

CAUSEY PARK CHAPEL AS A RESTING PLACE OF ST CUTHBERT?
APPRAISAL OF HISTORICAL AND FIELD EVIDENCE

A REPORT TO THE HOGG FAMILY OF CAUSEY PARK

BY

THE BERNICIAN STUDIES GROUP

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Photo: Jack Pennie of the Bernician Studies Group conducting magnetometry survey
at the site of the Causey Park Chapel 28 November 2016.

SUMMARY

Evidence for a chapel dedicated to St Cuthbert at Causey Park was brought forward by the historian John Hodgson in 1832, though he was unaware of its precise location or of the circumstances in which it was founded. Hodgson's evidence leads us back as far as AD 1240, and a document among the charters of Brinkburn Priory takes us to 1221. Hodgson also suggests that the causeway referred to in medieval documents, from which the name Causey Park is derived, was an earlier alignment of the Great North Road.

Peter Hogg contacted Bridget Gubbins of the Bernician Studies Group in the autumn of 2016 on the matter of the chapel at Causey Park; his late sister Valerie Beaumont had previously contacted Professor Sam Turner of Newcastle University. As a result of these contacts, a team of staff and students from the university carried out field walking and resistivity survey in the field known as Lady's Walk, and the Bernician Studies Group carried out a geophysical survey by magnetometry on the site thought to be that of the chapel. This report summarises the results from these three pieces of work and presents conclusions.

In a set of short documents by Valerie Beaumont and John White for the Hogg family, the claims are made:

- That the chapel was founded to mark the site of a stopping place on the journey made with the body of St Cuthbert by monks in 1069 when, in the face of the Conqueror's approaching army, they fled from Durham to the safety of Lindisfarne.
- That in 875, when the monks of Lindisfarne finally left the island, they travelled by the Roman roads, as they did again in 1069, and that is why they passed through Causey Park, the Great North Road being in origin a Roman, or even a prehistoric road.

The Bernician Studies Group has carried out a thorough appraisal of the historical evidence around these points.

Magnetometry survey has confirmed the existence of a building of some sort at the site assumed to be the chapel, but it is not possible to confirm the identity of the building as a chapel from this work; an archaeological excavation might resolve the matter. This survey has not confirmed the presence of a road line alongside the building; this could be because plough cultivation has removed traces of metalling. Evidence from field names, supplied by the Hogg family, implies the presence of a chapel at the suggested place.

- **We conclude that, though the case is not proven, there is good evidence that the chapel is in the place where it has traditionally been thought to be.**

Field walking by Newcastle University students has shown large amounts of medieval pottery in the field immediately south of the chapel site, though resistivity survey here failed to show any sub-surface features. Field walking reported in 1971 in the field immediately east also showed large amounts of medieval pottery.

- **We conclude that there is likely to have been a more extensive medieval settlement around the chapel site. This could be confirmed by further field walking and geophysical investigation.**

The case made for a chapel marking a stopping place on the 1069 journey depends on information taken from historians writing in the first half of the 19th century. These writers were far removed from the time about which they wrote, and they depended in turn on the evidence of monks in the monastery of Durham who wrote in the 12th century. Evidence of the journeys made by St Cuthbert's people after they left Lindisfarne in 875 comes from these same 12th-century authorities and also from a Durham manuscript of the 14th century which was brought to light in 1828. In evaluating the claims put forward in documents written for the Hogg family, we have to tease apart the strands of historical evidence: from the current claims; back to the historians of the 19th century; back to the primary authorities of the medieval era. We have done this with some care in this report.

The Journey of 1069.

James Raine and John Hodgson wrote of this in 1828 and 1832 respectively, and Valerie Beaumont draws information from Hodgson, but not from Raine. Both depended on writings by Symeon of Durham and Reginald of Durham in the 12th century; these are our most authoritative sources. Both Symeon and Reginald name the three overnight stopping places of the Durham – Lindisfarne journey as Jarrow, Bedlington and Tughall.

Valerie Beaumont relies on Eneas MacKenzie in 1811 for the information that the stopping places were Jarrow, *Belingham* (unidentified) and *Inghala*, which he takes to be Ellingham. *Belingham* and *Inghala* must be rejected on the evidence from Symeon and Reginald. There is no basis for the speculation that *Belingham* is Causey Park.

The idea that Causey was a mid-day stop on the journey, after the Bedlington overnight stop, was introduced by John Hodgson in 1832; the 12th-century authorities make no reference to mid-day stops. While this idea is not impossible, it is not proven; it would imply a detour inland from what further south had been a coastal route.

We conclude:

- **that Causey Park must be rejected as a 1069 overnight stopping place because this contradicts the evidence of our most authoritative sources from the 12th century;**
- **that the idea of a mid-day stop at Causey on the journey of 1069 is unproven.**

The Journeys of 875

The idea that St Cuthbert's people were able to use Roman roads in 875 is, in general terms, sound. John White extends this to 1069 to make the case for Causey Park as being on the route of that journey because the A1 Great North Road had a Roman-era precursor. His argument rests on its intersection with the Leachild – High Rochester road. This is mistaken: the intersection is with the Devil's Causeway, not any Roman-era A1; this is 10 miles north-west of Causey Park. There is no firm evidence that the Great North Road had a Roman-era origin.

- **We conclude that no argument can be made for a chapel in 1069, or of a stopping place here in 875, from Roman roads.**

Resting Places and Chapels

James Raine in 1828 quoted from a 14-century manuscript in the Durham archives written by Prior Wessingham, in which he referred to the journey of 875. Churches and chapels were built, he wrote, at the places where the saint had lain. Causey is not listed as one of the places. It does not follow from this that because there is a chapel dedicated to St Cuthbert at Causey, the saint must have rested here.

- **We conclude that the case presented for Causey Park as a chapel of 1069 rests on a circular argument.**
- **The earliest documented evidence for the chapel is from 1221 in the cartulary of Brinkburn Priory.**

PREFACE: SCOPE AND STATUS

1	<p>In the autumn of 2016 Peter Hogg contacted Bridget Gubbins of the Bernician Studies Group (BSG) on the matter of a medieval chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert on his land at Causey Park Farm. As a result of this approach, members of the group carried out a geophysical survey by magnetometry on 28 November 2016 at the location understood to be that of the chapel site. We are most grateful to Stephen Hogg for the kind hospitality and assistance he gave on that day. Peter and Stephen Hogg's late sister, Valerie Beaumont, had at an earlier date sought advice from Professor Sam Turner of the School of History, Classics and Archaeology in Newcastle University. Under the supervision of Alex Turner, archaeology students from the School had conducted a geophysical survey by resistivity and a survey by field walking collecting scatters of pottery fragments off the surface of the land immediately to the south in the field known as Lady's Walk. We have now compared notes with our university colleagues, and we have seen the pottery recovered from field walking, which is currently held within the university. This present document brings together in summary form the reports written by BSG and university personnel for these three exercises.</p>
2	<p>We are aware that the historical significance of chapel is a point at issue in the context of plans to re-align the A1 (Great North Road), particularly in relation to the suggestion that this chapel marks a stopping place on a journey made with the body of St. Cuthbert in the year 1069. Consequently, BSG has carried out an appraisal of historical evidence for the chapel and this is placed here alongside the fieldwork as Part 2 of this report.</p>
3	<p>The Bernician Studies Group is a community lifelong learning group with interests in the development of landscapes and territories in the early medieval kingdom of Bernicia; we have had previous contact with Peter Hogg over woodland matters. We stress that in our investigations and in preparing this document for the Hogg family, we have not acted in any formal capacity, nor from any sense of advocacy; we have no professional status within the planning and consultation processes. Information we bring forward and appraisals we make are presented as being, to the best of our knowledge, accurate and well-sourced on the basis of rigorous review of historical and archaeological evidence and of our own work and the work of Newcastle University colleagues in the field.</p>
4	<p>We present the document in two parts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">1: Archaeological Field Investigations, with conclusions2: Review and Appraisal of Historical Sources.

