SETTLEMENT AND FIELD PATTERNS

IN THE SOUTH PENNINES:

A CRITIQUE OF MORPHOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO

LANDSCAPE HISTORY IN UPLAND ENVIRONMENTS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Upland regions have received significantly less attention from landscape and agricultural historians than lowland areas. The literature on fields, for example, is dominated by discussion of open or common fields, displaying an arable bias that ignores the pastoral nature of upland farming. National and county scale studies of landscape, focusing on fields and settlements in particular, have been undertaken in the last few years that purport to avoid such distinctions. The principal aim of the thesis is to critically examine the extent to which these methodologies, based on the study of patterns in the landscape, can offer a valid terrain-neutral approach that might contribute to our understanding of upland landscape history. The basic approach taken by this study is to apply to the study area the morphological methodologies used by the national Rural Settlement study undertaken by Roberts and Wrathmell and the county level Historic Landscape Characterisation exercises, before comparing the results with those obtained by more traditional landscape history methodologies. The comparative methodology used here focuses on two issues: the validity and robustness of the original methodology, and the effect of using additional documentary and other evidence that sheds light on the historical processes involved in the landscape. The analysis of the fieldscape is informed by use of the settlement data, and this combination is then examined in the context of various morphological models of agrarian structures, focusing on those proposed by Roberts and Wrathmell. A new model is proposed that combines the evidence of historical process with the morphological attributes of settlement and fieldscapes. While this model is based on the South Pennine *pays*, the principles involved in its construction are intended to be applicable in other upland areas.

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

GIS: Geographical Information System

HBLHS: Hebden Bridge Local History Society Archive

HLC: Historic Landscape Characterisation

LCA: Landscape Character Assessment

MCD: Monument Class Descriptions

Notts: Nottinghamshire Archives

OED: Oxford English Dictionary

OS: Ordnance Survey

TNA: The National Archives

WYAS(C): West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale)

WYAS(K): West Yorkshire Archive Service (Kirklees)

Chapter 1

Introduction

There is an upland/lowland divide in the study of landscape and agricultural history exhibited by a relative paucity of research into upland history. This thesis explores two strategies that have been adopted by English Heritage in recent years that are terrain-neutral and treat the whole landscape in a standardised way rather than consciously or unconsciously favouring certain areas or aspects.[1] For the first time upland areas are considered on the same basis as lowland areas via methodological perspectives that are based on cultural landscape criteria rather than economic or natural criteria. These strategies employ new morphological approaches that attempt to broadly characterise the historical aspects of landscape. They therefore represent different approaches to upland landscape history that have the potential to add to our limited knowledge of such areas.

The purpose of this thesis is to critically examine the potential contribution of these morphological approaches to the landscape history of upland areas, and by extension their validity for other landscape types. The chosen case study area is the Upper Calder Valley in the South Pennines of West Yorkshire, an area which has been subject to limited archaeological, landscape or agricultural history research. This approach takes up Newman's suggestions for the testing of the robustness of these methodologies and their integration in order to 'provide a starting point to understand better the cultural identity of historical agrarian regions'.[2] A fundamental aspect of this testing process will be a comparison of the morphological evidence with the

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[1] See for example P. Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an ever-changing Cornwall', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.15-27 at p.17.

[2] R. Newman, 'Farmers and fields: developing a research agenda for post-medieval agrarian society and landscape', *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* 39(2), (2005), pp.205-14 at p.210.

documentary and other evidence on the nature and development of post-Conquest field arrangements and settlement patterns in the study area. Integration of all these evidential strands provides an example of how suitable models might be derived when studying cultural landscapes.

1.1 Background to morphological methodologies used by English Heritage

The origin of these methodologies can be traced back to the establishment of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, now known as English Heritage, under the National Heritage Act 1983. The new Commission began its work by assessing the country's existing archaeological record. The resulting report, *England's Archaeological Resource* published in 1984, showed that only 2 per cent of known archaeological sites were scheduled and that the Schedule of Ancient Monuments was unrepresentative in terms of the periods, locations and types of monuments covered.[3] In order to expand this low asset base, English Heritage has adopted a number of strategies to fulfil its statutory functions under section 33 of the National Heritage Act 1983 of securing the preservation of ancient monuments and historic buildings whilst promoting the public's enjoyment of them. It is two of these strategies that are of particular interest to those studying upland areas because of their non-discriminatory application across the whole country.

The first of these cultural landscape methodologies concerns the identification of rural settlement patterns. English Heritage established the Monuments Protection Programme in 1986 to remedy the biased and incomplete nature of the Schedule of

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[3] Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, *England's archaeological resource: a rapid quantification of the national archaeological resource and a comparison with the Schedule of Ancient Monuments*, (London, 1984); J. Schofield, *MPP 2000: a review of the Monuments Protection Programme, 1986-2000*, ([London], English Heritage, 2000), p.4.

Ancient Monuments over an initial period of ten years. The principal aims of the Programme were 'to provide a better understanding and comprehensive reassessment of the country's archaeological resource, using a new classification system, in order to improve conservation, management and public appreciation of the heritage' and to identify further monuments for scheduling.[4] While a major part of the task of enlarging and reviewing the existing Schedule could be accomplished using local authority Sites and Monuments Records, the method used by English Heritage to fill the gaps in the record was to establish a number of specially commissioned national evaluation studies. By 2000, work in five thematic areas had either been completed or was underway: settlement, agricultural systems, industrial, military and ecclesiastical.[5]

The purpose of the evaluation study on settlement was to map rural settlement patterns in order to ensure that the monument scheduling process did not miss any of the national variation in settlement forms. This was conducted by Dr Brian Roberts (latterly Professor) of the University of Durham and Dr Stuart Wrathmell of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service on behalf of English Heritage. The results were published in 2001 as *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* with a more detailed consideration appearing in 2002 as *Region and Place: a study of English rural settlement*.[6] This study not only provides a proposed regional patterning of settlement types but also suggests a number of associated models of agrarian infrastructure that reflect the way in which the inhabitants farmed the surrounding land. While these models are based on earlier work by Uhlig, this perspective offers a

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[4] Schofield, *MPP 2000*, p.4.
[5] Ibid., p.6.
[6] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *An atlas of rural settlement in England*, (London, English Heritage, 2000); B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *Region and place: a study of English rural settlement*, (London, English Heritage, 2002).

new way of understanding particular regions, being detailed enough to distinguish between particular types of upland area in a way that has only been hinted at before.[7]

Operating in parallel to the Rural Settlements project was the development of a methodology to recognise the whole historic character of the environment rather than just selected sites.[8] This was partly in order to allow those sites to be put into context, and partly to provide assistance to those implementing planning policy which required development to be consistent with maintaining that overall historic character.[9] While English Heritage has been the mentor of the application of this methodology, the work of Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) has been done gradually for individual counties by their archaeology departments over the last decade. Although most counties have completed or instigated an HLC project at the time of writing, West Yorkshire was one of the last to commence work on such a project.[10] Pilot projects were established in 2011 and completed in 2012 and at the time of writing a full county project has commenced that is due to be completed in 2015.[11]

The concept of the 'character' of an area first appeared in the Civic Amenities Act of 1967, section 1 of which gave local authorities powers to determine 'areas of special architectural or historic interest the character or appearance of which it is desirable to

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[7] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, pp.59, 65-8.

[8] For a survey of the antecedents of this approach see N. Christie and P. Stamper, 'Introduction: medieval rural settlement research. Emergence, examination and engagement' in N. Christie and P. Stamper (eds.), *Medieval rural settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600,* (Oxford, Windgather Press, 2012), pp.2-10 at pp.3-5.

[9] Department of the Environment, *Planning policy guidance: planning and the historic environment,* PPG 15, (London, HMSO, 1994), Section 2.26.

[10] See the national map at http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/research/landscapes-and-areas/characterisation/historic-landscape-character/ accessed on 21 January 2013. Unfortunately this does not seem to have been updated since 2009.

[11] West Yorkshire Joint Services, Report to Archives, Archaeology and Trading Standards Sub-Committee, 10 November 2011: http://www.wyjs.org.uk/wyjs%20committee%20reports/AATS/20111110/AATS%20Minutes.pdf as at 21 January 2013; Personal communication, Christopher Thomas, Historic Landscape Characterisation Officer, West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service, February 2013.

preserve or enhance'.[12] The extension of this concept to 'landscape character' emerged

during the second half of the 1980s in the aftermath of the public inquiry into the

North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty in 1985 which highlighted the

fact that there was no agreed approach for assessing different landscapes. Under the

aegis of the Countryside Commission, landscape assessment emerged as a method in

which the classification and description of landscape, or 'what makes one area

"different" or "distinct" from another', was separated from any subsequent

evaluation.[13] By the mid-1990s landscape character was an integral element of

landscape assessment and the technique is now known as Landscape Character

Assessment (LCA).[14] The Countryside Commission, now Natural England, established

a national hierarchy of 159 landscape character assessments called Countryside

Character Areas, now known as National Character Areas.[15]

While landscape character assessments were being developed, English Heritage was

expanding the scope of the 'historic environment'. There was a growing realisation

that protection of the historic environment by designating individual sites alone was

no longer adequate.[16] In February 2000 English Heritage issued an 'invitation to

participate' in a review of policies relating to the historic environment which it had

been asked to conduct by the Government. This consultation paper noted that 'historic

environment' covered 'everything from an individual site or building to the whole

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[12] Civic Amenities Act 1967, (c.69).

[13] C. Swanwick, *Landscape Character assessment: guidance for England and Scotland. Topic Paper 1: Recent practice and the evolution of Landscape Character Assessment*, (Cheltenham and Edinburgh, Countryside Agency and Scottish Natural Heritage, [2002]), p.1.

[14] Ibid., p.2.

[15] C. Swanwick and Land Use Consultants, *Landscape Character Assessment: guidance for England and Scotland,* CAX 84, (Cheltenham and Edinburgh, Countryside Agency and Scottish Natural Heritage, 2002), pp.47-48. National Character Areas can be found at http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/publications/nca/default.aspx accessed on 21 January 2013.

[16] G. Fairclough, et al., *Yesterday's world, tomorrow's landscape: the English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94*, (London, English Heritage, 1999), pp.3-4.

historic landscape of England'.[17] The final report, published in December 2000, simply claimed that 'the historic environment is what generations of people have made of the places in which they lived'.[18]

A number of reasons for this claim were adduced. There was a perception that archaeological sites lose some of their significance and relevance if they are divorced from their landscape context.[19] It was considered that the existing statutory protection system failed because it covered only a very small part of the archaeological countryside, it was concerned with sites that were too small to influence strategies of landscape use, and it protected sites for only one out of many possible reasons and largely in isolation from other factors affecting the countryside. It was also recognised that heritage management had to become part of the process of change rather than simply opposing it so therefore had to adopt a broader view than just individual sites.[20] The growth in scope of landscape archaeology during the 1970s and 1980s had led not only to a huge expansion of available data but also to a recognition of the extensive nature of some archaeological sites.[21] In addition it was recognised that the 'natural' environment in most developed countries is actually only semi-natural, being partially

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[17] English Heritage, *Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment: an invitation to participate*, (London, English Heritage, 2000), para. 1.3.

[18] English Heritage, *Power of place: the future of the historic environment*, (London, Power of Place Office, 2000), p.4.

[19] English Heritage, *Sustaining the historic environment: new perspectives on the future*, (London, 1997), p.3.

[20] Graham Fairclough has described this viewpoint in many of his papers. For example G. Fairclough, 'Protecting the cultural landscape: national designation and local character' in J. Grenville (ed.), *Managing the historic rural landscape,* (London, Routledge, 1999), pp.27-39 at p.33; G. Fairclough, 'Protecting time and space: understanding historic landscape for conservation in England' in P.J. Ucko and R. Layton (eds.), *The archaeology and anthropology of landscape: shaping your landscape,* (London, Routledge, 1999), pp.119-34, especially pp.125-9; G. Fairclough, 'A new landscape for cultural heritage management: characterisation as a management tool' in L.R. Lozny (ed.), *Landscapes under pressure: theory and practice of cultural heritage research and preservation,* (London, Springer, 2008), pp.55-74, especially pp.60-1; See also T. Darvill, 'The historic environment, historic landscapes, and space-time-action models in landscape archaeology' in P.J. Ucko and R. Layton (eds.), *The archaeology and anthropology of landscape: shaping your landscape,* (London, Routledge, 1999), pp.104-18.

[21] Fairclough, et al., *Yesterday's world*, p.4.

the product of human actions. The landscape is thus both historic and natural requiring inclusion of evidence of previous activity in the landscape in conservation strategies.[22] There was a desire to avoid the idea of protecting landscape only 'by the selection of the "best bits"' and a concomitant wish for an integrated and holistic approach to landscape that was already being evidenced by partnership between the various interested agencies.[23] Perhaps more importantly, it was suggested that local communities recognize other significant elements of the historic environment that contribute to the historic character of an area, and that this historic character of landscape is important for local community self-awareness and sense of well-being.[24] This chimed with the political zeitgeist of the new Labour Government that was concerned with regionalism and multicultural community development.[25]

The environment therefore needed to be treated 'as a whole, neither isolating the historic from the natural, nor focusing on a few important sites or buildings at the expense of the more commonplace features, or overall character, of an area'.[26] In order to preserve this overall character, it was important to carry out 'character appraisals'.[27] Assessment of the historic character of the whole landscape is thus a methodology that, like the Rural Settlements project, treats all landscape equally. It provides a different type of assessment of the cultural elements of the rural landscape in which

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[22] L. Macinnes and C.R. Wickham-Jones, 'Time-depth in the countryside: archaeology and the environment' in L. Macinnes and C.R. Wickham-Jones (eds.), *All natural things: archaeology and the green debate,* (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 1992), p.6; Fairclough, et al., *Yesterday's world*, pp.9-11.
[23] G. Fairclough (ed.), *Historic Landscape Characterisation: "the state of the art". Papers from a seminar held at Society of Antiquaries. London, 1998,* (London, English Heritage, 1999), p.5.
[24] P. Herring, *Cornwall's historic landscape: presenting a method of historic landscape character assessment*, (Truro, Cornwall Archaeological Unit, 1998), pp.4, 6; J. Lake, 'The English *pays*; approaches to understanding and characterising landscapes and places', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.28-39 at p.34.
[25] D. Austin, 'Character or caricature? Concluding discussion', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.92-105 at p.94.
[26] G. Fairclough, 'Sustaining the historic environment', *Context,* 55, (1997), pp.39-41 at p.40.
[27] Fairclough, et al., *Yesterday's world*, p.5; Fairclough, 'Sustaining the historic environment', p.40.

fieldscapes inevitably form a major part. The appraisal identifies landscape elements, such as particular field patterns, which are then classified into character types and mapped using GIS systems. All fields are included thus automatically excluding the intellectual bias in favour of common field systems that has characterised field studies to date.

1.2 The uplands in landscape and agricultural history

As the contribution of these methodologies to understanding upland landscape history is the focus of investigation, we must be clear both as to what is meant by the uplands and the nature of investigations to date into the cultural history of this particular landscape type. It was the geographer Sir Halford Mackinder who first proposed in 1902 that Britain could be divided into two topographic regions, north-west and south-east. He labelled these Highland and Lowland Britain, a dichotomy that he saw as depending fundamentally on geology and associated climatic differences.[28] Although Sir Cyril Fox claimed he had not read Mackinder, he also proposed a division into Highland and Lowland zones in his 1932 book *Personality of Britain.*[29] The Highland Zone as defined by Mackinder and Fox is a very broad description that obviously also covers many low lying areas. The word 'uplands' appears to be more limited in its scope but there is no clear cut definition of what is meant by this term. Uplands are often defined as those areas lying above the highest boundary of enclosed land or simply land over 800 feet, or 250 metres, above sea level.[30] However, from an

[28] H.J. Mackinder, *Britain and the British seas*, (London, William Heinemann, 1902), ch.5.

[29] C. Fox, *The personality of Britain: its influence on inhabitant and invader in prehistoric and early historic times*, (Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, 1932); E.E. Evans, 'Highland landscapes: habitat and heritage' in J.G. Evans, S. Limbrey and H. Cleere (eds.), *The effect of man on the landscape: the Highland zone,* ([London], Council for British Archaeology, 1975), pp.1-5 at p.1.

[30] http://archive.defra.gov.uk/rural/countryside/uplands/land-classification.htm accessed on 8 January 2013; H.J.B. Birks, 'Long-term ecological change in the British uplands' in M.B. Usher and D.B.A. Thompson (eds.), *Ecological change in the uplands,* (Oxford, Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1988),

agricultural perspective high land is not used in isolation. It is always integrated with uses on adjacent lower lying land so that a more meaningful definition relates to the way in which farming communities use the land.[31] Winchester has suggested that upland communities are those that include 'a significant area of rough grazing' within their boundaries.[32]

A more precise definition, albeit one that is reasonably equivalent to Winchester's, was provided in *The Upland Management Handbook* produced by English Nature in 2001.[33] This used the close coincidence of the boundaries of Natural Areas and the boundaries of Less Favoured Areas to define the upland areas with which it is concerned.[34] A slightly revised version of this has also been used by DEFRA in its *Upland Policy Review* of 2011 and is reproduced in Figure 1.1.[35] This definition is the one that will be adopted for the purposes of this thesis.[36]

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pp.37-56 at pp.37-8; D. Grigg, *English agriculture: an historical perspective*, (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989), p.35.

[31] J. Backshall, et al. (eds.), *The upland management handbook,* ([Peterborough], English Nature, 2001), section 1.1.

[32] A.J.L. Winchester, *The harvest of the hills: rural life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.5.

[33] See note 28.

[34] Natural Areas have now been subsumed into National Character Areas, which are areas of similar landscape character. See
http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/ourwork/landscape/englands/character/areas/default.aspx accessed on 8 January 2013. Less Favoured Areas were established in 1975 as a means for providing aid specifically to the socially and economically disadvantaged areas in the uplands. See
http://archive.defra.gov.uk/rural/countryside/uplands/land-classification.htm accessed on 8 January 2013.

[35] Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, *Uplands policy review*, (London, 2011).

[36] For alternative approaches see for example R.G.H. Bunce and C.J. Barr, 'The extent of land under different management regimes in the uplands and the potential for change' in M.B. Usher and D.B.A. Thompson (eds.), *Ecological change in the uplands,* (Oxford, Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1988), pp.415-26 at p.418 et seq where a definition based on vegetation land cover is used.

Figure 1.1: Upland regions in England. After *Uplands Policy Review*, 2011, p.7. © Crown copyright

Upland* regions in England

- 1. Northumberland and North Pennines
- 2. Lake District
- 3. Yorkshire Dales and Bowland
- 4. North York Moors
- 5. South Pennines
- 6. Peak District
- 7. Welsh Borders
- 8. Exmoor, Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor
- 9. South West Disadvantaged Area
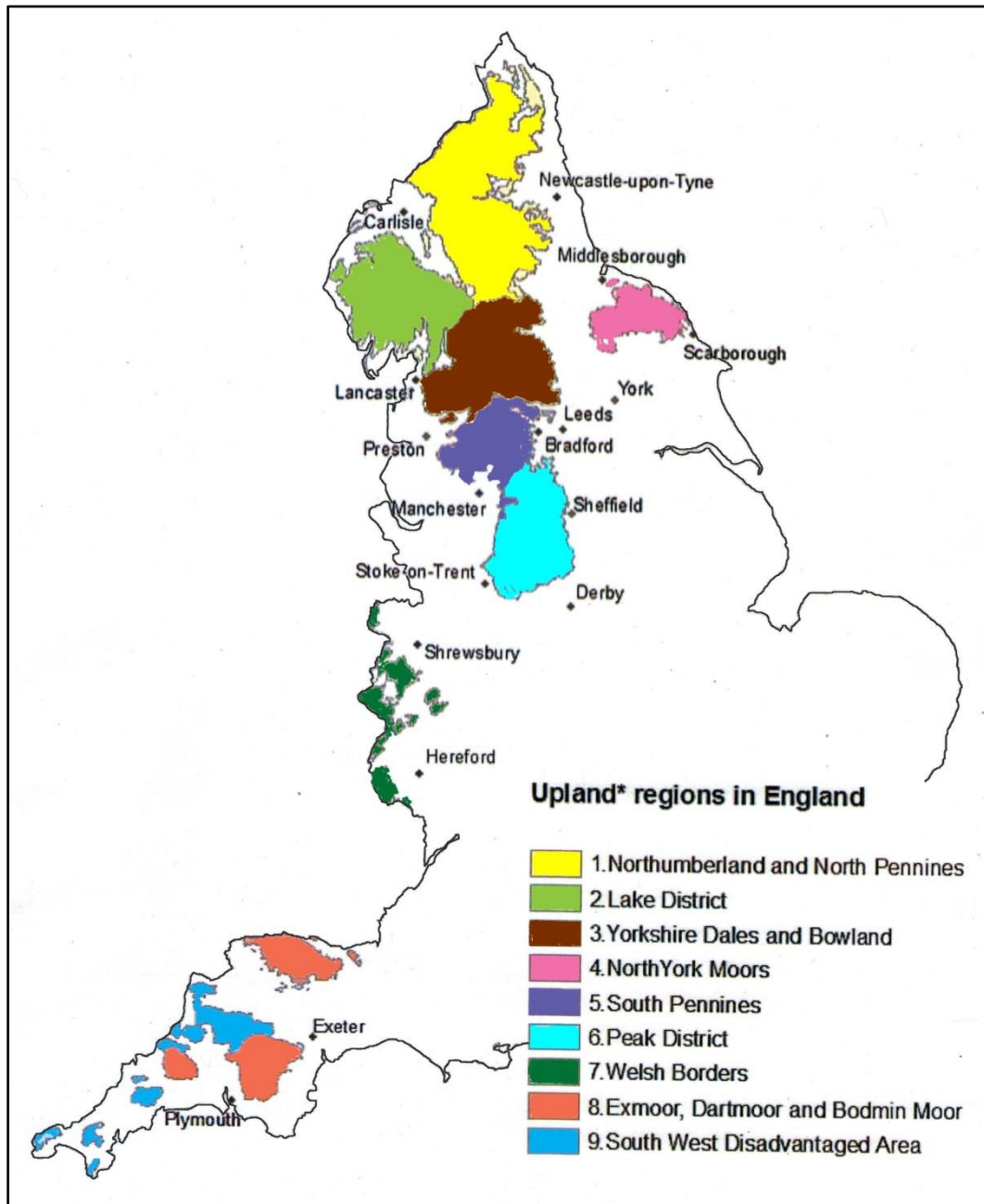
The literature relating to the landscape and agricultural history of these upland areas is not extensive. One of the standard works on English farming history in the first half of the twentieth century fails to discuss upland farming at all.[37] The volumes of the subsequently published *Agrarian History of England and Wales* do offer overviews in

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[37] R.E. Prothero, Lord Ernle, *English farming past and present*, (6th ed., London, Frank Cass & Co, 1961).

the individual regional chapters covering upland areas.[38] However, these tend to be limited to factual descriptions of numbers of animals, extent of arable land, size of farms and so on. Rarely is much insight offered into the actual processes of land use. Similar overviews, typically using the same factbase, appear in other monographs concerned with agricultural or landscape history. Williamson's chapter on 'Moor and vale' in his *The Transformation of Rural England*, which discusses the development of England's rural landscape between 1700 and 1870, is essentially a summary of existing knowledge.[39] It draws largely on the summaries of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* as well as works such as Thirsk's *The English Rural Landscape* in order to offer a landscape history perspective on this period of agrarian change.[40] Out of a total of 178 pages in the book only 24 are devoted to the uplands. However, this is a significant improvement on the single page specifically on the uplands offered by Cantor in his account of the rural landscape between 1400 and 1700.[41]

As Williamson says, 'the history of the landscape is often written from a southern perspective'.[42] The early twentieth-century Calder Valley historian, Abraham Newell, noted the obscurity of Pennine history to most historians as being 'passing strange'.[43] Thirsk echoed these comments in 1967 stating:

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[38] H.E. Hallam (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.2: 1042-1350,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988); E. Miller (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.3: 1348-1500,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991); J. Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1967); J. Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.5: 1640-1750. Part 1: Regional farming systems,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[39] T. Williamson, *The transformation of rural England: farming and the landscape 1700-1870*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2002).

[40] D. Hey, 'Moorlands' in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The English rural landscape,* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.188-209.

[41] L. Cantor, *The changing English countryside, 1400-1700*, (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp.12-13.

[42] Williamson, *The transformation of rural England*, p.115.

[43] A. Newell, *A hillside view of industrial history: a study of industrial evolution in the Pennine highlands*, (Reprint of 1925 edition, New York, Augustus M. Kelley, 1971), p.6.

> The conventional notions about farming and the structure of rural communities still rest upon the convenient generalization that England was composed largely of nucleated villages, populated by corn-and-stock peasants, who farmed their land in common fields and pasture. It is an assumption that ignores the clear evidence of the eye in the hills of highland England.[44]

The dominance of such a perspective is demonstrated by the fact that the principal journal on the subject, *Landscape History*, has published a meagre thirteen articles concerned with upland areas in England out of a total of 207 articles published in its 33 years of existence.[45] The *Agricultural History Review* has published only 20 articles related to the uplands between its inception in 1953 and 2012. These raw statistics suggest a lack of interest by agricultural and landscape historians in the uplands, perhaps reflecting an unconscious assumption that such bleak and barren areas can offer little of historical or agricultural interest. It is symptomatic that Williams, in an essay on the medieval colonisation of the waste, treats the reclamation of marshlands as being the 'most spectacular' and has comparatively little to say about the colonisation of the uplands.[46] Writing in 1980, Millward and Robinson commented that 'On the use of the land in upland Britain over the past thousand years much research through documents and the direct exploration of the landscape, recording and interpreting features in the fields, is still wanting'.[47]

National Parks seem to attract much more research attention than other upland areas, not least because of the appointment of archaeologists by the various National Park Authorities. Historical overviews are now being published that provide a state of the art summary of the landscape history in those areas. The Peak District, the Yorkshire

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[44] Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640*, p.1.
[45] Up to and including volume 33 Issue 1.
[46] M. Williams, 'Marshland and waste' in L. Cantor (ed.), *The English medieval landscape,* (London, Croom Helm, 1982), pp.86-125, especially p.94.
[47] R. Millward and A. Robinson, *Upland Britain*, (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1980), p.132.

Dales and Exmoor are covered by some of the recent works in this genre.[48]   However, it is research in specific localities that has provided much of the background to the current state of understanding on the history of land use in upland areas in England. Working with WEA classes, Bernard Jennings for example has produced volumes on the local history of Nidderdale, Knaresborough, Swaledale and the Upper Calder Valley.[49] Fieldhouse has explored seventeenth century agriculture in Wensleydale while Tupling's work on Rossendale remains a classic work for that area.[50] Porter and Higham have analysed the settlement history of the Forest of Bowland while other writers have examined wider areas such as the Cornish uplands, the medieval agrarian economies of the South Yorkshire Pennines and Yorkshire Wolds, and medieval settlement and enclosure in Exmoor.[51] Research has also been undertaken on specific themes or topics. The nature of upland settlement has been explored in various areas, particularly for the medieval period,[52] while some consideration has been given to the

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[48] J. Barnatt and K. Smith, *The Peak District: landscapes through time*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2004); R. White, *The Yorkshire Dales: a landscape through time*, (Ilkley, Great Northern Books, 2005); M. Siraut, *Exmoor: the making of an English upland*, (Chichester, Phillimore, 2009).

[49] B. Jennings, *A history of Nidderdale*, (1967); B. Jennings (ed.), *A history of Harrogate & Knaresborough,* (Huddersfield, Advertiser Press, 1970); R. Fieldhouse and B. Jennings, *A history of Richmond and Swaledale*, (London, Phillimore, 1978); B. Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley: a history of Upper Calderdale,* (Otley, Smith Settle, 1992).

[50] R.T. Fieldhouse, 'Agriculture in Wensleydale from 1600 to the present day', *Northern History,* 16, (1980), pp.169-95; G.H. Tupling, *The economic history of Rossendale,* Chetham Society New Series vol. 86, (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1927).

[51] J. Porter, 'A forest in transition: Bowland 1500-1650', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 125, (1974), pp.40-60; J. Porter, 'Waste land reclamation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the case of south-eastern Bowland, 1550-1630', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 127, (1977), pp.1-23; M.C. Higham, 'Pre-Conquest settlement in the Forest of Bowland' in J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte (eds.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria,* (Edinburgh, Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1985), pp.119-33; P. Herring, 'Cornish uplands: medieval, post-medieval and modern extents' in I.D. Whyte and A.J.L. Winchester (eds.), *Society, landscape and environment in upland Britain,* (Society for Landscape Studies, 2004), pp.37-50; D. Postles, 'Rural economy on the grits and sandstones of the South Yorkshire Pennines, 1086-1348', *Northern History,* 15, (1979), pp.1-23; B. Waites, 'Aspects of thirteenth and fourteenth century arable farming on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 42, (1968), pp.136-42; M.J. Gillard, 'The medieval landscape of the Exmoor region: enclosure and settlement in an upland fringe', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 2002.

[52] D. Spratt and C. Burgess (eds.), *Upland settlement in Britain: the second millennium B.C. and after,* BAR British Series 143, (Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1985); G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of medieval history,* 1(2), (1975), pp.117-38; C. Dyer, ''The retreat from marginal land': the growth and decline of medieval rural settlements' in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (eds.), *The rural settlements of medieval England: studies dedicated to*

way in which it has been colonised and used.[53] Specific topics have included

vaccaries,[54] transhumance,[55] use of wood pasture,[56] government induced ploughing

campaigns,[57] commons management[58] and exploitation of peat, turf, bracken and

mineral resources.[59] Ian Whyte and John Chapman have analysed the process and

Maurice Beresford and John Hurst, (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp.45-57; S. Harris, J., 'Wastes, the margins and the abandonment of land: the Bishop of Durham's Estate, 1350-1480' in C.D. Liddy and R. Britnell (eds.), *North-East England in the later Middle Ages,* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2005), pp.197-219; M.C. Higham, 'Upland settlement, with particular reference to Lancashire' in A.G. Crosby (ed.), *Of names and places: selected writings of Mary Higham,* (English Place-Name Society and Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, 2007), pp.165-8; R. Hogg, 'Factors which have affected the spread of early settlement in the Lake Counties', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society,* 72, (1972), pp.1-35; J. McDonnell, 'Medieval assarting hamlets in Bilsdale, North-East Yorkshire', *Northern History,* 22, (1986), pp.269-79; J. McDonnell, 'Upland Pennine hamlets', *Northern History,* 26, (1990), pp.20-39; R. Muir, 'The villages of Nidderdale', *Landscape History,* 20, (1998), pp.65-82; R. Muir, 'Village evolution in the Yorkshire Dales', *Northern History,* 34, (1998), pp.1-16; M.L. Parry, 'Upland settlement and climatic change: the medieval evidence' in D. Spratt and C. Burgess (eds.), *Upland settlement in Britain: the second millennium B.C. and after,* (Oxford, B.A.R., 1985), pp.35-49; R. Tipping, 'Climatic variability and 'marginal' settlement in upland British landscapes: a re-evaluation', *Landscapes,* 3(2), (2002), pp.10-29.
[53] S. Harris, J., 'Changing land use in a moorland region: Spennymoor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries' in B. Dodds and R. Britnell (eds.), *Agriculture and rural society after the Black Death: common themes and regional variations,* (Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2008), pp.168-78; D. Jones and S. Essex, 'Land use change in the British uplands : a case study of Bodmin Moor, Cornwall', *Geography,* 84(1), (1999), pp.11-24; H.M. Dunsford and S. Harris, J., 'Colonization of the wasteland in County Durham, 1100-1400', *Economic History Review,* 56(1), (2003), pp.34-56; S.R. Eyre, 'The upward limit of enclosure on the East Moor of North Derbyshire', *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers),* 23, (1957), pp.61-74.
[54] M.A. Atkin, 'Land use and management in the upland demesne of the De Lacy estate of Blackburnshire c1300', *Agricultural History Review,* 42(1), (1994), pp.1-19; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Demesne livestock farming in the Lake District: the vaccary at Gatesgarth, Buttermere, in the later thirteenth century', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 3, (2003), pp.109-18; N. Smith, 'The location and operation of demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship circa 1300', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 15 (New Series), (2007), pp.17-32; N. Smith, 'Crutonstall vaccary: the Extent in 1309', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 16 (New Series), (2008), pp.18-23.
[55] J. McDonnell, 'The role of transhumance in Northern England', *Northern History,* 24, (1988), pp.1-17; I.D. Whyte, 'Shielings and the upland pastoral economy of the Lake District in medieval and early modern times' in J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte (eds.), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria,* (Edinburgh, Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1985), pp.103-18.
[56] A. Fleming, 'Towards a history of wood pasture in Swaledale (North Yorkshire)', *Landscape History,* 19, (1997), pp.57-73.
[57] H. Crowe, 'Profitable ploughing of the uplands? The food production campaign in the First World War', *Agricultural History Review,* 55(2), (2007), pp.205-28.
[58] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Upland commons in northern England' in M. De Moor, L. Shaw-Taylor and P. Warde (eds.), *The management of common land in north west Europe, c.1500-1850,* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2002), pp.33-85; E.A. Straughton, 'Beyond enclosure: upland common land in England and Wales since 1800' in I.D. Whyte and A.J.L. Winchester (eds.), *Society, landscape and environment in upland Britain,* (Society for Landscape Studies, 2004), pp.89-98; E.A. Straughton, *Common grazing in the Northern English uplands, 1800-1965: a history of national policy and local practice with special attention to the case of Cumbria*, (Lampeter, Edwin Mellen Press, 2008); C.P. Rodgers, et al. (eds.), *Contested common land: environmental governance past and present,* (London, Earthscan, 2011).
[59] I.D. Rotherham, et al., 'Fuel economy and the uplands: the effects of peat and turf utilisation on upland landscapes' in I.D. Whyte and A.J.L. Winchester (eds.), *Society, landscape and environment in*

impact of Parliamentary enclosure in the north-west and North York Moors

respectively,[60] while Cowell has taken an ecological approach to upland agrarian

history.[61] In addition to papers on moorland forests and medieval hill farming

landscapes, Angus Winchester's seminal work on manorial orders and byelaws has

provided a detailed picture of how upland communities in Northern England and the

Borders husbanded the resources of the hills.[62]

The relative neglect of the uplands in landscape and agricultural history has been

echoed in studies of post Romano-British field systems. Ever since the early

twentieth-century work of Slater, Gonner and Gray, the literature has been dominated

by discussion of open or common field systems, displaying an arable bias that ignores

the pastoral nature of upland farming.[63] This discussion is based on a core model, the

'Midland' model, and focuses on the degree to which field systems vary from this

core. As the name indicates, such open field systems are largely found in the lowlands

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upland Britain, (Society for Landscape Studies, 2004), pp.99-109; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Village byelaws and the management of a contested common resource: bracken (Pteridium aquilinum) in highland Britain, 1500-1800' in *Building the European commons: from open fields to open source. European Regional Meeting of the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP),* (Brescia, Italy, 2006); I.D. Whyte, 'The landscape and environmental impact of mining and quarrying in upland Britain' in I.D. Whyte and A.J.L. Winchester (eds.), *Society, landscape and environment in upland Britain,* (Society for Landscape Studies, 2004), pp.111-21.
[60] I. Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley: landscape and Parliamentary enclosure in North West England*, (Lancaster, Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 2003); J. Chapman, 'Parliamentary enclosure in the uplands : the case of the North York Moors', *Agricultural History Review,* 24(1), (1976), pp.1-17; J. Chapman, 'Parliamentary enclosure in the uplands' in I.D. Whyte and A.J.L. Winchester (eds.), *Society, landscape and environment in upland Britain,* (Society for Landscape Studies, 2004), pp.79-88.
[61] A.H. Cowell, 'An approach to the agrarian history of upland country: ecology and habitat', *Agricultural History Review,* 32(1), (1984), pp.63-74.
[62] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes of medieval England' in D. Hooke (ed.), *Landscape: the richest historical record,* (Westbury, Society for Landscape Studies, 2000), pp.75-84; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Moorland forests of medieval England' in I.D. Whyte and A.J.L. Winchester (eds.), *Society, landscape and environment in upland Britain,* (Society for Landscape Studies, 2004), pp.21-34.
[63] G. Slater, *The English peasantry and the enclosure of the common fields*, (London, Archibald Constable & Co, 1907); E.C.K. Gonner, *Common land and enclosure*, (2nd ed., London, Frank Cass & Co, 1966); H.L. Gray, *English field systems*, (Cambridge (Mass), Harvard University Press, 1915).

rather than the uplands thus emphasizing the lack of attention paid to upland areas. As Unwin has noted:

> Arable bias in part reflects the past character of much of lowland England and the sources available for its study, but it also represents an analytical and conceptual framework in which arable fields are frequently seen as lying at the core, with woodland and forest as being peripheral. In a very real sense lowland and arable areas are seen as the 'familiar' and 'known', whereas uplands and forest are the 'other' and the 'feared'.[64]

The aim of Baker and Butlin's 1973 collection of summative essays on field systems was explicitly stated to follow Gray in examining 'the manner in which the inhabitants of a township subdivided and tilled their arable, meadow, and pasture land'.[65] Chapters on upland areas include the Northwest, Northumberland and Durham, and Yorkshire yet these all focus on fields for cultivation. The 'pastoral bias' of the uplands is noted in a single page under the heading 'special closes' for Northwest England and the lack of common fields in upland areas merits even less discussion.[66] The distribution of types of common field in Northumberland and Durham is notable for the almost total lowland bias of the locations although there is a brief discussion of the 'highland west'.[67] Sheppard notes that much of the centre and west of Yorkshire was under closes but dismisses them in a sentence: 'These closes may be regarded as an alien element, the result of medieval and Tudor enclosure, and not requiring further

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[64] T. Unwin, 'Meadow, wood and pasture: forgotten elements in the early medieval English agrarian landscape' in P. Sereno and M.L. Sturani (eds.), *Rural landscape between state and local communities in Europe past and present. Proceedings of the 16th session of the Standing European Conference for the study of the rural landscape,* (Turin, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998), pp.49-65 at p.49.

[65] A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), p.xv.

[66] G. Elliott, 'Field systems of Northwest England' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.41-92 at pp.49-50, 75.

[67] R.A. Butlin, 'Field systems of Northumberland and Durham' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.93-144 at pp.100, 124-7.

description'.[68] Again the upland areas of Yorkshire are allotted less than a page of description.[69]

Unfortunately little has changed since 1973, as evidenced by general works on the subject. Apart from an extensive journal literature on open fields, five major works have been produced that focus on this aspect of the medieval landscape.[70] Taylor's 1975 volume on *Fields in the English Landscape* only refers briefly to upland areas in the context of either reclamation for cultivation or encroachments on the waste.[71] Muir devotes less than a page to hill farming in a chapter headed 'Special cases' in his 1989 book on fields, although the use of commons, infield-outfield, intaking and Parliamentary enclosure are discussed at greater length with occasional reference to upland areas.[72] There are also significant sections about pastures and hay meadows on limestone soils but the acid grasslands that predominate in much of the Pennines are hardly mentioned. While acknowledging that the uplands were characteristically enclosed piecemeal before the eighteenth century, Williamson's 2003 paper on understanding fields discusses the telltale landscape evidence of piecemeal enclosure only in terms of strip fields.[73]

Gray defined six different types of field system of which the two or three field regular system found in the central or Midland belt of England was seen as the norm from

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[68] J.A. Sheppard, 'Field systems of Yorkshire' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.145-87 at p.146.
[69] Ibid., pp.166-7.
[70] J.A. Yelling, *Common field and enclosure in England 1450-1850*, (London, Macmillan, 1977); C.J. Dahlman, *The open field system and beyond: a property rights analysis of an economic institution*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980); T. Rowley (ed.), *The origins of open-field agriculture,* (London, Croom Helm, 1981); E. Kerridge, *The common fields of England*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992); T. Williamson, *Shaping medieval landscapes: settlement, society, environment*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2003).
[71] C.C. Taylor, *Fields in the English landscape*, (London, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1975), pp.99-100, 109, 128, 141-3.
[72] R. Muir and N. Muir, *Fields*, (London, Macmillan, 1989), pp.104, 55-7, 72-7, 82-7, 111-21.
[73] T. Williamson, 'Understanding fields', *Local Historian,* 33(1), (2003), pp.12-29 at pp.18, 26.

which the other, irregular, field systems deviated.[74] Inevitably upland areas in the

north and west are characterised as containing such deviant systems in the form of so-

called Celtic fields, a form Gray perceived as being much lower on the evolutionary

ladder than the developed Midland system.[75] More recent studies have begun to

counteract this bias. Herring for example has discussed Cornish strip fields with

particular reference to upland areas such as Brown Willy on Bodmin Moor.[76]

Winchester has considered the use of ploughland, meadow and pasture in pastoral

upland economies in Northern England.[77] Double oval field patterns have been studied

by Atkin in Lancashire and Cumbria.[78] Based on research in the West Riding,

including case studies in the uplands, Wood has argued that irregular field systems

should be viewed in their own right and not as part of a continuum of development.

Her research questions much of the conventional wisdom outlined briefly above,

including both the 'regional distribution of field types and definitions of regularity and

irregularity'.[79]

While other researchers have contributed economic perspectives or focused on proto-

industrial aspects of upland areas,[80] the most prolific literature relating to upland

[74] Gray, *English field systems*.
[75] Ibid., p.271.
[76] P. Herring, 'Cornish strip fields' in S. Turner (ed.), *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: shaping an ancient countryside,* (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2006), pp.44-77; P. Herring, 'Medieval fields at Brown Willy, Bodmin Moor' in S. Turner (ed.), *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: shaping an ancient countryside,* (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2006), pp.78-103.
[77] Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', pp.61-73.
[78] M.A. Atkin, 'Some settlement patterns in Lancashire' in D. Hooke (ed.), *Medieval villages: a review of current work,* (Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1985), pp.171-85; M.A. Atkin, 'Sillfield, Preston Patrick: A double-oval type of field pattern', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 153, (1993), pp.145-53.
[79] G.A. Wood, 'Field arrangements in the West Riding of Yorkshire in the high Middle Ages', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2003, pp.247, 252-4.
[80] For example E.J.T. Collins, *The economy of upland Britain, 1750-1950: an illustrated review*, (Reading, Centre for Agricultural Strategy, University of Reading, 1978); F. Collantes, 'Rural Europe reshaped: the economic transformation of upland regions, 1850-2000', *Economic History Review,* 62(2), (2009), pp.306-23; P. Hudson, 'Proto-industrialisation: the case of the West Riding wool textile industry in the 18th and early 19th centuries', *History Workshop Journal,* 12(1), (1981), pp.34-61; P. Hudson, 'From manor to mill: the West Riding in transition' in M. Berg, P. Hudson and M. Sonenscher (eds.),

history has arguably been produced by archaeologists.[81] Paradoxically the relatively

low impact of man on the uplands has preserved much both on and below the surface

of the hills.[82] This literature on prehistoric use of the uplands complements that on the

later historical use and management of upland resources. However as the

archaeological perspective has widened during the last few decades, it has also made

significant contributions to the literature for later periods. This work has invariably

been made possible by public bodies. For example, the creation of an archaeological

rescue unit for West Yorkshire arose from a partnership of Leeds University, the

Department of the Environment and local authorities for which the newly formed

West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council later accepted responsibility. In view of

'the poverty of knowledge about the archaeological potential of the county', the unit's

first priority was a survey that resulted in the magisterial *West Yorkshire: an*

Archaeological Survey to AD 1500.[83] This work remains the only significant study of

that period for the county and is notable for its attention to some of the upland areas

within its boundaries. During the last decade or so, English Heritage has called for

regional reviews of archaeological research to identify research priorities. This has

resulted in valuable summary volumes for Yorkshire and the north-west region, in the

latter's case covering prehistory to the industrial and modern period.[84]

Manufacture in town and country before the factory, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.124-44.

[81] Summarised in T. Darvill, *The archaeology of the uplands: a rapid assessment of archaeological knowledge and practice*, (London, Council for British Archaeology, 1986); M. Brennand (ed.), *The archaeology of North West England: an archaeological research framework for the North West region,* Archaeology North West Vol.8, (Council for British Archaeology North West, 2006); T.G. Manby, et al. (eds.), *The archaeology of Yorkshire: an assessment at the beginning of the 21st century,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Papers No. 3, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003).

[82] Darvill, *The archaeology of the uplands*, p.1; T. Darvill, *Upland archaeology: what future for the past?*, (London, Council for British Archaeology, 1986), p.4.

[83] M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), p.xv.

[84] Brennand (ed.), *The archaeology of North West England: Vol.1*; Manby, et al. (eds.), *The archaeology of Yorkshire*.

Our knowledge of the landscape history of the uplands has therefore developed piecemeal, largely through local and regional studies. Although much progress has been made, Dodgshon's 'larger history' of upland spaces still awaits.[85] This must in part be due to the lack of an overarching approach to upland landscapes. The ultimate aim of this thesis is to assess whether the national character and landscape neutrality of the two morphological methodologies sponsored by English Heritage might supply such an overarching approach. Paradoxically this can only be done by testing the validity and accuracy of the methodologies in a defined locality or pays. The relatively unstudied area of the South Pennines will be used as a testing ground, with a particular focus on the Upper Calder Valley in West Yorkshire. The background will first be set through an examination of the common historical processes that have affected this area.

1.3 Historical processes in Pennine landscapes

The development of cultural landscapes in the Pennines will be explored on a thematic basis in this section, identifying broad historical processes that were common to all or significant parts of the Pennine chain. Many of these processes also influenced the development of other upland areas such as Cumbria, and examples of particular processes will occasionally be used from outside the Pennines. The work of Angus Winchester has provided the most complete attempt to date to portray how the uplands were utilised in the late medieval and early modern periods. The canvas on which he has painted this picture is based mainly on four northern upland areas: the Border hills including much of the Southern Uplands, the Lake District, the North Pennines, and

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[85] R.A. Dodgshon, 'Researching Britain's remote spaces : some themes in the history of upland landscapes' in A.R.H. Baker (ed.), *Home and colonial : essays on landscape, Ireland, environment and empire in celebration of Robin Butlin's contribution to historical geography,* (London, Historical Geography Research Group, 2004), pp.29-38 at p.29.

the Central Pennines comprising the Yorkshire Dales, Craven, Bowland and the Howgills.[86] As we shall see, such processes were also at work in the South Pennines and the Peak District, defined here as shown in Figure 1.1.

The extent of surviving documentary evidence means that the discussion begins in the Norman period when large swathes of the northern uplands had the status of 'forest' and were under the control of large feudal landowners.[87] A forest was not a wooded area in the sense that we now understand it but rather an area subject to special laws to preserve game such as deer. Such laws were introduced by the Normans to protect the most suitable areas for hunting by the king, although there is little doubt that hunting areas had also been set aside by their predecessors.[88] Strictly speaking a Forest was a royal hunting area, whereas the hunting areas controlled by feudal landowners were based on different legal rights of free chase and free warren. These rights were lesser rights than those of a forest, being a franchise of the royal prerogative.[89] The differences between these various hunting rights depended partly on the various classes of wild animals encompassed by each right, and partly on the different legal regime that applied. While forest law and its associated enforcement structure only applied in royal forests, common law enforced by the manorial courts applied in chases.[90] However the practical effect was similar, regardless of the legal regime.

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[86] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.1.
[87] Ibid., p.10; Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', p.76.
[88] C.R. Young, 'English Royal forests under the Angevin kings', *The Journal of British Studies,* 12(1), (1972), pp.1-14 at pp.2-4; D. Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest woodland: its distribution and usage', *Agricultural History Review,* 37(2), (1989), pp.113-29 at pp.123-9.
[89] J. Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law,* (2nd ed., London, Sweet & Maxwell, 1977), p.327.
[90] J. Manwood, *A treatise and discourse of the lawes of the forrest*, (London, Printed by Thomas Wight and Bonham Norton, 1598), f.7; J. Manwood, *Manwood's treatise of the forest laws*, (5th ed., corrected and enlarged. By William Nelson, London, Printed by Henry Lintot for Dan. Browne, 1741), pp.49-51; G.J. Turner (ed.), *Select pleas of the forest,* Publications of the Selden Society 1899, Vol. 13, (London, Bernard Quaritch, 1901), pp.cix-cxv.

There were only a handful of royal forests in northern upland areas, such as Knaresborough and High Peak, so most upland forests were in fact private chases. Some forests were in the hands of ecclesiastical estates, such as Weardale which belonged to the bishops of Durham, but the majority was held by baronial estates. Within what is now the county of Lancashire, the forests of Blackburnshire, which included Pendle, Trawden, Accrington and Rossendale, belonged to the honour of Clitheroe for example. Clitheroe also held the Forest of Bowland while Macclesfield Forest in Cheshire was part of the estate of the Earls of Chester. A gazetteer of these moorland forests has been produced by Winchester which identifies 74 separate forests and chases in upland areas, with an almost continuous chain of them spreading down the Pennines.[91]

Forests throughout the Pennines increasingly came to be used as a pastoral resource over which lords typically exercised less and less control outside their own demesne farming operations. The consequences of both this resource use and the weak manorial control resulted in a process of expansion of settlement and enclosure that was similar in many Pennine moorland forests. This commonality throughout large areas of the northern uplands suggests that exploration of these common processes can identify generic themes that may have influenced the development of such cultural landscapes. Of course it is also the case that some processes had greater impact on the landscape of certain parts of the Pennines than others. By the sixteenth century for example, extractive industries were far more dominant in the limestone areas of the

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[91] Winchester, 'Moorland forests of medieval England' at pp.27-34; A map of all forests and chases presently identified can be found in J. Langton and G. Jones (eds.), *Forests and chases of England and Wales c.1500 to c.1850: towards a survey and analysis,* (Oxford, St John's College Research Centre, 2005), p.viii. The most up to date results of this research can be found at http://info.sjc.ox.ac.uk/forests/ForestMapTiles.html accessed on 21 January 2013.

Yorkshire Dales and the Peak District while textiles predominated in the millstone grit areas in between. Yet both industries were present in some form in both areas.

The expansion of settlement and enclosure happens to be particularly well documented in many of the forests that formed part of the Crown estate in the South Pennines and the Peak District. A considerable number of these forests eventually ended up as part of the estate of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Blackburnshire and Bowland forests passed into the hands of Thomas, earl of Lancaster on the death in 1311 of Henry de Lacy whose daughter he had married.[92] In the West Riding the manor of Wakefield, which included the forest of Sowerbyshire, was briefly part of the Lancaster estates between 1319 and 1322 before reverting to the Crown in 1347, and was finally annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster in 1558.[93] In the Peak District, the Forest of the Peak or High Peak occupied much of what is now known as the Dark Peak. This was granted to John of Gaunt, the first Duke of Lancaster, in 1372 and became absorbed by the Crown in 1399 when his son became Henry IV.[94] Macclesfield Forest, located next to High Peak, was annexed to the Crown in 1246 as part of the Earldom of Chester, and although an independent palatinate jurisdiction it was brought under the control of the Crown in 1536.[95] Inevitably national estate administration pursued policies with common themes in the different forests, thus reinforcing the tendency to similar development of the cultural landscape. Discussion of these processes of settlement expansion will narrow the focus further onto these areas therefore.

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[92] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.31.
[93] Faull and Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey*, pp.249-50.
[94] W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Derby,* (London, James Street, 1905), p.397.
[95] B.E. Harris (ed.), *A history of the county of Chester,* The Victoria history of the counties of England, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979), pp.6, 34; G. Barraclough, 'The earldom and county palatine of Chester', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire & Cheshire,* 103, (1951), pp.123-57 at pp.139, 145.

Forest boundaries, both in upland areas and elsewhere, retreated from the thirteenth century onwards. However this was not necessarily simply a withdrawal to 'the unsettled upland core' that has been identified in many areas.[96] Possible reasons for such a retreat include the effect on the attitudes of the nobility of the pressure on the Crown to observe the defined limits of royal forests, the subsequent disafforestation of large areas, a rising population increasing the pressure to make land available for agriculture, and the difficulties of preserving hunting areas in the face of such pressures.[97] It is probably no coincidence that the first half of the fourteenth century saw the high point in the creation of manorial parks, representing a different, more defined, way of preserving hunting areas.[98] While remoter unsettled valleys, such as Wasdale in Cumbria and Geltsdale in the north Pennines, had no need for enclosure to manage the deer, many other moorland forests saw the establishment of parks within the forest during this period.[99] Stanhope Park was carved out of the Forest of Weardale by 1327 for example, while several parks were established in the more populated valleys of the Central and South Pennines.[100] Musbury Park in the Forest of Rossendale was established in 1304-5.[101] Erringden Park in the Forest of Sowerbyshire seems to have been created in the latter half of the 1320s.[102] In the Forest of Bowland, Radholme Park is first mentioned in 1322-3 and Legram Park was well established by

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[96] Winchester, 'Moorland forests of medieval England', pp.22-3.

[97] C.R. Young, *The Royal forests of medieval England*, (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1979), pp.150-1; N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent in the fourteenth century', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 17 (New Series), (2009), pp.32-57 at pp.36-7.

[98] T. Way, *A study of the impact of imparkment on the social landscape of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire from c1080 to 1760*, BAR British Series 258, (Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1997), pp.25, 98 fig 3.11.

[99] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks in medieval Cumbria' in R. Liddiard (ed.), *The medieval park: new perspectives*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2007), pp.165-84 at p.169.

[100] J.L. Drury, 'Early settlement in Stanhope Park, Weardale, c.1406-79', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4 (5th Series), (1976), pp.139-49 at p.140.

[101] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.15.

[102] Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent', p.36.

1348-9.[103] A retreat of hunting facilities into parks was therefore also another consequence of increasing reduction in forest size.

The extent of seigniorial, as opposed to illegal, hunting activity in forests and chases has been the subject of debate but it would seem that the use of forests as an economic resource was at least as important, if not more so.[104] Although the forest laws were ostensibly about protecting game, they also had the effect of protecting the economic rights of the lord by prohibiting any use of his resource without consent. The numerous offences recorded in the manor courts, such as escapes of tenants' animals into forest areas and the collection of wood, were ostensibly about preservation of habitat for the deer. As the miscreants were always fined however, the lord was profiting from use of the forest whether such use was legal or illegal. Nevertheless, the most important method of demesne exploitation of upland resources was the use of the land as grazing grounds. This took two principal forms: demesne and monastic stock farms, particularly cattle farms known as vaccaries, and agistment which was the sale of grazing rights.

Revenue generation from the vaccaries was often a major enterprise.[105] The Central Pennines boasted 128 of these establishments and the De Lacy estate in Blackburnshire had 28 vaccaries in 1295.[106] Swaledale alone had seventeen vaccaries

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[103] R.C. Shaw, *The royal forest of Lancaster*, (Preston, Guardian Press, 1956), pp.425-6.
[104] For examples of the debate on hunting activity see O. Rackham, *The history of the countryside*, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986), p.133; Drury, 'Early settlement in Stanhope Park, Weardale, c.1406-79', p.141; S.A. Mileson, *Parks in medieval England*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), ch.1.
[105] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.11; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Vaccaries and agistment: upland medieval forests as grazing grounds' in J. Langton and G. Jones (eds.), *Forests and chases of medieval England and Wales c.1000 to c.1500,* (Oxford, St Johns College Research Centre, 2010), pp.109-24 at p.111.
[106] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.19; Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.15 fig.1.9.

around the end of the thirteenth century.[107] Records of the De Lacy estate show that a chief stockman controlled stock distribution and production across the estate vaccaries there with the principal aim of supplying the estate and lowland markets with oxen.[108] However, rather than being run directly by the lord, many vaccaries were let to farm during the thirteenth century or perhaps even earlier.[109] Some at least seem to have been run on a kind of stock and land lease system with the lessees being akin to 'a tenant farmer whose farm is stocked by the landlord'.[110] In Sowerbyshire in 1275 the tenant pledged to 'faithfully, well and safely keep the Earl's beasts and cattle in the same way as others have done before'.[111] The records suggest that while the lord took the profits of stock production, the tenants were entitled to sell much of the dairy produce of the vaccary.[112] Atkin has suggested that a certain number of calves were also the perquisite of the vaccary keeper. Evidence of such practices are recorded in cattle farm leases on the Nidderdale estates of Fountains Abbey in the early sixteenth century and are expressed therein as being the custom 'time out of mind'.[113] Not all leases of stock farms should be assumed to be simply a matter of money rent therefore.[114] The landowners were often still involved in the operation of these stock farms through the retention of a percentage of the produce, thus deriving a dual income from the resource.

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[107] McDonnell, 'Upland Pennine hamlets', pp.23-5.
[108] Atkin, 'Land use and management', pp.9-10, 15.
[109] McDonnell, 'Upland Pennine hamlets', pp.25, 28; Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', p.78; Winchester, 'Vaccaries and agistment', p.115.
[110] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.67.
[111] W.P. Baildon (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol.1, 1274-1297,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 29, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1901), p.117.
[112] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.19, 26; Atkin, 'Land use and management', p.7 and n.20.
[113] Atkin, 'Land use and management', p.7 and n.20.
[114] As implied by Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', p.78.

Demesne estates were not the only major landholders to run stock rearing operations in the uplands. Monastic houses in the Yorkshire Dales held large tracts of moorland while significant amounts were also held by houses in Cumbria and the North Pennines as well as in parts of the South Pennines.[115] In the Peak District up to 20 different monastic houses owned over 50 farm estates or granges.[116] Welbeck Abbey, for example, was gifted Crook Hill Pasture in the Upper Derwent Valley in the late twelfth century, while Combermere Abbey was granted one carucate of land in Macclesfield Forest to establish a grange.[117] The monastic estates, particularly in the Yorkshire Dales, built up very large stock enterprises comprising not only cattle but also huge flocks of sheep. Bolton Priory had over 3,000 sheep in the early fourteenth century for example as well as up to 500 cattle.[118] Although houses tended to continue to manage these enterprises directly for much longer than the lay estates, a similar process of leasing had occurred by the sixteenth century.[119]

The sale of licensed grazing rights, known as agistment, was an extremely common form of revenue generation by seigniorial lords which tapped into the need by local communities to use upland pastures as grazing reserves.[120] Seasonal grazing receipts survive for the Forest of Weardale (Durham) as early as 1211-12 and 1500 animals

[115] White, *Yorkshire Dales*, pp.56-7; Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', pp.78-9.

[116] C.R. Hart, *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey to A.D.1500*, (Chesterfield, North Derbyshire Archaeological Trust, 1981), pp.154-6; Barnatt and Smith, *Peak District*, pp.71-2, 74.

[117] R. Millward and A. Robinson, *The Peak District,* The Regions of Britain, , (London, Eyre Methuen, 1975), pp.171-2.

[118] I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: the economy of a northern monastery 1286-1325*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.80, 97.

[119] S.A. Moorhouse, 'Anatomy of the Yorkshire Dales: decoding the medieval landscape' in T.G. Manby, S. Moorhouse and P. Ottaway (eds.), *The archaeology of Yorkshire: an assessment at the beginning of the 21st century,* (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp.293-362 at pp.344-5; Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', p.79.

[120] Winchester, 'Vaccaries and agistment', pp.116-18.

were using the grazing in 1438-9.[121] In 1422 in Allendale (Northumberland) 184 cattle

and 282 sheep were agisted, providing a total income of £97 1½d. Here there were

two agistment seasons of summer and winter, with the winter season being both

cheaper and less popular in terms of numbers.[122] A similar seasonal system was

operating in the three parks of Haverah, Bilton and Haye in the forest of

Knaresborough in 1296-7 as well as in Edale in the High Peak Forest in 1391-2.[123]

Accounts of the manor of Wakefield show that the graveship of Sowerby within the

forest of Sowerbyshire had an income of 36s 8d in 1314 for 'agistments in the

common pasture'.[124] By 1403-4, when part of the graveship had become enclosed as

Erringden Park, this income had risen to £14 13s 4d for the 'farm, agistment and

pannage of pigs of the park of Eyryngdene and the outside pasture of Sourebyschire as

let this year'.[125] In the High Peak income from herbage sales amounted to £71 3s for

1391-2 while in 1404-5 £30 was received for 'new herbage'.[126] The distinction

between herbage and agistment is unclear but it seems likely that, in theory at least,

herbage was a fee charged for the right to the grass itself as a crop while agistment

was a fee charged per beast for the right to graze.[127]

As the areas in which the forest laws were enforced retreated into more discreet

enclaves, the pressure to raise income from a more limited resource must have

increased. This is why so many parks record revenue from agistment or herbage and

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[121] J.L. Drury, 'Durham Palatinate forest law and administration, specially in Weardale up to 1440', *Archaeologia Aeliana,* 5 (5th Series), (1978), pp.87-105 at p.93.
[122] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.94.
[123] L.M. Midgley (ed.), *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall 1296-1297,* Camden Third Series Vol.68, (London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1945), pp.lxviii, 186-94; Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Derby*, p.407.
[124] J. Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire*, (Reprint of 1775 ed., Manchester, E.J. Morten, 1973), p.144.
[125] The National Archives, DL 29/647/10476, Duchy of Lancaster: Accounts of Auditors, Receivers, Feodaries and Ministers. Soureby and Warlullay 4 & 5 Hen IV, 1403-4.
[126] Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Derby*, p.407.
[127] See *Oxford English Dictionary* entries for *Agistment* and *Herbage*. See also the entry for *Vesture* in Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law*, p.1860.

continued to do so well into the seventeenth century. In 1604 for example, parks at

Greystoke Forest yielded £100 from agistment and were divided (at least on paper)

into seven or more pasture areas.[128] It is hard to disagree with the statement that:

> The overwhelming impression is that by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the primary value of these fellside enclosures to absentee lords was as grazing grounds, and the main activity was the exploitation of their potential to generate income from agistment and sales of pasture.[129]

Many pastoral systems throughout Europe practiced some form of transhumance, the

transfer of animals to different pastures on a seasonal basis. This is rather different

from agistment where probably the majority of payments were made by local people

for use of the lord's private grazing in the forest.[130] There were a number of reasons

why transhumance might have been practiced. One was to move the animals away

from growing crops and hay meadows in the summer months to reduce the risk of

damage. Another was the resting of winter worn pastures while exploiting fresh

summer grazing capabilities in remoter pastures.[131] In the Borders, seasonal use of

pastures allowed exploitation without the risks attached to permanent settlement in an

insecure region.[132] The temporary dwellings associated with these seasonal movements

are commonly known as shielings. Most of the documentary evidence for shielings in

the northern uplands comes from late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century

manorial records in the Borders and North Pennines.[133] This is assumed to represent

the tail end of a much older practice that is often evidenced by the place name

elements 'scale' (ON *skali*) and 'shiel(d)' (ME *shele*) meaning 'hut' or 'shed'.

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[128] Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks', p.176.
[129] Ibid., pp.177-8.
[130] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.94.
[131] H.S.A. Fox, 'Introduction: transhumance and seasonal settlement' in H.S.A. Fox (ed.), *Seasonal settlement,* (Leicester, University of Leicester. Department of Adult Education, 1996), pp.1-24 at pp.2-5; Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.86; H. Fox, *Dartmoor's alluring uplands: transhumance and pastoral management in the Middle Ages*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2012), pp.29-31.
[132] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.85.
[133] Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', pp.85-90.

However Winchester has cautioned that these elements would also have referred to huts used for other purposes and suggests that such evidence should be limited to appropriate topographical contexts.[134] It is thought, based on this place name evidence, that many seasonal shieling sites were eventually converted into permanent settlements.[135]

Various definitions of transhumance focus on the distance covered by the flocks but for the northern uplands the simple definition offered by Ramm is the most useful: 'the seasonal migration of pastoral people with their herds from a winter settlement to summer pasture'.[136] The key is the word 'migration', implying some form of temporary settlement at the summer pasture regardless of the distance involved. While McDonnell has suggested that transhumance should involve a journey of at least half a day, the evidence in Skye, Assynt and Perthshire is that the distance to the shielings was often no more than two miles.[137] However in order to qualify as transhumance, it has been suggested that the reason for the migration should be the protection of crops or meadows on the lower slopes or one of the other reasons adduced above.[138] This definition not only covers the evidence in the North Pennines and the Borders, but also some evidence associated with the vaccaries in the South Pennines. The accounts of the De Lacy vaccaries in upland Blackburnshire refer to summer lodges in Antelay

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[134] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.90; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Seasonal settlement in Northern England: shieling place-names revisited' in S. Turner and B. Silvester (eds.), *Life in medieval landscapes: people and places in the Middle Ages,* (Oxford, Windgather Press, 2012), pp.125-49.
[135] See for example Fox, *Dartmoor's alluring uplands*, pp.41-2; Winchester, 'Seasonal settlement in Northern England', p.134; Fox, 'Introduction: transhumance and seasonal settlement', pp.16-17.
[136] H.G. Ramm, et al., *Shielings and bastles,* Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) Occasional Paper, (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), p.1; See also Fox, *Dartmoor's alluring uplands*, pp.39-40; Fox, 'Introduction: transhumance and seasonal settlement', p.4; McDonnell, 'The role of transhumance in Northern England', p.2.
[137] McDonnell, 'The role of transhumance in Northern England', p.2; A. Bil, *The shieling 1600-1840: the case of the Central Scottish Highlands*, (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1990), pp.55-6.
[138] Fox, 'Introduction: transhumance and seasonal settlement', p.3; Bil, *The shieling*, pp.122-3.

and Rilay 'made anew for the yearlings' of Accrington vaccary.[139] Cattle at

Cruttonstall vaccary in Sowerbyshire were sent in summer to Mareshawe in the

common pasture of Soureby while Nettelsaltonstall stock were removed to Baitings

pasture.[140] It is thought that the now deserted settlement of Withens, which had

become a vaccary by 1315, may have originated as a summer settlement for

Mareshaw pasture.[141] A small settlement at Baitings is first mentioned in the court

rolls in 1412.[142]

The place name elements of 'scale' and 'shiel(d)', referred to above as evidence of

shielings, do not occur in the South Pennines or Peak District. A possible equivalent is

the term '*both*' (ODan) meaning a booth or temporary shelter. In Rossendale Forest

many of the vaccaries existing at the beginning of the fourteenth century have this

element as part of their name, such as Crawshawbooth, Goodshaw Booth and

Wolfenden Booth. The majority of these are located in tributary valleys to the River

Irwell close to moorland.[143] Near Edale in the High Peak Forest are several 'booth'

place names, such as Grindsbrook Booth, Barber Booth, Ollerbrook Booth, Upper

Booth and Nether Booth.[144] Again most are located on the lower slopes of small

tributary valleys to the River Noe. There are also a number of place names

incorporating this element in the Upper Calder Valley and although none are

obviously associated with vaccaries, they tend to occur in the higher reaches of

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[139] P.A. Lyons (ed.), *Two "compoti" of the Lancashire and Cheshire Manors of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln,* Chetham Society Old Series vol. 112, (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1884), p.169.
[140] J. Lister and H.P. Kendall, *The Extent (or Survey) of the Graveships of Rastrick, Hipperholme and Sowerby, 1309,* Halifax Antiquarian Society Record Series Vol.2, (Halifax, Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1914), pp.30-1.
[141] Smith, 'Demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship', p.24.
[142] H.P. Kendall, 'Baitings in Soyland', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1915), pp.205-28 at pp.206-7.
[143] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.19-20.
[144] Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Derby*, p.407; J.C. Cox, *The Royal forests of England*, (London, Methuen, 1905), p.166.

tributary valleys to the Calder near the moor edge. It may be therefore that these

'booth' sites were some form of temporary pasturing accommodation, some of which

later became vaccaries, before eventually becoming permanent settlements.[145]

Large areas of both forest and chase included settlements and associated agricultural

land. Forests were always exploited for resources other than hunting, such as timber,

mining, stock raising, grazing and land rental.[146] Winchester has drawn a distinction

between 'closed' forests, in which the lord exploited the agricultural resources of the

forest by establishing his own stock farms, and 'open' forests in which the lord

allowed settlement through assarting or clearance of small areas of the waste thus

exploiting rental potential. This is exemplified by the contrast between the relatively

well populated valleys of Cumbria where the few demesne stock farms were limited to

the heads of the valleys, and the sparse nucleated settlements of Arkengarthdale and

Wensleydale which were dominated by such demesne enterprises.[147] In other words

'settled dales' contrasted with 'unsettled tracts of moorland waste'.[148]

This distinction represents opposite ends of a spectrum and certainly in parts of the

South Pennines a more complex pattern is evident. The seven berewicks in the forest

of Sowerbyshire that are listed in the Domesday Book were not waste, unlike other

parts of the manor, although the population was only numbered at 30 families.[149] There

was some form of settlement in all parts of the forest from at least the eleventh century

therefore. By 1400 settlement had spread into the farther reaches of all the tributary

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[145] Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Derby*, p.407.
[146] Young, *The Royal forests of medieval England*, p.5.
[147] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, pp.11, 13; A.J.L. Winchester (ed.), *The North West,* England's Landscape Vol.8, (London, Collins, 2006), pp.79-80.
[148] Winchester, 'Moorland forests of medieval England', p.23.
[149] A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.), *Domesday Book: a complete translation,* Alecto Historical Editions (London, Penguin, 1992), p.789. This population figure includes the small berewick of Sandal Magna near Wakefield.

valleys to the Calder and many of the recorded place names are above the 275 m contour (900 feet).[150] Demesne farming operations, in the form of the vaccaries discussed above, are recorded in manorial documents in the forest around the beginning of the fourteenth century. These were confined to Sowerby graveship. However assarting or clearance of land was also an ongoing process within the graveship, particularly in the first half of the fourteenth century.[151] Peasant settlement and demesne farming operations were thus being carried on side by side within the forest from an early date and the latter continued until at least the middle of the fourteenth century. However, by that time the vaccaries had been reduced to only two and both were located within Erringden Park.[152] While the majority of the Forest of Sowerbyshire could thus be described as an 'open' forest that allowed settlement, the graveship area was a mixture of settlement and demesne vaccaries. Demesne operations gradually shrank to the relatively small area of a park, thus reverting from a 'mixed' to a 'closed' forest area.

Evidence from the forest of the High Peak demonstrates the uneasy coexistence of peasant settlement and demesne interests in the forest that eventually resulted in disafforestation in 1674.[153] At a forest eyre (court) in 1251 various forest officials were found to have failed to keep records of offences against the vert, a generic term that covered anything that reduced the habitat of the deer. It was recorded that a number of agisters failed to produce their agistment rolls, thus making it clear that agistment was

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[150] S.A. Moorhouse, 'Settlements' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp.585-613 at pp.602-3 and Map 25.
[151] M. Stinson, 'Assarting and poverty in early-fourteenth-century western Yorkshire', *Landscape History,* 5, (1983), pp.53-67; Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, pp.33-8.
[152] N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: use and management', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 19 (New Series), (2011), pp.19-45 at p.34.
[153] Cox, *The Royal forests of England*, p.180.

a major activity within the forest even if the details are now unknown.[154] Numerous

cases of illegal land clearance (assarts) were presented to the court. In addition 131

people had built houses within the forest without a warrant and 127 people had built

houses with a warrant since the previous eyre in 1216.[155] At the next eyre in 1285 there

were over 600 cases of trespass through illegal pasturing of animals, but by 1391-2 the

forest accounts were listing significant income from herbage and agistment.[156] Illegal

actions thus increasingly became legitimized by allowing land to be leased or utilized

for rent rather than attempting to protect land for the use of the deer alone. By 1526

this process had gone so far that a royal commission found that the forest was so

overstocked with horses, cattle and sheep that the deer had insufficient feed. Disputes

about the relative grazing rights of sheep and deer intensified during Elizabeth's reign

and the inhabitants of the forest petitioned the King in 1635 about the incompatibility

of forest law and farming, eventually resulting in the High Peak being disafforested

later that century.[157] This pattern of gradual erosion of forest rights, in the face of the

economic temptation of rental income and difficulties of enforcing forest laws in

increasingly settled areas, is one that is likely to have applied in varying permutations

in most upland moorland forests.

A glance at a modern Ordnance Survey map of any upland area will show that the

nature of settlement tends to consist of dispersed farms and hamlets with any

nucleated settlements being relatively small.[158] The limited amount of nucleated

settlement correlates with the absence of extensive flat areas suitable for open field

farming. The growth of a settlement pattern dominated by dispersion in the South

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[154] Cox, *The Royal forests of England,* p.157.
[155] Ibid., pp.158-9.
[156] Ibid., pp.165-6.
[157] Ibid., pp.166-80.
[158] Muir, 'Village evolution', pp.1, 5; McDonnell, 'Upland Pennine hamlets', p.20.

Pennines appears to have been influenced by three principal factors: the letting and

subdivision of vaccary holdings, further subdivision caused by inheritance practices

and subletting, and the gradual clearance and enclosure of the wastes.[159]

As we have seen, there is no doubt that many vaccaries had been let for the tenant to

run his own operation during the fourteenth century. The Duchy of Lancaster's

accounts for 1342, for instance, make it clear that many of the vaccaries in the Forests

of Rossendale and Accrington were being let out by the middle of the fourteenth

century.[160] Given the relatively large size of these enterprises, it is not surprising that

leasing to groups of tenants was common, a process which led inevitably to

subdivision of the original holding into smaller units from the fourteenth century

onwards.[161] For example, the court rolls of the manor of Wakefield for 3 November

1332 record that six tenants of Saltonstall vaccary in Sowerby graveship applied for a

licence to convert eighteen acres of the vaccary meadows to arable and divide it

between them.[162] In Wensleydale in 1465-6 five vaccaries were divided between

groups of tenants, the number of holdings in each vaccary ranging in number from

eleven to four.[163] The six vaccaries in the manor of Muker in Swaledale were divided

between a total of 54 tenants in 1540.[164] The continuous division of vaccary land is

particularly well documented in Rossendale, where all but two of the vaccaries were

split into two or more farms in 1507 as a result of a Duchy of Lancaster order to

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[159] For an alternative view on the extent of some of these factors, see J. Healey, 'Land, population and famine in the English uplands: a Westmorland case study, c.1370-1650', *Agricultural History Review,* 59(2), (2011), pp.151-75.
[160] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.32.
[161] Atkin, 'Land use and management', pp.2, 19; Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.13; Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', p.78; A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1987), p.51.
[162] S.S. Walker (ed.), *The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield from October 1331 to September 1333,* Wakefield Court Rolls Series Vol. 3, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1983), p.130.
[163] Winchester, 'Hill farming landscapes', p.78.
[164] McDonnell, 'Upland Pennine hamlets', p.30.

increase the amount of land let on copyhold. By 1662 the number of parcels of land in these vaccaries had increased several fold. Crawshawbooth, for example, had increased from three tenants to seventeen, Wolfendenbooth from four to 25. The total number of holdings in Accrington and Rossendale increased from 72 to 315 in the same period.[165] A similar process took place in the forest of Bowland where, for example, Sykes vaccary was held by one tenant in 1498 but by 1527 had been subdivided into nine parts.[166]

Pasture areas within the forests were also increasingly let out to tenants instead of collecting fees for herbage and agistment. In a deed of 7 February 1408 Edward, Duke of York granted Roger Banister 'two parcels of pasture in Sowerbyshire, called Mareshae and Baitings, to hold to him and his heirs, in base tenure, according to the custom of the manor of Sowerby'.[167] In 1458-9 the Master Forester of the manor of Clitheroe did not have to answer for payments for the herbage of the forests of Pendle, Trawden and Rossendale 'because the farmers and approvers of the aforesaid herbage answer therfor in their account by themselves'.[168] Most of these pastures were also subdivided in 1507. Cowpe pasture was divided into four at that time and had been further subdivided into eighteen parcels by 1662.[169] Even the last bastion of demesne enterprise in the forest areas, the parks, were often dispaled and subdivided. Erringden Park in Sowerbyshire was dispaled and let out to eight tenants in 1451.[170] Musbury Park was dispaled in 1507 and also divided into eight parcels of 60 acres each.[171]

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[165] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.43-4, 76, 235.
[166] Porter, 'A forest in transition', p.47.
[167] Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax*, p.118-19.
[168] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.34.
[169] Ibid., pp.43-4, 235.
[170] Yorkshire Archaeological Society DD B2/1.
[171] W. Farrer (ed.), *The court rolls of the Honour of Clitheroe in the county of Lancaster,* (Manchester, Emmott & Co, 1912), pp.373-4.

Legram Park in Bowland was sold to its lessee in 1556 and by 1673 it contained 22 holdings.[172] In Cumbria, Loweswater Park was let out by 1437, one of the holdings being described as a quarter of the park while Egremont Park was divided into three shares for the heiresses.[173] A similar approach was evident elsewhere in Yorkshire when monastic granges were converted to new settlements and let out.[174]

As the population began to expand again in the latter half of the fifteenth century, after the devastation of the economic and demographic crises of the fourteenth century, existing farms were often split into smaller units to accommodate family members.[175] Subdivision in this way is often ascribed to the practice of partible inheritance in which a man's holding would be divided equally between all his sons. In North and South Tynedale in 1580 it was stated that it was the custom that 'every son shall have a piece of his father's holding'.[176] Evidence of land holdings in Redesdale around 1604 shows that several members of the same family were often individually holding land in the same settlement.[177] Similar evidence in Swaledale shows that partible inheritance was also the custom there until the late seventeenth century when the lord of the manor managed to phase it out.[178] Although the evidence is more scarce in upland Yorkshire it has been suggested that settlement expansion through subdivision here is also due to this form of inheritance.[179] In the forests of Trawden and Pendle in

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[172] Porter, 'A forest in transition', p.48.
[173] Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks', pp.179-82.
[174] C. Platt, *The monastic grange in medieval England: a reassessment*, (London, Macmillan, 1969), pp.97-8.
[175] Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, pp.54-5.
[176] J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of letters and papers relating to the affairs of the borders of England and Scotland,* (Edinburgh, H.M. General Register House, 1894), p.23.
[177] Butlin, 'Field systems of Northumberland and Durham', p.128.
[178] McDonnell, 'Upland Pennine hamlets', p.28.
[179] Sheppard, 'Field systems of Yorkshire', pp.180-1.

north east Lancashire, limited evidence suggests that there was some use of partible inheritance in the sixteenth century.[180]

However, primogeniture appears to have been the established form of inheritance in most of the South Pennines by the late sixteenth century, albeit that provision was often made for younger sons by inter vivos transfers.[181] In Rossendale for example, portions of land were transferred to a younger son whilst retaining possession for life, this being just one of the methods used to satisfy 'a natural tendency in favour of partibility'.[182] While subdivision of holdings was not through the formal mechanism of partible inheritance therefore, other methods of making provision for younger sons may have had a similar, albeit less widespread, effect. However, by the eighteenth century Sowerby wills showed that 'land was only subdivided in Sowerby in two circumstances. First, where it lay some distance away, outside the township, and formed a separate estate for a second beneficiary. Second, where there were no male heirs but more than one female to provide for'.[183]

Subleasing by copyholders also increased dramatically during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the manor of Colne only seventeen leases were recorded between 1545 and 1640, but by 1580 another 60 leases had been entered into, rising to 108 over the next 20 years. By 1640 there had been 174 leases recorded during the

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[180] J.T. Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution: North-East Lancashire c.1500-1640,* Chetham Society Third Series Vol.32, (Manchester, Manchester University Press for the Chetham Society, 1986), pp.73, 77.

[181] Ibid., pp.73, 75; Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.26. Michelmore suggests that primogeniture was established in the Manor of Wakefield by 1274: D.J.H. Michelmore, 'Township and tenure' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp.231-64 at p.245.

[182] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.76-8.

[183] P. Hudson, 'Landholding and the organization of textile manufacture in Yorkshire rural townships c.1660-1810' in M. Berg (ed.), *Markets and manufacture in early industrial Europe,* (London, Routledge, 1991), pp.261-91 at p.280.

previous 20 years.[184] In the sub-manor of Halifax an early seventeenth century rental listed 300 copyholders with 700 subtenants, a number that indicates an even larger degree of subdivision of holdings.[185] Evidence from Westmorland suggests that growth in the population there was as a result of increases in subletting while the numbers of copyhold tenants remained static.[186]

Subdivision was made easier by a growing market in property sales and mortgages fuelled by increasing availability of land as more of the commons were let.[187] Provisions that were made in wills for widows and younger children placed a burden on the heir who had to find the resources for their 'portions' of land and goods.[188] The need to raise finance for such events, as well as the inevitable times of economic hardship, also influenced the growth of the market.

The process of subdivision was of course not the only way that the number of individual holdings increased. Clearance of additional land was the response to a huge growth in population in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rather than improvement of yields on existing land.[189] Although clearance contravened the forest laws protecting the vert, lords were often keen to extract more revenue from their lands and were frequently interested only in licensing clearances, known as assarts, to obtain entry fines and rent.[190] In the fourteenth century the approvement or enclosure of the

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[184] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.84.

[185] M.J. Ellis, 'A study in the manorial history of Halifax parish in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Part 1', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 40, (1959-62), pp.250-64 at p.261.

[186] Healey, 'Land, population and famine', pp.165-73.

[187] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, pp.82-3.

[188] Ibid., p.76.

[189] E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086-1348,* (London, Longman, 1978), p.45.

[190] D. Brumhead and R. Weston, 'Seventeenth century enclosures of the commons and wastes of Bowden Middlecale in the Royal Forest of Peak', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal,* 121, (2001), pp.244-86 at p.247.

waste within the forests had become significant enough for the Duke of Lancaster to appoint an official 'approver of the parts of Blackburnshire'. For example, a new pasture was enclosed at Fernhalgh for tenants in 1341-2.[191] The process of assarting was prevalent in the forest of the High Peak where numerous cases of illegal land clearance by individuals were presented to the forest eyre in 1251. The usual custom was simply to charge the miscreant a fine and a rent, invariably 4d per acre. These assarts averaged five or six acres in size.[192] In Sowerbyshire 77 unauthorised clearances over the previous 10 years were presented to the court for regularization in June 1316, many of these being less than one acre.[193] Between 1313 and 1317 Sowerby graveship saw 104 acres newly licensed for assarting in Warley and Sowerby townships.[194] It has been estimated that the assarting process in the first half of the fourteenth century more than doubled the agricultural land in Sowerby and Warley.[195]

A growing population from the mid-fifteenth century onwards increased pressure on the land again resulting in the enclosure of waste through a variety of means.[196] In Bowland between 1562 and 1663 there were 75 occurrences of enclosure and building in the rolls of the forest courts, but these almost certainly only represented the enclosures that threatened the continued operation of the forest with many more unrecorded enclosures occurring as of right. As in Sowerbyshire in the fourteenth

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[191] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.34, fn.1.

[192] Cox, *The Royal forests of England*, pp.158-9.

[193] J. Lister (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 4, 1315 to 1317,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 78, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1930), pp.115-16, 20-3.

[194] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.34.

[195] Ibid., p.35.

[196] Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640*, pp.202-5; E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The population history of England 1541-1871: a reconstruction*, First published 1981, (Paperback edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.208 Table 7.8; See also G. Clark, 'The long march of history: farm wages, population and economic growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review,* 60(1), (2007), pp.97-135 at p.123, Fig.7.

century, many of these enclosures were of less than an acre.[197] The right to enclose and keep deer off arable areas was also gained as compensation for substantial increases in vaccary and pasture rents as the Crown tried to extract more revenue from the Duchy of Lancaster forests.[198] In the Peak Forest a 1650 survey found 69 encroachments on the waste in Bowden Middlecale, a third of which were unauthorized. The point of the survey was to extract entry fines and rent out these encroachments in order to generate revenue.[199] The process was still continuing in 1823 when a similar exercise found 31 encroachments in the same area which were sold off as freeholds.[200] In the forest areas of Rossendale, Accrington and Tottington, surviving records show that small bits of land were continuously enclosed from the waste through the sixteenth and the first part of the seventeenth century. As elsewhere, commissions of inquiry sought to uncover those that were made illegally in order to recover rent.[201] A special commission in 1565 reported that there had been 239 acres of encroachments in Sowerby graveship since 1509, with a total of 1380 acres across the whole manor of Wakefield.[202] A similar situation was prevalent in Trawden and Pendle forests.[203]

Such illegal small scale encroachments on the waste were not the only way in which the commons were enclosed however. There were a number of ways in which such common land might be reduced as a result of legal activity. There were some instances in Rossendale of requests to the manor court for partition of the commons,

[197] Porter, 'A forest in transition', p.49.
[198] Ibid., p.45; Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.43, 49; R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster. Vol.1: 1265-1603*, (London, Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1953), pp.265-7.
[199] D. Brumhead, 'Land tenure in the Royal Forest of Peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society,* 96, (2000), pp.79-93 at p.85; Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster. Vol.1*, p.307.
[200] Brumhead, 'Land tenure in the Royal Forest of Peak', p.87.
[201] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.57-67.
[202] TNA DL 44/131.
[203] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.93.

as instanced at Bacup vaccary in 1549. As a result of a dispute between James Lord and the other tenants of the vaccary, part of the commons was divided between the tenants in proportion to their copyhold.[204] Similar disputes over common rights characterised a gradual process of enclosure of the commons in Bowland between 1550 and the 1620s.[205] On a wider scale, a series of disputes over grazing rights on Malham Moor in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries resulted in the gradual demarcation of the moor between the various disputants.[206] Where there was common agreement, the commons could also be partitioned by applying to the Duchy Court, who would then appoint commissioners to divide the land up. Part of Haslingden waste was partitioned between 14 tenants in this manner in 1577.[207] Some areas of common were also partitioned by lords for private pastures, such as the enclosure of 200 acres of Cronckley Pasture in Teesdale around 1590.[208]

This gradual process of division was speeded up in the early seventeenth century when the need of James I for extra revenue resulted in copyhold tenants having to pay composition fines to confirm their titles on many royal estates. In Rossendale and Bowland the resulting agreement reached in 1619 also allowed the tenants to enclose and divide the commons and wastes, a process that followed within the next ten years.[209] Porter describes how new farms were only established after a period of consolidation of these allotments.[210] The limit of enclosure, previously between 150-

[204] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.51.
[205] Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', pp.13-14.
[206] M.A. Atkin, 'The medieval exploitation and division of Malham Moor', *Nomina,* 14, (1990-91), pp.61-71.
[207] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.52-3.
[208] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.68.
[209] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.150-8; Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', pp.13-14.
[210] Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', p.17.

175 m, most frequently rose to 250-275 m with the highest land of least agricultural

value being the only land left unenclosed until the nineteenth century.[211]

Occasionally copyholders voluntarily relinquished their common rights. At Friarhill in

Rossendale 54 copyholders transferred their rights in the pasture to a single individual

in 1562, although the court rolls are frustratingly silent on the reasons.[212] In order to

ensure that sufficient common was left for the tenants' needs under the Statute of

Merton, the Rossendale manor court was careful to ensure that grants of land from the

waste to individuals were with the approval of the other tenants.[213] However, the

courts in Sowerbyshire appear not to have been as careful. Freeholders in Langfield

township petitioned the lord of the manor for official recognition of their rights of

pasture and turbary in the face of continued enclosure which had seen around half of

the common disappear already. A commission decided that any further enclosure

would be disadvantageous to the freeholders and could only be done with their

consent.[214]

While formal agreements dividing and enclosing commons were usually on a larger

scale than the informal encroachments that nibbled at the edges of the commons, it

was enclosure made by authority of Act of Parliament that typically dwarfed both

these forms of enclosure. It has been suggested that in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries 'something of the order of 1.7 million acres (688,500 ha) was enclosed by

parliamentary means in the upland areas of England'.[215] Although the number of small

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[211] Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', p.18.
[212] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.55-6.
[213] Ibid., pp.54-5.
[214] M.J. Ellis, 'A study in the manorial history of Halifax parish in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Part 2', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 40, (1959-62), pp.420-442 at pp.426-7.
[215] J. Chapman, 'Enclosure landscapes in the uplands of England and Wales' in H. Palang, H. Soovali, M. Antrop and G. Setten (eds.), *European rural landscapes: persistence and change in a globalising*

scale encroachments in Halifax parish in the sixteenth century has given rise to the comment that 'one cannot help but wonder that there was any unenclosed moorland left', four of the eight townships of the Upper Calder Valley were subject to Parliamentary enclosure of their remaining moorland between 1818 and 1858.[216] These awards covered 7,843 acres (3,174 ha).[217] Around half the parishes in the Peak District had awards under Acts of Parliament between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, while in Cumberland 276,686 acres (111, 971 ha) were similarly enclosed from the 1750s to the 1890s.[218] New farms were often created as a result of this enclosure process, although many were subsequently abandoned as the agricultural limitations of the land became clear.[219]

In the uplands, Parliamentary enclosure sometimes followed the example of private agreements to enclose commons.[220] However, more frequently, enclosure of the commons was the result of tenant pressure to combat abuse of grazing rights.[221] Allocation of resources on the commons was often achieved by the rule of levancy and couchancy, under which the numbers of beasts that could be allowed to graze were limited to those that could be sustained on the farm in winter. An alternative was to fix numerical limits on numbers, a procedure known as stinting.[222] The medieval manorial tradition of grazing control had become weaker over the centuries and the

environment, (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic, 2004), pp.289-96 at p.290; Chapman, 'Parliamentary enclosure in the uplands', p.82.

[216] Ellis, 'A study in the manorial history of Halifax parish: Part 2', p.424; B. English, *Yorkshire enclosure awards*, (Hull, Department of Adult Education, University of Hull, 1985).

[217] English, *Yorkshire enclosure awards*.

[218] Barnatt and Smith, *Peak District*, p.84; Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley*, p.23.

[219] Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley*, pp.81-6.

[220] Ibid., pp.18-23, 29-31.

[221] C.E. Searle, 'Customary tenants and the enclosure of the Cumbrian commons', *Northern History,* 29, (1993), pp.126-53; I. Whyte, ''Wild, barren and frightful' - Parliamentary enclosure in an upland county: Westmorland 1767-1890', *Rural History,* 14(1), (2003), pp.21-38 at pp.28-9.

[222] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, pp.79-84; A.J.L. Winchester and E.A. Straughton, 'Stints and sustainability:managing stock levels on common land in England, c.1600-2006', *Agricultural History Review,* 58(1), (2010), pp.30-48.

manorial courts were increasingly unable to enforce numerical limits thus resulting in overgrazing and reduction of the value of the commons to other commoners.[223]

This was compounded by the gradual process of encroachment on the wastes discussed above. Reduction of the extent of the commons through encroachment was indicative of weak lordly control that was more interested in short term financial gain than long term estate management. It is no coincidence that all of the forest areas in the South Pennines and the Peak District eventually became part of the crown estate, most of it belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster estate. This was so large, the administrative units within it so many, and these upland areas so remote that administration of the estates was far laxer than a smaller private manor would have been.[224]

The inefficiency of the Duchy officials resulted in rents remaining very low in comparison with other areas which allowed copyhold tenants to invest not only in land and buildings but increasingly in industry. In the Peak Forest for example, the rents of the hamlets in Bowden Middlecale in 1650 were hardly more than twice the amount paid in 1258. In 1707 one holding of 100 acres was still paying the same 4d per acre as it had been in the thirteenth century.[225] The tenants in the forests of Blackburnshire were not quite so fortunate, initially because of the 1507 survey that resulted in new copyhold leases. The revenue from the new rents was significantly higher than that from the old. Rental revenue in the forest of Trawden increased from £21 6s 8d to £29, a rise of 36 per cent while in Rossendale the percentage increase was a staggering

[223] Searle, 'Customary tenants'; Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley*, pp.10, 24; Chapman, 'Parliamentary enclosure in the uplands', p.80.

[224] Brumhead, 'Land tenure in the Royal Forest of Peak', pp.81-2; Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster. Vol.1*, p.305; Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.57.

[225] Brumhead, 'Land tenure in the Royal Forest of Peak', pp.90-1, 93.

61 per cent.[226] While some of this increase was the result of the new leases created through the subdivision of the vaccaries and pastures discussed above, existing rents were also raised. The rent for Henheads pasture, for example, doubled from 13s 4d to 26s 8d even though it was let to the same number of tenants.[227] Despite these increases the tenants benefited in the longer term because the rent and entry fines were fixed, although 100 years later the Duchy extracted another lump sum for confirmation of these copyholds.[228]

Low rents combined with the scale of inflation during the sixteenth century allowed the copyholders to amass significant capital, evidenced in part by the appearance in the seventeenth century of the substantial stone built yeoman houses that are common on both the Yorkshire and Lancashire sides of the Pennines.[229] They were also able to exploit their holdings further by engaging in subletting. Rents paid by subtenants in Trawden and Pendle forests were much higher than the copyhold rents, ranging from twice the copyhold rent for waste to an extreme of 480 times the copyhold rent.[230] A similar rental gap was evident in Sowerbyshire where the customary rent of 4d per acre paid by the copyholders was dwarfed by rents of subleases that were often in the region of 10s per acre.[231]

Their tenants however typically held only a few acres of land that were insufficient either in size or quality to provide subsistence. At the start of the nineteenth century

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[226] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.57.
[227] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.44.
[228] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.57, 61.
[229] S. Pearson, *Rural houses of the Lancashire Pennines,* Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Supplementary Series No.10, (London, H.M.S.O., 1985), pp.103-4, 190-3; C. Giles, *Rural houses of West Yorkshire, 1400-1830,* Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Supplementary series No.8, (London, HMSO, 1986), pp.106-9.
[230] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, pp.85-7.
[231] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.53.

there were 311 tenancies in the township of Sowerby. More than a third of those (111) were tenancies of landless cottages and land under 1 acre. There were 124 tenants holding between 1 and 4 acres, seventeen who held between 5 and 9 acres, and only 59 held more than 10 acres. A mere sixteen of those held more than 25 acres.[232]

The requirement of a large element of the population for additional income, combined with food price inflation, static wages and the ready availability of capital, resulted in the huge expansion of a nascent cloth industry in the Yorkshire and Lancashire Pennines from the sixteenth century onwards.[233] The pastoral economy of the uplands was far less labour intensive than arable agriculture and participation in rural industry was the only way many of the population could survive.[234] The apparent ease of encroachment on the waste, together with the possibility of more regular employment than anything the land could offer, attracted immigrants to the area with the consequent growth in population fuelling the expansion of that industry.[235] In addition rural industry offered opportunities for younger sons who inherited cash portions while eldest sons could raise money to fund the portions due to widows and siblings.[236]

By the mid-eighteenth century around 70 per cent of the male employed population in Sowerby was dependent on textiles as their main livelihood, with nearly 50 per cent of those being weavers. Other occupations related almost entirely to service trades.

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[232] Hudson, 'Landholding and the organization of textile manufacture', p.280.
[233] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.138.
[234] Ibid., pp.147-8.
[235] J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the countryside' in F.J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the economic and social history of Tudor and Stuart England,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp.70-88 at pp.81-4; Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, pp.141, 204.
[236] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, pp.98, 139.

Between 1777 and 1798 only one father out of 855 in the baptism registers recorded their occupation as a farmer:

> Agricultural occupations were simply not found recorded in the parish registers, with the exception of one or two woodcutters. Clearly the soil and its products was very much a secondary activity in the township. Many people held land … and worked it, but few regarded it as their main source of livelihood.[237]

This dual economy of textiles and agriculture could, by its nature, present itself in different ways. On the other side of the Pennines in Colne chapelry and Pendle forest 80 per cent of inventories between 1558 and 1640 described the deceased in agricultural terms as yeomen or husbandmen. However it was clear that most of the population engaged in cloth production to some extent as well as farming.[238]

Unlike Pennine Yorkshire and Lancashire, textiles were a late development in the High Peak. Water powered textile mills were built in the Derwent valley and its tributaries in the late eighteenth century, but the emphasis moved to the north-west in the valleys of the Goyt and Etherow by the start of the nineteenth century when these valleys effectively became parts of the Lancashire cotton area.[239] Although the large sheep flocks of the monasteries in the Central Pennines meant that the woollen industry had had an early start there, by the end of the fifteenth century the Halifax area had overtaken Ripon as a cloth producing area. It has been suggested that by the eighteenth century the northern boundary of the clothing area ran along the watershed between Airedale and Wharfedale. There was of course still some textile involvement with yarn production in the Central Pennines but much of it was used in domestic

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[237] Hudson, 'Landholding and the organization of textile manufacture', p.269.
[238] Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.120.
[239] Barnatt and Smith, *Peak District*, pp.119-21.

manufacture such as in the knitting industry of the northern dales.[240] The dominant

rural industries of the Peak District and the Yorkshire Dales were to be found not in

textiles but in mining.

The traditional industry in the High Peak was lead mining with a dual economy

already in place by the Norman Conquest. Lead was found in veins running across the

limestone plateau part of the Peak Forest between Hope and Tideswell. Local mining

laws dating from the late thirteenth century favoured small scale mining, dividing

each vein into sections called meers over which a miner had rights as long as it was

kept in work. From the seventeenth century operations became bigger as more capital

was needed as mining went below the water table and required investment in

drainage.[241] A very similar picture obtained to the north in the dales of Swaledale,

Wensleydale, Nidderdale and Wharfedale where the industry reached its peak in the

middle of the nineteenth century and then rapidly declined as a result of falling

prices.[242] The evidence of small scale lead mining in the Rossendale and Sowerbyshire

forest areas would have had little impact in comparison.[243]

The outcrops of coal in the Yorkshire Dales were also exploited to provide coke for

use in lead smelting as well as for domestic purposes, the Tan Hill mines supplying

Richmond Castle as early as 1384.[244] Coal mining was also in operation from medieval

times on the fringes of the Peak Forest but the seams in the uplands were relatively

thin and most declined in the nineteenth century as it became uneconomic to invest in

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[240] H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries from the earliest times up to the industrial revolution*, (2nd ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965), pp.284-6.
[241] Barnatt and Smith, *Peak District*, pp.111-14.
[242] White, *Yorkshire Dales*, pp.78-87.
[243] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.29-30; J. Kerr, 'On lead mining in the districts of Stansfield, Holmes Chapel, Rossendale and Great Hambledon, N.W. Yorkshire and N.E. Lancashire', *Transactions of the Manchester Geological Society,* 13, (1876), pp.344-60.
[244] White, *Yorkshire Dales*, pp.92-3.

the drainage necessary to follow the seams below the water table.[245] In Trawden and Pendle forests coal outcrops were leased during the fifteenth century and 'one coollmyn within the graveshippe of Sowerby' was recorded in 1607.[246] However it was not until the advent of powered machinery in the nineteenth century that significant coal mining took place in Rossendale.[247] Again however, these were minor occupations compared with the Yorkshire Dales and Peak District operations.

