

wards took a farm at Newton, where they both died, and their descendents have gone away. The register at St. Mary's also records, under date of 24th December, 1797, the marriage of Sir Walter Scott and Charlotte Margaret Carpenter.

Apropos of St. Cuthbert's Church, Canon Greenwell informs me that a "Hymnarium in usum Sarum" in Belted Will's Library at Naworth Castle, formerly the property of "Sir Brown Rector Ecclesiae S. Cuthberti Karleolensis" contains the following note "20<sup>o</sup> die Sep. 1553 Missa (*i.e.* the Mass) iterum celebrata in Ecclesia S. Cuthberti." Queen Mary came to the throne in July of that year.

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ART. XXXI.—*Past and Present among the Northern Fells.*

No II. By MISS POWLEY, Langwathby, Penrith.

*Read at Carlisle, December 9th, 1875.*

SINCE the former paper on this subject, read at Appleby, I have been favoured by the loan of the first "Shepherds' Guide," for the East Fells, Appleby, 1819, and also one of each succeeding issue up to 1872. These books seem to have been revised and re-issued once in ten or twelve years, to meet the changes of circumstances and of tenants in each district. It was still in the remembrance of some Westmorland gentlemen that the blocks for illustration had been borrowed for the East, from an earlier association of the West Fells; and by the kind exertions of these friends a copy has been borrowed from Yorkshire, of the first publication, of 1817, now very scarce. Its author, Joseph Walker, is therefore the pioneer who has smoothed the way for all succeeding guides and shepherds. The later books copy his title, his preface, his illustrations, and design, with such modifications as time, and circumstances, and locality demand.

"THE

“THE SHEPHERDS’ GUIDE, or a Delineation of the Wool and Ear-marks of the different Stocks of Sheep, in Martindale, Barton, Askham, Helton, Bampton, Measand, Mardale, Long Sleddale, Kentmere, Applethwaite, Troutbeck, Ambleside, and Rydal. To which is prefixed an Index, showing the Proprietors’ Names and Places of Abode. With a description of the Marks.

“PREFACE.—My first inducement to engage in this book was the favourable opinion entertained of the plan by several shepherds to whom I communicated it, and the success it has met with since its commencement is sufficient to show that extensive benefit which is likely to result from it: it has not been presented to any sheep-breeder that has not considered it of the greatest importance; the number of subscribers sufficiently proves the fact. Indeed its importance is so self-evident as to supercede (sic) any apology in bringing it before the public. It is well known to every proprietor of sheep, how apt they are to stray from their owners; and, consequently, either from not knowing the proper owner, or from a worse cause, (the fraudulent intention of the discoverer) are often entirely lost to him. Now my object in bringing this work before the public is to lay down a plan by which every one may have it in his power to know the owner of a stray sheep, and to restore it to him: and that it may act as an antidote against the fraudulent practices too often followed,—in a word, restore to every man his own.

“I considered the best mode of representing the wool and ear-marks would be to have printed delineations of the animals on which the respective marks might be laid down, and to which the printed description would serve as the index. I have endeavoured to make the work as intelligible as possible: but as I have never seen any treatise on the same subject, I cannot say but that improvements might have been introduced, and that imperfections may occur, but these I hope the good-natured reader will overlook.

“I cannot conclude without acknowledging the great assistance I have derived from Richard Mounsey and William Jackson of Martindale.

J. WALKER ”\*

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\* From the Rev. S. Golding, of Martindale, and other kind friends, I learn that Joseph Walker was a native of that dale, whose family had for generations lived there as statesmen, and that his half-sister is still living, at Waternook. When seventeen years of age he went to his uncle, the Rev. John Brownrigg, Parson of Elswick, and was afterwards steward of some estate near Birmingham. He farmed the property of his father at his death, at the age of 41; and was buried at Martindale, April 23, 1820. After this the estate was sold. But his half-sister and other neighbours remember him well. How he first sketched a sheep on a piece of paper, with his own mark, and sent the paper to his neighbour, William Jackson, who sketched his sheep facing the other way, and showing the reverse

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The ears are represented black and all the varied marks distinctly shown, and also explained; upper and under-bitted, ritted, upper and under-halved, key-bitted, &c. The association seems to include the names of all persons who occupied land at this time adjoining these fells, from Lord Lonsdale downwards, and a greater proportion of the clergy than in later books. If not in virtue of their being occupiers of land also, the times must have improved for them, since, in some of these mountain parishes, "gus-gait" was accorded with some other small privileges. Lord Lonsdale's mark seems to have been simply L, (large) on one side in tar.

There was a second book, also printed by Stephen, Penrith, without date, which seems at no great distance of time from the first. It contains the Preface which has been torn from the first book, and with the name of Joseph Walker. It seems to include a greater extent of country, though only 31 more members, in Patterdale, Grasmere, Hawkshead, Langdale, Wythburn, Legberthwaite, St. John's, Wanthwaite and Burns, Borrowdale, Newlands, Threlkeld, Matteredale, Watermillock, Eskdale, and Wastdale Head. It is said to be on the plan originally devised by Joseph Walker, and the two names appended are those of William Mounsey, and William Kirkpatrick.\*

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side, exactly as they now stand in the book. This paper was sent round till it resulted in the first *Shepherds' Guide*, by Joseph Walker, 1817.

