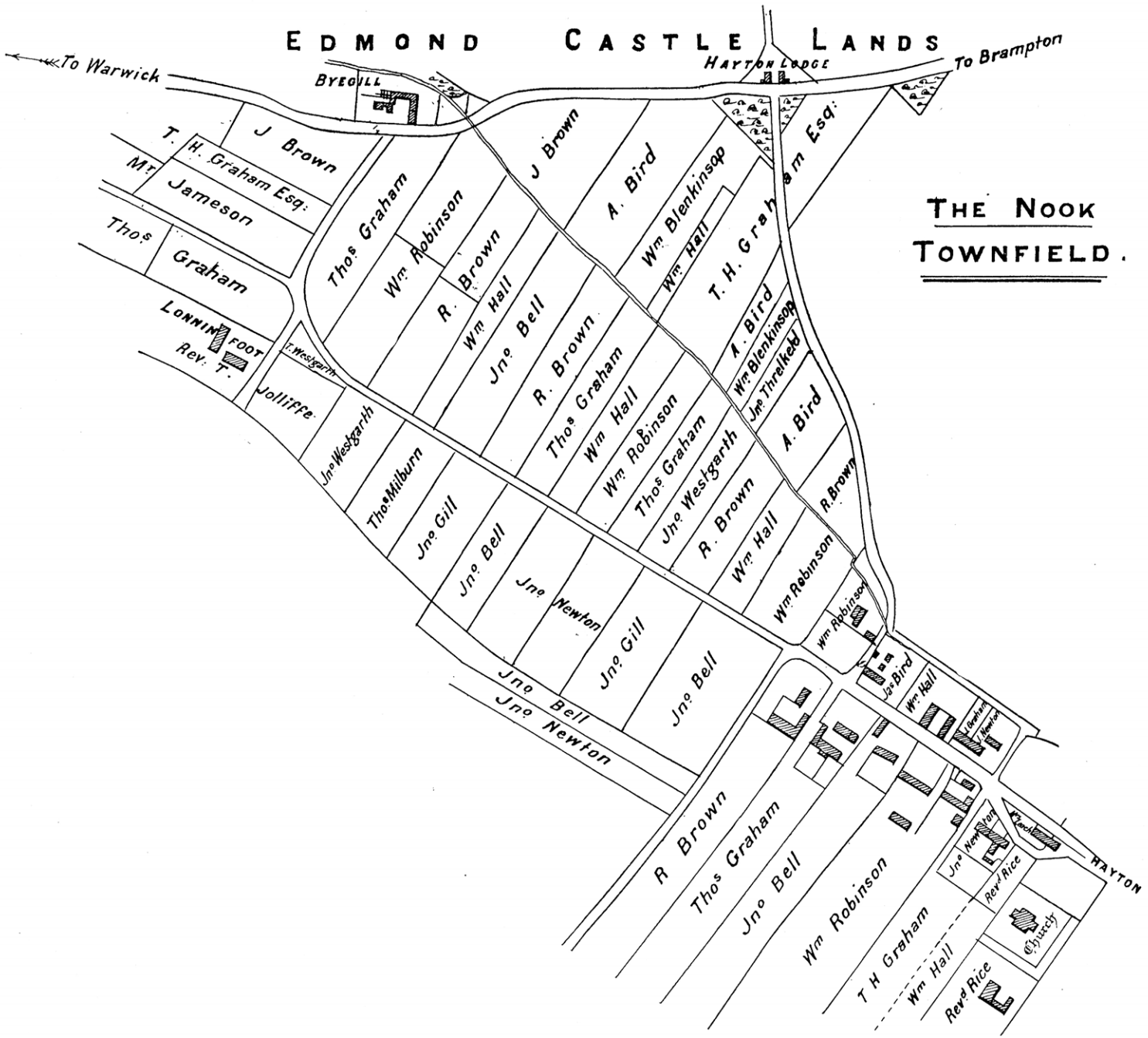
ART. VIII.—*The Townfields of Cumberland.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Carlisle, July 8th, 1909.