The reliance on rural industry thus took different regional forms within the Central and Southern Pennines, albeit the difference was often one of emphasis rather than uniqueness. The underlying importance in landscape terms was that, unlike many lowland areas, agriculture was not sufficient on its own in the moorland forest areas of the Pennine uplands. Some form of dual economy was present in these areas therefore, often dating from the medieval period. This economic development has left dual marks in the landscape, both agricultural and industrial.

Even this broadbrush examination of the historical processes that have affected Pennine, particularly South Pennine, landscapes has shown that the influences are varied and many. The demesne control over the landscape in moorland forest areas through the imposition of forest law had the potential to stultify the expansion of settlement, a position offset by the desire of manorial lords to obtain rent from clearances and letting of land. The gradual relaxation of this control in favour of rental income encouraged the subdivision of existing holdings as well as the clearance of new land. Continued encroachments on the waste, together with weakening control

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[245] Barnatt and Smith, *Peak District*, pp.112, 117.
[246] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, p.30; Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, pp.6-7; Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.40.
[247] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.226-7.

over grazing rights, ultimately threatened the utility of many commons and led to an increasing emphasis on individual ownership through enclosure.

Scattered among the hills lie disused quarry workings and their associated routeways. Stone from these quarries was used to build the substantial houses of the landholders who benefited from low rents themselves but extracted high rents from their subtenants. This wealth was typically invested in some form of rural industry, thus giving rise to the dual economy of agriculture and industry. Rural industry provided employment not only for the landless, but also for the many who held insufficient land for subsistence in an environment suited to pastoralism rather than cultivation. Growth of this industry not only resulted in industrial landscapes but also resulted in a largely static agricultural landscape in areas such as the South Pennines where it was easier to earn a living from industrial than agricultural work.

How the various components of such landscapes should be identified and documented is a question that has aroused much debate in recent years and forms the central theme of this thesis. This debate has been engendered by large scale archaeological approaches to landscape, supported and encouraged by English Heritage. The conceptual and practical issues surrounding such morphological approaches to landscape history must be examined before we can turn to their detailed testing in the case study area of the Upper Calder Valley.

Chapter 2

Morphology in the cultural landscape

The background to the development of English Heritage's interest in the wider landscape has been discussed in the previous chapter. It was outlined there how that interest has been manifested in two separate exercises: a mapping of rural settlement patterns that culminated in the publication *Region and Place: a study of English rural settlement* in 2002; and the development of Historic Landscape Characterisation as a methodology for assessing the historic character of the whole landscape. Both of these exercises involved a morphological methodology which, in essence, classified elements in the landscape and arranged them into different groups of characteristics.

As Williamson has noted in the context of the Rural Settlement project, the sponsorship of these exercises by English Heritage tends to lend them 'a kind of semi-official status within British archaeology'.[1] Their potential virtue is that they provide 'top down' county, regional and national frameworks for more 'bottom up' in depth landscape studies of particular localities. In doing so all landscape is treated equally, thus avoiding any explicit or implicit bias in favour of certain types of landscape. The question is whether these frameworks are sufficiently robust to be useful. This chapter will outline the various features of each project before offering a critique of both the specific methodologies of each project and the underlying concept of morphology. Having established the parameters of these various methodologies, the chapter discusses the methodology used to test their validity and robustness in the field.

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[1] T. Williamson, '*Region and Place*: some queries', *Medieval Settlement Research Group. Annual Report,* 21, (2006), pp.18-19 at p.18.

2.1 English Heritage approaches to landscape

2.1.1. Rural Settlement study

As part of the review of the existing Monument Class Descriptions (MCD) used in the Schedule of Ancient Monuments, English Heritage invited Dr Stuart Wrathmell to produce new class descriptions for post-Roman settlement remains. The existing MCDs of 'Deserted Medieval Villages' and 'Shrunken Medieval Villages' had been created in the mid-1980s and reflected the focus of medieval settlement studies at the time. Since then researchers had realised that dispersed settlement forms had been neglected and the new MCDs were therefore entitled 'Medieval (nucleated) Villages' and 'Dispersed Medieval Settlements'. Wrathmell also conducted a review of existing settlement mapping based on the work of Professor Brian Roberts and together they proposed mapping the variety of settlement forms visible at a national scale in order to establish a framework for settlement studies and other post-Roman archaeology.[2] Within the context of the Monuments Protection Programme, the concern was that the review of sites that were or could be scheduled should not ignore regions dominated by dispersed settlement rather than the more easily identifiable medieval village.[3]

The positive response from English Heritage is reflected in a description of the project in 1995 that encapsulates the perceived value of the exercise:

> The settlement pattern of England, and the variety of landscapes which people living in those settlements have created, has long been recognised as a rich palimpsest produced by many factors: economic, social and political – as well as geological – over a period of some 5,000 years. So, to manage our legacy of historic settlements, we need to understand this patterning in order to be sensitive to these subtle, but crucial, regional distinctions. The extensive archaeological studies of settlements such as the deserted medieval village at Wharram Percy in eastern Yorkshire, which is for many the classic example of

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[2] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *An atlas of rural settlement in England*, (London, English Heritage, 2000), pp.viii, 3.

[3] Ibid., p.4; B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *Region and place: a study of English rural settlement*, (London, English Heritage, 2002), p.6.

a medieval settlement site, or Raunds in Northamptonshire, must be put into a wider context …. Where exactly, and why, do settlements change their character, and thereby reveal a different settlement history? How do we define the geographical and historical spread of those settlement types of which Wharram is an example?

For conservation managers this question is as pressing as it is for academics. Of what area, or period of time, or local political circumstance is Wharram typical? If we invest all the resources we have available for the conservation of settlements in examples such as Wharram, what are we missing? And are the types of settlement we are missing significant?[4]

In order to identify the spectrum of dispersed settlement and nucleation and put it into context, Roberts and Wrathmell built on the perception that different areas had different settlement characteristics. Areas could be characterised by 'assessing the density of dispersed elements, and the extent to which they were intercalated with nucleations'.[5] These defining characteristics of an area also had associated characteristics such as types of enclosure, transport networks and field systems.[6] Termed 'regional characterisation', this process was achieved by analysing the settlement evidence provided by the Ordnance Survey Old Series one inch to one mile maps produced in the nineteenth century.[7] The authors began by identifying and categorising nucleations into five size grades, ranging from towns to small hamlets, which they represented on their maps by gradated dots. The intensity of dispersion in an area was then calculated and the results were used to create six broad categories of density.[8]

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[4] D. Stocker, 'Who settled where, and why?', *Conservation Bulletin,* 26, (1995), pp.17-19 at p.17.
[5] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.4.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid; Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.6; The project used the map editions in *The Old Series Ordnance Survey maps of England and Wales, Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile: A reproduction of the 110 sheets of the Survey in early state in 8 volumes*, (Lympne Castle, Harry Margary, 1975-1991).
[8] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, pp.10-13.

Plotting the various sizes of nucleations on a national map enabled Roberts and Wrathmell to identify a division of the country into three provinces through variation in the intensities of nucleation.[9] Underlying the spots of nucleation in these Central, Northern and Western, and South-eastern provinces are shaded areas representing the degree of dispersion. From this pattern the authors further divided the provinces into sub-provinces and local regions, again based on the intensity variations of settlement.[10] These maps of nineteenth-century settlement distribution were put forward as analytical tools that were 'to be used with other national distributions to disentangle and understand the palimpsest of regional variation and to provide a broad chronological measure for the generation of characteristics which led ultimately to the nineteenth-century pattern'.[11] Comparison with other national distribution maps such as deserted medieval villages and woodland place names, suggested that each province and sub-province could be 'defined in terms of particular and distinctive associations of landscape elements'.[12]

2.1.2 Historic Landscape Characterisation

Whereas Roberts and Wrathmell created their data set of settlement information, which they then analysed for similarities and differences in order to propose a suite of provinces and regions, Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) assesses elements in the landscape itself to identify similarities and differences. The concern of HLC is to identify the historic character of the present landscape rather than to identify regional patterns. Whilst all landscape elements are assessed, it is inevitably the historic character of field patterns that occupy a very large part of HLC maps. Roberts

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[9] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.15.
[10] Ibid., p.16, Fig.1 p.2, Fig.3 p.8.
[11] Ibid., p.27.
[12] Ibid., p.39.

and Wrathmell offer theoretical models of agrarian structures within their provinces and regions but HLC purports to offer an assessment based primarily on the morphology of actual field patterns. In principle it might therefore be expected that the two methodologies would complement each other, with HLC providing real data that can be assessed against the models. However, as we shall see, the methodology used by HLC does not produce data that allows such an assessment. It does not seek to provide classified associations of landscape elements that can be modelled, but merely to provide an overall impression of the landscape's historic character.

Although English Heritage had been developing an interest in the historic landscape during its first few years, it was made official by an invitation from the Government in the 1990 White Paper *This Common Inheritance* to prepare a register of landscapes and sites which had historic significance.[13] After an initial statement of policy responding to this in 1991, English Heritage commissioned a research programme in 1993 on the theories and methodologies that could be used in assessing historic landscape.[14] The conclusion of the project was that, contrary to the White Paper suggestion, characterisation of the whole landscape would be more inclusive and comprehensive, as well as being more objective.[15]

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[13] *This common inheritance: Britain's environmental strategy. Presented to Parliament by the Secretaries of State for Environment [et al], Cm 1200, (London, HMSO, 1990), para. 9.13; S. Johnson, 'The man-made and natural environments', *Conservation Bulletin,* 12, (1990), pp.5-7 at p.6; G. Fairclough, et al., *Yesterday's world, tomorrow's landscape: the English Heritage Historic Landscape Project 1992-94*, (London, English Heritage, 1999), p.18.
[14] English Heritage, 'The historic landscape: an English Heritage policy statement', *Conservation Bulletin,* 14, (1991), pp.5-6; G. Fairclough, 'New landscapes of conservation', *Conservation Bulletin,* 22, (1994), pp.16-17.
[15] P. Herring, *Cornwall's historic landscape: presenting a method of historic landscape character assessment*, (Truro, Cornwall Archaeological Unit, 1998), p.8; Fairclough, et al., *Yesterday's world*, p.20; S. Rippon, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: its role in contemporary British archaeology and landscape history', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.1-14 at p.2.

The recommendations of the Historic Landscape research project were used as a basis for planning policy in *Planning Policy Guidance 15: planning and the historic environment,* but determining a suitable methodology for assessing the historic landscape was the subject of a separate collaborative project between the Countryside Commission and English Heritage.[16] The issue was how to add 'a spatial understanding of the "historic" in the environment' rather than treating the historic environment as something separate from the physical and ecological landscape.[17] The results of this were published in 1996 in *Views from the Past*.[18] This appears to have been the first time the term 'historic landscape character' was used officially and the document emphasized the need to recognize this character and protect it where feasible.

The results of the English Heritage 1993 research project were finally published in 1999 as *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape*.[19] The delay in publishing this report meant that the results of later work could also be taken into account.[20] This included not only the Countryside Commission research into methodology but also the new emphasis on sustainable development produced by English Heritage in 1997.[21] Most importantly however, English Heritage had encouraged the development and use of characterisation of the historic landscape to inform landscape assessments undertaken by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit. The results had been published the

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[16] Department of the Environment, *Planning policy guidance: planning and the historic environment,* PPG 15, (London, HMSO, 1994).
[17] J. Lake, 'The English *pays*; approaches to understanding and characterising landscapes and places', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.28-39 at p.30.
[18] Countryside Commission, *Views from the past,* CCWP 04, (1996); O. Aldred and G. Fairclough, *Historic Landscape Characterisation: taking stock of the method*, (London, English Heritage and Somerset County Council, 2003), p.6.
[19] Fairclough, et al., *Yesterday's world*.
[20] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, p.6.
[21] English Heritage, *Sustaining the historic environment: new perspectives on the future*, (London, 1997).

year before in 1998 as *Cornwall's Historic Landscape: presenting a method of historic landscape character assessment.*[22] This pioneering methodology came to be regarded as the foundation for Historic Landscape Characterisation which was presented formally for the first time in *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape.*[23]

The new methodology of Historic Landscape Characterisation drew on the existing practice of Landscape Character Assessment (LCA) as promoted by the Countryside Commission. This was a deliberate approach, made in order to create 'a common language' between the archaeological and planning views of landscape.[24] The new method was seen as solving the problem of incorporating historical and archaeological perceptions into LCA and thus providing either a means of expanding existing Landscape Assessments or a starting point for further assessment work.[25] It was also emphasised that LCA and HLC should be used in parallel, although it was suggested that HLC could eventually change how LCA began to be carried out – or even supplant aspects of it.[26]

Rather than supplant LCA, HLC rapidly took on a life of its own. In 2002 Fairclough jointly authored a topic paper for what had now become the Countryside Agency entitled *Understanding Historic Landscape Character,* subtitled on the front cover as 'a paper exploring the relationship between Landscape Character Assessment and Historic Landscape Characterisation/Historic Land-use Assessment'.[27] The tone of

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[22] Herring, *Cornwall's historic landscape*.
[23] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, p.6.
[24] G. Fairclough (ed.), *Historic Landscape Characterisation: "the state of the art". Papers from a seminar held at Society of Antiquaries. London, 1998,* (London, English Heritage, 1999), p.8.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., p.9.
[27] G. Fairclough and L. Macinnes, *Landscape Character assessment: guidance for England and Scotland. Topic Paper 5: Understanding Historic Landscape Character*, (Cheltenham and Edinburgh, Countryside Agency and Scottish Natural Heritage, [2002]).

language in this paper is markedly more proprietorial than in 1999. HLC is now

'intended for independent use, for example in Sites and Monuments Records, in

archaeological development control, or for historic landscape research [although it]

can also be integrated with Landscape Character Assessment'.[28] Although it is

complementary to LCA, providing a better understanding of how the past has affected

the modern landscape, HLC is presented as a stand-alone technique because it requires

different skills, usually takes longer, and operates at a finer grain when identifying

landscape types.[29]

A major impetus for this change of tone must have been the results of the Review of

Policies Relating to the Historic Environment published by English Heritage as *Power

of Place* in December 2000.[30] The Government's response was published in 2001 as

The Historic Environment: a force for our future, in which HLC was commended 'to

local authorities both as a useful tool in itself and as a way of encouraging greater

involvement by local communities in conservation issues'.[31]

Although the methodology developed by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit was the

foundation of Historic Landscape Characterisation, it has continued to evolve, with

every new county project free to experiment and improve the method.[32] Diversity of

method was also a consequence of the authorities concerned having different

objectives and resources. While there is therefore no single method used, it is claimed

that there is a core of concepts and methods that form the basis of HLC, together with

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[28] Fairclough and Macinnes, *Landscape Character assessment:Topic Paper 5,* p.2.
[29] Ibid., pp.9-10.
[30] English Heritage, *Power of place: the future of the historic environment*, (London, Power of Place Office, 2000).
[31] Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *The historic environment: a force for our future*, (London, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001), p.31.
[32] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, p.5.

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a range of ancillary methods that can be used depending on the project objectives.[33]

The 'guiding principles' for HLC have been often articulated. They can be described as:[34]

1. The main object of study is the landscape today, focusing on the historic dimensions exhibited by the landscape.

2. The landscape should be studied on an area rather than a site basis.

3. All aspects of the landscape, however modern, are included.

4. Landscape character includes semi-natural features such as woodland as well as archaeological features.

5. Landscape is an idea rather than a thing and its characterisation is a matter of perception and interpretation rather than facts and records.

6. Collective and public perceptions of landscape need to be considered as well as those of experts.

7. The purpose is to assist in the management of change within the landscape, not its preservation.

8. Data sources and methods used in characterisation must be transparent.

9. The end product of the characterisation must be accessible to users and jargon free.

10. The results of the characterisation should be integrated into other environmental and heritage records such as Sites and Monuments Registers and Historic Environment Registers.

Mapping this historic dimension of the landscape is the basic output of HLC, together with descriptions of method. Understanding what is meant by 'historic dimension' is key to understanding the process. 'Its primary objective is not, for example, to map

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[33] J. Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation: English Heritage's review of HLC applications 2002-03*, (English Heritage and Lancashire County Council, 2004), p.5.
[34] Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation,* p.6.

the former extent of medieval field systems in a given area (although this may be achieved indirectly), but instead to illustrate where today's landscape is *broadly medieval in origin and in surviving character*'.[35] The result could perhaps be described as providing flavour rather than fact.

The first stage of any HLC is data gathering – 'the systematic identification and description of many of the historic attributes of the contemporary … landscape'.[36] These attributes usually include:

- some form of broad dating

- distinctions between current and previous historic character

- boundary morphologies

- field sizes and/or numbers

- organisational pattern of fields

The principal sources used in data gathering are maps. Given the focus on characterising the present day landscape, Ordnance Survey (OS) 1: 25000 or MasterMap form the basis of the exercise. Earlier editions, particularly the first edition 6 inch maps, are used to assess the landscape in the past. Modern aerial photography is often used together with specialist mapping such as that created for the Ancient Woodland Inventory. Documentary sources may also be used but all sources apart from the OS maps are regarded as 'peripheral' with the extent of their use being very dependent on individual projects.[37]

Using these sources, the study area is then divided up into areas sharing similar attributes which are categorized as HLC 'types'. The way in which this division is

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[35] Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, p.9. Emphasis added.
[36] Ibid., p.6.
[37] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, pp.23-4.

made varies from project to project and reflects the evolution of the methodology. In Lancashire the determining factors in this division were firstly the current and historic land use eg enclosures, and then a further morphological subdivision based on the shape and size of enclosures. This resulted in a distinction between eg irregular wavy-edged fields and irregular straight-edged fields.[38] In Devon the area had to have the same 'historic character type', the same organisational 'pattern', and the same 'dominant boundary morphology'.[39] These HLC types are subdivided according to the project objectives and the landscapes studied to produce a hierarchical typology. Enclosed land in Lancashire for example was divided into pre-1600 ('Ancient Enclosure'), post-1600 ('Post-medieval Enclosure'), post-1850 ('Modern Enclosure').[40]

These HLC types are now invariably recorded using a GIS system. Such software allows spatial recording of each geographic area of each HLC type through the delineation of 'polygons', together with textual information about each polygon. The polygons are usually presented in a colour coded form to provide a map of the visible historic character of the present day landscape in the study area although other analyses and presentations are possible.

2.1.3 Initial Evaluation

Although the Rural Settlement project and the development of the Historic Landscape Characterisation methodology had different origins and were separate activities of English Heritage, they do have a number of features in common:

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[38] J. Ede and J. Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, (Preston, Lancashire County Council with English Heritage, 2002), pp.25-6.

[39] S.C. Turner, *Devon Historic Landscape Characterisation: Phase 1 report*, (Exeter, Devon County Council Historic Environment Service, 2005), p.9.

[40] Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, p.8; Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, p.27.

- Use of a morphological methodology, or identification of form and structure, to establish patterns in the landscape.

- Use of maps as the primary source for identifying these patterns.

- Classification of the results by characterising and naming them.

- Basing that characterisation on one primary characteristic: settlement type or historic landscape type.

- Mapping at small scales to provide an overview rather than detail

- Providing a nineteenth-century 'snapshot' of landscape character through use of Ordnance Survey maps of the period

- A deliberate policy of only using minimal documentary sources

- Use of GIS software to produce high quality visually appealing maps of the results

The most obvious difference between HLC and the Rural Settlement project is that the former is based on the overall spatial framework of a county whereas the latter defines its own spatial frameworks. There are understandable reasons for HLC having a county framework, based on resource availability and the need for English Heritage to involve county archaeological units. However, this does not alter the fact that artificial constraints are being placed on the area of landscape being characterised, in the same way as Marshall criticised the description of agricultural areas by county 200 years ago.[41] It is particularly noteworthy that on the one hand English Heritage is supporting county-based HLC projects, while on the other hand the results of the Rural Settlement project 'point unambiguously away from the deeply rooted research framework of the historic counties and away from modern units of local

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[41] W. Marshall, *The rural economy of the West of England including Devonshire and parts of Somersetshire, Dorsetshire and Cornwall together with minutes in practice,* Vol.1, (London, Printed for G. Nicol, 1796), pp.1-4.

government'.[42] This would not matter quite so much if the same methodology was being used in each county HLC. While the basic principles may remain the same, the variations in attributes and interpretation mean that any convergence of different county HLC maps must be done at an even higher level of abstraction than that already used in the individual studies.[43] A comparative study that applied four different HLC methodologies to the same study area found that there was a wide variety in the detailed results. This was put down to exaggeration caused by using methodologies from different stages of HLC evolution, inherent subjective interpretation and lack of local knowledge.[44] While it is axiomatic that any study covering large areas has to generalise its data more as its study area becomes bigger, the result is much more useful if the data has all been gathered in the same way.

These top-down characterisation approaches use a wider landscape scale to provide a broader context in which to understand questions of historicity.[45] There are two principal difficulties in these approaches however. The first is that the exercise of characterisation is inevitably subjective because there are no objective measures that can be used to assess the similar characteristics that determine which 'type' or 'province' a particular landscape or settlement area falls within.[46] Hinton has shown that not only did an attempt to replicate the methodology for a small part of the Rural Settlement map produce alternative results, but also that different results could be

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[42] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.8.
[43] Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, p.8.
[44] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, ch.5.
[45] Lake, 'The English *pays*; approaches to understanding and characterising landscapes and places', p.36.
[46] J. Belcher, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: an exploration of the method as a means of understanding enclosure', *Landscapes,* 9(2), (2008), pp.26-44 at p.34; But see M. Johnson, *Ideas of landscape*, (Oxford, Blackwell, 2007) at p.126 for a more generous view.

obtained using a different methodology.[47] The second is that the decision as to which

characteristics should be used to define the 'type' or 'province' is usually not based on

any stated evidence but only on assumptions. It is assumed that small irregular wavy

edged enclosures date from before 1600 without offering any evidence for that

assumption.[48] It is assumed that settlement patterns define certain agrarian structures

without considering the literature or other factors and using only a small number of

case studies.[49] In short, these top down approaches are more impressionistic than

factual.

However, the Rural Settlement study is a more considered methodological exercise

than HLC and does acknowledge some of the issues involved.[50] It is therefore worth

delving first into the provincial and regional constructs proposed by that study in order

to evaluate their validity in the contexts of both the uplands and the study area of the

Upper Calder Valley in the South Pennines. Unfortunately, the amorphous and diverse

nature of HLC and the absence of an HLC exercise in West Yorkshire prevent a

similar level of evaluation at this point, and this chapter is only able to consider HLC

in terms of the published responses to the methodology. Detailed analysis of both

methodologies in the study area is made in subsequent chapters.

2.1.3.1 Rural Settlement study: provinces and regions

Division of the country into three fundamental regions is not a new proposition as

Roberts and Wrathmell recognise. Rackham is attributed by them with first

recognising this division by distinguishing between planned and ancient landscapes

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[47] D.A. Hinton, 'Debate: South Hampshire, 'East Wessex' and the *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*', *Landscape History,* 27, (2005), pp.71-5 at pp.72-4.
[48] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, pp.97-8.
[49] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.ix.
[50] See for example ibid., pp.3-4.

but its antecedents lie in the work of Gonner, Slater and Gray among others.[51] The existence of these regions is generally accepted, to the extent that the editors of the England's Landscape series published in 2006 used both the province and some sub-province boundaries proposed by Roberts and Wrathmell as landscape divisions for the various books in the series. Only the North West and North East areas were based on the topographical division of the Pennine watershed in order to provide a more logical balance.[52] However, it is the characterisations of the sub-provinces that are of particular interest for the purpose of this thesis. Roberts and Wrathmell saw these characterisations as providing 'a set of local criteria to assist field archaeologists', arguing that they provided a wider context than the 'narrow and constraining window' of administrative county units within which research was often based.[53]

The emphasis placed on the three provinces and the degree of correspondence with other national distributions in both the *Atlas* and *Region and Place* has meant rather less consideration, both by the authors and commentators, on the proposed divisions into sub-provinces and local regions. Apart from the main map of the provinces, sub-provinces and local regions in the *Atlas,* only a short description of each sub-province is provided which, together with a diagrammatic map, purports to summarise the settlement characteristics.[54] The further division of the sub-provinces into local regions is not discussed at all. These are simply listed in the Appendix to the *Atlas* under their respective sub-province. Although they are given identification numbers, no map is provided by which to discover their exact location. As Hinton notes, the

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[51] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.3; O. Rackham, *The history of the countryside*, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986), Ch.1.
[52] Personal communication, Professor Angus Winchester, October 2009. However see C. Dyer, 'Review of *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*', *Landscape History,* 23, (2001), pp.117-18 for examples of distribution maps which do not have boundaries which coincide with the three provinces.
[53] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.39.
[54] Ibid., p.2 Fig.1, Ch.6.

failure to provide any topographical features on their settlement maps makes it difficult to locate inland places.[55] Making matters even more difficult, the authors have been perverse in some of their nomenclature to the extent that they offer a warning that names of local settlement regions do not need to exactly correspond with the area originally known by that name.[56] Locating the study area of the Upper Calder Valley on the settlement map illustrates the difficulties presented (see Figure 2.1).

There are two River Calders, both rising from Heald Moor on the Pennine watershed north-west of Todmorden. One flows east through Yorkshire to the Aire, the other flows north-west through Lancashire to the Ribble. The Upper Calder Valley is a

Figure 2.1: Northern provinces, sub-provinces and regions identified in the Rural Settlement study. After Figure 1.4 in Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.10. See also Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of Rural Settlement* p.2, Fig.1.

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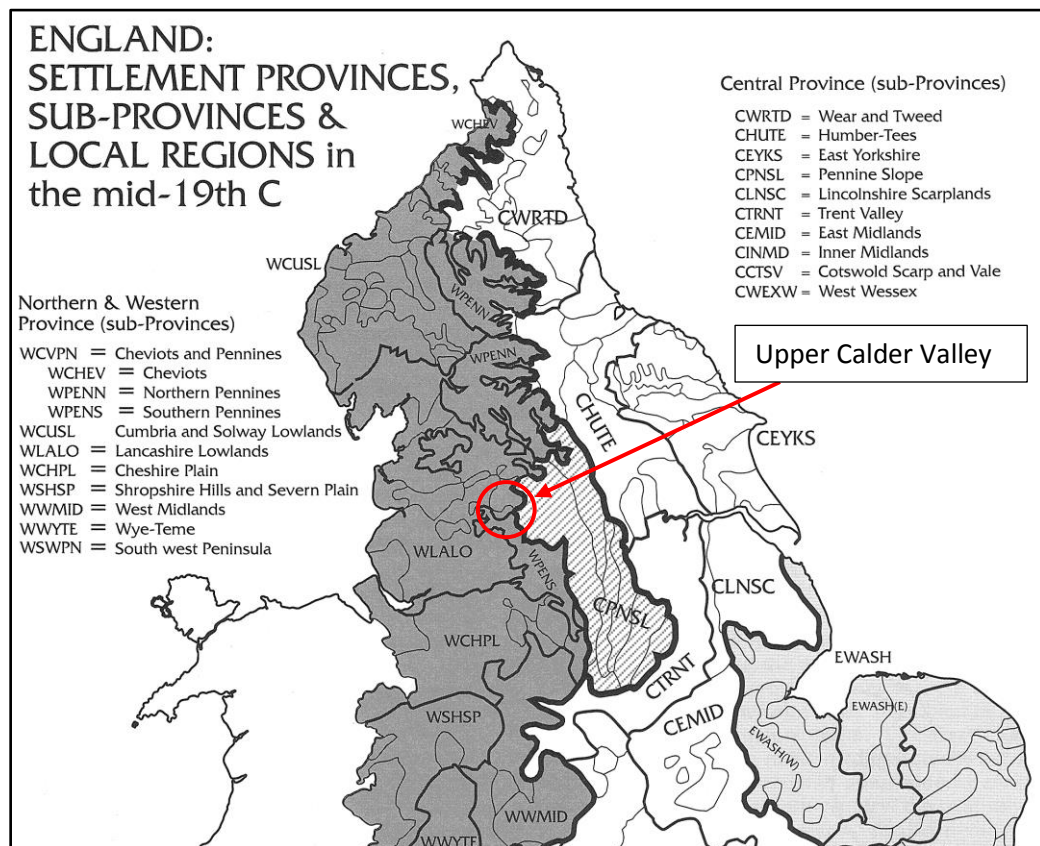
[55] Hinton, 'South Hampshire, 'East Wessex' and the *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*' at p.72.
[56] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.67.

regional rather than administrative term, used for example by Yorkshire Forward, the now defunct regional development agency, as well as an informal geographic term to refer to the western end of the Calder valley in West Yorkshire.[57] However, according to the settlement map of provinces and sub-provinces in the printed *Atlas*, the Upper Calder Valley appears to lie in the 'Lancastrian Lowlands' sub-province, a rather unfortunate name for somewhere in a Yorkshire upland area.[58] It is identifiable as the small tilde shaped area of nucleated settlement nestled on the northern border of the 'Southern Pennines' and the western border of the 'Pennine Slope' sub-provinces. However, both culturally and topographically one would expect the Upper Calder Valley to be attached to the 'Pennine Slope' sub-province to the east. Indeed the national and northern settlement maps in the *Atlas* show the pattern of nucleation and high density of dispersion as being the same in the Upper Calder Valley as it is in the 'Pennine Slope', whereas the density of dispersion is extremely or very high in the 'Lancastrian Lowlands' sub-province.[59]

The problem of correct identification is exacerbated by failures of detail in the printed *Atlas.* Although the map in Figure 2.1 appears to show the Upper Calder Valley in the 'Lancastrian Lowlands' sub-province, doubt is raised by the fact that the western border of the 'Pennine Slope' sub-province is drawn with gaps.[60] The GIS version of the *Atlas* map, made available in 2011, does in fact clearly show the Upper Calder Valley as belonging to the 'Pennine Slope' sub-province.[61] Further uncertainty is engendered by the failure of the *Atlas* to provide a map allowing identification of the

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[57] See for example http://www.ucvr.org.uk/?WELCOME and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Upper_Calder_Valley as at 18 January 2013.
[58] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.2 Fig.1. The sub-province was renamed the 'Lancashire Lowlands' in *Region and place*.
[59] Ibid., p.8 Fig.3, p.20 Fig.13.
[60] The gaps are only easily visible at a larger scale than it is possible to show in Figure 2.1.
[61] Available at http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/research/archaeology/atlas-of-rural-settlement-gis/ as at 18 January 2013.

regions. Although a settlement region called the 'Upper Calder Valley' is listed as

region 7 in the 'Lancastrian Lowlands' sub-province in the Appendix to the *Atlas*,

only earlier versions of the settlement provinces map show that it is principally

located in the headwaters of the other Calder River in Lancashire around Burnley.[62]

This unnecessary transference of nomenclature to different geographic areas makes

use of the *Atlas* far from straightforward.

The treatment of Wadsworth Moor in the *Atlas* further demonstrates the extent of

confusion and uncertainty about this area of the Pennines. Wadsworth Moor is a

region of upland to the immediate north of the Upper Calder Valley which is also

placed in the 'Lancastrian Lowlands' on the *Atlas* map, although topographically one

would expect Wadsworth Moor to be part of the 'Southern Pennines' sub-province.

Indeed it is listed as region 3 within the 'Southern Pennines' sub-province in the

Appendix to the *Atlas*.[63] The GIS version of the *Atlas* maps also treats it as part of the

'Southern Pennines'.

It is difficult to know to what extent these changes were intentional but they have all

the hallmarks of careless error which, combined with the confusing naming system,

does not inspire confidence in the proposed regional schema. Still less does it inspire

use as a framework for providing the wider context that the authors wish for. That this

is not a unique problem has been illustrated by Hinton who discovered worrying

problems of inaccuracy in the *Atlas* when looking at South Hampshire, with not only

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[62] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.69; B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, 'The Monuments Protection Programme: medieval settlements project', *Medieval Settlement Research Group. Annual Report,* 9, (1994), pp.12-17 at p.14; Stocker, 'Who settled where, and why?', p.18; B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, 'Dispersed settlement in England: a national view' in P. Everson and T. Williamson (eds.), *The archaeology of landscape: studies presented to Christopher Taylor,* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998), pp.95-116 at p.98.
[63] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.68. The 1994 and 1995 versions of the settlement provinces map also show it in the 'Southern Pennines': see footnote 62 above.

wrong landscape types being applied to either side of the Solent but also wrong densities of dispersion.[64]

If the GIS version of the maps in the *Atlas* is accepted as being the correct one, then the study area of the Upper Calder Valley straddles not only different sub-provinces but also different provinces. The central valley lies in the 'Pennine Slope' sub-province while the northern and southern halves of the watershed lie in the 'Southern Pennines'. Roberts and Wrathmell regard the 'Pennine Slope' as belonging to the 'Northern and Western Province' before industrialisation but to the 'Central Province' after industrialisation based on the number of nucleations and level of dispersion.[65] This means that, based on nineteenth-century settlement patterns, the main valley of the Upper Calder is in the 'Central Province' while the northern and southern sections lie in the 'Northern and Western Province'. The location of the study area is therefore an interesting one when judging the validity of the provinces and sub-provinces suggested by Roberts and Wrathmell.

2.1.3.2 Rural Settlement study: the uplands

The 'Lancastrian Lowlands' sub-province merits less than a column of text in the *Atlas*, a paucity of description that not surprisingly fails to do justice to the varied landscape encompassed within its boundaries. Virtually nothing is said about the upland component of this area other than to see it as a background to the lowlands: 'small communally-cultivated arable cores set in landscapes dominated by the wastes of the forests, chases and common pastures'.[66] The diagrammatic map presents an

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[64] Hinton, 'South Hampshire, 'East Wessex' and the *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*', p.71.
[65] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.16; Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.8.
[66] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, pp.53-4, Fig.47.

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image of a landscape of old enclosures together with pockets of enclosed townfield. Scattered areas of common waste are represented, some of it also enclosed. A high degree of dispersed settlement is paralleled by scattered vaccaries, bercaries and shielings on the wastes. There is no sense of upland as a different area except in the reader's assumption that areas of common waste with shielings and vaccaries are, or may be, upland. Only in the brief section allocated to the three Northern upland provinces of 'Cheviots', 'Northern Pennines' and 'Southern Pennines' is there any consideration of the uplands as a discrete area. These sub-provinces are lumped together for 'convenience' although their distinctiveness as separate settlement regions is acknowledged. They are characterised as areas of dispersed settlement dependent economically on the surrounding lowlands. Settlement is also episodic, supposedly indicated by shielings, bercaries and vaccaries, which seem to represent the authors' idea of farming in upland areas. Apparently 'in the medieval period and later these are regions of specialist settlement, marginal, subject to boom and slump depending upon short term climatic conditions or market conditions'.[67] Accordingly the diagrammatic map shows only these specialist forms of farming together with industrial sites representing stone and mineral extraction. Although part of the waste is shown as enclosed, no other settlement appears at all, the surrounding lowlands simply being marked as 'ancient inby land'. As has already been shown in the preceding chapter this is an oversimplistic view at best.

In *Region and Place* Roberts and Wrathmell take their proposed settlement model further by providing 'contexts and frameworks for regional and local settlement studies' while also offering 'a series of models which illustrate our perception of the

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[67] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.52.

diversity of "agrarian structures" in the regions we have defined'.[68] Agrarian

structures are defined as the expression of decisions made by inhabitants of particular

settlement patterns regarding the exploitation of the available agricultural resources

such as pasture, meadow, arable and woodland.[69] The assertion is made that

differences in settlement pattern are related to variations in the way the surrounding

land is farmed, and that the system of provinces and regions provides 'a viable

framework within which to conduct future studies of the regional differences in field

systems'.[70] Following in the footsteps of Uhlig, nine morphological models are

presented which show various possible relationships between settlement, field and

farming systems.[71] The associated discussion explicitly relates several of these models

to upland environments, although there is no attempt to associate them with particular

regions. The validity of these models for the South Pennines will be considered in the

final chapter in the light of the research results presented in Chapters 3-4 and 6-7.

Consideration is also given to 'landscapes of enclosure' in the 'Northern and Western'

and the 'South-eastern' provinces. Although the authors claim that the regional

divisions of enclosure that they present are based on the settlement sub-provinces with

some exceptions, quite clearly this is not true in the northern and western side of the

country.[72] The area entitled 'North & West Midlands Enclosures' encompasses all or

part of five sub-provinces, while the 'Northern Uplands' area contains all or part of

seven sub-provinces. However, for the first time in Roberts and Wrathmell's work, the

'Northern Uplands' represents a homogenous upland area extending from the Peak

District to the Cheviots and west to the Lake District. Disappointingly, but predictably

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[68] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.viii.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid., pp.59, 65.
[71] Ibid., pp.65-8.
[72] Ibid., pp.156, 158 Fig 6.5a.

given the acknowledged north-eastern bias of the authors, the discussion of enclosure in this upland area is limited to examples from County Durham and one study in Derbyshire.[73] Although the various models proposed by Roberts and Wrathmell are explored using a number of local case studies, the Pennine uplands are represented by only two such studies, Marston in Craven and Royston in Derbyshire, with another two on the 'Pennine Slope'.[74] As the authors freely admit, their 'coverage of local studies is patchy, and fails to give sufficient weight to every region'.[75]

2.1.3.3 Other responses to the Rural Settlement study

Response to the work of Roberts and Wrathmell has been relatively muted, perhaps partly because the tenor of the research had already been communicated through interim publications, articles and conference papers.[76] Aside from plaudits for the impressive nature of their work, a number of positive achievements have been recognised. Dyer's observation, when reviewing the *Atlas* in 2001, that they 'have provided a new framework for landscape history which all future thinking must take into account' is echoed by Everson's article in 2006.[77] Everson confirms the utility of that framework for 'effective characterisation' of the settlement nature of certain areas in contrast with others, providing not only a springboard for interpretation but also a vocabulary for discussion.[78] He also argues that they have given significant impetus to a trend to 'look at a bundle of characteristics that together and in their distinctive balance make up the character of a pattern of settlement'.[79] The bundle of

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[73] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, pp.ix, 162-4.
[74] Ibid., ch.4.
[75] Ibid., p.ix.
[76] Dyer, 'Review of *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*', p.117; P. Everson, 'Creating waves: practical effects of 'Roberts and Wrathmell'', *Medieval Settlement Research Group. Annual Report,* 21, (2006), pp.15-17 at p.15.
[77] Dyer, 'Review of *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*', p.118.
[78] Everson, 'Creating waves: practical effects of 'Roberts and Wrathmell'', p.15.
[79] Ibid.

characteristics to which he refers is the agrarian structures that Roberts and Wrathmell associate with settlement patterns. In addition, their work has given greater prominence to the methodology of patterning (morphology) which can be utilised at various scales, while by suggesting boundaries of provinces and regions Roberts and Wrathmell have allowed discrepancies to become more apparent and thus invite further research.[80]

More negative responses can be seen as achieving the authors' principal aim, namely 'to offer a new direction for the course of research, not necessarily to anticipate its findings'.[81] Williamson notes that selective evidence has been used to postulate the Central Province as 'some kind of "core" settlement area, to which the other "provinces" are peripheral and marginal'.[82] Darby's map of the recorded Domesday population would have shown for example that the densities of population at that time were not in the Midlands but to the east in areas outside the Central Province. It was these districts that were best suited for cereal cultivation because of their climate and soils.[83] Dyer also comments on the fact that other national distribution maps have not been used, such as Campbell's map of arable farming in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which shows a significant region of cereal production running in a belt across all three provinces.[84] Part of the problem here, as Williamson points out, is that although the authors do not claim that the maps show medieval settlement, their discussion often gives an impression that these settlement boundaries are of

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[80] Everson, 'Creating waves: practical effects of 'Roberts and Wrathmell'', pp.15-16.
[81] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.ix.
[82] Williamson, '*Region and Place*: some queries', p.18.
[83] Ibid; See also T. Williamson, 'Review of *Region and place*', *Antiquity,* 78(302), (2004), pp.949-51 at p.950.
[84] Dyer, 'Review of *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*', p.118.

considerable antiquity. This is particularly a problem with the boundaries of the sub-provinces and local regions.[85]

The restriction of source evidence to the nineteenth-century OS maps has meant that certain variations in the character of settlement have been ignored. For example, Williamson notes the inability to distinguish between single farms situated in the middle of their fields and dispersed settlements grouped around open commons.[86] Roberts and Wrathmell also fail to provide evidence of other causative factors such as maps of soils, drainage or regional topography, limiting environmental evidence to a terrain map which is largely geological.[87] Furthermore settlement patterns change over time, as Williamson has shown by an example from east Suffolk and Jones and Page have demonstrated in the Whittlewood area.[88] Recognition of this fact should underlie any use of the proposed maps and models which are derived ultimately from a mid-nineteenth-century settlement pattern.

The general thrust of these comments, together with the inaccuracies in the detail of the sub-provinces and local regions discussed above, tends to confirm the stated aims of the authors: what is offered is a top down framework which needs correction and refinement by bottom up studies. Nowhere is this more true than in upland areas where, as we have seen, the proposed framework is rudimentary. The high level of generalisation means that the spatial divisions of provinces and local regions are an

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[85] Williamson, '*Region and Place*: some queries', p.18.
[86] Williamson, 'Review of *Region and place*', p.950.
[87] Williamson, '*Region and Place*: some queries', p.18; Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, pp.16-18, 21.
[88] Williamson, '*Region and Place*: some queries', p.19; M. Page and R. Jones, 'Stability and instability in medieval village plans: case studies in Whittlewood' in M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (eds.), *Medieval landscapes,* (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2007), pp.139-52 at p.152.

approximation. As Thirsk says, 'every historical generalisation is an approximation'.[89]

Despite this characteristic, Coones has argued that the idea of the region, however

defined, 'provides an integrative framework for exploring – from several different

standpoints – the distinctive socio-economic structures, functional organisations and

spatial patterns created by the human use of an environment over time' and that it

therefore offers a great deal to landscape studies.[90] Although Muir has doubted the

utility of this regional approach to landscape history, based on the marginalisation of

the approach by geographers since the 1960s, a more practical view has been

suggested by Matless who argues that landscape history can 'be understood as an

attempt to lend form to landscape via the investigation of particular sites and scales of

meaning'.[91]

Roberts and Wrathmell echo this. They dismiss such 'endless debate' over the

boundary details and characteristics of each local region as missing the essential point,

which is that their national scale maps reveal important settlement contrasts.

Boundaries are 'mere tools, identifying tracts of "settlement similarity" … there to be

both used and tested'.[92] Later studies have tended to avoid the issue by concentrating

on the origins and development of landscape variety in certain areas rather than trying

to define regional boundaries. In *Shaping Medieval Landscapes* for example,

Williamson postulated that it was certain soil conditions and the extent of meadow

availability that led to the development of common fields, using as his study area 'not

the whole country, nor yet some local area, but something in between: a region wide

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[89] J. Thirsk, *Agricultural regions and agrarian history in England, 1500-1750*, (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1987), p.20.

[90] P. Coones, 'One landscape or many? A geographical perspective', *Landscape History,* 7, (1985), pp.5-12 at p.9.

[91] R. Muir, 'Conceptualising landscape', *Landscapes,* 1(1), (2000), pp.4-21 at p.15; D. Matless, 'Writing English landscape history', *Anglia-Zeitschrift fur Englische Philologie,* 126(2), (2008), pp.295-311 at p.297.

[92] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.8.

enough to encompass a broad range of landscape types'.[93] Rippon was concerned to establish in *Beyond the Medieval Village* why southern areas adjacent to the 'Central Zone' developed a different landscape character, basing his arguments on a number of study areas in the South East and South West.[94] Jones and Page sought to explain settlement variety by focusing on a dozen parishes whose only common characteristic was that they had all once been part of Whittlewood Forest.[95] These studies accept the broad differentiations in landscape that have been defined by regional approaches such as Roberts and Wrathmell and are now trying to understand the causes. As predicted by Thirsk, the value of regional approaches 'lies in clarifying the direction of large changes, and encouraging further investigation of the small ones'.[96]

2.1.3.4 Responses to Historic Landscape Characterisation

As HLC has become more pervasive so more academic attention has been paid to it, particularly now that it is appearing in research studies in various forms.[97] In 2006, in an article on variations in field boundaries in eastern England, Williamson took the opportunity to draw attention to some of the drawbacks of the technique.[98] Further disquiet at the spread of the 'hegemony of GIS and Characterisation' into landscape studies was voiced in the Editorial in the journal *Landscapes* in 2006.[99] This was subsequently followed by a conference of the Theoretical Archaeology Group in 2006 on the subject, the papers of which appeared in *Landscapes* in the Autumn issue of

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[93] T. Williamson, *Shaping medieval landscapes: settlement, society, environment*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2003), pp.24-5.
[94] S. Rippon, *Beyond the medieval village: the diversification of landscape character in Southern Britain*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), p.27.
[95] R. Jones and M. Page, *Medieval villages in an English landscape: beginnings and ends*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2006), p.16.
[96] Thirsk, *Agricultural regions and agrarian history in England, 1500-1750*, p.20.
[97] For example Belcher, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation'; M.J. Gillard, 'The medieval landscape of the Exmoor region: enclosure and settlement in an upland fringe', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 2002.
[98] T. Williamson, 'Mapping field patterns: a case study from Eastern England', *Landscapes,* 7(1), (2006), pp.55-67.
[99] [P. Stamper and D. Austin], 'Editorial', *Landscapes,* 7(2), (2006), pp.vii-viii.

2007.[100] This collection of papers consists of four arguing aspects of the case for HLC, three pointing out concerns at its use, and two more descriptive pieces on the position in Wales and Scotland. There are a number of principal points that can be extracted from the debate.

Austin has been particularly critical of the way in which political agendas and policy frameworks have effectively stifled debate on the fundamental principles, with the result that HLC 'peddles a form of dominant meta-narrative that is untested in any academic research forum'.[101] At a more practical level the limited nature of the source material used during the characterisation process is a fundamental criticism. Williamson, for example, has pointed out the dangers of considering the evidence of nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps 'sufficient in itself to pronounce with confidence on major issues of landscape history, without recourse to other more reliable sources of information'.[102] He illustrates this with a telling example of how Roden's work on open fields in the Chilterns was ignored by the Hertfordshire HLC resulting in the completely false assumption, based on modern field patterns, that open fields never existed there. In the same vein, Finch has pointed out the failure of the Northamptonshire HLC to identify or characterise small woodlands or copses which were used as fox coverts during 19th century. These culturally significant landscape features were ignored while the HLC mentioned features related to the more familiar medieval and early modern deer parks 56 times.[103] The assumptions made as a result

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[100] *Landscapes*, 8(2), 2007.

[101] D. Austin, 'Character or caricature? Concluding discussion', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.92-105, especially at pp.94, 98, 103.

[102] T. Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: some queries', *Landscapes*, 8(2), (2007), pp.64-71 at p.66.

[103] J. Finch, "Wider famed countries': Historic Landscape Characterisation in the Midland shires', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.50-63 at pp.55-9.

of focusing on the impressionistic evidence of maps are therefore frequently untested and largely ignore any analytical or critical narratives.

While this is clearly a very valid point, it should be recognised that HLC projects differ in the degree to which they choose to use published historical evidence. Hampshire for example made a conscious decision to exclude such evidence if it was not visible in the landscape in some form.[104] Lancashire limited such evidence to the Victoria County History.[105] Devon however recognised that 'categorising fields into different historical types/periods based on their morphology alone is a task fraught with problems'.[106] The project therefore used published archaeological and historical sources to identify a number of case studies to inform the definition of the various HLC types.

While HLC practitioners emphasise how the vertical map-based approach of HLC adds chronological depth compared to the horizontal surface-based aesthetic approach of the landscape architect, critics point out that this focus on plan fails to take account of evidence that can be gained from that horizontal approach such as boundary information.[107] Although it has been stated that HLC is not 'a stand-alone tool' and that it needs to be used with other data, the danger is that any audience without

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[104] G. Fairclough, et al., 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in England and a Hampshire case study' in G. Fairclough and S. Rippon (eds.), *Europe's cultural landscape: archaeologists and the management of change,* (Brussels, Europae Archaeologiae Consilium, 2002), pp.69-83 at p.73.
[105] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, p.30.
[106] S. Turner, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in Devon (UK): a short introduction' in *UNESCO University and Heritage 10th International Seminar: "Cultural landscapes in the 21st century",* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2006), p.3.
[107] Fairclough, et al., 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in England', p.70; Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', pp.69-70.

experience of landscape history or archaeology will take the HLC presentation at face value.[108]

Commentators have noted the seductive appeal of HLC mapping and how it provides a 'reassuring sense of accuracy and objectivity' or certainty to many users.[109] The maps 'give the appearance of subtlety, but … are often only a mask on the true shallowness of what they are representing'.[110] Such criticism is exacerbated by the lack of clear 'health warnings' of the inherent limitations of HLC on its end products.

The fact that different people will have different views on the allocation of a type to an area is usually explicitly recognised by HLC projects and various ways of limiting this lack of consistency are adopted, for example by just using one person, or by seeking to achieve a consensual view. However Rippon has illustrated how, in his view, the Devon HLC appears to have misclassified significantly large parts of the landscape as former open field. This classification is based on the existence of strip fields, although the morphological evidence on the map does not support this. He suggests that this overenthusiastic classification may have been influenced by a debate on the extent of open fields in Cornwall.[111] The inherent subjectivity in allocating HLC types is obscured by the nature of the presentation on the HLC map, which tends

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[108] Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, p.11; [Stamper and Austin], 'Editorial', pp.vii-viii.

[109] Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p.65; Austin, 'Character or caricature?', p.103.

[110] [Stamper and Austin], 'Editorial', p.viii.

[111] S. Rippon, *Making sense of an historic landscape*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.116-17, 44-5.

to imply a false sense of objectivity.[112] The use of a classification of HLC types in itself also gives a misleading impression of objectivity and authority.[113]

The extent to which modern morphology of boundary patterns can be used as evidence of early landscape has been questioned.[114] Several points have been made:

- Later changes in the landscape can completely eradicate earlier boundary patterns.

- The principle of equifinality, or 'the way in which very different historical processes can produce very similar patterns in the landscape', is ignored.[115]

- The focus on polygons or blocks of land ignores larger scale features such as routeways.

- The use of polygons implies clear distinctions between areas, which obscures the fact that landscapes are usually more complex and exhibit gradual merging of patterns. The landscape becomes disconnected and therefore decontextualised.

- Creating simple patterns from complex evidence is easy but it is very difficult or impossible to reconstruct complex ones.

- An emphasis on morphology often fails to properly consider the processes of change.

- Dating based on morphological similarity is prone to difficulties as it assumes that it can be applied from the particular to the general.

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[112] Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p.68.
[113] Austin, 'Character or caricature?', pp.103-4; Williamson, 'Mapping field patterns', p.59.
[114] Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', pp.66-8; Austin, 'Character or caricature?', p.93; D. Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis', *Journal of Historical Geography,* 11(2), (1985), pp.201-9.
[115] Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p.67; See also Williamson, 'Mapping field patterns', pp.60-1.

Roberts responded to the last three points, which were originally made by Austin in 1985, by not only accepting that there was much truth in them but also agreeing with Austin that 'morphology is only one tool in a complete kit'.[116]

The argument of HLC practitioners that HLC is flexible and adaptable has its downside in the difficulties created if trying to compare areas covered by different project boundaries. Belcher has noted that the focus on county-wide exercises obscures more natural boundaries such as *pays*, while Rippon found that the differences in methodology between the Devon and Somerset HLCs resulted in 'a sharp discontinuity in historic landscape character' along the county boundary that divided his chosen study area around the Blackdown Hills.[117] Williamson has also pointed to the use of differing non-standard vocabulary which confuses discussion.[118] There is an English Heritage ambition to produce a national HLC map and the proposed way of achieving this is to use a number of high level HLC types that are discussed below.[119] The result will be an even more simplistic mapping that doubtless will be questioned as to its utility and accuracy. Even as it is, Austin has commented that HLC 'provides only the outline caricature of the British landscape that I know, reducing complexity to the cartoon outlines that seem to pander to preconceptions and prejudices held by a romanticising administrative middle class'.[120]

The published work of the proponents of HLC is characterised by description and explanation of HLC as a technique, which is to be expected for such a relatively new

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[116] Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis', pp.203, 206; B.K. Roberts, *The making of the English village*, (Harlow, Longman, 1987), pp.220-1.
[117] Belcher, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p.28; Rippon, *Making sense of an historic landscape*, p.55.
[118] Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', pp.65-6.
[119] Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, p.8; P. Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an ever-changing Cornwall', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.15-27 at p.25.
[120] Austin, 'Character or caricature?', p.104.

methodology. While the literature is beginning to address some of the criticisms outlined above, the responses are muted by the acknowledgement that the critiques are 'each perfectly reasonable in their own terms'.[121] The issue for HLC practitioners is focused around explaining what HLC is and what it is not – understanding the philosophy behind it is their answer to the concerns expressed. A number of principal points made by these practitioners can be identified.

Rippon in particular has been at pains to explain that the English Heritage scheme for HLC 'does not equal historic landscape characterisation (the process of research that maps local and regional variation in landscape character, and then seeks to explain its origins and development through interdisciplinary work)'.[122] He utilises the terminology of Bloemers in distinguishing between past- and future-oriented archaeology.[123] HLC is future-oriented, aimed at informing planners and countryside managers. Past-oriented archaeology is the more traditional research practices that he calls historic landscape analysis.[124]

It has been argued that HLC is only an initial spatial assessment of the landscape that can be developed by adding further layers of information such as fieldwalking, landholding patterns, vernacular building information etc.[125] Herring points to the use of 'Secondary HLC' in Cornwall which involves more traditional landscape survey and research on a more detailed larger scale to enhance understanding of certain HLC

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[121] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an ever-changing Cornwall', p.73.
[122] Rippon, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: its role', p.3.
[123] J.H.F. Bloemers, 'Past- and future-oriented archaeology: protecting and developing the archaeological-historical landscape in the Netherlands' in G. Fairclough and S. Rippon (eds.), *Europe's cultural landscape: archaeologists and the management of change,* (Brussels, Europae Archaeologiae Consilium, 2002), pp.89-96.
[124] Rippon, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: its role', pp.3-6; S. Rippon, *Historic landscape analysis: deciphering the countryside,* Practical Handbooks in Archaeology No.16, (York, Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp.3-5.
[125] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an ever-changing Cornwall', p.18; Rippon, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: its role', pp.6-7, 11-12.

types. Correlation of other data with the Cornish HLC has resulted in the discovery
and investigation of many significant prehistoric sites by triggering more detailed
assessments that would not have been undertaken without the predictive modelling of
HLC.[126]

HLC projects are usually at county scale, partly because of the way archaeology is
managed within local government and partly because it represents a scale that allows
'a sensible overview'.[127] The usual characterisation scale is therefore 1:25,000,
although data capture and interpretation often now happens at a larger scale such as
1:10,000 as in the Devon HLC.[128] Small areas of a particular HLC type that are less
than 1-3 ha for example will be excluded from the HLC map because they are not
significant at the county scale. This was noted by Belcher in a trial HLC and is why
Finch's fox coverts were not included.[129] Like all maps, HLC is a compromise
between the scale used, the data depicted and the type of graphics used.[130] The
purpose of HLC is to capture 'a particular interpretation' of the real world for specific
uses – namely archaeological resource management.[131]

Perhaps the most confusing and least well explained element of HLC is that it seeks
only to characterise the historic elements within the present day landscape. The
objective is 'to capture the past within the single layer of the present'.[132] In other
words, its base output characterises the remains of all chronological periods in a single

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[126] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an ever-changing Cornwall', pp.20-3.
[127] G. Fairclough, 'Large scale, long duration and broad perceptions: scale issues in Historic Landscape Characterisation' in G. Lock and B. Molyneaux (eds.), *Confronting scale in archaeology: issues of theory and practice,* (New York, Springer, 2006), pp.203-15 at p.206.
[128] Ibid., p.207; Turner, *Historic Landscape Characterisation in Devon*, p.3.
[129] Belcher, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p.33; Finch, "Wider famed countries".
[130] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.19.
[131] Fairclough, 'Large scale, long duration and broad perceptions', pp.207, 10-11.
[132] Ibid., p.209.

layer that represents the present. This concept is referred to as time-depth. (This does not prevent other layers being created that represent different time periods although this is not the original goal of HLC). However, this should not be confused with the attributes of chronological period (time-slices) which are often attached to HLC types, usually based on first edition OS maps. Attributes are descriptive data, not necessarily an assessment of the chronological period to which a particular feature belongs. For example, a field type may have the attribute of pre-nineteenth century because of when it appears on the first map although other evidence may suggest it has even earlier origins.[133] Although the result is a focus on the most recent few centuries, greater and more detailed time depth can be added through more detailed research at a more local level.[134]

Although HLC mapping has 'popularised' the historic landscape through its seductive appeal as noted above, its proponents claim that it has put the historic aspect of the landscape into policy and strategic debates in a way that identification and protection of individual sites and monuments signally failed to do. In addition it has engaged the attention of local communities who will now value that aspect of their environment more.[135] Lake has emphasised how the demand for 'local character and distinctiveness' can be partly met by providing an understanding of the historic landscape within the planning framework, thus meeting the key HLC goal of sustainable change.[136]

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[133] Fairclough, 'Large scale, long duration and broad perceptions', pp.208-9.
[134] G. Fairclough, ''The long chain': archaeology, historical landscape characterization and time depth in the landscape' in H. Palang and G. Fry (eds.), *Landscape interfaces : cultural heritage in changing landscapes* (London, Kluwer Academic, 2003), pp.295-318 at p.306.
[135] Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an ever-changing Cornwall', pp.24-5.
[136] Lake, 'The English *pays*; approaches to understanding and characterising landscapes and places', pp.34-5.

The consensus that did emerge from the Theoretical Archaeology Group meeting in 2006 was the need for critics and practitioners to work together to improve the concept of HLC rather than leave it to become a contentious issue.[137] Turner in particular has been keen to promulgate the idea of HLC as a bridging mechanism between different academic disciplines concerned with landscapes:[138]

> If we can accept that all the physical elements of a landscape can be appreciated as material objects with a range of different possible values for people in the past and present – whether they are buildings, ruins, earthworks, trees, hedges, plants, animals or whatever, then an 'archaeological' approach can give us a good framework for facilitating debate about the landscape.[139]

The point he makes is that it is impossible to record every feature and their possible historical relationships except for small areas in well-resourced projects. HLC deliberately presents a generalisation of the landscape's historicity on a broad scale. The inherent flexibility of GIS means that different viewpoints and interpretations can be added or removed to this broad framework.[140] The suggestion appears to be that HLC thus provides a sort of interactive brainstorming environment for all the landscape disciplines.

2.1.3.5 Conclusion

In light of the commonalities between HLC and the work of Roberts and Wrathmell discussed at the beginning of this section, it is surprising that some of the criticisms that have been directed at HLC have not also been directed at the Rural Settlement

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[137] P. Stamper and D. Austin, 'Editorial', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.vii-ix at p.vii; Austin, 'Character or caricature?', pp.92, 104.
[138] S. Turner, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: a landscape archaeology for research, management and planning', *Landscape Research,* 31(4), (2006), pp.385-98; S. Turner, 'Landscape archaeology for the past and future: the place of Historic Landscape Characterisation', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.40-9; S. Turner, 'Rural Devon: mapping and analysing local historic landscapes', *Medieval Settlement Research Group. Annual Report,* 21, (2006), pp.19-21.
[139] Turner, 'Landscape archaeology for the past and future', p.43.
[140] Ibid., pp.43-5.

project. The following apply as much to the Rural Settlement study as they do to HLC:

- There has been a lack of debate on the fundamental principles behind the research

- The sources used are too limited

- The maps are too appealing

- Morphological evidence has its limitations

- The characterisation appears objective but is in fact subjective

One reason for this lack of criticism may be that Roberts and Wrathmell did discuss at least some of these issues in their publications. Another reason is that the principal result of the three provinces is in line with expectations based on previous regional work. In contrast, HLC projects do not usually publish their results in an academic format and their results are completely new propositions.

That there is some commonality of criticism around both these English Heritage approaches to the historic landscape suggests that the underlying morphological approach in both methodologies may be flawed. The next section therefore considers morphological characterisation in more detail in order to understand what inherent limitations there might be.

2.2 Morphological characterisation: a critical assessment

The previous section has outlined how particular methodological interpretations of the landscape used by English Heritage are based on the use of forms or configurations in that landscape. The study of form in cultural landscape research, or morphology, has been labelled by Baker as part of the 'traditional' style of historical geography that

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was established in the period after the Second World War.[141] However Widgren

suggests that such an approach should more correctly be seen as part of the 'modern'

style that succeeded it in the 1960s and 1970s. He describes the method as being

'morphogenetic and aimed at uncovering the origin and development of forms in the

agrarian landscape' while the explanatory framework for such studies is evolutionary

in the sense that landscape forms are seen as evolving from one to another.[142] In his

The New Reading the Landscape, Muir emphasises the importance of fieldwork and

suggests that landscape research requires 'a special aptitude for looking at shapes' and

seeing how 'fragmentary lines' can be linked together to form meaningful shapes.[143]

The aim of this section is to critically examine this morphological technique. This will

provide a context in which to understand some of the unease which commentators

have expressed on the English Heritage approaches but which has rarely been

articulated clearly. To date Austin has been a lone voice in drawing attention to issues

with morphological methodology generally, a position that this section will attempt to

improve on.[144]

2.2.1 Morphology in practice: identifying field patterns

Morphology can be seen as a way of imposing order on landscape forms by

classifying them in order to provide a framework for analysis. HLC projects attempt to

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[141] The nineteenth-century origins of morphology, particularly as expressed in geomorphology or the study of landforms, was discussed by Sauer in 1925 in a paper on the place of cultural morphology in the study of geography: C.O. Sauer, 'The morphology of landscape' in J. Leighly (ed.), *Land and life: a selection from the writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer,* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1963), pp.315-50. Originally published in University of California Publications in Geography 1925, 2(2), 19-54.

[142] A.R.H. Baker, 'Historical geography and the study of the European rural landscape', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography,* 70B(1), (1988), pp.5-16 at p.9; M. Widgren, 'Can landscapes be read?' in H. Palang, H. Soovali, M. Antrop and G. Setten (eds.), *European rural landscapes: persistence and change in a globalising environment,* (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic, 2004), pp.455-65 at p.456; M. Widgren, 'Reading property in the landscape', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift,* 60(1), (2006), pp.57-64 at p.57.

[143] R. Muir, *The new reading the landscape: fieldwork in landscape history*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2000), p.xv.

[144] Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis'.

assign particular field patterns to particular chronological periods. Roberts and Wrathmell's settlement study records the distribution pattern of different sizes of settlement. The identification of patterns can be illustrated by looking at some of the various ways in which field shapes have been classified. The concern here is the classification itself, the interpretation of that classification being considered later in this section.

A simple broad framework of field shapes was provided by Flatrès in a 1957 study on field systems in Brittany, Ireland, Cornwall and Wales by grouping enclosures into those with a regular form and those with an irregular form.[145] Those classified as regular fields were usually straight-sided and roughly quadrilateral while varying in shape and size whereas irregularly shaped fields were typically small in size and occurred less frequently.[146] While the difference between regular and irregular is readily understandable in principle, the difficulty is that there are many variants in field shape so that the degree of regularity is a continuum. The decision as to whether any individual example is regular or irregular therefore becomes an increasingly subjective assessment.

A more objective and detailed morphological typology of field systems is provided by Bowen's *Ancient Fields*, published in 1961.[147] Reflecting the research of the period, Bowen considered three main types of fields. His first group were the so-called 'Celtic' fields which he defined as 'all those fields of regular shape which were laid

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[145] P. Flatrès, *Géographie rurale de quatre contrées Celtiques: Irlande, Galles, Cornwall et Man*, (Rennes, 1957).

[146] R.H. Buchanan, 'Field systems of Ireland' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.580-618 at p.588.

[147] H.C. Bowen, *Ancient fields: a tentative analysis of vanishing earthworks and landscapes*, (London, British Association for the Advancement of Science, [1961]).

out before the Saxons established themselves in this country'.[148] Such fields were distinguished by their small size and roughly rectangular shape but varied from ¼ to 1½ acres with sides that could range from c.22 to 160 yards. He subdivided this field type based on the proportions, which could be either square and less than ½ acre, or rectangular with long sides that could reach a maximum proportion of about six to one together with an area of up to 1½ acres.[149] These types of fields were also classified by their pattern, i.e. the way in which they were arranged in groups. This could either be based on a series of roughly parallel lines or could be irregular. An in-between form was 'arranged so that the field angles on the downhill side overlap' which Bowen called 'staggered angles' but which today would be called a dogleg form.[150]

Bowen's second group were strip lynchets, by which he meant fields bounded by lynchets or banks so as to form long narrow terraces on slopes.[151] Although their introduction appears to be post-Roman, they have been used as late as the nineteenth century.[152] Although their narrow widths were very varied, they were typically longer than Celtic fields, often circa 200 yards or more, and Bowen states that a proportion of fifty to one was not uncommon. He subdivided them by orientation: following the contour; across the contour or up-and-down; and a form that ran diagonally across the slope.[153]

The third class of field Bowen simply called ridge and furrow, thus reflecting the nature of the field surface as formed by ploughing action rather than the shape of the

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[148] Bowen, *Ancient fields*, p.2.
[149] Ibid., pp.20, 22-4.
[150] Ibid., p.24.
[151] Ibid., pp.3, 40.
[152] Ibid., p.44.
[153] Ibid., p.40.

field itself.[154] His basic classification of this type of field is based simply on width of the ridge and degree of linearity. Spade dug ridges in the form of lazy beds are first distinguished from ridge and furrow as being 'usually 2 feet to 8 feet wide divided by furrows 1 foot to 3 feet wide'.[155] Narrow rig is straight and forms a low ridge that is 5 yards or less in width. Broad rig on the other hand is wider than 5 yards and may be either quite straight or it may be sinuous. If sinuous it will usually take the form of a reversed 'S' thought to be created by the use of long plough teams.[156] Broad rig may be a variety of heights and will run up and down hill on any slope of more than a few degrees as it would be difficult for the plough to turn the slice against a gradient.[157]

Bowen's field morphology thus uses a variety of factors to divide the fields with which he is concerned into types or groups. Size, shape, area, measurements, proportions, orientation and degree of linearity are all used to create subdivisions. This represents a quantitative approach that, although used in conjunction with the qualitative and subjective assessment of regularity/irregularity for 'Celtic' fields, reflects a more objective methodology than that of Flatrès.

Bowen subtitled his work as 'a tentative analysis' and it is interesting to note that nobody has since followed in his footsteps and been brave or foolhardy enough to offer quantitative objective assessments when discussing field morphology.[158] Indeed attempts to present broad classifications of fields have been limited, not least because

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[154] Bowen, *Ancient fields*, pp.3-4.
[155] Ibid., p.47.
[156] See S.R. Eyre, 'The curving plough-strip and its historical implications', *Agricultural History Review,* 3(2), (1955), pp.80-94.
[157] Bowen, *Ancient fields*, pp.47-8.
[158] However there have been various attempts to create typologies of cultivation ridges. See for example S. Upex, 'A classification of ridge and furrow by an analysis of cross-profiles', *Landscape History,* 26, (2004), pp.59-75; M.D. Myers, 'Which way to till this field? The cultural selection of surface form in the rise and fall of cultivation ridges in Northwestern Europe', *Journal of Cultural Geography,* 19(2), (2002), pp.65-94; M.L. Parry, 'A typology of cultivation ridges in southern Scotland', *Tools and Tillage,* 3(1), (1976), pp.3-19.

of the large number of studies of local field systems demonstrating the degree of

variation, and the consequent realisation of the difficulties inherent in attempting

generalisations.[159] Further explanation lies in the relative lack of objectivity. There are

only a few field characteristics which have meaningful quantifiable elements. These

include the size of the field and the length of the boundaries. The key characteristic is

shape, where only subjective assessments can be made about the degree of regularity

in the pattern of field groups and the extent to which boundaries are rectilinear. None

of these criteria are clear cut and definitive because in order to group these

characteristics it is necessary to employ a variable range within which an individual

field may fall.

A good example of such variability is provided in the work done by Peter Herring on

Cornish strip fields published in 2006.[160] Herring's exposition of the changing

assumptions and readings of the Cornish fieldscape illustrates how cultural and

geographic determinism obscured the existence of strip fields and hamlets for many

years, a reminder of how theory can blind interpretation. He describes the

characteristics of strip fields 'as patterns of long parallel-sided fields or roughly square

or rectangular fields whose slightly sinuous sides are also fossilisations of medieval

field boundaries'.[161] Typically strips run downslope, are between 450 and 650 feet

long, and 'have distinctive curving shapes, almost always reversed-J curves when

viewed from the bottom of the slope … only a handful of systems have the reversed-S

or aratral curve of ox-team ploughing'.[162] There are two interesting points to note. One

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[159] A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, 'Conclusion: problems and perspectives' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.619-56 at p.619.

[160] P. Herring, 'Cornish strip fields' in S. Turner (ed.), *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: shaping an ancient countryside,* (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2006), pp.44-77.

[161] Ibid., p.67.

[162] Ibid., p.69.

is that there is no ubiquity of form – phrases such as 'almost always' or 'only a handful' demonstrate that there are always exceptions. The second is that the variety is quite marked. Strips can be long parallel-sided or square or rectangular. Their sides can vary from reversed-J to reversed-S to perfectly straight.[163]

2.2.2 Morphology and chronology

Yet there is a degree of consensus about the basic classification of field morphology that underpins writing on the subject, and this consensus has been reflected in two general works on fields published since Bowen. Christopher Taylor published *Fields in the English Landscape* in 1975 to provide something 'that tells people in reasonably general terms about fields'.[164] Unfortunately this meant that no references were provided, although the book is in effect an appraisal of the results of research studies at that time. Richard and Nina Muir published *Fields* fourteen years later in 1989 with the aim of providing 'a guide to understanding the fieldscape in both its historical and natural contexts'.[165] While neither book attempts an overt classification of field shapes in the way that Bowen did, both present a chronological description of field types that is an implicit classification. The approach is typified by the assumption that:

> Each period in the human colonisation of the countryside produced its own field-types, each type adjusted to the agriculture of the times. As a result it is, more often than not, possible to recognise the general age of a particular field-pattern, whether it exists in a living or a fossilised form.[166]

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[163] Herring, 'Cornish strip fields', pp.69, 79.
[164] C.C. Taylor, *Fields in the English landscape*, (London, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1975), p.5. Although this book was printed in a revised edition in 2000, the only change noted in Taylor's introduction to that edition was the addition of more recent books to the Bibliography. He commented that although there had since been many studies of both specific places and of particular field types, the overall picture had not changed radically from that set out in 1975. However he particularly noted that there had been developments concerning prehistoric fields and the origins of medieval open fields.
[165] R. Muir and N. Muir, *Fields*, (London, Macmillan, 1989), p.6.
[166] Ibid., pp.6-7.

The table in Figure 2.2 summarises the key morphological aspects of fields identified by both authors. The aim of this table is not to present a comprehensive analysis, but to provide an outline of the extent to which there is an agreed chronological field morphology before considering the validity of such a model in later chapters. Inevitably this level of generalisation ignores nuances and caveats made by the authors, and does not attempt to summarise the proposed processes in the creation of the fields. In particular, it does not cover regional variations such as forms of infield-outfield in upland areas which are subsumed under a generic 'open medieval' by the authors.

Figure 2.2: Field morphologies

Period	Field type or process	Morphological features	Continuity	Source
Prehistoric	Celtic fields	Small square to rectangular fields ranging from ½ to just over 1 acre in size, delimited by lynchets where they survive on slopes, particularly on their upper and lower sides. Elsewhere small banks or walls mark the boundaries		Taylor pp.27-9 Muirs pp.22-6
	Larger fields more than one acre in size	Created later by breaking down the boundary bank or lynchet between two smaller fields	Later alterations, many of which were probably Roman in date	Taylor pp.41, 51
	Coaxial fields	Long parallel boundaries that are often straight and create very large land units that are then subdivided		Taylor pp.33-6 Muirs pp.17-19, 29, 31-2

	Ranch areas	Ditch and bank boundaries defining areas around 4 square miles. Assumed to be pastoral		Muirs pp.26-7 Taylor pp.34-6
Roman	Long fields	Longer and narrower than Celtic fields, in a proportion of 4 or 5 to 1, and often arranged in blocks. Between 2.5 and 12.5 acres (1-5 ha) in area	Continued use of prehistoric fields. In general fields were of a wider variety of shape and size than in the prehistoric period	Muirs pp.32-4 Taylor pp.51-9
Saxon	Largely unknown			Muirs ch.2 Taylor ch.3
Open medieval	Open field strips	Observable as ridge and furrow. Often in reversed S or C form. Typically 200 yards long but there are instances in Yorkshire of 2500 yard long strips. Open fields were divided into blocks of strips, or furlongs which equate to blocks of ridge and furrow	From tenth century	Taylor pp.71-2, 79 Muirs pp.40-3, 61-2
	Strip lynchets	Between 60 and 250 yards long.		Taylor p.90 Muirs pp.87-90
Enclosed medieval	Enclosed strip fields	Consolidation of open strips into enclosed fields retaining their curved shape		Taylor p.114 Muirs pp.46-7, 93
	Assarts	Irregularly shaped fields that are the result of piecemeal clearance in forest, moor and fen		Taylor pp.94-7, 99-105 Muirs pp.82-7

1600-1750	Basic field framework stayed the same	Creation of more rectangular fields but often with an irregular pattern	Continued enclosure of strips.	Taylor pp.120-4
	Rationalisation of field sizes into more manageable areas	Division of larger sheep enclosures and enlargement of small assarts by removal of joint boundaries. Result of improved methods of tillage and stock raising	Continued piecemeal enclosure	Taylor pp.125-6 Taylor pp.126-8
1750-1850	Parliamentary enclosure	Enclosure of remaining common fields and moorlands characterised by straight line geometry of boundaries	Continued rationalisation of field sizes	Taylor pp.139-143 Muirs ch.6
	Private enclosure		Continued piecemeal enclosure	Taylor pp.141, 144
Modern fields	Removal of boundaries to create larger fields for mechanised agriculture			Taylor p.154

It is clear from this table that the extent to which particular field shapes can be related to particular chronological periods is limited. While there is a general sense of how shapes have changed over time, there are only certain field types that appear to be distinctive, such as strip fields. Despite having stated that it is often possible to identify 'the general age of a particular field-pattern', this lack of distinctiveness is corroborated by a chapter entitled *How Old is that Field?* in the Muirs' book.[167] Here one would expect to find specific instruction on recognising and dating field patterns. However disappointment awaits. The chapter focuses on features such as lynchets and enclosed medieval strip fields that are relatively easily identifiable in the landscape.

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[167] Muir and Muir, *Fields*.

Apart from this it is suggested that the location of fields or analysis of field names may provide clues: fields on the edges of old commons may be intakes from that common for example. Fields created by Parliamentary enclosure are more straightforward because 'they will almost always have ruler-straight edges'.[168] However:

> old enclosures which do not have the shape associated with the early enclosure of field-strips may prove very hard to date. They are a characteristic feature of the ancient countryside, and unless they can be related to datable features, like Roman roads or medieval moats, their antiquity may be unfathomable.[169]

This statement rather contradicts the initial assertion that most field patterns can be dated.

In his later *The New Reading the Landscape* Muir essentially reprises the 1989 *Fields*, but in his chapter on *Reading the Fieldscape* it is interesting to note that he focuses on characteristics of later fieldscapes other than shape, including name, boundary characteristics and locational elements, and his examples are limited to very specific field types such as water meadows and intakes.[170] It is no coincidence that these are more easily dateable through documentary research. The only chronological genre of fieldscape which is listed in terms of appearances is prehistoric.[171] Presumably this is not only because there are relatively few extant examples but also because of the more reliable dating evidence provided by archaeological researches. Writing in 2002 however, Fowler declined to define a chronological typology of prehistoric fields but instead opted for a stratigraphic approach based on concepts of continuance, adaptation, superimposition and abandonment.[172] He also pointed out that fields

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[168] Muir and Muir, *Fields*, p.126.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Muir, *The new reading the landscape*, p.213 table 8.5.
[171] Ibid., p.202 table 8.2.
[172] P. Fowler, *Farming in the first millennium AD: British agriculture between Julius Caesar and William the Conqueror*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.137.

evolve and there may be a number of potential chronologies ranging from creation to different uses to abandonment and absorption into a different field pattern.[173] One is left with a sense that it is only possible to identify a limited number of morphological field types and that dating such types is much more difficult or even impossible.

Indeed one of the criticisms voiced by Austin is that dating based on morphological similarity is fraught with danger because it cannot always be assumed that it can be applied from the particular to the general.[174] For example, the distinctive small irregular field shapes covering the valley floor at Wasdale Head in the Lake District were assumed by Hoskins to be evidence of medieval clearance based on the associative assumption of such shapes with individual clearance. In fact the area was recorded as a single common arable field in 1578 and parts were still open field in 1795.[175] The division into these fields of small irregular form must be post-medieval therefore. Similarly fields of 'Celtic' form on the Berkshire Downs were shown later to be of Roman origin through archaeological excavation of the boundaries.[176]

Dating forms should not therefore be inferred solely on the basis of the morphological evidence of the form itself.[177] For example, a study of the field system in Okehampton Park in Devon by Austin and others identified three different types of ridge and furrow which, while unique to individual fields, were intermixed between the fields. The authors point out that while these different types *may* represent chronological

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[173] Fowler, *Farming in the first millennium AD*, p.133.
[174] Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis', p.203.
[175] W.G. Hoskins, *The making of the English landscape*, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1977), p.105; A.J.L. Winchester, *The harvest of the hills: rural life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.167.
[176] S. Ford, et al., 'The date of the 'Celtic' field-systems on the Berkshire Downs', *Britannia,* 19, (1988), pp.401-4; M. Bowden, et al., 'The date of the ancient fields on the Berkshire Downs', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal,* 74, (1991-3), pp.109-33.
[177] Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis', p.205.

differences they could equally be interpreted as the result of differences in the way the land was tilled by different farmers.[178] Rippon has argued that a regular planned landscape in south-east Essex, originally thought to be of Roman origin by one author and then early-medieval by another, was in fact later Saxon based on a variety of non-morphological evidence.[179] Similarly in the debate on the origins of the Scole-Dickleburgh field system, a co-axial pattern of roads and field boundaries in East Anglia, different chronologies have been postulated from the pre-Roman to the post-medieval.[180] That these chronologies are based on close examination of extant documentation serves to emphasise the difficulties of field dating when using all the evidence available, let alone dating just on the morphological evidence.

2.2.3 Morphology and process

Austin has been at pains to point out that an emphasis on morphology often fails to properly consider the processes of change.[181] There is a danger that patterns are confused with the process, and he gives the example of regularity of field and settlement layout being interpreted as examples of planned impositions through lordship control. This was Williamson's original contention when discussing the Scole-Dickleburgh field system noted above, while Hinton proposed that such regular patterns derived from prosaic events such as encroachments and field reorganisations.

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[178] D. Austin, et al., 'Farms and fields in Okehampton Park, Devon: the problems of studying medieval landscape', *Landscape History,* 2, (1980), pp.39-57 at p.44.
[179] S. Rippon, 'Early planned landscapes in south-east Essex', *Essex Archaeology and History,* 22, (1991), pp.46-60.
[180] T. Williamson, 'Early co-axial field systems on the east Anglian boulder clays', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society,* 53, (1987), pp.419-31; D.A. Hinton, 'The 'Scole-Dickleburgh field system' examined', *Landscape History,* 19, (1997), pp.5-12; T. Williamson, 'The 'Scole-Dickleburgh field system' revisited', *Landscape History,* 20, (1998), pp.19-28.
[181] Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis', pp.202-3.

However Williamson's revised view was that the regularity was the result of a network of transhumance tracks.[182]

Williamson points out that his original view was influenced by the research context of the time.[183] Writing in 1978, Bradley had taken the view that regularity of prehistoric fields implied an organized operation in laying them out and he called these 'cohesive systems'. Typically 'these were based upon long cleared strips or on axes which ran straight across the country for a considerable distance' and were later termed coaxial fields by Fleming.[184] Bradley contrasted such regular systems with those in which fields are piecemeal additions to each other which he termed aggregate systems.[185] The regular planned layout of nineteenth-century Parliamentary enclosure is a typical cohesive system for example while irregular fields are more likely to be aggregate systems.[186] Such approaches do introduce unprovable assumptions about the process of creation. There may indeed be a relationship but it is a hypothetical one, not one that should be assumed without further evidence. Even if there is a relationship, it is unlikely to operate in isolation and other factors must be considered.[187] For example, a regular field pattern may be the result of the constraints of pre-existing features such as roads and tracks, not the result of deliberate planning.[188]

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[182] Williamson, 'The 'Scole-Dickleburgh field system' revisited', pp.26-7.
[183] Ibid., p.25.
[184] R. Bradley, 'Prehistoric field systems in Britain and north-west Europe - a review of some recent work', *World Archaeology,* 9(3), (1978), pp.265-80 at p.268; A. Fleming, 'Coaxial field systems: some questions of time and space', *Antiquity,* 61(232), (1987), pp.188-202 at p.188.
[185] Bradley, 'Prehistoric field systems', p.268-9.
[186] Another classification of prehistoric fields, based on fossil field patterns in aerial photographs, was suggested by Riley in 1980: D.N. Riley, *Early landscapes from the air: studies of crop marks in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire*, (Sheffield, Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, 1980). A summary appears in Muir and Muir, *Fields*, pp.28-9.
[187] This point is recognised by Williamson: Williamson, 'The 'Scole-Dickleburgh field system' revisited', p.26.
[188] Rippon, 'Early planned landscapes in south-east Essex', p.49.

Muir has listed a number of processes that might affect field shapes and patterns. These include technological changes, such as in ploughing; whether fields are for arable or pastoral use; the settlement pattern; the extent of lordly power; and topographical and climatic factors.[189] The number of potential forces affecting the development of fields, both singly and in combination, can be seen to be significant. This makes it difficult to classify them by period or type without detailed background research. Roberts and Wrathmell note that

> This plethora of factors gives a dynamism and complexity to the real world, which is often successfully concealed by "text book" cases, models to which generalisations necessarily refer.[190]

One of the issues arising out of this observation is the principle of indeterminacy, defined by Baker and Butlin as 'similar processes operating in different areas and different times can result in different field structures'.[191] Thus while Parliamentary enclosure is very often characterised by large rectilinear shapes, it also may create small irregular shapes, particularly around the edges of the area being enclosed, as part of the process of dividing up the landscape. The enclosure at Grassington in 1792, for example, resulted in several long narrow fields as well as a number of small irregular fields where it met earlier enclosures.[192] A similar story is evident in the Parliamentary enclosure of the Forest of Knaresborough.[193]

When arguing that large 'terrain-oblivious coaxial systems' must have been a planned rather than an organic form of land division, Fleming notes that it is also possible that 'small terrain-responsive coaxial systems' could have developed independently and

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[189] Muir, The *new reading the landscape*, p.198 table 8.1.
[190] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.65.
[191] Baker and Butlin, 'Introduction: materials and methods', p.31.
[192] Muir, The *new reading the landscape*, p.199.
[193] Ibid., p.216.

piecemeal 'as recurring solutions to the land management problems of local communities'.[194] In other words piecemeal clearance from the waste, whether assarting or intaking, is a process that does not inexorably mean that the end result is small irregular fields. That may often be the case but it is also possible that larger rectilinear shapes could have been created as Fleming suggests. This reiterates Austin's point, previously noted, that because it is easy to create simple patterns from complex evidence there is a tendency to treat that simplicity as evidence of how the pattern originated without further consideration of the alternatives.[195]

The point was made forcibly by Eyre in his classic paper on how reversed-S ridge and furrow patterns could have been caused by medieval ploughing practices with long ox teams:

> Though the presence of the reversed-S pattern on the landscape can be used as evidence of medieval ploughing, the absence of such a pattern demonstrates absolutely nothing. Both ridge-and-furrow and field boundaries may have been straightened or completely obliterated by various processes, and furthermore, it is still quite possible that in some areas no such form was ever used. In any case no significance should ever be attached to an isolated field boundary of reversed-S form. By sheer chance many of the assarts made in late medieval times must have had single boundaries of this form. It is only when a group of such forms are found *en échelon* that they should be regarded as useful evidence.[196]

Taylor has pointed out that ridge and furrow is rare in places such as south Devon and parts of East Anglia where he suggests that strips were ploughed flat in order to preserve moisture in the soil.[197] There are no ridge and furrow remains in the Peak District villages of Chelmorton and Flagg, yet comparative evidence suggests that the long narrow rectangular fields enclosed by stone walls do represent arable strips that

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[194] Fleming, 'Coaxial field systems: some questions of time and space' at p.197.
[195] Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis', p.203.
[196] Eyre, 'The curving plough-strip and its historical implications', p.94.
[197] Taylor, *Fields in the English landscape*, p.87.

have been enclosed by agreement.[198] As Eyre indicates, processes such as post-medieval ploughing may have obliterated any original ridge and furrow. Herring has described the variety in the shape of Cornish strip fields as ranging from long parallel-sided to square to rectangular, often with a reversed-J curve.[199] As predicted by the indeterminacy principle, it cannot be assumed that medieval ploughing practices will always result in a similar field structure.

Even more pertinent is the principle of equifinality which states that 'field structures similar in form at one moment in time can have had very different functions in earlier times and have originated in different ways'.[200] For example field boundaries may be removed or added to after their original creation thus creating new shapes. The origin of the field is hidden, leading to potential misinterpretation if morphology is the principal evidence. The removal of divisions between Celtic fields could result in longer fields that might be interpreted as Roman or later.[201] The enlargement of older piecemeal enclosure in the period 1750-1850 occurred at the same time as the reduction in size of some Parliamentary enclosure fields, thus potentially resulting in fields of similar size and shape.[202] In discussing the fields of Ireland, Buchanan sees many irregular fields as being formed in the nineteenth century as a result of population pressure while Baker and Butlin suggest that in general irregular fields are earlier than the regular type.[203] The assumption by Hoskins that small irregular fields

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[198] W.E. Wightman, 'Open field agriculture in the Peak District', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal,* 81, (1961), pp.111-25 at pp.117-18.
[199] Herring, 'Cornish strip fields', pp.69, 79. See the discussion earlier in this chapter on pp.92-3.
[200] Baker and Butlin, 'Introduction: materials and methods', p.31.
[201] Taylor, *Fields in the English landscape*, p.41.
[202] Ibid., pp.140-1.
[203] Buchanan, 'Field systems of Ireland', p.588; Baker and Butlin, 'Introduction: materials and methods', p.32.

at Wasdale Head were the result of medieval clearance whereas in fact they were later subdivision of an open field has already been noted above.[204]

2.2.4 Morphology as classification and representation

If there are so many difficulties with typologies, why then do they persist? Writing from a biological perspective, Pratt points out that without the classification of individuals into groups it is impossible to derive conclusions other than about individuals. Groups enable more generalised conclusions.[205] In a morphological context, identifying single forms in the landscape is of little value in helping to understand them. Meaning only begins to attach to individual forms when they are seen as members of a group of similar forms. In his work on prehistoric field systems, Bowen opined that a study of field typology has three main uses: 'to provide labels to assist in thinking about the problem, to make the incongruous stand out, and to see whether there are regional or cultural differences'.[206] Such systematic methods offer the virtues of being:

> standardized, objective, capable of being used by others and producing results that can be checked. Their essential merit is that they make a complex situation intelligible by imposing an abstract framework on it.[207]

Withers has noted that 'organizational frameworks for knowledge are not *reflections* of inherent structures within our knowing but *representations of and limitations upon it*'.[208] Established classifications and typologies become entrenched in our conscious,

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[204] See p.98.

[205] V. Pratt, 'Foucault & the history of classification theory', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A,* 8(2), (1977), pp.163-71 at p.168.

[206] Bowen, *Ancient fields*, p.22.

[207] E. Relph, 'Responsive methods, geographical imagination and the study of landscapes' in A. Kobayashi and S. Mackenzie (eds.), *Remaking human geography,* (Boston, Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp.149-63 at p.149.

[208] C.W.J. Withers, 'Encyclopaedism, modernism and the classification of geographical knowledge', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 21(1), (1996), pp.275-98 at p.275 (his emphasis).

thus shaping our perceptions. By way of illustration, Thomas describes how naturalists in the early modern period tended to classify animals according to their relationship with man rather than their intrinsic qualities: 'Essentially there were three categories for animals: edible and inedible; wild and tame; useful and useless'.[209] It was not until the development of the Linnaean system, and its acceptance in England in the 1760s, that classifications came to be based more on the structural qualities of life forms in the way that we now expect.[210] Although we presume that the way we classify things today represents an objective reality, in actuality there are numerous alternative classification schemes. The danger of classifications therefore, whether in morphology or elsewhere, is that they limit discourse on a subject by becoming a cultural code of interpretation.[211] As Roberts has said, referring to points made by Harvey, 'classifications can become inflexible to the point of actually inhibiting research, and we must always strive to separate our classificatory system from the objectives of our enquiry'.[212]

The potential problem then is that morphological classification gets confused with reality. It can be forgotten that the classification is merely a representation:

> We create representations of the world that enable us to reflect upon it and give it order, structure and meaning. … If these representations seem to work, and to help us create a world that functions and makes sense, then these representations will be taken for granted as being essentially equivalent to the

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[209] K. Thomas, *Man and the natural world: changing attitudes in England 1500-1800*, Originally published by Allen Lane, 1983, (London, Penguin, 1984), p.53.
[210] Ibid., pp.52-69.
[211] C. Snyder, 'Analyzing classifications: Foucault for advanced writing', *College Composition and Communication,* 35(2), (1984), pp.209-16 at pp.210-11; The work of Foucault on the significance of classification has been particularly influential over the last few decades: M. Foucault, *The order of things: an archaeology of the human sciences*, (London, Tavistock Publications, 1970).
[212] B.K. Roberts, 'Of landscapes and words' in B.K. Roberts and R.E. Glasscock (eds.), *Villages, fields and frontiers: studies in European rural settlement in the medieval and early modern periods,* (Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1983), pp.21-42 at p.21; D. Harvey, *Explanations in geography*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1969), pp.326-49.

world they represent. We then tend to forget that they are representations, and see them rather as a direct presentation of reality.[213]

The problem is compounded if the representation is transferred to a map. Baker and Butlin noted that 'the inherent danger in this latter process, as in all forms of cartography, is that it can give an air of authenticity and respectability to material of dubious reliability, accuracy, and coverage'.[214] More specifically Withers argued that:

> Despite the presumed certainty of its language of lines and symbols, a map is not an immediate and a static accomplishment so much as a process aimed at achieving some sort of commensurability: between different claims to knowledge, and between the map and the world it portrays. Maps are only scaled representations of the world, not mirrors of it. Of necessity, maps distort, reduce, and symbolize and do so in different ways and places.[215]

Olwig has pointed out how the application of the same geometric principles used to shape landscape through enclosure has allowed landscape researchers to confuse the representations of landscapes in maps and photos with the actual landscape. The imposition of a 'flat static, Euclidean gridded space' allows the map to become the perfect medium for segmenting the landscape into easily identifiable and measurable areas.[216] As shown earlier in this chapter this is precisely what happens with HLC. The map becomes the primary artefact, showing the fieldscape neatly divided into chronological periods of development.

Although classification is a necessary tool in trying to make sense of landscape data, such models can become self-perpetuating. One way in which this can occur is the linking of morphological models with specific historic events despite the lack of evidence. It is assumed that documented medieval clearance must have resulted in

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[213] K.R. Olwig, '"This is not a landscape": circulating reference and land shaping' in H. Palang, H. Soovali, M. Antrop and G. Setten (eds.), *European rural landscapes: persistence and change in a globalising environment,* (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic, 2004), pp.41-65 at p.42.
[214] Baker and Butlin, 'Introduction: materials and methods', p.38.
[215] C.W.J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: thinking geographically about the Age of Reason*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007), p.99.
[216] Olwig, '"This is not a landscape": circulating reference and land shaping', pp.49, 52-4.

irregular shapes, partly because of the association of assarting field names with such shapes in some areas and partly because of its usual individual piecemeal nature. Therefore irregular shapes must be prima facie medieval clearance.[217] Sheppard's studies of settlement morphology in Yorkshire ascribe the regularity of settlements in Yorkshire to planning in the aftermath of the Harrying of the North by William I although there is no evidence to support this.[218] Regularity equals planning so an historical cause must be found which both reinforces the argument and provides a convenient chronology. Morphological models can thus take on a reality of their own rather than staying within their role as being merely a representational tool.

2.2.5 Conclusion

The variable nature and complexity of fieldscapes has largely defied attempts to develop morphological field classifications. While it seems feasible to describe individual fields and groups of fields by various physical attributes such as shape and size, it is very difficult to organise those classes of description into a meaningful schema that is generically valid. A typology can only be broadly indicative, acting as 'reference points' in the same way as the agrarian models created by Roberts and Wrathmell.

The difficulties of relating chronology and process to morphology are summarised by the principles of indeterminacy and equifinality. If similar processes can result in different field shapes, only additional evidence can determine which processes might have been involved. This may affect the determination of chronology, which faces the additional challenge that similar forms may have had different functions and origins at

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[217] Muir and Muir, *Fields*, p.83; Taylor, *Fields in the English landscape*, pp.95-6.
[218] J.A. Sheppard, 'Medieval village planning in northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire', *Journal of Historical Geography,* 2, (1976), pp.3-20; Austin, 'Doubts about morphogenesis', p.205.

different points in time. Morphology also presents a paradox. While we need to develop classifications in order to aid our understanding, the classification itself can disrupt that understanding if the representation becomes mistaken for reality.

None of this is to deny that morphology has its uses. As both Widgren and Coones have argued, landscape research demands a holistic approach:

> We do need to develop our understanding of not only the different *forms* and their differing *functions*, but also the *processes* of change that are involved and the different *political, economic and social contexts* in which similar forms may appear.[219]

To this Coones would add that one should not separate the cultural aspect of the landscape from the environmental.[220] Morphology is therefore one tool in the research portfolio but one that should be used in conjunction with others.

Coones identifies the principal difficulties in landscape research as being 'the frequent organisation of the research around the technique, rather than vice versa, or the splitting up of reality in order to analyse a limited part of it with respect to the preconceptions of some model'.[221] Both of these statements could be applied to the English Heritage-sponsored landscape approaches with which this thesis is concerned. In a particularly telling metaphor, Relph commented that 'trying to investigate places and landscapes by imposing standardized methods is like ... Judging wines by measuring their alcohol content - the information obtained may be accurate but it seriously misrepresents the subject matter'.[222] In light of these observations, the next section will consider the methodology for testing the utility and value of the morphological approaches adopted by English Heritage.

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[219] Widgren, 'Reading property in the landscape', p.58 (his emphasis); See also Widgren, 'Can landscapes be read?', p.462.
[220] Coones, 'One landscape or many?', p.5.
[221] Ibid., p.10.
[222] Relph, 'Responsive methods', p.149.

2.3 Testing morphological characterisation

The focus of this thesis is on the extent to which morphological methodologies sponsored by English Heritage contribute to our understanding of the landscape history of upland areas, specifically the South Pennines. This demands a comparison of the results of these methodologies with the results obtained by research exercises based on other evidence. The study area of the Upper Calder Valley in the parish of Halifax, West Yorkshire has been chosen as a suitable upland area in which to investigate this issue. This section will set the scene with a brief overview of the topography, lordship and historiography of this area before considering the methodologies that will be used.

2.3.1 Study area: the Upper Calder Valley

The Upper Calder Valley represents the centre of an area of the South Pennines that has received very little attention from landscape and agricultural historians. One of the reasons for this may be that this part of the Pennines has much lower national visibility than the higher profile National Parks of the Yorkshire Dales and the Peak District between which it is sandwiched. The lack of such landscape status means that there is no dedicated archaeological effort as in the National Parks. Another reason is that the region has an industrial heritage that may be perceived to be at odds with interesting landscape or agricultural analysis. The relative historical neglect of the area's landscape makes it fertile ground for research.

The topography of the area is somewhat different from its northern and southern neighbours.[223] The Countryside Commission characterised the South Pennines as a 'large-scale sweeping landform with an open character created by exposed gritstone moors … deeply trenched by narrow valleys and wooded cloughs'.[224] During the Carboniferous period the area was covered by warm water seas which later developed into a river delta due to uplift of the seabed. Silt, sand and grit were deposited by the rivers to eventually form Millstone Grit. The variable nature of the deposits meant that the sandstone of the harder Millstone Grit is interleaved with softer silts and shales. At the end of the Carboniferous period the Pennines were uplifted into an asymmetric anticline that tilts eastwards. Erosion of the softer shales in the Calder Valley area by the east flowing rivers and glaciations initially produced a wide valley. This was then cut into deeper by meltwater from glacial lakes near Littleborough and Accrington to the west at the end of the last Ice Age. The result is that the Upper Calder Valley, located to the west of Halifax in the old West Riding and extending to the Lancashire Pennine border, presents a stepped valley profile, a valley within a valley, rather than the more familiar U shaped valleys of elsewhere in the Pennines.[225]

The River Calder rises on Heald Moor south-east of Burnley and drops through the meltwater-deepened Cliviger gorge to reach Todmorden before traversing east towards Hebden Bridge and Halifax. The original pre-meltwater valley bottom now

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[223] Land Use Consultants [on behalf of Standing Conference of South Pennine Authorities], *South Pennines: landscape character assessment*, ([Bradford], Standing Conference of South Pennine Authorities, [1998?]), p.5.

