

Fig. 9.2 Domesday villas in Bowland.

PRE-CONQUEST SETTLEMENT IN THE FOREST OF BOWLAND

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Bowland is an area which has been virtually ignored by historians, antiquarians and geographers. Though to the south of Cumbria, properly designated, Bowland too was subject to Scandinavian pressures and presence, and an examination of the early settlement history can contribute usefully to studies more specifically restricted to Cumbria. Recent work by Porter¹ concentrated on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century enclosures leaving the early material relatively untouched; prior to this, the area had received very little serious attention. This is because geographically Bowland belongs to the western side of the Pennines, but administratively had been part of Yorkshire from the medieval period until recent boundary changes transferred it to Lancashire. It is still a rural area which, following the Norman conquest, was formally designated 'forest', with all the rights and obligations attached to it being formalized and written down, becoming, in effect, the letter of the law, fixed, fairly rigid, and unlikely to change quickly. This formalization and subsequent rigidity is very important because, as a result, pre-Conquest settlement patterns, land use, tenurial obligations and, indeed, the pre-Conquest landscape itself, became fossilized, surviving in recognizable form for many centuries after the Conquest.

In the sub-Roman period, the Bowland area was part of the British kingdom of Rheged, which stretched from Galloway to the Solway, and then south to the Mersey.² To the east was the district of Craven (which still bears its British name) and the kingdom of Elmet, centred on Leeds. It became part of Northumbria when Rheged was absorbed by this kingdom, and was held by Earl Tosti at the time of the Conquest.

The Domesday entry for Bowland is tantalizingly brief, merely giving a list of vill names, together with their assessment for geld purposes [Fig. 9.1]. Its wording, however, suggests that Bowland had been organized as a 'shire' or 'multiple estate', as it is clearly stated that the vills listed 'belong to Gretlinton', implying that they were appendant to, and administered from, this particular vill. This grouping of *caput* and appendant vills is one which has been identified by both Jolliffe³ and Jones⁴ as being characteristic of a form of territorial organization which has its roots in the pre-Anglian past.

DOMESDAY ENTRY FOR BOWLAND

Folio 332 Lands of Roger the Poitevin
In Gretlintone Earl Tosti had 4 carucates of
land for geld. In Bradeforde 2 carucates,
Widitun 2 carucates, Baschelf 4 carucates,
Mitune 4 carucates, Hamereton 2 carucates,
Slateborne 4 carucates, Badresbi 2 carucates,
Neutone 4 carucates, Bogeurde 2 carucates,
Esintune 3 carucates, Radun 2 carucates,
Sotelie 3 carucates. These lands belong to
Gretlintone.

Fig. 9.1 Extract from the translation of the Domesday Folios for Yorkshire (W. Farrer, *Translation of the Yorkshire Domesday*, V.C.H., ii (1912), 289–90).

IDENTIFICATION OF PRE-DOMESDAY SETTLEMENTS: *BADRESBI AND BATTRIX*

One would expect the multiple estate grouping to include appendant hamlets as well, but these are missing from the Domesday record. It should not, however, be assumed that they did not exist. Identification of the Domesday villas,⁵ most of which can be readily connected to modern nucleated settlements [Fig. 9.2], has shown that it is probable that much of the present settlement pattern was in existence at the time of the Conquest. Clues to this can be found in the identification of such villas as Badresbi, which cannot be immediately identified with a modern nucleated settlement. Maxwell⁶ has identified it as the present farmstead of Battersby Barn (GR.SD75/706521),⁷ and Beresford⁸ as the hamlet of Batrix (GR.SD65/66515), both of which lie reasonably close to Newton, the vill which is preceded by Badresbi in the Domesday listing. A closer examination of the evidence suggests that both these identifications are incorrect. Battersby Barn does not appear on the First Edition Ordnance Survey map,⁹ and oral evidence suggests that it was built in the first years of this century.¹⁰ Batrix would appear more probable, as a hamlet of this name survived until quite recently, but place-name evidence would lead one to query this identification too.

Although the first element of both 'Badresbi' and 'Batrix' is the same, being derived from the Old Norse personal name *Boovarr*,¹¹ the second elements are quite different, respectively *-by* a farmstead,¹² and *-erg shieling*.¹³ Etymologically, these two elements are quite distinct, and a *-by* name would not evolve into an *-erg* name, or vice versa, over a period of time, so that even though 'Batrix' and 'Badresbi' might have been linked at some point in the past in the person of 'Boovarr' or his descendants, these two place-names must refer to two quite distinct settlements.

The place-name evidence is borne out by an examination of the documentary occurrence of these names. Batrix does not appear until the first half of the fourteenth century,¹⁴ some 300 years after Badresbi

appears in the Domesday folios, and then both names appear concurrently in the Kirkstall Coucher Book,¹⁵ and in other contexts which illustrate their separate identities, until the end of the sixteenth century when 'Badresbi', or 'Battersby' as it later became, virtually disappears as a settlement name, only Batrix continuing to the present.

This discarding of Batrix as a possible 'Badresbi' is supported by a further examination of the Domesday listing. From Hammerton, the 'farmstead on the cliff', the route would have led across the Hodder and down the Skaithe to Slaidburn. The place-name *skeið*, an Old Norse name meaning a track or race track,¹⁶ testifies to the antiquity of this stretch of road, its survival pointing to its continual use as a track since the name was given in the pre-Conquest period. From Slaidburn, the Domesday listing indicates that Badresbi should be found between there and Newton — not after Newton and before Bogeurde, as would have been the case with Batrix. The only place of any size between the two villis is the Dunnaw estate and documents do indeed suggest that Badresbi lay here. Tempest Slinger, who purchased the Manor of Battersby in 1587,¹⁷ apparently changed the name to 'Dunnaw', later references to the Manor of Dunnaw often being annotated 'alias Battersby'. It seems likely that the nineteenth-century buildings which replaced earlier structures, together with the gardens, mask the site of Domesday Badresbi.

