



December 1997

---

**NORTH WEST WATER HAWESWATER  
ESTATE  
Cumbria**

**Archaeological Survey Report  
Volume 1**

---

Commissioned by:

**Lake District National Park Authority  
and North West Water Limited**

North West Water's  
Haweswater Estate

Cumbria

---

Archaeological Survey Report

Volume 1

Report no 1997-98/030/AUA7727 code

Checked by Project Manager. ..... Date
Passed for submission to client. ..... Date

© Lancaster University Archaeological Unit  
Storey Institute  
Meeting House Lane  
Lancaster  
LA1 1TH

December 1997

---

## CONTENTS

---

### VOLUME 1

<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Summary.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>7</b>
1.1 The Haweswater Estate.....	7
1.2 Project Background .....	7
1.3 Project Aims .....	7
1.4 Work Undertaken.....	8
1.5 Survey Report .....	9
<b>2. Methodology .....</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Project Design.....	10
2.2 Desk-Based Study.....	10
2.3 Identification Survey .....	15
2.4 Detail Survey .....	16
2.5 Gazetteer .....	16
2.6 Site grading.....	16
2.7 Archive .....	17
<b>3. Physical Background .....</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 Location .....	18
3.2 Solid Geology .....	18
3.3 Economic Geology .....	19
3.4 Glacial Drift and soils .....	20
3.5 Land Use.....	20
<b>4. Archaeological and Historical Background.....</b>	<b>22</b>
4.1 Early Medieval: Fifth to Eleventh Centuries AD .....	22
4.2 Medieval: Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries.....	25
4.3 Shap and Bampton from the Fourteenth Centuries.....	34
4.4 Post-Medieval .....	39
4.5 Roads and Bridges .....	43
4.6 Medieval and Post-medieval Industries .....	46
4.7 The Construction of the Reservoirs .....	51
<b>5. Identification Survey Results .....</b>	<b>53</b>
5.1 Introduction.....	53
5.2 Bronze Age .....	53
5.3 Iron Age .....	54
5.4 Romano-British.....	55
5.5 Medieval .....	56
5.6 Post Medieval .....	56
5.7 Industrial .....	57
5.8 Water Management.....	57

5.9 Summary .....	58
<b>6. Detail Survey Results .....</b>	<b>60</b>
6.1 Introduction .....	60
6.2 Askham Fell .....	60
6.3 Kettle Crag Round Cairn (H19) .....	62
6.4 Towtop Kirk Enclosure (H556) .....	62
6.5 Intack Sike Cairn (H139) .....	63
6.6 Wet Sleddale .....	63
<b>7. The Development of the Landscape .....</b>	<b>68</b>
7.1 Introduction .....	68
7.2 Prehistoric .....	68
7.3 Iron age-Romano-British .....	70
7.4 Early Medieval .....	71
7.5 Medieval/ Post-Medieval .....	71
7.6 Industrial Landscapes .....	74
<b>8. Recommendations For Further Work .....</b>	<b>76</b>
8.1 Detail Survey .....	76
<b>9. Bibliography .....</b>	<b>79</b>
9.1 Aerial Photographs .....	79
9.2 Primary Sources .....	79
9.3 Published Cartographic Sources .....	81
9.4 Sources Located But Not Seen .....	82
9.5 Secondary Sources .....	83
<b>Illustrations.....</b>	<b>92</b>
Fig 1. Haweswater Estate Location Map	
Fig 2. Figure Location Diagram	
Fig 3. Site Distribution Map	
Fig 4. North West Sector - Site Location Map	
Fig 5. North East Sector - Site Location Map	
Fig 6. South West Sector - Site Location Map	
Fig 7. South Central Sector - Site Location Map	
Fig 8. South East Sector - Site Location Map	
Fig 9. Detail Surveys - Location Map	
Fig 10. Sites H2 and H10 - Detail Survey	
Fig 11. Site H2 - Detail Survey	
Fig 12. Site H10 (The Knotts) - Detail Survey	
Fig 13. Sites H5, H6, H9, H13 and H14 - Detail Survey	
Fig 14. Sites H139, H140 and H556 - Detail Survey	
Fig 15. Towtop Kirk - Site H556 Detail Survey	
Fig 16. Sites H139 and H140 - Detail Survey	
Fig 17. Wet Sleddale Survey - Site H954	
Fig 18. Buck Park Detail Survey - Sites H955-7	
Fig 19. Prehistoric Site Distribution	
Fig 20. Medieval Site Distribution	
Fig 21. Post-Medieval Site Distribution	



- Fig 22. OS 2nd edition 6" to 1mile map of Mardale  
Fig 23. Mardale Archaeological Survey 1989 - North Map  
Fig 24. Mardale Archaeological Survey 1989 - South Map  
Fig 25. Mardale Excavations 1989 - Trench Location Map

## **VOLUME 2**

### **Appendix 1**

Project Brief

### **Appendix 2**

Project Design

### **Appendix 3**

LUAU Survey Levels

### **Appendix 4**

Identification Survey Site Gazetteer

### **Appendix 5**

Wet Sleddale Detail Survey Gazetteer

### **Appendix 6**

Table of Prehistoric Sites

### **Appendix 7**

Table of Medieval Sites

### **Appendix 8**

Archaeological Investigations in Mardale, Cumbria 1989

---

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

Lancaster University Archaeological Unit (LUAU) wish to thank Peter Guy of North West Water Limited for arranging access to the estate. Thanks also go to Dr John Day, the RSPB warden at Haweswater who advised us on ecologically sensitive areas of the estate. We are particularly grateful to John Hodgson of the Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA), who provided considerable assistance and support throughout the project and provided invaluable oblique aerial photographs of the study area.

LUAU is grateful to the staff of Cumbria Record Office, especially Barbara Clark and David Bowcock (Carlisle), and to Ken Harrison, Lancaster University Library (geography) for help in locating and accessing sources. We are grateful to Bette Hopkins, the Cumbria Sites and Monuments Officer, who provided us with much helpful information. Dr Angus Winchester, Dept of History, Lancaster University, helped to translate a number of documents. Geoff Fance and Juliet Wharton of North West Water's Title Research Centre, Risley, went to considerable trouble to list relevant deed collections, and prepare a composite guide map. Mike Davies-Shiel sent an annotated map of his discoveries, spanning a 20+ year period of research. David Bridge and Dave Banks of the West Cumbria Mines Research Group kindly sent copies of reports on mines research on the fringes of Haweswater.

The identification fieldwork was undertaken by Andrew Croft, Mark Fletcher, Imogen Grunden, Nick Hair, David Hodgkinson, Graham Mottershead, Jamie Quartermaine, Ian Scott, and Chris Wild. The documentary studies were undertaken by Jeremy Ashbee, Nick Hair, and Nigel Neil. The detail surveys were undertaken by Andrew Croft, Graham Mottershead, Ian Scott and Richard Short.

The report was written by Andrew Croft, Nick Hair, Jamie Quartermaine, and Ian Scott, and compiled by Ian Scott. Illustrations were by Andrew Croft, Nick Hair, Graham Mottershead, Jane Robson, and Ian Scott. The report was edited by Jamie Quartermaine and Richard Newman. The overall project management was by Jamie Quartermaine.

The 1989 Mardale investigation report (Appendix 8) was prepared by David Johnson, in conjunction with Bette Hopkins and Jamie Quartermaine.

The project was funded by North West Water Limited and LDNPA.

---

## SUMMARY

---

Lancaster University Archaeological Unit (LUAU), at the request of the Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA) and North West Water Ltd (NWW), was commissioned to undertake an archaeological evaluation of the NWW Haweswater Estate. The project was designed to identify archaeological remains within the study area and particular attention was given to the archaeological development of the area. This was undertaken in order to enhance the existing archaeological information contained within NWW's Haweswater Estate Integrated Land Use and Management Plan, and to inform future management decisions with regard to conservation matters relating to the archaeological and historical content of the estate's landscape.

A systematic identification survey programme was established in order that individual monuments could be rapidly assessed and their location recorded. This was undertaken over three separate phases, spanning a period of three years, beginning in 1995.

A desk-top study was undertaken, which was primarily targeted at the identification of sites within the study area but also provided a historical background. This study collated the results of earlier phases of survey work undertaken within the estate, particularly by LUAU (in 1989 and 1984/5) and the results were incorporated within the gazetteer.

The field survey involved systematic field-walking of the enclosed and upland landscapes of the estate, but excluded areas of extreme altitude or slope. All sites were located using a Global Position System (GPS) receiver and the resulting digital data was manipulated within a CAD system (FastCAD) and superimposed with Ordnance Survey digital topographic data, supplied, under licence, by LDNPA. The description and assessment of the monuments were recorded within a database (Microsoft Access). The results are presented in gazetteer form, within which the extent, character and form of individual monuments is examined and a summary assessment of the data is presented in conjunction with an investigation of the landscapes character and development.

The survey identified 1025 sites, representing activity from the Neolithic to the Post-Medieval periods and for the most part they represent the fossilised remains of a predominately agricultural landscape. The first season of fieldwork recorded 140 monuments, the second 413 monuments, and the third 407 monuments; prior to this study only 65 monuments had been recorded within the Sites and Monuments Record.

Most evidence for Prehistoric activity within the designated area comprised the remains of Bronze Age funerary cairns and cairnfields. The most common form of funerary monument was the Round Cairn, which typically dates from the Bronze Age, and were generally situated on isolated summits. Small localised cairnfields were also identified, particularly in the northern and southern areas of the estate. Their form and close spatial relationships with Bronze Age funerary monuments would suggest that many of these were broadly contemporary with the funerary monuments.

A limited number of Iron Age settlements were identified, which included two enclosed sites, one of which was discovered during the survey, and a hill fort at Castle Crag, north of

Haweswater. This hillfort is typical of others identified within the Lake District which are often located on remote inaccessible summits.

Romano-British activity within the study area is largely associated with the construction of High Street Roman road in the west of the study area, which ran between the forts at Ambleside (*Galava*) and Brougham (*Brocavvm*). There are a number of Romano-British settlements just outside the study area, on Askham Fell and within Lowther Park, but none were identified within the study area.

Medieval settlement is relatively well represented within the study area and was based around two main centres. The Premonstratensian Abbey at Shap, held land over the southern and eastern parts of the study area, including the Swindale valley. The central and, to a lesser extent, the northern part of the study area was centred upon Mardale and the Haweswater valley. Medieval monuments include the relict remains of circular field systems, located in the valley bottoms, a possible grange and the remains of peat cutting activity. As there was relatively little Post-medieval enclosure of the Commons, the Medieval landscape survives relatively intact in these areas.

Post-medieval activity within the study area reflects, for the most part, a continuation of the earlier settlement patterns although there is also some small-scale industrial activity. Monuments identified include field systems, sheepfolds, bields, and quarries. The major Post-medieval influence upon the landscape was the construction of the reservoirs at Haweswater and Wet Sleddale which, to an extent, encouraged the fossilisation of landscapes, within the estate, that pre-dated their construction. The submerged village of Mardale would appear to have been an economic focus for the north and central sections of the study area, and its removal has inhibited agricultural development of the area. Being a catchment area for reservoirs the development of the upland estate has been discouraged by the water authorities - situation which as a by-product has encouraged the preservation of the archaeological landscape.

Management of the water resource within the study area has meant the appearance of a specific group of industrial monuments, including underground reservoirs, navy camps and the reservoir dams themselves.

Following recommendations from interim reports of previous phases of the identification survey, detailed surveys were carried out at selected sites, including Bronze Age round cairns, cairnfields, field systems and two Iron Age enclosed settlements.

The current survey, alongside earlier work, has highlighted the considerable range and quality of the archaeological resource surviving within the estate. It has provided an opportunity to enhance the existing archaeological information contained in the NWW Haweswater Estate Integrated Land Use and Management Plan and provides for the management of a valuable archaeological resource.

---

## 1. INTRODUCTION

---

### 1.1 THE HAWESWATER ESTATE

- 1.1.1 The Haweswater Estate comprises some 97km<sup>2</sup> of predominantly upland landscape, centred on the Haweswater Reservoir, which is owned by North West Water Ltd (NWW) (Fig 1). It is situated on the eastern side of the Lake District National Park, between the Ullswater and Sleddale valleys. It is primarily managed as a water catchment, but the estate is also let as a number of agricultural tenancies. It comprises 56km<sup>2</sup> common land, 3.5km<sup>2</sup> enclosed farmland, 2km<sup>2</sup> woodland, and 4km<sup>2</sup> are under water.

### 1.2 PROJECT BACKGROUND

- 1.2.1 Lancaster University Archaeological Unit (LUAU) was commissioned to undertake an Archaeological Identification Survey of the Haweswater Estate in February 1995 at the request of the Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA) working to the brief issued by LDNPA in November 1994 (*Appendix 1*) and a project design (*Appendix 2*) produced by LUAU in January 1995. The work was funded jointly by NWW and LDNPA.

### 1.3 PROJECT AIMS

- 1.3.1 The prime aim of the survey was to enhance the existing archaeological information contained within NWW's Haweswater Estate Integrated Land Use and Management Plan (section 5.11), and to inform future management decisions with regard to conservation matters relating to the archaeological and historical content of the estate's landscape.
- 1.3.2 The aims of the project were as follows:
- a) to gather sufficient information to establish the location, extent character, period, condition, fragility and potential of the surviving, or previously extant archaeological and historical features on the Haweswater Estate;
  - b) to provide an assessment of the survey results in order to identify any further work required for management purposes and indicate the potential for archaeological research;
  - c) to provide a preliminary grading of all recorded sites and features intended to indicate relative significance;
  - d) to provide a basis for detailed management prescriptions by the National Park Archaeologist;
  - e) to provide information for display and interpretation.
- 1.3.3 In order to fulfil the above criteria, the project was divided into four elements: desk-based research, field identification survey, detailed survey, and synthetic report.

## 1.4 WORK UNDERTAKEN

- 1.4.1 **Desk-Based Study:** The documentary research, like the other elements of the project, was targeted at the rapid identification of sites, or possible sites, of archaeological or historical importance and setting them in their historical context. It examined records for the entire study area, and (as a result of the nature of the records) its immediate periphery.
- 1.4.2 In order to optimise the collection of information within the time constraints of the project, the study consulted the county SMR and other relevant databases, easily accessible cartographic sources, aerial photographs, and other published and unpublished sources. Telephone and written contact was made with a number of authorities, where appropriate.
- 1.4.3 Following on from the identification survey a more generalised desk-based study was undertaken to examine the historical development of the study area.
- 1.4.4 **Identification Survey:** this survey was carried out in three separate phases. The first was undertaken in February and March 1995, the second between November 1995 and March 1996, and the final phase was conducted during April and May 1997. This sub-division was influenced by a number of ecological constraints, the pattern of vegetation growth within the study area; the requirement to minimise disturbance to areas of ecological interest (established from the NWW's Haweswater Estate Integrated Land Use and Management Plan), and the avoidance of enclosed land during sensitive seasons to minimise disruption to livestock and disturbance of raptor nesting areas during the breeding season.
- 1.4.5 The documentary study of the designated area identified the known monuments. This was followed by fieldwork comprising systematic surface examination, and the detailed recording of the antiquities identified, including location by the use of a Global Positioning System (GPS) survey.
- 1.4.6 Following the first two seasons an interim report was produced which summarised and assessed the results of that phase (LUAU 1995 and 1996), and made initial recommendations with regard to those areas that required more detailed analysis. At the end of the third phase of work a this final report was produced synthesising and presenting the total results of all three seasons.
- 1.4.7 **Detailed survey:** during the third phase of the identification survey a first tranche of detailed survey was also undertaken. This was concentrated upon monuments identified during the first phase enabling a more detailed record of their development to be produced. This took place in May 1997.

## 1.5 SURVEY REPORT

- 1.5.1 This report presents the results of three phases of survey. It comprises two volumes, the report synthesis (Vol 1), and the gazetteer (Vol 2).
- 1.5.2 **Volume 1:** this presents a summary of the findings during this phase of work and also work undertaken previously by LUAU as part of the Lake District National Park Survey and the Mardale Excavation and Survey (1989). It discusses the archaeological potential of individual sites within the estate, concentrating on those considered to be of most significance. It draws attention to any sites under threat and suggests measures to safeguard their integrity, should their archaeological significance warrant action. It goes on to consider the results of the survey within the broader context of regional and national archaeological priorities. The potential for further archaeological fieldwork is examined both in relation to individual sites and for the estate as a whole, presented in the form of a prioritised list. Volume 1 includes the illustrations.
- 1.5.3 **Volume 2:** this comprises a gazetteer listing of all monuments recorded in the field, providing appropriate description, alongside a graded assessment of survival, condition, actual and potential archaeological significance of the resource.

---

## 2. METHODOLOGY

---

### 2.1 PROJECT DESIGN

- 2.1.1 The survey was carried out in accordance with a project design and specification prepared by LUAU and submitted to NWW and LDNPA in January 1995. This specification is reproduced in *Appendix 1*. The project design was prepared in response to a brief compiled by LDNPA and issued on behalf of NWW.

