

Medieval Land-use in the Ancient Parish of Kirkby Kendale

M. A. ATKIN

This paper uses place-names, field-names and field patterns to explore medieval land use in the ancient parish of Kirkby Kendale. The principal source is the maps and schedules of the townships of the parish made for the Kendal Corn Rent Act 1835. The Kendal Corn Rent Act aimed to commute the payment of tithes paid in goods to payment in money. This required surveyors to map and number the tithable fields of each township in the parish and to list for each field its number, owner, tenant, field-name and a valuation for tithe. This material was explored further using William Farrer's *'Records relating to the Barony of Kendale' volumes I to III* (Kendal 1923), and A.H. Smith's *'The Place-Names of Westmorland volumes 1 and 2'* (Cambridge 1967), and other records in the Kendal Record Office, together with substantial fieldwork.

The Townships within the ancient parish of Kirkby Kendale

THE foundation of the parish of Kirkby Kendale may well have been very early. The siting of the church between a ford across the Kent and a tributary called Blindbeck suggests that it may have been a Celtic minster church¹. The church served an enormous parish which comprised the settlements and their lands within the whole drainage basin of the River Kent and its tributaries, the Sprint and the Mint. The name of the settlement adjacent to the church was, in strict terms, Cherchebi (its name in Domesday Book) – in- Kent-dale, that is 'the church settlement in the valley of the river Kent'. Ultimately the *ch* hardened to *k*, to produce the familiar Kirkby Ken(t)dale, and by the end of the twelfth century this was the largest parish in the Barony of Kendale, and a new town had been created, the Borough of Kirkby Kendale. An earlier Norman lord had granted to the Abbey of St. Mary's of York, the church, its glebe, and its settlement. This, by 1408, was called Kirkland: it was distinct and separate from the borough. The names of the other settlements which comprised the ancient ecclesiastical parish of Kirkby Kendal emerged slowly into history with more than 20 townships.²

In Domesday Book under the heading '*In Sterkaland*', nine vills (later known as townships) were named, but only seven were members of the ancient parish of Kendale as it later emerged. They were Strickland itself (probably both Strickland Ketel and Strickland Roger); *Mimet*, a vill named from the River Mint, a tributary of the River Kent (probably most of *Mimet* was absorbed in creating the later Borough of Kendal, so that only the name Mintsfeet, 'the meadowland of *Mimet*' has survived); *Cherchebi* was 'the village (and its lands) with a church' (now Kirkland); *Helsingetune*, (Helsington); *Bothelford* (thought to be Natland); *Hoton* (probably Old Hutton and The Hay); and *Patun* (Patton), named from the Roman road between Kendal and the fort at Borrow Bridge.

However, there are townships unnamed in Domesday Book which emerge later in the medieval records, by which time (Kirkby) Kendal was the central place of the Barony

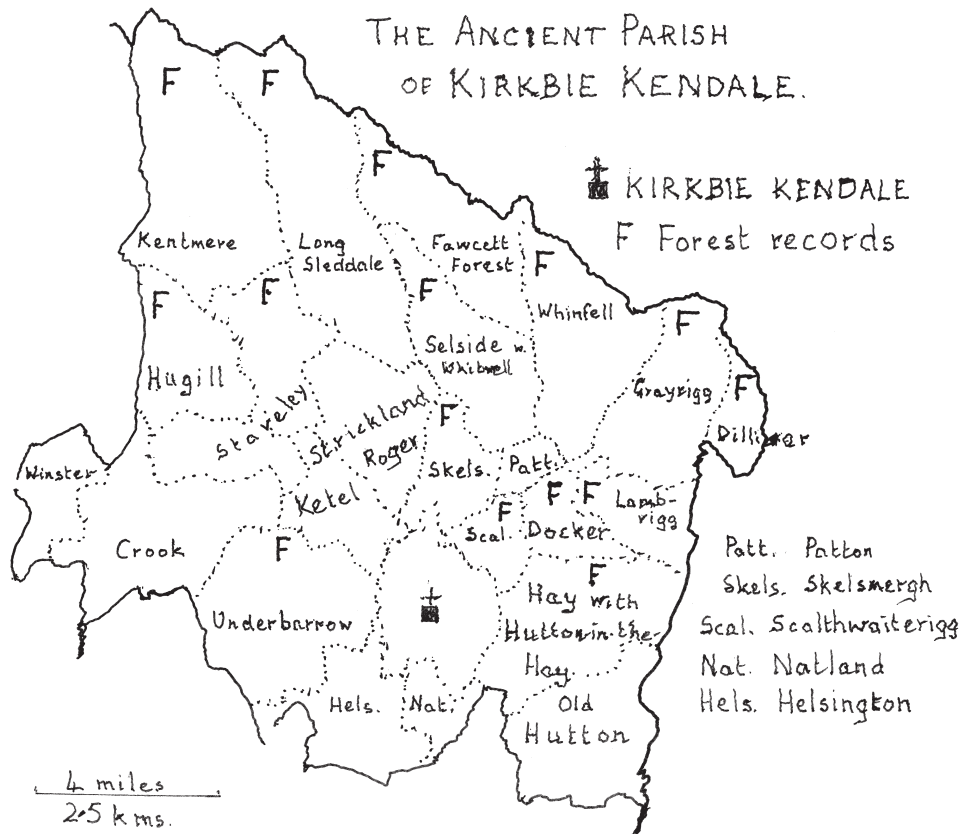


FIG. 1. Townships of the Ancient Parish of Kirkby Kendale.

of Kendale. Farrer suggested that, 'the following hamlets were described as lying within the vill of Strickland Ketel, Whinfell, Longsleddale, Bannisdale, Strickland Roger, Staveley, Hugill, Kentmere, Applethwaite, Undermillbeck, Little Langdale, Crook, Crosthwaite and Winster,' and that Patton, 'included Skelsmergh, Bretherdale and Fawcett Forest? (Farrer's query), Selside with Whitwell, Whinfell, Docker, Lambrigg and Dillicar'.³ Most of these places formed later townships and many of them formed part of the Forest of Kendal. (Fig.1.)

Terrain

The broad division between the northern and eastern upland, and the more southerly, lowland parts of the parish, is reflected in the distinction between those places **not** named in Domesday Book, and those which were. The former territory, none of whose townships (probably 17) are named in Domesday Book, is a mountainous, rocky region cut by the deep glaciated valleys of rivers whose streams reach the sea directly, or via tributaries to the River Kent. The farms and hamlets are scattered along the dales and their names often contain place-name elements derived from Scandinavian, such as *fell*, *dale* (ON *dahr*), *gill*, *beck*, *thwaite*, *ergh*. They could, and did, grow crops for their own use but the emphasis was on stock farming; their arable being largely

The lowland townships of the Barony contained villages as well as isolated farms, many with recognisable Old English (OE) elements, *tun*, *ham*, *ford*, *wic*, like Helsington, Natland, Patton, Hugill and Staveley, Sedgewick and Stainton. Such settlements, lying in the lower valleys of the Kent and its tributaries, formed the ‘granary’ of the Barony in the Middle Ages. This was an area of gentler slopes, with deeper, less stony, and more fertile soils. Drumlins and kame terraces provided slopes sufficiently gentle to be readily ploughed but with sufficient slope to drain away the generous rainfall of the district. The principal grain crops were oats and bere (barley), these being more reliable than wheat and, being spring-sown, could permit grazing after the harvest until well into the winter.⁴ In this district of abundant moisture the ripening of these crops was aided by communal corn kilns.