Although Batrix must be discounted as the Badresbi of the Domesday folios, one cannot ignore it as a probable pre-Conquest settlement. The *erg* element is a distinctive one, and has been accepted as applying to a specific phase of settlement-naming by Norse immigrants at the end of the ninth century.¹⁸ Indeed, Gillian Fellows-Jensen has suggested that places with names in *érgi* in the British Isles were possibly already in existence before the arrival of the Vikings. It is very unlikely that any new post-Conquest settlement would be given this archaic name-form, though the survival of this *erg*-name through to its first documentary reference as 'Bathersarghes' in the fourteenth century certainly indicates a continuity of usage, and indeed of settlement, over a period of some 400 years.

R. Welldon Finn¹⁹ has suggested that 'no Inquest for the district was held nor returns demanded from the landowners. Assessments could . . . be obtained from documents connected with a geld levy'. There is a real possibility that the Grindleton entry was a summary, and any one of the vill assessments could be composite geld ratings for several settlements paying under one name. The possibility of a link between Batrix and Badresbi has already been discussed, and the two carucates of the Domesday folios entered against the latter could well cover both these settlements.

Batrix, however, is not the only *erg* name appearing for the first time in the post-Conquest period; John de Lacy, who held Bowland in the thirteenth century, granted lands called Gamellsarges (Old Shielings) to the monks of Kirkstall in 1220. If one accepts the probability that Batrix was a pre-Conquest settlement, one must also accept that other settlements with similar name-types, such as Gamellsarges²⁰ and Browsholme,²¹ which contains an Irish personal name, could well have

been part of the settlement pattern of Bowland in the mid-eleventh century, together with other hamlets whose name-types cannot be linked specifically with this early period.

Batrix, Gamellsarges and Browsholme were situated in what was later designated the 'Forest of Bowland', held by Earl Tosti and possibly having quasi-royal status at that time. The forest areas are thought to have been immune from geld, and there are no formal accounts of any forest in Domesday. The omission of certain hamlets from the folios can be explained, therefore, either by their non-geldable status or by the fact that the entry was a summary, with listed vill names covering more than one name.

VACCARIES: THE SURVIVAL AND INTENSIFICATION OF AN EARLIER CATTLE-REARING ECONOMY

Earlier research has shown that the *erg* place-names were often held by places which in the post-Conquest period were *vaccaries* or cow-farms.²² These were part of large stock-rearing enterprises operated with the object of supplying draught oxen for the lord's household and for sale, and dairy produce which was at the disposal of the *vaccarii* or vaccary keepers. The vaccaries were stocked by the lord but supervised by vaccary keepers, aided by a group of herdsmen or *pastores*. Overall control of the vaccaries was in the hands of the *Instaurator* (an important official in the lord's household), assisted by a sub-storer and a clerk. It can be shown that this type of organization could well be the survival of older tradition, being the assumption of control of an already established and flourishing cattle-rearing economy.

There was a Celtic system of stock-leasing known as *daer-rath*²³ in which the chieftain leased out stock to tenants. Under *daer-stock* tenancy the chief gave cattle, mainly draught animals, to the tenant in direct proportion to the honour-price of the chief. It could be forced upon no one, probably because of the 'free' nature of the tenants who were often kinsmen of the chief, and was a contract freely entered into, but not terminable at will. The tenants paid a low rent, and they were subjected to a series of fines should they desire to end the contract or be neglectful in observing the conditions of tenure. If the daer-stock tenant and his family continued to hold stock for three generations they became *adscriptus* to the lord, not bound to the soil but bound to receive stock in daer-stock tenancy.

This system could explain how the Lacy family in Bowland was able to operate such a cattle-rearing enterprise. That the vaccary system of the medieval period contains within itself elements of a 'right' rather than a simple system of upland farming adds credence to this theory. The size of herd quartered in each of the vaccaries was about sixty-five animals. Considering the area of pasture available, and even allowing for the difficulties of overwintering large numbers of animals competing for herbage with deer and other game, the size of herd seems very small and far from sufficient to exploit the full potential of the area. The size of herd in

each vaccary controlled by the Lacys in Blackburnshire, where a parallel system of *demesne* exploitation was practised, was similar to that of Bowland, suggesting a limiting factor other than that of the potential of the land. In short, it is possible that in respecting an ancient system of private relationships, the Lacys were operating a vaccary system subject to encumbrances which dated back to before the time of William the Conqueror.²⁴ The Inquisition Post Mortem of Edmund de Lacy, dated 1258, certainly hints at a 'right', stating that 'there can be seven vaccaries' in the forest of Bowland.²⁵ In fact, the Lacy vaccaries in the late thirteenth century numbered fifteen, but when the location of the animals is examined one finds 'dual' herds in some areas. There were two herds in Over with Nether Browsholme, two in Sykes with Trough, and two in Harrop with Nettlecarr, for example. Could this be a deliberate imposition of extra stock on families bound by tradition to accept it?

