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TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE AND AGRARIAN ORGANISATION

IN MEDIAEVAL AND SIXTEENTH CENTURY COPELAND, CUMBERLAND.

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Durham

by

Angus James Logie Winchester.

Volume II.

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Hett Mill,

Co. Durham.

January, 1978

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Figure: 1.1

COPELAND: RELIEF AND DRAINAGE

Source:

Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 sheets: 89,96; (1:63,360 sheets: 82, 88).

Note:

Spot heights are given in feet above sea level.

Figure: 1.1.

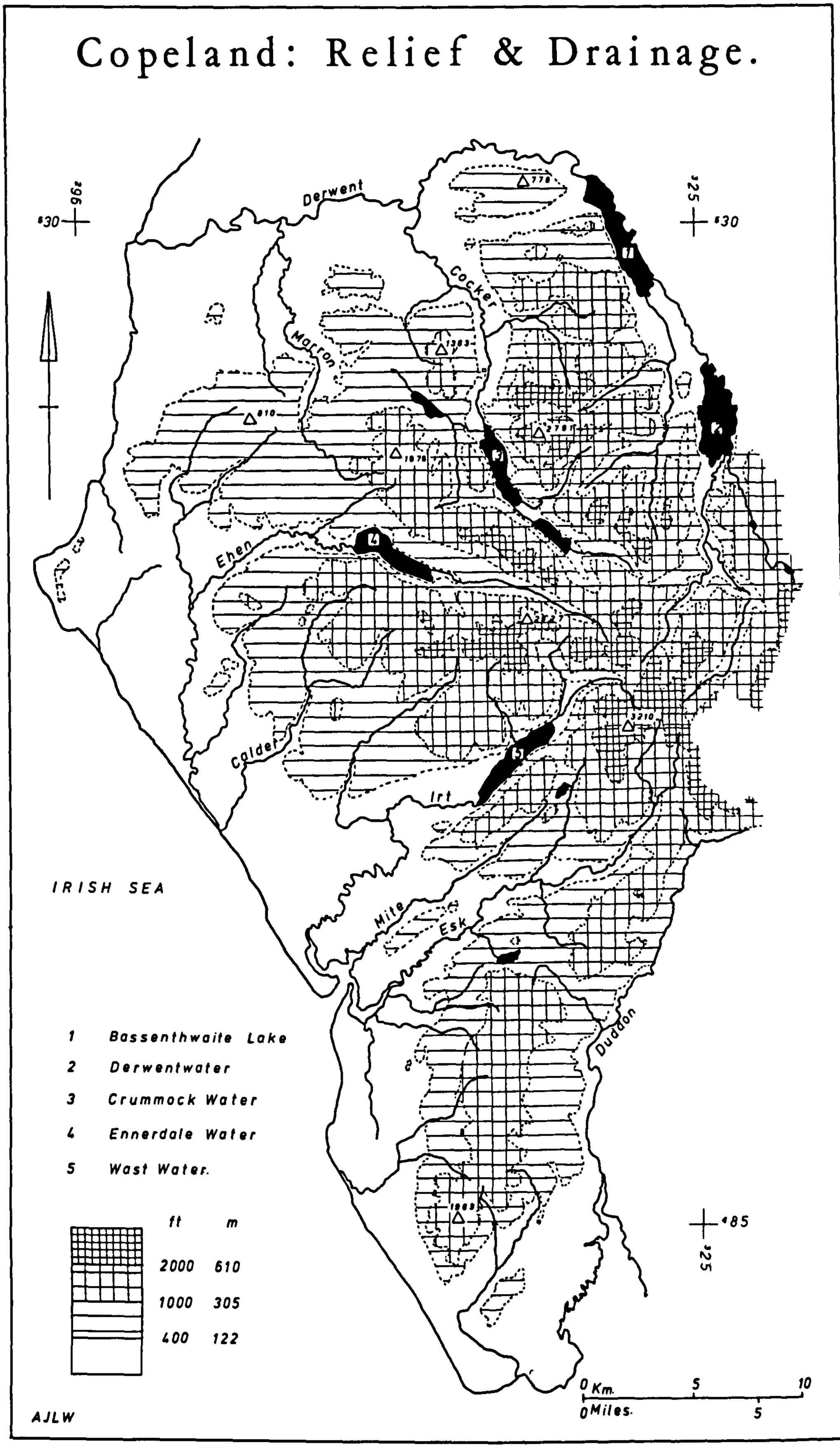

Copeland: Relief & Drainage.
Derwent
Cocker
Marron
Ehen
Calder
Irt
Mite
Esk
Duddon
IRISH SEA
778
1383
810
1078
2701
2212
3210
1969
1 Bassenthwaite Lake
2 Derwentwater
3 Crummock Water
4 Ennerdale Water
5 Wast Water.
ft m
2000 610
1000 305
400 122
0 Km. 5 10
0 Miles. 5
AJLW

Figure: 1.2

GEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

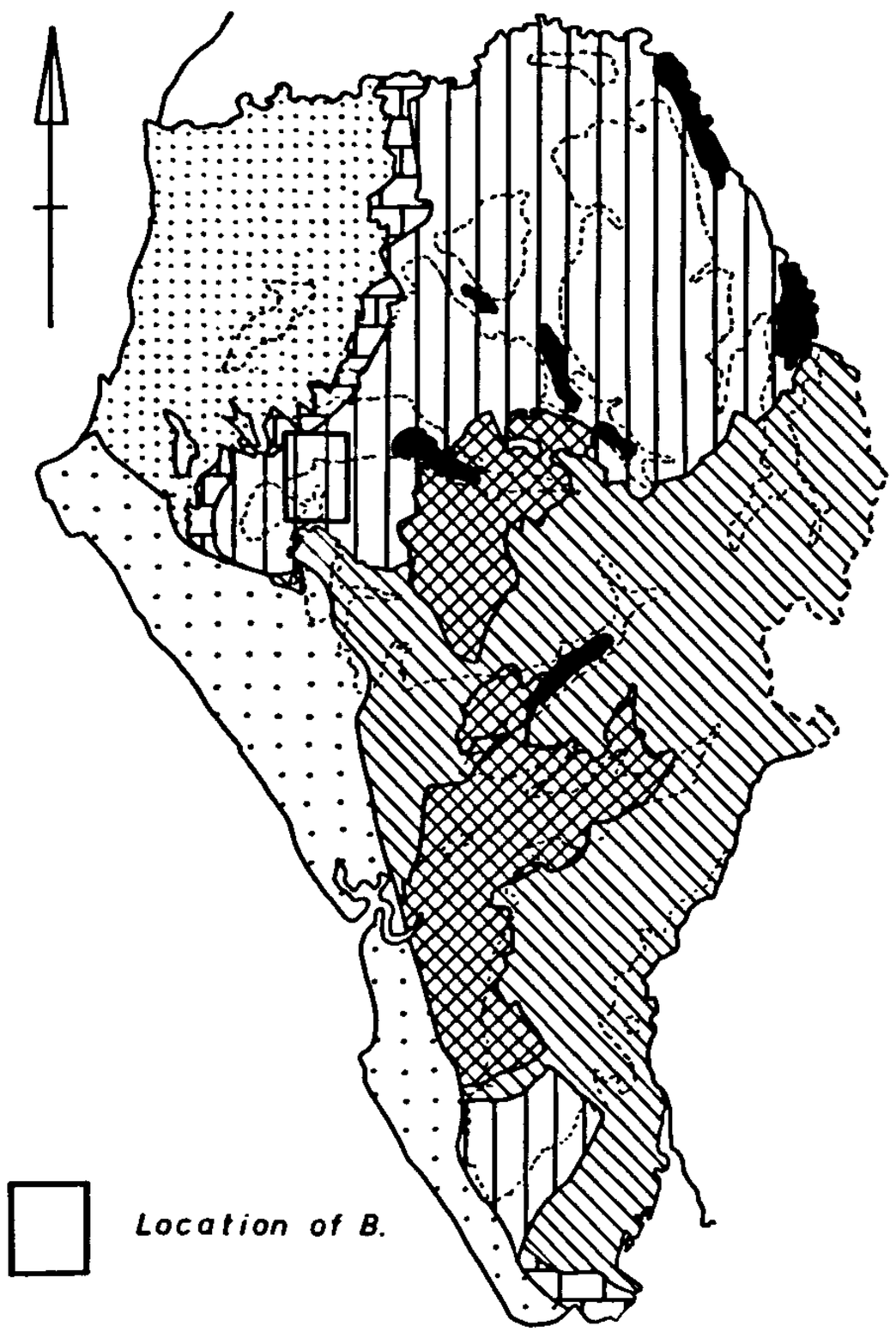
Sources:

A - Marr: 1916, Map opp. p.220, collated with Geological Survey 1:63,360 sheets 28, 37.

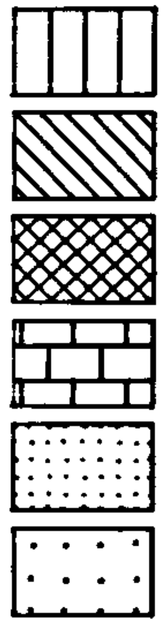
B - Geological Survey, 1:63,360 sheet 28 (Drift).

GEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND.

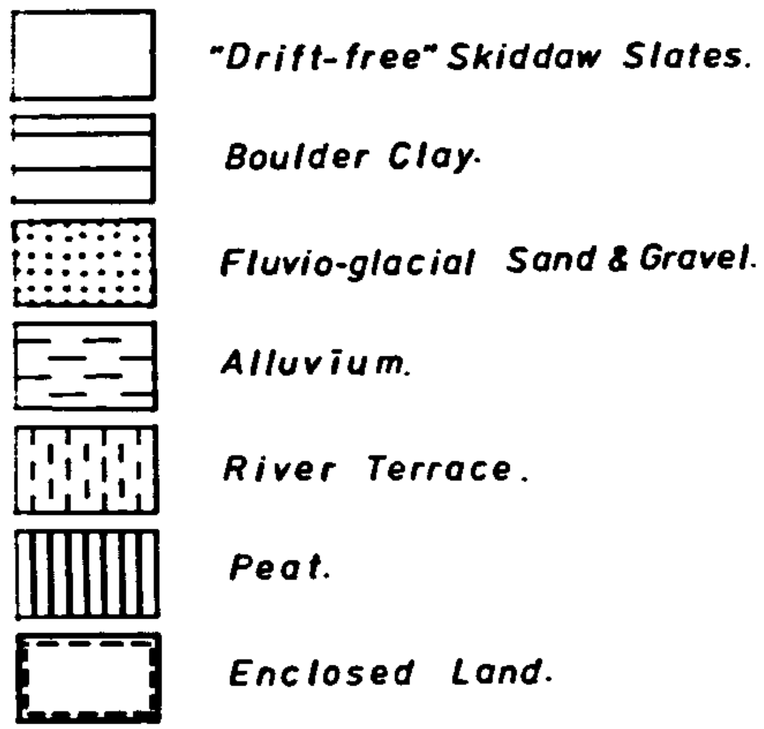
A: COPELAND: SOLID GEOLOGY.



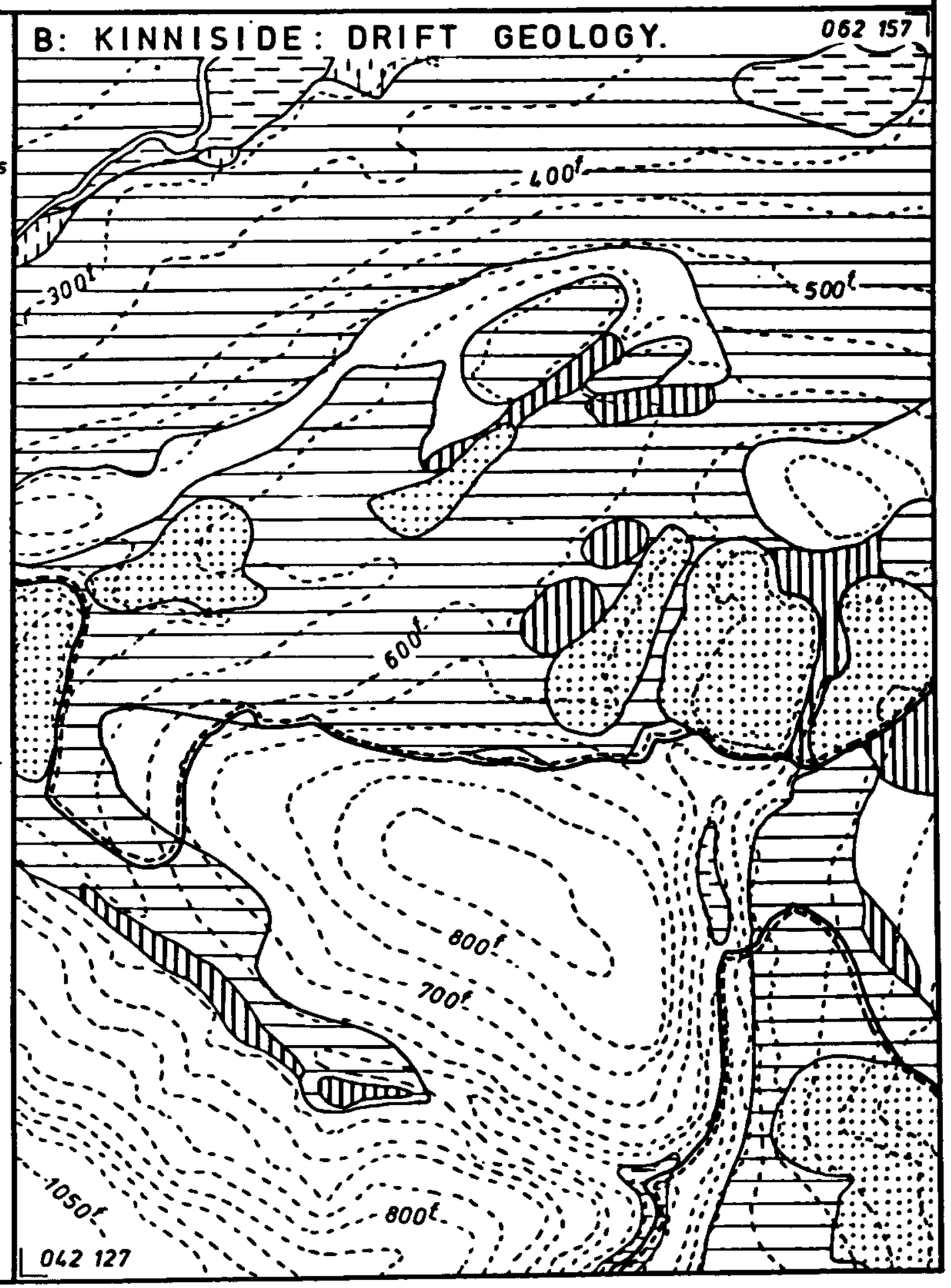
A:



B:



B: KINNISIDE: DRIFT GEOLOGY.



-308-

Figure: 1.2.

Figure: 1.3

COPELAND: SETTLEMENT AND THE HEAD-DYKE

Sources:

Map of Cumberland, by J. Hodskinson and T. Donald, 1774.

Ordnance Survey, 1:10,560 sheets, first edition (1860-64).

Plans accompanying Tithe Commutation Awards, c1840 (C.R.O. DRC/8).

Plans accompanying Enclosure Awards (see Figure: 1.4).

Figure: 1.3.

Copeland: Settlement & the Head-dyke.

from sources: 1770-1860

Wo.

Wh.

0 Km. 5 10

0 Miles. 5

SETTLEMENT:

Farmstead site; linked farm names.

Clustered settlement — Row plan; Agglomerated.

Industrial urban settlement:
Wo = Workington
Wh = Whitehaven

HEAD DYKE:

Extent of waste on eve of Parliamentary Enclosure.

AJLW

Figure: 1.4

COPELAND: ENCLOSURE OF WASTE AFTER 1600

Sources:

Plans accompanying Enclosure Awards and Agreements, 1743-1872 (C.R.O. QRE/1).

Enclosure agreements for which plans do not survive:-

A - Beckermet, 1758 - "Bickermouth in St Bridgets they have have lately Inclosed their Comon" (C.R.O. D/Lec/300/ Brown's Survey: Egremont Lordship). Approximate extent gauged by field-names in Moor, Calder Lordship Survey, 1793 (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Calder Plan:14).

B - Corney Moor, 1814 - see Figure: 1.7.

Documentary evidence of enclosure from waste post-1600:-

(i) southern end of Greysouthen Moor (NY 07 26) enclosed by agreement, 1742 (C.R.O. D/Ben/1/2458).

(ii) Birkness Outclose, Buttermere (NY 18 14) enclosed 1750 x 1845 (comparison of Survey of Gatesgarth estate, 11 Sept. 1750 (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Gatesgarth deeds) with Buttermere Tithe Plan, 1845 (C.R.O. DRC/8/35)).

(iii) Cow pastures, Eskdale, apparently enclosed during 17th or 18th centuries (C.R.O. D/Lec/Eskdale Commons, Cattle Drift & Heaf Award, 1587; D/Ben/passim:- Lawsuit papers, Sharp v Tyson, 1795).

Figure: 1.4.

Copeland: Enclosure of Waste after 1600.

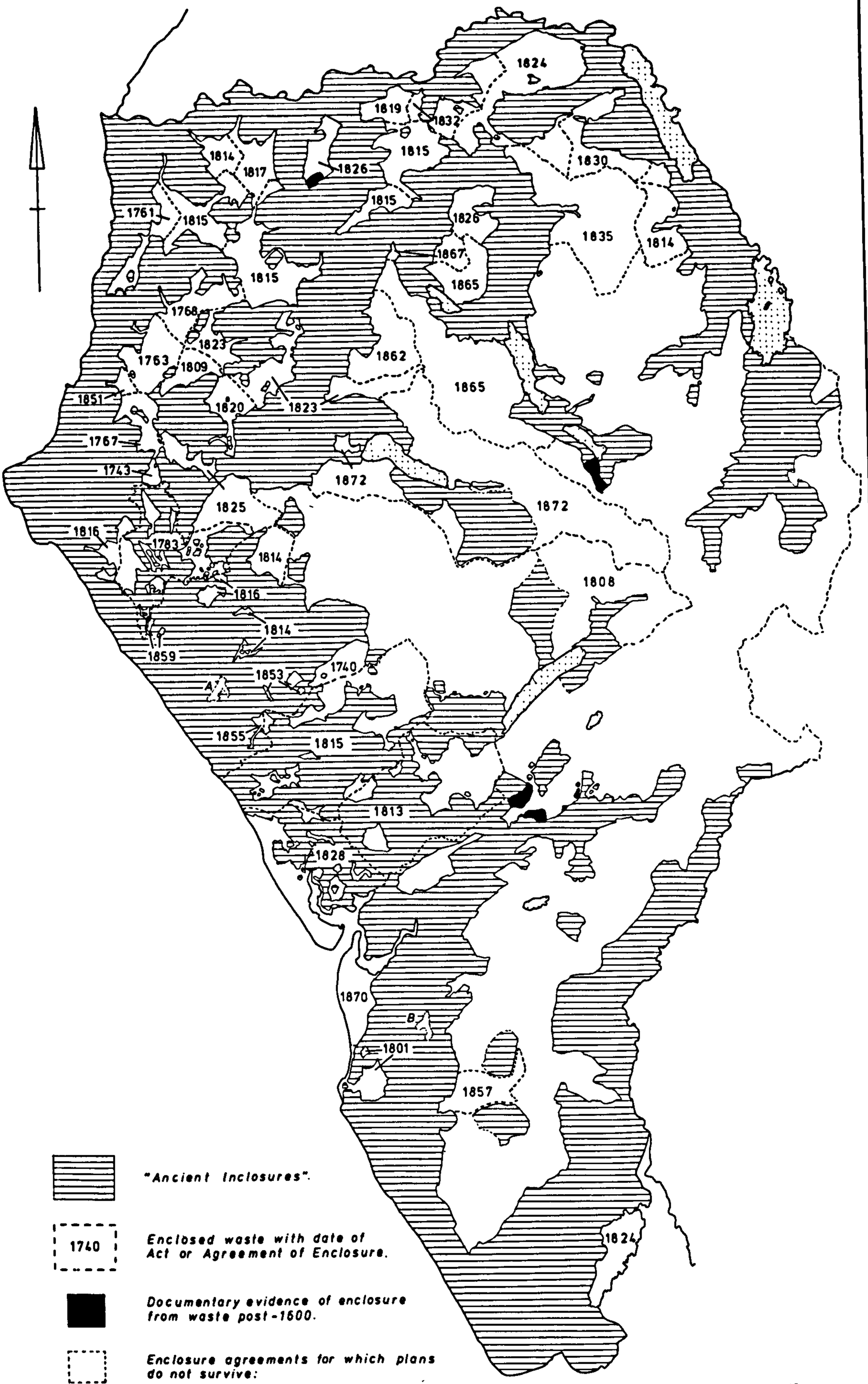


Figure: 1.5

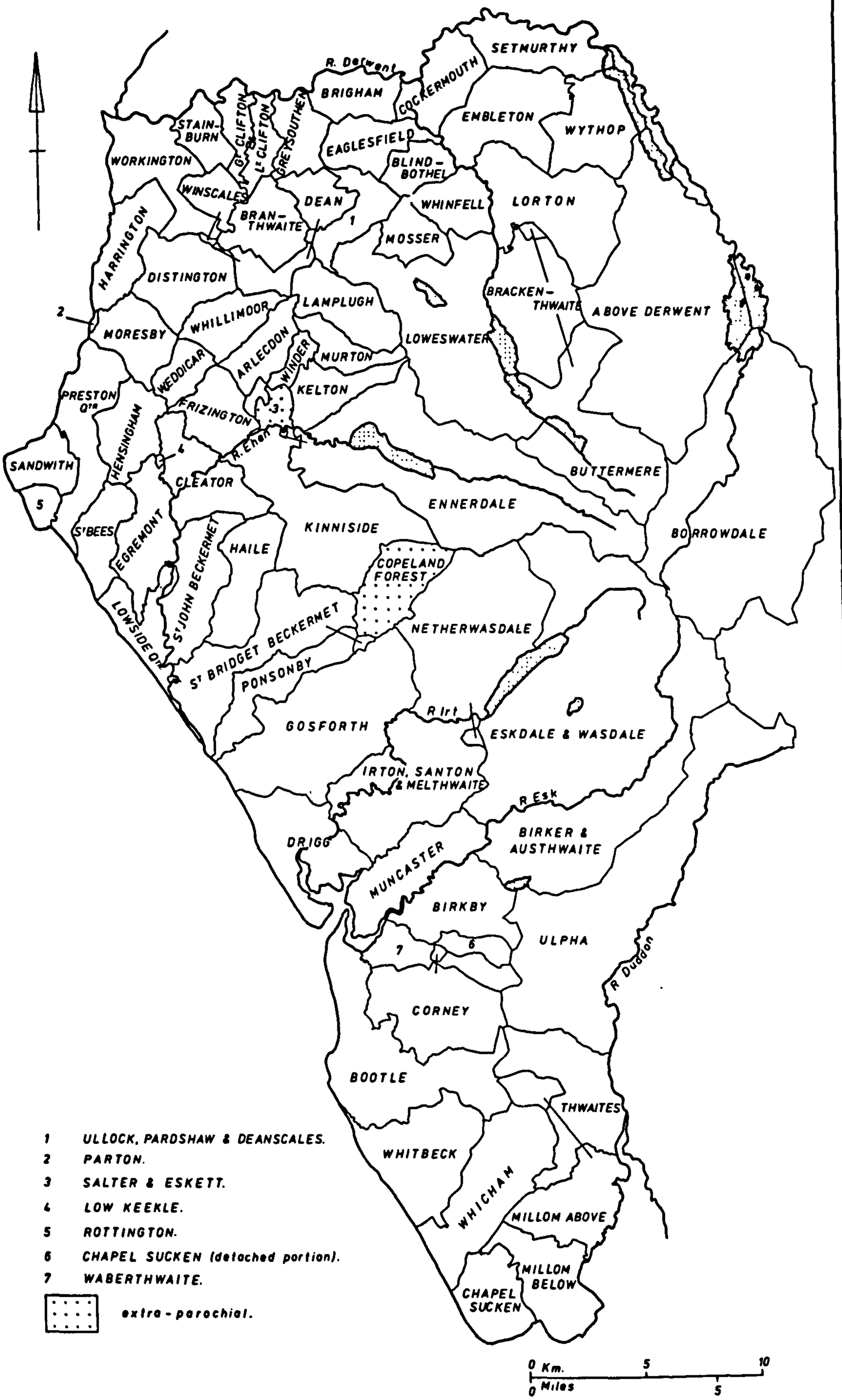
COPELAND: POOR LAW TOWNSHIPS

Source:

Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 sheets, first edition, 1860-64.

Figure: 1.5.

COPELAND: POOR LAW TOWNSHIPS



1 ULLOCK, PARDSHAW & DEANSCALES.
2 PARTON.
3 SALTER & ESKETT.
4 LOW KEEKLE.
5 ROTTINGTON.
6 CHAPEL SUCKEN (detached portion).
7 WABERTHWAITE.

extra-parochial.

AJLW

Figure: 1.6

COPELAND: RELIEF, ENCLOSED LAND AND TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES

For sources, see Figures: 1.1, 1.4, 1.5.

Figure: 1.6.

Copeland: Relief, Enclosed Land & Township Boundaries.

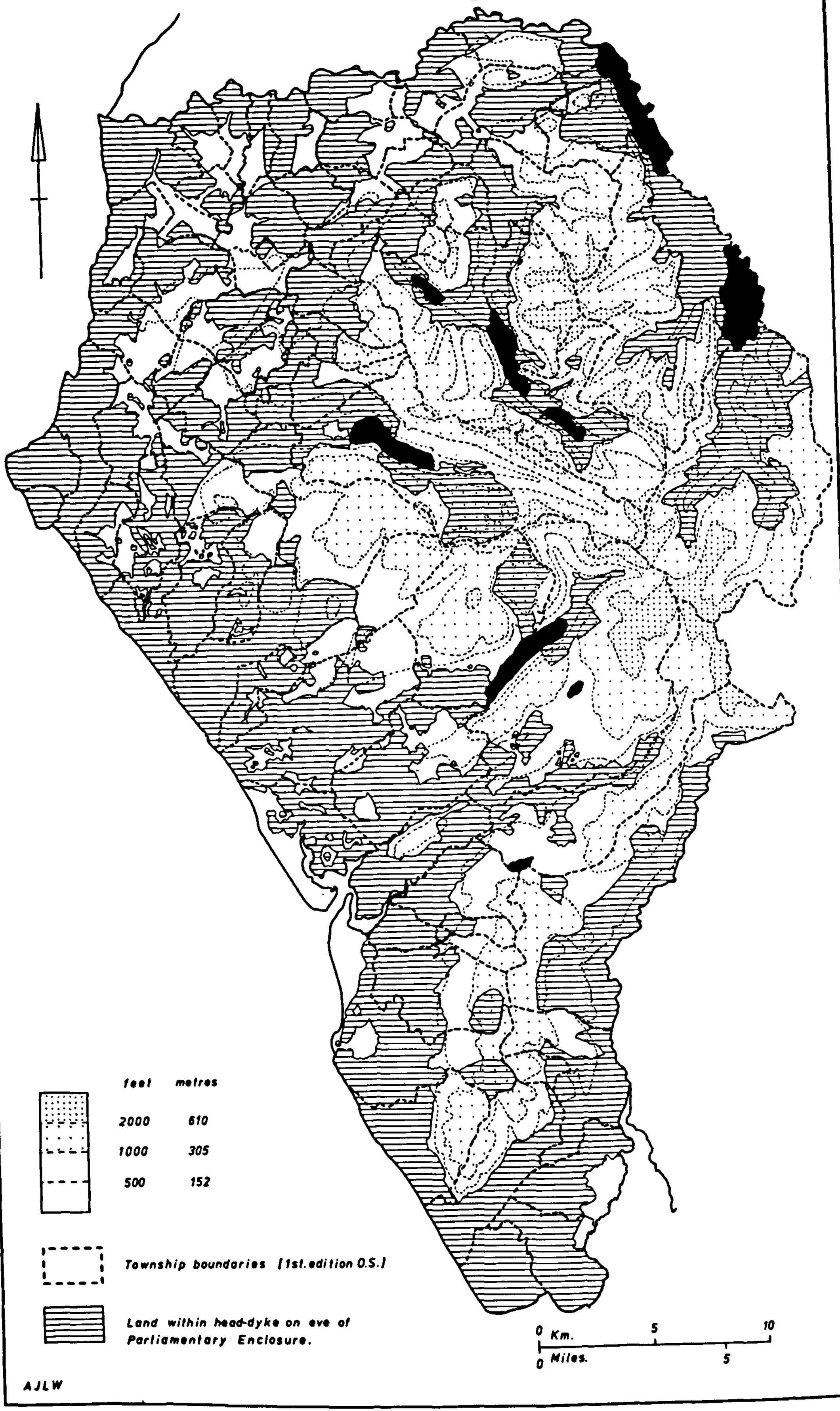


Figure: 1.7

CONTRASTS BETWEEN TOWNSHIPS IN COPELAND

Sources:

Township boundaries, farmstead sites: Ordnance Survey, first edition 1:10,560 sheets, surveyed 1860-64.

Head-Dyke line: Eaglesfield and Blindbothel Commons Enclosure Award, 1815: C.R.O. QRE/1/33.
Clifton Moor Enclosure Award, 1814: C.R.O. QRE/1/35.
Netherwasdale and Corney wastes remain unenclosed - head-Dyke line from first edition Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 sheets.
Corney Moor (marked by broken line), enclosed 1814 (C.R.O. QRE/1/161). Although no plan accompanies the Award, the approximate extent of the moor can be reconstructed by comparison of place-names in the Enclosure Award Schedule with Ordnance Survey first edition 1:10,560, sheet 85.

Figure: 1.7.

Contrasts between Townships in Copeland.

A

EAGLESFIELD

Area: 1998a. (809 ha.)

0827

400'

Waste divided between townships at Enclosure, 1815.

BLINDBOTHEL

Area: 1261a. (510 ha.)

250'

1428

B

GREAT CLIFTON

Area: 998a. (404ha.)

0330

150'

250'

LITTLE CLIFTON

Area: 1089a. (441ha.)

Waste divided between townships at Enclosure, 1817.

0626

C

1109

2266'

1000'

1Km

Contours every 250 ft. (76m)

250'

1503

NETHER WASDALE

Area: 8574a. (3470 ha.)

D

CORNEY

Area: 4440a. (1797 ha.)

SD 15 93

1700'

550'

50'

SD 10 90

Land within head-dyke on eve of Parliamentary Enclosure.

Farmstead site. c 1860.

Contours every 50ft. (15m)

0 Km. 1 2 3

0 Miles. 1 2

hectares.

stat. acres

100

AJLW

Figure: 2.1.

19th CENTURY ENGLISH TOWNSHIPS: ACREAGE.

Source: 1831 Census Enumeration Abstract in which approximate acreages are given to the nearest 10 acres (4 ha). The histograms classify every undivided parish, township or chapelry in each county, excluding urban areas (i.e. those divisions tantamount to or combining to form cities, towns or boroughs). Acreages of ecclesiastical parishes which are noted as being divided into townships etc., but for which only a total acreage is given in the Abstract, have also been omitted.

The acreages of Copeland townships are taken from Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 sheets, 1st Edition (surveyed 1860-64).

Figure: 2.1.

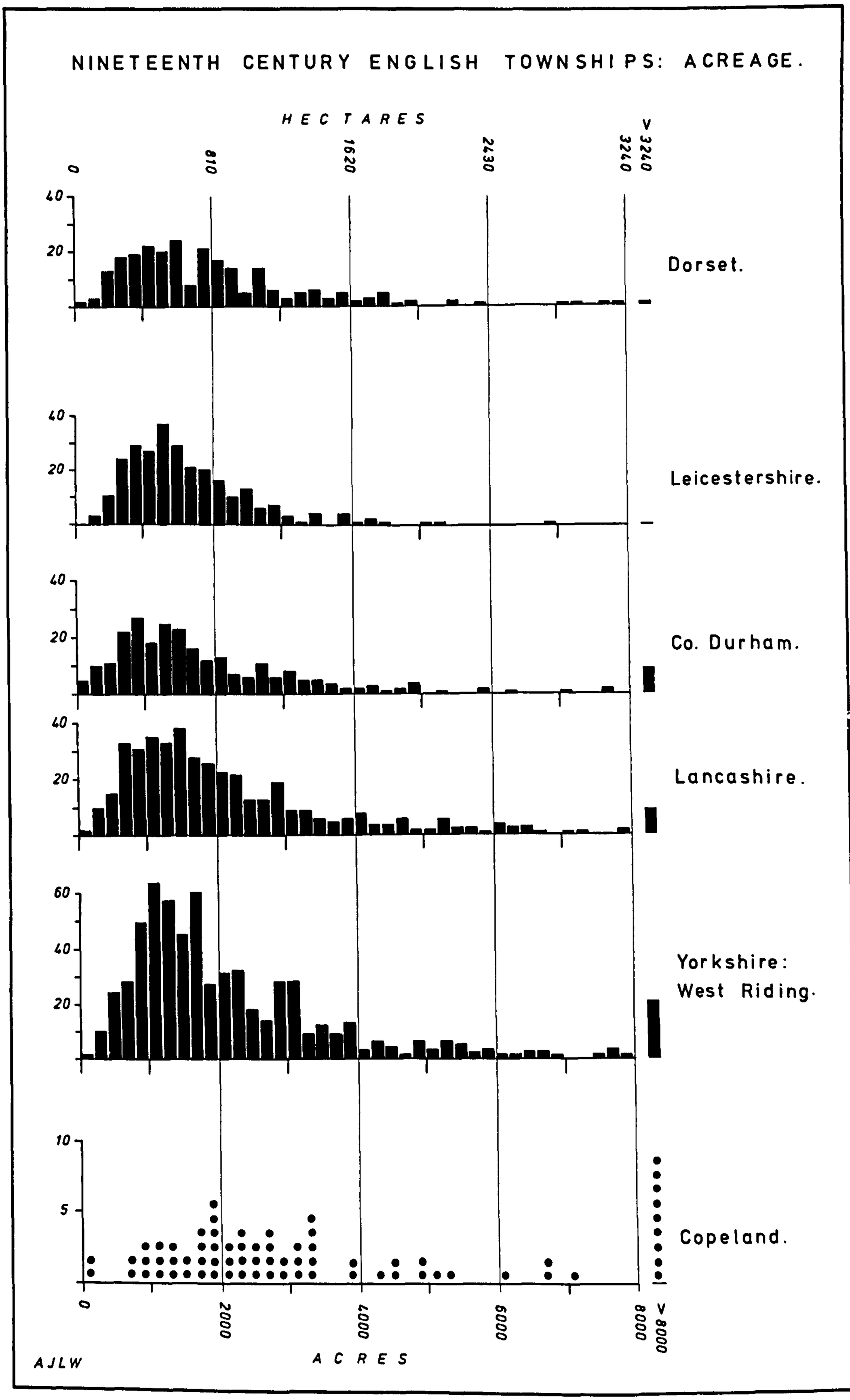

NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH TOWNSHIPS: ACREAGE.
HECTARES
0
810
1620
2430
3240
> 3240
40
20
Dorset.
Leicestershire.
Co. Durham.
Lancashire.
60
Yorkshire:
West Riding.
10
5
Copeland.
0
2000
4000
6000
8000
> 8000
ACRES
AJLW

Figure: 2.2.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 19th CENTURY TOWNSHIPS AND MEDIAEVAL VILLS:

PENNINE FOOTHILLS, YORKS. W. RIDING.

Sources: 19th century townships: 1831 Census Enumeration Abstract: ii, 798.

Mediaeval vills: W.T.Lancaster: Abstracts of.....the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains, 2 vols.(Leeds,1915). Page references are: Azerley: i,87; Braithwaite: i,143-5; Bramley: i, 140-2; Carlesmoor: i,372; Grewelthorpe: i,346-7; Laverton: i,307, 440; Mickley: ii,649,659; Swetton: ii,694.

Figure: 2.2.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 19th CENTURY TOWNSHIPS AND MEDIAEVAL VILLS: PENNINE FOOTHILLS, YORKS. W. RIDING.

Township boundary.

AZERLEY — Township name.

GALGHAGA — Territory to which term vill is applied in 12th and 13th century grants to Fountains Abbey (Bramley appears as all Bramleigl).

Contours at intervals of 125 ft. (38 metres).

hectares / statacres 100

0 Km. 1 2 3
0 Miles 1 2

AJLW

Figure: 2.3.

INVERARITY PARISH, ANGUS: CONSTITUENT TERRITORIES.

Sources: Based on the occurrence of place-names on modern Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 sheets NO 44, NO 54, NO 55.

Territories named in 13th century are those named in charters in D.E.Easson (ed.) (1947) Charters of the Abbey of Coupar-Angus: Vol:I (Scott. Hist. Soc.:(3);40),pp.17-18,24-25.

The first is a charter of 1271 reciting a deed of c1201 by which Adam son of Abraham of Lur granted to David Ruffus of Forfar:

kyncrey (Kincreich)...et....quandam partem territorii de Lur (Lour)

The bounds of this part of the territory of Lour included references to the bounds between Lur and Mathyn (Meathie) and a spring which was the boundary between Lur and Innerarethin (Inverarity).

The second grant (loc.cit.,pp.24-5) records the transfer of these lands by David Ruffus to the Abbey of Coupar-Angus in 1201.

Figure: 2.3.

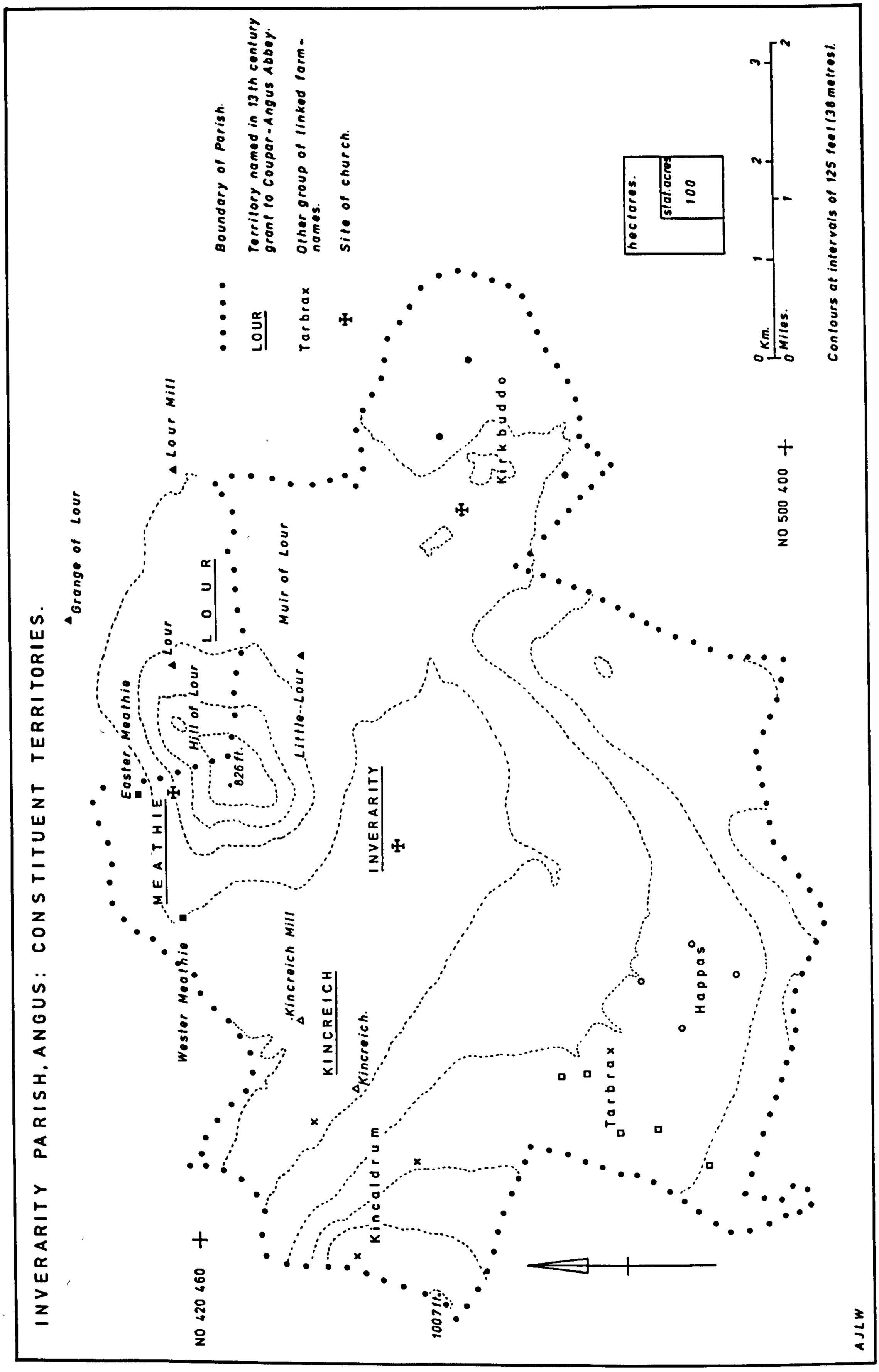

INVERARITY PARISH, ANGUS: CONSTITUENT TERRITORIES.
Boundary of Parish.
Territory named in 13th century grant to Coupar-Angus Abbey.
LOUR
Other group of linked farm-names.
Tarbrax
Site of church.
hectares.
stat.acres
100
0 Km. 1 2 3
0 Miles. 1 2
Contours at intervals of 125 feet (38 metres).
Grange of Lour
Lour Mill
Kirkbuddo
LOUR
Lour
Muir of Lour
Easter Meathie
Hill of Lour
826 ft.
Little-Lour
MEATHIE
INVERARITY
Wester Meathie
Kincreich Mill
KINCREICH
Kincreich.
Kincaldrum
1007 ft.
Tarbrax
Happas
NO 500 400
NO 420 460
AJLW

Figure: 3.1.

CUMBRIA: WARDS AND DEANERIES.

Sources: The grouping of townships into wards is based on 1831 Census Enumeration Abstract: i,82-96; ii,682-686.

The grouping of parishes into deaneries is based on the lists of parishes in each deanery given in Taxatio Ecclesiastica: pp.319,327,328.

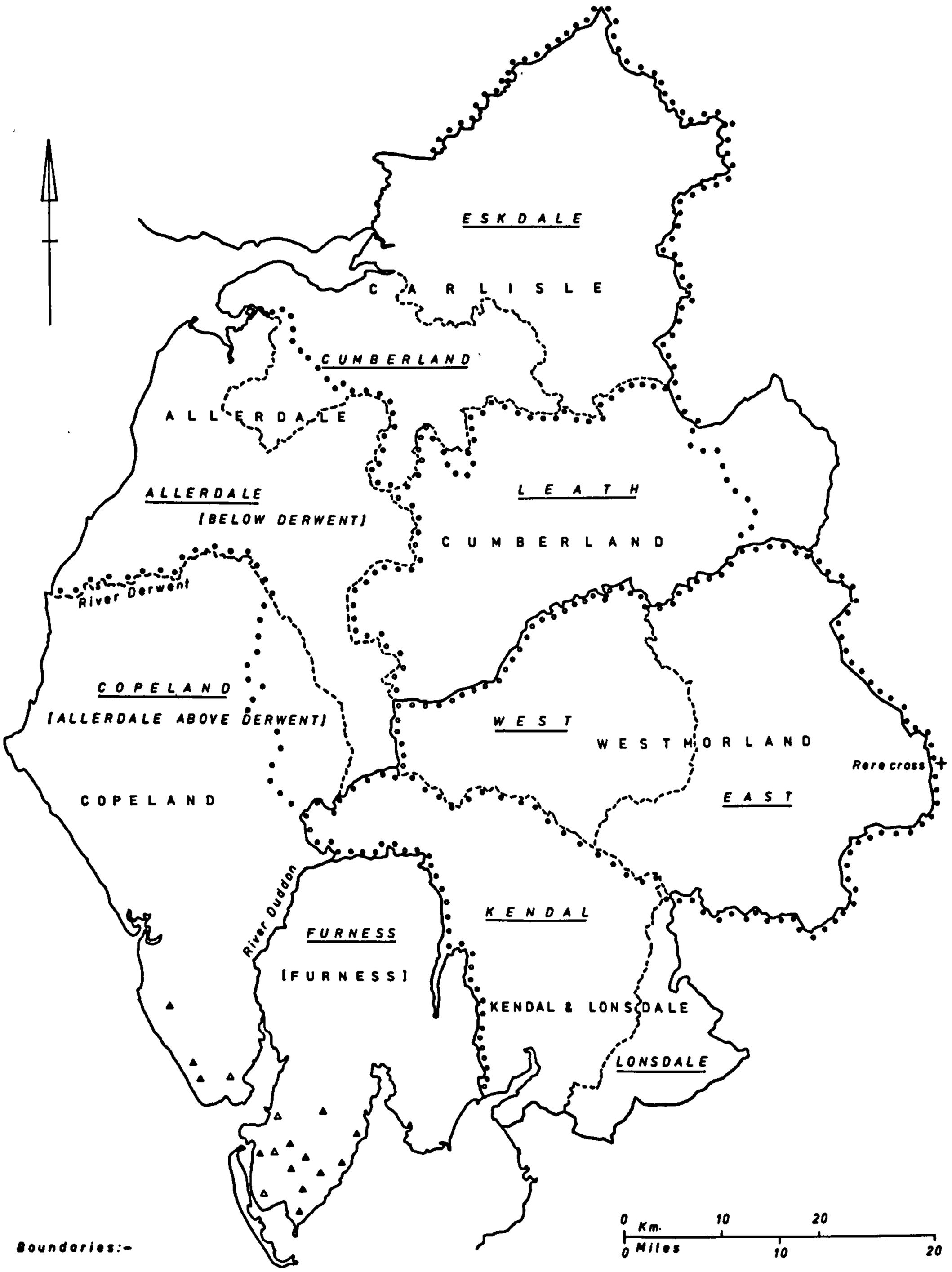
Boundaries between wards and deaneries are thus those of 19th century parishes and townships mapped by the Ordnance Survey.

