

ART. II.—*Inglewood Forest*. Part IV.—The Revenues of the Forest. By F. H. M. PARKER, M.A.

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THE records of Inglewood as a hunting ground, remarkable though they are, by no means complete its history, nor would it be right to suppose that the land was kept unproductive beyond the needs of the venison. On the contrary it appears also as a well-managed estate, yielding a substantial income. Our information is based on a series of annual statements made by the keeper of the forest, covering the year from Michaelmas to Michaelmas; and these, supplemented by other records, tell us much of the development of this part of the country. If there are any who believe that under the much-abused forest law Inglewood was merely a place where

There grew great tracts of wilderness
Wherein the beast was ever more and more
And man was less and less

a very short study of these manuscripts would convince them of their error.

It may cause some surprise to learn that the greater part of this revenue was derived from the proceeds of grazing lands within the forest. At the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third £36 was realised from this source, more than one half of the total; and the proportion became even larger as time went on.

PAYMENTS FOR GRAZING.—Roughly speaking, the grazing area was south of a line drawn from Barrock to Sebergham, with outlying districts at Warnell and Welton on the one side, and at Armathwaite on the other. The

grazing of Allerdale, between Shawk Beck and Thornthwaite, was worth £12 a year, but usually accounted for elsewhere.

The earliest of these revenue documents, for the tenth and five following years in the reign of Edward the Second, give a meagre return, as the whole district had been devastated by the Scots. The lands in Inglewood from which income were due was Highhead and Selywra (now Sillyrea, south of Middlesceugh), which at the time were leased to John de Harcla and John de Penreth respectively, who were accordingly charged with the rent: Plumpton, Morton near Calthwaite and Braithwaite; Welton, Warnell, Hesketh, Armathwaite, Itonfield, Southwaite, Barrockfield, Castle Hewen, Calthwaite, Braithwaitehowes and Wolloaks; of which there is a rather graphic note—"There was no agistment in those lands because of the destruction of the country." To the small takings of this year the prior of Lanercost was a contributor, having several beasts out at Plumpton.

But things mended rapidly, and little by little the Crown, instead of using these lands for agistment, began to make grants, some for term of years, some for the life or lives of the recipients, some in fee simple. This plan was very successful, the rents amounting to a far larger sum than the payments for agistment, and in the account for 12 Edward IV. Warnell and Welton alone were agisted. It is natural that under private ownership the land would be worth more than the payments made by local dwellers for pasturing their cattle; but it is also probable that these lands grew larger as time went on, owing to the clearing of the timber. Of the later development of this new system we shall hear more presently.

PAYMENTS FOR WOOD.—Accounts were given each year of the sums obtained by the sale of dead wood. The figures are not surprisingly large; indeed, the slight payments made under this head and that of pannage lead the

Rev. J. C. Cox, in his *Royal Forests of England*, to the opinion that Inglewood was but thinly timbered. It may be suggested that this was due to the royal grants of timber for important works, and the existence of nebulous claims to estovers in the forest, which would not have been permitted had timber been less plentiful; reasons can also be found for the paucity of pannage returns. Certainly it is impossible to reconcile such a view with the constant subsidies rendered by Inglewood to Penrith and the other manors in the forest, and most of all to the city of Carlisle.

During the reigns of John and Henry III. notices occur of the privilege, freely conceded to the manors, of obtaining wood for the upkeep of their houses and the repair of their fences. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the district suffered the worst misfortunes of peace and war. Three fires occurred in Carlisle; the manors were overrun by the Scots, who burnt and destroyed all they could; and the material for repairing the damage, as well as for purposes of fortification, is indicated by a series of writs to the keeper of the forest, who was directed to supply oaks, often without any specified number: the impression given being that there was always a supply of timber ready for use which would meet any emergency. To take only a few of the more interesting from the constant succession of notices, we read that fifty oaks were given to Hugh de Bello Loco, bishop of Carlisle, and it was directed that these should be chosen at wide intervals, so as to do the least harm to the forest; a proviso which suggests that Inglewood timber was a recognised institution, subject to specially careful stewardship. The Dominican Friars (Black Friars) also had a grant when they were building their house in Carlisle.

After the fire that occurred in Carlisle in Edward the First's reign, assistance was again given from this source, for in 1292 sixteen oaks were supplied to the sheriff to

repair the bridge of Carlisle Castle, which had been accidentally burnt. In 1294 there is a grant of twenty oaks to the prior of St. Mary's, Carlisle, to repair his church, recently burnt by mischance. In 1296 the prior received twenty more, and the bishop thirty (Close Rolls). In 1295 William de Vescy then justice of the forest, was ordered to deliver to Master Thomas, the king's engineer, who had been sent to Inglewood to make the king's engines, as many oaks as he should choose for making them.