PART 1: ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

Geophysical Surveys: Introduction

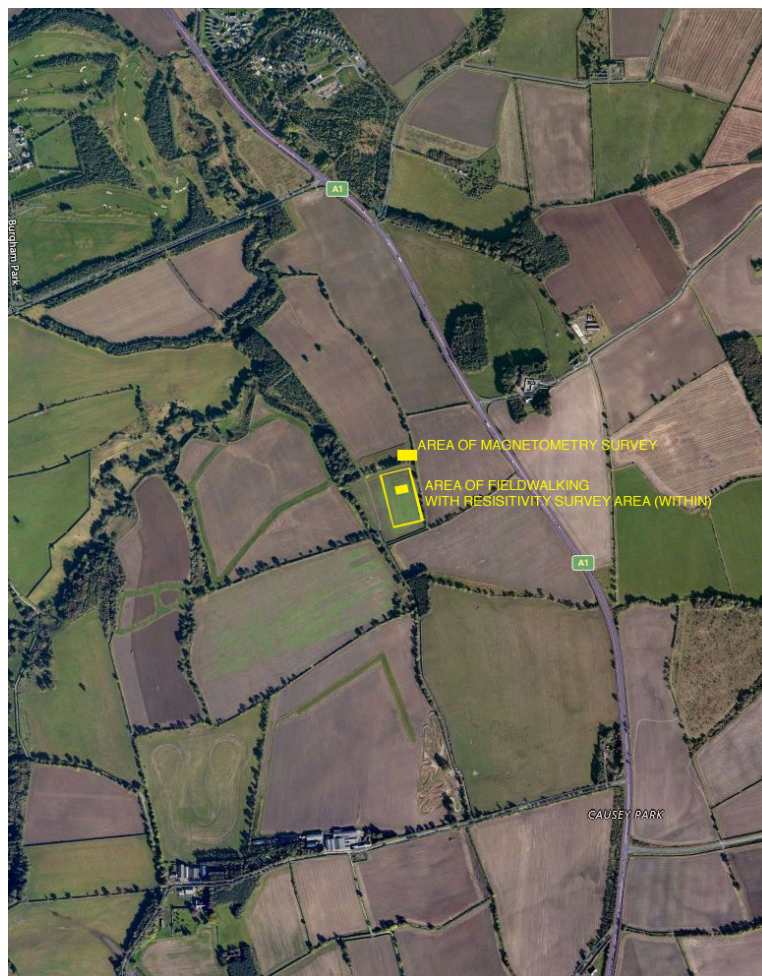


Fig 1. Location of Field Investigations. Bing Satellite Image.

- 1 Two geophysical surveys have been conducted, independently each of the other and using two complementary techniques, resistivity in Lady's Walk and magnetometry at the site thought to be that of the chapel. Geophysical techniques, as applied in archaeology, are non-intrusive ways of testing what lies beneath the ground surface; resistivity and magnetometry typically register to about a metre deep. In a farmland setting, such as the present case, this is normally sufficient to test what lies undisturbed beneath the plough soil. Both detect variations within subsoil conditions and it is in any patterning within the variations that archaeological evidence, should it survive, becomes apparent. In both cases, the surveyor takes measurements on the ground at regular intervals along and across a grid; in both, numerical values are recorded (as explained below) and points of equal value can be joined by a line, in just the same way as pressure isobars are plotted on a weather map. However, modern software packages render the numbers as a tonal range in a graphic visualisation, making interpretation much easier.

2	In resistivity survey, a pulse of electric current is passed through the ground between two probes and the instrument measures the resistance to the flow of current within the ground between the input and the receiving probes. Typically, drier ground resists current more than wetter ground. This method therefore tends to be good at detecting now-silted cuttings made into the ground, such as draining ditches, or foundation trenches of timber-built houses.
3	Magnetometry measures the intensity of magnetic charge in the earth at the survey point. It uses the property that material in the earth carries a magnetic charge derived from the earth's magnetic field. From a norm established for the survey site, values in the intensity of the field above or below this norm are measured on the very small unit of the NanoTeslar scale. Ferrous metal and features such as hearths where there has been burning tend to give relatively high readings; where earth and the ferrous particles it contains have been disturbed and replaced, such as the cases of ditched boundaries or building foundations, the values will tend to diverge from the norm because the alignment of particles in the ground is no longer regular with reference to the earth's magnetic field. This is a fast survey technique when used in the field as it is not necessary to place probes, as with resistivity; the instrument takes readings as the surveyor walks along the survey line.
4	The area investigated touches on three fields whose names, established from maps in the possession of the Hogg family, are Chapel Field to the east of the long hedge which forms the township boundary between Causey Park and Eshott, and west of the boundary, Woodhouse to the north and Lady's Walk to the south. The site understood to be that of the chapel straddles the boundary between Woodhouse and Lady's Walk. There is a difference in levels, with a fall-off of between half and one metre between higher ground on the east (Eshott) side of the boundary and the lower ground on the west (Causey Park) side. The ground here is uneven and overgrown, possibly disturbed by removal of stone; there is no stonework visible and no obvious signs of a building.

Geophysical Survey Results: Magnetometry

5	We resolved, with the limited daylight of November, to survey 7 grids of 10 metres x 10 metres with high resolution, which we then hoped could give an outline of any possible structure. We set out 3 grids running N-S each with an additional grid attached to the west of the middle grid of the same dimensions. Later we moved to the field to the east, Chapel Field, and surveyed 3 grids of the same dimension parallel to the first 3. In such a way, we were able to cover the entire site, which had possible masonry, (the first 4 grids) plus a possible previous alignment of the Great North Road east of the field boundary.
6	The bedrock geology consists of Yoredale Group-Limestone, Sandstone, Siltstone and Mudstone, sedimentary bedrock formed in the Carboniferous Period approximately 313 to 335 million years ago, covered by deposits of Till – Diamicton, a group of sediments laid down by the direct action of Quaternary Period glacial ice of variable lithology, usually sandy, silty clay with pebbles, but which can contain gravel-rich, or

	laminated sand layers of varied colour and consistency. This gives generally good conditions for geophysics.
7	<p>The site is on fertile agricultural land, used for mixed farming, animal husbandry, mainly cattle and sheep, and crops such as barley, rape and potatoes. It is common for land improvements to have taken place over the last 2 centuries both to improve drainage and increase fertility and friability. It was noted that the land had been improved and Stephen Hogg also confirmed that modern deep ploughing for potatoes had taken place in recent years particularly in the eastern field, which was used for many years for this crop. This may well have eliminated any near-surface archaeology from this area.</p>
8	<p>Field Method</p> <p>Geophysical surveying using a Geoplot FM256 Fluxgate Gradiometer began in the area with the masonry. It was felt that if anything remained of the chapel it was likely to be at the junction of the fields close to the possible old road alignment. In accordance with our standard procedure, 20m x 20m grids would align along a base line running N-S and E-W, but as this was a limited-area survey, we ensured we covered more of the feature in the area close to the edge of the field by using smaller 10x 10m grids. This required partial grid surveying and some extra data editing to eliminate the interference from fencing.</p> <p>The FM256 gradiometer was set at a sensitivity of at 0.1Nt. (NanoTeslars). Grids were surveyed in N-S aligned passes with a 50cm separation and at a sample rate of 8 readings per metre, giving $(8 \times 2 \times 10 \times 10) = 1,600$ readings per 10m grid. We used the same standards for all of the surveyed areas.</p> <p>The total number of grids surveyed was 7 4 grids of 10mx10m in the fields to the west 3 grids of 10m x 10m in the field to the east</p> <p>The total area surveyed was 700 sq metres, not including repeated work. Survey was carried out on the Mon 28/11/2016. Grids were surveyed in contiguous areas of each field in an attempt to locate all of the possible chapel. We had complete access to the whole site.</p> <p>All of the survey data are included in the raw data plots below (Fig 2). Plots are shown as, respectively Raw Data and Edited (to correct high interference from the edge), clipped and a mean grid traverse applied.</p>
9	<p>Survey Findings</p> <p>The initial survey confirms that the jumble of masonry covers an area approximately 16 metres from east to west and approximately 5 metres from north to south. Slightly wider at the east than the western end. Less stone in the central area indicates that this is a structure rather than a pile of rocks. The east to west alignment is not in itself proof that any structure was of Christian origin, but the dimensions are consistent with those of an early chapel. Against this inference, there</p>

seem to be no carved stones visible, though Valerie Beaumont has reported earlier observations of dressed stone. The survey has not confirmed the earlier alignment of the Great North Road by detection of any road metalling. This could be because ploughing for potato growing has removed any traces. Evidence that the road line ran along the present boundary hedge, and hence the position of this building along the road, rests on the comments made by the historian John Hodgson in 1832 (See part 2 Paragraph 6, below).

