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Summary

The desk-based assessment highlighted the competition between Medieval religious institutions regarding land assets held in Gilcrux. Examination of the 1814 enclosure map, the 1824 manorial map, the 1841 tithe map and the 1865 First Edition Ordnance Survey map suggested that a large building of some antiquity may inhabit the study area although its spatial provenance is subject to dispute.

The subsequent fieldwork revealed a cobbled surface in Trench 1; a massive building foundation, ditch and cobbled surface in Trench 2; and a stone building and ditch in Trench 3.

These discoveries indicate a series of large buildings, probably of high Medieval date that could be part of a Manor, a suggestion intimated by historical sources and perhaps explaining documentary anomalies regarding the rights and privileges accorded to the ruling elites.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project origins

An outline planning application (2/11/0307) for a residential development involving three detached dwellings is under consideration by Allerdale Council. The proposed development is within an open piece of pasture currently used by horses located to the west of East Croft, Gilcrux (NY 1175 3810).

The first response was the compilation of a desk-based assessment in order to gather a corpus of data relating to the study areas cultural past. This informed the second response, an archaeological evaluation, the scope of which was driven by the results of the desk-based assessment.
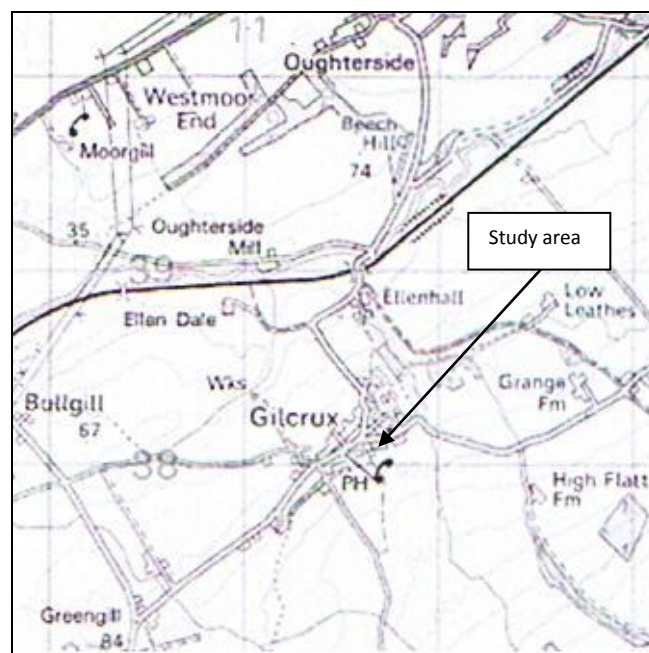
Figure 1. Location of East Croft. (OS Copyright, Licence no. 100044205)

1.2 Project design

In response to a request by Cumbria County Council, Gerry Martin Associates Ltd undertook a desk-based assessment that targeted the archaeological and past cultural landscape pertaining to this development.

A project design (Working Scheme of Investigation) based on the desk-based enquiry was submitted for the subsequent archaeological evaluation.

The following report has been assembled to the relevant standards and protocols of the Institute of Field Archaeologists, combined with accepted best practice and in accordance with the brief prepared by the curatorial authority. Research took place on August 23rd and October 4th 2011 whilst the fieldwork took place between 16th September and 3rd October 2011.
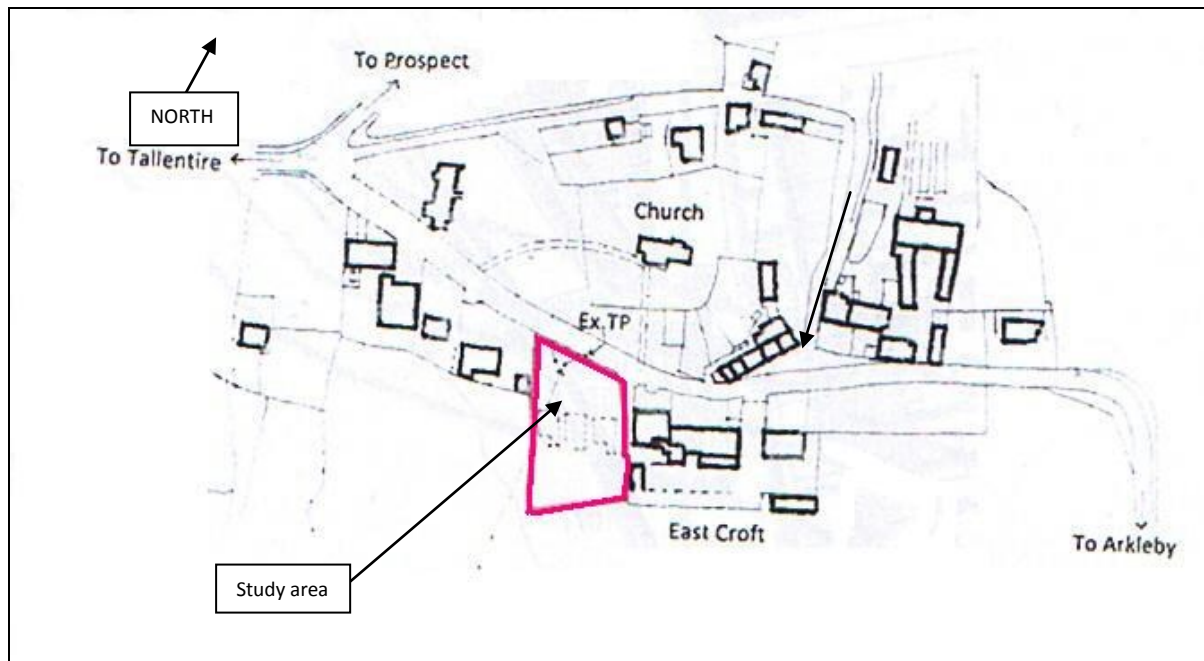
Figure 2. Location of study area at East Croft, Gilcrux

1.3 Desk-based assessment

In accordance with the Design Brief, the desk-based assessment investigated primary and secondary historical sources, maps and other literature in order to set the survey results into their past cultural, historical and topographic context.

The physical study area centred on NY 1175 3810 and consisted of a 1,000m radius from the development.

The desk-based assessment required a search of three archival repositories:

- Carlisle Library provided sources for published works including newspaper articles, archaeological and antiquarian reports and trade journals.
- Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle provided the earliest tithe map for the parish, details of landowners and occupiers and cartographic evidence.
- The Historic Environment Record, Kendal provided the Sites and Monuments Record and aerial photographs describing previous archaeological observations within the study area.

1.4 Archive

The archive has been compiled in accordance with the project design and the guidelines set out by Management of Archaeological Projects (English Heritage, 1991) and the Institute of Field Archaeologists (1994 and 2007).

The archive will be deposited with an appropriate repository and a copy of the report donated to the County Sites and Monuments Record, as requested by the curatorial authority.

2   BACKGROUND

2.1 Location, topography and geology

The study area lies at approximately 90m OD, within the parish of Gilcrux embracing the district lying south of the River Ellen. It remains a small parish only 2,018 acres (908 hectares) and formerly possessed coal mining and limestone quarrying industries (Gazetteer of England and Wales 1894-95).

The centre of the village is formed from a triangular piece of land, surrounded by housing that is depicted on the Donald map of 1774 (figure 7) with the 12th century church of St Mary at its centre, an institution that grants Gilcrux its name; "church on the hill".

The village is noted for a series of springs. "This parish is perhaps the most remarkable of any in England, for the fineness and number of its springs. In the village a fine spring rises almost at every door and when united form a considerable stream " (Whellan & Mannix 1847).

The area is generally pasture and arable farmland. The British Geological Survey Map describes the drift geology as Till overlying Liddesdale limestone resting above the older Border limestone group.

3   HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Historical background

Neolithic

The early Neolithic period represents the transition from hunter-gatherer societies to sedentary agricultural communities. As societies became established, specific cultural traits emerged; the appearance of ceremonial and funerary landscape monuments and the development of distinctive ceramic styles and lithic forms

In the Late Neolithic, social hierarchies emerge through the intensification and increasing sophistication of settlement, land use and artefact production.

Evidence for settlement in Cumbria is primarily inferred by the distribution of polished stone axes from the Langdale axe factory. Along the Solway Plain, distribution of these axes suggests exploitation of both wetlands and the coastal margin with settlement extending inland, into the Plain itself (Hodgkinson *et al* 2000).

Long distance trade and contact is suggested by the frequent appearance of these axes throughout the British Isles and by the 3rd Millennium BC, the production of these axes was part of a trans-European trading network.

Within the immediate environs of the study area there is no record of Neolithic habitation.

Bronze Age

The Bronze Age in the north-west is noted by an increase in land clearance and the beginning of cereal cultivation from approximately 2000 BC. Despite much continuity from the Late Neolithic, the Bronze Age introduced bronze metalwork, changes in pottery styles and burial practice. However, archaeological visibility within Cumbria is poor and very few Bronze Age sites have been discovered in Cumbria, none within the proximity of the study area.

Cist burials appear from the beginning of the 2nd Millennium BC and it is believed that they represent former monuments within a Bronze Age agricultural landscape. Aerial photography on the North Cumbrian Plain, suggests a number of crop-marks may represent barrows within a network of linear ditches. However, there is no current evidence to suggest that this practice may have penetrated the hinterland, an area that Gilcrux belonged to.

Iron Age

The Iron Age is noted for the introduction of iron tools and weapons, increasing sophistication in pottery production, long-distance trade and the development of social hierarchies from kinships societies to tribal territories based on regional centres.

In Cumbria, the early and mid Iron Age is poorly represented suggesting a low population threshold. In the late Iron Age, there is considerable forest clearance suggesting population stress probably associated with proto-regional tensions between Iron Age tribes.