During the troubles in the succeeding reign, many grants of oak timber were made to repair the ruin brought about by the Scots. In 1315 Robert de Umfraville, keeper of the forests north of the Trent, was commanded to supply the bailiffs of the city of Carlisle with twelve oaks, to construct anew the king's fisheries and mills burnt by the Scotch rebels. Similar grants were made to Robert de Barton, keeper of the king's manors of Penrith and Sowerby. The latter manor had suffered particularly, as its mill had been carried away by a flood. In 1319 John de Crumwell, keeper of the forests north of the Trent, is commanded to cause the king's clerk, John de Crosseby, master of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, to have three oaks for the repair of the chapel of the hospital.

In 1323 the sheriff of Cumberland was directed to pay the cost of erecting wooden peels about the walls of the castle and the city of Carlisle, as the king understood that the walls were in many places so out of repair that it was necessary to make wooden peels about the places till they could be repaired with stone or lime. For this purpose Anthony de Lucy, constable of the castle, was to have as many oaks or leafless trees from Inglewood as might be needed.

In 1338 occurs a curious entry in the Close Roll:—

To Ralph de Nevill, Keeper of the Forests beyond Trent.

To cause oaks, not bearing leaves, to be sold by the advice of

Robert Parving, the King's Sergeant, and to deliver the money thereof to him, to hold of the King's gift.

Vacated, because no one came to buy such oaks.

No explanation is given: but the inference is that timber was so plentiful that a special sale attracted no competition. Possibly the inhabitants may have reasoned that if they waited, they might get timber given them; which amounts to the same thing.

There is another entry in the Close Rolls for the same year, as follows:—

To the Sheriff of Cumberland.

To cause the houses in Carlisle Castle to be repaired up to £20, where necessary, under supervision and report of the Prior of St. Mary.

To the Keeper of the Forest: to deliver to the Sheriff enough timber, &c.

In 1346 there is a mandate to Ralph de Nevill:—

To go to Carlisle Castle, view the defects there, and deliver to the Constable timber necessary, as the King is informed that there are several defects in the Castle, as in bretaches, buildings, bridges, engines and other garniture.

But it is as late as the reign of Richard the Second that the most remarkable entry of all appears. It will be remembered that in this reign a great fire broke out in Carlisle, by which almost the whole city was ruined. The following extract from the Patent Roll for 1391 shows how the damage was met:—

Grant to the citizens of Carlisle on their petition, alleging that buildings to the number of 1500 had been burnt in their principal streets, Castlegate, Ricardgate and Bochardgate, and the market-place: relief for four years of the farm of £80, and 500 oaks in the forest of Inglewood, dry at the top, for rebuilding, under supervision of the verderers.

No forester, on pain of forfeiting his office, to take any fee or reward.

The historian of Carlisle may be left to conjecture how the city might have fared had it not possessed resources such as these to fall back upon in times of stress.

Omitting the disturbed period of Edward the Second's reign, the figures for the sale of wood begin with the second year of Edward III. Accounts only exist for four out of the first eleven years, but these average about £6 a year under this head. Then there is a gap till the 17th year, when a great decline had occurred. This is continued in the 20th, but though the 21st shows a sharp recovery, the 34th, the next for which accounts exist, shows a return of about one-third of that of twenty-five years before.

At this point it may be noticed that hitherto the ward of Gaitsgill had been the principal contributor, in some cases yielding four times as much as Penrith; but when the shortage set in, it was more marked in the former district, and in the year last mentioned, Penrith ward for the first time produces the greater sum for the sale of wood. As time went on, the amounts varied; but remained at a low level compared with those of earlier days. Taking into consideration the grants which were being made of the grazing lands at this period, the inference seems to be that from about 1340 Inglewood was being stripped of timber, and that the process was chiefly at the north.

Sometimes it is noted that the dead wood was "for carts" or "for charcoal burning," but not as a rule; the compiler of the roll being concerned with the purchasers' money, not their objects.

Occasionally sums are recorded separately for wood blown down by the wind. Thus in the 4th Edward III. there is 16s. 8d. for the sale of windfall wood (cablicium). In the 17th year of the same reign 9s. arises from the same source and 14s. from dead wood lying on the grass in the covert of Plumpton.