(N.B. Furness is not a ward but, under the name of Lonsdale North of the Sands, a hundred of Lancashire).

Vills which "lie toward Hougun",1086, are those listed in the description of Earl Tostig's estate in Amounderness in Domesday Book: 301b.

Figure: 3.1.

CUMBRIA: WARDS & DEANERIES.



AJLW

Figure: 3.2.

COPELAND: FEUDAL JURISDICTION.

Sources: Boundaries between liberties based on Placita de Quo Warranto: pp.112-4,122-3.

Boundaries of monastic franchises:
St.Bees Lordship: Bunde Franchisie sancte Bege 15th cent. (StB: 370).
Calder Lordship: C.R.O.D/Lons/W/Plan of Calder Lordship 1793 (Plan 14(10)).

Boundaries of free chases: see Figure: 3.4.

Figure: 3.2.

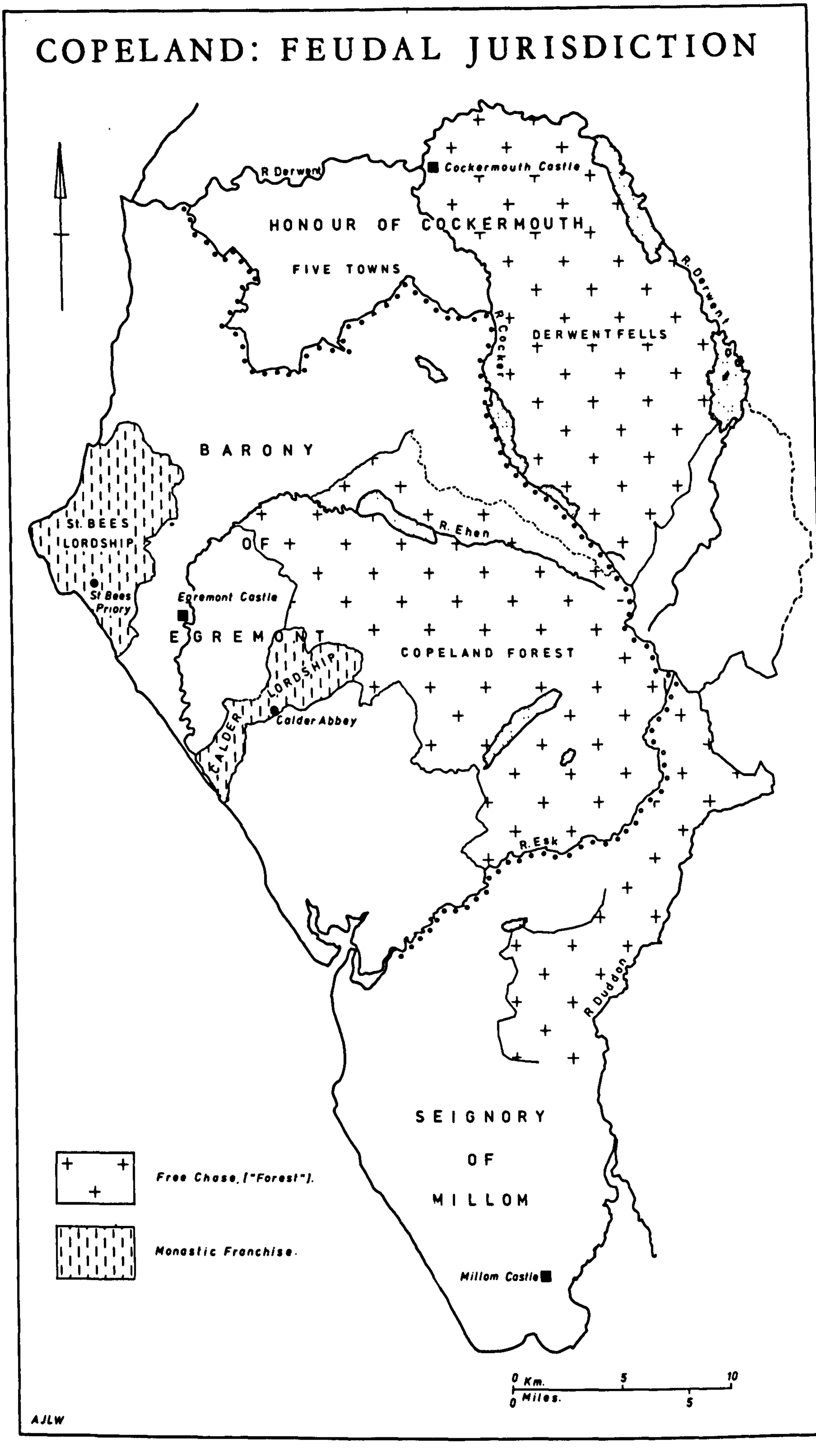

COPELAND: FEUDAL JURISDICTION
R Derwent
Cockermouth Castle
HONOUR OF COCKERMOUTH
FIVE TOWNS
R Cocker
DERWENTFELLS
R Derwent
BARONY
OF
St. BEES
LORDSHIP
St Bees Priory
R. Ehen
Egremont Castle
EGREMONT
COPELAND FOREST
CALDER
LORDSHIP
Calder Abbey
R. Esk
R Duddon
SEIGNORY
OF
MILLOM
Millom Castle
Free Chase. ["Forest"].
Monastic Franchise.
0 Km. 5 10
0 Miles. 5
AJLW

Figure: 3.3.

COPELAND: FEUDAL TENURE c1300.

Sources and Key:

Free Chases (after Liddell: 1966):
1. Derwentfells, partitioned 1247 between Lucy (1a) and Fortibus (1b) coparceners of Honour of Cockermouth (Lucy Cart: 119).
2. Copeland Forest, partitioned 1338 between Bermingham (2a - Ennerdale), Fitzwalter (2b - Middleward) and Lucy (2c - Eskdaleward) heiresses of Barony of Egremont (Cal. Close Rolls, 1338, pp.495, 477, 487).
3. Forest of Millom (see text).

Monastic possessions:
B. St. Bees Priory.
C. Calder Abbey.
Fo. Fountains Abbey.
Fu. Furness Abbey.

Deer parks:
Only those attached to the castles of Cockermouth, Egremont, and Millom are shown (cf Fig: 6.2).

Tenurial structure:
Honour of Cockermouth (Fortibus):
Survey of Manor of Cockermouth, 1270 (P.R.O. S.C.11/730/m9-15).
Honour of Cockermouth (Lucy):
Partition of Estates of Richard de Lucy, 1230 (Scotland:i,1106)
IPM Thomas de Lucy, 1305 (P.R.O. C.134/10/15).
Lordship of Egremont:
IPM John de Multon, 1334 (P.R.O. C.135/41/1) which includes extent of Knights' Fees in Copeland.
Seignory of Millom:
No comprehensive mediaeval data on the feudal structure of the Seignory are known. The pattern mapped here is based on Rental of Lordship of Millom, 1510 (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Millom Court Book 1510-23, pp.51-66).

Figure: 3.3.

COPELAND: FEUDAL TENURE c.1300

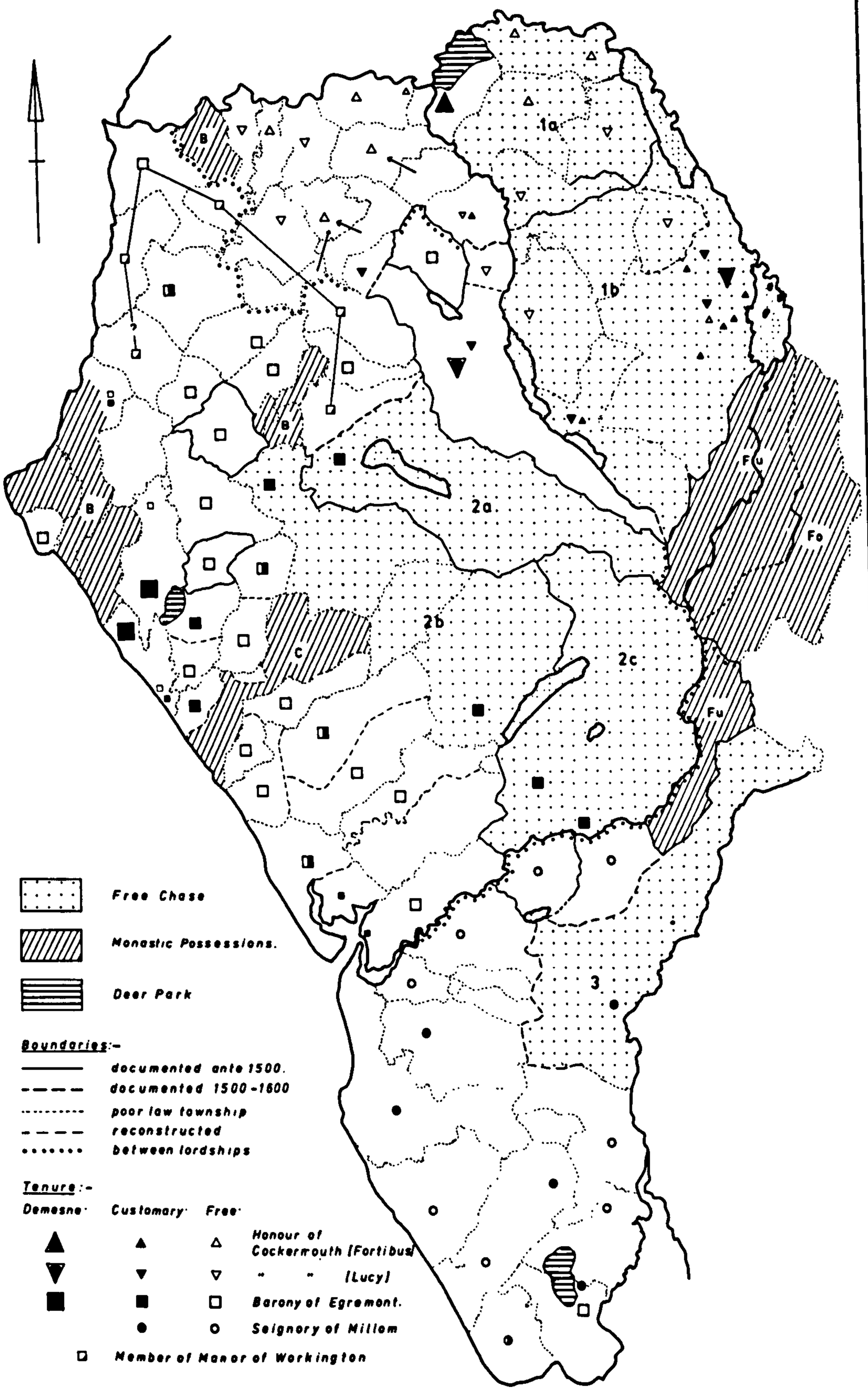


Figure: 3.4.

COPELAND: FREE CHASE & VILLS PAYING CORNAGE & SEAWAKE.

Sources: Free Chases:

Derwentfells: taken to be coincident with land between rivers Cocker and Derwent.
Copeland Forest: after Liddell:1966.
Millom Forest: see text.

Cornage, seawake and other free rents:

Extent of Knights' Fees, Copeland, 1334 (Alnwick:X.II.3.4.a).
Rental of Manor of Cockermouth, 1270 (P.R.O. S.C.11/730/m14v).
IPM Thomas de Lucy, 1305 (P.R.O. C.134/10/15).

Figure: 3.4.

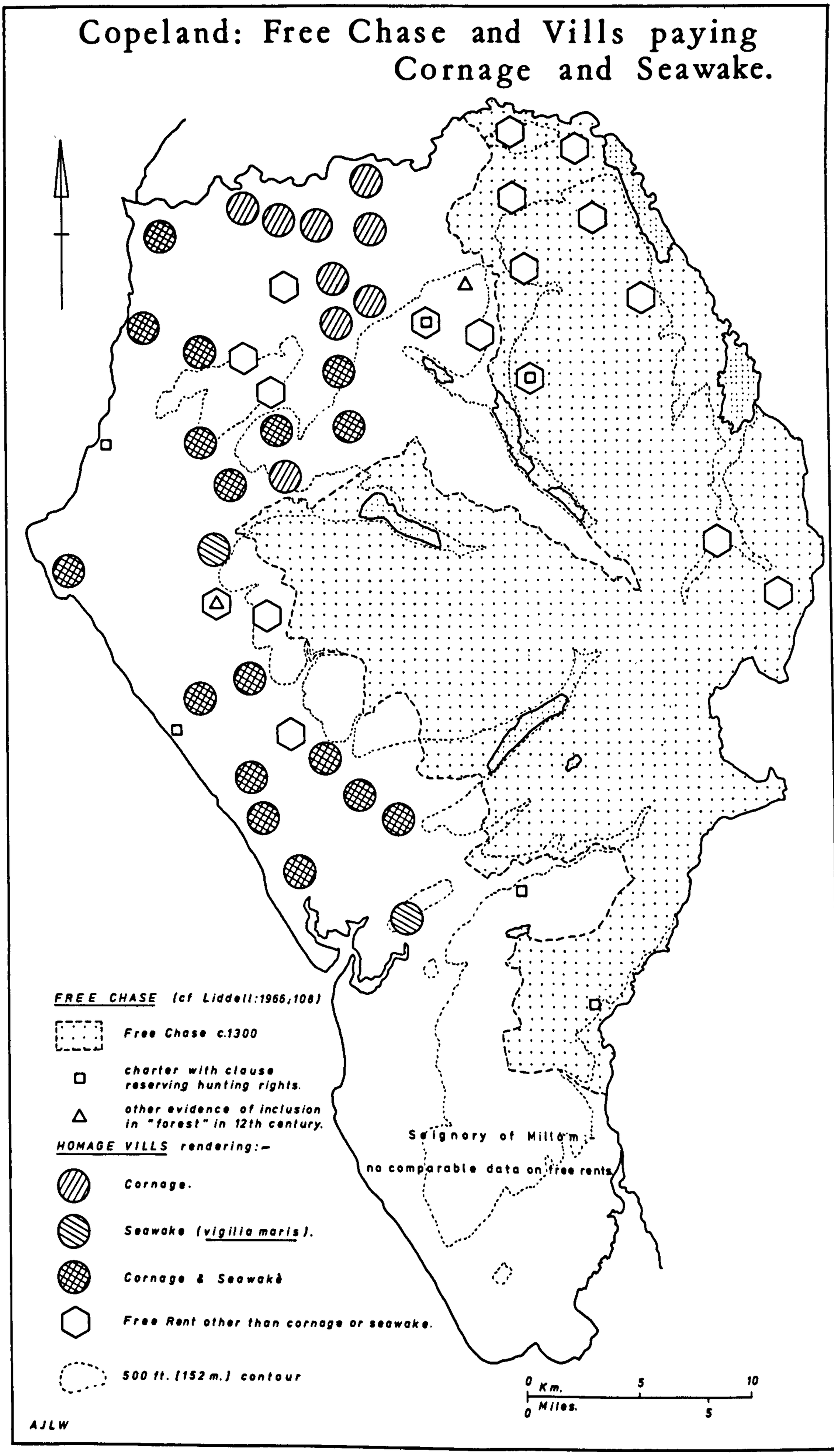

Copeland: Free Chase and Vills paying Cornage and Seawake.
FREE CHASE (cf Liddell:1966;108)
Free Chase c.1300
charter with clause reserving hunting rights.
other evidence of inclusion in "forest" in 12th century.
HOMAGE VILLS rendering:-
Cornage.
Seawake (vigilia maris).
Cornage & Seawake
Free Rent other than cornage or seawake.
500 ft. (152 m.) contour
Seignory of Millom:-
no comparable data on free rents.
0 Km. 5 10
0 Miles. 5
AJLW

Figure: 3.5.

COPELAND: PAROCHIAL STRUCTURE.

Sources:

Parish and township boundaries: Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 sheets, 1st Edition, surveyed 1860-64. Boundary of parochia of St. Bees, c1130: StB:2.

Parish churches, c1300: Taxatio Ecclesiastica 1291,p.328; unpub. returns of inquisitiones nonarum, 1340 (P.R.O. E.179/90/9).

Areas disputed between parishes: Weddicar, late-12th (StB:90); Cliftons, 1219 (StB:98-99); Mosser & Thackthwaite, 1220 (StB:104-5); Mockerkin & Sosgill, c1220 (StB:102-3); Egremont Park, 1327 (StB:97).

Pre-Norman sculptural remains: Fair: 1950; Pevsner: 1967, Bailey:1974.

Figure: 3.5.

COPELAND: PAROCHIAL STRUCTURE

WORKINGTON
1219
BRIGHAM
DEAN
HARRINGTON
DISTINGTON
MORESBY
ARLECDON
LAMPLUGH
late 12th
c1220
1220
1220
CROSTHWAITE
SAINT BEES
CLEATOR
EGREMONT
ST JOHN BECKERMET
SAINT BEES (detached)
HAILE
1327
ST BRIDGET BECKERMET
PONSONBY
GOSFORTH
IRTON
DRIGG
MUNCASTER
WABER-THWAITE
CORNEY
BOOTLE
WHITBECK
WHICHAM
2

Boundaries:-

- *Diocesan*
- *Deanery*
- *Parish*
- *Township*
- *Parochia of St. Bees, c1130*

- *Parish Church, c.1300*
- *Drigg Church – mediaeval status uncertain.*
- *Chapel*
- *Possible former parochial centre:*
  - 1 *Kirkclifton*
  - 2 *Kirksanton*
- *Pre-Norman sculptural remains*
- *Areas in dispute between parishes (with date of dispute)*
- *Extra-parochial*

0 Km. 5 10
0 Miles. 5

AJLW

Figure: 3.6.

COPELAND: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEUDAL & ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION, 13th CENT.

Source: data extracted from Figure: 3.2 and Figure: 3.5.

Addendum to Key: Boundaries of parishes of "mother churches" indicated by fine, dashed line.

Figure: 3.6.

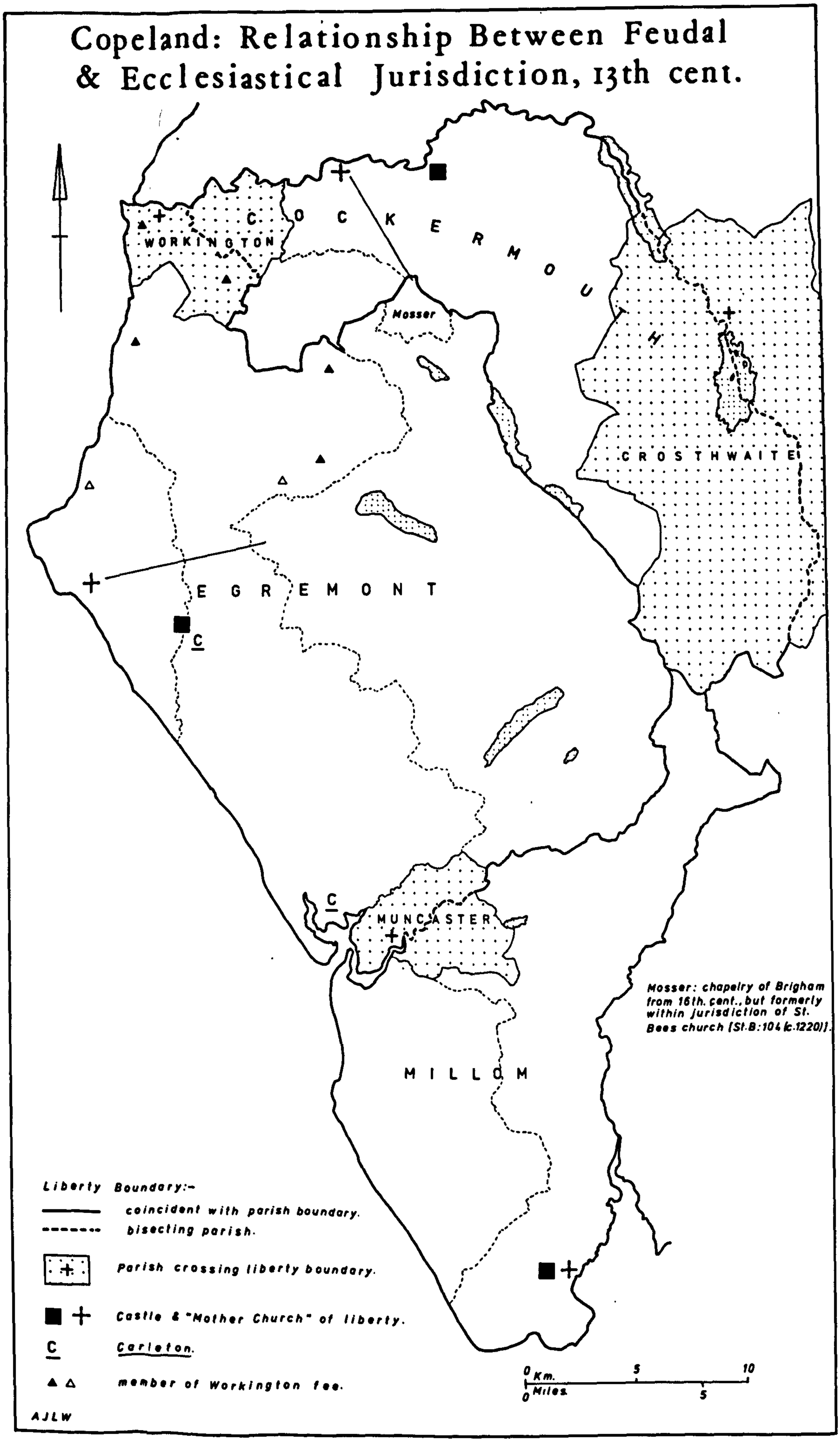

Copeland: Relationship Between Feudal & Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, 13th cent.
WORKINGTON
C
O
C
K
E
R
M
O
U
T
H
Mosser
CROSTHWAITE
EGREMONT
C
MUNCASTER
C
MILLOM
Mosser: chapelry of Brigham from 16th. cent., but formerly within jurisdiction of St. Bees church [St.B:104 (c.1220)].
Liberty Boundary:-
coincident with parish boundary.
bisecting parish.
Parish crossing liberty boundary.
Castle & "Mother Church" of liberty.
C Carleton.
member of Workington fee.
0 Km. 5 10
0 Miles 5
AJLW

Figure: 4.1.

COPELAND: POOR LAW TOWNSHIPS.

Source: Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 sheets, 1st Edition, surveyed 1860-64.

Figure: 4.1.

COPELAND: POOR LAW TOWNSHIPS

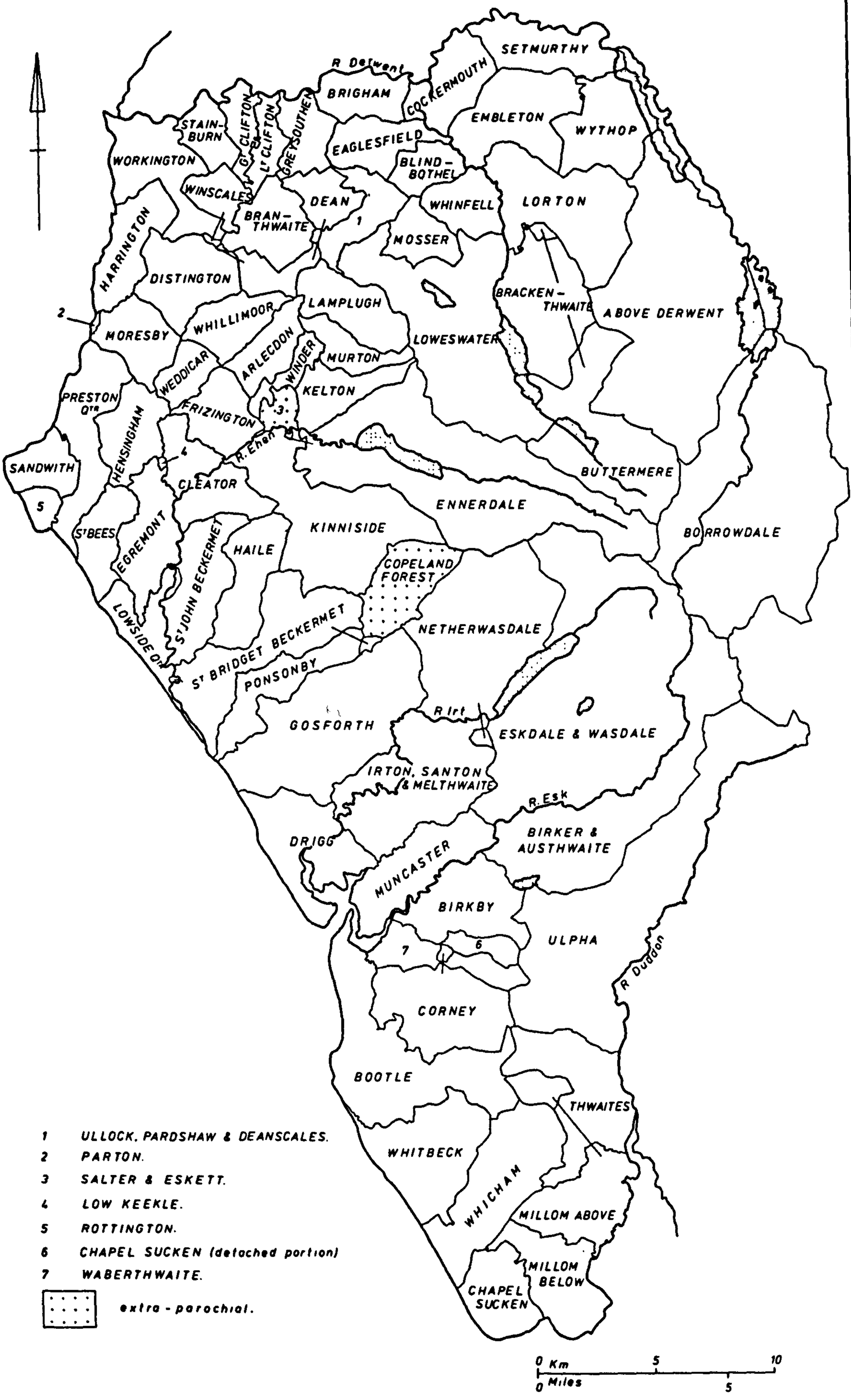


Figure: 4.2.

COPELAND: ANALYSIS OF TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES.

Source: Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 sheets, 1st Edition, surveyed 1860-64.

Figure: 4.2.

Copeland: Analysis of Township Boundaries.

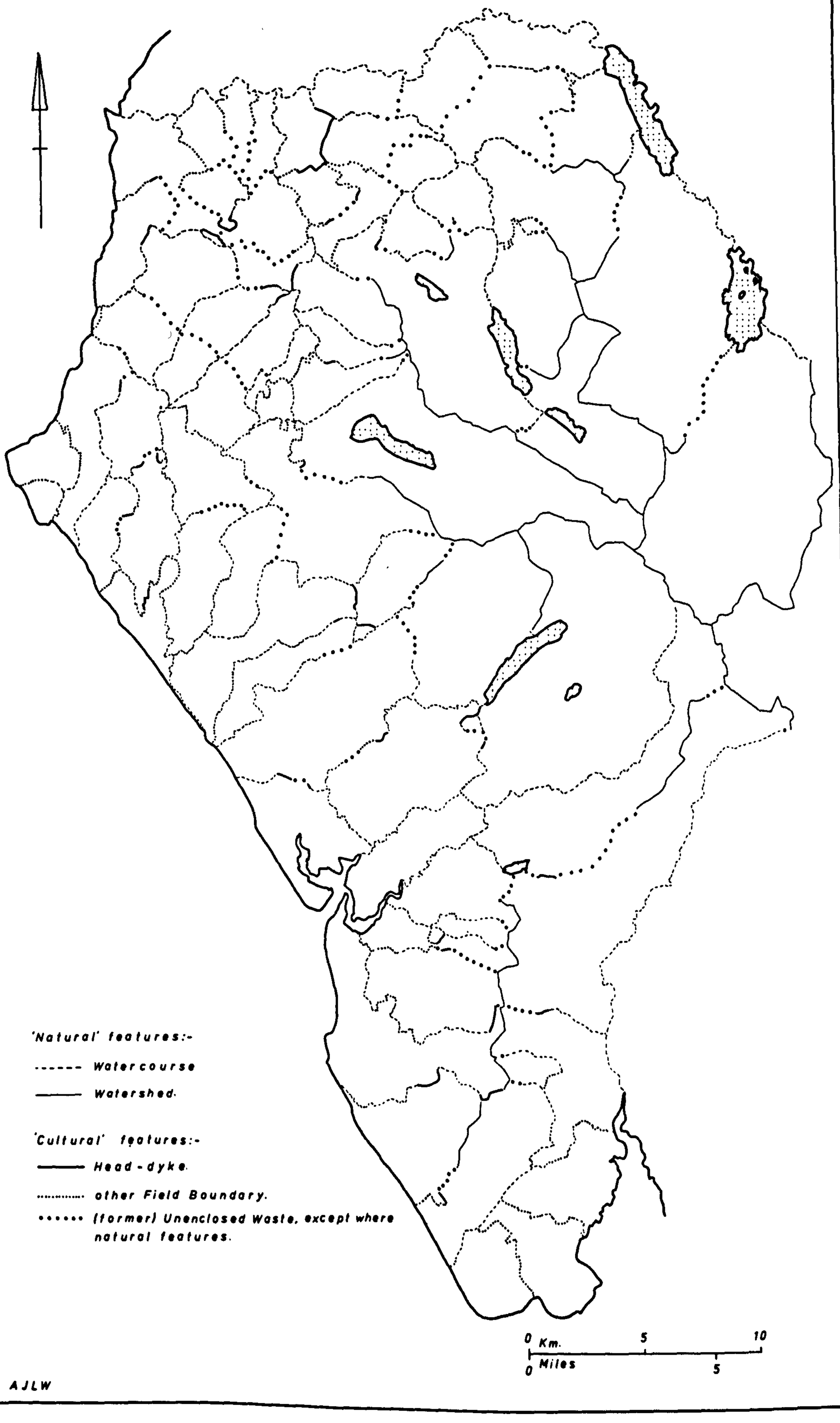


Figure: 4.3.

GOSFORTH PARISH: 18th CENTURY CONSTITUENT TERRITORIES.

Source: 1825 Land Tax Returns (C.R.O. QRP/1/46) for High & Low Bolton, Gosforth Boonwood, Gosforth, and Newton (under return for Newton & Ponsonby). These same units can be traced back to the earliest Land Tax returns of 1767 (QRP/1/3). The 1825 returns have been used here as only the 19th century returns contain sufficient farm names etc. to allow cartographic reconstruction.

Areas of former waste are mapped from the enclosure awards of Gosforth, 1815 (C.R.O. QRE/1/42); Drigg, 1828 (QRE/1/134); Irton, 1813 (QRE/1/59); and Ponsonby (i.e. Gaterigg Bank and Calder Gills), 1855 (QRE/1/114).

Figure: 4.3.

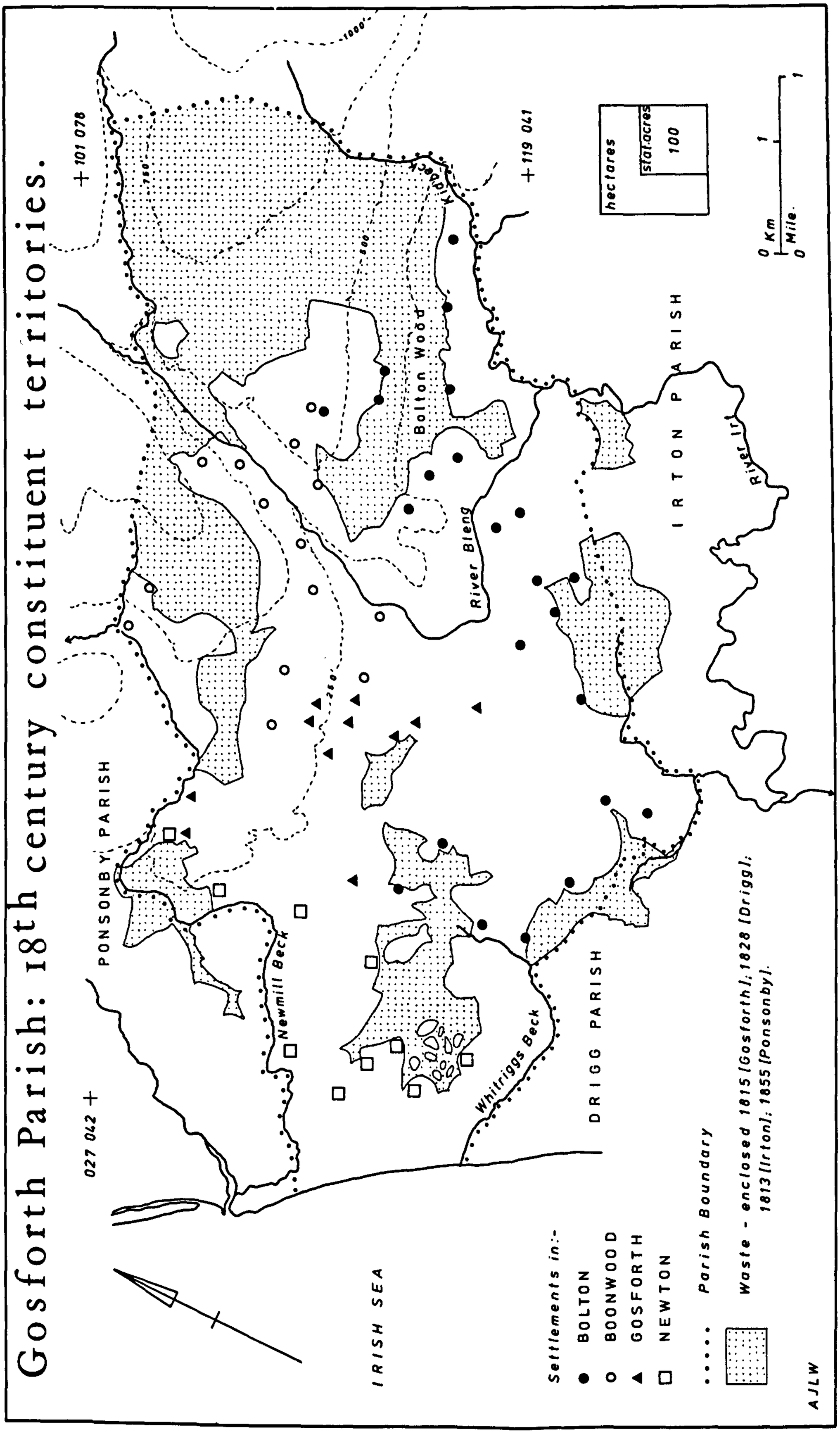

Gosforth Parish: 18th century constituent territories.
027 042 +
101 078 +
119 041 +
1000'
750'
500'
Kiddeck
Bolton Wood
River Bleng
River Irt
IRTON PARISH
PONSONBY PARISH
DRIGG PARISH
Newmill Beck
Whitriggs Beck
IRISH SEA
hectares
stat.acres
100
0 Km 1
0 Mile 1
Settlements in:-
BOLTON
BOONWOOD
GOSFORTH
NEWTON
Parish Boundary
Waste - enclosed 1815 (Gosforth); 1828 (Drigg); 1813 (Irton); 1855 (Ponsonby).
AJLW

Figure: 4.4.

ABOVE DERWENT TOWNSHIP: 16th CENTURY GRAVESHIPS.

Sources: Based on reconstruction of the 1578 Survey which describes in detail holdings in Braithwaite & Coldale and Rogersett (see Appendix B).

The spatial extents of the earlier, separate graveships of Braithwaite and Coledale have been disentangled by relating the 1578 Survey to the General Fine Rental of 1547 (C.R.O. D/Lec/314/38) which lists holdings separately under the headings Braythuath and Coldaill.

Thornthwaite was a freehold estate (see Appendix AIII, no: 6) and its extent can be gauged by the negative evidence of the block of land around the modern village of Thornthwaite not described in the 1578 Survey. The extent of Thornthwaite Fell, enclosed in 1814, is taken from the plan accompanying the enclosure award (C.R.O. QRE/1/10).

Figure: 4.4.

Above Derwent Township: 16th century Graveships.

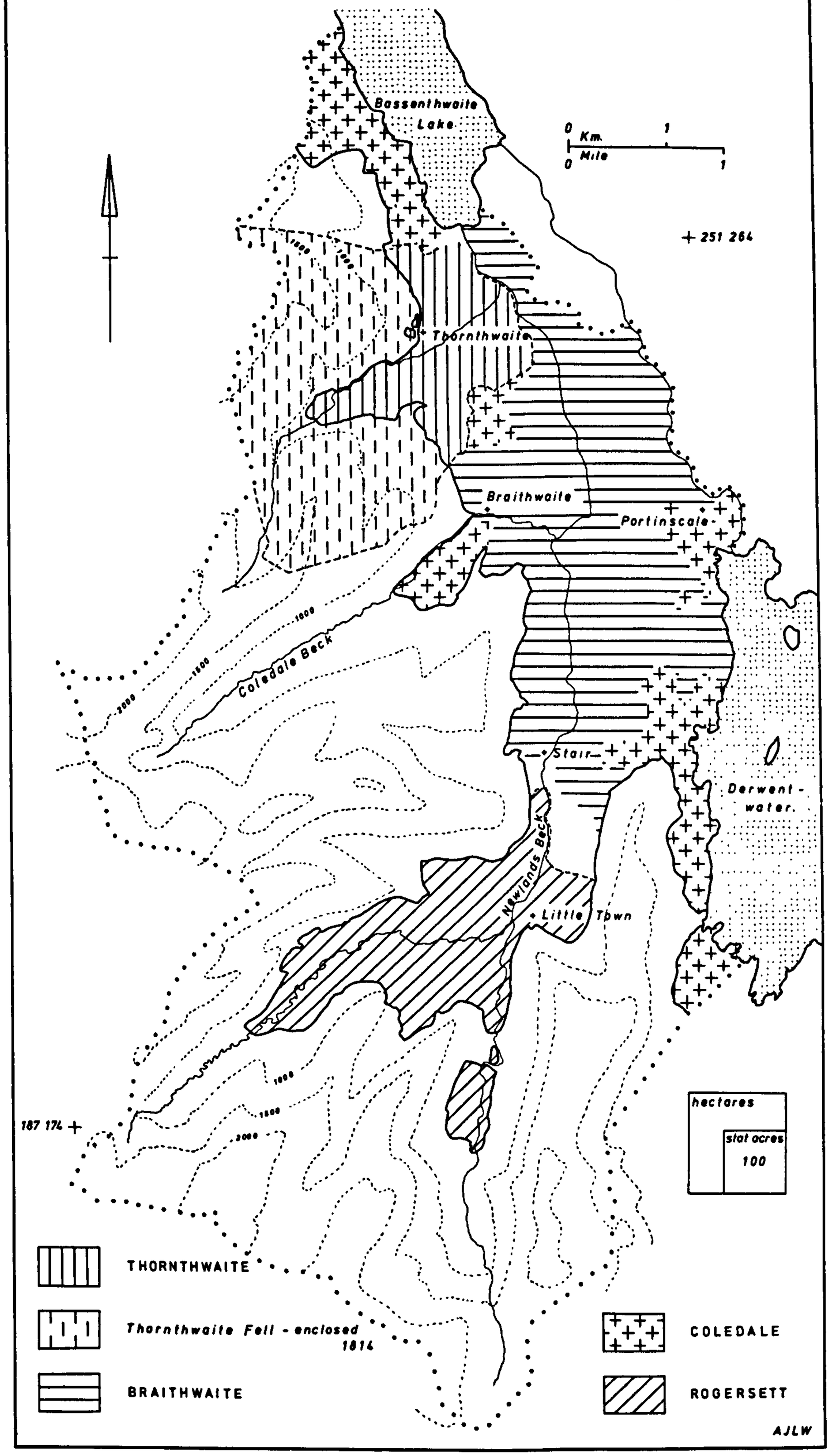


Figure: 4.5.

COPELAND: EARLY-14th CENTURY ADMINISTRATIVE VILLS.

Source and Key: see Appendix AII.

Source for extent of free chases outside vill of Braithwaite: see Figure: 3.4.

Figure: 4.5.

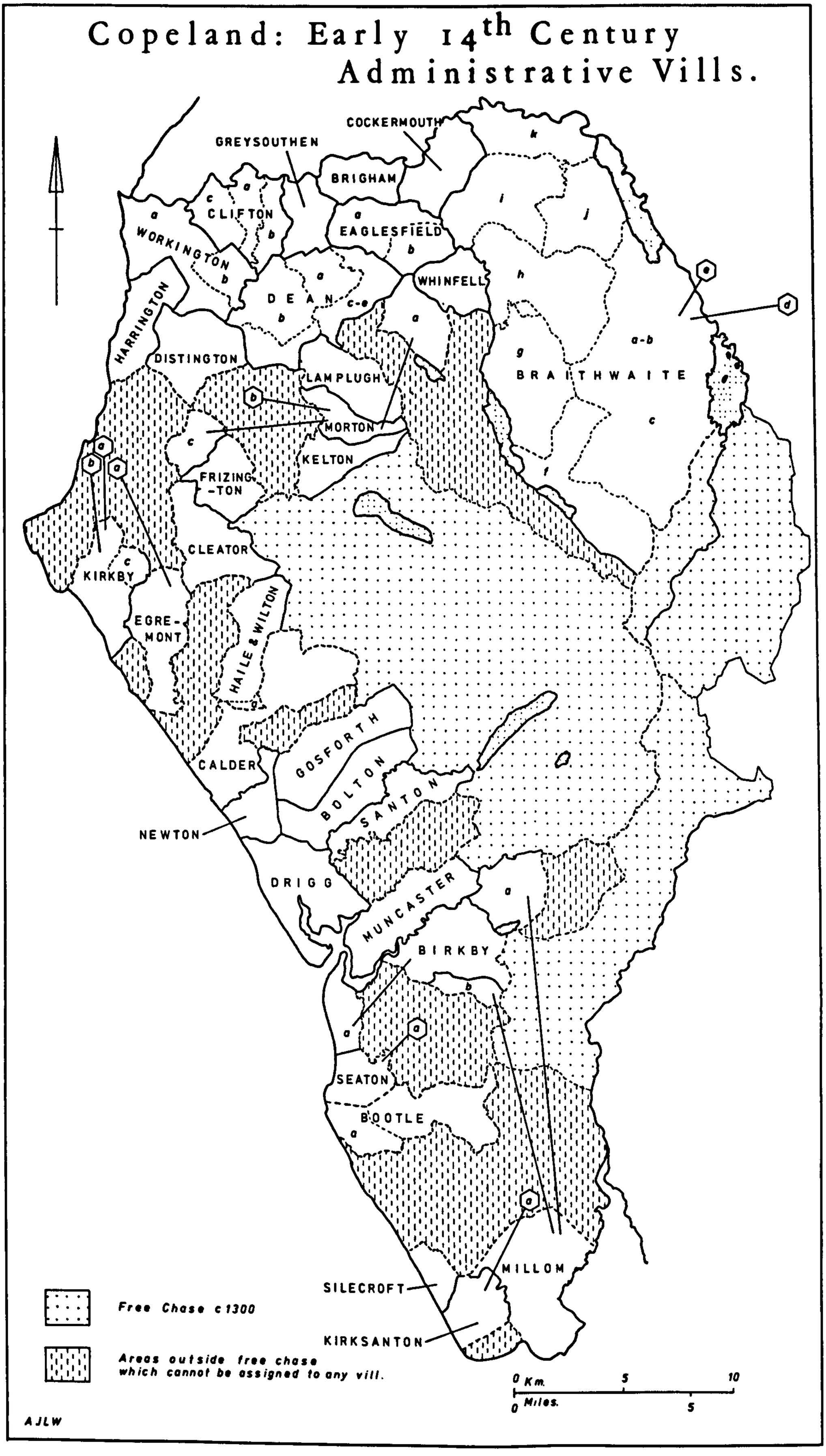

Copeland: Early 14th Century
Administrative Vills.
COCKERMOUTH
GREYSOUTHEN
BRIGHAM
CLIFTON
EAGLESFIELD
WORKINGTON
WHINFELL
DEAN
HARRINGTON
DISTINGTON
LAMPLUGH
BRAITHWAITE
MORTON
KELTON
FRIZING-TON
CLEATOR
KIRKBY
EGRE-MONT
HAILE & WILTON
GOSFORTH
CALDER
BOLTON
SANTON
NEWTON
DRIGG
MUNCASTER
BIRKBY
SEATON
BOOTLE
MILLOM
SILECROFT
KIRKSANTON
Free Chase c 1300
Areas outside free chase which cannot be assigned to any vill.
0 Km. 5 10
0 Miles. 5
AJLW

Figure: 4.6.

COPELAND: EARLY MEDIAEVAL (PRE-1350) LOCI.

Source: see Appendix AIII.

Where a poor law township contains more than one locus the boundaries of its constituent territories are discussed in Appendix AIII.

Waste not assigned to any one locus comprises:

a) waste not divided between adjacent townships until Parliamentary enclosure.
b) large blocks of waste in townships containing more than one locus, where no documentary evidence has been found to identify boundaries between constituent loci.
c) Copeland Forest: an extra-parochial block of waste.

Figure: 4.6.

Copeland: Early Mediæval (pre-1350) loci.