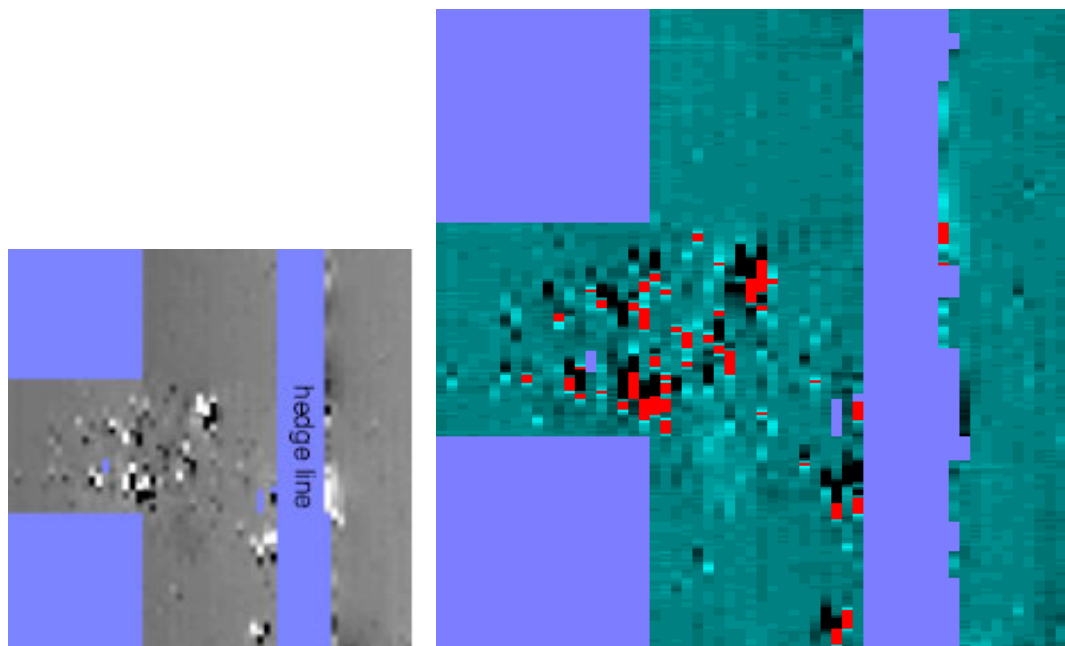


Fig 2. Magnetometry survey plot: raw data (left); Processed data clipped to ± 30 with zero mean traverse for all grids with LMS on and no thresholds applied (right).

Summary of results

- 10 Geophysical results in the first area under investigation proved fruitful. In the area of masonry deposits on the west side of the north-south field boundary, the possible outline of a structure could be discerned. The inner area could be identified, thus eliminating the idea that it was merely field clearance deposits as these are normally piled centrally and randomly rather than around a cleared area. The identity of this structure, whether a chapel or a farm building, cannot be determined from the magnetometry survey. In Chapel Field, we had hoped to pick up the line of the Great North Road. This was not successful; it may be related to the ploughing mentioned above or to the limited scope of the survey.

Geophysical Survey Results: Resistivity

- 11 A geophysical survey by resistivity was carried out under the direction of Alex Turner as part of the Newcastle University site investigations. It was designed to test for features surviving in the subsoil within the area surveyed by field walking

(Paragraphs 12-16 below). A rectangular area of 60 metres by 40 metres was set out. In the depiction of the survey results (Fig 3, below), there are signs of banding across the field, on the same alignment as its north boundary; these are possibly the result of cultivation. There are some imprecisely defined areas of lower resistance (darker) towards the east side of the survey area, and also in a band just west of centre, and among them two small areas of very low readings (black blobs on Fig 3). The areas of lower resistance might indicate human activity, but this is not certain; there is not enough clarity for any firm interpretation of these results.