In all the Books for the West Fells the places for exchanges, &c., are alluded to but not formally indicated, as in those for the east. They are noticed in newspapers, however, as taking place; perhaps by private appointment. The first place where such a meeting was held, was the Star Inn, at the top of Martindale Hause. The sign was then a brewer's cart, which was nailed to a tree. Joseph Walker painted another in its place; namely, a Star. He also composed a sheep-shearing song, which is printed with the *Shepherd's Guide* of 1830. But whatever his general ability, he will be best remembered as the author of the simple and effectual plan for "restoring to every man his own;" and it is pleasant to be able to record in this place the name of the unobtrusive statesman through whose agency is now extended over the whole of the Northern fells a sort of network of informal and neighbourly co-operation, which has contributed, in a degree not yet apprehended, to the peace and prosperity of those lofty, but not unproductive, and often wildly beautiful regions.

\* The former of these was the last of the "kings of Patterdale," of this name; both then lived there. The latter afterwards removed to Howtown, and took part in a later book.

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There was a third book printed by Stephen, for this district, each one larger and thicker than the last, showing that circumstances had required the renewal, but no names are given, and the preface is altered. As this printer gives no dates, except to the first *Shepherds' Guide*, the inference is that seven or eight years elapsed between each, and that Brown was his successor in Penrith, for in 1839 a *Shepherds' Guide* appeared, printed by James Brown, Penrith, 1839, purporting to be "the Second Edition," and referring to "the First Edition," 22 years before, by Joseph Walker, and the names appended are of William Kirkpatrick, Howtown; Richard Mounsey, son of the first Richard, and J. Mattinson, nephew to Jos. Walker.

The latest *Shepherds' Guide* for the West, that I hear of, is by William Hodgson, Normoss, Corney, Cumberland, printed at Ulverston, 1849. It seems to include 1,000 names, from every parish which possesses a right on these fells.

CUMBERLAND.—Beckermet, Birkby, Birker, Bootle, Borrowdale, Brackenthwaite, Braithwaite, Buttermere, Burns and Corney, Castlerig and Naddle, Ennerdale, Eskdale, Gosforth, Haile, Irton, Kinneyside, Lamplugh, Legberthwaite, Lorton, Loweswater, Millom, Mosser, Muncaster, Matteredale, Netherwasdale, Newlands, Ponsonby, St. John's, Thornthwaite, Threlkeld, Thwaites, Ulpha, Waberthwaite, Wasdalehead, Watermillock, Wicham, Whitebeck, Wythburn.

LANCASHIRE.—Blawith, Colton, Coniston, Dunnerdale, Hawkshead, Kirkby, Lowick, Osmotherly, Pennington, Seathwaite, Satterthwaite, Torver, Woodland.

WESTMORLAND.—Applethwaite, Ambleside and Rydal, Askham and Helton, Barton, Bampton, Birbeck Fells, Crosby Ravensworth, Grasmere, Kentmere, Langdale, Loughrigg, Longsleddale, Martindale, Measand and Mardale, Patterdale, Rosgill, Shap, Swindale and Wet Sleddale, Troutbeck.

There is not quite an equal number of northern and local names of persons in this district, as might be expected, where there have been so many new settlers.

But

But the old names are still predominant, and Jackson is the commonest in the West, as is Watson in the East.

In the first Book of the East Fells, Chapelhow, Appleby, 1819, the title, preface, and rules are copied from that of Walker, without name or acknowledgement, only he has "seldom seen, &c." I have seen an advertisement from a Carlisle paper, of the formation of this East Fells Association, and of the publication of the Book; to which subscribers are solicited. But in the state of the roads, and postage of that time, I suppose that would have signified little without taking other means of apprising the fellsiders. That first book had only about two hundred names. Both it and the second Book of the West, quote that rule in Joseph Walker's, which in all the succeeding Books is modified by the omission of the clause, "That all stray sheep shall be proclaimed at the church on Sunday, and at the two nearest market towns, by bellman on market day, &c." Such notices many persons may remember made by the clerk in country churchyards, as the people were departing from afternoon service. It is significant of the difficulties of circulating intelligence in the wide and thinly-peopled fell parishes. The church being the only central place of meeting, such allusions to secular business were not uncommon in the first quarter of the present century. This might indeed, be regarded in something of the same light, as, "helping an ox, or an ass out of a pit on the Sabbath-day;" but sales and other meetings were often proclaimed.

It was a mistaken inference at the close of the last paper, that, because of the reduction of its area, the Shepherds' Association of the East Fells is now a less numerous body. After the enclosure, by Act of Parliament, of Renwick Fell and others of the lower commons, the Society still possesses 505 members. This seems to show that the fell districts are of late more populous; perhaps that news can now more easily reach their farthest recesses, and certainly

tainly that there are now more persons to take advantage of the Association, and of the privilege of keeping sheep on the fells. This is doubtless a result of drainage and cultivation, and consequent amelioration of climate; opening out of roads, and increased value of land, and the continually increasing demand for mutton and other mountain products.