### 2.2 DESK-BASED STUDY

- 2.2.1 The documentary research covered the entire study area. The deskbased work was undertaken prior to each season of fieldwork.
- 2.2.2 The documentary study examined records held at Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle branch (CRO Carlisle), Cumbria Record Office, Kendal branch (CRO Kendal), Manchester Central Library, and Lancaster University Library. Material at Cumbria Record Office, Whitehaven branch was studied from typescript catalogue extracts. Material held by North West Water's Title Research Centre, Risley, Warrington, was also studied from photocopied extracts.
- 2.2.3 **Cumbria SMR:** the database information held by LDNP at the outset of the project was enhanced by a search of Cumbria SMR prior to the first season of fieldwork, but further sites in the study area have been accessioned by Cumbria SMR in the intervening period. A summary listing of all sites within a rectangular block including the study area was requested. Of the 231 sites recognised in the documentary study, 82 were already known to Cumbria SMR.
- 2.2.4 **National Monuments Record:** a search of the NMR Monarch database, together with information on listed buildings, was requested from the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Swindon, and correlated to the Cumbria SMR list. Within the study area, the search produced 36 sites, of which 21 were known to the Cumbria SMR. Those unknown to the Cumbria SMR were mostly standing or ruined buildings, together with two Neolithic and Bronze Age findspots. In almost every instance the NMR was able to add some information to the Cumbria SMR data.
- 2.2.5 **Ordnance Survey:** the first edition (OS 1863), and second edition (OS 1899) Ordnance Survey 6":1 mile maps were studied. Many sites shown by the OS were already known, but a number of boundary markers, sheepfolds, and some standing buildings had not been accessioned by either Cumbria SMR or NMR. There was only coverage of 1:2,500 1st and 2nd edition OS mapping (c1863 and 1899 respectively) for the areas of Mardale and the north-east shore of Haweswater as far as could be determined from the collection in Cumbria Record Office (Kendal and Carlisle branches).
- 2.2.6 The 1899 (2nd) edition OS maps show a high percentage of the prehistoric monuments in the study area, largely as a result of the fieldwork of WG Collingwood (1854-1932), who systematically sent his results to the OS (M Davies-Shiel, pers comm). Sheepfolds are also more numerous on these later editions, possibly because they were newly built.



- 2.2.7 An OS *Book of Reference* of 1861 (CRO(K) WDB/35/Box 16) for Bampton, and OS *Original Name Books* on boundaries and parish names for Westmorland survived the 1940 decimation by bombing of the OS records in Southampton; these are now in the Public Record Office (PRO 1995a, 505/1/1; 1995b, Class OS). Many of these have recently been transferred from the British Library and/or have been re-catalogued by the OS for the PRO (PRO pers comm), and would repay archaeological study, though this is outside the remit for the present project. The relevant classes are PRO OS 34 for 6" maps; OS 35 for 1:2500 maps; OS 23 for Parish Name Books, 1850-1945, including names of principal landowners; OS 26 Boundary Remark Books, 1850-92; OS 27 Boundary Sketch Maps, 1843-92; OS 28 Field Sketch Maps, 1852-69; OS 34 Original Name Books for 6" maps, 1855-66, and OS 35 Original name Books for 1:2500 maps.
- 2.2.8 **Early Printed Maps:** Haweswater, and the area between it and Shap, have always been considered remote and inhospitable, accounting for the lack of detail on early published maps. Saxton (1576), Otley (1827), and Thurnam (nd, c 1830), all show some topographical and place-names, and added one new site, a graphite mine for pencil manufacture (H1024). The lake is not shown on Speed's map (1676), and is omitted from both Crosthwaite's (1783) and Clarke's (1787) surveys.
- 2.2.9 **Manuscript Maps and Deeds:** as with primary documentary sources, manuscript cartographic sources for the study area are relatively scarce. For the purposes of parish boundaries and tenure, the study lies partly in the three townships of Wet Sleddale, Swindale, and Tailbert and Rayside. Field names (ordered by landowner, and then tenant) were extracted from the 1820 enclosure map (CRO Kendal WQR/I/81), and 1842 tithe map and apportionment (CRO(K) WDRC/8/118). The former only covers the fells in outline, as far west as New Ing in Wet Sleddale, and south-west to Wasdale Pike. Only 13 fields in Wet Sleddale, eight in Swindale, and 10 in Tailbert and Rayside, are shown on the tithe map. Both maps are crudely drawn, and, with a few exceptions, it is difficult to confirm whether field boundaries shown on them correspond with the first edition OS 6": 1 mile maps. The enclosure map includes an interesting inset of allotments for turbary (peat cutting) on Shap Common.
- 2.2.10 When Manchester Corporation began to purchase land for the reservoir scheme in 1923, Lord Lonsdale owned a very large amount of the study area (NWW Title Research Centre deeds 40/00001/H 3, 23 Feb 1923), with the remaining land divided into 12 other parcels, which were acquired between 1928 and 1937 (NWW deeds between 40/00001/H 13 and H 37). Unfortunately, although fields have been numbered on the NWW maps, no list of names is available, and few of the deeds contain field names (G Fance and Juliet Wharton, NWW, pers comm). In the huge Lonsdale collection in the CRO (Carlisle), the amount of cartographic material for the study area is disappointingly small. One undated, probably late eighteenth century, manuscript map for Long Fell and Wasdale Head was located (CRO(C) D/Lons/Plans/Box 50/C 172), as was one of a similar date for Knipe Scar and Bampton (CRO(C) D/Lons/Plans/Box 110/Bampton 4). A further series of maps, dated 1875 according to the typescript catalogue, and specifically covering Wet Sleddale and Shap, could not be located by CRO staff.
- 2.2.11 An estate map of 1742 for 'The Carrs', Wet Sleddale (CRO(K) WDX/214) also could not be accessed by CRO staff in the time available. This place does not seem to be

identifiable from the OS first edition 6" maps, or from place-name studies (Smith 1967).

- 2.2.12 Lancaster University Library have a microfilm copy (m/text 4/730) of a very early manuscript map, dated 1578, in the Public Record Office (PRO MPB 61; PRO 1967, p.505, no. 3422), which shows the boundary of Sadgill and Long Sleddale. A number of Mosedale place-names are used as reference points around the perimeter of the map (Harterfell, Gaitsgarth [Gate Scarth], Bransty [Branstreet], and Calestone Knotts), but it is otherwise not relevant to the study area.
- 2.2.13 **Air Photography:** at the suggestion of the LDNPA archaeologist (John Hodgson, pers comm) none of the vertical sorties held by LDNPA were studied for the 1997 season of work although they were for the 1996 and 1995 seasons. Previous experience has shown that small-scale vertical sorties are of limited use in identifying new sites in upland areas. However, parts of two films (28 frames) from a recent (undated) monochrome oblique sortie were relevant, covering the eastern fringes of the study area, including the Tongue Rigg deer pound (H956), parts of Tailbert, Sleddale Grange (H1025), Stone Howe (H928), and the Shap Abbey dyke system and enclosures (H913/9, H914/5; LDNPA F1/2/18-36 and F1/3/29-37).
- 2.2.14 A cover search was obtained from the NMR. Eleven vertical sorties, comprising 143 prints, flown between 1948 (RAF) to 1973 (OS), are held by the NMR. The 1973 sortie is also held by LDNPA. It was not thought worthwhile to obtain copies of the photographs listed at this stage. The NMR have a record of five oblique photographs, taken in 1975-8 by Prof GDB Jones, of Manchester University. These cover Tailbert Head, Sleddale Grange, and New Ing (east of Poor Hag) and largely duplicate LDNPA coverage.
- 2.2.15 **Secondary Documentary Sources:** these were sought for the geology, topography, and history of Shap Rural, Bampton, Wet Sleddale, Swindale, and Tailbert, and where possible copied for the project archive. The search for such material was not intended to be exhaustive, but was nevertheless quite comprehensive. There have been few in-depth historical studies of the area. Nicholson and Burn (1777, 1, 469-81) gave a lengthy description of Shap Abbey, and briefly mentioned Rosgill, Thornthwaite, Mardale, Swindale, Mosedale, Wet Sleddale, and Hardendale and Wasdale. However Whiteside (1904) has shown much of their inferred dating of events to be flawed. Whellan (1860, 806-10) updates Nicholson and Burn slightly, but only the Rev Joseph Whiteside (1904) has written an extensive history of the parish, and this with a strongly religious slant.
- 2.2.16 Curwen's historical survey (1932) was not available at the time of the documentary study and Thompson's (1942) archaeological survey, undertaken in 1928 before flooding of the Haweswater valley began, is restricted largely to Mardale. Thompson, however, includes some extracts from Curwen's work. The RCHME (1936) survey remains useful, though superseded for prehistoric monuments by Turner's (1985; 1991), Cherry and Cherry's (1995) and Quartermaine's (Quartermaine and Leech) work forthcoming, the latter including a palynological study of Wet Sleddale (Chinn and Innes 1995).
- 2.2.17 **Primary Documentary Sources:** these were found to be scattered in a number of collections located predominantly in CRO Carlisle and CRO Whitehaven, the

repositories for the Lonsdale and Curwen archives respectively. Only a few relevant documents, besides the manuscript maps described above, were held at CRO Kendal. Further relevant material is known to be in the CRO Houghton out-store, in largely uncatalogued collections. Manchester Central Library (Local Studies - Archives) have a number of bound volumes of Manchester Corporation Waterworks committee minutes relating specifically to the Haweswater Scheme, and useful scrapbooks of press cuttings, culled from sources countrywide and mostly dated in pen. These items are not photocopyable, and this, combined with MCL's daily document quota system (8 documents maximum per day, per person), makes a rapid study of the remainder of the collection difficult. The MCL reference library stock includes a number of pamphlets about Haweswater, not found elsewhere, and provides a useful précis of the history of the scheme.

- 2.2.18 In the Medieval period, Shap was owned by the de Culwen (Curwen) family (CRO Whitehaven, D/Cu), who held it under the Cliffords, Lords of Westmorland. A number of Curwen documents relating to Shap have been published (Ragg 1909; 1914a and b). However, it is with secondary feoffees, that is the tenants of the Culwens, that we are concerned, since it was often they, with Culwen permission, who granted lands to the Abbey. For the most part the Manor of Rosgill has been ignored in the study, because the Rosgill family is so well documented that discussion of it would dominate the text unnecessarily. See Ragg's (1914a) transcripts, translations, and comment on Rosgill charters for more detail.
- 2.2.19 Unfortunately, as Whiteside (1904, 154) relates, the Chartulary of Shap Abbey seems to have been lost some time after 1638. The editors of Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (originally published 1655-73; ed Caley *et al* 1846, 6(2), 868-70), in which five charters are transcribed, also give references to all the Shap Abbey manuscripts known to 'Tanner' (Thomas Tanner's (1674-1735; first editor of John Leland's *Itinerary*)). In 1638, the lost register was in the possession of Lord William Howard of Naworth. From comparison with other chartularies (eg Wetheral, which runs to 500 pages in transcript), Whiteside (1904, 128) makes it clear that a major historical resource has been lost. Other manuscripts listed by Tanner, however, were (and presumably still are) among the Harleian MSS (now in the British Library), Roger Dodsworth's transcripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the Patent, Close, *Quo Warranto*, and Parliamentary Rolls all now in the PRO, but not all published. The 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (ed Caley and Hunter 1825, 5, 293-8) entry for Shap Abbey, which is mostly concerned with its rectories, does not give enough information to divide the manors within the study area, from those outside it, but records in the Court of Augmentations series in the PRO could supplement this. Of course, these documents relate to the Abbey and its possessions generally, and it is beyond the scope of the project to search these records for mentions of places in the study area, which might not supply useful information. Weston's (1889) historical introduction to the Abbey describes its possessions briefly, including places in the study area, as do Whitwell and Thompson's (1905) annotated transcripts. Bulmer (1885, 366-75) repeats a history of the Abbey, and the neighbouring townships.
- 2.2.20 No Wharton documents have been located either in manuscript or published form, and the published histories of the family (Simpson 1871; Wharton 1902) make little or no reference to Shap. However, the Lonsdale (CRO Carlisle, D/Lons) collections include a small range of early documents, including boundary descriptions of Wet

Sleddale (D/Lons/L5/2/18.15), and court rolls (1626-1883), rentals (1700-43), and lists of tenants (1743-1806) for Wet Sleddale and Rosgill. Only the first of these was found to be sufficiently helpful to merit detailed study. For reasons of time and difficulties of transcription, only two manuscript evidences of title in the D/Lons collection were studied, the majority of the others being identifiable only in the 1941 manuscript catalogue. The documents studied are a charter, between Robert, Abbot of Hepp [Shap] and Gilbert de Culwen, dated 1384 (D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Shap/SH 13), and a 'Foot of Fine' (conveyance of land) between [no first name given] Salkeld (purchaser) and Thomas Barwyke (owner) regarding the Manor of Wetsleddale and free fishing in the River Lowther, dated 1562 (D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Wet Sleddale/SH 26b). There is also a bundle of deeds (dated 1587-1764) relating to Beckside, one of the two farms drowned by Wet Sleddale Reservoir, in the North West Water collection (CRO(C) SNWA/8/7), which were not studied for the same reasons as above.

- 2.2.21 Noble (1912, i-x) prefaces her transcript of the *Registers of the parish of Shap 1559-1830* with a review of Patent Rolls and other State Papers relating to Shap, covering the period c 1236-1450.
- 2.2.22 **Miscellanea:** Whellan (1860, 806) lists the other landowners in Shap parish during his time as Thomas Clarke, Adam Potts, Thomas Wilkinson, James Lewis, Walter Parker, and Major Salmond, and others un-named. No collections specifically relating to these ownership's have been located.
- 2.2.23 The published bibliography by Hodgson (1968, 277), the indices to Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society transactions and the catalogues and staff knowledge at CRO (Carlisle and Whitehaven), were the principal search aids used.
- 2.2.24 John Leland, writing in 1538-9 (ed Smith 1906-10, 5, 146-7; Chandler 1993, 484), describes the Shap area briefly in a largely geographical context, mentioning a brook called *Owse Water* [Haweswaterbeck], and a stone bridge near the confluence of this brook with the Lowther. Green's (1819) guide is perhaps the most useful of the early itineraries, and also quotes earlier writers such as Thomas West (1778, and later editions), and gives a wealth of romantically phrased topographical detail, though few actual sites. Wainwright's (1966) guide gives useful walking routes around the fells, and marks mine levels, sheepfolds, and other features, but on brief inspection only seems to cover Selside Pike (including Swindale Head) and Branstree within the study area, and does not appear to mention any sites not recognised from other sources.
- 2.2.25 In addition to the bibliography of material used, a list was compiled of (mostly primary) material which was located but, for reasons of selectivity or access restrictions (eg material housed at CRO's Houghton out-repository), could not be studied during the project.
- 2.2.26 **Specialist Local Sources:** telephone and written contact was made with a number of authorities on aspects of Shap and Haweswater, especially representatives of mines research groups. An annotated directory was compiled.

- 2.2.27 Dr M Davies-Shiel supplied very useful mapped information on a range of industrial archaeology sites, including mines (all outside the study area), sheepfolds, potash pits, ridge and furrow (at Rosgill), and place-name evidence.

## 2.3 IDENTIFICATION SURVEY

- 2.3.1 A level 1b survey of the defined area (Fig 3) of the Haweswater estate was undertaken. This (*Appendix 3*) represents the minimum standard of record for field investigation, and is appropriate to exploratory survey aimed at the discovery of previously unrecorded sites. Its aim is to record the existence, location, and extent of any archaeological site. The emphasis of the record lies on the written description which in this instance includes comment on character and condition. Sites have also been graded in terms of condition and archaeological significance.
- 2.3.2 Archaeological sites were located by systematic ground reconnaissance; field walking was undertaken at between 25m and 50m line intervals depending on the terrain. A set of 1:10,000 scale maps were laminated and taken into the field in order to reference known sites. Because of the open and remote nature of much of the study area, Global Positioning System equipment (GPS) was considered the most appropriate method of determining the location of sites. This uses electronic distance measurement along radio frequencies to satellites in order to establish a positional fix in latitude and longitude which can be converted mathematically to Ordnance Survey national grid data. The method is accurate to  $\pm 1.0\text{m}$  and is considered adequate for determining the general location of sites. The digital survey data was transferred, via DXF file format, into a CAD system (FastCAD), and was then superimposed to the digital Ordnance Survey data.
- 2.3.3 When a previously unknown site was identified, a written description was made and the location and extent of the site were recorded via GPS, generating a ten figure National Grid Reference. A photographic record was also made of the more significant sites. Given the scale of the mapping, the size of the project, and the nature of the many small upland sites, only sites greater than 50m in any dimension had their extent defined, whereas smaller sites were located from a central point.

## 2.4 DETAIL SURVEY

- 2.4.1 A level 2 upland survey was undertaken of those sites identified as of the highest grade during the identification survey. A level 2 survey (see *Appendix 3*) defines the extent of all surface archaeological features comprising a site, in relation to the main topographic elements of the locality, and plots the extent of each archaeological site. It is the level of survey used to assess archaeological significance, and serves as the basis for recommendations regarding the archaeological management of the landscape.
- 2.4.2 The internal survey control within each survey group (site) was undertaken using a Zeiss ELTA 3 total station and was able to maintain an internal control accuracy of better than  $\pm 0.05\text{m}$ . The control was located with respect to the OS national grid by use of the GPS, which provides a locational accuracy of  $\pm 1\text{m}$ .

- 2.4.3 The archaeological detail and significant topographic detail were surveyed using a total station and data-logger. The digital survey data was transferred, via DXF file format, into a CAD system (FastCAD). The archaeological detail was drawn up in the field with respect to field plots of the survey data, and these edits were then transferred onto the raw survey data within the CAD system. The archaeological digital data was subsequently superimposed onto base digital OS topographic data supplied by LDNPA. Where a superimposition between LUAU survey topographic detail and the OS surveyed detail occurred, it was found that the OS error was never worse than  $\pm 2.5\text{m}$ .

## 2.5 GAZETTEER

- 2.5.1 Collated site-specific information has been presented in the form of a gazetteer (Volume 2) in conjunction with annotated maps showing site locations. In the gazetteer sites are identified by a unique site number and locations are given as eight or ten figure National Grid References. A summary description of each site is provided in conjunction with a reference to the source of the information and supporting references as appropriate. An assessment has been made of the interpretation and archaeological potential of the site.

## 2.6 SITE GRADING

- 2.6.1 Recorded archaeological sites were graded according to their relative significance as follows:

Grade 1 Archaeological and historical sites and features of the highest importance. This normally includes all Scheduled Ancient Monuments, Grade 1 listed structures, and other sites considered to be of *national significance*;

Grade 2 Archaeological sites and features of *regional significance*;

Grade 3 Archaeological and historical sites and features of *local significance*;

Grade 4 No longer extant, or not authentic, archaeological and historical sites and features, as well as sites of *little or no significance*;

## 2.7 ARCHIVE

- 2.7.1 A full archive of the desk-based survey and the field inspection has been produced to a professional standard in accordance with the current English Heritage guidelines (*Management of Archaeological Projects*, 2nd edition 1991). The archive will be deposited with the CRO Carlisle, with a copy of the report given to the Cumbria SMR. A copy of the archive will also be available for deposition with the National Archaeological Record.