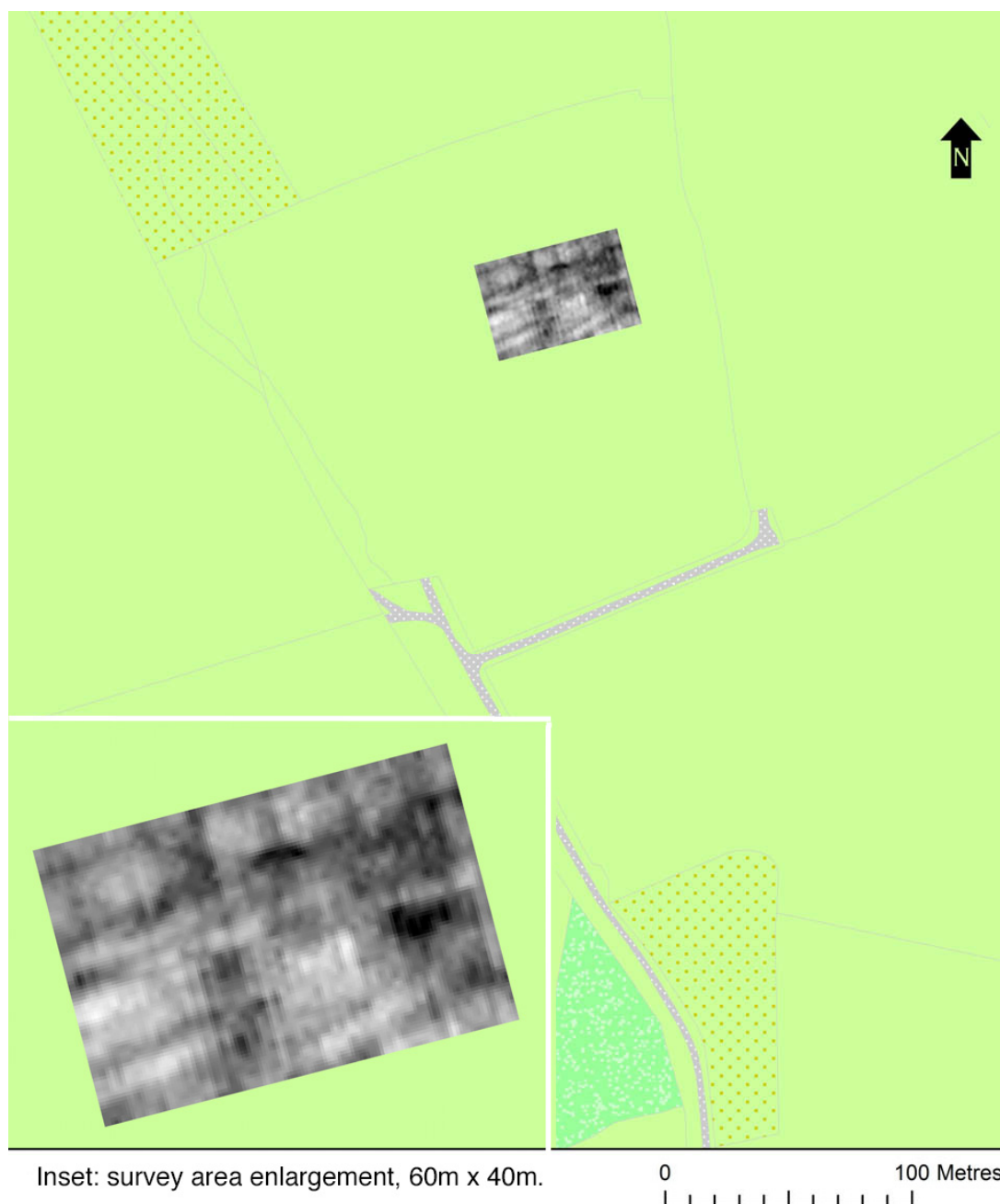


Fig 3. Resistivity Survey in Lady's Walk

Field Walking Survey Results

12	<p>Four undergraduate students, Bernarda Bocvon, Ross Cairnie, Elliot Jones and Zara Walwyn, carried out analyses of the material recovered in fieldwalking in Lady's Walk, immediately south of the presumed chapel site, and in May 2016 they prepared reports as course work under the tuition of Dr James Gerrard. The following summary is derived from these reports.</p>
	<p>Method</p>
13	<p>Field walking is a rapid, non-intensive reconnaissance technique whereby the field workers, walking systematically across an area, collect and record the positions of material visible on the ground surface. The method is most appropriate on land that has been cultivated, before the crop that has been planted has grown to obscure the view of the ground surface. Material on the surface, such as fragments of pottery, stone implements or waste flakes, or metal fragments, is a sample of that which is contained within the depth of plough soil. The normal working assumption is that this material has got into the soil either because it has been deliberately brought on to the field (perhaps along with domestic waste spread on the field during the 18th or 19th century), or because ploughing has cut into surface and near-surface archaeological deposits, turning over the material. In the latter case, a relatively dense concentration of finds within a particular area may indicate occupation deposits and structures no longer surviving at ground level. It might also be that material is imported by natural processes of soil movement, but this is not thought likely at the Causey Park site. Field walking of this sort might be followed up by the more intensive method of excavating small sample pits in the topsoil for fuller recovery and the possibility of more precise numerical analysis. In this case, there has been no further investigation of this sort. This report is therefore from surface observation alone.</p>
14	<p>The field was divided into a grid of 8 x 8 squares of 20 metres x 20 metres, with finds being bagged by grid square (Fig 4). Finds were small fragments, as normal with a surface collection; bone, glass and plastic are noted, but the predominant material is pottery sherds and this is the material reported in detail in students' reports. 4261 sherds are recorded, with a total weight of 30.26kg. Students have recorded by fabric type, noting colour, texture and, where present, glaze. While the proposed classifications are not mutually consistent, it is clear that most of the total collection is of coarse earthenwares in buff or orange/red coloured fabrics, and some grey wares and some in a harder purple fabric. Relatively small numbers of sherds with blue-and-white or cream glazes are of the post-medieval period, but by far the greatest number of sherds are of the medieval era. Of the two students who offered opinions on chronology, one calculates the percentage of medieval wares at 78%. The other student suggests too wide a date range of 12th – 19th centuries for redwares, which constitute 29.5% of the total by sherd count and 32.8% by weight, for it to be possible to derive confidently a percentage for the medieval era; but even without these (many of which could be medieval, to judge by the photograph shown in the student's report), medieval wares total more than half by sherd count and</p>

weight. This student related the finds to recognised ceramic types identified from archaeological excavations within north-east England, identifying Grimston Wares (C11-14), Scottish White Gritty Wares (Mid C12 – 15), Late Medieval Transitional Wares (C14-16) and Midland Purple Wares (C13 – 18), with tin-glazed earthenwares (late C16 – early C18) (See Fig 5 for some examples). Cream Ware and White-washed stoneware emerge in C18. While this classification scheme might be modified by a more experienced pottery analyst, it is likely to accurate in broad terms.

- 15 The pottery finds are distributed throughout the grid (except for square E8, for which none are recorded: there is perhaps some flaw in the bagging system here), with sherd counts varying between a low of 21 in square A2 and a high of 366 in square B7. Fig 4 shows the full sherd count per square. In broad terms, the densest concentrations are towards the middle and centre-west parts of the gridded area, with the lowest concentrations, of 50 or fewer sherds, along the most northerly row, Row 1, parts of Row 2 and, at the south end, Rows 7 and 8.

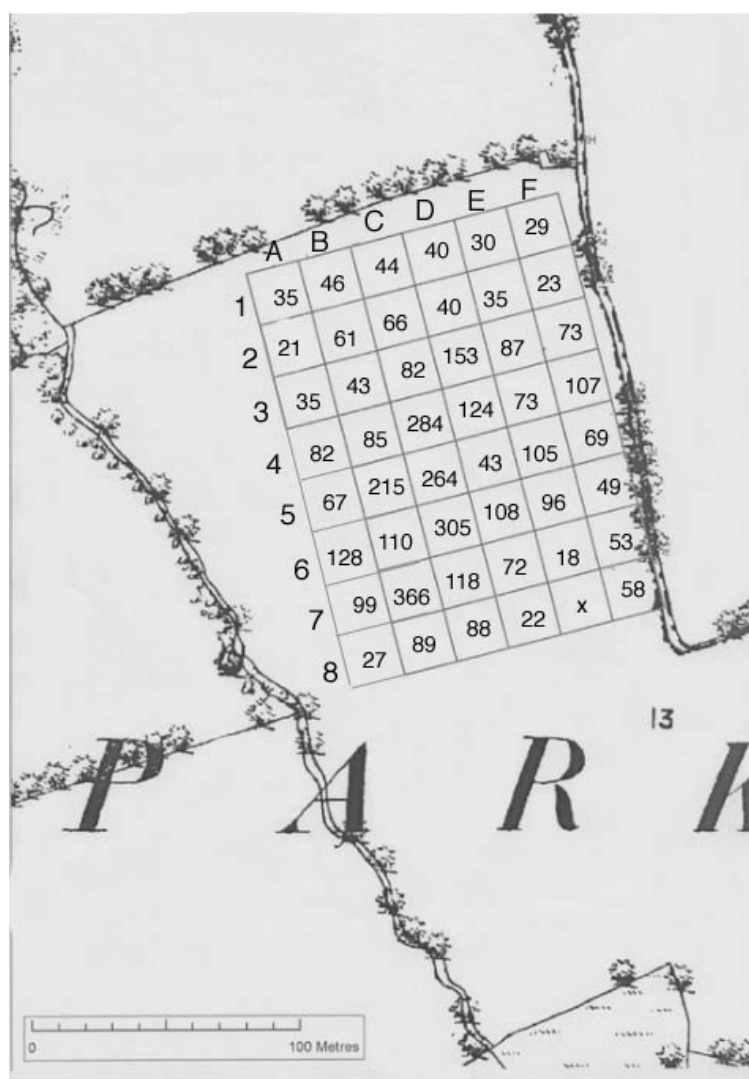


Fig 4. Field walking grid with numbers of sherds recovered per square.



Fig 5. Pottery from field walking: Grimston Medieval (left); Late Medieval Transitional (right)

Conclusion

- 16 In summary, the fieldwalking has recovered a large amount of pottery, most of it of medieval date, with some run-on into the post-medieval era. This gives a strong suggestion that there has been occupation here during the medieval period. The numbers of medieval sherds recovered and the fact of a focal area of concentration mean that there is potential here for follow-up survey at a more intensive level to test for medieval occupation. As a next stage, a set of one-metre square test pits might be hand-dug through the topsoil, with all earth sieved for full artefact recovery. A more refined density plot deriving from this might set the terms of reference for magnetometry survey to check the inconclusive results of the resistivity survey and to test for the possibility of earth-cut features remaining undisturbed beneath the plough soil.