Across Helsington and Natland⁶ there are wide stretches of land which were once large common arable fields worked in strips. These are still visible in the landscape today. Many of the present fields are long, narrow and slightly curved because they were enclosed by owners agreeing to exchange single strips until groups of several could be hedged or walled as single fields⁷. The three farms of Helsington village shown on Fig. 2, High House, Low Bank House and Bridge House, represent a remnant of the



tcwaas 003 2013 vol13 0011

much larger medieval village. Their fields are relatively small compared with those further north. These bear field-names like *Three Acre*, *Ten Acre*, or *Four Acre*, which may literally have meant ‘an enclosure made up of 3 or 10 or 4 arable strips, probably using the older customary acre which locally was probably around twice as large as a statute acre. **Dale** from *dal*, meaning a ‘share’ (like the word “dole”), is a common field-name element for an arable strip, or a field made up of several parallel strips. Names like *Willy Dale* and *Dobs Dale* occur across the whole Barony, and *Sour Butts* and *Five Roods* which were strips of short length. Several of the fields further north are called *Bank* and have been made up of groups of long, east-west strips each of which has been divided across (north-south) and named *High* and *Low Long Field*. *Briar* and *Birket Fields* have been formed in a similar way. To the north of them several *Warriners fields* are still part of Helsington Laithes (ON for barns). Here in the medieval period lived the Warriner, in charge of the demesne barns, and also responsible for the care of the rabbits and their artificial burrows. These mounds, much worn down, can still be seen in the lower part of Warriner Head.

A strip was often called a **land**, so *Longlands*, *Hemplands*, (growing hemp for ropes), *Pease Field* (*peas*) or *Haverlands* (oats) represent a group of strips. *Flatt* occurs occasionally and means a division of the common field.⁸ An example in Preston Patrick in 1770 lies out on the moor beyond the Sill Field hamlet’s *Great Pasture*. Evidently a small group of men had worked together to extend cultivation and have each taken a strip-share (a *flat*) of the new arable land. Such *flatts* may have been created as late as the seventeenth century. *Banks* is another name which occurred so frequently with similar curved boundaries in parallel narrow fields that it too was probably a name which indicates land used for arable crops, perhaps as **outfield**. Usually it occurs further up valley sides or over drumlins. In such contexts it is not clear whether the word ‘*Bank*’ or ‘*Banks*’ was referring to the hill slope or to the humps of the ridge and furrow which characterised each strip.

A further characteristic of these strips which is apparent on the map (Fig. 2.) is their curved nature: the straight furrow is probably a nineteenth-century development. These ‘**aratral-curves**’ may be one-way, as in a gentle bow; or an S-shaped, or a reversed-S bend. The aratral-curve is thought to have arisen because the medieval ploughteam was commonly of four oxen (or even more on heavy land), and even when they were yoked two-by-two the team required space to turn at the headland. It was therefore practical to swing the team as it neared the end of the furrow so as to come on to the headland at an angle. *Back Lane* from the A6 (north of Grate Farm) as far as Seal Trees took its aratrally-curved form from the one-time strips on either side of it.

Natland village, east of the River Kent, retained more of its farms into the nineteenth century. Like Helsington, the pattern of larger fields and holdings continues across the river (and even more markedly across the later canal and railway) in the northern part of the township. Here the principal holders appear to have been the mill on the boundary with Kendal (Helme Chase is a late name, but may have replaced an earlier one) and the small Natland Park, recorded in 1408 when it was granted as dower to the widow of Walter de Strickland. Field names in Natland Park include *Park*, *Buck Well* and *Laund*, implying grazing for deer. The park was granted with a tenement

called Old Natland, now gone, but possibly a predecessor of Natland Park House. The curved boundaries of the park certainly suggest that it once reached far enough north to include *Highfield*, but it is possible that the surviving field-names of *Old Natland*, *Natland Field*, *Highfield*, *Dale*, *Acre*, *Flatt* and *Bank* might imply land taken out of cultivation to create the Park, or the converse, that some land was later put back into arable production.

South of the village the enclosures are conspicuously smaller, but markedly curved, and several bear personal or occupational names which suggest they were enclosed relatively early and acquired names like *Elsy Field*, *Jenmet Field*, *Robert -*, *Willy -*, *Belle -*, and *Birkett -*, *Sill -*, *Fisher -* and *Warriner Fields*. Others indicate crops or occupations like *Dyehouse Field*, *Mill Meadow*, and *Kemp* or *Hemp Field*. Surprisingly few are *acres*, or *dales* which may imply early exchange of plots permitting enclosure. Natland, like Helsington, was a village belonging to the Kendal Castle demesne. A second factor in the siting of Natland Park has probably been the adjacent high ground rising to the crest of a long ridge culminating to the south in the Helm, with a one-time hillfort, dominating the Kent valley, and unenclosed. Beyond the ridge lay the Hay of Kendal (the open hunting area, many miles wide, beyond the immediate pleasure park of the Castle). A field-name *Palace Dale* just east of Natland Park and at the western foot of the ridge is unlikely to have been a palace, but possibly contained a palisade, placed to retain deer on the Helm.

In Kendal itself the aratral-curve can be seen in the yards which run back from the main street; Tanners Yard and the Old Shambles are examples. This area is the 'Borough' part of Kendal which has a pattern typical of the many new towns that developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries⁹. It appears to be a borough added to the village of Kirkland (the original settlement with the church) at the south end, and the aratral curves of the 'yards' of the Borough lying to the north. In the eighteenth century the Mayor of Kendal was made aware of this distinction: as he went in procession from the Borough of Kendal to the Church, he was reminded that because he had no official authority in Kirkland, his mace must be lowered when he crossed Blindbeck, the boundary between Kirkland and the Borough. It is open to debate whether this pattern of curved yards was because the new borough of Kendal was laid out using a plough in the customary manner over ancient fields belonging to the long-established church-village of Kirkland or the lost Domesday settlement of Mimet.

Seen from ground level it is sometimes possible, in a low light, or because of uneven plant-growth to make out "ridge and furrow", a characteristic feature of medieval cultivation. The ridge was evidently created by starting ploughing in the centre of a strip and casting the turned sods towards the middle of the strip, so that the soil was heaped slightly. At the outer sides of adjacent strips, the sods would lean away from each other and formed a slight ditch which helped the drainage as well as distinguishing one man's strip from the next. Ploughing ridge-and-furrow was also a simple form of insurance: whatever the ensuing summer offered in the way of weather – cool and wet, or warm and dry – it would be possible to harvest some sort of a crop from the drier ridge or from the damper furrow¹⁰.

Ridge-and furrow can still be seen in favourable conditions: I found it one evening showing in buttercups where the flowers had opened on the ridge, but not yet in the furrow. Next day, returning for a photograph, I found I was too late; the field was a sea of yellow! It also often shows when snow has melted on one side of the ridge leaving the other side white. Long shadows of early morning or evening can have the same effect. In many townships in Northern England the amount of land under ridge and furrow is astonishing and seems too great an area to have achieved for a relatively small population with cumbrous ox ploughteams team. But it must be remembered that much of it was 'outfield', cultivated only until its harvest diminished to less seed than was needed to sow it. It was then used as pasture and grazed, the animals dunging the land, perhaps for several years until its fertility recovered. The 'infield' or 'inby' was a relatively limited area under permanent cultivation. It was kept fertile only by expending on it all the manure that could be accumulated during the winter when cattle were indoors. It was therefore usually close to the settlement.

Similar field names occur in the townships around Kendal. On the limestone hillsides above the Kent valley arable land was rarer, but nevertheless in the slightly deeper soil in the sheltered bowl of Bradleyfield¹¹ on Fisher's Tenement farm, and on the western side of the limestone ridge in Cunswick Hall there are names like *Four-*, *Eight-* and *Ten-Acre* associated with long narrow curving plots perhaps 4, 8, and 10 ridges wide where owners had exchanged 'riggs' in order to create a field large enough to be worth enclosing. Similar examples where new enclosures have retained echoes of their old names are: *Banks*, *Cross Dales*, *Stony Lands*, *New Lands*, *High and Low Rains* (*reins* – a strip, or a headland where the plough-team turned) and *Bark Riggs* (the ridges of rigg and furrow). On the lower ground in Underbarrow the land is broken by frequent knolls and rocky outcrops of Silurian rocks and large expanses of gentle slopes are rare. Here farms are dispersed between the rocky knolls and the fairly frequent but scattered *Butts* field-names suggest that arable strips had to be fitted into the short spaces of cultivable land between the knolls; even such names are scattered.