[224] Countryside Commission, *Countryside character - Volume 3: Yorkshire & the Humber. The character of England's natural and man-made landscape,* CCP 537, (1998), p.83.

[225] Land Use Consultants [on behalf of Standing Conference of South Pennine Authorities], *South Pennines: landscape character assessment*, pp.5-9; R.E. Yarwood, 'The natural environment' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp.34-45; D.A. Wray, et al., *The geology of the country around Huddersfield and Halifax: explanation of sheet 77,* Memoirs of the Geological Survey England & Wales, , (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930); R. Addison, et al., *Geology of the Huddersfield district: a brief explanation of the geological map Sheet 77 Huddersfield*, (Nottingham, British Geological Survey, 2005).

forms a shelf at 200 to 300 m above sea level with the narrow gorge of the present

river valley around 100 m below. This shelf is characterised by relatively gentle slopes

for a distance uphill from the escarpment and rises to the moorland plateau which

reaches to more than 450 m at its highest points. The main tributary valleys are

formed by the Colden and Hebden Waters, Crimsworth Dean Beck and Luddenden

Brook on the north side of the valley while Turvin Brook flows down Cragg Vale on

the south side. The confluences of these waters with the River Calder typically form

the site of many of the present nucleated settlements that developed in the industrial

heyday of the nineteenth century, such as Hebden Bridge and Mytholmroyd. The

trench of the Calder is so narrow between Todmorden and Hebden Bridge that road,

rail and canal jostle for space, and from the vantage point on the shelf above the valley

it is often invisible. It is on this more gently sloping land of the shelf that most

farmland lies, the steeper slopes below being heavily wooded. And it is here that

Domesday Book records the earliest settlements.

Domesday Book lists seven berewicks, later townships, of the manor of Wakefield in

1086 that were located within this upland area.[226] Known as the forest of

Sowerbyshire, it comprised the farthest reaches of the manor of Wakefield that was

separated from the lowland part of the manor by the honour of Pontefract. Some of

these berewicks were subinfeudated in the twelfth century.[227] By the late thirteenth

century, the forest was divided into eight townships of which five were

subinfeudated.[228] The three remaining townships of Sowerby, Warley and Soyland

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[226] A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.), *Domesday Book: a complete translation,* Alecto Historical Editions (London, Penguin, 1992), pp.788-9.

[227] D.J.H. Michelmore, 'Township gazetteer' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp.294-579 at pp.578-9.

[228] B. Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley: a history of Upper Calderdale,* (Otley, Smith Settle, 1992), pp.18-20; Michelmore, 'Township gazetteer'.

comprised Sowerby graveship, an area under direct manorial control that covered a contiguous area to the eastern, lower, end of the Upper Valley.[229]

The western part of Sowerby graveship was empaled as the large park of Erringden in the late 1320s but was dispaled in 1451, eventually becoming a township in its own right.[230] The freeholders of the area bought the manorial and common rights in 1592.[231] Both Halifax and Heptonstall townships were granted by the lords of the manor of Wakefield, the de Warennes, to Lewes Priory in the early twelfth century. After the dissolution of the monasteries this rectory manor was acquired by the Waterhouse family and Heptonstall was eventually sold as a separate manor in 1626, ending up in the hands of the Savile family around 1643.[232] The manor of Wakefield passed to the Crown on the death of John de Warenne in 1347 and became part of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1554. It was sold by the Crown in the 1620s.[233]

Much of the township of Langfield was held in socage or free tenure by the family of that name but Mankinholes Moor was retained by Wakefield as pasture, although eventually let to the freeholders in 1615.[234] The townships of Stansfield and Wadsworth were sub-manors which passed to the Savile family in 1369-70. The small sub-manor of Rawtonstall cum Blackshaw which was also part of Stansfield township passed to them in 1533-4 as a result of marriage. The township and manor of Midgley

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[229] Michelmore, 'Township gazetteer', p.519.

[230] N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent in the fourteenth century', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 17 (New Series), (2009), pp.32-57.

[231] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.52; M.J. Ellis, 'A study in the manorial history of Halifax parish in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Part 1', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 40, (1959-62), pp.250-64, pp.256-8.

[232] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, pp.18-19, 52.

[233] J.W. Walker, *Wakefield: its history and people, vol. 1*, (3rd ed., Wakefield, S.R. Publishers, 1966), pp.108-10.

[234] M. Heywood, et al., *A history of Todmorden*, (Otley, Smith Settle, 1996), p.36.

was in the hands of the Lacy family by 1480-1 and passed by marriage to the Farrers around 1600.[235]

Figure 2.3: Upper Calder Valley topography and townships

Upper Calder Valley
Topography and townships

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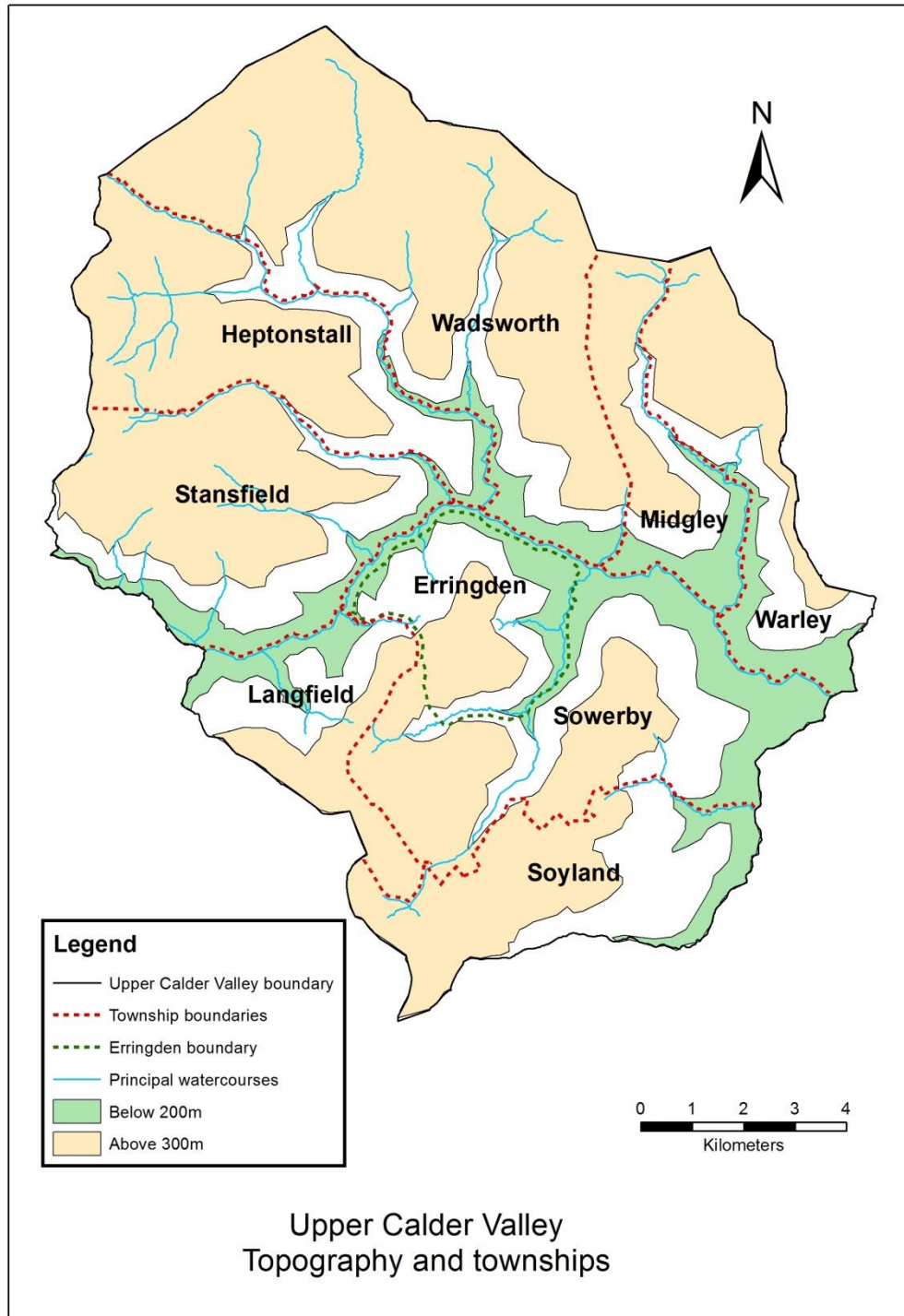
[235] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, pp.18-19; Heywood, et al., *A history of Todmorden*, pp.17-19.

The manorial history outlined above has resulted in two significant collections of documents. The court rolls of the Manor of Wakefield survive almost complete from 1274 into the twentieth century, although only a relatively small number have been transcribed. These include the records of the courts held for Sowerby graveship. The Duchy of Lancaster records in the National Archives also contain a number of interesting surveys on land holdings and encroachments in Sowerby graveship in the seventeenth century.

The other important collection is the records of the Savile Estate, principally held in Nottinghamshire Archives but with some also held in Huddersfield Archives. Within these collections, court rolls exist in relatively small quantities for some of the estate sub-manors. The Savile collections also contain many other estate records such as rentals and land transactions, some stretching back to the fourteenth century. Of particular interest for this study are records detailing encroachments on the waste, principally from the seventeenth century onwards.

Secondary sources relating to the landscape history of the Upper Calder valley are limited. The principal research work that has been done to date remains that undertaken by the WEA/Leeds University classes run by Professor Bernard Jennings between 1966 and 1974. A concise general survey of the Valley's history eventually appeared in 1992 as *Pennine Valley: a History of Upper Calderdale*.[236] The intention was to use the royalties to fund further publications but the only one to appear since is *A History of Todmorden* published in 1996.[237] Todmorden is on the Lancashire / Yorkshire border and the work thus covers parts of Rochdale as well as the townships of Stansfield and Langfield. Although the depth of research utilising primary sources

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[236] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*.
[237] Heywood, et al., *A history of Todmorden*.

was significant, both works focus on the general historical development of the area rather than the development of the landscape. Unfortunately, the lack of more specialist publications resulting from the work of the course members has allowed the fruits of the research to wither. One member of the class, Colin Spencer, published *A History of Hebden Bridge* in 1991 but this contained almost no information on the history of the landscape.[238]

Earlier monographs by Newell and Crump, together with manorial research conducted by Ellis in the 1960s, are the principal evidence of an interest in agrarian and landscape history prior to the WEA work of Jennings. Since that time the later papers of Heginbottom in the *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* together with more recent papers by Smith have offered additional insights.[239] The pages of this journal, particularly in its earlier years, contain many useful articles on individual historic farmsteads and archival documents but suffer from a lack of source referencing. The standard historical works on Halifax and its parish, from Watson in 1775 to the medieval West Yorkshire Archaeological Survey of 1981 to Hargreaves in 1999, also offer useful background information as do chapters on settlement and farming in a book on the township of Midgley.[240] However it is reasonable to

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[238] C. Spencer, *The history of Hebden Bridge*, (Hebden Bridge, Hebden Bridge Literary and Scientific Society, Local History Section, 1991).

[239] J.A. Heginbottom, 'Fences and fields: the evolution of the Calderdale rural landscape from prehistoric times to the present day', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 1 (New Series), (1993), pp.15-35; J.A. Heginbottom, 'The landscape history of Erringden park from the twelfth to the twentieth century', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 14 (New Series), (2006), pp.13-22; N. Smith, 'The location and operation of demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship circa 1300', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 15 (New Series), (2007), pp.17-32; N. Smith, 'Crutonstall vaccary: the Extent in 1309', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 16 (New Series), (2008), pp.18-23; Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent'; N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: use and management', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 19 (New Series), (2011), pp.19-45.

[240] J. Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire*, (Reprint of 1775 ed., Manchester, E.J. Morten, 1973); M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981); J.A. Hargreaves, *Halifax*, (Revised ed., Lancaster, Carnegie Publishing, 2003); N. Smith, 'Medieval

conclude that to date the historical development of the landscape of the Upper Calder Valley has only been looked at in relatively superficial terms rather than examined in depth.

2.3.2 Testing the validity of the English Heritage approaches

The basic approach taken by this study was to apply to the study area the morphological methodologies used by the Rural Settlement study undertaken by Roberts and Wrathmell and the Historic Landscape Characterisation exercises. The results were then compared with those obtained by more traditional landscape history methodologies. Finally, these results were combined into a model of field and settlement evolution that was compared with other generic models of agrarian structures.

Although Belcher has compared the results of an HLC exercise on a particular area of North Norfolk with the results of traditional landscape analysis of the same area, his methodology failed to address some of the key issues.[241] In particular there was no assessment of the methodologies of any previous HLC exercise. While noting the difficulties associated with subjectivity, he failed to discuss his own assumptions regarding the characteristics used to define his HLC 'types'.[242] There was no attempt to justify his assumptions that rectilinear boundaries are "indicative of formal, post-medieval enclosure" and that curvilinear boundaries are normally associated with earlier landscapes.[243] In addition his 'types' are based solely on boundary morphology

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settlement' and 'Farming before the nineteenth century' in I. Bailey, D. Cant, A. Petford and N. Smith (eds.), *Pennine perspectives: aspects of the history of Midgley,* (Midgley, Midgley Books, 2007), pp.37-46, 47-70.
[241] Belcher, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation'.
[242] Ibid., pp.31-2, 42.
[243] Ibid., pp.31, 36.

unlike most HLC exercises.[244] This comparative exercise was therefore guilty of as many morphological assumptions as the methodology he was trying to test.

Rippon has advocated an approach to the systematic analysis of variations in the historic landscape that he terms 'historic landscape analysis'.[245] Five features are claimed to distinguish it from earlier approaches: the historic landscape itself is used as both the core source of information and also as a framework for the integration of evidence; analysis is applied consistently across the whole study area; it adopts a retrogressive approach, working backwards from the present to understand the historical development of the present day landscape; the results are best appreciated at a regional or county scale; and generic typologies are used for different aspects of the landscape. On the face of it this is indistinguishable from HLC, despite Rippon's protestations to the contrary.[246] However Rippon follows Bloemers in distinguishing between 'past-oriented' and 'future-oriented' projects, putting HLC into the latter category as being geared towards planning and management aspects of the countryside.[247] The principal difference in 'past-oriented' exercises is the focus on the integration of historical, cartographic, archaeological and landscape evidence to form a holistic approach.[248] While this holistic emphasis is to be welcomed, the focus on landscape morphology as a defining structure means that historic landscape analysis as defined by Rippon is unsuitable as a methodology for testing morphology itself.

The comparative methodology used here therefore focused on two issues: the validity of the original methodology and the effect of using additional documentary and other

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[244] Belcher, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p.31.
[245] Rippon, *Historic landscape analysis*, p.1.
[246] Ibid., pp.3-4.
[247] Ibid., p.4; Bloemers, 'Past- and future-oriented archaeology'.
[248] Bloemers, 'Past- and future-oriented archaeology', pp.76-7.

evidence that sheds light on the historical processes involved in the landscape. Each issue was considered in turn, and each was examined for both Roberts and Wrathmell's regional settlement study and for fieldscape aspects of Historic Landscape Characterisation.

Although this investigation focused on settlement and field patterns, it is important to note that both Historic Landscape Characterisation and historic landscape analysis treat the landscape as a whole. All components of the landscape are investigated, not just settlement and enclosure. However it was not the aim of this research to conduct a full HLC exercise but to investigate those aspects of it that have a strong interpretative element based on morphology. Landscape components such as open water, military facilities and recreation are far less open to subjective morphological interpretation than enclosure. In addition the proportion of the landscape formed by such components is usually very small compared with that formed by enclosure.

2.3.2.1 Rural Settlement study methodology

Roberts and Wrathmell's settlement study created regional character areas based on variations in the intensity of settlement as shown on the Ordnance Survey Old Series one inch to one mile maps. The Upper Calder Valley was characterised as an area with an extremely low density of settlement offset by a narrow ribbon of very high density seemingly represented by a strip delineating the line of the valley. This national high level approach invited validation and refinement by more localised and detailed studies.[249] The process of defining nucleations and measuring the density of dispersion inevitably contains various degrees of subjectivity. These issues are discussed by the

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[249] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, pp.viii-ix; Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.8.

authors but they claim that overall the mapping process can be replicated with comparable results.[250] The principal considerations in replicating this methodology in the Upper Calder Valley are considered below, while further issues are outlined in Appendix 1.

The Roberts and Wrathmell methodology for creating settlement patterns is as follows. They first subjectively identified and categorised nucleations into five size grades, ranging from towns to small hamlets, which the authors represented on their maps by gradated dots. These categories are listed in Figure 2.4. The subjectivity involved in this grading of nucleations was discussed by them in some detail. As an example, they pointed to the problem of 'loose chains or clusters of hamlets' which could be symbolised separately or could be treated as 'long, large, apparently unitary settlements' that could be graded as one entity.[251] Examination of their demonstration in the *Atlas* of how nucleations could be symbolised shows not only the extent of subjective assessment as to how big a settlement is, but also how difficult it is to accurately identify the number of buildings.[252] Particularly noticeable was the fact that two settlement sites that both appear to be the same spatial size and to have the same number of discrete buildings in Figure 5b of the *Atlas* are actually graded differently in Figure 5e. Ultimately they accept that it is a subjective exercise but suggest that it is an issue which is controlled to some extent by one person doing the exercise. They claim that although there would be a variation in grading if another person did the exercise, 'this would alter slightly the texture of the distribution but not its substance'.[253]

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[250] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, pp.11, 13.
[251] Ibid., p.11.
[252] Ibid., p.10, Fig.5.
[253] Ibid., p.11.

It was felt to be impossible to replicate the grading of nucleations without some objective indication of how big each grade actually was. As no nineteenth-century settlement in the Upper Calder Valley was larger than a village, however defined, a general rule was adopted in the replication that clusters of between five and twenty individual buildings were hamlets. Groups of two to four buildings were classed as 'mini-hamlets'and included indistinct curtilages where it was not clear whether they were individual buildings or how many buildings there were. Villages were clusters of more than twenty buildings. The nearest town was Halifax just outside the edge of the study area. The more detailed classification helps avoid the problems associated with small settlement groupings that were noted by Roberts and Wrathmell.

Figure 2.4: Categories of nucleation

Atlas of Rural Settlement	Replication Study
Towns	
Large villages and small towns	
Normal / average villages	
Hamlets and small villages	Villages (>21 units of settlement)
Small hamlets	Hamlets (5-20 units of settlement)
	Mini-hamlets (2-4 units or indistinct units of settlement)

Roberts and Wrathmell calculated the intensity of dispersion in an area by counting apparent individual elements of settlement within 2 km by 2 km squares. They then categorised the results by scoring them into one of eight number groups based on the Fibonacci numbers sequence in which each successive number is the sum of the previous two: 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34. There was inevitable uncertainty as to whether a small settlement grouping was a cluster of independent dwellings or a collection of buildings relating to a single settlement unit. This was resolved by counting them as a single unit for the dispersion score but creating an additional 'minute hamlet' score

within the area being counted. Combinations of the dispersion score and the minute hamlet score were used to create seven broad categories of density.[254]

Roberts and Wrathmell admit that use of the Fibonacci numbers was an intuitive adoption but point out that it emphasises the differences at the lower end of the scale.[255] Use of a larger scale in the small area of the case study, categorised by the original methodology as having an extremely low density of dispersion over most of it, justifies use of a straight number count of 1-35. This avoids the problem experienced by Roberts and Wrathmell of deciding which number category a particular number should go in; for example whether 10 should go in category 13 or 8.[256] However as density groupings ultimately do have to be used to represent the findings on a map, it inevitably retains a degree of arbitrariness. Minute hamlet scores bore no relation to the level of dispersion in the case study area thus rendering otiose the complex scoring system of Roberts and Wrathmell discussed above. Reflecting the nature of settlement in the study area, the density groupings chosen are shown in Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5: Categories of dispersion

Densities of dispersion	Dispersion score in Atlas of Rural Settlement	Dispersion score in Replication study
Exceptionally low densities	0 and 1	0 and 1
Very low densities	2 and 3	2 and 3
Low densities	5	4 - 6
Medium densities	8	7 - 9
High densities	13	10 - 16
Very high densities	21 and 34	17 - 34
Exceptionally high densities	>35	>35

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[254] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, pp.10-13. See also Appendix 1.
[255] Ibid., p.12.
[256] Ibid.

A particular difficulty in replicating the methodology was that the dispersion squares in the *Atlas* were only samples.[257] While the authors do not state how the sample areas were determined, nor how they were extrapolated, they do admit that there were 5,500 samples. Simple mathematics suggests that as the total area of England is 130,478 square kilometres, on average only one sample was taken out of every six possible samples.[258] In fact the GIS version of the *Atlas* indicates that only eight sample squares were taken that cover the Upper Calder Valley.[259] This introduces quite a high level of potential inaccuracy that is not acknowledged. The number of 2 km by 2 km squares covering the study area is 57. Sampling of the area by Roberts and Wrathmell was therefore one in seven, rather than the average of one in six. However in a small locality it is perfectly feasible to cover the whole area, which has the virtue of showing up the degree of inaccuracy engendered by the use of samples in the original study.

Applying the same methodology to a larger scale map of the same period tested how robust the methodology is. Roberts and Wrathmell used the 1 inch maps as published by Harry Margary for purposes of consistency over the country.[260] The Old Series 1 inch map that covers all but the northern edge of the study area was published in 1843-4, having been surveyed in 1838-9.[261] A slightly earlier but larger scale map of the Parish of Halifax was produced by J.F. Myers in 1835 at a scale of about 2.6

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[257] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.12.
[258] The samples were 4 square kilometres which provides a potential number of 32,620 samples. If only 5,500 were done then only 1 in 6 of the potential sample areas were used.
[259] The locations of the dispersion scores and hamlet counts in the GIS version represent the centre points of the sample areas. A.G. Lowerre, *The Atlas of Rural Settlement in England GIS: documentation*, (English Heritage, 2011), p.11.
[260] *The Old Series Ordnance Survey maps*.
[261] *The Old Series Ordnance Survey maps of England and Wales, Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile: A reproduction of the 110 sheets of the Survey in early state in 8 volumes,* Vol.7 North-central England, (Lympne Castle, Harry Margary, c.1989), p.xi; *The Old Series Ordnance Survey maps of England and Wales, Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile: A reproduction of the 110 sheets of the Survey in early state in 8 volumes,* Vol.8 Northern England and the Isle of Man, (Lympne Castle, Harry Margary, 1991), p.viii.

inches to 1 mile.[262] The survey for this map was completed in 1834-5, only four years earlier than the survey for the Ordnance Survey 1 inch edition. The map is very detailed and provides the best contemporary map of the area until the publication of the Ordnance Survey 6 inch edition, which was surveyed in 1848. The small gap of four years between the Myers and OS surveys means that the actual density of settlement is unlikely to be very different. The additional clarity provided by the larger scale map also avoided the imprecise nature of some settlement features shown on the one inch maps that were noted by Roberts and Wrathmell.[263] As Myers predates the OS map there was no danger of later settlement affecting the comparison between the dispersion counts of both maps. In theory a dispersion count using Myers can only provide an underestimate at worst (assuming that the map is accurate). Issues arising in using Myers' map as a source are considered in Appendix 1.

2.3.2.2 Historic Landscape Characterisation methodology

No Historic Landscape Characterisation has been completed for West Yorkshire, although such an exercise was started by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service after the research for this thesis was completed and is due to finish in 2015. Unlike Roberts and Wrathmell's settlement study, it was therefore impossible to validate the methodology by replication within the study area. Users of HLC methodology are encouraged to learn from previous projects, particularly those in neighbouring counties, when deciding on what character attributes to use.[264] Chapter 1 demonstrated the similarity in the broad historical processes that have been at work in

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[262] J.F. Myers, *Map of the Parish of Halifax in the West Riding of the County of York, showing the township, borough and manorial boundaries, from an actual survey made in the years 1834 and 1835. [Scale, about 2 1/2 inches = 1 mile]*, (Warrington, Digital Archives, 2003).
[263] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.9.
[264] English Heritage. Characterisation Team, *Historic Landscape Characterisation: template project design*, (London, English Heritage, 2002), pp.12-13.

the South Pennines. In order to test the validity of HLC as a method, it therefore seemed a reasonable hypothesis that the methodological detail of the Lancashire HLC, covering as it does the western side of the South Pennine area, would be equally applicable to the eastern Yorkshire side. It was noted earlier that one of the downsides of HLC was the application of the methodology almost entirely within the administrative unit of the county, thus obscuring other possibilities such as its use within *pays*. Using the Lancashire methodology therefore had the additional advantage of testing the extent to which particular HLC methodologies are transferrable to areas in adjacent counties with similar historical backgrounds. Two townships in the Upper Calder Valley were chosen as study areas for the application of the Lancashire HLC, Stansfield and Erringden. These were chosen on the hypothesis that their very different tenurial histories, outlined in section 2.3.1 above, might have affected their landscape character and would provide two different types of testing ground for HLC methodology.

There is no single HLC methodology as was explained in section 2.1.2. As a result of the diversity of methods adopted in different projects, English Heritage commissioned a review of the methodology by Somerset County Council in order to determine best practice. The report of this was published in 2003 and puts the Lancashire methodology in the wider HLC context.[265]

The *Review* compared the methodology of 29 projects while there was also more detailed comparative testing of four selected project methods.[266] It was determined that the methodological development of HLC between 1994 and 2002 could be

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[265] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*.
[266] Ibid., pp.2-4.

divided into four phases or 'waves'.[267] The *Review* also classified the HLC projects

encompassed within these developmental phases into 'families', based on how data

was collected and used and how it was then interpreted.[268] A summary table in

Appendix 2 outlines these four families and the various methodologies utilised in the

various HLC projects undertaken up to 2002.

 The *Review* allowed the formulation of a Historic Landscape Characterisation

Template Project Design which set out a broad methodology for use in future county-

wide HLC projects.[269] Much of the document is concerned with project planning and

documentation but detailed appendices are provided which set out some of the

potential methodological detail, such as lists of source data and attributes. However, it

is only a prescriptive document at a high level and it stresses that the detail, such as

attributes used, may have to be adapted to suit local needs.[270]

For the purposes of this research, the character attributes employed by Lancashire

were used within the high level framework provided by the *Template*. Lancashire was

a Wave 3 project and there is a fundamental difference in the approach used by

Lancashire and that advocated by the *Template.* In Lancashire particular character

areas, or polygons, were grouped into HLC Types, based on the assumption that

'particular patterns and groupings of landscape attributes can be shown to be

determined by their similar land use history'.[271] For example small irregular fields,

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[267] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, pp.6-14.
[268] Ibid., p.15.
[269] English Heritage. Characterisation Team, *Template project design*.
[270] Ibid., pp.28, 32.
[271] Clark, et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation*, p.7.

winding lanes and footpaths, and an association with known medieval settlements and

place names all indicate pre-1600 enclosure in the Lancashire HLC.[272]

The HLC type is thus derived from the attributes themselves in Lancashire and

follows the descriptive model. More recent HLC projects have used a prescriptive

approach which is now reflected in the Template. This uses a predefined list of broad

HLC types or groups and a type is allocated as an attribute in itself to each polygon.[273]

These types are subdivided according to the project objectives and the landscapes

studied to produce a hierarchical typology. The type 'Enclosed land' might be, as in

the Devon HLC, divided into 'Prehistoric fields', 'Medieval fields', 'Post-medieval

fields' and 'Modern fields'. 'Medieval fields' for example is further subdivided into

categories such as 'Strip fields' and 'Medieval enclosures based on strip fields'.[274]

The *Template* requires three fundamental sets of attributes: broad HLC groups;

present day HLC attributes; and previous HLC attributes.[275] Although one of the

principles of HLC is that the whole landscape should be considered and not just parts

of it, the purpose of the present exercise is not to complete a full HLC but to test the

validity of the methodology as it pertains to field and settlement aspects of the

landscape. These aspects only are set out below in Figure 2.6 together with some of

the detailed attributes used in Lancashire in connection with enclosed land. *Template*

requirements are in bold.

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[272] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, p.27.
[273] English Heritage. Characterisation Team, *Template project design*, p.28.
[274] Turner, *Devon Historic Landscape Characterisation*, pp.36-9, 57.
[275] English Heritage. Characterisation Team, *Template project design*, pp.27-9.

Figure 2.6: Attributes used in the Lancashire HLC

HLC Groups:
- Unenclosed (or Unimproved) land
- Enclosed land
- Woodland
- Settlement

Present day HLC attributes:
- **Boundary morphology**
    - Wavy edged
    - Straight-sided
    - Field groups:
        - Regular
        - Irregular
        - Grid layout
        - Long narrow
    - Field size:
        - Small (<4 ha)
        - Medium (4-16 ha)
        - Large (>16 ha)
- **Interpretation and indicative features**
    - Unenclosed (or Unimproved) land
        - Moorland
    - Enclosed land
        - Reverted moorland
        - Ancient Enclosure (pre-1600)
        - Post-medieval enclosure (1600-1850)
        - Modern enclosure (1850 to present)
    - Woodland
        - Ancient and post-medieval woodland (pre-1850)
        - Modern woodland (1850 to present)
    - Settlement
        - Ancient and post-medieval settlement (pre-1850)
        - Modern settlement (1850 to present)
- **Period**
    - Post-first edition OS 1:10560 survey date (c.1850)
    - 1600-first edition OS 1:10560 survey date (c.1850)
    - Pre-1600
    - Prehistoric and Romano-British
- **Confidence**
    - Certain
    - High likelihood of certainty
    - Good basis for certainty
    - Probable
- **Sources**
    - **Basic sources (consistent coverage)**
        - Field morphology
        - First edition OS 6 inch maps
        - Modern OS maps

- o **Other sources (used for specific information)**
  - ▪ Place-name evidence
  - ▪ Victoria County History
  - ▪ Township and parish studies
  - ▪ Lancashire SMR

Previous HLC attributes:
As evidenced by earlier OS or other maps, or by 'informed interpretation'.[276]
This uses the same set of attributes as for the present day HLC.

The interpretations of enclosed land that were used by Lancashire are broad dated categories rather than the more detailed interpretations, such as strip fields or intakes, that have been used by many other HLCs.[277] Also unusual is the emphasis on the relationship of field patterns with settlement and communication features in order to define the category. As these characteristics are fundamental to the categorisation they are given below in Figure 2.7:

Figure 2.7: Enclosure characteristics used in the Lancashire HLC[278]

HLC enclosure subtype	Characteristics
Ancient enclosure (pre-AD1600)	- Irregular enclosure pattern - Irregular field shapes - Sinuous or wavy-edged field boundaries - Winding lanes or tracks connecting settlements - Dispersed settlement pattern of isolated farmsteads and small villages/hamlets - Field boundaries a variety of mixed species hedges, banks, walls, and drainage ditches
Post-medieval enclosure (AD 1600-1850)	- Most enclosures bounded with straight edges; 4% wavy edged - Straighter roads and tracks than Ancient Enclosure - Tendency to medium sized enclosures but with significant percentage of small enclosures - More regular landscape appearance than Ancient Enclosure - Present on OS 1st edition maps

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[276] English Heritage. Characterisation Team, *Template project design*, p.29.
[277] For example Turner, *Devon Historic Landscape Characterisation*, pp.10-14.
[278] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, pp.97-118.

Modern enclosure (after AD 1850)	• Straight sided enclosures • Mostly medium sized fields • Generally an irregular pattern of enclosure but 34% with regular layout • New field boundaries, mainly of fences and quickset hedges • Not on OS 1st edition maps

Polygons are defined by the *Template* as groups of modern land parcels that possess the same general historic landscape character.[279] Although the *Review* suggested that the preferred size of polygons was a mean of between c.25 to 50 ha, the *Template* is not prescriptive but merely warns against the use of small areas. The reason for this is the county-wide scale of the exercise. In principle, where a small area is being studied it is obviously more feasible, and desirable, to define smaller polygons so that finer levels of characterisation can be included. However, as the purpose of this project was to validate a county wide methodology it was appropriate to use a county wide scale. Although Lancashire did not discuss the size of their polygons, the same level of scale was used based on an impressionistic assessment of the Lancashire HLC map.

2.3.3 Documentary evidence of historical processes

Chapter 1 outlined the broad historical processes that have been at work in the South Pennines. Analysis of the available documentary and other evidential sources for settlement and fieldscape evolution in the Upper Calder Valley provided a context in which to assess the accuracy and value of the morphological approaches that make judgments about the characteristics and age of landscape components based on nineteenth-century maps. The morphological method outlined above provides models of settlement density and field patterns but does not attempt to explain the

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[279] English Heritage. Characterisation Team, *Template project design*, p.25.

chronologies or processes involved. Discussion of the evidence therefore includes an

analysis of some of the processes affecting the growth of settlement and its associated

agricultural land use in the Upper Calder Valley.

The principal reason why the English Heritage-sponsored morphological projects

confine themselves to the nineteenth-century OS maps is that these are often the

earliest source data that consistently covers a county. Earlier material is usually patchy

in its availability and cannot provide a consistent coverage. However, it can be used to

illuminate particular areas at particular periods and it may be possible to extrapolate

the results to other similar areas as indicative evidence. As the purpose of this thesis

was to examine the accuracy and value of these morphological methodologies,

evidence did not have to be complete over the whole area. Case studies of certain

townships were chosen where the evidence was sufficiently extensive and these were

used as examples. The following sections set out in more detail the overarching

methodologies that were used to explore settlement and fieldscape evolution.

2.3.3.1 Evolution of settlement

The starting point for investigating settlement growth was the creation of a geocoded

database of the first recorded dates of individual settlement names so that

chronological settlement information could be reflected on a map using ArcGIS. The

major source of place name dating for the West Riding is Professor A.H. Smith's *The

Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* published in the early 1960s.[280] This

monumental work claims to include all major and minor names recorded on the 6 inch

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[280] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire,* 8 vols., English Place-Name Society
Vols. 30-37, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961-1963).

maps of 1901-22.[281] Unfortunately the arrangement by civil parish rather than by earlier townships causes confusion and inconsistencies because of the changes in administrative units over time.[282] More importantly, Moorhouse has noted that the sources used by Smith were not exhaustively mined and that it is therefore dangerous to assume that the earliest recorded date given by Smith is in fact the earliest recorded reference.[283]

However there were also more immediate practical issues. Smith does not distinguish between settlement and other place names. This is complicated by the fact that names used for settlements are also often used for physical or other features. For example, Crumber Hill is a hill in Wadsworth township but the name of a farm in Erringden township. Names were therefore validated as settlements on the first edition Ordnance Survey 6 inch map of 1848 before being accepted. 676 names were initially extracted from Smith, of which 92 could not be identified on the 1848 OS map or were areas, tracks, hills etc. As Faull points out however, the fact that it was a settlement in 1848 does not necessarily mean that the occurrence of the name in an earlier period also signifies a settlement, particularly if it has a topographic meaning.[284] In the absence of other evidence to the contrary, the assumption has been made that settlement names do have this continuity but it is recognised that this is a potential weakness in the data set.

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[281] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7: Introduction, bibliography, river-names, analyses,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 36, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), p.114.

[282] Ibid; S.A. Moorhouse, 'Settlements' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp.585-613 at p.588.

[283] Moorhouse, 'Settlements', p.588.

[284] M.L. Faull, 'The use of place-names in reconstructing the historic landscape; illustrated by names from Adel township', *Landscape History,* 1, (1979), pp.34-43 at p.40.

Many settlement names in the Upper Calder Valley have a common name element with one or more other discrete settlements. Termed 'linked farmsteads' by Roberts, these are typically differentiated by height, such as Upper (or Higher) and Lower: for example Higher Smithy and Lower Smithy; Upper Clough Foot and Lower Clough Foot.[285] A less frequent differentiator is distance, as in Near Shaw Croft and Far Shaw Croft, or size as in Great Stubb and Little Stubb. The data presented by Smith rarely distinguishes between these so it is impossible to know which site was used first. As such sites are nearly always less than half a kilometre apart, and often as little as 100 metres apart, the grid reference entered for the name was an approximate midpoint between the two sites. As the distances are so small, representation on maps of the whole study area using a midpoint location did not affect the settlement pattern in any significant way. Occasionally one farmstead site is clearly larger than the others, such as Upper Beestonhirst in Soyland surrounded by the smaller sites of Lower, Middle and Far Beestonhirst. Where this is the case the location of the settlement site is taken as being the largest site rather than using a midpoint.

Generally it has been assumed that Smith's location of place names as being within the specified civil parishes is correct. However it is worth noting that a number of place names occur within more than one parish and that there is room for error. Some corrections were made to Smith's data where there was a high degree of certainty. For example the unusual name of Mutter Hole, which was listed by Smith as 'lost' in Hebden Bridge parish (meaning that it was not recorded on the first edition OS map), was found in Todmorden parish. Tymeley Bent, also listed as lost, can be identified on the Myers map of 1835 in Sowerby. The Murgatshaw listed by Smith can only be

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[285] Roberts, *The making of the English village*, pp.140-1; Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.4.

identified fully on Myers map where the names are given as Higher and Lower

Murgatshaw whereas on the OS map they appear as Shaw and Lower Murgatshaw.

Occasionally the same name appears in two locations within the same parish. The

larger settlement is taken as being the one identified by Smith.

Where earlier dates of first mention were identified from other sources these were

used instead of Smith's date. For example, Greave House in Midgley is first

mentioned in 1717 according to Smith but Sutcliffe has traced it as far back as

1654.[286] One instance has also been found where Smith used the earlier date of a close

in one township as evidence for a farm name in another township, albeit in the same

civil parish.[287] Such occurrences were few as consistent checking of other sources for

dates of first mention has not been undertaken as part of this research. The amount of

time required would be substantial and any additional data would be very unlikely to

significantly affect the overall chronological settlement patterns. Even so, such

sources provided thirteen earlier dates of settlements and fifteen new settlements

additional to those in Smith. Two additional sources were examined in detail however.

Research by Stephen Moorhouse, published as part of *West Yorkshire: an

Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500* in 1981, was presented as a settlement

distribution map similar to those presented in this thesis. Map 25 in that work purports

to show the number of settlement locations in 1400, a much denser picture than

obtained by using the data in *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire.*[288]

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[286] T. Sutcliffe, 'A tour in Midgley', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1928), pp.113-57 at p.151.
[287] Lane farm in Stansfield is listed as being first mentioned in 1595 when in fact the reference given by Smith relates to Layne closes in Langfield: A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3: Morley wapentake,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 32, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), p.183.
[288] Faull and Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey*, Vol.4, Map 25.

Identification of these settlement locations on the map using ArcGIS, and examination of the original record cards stored at the West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service, shows that the map potentially adds another 100 locations to the 72 dated locations in *Place-Names of the West Riding* that are dated to 1400 or earlier. These were identified by Moorhouse from the Wakefield Court Rolls to 1330 and from land grant transactions of the period.[289] The vast majority of these identifications are based on matching personal names to place names.[290] For example, a reference in the 1286 Rolls to Alice del Croft being unlawfully ejected from her land in Mankinholes is interpreted as being an identification of Croft as a settlement in 1286. The name is first recorded by Smith in 1595.

Although there is no guarantee that the record card database was still complete, its condition suggested that it was unlikely that it had been touched since the original work was done. However, the dataset is massively inconsistent with both the published map and with Smith's data. The inconsistencies are detailed in Appendix 3. To give a flavour of some of the issues, eleven of the pre-1400 names identified by Smith were not included on the map. In contrast, 32 of the pre-1400 names in Smith had no card but were on the map while seventeen cards for locations on the map only gave a post-1400 date. According to both the published text and notes in the card set, locations that only had six digit grid references noted on the card were unable to be precisely located and were *not* located on the map.[291] Yet in fact eighteen of these locations *are* included on the map. Errors of identification were also found. Robertus Lawe is listed in the 1379 Poll Tax under Langfield. Moorhouse matches this name with Law Hill, a farm on Erringden Moor. Unfortunately Law Hill is a nineteenth-

[289] Moorhouse, 'Settlements', pp.602-3.
[290] See ibid., pp.589-93 for the issues he identified in using such names.
[291] Ibid., pp.602-3.

century farm built as part of a private enclosure by Christopher Rawson after 1835.[292] It is not shown on Myers map of that date. Hartley Royd in Stansfield is ascribed a date of 1324 based on a Roger de Harteleirode appearing in the Wakefield court rolls. However, Roger appears under the graveship of Sowerby which does not include Stansfield. The reference is almost certainly to Hartley Royd in Warley which is in the graveship.

These uncertainties of interpretation led to the decision not to add much of this data to that obtained from Smith. However 30 locations were given earlier dates of first being recorded, two new locations were added and 27 agreed with the date supplied by Smith. These additions indicate the potential frailties of dating settlement by place name as dates of first being recorded are moved to a date often centuries earlier, thus increasing the density of settlement earlier than otherwise indicated.

A complementary settlement dating source is provided by the physical evidence of buildings with dates inscribed on them. A geocoded database of these has been created by David Cant of the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group who kindly provided it as source material. Although dated buildings largely only survive for the seventeenth century onwards, eighteen of these datestones provided earlier dates than those recorded in Smith. Perhaps more surprisingly, another 40 new settlements were added to Smith's list.

The combined evidence of these three principal sources, Smith, Moorhouse and Cant, resulted in a geocoded spreadsheet database of 644 settlement names together with

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[292] West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale) SU 407.

their first recorded date of existence.[293] The database enabled the extent and nature of the settlement pattern to be mapped for particular time periods. This evidence was used to determine the accuracy of the assertion by Roberts and Wrathmell that the settlement morphology found in the nineteenth century maps summarises the evolution of rural settlement by concealing 'latent images of far earlier patterns'.[294]

2.3.3.2 Evolution of the fieldscape

The study areas of Stansfield and Erringden were subjected to more detailed analysis of the fieldscape through the use of a variety of documentary sources. The principal aim was to assess the extent to which the initial county-scale HLC identified and interpreted particular fieldscapes correctly. Four principal sources were used to delve deeper into the development of the field pattern than the mid-nineteenth century OS maps allow: first recorded settlement dates, manorial records relating to enclosure, field-name evidence, and maps compiled for various purposes prior to the 1848 first edition OS map.

A landscape component that has had little consideration to date is building evidence. Lake and Edwards have shown how the density and dating evidence of farmsteads is related to the predominant character and date of the surrounding landscapes, thus contributing to an understanding of the development of that landscape.[295] Following this approach, the settlement database discussed above was used to plot the locations of settlements first recorded before 1600 in order to provide an initial framework of *terminus ante quem* dating associations.

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[293] See Appendix 6 for those settlement names for which additional information was added to that supplied by Smith.
[294] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.7.
[295] J. Lake and B. Edwards, 'Buildings and place: farmsteads and the mapping of change', *Vernacular Architecture,* 37, (2006), pp.33-49; J. Lake and B. Edwards, 'Farmsteads and landscape: towards an integrated view', *Landscapes,* 7(1), (2006), pp.1-36.

Various estate documents survive in the Savile Estates collections in Huddersfield and Nottingham Archives that record grants and leases of the waste in Stansfield and other townships during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Preparatory surveys prior to Parliamentary enclosure detail encroachments made in Stansfield from 1787 to 1815. The 1818 enclosure award provides information on allotments and sales that also included earlier encroachments. Location information obtained from the documentation was geocoded based on an estimated central point and added to ArcGIS. While this evidence is patchy chronologically, particularly before 1787, much of it is sufficiently detailed to allow the preparation of distribution maps of enclosure for certain periods. Although the gaps in coverage suggest that these are remnants of a larger corpus of documentation on enclosure activity, the dataset was large enough to provide firm evidence of the spatial progression of enclosure.[296] Collections of deeds for both case study townships, located in various other archives, were also examined for relevant information.[297]

Valuations that were conducted in 1805 and 1839 for Stansfield and Erringden respectively have survived and are available in the West Yorkshire Archive Service. These contain detailed information on each settlement unit including owner and occupant, plus the sizes and names of the attached fields. Such names can indicate the origins or past uses of fields as well as other factors such as tenure. For example open fields often have names such as East or North Field while name elements such as *ryding* denote a woodland clearance.[298] Analysis of such name evidence can therefore provide clues as to the development of field patterns, particularly if they can be

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[296] Jennings has suggested that these chronological gaps may have been the result of periodic surveys of encroachments by the lord's steward but few of the documents refer to encroachments and most appear to be grants ab initio: Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.56.
[297] See Appendices 8-10 for the details of this enclosure information.
[298] J. Field, *A history of English field-names*, (London, Longman, 1993), pp.11, 67.

associated with map and dating evidence. A spreadsheet database was therefore created of both the Stansfield and Erringden valuation books to enable such analysis.

Although tithes in the Upper Calder Valley were commuted in 1829 so no tithe maps exist, a field map created for the 1805 valuation exercises is still extant for the case study area of Stansfield, although unfortunately not for Erringden. This map was used to provide locational information for selected field name groups such as those names that indicated rough pasture. Parliamentary enclosure of moorland also occurred in Stansfield in 1815-1818 and the award map was particularly useful for tenurial evidence of land already enclosed as well as the new plots of land awarded. Eighteenth-century estate maps survive for certain areas within both Stansfield and Erringden townships. A similar estate map also survives for the township of Wadsworth, another Savile estate, while an early seventeenth-century map by Saxton shows intakes in part of Wadsworth. This evidence from other townships was used to provide comparative evidence where required.

Chapter 3

Morphological approaches to settlement: replication of the Rural Settlement Study

This chapter presents the results of an analysis of settlement patterns in the Upper Calder Valley using the comparative replication methodology discussed in Chapter 2. The validity of the morphological methodology used by Roberts and Wrathmell is tested first by replicating the original study for the study area. The robustness of this morphological approach is then tested by replicating the process again using a different map source that presents settlement at a more detailed scale.

The morphological approach adopted by Roberts and Wrathmell is principally concerned with seeking to derive geographical meaning from settlement patterns. Their work is focused on identifying a hierarchy of provinces and sub-provinces, not with the process that resulted in these patterns. Only theoretical models of the process are provided, the only evidence used being pre-existing sample case studies that are used to illustrate the geographical framework. The only result of replicating the study therefore is validation of the nineteenth-century settlement pattern.

Replication of Roberts and Wrathmell's study was based on the original methodology of counting settlement units within 2 km grid squares on the Ordnance Survey Old Series 1 inch to 1 mile map. This threw up a number of practical and theoretical issues that are outlined in Appendix 1. The most significant problem in conducting the replication proved to be the lack of clarity in the Ordnance Survey maps as produced in the Margary edition that was used as a source by the original study.[1] The use of

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[1] *The Old Series Ordnance Survey maps of England and Wales, Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile: A reproduction of the 110 sheets of the Survey in early state in 8 volumes,* Vol.8 Northern England and the Isle of Man, (Lympne Castle, Harry Margary, 1991); *The Old Series Ordnance Survey maps of England and Wales, Scale: 1 inch to 1 mile: A reproduction of the 110 sheets of the Survey in early state in 8 volumes,* Vol.7

'schematic rendering' of buildings, in which outlines are imprecise and the buildings can appear as 'mere smudges', made the accuracy of counting settlements difficult.[2] The density of shading in the hachuring used to indicate slope also often obscured settlements.

These issues of symbology, together with the obvious limitations of the 1 inch to 1 mile scale, meant that the Margary map has significant limitations as a source for understanding the scale and density of settlement. In order to assess just how great those limitations are, the same methodology was applied to a slightly earlier but larger scale map, the Map of the Parish of Halifax produced by J.F. Myers in 1835 at a scale of about 2.6 inches to 1 mile.[3]

In the interests of obtaining the most accurate result possible, much more time and attention was devoted to this exercise than would have been possible in the original study of the whole country. The benefits of focusing on a local area also meant that it was possible to count the whole of that area rather than limit it to eight sample 2 km by 2 km squares as was done in the Rural Settlement study.[4]

The Rural Settlement Atlas shows the Upper Calder Valley as being a mixed area of 'High' and 'Very High' dispersion density as shown in the extract of the settlement map in Figure 3.1. Replication of the study using the original source of the Margary maps shows that in fact it is a mixed area of 'Extremely High' and 'Very High'

North-central England, (Lympne Castle, Harry Margary, c.1989). Hereafter referred to as the Margary map.

[2] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *An atlas of rural settlement in England*, (London, English Heritage, 2000), p.9.

[3] J.F. Myers, *Map of the Parish of Halifax in the West Riding of the County of York, showing the township, borough and manorial boundaries, from an actual survey made in the years 1834 and 1835. [Scale, about 2 1/2 inches = 1 mile]*, (Halifax, [1836?]).

[4] See Chapter 2 p.122.

density, as in much of adjacent Lancashire. The density gradings of each 2 km grid square are shown in Figure 3.2 for both the Margary and Myers maps.

Figure 3.1 Dispersion and nucleation patterns identified in the Rural Settlement study. After Figure 1.14 in Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and Place*, p.29.
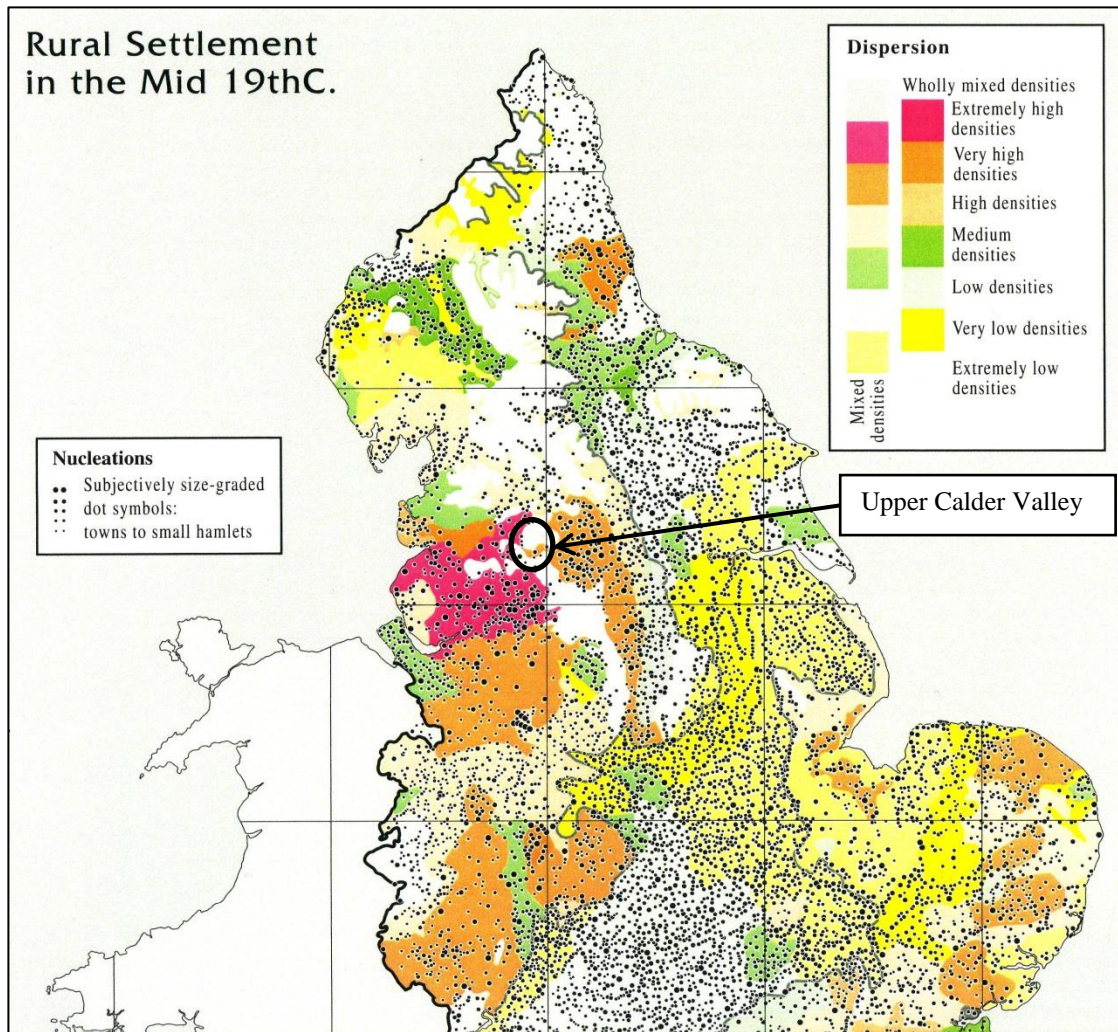
The greater detail obtainable from the larger scale Myers map resulted in even higher density numbers in all but five squares, sometimes doubling the original number counted on the Margary map. The density <u>band</u> thus tended to increase in most squares. However the density <u>pattern</u> remained broadly the same as found in the replication of Margary. Where more units were counted in Margary than in Myers, the difference can be explained by one of two reasons. First, that indistinctness in

Margary resulted in an overcount which was resolved by the greater accuracy of Myers. Second, that a small scale deviation in Myers, documented in Appendix 1, resulted in a smaller number of units within the sample square. The overall extent of the increase in the number count means that any degree of inaccuracy in the counting is very unlikely to make a significant difference to the resulting settlement pattern.

There can be little doubt that part of this discrepancy in results between the *Atlas* and the replication is due to the greater levels of time spent on obtaining accurate counts. However if similar discrepancies were to be found in other areas, then it also raises doubts as to the validity of some of the sub-provinces and regions identified on the basis of dispersion scoring. Paradoxically, the higher levels of dispersion density tend to suggest that the printed *Atlas* was correct in giving the impression that the Upper Calder valley is located within the so-called 'Lancastrian lowlands' sub-province rather than the 'Pennine Slope' sub-province as in the GIS version of the *Atlas*.[5] In turn this also confirms that the whole of the study area belongs in the Northern and Western Province rather than the Central Province.

The replication also shows that the number banding used is inadequate to represent degrees of higher level density. It is notable that on the national map only areas of Lancashire are graded as having 'Exceptionally high' density, a classification that covers densities of greater than 35 units per 2 square km grid. As shown in Figure 3.2, the Upper Calder Valley has densities that reach over 90 units, a level of density completely obscured by the Rural Settlement study classification. It is clear therefore that the banding is geared to work with the much lower density levels apparent elsewhere in the country.

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[5] See Chapter 2 pp.68-9.

Margary map

Outside	0	0	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside
0	9	6	0	5	0	Outside	Outside
1	3	9	9 H1	17	0	8	Outside
0	6	40 H2	31 H2 MH2	26 H2 MH2	17	13 H1	1
31 H1 MH2	14 MH1	38 H2 MH2	16 V2 H3 MH1	40 V1 H2 MH8	20 V1 MH5	54 MH5	8
18 H1	39 H5 MH4	52 H4 MH10	25 MH3	33 MH5	38 H2 MH1	42 H2 MH2	27 H4
Outside	18 V1 H1	26 H2 MH4	15	23 H1	46	52 V1 H2 MH2	20 V1
Outside	Outside	0	0	9	42 MH2	30 H5	Outside
Outside	Outside	0	5	8	35 H3	37 V1	Outside
Outside	Outside	Outside	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside

Myers map

Outside	0	0	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside
0	13	10	0	10	0	Outside	Outside
1	2	17	14 H1	28	1	5	Outside
0	14	50 H1 H2 MH2	35 H2 MH2	56 H1 MH2	20 H1	24 H1 MH2	4
48 H1 MH1	12 MH2	55 H1 MH2	34 V2 H4 MH7	72 V1 H3 MH8	32 H1 MH4	84 H2 MH1	9
18	57 H4 MH2	93 H3 MH5	30 MH2	38 H1 MH9	62 V2 H2 MH5	57 V1 H3 MH4	43 H3 MH1
Outside	29 V1 MH3	41 H3	17	34	60	83 V1 H2	31 V1 MH1
Outside	Outside	0	0	10	60	45 H3 MH2	Outside
Outside	Outside	0	2	17 H1	63	25 V1	Outside
Outside	Outside	Outside	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside

KEY

0 -1	Exceptionally low
2 -3	Very low
5 (4-5)	Low
8 (7-9)	Medium
13 (10-16)	Quite high
21 (17-25)	Very High
34 (26-34)	Very High
>35	Exceptionally high
V = Village	
H = Hamlet	
MH = Mini hamlet	
Outside = Outside study area	

Figure 3.2 Settlement numbers and densities in 2 x 2 km squares overlain by boundary and principal watercourses of the Upper Calder Valley. Scale is approximate. Dispersion ranges and descriptions are based on Figure 2.5.

The density gradings of the 2 km grid squares also show that the spread of dispersed settlement is much greater than suggested by Roberts and Wrathmell. Figure 3.3 reproduces the regional pattern of rural settlement for the study area from the GIS version of the Rural Settlement Atlas which allows a greater level of detail than the printed *Atlas*.[6] The pattern delineates a band of high density following the valley surrounded by areas of extremely low density. The density gradings derived from the replication of the methodology using the Margary map shows that this seriously misrepresents the settlement pattern of the area by suggesting that most of the areas beyond the main Calder valley were unpopulated, whereas in fact only the land above the 300 metre contour is devoid of settlement, and even segments of that have some habitation.

Figure 3.3 contrasts the pattern in the *Atlas* with a pattern derived from the density gradings for the Myers map. Although the broad pattern is similar to that in the *Atlas*, particularly at a national scale, the omission of smaller areas of lesser but significant density paints a picture of settlement in upland areas being confined to major valleys. Like the Upper Calder Valley, the major valleys of the Yorkshire Dales and County Durham are shown in the Atlas as pushing into areas of ostensibly uninhabited waste, ignoring settlement in the smaller tributary valleys.

[6] *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*, GIS version available at
http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/research/archaeology/atlas-of-rural-settlement-gis/ as
at 18 January 2013.

Figure 3.3 Comparison of the settlement patterns of the Upper Calder Valley as shown in the GIS version of the Rural Settlement Atlas for 1838-9 and as shown on the Myers map of 1835. The Myers pattern does not show the limited areas that have a medium density or less. The named settlements are referred to in the text.

Upper Calder Valley
Rural Settlement Atlas (OS 1st ed 1" 1838-9)
Nucleations and dispersion density

Legend
— Upper Calder Valley boundary
— Principal watercourses
— 300m contour
■ Average village
■ Hamlet / Small village
✳ Small hamlets
▮ High to Very High dispersion density
▯ Extremely low density

Withens

Upper Calder Valley
Myers map 1835
Nucleations and dispersion density

Legend
— Upper Calder Valley boundary
— Principal watercourses
— 300m contour
✳ Hamlets (6-20 units)
■ Villages (20+ units)
▮ Exceptionally high dispersion density
▮ Very high dispersion density
▮ High dispersion density
▯ Extremely low density

Mankinholes

It is worth bearing in mind that Roberts and Wrathmell warn that boundaries in their maps form 'a band approximately one and a half to two kilometres in width' and should be regarded as transition zones.[7] While it is also axiomatic that the scale of a national map necessarily obscures local detail, this is insufficient to explain the discrepancies. The explanation can be found in the GIS version of the *Atlas* which shows that the sample areas used in the Upper Calder Valley were, with one exception, limited to obvious areas of settlement.[8] Generally the GIS Atlas makes it clear that sample areas chosen by Roberts and Wrathmell were not based on a logical pattern, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the choice of areas to be sampled was a subjective one. For example, there are no sample areas in the uplands to the north of the Calder valley but there are several in the uplands to the south of the study area. The results of the replication studies emphasise the fact that the Rural Settlement Atlas is 'an impression of overall densities of dispersion' rather than an accurate depiction of local areas.[9]

Figure 3.3 also shows the various grades of nucleations identified in the GIS version of the Atlas, although Lowerre has explained that the way in which the original *Atlas* maps were produced resulted in some inaccuracy in positioning of nucleations in this GIS version.[10] The pattern indicated by the Myers map highlights both the simplicity and the inaccuracy of the *Atlas* representation of nucleations. The *Atlas* only shows one village, two hamlets and two 'small hamlets' whereas Myers shows ten villages and 44 hamlets. The discrepancy in nucleations emphasises both the different ways in which nucleations can be categorised and the subjectivity involved. It was pointed out

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[7] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.45.
[8] The locations of the dispersion scores and hamlet counts in the GIS version represent the centre points of the sample areas. A.G. Lowerre, *The Atlas of Rural Settlement in England GIS: documentation*, (English Heritage, 2011), p.11.
[9] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.13.
[10] Lowerre, *The Atlas of Rural Settlement in England GIS: documentation*, p.4.

in Chapter 2 that Roberts and Wrathmell did not define their categorisation of nucleations whereas the analysis of nucleations on the Myers map was based on an interpretation of the number of settlement units involved. However, it is surprising that the *Atlas* shows so few nucleations in the study area and the contrast with the interpretation drawn from the Myers map must raise questions as to Roberts and Wrathmell's belief that their distribution map of nucleations is 'well-founded and reliable'.[11]

Roberts and Wrathmell accept that another person grading nucleations would arrive at 'slightly' different allocations between their five grades.[12] However the example of Withens, an isolated settlement cluster on the moors above Cragg Vale, is instructive on the issues of subjectivity. The *Atlas* grades this cluster as a small hamlet. This author has treated it as a collection of dispersed farmsteads, based on the similarities with the surrounding pattern of such settlement. On the Margary map, the cluster appears to consist of twelve farmsteads over an area of 790,000 square metres; (the Myers map showed that it was actually fifteen). In contrast, the settlement cluster of Mankinholes on the other side of the hill comprises roughly the same number of settlement units, distributed close together on either side of a road and covering an area of only 22,000 square metres. Mankinholes was graded as a hamlet by this author but was completely ignored by Roberts and Wrathmell.[13]

Replication of the Rural Settlement study using the original Margary map suggests that the difference is not only one of interpretation and subjectivity but also of inaccuracy. The Margary map shows eight villages and 48 hamlets based on the

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[11] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.11.
[12] Ibid.
[13] See Figure 3.3.

definitions of nucleations used in this study, in contrast to the ten villages and 44 hamlets shown by the larger scale of the Myers map. It is worth bearing in mind that the Myers map was surveyed a few years earlier than Margary. The larger scale of Myers allowed more accurate interpretation of settlement clusters, so that some hamlets became villages, while some hamlets became single farmsteads and vice versa. Only 28 of the hamlets identified on the Myers map were identified as hamlets on Margary, but another twenty Margary hamlets were identified as single farmsteads on Myers.

The Rural Settlement study seriously misrepresents the nineteenth-century settlement pattern of the Upper Calder Valley by suggesting that most of the upland areas were unpopulated and that there was only a thin band of high density following the main valley. Replicating the Rural Settlement study, and cross checking the results with a larger scale map of the same period, has shown that in fact this part of the South Pennines was characterised by extraordinarily high levels of dispersed settlement. Settlement extended deep into the heart of the uplands, largely following river valleys. Only above the 300 m contour does settlement fade out. It is also difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Rural Settlement study also seriously undercounted the number of nucleated settlements in the study area, however these are defined.

In a national survey using sampling techniques finding these discrepancies at a local level is not perhaps unexpected. What is of concern is not only that the sample areas of dispersed settlement appear to have been chosen on a subjective rather than a consistent basis, but also that so few samples were done in certain areas. In the case of the study area this has led to a characterisation of nineteenth century settlement that is misleading. Furthermore the subjectivity and inaccuracy in categorising nucleations

suggests the need for an accepted classification that can be deployed by other researchers. Both these factors belie Roberts and Wrathmell's claim that replication of their work would produce comparable results.[14] It is clear that the Rural Settlement Atlas can only be taken as an indication of settlement patterns and density rather than as a statement.

Roberts and Wrathmell are at pains to point out that the Rural Settlement study is a top down exercise, one purpose of which is to provide a context for more local studies.[15] However, the results of a national survey that inevitably needed to use a 1 inch to 1 mile map, and that also used sampling techniques, has failed to recognise the unique settlement characteristics of the South Pennines. By using a national classification of density, the ranges involved appear to have been geared to characteristics predominant in lowland areas. The net result of this top down approach is an unintentional bias against the uplands of the study area which raises questions as to the accuracy of the survey, at least for other upland areas. Chapter 2 has already identified serious concerns as to whether the local regions and sub-provinces that Roberts and Wrathmell draw out of their results are in fact identified and characterised correctly where they include upland areas. The results of this replication serve to emphasise that point even more strongly. As the basis for a local study, the morphological framework provided by the Atlas is of less utility than claimed therefore.

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[14] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, pp.11, 13.
[15] Ibid., p.19; B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *Region and place: a study of English rural settlement*, (London, English Heritage, 2002), p.83.

Chapter 4

The evolution of settlement: documentary approaches

Having established what the pattern of settlement looked like in the 1830s, the implications of this pattern can be examined. Roberts and Wrathmell believe that their settlement map contains 'latent images of far earlier patterns'.[1] Whilst recognising that it is not a map of medieval settlement, they claim that it 'is a solid foundation for retrogressive analysis, for comparison with other, earlier distributions'.[2]

In order to test the validity of this belief, dated place-names that were recorded prior to 1800 were extracted into a spreadsheet, principally from *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire,* and plotted on ArcGIS. Issues relating to use of this data from Smith and other sources were noted in Section 2.3.2.1. Analysis of taxation records extends this assessment of historic settlement continuity through the development of a model to test the depth of settlement density at different points in time. As documentary sources are not available much before 1300, there is a practical temporal limit to the information on settlement process that can be obtained from them. In this chapter, evidential sources beyond the documentary are therefore utilised to illustrate interpretations of settlement origins additional to those provided by the morphological and historical.

Many factors affect settlement patterns, ranging from physical factors such as climate, altitude and soil, to a variety of economic, technological, social and political factors.[3] The fundamental importance of environmental factors has recently been reemphasised

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[1] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *An atlas of rural settlement in England*, (London, English Heritage, 2000), p.7.
[2] Ibid., p.14.
[3] B.K. Roberts, *Landscapes of settlement: prehistory to the present*, (London, Routledge, 1996), p.29. See also p.10-11, Fig 1.5.

by Williamson and certain of these are examined in detail in order to posit a model of the evolution of settlement in the Upper Calder Valley.[4] Consideration of the importance of soils as a factor affecting settlement prefaces an analysis of place-name elements that will examine two generally accepted theories of settlement. One states that early settlers are likely to have occupied the most environmentally advantageous sites first. The second focuses on whether dispersed settlement in this upland area originated as an expansion from a core of existing settlement. The validity of traditional views on dispersed settlement will be examined in this context.

4.1 The historicity of the pattern of settlement

The results show that even by 1300 the pattern of settlement, as indicated by these recorded names, was very dispersed. The vast majority of settlements were located on the 200-300 m shelf above the valley and extended up the tributary valleys. This pattern gets more and more dense as the centuries progress but the spread of settlement hardly changes, except for a gradual encroachment into the upper reaches of some tributary valleys. Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 show the results for 1300, 1500 and 1700. Although this documentary record is inevitably only partial, the important point is that it confirms that the general *pattern* of settlement was established by 1300. By 1700 the pattern was more saturated but the areas which were settled remained broadly the same. The basic outline of these settled areas, largely determined by the topography, remained constant. Within that outline, settlement was already widely dispersed.

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[4] T. Williamson, *Shaping medieval landscapes: settlement, society, environment*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2003).
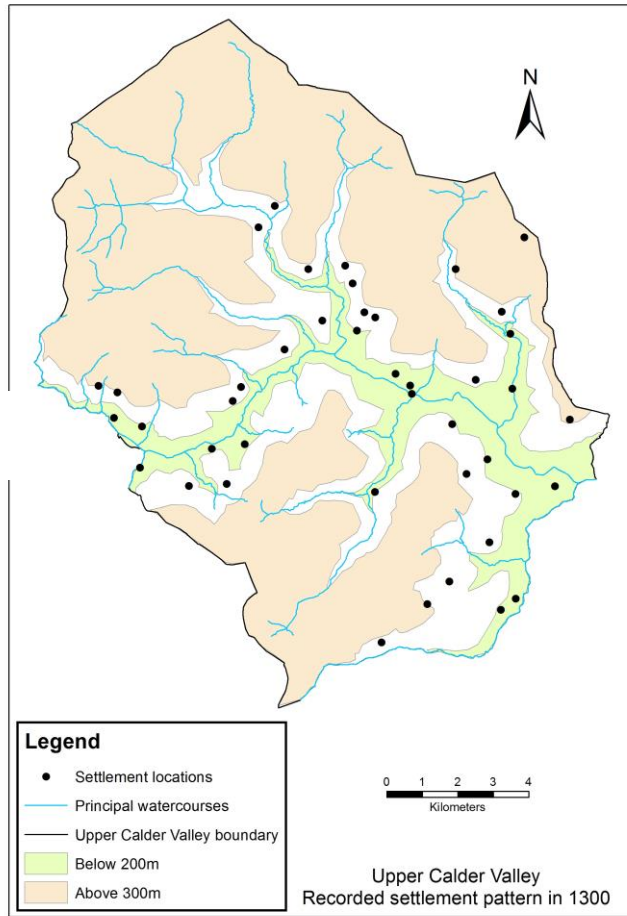
Figure 4.1: Recorded settlement pattern in 1300
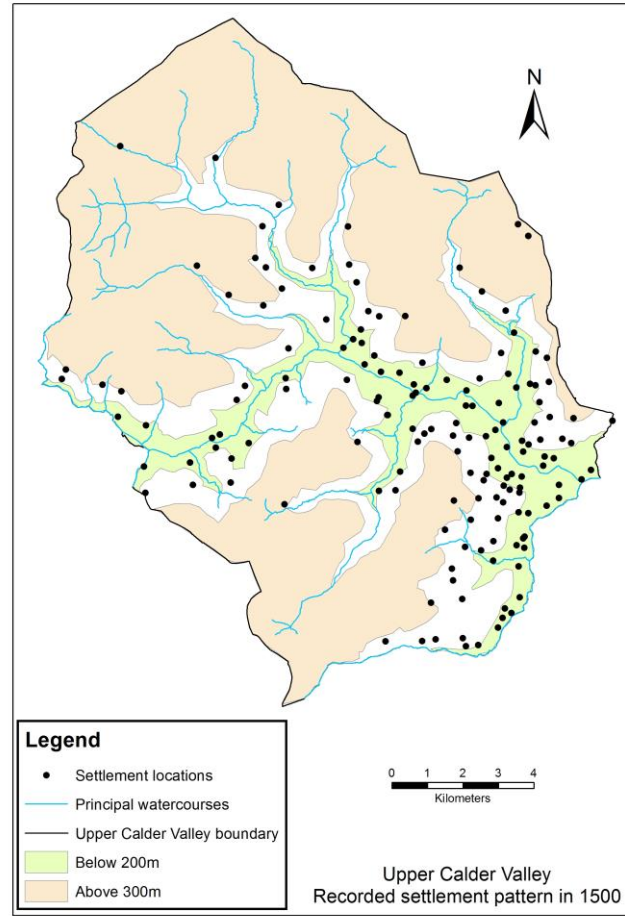
Figure 4.2: Recorded settlement pattern in 1500
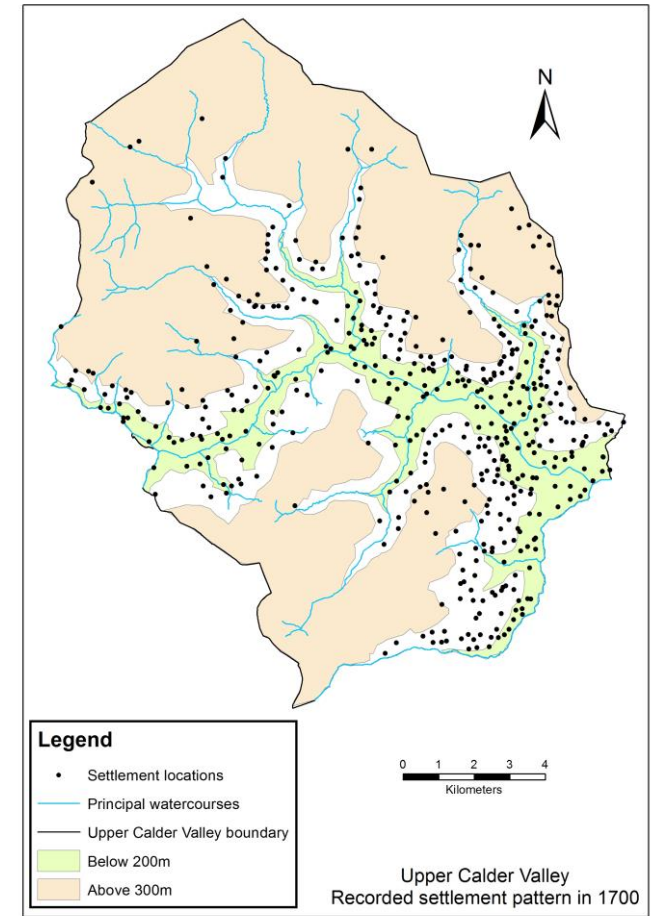
Figure 4.3: Recorded settlement pattern in 1700

These maps unequivocally demonstrate that the nineteenth-century pattern, as recorded on both the Myers and Margary maps, is the culmination of a long process of increasing settlement density within a spatial outline already formed in 1300. Roberts and Wrathmell's belief in a latent image in the nineteenth-century pattern is thus proved correct for the Upper Calder Valley. This broadly concurs with the dated settlement pattern exhibited in Weardale where Roberts has emphasised the potential antiquity of dispersed upland farmsteads.[5]

However, a number of questions arise that go beyond the practical issues discussed in Chapter 2. There is an unavoidable bias that results in relying on the dates when settlements are first recorded. Not all settlements are recorded, and most settlements are probably not recorded until some time after they have been established. It is possible that this could skew the settlement pattern if, for example, a particular settlement locality was not recorded at all. There is, however, no obvious indication of missing areas in the results and it seems reasonable to suggest that, while the extant recording of settlements must be incomplete, it is equally incomplete across the study area so as to give the consistent pattern seen in the results.

A particular problem is the possibility that pre-1300 names are evidence of an administrative territory, such as a sub-manor or vill, rather than a settlement *per se*.[6] Of the 43 settlements on the pre-1300 distribution map, only six names are synonymous with administrative units. Three of these are small hamlets today and appear to have been sub-manors within particular townships that were eventually

[5] B.K. Roberts, *Landscapes, documents and maps: villages in Northern England and beyond, AD 900-1250*, (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2008), pp.36-8.
[6] M.L. Faull, 'Place-names and past landscapes', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 11, (1978-1979), pp.24-46 at pp.45-6; M.L. Faull, 'The use of place-names in reconstructing the historic landscape; illustrated by names from Adel township', *Landscape History*, 1, (1979), pp.34-43 at pp.39-40.

merged with the township, while the other three are present-day small villages that carry the name of the township.[7] All of these are single nucleations surrounded by dispersed settlement and are first recorded as locative personal names. In the light of the evidence that is presented in Chapter 5, an assumption has been made that these locations were in existence as settlement foci of the administrative units when the name is first mentioned.

In addition, it has to be remembered that there is always a danger that some place names recorded by Smith are referring to particular localities or areas rather than places of habitation. While the obvious ones have been excluded from the dataset, it is quite possible that a small number remain. While this might present a slightly lower level of settlement density, it is very unlikely that there are particular concentrations of these such as to affect the pattern of settlement.

4.2 The density of settlement

Although it can be accepted that the recorded dates show the pattern correctly, it is clear that unrecorded settlement must mean that the pattern was more dense at earlier periods than the maps show. A description of the Upper Calder Valley landscape in the sixteenth century paints a picture of rapidly increasing rural settlement density due to the way in which the local textile industry operated. The importance of this in the local economy is emphasised by the preamble to the Halifax Act of 1555:

> Forasmuche as the Paryshe of Halyfaxe and other places thereonto adjoining, beyng planted in the grete waste and moores, where the Fertilite of Grounde ys not apte to bryng forthe any Corne nor good Grasse, but in rare Places, and by exceedinge and great industrye of the inhabitantes, and the same inhabitantes

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[7] The hamlets are Shackleton[stall], Rawtonstall and Saltonstall; the villages are Heptonstall, Midgley and Sowerby.

altogether doo lyve by clothe making, for the greate part of them neyther gettethe Corne nor ys hable to keep a Horse to carry Woolles, nor yet to bye much woolle at once, but hathe ever used onelie to repayre to the Towne of Halyfaxe, and some other nigh theronto, and ther to bye upon the Woolldryver, some a stone, some twoo, and some three or foure according to theyre habilitee, and to carrye the same to theire houses, some iij, iiij, v and vj myles of, upon their Headdes and Backes, and so to make and converte the same eyther into Yarne or Clothe, and to sell the same, and so to bye more Woolle of the Wooll-dryver, by means of whiche Industrye the barreyn Gronde in those partes be now much inhabyted, and above fyve hindrethe householdes there newly increased within theis fourtye yeares past.[8]

Bearing in mind that the preamble is probably based on a petition asking for exemption from the ban on purchasing wool through middlemen, there is likely to be more than a degree of hyperbole in this description. However the key points are clear. The population was growing as a result of the woollen industry, production was done in the home, households engaging in this activity were in the rural areas surrounding Halifax, not in Halifax itself, and agriculture was a subordinate activity. Bailey finds that outward migration was rising across the parish of Halifax immediately before the Act of 1555 but that a period of inward migration is evident immediately afterwards, thus tending to confirm the impact of the industry.[9]

Defoe's famous description of the Halifax area in 1727 further indicates the effect of the textile industry on the landscape and the reasons for it. Commenting on the way in which houses were scattered thickly over the hills, he found 'the Country, in short, one continued Village … [with]… hardly a house standing out of a speaking distance from another'.[10] He goes on to explain that this was a result of 'the Land being divided into small Enclosures, that is to say, from two Acres to six or seven Acres

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[8] Buying of Wool, Halifax 2 & 3 Philip and Mary c.13, 1555.

[9] I. Bailey, *Parish of Halifax population reconstruction: 1544 to 1700*, unpublished paper, 2012.

[10] D. Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies*, (London, Peter Davies, 1927), p.601.

each, seldom more; every three or four Pieces of Land had a House belonging to it'.[11]

The reason for this he attributes to the ubiquity of the cloth industry and the ready

availability of water required for the washing and dyeing of wool which was

channelled into streams running into and through the 'work-houses' of the clothiers.[12]

Among these 'work-houses' were 'scattered an infinite number of cottages or small

Dwellings' for the workmen whose families did the carding and spinning.[13]

Although subjective, such contemporary accounts suggest a level of settlement density

that might be considerably greater than the recorded settlements imply. How might the

extent of this missing density be assessed? Clearly the most accurate assessment will

be that based on early nineteenth-century data as that is the most comprehensive. The

1831 census data for the study area included the number of houses, thus providing a

definitive benchmark for settlement density. However, it is worth first exploring

another, more obvious, approach to the available nineteenth-century data in order to

demonstrate not only the extent to which it is effective in comparison, but also some

of the issues involved. Once settlement density in the nineteenth century has been

established, density in preceding centuries will be examined on a regressive basis

utilising taxation records. It will be argued that these records are the only available

data source that provides sufficient geographical and chronological coverage of the

whole study area.

4.2.1 Settlement density 1800-1835

An initial estimate of the extent to which recorded settlement numbers are an

underestimation of the number of actual settlements can be found by simply

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[11] Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, p.600.
[12] Ibid., pp.601-2.
[13] Ibid., p.602.

comparing the number of recorded settlements in 1800 with those found on the Myers map produced 35 years later in 1835. This entails making an assumption that the 35 years between the sources did not see significant settlement growth. Unfortunately Smith's analysis of recorded settlements after 1800 is limited and does not make use of many of the available sources, such as valuation records, that are available for this 35 year period. However, as both the recorded and mapped settlement sources are imprecise by their nature, it is doubtful whether the 35 year gap is significant in this context. Figure 4.4 shows that the ratio of mapped settlements to recorded settlements is 2.5 to 1. Any increase in recorded settlement would reduce this ratio. This begins to demonstrate the degree of under-recording implicit in recorded settlement data.

Figure 4.4: **Ratio of mapped to recorded settlements for 1800-35**

Number of mapped settlements in 1835 regardless of size	1617	2.51 mapped settlements per recorded settlement
Number of recorded settlements in 1800	644	

While unrecorded settlements are an obvious problem when using recorded settlements to assess settlement density, an equally significant problem is that the recorded settlement figures are unable to take account of the fact that individual settlement names may conceal multiple settlement units. It was explained in section 2.3.3.1 that linked farmsteads had to be recorded as single settlements because documented references, as recorded by Smith, only referred to the entity rather than the individual components of the settlement. The same is true of every type of nucleated settlement. As nucleations become larger over time, so the mismatch between the recorded name and the number of individual settlement units which form the settlement becomes larger. This trend may be exacerbated by the possibilities that

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a lower percentage of documents survive in comparison with the number of settlements that actually exist as time goes on, or that information about settlements within documents has yet to be found.

The extent of these problems of under-recording is illustrated by the 1831 census of the Upper Calder Valley townships, which included the total number of houses both occupied and empty.[14] Figure 4.5 shows that when this figure is compared with the figure for mapped settlements, there is an underestimate in mapped settlement density of 5.3 to 1. Bearing in mind that the mapped data is from 1835, this analysis provides a reasonably accurate benchmark for 1831 on the assumption that three years would have seen little growth in settlement. In contrast, comparing the census data with the recorded settlement data in 1800 indicates an underestimate of 13.3 to 1, a figure which not only reflects unrecorded settlement but also the effect of nucleations. In addition, an assumption that there was no settlement growth in those 31 years is much less plausible in this context and the ratio therefore much more suspect. However, the fundamental problem is that it only provides a figure for the nineteenth century, and it would be dangerous to extrapolate this backwards in time as it is unlikely that settlement growth proceeds at a constant rate over the centuries.

Figure 4.5: Ratios of houses in 1831 census to mapped and recorded settlements

	Totals	Ratios
Number of houses in 1831 census	8563	
Number of mapped settlements regardless of size (Myers map 1835)	1617	
Ratio of census houses to mapped settlements in 1835		5.29
Ratio of census houses to recorded settlements in 1800		13.29

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[14] J. Crabtree, *A concise history of the parish and vicarage of Halifax*, (Halifax, Hartley and Walker, 1836), pp.312-13.

4.2.2: Settlement density 1379-1831

In order to understand how settlement density increases over time, we need to examine the indicators for settlement growth. Population growth provides some insight into possible variations in settlement growth over the centuries. Figure 4.6 shows population estimates for the period 1544 to 1831. The period 1544 to 1664 is based on the parish registers of the Upper Calder Valley. These population estimates have been calculated by Ian Bailey following the methodology used by Wrigley and Schofield.[15] 1764 is based on the Easter books for that year which are discussed further below, while the rest of the figures are derived from early census material analysed by Bailey. The growth in population that began in the second half of the seventeenth century is very marked.

Figure 4.6: Population estimates for Upper Calder Valley townships

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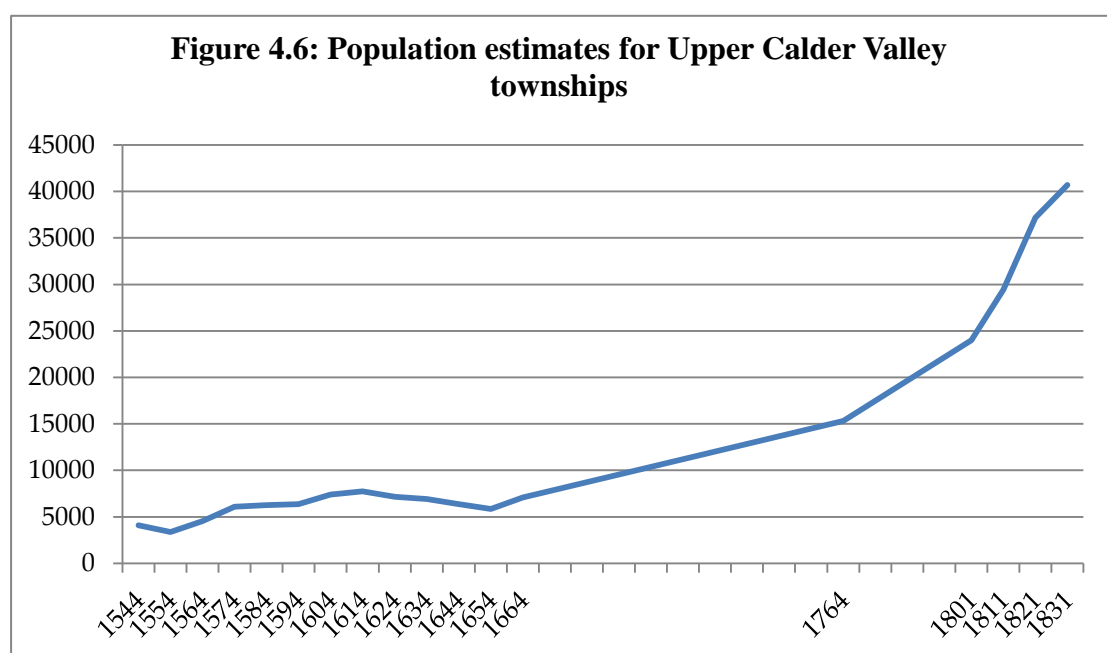
[15] I. Bailey, *Parish of Halifax population reconstruction: 1544 to 1700*, unpublished paper and Excel spreadsheet, 2012: See Appendix 7; E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The population history of England 1541-1871: a reconstruction*, First published 1981, (Paperback edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Figure 4.7: Recorded settlements by period. The dated buildings sequence refers to actual buildings, not settlements. Hamlets for example may include several dated buildings.
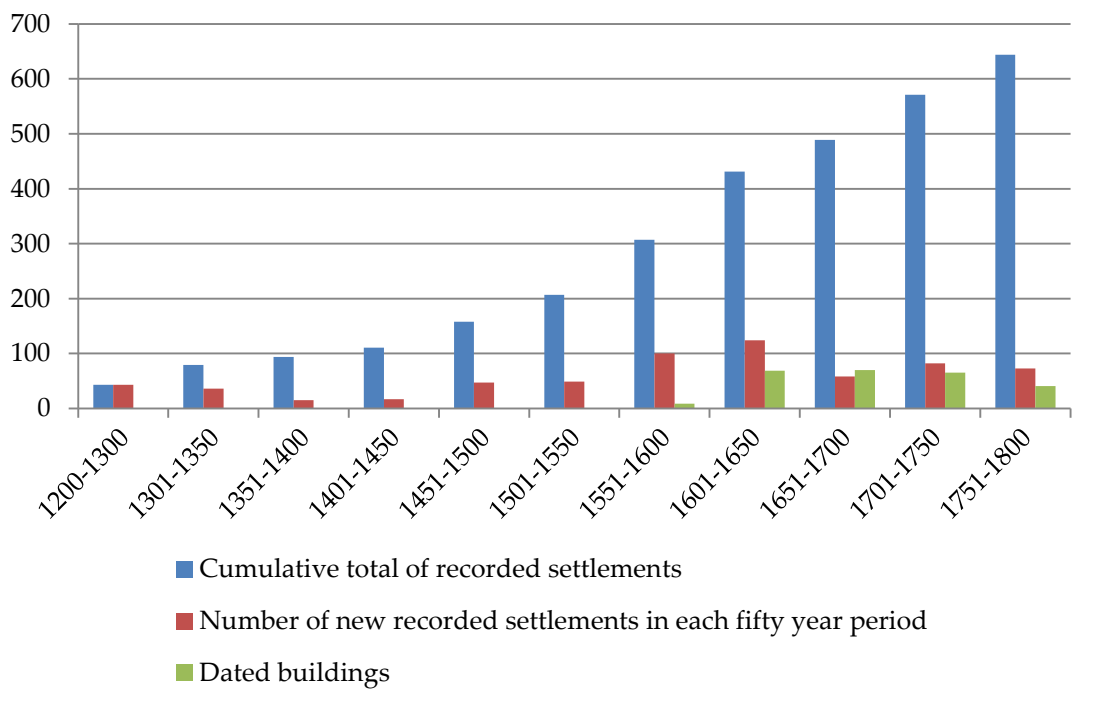
The graph in Figure 4.7 shows the steady rise in the total of recorded settlements for each fifty year period from 1300 to 1800. This contrasts sharply with the relatively flat profile of the population graph between 1544 and 1644. This indicates that the rise in the cumulative total of recorded settlements is more to do with the survival of records than a rise in settlement density. Possibly more useful therefore is the trend shown by the number of new recorded settlements in each fifty year period. As would be expected, a decline in new recorded settlements occurs around the time of the Black Death during the second half of the fourteenth century. A gradual rise thereafter climaxes during the seventeenth century. It is during this century that the decline in new recorded settlements is offset by evidence of a surge in building activity as evidenced by large numbers of dated buildings. These indicate that building activity

continued at a high rate through the seventeenth century and the first half of the
eighteenth century.

The contrast between the growth in this activity while the number of new recorded
settlements decline suggests a period of refurbishment, in which large numbers of
existing settlements were rebuilt while new settlements were being created at a lower
rate. This so-called Great Rebuilding was taking place across the country. Although
Hoskins suggested that the years of greatest building activity were between 1575 and
1625, Barley was of the view that in parts of northern England it was between 1660
and 1720.[16] The database of dated buildings in the Upper Calder Valley shows that
activity was greatest from the 1620s through to the 1720s, with the peak period being
the 1630s and the lowest periods being the 1640s during the Civil War and the
1680s.[17] This contradicts Machin's findings that the peak period for seventeen
counties was 1660-1739 but agrees with the Royal Commission on Historical
Monuments volume on West Yorkshire rural housing which characterises yeoman
rebuilding in the Upper Calder Valley as 'intense, early and prolonged'.[18]

The evidence for population growth and changes in building activity show that the
rate of settlement growth, and therefore the rate of increasing density, was variable.
However, it does not offer any means of assessing the extent to which recorded
settlement figures are underestimates of the amount of settlement at any particular
point in time. The 1831 census has provided a firm figure of 5.3 as a multiplier for

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[16] M.W. Barley, 'Rural housing in England' in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp.696-766 at p.757; W.G. Hoskins, 'The rebuilding of rural England, 1570-1640', *Past and Present,* (4), (1953), pp.44-59 at pp.44, 48.
[17] D.J. Cant, Unpublished data (Excel spreadsheet), January 2011.
[18] R. Machin, 'The Great Rebuilding: a reassessment', *Past and Present,* 77(1), (1977), pp.33-56 at pp.36-7; C. Giles, *Rural houses of West Yorkshire, 1400-1830,* Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. Supplementary series No.8, (London, HMSO, 1986), pp.109-10.

slightly later mapped settlement figures. Ideally a data source is required that has both a degree of consistency over time and covers the whole study area. Some of the difficulties in using and interpreting the Wakefield Court Rolls as Moorhouse did have been indicated in Chapter 2 (and Appendix 3). In addition, the transcribed volumes of rolls are very patchy in their chronological coverage and the proportion of existing place names mentioned must be relatively random. Estate rentals are limited in their geographical coverage and rarely denote settlement as opposed to land. Settlement names otherwise tend to only appear in legal documents such as probate records or land transactions which inevitably must also be random records of existing places. Tax records do however provide some level of consistency across a geographical area, although inevitably they are also incomplete in varying degrees due to evasion, exemptions and maladministration. While they cannot provide definitive numbers, tax records do have the potential to provide an indication of how many settlements might have been unrecorded at a particular point in time, the accuracy of which can be judged by comparison with the nineteenth-century evidence.

The major assumption of course is that a taxpayer represents a household which lives in a single settlement unit. In a study of historical household size and structure over the last three centuries, Laslett concluded that in England 'the standard situation was one where each domestic group consisted of a simple family living in its own house'.[19] While there is no doubt that this is a generalisation, it was usually only the wealthier segment of the population that was taxed. That segment of the population was far more likely to either own or rent a house than the poorer segment of the population who paid no tax. A working hypothesis therefore is that the ratio of recorded settlements to taxpayers gives an indication of the extent to which settlement

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[19] P. Laslett, *Household and family in past time*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.40.

is <u>not</u> being recorded in surviving documentation. In turn this indicates the degree to which the density of settlement might be affected at particular points in time.

It is inevitable that the extent of settlement that has not been recorded will still be an underestimation because this hypothesis excludes non-taxpayers who have houses. Furthermore, the definition of a taxpayer varied with each tax thus altering the ratio to non-taxpayers. These factors therefore require consideration of the basis on which each tax was payable in order to understand the possible degree of underestimation. A regressive approach is adopted so that more recent records that have expected higher degrees of accuracy are explored before older less accurate records. However, these older records can be tested in the sixteenth century by other surveys which provide an alternative record of the total number of families or households at roughly the same time as the lay subsidy of 1543-5.[20]

4.2.2.1 Testing settlement density from taxation and other sources

A. 1764 Parish Easter Books

Figure 4.8: Ratio of households to recorded settlements in 1764

	Totals
Houses (including those empty)	3003
Recorded settlements in 1764	604
Households per recorded settlement	4.97

In 1764 the vicar of Halifax, John Watson, calculated the number of households in the parish as recorded in the Easter Books.[21] The Easter Books were lists of householders who were liable to pay personal tithes on wages or trade profits, sums which were usually collected at the same time as the

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[20] See Appendix 8 for further details of the taxation analysis provided below.
[21] J. Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire*, (Reprint of 1775 ed., Manchester, E.J. Morten, 1973), p.146.

traditional Easter offering by the minister or his agents.[22] Studies on such

sources in other communities have suggested that the level of inclusivity in

these registers was high, with defaulters being regularly listed and even

recipients of parish relief being expected to pay Easter dues.[23] However,

Wright notes that a particular cause for concern as to the completeness of the

register would be 'areas characterised by pastoralism and rural industry' where

the Church of England's hold was weaker and there may have been a strong

dissenting community. This description would apply to the Upper Calder

Valley but there is strong evidence that the numbers of dissenters were counted

in Halifax parish. One of the questions in Archbishop Drummond's Visitation

Returns, also in 1764, requires the clergy to provide the number of families in

the parish and crucially 'Of these, how many are dissenters?'.[24] The returns are

very exact in providing these figures, breaking them down into the different

types of dissenting groups.[25] It seems almost certain that the figures in the

Easter Books would have been used to compile the answers to the Visitation

Returns.

The Easter Books record both the number of actual houses as well as families

so that the number of households is nearly five times the number of

settlements recorded. Two points are worth noting. First that the number of

occupied houses is equated to the number of families for each township. This

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[22] S.J. Wright, 'A guide to Easter Books and related parish listings', *Local Population Studies,* 42, (1989), pp.18-31 at p.18.
[23] Ibid., pp.26-7.
[24] C. Annesley and P. Hoskin (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's visitation returns 1764: Yorkshire A-G,* Borthwick Texts and Calendars 21, (York, University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997), p.ix.
[25] C. Annesley and P. Hoskin (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's visitation returns 1764: Yorkshire H-R,* Borthwick Texts and Calendars 23, (York, University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1998), p.2.

must raise a question as to whether it was actually households that were being recorded rather than physical buildings. Second that the numbers of families recorded in Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns vary slightly from those in the Easter Books. The returns are presented by parish and by chapelry within the parish. The return for Halifax therefore includes Soyland, Sowerby, Midgley and Warley townships, while Langfield, Erringden, Stansfield, Heptonstall and Wadsworth are included in the returns for Heptonstall Chapelry and Cross Stone chapel of ease. The combined returns of Heptonstall and Cross Stone give a total of 1218 families.[26] This can be contrasted with the total number of 1518 families indicated for the same area in the Easter Books. The discrepancy suggests a mistranscription of a number in one of the sources, although it has not been possible to check this as the Easter Books are no longer extant.

B. 1672 Hearth Tax

Figure 4.9: Ratio of households to recorded settlements in 1672

	Totals	Adjustments (see text)
Taxpayers in 1672	1144	1430
Recorded settlements in 1672	466	
Households per settlement	2.45	3.07

The hearth tax records for 1672 show that the number of recorded households for tax purposes was two and a half times the number of settlements recorded at this time. This includes those omitted from assessment by reason of poverty.[27] It is thought that the returns are reasonably comprehensive.[28]

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[26] Annesley and Hoskin (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's visitation returns 1764: Yorkshire A-G*, p.127; Annesley and Hoskin (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's visitation returns 1764: Yorkshire H-R*, p.28.
[27] D. Hey, et al. (eds.), *Yorkshire West Riding Hearth Tax assessment: Lady Day 1672,* Hearth Tax Series Vol. V, (London, British Record Society, 2007), pp.246-319.

However it should be remembered that those whose house had a rentable value of less than £1 p.a. and whose possessions were valued at less than £10 were exempted. The West Riding is unusual in that less than 1.5 per cent of hearths were noted as exempt, the reasons for this low number of exemptions being unclear. Most counties had around 20 per cent.[29] There are no significant surviving exemption certificates for the Upper Calder Valley but those for Halifax indicate that there may have been more than a quarter of households exempt.[30] If this is true for the Upper Calder Valley then the number of exempt households may have been around 286 which would give an adjusted ratio of just over three households for every recorded settlement.

C. 1543-5 Lay Subsidy

Figure 4.10: Ratio of households to recorded settlements in 1543-5

	Totals
Taxpayers in 1543-5	415
Recorded settlements in 1545	203
Households per settlement	2.04

In 1543-5 a lay subsidy payable over three years was levied on goods worth £2 or more and land worth £1 p.a. or more. On the assumption that each of the taxpayers recorded represented an individual household, the average number of households recorded per township was just over twice the number of

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[28] D. Hey, 'The West Riding in the late seventeenth century' in D. Hey, C. Giles, M. Spufford and A. Wareham (eds.), *Yorkshire West Riding Hearth Tax assessment: Lady Day 1672,* (London, British Record Society, 2007), pp.11-60 at p.14.

[29] Hey, et al. (eds.), *West Riding Hearth Tax*, pp.553-4. There was confusion over the difference between exemption and omission by reason of poverty.