From time to time substantial sums were realised by the sale of bark for tanning; thus:—

		£	s.	d.
34 Edward III.	Farm of the tan. From William de Stapleton for the tan of the forest ...	10	6	8
1 Richard II.	Sale of bark in Penrith ward	£2	6	8
	Sale of bark in Gaitsgill ward	£3	10	0—5 16 8
3 Henry IV.	Sale of bark in the ward of Penrith—Robert Sperry and his friends for tan ...	£3	0	0
	Sale of bark in the ward of Carlisle — John Kardoil and his friends ...	£4	0	0—7 0 0
In 12 Edward IV.	two sums of 3s. 4d. are recorded, one derived from Mortonscough 0 6 8

PANNAGE AND AFTERPANNAGE.—Pannage denoted the privilege of turning out swine to feed in the forest, and also the consideration for it, which was reckoned at 1d. a head. The pannage season lasted from St. Andrew's Day to St. Martin's Day.

Afterpannage (*retropannagium*), came later in the year, as the word suggests; it was paid for at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each pig. Our information is derived from the Revenue Accounts, and can be stated very briefly; in 3. Edward III., afterpannage produced £1 13s. of which the Penrith ward paid 19s. and Gaitsgill ward 14s.; in the next, 12s. 11d.; in the 17th year 1s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. only. In later years two or three shillings were realised, Penrith ward frequently contributing nothing.

Pannage, on the contrary, often produced substantial sums, and can be traced with the help of the Pipe Rolls well back into the reign of Henry II. Unfortunately the records are not complete, as there is no means of ascertaining for what length of time the lump sums paid in had been accumulating. It will be sufficient to say that for the last decade of the twelfth century £41 arose from this source, and that an average of nearly six pounds was

earned during fifteen years in the middle of the reign of Henry the Third. In one year of that of Richard I. no less than £8 13s. was realised.

At the "Morrow of All Souls" pannage accounts are given in detail for twenty-five years. John de Terriby, Robert de Etardby and Henry de Threlkeld account for the nine years 46-54 Henry III., totalling £23 13s. 1d. The figures are remarkable for their even average; all the annual sums between two and three pounds, except those of the 52nd year, when £4 19s. was realised, and the 49th when only £1 14s. 5d. was accounted.

The later account, submitted to the justices by Robert de Whiterigg, Robert de Etardeby, Adam de Dolfinby and Jordan de la Cressonere is somewhat extraordinary. The figures are worth quoting:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
55 Henry III.	...	0	16	3½	7 Edward I.	...	0 12 0½
56 "	...	0	11	0	8 "	...	0 5 11
57 "	...	4	19	7	9 "	...	0 10 0
1 Edward I.	...	2	12	8½	10 "	...	0 2 0
2 "	...	0	7	8½	11 "	...	0 3 7
3 "	...	0	9	8½	12 "	...	0 3 8
4 "	...	4	0	2½			
5 "	...	2	8	10			£25 18 0½
6 "	...	7	14	9½			

It is only natural to suppose that the amount of the accounts had something to do with the way in which the agisters performed their duties. It will presently be seen also that a very large sum due for pannage had never been paid. This is the probable reason for the fact that the enormous sum of £18 4s. 9d. is paid in the 13th year.

For in the course of an inquisition into the state of the forest held in the Eyre of 1285, the following particulars of payments withheld are put on record:—

The Bishop of Carlisle, the Prior there, and their tenants claim to pasture the whole covert to the loss of the King and the injury of the forest. Also they claim to be free from (payments for the) escape of their beasts (*averia*) in the King's fence land (*landa vetita*).

Robert de Brus the father claims to have his beasts of the plough from his "skaling" in Heselspring free from escape in the King's land in Allerdale.

The manors of the King of Scotland, namely Penrith, Salkeld, Langwathby, Scotby, Carlatton, claim to be free of pannage in the King's demesne wood.

Robert de Brus the father claims to be free of pannage in respect of himself and his men, namely those of Gamelsby, Glassenby, Unthank and Merkanby (Maughanby).

The tenants of Neuland claim to be free of pannage.

Robert de la Ferte, Simon de Rachton, and Hugh de Fornetofes claim to be free of pannage in consideration of their custody of the goshawks.

And Thomas de Ermythweyt, Raulph de Dacre, and his men in Thistelthuet, Alexander de Boulton, on behalf of himself and his heirs in Forscalheyling and Haythueyt, Thomas de Capella of Bramwra, Bricius de Bramwra,* and the whole of those who are tenants of purprestures and assarts in the King's demesne wood claim to be free of pannage; by what warrant they† know not.