The settlement patterns in the vaccaries would appear to support this theory. When present boundaries and field patterns are examined, the pastoral origin of the various settlements is usually very evident. The vaccaries of Harrop and Nettlecarr afford good examples [Fig. 9.3]. They occupied the lands now attached to the farmsteads of the present hamlet of Harrop Fold (GR.746493), together with the stinted hill grazing of Harrop Fell. There is provision for stock collection from the fell by means of a driftway ('D'), essentially funnel-shaped and leading into the hamlet

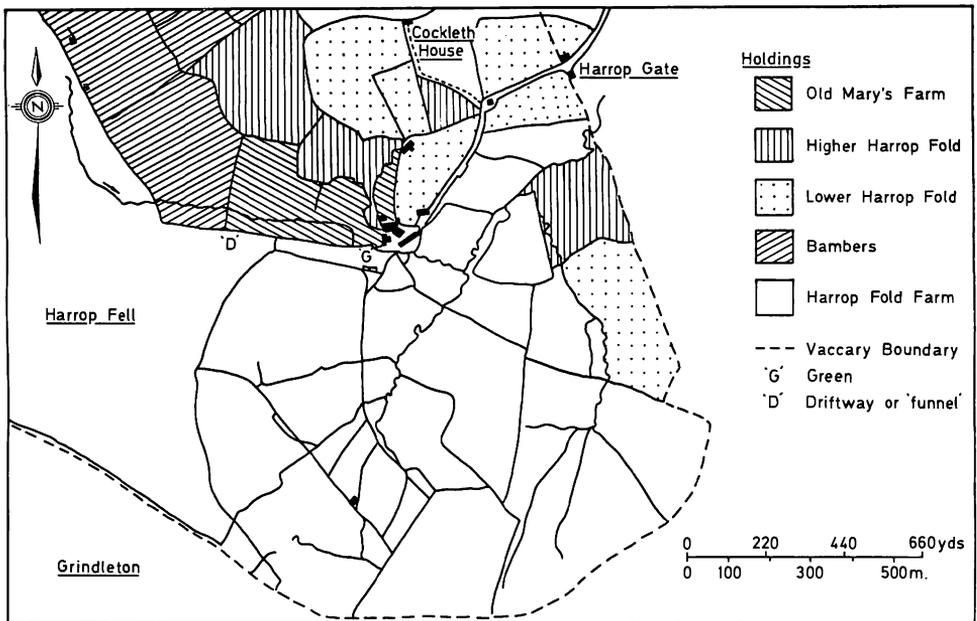


Fig. 9.3 The vaccary of Harrop with Nettlecarr.

nucleus. Indeed, this driftway leads into an area ('G') registered to this day as common pasture.²⁶ It resembles a green, even though it has never apparently been formally described as such. The area possesses functional characteristics similar to those identified by Thorpe²⁷ and including general convenience for feeding, watering and milking stock close to the farmsteads, the prevention of livestock straying into arable plots, the ease of collection of animal dung and the protection of livestock from wild animals and marauders at night. The 'green' at Harrop Fold would appear to come within the second of Thorpe's two classifications, namely greens which carry rights of pasture only.²⁸

The form of this green settlement would seem to resemble the *Sackgasendorf* (*Sackgasse* or *Sackdorf*),²⁹ which is a fairly irregular form, a main cart-road or cattleway from the fields leading into the settlement and terminating in a small oval or circular green around which the original farmsteads clustered. The relationship of the buildings to the green in Harrop Fold would seem to confirm this identification, as the homesteads fronting on to the area differ from the peripheral dwellings such as Cockleth House in that they alone have rights of pasture on Harrop Fell.

Landholding patterns in Harrop with Nettlecarr seem to suggest, however, that the hamlet can be divided into two distinct parts, a northern section with intermingled holdings and a southern section largely held by Harrop Fold Farm. The northern section would appear to be the location of the pre-Conquest arable and meadow area held by daer-stock tenants and farmed from the hamlet now called Harrop Fold. It has co-aration features and its homesteads, centred on a green, have common pasture rights. The Harrop Fold Farm holding, although having its buildings proximal to the green and having similar rights of common pasture on Harrop Fell, does not exhibit the same fragmentation of holdings as the northern section. The non-fragmented section could indicate the take-over of part of the old grazings by the Lacys, who then imposed a second herd there. The two herds which appear in the Instaurator's accounts as those of Harrop and Nettlecarr vaccaries may have been supervised *in toto* by a resident keeper (perhaps holding the precursor of Harrop Fold Farm) who was appointed by the Lacys, the actual physical work being carried out by the descendants of the original daerstock tenants there. That a similar pattern appears in the landholdings of Sykes with Trough [Fig. 9.4] where, as in Harrop, two herds were quartered, adds credence to the idea that the De Lacy contribution to the exploitation of these uplands in the post-Conquest period might be more correctly described as intensification rather than innovation, in a way which was controlled to a large extent by ancient custom.