After 1863, it seems there was a friendly union between this Association of the East, and that of the South Fells, to which it had always offered a hospitable hand at meetings. At this date the Books of the two Societies, separately printed, and diversely illustrated, are, I find, bound together.

But the latest and largest Book is that of 1873 :

“THE SHEPHERD'S GUIDE. For an Amalgamated Association, comprising the East, South, and North Fells Association. Including uninclosed lands in the Counties of Yorkshire, Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland. Extending from Bowes to Wensleydale, to Sedbergh in Yorkshire; from Ravenstonedale and Brough, to Gullam Holm in Westmorland; from Crossfell and Kirkoswald, to Castle Carrick in Cumberland; from Knaresdale and Allendale, Hexhamshire, to Blanchland in Northumberland; from Lanchester and Stanhope, to Middleton in Durham; from thence to Bowes in Yorkshire.”

It has rules, marks, and index. Each branch has its own Committee and its separate list of names. The book is illustrated uniformly throughout, by skeleton sheep with marks exhibited; places of meeting are appointed for each district. The latest, for clearing the fells of all sheep in Autumn, are from the 8th to the 12th of November.\*

But with all this extent of territory, and multiplication of flocks, there is no confusion. The 755 marks required for the South Association, as well as 316 for the North, added to the 505 of the East are all arranged and duly recorded in this book, and can be read at sight by its

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\* In the former paper it should have been also November, for clearing the East Fells, not October.

diligent students on the wild and distant fell-ranges; for they are, as before noticed, of the simplest and most obvious description.

The names of places and families throughout this book tell the same story, with few variations, of the same northern families having occupied the same districts, apparently little interfered with by strangers for ages. There is much the same proportion of names ending in *son* in each of these branches. In that of the south, (upper Westmorland and Yorkshire), Alderson is the commonest name; (*A* pronounced open), thirty-two Aldersons,—as we have no name like Alder—suggesting a query whether this can ever have been Haldorsen? Metcalfe is the next in number, and pronounced often Mecca. And Atkinson the next, sixteen, the middle *n* little heard. Addison, Collinsons, Cleasbys, Sedgwicks, Collingwoods, Raines and Dents abound in this country, where apparently the old family christian names are yet thought best. There are three Anthony Cleasbys, out of seven; and to name the eldest son after the grandfather was the rule formerly.

New names come in with the Northern branch, but quite characteristic and local, as Wearmouth, Tyndale, and Tweedale, &c. There is a mountainous ridge which forms the watershed between the vales of Tees and Wear; on one side the smaller streams are sent down to the Tees, as *becks*; on the other, they flow on to Weardale, as *burns*, and ever after to northwards retain that name, showing perceptibly on the county map, that this was also a division of the people. Here the hard consonants in many names are softened. *Scale* and *skill* become, in the north east, *shel* and *shield*. The *ings* of Westmorland and Yorkshire are changed for *haughs* in Northumberland, the *waths* for *fords*; the old flaxfields, with us Linelands and Lineholms, there become Lintley and Lintzfield\*

There is the same literal candour about place-names.

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\* Liin, Danish, flax. In Scotland, lint:—"When the lint is i' the bell."

They

They are mostly descriptive. Many are highly picturesque, from which an artist might paint, if he only knew the old dialect, scenes like Bewick's. In Ellerbeck, Ellerholm, Ellergill, Ellerbank, and Ellers, are the homes of the Alder. In Wytheshill, Wythwaite, Widale, Widdiebank, Saughtree-yet, Sool-banks, Seal-houses, Wandale, and Wanthwaite, probably the haunts of the willow. Eshgill side, Ashley, Askrigg, Askham (or Holm), Eshells, Ashpot, Ashfells, those of the ash. The birch has many places, Birkdale, Birkriggs, Birkbeck, Birkew, (how). And the Elder, as Burtrees, Burtergill, Burtraford, &c. The oak is not so often mentioned, but Oakbank and Aikbank show its presence, while Bishop's Oak and Pedamsoak have each undoubtedly, a history; and Hagworm Hall a legend,—perhaps like "The Laidly Wurme of Lambton." Cocklakes, a name in each branch, I fear, indicates that the old sport of cockfighting was practised there, as well as at Cocker-shield. (shieling). Bail Hills, Bayles, and Brunt Hill, (I learn from a Yorkshire Glossary,) are names for heaps of Scorixæ, unknown of what antiquity; and Jordans may be some prehistoric burying place. For some unchanging things, place-names remain faithfully descriptive since the old times when they received them. Clint and Keld, both often occurring, show that then, as now, the rocks there protruded, and the springs burst forth. Lund tells of many an ancient grove or wood, which has long disappeared. And Prydale may be much improved since the name of a waste sedgy grass distinguished it. The labourers used to go with their scythes to mow "pry" in the later uplands, not long since, after the hay was over in the Eden Vales.\*