ON a previous occasion I exhibited a map (these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., p. 43) which showed how, at the commencement of Queen Anne's reign, the manor of Hayton possessed a compact open arable field of 1478 statute acres, and how, in Hayton quarter alone, there were 45 "tofts" or ancient dwelling houses to which were attached a greater or less number of scattered dales in the same open arable field,* and a proportionate right of pasturage over the waste of the manor (which comprised upwards of 3,000 acres of moorland), and how that waste had then recently, by agreement between the lord of the manor and his tenants, been equally divided among the tofts of Hayton and Fenton quarters in definite shares. There were not actually 45 holders of tofts or ancient dwelling-houses in Hayton quarter at that period; some of the houses were not "tofts" properly so-called. Again, some of the statesmen owned a larger number of dales than others, and were possibly on that account deemed to be the owners of more than one toft. At any rate, the names of some landowners occur more than once.

I will deduct from the list the two allotments made to Lord Carlisle in respect of his demesne land in Hayton, and his general rights as lord of the manor. I will also deduct the allotment called "Edmond Castle Forth Gate," because the name of the allottee is not stated; also that made to "cottages," which are grouped together so as collectively to form one toft; also the two allotments

* For example see the toft and dales of William Hall on a later plan of the field (reproduced from these *Transactions*, N.S., viii., p. 344).



TO FACE P. 118.

the names of whose owners have perished, and those assigned to persons already mentioned in the list; and I gather that there were in Hayton quarter two centuries ago at least 31 statesmen who owned a substantial stake in the common arable field—dales of land which in many cases had descended from father to son for generations, and in which they took a keen pride and interest.

One of them (John Knight) was the blacksmith, another (John Knight, scoller) was probably the village schoolmaster, but most of them were farmers, and cultivated the land themselves. Their mode of agriculture was poor when viewed in the light of modern knowledge, but they led a contented existence, and supplied themselves with all the necessaries of life (including clothes), which were not then brought to their doors from great towns or imported from far beyond the seas. Hence the dull details of the ancient common field, which formed a connecting link with the Middle Ages, are invested with a charm—details giving us a peep into the old village life of Cumberland, and

> Tingeing the sober twilight of the Present
> With colour of romance.

Fenton quarter* is shown by the same map to have contained 43 tofts, and if I deduct the allotments of waste made to Christopher Rickerby, curate of Hayton, in respect of his glebe land, that made to certain "tenements of Little Corby" which were reckoned as one toft, and those assigned to allottees already mentioned in the list, I obtain the names of 31 more statesmen, making a total of 62 persons who owned dales of land in the common arable field of Hayton manor, and consequently became the fortunate proprietors in fee simple of large blocks of land which had hitherto been waste, but which they were now at liberty to cultivate.

* In 32 Edward I. (1304) and for long afterwards Fenton formed a distinct manor (see Calendar of the Feet of Fines, No. 172, 175, in these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., p. 231).

Where are the representatives of all these Cumberland statesmen to-day? All but a very few have been compelled by the relentless and inevitable march of events to relinquish their inheritance. With Little Corby I have no concern at present, for it formed a separate manor. Its inhabitants are not described in the map as owners of tofts, because they were not originally tenants of the manor of Hayton, but they had from time to time been permitted to "improve"—that is, to plough and inclose—portions of the Hayton waste known as the High and Low Shaws, which lay near their village. These portions are represented on the map in these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., p. 43, by rounded inclosures, and an allotment of 85 acres of waste was made in respect of the improvement.

It will be observed that the ancient dales are described on the map as "infields," an expression more familiar to Scottish than to English ears. Sir Walter Scott explains the meaning of the term in the opening pages of *The Monastery*:—

> The part of the township properly arable, and kept as such continually under the plough, was called "in-field." Here the use of quantities of manure supplied in some degree the exhaustion of the soil, and the feuars raised tolerable oats and bear (barley), usually sowed on alternate ridges, on which the labour of the whole community was bestowed without distinction, the produce being divided after harvest agreeably to their respective interests. There was besides "out-field land" from which it was thought possible to extract a crop *now and then*, after which it was abandoned to the "skiey influences" until the exhausted powers of vegetation were restored.*

An Act of Parliament passed in 1813 (53 George III., c. 29) for inclosing the common field at Icklingham in Suffolk makes use of the same (in England) unusual expression "infields or every-year lands," and every-year land in that locality denoted a common field which was kept continually under cultivation without fallow, and

* Outfield land was, in fact, a *temporary* encroachment on the waste.

therefore without a common right of pasturage on fallow.* At Hayton there seems to have been no rotation of fallow. One of its hamlets is called "The Faugh," which means "the fallow," but the map shows that it was situate on the very edge of the common field, and so it may possibly derive its name from an outfield on the High Common which had been allowed to go out of cultivation.