Conclusions from Fieldwork

- 17 The historical evidence for a chapel at Causey Park is treated in Part 2 below; we should note here that none of this evidence gives a precise location, and so before conclusions can be drawn from fieldwork, we must pose this question: why is this site at the junction of three field boundaries thought to be that of the medieval chapel? First there is a confusion to be resolved. County archaeological records (the Historic Environment Record – HER) list ‘a chapel or hermitage at Helm’ (HER 11347), with grid reference NZ 1845 9619. This corresponds to the site of the geophysical surveys. Record HER 11403 refers to ‘St Cuthbert’s Chapel’, described as ‘chapel at Causey Park’, and no grid reference is given for this. Valerie Beaumont, aware of both of these records, suggested that the two refer to the same site, namely the chapel at Causey Park, and offers an explanation as to how the confusion has arisen. (See Hogg family documents 1c, as in Part 2 below.) This is an eminently sensible suggestion and it is now noted on both of the HER records: we are dealing with just one site.
- 18 An Ordnance Survey record from 1957 (cited on HER 11403) notes that ‘local enquiries revealed no knowledge of this chapel or any significant field names.’ But

	<p>the site of the magnetometry survey is undoubtedly that of a structure of some sort. Even before this work, Valerie Beaumont had observed that ‘there are many stones lying in the hedgerows nearby, or just underneath the surface in the hollow, and surrounding the hollow; most/many of these stones show chisel types of marks / ‘dressed’ faces’. (Document 1c, as cited above.) The identification of this as the chapel site comes from within the Hogg family; as Valerie Beaumont expresses it: ‘we, as a family, having owned the farm for 150 years, know where the chapel site is’, and she supports the identification by reference to field names, Lady’s Walk Field, Woodhouse Field, and Chapel Field (as cited in paragraph 4 above), the three fields at whose intersection the site lies.</p>
19	<p>We know also that there is a wider context around this site. This is established from the findings of the Newcastle University students’ field walking in the field to the south, along with some 100 sherds of medieval pottery from fieldwalking, first reported in 1971, in Chapel Field, to the east of the north-south boundary, within 20 metres of the presumed chapel site (listed as HER11362). Although the resistivity survey did not show clear evidence of subsoil-cut features, the density of surface finds of pottery in Lady’s Walk makes the case for more intensive investigation here. Added to this is the statement from Valerie Beaumont that her grandfather, Percy Hogg, ‘is reported as stating that foundations/stones are evident when ploughing in all three fields, and this is still true today’.</p>
20	<p>Two strong conclusions arise from the evidence of the fieldwork:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • that there is likely to be a medieval settlement hereabouts, within these fields. Its extent and its status are not known; gridded fieldwalking across all three fields, with test pitting to follow up, would probably resolve the extent, at least approximately; magnetometry survey over the full extent suggested in this way would test for evidence of lay-out and structures. • that within this wider area, at the intersection of the three fields, are the remains of a stone building of such a quality as to include dressed stone. The geophysical surveys have not proved that this is the chapel known from historical documentation; it would be unlikely that it could be so proven from such survey techniques. The family’s identification, expressed by Valerie Beaumont, of this as the chapel site is supported by circumstantial evidence. It might be possible to confirm this by excavation; this would depend on what remains beneath the surface.

PART 2: REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF HISTORICAL SOURCES

Hogg Family Documents

1	In a portfolio of short documents written by and for the Hogg family, and supplied to us by Peter Hogg, the claim is made that the chapel of St. Cuthbert on Causey Park Farm marks the site of a stopping place on the second night of a journey of December 1069, when members of the Community of St Cuthbert in Durham fled with the body of their saint from the advancing army of William the Conqueror to the safety of the island of Lindisfarne, the original home of St Cuthbert's monastic community abandoned in 875. If correct, this would lend a particular status to the chapel site. Our principal purpose here is to review this claim, and the secondary purpose is to review other statements made in these documents. These are listed as 1a – f in the listing of sources below; for convenience, we will refer to these as 'Hogg family documents'.
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Historiographic Context

2	Hogg family documents use as authority for some of their statements the work of historians active in the first half of the 19 th century, but referencing is not always explicit and the first task has been to establish from where these documents have derived information. 1c cites MacKenzie & Dent 1811 and Whellan 1855. It is apparent in 1c that some information derives from Hodgson 1832, though it is not cited explicitly; in fact, this is the primary authority for the 1069 claim. Hodgson himself (Part 2, Volume 2, p.131), while adding opinion of his own, also takes material, either in direct quotation or in summary form, from Raine 1828. We have to take account of what Hodgson has taken from Raine in order to situate both in their appropriate historiographic contexts. As far as we can tell, Hogg family documents have not made use of Raine 1828, and nor of Raine 1852, and consequently they are not aware of what is original to Hodgson and what derived from Raine. Whellan 1855 is a directory and it adds no more information relevant to the case (though it records the purchase of the land by John Hogg in 1854).
3	MacKenzie & Dent, Raine and Hodgson are all secondary sources, written long after the events they describe, and they depend on manuscript authorities of the medieval period. Of particular significance for us in Raine 1828 is that he quotes from a manuscript of Prior Wessington of Durham, from the early 14 th century; Hodgson summarises on this point from Raine; Hogg family documents (1d and e) introduce matter which seems to depend on Hodgson, though it is not referenced; 1b then picks this up from 1d and e. Our primary authorities, those from which Raine and Hodgson both derived their information, are manuscripts from two 12 th -century Durham writers, both monks of Durham Priory, Reginald in <i>De Admirandis</i> , composed at some time in the second half of that century, and Symeon in the <i>Libellus</i> , written by 1109. (These are short titles used for convenience; see the source listing below for full titles.) Raine 1828 draws on Reginald for his account of the 1069 flight. Reginald's text is available to us in two printed editions of the Latin from the 19 th century. Raine himself, for Surtees Society publications in 1835, used a 12 th century manuscript in

	<p>Durham, which he judged to be written only a little later than Reginald's original (this no longer survives); Thomas Arnold, for the Rolls Series in 1882, used a manuscript of the Harley collection in the British Museum (and now in the British Library). For our purposes, we need Raine's edition, for Arnold's text has less detail of the 1069 flight. For the <i>Libellus</i> of Symeon, which also gives information from 1069, we now have the benefit of a modern critical edition of 2000 by Professor David Rollason of Durham University, with text, translation and commentary, and with variant readings of the text given in footnotes. In addition to these authorities, we have drawn also on another Durham text, the <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i>, compiled, in the view of its most recent editor, in the 11th century. This too is now available in a modern critical edition of 2002 by Ted Johnson South. This gives no information on Causey Park or the 1069 journey, but we have used it in support of an argument about the route taken. Full bibliographic details are listed at the end.</p>
4	<p>In summary, there are three layers in the historiography, and we must tease these apart in appraisal of claims about the Causey Park chapel. These are:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1: Hogg family documents in the top, most recent layer <i>These depend upon –</i> 2: Historians and antiquarians of the 18th- 20th century, the middle layer <i>Who edited and interpreted –</i> 3: Primary textual authorities of the medieval era, the base layer.</p> <p>In evaluating any claim in layer 1 at the top, we have to work down to the base layer 3 for our most authoritative information. We have, therefore, at the end listed sources according to these three layers, with a more extended middle set than used in Hogg family documents. Also included in the base layer of primary authorities are two monastic cartularies in printed editions, Newminster, edited by J T Fowler, and Brinkburn, edited by William Page. Newminster is used to draw an analogy.</p>