Terracing in the upland: lands, dales, rigs, dalts

In the upland half of the Barony pastoral farming was dominant, but the townships still needed to be as self-sufficient in food as was possible. Cultivation, however, was considerably limited by the terrain, the climate and by the aspect of the slopes. There were still areas in the northern dales in 1836 where enclosure had not taken place and *lands*, *dales* and *riggs* were shown on the map with dotted boundaries, individually held in scattered narrow strips as they were in Kentmere, where additional level land was acquired by terracing to form 'lynchets', the whole area being known as the *Stubside Dales*.¹² The name implies it was at the edge of a cleared coppice; dale, like 'dole' meant a share. Through long disuse as arable and the abundant rainfall, the form of these lynchets is less sharp, but they are still apparent above the road just south of the gate into Hallow Bank Quarter. Later enclosure walls cut across the descending line of the lynchets in narrow steps. Just below these lynchets is another group of strip-shaped fields, but in 1836 they were already enclosed; they run down the slope, rather than across. These were given the name of *dalts* often with a descriptive name derived from its character, as in *Long Dalt*, *Brant* (steep) *Dalt* and *Pismire* (ants) *Dalt*. The term

Dalt may perhaps be a use of the past tense, meaning a *Dale* that has already been shared out and enclosed.

Meadow and pasture – meadow, ing, feet, heads

Close second to the community's need for arable land, and sometimes given a value above it, were the meadows from which came the hay crop that provided the winter food for the cattle while they were housed from November to April. The number of stock they could keep through the winter months until the grass grew again in the pastures in May depended on the size of hay crop that could be cut and stored in the later summer. The rest of the animals had to be sold or killed and salted to provide human food; the Lenten fast was often a matter of making a virtue of necessity. Certain areas, usually on low ground and therefore unlikely to dry out, were permanent meadows, probably only used for occasional grazing in winter and, like the arable land, held in strips. On the flat valley floors of Kentmere and lower Longsleddale field-names for meadow include, of course, the Old English word *meadow*, (from OE *maed*) which is markedly less common than *eng*, and *fit*, both Old Norse terms, and more usually found as 'Ing' and 'Feet'. Examples are, Ashfeet and Hallow Feets in Kentmere, Mintsfeet in Kendal, Kit Ing in Longsleddale and in Troutbeck there was a name, Hayfitt Ing, now vanished, but in use in 1477 and 1649 which used both terms as well as 'hay'. In Kentmere, a township with far more valley-floor land than most, *dale* meaning 'a share' is by far the most usual term for these low-lying strips of meadow because, like the arable, they too were in shared strips. The substantial area of meadow called Mintsfeet just north of Kendal was surveyed and enclosed in 1814 by act of parliament. The enclosure award map' (Fig. 3.) shows not only the straight lines of the new enclosures, but also, dotted in, the bounds of the previous holdings many of which are curved strips, sometimes amalgamations of very irregularly-shaped fragments.¹³

Hay might also be taken off the fallow arable strips of the outfield, which had been cultivated without manuring until they failed to provide seed for the following year. Until their fertility recovered they would be harvested of whatever could be used. Very little was wasted, heather, rushes, reeds and coarse grasses could be used for thatching; for making baskets of varying strength and sizes; or making mats, hats, slippers or baskets; rushlights, reeds for plaiting, or lighting: even horse-tails had their value as scourers, thanks to the silica deposits in their leaves. So said men of Kentmere when deprived by a new landlord of their gleanings by the mere.¹⁴

In Kentmere there was a field-name *Heads*, which I first found in Croston in Lancashire where a clustered group of fields was held by three or four farms, and called either, *Cow Aids* or *Cow Heads*. This group lay just beyond the village on the route to the common grazings, and it was evidently once a single enclosure used in common. It appeared to have had a particular form of usage, but I could not at the time decide what. It was several years before I found other examples in Westmorland, spelt usually as *Heads*. One was in Cragg Quarter, Kentmere, and appears in KCR as *Back of Heads*, several *Head Closes*, and a farm on Head Lane called *Head*. These fields may have been a single larger enclosure or, like Croston, a clustered group, mainly along the top of

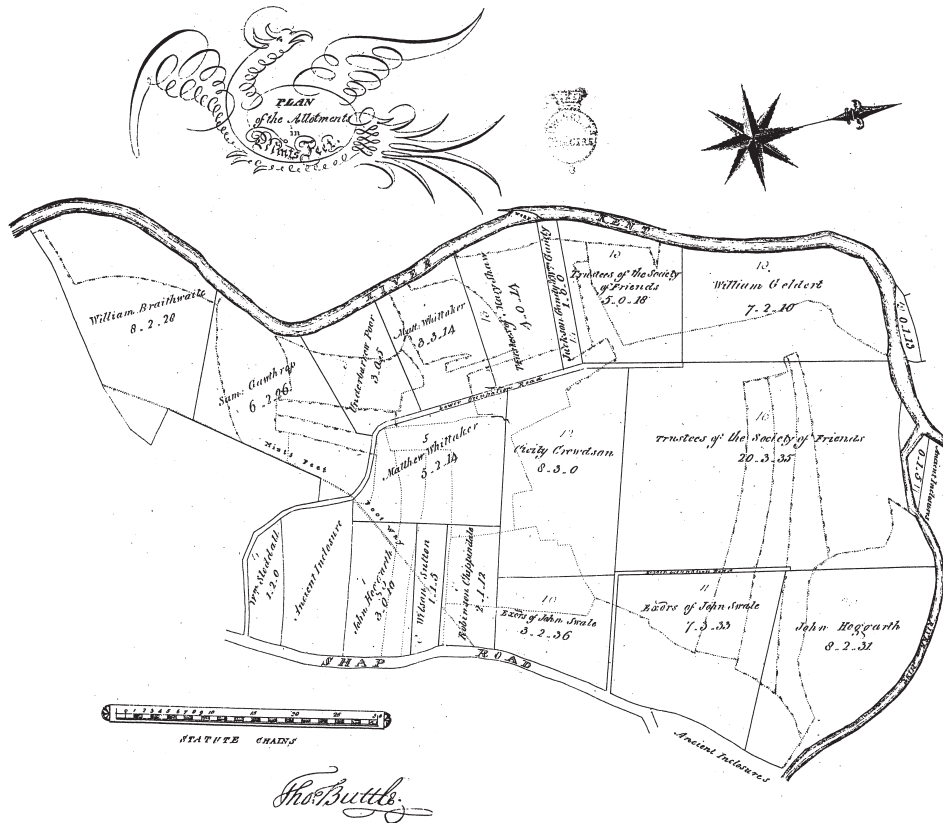


FIG. 3. "Plan of the allotments in Mintsfeet". CRO (K) WD/rg/ Acts and Awards Mintsfeet Inclosure Award. 22nd. June 1814.; reduced size. With permission.

a ridge. I think now that *Heads* may have derived from *heddish* or *eddish* (OE *edisc*). The Oxford English Dictionary defines *eddish* as 'the communal grazing of meadow after its hay crop had been taken'. This is also known as 'eatage, or aftermath' and was a valuable boost to the fitness of the beasts whether to face the winter hardships, or to improve the meat before they were culled. The *eddish* was normally reserved for cattle, not sheep. (There are two similar field-names in Natland, *Little Eddins*, and *Teddins*, which might derive from the same word.)¹⁵

The improving communications which made it easier to bring grain from elsewhere during the nineteenth century allowed stock farming to replace subsistence corn-growing. Nevertheless narrow Longsleddale, deeply-shaded by hills on east and west, still had unenclosed arable strips in 1834. Conspicuously, they were sited at wider points of the valley to catch the available light – on the lower slopes below Sadgill; at Stockdale on the east side of the river where Brow Gill joined the main valley; and round the hamlet of Docker Nook where another tributary valley offered a wider area of lowland. (Fig.4.) In the upper part of the dale these were called *Garths*, *Dales* or *Riggs*, but on less well-drained parts of the valley floor *Meadows*, *Ings*, *Holmes* and even *Mires* are commoner. At Docker Nook the still-unenclosed arable and meadow