I therefore infer that the Hayton infields too were hard-cropped from year to year without any rest, and that there was in consequence no opportunity for the tenants to turn out cattle to graze on the entire area of stubble as was customary in most parts of England. These points, as I shall presently explain, are very material in deciding to what type a common field belongs.

Meadow land, suitable for growing a crop of hay, was scarce at Hayton. The only references I can find to a common meadow are, in 1718, "one day's work of meadow adjoining 'Pickle,' nigh the river Irthing," and, in 1786, "one rigg (in Hayton Holme) adjoining Hayton meadows" (these *Transactions*, N.S., viii., pp. 19-20).

It only remains to notice the common pasture of Hayton. A general right of pasturing cattle on the waste appears to have been originally attached to every ancient toft, and there must, one would suppose, have existed some regulations as to what portion of the waste should be assigned to each hamlet and what number of cattle each commoner should turn out. But in 1704 the High Common, consisting of 2,125 acres, was divided into "grassings," and distributed amongst the 88 tofts of Hayton and Fenton quarters on the basis of 24 acres per toft. The term "grassing" when used in reference to a field of wide extent meant not a definite area of pasture, but the mere right to turn out cattle to graze. For instance, the vicar of Crosby-Ravensworth in Westmorland held in 1704 "certain grassings, being three or four

* Slater, *op. cit. infra*, p. 179.

cattle-gates as the year requireth," and the parson of Dufton, in the same county, had at the same date 24 grassings in one pasture ground and 18 in another.* "Grassing" used in the same sense was moreover not a general but a limited or stinted right, regulated of course by local custom. The general nature of such stinted rights appears very clearly from the following account of a pasture ground in Holm Cultram parish:—

> The marshes of Skinburness, &c., on account of their being in the tideway, were not enclosed in 1811 as were the commons, but were divided into "stints," 400 being made out of 1,008 acres (Skinburness and Calvo). Some of the stints, together with a portion of common land, were awarded to every tenement in the parish according to value. We find some farms with four, others with 14 or 15 stints. The stints are generally sold by themselves, being worth about £60 each. The stints may also be let for grazing from May 20 to November 11, and they let for 44s. to 48s. each. The number of animals which a stint may carry are: one bullock, heifer, &c., of any age or size, one yearling horse, two ewes with followers (not more than two lambs apiece), four sheep of any age not having lambs, while two stints are necessary for one horse of any age above one year (Dickinson's *Glossary*, re-arranged by E. W. Prevost, 1899).

At some subsequent date or dates, of which I can find no record, Hayton High Common was inclosed, and divided in compact allotments amongst the holders of grassings within the Hayton and Fenton quarters of the manor. One of the last fragments to escape inclosure was "The Crooks," now better known as Gelt Woods. In 1773 ten statesmen of Hayton executed a bond to "withstand" Mr. Abraham Bird of the Nook, who had enclosed several acres at the Crooks near the Gelt; and even in 1810 certain stints, from May 20th to October 20th, in Gelt Crooks, close by the side of the river, belonging to Thomas Graham of Edmond Castle, were advertised for letting.

Even if there were no old map of Hayton extant, there would still be indications of the former existence of a common arable field for those who have eyes to see and

* Miscellany accounts of the diocese of Carlisle, by Bp. Nicolson, pp. 194, 195.

ears to hear. The long narrow fields which skirt the footpath leading past the parish church are obviously enclosed dales, and there is a small stone-walled field by the roadside at the head of the village containing three acres which is called on my estate map "Yoking." Cumbrians still speak of "yoking" horses to the plough, and a "yoking" meant a day's ploughing, and hence a dale of land.