---

### 3. PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

---

#### 3.1 LOCATION

- 3.1.1 Haweswater Estate lies wholly within the post-1974 county of Cumbria and, apart from a small area to the east of Wet Sleddale, is within the Lake District National Park. The study area comprises the water catchments of both Haweswater and Wet Sleddale reservoirs, bounded by High Street to the west, and Shap Fells to the south (Figs 1 and 3).
- 3.1.2 The topography comprises five separate, well-defined valleys: Cawdale, Heltondale, Mardale, Sleddale and Swindale, all roughly aligned north-east to south-west. These are separated by upland commons and edged to the west by a block of summits forming the High Street range.

#### 3.2 SOLID GEOLOGY

- 3.2.1 The solid geology underlying the study area, mapped by the Institute of Geological Sciences (1980) and described by Taylor *et al* (1971) and earlier authors, comprises rocks of five groups: Skiddaw Group sedimentary rocks of Ordovician age, overlain by the Borrowdale Volcanic Group, overlain unconformably by the Coniston Limestone Group and other Silurian rocks, intruded by the Shap Granite, of Devonian date, and finally overlain - again unconformably - by Tournaisian and Visean Carboniferous limestones.
- 3.2.2 In more detail, in the northern part of Swindale, Ralfland Forest, and the area around Shap Abbey, the rocks are Arenig and Llanvirn age Ordovician conglomerates, comprising the 'Bampton Inlier' (Taylor *et al* 1971, 13-15 and fig 4) of the Skiddaw Group, previously called the Skiddaw Slates by Dakyns *et al* (1897, 5-6) and Marr (1916, 8-13).
- 3.2.3 Stratigraphically later than the Skiddaw Group, though still Ordovician, and probably separated from it by a period of folding, uplift, and erosion, are igneous extrusive tuffs and agglomerates, interbedded with flows of lava, all belonging to the Borrowdale Volcanic Group. These extend from east of Borrowdale to the study area, south to the Furness Fells, and north to Great Dod, an area 20km north-west to south-east by up to 45km north-east to south-west (Marr 1916, 19-22 and fig 5; Taylor *et al* 1971, 13-18). The Borrowdale Volcanics were previously called 'Green Slates and Porphyries' by Sedgwick (1842).
- 3.2.4 Hoyte (1996, 59) sums up the significance of the Borrowdale Volcanic Group as follows:  
'... it seems likely that the 'Borrowdale volcano' was one of a string which included others in northern Wales and southern Ireland, at a latitude which was then (430 million years BP) about 20°S. Several major centres were operating within the volcano, of which the Haweswater Complex appears to have been one.'
- 3.2.5 Marr (1916, 19-22 and fig 5) assigns the Borrowdale Volcanics Group lavas and tuffs of Shap to the Ullswater and Eycott group, the second oldest sub-division.

Detailed petrological and stratigraphic discussions have been published by Millward *et al* (1978, 115) who caution the reader regarding the dating of the vulcanicity, which did not begin simultaneously over the whole region. A small area north of Wet Sleddale reservoir belongs to the latest phase of vulcanicity, the Yewdale Breccia (Taylor *et al* 1971, 15, fig 4).

- 3.2.6 In the Shap Fells an intrusive complex, the Shap Granite intrudes through both the Skiddaw and Borrowdale Volcanics Groups as 'a cedar-tree laccolith' (Marr 1916, 90-8, and fig 16), with an outcrop about 8 sq km in extent (Taylor *et al* 1971, 30). This extends from Sleddale Pike and Sherry Gill in the west, to Wasdale Crag in the south, to the A6 road in the east, and to around Poor Hag in the north. A Devonian date for this complex is confirmed by a radiometric date of 393 million years (Taylor *et al* 1971, 32).
- 3.2.7 Stratigraphically later than these rocks, and separated from the Borrowdale Volcanic Group by an unconformity, are Silurian sedimentary rocks, which are to the south of the study area. These are predominantly greywackes, but include the Coniston Limestone Group at the northern edge of the sequence, then Llandoverly and Wenlock age rocks.
- 3.2.8 Unconformably above all the foregoing, and throughout the eastern edge of the study area, there are Dinantian Carboniferous rocks of the Alston Block; these are conglomerates and limestones, overlain by Ashfell sandstones (Taylor *et al* 1971, 49-51), which form the solid geology of a c10km -15km wide band of country extending from Inglewood to Kirkby Stephen.

### 3.3 ECONOMIC GEOLOGY

- 3.3.1 Outside the study area, copper veins have been worked at Burnbanks above Haweswater, and in Guerness Gill on the east side of the lake, all apparently prior to the OS first edition 6" map (1863). Dakyns *et al* (1897, 104) and Dewey and Eastwood (1925, 73) say that this was 'with but poor success'. Adams (1988, 143) states that the Haweswater mine (NY 495 160) comprises three levels, one with a 17m deep shaft. The Guerness Gill mine was worked, apparently from one level only, at intervals between 1836 and 1852.
- 3.3.2 Adams (1988, 143) appears to be the only authority to mention a mine specifically within the study area. This is a small Baryte working in Sherry Gill (NY 538 104; H955), south-west of Wet Sleddale reservoir. '*There is a soil heap near the foot of the gill, but no obvious signs of a level. An outcrop of the vein can be seen about halfway up the gill*' (Taylor *et al* 1971, 95).
- 3.3.3 By far the most economically important geological products exploited within in the study area are slates and granite. Dakyns *et al* (1897, 104) state that a bed of cleaved ash ranging along Mosedale and Wet Sleddale have been worked in Mosedale, as well as Wrengill (Long Sleddale) and Kentmere. The Skiddaw slates were worked for slate pencil manufacture, before 1863, in Thornship Gill (H1024; NY 547 129), as is indicated on pre-OS published maps.
- 3.3.4 The valuable Shap Granite is 'highly ornamental' when polished and has been extensively worked at Wasdale Crag. The debris from these works, on the railway



line near Shap Summit, were converted into granolithic paving with the addition of cement, made from the local Carboniferous limestone (Dakyns *et al* 1897, 104).

### 3.4 GLACIAL DRIFT AND SOILS

- 3.4.1 The principal glacial effect in this area was erosion, rather than accumulation or deposition. The major ice streams of the Lake District radiated from a centre located around Helvellyn (Taylor *et al* 1971, 86-7 and fig 28), and ice moved north, south, and east from around Shap Fell. This pattern is complicated by the ice sheets from southern Scotland, which affect an area between Stainmore in the east and Carrock Fell in the north, as well as near the north Cumbrian coast. Taylor *et al* show the northernmost point of the limit of Scottish Criffel Granodiorite erratics to be a little to the north and west of Ennerdale, and the united ice sheets then moved eastwards on the north side of the uplands. The limit of Criffel erratics crosses the northern corners of the study area in a north-west to south-east line.
- 3.4.2 Millward and Robinson (1974, 50-2) describe the appearance of Haweswater, prior to the construction of the dam, as 'a typical U-shaped valley with an overdeepened lake'. The feeding headwaters are, as before, from High Street (NY 4400 1100) and Harter Fell (NY 4600 0900), and the marshy head of the valley simply at a higher level than previously. However, the rise in water level has drowned the 'great torrent spread of gravel and boulders' at the head of the hanging valley of Measand Beck, which projected well into the lake, and supported Measand Hall, the endowed school of 1713, and two farms (photo, Berry 1984, 16).
- 3.4.3 The soils (Lawes Agricultural Trust 1983) of the study area fall into six categories. In Swindale, the soils belong to the Malvern Association [611a] (Jarvis *et al* 1984, 235-7), comprising well-drained, very stony, loamy soils, with extensive scree, typical of an igneous rock geology source. Those in Ralfland Forest are very shallow, very acid, peaty-topped upland soils of the Bangor Association [311e] (Jarvis *et al* 1984, 101-4). In Wet Sleddale, the soils belong to the Brickfield 2 Association [713f], and are slowly permeable, seasonally waterlogged fine loamy soils (Jarvis *et al* 1984, 121-3), derived from drift from sandstones and shales. Those around Shap Abbey are of the Waltham Association [541q], well drained fine loamy soils, over limestone (Jarvis *et al* 1984, 295-6). Finally, the soils over the Shap Fells are Winter Hill Association [1011a] thick very acid raw peat soils, perennially wet and hagged and eroded in places (Jarvis *et al* 1984, 312-3).

### 3.5 LAND USE

- 3.5.1 **Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI):** there are five SSSI within the estate: Blea Water, Naddle Forest, Swindale Meadows, Wet Sleddale Meadows, and part of Shap Fells. These areas include broad-leaved woodland, lowland grasses, mires and flushes, heather moorland, and cliffs and screes.
- 3.5.2 **Agricultural Tenancies:** these cover a total of 3.5km<sup>2</sup> and there are 56km<sup>2</sup> of common land. Agricultural practice within the study area is exclusively pastoral, mainly sheep and cattle. The south of the study area is managed for sporting activity (grouse shooting and deer-stalking).

- 3.5.3 **Water Catchment:** the prime purpose of the estate is for the catchment and storage of water, and to that end the estate contains four reservoirs: Haweswater, Wet Sleddale, Blea Water and Small Water. These reservoirs comprise 2.35% of the study area, and 4km<sup>2</sup> lies under water. The catchment area of these reservoirs defines the extent of the estate.
- 3.5.4 **Ancient Woodland:** Millward and Robinson (1974, 78-9) identify three groups of high-level, possibly relict or ancient, woodland in the study area. These are Naddle Forest, a predominantly oak-ash-birch association on Borrowdale Volcanic Group block scree; a wetter wood below the Harper Hills (NY 5000 1400) with a north-west facing aspect, and an area further south-east on the west side of Swindale. These areas of forest are shown most clearly on T Hodgson's (1828) map.
- 3.5.5 On two late eighteenth-century manuscript maps in the Lonsdale collection (CRO D/Lons/Plans/Box 3, old list 29; old list 187), the northern half of Naddle Forest is called Low Forest and the southern High Forest. The more schematic of the two maps (old list 187) also shows two approximately rectangular enclosures at Naddle House, at the north-east corner of Low Forest, abutting the track to Thornthwaite Mill.

## 4. ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

---

### 4.1 EARLY MEDIEVAL: FIFTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES AD

- 4.1.1 Immediately before, and during, the Roman occupation, Cumbria and south-west Scotland had been the tribal territory of the Carvetii, the site of the *caput Carvetiorum* probably being Clifton Dyke, near Brougham (Higham and Jones 1985, 7 and 10). Whyte (1988, 50-1) states that the native population in north-west England seem to have adjusted well to the withdrawal of the Roman garrisons in the early fifth century. Phythian-Adams advises that '*we underestimate the surviving Romanitas of this period, in this region, at our peril*' (1996, 166). The putative kingdom of Rheged, occupying much of the same area, comprised a number of local tribal chiefdoms, re-established within a generation of the Roman departure. It is possible that Carlisle was the capital of Rheged - though there was probably some decentralisation of government - and, although the kingdom seems to have been centred on the Solway Lowlands, it may have stretched from the Rhinns of Galloway in the north, to at least the Lune gorge, if not the Ribble or the Mersey, in the south (Higham and Jones 1985, 133; Whyte 1988, 50-1).
- 4.1.2 The Anglian settlements appear to have established a firm western frontier along the line of the Rivers Eden and Lyvennet by the end of the sixth century (Phythian-Adams 1996, 167). Christian Rheged was sustained by alliances with the pagan kingdom of Deira, centred on York. Finally, Rheged began to decline in power around this time, and was absorbed into the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia (Northumbria) in the early seventh century. This seems to have been achieved under Ecgfrith (670-85), as a result of his father Oswiu's successive dynastic marriages, rather than by military might.
- 4.1.3 Phythian-Adams (1996, 168-9) states that the Lowther valley and the foot of Ullswater, together with '*the paved way of the Britons*' suggest the survival later still of a British group on the periphery of the Anglian settlements, a 'Celtic pocket'. He takes Carhullan (Bampton) to be the local *caer* (Welsh = 'fort') and, if so, this appears to be the only example in the Cumbrian region where a *caer* was eventually taken into English hands. Like the lordship of Greystoke, another Celtic pocket, the Lowther valley is seen as a prime candidate for close supervision by a leading Anglian or deferential Briton. Whilst Smith (1967, 2, 190) agrees that a derivation from *caer* is most likely, he implies that this may refer to the enclosed settlement at Towtop Kirk, c400m to the south-east, implying folk-myth rather than historical derivation of the name (*Section 4.5*). Smith gives alternative derivations from the Old English *carr* (= 'rock'), or Gaelic *carr* (= 'rocky ledge') but discounts Old Norse *kjarr* (= 'marsh') on the grounds of some of the earlier forms of the name with the root *Care-* (eg *Carehullend* and *Carehullan*, both found in 1540). The second element of the name is of uncertain derivation, but possibly Old Norse *hollandr* (= 'helper'), and as such an earlier place-name. We can probably discount J Hodgson's (1820, 133) contention that the name Carhullan means 'village burial place'. One *alias* of the place-name, Bampton Rookbye, is not mentioned by Smith (1967), nor does Noble (1901, 28) give an explanation for it, though its other name of Sandford Lands clearly refers to the Sandford family who held lands in neighbouring Heltondale, from the fourteenth century (Ragg 1921, 179-91).

- 4.1.4 There are other place and topographical names in the study area indicating pockets of settlement dating from the post-Roman period. Whiteside (1904, 311-32) and Smith (1967, 1, 164-82) list the roots of such names with considerable detail, but interpretation should be undertaken with care. There is a field called *Raby Castle* in Tailbert (H975) on the tithe map (CRO(K) WDRC/8/118; Whiteside 1904, 330). There are no identified surface features but it could potentially be an indication of an early fort.
- 4.1.5 Whiteside (1904, 327) thought *Shap* derived from ‘hip, fruit of the dog-rose’, locally pronounced *choup*, but Smith (1967, 1, 164) derives the name from the Old English *heap*, implying ‘heap of stones’, referring to the megalithic monuments of the area, especially the now largely destroyed alignments, called Karl Lofts by earlier writers (e.g. Parson and White 1829, 601), and now called Shap Stones. Another Old English origin might be seen in the name of Guerness, on the east side of Haweswater. It is probably ‘fishing trap headland’ from the Old English *grin*, *giren* or *geren* ‘trap’ and *næss* ‘cape, headland’.
- 4.1.6 **Scandinavian Settlement:** Northumbrian (or possibly British) rule continued until the kingdom collapsed in the early tenth century, under the impact of Danish invasions, leaving a ‘power vacuum’. This was partly filled by the British kingdom of Strathclyde, whose frontier extended to the River Eamont (the pre-1974 Cumberland/Westmorland border) by AD 926, and perhaps further south at times. Nevertheless, Cumbria seems to have been ruled by its own line of kings, albeit subject to the kings of Strathclyde, and later Scotland.
- 4.1.7 These British Cumbrian kings may have actively encouraged Scandinavian settlement, predominantly of Norse from Ireland and the west, including the Scottish Isles, to strengthen the area against English attack. In 1018, Owen the Bald, the last Cumbrian king, allied himself with Malcolm II of Scotland (1005-34), but was killed in battle against the English. Malcolm took possession of the historic Cumbria, (the northern part of the present day county) which remained with the Scottish Crown until 1032. Under Earl Siward, and then Tostig, the Furness and Kendale estates, and some of Copeland - were held by England until 1061, when Malcolm III (*Ceannmor*) (1058-93) invaded Cumbria, causing a swathe of destruction, which still seems to have been evident in 1086 (Domesday Book), judging by the numerous ‘waste’ villis in southern Westmorland and northern Lancashire (Whyte 1988, 50-1).
- 4.1.8 Within the study area is a preponderance of place and topographical names of probable Norse origin. Such names imply the Scandinavian occupation (*section 4.1.9*) in areas where there may already have been settlements, and the dominance of the incomer's language. The name Haweswater probably derives from the Old Norse *hals* or *hawes* ‘a neck’, referring either to the narrows which formerly existed at Measand (Thompson 1942, 15) or the pass through the hills south of the lake. The old name for the river flowing out (ie northwards from) the lake was *Halfa*, now generally called Haweswater Beck. Bampton, generally called *Banton(e)* from c1200 to 1451, is thought by Smith (1967, 2, 189) to mean ‘farmstead made of beams, or by a tree’, from the Old Norse *beam* and *tun*. Mardale is from the Old English *mere* and *dæl*, lake valley’, and *Sleddale* seems to be derived from the Old English words *slaed*

‘valley’ and *dæl*. Smith (1967, 1, 286 and 245) defines them here as ‘share of the common land’, but more probably a repeat of ‘valley’.

4.1.9 Of most interest are Tailbert and Thiefstead. Smith suggests the Old Norse *taeft bord*, ‘table board, dice- or chess-board’, implying a square piece of land. Whiteside (1904, 330) attempts *tjald borg* ‘tent burgh’, which he suggests could be from a camp for a *Thing* assembly. These were Norse meeting places held either on artificially constructed mounds (Quartermaine 1994b) or at natural prominent sites. Mike Davies-Shiel (pers comm) also follows this line of thought and suggests *Ting vollr*, ‘Thing mount’, to support his contention that there was a *Thing* or council hill there. Whiteside (1904, 330) reserves the *Thing* derivation for *Thiefstead*, though Smith (1967, 1, 178) indicates that this name is first found in the OS *Original Name Book* of 1859. Whiteside derives the name from *Thenge heved* in the c1200 charter, which Smith (1967, 1, 181, 295, and 259) writes *Thing heafod*, ‘*Thing*’ plus ‘headland’, but does not equate it with Thiefstead. The ‘Speaking Crag’ (NY 4725 1215) still shown on the current OS maps, jutting into the reservoir below Flakehowe Crag, Mardale, is another good candidate for a *Thingmount*. Mike Davies-Shiel (pers comm) notes that the acoustics of this location are particularly good, and that the topography lends itself to assemblies. Flake Howe itself is probably derived from the Old Norse *flaki* (= ‘hurdle’) (Smith 1967, 2, 194).