Roman

The area was probably a rich agricultural area during the Roman period growing wheat and barley for the nearby military centres and the Wall garrisons to the north. This produced a landscape of rectilinear field systems bounded by ditches, tracks and hedges with intermittent farmsteads.

The typical farmstead was set inside a ditched and embanked enclosure which varied in plan. Within the enclosure were rectangular and circular plan buildings (suggestive of both native and Roman influence), cobbled yards and some degree of drainage. These farmsteads do not appear to be materially ostentatious reflecting functional use rather than any suggestion of upward social mobility or stratification.

Early Medieval

Following Roman withdrawal, it is believed that the Solway Plain reverted to native autonomy before the Angles began to enter eastern Cumbria during the 7th Century AD followed by Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and Scottish incursions up to the 11th Century AD. Although little tangible evidence remains in the form of settlement, place-name evidence perpetuates these successive influences.

Gilcrux appears to follow this practice. The suffix "Gil" appears to be a derivation of the word "kil" or cell whereby the Celtic church was organised by small groups or cells of priests (Collingwood & Rogers 1897, 289-290).

A high propensity of Celtic crosses supports the assertion that early Christian missionaries were active locally (Bulmer 1901).

Medieval

The Medieval period presents detailed legal and historical sources thereby in some cases assigning a specific document to a spatial entity. However, there are a number of impediments that must be borne whilst drawing detailed interpretations and especially when assigning detailed interpretation to a specific place at a specific moment in time. These include:

- A partial surviving documentary data set
- Palaeography; the interpretation of the characters and meaning of the written word
- Nomenclature and the difficulty in identifying specific historical individuals
- Uneven traceability through family trees
- The lack of a secular calendar and the preferred use of a religious and sovereign calendar used in primary sources
- Difficulty in formulating a time-line from secondary and antiquarian accounts
- The close internal relationships between individuals and institutions that would have been implicit to the chronicler
- The almost total lack of mapping or spatial survey until the 16th century e.g. production of a drawing or plan

By the Medieval period, the study area was within the Barony of Allerdale and later came within the orbit of Calder Abbey located to the south. There does appear to have been competition between religious factions regarding the revenue from the parish that was not resolved until the early 15th century.

The Barony of Allerdale was originally granted to Waldeve son of Gospatric, earl of Dunbar, who, according to tradition, granted immediate lordship of many manors within the barony to family members and supporters.

Waldeve was also granted the honour of Cockermouth, and the barony of Allerdale was closely linked to the honour of Cockermouth from the twelfth century. The lords of Cockermouth claimed overlordship over the whole of Allerdale, but they had immediate lordship over only a few manors (Papcastle, Great and Little Broughton, Caldbeck Upton and Underfell, Uldale, Crosscanonby, Aspatria and Whitehall).

The first recorded possessor of Gilcrux is Waltheof, lord of Allerdale, who granted it to Lyulph, from whom it passed by marriage to an heiress belonging to the Bonekill family (Bulmer 1901).

In the late 12th century Robert de Bonekill gave one carucate of land in "Gilcruz". He also grants land in Little Gilcruz and Greater Gilcruz and pasture for twenty oxen, twelve cows, six horses and their foals (Loftie 1885, 224).

His sons Thomas and Walter Bonekill gave away the rest of their inheritance at Gilcrux to the Abbot and Convent of Calder Abbey reserving, however, the right of presentation to the bishop of the diocese (Bulmer 1901).

In the Register of St Bees it was noted that "Uctred son of Ketel, together with Alan (sic) son of Ketel, Gospatric son of Ormand and Thomas his son, witnessing a charter from a certain Adam son of Uctred to Beatrice his niece of five oxgangs of land in Gilecruce given to her by William son of Liulf in Gilcruce given to her by William son of Liulf of Molle his nephew" (Wilson 1905, 174-178). Beside the five oxgangs of land given to the monks, Beatrice de Molle also granted them the fourth part of the mill in Great Gilcrux, most probably her home (Loftie 1885, 224).

The cartulary and other records of the Cistercian house of Holm Cultram documents the following actions pertaining to Gilcrux (Grainger & Collingwood 1929, 40-41):

- 1240. William Orme de Yreby grants to Holm abbey his mansion in which he has been living in the village of Gillecruce, with buildings gardens and orchards. William Orm (sic) was the son of Gospatric of Workington and was rector of Gilcrux

- Circa 1210. John Hamelin grants to William de Ireby his toft with houses and a garden in Gilecruce, between the land of the church and that formerly held by Adam Gilebride and that of Adam de Crofthwait (Crosthwaite) under the tower and one acre in Warthole upon a beck towards the east near the mill of Gilecruce, rendering to the lord of the manor 4d a year at Easter

- Circa 1240. William Bonekill confirms to William de Ireby, clerk of his assigns, land adjoining William's barn on the east, held of him by Richard (Gebbe?) son-in-law of Helyas and Adam Syrit (Sigrid or Sighrith)

- 1240-1249. William Orm (sic) of Yreby grants to Holm Abbey ten acres arable with a grange belonging to the mansion he gave earlier in Gillecruce, namely the ten acres adjoining the mansion. Also two acres of meadow in the high meadow and 1.5 acre of meadow in Threipheing (debateable meadow)

- 1240-1249. William Orm de Ireby, clerk, grants to Holm (Abbey) eleven acres arable in Gilecruce; ie three acres and three roods which he gained from John Hamelin of which 2.5 acres lie together under the tower of Laurence and five roods near the garden and two acres which he had from William Wrangservice, one under the barn and the other under the cowhouse. He also gained half an acre from Henry de Marisco, next to the barn given to the abbey and two acres and three roods which he gained from Alexander de Bonkill. He also acquired one acre in Watelandes (wetlands) which he had from Robert de Bonekil and the land he had from Walter de Bonekil of which Richard Gebbe and Adam Sighrith were tenants. Also acquired were 3.5 acres in the upper meadow and half "Threpheng" every second year. This was witnessed by Sir Walter de Ulvesby, archdeacon of Carlisle and Sir William de Daker, sheriff.

- 1255-1286. W (shorthand for the Abbot of Calder) owed Holm Abbey half a mark yearly for land in Gilecruce.

Following the death of Robert of Crofton, the last rector and ordination at the vicarage, the church of Gilcrux was appropriated by the Cistercian abbot and convent of Calder Abbey on 14th April 1258 and affirmed in October 1278 (Smith 2005, 101-102).

Around the latter part of the 14th century, the "Bishop of Carlisle, patron of the living by the reservation of the grantor, found it necessary to define the sources from which the income of the vicar should be derived. By this decision a suitable endowment was secured for the vicar, consisting of the mansion house opposite to the church, with the lands arable, meadow, and pasture, in the fields of Gilcrux, half of the tithe of hay, and all the tithes of wool, lamb, mill, fishing and oblations, with the whole altarage and other profits, except only the corn tithes; and that the Abbey and Convent of Calder shall pay moreover to the vicar four marks yearly, the vicar to bear all charges, ordinary and extraordinary, except the repair of the chancel" (Ibid 103 and Bulmer 1901).

Bishop Strickland's edict (invoked between 1400 and 1419) upon the abbot and monks of Calder Abbey was because they had appropriated part of the rectors stipend (Loftie 1885, 234).

After the dissolution of the monastery, the manor was granted by Philip and Mary to Alexander Armstrong, and his male heirs, under the condition of providing five horses, well caparisoned, whenever summoned within the county of Cumberland (Mannix & Whellan 1847).

The land and manor appears to have subsequently reverted to the Crown, for Elizabeth, in the 17th year of her reign (1574), conveyed to John Soukey and Percival Gunson, all the messuages, lands, tenements, water mill, rent, reversions, and services, with appurtenances in Gilcrux, to be held as the manor of East Greenwich. The manor came subsequently into the possession of the Dykes family (Bulmer 1901).

In the King's Book the living was valued at £5 14s. 2d, and to the Governors of Queen's Anne's Bounty it was returned at £22 16s. 4d (Ibid).

The tithes were commuted in 1843 for a yearly payment of £32 16s. 9d, of which a sum £10 10s was payable to the vicar. The remainder of his income was derived from the rent of 75 acres of glebe land, let together with the old parsonage house (Ibid).

Post-Medieval and modern

Parish registers are extant from 1589. The earliest, PR 171/1 covers the period 1589-1786 and mentions the famine of 1623 when there were 54 burials. From 1703 there are notes on the vicar, Rev William Walker, "to extend his barn into the manor's waste and to get stones in the Manor or in Grange [Gilcrux Grange located east of the village] to rebuild it and the stable".

Parish register PR 171/2 covers the period 1756-1812, PR 171/3 1813-1861 and PR 171/4 1813-1845 with the registers dealing largely with births marriages and burials. Thereafter, PR 171/5 and PR 171/6 deal with baptisms 1861-1994, PR 171/7 deals with marriages 1837-1971 and PR 171/8 and 171/9 deals with burials 1813-1995.

A school in close proximity to the old vicarage was endowed in 1799 with £24 a year for the education of 24 poor children (Mannix & Whellan 1847). It was entirely rebuilt in 1865 at a cost of £700 and was in 1901 attended by 93 children (Bulmer 1901).

By the late 17th century, coal mining had become established in Gilcrux (Fletcher 1878, 157).

In 1831 William Quayle and Williamson Peile took out a 21 year lease on Gilcrux colliery from Mrs Dykes of Dovenby Hall, the main landowners, issuing their own trade tokens (Ferguson 1897, 408).

Coal mining in the region had largely become redundant by the early 20th century as the seams were thin, although Ellen Pit worked by the Bullgill Colliery Co. Ltd employed 250 people for an output of 200 tons per day (Bulmer 1901).

The interior of St Marys was restored in 1878, at a cost of £500 thereby accommodating 150 people, whilst in 1888 a new vestry was added. The vicarage was completed in 1884, at a cost of £1,400 (Bulmer 1901).