[30] Ibid., pp.16-17, 565. The returns for Midgley record 20 out of 90 inhabitants (18%) were discharged by certificates. The 1664 returns record 27.4 % of the total as being exempt but this includes those omitted for poverty: J. Smail, *The origins of middle-class culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1994), p.25. As the number omitted for poverty in 1672 were only 3.2% of the total recorded then a figure of 25% exempt seems broadly correct.

settlements recorded at this time.[31] These figures represent only seven of the eight townships as the records for Stansfield have been lost. However, as the number of taxpayers in Stansfield in both 1672 and 1764 represented 30 per cent of the total number of taxpayers in Heptonstall Chapelry, (comprising Heptonstall, Wadsworth, Stansfield, Langfield and Erringden), it has been assumed that the same proportion applied in 1545.[32]

It is worth noting that although the earlier subsidy of 1524-5 'may well be the most comprehensive for much of England', not least because wage earners with £1 p.a. or more were also taxed, this does not apply to Lancashire and Yorkshire in particular.[33] In these counties there was a significant rise in the number of taxpayers in 1543-5 compared with an average rise of 6 per cent over most of the rest of the country.[34] In 1524 there were 128 taxpayers in the Upper Calder Valley, while in 1545 there were 375, a 193 per cent increase.[35] Although the reasons for this are unclear, it would be dangerous to infer sudden population growth. Even a rise in prosperity seems unlikely given the huge rise over 20 years, despite that assumption by Jennings.[36] The fact

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[31] 'Lay subsidies, co. York, West Riding, Wapentakes of Agbrigg and Morley, Anno 1545', *Publications of the Thoresby Society,* 9, (1899), pp.311-16; 'Lay subsidies, co. York, West Riding, Wapentakes of Agbrigg and Morley, Anno 1545', *Publications of the Thoresby Society,* 11, (1904), pp.101-29, 333-68.

[32] There were 464 families in Stansfield in 1764, 30.57% of the total in Heptonstall chapelry (1518 families). The number of taxpayers in 1672 for Heptonstall chapelry was 195. Of those 56 were in Stansfield which is 28.72% of total in chapelry. The difference between 30.57 and 28.72 is statistically insignificant. If 30% (48) is added to the number of taxpayers (115) in 1545 to account for Stansfield then there were 163 taxpayers in Heptonstall chapelry.

[33] R. Hoyle, *Tudor taxation records: a guide for users*, (London, PRO Publications, 1994), p.26.

[34] J. Sheail, 'The distribution of taxable population and wealth in England during the early sixteenth century' in J. Patten (ed.), *Pre-industrial England: geographical essays,* (Folkestone, Dawson, 1979), pp.55-70 at p.59.

[35] J.J. Cartwright, 'A subsidy roll for the Wapentake of Agbrigg and Morley of the 15th Henry VIII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 2, (1873), pp.43-60.

[36] B. Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley: a history of Upper Calderdale,* (Otley, Smith Settle, 1992), p.48.

remains that the 1543-5 figures are a more accurate indicator of household numbers in the West Riding than the earlier subsidy.

D. 1548 Chantry Surveys and 1545-6 manorial survey

Figure 4.11: Ratio of households to recorded settlements in 1548: Heptonstall Chapelry

	Totals
Estimated population based on houselings (see text)	2000
Households based on 4.75 persons per household	421
Recorded settlements in 1548	207
Households per recorded settlement	2.03

The degree of accuracy in the Lay Subsidy of 1543-5, in so far as it represents numbers of houses, can be further tested by using the Chantry Surveys of 1548. These surveys give figures for the number of 'houselings' (i.e. communicants) in different chapelries.[37] The surveys gave a figure of 1600 'houselings' in Heptonstall Chapelry. According to Page everyone over the age of 14 would be included in this figure, but it has been pointed out that at this period the age was more likely to be nearer seven.[38] Goose and Hinde suggest an assumption that the age was ten, and a further assumption that 25 per cent of the population was under that age based on Wrigley and Schofield's age structure estimates.[39] On this basis the total population would have been 2000. Based on Laslett's mean household size of 4.75, this equates

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[37] W. Page (ed.), *The certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the chantries, guilds, hospitals, etc in the county of York,* Publications of the Surtees Society Vol. 92, 1893, (Durham, Published for the Society by Andrews & Co, 1895), p.423; N. Goose and A. Hinde, 'Estimating local population sizes at fixed points in time: Part 2. Specific sources', *Local Population Studies,* 78, (2007), pp.74-88 at p.81.
[38] Goose and Hinde, 'Local population sizes', p.81; Page (ed.), *Certificates of the Commissioners*, p.xvi.
[39] Goose and Hinde, 'Local population sizes', p.81; Wrigley and Schofield, *Population history*, App.3, pp.528-9.

to 421 households.[40] If each of these households occupied a house in the same way as implied in the Easter Book figures in 1764, then there were 421 houses. Within Heptonstall Chapelry this means that there were just over twice as many houses as recorded settlement names, a figure that matches the Lay Subsidy almost exactly. While this must be coincidental as the data is not exact, it would seem to confirm the broad validity of the ratio.

However, this ratio is called into question by a survey of the manor of Wakefield in 1545-6 which found that in Erringden there were 50 houses and cottages with 23 owners and 39 undertenants.[41] As the place-name database only records thirteen settlements by this date, there were actually 3.8 times more houses than suggested. The discrepancy in the ratio between this survey of Erringden and that provided by the Lay Subsidy and Chantry Surveys may simply reflect the peculiarities of this single township. More plausibly, it is likely to indicate the degree of underestimation inherent in assumptions that non-taxpayers do not occupy houses and that communicants can be translated into population estimates.

E. 1379 Poll Tax

Figure 4.12: Ratio of households to recorded settlements in 1379

	Totals	Adjustments (see text)
Taxpayers in 1379	201	154
Recorded settlements in 1379	90	
Households per recorded settlement	2.23	1.71

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[40]Laslett, *Household and family in past time*, pp.48, 126; Goose and Hinde, 'Local population sizes', p.79. Laslett's data was based on listings between 1574 and 1821 and he makes the point that the figure of 4.75 does not necessarily apply to the Middle Ages. Household size in the 1831 census of the Upper Calder valley was also 4.75: Crabtree, *A concise history of the parish and vicarage of Halifax*, pp.312-13.
[41] The National Archives SC 11/991.

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The 1379 Poll Tax was payable by everyone over 16 although married couples were treated as one person. On the assumption that each couple and individual represented a household, the average number of households recorded per township was three times the number of settlements recorded at this time.[42] The ratio of household to settlement must be in fact lower than this because some of the younger individuals are likely to be still in the same household as their parents. Where servants are listed they will be in the same household as their master. It is likely therefore that the assumption that each couple and individual represents a household will result in a level of double recording. On the other hand some individuals may have avoided being recorded.[43]

However, analysis of the names for each township suggests that the level of double recording is no more than a quarter of taxpayers. In Midgley for example, there were 21 taxpayers. All but four of these have different surnames or are clearly couples. Only two individuals at the end of the list have identical surnames to others while two are listed as 'daughter of' someone whose first name appears elsewhere in the list. On the assumption that these represent children in the same household, the Midgley figure would be reduced to seventeen households. It should be noted however that identical surnames were not unusual and that individuals were often referred to as 'son of' or 'daughter of' even when married. According to Fleming, the fourteenth-century poll taxes tended to focus on the head of the household and other

[42] J. Lister and J.H. Ogden, *Poll Tax (Lay Subsidy) 2 Richard II (1379) with notes on local returns. Also Rental of Halifax and Heptonstall 1439,* Halifax Antiquarian Society Record Series Vol.1, (Halifax, Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1906).
[43] P. Fleming, *Family and household in medieval England*, (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001), p.65.

household members tended to be under-recorded.[44] The reduction therefore represents a probable minimum and the actual number of households is likely to have been somewhere between the minimum of seventeen and the maximum of 21.

Applying the same analysis to the other townships the total figure of taxpayers would be reduced to 154, a 23.38 per cent decrease. Heptonstall was excluded from this analysis as the taxpayers are listed with Halifax as one township. Using this minimum figure, the average number of households per township in 1379 was over one and a half times the number of settlements recorded.

4.2.2.2 Settlement density multipliers

Figure 4.13 provides a summary of the ratio of recorded settlements to estimated household units derived from the taxation figures and other sources for the 1540s. The

Figure 4.13: Ratio of recorded settlements to household units: summary 1379-1831

Period	Cumulative total of recorded settlements	Household units (estimated)	Ratio households to settlements	Assumed minimum ratio
1379	90	154	1.71	2
1545	203	415	2.04	
	13 in 1545-6 for Erringden township only	50	3.8	4
	207 in 1548 for Heptonstall Chapelry only	421	2.03	
1672	466	1430	3.07	3.5
1764	604	3003	4.97	5
1831[45]	1617	8563	5.30	5.5

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[44] Fleming, *Family and household in medieval England*, p.65.
[45] The number of mapped settlements in 1835 has been used in the absence of a reliable figure for recorded settlements in 1831: see p.157.

trend of these figures is broadly corroborated by the trend shown on the population graph in Figure 4.6 of a relatively slow period of growth up to the late seventeenth century followed by an increasingly rapid rise up to 1831.

The low ratio in 1379 may be due to the fact that many settlement dates are derived from locative personal names in court rolls and the Poll Tax itself. The growth in the ratio from 1672 onwards probably reflects the number of household units 'hidden' in expanding nucleations as discussed above.[46] The variation between the different sources in the 1540s suggests that, while tax and ecclesiastical records suggest a minimum ratio, the true ratio may be nearly twice that. This may be due to the relative paucity of documentation for the sixteenth century, compared with later periods, resulting in a low recording of named settlements.

It can be inferred from this that the number of settlements may be under-recorded by at least the multiples shown in Figure 4.13. These are more likely to be underestimates than overestimates and the figures are therefore rounded upwards as shown in the last column. When considering settlement density in the Upper Calder Valley therefore, it seems reasonable to assume, in the absence of other evidence, that the probable minimum density at particular points in time can be determined by using these figures as multipliers of recorded settlement numbers. The accuracy of these minimum density figures can be tested by comparing them with the estimated number of households derived from population data.

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[46] See p.157.

Figure 4.14: Recorded settlements v household estimates. Minimum estimates are based on taxation and other surveys (Figure 4.13). The number of households based on local records is derived from parish register estimates for 1545 and 1664, Easter books for 1764 and the 1831 census.
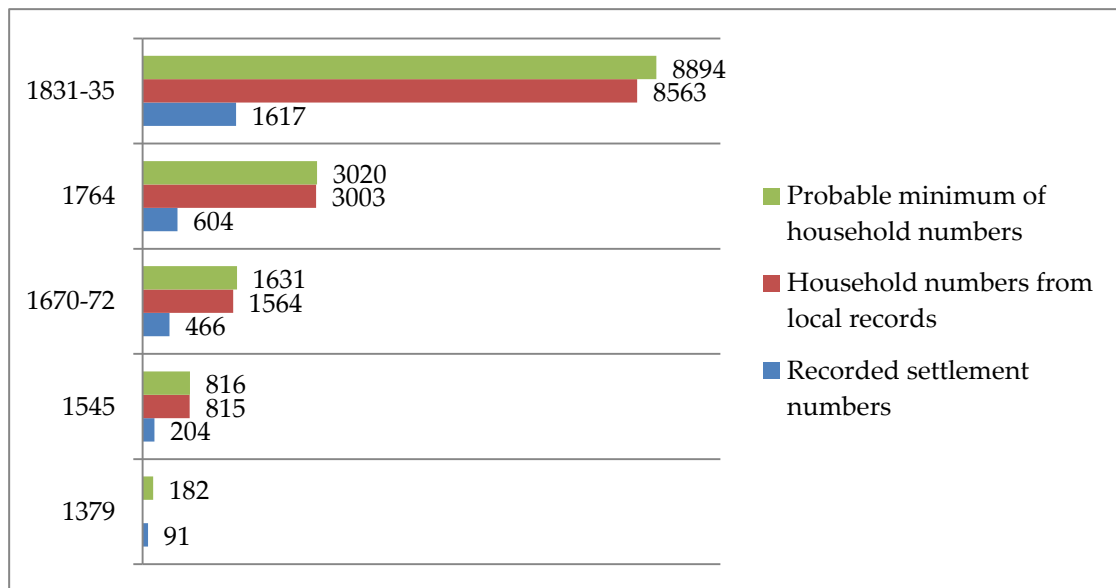
Figure 4.14 shows the divergence between recorded settlements and the suggested

minimum numbers of households. In addition, it shows estimated households derived

from local records that include the population estimates based on the parish registers

of the Upper Calder Valley. Unfortunately, these estimates end in 1670 and therefore

do not match the date of the hearth tax records exactly. The household estimates have

been obtained by using a divisor of 4.75 for household size. The close matches of

these estimates with the suggested minimum recorded settlement multiplier is striking

and tends to confirm the accuracy of the multiplier. Applying these multipliers

compensates not only for unrecorded settlements, whether mapped or otherwise

documented, but also for the problem that such references usually only refer to the

whole of a nucleated settlement rather than the individual components of it.

This evidence of increased density in the settlement pattern derived from first

recorded place-names serves to increase the validity of the Roberts and Wrathmell

hypothesis that the nineteenth-century settlement pattern reflects earlier patterns. Further, the evidence demonstrates that in this upland area dispersion has been the main feature of the settlement pattern since at least 1300. Yet to be considered is how this pattern of dispersed settlement originated.

4.3 Towards a model of settlement: environmental and place-name evidence

The settlement distribution map for 1300 (Figure 4.1) indicates that the southern and western aspects of the Upper Calder Valley were preferred sites at that period. The rest of this chapter will attempt to answer the questions that this observation poses regarding the early phases of settlement. The focus is on the evidence that can be derived from place-names in the context of the location of the Upper Calder Valley, both in terms of being on a shifting frontier between early kingdoms, and in terms of the influence of environmental factors, particularly soil quality.

4.3.1 Early administrative territories

The Upper Calder Valley seems to have been part of the British kingdom of Elmet before its incorporation into the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria in the seventh century.[47] That the area had previously been occupied by the Celts is shown by the occurrence of the element *walh* meaning 'the Welshmen's or the serfs' copse' in Walshaw in Wadsworth.[48] The Walsden valley in Lancashire is just outside the

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[47] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7: Introduction, bibliography, river-names, analyses,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 36, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), p.26; M.T. Clarke, *West Yorkshire and the ancient kingdom of Elmet*, (Bardsey, 1988), p.5; G.R.J. Jones, 'Early territorial organization in Gwynedd and Elmet', *Northern History,* 10, (1975), pp.3-27 at p.11.

[48] Jones, 'Early territorial organization in Gwynedd and Elmet', p.22; A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3: Morley wapentake,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 32, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), p.202.

eastern boundary of Sowerbyshire.[49] Another indicative name is Calder or Kelder which is a British river name meaning rapid water.[50] The southern part of Northumbria was conquered by the Mercians under Penda for a period during the seventh century before reverting back to Northumbria.[51] By the time of the Norman Conquest the area was part of the royal manor of Wakefield and was later given to William de Warenne, probably around 1107.[52]

The location of the valley in the frontier region between Mercia and Northumbria makes it more likely that the area was subject to settlement expansion from various directions. No firm evidence exists as to where the boundary between Mercia and Northumbria lay. Based on the inclusion of Elmet in the Tribal Hidage, a Mercian tribute list, Hart has suggested a frontier to the west of Leeds and along the present north-eastern boundary of Derbyshire, which would have placed the Upper Calder Valley in Northumbria but close to the frontier. The date of the Tribal Hidage is uncertain, with Hart ascribing it to the late eighth century while other suggestions range from the late seventh to the tenth century.[53] In contrast, Laing and Hooke include the Upper Calder Valley in Mercia in the early seventh century based on the River Wharfe as a northern boundary, while Jones also includes the Upper Calder Valley within the boundary of Elmet, and therefore Mercia.[54] What does seem to be

[49] The racial nature of *walh* is summarised in M. Gelling, *Signposts to the past: place-names and the history of England*, (3rd ed., Chichester, Phillimore, 1997), pp.93-5.

[50] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, pp.121-2.

[51] D. Hey, *A history of Yorkshire: 'county of the broad acres'*, (Lancaster, Carnegie, 2005), pp.54-5; Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, pp.34-5, 39.

[52] C.T. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire charters: Vol. 8. The Honour of Warenne,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Extra Series Vol. 6, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1949), p.178; J. Charlesworth (ed.), *Wakefield Manor book, 1709,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol.101, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1939), p.2.

[53] C. Hart, 'The kingdom of Mercia' in A. Dornier (ed.), *Mercian studies,* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1977), pp.43-61, pp.43, 50-1, 53; A. Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England*, (Stroud, Tempus, 1999), p.69.

[54] L. Laing and J. Laing, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p.92; D. Hooke, *The landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1998), p.45;

clear is that the valley was in a frontier region of shifting boundaries between the seventh and tenth centuries.[55]

The earliest place names that are recorded for the Upper Calder Valley are those in Domesday Book. Domesday states that there were nine berewicks of Wakefield manor but only eight are listed, of which one is Sandal Magna near Wakefield. The rest are all in the Upper Calder Valley and the names reflect the later township names as specified in Domesday Book. Two Upper Calder Valley townships are missing from Domesday, Heptonstall and Soyland.

It is thought that Soyland, on the south side of Sowerby, was omitted because it was part of the graveship of Sowerby.[56] It is suggested that Heptonstall, lying between Wadsworth and Stansfield, is the missing ninth berewick as it is the only township in the upper valley not to be mentioned. In 1775 the antiquary John Watson believed Heptonstall to be listed as Heptone in Domesday Book.[57] This interpretation was repeated by Beddoe and Hambley in 1907 but scholars are now agreed that Heptone is Kirkheaton near Huddersfield.[58]

Faull and Stinson point out that this is the only error in the number of berewicks in the Yorkshire Domesday and that normally errors of addition result from adding up more

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G.R.J. Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians' in R.A. Dodgshon and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *An historical geography of England and Wales,* (2nd ed, London, Academic Press, 1990), pp.45-68 at p.54.
[55] P. O'Hare, 'Yorkshire boundaries and their development' in H.E.J. Le Patourel, M.H. Long and M.F. Pickles (eds.), *Yorkshire boundaries,* (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1993), pp.9-23 at p.12.
[56] M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), p.520.
[57] Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax,* p.104.
[58] J. Beddoe and J. Hambley, 'The ethnology of West Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 19, (1907), pp.31-60, map; M.L. Faull and M. Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire,* (Chichester, Phillimore, 1986), 379c; A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.), *Domesday Book: a complete translation,* Alecto Historical Editions (London, Penguin, 1992), 317v, 379v.

numerous entries such as individuals.[59] A simple omission is now argued to be the most likely cause for the discrepancy.[60] It has also been suggested that Heptonstall was omitted because it already formed part of a combined manor with Halifax. The documentary evidence clearly indicates that Halifax was given to Lewes Priory between 1091 and 1097, well after Domesday, and it has been argued that Heptonstall was always part of the manor of Halifax although this is only documented in 1315.[61] Halifax is not mentioned in Domesday either so, as there is only one berewick missing from the list, it does seem plausible that it was the combined manor of Halifax cum Heptonstall.

Michelmore has pointed out that, as references to township boundaries in medieval documents are identical to those known later, it can be assumed that the boundaries remained constant.[62] Pallister has argued that the Lay Subsidy Rolls for 1334 point to 'a consolidation of settlement upon the basic pattern of settlement established by 1086 rather than to settlement expansion'.[63] The fact that the Upper Calder Valley township boundaries defined on the 1848 OS map largely follow obvious natural features of watercourse or watershed lends weight to this argument.[64] The territories of the later townships are therefore assumed to broadly equate to those of both the Domesday vills and even earlier settlement territories and are shown as such on the maps.

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[59] Faull and Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, notes 1Y15.
[60] H.P. Kendall, 'Domesday Book and after', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1935), pp.21-37 at p.30; J.A. Hargreaves, *Halifax*, (Revised ed., Lancaster, Carnegie Publishing, 2003), pp.10-11.
[61] J. Lister, 'Priors of Lewes, Lords of the Halifax Manor', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1922), pp.1-52 at pp.4-5; Faull and Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey*, pp.399-400.
[62] Faull and Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey*, p.237.
[63] J. Pallister, 'The human geography of the West Riding of Yorkshire in the Middle Ages: a comparative analysis of county-wide medieval surveys', unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Leeds, 1976, p.93.
[64] S.A. Moorhouse, 'Township boundaries in West Yorkshire', *Sciant Presentes,* 15, (1986), pp.8-20 at p.8; D.J.H. Michelmore, 'The reconstruction of the early tenurial divisions of the landscape of northern England', *Landscape History,* 1, (1979), pp.1-9 at p.1.

However, it will also be shown that there is limited circumstantial evidence which might suggest that the early medieval township area of Cruttonstall may have originally been part of Langfield.

4.3.2 Environmental factors

Williamson has argued that 'to a significant extent variations in the human landscape mirrored the patterns of soils, the urgings of topography' based on the fact that 'settlements were largely occupied by farmers, and whatever the importance of other factors the practice of agriculture must have been a very major determinant of their evolution'.[65] This is a partial resurrection of environmental determinism that had fallen out of favour with landscape historians during recent years but Williamson does not deny that other socio-economic factors play a part. He sees settlement and field system forms as arising out of 'rational adjustments to complex environmental circumstances' by those using the land in a specific area.[66] His message is mirrored by Roberts and Wrathmell who suggest a model of colonisation in which settlement expansion takes place 'within the framework of varied land qualities'.[67] The validity of Williamson's approach has been confirmed by Lambourne's study of a large transect of southern England.[68]

Place-name scholars have suggested that settlement distributions reflect the drift geology of an area in that early settlements are usually located in the best sites from an

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[65] Williamson, *Shaping medieval landscapes: settlement, society, environment*, pp.23-4.
[66] Ibid., p.192; See also N. Johnson, 'The location of rural settlement in pre-medieval Caernarvonshire', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* 29, (1980-82), pp.381-417.
[67] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *Region and place: a study of English rural settlement*, (London, English Heritage, 2002), p.14.
[68] A. Lambourne, *Patterning within the historic landscape and its possible causes: a study of the incidence and origins of regional variation in southern England,* BAR British Series 509, (Oxford, Archaeopress, 2010), pp.117-20.

agricultural point of view.[69] In studies of the Birmingham and County Durham areas

for example, both Gelling and Watts found that generally sand and gravel areas were

preferred over boulder clay.[70] In an extensive study of Lancashire and Cheshire place-

names, Kenyon argued that place-names could be dated according to an index of site

suitability based 'on the logical assumption that, *ceteris paribus*, the earliest

settlements will tend to be on the best sites, the latest settlements on the poorest sites'.

Unsurprisingly, she concluded that those best sites had fertile well-drained soils below

an altitudinal threshold of 152-183 m with an equable climate.[71] This general

approach has been adopted here, with an analysis of the soil quality pattern in the

Upper Calder Valley together with place-name evidence being used to suggest how

early settlement might have evolved.

The map sheets of the British Geological Survey for the Upper Calder Valley only

record superficial deposits (or drift) of peat on the higher moors, talus (or scree) on

steep slopes and occasional deposits of head and alluvium in the river valleys.[72] Most

of the study area has no recorded superficial deposits, which means that it is

impossible to use drift geology as a base for determining 'good' settlement sites.

However comprehensive mapping based on air-photo interpretation and sampling is

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[69] K. Cameron, *Place-name evidence for the Anglo-Saxon invasion and Scandinavian settlements: eight studies collected by Kenneth Cameron*, ([Nottingham], English Place-Name Society, 1975); W.J. Ford, 'Some settlement patterns in the central region of the Warwickshire Arden' in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval settlement: continuity and change,* (London, Edward Arnold, 1976), pp.274-94 at pp.288-9; Gelling, *Signposts to the past*, pp.223-5.

[70] M. Gelling, 'The evidence of place-names' in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval settlement: continuity and change,* (London, Edward Arnold, 1976), pp.200-11 at p.209; V.E. Watts, 'Comment on 'The evidence of place-names' by Margaret Gelling' in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval settlement: continuity and change,* (London, Edward Arnold, 1976), pp.212-22 at p.217.

[71] D. Kenyon, 'Archaeology, place-names and settlement in Lancashire and Cheshire c.400-1066', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1984, pp.779, 781.

[72] R. Addison, et al., *Geology of the Huddersfield district: a brief explanation of the geological map Sheet 77 Huddersfield*, (Nottingham, British Geological Survey, 2005), pp.18-19.; British Geological Survey, *Huddersfield: Solid and Drift Geology*, Sheet 77, Scale 1:50,000. Nottingham, 2003; British Geological Survey, *Rochdale: Bedrock and Superficial Deposits*, Sheet 76, Scale 1:50,000. Nottingham, 2008.

provided by the Soil Survey of England and Wales whose 'map units' provide detailed explanation of the agricultural potential of the various soil groups.

Soils are inherently subject to change, particularly in the uplands.[73] The gradual transformation from the parent material, such as rock, is caused by physical and chemical weathering. Rainfall and slope lead to erosion as well as leaching, or the washing of soluble substances such as nutrients deeper into the soil and down slope through the action of water. On higher slopes this ultimately leads to various types of acidic soil with podsolic profiles, meaning that underneath a peaty humus, the soil is nutrient-depleted with an iron oxide 'pan' or layer lower down. Soils around springs and water courses benefit from this enriched water and comprise more fertile brown earths, so-called because of their colour, that typically occur lower down the valley sides. In contrast, the vegetation cycle of growth and decay can mitigate the loss caused by leaching. The degree to which soils drain also has a significant effect. Seasonally waterlogged soils that are only slowly permeable are known as gley soils while raw peat soils form in more permanent waterlogged conditions.[74]

The quality of land can be assessed by using either the Agricultural Land Classification map, (now owned by DEFRA), or by the map units used in the Soil Survey of England and Wales. The former is only accurate to 80 hectares (20 acres) and use for detailed assessments is discouraged for that reason. In the Upper Calder Valley the existing moors are classified by the Agricultural Land Classification as

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[73] W.H. Pearsall, *Mountains and moorlands,* New Naturalist Series, , (Revised ed., London, Bloomsbury Books, 1971), p.56.

[74] Ibid., ch.4; See also Cranfield University. National Soil Resources Institute, 'Glossary of soil-related terms', [Undated], http://www.landis.org.uk/downloads/downloads/Glossary.pdf, accessed on 10 February 2011; Cranfield University. National Soil Resources Institute, 'The National Soil map and soil classification', [Undated], http://www.landis.org.uk/downloads/downloads/Soil_classification.pdf, accessed on 10 February 2011.

Grade 5, or very poor agricultural quality, while the rest is Grade 4, or poor agricultural quality.[75] The Soil Survey is less broad brush with six relevant soil types or map units for this area. However, it also has to be used with caution as the mapping is at a scale of 1:250,000 which only allows a minimum mapping of 1 km². In addition, it is worth bearing in mind that the study area was surveyed using air-photo interpretation with only sample areas representing 5 per cent of the total area being mapped in detail. Furthermore, soil boundaries are usually diffuse and peripheral zones would be expected between each soil group. These soil groups are also classified according to their agricultural land capability which is summarised below in Figure 4.15.[76] It should also be remembered that these assessments are based on modern agricultural methods, not those of the medieval period. The locations of the different soils are shown in Figure 4.16.

Another factor affecting the validity of the soil types is their historicity. To what extent do soils surveyed in the twentieth century reflect soil quality centuries earlier? The natural process of leaching and erosion will inevitably lead to poorer, more acid soils over time. This is exacerbated by human influences such as removal of tree cover and exposing soil by ploughing. On the other hand, farming activities such as manuring, liming and drainage will improve land while animal grazing will shift nutrients from rough pasture to inbye land in the form of muck. Dimbleby was of the view that, overall, man's influence increased the loss of fertility in acid soils on heathlands.[77] Ball came to the conclusion, taking the uplands as a whole, that human

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[75] http://magic.defra.gov.uk/website/magic/, accessed on 10 February 2011.
[76] D.M. Carroll, et al., *Soils of South and West Yorkshire,* Soil Survey Bulletin No. 7, (Harpenden, Soil Survey of England and Wales, 1979), pp.38-40, 56-7.
[77] G.W. Dimbleby, *The development of British heathlands and their soils*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962), pp.44-5.

Figure 4.15: Soil Survey soil groups

Unit	Most common soil type	Acidity	Drainage	Land capability classification
18	Coarse loamy typical brown earth	Slightly to moderately acid	Free	Moderate to moderately severe soil or climatic limitations that restrict the choice of crops and/or demand careful management
44	Coarse loamy typical brown earth	Moderately acid	Free	Moderate limitations due to climate that restrict the choice of crops and/or demand careful management
52	Pelo-stagnogley soils (Clayey)	Moderately acid to neutral	Impeded. Slowly permeable	Moderate to moderately severe soil or climatic limitations that restrict the choice of crops and/or demand careful management
24	Ironpan stagnopodzols (Loamy-skeletal)	Usually strong to moderately acid	Surface wetness	Severe to very severe gradient and soil limitations that restrict use to pasture or rough grazing. Given sufficient time and fertilisers will change into brown podzolic soil of Unit 18 if cultivated
30	Stagnohumic gley soils (Fine loamy)	Strongly acid under moorland but usually moderately to slightly acid when cultivated	Impeded. Slowly permeable	Severe limitations due to poor drainage and high rainfall that restrict use to pasture
35	Raw peat	Very acid	Naturally wet	Very severe limitations due to very poor drainage and liability to erosion that restrict use to rough grazing

Figure 4.16: Soil Survey soil groups in the Upper Calder Valley

Legend

— Upper Calder Valley boundary
— Principal watercourses
— 200m contour
— 300m contour
■ Soil unit 18
■ Soil unit 44
■ Soil unit 52
■ Soil unit 24
■ Soil unit 30
■ Soil unit 35

N

0 1 2 3 4
Kilometers

Upper Calder Valley
Soil Survey soil groups
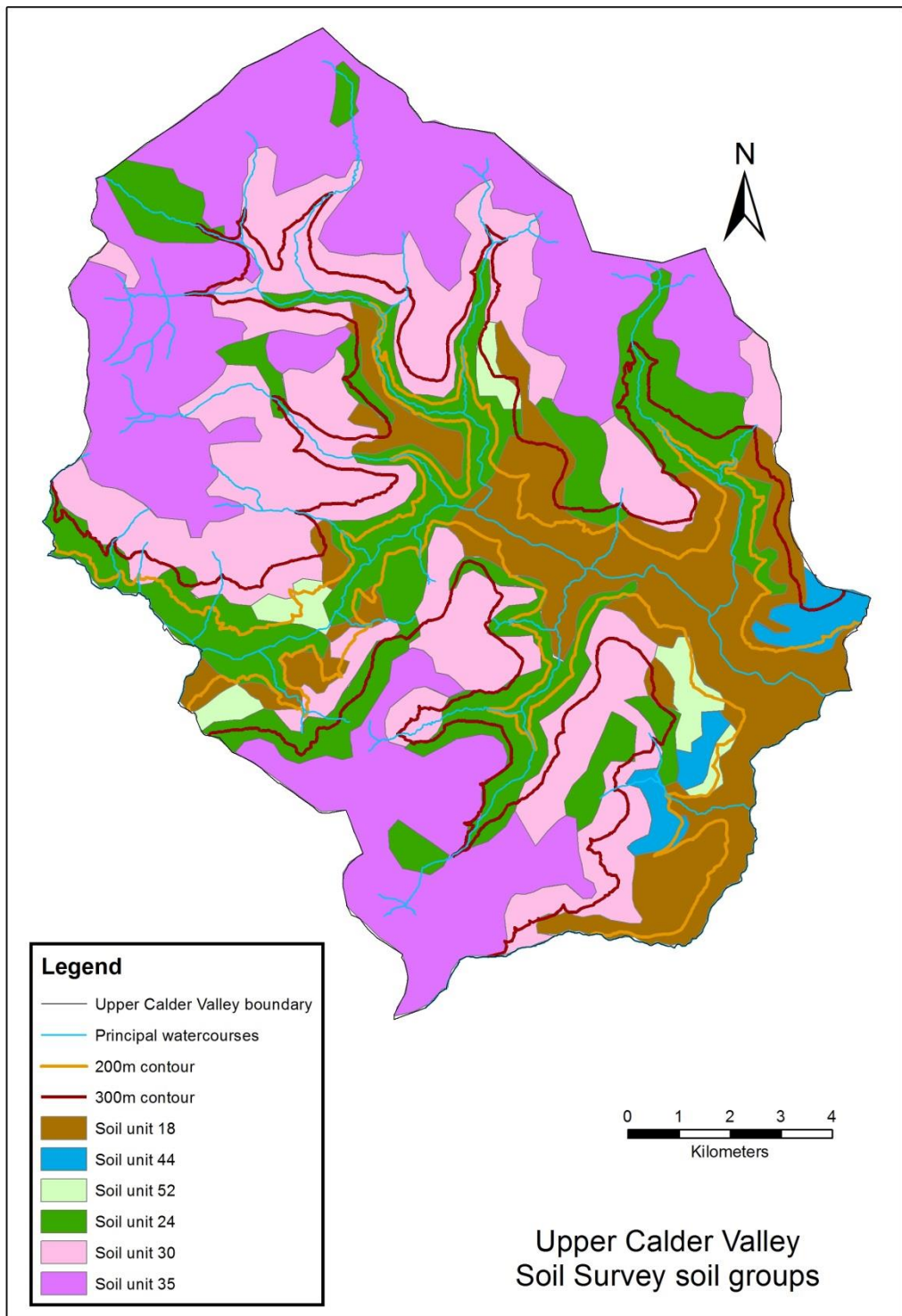
intervention only hastened or slowed the natural trends and that it was unlikely it would have resulted in the formation of different soil systems.[78] In contrast, Carroll et al focus on the beneficial aspects of farming and seem more inclined to agree with Defoe as to the soil enriching effects of effluents from the textile industry in this area.[79] It is hard to disagree with Smith's view that linking former agriculture and present soil morphology is a task of some difficulty.[80] As the immediate issue in this thesis is one simply of relative soil quality between different locations, it has been assumed that the quality of each soil unit has remained constant in relation to its neighbours.[81] For example Soil Unit 18 has always been more fertile than Soil Unit 24.

However, it must be borne in mind that the soil types have transitional zones between them, they only reflect the predominant soil of a particular area, and the mapping is at a large scale.[82] In addition, medieval settlers and agriculturalists are likely to have focused as much on slope and aspect as on how they assessed the capability of the soil. Clearly the steeper the slope, the less useful it would be as agricultural land because of the increased difficulty in converting and maintaining it for such use. Northern slopes receive less insolation (solar radiation) than southern slopes, with significant differences in temperature during spring and summer. Consequently vegetation growth starts earlier on south facing slopes. In addition west facing slopes are warmer than east facing because the sunlight received by the latter occurs straight

[78] D.F. Ball, 'Processes of soil degradation: a pedological point of view' in J.G. Evans, S. Limbrey and H. Cleere (eds.), *The effect of man on the landscape: the Highland zone,* ([London], Council for British Archaeology, 1975), pp.20-7 at p.26.
[79] Carroll, et al., *Soils of South and West Yorkshire*, pp.28-9; Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*, Vol.2, pp.601-2.
[80] R.T. Smith, 'Early agriculture and soil degradation' in J.G. Evans, S. Limbrey and H. Cleere (eds.), *The effect of man on the landscape: the Highland zone,* ([London], Council for British Archaeology, 1975), pp.27-37 at p.36.
[81] As did Kenyon and Johnson: Kenyon, 'Archaeology, place-names and settlement', pp.353-4; Johnson, 'Location of rural settlement', p.389.
[82] Carroll, et al., *Soils of South and West Yorkshire*, p.38.

after the cooling during the night. Furthermore the sun's energy is partly taken up through the evaporation of dew.[83] Research in Wales in 1954 and 1955 on ground surface temperatures showed that:

> almost half as much extra potential growth (48 per cent) may be expected on south slopes compared with north slopes of *circa* 22º to the horizontal. Similarly, almost a quarter as much extra potential growth (23 per cent) may be expected on west slopes compared with north slopes of *circa* 22º to the horizontal. On similar east slopes, however, only a small amount (7 per cent) of extra growth potential is indicated.[84]

4.3.3 Early settlement

Figures 4.16 and 4.17 show that the best soils are above the 200 m level in the upper half of the valley and the tributary valleys. Below Hebden Bridge brown earth soils extend from the valley floor up to as far as the 300 m contour. The narrowness of the valley ensures that the best insolation is obtained on the 200 to 300 m shelf above the valley floor. Optimal farming conditions were therefore on these terrace sites, and the main routeways also used the terraces to avoid the dense growth in the gorge below. Indeed it was not until the eighteenth century that a through route was constructed along the valley floor with the turnpike between Halifax and Todmorden. As we shall see, place-name evidence indicates that the lower altitudes were well wooded until the thirteenth century. There is little doubt therefore that the earliest settlements would have been on the terraces.[85]

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[83] J.-H. Chang, *Climate and agriculture: an ecological survey*, (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co., 1968), pp.94-5.
[84] J.A. Taylor, 'Growing season as affected by land aspect and soil texture' in J.A. Taylor (ed.), *Weather and agriculture,* (Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1967), pp.15-36 at p.33.
[85] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, pp.5-6.

Figure 4.17: Settlement pre-1086 in the Upper Calder Valley

Upper Calder Valley
Settlement pre-1086
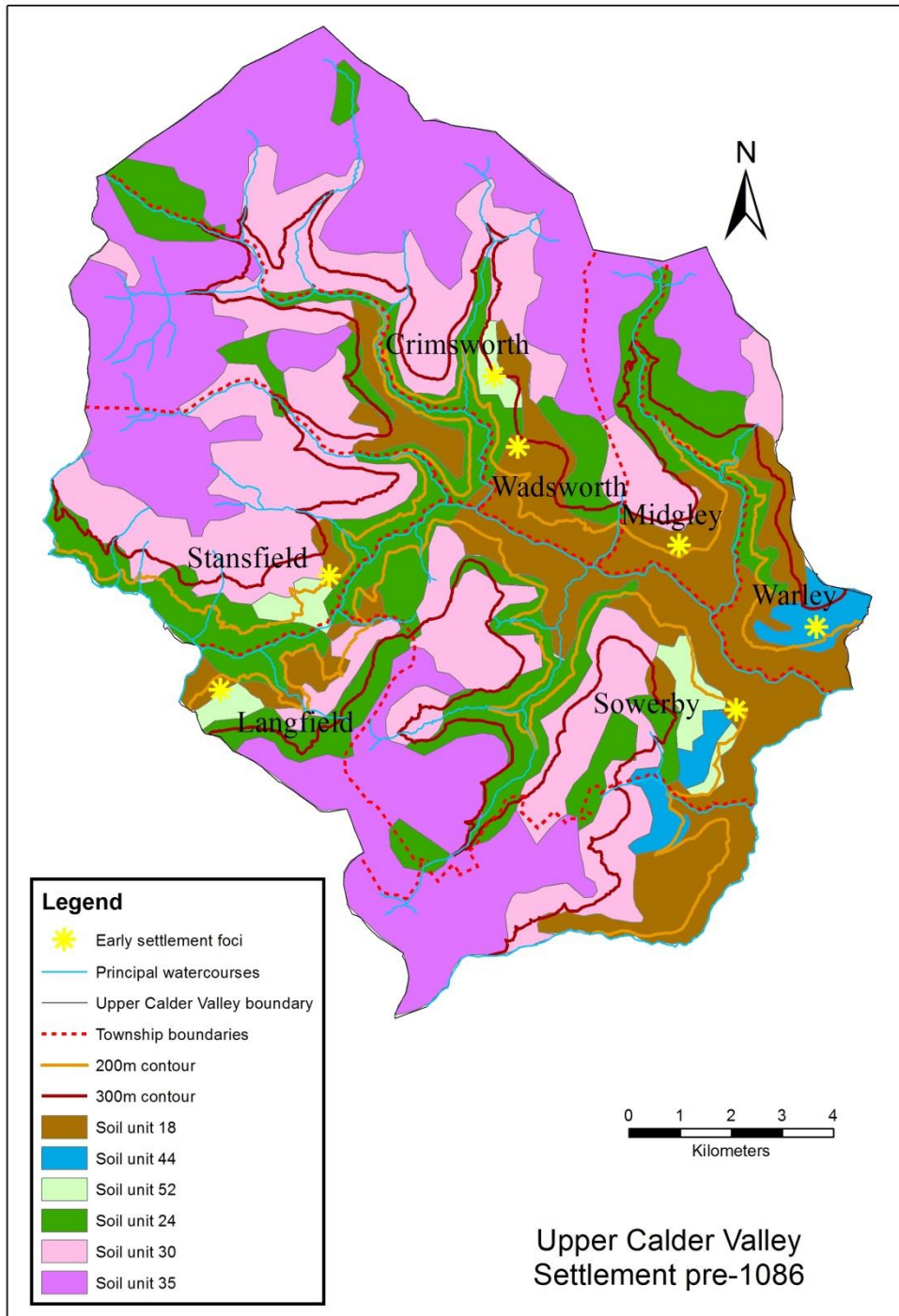
On the Lancashire border to the west, the two vills of Stansfield and Langfeld contain the Old English place-name element of *feld,* meaning open country in contrast to wooded land.[86] These vills occupy the shelf of land between 200 and 300 m that parallels the Calder above the wooded valley floor. It seems reasonable to suggest that these vills occupied the best available land at the western end of the valley. Stansfield faces south and was perhaps focused on the brown earth areas of Soil Units 18 and 52.[87] Although Langfield is on the south side of the valley and therefore faces north, it is also open to the west and the shelf here is relatively level. Again the vill is likely to have been centred on the areas of Soil Units 18 and 52 towards the western end of the shelf.

At the eastern end of the Upper Valley are the vills of Warley and Midgley. The -ley part of the names is the Old English element *lēah* denoting a clearing in a wooded area.[88] Both vills have a southerly aspect and, based on the location of present day settlements that bear their name, appear to have been centred on the brown earths of Soil Units 18 and 44 that are more extensive at this end of the valley.

The vill of Wadsworth occupies the remaining best land in the middle of the valley. The element *worth*, meaning an enclosure, rarely occurs in the north and east Ridings of Yorkshire and it has been suggested that it bears Mercian characteristics.[89] Kenyon has noted that many Lancashire *worth* names, such as Saddleworth, Whitworth and Edgeworth, are in upland locations, often on the slopes of forest areas such as

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[86] M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The landscape of place names*, 2000, (Reprint with corrections, Stamford, Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp.269-71; A.H. Smith, *English place-name elements, Part 1: A-Iw,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 25, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1956), p.167.
[87] Suggested centres or foci of early settlement are marked as such on Figure 4.17.
[88] Smith, *English place-name elements, Part 2: Jafyn-Ytri*, p.19.
[89] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.40.

Rossendale and Macclesfield.[90] It is significant that the only other *worth* name in the Upper Calder Valley is Crimsworth Dene, which is also in Wadsworth township. On the other side of the northern watershed of Sowerbyshire are the settlements of Haworth, Oakworth and Cullingworth, all upland settlements in close proximity to each other.

The area of the South Pennines that appears to have been in Mercia in the early seventh century exhibits some clear dialectal features that are distinct from Northumbrian and that indicate Mercian provenance. It has been suggested by several authors that this could be the consequence of Mercian settlement in Upper Calderdale and south of Airedale.[91] The topography provides natural corridors into the upper valley from what is now the Lancashire side of the Pennines. One plausible hypothesis is that Mercians occupied the *feld* vills of Stansfield and Langfield at the west end of the valley, having moved up the corridor provided by the Roch Valley and Walsden Water into the Calder Valley. From there they expanded into Wadsworth. The key point however is that the vills with English name elements occupy the best soils and locations.

The only other part of the valley with brown earth soils is the south-east corner of the valley that was occupied by the vill of Sowerby (Sorebi). However this location faces north and east, thus reducing its agricultural potential. This is the only vill with a name of Scandinavian origin.[92] Indeed Morley wapentake has the lowest number of names with a Scandinavian element in the West Riding, a mere 12 per cent of the

[90] Kenyon, 'Archaeology, place-names and settlement', pp.702-3.
[91] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, pp.40-2; E. Kolb, '"Elmet": a dialect region in northern England', *Anglia Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie,* 91, (1973), pp.285-313; Faull and Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey*, p.182; Hey, *History of Yorkshire*, p.62.
[92] Gelling, *Signposts to the past*, p.216.

total.[93] Distribution maps compiled by both Smith and Fellows-Jensen show that Sowerby represents the most western location of a *bý* name south of the Aire Gap.[94] Indeed the isolation of this area from the main areas of Danish influence to the north and east is striking, suggesting that Danish expansion from York during the ninth and tenth centuries was of limited significance in this area.[95]

However, Smith noted that the south side of the Upper Calder Valley has a number of names with a Norse origin, in contrast to the north side where all the names are English. Norwegian Vikings from Ireland settled in the north-west during the tenth century and expanded as far as York, although the extent of this immigration is increasingly being questioned.[96] Smith has no doubt that the names of Mankinholes, Erringden, Cragg Vale and Sowerby on the south side of the valley all indicate Irish-Norwegian settlement.[97] The Old Irish personal name of Mancan combined with *hol* forms Mankinholes (Mancan's hollows). The Cragg of modern Cragg Vale is from the Irish *creag* while the Old Norse name of Eirikr combined with *denu* created Heyrikdene or Ayrykedene, now Erringden (Eric's valley). Although Sowerby could be Danish, Smith argues that its proximity to the Norwegian names renders it likely to have the same provenance.[98]

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[93] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.48.

[94] Ibid., map of Scandinavian place-names; G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian settlement names in Yorkshire*, (Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, 1972), pp.175-83.

[95] W.G. Collingwood, *Angles, Danes and Norse in the district of Huddersfield*, (2nd ed., Huddersfield, Tolson Memorial Museum, 1929), pp.44-5.

[96] See for example N. Higham, 'Viking-age settlement in the north-western countryside: lifting the veil?' in J. Hines, A. Lane and M. Redknap (eds.), *Land, sea and home: proceedings of a conference on Viking-period settlement at Cardiff, July 2001,* (Leeds, Maney Publishing, 2004), pp.297-311.

[97] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, pp.45-8, 56; See also Collingwood, *Angles, Danes and Norse*, pp.46-9, 54-5; Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, pp.16-17; Hey, *History of Yorkshire*, p.64.

[98] Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3*, pp.56, 160, 171, 176.

That these Scandinavian names are all located on the colder, less sunny, north and east facing slopes is very significant. Apart from Sowerby which is on brown earth soils, the rest are on the poorer soils of Units 24 and 30 that lie further east than the better soils of Langfield. All of these locations are inferior to the English settlements on the north side of the valley from an agricultural and settlement point of view. In her study of Scandinavian place-names in Yorkshire, Fellows-Jensen concludes that 'the majority of *býs* … were probably established in areas left vacant by the English' and that, where topography restricted the land available, Scandinavian settlement fitted in between existing English settlements rather than taking them over.[99]

The model suggested by Gelling and others is that settlers will naturally occupy the best sites first and the location of certain types of place-name can therefore indicate chronology.[100] If this model is accepted, then the settlement sequence of the Upper Calder valley can be proposed as follows. The best soils and aspects at either end of the valley, principally on the north side, were occupied first by the British. The middle of the valley, with arguably poorer communications, may have been occupied next by the Mercians, probably during the seventh century. Finally the less attractive south side of the valley was occupied by the Irish-Norwegians in the tenth century.

4.4 Conclusion

The use of documentary sources in the form of first-recorded place-names shows that a considerable continuity of settlement dispersion in the area has existed since at least

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[99] Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian settlement names in Yorkshire*, pp.210-11; For a cautionary review of the evidence provided by such names see L. Abrams and D.N. Parsons, 'Place-names and the history of Scandinavian settlement in England' in J. Hines, A. Lane and M. Redknap (eds.), *Land, sea and home: proceedings of a conference on Viking-period settlement at Cardiff, July 2001,* (Leeds, Maney Publishing, 2004), pp.379-431.
[100] Gelling, *Signposts to the past*, pp.223-5; Kenyon, 'Archaeology, place-names and settlement', pp.736-7.

1300. This evidence confirms the validity of the Roberts and Wrathmell hypothesis that the nineteenth-century settlement pattern reflects earlier patterns. Tax records indicate that use of these place-name records underestimates the density of settlement by between two and five and a half times, the difference generally becoming greater as the population expands and as nucleations increase in size and number.

Use of evidence of a different nature, in the form of soil capabilities and place-name elements, has shown that this type of data can offer a deeper understanding of the sequences involved in settlement evolution before the availability of documentary evidence. The initial morphological framework provided by the settlement pattern can be used to develop a model based on this environmental and place-name evidence. A model of early settlement has been proposed in which the most environmentally advantageous sites were occupied first. The next chapter considers how this early settlement model might have developed into the dispersed pattern that is evident from at least the end of the thirteenth century.

Chapter 5

Upland settlement: the process of dispersion

The model of initial settlement proposed in the last chapter posits sites of early settlement located in the most environmentally advantageous sites. How might this model have developed into the dispersed pattern that became ubiquitous over the subsequent centuries? This chapter will seek to determine this question through an analysis of various models of dispersion in the upland context of the Upper Calder Valley.

Taylor defines three general types of dispersed settlement.[1] One is where 'dispersed settlements predominate but with a limited number of nucleated villages within the overall dispersal'.[2] Another type is where a mainly dispersed pattern has been 'gradually replaced by a pattern of nucleated villages', typical of the Midlands.[3] The last type of dispersed settlement is seen to be a result of secondary expansion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from 'pre-existing nucleated villages lying outside or on the edge of the forests or wastes'.[4]

5.1 Dispersed settlement with limited nucleations

The early settlement model proposed in the last chapter focused on the fact of settlement within areas defined as Domesday vills without considering the form that that settlement took. Domesday was a survey of estates, not villages, and a Domesday name should not be confused with a later nucleation that bore the same name. The vill

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[1] C.C. Taylor, 'Dispersed settlement in nucleated areas', *Landscape History,* 17, (1995), pp.27-34 at p.27; See also C.C. Taylor, 'Medieval rural settlement: changing perceptions', *Landscape History,* 14, (1992), pp.5-17 at pp.8-9.
[2] Taylor, 'Dispersed settlement in nucleated areas' at p.27.
[3] Ibid., p.27.
[4] Ibid.

often included a number of discrete settlements.[5] In fact dispersed settlement is now

seen as being the oldest form of settlement, predating the formation of nucleated

villages that could result in Taylor's first and second dispersion types.[6] An advance on

this view has recently been put forward by Jones and Page as a result of their

extensive study of Whittlewood. They suggest that 'a fully dispersed pattern of

isolated farmsteads' underlay both the medieval settlement pattern and the pattern

before 850 AD.[7] These earlier settlements, or 'pre-village nuclei', were probably no

larger than one or two households. Whether a settlement became nucleated or stayed

dispersed did not depend on its antecedents however. Settlement is a process, with

nucleations and dispersions being end-products dependent on a combination of factors

affecting the conscious or unconscious decision making of the communities involved.[8]

Jones has illustrated how this self-organising process could result from individual

rather than collective decision making.[9]

Jones and Page argue that the ubiquity of the dispersed settlement form, coupled with

its resilience and flexibility, suggests that dispersion is the natural state.[10] Where there

is freedom of choice the natural human tendency seems to favour dispersion.[11]

Colonisation of areas of parliamentary enclosure was through dispersion, and there are

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[5] D. Roffe, 'Place-naming in Domesday Book: settlements, estates, and communities', *Nomina,* 14, (1990-91), pp.47-60 at p.47-8; D.J.H. Michelmore, 'The reconstruction of the early tenurial divisions of the landscape of northern England', *Landscape History,* 1, (1979), pp.1-9 at p.7.
[6] Taylor, 'Dispersed settlement in nucleated areas', p.27; H. Hamerow, 'The development of Anglo-Saxon rural settlement forms', *Landscape History,* 31(1), (2010), pp.5-22 at p.9; R. Jones and M. Page, *Medieval villages in an English landscape: beginnings and ends*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2006), p.7; M. Aston, 'The development of medieval rural settlement in Somerset' in R. Higham (ed.), *Landscape and townscape in the South West,* (Exeter, University of Exeter, 1989), pp.19-40 at pp.26, 28; H.S.A. Fox, 'Peasant farmers, patterns of settlement and pays: transformations in the landscapes of Devon and Cornwall during the later Middle Ages' in R. Higham (ed.), *Landscape and townscape in the South West,* (Exeter, University of Exeter, 1989), pp.41-73 at p.48.
[7] Jones and Page, *Medieval villages*, p.234.
[8] Ibid., pp.14-15, 234-7.
[9] R. Jones, 'The village and the butterfly: nucleation out of chaos and complexity', *Landscapes,* 11(1), (2010), pp.25-46 at pp.29-33.
[10] Jones and Page, *Medieval villages*, pp.232-3.
[11] Jones, 'The village and the butterfly', p.32.

parallels with the initial colonisation of Australia, New Zealand and North America. There is no reason to suppose that this natural state or tradition of dispersal would not have continued in some areas, and Williamson singles out woodland regions in particular as being likely to have been affected in that way. As an example, he suggests that dispersal occurred in East Anglia as an individualistic response to grazing shortages that resulted in farmsteads appearing around the edge of residual areas of grazing.[12] In upland areas, with large acreages of potential grazing land available, a typical response is suggested by the numerous grants of waste in County Durham to freemen in the later thirteenth century which resulted in a dispersed pattern of moorland farms.[13] A similar pattern is evident in the North York Moors at the same period.[14] The increasing density of the recorded dispersed settlement pattern shown in the last chapter suggests that the tendency to dispersal continued in the Upper Calder Valley until the nineteenth century. It will be recalled that the predominance of a dispersed settlement pattern is confirmed by contemporary accounts, such as that of Defoe when he described the area in 1727 as being 'spread with houses, and that very thick'.[15]

By the nineteenth century Myers map shows that this dispersed pattern contained ten villages and 44 hamlets, a total of 54 nucleations, compared with 1565 single farmsteads and mini-hamlets. The nineteenth-century settlement pattern therefore conforms to Taylor's first model of a largely dispersed settlement pattern containing within it a few nucleations. The names of eight villages were documented by 1400,

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[12] T. Williamson, 'Explaining regional landscapes: woodland and champion in Southern and Eastern England', *Landscape History,* 10, (1988), pp.5-13 at p.9.

[13] H.M. Dunsford and S. Harris, J., 'Colonization of the wasteland in County Durham, 1100-1400', *Economic History Review,* 56(1), (2003), pp.34-56 at pp.41-4.

[14] R.I. Hodgson, 'Medieval colonization in Northern Ryedale, Yorkshire', *Geographical Journal,* 135(1), (1969), pp.44-54 at p.50 Fig.3.

[15] D. Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies*, (London, Peter Davies, 1927), Vol.2, p.600. See Chapter 4 pp.155-6.

and many by 1300, although this does not necessarily mean that they existed as nucleations at that time. Muir has pointed out that it is rarely possible to trace villages back to their origins and that many, in the Yorkshire Dales at least, gradually coalesced over centuries as a result of local responses to particular factors.[16] Jones has emphasised how the origins of village nucleation 'may lie in highly localized and transient events that defy detection'.[17]

In the case of the Upper Calder Valley it is noticeable that the only township which has no nucleations at all is Erringden, a township that only became settled after the dispalement of the park in 1451. One of the many possible factors that is likely to have contributed to the coalescence of settlements into villages is communication routes. No major routeways pass through Erringden, whereas the villages of Heptonstall, Hebden Bridge, Midgley and Luddenden are all located on what was the main Halifax - Burnley route that largely stayed high along the valley side. The Halifax - Todmorden route through the bottom of the valley is strung with the villages of Mytholmroyd, Mytholm and Todmorden, while Sowerby Bridge and Ripponden sit on the Rochdale - Halifax road. Only the village of Sowerby does not lie on a major routeway, a fact that may be related to its later settlement discussed in the last chapter. Ease of communication, particularly in terms of taking products to market, must have been a significant factor in the development of these nucleations. In addition these settlement nuclei are likely to have developed as service centres for travellers as well as performing a similar function for the surrounding dispersed settlements. Agricultural and other factors will of course have also influenced the development of these nucleations.

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[16] R. Muir, 'Village evolution in the Yorkshire Dales', *Northern History,* 34, (1998), pp.1-16 at pp.2, 15.
[17] Jones, 'The village and the butterfly', p.36.

A significant feature of the dispersed pattern is the mini-hamlet, defined in Chapter 2 as containing two to four settlement units. It has been shown that such hamlets were the dominant form of settlement in Devon and Cornwall during the early medieval period, with the majority of tenants living in groupings of three or four messuages.[18] Fowler describes it as being 'one of the most characteristic settlement forms over the west and north of Britain'.[19] Fox argues that these tiny hamlets may have arisen from growth of the family unit leading to subdivision of customary holdings. The evidence for the division of vaccaries into smaller units was considered in Chapter 1, McDonnell in particular relating this to the existence of fold-yard hamlets.[20] Subdivision of a different form is represented by the existence of linked farmsteads, discussed in Chapter 2. These settlement forms may have originated in the division of the original holding by building discrete new farmsteads within the existing family territorial unit. Equally, new group assarts may also have resulted in hamlet forms of settlement in new territorial units.[21]

Nucleations in the Upper Calder Valley exhibit no evidence of planning and there is no archaeological evidence for deserted settlements of any significant age. A preliminary conclusion must be that the natural state of dispersion evolved in a few instances into hamlets, or in even fewer instances into villages. The timescale of this evolution is impossible to determine with accuracy, but Muir has suggested that such evolutionary processes would only have been completed in most cases after the end of the medieval period.[22] While the evidence for dispersed settlement in the Upper Calder Valley conforms to Taylor's first model of dispersion therefore, it is also

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[18] Fox, 'Peasant farmers', p.48.
[19] P. Fowler, *Farming in the first millennium AD: British agriculture between Julius Caesar and William the Conqueror*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.118.
[20] J. McDonnell, 'Upland Pennine hamlets', *Northern History,* 26, (1990), pp.20-39.
[21] Fox, 'Peasant farmers', p.49.
[22] Muir, 'Village evolution', p.3.

necessary to consider his third model, which is actually concerned with the process of dispersion rather than the end state.

5.2 Secondary expansion from pre-existing nucleations

In Taylor's third model, secondary expansion proceeds from 'pre-existing nucleated villages lying outside or on the edge of the forests or wastes'.[23] The documented clearance or assarting of land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the process which is generally described as prompting this model of secondary expansion.[24] In discussing medieval settlement in Cumbria, Winchester provides a number of illustrations of this process in upland areas. Buttermere for example, which lies on the 500 foot contour within the forest of Derwentfells, 'developed from a nucleus of settlement which existed by 1200, while the farms on the lower fellsides … probably represent colonisation in the century after 1215'.[25] Lorton, also in Derwentfells, is characterised as having been 'a core of early settlement in the forest' with twelfth- and thirteenth-century colonisation providing small hamlets on the lower fell slopes.[26]

However, some authors have cautioned against seeing dispersed forms as secondary expansion or colonisation. Austin has suggested that dispersed sites are 'just as likely to be survivals of the ancient agricultural system as elements of new landtaking'.[27] Williamson has argued that, in south-eastern England at least, dispersed settlements in so-called woodland areas 'were by no means invariably associated with assarts in

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[23] Taylor, 'Dispersed settlement in nucleated areas', p.27.
[24] For example E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086-1348*, (London, Longman, 1978), pp.33-35; Williamson, 'Explaining regional landscapes', p.8.
[25] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1987), p.140.
[26] Ibid., pp.143, 147.
[27] D. Austin, 'The excavation of dispersed settlement in medieval Britain' in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (eds.), *The rural settlements of medieval England: studies dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst,* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp.231-46 at p.242.

areas of uncleared waste'.[28] Dispersed settlement could originate in various ways and various origins could all be represented within a relatively small area.[29] An even more unequivocal statement has been made by Aston:

> The former model of gradual colonisation of the medieval landscape from primary centres into the surrounding damp and impenetrable forests and marshes, together with the establishment of daughter settlements, now seems to be largely untenable. Environmental archaeological evidence is increasingly showing that such primeval areas had long been cleared.[30]

An alternative but supporting view is provided from prehistory by the work of Vera. He has postulated that the ecology of early woodland landscapes in western Europe was that of an open woodland environment rather than closed canopy forests, a process driven by herds of large herbivores such as aurochs and bison.[31] If such an environment prevailed in prehistory, then it may be reasonable to assume that it did not revert to denser forest as the human population increased. Open woodland may have been a more common medieval landscape than previously supposed therefore. Kirby has concluded that Vera's model is broadly applicable in Britain, with the likelihood that 'a range of different combinations of open habitats … and closed woodland … could occur.'[32] However, further palaeoecological analysis has suggested a more complex picture involving not only a variety of forest types but also a variety of disturbance factors, such as fire, disease and storm as well as herbivores and human management.[33] An additional consideration is that woodland is a

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[28] Williamson, 'Explaining regional landscapes', p.8.
[29] Ibid., pp.8-9.
[30] Aston, 'The development of medieval rural settlement in Somerset', p.20.
[31] F.W.M. Vera, *Grazing ecology and forest history*, (Wallingford, CABI Publishing, 2000).
[32] K.J. Kirby, *What might a British forest-landscape driven by large herbivores look like?,* English Nature Research Reports 530, (Peterborough, English Nature, 2003), p.41.
[33] R.H.W. Bradshaw, et al., 'A long-term perspective on ungulate-vegetation interactions', *Forest Ecology and Management,* 181(1-2), (2003), pp.267-80; F.J.G. Mitchell, 'How open were European primeval forests? Hypothesis testing using paleoecological data', *Journal of Ecology,* 93(1), (2005), pp.168-77; A.L. Davies and F. Watson, 'Understanding the changing value of natural resources: an integrated paleoecological-historical investigation into grazing-woodland interactions by Loch Awe, Western Highlands of Scotland', *Journal of Biogeography,* 34(10), (2007), pp.1777-91.

significant resource for pre-industrial communities, not only for timber and fuel but also for pasturage and hunting, and Aston has pointed out that settlement would therefore have been necessitated in or nearby woodland. Colonisation in the form of assarting may therefore have been more likely to be a change of use from wood-pasture to more intensive agricultural use of the land and does not necessarily imply new settlement.[34]

In describing his three types of dispersion, Taylor implies that they are exclusive although he does not actually state that. It seems just as likely, however, that a dispersed pattern seen in the landscape today could result from both the initial underlying dispersed pattern and some secondary colonisation. It is suggested that if the end state of predominant dispersion is seen as resulting from a process of continued dispersion, then this provides a more accurate model for the dispersed pattern seen in the Upper Calder Valley. Within this general process of continued dispersion may be a sub-process of secondary expansion from pre-existing settlements as has been shown above in the discussion on mini-hamlets.

If the theory is accepted that different origins of dispersion coexist in the same landscape, then the primary settlement unit is just as likely to be a single farmstead as a nucleated hamlet or village. Thomas has argued that, in an upland context such as Wales, 'settlement margins may be conceived as proceeding along a broad front' from multiple points.[35] Growth of the family unit could lead to expansion of the original territory of the farm so that a new farmstead could be built within the family territorial

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[34] Aston, 'The development of medieval rural settlement in Somerset', p.29; D. Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest woodland: its distribution and usage', *Agricultural History Review,* 37(2), (1989), pp.113-29.
[35] C. Thomas, 'A cultural-ecological model of agrarian colonisation in upland Wales', *Landscape History,* 14, (1992), pp.37-50 at pp.39-40.

unit. It could also lead to family members colonising new areas of land quite some distance away from the original farmstead so that they could carve out their own territorial unit. New migrants moving into the area would also be likely to create their own territorial units on vacant land.[36] The dispersed pattern of moorland farms in County Durham was created through a process of authorisation by charter. This was not expansion from a pre-existing village but colonisation of new areas through the creation of large new farms by freemen, a process also documented in many other parts of the country.[37]

This process of expansion in areas where virgin land is available does not *require* a 'core' or 'single focus' in the sense of a pre-existing focal point, although it may be one way in which expansion occurs. Some circumstantial evidence for this in the Upper Calder Valley is provided by the township of Stansfield. Although the only extant records relating to assarting are those within the graveship of Sowerby, it seems reasonable to assume that the process would have also been taking place in the other subinfeudated townships in the valley. However, although parts of Stansfield exhibit a typical assarting landscape, discussed in the next chapter, the township possesses no nucleations that could act as a primary source for this activity.

A further difficulty is determining how far the sphere of influence of a 'core' might extend. Where does secondary expansion from one core start and end? Even by 1500, the nearest recorded dispersed settlements in Heptonstall township are one and a half kilometres distant from Heptonstall village. The furthest recorded farmstead from Old

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[36] I. Øye, 'Settlement patterns and field systems in medieval Norway', *Landscape History,* 30(2), (2009), pp.37-54 at p.43.
[37] Dunsford and Harris, 'Colonization of the wasteland' at pp.41-4; See also for example Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p.34; B.K. Roberts, 'A study of medieval colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire', *Agricultural History Review,* 16(2), (1968), pp.101-13.

Town in Wadsworth is over eight kilometres away in 1500. The relationship with a primary core in these examples is arguably increasingly remote. It is worth remembering that linked farmsteads are always less than half a kilometre apart and often as little as 100 metres apart.

5.3 The motives for dispersion through expansion

With these thoughts in mind, the evidence for the process of dispersion through expansion can be considered. Many authors have noted that dispersion tends to be the dominant form of settlement where the economy is predominantly pastoral, as in the uplands, a form of farming which demands more private space for the numerous activities involved in keeping animals.[38] Might a clue to expansion of settlement lie in the nature of this pastoral activity?

The only Domesday vill not yet considered is Crubetonestun, a name which had become Cromtonstall by 1308. The accepted view is that -tonestun was a misspelling of -tonestall.[39] There are a relatively high number of place names in the Upper Calder valley with the element -tonstall or -tunstall.[40] The usual meaning given is that of 'the site of a farm, a farmstead'.[41] However, it is worth considering whether the combination of the two elements *tūn* and *stall* might have had any particular meaning that would shed light on the process of settlement. *Tūn* as a suffix is the most common element in English place-names. It was used in the formation of place-names for a long period until after the Conquest. Inevitably, its meaning seems to have gradually

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[38] For example Jones and Page, *Medieval villages*, p.241; R. Faith, *The English peasantry and the growth of lordship*, (London, Leicester University Press, 1997), p.148.

[39] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3: Morley wapentake,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 32, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), p.172.

[40] A.H. Smith, 'Place names of the ancient parish of Halifax', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1936), pp.215-33 at p.223.

[41] A.H. Smith, *English place-name elements, Part 2: Jafyn-Ytri,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 26, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1956), p.198.

evolved from its original Germanic meaning of fence or hedge, to an enclosed piece of ground, to a farmstead, and ultimately to a village, manor or estate.[42] It has been suggested that it is associated with secondary colonisation, and Gelling has demonstrated that, in the Birmingham region at least, *tūn* is used for settlements in open, as opposed to wooded, country.[43] This interpretation has been confirmed by Kenyon in Lancashire and Cheshire.[44]

The element *stall* not only has the meaning of a place or site but also 'a standing-place, a stall for cattle'.[45] Although Smith lists -tunstall as an example of the first meaning, he also states that in the Calder valley it seems to 'denote vaccaries to which cattle were sent for summer pasture'.[46] Apart from his confusion of vaccaries with summer pastures, the difficulty is that only three of the known vaccary sites have a -tunstall element: Cruttonstall, Saltonstall and the lost place-name Nettelsaltonstall. Other known vaccaries are Fernyside, Hathershelf, Wythop and Small Shaw as well as the summer pasture areas of Baitings and Withens.[47] In contrast, there are a number of -tunstall names that are not documented as having been vaccaries: Rawtonstall; Shackleton (Schakeltunestall in 1219), and Wittonstall.[48]

The distribution map of these -tunstall elements in Figure 5.1 shows that they are all located on the poorer soils of the area. They are also all located on the more gentle

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[42] Smith, *English place-name elements, Part 2: Jafyn-Ytri*, pp.188-9, 191.

[43] Ibid., p.191; M. Gelling, *Signposts to the past: place-names and the history of England*, (3rd ed., Chichester, Phillimore, 1997), p.128.

[44] D. Kenyon, 'Archaeology, place-names and settlement in Lancashire and Cheshire c.400-1066', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1984, p.501.

[45] Smith, *English place-name elements, Part 2: Jafyn-Ytri*, p.142.

[46] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7: Introduction, bibliography, river-names, analyses,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 36, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), p.69.

[47] N. Smith, 'The location and operation of demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship circa 1300', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 15 (New Series), (2007), pp.17-32. Nottinghamshire Archives DD/SR/1/25/M10.

[48] Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3*, p.201.

south or west facing slopes found on the open shelf of land between the 200 and 300 m contour levels. Particularly interesting is that they are all at a significant distance from the suggested early settlements on the brown earth soils. These locations and distances do suggest a pastoral use, the most likely explanation being that -tunstalls were outlying settlements specialising in the summer pasturing of cattle. Duignan has noted that in Staffordshire 'places bearing this name are generally to be found on the borders of ancient wastes, as if they had been outlying farm-yards without homesteads, similar to those commonly seen on the downs in Wilts., known as "bartons"'.[49] This observation has been repeated by Foxall for Shropshire.[50]

This interpretation is supported by *tūn* names elsewhere whose specific indicates a secondary status with a particular function. For example, Barton originating from bere-tun (barley or corn farm) and Appleton (farm where apples grow).[51] Kenyon argues that, as *tūn* names in Lancashire and Cheshire rarely appear as the names of administrative units, they are frequently dependent settlements in larger estates and they are likely to date from around the eighth and ninth centuries on the basis of the locational value of the sites occupied. This period is seen as one of settlement expansion following consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.[52] She argues that these estates exhibit the characteristics of 'multiple estates', defined by Jones as being characterised by a central manor, or caput, with a number of subordinate estates owing

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[49] W.H. Duignan, *Notes on Staffordshire place names*, (London, Henry Frowde, 1902), p.53.
[50] H.D.G. Foxall, *Shropshire field-names*, (Shrewsbury, Shropshire Archaeological Society, 1980), p.56.
[51] Kenyon, 'Archaeology, place-names and settlement', pp.279, 481; W.J. Ford, 'Some settlement patterns in the central region of the Warwickshire Arden' in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval settlement: continuity and change,* (London, Edward Arnold, 1976), pp.274-94 at p.287.
[52] Kenyon, 'Archaeology, place-names and settlement', pp.676, 681-2, 696.

various services and dues.[53]

Figure 5.1: Tunstalls as summer pasture locations

Legend

* Early settlement foci
↔ Proposed transhumance links
▲ Tunstalls
— Principal watercourses
— Upper Calder Valley boundary
---- Township boundaries
— 200m contour
— 300m contour
■ Soil unit 18
■ Soil unit 44
■ Soil unit 52
■ Soil unit 24
■ Soil unit 30
■ Soil unit 35

Upper Calder Valley
Tunstalls as summer pastures

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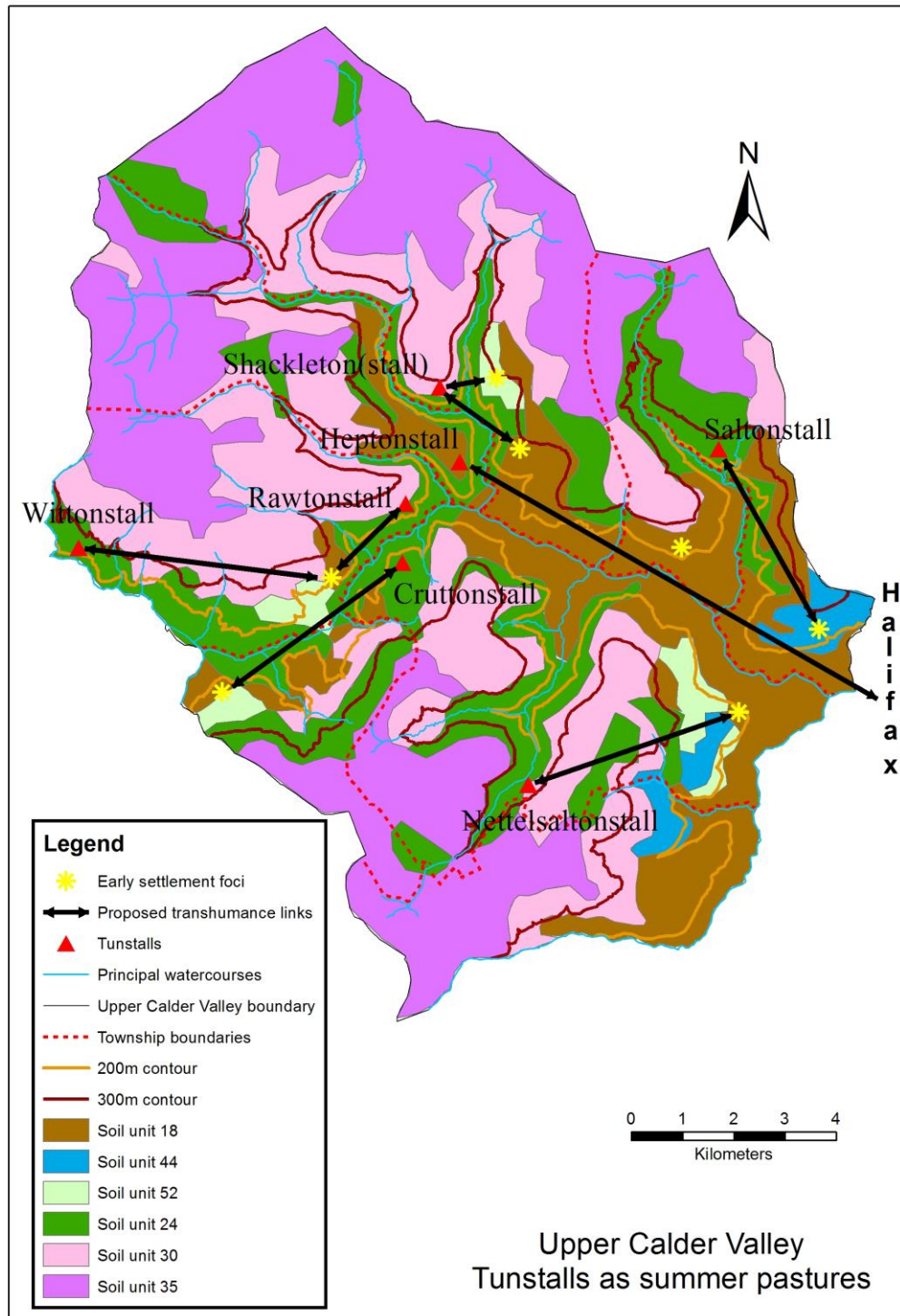
[53] G.R.J. Jones, 'The multiple estate as a model framework for tracing early stages in the evolution of rural settlement' in *L'habitat et les paysages ruraux d'Europe,* (Liege, Universite de Liege, 1971), pp.251-64 at p.252.

A more appropriate term in the context of the Upper Calder Valley might be 'linked territories', used by Hooke to describe areas where 'regions of high agricultural exploitation were linked administratively with other less developed regions characterised by much surviving woodland or moorland'.[54] Frequently such estates appear to have had their centre in the fertile lowlands with some of the subordinate estates being in the uplands to provide pastoral and hunting resources.[55] This is certainly true of the use made of the Calder valley uplands by the medieval manor of Wakefield.[56] Ford and Everitt have identified linkages of transhumance between cultivated and woodland regions in Warwickshire and Kent, while Winchester and Fox have presented evidence of upland and lowland vills in the North West and Devon respectively that are linked by pasture rights.[57]

The arguments of these writers are based on a model in which lowland arable is complemented by upland pasture. However, upland settlements themselves were frequently linked with summer pasture areas to which cattle were removed between Ellenmas (3 May) and Michaelmas (29 September). The purpose was to allow grass to grow in the meadows so that it could be cut for hay for winter fodder. Winchester has discussed at length the various forms which this practice took.[58] That Sowerbyshire

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[54] D. Hooke, 'Early medieval estate and settlement patterns: the documentary evidence' in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (eds.), *The rural settlements of medieval England: studies dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst,* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp.9-30 at pp.10-11.

[55] Jones, *The multiple estate as a model framework*, p.252; Faith, *The English peasantry*, p.145.

[56] Smith, 'Demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship' at pp.26-7; N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: use and management', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 19 (New Series), (2011), pp.19-45 at pp.29, 34.

[57] A. Everitt, *Continuity and colonization: the evolution of Kentish settlement*, ([Leicester], Leicester University Press, 1986); Ford, 'Some settlement patterns '; H.S.A. Fox, 'Fragmented manors and the customs of the Anglo-Saxons' in S. Keynes and A.P. Smyth (eds.), *Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Cyril Roy Hart,* (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2006), pp.78-97; H. Fox, *Dartmoor's alluring uplands: transhumance and pastoral management in the Middle Ages*, (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2012); A.J.L. Winchester, 'Early estate structures in Cumbria and Lancashire', *Medieval Settlement Research,* 23, (2008), pp.14-21 at pp.19-20.

[58] A.J.L. Winchester, *The harvest of the hills: rural life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), ch.4.

was no stranger to this practice is evidenced by a 1309 survey which details the summer pastures for Cruttonstall and Nettelsaltonstall vaccaries.[59] As discussed in Chapter 1, many of the temporary settlements at these summer pasture areas in the South Pennines eventually became vaccaries themselves. This of course explains why only some -tunstall names are known as vaccary sites, other summer pasture areas simply developing as less specialised farms.

The initial model of colonisation of the Upper Calder Valley, based on progressive settlement in the most favourable locations, can thus be expanded to include secondary colonisation in areas only suitable for pasture. This expanded model of pastoral colonisation reflects the idea of secondary expansion from initial areas of settlement discussed in section 5.2. These pasture areas would have been linked to particular brown earth settlement areas and indeed formed part of their territory. These links are shown in Figure 5.1. Each of these links can be translated into possible transhumance routes based on routeways that appear on the Ordnance Survey 6 inch maps of the 1840s. That these territorial patterns tend to fall within the known township boundaries is compelling evidence of that linkage.

One exception to the proposed -tunstall model is Midgley, which has no -tunstall name within its boundaries. Possibly settlement in Midgley, with its relatively extensive brown earth soils, focused on arable rather than pastoral. It has also been assumed that Langfield used the summer pasture of Cruttonstall on the basis that Cruttonstall was part of Langfield and only later become a vill in its own right. At some later point after Domesday, that separate vill was subsumed into Sowerby township.

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[59] Smith, 'Demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship', p.24.

A further significant exception is Heptonstall township which has no identifiable early area of settlement other than the village of the same name. As the only medieval township with a -tunstall name, one possible implication is that Heptonstall was a township formed later than the other townships. In Chapter 4 it was shown that Heptonstall was part of the manor of Halifax from at least the 1090s. Everitt has demonstrated how the subordinate origins of upland settlement in the Downland of Kent can be traced not only in the manorial and place-name evidence, but also in the ecclesiastical administration. Heptonstall was, and is, a dependent chapelry of the parish of Halifax with the only medieval church in the Upper Calder Valley. Four-fifths of the Downland churches in Kent have pastoral place-names and over half originated as dependent chapelries.[60] Owen has found that chapelries in Lincolnshire tend to be located on more marginal land or in more constricted sites such as upper hillslopes, in the same way as Heptonstall is.[61] Everitt argues that dependent churches are often sited nearer the boundary of the mother church than the centre of their parish, a circumstance that is also true of Heptonstall chapelry, and that the location of the church can thus be an indicator of the direction from which colonisation occurred.[62]

Everitt makes two further points of particular interest. He suggests that churches often originated as wayside shrines along droveways and that hill-top churches may also have acted as landmarks for drovers.[63] As Heptonstall church is not only a very prominent hill-top landmark in the Upper Calder Valley but is also sited on an ancient major trans-Pennine routeway between Burnley and Halifax, the parallels are striking.

[60] Everitt, *Continuity and colonization*, p.158.
[61] D. Owen, 'Chapelries and rural settlement: an examination of some of the Kesteven evidence' in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval settlement: continuity and change,* (London, Edward Arnold, 1976), pp.66-71 at p.71.
[62] Everitt, *Continuity and colonization*, pp.276-7.
[63] Ibid., pp.270, 294-5.

These arguments suggest that Heptonstall was associated with pastoral activity and was also an early dependency of Halifax. It is plausible therefore that Heptonstall originally functioned as a summer pasture area for Halifax. Interestingly, Everitt draws a parallel with the Calderdale -tunstall evidence when suggesting that the settlement of Tunstall in Kent originated as a vaccary or summer pasture.[64]

However, Heptonstall's origins may lie further back in a function identified by Jolliffe as being typical of Northumbrian shires, that of a 'central shire-moor' or an area of intercommoning for all the townships of the Upper Calder Valley, or Sowerbyshire.[65] The break-up of shires into smaller units in the twelfth century and the letting out of the more remote areas ties in with the demise of Heptonstall and Halifax to Lewes Priory in the 1090s.[66]

This proposed settlement expansion model based on pastoral demands is complemented by other place-name elements that indicate land clearance, *lēah* and *royd*. *Lēah* means a clearing in a wood but may have more connotations of a natural clearing rather than a man-made clearing as in *royd*.[67] According to Gelling, 'it may be regarded as established that *lēah* is an indicator of woodland which was in existence and regarded as ancient when English speakers arrived in any region' and that clusters of *lēah* names indicate ' a quasi-habitative use denoting settlement in a wooded environment'.[68] Hooke has pointed out that, as Vera and Kirby have argued

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[64] Everitt, *Continuity and colonization*, pp.320-1.
[65] J.E.A. Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian institutions', *English Historical Review,* 41(161), (1926), pp.1-42, at p.12; For examples see Winchester, 'Early estate structures in Cumbria and Lancashire', pp.19-20.
[66] Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian institutions' at p.25; G.R.J. Jones, 'Basic patterns of settlement distribution in Northern England', *Advancement of Science,* 18, (1961), pp.192-200 at p.196.
[67] Smith, *English place-name elements, Part 2: Jafyn-Ytri*, p.19; C. Crossland, 'The place-name "Royd"', *Halifax Naturalist,* 3(18), (1899), pp.109-12 at pp.109-10.
[68] M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The landscape of place names*, 2000, (Reprint with corrections, Stamford, Shaun Tyas, 2003), p.237.

that ancient woodland was much more open than previously thought, *lēah* should be regarded more as an indicator of wood pasture within which settlements might be located.[69] *Lēah* is considered to be an earlier term than *royd*, probably coming into common use in the mid-eighth century. Gelling suggests that, in common with *tūn,* most names with these elements originated between c.750 and c.950.[70]

The *leah* names recorded by 1500 are distributed widely as shown in Figure 5.2.[71] With only a few exceptions, all of these names are also on or below the 200 m contour on the best soils. However, the *lēah* exceptions that are above the 200 m level may indicate the evolving use of the element to describe 'a piece of open land, a meadow' or pasture.[72] Smith noted that, of the considerable number of *lēah* names in Calderdale, many were above 800 feet (243 m) and that the element 'was in active use in the later medieval and early modern period'.[73]

Royd is a term that is rare outside West Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire. Derived from the OE *rod*, 'a clearing', the essence of the meaning of *royd* is land cleared or 'ridded' of trees, brushwood, stones etc and it has some association with assarting.[74] It is generally considered that its great frequency in the documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, often combined with personal names of a Middle

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[69] Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest woodland', p.120; D. Hooke, 'Early medieval woodland and the place-name term *leah*' in O.J. Padel and D.N. Parsons (eds.), *A commodity of good names,* (Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp.365-76; Vera, *Grazing ecology and forest history*; Kirby, *British forest-landscape.*

[70] Gelling and Cole, *The landscape of place names*, p.237.

[71] Although woodland names were mapped by Smith, his map approximates 10 miles to the inch and is thus too small a scale to be useful for this study: Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, map in back pocket. The *West Yorkshire Archaeological Survey* also mapped these place names but only plotted them generally by township rather than placing them in locations within townships: M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), p.53 and map 14.

[72] Smith, *English place-name elements, Part 2: Jafyn-Ytri*, p.19; Gelling and Cole, *The landscape of place names*, p.237.

[73] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.279.

[74] Crossland, 'The place-name "Royd"', p.109; G. Redmonds, 'Personal names and surnames in some West Yorkshire 'royds", *Nomina,* 9, (1985), pp.73-80, at p.73; Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.281.

English character, suggest that the fourteenth century was the apogee of clearance of waste land.[75]

Figure 5.2: *Royd* and *Lēah* names 1200-1500
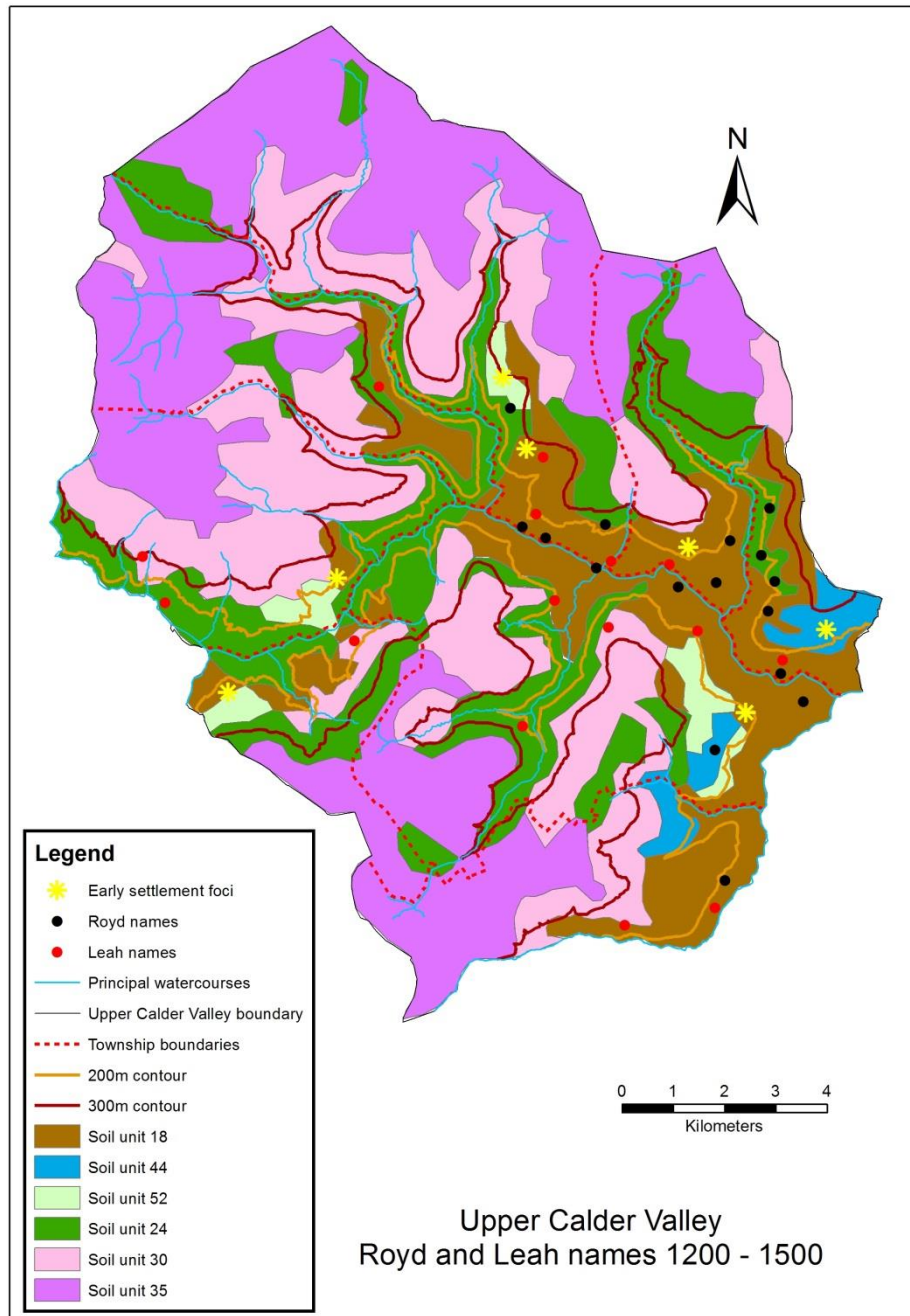
Royd names first recorded before 1500 only occur in the townships of Wadsworth, Midgley, Warley and Sowerby. All are on or bordering Soil Units 18, 44 or 52, the

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[75] For example Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.281.

best soils in the area for arable capability. Apart from Sowerby, the locations are all south or west facing, virtually all on or below the 200 m contour, and all on slopes that are much more gentle than higher up the valley. The 200 m contour happens to still be the treeline today, thus tending to confirm the view that the element indicates clearance in woodland. The pattern of *royd* names thus indicates woodland clearance between Domesday and 1500 in order to use the best land for arable. After 1500 *royd* names spread westwards onto the more difficult land with worse soils for arable and steeper slopes. After this date they also start appearing above 200 m, perhaps indicating its evolution into a term of general clearance of moorland or rough ground. According to Crossland, the term continued in use for 'seven or eight hundred years' although gradually losing its original meaning.[76]

A key chronological indicator of these place-name elements is that no clearance elements appear within the boundaries of Erringden Park with the sole exception of Hollock Lee, first recorded in 1486. As the park was created in the 1320s and dispaled in 1451, this suggests that the origin of many of these clearance names lie in the fourteenth century. Perhaps starting in the fifteenth century, the process was reversed with more land beginning to be colonised upslope as the more fertile land downslope became fully colonised. The noticeable paucity of clearance names in Heptonstall lends further credence to the suggestion that it may be a township formed later than the others. Of the four clearance names recorded there, the two *royd* names are first recorded in 1571 and 1660 while *leah* names are recorded in 1439 and 1578, thus suggesting these may be late uses of the terms. On the other hand, both Langfield and Stansfield are also noticeably short of clearance names, possibly related to the relative lack of brown earth soils.

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[76] Crossland, 'The place-name "Royd"', p.110.

It must always be remembered that these are dates of first documented occurrence of the name, and that the name is likely to have been in use for many years, or even centuries, before appearing in documents. Some evidence of this is provided by the fact that the settlement pattern of all place names recorded by 1500 (Figure 4.2) indicates a much more widespread pattern, ranging up to the 300 m contour on all types of soils and aspects and extending deep into the side valleys. It is possible therefore that both the *lēah* and *royd* names that are recorded by this time are in fact much older than their recorded dates and are indicative of earlier clearance of woodland, probably before the Black Death. However, if it is assumed that names have an even chance of being documented over time, the pattern of settlement indicated by the name elements may be indicative of the evolutionary process.

Does this analysis suggest clearance from a core area of settlement as suggested by the standard theory of secondary expansion? If the locations of the early foci of settlement are broadly correct, then it is clear that expansion of settlement moved both upslope for summer grazing purposes and downslope through the clearance of woodland on better soil areas, presumably for arable or meadow purposes. This is a partial reversal of the normally accepted process of upslope expansion and is due to the gorge-like character of the Upper Calder Valley which made initial settlement in the valley bottom impractical. If the *tunstall*, *lēah* and *royd* locations are looked at within township boundaries, then it can be argued that these were expansions from the early settlement foci within the township.

However, this does not necessarily mean that this expansion was from a pre-existing nucleated village as posited by the basic theory. Returning to the arguments put forward by Jones and Page, settlement is a process in which such pre-village nuclei

might either evolve into nucleations or stay dispersed depending on numerous factors affecting the decision making involved. Yet the basic dynamic of settlement in the Upper Calder Valley continued to be one of dispersion, according to the apparently relentless growth in the density of single farmsteads. A caveat to the theory of secondary expansion therefore must be that colonisation is at least as likely, if not more likely, to have originated from individual farmsteads as part of family expansion or migration than from the few nucleations that existed.

5.4 Conclusion

The evidence supports the idea that dispersion is the natural state of settlement where circumstances permit, evolving in a few instances into hamlets, or in even fewer instances into villages. In the Upper Calder Valley at least, it can be a continuous process. Expansion of settlement is just as likely to come from single farmsteads as it is from nucleations. Within this general process of continued dispersion is likely to be a sub-process of secondary expansion from pre-existing settlements. Analysis of this process of dispersion has shown that secondary colonisation occurred both upslope and downslope for pastoral and arable purposes. While this confirms the generally accepted theory of upslope expansion, it also refines it. Expansion can occur in any available direction depending on the location of the original settlement foci and the topography of the area. The assumption that settlement foci in upland areas always occupy the valley first is not always true, and if occupation occurs at higher levels first, for environmental or other reasons, then downslope expansion is just as likely as upslope expansion.

The various approaches to settlement research utilised in both this and the preceding chapter demonstrate that each has something to offer and that only by using them

together can the growth of settlement be mapped. Morphology can suggest a settlement pattern but only historical sources can prove its validity. The inherent limitations of documentary sources, due to the random nature of recording and survivability, can be militated against by using theoretical models based on physical and lexical evidence. The holistic approach argued for by Widgren and Coones allows the possible implications of patterns to be supplemented, validated and extended by other evidence.[77]

However all that has been established so far is a model for the evolution of settlement, only one element in the complex mix of the historic landscape. Historic Landscape Characterisation claims to provide an assessment of the whole historic character of the present day landscape. The next chapter tests the validity of this claim, focusing on the fieldscape that surrounds the dispersed settlement framework identified so far.

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[77] M. Widgren, 'Reading property in the landscape', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift,* 60(1), (2006), pp.57-64 at p.58; P. Coones, 'One landscape or many? A geographical perspective', *Landscape History,* 7, (1985), pp.5-12 at p.5.

Chapter 6

Morphological approaches to the fieldscape: Historic Landscape Characterisation

Testing Historic Landscape Characterisation as a morphological methodology cannot be done by comparative replication in the same way as was done for the Rural Settlement study. As no HLC has been completed for West Yorkshire, the validity of the methodology in morphological terms can only be tested by first undertaking an HLC exercise in the study area. As discussed in Chapter 2, the study area HLC followed the methodology used by the Lancashire HLC. The results of applying the methodology will be reviewed before considering issues raised by morphological interpretations and assumptions. In discussing the results, some comparison will also be made with the more recent approach used in North Yorkshire. As replication using a different HLC methodology or different scale would not prove anything other than that HLC could be done in different ways, the validity of the results will be assessed through a series of examples using earlier cartographic sources.

Application of the Lancashire HLC methodology to the study area was limited to two townships that are known to have different landscape histories, Stansfield and Erringden. In simple terms the methodology consisted of identifying areas containing similar attributes on the modern 1:25000 OS map, and drawing the boundaries of these in ArcGIS as polygons. Reference was also made to the First edition 6 inch OS maps of 1850 and Parliamentary enclosure maps. The attributes were also recorded in the GIS using equivalent fields to those used in Lancashire.

The final report produced for the Lancashire HLC does not offer much information on how to identify areas of similar attributes or resulting landscape types. The following

analysis of landscape type E1, irregular wavy-edged enclosures, indicates the generality of the text.

> These fields have curving boundaries and have usually evolved rather haphazardly in the landscape as individual farmers, or small groups of them, have enclosed land in a piecemeal fashion. Generally (although not always) they reflect the early subdivision of the landscape, prompted and constrained by a large number of historical influences….Generally early historic field systems are irregular asymmetrical, relatively small land units, often with sinuous or curved boundaries.[1]

This lack of detailed guidance necessitated close examination of the results of the Lancashire HLC, focusing on the Rossendale area immediately to the west of the study area. This examination gave more insight both into how particular morphologies were classified and also how interpretations were applied. The strong impression gained was that particular morphological types of enclosed land were assigned specific chronological periods by default. The default chronology for landscape type E1 for example was 'pre-1600 enclosure', which was given the descriptive name of Ancient Enclosure. These default chronological typologies were therefore used in the absence of other evidence. For the purpose of clarity, the chronological names for the different types of enclosure are used in this chapter rather than the descriptive names used by Lancashire on its published HLC map. Those aspects of the Lancashire methodology that were found to be applicable to the study area are listed in Figure 6.1.

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[1] J. Ede and J. Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, (Preston, Lancashire County Council with English Heritage, 2002), p.180. This publication is referred to hereafter as the Final Report.

Figure 6.1: Landscape types from Lancashire HLC applied to the Upper Calder Valley

Broad Type	Morphological and other attributes	Landscape type	Database code
Enclosed land	Small irregular wavy-edged enclosures (<4ha)	Pre-1600 enclosure (Ancient enclosure)	E1
	Regular wavy edged enclosure	Pre-1600 enclosure (Ancient enclosure)	E12
	Small irregular straight-sided enclosures (<4ha)	1600 - 1850 enclosure (Post-medieval enclosure)	E3
	Small regular straight-sided enclosures (<4ha)	1750-1850 enclosure or Post-1850 if not on OS First Edition map (Modern enclosure)	E6
	Small-sized enclosures in a grid layout (<4ha)	1750-1850 enclosure or Post-1850 if not on OS First Edition map (Modern enclosure)	E15
Rough land	Large expanses	Unenclosed moorland	RL5
	Enclosures of less than 50 ha	Enclosed moorland	RL7
	Shown as improved on the OS First Edition map but has reverted to moorland	Reverted moorland	RL7A
	Unimproved land which does not fall into other categories of land use eg scrub, steep slopes	Unimproved land	RL10
Woodland	Wavy edged woodland	Pre-1850 woodland (Ancient and Post-medieval woodland)	WD1
	Straight-edged woodland	Post-1850 woodland (Modern woodland)	WD2
Recreation		Golf course	R1
Communication	Incorporates rail, road and canal		C
Settlement	Undefined areas of settlement greater than 5 ha in extent		S1

6.1 Application of the methodology

The result of applying the Lancashire HLC methodology to Stansfield is shown in

Figure 6.2. This representation of the results as a patchwork of colours is typical of

most HLC exercises. The Lancashire HLC map combines some landscape types such

as '1600-1850 enclosure' and '1750-1850 enclosure'. These are represented separately on the Stansfield map as the focus of the discussion is on the fieldscape. Equally, pre- and post-1850 woodland are combined on the Stansfield map but are separate on the Lancashire map.