Again, the Ordnance survey shows certain localities near the railway called "The Acres" and "The Dales." The terrier of 1777 shows that the Rev. Edmund Wills held an acre at the place called "The Acres," and in 1865 William Hall sold an acre containing three roods at the same spot. There were also a number of dales at "Blackbush" near Ring-gate, but neither they nor the last-named "Acres" and "Dales" are shown on the map of 1704, so they must have been subsequent improvements of the High Common. At Talkin village, too, there is a ridge of rock, still known as "Buttriggs plantation," which probably formed the boundary of the common field there. An eminent writer gives the following explanation of the term "butt":—"When the area under tillage abuts against some obstacle as a highway, a river, a neighbouring 'furlong,' the strips are stunted *(buttæ)*." *

I have said so much about the common fields of Hayton that I may perhaps be accused of riding my hobby to death. But my answer is that the manor of Hayton furnishes the only concrete example I can yet discover of the Cumbrian type of this ancient and formerly ubiquitous institution—the open arable field.

I will fill in the background of my picture by quoting some short extracts from the terriers of the year 1704.* They relate of course to glebe land only, but that usually consisted of strips lying intermixed with those belonging to the parishioners in the common field:—

* Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, Oxford, 1892, p. 232.

AIKTON.—Half an acre of meadow lying between the ground of William Henderson and John Henderson. An acre of arable land in Robert Ismay's field.

ARTHURET.—A grassing of one acre and a half. Wilkin's Thorn, arable one rood and a half, encompassed with the lands of Mall's Know lease† and Rowey's, three rood amongst the lands of Langtown lease.

BRAMPTON formed an exception to the rule, because its glebe land lay inclosed in a ring fence near the old church.‡ I mention it because it is described as joining the pale of Brampton Park (these *Transactions*, N.S., viii., p. 15), which is thus shown to have been in existence in 1704, and it is further described as abutting on a well called the Nine Wells. Compare the Nine Kirks at Brougham, Westmorland.

CASTLE CARROCK.—Two acres lying on a place called Longhill betwixt the grounds of John Blenkinsop and John Hodgson. One acre and a half on a place called White Leases. One acre on a place called Boonwall lying betwixt the same men's grounds. One acre at a place called Under y^{e} Wall betwixt the grounds of Peter Hodgson and John Hodgson. One half-acre called Birkdale adjoining Brice Close. Three roods lying all at the end of one another betwixt Brice Close Nook at y^{e} newgate and Castle Carrock Beck. One half-acre more called Streetdale.

HAYTON.—Two acres of land on the south side of the churchyard called the Priest Croft, George Thompson's land lying both on the east and west side of it. Half an acre betwixt George Thompson's croft and Thomas Brown's croft. Two acres of ground called the Bushdale and the Bottoms lying at a place called Fenton Streetside and the Longlands. Two acres called the Little Close and the Longlands lying betwixt the How Street and West Gate houses.

ORTON.—In the West field eleven riggs with a head rigg, by estimation three acres. In the East roods four riggs with a raine between them and a piece of meadow on the north end of them (one acre). In the West roods four riggs (one acre) with one

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* Miscellany accounts of the diocese of Carlisle, by Bishop Nicolson, 1877.

† Lease means a pasture, usually a common stinted pasture. Some inclosures in Newby Holme (Irthington) are called on my estate map High leases and Edmond Castle leases respectively.

‡ This fact gives colour to the conjecture alluded to by the Rev. Henry Whitehead in his *Talks about Brampton*, p. 63, that the village was in the thirteenth century removed to a new site.

single rigg of John Robinson's between them. At the Croft Head two large riggs (one acre). At the Parson's Thorn* two long riggs (one acre) bounded north and south by the Field Way. In Crossland two riggs (one acre) with a piece of meadow at the end of them. In the Shaws three riggs with a piece of meadow at the low end of them (one acre). In the Organ Butts† two small riggs (half an acre). In Inglands two riggs with a small piece of meadow at the low end of them (one acre). In Sheep Coats two riggs with a broad raine between them and a piece of meadow at the low end (one acre). In Crabtreedale two riggs with a piece of meadow at the low end of them (one acre). In Grayston Butts two riggs (half an acre). More in Grayston Butts two riggs (half an acre). In the Shaws more two riggs (half an acre). In Orton Rigg field, in ye west end four riggs (half an acre). at the Parson's Lees eight riggs with a daywork of meadow at the north end (two acres). In Wood Houses field, in Bredick two riggs (half an acre). Underbricks, a butt lying north and south. Upon the bank or Priest Bush three riggs with a piece of meadow at the north end. In the East field four riggs with a piece of meadow at the north end (three roods). In Great Orton Moss a large parcel. In the Flat Moss another great parcel. Common of pasture for all the parson's cattle, with four days' work of turf upon the moors of Orton.‡

WESTWARD.—Six yokeing of arable ground. One day's work of meadow.