The only buildings listed within the parish of Gilcrux are St Marys church (Grade II*) and Ellen Hall and adjoining barn (Grade II) although many of the buildings clearly date to at least the 18th century.

3.2 Early maps

The earliest representation of Gilcrux is depicted on the Saxton map of 1576 (figure 3) illustrating a church with a tower, the village spelt "Gilcrosse".

The 1644 Janssen map (figure 4) illustrates a generic symbol for a church with a tower the village spelt "Gilcrofe".

The 1695 Morden map (figure 5) also displays a generic symbol for a church with a tower the village spelt "Gilcross" using the German tradition of S-set for a double s.

A map purporting to date from 1756 was recorded as extant at Carlisle Record Office. However, despite the effort of the archivist, David Bowcock, no such map was resident in the archives.

Figure 3. 1576 Saxton map   *Figure 4. 1644 Janssen map*

The 1774 Donald map (figure 7) has a number of advantages over previous Cumbrian cartography.

Figure 5. 1695 Morden map
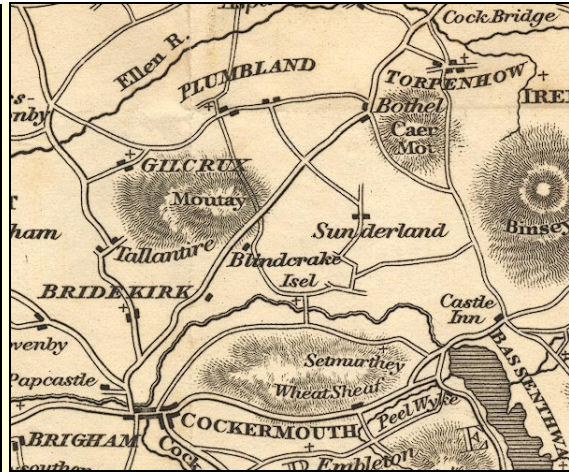
Figure 6. 1818 Otley map

Firstly, it illustrates relief identifying the reason why settlement clustered in particular areas.

Secondly, principal dwellings appear to be identified. This is significant for the study of Gilcrux (spelt Gillcrux) as it indicates a triangular formation around the church of St Marys (church not illustrated).

Thirdly, it shows principal roads and the distance between major centres as well as industrial features; mills, tile kilns and salt pans. The mill described in Medieval sources probably represented the eastern mill on the River Ellen, north of Gilcrux.

Finally, scale and proportion possess greater accuracy than earlier maps although the distribution of houses in Gilcrux on the Donald map is probably wider than in reality and can therefore not be used for scaling purposes.

However, the church of St Mary is clearly located at the centre of a triangular space and relative to the church in a southerly direction was a building that appears to equate with the study area and could also represent East Croft (figure 7).

Figure 7. 1774 Donald map

The modern spelling of Gilcrux is introduced on the 1818 Otley map (figure 6). It illustrates the church but its broad scale is relatively meaningless for understanding other topographic features.

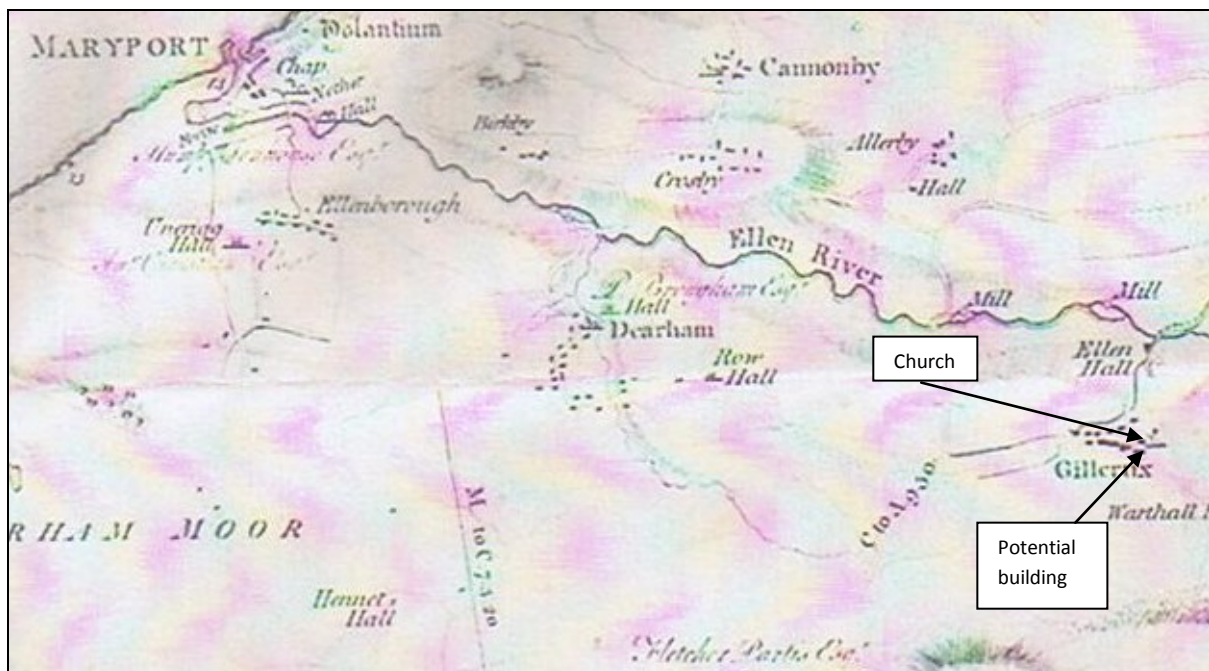The 1839 Ford map (figure 8) displays a higher number of houses in Gilcrux but appears to have a number of topographic flaws as the church is incorrectly placed and the route to Allerby appears to head north rather than to the west.

The 1850s Garnett map (figure 9) formalises the road system and introduces the Carlisle to Maryport railway to the north. Only three principal buildings are illustrated whilst the church is not specified.

Figure 8. 1839 Ford map   Figure 9. Garnett map of the 1850s-1860s

3.3 Detailed 19th century plans

As they possess a high level of local detail, the informative maps for judging spatial organisation within Gilcrux are the following:

- 1814 Plan of the Common and Waste Lands of the Township of Gilcrux D/BD/7/5 (figure 10)
- 1824 Plan of the Manor of Warthole, Grange and Gilcrux D/BD/11/7 (figure 11)
- 1841 Tithe map DRC/8/78 (figure 12)
- 1865 First Edition Ordnance Survey map (figure 13)

The earliest extant map pertinent to this study is the 1814 enclosure map (figure 10). This document created by enclosure commissioners J.Steel and R.Atkinson and dated 30th September 1814, detailed the enclosure of common and waste land.

Prior to the enclosure, the village displayed a typical medieval arrangement of a long central, strip of common land with each plot facing onto the public space, paralleling the extant example at Maulds Meaburn. The re-organisation granted front gardens to each plot.

According to the attached schedule, the study area equated to Plot 11 measuring one rood and 25 perches and belonged to William Smith and his wife Anne. One building appeared to be within the newly enclosed area whilst two buildings respected the former boundary to the common land. Although the map possesses no scale the relative position of these structures to the west of the church intimate that these buildings may not be East Croft.

To the west of Plot 11 was Plot 12, owned by John Smith possibly a relative, measuring one rood and 38 perches.

Figure 10. 1814 Map enclosing the common and waste lands in the Township of Gilcrux, D/BD/7/5

Figure 11. 1824 Plan of the Manor of Warthole, Grange and Gilcrux D/BD/11/7.

The 1824 plan of the Manor (figure 11) illustrates greater detail of the field system with the study area possessing a salient to the south-east and a smaller salient to the south-west, both containing buildings.

Within a south-east salient, a large building is present possessing two small terminals to the north and west that appear to be consistent with the ground plan depicted on the 1841 tithe map (figure 12).

However, on the 1824 plan this large building appears to be directly opposite the church, a position currently occupied by East Croft whereas on the 1841 tithe map it is significantly further west although still within the same-shaped salient.

Figure 12. Tithe map of 1841 DRC/8/78

The proposed development appears to be confined to plot 338 (figure 12), a large field at the south-eastern corner of the village fronting onto a street that extends from the church to a carfax (junction of four roads).

Important points to be drawn from the map are as follows:

- The plot measuring two roods and twenty-seven perches was owned by Anne Smith (the probable co-owner in 1814) and occupied by William Beaty. The schedule describes the plot as houses and green with pasture and illustrates three buildings.
- Immediately to the south-east was plot 340, an area measuring three acres and eighteen perches recorded as House Croft and possesses the same ownership arrangement.

- The building illustrated within plot 338 is substantial and appears to be longer than the church of St Mary based on crude scaling of each structure. Significantly, it appears to be west of the church rather than the suite of buildings illustrated on the Ordnance Survey map, probably East Croft that lay just to the east of the church.
- Immediately to the south and west and of the village, Medieval strip fields are clearly present

Although interpretation based on this plan is likely to be extremely speculative, the western end of the building identified above appears to possess a partial cruciform plan, but probably secular in function and noted on the 1824 map (figure 11). This could potentially indicate a tower with porches or external stairways with a hall or barn added later to the east.

Although any connection is of course highly tentative, documents from Holm Abbey describe a mansion with orchards, gardens and buildings in close proximity to the church under a "tower", whilst Bishops Strickland's instruction describes possibly the same mansion as being opposite the church (*passim* 7-8).

If one assumes that size may reflect economic or social importance, an alternative albeit speculative interpretation may suggest the ground plan for a fortified house, either as a tower house current between 1350 and 1600 or a bastle house favoured between 1540 and 1640 (Brunskill 2002, 36-43).

A more mundane agricultural dwelling such as a clay dabbin building may also explain this feature. The likelihood of any sub-surface survival for such a structure could be slim due to the crude and primitive nature afforded to their construction.