TENURIAL SERVICES AND RENDERS: EVIDENCE OF A PRE-ANGLIAN TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

Ancient custom would also appear to be the major characteristic of other tenurial obligations identifiable in early Bowland. The only vill for which

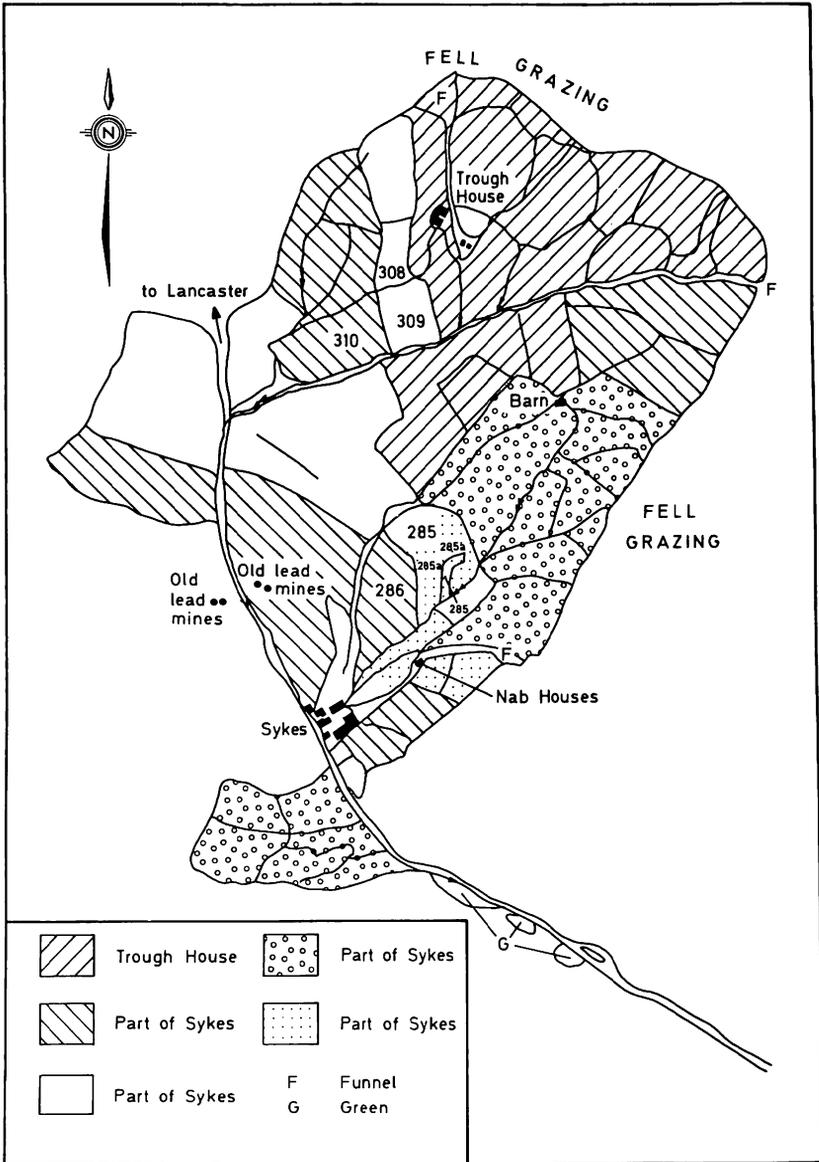


Fig. 9.4 The vaccary of Sykes with Trough.

detailed information is available is Grindleton³⁰ where the services are given quite precisely as being required of each bovate in bondage. This would seem to preclude their falling into the category of 'slight predial

work', or *praecariae*, typical of other 'shire' groupings — a personal obligation imposed on all classes and divorced from the bovate. The actual services required in Grindleton clearly fall into this category, however, as each bovate was required to make three cartings per year to Pontefract, the principal *caput* of the Lacy holdings in northern England, and to plough one day and mow nine days in the autumn, thus reflecting accurately the seasonal pressures in a largely pastoral area. It is necessary, therefore, to reconcile these apparently conflicting pieces of evidence.

If one examines the commuted rents for these bovate lands the problem ceases to exist. The rent per acre was *4d.*, precisely the same as the rent for the assart land. An identical rent per acre was paid by both the bovate and assart lands in Slaidburn and Bradford, and Geoffrey de Meanley, a free tenant by charter, also paid *4d.* per acre — indicating that the services of carting, ploughing and mowing were implicit in this rental and had been the obligations of all classes before commutation. That identical amounts were required from the inhabitants of the vills listed adds credence to the theory for, as Jolliffe stresses, the services required usually showed great uniformity in vills under a common lordship.

Food rents are rather more elusive to identify but if one examines the mill renders for the area, some £16.6s.8d., and compares this with the revenue from other sources, it seems very probable that through the medium of the mills a comparatively high produce rental, possibly in the form of flour and malt, was being levied on the inhabitants of Bowland. The *farm* paid by the vaccary keepers should also be considered. This payment, *lactagio* or *white rent*, enabled the vaccarii to dispose of the dairy produce instead of handing over the butter or cheese for the lord's consumption or disposal. When the benefits accrued from the payment of *lactagio* are examined — the right to homestead sites, arable and meadow land, access to extensive upland pasture for the vaccarii, the pastores and their own herds — it would seem that here too former food renders had been commuted into money payments.

One cannot be sure that the payment known in Wales as *commorth*, and in Northumbria as *cornage* or *corngeld* was ever paid in Bowland. The payment for rights of pasture related to shares in the arable land had originated as a food or other tribute, subsequently commuted in terms of cattle, and still later commuted into a money rental. In practice, this means it is extremely difficult to identify unless specified by name. The payment of *16d.* per bovate, in addition to the amount of *4d.* per acre already discussed, could represent a *cornage* payment, being the equivalent of one *ore* of pence.³¹

Evidence of pre-Conquest forms of jurisdictional service is equally elusive. There is one reference to the 'rents of the thegns' in the Comptopus of 1304/5,³² and a similar reference in 1323/4 to 'the rent of the thegns in Bowland and Blackburnshire'.³³ The brevity of these entries makes it impossible to deduce what services had previously been implicit in the commuted rentals. Whatever their character, it is certain they had their origins in the pre-Conquest period.