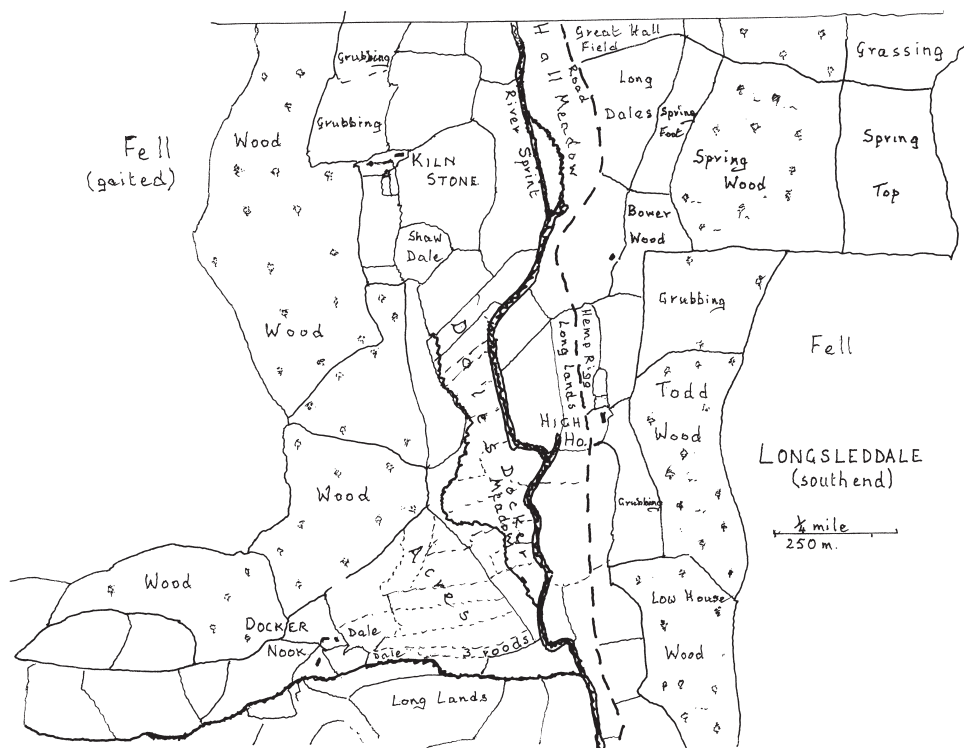


FIG. 4. Docker Nook in Longsleddale. Field-names from KCR plotted on OS First Edition 6" map. c.1850.

strips occupied most of the floor of the valley, the meadow on the damper areas near the river and the slightly better-drained sides used for arable. The slopes rise steeply almost immediately and were heavily wooded, and there is little room for pasture except some small closes at the head of the tributary valley. The rest of the pasture lay above the woods. On the eastern side of the dale, the Hall, perhaps by extending its ownership of property to incorporate High House, has probably converted what were *Long Dales*, *Long Lands* and *Hemp Rigg* to pasture or meadow. This concentration of the arable at wider parts of the valley meant that for farms like the two Kilnstone farms, and (across the river) High House and Yewbarrow, their arable holdings at Docker Nook were a considerable distance away.

The unenclosed common grazings: grassing, moor, fell, common

Traditionally cattle were housed in November (Martinmas) and the breeding sheep were fetched down from the upper pastures into the crofts by the farmstead. Until at least the end of the fourteenth century, if the winter proved a harsh one, hungry wolves might still require the stock to be herded carefully, especially in the early spring. Early May was sometimes known as 'the hungry gap' as grass growth in the upper parts of the dales was slow, but, traditionally at Elenmas (in early May by the Old Calendar), as many animals as possible would be moved up to higher ground and the lower meadows closed up to let the grass grow for hay¹⁶. Most of the townships

had large long-enclosed upper pastures grazed in common, and separated from the improved land below by the 'fell wall' or 'moor wall'. In Kentmere, in 1372, it was stated that 'there are tenants-at-will who hold the herbage and several pastures of the dale for 40 marks yearly rent', and in 1770 a detailed enquiry revealed that each of the four Quarters of Kentmere had its own Quarter Pasture with an organised system of stinting (a limit to the access of grazing allowed to each farm, often known as 'cowgates').¹⁷ Probably during the eighteenth century, the large Hallowbank Quarter Pasture was divided by agreement between farms which had rights there, using the term 'grassing' for the new sections: hence *Steel End Grassing* and *Brockstone Grassing* (named for the two farms) and *Dixon* and *Ireland Grassings* (perhaps named after the farmers). The term is also found in Longsleddale.

Other dales townships had similar systems. In Longsleddale which runs almost due north – south and has steep wooded sides and a narrow flat floor, the bulk of the pasture land lay above the woods on cool, exposed slopes with slower grass growth in spring. Here were a series of large enclosed pastures, but originally grazed in common. Their further division between individual farms took place, probably by local agreement during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and produced names like *Grassings*, *Intakes*, and *Grubbings*. Above these lay the open fell or common, (as *Sleddale Forest*, *Cockley Fell* and *Yew Barrow Fell*) which was stinted. On the open fell each farm's herd of sheep knew its own grazing area, their 'heaf', and kept to it. It was the tragedy of the 2001 foot and mouth outbreak in the heafed sheep herds of the Lake District that this valuable knowledge in the stock was lost, and is since being painstakingly re-taught to replacement flocks by their shepherds.

Special uses too are sometimes indicated like the *Thack Dales* of Kentmere where reeds suitable for thatching grew, and *Sheep Wash Bit* where a deep pool offered a traditional site and herding space for the washing of the sheep before the annual "clipping" of the fleece. *Fern* or *Bracken crofts* had their value too, for bracken could be used as bedding for stock and for roofing of sheds, and increasingly it was burnt to make potash for the developing woollen industry. A *Bull Copy*, was usually a small enclosure for the village bull, close to the lane along which the cows passed. The lord's bull often had a *Bull Copy* of its own near the Hall Farm, like the one alongside Galloway Gate (the drove road) at Lambrigg Hall Farm, to serve the passing cows, and also at Wharton, North Lancashire, where cattle came ashore after making the Morecambe Bay Crossing. I still find it hard to believe that the bull was kept in a *coppice*, but that is the usual explanation offered.¹⁸ The damper areas of the valley floor have field names incorporating *moss*, *mire*, *holm(e)*, *bog* and *boglets*. Some areas of peat turbary occurred on the valley floor with field names of *moss*, *mires* and, where workings have flooded, *dubs* (pools).

Woodland, coppice and plantation; spring and hagg

In the medieval period all woodland in a township was usually the prerogative of the lord of the manor, but certain rights were ascribed to the villagers to permit them to gather fuel for their homes. This might be limited in some manner, as in Kentmere, where the allowance for most households was 'enough fuel for one fire per house'. The

acquired their own piece of woodland, presumably by negotiation with the lord, and these are often known as *Town Wood*, as distinct from *Lord's Wood*.

Some species of trees will readily re-grow after cutting, the most useful being hazel, birch, ash, oak and alder. These can be re-cut at regular intervals, (seven to fifteen years was not untypical) and the new young wands will 'spring' again from the stool almost indefinitely. This has given rise to a frequent name for coppice: *Spring Wood*, and the name remains long after abandonment of the practice and disappearance of trees. Less frequently *Hagg Wood* occurs, a *hagg* being the section of a whole coppice to be cut in one year (a term also used on the peat turbaries). Such a name today indicates a small fraction of the coppice that once was there. The management of a full coppice over a period of perhaps eight years so that one eighth was cut each year, required secure fencing or a fenced bank and ditch to keep out animals, including deer, in order to preserve the young shoots of re-growing coppice. Coppice could be managed to provide for a wide variety of uses, from thinner wands for baskets, hurdles and fencing, to larger widths for fuel for homes and industry and from bowls and spoons and furniture, to making charcoal.

Field names of reclamation from waste – OE *heafod*, and grassing.