Gilcrux was surveyed in 1865-1866 by the Ordnance Survey (figure 13) with considerable changes occurring to plot 338, the study area. These alterations are summarised below:

- East Croft and a suite of buildings not apparent in 1841 are extant by 1865
- The large building illustrated on the 1841 tithe map is now apparently missing, occupying a vacant plot that is re-numbered 369
- The street frontage within plot 338 is divided into four plots, two untitled and plots numbered 367 and 369
- Four buildings are constructed close to the street frontage within the new fragmented plots
- The south-west corner of former plot 338 is subsumed into plot 370 (formerly plot 340)
- Medieval strip fields immediately to the south and west of the village are still present

The break-up of plot 338 into five smaller units resulting in the construction of four buildings, suggest that this parcel of land has been sold for development.

The close proximity of the endowed school and the need for funds (£700) for its reconstruction in 1865 may not be coincidental. Moreover, with the internal restoration of the church in 1878 at a cost of £500 and a new vicarage in 1884 at a cost of £1,400 (Bulmer 1901), the church authorities or its surrogate may have been willing to divest itself of some of its land assets. However, in conversation with the former rector, Mr Leslie Price, he maintained that this expenditure was provided from within existing church funds and not from sale of land assets.

Figure 13. First Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1865

The Second Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1923 (figure 14) illustrates the same dwellings from the earlier map and vacant ground that also mirrors the First Edition Ordnance Survey map.

This edition also confirms the Medieval strip fields present immediately to the south and west of the village.

The Historic Environment Record reveals three entries in close proximity to the study area, namely:

- HER 861. St Mary's Church, Norman church and churchyard with a early Medieval Scandinavian cross
- HER 19751. Gilcrux earthworks, date unknown
- HER 40702. Low Green Farm comprising a Georgian threshing barn, Victorian barn, Georgian cow-house and three farm houses (one Stuart, two Georgian)

Outside the village, Medieval ridge and furrow is evident, HER 5775 and 5776 and two undated earthworks; Gilcrux Earthworks HER 6917 and Grange Farm HER 6918.

The closest aerial photographs to the study area are an oblique set for the Caravan Park, approximately 480m north-west of the development. A second vertical set exists for a field near the fish farm approximately 550m northwards.

The study area being so distant, no implications can be drawn from the aerial photographs.
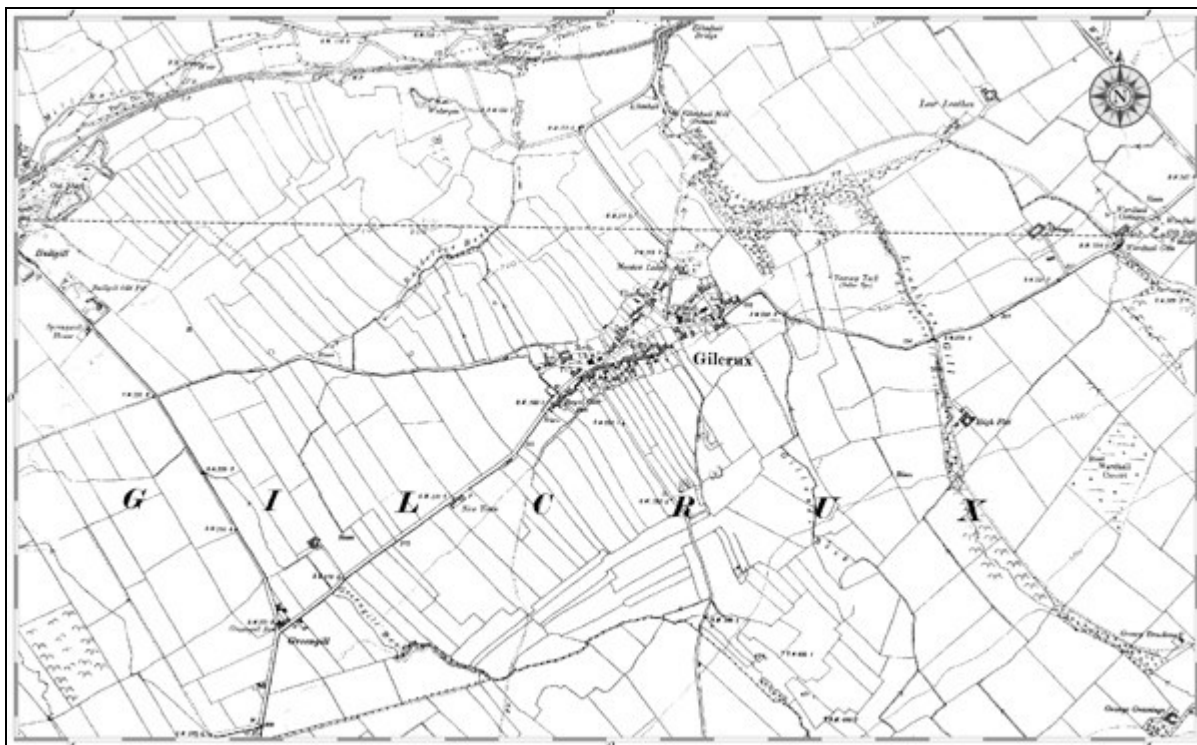
Figure 14. Second Edition Ordnance Survey map 1923

3.4 Walk-over study

A walk-over of the site revealed a number of elements that may be germane to past cultural activity. The site was enclosed and comprised of a grassy field that possessed a steep slope leading to the top of a ridge.

Figure 15. Stone within southern boundary   *Figure 16. Western bank and b*oundary

Formal observations that appeared to be relevant are as follows:

- A southern boundary comprised of a bank approximately 0.70m in height and 1.00m in width partially formed from dressed red sandstone fragments and surmounted by a hedge (figure 15)
- A western boundary, similar to the southern boundary approximately 0.50m in height and 1.00m in width consisted of an earthen bank supplemented with stone (figure 16)
- The presence of an elaborate chamfered stone window sill containing rounded and square recesses for a probable window grille (figure 17)
- Relic ridge and furrow present in the field just to the west (figure 18)

- A lack of ridge and furrow within the study area implying that the site was permanently occupied during the Medieval period
- A tree stump on the western edge of the field that probably confirms the western boundary illustrated on the 1865 First Edition Ordnance Survey map (figure 13).

Figure 17. Stone Medieval window sill

Figure 18. Ridge and furrow in adjacent field

3.5   Discussion

The purpose of the desk-based assessment was to identify past cultural features that require targeting and testing during a phase of archaeological evaluation in order to manage and assess these putative heritage assets.

A large building has been identified on the manorial map of 1824 and tithe map of 1841 that appears absent on the 1865 Ordnance Survey plan. If this observation is correct, then the building would at least be nearly 200 years old and would in most circumstances warrant further investigation.

However, a large caveat must be respected as there is a strong possibility that the large building identified in 1824 and 1841 is the same as East Croft, a building that appears to be extant in 1865.

Earlier maps do not provide further enlightenment regarding this issue. The 1824 Manor plan would appear to corroborate the 1865 location, whilst the 1814 enclosure map suggests a location for a large building further west than the 1841 tithe map.

The reason for this is the poor correlation between boundaries on these maps. This is particularly apparent on the tithe map compared with the same boundaries on the Ordnance Survey map.

For example, the eastern boundary of plot 407 (OS map) should be the same as the eastern boundary of plot 342 (tithe map). However, boundary 407 lies to the east of the carfax (meeting of four roads) within the village whilst boundary 342 is clearly west of this topographic feature.

As the roads have not been extended westwards, this is proven by the same shape for plot 322 (OS map) and plot 6 (tithe map), there appears to be a serious fault regarding the spatial integrity of the 1841 tithe map.

The tithe map displays the correct order of each plot, but their relative sizes and possibly individual location of buildings are slightly askew, sufficient to cast doubt on the provenance of a large building illustrated on the tithe map and its possible successor, East Croft, as identified on the Ordnance Survey map.

This clear topographic anomaly illustrated on the tithe map is rather surprising. The only obvious explanation being that the tithe map was copying an earlier, plan (possibly the 1824 manorial plan) thereby compounding the original survey error.

3.6   Conclusion

There exists some circumstantial evidence that potential cultural assets may exist within the study area.

The salient appears to be well-established by a formal bank possibly constructed from the demolished remains from a large stone building and suggesting enclosure of an important structure such as an important building.

Documentary sources mention a mansion and ancillary buildings opposite the church existing in the 13th and 14th centuries. The south side of the church would enjoy a favourable prospect and it is feasible that this suite of buildings may have been in close proximity.

The 1841 tithe map identifies a substantial building as large as the church within the study area. However, due to contemporary survey errors there exists a distinct possibility that this structure may be the same dwelling as East Croft, an extant building illustrated on the First Edition Ordnance Survey map and 1824 manorial plan.

Any future programme of work including the archaeological evaluation would seek to identify this putative structure and if possible examine its form, character and function.

4   METHODOLOGY

4.1   Project design

In response to a request by Cumbria County Council's Historic Environment Service (CCCHES), Gerry Martin Associates Ltd submitted a Working Scheme of Investigation (WSI) for an archaeological evaluation. This document outlined the contractors' professional competence as well as general objectives required of the project, the methodology and the resources needed for the successful expedition of this work.

The project design on being accepted by the curatorial body, Gerry Martin Associates Ltd was commissioned to undertake the archaeological evaluation.

 All projects were carried out in accordance with PPS 5 (2010), the guidelines and recommendations issued by the Institute of Field Archaeologists and English Heritage and in accordance with the brief prepared by the curatorial authority. The Project Manager, Gerry Martin has achieved the accreditation level of MIfA (Member) with the Institute of Archaeologists (IfA).

The archaeological brief requested a minimum of 35 square metres of to be evaluated.

The location of the trenches (figure 19, marked in blue) sought to investigate the highest probability of encountering archaeological deposits in order to assess their significance.