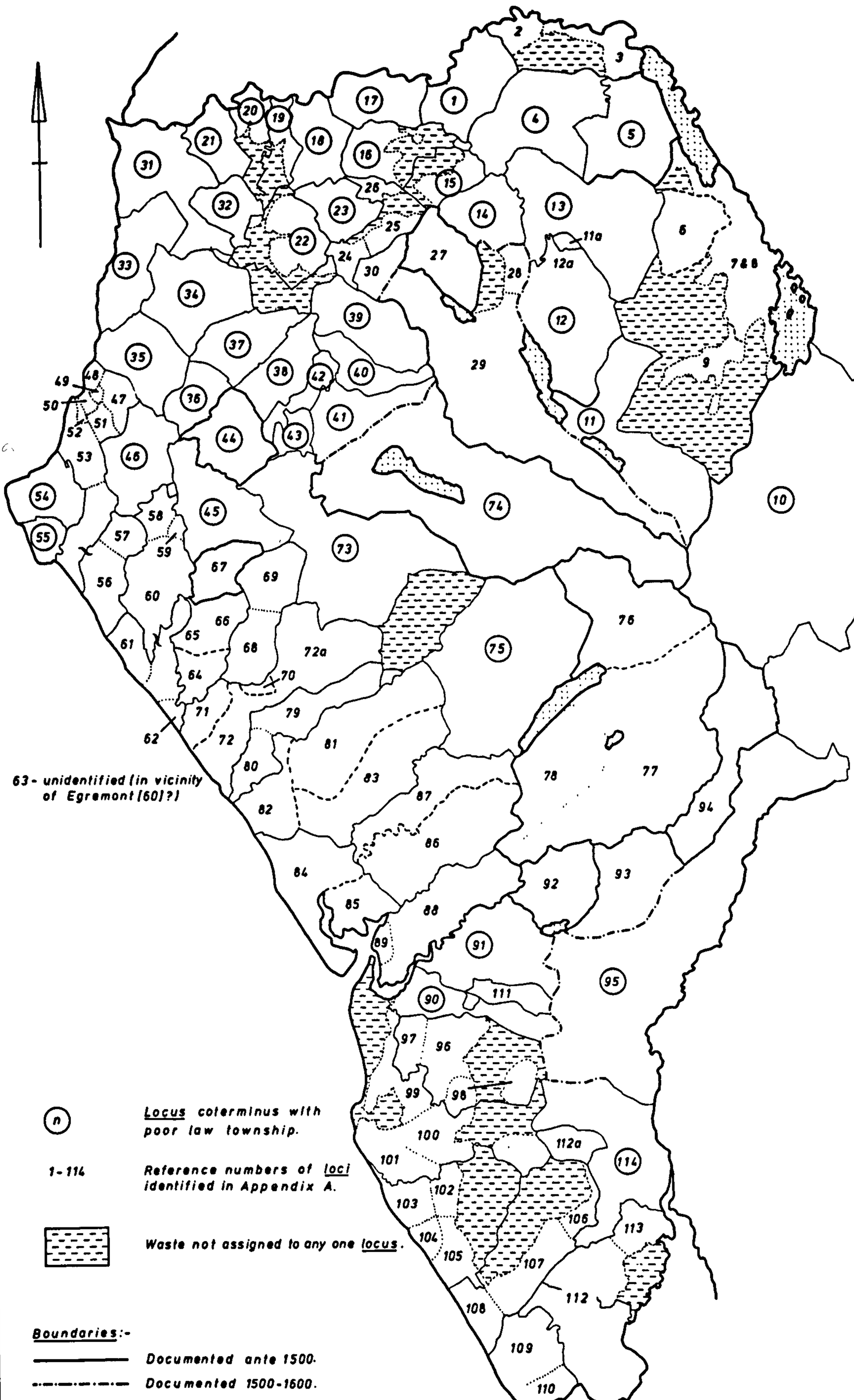


Figure: 4.7.

COPELAND: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOCUS & MANOR.

Source: see Appendix AIII.

Figure: 4.7.

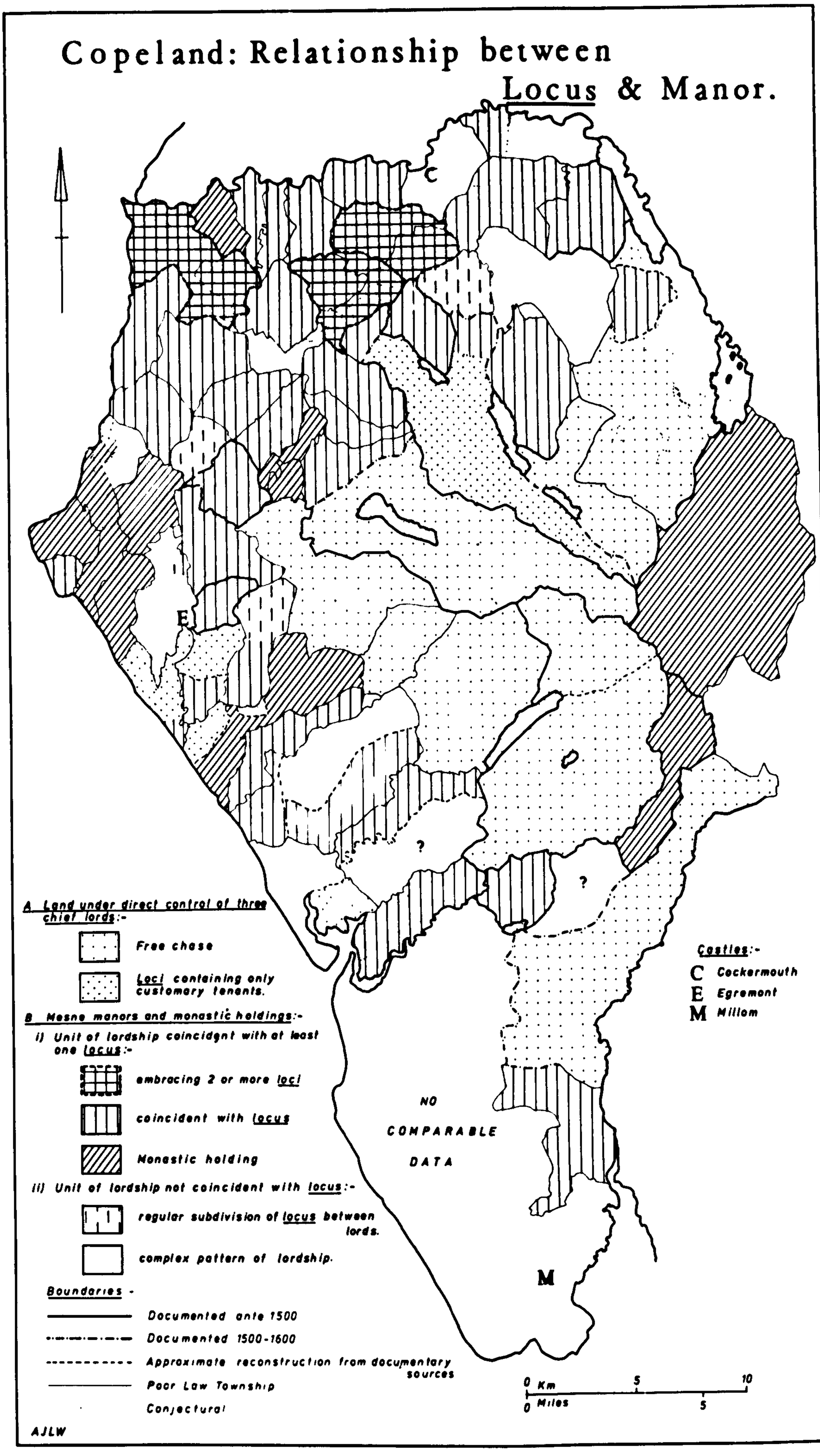

Copeland: Relationship between Locus & Manor.
C
E
M
?
?
A Land under direct control of three chief lords:-
Free chase
Loci containing only customary tenents.
B Mesne manors and monastic holdings:-
i) Unit of lordship coincidgnt with at least one locus:-
embracing 2 or more loci
coincident with locus
Monastic holding
ii) Unit of lordship not coincident with locus:-
regular subdivision of locus between lords.
complex pattern of lordship.
Boundaries -
Documented ante 1500
Documented 1500-1600
Approximate reconstruction from documentary sources
Poor Law Township
Conjectural
Castles:-
C Cockermouth
E Egremont
M Millom
NO COMPARABLE DATA
0 Km 5 10
0 Miles 5
AJLW

Figure: 4.8.

WYTHOP MILL: TOWNSHIP AND MANORIAL BOUNDARIES.

Sources:

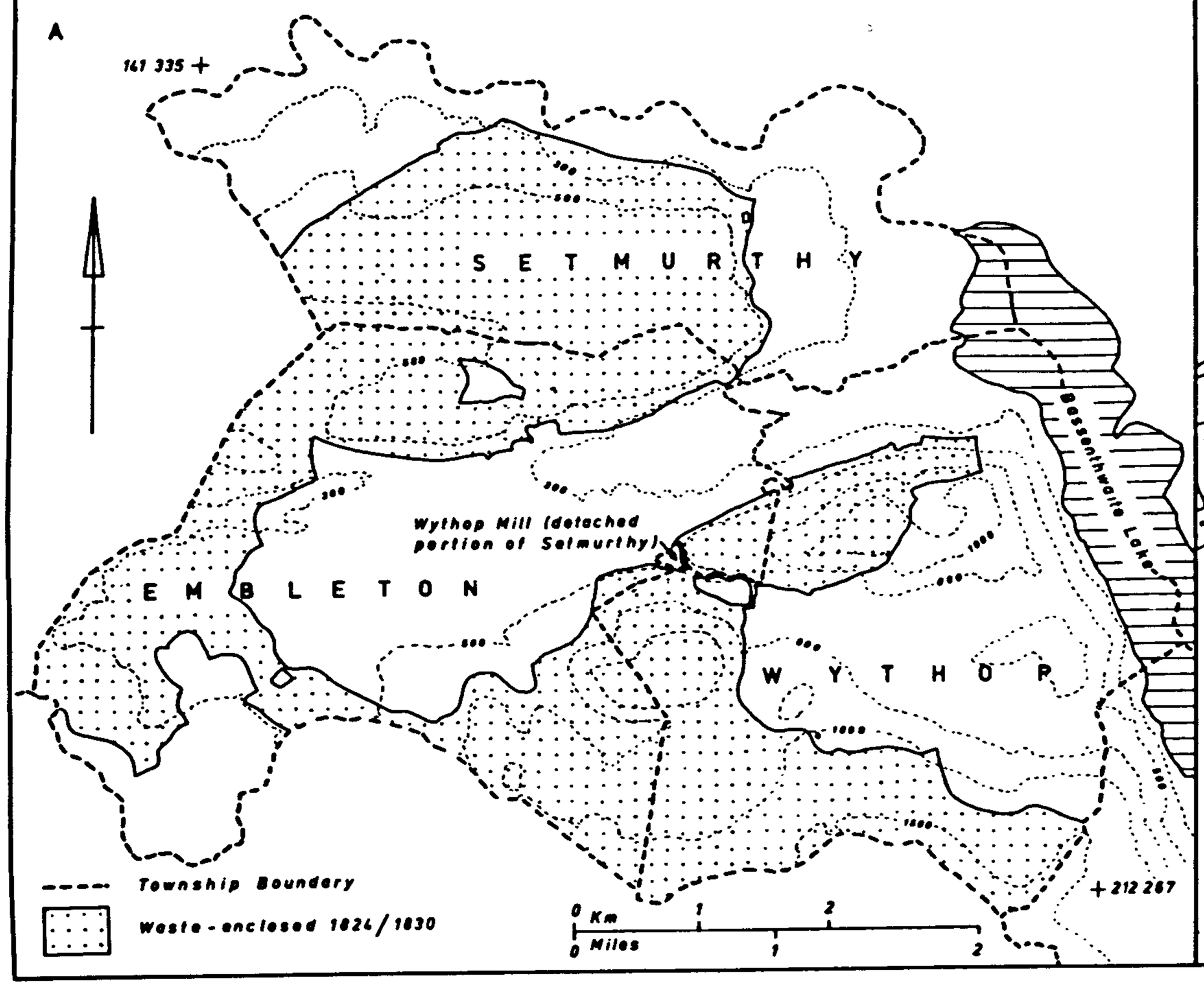
A: Head-dyke line: Embleton & Setmurthy enclosure award, 1824 (C.R.O. QRE/1/37); Wythop enclosure award, 1830 (QRE/1/19). Township boundaries: Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 sheets, 1st Edition, surveyed 1863.

B: c1765 = "A Plan of the Old Mill called Wythop Mill and Messuages adjoining" n.d.(1758 x 1776) (C.R.O. D/Lec/ Plan - uncatalogued, Jan. 1976).

1811 = plan and lawsuit papers concerning case of Egremont v Vane (52 George III) over disputed manorial rights on Wythop Common (C.R.O. D/Lec/288).

O.S. = Ordnance Survey 1:2500 plan (sheet Cumberland LV.6), 1st Edition.

Wythop Mill: Township and Manorial Boundaries.



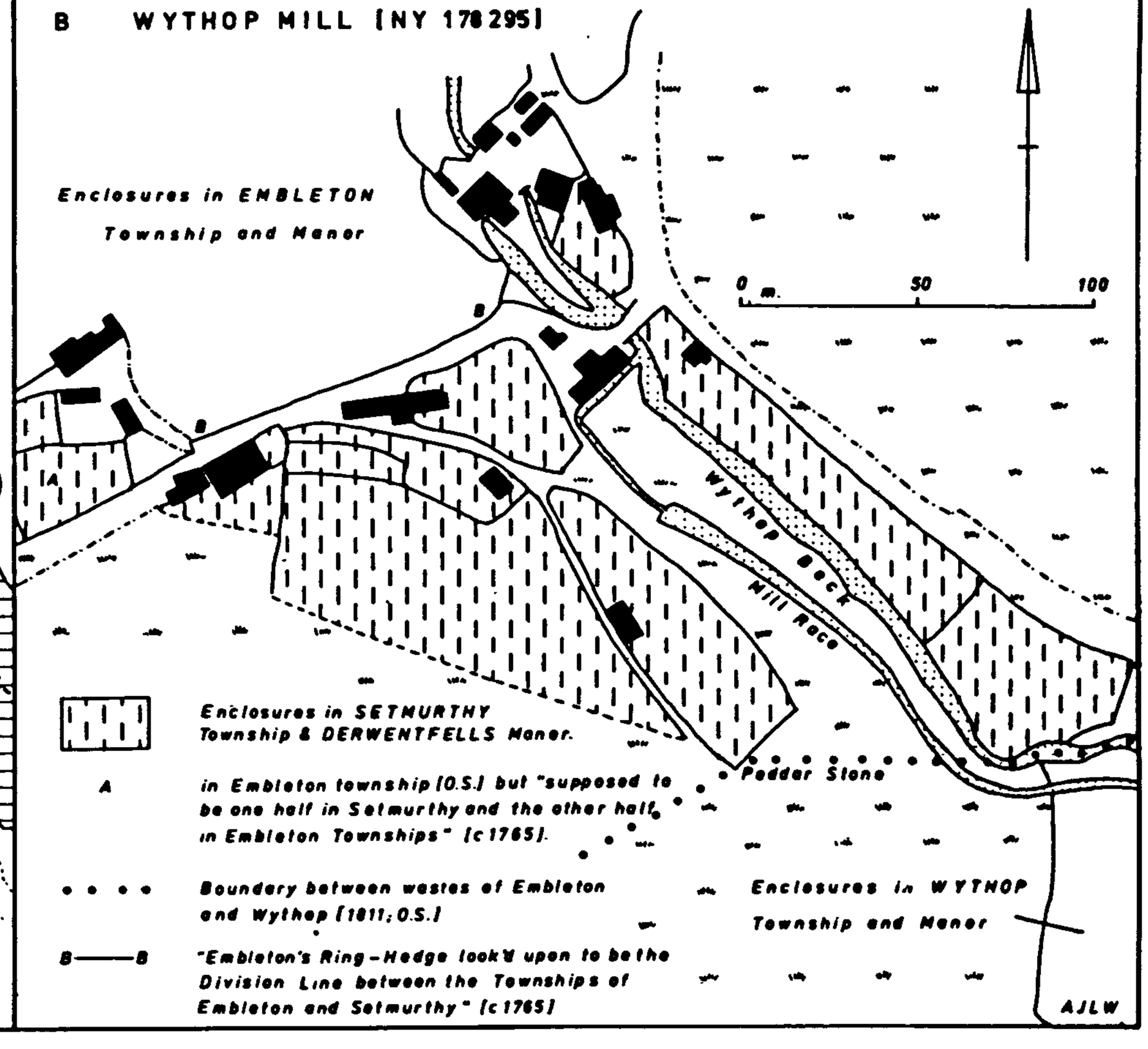


Figure: 4.8.

Figure: 4.9

COPELAND: ANALYSIS OF TERRITORIAL NAMES

Source:

Based on derivations suggested in PNC:ii.

Figure: 4.9.

Copeland: Analysis of Territorial Names.

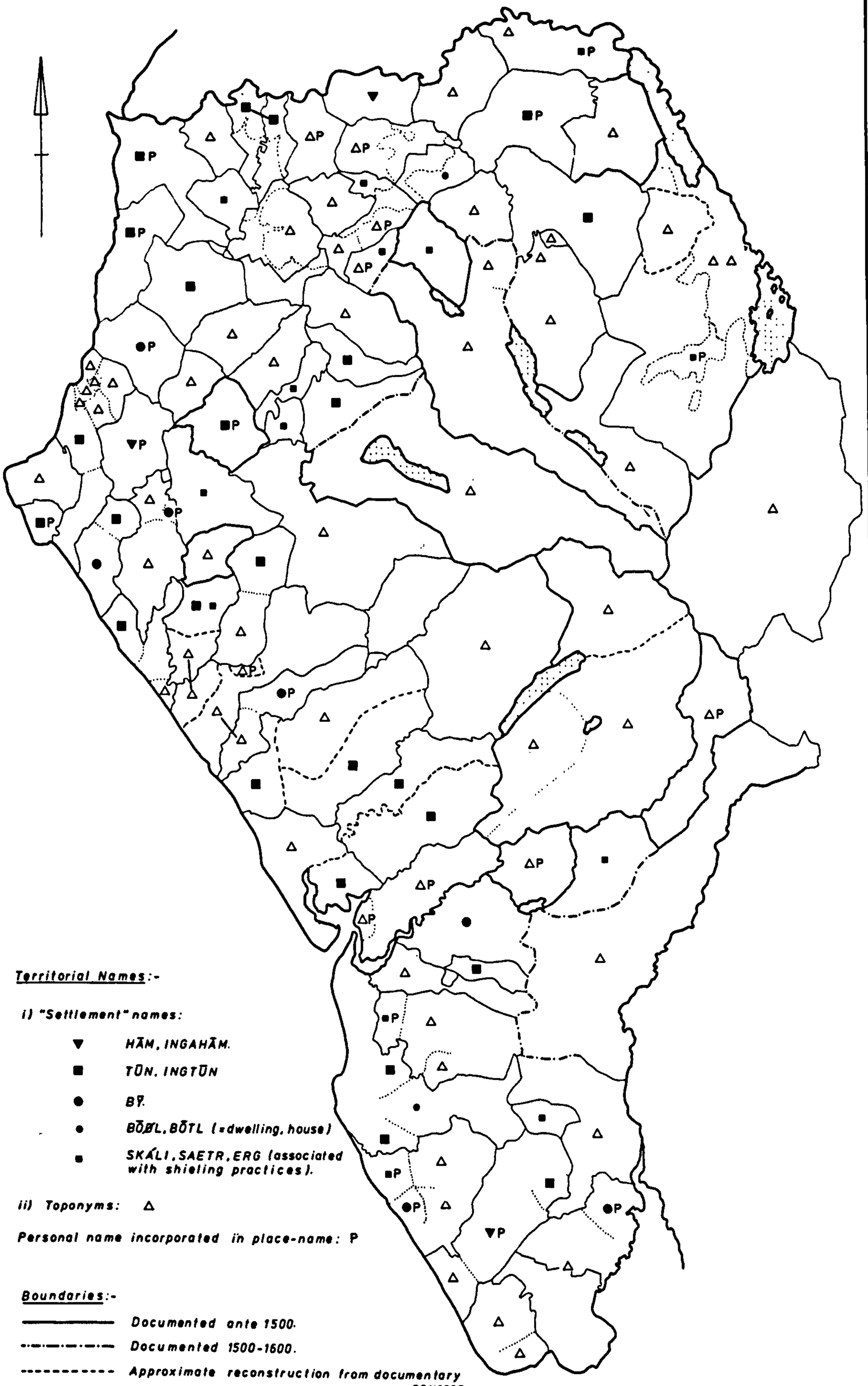


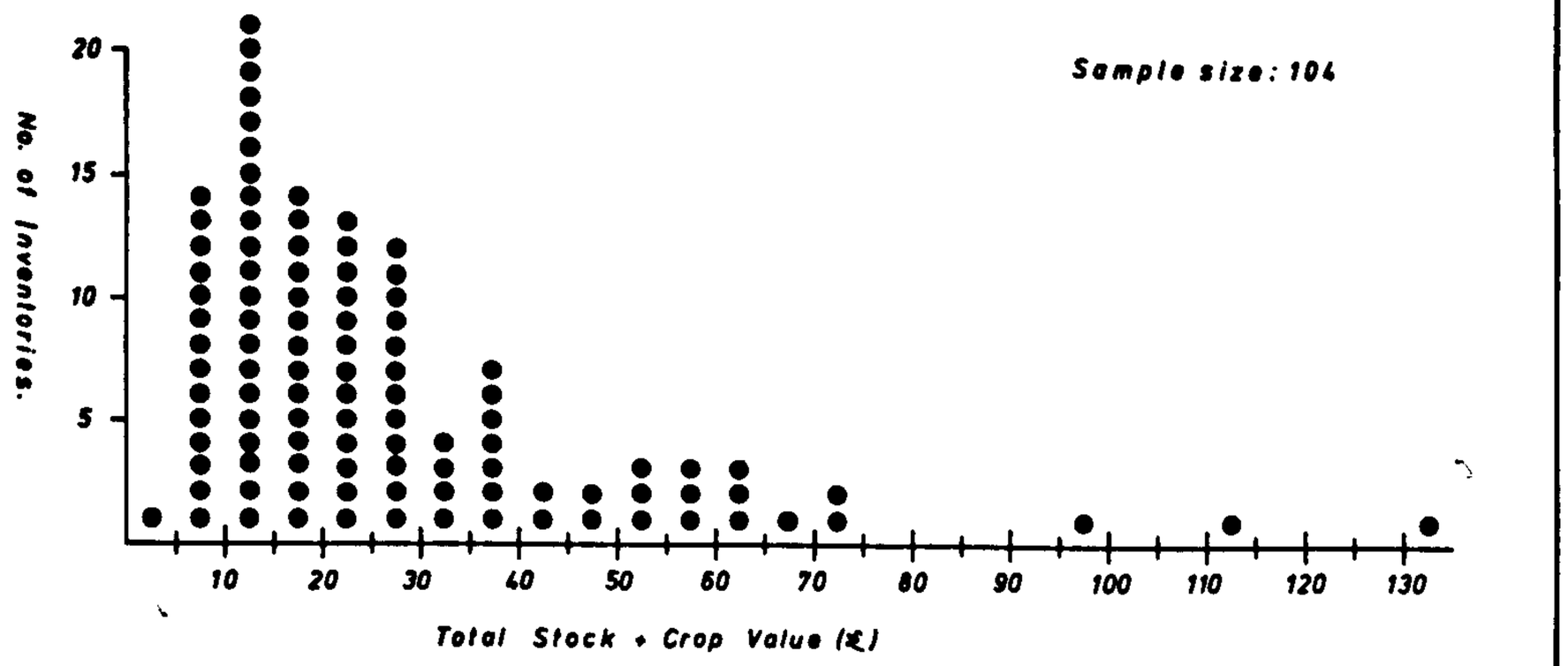
Figure: 5.1.

COPELAND PROBATE INVENTORIES: 1570 - 1600.

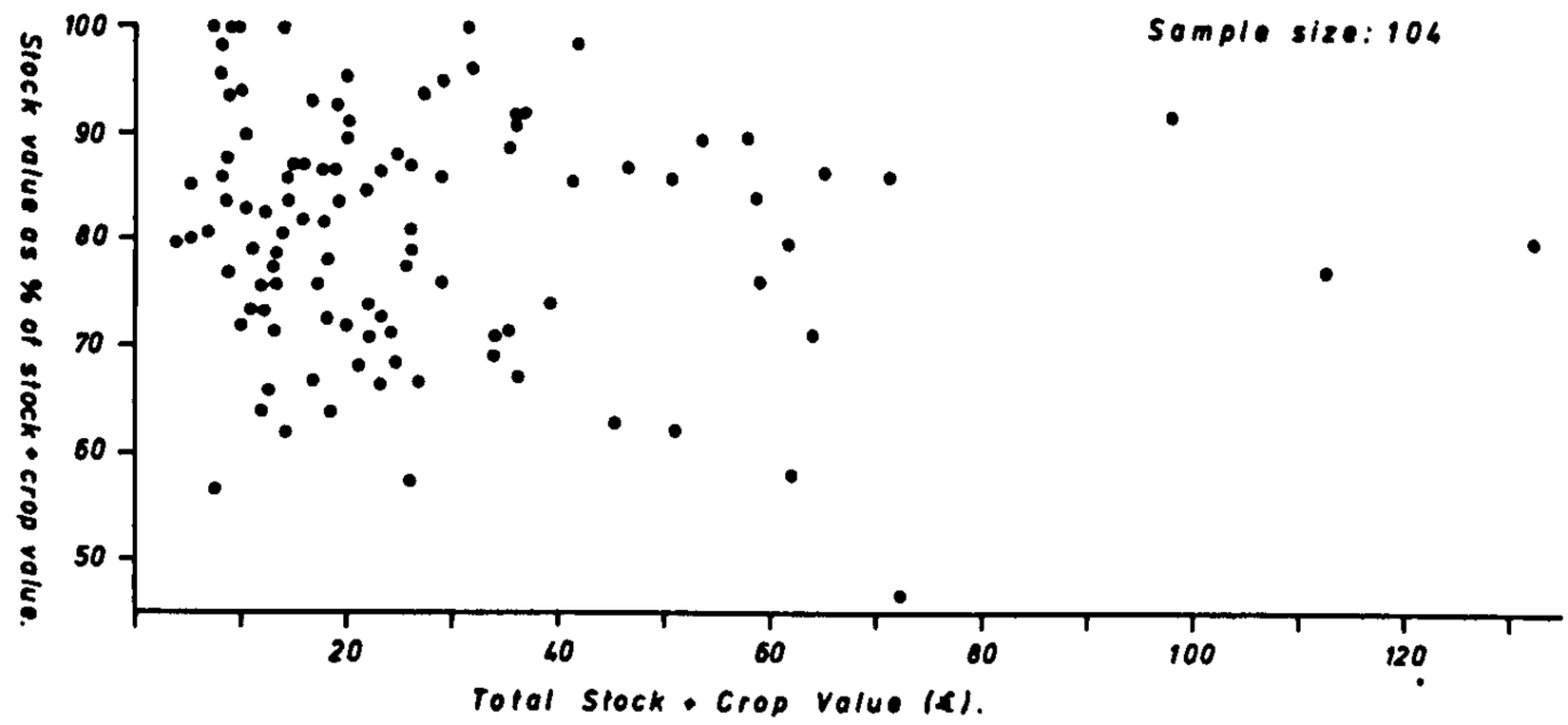
Figure: 5.1.

COPELAND PROBATE INVENTORIES: 1570 - 1600.

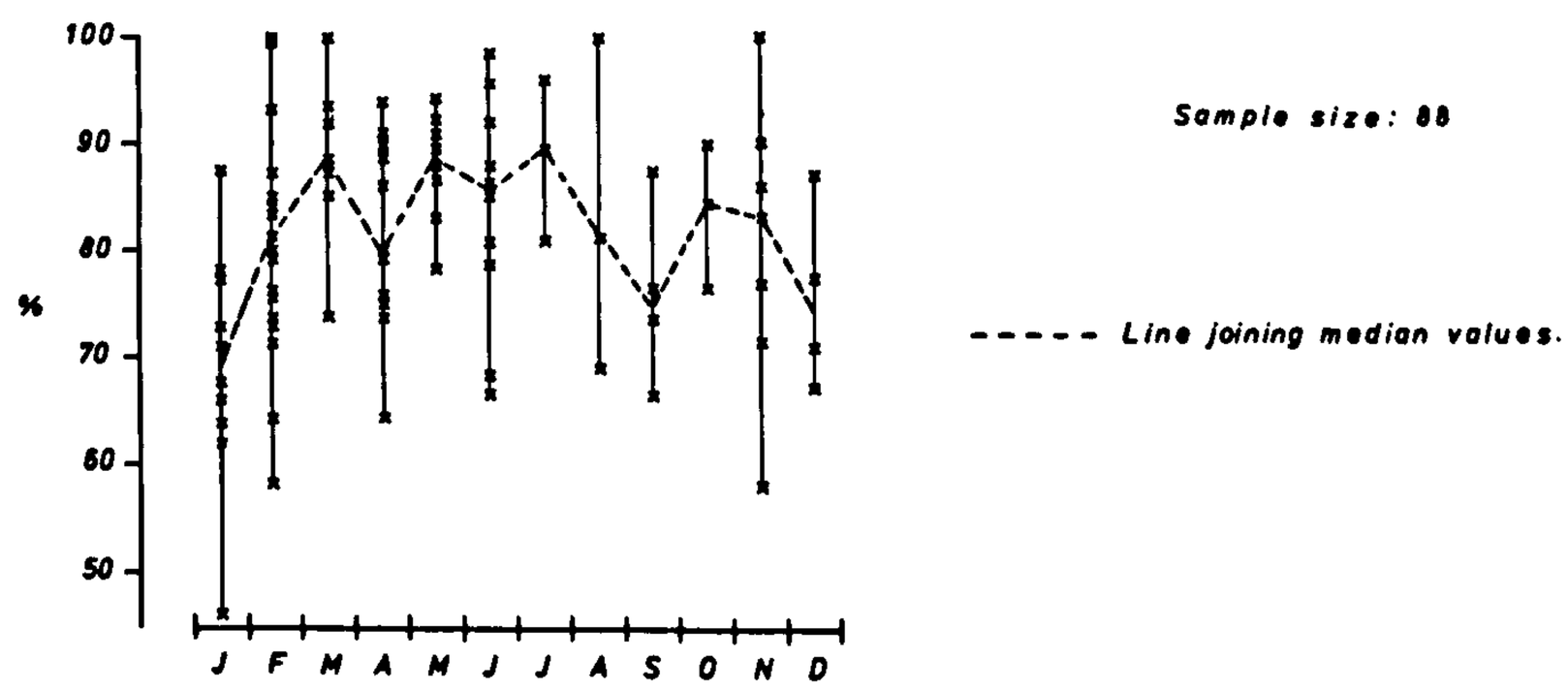
A: AN ASSESSMENT OF FARM SIZE. TOTAL VALUE OF STOCK AND CROPS.



B: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FARM SIZE AND RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF STOCK-REARING



C: STOCK VALUE AS % OF TOTAL STOCK AND CROP VALUE: MONTHLY VARIATIONS.



AJLW

Figure: 5.2.

COPELAND PROBATE INVENTORIES: 1570 - 1600.

Figure: 5.2.

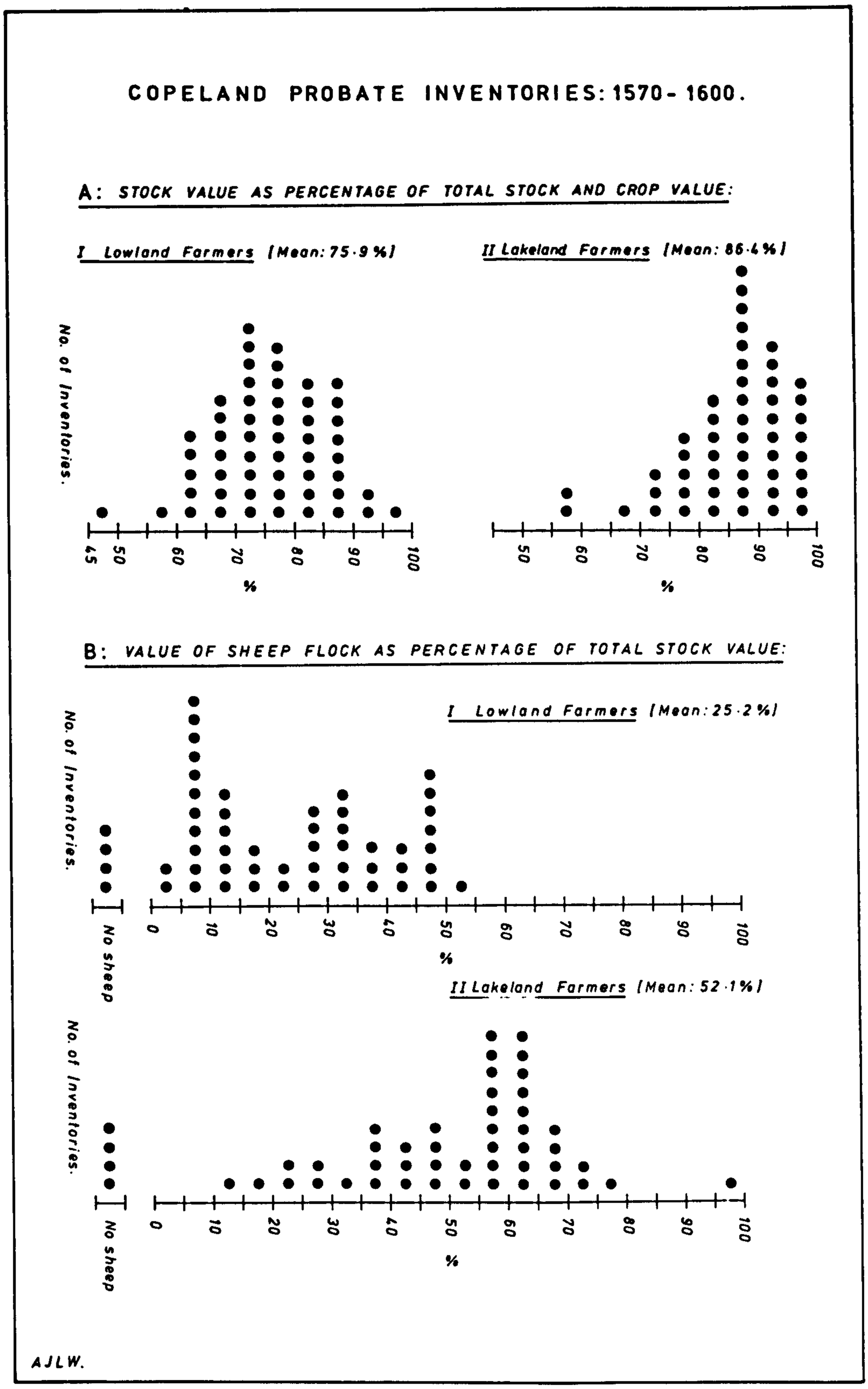

COPELAND PROBATE INVENTORIES: 1570 - 1600.
A: STOCK VALUE AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STOCK AND CROP VALUE:
I Lowland Farmers (Mean: 75·9 %)
II Lakeland Farmers (Mean: 86·4 %)
No. of Inventories.
45
50
60
70
80
90
100
%
B: VALUE OF SHEEP FLOCK AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STOCK VALUE:
I Lowland Farmers (Mean: 25·2 %)
II Lakeland Farmers (Mean: 52·1 %)
No. of Inventories.
No sheep
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
%
AJLW.

Figure: 5.3.

COPELAND PROBATE INVENTORIES: 1570 - 1600: STOCK NUMBERS.

Figure: 5.3.

COPELAND PROBATE INVENTORIES: 1570-1600: STOCK NUMBERS.

"LAKELAND" & "LOWLAND" TOWNSHIPS.

A: CATTLE HERDS.

i) LAKELAND FARMERS.

ii) LOWLAND FARMERS.

B: SHEEP FLOCKS.

i) LAKELAND FARMERS.

ii) LOWLAND FARMERS.

No. of Inventories.

Number of Cattle (bovine).

Number of Sheep.

Land over 1000 ft. (305m.) OD

LAKELAND.

LOWLAND.

0 Km. 10

0 Miles. 10

AJLW

Figure: 5.4.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY HUSBANDRY PRACTICE.

Sources:

A: Dodgshon: 1973, 18.

Bi: 18th cent. copy of verdict of jury of Manor of Eskdale, Miterdale, and Wasdale Head, 1587 concerning management of wastes in the manor. Known as "The Eskdale Twenty-Four Book". (C.R.O. D/Lec - see Ch.VII,note 11).

Bii: Description of rights in stinted pasture closes in survey of Manor of Loweswater, 1613 (C.R.O. D/Law/Loweswater Box/ Loweswater Court Roll, 1613).

C: Description of crop in Copeland Probate Inventories, 1570 - 1600. Where the crop is not described in detail a summary description, either as corn and hay (i.e. the harvested crop) or as seed and arder (i.e. the standing crop - see Ch.V; note 22), is given. This allows an assessment of the date of sowing and the length of growing season to be made.

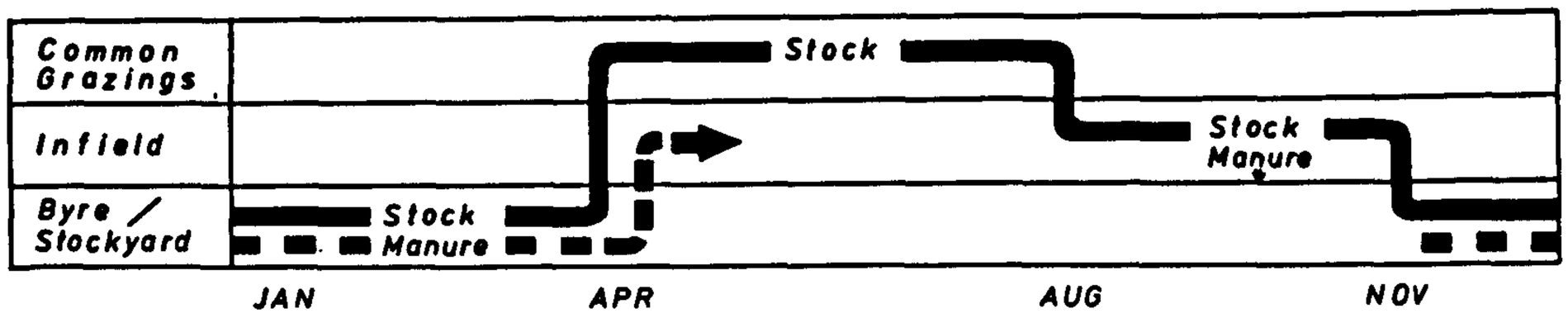
Note:

In B and C the numbers refer to days of the month; e.g. in Bii, cows and followers were allowed in stinted pasture closes between 1st May and 8th September; in C, the description seed and arder is found in inventories drawn up between 14th February and 4th July.

Figure: 5.4.

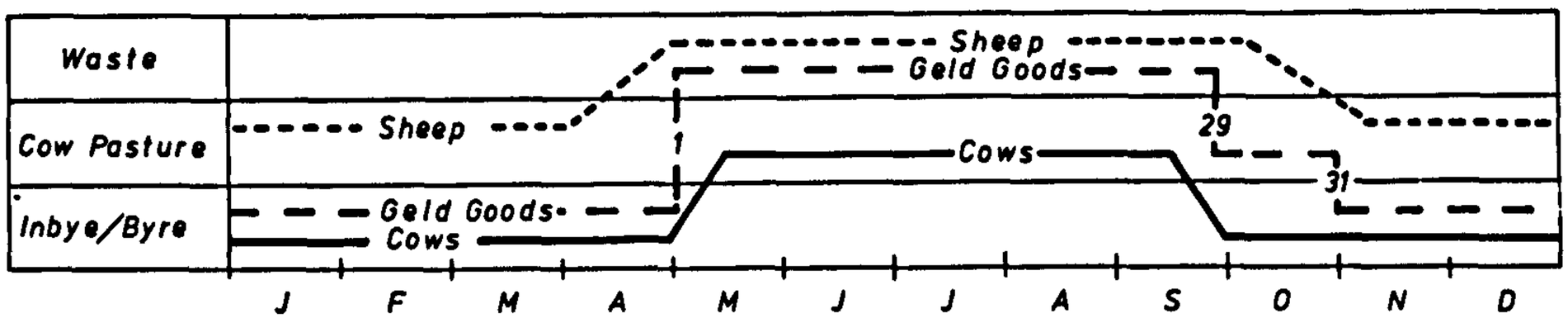
SIXTEENTH CENTURY HUSBANDRY PRACTICE.

A: Post-mediaeval Scottish System (after Dodgshon:1973;p.18).

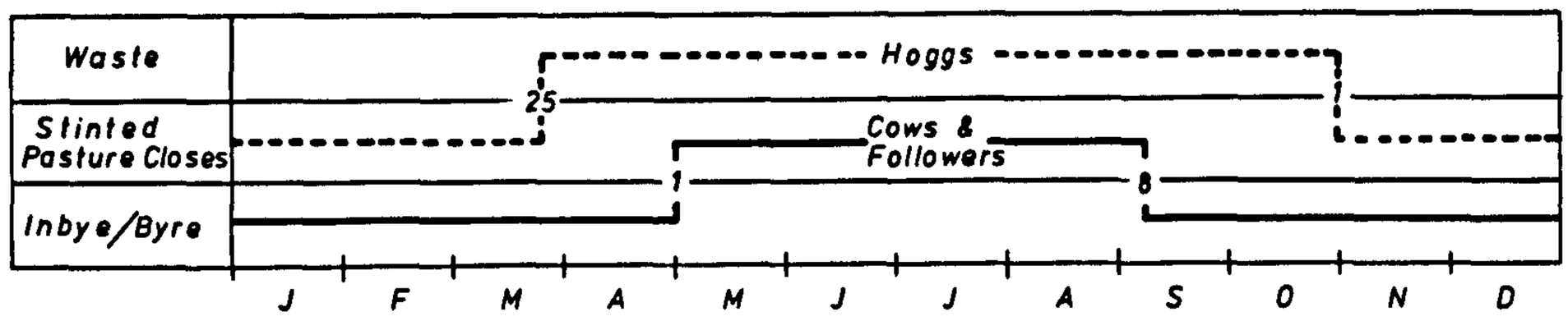


B: Stock Management in Copeland:

i) Eskdale; 1587.

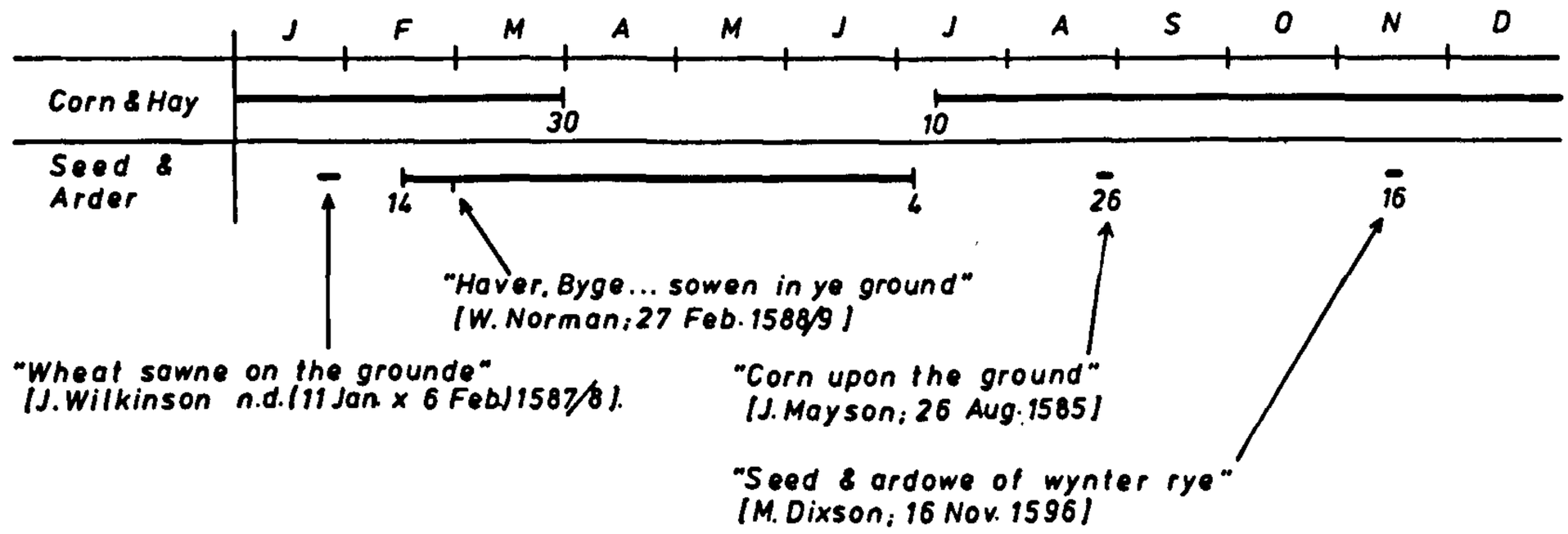


ii) Loweswater; 1613.



C: Crop Husbandry in late-16th century Copeland:

[Source: Probate Inventories: 1570-1600:- Description of Crop].