Forinsec rights of pasture, indicated in 1242,³⁴ seem to have been akin to those which allowed intercommoning on extensive uplands in the pre-Conquest period and, as such, can safely be taken as another indicator of the network of obligations which had their origins in the pre-Anglian territorial organization of Bowland.

Another obligation of all the Bowland tenantry, not just those within the metes of the forest, was that of *puture*, or maintenance of the lord's foresters. This obligation is found in other northern forest areas such as Amounderness, Blackburnshire, Copeland, Burgh on Sands, Furness and in parts of Westmorland. It has close parallels with the Welsh system of *cylch* in which the lord's representatives, the Serjeants, could claim keep for themselves or their retinue, or could accept money instead.

That so many of these obligations, *precariae*, food renders, *puture* (or *cylch*), *cornage* and *thegnage*, together with *forinsec* services, can be identified as surviving in medieval Bowland seems to indicate that the area contained elements which were pre-fuedal, and which had much in common with the shire structure of old Northumbria, and indeed with the network of obligations which supported the Welsh princes in the medieval period. It seems likely, therefore, that these obligations originated in a period before the break with Wales and the North took place in the seventh century.³⁵ This implies that a British population had inhabited Bowland then; this population surviving the Anglian conquest. It is necessary, therefore, to seek evidence for such a British population.

A BRITISH POPULATION IN POST-ANGLIAN BOWLAND?

Bowland was apparently part of the lands named by Bishop Wilfrid at the dedication of Ripon as having been deserted by the British clergy 'in caetlaevum' — which has been identified as Catlow, in the Hodder valley near Slaidburn.³⁶ This evidence would suggest there was a considerable British population in Bowland, sufficiently large to warrant receiving the ministrations of British clergy, in an area sufficiently productive to merit inclusion in a grant intended to support the ministry of Bishop Wilfrid.

It would seem appropriate at this point to return to the model for the evolution of rural settlement put forward by Jones for the pre-Conquest period. Early multiple estates had physical characteristics as well as legal ones. There was probably a common Brittonic legal tradition of considerable antiquity³⁷ and the number of vills listed in Domesday Bowland appears significant. There are thirteen listed, an identical number to that making up the multiple estate of Bangor in the medieval period, fitting exactly the legal requirements of the upland estate or *maenor wrthtir*.³⁸ The presence of a hill-fort, strategically placed to act as a refuge in time of trouble, was one of the most important physical characteristics, with the importance of the relationship between hill-fort and ecclesiastical centre being well attested.³⁹ It appears that the Bowland multiple estate, although one unit, embraced both an upland and lowland grouping paired in a similar way to that of the Jones model. The lord's chief *llys* lay at

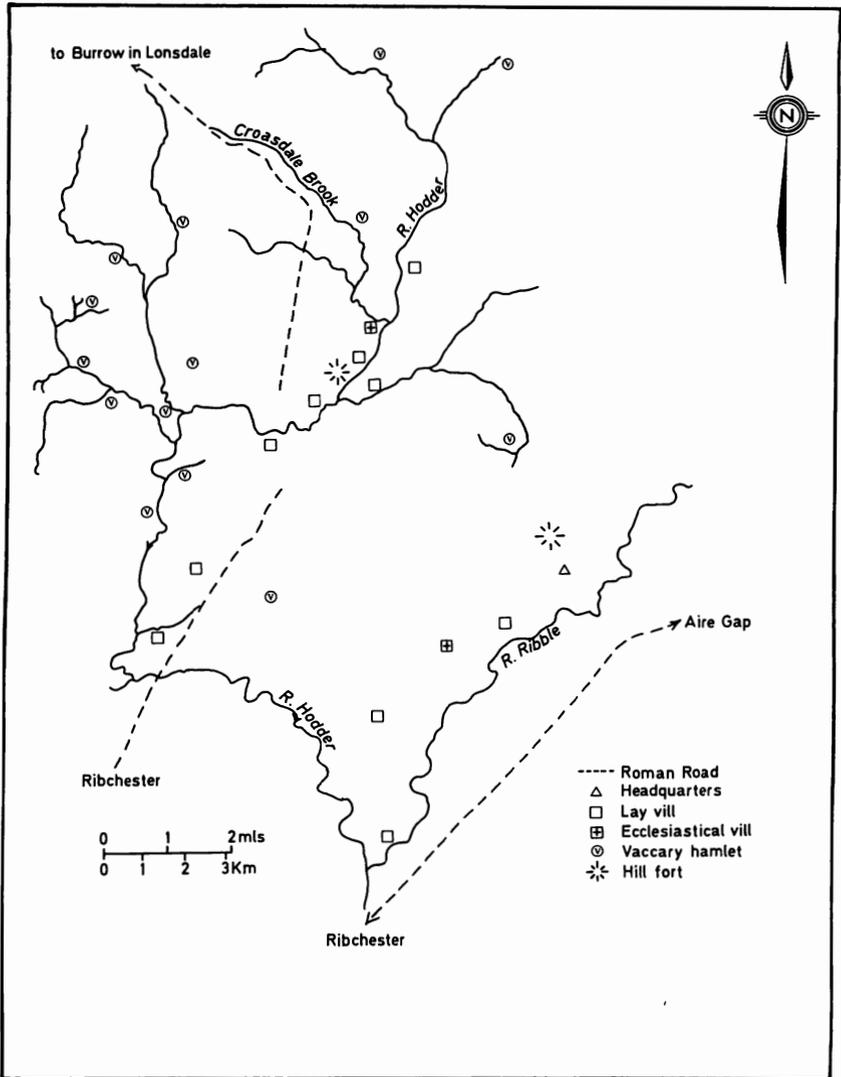


Fig. 9.5 The Bowland multiple estate.