The identified locations were as follows;

- The frontage nearest the road (Trench 1) where it was proposed to insert a trench measuring 10m x 1.80m.
- Trench 2 measuring 11m x 1.80m sought to investigate the putative building suggested by the map regression exercise.
- In order to assess those deposits that were threatened by the proposed building footprint, an extra trench (Trench 3) was required measuring 10m x 1.80m as significant archaeological features had been discovered in Trenches 1 and 2.

Figure 19. Location of trenches within the proposed development
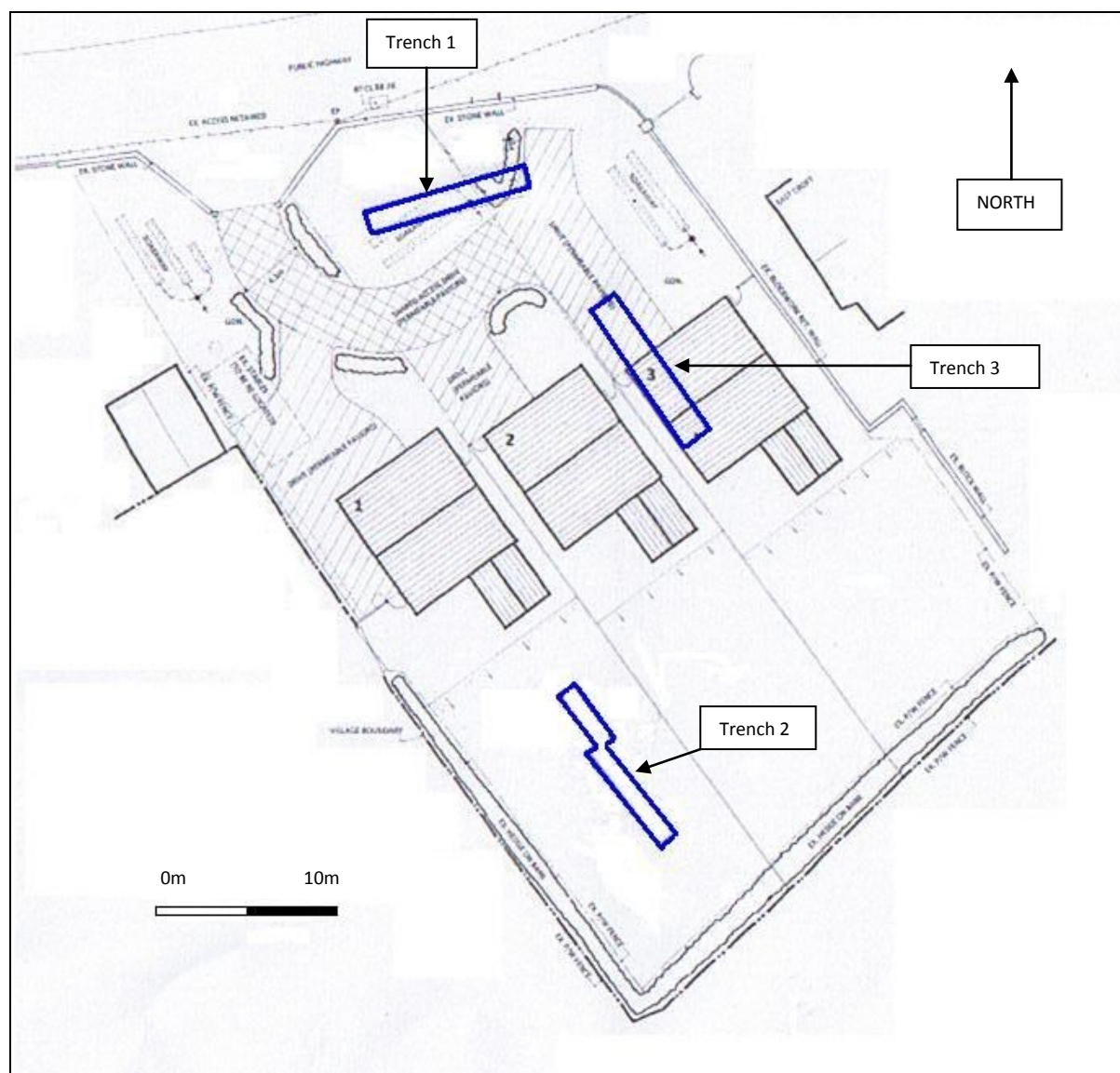
Intervention within these trenches was intended to be non-destructive but in order to characterise the archaeological sequence a 1.00m x 1.80m trench was inserted into the cobbles within Trench 1 and within Trench 2, a small sondage was made through a foundation cut in order to identify an earlier feature. Fieldwork took place between September 25th and October 3rd 2011.

5   RESULTS

5.1   Site archive

The following 38 contexts were issued whilst fieldwork was undertaken.

Context	Trench	Type	Part of	Interpretation
1	2	Fill	2	Fill of ditch 2
2	2	Cut	-	Ditch filled by fills 2 and 4
3	2	Layer?	-	Possible building foundation and platform
4	2	Fill	2	Fill of ditch 2
5	1	Layer	-	Possible wall without foundation
6	2	Fill	-	Foundation within cut 37
7	1	Cut	-	Possible culvert or robbed foundation filled by 10
8	2	Fill	27	Fill of possible robbed wall foundation 27
9	1	Layer	-	Upper set of cobbles
10	1	Fill	7	Fill of possible culvert or robbed foundation 7
11	2	Fill	26	Upper fill/ re-deposited clay within cut 26
12	2	Fill	26	Lower fill/ re-deposited clay within cut 26
13	2	Layer	-	Sealing level of clay
14	3	Fill	30	Fill of ditch 30
15	3	Layer	-	Cobbled surface
16	3	Fill	21	Foundation fabric in construction cut 21
17	1	Layer	-	Lower set of cobbles
18	3	Layer	-	Clay sealing foundation cut 21
19	1	Layer?	-	Clayey silt, fill of a large ditch or quarry?
20	2	Layer?	-	Narrow alignment of stones, wall foundation?
21	3	Cut	-	Construction cut for stone foundation fabric 16
22	3	Fill	21	Fill of construction cut 21
23	2	Layer?	-	Narrow alignment of stones, wall foundation?
24	3	Cut	-	Cut filled by fill 28, Pit?
25	2	Cut	-	Western extension of cut 6
26	2	Fill	29	Stone fabric at base of probable cut 29
27	2	Cut	-	Robbed eastern extension of wall cut 6 filled by 8
28	3	Fill	24	Fill of putative pit 24
29	2	Cut	-	Cut for putative building
30	3	Cut	-	Ditch filled by 14
31	2	Layer	-	Clay ground surface contemporary with foundation cut 6
32	1	Layer	-	Soil build-up and topsoil
33	3	Layer	-	Cobbled surface
34	2	Layer	-	Topsoil
35	3	Layer	-	Topsoil
36	2	Cut	-	Post-hole left unexcavated
37	2	Cut	-	Filled by foundation fabric 6
38	2	Layer	-	Narrow alignment of stones, wall foundation?

Nine field drawings were made and 181 photographic images taken.

5.2   Trench 1

Observed in a small sondage (green outline, figure 20), the earliest recovered deposit was a highly mixed mid grey slightly silty clay 19 containing decayed stone and increasingly towards the base rounded pebbles. This material was at least 0.70m in depth, the base not being isolated.

Water inundated the sondage at a depth of 1.00m below current ground level (89.00m OD).

Possibly, this material 19 was fill of a massive ditch, culvert or quarry pit, an interpretation advanced by the high propensity of springs within the village that have been formalised by stone drains, culverts and watercourses.
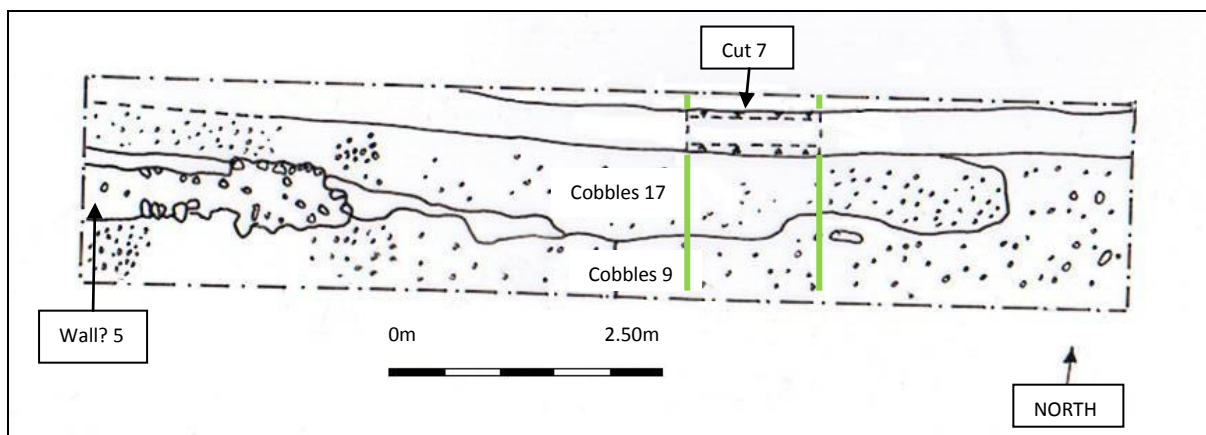

Figure 20. Trench 1

This area was then sealed by at least two phases of cobbles separated by a thin spread of charcoal.

The earlier concordant cobbled surface 17 comprised smaller and well-rounded pebbles. Resting above this surface was a coarser horizon of cobbles 9 augmented by set but broken and fragmented stone.

A possible short east-west aligned stub of broken stone 5 measuring over 2.50m in length, 0.60m in width and 0.10m in height may represent a very low wall or foundation resting above cobbled surface 9.