Now King Edward the First did not look with favour upon claims that had no tangible title behind them; and the sequel is hardly surprising:—

Whereas it seemed to the Justices that no one of the persons who claimed to be free of pannage could do so without the King's special warrant, they commanded the foresters, verderers, regarders, and all other ministers of the forest to inform them from what date the said townships of the manors of the King of Scotland had withheld the pannage, and what it could be worth year by year from each of the townships; and then similarly with the various tenants of the purprestures and assarts in the King's demesne woods.

And they, being sworn, say on their oath that the men of the King of Scotland's manors have withheld the pannage for twenty-eight years back. And that it was worth by the year, from Penrith half a mark in each of the years of the time mentioned. And from the town of Salkeld two shillings a year. From the town of Carlatton one shilling. From the town of Scotby one shilling. From the town of Sowerby half a mark. And for this the towns mentioned will answer.

* The first Bramwra was near Hutton in the Forest, the second near Eden-hall.

† "They" means the twelve verders and thirty-six regarders who were making an inquisition as to the state of the forest.—Exch. T.R. 5, m. 38d.

Afterwards the pannage produced very small sums.
Thus in

		s.	d.
34 Edward III.	Gaitsgill	4	2½
	Penrith	10	9
1 Richard II.	Penrith	0	7½
	Gaitsgill	7	9½
3 Henry IV.	Gaitsgill	6	6
	Penrith	1	9
12 Edward IV.	Gaitsgill	1	0
	Penrith	1	1

THE FISHERY OF TARN WADLING.—The lake known as Tarn Wadling enjoys a great celebrity in romance, and occurs in “The Marriage of Sir Gawain,” the well-known ballad in the Percy Reliques. Near it stood the castle of the “grim baron” who laid a spell on King Arthur.

In the records of the forest it was a notable fishery, producing an annual revenue to the crown, was the subject of sundry customary rights time out of mind, and was had in remembrance what time the local magnates of the day required their fishponds restocking.

To the revenue it produced a fixed sum of 6s. 8d. a year. This is usually said to arise from the fishery of Tarn Wadling, but it is elsewhere recorded that the fishery* meant the taking of eels. The keeper of the forest paid this sum, no doubt subletting this privilege.

There was plenty of coarse fishing as well, as we read of an instruction to John de Crumwell, who was then keeper, to permit the Bishop of Carlisle to have fifty pickerels from the lake in order to restock his fishponds in his manor of La Rose, much damage having been done there by the Scots. Writing at a later date, Hutchinson

* *De valisona anguillarum* is the phrase. What *valisona* is no one can say with certainty, though the guess of *eelbucks* has been made. This rendering is supported by another form *vasilona*, suggesting a vessel or some such device; but the former and commoner rendering seems rather to require some such equivalent as value, royalty; and this is more probable, as there exist readings *valesona* and *vallacio*. The precise meaning is not, of course, vital to the passage.

says that the tarn, which as he knew it covered about a hundred acres, bred some of the finest carp in the kingdom.

At the proceedings following the Morrow of All Souls, the prior of Carlisle claimed tithes of all manner of fish taken in Tarn Wadling, but this was disputed as far as pike were concerned. Later the lake and its fishery were leased to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the Third.

But when Hutchinson wrote its doom was near. He says:—

The lake is in a remarkable situation, bordering upon a declivity, which descends towards the river for nearly a mile, and lies about six hundred perpendicular feet above the level of Eden, capable of being drained by a cut over a very narrow bank of earth.

It was left for Whellan to write a prosaic epitaph:—

Tarn Wadling, which was formerly a lake covering about 100 acres, is now good grazing land, and well stocked with cattle and sheep.

In connection with the legend of Tarn Wadling, it is curious to notice the overlapping of two local myths. A giant lived near Tarn Wadling, presumably at Castle Hewen. The latter is associated with Sir Ewen Caesarius, the hero who is reputed to have killed wild boars in Inglewood, according to Camden's account; so that there are two identities, one a benefactor and the other a danger to those parts. But this Ewen is popularly connected with the Giant's Grave at Penrith and the Giant's Grave with the Giant's Caves on the Eamont. Here we have not only a story of a giant, a most unamiable personage, sometimes identified with the defeated champion in the ballad of St. Lancelot du Lake, but also of the local evangelist St. Ninian. Though there may be no connection, the existence of these two local legends, each confounding together two opposite personalities, forms a curious coincidence.