The copiousness of our dialect, possessing often so many names for the same thing in landscape description,

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\* Klint, Danish and Islandic, rock, cliff. Keld, Danish and Icelandic, spring well, Lund, grove, Danish and Islandic. See Ferguson's Dialect of Cumberland, which has *pry*, and gives an explanation.

gives

gives an apparent diversity to the list, though *carr*, *moss*, *marske*, *bog*, *slake*, and *mire*, all had the same signification once; while some words which look, and are spelt the same, mean something quite different, to which rustic pronunciation affords the only clue. Leadgate, and Garrigillgate are very near to each other, in Alston Moor. But the former is, or was, really a gate, on "crooks," a "yet," while Garrigillgate is a lateral valley branching off from the back of Hartside, where it seems there are six farms, and the road through it is "the gate," (*gyate*) the way to go. Westgate and Northgate may perhaps mean merely the roads to the west and north. But Fellgate, occurring in this list, or on maps, means always the old division between the open pastures, and the inclosed lands of a village; that which prevented the live-stock of the fells encroaching on enclosures, as they sometimes would do in times of storm or hardship.

"The Cross-fell District Goose Shepherd's Guide," referred to in the former paper, bears date 1862, and was at that time arranged by a youthful resident for the four parishes from Milburn to Ousby. The sixty-two names it contains are those of persons, often cottagers, who then kept geese on the fell, which some of the larger holders do not. The names are still of the same type; the marks belonging to each are duly registered, and are such as have been used from time immemorial for the distinction of fugitive property in live stock.\* A coat of wool or feathers,

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\* At one time in England, it was misdemeanor to keep a swan not marked and pinioned, without a licence. And since the reign of Elizabeth, when the privilege of keeping swans on the Thames was accorded to numerous City Companies, and individuals, it was required that all should be marked, and their marks recorded in a "Swan Register." Any which were found without such marks, were taken up, and marked for the Crown. As nine hundred varieties are required, the annual marking is still an important affair, as may be seen in Yarrel's British Birds. Such rules are doubtless the origin of ours. And no better plan has apparently been discovered. In the Highlands of Rossshire, according to Mr. Hope Vere's Book, the "lugg marks," are much the same, as I see in an American paper, where in a State and Co., far west, certain cattle, red and white, have been found, with "ears" under and upper-bitted, &c.; "will be restored on the owner's proper application." And in the ranches of California, the mules and cattle  
being

being removable, marks to resist influence of time and weather, are often added by burning the horns and cutting the ears of sheep, and cutting the feet or webs of geese, though they may have rings of coloured paint round their necks. This marking, early and carefully done, is so far from being cruel to the animals, that it is their protection against the possible misery of being hunted and worried from place to place, a nuisance to neighbours, and a forfeit at last to "the lord of that manor on which they are taken up." In all such Associations marking is imperative, and a stray animal whose mark is found in the book is entitled to every consideration; if a goose, "the owner shall have word sent in writing, or otherwise, —the owner to pay the postage." I am told that geese, if undisturbed, are quite as certain as sheep to preserve their own heaf. They are driven over to the back of Crossfell, (the fox prefers the sunny side and lower level) a little corn is scattered for them, and they never leave that spot if they can help it.

"Heaf" is a term used by country people, and known to signify that part of an uninclosed fell-pasture, to which a particular flock of sheep becomes attached from habit, and will hold to, against those of its own species. It is probable that this word was never much known beyond

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bear "the owner's brand," as in the cattle-runs of New Zealand, as the only chance for his preserving, or recovering them if lost or stolen.

Notes and Queries, February 12th, 1876, has a notice of "Premiums offered by the Society instituted in London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, London, 1761." This is the title of a Pamphlet, which among other things, offered "£50 for the discovery of any cheap composition of a very strong and lasting colour for the marking of sheep, which will bear the weather a proper time, and not damage the wool, as pitch, tar, &c. To be produced on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1769." From this, and White's expression, "The Sheep on the Downs this winter, (1769 at Selborne,) are very ragged, and their coats much torn,—and the shepherds saying that they tear their fleeces with their own mouths and horns, and are always in that way in mild wet winters, &c.;" this seems to have been a subject of some anxiety in the last century. Many of the marks in the earliest books are red, but that, certainly, would not bear the weather "a proper time;" and though a saving of wool might be thus effected, the loss of the sheep was endangered, without some counter mark. It was only for a single parish, however, in the south of England, that care was required, for the most part.