ADDINGHAM.—One piece of arable or meadow ground in the South field of Little Salkeld called Sha-rigg containing two acres and a half. Four pieces of arable ground or pasture in the North field of Little Salkeld containing five acres. Four beast-gates in a common pasture field called Lodge Field.

EDENHALL AND LANGWATHBY.—The glebe land of Edenhall lies part of it in the common field and part in the grassing for all the parish; a bad grassing let for half-a-crown a gate.

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* The Rev. W. F. Gilbanks, rector of Orton, is able to identify the locality of these and the other riggs. The Field way, now known as the Back Lane, is a remarkable road, shown on the Ordnance map, and inclosing the four sides of the ancient West field.

† Compare this field name with Censer Bitt of the Greystoke glebe. It may possibly refer to the tenant's service at Mass.

‡ This carefully prepared terrier would facilitate a reconstruction of Orton field, which is therein shown to consist of four main divisions—viz., the East field, West field, Orton Rigg field, and Woodhouses field. The groups of riggs called East Roods and Grayston Butts would in the south of England have been described as furlongs or shots.

HUTTON-IN-THE-FOREST.—Kirkbutts next to the churchyard one acre. Wetacre lying on the north side of a dale of Thomas Robinson's. Highside of ye Broaddale (butting on the pasture) three acres. Lowside of the Broaddale (lying between John Smith's lands) one acre. Sidelands (lying between more of John Smith's) one acre and a half. Pasty-crust lying cross the Headacres three roods. Two acres called Headacres. Bank-rigg one acre. Great Bank six riggs (three acres). Middle Bank four riggs (two acres). Two short riggs (one rood). Far Bank four riggs (two acres). All the foregoing butting on the pasture. Hutton field is referred to on p. 177.*

KIRKLAND.—Half a rood in Kirkland Field.

MELMERBY.†—Twelve acres inclosed lying in the Low Field next the Low Moor called commonly the Parson's Close. Two acres lying with one end next the south-west side of the town. This and all the rest of the glebe lies in the open field. The rest lies in the High Field in little parcels as followeth—one rood called Wetacre, one rood called Tofts, one acre called Tofts, one rood called Cusgills, one rood called Swinelands, two roods called Woodgateland, two acres called High Wreas, one acre called Middle Wreas, two roods called Low Wreas, one rood called Mashfoot Ings, one rood called Wyth Bush, one acre called Holy Gill, two roods called Melgates, another rood called Mel-gates, another rood called Melgates, a rood called Harry How, a rood called Carle How, two roods called Deadman's Graff, two roods called Gilmore Flatt, one acre and a half called Willy Dike, two roods called Tor Tree.‡

OUSBY.—One close containing six acres of arable ground lying in the townfield in the way to the Gale.

SKELTON.—The Church Rigg about four acres in two parcels, Roan-tree Hill one rood, Todd Holes half an acre, Brown How three acres, Waterriggs and Wandales four acres in four parcels, Bottergills half an acre, Picthow half an acre, Borwaines half an acre, Fardenbitts half a rood, Whitebank half an acre, one rood beyond Lowthers, Brakenburgh two half acres in two

* Hutchinson refers (vol. i., 512) to another common field of Hutton at Blencow Bank.

† Hutchinson says (vol. i., 220) "the townfield contains near 300 acres, some of which has lately been inclosed. Where it is open the land lies in doles or ridges."

‡ The terriers of Hutton, Melmerby, and Skelton prove that the normal tenement of a Cumberland manor consisted of many very small and scattered shares in the townfield.

parcels, Underfowers three whole acres in three parcels, Lodden How about five acres, Great Awels one acre, Little Awels half an acre, on Abby two acres, on Hewrigg half an acre, on Crooklands one acre, on Three Roods one acre, on Linerigg two acres in two parcels, in New Close one acre of meadow land, on Groves one acre. This terrier seems to have been compiled from a valuation dated October 8th, 1663.