AJLW

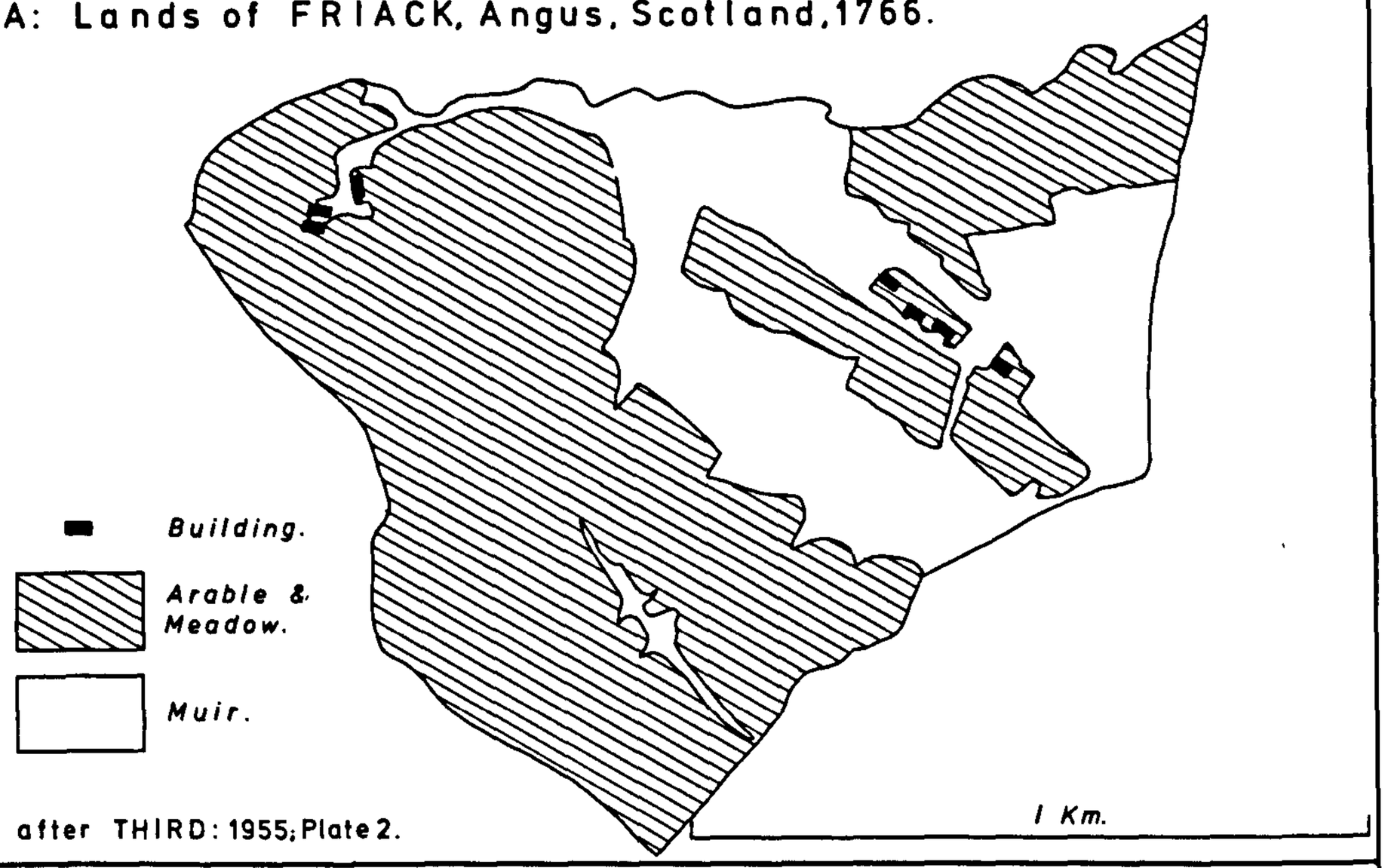
Figure: 5.5.

THE HEAD - DYKE: I.

Figure: 5.5.

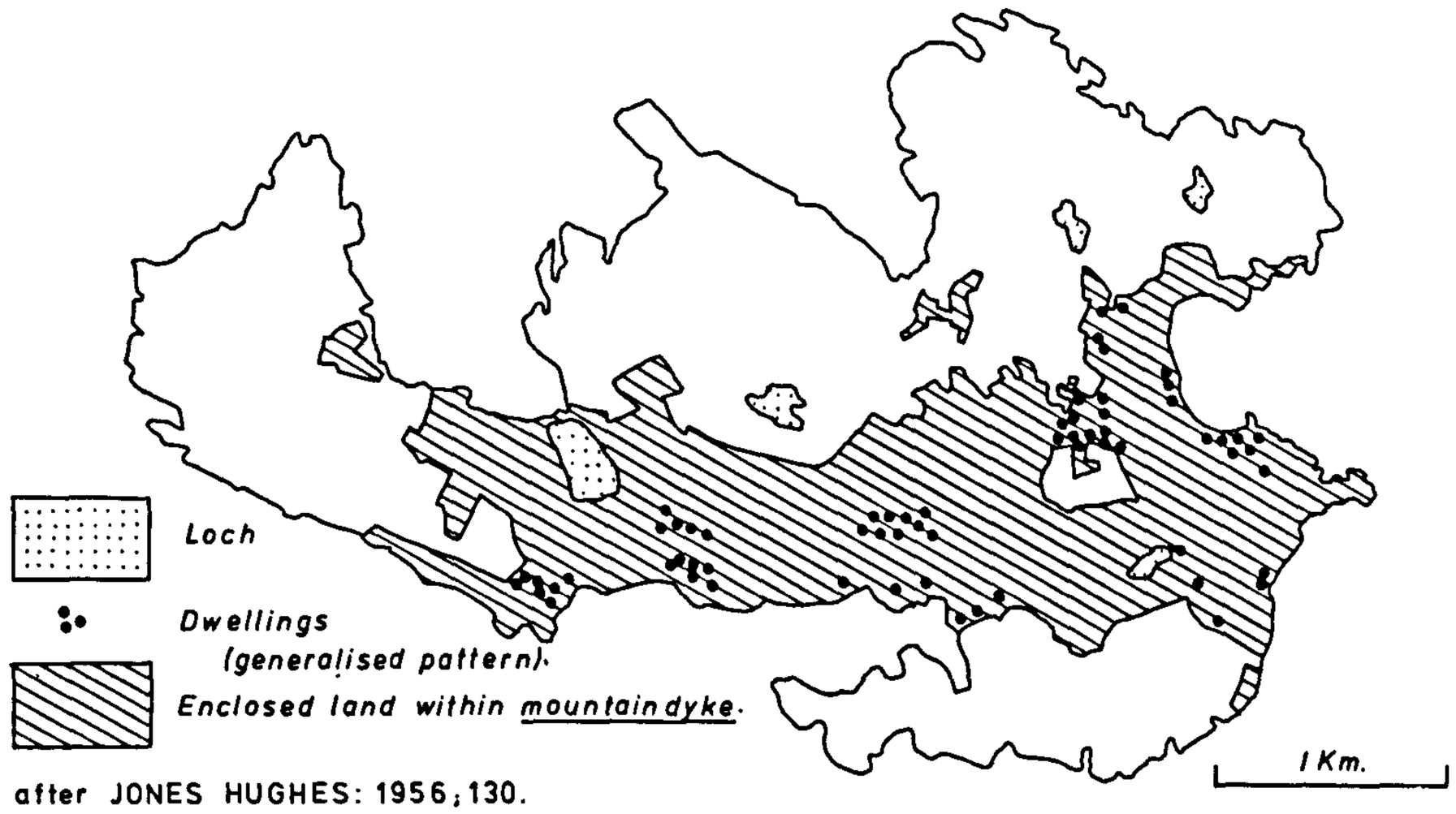
THE HEAD-DYKE: I.

A: Lands of FRIACK, Angus, Scotland, 1766.



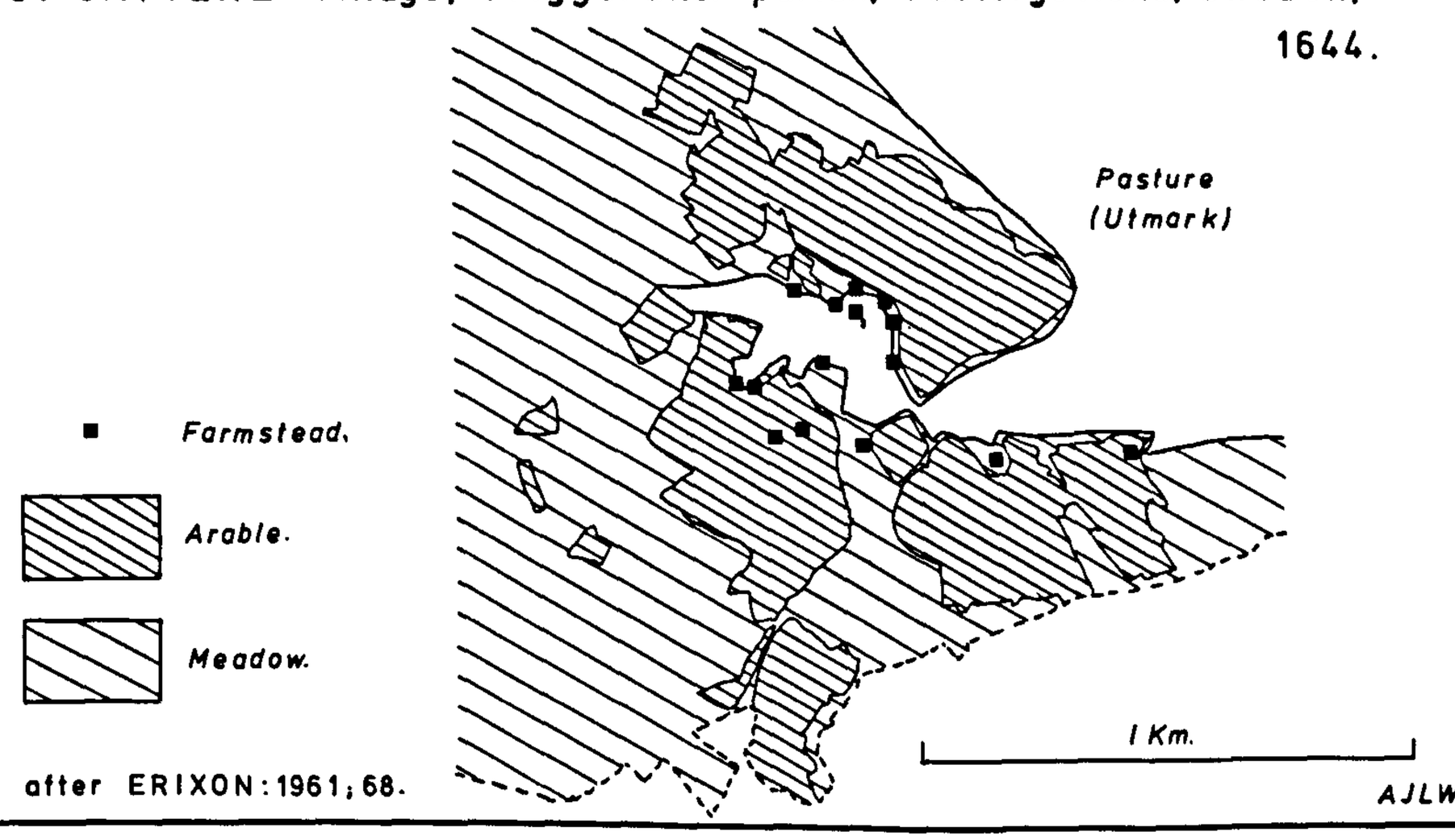
after THIRD: 1955; Plate 2.

B: INISHBOFIN, Connemara, Ireland, 1838.



after JONES HUGHES: 1956; 130.

C: JÄTTENE village, Friggeråker parish, Västergötland, Sweden, 1644.



after ERIXON: 1961; 68.

AJLW

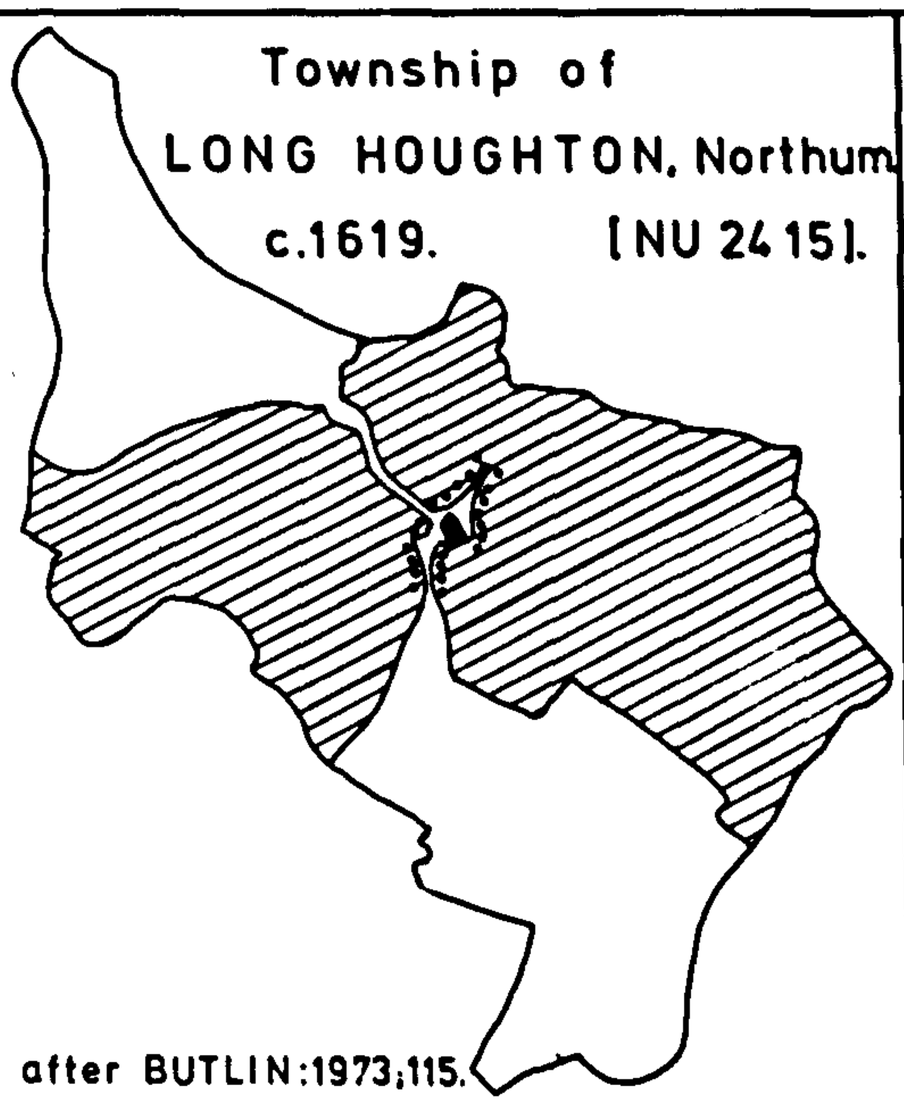
Figure: 5.6.

THE HEAD - DYKE: II.

Figure: 5.6.

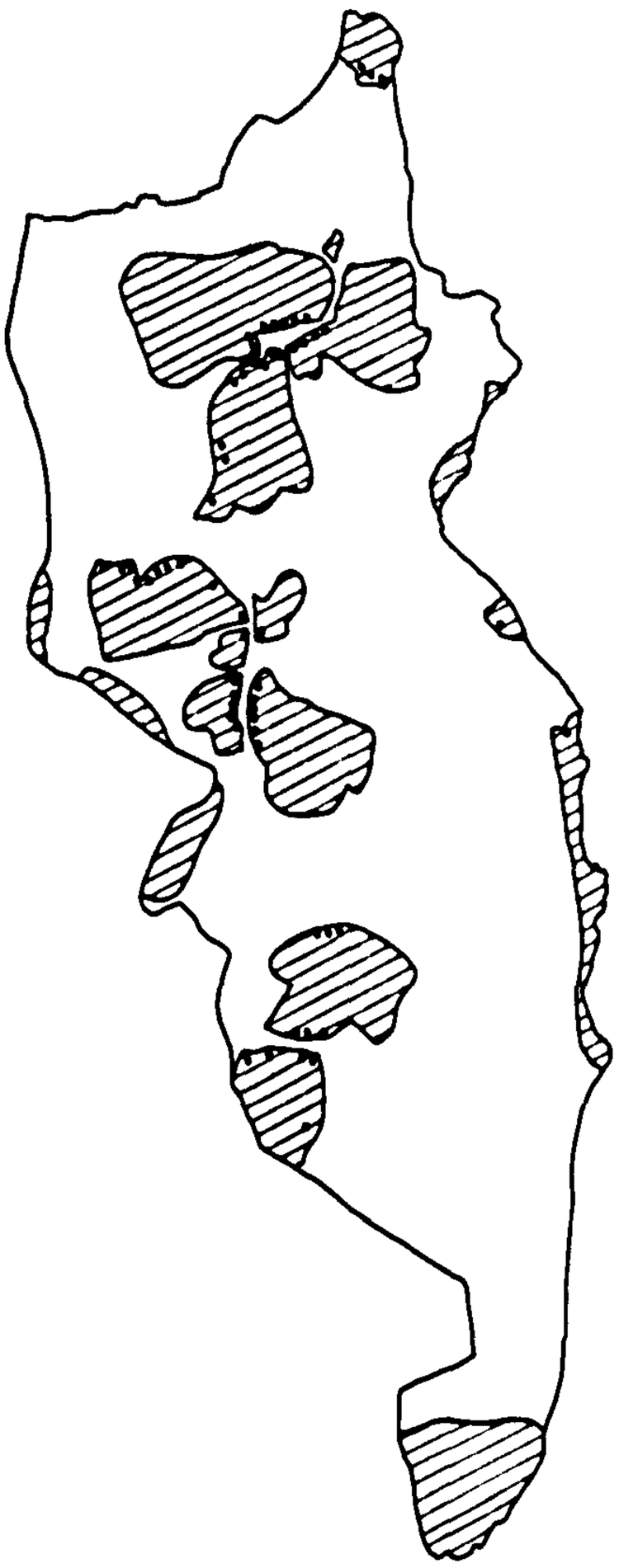
THE HEAD-DYKE: II.

Township of
LONG HOUGHTON, Northum.
c.1619. [NU 2415].



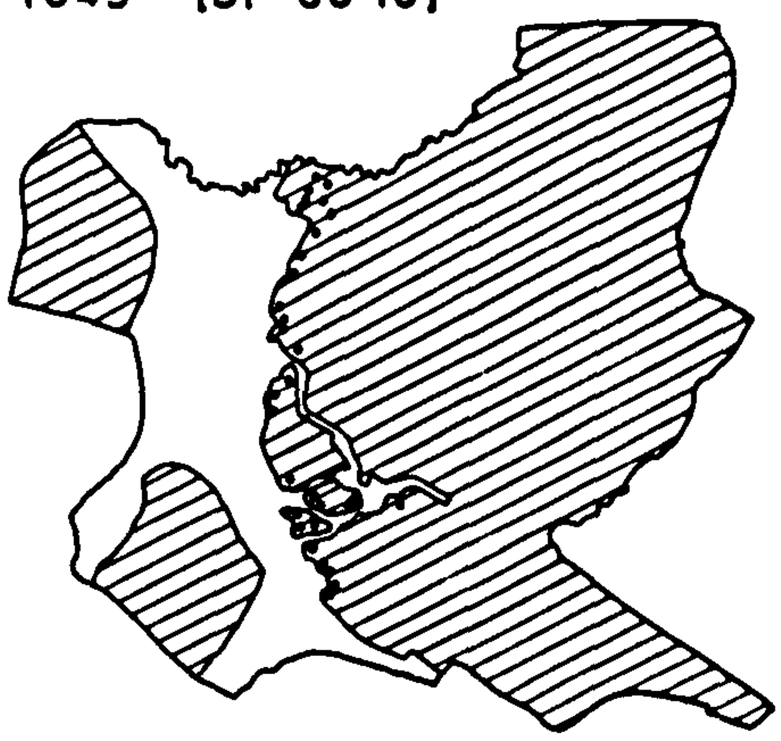
after BUTLIN: 1973, 115.

Manor of CUMWHITTON, Cumb.
1603 [NY 50 52].

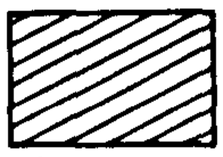


after CHARNLEY: 1974, Fig: 2·1

WOTTON UNDERWOOD, Bucks.
1649 [SP 68 16]



after RODEN: 1973, 352



all land other than Common Waste.

∴ Buildings

1 Km.
1 Mile.

AJLW

Figure: 6.1

DERWENTFELLS: LAND TENURE, 1578.

Source: 1578 Survey; ff 163-191.

Key to Farm Group Territories: (see Appendix B, Table I)

Lorton:

1. Armaside
2. Low Lorton
3. High Lorton
4. Scales
5. Swinside

Rogersett:

1. Keskadale
2. Snab
3. Birkrigg
4. Little Town

Buttermere:

1. Buttermere
2. Gatesgarth

Braithwaite and Coledale:

1. Powter How
2. Howend
3. Great Braithwaite
4. Coledale
5. Little Braithwaite
6. Uzzicar
7. Stonycroft
8. Skellgill
9. Swinside
10. Parkside
11. Waterend
12. Ullock
13. Portinscales

Figure: 6.1.

DERWENT FELLS: LAND TENURE 1578.

LORTON

BRACKENTHWAITE

BRAITHWAITE & COLEDALE

ROGERSETT

BIRKNESS

BUTTERMERE

Lord's Seat (1811 ft., 552m)

Hobcarton (2525 ft., 770m)

Dale Head (2473 ft., 754m)

1772 ft., 540m.

R. Cocker (c. 270 ft., 82m)

R. Derwent (c. 230 ft., 70m)

CRUMMOCK WATER

BUTTERMERE

BASSENTHWAITE LAKE

Thornthwaite

DERWENT WATER

hectares.

stat. acres 100

0 Km. 1 2 3

0 Miles. 1 2

Birkness: in Buttermere township (O.S.) but in Lowes water manor 1613.
(---- boundary of Lowes water manor as described in 1613 court roll.)

- Customary tenement, described 1578
- Free tenement, located but not described, 1578
- Boundary between farm group territories (reconstructed / uncertain / conjectural)
- Linked farm names (O.S.)
- Township boundary (O.S.)

Land outside farm group organisation:-

- Peat Moss.
- Shared Pasture Close.
- Other.
- No details of tenurial patterns.

AJLW

Figure: 6.2

COPELAND: LARGE-SCALE SEIGNORIAL ENCLOSURE

Key and Sources:

Deer Parks:

1220	Stainburn (StB:330).
1259	Cockermouth (P.R.O. S.C.11/730/m 1).
c1250, c1280	Loweswater (see Figure: 6.4).
1283	Wythop (see Figure: 6.5).
c1285	Embleton (see Figure: 6.5).
1294	Egremont (Close Rolls: Ed.I; iii, 400).
1337	Millom and Ulpha (Cal.IPMS:viii; p.67).
1355	Dean (Lucy Cart: 161).
1450	Workington (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Curwen Estates Rental).
1583	Frizington (PNC: ii, 336).
1761	Harrington (C.R.O. D/Cu/7/4).

Vaccariae:

1267	Gatesgarth (P.R.O. S.C.6/824/7).
1322	Ennerdale, Wasdalehead (P.R.O. C.134/71/1).

Fences

1369	Faw Park (Cal.IPMS: xii; p.210).
1437	Scalethorns (C.R.O. D/Lec/29/1/Coledale).
1471	Bowderdale Fence (Alnwick: x.II.3.3.a - Egremont).
T.Hy VIII	Loweswater Holme (Alnwick:X.II.3.10).
c1578	New Fence (1578 Survey: f.138).
1632	The Side (C.R.O. D/Lec/94/Census of Deer).
1650	Coves (P.R.O. E.317/Cumb./5).

Monastic Granges

1252	Grassholmes (StB:367).
c1285	Brotherilkeld (Furness: ii; ii; 565).
late 13th	Prior Park (DKR: 36; 195, 306; Dugdale: vi, 556).
1396	Grange in Borrowdale (Furness: ii; ii; 578).
1537	Calder Abbey granges (see Figure: 6.3).

Vaccaria:

1302	Stonethwaite (Fountains: i, 62).

Figure: 6.2.

Copeland: Large-scale Seignorial Enclosure.

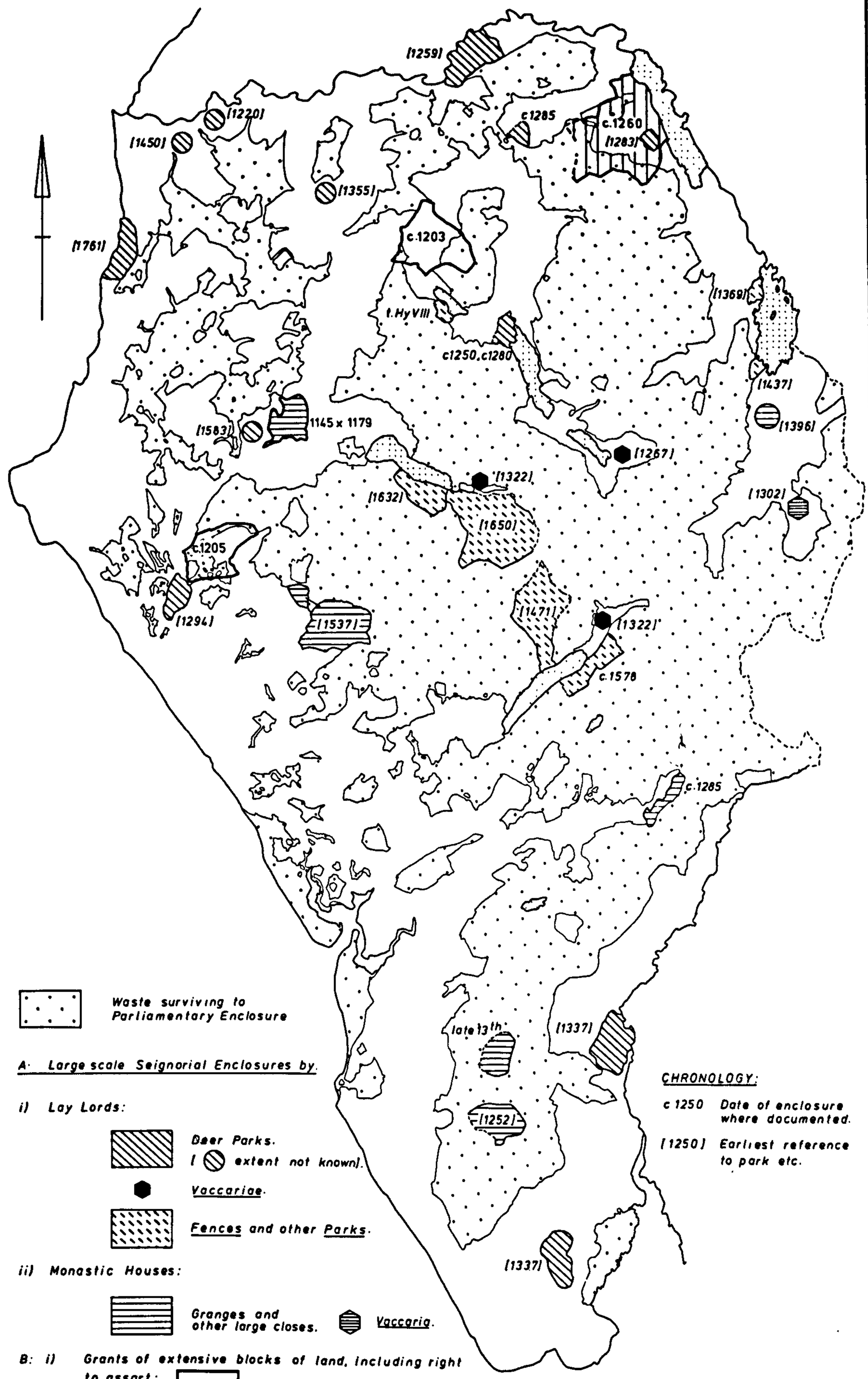


Figure: 6.3

CALDER ABBEY GRANGES

Sources:

(i) Base maps:

1793 - "Plan of the Manor of Calder . . . surveyed 1793 by J. Howard", C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Calder/Plan 14.

1752 - Plan of Thornholme, 1752, C.R.O. DX/91/4.

(ii) Survey of Calder Abbey Demesnes, 1537:

(P.R.O. Exch. Aug. Off. Misc. Books: Vol. 399, p.121; 405, p.1).
The identification of Moughton grange is suggested by reference to the Mountain Pinfold (O.S. spelling) as Moughton Pinfold or the pinfold att a place called Moughton Parkeside in 1694 (C.R.O. D/Lec/284/Somerset v Curwen lawsuit papers).

(iii) Fine, 1243:

(P.R.O. Feet of Fines, Cumberland, No. 34; abstracted in StB:p.306n). Plea between Jollan, Abbot of Calder, and Alexander de Ronsonby concerning inter alia, 40 acres of pasture in Holegate. As the reconstruction shows, these 40 acres lay within bounds which coincide with the edge of the lands of the later granges of Thornholme, Scalderskew and Moughton. The identification of two points along the 1243 boundary requires discussion:-

Frithe bec - probably an earlier name for Worm Gill which descends from Cawfell, one of the lord of Egremont's friths or fences (1578 Survey: f.122).

Holgate bec - That this lay in the vicinity of Thornholme is suggested by the inclusion of a field called Hall Gayte fell in the 1537 survey of Thornholme Grange. The name does not recur on the 1752 plan of the estate.

Figure: 6.3.

CALDER ABBEY GRANGES.

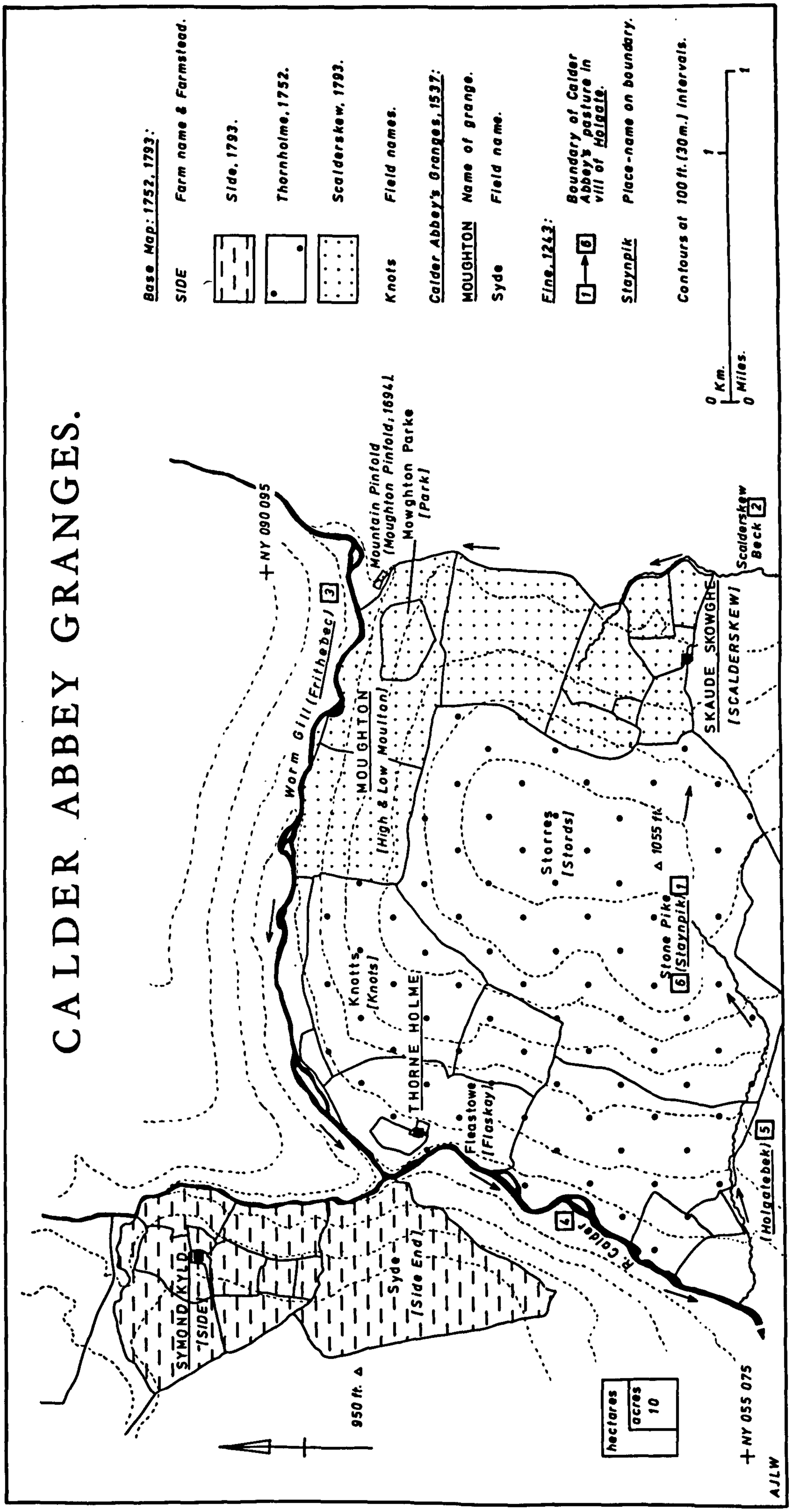


Figure: 6.4

LOWESWATER PARK

Sources:

A. Post-Mediaeval:

(i) Loweswater Tithe Plan, 1839 (C.R.O. DRC/8/121).

(ii) Surveys of holdings at Park, c1700 (C.R.O. D/Law/ Loweswater/ uncatalogued surveys of Peter Wilkinson's tenement, n.d. (c1691); Tiffin's tenement, 14 Aug. 1704).

(iii) Presentment against tenants of le Parke, Loweswater Court, 1524 (C.R.O. D/Lec/299/22).

(iv) Deepa Bridge is so named on "Plan of Foulsike, Godfrahead, Churchstile and Infield Estates, surveyed by Thomas Donald, 1782" (C.R.O. D/WM/Plans).

B. Mediaeval:

(i) Agreement between Priory of St Bees and Thomas de Lucy, 1286 (StB: 106).

(ii) References to Balnes:
1304 - IPM Thomas de Lucy (P.R.O. C.134/10/15).
1437 - Min. Acct. (Loweswater) (C.R.O. D/Lec/29/1).
Field-name: Loweswater Tithe Plan, 1839.

LOWESWATER PARK.

A: POST-MEDIEVAL

Land identified as part of holdings at Park; c1700.

In 1524 tenants of le Parke were presented for defects in the "head-hedge" (haya capitalis) between Depewathcrag (cf Deepa Bridge) and Ravyncrag (cf Raven Crag).

+ NY 150 215

Deepa Bridge

Brackenthwaite Township

Gillerthwaite

Kirkhead

Low Park

High Park

Peel

Crummock Water

Raven Crag

△1668 ft.

+ NY 135 195

hectares

acres 10

AJLW

Contours every 100 ft. (30 m.)

1 Km.

1000 yds.

B: MEDIEVAL

Agreement between monks of St. Bees and Thos. de Lucy, 1286: Thos. had made a new park at Loweswater & had obstructed their way from chapel of Loweswater to Dupwath (?Deepa Br.) towards Brakanthweit. This new park was to be removed but the old park enclosed by Thos.' father (fl. c1230 - c1260) was to remain.

Brackenthwaite.

Dupwath ?

Park Wall (field-name)

Loweswater chapel

?

A

Bowness

Suggested boundary of park.

A — Possible manor house site, surrounded by remains of moat.

Bowness — Field-name; cf manor of Balnes, 1304; park of Balnes, 1437.

Figure: 6.4.

Figure: 6.5

EMBLETON AND WYTHOP: ENCLOSURE HISTORY

Post-Mediaeval Sources:

(i) Tithe Plans for Embleton, 1839 (C.R.O. DRC/8/70) and Wythop, 1845 (DRC/8/204) collated with O.S. first edition 1:10,560 survey.

(ii) Enclosure Awards for Embleton and Setmurthy , 1824 (C.R.O. QRE/1/37) and Wythop, 1830 (QRE/1/19).

(iii) Land held of manor of Derwentfells, 1578 - 1578 Survey: ff 161-3.

Mediaeval Documentation:

Embleton c1285 - T. de Lucy to T. de Irebi: liberty to enclose park around manor of Embleton (Lucy Cart: 130; printed in StBA: 66).

Wythop c1260 - A. de Multon and A. de Lucy to J. de Lucy, their son: grant of Wythop (bounded) (C.R.O. D/Van/ Wythop/Box 1).

1283 - Agreement, 15 Aug. 1283, between J. son of R. de Lantploth and J. de Lucy concerning pasture rights in Wythop (ibid).

1379 - Agreement, 13 Apr. 1379, between H. and R. de Lowthre concerning their respective moieties of the manor of Wythop (ibid).

Manor House Sites:

Embleton - NY 154 292 - remains of bank and ditch of moat, adjacent to field named Hallgarth on Tithe Plan.

Wythop - NY 203 284 - no visible remains; assumed to have been in vicinity of 17th cent. farmstead of Wythop Hall. Licence to crenelate given, 1319 (Patent Rolls: Ed.II;iii;189).

Figure: 6.5.

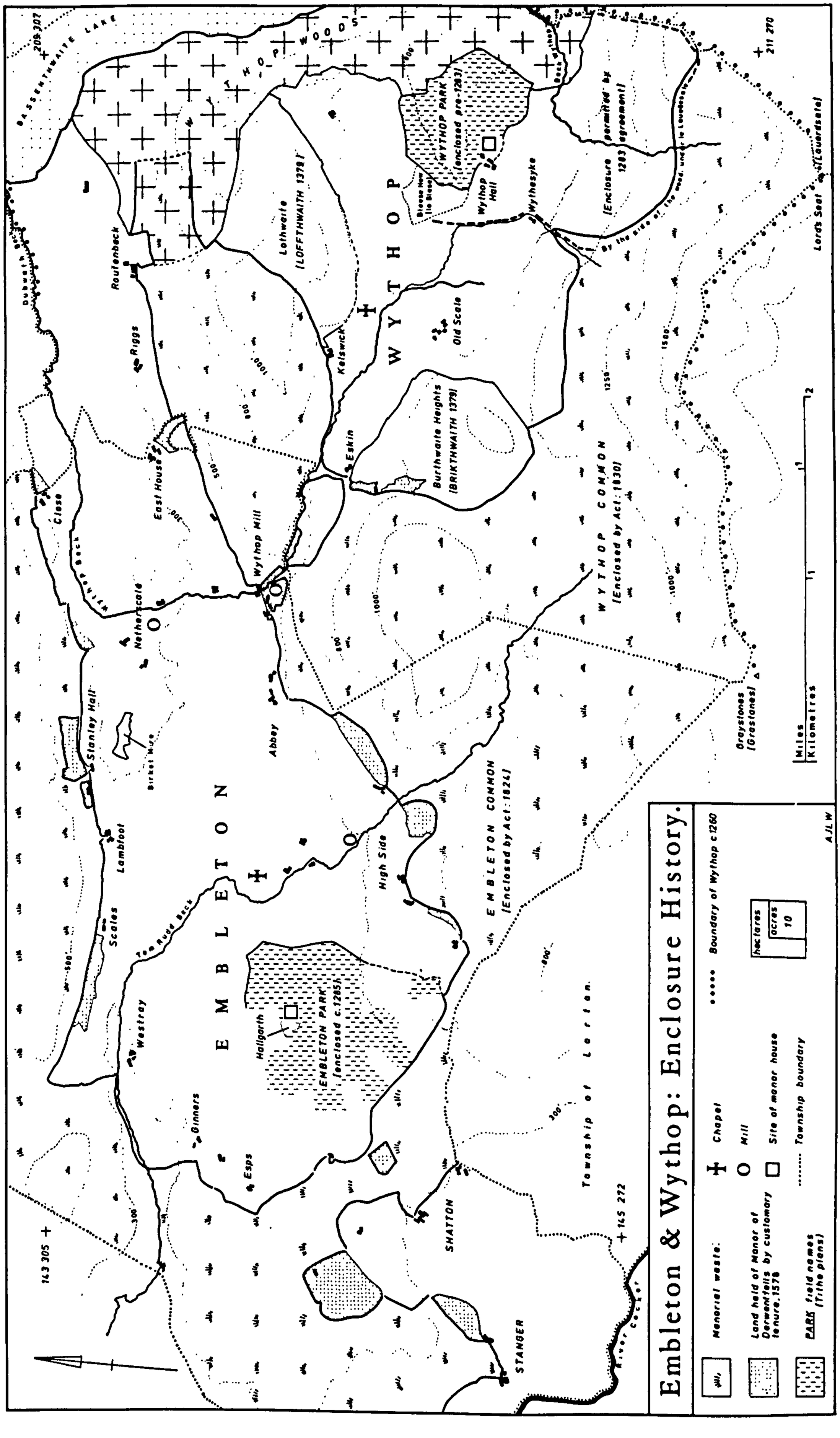

WYTHOP WOODS
ASSENTHWAITE LAKE
209 307
WYTHOP PARK (enclosed pre-1283)
Wythop Hall
Wythesyke
Enclosure permitted by 1283 agreement
Lords Seat (Loweresdale)
211 270
Lothwaite
LOFFTHWAITH 1378
Rowlenbeck
Riggs
Kelswick
Old Scale
Eskin
Burthwaite Heights (BRIKTHWAITH 1378)
East House
Close
Wythop Mill
Netherscale
WYTHOP COMMON (Enclosed by Act: 1830)
Stanley Hall
Birket Nze
Abbey
Lambfoot
Scales
High Side
Tom Rudd Beck
Westray
Hallgarth
EMBLETON PARK (enclosed c.1285)
EMBLETON COMMON (Enclosed by Act: 1824)
Braystones (Grasstones)
Ginners
Esps
SHATTON
STANGER
Township of Lorton.
143 305
145 272
EMBLETON
WYTHOP
Embleton & Wythop: Enclosure History.
Boundary of Wythop c1260
Manorial waste
Land held of Manor of Derwentfells by customary tenure, 1578
PARK field names (Tithe plans)
Chapel
Hill
Site of manor house
Township boundary
hectares
acres
10
Miles
Kilometres
AJLW

Figure: 7.1

N.E. COPELAND:

PRESENTMENTS AGAINST FOREIGN CATTLE: 1472-1517

Source:

Court Rolls of Honour of Cockermouth, 1472-1517 (C.R.O. D/Lec/299/1-14) Eaglesfield Court verdict, 5 March 1595 (ibid: 299/27).

Figure: 7.1.

N.E. Copeland: Presentments Against Foreign Cattle: 1472 - 1517.

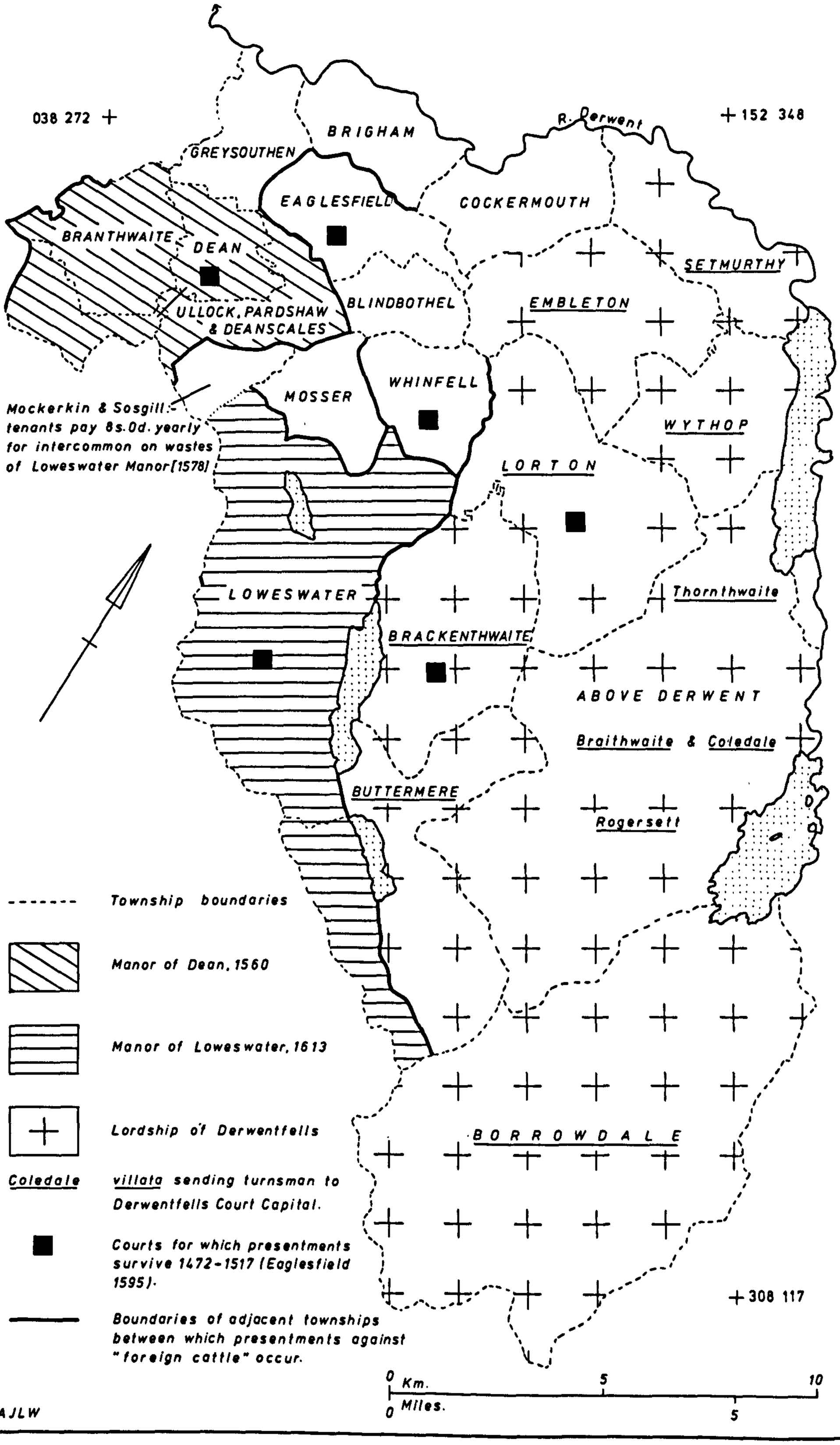


Figure: 7.2

MANOR OF ESKDALE, MITERDALE AND WASDALE HEAD:

16TH CENTURY WASTE MANAGEMENT

Sources:

Based on reconstruction of:-

(i) "Commons Cattle Drift and Heaf Award of the Twentyfour Sworn Men of Eskdale, Miterdale and Wasdalehead, 1587". Copy made by John Nicholson, 19 Nov. 1692, with amendment dated 24 April 1701, is in C.R.O. D/Lec.

(ii) Award of Jury of Manor of Wasdalehead, 9 June 1664 (C.R.O. D/Ben/Crosthwaite Tithes/1).

Seignorial fences or friths are listed in 1578 Survey, ff. 117, 134, 138.

Figure: 7.2.

Manor of Eskdale, Miterdale & Wasdale Head: 16th Century Waste Management.