Although unimproved land was often called 'waste' in the Middle Ages it in no way implied that it was useless. Chiefly it was used as rough pasture. The present A591 road north-westwards towards Kendal is today the principal route towards Windermere, but was probably less significant once than the B5284 towards Bowness by way of Crook. (Fig. 5.) Beyond Plumgarths Cross both roads had to cross an extensive area of high broken country known today as Rather Heath, reaching 130m, and much of it still under rough grasses and shrubby woodland with occasional tarns. Although apt for the nature of the terrain and the vegetation here, 'Heath' is an unusual term in Westmorland especially as the name originated in OE **heafod** which more often became **head**, (which was the more usual spelling of Rather Heath until at least the sixteenth century) and referred among others to 'the end of a ridge, an upper end'; and it was, indeed the upper end of several townships. Through the medieval period it was an area of rough grazing which appears to have been intercommoned, as is evidenced at its final enclosure in the 1820s when it was divided. Farms in at least four townships received (or already held) land there: Strickland Ketel and Strickland Roger, Crook to the west, and Nether Staveley to the north.

On its south-eastern edge stood Halhead Hall, first recorded c.1320 as 'a *heyneghinge* (OE *hegning*, meaning an enclosure) called *Halheved*'.²⁰ It was held throughout its history by significant local families. The property included some good land, as the field-names *Bank*, *Wheat Close* and *Outfield* suggest, but from here forward into the rough land the names are often indicative of the nature of the ground originally, or of the method of reclamation, or of the final enclosure. The earliest names are most likely to indicate nibblings at the more promising land at the edges of the Heath. In 1836 the Halhead Hall estate (first recorded c.1320) including the two neighbouring farms both named *Brundrigg* (first recorded in 1344) (from *brende*, *hrycg*, probably meaning 'burnt ridge'). This was likely to be land which was cleared by controlled firing of the

vegetation in dry weather. Their field names and those of neighbouring farms include *New Meadow*, several fields called *Grubbing*, *Stubbing* or *Ridding* which were clearances of scrubland or shrubby woodland by grubbing up roots, perhaps after cutting or burning. Nearby are names descriptive of the condition of the land, like *Reeds*, *Near and Great Moss* (peaty) fields, and *Long and Doren* (sic) *Carrs* (from OE **carr**, a rock or rocky ground, or from Scand. **kjarr**, wet marshy ground, and *Sour Mire* and *Mirk Slacks* (from ON **myrkr**, marshy, mire or bog) and *Slacks* (**slakki**, a wet hollow). The *Mirk* prefix, meaning dark, suggests it was peaty. *Whins* or *Whinny Fields* were infested with gorse or broom. *Thwaite* from ON **tveit** means ‘a clearing’ and was in use from the thirteenth century and probably earlier. *Intake* (locally *Intack*), ‘land taken in’ (absorbed into the farm), and *Close*, ‘enclosed land’ appear to have been used from the later Middle Ages and through the next two or three centuries. Most of these enclosures are irregular in shape suggesting they were cleared and improved as the nature of the land (and the availability of labour) permitted.

Beyond these fields, and further onto Rather Heath (the name is placed as it was on the first edition 6 inch OS map) there are fields of a very regular shape, oblongs with ruler-straight boundaries, and almost all are named *Lott* or *Allotment*. This was the result of the final enclosure (c. 1800) which would be accomplished by an Act of Parliament. This required the assessment of all who held rights of grazing to be taken into account and the land divided accordingly. In theory at least, the dividing process considered such matters as land quality and means of access, and a surveyor then divided it into blocks of land which were assigned to individuals. The new owners were expected to fence their new property, sometimes in accordance with specified rules of height, width and frequency of through-stones to bind the wall together. Such regular walls, built in straight lines, often indicate an organised enclosure, and contrast sharply with earlier, more curved, or wandering lines of earlier walls or hedgerows. Inevitably these new fields were often detached from the farm to which they were assigned, as in, ‘*Halhead Allotment*’ which lies detached almost a mile further west.

The ‘forest’ lands of the Barony of Kendale; (OE) hay, (OFr) laund and park

In the medieval period the word ‘forest’ (which derived from Latin *foris* meant ‘outside’, and it referred to land that was the King’s especial property for the preservation and the hunting of deer, and was ‘outside’ the ordinary laws, and was subject to a special Law of the Forest²¹. In the more remote parts of his realm, such as Northern England, the King might grant parts of his Forest to a local high-ranking lord, as King Richard I did when he granted ‘his whole forest of Westmarieland, Kentdale and Furness’ to Gilbert fitz Reinfred²² in 1225. Later, in response to complaints from knights and commoners of Westmorland, Henry III commanded the then lord of Kendale to reduce the land under forest law back to what it had been in the time of Henry II. It may be that the king’s command was obeyed to the extent of applying strict ‘forest law’ only to individual parks and woods, rather than to whole townships; nevertheless the rest of the township might count as forest purlieu, and be under some forms of restriction.

Most of the forests of England and their **hays**, (OE *(ge)haeg*) meaning an enclosure for hunting²³ and **parks** (OFr *parc*), were not only exploited for hunting but also for the **vert** (woodland timber). These rights were normally restricted to the king himself or the lord of that particular forest, though there were often limited grants of grazing and smallwood to lesser orders. While most of the upland which lay within the forest had been treeless for many generations there were areas of woodland where the vert was of value, notably in the Hay (1374).²⁴ Furthermore the king (or the lord) had special grazing areas for his own cattle or sheep. Most of these terms for hunting areas are derived from Old French, but were anglicised and absorbed into medieval use. The Old English term 'hay' is a reminder, however, that there were hunting forests in pre-Norman times.

The Hay of Kendal was a substantial area immediately east of the borough extending from Scalthwaite Rigg eastward into what in 1272 was called Hutton-in-the-Hay. The 6" O.S map 1st edition maps (mostly dated in the 1840s and 1850s) define a township whose name, 'Scalthwaite Rigg, Hay and Hutton-in-the-Hay' was spread across terrain called Hay Fell as far as a north-south road called Kinn Lane, beyond which lay the north part of New Hutton. Today New Hutton has absorbed all of Hutton-in-the-Hay. Other hays or parks, smaller in scale, are recorded in Longsledale (1292), Staveley (1340), Crook and Winster (1283), in the forest of Troutbeck in 1437, and a free chase with deer was recorded at Strickland Ketel and Helsington in 1360. This chase was evidently on the limestone ridge above Kendal, which embraced Kendal Fell and the adjacent uplands of Helsfel, Helsfel Nab, and Cunswick Fell, and perhaps part of the now lost Routhworth; they were part of the upland demesne of the Barony. These places were variously recorded under Helsington, Kirkby Kendal, Strickland Ketel or Underbarrow. The existence of a chase here might account for the rent paid in 1272 by the free tenants in the form of a hawk, spurs, gloves and arrows, and for the field-name Palace Dale (from OFr *paleis* or *palis*, meaning 'a palisade') at the northern end of Helsfel land, as a chase would require fencing to prevent escape of the deer.²⁵

Some of the rich grassland around the Castle itself was recorded in 1560 as *Les Launde* (sic); *Great* and *Little Laund* occur as field-names in Natland; and *Lawns* in the hill farm called Birks in Hutton-in-the-Hay.²⁶ The launds were probably used as protected grazing for does and their young through the spring and summer, but might also have provided, as in Pendle, richer grazing for older cattle destined for the butcher in the autumn. Today the Castle *Launde* is known as the Lound.