4.1.10 Also on the west side of Haweswater, is Whelter (Beck, Craggs, and Knotts), a ‘great rocky amphitheatre which steeply rises 1200 ft from the craggy shores of Haweswater’ Smith (1967, 2, 193). Smith derives the name from the Old Icelandic *hvilft* (plural *hviltar*) meaning ‘a hollow, or coombe’, corresponding to the Old Norse *hvalf*, or *holf*, and Old English *hwalf*, both meaning variously ‘arch, hollow, or concave’. Ramm *et al* (1970, 38-9) describe shielings at Whelter and claim, following Collingwood, that older forms of the placename contain the element *-erg* (Middle English *ergh* or *argh* ‘= a shieling or hill pasture’) ‘implying the existence of shielings here in the tenth-eleventh centuries’, though none of the forms of the name given by Smith lend themselves to this interpretation. In part, from the same root comes Laythwaite Craggs, which lie north of Whelter. Earlier forms of the name include *Laythalt*, in 1651, and *Laithald* in 1839. Smith (1967, 2, 191) derives these forms from the Old Norse *leið-holf*, meaning ‘track-bridge’. Smith states that this would refer to the old road on the west side of the lake, submerged by the reservoir, and a bridge on it over the Laythwaite Sike.

4.1.11 Westmorland, including Shap and Bampton, probably remained under Scandinavian influence and Scottish rule from 1032 until 1092, when William II Rufus (1087-1100) captured ‘the land of Carlisle’ (Winchester 1987, 16-18) from Dolfin, a local ruler either subject to the Scottish crown or, perhaps leader of a fledgling independent kingdom. The area remained vulnerable until Henry I (1100-35) began to create baronies for his trusted supporters; this would have brought the area under English government and influence.

## 4.2 MEDIEVAL: TWELFTH TO SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

4.2.1 The history of the area between 1092 and 1203, when Shap and its environs became part of the new barony of Westmorland, is uncertain. Collingwood (1925, 70-3), and Ragg (1914a and b) consider that Ketel, son of Elfred (Ragg and others) or Ealdred

(Collingwood), had land in Kentdale, as well as Copeland, at the time of *Domesday Book* (1086). Ketel married his son Orm to Gunilda, daughter of the great earl Gospatrick (c1100 to after 1179), who was chief landowner of most of the lands north and south of the Anglo-Scottish border. Thomas de Workington (d 1200), son of Gospatrick, married Grecia, through whom he acquired the lordship of Culwen in Kirkcudbright. He was lord of the manor of Hepp and of the forest of Thornthwaite (probably comprising Ralfland Forest in modern Shap parish, and parts of Bampton) in c1191.

- 4.2.2 Noble (1901, 22) tells a somewhat different story, perhaps following the version given by J Hodgson (1820, 53), and it would seem that she is referring to the 'overlords', the succession leading to the Cliffords. Noble states that William the Conqueror (1066-87) granted the Barony of Westmorland to Ranulf de Meschines, also known as de Briquesard, but the above historical summary would suggest that it was William Rufus who made the grant (Winchester 1987, 16), and possibly Ranulph's son of the same name who received it. Ranulph (I) de Meschines was also given the Barony of Copeland, and created Earl of Carlisle. Some time later (before 1314) the Barony of Westmorland was divided, the northern portion, including Bampton and Shap, becoming the property of the de Cliffords. It would appear that Shap and Bampton were 'sub-infeudated', that is held on long leases, under the Cliffords, Lords of Westmorland, by the de Cundale, and de Culwen (Curwen) families (CRO Whitehaven, D/Cu). Noble (1901, 178) states that the de Cundales were 'extinct in the male line' soon after the Norman Conquest, but that their honours descended with the de Cliburnes. The de Cliburnes sold their remaining lands to Lord William Howard of Naworth in 1527, thereafter becoming tenants.
- 4.2.3 Sub-infeudation was, in theory, forbidden by the statute *Quia emptores* in 1290 (Winchester 1987, 166), which required land to be held directly by the chief lord. In practice, however, land continued to be sold amongst villeins by transactions registered in the manorial court, with a fee to the parties involved (Miller and Hatcher 1978, 142).
- 4.2.4 Fair (1937, 82) considers that in c1110-15 Henry I may have re-granted Copeland, and perhaps Westmorland, to Ranulf's younger brother William de Meschines, when Ranulf voluntarily surrendered the lands to the Crown on inheriting the Earldom of Chester. Farrer (1907) shows that, after a brief grant to other parties, the Honour of Westmorland was in the hands of Ranulf de Glanville, Henry II's chief justice, from 1179. It seems that it was to Robert de Veteripont, nephew of Hugh de Morville, that the sheriffdom of Westmorland was next granted, by King John in 1202.
- 4.2.5 As Rees (1973) and earlier writers have found, few original records relating to the Clifford family's land tenure survive, though some are preserved in later copies, including the *Books of Record* (CRO Kendal), which Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676) had copied when she was asserting her right to the Clifford inheritance. Rees (1973, 175-175c) shows that Askham, Bampton Cundall, Knipe Cundall, Bampton Patrick, Knipe Patrick, Shap, and Rosgill were all Clifford lands in the *inquisition post mortem* of Robert de Clifford in 1314. Of these lands, Bampton Patrick, Knipe Patrick, and Shap were all held, from de Clifford, by Sir Gilbert de Culwen (Curwen 1907, 137-8; 1928, 54). Rees (1973, 175-175c) further shows that in 1634 the Cliffords still derived an income from all the lands in the area that they had held over

three centuries earlier. In 1314, this income came in the form of the fine of cornage, an ancient render, originally involving ‘the duty of blowing a cow horn to warn the neighbourhood of incursion of the Scots’ (*coronag*’, Noble 1901, 28), and later commuted to payment in cattle, hence commonly called *noutgeld* or ‘cow tax’ (Winchester 1987, 165). In 1388 and 1392 there were rents and services, and in 1634 bushels of oats plus hens. For the two moieties of Bampton and Knipe, and Shap and Rosgill, these were as follows (Rees 1973, 175a and 175c):

Manor	1314 cornage	1388 and 1392 Rents and services or hens, 1634	Bushels of oats,
B Cundal & K Cundall	15s 3d	60s	25 hens
B Patrick & K Patrick	13s 4d	40s	jointly
Shap	5s 5d	£8, £10	61 bshl
Rosgill *	5s 5d	[not known]	16 bshl

\* = Not mentioned in Robert de Clifford’s *Inquisition post mortem*, 1314

- 4.2.6 We should note, in passing, that it is difficult to generalise about what constituted a ‘manor’ in the area. Winchester (1987, 165) defines a manor as an ‘estate over which the owner (‘lord’) had jurisdiction, exercised through a manor court.’ Miller and Hatcher (1978, 184-8) stress the almost infinite variety of manorial forms, and the absence of what earlier scholars called a manorial system. In particular, we should be aware that the income from a whole manor was often sub-divided, by agreement, between various parties, especially amongst the family of the lord, for example by creation of dower estates, and that, as short-hand, would be termed a [fraction] of the manor of X’.
- 4.2.7 The manors which constituted the study area, and its immediate environs, are perhaps most clearly exemplified by a private Act of Parliament obtained in 1806 by William, Viscount and Baron Lowther of Whitehaven (1757-1844; Cockayne 1932, 135-6) ‘to enfranchise certain copyhold or customary lands, parcels, or holden of certain manors ...’, *in other words those of his tenants that wished it. Enfranchisement was ‘the removal of personal and tenurial obligations of a tenant to his lord’*, and the replacement of this with a money rent (Coleman and Wood 1988, 25). The 1806 Act was unusually liberal for the time, though Parliament did not permit this ‘*dangerous innovation*’ to be as much as Lowther had wished. The schedule of 36 manors in Westmorland and 14 in Cumberland from which Lowther gained copyhold and free rents, and fines, included Askham, Bampton Cundall and Knipe, Bampton Carhullan, Rosgill and Wet Sleddale, Crosby Ravensworth, Helton Flecket, Shap, and Thornthwaite alias Bampton Patrick (repr in Noble 1901, 69-91). The history of these manors, and their eventual descent to the Lowthers, forms the basis of the present study.
- 4.2.8 The twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been a period of agricultural expansion into marginal land, and of woodland clearance. However, the period 1315-22, and through till the 1340s in parts of Cumbria, was marked by an agrarian crisis, in addition to the ravages of Scottish raids. The crop failure of 1315-16, coupled with murrain in 1319-21 (unspecified diseases of sheep and cattle, possibly including anthrax) over-population, soil exhaustion, and long-term climatic deterioration in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, led to poverty and abandonment of farms throughout the northern counties. Crown and Chief Lords’ revenues were reduced markedly (Winchester 1987, 45-7). Following the plague of 1348-9, and up to c1370, there were labour shortages, resulting in commutation of services to rents, and

therefore the leasing of more demesne lands. In some places, such as King's Meaburn, Rees considers that the effects of destruction during the Scottish raids of the 1320s to 1340s were still being reflected in the Clifford income as late as c1400 (Rees 1973, 171-2).

- 4.2.9 A large number of the Curwen documents relating to Shap have been published (Ragg 1909; 1914a and b; and especially Curwen 1928). Noble (1901, 20) considers that the de Cundales at least were resident before the Norman Conquest. The Curwens, also with pre-Conquest origins, are one of the oldest families in England, and have an unbroken male descent in some branches through to the present day. Ragg (1914 b, 343-5) derives the de Culwens from Elftred, two generations before *Domesday Book*. Shap, at least, seems to have remained in the possession of Elftred's son, Ketel, then descending to his son Orm, and thus to Gospatrick (c1100-79). Patricius de Culwen, who lived in the time of Henry II (1154-89), allegedly gave his name to the sub-manor of Bampton Patrick and Knipe Patrick, but whether during his lifetime or later is not known. The other sub-manor was called sometimes Bampton Carhullan, properly Bampton Cundale and Knipe Cundale, after the de Cundale family (Noble 1901, 20). The two moieties and the forest are often referred to simply as 'Thornthwaite'. Thornthwaite, Mardale, and Swindale were forest until well into the Medieval period, and were held by the Curwens (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 479).
- 4.2.10 It is with these 'secondary feoffees', or 'tenants-in-chief', that is the tenants of the Cliffords, that we are concerned, since it was often they, with Clifford permission, who granted lands to the abbey.
- 4.2.11 **Shap Abbey: sources:** Although the abbey site itself is just outside the study area, much of its land tenure, and enclosing dykes, are within the NWW estate, and so it is relevant to give a summary of the abbey's history, as well as detailing its possessions, as far as they relate to the study area.
- 4.2.12 The Abbey of St Mary Magdalene, a house of Premonstratensian or 'White' Canons, and the only Norman abbey in Westmorland, was founded in c1191 at Preston Patrick in Kendal, some 20 miles south of Shap, by Thomas de Workington, son of Gospatrick. The founder was apparently still alive when the House wished to move to *Hepp*, which happened c1201 (Butler and Given-Wilson 1979, 344). The reason for this move is undocumented, but could be a desire for greater seclusion, undoubtedly presented by the bleak location at Shap. The foundation date of 1119, as given by earlier writers (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 469; Farington and Horne 1816, 96), is erroneous.
- 4.2.13 The Cartulary of Shap Abbey seems to have been lost, presumed destroyed, some time after 1638 (Whiteside 1904, 154). After the Dissolution, in 1545, the manor of Shap was granted by the Crown to Sir Thomas Wharton, Governor of Carlisle. The manorial estate include Tailbert, Rayside, and lands in Rosgill, but specifically excluded Sleddale Grange, Milburn Grange, and lands in Rosgill in the tenure of Thomas Salkeld (Whiteside 1904, 179-82). The Wharton lands were sold in 1728/9 to Richard (or ?Robert) Lowther and thereafter descended to the Lords Lonsdale (Curwen 1932, 360; Butler and Given-Wilson 1979, 345; CRO Carlisle, D/Lons).



4.2.14 The most celebrated figure in the history of the abbey was Richard Redman (or Redmayne) abbot in 1458, who was appointed representative of the Premonstratensians in England, and in succession Bishop of St Asaph in 1471, then Exeter in 1496, and Ely in 1501. Despite these duties away from Shap, he remained abbot there until his death in 1505, and was responsible for the building of the surviving west tower c1500 (Butler and Given-Wilson 1979, 344; Platt 1984, 214-15; Colvin and Gilyard-Beer 1963, 6 and 10-12). Bulmer (1885, 369) mentions excavations by Canon Simpson (Weston and Hope 1889), and a 13 year campaign was conducted by the Ministry of Works from 1948 (Butler and Given-Wilson 1979, 346; Anon 1958; 1959).

4.2.15 **Shap Abbey: land ownership:** Dugdale (ed Caley *et al*, 1846, 6(2), 869) and Whiteside (1904, 135-6) provide transcripts for the 1191 foundation charter in Latin, and Whiteside and Weston (1889, 287-8) comment on the content. The grant of land at Shap comprised lands within approximately one kilometre radius of the abbey, except for more extensive projections towards Swindale and Shap village. Clearly they did not extend as far as Thornthwaite and Mardale, since these lands remained in de Curwen hands (Collingwood 1925, 71). Wet Sleddale was acquired later (1249 or 1257). The lands which Thomas granted were those 'which were *Karl*', meaning 'land tenanted by free husbandmen, or tenants at will'. The boundary of the lands appear to have been :

*'Starting at Karlwath, a ford across the Lowther, a little south of the abbey, the boundary follows the stream as far as its little tributary the Langshawbeck [this could be either a small stream on the southern side of Ralfland Common, or a beck to the west of Keld Bridge, half way to Tailbert (Whiteside)] ascending this till it crosses the road [Ragg says 'path'] which came from Kendal to a burial mound still known as Staniraise; by Rasland [Ralfland]; thence it follows the path downwards of Rasate [Rayside]; thence it makes down the hill to a large stone by the riverside [Ragg 'where they used to hold a market'], called Lestalbie ['t'girt stean', now called the Buckstone, c100m north of Rayside (Whiteside)] and down to the Lowther stream and across it to the boundary of Rosgill on the east, and then up again on the slop to the highland and Alinbalike [Almbank, a field 'on the left of the lane that leads off the main road to the abbey' (Whiteside)] and then ... to the land which had belonged to Matthew of Hepp, then westwards and down the hills to the ford of Karlwath.'*(after Weston, 1889; Whiteside 1904; and Ragg 1914a, 6-7, 57-9)

4.2.16 Thomas also grants the abbey pasture:

*'in common with his tenants at Rayside, and pasture at Thamboord [Tailbert] and in Swindale, on both sides, to the top of Binbarh [not identified], on one side, and on the other beyond Thengeheved [Thiefstead (Whiteside 1904, 330)] for 60 cows, 20 mares to run in the woods, and 500 sheep with their young till the age of 3 years, and for five yoke of oxen, and wood also for the abbey, for timber, fire, hedging, and other necessities, without the control of his foresters.'*

4.2.17 The founder also gave the abbey the whole rectory of Shap, and Bampton was soon afterwards appropriated; these tenures were confirmed by the Bishop of Carlisle in 1263 (Weston 1889, 288). when he also gave permission for the Cannons to officiate as vicars of Bampton and Shap.

- 4.2.18 In addition to the initial grants of land made at the end of the 12th century, the Abbey seems to have retained its grants from original foundation (*Section 4.2.12*) (Nobel 1912). Further grants to the Abbey were made during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the Curwen family continued to support the Cannons with land in Tailbert and Shap (*Section 4.3.3 and 4.3.6*). Throughout the period various members of the Viteripont family gave land, including nine acres in Shap, the vill of Reagill, and the Hospice of St. Nicolas near Appleby. The Viteripont family granted further the 'grange of Milneburn' just north of Appleby, and 'the tithes of all his mills in Westmoreland' (Nicholson and Burn 1770). The Clifford family granted the church (together with its assets) of Warthcop at the end of the 13th century and during the fourteenth century they augmented the Abbey lands to compensate for losses incurred by the Scottish invasions. In this same period Margeret, widow of Hugh de Lowther gave to the Abbey all her estates in Westmorland (Curwen 1932).
- 4.2.19 At the time of the Dissolution, the Court of Augmentation records of 1540-41 (31-32 Henry VIII) show the abbey lands to include the following (PRO 1964, 4, 67-8, no. 580):  
*'Shappe: Farm of the site of the monastery and demesne lands, two mills, within the site, the grange upon the hill by the site and divers closes of land'*  
*'... Rents and farms in Shappe (including land called Halgarth), Keld and Thornshapp [Thornship] and Taleburth [Tailbert] and Racett [Rayside] (including a tenement in Rose gill), farm of the whole township of [Wet] Sledged, rent in Range (including the mill of Barns cue), and Carhullen in Bampton parish (including a tenement in Knyep),'* [continues outside study area]
- 4.2.20 **Shap Abbey: land use** The medieval documentation (*Sections 4.2. and 4.3*) demonstrates a mobile hierarchy of several families of landowners in the area, with frequent exchanges of land and privileges to suit personal circumstances. They granted lands and other dues to the Abbey and Cannons, often in recognition of their religious status, but also to support the Abbey economically. More importantly, for this study, the documents demonstrate the practical and economic parameters of farming on the landscape in this area.
- 4.2.21 Documentation relating to the Abbey and its possessions (*Section 4.2.15*) indicate that the abbey's initial grants included lands in the immediate vicinity of the Abbey; they were also granted access to commons pasture for 60 cows, 500 sheep and their young, mares and oxen, and wood for building, hedging and fuel (*Section 4.2.16*). They were also granted the 'tithe of the pannage', indicating that swine were herded, and 'liberty to grind at his mill moulter free' (Nicholson and Burn 1770). The initial grants allowed the Abbey pasture for 500 sheep with their lambs. Sheep and wool may have been a particularly important source of income; a later document of 1315 says 'The monks of Shap sell their wool just as it comes from the fold, at nine marks (£6) a sack and they have usually 10 sacks a year' (Curwen 1932). Income of wool is mentioned in a document of 1560 as being owed to the church of Bampton, which a few years earlier would have been owed to Shap Abbey (Noble 1912).
- 4.2.22 A document of 1257 gives interesting details; the de Curwen family granted to Shap Abbey additional 'enlargement of the meadow land' mentioning the walls and dykes

which form the boundary of the Abbey's lands in Sleddale (Section 6.6.18). In return for this land the Abbey gave '*the whole of a tithe of Hay from Swindale and ..... the whole tithe of the pannage of Preston Patrick, which they had by a gift of the father of the said Patrick of Curwen* [in the late 12th century]'. Corn tithes are mentioned in a document of 1537 as being payment to an appointed Vicar of Bampton. Interestingly, a water mill at Bampton was owned by Shap Abbey in the years prior to 1489. In 1489 a document records the Abbott granting the water mill to the Clibburnes of Bampton (Ragg 1909).