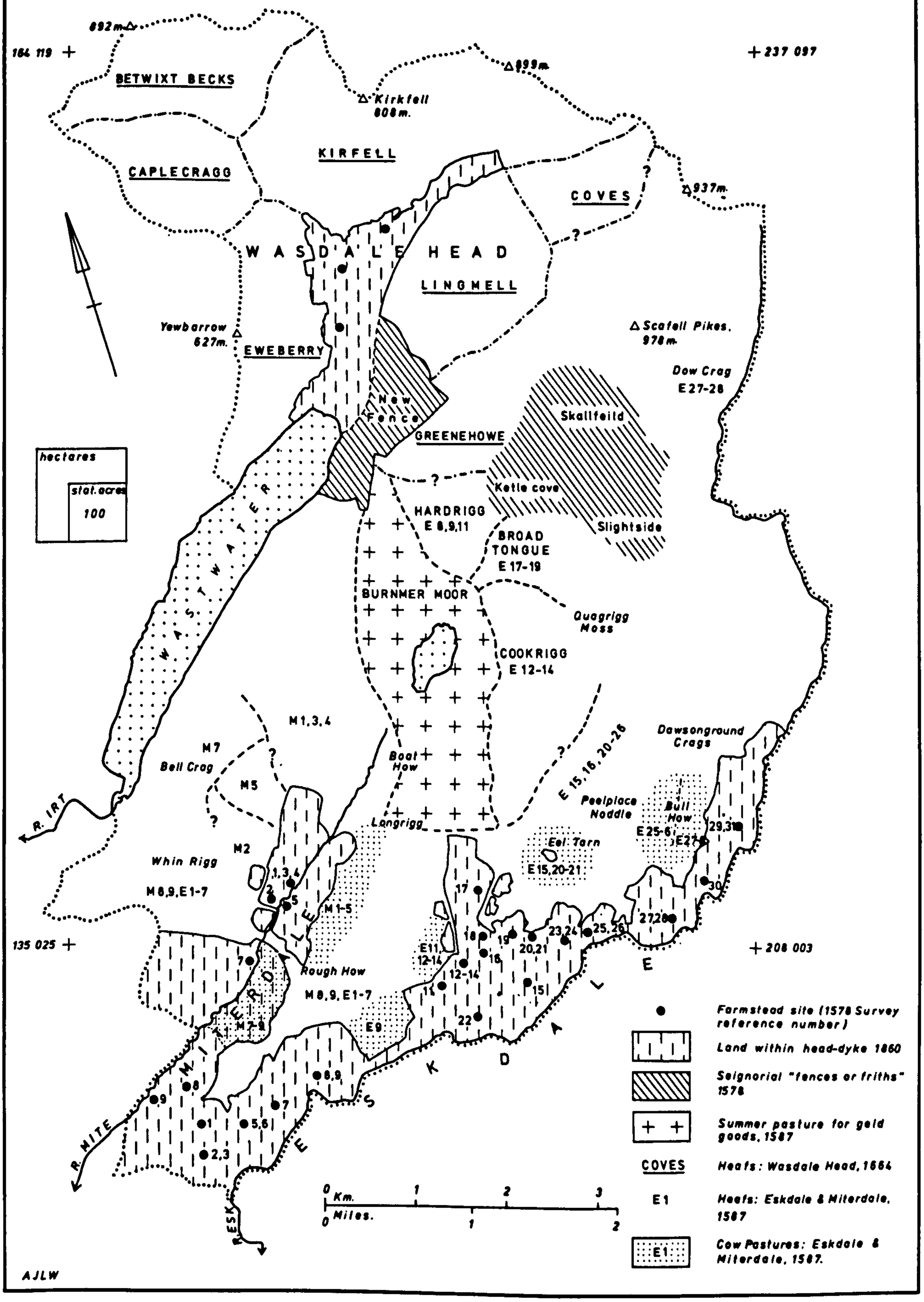


Figure: 7.3

SHIELING PRACTICES IN COPELAND:

THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

Source:

Names derived from skali, saetr and erg according to PNC, supplemented by a survey of field- and hill-names from Ordnance Survey first edition, 1:10,560 sheets and Tithe and Estate Plans as shown in inset.

Figure: 7.3.

Shieling Practices in Copeland:- the Place-name Evidence.

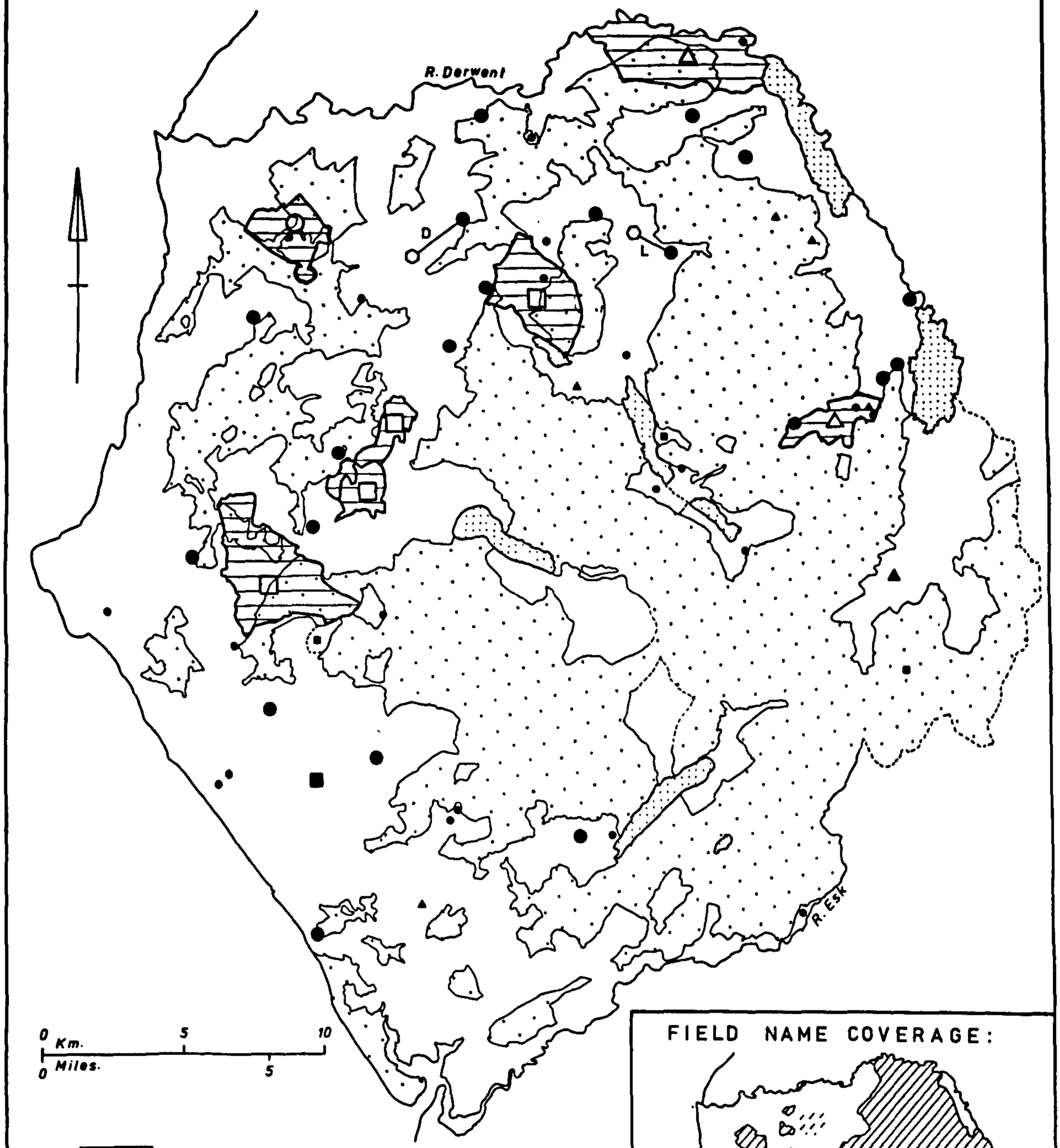


Figure: 7.4

WHILLIMOOR

Sources:

(i) Plans accompanying Enclosure Awards for Moresby, 1763; Distington, 1768; Weddicar, 1809; Whillimoor, 1826 (C.R.O. QRE/1/6, 85, 18,126) related to Ordnance Survey, first edition, 1:10,560 sheets.

(ii) Bounds of Whillimoor, c1447:- StB: 496.

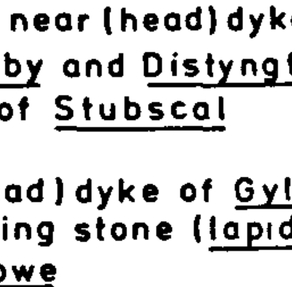
(iii) Divisions of Whillimoor, c1360:- StB: 134.

WHILLIMOOR.

Bounds of Whillimoor, c.1447

KEY

1	from (stone) circle (circulus) called le Wheles near Harashowe
2–3	along near (head) dyke (fossatum) of Moresby and Distyngton as far as (head) dyke of Stubscal
3–4	by (head) dyke of Gylgarran as far as standing stone (lapidem stantem) of Frothowe
	ascending to east near Inweregh [not identified]
5–6	ascending by (head) dyke of Brownrig; descending towards south to Arlokdenbek [Dub Beck]
6–7	by this stream to (head) dyke of Wedaker, along which as far as water of Kikill towards west
7	on other side of Kikil ascending near stream of Prestgill
7–8	from Prestgill towards north by middle of Withemyre, ascending by a syke (siketa) to Croft morez [south-west boundary of Moresby township follows a watercourse between Priestgill and Round Close].



AJLW

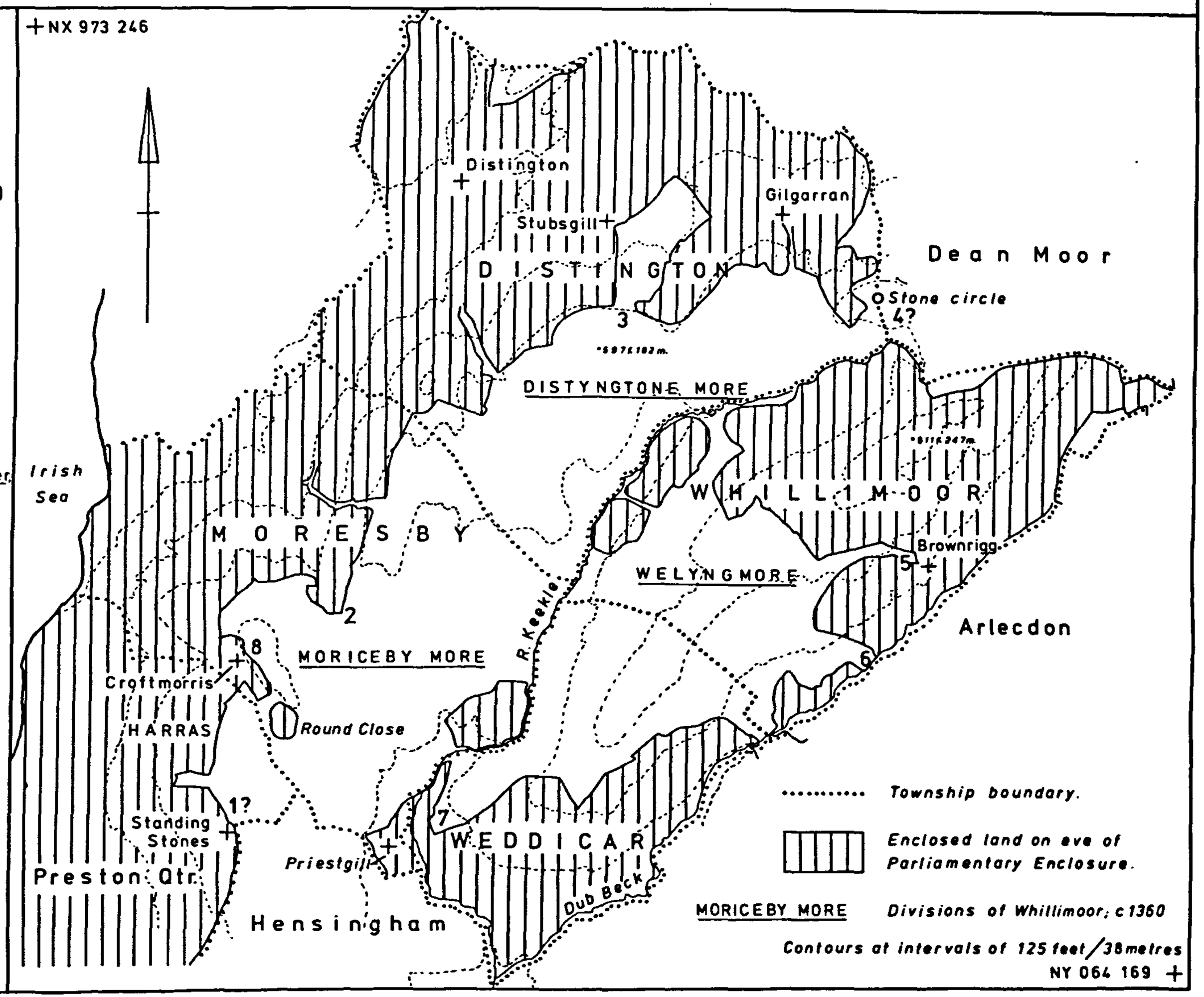


Figure: 7.4.

Figure: 7.5

MOSSER

Sources:

(i) Mosser Tithe Plan, 1840 (C.R.O. DRC/8/134) collated with Ordnance Survey first edition, 1:10,560 survey.

(ii) Grant of Mosser, c 1203:- Original is in C.R.O. D/Lec/301. The 15th century copy in Lucy Cart: 45 is printed in StBA: 28.

(iii) 1827 Plan of Mosser Fell, furnishing additional place-names: C.R.O. D/WM/Plan of Mosser and Loweswater Fells, by W Mitchell, July 1827.

Figure: 7.5.

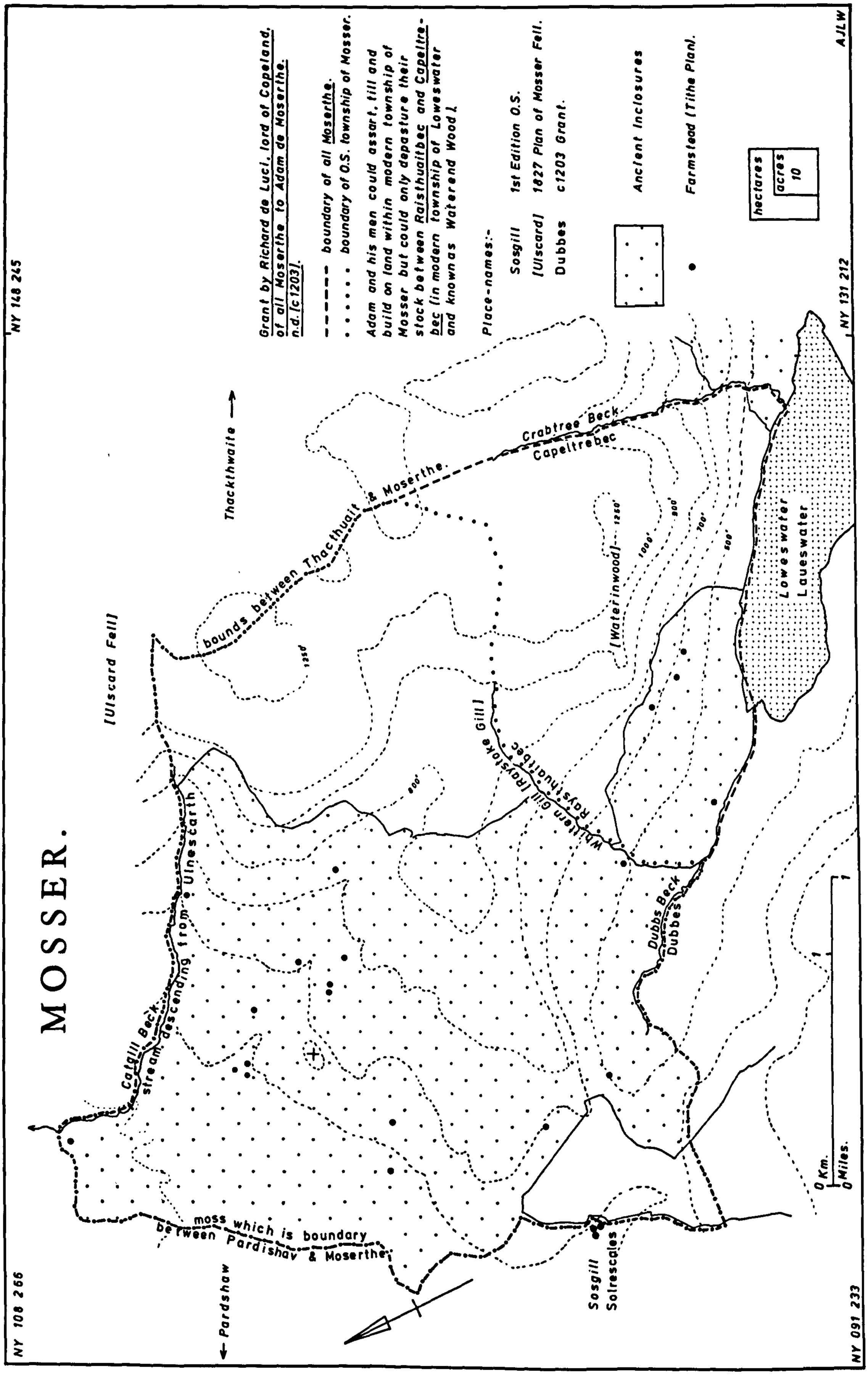

MOSSER.
Grant by Richard de Luci, lord of Copeland, of all Moserthe to Adam de Moserthe. n.d. [c1203].
boundary of all Moserthe.
boundary of O.S. township of Mosser.
Adam and his men could assart, till and build on land within modern township of Mosser but could only depasture their stock between Raisthuaitbec and Capeltrebec [in modern township of Loweswater and known as Waterend Wood].
Place-names:-
Sosgill
1st Edition O.S.
[Ullscard]
1827 Plan of Mosser Fell.
Dubbes
c1203 Grant.
Ancient Inclosures
Farmstead (Tithe Plan).
hectares
acres 10
NY 148 245
NY 131 212
AJLW
Thackthwaite
Crabtree Beck
Capeltrebec
bounds between Thacthuait & Moserthe.
[Waterinwood]
1250'
1000'
800'
700'
500'
Loweswater
Laueswater
[Ullscard Fell]
Gill]
Raystokebec
Raysthuaitbec
Western Gill
Dubbs Beck
Dubbes
Ullscarth
Catgill Beck
stream descending from
moss which is boundary between Pardishaw & Moserthe
Pardshaw
Sosgill
Solrescales
0 Km.
0 Miles.
NY 108 266
NY 091 233

Figure: 7.6

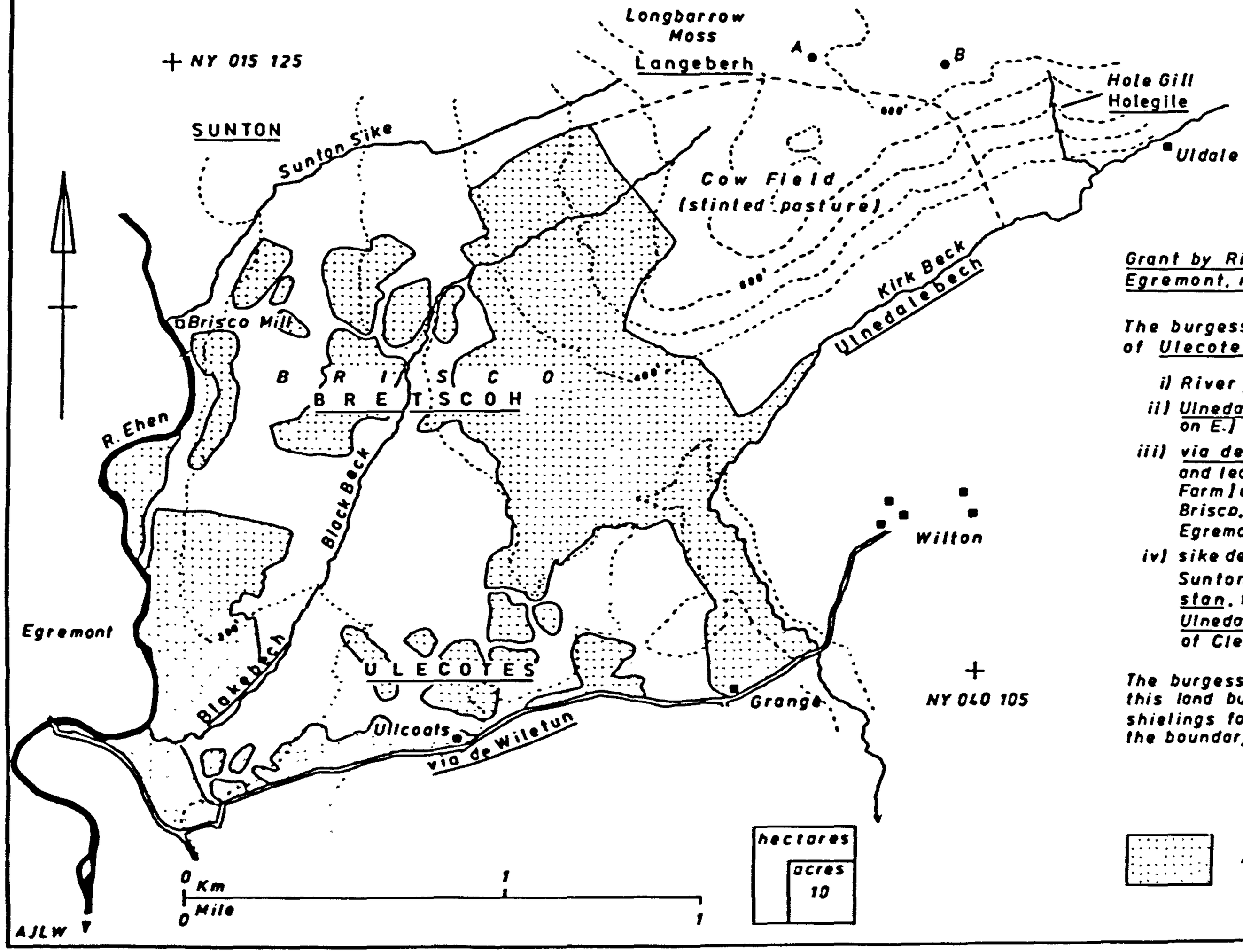
BRISCO

Sources:

(i) Plan of Brisco in Egremont Enclosure Award, 1783 (C.R.O. QRE/1/30) related to Ordnance Survey first edition, 1:10,560 survey.

(ii) Grant of Brisco, c1210: original is in C.R.O. D/Lons/ Deeds/WH:1b, printed in facsimile in CW_1: i, 282-287.

BRISCO.



A Avellan Stone (1783) Avenelestan.

B Stone Branen alīs Stone Burnett (1783) Stainbrennan.

Grant by Richard de Lucy to the burgesses of Egremont, n.d. [c.1200x1210].

The burgesses were granted Bretscoh and the land of Ulecotes, bounded by:

i) River Ehen [on W.]

ii) Ulnedalebech [ie. Kirk Beck, running down Uldale on E.]

iii) via de Wiletun which begins at Blakebech and leads to the land of the monks of Caldra [? Grange Farm] and by boundary between this land and Brisco, to Ulnedalebech [ie. modern road between Egremont and Wilton].

iv) sike descending between Brisco & Sunton [i.e. Sunton Sike] to Langeberh, straight to Avenelestan, to Stainbrennan, to Holegile, down which to Ulnedalebech. [i.e. modern boundary between parishes of Cleator & St. John Beckermet].

The burgesses could assart, cultivate and enclose this land but were not to build dwellings, except shielings for shepherds which could be placed near the boundary of Suntun between Milnebech and the Ehen.

Ancient Inclosures, 1783.

Figure: 7.6.

APPENDIX A: TOWNSHIP AND VILL IN COPELAND

I. Relationship between Poor Law Townships and other units of post-mediaeval administration.

II. Early-14th century Administrative Vills.

III. Early-mediaeval Loci.

Appendix A I.

I: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POOR LAW TOWNSHIPS AND OTHER UNITS OF POST-MEDIAEVAL ADMINISTRATION

Poor Law Township:[1]	Constituent Territories:	Graveship:[2]	Hearth Tax:[3]	Land Tax:[4]
A: Honour of Cockermouth:				
Cockermouth	-	*	*	*
Brigham	-	-	*	*
Eaglesfield	-	-	*	*
Blindbothel	-	-	*	*
Whinfell	-	*	*	*
Greysouthen	-	-	*	*
Great Clifton	-	-	*	*
Little Clifton	-	-	*	*
Stainburn	-	-	with Workington	
Dean	-	*	)	*
Ullock, Pardshaw & Deanscales	-	-	) *	*
Branthwaite	-	-	)	*
Setmurthy	-	*	*	*
Embleton	-	-	*	*
Wythop	-	-	*	*
Lorton	-	*	*	*
Brackenthwaite	-	*	*	*
Buttermere	-	*	*	*
Above Derwent	Braithwaite	*	*	*
	Coledale	*	*	*
	Thornthwaite	-	*	*
	Rogersett	*	*	*
Borrowdale	-	-	*	*
B: Lordship of Egremont:				
Workington	-	-	with Stainburn	
Winscales	-	-	?	*
HARRINGTON	-	*5	*	*
DISTINGTON	-	-	*	*
MORESBY[6]	-	-	*	*
Weddicar	-	*5		?
Whillimoor	-	-		*
Mosser	-	-	*	*
Murton	-	-		*
Lamplugh	-	-		
Loweswater	Loweswater	*	*	*
	Thackthwaite	*	*	*
	Mockerkin	*	*	*
Kelton	-	*5		
Winder	-	-	)	*
Arlecdon	-	-		
Frizington	-	-	)	*
CLEATOR	-	-	*	*
Hensingham	-	-		*
Preston Quarter	-	-	*	*
Sandwith	-	-	*	*
Rottington	-	-		*
St. Bees	-	-		*
Egremont	-			*
Lowside Quarter	-	) *		?
ST. JOHN BECKERMET	-	-		?
HAILE	Haile	-		*
	Wilton	*		*
ST. BRIDGET BECKERMET	-	-		?
PONSONBY	Ponsonby	-	*	?
	Calder	-		*
GOSFORTH	Gosforth	*5	)	*
	Bolton		) *	*
	Boonwood		)	*
	Newton		)	*
DRIGG	-	*	*	*
IRTON[8]	Irton		) *	*
	Santon		)	*
Muncaster	-			*
Eskdale & Wasdale	-	*	*	*
Netherwasdale	-	*	*	*
Kinniside	-	*	*	*
Ennerdale	-	*5		*

Appendix A I.

Poor Law Township:[1]	Constituent Territories:	Graveship:[2]	Hearth Tax:[3]	Land Tax:[4]
C: Seignory of Millom:				
Birkby	-	-	*	*
WABERTHWAITE	-	-		*
CORNEY	-	*9		*
BOOTLE	-	*9		*
WHITBECK	-	-		*
WHICHAM	Whicham	-		*
	Satherton	*9		
Chapel Sucken	-	*9		*
Millom Above	-	*9		*
Millom Below	-			*
Thwaites	-	-		*
Ulpha	-	*	*	*
Birker & Austhwaite	-	-	*	*

Notes:-

1. Source: O.S.1:10,560 1st Edition sheets, surveyed 1860-64, collated with returns of poor law divisions, 1777 (C.R.O. QCF/21/2).
   Names in capitals are civil townships coterminous with ecclesiastical parishes; those in lower case type being subdivisions of parishes.
2. Based on those units rendering separate accounts in Ministers' Account Rolls, 1437-1542 (C.R.O. D/Lec/29, except where noted otherwise.
3. Source: photostat copy of Cumberland Hearth Tax returns, c.1664 (C.R.O.). Original in P.R.O. The returns are incomplete and in some areas explicitly stated to be based on ecclesiastical parishes rather than civil divisions.
4. Source: Cumberland Land Tax Returns, 1760s-1829 (C.R.O. QRP/1). Returns were made for each "Township or Division".
5. Source: Harrington estates Ministers' Account Roll, 1514-15 (British Museum: Add. Roll: 24451).
6. As noted elsewhere (Ch. IV, note: 7) the poor law division of Parton was carved out of Moresby parish in c.1720.
7. In these areas Land Tax returns were made on a tenurial basis, returns being made for "Egremont Lordship: Freehold" "Egremont Lordship: Customary", and "Calder Lordship". Only the last was a compact block of land (see below, App. A.III, no: 72); the "customary" return for Egremont Lordship, for example, including land in Lowside Quarter, St. John's and St. Bridget's Beckermet.
8. The poor law township of Irton, Santon & Melthwaite was almost coterminous with the ecclesiastical parish of Irton (see Ch. IV; note 1).
9. These are the units under which tenements are listed in the rental of the Millom estates in 1510 (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Millom Court Book: 1510-23/pp 51-70). They recur as the divisions which each held a separate Birelagium (byre-law court) at this time (ibid; pp 1-50).

Appendix A II.

II: EARLY-14TH CENTURY ADMINISTRATIVE VILLS
(see Fig: 4.5)

Lay Subsidy Assessment Unit:-	Members:-	References:-
1. LIBERTY OF COCKERMOUTH		
COCKERMOUTH		
BRIGHAM		
GREYSOUTHEN		
EAGLESFIELD	a. Eaglesfield	
	b. Blindbothel	c1310: hamletto de Blendebothell in villa de Eglesfeld (N.R.O. B4/1/2/3).
CLIFTON	a. Great Clifton)	
	b. Little Clifton)	1578: Survey: f.193.
	c. Stainburn)	
DEAN	a. Dean)	
	b. Branthwaite)	
	c. Ullock)	1578: Survey: f.193.
	d. Pardshaw)	
	e. Deanscales)	
WHINFELL		
BRAITHWAITE	a. Braithwaite	
	b. Coledale	1344: "hamlet of Coldale in town of Brathwayt" (Close Rolls: Ed. III: vii, 237).
	c. Rogersett	1344: "hamlet of Rogersate & Neweland in town of Brathwayt" (ibid)
	d. Brundholme)	1344: "hamlet of Broundholm with Lesakes
	e. Lizzick)	in town of Brathwayt" (ibid)
	f. Buttermere	1278: Buttermere in Braytweyt (P.R.O. JUST/ 1/132/m31r).
	g. Brackenthwaite	1355: Brankanthuait in villa de Braythuait (C.R.O. D/Stan/1/32).
	h. Lorton	1315: "Lorton in Braythweit" (Cal. IPMs: v; 560).
	i. Embleton	1303: Emelton in Braythwait (P.R.O. C. 143/42/1)
	j. Wythop	1394: Wythopp in villa de Braythawayt (C.R.O. D/Van/Wythop deeds).
	k. Setmurthy	1315: Satmyrthach in Braythweyt (Cal. IPMs v; 560).
2. LIBERTY OF EGREMONT		
WORKINGTON	a. Workington	
	b. Winscales	1447: Wynscales in villa de Wirkyngton (C.R.O. D/Cu/4/16).
LAMPLUGH		
HARRINGTON		
KELTON		
MURTON	a. Mosser	1414: Moysergh in villa de Moreton in Coupland (C.R.O. D/Lons/Deeds).
	b. Brownrigg	1338: Brounrig in villa de Moreton (StB: 220).
	c. Weddicar	1292: Weddaker que est hameleta de Morton (StB: 89).
DISTINGTON		
FRIZINGTON		
CLEATOR		
EGREMONT	a. Corkickle	c1370: Corkekyll in villa de Egremont (StB: 326, 327).
KIRKBY (ST. BEES)	a. Whitehaven	1315: Whitofthaven in villa de Kirkby Beghoe (StB: 102).
	b. Arrowthwaite	1305: Haringthwait in villa de Kirkbybeghoc (StB: 207).
	c. Walton	1359: Walton in villa de Kirkebibecok (StB: 237).
WILTON & HAILE	a. Goderthwaite	1391: Goderthwait in villa de Hale (W.R.O. WD/Ry/92/Beckermet deeds: 162).
CALDER		
NEWTON		
GOSFORTH		
BOLTON		
SANTON		
DRIGG		
MUNCASTER		
BIRKBY	a. Skelda Hill	c1280: mora de Schelhou in villa de Breteby (Furness: i;ii; 510-11).
SEATON	a. Little Corney	1354: "hamlet of Little Cornay in the vill of Seton" (HMC:Rep:x:App:iv; 223-4).
BOOTLE	a. Hyton	1357: "hamlet of Hiton & Oldhiton in the town of Botill" (AD: iv; A8804).

Appendix A II.

SILECROFT KIRKSANTON	a. Postlethwaite	1278: Postelthweyt...est membrum ville de Kirkesantan (P.R.O. JUST/1/132/m7v).
MILLOM	a. Austhwaite	1292: Hauesthweyt in villa de Millum (StBA: 68).
	b. Stainton	1250x1293: Staynton in Millum (DKR: 36; 195, no: 302).

Sources:
Lay Subsidy Assessment Units are those recurring in the Cumberland Lay Subsidy Rolls for 1332 (Steel: 1912, 52-60); 1336 (Glasscock: 1975, 36-41); and 1340 (P.R.O. E. 179/90/22/m 1r, 3r, 3v).

Appendix A III.

III: EARLY-MEDIAEVAL LOCI

Ref. No. (Fig.4.6)	Name:[1]		Villata at 1278 assize:[2]	Other references:[3]	Tenure:	Extent (where not coterminous with poor law township):
			A: 1-26: HONOUR OF COCKERMOUTH			
1	COCKERMOUTH		*	c1200 (Furness: ii,ii, 581)*; c1210(P.R.O.) s.c.11/730/m14r)	Borough, containing 173 burgesses holding 175 1/8 tofts in 1270 (Rental: m9-10)	-
2	Hewthwaite			1270 (Rental: m14v), 1271 (P.R.O. S.C.6/ 824/8)	Freehold: Gilbert de Hotweyth, 1270, (Rental: m14v)	W.end Setmurthy township, centred on Hewthwaite Hall (NY 15 32).
3	Setmurthy			1246 (FFCumb: 68) 1270 (Rental: m14v)*	Two-thirds freehold: John des Maners & John de Satm'thach each held 1/3 of vill, 1270 (Rental: m14v). Part customary, 1369 (IPM)	E. end modern township - e.g. le Reddinges in S., 1399 (IPMR: iii; 243-4) modern Ruddings Farm.
4	EMBLETON	*		1195 (Scotland: i; 233)* c1210 (StBA:69) 1307 (P.R.O. C. 134/ 2/10)	Freehold: John de Ireby, 1270 (Rental: m14v)	-
5	WYTHOP			c1260 (C.R.O. D/Van/ Wythop/1); 1195 (Scotland: i,233)	Freehold: granted to John de Lucy, by his parents c1260 (C.R.O. D/Van/Wythop/1)	-
6	Thornthwaite	*		1230 (Scotland: i, 1106) c1240 (Fountains: i,58)*	Freehold: Gilbert de Culwenne, 1304 (IPM)	see Fig: 4.4 & App B. Map 4.
7	Braithwaite	*		early 13th (Fountains: i,49). Later refs. to villa de B. may refer to villa integra of that name - see App. A.II.	Mixed free tenants, demesne & tenants at will, 1304 (IPM)-cf. 1437 (Min. Acct. C.R.O. D/Lec/29/1)	see Fig. 4.4.
8	Coledale			1270 (Rental: m14v); 1318 (P.R.O. S.C.6/ 824/18)	Customary: tenants at will, 1318 (P.R.O. S.C.6/824/18)-cf.1437 (Min.Acct. C.R.O. D/ Lec/29/1).	see Fig. 4.4.
9	Rogersett or Newlands			1259 (Rental: m1v); 1318(P.R.O. S.C.6/ 824/18); 1344 (Close Rolls: Ed.III: vii; 237)	Customary: tenants at will, 1318 (P.R.O. S.C.6/824/18)-cf.1437 (Min.Acct. C.R.O. D/ Lec/29/1)	see Fig. 4.4 and App. B. Map 3.
10	BORROWDALE			c1210 (Furness: ii; ii;578); 1211(Scotland: i;554)	Freehold: W. part held by Furness Abbey; E. part by Fountains Abbey, 1211(Fountains: i;61)	-
11	BUTTERMERE			1230(Scotland:i;1106); 1270(Rental: m14v); 1318(P.R.O. S.C.6/ 824/18)	Customary: tenants at will of both Fortibus (1270 Rental: m14v) and Lucy(1230-Scotland: i,1106; 1256-Scotland: i;2051)	-
11a	Swinside			?1259(Rental: m1v); otherwise no early refs.	?	It is unclear why this detached block should, in 16th cent., have been reckoned part of Buttermere (see Ch. IV; note 30). Its earlier tenurial status is uncertain.
12	BRACKENTHWAITE	*		c1160(StBA:13); 1348 (P.R.O. E.152/60)	Freehold from grant c1160 to Waldeve son of Dolfin (StBA: 13) until 1355 when C.de Moriceby returned it to lord of Cockermouth in exchange for ½ manor of Distington (P.R.O. C.143/313/2).	-

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12a	Ingilberdhop		c1230(StBA: 61); c1250 (StBA: 63)* (Not recorded elsewhere)	? an estate within mesne manor of Brackenthwaite: in StBA:61 principal witness is H. de Moriceby, lord of Brackenthwaite.	?around Hope/Hopebeck at N. end of Brackenthwaite township. Tithe Plan (C.R.O. DRC/8/25) gives field-name Inglebarrow (no:13) at NY 162 244. In 1356 lands formerly J. de Ingilberdhop are said to lie in hamlet of Brackenthwaite.
13	LORTON	*	c1150(StB: 52); 1230 (Scotland: i;1106)*	Mixed (see App B; Map 1): High Lorton granted *pre-* 1158 (conf. 1332: C.R.O. DRC/2/1) to Priory of Carlisle. Low Lorton, two-thirds freehold: 1399 J.Monceux & M. de Wyndare each held 1/3 Lorton in erior (IPMR: iii;243)-cf. 1304(IPM) R. de Goseford & R. de Plumland free tenants in Lorton paying same rents as paid 1578 (Survey f.163) by then tenants of 2-thirds Low Lorton	-
14	WHINFELL		c1170(Holm Cultram: 50b, c), 1270(Rental: m14-15) 1307(P.R.O. C.143/64/10)	Freehold/Customary: J. de Lucy held ⅓ manor of W., 1307 (P.R.O. C.143/64/10); customary tenants in Fortibus portion of Honour of Cockermouth listed 1270 (Rental: m14-15)	-
15	BLINDBOTHEL		1278(P.R.O. JUST/1/132/ m15r); c1310(N.R.O. B4/ 1/2/3)	? member of Manor of Eaglesfield (no explicit references)	-
16	EAGLESFIELD	*	c1170(StB: 381); c1225 (StB: 376)*	Freehold: Thos. de Eaglesfeud, 1270 (Rental: m14v), paying 6s8d cornage	-
17	BRIGHAM	*	1270(Rental: m14v)*	Freehold: Thos. de Lauther, 1259 (Rental: m1v); by 1270 (Rental: m14v) had been divided into equal moieties held by R. de Yannewich & G. de Hotweyt for 5s0d cornage	-
18	GREYSOUTHEN	*	1230(Scotland: i;1106); early 14th(St.BA: 44).	Freehold: Gilbert de Culwenne, 1304(IPM) by 2s0d cornage.	-
19	LITTLE CLIFTON	))))) *	parva Clifton c1265 (StBA: 49); c1300 (StBA: 45)*	Freehold: Adam de Clifton, 1259 (Rental: m1v); John de Ireby, 1270 (Rental: m14v) rendering 17s0d free rent; 2s10d cornage	-
20	GREAT CLIFTON	))))	Kirkeclifton c1265 (StBA: 49); c1320(StBA: 38); early 14th (StBA: 40)*	Freehold: Thos de Weston, 1299 (P.R.O. C.133/92/17), rendering cornage; 1304 (IPM)	-
21	STAINBURN	*	c1130(StB: 2); c1190 (StBA: 9)*, c1220 (StB: 330); 1247(StB: 335)*	Freehold: granted to St. Bees Priory, c1130(StB:2)	-
22	BRANTHWAITE		1230(Scotland: i;1106); bounds between B. & Workington, 1278(P.R.O. JUST/1/132/m14v); B & Dean, 1355(Lucy Cart:161)	Freehold: exact feudal position uncertain: 1230, R. de Branthwait's tenement in B. allotted to Lucy share of Honour of Cockermouth (Scotland: i,1106), but 1355 B. described as free tenement within Manor of Dean (Lucy Cart: 161)	-
23	DEAN	*	1270(Rental: m14v). Later refs. to villa de D. probably refer to larger administrative vill (see App. AII)	Freehold: John de Dene, 1270 (Rental: m14v) paying 26s8d free rent; ½ mark cornage. By 1369 (IPM) had reverted to chief lord of Cockermouth	-
24	Ullock		1334(IPM); 1369(IPM)	Parcel of manor of Dean; 1334, tenements held of T. de Burgh, lord of Dean (IPM); 1369, extent of manor of Dean includes description of Ullock.	Centred on village of Ullock (NY 07 23).

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25	Pardshaw		1291(P.R.O. JUST/1/134/ m11r); 1399(IPMR: iii,243); bounds between P. & Mosser, c1203 (StBA: 28)	Parcel of Manor of Dean: 1369(IPM) freehold under Dean, held by J. de Pardishowe who rendered 2s6d cornage	Centred on hamlets of Pardshaw (NY 09 24) & Pardshaw Hall (10 25).
26	Deanscales		murder committed in D; 1278(P.R.O. JUST/1/132/ m31v)	? Parcel of Manor of Dean: acct. of grave of Dean, 1437, includes rents from hamlet of D. (C.R.O. D/Lec/29/1)	Centred on hamlet of Deanscales (NY 09 26).
		B: 27-89: LORDSHIP OF EGREMONT			
27	MOSSER	*	c1203(StB: 28); 1334(IPM)	Freehold: granted c1203 to Adam de Moserthe (StBA: 28); 1334: J. de Pardeshow & Joanna his wife (IPM), rendering 13s4d free rent	(see Fig. 7.5).
28	Thackthwaite		1267(StBA: 62); 1278 (FF Cumb: 133); bounds between T. & Mosser, c1203 (StBA: 28)	Freehold: R. & Agnes de Lindeby, 1230(Scotland: i;1106); two-thirds A. de Domdraw; one-third S. de Crofton, 1306 (P.R.O. C.143/63/13)	N. part of Loweswater township, centred on hamlet of Thackthwaite (NY 14 23).
29	Loweswater		c1210(StB: 29)*; 1230 (Scotland: i;1106); 1286 (StB: 106)	Customary: caput of Manor of Balnes, that part of Egremont Lordship ceded to the de Lucy family in 1230 (Scotland: i;1106) (see Ch. III, p.72-3). Extent given, 1304(IPM)	Modern township without territories of Thackthwaite & Mockerkin. However, bounds of L., 1613 (C.R.O. D/Law/ Loweswater Court Roll, 1613) include Birkness, now in Buttermere township (see Fig. 6.1, App B, Map 2).
30	Mockerkin & Sosgill		1208(FF Cumb: 22); 1230 (Scotland: i;1106); bounds between S. & Mosser, c1203 (St BA: 28)	Freehold: until 1208 when returned to Lord of Copeland in exchange for Gutterby, near Egremont (infra, no 59). (FF Cumb 22). Subsequently customary within Manor of Balnes	Separate block of "ancient inclosures" in NW corner of Loweswater township, centered on hamlets of Mockerkin (NY 09 22) & Sosgill (10 22).
31	WORKINGTON	*	c1140(StB: 4); mid-12th (StBA: 19)*	Freehold: Gilbert de Curwen, 1334(IPM), rendering 45s3d cornage; 4s0d seawake. Caput of minor federal manor (see Ch. III, p. 22-3)	-
32	WINSCALES	*	c1258(StB: 344)	Member of Manor of Workington - 1450 Rental of Curwen estates (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Seaton Title Deeds)	-
33	HARRINGTON	*	1363(P.R.O. C.135/178/ 4)	Member of Manor of Workington: held, 1363, by J. de Haverington of G. de Colewen, Lord of Workington (P.R.O. C.135/178/4)	-
34	DISTINGTON	*	c1210(Holm Cultram: 89); 1255(FF Cumb: 91)	Freehold: until a1230 when divided between coheiresses of G. de Dundraw (see StB: p. 344n). Subsequently moiety of manor returned to chief lord of fee: 1294 (Partition) & 1334 (IPM) list tenants at will in D. Finally, moiety exchanged for Brackenthwaite in 1355 (ante: no 12)	
35	MORESBY		c1280(StB: 73); 1354 (P.R.O. C.143/313/2)	Freehold: exact feudal position uncertain: held in 1348 by H. de Moriceby (P.R.O. E.152/60) of J. de Warbirthwait, paying 16s0d to Canons of Huntingdon. In 1354 (Inq.) C. de Moriceby held it of Prior of Huntingdon, but no other refs. to interest of this religious house in Copeland can be found.	