The Medieval Chapel and its Location

5	<p>Evidence for the presence of a medieval chapel dedicated to St Cuthbert at <i>La Chause</i>, Causey Park, is well established. Hodgson 1832, (Part 2 Vol 2, pages 131-2) cites primary textual authorities. In Hogg family documents (1a and c), Valerie Beaumont brings forward a number of references, though without attribution. Key points relevant to the present enquiry, established from Hodgson are:</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">i) The chapel of St Cuthbert <i>super le Cause</i> was in the second year of the reign of Henry VI (that is 1423-24) in the advowson of Henry Percy of Athol and his wife Elizabeth, proprietors of the barony of Mitford. (Page 164)</p> <p style="margin-left: 40px;">ii) In 1240 <i>La Chause</i> was held in alms from the barony of Mitford by Joseph the Chaplain. (Page 163)</p> <p>The cartulary of Brinkburn Priory (pages 61-61) records judgement made on a claim brought in the court of the Archdeacon of Northumberland in 1221 in relation to the chapel of Causey (<i>de Calceto</i>) and its chaplain Andrew in relation to tithes payable to the mother church of Felton. Hodgson does not refer to this; he might not have been</p>
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	<p>aware of it. This is the earliest documented reference to the chapel here, and its association with Felton places it under the patronage of the Bertram family who held the barony of Mitford. How early the chapel was founded is not known from primary historical source material; our key task here is to evaluate the opinion expressed by Valerie Beaumont (Hogg Family Documents 1a) when she writes ‘we believe that the chapel was built following the flight of the monks with the relics of St Cuthbert in 1069’.</p>
6	<p>Valerie Beaumont also writes (1a) that Causey Park is named after a causeway which, she suggests, might have originated as a prehistoric trackway (and an earlier alignment of what is now the A1 Great North Road), forming a parish boundary passing through a field called ‘the Bigg’, north of the chapel site. She supports this by reference to a document of Il Henry VI (1423-4) which refers to a chapel of St Cuthbert <i>super le cause</i>. In this, she follows Hodgson 1832, 131-2 who referred to this document and who wrote ‘Causey Park has its name from an ancient paved way, which ran along its eastern boundary, and on the line of the present great north road. Formerly it had a chapel within its precincts’. Hodgson, however, was unable to locate the site of the site of the chapel: ‘where it stood, or how or for what purpose I was endowed, I have found no distinct account’. But Valerie Beaumont has brought forward new information on this point in the form of a set of field names known to the family as evidence of its location (see Part 1 above, Paragraph 4).</p>

The Journey of 1069 and its Stopping Places

7	<p>In two of the Hogg family documents (1a and c), Valerie Beaumont treats this matter. We can summarise her case thus:</p> <p>In 1a: ‘We believe that the chapel was built following the flight of the monks with the relics of St. Cuthbert in 1069... I have found a date of Sunday 13 December 1069 when the monks would have passed by on their way from Bedlington where they stayed the night before. The chapel may have existed before 1069, if St Cuthbert had preached there in his lifetime – but the 1069 date has been cited as the reason for building/setting up the chapel. The monks stayed the next night in Ellingham on their journey and a chapel dedicated to St Mary was built there in Hugh Pudsey’s (de Puiset) time as bishop of Durham (1153-1195).’ This seems to imply that Causey Park was a mid-day stop. Although, in this informal email, she has not cited any source, it is evident that she takes the idea of a mid-day stop from Hodgson 1832; but in referring to Ellingham as the next overnight stop, she is not following Hodgson, but relies on MacKenzie & Dent 1811. We pick up both of these below from paragraph 9 below. Her unsourced suggestion that Cuthbert might have preached there in his lifetime has no support in any of the earliest authorities from the first half of the 8th century, these are: the Anonymous <i>Life of St Cuthbert</i> written by a monk of Lindisfarne at some time between 698 and 705; Bede’s <i>Life of Cuthbert in Prose</i>, written in 720; Bede’s <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> of 731. All were written within living memory of Cuthbert.</p>
8	<p>In 1c: Valerie Beaumont relies on MacKenzie & Dent 1811 for the statement that around 875, ‘King Gudred of Northumberland and King Alfred granted, as a joint act,</p>

	<p>that wherever St Cuthbert's remains should rest, there should be an inviolable sanctuary'. She then adds the thought 'probably for this reason, wherever the remains of St Cuthbert rested, chapels and churches were built', citing some examples. If we trace this through to our base level of primary textual authorities, we see that this cannot be correct. The primary evidence on this point is Symeon's <i>Libellus</i>, book 2 chapter 13 in which the saint, appearing in a vision to Abbot Eadred, gave instructions on terms to be put to king Guthred, amongst them <i>ut ecclesiam meam tutum profugis locum refugii constituat ut quicumque qualibet de causa ad meum corpus confugerit, pacem ... habeat</i> (that he should constitute my church as a safe place of refuge for fugitives so that whoever flees to my body for whatever cause may have peace). The <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> in Section 13 also refers to the refuge. The idea that Kings Guthred and Alfred acted together in this matter is mistaken and seems to arise from conflating section 13 of the <i>Historia</i> with the Alfred material of sections 14-19. The context of this negotiation between Guthred and St Cuthbert's people is their having established the episcopal see and the saint's tomb-shrine at the church of Chester-le-Street. This is the meaning of 'my church': the church at Chester-le-Street where St Cuthbert's body was enshrined; it is not a generalised reference to any or every church or chapel associated with St Cuthbert, as MacKenzie & Dent lead Valerie Beaumont to suppose. (See the reference to 875 below, and the connection between resting places and chapels at paragraphs 18-21.)</p>
9	<p>From Valerie Beaumont we must work back to her source, MacKenzie & Dent 1811, and to Hodgson 1832 whom she seems to have used for the causeway (paragraph 6 above), though not for the stopping places; Hodgson, as noted already (paragraph 2), derives information from Raine 1828. We begin with Hodgson 1832, page 132. After reference to the ancient paved way and citing medieval authorities for the chapel (as in paragraph 5), Hodgson ventures the opinion, and it is simply an opinion unsupported by evidence, that 'probably this place was honoured with a chapel on account of the monks of Durham having rested there in their flight from that place, with the body of St. Cuthbert, to Holy Island in 1069'. In a long footnote at this point (footnote <i>m</i>), he refers to one of our primary authorities, Symeon, for the information that the party rested the first night at Jarrow, the second at Bedlington, the third at Tughall, arriving at Holy Island on the fourth. He then introduces information from Raine 1828 (to which we shall return in paragraph 21) and finally rounds off the footnote by concluding 'I will suppose that the chapel of St. Cuthbert had been built <i>super le Causey</i> in honour of our great saint having halted there on the third day's flight from Durham'. This introduces the idea that Causey Park was a mid-day stop. Back in his main text, he builds support for this by reference to a chapel of St. Cuthbert at Offerton as a convenient mid-day stop half way between Durham and Jarrow; he notes Bedlington's status as patrimonial property, at least 11 miles from Causey Park; and, observing that the monks in flight were carrying 'not only the body of St Cuthbert, but also a great store of riches, relics and ornaments... it seems probable enough that this was their first resting place on the day in which they travelled from Bedlington to Tughall'.</p>
10	<p>As we have seen, Hodgson has the authority of Symeon of Durham for the night time stops; he has no authority from Symeon, nor from Reginald, and nor does he take the</p>

	idea from his contemporary, James Raine, for any mid-day stops or for Causey Park as a resting place. The language of his text, 'probably' and 'I will suppose that', is the clue that this is an idea of his own. Hodgson is the first of our authorities to refer to Causey Park, this in 1832, and it is from him that Valerie Beaumont makes her claim.
11	James Raine treats the 1069 flight on pages 62-65 of his 1828 study of St Cuthbert. He begins by inviting us to puzzle over a conundrum: 'in a case which might appear to require expedition, it seems, at first sight, strange, that the progress of the fugitives was so slow'; but he then explains that the journey was made in mid December. He uses as his primary authority the text of Reginald's <i>De Admirandis</i> . In his own edition of this text printed in 1835, at the point at which Reginald names Lindisfarne as the destination of the journey, Raine adds a footnote (fn 2, page 30) to indicate a note inserted in the margin of the manuscript in the same handwriting as that of the main body of the text: <i>Primo die in G[iruum], secundo in Betlig[tun], tertio in villa in loco quae Tughall dicitur</i> . In this, Raine expands two abbreviations (within the square brackets) to read 'on the first day in Jarrow, on the second in Bedlington, on the third in the vill which is called Tughall'. In his 1852 study of North Durham, Raine again names Jarrow, Bedlington and Tughall as the stopping places, adding the suggestion that the chapel at Tughall 'was built upon the spot where the saint had rested for the night' (pages 72 and 336).
12	We can test the validity of Raine's expansions of the two abbreviations (Tughall needed no expansion) by a cross-reference to Symeon's <i>Libellus</i> in the critical edition by David Rollason. Rollason has established that Symeon wrote this work between 1104 and 1109. Even at the upper limit, this is still just about within living memory of the events of 1069. He takes as his principal witness of Symeon's text a manuscript written in Durham, Manuscript C (one of three 12 th century manuscripts of this text) before 1115, and corrected by Symeon himself (see Introduction, pages xvii – xliv). The text, in Book 3 Chapter 15, referring to the stopping places reads: <i>et prima nocte in ecclesia sancti Pauli in Gyruum, secunda in Betlingtun, tercia in loco qui Tughala dicitur mansit</i> . (And on the first night he rested in the church of St. Paul in Jarrow, on the second in Bedlington, on the third in the place called Tughall.) Rollason notes that Manuscript F (another of the 12 th -century manuscripts) reads <i>Bethlingtun</i> in place of Manuscript C's <i>Betlingtun</i> , a minor difference in spelling. This confirms Raine's extension of the two names. We have the authority of the <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> , in section 13, for the information that Jarrow came into the possession of St Cuthbert's church as part of a grant of all the lands between the rivers Tyne and Wear made by King Guthred in the 880s, and, in section 21, that Bedlington and its dependencies came into the holdings by a purchase made by Cutheard, who was bishop between 901 and 915.
13	Our primary authorities, Symeon and Reginald, agree in naming Jarrow, Bedlington and Tughall as the overnight stopping places. Despite this, MacKenzie & Dent in 1811 wrote (page 402) 'they rested the first night at <i>Gyrum</i> , or Jarrow, the second at <i>Belingham</i> , the third at <i>Inghala</i> , now Ellingham'. They cite no primary authorities, though, in general terms, their narrative follows that of Symeon and Reginald. Nor do they cite earlier historians, but it is possible that they took this detail from William