- 4.2.23 A detailed inventory of the land holdings of the monastery of Shap, giving a clear picture of the farming economy, is recorded in the grant to Thomas Warton of the monastery of Shap and its possessions after the Dissolution (Nicolson and Burn 1770). '*All the tithes of wool, hay, corn and lambs from the demesne and manor of Shap*' are mentioned; in addition there were '*tithes of fax and hemp*' due to Shap Church (and thereafter the Abbey) and '*a tithe of calves*' due from Bampton Church (Curwen 1932). Of particular interest is the reference to the growing and processing of flax and hemp; and it may be possible to identify further archaeological evidence of such industry. A further grange, which had belonged to the Abbey, at Renegill, just north of the study area.
- 4.2.24 A study of field patterns and placenames marked in the OS maps may indicate further evidence of land use. Shap Abbey itself is enclosed by a series of dykes (Section 5.5.5) that are likely to have bounded pasture lands for cattle or sheep. Nicholson and Burn mention the grange in Shap as being a building '*half and mile to the north-east*' (perhaps High Barn). Sleddale Grange is marked by name and close by are the well-developed land improvements south of Sleddale Hall seen in the archaeological survey (Section 6.6.18). Renegill grange may have been in the vicinity of Gill Beck (c 2km north-west of Bampton); there is an interesting group of field boundaries at its west end alongside Ressit Gill and north of Stanegarth, indeed the suffix *garth* suggests an ecclesiastical connection. A group of radial field enclosures at Swindale Head, again, indicate the locality of the earliest farm settlement (see also Section 5.5.6) and may correspond to the Abbey's acquisition of substantial land holdings in Swindale. Although there is no documentary reference to a grange at Swindale, this farm settlement may have been a significant asset belonging to the Abbey. A second group of radial field patterns can be located at Tailberth and this area was also within the Abbey land-holdings (Section 4.2.16 and 4.3.6). There is the possibility that an Abbey farm was established there.
- 4.2.25 Placenames with the word Abbey probably pertain to Shap Abbey and its lands; Abbey mill on the west side of the river Lowther is an obvious example, but more indirect references to the Abbey possessions might be seen in the word Colby (Section 4.5.9) Placenames may also suggest other activities. The Abbey boundaries include "Buckstone", once known as "Lestablie", suggesting a trap for deer (see Section 6.6.11).
- 4.2.26 The OS maps also show a series of field boundaries in the area south of Bampton, which indicate that there may have been two or three parks established. One park can be seen in the field system around Littlewater Tarn, which is referred to in documentation (Section 4.3.9) as owned by the de Cundals. Further south there is what appears to be a park, fossilised within the modern field system. It is bounded on

the west by Haweswater Beck and encloses Lowpark and Highpark Buildings; there seems to be a later extension to the park immediately east of Thornthwaite Hall. From the documentation (*Section 4.3.17-18*) it seems that these latter two parks were owned by the Curwens for hunting.

- 4.2.27 The Thornthwaite parks adjoin a lengthy wall boundary continuing towards the approximate north-east bank of the old Haweswater lake. This lengthy boundary possibly appears to approximately define the northern extent of lands held by Shap Abbey as detailed in the later medieval documents (*Section 4.2.18-19*) and may potentially have been an early boundary.
- 4.2.28 **Byland Abbey lands:** In c1191 the founder of Shap Abbey, also gave some land at Shap and *Heppeshow* [Shaphowe] to Byland Abbey (near Thirsk, North Yorkshire), as pasture for 500 sheep, a grant which was confirmed by a Final Concord conveyance in 1235. *Heppishow* has presented problems of identification. Smith (1967, 175) gives the various forms of the name, from *Shappishowe* in c1217 (Crackenthorpe deeds, not seen) to *The Howe* in 1633, but not its location. Ragg (1914a, 7) states that this grant of land lay east of the Shap Abbey grant, ‘beginning at Heppishow, went round by Sleddale and Wasdale and *Borgedal* [Borrowdale] and by the bounds of Crosby to Slegiltern, then to Tranterne’, and thence back to Heppishowe, and included Yarlside.
- 4.2.29 Whiteside (1904, 328) says that *Shapshaw* extends ‘from the Greyhound [inn] towards the Toll Bar’, in Shap village. However, the Cumbria SMR (CSMR 14828) states that the farm called Howe (H948), one of the two drowned by Wet Sleddale Reservoir, was called *Sheppishow* in 1235. Against the equation of *Shappishow* with Howe in Wet Sleddale is the fact that both Howe and Sleddale Grange are north-west of the River Lowther and, unless the river had changed its course between 1235 and 1863 (1st edition OS 6” map), it would be surprising if Byland had land on the same side of the river, so close to Shap Abbey’s grange at Wet Sleddale (H1025).
- 4.2.30 Whatever the identification of *Sheppishowe*, it would appear to be located more south than east of Shap Abbey, and was probably part of the boundary between the Shap and Byland lands within the study area. A Borrowdale in Shap is not referred to by Whiteside (1904) or Smith (1967). The Byland lands also included the manor of Hardendale (Noble 1912, vii).
- 4.2.31 At the time of the Dissolution, the Court of Augmentation records of 1540-41 (31-32 Henry VIII) show that much of Byland Abbey itself, and some of the lands, had been granted already to Sir William Pykryng, but that the remaining lands in Crown hands included:  
*‘Fawcett forest, etc., Westmorland: Rents and farms in Fawcett Forest, Wasdale, Armesdale, and Shap, Blatern [Blea Tarn] and Wercop and Bretherdale with Asby grange’* (PRO 1964, 4, 189, no. 649).
- 4.2.32 **Wet Sleddale:** Patrick, son of Thomas (presumably the founder), gave the valley of [Wet] Sleddale to the abbey in 1249. Ragg (1914a, 57-9) gives a transcript and translation of the grant, and in an earlier article (Ragg 1909) gives a transcript, translation, and comment on a 1257 document confirming the grant. A later, perhaps

simplified, description of the boundary of the Manor of [Wet] Sleddale, dating from before 1500 reads as follows.

*'From the head of the rivulet which is called Sourmyre Syke [not identified by Ragg] on the northerly side of the aforesaid valley, going down as the same rivulet goes down, as far as the water of Sleddale. And so going up by the same water of Sleddale as far as a rivulet called Rogerscallebec. And so going up by the same rivulet towards the south, out of the wood, up to [a point] opposite to a great stone lying on another stone [To Stone or to'ther: NY 5479 0895]. And so from the same stone going up towards the south up to the top of the mountain as the rain water runs down towards the said valley of Sleddale [ie the watershed]. And the whole valley in a circle round on every side as the rain water runs down to the same valley of Sleddale [ie from the watershed] until one comes opposite to the aforesaid rivulet of Sourmyre'.*

*From Walnok [Wallnook] to Lythylsete [Littleseat] and so from Lithilsete to Sate Robert [Seat Robert] and from Sate Robert to the hill of Skhalemathew [Scaur Mathew] and from the said hill to Ulleset [Ulset Rigg] and from Ulleset to Saddegilcragg [Sadgilcragg]' (CRO(C) D/Lons/L5/2/18/15).*

- 4.2.33 In the 1249 agreement Patrick and his heirs save for themselves the 'beasts of the chase,' and required the Abbot to have a forester with a bow to do fealty (loyalty service) to Patrick and his heirs. The abbot shall have:

*'... common of moss and moor and wood and pasture for all kinds of beasts beginning from the head of the water of Great Mosedale southwards and eastwards everywhere within the bounds of the pasture of the monks of Byland according as the same water of Great Mosedale descends from the bounds of Kendal by the bottom of the same valley of Mosedale unto Swyndalebeck [Swindale Beck], and so descending ... into the water of the Lowther. Except the woodland under Ketomyre [not identified] in Mosdale ...'*

- 4.2.34 The 1257 document (Ragg 1909, 271-3) is a confirmation of the 1249 grant, in the form of an exchange between Sir Patrick de Curwen, son of Thomas the founder. From this document it is clear that the abbey boundary was by this time largely enclosed by walls and dykes. The land in question is described as:

*'... in enlargement of the meadow land of the abbot and convent in Sleddale, viz. that which is within these bounds: going from the stream of Surmire above Surmire, which is the boundary of the said monks, as far as the wall beyond the corner of the dyke of Surmyre towards the south, and so straight on, to the wall below the great road which comes from the vill of Hepp [Shap] and is called the Stayngate; then ascending by the same wall to the ridge of Sleddale, and so along the same wall to the boundary of the land belonging to the said canons.'*

- 4.2.35 Ragg interprets this Stayngate as the main road to Kendal. The abbey consented to give up the tithe (one tenth of the value) of the hay in Swindale, which would have been due to them from the occupier. They also gave up the tithe of the pannage [payment for the right to let pigs forage in the forest], but this refers to Preston Patrick, the original site of the abbey.

- 4.2.36 **Bampton:** Although most of the Bampton boundary description documents in the Lonsdale collection could not be located by CRO(C) staff, a c1669 description of the

Mosedale part is appended to the 1612 survey of 'Belted Will's' (Lord William Howard's) Manor of Thornthwaite (CRO(C) D/Lons/L5/2/20/14) by Thomas Goodwin. Also, Noble (1901, 2-7) transcribes an account of the riding and perambulation of the boundaries of the Forest and Manor of Thornthwaite, otherwise known as Bampton Patrick, by Lord Lonsdale's agent and the tenants of the manor, on 23 August 1809.

*'... a place called Elderbeck Sike foot, where the boundary begins, from thence the perambulation commenced. The next place taken notice of was the Craggs of Lowther where there is a mill called Craggs Mill; from thence to the doors of the first house in Wet Sleddale, from thence up a sike called Sour Mire Sike, to the head of it. Afterwards in a direct line to the summit of a mountain called Seat Robert or the Seat of Robert, which holds his head pretty high, and is crowned with a sharp pike of rough stones [H706]. ... forward in a direct line to the summit of another hill, called Scaur Matthew, ... [to] the summit of a hill called Harrop, and the road to it being - "Through bogs, and ditches, and morasses, O'er desperate leaps, and dangerous passes." ... The next point is called Adam's Seat ... From thence passing over the top of Harter Fell, and descending the other side, which was a most dangerous passage, the road being pretty steep ... Stephen's Cross, which is at the top of a very high hill called High Street ... to Hugh's Dike, which takes its name from a hero of the name of Hugh Holme, who came over with Will of Normandy, and according to tradition was the founder of a hamlet below called Mardale. ... they proceeded forward to Burnt Stones ... and down the midstream of Heltondale beck till they came to the foot of it, where it makes a confluence with Lowther river. Here the company came to a place called Beckfoot, a snug house ... crossed the Lowther river at Whale Beck foot, and advanced along the boulder line till they arrived at Elderbeck Sike foot ....'*

- 4.2.37 This can be enhanced with a description of the Forest of Thornthwaite bounds taken on 15 July 1675 (Noble 1901, 8-9):

*'... [from] Seat Robert ... to Scaur Matthew, and from there linealy to Ulcide Knot, then up the School Grove to the top thereof. Then ... to the top of Harrop, thence going up to the Farnat Crag, and so by the Guards End, through Mosdale Moss, and from thence to a great grey stone in Scar Ramskin, from thence linealy to Adam's Seat, from thence up the North Grain in Shepperd Wrangdale to the Birk Stower Bogg, and so from [there] to Edgrim Holes. Thence to Stephen's Cross, and thence ... to Hugh's Dike, and so down the Goat of Scales to Riggindale Beck, so down the middle stream of Riggindale Beck to a lough called Allswater [Haweswater], and so down the middle of the said Allswater to the stepping stones of Ewes, and so ... to the stepping stones at Little Burns foot, so to Light Oak Gill, so up Light Oak to a great stone at the head of Round sand, thence down Slack to Pool Dirt Mire, so on to Moor Bauck Sike. So down ... to a great grey stone in the Dubs, and thence to Elderbeck Sike foot, whence it begun.'*

#### 4.3 SHAP AND BAMPTON FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- 4.3.1 **Shap:** In 1322 Shap Abbey suffered severe damage during a Scottish raid, the most serious to affect Shap, of the numerous raids between 1296 and 1346, though certainly not the first. A comparison of the income of religious foundations for papal

taxation (for a proposed Crusade), the *Taxation Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, has been taken by Bouch (1948, 68-9) as evidence that the clergy did not have the means to pay the tax. In 1291 Shap Abbey's income was £46 13s 4d, but in 1318 it was just £2, although this may also have been influenced by bad harvests over the preceding years. In 1322, during raids that lasted over three weeks, two Scottish armies swept through Cumbria, one along the coast under Robert I (The Bruce, ruled 1306-29), the other, under the Earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas, over Shap. The bishop of Carlisle stated that the Scots had '*slain men, women, old and young, orphans and widows, burnt nearly all the churches, houses and buildings, driven off their cattle, carried away their treasures, ornaments, and every movable of value, and destroyed the whole country, so that the lands of the bishopric lay uncultivated, the source of his revenues wasted, and he himself reduced to a state of indigence and want*' (Bouch 1948, 69; Rollinson 1978, 47).

- 4.3.2 We can presume that the Shap area suffered a similar fate during these invasions, although the remote valleys of Haweswater, Swindale and Sleddale may not have been in such danger. The abbey's hardship and need for funds to repair damage is mentioned in a petition to the Crown (Edward II) for a continuation of cornage rents previously paid by Roger de Clifford, whose lands had been 'attainted' [forfeited due to treason] in 1322 (Whitwell and Thompson 1905, 62-3). The Abbey is likely to have suffered a corresponding loss of power and influence also reflected in the drop in the number of canons, from about twenty in the thirteenth century to just six in 1379. Some time during the reign of Edward III (1327-77), the tenants of the manor of Thornthwaite were excused payment of dues to the Crown, owing to their losses during the Scots raids (Noble 1901, 27).
- 4.3.3 By the Statute *de Religiosis* of 1279, religious Houses could not accept land without a licence from the King. In September 1336 the King ordered an enquiry by jury to ascertain whether it would be prejudicial to anyone if Gilbert de Culwen granted five acres of arable, and fifteen acres of waste in Shap, to the abbey, and whether Gilbert could still afford to fulfil his other customary services if he did so. The case gives an insight into the obligations on landowners at the time. The enquiry found that de Culwen had land worth £20 per year besides that to be granted to the abbey, with which to pay 'the suit of court, the customary dues, the frankpledges, the aids [Gracious Aids, paid to the Crown], the tolls, the watch duties, the final concords [land conveyance costs], and all other obligations.' The King finally granted the abbey permission to accept the land in October 1341 (Curwen 1928, 59).
- 4.3.4 This land seems to have been in Tailbert and comprised ten messuages, and 20 bovates of land in Shap township, and two-thirds of one-third of the manor of Bampton Patrick. The annual dues were 10s [plus some amount illegible] cornage for the Shap land, and 8s for the Bampton land. The Shap lands were worth 40s per year, and the Bampton portion of the manor 26s 8d. By an Inquisition held in 1357, Gilbert was permitted to exchange his manor of Shap, for the fourth part of the manor of Bampton Patrick and Bampton Cundal. The jury found that Shap was held for 2s 4d cornage and a payment of 7s per annum, and was worth 71s 10d yearly. The fourth part of Bampton was held for 9½d cornage, and 6s for the puture [provisions] of the King's bailiff, and was worth 66s 10d. The bounds of the abbey were accordingly 'rectified' (Ragg 1914b, 363).