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36	WEDDICAR		1291(P.R.O. JUST/1/134/m 10r); 1292 (StB: 89)	Freehold: member of Fleming fee: two-thirds held of John Fleming by W. de Wedacre, one-third by A. de Haverington, c.1240 (W.R.O. WD/Ry/Box 92/Deed: 119)	-
37	(BROWNRIGG)		c1180(StB: 27); 1338(StB: 220)	Freehold: R. de Lamplogh, 1334 (IPM), rendering 2s0d free rent	Apparently a territory centred on farmstead of Brownrigg (NY 04 20) in Whillimoor township. As Whillimoor is used in mediaeval sources to refer to the waste of W. & 3 adjacent townships (see Ch. VII, p.24( ), B. may refer to cultivated land of modern township of W.
38	ARLECDON	*	c1180(StB: 34); 1248 (StB: 171)*	Freehold: member of Fleming fee; held of John Fleming by R. de Lantploche c1240 (W.R.O. WD/Ry/Box 92/Deed: 119)	-
39	LAMPLUGH	*	mid-12th(StBA: 19)*, 1248 (StB: 171)	Freehold: member of Manor of Workington (see Ch. III; note 92)	-
40	MURTON	*	1291(P.R.O. JUST/1/134/ m28v). Later refs to villa de M probably refer to larger administrative vill of that name (see App. AII)	Freehold: R. de Lamplogh, 1334 (IPM) rendering 2s10d cornage and 8d seawake	-
41	KELTON	*	c1200(StB: 470); c1250 (StB: 472); c1270 (StB: 473)*	Freehold: member of Manor of Workington (see Ch. III, note 92)	-
42	WINDER		c1210(StB: 372); 1271 (StB: 375)	Freehold: granted to Priory of St. Bees, c1210 (StB: 372).	-
43	SALTER		c1180(StB: 33), (StB: 27)* c1245(StB: 383)	Freehold: granted to Priory of St. Bees c1180 by Gospatric son of Orm, lord of Workington (StB: 33)	? coterminous with extra-parochial place of Salter & Eskett.
44	FRIZINGTON	*	c1240(W.R.O. WD/Ry/Box 92/ Deed: 119)	Freehold: member of Fleming fee; held c1240 of John Fleming by R. de Frisington (loc.cit).	Bounds of Manor of F., 1410, coincide with modern township (Jefferson: 1842; 73).
45	CLEATOR	*	c1200(StB: 174); (StB: 175)*	Freehold: R. de Cleter, 1334(IPM), as one-ninth of a Knight's fee & paying 12d seawake	-
46	HENSINGHAM	*	c1170(StB: 223)*; c1180 (StB: 225)	Freehold: granted to Priory of St.Bees, c1170 (StB: 223)	-
47	Harras		c1220(Holm Cultram: 80, 80a); c1220 (StB: 135)	Apparently freehold, but exact feudal position unclear: A. de Harras granted land there c1220 (loc.cit.); J.Moresby is described as dominus de Harres, c1447 (StB: 492). It is unclear from whom they held their estate: no reference to H. occurs in the list of free tenants in 1334 (IPM).	NE section of Preston Quarter township - NX 98 18.
48	Bransty	*	1294(Partition); boundary between Hothwaite & B; c1210 (StB: 372)	Customary: tenants at will, 1294 (Partition), 1334 (IPM)	N. extremity of Preston Quarter township - NX 97 19. StB: 370 gives its alternative name, 15th cent, as Brackenthwaite. This is identified (StB: p.41n) as being in modern Whitehaven at NX 975 184
49	Hothwaite		mid-12th (StB: 12,16). c1250 (StB: 140,149)* c1258 (StB: 147)	Freehold: granted to St.Bees Priory, mid-12th by Alice de Rumelli, lady of Copeland (StB: 12)	

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50	Whitehaven	*	c1210 (StB: 372); c1270 (StB: 159)* (StB: 160)	Freehold: granted to St.Bees Priory by R.de Lucy, Lord of Copeland c1210 (StB: 372)	Boundaries of land of W., c1210, (StB: 372) suggest that it was bounded on NW by sea, on W by Pow Beck; on N by Bransty Beck & on E by Hothwaite & Corkickle.
51	Corkickle	*	1334 (IPM); c1390 (StB:326); bounds between Hothwaite & C.; c1210 (StB: 372)	Mixed: both tenants at will & free tenants, 1334 (IPM)	cf. modern suburb of Whitehaven bearing the name (NX 978 176).
52	Arrowthwaite		late-12th (StB: 178); c1230 (StB: 177); mid-12th (StB: 179), 1330 (StB: 192)	By mid-12th in hands of Priory of St.Bees (StB: 178). Original grant to Priory is not recorded	cf. modern suburb of Whitehaven of same name (NX 97 17). Bounds of A., late-12th, (StB: 178) confirm that it lay W. of Pow Beck.
53	Preston		c1130 (StB: 2); c1190 (StBA: 9)* c1280 (StB: 73)	Granted to Priory of St.Bees, c1130, by Chetell, lord of Workington (StB: 2). This suggests that it might originally have been a member of the extensive estate centred on Workington	From the extent of land in Preston Quarter township held as demesne or customary under St.Bees Priory in 1535 (StBA: 100, 104), the priest's tūn (a significant name?) covered most of the modern township S. of Prestonhows (NX 966 159).
54	SANDWITH		c1280 (StB: 73)	In hands of St.Bees Priory by 16th cent. (StBA: 104; P.R.O. S.P. 15/2/21). Original grant is not recorded	-
55	ROTTINGTON	*	c1130 (StB: 2); mid-13th (StB: 417)*	Freehold: member of Fleming fee, 1334 (IPM)	-
56	Kirkby or St. Bees	*	c1125 (StB: 1). Later refs. to villa de K. may refer to larger administrative unit (see App. AII)	Freehold: granted to St.Bees Priory at its foundation, c1125, by W. le Meschin, lord of Copeland (StB: 1)	The modern township, centred on the large village of St.Bees, excluding Walton (q.v.)
57	Walton		c1150 (StB: 232); c1170 (StB: 224); c1300 (StB: 234)	Granted to St.Bees Priory by Roger son of Gilbert & his wife, c1150 (StB: 232). Feudal position of the grantor's estate not known.	cf. High & Low Walton (NX 98 12; 98 13).
58	Bigrigg		1331 (Lucy Cart: 138-40, 144-5); bounds between B. & Kirkbyscales, 1235 (StB: 229)	Uncertain: A de Bigrygg held a freehold estate (2 messuages) in B., 1334 (IPM)	N. section of Egremont township. centred on hamlet of B. (NY 00 13)
59	Gutterby		1208 (FF Cumb: 22); 1236/7 (StB: p. 254n)	Freehold: from 1208 when granted to R. de Alneburgh in exchange for Mockerkin & Sosgill (no. 30). (FF Cumb: 22)	cf. modern form of Gutterby in NE of Egremont township (NY 008 134)
60	Egremont	*	c1130 (StB: 2); c1200 (C.R.O. D/Lons/Deeds/WH 1a), early 13th (StB: 469); 1278 (StB: 374)	Borough: privileges granted to burgesses. c1200 (loc.cit.). In 1334 there were 82 free tenants holding 138 Burgagia (IPM)	-
61	Coulderton		the close of C; 1294 (partition); land in C., 1334 (IPM); grangia de C., 1332 (Lucy Cart: 147)	Demesne, until subdivided between tenants at will in 14/15th cent (see Ch. VI, p.190)	The villages of Coulderton, Middletown and Nethertown were in 16th cent. referred to as Over, Middle and Nether Coulderton (see text)
62	Braystones	*	1299 (P.R.O. C.133/92/17); 1334 (IPM)	Freehold: T. de Weston, 1299 (loc.cit.); W. de Pennyngton, 1334 (IPM), paying 16d cornage	cf. hamlet of B. in Lowside Quarter township, NY 00 05
63	Blaykestanfit		1294 (Partition); 1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: villeins (1294 Partition); 9 customary tenements (1322 IPM, 1334 IPM)	Identification uncertain: listed 1322, 1334, with places in the Beckermet parishes ?represented by 16th cent. holdings at

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					Ehenside (NY 00 07): at 1338 Partition of Egremont Lordship, Lucy heiress receives tenements in B. & Rothersyke (00 08). Descriptions of Lucy share of estate in 1547 (Court Book) & 1578 (Survey) include tenements at Ehenside & Rothersyke.
64	Little Beckermet		1278 (P.R.O. JUST/1/132/ mlr); pastura de B., 1250 (W.R.O. WD/Ry/Box 92/ Deeds: 94)	Freehold: centre of Fleming fee, held, 1334 (IPM) by John Fleming by service of 9th part of a knight's fee; 5s6d cornage, 2s5d seawake	Village of St.John Beckermet & S. section of parish of St.John. N. boundary of Fleming manor given in 1655 (W.R.O. WD/Ry/Box 21/Rental/ p. 26) appears to run E. from R. Ehen at Kersey Bridge. (NY 007 083) to Kirk Beck.
65	Carleton		1294 (Partition); 1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: villeins (1294 Partition); customary tenants: 7 in 1322 (IPM); 10 in 1334 (IPM)	cf. modern hamlet of Carleton at NY 01 09 in St. John Beckermet parish.
66	Winscales		1294 (Partition); 1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: villeins (1294 Partition); customary tenants: 7 in 1322 (IPM); 9 in 1334 (IPM)	cf. Winscales at NY 02 09 in St. John Beckermet.
67	Brisco		c1210 (C.R.O. D/Lons/ Deeds/WH 1b), 1338 (Partition: p. 478)	Freehold: granted c1210 (loc.cit.) to Burgesses of Egremont for 6s0d rent.	N. section of St. John Beckermet parish - see Fig.7.6.
68	Haile	*	c1210 (StB: 299); c1260 (StB: 302, 305)*; c1300 (StB: 307)*	Freehold: heiresses of Alex. de Hale, 1334 (IPM) (who also held ¼ Wilton). Rendered 2s2d cornage. Also land in H. was part of Dacre fee	S. section of Haile parish, centred on village of H. at NY 03 08.
69	Wilton		1294 (Partition); 1334 (IPM)	Mixed: 1334:- ¼ freehold, held, by heiresses of A. de Hale; another free tenement, held by R. de Hale & R. de Manner; 6 tenants all will. (IPM)	N. section of Haile parish centred on hamlet of Wilton (NY 03 11).
70	Godderthwaite		late 13th (W.R.O. WD/Ry/ Box 92/Deeds: 157)*; 1391 (ibid: 162)	Uncertain: ? member of Fleming fee (deeds preserved in Fleming archive)	cf. Godderthwaite (NY 03 06) in St. Bridget Beckermet parish.
71	Great Beckermet	)))) *	1294 (Partition); 1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: villeins, 1294 (Partition): 8 customary tenants, 1322 (IPM)	W. section of St.Bridget's parish, centred on village of St.Bridget Beckermet.
72	Calder Lordship	)	c1180 (StBA: 31)	Freehold: Calder Lordship formed the core of possessions of Calder Abbey. The earliest surviving grant, c1180, gave the Abbey the territories of Calder, Bemerton (lost) and Holegate (see below)	Most of St.Bridget Beckermet parish, excluding the village and its lands. The NW boundary of Calder Lordship can be reconstructed from the plan of the estate in 1793 (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/ Calder: Plan 14).
72a	Holegate		c1180 (StBA: 31); 1243 (StB: p306n); 1246 (ibid)*	Part of Calder Lordship included in original grant of c1180 (StBA:31)	Apparently the NE section of St.Bridget Beckermet parish - see Fig. 6.3
73	KINNISIDE		1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: 47 tenants at will, 1322 (IPM); 57 in 1334 (IPM)	-

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74	ENNERDALE		c1135 (StB: 8); c1190 (StBA: 9)*, 1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: 26 tenants at will, 1322 (IPM); 31 in 1334 (IPM)	-
75	(NETHER)WASDALE		1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: 23 tenants at will, 1322 (IPM); 22 in 1334 (IPM).	-
76	Wasdalehead		1334 (IPM)	4 vaccaries in 1334 (IPM) let to tenants at will	-
77/8	Eskdale & Miterdale		1294 (Partition); 1322 (IPM); 1334 (IPM)	Customary: 31 tenants in 1332 (IPM); 46 in 1334 (IPM).	-
79	Ponsonby	*	c1202 (StB: 288)*; early 13th (StB: 290); c1270 (StB: 295)*	Freehold: Alex. de Ponsonby, 1334 (IPM), holdings by sixth part of a knight's fee.	N.E.section of parish of Ponsonby.
80	Calder	*	c1190 (StB: 165/6); c1240 (StB: 167)*	Freehold: J. de Kirkebythore, 1334 (IPM), paying 5s0d cornage and 7d seawake.	SW section of parish of Ponsonby, centred on Calder Hall (NY 03 03).
81	Gosforth		c1150 (StB: 308); early 13th (StB: 109-133)*	Mixed: largely freehold, part of Dacre fee (in 1294 R. de Goseford held £10 land there of T.deMulton of Gilsland, then tenant of Dacre fee - P.R.O. C. 133/73/1). However, tenants at will, 1334 (IPM).	see Fig. 4.3.
82	Newton		early 13th (StB: 109-133); early 13th (StB: 113,129)*	Freehold: N. de Sevenhowes, 1334 (IPM), paying 5s0d cornage and 5d seawake.	see Fig. 4.3.
83	Bolton	*	c1235 (StB: 271,274)*; c1240 (StB: 273,278)	Freehold: member of Dacre fee. In 1294 W.de Wayburthweyt held £10 land there of T.de Multon of Gilsland, then tenant of Dacre fee (P.R.O. C.133/73/1).	
84	Drigg	*	late 12th (Furness: ii,ii, 559); c1210 (StBA: 16)*; c1290 (StB: 464-5)	Mixed: In 1334 (IPM) T. de Wake is given as free tenant of D., paying 6s8d cornage and 12d seawake. However customary tenants are also listed in the same source.	That part of Drigg parish N. of River Irt (Parker: 1926; 136).
85	Carleton		1334 (IPM) - other early refs. to C. appear to refer to Carleton, nr. Egremont (above; no. 65)	? Customary: customary tenants, 1334 (IPM).	That part of Drigg parish S. of River Irt (Parker: 1926; 136).
86	Irton		1294 (P.R.O. C.133/73/1)	? member of Dacre fee: in 1294 (loc.cit.) A. de Caupeland held land there of Dacre fee. However at his IPM, 1298 (P.R.O. C. 133/83/6), no reference is made to land in Irton.	That part of Irton parish S. of River Irt (reconstructed from Land Tax Return, 1767 - C.R.O. QRP/1/3).
87	Santon	*	c1260 (StB: 432-4); 1298 (P.R.O. C.133/83/6)*	Freehold: member of Dacre fee, held 1298 (loc.cit.) by R. de Caupland of heir of T. de Multon of Gilsland, then tenant of Dacre fee. Tenant of Dacre fee, 1334 (IPM), was R. de Dacre who paid 23s4d cornage and 2s1d seawake.	Irton parish N. of River Irt.
88	Muncaster	*	mid 12th (StBA: 8)*	Freehold: heir of J. de Penyngton, 1334 (IPM) by sixth part of knight's fee and 12d seawake.	Township of M., excluding port of Ravenglass.
89	Ravenglass	*	c1220 (StB: 481); c1240 (StB: 486)*	Mixed: hamlet of R. held, 1334 (IPM) by heir of J. de Penyngton by 12th part of a knight's fee. However, customary tenants are listed 1322, 1334 (IPMs)	W. extremity of Muncaster township, centred on port of R. (SD 08 96).

Appendix A III.

C: 90-114 SEIGNORY OF MILLOM

(The absence of 13th or 14th century IPMs or rentals listing free tenants within the lordship of Millom makes reconstruction of tenurial patterns almost impossible. However, the tenurial position of individual loci as given in the 1510 Rental of Millom lordship (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Millom/Court Book 1510.23/pp 51-66) is noted.)

90	WABERTHWAITE		early 13th (StB: 269)	?	-
91	BIRKBY	*	early 13th (StB: 269); c1280 (Furness: i;ii;511)*	Note of a free rent from B. appears 1510 (p.66).	-
92	Austhwaite		c1210 (StBA: 22); 1292 (StBA: 68)	Freehold: granted c1210 (StBA: 22) by then lord of Millom to Benedict son of Ketell.	Bounds of A. given c1210 (StBA: 22) confirm that it consisted of that part of township of Birker & Austhwaite, W. of Birker Beck.
93	Birker		1292 (StBA: 68)	8s0d free rent from B. is listed in 1510 rental (p. 66).	Middle section of modern township, between Birker Beck & Harter Beck
94	Brotherilkeld		c1210 (Furness: ii;ii;565) 1242 (Furness: ii;ii;562): 1292 (ibid. 539)	Freehold: granted 1242 by D. de Mulcastre (one of Pennington family of Muncaster) to Furness Abbey.	Bounds given 1242 (loc.cit.) confirm that it consisted of the N.E. section of the modern township above Harter Beck.
95	ULPHA		park called U., 1337 (Cal. IPMS: viii; 67)	Customary = Forest of Millom (see Ch. III, p. 69). Customary tenants listed 1510 (pp 60-2)	-
96	Corney	*	c1190 (Cockersand: iii; ii, 1054-5); 13th (HMC: x; App iv; 223)	Tenants at will, 1510 (pp 65-6)	-
97	Langley		late 12th (Dugdale: vi; 556-8)*; mid-13th (DKR 36; 194; no: 299)	?	Corney parish W. of A595 in which Langley Park & Langley survive as farm-names
98	Kinmont		late 12th (1318/19) (Dugdale: vi, 556-8); early 13th (DKR: 36; 195, no. 305)	Half K. granted to Conishead Priory, late-12th (loc.cit.)	cf. High, Middle & Low Kinmont in S. of Corney parish.
99	Seaton	*	c1190 (Cockersand: iii;ii, 1054) c1230 (StB: 263,477)* c1250 (StB: 478-9)	?	cf. Seaton Hall & Priory (SD.1090)
100	Bootle	*	1086 (Domesday: 301b); c1230 (StB: 264)*	Customary tenants, 1337 (Cal. IPMs: viii;67); 1510 (pp 64-5)	-
101	Hyton		c1200 (Dugdale: vi,558)*; c1220 (StB: 442)	?	cf. Hyton (SD 09 87) & Old Hyton (SD 10 87), Bootle parish.
102	Foss		mid-12th (Furness: ii;ii; 552); c1220 (ibid: 554)*; c1250 (StB: 364-5)	Monk foss granted mid-12th to Furness Abbey by lord of Millom. Other land in Fors granted to St.Bees Priory (StB: 364-5)	cf. Monkfoss (SD 11 85) & Hall Foss (SD 11 87) in Whitbeck parish.
103	Annaside		mid-12th (StB: 39); c1160 (StB: 40)*	Granted to St.Bees Priory, mid-12th cent.	cf. Annaside (SD 09 86) in Whitbeck parish
104	Gutterby		1228x1243 (DKR: 36; 195, no: 308)	Granted to Conishead Priory by W. de Morthing who appears to have been lord of Whitbeck 1228x 1243 (loc.cit.)	cf. Gutterby (SD 10 84), in Whitbeck parish
105	Whitbeck	*	c1190 (Cockersand: iii,ii, 1055)*; 1228x1243 (DKR: 36;195;291-2); mid-13th (Furness: ii;ii;552)	Free rent of 4s0d recorded 1510 (p.66). The de Morthing family appear to have been tenants of W. in 13th cent. (StB: pp 123n, 364n)	-
106	Satherton		c1200? (Furness: ii,ii, 530-1)	Customary tenants 1337 (Cal. IPMS: viii; 67) & 1510 (p59)	1510 Rental names Bakstonbank, Grysecroyfte & Forslak, all names which appear on O.S. maps of N.E. end of Whicham parish.
107	Whicham	*	1086 (Domesday: 301b); 1278 (StB: p 472n)	Free rent from Wichamhall recorded in 1510 (p.66). The de Corbeth family appear to have been tenants of Whicham in 12th/13th cents. (StB: 77)	-

Appendix A III.

108	Silecroft	*	c1220 (StBA: 11)	?	cf. modern village of Silecroft (SD 12 82) in Whicham parish.
109	Kirksanton	*	1086 (Domesday: 301b); c1200 (StB: 27) (StBA: 21); 1288 (StB: 438)	Free & Customary tenants 1510 (pp 57-8)	cf. modern village of Kirksanton (SD 14 80) in Chapel Sucken township.
110	Haverigg		1190x1200 (Cockersand: iii; ii; 1055-6)	?	cf. modern village of Haverigg (SD 1678) in Chapel Sucken township.
111	Stainton		late 13th (DKR: 36; 195; no. 302)	?	Detached portion of Chapel Sucken township at SD 12 94 between Birkby & Waberthwaite.
112	Millom	*	c1200 (StB: 57) mid-13th (Furness: ii;ii;533,549)*; 1287 (StBA: 58)*	Free & customary tenants 1510 (pp 51-56)	-
112a	Swinside		1242 (FF Cumb)	?	Detached portion of Millom Above township at SD 17 88
113	Arnaby		c1230 (Furness: ii;ii;535)	Free tenant (heirs of J. Cauce) rendering 5s0d for land in A., 1510 (p 51)	cf. modern hamlet of Arnaby at SD 18 84 in Millom Above township.
114	THWAITES		c1200 (StB: 27); c1280 (Furness: ii;ii;550)	Freehold: J.Thwaits held manor of T., 1510 (p 51) rendering 17s8d free rent.	-

Notes:

1. Loci which are assumed to be coterminous with poor law townships are named in capitals; those which appear to have been subdivisions of later townships are given in lower case.
2. Villatae amerced in the Assize Roll of 1278 (P.R.O. JUST/1/132/m 28-33) for failing to pursue felons, concealing the true worth of a convicted man's goods, etc.
3. References to a) villa de X
   b) territorium de X
   c) land in X
   d) grant of totam X

   References to villa de X are asterisked.

Appendix A III: Abbreviations

IPMs - Inquisitions post mortem

1304 T. de Lucy, lord of half Honour of Cockermouth (P.R.O. C.133/119/9)
1322 T. de Multon, lord of Egremont (P.R.O. C.134/71/1)
1334 J. de Multon, lord of Egremont (P.R.O. C.135/41/1)
1369 A. de Lucy, lord of Honour of Cockermouth and one-third of lordship of Egremont (P.R.O. C.135/201/5)

Partitions

1294 Assignment of Dower to Margaret, widow of Thomas de Multon. (Close Rolls: Ed.I: iii; pp 400-402).
1338 Partition of estates of John de Multon, lord of Egremont, between his three co-heiresses (Close Rolls: Ed.III; iv; pp 476-9; 486-8; 494-6).

Rentals

1259 Extent of Manor of Cockermouth on death of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, lord of half Honour of Cockermouth (P.R.O. S.C. 11/730/m1).
1270: Extent of Manor of Cockermouth, c1270 (ibid: m 9-15).

APPENDIX B: 1578 SURVEY: SETTLEMENT & LAND TENURE

1. Method of Reconstruction

2. Maps and Abstracts:-

1. Lorton
2. Buttermere
3. Rogersett
4. Braithwaite & Coledale (Northern section)
5. Braithwaite & Coledale (Southern section)
6. Kinniside
7. Wasdalehead
8. Mockerkin
9. Couldertons
10. Reconstruction of Outfields, Lowside Quarter

3. Tables:-

I - Derwentfells: Farm Group Territories, 1578
II - Examples of Farm Group Territories in Lowland Copeland
III - Buttermere: Analysis of Rents, 1578, 1547

1578 SURVEY: METHOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

a) Nature of the Evidence

Descriptions of holdings in the 1578 Survey vary widely from detailed listings of every parcel which constituted the holding to brief descriptions either categorizing the land into different land-use groupings (e.g. Mockerkin, Map 8) or summarizing a tenement as, for example, "one closse of arr' & medowe & past' devyded into six partes cont xxx acres" (N. Sherpe, Sillathwaite, Kinniside (Map 6); Survey: f. 121). More detailed descriptions name each parcel, stating land use, noting whether it was a several close or a parcel in a shared field, and assigning to it an acreage. Acreages are frequently admitted to be no more than estimates, and the method by which the survey was carried out (Ch. VI; note 1) does not imply that field survey of individual parcels was undertaken. Although it is not stated explicitly in the survey, it seems probable that these acreages are customary measures based on a rod of 21 feet - the survey of the Manor of High Lorton in 1649 makes it clear that it was surveyed according to statute measure

> "and not after one & twentie foote to the perch according to this Counties measure w^ch^ is called forrest measure"
> (Carlisle Dean & Chapter Archive: EM/5/1/f.98).

Throughout this appendix the acreages given in the 1578 survey are thus assumed to be customary acres (c.a.), 1 c.a. equalling approximately 1.6 statute acres (s.a.) or 0.65 ha.

b) Method of Reconstruction

Two main routes have been taken in an attempt to relate the descriptions of holdings in 1578 to the mapped landscape shown on Tithe Plans of the 1840s:-

i) Where a) the 1578 survey description is detailed, b) a good Tithe Plan exists, and c) changes in field-names between 16th and 19th centuries have been few, direct identification of parcels listed in 1578 with fields marked on the Tithe Plans has often been possible (e.g. Little Town, Map 3; Skellgill, Map 5).

ii) Where only a summary description of holdings is given in 1578 or where few field-names survived from 1578 to the 1840's, an indirect method of reconstruction has sometimes been possible. This involved tracing the history of a holding through from 1578 to Brown's survey of 1758 and, in some cases, to the date of the Tithe Plan, using the details of changes in tenancy recorded in the lists of admissions and surrenders in the records of the Courts of Dimission (C.R.O. D/Lec/311-314). Where Brown's Survey provides a detailed description of a holding in 1758 it is often possible to identify almost all fields named then on the Tithe Plan of some eighty years later. As the analysis of 17th and 18th century admissions and surrenders allows one to relate a holding described in 1758 or c1840 to a particular holding (or subdivision of a holding, or amalgamation of two or more holdings) described in 1578. It is thus possible to assign particular fields or blocks of fields on the Tithe Plan to particular tenements described in 1578.

In practice the reconstruction of tenurial patterns in any one area involved a mixture of both methods, as shown below.

c) An example of such reconstruction

The 1578 Survey (f. 167) describes the tenement of Cuthbert Bell at Scales, Lorton (no: 30 on Map 1) thus:

> Cuthberte Bell holdeth a tenement house a Barne and other buildinges and A garth cont. vj perches, One Crofte or Ar. land adioyninge conteyninge by est ij ac. di. One close of Ar. lande called the little Close conteyninge j ac. j ro. One Close of meadowe called the Crofte Foote conteyninge j ac. di. One Close of meadowe called the broad mires cont. j ac. di. One Close of Arr. & pastur called soskyll Raynes cont. per est. j ac. One Close of Arr. called the highe syke conteyninge iij rod. di. And one Close of ar. and meadowe called Whitehouse devided into vij Closes cont. by est. xiiij ac. di. w^th^ Comon & r. per Annum xjsvjd.

The following fields can be identified directly on the Tithe Plan of Lorton, 1840 (C.R.O. DRC/8/118):-

1578 Name:-	1840 Name & Ref. No:-	
Crofte	Croft & Little Croft	376/7
Little close	Little Close	360
the Crofte Foote	Croft Foot Meadow	374
the broad mires	Broad Mire Meadow	386
Soskyll Raynes	Sosgill Rains	368/370
the highe syke	Syke	366

Thus, only the large close called Whitehouse, divided into 7 smaller enclosures, cannot be identified directly. By tracing the history of this tenement in the Court of Dimission records it is found that although part of the tenement was hived off for 1s 0d rent in 1656 (C.R.O. D/Lec/313/42), both this and the remainder of the holding were in the hands of John Wilkinson in 1758. The description of Wilkinson's estate in Brown's Survey of that year locates his farmstead at Scales (it will be noticed that the 1578 Survey does not give an exact location for the "tenement house") and, in addition to the fields named in 1578 furnishes the following names, some of which can be identified on the Tithe Plan:-

1758 Name:-	1840 Name & Ref. No:-	
Whitehouse Head	-	
Mill Yates	Long Millgate	354
The Fogg	Fog Close	352/3
Hoghouse Close	-	
High Field	High Field	350

Those fields which can be identified lie in a block on the valley side immediately east of the hamlet of Scales and it seems probable that they are to be identified with the unnamed constituent parts of the close called Whitehouse in 1578.

In this way it has proved possible to map, albeit tentatively, the constituent parts of Cuthbert Bell's holding recorded only as a written list of fields in the 1578 Survey.

d) Description of the same holding in 1547 Court Book (C.R.O. D/Lec/314/38/f.lxvij)

The court book provides a list of the holdings in each graveship on the death of Henry VIII in 1547. It gives the tenant's name, a summary description ("a tenement", "a close", "half a tenement"), sometimes the location or name of the holding, and the amount of ancient yearly rent due. The tenement at Scales, Lorton, held by Cuthbert Bell in 1578 is described as follows :

> Johannes bell Junior tenit de domino unum tenementum et Reddit.....xjsvjd.

Collation of the 1547 Court Book to the 1578 Survey relies primarily on the identification of a holding by its ancient yearly rent, although the name or location of the tenement and the tenant's surname often provide useful cross-checks.

Appendix B : Maps 1-10 : Key

■ Customary tenement house

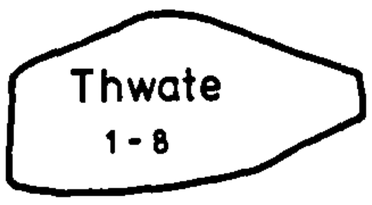
□ Customary tenement house - location uncertain

● Cottage

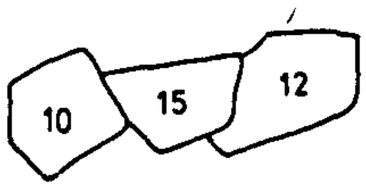
▲ Freehold tenement : approximate location. Free tenements not described in detail in 1578 Survey.

SWYNSIDE [1-3] Name and reference number of customary tenement.

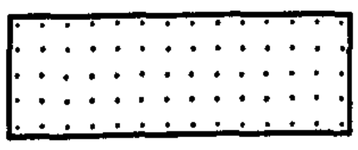
---------- Boundary of farm group territory / compact holding.



Shared field : named, with reference numbers of tenements holding land therein.



Several closes, with reference numbers of tenements to which they belong.



Land known to be customary from Brown's Survey, 1758, but for which detailed reconstruction of tenurial patterns in 1578 has not been possible. (Only shown in graveships containing both freehold and customary holdings i.e. Maps 1, 4, 5).

..... Township boundary (O.S.)

c.a. Customary acres, based on rod of 21 feet.

s.a. Statute acres, based on rod of 16·5 feet.

h. Hectares.

AJLW / VW

Appendix B: Map 1.

Map 1

LORTON

Sources:

1578 Survey: ff. 163-167.
1649 Survey of Dean & Chapter of Carlisle's Manor of High Lorton; Dean & Chapter Archives EM/5/1/pp 44-62.
Lorton Tithe Plan, 1840 - C.R.O. DRC/8/118

a) Free Tenants. (1578 Survey: f 163r)

Lorton contained a complex mixture of estates held by mesne tenants ("free tenants" in 1578) and land held by tenants at will directly of the Lords of Cockermouth (see Appendix A.III no: 13). In 1578 the major freehold estates were those of:-

i) Dean & Chapter of Carlisle - the 1649 Survey of this estate shows that it consisted of the village of High Lorton and its lands, the western boundary following Crossegate, the lane on which the parochial chapel serving the township is situated (1649 Survey, p44).

ii) R. Sandes, gent and J. Winder, gent who each held one-third part of the "town of Nether Lorton". The remaining one-third of Nether or Low Lorton appears to have consisted of the three customary estates numbered 14-16 on Map 1 b.

iii) A. Highmoore - "lands and tenements called High Side", one of the valley-side settlements peripheral to the villages of High and Low Lorton.

iv) J. Winder - a tenement called Gillbanke, now represented by Low Gillbrow, another valley side settlement.

b) Tenants at Will:- The major customary estates were those at:-

i) Swinside (numbered 1-3 on Map 1 b) The land of the 3 holdings probably coincided with the detached portion of Buttermere township in which the farms of High and Low Swinside lie. (Elsewhere these tenements are listed under Buttermere graveship - see Ch. IV, note 30). The land of each tenement consisted entirely of closes held in severalty.

ii) Armaside (numbers 8-12) With the exception of holding no: 8 (a ring-fenced block of 7 closes totalling 10 customary acres (c16 stat. acres; 6.5 ha) and containing a barn and peat-house close to the head dyke) the survey describes 4 tenements at Armaside, each consisting of both several closes and shares in open, shared fields (see Ch. VI, note: 12). Numbers 9 & 10 were paired tenements sharing a number of closes between them and having identical holdings in the various shared arable fields.

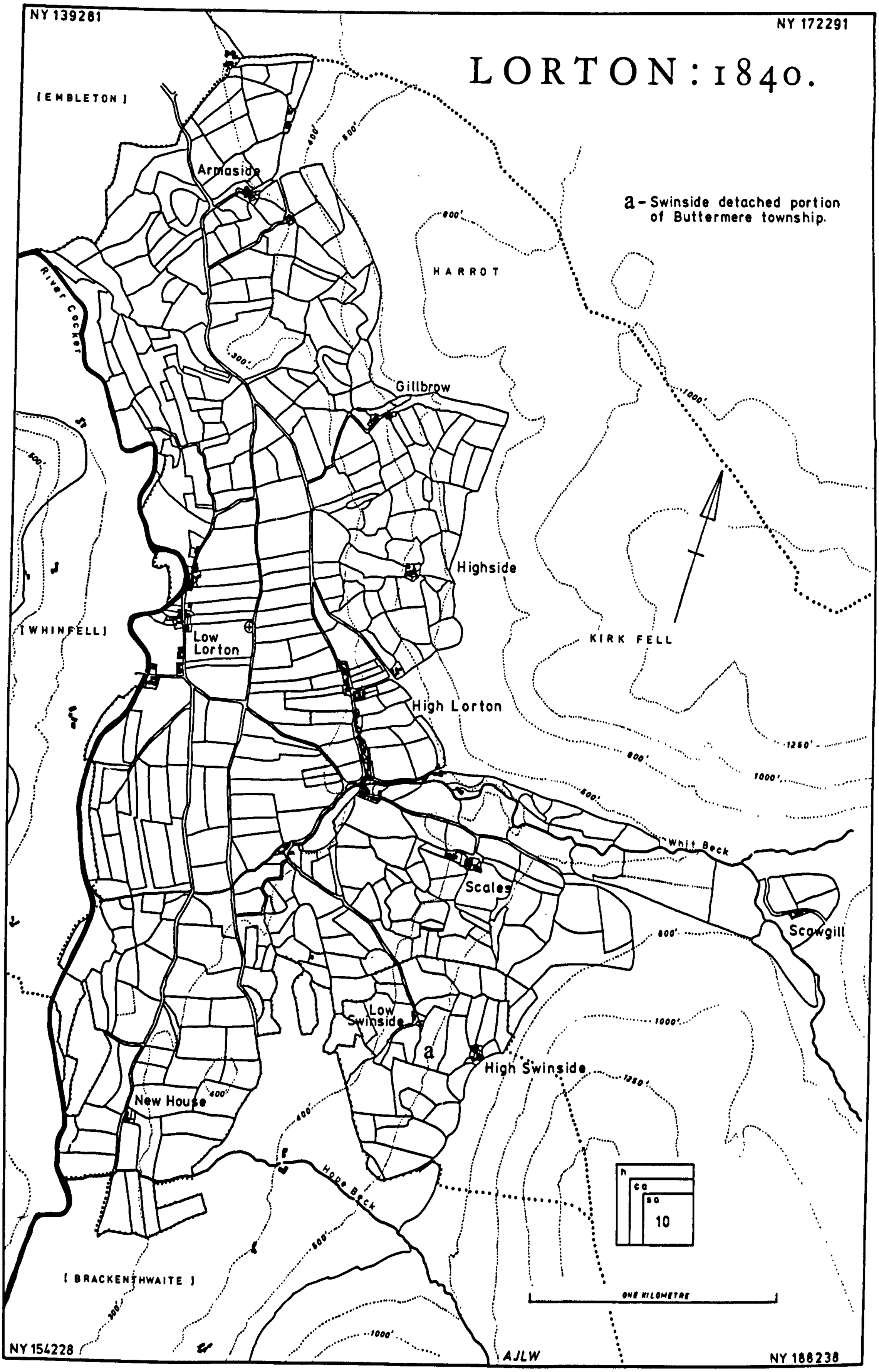
iii) Low Lorton (numbers 14-16) As noted, these 3 tenements (2 at Kirkgate end - i.e. at the end of the footpath from Low Lorton to Lorton church - and one at Skarborowe- a lost name tentatively located at the S. end of Low Lorton village at the head of a piece of land known to be customary (C.R.O. D/Lec/328/Lorton Hall Estate Plan, 1843) and on which a smith's shop and old house were situated in 1740 (C.R.O. D/Ben/5/280)) represent only part of the total settlement at Low Lorton.

Each holding consisted of a mixture of several closes and shares in open arable fields and meadows, and three major land-use areas may be identified: a) On low-lying land beside the R. Cocker to the N. of the village lay meadow land, including the Great Close in which all 3 tenements held shares; b) Immediately S. of the village and its crofts lay Lorton field, a stretch of arable land divided into5 furlongs (Long Crofts, Sandy Butts, Lathelds, Avenham and Above the Dyke). It should be noted that the disposition of holdings within these furlongs exhibits little regularity, all three tenements having shares in only one furlong - Long Crofts. c) S. of Whit Beck lies an area known as Lorton Head (see Ch. VI, note 52) and apparently divided into a number of shared closes of arable land and meadow.

iv) Scales (numbers 29, 30) Two tenements, consisting entirely of closes held in severalty are described (see above, "Method of Reconstruction"). In addition to these 2 customary tenements at least one freehold tenement also existed at Scales (C.R.O. D/Ben/5/97 - ref. to tenement "in Scailes in Lorton", part of estate of Winder family, 1690).

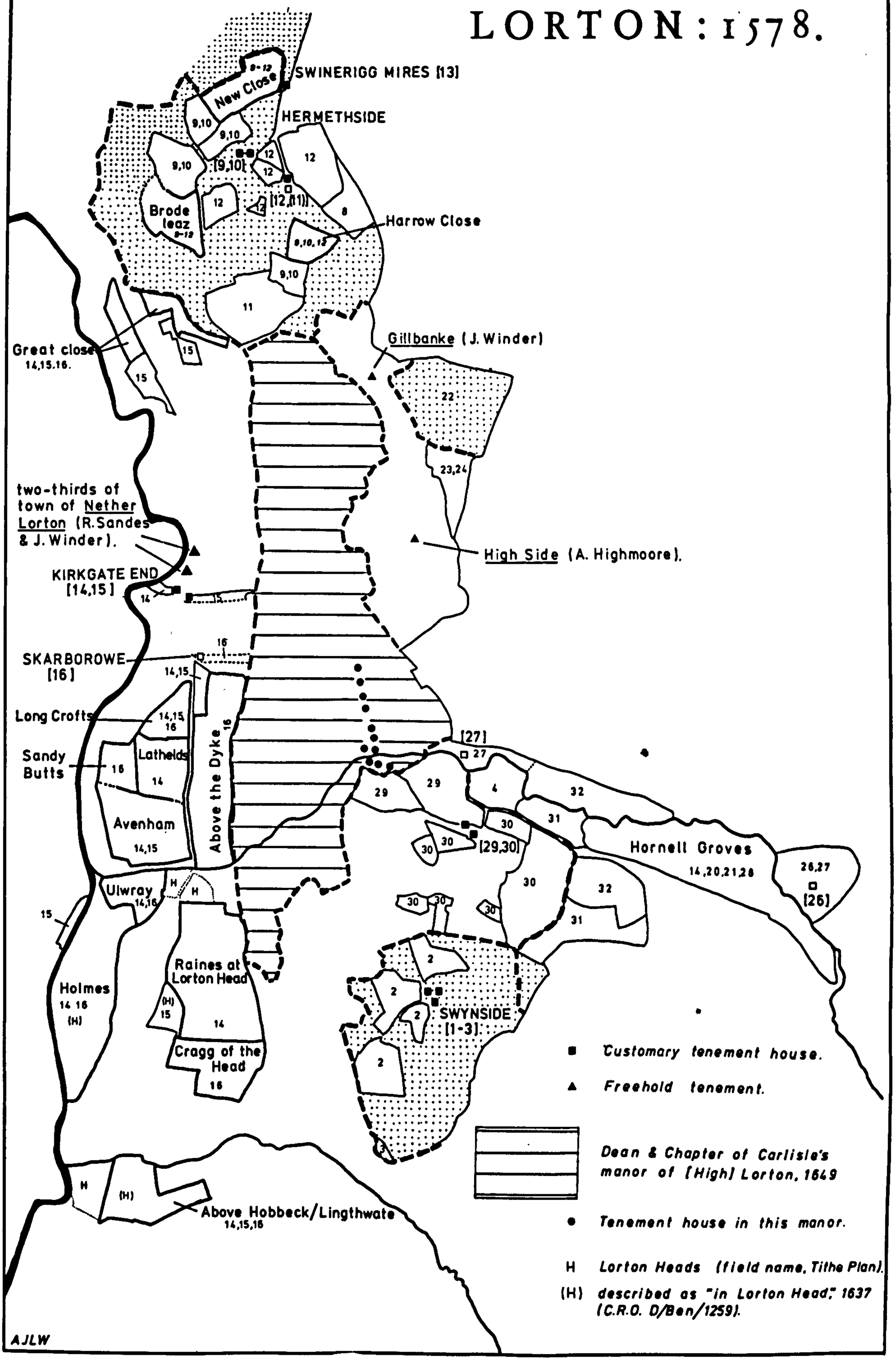
v) Fellside enclosures. In addition to these farm group territories the survey describes a number of peripheral enclosures, some of which appear to be encroachments onto the waste dating from the 15th and early 16th centuries (see Ch. VI, notes 53, 54). Three of these peripheral enclosures are associated with settlement sites - no: 22, a barn and a ring-fenced block of land which later became the farm of High Gillbrow; no: 26, a tenement house and land at Sawghill, probably to be identified with the later farmstead at Scawgill; and no: 27, the fulling mill and land at Tenters.

Appendix B: Map 1(a).



Appendix B: Map 1(b).

LORTON: 1578.



Appendix B: Map 2.

Map 2

BUTTERMERE

Sources

1578 Survey: ff 170-172.
Buttermere Tithe Plan, 1845. C.R.O. DRC/8/35.

i) Buttermere village (nos: 10-15, 18, 22-28)

The holdings described in 1578 are complex, a number consisting of half-tenements, some consisting of half-tenements plus quarter-tenements. By comparing this complex pattern with the description of the same tenements in the 1547 Court Book, the village appears to have consisted of 11 tenements, 5 of which were already subdivided into moieties at that date (see below, Table III). The 1578 Survey does not specify the location of the majority of these holdings (nos: 22-25 are located at Yate) but, by tracing their subsequent history through the Court of Dimission entries, it is found that the rents of these tenements were paid in the 18th and 19th centuries for holdings in Buttermere village.

Each tenement included arable land in the Lower or Netherfield, which totalled 40 cust. acres (c 64 stat. acres; 26 ha), and all but holdings no: 10, 12 held shares in the Overfield, totalling 20.5 cust. acres (c 33 stat. acres; 13 ha) as well. It is assumed that these fields lay on the flat valley bottom below the village, between the lakes of Crummock Water and Buttermere. Other shared land consisted of meadow in Buttermere Dubbes held by tenements 10-15 and in Scarr Field shared by holdings 22-25, and arable land in Drigg Garwick shared again by holdings 22-25. In addition, most holdings included some small several closes.

ii) Gatesgarth (nos: 1-8)

The survey describes 4 quarter shares of Gatesgarth, each rented at 36s 4d and consisting of 18 acres of arable and meadow and 35 acres of pasture. These were, however, held by 3 tenants: Chris. Hudson (36s 4d, 18s 2d); Rich. Hudson (36s 4d; 18s 2d) and John Hudson younger (36s 4d). In addition each tenant held a quarter share of a close called Hassenesse and Grennesse rented at 1s 8½d on top of his tenement. Chris. Hudson's holding remained intact through to 1750 while Rich. and John Hudson's estates were combined at some date between 1633 and 1688 (C.R.O. D/Lec/313/42, 50). Both holdings were surveyed in 1750 (C.R.O. D/Lons/W/ Gatesgarth Deeds/"Informations from Gerrard Ullock concerning....Gatesgarth"; 11th Sept. 1750), and 1801 (C.R.O. D/Lec/121/Plan of Estates at Gatesgarth) and these surveys confirm that the territory of Gatesgarth consisted of a nucleus of arable and meadow land on the valley bottom at the head of Buttermere and peripheral intakes on the fellsides.