Cutting cobbled surface 9 was an east-west aligned cut 7 with vertical sides and seemingly a flat base filled by well-compacted river cobbles within a minimal soil matrix of grey silt 10. No pipe, drain or culvert was apparent within the trench that was over 10.00m in length, 0.40m in width and 0.70m in depth.

The surface formed by cobbled surface 9 was maintained and appeared to continue in use, probably as a yard, but could include adjacent barns and shelters.

Thick topsoil comprising mid grey silt 32 accumulated above cobbled surface to a depth of between 0.60m and 0.70m.

Figure 21. Trench 1 with wall 5 and cobbles 9   *Figure 22. Trench 2 showing ditch 2*
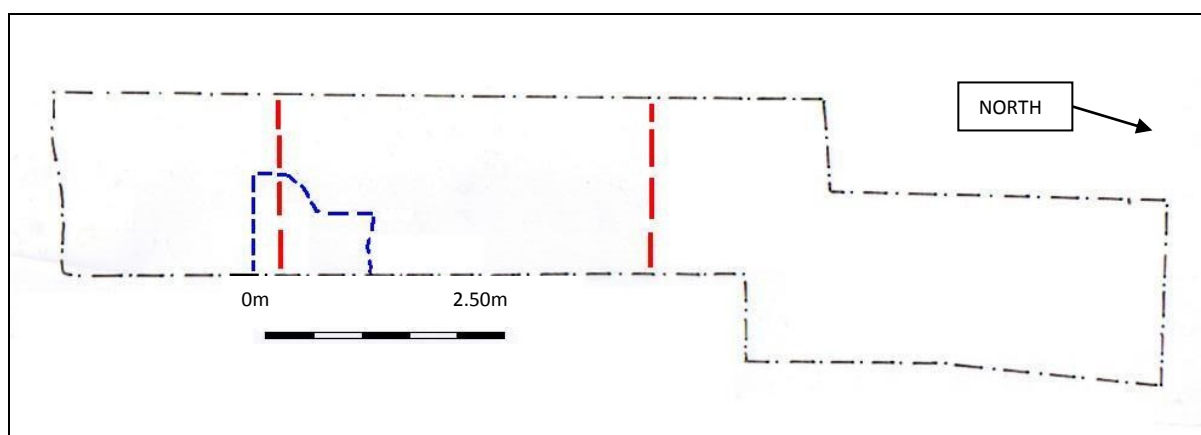
5.3   Trench 2

Figure 23. Plan detailing sondages in Trench 2

Trench 2 (figure 23) appeared to exhibit the following structural phases:

1.   An early phase of sub-surface occupation (blue outline)
2.   A dump of clay and the formation of a platform
3.   Construction of a substantial building (red outline)
4.   Abandonment and spatial re-organisation

1. An early phase of sub-surface occupation

The earliest cultural action appears to be the excavation of a large and unseen cut <u>29</u> into which coarse concordant angular stone, primarily red sandstone <u>26</u> were lain (figures 24 and 25). These stones were covered by clean and homogenous brown clay <u>12</u>.

From the limited area sampled, it was impossible to ascertain whether this surface was part of a wall or was a crude floor although clay <u>12</u> (figure 26) may have been part of a bonding agent as used in a clay and rubble-stone foundation.
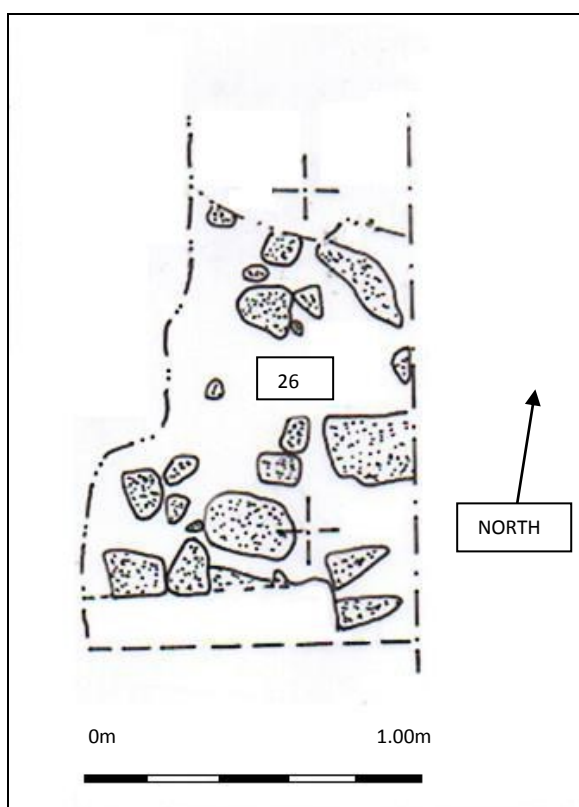

Figure 24. Plan of surface <u>26</u>, Trench 2   *Figure 25. Surface <u>26</u>, Trench 2 looking south*

2. A dump of clay and the formation of a platform

Resting above a layer of stones <u>29</u> and layer <u>12</u> was heavily mixed, yellow brown clay <u>11</u> with clumps of decayed yellow sandstone (Figure 26).

The systematic dumping of clay <u>11</u> may indicate disuse of feature <u>26</u> (figure 25) or part of the initial construction of a later structure with the dumping of upcast in order to produce a platform or mound.

The origin of this material is uncertain but could have been quarried from the base of the slope where a deep but unknown feature was identified in Trench 1.
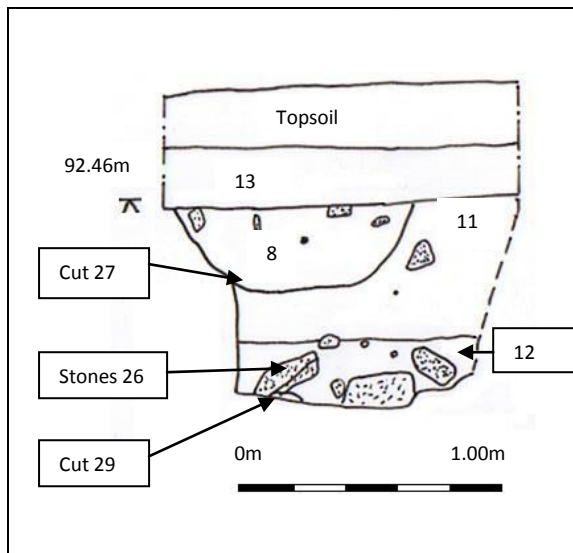
Figure 26. Section showing dump 11 and cut 27   Figure 27. Foundation 6 in cut 37

3. *Construction of a substantial building*

Definition of this substantial structure (figure 28) and its archaeological sequence was not entirely clear but the likeliest model is as follows.
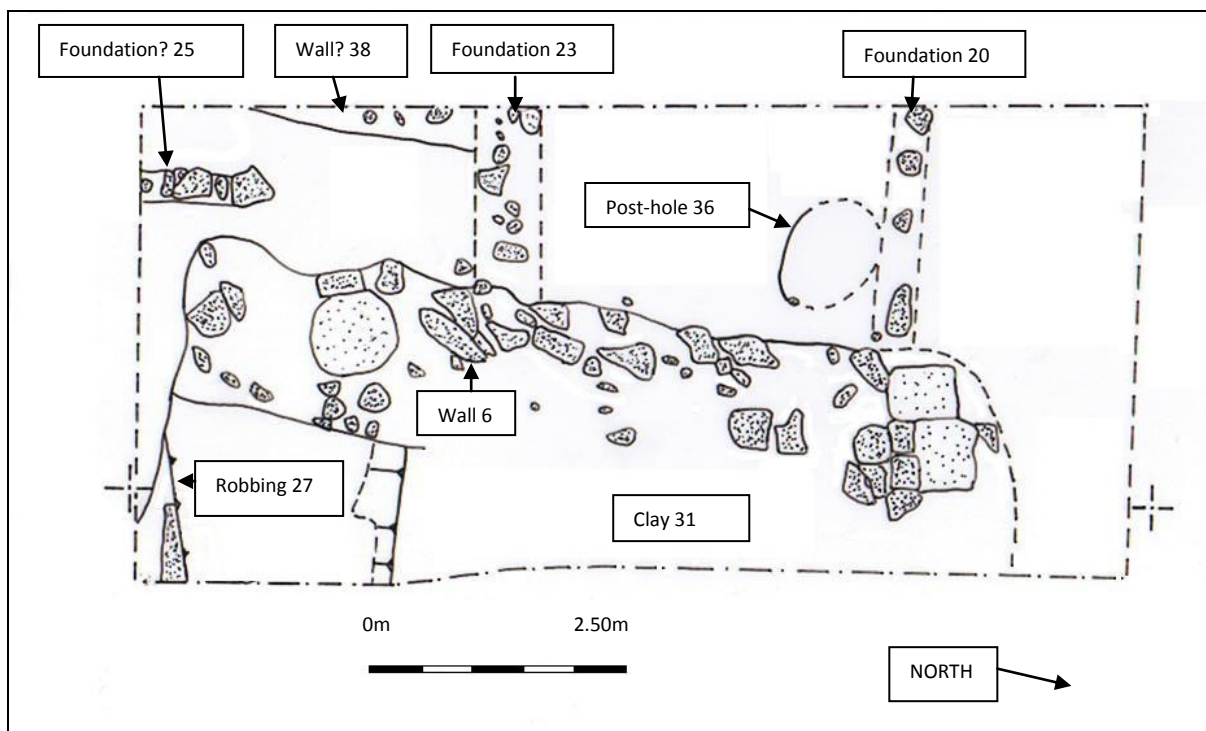
Figure 28. Building formed principally formed by foundation 6

Cutting re-deposited clay 11 and contemporary with a layer of yellow clay 31 that could be natural drift geology was a north-south aligned linear cut 37 with steep sides, base unknown (figure 27) filled by large rounded cobbles and angular red sandstone fragments that formed a north-south aligned wall 6 (figures 28 and 29). Towards the base of this foundation was clean brown clay that formed a bonding agent.