- 4.3.5 Nicholson and Burn (1777, 1, 480) and later authors (e.g. Ffinch 1985, 69) relate an event, recorded in the bishop's registry, that happened in 1360.  
*'Complaint being made of some unknown persons riotously breaking into the houses and grange of the abbot and convent of Hepp at Sleddale, and committing several disorders there, the bishop [?Gilbert de Welton (Whiteside 1904, 31)] issues ... to the rural dean of Westmorland, and to the rector of Lowther, the vicars of Hepp, Morland, and Crosby Ravensworth, to denounce the greater excommunication, at the time of high mass, when the greatest number of people should be gathered together, the bells ringing, and the candles lighted and put out, against the said rioters.'*
- 4.3.6 A charter of 1384 (CRO(C) D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Shap/SH 13 between Robert, Abbot of Shap, and Gilbert (IV) de Culwen is discussed by Ragg (1914b, 372-3) and Curwen (1928, 64). It is a complex and lengthy indenture, and relates to the settling of a dispute which had been brewing since 1357, when Gilbert's father (Gilbert III, d.1370) had supposedly exchanged manors with the abbey. The actual 1357 grant, to Abbot Lambert, is lost, but the 1384 document claims that the exchange had only concerned *'the part of Shap east of the Lowther, given to the Abbey for the fourth part Bampton Patrick and of Bampton Cundal'*. The abbey, having possession (under the Culwens) of land in Taylleborth (Tailbert) and Sqwyndal (Swindale), west of the Lowther, and in Raysett [Rayside], had been exercising and claiming manorial rights there which were not intended to be granted in the exchange. The manorial rights are stated to include pasture, heath and turbary [peat cutting].
- 4.3.7 By 1423 the manor of Shap was held jointly by the Abbey and the Curwens, but soon afterwards the abbey became sole owner of the lordship lord (Whiteside 1904, 125). Thornthwaite, Mardale, and Swindale were forest until well into the Medieval period, owned by the Curwens (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 479).
- 4.3.8 **Bampton / Thornthwaite:** A glimpse of the extent of the Curwen holdings in Thornthwaite (Bampton Patrick) is afforded by an 'exemplification of a recovery' by William Fairefax and William Bellassys, knights, against Henry Curwen, esq, written in October 1566. The manor is said to comprise *'200 messuages, 60 cottages, 20 tofts, 200 gardens, and lands, and £4 rent, in Thornthwayte, Naddayle, Mardayle, Swyndayle, Bonby, Messand [Measand], Banton Graunge [Bampton Grange], and Knype'* (CRO Whitehaven D/Cu/4/182).
- 4.3.9 In comparison to the fairly readily accessible documentation for Bampton, in the published Curwen papers, few de Cundal or Cliburn papers have been published, though many of their deeds survive in the Lonsdale collection (CRO(C) D/Lons/L1/BM), which have not been studied for this project. Among the earliest document in the collection relating to de Cundals are one relating to 'rights in Croakheng' in 1278 (BM 10), and a grant in 1289 by de Cundal to Prudfot [Proudfoot] (first names not given in catalogue) of a messuage and land in Littlewater near Bampton, where the field patterns (marked on the OS map) demonstrate the earlier existence of a park (Section 4.2.26).
- 4.3.10 The earliest mention of a de Cundal in Bampton seems to be in 1370 (43 Edward III) when Gilbert de Culwen held the manor of Knipe, at the same time as the same



Gilbert, and the Abbot of Hepp, and Robert de Cliburne held the manor of Bampton Patrick (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 465; Noble 1901, 24).

- 4.3.11 In 1527 the heir of Thomas Curwen, and Thomas Cliburne, held Bampton Patrick and Knipe Patrick, about which time it was sold to Lord William Howard of Naworth (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 466; Noble 1901, 24).
- 4.3.12 The Hearth Tax imposed between 1662 and 1689, record households and house information. Only the Michaelmas 1670 return is complete (J Gibson 1990, 5-6 and 47-8). The returns of 1670 (PRO E.179/195/73; Curwen 1932, 253-4) record the owners of 83 households in the whole of Bampton parish, with a total of 90 hearths, there being one house (John Todd in Knipe) with three hearths, and five houses with two hearths, all the remainder having one each. The two-hearth houses were Mr Wilkinson's in Bampton Grange, Mr Bradley's and William Gibson's in Knipe, Anthony Hoblocke's in Little Water, and Richard Salkeld's in Skewes. There were no houses with more than one hearth in Bombye, Butterwick, Measand, Walmgate, or Whelter, and a total of 54 householders were exempted by certificate of poverty. To qualify as such, houses had to be worth less than 20s per annum, or the householders not to possess goods worth £10. Nine of the exempt households were in Little Water, 17 in Skews, nine in Measand, eleven in Walmgate, and four in Whelter, all apparently in the study area (Curwen 1932, 253-4).
- 4.3.13 After the death of Philip, Duke of Wharton, the manor of Knipe Patrick and Cundale was purchased c1730 by J Lowther, from Sir Thomas Hutton, Thomas Cleedburn (Cliburn), and others (Noble 1901, 28). Sir Hugh (III) Lowther began to purchase parts of the manor in 1339 (CRO(C) D/Lons/L1/BM 58), along with Hackthorpe, Thrimby, and Askham, and further land in Whale (Owen 1990, 25). Owen considers that it was this Sir Hugh who built the pele tower at Lowther, to replace the motte and bailey castle (LUAU 1997). To judge from the catalogue descriptions of documents in the Lowther deed collection, his descendants continued to buy-out smaller landowners throughout the 1300s and 1400s.
- 4.3.14 Ragg (1909, 276-81) discusses an interesting document of 26 February 1473. Although the area concerned is mostly outside the study area - west of the River Lowther, between Swindale beck and 'Toathmanfeld dyke' on one side, and Thornthwite Park (generally a deer park at this date) on the other - there is a mention of Mosedale. Richard Redmayne, Bishop of St Asaph and Abbot of Shap granted a *composition* or compromise to Hugh de Salkeld and Christofer de Curwen and his grandfather Gilbert. At Mosedale, Hugh de Salkeld had allowed a kinsman, Richard Salkeld of Corby, to have cattle for depasturing.
- 4.3.15 **Mardale:** The village of Mardale was sited at the north end of Haweswater lake, below the present Haweswater reservoir. Mardale disappeared underwater in 1941 as a result of the construction of the reservoir.
- 4.3.16 The RCHM (1936) made an inventory of all the buildings in Mardale, whether ruinous or recently inhabited: in particular it mentioned Rowanpark, with a spiral staircase within a semi-circular outshot, Low Whelter, Flakehow with a spiral staircase in a small projecting wing and a panelled cupboard dated 1675, Riggindale, and Castle Crag (Section 7.3.1). A survey was undertaken by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society in c 1938. They located and

recorded two village settlements (presumably abandoned in antiquity), one near Naddle Bridge and the other in Guerness Wood: Additionally they found and recorded lynchets in Chapel Field (Thompson 1942). Their survey of the standing farms and houses emphasise "*that both farmhouses and farm buildings had been very numerous a century ago. Within living memory there had been several small farms independently worked, which more recently were worked together as one holding*" (Thomson, 1942). Such field work in conjunction with the documentation demonstrated that the earlier population and settlement of Mardale had been of greater significance than the subsequent post-medieval settlement.

- 4.3.17 Mardale was only partly in the parish of Shap, outlying areas were in the parish of Bampton. During the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, although most of the parish of Shap had been bequeathed to Shap Abbey and was administered by the Abbey (*Section 4.2.19*), the Curwen family deliberately retained the forests or chase of Thornthwaite, including Mardale and Measand. Thornthwaite forest was an area of fell and woodland from the north of Haweswater lake as far south as Thornthwaite Crag, west of Mardale (*Section 4.2.9*). A document of 1249 seems to act as an addendum to the initial grants of the late twelfth century; an agreement between Patrick, Son of Thomas (*section 4.2.19*) and the Abbott of Shap, clarified issues over specific rights within forest. Although the Abbey were allowed hunting rights and could graze their pasture in the moor and forests, and similarly utilise the wood and brushwood within the valley of Wet Sleddale, and South and east of Great Mosedale, this document testifies that the "*Abbey has renounced claim to any of the common in Patrick's forest which he had by the gift of Thomas GosPatrickson and Thomas, son of Thomas in the ... north and west as far [east] as the water of Lowther*" [ie Thornthwaite, Mardale and Swindale] (Ragg 1914).
- 4.3.18 It is likely that the Curwens were interested in the using the forests as their own grounds for hunting (rather than in economically exploiting the woods); later building the Elizabethan hunting seat in Thornthwaite, known as Thornthwaite Manor House (Taylor 1892). References to a manor of Thornthwaite are made, in a much earlier period, in an entail of 1275 (Curwen 1928); the manor may have included the township of Mardale.
- 4.3.19 The important family in Mardale was the Holmes family whose records date back to 1209. There is a tradition that this family were descended from John Holme (a native of Stockholme) who came to Britain as a follower of William the Conqueror in 1066; he settled in York. Later his great-great-grandson Hugh was allegedly implicated in the Canterbury Conspiracy against King John and fled to Scotland. On his journey he sheltered in a cave in Mardale, (still known as Hugh's Cave) and thereafter settled in Mardale (Whiteside 1904). During the Post-medieval period the Holmes family owned Chapel Hill. Other families of significance include the Baxters, the Jacksons and the Hatons (Shap Parish Register 1559-1830) and they may well have had their antecedents in the Medieval period.
- 4.3.20 The earliest records of the population of Mardale are on an 1660 indenture where 13 tenants are named (Hinchcliffe, 1928). Whiteside (1904) states that Bouderswaite was apparently the oldest farmhouse standing in Mardale; the other fourteen houses he lists were all built in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; this was the period when most houses in the area were rebuilt in stone. The chapel built c

1700 (*Section 1.7*) had seating for 50 people. Bulmer in 1885 notes "*the entire population in the chapelry is 44....*", and by c 1900 only nine houses were occupied (Whiteside 1904), although it is not known what the population was at that time.

- 4.3.21 The present Mardale chapel was built in the early eighteenth century (Whiteside, 1904) and was made parochial in 1728. However, there is some evidence for an earlier building; the RCHM notes that the Chapel roof appeared to be later medieval in character. The earliest documentary references to a chapel are in 1586 when the Penrith registers note that Anthony Paig and Isabell Lancaster were married at 'Mardall chapel by Dr. Burton', and in 1596, when it was mentioned that there was a Reader at Mardale, who was the son of Sir John Brocklebank, Vicar of Shap. The chapel was mentioned in the Commonwealth survey of 1657. Whiteside (1902) states that an oratory at Mardale was traditionally believed to have been founded in the fourteenth century by Rudolfus Holme. The lack of a consecrated graveyard led to the use of the 'Corpse road' to take bodies from Mardale for burial at Shap Church. This followed a route over the fells to Shap via Swindale but whether this path was used solely as a corpse road during the medieval period is unknown.
- 4.3.22 Mardale was located on what was probably a major pack-horse route between Kendal and Penrith; this went via Kentmere and Nan Bield and Harter Fell, dropping down to the west side of the Haweswater Valley. The footpath on the eastern side of Mardale was originally a packhorse route from Longsleddale and Kendal, and would have been used to gain access to Thornthwiate and Bampton and Shap. There were three bridges over the Haweswater Beck. The two on the western route, Arnold Bridge and Chapel Bridge, both probably of seventeenth century date (Thompson, 1942), and on the eastern side to the north of Mardale was the Naddle Bridge.
- 4.3.23 Evidence from the medieval period suggest that Mardale had little administrative or ecclesiastical status; yet its location and population seems to have been significant. The reasons for settlement in Mardale may have been due to the oldest property referred to by all the late nineteenth century sources, the Dun Bull Inn, which was apparently, then, at least 400 years old (Whiteside 1904), although originally the building was a farmhouse and called Greenhead (Thompson, 1942). The position of this inn on a major route from Kendal to Penrith (*Section 4.6.1-9*) may have encouraged trade in Mardale, and an increasing number of people to settle in the vicinity of the inn to exploit such opportunities. Indeed the Dun Bull is described "*as being the only hotel which the district boasts*"; a scan of the published material relating to Keld, Hardendale, Wasdale, Rosgill, and Swindale indicates no other hotel or inn in the area (Bulmer, 1885), thus increasing the trading significance of Mardale.
- 4.3.24 Agriculture was also an important element of the Mardale economy. Field lynchets, possibly dating from the Medieval period, are recorded at Chapel Hill (Hay 1940). The Tithe map of 1842 demonstrates that during an earlier period there were town fields, which may have originated in the manorial period of Mardale. The common field was called the Mardale field situated on both sides of the river at the head of the lake Haweswater (Simpson, 1929). Mardale had a Shepherd's Meet during the third week in November, presumably derived from an earlier, more practical purpose of bringing together all the stray sheep to be claimed by their rightful owners (Thompson, 1942), but which was developed into a sporting occasion. It may be that

the concentration of sheepfolds shown on the 1865 and 1898 OS maps opposite Brackenhowe were connected with this event.

- 4.3.25 The copper workings (*Section 3.3.1*) are known to have been worked in the period 1836-1852 (Adams 1988); there is no known record of earlier workings. However it is possible that the charcoal pits in the forest at Guerness Gill, which provided an income for the Mardale villagers in the nineteenth century (Whiteside 1904), provided a resource during the late Medieval period.

#### 4.4 POST-MEDIEVAL

- 4.4.1 **Wharton Lands:** Shap Abbey was dissolved in January 1540, and surrendered by Abbot Richard Evenwood, four years after the Act under which its dissolution was required. Bouch (1948, 179) puts its survival during this period down to its use as an inn. After the Dissolution, in 1545, the manor of Shap was granted by the Crown to Sir Thomas Wharton, Governor of Carlisle, who had also been granted Gisburn and Rievaulx Abbeys in Yorkshire (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 473), for a rent of £41 11s yearly, with 'reversion' to the Crown. This reversion implies that the Crown always intended to sell the lands outright to Wharton. The form of lease allowed a conveyance to him to be undertaken in secret without the need for traditional bargain and sale (Coleman and Wood 1988, 50). In fact, it seems to have been 1612 before the Wharton family finally purchased Shap outright.
- 4.4.2 The market at Shap did not originate until after 1600 (Winchester 1987, 121). A charter for a weekly market and three fairs annually was obtained by Lord Wharton, in 1687 (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 477). By 1860 the market was 'almost obsolete', but Lord Lonsdale built a new market house in 1861-2 (Curwen 1932, 373).
- 4.4.3 The Shap lands included Tailbert, Rayside, and some of Rosgill, but specifically excluded Sleddale Grange, Milburn Grange, and lands in Rosgill in the tenure of Thomas Salkeld (Whiteside 1904, 179-82) (*Section 4.4.9*). The Wharton lands were forfeited in 1729 by Philip, 6th Lord Wharton (1698-1731), a Jacobite sympathiser, and were sold by the Crown to Robert Lowther; they thereafter descended to the Lords of Lonsdale (Butler and Given-Wilson 1979, 345; CRO Carlisle, D/Lons).
- 4.4.4 In 1612, James I granted the reversion of the Shap lands to Philip, Lord Wharton, and his son Thomas, because of the faithful service of Sir George, brother of Philip. The particulars detail the tenants throughout the lands, but not the names of the individual properties (Nicholson and Burn 1777, 1, 473-4).
- 4.4.5 The Health Tax of 1670 records 51 households in Shap, with a total of 64 hearths, there being two houses (both belonging to George Hayton) with four hearths, and six with two hearths, all the remainder having one each. Twenty eight householders were exempted by certificate of poverty, defined under Bampton. It is not possible to say, without very extensive title deed research, how many of these households were in the study area, but since Rosgill, [Wet] Sleddale, Hardendale, and Swindale are accounted separately under Shap parish (see below), most are probably in the village of Shap and therefore outside it.

- 4.4.6 In December 1745, the advancing Jacobite army travelled by way of Shap. Chevalier de Johnstone, a captain in the Lowland regiment of Scots (the 'Duke of Perth's') described how, after spending the night of 16th December at Shap in a storm, the artillery column and about 300 men (Johnstone claims 500) were intercepted at Clifton by a detachment under General Oglethorpe, the last engagement to be fought on English soil. The Scottish four-wheeled ammunition waggons became stuck because of the poor condition of the road, exacerbated by the bad weather (Hindle 1977, 19). This was a contributing factor in the road being turnpiked less than ten years later in 1753. Nevertheless, the English were defeated with the loss of around 100 men, to only five on the Jacobites side, this checked the pursuit of the Highland army (Ferguson 1894, 260-5).
- 4.4.7 An Act for dividing and inclosing the wastes of Shap was passed in 1767, the three commissioners being required to undertake the work by 20 May. However, all three commissioners died without completing the work, and the Act was repealed (Curwen 1932, 374-5). A new Act was not obtained until 1813 (CRO(K) WQR I/81), the Enclosure map being dated 1820, and including an inset map of 52 allotments for turbary on Shap Common, outside the study area.
- 4.4.8 ***Rosgill and Wet Sleddale: the Salkeld lands:*** Rosgill, as we have seen, came to the Salkelds by marriage into the de Rosgill family some time after 1343. The Salkelds continued to possess it until 1631/2 when it was brought by marriage to the Christians of Unerigg, Cumberland (Whellan 1860, 809). They sold it to the Lowthers, but secondary sources do not give a date for this, nor are there deeds of this date in the Lowther Rosgill collection (CRO catalogue).
- 4.4.9 A document of 1562 (D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Wet Sleddale/SH 26b) gives an inventory of the extent of the Salkeld lands in Wet Sleddale. This is the 'Foot of Fine' of a Final Concord (a kind of legal fiction, created at the Court of Common Pleas to confirm the conveyance of land) between Salkeld (the plaintiff or purchaser) and Thomas Barwyke (the deforciant, or present owner) regarding the Manor of Wetsleddale and free fishing in the River Lowther. Wet Sleddale is described as '*aliter Bowhouse*'. This alias could be the same as the surviving farm *Bowfield*. It should be noted that Feet of Fines sometimes contain wildly inaccurate and exaggerated acreages, but that at least the smaller measures are likely to be accurate (Dr A J L Winchester, pers comm). The manor is said to contain:
- '15 messuages, 4 cottages, 10 tofts, 15 gardens, 100 acres of land, 200 acres of meadow, 1000 acres of pasture, 40 acres of [?woodland, document damaged], 1000 acres of moor, 300 acres of moss, 200 acres of turbary, 1000 acres of heath, and gorse (jampnorum et bruero), and 10s rent with appurtenances.'*
- 4.4.10 The reference to tofts (Old Norse *topt*; Smith 1967, 1, 293), '*a house site, or where a house had once stood*' (Coleman and Wood 1988, 56), is particularly interesting, perhaps indicating that the manor had once been more populated. Whiteside (1904, 273-97) lists all the datestones, and describes the houses to which they were attached, in the parish. The RCHME (1936, 209-11) similarly lists the many houses, extant and ruined. However, in Wet Sleddale, neither mention large numbers of house sites. The RCHM (1936, 210, no 64) list only one ruined house with later outbuildings, 120 yards north-west of Thorney Bank, and this is shown by the OS (H893). The

Grange (Whiteside 1904, 291; RCHME 1936, 210, no 56) has a date stone of 1691 (H1025).