	<p>Hutchinson, author of <i>A View of Northumberland</i> published in 1776 (volume 2 page 149). If so, we need to ask from where did Hutchinson take these names. He was aware of the Tudor-era antiquarian John Leland, whose <i>Collectanea</i> been recently re-published with a new preface and index by Thomas Hearn in 1774. But this cannot have been his source, for all Leland wrote of the 1069 flight was <i>prae timore Gul. Mag. Corpus Cuthberti Lindisfar: transferunt, et paulo Dunelmum reducunt</i> (out of fear of William the Great they transport the body of Cuthbert to Lindisfarne, and after a short time they bring it back to Durham) (1774, Vol. 2, 331); there are no details of the journey. We have been unable to discover Hutchinson's or MacKenzie and Dent's authority for <i>Belingham</i> or <i>Inghala</i>, but what is for sure is that it is at variance with the primary authorities of the 12th century. Valerie Beaumont relies on MacKenzie & Dent for her definition of the route and its stopping places. She then proposes (source 1c) that 'the chapel site at Causey Park is, we believe, the <i>Belingham</i> site. <i>Belingham</i> could be the name of the deserted village' (this is located close to the chapel site;). 'Perhaps it could even be a version of Burgham (just to the north of Causey Park – with a documented deserted medieval village)'. There is no good argument from place names for any of these suggestions: Neither <i>Belingham</i> nor <i>Inghala</i>, of Hutchinson and MacKenzie & Dent, are acknowledged in the most authoritative Northumberland place name study by Alan Mawer in 1920, nor in any other study, as far as we know; there is no evidence to link the otherwise unknown <i>Belingham</i> with Causey, where we have the names <i>La Chause</i> and <i>Le Cause</i> from medieval sources (Paragraph 5, above); and no onomastic evidence on how Burgham could be derived from <i>Belingham</i>.</p>
14	<p>Given the evidence from both Symeon and Reginald, our two primary authorities, we must reject MacKenzie & Dent's <i>Inghala</i> and their reading of <i>Belingham</i> instead of <i>Bet(h)lingtun</i>, and we must reject Valerie Beaumont's proposal that Causey Park is <i>Belingham</i> and the second overnight stopping place. The three overnight stopping places on the flight to Lindisfarne of December 1069 were Jarrow, Bedlington and Tughall. Our 12th-century authorities give no detail of the route taken on the return journey to Durham in 1070: we have no basis on which to speculate, despite John White's statement in Hogg Family Documents 1d (in which he mistakenly gives the date of return as 1104).</p>
15	<p>This still leaves open the possibility that Causey Park was a mid-day stop on the third day, as Hodgson suggests. There is no firm evidence on this from our primary authorities (as noted in paragraph 10). If this were so, Hodgson has the party on the Great North Road, about to cross the River Coquet at Felton. Yet his own suggestion of Offerton as the first mid-day stop has taken the party on to a north-easterly course, away from the Great North Road. Either they turned off the Great North Road (here a former Roman Road) at St. Cuthbert's church in Chester-le-Street, six miles north of Durham, or they headed north-east direct from Durham. Jarrow is a down-river, estuarine crossing of the Tyne, with a coastal route onwards towards Bedlington, some 3 miles east of the Great North Road. Where after Bedlington and why would Hodgson have them come back on to this road, for the Causey Park halt? It might be more plausible to suppose that the party kept towards the coast and a crossing of the Coquet downstream at Warkworth where we know, on the authority</p>

	<p>of the <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> (section 8), that the Lindisfarne monastery held an estate, <i>Werceworthe cum suis appendiciis</i> (Warkworth and its dependencies) as a gift from King Ceolwulf when he resigned the kingship to enter the monastery. This was in the year 737. Tughall, the final stopping place, is only a mile inland from the sea, and some 3-4 miles east of the Great North Road. In a study of the Lindisfarne-Durham holdings, Eric Cambridge in 1989 picked up a comment from the <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> (section 5) that St. Cuthbert acquired a property at Crayke, some 10 miles north of York, 'so that he should have a <i>mansio</i> there whenever he should go to the city of York, or return from it'. (We can think of a <i>mansio</i> as being a motel.) He goes on to show how the positioning of the <i>mansiones</i> (the plural form of the word) on or close to the Roman road between York and Chester-le-Street provides a set of staging posts available to personnel travelling on monastery business. North of the River Tyne, beyond the Gateshead – Newcastle crossing point, we have no Roman road to guide us, but Bedlington, Warkworth and Bamburgh, where we know from Bede's Ecclesiastical History (Book 3 Chapter 17) that Bishop Aidan had a residence (in the earliest days of the monastery, before 651), continue the route north to Lindisfarne on a coastal alignment from the River Tyne crossing at Jarrow, as our authorities attest for the 1069 journey. In Cambridge's 1989 study, in which he showed a map of routeways used by St. Cuthbert's people by bringing together the positions of the <i>mansiones</i> and the find spots of Anglian sculpture, the line of the Great North Road through Northumberland is notable for its absence.</p>
16	<p>Valerie Beaumont made a persuasive argument on road alignments (source 1b) from her detailed knowledge of local topography. The east boundary of Causey Park township is a now-superseded alignment of the Great North Road, with Causey Park chapel alongside. The boundary takes an upwards 'V' kink in its alignment, pointing north-east towards the farm at Helm. This, she suggests, is the beginning of a road branching off from the main road and towards Eshott Castle. Near Broomhill (3 miles north-east of Eshott Castle), the former Alnwick – Morpeth local authority boundary has a south-west facing 'V' towards Shaw and Eshott Castle. She proposes that these join up. This is a valuable insight, meriting close examination in the field. From Broomhill, an old road line leading directly north to Warkworth still survives as a footpath. This proposal gives us a road line from Causey Park to Warkworth, and this would answer the case for the 1069 crossing of the River Coquet having been at Warkworth, though a crossing of the River Coquet at Felton would seem more likely if Causey Park had been the mid-day stop. A route through Ellington and Widdrington, or even hugging the coastline along Druridge Bay towards Amble, would have better geographical rationale if the Coquet crossing was at Warkworth.</p>
17	<p>Our conclusions on the stopping places of the 1069 journey are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) The suggestion that Causey Park is an overnight stopping place is at odds with our primary authorities of the 12th century, and it has no support from our 19th-century historians: it must be rejected. ii) The idea of Causey Park as a mid-day stop on the third day comes from Hodgson's unsupported suggestion in 1832. While it cannot be disproven, there is no firm evidence for it. The case probably depends on whether the party crossed the Coquet at Warkworth or at Felton.