Figure 6.2: Stansfield HLC
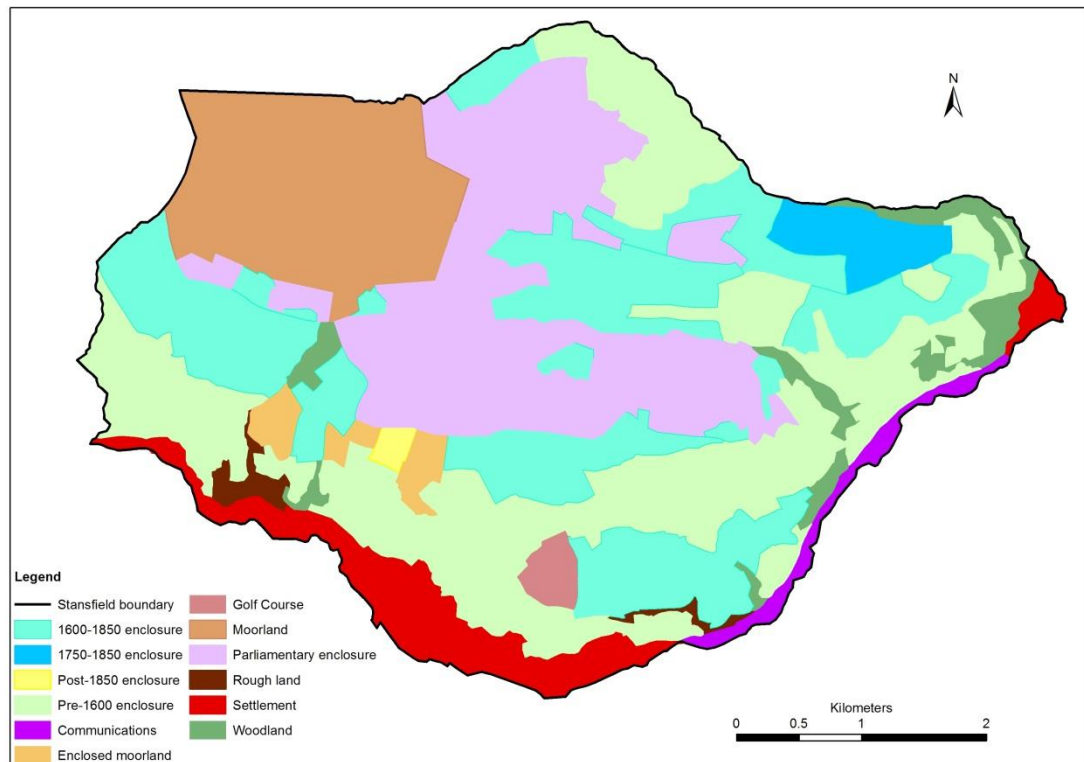
The Stansfield map is not a direct copy of the Lancashire colour symbolisation scheme, but does exhibit a similar approach that uses recognisable colours for particular landscape types, green for woodland, brown for moorland for example. While this HLC map only shows twelve interpretative colours, the full Lancashire HLC exhibits 22. The various shadings of colour that are required can make it difficult to distinguish one type from another, an impression compounded by the failure to show these landscape classifications in the context of the landscape itself. The Lancashire HLC is presented as a transparent layer on its website which certainly

helps to provide location details but still hides more detailed landscape information such as contours. The general effect of such a map is that described as a 'pretty-coloured carpet of certainty'.[2] It looks impressive but supplies little context for interpretation.

An alternative symbology is provided in Figure 6.3. The use of more graphical symbology, such as brown tufts for moorland and green tufts for enclosed moorland, immediately begins to paint a picture of the actual landscape that tends to be more meaningful than mere shades of colour. More importantly however, the addition of the 300 m and 200 m contour levels provides a context that allows the viewer to see that, for example, most post-1600 enclosure is above 300 m. 'Pre-1600 enclosure' is largely confined to the shelf between 200 m and 300 m, the area already defined in previous chapters as being the earliest focus of settlement. The results presented by

Figure 6.3: Stansfield HLC using different symbology

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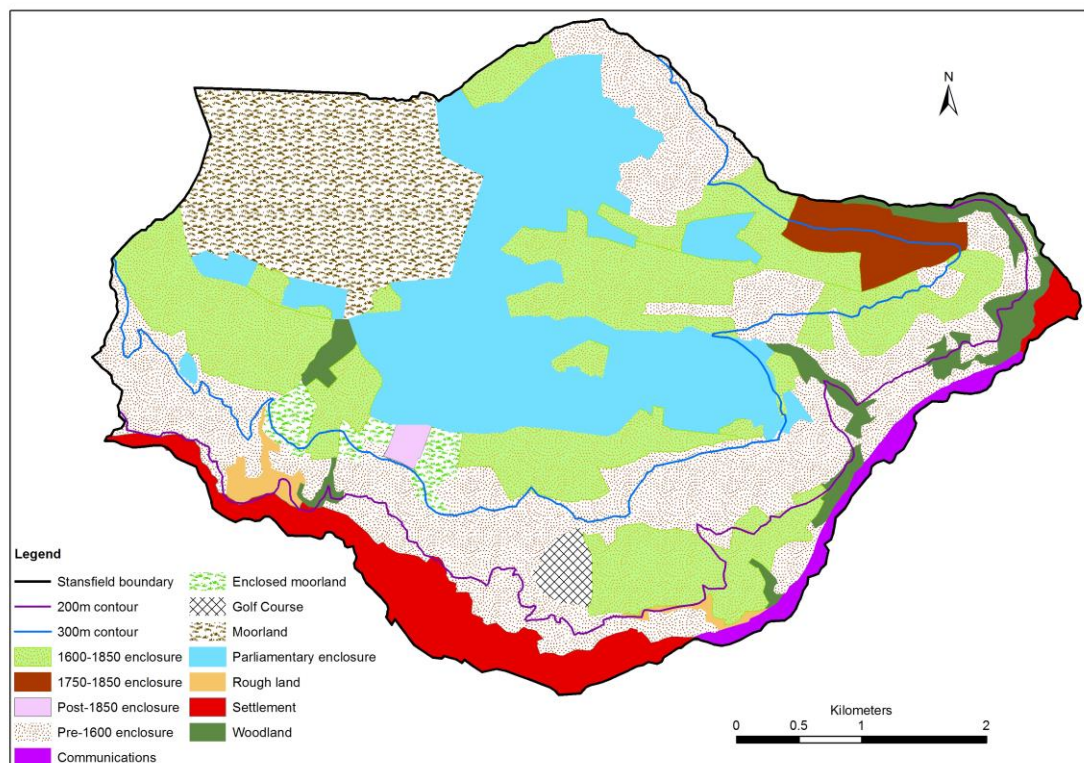
[2] [P. Stamper and D. Austin], 'Editorial', *Landscapes,* 7(2), (2006), pp.vii-viii at p.viii.

the HLC thus tend to suggest a model of up-slope expansion.

The HLC for Erringden also supports this model. Figure 6.4 shows that 'pre-1600 enclosure' is confined to below 300 m. However, such enclosure also occurs where the slope eases below 200 m, particularly in the western and eastern corners. Only post-1600 enclosure occurs above the 300 m contour thus seeming to confirm an interpretation of upslope expansion.

Figure 6.4: Erringden HLC
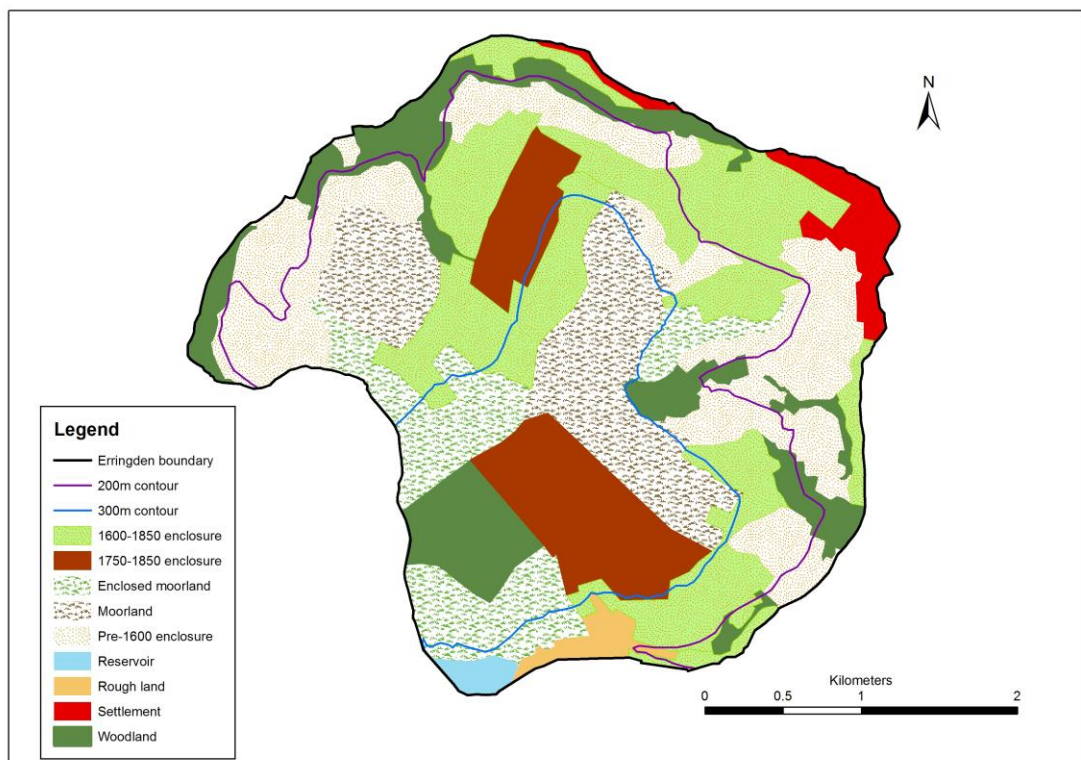
Applying the Lancashire HLC methodology in Stansfield and Erringden has shown that the way in which the results are presented has a significant impact. While the colourful but flat maps favoured by HLC are difficult to interpret on their own, it has been demonstrated that use of graphical symbolisation adds more meaning through better contrasts. The addition of a topographical context in the form of contour lines has enabled interpretation in a way that would otherwise have been very difficult.

Presenting HLC results in this form has shown that the chronological bands suggested by the morphology of enclosures broadly fit the model of settlement evolution discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The enclosures which are assigned a chronology of pre-1600 are concentrated on the shelf between the 200 m and 300 m contour. Where the slope becomes less steep, this type of enclosure also occurs below 200 m as in Erringden. However, only enclosures dated between 1600 and 1850 occupy areas above the 300 m contour, suggesting that expansion of the fieldscape occurred upslope. These later enclosures also occur on parts of the shelf, thus offering the possibility that here they overlie the older enclosures and represent replanning of the original fieldscape.

6.2 Morphological interpretation

Although the Final Report of the Lancashire HLC provides illustrative and general descriptive examples of each landscape type, it was found that these examples tended to represent an ideal rather than actuality on the map. In Rossendale for example, landscape type E1, irregular wavy-edged enclosures, actually contained far more straight edges than the Final Report indicates. This is illustrated in Figure 6.5 where the examples of E1 and E3 landscape types in the Final Report are contrasted with the practical application in both Lancashire and Stansfield.[3] This discrepancy has a knock-on effect, with the irregularity of landscape type E3, straight-sided irregular enclosures, becoming more regular than suggested by the Final Report. Considerable time had to be spent in becoming familiar with the actual applications of these landscape types in particular. When following the Final Report initially, it was found

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[3] J. Ede and J. Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, (Preston, Lancashire County Council with English Heritage, 2002), pp.180, 181.

that what had been classified as E3 in Stansfield would probably have been classified

as E1 in Lancashire.

Figure 6.5: Morphological interpretation. A and B reproduced by permission of Lancashire County Council. C and D base maps © Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.
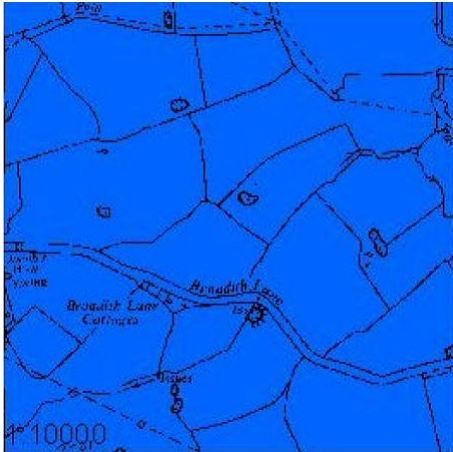
A. Example of Lancashire HLC type E1 'Small irregular wavy-edged' enclosures as given in the Final Report.
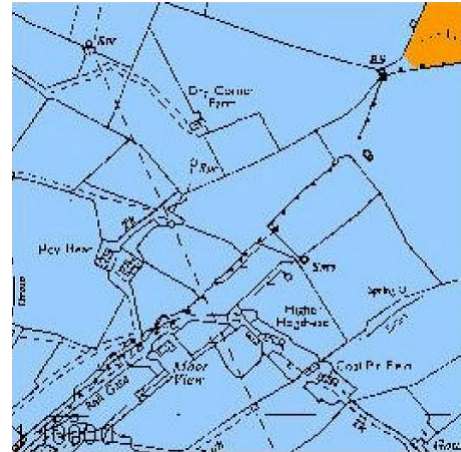
B. Example of Lancashire HLC type E3 'Small irregular straight-sided' enclosures as given in the Final Report.
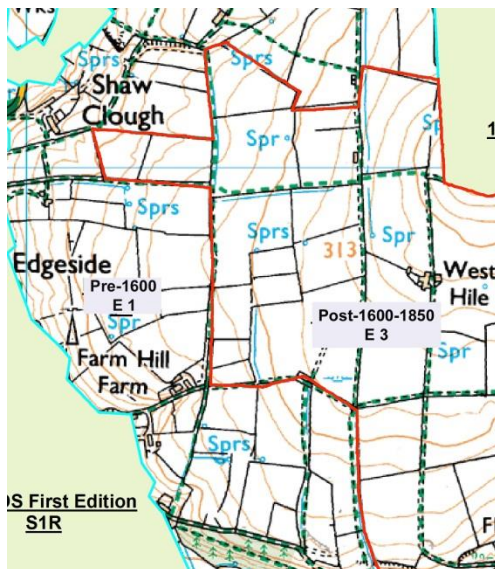
C. Example of the E1 and E3 HLC types juxtaposed in the Lancashire HLC. E3 is the central area bounded by the red line.
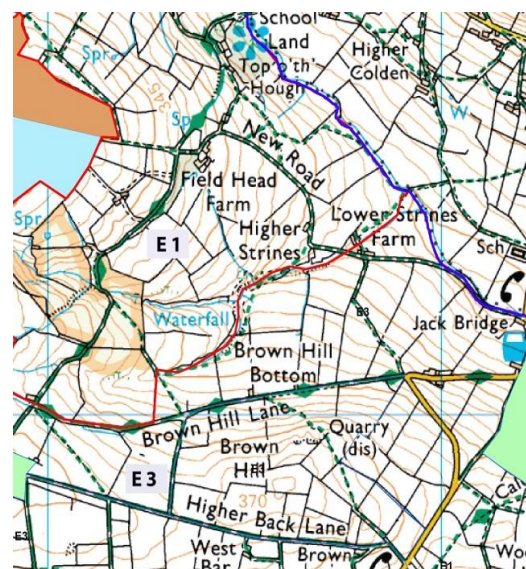
D. Example of the E1 and E3 HLC types juxtaposed in the Stansfield HLC. E1 is above, and E3 below, the red line. The blue line is the Stansfield boundary.

That this is an endemic problem with HLC is confirmed by the results of the HLC

Review of different HLC exercises in 2003 which found that 'there was very great

variation in which aspects of the historic landscape (particularly fields and enclosed

land) were attributed to which types'.[4] Ultimately, it was only practical experience

with the classification that eventually supplied the necessary degree of confidence that

the methodology was being applied as correctly and consistently as possible. This

does demonstrate the extent to which HLC is hostage to subjective interpretation, a

point also made by the Review.[5] Williamson has noted the same problem in mapping

field boundary types in eastern England.[6]

As the suggested model of upslope expansion conforms to the traditional model of

upland landscape development, it can be argued that prior knowledge of this

phenomenon might subconsciously affect the classifier's judgment when deciding

whether a particular field pattern is E1 or E3. Indeed, it is particularly interesting that

the areas of 'Pre-1600 enclosure' (E1) above the 300 m contour would have been

classified as '1600-1850 enclosure' (E3) initially when following the guidance of the

Lancashire Final Report rather than the actual HLC results. This would have meant

that virtually all the enclosure above the 300 m contour in Stansfield would have been

interpreted as post-1600.

The scale at which an HLC is carried out can also alter the results. The Stansfield and

Erringden HLC exercises followed the Lancashire methodology in only creating

polygons for areas larger than 3-4 ha. The smallest size in Lancashire was 3.4 ha

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[4] O. Aldred and G. Fairclough, *Historic Landscape Characterisation: taking stock of the method*, (London, English Heritage and Somerset County Council, 2003), p.34.

[5] Ibid., p.37.

[6] T. Williamson, 'Mapping field patterns: a case study from Eastern England', *Landscapes,* 7(1), (2006), pp.55-67 at p.60.

while the mean was 55.8 ha.[7] This presents a potential issue, especially in the Upper

Calder Valley where field sizes often struggle to reach as much as 1 ha. Examples of

smaller areas that were deliberately ignored in creating the HLCs for Stansfield and

Erringden were infill areas of Parliamentary Enclosure in the former, and areas of

woodland in the latter. However, bearing in mind that HLC is concerned with

emphasising similarities rather than differences, defining these areas would not have

made any practical difference to the general characterisation.[8] In contrast, from a

landscape historian's point of view such a generalising approach can obscure valuable

detail. The infill areas shown on the Stansfield enclosure map may have represented

pockets of common for example. The North Yorkshire HLC began by characterising

areas as small as 1 ha although this was soon found to be an unrealistic level of detail

and the minimum size was doubled to 2 ha.[9] This use of smaller polygons appears to

represent a change of policy within HLC exercises generally as the 2003 Review of

HLC methodology warned against small polygon sizes and suggested that means of

c25 ha to 50 ha were desirable.[10]

In common with other HLC exercises, Lancashire also recorded where there was any

difference in characterisation between the modern map and the First edition OS 6 inch

map, published in the late 1840s. However as the intended purpose was to inform 'a

variety of planning, conservation and management-led initiatives and strategies' rather

than provide a record of historic change, no maps showing the position in 1850 were

published despite the data being available.[11] The majority of the fieldscape in the

study areas demonstrates little change between 1850 and the modern map. However,

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[7] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, p.31.
[8] Ibid., pp.26, 42.
[9] S. Toase, *The North Yorkshire and Lower Tees Valley Historic Landscape Characterisation: final report,* Draft, (Northallerton, North Yorkshire County Council, 2010), p.26.
[10] Aldred and Fairclough, *Taking stock of the method*, p.42.
[11] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, p.4.

there is one area in Erringden that has experienced significant change since 1850 and which demonstrates the effect on historical interpretation of focusing solely on the present day landscape.

In 1850 the south-west corner of Erringden was a landscape of '1600-1850 enclosure' and 'enclosed moorland' that has now been replaced by a reservoir, woodland plantation and a wider area of enclosed moorland. Such an alteration to the landscape demonstrates how misleading an HLC can be when presenting its results as the 'historic dimension of today's urban and rural environment'.[12] By focusing on the modern landscape and classifying the historic elements present within it, previous historic landscapes are actually excluded.

The only 1850 characterisation that is apparent on the published Lancashire map is where improved land has reverted to moorland since 1850. One of the most significant reasons for this must be that, while reverted moorland by definition occupies the same area as the original enclosed area, this is not true of other landscape types. An HLC only creates polygons or areas within the GIS for the modern landscape. An older landscape is likely to occupy different areas. The historic landscape types of '1600-1850 enclosure' and 'enclosed moorland' in Erringden have different boundaries than the modern landscape types of plantation and enclosed moorland. To capture an historic landscape therefore, it would be necessary to repeat the HLC exercise using the First edition maps rather than the modern map to allow for different polygons to be drawn. Creation of a different HLC in this way is beyond the scope and resources of HLC projects.

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[12] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, p.4.

Although both the minimum size used to record the landscape and the focus of an HLC on capturing the historicity of the modern landscape can have a significant impact in obscuring significant historical facets, it would be possible to adapt the methodology to remedy these factors. This would be of little utility however without a clearer understanding of the degree of validity of the morphological assumptions underlying the characterisation process.

The treatment of Parliamentary enclosure in Stansfield is an excellent example of the difficulties and assumptions involved in pattern-based interpretation. According to the Lancashire Final Report, all Parliamentary enclosure maps held in the County Record Office were examined as part of the HLC project.[13] If the area of Parliamentary enclosure 'formed the skeleton for the present day landscape, or has not appreciably altered since the enclosure occurred', then the area was treated as a single landscape type 'regardless of size and shape of enclosures'.[14] If the landscape had changed significantly, the normal process of characterisation was followed. This description of the treatment of Parliamentary enclosure appears under the heading 'straight-sided regular enclosures', implying that this is the landscape type that would be applied to Parliamentary enclosure areas. According to the detailed database description in the Final Report, Lancashire did not have a Parliamentary enclosure landscape type as all enclosure was characterised initially by its morphology alone. However, an interpretative code could be added to the database to indicate the known or assumed type of enclosure and it would seem from the GIS database that this was also often used in practice as an unofficial landscape type.

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[13] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, pp.30, 182.
[14] Ibid., p.183.

The Stansfield enclosure was not simply an allocation of previously unenclosed common but also a regularisation of encroachments. Furthermore, it was used to assign ownership of many small odd parcels of land such as the driftway or moor access leading out of Blackshaw Head called Higher Back Lane. This funnel shaped access route was regularised into a straight sided track by means of selling off the resulting thin strips on either side of the new track, some of which can still be seen on the modern map. Previous encroachments had more land added to them while areas in between them were infilled. Large areas of moorland were allocated to the Vicar of Halifax who failed to actually enclose any of it.[15] The result is that it is only a relatively small central area that exhibits any 'straight-sided regular enclosures' as assumed by the Final Report.

It is not clear how the Lancashire HLC would have dealt with this situation. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 show the enclosed areas that were a result of Parliamentary enclosure, following the precept in the Final Report of treating the area as a single landscape type. As it would be extremely misleading to characterise the whole area as 'straight-sided regular enclosures', the unofficial Lancashire practice of introducing a new interpretative category of Parliamentary enclosure was followed. Equally, it would have been incorrect to characterise unenclosed moorland as Parliamentary enclosure when, although awarded, it was never actually enclosed. If the alternative approach of characterising this area as normal was taken, a quite different picture emerges as shown in Figure 6.6. Five different landscape types are shown to make up the area awarded under the Stansfield Parliamentary Enclosure Act.

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[15] West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale) TOD 212/1; MISC 165/49/1; 165/49/2.

Figure 6.6: Landscape types comprising the area of Parliamentary enclosure in Stansfield. Base map © Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.
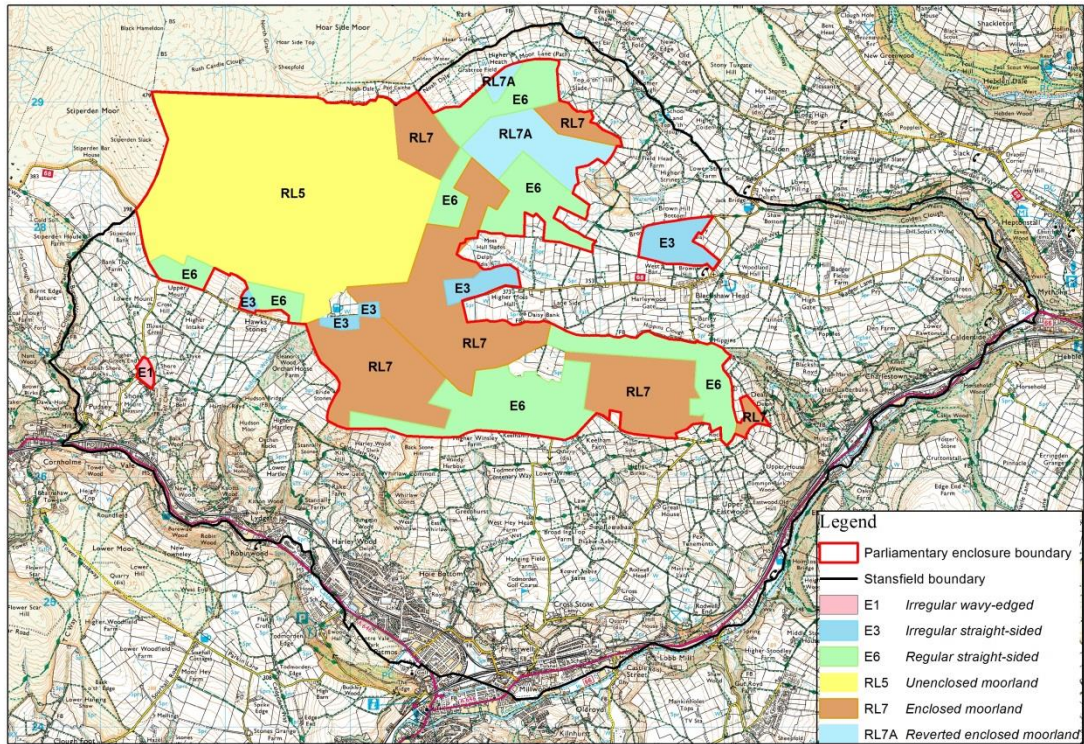
By focusing on morphology as its primary determinant of characterisation, the Lancashire methodology is unable to show the correct area that was subject to Parliamentary enclosure without serious mischaracterisation. The assumption that Parliamentary enclosure would always be represented by straight-sided regular enclosures is shown to be incorrect, and an unworkable way of characterising such areas of enclosure. In contrast, the North Yorkshire HLC used interpretative characterisations including 'Parliamentary enclosure'. Characterising the area would have been no problem using this methodology. However, identifying the correct area to characterise would have been extremely difficult because they did not look at enclosure maps but only used the bibliography of Yorkshire enclosure awards by Barbara English. This would only have told them that 1962 acres were awarded in

Stansfield.[16] As North Yorkshire were also assuming that straight-sided regular patterns meant Parliamentary enclosure, it is difficult to see how they would have equated the relatively small area of such enclosures with the acreage awarded.[17] There is a strong likelihood that areas of private enclosure in Stansfield which exhibit the expected morphology, such as those north of Badger Lane on the eastern side of the township, would be wrongly characterised as Parliamentary by North Yorkshire.

Parliamentary enclosure is one of the few types of enclosure that is created as a single documented process. If Parliamentary enclosure fails to conform to its assumed pattern, then it is perhaps even more probable that other assumed morphologies might be wrong. Given the issues, discussed above, of determining which landscape type should be applied to areas exhibiting a combination of both irregular wavy-edged or curvilinear boundaries and straight-sided boundaries, how valid is the Lancashire methodology in attempting to make such a distinction at all?

A map of intakes in the township of Wadsworth that was made in 1602 by Christopher Saxton provides the earliest surviving cartographic evidence within the wider study area.[18] While it is not likely that the map shows all existing field boundaries, a section reproduced in Figure 6.7 demonstrates that both the older enclosures and the new intakes tended to be curvilinear and irregular in shape. That the shapes are reasonably correct has been confirmed by comparison with the modern map where possible.

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[16] B. English, *Yorkshire enclosure awards*, (Hull, Department of Adult Education, University of Hull, 1985), p.135.

[17] S. Toase, *North Yorkshire and Lower Tees Historic Landscape Characterisation Project: technical users manual*, (Unpublished, 2011), p.15.

[18] British Library Add.MS 63751B, A plat of Wadsworth Common, 1602.

Figure 6.7: Saxton map of 1602 showing intakes in Wadsworth. The dark brown areas are the new intakes. © British Library Board Add.MS 63751B

A similarly predominant curvilinear shape is exhibited by the field pattern around Great House on the 1816 Parliamentary enclosure map of Stansfield, reproduced in Figure 6.8a.[19] However by 1848, when the first OS 6 inch map was surveyed, a new road had been driven through the northern section and new straight field boundaries had replaced most of the older curvilinear ones. Figure 6.8b shows the 1848 map with the Great House area shown on the 1816 map outlined in red.[20]

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[19] WYAS (C) MISC 165/49/1

[20] Ordnance Survey, *Yorkshire (West Riding)*, County Series 1st edition, Scale 1:10560, (Southampton, Ordnance Survey, 1851-4).

Figure 6.8a: Great House fieldscape in 1816. West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale) MISC 165/49/1. Reproduced by permission of West Yorkshire Archive Service.

Figure 6.8b: Great House fieldscape in 1848. First Edition 6 inch OS map. Base map © Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.
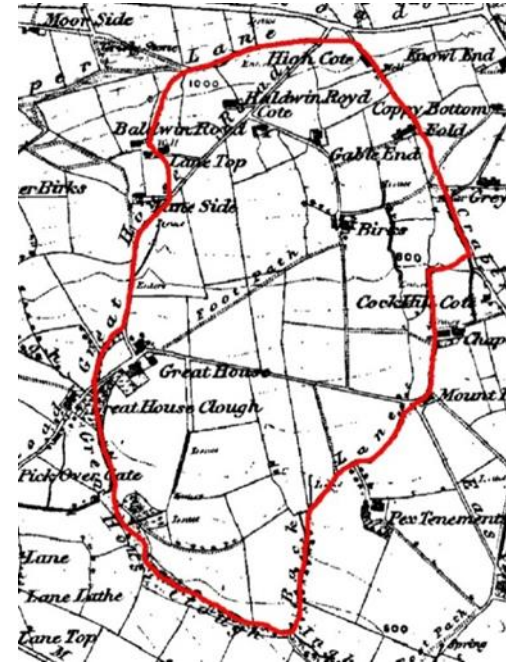
This area was all characterised as 'pre-1600 enclosure' (E1), in the Stansfield HLC despite the number of straight boundaries. This assessment was based on the wider predominance of irregular curvilinear boundaries in the surrounding area. From an HLC perspective, this evidence from 1816 confirms that the underlying morphology is irregular curvilinear, and that the characterisation of the modern landscape as such is broadly correct. From an historical perspective however, this provides a further illustration to the point made above that, by taking a large scale view which characterises landscape based on its dominant character, the HLC has failed to identify an area of later replanning. On the other hand, if the area had been characterised at a higher resolution that allowed smaller landscapes to be captured, it would have been denoted as '1600-1850 enclosure' being 'irregular straight-sided'

(E3). The idea of a later difference between this and the surrounding areas of 'pre-1600 enclosure' (E1) would thus have been identified.

The replacement of curvilinear forms by rectilinear forms can be seen elsewhere in the study area. The Sutcliffe estate in Erringden was mapped in 1760 and Figure 6.9a shows a predominantly curvilinear fieldscape with a large oval enclosure on Tower Hill above it (No 67 on the map).[21] This is still shown largely intact on the OS map surveyed in 1848-50 with the exception that the Tower Hill enclosure had been split into several straight-sided fields. This evidence does not contradict the characterisation of the Tower Hill area as '1600-1850 enclosure' (E3), but it does give it a much more specific and later date than implied. Comparison with the modern OS

Figure 6.9a: Sutcliffe Estate, Erringden in 1760. Yorkshire Archaeological Society DD99/H/1. Reproduced by permission of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.
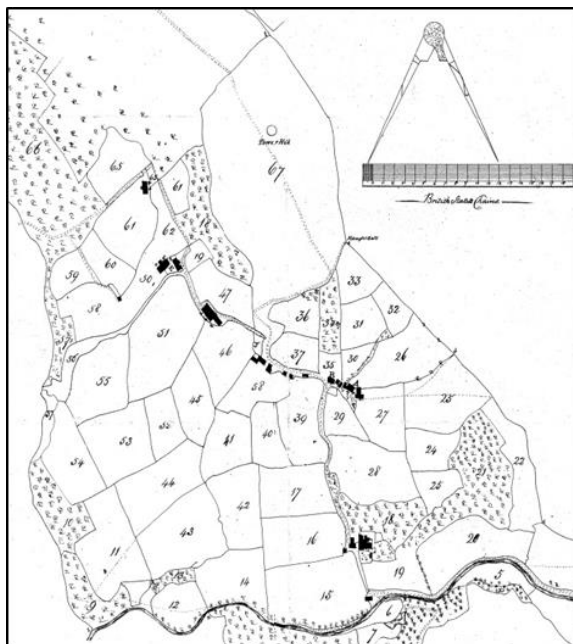
Figure 6.9b: Sutcliffe Estate, Erringden in 2008. © Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

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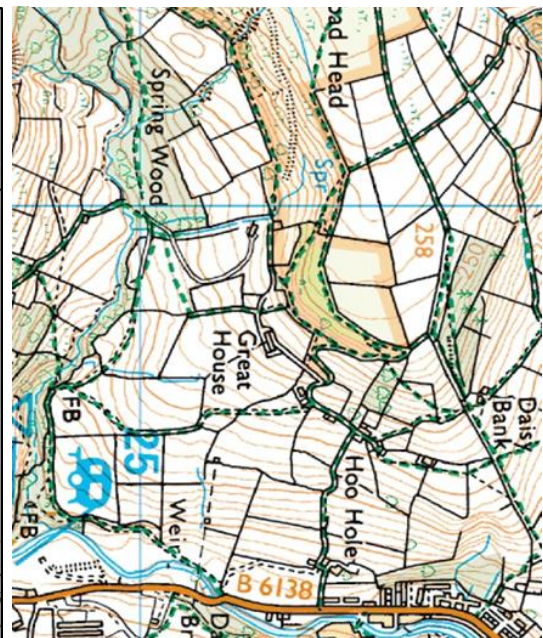
[21] Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Foster-Greenwood Collection, DD99/H/1.

map in Figure 6.9b shows that many of the small fields on the land below have suffered boundary disappearance and regularisation since 1848-50. Although this change was recorded in the GIS record, it retained its characterisation as 'pre-1600 enclosure' due to the continued presence of some curvilinear boundaries.

This suggestion that rectilinear forms often have late origins is confirmed by a 1779 estate map of Rawtonstall, an area of land still held directly by the Savile family as manorial lords.[22] The map, shown in Figure 6.10, appears to show the initial division of Rawtonstall Hey into regular straight-sided strips allocated to the tenants of

Figure 6.10: Enclosure of Rawtonstall Hey, 1779. Nottinghamshire Archives DD/SR Acc 8194. Reproduced by permission of Nottinghamshire Archives.

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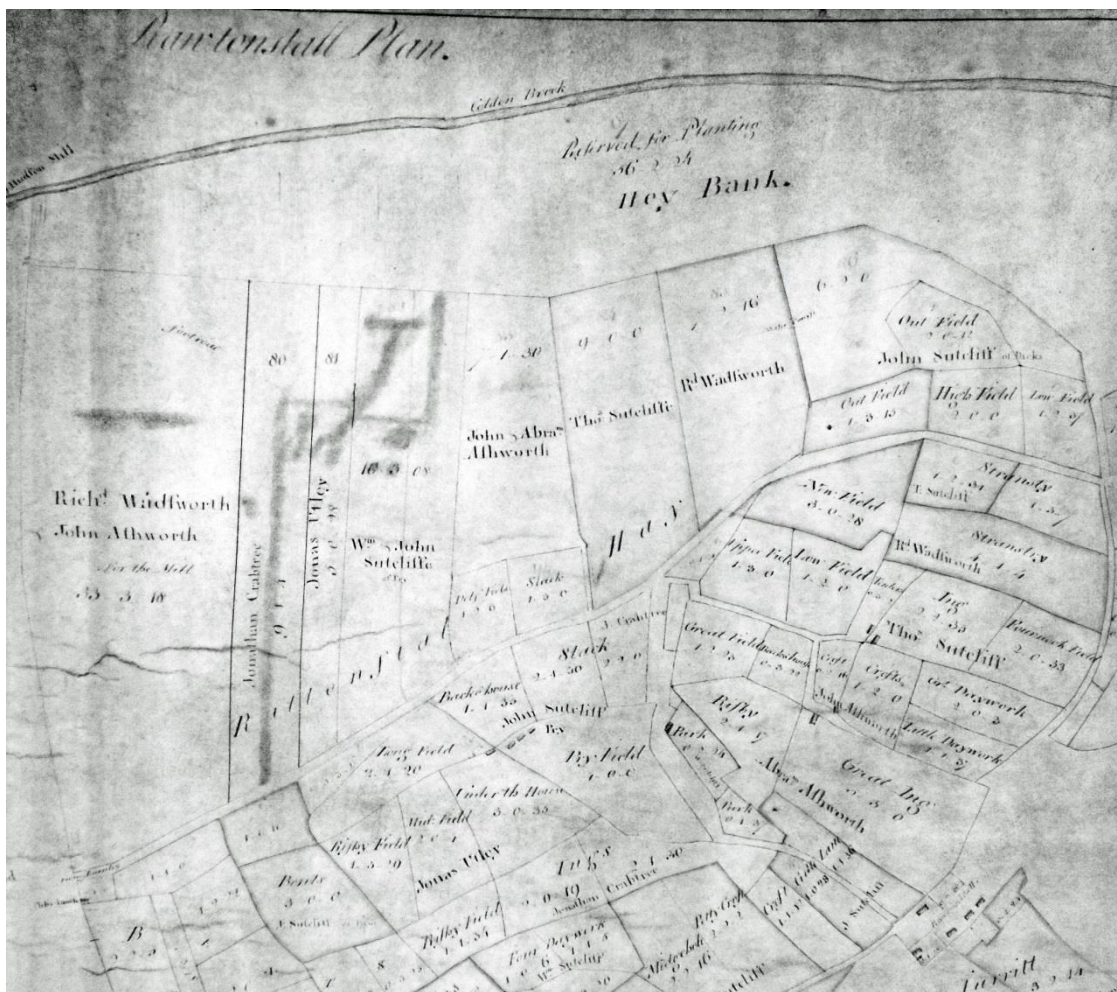
[22] Nottinghamshire Archives DD/SR Acc 8194, Rawtonstall plan 1779.

Rawtonstall. The later divisions of these strips into smaller fields is evidenced on the 1816 enclosure map of Stansfield. Similar patterns are evidenced in Erringden, and all of these are characterised as 'regular straight-sided enclosure' (E6) that is categorised as 1750-1850. A surviving plan reveals that the highest of the Erringden enclosures was only planned in 1835 and this is confirmed by its absence from the Myers map surveyed in 1834-5.[23]

These examples of curvilinear and rectilinear field morphologies are drawn from cartographic evidence that would not have been consulted in an HLC and, although they add more precision into the dating, they tend to confirm the broad HLC interpretation of the field morphologies. Although this evidence is limited in both extent and temporality, there is therefore some prima facie validity both in identifying different morphological patterns, and in the idea of straight lines replacing curvilinear ones in enclosures. If the curvilinear form does indeed tend to predate the rectilinear form, can the chronological division of 1600 that was used by Lancashire be justified? Clearly this is a date based on early modern ideas of agricultural improvement together with advances in geometry and surveying.[24]

As discussed in Chapter 2, the curvilinear form is often associated with early clearance and assarting. Documentary evidence for this activity will be considered in Chapter 8, but it is clear that in this upland study area land was continually being taken in from the waste until the nineteenth century. The cartographic evidence

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[23] YAS DD99/H4; J.F. Myers, *Map of the Parish of Halifax in the West Riding of the County of York, showing the township, borough and manorial boundaries, from an actual survey made in the years 1834 and 1835. [Scale, about 2 1/2 inches = 1 mile]*, (Warrington, Digital Archives, 2003).
[24] See for example A. McRae, *God speed the plough: the representation of agrarian England, 1500-1660*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), Ch.5; K. Thomas, *Man and the natural world: changing attitudes in England 1500-1800*, Originally published by Allen Lane, 1983, (London, Penguin, 1984), pp.256-7.

suggests that such clearance continued to be associated with the curvilinear form. For example, the area of the Sutcliffe estate in Erringden that is shown in Figure 6.9 was allocated to Thomas Sutcliffe on dispalement of the park in 1451.[25] It seems quite possible that the curvilinear fields of 1760 represent the clearance and settlement of that period. The intakes from the waste shown by Saxton in his 1602 map, reproduced in Figure 6.7, are also curvilinear. The blue curvilinear enclosures in Figure 6.11

Figure 6.11: Moorland encroachments in Stansfield prior to 1816. West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale), MISC 165/49/2. Reproduced by permission of West Yorkshire Archive Service.

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[25] N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent in the fourteenth century', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 17 (New Series), (2009), pp.32-57 at pp.45-6, Fig.4.

represent the furthest reaches of moorland encroachment or intaking in Stansfield prior to the Parliamentary enclosure of 1816. This area is above the 300 m contour.[26] While the location of these Stansfield enclosures above the 300 m contour suggests that they may be quite late, it is equally possible that this area was colonised in earlier centuries as suggested by the HLC results. However, bearing in mind the other evidence, it remains a plausible hypothesis that the curvilinear form often continued to represent moorland encroachment until at least the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was only after Parliamentary enclosure had removed the availability of any further land that the form ceased. The chronological limitation of curvilinear forms to pre-1600 by the Lancashire methodology is therefore likely to be rather simplistic.

As can be seen from these various examples, these areas exhibiting a curvilinear form often assume a roughly oval shape. This suggests that the existence of the oval form may be worth capturing in its own right in an HLC exercise as a form identifying areas of initial clearance. Roberts and Wrathmell also see versions of ring-fenced enclosures with 'curvilinear, near-circular or oval enclosing boundaries' as being clearance forms, albeit that they perceive them as 'early' forms that sometimes appear at the core of townfield systems.[27] They 'appear to represent a perfectly logical taking in of areas of "better land" with the least effort'.[28] This refers to the fact that a circular shape allows the maximum enclosed area for the least boundary length, a feature most obviously found in deer park enclosures.[29] Atkin identified double oval enclosures in Lancashire that were associated with dispersed settlement, which she interpreted as

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[26] WYAS (C) MISC 165/49/2. The enclosure map is in two parts which is why the eastern side of the map appears blank. It is in fact all enclosed land.
[27] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *Region and place: a study of English rural settlement*, (London, English Heritage, 2002), p.163.
[28] Ibid., p.152.
[29] Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent', p.39.

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often being arable and pastoral pairs.[30] Roberts and Wrathmell draw attention to oval townfields in Hunterson township in Cheshire while Hodges has found similar morphology at the Romano-British settlement at Roystone Grange in Derbyshire.[31] Sheppard identified an early clearance oval at the core of the lowland village of Wheldrake in East Yorkshire, while Roberts suggested that an oval at Cockfield in County Durham was the early focus of agricultural activity there.[32]

In Stansfield a number of 'island' enclosures surrounded by moorland can be identified on the 1805 valuation map and the 1816 enclosure map.[33] Figure 6.12 shows a number of these on Staups Moor, coloured blue.[34] As the HLC only captured areas of around 3-4 ha or more, the smaller islands were subsumed in the surrounding dominant landscape type. However, the larger islands can be identified in Figure 6.2 as '1600-1850 enclosure'. The classification is 'irregular straight-sided enclosures' (E3), based on the internal boundaries rather than the often curvilinear external boundary, and therefore '1600-1850 enclosure'. As discussed above, the curvilinear elements would however justify them being classified as 'irregular wavy-edged enclosures' (E1), and therefore pre-1600. This chronological ambivalence, together with their location, suggests that classifying them as a different landscape type would have been useful.

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[30] M.A. Atkin, 'Some settlement patterns in Lancashire' in D. Hooke (ed.), *Medieval villages: a review of current work,* (Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1985), pp.171-85; M.A. Atkin, 'Sillfield, Preston Patrick: A double-oval type of field pattern', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 153, (1993), pp.145-53.

[31] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, pp.98-9; R. Hodges, *Roystone Grange: 6000 years of a Peakland landscape*, (Stroud, Tempus, 2006), pp.88-9.

[32] J.A. Sheppard, 'Pre-enclosure field and settlement patterns in an English township', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography,* 48(2), (1966), pp.59-77 at p.69-70; B.K. Roberts, 'Townfield origins: the case of Cockfield, County Durham' in T. Rowley (ed.), *The origins of open-field agriculture,* (London, Croom Helm, 1981), pp.145-61 at pp.158-9.

[33] WYAS(C) MISC 165/49/1; MP 16/1.

[34] WYAS(C) MISC 165/49/1.

Figure 6.12: Island enclosures on Staups Moor. West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale) MISC 165/49/1. Reproduced by permission of West Yorkshire Archive Service.
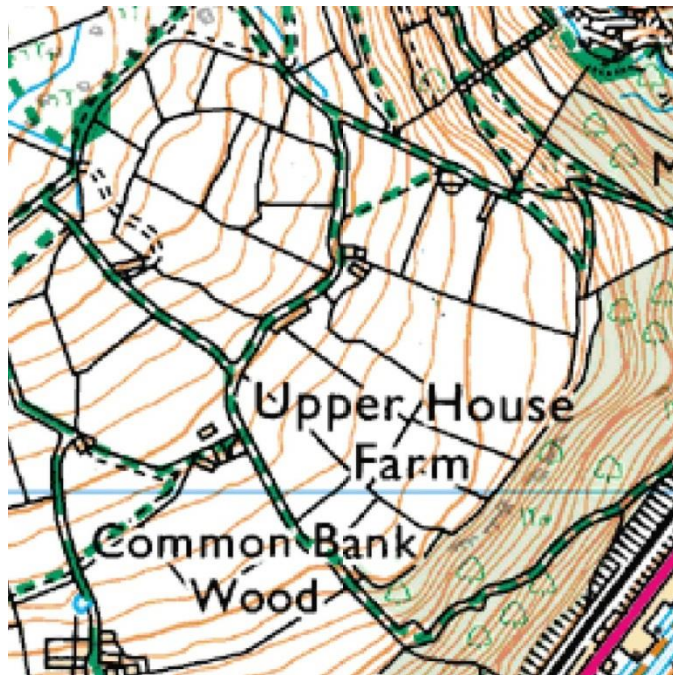
Figure 6.13: Upper House Farm oval field patterns. © Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

Once this form has been recognised in isolation it becomes easier to recognise the same form when it has become surrounded by presumably later fields. Such a form can be recognised at Great House in Figure 6.5 as well as Upper House Farm shown in Figure 6.13. At Upper House Farm the form could be interpreted either as a single enclosure or as two separate ones divided by the bridleway. It is significant that rights of way encircle the oval form, as they originally did at Great House prior to the field and routeway reorganisation. The tendency for routeways to respect the form and follow its outer edges suggests that the form here is of significant age.

Figure 6.14 identifies the most easily recognisable curvilinear oval-shaped forms in the historic Stansfield field pattern. Identification was based on a combination of the pattern on the First Edition OS 6 inch map, the 1816 enclosure map and the 1805 valuation map.[35] The latter two maps provide boundary details of individual parcels of land and this information was also taken into account. Ultimately however, these are subjective assessments based principally on morphological principles. They show how it is possible to identify forms in the field pattern beyond those identified in the Lancashire HLC. Although enclosure and valuation maps do not exist for Erringden, oval forms can also be identified at Tower Hill as shown in Figure 6.9, and also in the pre-1600 area of enclosure in the west.

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[35] Ordnance Survey, Yorkshire (West Riding), County Series 1st edition, Scale 1:10560, (1851-4); WYAS(C) MISC 165/49/1; 165/49/2; MP 16/1.

Figure 6.14: Oval field patterns in Stansfield
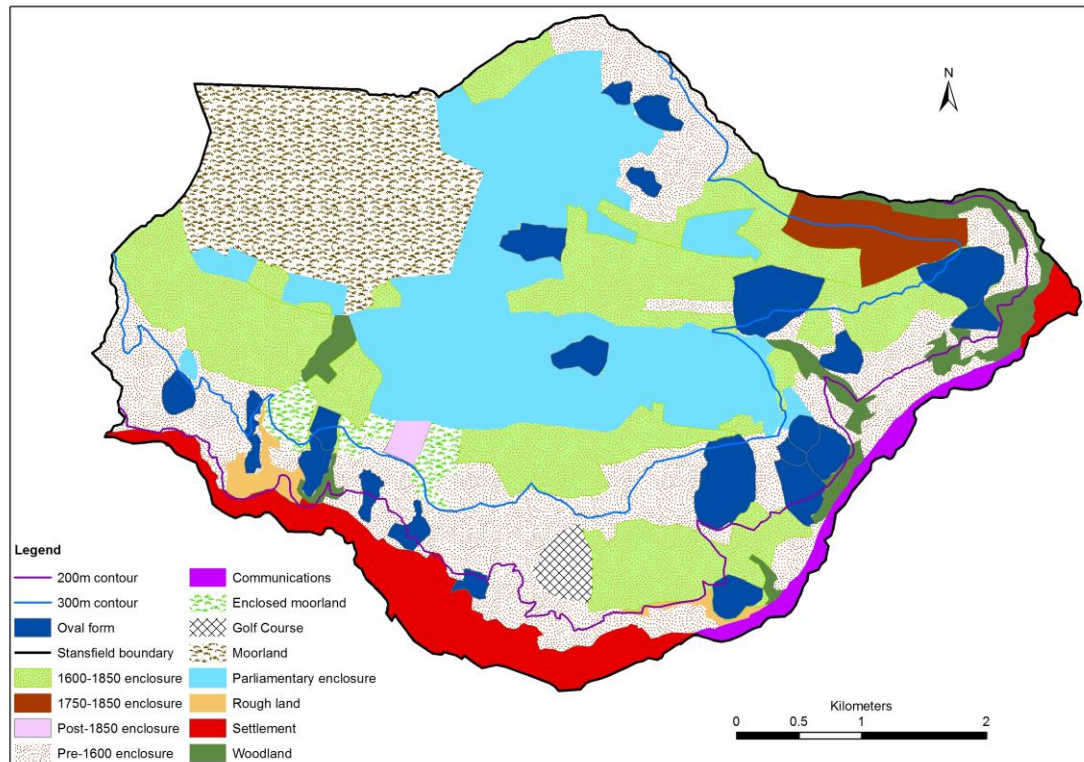
The cartographic evidence from both the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries suggests that island enclosures or moorland intakes have an irregular, often oval, form. An evolutionary model can therefore be proposed in which clearance at whatever period tends to take irregular forms, often of an oval nature. The earliest enclosures become surrounded by other curvilinear field patterns as the land is cleared and divided up. As clearance proceeds upslope, boundaries within the initial enclosure become more rectilinear as do the surrounding field patterns.

The failure of the Lancashire HLC, and other HLC projects, to recognise the oval form is due to the unquestioning acceptance that particular forms denote particular chronologies. These assumptions rely on a discourse that assumes there is a link between morphology, chronology and process. In the Lancashire HLC the form was identified by its morphology first, and then assigned a chronological landscape type.

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Possible interpretations of the process which created the form were then added separately. Irregular curvilinear enclosures were 'pre-1600 enclosure' and might be interpreted as an assart. In contrast, North Yorkshire used process as the landscape type. A similar morphology simply was an 'assart' landscape type if there was an association with woodland.[36] This approach is also being followed by West Yorkshire.[37] It was shown in Chapter 2 how such links between morphology, chronology and process are fraught with difficulty. If the proposed oval form model is correct, it shows how irregular forms can have a continuity way beyond the pre-1600 period assumed by HLC exercises. The existence of an oval form in the Stansfield and Erringden HLCs also demonstrates how adherence to a pre-determined typology prevents recognition of forms outside the norm. However, the ability of an HLC to expand the norm was demonstrated in North Yorkshire where a variety of landscape types were recognised such as 'ring-fenced farms', 'intakes' and 'open fields', although the way in which some of these were identified might be questioned.[38] Interestingly, only the last of these has been adopted by the West Yorkshire HLC.[39]

6.3 Conclusion

The results of applying the Lancashire HLC methodology to Stansfield and Erringden offer a mixed message. The focus on morphology as a defining feature allows subjectivity and bias to affect the initial classification. While it is easy to recognise morphological forms at opposite ends of the spectrum, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between varying combinations of curvilinear and straight-sided, regular and irregular. While there is no doubt that this becomes easier with experience

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[36] Toase, *North Yorkshire HLC technical users manual*, p.8.
[37] J. Lord and J. Marchant, *West Yorkshire Historic Landscape Characterisation Project: recording manual*, (Unpublished, 2012), pp.13-14.
[38] Toase, *North Yorkshire HLC technical users manual*, pp.8-16.
[39] Lord and Marchant, *West Yorkshire HLC: recording manual*, pp.13-14.

as more decisions are internalised, it would be difficult to maintain consistency over long periods. The discrepancy between the published morphological examples in the Lancashire Final Report and the practical application in Rossendale illustrates this particularly well.

Experimentation with symbolisation suggests that HLC maps do not have to appear as a blur of patchwork colours as is often the case. In an upland context, the addition of simple topographic features, such as contours, not only adds meaning to the initial message conveyed by the map but also raises questions for further investigation.

The dangers of relying on morphology as an indicator of particular types and processes of enclosure are demonstrated unequivocally by the Stansfield Parliamentary enclosure. The standard assumption that such enclosure can be identified by its straight regular boundaries is dispelled where much of the land enclosed was filling in gaps between existing enclosures or regularising previous encroachments. The new boundaries are perforce determined by what has gone before. On the other hand it has also been possible to show that some morphological interpretations can be confirmed by earlier cartographic evidence. Unsurprisingly, the lesson must be that use of all available cartographic evidence will result in a more accurate characterisation. Consideration of the implications of the different use of sources by Lancashire and North Yorkshire, where the former used enclosure maps and the latter did not, confirms that very different results might be obtained in each case.

Earlier cartographic evidence has not only supported the assumption that curvilinear forms tend to be earlier than straight-sided forms of enclosure, but has also suggested

that such forms coexist until the nineteenth century. This raises questions as to the validity of the broad chronological divisions used by Lancashire. Although North Yorkshire eschewed such overt chronological labels, similar assumptions are behind their descriptive form of categorisation based on process. However, the more detailed North Yorkshire approach would, in theory, allow the identification of other types of enclosures, such as island and oval enclosures which appear to represent moorland clearance in all periods prior to Parliamentary enclosure. This approach is facilitated by the decision to map smaller areas down to a size of 2 ha.

Overall the application of the Lancashire HLC methodology to Stansfield and Erringden shows that, within its own parameters of providing a generalised classification of the historic nature of the present landscape for non-historians, it provides a plausible model of fieldscape evolution. Despite the many issues that have been raised about the morphological method in both this chapter and Chapter 2, the results of this case study fit historical norms and do not immediately raise issues of validity. The evidence of extant earlier maps tends to support the HLC interpretation although it can improve on the detail.

However this does not mean that the model is correct, simply that it appears to provide a valid initial assessment. Much of the criticism of HLC lies in the fact it presents results using the language of certainty rather than possibility. From the perspective of the landscape historian operating within different parameters, HLC offers a preliminary cartographic assessment of the historic nature of the fieldscape that can act as a starting point for further investigation. However, the methodology needs to be adapted to use all the available cartographic sources, to create different time slice presentations using earlier maps, to operate at a greater resolution, to identify all

possible morphologies and to put the results in a topographic context. The next

chapter examines the extent to which documentary and field name evidence can be

used to correct and refine this model of fieldscape evolution presented by the HLC of

the study area.

Chapter 7

The evolution of the fieldscape: documentary approaches

A major criticism of the HLC methodology for characterising field patterns is that documentary evidence is often ignored. In this chapter the effect of this omission is assessed through the analysis of evidence for two townships that exhibit different evolutionary paths. The expansions and changes in the fieldscape that can be discovered from the surviving written record are compared to the results of the HLC exercise undertaken in the last chapter.[1] This attempted to judge the chronology of this process based largely on the shape of the fields in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Conclusions are drawn from this comparison as to the extent to which the morphological approach provides a valid picture of the origins of the fieldscape.

7.1 Case Study A: Stansfield

The first case study area to be considered is the township of Stansfield. The discussion is divided into pre- and post-1600 as direct documentary evidence for expansion of the fieldscape is largely limited to material originating after 1600.

7.1.1 Towards a model of the fieldscape before 1600

Before 1600, we are reliant on the evidence that can be inferred from a number of sources. Settlement patterns first set the scene, before consideration of landholding arrangements and field-names flesh out how the land was occupied. Although much of this evidence is also based on post-1600 documentation, it is argued that it provides an echo of the position in earlier centuries.

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[1] All references to 'the HLC' in this chapter refer to the HLC exercise in Chapter 6.

7.1.1.1 Settlement

It was shown in chapters 4 and 5 how the earliest recorded dates of settlement and the elements in their names could be used to create a model of settlement evolution. In particular the use of *royd* and *leah* elements in settlement names, indicating clearance or colonisation of waste land, was considered. It was noted that there was a paucity of pre-1500 clearance names in Stansfield. In fact there are only four recorded dates for settlements with *royd* names before 1600. Figure 7.1 shows that the distribution of these is scattered across the township with two near the 300 m contour, one below the 200 m contour, and one in between 200 m and 300 m. *Leah* names similarly fail to illuminate. Again there are only four, three close to the 200 m contour and one near the 300 m contour. The scattered nature of these sites and the small numbers involved suggest caution in drawing any meaningful conclusions.

Figure 7.1: Stansfield settlement pre-1600
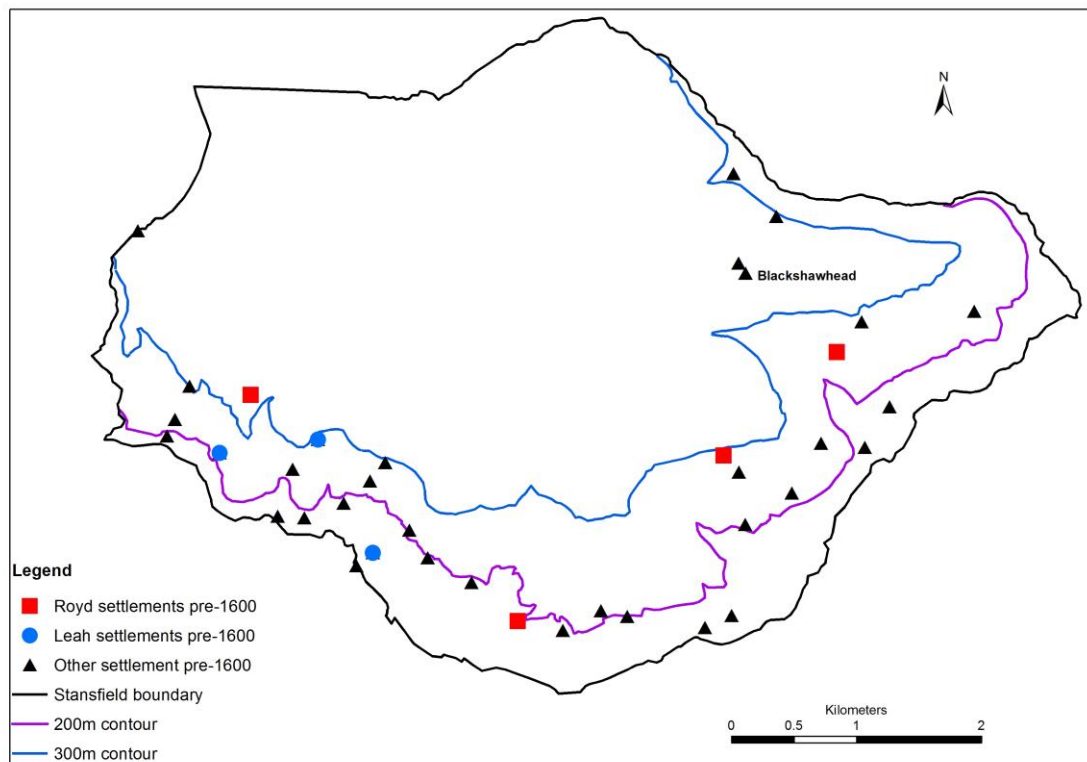
Lake and Edwards have argued for an integrated view of historic farmsteads and the landscape. Their research in Hampshire has shown how the density and dating evidence of farmsteads is 'closely related to the predominant character and date of the landscapes around them' thus contributing to an understanding of the development of the landscape.[2] For example, the density of isolated farmsteads and the number of pre-1700 buildings were greatest in areas of irregular enclosure that were deemed to be assarted landscapes.[3] In Stansfield the distribution of <u>all</u> settlement names recorded before 1600 shows that there was virtually no settlement above the 300 m contour except in the area around Blackshawhead to the east in the middle of the map. This tends to suggest that settlement above this height was largely a post-1600 expansion and that enclosures in this area might be expected to reflect that.

However, the fact that recorded settlement before 1600 largely lies below 300 m does not necessarily mean that post-1600 enclosure <u>only</u> occurred above 300 m, nor that pre-1600 areas of enclosure <u>only</u> occurred below that height. Further evidence for pre-1600 enclosure is required, and an examination of the tenurial pattern in this area provides an insight into how tenure might help to identify such older enclosures in conjunction with settlement, name and documentary evidence. The map in Figure 7.2 identifies the major locations mentioned in the following sections.

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[2] J. Lake and B. Edwards, 'Farmsteads and landscape: towards an integrated view', *Landscapes,* 7(1), (2006), pp.1-36; J. Lake and B. Edwards, 'Buildings and place: farmsteads and the mapping of change', *Vernacular Architecture,* 37, (2006), pp.33-49.
[3] Lake and Edwards, 'Buildings and place: farmsteads and the mapping of change', p.42. The relationship between buildings and landscape has also been discussed by C. Dyer, 'Vernacular architecture and landscape history: the legacy of 'The rebuilding of rural England' and 'The Making of the English Landscape'', *Vernacular Architecture,* 37, (2006), pp.24-32.

Figure 7.2: Locations in the Upper Calder Valley (see text)
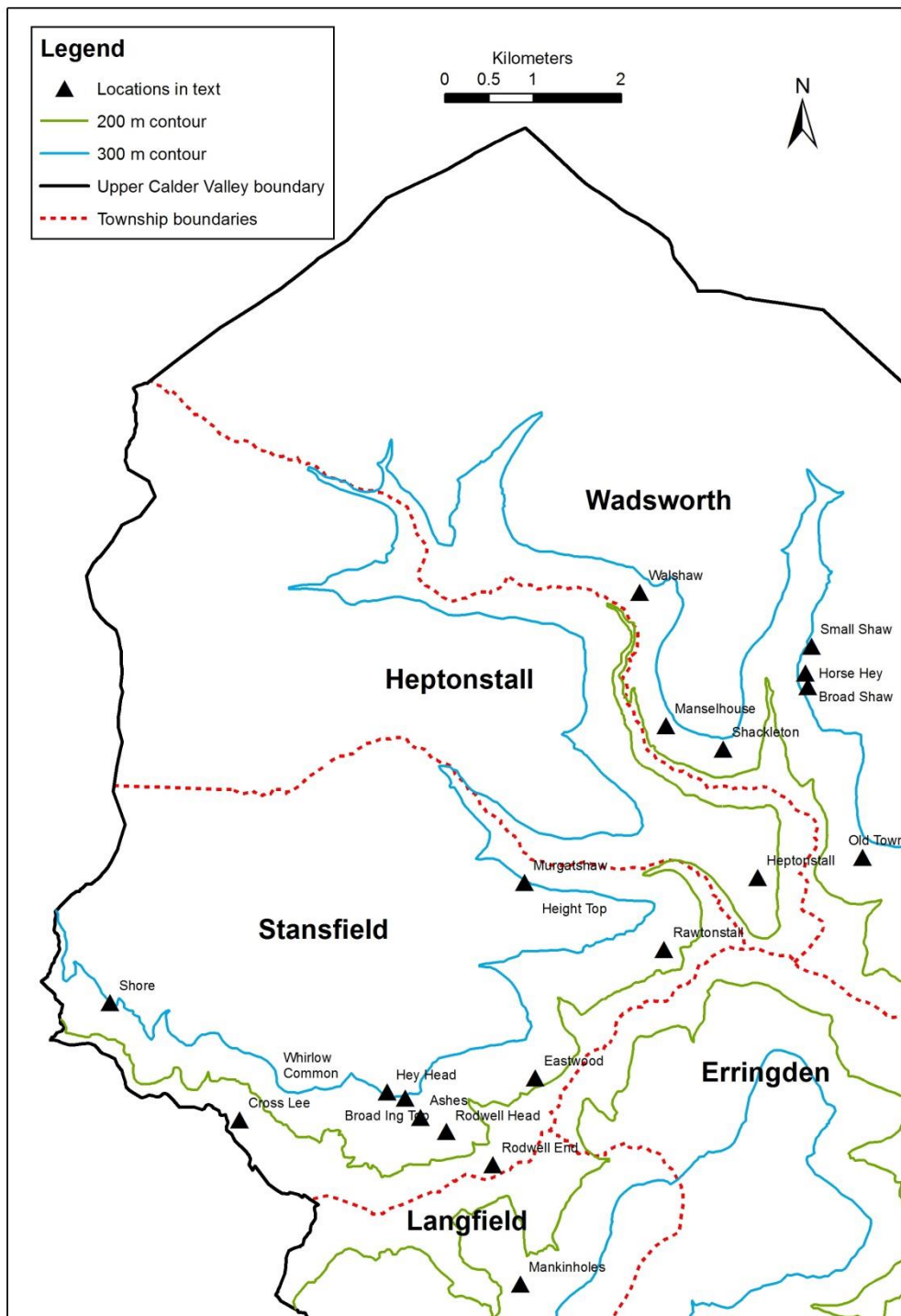
7.1.1.2 Tenurial patterns: land sharing arrangements

In his study of Copeland, Cumbria, Winchester found that pre-1600 single dispersed farms were typically ring-fenced with discrete boundaries, while small groups of farms were characterised by some form of land sharing arrangement between the various tenants. He refers to the latter as 'farm group territories'.[4] The way in which land was divided between the tenants results in a pattern that helps to identify such arrangements. The historic fieldscape is thus partially determined by the boundaries dividing areas of shared land from land held by single farms. A good example of shared land is provided by the sub-manor of Rawtonstall, which appears to have retained its discrete tenurial identity well into the nineteenth century and provides the largest corpus of extant documentation. It is therefore this sub-manor which is focused on in the following discussion.

The vill of Rawtonstall is first referred to in 1238, when it was held by the de Soothill family from Sir Richard Thornhill, who in turn held it from the Lord of Wakefield.[5] The sub-manor of Stansfield, held by the Thornhills, passed to the Savile family in 1369-70 and the sub-manor of Rawtonstall was joined to it through marriage in 1533-4 to form the combined township of Stansfield and Rawtonstall, often referred to as Rawtonstall cum Stansfield.[6] The earliest records of tenure are accounts for 1377-9 which detail services owed to the lord as eight ploughs and eight scythes.[7] These should almost certainly be interpreted as the ploughing and scything services of eight tenants as the size of the manor is far too small for eight actual ploughs. By 1586 there

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[4] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Territorial structure and agrarian organisation in mediaeval and sixteenth century Copeland, Cumbria', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1978, pp.171-9.

[5] W. Brown (ed.), *Yorkshire deeds,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol.50, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1914), p.157; M. Heywood, et al., *A history of Todmorden*, (Otley, Smith Settle, 1996), pp.17-18.

[6] Heywood, et al., *A history of Todmorden*, p.19. See the 1815 Enclosure Act for an example of the nomenclature: An Act for inclosing lands within the township of Stansfield 1815, (55 Geo III c.32).

[7] Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Clarke Thornhill of Fixby Collection, DD12/II/34/16.

were nine tenants and this is the case in both 1633 and 1779, although a survey of 1604 only lists seven tenants.[8]

The manor sits on top of a ridge of land bounded by the Colden Water to the north and the Calder River to the south. The road between Hebden Bridge and Burnley, first mentioned in 1601, runs slightly to the south along the ridge top cutting the manor into two.[9] The north facing slope comprises the large area of Rawtonstall Hey which was divided between the tenants in 1779 and was discussed in Chapter 6. The south facing slope is home to the farms and smaller enclosures. A survey of 1779 details which farm holds which fields and a corresponding map also survives.[10] These fields can be identified on the First edition OS map of 1848 so as to provide the pattern of tenure shown in Figure 7.3. The 1779 map shows the initial division of Rawtonstall Hey into long rectangular strips which were further subdivided by 1816.[11] The result of this division was a pattern of alternating ownership strips of varying sizes, some of which were still held in common between two tenants. The same principle seems to have applied to the allocation of land around the various farms. While each farm holds a contiguous area of land next to the farm, it also holds various other parcels of land scattered across the manor.

While there is no clear relationship between the amount of land already held and the amount allotted on the Hey, there appears to have been some form of underlying allotment mechanism in place. A rental of 1586 shows that tenancies at that period were based on core holdings of 18 acres, sometimes divided between apparent family

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[8] West Yorkshire Archive Service (Kirklees), Savile Estate, DD/S/I/259, 262, 269; Nottinghamshire Archives, Savile of Rufford: deeds and estate papers, DD/SR/30/48.
[9] Notts DD/SR Acc 8194, Deeds transcripts no.33.
[10] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269; Notts DD/SR Acc 8194, Rawtonstall plan 1779.
[11] West Yorkshire Archive Service (Calderdale) MISC 165/49/1.

members, at a basic rent of £5.[12] The valuation of 1805 refers to equal fractions of

unenclosed land held by five of the tenants with another holding twice that amount.[13]

Winchester notes that the farm group territories in Copeland also exhibited varying

degrees of equality, or regularity, of shares as evidenced by land allocations and rent

patterns.[14] Allotments were also recorded in 1779 in other parts of the manorial fields.

As there are only three of these, the implication is that they were new allotments.[15]

This evidence, combined with a comparison of the 1779 pattern with the land

allocation on the 1805 valuation map of Rawtonstall, indicates that, at this period at

least, these allocations were not static but were subject to change.[16]

Figure 7.3: Land allocations between tenants in Rawtonstall 1779. Parts of the
Hey are shared between two tenants and are shown as discrete tenancies. Base map ©
Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.

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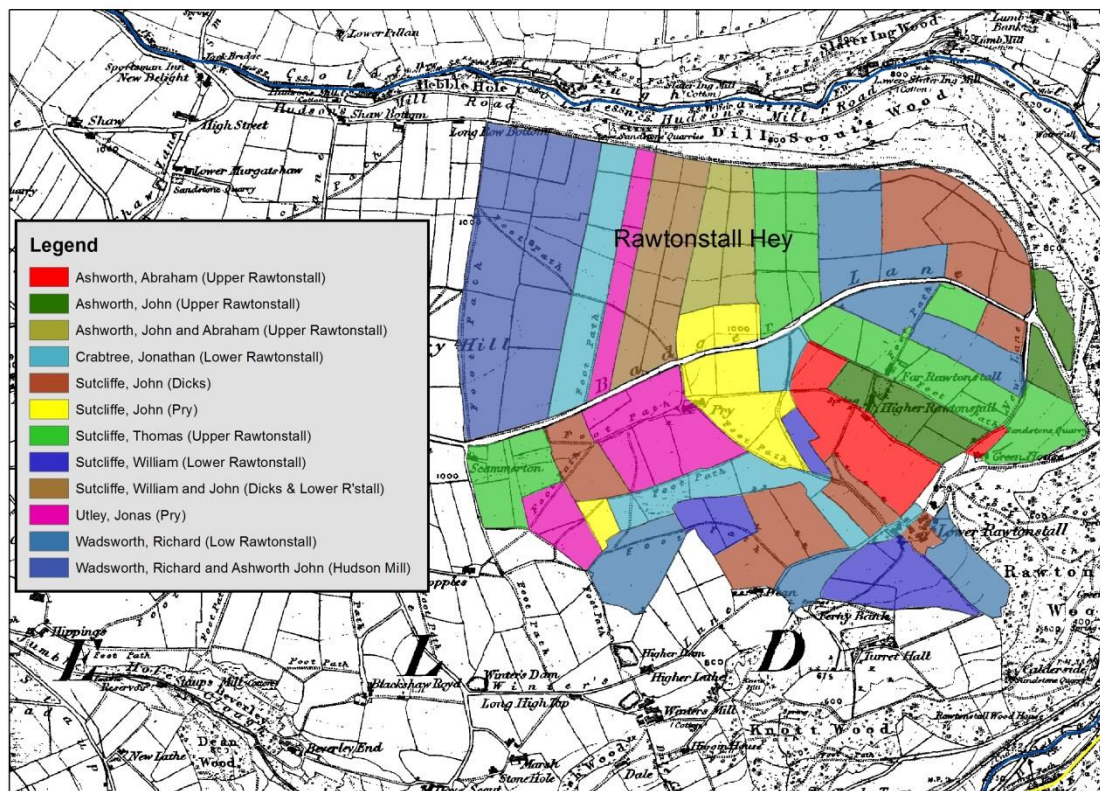
[12] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/259.

[13] WYAS(C) SU 405.

[14] Winchester, 'Territorial structure and agrarian organisation', pp.176-9.

[15] Richard Wadsworth was given 10 perches at the head of Newfield. John Sutcliffe and Thomas
Sutcliffe increased their holdings by approximately 1 acre 1 rood each with an allotment at the head of
Bents while John Utley gained 3 roods 2 perches at the head of Long Field.

[16] WYAS(C) MP 16/1 A map of the township of Stansfield 1805; WYAS(C) SU 405, Stansfield
valuation 1805.

Similar land allocations can be found on a 1779 map of the hamlet of Walshaw in the township of Wadsworth, also owned by the Saviles and first mentioned in 1277.[17] The Calder Valley historian Abraham Newell commented in 1915 that 'the way in which the closes of each farm are scattered amongst those of the rest' in the hamlet of Mankinholes in Langfield township were a very striking feature.[18] He goes on to say that 'A plan of Mankinholes and the "Tops" coloured according to occupiers, would today, even after these many centuries of individual domination, bargaining and concessions, present a very curious piece of patchwork'.[19] An auction plan of 1918 demonstrates his point.[20] The farms of Parrock Shore and Shore in the hamlet of Shore, at the western end of Stansfield, also exhibit similar land sharing arrangements in 1805.[21] Shore is first mentioned in 1329 and Mankinholes in 1275.[22]

The majority of the land considered so far was intermixed land that was held in severalty. However, Figure 7.3 also shows that some parcels in Rawtonstall were shared between two tenants. This represents a different form of land sharing and is also evident in the form of parcels of other land held in common. The Rawtonstall tenants shared 240 acres of 'moore or heath ground' that included 'scarry woode grounde'.[23] Two of the settlements in the valuation of Stansfield carried out in 1805 have field names that contain the element 'mean', indicating a common use.[24] These

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[17] Notts DD/SR Acc 8194 A plan of Wadsworth 1779; W.P. Baildon (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol.1, 1274-1297,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 29, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1901), p.172.

[18] A. Newell, 'Mankinholes', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1915), pp.237-47 at p.244.

[19] Ibid., p.244.

[20] WYAS(C) HAS/C19/459.

[21] WYAS(C) MP 16/1; SU 405.

[22] J.W. Walker (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 5, 1322-1331,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 109, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1945), p.139; Baildon (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol.1, 1274-1297*, p.136.

[23] Notts DD/SR/30/48.

[24] WYAS(C) SU 405. According to the *OED* one of the meanings of this term is 'held commonly or jointly'.

settlements are Shore and Cross Lee, the latter being first recorded in 1286.[25] At

Mankinholes two closes called Meanfields are referred to in 1780.[26] Shackleton in the

township of Wadsworth, first recorded in 1219, has a Mean Field marked on a map of

1779.[27] The association of this name with early settlement indicates that such

settlements had some form of common field, probably of arable or meadow as they

are always located very near the settlement itself. The largest surviving mean field is

that at Manselhouse, Shackleton which in 1779 was 8.5 statute acres.[28] Such shared

land was also typical of the farm group territories in Copeland.[29]

Another form of land sharing is provided by evidence of townfields. Townfields have

been defined as 'a term used in the north of England when referring to the open-fields

of a township, particularly those relatively small open-fields of upland areas'.[30] Youd

and Elliott considered the term 'townfield' to be 'a generic term covering all the

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[25] J. Lister (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 3, 1313 to 1316, and 1286,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 57, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1917), p.160.
[26] WYAS(C) FIE/107-108
[27] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3: Morley wapentake,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 32, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), p.201. Notts DD/SR Acc 8194 A plan of Wadsworth 1779.
[28] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269; Notts DD/SR Acc 8194 A plan of Wadsworth 1779.
[29] Winchester, 'Territorial structure and agrarian organisation', p.176.
[30] D. Hey (ed.), *The Oxford companion to local and family history,* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p.443.The literature on townfields is largely confined to the North West. See R.E. Porter, 'The townfields of Coniston', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 29, (1929), pp.273-7; R.C. Shaw, 'The townfields of Lancashire', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 114, (1962), pp.23-36; G.M. Simpson, 'Townfields at Threlkeld, Mardale, Wet Sleddale and Langdale', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 29, (1929), pp.269-72; T.H.B. Graham, 'The townfields of Cumberland: Part 1', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 10, (1910), pp.118-34; T.H.B. Graham, 'The townfields of Cumberland: Part 2', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 13, (1913), pp.1-31. However see E.R.R. Green, 'On open town-fields', *Agricultural History Review,* 9(2), (1961), pp.84-8 for use of the term generically by the eighteenth century writer Charles Varley.

common field arable land in a township' and Youd has made it clear that the term was prevalent in the lowlands as well as the uplands.[31]

A large 'townfield' is shown on maps of 1715 and 1779 at Walshaw, and this is recorded in a fieldbook of 1779 as being 60 statute acres with each of the six tenants holding shares of 8 acres 1 rood and 26 perches.[32] One tenant, Edmund Shackleton, held two of these shares. These equal shares appear to have been the result of a post-1600 reallocation as a survey of 1604 shows five tenants with shares in the 'open feilde' ranging from 9¼ acres to 22¼ acres.[33] No further division of the townfield occurred as the only tenant who did not have any share in the townfield in 1779 was David Greenwood of New Laithe, a settlement which lay on the edge of the hamlet and whose name indicates a more recent origin. Evidence elsewhere in the Upper Calder Valley suggests that the larger settlements of Heptonstall, Old Town, Midgley, Sowerby and Warley also had similar townfields, sometimes in separate field areas.[34]

At Rastrick, further down the Calder Valley, a deed of 1580 refers to the 'common town fields' in which each person held a number of scattered small parcels.[35] In discussing the field systems of the Upper Calder Valley, Jennings, in common with

[31] G. Youd, 'The common fields of Lancashire', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 113, (1961), pp.1-41, pp.3, 20-9; G. Elliott, 'Field systems of Northwest England' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.41-92 at p.47.

[32] The shares allotted in the field book total 60 acres 1 rood 22 perches but the map shows the townfield as only being 58 acres 3 roods 24 perches: WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269; Notts DD/SR Acc 8194 A plan of Wadsworth 1779.

[33] Notts DD/SR/30/48; This reallocation may have been the reason for drawing up the map of 1715: Notts DD/SR Acc 8194 A map of the manor of Wadsworth 1715.

[34] B. Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley: a history of Upper Calderdale,* (Otley, Smith Settle, 1992), pp.32, 54.

[35] H.T. Clay, 'Rastrick common town fields', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1944), pp.27-30; See also J. Lister, 'Local illustrations of Seebohm's "English village community"', *Bradford Antiquary,* 1, (1888), pp.254-66 at p.257; W.B. Crump, 'Clifton and its common fields', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1925), pp.105-35 at p.114.

Titow, used the terms open field and common field interchangeably.[36] Although the distinction, if any, between open-field and common-field has been the subject of much debate, Rippon provides a useful broad description of such fields as being unenclosed field areas that were subdivided between various tenants.[37] However, it was only the internal subdivisions of the field that were originally unenclosed, the external field boundaries frequently having some form of enclosure.[38] At Rastrick it is clear that as early as 1550 some shares in the townfields were already enclosed or were located within larger closes.[39] These signs of severalty were being echoed by exchanges of shares to allow an individual to hold his parcels in one place rather than in a scattered form.[40]

The evidence in Stansfield indicates, therefore, that hamlets with origins in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, or earlier, tended to allocate land to their inhabitants in some intermixed form. These small communities, or farm group territories, farmed the land on an intermixed basis, so that the fields of an individual farm were scattered amongst those of others in order to ensure each farm had an equitable share of different land qualities.[41] Some areas of arable or meadow appear to have been shared in some of these communities in mean or townfields. There are striking similarities in the essential features of these land sharing arrangements with not only Copeland in

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[36] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.32; J.Z. Titow, 'Medieval England and the open-field system', *Past and Present,* 32, (1965), pp.86-102.

[37] See for example J. Thirsk, 'The common fields', *Past and Present,* 29, (1964), pp.3-25; Titow, 'Medieval England and the open-field system'; A.R.H. Baker, 'Some terminological problems in studies of British field systems', *Agricultural History Review,* 17(2), (1969), pp.136-40; S. Rippon, *Beyond the medieval village: the diversification of landscape character in Southern Britain*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), p.4.

[38] Baker, 'Some terminological problems', p.139; Youd, 'The common fields of Lancashire', p.22.

[39] Clay, 'Rastrick common town fields'.

[40] Lister, 'Local illustrations', p.261; Clay, 'Rastrick common town fields', pp.28-9.

[41] See R.A. Dodgshon, 'Towards an understanding and definition of runrig: the evidence for Roxburghshire and Berwickshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* 64, (1975), pp.15-33 at pp.28-9 for a discussion as to how such shares might have been derived.

Cumbria but also with Scottish runrig.[42] As in Copeland, the evidence suggests that the size of these farm group territories was in the range of 100 to 300 statute acres, Rawtonstall being 240 acres and Walshaw being around 153 acres in 1604.[43] Dodgshon has discussed the various theories put forward by historians as to the factors that influenced this 'shareholding' process.[44]

These thirteenth- and fourteenth- century hamlets tend to be located on the edge of the shelf above the river valleys, in common with the other earliest recorded settlements. These were often on promontories of land formed by the valleys of tributary streams on either side, or in sheltered positions just below the escarpment. As the downslope land is too steep for anything but wood pasture use, the only avenue for expansion is upslope or, if the topography permits it, across the slope. As might be expected, settlement and field names in certain areas such as Eastwood, Rodwell Head and Shore confirm that areas of common were originally to be found on the upslope side of these early settlements. It remains to consider the wider use of this upslope land beyond the inbye land.

7.1.1.3 Enclosed pasture areas

Of particular significance in upland areas is the creation of large enclosed pasture areas by major estates, first documented in the thirteenth century. Taylor cites a sheep pasture of 600 ha, created in 1284 by Furness Abbey in Upper Eskdale, which was enclosed 'with a dyke, wall or paling'.[45] The need to accommodate different functions and the need to control grazing regimes is likely to have led to a gradual

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[42] Winchester, 'Territorial structure and agrarian organisation', pp.173-9; Dodgshon, 'Towards an understanding and definition of runrig'.
[43] Winchester, 'Territorial structure and agrarian organisation', p.173. Notts DD/SR/30/48.
[44] R.A. Dodgshon, 'The landholding foundations of the open-field system', *Past and Present,* 67, (1975), pp.3-29.
[45] C.C. Taylor, *Fields in the English landscape*, (London, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1975), p.100.

reduction of such large areas into smaller enclosures. For example, by the time of the dissolution of Bolton Abbey in 1539, its demesne farm consisted of varying sizes and types of enclosure with pasture areas ranging from 16 acres to 100 acres.[46]

While there is no evidence for very large enclosures in the Upper Calder Valley, it is clear that enclosures were still being progressively subdivided in the seventeenth century. On 3 February 1609 the Wakefield Court Rolls record a holding of 28 acres at Longeroyde in Sowerby which included a 'close of land and meadow called Barkehouseynge now divided into two … a close of land and pasture called Morefeilde estimated at 9 acres now divided into three'.[47] Richard Brigge of Sowerby surrendered a messuage and closes to the court held on 1 May 1640 that included 'le Spowtefeild (previously divided into two parts, le Milnefeild (previously divided into two parts and now into four parts), les Birkes (previously in two parts) … and le Moorehey (previously in four parts and now in five)'.[48] The process of division is sometimes illustrated by the surrender of a parcel of land within a close. On 12 June 1640, Edward Sutcliffe and his wife surrendered small parts of land within closes that included '½ acre 1 rood and 32½ perches by the larger measure at the lower end of a close called Rough Hey in Warley'.[49] There are many such examples.

The effect of division of existing closes is often reflected in the field names for a period. Several separate closes are often referred to by the (presumed) original single

[46] I. Kershaw (ed.), *Bolton Priory rentals and Ministers' accounts 1473-1539,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol.132, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1970), pp.27-8. Kershaw notes that there is a close match between modern statute acres and the acres quoted in the Inventory, p.xix note 1.

[47] C.M. Fraser (ed.), *The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield for 1608/9,* Wakefield Court Rolls Series Vol.11, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1996), p.25.

[48] C.M. Fraser and K. Emsley (eds.), *The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield from October 1639 to September 1640,* Wakefield Court Rolls Series Vol.1, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1977), p.38.

[49] Ibid., p.46.

name.[50] For example in 1609 the records for Sowerby refer to '3 closes of land, meadow and pasture called Crossestones and Townefeilde, and two other closes of the same called Overthwartes, estimated to contain 5½ acres'.[51] A deed of 1594 concerned land in Midgley, part of which comprised 'two closes of meadow or pasture called the Deepe Arse, two closes called the Highe Leeyes, meadow or pasture'.[52] In Haworth, John Pighells held 'three closes of land called the Intacks' in 1688 and a pain against trespass over 'two other closes called the Will lands' was also made.[53]

It is perhaps reasonable to suppose that these larger enclosures often initially represented ownership boundaries rather than functional boundaries. On demesne blocks of land subdivision was imposed as a planned exercise, such as in the subdivision of vaccaries or parks.[54] Otherwise the process is likely to have been gradual, driven both by economic imperatives, such as improving grazing land and stock management, and by the subdivision of holdings between family members in periods of population pressure for inheritance reasons.[55] Similar reasons lay behind expansion outwards from the family farm. Winchester describes how, in the northern uplands, enclosed pastures were gradually added to existing holdings to form more closely controlled grazing land lying between the lower closes and meadows and the higher open moor. In the Lake District, this was typically the cow pastures between

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[50] J. Field, *A history of English field-names*, (London, Longman, 1993), p.3.
[51] Fraser and Emsley (eds.), *Wakefield court rolls 1639-1640*, pp.19-20.
[52] W. Brown (ed.), *Yorkshire deeds,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol.39, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1909), p.116.
[53] C. Whone (ed.), *Court Rolls of the Manor of Haworth,* Local Record Series Vol.3, (Bradford, Bradford Historical & Antiquarian Society, 1946), pp.18-19.
[54] See the discussion in chapter 1 pp.35-7. Local examples are the vaccary of Saltonstall, referred to in Chapter 1 p.35, and Erringden Park considered later in this chapter.
[55] See the discussion in chapter 1 pp.37-8 and Chapter 8.

the inbye land and the fell.[56] In the Central Pennines, such cow pastures were often

shared by small groups of tenants on a stinted basis, that is each tenant had a right to

graze a fixed number of animals.[57] Stints were based on a beastgate, or 'the right to

graze one horned beast'.[58] These cow pasture areas have not been identified in the

South Pennines to date, but there is significant evidence to suggest that such pasture

areas tended to be known locally as 'heys'. This parallels the local use of the term

'leasow' in the West Midlands for similar large pasture areas.[59]

Hey or hay is derived from OE *(ge)hæg* or *haga* meaning simply an enclosure.[60] In the

Upper Calder Valley, it is interesting that a large area of 103 acres like Rawtonstall

Hey is known as a 'hey' while none of the other enclosures in the sub-manor have that

element except for one which is only 2 acres. A survey of Rawtonstall by Christopher

Saxton in 1604 listed 'one platte of moore or heathe grounde' in addition to the closes

held in severalty by the tenants.[61] This clearly represents Rawtonstall Hey. Together

with 'one platte of Scarry woode grounde inclosed', which represents Rawtonstall

Wood and Bank, the acreage of these plots was 240 statute acres. Evidence from

surveys and court rolls indicates that the Hey was used as rough pasture for the use of

the tenants of Rawtonstall only, and was separated from the open common by a 'more

hedge'.[62] Most of the enclosures into which the Hey was divided in 1779 contain the

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[56] A.J.L. Winchester (ed.), *The North West,* England's Landscape Vol.8, (London, Collins, 2006), pp.104-05; A.J.L. Winchester, *The harvest of the hills: rural life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700,* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp.68-9.

[57] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, pp.68-9.

[58] Ibid., p.71.

[59] C. Dyer, *A country merchant, 1495-1520: trading and farming at the end of the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), pp136-7.

[60] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7: Introduction, bibliography, river-names, analyses,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 36, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp.198-9.

[61] Notts DD/SR/30/48.

[62] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269; Notts DD/SR/1/D/5/2; DD/SR/1/15/7/6.

word 'rough' in their name.[63] Estate maps and records of 1779 show that the hamlet of Walshaw in Wadsworth also possessed a large enclosure of over 34 acres called a Cow Hay.[64] Each tenant at Walshaw had one cowgate in the Cow Hay while the 1779 Rawtonstall survey details that each tenant held a number of cowgates in Rawtonstall Wood and horsegates in Rawtonstall Bank.[65] In the 1805 valuation each tenant has a portion of 'Gee Bottom and the Outhey', ranging from one eighteenth to one sixth, which may be equivalent to these gates.[66]

A commission, appointed to inquire into the amount of waste and encroachments in the manor of Wakefield in 1564-5, was required to identify 'the number of Acres of *heies* Waistes and Commons groundes Parcele of the mannors of Wakefield and Bradford graunted by the stewards of the said Lordshippes'.[67] The will of Richard Stansfield in 1587 identifies 'heyes' as a particular appurtenance distinct from closes in the rubric 'the houses barnes buildinges Cottages gardens landes tenements medowes closes *heyes* woodes pastures'.[68] The will of Edmund Barker, made in 1592, referred to a new house 'standing at the head of my hayes under Wharlow'.[69] Whirlow is still a common and these heys appear to have been often associated with moors or commons, a fact which lends further weight to the evidence that heys were rough pasture areas. Richard Brigge of Sowerby surrendered a messuage and closes in 1640 that included 'le Moorehey'.[70] In nearby Sowood Green, Moor Hey Lane leads

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63 WYAS(C) SU 405. See also Figure 7.9.
64 WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269; Notts DD/SR Acc 8194, A plan of Wadsworth 1779.
65 WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269
66 WYAS(C) SU 405.
67 The National Archives, DL 44/131. My emphasis.
68 Richard Stansfeild of Stansfield, Oct. 1587, Prob.Reg.23 f.560. My emphasis. See also Richard Mychell of Stansfield, July 1586, Prob. Reg. 23 f.228.
69 Edmond Barker of Stansfield, Aug. 1600, Prob. Reg.28 f.177.
70 Fraser and Emsley (eds.), *Wakefield court rolls 1639-1640*, p.38.

up to Stainland Moor.[71] In Warley township, Upper Heys and Lower Heys represent the highest limits of enclosure lying between the moor and the farms lower down.[72] The township of Rishworth that borders the Upper Calder Valley had a common called Heyfield Hey in 1499, the top of which is perhaps marked today by Hey Head Wood.[73]

There is evidence that such usage was common also in other parts of the South Pennines. In Scammonden, an 18 acre enclosure called 'The Haie' in 1607 was located at around 200 m. Redmonds and Hey note that heys often occur on manorial and township boundaries and suggest that they are medieval in origin as there are no references to the creation of heys in early modern records.[74] The frequent occurrence of such names is demonstrated in Saddleworth where the high ground of Friarmere, centred on Denshaw, contained 22 settlements with 'hey' in the name in 1822. Several neighbouring farms have exactly the same name, for example three farms in a row called Oxhey, and three farms called respectively Hey, Heys and Hey Barn.[75] These place-names are usually located close to the open moor edge and suggest that larger areas known as Heys were eventually divided into smaller units. Just to the east of Denshaw, in an area above 300 m bordering the moor, the modern OS map marks the contiguous areas of Rough Hey, Ox Hey, Crawshaw Hey and Grange Hey.[76]

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[71] This association with moors extends into Lancashire where 'moor hey' is also a very common field-name (eg Lancashire Record Office, DDX49/17, 48). 'Hey' field names also border mosses and carrs in lowland areas there. See for example Wharles near Kirkham, shown in Fig. 5.18 in Winchester (ed.), *The North West*, p.88.

[72] Ordnance Survey, *OL 21 South Pennines*, 1:25000, Explorer Series, Southampton, Ordnance Survey, 2008.

[73] Notts DD/SR Acc 8194, Deeds transcripts no.11.

[74] G. Redmonds and D. Hey, 'The opening-up of Scammonden, a Pennine moorland valley', *Landscapes,* 2(1), (2001), pp.56-73 at p.65.

[75] M. Buckley, et al. (eds.), *Mapping Saddleworth. Volume 2: manuscript maps of the parish 1625-1822,* (Uppermill, Saddleworth Historical Society, 2010), pp.175, 184-5.

[76] Ordnance Survey, *OL 21 South Pennines*.

The association of individual farms with hey names is apparent in Marsden where, for example, the farm of Netherwood can be linked with Netherwood Heys which lies above the 300 m contour. Ashton Binn Hey lies above the settlement of Ashton Binn, while Garside Hey and Shaw Cow Hey Pasture, partially enclosed in 1828, are higher still on top of the moor.[77] In these areas some of the names provide the association with cow pastures elsewhere that is lacking in the Upper Calder Valley. Many Marsden heys still had 'beast gates' associated with them in 1801.[78]

Hooke has pointed out that, in Worcestershire and Berkshire, the term *haga* 'occurs most frequently in more remote, less-developed regions where thick woodland was plentiful', and argues that there is a 'strong association with royal land rights', particularly in the form of royal forests.[79] Both Hooke and Liddiard have argued that the term was used for a special type of enclosure that was a permanent fixture in the landscape and that was often concerned with game preservation and hunting.[80] A consideration of the recording of deer parks and *haga* or *haiae* in Domesday Book leads Liddiard to suggest that there was no significant difference between the two and that the terms were used interchangeably.[81] Yet he fails to explain why parks are always recorded singly and there are often multiple *haiae* for one manor.[82] While he notes that in some cases income from herbage is recorded, this is merely equated to grazing rights in medieval parks.[83] However, these factors make it at least equally

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[77] OS *OL21 South Pennines*; http://www.marsdenhistory.co.uk/index.php/work/farming/enclosure-in-marsden accessed on 12 March 2013.

[78] http://www.marsdenhistory.co.uk/index.php/work/farming/more-about-cows/ accessed on 12 March 2013.

[79] D. Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest woodland: its distribution and usage', *Agricultural History Review,* 37(2), (1989), pp.113-29 at pp.123, 126.

[80] Ibid., pp.127-8; R. Liddiard, 'The deer parks of Domesday Book', *Landscapes,* 1, (2003), pp.4-23 at p.7.

[81] Liddiard, 'The deer parks of Domesday Book', p.16.

[82] Ibid., p.12.

[83] Ibid., pp.13, 15.

possible that *haiae* had a wider meaning than deer enclosures and were pasture areas of large estates that could be used to enclose a variety of animals. This would be a more satisfactory explanation of the vagaries in the Domesday listings discussed by Liddiard, such as the facts that in Cheshire 104 *haiae* were recorded but no parks, while in Circuit One there were four parks and 42 *hagan*.[84] Some evidence of this wider meaning of *haiae* is provided by the names of parks in the South and Central Pennines which contain a 'hey' element. For example, the Lord's park at Haworth, just to the north of Wadsworth, was called the Milne Hey.[85] The park names of Haverah and Haye at Knaresborough are also based on the 'hey' element.[86]

'Hey' also appears in other word forms associated with pasture. Higham suggested that *shay* place names across the wider Southern Pennine area were 'an integral part of the early farming economy of their area', being applied 'to large tracts of land – often low-grade agricultural land, suitable only for rough grazing'.[87] She specifically connected these names with intercommoned township moors and pointed to *shay* names of tracks that funnel onto the open moor.[88] A major element in her discussion was the relationship with *shaw* as a place-name element and whether both derived from *sceaga,* meaning small wood. Two place names in Stansfield illustrate a variant in the spelling of the *shay* element as *shey*, a fact not discussed by any of the commentators. Blackshaw and Blackshaw Head were referred to in sixteenth-century sources as Blackshey as well as Blackshay.[89] Murgatshaw, a settlement close to

[84] Liddiard, 'The deer parks of Domesday Book', pp.14-15, 18. Neither parks nor *haiae* were recorded in Circuit Six which includes Yorkshire: p.13.
[85] Whone (ed.), *Court Rolls of the Manor of Haworth*, p.22.
[86] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.276.
[87] M.C. Higham, 'Shay names - a need for re-appraisal?', *Nomina,* 12, (1988-89), pp.89-102 at p.90.
[88] Ibid., p.92.
[89] Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3*, p.197.

Blackshaw Head, was referred to as Murgatsheye in 1575 and 1629.[90] While the

etymological issues that this raises are beyond the scope of this thesis, the

interchangeability of these place-name elements can be demonstrated locally by

tracing the various forms of the place-names Small Shaw and Walshaw in Wadsworth.

