John to Robert setting out the above inheritances
	1211	'holding the Barony of Wark, as all his ancestors had done from the time of Henry I, by two knight's-fees.' (Ibid 34)
Robert de Ross (3)	1238	Chief Justice of the king's forests in Nottingham, Derby, York, Lancaster, Northumberland and Cumberland until 1245.
	1269	His son is referred to as Robert Fitz-Robert of Wark (4)
Robert de Ross (4)	1294	'summoned to Portsmouth, well accoutred with horse and arms, to attend the king [Edward I] in Gascony'. (Ibid 35)
	1296	Deserted Edward I to fight for the Scots. Edward I 'seized the barony' and granted it to Robert's cousin William of Helmsley (Ibid 35).
William of Helmsley (1)	1317	Died: passed the barony to his son, also William (2)
William (2)	1318	'exchanged the castle and barony of Wark for lands belonging to the crown in the south of England.' (Ibid 36)
Sir William Montague	1334	Constable of the Tower of London. Received grant of Wark.
	1389	Died: passed barony to his son, John
Sir John Montague	1396	'had licence to exchange the barony and castle of Wark with Ralf Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, for other lands.' (Ibid 36)
Grey of Heaton	1400	Died: passed barony to his son, also Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton.

* Note: Individuals who inherited lands from Walter Espec other than the Honour of Carham/ Barony of Wark.

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