Grindleton, the medieval *caput*, with its hill-fort at Simpshey and its ecclesiastical centre at Waddington, with its later St Helens church dedication. The subsidiary headquarters were near Slaidburn, with a hill-fort at Dunnow and the ecclesiastical centre, if not at *Caetlaevum*, in Slaidburn itself [Fig. 9.5]. There is evidence for a pre-Conquest Christian site there, with a sculptured stone suggested by Collingwood as Anglo-Scandinavian,⁴⁰ but possibly having Irish connections, being found near the church. The Fouscales Stone, found in a wall near the farm of the same

name, has carvings thought by some to have affinities with the Whithorn school;⁴¹ and stone carvings on and in the present church, if not themselves dating from the British period, suggest that there is a very long-standing local native tradition.

It seems strange, therefore, that positive place-name evidence for the presence of Britons in the area should be so sparse [Fig. 9.6]. Gelling⁴² has noted, however, that 'in an area where Celtic place-names are few, a

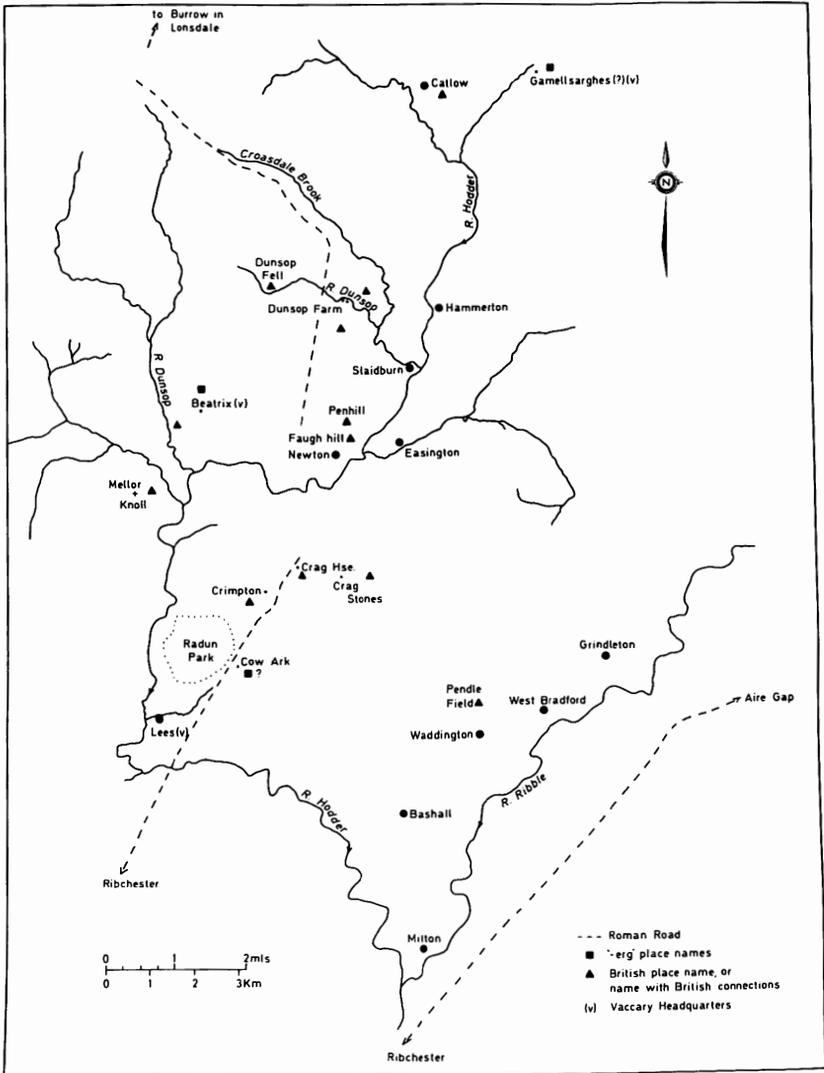


Fig. 9.6 British place-names in Bowland.