The earliest surviving reference to Walshaw is as Wallesheyes in 1277.[91] In the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Small Shaw and Walshaw were written as

Smaleshaghe or Smaleshagh and Walshagh or Walschagh.[92] By the sixteenth century

they had become Smaleshaye and Walshay, and by the seventeenth century Smalshaw

and Walshawe.[93] Similar examples are discussed by Smith and Gelling who confirm

the interchangeability of the elements *shay* and *shaw*.[94] Both Murgatshaw and

Blackshaw are adjacent to Rawtonstall Hey on the one side, and what appears to have

been, at that time, open moor on the other.[95] The evidence suggests, therefore, that

shay and *shey* are variants of the same element both referring to pasture areas.

There is some evidence that similar interchangeability occurred between *shey* and *hey*

as between *shay* and *shey*. Horsehey and Broad Shaw are adjacent holdings in

Crimsworth Dean in Wadsworth with identical landscape elements that invoke the

likelihood of rough pasture use. They lie on the 300 m contour on a sloping shelf to

the beck below with moorland behind. A deed of 1590 granted two acres of waste

adjoining the tenements of Horshey and Brodehaye but a will of 1587 calls them

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[90] YAS DD99/B22/4; Notts DD/SR/1/15/7/1.
[91] Baildon (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol.1, 1274-1297*, p.172; Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3*, p.202.
[92] Notts DD/SR Acc 8194, Deeds transcripts no.20, 23.
[93] Notts DD/SR/1/23/1; DD/SR/207/484; DD/SR/9/142; Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3*, pp.202, 207.
[94] Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.78; M. Gelling, 'Shaw/shay: the phonological problem', *Nomina,* 12, (1988-89), pp.103-4. See also V.E. Watts, '*Shaw/Shay* revisited', *Nomina,* 13, (1989-90), pp.109-14; M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The landscape of place names*, 2000, (Reprint with corrections, Stamford, Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp.245-6.
[95] See below pp.281-3 for discussion of the enclosure evidence.

Horsheye and Brodeshaye.[96] If both *shey* and *hey* are suitable descriptors of a particular parcel of land it is quite possible for the element to interchange, particularly if the spelling form was open to both interpretations.[97] In addition to the evidence already discussed that both elements referred to pasture areas, there is further circumstantial evidence that the two forms are associated with the same type of landscape.

Gelling declares that there is no doubt that *shay* derives from *sceaga,* but acknowledges the specialised use discussed by Higham and suggests that the term might be used where no woodland had existed for a very long time.[98] Hooke established that *hay* has an association with enclosed woodland in the West Midlands.[99] Shepherd determined that Langwith Hay at Wheldrake near York was wood pasture, and Reed has discussed the enclosure of a woodland area previously known as Panshill Hay at Boarstall in Buckinghamshire.[100] As Rawtonstall Wood and Bank were described in 1604 as 'one platte of Scarry woode grounde inclosed', and as the 'Outhey' in 1779, there seems to be a similar connection between wood pasture and heys in Stansfield.[101] To build on Higham's and Gelling's suggestions, it can be postulated that *shay/shey* and *hay/hey* in the South Pennines could both mean rough pasture areas, often enclosed, that were either woodland or moorland.

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[96] Richard Stansfeild of Stansfield, Oct. 1587, Prob.Reg.23 f.560.
[97] Personal communication, Professor Richard Coates, November 2012.
[98] Gelling, 'Shaw/shay: the phonological problem', p.104.
[99] Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest woodland', pp.123, 125.
[100] J.A. Sheppard, 'Pre-enclosure field and settlement patterns in an English township', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography,* 48(2), (1966), pp.59-77 at pp.68-69; M. Reed, 'Pre-Parliamentary enclosure in the East Midlands, 1550-1750, and its impact upon the landscape', *Landscape History,* 3, (1981), pp.59-68 at p.63.
[101] Notts DD/SR/30/48; WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269.

However, the 'hey' element also occurs in names of scattered smaller enclosures in Stansfield and elsewhere. Although these may well have always been single small enclosures as befits the basic meaning of the word 'hey', two factors should be borne in mind. First, that as part of the general process of subdivision of large enclosures discussed above, heys were usually eventually subdivided and the new closes were allotted to different tenants or sold. Second, that field names are subject to change over time, and this can affect attempts at reconstructing the fieldscape of heys and other features dependent on names as evidence.[102] In a recent study of field names in the Cumbrian township of Glassonby, Uttley found that 35 per cent of names were lost between 1568 and 1841 while by 2009 the total had risen to 45.8 per cent.[103]

There are indications that field names in the Upper Calder Valley may have suffered at least as large an attrition rate. For example, the farm of New Laithe at Walshaw had five closes in 1779, located at the western end of what appears to have been a new Hey that had been divided into sixteen closes and shared between the tenants. Every single close had a 'hey' element in the name.[104] However, by the time of the valuation in 1833 the field names at New Laithe had completely changed so that there were no 'hey' names left.[105] In Stansfield, a plan of Broad Ing Top Estate in 1846 shows that two fields called Near and Far Hob Hey fields have become Near and Far Hob

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[102] R. Muir, *Landscape encyclopedia: a reference guide to the historic landscape*, (Macclesfield, Windgather, 2004), p.86.
[103] D. Uttley, 'Field-names in a Cumbrian manor: their longevity in Glassonby, 1568-2009', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* 12, Third Series, (2012), pp.171-82 at pp.177-9.
[104] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269.
[105] WYAS(C) SU 406.

Field.[106] The same plan demonstrates other field name losses, as does a 1760 survey in the same area.[107]

Where 'hey' names have survived however, this model of such names as intermediate pasture areas helps in interpreting the pre-1600 fieldscape, as illustrated by the linked farm settlement of Rodwell End, a name first recorded in 1486.[108] The three farms of Rodwell End (East, Middle and West) all have additional holdings of land on the eastern slope of this promontory of land above the River Calder, even though the only contiguous land to the eastern slope is that of East Rodwell End (Figure 7.4). A routeway running north-west to south-east across the promontory marks the start of the fall of slope to the east, suggesting some form of division between areas. All three field areas in 1805 contain the word 'hey' in their names, suggesting that the whole of this eastern side may have been known as a 'hey' in the same way as Rawtonstall Hey was before its division.[109] In fact the parallels are even stronger, as the eastern hey area is on the opposite side of the promontory of land from the farms in the same way as Rawtonstall Hey is on the other side of the ridge from the Rawtonstall farms.

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[106] Hebden Bridge Local History Archive DD/BI/14.

[107] The 1846 plan shows that *Top of the Law* has become *Law* while *Bottom of the Law* has become *Back o'th Lane*. In the 1760 survey *Syke field* at Lower Ashes appears to have been called *Upper and Lower Common*. A *Sutcliffe Field* listed in that survey is also referred to as *Lane Top Field* in 1776 and is probably referred to in part as *Field below the House* in the 1805 valuation: HBLHS DD/LA/9, 15.

[108] Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3*, p.176. In fact a document of 1359 has a place name of Radowhalgh: Notts DD/SR/26/66. Heywood and Jennings believed this to be an earlier name of Rodwell End based on the description of the land as lying between the highway and the river Calder: Heywood, et al., *A history of Todmorden*, p.26. The element *halgh* means a nook or corner of land which aptly describes this location of a small promontory of land above the Calder: Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, pp.199-200. As it also occurs in a 1584 will as Radwallend alias Radwell Haghe it seems very likely that this is the same place: Richard Horsfall, Jan. 1584, Prob. Reg. 22 f.627.

[109] WYAS(C) SU 405.

Figure 7.4: **Rodwell End fields.** Base map © Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.
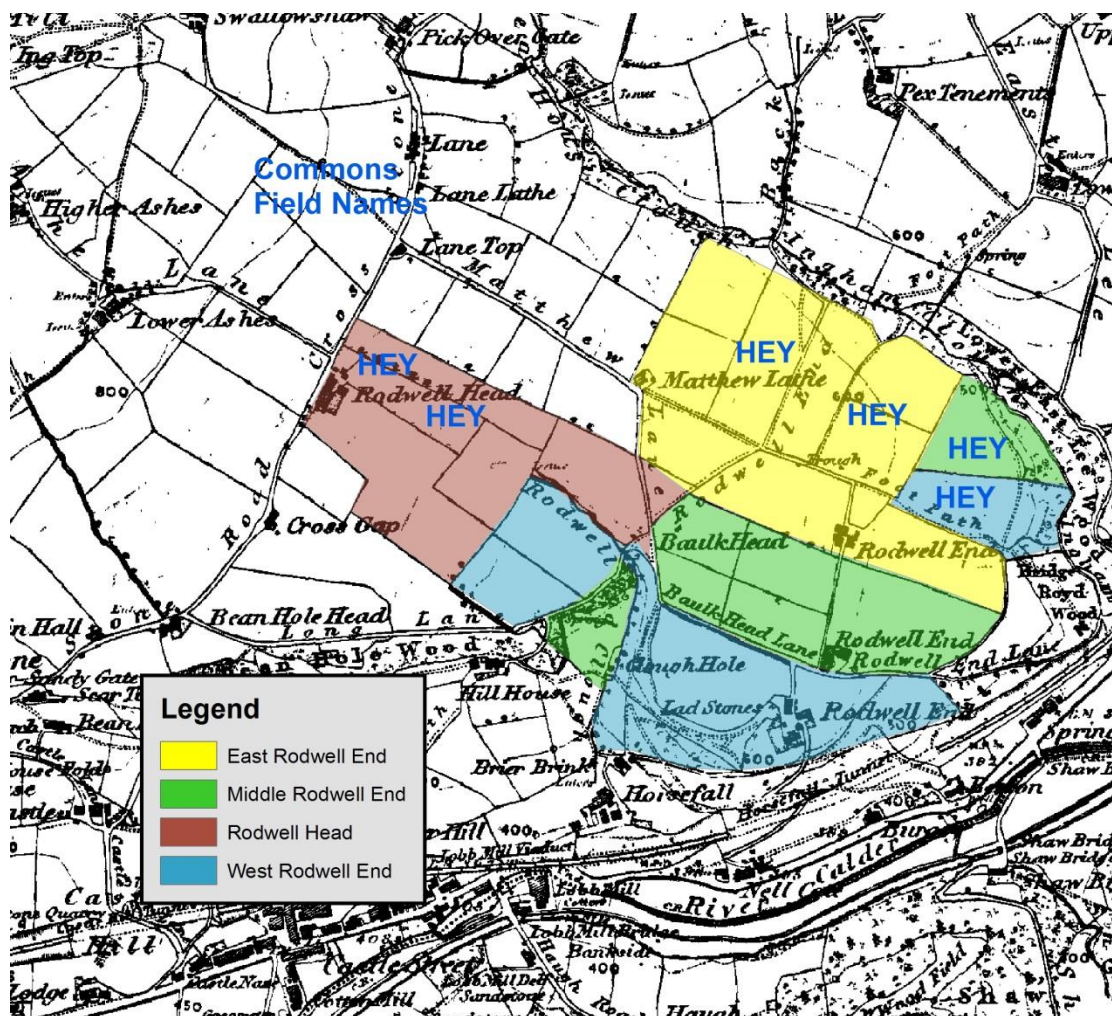
Another hey area is indicated by the farmstead of Rodwell Head on the Cross Stone Road which can be taken to mark the furthest upslope extent of Rodwell End.[110] Three contiguous 'hey' names of fields near Rodwell Head suggest that this was a cow pasture. Quite possibly this adjoined the eastern hey area to make one large hey in an upside down L shape. The division of this possible upper cow pasture area into several discrete farms probably occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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[110] The existence of an area called Baulk Head on the 1848 OS map midway between the two settlements, together with two adjacent fields with the same name, suggests a possible boundary division. A lane also leads west-east from this point across the contours, suggesting the line of a head dyke that might have separated the arable and meadow of Rodwell End from the pasture area of Rodwell Head.

Cross Gap to the west has a date on the building of 1674 while Lane farm is first recorded in 1751.[111]

A further illustration of 'hey' names as pasture areas is provided by the area north of the Cross Stone Road which was once open common.[112] The western side of this common also seems to have been a hey serving the needs of various lower settlements. The farms of Stansfield Hall, Hole Bottom and Upper Place all held land here at the time of the 1805 valuation.[113] 70 acres of this common were inclosed by James Stansfield in 1612-13 and these were described as 'lying neere to a place callyd the heaheades'.[114] This refers to what is now East and West Heyhead (Near and Far on the 1848 map). The natural implication is that an area below the Heyhead was the hey.[115] In 1684 a close of land called Stansfield Hey was leased to William Sutcliffe of Uppermost Ashes.[116] Although the size of this hey is unknown, it is plausible that it extended south as far as the steep edge of an escarpment that provides a natural boundary between this pasture area and the lower settlements. Figure 7.5 shows the possible area of Stansfield Hey based on this evidence.

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[111] See Appendix 6.

[112] The farm of Lower Ashes on that side of the road has two fields that were called Upper Common and Lower Common in a survey of 1760: See Figure 7.4; HBLHS DD/LA/9. It may also be relevant that a large close in this area is called the Turfing and Durn Field in the 1805 valuation. The name suggests that the area must once have been used for flaights, the name given to turf pared off the surface and dried for fuel or used for roofing (J. Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire*, (Reprint of 1775 ed., Manchester, E.J. Morten, 1973), p.537; W.B. Crump, *The little hill farm: Calder Valley*, (London, Scrivener Press, [1951]), p.48). In turn this implies an area of rough pasture rather than improved land which could be used for agricultural activities.

[113] WYAS(C) SU 405.

[114] Notts DD/SR/26/121; WYAS(K) DD/S/I/259

[115] A report of the survey for this enclosure makes it clear that at least part of this area was owned by James Stansfield: WYAS(K) DD/S/I/259.

[116] This lease was made by the grandson of James Stansfield. The close is referred to as 'all that the east side and parte of all that one close or continent of ground lying and being in Stansfeild … commonly called Stansfeild Hey as the same parte of the said close is now made and divided into diverse severall closes': WYAS(C) SU 55/19; J. Stansfield, *History of the family of Stansfeld of Stansfield in the parish of Halifax and its numerous branches*, (Leeds, Goodall and Suddick, 1885), p.343.

Figure 7.5: Stansfield and Greenhurst Heys. Base map © Crown Copyright/database right 2011. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.
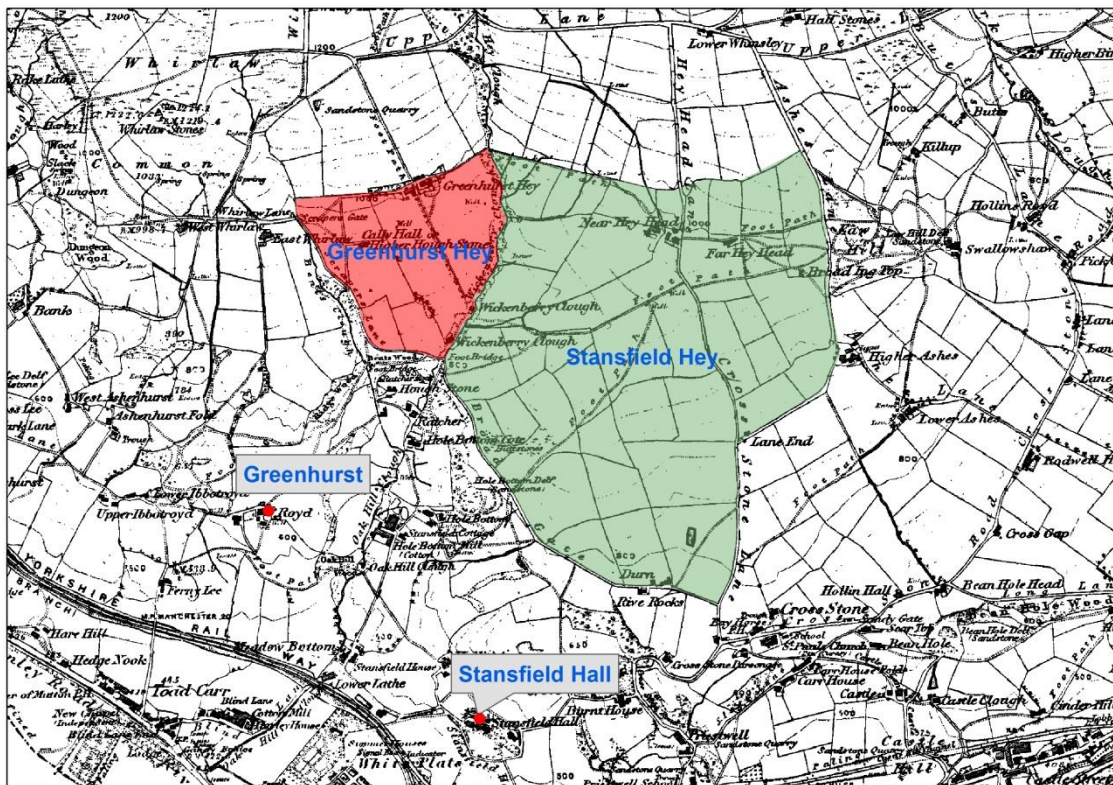
A parallel example of a hey on the plateau, being an intermediate parcel of land between the fields of the settlement below the escarpment and the moor above the hey, may be found just to the west of Stansfield Hey. The farm of Greenhurst Hey, at the same height as East and West Heyhead, must have belonged to the settlement of Greenhurst, the name of which is first recorded in 1275.[117] A will, made in 1592 by Edmund Barker of Grenehurst, refers to 'one house and Barne which is now buylded standing at the head of my hayes under Wharlow', which must be Greenhurst Hey.[118]

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[117] Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3*, p.175. Smith only lists Greenhurst Hey, Greenhurst itself presumably being lost. However a will of 1726 refers to Upper Greenhurst as 'alias Royd', a farm on the western side of Stansfield Hall and also below the plateau: Stansfield, *History of the family of Stansfeld*, p.344. Close by is the farm of Lower Ibbotroyd, which seems likely to once have been Lower Greenhurst.

[118] Edmond Barker of Stansfield, Aug. 1600, Prob. Reg. 28 f.177.

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To conclude, early settlement groups on the lowest edge of the 200 m shelf farmed on an intermixed basis with some areas of arable or meadow being shared in common. An intermediate enclosed area of rough pasture between the inbye land around the farm and the moor was also often shared between the tenants. There is significant evidence that in the South Pennines these cow pastures were often called heys or cow heys. This evidence is summarised in Figure 7.6 and accords with the 'enclosed pasture' model of hill farming suggested by Winchester. Where farming was more focused on cattle and the land was suitable, these enclosed pasture areas between the fells and lower slopes provided the necessary controlled grazing.[119] These shareholding arrangements gradually evolved into a pattern of severalty, although the evidence of Stansfield and Greenhurst Heys suggests that larger estates may have always held their own heys in severalty. The control offered by individual ownership was reflected in the fieldscape both through subdivision of closes and through expansion. As settlement expanded upslope after 1600, communal heys were progressively subdivided and either sold or shared out between the existing tenants, while virgin waste continued to be taken in and enclosed by individuals. It is this exploitation of the remaining waste to which we can now turn, with an examination of the surviving documentary evidence which dates from around 1600.

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[119] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, pp.52, 68-73.

Figure 7.6: Pre-1600 evidence for settlement, intermixed farming and hey areas
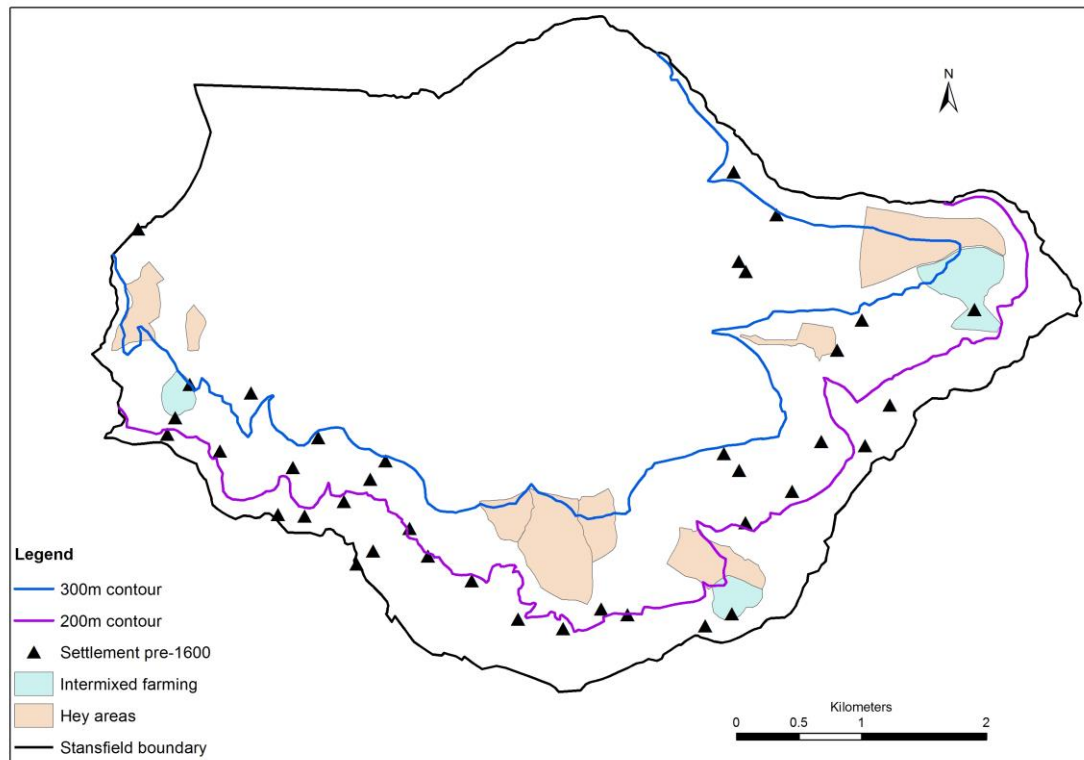
7.1.2 Towards a model of the fieldscape post-1600: enclosure of the wastes

The process of enclosing the waste after 1600 can be partially reconstructed from extant grants of waste made by the lord of the manor. In addition, the documentation for the Parliamentary enclosure of Stansfield in 1818 supplies specific details, not only of the areas enclosed by that award, but also of encroachments on the common in the preceding twenty years. The evidence thus falls naturally into two chronological periods and these are examined in the following sections. The process behind these enclosures, together with the possible reasons for its occurrence, are discussed in Chapter 8.

7.1.2.1 1600 - 1794

A number of grants of common made by the lord of the manor in 1787 and 1794
provide sufficient estate and boundary information to plot approximate central points
of enclosure.[120] The size of the enclosures, together with the lack of clear boundary
identification in the documentation, means that the grants can only be represented by
distribution dots based on an approximate central point of the enclosure concerned as
area mapping would not be evident at the map scale. Further grants and other
documents between 1656 and 1721 add to that distribution pattern.[121] These
distributions are recorded on the map in Figure 7.7 and show that enclosure during
these periods was almost entirely confined to above the 300 m contour.[122] The map

Figure 7.7: Distribution of grants of waste 1656-1794

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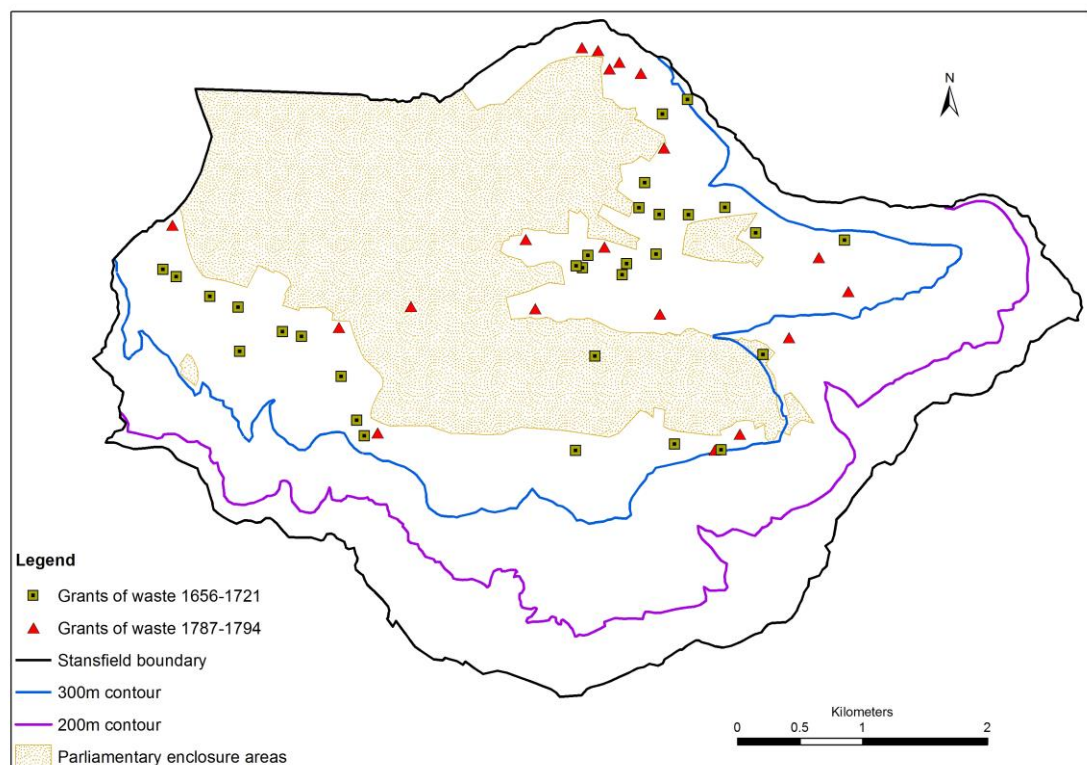
[120] Notts DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/29; DD/SR/1/15/30. See Appendix 9.
[121] Notts DD/SR/1/15; DD/SR/1/21; DD/SR/31/4; YAS DD99/B22. See Appendix 10.
[122] Multiple documents indicating the same area for the same period have not been mapped unless it is a
particularly large estate that justifies more than one central point of expansion. The deduplication and
comparison took account of the measure used in each list where that was clear, and cross checked it
against the name and residence of the encroacher. Where the measure was not stated, the comparison
was based on the number of square yards involved if the perch used was the statute perch of 5.5 yds, the
perch of 7 yds or the perch of 8 yds.

also shows the main areas of Parliamentary enclosure in 1818, discussed further below, as this boundary effectively shows the upper limit of enclosure by 1794. While a number of documents between 1599 and 1637 provide insufficient information to identify a central point, many do indicate that enclosure in this period was also occurring in the same areas already identified.

Further evidence of enclosure of the waste can be provided by an analysis of field and settlement names that include the word 'common' or 'rough', both names indicating unimproved land used for rough pasture. Plotting these on the map in Figure 7.9 as central points of the enclosures concerned shows that such names are again largely limited to an area between the 300 m contour and the main boundary of Parliamentary enclosure. While use of these names is undated, the fact that they virtually all occur in the same area as the known post-1600 enclosure already identified suggests that they are a useful indicator of enclosure of this period. Also shown on the map are pockets of unimproved land, excluding woodland, outside the main area of Parliamentary enclosure that are still evident on the First edition OS map of 1848. These are listed in Figure 7.8. Their continued existence at this date, together with their location largely within the same altitude band as the unimproved names, provides an additional indicator of late enclosure.

Figure 7.8: Unimproved land in 1848

Place	Status
Shore Green	Allotted as part of the 1818 Parliamentary enclosure award
Hudson Moor	Unimproved enclosure on 1848 OS map. Leased between 4 tenants since at least 1715 (Notts DD/SR/26/251; WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269)
Stone Bottom	Unimproved enclosure on 1848 OS map
Harley Wood Slack	Unimproved enclosure on 1848 OS map
Whirlaw Common	Unimproved enclosure on 1848 OS map. Registered Common
Law Hill	Unimproved enclosure on 1848 OS map. Part of Broad Ing Top farm

Figure 7.9: Distribution of 'common' and 'rough' field names

Legend
— Stansfield boundary
— 200m contour
— 300m contour
● 'Common' field names
● 'Rough' field names
▨ Unimproved land in 1848
▨ Parliamentary enclosure areas
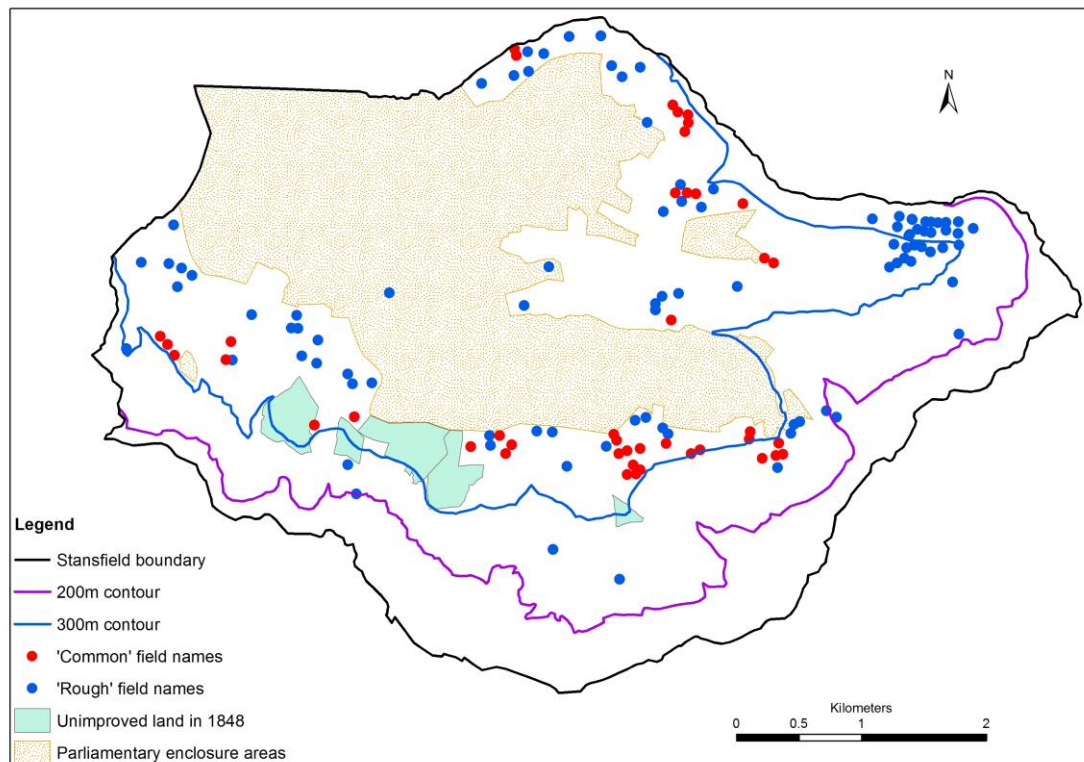
7.1.2.2 1794 - 1818

The Stansfield Inclosure Award of 1818 was the culmination of a long and gradual

process of inclosing the waste of the township. Not only did it allocate the large area

of remaining common land in the centre and north of the township to individuals, it

also allocated all small pockets of waste land that remained between previous private

enclosures. In addition, the Stansfield Inclosure Act of 1815 specified that all

encroachments made within the twenty years before 1 November 1814 should be

deemed to be part of the commons to be inclosed and allotted.[123] Such encroachments

were to be allotted to those who enjoyed the profits of that land. The map in Figure

7.10 shows the distribution of specified parcels of land which incorporated

encroachments that had taken place since 1 November 1794.[124] Over 60 per cent are

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[123] An Act for enclosing lands within the township of Stansfield 55 Geo III 1815 c.32, p.9
[124] As the exact date of an encroachment is never given, it has been assumed that for practical purposes the twenty years starts at the beginning of 1795 rather than 1 November 1794.

below 1 acre in extent and represent boundary tidying, particularly next to roads. Such small areas can only be represented by distribution dots based on an approximate central point of the enclosure concerned as area mapping would not be evident at the map scale. The high number outside the main area of Parliamentary enclosure indicates the many pockets and strips of waste land that remained in the township in addition to that main area. Figure 7.11 provides a breakdown of the numbers and sizes of these various encroachments.[125]

Figure 7.10: Distribution of encroachments 1795-1814.

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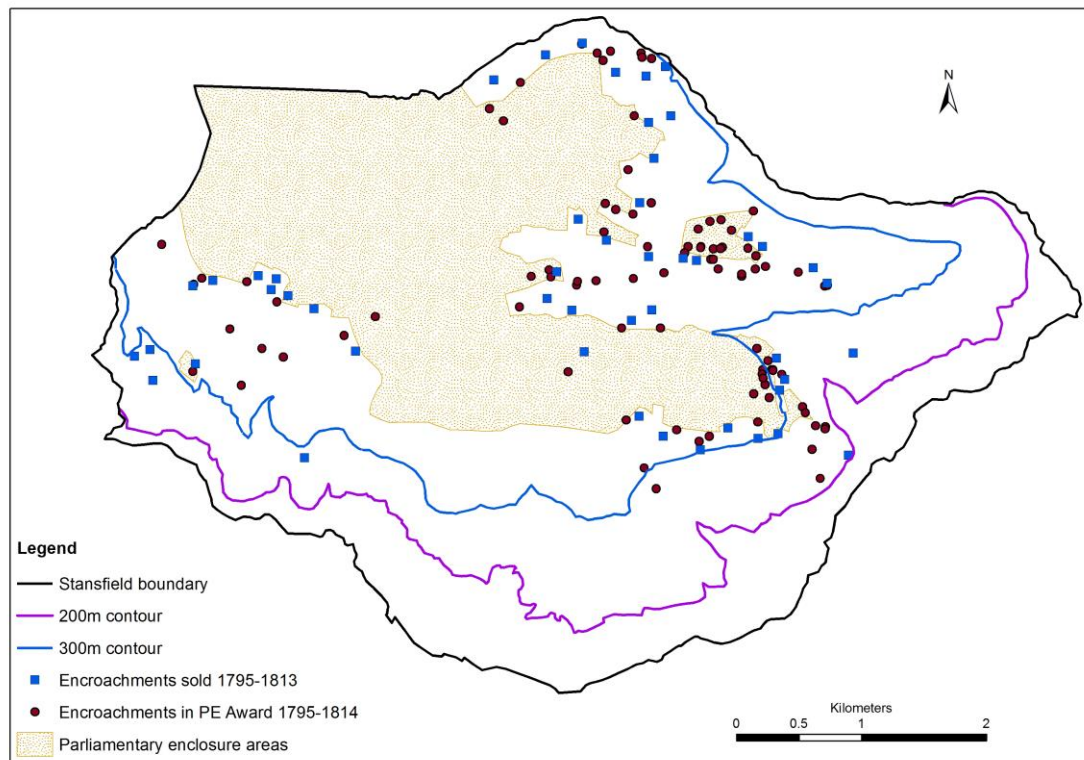
[125] The acre measure used in the award is assumed to be in statute acres according to the requirements of s.4 of the Inclosure (Consolidation) Act 1801.

Figure 7.11: Numbers and sizes of encroachments 1795-1814

Size in acres	Number	Percentage
<1	59	64.13%
1-2	13	14.13%
2-4	10	10.87%
4-8	5	5.43%
8-12	3	3.26%
>12	2	2.17%
Total	92	

However, the Act also contained an exemption for land encroached within the last twenty years which had been sold by the lord of the manor. Such land was no longer to be treated as part of the commons. Various lists of enclosures, both measured and to be measured, were made between 1795 and 1813 as part of the preparation for the Act.[126] A particularly extensive list of encroachments in the last 20 years was compiled by James Scholfield and Henry Wood in June 1813.[127] These lists were deduplicated and compared with those in the Parliamentary enclosure award of May 1818. This comparison appears to show no overlap, thus indicating that they must all have been sold before the award.[128] Those that are identifiable with a reasonable degree of confidence are also shown on the map in Figure 7.10 as distribution points. However, the difficulty of obtaining an accurate survey is demonstrated by meetings of the freeholders in August 1813, February and May 1814 that determined to request further surveys to be made for encroachments that had been missed.[129]

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[126] Notts DD/SR/1/15/38-40; DD/SR/1/19/45; DD/SR/1/19/53; WYAS(C) TT 171. See Appendix 11.
[127] WYAS(C) TT 171, pp.14-18.
[128] The same process of deduplication and comparison was undertaken as in note 122.
[129] WYAS(C) TT 171, pp.22, 33, 35-6.

The chronology and extent of known enclosure in Stansfield after 1600 can be summarised as follows:

Figure 7.12: Known post-1600 enclosures

Period	Sales		Leases	
	In acres[130]	In hectares	In acres[130]	In hectares
1590-1637	284.73	186.67	241.75	158.49
1656-1721	443.53	290.78		
1787-1794	67.83	44.47		
1795-1813	108.88	71.38		
1795-1814	89.3	58.55		
1818 Parliamentary enclosure (less the encroachments of 1795-1814)	1192.88	782		
Totals	2187.15	1433.85	241.75	158.49
Total including leases	2428.9	1592.34		
Total area of Stansfield	**3907.4**	**2561.72**		
Total unaccounted for	**1478.5**	**969.38**		

Although this implies that the area unaccounted for, more than one third of the area of Stansfield, was enclosed before 1600 this is unlikely to be accurate. These figures only reflect surviving documentation and are therefore almost certainly incomplete. The only certain figure is that for Parliamentary enclosure. The map in Figure 7.13 presents all this evidence for enclosure after 1600 graphically. There can be no doubt that enclosure activity after 1600 was almost entirely concentrated above the 300 m contour, its expansion culminating in the allocation of all remaining waste in 1818 through the process of Parliamentary enclosure.

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[130] Acre figures are all in Lancashire acres as this is the most frequent measure used and appears to be the customary measure. An 8 yard perch is sometimes specifically referred to in terms that suggest this is an unusual measure. This is contrary to the assertion by Jennings that the 8 yard perch is the customary measure in Stansfield: Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.56.

Figure 7.13: Post-1600 evidence for encroachments and grants of waste

Legend
— 300m contour
— 200m contour
— Stansfield boundary
● 'Commons' field names
● 'Rough' field names
▫ Grants of waste 1656-1794
● Encroachments sold 1795-1813
▲ Encroachments in PE Award 1795-1814
⬚ Parliamentary enclosure areas
⬚ Unimproved land 1848
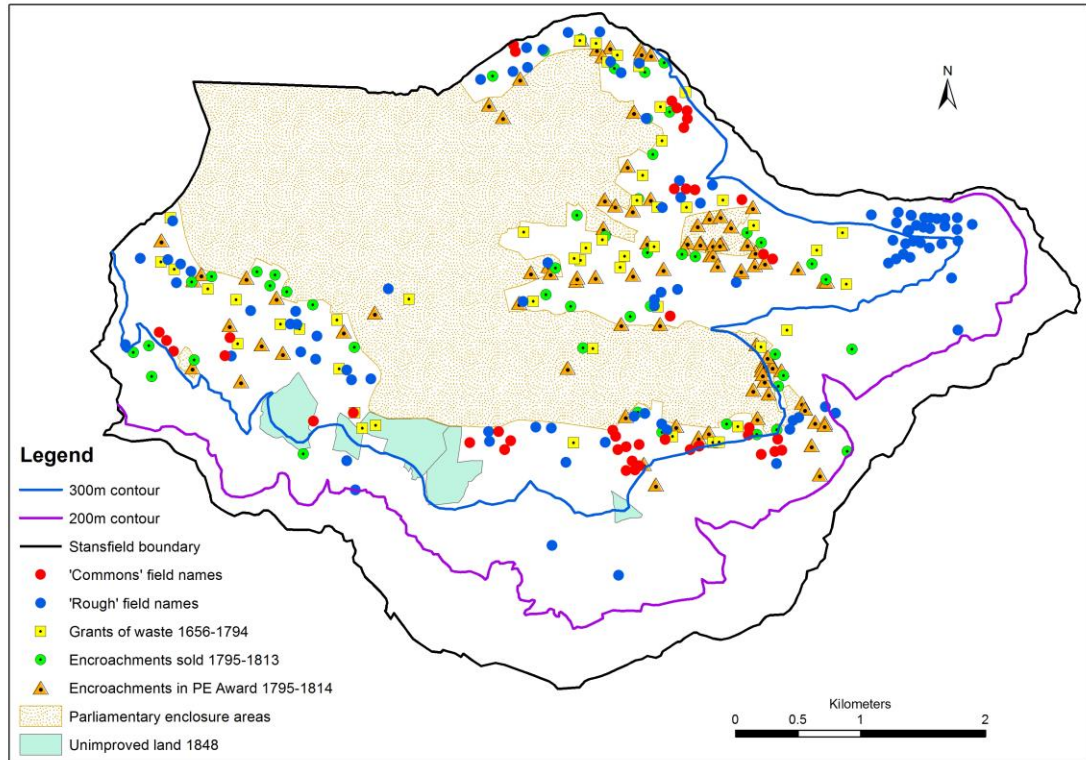
7.1.3 Comparison with the HLC methodology

The documentary evidence illustrated in Figure 7.13 is compared in this section with

the HLC map of Stansfield created in Chapter 6. A further comparison is also made at

a local level in order to examine how well the township comparison stands up in

detail.

7.1.3.1 Comparison at township level

The summary distribution map of enclosures in Figure 7.13 is superimposed on the

HLC map in Figure 7.14. There is a high degree of correlation between the HLC

assessment of '1600-1850 enclosure' and the documentary and place-name evidence.

It is clear therefore that the HLC characterisation was broadly correct in suggesting

that there was a post-1600 expansion of enclosure above the 300 m contour.

Figure 7.14: Correlation of the documentary evidence with the HLC characterisation for Stansfield
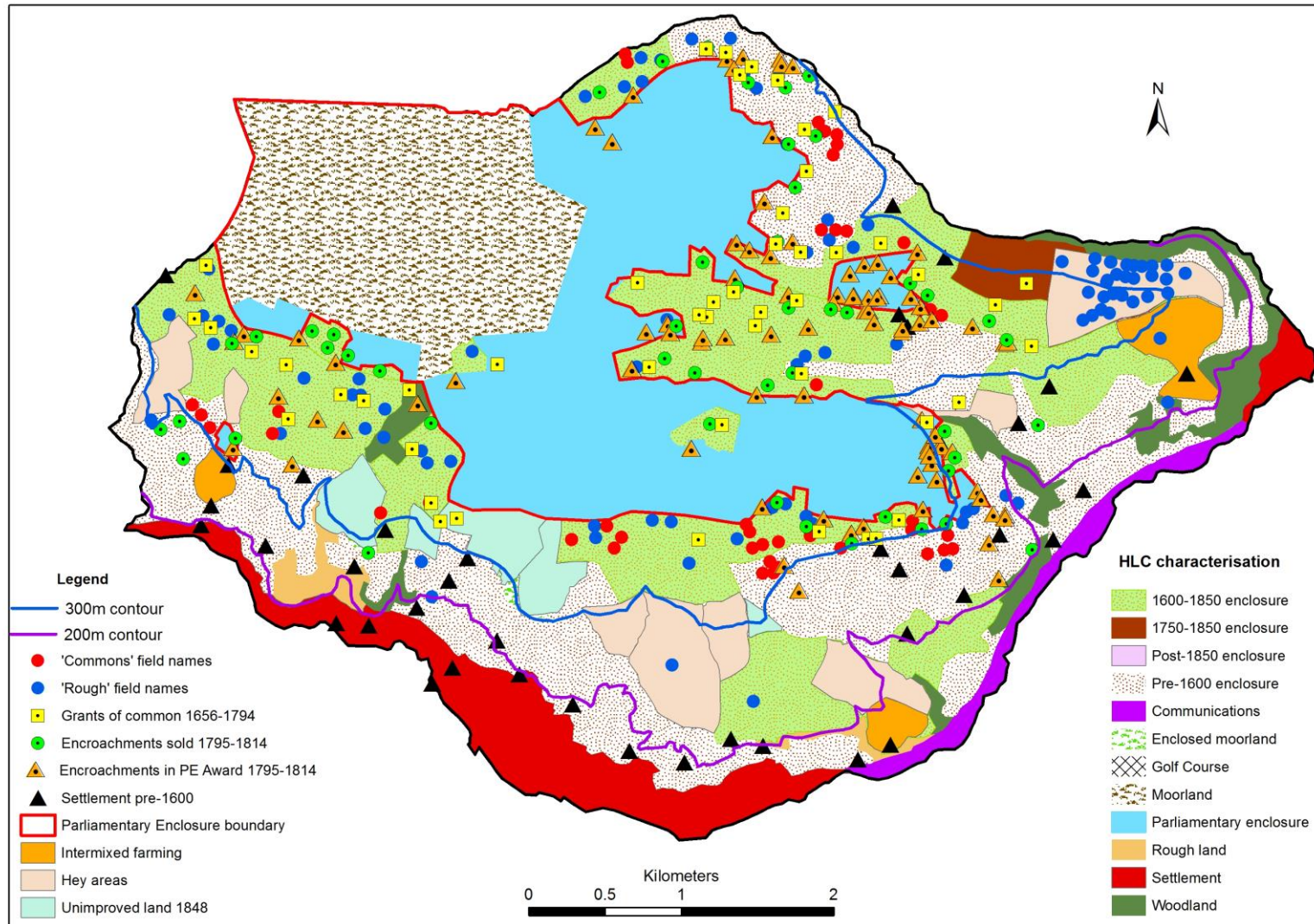
The principal discrepancy is in the northern section above 300 m that the HLC

identified as pre-1600 enclosure, but which the documentary evidence strongly

suggests is largely post-1600. It will be recalled that this area was originally classified

as '1600-1850 enclosure' in the HLC when following the guidelines contained in the

Lancashire Final Report. However, it was decided to follow the practical application

of those guidelines as shown on the Lancashire HLC map on the basis that practical

interpretation would be of more utility.[131] The fact that this proved to be false provides

further evidence of the dangers of subjective interpretation in HLC exercises as

discussed in Chapter 6.

7.1.3.2 Comparison at a local level

Where documentation relating to specific areas of enclosure has survived, there is

sometimes sufficient information to reconstruct the chronological process of enclosure

and thus enable a more detailed examination of the validity of the HLC. One such area

is a rectangular area in the north-east corner of the township, shown in Figure 7.15,

which the HLC identified as part '1750-1850 enclosure' and part '1600-1850

enclosure'. The eastern section of this is Rawtonstall Hey, which both the cartographic

and documentary evidence suggests was enclosed in 1779.[132] The western section is

bounded by Colden Water to the north, the Hebden Bridge-Burnley Road to the south

and the Heptonstall-Burnley road to the west. 30 acres of this western section, known

as 'Murgatshause', were sold in 1601 by the lords of the manor to James Aspinall of

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[131] See Chapter 6 pp.221-2.
[132] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/269.

Overstanden in Lancashire 'to be taken and inclosed'.[133] This area is expressed to be based on the 7 yard perch which makes it 48.6 statute acres (19.67 ha).[134]

Figure 7.15: Murgatshaw and Height Top enclosures. HLC classifications are given in the legend.
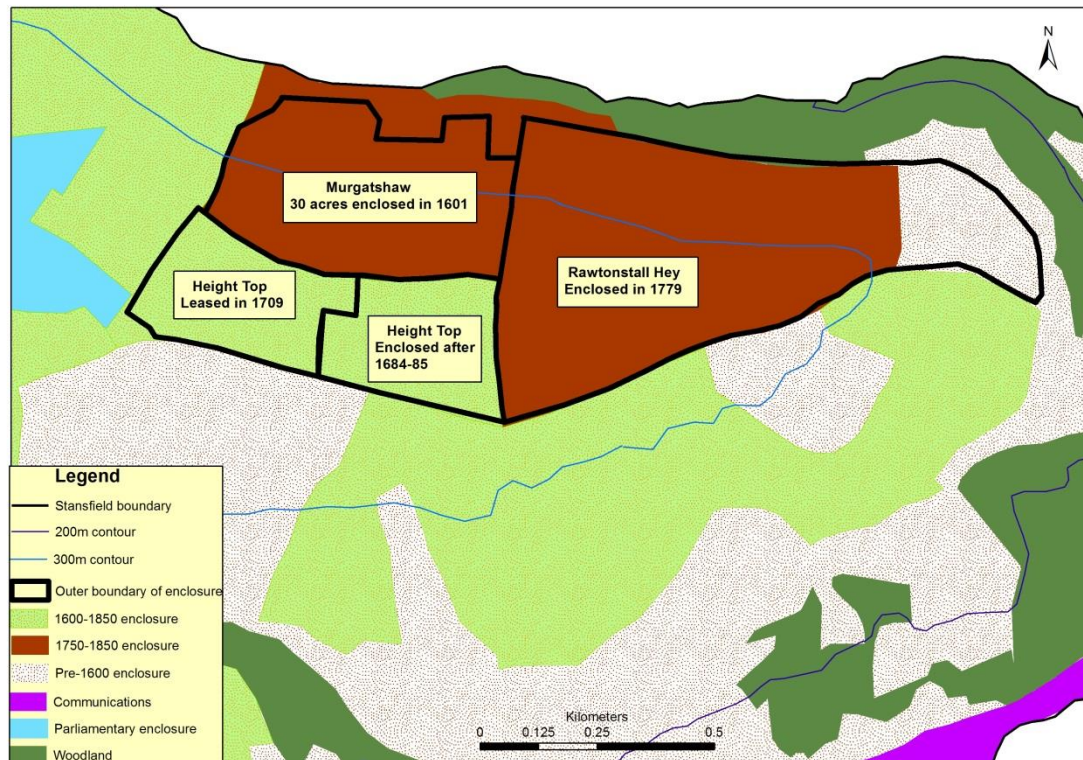
By 1629 this area was described as 'one great inclosure called Murgatshaye' when Henry Cockrofte and William Grenewood were amerced 20s each for diverting water around this inclosure onto the highway.[135] While it seems likely that the internal area was not enclosed until at least 1629, it does call into question whether this is '1750-1850 enclosure' as specified in the HLC, or whether for example it might be more accurate to assign a '1600-1850 enclosure' classification. It also raises the question of

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[133] Notts DD/SR Acc 8194, Deeds transcripts no.33. It is quite likely that 'Murgatshause' is a mistranscription of Murgatshaw.

[134] Although 'Murgat Shaw' is also referred to as land being held by John Greenwood in a tithe dispute in 1572, and in 1575 it is clear that 'Murgetshaye' is being leased by Greenwood from the Mychell family, it would seem that initial enclosure of this area only took place in 1601: YAS DD99/B3/1, DD99/B22/4.

[135] Notts DD/SR/1/15/7/1.

whether a distinction can be made between dates of large enclosures and later subdivisions, and suggests the need for different cartographies for different periods. The process of change in the fieldscape, as opposed to the original act of enclosure, was considered in Chapter 6.

A further 14 acres of common, abutting Rawtonstall Hey on the east and his own lands to the north, were sold by the lord of the manor to William Cockroft, now owner of Murgatshaw, in 1684-5. If this 14 acres was also measured by the 7 yard perch (9.18 ha) then, as the total area bounded by the roads, river and Rawtonstall Hey was approximately 60.5 Lancashire acres (39.66 ha), only 16.5 acres (10.81 ha) were left unaccounted for.

The top section of this area, known as Height Top, was classified as '1600-1850 enclosure' in the HLC due to the irregular nature of some of the field boundaries. However, it seems clear from the above that a significant part of this land could only have been inclosed by William Cockroft in 1684-5. The land was leased to 6 tenants by John Cockroft in 1709.[136] Closes at Height Top were being sold in the 1730s, making it very likely that the remaining land had been inclosed at the time the leases were granted.[137] In contrast to Murgatshaw then, the HLC has correctly identified Height Top as '1600-1850 enclosure' but it could be more precisely described as 1680-1730 enclosure for example.

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[136] Sheffield Archives, Spencer Stanhope muniments, SpSt/64755/25.
[137] Notts DD/SR/1/15/12; 1/15/18; 1/15/20.

A further example of the mixed accuracies and falsehoods of morphological

assessments is provided by a lease granted in 1612-13 to James Stansfeild of 70

Lancashire acres (45.89 ha) of common in return for quit claiming his title to certain

commons and rights in Rawtonstall and Stansfield. This land was eventually sold to

him in 1633-4.[138] The area was surveyed by John Manson of Woodhowse on 23

March 1612 and a report of the survey has survived.[139] The detail supplied by this

report enables a reasonably accurate mapping of the seven separate parcels of land

surveyed as shown in Figure 7.16. The largest area of this grant was correctly

identified by the HLC as being '1600-1850 enclosure'. However, it can be seen that a

significant part of the eastern and southern sections were wrongly classified as 'pre-

1600 enclosure' because of the wavy edges of many of the boundaries.

Figure 7.16: Enclosures of James Stansfield 1612-13. Each parcel is labelled with
its acreage. HLC classifications are given in the legend. 'Pre-1600 enclosure' includes
half of the 9 and 8 acre plots and all of the three smaller plots around Killuplaw.

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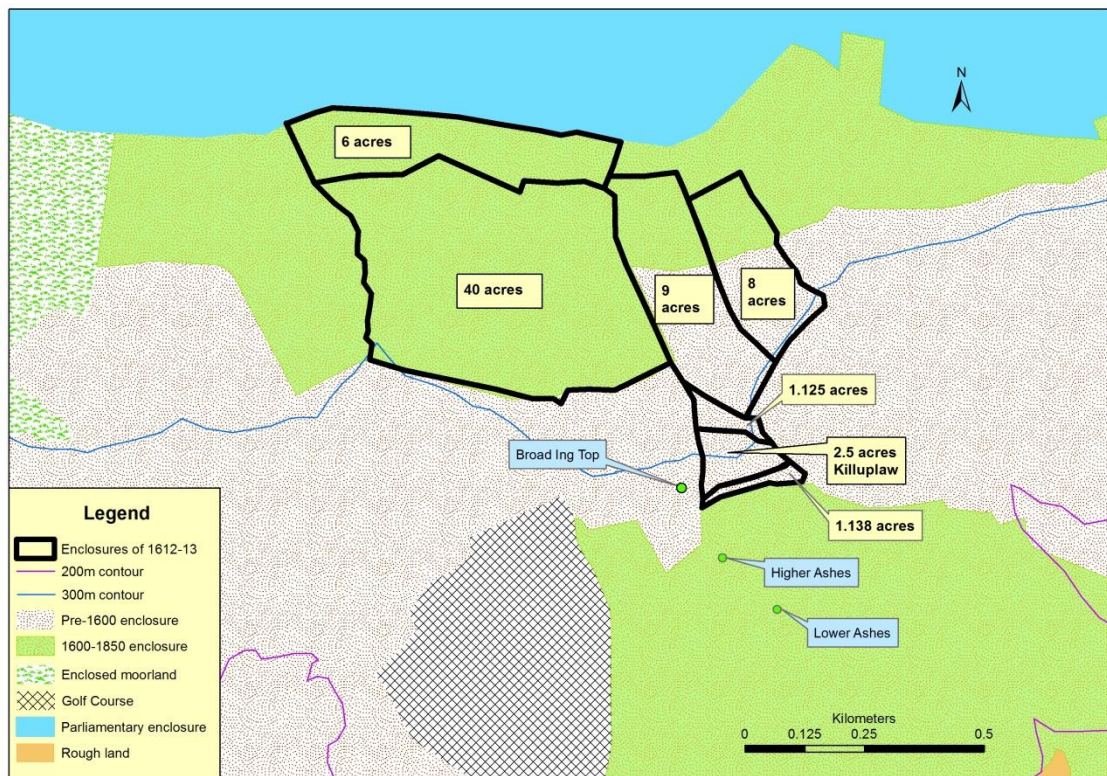
[138] Notts DD/SR/26/121; 26/128.
[139] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/259.

Below the area of the survey lie the farms of Lower and Higher Ashes in the midst of a fieldscape identified by the HLC as '1600-1850 enclosure'. The linked farmsteads of Higher and Lower Ashes have a common boundary which suggests that they may once have been a single holding. This holding may well also have been part of the land owned by James Stansfield originally.[140] The building of Lower Ashes carries a date of 1614 and its fields included two that were called Upper Common and Lower Common in a survey of 1760.[141] Bearing in mind that commons field names are rare below 300 m, and that above 300 m they are correlated with '1600-1850 enclosure', this tends to suggest that this area was enclosed after 1600.[142] It seems reasonable to conclude that an area of common was probably inclosed during the early seventeenth century to form the settlement of Ashes, thus confirming the HLC classification of '1600-1850 enclosure'.

Above the upper boundary of Higher Ashes lies Broad Ing Top farm. The will of Thomas Barker of Over Ashes dated 10 June 1667 refers to a deed of feoffment of 1658 concerning a messuage together with a close called the Great Ing and 8 acres of land 'late inclosed to diverse several closes of land from the comons'.[143] The evidence makes it clear that Thomas Barker or his predecessors in title had acquired the land

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[140] By 1711 Stansfield Hall, home of James Stansfield, was owned by the Sutcliffe family who also held both Upper and Lower Ashes. It is also clear that James Stansfield owned a considerable proportion of the area below his 1612-13 enclosure as the three small parcels encompassing Killuplaw were expressed to adjoin his existing land: HBLHS DD/BI/4. It is known that he also held land at Crosstone and Rodwell Head, towards the bottom of the area: Stansfield, *History of the family of Stansfeld*, pp.338, 340. A number of fields just below Killuplaw were mortgaged by Cross Gap in 1776 but were expressed to have been previously held by Lower Ashes although another mortgage document in 1784 referred to them as previously belonging to Upper Ashes: HBLHS DD/LA/15; DD 1135.

[141] Smith gives a possible date of 1587 for Higher Ashes based on an index entry in the Administration Act books vol.11 f.287. However the entry itself provides no evidence that this is in Stansfield, there are several other High Ashes farms in the Deanery of Pontefract, and the personal name of Smythe is not local. Ashes only appears in the Heptonstall Parish Registers in 1631.

[142] HBLHS DD/LA/9. See Figure 6.7.

[143] The will refers to Thomas Barker of Ashes. A conveyance of 1670 refers to him as being of Over Ashes: HBLHS DD/BI/1-2; Thomas Barker of Ashes Jan.1669 Prob. Reg. 50 f.488.

that formed Broad Ing Top from James Stansfield prior to 1658.[144] If it is correct that the settlement of Ashes was post-1600, then it is more than likely that the enclosures of Broad Ing Top must be too. Again therefore, the documentary evidence indicates that although the HLC is partly right in assessing much of the 1612 survey land and the Ashes area as '1600-1850 enclosure', it is almost certainly wrong in determining that some of this area is 'pre-1600 enclosure'.

7.1.4 Conclusion

While the documentary evidence for the extent of pre-1600 enclosure is limited, both temporally and spatially, there is sufficient to be clear that the HLC was overenthusiastic in classifying such fieldscapes. While it is telling that most known post-1600 encroachments are within the area classified as such by the HLC, it has been shown that there are several areas where the HLC wrongly ascribed a pre-1600 date. This was based on the presence of curvilinear boundaries and demonstrates that such morphological evidence can only be indicative and may be misleading. Equally, the assumption that regular straight-sided enclosures are '1750-1850 enclosure' has been shown to be doubtful. Despite that, the general thrust of the HLC assessment appears to be broadly correct, bearing in mind that it is only attempting to present a chronological impression of the fieldscape as it survives today. For example, there is no surviving evidence that can refute the HLC classification of the present day Rodwell End fieldscape as '1600-1850 enclosure', even though it has been argued that its origins are in the fourteenth century. As a linked farmstead settlement, it seems

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[144] The same property was sold as a messuage called 'Great Inge and Killup Law' in 1739 when the closes are individually named: HBLHS DD/BI/4. It is clear from the field names that the eight acres includes the triangular plot of 'Killoplawe' referred to in the 1612 survey and it is equally clear that the land owned by James Stansfield described as adjoining 'Killoplawe' was also part of the eight acres: WYAS(C) SU 405. The farm continued to be known as 'Great Ing and Killup Law' until the end of the eighteenth century when it became more commonly known as Broad Ing Top: HBLHS DD/BI/6-7.

very likely that subdivision would have resulted in a rearrangement of the field boundaries at some point. The same applies to Rawtonstall which is also largely classified as '1600-1850'.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that while the HLC captured the main areas of Parliamentary enclosure, its failure to use the documentation results in an incomplete picture of the total process. It particularly fails to indicate how many small bits of land over a wide area were still being encroached prior to the process of Parliamentary enclosure. The size of these encroachments means that even if the HLC had used the documentation, its rule of only capturing areas between 3-4 ha (7.4-9.8 acres) or above in size would still have excluded the vast majority of them.

7.2 Case Study B: Erringden

The township of Erringden has later origins and a different tenurial history to that of
Stansfield. Exploration of these factors and their impact on the fieldscape will be
compared with the HLC results in order to provide another test of the efficacy of the
HLC methodology in characterising fieldscapes. Erringden township has its origins in
the creation of a large park that was carved out of the township of Sowerby in the first
half of the fourteenth century. There is some evidence, considered below, that the park
was enlarged in size in the latter part of the century. Using the boundaries defined on
the 1850 First edition 6 inch OS map, the acreage within the park is 3008 acres (1217
ha) as determined using ArcGIS. This acreage accords with that in a survey of the
Lordship of Wakefield conducted during the reign of Henry VIII in 1546-7 in which
the park was said to contain 'by estimation 3000 acres or thereabouts'.[145] The size of
Erringden makes it one of the largest medieval parks in the country during the
fourteenth century.[146]Although it was dispaled in 1451, the area continued to be
referred to in documents as Erringden Park until at least the middle of the eighteenth
century.[147] The northern part of the park also continued to be surrounded by a narrow
strip of Sowerby township known as Sowerby Ramble. It is not known when the park
became a township in its own right but it had achieved that status by 1566 when the
court rolls record the appointment of a constable.[148] The present analysis is based on
the boundary of Erringden township as shown on the 1850 OS map (see Figure 7.17).

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[145] The National Archives SC 11/991.
[146] N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent in the fourteenth century',
Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 17 (New Series), (2009), pp.32-57 at pp.38-9.
[147] See for example YAS DD99/B2/134.
[148] D.J.H. Michelmore, 'Township gazetteer' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire:
an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council,
1981), pp.294-579 at p.368. The township lost its unity when civil parishes were created in 1866, with
sections being allocated to other parishes: F.A. Youngs, *Guide to the local administrative units of
England,* Vol.2 Northern England, (London, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1991), p.541.
http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10420714/boundary accessed on 22 February 2013.

Figure 7.17: Erringden boundaries and place-names. Place-names indicate approximate locations rather than defined settlements.
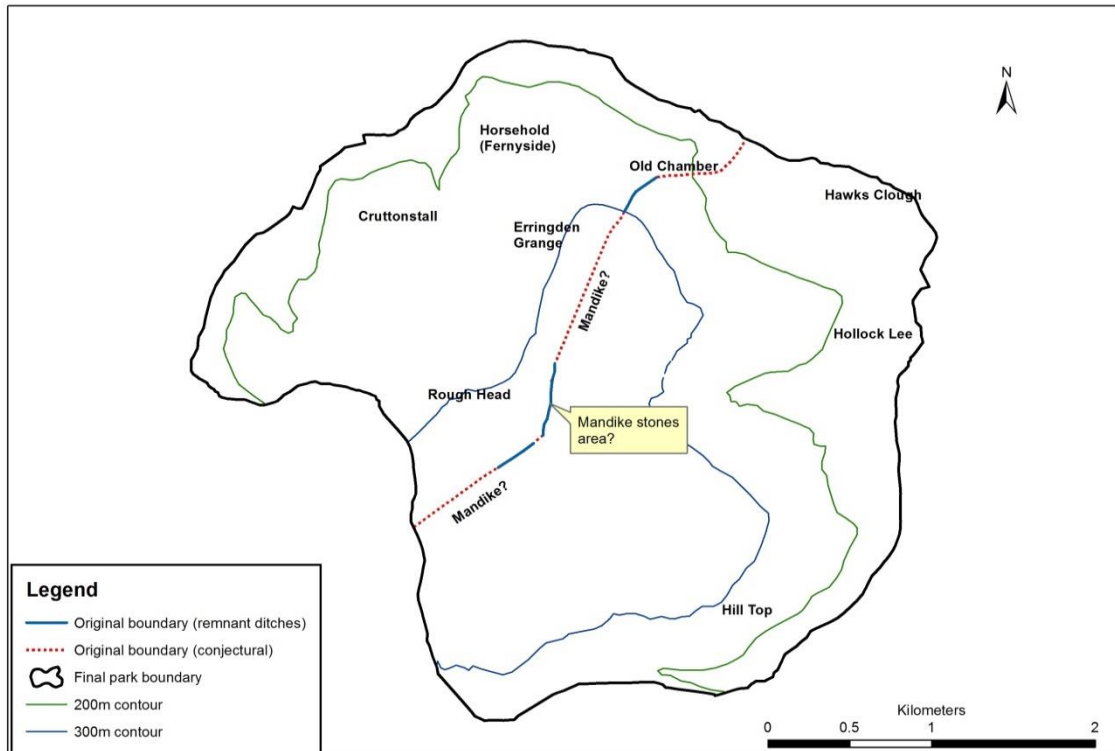
When the park was dispaled in 1451, the whole of it was divided into nine parcels which were leased to seven individuals.[149] Less than a hundred years after its dispalement, the park was granted in 1548 by Edward VI to Sir Thomas Hennage and Sir William Willoughby who sold it on to Richard Whalley later the same year.[150] However, the original grant was perceived as being defective and 'for the avoydinge of Suite trouble question ambyguity and Contryversye' the park was eventually granted afresh to three tenants of the park by letters patent in 1602.[151] The problem was not specified in the letters patent but appears to be concerned with the fact that the original grant did not specify all the tenants of the park. The 1602 grant seems to also have been perceived to be unsatisfactory for in 1606 the park was granted again by

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[149] YAS DD99/B2/1.
[150] TNA C66/814; WYAS(C) MISC 64/161; 64/263; HAS 564.
[151] TNA C66/1585; Summarised in YAS DD99/B2/39.

letters patent to the same three tenants plus one other.[152] These individuals acted as

trustees for the rest of the tenants and they subsequently conveyed the appropriate

parcel of land to each tenant.[153] The 1606 patent was categorical in including all

manorial rights such as court leets, view of frankpledge etc within the grant.

The fact that the whole park was allocated to individuals in 1451, and that manorial

rights in the park were effectively abolished by 1606 at the latest, meant that there

were no grants of common as in Stansfield. For the same reason there was also no

land that could be the subject of Parliamentary enclosure. These factors, together with

its origins as a large enclosed area exclusive to the lord of the manor of Wakefield and

its subsequent late settlement, mean that Erringden presents a fieldscape that lacks

some of the drivers affecting enclosure in Stansfield. Equally, the creation of the park

boundary was a very significant act of enclosure in itself.

7.2.1 The Medieval Park of Erringden

Recent analysis of the documentary evidence shows that there is no mention of the

park prior to 1331 and that Ayrikdene appears to have been merely a particular area of

part of the wider Forest of Sowerbyshire.[154] The two vaccaries or cattle farms of

Cruttonstall and Fernyside (now known as Horsehold) were located within the park

boundaries.[155] As these were in existence in 1309, and probably much earlier, it is

clear that there was a deliberate decision to include them within the park when it was

first established. An interesting corollary is that two of the other three vaccaries in

Sowerby graveship disappear from view after this date. It is only known that

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[152] TNA C66/1718; YAS DD99/B2/37.
[153] YAS DD99/B2/39.
[154] N. Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent', pp.34-5.
[155] N. Smith, 'The location and operation of demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship circa 1300', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 15 (New Series), (2007), pp.17-32 at pp.17-19.

Saltonstall vaccary was divided between six tenants by 1332 when they applied for a licence to convert eighteen acres of the vaccary meadows to arable.[156] The 1342 accounts strongly suggest that by that date the manor only retained direct control over Cruttonstall and Fernyside as cattle enterprises, with the other three vaccaries having been let as normal farms.[157] This suggests that the demesne farming operation was deliberately confined to Erringden Park, and that this was one of the purposes of creating such an enclosed area.[158]

In common with many other parks, there is also evidence that park enlargement was taking place within the manor of Wakefield during the fourteenth century.[159] Richardson has pointed to records of rent discharges for assarts that had been enclosed within the park at Clarendon as evidence for enlargement of the park there.[160] Similar evidence for Erringden occurs in the accounts for Sowerby and Warley for 1403-4. Under the heading of defaults of rent is given 'one plot called Howeklay in Soureby containing 30 acres of land which John Grenehode formerly held because it was enclosed within the lord's park', as determined by an inquisition held on 20 January 1386.[161] Unfortunately the court rolls for that date are no longer extant so the details

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[156] S.S. Walker (ed.), *The court rolls of the manor of Wakefield from October 1331 to September 1333,* Wakefield Court Rolls Series Vol. 3, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1983), p.130.

[157] T. Taylor, *The history of Wakefield, in the county of York. The Rectory Manor with biographical and other notices of some of the persons connected therewith*, (Wakefield, W.H. Milnes, 1886), Appendix 2, pp.lix-lx.

[158] See Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent', pp.36-8 for a discussion of the reasons for the imparkment of Erringden. See Liddiard, 'The deer parks of Domesday Book' at p.20 for a more general discussion.

[159] Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent', pp.43-4.

[160] A. Richardson, "Hedging, ditching and other improper occupations': royal landscapes and their meaning under Edward II and Edward III' in J.S. Hamilton (ed.), *Fourteenth century England IV,* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2006), pp.26-42 at pp.26-7.

[161] TNA DL 29/647/10476.

of the inquisition are not available. However, it suggests that some enlargement of the park had taken place in or before 1385.[162]

'Howkelay' is likely to be represented by Hawks Clough in the north-eastern corner of the park and grants of land between 1317 and 1331 suggest that this part of Erringden was being settled before the creation of the park in the late 1320s.[163] This corner of the park is much more gently sloping below 200 m and contains Soil Unit 18, a brown earth area that is the highest quality land present in Erringden.[164] If 'Howkelay' has been identified correctly, then it seems reasonable to assume that this corner of Erringden was only included in the park in the enlargement of 1385. That the inclusion of farmed land within parks was not uncommon is evidenced locally in the court rolls for 1331 when 16½ acres and 4 bovates owned by others were inclosed in the New Park in Wakefield.[165] There are also references to cultivated land being taken into parks elsewhere.[166]

The original boundary of the park appears to have run just below the centre of the high ground from south-west to north-east.[167] This represents a continuance of the boundary between Langfield and Sowerby that is still the civil parish boundary and which was identified as the Mundicke or Moondike in the court case of Ingram v

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[162] Medieval accounting methods used previous rentals for drawing up the account which is why the rent default is still being referred to: see for example A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1987), pp.47-8.

[163] J. Lister (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 4, 1315 to 1317,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 78, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1930), pp.177, 193, 195; Walker (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 5, 1322-1331*, pp.142, 163; Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent', p.35.

[164] See Figure 4.17.

[165] Walker (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 5, 1322-1331*, p.197.

[166] See Smith, 'The medieval park of Erringden: creation and extent', p.50 for a summary of some of these.

[167] This is a revised interpretation based on the depositions in Ingram v Priestley: TNA DL 4/49/53 and updates the argument put forward in ibid., pp.45-50.

Priestley in 1606.[168] In Erringden, this parish boundary angles away from the highest ground as the ridge veers north, but large remnant ditches upslope indicate that originally the Mundicke continued to follow the high ground. On dispalement of the park, three parcels of land allocated to tenants were said to extend 'to the three stones on Eringden moor, which is called Mandike, where the division of the park ends'.[169]

When the park was dispaled in 1451, it was leased out in nine parcels to seven tenants. Each of these parcels was described by various boundary marks, starting from Burnt Acres in the north-west corner and moving clockwise round to Sunderland Pasture in the south-west corner. The descriptions all use natural features, such as cloughs that lie on the outer slopes of the park, with some giving a further indication of how far the parcel extends into the park. Two of these parcels are described as being a quarter of the park although the size of the others is not given. If the acreage of the park is 3008 acres, as determined using ArcGIS, a quarter of the park is therefore 752 acres.

The grant specifies the rent for each parcel, that for the quarters being 120 shillings. Assuming that each quarter contained 752 acres, the rent per acre is therefore 0.16 shillings or 1.91 pence. On the assumption that the rent per acre was the same throughout the grant, the acreage of the other grants can therefore be determined and, together with the boundary descriptions in the grant, have been used to reconstruct the partition of the park in 1451 (Figure 7.18 and Appendix 12).

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[168] TNA DL 44/973; 4/49/53; MPC 1/243.
[169] Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax*, p.79. Watson's translation was purportedly made from the original court roll which no longer survives. The only surviving copy of the dispalement record was made in 1586. In this copy threee parcels are described as extending 'as far as the three stones fixed in the Mandike' (YAS DD 99/B2/1). It seems likely that the difference in wording between the 1586 copy and Watson's translation of the original is the result of incorrect copying by the clerk in 1586.

Figure 7.18: Allocation of Erringden park to tenants on dispalement
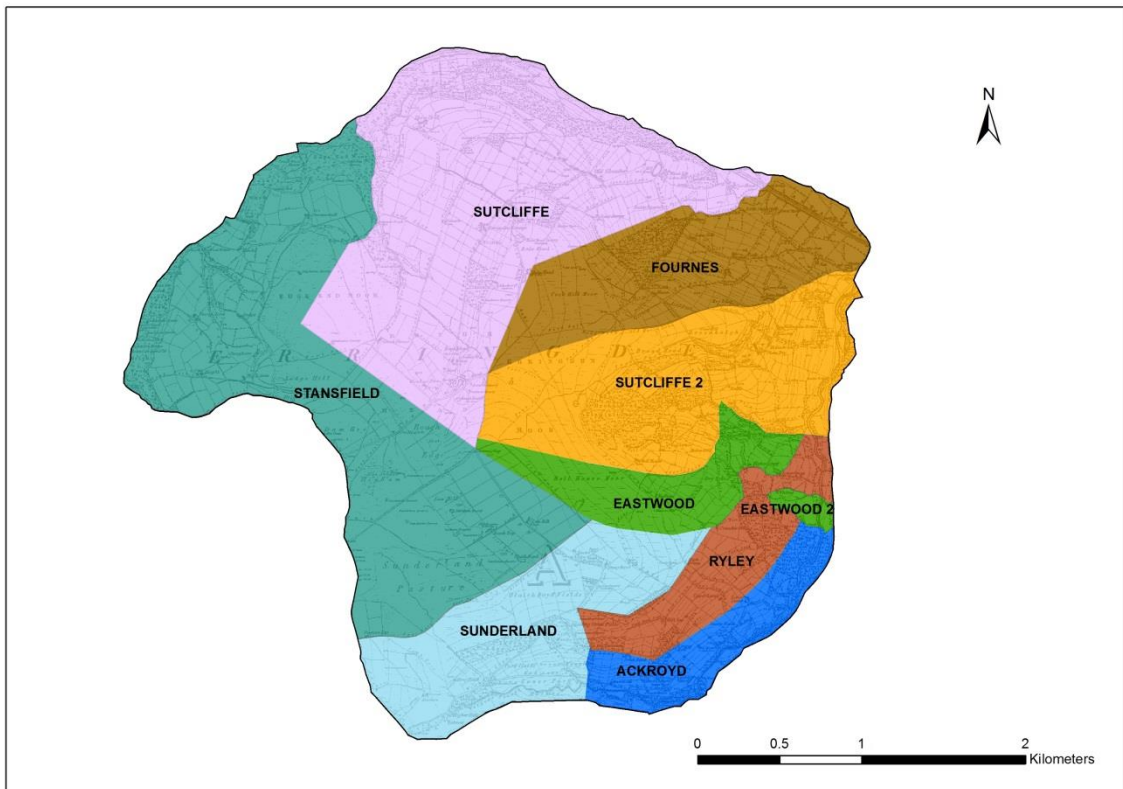
Analysis of the documentary evidence for Erringden indicates that this part of the

forest of Sowerby was confined to demesne use of the manor of Wakefield prior to the

fourteenth century, largely in the form of vaccary farming as well as, presumably,

hunting. The creation of the park in the late 1320s represents the largest known

enclosure in the Upper Calder Valley. In the 1380s the park appears to have been

expanded to more than double its original size, taking in land in the north-eastern

corner that had been assarted earlier in the century. In 1451 the park was dispaled and

let out in its entirety to seven tenants. At this date, it is plausible that the only

enclosures were those pertaining to the two vaccaries and the remnant assarting

fieldscape in the north-eastern corner which may have already been in the process of

disappearing.

7.2.2 Towards a model of the fieldscape 1451-1600: settlement

Following the approach adopted in investigating Stansfield, Figure 7.19 presents the distribution of all settlement names recorded before 1600. The distribution reflects the topography with settlement being largely between the 200 m and 300 m contours as in Stansfield. The north-western side of Erringden lies opposite Stansfield with the Calder River valley in between and is equally steep sided below 200 m. To the north-east and east the land becomes much more gently sloping below 200 m but increasingly steep between 200 and 300 m. Here settlement occupies the less steep land below 200 m petering out where the south-east corner reverts to the steeper river valley sides of the north-west. High moorland occupies the central ground of the township and extends out to the south-west and, as in Stansfield, there is no settlement above 300 m by 1600, suggesting that settlement above this height was a post-1600 expansion. The lack of settlement above 200 m on the north-eastern and eastern sides

Figure 7.19: Erringden: pre-1600 settlement
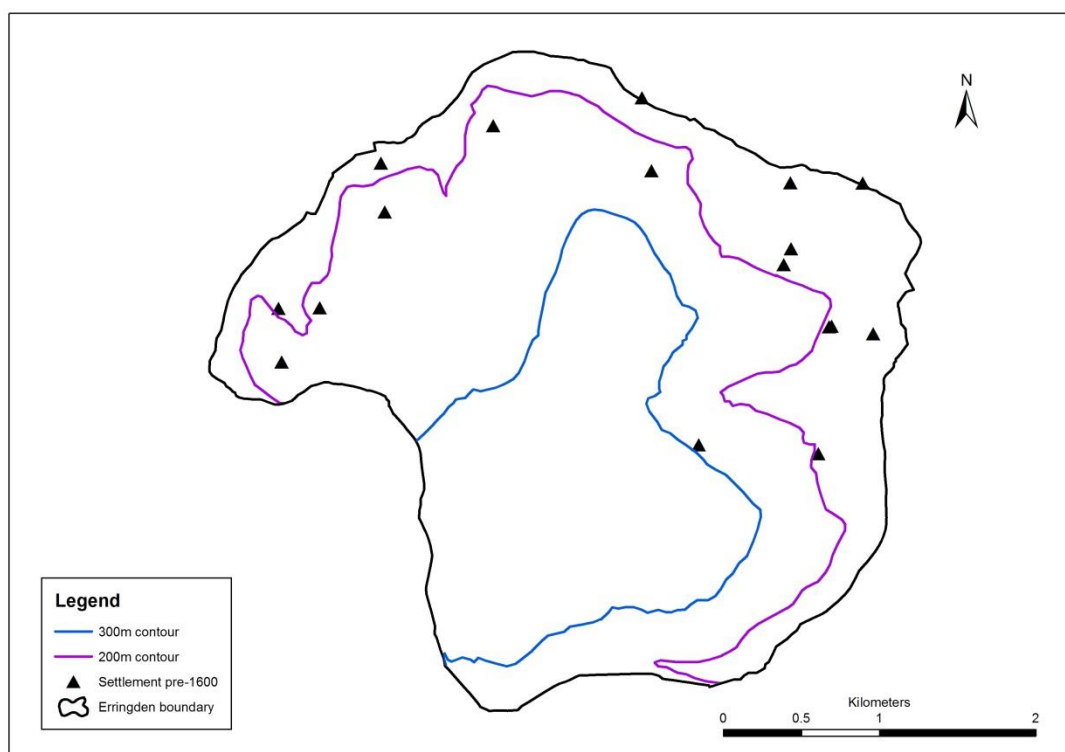
suggests that colonisation here was also a post-1600 development.

The use of *leah* and *royd* elements in settlement names as indicators of clearance or colonisation of waste land is insignificant in Erringden. As noted in Chapter 5, Erringden only contains one *leah* element in a pre-1500 place name, that of Hollock Lee first recorded in 1486. No pre-1500 place-name contains a *royd* element. The severance of Erringden from the mainstream of settlement development, by virtue of being demesne land until 1451, means that evidence for the colonisation process must be sought elsewhere. However, there is also no evidence for hamlets with intermixed land allocations. Indeed, even in 1835 Myers map only shows one settlement that could be classed as a hamlet, Horsehold. This was originally the vaccary called Fernyside discussed above.

That this one hamlet had its origins as a vaccary that predated the park is significant as it indicates that the origins of hamlets elsewhere in the Upper Calder valley often predate the fifteenth century. The way in which vaccaries in the uplands were often subdivided was considered in Chapter 1. However, the will of John Sunderland of Horsehold in 1621 suggests that it continued as a single farm into the seventeenth century as he describes at least four separate messuages at Horsehold belonging to him but occupied by tenants.[170] This longevity as a discrete unit may perhaps be ascribed to the continuation of Fernyside as a demesne vaccary until at least well into the fourteenth century, coupled with the leasing of the whole park and the subsequent withdrawal of manorial control. One of John Sunderland's tenants was John Greenwood with whom he shared some of the land, but this only amounted to a moiety of a fold and a moiety of each of two closes of pasture. The position appears to

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[170] John Sunderland of Horseholle, Jan. 1623, Prob. Reg. 37 f.542.

be the same in 1715.[171] Although the evidence is sparse, it does indicate that the late

colonisation of Erringden militated against the development of hamlets and associated

systems of intermixed land allocation. In turn, this adds to the evidence already

considered that the intermixed land allocations or townfields identified in Stansfield

and elsewhere are dependent on hamlets that have their origins in the period before

1400.

7.2.3 Towards a model of the fieldscape post-1600: pastures and commons

Even by the time of the 1546-7 survey of the Manor of Wakefield, the park was said

to be 'all enclosed and for the most part a very barren ground'.[172] Much of it was still

unimproved as late as 1757, a statement for counsel's opinion about a road dispute

describing Erringden as follows:

> The said Township of Erringden being a very remote moorish country is still
> thin of inhabitants and great part of the Moors still uncultivated tho' each
> particular tenement knows its respective Share thereof (tho' not inclosed) the
> respective boundaries being Set out by Baulks, ridges, Stones etc.[173]

An apparently contrary claim as to the extent of enclosure was made by Watson in

1775 that Erringden had 'no waste ground in it, but all is enclosed, though all is not

improved.'[174] This was repeated by Crabtree in 1836.[175] These differing views on

enclosure are likely to be due to the difference between physical enclosure and the

more technical meaning of enclosure as the removal of rights of common.[176] In

practice, common land could in effect be privatised by being shared out between

individuals with marked rather than built boundaries dividing one section from

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[171] WYAS(C) FP 10; 11.
[172] TNA SC 11/991.
[173] WYAS(C) HAS/B: 23/1/4/1/5
[174] Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax*, p.84.
[175] J. Crabtree, *A concise history of the parish and vicarage of Halifax*, (Halifax, Hartley and Walker, 1836), p.517.
[176] J. Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law,* (2nd ed., London, Sweet & Maxwell, 1977), p.955; See also *Report of the Royal Commission on common land 1955-1958,* Cmnd. 462, (London, H.M.S.O., 1958), p.173, Appendix 3, para.29.

another.[177] In mid-Wales for example, each farm had a 'sheepwalk' on the common that was unfenced but clearly recognised.[178] In 1623 Richard Cockrofte and Abraham Farrer divided a common in Erringden between them so that 'either party shall know his owne part.' Interestingly, the agreement was concerned with the identification of turbary rights rather than grazing rights, cattle still being allowed access to the whole common.[179]

Evidence for the nature of the fieldscape after circa 1600 is largely confined to the locations of pasture areas and commons. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century deeds provide evidence of the former, while a valuation of the township completed in 1828 presents a list of 'commons' extant at the time.[180] These areas combine to cover not only all the land above the 300 m contour but also a major part of the land above the 200 m contour. Several of the pasture or hey areas and the 'commons' are still marked as such on the modern OS map, while there is evidence that others were only enclosed and subdivided in the nineteenth century. These areas are mapped in Figure 7.20 and Appendix 13 details the basis of that mapping.

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[177] C.P. Rodgers, et al. (eds.), *Contested common land: environmental governance past and present,* (London, Earthscan, 2011), pp.23-4.
[178] Ibid., p.141.
[179] YAS DD 99/B2/72.
[180] WYAS(C) SU 407.

Figure 7.20: Reconstruction of pastures and commons in Erringden recorded post-1600
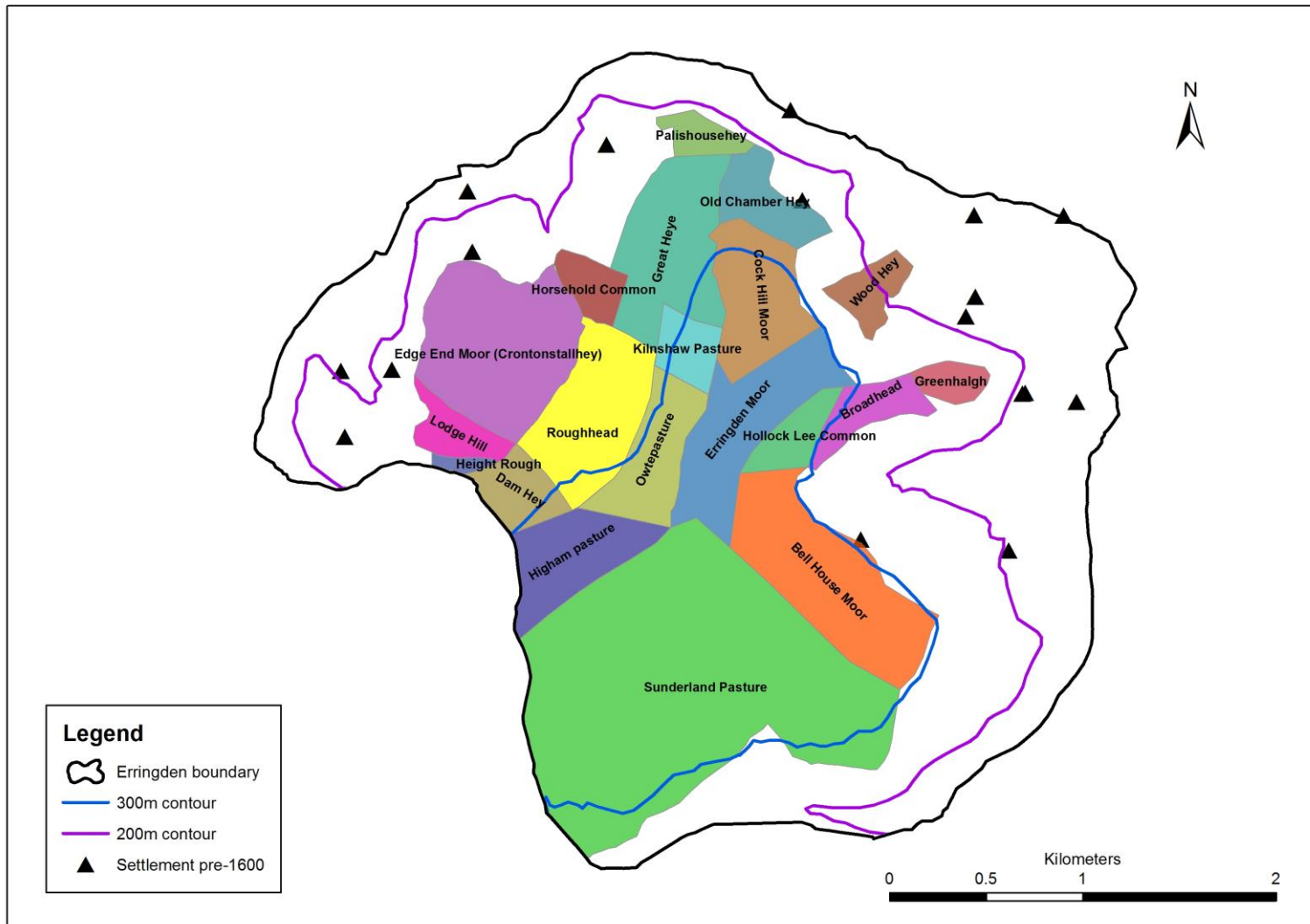
As an example, the Sunderland family, whose forebears paid 50s for their allocation of the park in 1451, still owned a very large 'ynhey and outpasture' in 1607 that extended from the south-west boundary of the park to Roughhead in the north and Hill Top in the east.[181] A turbary agreement in 1689 refers to the moors of Abraham Sunderland called the Great Pasture, the Over Pasture and the Inhey.[182] The remnant of this pasture is still marked as Sunderland Pasture on the modern OS map. The eastern half of Sunderland Pasture was enclosed by Christopher Rawson of Cragg Hall in the 1830s to create five new farms.[183]

Various additional areas of 'common' are listed at the end of the 1828 valuation. These so-called 'commons' are listed as being privately owned and occupied in 1828 and therefore are likely to represent the sharing out of common land in the way explained above. As these properties and owners are all located on the eastern side of Erringden where no pasture or 'common' areas have been identified, apart from those pertaining to Hollock Lee, it has been assumed that these 'commons' formed part of the three contiguous moors that form the spine of the township northwards from Sunderland Pasture.[184] Only Bell House Moor is listed in the 1828 valuation with neither Erringden Moor nor Cock Hill Moor being mentioned by those names.

Unsurprisingly, the map shows that the pasture and 'commons' areas occupy the high ground above the band of settlement that girdles the park. There is documentary

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[181] WYAS(C) HAS/B:15/3/1. Hill Top is referred to as Dunsparke in this document but it seems likely that they are the same place as in the eighteenth century Hill Top held half of the pasture plus 2 acres more that adjoined the farm: WYAS(C), HAS 378 (425)/25-29; MISC 64/32 and 33. The dun element means a hill: Smith, *Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7*, p.181.
[182] YAS DD99/B2/94. See also John Sunderland of Horseholle, Jan. 1623, Prob. Reg. 37 f.542.
[183] WYAS(C) SU 407.
[184] Erringden Common (or Bellhouse and Erringden Moor) is the only area identified as true common in the Commons Register: Calderdale Council, Local Land Charges Unit, Common Land Register, CL422.

evidence linking each pasture unit with one or more settlements, supporting the statement that 'each particular tenement knows its respective Share'.[185] The map reconstruction includes the settlements recorded by 1600 although, as discussed in Chapter 4, it must be remembered that the 1545-6 survey found that there were 50 houses and cottages then so that settlement was nearly four times more dense than indicated.[186] By the time Myers compiled his map of the Parish of Halifax in 1835, there were 76 settlement sites as opposed to actual houses. However of those, only twelve lie within the reconstructed pasture and 'common' areas shown on the map, confirming that expansion into these areas was both limited and relatively late.

This must be a major factor in explaining why, compared with Stansfield, the pattern of pastures and 'commons' on the high ground of Erringden has been well preserved. Indeed, it would seem that it was only in the 1830s that major estate owners, namely Armytage Rhodes and Christopher Rawson, embarked on large scale enclosure exercises to create the geometric field patterns of Erringden Grange and the eastern side of Sunderland Pasture.[187] The motive for Rhodes at least in 'breaking up the Erringden Estates' was claimed to be to 'alleviate the distress then consequent upon the decline of hand-loom weaving.'[188] This included 're-fencing and roading' the farms at Old Chamber which suggests that a reconfiguration of the fieldscape also occurred there in the 1830s.

Although the documentary evidence for the development of the fieldscape after 1600 is limited, the identification of pasture areas and 'commons' has shown that these

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[185] WYAS(C) HAS/B: 23/1/4/1/5.
[186] TNA SC 11/991.
[187] WYAS(C), SU 407.
[188] *Hebden Bridge Times and Gazette,* 26 May 1899.

areas combined to cover not only all the land above the 300 m contour but also a major part of the land above the 200 m contour. Unlike Stansfield, the lack of manorial control and the allocation of the whole park to tenants in 1451 meant that there was no scope for additional grants of common or Parliamentary enclosure. Any further upslope colonisation could only have been undertaken by the owners, and the evidence indicates that there must have been enough land in the lower areas of settlement to cope with any demand for expansion.

7.2.4 Comparison with the HLC methodology

Although the township boundary of Erringden is shown on the First edition 6 inch OS map, there is nothing on that map to indicate that it originated as a deer park. While the Lancashire HLC methodology recognises that 'some late historic parks have their origins in medieval deer parks', the only character type used is 'Ornamental' which is defined as 'planned or designed ornamental landscapes'.[189] The HLC for Erringden therefore did not recognise it as a medieval deer park. The more detailed approach adopted by the North Yorkshire HLC used 'deer park' as a specific character type within the broad type of 'Designed landscape'.[190] West Yorkshire also have 'deer park' as a category under the broad type 'Parkland and Recreation'. However, the focus on historic character only as shown in the modern landscape means that these methodologies would also not identify Erringden as a deer park because there is no substantive landscape evidence that survives, apart from a short section of unmapped boundary ditch below Stoodley Pike.

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[189] J. Ede and J. Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, (Preston, Lancashire County Council with English Heritage, 2002), pp.187-8.
[190] S. Toase, *The North Yorkshire and Lower Tees Valley Historic Landscape Characterisation: final report,* Draft, (Northallerton, North Yorkshire County Council, 2010), p.101.

On the other hand, all the HLC methodologies above make use of their respective

Historic Environment Record.[191] As the West Yorkshire Historic Environment Record

notes the existence of the park, one would expect it to be noted as antecedent

information in the database.[192] It was noted earlier that previous historic character

maps are rarely produced as part of an HLC project, and this represents a prime

example of the missed opportunity to do more than focus on survivals in the present

landscape. That such a significant historic landscape would not be overtly recognised

by the parameters of HLC exercises emphasises both the limited scope of those

exercises and the need for 'scope warnings' on HLC maps.

Apart from the park as an entity, the documentary evidence mapped in Figure 7.20 can

be superimposed on the HLC characterisation of the modern Erringden landscape that

was created in Chapter 6. As with Stansfield, Figure 7.21 shows a high degree of

correlation with the documentary evidence. With three exceptions, all the pre-1600

settlements are located either in areas of 'pre-1600 enclosure' or in modern areas of

settlement. The three exceptions are all in an area categorised as '1600-1850

enclosure'. The documentary evidence considered above identified this north-eastern

corner as being an area of relatively high quality, gently sloping, land that was being

assarted up to the 1330s and was then taken into the park when it was enlarged. No

evidence for either that assarted landscape or the subsequent park landscape survives

today, and there is no documentary evidence that contradicts the HLC assessment. It is

quite possible that such an area would have had its fieldscape replanned sometime

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[191] Ede and Darlington, *Lancashire Historic Landscape Characterisation Programme*, p.201; Toase, *North Yorkshire HLC: final report*, p.101; J. Lord and J. Marchant, *West Yorkshire Historic Landscape Characterisation Project: recording manual*, (Unpublished, 2012), p.4.
[192] West Yorkshire HER, PRN 3999.

Figure 7.21: Correlation of the documentary evidence with the HLC characterisation for Erringden
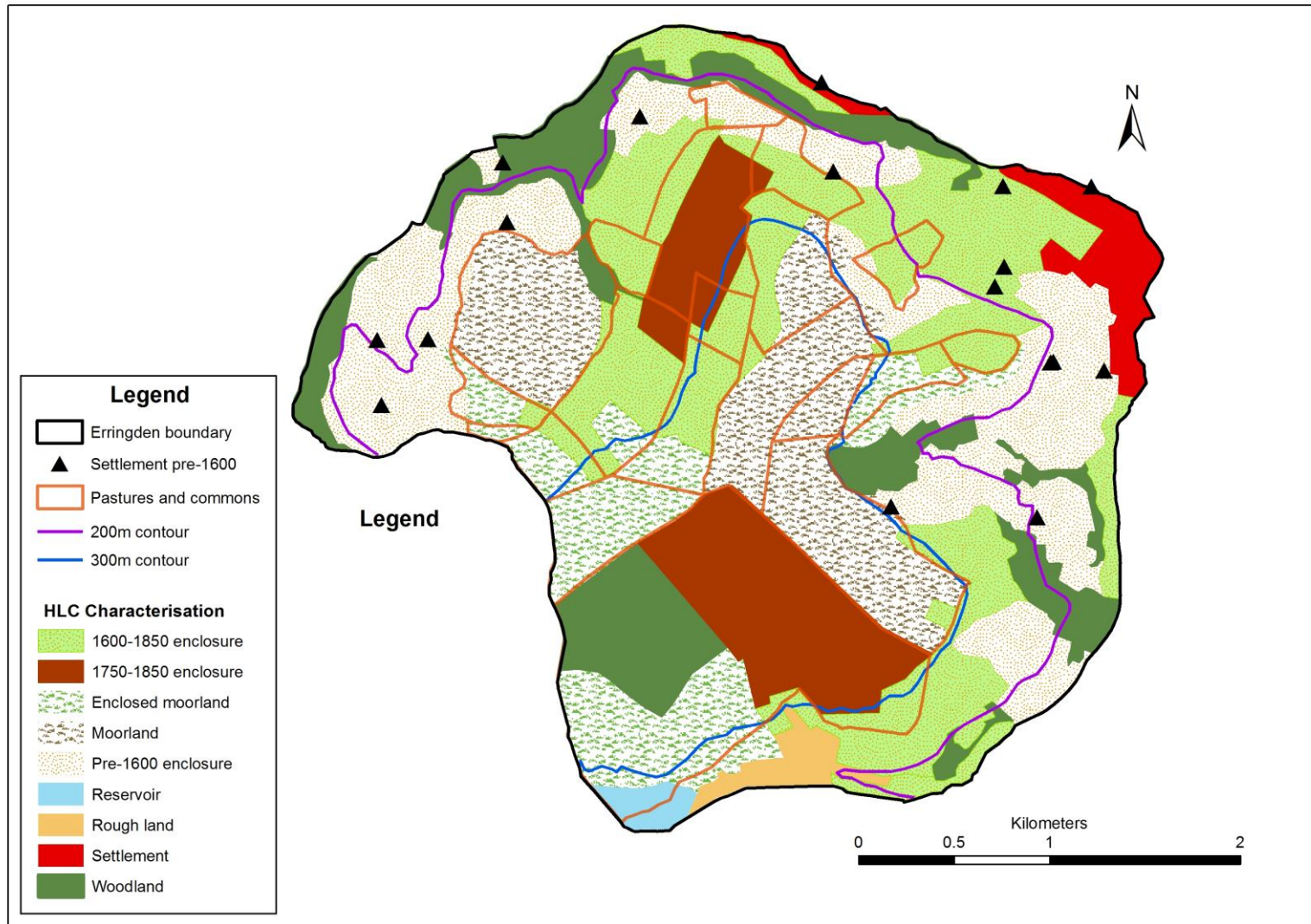
between 1600 and 1850. While the HLC cannot be contradicted therefore, the focus on the present day fieldscape yet again obscures an earlier history.