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the Northern fells. There is no trace of it in Lincolnshire, where many northern words prevail. But if that shire was colonized by the same people as our counties,\* the settlers in the rich fens, (to reclaim which, and to resist the sea's encroachments, was their life's occupation), would have no use for such a word as *heaf*, and it might soon die out and be forgotten; while the dwellers among the high fells, engaged in sheep pasturage and tillage preserved it bright by use; thus divergence of speech would arise which would be gradually increased. In Carlisle, or the neighbourhood, little seems to have been known of the word; those who have written in the dialect, or of it, have mostly been of lower Cumberland. Anderson has never named or perhaps known of it, and where its usefulness and antiquity are undoubted, it has hardly been seen in print. In *The Shepherd's Guide*, compiled by a practical farmer for the use of his neighbours, who spoke of the "*heaf*" every day, to avoid writing a word known not to be in books, this circumlocution is adopted, "that part of the fell on which his sheep usually go." And in this way the earlier diffusion here of education than in some counties may have tended to its suppression, and rendered it difficult for strangers to gain information from persons familiar with the word. I think Sir W. Scott saw in it perhaps a corruption of "*hope*," a shelter, (he had heard of it in Northumberland). Some thought it connected with "*heve*," Anglo Saxon for elevation, some with "*hoved*," Anglo Saxon, head, &c.; but the latest supposition, and the most actively hostile and degrading is that it is a corruption of "*heath*." This seems to have come in with the influence of Railways and southern travellers in the lake districts, and the hearing and reading, by our own people, of our fells as mountains, and of their pastoral slopes as *heaths*, as southerners call them.

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\* See Ferguson's *Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland*.

It is now some years since the fell-flocks, which in rustic speech were termed "heaf-gangin' sheep," or "ga'en," began to be styled in advertisements, "heath-going sheep," for their instinct is so well known to preserve their place to which they have become attached, and which has been accorded to the farm they belong to by prescriptive right and neighbourly agreement, that it is a great saving of labour and expense to a new tenant; and it is frequently set forth of land below the Lake fells or the Crossfell range, that with it will be sold or let, a flock of "heath-going sheep." I think it was from the lake country that this refined compound came; but many who knew the old word did not adopt it, as this had not the same meaning. It does not seem to be noticed as interfering with the new term, or claim of restoration, (if there are those who believe "heaf" to be a corruption of "heath,") that there is no such word as "heath" in our old dialect. The wild plants, *Calluna vulgaris* and *Erica*, are known by their Danish Icelandic name, ling; and are so known in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire,—nearer the Scottish Border as heather. Hethersgill and Heathery Cleugh are to the northwards of the county, but we have no old local name into which heath enters at all. We have Black Syke, Black Dub, and Black Cleugh, but no Black Heath, as we surely must have had if the word had been in use by those who gave the names; or if we had it, it must have been with the *d* instead of *th*, like the Danish *Hede* or the Icelandic *Hedi*, which travellers describe as so extensive. We can only pronounce heather, as "hedder," over most of rural Cumberland. I cannot recall that heath is given as a name to high uninclosed tracts in Scotland, but such as Lochar Moss, and Culloden Moor, and Muir of Rannoch occur readily enough, up to the country of the great Gaelic Bens.

In Denmark, *Hede* seems to be applied to high ground, possibly uninclosed, without reference to its crop. In a poem

poem of Grundtwig, the rye is said to grow there more clear of weeds :—

“Rugen groer paa Hede, reen,”

and, in regard to winter supply in Jutland,

“Lyngen groer paa Hede,”

It may have been the abundance of more precise terms which our old Northern dialect possesses that prevented our use of heath in this sense. We have Patterdale Fell and Shap Fell, Stanemore and Alston Moor, Wedholme Flow, Burgh Marsh, Wragmire Moss, and Cliburn Ling, all exactly descriptive of different sorts of waste lands, to those who know the dialect, or will use the Northern key to its obscurities. The last-named is the only instance I know, of a parish common being named from its product. It is of very limited extent, in Westmorland ; but I remember hearing, that on the night of a census, taken many years ago, fifty gipsies were encamped on Cliburn Ling, and so escaped the enumerators. There is Lingholm in Windermere ; Lingstubbs and Harrington Ling are names of farms, and some others have Heather, but not one in all the lists of all the Shepherd's Guides shows an instance of Heath.

For some years I had believed heaf to be a lingering Danish word, of which we have so many other instances ; and in that belief I have been confirmed by friends of greater knowledge of languages, and also of the practical use of the word, in England and in Denmark. “Hævd, s. Danish Hefd. Islandic, possession, occupancy ; Hefda, v. to occupy, maintain, &c.” Three years ago, while it was unrecognised in local books or glossaries, I made a protest against its extinction, for its historical and chronological interest, as well as its usefulness and its pleasant associations ; for heaf is a word for which there is no modern equivalent. The publication during last year, by the English Dialect Society, of Provincial Glossaries however, shows that it has long existed in adjoining pastoral districts where it might  
have

have been expected to be found. Marshall's Rural Economy of Yorkshire, 1788, has "Heaf, s. the haunt or habitual pasture of a flock of sheep upon a common or heath." Hutton's Tour to the Caves, 1781, has it "heave," a north country word of the same meaning. Brockett's Glossary seems to have given it first, as "heft," and "heave," Northumberland. This is copied by Halliwell; and The Dialect of Cumberland (Ferguson 1873), has it "heft" or "heaf"; still the same meaning, and reference is made to the Ang.-Sax., Germ., and Dan. words.