- 4.4.11 Secondary sources do not detail the descent of Wet Sleddale manor after 1545, and neither of the other two documents for the manor in the Lonsdale collection could be located by CRO (Carlisle) staff. However, from the 1941 catalogue descriptions, it seems likely that, further to the 1562 Foot of Fine, it was granted by the Barwick family to the Salkelds in 1571/2. In 1620 there was a quitclaim (a release of rights) by Fleming to Lowther. Whether the Lowthers had interests in Wet Sleddale before 1620 is not recorded in the published histories of that family. We have seen that the Lowthers consolidated their Shap interests in 1729 by purchasing the former Wharton lands from the Crown.
- 4.4.12 The Hearth Tax returns of 1670 show eleven households in Wet Sleddale, each with one hearth, and five households exempted on the grounds of poverty, defined above under Bampton (Section 4.3.19). Rosgill had 18 households with one hearth, and one (Richard Smith) with two; eleven households were exempted (Curwen 1932, 372-3).
- 4.4.13 Noble (1912) mentions the Wilkinson family as being of Wet Sleddale, but it is not clear when they first settled there, being originally from Van Stile in Bampton. Until the sale to North West Water in 1931 (deed H 27), Poor Hagg in Wet Sleddale (c20-30 acres in extent) was maintained by a charity, the rent being used to aid poor householders. Whellan (1860, 808) does not give a foundation date for the charity.
- 4.4.14 ***Buck Park, Wet Sleddale:*** Thompson (1934, 44) reminds us that the Medieval abbey land boundary included a place between the abbey and Rosgill called *Lestablie*, or *Bokeston* [Buck Stone], and described in c1200 as ‘the great stone where they were wont to stand to watch the deer as they passed’ (Curwen 1932, 359, quoted by Smith 1967, 2, 174), suggesting that there must have been some form of trap there or the stone lay on the route of the game drive.
- 4.4.15 Whiteside (1904, 329) says that ‘*once there was a deer park above Sleddale Hall; the deer were removed to Maulds Meaburn*’. It is not clear whether he is referring to the deer *pound*, generally called Buck Park, or whether he is implying some larger enclosure, not referred to by other sources. No manuscript documentary references have been found for ‘Buck Park’, the walled deer pound near Tongue Rigg Gill (H956), a scheduled monument. The RCHM’s (1936, 210-11, no 72) description and Thompson’s (1934) short paper with photographs can, however, be supplemented by comments from Mike Davies-Shiel. In 1936, the c3 acres enclosure was enclosed by walls, in places 12 feet high, with remains of coping stones. The entrance could not then be identified, though Thompson, from fieldwork in 1932, postulated that it had either been blocked by the sheepfold in the south wall of the west cell, or was in the north-east corner, beside the river Lowther. The gateway between the cells is at the north end of the dividing wall, and still has hinges in place for a gate or door. Tonguerigg Gill passes through the larger eastern cell, and passes under the walls in ‘an arched cundreth’.
- 4.4.16 Davies-Shiel reports that an article in the *Westmorland Gazette* of 1851 (not seen) says that Lord Lonsdale had the whole enclosure rebuilt for renewed interest in large game, accounting for the good condition of the structure. Thompson’s informant,

from the Lowther estates, says that deer were last put in the enclosure in the 1860s. It is shown, with the sheepfold already in place at its south-west corner, on the first edition OS 6" map (1863, Sheet 21), but is not named on the map.

- 4.4.17 **Swindale, Naddle, and Mosedale:** Swindale village, part of the Manor of Thornthwaite (Whellan 1860, 809), is outside the study area, but it is worth noting that Tailbert (two houses in 1901) and Mosedale Cottage lie within the study area and are generally considered part of the Swindale Chapelry as are for, rating purposes, Racet [Rayside], Naddle, and Toathmain, though for ecclesiastical purposes all these except Tailbert were part of Shap (Whiteside 1901, 256).
- 4.4.18 The Hearth Tax returns of 1670 show eleven households, each with one hearth, and three exempted households (Curwen 1932, 373). The names given are John Holme, William and Thomas Jackson, Hugh and James Baxter, Richard Stewardson, John Ellyson, William Hoggard, Henry Plummer, Peter Wilson, and William Tinkler.
- 4.4.19 Documents relating to the Baxters and Stewardsons in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century are in a collection of Sewell family papers (CRO(K) WDX/835). The Sewells seem to have been tenants of Thornthwaite Mill in 1705/6 (WDX 835/8) and Thomas Sewell, yeoman, is described as 'of Thornthwaite Hall' in 1730, when Edward Hasell was Lord of the Manor of Thornthwaite. In February 1697/8, John Baxter mortgaged a tenement in Swindall from Roger Lickbarrow of Longsleddale (WDX 835/3), and in March 1703/4 Richard Stewardson was in the possession of an inclosure '*called the New Close and Hoghouse Garth, and a housesteads adjoining on the common, in Swindale, late in possession of John Baxter ... also his inclosure called the waistes with one dale of meadow adjoining called the Prye, in Swindale*' (WDX 835/6), perhaps the same tenement as in the 1697/8 document. The yearly rent was '3s to the Lord of the Manor of Thornthwaite, and 1½d for tyth hay and corn to the Rector of Shap'. In February 1723/4, the same tenement was mortgaged by Anthony Dennison of Cragg Quarter in Kentmere, cordwainer [shoemaker], to Mary Stewardson of Tailbert.
- 4.4.20 Nicholson and Burn (1777, 1, 479) state that Mosedale blue slate, presumably from the quarries (H749, H750) that are now filled in, was first found '*not a century*' before their time, ie a little before 1700.
- 4.4.21 In the absence of a good tithe map for the area, we are fortunate to be able to locate fields from later sales particulars, notably that for the Swindale Foot estate, in August 1878 (CRO(K) WDB/35/SP 135). In addition the parish valuation of 1860 (WDB/35/Box 14) allows Hoghouse Field to be located at NY 5220 1400. It is not clear where Pry was, unless it was called Pow Garth (NY 5210 1370) by 1860. Smith (1967) does not mention this field name.
- 4.4.22 The Shap enclosure map of 1820 (CRO(K) WQR/I/81) gives few details that are not known from other sources, but Hollishowe Well, on Low Fell (H1026), is not referred to elsewhere. A roughly triangular area between Wasdale Pike, Poorhag Gill, Longfell Gill, and a boundary between the gills is described as 'Earl of Lonsdale for turbary' ie peat cutting, and the rest of Low Fell as 'sold to Earl of Lonsdale' or 'Earl of Lonsdale for seignory'.

- 4.4.23 The 1842 tithe map and apportionment (CRO(K) WDRC/8/118) only shows 13 fields in Wet Sleddale, 8 in Swindale, and 10 in Tailbert and Rayside probably indicating that considerable enclosure took place between then and the first edition OS 6" map of 1863. Although the NWW Title Research Centre archives have numbered the fields, there is no list of field names to match against the maps.

#### 4.5 ROADS AND BRIDGES

- 4.5.1 The Roman road known as High Street (site H273) forms the western boundary of the study area. It links a presumed road between Watercrock, Ambleside, Hardknott, and Ravenglass, to Brougham, but the road junction at the south end (near Orrest, according to Hindle) cannot be located. It was known in Medieval times as *Brettestete*, 'The Britons' Road'. Hindle (1977, 7-10) describes it as a typical prehistoric ridgeway. It was probably only ever a packhorse road, and was not intended for vehicles in the Medieval period.
- 4.5.2 In the Medieval period, High Street was used by the Border Reivers on their forays into Westmorland and was known as 'The Scots Rake'. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, on holidays and feast days, horse race meetings were held on the broad, flat, expanse west of Blea Water, hence its name Racecourse Hill (NY 4410 1110); Ramshaw (1996, 8) reproduces a print of such an event. Clarke (1787, quoted by Ramshaw 1996, 8) describes how shepherds assembled here on 10 July each year for:
- 'horse racing, wrestling, and other such like country diversions: hither, likewise, everyone brings the stray sheep he has found during the preceding year, that they may be owned: they also at this time amuse themselves with fox hunting.'*
- 4.5.3 On the east side of the study area, and outside it apart from a short stretch at Shap Blue Quarry and Granite Works, is the 'Old road over Shap Fells', as Wainwright (1985, 61-9) calls it. M Higham (1993, 31) states that this is Margary's (1973) main Roman arterial road (refs 7c-e/70a-d/705/707/806) from London to Carlisle, via Preston, Lancaster, Kendal, Shap, and Penrith. It is shown on the Gough Map of c1360, where it is identified as Parson's 'M4' (1958, 36). Shap Abbey is also shown on this very early map, undoubtedly because it was a suitable lodging for 'royal couriers, royal officials, and the judiciary, the people most likely to travel around the country as a whole rather than just in one small area' (M Higham 1993, 30).
- 4.5.4 Wainwright (1985, 66) illustrates the two best surviving stretches of the road, both outside the study area, between the Old Plough and Bannisdale High Bridge (cNY 538 005), and on the incline above Hause Foot (cNY 550 055). Near the road summit (cNY 550 059) is an old milestone showing 'Shap 6, Kendal 10' miles, and a large ruin (cNY 554 071) near Packhorse Hill (a former packhorse halt), named Demmings on a map of 1770, it was thought by Wainwright to have been an inn. An Act for turnpiking this road was passed in 1753, and by 1763 there was a regular stage service (Hindle 1977, 19).
- 4.5.5 An important route in Medieval times was the road from Kendal to Penrith by way of Longsleddale, Gatescarth, and Swindale. Mike Davies-Shiel (pers comm) calls this



the Kendal - Shap 'Great Road' and assigns a date of AD 1197 to it, meaning the Shap Abbey grant of land by Thomas de Workington. In the 1257 document (Ragg 1909, 271-3) it is called the Stayngate; on the first edition OS maps (1863) it is 'Kirkgate'. Thompson (1942, 18) considers that the Gatescarth road would have always been the route for vehicular traffic, while the Kentmere and Nan Bield alternative route would only have been suitable for packhorses. The two routes from the south joined under Harter Fell at Mardale Green. Northwards from here there was a choice of roads, either side of Haweswater lake. The western route was probably at least seventeenth century, if not earlier, since Chapel Bridge in Mardale hamlet and the Measand Beck bridge were both of this date according to the RCHME (1936); the latter had been widened at some date. Chapel Bridge, Riggindale Bridge, and the unidentified Elinfoll Bridge were all referred to in the 1757 Quarter Sessions (Curwen 1932, 368; Thompson 1942, 19). The road on the east side of the lake began by crossing Arnold Bridge, just north of the Dun Bull Inn, at Mardale. This was presented as a public bridge in 1788 (Curwen 1932, 369-70), but was probably of seventeenth century construction (RCHME 1936; Thompson 1942, 20). The road continued along the south side of the lake to Guerness, Naddle Forest, and on to Naddle Bridge, over which the tenants of the manor of Thornthwaite had right of passage for greenhew. Thompson notes ruined buildings at Boulderstone Nib (below water, cNY 4890 1480), but does not give details of the road from Burnbanks to Shap, and it is not clear what route he thought would have been used from Naddle ridge to Shap. The OS first edition 6" : 1 mile maps show a track from Naddle Bridge, to Naddle Forest (the house), then zig-zagging up Mirkside, across Scalebarrow Bog, to join another track from Rosgill Moor; this however peters out further south, in the Harper Hills, conveniently near the south edge of OS sheet 13. The track from Naddle divides south of Rawhead, the southern branch leading to Rosgill (outside the study area). To cross Swindale Beck, travellers from Naddle would have had to follow a track southwards to Truss Gap in Swindale, and cross the beck using the ford or stepping stones, and follow the Kirkgate (as shown on the OS maps) to Thiefstead, Tailbert Head, and across Thorny Bank to Keld.

- 4.5.6 Southwards from Swindale, the Kirkgate is not shown with confidence by the OS until Mosedale Quarry, from where it joins the southern part of the Kendal road at Wren Gill.
- 4.5.7 Three sections of an earlier route on the west side of Haweswater lake, higher up the slope of the fell, were recorded by the CWAAS survey. The first stretch was between Chapel Hill and Flake How, via Field Head, Bowderthwaite, and Riggindale. Thompson (1942, 19) states that there were two 'rather primitive bridges' - possibly two of M Davies-Shiel's (pers comm) three 'clapper bridges' - opposite Field Head and Bowderthwaite. A new stretch of road was built c1886 between the Parsonage and Flake How, prior to which the 'old and modern' (Thompson 1942) roads met in Flake How farmyard. The second stretch of old road was from The Parsonage, via High and Low Whelter, to the school (see OS 2 edn, 1899) at Guard's End (OS 1st edn, 1863, name). According to Thompson, the third and longest stretch, partly incorporated into the Ramblers' Footpath opened in 1930, leads from Graven Gate all the way to Burnbanks, via High House, across Measand Beck by a packhorse bridge comprising a single flat stone, then via Sandhill, and Colby. Most of these places were avoided by the later road.

- 4.5.8 Though by no means the only ‘Corpse Road’ in the Lake District, that from Mardale to Shap has fired the imagination of several writers, mainly because of the demise of Mardale. Before 1728, when the precincts of Holy Trinity Church at Mardale were consecrated for burials, the dead of Mardale Green were strapped to the backs of horses and taken eight miles over the fells to Shap. In the same year, Swindale also desired the chapel there to be consecrated, but a ceremony had never been held by Whiteside’s time (1901, 259). Beginning just north of Rowantreethwaite Beck, Wainwright (1985, 33) describes the western stages of the route as a zig-zagging peat road. Ruined huts ‘for storing and drying peat’ are mentioned around Low Loup. The road, as shown by the OS (1863) map, continues north to Selside End, then drops into Swindale, at Thorny Knott, to join Kirkgate in the village, and cross the beck at the ford or stepping stones.
- 4.5.9 A large part of Wainwright’s (1985, 57-60) route from Longsleddale to Wet Sleddale and Shap, utilizing quarry roads, lies within the study area. The route traverses the northern part of the Sleddale Hall estate, and passes the Stock House, and Dale End. Wainwright shows Buck Park on his map, but no other archaeological sites in the study area are annotated. A late eighteenth or early nineteenth century manuscript map (CRO(C) D/Lons/Plans/L/Westmorland/Box 2) shows the road, and marks White Crag Gate, just north of Sleddale Hall, where the track leaves the enclosed land and continues on the moorland side of their boundary, across Stackhouse Brow.

#### 4.6 MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL INDUSTRY

- 4.6.1 **Mills:** Shap Abbey farm included two mills at the time of the Dissolution, in 1540 (PRO 1964, 4, 67-8, no. 580). One of these would be the Abbey Mill (H912; CSMR 1531), and the other might be the corn mill at Rosgill Hall Wood (cNY 540 162), which has been identified by M Davies-Shiel (pers comm).
- 4.6.2 Craggs Corn Mill, with a date-stone of 1758 (H612; CSMR 14825), is the only dated mill in the study area; Thornthwaite Mill was on the study area boundary. On Haweswater Beck, south-west of Thornthwaite Hall, a weir is shown on the OS first edition 6”: 1 mile map. On two late eighteenth century estate plans of Walmgatehead and the Thornthwaite Hall estate (CRO(C) D/Lons/Plans/Box 5, no 31; and rolled plan 189), a building is shown at this point (NY 4120 1603), on the north shore of the beck, in a field called Mill Hill, and with an adjacent field called Mill Island which extends to Measand Beck. Hay and Hay (1976, 60) state that the lane from Naddle to here was called Mill Gate, but the writers were unaware of the reason. Thompson (1942, 25) states that Guerness had a mill, but did not give details and he may have meant Thornthwaite Mill.
- 4.6.3 **Potash and lime kilns:** apparently, the only limekiln shown by the OS (1863 and 1899) in the whole study area is at the present water’s edge at High Whelter, Mardale (NY 4714 1308). According to Mike Davies-Shiel (pers comm) this is being destroyed by wave action and is actually a potash kiln (MD-S Potash Inventory no 46).
- 4.6.4 Davies-Shiel (pers comm) has located two probable potash kilns within the South Study Area, at Poor Hag (potash inventory no. 273; H908) and at Tailbert (inventory no 275; H782). In the West Study Area, in addition to High Whelter, there are

examples in Naddle Low Forest, near Gill Dubs on Haweswater Beck (inventory no 248), at Tailbert Head (inventory no 274), and at Dodd Bottom, Swindale Head (CSMR 5691, H542, not checked by M Davies-Shiel). There are numerous examples just outside the study area: one at Shap Abbey (inventory no 230), and six between Burnbanks and Bampton (inventory nos 220-224, 238). The district name *Killands* for the tongue of land (now below water) south-east of Measandbecks Hall (OS 1863; Smith 1967, 2, 198) would also suggest the presence of a kiln, whether potash or lime.