In his introduction to the *Records of the Barony of Kendale*, Farrer states that the parishes of Grasmere and Windermere, comprising six townships, were all in the Forest. There are references to show that all or parts of the 13 hamlets (nearly all of them were later townships) which he describes as 'lying within the vill of Strickland Ketel' were subject to 'the custom of the forests.' Patton too, was in the Forest, and Farrer says, 'included Skelsmergh, Bretherdale, and Fawcett Forest?', (the query is Farrer's), Selside with Whitwell, Docker, Lambrigg, Grayrigg and Dillicar.' Thus all the hill areas of Kirkby Kendale parish were affected by Forest Law.²⁷ In 1283 Roger de Lancaster accused several persons of entering his free chase in Kentmere and Grisedale and chasing and taking his deer, and it is clear that the tenants of Kentmere who held pastures in the

dale were subject to the ‘ancient customs of the forest of Kendale’ in 1372. The ‘Forest of Troutbeck’ evidently comprised ‘a parcel of Amylsyde (Ambleside) and 3 parks in the same forest called Troutbeck Park, le Coleparke, and Calfgarth’. By the later part of the Middle Ages the ‘forest’ may have been reduced in area to relatively small, individual ‘Parks’ or chases, but most were still part of the lordship of Kendale, as was the ‘deer park at Staveley’ in 1359.²⁸

The office of ‘master-forester within the lordship of Kendale’ in 1437 was held by Roger Redmayne, and the Master Forestership of the Old Park of Kendall is mentioned as late as 1518, perhaps by then becoming a sinecure. Foresters are recorded in Longsleddale, (1360) and Bannisdale (1283); Gamel the forester was recorded in Staveley in 1189/1200 and a successor there in 1366 was John de Lund. Foresters were recorded in 1255 in Helsfell and Cunswick, (1255/72) and in Routhworth, (which lay just north of Cunswick, but was probably deserted before 1700) and the adjacent parts of Underbarrow. They, like the foresters of Whinfell in 1352/75 and in Longsleddale (1255-7), were entitled to **puture** (food from local inhabitants for the Forester, his men and his horses). This privilege was sometimes abused, and frequently resented. There were still payments of puture due within the lordship of Kendal recorded in a sixteenth-century rental in English as ‘Forsterfod’, and ‘Baleffoyd’ (forester’s and bailiff’s food).²⁹ Few place-names using ‘forest’ have survived to the present century except Fawcett Forest as a township name (the first reference to it as forest appears as late as 1542), and Forest Hall as a farm name, but there are several instances of medieval surnames derived from Forest (fifteen personal names derived from ‘forester’ are indexed by Farrer as Forester, Forrest, or Forster in the Kendal area, and several Hunters and Parkers).

Exploiting the Forest grazings: vaccary, bercary, park and stud

The centralised system of vaccary management recorded about 1300 of the Forests of Pendle and Rossendale in the demesnes of the de Lacy estates in Lancashire³⁰ may not have persisted in the Forest of Kendale. In South Westmorland the frequent division of the Lordship of Kendale between daughters and the deterioration of the climate in the fourteenth century could have led to early placing of such demesne farms into the hands of tenants.³¹

The development on large estates of **vaccaries** and **bercaries** (from the French) was a way of exploiting grazings within the forest, the former in lower-lying areas of wood-pasture, the latter on more open areas on the hills. Where oaks dominated the wooded parts **pannage rights** could be sold, allowing pigs to fatten on the acorns. The term **vaccary** for a demesne cattle farm does not appear to have been used in the deeds of the Barony of Kendale, but the term **bercary** for a sheep farm does occur in the Latin version of an early charter in Kendal. There was evidently a walled **bercary** on the limestone ridge above Kendal, possibly at or near Stainbank or Bradleyfield. It is mentioned as a part of a perambulation confirming a grant of land to Holy Trinity Church of Kendal, then served by Nicholas the priest. The reference is spelt **beyrcarium** in the Latin version of the perambulation, and translated by Farrer as ‘sheepfold’. Some 90 years later there is a record of Nicholas le Bercher of Kirkeby in

Kendale, presumably a sheep keeper or a tanner. Sheepskin was a valuable source for leather and lambskin for vellum. Perhaps here are early origins of Kendal's important leather and shoe industries.³²

In previous research I have suggested that **vaccaries** may be identified in the landscape by unusually large enclosures (approximately half a mile across), roughly oval or circular, which I named 'double-ovals'. I identified the 'double-oval' type of field pattern at Sill Field in Preston Patrick as likely to have been a **vaccary** in the early middle ages.³³ There may have been other similar 'double-ovals' in Skelsmergh, New Hutton and Lambrigg.³⁴ Such a cattle farm, if it were organised on the scale of the de Lacy **vaccaries**, would comprise a breeding herd of 30 cows and a bull, and their progeny of three years, making a herd of between 50 and 60 stock, if losses to disease (many) and wolf (few) were not too great. There were 11 such **vaccaries** in Pendle Forest c.1300. These were big herds, even compared with early twentieth-century farms, and could make considerable contributions to the dairy (mainly cheese and butter), or beef and tanning industries.

Field patterns suggest that on the east side of Skelsmergh township, there may have been such a **vaccary**. At Skelsmergh Hall, which has a late medieval peel tower at its core, there is a 'double-oval'. The larger and lower of the two enclosures would have been the pasture oval for the lord of Kendal's cattle under the control of the vaccary keeper who held the Hall. Field-names here are dominated by *Park*. This sheltered area would provide winter pasture for the cattle and be closed up as meadow in the summer when the cattle would be taken out to open land outside the two ovals. After the hay was gathered the breeding cows might be brought back to get the best of the aftermath (*eddish* or *heddish*), the younger cattle remaining on the open pastures until late October or November (Fig. 6).

The higher and smaller oval lies round Skelsmergh Tarn. Here was the hamlet for the herdsmen of the **vaccary**. Each would have a small farm with strips in their arable field and probably some rights of pasture in the larger, lower oval. This hamlet comprises the farms of Tarnbank, Edgebank, Otterbank (Outerbank) and Garnett Folds, with their lands. Their fields of arable strips were still, in 1835, evident in the field-shapes and the intermingling of their holdings. The farm called Garnett Folds was probably a control point for checking the number of animals against the stint as they were led out through a double funnel from the oval to open, unenclosed grazing held by the lord of the manor. Field-names like *Bracken Heath*, *Whins*, *New Close*, *Far Heights*, two *Broom Closes* and two *Intacks*, suggest that almost all the east side of the township was late-enclosed intake from open, rough pasture. They were probably intercommoned with the neighbouring township of Whitwell, and possibly with adjacent Patton too. Just beyond the present township boundary where the funnel widens finally there is a watering point for animals, and the nearby farm of Goodham Scales, recorded as *Skaillere-goodwine* 1241-6, meaning Godwin's scales or shielings (from *ON skali*) may originally have been the site of a home saeter with several saeter-huts (see below).

The similar but larger 'double-ovals' at Birks in Hutton-in-the-Hay, (now in New Hutton) and at Lambrigg Park (by Gallowaygate) lie on higher, more exposed and