Roman Roads and the 875 Wanderings of St. Cuthbert's Community

18	<p>We deal now with the question, raised in Hogg Family Documents 1d and e, of whether Causey Park was a stopping place on any other journeys with the body of St. Cuthbert. The only ones for which there is secure historical evidence, and which involved travel north of the River Tyne, are the wanderings in the period between the Community abandoning their home on Lindisfarne in 875 and the establishment of the bishopric and the saint's shrine in Chester-le-Street in 883. John White introduces this in Hogg family documents 1d. He makes some observations on Roman roads, suggesting that these were the routes used by St. Cuthbert's people. He does not seem to be suggesting an 875 origin for Causey Park chapel, but he expresses the view that 'an original Roman road shadowing the A1 but west of it goes through your land' in order to explain why Causey Park features in the 1069 journey, that is, that the party was using a Roman precursor of the Great North Road. Valerie Beaumont picks this up in Hogg family documents 1b in her discussion of road alignments (we have referred to some part of this in paragraph 16) when she writes of the Causey Park township boundary as being 'the old Celtic/Roman/Medieval A1 Road'. The primary authorities for the 875 wanderings from Lindisfarne, across to the Cumbrian coast, the Solway, and eventually to Chester-le-Street are Symeon's <i>Libellus</i> (Book 2 Chapters 6 and 10-13) and (with less detail) the <i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> (section 20). I refer to these in Paragraph 20 below, after dealing with the matter of the Roman roads.</p>
19	<p>John White seeks a route for St Cuthbert's people in 885 to reach Cumbria. He refers to a Roman-era precursor of the A1 as 'it goes through your land and that a major spur is around there leading from <i>Alvana</i> or Learchild as it was called, to High Rochester', and thence to Hadrian's Wall and a route west. This Learchild – High Rochester road is indeed a Roman road, number 88 in the standard reference study and gazetteer of Roman roads in Britain by Ivan Margary, but it is not a 'major spur' from a Roman-era A1 precursor around Causey Park. The road junction at Learchild is some 10 miles north-west of Causey Park, and the junction is not with a Roman-era A1, but with the road known as the Devil's Causeway (Margary number 87). This runs from around Portgate (the Dere Street crossing through Hadrian's Wall, near Corbridge), to the south bank of the River Tweed at Spital. Henry MacLaughlan surveyed this in the mid-19th century and published his findings in 1854. If the alignment of the road from High Rochester as it approaches Learchild were projected on towards the Great North Road, they would intersect nearly 5 miles further east at Alnwick. John White's general case, that Roman roads were available to St. Cuthbert's people, is sound, but not his particular argument for associating Causey Park with the Learchild – High Rochester road. Nor is there strong evidence for a Roman-era precursor of the Great North Road north of the Tyne crossing at Newcastle (the end point of Margary Number 80) and on through Northumberland, despite the assumptions of Valerie Beaumont and John White in documents 1b and 1d. The timing and circumstances around the emergence of the Great North Road are not well understood; fortunately, argument around Causey Park chapel does not depend, in one way or the other, on a Roman-era precursor.</p>

20	<p>To return to the travels of 875 – 883. Symeon presents a pitiful spectacle as ‘they travelled through all parts of Northumbria always without a fixed home, and like sheep fleeing from the jaws of wolves’ (Book 2 Chapter 10). Yet Symeon gives no details on how they reached the west coast, nor on how they worked their way back to Chester-le-Street: we cannot trace any routes from Symeon. James Raine, on page 71 of the 1852 study of North Durham makes a wry comment that ‘if tradition may be believed, there are few places in the north of England or the south of Scotland that were not honoured by the saint’, and that ‘conjecture...would, without the aid of tradition, feel itself justified in believing, that in each of these places, the monks had for a while lingered during their banishment from home’. But he continues immediately to propose confirmation of tradition and conjecture by reference to a source he had first introduced in his 1828 study. This is a manuscript in the Durham Cathedral holdings (B iii 30) written by Prior Wessington in the early 14th century with reference to the 875 wanderings. The prior wrote <i>ubi dicti episcopus et abbas... aliquando quietatem habebant, plures ecclesiae et capellae in honore Sancti Cuthberti posterius sunt erectae</i> (wherever the said bishop and abbot [that is Bishop Eardwulf and Abbot Eadred, the leaders of St. Cuthbert’s party] had found shelter, many churches and chapels were afterwards built in his honour). He then gave the listing of places, and James Raine transcribed these. Most were in Cumbria; six are named in Northumberland: Norham, Carham, Bedlington, Elsdon, Haydon Bridge, Beltingham.</p>
21	<p>Prior Wessington is the earliest authority for the statement that churches and chapels were built where the saint had rested; Raine introduced this into historical scholarship in 1828; Hodgson took the idea from Raine in 1832. We cannot turn this around and argue from Wessington that where a chapel exists, the saint must have rested; that would be a circular argument. Hodgson was pushing towards this reasoning in writing ‘probably this place [Causey Park] was honoured with a chapel on account of the monks of Durham having rested there... with the body of St. Cuthbert’ (1832, page 132; and see paragraph 9 above); Valerie Beaumont (Hogg family papers 1c) did likewise when she wrote that ‘wherever the remains of St. Cuthbert rested, chapels and churches were built’ and then went on to write ‘the chapel at Causey Park was built because we believe the site was used as a resting place for St. Cuthbert’s remains’.</p>
22	<p>Our conclusions on Roman roads and the 875 wanderings are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) No medieval authorities give evidence for a chapel at Causey Park in this context; Prior Wessington’s listing is evidence against. ii) The case for a chapel at Causey Park argued from Roman roads is mistaken.

Overall Conclusion, 1069 and 875

23	<p>Our overall conclusion is that the case for a chapel at Causey Park deriving from travels of 1069 or 875 has no evidence from primary authorities to support it. It depends on the circular argument that, because there is good authority that chapels were built where St. Cuthbert's body had rested, it therefore follows that where there is a chapel, there he must have rested. This is invalid reasoning.</p> <p>The earliest evidence we have for the chapel and a chaplain is from 1221.</p>
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Addendum: If not a resting place, then why?

24	<p>This final note anticipates a criticism that may be brought against the arguments given here: that if we question the case for Causey as a 1069 stopping place, we should offer some other explanation for the Causey Park chapel. There is no founder's document surviving in which we can read an explanation, and so what follows is necessarily no more than a possibility. The chapel could have been created as an act of personal or family piety from within the Bertram family, who held the lordship. If so, this would have been a charitable act similar in principle, though smaller in scale, to Baron Bertram's endowment of Brinkburn Priory, or that of his neighbour Baron Ranulf de Merlay of Morpeth who endowed Newminster Abbey. In both of these cases, unlike that of the Causey chapel, the founders' documents are preserved in the collections of charters of the two houses, Newminster, as edited by J T Fowler in 1878, and Brinkburn, as edited by William Page in 1893, No. 1. There were many such endowments made in England. A context and motivating influence for such an act of charity from within the Bertram family could have been the return of some of St Cuthbert's people (though without the remains of the saint himself) to Northumberland with the founding of the priory on Holy Island, as an off-shoot of the main Durham monastery, in the 12th century. This suggested origin cannot be proven, but it is possible and it would not be inconsistent with such historical evidence as we have.</p>
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SOURCE LISTING

1: Hogg Family Documents

- 1a Valerie Beaumont email to Dr Sam Turner of Newcastle University. Undated.
- 1b Valerie Beaumont email to Katy Derham. 9 May 2005
- 1c Valerie Beaumont *Application for Scheduled Ancient Monument Status for St Cuthbert's Chapel Site at Causey Park, Northumberland*. Undated.
- 1d Letter from John White. Addressee not named. Undated.
- 1e John White *Chapel in grounds of Causey Park*. Undated. Appends the letter 1d.
- 1f *The Chapel of St Cuthbert at Causey Park, Morpeth, Northumberland*. Stephen Hogg (though unsigned); summary statement derived from information in 1a – 1e. Undated.

2: Antiquarians and Historians C18 - 20

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- Anonymous: *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (C11). Edition and translation, T Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*. Brewer, 2002.
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