But in the latest edition of "Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, revised and enlarged by Dr. Longmuir, 1867," is the word, save for a trifling difference in sound, the same as ours, in use and idiom, and with the same root. "Heff, s. 1. A holding, or place of rest. 2. An accustomed pasture. 3. The attachment of sheep to a particular place. Sueo-Gothic (the ancient language of Sweden), *Haefd*, *possessio*; Islandic, *hefd*, *usucapio*. Danish (*hævd*.) maintenance, protection. To heff, v., to accustom to a place: heffing, &c." Heft, or heffed, may have been originally the preterite of this. It seems now to serve as either noun or adjective, in "a heft," and "heft sheep," as here shown. An example given is from "The Brownie of Bodsbeck;" "a weel hained heff, an' a bieldy lair." (A well-preserved pasture and a sheltered place of rest). As this tale was written by the Etrick Shepherd, the extract seems to combine the highest philological and the soundest practical authority.\* In the same comprehensive and excellent dictionary is the word which has been suggested to explain heaf, "Hoif, hoff, hove, houff, hufe s. 1. A hall, (Bellenden) Sueo-Gothic, *hof*. *aula*. 2. A burial place. The principal place of interment at Dundee is

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\* As Hogg, in his notes to *The Queen's Wake*, 1813, complains of the incompleteness of Glossaries, in regard to country words, and as no one in *Notes and Queries* or elsewhere, has mentioned this word, it may be inferred that it was not in the earlier editions of Jamieson.

called the Houff. Islandic, hof, *atrium*; German, hof, area, Kirchhof, *area ante templum*. 3. A haunt, Scottish, (Burns); Anglo-Saxon, hofe, a house. 4. A place to be concealed, (Ferguson's Poems) Anglo-Saxon, hofe, *spelunca*, a den." In Hogg's Poem Kilmeny,

"The Corbye cam fra her houff in the roke."

(hiding place in the rock.) This word we have not, nor does it appear in the old Glossaries mentioned, of Yorkshire or Westmorland: but in one of the Dialect Society's, (1876) of words in use at Whitby and neighbourhood, there seems great confusion of meaning between this and "heaf," and innumerable forms of spelling and pronunciation, including "heuf," evidently modern corruptions of obscure words.

Canon Simpson has shown that in a draft lease of a farm (apparently close to the Common) in 1817, "a flock of heaf-going sheep" were included. In the same draft occurs the very consistent and expressive word, *smoot*, Dan. and Cumb., an aperture in a hedge. This was the same year in which the first Shepherd's Guide, by Joseph Walker, avoided mention of the old word by the circumlocution which all succeeding Guides have copied. "Heaf" was not in books indeed, nor in the mouths of fashionable folks, but it was thought safe and proper to bind neighbours in a legal agreement, and "heath" in its place had apparently not "come in." It may not have been much later however, in advertisements; though I have heard of no authentic instance earlier than 1850. In an old indenture of mortgage kindly sent by an aged gentleman in the law, to show how he has resisted the innovation, the copying clerk had written *heath* the first time the word occurred, which his judicious principal had erased, and put *heaf*, in its place; causing it to be so written throughout the long instrument binding the borrower to surrender with all his message and tenements, lands, and hereditaments, &c., "all his stock of heaf-going sheep," &c., to repay the debt. (1850).

It

It is not strange that in an isolated region this word should have come down—since the early settlers who brought it—from father to son, in conversation, and in parochial description, though till a comparatively late period there was no need to write it, nor till the frequent transfer of land, and the days of the County Courts, was it I think, seen in print. The influence of the elders of remote parishes, and their pacifying power, perhaps more in the prevention than the redress of wrong, is intelligible when it is recalled how distant was usually the nearest legal authority. Professor Sedgwick, in his *Memorial of Dent*, 1865, says that in his boyhood the nearest acting magistrate for the vale of Dent lived more than forty miles away in Yorkshire. Though few parishes might be similarly situated, geographically; there were probably none in which the preservation of right by a proper balance of pastoral power, was not carefully looked to, by those whose interest it concerned; and who held all needful authority on the spot. As prompt resistance was the essential point, against an oppressor of flocks, the temptation was great to an aggrieved man to deal with such an one, by the strong hand; as the constable of Dent did with a breaker of the peace there, to save time and “cost to the parish,” as he said. But if not, the Town Jury,\* at short notice, would naturally be summoned; as a contributor to the light on this subject has said, they could and did by their local knowledge and power, put a stop to flagrant overstocking, and “summarily quash” the unneighbourly tricks by which a flock was sought to be dispossessed. Since the frequent

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\* (See Marshall's *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, I. 27.) “Assessment of the damages of impounded cattle, removal of nuisances, and the stocking of commons,” are among the services rendered by these juries, kept up by the voluntary consent of the neighbourhood, in the beginning of the present century.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Two or three instances of the interference of the Town Jury are to be found in Bishop Nicholson's MS. account of his primary Visitation in 1702, which is in the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. At Great Salkeld the Bishop found that, pending the settlement of a dispute as to re-roofing the Church, the Jury had taken possession of the old lead, while at Brampton they decided on the Parson's right to a water hole for cattle.