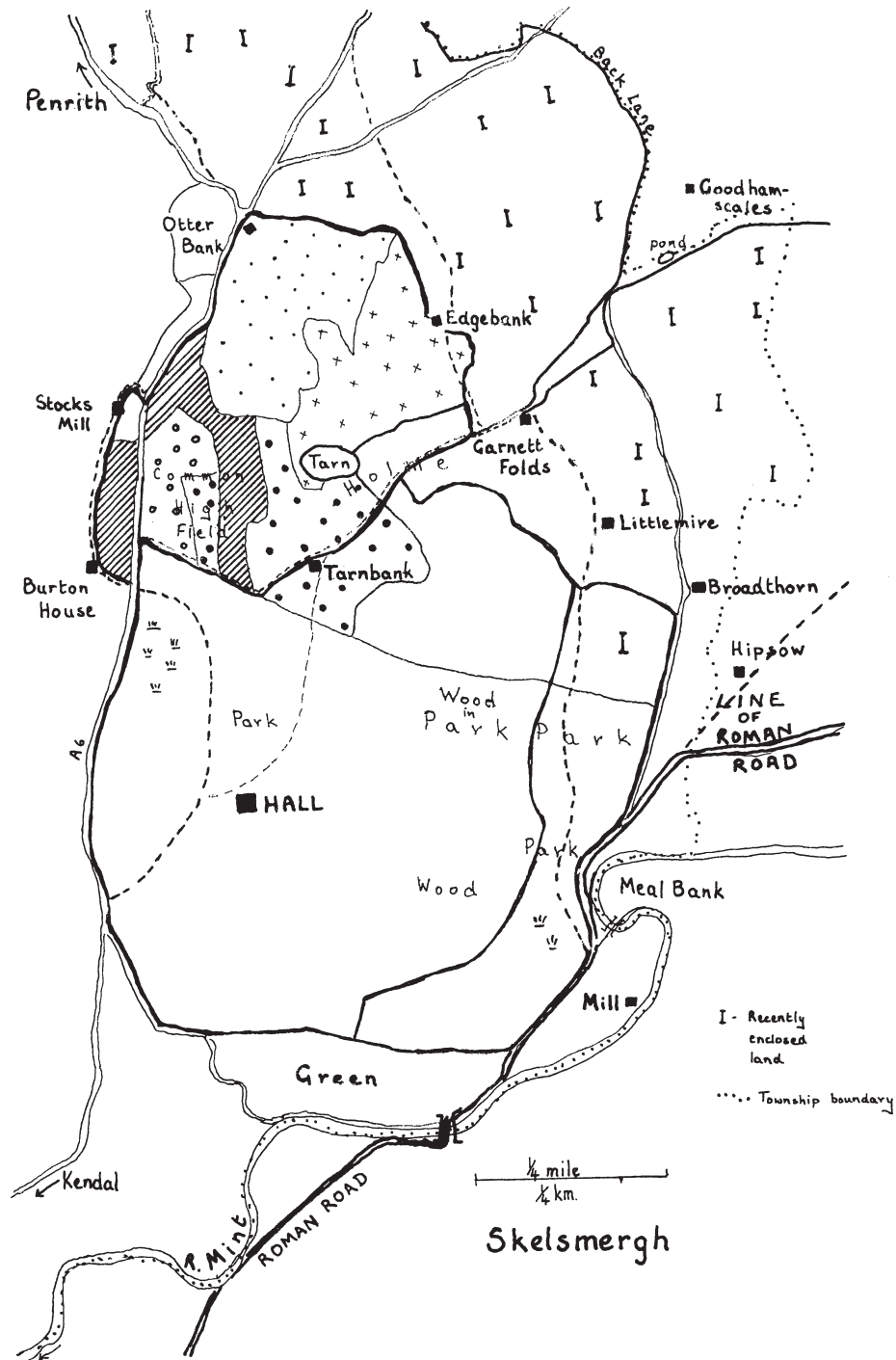


FIG. 6. Skelsmergh Hall. A "double oval"; possibly once a vaccary. Field-names from KCR plotted on First Edition O.S. 6" map c.1850.

less fertile land. These might have been **bercaries** rather than **vaccaries**. In such less populated areas the continuing existence of wolves in the Middle Ages would require the stock to be carefully herded by day, and folded at night.

Another form of land use in the Forest of Pendle was a **stud** at Ightenhill for the rearing of riding horses suitable for the messengers who were essential for so extensive an estate as that of the de Lacys. There is no hint of a stud near Kendal Castle or its Laund, but in 1241 the brethren of York Minster were confirmed in a grant 'of the land of Docker' to keep horses. This gave the monks permission to 'have their horses and pigs in the forest' (presumably the neighbouring Hay of Kendal) 'and two folds there in which to fold and brand their horses and colts once a year at Capplethwaite and at Roakerdale' (Capplethwaite means 'horse enclosure'; ON **kapall** would refer to an ordinary working horse. There is a Capplethwaite in the Hay; Roakerdale is a lost name.) This suggests that, like the Forests of Exmoor and Dartmoor, there were wild or semi-wild horses or ponies, some of which the brethren could actually claim, and could brand their mares' progeny.³⁵ The whole western side of Docker reaching from its boundary with the Hay down to its boundary along the river Mint is designated Park. There are large fields called High Parks and Low Park and along the river a tenant farmer of the lord of the manor held a group of three *Horse Parks* and two *Mare Fields*. *Capple* with various last elements (eg *-barrow*, *-side*, *-fall*) is not an uncommon place-name in the Barony. There is one between Cunswick and Rauthworth, another in New Hutton part of which was in the Hay of Kendal, one in Bannisdale in Fawcett Forest, and others in Longsledale, Underbarrow and Crook.³⁶ Apart from the above reference, pigs are not recorded although the value of pannage (permission to turn pigs into the forest to eat the acorn-fall) is mentioned in Hutton-in-the-Hay in 1272 and 1283.

The Old Norse place-name elements – ON *erg(h)*, *fjall*, *saetr* and *skali*.

These four place-names are all derived from Old Norse and were originally seen by place-name scholars as especially associated with the uplands. ON *Ergh* as a place-name element was originally defined by Ekwall in his *Dictionary of English Place-names* (1947) as 'a shieling'; a hill pasture; a hut on a pasture,' to which A.H. Smith, perhaps in considering Sizergh and Ninezergh, both on low ground in Levens, added, 'or farm'. However, in 1977 Mary Higham, in a more detailed study of the term 'erg' or 'ergh' in Northern England, pointed out most of the *ergh* places in Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland were on low-lying land with fertile soils and were often important places which gave their names to townships and parishes.³⁷ Sizergh, Ninezergh, Docker (*Docergha*) were all recorded before 1200, and were held by the lord of the barony or his principal officers. Docker (*Docergha*), Moser (*Moserga*) and Potterfell (*Potergha*) were in the forest and also initially held by the lord of the Barony, but were not recorded until much later. Apart perhaps from Potterfell such places were hardly shielings, but might well have been *vaccaries*, or like Docker, a **stud** farm. Just such a form of exploitation might, she suggested, have its origins in the Celtic *daer-stock* tenancies or even Roman forest organisation and pointed to the frequency with which the name was associated with areas of medieval forest.

The other three terms, *fjall*, *saeter* and *scali* are conspicuously associated with the uplands. *Fjall*, which has become ‘fell’, the name given to the high ridges and some mountain summits, as Sleddale Fell, Lambrigg Fell, is particularly associated with land that is, or was, intercommoned between the settlements on the land below. However, the three ‘fells’ already mentioned – Helsfel(l), Cunswick Fell and Kendal Fell – are at a relatively low altitude and may also have been intercommoned.

The Old Norse words *saetr* or *seter*, and *skali* meant a ‘shieling’ or a ‘scale’, and both terms are found in the area. They referred to a temporary hut or homestead usually with an animal shelter, but it was also a term which applies to the grazing area where it stands. In Norway each farm in the village had a set of *saeter*-huts, each built at higher and higher altitudes, and usually in groups with the *saeter*-huts of other farms in the village, each group coming into use at higher levels as the snow receded.³⁸ The lowest *saeter* might be as little as a mile from the village, and at no greater altitude. It was known as the “*home-saeter*” and might have, not only the *saeter*-huts, but also hay-barns and shippens, to shelter and feed the animals since night temperatures in May still delayed grass- growth at higher levels. The Home-saeter’s value lay in allowing stock to be moved early to snow-free land in order to close up the village meadows for hay. The term ‘*skali*’ is certainly the term that gave rise to Scales in Kentmere for what must once have been a *home-saeter* for farms in Crag Quarter and similarly for Goodham Scale between Skelsmergh and Whitwell. This probably was also the case at Holmescales (the ‘scales’ for Holme township in Burton in Kendal parish) held in the Middle Ages by the monks of Cockerham Abbey. Scalthwaiterigg, (‘a clearing on a ridge for a scale’) barely outside Kendal, must at an early period have functioned as a *home-saeter* for Kendal farms. In Britain the term occurs as ‘sett’, ‘seat’ or ‘side’ as in Sadgill, Seat Sandal, and Ambleside.

The landscape of the Middle Ages

North West England is fortunate compared with the Midlands and much of the southern and eastern England in retaining many names, field-names and field-patterns of the medieval landscape. This is partly because landownership has often remained in the same families over long periods, and partly because strips were exchanged and enclosed by agreement from the medieval period onward, thus preserving to the present day the curved shape of the strips by walls and hedges.