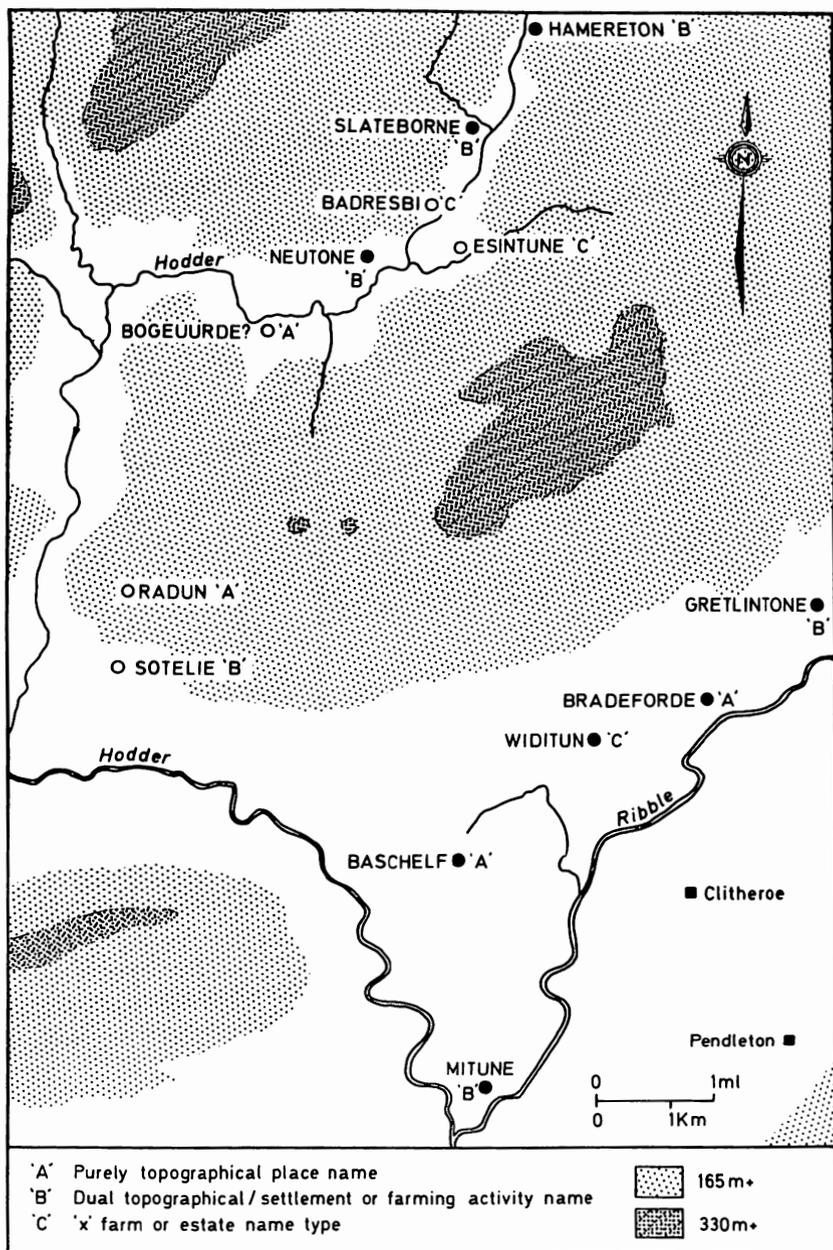


Fig. 9.7 Relative chronology of Domesday place-names in Bowland.

special significance is added to the names one does have'. It could be expected that the Hodder would have a pre-English name, in common with many of our larger rivers, but the 'Dunsop' names might be thought significant. One of these refers to a minor stream, an affluent of the Croasdale Brook, which joins the Hodder at Slaidburn. Gelling⁴³ comments that 'if the Celtic name for a tiny stream comes through in an area such as this [i.e. an area with few Celtic names], there may be something special to account for it'.

That this British population apparently left such a small contribution to the place-nomenclature could be explained in a variety of ways. It could be postulated that the British population was far too small to affect the later linguistic development of the area. This seems quite reasonable until confronted with evidence for the counting of stock in 'Primitive' Welsh on Bowland farms within living memory.⁴⁴ Even given the basic conservatism of farms this survival over some 1300 years would seem to imply a larger population survival than is apparent from the place-names.

The lack of early documentation might also help to explain the apparent lack of British place-names. Smith⁴⁵ puts forward the theory that 'certain place-names which first appear only in late documents sometimes appear to be of a type best explained as Celtic, and though they provide only the most imperfect evidence of Celtic occupation, they at least suggest that a somewhat stronger element might well be hidden in much of the later nomenclature'. One cannot overlook, too, the possibility that re-naming of settlements took place. When examining the place-names of an area it is impossible to tell how many of these have replaced older British names and how many represent entirely new settlements made for the first time.⁴⁶ Of the names listed in Domesday for Bowland there is one Norse name; the rest are English [Fig. 9.7]. Gelling⁴⁷ has suggested a relative chronology for these names in the light of her researches in other areas. It is suggested that the purely topographical names (Group 'A') are earliest, those with a dual topographical/settlement or farming activity name (Group 'B') are later, while those which mean 'X's farm or estate (Group 'C') are most recent.

There is a growing body of opinion which regards the Group 'C' name-type as an indicator for the taking over and re-naming of an already established settlement by an incoming aristocracy, who either imposed themselves on, or took over, an associated estate organization leaving the original population in occupation but no longer in control. The evidence already examined for the survival of so many British customs, tenures and early settlement patterns, all within a multiple estate or shire-type territorial organization until well after the Conquest, suggests that such a take-over did take place. 'Customs die hard, especially when they acquire a legal and financial sanction and they are inherent in the soil'.⁴⁸

Notes

¹ J. Porter, *The Reclamation and Settlement of Bowland, with Special Reference to the Period A.D. 1500-1650*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of London (1973).