At the southern end of foundation 6 there appeared to be a set of stones 25 that formed a possible western extension whilst an eastern, east-west aligned cut 27 (figure 26) filled by light brown slightly silty clay 8 may represent robbing of the southern end of this putative building.

The northern end of foundation 6 appeared to veer eastwards before a limb formed from yellow brown slightly silty clay 3 (figure 31) produced a northern appendage consolidated by rounded and rough hewn stones that stood to a height of two courses (Figure 30).

Figure 29. Foundation 6

Figure 30. Foundation and upcast 3

Features 20, 23, 36 and 38 (figure 28) could either represent an earlier phase of activity or form a possible western annex to the large building illustrated by foundation 6.

This configuration comprised two east-west alignments of set stones 20 and 23 of which a north-south aligned set of stones 38 intersected by alignment 23.

A circular plan impression 36 (figure 28) possibly represented an unexcavated post-hole that may belong to this phase of activity.

A layer of heavily mixed yellow brown clay 13 covered structure 6 and features 20, 23, 36 and 38. This material may have been part of a toft or platform that had subsequently smothered these various foundations when the suite of buildings was dismantled or robbed.

4. *Abandonment and spatial re-organisation*

Following probable or partial disuse of the building within cut 6, a northwest-southeast aligned ditch 2 (figures 22 and 31) was inserted filled by mid grey-brown slightly clayey silt 1 to the south and a similar grey-brown fine clayey silt 4 to the north, both probably the same material. Light brown silty clay 34 formed sealing topsoil and poorly developed buried soil.

The alignment of ditch 2 does not conform with the prevailing north-south Medieval series of strip fields but as the ditch appears to penetrate the demise of cut 25 part of building 6 it is highly probable that this action occurred during the Medieval period or later.
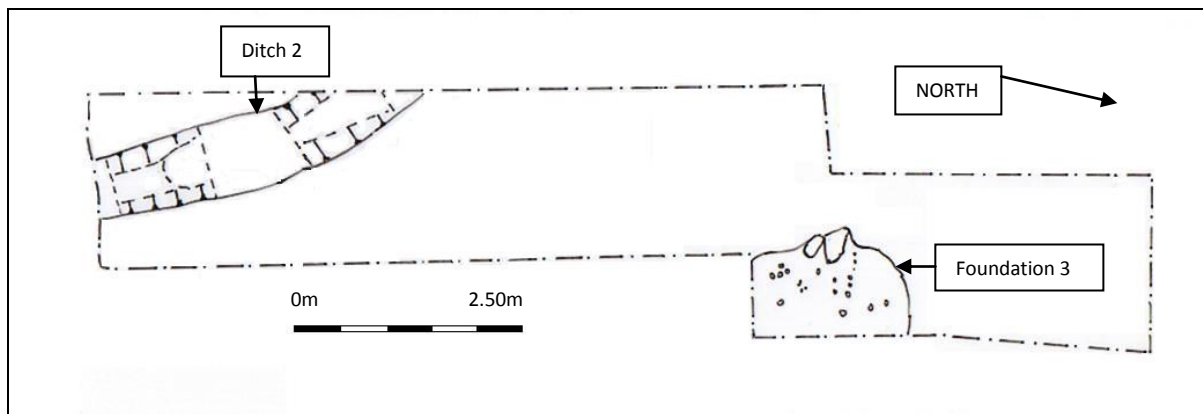
Figure 31. Trench 2, ditch 2 and foundation 3

5.4   Trench 3

A substantial building was discovered within Trench 3 that appeared to overlay a light yellow brown slightly sandy clay silt 28 within a small rectangular plan cut 24 left unexcavated.

This building comprised of a probable bench 21 cut into the side of a slight slope thereby forming a small terrace. Within this terrace, the southern side of a substantial building was constructed comprising rough hewn rubble stone, cobbles and red sandstone to form a footing or foundation 16 (figure 32) bonded by a light brown silty clay 22. In plan this appeared to form an inverted T. A large flat red sandstone flag (figure 33) to the west of the wall may indicate a floor to a room, whilst no similar feature was discovered to the east.

This sequence appears to have been interrupted by a large dump of homogenous light brown silty clay 18 that marked the demise of the building and was subsequently covered by a brown silty clay subsoil 35.
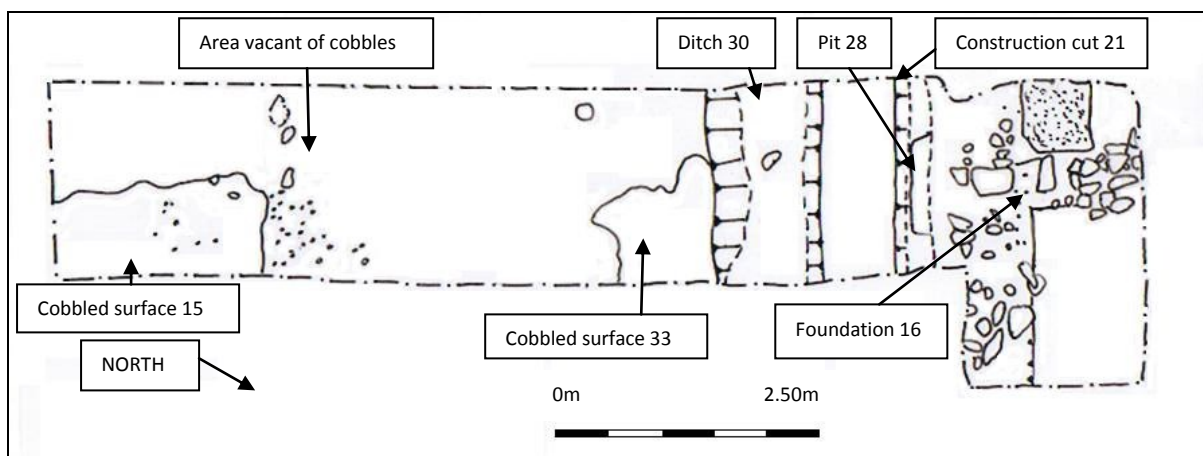

Figure 32. Trench 3

Above this terrace, there appeared to be two sets of rounded cobbles 15 and 33 that probably formed the same surface. A paucity of these cobbles to the west may outline a former building (figure 32).

Figure 33. Foundation 16 above cut 24   *Figure 34. Ditch 30 with cobbled surface 33*

The upper terrace was defined by a shallow east-west aligned ditch 30 (figures 34 and 35) filled by mid grey-brown slightly sandy clay silt 14.
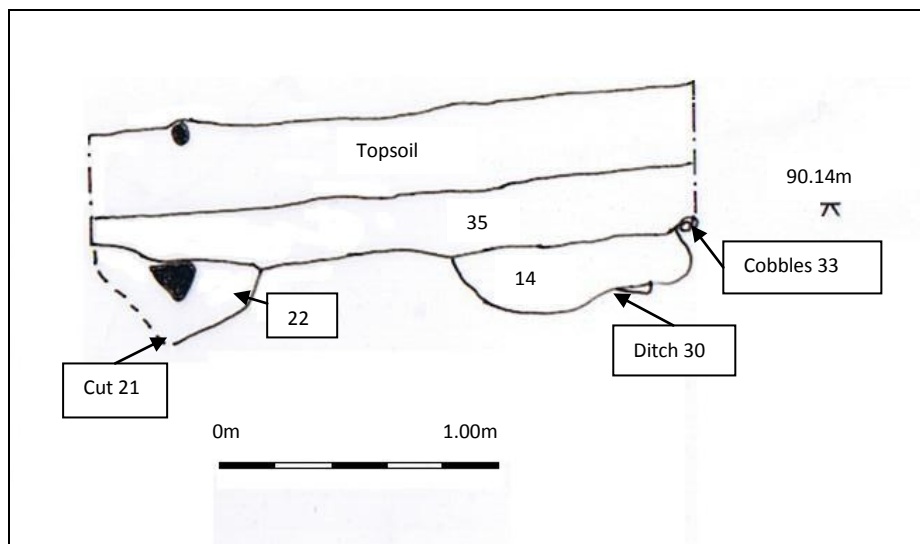
Figure 35. Ditch 30 and bench cut 21

5.5   Finds and ecofacts

Only three artefacts from secure contexts were recovered that included:

- A crude baked clay loomweight from backfill 8.
- A strap handle from a jug finished with a patchy yellow glaze probably dateable to the 13th century. This was found within clay 18 that sealed building foundation 16 and suggests that these range of buildings probably possess Medieval origins.
- A body sherd of pottery with a patchy green glaze comparable to Medieval pottery found within subsoil 35.

A metal detecting sweep was undertaken of the spoil and the cleaned surfaces within the trenches. One artefact was recovered that may possess some cultural antiquity, this being a copper alloy object, probably a button possessing a swirling pattern of unknown date (figure 36).

Due to poor and negligible survival, no environmental samples were taken.

Figure 36. Copper alloy object

5.6   Discussion

All three evaluation trenches produced archaeological deposits that were of significance and would be impacted by the proposed development. The archaeological results for each trench can be summarised as follows;

Trench 1

- An undated cobbled surface 9 and 17 probably comprising two phases that sealed the fill 19 of a possible large, but unseen and undated ditch.
- A possible stub of wall foundation 5 that may correspond to further crude and rustic buildings e.g. barns or stables
- A trench 7 that may represent an unseen culvert or buried pipe or possibly a robbed foundation

Trench 2

- An early stone structure 26 of unknown plan and date
- A later stone foundation 6 that appeared to represent a footing for a large undated building possibly incorporating foundation 3, robbing 27 and cut 25
- Minor structural elements that include possible minor footings or sills 20 and 23 and post-hole 36
- An undated ditch 2

Trench 3

- The formation of terraces denoted by ditch 30
- A T-junction 21 forming part of the foundation 16 of a large Medieval building
- A possible floor surface 16 denoted by a stone slab
- Cobbled surfaces 15 and 33 that may respect the shadow of an ancillary building
- A pit 24 that pre-dated stone building 21

Due to cultural action probably in the high Medieval period, the study area has by been landscaped into a series of terraces.