The area of pastures and 'commons' identified as existing after 1600 also has a high degree of correlation with the HLC areas of enclosed and unenclosed moorland or woodland. The main area of apparent discrepancy is the north-western area from Horsehold to Rough Head which is categorised as '1600-1850 enclosure'. However if the existence of these relatively large pasture and 'common' areas has been identified correctly from post-1600 documentary evidence, then it follows that any later subdivision into fields must also be post-1600. Furthermore, the documentary evidence for the two '1750-1850 enclosure' areas identified by the HLC confirms that they were in fact enclosed in the 1830s.

However, by only using the character types of 'enclosed moorland' or 'unenclosed moorland' in upland areas, the Lancashire-based HLC limited its ability to identify more specific types of moorland such as pasture areas. The West Yorkshire HLC goes even further by assuming that moorland can only be unenclosed.[193] The recently completed North Yorkshire HLC did try and characterise such enclosed rough land in more detail by using the character types of 'pasture' and 'cow pasture'.[194] However this was based on place-name evidence alone, with the assumptions that such areas were enclosed, that the name 'pasture' indicated stinted pasture and that 'cow pasture' was used for milk cattle.[195] If these character types had been used in the Erringden HLC, then Sunderland Pasture would have been the only identifiable pasture area based on name evidence. The Final Report of the North Yorkshire HLC makes it clear

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[193] Lord and Marchant, *West Yorkshire HLC: recording manual*, p.18.
[194] Toase, *North Yorkshire HLC: final report*, pp.60-1.
[195] Ibid., p.61.

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that these character types were assumed to be historic usages rather than modern ones. As the documentary evidence for Erringden supplies four named pastures, this limitation to place names on maps would only provide a 25 per cent accuracy rate in identifying such historic usages. If 'hey' place names in documents were also recognised as pasture areas, an additional seven areas would be added, reducing the accuracy rate to 9 per cent. If 'rough' names were also added, the accuracy rate declines even further to just over 7.5 per cent.

The North Yorkshire methodology would have categorised many of these other pasture areas uncovered in the documentary research under the category of unenclosed 'moorland'. While this would be accurate, the use of an additional, more specific, character type such as 'pasture' implies that only those areas characterised as 'pasture' were actually used as pasture areas. This inadvertent misrepresentation is made worse by use of another specific character type, 'commonland'. Although common rights on upland wastes are well known to have frequently included rights of pasture, it would seem from the language of the Final Report that 'commonland' was viewed as a current rather than historical usage.[196] In implying that 'pasture' was confined to areas so named, the North Yorkshire HLC exhibits a confusion over its terminology which is compounded by the failure to offer adequate definitions of the character types used and their historic context.

Even taking 'commonland' at its face value, further problems arise. The documentation available for the North Yorkshire HLC does not list commons registers as one of the resources and it would seem that identification of 'commonland' too was

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[196] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Upland commons in northern England' in M. De Moor, L. Shaw-Taylor and P. Warde (eds.), *The management of common land in north west Europe, c.1500-1850,* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2002), pp.33-85 at pp.64-5.

only based on place-name evidence.[197] There are no place-names on the First edition 6 inch OS map for Erringden that contain the word 'common'. It is only by looking at the Calderdale Commons Register that it is possible to establish not only that Wood Hey is a common, but that Erringden Moor and Bell House Moor are collectively known as Erringden Common, both with residual stinting rights.[198] Application of the North Yorkshire methodology would therefore have resulted in a zero accuracy rate in identifying 'commonland'

By creating more specific character types therefore, the North Yorkshire methodology creates the potential for great inaccuracy in its characterisation because it relies on place-name evidence alone. If, like Lancashire, it had restricted its characterisation to the broad types of 'enclosed moorland' and 'unenclosed moorland' it would be difficult to criticise its accuracy. However, its lack of specificity would then be open to question. This double-edged issue would be less of a problem if documentary evidence was used in HLC projects.

7.2.5 Conclusion

The HLC methodology has been shown to provide a reasonably accurate picture of the Erringden fieldscape within its self-defined limits of describing the chronology of the modern landscape. However, the normal practice of merely recording, rather than presenting, antecedent character attributes means that the origin of Erringden as a deer park remains hidden. While it is accepted that earlier historical characterisation is not the principal purpose of an HLC, the fact that it often records such data means that HLC exercises have a potential function that has largely remained hidden from a

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[197] Toase, *North Yorkshire HLC: final report*, pp.27-30, 64.
[198] Calderdale Council, Local Land Charges Unit, Common Land Register, CL422, 549.

wider audience. It is also paradoxical that the evidence suggests that the more specific an HLC tries to be in characterising aspects of the landscape, the more difficult it may be to maintain any reasonable level of accuracy. This is due entirely to a lack of documentary research that it would be impractical to achieve for large scale county HLC exercises. These factors suggest that HLC exercises are a reasonable first step in identifying historic fieldscapes at a broad level. However, it is only by examining the documentary evidence that these 'pretty-coloured carpet[s] of certainty' can be turned into more accurate presentations of historic landscapes.[199]

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[199] [P. Stamper and D. Austin], 'Editorial', *Landscapes,* 7(2), (2006), pp.vii-viii at p.viii.

Chapter 8

Upland enclosure: process and motive

The evolution of the fieldscape has only been considered so far in terms of the end result. This result now needs to be put into context by considering both the processes involved in comparison with other upland areas and the economic imperatives behind them. An outline of the various ways in which the waste was gradually colonised in the northern uplands was provided in Chapter 1. A more precise model is presented in this chapter that identifies the key features that seem to have characterised the process of enclosure in the Upper Calder Valley, and Stansfield and Erringden in particular. This model considers the various ways in which enclosure occurred between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries before discussing the drivers that might have impelled that process. Enclosure is considered first in its legal meaning of freeing land from rights of common before moving onto how subdivision of initial enclosures resulted in further partitioning of the landscape.[1]

In part, such a model is an attempt to counterbalance Shepherd's dismissive comment that closes in the west of the West Riding are 'an alien element, the result of medieval and Tudor enclosure, and not requiring further description.'[2] This comment was made because, like the vast majority of the extensive literature on enclosure, her work was focused on the enclosure of open fields. However in making such a comment, Shepherd draws attention to the fact that the process of enclosure varied from region to region. Gonner emphasised the relationship between soil distributions and types of enclosure, and Yelling echoed the importance that should be attached to geographical

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[1] J. Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law,* (2nd ed., London, Sweet & Maxwell, 1977), p.955.

[2] J.A. Sheppard, 'Field systems of Yorkshire' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp.145-87 at p.146.

considerations.[3] Williamson has suggested that enclosure studies should focus on natural regions with similarity of topography and soil types and this section attempts to follow that recommendation.[4]

8.1 The process of enclosure

As Gonner suggested, enclosure can be viewed as a continuous process, albeit with surges or phases of activity that can differ in form.[5] In order to locate this discussion within the broader literature, the classification of enclosure processes used by Yelling in his work on open field enclosure will be utilised as an initial framework. Yelling makes a basic distinction between 'general' enclosure, which involves the whole body of proprietors with common rights, and 'piecemeal' enclosure which is everything else.[6] General enclosure could happen either through control of the land by one individual (unity of control), or by some form of agreement.[7] Piecemeal enclosure could also happen by agreement but, particularly where the enclosure was of waste, illegal 'encroachment' by the tenant adding land to his holding was probably just as prevalent. In most cases these were validated by the lord in return for rent. However as Yelling points out, there were many possible methods of piecemeal enclosure. Some of those used in the uplands are considered below, but it is suggested that the nature of each process can be broadly characterised as being dependent on whether it was the land owner or his tenants who initiated activity. Some estate owners were happy to follow a laissez-fair approach to colonisation, tacitly encouraging expansion to increase rents but adopting a reactive approach to the desire of individuals for

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[3] E.C.K. Gonner, *Common land and enclosure*, (2nd ed., London, Frank Cass & Co, 1966), p.227; J.A. Yelling, *Common field and enclosure in England 1450-1850*, (London, Macmillan, 1977), pp.4-5.
[4] T. Williamson, 'Understanding fields', *Local Historian,* 33(1), (2003), pp.12-29 at p.25.
[5] Gonner, *Common land and enclosure*, p.v.
[6] Yelling, *Common field and enclosure in England 1450-1850*, p.6.
[7] Ibid., p.7.

expansion. This form of piecemeal enclosure tended to result in small pieces of land being added to existing holdings. Other landlords were more proactive, making planned decisions to grant out specific holdings that tended to be much larger than in the piecemeal process. Some lords appropriated significant areas of common for their own purposes, sometimes despite local opposition, in a process known as approvement.[8] This balance between proactivity and reactivity on the part of those involved tends to determine the scale of enclosure involved therefore.

One of the earliest documented approaches to colonisation of the wasteland is in County Durham where Dunsford and Harris have identified "moorland farms", characterised as large compact enclosures often created by freemen, being granted under charter from large estates that were often episcopal.[9] These farms often date to the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and range from twenty acres to several hundred. In the manor of Wakefield the whole of the Scammonden Valley, which lies on the borders of Halifax and Huddersfield parishes, appears to have been granted by charter to Thomas de Scammonden at some point before the 1330s.[10] While there is no evidence for this large scale proactive approach by lords in the Upper Calder Valley in terms of single farms, the subinfeudation of all land but the graveship of Sowerby

[8] Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law*, p.126; See B. Shannon, 'Approvement and improvement in the lowland wastes of early modern Lancashire' in R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *Custom, improvement and the landscape in early modern Britain,* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), pp.175-202 at pp.175-9 for discussion of approvement.

[9] H.M. Dunsford and S. Harris, J., 'Colonization of the wasteland in County Durham, 1100-1400', *Economic History Review,* 56(1), (2003), pp.34-56 at pp.41, 46-8.

[10] G. Redmonds and D. Hey, 'The opening-up of Scammonden, a Pennine moorland valley', *Landscapes,* 2(1), (2001), pp.56-73 at p.65; J.W. Walker (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 5, 1322-1331,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 109, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1945), p.166.

represents a similar exercise in granting out land.[11] Clearly however such grants did not represent enclosures as the Durham grants did.

In common with many other areas, court records for the demesne graveship of Sowerby in the early part of the fourteenth century instead suggest that colonisation of new land in the valley often took the form of small clearances, or assarts, by individuals.[12] An assart was technically a feature of forest law that referred to clearing trees and bushes with or without licence.[13] The term also included clearance of 'heath, broom and fern' thus also applying to the more open moorland of upland forests.[14] Recorded assarts of new land between 1306 and 1329, predominantly by local people from the same graveship, extended to at least 347 acres in the graveship.[15] The vast majority of these were under 2 acres in size while most were of 1 acre or less.[16] Only large landholders were involved in creating assarts larger than this.[17] As already mentioned in the last chapter, eleven acres of new land were assarted in the vicinity of Erringden during this period. Although there are no records of assarting for Stansfield and the other subinfeudated estates, it seems likely that a similar process would have occurred there. During the fourteenth century then, the process of colonising the waste appears to have been largely dependent on the proactive approach of the tenants. According to Jennings' analysis, assarting in Sowerby reduced considerably in

[11] B. Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley: a history of Upper Calderdale,* (Otley, Smith Settle, 1992), p.18.

[12] See Chapter 1 and generally E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086-1348*, (London, Longman, 1978), pp.33-5; C. Dyer, 'Conflict in the landscape: the enclosure movement in England, 1220-1349', *Landscape History,* 28, (2006), pp.21-33 at p.26. For Sowerby see M. Stinson, 'Assarting and poverty in early-fourteenth-century western Yorkshire', *Landscape History,* 5, (1983), pp.53-67. The court records suggest that all assarts had to be enclosed: S.A. Moorhouse, 'Field systems' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp.656-80 at p.662.

[13] Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law*, p.140.

[14] J. Manwood, *Manwood's treatise of the forest laws*, (5th ed., corrected and enlarged. By William Nelson, London, Printed by Henry Lintot for Dan. Browne, 1741), p.20.

[15] Stinson, 'Assarting and poverty', pp.54-5; See also Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.36.

[16] Stinson, 'Assarting and poverty', p.61.

[17] Ibid., p.63.

volume after 1336 and, unsurprisingly, seems to have ceased after 1349 when the

Black Death struck. Small amounts of land began to be taken from the waste again in

the 1370s, but this was very spasmodic according to the surviving documentary

evidence.[18]

Although less numerous, cases of approvement by lords were on a much larger scale

than tenant assarting. For example, when granting land to Blanchland Abbey prior to

1214, the lord reserved the right to enclose 40 acres of the land for his own

purposes.[19] Similarly the bishop of Durham reserved 24 acres of moor in Haswell

when dividing and enclosing the moor in 1314.[20] The whole of Malham moor was

divided between the abbeys of Fountains and Bolton as lords of the manor in the

thirteenth century.[21] The royal bailiffs of Pickering Forest had assarted and then

rented out nearly 500 acres at Goathland in the Forest of Pickering by 1334.[22] The

enclosure of deer parks is perhaps the most overt form of approvement. In Cumbria

for example, Cockermouth Park occupied 690 acres and was first recorded in 1259

while Plumpton Park was enclosed from Inglewood forest in the 1330s.[23] In the

Upper Calder Valley, the enclosure of 3000 acres to form Erringden Park, probably

completed by the 1380s, is the sole known example of approvement. Here John de

Warenne, lord of the manor of Wakefield, appears to have deliberately concentrated

demesne farming activities within this large area, which already hosted two vaccaries.

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[18] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, pp.36-8.
[19] Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p.37.
[20] R. Britnell, 'Fields, farms and sun-division in a moorland region, 1100-1400', *Agricultural History Review,* 52(1), (2004), pp.20-37 at p.32.
[21] I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: the economy of a northern monastery 1286-1325*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1973), p.82.
[22] D.A. Spratt and B.J.D. Harrison (eds.), *The North York Moors: landscape heritage,* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1989), pp.101-2.
[23] A.J.L. Winchester, 'Baronial and manorial parks in medieval Cumbria' in R. Liddiard (ed.), *The medieval park: new perspectives,* (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2007), pp.165-84 at pp.173, 176.

The enclosure of land from the waste in Sowerby appears to have continued on a small scale throughout the fifteenth century, with more significant amounts of land being enclosed in the 1450s. Only by the 1490s does the volume increase substantially with over 40 acres being taken from the waste in 1493-4 alone. The turn of the century in 1500-1 saw 190 acres of waste let to three individuals.[24] A schedule of 1501-2 provides a long list of tenants who have enclosed land both with and without licence in the manor of Wakefield, presumably during the latter half of the fifteenth century.[25] Moving into the sixteenth century, Hanson found evidence of small intakes in Ovenden township between 1473 and 1542.[26] Depositions taken in Halifax provide a picture of significant local encroachment activity between 1509 and 1547, while a commission of enquiry in 1564-65 reported that more than 1380 acres had been encroached in the manor of Wakefield since 1509-10, 239 of those being in the graveship of Sowerby.[27] This picture of increasing enclosure activity through the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is echoed in Cumbria where tenants were increasing the size of their holdings by taking in moorland, sometimes in quite substantial amounts.[28]

Chapter 7 showed how colonisation of the waste during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Stansfield was almost entirely confined to above the 300 m contour. The evidence for this activity is largely limited to documented grants of land by the lord because it is only these grants that provide location and size details. Yet it is misleading to treat this as the only way in which the waste was being colonised.

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[24] TNA SC 6 Hen VIII/1019; HBLHS LHC/WEA/3; LHC/WEA/JENN/4/1.
[25] TNA SC 11/763.
[26] T.W. Hanson, 'The Jumples, Illingworth', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, (1912), pp.113-38 at pp.113-18.
[27] TNA STAC 2/23/91; DL 44/131.
[28] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1987), pp.51-4.

Some of the grants are for land that had already been 'taken in and inclosed' which may well refer to earlier encroachment. Surviving court rolls also show that encroachment activity occurred throughout this period and, as already discussed, up until Parliamentary enclosure in 1816.[29] For example, James Stansfield was amerced 34s 11d in 1627 for encroaching over 5 acres of common.[30] Between 1619 and 1630 21 other individuals were amerced for encroachments in sums ranging from 2s 6d for 2 roods up to 4s for an unspecified acreage.[31] A survey of encroachments on the Savile estates compiled in 1794 lists 20 encroachments in Stansfield.[32] It would seem that encroaching land and then regularising it with the lord was just as common as, possibly even more common than, seeking permission to enclose first. This pattern of proactive enclosure activity on the part of the tenants is also evident in the Savile estate records for their other Upper Calder valley townships of Heptonstall and Wadsworth, as well as their townships elsewhere in Halifax parish.[33] On the Lancashire side of the Pennines in the forests of Rossendale and Bowland, the Crown followed a similar policy to the Saviles by tacitly allowing colonisation in return for fines and rents.[34]

This process of encroachment and intaking was common across the north as discussed in Chapter 1. Intaking of small plots of waste has been described as ubiquitous in the Lake District valleys while piecemeal erosion of common land elsewhere, such as

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[29] See Chapter 7, pp.275-7.
[30] Notts DD/SR/1/15/8; DD/SR/1/15/9.
[31] Notts DD/SR/1/15/7, 1/15/1-5
[32] Notts DD/SR/1/19/41
[33] Notts DD/SR, Savile of Rufford: Deeds and Estate Papers. M.E. Francois, 'The social and economic development of Halifax 1558-1640', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section,* 11(8), (1966), pp.217-80 at p.253.
[34] G.H. Tupling, *The economic history of Rossendale,* Chetham Society New Series vol. 86, (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1927), pp.49, 57-68; J. Porter, 'A forest in transition: Bowland 1500-1650', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 125, (1974), pp.40-60 at pp.45-6.

County Durham, the Yorkshire Dales and the Peak District, was prevalent throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods.[35] Technically, taking land without licence was encroachment or incroachment.[36] Taking land under licence was legally 'intaking', although in its original sense intakes were temporary enclosures for short-term cultivation.[37] It is not clear whether documents of the period are making this technical distinction, or whether the terms became used interchangeably as they often are today. Shannon notes that in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cases of approvement in Lancashire the language of enclosure is used inconsistently.[38]

However, enclosure was also often undertaken as a larger scale planned exercise. In Grasmere, the lord's steward reached an agreement with the customary tenants around 1531 which allowed them to enclose one acre of common for every 12d they paid in rent.[39] The need of the Crown for further revenue in the early seventeenth century resulted in tenants on many royal estates having to pay composition fines to confirm their copyhold titles. In Rossendale and Bowland the various agreements reached also specifically allowed the tenants to enclose and divide the commons and wastes, a process largely completed by 1630.[40] A major land reallocation exercise took place in the Peak Forest during the seventeenth century when the Duchy of Lancaster set up commissions of inquiry at the behest of the tenants to investigate disafforestation.

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[35] A.J.L. Winchester, *The harvest of the hills: rural life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp.68-9; Dunsford and Harris, 'Colonization of the wasteland', p.41; R. White, *The Yorkshire Dales: a landscape through time*, (Ilkley, Great Northern Books, 2005), p.72; J. Barnatt and K. Smith, *The Peak District: landscapes through time*, (Macclesfield, Windgather Press, 2004), p.82.

[36] Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law*, p.697.

[37] Ibid., p.994. Muir confuses encroachments with intakes in R. Muir, *Landscape encyclopedia: a reference guide to the historic landscape*, (Macclesfield, Windgather, 2004), p.136.

[38] Shannon, 'Approvement and improvement', p.188.

[39] J. Healey, 'Land, population and famine in the English uplands: a Westmorland case study, c.1370-1650', *Agricultural History Review,* 59(2), (2011), pp.151-75 at p.169.

[40] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.150-8; J. Porter, 'Waste land reclamation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the case of south-eastern Bowland, 1550-1630', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* 127, (1977), pp.1-23 at pp.13-14.

This resulted in recommendations to divide the commons between the Crown and the tenants and for the land to be enclosed and improved.[41] However, although surveyed and agreed just before the civil war, it was not until later in the century that much of the land was leased or sold off.[42] For example, the commons at Castleton were divided by agreement of the freeholders and copyholders in 1691.[43] Peak Forest was not the only place where an enclosure process agreed in principle suffered delays of implementation. In Saddleworth in the South Pennines, a group of freeholders who had bought the manor in 1791 resolved to sell all the commons but wrangles about compensation for common rights were not finally resolved until 1834.[44]

Such enclosures by agreement did not happen in the Upper Calder Valley even though the manor of Wakefield was owned by the Crown. A commission set up to inquire into the wastes of certain townships, including Stansfield, within the manor of Wakefield in 1563-4 had failed to establish title to these townships and had referred the issue to Westminster.[45] Although a composition of the copyhold fines in Sowerby graveship took place in the early seventeenth century, this was at the request of the copyholders and there was no additional allotment of the commons.[46] The existence of a draft composition in 1657 to fix fines in Heptonstall at the same rates as Sowerby shows that the subinfeudated Savile estate was at least considering such a move, but

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[41] D. Brumhead and R. Weston, 'Seventeenth century enclosures of the commons and wastes of Bowden Middlecale in the Royal Forest of Peak', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal,* 121, (2001), pp.244-86 at pp.247-9; B. Frazer, 'Common recollections: resisting enclosure "by agreement" in seventeenth-century England', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* 3(2), (1999), pp.75-99 at p.88.
[42] Brumhead and Weston, 'Seventeenth century enclosures of Bowden Middlecale', pp.250-2.
[43] Frazer, 'Common recollections', pp.89-96.
[44] A.J. Petford, 'The process of enclosure in Saddleworth, 1625-1834', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society,* 84, (1987), pp.78-117 at pp.95-117.
[45] TNA DL 44/97
[46] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, pp.53-4; M.J. Ellis, 'A study in the manorial history of Halifax parish in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Part 1', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 40, (1959-62), pp.250-64 at p.260.

no record of such a composition has been discovered.[47] However, a Stansfield rental of 1667 refers to a single instance of uncompounded land which suggests that this had now become unusual, the inference being that composition had already taken place.[48]

The reactive role taken by the lord of the Savile manors to the desires of his Stansfield tenants for more land may be explained by the fact that they were almost entirely freeholders.[49] In the sub-manor of Rawtonstall the tenants were tenants-at-will and, as already discussed in Chapter 7, the lord appears to have been proactive in organising the enclosure of the Hey in 1779. The surviving evidence, together with similar evidence for Walshaw in Wadsworth township, indicates that this may have been a programme of improvement across the estate. In Yelling's terms, this is a classic example of general enclosure imposed by unity of control.

Such instances of general enclosure appear to be relatively rare compared with the gradual process of piecemeal enclosure in Stansfield and the rest of the Upper Calder Valley that occurred through the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries. The availability of large amounts of waste seems to have generally prevented any disputes about this continuous reduction of common land. However, disagreements about enclosure occurred in the townships of Northowram and Hipperholme east of Halifax where, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants complained about enclosure without their consent that was to their detriment.[50] In the Upper Calder Valley, the only recorded dispute about enclosure was in Langfield township where the

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[47] Notts DD/SR/1/7/6.
[48] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/258.
[49] See for example WYAS(K) DD/S/I/258. There is some evidence for a more proactive approach by the lords of other townships in the Parish of Halifax outwith the Upper Calder valley: M.J. Ellis, 'A study in the manorial history of Halifax parish in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Part 2', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 40, (1959-62), pp.420-2 at p.425.
[50] Ibid., pp.425-6.

freeholders felt obliged to seek assurances of their rights of common in the face of grants by the lord that had already resulted in the enclosure of a significant portion of the waste.[51] However, it is significant that the dispute centred around the relatively small area of Mankinholes Moor, a lower pasture that was more accessible to the inhabitants of Mankinholes than the higher moors to the south.

In contrast, the enclosure of the remaining high moors in Stansfield appears to have been driven by the freeholders.[52] This last phase of enclosure in 1818 is that obtained through the formal process of Act of Parliament, and represents the sole example of general enclosure by agreement involving collective action in Stansfield. This is in contrast to the position in Haslingden for example, where division of the waste by common agreement had happened as early as 1577.[53] As discussed above, enclosure by agreement had also happened in Rossendale and Bowland by 1630.[54] Stansfield is the earliest township in the Upper Calder Valley to be subject to Parliamentary enclosure, 3881 acres of waste in the townships of Sowerby and Soyland being the subject of an award in 1849, and 2000 acres in Warley being awarded in 1858.[55] Smaller general enclosures through unity of control were also undertaken by private estates in Erringden in the 1830s as mentioned in section 7.2.3.

As also discussed in Chapter 7, initial enclosures were often further subdivided thus creating a denser pattern of enclosure. Erringden provides a prime example of this where the initial approvement was initially subdivided into nine large holdings,

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[51] Ellis, 'A study in the manorial history of Halifax parish: Part 2', pp.426-7.; TNA DL 44/973; DL 4/49/53; DL 5/27/fol.399-402; DL 5/19/fol.326-328.
[52] WYAS(C) TT171.
[53] Tupling, *Economic history of Rossendale*, pp.52-3.
[54] Ibid., pp.150-8; Porter, 'Waste land reclamation', pp.13-14.
[55] B. English, *Yorkshire enclosure awards*, (Hull, Department of Adult Education, University of Hull, 1985), pp.134, 151.

ranging from 132 acres to 752 acres. This appears to have been followed by gradual

subdivision and subletting by the initial landholders as indicated by the increase to 50

settlements documented in 1546-7, although it is not known what proportion of these

were actually separate land holdings.[56] This process of increasing subdivision is a

continuing theme. Other examples of the way in which demesne vaccaries and parks

were frequently subdivided and let out were considered in Chapter 1. Redmonds and

Hey have demonstrated that Thomas de Scammonden, mentioned above, demised 37

acres of land in ten lots in 1333 and that these, together with his own land, were

equivalent to the eleven farms existing in 1607 as shown on an estate map.[57] During

the sixteenth century these farms were further subdivided until there were twenty four

houses and cottages in 1607.[58] Similarly division for inheritance purposes might

create new settlement and consequent enclosure. For example, in Cumbria the

demesne grange of Coulderton was divided between three heiresses in 1338, each

share being represented by a hamlet that had been divided into four equal holdings by

1578.[59] Although there is no known direct evidence, it seems plausible that linked

farmsteads were just as likely to have been created by subdivision as by expansion of

enclosure.

More pertinently, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a dramatic increase in

sub-leasing as freeholders and copyholders holding land at a relatively low rent were

able to exploit the demand created by a growing population.[60] It has been suggested

that where subdivision was banned, as in the manors of Grasmere and Windermere in

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[56] TNA SC 11/991.
[57] Redmonds and Hey, 'The opening-up of Scammonden', p.66.
[58] Ibid., p.69.
[59] Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, pp.49-51.
[60] Jennings (ed.), *Pennine valley*, p.54; J.T. Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution: North-East Lancashire c.1500-1640,* Chetham Society Third Series Vol.32, (Manchester, Manchester University Press for the Chetham Society, 1986), pp.84-91.

the late sixteenth century, this had the effect of increasing subletting in order to accommodate population growth.[61]

These various processes of enclosure in the Upper Calder Valley can be summarised in classificatory form as shown below. It is interesting that general enclosures only occur towards the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth when only the highest land with the least fertile soil is left.

- Piecemeal enclosures
    - By grant or charter (medieval)
    - By approvement (Erringden Park 1451)
    - By encroachment (continuous)
    - By intaking (continuous)
    - By subdivision (continuous)
- General enclosures
    - By agreement (none known)
        - By Parliamentary Act (1818-1858)
    - By unity of control (Rawtonstall Hey 1779; Erringden estates 1830s)

8.2 The motives for enclosure

Establishing reasons for this pattern of colonisation of the waste is far from straightforward. Yelling has commented that

> enclosure has an inherent complexity of meaning ….. In any particular case it is all too easy to find an explanation or group of explanations that seem to fit, and yet may be incorrect or at best a simplification of the truth.[62]

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[61] Healey, 'Land, population and famine', pp.171-2.
[62] Yelling, *Common field and enclosure in England 1450-1850*, p.3.

From the variety of possible explanations about the various stages and form of enclosure that have been put forward by historians, it is only possible to examine here a small number of themes that are potentially relevant in the uplands of the South Pennines. Bearing in mind Yelling's warning, these are only likely to be partial explanations rather than a full rationale but will serve to indicate possible paths for future research.

A common explanation for colonisation of the waste is that it was driven by population pressures.[63] As demand rose so prices also rose, thus increasing the pressure to improve agricultural production by bringing more land into cultivation.[64] The total national population is estimated by Clark to have peaked at 6 million between 1310 and 1316 before the famine years of 1315 -17.[65] This decline was exacerbated by the Black Death of 1348-9 and reached its nadir between 1440 and 1520 when the population is estimated to have shrunk to 2.45 million.[66] However, this national picture masks regional differences where there was economic expansion and increased labour demands. For example, the growth of English cloth exports between 1470 and 1520 had a significant impact on cloth producing areas such as the south-west and Cumbria, while in the north York was declining as a manufacturing centre relative to the burgeoning rural textile industry in the West Riding.[67] By the

[63] Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, pp.33-41; J. Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp.202-5.

[64] Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640*, pp.594-5, 597, 601; C.G.A. Clay, *Economic expansion and social change: England 1500-1700. Vol.1: People, land and towns*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp.68-73; A. McRae, *God speed the plough: the representation of agrarian England, 1500-1660*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.13.

[65] G. Clark, 'The long march of history: farm wages, population and economic growth, England 1209-1869', *Economic History Review,* 60(1), (2007), pp.97-135 at pp.123-4.Clark argues that lower estimations of the population in the early fourteenth century by Campbell and others are based on fallacious estimates of land in cultivation, and therefore food available.

[66] Ibid., p.124.

[67] J.L. Bolton, *The medieval English economy 1150-1500*, (London, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1980), pp.268-70; R. Britnell, *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530: economy and society*, (Oxford, Oxford University

late 1630s the national population was over 5 million again, and continued to rise from the eighteenth century onwards.[68] The concomitant emphasis on agrarian improvement from the seventeenth century onwards, encompassing both ideas of improving the quality of land and the desire to make land more valuable through inclosure, enhanced the pressures created by an increasing population.[69]

According to Bailey's population estimates for the parish of Halifax, as summarised in Figure 4.6, the population increased gradually from 1554 to around the 1660s but then grew very rapidly. The gradual increase in settlement density in the Upper Calder Valley, considered in Chapter 4, reflects not only the increasing population but also the expansion of farming and by implication, enclosure.[70] While it is quite plausible therefore for increasing population to be a valid explanation for the expansion of enclosure, this is likely to be a simplistic view. If population pressure led to increasing agricultural production, and therefore enclosure, in the Upper Calder Valley, then this should be reflected in the nature and scale of production over time. The nature of agriculture in the Upper Calder Valley needs to be examined therefore in order to establish the validity of this hypothesis. Unfortunately, the limited nature of demesne farming in the valley means that there is little surviving relevant documentary evidence for the extent of agricultural production until the seventeenth century and reliance must therefore be placed on more circumstantial evidence.

Press, 2004), pp.351-4; D. Hey, *A history of Yorkshire: 'county of the broad acres'*, (Lancaster, Carnegie, 2005), p.217; H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries from the earliest times up to the industrial revolution*, (2nd ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965), pp.75-7; Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, pp.117-18.

[68] E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The population history of England 1541-1871: a reconstruction*, First published 1981, (Paperback edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.208-9 table 7.8.

[69] McRae, *God speed the plough*, pp.136-7; P. Warde, 'The idea of improvement, c.1520-1700' in R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *Custom, improvement and the landscape in early modern Britain*, (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), pp.127-48.

[70] See Figures 4.1-4.3, Figure 4.6 and Figure 7.13.

In considering the assarting evidence for the Upper Calder Valley in the early fourteenth century, Stinson assumed that assarts were principally for arable purposes, arguing that there was already more than enough pasture available on the moors.[71] However as she also points out, the investment involved in assarting was substantial, and providing food was unlikely to have been a motive for those who could afford to make that investment unless it was to provide food for the market.[72] Campbell suggests that land clearance at this period was focused on the creation of pasture, and Moorhouse claims that most assarts were used for animal husbandry, although neither provide any evidence for this.[73] Such evidence as there is suggests that they may be right however.

The importance of livestock grazing and the focus on cattle farms, or vaccaries, in the uplands was considered in Chapter 1. While the surviving evidence for this is largely based on demesne farming records, the court rolls for the graveship of Sowerby during this period of assarting make it clear that cattle, and to a much lesser extent sheep, were also a principal focus of farming activity for the peasant population. For example, in the September of 1286 a court at Wakefield fined thirteen people for the escape in Sowerby of a total of 27 beasts and another two individuals for the escape of sixteen sheep there.[74] A tourn held at Wakefield fined 26 inhabitants of Sowerby for escapes of cattle in May 1314.[75] In an analysis of the court rolls for 1274-1323, Troup found that 41 per cent of the court cases in Sowerby graveship involved attachments

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[71] Stinson, 'Assarting and poverty', p.67.
[72] Ibid., pp.64-5.
[73] B.M.S. Campbell, 'The land' in R. Horrox and W.M. Ormrod (eds.), *A social history of England, 1200-1500,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.179-237 at pp.186-7; Moorhouse, 'Field systems', p.673.
[74] J. Lister (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 3, 1313 to 1316, and 1286,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. 57, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1917), p.178.
[75] Ibid., p.55.

for escaped animals compared with the manorial average of 11 per cent.[76] Such events were frequent, and the need to control stock must have been a significant factor behind the drive to create enclosures through assarting.[77] An even greater impetus would have been the need to provide hay as winter feed for the stock. This would have required land that was clear enough to use a scythe, and the resource implications involved in clearing that land may account for the small nature of many assarts. The hay would need protecting from stock during the growing season and would therefore need to be enclosed, thus also allowing its use as enclosed pasture after the hay crop, a function which would replenish soil nutrients with animal dung. The value of such meadow land is well attested, and is demonstrated in Wakefield Manor in 1316 when 2 acres and 3 perches of meadow were valued at 13s 4d per annum at a time when land was normally rented at 6d per acre.[78] The market opportunities presented by the continued price inflation of farm stock are not likely to have been lost on those with surplus livestock.[79] Britnell also points out that investment in enclosure 'is likeliest to have occurred in contexts where investment in livestock was a preferred option'.[80]

This relationship between assarting and livestock is strengthened even further when the effects of the 'Great Bovine Pestilence' of 1319-20 are considered.[81] A study by

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[76] K.M. Troup (ed.), *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield from October 1338 to September 1340,* Wakefield Court Rolls Series Vol. 12, (Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1999), pp.xvi-xvii.
[77] Britnell, *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530: economy and society*, p.412.
[78] Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p.98; Lister (ed.), *Court rolls of the manor of Wakefield: vol. 3, 1313 to 1316, and 1286*, p.51.Neither Stinson nor Lane consider the importance of meadows as a key component of pastoral systems: Stinson, 'Assarting and poverty'; C. Lane, 'The development of pastures and meadows during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Agricultural History Review,* 28(1), (1980), pp.18-30.
[79] Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, pp.66-9.
[80] Britnell, *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530: economy and society*, p.412.
[81] See generally I. Kershaw, 'The great famine and agrarian crisis in England 1315-1322', *Past and Present,* 59(May), (1973), pp.3-50; T.P. Newfield, 'A cattle panzootic in early fourteenth-century Europe', *Agricultural History Review,* 57(2), (2009), pp.155-90; P. Slavin, 'The Great Bovine

Slavin indicates that England and Wales lost 62 per cent of its bovine population during this pandemic.[82] An account of 1322 recorded that there were no herbage sales in Sowerby in 1322 'because almost all the animals in that area were destroyed by murrain'.[83] It may be significant therefore that the acreage of new assarts for the period 1322-9 dropped by 63 per cent compared to the period 1311-17.[84] A reduction in the numbers of cattle would have also reduced the demand for new enclosures for stock control and meadow purposes. One of the reasons for the spread of the pathogen may have been the movement and trade in cattle, a principal purpose of the upland vaccaries.[85] Although population had declined as a result of the 1315-17 famine, nationally this is only estimated at 11 per cent and is unlikely to have been as significant a factor in the reduction of assarting activity.[86]

This emphasis on pastoral farming continued to characterise agriculture in the Upper Calder Valley. An analysis of an early 1600s copyhold survey for Hipperholme, a township to the east of the Upper Calder Valley, led Ellis to suggest that 'the land used for livestock and hay may have amounted to more than twice the amount used to raise corn and other foodstuffs'.[87] Inventories from the end of the seventeenth century provide some indication of the balance between livestock and arable farming.[88] Only

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Pestilence and its economic and environmental consequences in England and Wales, 1318-50', *Economic History Review,* 65(4), (2012), pp.1239-66.
[82] Slavin, 'The Great Bovine Pestilence', p.1242.
[83] TNA SC6/1145/21; Kershaw, 'The great famine and agrarian crisis in England 1315-1322', p.45 fn.218.
[84] Stinson, 'Assarting and poverty', p.54.
[85] Slavin, 'The Great Bovine Pestilence', p.1248; Miller and Hatcher, *Medieval England*, p.227; M.A. Atkin, 'Land use and management in the upland demesne of the De Lacy estate of Blackburnshire c1300', *Agricultural History Review,* 42(1), (1994), pp.1-19 at pp.9-10, 15; N. Smith, 'The location and operation of demesne cattle farms in Sowerby Graveship circa 1300', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 15 (New Series), (2007), pp.17-32, pp.26-7.
[86] Clark, 'The long march of history', pp.123-4.
[87] Francois, 'The social and economic development of Halifax 1558-1640', p.254.
[88] Inventories only survive in any quantity from the end of the seventeenth century: The Borthwick Institute for Archives, *Probate Records*, undated guide,

the larger estates, such as Hartley Royd or Eastwood in Stansfield, had ploughs. At nearly 60 statute acres (24.28 ha), Hartley Royd was the largest estate in Stansfield in 1805 and in 1697 it boasted three ploughs, three ox teams and nine cattle.[89] A slightly different emphasis is evident at Eastwood in 1698 where cattle numbered fifteen and were worth £27, but there was only one plough for a farm that was just over 40 acres (16.18 ha) in 1805.[90] However, the average size of farm in Stansfield was only 16.7 acres (6.76 ha)in 1805 and more than half the farms were smaller than 15 acres (6.07 ha).[91] A more typical example of farm activity is provided by the inventory of John Heap of Stiperden (14.8 acres or 5.99 ha in 1805) who, in 1691, left grass and corn worth £6, four cows, two pigs, five lambs and one horse.[92] Even smaller farms, such as Ashenhurst at under 12 acres (4.85 ha), had only two cows, while the ability to till the soil was represented only by graving tools in the form of a hack and spade.[93]

When assessing whether hoarding was a reason for the high price of corn in 1631, the local Justices of the Peace searched every house in Halifax parish and reported that 'not Twentye amongst Twenty thousand have Corne moore then is Sufficient for sowing of that litle grownd they have, and for maintenance of their familey'.[94] Writing about the rural landscape of the Halifax area in 1727, Defoe commented that typically each house kept a cow or two on the land in order to provide dairy products

http://www.york.ac.uk/media/library/documents/borthwick/3.1.1.20guideprob.pdf accessed on 24 January 2013.

[89] WYAS(C) SU405; ECY John Fielden of Hartley Royd, Pontefract, May 1698 (Inventory February 1697).

[90] WYAS(C) SU405; ECY Thomas Eastwood of Eastwood, Pontefract, August 1698 (Inventory May 1698).

[91] WYAS(C) SU405.

[92] WYAS(C) SU405; ECY John Heap of Stiperdin, Pontefract, September 1691 (Inventory July 1691).

[93] WYAS(C) SU405; ECY Michael Helliwell of Ashenhurst, Pontefract, June 1700 (Inventory November 1699). Graving was a process that used a spade to cut the ground and a hack to pull the soil over. See: R. Davies, et al. (eds.), *The diaries of Cornelius Ashworth 1782-1816,* (Hebden Bridge, Hebden Bridge Local History Society, 2011), pp.50, 52.

[94] TNA SP 16/189 f.13.

for the family but 'they scarce sow Corn enough for their Cocks and Hens'.[95]

Certainly by 1801 the surviving parish acreage returns covering Halifax Parish show a

negligible amount of crops being grown compared with parishes in East Yorkshire.[96]

The return for the chapelry of Luddenden commented that farmers 'grow but very

little corn, many of them not more than an acre & a half which is about the average',

while the return for Ripponden claimed that 'the keeping of milk cows for family use

is preferred to the growing of corn, and has been found of greater advantage as the

greatest part of the corn land is so steep that it cannot be ploughed'.[97] Some support

for this dominance of pastoral farming over arable can be derived from an analysis of

field names in Stansfield in 1805.[98] Out of the 1777 fields, a mere 51 had names with

arable connotations (2.87 per cent).[99] Nearly half of the total fields were of less than 2

statute acres (0.8 ha) and 86.27 per cent were of less than 3 acres (1.21 ha). On the

other hand there were 489 field names related to pastoral farming (27.5 per cent).

These comprised 216 meadows together with 43 holms, 98 pasture fields, 78 heys,

and 54 ings.[100] Indeed as Ellis says 'the corn brought into the parish was much more

important to the inhabitants than that grown in the parish'.[101]

The continuity of this mixed but pastorally dominant economy up to at least the

beginning of the nineteenth century is indicated by the diaries of Cornelius Ashworth,

written between 1782 and 1816. His farm at Walt Royd, in Ovenden township near

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[95] D. Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies*, (London, Peter Davies, 1927), p.602.

[96] P.A. Churley, 'The Yorkshire crop returns of 1801', *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research,* 5(2), (1953), pp.179-97: see map between pp.180-1.

[97] TNA HO 67/26.

[98] WYAS(C) SU405.

[99] Names that included elements referring to crops (eg wheat), 'kiln', 'lands', 'flat', 'ley' and 'fallow'.

[100] See J. Field, *A history of English field-names*, (London, Longman, 1993), p.94 for meanings of 'holm' (stream-side meadow) and 'ing' (pasture).

[101] Francois, 'The social and economic development of Halifax 1558-1640', p.255.

Halifax, was nearly 15 statute acres which was the average size for Ovenden.[102]

Ashworth had around five cows and grew a small acreage of oats using graving that in

1782 yielded 49 bushels.[103] As around 40 to 50 bushels of grain are considered by

commentators to have been required for typical family consumption, and (if not

bought) an average of four bushels per acre were required for seed corn for next

year's oats, not to mention any required for animal feed, Ashworth is clearly farming

at a self-sufficiency level rather than for profit.[104] The number of cattle are also

unlikely to have produced sufficient dairy or meat produce for anything much beyond

home consumption.[105] The small size of farms in 1805 would therefore seem to have

precluded most farmers from producing for the market. As it has been suggested that a

farm of 15 to 18 statute acres was required to make ends meet in the fourteenth

century, and that 30 acres was required in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this

is not surprising.[106] If farms had not increased beyond an average size of nearly 17

statute acres by 1805, it seems reasonable to conclude that the expansion of enclosure

was not usually about increasing income from agricultural produce.

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[102] Davies, et al. (eds.), *The diaries of Cornelius Ashworth 1782-1816*, p.41.

[103] Ibid., pp.49, 54.

[104] H. Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of living and capital formation in pre-plague England: a peasant budget model', *Economic History Review,* 53(2), (2000), pp.237-61 at p.239; C. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages: social change in England c.1200-1520*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.134. Kitsikopoulos estimates 40 bushels while Dyer estimates over 50. See also Kitsikopoulos p.242 fn.14 for other views.

[105] Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of living and capital formation', p.240 where family consumption is based on three cows, ten sheep and one pig. The accounts of Robert Loder in Berkshire show that he kept twelve cows for household needs rather than for sale, while the diaries of Henry Best in 1642 record eleven milk cows whose produce also seems to have been for the household rather than sale: G.E. Fussell (ed.), *Robert Loder's farm accounts, 1616-1620,* Camden Third Series Vol.53, (London, Royal Historical Society, 1936), pp.153-6; D. Woodward (ed.), *The farming and memorandum books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642,* Records of social and economic history New Series vol. 8, (London, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1984), pp.xlvi-xlvii.

[106] Kitsikopoulos, 'Standards of living and capital formation', pp.248-50; Dyer, *Standards of living*, pp.109-18; P. Bowden, 'Agricultural prices, farm profits, and rents' in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp.593-695 at p.657.

The evidence considered so far might suggest that the expansion of enclosure was a consequence of an increasing population that was happy to farm at a self-sufficiency level. However, such an explanation begs the question as to why the inhabitants would find that satisfactory. Unsurprisingly the answer lies in the growth of the textile industry.[107] By the sixteenth century the rural population of the Upper Calder Valley, in common with the rest of the South Pennines, appears to have been increasingly dependent on textile production rather than farming.[108] Contemporary accounts illustrating this in 1555 and 1727 were discussed in section 4.2.

The Stansfield inventories of 1688-1700, discussed above, show that most farms were also involved in textile production. John Fielden of Hartley Royd left wool and yarn worth £17.5s in addition to his farming stock. At Eastwood in 1698 the textile element of the inventory was represented by 20 'undrest pieces' worth £43. John Heap of Stiperden left fleece wool worth 13s while smaller farms such as Ashenhurst at under 12 acres still had the means of cloth production through looms and spinning wheels. Cornelius Ashworth wove and sold a piece of cloth every fortnight on average in 1783, in addition to managing his farm.[109] Indeed, commentators in the late eighteenth century were clear that most land was occupied by manufacturers who treated farming only as a convenience allowing them to maintain cows for family use and horses for business purposes.[110] At the end of the nineteenth century this combination of farming and textile production was still being encouraged by Yorkshire landowners who were

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[107] See J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the countryside' in F.J. Fisher (ed.), *Essays in the economic and social history of Tudor and Stuart England,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp.70-88 at pp.81-4 for parallels.

[108] See Chapter 1; Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.138; Thirsk (ed.), *The agrarian history of England and Wales Vol.4: 1500-1640*, p.31.

[109] Davies, et al. (eds.), *The diaries of Cornelius Ashworth 1782-1816*, p.59.

[110] J. Aiken, *A description of the country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester*, Reprint of 1795 edition published by John Stockdale, London, (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1968), p.567; R. Brown, *General view of the agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, (London, Richard Phillips, 1799), pp.77-8.

dividing their land into small-holdings to rent to clothiers.[111] The purpose of the small

farms therefore was not to provide a livelihood but 'to afford conveniences for the

manufacture of cloth'.[112]

Defoe associated the growth of the textile industry in the Halifax area with the

plentiful supply of water for washing and dyeing the wool but this on its own is very

unlikely to have been a principal factor.[113] He also points to the local availability of

coal, which according to Crump was used for heating the dye vats.[114] However,

geologically the Upper Calder Valley is a Millstone Grit area and is not on the Coal

Measures, so it is not clear how much coal would have been used locally. Sheep

farming never seems to have been a major feature of local farming as the wool

produced was coarse and, according to an investigation conducted by the Vicar of

Leeds in 1588 and a later document of 1615, Halifax clothiers used wool imported

from Lincolnshire and other Midland counties whilst exporting any native wool to

Rochdale where coarser cloth was produced.[115] This dispersed form of the textile

industry did not therefore require the expansion of enclosure in order to produce wool,

but did require land for those working in the industry.

One explanation for the growth of the textile industry in Halifax parish is provided by

Thornes, who has pointed to the loose manorial control of the manor of Wakefield

which allowed copyholders a considerable degree of freedom in dealing with their

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[111] Heaton, *The Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries*, pp.290-1.
[112] W.B. Crump and G. Ghorbal, *History of the Huddersfield woollen industry,* Tolson Memorial Museum Publications Handbook IX, (Huddersfield, Alfred Jubb & Son, 1935), p.14; W.B. Crump, *The wool-textile industry of the Pennines in its physical setting*, (Reprinted from The Journal of the Textile Institute vol.26, 1935), p.5.
[113] Defoe, A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, p.601-2
[114] Crump and Ghorbal, *History of the Huddersfield woollen industry*, p.18.
[115] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part IV, *The manuscripts of Lord Kenyon*, 1896, p.573; TNA SP 14/80 f.19; Heaton, *The Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries*, p.118.

land. He suggests that this led to the adoption of partible inheritance which in turn led to subdivision of holdings which in its turn led to a reliance on income other than that from agriculture.[116] Unfortunately, this theory rests on the supposed prevalence of partible inheritance for which there is little evidence by the end of the thirteenth century.[117]

Turning this theory on its head however, it is arguable that the freedom to sublease and to intake from the waste meant that opportunities were provided for rental income to complement the incomes from farming and textiles. This opportunity would have been fostered by the growth of the textile industry in the Halifax area and the concomitant growth in population. The importance of landed income is evident from probate documents, which abound with bequests of income from property as well as bequests of properties other than the testator's residence. For example, in 1700 Daniel Sutcliffe of Rodwellend bequeathed the farms of Killup and Hallstones in Stansfield, and the rents of Haugh farm in Langfield and Earnshaw Water farm in Stansfield. These Stansfield farms are all on or above the 300 m contour and are very likely to represent enclosures of the seventeenth century or later.[118] The building of a new farm on Greenhurst Hey around 1592 by Edmond Barker has already been noted in Chapter 7. However, his will leaves another new house, the rents of four other tenements, the

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[116] R.C.N. Thornes, *West Yorkshire: 'a noble scene of industry': the development of the county 1500 to 1830*, (Reprinted with corrections from 1981 ed., Wakefield, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, 1987), p.7.

[117] See Chapter 1; D.J.H. Michelmore, 'Township and tenure' in M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500,* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), pp.231-64, pp.244-6; P. Hudson, 'Landholding and the organization of textile manufacture in Yorkshire rural townships c.1660-1810' in M. Berg (ed.), *Markets and manufacture in early industrial Europe,* (London, Routledge, 1991), pp.261-91 at pp.280-1.

[118] ECY Daniel Sutcliffe of Rodwellend, Pontefract, June 1700. Killup is first mentioned in 1654, Earnshaw Water in 1670: A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3: Morley wapentake,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 32, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), p.183.; DD/SR/1/21/79.

rental of four further pieces of land plus lands in Blackburn (Lancs) to his eldest son.[119]

Such investment in the land is evident from at least the thirteenth century. Research into the land market of the later Middle Ages has shown that some peasants were able to add land to their existing holdings either through assarting or purchase. They could then sublet or provide smallholdings for their younger sons and daughters.[120] Dyer points out that 'in a society influenced by a free market there would have been a "centrifugal tendency", flinging more land into the hands of fewer successful families, leaving a growing majority of poor cottagers'.[121] Troup analysed the 1309 survey for Sowerby graveship into groupings by size of landholding, and compared these with court appearances of a sample of the landholders in each group. The results indicated that the largest landholders were involved in land dealings in 30 per cent of their appearances, compared with only 20 per cent for those with 5 acres or less. Even more interesting was the fact that 88 per cent of those land dealings involving the small landholders were concerned with assarting, while the large landholders bought almost as much old land as new land.[122] As Troup points out, such land could be exploited immediately thus reinforcing the centrifugal tendency noted by Dyer.[123] Further research into land transactions, as evidenced by the court rolls of the manor of Wakefield and probate documents, is required to confirm the validity and extent of this process of land agglomeration through the centuries. However, it is reasonable to suppose that this process continued through the centuries and may well have

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[119] Edmond Barker of Stansfield, Aug. 1600, Prob. Reg. 28 f.177.
[120] Dyer, *Standards of living*, pp.123-26; Campbell, 'The land', pp.206-8, 230-1.
[121] Dyer, *Standards of living*, p.124.
[122] K.M. Troup, 'Daily mobility and social interaction among peasants on the manor of Wakefield, Yorkshire, 1274-1323', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Australia, 1995, pp.107-18.
[123] Ibid., p.118. See also Moorhouse, 'Field systems', pp.666-7, 677 for a case study of land accumulation in the early 14th century.

contributed to the so-called Great Rebuilding of the seventeenth century discussed in

Chapter 4. Hudson considered that enclosure, combined with copyhold

enfranchisement, resulted in increasing social polarisation of large landholders as

opposed to smallholders and the landless during the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries.[124]

By 1805, a valuation for Stansfield shows that there were 209 farms (defined as

tenements with attached fields and barns or shippons) as opposed to landless cottages

which totalled 687.[125] Of these farms only 41 (19.61 per cent) were owner occupied.[126]

Of the 101 owners, 36 owned more than one farm, twelve of those owning five or

more farms each.[127] Thus, a limited number of individuals owned a large proportion of

the farmed area of the township and more than 80 per cent of farms were leased. This

strongly suggests that farms were treated as an investment. Hudson found a similar

pattern in Sowerby and matched occupational data from the parish registers with

valuation data to show not only that weavers owned the least land, but also that textile

merchants and manufacturers owned the most land and usually rented it out in small

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[124] P. Hudson, 'Proto-industrialisation: the case of the West Riding wool textile industry in the 18th and early 19th centuries', *History Workshop Journal,* 12(1), (1981), pp.34-61 at p.44; Healey, 'Land, population and famine', pp.172-5.

[125] WYAS(C) SU405. An unpublished paper by Croft analysing the valuation uses a slightly different definition but arrives at the same number: HBLHS OM 48/M, p.5. The valuation is a far more informative document than the land tax returns of the period and, as far as is known, does not suffer from the same sort of inaccuracies as plague those returns. See eg R.W. Unwin, *Search guide to the English land tax*, (Wakefield, West Yorkshire County Record Office, 1982), p.9; D.E. Ginter, *A measure of wealth: the English land tax in historical analysis*, (Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 1992), pp.13-51; G.E. Mingay, *Parliamentary enclosure in England: an introduction to its causes, incidence and impact 1750-1850*, (London, Longman, 1997), p.121.

[126] This figure is based on all farms where the name of the owner is the same as the occupier. The known prevalence of individuals with the same name means that this may be an overestimate. Croft finds a figure of 21.1% : HBLHS OM 48/M, p.7.

[127] This assumes that names as written in the valuation are unique – ie that Crossley, Jno and Crossley, John are two separate individuals. If they are assumed to be the same individual, the total number of owners of multiple farms reduces to 33 and those owning five or more farms reduces to ten.

farms.[128] She gives the example of James Riley, a shalloon maker, who in the 1780s

and 1790s owned one of the larger farms together with five other smallholdings

rented out to tenants of whom several were weavers.[129] Her research confirmed her

hypothesis that, from the sixteenth century, the freedom to sublease and intake

allowed 'the accumulation of land in the hands of a socially diverse but limited class

who rented cottages to the larger army of the landless'.[130] Hudson has argued that the

market for capital grew rapidly during the eighteenth century, with both freehold and

copyhold land increasingly being used as security for mortgages to raise money for

the textile trade. Indeed, the West Riding Registry of Deeds was established in 1703

specifically to provide adequate security of title.[131] As a consequence, land

increasingly came to be seen as a practical investment rather than as part of the family

patrimony.[132]

The evidence suggests, therefore, that land was treated as an investment from at least

the fourteenth century onwards. Unfortunately, the only sufficiently detailed

documentation on the enclosure process that shows how land investment may have

been a factor is the Parliamentary enclosure award for Stansfield of 1818.[133] The

Award of the Parliamentary Commissioner includes the occupation of those to whom

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[128] Hudson, 'Landholding and the organization of textile manufacture' at pp.277-8; See also P. Hudson, 'Land, the social structure and industry in two Yorkshire townships c.1660-1800' in P. Swan and D. Foster (eds.), *Essays in regional and local history: in honour of Eric M. Sigsworth,* (Beverley, Hutton Press, 1992), pp.27-46; The same process in Lancashire is described by A.P. Wadsworth and J.d.L. Mann, *The cotton trade and industrial Lancashire 1600-1780*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1931), p.322.

[129] Hudson, 'Land, the social structure and industry in two Yorkshire townships c.1660-1800', p.40.

[130] Hudson, 'Landholding and the organization of textile manufacture', p.265. However her analysis of land tax returns for the 1780s and 1790s appears to show a higher percentage of owner occupiers (p.276). This may reflect the difficulties involved in using land tax returns- see note 124 above.

[131] P. Hudson, *The genesis of industrial capital: a study of the West Riding wool textile industry c.1750-1850*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp.85-6, 96-101; See also M.J. Dickenson, 'The West Riding woollen and worsted industries 1689-1770: an analysis of probate inventories and insurance policies', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Nottingham University, 1975, pp.226-33.

[132] J. Smail, *The origins of middle-class culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1994), pp.90-2.

[133] WYAS(C) TOD 212/1.

the land was allotted or sold. The amount of additional land taken up by those describing themselves as yeomen indicates the extent to which those gaining from Parliamentary enclosure had a direct interest in farming the land.[134] There were only 38.3 acres allotted to this class, 5.26 per cent of the total number of acres allotted, while the number of acres sold to yeomen was a mere 9.65 per cent of the total sold. The rest of the land was allotted or sold to manufacturers, gentlemen, professionals and tradesmen (Figure 8.1). This minor involvement of yeomen in the enclosure process suggests that most farms and agricultural land were owned by individuals whose principal interest in the farm was as an investment. Taken together with the evidence from the 1805 valuation that the great majority of farms were leased, this further suggests that the motive for acquiring more land through enclosure might have been more to do with increasing rent than increasing agricultural production.[135]

Figure 8.1: Occupations of those to whom land was allotted or sold in the Stansfield Parliamentary enclosure award of 1818

	Number of Allotments	Statute acres	Number of Sales	Statute acres	Total acres	Total hectares
Yeomen	44	38.3	21	68.22	106.52	43.1
Manufacturers	47	102.26	23	153.51	255.77	103.5
Gentlemen	51	324.62	14	251.56	576.18	233.17
Professionals	19	62.31	16	146.23	208.54	84.39
Trade	28	92.87	13	68.61	161.48	27.77

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[134] However, Hudson notes that probate inventories often show that those describing themselves as yeomen in Sowerby were in fact also involved in the textile industry: Hudson, 'Land, the social structure and industry', p.29. Swain notes the same interchangeability of occupation in the Lancashire Pennines: Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p.121. Crump suggested that the term 'yeoman-clothier' was more accurate: W.B. Crump, 'The yeoman-clothier of the seventeenth century: his home and his loom-shop', *Bradford Antiquary,* 5, (1933), pp.217-39 at p.219.

[135] Warde has pointed out that in the sixteenth century the term 'improvement' was used only in the financial sense of a higher rent: Warde, 'The idea of improvement, c.1520-1700', pp.129-30. Mathias suggests that landowners were only interested in land for rental purposes, not as units of production: P. Mathias, *The first industrial nation: the economic history of Britain 1700-1914*, (2nd ed., London, Routledge, 1983), p.47. Whyte has suggested that a principal advantage of Parliamentary enclosure in Westmorland was to prevent further over-grazing of the commons and to reduce other arguments over common rights: I. Whyte, ''Wild, barren and frightful' - Parliamentary enclosure in an upland county: Westmorland 1767-1890', *Rural History,* 14(1), (2003), pp.21-38 at pp.28-9. While these may have been factors in the Stansfield enclosure, there is no evidence to either support or refute this.

Brown states in his 1799 survey of the West Riding that 'rents are higher for grass fields than for those under the plough'.[136] Indeed, he found that rents for grass land in Skipton and Settle were 40-50s while 20-30s was regarded as high rent in arable areas. This he attributed to the lower burden of tithes, fewer restrictions in leases and the need to make less improvements. One of his correspondents also thought that the lack of competition from imports of animal products compared with corn was significant. Caird found that average rents in pastoral districts in 1850-1 were 30 per cent higher than those in arable areas.[137] In fact according to him, the West Riding had an average rent of 40s an acre, second only to Lancashire, while the East Riding only had an average of 22s 6d per acre. Turner was unable to identify this difference in his analysis of estate rents nationally until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but this may well be due to his sample selection.[138] For example, he utilised only five estate rentals in the West Riding, none of them in upland areas.[139]

In order to test the validity of these various claims as to rental value in the Upper Calder valley, sample rents for Rawtonstall have been compared with the rent index compiled by Turner et al.[140] The tenants of Rawtonstall were tenants at will who appear to be paying rack rents while the rest of Stansfield were freeholders only paying chief rents.[141] Figure 8.2 shows that Rawtonstall rentals were consistently

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[136] Brown, *General view of the agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, p.21.

[137] J. Caird, *English agriculture in 1850-51*, (2nd ed., London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), p.480.

[138] M.E. Turner, et al., *Agricultural rent in England, 1690-1914*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.198.

[139] Ibid., Appendix 1.

[140] The raw data used for the rent index was downloaded from the Economic and Social Data Service (http://www.esds.ac.uk) in order to make a proper comparison with the Rawtonstall data. The original index was printed in various versions in Chapter 8 of Turner. The version used here is based on the rent assessed, rather than the rent received, as that is what appears in the rent books of the Savile estate for Rawtonstall.

[141] Chief rent is a 'small fixed annual rent payable by the freeholders of a manor' and is sometimes called a quit rent: Burke (ed.), *Jowitt's dictionary of English law*, p.332.

above the values shown in the rent index.[142] As the differential is 28 per cent in 1779

and 51 per cent in 1809, this may indicate the veracity of the claims considered above

that grass rentals were more than arable rentals, or at least the mixed arable and grass

rents presumably represented in the index.[143] It can be assumed that these Rawtonstall

rents also reflect the level of rent that could be achieved through subletting by

freeholders in Stansfield and elsewhere in the Upper Calder Valley.

Figure 8.2: Comparison of national and Rawtonstall rents
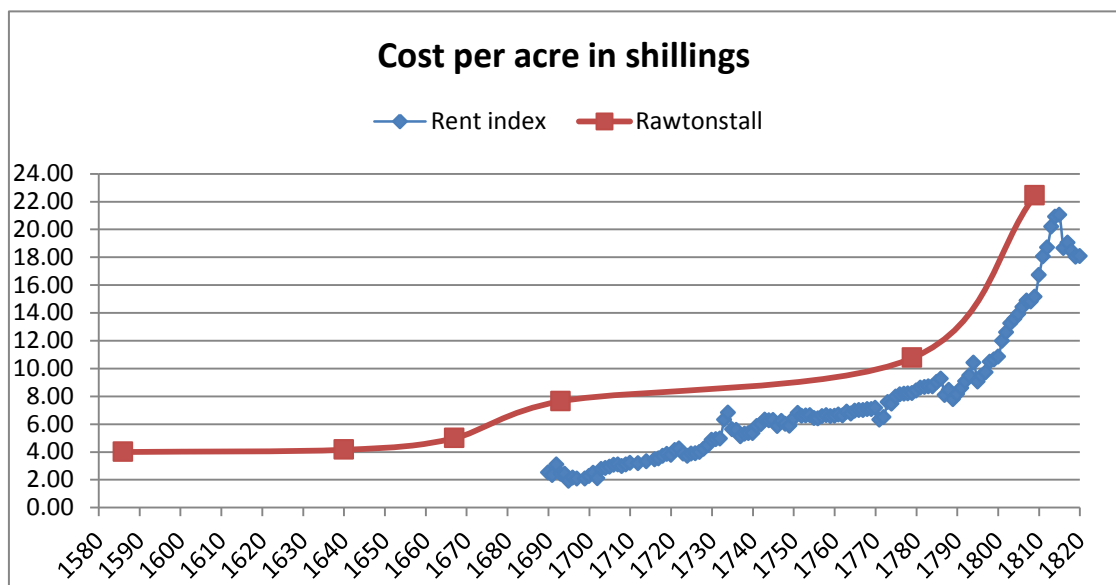
However, the variance between the Rawtonstall rents and the rent index may also be a

reflection of the difficulties in assessing the acreage to which rentals relate over time.

The Rawtonstall rentals for 1779 and 1809 detail the acreage of each farm and also

include the land enclosed from the Hey in 1779 to give a total acreage of 195 acres.

The rental for 1586 includes both farm acreages and the acreages of cowgates on the

upper and lower pasture. These are amalgamated to provide an acreage of 150 acres

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[142] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/259, 258, 272, 261, 269, 272.

[143] The Rawtonstall rents are well below the £3-£5 per acre for Halifax given in the survey by Eden on *The State of the Poor* published in 1797. Such high rents were probably for land in the immediate vicinity of Halifax. See Ginter, *A measure of wealth*, p.440.

which is assumed to be constant between 1586 and 1693.[144] Turner discusses the

difficulties in assessing acreages over time when compiling the rent index, but it is

difficult to determine from this how comparable the two data sets are.

The Rawtonstall data indicate the higher rentals that could be obtained through

enclosure. When the Hey was enclosed in 1779 the initial rental value was 1s per acre,

the same amount that was being charged for newly enclosed land in 1635.[145] In 1809,

29 years later, the rent was 8s per acre, a 700 per cent increase.[146] Comparing the

overall rental amounts for the Hey, the increase is 600 per cent, which can be

compared with the total rent increase for the rest of the farming land of only 95.72 per

cent for the same period. In Westmorland, the rental value of common land that had

been improved to arable land, through paring and burning, draining, liming and

ploughing, was reported to have increased from 6d - 1s per acre to 20s - 30s per acre

two years later.[147] The extent of the improvement carried out must inevitably have

affected the end value of the land, but it is clear that enclosure produced more rental

income than leaving it unenclosed.[148] Enclosure was a good investment.

Mingay believes that generally the rise in rent as the result of enclosure to be 'very

considerable, of the order of between 50 and 100 per cent' with a net return of around

10-20 per cent.[149] In his opinion, Parliamentary enclosure was 'one of the best

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[144] Ten tenants are listed in 1779 and 1809 while only nine tenants appear in earlier years. It is thought that this was the result of subdivision of existing farms rather than the creation of a new farm on new land.
[145] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/262, 269.
[146] WYAS(K) DD/S/I/272.
[147] F.W. Garnett, *Westmorland agriculture 1800-1900*, (Kendal, Titus Wilson, 1912), p.53.
[148] Mathias, *The first industrial nation*, pp.53-5.
[149] Mingay, *Parliamentary enclosure*, p.99.For the difficulties in assessing the rise in rents, see pp.98-9. In his study of five Nottinghamshire manors, Purdum identified internal rates of return from Parliamentary enclosure varying from 6% to 31%: J.J. Purdum, 'Profitability and timing of Parliamentary land enclosure', *Explorations in Economic History,* 15, (1978), pp.313-26 at p.318.

investments of the age' with returns far higher than those on mortgages, land purchase or government stock.[150] Turner also found that land yielded a better return than Government stock except for the period during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.[151] Both authors make the point that land was a long term asset on which the rate of return was steadier and safer.[152]

It is interesting therefore that the carving up of the waste in the Stansfield Parliamentary enclosure in 1818 appears to have resulted in the creation of only four new farms: Greenland, Moor Hall, Earnshaw Hole and Back of Behind.[153] The low number of new farms on higher land was also commented on by Whyte in his analysis of Parliamentary enclosure in Westmorland.[154] It may be no coincidence that Parliamentary enclosure in Stansfield was only completed as rents reached their peak at the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815.[155] In addition, the post-war contraction in the agricultural and textile market at a time when the labour market was expanding led to a slump, which would have reduced demand for land by both tenants and landlords.[156] The capital investment in creating a new farm must also have been considerable. A quicker return could be obtained by simply expanding existing holdings and thus enabling an increase in an existing rent. In common with other

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[150] Mingay, *Parliamentary enclosure*, p.99.

[151] Turner, et al., *Agricultural rent*, pp.215-18, especially figure 10.4.

[152] Mingay, *Parliamentary enclosure*, pp.55-6; Turner, et al., *Agricultural rent*, pp.218-20; See also A. Offer, 'Farm tenure and land values in England, c.1750-1950', *Economic History Review,* 44(1), (1991), pp.1-20 at p.1.

[153] These are the only new farms on the First edition of the 6 inch OS map in 1848 that appear in the areas enclosed.

[154] I.D. Whyte, 'Patterns of parliamentary enclosure of waste in Cumbria: a case study from north Westmorland', *Landscape History,* 22, (2000), pp.77-89 at p.86; I. Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley: landscape and Parliamentary enclosure in North West England*, (Lancaster, Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 2003), p.82.

[155] J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay, *The agricultural revolution 1750-1880*, (London, Batsford, 1966), p.167; Turner, et al., *Agricultural rent*, p.150.

[156] Chambers and Mingay, *The agricultural revolution 1750-1880*, pp.129-32; Mathias, *The first industrial nation*, pp.198-9, 209-10; D. Bythell, *The handloom weavers: a study in the English cotton industry during the industrial revolution*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp.103-4.

areas of waste land enclosure, most allocations of land in the Stansfield Parliamentary enclosure were added to existing holdings.[157] Only 41 allotments out of 339 (12 per cent) were **not** adjoining existing land. Half of the sales of the waste auctioned to finance the enclosure were new blocks of land that were also contiguous with other holdings of the purchaser.

It is clear that rents continued to rise steadily from around 1630 to 1780 and then rose rapidly during the Napoleonic wars, dropping again after the war ended.[158] The rises in the rent index reflected the trend in agricultural prices, but with a 15 year timelag until about 1810 when rents overtook prices.[159] The apparent flatlining of the Rawtonstall rents between the 1580s and the 1640s can be related to the relatively sluggish population growth shown in Figure 4.6. The population of Stansfield increased by 57 per cent from 1544 to 1594 but only increased by 21 per cent from 1604 to 1664.[160] The famine of 1623 clearly had an impact on population growth although the earlier famines of 1587 and 1597 are less distinguishable in the data.[161] By 1764, however, the population had increased by a further 173 per cent and by another 105 per cent by 1801. There is, therefore, a rough correlation between population growth in the township and rent increases in Rawtonstall. Population growth and rent can also be correlated with the fortunes of the local textile industry. Heaton describes the textile industry in the first 60 years of the seventeenth century as being 'marked by a series of events of a more or less catastrophic nature' ranging from plague and civil war to

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[157] WYAS(C) TOD 212/1; Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley*, p.81; Whyte, 'Patterns of parliamentary enclosure', p.86; I. Whyte, 'Parliamentary enclosure and changes in landownership in an upland environment: Westmorland, c.1770-1860', *Agricultural History Review,* 54(2), (2006), pp.240-56 at p.248.
[158] See Turner, et al., *Agricultural rent* ch.10 and 11 for a discussion of the historical contexts and implications of the rent index.
[159] Ibid., pp.209-11.
[160] See Appendix 7.
[161] A.B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1978).

foreign competition and ill-conceived state regulation.[162] The period from the Restoration to the end of the century was one of stagnation for the woollen industry but there was rapid growth in the worsted trade towards the end of this century and into the eighteenth.[163] By the end of the eighteenth century the West Riding had 'reached a position of pre-eminence' in the textile trade.[164] It seems reasonable to suggest that the textile trade was a key factor in driving population growth in Halifax parish, and that population growth encouraged the creation of more small farms to accommodate the combination of farming and textile work that proved so successful. In turn, more farms meant more enclosure.

Just as important as this economic return was the social status conferred by the ownership of land, at least until the 1880s.[165] In economic terms land was a 'positional asset', offering high social status through possession of something in restricted supply, and also conferring social, economic and political power.[166] In considering the development of the textile industry in the West Riding in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Hudson has pointed out that land was also an asset on which those involved in the textile trade could raise credit and loans.[167] Equally, the creation of new smallholdings through intaking or subdivision initially helped to enable the expansion of independent clothiers working in their own home, but also allowed the development of the putting out system, in which spinning and weaving was subcontracted to individuals also working in their own homes.[168] According to theories of proto-industrialisation, if workers had land suitable only for

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[162] Heaton, *The Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries*, p.177 and generally ch.6.
[163] Ibid., pp.251, 268 and generally ch.8.
[164] Ibid., p.281.
[165] Offer, 'Farm tenure and land values', pp.2, 15; See also Mathias, *The first industrial nation*, p.50.
[166] Offer, 'Farm tenure and land values', p.2.
[167] Hudson, *The genesis of industrial capital*, pp.18-19, 62; See also Mathias, *The first industrial nation*, p.51.
[168] Hudson, 'Proto-industrialisation', p.44.

subsistence farming their time was not fully occupied, particularly in pastoral

districts, and they also required some further monetary income for rent and basic

household goods.[169] On the other hand, possession of some form of subsistence

allowed payments for textile work to be lower than subsistence level which in turn

improved profits and the further accumulation of capital for the employers.[170]

However, such arguments for proto-industrialisation have been shown to be simplistic

if taken as the sole explanation for economic change.[171]

Yet taken out of the wider proto-industrialisation hypothesis, they remain potentially

relevant factors that help to explain some of the motives behind the process of

enclosure in a region of small scale, largely pastoral, farming on poor soils. It has

been argued that it was enclosure that drove the rural population into domestic

industry by reducing the common land available.[172] On the other hand, Thirsk was of

the opinion that population growth and inheritance practices were primal causes.[173]

Yet this debate has obscured the possibility that enclosure was not a primary causal

factor that forced reliance on domestic textile work, but rather one of the factors that

enabled textile work to expand. The domestic system relied on independent artisans

who could combine small scale subsistence farming with textile work. The

combination of large amounts of waste, the ease with which intaking and subdivision

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[169] For example G.L. Gullickson, 'Agriculture and cottage industry: redefining the causes of proto-industrialization', *Journal of Economic History,* 43(4), (1983), pp.831-50 at p.842; Hudson, 'Proto-industrialisation', pp.42-3.

[170] Hudson, *The genesis of industrial capital*, p.18.

[171] These factors form part of the theory of proto-industrialisation which suggests that rural industry such as the textile industry evolved into the factory system of the nineteenth century. The propositions involved in the theory, together with contrary arguments, are summarised in the following works: S.C. Ogilvie and M. Cerman (eds.), *European proto-industrialization,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996); P. Hudson, 'Proto-industrialisation', *ReFRESH: Recent Findings of Research in Economic & Social History,* 10, (1990), pp.1-4; D.C. Coleman, 'Proto-industrialization: a concept too many', *Economic History Review,* 36(3), (1983), pp.435-48.

[172] P. Kriedte, et al., *Industrialization before industrialization : rural industry in the genesis of capitalism*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.21.

[173] Thirsk, 'Industries in the countryside'.

were possible, the existence of a landowning class who had accumulated the capital and assets to expand their rental income, and a demand for smallholdings by clothiers, all contributed to the expansion of settlement and enclosure. It was pressure from the textile industry that encouraged enclosure; it was not enclosure that forced people into the industry.[174]

8.3 Conclusion

The available evidence indicates that agricultural production remained largely at subsistence level throughout the period under consideration. Expansion of production is therefore unlikely to have formed a principal motive for enclosing more land. The accommodation of an expanding population is an obvious explanation for enclosure, but it has been suggested here that the process was driven not by the landless population, but by those who were in a position to exploit the advantages of owning land. One of the principal advantages must have been the rental return that generally yielded at least as good a return as other investments but was more secure. As domestic textile manufacturing expanded, the ownership of land furthered the accommodation of a workforce who could not only be charged rent, but who also could be employed for low wages because of the subsistence farming provided by that land. In addition, land ownership conferred status as well as the ability to use land as collateral for manufacturing and other purposes. The combined economic and status advantages of increasing the amount of land owned through enclosure must have been an attractive proposition for anyone in a position to take advantage of it.

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[174] See Wadsworth and Mann, *The cotton trade and industrial Lancashire 1600-1780*, p.321 for similar views on the process in Lancashire.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: models of agrarian structures

Testing the morphological methodologies employed by the national Rural Settlement Study and the county level Historic Landscape Characterisation projects in a more localised setting against extant cartographic and documentary evidence has shown that, while they provide a valid outline that is broadly correct, detailed research results in significant revision and improvement of the initial models suggested by those methodologies. Following the suggestion by Lake and Edwards that farmstead dates can be related to the surrounding fieldscape, the analysis of the fieldscape has been assisted by utilising first recorded settlement dates, thus effectively combining the two models.[1] This combined and revised model of the case study townships is briefly reviewed before exploring other generic models of agrarian structures that combine field and settlement relationships. The focus is on the applicability of these models to upland areas such as the South Pennines based on all the evidence for the Upper Calder Valley.

Detailed examination of the Rural Settlement Study by Roberts and Wrathmell has shown that it seriously misrepresents the nineteenth-century settlement pattern of the Upper Calder Valley. The Study suggests that most of the upland areas were unpopulated and that there was only a thin band of high density following the main valley. However, replication of the Rural Settlement Study using the same methodology has shown that in fact this part of the South Pennines was characterised by extraordinarily high levels of dispersed settlement. Settlement extended deep into the heart of the uplands, largely following river valleys. The evidence provided by soil

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[1] J. Lake and B. Edwards, 'Farmsteads and landscape: towards an integrated view', *Landscapes,* 7(1), (2006), pp.1-36; J. Lake and B. Edwards, 'Buildings and place: farmsteads and the mapping of change', *Vernacular Architecture,* 37, (2006), pp.33-49.

capabilities and place-name elements has shown that it is possible to construct a model of early settlement before the availability of documentary evidence. The model proposes that the most environmentally advantageous sites on the shelf between the 200 m and 300 m contours were occupied first, with secondary colonisation from these sites for both pastoral and arable purposes. The ultimate spatial pattern appears to have been largely formed as early as 1300 and thereafter became increasingly more dense. Where the valley sides became more gentle and where the soil was better, settlement gradually moved downslope. Based on the evidence for Stansfield township, upslope expansion between the 300 m and 400 m contours also occurred during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as evidenced by grants of waste and encroachments. The remaining waste was all allocated during Parliamentary enclosure in the nineteenth century.

It has also been proposed that the evidence supports the idea that dispersed settlement was the preferred form of settlement where circumstances permit and that, at least in the Upper Calder Valley, it could be an ongoing process. Expansion of settlement was just as likely to come from single farmsteads as it was from nucleations. This is demonstrated in Erringden Park where land that had been subject to demesne use was opened up for settlement after 1451.This settlement was of an almost entirely dispersed form. The same development pattern on the shelf and downslope is evident, but this occurred only after the whole area was allocated in one step in 1451. Settlement appears to have expanded through subdivision on the lower land, but a significant difference in Erringden was that upslope expansion was minimal before 1600. It is possible that this may be linked to manorial control only being abdicated in favour of the tenants in the early seventeenth century.

While the number of hamlet settlements is relatively small, it would seem that long established hamlets often held land on an intermixed basis. However where hamlets developed late, as in Erringden, there is no evidence for this form of land allocation, suggesting that such practices were confined to hamlets established before the fifteenth century. Enclosed pasture areas occupied the land between the inbye land and the open moor. It has been shown that such cow pasture areas were frequently known as 'heys', not only in the Upper Calder Valley but also elsewhere in the South Pennines. This pasture model was not confined to hamlets but appears to also have been used by dispersed farmsteads. This evidence of the relationship between fieldscapes and settlements within the Upper Calder Valley can now be considered within a wider theoretical framework, particularly that offered by proponents of the morphological approach.

As part of the Monuments Protection Programme, English Heritage has made an initial attempt to integrate the two morphological approaches through the Historic Field Systems of East Anglia project which ran from 2000-2005.[2] The purpose was to provide more detailed research on the history, morphology and management of field systems in East Anglia partly to develop and elucidate the Eastern England HLC project, and partly to explore why this Eastern province was different from the Central and Western provinces identified by Roberts and Wrathmell in their *Atlas of Rural Settlement*.[3] The case study areas were identified based on the settlement regions proposed by Roberts and Wrathmell and were subject to a detailed documentary analysis. The results were examined together with cartographic and archaeological

[2] J. Schofield, *MPP 2000: a review of the Monuments Protection Programme, 1986-2000*, ([London], English Heritage, 2000), p.10.
[3] E. Martin and M. Satchell, *Wheare most inclosures be. East Anglian fields: history, morphology and management,* East Anglian Archaeology Reports No.124, (Ipswich, Archaeological Service, Suffolk County Council, 2008), pp.1-2.

evidence in order to extract information on the origin and character of the field systems.[4] This analysis resulted in the recognition of eighteen land types which were characterised according to criteria such as position, boundary attributes, field morphology and land attributes such as slope.[5] The conclusions were then extrapolated to the wider area of the study utilising the results of the wider East of England Historic Landscape Characterisation Project which had already been completed for Suffolk. This process involved the further generalization of the HLC data by drawing major trend lines to facilitate comparison with the field system data.[6]

A number of criticisms have been made of the project results, including the speculative nature of the field layouts and the way in which the numerous assumptions and extrapolations are concealed by 'the confident presentations of the exact location and proportion of each category of land type in each parish'.[7] This echoes the usual criticism of the presentation of HLC data, but the fundamental problem is that the focus of the project on HLC-type characterisation of different types of land as they exist in the landscape today meant that the functionality of that land in the past and how those fields might have evolved was largely ignored.[8] Despite the detailed documentary analysis undertaken for each area, Williamson has also pointed to the failure to engage with the wider literature on field systems leading to misrepresentations and inaccuracies.[9] In particular, he criticises the formulation of explanation based almost entirely on cultural history without significant recognition of economic, environmental or agrarian factors. If, for example, soil and settlement data

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[4] Martin and Satchell, *Wheare most inclosures be*, p.77.
[5] Ibid., pp.39-40.
[6] Ibid., pp.195-6.
[7] M. Bailey, 'Review of *'Wheare most inclosures be'*', *Agricultural History Review,* 57(1), (2009), pp.130-1 at p.130.
[8] Ibid.. p.130; T. Williamson, 'Review of *'Wheare most inclosures be'*', *Economic History Review,* 62(4), (2009), pp.1010-12 at p.1011.
[9] Williamson, 'Review of *'Wheare most inclosures be'*', p.1011.

had been considered as drivers rather than ancillary characteristics, then a more dynamic landscape picture might have emerged. It may be telling that the project found considerable divergence between the resultant field system regions and the settlement regions proposed in the *Atlas of Rural Settlement,* and could only argue that there were similar 'trends'.[10] Despite its potential promise of integrating the two English Heritage characterisation approaches, the East Anglian project merely attempted to reconcile them without, it might be argued, any convincing success.

A more integrated approach has been provided by Rippon in his recent study of the landscape character of the area around the Blackdown Hills.[11] His principal concern was to understand regional variations in landscape character and he considered a variety of environmental and cultural factors that might reflect this. These factors included soils, place-names, vernacular architecture, settlement patterns, agricultural practices and land holding patterns as well as a simple HLC exercise. However, each of these factors was explored individually with the result that the typologies used were specific to each factor and were not integrated. Fieldscape typologies did not contain settlement elements and vice versa. The ultimate identification of different *pays* was achieved by imposing each layer on top of the previous one rather than by creating an integrated typology that combined permutations of the different elements. While the end result is a summary of the historic landscape character of each *pays* that does combine settlement and fieldscape elements, this is at a generalised regional level that is descriptive rather than analytical. Furthermore, the description is simplistic, focusing on the absence or presence of villages and open fields as opposed to

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[10] Martin and Satchell, *Wheare most inclosures be*, p.211 Fig.36.
[11] S. Rippon, *Making sense of an historic landscape*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012).

dispersed settlement and closes in severalty.[12] The three process models proposed also focus on the evolution of open field alone, while the development of the landscape in the more upland areas of the Blackdown Hills is regarded either as a less evolved form or as a late developer.[13] This analysis therefore not only fails to provide any consideration of the possible combinations that might be found in an integrated model of settlement and fieldscapes, but also reiterates the bias against the uplands that was considered at the start of this thesis. In order to find models of agrarian structures that do attempt to incorporate both settlement and fieldscapes in detail it is necessary to turn to earlier more generic attempts to do so.

In 1960 Slicher van Bath suggested that there were 'connecting links' between settlement forms and farming systems in Western Europe. He offered a tentative classification for the early Middle Ages that identified four groupings of field shapes with settlement types.[14] These distinguished between square or block fields either associated with a hamlet or surrounding a dwelling, and strip fields either associated with a hamlet or chains of dwellings. While this classification distinguishes between hamlets and individual farmsteads and between square and strip fields, the number of factors considered was limited. In particular, it did not consider how the land was held, whether shared, intermixed or ring fenced, or whether it was open or enclosed. Even less helpfully, van Bath comments that 'in Celtic lands the types are not sharply differentiated and there is no firm relationship between shape of plot and the disposition of the houses'.[15]

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[12] Rippon, *Making sense of an historic landscape,* pp.318-20.
[13] Ibid., pp.336-42.
[14] B.H. Slicher van Bath, *The agrarian history of Western Europe A.D. 500-1850*, (London, Edward Arnold, 1963), pp.54-8.
[15] Ibid., p.58.

Despite this assertion Uhlig compared field and settlement patterns found in Western and Central Europe and presented the possibilities as nine vignettes.[16] This improved on Slicher van Bath's model by giving an indication of how an individual farmer would have held his land. This has now been adapted by Roberts and Wrathmell to provide a tentative framework in *Region and Place* in order to present their settlement frameworks in a broader context.[17] This pictorial framework is intended to show the numerous connections between field systems and nucleated and dispersed settlement forms, and it is made clear that it is only one way of classifying the diversity that exists. These 'agrarian structures' represent the most ambitious attempt to date to morphologically model possible combinations of fieldscape and settlement shape. The authors suggest that this framework 'allows us access to the complex field morphologies, farming arrangements and temporal development of field systems'.[18] The vignettes that appear to have some validity in the Upper Calder Valley are discussed below.[19]

Case A is said to be widespread in the South Eastern and Northern and Western Provinces where poor soils dominate. This represents a 'core' arable area or townfield serving a hamlet while dispersed farmsteads sit within enclosed fields. Roberts and Wrathmell have added a second option of farmsteads in rows. Shaded areas represent the holding of a single farmer. In discussing fellside farms in Cumbria, Winchester distinguishes between 'compact, ring-fenced holdings' and small hamlets where 'the

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[16] H. Uhlig, 'Old hamlets with infield and outfield systems in Western and Central Europe', *Geografiska Annaler,* 43(1-2), (1961), pp.285-312.
[17] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *Region and place: a study of English rural settlement*, (London, English Heritage, 2002), pp.63-8.
[18] Ibid., pp.67-8.
[19] Ibid., p.66 Fig. 3.4.
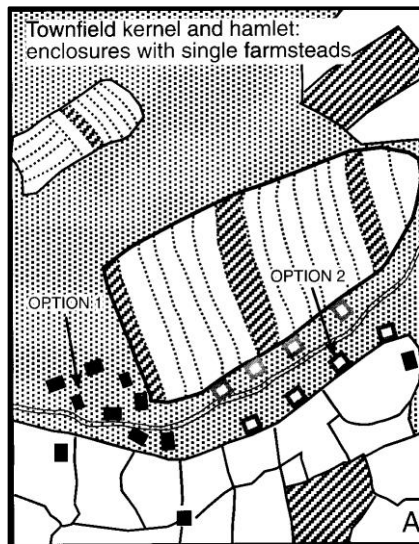
Figure 9.1: Agrarian structures: Case A
Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.66 Fig 3.4

individual holdings tended to consist of scattered shares'.[20] Specifically he notes that, where the valley floor was too narrow to accommodate an area of open arable land, the hamlet and dispersed farm model was 'almost universal'.[21] This certainly describes much of the Upper Calder valley and appears to have been ubiquitous in all northern upland areas.[22] While the Upper Calder Valley case studies support this general picture in principle, the model fails to make clear whether the single farmer is located in the hamlet or in a dispersed farmstead and whether that makes any difference. The model assumes that the townfield is cultivated in strips although there is no evidence that supports that in the case study areas. Furthermore, the model also has no chronological indication and, as the authors admit, does not indicate any process of change.[23]

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[20] A.J.L. Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1987), p.70.
[21] Ibid., p.72.
[22] A.J.L. Winchester (ed.), *The North West,* England's Landscape Vol.8, (London, Collins, 2006), p.90; F.H.A. Aalen (ed.), *The North East,* England's Landscape Vol.7, (London, Collins, 2006), pp.121, 126-7; A.J.L. Winchester, *The harvest of the hills: rural life in Northern England and the Scottish Borders, 1400-1700*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.62.
[23] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.68.

However there are more specific models that are more helpful. In Case G a single farmstead is surrounded by block fields. It is claimed that this results from 'late enclosure of former townfields'.[24] Although the pictorial model is certainly a valid one for the Upper Calder Valley, it is rare that it will result from townfield enclosure. Many dispersed farmsteads sit within block enclosures and these are generally seventeenth- and eighteenth-century enclosures from the waste.
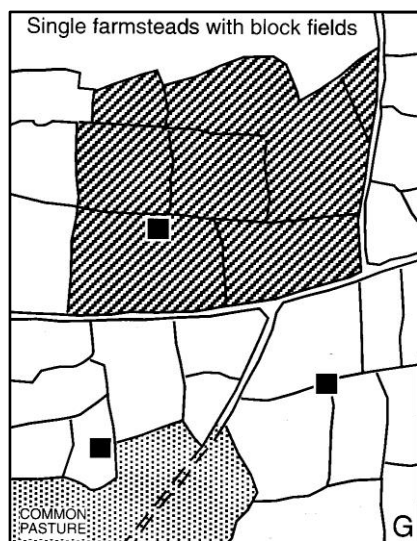
Figure 9.2: Agrarian structures: Case G
Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.66 Fig 3.4

Roberts and Wrathmell suggest that Case I, a ring fenced hamlet with block fields held on an intermixed basis, could have its origin in an upland shieling as well as in the lowlands. Shared elements in the hamlet model discussed by Winchester could include enclosed pasture areas, as at Littletown in the Newlands Valley where 'Dale Close' was jointly held by four farms, and at Kinniside in the forest of Copeland.[25] The intermixed fields and pasture areas of hamlets such as Rawtonstall and Walshaw in the study area confirm the applicability of this model where hamlets had been established before the fifteenth century. Roberts and Wrathmell's Case I therefore provides a more accurate model for hamlets in the South Pennine uplands than Case

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[24] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.67.
[25] Winchester, *Landscape and society in medieval Cumbria*, pp.71-2, 151.
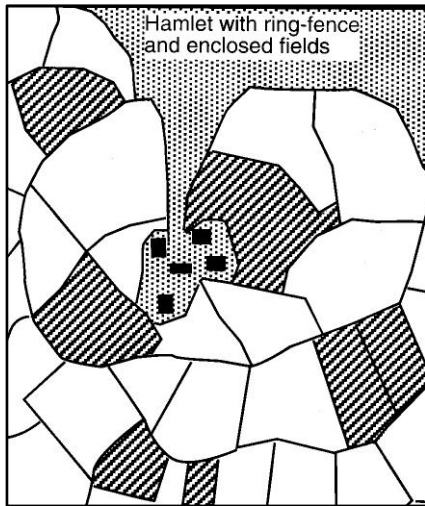
Figure 9.3: Agrarian structures: Case I
Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.66 Fig 3.4

A. While it is not proven that such hamlets originated as shielings as suggested by Roberts and Wrathmell, the arguments made in Chapter 5 for their origin as summer pastures supports such an interpretation.

Case H is the only example that is specifically related to the uplands by Roberts and Wrathmell. This represents a separation of fields from moorland or common by a boundary, often called a head dyke. The heavy black lines denote the successive encroachments of the head dyke onto the moor as more land is taken in. Also distinctive are the funnels that control the movement of stock to and from the common
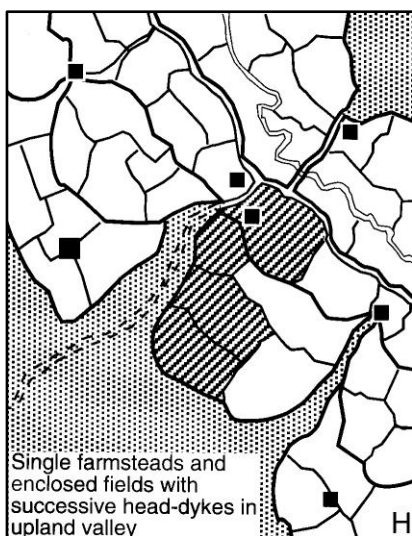
Figure 9.4: Agrarian structures: Case H
Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.66 Fig 3.4

grazings, and the way in which the individual farmsteads girdle the sides of the valley. This 'head-dyke' model is based on the complementary relationship between the improved inbye land close to the farm and the unenclosed waste on the hills and moors. The latter provided summer grazing whilst arable crops and hay were being cultivated on the former. Stock manured the cultivated land in turn when they were allowed back to graze after the crops had been taken. These two types of land were separated by the boundary of the head dyke. Winchester has suggested that the 'enclosed pasture' model, where farming was more focused on stock, tended to gradually replace the 'head-dyke' model so that by around 1700 the head-dyke was of less significance.[26] That such a boundary existed in Stansfield in the 1630s is evident from references in the court rolls to pains to amend 'more hedges'.[27] In distinguishing between the highest boundary of an enclosed pasture and the boundary represented by the head dyke, it is important to remember that the latter is a permanent communal division between the open moor and the arable and meadow land.[28] It is not therefore necessarily accurate to propose an incremental movement of the head dyke upslope as indicated in Case H. There would only be a purpose to such a movement if there was an increase in the amount of land below the dyke that needed protection from stock. It might therefore be more useful to describe Case H as a movement from the head dyke model to an enclosed pasture model, with the highest boundary of those pastures moving upwards as more land was enclosed. With that caveat, this model appears to be a reasonable interpretation of one of the processes of enclosure as evidenced in Stansfield and Erringden.

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[26] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, pp.52, 62.
[27] Nottinghamshire Archives DD/SR/1/15/7/6; DD/SR/1/D/5/2
[28] Winchester, *The harvest of the hills*, p.52.

It is claimed that 'these simple models are icons for an infinitely complex reality that takes us far beyond the mere classification and manipulation of forms'.[29] They act as 'reference points' that take the observer a stage further than the physical evidence but can only be revised with documentary evidence. The essential point that Roberts and Wrathmell are trying to make is that each of their settlement provinces 'will contain varied mixtures of the varied types' of field and settlement landscape represented by the models.[30] The difficulty of course is that they are ahistorical. There is no indication of the chronological period which these models are supposed to represent. In addition where the authors do consider origins and transformations, many assumptions are made about the historical processes involved, such as for example the statement that Case I could have originated as a shieling. The danger is that, like simple landscape forms, these pictorial representations become confused with reality instead of being treated as tentative classificatory models as the authors intended. It is therefore open to question whether they do in fact take us 'far beyond the mere classification and manipulation of forms', or whether they simply add further complexity to an already muddy morphological picture.[31]

Having gone to the trouble of setting out these models it is odd that they are ignored by Roberts and Wrathmell when discussing their case studies.[32] However, the principles behind these models can be found in a discussion of enclosure landscapes.[33] Here Roberts and Wrathmell offer another model, specifically of the Northern

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[29] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.68.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid..
[32] Ibid., ch.4.
[33] Ibid., ch.6.

uplands, that is intended to encapsulate the constituent components of the landscape, this time incorporating chronological indicators.[34]

Figure 9.5: Northern uplands.
Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.159 Fig 6.5b
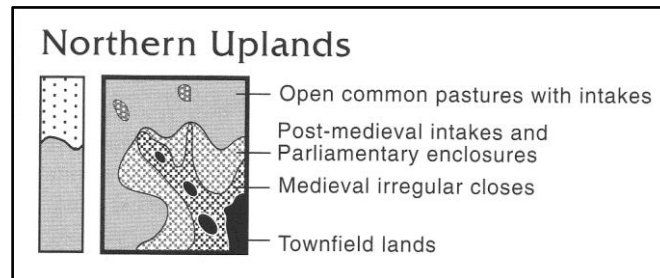
These enclosure components are represented pictorially as an expansion outwards and, by implication, upwards from the townfield areas. They describe Northern enclosure landscapes as 'forming a blocky pattern of hedged or walled enclosures along the floors and sides of main and tributary valleys'.[35] The model is at least partly based on evidence in County Durham from the Boldon Book of 1183 which is interpreted as piecemeal intakes between the townfields on the lower better land and a head dyke at about the 300m contour. According to Roberts and Wrathmell, the process of upslope encroachment results in irregular block fields with a series of head dykes progressing upslope.[36] These head dykes are associated with roads and tracks running along the valley sides.[37] This model is, of course, Case H considered above. However, in addition Roberts and Wrathmell emphasise the role of 'enclosures with curvilinear, near-circular or oval enclosing boundaries' which are seen as being early clearance forms that sometimes appear at the core of townfield systems.[38] The model in Figure 9.5 is based more on process rather than morphology as in Cases G, H and I, and the

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[34] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, p.159 Fig 6.5b.
[35] Ibid., p.163.
[36] Ibid., pp.152, 163.
[37] Ibid., p.152.
[38] Ibid., p.163.

relationship between the two sets of models is unclear and confusing. None of these models are sufficient to clearly explain the combinations of settlement and field arrangements that occurred in the Upper Calder Valley. A more coherent model is required that can be used as a tool to explain similarities and differences across the South Pennines and other upland areas.