changes,

changes, and the County Courts becoming available for the recovery of small sums, more has been heard of disputes, chiefly of smaller or new holders, on the lower Commons, as to their dispossession therefrom ; but perhaps with little satisfactory result. The judge cannot know much of their damages, and can admit no claim to any particular spot, as a heaf. That is indeed a name for a pastoral abstraction, like a cattle "gait." Neither can be demonstrated beforehand, nor claimed after the animals have left them, on any particular spot, by law. The immemorial rights are there, and are most valuable, as are also the words which distinguish them from each other, on the ground of privilege. For it is the instinct of sheep to settle, and preserve their heaf, which while they occupy it, is undoubtedly theirs ; it is the boundary of their "going." But cattle do not so attach themselves to one spot ; their continual wandering, anywhere, within the limit of their pasture, however wide, is their *gait*. A most expressive and useful word, and in continual use, with its scriptural simplicity, "To go in and out and find pasture." The northern pronunciation shows how this word is formed, "I gaed a waefu' gait, yestreen." I went, is not quite so clear. Not the *manner of going, but the place*. And this seems the better orthography than gate.

The first instance of the word heaf in composition, I believe, was in verses by the village Dryden, "On Renwick Fell Inclosure, 1863 :"

"We've fratched and scalded lang an sair, about our reeghts on't fell,  
The number of our sheep, and whaur the heaf was they sud dwell,  
When Spring com round, our bluid it warmed, our ancient heafs to keep,  
But oft, aye oft, the damage fell upon our whiet sheep."

One verse gives a lively picture of the consequences of hounding off from the heafs :—

"And oft we fratched and fret about, and throppled udder sair,  
Upon the whol' the fell hes meade mischief for ivver mair,"

In spite of all this disturbance, which may perhaps be exaggerated, there are instances innumerable in which  
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the same families, in virtue of the same properties, have on the higher fells occupied the same heafs for generations past; and there have been instances of an owner's right being lost for want of occupation.

In opposition to the levellers of the dialect, I have seen occasional glimpses of the old word in Penrith papers. In a notice of sheep to be taken into a pasture, (enclosed and private), "on Penrith Fell," it is said to be "a good sound heaf, with plenty of heather, and good herbage;" a slightly different sense. "Sound," and "sour," its opposite, are used here as in Denmark, of land, as dry or wet.

There is a figurative use of heaf, which is quite as well known as the literal, and may not be so easily suppressed. It is often said "the heaf is outstocked," when too many of a family are kept at home; or an establishment is unwisely enlarged, "Mair ner t'heaf 'ill carry," in broadest Cumberland. An old gentleman who spoke excellent English, but liked to recall the words of his boyhood, said to a lady visiting a newly married sister, "So, Miss — you have come to see your sister heafed." (He would not have said it to a stranger.)

Heafing the sheep is a thing not to be left to chance. When a flock is sent out to find its own subsistence on the fells, some person usually goes and stays for a time to see it heafed. For, if disturbed by neighbouring sheep, or assailed by dogs at first, "the silly sheep" might never afterwards be able to maintain their own heaf.

It was also said that the transposition of these two words would be as great an injustice to the word heath, (by forcing it into a false position) as to the one it seems to be intended to supplant. Though the one has no place in old MSS., nor in books; and the other is as firmly grounded as any word in the language. But its place is Saxon England, and there it is appropriate; and its associations always fresh and beautiful, with its varied  
herbage,

herbage, its clumps of trees, and its broken spots and brushwood. Our associations with heath are, in places—all of the south—and in plants, all of the *ericas* (heaths) of greenhouses.

But “fell” is the name of our wilder upland tracts, bare, often rocky and savage; it is distinct and appropriate to them, and it would be a great loss to the dialect to exchange it for any other.

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On the conclusion of Miss Powley’s paper a discussion took place, in the course of which the Rev. Canon SIMPSON remarked:—

I am sorry to find myself in opposition to a lady, but I must venture to question the accuracy of Miss Powley’s theory. There need be no confusion between the two words “heath” and “heaf.” Both may be, and I believe are, used in these counties, but their meaning is very different; indeed in their original signification, almost directly opposed to each other. It is quite correct to say “heath-going sheep” or “heath sheep.” The expression describes a class of sheep bred and fed generally upon land uncultivated, thus distinguishing them from sheep bred and fed upon cultivated land. Whether the land be enclosed or open, or whether it is common to many or has one owner, is beside the question. It is heath because it is neither ploughed nor tilled, and in granting to the tenants of a manor common rights of pasture upon such land, it was sometimes called the Lord’s waste. The word “heath” has its origin from “haide” or “heid,” waste or uncultivated land; old Danish “heide,” old Gothic “haithi,” Anglo-Saxon “haeth,” Swedish “hed,” Danish “hede.” The word heathen had the same origin, and was used of those nations supposed not to be cultivated or civilized, because they were not Christians. We have also “heath cock,” “heath honey,” a “haddery day,” all from the same root. A day is said to be “haddery” when it “mizzles and rains,” as it very often does upon our fells in Westmorland and Cumberland when fair lower down.