The lower terrace incorporated Trench 1 and consisted of a cobbled surface and possible associated structures. According to the 1814 enclosure map, this area should have been common land. It would therefore appear anomalous why this area appears to have been adapted.

Possibly this area was cobbled after 1814 but it must have fallen into disuse quickly as the 1841 and 1865 maps describe this area as gardens. Cartographic error and difficulty in focusing on a specific location suggests that the cobbled area was probably part of an existing property prior to 1814.

The lower terrace displayed an overburden of homogenous topsoil over 0.70m in depth. Only late 18th and 19th century pottery was present, an implication that suggests that this area was indeed open until the early 19th century. A date for the installation of the cobbled surface and an underlying feature is not known, but the longevity for this facility could be considerable. Moreover, folk tradition relates that the tithe barn for the parish was almost opposite this location, subsequently rebuilt as a garage on the same footprint (pers comm. Mr Kevin Thompson).

Between Trench 1 and the lower part of Trench 2 a large stone building had been constructed above coarse stone foundations inserted onto a second terrace. The fabric of this building has been lost and only sub-structural elements appear to survive and thereby would account for the severe paucity of artefacts, principally an almost total lack of pottery.

This severe limitation provides difficulty when understanding function, form and ownership.

Two sherd were recovered from this trench of which one piece, a glazed Medieval strap handle was from a secure context overlying the building foundation.

A third terrace rising above a substantial building contained cobbled surfaces whilst a fourth terrace, most probably the highest point within the village at 93.00m OD, possibly contained two phases of structural activity that may belong to the high Medieval period.

The ground plan found within Trench 3 broadly equates with a square plan structure with appendages as illustrated on the 1824 Manor and 1841 Tithe maps, although there exists some doubt as to the veracity regarding location for this putative structure; a structure that has pretensions to be a tower.

Intriguingly, there are circumstantial suggestions that an important building or suite of buildings may have existed in the northern location of Trench 2, although it does not of course provide absolute or even tentative proof of this hypothesis.

Medieval documentary sources record of a "mansion" below the tower of Laurence.

Laurence could have been a lay individual but may have been "St Lawrence", who protected the wealth of the early church in the 3rd century and gave away much to the poor. The saint was revered

within the Benedictine community who promoted a simple, austere manual life with an emphasis on working in the fields based on the life of St Benedict.

In 1098, the Cistercians, an offshoot from the Benedictine Order was formed in France and quickly became popular throughout Western Europe from the early 12th century. By the late 12th century, the Cistercians had acquired land in Gilcrux and it appears probable that they would have venerated saints close to their cause.

At 93.00m OD, the highest point in the village, (higher than the church of St Mary that stands on a small knoll opposite, 91.00m OD) was the location for Trench 3, where foundations less massive than in Trench 2 but clearly defined and substantial were uncovered.

As this was a disputed region in the aftermath of the aggrandisement of David I in the early 12th century, this position possesses a strong candidacy for a tower as a signal could be communicated quickly from this location to all points of the compass, presumably the main purpose for a tower.

A Manor must have existed within Gilcrux, whilst the Cistercians gained land in Gilcrux by bequest during the 13th century. In this favourable location, it is possible that the Cistercians gained control of the Manor before they relocated to Warthole Grange during the mid 13th century.

Aggrandisement by the Cistercian Order was not entirely successful as the Grange yielded no domain, whilst the income of the rector of Gilcrux was affirmed by the Bishop of Carlisle in the early 15th century. This situation would appear to leave a structural void that could allow for a second or the original Manor to remain within the village, thereby claiming dues and fines relating to the domain (pers comm. Mr Leslie Price).

As aerial photography suggests that no ridge and furrow existed within this study area, there must be a presumption that something of great importance already existed, perhaps consistent with a range of buildings and facilities that would have comprised a manor.

The existence of moulded stone sills and dressed stone blocks also within the study area, albeit surface finds, suggests proximity to a source of high quality stone consistent with the demolition of a fine masonry building.

It would appear therefore, that this location has a plausible case for being the location for the original Manor and that its physical structure and residual influence continued as a farm or residence until the early 19th century when it reverted to an orchard.

5.7   Development implications

The sub-structural nature of the archaeological deposits uncovered during the evaluation exercise suggests that the recovery of horizontal stratigraphy, artefacts and ecofacts will be low.

Should further archaeological fieldwork be required, then the primary research aim would be to recover a ground plan for a range of large putative stone buildings and whether antecedents for this action may exist.

The site can be divided into three areas where the impact on the archaeological record may be summarised as low, moderate or high. These areas are summarised below;

Low impact

The area covered by Trench 2 has potentially archaeological deposits of great interest that may include a putative tower, building or suite of buildings possibly built on a platform or toft.

The soil cover above the potential archaeological horizon is only between 0.20-0.30m in depth, but a band of re-deposited clay approximately 0.10m in thickness further protects the sequence.

As this area is designated to be a series of garden, then it appears unlikely that this archaeological horizon should be seriously compromised by the development.

Moderate impact

The area covered by Trench 1 has potentially archaeological deposits of moderate interest that may indicate functional buildings and a cobbled surface overlying a possible ditch.

The soil cover is exceptionally deep between 0.60-0.70m in depth, directly overlaying a cobbled surface. The archaeological deposits appear to be extensive but relatively mundane with the opportunity to recover few finds.

The development, in the form of service trenches will impact upon the archaeological horizon but it would appear highly probable that if landscaping and excavation could remain within the topsoil zone, then the mitigation strategy would be preservation *in situ*.

High impact

The area covered by Trench 3 has potentially archaeological deposits of great interest that may include a large stone building and associated yard surfaces.

The soil cover is approximately 0.20-0.30m in depth but does vary as this location lies between two terraces.

The development would involve stripping the topsoil and presumably benching into the terrace in order to form a flat surface to insert the foundation configuration.

6 ARCHIVE

The archive has been compiled in accordance with the project design and the guidelines set out by English Heritage (1991, 2006) and the Institute of Field Archaeologists (1994, 2008).

The archive will be deposited with an appropriate repository, Senhouse Museum, Maryport and a copy of the report donated to the County Sites and Monuments Record, as requested by the curatorial authority.

7   ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Jo MacIntosh for her help and guidance with the Historic Environment Record and aerial photographs housed in Kendal, the staff of Carlisle Library with my research into the local history of the area and David Bowcock and his staff at Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle with the map regression and documentary material.

I am also grateful to Glen Beattie, the architect for his guidance with the project.

Mrs Christina Thompson and her brother Kevin previously lived at East Croft and informed me of their knowledge of the area and in particular the study area and East Croft.

Howard Thompson undertook the machining and I am very grateful for his patience and tolerance.

I am indebted to the former Rector of Gilcrux, Mr Leslie Price for his extensive knowledge and his research into the Medieval village, particularly regarding the anomalous nature of the Manor.

Finally, Alan James kindly volunteered his services throughout the fieldwork. Not only did he metal detect the upcast and spoil but helped clean and excavate the trenches, greatly assisting my understanding of the archaeological sequence.

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APPENDIX A

Tithe maps, a brief introduction

Units

- In the schedule tables, areas are listed in Acres, Roods and Perches.
  - An acre is 4,840 square yards.
  - A rood is a rectangular area with edges of one furlong and one rod (A furlong is 40 rods). There are 4 roods to an acre, ie 40 perches.
  - A perch is equal to a square rod. There are 40 perches to a rood, and 160 perches to an acre.
- The amount due is listed in the schedule in Pounds, Shillings and Pence (£sd).

What is a tithe?

Tithes were an ancient levy on the fruits of the earth. Parishioners gave one tenth of their stock and produce to maintain their parish clergy.

Great tithes (corn, hay, wood) were paid to the rector. Sometimes lay impropriators gained the right to great tithes. For example, in Bampton, the Earl of Lonsdale and the Trustees of Bampton School received them. Small tithes (wool, calves, lambs, foals, eggs) were paid to the vicar.

Tithes were originally paid in kind and collecting them was troublesome. Tithe owners searched for produce they suspected farmers of hiding and farmers found many ways of avoiding payment.

To end the conflict, the Tithe Commutation Act was passed in 1836. Based on land values, tithes were converted to an annual money tax known as 'corn rents' or 'tithe rent charges'.

What is a tithe map?

Tithe maps were made by Tithe Commissioners appointed under the 1836 Tithe Commutation Act, the Commissioners' seal validating its accuracy. Each field or plot of land was numbered so that it can be identified in the tithe apportionment schedule.

The tithe apportionment schedule is the key to the tithe map. The map and schedule together make an invaluable guide. The schedule is divided into seven columns

1. Landowners listed alphabetically
2. Occupiers; if the landowner, this is shown as 'himself', otherwise the tenant's name is given
3. Identifying number of the property
4. Name of the field, feature or premises
5. State of cultivation eg arable, meadow or pasture
6. The size; in acres, roods and perches
7. The tithe in money replacing tithes in kind

What the tithe map can tell us

Tithe maps give the most comprehensive survey of parishes since the Domesday Book of 1086. Since Cumbria was not included in the Domesday Survey, the tithe map is often the first systematic parish record.

Tithe maps were drawn to a very large scale; 25 inches to the mile. They showed farmland in great detail including fields, tracks, streams and buildings. Uncultivated land such as fell, moor and common was not shown.

Geographic orientation was not important. Marking the boundaries of even the tiniest strip of land was essential since land determined how much tithe had to be paid.