OUTLEIR.—The word means simply “out-lying,” and indicates a payment of 16s. a year by the men of Lazonby for the privilege of pasturing their beasts of the plough at night. The word is sometimes written “outleyre,” and sometimes “of Lazonby” is added.

PURPRESTURES IN HUTTON.—Purprestures, encroachments by way of building or enclosure and authorised on payment of a consideration, are constantly noticed in the Pipe Rolls. The reason that these are dealt with separately is probably that they were within Plumpton Hay, which was subject to slightly different rules of management. These little properties were let at varying rentals. In 10 Edward III., six tenants, named Richard Whiteheued, Henry de Capella, Thomas Golet, Henry Gilleson, Hugh Page, and Thomas Skot, paid in all 3s. 0½d. for each half of the year.

LETTING OF LODGES.—A small sum was realised annually under this head. Only one of the items deserves notice—that is a property called “Le Glashous,” an interesting name to find in the forest. For this, together with “Le Nunclos,” William Stapleton paid 40s. rent in 1 Richard II. The explanation of the name comes in the earlier accounts. In 10 Edward II., John the Glassworker (vitriarius) pays under the head of “the farm of dead wood” a sum of 13s. 4d. for his house, and to have dead wood at will. In the fourth year of the next reign he pays the same sum for the house in which he worked. He probably died soon after this, for in the tenth year Thomas Frere, under the heading of “lodges,” pays 10s. for the house of John the Glassworker. In the next, the house paid 20s. out of a total of 23s. Afterwards the house appears to have been dealt with as were the other lands which were farmed. In 12 Henry VI., 13s. 4d. is paid as the rent of a house called the Glashous, occupied by John Stevynson, and for the agistment of his beasts. In 12 Henry IV. the Glasshouse is described as “once in the tenure of John Stevynson.”

PAYMENTS FOR ENTERING THE FOREST DURING THE FENCE MONTH.—These were compositions paid by the townships to be allowed the privilege for their inhabitants to go through the forest otherwise than by the highway during the close month—the fortnight before and after the 24th of June, the day of St. John the Baptist. The largest contribution under this head was in the year beginning 3 Edward III., when Penrith ward paid £1 os. 8d., and Gaitsgill £1 4s. 8d. Penrith and Carlisle contributed 6s. 8d. each, Skelton and Sowerby 3s. each, a few 12d., and the majority 2s. Not all of the contributors appear each year; the minimum realised in each ward was about two-thirds of the figures just given.

STRAYS.—Beasts found in the forest, unless the owner had some right to have them there, were liable to be seized, and the owner was fined a small sum. If the animal was not claimed, he was sold, and the proceeds found their way into these accounts. Usually about eight to ten shillings was made in this way, but in the 17 Edward III. no less than £3 9s. 10d. was realised. Interest centres on the prices: in the year mentioned a cow and three oxen fetched four marks; three plough-horses of various sizes 10s., 4s., and 2s. 6d. respectively. Some swine were bought in by the owners at 6d. a head; a heifer would fetch 4s.; on one occasion a horse went for 10s. and on another for 2s. only; but this animal is described as *equus debilis*.

MISCELLANEOUS.—It will be understood that the accounts rendered by the keeper of the forest include only a part of the revenue arising from it. Sometimes, however, other items find their way into them; and some of these are of interest.

Thus in 3 Edward III., £1 11s. 4d. was received in fines from persons who failed to attend the swainmote court, and 18s. for the lawing of dogs. The fine for each dog found not lawed was 3s.

In 20 Edward III. John of Dryholme paid 3s. 4d. for trading in sea-coal (*pro carbonibus marinis lucrandis*). In 34 Edward III. Wetheral was charged 13s. 4d. for redemption of Cumwhinton wood, which had recently been seized into the king's hands because a waste had been made in it.

In 3 Henry IV. a rent of 2d. was received from a forge at Highhead, and another of the same amount for a purpresture at Armathwaite, where a chapel had been built anew on the king's land, containing one rood. The sheriff pays in sixteen pence from William Stapleton for licence to plough his land in Edenhall, and for the profit of one "stakgarth" at Sowerby. Notices occasionally occur of 3s. 4d. for the fishery of the Eden.

In the year just mentioned there is one curious entry—a rental of £6 13s. 4d. for the forest of Carlisle. It will be remembered that the old "Forester in Fee" paid this sum (ten marks) as the rent or *census* of the forest through the Pipe Rolls: and it is probably due to a stereotyped repetition that we find the forest described by a title which in Henry the Fourth's reign must have been an archaic survival.