Furthermore, the continued emphasis on pastoral farming in the North West has, so far, delayed any wholesale destruction of hedgerows such as twentieth century arable farming has produced elsewhere. Consequently we still have in our landscapes the visible remnants of its history. Fieldwork combined with field-names and field patterns of lordship and tenancy allow us to read our landscapes, and to appreciate the labour of our unknown ancestors who made and worked in it.

Notes and references

I would like to record my gratitude for the excellent support and assistance I received from the staff at the Kendal Record Office.

- ¹ R. Morris. *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989).
- ² W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*. Frontispiece map. (1923, Kendal).
- ³ W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*. i. 276f. (1923 Kendal). The following hamlets are described as lying within the vill of Strickland Ketel : Whinfell, Longsleddale, Bannisdale, Skelsmergh, Strickland Roger, Staveley, Hugill, Kentmere, (Applethwaite), (Undermillbeck), (Little Langdale), and Crook, (Crosthwaite), and (Winsten). Those in (my) brackets were members of the long-established Windermere and Grasmere parishes. This is a slightly different list from that in Farrer's Introduction (i. xvi). (Compare my ref. 28 below) He also suggests that 'Patton' included: 'Skelsmergh , Bretherdale and Fawcett Forest?, (Farrer's query), Selside with Whitwell, Whinfell, Docker, Lambrigg, Grayrigg and Dillicar.' (i.xvii). The inconsistency between these lists can probably be put down to administrative changes within Kendal Barony during the formation of the Barony.
- ⁴ J. A. S. Watson and J. A. Hogg, *Agriculture. The science and practice of British Farming*. 192. (Edinburgh 1941).
- ⁵ J. Field. *A History of English Field Names* (London, 1993).
- ⁶ Kendal Corn Rent Act 1835, CRO (K) WQR/C. 6. Helsington and Sizergh; 12. Natland.
- ⁷ A. Raistrick. *Malham and Malham Moor* (Clapham, 1947) 42.
- ⁸ A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland* ii.250. *EPNS We xlii*. (Cambridge 1967.) *Flat(t)* in North Country dialect can mean a division of the common field. CRO(K) WD?A G 177. 'A map of all the customary lands within the manor of Preston Patrick in the County of Westmorland held under the Honourable Francis Charteris, 1771,' and its schedule, CRO (K) WD/AG PU. 'A survey of all the customary estates within the manor of Preston Patrick held of the Honourable Francis Charteris.'
- ⁹ M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*. Fig. 8. p.107. Olney, Bucks. (London, 1967).
- ¹⁰ O. Rackham. *The History of the Countryside* (London, 1987) , 166, 169. W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Countryside*. (London, 1955)
- ¹¹ Kendal Corn Rent Act, 1835; CRO (K) WQR/C. 26. Underbarrow and Bradleyfield.
- ¹² Kendal Corn Rent Act, 1835; CRO(K) WQR/C. 9. Kentmere
- ¹³ Kendal Corn Rent Act, 1835. CRO(K) WQR/C A.H. Smith, *The Place-names of Westmorland*. *EPNS We* i.192. (Cambridge 1967); and CRO (K) WD RG/Acts and Awards. Mintsfeet enclosure award. 22nd. June 1814.
- ¹⁴ M.A.Atkin, 'The medieval land-use of Kentmere' in *CW2*, 91, (1991) 69-78. and CRO(K) ST/26, Deeds of Kentmere Hall (1337-1807).
- ¹⁵ W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*. i. 170. (Kendal ,1923). Farrer records in Natland in 1426, 'a parcells (sic) called Edoyneng and Brownebayne land' which may be an early reference to the 'Eddins' field -name.
- ¹⁶ W.G. Hoskins & L.D. Stamp. *The Common Lands of England and Wales*, (London, 1963)
- ¹⁷ J. F. Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*. iii. 153. (Kendal, 1926). CRO (K) ST/26 Deeds of Kentmere Hall. (1337-1807).
- ¹⁸ J. Field, *A History of English field-names*, 114-5. (London and New York, 1993). A possible alternative might be a derivation from 'copula (1218, 1535), or *copla*, 1395), 'coupling', in R.E.Lathom, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*. 115. (London 1965). I have met the term 'copping on' used (quite innocently) in Yorkshire dialect for 'courting'.
- ¹⁹ W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, i. 317 and 179. (Kendal, 1923).
- ²⁰ A. H. Smith , *The Place-Names of Westmorland*. i.154. *EPNS WE xlii*. (Cambridge, 1967).
- ²¹ N.D. James. *A History of English Forestry*, (Padstow, 1990).
- ²² W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, i. Intro. xxiii. (Kendal, 1923).
- ²³ A.H.Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, ii. 257. *EPNS We*. xliii. (Cambridge 1967).
- ²⁴ W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, i. 180. (Kendal, 1923).
- ²⁵ W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, i. 44, 176, 301, 323, 342. Free chase, 284, 58; Farrer prefaces the deeds of Helsington and Sizergh with a note that: 'the vill comprised the hamlets of Brathelaw (Bradley fields) Cunswick... Rowthworth...' (130) and later accounts of these places associate them with the rents of free tenants as follows:- '1 niais hawk from Routhworth (1374, p.359); from

Cunswick and Skelsmergh cumin or pepper, and a pair of spurs (1390, p.363 and 51) 1 pair of gloves... and 3 barbed arrows'. Helsfel and Brathelaw were described in 1272 as '15 acres lying waste' (p.10) and Helsfel was still 'a plot of waste in 1283 (277). 355. (Kendal 1923). Kendal Corn Rent Act 1835 WQR/C 26. Underbarrow and Bradleyfield.

- ²⁶ A.H.Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*. i. 120. EPNS We. xlii. (Cambridge 1967). Kendal Corn Rent Act 1835, CRO(K) WQR/C 18. Scalthwaite Rigg, The Hay and Hutton-in-the- Hay.
- ²⁷ The query is Farrer's. W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*. i. Introduction xvii, and i. 231. (Kendal 1923). Bretherdale was probably part of the forest of Bannisdale and perhaps also the adjacent Fawcett Forest, first referenced as Faxside in 1274. A.H.Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, i. 137. EPNS. We. xlii. (Cambridge, 1967).
- ²⁸ W.Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, i. xiii-iv, xvii, 308 and 309, 44, 324. (Kendal 1923).
- ²⁹ W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, i. 43, 58, 4.317, 26, 356; and 300, 356; ii. 9; and Index 419. (Kendal, 1923); and A. H.Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*. i. 202. EPNS. We. xlii. (Cambridge, 1967).
- ³⁰
- ³¹ M. A. Atkin, 'Land-use and management in the upland demesne of the de Lacy estate of Blackburnshire, c.1300', in *Agricultural History Review*, 42, (1994) 1 – 19.
- ³² W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, i. 3 and 381. (Kendal, 1923). Latham offers a range of spellings and an alternative translation as 'tannery'. R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*. (Oxford, 1965).
- ³³ M. A. Atkin, 'Sillfield in Preston Patrick : a double-oval type of field-pattern' in *CW2* 93, (1993), 145-153.
- ³⁴ Kendal Corn Rent Act 1835. CRO(K) WQR/C, 19. Skelsmergh. 14. New Hutton (earlier Hutton-in-the-Hay), and 10. Lambrigg.
- ³⁵ Kendal Corn Rent Act 1835. CRO (K) WQR/C, 3. Docker. W. Farrer, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*. i. 203 and 385-386. (Kendal, 1923).
- ³⁶ CRO (K) WQR/C, Kendal Corn Rent Act:- 4. Fawcett Forest. 11. Longsleddale. 26. Underbarrow. 1, Crook. A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*. ii. 299. EPNS. We. xlii. (Cambridge, 1967)
- ³⁷ M. C. Higham, 'The '-erg' place-names of Northern Britain', in *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*. 10, 7 – 17. (1977-78).
- ³⁸ Anne-Berit O. Borchegrevink, 'The houses of the Norwegian saeters. An analysis of local type variations,' in *Northern Studies*, 16. (1980) 53-69, and 17, (1981). 9 -26.