TORPENHOW.—A parcel of ground lying in the common field (two acres).

KIRKBRIDE.—Four acres of arable land, one day's work of meadow.

NETHER DENTON.—A yokeing of arable and a day's work of meadow ground. The glebe was in part bounded by the Coarse Way (i.e., corpse road) to the churchyard stile.

GREYSTOKE.—The land lay for the most part in closes, and had therefore, I presume, been inclosed with hedges. Among other curious field names occur True Love Lands and Censer Bitt. The tithes of North field and South field are mentioned at p. 223.

I would particularly urge those of our members who are landowners to make a note of the field names which occur in their deeds and maps, because such names furnish a means of ascertaining the site and extent of what Cumbrians term "the ancient land"—that is to say, the townfield of the manor.

Eden, in his *State of the Poor*, 1795, noticed common arable fields at the following Cumberland villages, but in all of them (with the exception perhaps of Cumrew) inclosure had been slowly proceeding for the space of fifty years—that is to say, since the era of the second Scotch rebellion :—

GILCRUX.—About 400 acres of common field have been inclosed within the last 50 years.

HESKET.—No more than 200 acres have been inclosed within the last fifty years. A large part appears to have had its hedges planted a little before that period.

AINSTABLE.—Area 5,120 acres, of which 3,480 are common.* About

* Moorland or waste.

400 acres have been inclosed in the common fields within the last 50 years. . . . . The average rent of land is about 18s. per acre, but it is observable that here, and in most parts of Cumberland, an extensive common right* is attached to most arable land.

CROGLIN.—The average rent of open fields is 9s. 6d. the acre, of inclosures 15s. or 16s.† About 100 acres of common field have been inclosed within the last fifty years, but a great part of the arable land still remaines in narrow crooked dales, or ranes‡ as they are called.

CASTLE CARROCK.—The greatest part of this parish remains in dales, or doles as they are called, which are strips of cultivated land belonging to different proprietors separated from each other by ridges of grass land. About 100 acres may have been inclosed in the last fifty years.

CUMREW.—The land is cultivated in the old Cumberland manner. The grass ridges in the fields are from 20 to 30 feet wide, and some of them are 1,000 feet in length. Grazing cattle often injure the crops.

WARWICK.—Almost the whole of the cultivated land (1,126 acres) has been inclosed within the last fifty years. It formerly, although divided, lay in long strips or narrow dales, separated from each other by ranes or narrow ridges of land which are left unploughed. In this manner a great deal and perhaps the whole of the cultivated lands in Cumberland was anciently disposed.

Private inclosure acts relating to Cumberland specifically mention common fields at the following places :—

GREAT AND LITTLE STAINTON, NEWBIGGIN, AND GREAT BLENCOW —Open and common fields, 12 George III., c. 141 (1772).

IRTHINGTON.—Several open and common fields, 19 George III., c. 57 (1779).

GREYSTOKE, PENRUDDOCK, AND MOTHERBY.—Open and common fields containing 240 acres, 53 George III., c. 2 (1813).

TORPENHOW.—Open and common fields called Townfallas (*sic*) and Longwood containing 20 acres, 54 George III., c. 35 (1814).

* Of pasture over the moorland or waste.

† This shows what an advantage was gained by inclosure.

‡ The ranes (locally pronounced "rëans") were properly the unploughed margins of grass which separated one dale from another, and gave the field a striped appearance.

The return of inclosure awards deposited with Clerks of the Peace, printed in 1904, mentions a few more names —viz., Caldbeck, Nether Row common field, Holm Cultram, Benwray common field, Scaleby common field, Skelton common field, Threlkeld townfield and Wigton, common meadow near Lesson Hall. The return is not a satisfactory one, and for precise information it is necessary in every case to examine the award. Another return of the area of common townfields made by the Inclosure Commissioners in 1874 is even more misleading and unreliable.