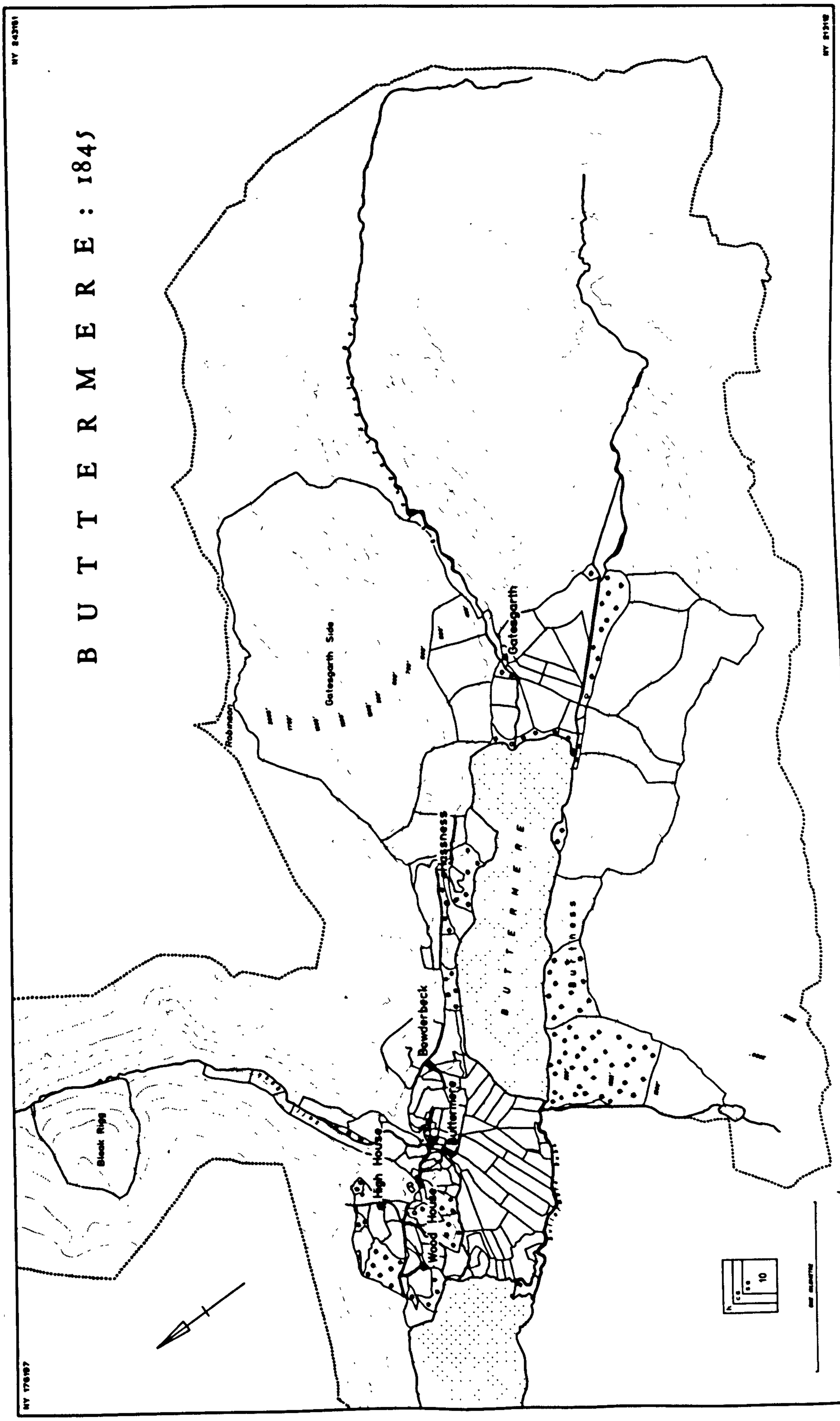
Gatesgarth side, the large fellside enclosure to the N. of Gatesgarth, is not included in either of these surveys. It is possible that it represents the Forest of Gatesgarth, the boundary of which is detailed in the 1578 Survey (f. 173) from a perambulation made 30 Nov. 1489. Few of the place-names along the bounder can now be identified but a line from "the height of Robert syde" (Robinson) to Hesnesse and Grennesse (cf Hassness) would follow the NW boundary of Gatesgarth side. The separation of a piece of fellside as technically "forest" is perhaps connected with the earlier history of Gatesgarth as a seignorial vaccary (see Ch. VI, p.208).

iii) Peripheral Holdings (nos: 9, 16, 17, 19, 20)

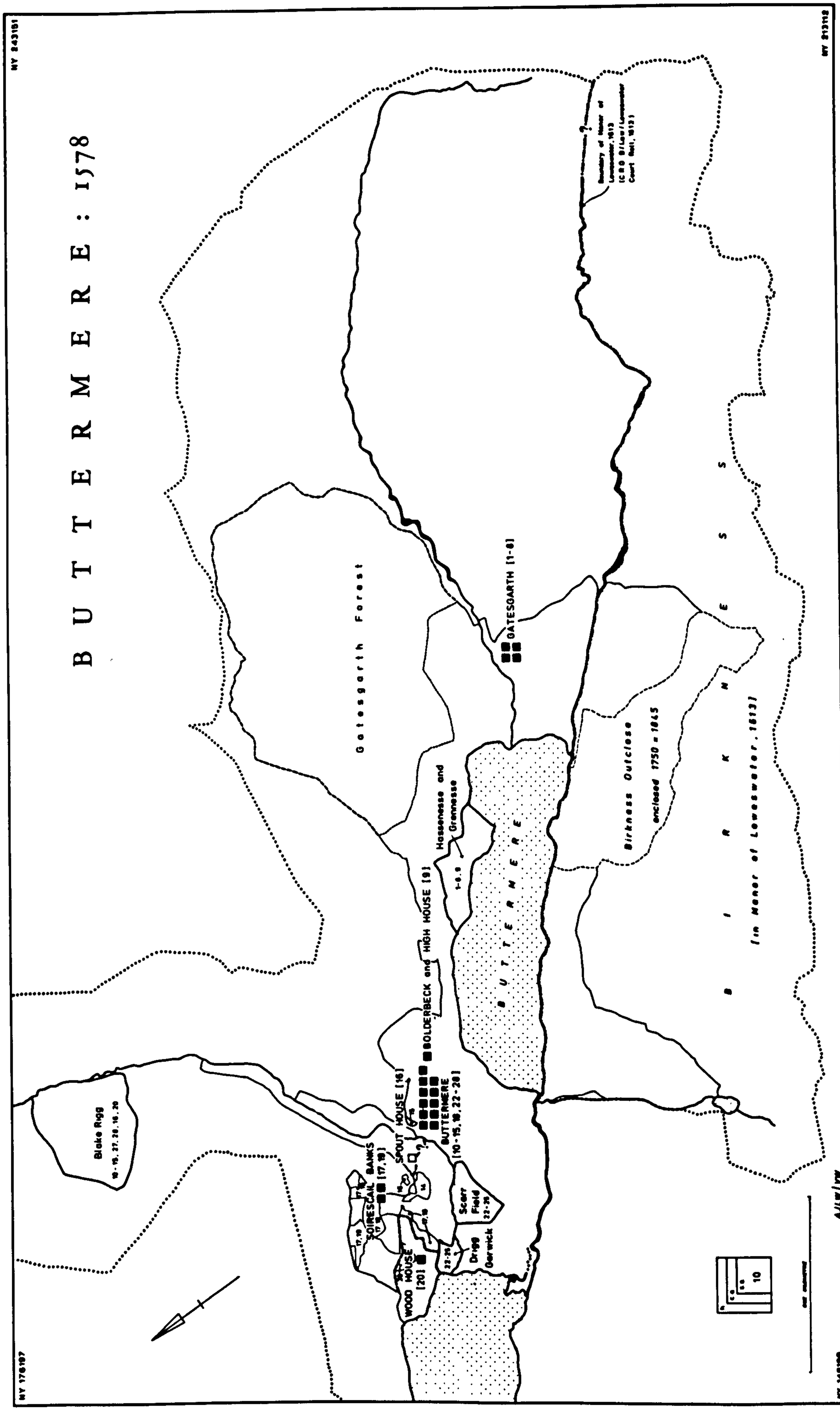
In addition to the holdings at Buttermere and Gatesgarth the 1578 Survey also describes 4 tenements which appear to have taken the form of compact holdings along the valley side peripheral to Buttermere village. They are: i) Bolderbeck and High house (no: 9), now Bowderbeck. In addition to enclosures along the lake side and improvements on the fells, this holding included the final quarter share of Hassenesse and Grennesse. ii) Spouthouse (no: 16), consisting of parcels of land between the tenement house and the beck, divided severally, a description which suggests that it might have comprised the tongue of enclosures beside Sail Beck. iii) Soirescailbanks (nos: 17, 19). This divided tenement (consisting of paired half-tenements) is unnamed in 1578, but located at Soirescail banks in the 1547 Court Book. From the fields named as constituting it in 1578 the holding would appear to have lain in the vicinity of the modern farmstead of High House. iv) Wood House (no: 20), a ring-fenced holding at the head of Crummock Water.

iv) Blakerigg (f. 172r) is described as "one Close of pasture called Bakerigge (sic) cont. xxxacr." held by 9 tenants for 13s 0d per annum. The farms of 7 of the tenants were located in Buttermere village (nos: 10, 12-15, 27-8), the remaining shares being held by the tenants of Spouthouse (no: 16) and Woodhouse (no: 20). For the evidence suggesting that Blakerigg was enclosed c1569 see Ch. VI, note: 50.

Appendix B: Map 2(a).



Appendix B: Map 2(b).



Appendix B: Map 3.

Map 3

ROGERSETT

Sources

1578 Survey: ff 186-191.
Crosthwaite Tithe Plan, 1841. C.R.O. DRC/8/55.

a) Farm Group Territories:

i) Little town (nos: 1-8)

The location of these holdings is not stated explicitly in the 1578 Survey (only no: 6 is located, at Yate), but both the high degree of reconstruction made possible by an usually high rate of field-name survival, and the description of these holdings in Brown's Survey of 1758 make it clear that they lay on the site, or in the vicinity, of the modern hamlet of Little Town.

Each holding consisted largely of several closes which, as the reconstruction shows, lay intermixed throughout the hamlet's territory rather than lying together within a ring-fence. In addition, 4 holdings (nos: 3, 4, 6, 7) held parcels of arable and pasture called Thwate, and another 4 holdings (nos: 2, 3, 7, 8) held closes of pasture called Dale Close, identified from the Tithe Plan as a separate block of enclosures lying up Newlands Beck.

ii) Birkrigg (nos: 9, 24, 25)

With the exception of some small parcels of meadow the holdings of three tenements exhibit a regular pattern:-

Description	Land use	Customary acreage held by each tenement		
		No: 9	No. 24	No: 25
Rigg Close	A&P	9.0	4.5	4.5
Lea Close	A&P	7.0	3.5	3.5
Parrock	A&M	1.0	1.5	1.5
High Field	M	10.0	8.0	7.0
Fish Shuttle	A&M	1.5	1.0	1.0

Holding no: 9 is described entirely as a series of closes. However, nos: 24, 25 each held one fourth part of the closes called Rigg Close and Lea Close, implying that these were shared closes.

iii) Snab (nos: 16-23)

The holdings are all described as being at Snabb, although there is no way of knowing how the 16th century distribution of farmsteads compared to the modern pattern in which the farms of High Snab, Low Snab and Low House lie dispersed across the area. By tracing the (somewhat complex) history of the 8 holdings down to the 19th century it has been possible to identify the approximate total area of the farm group territory although few details of internal patterns of tenure can be reconstructed. Little regularity in tenurial patterns is apparent in the description of the holdings in 1578, although each holding except no: 23 held a close called the High Field.

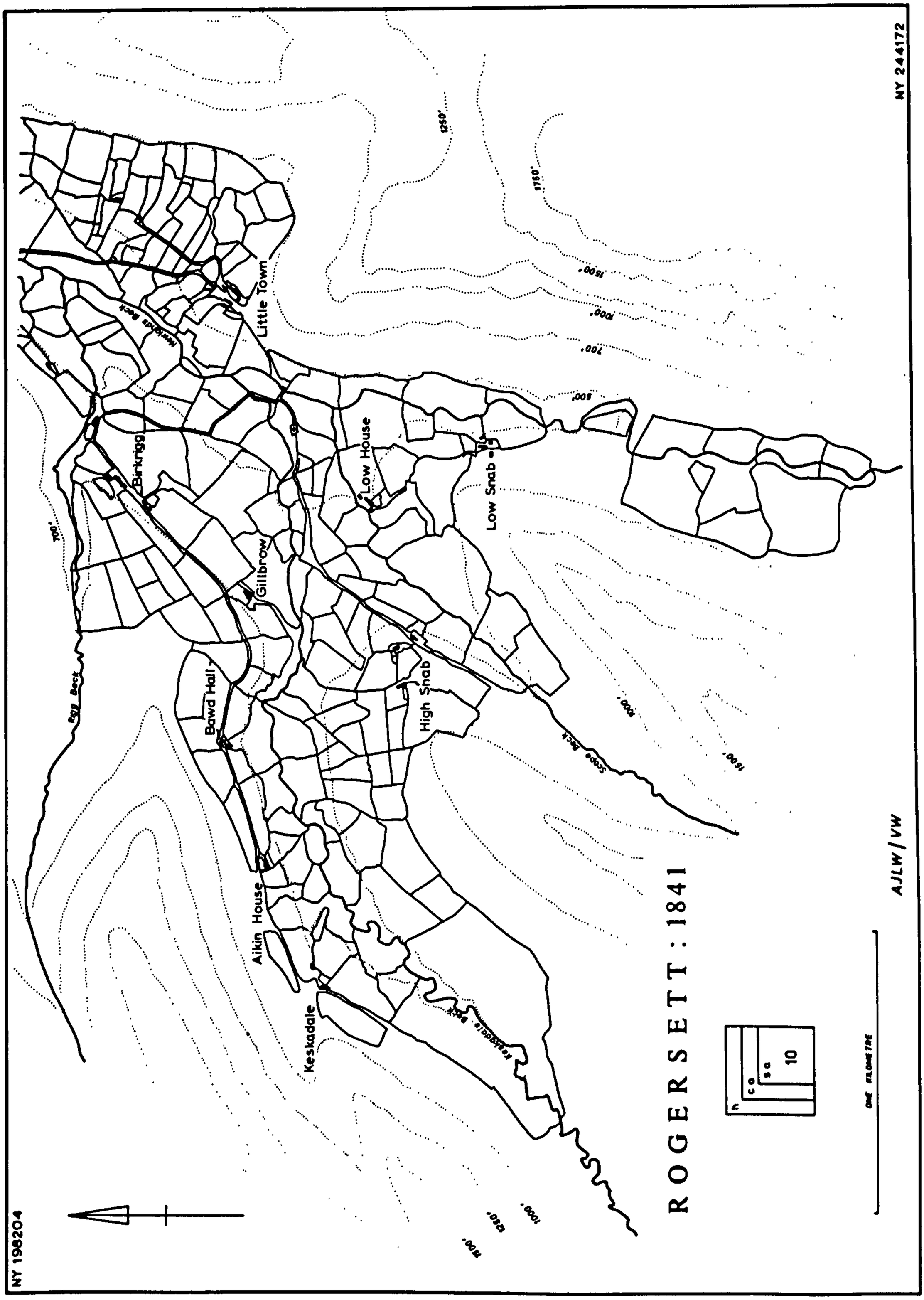
iv) Keskadale (nos: 26, 27, 31)

Each holding is described as being at Keskadale, and each consisted largely of closes held in severalty, although each included "one pasture called the Old Close". Relatively few field-names survived until 1841 but by tracing the history of the holdings through the Court of Dimission entries it is clear that the single farm at Keskadale in 1841 represents an amalgamation of the three 16th century holdings. Presumably the boundaries of the 19th century holding describe the limits of the farm group territory described in 1578.

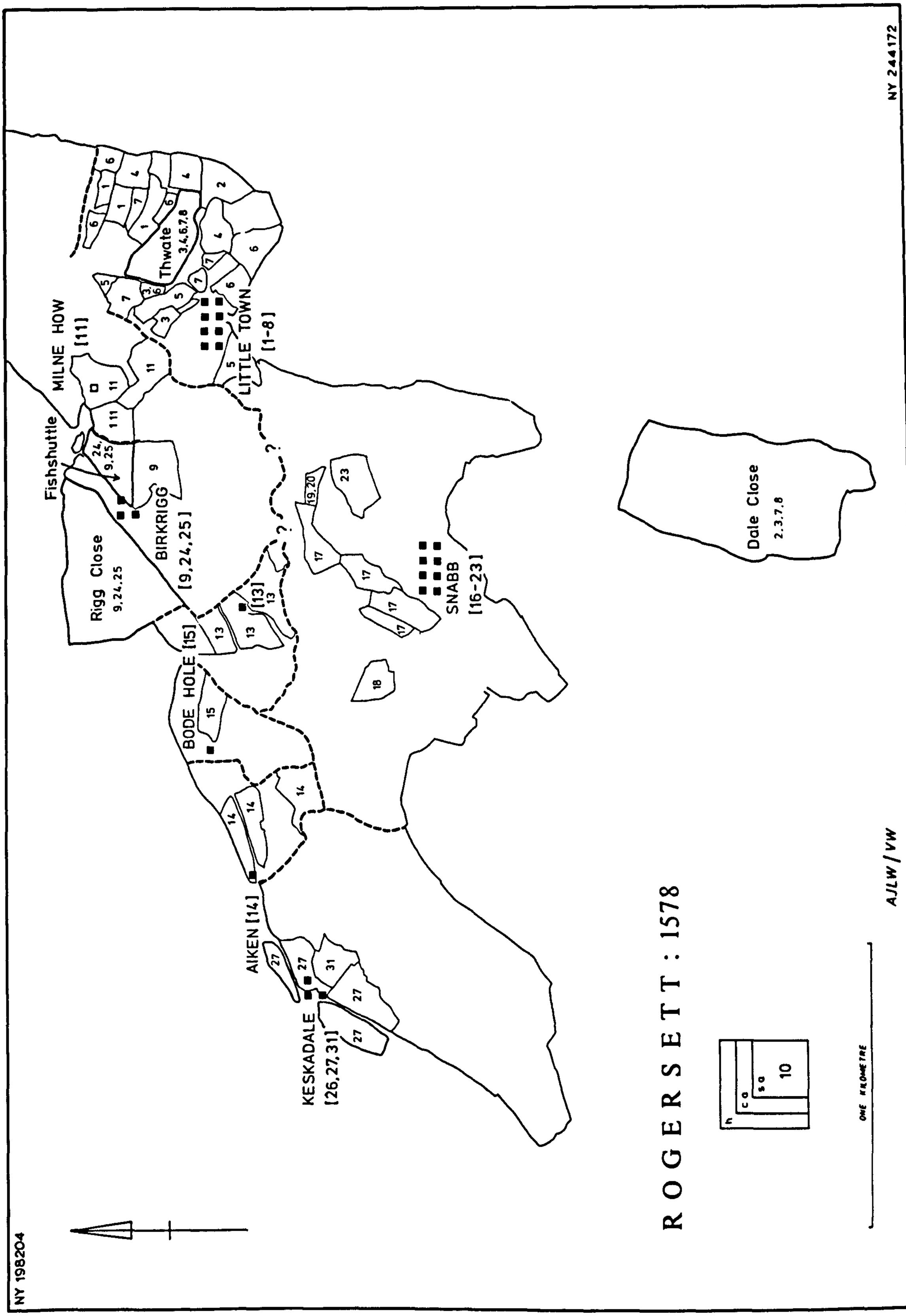
b) Single Holdings

The survey also describes single holdings at Milne Howe (no: 11) (identified by field-name Mill How, Tithe Plan: no: 720); Gillbrow (no: 13); Aikin House (no: 14) and Bawd Hall (no: 15). These appear to have been small, compact holdings.

Appendix B: Map 3(a).



Appendix B: Map 3(b).



Appendix B: Maps 4 & 5.

Maps 4 & 5

BRAITHWAITE & COLEDALE

Sources:

1578 Survey: ff: 174-186.
Crosthwaite Tithe Plan, 1841 C.R.O. DRC/8/55

a) Free Tenants: (f. 174)

The major freehold estates were those of:

i) Anthony Barwis who held "the mannor and Town of Thornthwate". Its extent can be ascertained by the boundary between freehold and customary land reconstructed in Map 4b.

ii) Geo. Porter who held land and tenements called Frankeshow, probably to be identified with the modern farm of How (247 244).

iii) the successors to Robert Stanley, who held le Staires and the moiety of Husacre. Probably represented by the gaps in the areas of known customary land in the vicinity of Stair (237 212) and Uzzicar (234 218). Stanley also held "a close there", possibly represented by the two fields named Stanley Field on the Tithe Plan (nos: 1007, 1013) surrounded by the otherwise completely customary estate at Gutherscale (see Map 5b).

iv) the heirs of Miles Hodson who held the moiety of a tenement in Portinscales. Part of this estate is probably represented by the hillock named Hodgson How (244 237) known to have been freehold from a survey of the Ullock estate in 1755 (C.R.O. D/Lec/120/Surveys & Valuations).

v) Robert Sandes, who held a tenement at Gillbank (236 205). The approximate extent of this estate shows up as a gap between the customary lands of Braithwaite & Coledale and those of Rogersett in the vicinity of the modern farm of Gillbank.

b) Tenants at Will (ff 175-186)

The major customary estates were at:-

i) Woodend (no: 1), a compact holding including the large fellside enclosure called Beck Withop (now Woodend Brow). The tenant also held one-third share in a pasture called Wind hills with tenants of Powter How.

ii) Powter How (nos: 2-5). Although the rents of these 4 tenements exhibit exact regularity (4 x 3s 9½d) the disposition of land between them does not. Each held a share of arable land in a close called Lawe Rood and a parcel of peat moss in Braithwaite Moss, physically detached from the core of their tenements. Nos. 2 & 3 are paired tenements; nos. 4 & 5 almost so, although no. 4 does not hold a share in Wind hills and no. 5 does not have a share in the How.

iii) Howend (nos: 12, 13), paired tenements centred on a farmstead in the vicinity of the modern house called Spring Bank.

iv) Great Braithwaite (nos: 14-16, 19-28, 30, 33, 36). 16 tenements in the modern tightly clustered village of Braithwaite. The bulk of the village's territory appears to have consisted of shared land although most tenements also included a small acreage held in several closes. Little regularity is apparent in the disposition of holdings in these shared fields, meadows and closes. Each tenement, except nos: 14-16, 23, 25 & 36 held arable land in the furlong called Headlands and each tenement, except nos: 25, 33 & 36 held a share in the pasture close called Brathwate Howe. In general, however, land seems to have been shared by smaller groups of tenements within the village. Thus only tenements 20-22, 24, 30 held meadow in the Litle close and tenements 19-22 held equally a pasture close called Whinny close. Tenement no: 36 consisted entirely of several closes of which two can be identified on the spur of land south of the village between the Coledale and Newlands valleys.

v) Coledale (nos: 29, 34), two small holdings whose land apparently lay in the tongue of enclosures up Coledale Beck. It should be noted, however, that 2 tenements in Great Braithwaite (nos: 15, 16) also held closes located in Coldale.

vi) Little Braithwaite (nos: 37-40). 4 tenements consisting of a mixture of several closes and shared land. Each held a close of pasture called Husacre Close (for which a separate sum of rent was paid) and a parcel of arable and pasture called Jakefield. Earlier evidence suggests that this latter field was formerly a separate tenement subsequently partitioned between the 4 tenements of Little Braithwaite (see Ch. VI; note 82).

vii) Uzzicar (nos: 42, 43, 45). Three tenements consisting largely of intermixed several closes. As noted above, a free tenant held the moiety of Uzzicar, suggesting that the fields of these 3 customary estates formed only part of the total hamlet territory.

viii) Stonycroft (nos: 46-7). 2 tenements consisting largely of several closes, although both held closes called Ellers field, Brode Inge and Grise garth, perhaps suggesting the subdivision of fields of these names between the 2 holdings at an earlier date.

ix) Skellgill (nos: 51-53). 3 tenements again consisting largely of several closes. As at Stonycroft closes of the same name were held by more than one tenement. The 3 holdings also shared a field called Tallow field, described variously as arable and pasture, arable and meadow, and meadow.

x) Gutherscale (no: 54). A single, ring-fenced holding. Although only one field listed in 1578 can be identified on the Tithe Plan, the holding remained intact until the 18th century and the fields listed in Brown's Survey of 1758 can be identified on the Tithe Plan. The existence of Stanley Field, possibly a freehold block, in the centre of the holding has been noted above.

xi) Tenements along the shore of Derwentwater (nos: 55-64). These consisted of the ring-fenced holdings of Scalethorns (55), Brandlehow (56), Otterbield (57) and Hause End (58) and pairs of tenements at Water end (59,60); Parkside (61,62) and Swinside (63,64). The dramatic changes in the landscape of the west bank of Derwentwater wrought by Lord William Gordon, who purchased the Water end estate as a "pleasure ground" in 1783 (see papers re Gordon's purchase in C.R.O. D/Lec/121 and D/Ben/1/passim), have made detailed reconstruction of 16th century tenurial patterns impossible except at Brandlehow and Swinside.

xii) Ullock (nos: 66-70). Earlier evidence suggests that these 5 tenements, whose rents exhibit exact regularity (3 x 24s 6d; 2 x 12s 3d), represent the planned subdivision of 3 messuages, the demesne land at Ullock and 3 closes called Coltparke, Braithmyre and Fawparke (see Ch. VI, note: 41). The land held by the tenements at Ullock in 1578 falls into three distinct blocks, probably reflecting the composite origins of the holdings:- a) closes and parcels of meadow and pasture in the boggy land south of Bassenthwaite Lake, b) intermixed several closes of arable and arable and pasture land in the vicinity of the modern farmsteads of Ullock, c) enclosures in Fawe Park, the wooded seignorial park on the west bank of Derwentwater, first mentioned in 1369 (see Fig. 6.2).

xiii) Portinscales (nos: 72-75). 4 tenements apparently consisting almost entirely of several closes. Few details can be reconstructed.

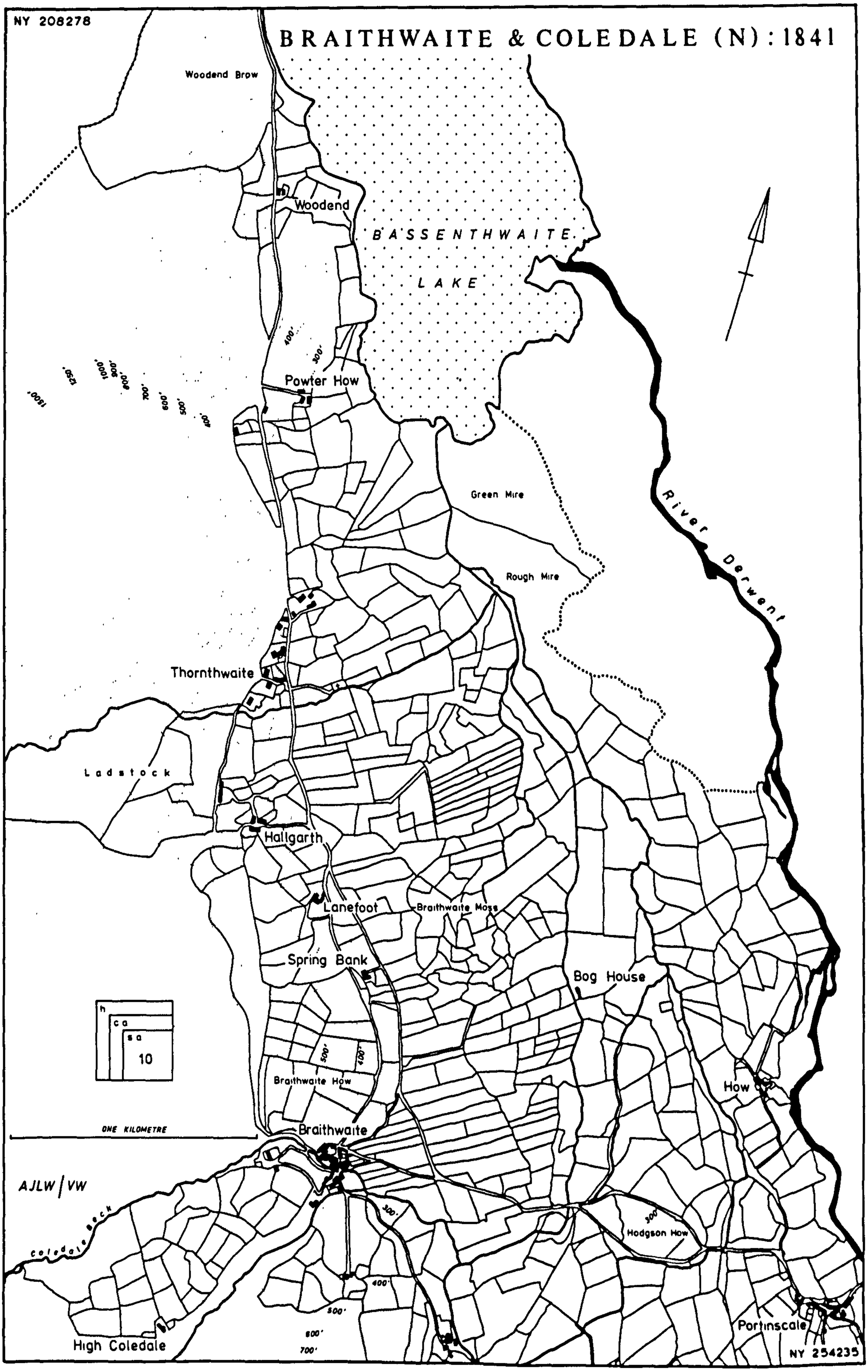
c) Swinside (f. 186)

At the end of the description of customary estates the Survey describes the shared pasture of Swinside, the rocky hillock immediately South of Ullock.

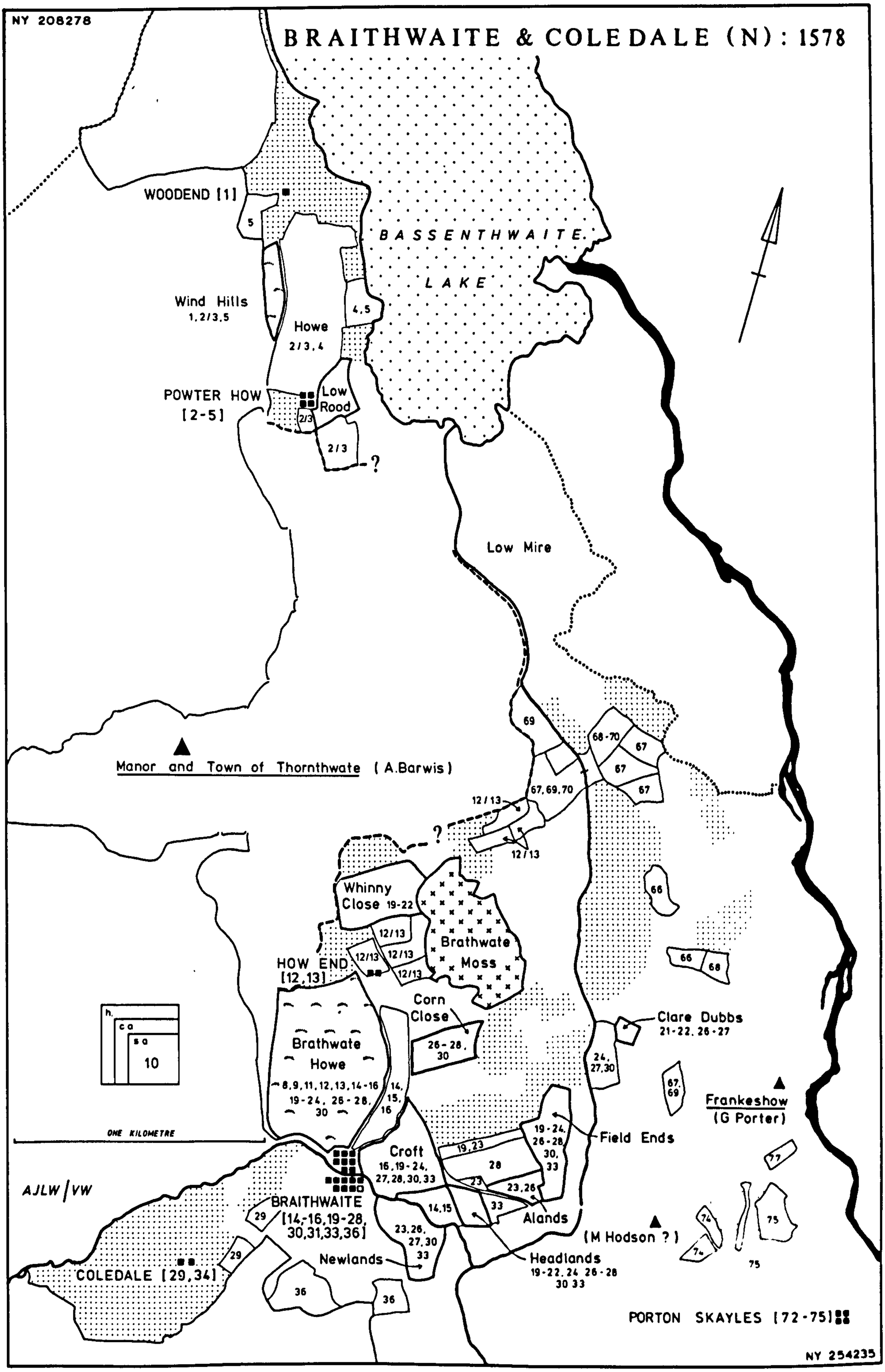
> "The Tenantes of Swinside or Swinstead holde altogeather the saide pasture beinge a fell or moorishe ground and re' per Annum: X^{s}"

It does not specify which tenants were involved.

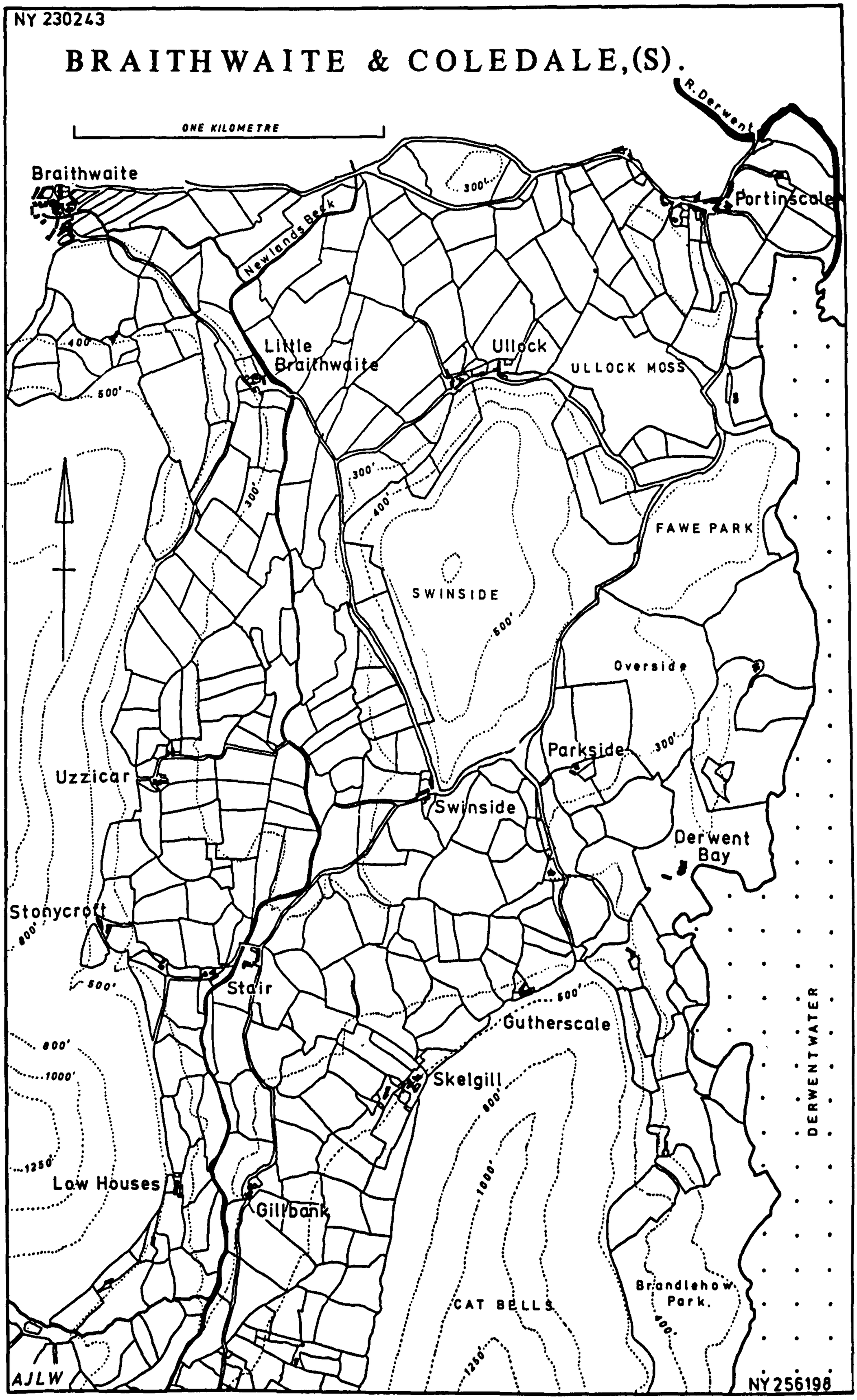
Appendix B: Map 4(a).



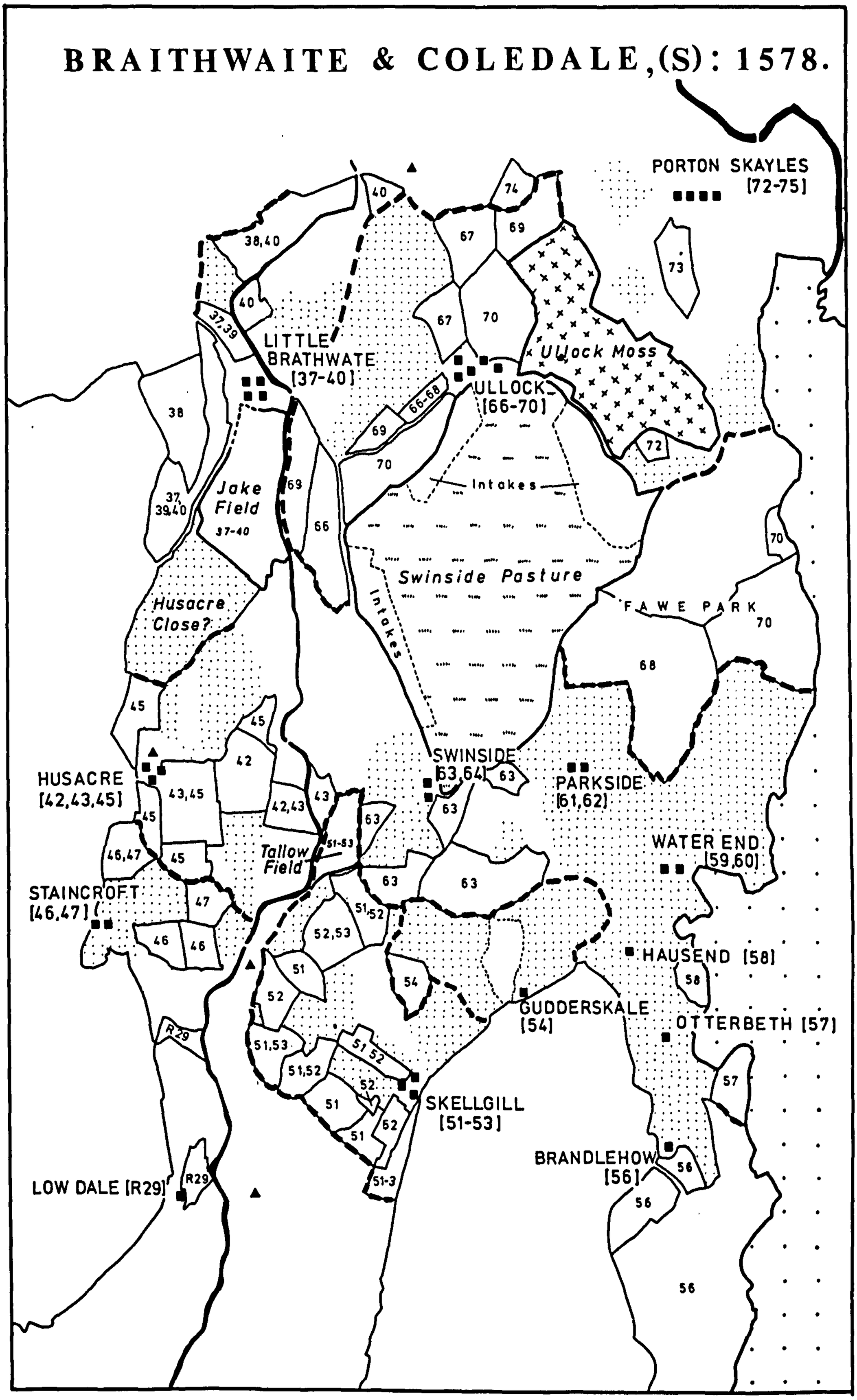
Appendix B: Map 4(b).



Appendix B: Map 5(a).



Appendix B: Map 5(b).



Appendix B: Map 6.

Map 6

KINNISIDE

Sources:

1578 Survey: ff 117-122.
Kinniside Tithe Plan: C.R.O. DRC/8/106.

Kinniside

The scatter of farmsteads in the main block of cultivated land at Kinniside, on rising ground south of the R. Ehen, appears not to have been organised simply into a pattern of farm group territories as found in Derwentfells (Maps 1-5). Although only incomplete reconstruction of the 1578 tenurial pattern has been possible and the resulting map appears at first glance to be highly complicated, two salient features may be noticed:

i) Most farmsteads appear to have been surrounded by a ring-fenced block of land held as a number of several closes. Although some tenements consisted solely of such a compact group of fields (e.g. Flatfell End (5); Swinside (25,26), Whitebank (16)) for the majority of holdings these several closes formed only a nucleus.

ii) In the interstices between these tenemental nuclei were a number of shared closes held by groups of tenants whose farms consisted of otherwise compact holdings. The land-use in these shared closes seems to have varied, arable and meadow land being described in Abil Tree, while Toddall Banks is described as a close of arable and pasture, and Davie Lands consisted of both meadow and pasture.

Thwaites

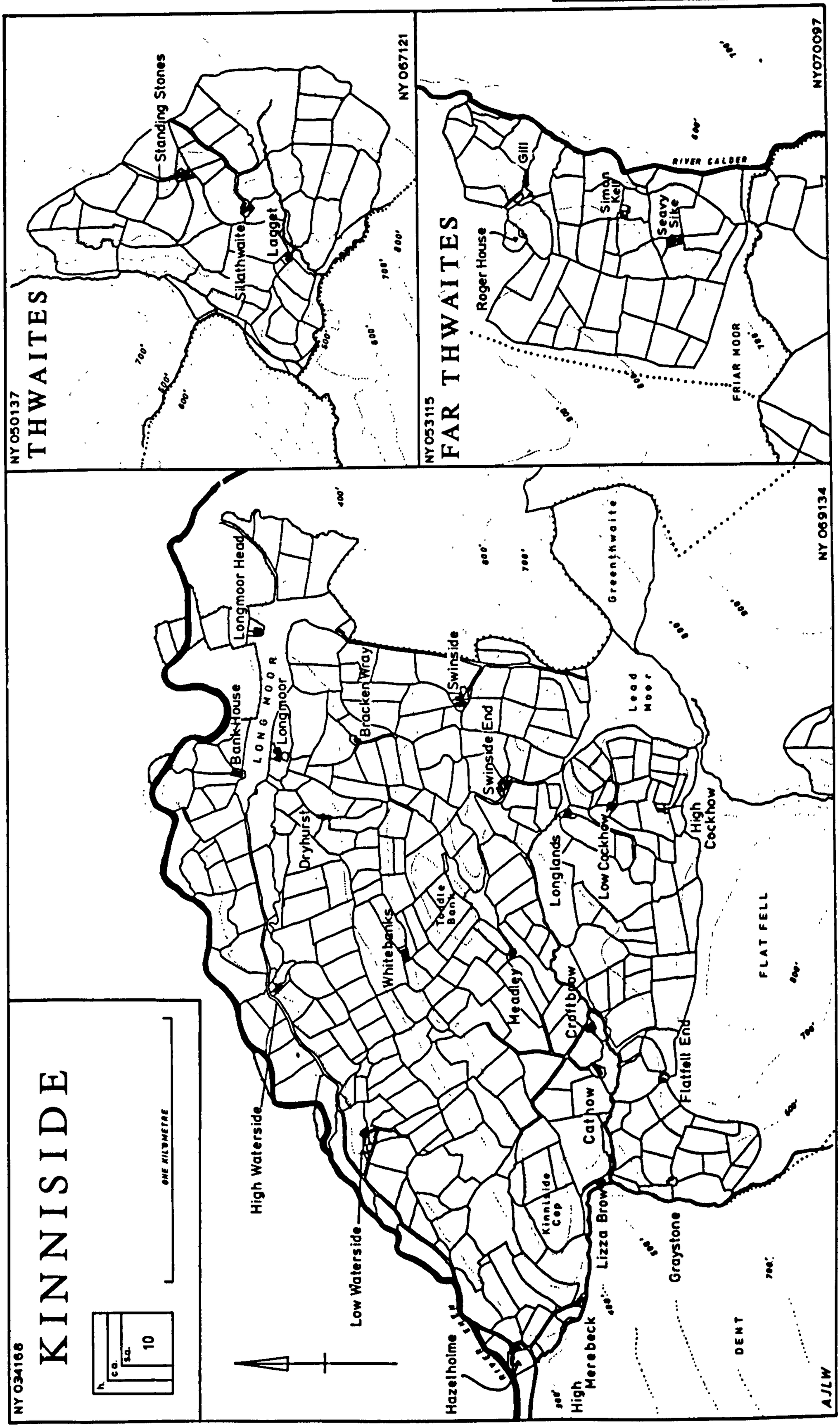
Few details of the six holdings at Sillithwate or Sirrithwate can be reconstructed. By tracing the subsequent history of these holdings from 1578 to Brown's Survey of 1758 it becomes clear that 4 of the tenements described in 1578 (nos: 33-36) were centred on the modern farmsteads of Standing Stones, Sillathwaite and Lagget. The identification of the remaining tenements is based on field-name evidence; the tenement at Gillbank (no. 31) presumably being located in or near the field of that name given in the Tithe Plan (no. 111); the house at Killbank (no. 37) being associated with the field named Keldbank on the Tithe Plan (no: 230).

The wording of the 1578 Survey suggests that each holding took the form of a ring-fenced block of land consisting entirely of several closes.

Far Thwaites

The 4 tenements described as being at Semen Kell can be traced through to Brown's Survey of 1758 and the Tithe Plan of 1844 and related to the 4 farmstead sites marked on the O.S. map. Each holding consisted in 1578 of a compact block of land divided into several closes plus a close in the recently improved Frier Moor. The extent of the latter can probably be gauged by the distribution of field-names in Moor in 1844 and appears on the O.S. field trace as a definite accretion to the earlier block of enclosures, the earlier head-dyke still appearing as a dominant field boundary running N-S through the enclosures. As tenement no: 43 remained intact down to the 19th century its northern boundary can be reconstructed from the Tithe Plan. This is not possible for the remaining holdings as no: 39 was partitioned in 1651 (C.R.O. D/Lec/311/16), the two halves ultimately being amalgamated with holdings 38 and 41.

Appendix B: Map 6(a).



Appendix B: Map 6(b).

KINNISIDE : 1578

7 HOLLING THORN
17/19 LANG MOOR
21 LANG MOOR
22 DRY HURST
23 BRACKEN WRAY

WATERSIDE [13/15]

GILLBANK [31]
[31]
35
[33]
[34,36]
[35]
SILLITHWAITE
[37]
LEA GILL [38]
30
[39]
SEMEN KELL
[41]
FARRE THWATE [43]
Frier Moor [38,39,41]
[43]
Field names with element MOOR, 1844
24
BANK/HOUSE [20]
LANGMOOR HEAD [24]
24 Shaw
[25,26] SWAINSIDE
Greenthwate 25
Swanside How 26
20
21
[21]
23
[23]
[22]
[45]
SWANSIDE END
17/19
Toddall Banks 11,22,23,27/28
Whinny Rigg 29,30
Moss
LANGLANDS [27/28]
COCK HOW
[29]
[30]
18,17/19,21 Abil Tree
Hoor Ingas 18
Gynnie Croft 18
Low Field 18
WATERSIDE [18]
[16]
MEDLAY [1]
10,12
CROFT BROWE [2/3]
Davie Lands
Big garth 2/3,4
27/28,29,30
KATTHEY [4]
FELL END
[7]
Kenside 8/9
Loose Borrans 8/9
LEASA BROUGH [8/9]
FLATFELL [5]
[6]
GRAYSTONE
MEARBECK
[10,12]
[11]

Appendix B: Map 7.