In his study of Exmoor, Gillard defined eight historic landscape character types that integrated various landscape components. These were 'intended to illustrate the working of the landscape as a whole, including how the various elements within it articulate together'.[39] Of particular interest is the way in which he combined the settlement and field components with topography. For example Type I was defined as:

> Dispersed settlement of isolated farmsteads within irregular fields, the form of which is generally dictated by steep cliffs and river valleys. Found on hilltop and hillslope locations, hence the importance of topography to the field systems.[40]

Although these morphological types are a static picture and provide no idea of process and transformation in themselves, the principles behind this typology can be adapted to propose a model for the Upper Calder Valley, and by implication the wider South Pennines. This model takes from Historic Landscape Characterisation the concept of working within the boundaries set by present day landscape components, such as fieldscape, woodland, major settlement areas and communications corridors. The focus in this particular model is on the chronology of the expansion of the fieldscape component to its present-day extent, but the same principle could be used to model other landscape components.

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[39] M.J. Gillard, 'The medieval landscape of the Exmoor region: enclosure and settlement in an upland fringe', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 2002, p.103.
[40] Gillard, 'The medieval landscape of the Exmoor region', pp.103-4.

The fieldscape component utilises first recorded settlement dates before 1600 with morphological classifications of both settlement and the fieldscape. These classifications include the evidence for early farming systems in the form of intermixed ownership. Added to this are the locations of grants of waste between 1600 and 1794 and the extent of nineteenth century Parliamentary enclosure. Routeways across the contours also inform the upslope location of the pre-1600 boundary on the assumption that they may represent a former head-dyke. In essence the model is both an expansion and a simplification of HLC methodology. It expands the amount of information used to characterise the fieldscape, but that same information also simplifies the characterisation. Instead of attempting to determine whether the pattern of a particular area of fieldscape exhibits particular chronological characteristics, the model uses additional chronological evidence to portray when a particular area was settled or improved. The fact that an early settlement such as Rodwell End has a semi-regular field pattern indicating a post-1600 origin is subsumed to the documentary evidence of origins and ownership pattern. A holistic approach is therefore taken, which in this case indicates that the field boundaries of this early settlement, first recorded in 1359, were probably reorganised at some point after 1600.[41]

Developing such a model first requires some definitions of settlements and field arrangements. The definitions largely follow those discussed in Chapter 2, but also take account of classifications suggested by Gillard for Exmoor, the observations of Roberts and Wrathmell, and the forms apparent in the local landscape.[42] The various components are coded to allow their combination in the final typology.

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[41] See Chapter 7 pp.267-9.
[42] Gillard, 'The medieval landscape of the Exmoor region', p.88; Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and place*, pp.152-5.

Settlement types

A: Dispersed farmsteads. These include 'linked farmsteads', which refer to groups of two or three farms with the same base name, as well as 'minute hamlets', defined as groups of 2 to 4 buildings

B: Hamlets. Defined as clusters of between 5 and 20 individual buildings

C: Villages. Clusters of more than 20 buildings

Field types

1: Irregular curvilinear. Groups of irregular block enclosures that have a rough oval or semi-oval external boundary or ring-fence.

2: Irregular block. Enclosures with no apparent pattern or regularity which generally vary in size and have few continuous boundaries.

3: Semi-regular block. Groups of enclosures with some indications of regularity, usually provided by short continuous boundaries broken by subdivisions so as to provide a group of usually roughly rectangular fields.

4: Regular blocks. Enclosures with ruler-straight edges that exhibit a degree of regular geometry.

5: Strips. Small groups of narrow enclosures with relatively long parallel boundaries which may be curvilinear or straight. One end may take a reverse J form but the reverse S of ridge and furrow is absent. Strips are rare in the Upper Calder Valley.

The definitions are limited by the application of the typology to the present-day fieldscape as delineated by the boundaries of modern day settlement and woodland. Settlement types within the fieldscape are based on their extents on nineteenth-century

OS maps in order to exclude the effect of later industrialisation, which expanded the density character of some settlements and removed any relationship with the surrounding fieldscape.[43] The typology adopted is coded by settlement and field type. It should be regarded as an initial classification that will be revised and expanded as other South Pennine areas are researched in detail.

> **Type C3:** Villages with named townfields, such as Heptonstall, Warley and Sowerby. They have their origins in English or Scandinavian settlements and tend to occupy the optimal farming sites. Replanning of the original townfield has usually resulted in a semi-regular block form. Occasionally a few possibly remnant strips survive with a reverse J shape as at Old Town in Wadsworth township. These incorporate field type 5.
>
> **Type B1:** Hamlets within fields which have predominantly irregular curvilinear external boundaries, frequently dictated by topographic features such as watercourses and escarpments. Internal boundaries may be semi-regular or irregular, depending on the extent to which field replanning has taken place. Generally found between the 200 m to 300 m contours on the lower edge of the shelf. First recorded settlement dates indicate that such enclosure landscapes are pre-1400. They are associated with land held in intermixed ownership and may have originated as summer pasture settlements. Typical examples are Rawtonstall and Shore.

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[43] In effect this means that towns are excluded, where a town is defined as a permanent settlement with a significant proportion of its population engaged in non-agricultural occupations and forming a social unit more or less distinct from the surrounding countryside: S. Reynolds, *An introduction to the history of English medieval towns*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977), p.ix.

Type B2: Hamlets with similar origins to Type B1 but whose initial development was constrained by lordly control so that intermixed ownership did not develop. Horsehold in Erringden is such an example.

Type B3: Small late nucleated hamlets with industrial associations surrounded by semi-regular block fields, such as Lumbutts in Langfield township.

Type A1a: Dispersed settlement of farmsteads, often linked, within fields which have predominantly irregular curvilinear external boundaries frequently dictated by topographic features such as watercourses and escarpments. Internal boundaries may be semi-regular or irregular, depending on the extent to which field replanning has taken place. Generally found between the 200 m to 300 m contours on the lower edge of the shelf. Examples include Lower and Higher Hartley, Royd and Rodwell End. First recorded settlement dates indicate that such enclosure landscapes are pre-1600 in origin, and they may be associated with evidence of intermixed ownership but on a smaller scale than Type B1. Some may also be associated with probable areas of common, based on place-name evidence. These are above the main field area but also have curvilinear external boundaries. Typical examples are Hipperholme and Eastwood.

Type A1b: Dispersed settlement of farmsteads within fields which have predominantly irregular curvilinear external boundaries. Found on the pre-Parliamentary enclosure moor or moor edge. Internal boundaries are usually semi-regular. Examples include Lower Strines Clough, White Reaps and Scotland. Grants of waste indicate that such enclosure landscapes are post-1600.

Type A2: Dispersed settlement of isolated or linked farmsteads within irregular block fields. Typically surround Type A1a on the hillside and contain settlements whose first recorded date is pre-1600. Fields surrounding higher pre-1600 settlements tend to a more semi-regular form.

Type A3: Dispersed settlement of isolated or linked farmsteads within semi-regular block fields. Typically found above Type A2 on the hillside and likely to be post-1600 grants of waste or possibly replanning of earlier fields. Often includes subdivision of previous cow pastures or heys. Ashes, Broad Ing Top, Near and Far Hey Head are examples.

Type A4: Dispersed settlement of isolated farmsteads within regular block fields. Typically above 350 m and likely to be nineteenth century private or Parliamentary enclosure, such as Moor Hall Farm in Stansfield, Erringden Grange, and the Rawson enclosures on Bell House Moor.

Figure 9.6 illustrates the application of this typology in Stansfield township and can be compared with the HLC map in Figure 7.14. Not all types are present in this township. This model largely conforms to the basic ideas behind the Northern uplands model proposed by Roberts and Wrathmell. Early curvilinear island enclosures are surrounded by later settlement and enclosure encompassing a band roughly between the 200 m and 300 m contour. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century enclosures gradually occupy another band between 300 m and 350-400 m. These enclosures include subdivision of earlier cow pastures. The evidence suggests that the same process of gradual infill around initial, often curvilinear, island enclosures also occurred during this period. Parliamentary enclosure finally encompasses the remaining waste above 350-400 m in the nineteenth century.

Figure 9.6: Fieldscape model of Stansfield using the suggested South Pennine typology

Legend

Township boundary
Settlement pre-1600
200m contour
300m contour
Grants of waste 1656-1794
Probable hey areas
Unimproved land 19th C

Landscape types

Type A1a
Type A1b
Type A2
Type A3
Type A4
Type B1

HLC components

Communications 20th C
Settlement 20th C
Unimproved land 20th C
Woodland 20th C

Kilometers
0   0.5   1   2
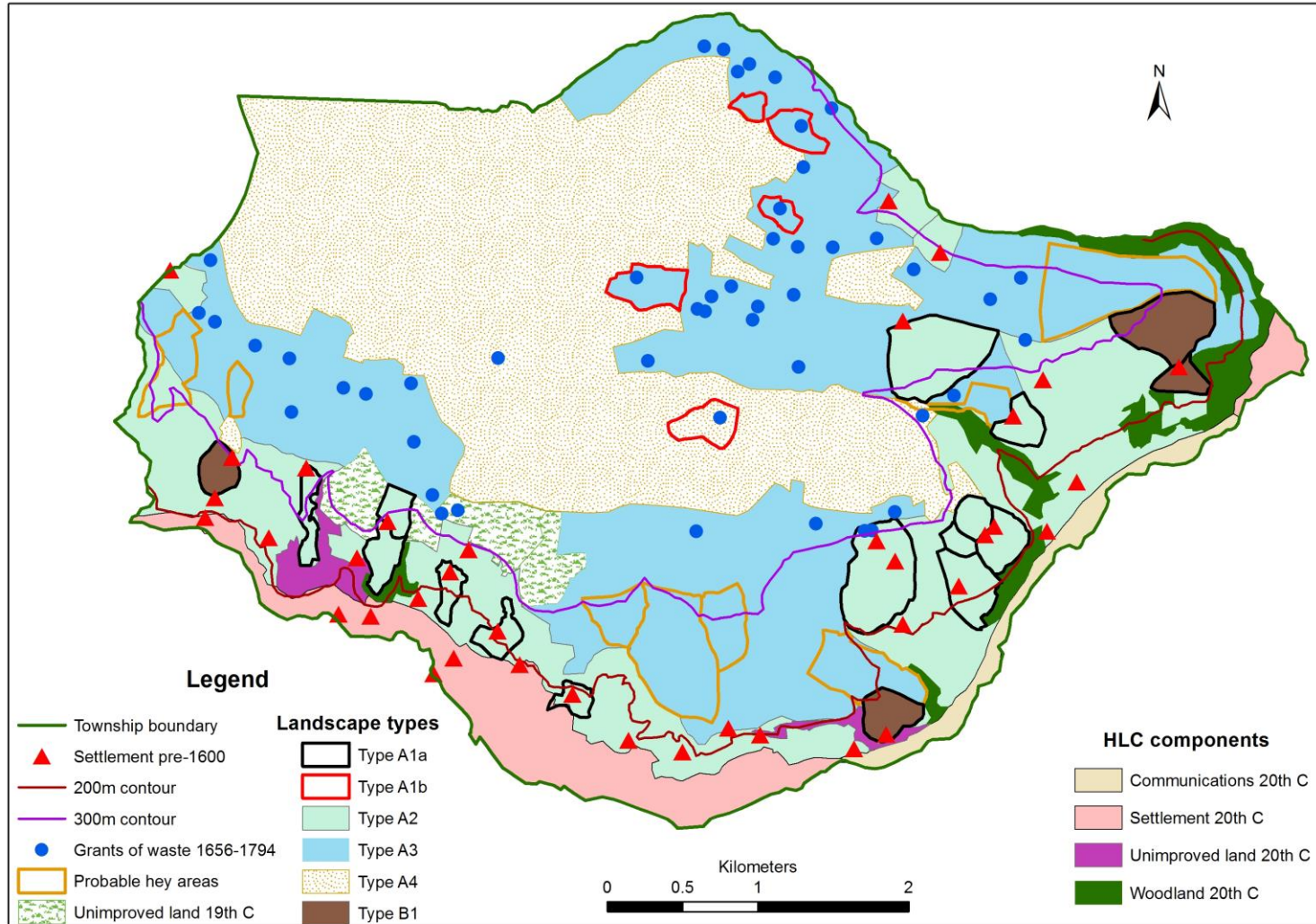
Type A1a: Pre-1600 dispersed settlement within fields which have predominantly irregular curvilinear external boundaries.

Type A1b: Post-1600 dispersed settlement within fields which have predominantly irregular curvilinear external boundaries.

Type A2: Pre-1600 dispersed settlement of isolated or linked farmsteads within irregular block fields and surrounding Type A1a.

Type A3: Dispersed settlement of isolated or linked farmsteads within semi-regular block fields. Above Type A2 on the hillside and likely to be post-1600 grants of waste or replanning.

Type A4: Dispersed settlement of isolated farmsteads within regular block fields. Typically above 350 m and likely to be nineteenth century private or Parliamentary enclosure.

Type B1: Pre-1400 hamlets within fields which have predominantly irregular curvilinear external boundaries.

It is submitted that these more complex associations are of greater utility than either the HLC methodology or the Rural Settlement methodology on their own in classifying the historic upland landscape of the South Pennines. While it is obvious that identifying such associations can only be achieved with in-depth research, such localised studies as that undertaken in this thesis have been shown to be capable of producing models of era-based fieldscape and settlement expansion. Such models have potential for extrapolation to other environments as predictive frameworks, not only in the same *pays,* but also in the wider uplands if suitably adapted. A parallel example is the dynamic model of prehistoric land clearance provided in the results of the archaeological work carried out for the Lake District National Park Survey. This presents a suggested multi-phase evolution from primary clearance cairns implying pastoral use, through to regular fields with evidence of cultivation .[44]

The use of such models also offers an alternative bottom-up approach to identifying differences in the character of the historic landscape across the uplands. We saw in Chapter 2 that at least some of the Pennine sub-provinces and local regions that have been proposed by Roberts and Wrathmell, based on settlement criteria alone, are considerably flawed when looked at in detail. Equally, the use of the Pennine watershed as a boundary between regions in the England's Landscape series does not reflect the seamless continuity of agrarian structures across the South Pennines demonstrated in Chapter 1.[45] Such structures not only ignore the watershed but also the county boundaries of Yorkshire and Lancashire. While the National Character Areas defined by Natural England purport to avoid such artificial divisions, these too

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[44] J. Quartermaine and R.H. Leech, *Cairns, fields, and cultivation: archaeological landscapes of the Lake District uplands*, (Lancaster, Oxford Archaeology North, 2012), p.334.
[45] The boundaries used in this series were discussed in C. Taylor, '*England's Landscape*: a review article', *Landscape History,* 29, (2007), pp.93-9. They were confirmed in a personal communication, Professor Angus Winchester, October 2009.

are generalisations of natural and cultural factors that are unlikely to survive modification if subjected to detailed historical research.[46] The South Pennine model discussed above is potentially applicable not only across National Character Area 36 of the Southern Pennines, but also at least the northern parts of Character Area 51, the Dark Peak. The Saddleworth and Marsden valleys fall on the border between these areas and have many similarities with those of the Upper Calder Valley in terms of their landscape histories. The application of era-based models that integrate fieldscape and settlement expansion would expand and refine our understanding of the various *pays* in the uplands such as this.

The analysis of the morphological approach in Chapter 2 has demonstrated that there are inherent theoretical and practical difficulties with the methodology when used in isolation. The shape of a field or group of fields is insufficient as a dating mechanism, while the principles of indeterminacy and equifinality caution against assumptions of an association between field shapes and types of process or function. Morphology is a mere representation of the landscape and mapping those representations should not be confused with the actual landscape. By integrating morphological patterns with dated settlements, environmental factors, and documentary evidence, the South Pennine model seeks to militate against such methodological pitfalls and improve the accuracy of historic landscape assessments.

The overall goal of this thesis was to determine whether the morphological methodologies supported by English Heritage offered suitable comprehensive terrain-neutral approaches to the uplands that would help counteract the bias towards lowland landscape and agricultural history. Despite the inherent problems of the morphological

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[46] See http://www.naturalengland.org.uk/publications/nca/default.aspx. Accessed on 21 April 2013.

method, it has been shown that the answer must be broadly in the affirmative, so long as they are only used as starting points and their limitations are acknowledged. More detailed documentary research will usually result in significant revision and improvement of the initial morphological models suggested by those methodologies. The provision of further time depth in particular allows a transformative model to be proposed rather than the static one presented by morphologies alone. This conclusion supports the assertions of Herring and Rippon that HLC should be used as an initial spatial assessment which can be developed further by more detailed research.[47]

Critics of morphological methodologies should be aware of the basic limited goals of these exercises, but equally proponents have an obligation to make clear what those limitations are. HLC methodology, for example, is, to use Bloemers' terminology, a 'future-oriented' generalised methodology which is aimed at supporting the decision-making of planners and countryside managers.[48] However, if decision-making is to be informed by judgments about the value of the landscape in terms of its historical character, then it behoves practitioners to ensure that their representations of the landscape are reasonably accurate. Historical investigation of the landscape is 'past-oriented', having greater detail and accuracy as its driving force. It is axiomatic that such historical investigation is dependent on documentary evidence which is necessarily limited by the extent to which it has survived, and therefore can only illuminate parts of a landscape. This can be mitigated by using theoretical models based on physical and toponymic evidence. In the absence of such evidence, it is

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[47] P. Herring, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation in an ever-changing Cornwall', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.15-27 at p.18; S. Rippon, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: its role in contemporary British archaeology and landscape history', *Landscapes,* 8(2), (2007), pp.1-14, pp.6-7, 11-12.
[48] J.H.F. Bloemers, 'Past- and future-oriented archaeology: protecting and developing the archaeological-historical landscape in the Netherlands' in G. Fairclough and S. Rippon (eds.), *Europe's cultural landscape: archaeologists and the management of change,* (Brussels, Europae Archaeologiae Consilium, 2002), pp.89-96 at p.90.

necessary to fall back on morphological assumptions if any assessment of the historical landscape is to be made. The holistic approach argued for by Widgren and Coones allows the possible implications of patterns to be supplemented, validated and extended by other evidence.[49] It is only by combining a number of methodologies that the researcher can hope to present as accurate a picture as possible of the historic landscape. Inevitably, that picture will be more accurate the smaller the area concerned with because of the resource implications. The results of this analysis of morphological approaches, therefore, support Rippon's arguments for the integration of such methodologies as part of a range of research tools in analysing the historic landscape.[50]

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[49] M. Widgren, 'Reading property in the landscape', *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift,* 60(1), (2006), pp.57-64, at p.58; P. Coones, 'One landscape or many? A geographical perspective', *Landscape History,* 7, (1985), pp.5-12, at p.5.
[50] S. Rippon, *Historic landscape analysis: deciphering the countryside,* Practical Handbooks in Archaeology No.16, (York, Council for British Archaeology, 2004).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Issues in replicating the Rural Settlement study for the Upper Calder Valley

1.   Using the Ordnance Survey Old Series 1 inch : 1 mile maps (Margary edition)

The various Margary maps comprising the study area were photocopied and joined together to make a composite map. A grid of 2 km dispersion count squares was drawn on write-on film and pinned over the composite map. While the aim was to be as accurate as possible, the replication count is inevitably a subjective best guess. In addition to more time being spent on the counting exercise than would have been possible in the original study, the count was also informed by named locations that were confirmed as existing on the 1835 Myers map of the Parish of Halifax. This information was only sought in areas of low density to ensure better accuracy. In areas of obvious high density it was less of an issue as it would not affect grading. However, high density areas such as the Ryburn valley and around Sowerby are relatively indistinct on the OS maps, and it was often impossible to distinguish one or more than one building where Myers shows several.

Roberts and Wrathmell use a 'minute hamlet' score where it is unclear whether a small cluster of separate dwellings or buildings is associated with a single farmstead. Each is counted as one dispersion unit but is scored as a ratio of all dispersed units against the number of minute hamlets in that sample square, for example 8:H3. A conversion table is used to convert this to a standard dispersion score.[1] In the replication study minute hamlet scores generally bore no relation to the level of dispersion thus rendering this complex scoring system otiose. In only one square did

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[1] B.K. Roberts and S. Wrathmell, *An atlas of rural settlement in England*, (London, English Heritage, 2000), p.13.

the minute hamlet score relate to the dispersion score. With only this exception, there were far less minute hamlets than the dispersion levels would suggest according to the conversion table.

2. Using Myers Map to test the robustness of the methodology

Myers map was produced as a folded map in a slipcase. The map is thus presented as dissected sections on a calico backing to enable folding. The small gap between the sections left for ease of folding thus makes it impossible to apply the 2 km square grid used for the Margary map as all too often the square includes part of these blank fold seams. A composite digital copy was therefore used, printed out at a physically manageable scale in order to apply the grid of dispersion count squares. The digital copy itself was used to zoom into the area to be counted to obtain accurate detail.[2]

Myers used 'exaggerated rendering' which gave buildings a very precise outline. Roberts and Wrathmell suggest this gave an exaggerated impression when set against the scale of the map.[3] Although the exaggerated rendering of the buildings made it much easier to count individual units, the subjective decision as to what should be counted as one or multiple units was much more difficult than on the OS map. As a general rule buildings joined together or very close together were treated as one unit, while clearly separate buildings tended to be treated as individual units even if they were fairly close together. Local knowledge inevitably played a part in making that decision, such as the fact that field barns are rare in the locality, farm buildings tending to be clustered. However, isolated unnamed buildings were occasionally

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[2] J.F. Myers, *Map of the Parish of Halifax in the West Riding of the County of York, showing the township, borough and manorial boundaries, from an actual survey made in the years 1834 and 1835. [Scale, about 2 1/2 inches = 1 mile]*, (Warrington, Digital Archives, 2003).
[3] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Atlas of rural settlement*, p.9.

treated as barns in remoter areas. The possibility that barns and other farm buildings have been counted as houses is offset by the possibility that a farm cluster treated as one may in fact be several settlement units. Long thin units were also only counted as one or two whereas they could well have comprised several units as in a terrace.

Although the scale of Myers is stated to be 1 mile to 2.6 inches (1 mile to 6.6 cm), it became apparent that in fact the scale has not been applied consistently in drawing the map. When compared with the First edition OS 1 inch map, the distance from top to bottom of the map of the study area was 11.4 miles on the OS map, but 11.7 miles on the Myers map, a percentage deviation of 2.6 per cent. The effect was to shift the north south boundaries of the 2 km dispersion squares northwards thus changing the area covered by each square slightly. The east west boundaries did not present this degree of inaccuracy. To compensate, each square was increased in vertical size slightly to mitigate the scale inaccuracy. The dispersion counts are therefore for a roughly equivalent area on both maps but not identical. There is, however, no significant difference in the ultimate overall dispersion pattern. Comparison with the modern OS 1:25000 map showed that the scale discrepancy varied across the map, and it was therefore neither worthwhile nor feasible to attempt an accurate match with the dispersion squares used for the First edition OS map.

Appendix 2

Summary of the methodological families identified by the HLC Methodology Review[1]

Classification-led	Document-led	Attribute-based	Multi-mode
Use prescriptive criteria: areas assigned to a pre-defined classification of types	Use prescriptive criteria (pre-defined classification)	Record attributes (ie use descriptive criteria) rather than attributing areas to predefined types	Use both descriptive and prescriptive criteria
Map-based field morphological analysis is a starting point	Very firmly have as their starting point use of historic maps	Use field morphology as a starting point	Use morphology as their starting point
Relatively straightforward interrogation and analysis	Characterize by manual means, with simple GIS	Use computer analysis of attributes in HLC to create models and types	Base their characterisation on manipulating computer data
Tend to build models from the HLC data, rather than recording what documentary or map sources suggest	Draw reconstruction from their data	Tend to build models from the HLC data, rather than simply recording from documentary or map sources	Aim to create models of landscape character
Data structures tend towards being implicit (ie information about the interpretation of HL character is embedded within the HL classification itself p25)	Have an implicit data structure	Tend to have open, transparent, explicit data structures (ie the classification arises from interpretative descriptions [attributes] such as field pattern morphology p25)	Type 1: data structures are implicit

Type 2: data structures are explicit |
| Used by:
Wave 1: 2 projects
Wave 2: 6 projects
Wave 3: 1 project | Used by:
Wave 1: 3 projects | Used by:
Wave 3: 3 projects | Used by:
Wave 3: 2 projects with Type 1 data structures
Wave 4: 3 projects with Type 2 data structures |

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[1] O. Aldred and G. Fairclough, *Historic Landscape Characterisation: taking stock of the method*, (London, English Heritage and Somerset County Council, 2003), pp.18-19. This table has been compiled, using their words, from their bullet points and other comments.

Appendix 3

Analysis of card dataset of pre-1400 settlements created for *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey* and shown on Map 25 in vol.4[1]

A PDF of the original map in volume 4 was georeferenced in ArcGIS, a task made simple by the presence of grid lines on the original. Large dots were used to symbolise settlement locations on Map 25 because of the small scale of the map covering the whole county. The size of this dot hindered exact identification of the location because each dot had an average perimeter of 550m which covers 24,000 square metres. Grid references were obtained therefore for the centre of each dot using ArcGIS. Each grid reference was then located on the OS First edition 6 inch map. Locations were then matched with the settlement database where possible. Both of these exercises were less than straightforward as the dots were rarely accurate in their placing on the map. Obviously when it was created, the map was only intended to signify settlement distribution rather than precise locations. There were a few locations in remote moorland areas where no settlement was recorded on the First edition OS map. Such locations are assumed to be incorrect but no plausible identification can be made and it was listed as unknown.

Matching was therefore based on a subjective assessment of whether a particular dot was close enough to a settlement location to be identified with it. Where there were several possible candidates for matching it was listed as 'Unknown'. The principal

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[1] Faull, M.L. and Moorhouse, S.A. (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to A.D. 1500*, Vol.4, (Wakefield, West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981).

discrepancies between the published map, the card dataset and Smith's *Place-names of the West Riding* are summarised in the following table.[2]

Description	Number
Not on WYAS map but a pre-1400 name in Smith	11
On WYAS map but should not be because are only 6 digit grid references	18
On WYAS map, in Smith but no card	32
On WYAS map but unable to identify	17
On WYAS map but card had post-1400 date	17
On WYAS map but no card and post-1400 date in Smith	29
On WYAS map with same evidence as Smith	27
On WYAS map and evidence on card accepted	31

[2] A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3: Morley wapentake,* English Place-Name Society Vol. 32, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961).

Appendix 4

Density and nucleation analysis using Margary edition of OS First edition 1inch map of 1838-9

0-1 Exceptionally low	2-3 Very low	5 Low	8 Medium	13 Quite high	21-34 Very high	>35 Exceptionally high

Density gradings are per 2 km grid squares. See Figure 3.2 for map overlay. V = Village   H = Hamlet   MH = Mini-hamlet   Outside = Outside study area.

Outside	0	0	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside
0	9	6	0	5	0	Outside	Outside
1	3	9	9 H1: Walshaw	17	0	8	Outside
0	6	40 H2: • Hudson Fold; • Colden	31 H2: • Slack • Shackleton MH2: • Lady Royd; • Mansel	26 H2: • Pecket Well; • Midge Hole MH2: • Lr Crimsworth; • Poorprice	17	13 H1: Kell	1
31 H1: Shore MH2: • Hartley Royd; • Pudsey	14 MH1: Kebcote	38 H2: • Lane Head; • Blackshawhead MH2: • Hippins; • Blackshaw Royd	16 V2: Mytholm; Heptonstall H3: • Horsehold; • Rawtonstall; • Charlestown MH1:	40 V1: Hebden Bridge H2: • Hawks Clough; • Old Town MH8:	20 V1:Midgley MH5: • Hanroyd Lr; • Hanroyd Hr; • Foster Clough; • Throstle Bower; • Bank	54 MH5: • High Lee; • Mill House; • Booth; • Saltonstall; • Owlhill	8

			• Winters	• Fearney Flds; • Birchcliffe; • High Royd; • Chisley; • Fairfield; • Ibbot Royd; • Hirst; • Nook			
18 H1: Ludgate	39 H5: • Cross Stone; • Millwood; • Ashenhurst Fold; • Toad Carr; • Greenhurst Hey MH4: • Bank; • Royd; • Hole Bottom; • Hey House	52 H4: • Castle St; • Eastwood; • Woodhouse; • Stoodley MH10: • Rodwell End; • Rodwell Head; • Hollin Royd; • Ashes; • Great House; • East Lee; • Upper East Lee; • Middle Stoodley; • Higher Stoodley; • Lee Bottom	25 MH3: • Height; • Burnt Acres; • Edge End	33 MH5: • Rake Head; • Wood Top; • Park; • Daisy Bank; • Stubb	38 H2: • Mytholmroyd; • Scout Road junction MH1: Hathershelf	42 H2: • Luddenden Foot • Luddenden MH2: • Middle Field End; • West Field	27 H4: • Warley; • Harwood Well (W jct) • Cliff Hill; • Winterburn Hill

Outside	18 V1: Todmorden H1: Longfield	26 H2: • Lumbutts; • Mankinholes MH4: • Old Royd; • Lee; • Croft; • Lane Bottom	15	23 H1: Marshaw	46	52 V1: Sowerby H2: • Boulder Clough; • Blind Lane MH2: • Wood Lane; • Ball Green	20 V1: Sowerby Bridge
Outside	Outside	0	0	9	42 MH2: • Greave; • Lighthazles (Water Green)	30 H5: • Mill Bank • Soyland; • Lane Head; • Dam Side; • Triangle	Outside
Outside	Outside	0	5	8	35 H3: • Thrum Hall; • Beestonhirst Road; • Swift Place	37 V1: Ripponden	Outside
Outside	Outside	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside

Appendix 5

Density and nucleation analysis using Myers map 1835

0-1 Exceptionally low	2-3 Very low	5 Low	8 Medium	13 Quite high	21-34 Very high	>35 Exceptionally high

Density gradings are per 2 km grid squares. See Figure 3.2 for map overlay. V = Village   H = Hamlet   MH = Mini-hamlet   Outside = Outside study area.

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Outside	0	0	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside
0	13	10	0	10	0	Outside	Outside
1	2	17	14 H1: Walshaw	28	1	5	Outside
0	14	50 H1: Broad Stones	35 H2: • Slack • Shackleton MH2: • Lady Royd; • Mansfield • Booth • Edge Hey Green	56 H1: Pecket Well MH2: • Lr Crimsworth; • Poorprice	20 H1: Winter Booth Lee	24 H1: Kell MH2: • Stone • Hole	4
48 H1: Shore MH1: • Hartley Royd	12 MH2: Kebcote; Roughs	55 H1: • Blackshawhead MH2: • Hippins; • Callico Row	34 V2: Mytholm; Heptonstall H4: • Horsehold; • Rawtonstall; • Charlestown;	72 V1: Hebden Bridge H3: • Hollins; • Old Town; • Wood End	32 H1: Lane Top MH4: • Hanroyd Lr; • Hanroyd Hr; • Foster Clough; • City	84 H2: • Owlhill; • Saltonstall MH1: • Booth	9

			• Winters MH7: • Marsh; • Lumb Bank • Lane Head • Crown Point • Goose Hey • Dover • Underbank? (unnamed)	MH8: • Fearney Flds; • Birchcliffe; • Lr Old Town; • Pallis House; • Ibbot Royd; • May Royd; • Row • High Royd			
18	57 H4: • Cross Stone; • Millwood; • Toad Carr; • Field Gate MH2: • Royd; • Hole Bottom	93 H3: • Castle St; • Eastwood; • Stoodley MH5: • Hollin Royd; • Ashes, Higher; • Great House; • Middle Stoodley; • Higher Stoodley	30 MH2: • Mutter Ho; • Jumble Hole	38 H1: Hawks Clough MH9: • Rake Head; • Wood Top; • Park; • Over Cragg; • Nest; • Old Chamber; • Hoo Hole; • Carr; • Lr Jumps	62 V2: • Mytholmroyd; • Midgley H2: • White Lee; • Scout Road junction MH5: • Hathershelf; • Water Side; • Ewood; • Far Ewood; • Lr Ewood	57 V1: Luddenden H3: • Luddenden Foot • Liddyate • Royd Mill MH4: • Milners Place; • West Field; • Kershaw Ho; • Cooper Ho;	43 H3: • Warley; • Harwood Well (W jct) • Newland MH1: Winterburn Hill
Outside	29 V1: Todmorden MH3: • Longfield;	41 H2: • Lumbutts; • Mankinholes	17	34	60	83 V1: Sowerby H2: • Boulder Clough;	31 V1: Sowerby Bridge MH1: Haugh End

	• (West of) Longfield; • Old Royd (west)	• Woodhouse				• Mill House	
Outside	Outside	0	0	10	60	45 H3: • Mill Bank • Triangle • Stile MH2: • Soyland Mill • Making Place	Outside
Outside	Outside	0	2	17 H1: Baitings	63	25 V1: Ripponden	Outside
Outside	Outside	0	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside	Outside

								Appendix 6

Appendix 6
First recorded dates of settlement
Supplementing A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 3: Morley wapentake* , English Place-Name Society Vol. 32, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961).

Date first mentioned (pre 1800)	Source	Smith date	Modern name	Township	X Coordinate	Y Coordinate	Grid Reference comments	Data source details
1274	WYAS	1624	Holme Ho	Warley	404028	427729		WYAS card WCR 1274 p94. William del Holm SE 0402 2775
1275	WYAS	1305	Broad Bottom	Wadsworth	400789	426595	WYAS 400750; 426541	WYAS card Details from Smith plus WCR 1275 p127. John del Brodbottom SE 0080 2660
1275	WYAS	1778	Folds	Warley	402490	429557		WYAS card WCR 1275 p117. Hugh del Foldes SE 0249 2956
1275	WYAS	1379	Hirst	Wadsworth	399698	427815	WYAS 399618; 428010	WYAS card WCR 1275 p127. Will de Hirst SD 9970 2782
1284	WYAS	1758	Hole, The	Sowerby	402798	423768		WYAS card WCR 1284 p183, Hugh & William del Hol SE 0279 2377
1285	WYAS	1624	Cliff Cottage	Soyland	404185	420248		WYAS card WCR 1285 p201. Robert del Clyf SE 0419 2012

1286	WYAS	1595	Croft	Langfield	394963	423431		WYAS card WCR 1286 p160 Alice del Croft; WCR 1308 p185 William del Croft; WCR 1316 p147 Peter del Croft SD 9496 2344
1286	WYAS	1379	Cross Lee	Stansfield	392845	425351	Higher 392943; 425346 Lower 392735; 425353 212m apart WYAS 393447; 425359. Assumed wrongly positioned	WYAS card WCR 1315 p141; WCR 1286 p160. John de Crosselaye, Richard de Crosseley SD 9293 2541
1286	WYAS	1624	Green Holes	Soyland	401685	420096		WYAS card WCR 1286 p213? William del Grene SE 0163 2001
1286	WYAS	1487	Royles Head	Warley	405707	425309		WYAS card WCR 1286 p223. Thomas de Rodeleheved
1298	WYAS	1751	Haugh	Langfield	395609	424481		WYAS card WCR 1298 p47 Hugh del Hagwe SD 9560 2448
1300	WYAS	1439	Akroyd	Wadsworth	399578	429147	WYAS 399470; 429281	WYAS card Details from Smith & undated deed in HAS 1904-5 p45-6 SD 9958 2914
1300	WYAS	1499	Brantom	Sowerby	403386	424183		WYAS card Details from Smith plus excerpt re 'wood of Brantum' dated to 13th century from 'HMC Appendix to 8th report p636' SE 0338 2417

1300	WYAS	1719	Hipperholme	Stansfield	396433		426225	WYAS 396425; 426343	WYAS card Stansfield History: Hipperholme family held land in Stansfield in 14th C SD 9642 2623
1300	WYAS	1533	Old Town	Wadsworth	399911		428331	WYAS 399861; 428472	CF Ackroyd WYAS card. Undated deed HAS 1904-5 p45-6
1313	WYAS	1686	Sowerby Green	Sowerby	403903		423286	Hamlet	WYAS card 6 digit GR WCR 1313 p7 Sowerby Town and Coventry same GR
1315	WYAS	1730	Old Royd	Langfield	394880		424057		WYAS card WCR 1315 p75. Soyland Mill let to Adam del Olderode SD 9488 2405
1315	WYAS	1624	Rooley	Sowerby	403714		422934		WYAS card WCR 1315 p91, William de Roueley SE 0370 2295
1315	WYAS	New	Sunderland	Sowerby	402671		425669		WYAS card WCR 1315 p57, John de Sunderland
1315	WYAS	1580	Weather Hill	Soyland	402639		421676		WYAS card WCR 1315 p98. Nicholas de Wordhill. Also WYAS card for Thorne with same GR. WCR 1286 p213. Robert de Thorne SE 0263 2167
1316	WYAS	1379	Horsefall	Stansfield	395504		424750	WYAS 395482; 424888 Assumed is wrongly positioned	WYAS card WCR 1316 p140. William del Horsfal SD 9547 2474
1316	WYAS	New	Windle Hill	Sowerby	401310		424647		WYAS card WCR 1316 p150, Richard de Windhill

1317	WYAS	1624	Hole Head	Soyland	402272	421060		WYAS card WCR 1317 p197. John del Hole SE 0227 2105
1322	Other	1587	Small Shaw	Wadsworth	399335	430722	Upper 399391; 430916 Middle 399328; 430658 Lower 399274; 430531 402m apart	DD/SR/1/25/M10
1322	Other	1368	Widdop	Wadsworth	392908	432993	WYAS 393056; 433188	DD/SR/1/25/M10
1323	WYAS	1756	Claytons	Wadsworth	400953	428192		WYAS card WCR 1323 p8. Adam de Claiton SE 0096 2819
1326	WYAS	1624	Stones, New & Old	Soyland	403015	418902	Middle 402992; 418919 Old 402945; 418843 New 403093; 418983 212m btw New and Old	WYAS card WCR 1326 p94-95. John Stones of Soyland; John del Stones SE 0294 1885
1330	WYAS	1331	Long Royd(s)	Sowerby	403569	422479	WYAS 403583; 422542	WYAS card WCR 1330 p163. William del Leeghrode. Del Leghrode in 1331 SE 0356 2248
1331	WYAS	1537	Ewood Hall	Midgley	402125	426393		WYAS card WCR 1331 p164 Michael del Ewod SE 0225 2640
1331	WYAS	1709	Heys, Upper and Lower	Warley	403121	428885	Upper 402951; 428975 Lower 403279; 428808 365m apart	WYAS card WCR 1331 p133. Alan del Hey SE 0293 2898
1370	WYAS	1624	Swift Place	Soyland	402668	418874	Hamlet	WYAS card HAS 3 p29. Richard de Swiffete 1370 WCR SE 0265 1887

1379	WYAS	1576	Oak	Sowerby	404324	421963	GR is Lower Oak	WYAS card 1379 Poll Tax p188, Johannes del Okes SE 0433 2197
1392	Other	1584	Gate Ho	Midgley	403657	427150	WYAS 403553; 427228. Assumed is wrong position	DC Midgley list 1964 THAS 19
1452	Other	1549	Oats Royd	Midgley	403863	426562		DC Midgley list 1920 THAS 64
1474	Other	New	Brearley Lower	Midgley	402687	426097		DC Midgley list 1922 THAS 128
1506	Other	1572	Han Royd (Lower?)	Midgley	402364	426717		DC Midgley list 1920 THAS 67
1531	Other	1450	Hawks Clough	Erringden	400660	426317		YAS Foster Greenwood DD99/B2/3. Probably an area in 1449 dispalement deed
1541	Other	1584	New Heath (Earth) Head	Midgley	402847	426730		DC Midgley list 1964 THAS 19
1548	Other	New	White Lee Upper	Midgley	401880	426318		DC Midgley list Midgley probate p.7
1555	Other	1742	Mill Field Ends Robert Royd)	Midgley	403472	425977		DC Midgley list 1928 THAS 118
1560	Building date	New	Rake	Stansfield	392820	425923		DC Dated building
1582	Other	1449	Cragg	Erringden	400375	424582	Higher 400288; 424607 Lower 400468; 424559 198m apart	Will indexes. Probably an area in 1449 dispalement deed
1584	Building date	New	Pilkington	Langfield	395968	423626		DC Dated building
1587	Other	1449	Hoo Hole	Erringden	400726	425352		Stansfield History 1885. Probably an area in 1449 dispalement deed

1596	Building date	New	Greave	Midgley	403657	426361		DC Dated building
1599	Other	1774	Great House	Midgley	403057	426430		DC Midgley list 1954 THAS 69
1599	Other	1650	Kershaw Ho	Midgley	403981	425448		DC Midgley list Saxton map 1599
1599	Other	New	Lane House	Midgley	404163	425639		DC Midgley list Saxton map 1599
1599	Building date	New	Little Manor House	Heptonstall	397800	428700		DC Dated building
1600	Other	1766	Dry Carr	Midgley	403354	427735		DC Midgley list Private documents;
1600	Building date	1769	Grain	Wadsworth	399401	431834		DC Dated building
1600	Other	1766	Hoyle Ho	Midgley	403415	427685		DC Midgley list Private documents;
1601	Building date	New	Cliffe Hill	Midgley	402860	426433		DC Dated building
1603	Building date	New	Bankfoot House	Heptonstall	398564	427303		DC Dated building
1605	Building date	1744	High Ho	Midgley	403585	427473		DC Dated building
1611	Other	1650	High Lees	Midgley	403377	426616		DC Midgley list 1939 THAS 257
1614	Building date	1631	Ashes, (Lower?)	Stansfield	394947	425316	Linked farmstead	DC Dated building
1614	Other	New	Booth	Midgley	404183	427424		DC Midgley list 1964 THAS 20
1618	Building date	1624	Low Cote	Soyland	402741	419831		DC Dated building
1627	Building date	1758	Row End	Sowerby	403371	424590		DC Dated building
1631	Building date	1719	East Lee	Stansfield	396053	425557	Upper 396083; 425656 Lower 396020; 425461 214m apart	DC Dated building Eastlee Lower

1631	Building date	1740	Haigh House	Warley	405039	425732		DC Dated building
1635	Building date	New	Spring House (Stocks Springs)	Sowerby	401226	424325		DC Dated building
1637	Building date	New	Upper Lumb	Sowerby	403100	421682		DC Dated building
1637	Building date	1775	Wood Top (S)	Sowerby	401211	424105		DC Dated building
1646	Other	1650	Thorney Lane	Midgley	403630	426747		DC Midgley list 1928 THAS 128
1649	Building date	1771	Wood Lane Hall	Sowerby	404343	423656		DC Dated building
1650	Building date	1701	Hippins	Stansfield	395886	427073		DC Dated building
1653	Other	New	Ewood Little (Upper?)	Midgley	402272	426425		DC Midgley list 1939 THAS 31
1654	Other	1717	Greave Ho	Midgley	403866	425790		DC Midgley list 1928 THAS 151
1654	Building date	1709	White Birch	Warley	404514	425882		DC Dated building
1655	Other	New	Hanroyd Upper (Green)	Midgley	402382	426812		DC Midgley list 1939 THAS 27
1658	Building date	New	Stake	Sowerby	401911	425137		DC Dated building
1659	Building date	New	Upper Foot Farm	Midgley	403364	425523		DC Dated building
1660	Other	1782	Pepper Hill	Midgley	403972	426240		DC Midgley list 1928 THAS 153
1662	Building date	1775	Castle Hall	Sowerby	400413	423567		DC Dated building
1662	Building date	1675	Clay Ho	Soyland	402615	420909		DC Dated building
1664	Other	New	Green House or Calling	Midgley	403670	427262		DC Midgley list 1928 THAS 153

1665	Building date	New	Stone Farm	Warley	404684	428810		DC Dated building
1666	Other	New	Ewood Lower	Midgley	402341	426259		DC Midgley list 1939 THAS 53
1666	Building date	New	Higher House	Erringden	399935	422445		DC Dated building
1670	Building date	New	Strait Hey Farm	Langfield	397491	424931		DC Dated building
1672	Building date	New	Blue Ball	Soyland	401150	419200		DC Dated building
1672	Building date	1717	Lacey Hey (Stocks)	Midgley	402933	426350		DC Dated building
1673	Building date	New	Birchenlee Carr	Wadsworth	401449	426669		DC Dated building
1673	Other	New	Bloomer Gate (Wood End)	Midgley	402443	426395		DC Midgley list 1939 THAS 49
1674	Building date	New	Cross Gap	Stansfield	395127	425077		DC Dated building
1676	Other	New	Head House	Midgley	402214	429236		DC Midgley list WYAS (Calderdale) CAC2
1684	Building date	New	Potball	Stansfield	396956	426545		DC Dated building
1690	Building date	New	Nabby Nook	Stansfield	397065	426627		DC Dated building
1690	Building date	New	The Hill (Barn)	Warley	406277	424877		DC Dated building
1693	Other	New	High Lees Head	Midgley	403313	426868		DC Midgley list 1939 THAS 257
1695	Building date	1723	Kirk Cliff	Soyland	403846	420196		DC Dated building
1701	Building date	1717	Oaks	Erringden	397181	425930	Hawks on 1849 OS	DC Dated building
1702	Building date	New	Spring Hill	Sowerby	402370	421980		DC Dated building

				Sowerby				
1703	Building date	New	Stubbing Square	Ramble	398492	427215		DC Dated building
1706	Other	1766	Height	Midgley	403483	427335		DC Midgley list Private documents
1706	Other	New	Stoney Spring	Midgley	402939	425878		DC Midgley list. DC Dated building
1711	Building date	1751	Causeway	Langfield	396374	424257		DC Dated building Causeway West
1717	Building date	New	Scout Bottom	Sowerby	402001	425674		DC Dated building
1718	Building date	New	Newhouse	Sowerby	401244	425602		DC Dated building
1720	Building date	New	Black Rock	Midgley	402739	426420		DC Dated building
1723	Building date	New	Commons Farm	Wadsworth	400834	428614		DC Dated building
1731	Building date	New	Green Edge Lower	Warley	403571	428536		DC Dated building
1731	Building date	New	White Hole Farm	Wadsworth	400000	432714		DC Dated building
1735	Building date	New	Lane Head	Heptonstall	398471	428201		DC Dated building
1740	Building date	New	Throstle Bower	Warley	403044	428559		DC Dated building
1744	Building date	New	Higher Stoodley	Langfield	396488	424534		DC Dated building
1749	Building date	New	Goosegate	Sowerby Ramble	397552	426593		DC Dated building
1752	Building date	New	Needless (Higher)	Wadsworth	400371	427321		DC Dated building
1752	Building date	New	New Holme	Warley	404804	428487		DC Dated building

1755	Building date	New	Land Farm	Stansfield	395441	428858		DC Dated building
1763	Building date	New	Pasture	Midgley	402556	428102		DC Dated building
1767	Building date	New	Mansfield Higher	Wadsworth	397687	429931		DC Dated building
1768	Building date	New	Hollin Top	Midgley	402740	428140		DC Dated building
1770	Building date	New	Manor House	Wadsworth	400120	427300		DC Dated building
1775	Building date	New	Hand Green	Warley	406103	424425		DC Dated building
1778	Building date	New	Moorlands Farm	Warley	404424	430451		DC Dated building
1793	Building date	New	Lacy House	Stansfield	397158	426526		DC Dated building

Source abbreviations

GR: Grid reference

WYAS card : Card data set at West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service.

DC Midgley list : List compiled from information provided by David Cant in Bailey, I., Cant, D., Petford, A. and Smith, N. (eds.), *Pennine perspectives: aspects of the history of Midgley* , (Midgley, Midgley Books, 2007), pp.45-6.

DC Dated building : Cant, D., *Building dates in the Parish of Halifax* , Excel spreadsheet, (Unpublished, 2011).

THAS : Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society

Foster Greenwood : Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Foster Greenwood Collection, DD99

Stansfield History : Stansfield, J., *History of the family of Stansfeld of Stansfield in the parish of Halifax and its numerous branches,* (Leeds, Goodall and Suddick, 1885).

	Appendix 7										

Appendix 7

Upper Calder Valley population figures

After Bailey, L, Township populations 1544-1901, Parish of Halifax, Excel spreadsheet, (Unpublished, 2011).

	1544	1554	1564	1574	1584	1594	1604	1614	1624	1634	1644	1654
Erringden	300	250	400	500	450	550	650	750	350	450	450	450
Heptonstall	450	400	550	700	650	800	850	850	800	700	800	750
Langfield	100	50	100	100	100	150	200	150	350	150	150	200
Midgley	1050	850	950	1500	1550	1400	1700	1800	1600	1500	1600	1550
Warley												
Sowerby	1050	800	1150	1450	1500	1600	1750	1750	1550	1550	1000	800
Soyland	400	350	500	650	900	600	750	700	800	900	600	450
Stansfield	350	300	400	550	500	550	700	850	800	700	850	750
Wadsworth	400	350	500	650	600	700	800	900	900	950	900	900
Total	4100	3350	4550	6100	6250	6350	7400	7750	7150	6900	6350	5850

	1664	1763/64	1801	1811	1821	1831						
Erringden	550	885	1313	1586	1471	1933						
Heptonstall	1000	1760	2983	3647	4543	4661						
Langfield	250	685	1170	1515	2069	2514						
Midgley	1650	1085	1209	2107	2207	2409						
Warley		2435	3543	3958	4982	5685						
Sowerby	1250	2935	4275	5177	6890	6457						
Soyland	650	1275	1888	2519	3242	3589						
Stansfield	850	2320	4763	5447	7275	8262						
Wadsworth	900	1940	2861	3473	4509	5198						
Total	7100	15320	24005	29429	37188	40708						

Appendix 8 **Settlement numbers from tax records**										
Source	**Stansfield**	**Heptonstall**	**Wadsworth**	**Midgley**	**Warley**	**Sowerby**	**Erringden**	**Langfield**	**Totals**	**Notes**
1379 Poll Tax. Every couple and person over 16 not being a mendicant ie household units.	43 (2 @ 12d)		37 (1 @ 12d)	21 (2 @ 6d)	24	38	included in Sowerby (?)	22		There were 38 taxpayers in Halifax cum Heptonstall. 16 of these were Heptonstall names: Lister, J. and Ogden, J.H., *Poll Tax (Lay Subsidy) 2 Richard II (1379) with notes on local returns. Also Rental of Halifax and Heptonstall 1439,* Halifax Antiquarian Society Record Series Vol.1 (Halifax, Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1906), p.40.
1379 Lister and Ogden	43	16	37	21	24	38	0	22	201	Estimated minimum of 154
Recorded settlement names in 1379	10	2	15	5	15	31	4	8	90	
Nos of households (couples or persons) per settlement	4.30	8.00	2.47	4.20	1.60	1.23	0.00	2.75	2.23	1.71 using estimated minimum
1545 lay subsidy Land worth £1 or more Goods worth £2 or more. First assessment for goods over £20 or land over £10. Second for rest	4 (Second assessment for lower rate lost). Assumed is 48 - see notes	6 + 22	6 + 46	7 + 33	25 + 54	30 + 99	20	15		There were 464 families in Stansfield in 1764, 30.57% of the total in Heptonstall chapelry (1518 families). The number of taxpayers in 1672 for Heptonstall chapelry was 195. Of those 56 were in Stansfield which is 28.72% of total in chapelry. The difference between 30.57 and 28.72 is statistically insignificant. It has been assumed therefore that the number in Stansfield was 48 (30%).
Totals	48	28	52	40	79	129	23	16	415	
Recorded settlement names in 1545	17	8	30	15	32	75	12	14	203	
Nos of households per settlement	2.82	3.50	1.73	2.67	2.47	1.72	1.92	1.14	2.04	

1672 Hearth tax including those households omitted by reason of poverty	180	102	136	90	188	351	38	59	1144	Plus exempt households estimated at 25% based on Halifax certificates @ 286 = 1430
Omitted by reason of poverty	180 includes 16 omitted by reason of poverty	0	0	90 includes 20 discharged by certificates (18%)	0	351 includes 1 empty and 12 omitted by reason of poverty	0	59 includes 9 omitted by reason of poverty	37 omitted for poverty or discharged = 3.2%	
Exempt houses in 1664 %	29.9	37.6	24	26.3	32.5	29.9	21	18.1	27.4125	Average not total
Recorded settlement names in 1672	56	31	61	48	79	149	23	19	466	
Nos of households per settlement	3.21	3.29	2.23	1.88	2.38	2.36	1.65	3.11	2.45	3.07 if exempt households included
1764 Parish Easter Books. Including empty houses.	488	382	404	231	519	649	189	141	3003	Data from Watson, J., *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire,* (Reprint of 1775 ed., Manchester, E.J. Morten, 1973), p.146
Recorded settlement names in 1764	84	32	73	59	97	205	30	24	604	
Nos of households per settlement	5.81	11.94	5.53	3.92	5.35	3.17	6.30	5.88	4.97	
1831 census. Including empty houses	1570	1029	2102	491	1139	1383	364	485	8563	Data from J. Crabtree., *A concise history of the parish and vicarage of Halifax ,* (Halifax, Hartley and Walker, 1836), table between pp.312-13.
Mapped settlements 1835									1617	From Myers map
Recorded settlement names in 1800									644	

Appendix 9: Grants of waste in Stansfield 1787-1794

Blank grid references indicate either duplicate locations or locations which are uncertain

Date	Encloser	General position	Unspec acres	Unspec roods	Unspec perches	Description	X Coordinate	Y Coordinate	Position N	Position W	Position E	Position S	Source (All Nottinghamshire Archives)
1787; 1794	Crossley, Abraham (Heath)	Heath (alias Highwood Common)??	1	0	16	Intended new inclosure	394509	429414	Own land	Common	William Greenwood's new inclosure	Common	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Crossley, Luke	Keb Cote	5	1	4	New inclosure (1787); To estate called Keb-Coat (1794)	393138	427343	Common	Own land called Keb-Coat	Common	Old road from Halifax to Burnley	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Eastwood, John (Warley)	Staveley	1	3	14	New inclosure (1787); To estate called Staveley, now sold to Luke Crossley (1794)	395773	426322	Common	Common	Own estate called Staveley	Road? or common	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787	Foster, Henry			1? daywork									DD/SR/1/19/37
1787	Greene, Lord			7.5 dayworks									DD/SR/1/19/37
1787; 1794	Greenwood, Betty	Hawkstones	2	1	4	New inclosure (1787); To estate called Hawkstones (1794)	392561	427175	Old road from Halifax to Burnley	Own estate called Hawkstones	Common	Road from Hartley Royd	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Greenwood, James (Hartley Common)	Rake Hey	4	1	16	New inclosure (1787). Leasehold for 999 years with right to inclose claimed (1794)	392872	426332	Common	Own Land	Common	Rakehey	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Greenwood, John (Land)	Slade	7	2	13	New inclosure (1787); To estate called Slade Farm (1794); near Rodmer Clough (1788)	394729	429244	William Greenwood's new inclosure	Common	Mr Lister's new inclosure	Own lands	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Greenwood, William (Lear Ing, Heptonstall)	Upper Earlees	1	3	29	New inclosure (1787); To estate called Upper Earlees (1794)	394808	429296	Road leading from the Clough to Upper Earlees	Common	Mr Lister's new inclosure	John Greenwood's new inclosure	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Greenwood, William (Lear Ing, Heptonstall)	Upper Earlees	3	3	22	New inclosure (1787); To estate called Upper Earlees (1794)	394637	429391	Upper Earlees	Abraham Crosley's intended inclosure	Common	Common	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Horsfall, Richard (Underbank)	Balding Royd	1	0	15	New inclosure (1787); Adjoining to Balding Royd Farm (1794)	395572	426196	Common	John Eastwood close belonging Balding Royd farm	Common	Common	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29

Year	Name	Place	A	R	P	Description	Easting	Northing					Reference
1787; 1794	Lister, Thomas (Halifax)	Rodmer Clough	6	2	24	New inclosure to estate called Clough; Rodmer Clough (1788)	394979	429208	Common	John Greenwood's new inclosure	Own land	Close called New Common belonging to John Greenwood of Land	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787	Midgley, William		6 dayworks										DD/SR/1/19/37
1787; 1794	Mitchell, Sarah	Hill Top	0	3	8	Inclosure (1787); To estate called Hill top (1794)	395166	428611	Common	Common	Own land called Hill Top farm	Own land called Hill Top farm	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787; 1794	Ormrod, Robert (Height, Lancaster)	Stiperden Bank	4	1	6	New inclosure (1787); To estate called Stiperden Bank (1794)	391229	427994	Common	Small rivulet dividing Stansfield and Lancaster	Own estate called Stiperden Bank	Own estate called Stiperden Bank	DD/SR/1/19/37; DD/SR/1/19/41; DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1787	Shackleton, James		2										DD/SR/1/19/37
1788	Eastwood, Thomas, Sutcliffe, Robert and Ingham, John	Knowl End				Incroachment by conversion of parcel of common into dam and canal							DD/SR/1/15/30; DD/SR/1/15/29
1794	Holden and Lord, Messrs	Dyke	3	0	0	An encroachment to an estate called Dyke. Originally granted in 1665 - see that date							DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Horsfall, John (Burnt Edge)	Burnt Edge	0	1	0		394687	427818					DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	Daisy Bank	8	0	2	An encroachment	394135	427325					DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Shackleton, James (Halifax)	Blackshaw	1	0	0	An encroachment to his estate called Blackshaw	396167	427095					DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Stansfield, George (Lower Birks)	Barley Croft	0	2	0	An incroachment to estate at Barley Croft	395133	427283					DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Sutcliffe, Henry (Lee)	Moss Hall?	10	0	0	Assumed to be Moss Hall Slades	394058	427879					DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Sutcliffe, Henry (Lee)	Moss Hall?	0	2	0	Remainder							DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Utley, Michael (Blackshaw)	Height Top	1	0	0	An inclosure to Height Top	396406	427734					DD/SR/1/19/41
1794	Walton, John (High Gate)	High Gate	0	2	0		396641	427463					DD/SR/1/19/41

Appendix 10: Grants of waste in Stansfield 1656-1721

Blank grid references indicate either duplicate locations or locations which are uncertain

Date	Encloser	General position	Unspec acres	Unspec roods	Unspec perches	Description	X Coordinate	Y Coordinate	Position N	Position W	Position E	Position S	Source (All Nottinghamshire Archives unless otherwise specified)
1656	Cockroft, Thomas (Sowterhouse, Wadsworth)	Haw[k]stoneslack (Assumed is area below Hawk Stones farms)	23			No details	392111	427144					DD/SR/1/21/53; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Eastwood, Thomas	Baldinge Roid (Cote)	2			Cottage and 2 acres lately in the occupation of Richard Halstead. Now inclosed into 3 closes. No details	395622	426199					DD/SR/1/21/51; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Feilden, John	Between Hartley Clough and Stiperden Clough (Assumed is Shaw)	36			"as the same are now inclosed"	391153	427642					DD/SR/1/21/57; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Greenewood, John (Blackshaw Clough)		1.5			No details							DD/SR/1/21/44
1656	Greenewood, Luke	Land (Assumed)	3				395353	429001	Lands of John Greenewood	Lands of Thomas Greenewood	Highway between Heverillshaw? and Blackshawhead	Lands of Thomas Greenewood	DD/SR/1/21/54
1656	Ingham, John (Langfield)		2.5			No details							DD/SR/1/21/56; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	John Sager (Habengham, Lancs)		6			No details							DD/SR/1/21/43
1656	Mitchell, John	Between Hartley Clough and Stiperden Clough (Allocated to Bridestones)	6			Heretofore taken in and inclosed. Formerly in occupation of Edward Mitchell (Father of John). No details	392580	426786					DD/SR/1/21/50; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Pilling, John		6			Formerly in occupation of Thomas Cockroft? No details							DD/SR/1/21/47; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Stansfeild, Abraham (Shore)	Between Shore and Burnley Road (Allocated to Intake)	11			8 acres plus endorsement for another 3	391754	427339	Halifax to Burnley road			Whittonstall Lawe	DD/SR/1/21/48; DD/SR/1/15/8

Year	Name	Place	Acres		Notes	East	North					Reference
1656	Stansfeild, James (Cowbank)	Between Hartley Clough and Stiperden Clough (Allocated to Upper Mount)	10		Formerly in occupation of John Stansfield (his father). No details. 'Farmed ten acres of common' which were leased prior to 1657 and bought from the Lord at expiry of term.	391527	427426					DD/SR/1/21/45; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Stansfield, Miles	Between Hartley Clough and Stiperden Clough (allocated to Hawkstones Slack)	7		Heretofore taken in and inclosed. Formerly in occupation of James Sheppard. No details	392263	427105					DD/SR/1/21/52; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Sutcliffe, Thomas and Tayler, John	Hall Stones Green (Assumed)	6			394456	426193	Common	Lands of William Sutcliffe	Turfeway leadinge upp to the Mosse above the Hallstones	Lands of Michael Hill	DD/SR/1/21/46; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Wadsworth, Richard (Mansellhouse, Wadsworth)	Blackshawhead	2		Formerly in occupation of Richard Horsfall. No details							DD/SR/1/21/49; DD/SR/1/15/8
1656	Wadsworth, William (Heptonstall)	Staveley Cote??	2		Cottage and 2 acres lately in the occupation of Richard Staveley. No details							DD/SR/1/21/55
1657	Ashworth, Lawrence (Blackshawhead)	Earnshaw Water?	4		Late taken and enclosed. Endorsed that now George Stansfield			Commons	Commons		Lands of Richard Eastwood	DD/SR/1/21/64
1657	Ashworth, Lawrence (Blackshawhead)	Earnshaw Water?	3		Endorsed that now George Stansfield			Commons	Lands of Richard Eastwood	Highway between Blackshawhead and Raw Pole		DD/SR/1/21/64
1657	Barker, Edmund et al		32		late taken and inclosed'. No details							DD/SR/1/21/58
1657	Greenewood, Thomas (Colden)	Rock End?	2		late taken from the pople and waste			Cartway leading to a New lath	Commons	Certain ground called Eastwoodynge	Commons	DD/SR/1/21/60
1657	Ray, John		3		Lease. Adjoining cottage and late taken from common. No details							DD/SR/1/21/63
1657	Shackleton, John (Heptonstall)	Burnt Edge (under)	2		to be taken in and enclosed			Colden water				DD/SR/1/21/62

Year	Name	Place				Description							Reference
1657	Walton, Ambrose (Marsden) and Gibson, James	Moorside?	26	0	25	Late taken and inclosed. Endorsement that measure of 20 acres enclosed is 8 yards to perch. Converted to 7 yard perch. Endorsement adds adjoining rocky ground. Now occupied by Abraham Clegge and Richard Brigge. Pencil endorsement that now Maria Ingham	395249	426245					DD/SR/1/21/61
1657	Widdop, John		8			now or late in occupation of Peter Ormerod			Common	Lands of William Thomas	Lands of Ambrose Walton and James Gibson	Lands of William Cockroft	DD/SR/1/21/59
1659	Eastwood, Richard	Burnt Edge?	2			Late taken in and enclosed			Cartway leading to Earnshaw	Cartway leading to Edmond Ashworth's house	Close of land of Edmond Ashworth	Land of Richard Eastwood	DD/SR/1/21/65
1659	Eastwood, William (Fieldhead)	Fieldhead (above)	0.5		27	Close late taken in and inclosed							YAS DD99/B22/13 and 18 (1682)
1661	Ingham, John (Langfield)		4			Late taken in and enclosed. Late in tenure of Jonas Sutcliffe. No details							DD/SR/1/21/66
1661	Wadsworth, Richard (Wadsworth)		3			As the same are now measured out			Commons	Turfeway leading to lands of William Sutcliffe	Commons	Lands of John Ingham (1 acre)	DD/SR/1/21/67
1665	Holden, John (Bacup, Lancs)	Dyke	3			Taken in 20 days work, now John Ormroyd. Endorsed in pencil now Thomas Sutcliffe	391767	426985	Commons	Lands of John Crosley	Lands of Michael Eastwood and John Sagar		DD/SR/1/21/69
1668	Ashworth, Lawrence		2			Overmeasure. No details							DD/SR/1/21/70
1668	Eastwood, Michael		1.5	1		Overmeasure. No details							DD/SR/1/21/73
1668	Greenewood, Luke		1.5	1	30	Overmeasure. No details							DD/SR/1/21/71
1668	Greenewood, Thomas		1		7	Overmeasure. No details							DD/SR/1/21/72
1668	Greenwood, John		1		13	Overmeasure. No details							DD/SR/1/21/74
1668	Taylor, John		2			Overmeasure. No details							DD/SR/1/21/75
1670	Ashworth, Lawrence	Mouse Nest?	3			as the same is now inclosed	394514	427653	Lands of Richard Thomas	Lands of Richard Thomas	Lands of Richard Thomas	Cartway leading to the Well Hill	DD/SR/1/21/79. See also YAS DD99/B22/16

Year	Name	Field	A	R	P	Notes	Easting	Northing	Boundary 1	Boundary 2	Boundary 3	Boundary 4	Reference
1670	Ashworth, Lawrence	Strines Clough?	3			as the same is now inclosed			Lands of Henry Nayler	Above highway between Fieldhead and Earneshaw Water	Lands of Henry Nayler	Cartway between Buntedge and Murgatshaw	DD/SR/1/21/79. See also YAS DD99/B22/16
1670	Sutcliffe, William (Fallingroyd, Wadsworth)	Brown Hill Bottom?	6			now measured and set forth	395362	428078	Lands of William Sutcliffe		Lands of Christopher Thomas	Way between Buntedge and Murgatshaw	DD/SR/1/21/77
1670	Thomas, Christopher (Pallacehouse)	Strynes	6				395653	428137				Cartway between Buntedge and Murgatshaw	DD/SR/1/21/78
1670	Thomas, Christopher (Pallacehouse, Sowerby)	Bride Stones?	10			now measured and set forth	392704	426434	Hartley Clough	Hartley Clough	Lands of Robert Ormroyd (South in doc)	Highway between Stiperden and Crosstone	DD/SR/1/21/78
1670	Thomas, Richard	Burnt Edge?	6				394462	427668			Ditch called Deepedike	Earnshaw Water	DD/SR/1/21/76
1670-1	Wadsworth, Richard (Wadsworth) and Lister, Thomas (Manningham)	Below Stiperden - Crosstone road??	1		20				Lands of Richard Wadsworth?	Lands of John Ingham		Highway to Stiperden	DD/SR/31/4/1; DD/SR/1/15/51
1670-1	Wadsworth, Richard (Wadsworth) and Lister, Thomas (Manningham)		1			Overmeasure. Amongst lands of Richard Wadsworth							DD/SR/31/4/1; DD/SR/1/15/51
1670-1	Wadsworth, Richard (Wadsworth) and Lister, Thomas (Manningham)		3	3	20				Commons	Commons	Commons	Lands of Richard Wadsworth	DD/SR/31/4/1; DD/SR/1/15/51
1672	Rigge, Edmond (Old Town)	Lower Strines Clough (Assumed - data does not specify if Higher or Lower)	12			Lately enclosed	395012	428335					YAS DD99/B22/17 and 21
1672-3	Ashworth, Edmond and Lister, Thomas (Manningham)	Lower Moss Hall?	5.5		8	Now measured and set forth. 5a 2r 8 p	395103	427763	Commons	Horseway between Mosshall and Fieldhead	Footway	Highway between Heptonstall and Burnley	DD/SR/31/4/2; DD/SR/1/15/51

Date	Name	Field	a	r	p	Details	East	North	Boundary 1	Boundary 2	Boundary 3	Boundary 4	Reference
1672-3	Greenwood, John and Lister, Thomas (Manningham)	Earlees??	3.5		52	Now measured and set forth. No rent on the half acre by reason of the scarryness and Rushenness thereof. 3a 2r 52p			Lands of John Greenwood	Lands of John Greenwood	Commons	Commons	DD/SR/31/4/3; DD/SR/1/15/51
1673-4	Eastwood, John and Sutcliffe, Nathaniel and Lister, Thomas (Manningham)	White Reaps?	12				394612	426947	Highway between Blackshawhead and Harleywood	Commons	Commons	Commons	DD/SR/31/4/5; DD/SR/1/15/51
1673-4	Horsfall, John (Mosshall)	Higher Earnshaw Water (Assumed - data has Earneshawhead)	8	1	4	Lying in a Mess called Earnshaw Head	394830	427597					DD/SR/31/4/4; DD/SR/1/15/51
1673-4	Horsfall, John (Mosshall)		1	3	36	Overmeasure. Amongst lands of John Horsfall							DD/SR/31/4/4; DD/SR/1/15/51
1675-6	Eastwood, John (Eastwood)		3		26	No rent for 1r 2p for 2 ways over land					Lands of John Eastwood	Lands of John Eastwood	DD/SR/31/4/6; DD/SR/1/15/51
1681-2	Ashworth, Lawrence	Strines Clough?	4			No details	394965	428134					DD/SR/31/4/8; DD/SR/1/15/51
1681-2	Greenwood, Paul	Hugeon Croft???	5									Highway between Heptonstall and Burnley	DD/SR/31/4/9; DD/SR/1/15/51
1681-2; 1680	Ashworth, Edmund		1.5			With cottage lately erected on the common			Lands of John Thomas			Lands of Edmund Ashworth	DD/SR/31/4/7; DD/SR/1/15/51
1681-2	Horsfall, Richard		4			No details							DD/SR/31/4/10; DD/SR/1/15/51
1681-2	Speake, John (Fieldhead)		4			No details							DD/SR/31/4/11; DD/SR/1/15/51
1682	Mitchell, James (Colden)	Land?	4.5		30	Mortgage			Lands of Luke Greenwood			Lands of Thomas Greenwood	YAS DD99/B22/19
1682-3	Midgley, Jonathan		4			No details							DD/SR/31/4/12; DD/SR/1/15/51
1683-4	Eastwood, Richard		2			No details							DD/SR/31/4/13; DD/SR/1/15/51
1683-4	Thomas, Christopher (Pallas House, Sowerby)	Rake Hey?	20				392764	426310	Bridestones	Hartley Clough	Common	Land of Christopher Thomas	DD/SR/31/4/14; DD/SR/1/15/51
1684-5	Cockroft, William (Mayroyd, Wadsworth)	Lower Murgatshaw - Rawtonstall Hey	14				396610	427874	Murgatshaw (lands of William Cockroft)	Highway between Heptonstall and Burnley	Rawtonstall Hey	Highway between Hebden Bridge and Burnley	DD/SR/31/4/15; DD/SR/1/15/51; Huddersfield DD/S/I/204

1684-5	Cockroft, William (Mayroyd?, Wadsworth), Thomas, Richard (Pallas House, Sowerby), Barker, Edmund, Fielden, John		3			To be inclosed [With Cottage plus 1 acre for poor of Stansfield]. No details							DD/SR/31/4/16; DD/SR/1/15/51
1686	Ashworth, Lawrence	Strines Clough?	6	0	0		395128	428080	Common	Highway between Colden and Rawtonstall	Common	Turf gate between Buntedge and Blackshawhead	DD/SR/1/15/51
1686-7; 1693	Ingham, Jonas (Langfield)		1.5			Very faded			Lands of Richard Wadsworth			Highway from Stiperden	DD/SR/31/4/18; DD/SR/1/15/51
1686-7	Sutcliffe, John (Colden, Heptonstall)	Brownhillside	6			To be inclosed	395900	427932	Lands of John Sutcliffe	Brown Hill	Highway between Heptonstall and Burnley		DD/SR/31/4/17; DD/SR/1/15/51; Huddersfield DD/S/I/204
1691-2	Horsfall, John	South of Hippins??	3				395957	426961	Lands of John Greenwood and Blackshawhead	Way between Blackshawhead and Crosstone	Lands of John Horsfall	Way between Staups and Hipperholme	DD/SR/31/4/20; DD/SR/1/15/51
1692-3	Cockroft, Henry (Heptonstall)	Stiperden Bank: between Bank Top and Lower Mount?	4			now lyeth enclosed	391258	427583	Highway between Heptonstall and Burnley	Lands of Henry Mitchell	Highway between Crosstone and Burnley	Lands of James Stansfield	DD/SR/31/4/21; DD/SR/1/15/51
1694	Redman, John (Wadsworth)	Scotland / Slade?	6			as it is now enclosed	395153	428884	Lands of John Greenwood of Radmore Clough	Lands of John Speake	Lands of John Greenwood [of] Land?	Commons	DD/SR/31/4/22; DD/SR/1/15/51; Huddersfield DD/S/I/204
1696	Mitchell, William (High Greenwood, Heptonstall)		6										DD/SR/26/238
1700-1	Ashworth, Edmund		2		60				Cartway to Blackshawhead	Commons	Highway to Blackshawhead	Lands of John Ashworth	DD/SR/31/4/23; DD/SR/1/15/51
1713-14	Horsfall, Richard (Heptonstall)	Burnt Edge??	25			to be taken and enclosed	394556	427753	Cartway to Blackshawhead	Commons	Lands of Richard Horsfall	Earnshaw Water	DD/SR/31/4/24
1721	Horsfall, Luke (Strines Clough)	Earnshaw Water	4			Lately enclosed	394865	427686					YAS DD99/B22/24

Appendix 11: Encroachments in Stansfield 1795-1813

Grid references are to a single estate or part of an estate where the data suggests different encroachments for a large estate. The enclosure map was used as guide to estates although some changed hands between 1804 and 1815. Blank grid references indicate either duplicate locations or locations which are uncertain.

Date	Encloser	General position	Unspec acres	Unspec roods	Unspec perches	Yards	Description	X Coordinate	Y Coordinate	Source
1795	Crossley, Luke	Balling Royd	1	3	18		New inclosure to his farm Bawling roy[d] in the Eastwood	395463	426167	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Foster, Henry (Wadsworth - Banks)	Hawkstones	2	0	38		New inclosure to his farm in the Halkstone	392161	427402	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Green, Lord (Laneside)	Laneside (Assumed to be Spring Head in Hawkstones, being land above Burnley Road, as Location details match)	6	0	39		New inclosure to his estate Laneside	391923	427562	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Greenwood, John (Southowram)	Hawkstones	1	3	30		Intended inclosure or inclosures in the Hawkstones. (Assumed to be land held by John Whitaker on enclosure map as farm is called Hawk Stones on OS map). But see also Hugeon Croft	392369	427299	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Ingham, John (Eastwood)	Moorside	0	3	13		New inclosure to his farm Moorside	395165	426278	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Midgley, William (Kebcoat)	Hugeon [Hugham] Croft	3	1	24		New inclosure to his estate Hugham Croft	392025	427451	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Ormrod, John	Intack	4	2	25		New inclosure [to Intack]. (Location details confirm it as above Hugeon Croft, not Intack)	392067	427538	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Shackleton, James (Halifax)	March Lane, Blackshaw	0	1	12		New inclosure in March Lane, Blackshaw	396686	426943	Notts DD/SR/1/19/45
1795	Wadsworth, Edmund (Higate, Blackshaw)	March Lane, Blackshaw	0	2	24		New inclosure in March Lane, Blackshaw			Notts DD/SR/1/19/45

1804	Foster, John (Banks)	Hawk Stones						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Hawk Stones			Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Greenwood, Henry	Hippins						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Hippins			Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Greenwood, John (Land)	Slade						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Slade	394784	429191	Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Greenwood, William (Leeds)	Hawkstones (see also Hugeon Croft)						Encroachment to be measured at Hawkstones			Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Horsfall, John (Burnt Edge)	Burnt Edge						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Burnt Edge			Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Staups - 3 whole closes & 2 pieces			Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	Daisy Bank						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Daisey Bank			Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Lister, Thomas	Clough						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Clough	395184	429236	Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Midgley, William (Kebcoat)	Hugeon [Engine] Croft						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Hugeon Croft			Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Mitchell, Sarah (Hilltop)	Hilltop						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Hilltop	395092	428503	Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Stansfield, George (Lower Birks)	Barley Croft						Estate at Barley Croft (Assumed to be end of long strip of fields)	395075	427287	Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Sutcliffe, Henry (Lee)	Upper Moss Hall (Assumed - data has Moss Hall)						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Moss Hall - 2 pieces. (Assumed to be area north of Burnley Road)	394311	427594	Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Utley, Michael (Blackshaw)	Height Top						Encroachment to be measured at estate at Height Top	396366	427627	Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1804	Walton, John	High Gate [Highgates}						Estate at Highgates	396480	427502	Notts DD/SR/1/19/53
1812	Bent, Hamlet (Mytholm)	West Bar	1	0	1	11	Added to his estate at West Bar. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	395432	427684	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39

1812	Crossley, John	Knowlend	4	3	5	32	Added to his estate at Knowlend. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.			Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Crossley, John	Stavely Cote	2	1	26	0	Added to his estate at Stavely Cote. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	395685	426343	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Eastwood, William (Eastwood)	Knowlend	1	2	28	1	Added to his estate at Knowlend. Part converted into dam and canal. Part used as pasture. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	396084	426297	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Greenwood and Priestley, Messrs	Warcock Hill	1	2	3	24	Added to their estate at Warcockhill. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	395049	427714	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Greenwood, John	Land	1	2	24	27	Added to his estate at Land. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	395226	428842	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Greenwood, John (Halifax)	Strine Clough	0	2	0	0	Added to his estate at Strine Clough. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	394978	428147	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Greenwood, Mr (Halifax)	White Reaps	2	1	24	10	Added to his estate at White Reaps. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.			Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Hodgson, Thomas	Kitson Royd	0	0	3	28	Added to his estate at Kitson Royd. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	391078	426723	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39

1812	Horsefall, John	Staups [Stawps]	8	1	8	37	Added to his estate at Stawps. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins. (Assumed that encroachment is both sides of Staups lane as total here is 11.24 statute acres and total on map is 10.45)	396138	426731	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Horsefall, William	Staups [Stawps]	0	1	12	19	Added to his estate at Stawps. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.			Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Ingham, Amos	Lower Hartley	3	3	13	28	Added to his estate at Lower Hartley. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins. (Assumed to be land bordering on Hudson Moor)	392293	426105	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Ingham, Mr (Castle)	Daisy Bank	7	4	0	0	Added to his estate at Daisy Bank. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	394435	427286	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	King, James	Blackshaw Head	0	1	9	2	Added to his estate at Blackshawhead. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	395962	427796	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Ormrod, Henry (Croft House)	Shore Green	0	0	7	7	Added to his estate at Croft House. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	391420	426857	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Stansfield, George	Lane Top	2	0	18	14	Added to his estate at Lane Top. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	395325	427703	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39

Year	Name	Place					Notes			Reference
1812	Sutcliffe, Jonathan (Rawtonstall)	Burnt Edge [Bunt Edge]	0	1	17	28	Added to his estate at Bunt Edge from Burnt Edge Moor. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	394484	428014	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Sutcliffe, William (Royd)	Hipperholm	0	0	23	16	Added to his estate at Hipperholm. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins. (Assumed to be encroachment onto woodland to south based on OS field pattern)	396648	426125	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Trustees of Henry Mitchell	Lower Mount	0	1	17	30	Added to his estate at Lower Mount. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins. (May be same as Enclosure award)	391399	427481	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Turner, Alexander (Leeds)	Heath (Assumed to be Heath at Colden) (Highgreen Wood Common)	14	3	8	26	Added to his estate at Heath. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	394223	429331	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Turner, Jonas	Blackshaw Head	3	2	7	18	Added to his estate at Blackshawhead; 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	395846	427874	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1812	Whitham, John (Clivicher Lathe)	Upper Mount [Higher Mount]	1	0	13	30	Added to his estate at Higher Mount. 1812 Court Roll suggests this is statute measure - see Hippins.	391559	427525	Notts DD/SR/1/15/38; DD/SR/1/15/40; DD/SR/1/15/39
1813	Crossley, Abraham	Hill Nook?	0	1	4	9	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	394518	429423	WYAS TT 171
1813	Crossley, John (Knowlend)	Knowlend?	0	2	36	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	395924	426260	WYAS TT 171
1813	Crossley, John (Knowlend)	Knowlend?	0	2	31	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Crossley, John (Knowlend)	Knowlend?	1	0	0	12	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171

1813	Crossley, John (Knowlend)	Knowlend?	0	3	39	14	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Crossley, John (Knowlend)	Knowlend?	1	1	30	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Dickenson, Elihu (Shore)	Green End Shore (Assumed - data has Shore)	0	2	18	14	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	390931	426917	WYAS TT 171
1813	Eastwood, Thomas		0	0	38	0	Enclosures since 1793. Part of a close. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Eastwood, William						Enclosures since 1793. Waste piece. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Foster, Henry (Hawkstones)	Hawkstones?	1	2	37	6.6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Greenwood, Henry (Burnley)	Hippins	1	2	19	7	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch. 1812 Court Roll has 2a 2r 14p which is statute measure	394911	427205	WYAS TT 171; Notts DD/SR/1/15/39
1813	Greenwood, John		1	0	9	8	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Greenwood, John (Hugon Croft)	Hugon Croft?	1	2	18	14	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Greenwood, John (Hugon Croft)	Hugon Croft?	0	2	36	14	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Greenwood, John (Land)	Land?	1	0	1	9	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Greenwood, John (Roadside)	Roadside? (Cannot trace)	0	0	5	14	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Greenwood, John (Scotland)	Scotland?	0	0	28	7.6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	395050	428788	WYAS TT 171
1813	Higgen, John		0	0	35	12	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Higgen, Lawrence		1	1	26	15	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Hodgson, Thomas	Parrock Shore (Assumed - data has Shore)	0	0	8	14	Enclosures since 1793. Part of a field at Shore. 7 yard perch	391056	426970	WYAS TT 171

1813	Horsfall, John (Buntedge)	Burnt Edge? [Bunt Edge]	0	0	15	7	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	394712	427848	WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	0	0	23	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch. (Assumed that encroachment is both sides of Staups lane as total here is 11.24 statute acres and total on map is 10.45)	396098	426645	WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	1	2	39	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	1	1	5	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	1	3	19	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	1	3	20	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	1	1	12	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	1	2	10	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	0	3	8	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John (Staups)	Staups?	0	0	9	0	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John??	Warcock Hill	0	2	35	7	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, John??	Warcock Hill	0	1	29	9	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, William (Staups)	Staups?	0	0	20	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	396073	426902	WYAS TT 171
1813	Horsfall, William (Staups)	Staups?	0	1	33	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Ingham, Amos (Bridestones)	Bridestones?	2	3	10	2.6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	392703	426957	WYAS TT 171

1813	Ingham, Maria (Keelham)	Cloughhead?	1	3	28	8	Enclosures since 1793. Yet unenclosed. 7 yard perch	394973	426437	WYAS TT 171
1813	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	Daisy Bank (Assumed - data has Blackshaw but total nos of square yards is roughly equivalent to Daisy Bank)	5	3	35	6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	394235	427380	WYAS TT 171
1813	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	Daisy Bank (Assumed - data has Blackshaw but total nos of square yards is roughly equivalent to Daisy Bank)	1	1	9	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	Daisy Bank (Assumed - data has Blackshaw but total nos of square yards is roughly equivalent to Daisy Bank)	1	0	1	8	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	Daisy Bank (Assumed - data has Blackshaw but total nos of square yards is roughly equivalent to Daisy Bank)	3	2	35	6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	White Reaps (Assumed - data has Reaps)	0	1	3	8	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	394534	426952	WYAS TT 171
1813	Ingham, Richard (Castle)	White Reaps (Assumed - data has Reaps)	1	0	20	7	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Lister, Thomas	Top o the Hill (Assumed - data has Brow. Marked as Summer Hill on Enclosure map)	0	1	22	10	Enclosures since 1793. 2 bits in Brow. 7 yard perch	395028	429160	WYAS TT 171
1813	Lister, Thomas		0	0	20	8	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Mitchell, Henry (Mount)	Lower Mount (Assumed - data has Mount)	0	1	0	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Ormerod, Henry		0	0	15	12	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171

1813	Ormerod, Henry		0	0	36	4.6	Enclosures since 1793. Uninclosed. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Ormerod, John (Intack)	Intack?	3	0	8	6.6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Ormerod, Robert		0	0	9	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Stansfield, George (Blackshawhead)	Lane Top (Assumed - data has near Blackshawhead)	1	0	37	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Sutcliffe, Henry (Upper Mosshall)	Upper Mosshall?	4	0	12	7.6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Sutcliffe, Thomas		3	3	35	9	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Sutcliffe, Thomas (Laneside)	Laneside?	0	0	6	14	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Turner, Alexander	High House (Assumed - data has Nodale)	2	2	21	8	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch	393808	429129	WYAS TT 171
1813	Turner, Alexander	High House (Assumed - data has Nodale)	2	0	16	8	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Turner, Alexander	High House (Assumed - data has Nodale)	1	3	14	8	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Turner, Alexander	High House (Assumed - data has Nodale)	2	0	39	6	Enclosures since 1793. 2 pieces planted. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Turner, Jonas (Blackshawhead)	Blackshawhead (Assumed - data has near Blackshawhead)	2	1	14	9.6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Whittaker, John		0	2	4	6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Whittam, John		0	0	7	6	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Whittam, John		0	0	19	11	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171
1813	Whittam, John		0	2	22	10	Enclosures since 1793. 7 yard perch			WYAS TT 171

Appendix No.12

Allocation of Erringden Park 1451

The following table summarises the evidence for the way in which the park of Erringden was allocated to tenants on dispalement of the park in 1451 and which is mapped in Figure 7.18.

Tenant	Text of 1451 grant (according to Watson[1])	Rent (shillings)	Acreage (rounded up)	Mapping basis (Boundaries are based on an interpretation of the grant of 1451 where possible and are otherwise conjectural based on the assumed acreage)
Thomas Stancefeild	A fourth part of the said park as it lay between Birnedakiryhate and Beamonde-cloughe	120	752	**North-west and South-west**: park boundary beyond Burnt Acres. **East**: Beaumont Clough and line from high point of Edge End Moor to corner of remnant ditch that may be the Mandike. **South**: Boundary of parcel allocated to Sunderland **South-east:** Boundary of parcel allocated to Eastwood.
Thomas Southercliffe	Another fourth of the said park, as it lay between Beamonde-cloughe and Hawks-clough	120	752	**West**: Beaumont Clough and high point of Edge End Moor **East**: Stubb Clough leading to modern settlement of Hawks Clough. Remnant ditch that may be the Mandike, extended to high point of Rake Head that may represent the original line of the Mandike before it descends towards Old Chamber. **South**: Line from high point of Edge End Moor to corner of remnant ditch that may be the Mandike.
Richard Fournes	Another parcel called Sexokekerres, lying between Hawkes-clough and Hoohoile, to the aforesaid stones in Mandike	50	313	**North**: Stubb Clough leading to modern settlement of Hawks Clough. **South**: Old Harry Lane and footpath running down crest of ridge past Daisy Bank. **West**: Remnant ditch on Erringden Moor that may be the Mandike

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[1] J. Watson, *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire*, (Reprint of 1775 ed., Manchester, E.J. Morten, 1973), p.79.

Thomas Southercliffe	A part of the said park lying between Hoohoile and Brodehedecloughe, to the three stones on Eringden moor, which is called Mandike, where the division of the park ends	68	425	**North**: Old Harry Lane and footpath running down crest of ridge past Daisy Bank. **South**: Lower reaches of Parrock Clough which is assumed to once have been called Broad Head Clough as it rises on Broad Head. Extends to Bell House Moor on south side of the valley in order to accommodate the acreage. **West**: Remnant ditch on Erringden Moor that may be the Mandike.
Ralph Estwodd	Another parcel lying between Brodehedecloughe and the white stone in the Cragg, and to the aforesaid stones in Mandike; and another small parcel near Simmewife-clough	26	163	**North**: Parrock Clough and boundaries of Sutcliffe allocation on Bell House Moor. **West:** Remnant ditch on Erringden Moor that may be the Mandike. **South**: The Cragg is assumed to refer to the area where Higher and Lower Cragg farms are located. **Small parcel**: Simmewifeclough is assumed to be the area around Whams as it is the only other clough on the eastern side of the park.
John Ryleye	Another parcel lying between the white stone in the Cragg and another stone beyond Gunerwalle-nase, (now called Nase- end)	25	157	**North-east**: The Cragg is assumed to refer to the area where Higher and Lower Cragg farms are located. **South-west**: Standing Stone Fields as marked on the First edition 6 inch OS map. Gunerwallenase is assumed to be the area where Hill Top farm now is.
Robert Akeroid	Another parcel lying between Le Great Oller and Hawks-cloughe	21	132	**North**: Boundary of allocation to Ryley. **South**: Withens Clough. **East**: Cragg Brook. **West:** Rud Clough farm and wood as marked on the First edition 6 inch OS map. It is assumed that an earlier name was Hawks Clough.
John Sunderland	Another parcel lying between the said stone beyond Gunerwalle-nase and Lez Withennes, and so to Bannesterdike	50	313	**East**: Standing Stone Fields as marked on the First edition 6 inch OS map. Gunerwallenase is assumed to be the area where Hill Top farm now is. **West**: Withens farms (now deserted as a result of the construction of Withens Clough Reservoir).

				North: Bannesterdike is assumed to follow the line of the old footpath on the First edition 6 inch OS map that leads from Pasture Top farm towards Knowl Hill. In a deed of 7 February 1408, Edward, Duke of York granted his tenant Roger Banister a parcel of pasture in Sowerbyshire, called Mareshaw. As Mareshaw is towards the bottom of Sunderland pasture it seems quite possible that this Roger Bannister gave his name to a boundary ditch which he created to mark the top of his new pasture area.[2]
Total			**3007 acres**	

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[2] Watson, J., *The history and antiquities of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire*, (Reprint of 1775 ed., Manchester, E.J. Morten, 1973), pp.118-19.

Appendix No.13

Commons and pastures in Erringden

The following table summarises the details of the commons and pastures identified in Erringden and mapped in Figure 7.20.

Pasture or Common name	Property with rights (Year)	Size in 1828 (to nearest acre)	Date first recorded	Description	Mapping basis. All boundaries are conjectural	Sources
Sunderland Pasture	Cragg Hall (1828)	473	1607	The Sunderland family owned a very large 'ynhey and outpasture' in 1607 that extended from the south-west boundary of the park to Roughhead in the north and Hill Top in the east. A turbary agreement in 1689 refers to the moors of Abraham Sunderland called the Great Pasture, the Over Pasture and the Inhey. The remnant of this pasture is still marked as Sunderland Pasture on the modern OS map. The eastern half of Sunderland Pasture was enclosed by Christopher Rawson of Cragg Hall in the 1830s to create five new farms.	Size in 1828 and extent given in 1607 and 1740. Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** HAS/B:15/3/1;[1] MISC 64/32 and 33; SU 407. **YAS:** DD99/B2/94 **Borthwick:** John Sunderland of Horseholle, Jan. 1623, Prob. Reg. 37 f.542.

[1] Hill Top is referred to as Dunsparke in this document but it seems likely that they are the same place as in the eighteenth century Hill Top held half of the pasture plus 2 acres more that adjoined the farm (WYAS(C):HAS 378 (425)/25-29; MISC 64/32 and 33). The dun element means a hill: A.H. Smith, *The place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Part 7: Introduction, bibliography, river-names, analyses*, English Place-Name Society Vol. 36, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1962), p.181.

Higham Pasture	Height	63	1749		Size in 1828 and location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** DW:A/169; SU 407
Height Rough (High Holme?)	Higham and Height Gate		1799	Lost but may be represented by what is now called Height Rough below Lodge Hill.	Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** HAS 362 (429)/101
Dam Hey	Higham and Height Gate		1799	Dan Hey in 1799	Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** HAS 362 (429)/101
Lodge Hill	Higham, Height and Height Gate		1749	Lodge Hey in 1749	Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** DW:A/169
Edge End Moor	Cruttonstall, Edge End and Oaks		1616	In the seventeenth century this pasture area was variously referred to as Crontonstall (1616), Crontonstallhey (1622) or Cruntonstall moore hey (1681). Only by 1753 was it being called Edge End Moor. The pasture was divided equally between the settlements of Cruttonstall, Edge End and Oaks. It has been suggested that this is likely to represent a continuation of the pasture use by Cruttonstall vaccary in the thirteenth century.[2]	Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**YAS:** DD99/B2/61, 67, 68, 87, 91, 136

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[2] N. Smith, 'Crutonstall vaccary: the Extent in 1309', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society,* 16 (New Series), (2008), pp.18-23 at pp.20-21.

Roughhead		83	1612	In 1546 Robert Sutcliffe of Hollock Lee left 'all my lande in the roughe hede' to his wife. The location lies at the head of a long shallow depression between Edge End Moor and Erringden Moor, the name indicating that much of this depression was rough pasture. Settlement here is first recorded in 1612-13 when a messuage "lately built" is referred to, with both Swillington and Blackhowse being referred to by name.	Size in 1828 and location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** MISC 517/105; SU 407 **Borthwick:** Robert Sutclif of Holloke Lee, Aug. 1546, Prob. Reg. 13 f.233
Owtepasture	Roughhead		1612		Location adjoining Swillington in 1612	**WYAS(C):** MISC 517/107
Great Hey	Horsehold		1621	A pasture called the Great Hey or 'Horsholte Hey' in 1621 which was shared in mean between two farms at Horsehold. This appears to have extended as far as another pasture called Killingshey. The process of subdividing the Great Hey into smaller closes had already begun by this date as John Sunderland had recently created two closes of arable land on the eastern side of the hey. Sometime before 1715 a farm called Bents was established on these closes which were divided into three. By the 1820s the estate was owned by Armytage Rhodes of Mytholm who built Erringden	Location described in 1621	**Borthwick:** John Sunderland of Horseholte, Jan. 1623, Prob. Reg. 37 f.542. **WYAS(C):** FP 10, 11

				Grange as a model farm. The farm appears in the 1828 valuation list without any field names suggesting that it had recently been created, a view reinforced by the fact that an appendix to the 1828 list covering changes between 1831 and 1837 refers to 14 acres that have been improved since the 1828 valuation and an additional 24 acres that have recently been enclosed. Given its location between Bents and Kilnshaw, it seems very likely that Erringden Grange was created from the Great Hey.		
Kilnshaw Pasture	Horsehold	14	1621	John Sunderland of Horsehold had recently bought half of a pasture called Killingshey (or Killingshaie), according to his will of 1621. Bents farm also had grazing rights on Killingshey, referred to as Kenall Shaie in 1715, Kennelshaw in 1720 and Kellon Shaw in 1749.	Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**Borthwick:** John Sunderland of Horseholle, Jan. 1623, Prob. Reg. 37 f.542. **WYAS(C):** FP 10, 11; SU 407; DW:A/169; DW 4
Upper and Lower Kilnshaw Common	Horsehold	9		Part of Kennelshaw, now called Kilnshaw, appears to also have been classified as common.	Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** SU 407
Common	Horsehold	21	1828		Size in 1828 and proximity to Kilnshaw Common	**WYAS(C):** SU 407

Palacehousehey (Pallyshowsehey)	Palace House		1572	'Palishouseheye' (Pallyshowsehey' in 1572) adjoined the Horsehold fields and can reasonably be placed between Horsehold and Old Chamber.	Location adjoining Horsehold fields in 1572	**YAS:** DD 99/B2/9, 10, 11 **WYAS(C):** FP 10, 11
Old Chamber Hey (Old Chamberheie)	Old Chamber		1572	Grazing and turbary rights were held in Old Chamberheye by the settlement of Hollock Lee.	Location of Old Chamber on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**YAS:** DD 99/B2/12, 28
Wood Hey					Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	
Greenhalgh (Greenhaughe)	Hollock Lee		1760	Greenhaughe (or Greenhalgh) appears to have been used as a rough pasture by part of Hollock Lee.	Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	
Broadhead	Great House and Hollock Lee	17	1579	Great House owned six beastgates on 'a certain rough pasture called the Broadhead' located in between Hollock Lee common and Greenhaughe.	Size in 1828 and location on estate map of 176	**WYAS(C):** SU 407; MISC 64/35 **YAS:** DD99/H1; DD 99/B2/15
Commons	Hollock Lee	32	1828		Size in 1828 and location on estate map of 1760	**WYAS(C):** SU 407 **YAS:** DD99/H1
Bell House Common	Bell House	77	1612		Size in 1828 and location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	**WYAS(C):** HAS 566-593 (635); SU 407

Common	Crumber Hill	8	1828		Assumed to be located adjacent to Bell House Common	**WYAS(C):** SU 407
Common	Frost Hole	22	1828		Assumed to be located adjacent to Bell House Common	**WYAS(C):** SU 407
Common	Upper Lumb	35	1828		Assumed to be located adjacent to Bell House Common	**WYAS(C):** SU 407
Erringden Moor					Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	
Commons	Daisy Bank	21	1828		Assumed is part of Erringden Moor	**WYAS(C):** SU 407
Commons	Owned by William Foster	27	1828		Assumed is part of Erringden Moor allocated to owners of Carr, Fold, Haven, Lane Side and Wood Top	**WYAS(C):** SU 407
Commons	Owned by William Foster, Gamaliel Sutcliffe and William	37	1828		Assumed is part of Erringden Moor allocated to owners of Carr, Fold, Haven, Lane Side, Wood Top, Hawks	**WYAS(C):** SU 407

	Greenwood				Clough, Park, Stocks and Great Stubbs	
Cock Hill Moor					Location on OS First Edition map 1:10,560 1851-54.	
Common	Jumps	25	1828		Assumed is part of Cock Hill Moor	**WYAS(C):** SU 407
Common	Owned by Armytage Rhodes	32	1828		Assumed is part of Cock Hill Moor	**WYAS(C):** SU 407

Notes

1. The rough location of the majority of areas is known from documentary or cartographic evidence as evidenced in the table.
2. Where the area of a pasture unit is known from the 1828 valuation, it is approximated on the map based on the assumption that the valuation figure was in statute acres.
3. Where named pasture areas still survive on the modern OS map, the boundaries are generally those delineated on that map.
4. Where the area of a pasture unit is not known, its extent has been determined largely by the boundaries of adjacent units. In the case of the Great Heye the extent has been assumed to be coterminous with the planned fieldscape associated with Erringden Grange.
5. Some areas of common are known from the 1828 valuation but the location is not. These commons have been assumed to coexist on the three moors that occupy the highest ground. The boundaries of these moors are conjectural based on the known areas of common and the locations of the estates that probably held rights in those commons. These estates are assumed to be those held by the owners of the common as detailed in the 1828 valuation.

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MP 16/1 A map of the township of Stansfield in the parish of Halifax, by J. Whitworth, 1805.

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