Since my paper on "The Common Fields of Hayton" was submitted to our Society, an interesting book* has been published which deals with the whole matter generally, and if it has not attracted the attention which it deserves, it is because the subject is one which is eminently "caviare to the general." Its author, from sheer want of evidence, has little to tell us about Cumberland in particular. He cites a passage from West's *Antiquities of Furness*, 1774, p. xxiii., which I will quote in its original form because he has omitted a very material sentence :—

> When the abbot of Furness franchised his villains, and raised them to the dignity of customary tenants, the lands, which they had cultivated for their lord, were divided into whole tenements, each of which, besides the customary annual rent, was charged with the obligation of having in readiness a man completely armed for the King's service on the borders or elsewhere. Each of these whole tenements was again sub-divided into four equal parts; each villain had one, and the party-tenant contributed his share to the support of the man of arms and of other burdens. These divisions were not properly distinguished; the land remained mixed; each tenant had a share through all the arable and meadow land and common of pasture over all the wastes, was deemed a principal tenant, and paid a fine upon his admittance. These sub-tenements were judged sufficient for the support of so many families, and *no further division was permitted*. . . . The land being mixed, and the several tenants

* *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, by Gilbert Slater, M.A., D.Sc. (London, Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1907.)

united in equipping the plough, the absence of the fourth man was no prejudice to the cultivation of his land, which was committed to the care of three.*

We have here an example of a common arable field held by Border service, and the payment of ancient customary rents—that is to say, customary freehold land. West must surely be in error when he attributes the creation of tenure by Border service and the formation of the common fields to the abbot of Furness, because analogous systems occur in many other Border manors. The evidence is, strictly speaking, irrelevant so far as regards Cumberland, because Furness is in Lancashire.

Nevertheless, after stating some remarks by the poet Wordsworth† in regard to the same common field at Low Furness, which had then been inclosed with hedges, Dr. Slater draws from the above-quoted passage the following general conclusion with respect to the common fields of Cumberland :—

> We find‡ that up to the union of the Crowns cultivation was carried on by a system *very closely resembling the "run-rig" of the Hebrides.* Groups of four tenants combined together and yoked their horses to a common plough, and equally divided the holding between them, each tenant having his equal share in all parts of the holding. We next find that on the decay of this co-aration, for a long period, varying in duration in different parishes, holdings remained intermixed, but it seems clear that . . . . common rights were not exercised over the *arable* fields. . . .
>
> Lastly we find that open, intermixed arable land and meadows having this history pass into a state of inclosure . . . . *by a gradual piecemeal process*, without the need for Act of Parliament, or reference to a Commission, or any combined resolution on the part of the lord and tenants of a manor.

He expresses the same opinion in another passage :—

> Throughout the West of England, from Cumberland to Devon and

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* See also Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 538).

† *Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, by William Knight, vol. iii., p. 53.

‡ Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 259. The italics are mine throughout these quotations.

Cornwall, we find evidence that the primitive type of village community *approximated very closely to the Celtic run-rig*.* It is to be noticed that there is no mention in any description of run-rig of the arable fields being used as a common pasture after harvest or during a fallow year. We shall find later the same absence of this custom (characteristic of English common field) from open arable fields in Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, Wales, and Devonshire—*i.e.*, from the Celtic part of England and Wales. This may, of course, be a mere coincidence, and the true explanation may in each be that the stubble was not needed for pasture; but, in any case, the absence of rights of pasture over arable lands removes a great obstacle to piecemeal inclosure.†

Now there are two points on which I quite agree with Dr. Slater :—

(1) That in Cumberland there was no interval of fallow, and consequently no common of pasture over the arable field. For instance, at Cumrew the rëans were of such great size that people seem to have tethered their cattle to graze upon them while the crops were still growing. That circumstance implies that there was no common right of pasture over the cultivated riggs later on when they had been cleared of their crop. Again, in the case of Skelton, Hutchinson observes (vol. i., 515):—"The late inclosed common lands appear in general to have been kept too long in tillage without renewing by laying down, which has rendered it in many parts poor and barren."

(2) I also agree that, in the absence of this common right, inclosure of the dales was automatic without recourse to an act of Parliament, because I find that, in the very few cases where a private act mentions common fields, the act was necessary, not because it dealt with common fields, but because it also dealt with "waste," which was universally subject to a common right of pasture. In these two points the Cumberland rig and rëan resembles the Celtic run-rig; but I cannot agree with Dr. Slater

* Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
† Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

that the two systems of cultivation approximate so closely to one another that they are to be included in the same category.