The word “heaf” or “heuf,” as it is written in Halliwell’s dictionary, used to be pronounced as *fleur*, *deur* (though oddly enough, while *fleur* has changed into floor, *heuf* has changed into heaf, to distinguish it from a word nearly similar in sound, now changed into hoof). “Heaf” is probably from “hof,” a court, or court-yard, or “garth”; Old Danish, “hof,” “hov”; Anglo-Saxon, “hofs”; Swedish, “hof”; Danish, “hof”; or it may be from “hufe,” “hube,” a plough; old Danish,

Danish, "hub," "hup," "huob," a field; Holl, "hoef." I should, however prefer the former. In these counties the word is used much in the same sense as the meaning given by Halliwell, a shelter, a home, that is, a place at which anything, more especially sheep, has settled or been domiciled. A sheep heaf is that part of the common upon which the sheep of a particular owner, or it would be more correct to say, the occupier of a particular tenement, are accustomed to pasture, and they are said to be "heafed" when they have been taught to settle upon that particular portion and stay upon it or return to it as their home. In the draft of a lease, dated December, 1817, the word heafed is used in this sense. The incoming tennant covenants with his landlord to deliver up at the end of his tenancy the same number of ewe sheep (295 at 18s. each), and ewe hoggs (68 at 9s. each), "equal in condition and quality to those which the said C.P. hath now bought of the said J.P., and heafed upon the same part or parts of the said premises and commons thereunto belonging, upon which such sheep so bought and taken by him aforesaid are heafed." These sheep were to be heafed not on a particular part of the common only, but upon the premises in general; that is, pass through the "smoots" or holes in the wall into the inland at such seasons as it might be desirable to find better shelter, and out again as the weather improved. And when we speak of heaf, or heafed sheep, we are describing their habits, not their class or quality. The term may be applied to every class of sheep, as well as heath or fell sheep, as it may be used of any place, and when the lady mentioned came from some distant place to find a home in these counties, she was heafed so soon as she was settled and satisfied with the change, just as a swarm of bees, when removed from the branch into the hive, are heafed when they choose to remain there. The Danish word "hœvd," meaning possession, prescriptive right, to which illusion has been made, and our word "heaf," have a common ancestry, but they are only distant cousins. They are not derived one from the other, nor so far as I know has the word heaf ever been used amongst us to describe a prescriptive right. There may be some manors in which the occupiers of particular tenements can claim the right of occupying a particular part of the common or waste land, but that would not be by prescription, but by grant or agreement. As a general rule, there is no such thing upon our commons. For convenience, and by mutual forbearance, each occupier may use some one particular part of a common, but he has no vested right by perscription or otherwise, and if his neighbour's wethers are stronger than his own and encroach upon, or altogether drive his sheep away from their accustomed heaf, he has no legal remedy. "The Common" is equally common to all the tenants of the manor.

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That the Courts Baron to which allusion has been made were accustomed to interfere with the exercise of common rights is quite true, and as they were wont to interfere with a good many things, there may perhaps be cases on record in which the Court has prescribed what part of the common should be used by each occupier in the manor; but I have no hesitation in saying that in all such cases they were exceeding their powers. It is said that "the tenants of a manor or ville may make bye-laws touching their commons and the like to bind themselves, but not strangers," as it is also said that "a bye-law of a Court Baron will bind only such tenants as are assenting, unless it be made under an immemorial custom, or by prescription." Nor must it take away the inheritance, and as it is against common right to restrain a tenant from one particular sort of commonable cattle, so would it be to restrain his enjoyment of the whole common. There is, indeed, a case reported in which the homage under a custom to make bye-laws for the well ordering of a common, ordained that no commoner should put his sheep in a particular part of the common under a penalty of 3s. 4d. to the lord, and upon demurrer in replevin, this was adjudged to be a good law, especially as it did not take all the common, but only for sheep, and in a *particular place*, but that involves not the inheritance of the tenant, but the rights of the lord, and does not authorize the division of a common into heafs.

It will, of course, be understood that I do not dispute the proper use of the word heaf, or deny the existence of sheep heafs, or, as in Northumberland, "heaves"; but I object to the word heaf superseding the word "heath," and contend that when our people speak of heafed sheep (not heaf sheep) they are referring to the habits of the animal, habits that are lost when the sheep are removed from their accustomed haunts; when they speak of heath or heath-going sheep, they are describing the class of sheep as clearly as "fell sheep" does, with generic qualities that are not accidental but essential, and that abide with them, whether they are pasturing on their native heath, or whether they are being exhibited at fair or market or agricultural show. Whether we should say "a heaf" or "the heaf" depends on circumstances. When the members of a family are talking amongst themselves, they may say *the* heaf, as they say the cows, the horses, the bees; but, generally, we should sufficiently honor the word by placing before it an indefinite article, and, I think, the relative position of these two old words, that I hope may long continue in use should be "the heath," and "a heaf."

ART.