Map 7

WASDALE HEAD

Sources:-

1578 Survey: f. 137.
1795 Plan: C.R.O. D/Lec/Plans/"A Plan of Several Estates at Wasdale-head...by I. Howard, Sur. 1795". Only a copy, dated May 1862, exists.
O.S.1:10,560 Cumberland: Sheet 74; surveyed 1859-60.

a) Tenants at Will

The 1578 Survey lists 18 tenants at will each holding a tenement consisting of a small garth adjoining his farmstead and a share of arable and meadow land in Wasdalehead Field, the implication being that the holdings of all 18 tenants lay intermixed in a single block of open field. It is, however, difficult to relate this 16th century description to the settlement and field pattern of the 19th century.

i) Settlement pattern: The Survey does not specify the location of tenement houses at Wasdale Head. By a process of amalgamation the number of holdings dropped from 18 in 1578 to 10 in 1750 and 5 in 1850 (C.R.O. D/Lec/311-314, passim). The mid-19th century settlement pattern consisted of a cluster of three farms at Row, and the outlying farmsteads of Burnthwaite and Down-in-the-Dale, although "The vestiges of many ruined cottages show that this village was once more considerable" (Green: 1819; 243). It is not clear, however, to which settlement this observation referred.

ii) Land Tenure: Holdings in Wasdale head Field ranged from 3 to 10 customary acres, giving a total acreage of 116.5 customary acres (c186 stat. acres; 75 ha). Again it is difficult to relate this description to the late-18th and 19th century cartographic evidence: the pattern of small, irregular fields at Wasdalehead is markedly different from that which is found elsewhere in Copeland on areas of former open arable land (cf. fields around Low Lorton, Map 1). However, three small areas of shared land remained unenclosed in 1795 (labelled A, B & C) and some field names (e.g. Derdale, Carrodale, Crabdale) on the 1795 Plan would tend to confirm the greater extent of shared land at an earlier date.

It is quite possible that the description of holdings in 1578 represents a summary description, and that "Wasdalehead Field" in fact consisted of a number of shared units or individual furlongs.

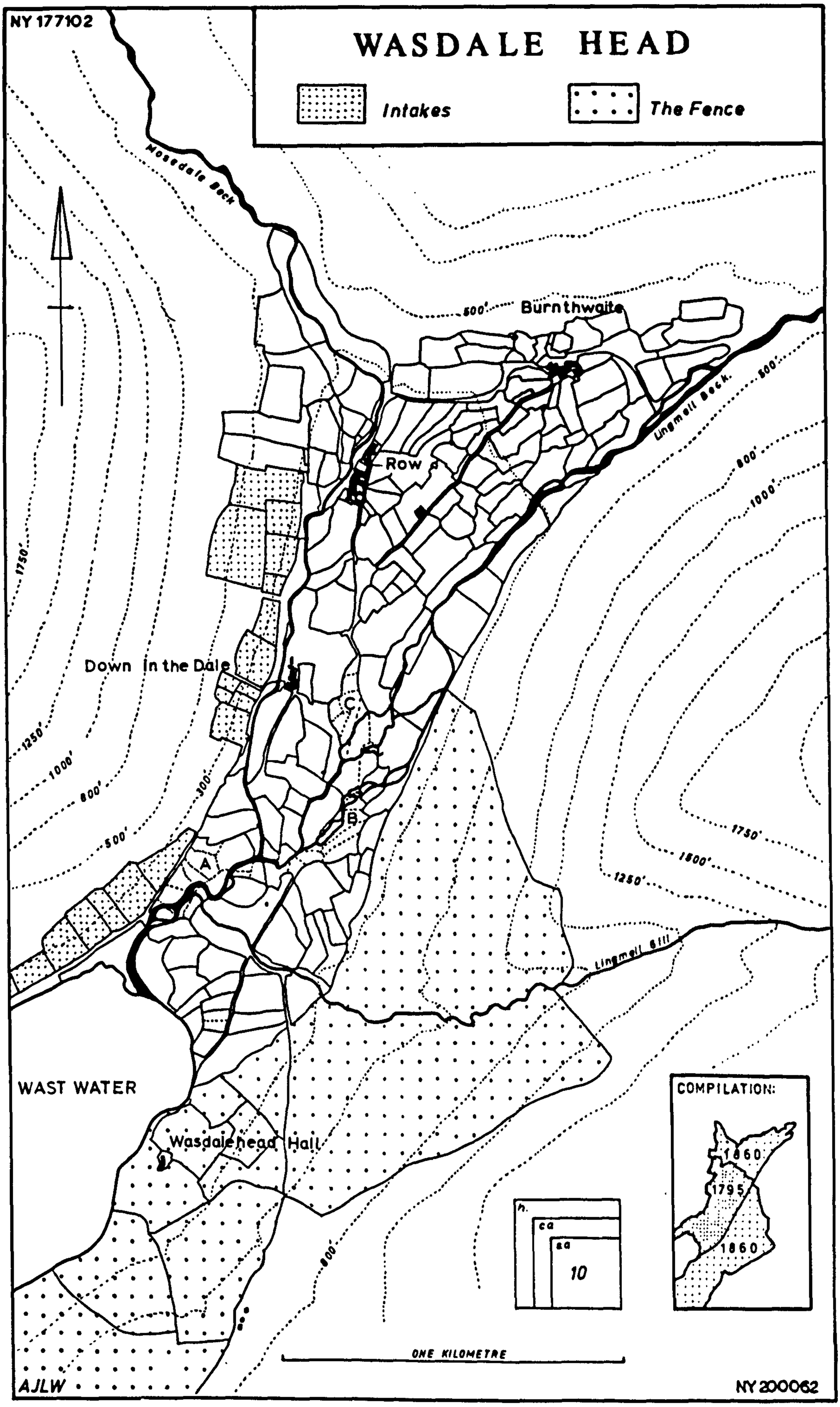
b) The Fence

The fellside enclosures which constituted the lord's frith or deer fence are shown on a plan of the fence in c1800 (C.R.O. D/Lec/Plans/Eskdale/1). The 1578 Survey (ff. 117, 138) describes it as a walled enclosure of good ground and underwood preserved for the lord's deer and its description as the Newe Frith suggests that it had been recently enclosed. There is no mention of a house there in 1578 and the farm named Wasdalehead Hall was probably built by one of the 17th or 18th century lessees of the fence:- it was leased in 1618 to Sir Wilfred Lawson of Isell (Alnwick. X.II.3.4.0).

c) Intakes

The enclosures marked as such are so-named on the 1795 Plan. Absence of references to several enclosures (other than garths adjacent to the farmsteads) in 1578 suggests that these steep fellside pasture closes represent 17th or 18th century encroachments onto the waste.

Appendix B: Map 7.



Appendix B: Map 8.

Map 8

MOCKERKIN

Sources:

1578 Survey: ff 168-9.
Lowéswater Tithe Plan, 1839 (C.R.O. DRC/8/121).

Tenants at Will

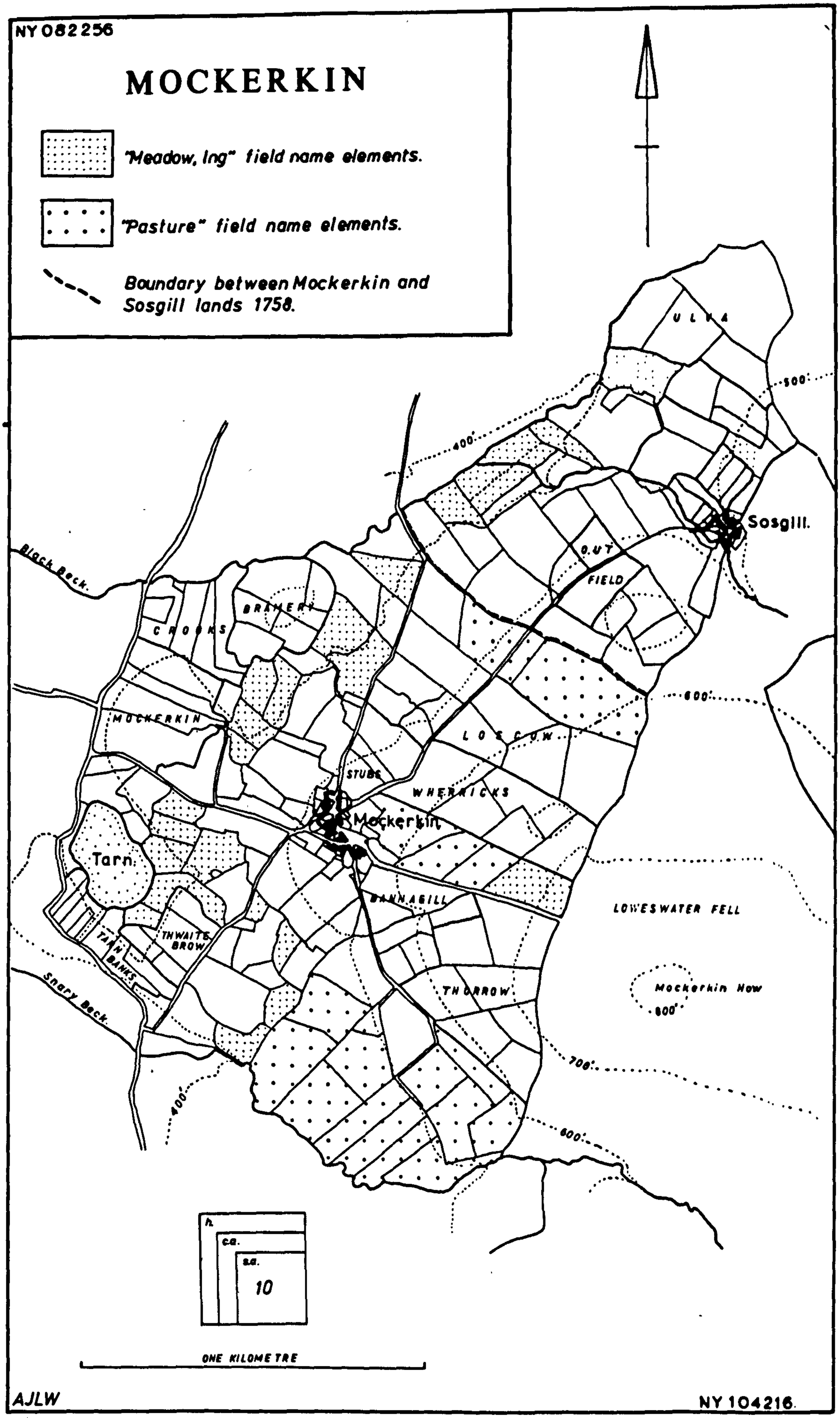
The 1578 Survey lists 14 tenants and describes their holdings briefly in terms of acreages of infield land, outfield land, meadow, and coarse pasture. No field names are given.

i) Settlement Pattern: Although all these tenements are grouped under the general heading of Mockerkin it is clear from early-16th century ministers' accounts that tenements both in Mockerkin and in Sosgill are included - in 1578 the total rent (excluding the fishing of Mockerkin Tarn) amounted to £7-6-9; the account of the reeve of Mockerkin in 1478 (C.R.O. D/Lec/29/6) specifies that the principal elements within this sum were £4-10-3 from the tenants of Mockerkin and £1-9-7½d from tenants of Sosgill. By tracing the history of the tenements described in 1578 through the 17th and early 18th centuries it has been possible, using Brown's Survey of 1758, to assign the first 10 tenements listed in 1578 to Mockerkin; the final 4 being at Sosgill.

ii) Land Tenure: The total acreage listed in 1578 (451 customary acres or c720 stat. acres; 290 ha) compares closely with the total acreage detailed in the Tithe Plan of 1839 (707 stat. acres; 286 ha) and suggests that little change in the head-dyke line had occurred between the two surveys. By tracing the tenurial history of the two hamlets through from 1578 to Brown's Survey of 1758, and by identifying fields named in 1758 on the Tithe Plan, it has been found that each hamlet controlled a discrete economic territory, and the boundary between Mockerkin and Sosgill's lands is shown on Map 8.

In the absence of field-names in the 1578 Survey it is not possible to reconstruct the tenurial pattern within each of these hamlet territories, but isolation of certain field-name elements from the Tithe Plan of 1839 allows the four land-use categories described by the survey to be located tentatively. In particular, field names containing the element "pasture" show a concentration uphill from the hamlet cluster at Mockerkin, suggesting that the "coarse pasture" of which each tenement held a share in 1578 might have lain in this zone. Conversely, "meadow" and "ing" field-names are concentrated on the lower-lying land around Mockerkin Tarn and towards Black Beck. The remainder of the land was presumably classified as either "infield ground" or "outfield ground" in 1578. With the exception of the fields near Sosgill named Outfield on the Tithe Plan, it is not possible to distinguish between the two from field-name evidence.

Appendix B: Map 8.



Appendix B: Map 9.

Map 9

COULDERTONS

Source:

1578 Survey: ff 102-103.
Lowside Quarter Tithe Plan, 1838 - C.R.O. DRC/8/122.
Middle Coulderton Outfield Enclosure Agreement, 1794 - C.R.O. D/BT/Acc. 2169.

For the late-mediaeval history of the hamlets of Over and Middle Coulderton (now Coulderton and Middletown) see Ch. VI, pp 190-1.

Over Coulderton (numbers 16-20)

The Survey describes 5 tenements, although it is clear from earlier documentation (e.g. 1547 Court Book; f 1i),from the pattern of rents paid (see below, Table II), and from the disposition of holdings that nos: 19, 20 represent the subdivision of an earlier tenement equal in size to the other three.

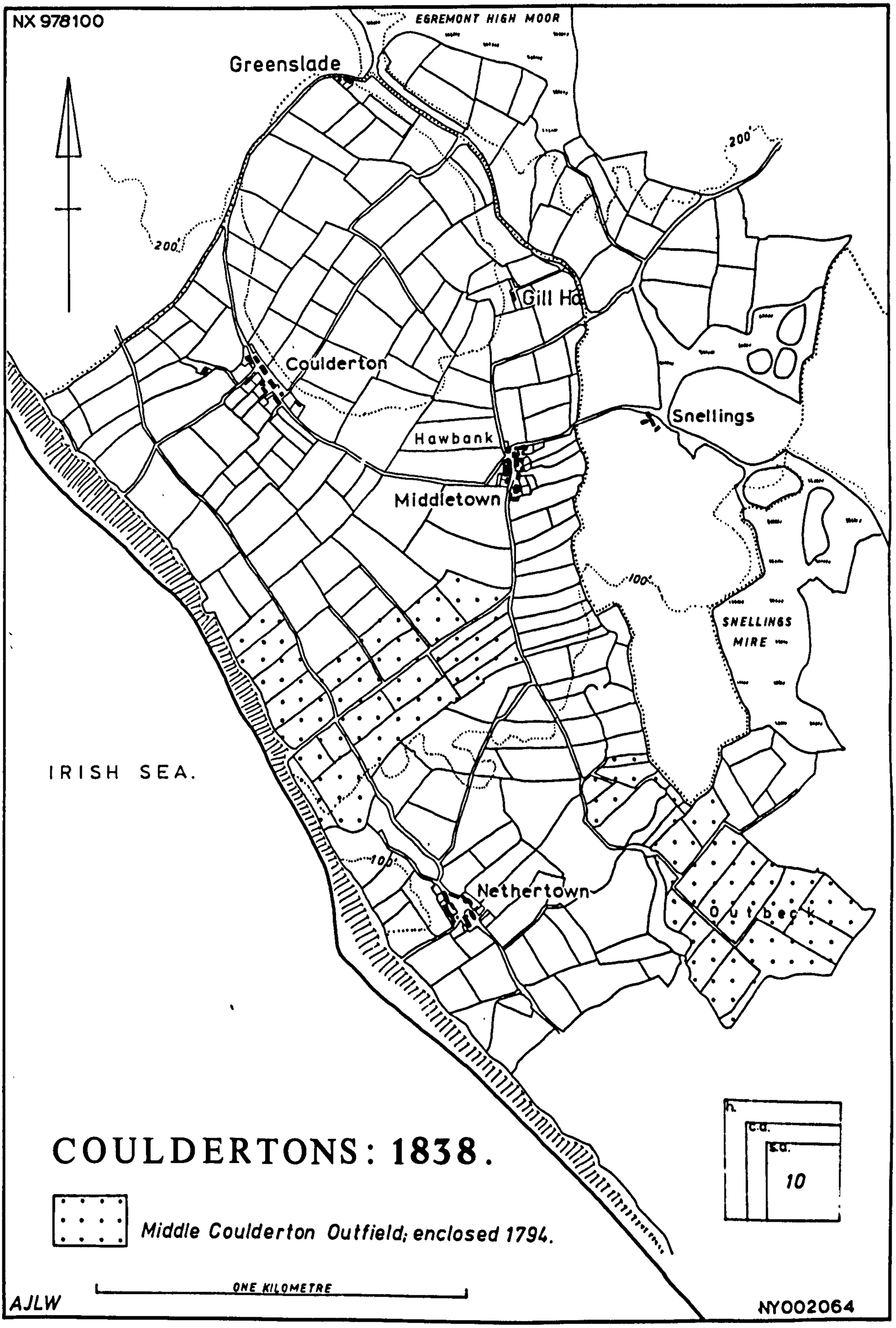
The hamlet's territory consisted of a compact block of land of c250 acres (101 ha) most of which consisted of a shared field of arable land named Overcolderton field and a meadow called Overtown Inges in which each of the four tenements (i.e. 16, 17, 18, (19 + 20)) held a quarter share. In addition each tenement held a close in severalty (named on Map 9b) and one close called Gill Close. These several closes can be identified on the Tithe Plan and it is assumed that the nucleus of shared arable and meadow land is represented by the remainder of the land assigned to tenements in Over Coulderton in Brown's Survey of 1758.

Middle Coulderton (numbers: 12-15)

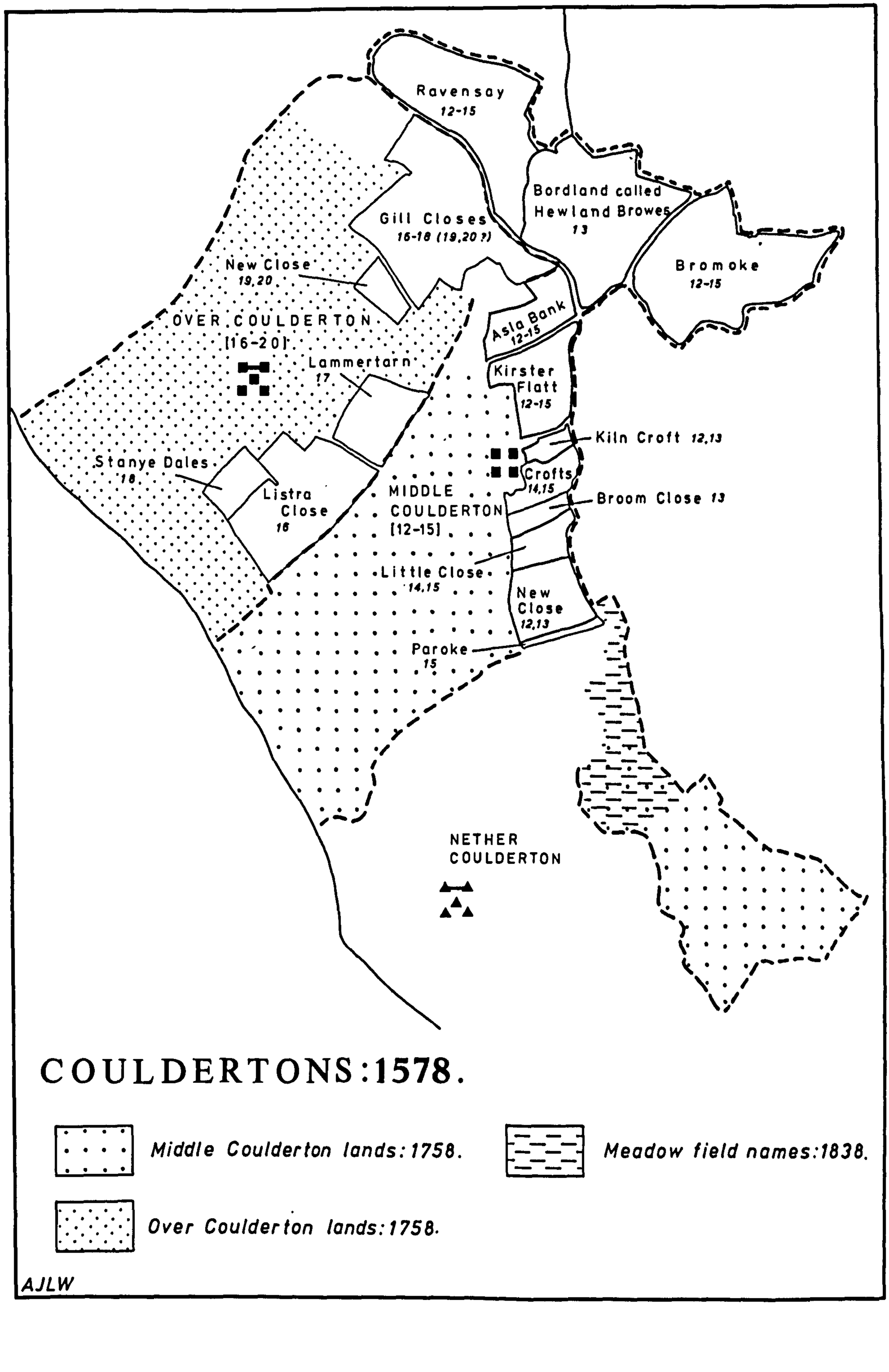
A similar regularity of land tenure is found at Middle Coulderton. Here the 4 tenements (each paying 10s 10d yearly rent) shared equally a field of arable land called Brode field (120 cust. acres; c190 stat. acres; c78 ha); "the burnt hewes of Bromoke and Ravensay" (56 cust. acres; c90 stat. acres; c36 ha); a close of meadow (4 cust. acres; c6 stat. acres; 2.5 ha); and two closes called Kirster flatt (10 cust. acres; c16 stat. acres; 6.5 ha) and Asla bank (6 cust. acres; c10 stat. acres; 4 ha). Several of these have been identified from Tithe Plan field-names and are shown on Map 9b. As at Over Coulderton, the large common arable field cannot be located precisely but its identification with those fields named in Brown's Survey of 1758 but not listed in the 1578 Survey seems probable. In addition, each tenement also held one or more closes in severalty.

It should be noted that, although the bulk of Middle Coulderton's land lay in a compact block around the farmsteads (as at Over Coulderton), the "burnt hewes of Bromoke and Ravensay" appear to lie in a separate block N. of the hamlet. Similarly, Brown's Survey of 1758, and the Middle Coulderton Outfield Enclosure Agreement of 1794 assign a block of land called Outbeck, situated at a distance from the bulk of the hamlet's territory, to the tenements at Middle Coulderton. It is not clear whether Outbeck is included in the description of the hamlet in 1578.

Appendix B: Map 9(a).



Appendix B: Map 9(b).



Appendix B: Map 10.

Map 10

RECONSTRUCTION OF OUTFIELDS, LOWSIDE QUARTER

The 1578 Survey of tenements at Ehenside, Troddasike (now Rothersyke) and Sneelinges (now Snellings) (Survey: ff 104-5) describes the majority of tenements as a number of named several closes or shares in named fields plus an acreage of Outfield land or land in the Outfield. The total acreage of such land is as follows:-

		Named fields			Outfield		
		c.a.	(s.a.)	(ha.)	c.a.	(s.a.)	(ha.)
Ehenside	(6 tenements)	68	(109)	(44)	89	(142)	(58)
Rothersyke	(2 ")	43	(69)	(28)	7	(11)	(4.5)
Snellings	(2 ")	75	(120)	(49)	56	(90)	(36)

By tracing the history of these tenements through to the mid-18th century and by comparing the description of them in Brown's Survey of 1758 (Egremont Lordship) with that in 1578 it has been possible tentatively to reconstruct the Outfield areas mentioned in the earlier survey. Brown's Survey of the area is detailed, listing individual fields by name and it is assumed that fields additional to those named in 1578 are to be explained as a more detailed listing of land included under the umbrella term "Outfield" in the earlier survey. Comparison of Brown's Survey with the Egremont and Lowside Quarter Tithe Plans of 1842 and 1838 (C.R.O. DRC/8/68 & 122) then enables cartographic reconstruction of these different categories of land.

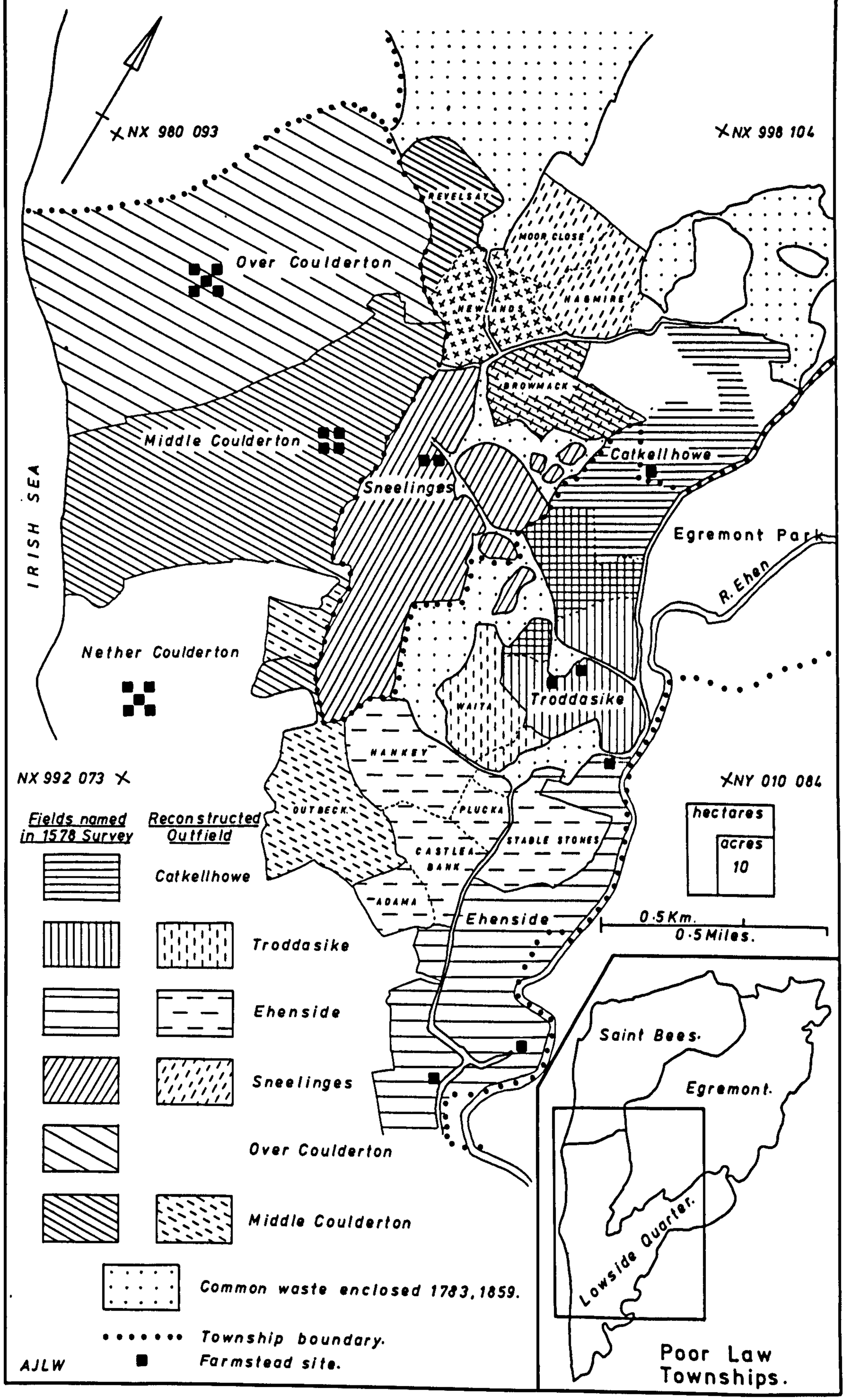
The land described as "Outfield" in 1578 is found to lie in two blocks:-

a) north of Snellings, divided into 4 units (each represented in 1842 by a number of fields) named Moor Close, Hagmire, Hewlands and Browmack. The tenements at Snellings appear to have had an interest in all four units, but, as suggested in Map 9, the tenants of Middle Coulderton appear to have held land in Hewlands and Browmack.

b) north-west of Ehenside, again divided into large units each bearing a distinguishing name: Waita, Hankey, Outbeck, Adama, Castlea Bank, Plucka, Stable Stones. Waita was held by the tenements at Rothersyke, Outbeck by Middle Coulderton (see Map 9), while the remaining blocks formed part of the tenements at Ehenside.

Appendix B: Map 10.

RECONSTRUCTION OF OUTFIELDS: LOWSIDE QUARTER, 1578.



Appendix B: Table I.

Appendix B: Table I Derwentfells: Farm Group Territories, 1578 (Key to Fig. 6.1)

Graveship	Ref.No. (Fig.6.1)	Name:	No. of Tenants	Acreage* Stat. acres	hectares	Rents (regular rent elements underlined)
Lorton	1	Armaside	4	183	74	2 x 13s8d; 13s4d; 13s1d
	2	Low Lorton	(9)	474	192	9s0d; 9s5d; 6s8d; plus tenements held by free tenants
	3	High Lorton	10	250	101	Based on 1649 Survey of Manor of High Lorton (Carlisle Dean & Chapter Muniments: EM/5/1)
	4	Scales	(3)	101	41	11s6d; 5s0d; plus 1 free tenement
	5	Swinside	3	103	42	1 x 12s0d; 2 x 6s0d
Braithwaite and Coledale	1	Powter How	4	90	36	4 x 3s9½d
	2	How End	2	29	12	2 x 5s10d
	3	Great Braithwaite	16	264	107	9s8d; 4s10d; 4s6½d; 4s0½d; 4s2d; 2 x 6s8½d; 10s1½d; 9s9d; 2 x 5s9d; 7s8d; 7s10d; 2s4d; 7s5½d; 8s10d.
	4	Coledale	2	99	40	3s2½d; 2s4½d
	5	Little Braithwaite	4	123	50	10s3d; 10s2½d; 10s3½d; 9s10d
	6	Uzzicar	3	93	38	11s8d; 11s10d; 8s9d
	7	Stonycroft	2	34	14	4s3d; 12s9d
	8	Skellgill	3	107	43	13s10d; 9s6d; 9s2d
	9	Swinside	2	64	26	16s2d; 3s3½d
	10	Parkside	2	Insufficient survival of field names to allow reconstruction		8d; 12d
	11	Waterend	2			4s10d; 4s8d
	12	Ullock	4	150	61	4 x 24s6d
	13	Portinscales	4	Reconstruction not possible		5s8d; 7s2d; 10s4d; 11s4d
Rogersett	1	Keskadale	3	167	68	1 x 18s0d; 2 x 9s0d
	2	Snab	8	253	102	2 x 4s9d; 14s6d; 7s5d; 6s6d; 6s7½d; 7s8½d; 9s0½d
	3	Birkrigg	3	104	42	12s5d; 6s3d; 6s5d
	4	Little Town	8	104	42	8s0d; 6s5d; 6s3d; 9s10d; 5s4d; 8s3½d; 7s 0d; 8s 6d.
Buttermere	1	Buttermere	11	188	76	2 x 5s7½d; 2 x 7s2d; 2 x 7s1½d; 6s6½d; 11s10½d; 5s4d; 6s2½d; 3s2½d; 11s6½d; 17s1½d
	2	Gatesgarth	4	365	148	4 x 36s4d

*acreage based on reconstructed farm group territory rather than acreage given in 1578 survey as many of these appear to be approximate, estimated acreages only.

Appendix B: Table II.

Appendix B. Table II — Examples of Farm Group Territories in Lowland Copeland

Location	Name	No. of Tenants	Acreage Acres	Acreage Hectares	Rents (regular rent elements underlined)
Mockerkin & Sosgill, 1578[1]	Mockerkin	10	520	210	4 x 6s2d; 2 x 7s2d; 12s3d; 15s7d; 15s3½d; 8s2d
	Sosgill	4	186	75	2 x 9s7½d; 11s3d; 9s11½d
Egremont and Lowside Quarter, 1578[2] (see Maps 9 & 10)	Over Coulderton	5	250	101	3 x 10s0d; 2 x 5s0d
	Middle Coulderton	4	317	128	4 x 10s10d
	Snellings	2	185	75	2 x 11s8d
	Ehenside	6	258	104	2 x 6s8d; 10s8d; 6s2d; 7s11d; 10s0d
Calder Lordship, 1611[3]	High Sellafield	7	297	120	5 x 7s0d; 2 x 3s6d
	Low Sellafield	7	344	139	2 x 10s0d; 3 x 6s8d; 2 x 3s4d
	Yottenfews	4	288	117	2 x 11s8d; 2 x 10s0d

Sources:

1. 1578 Survey; f. 168-169
2. ibid; f. 102-104
3. C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Calder Lordship: copy of Survey of Lordship in 1611. This can be related to plan and survey of the lordship in 1793 (in same archive) to allow approximate reconstruction of farm group territories on the ground.

Appendix B: Table III

Buttermere: Analysis of Rents, 1578, 1547 (see Map 2)

1578 (Survey; ff 170-172)			1547 (C.R.O. D/Lec/314/38)			Basic Rent Unit?
Tenant	Description (ten.= tenement)	Rent:	Rent:	Description:	Tenant	
i) Gatesgarth (Map 2; nos: 1-8)						
C.Hudson	ten. Gateskarth	36s4d	70s0d	½ ten. called Gaitscarth	R.Hudson & P.Hudson	Gatesgarth: 140s0d
"	½ ten. "	18s2d	2s0d	½ Byrknesfeld	" " "	Birknessfield:4s0d
R.Hudson	½ ten. "	36s4d	70s0d	½ ten. called Gaitscarth	widows of A.Hudson & J.Hudson	
"	½ ten. "	18s2d				
J.Hudson,jnr.	parcel of Gateskarth i.e. 4 x 36s4d	36s4d	2s0d	½ Byrknesfeld	" " "	
			i.e. 4 x 36s0d			
ii) Buttermere Village (Map 2; nos: 10-15,18,22-28)						
J.Norman	ten. (no: 12)	17s1½d	8s8½d	ten. called Hollegarthe	R.Norman	8s 8½d
			8s4½d	ten.	" "	16s 9½d
J.Brathwate	ten. (no: 15)	11s6½d	8s4½d	ten.	J.Braythwayt	
			3s1½d	ten.	" " "	6s2½d
J.Fletcher,yngr	½ house (no: 18)	3s2½d	3s1½d	ten.	J.Fletcher	12s5d
R.Fletcher,elder	ten. (no: 14)	6s2½d	6s2½d	ten.	R.Fletcher	6s2½d
R.Fletcher,yngr	½ ten: (no: 13)	5s4d	5s3½d	part ten.	A.Fletcher	10s7½d
J.Norman	2 tens. (no: 10)	11s10½d	5s3½d	ten.	R.Norman	
T.Norman,yngr	ten. (no: 26)	6s6½d	6s7d, 6s7d	13s1d ten.	R.Norman & C.Norman	13s1d
T.Norman,elder	½ ten. (no: 27)	5s7½d	5s7½d	½ ten.	Rich.Norman	11s3d
R. Norman	½ ten. (no: 28)	5s7½d	5s7½d	½ ten.	Robt.Norman	
T.Peele, elder	½ ten.+ ½ ten. at Yate (no:22)	7s1d+1d	7s1d+1d	ten.	T.Peylle,jun.	14s4d
T.Peele,yngr	½ ten.+ ½ ten. at Yate (no:23)	7s2d	7s2d	part ten.	J.Peylle	
P.Peele,yngr	½ ten.+ ½ ten. at Yate (no:24)	7s1½d	7s1½d	ten.	T.Peylle,senr	14s3d
R.Cowper,for wife	½ ten.+ ½ ten. at Yate (no:25)	7s1½d	7s1½d	part ten.	W.Peylle	
iii) Farms peripheral to Buttermere village						
J.Hudson,elder	ten. called Bolderbeck & High House (no:9)	11s2d	10s4d, 10d	ten. called Bolderdaille & Heighous Improvement	J.& P.Hudson	
R.Dicson	ten. called Spout house (no:16)	6s0d	4s7d, 1s2d	ten. called Spoutclosse Improvement	J.Dixon	
J.Fletcher	½ ten. (no:17)	7s0d	7s0d	ten. called Soirescailbanks	J.Fletcher	14s.0d
W.Peele	½ ten. (no:19)	7s0d	7s0d	part ten.called Soirescailbanks	T.Peylle	
T.Peele	ten. called House in the Wood (no:20)	8s0d	8s0d	ten.called Woode	A.Hudson	

Note: Payment of Walking silver

1578 Survey (f.172r) lists sums of: 4s 10d walking silver paid by all the tenants of Buttermere village.
2s 7d walking silver from the tenants of Gatesgarth, Bowderbeck, Spout House, Wood House and Sorekill Bank.

1547 Court Book (f.lxxi) and earlier ministers' accounts (C.R.O. D/Lec/29/passim) make it clear that the latter sum (2s 7d) was paid to the grave of Buttermere, while the 4s 10d was paid to the grave of Braithwaite.

SOURCES

1. ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office, 6 vols. HMSO, 1890-1915.
Alnwick	Duke of Northumberland's archive housed in Alnwick Castle.
Cal. IPMS	Calendar of Inquisitiones post mortem (Henry III - Edward III), 14 vols. 1904-1954.
Close Rolls	Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1237-1509: Edward I, 5 vols., 1900-1908; Edward II, 4 vols., 1892-1898; Edward III, 14 vols., 1896-1913.
Cockersand	Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey of the Premonstratensian Order, 6 parts, ed. W. Farrer (Chetham Soc. N.S. Vols. 38, 39, 43, 56, 57; 64), 1898-1909.
Court Book, 1547	C.R.O. D/Lec/314/38.
C.R.O.	Cumberland Record Office, The Castle, Carlisle.
CW_1	Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society; Old Series, 1866-1900.
CW_2	ibid. New Series, 1901 onwards.
DKR	Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.
Dugdale	Sir W. Dugdale : Monasticon Anglicanum, 6 vols., London, 1817-30.
FF Cumb.	F. H. M. Parker: "A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Cumberland from their commencement to the accession of Henry VII". CW_2: vii, 216-261 (1907).
Fountains	W. T. Lancaster: Abstracts of . . . the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains, 2 vols., Leeds, 1915.
Furness	J. C. Atkinson (ed.): The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey (Vol. I), 3 parts, 1886-1887 (Chetham Soc. N.S. Vols. 9, 11, 14). J. Brownbill (ed.): The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey (Vol. II), 3 parts, 1915-1919 (Chetham Soc. N.S. Vols. 74, 76, 78).

Sources

HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
HMC Rep	Historical Manuscript Commission Reports.
Holm Cultram	F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood: The Register and Records of Holm Cultram, Kendal, 1929 (CW Record Series, Vol. vii). Reference is made to charter number, not page number.
IPMR	Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem sive Escaetarum, Henry III - Richard III, 4 Vols. Record Commission, 1806-1828.
Lucy Cart.	"The Lucy Cartulary"; 15th-century copy in C.R.O. D/Lec/299a; 16th-century copy in ibid: 301.
N.R.O.	Northumberland County Record Office, Melton Park, Gosforth, Tyne and Wear.
Patent Rolls	Calendar of the patent rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III - Elizabeth I. 1891 - in progress.
PNC	The Place-Names of Cumberland, 3 Vols. - see Armstrong, Mawer, Stenton and Dickens, 1950, 1952.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.
Quo Warranto	Placita de Quo Warranto temporibus Edw. I, II & III. Record Commission, 1818.
Rot. Chart.	Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 6 Vols., 1903-1927.
Scotland	Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, ed. by J. Bain. 4 Vols., 1881-1888. Reference is to document number, not page number.
StB	J. Wilson (ed.): The Register of the Priory of St. Bees, Durham, 1915 (Surtees Soc. Vol. 126). Reference is made to charter number, not page number.
StBA	"Illustrative Documents" appended (pp. 497-601) to StB. Reference is to document number, not page number.
Survey, 1578	Survey of Earl of Northumberland's Estates in Cumberland, 1578. C.R.O. D/Lec/301 - see Ch.VI, note 1, and Appendix B.

Sources

VCH - Durham	W. Page (ed.):The Victoria History of the County of Durham, 3 Vols., London, 1905-1928.
VCH - Cumberland	J. Wilson (ed.): The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland, 2 Vols., London, 1901, 1905.
W.R.O.	Westmorland Record Office, County Hall, Kendal.

2. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES: MAJOR COLLECTIONS AND KEY DOCUMENTS

Repository:	Reference and Description:
Alnwick	X.II.3.4.a. - Incomplete 14th-century enrolment of documents concerning Lordship of Egremont, including:- partition of lordship between heiresses of J. de Multon, 1338 (incomplete) (cf. Close Rolls Ed III: iv; 476-9; 486-7; 494-6); Quo Warranto pleadings, 1291 (cf. Quo Warranto; 113-114); De teolonis domini de Coupland ab antiquo (cf. StBA: 30c); agreement c1280 concerning customs of Copeland (cf. StBA: 30b); agreement c1282 between T. de Multon, lord of Egremont and Convent of Calder concerning Forest of Copeland (cf. StBA: 34b); extent of Knights' fees in Copeland on death of J. de Multon, 1334 (cf. P.R.O. C.135/41/1); articuli interno vicomes vel ballivi libertatis.
C.R.O.	D/Lec - Lord Egremont's archive, housed in Cockermouth Castle. Important documents include:- (a) D/Lec/29 - Ministers' Account rolls, Percy estates in Cumberland, 1437-1578. (b) D/Lec/299 - Manorial Court Rolls, Derwentfells and Five Towns Courts Capital, 1473-1595. (c) D/Lec/299a - 15th-century copy of the "Lucy Cartulary" (16th-century copy in D/Lec/301). (d) D/Lec/300 - Brown's Survey of Earl of Egremont's estates in Cumberland, 1758. Written survey of very variable detail assessing annual value of customary tenements prior to enfranchisement. (e) D/Lec/301 - Survey of Earl of Northumberland's estates in Cumberland, 1578 (see Ch.VI, note 1 and Appendix B).

(f) D/Lec/311-314 - General Fine Books and records of Admittances and Surrenders, Percy Estates in Cumberland, 1616-1750.
(g) D/Lec/314/38 - 1547 Court Book - rental of Percy estates in Cumberland, drawn up at General Fine on death of Henry VIII (estates then in Crown hands).

D/Lons/W - Earl of Lonsdale's archive from Whitehaven estate office, deposited in C.R.O. Important documents include:-
(a) Rental of estates of Thos. Curwen, 30 Henry VI (1451/2); viz: Thornthwaite, Calder, Workington (D/Lons/W/Seaton Title Deeds - Ex Box 34).
(b) Millom Court Book, 1510-1523, including pp.1-50 - proceedings of byelaw courts (birelagium) held in Seignory of Millom, 5-6 Henry VIII; pp.51-70 - rental of John Hudiston, Knt, Lord of Millom, 1510; pp.73-84 - proceedings of Millom Court Capital, 24 April, 1511, including customs of Manor of Millom (D/Lons/W/Millom papers).
(c) Rental of Estates of Thomas, Lord Wharton, 15 January 1560, including Manors of Dean and Whinfell (D/Lons/Wharton Manors/Bundle 1).

DRC/8 - Cumberland Tithe Commutation Awards and Plans.

QRE/1 - Cumberland Enclosure Awards.

Lancs. R.O. Preston — Archdeaconry of Richmond, Deanery of Copeland probate inventories.

P.R.O.

C.133-C.135 - Inquisitiones post mortem Edw.I-Edw.III.
C.143 - Inquisitiones ad quod damnum Edw.I-Edw.III.
E.167/37 - Survey of Estates of Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in Cumberland and elsewhere, by Edmund Hall and William Hombertson, by Commission dated 18 March 1569/70.
E.179/90/9 - Nonarum inquisitio for Cumberland, 1340.
E.179/90/22 - Cumberland Lay Subsidy Roll, 1340.
JUST/1/132 - Cumberland Assize Roll, 6, Edw.I (1278/9).
S.C.6/824/6-18 - Ministers' Accounts, Fortibus estate in Honour of Cockermouth, 1266-1318.
S.C.11/730 - m1 - Extent of Cumberland estates of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albermarle on his death, 1259.
S.C.11/730 - m9-15 - Extent of Manor of Cockermouth in possession of Isabella, Countess of Albermarle, c1270.

3. PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

(a) General

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Fountains - Abstracts of . . . the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains, 2 Vols., ed. W. T. Lancaster, Leeds, 1915.

Furness - The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, Vol. I, 3 parts, ed. J. C. Atkinson, Chetham Soc. N.S. Vols. 9, 11, 14 (1886-1887). ibid. Vol. II, 3 parts, ed. J. Brownbill, Chetham Soc. N.S. Vols. 74, 76, 78 (1915-1919).

Holm Cultram - The Register and Records of Holm Cultram, calendared by F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood. CW Record Series, Vol. VII (1929).

St. Bees - The Register of the Priory of St. Bees, ed. J. Wilson, Surtees Soc. Vol. 126 (1915).

(c) Surveys

Durham - Bishop Hatfield's Survey (1381) ed. W. Greenwell. Surtees Soc, Vol. 32 (1857)

- Parliamentary Surveys of the Bishopric of Durham, Volume I, ed. D. A. Kirby, Surtees Soc. Vol. 183 (1971)

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