I must explain that run-rig, or some modified form thereof, was prevalent throughout Scotland until recent times. It became extinct in the Lowlands about the year 1730, and an excellent description of the purely Celtic form of run-rig, as it has survived until our own time in the remote Outer Hebrides, will be found in the third volume of Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (chap. x.). Now it is quite clear, by Dr. Slater's own showing,* that the essential and peculiar feature of the Scottish run-rig was a periodical re-division and re-distribution of the land amongst its holders by lot. But in the description of the common fields of Low Furness, which Dr. Slater treats as typical of Cumberland, it is expressly stated that *no further division was permitted.*

Again, Jamieson, in his Scottish Dictionary, explains run-rig as "a common field in which the different farmers had different ridges *allotted to them in different years* according to the nature of their crops." I cannot, however, find any indication that arable land in Cumberland has ever, in historic times, been re-distributed by lot either once a year or at longer intervals. It is true that I have cited the use in 1786 of the expression "a thin cavel of land" (these *Transactions*, N.S., viii., p. 20). Murray's New Dictionary defines cavel as "a share of property made by lot," and quotes a passage from Dr. James Robertson's *Agriculture of Perthshire*, 1799:—"The first deviation from run-rig was by dividing the farms into kavels, by which every field was split down into as many lots as there were tenants." But the word cavel had at the end of the eighteenth century also the meaning of "a strip of tillage land in the common field," as will be seen on reference to the English Dialect Dictionary.†

* Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

† Edited by Professor Joseph Wright, 1898.

I am therefore of opinion that the Cumbrian rig and rëan is not the Scottish run-rig. To what species then of common field does it belong ?

Authorities mention three marked types of open arable field in mediæval England:—(1) The three-field system, where each of the three great common fields was allowed in turn to lie fallow and was treated as common pasture in the interval, and thus restored to fertility;* (2) the two-field system, where two great fields were alternately treated in the same manner;† and (3) the one-field system, where a single field was kept permanently under cultivation with the aid of manure, and where, consequently, there was no fallow and no over-riding common of pasture.

The last-named type is what the German writer Hanssen terms "Einfeldwirthschaft"—*i.e.*, one-field management, and under it, in Northern Germany, crops of rye and buckwheat have for centuries been grown year after year on the same land, kept productive by the application of marl and peat.‡

The same system prevailed in Westphalia, East Friesland, Oldenburg, North Hanover, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Brunswick, Saxony, and East Prussia—that is to say, over a great portion of Northern Europe, and it was presumably familiar to Angles and Danes alike at the periods when they respectively invaded Celtic Cumberland.§

I therefore venture to identify the Cumberland mode of cultivation in rig and rëan with the Old English one-field system. And I will even go a step further and suggest

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* The manor of Holme Cultram furnished a local example (these *Transactions*, N.S., ix., p. 124).

† Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 224. Some land in Westmorland belonging to Wetheral Abbey was cultivated on the two field system (*Ibid*).

‡ Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, p. 372.

§ It is not likely that the Norse settlers in Cumberland interfered with the regulation of the common field, because they were a pastoral rather than an agricultural people, and solitary rather than gregarious in their habits.

that, although the term run-rig is popularly applied to the open-field system throughout Scotland, there may have been many common fields on the Scottish side of the border which, owing to the influence of Anglian or Danish conquest, belonged properly to the same English type.

Some Cumberland parishes—notably Great Orton, Addingham, and Greystoke—possessed more than one open field. Hayton parish certainly comprised six such fields at Hayton Holme, Hayton village, Fenton, Little Corby, Talkin (these *Transactions*, N.S., viii., p. 340), and Edmond Castle (*Ibid.*, p. 17), but the evidence, though only circumstantial, tends to prove that all those fields were worked independently of one another, and cropped incessantly according to the one-field system, and were not cultivated in rotation of crop and fallow according to the two or three-field systems which were more usually in vogue in other parts of England.

And now I have ploughed my acre, and "done my dark," as they say in Cumberland; but there remains many a day's work to be done on the wide field in which the members of our Society have a common interest—Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands. When a larger area of that field has been reduced to tillage, we shall be able to speak with authority about the intricate subject of this paper—a subject which will amply repay the labour expended upon it, for it throws a powerful searchlight upon the social condition of the English border in bygone years.