- ² G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The Pastoral Structure of the Celtic Church in Northern England* (1973) 2.
- ³ J. E. A. Jolliffe, Northumbrian Institutions, in *English History Review* (1926) CLXI. 1–42.
- ⁴ G. R. Jones, The Multiple Estate as a Model Framework for Tracing Early Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement, in *L'Habitat et les Paysages Ruraux D'Europe* (1971) 251–67.
- ⁵ M. C. Higham, Deserted and Shrunken Settlements in Bowland, in *Lancashire Archaeological Bulletin* (1976) 1. 3. 34–38; and *The Forest of Bowland: A Study in Continuity, with particular reference to the Dark Age and Medieval periods*. Unpublished M.A. thesis. University of Hull (1978) 14–29.
- ⁶ I. S. Maxwell, Yorkshire: The West Riding, in H. C. Darby (ed.), *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (1962) 12.
- ⁷ Grid references in the text are all based on the 1: 50,000 First Series Sheet No. 103, Blackburn and Burnley, unless otherwise stated.
- ⁸ M. W. Beresford, from the records of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group, quoted by J. Sheail, County Gazetteer of Deserted Medieval Villages known in 1968, in *Deserted Medieval Villages: Studies* (1971) 211.
- ⁹ The First Edition 6" Series Ordnance Survey maps for the area were surveyed in 1847.
- ¹⁰ Lt-Col L. C. King–Wilkinson informed the writer that he remembered being taken to see the barn being built in the early years of this century.
- ¹¹ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part Six* (1961) 204.
- ¹² A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part Seven* (1962) 166.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* 184.
- ¹⁴ It appears as 'Bathersarges' in the Minister's Accounts of 1341: R. Cunliffe Shaw, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster* (1956) 501–02.
- ¹⁵ W. T. Lancaster and W. P. Baildon (eds), *The Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey*, Thoresby Society VIII (1904) CCCCXXIX. 361.
- ¹⁶ A. H. Smith (1961) *op. cit.* 244.
- ¹⁷ M. Greenwood and C. Bolton, *Bolland Forest and the Hodder Valley* (1955) 19.
- ¹⁸ A. H. Smith (1961) *op. cit.* 45–47, discusses the Norse Irish settlement in some detail. See also Gillian Fellows-Jensen, A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan Word in English Place-names, in *Journal of the English Place Name Society* (1977–78) x. 18–25.
- ¹⁹ R. Welldon Finn, *The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday*. Borthwick Papers No. 41 (1972) 29.
- ²⁰ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part Six* (1961). 215.
- ²¹ *Ibid.* 209.
- ²² M. C. Higham, The *Erg* names of Northern England, in *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* (1977–1978) x. 7–15.
- ²³ T. P. Ellis, *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages* (1926) 209–10.
- ²⁴ E. Baines (ed. J. Croston), *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*. Vol. 1 (1888) 56, gives details of the Domesday entry for West Derby Hundred, in which the Lacy family also had *vaccaries*. This could be thought to support the possibility of pre-Conquest rights and obligations suggested. One of the entries states:
- 'If anyone desired to take up the lands of his deceased father, he paid for it 40s. as a relief.'
'If he was not willing to pay this, the king took both the land and all the father's cattle.'
- Could this be a reference to *daer-stock* tenancy, in a somewhat adulterated form?
- ²⁵ W. Brown (ed.), *Yorkshire Inquisitions of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I*. Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Assoc. Record Series (1891) XII. 48.
- ²⁶ West Riding County Council Commons Registration CL65. March 1969.
- ²⁷ H. Thorpe, The Green Village in its European Setting, in *The Fourth Viking Congress* (1961) 100.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.* 101.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* 87–88.
- ³⁰ W. Brown (1891) *op. cit.* 47–48.
- ³¹ R. B. Smith, *Blackburnshire* (1961) 63, discusses this quoting E. B. Demarest, Inter Ripam et Merham, in *English Historical Review* (1923) xxxviii and Carl Stephenson, *The firma unius noctis* and the Customs of the Hundred, in *English Historical Review* (1924) xxxix. 161–74.

³² P. A. Lyons (ed.), *Two Comptots of the Lancashire and Cheshire Manors of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, XXIV and XXXIII, Edward I.* Chetham Society (1884) 183.

³³ W. Farrer (ed.), *Lancashire Inquests, Extents and Feudal Aids, Part II, 1310-1333.* Lancashire and Cheshire Record Series (1907) LIV. 202.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 156.

³⁵ W. Rees, *Survivals of Ancient Celtic Custom in Medieval England, Angles and Britons.* O'Donnell Lectures Cardiff (1963) 168.

³⁶ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland, Part I* (1967) xxxv-vi and footnote xxxviii.

³⁷ K. Jackson, *Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria, in Angles and Britons.* O'Donnell Lectures Cardiff (1963) 66.

³⁸ G. R. J. Jones (1971) *op. cit.* 252.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 252; and K. Hughes, in an introduction to A. J. Otway-Ruthven *A History of Medieval Ireland* (1968) 17.

⁴⁰ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (1927) 151-52.

⁴¹ A. Peel, *A Short History of the Parish of Slaidburn* (1922) 9.

⁴² M. Gelling, *The Evidence of Place-Names* (Paper given to the Medieval Settlement Seminar, University of Leeds School of History, 14th February, 1973) p. 3.

⁴³ M. Gelling *loc. cit.* 3.

⁴⁴ Taped oral evidence held by the writer and recorded by Mr R. Waterworth, whose family farmed in Bowland for many generations. Mr E. Harrison Snr. of Harrop Hall Farm, formerly of Easington Manor Farm, also informed the writer that his father had counted in Primitive Welsh.

⁴⁵ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part Seven* (1962) 28.

⁴⁶ K. Jackson (1963) *op. cit.* 77.

⁴⁷ M. Gelling, letter to the writer, October 1971.

⁴⁸ W. Rees (1963) *op. cit.* 164.



Plate XII Kentmere Hall, Westmorland. A 14th-century pele tower with an attached farmstead dating from the 16th century.

Plate XIII Town End, Troutbeck. A statesman farmer's house from the 17th century with characteristic round chimney stacks.