- 4.6.5 ***Mines, quarries, and charcoal burning:*** mining activity in the study area is not well documented. Neither the Mines Office (1928) nor the British Geological Survey (Young and Millward 1984) list any plans of abandoned mines as being in their possession, nor were any found in the CRO (Kendal or Carlisle). However, the work of Adams (1988), Davies-Shiel (pers comm), and the Mines of the Lake District Exploration Society (MOLES; Ian Tyler, Threlkeld Quarry and Mining Museum, pers comm) have enhanced the information gathered from older literature. Tyler's field survey work was carried out in 1982, and is documented in the archive of the Threlkeld Quarry Mining Museum, a private archive.
- 4.6.6 J Hodgson (1820, 18) states that '*a large loose mass of lead ore, found in Measandbeck, near the [endowed grammar] school, caused several unsuccessful attempts to be made for a mine there about thirty years since [ie c1790]*'. This location, around NY 4870 1540, is now below water.
- 4.6.7 Copper, pyrite, and haematite veins, at Burnbanks (strictly Water End or Colby) above Haweswater have been worked, prior to the OS first edition 6" : 1 mile map (1863). Whellan (1860, 776) states that a company was formed in 1856 for the working of copper ore '*in the south part of [Bampton] parish*', which Tyler (pers comm) takes to mean the Haweswater, Measand or Burnbanks Mine (NY 4950 1600), and notes that it was also worked c1836. A building is shown on a late eighteenth century estate map (CRO(C) D/Lons/Plans/old list 189) at the site later occupied by the workings, but no manuscript map evidence has been found to enhance the OS first edition location. Dakyns *et al* (1897, 104) and Dewey and Eastwood (1925, 73) say that this enterprise met 'with but poor success'. Adams (1988, 143) states that the Haweswater mine comprises three levels, one with a 55 ft deep shaft. Tyler (pers comm) elaborates from field survey information:

*'Three proper adits, A, B, and C, have been driven [each shown on the OS 2nd edn, 1899, sheet 13 SE as 'old copper mine'], and no less than eleven surface trials and pits can be identified.*

*'Level A, OD 800 ft*

*Driven west from beside the old road from Burnbanks to Colby, its large spoil extends into the area of the reservoir proper. This level is the lowest, and was the main drainage adit for the upper working, and I estimate it to be upwards of 300 yards long and connecting, via a rise, to Level B. The dump material is barren country rock with little evidence of mineralisation apart from haematite stained rock and a little quartz.*

*'Above the portal and c200 yards north are numerous surface trials. These have proved the existence of separate veins coursing east-west, and small quantities of dressed ore are to be found. These must be regarded as the early workings.*

*'Level B OD 860 ft*

*The level has been driven c302 yards on a meandering course cutting at least three copper veins, none of which appears very promising from a commercial point of view. The level is 6 ft high and 4 ft 6 ins wide, and along its length two small side drives have been put out on small copper stringers. At the forehead, 280 yards from the portal, a shaft has been put down to join Level A, some 60 ft below. The shaft was partitioned, the first section being the hauling side serviced by a jackroll; the other was the manway, with the ladders still in situ. The shaft is flooded to the collar, and through the clear water in the depths, another level or working can be seen. The dump material here is well mineralised with pyrite, quartz, and copper. This material has been brought up from the shaft working, as none of the trials along the level reveal mineralisation as strong as this.*

*'Level C OD 890 ft*

*This is the highest adit and has been driven 200 yards. The level is c6ft high and 4 ft wide. Fifteen yards from the portal, the level branches left and right, the left branch being c40 yards long and the right 140 yards. The level, by virtue of its size, looks to me as if it was the original underground attempt to prove the worth of the vein. However, this first trial was re-worked at a later date, as the left and right trials are of different dimensions.*

*A few feet above the entrance, a surface trial has been worked near the side of the gill. At the portal, material has been dumped left and right of the entrance and haematite can be found, as well as copper. Here, there are also the remains of a small building and hand dressing floor.*

*In my opinion, the company formed c1856 were the main adventurers, although the early pioneers of 1836 would have certainly exploited the surface veins as indicated. Taking into account that the total underground driveages are c800 yards, these would have taken c5 years to drive. This in itself proves that it was a serious undertaking by a proper company with lease, and not just a group of adventurers with a Take Note.'*

- 4.6.8 The Guerness Gill mine (NY 4800 1340; OD 750 ft) *'is a shaft working, sunk directly on the vein of copper and pyrite. This operation is supposed to have been carried out 1836-52, but the work done would only be a year's working for a couple of men'* (Tyler, pers comm).
- 4.6.9 Hay and Hay (1976, 60-1) record having seen a group of building foundations in the 1910s, which they presume were associated with the mine, *'a couple of hundred yards from the lake and north of Guerness Point, or Nib'*. These included a beer house or 'Jerry'. In view of Tyler's comments about the limited size of the mining operation, it is probable that this settlement predates the nineteenth century mining. Also in the vicinity of Naddle were charcoal burners' dells, but the Hays do not give

accurate location details. Referring to his father's turn-of-the-century notes, David Hay (Hay and Hay 1976, 62-3) gives an excellent description of the building of a charcoal hearth, complete with terminology. He thinks that most of the charcoal made in the Lake District would have been sent to the Company of the Mines Royal, at Keswick, founded in 1564.

*'A typical example [of a charcoal burner's hearth] will consist of a circular patch of fell-side about seven yards in diameter made by choosing a relatively horizontal piece of ground and then scooping out the upper side and moving the earth so obtained to the downhill side. This provides not only a flat area but a slight recess above it in the hill and a slight circular projection at the front. Many of these are close to tracks still in use as in Naddle, at least by fell walkers. The great number of these platforms, he [Hay's father] suggests, are due not to the number of actual workers but, where wood was plentiful, to the fact that it was much easier to make a fresh platform than to move the timber over increasingly greater distances. There is evidence [not given] that the Naddle charcoal burners were at their busiest during the Napoleonic Wars and they can be found at all levels from the valley bottom to about 1000 feet. Sometimes it is not easy to differentiate these structures from small lime kilns which are generally found near the lake ... [Ullswater example given] Other rough shelters, or boulder arrangements, were probably merely rudimentary places where cattle could be taken from the valley for safety in time of raids.'*

*'Oak trees were the favourite wood and the usual method was to cut or rive the wood into pieces which were then made up into cords or stacks. A statute cord was eight foot long, four foot broad, and four foot high. The sticks were about three foot long. These were then placed upright in three tiers to form a conical or cupola shape round a central stick that had been firmly driven into the ground in the middle of the lowest floor for the rest to lean on. This was called a 'hearth' and was covered with a thin layer of straw or general stubble over which was spread a layer of earth. A hole was left at the top into which the fire was put. This was then sealed up. Vent holes were made at suitable places for the smoke to escape and in this lay the main art. These had to be made very accurately to ensure that the fire smouldered but never burst into flame, in which case the wood would have been consumed. A whole hearth would be 'coaled' in six or seven days and the greener the wood the more lasting would be the charcoal.'*

- 4.6.10 The Hays mention the hut circles and encircling wall 'a third of a mile south-west of Naddle bridge' separately, and note that it was not recorded by the RCHME (1936).
- 4.6.11 The 'old mine' (NY 4720 1745) at Sealhole on the OS first edition 6" : 1 mile map (sheet 13, 1863) (called 'Seahole', according to Tyler) was a haematite mine, worked in 1858, according to Davies-Shiel (pers comm). It lies at the junction of Sealhole Grain and Cawdale Beck. Tyler (pers comm) says that it is actually a slate working, which *'may have commenced as a small trial for copper or haematite, which cut a substantial pocket of workable slate for the local community. In doing this, the evidence of the original mining activity was destroyed. Above the existing adit is an open top quarry.'* Three small buildings and a 'refuse tip' are shown on the second edition OS (1899) 6": 1 mile map.

- 4.6.12 Young (1987, 22) records that Baryte is present in the Shap Granite Quarry (NY 5580 0840), and Shap Blue Quarry (NY 5640 1060), in the pink Cockscomb variety. The usually white mineral Baryte (Barium Sulphate, also known as Barite, or Barytes), is also known in blue or blue-green forms, when found in association with haematite, especially in West Cumbria (Young 1987, 22). Baryte is used as high density fillers in the paint and paper industries, as a source of barium chemicals (Taylor *et al* 1971, 95), in the glass industry, and now in nuclear power generation (Ian Tyler, pers comm).
- 4.6.13 Adams (1988, 143) mentions a small Baryte working in Sherry Gill (NY 5380 1050; H955), south-west of Wet Sleddale reservoir, and close to the Buck Park deer pound. The current OS 1:25,000 map shows a disused tip at this location. Adams says *'there is a spoil heap near the foot of the gill, but no obvious signs of a level. An outcrop of the vein can be seen about halfway up the gill.'* Young (1987, 22) quotes Firman's (1978) work (not seen), as his source in saying that the locality was formerly worked for barytes on a small scale. Ian Tyler (MOLES, pers comm) says that he has found little trace of mining in the locality:  
*'Where Sherry Gill enters the Wet Sleddale valley, there are two suspect elongated mounds, which could be the result of small trial workings, or they could be the result of stream washout. However, there is a very significant wall running in the gill and up to the bedrock face, which could have been the retaining wall up to a level entrance. Following up the gill for about 30 yards, a baryte vein can be seen in the gill bed, coursing east-west. Had a level been driven in from the aforementioned place, it would have cut the vein at a reasonable working depth. The working date would be around 1860-70, but certainly not before, as baryte did not become commercially viable until this date.'*
- 4.6.14 Young (1987, 22) also quotes Firman as saying that the mineral is found on Todd Crags (NY 5230 1020), c1400m west of the Sherry Gill workings, but does not mention mining activity.
- 4.6.15 By far the most economically important geological products in the study area are slates and granite. Dakyns *et al* (1897, 104) state that a bed of 'cleaved ash' ranging along Mosedale and Wet Sleddale have been worked in Mosedale, as well as Wrengill (Long Sleddale) and Kentmere. The Skiddaw slates were worked for slate pencil manufacture, before 1863, in Thornship Gill (H1024; NY 547 129), as is indicated on pre-OS published maps. A further quarry and slate pencil mill are shown by the OS (1863), just within the study area, on Rosgill Moor (NY 5260 1530). According to Mike Davies-Shiel these were worked from 1858.
- 4.6.16 The valuable Shap Granite is 'highly ornamental' when polished and has been extensively worked at Wasdale Crag. The debris from these works, on the railway line near Shap Summit, were converted into granolithic paving with the addition of cement, made from the local Carboniferous limestone (Dakyns *et al* 1897, 104).
- 4.6.17 There were quarries for the dam and road construction in the 1930s on the east side of the lake, directly opposite the mouth of Measand Beck, which are visible on Berry's (1984, 18) photograph, taken during the July 1984 drought.

#### 4.7 THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RESERVOIRS

- 4.7.1 Manchester's water needs were first served by the Longdendale reservoir, begun in 1848, supplemented by five service reservoirs at Denton and Audenshaw completed in 1884 all in Lancashire state this. When the city's consumption rose to 17 million gallons per day, Ullswater, Haweswater, and Thirlmere were all suggested as potential sources. The Thirlmere scheme was devised and, despite much local opposition, was passed by Parliament in 1879, and was opened in October 1894. The water travels 106 miles to Audenshaw in Manchester, and the reservoir can supply 36 million gallons per day (Walters 1936, 98-100; Hall 1989, 108).
- 4.7.2 The Manchester Corporation Act permitting the Haweswater reservoir scheme was passed in 1919 (Anon 1918 for parliamentary news coverage), but no full account of the scheme seems to have been published, unlike for Thirlmere. The scheme was originally intended to comprise reservoirs in Haweswater (increasing its capacity by 19,000 million gallons), Swindale (up to 5,000 million gallons), and Wet Sleddale (1,000 million gallons) (Anon 1925; Walters 1936, 100), though only the first and last have been constructed. The planned Swindale reservoir was dropped in favour of a substantial intake weir constructed in the 1950s, and pipeworks from Naddle, and Heltondale. The surface area of the Haweswater Reservoir is three times that of the natural lake that it replaced. A study commissioned by NWW in the early 1970s looked at the feasibility of a new dam c115 ft (35m) higher than the existing one, but the scheme was dropped. Water from Ullswater and Windermere now adds 44 million gallons of daily supply (Berry 1984, 27; Hall 1989, 109; Hoyte 1996, 13-14).
- 4.7.3 The Haweswater Dam at Burnbanks (H276) was begun in 1929, but work was stopped by the depression, and not completed until October 1941 (MCW 1955). The dam, unique at the time of its construction, is a hollow concrete buttress type, and was first filled to overflowing in 1942 (Ramshaw 1996, 10). The water passes through a draw-off tower (NGR NY 4792 1310; Site H305), faced with stone from the demolished Holy Trinity Church in Mardale, and then travels south, passing through the Mardale tunnel from Branstree to Longsleddale. At the time of its construction this was the longest water tunnel in Britain, at 1660 ft (506m). In 1934 the pipeline was connected to the Thirlmere aqueduct at Garnett Bridge, south of Longsleddale. There is a survey pillar, used during the construction of the pipeline, on Artle Crag (NGR NY 4838 1027), and another on Great Howe, north of Stockdale (Berry 1984, 29).
- 4.7.4 The second instalments of works, the main aqueduct to Manchester, avoiding the Thirlmere aqueduct, was delayed by World War II and was not begun until April 1948, and completed in 1955. The LDNPA later refused permission to enlarge this, so a 19 km pumped aqueduct across Shap Fell was built, completed in May 1978, from which water travels on the existing network by gravity (Hall 1989, 108; Hoyte 1996, 58).
- 4.7.5 The Wet Sleddale reservoir was part of the fifth instalment of the scheme. The reservoir was re-sited 'higher up the valley' than the 1919 proposal, for geological reasons to enable its full capacity to gravitate to Haweswater. An amendment to the 1919 Act was allowed by the Manchester Corporation (Wet Sleddale) Order 1962. Construction of the pipeworks began in the autumn of 1962, and the dam in March

1963. A temporary caravan site for the labour force was established at Kemp Howe, south of Shap. The aqueduct was built by Manchester Corporation's Direct Labour Works, and the dam by M J Gleeson Ltd of Surrey. The dam is solid, with a man-size internal walkway, and is built of thief concrete (70% furnace slag, 30% Portland cement), to minimise thermal stresses in the structure. Impounding was commenced in March 1966, and the reservoir was opened in April 1967 (MCW 1967; Hoyte 1996, 67-9). A 3.5 mile aqueduct connects Wet Sleddale with Haweswater, also taking in water from various streams and the Swindale weir *en route* (Hoyte 1996, 102).



---

## 5. IDENTIFICATION SURVEY RESULTS

---

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

- 5.1.1 The Haweswater estate identification survey examined a total of 59km<sup>2</sup> of marginal and enclosed land to the north and south of the Haweswater reservoir. The survey excluded land over 450m AOD, except along the High Street ridge, and also land below the normal water level of the reservoir. However, the report incorporates the results of a survey of Mardale, which was undertaken in 1989 when the Haweswater water level was particularly low and the village remains were exposed.
- 5.1.2 The study recorded a total of 1025 archaeological sites. Of these, the majority were associated with current agricultural activity, such as shelter walls, bields, sheepfolds, washfolds and small huts. Although many sites were widely dispersed, the majority were concentrated on the valley floors and adjacent to rivers, tarns and lakes. The only areas that were apparently devoid of monuments were areas of extreme topography, such as steep scree and boulder slopes (Fig 3)
- 5.1.3 Only a small number of the monuments identified by the survey were previously recorded within the Cumbria SMR, which confirms the significance of this survey. This deficiency strongly suggests that the identification survey has been an important for quantifying and assessing the nature and character of the overall resource (Figs 4-8).

### 5.2 BRONZE AGE

- 5.2.1 A total of about 90 Bronze Age sites were recorded in the course of the survey, which were, for the most part, confined to upland slopes, unenclosed land, and exposed summit plateaux (Fig 19). This is, in part, an artificial bias, as Medieval and post-medieval occupation and farming of the valley floors has undoubtedly removed or obscured evidence for prehistoric settlement in those areas. As a consequence the monuments identified (typically funerary cairns, clearance cairnfields or possible isolated cairns) are not necessarily representative of the original range of Bronze Age activity in the area, and significantly include only a few domestic or settlement sites.
- 5.2.2 **Funerary Cairns:** these are well represented throughout the study area and for the most are round cairns, eighteen examples of which were identified within the study area. There are also some possible ring cairns. Round cairns are typically identified by their well-defined character, and their isolated but prominent positions on, or close to, the summits of ridges and crests. Most round cairns within the study area are from seven to ten metres in diameter, and survive up to c1.5m in height; they are comparable with other Lake District round cairns. One, however, the previously unrecorded cairn at Seat Robert (H706), was unusual in having two satellite cairns, although this is known from elsewhere, for example the coastal cairns around Low Hauxley, in Northumberland (Drury 1995). Several of these monuments appear to have been destructively investigated in the past and were largely unrecorded. Noticeable disturbance was recorded at Kettle Crag (H19) where the cist has been exposed and emptied; the cairns at Seat Robert (H706), and Loadpot Hill (H132) were depleted, and their fabric was reused for the construction of modern cairns.

- 5.2.3 **Ring cairns:** six examples were recorded (H672, 675, 677, 679, 976, 996). They are found on the upland plateaux, in particular below Rowantree Crag in the south of the study area, where a concentration was noted within an area of cairnfields. These appeared to have some association with the round cairn at Seat Robert (H706). In general the ring cairns are relatively small, being about 4m -6m in diameter.
- 5.2.4 **Cairnfields and Settlement:** over thirty cairnfields were recorded, predominantly on upland terraces. Few are particularly large or complex, although there is a notable exception at Shap Blue Quarry (H1015), which comprises up to 70 cairns and associated banks and is comparable to the large cairnfields of West Cumbria (eg. Stockdale Moor (Quartermaine 1989)). As a group, they are of particular importance, and represent an organised, albeit relatively dispersed, prehistoric agricultural exploitation of the area. They also appear to suggest considerable socio-economic diversity within the study area, especially in agricultural practice. There appears to be a division between the southern and northern cairnfields, although all are on similar terrain. The northern cairnfields appear to exhibit more haphazard internal organisation, by comparison with their southern counterparts. Some limited northern examples, however, are closely associated with linear boundaries and later settlement activity and the notable example of this is cairnfield H2 on Askham Fell. This is divided into discrete linear plots and is associated with an unenclosed stone founded hut circle, which would imply a middle to late Bronze Age date (*Section 6.2.2*). A further example is the hut circle (H534) on the gentle sloped summit of the Naddle Forest ridge; this is associated with only one surviving clearance cairn (H536) but there are a series of banks (H535/7) which may be the relict survivals of a former field system.
- 5.2.5 **Other monuments:** unenclosed uplands around Fourstones Hill produced further evidence of Bronze Age activity. Two standing stones (H963) were recorded, apparently associated with two enclosures (H965 and H962), the former defining a cairnfield. These monuments are morphologically similar to those encountered in the area around Askham Fell (Quartermaine and Leech forthcoming) and in total confirm widespread prehistoric occupation of the Haweswater vicinity.
- 5.3 **IRON AGE**
- 5.3.1 There is a general paucity of Iron Age monuments in the North West, but there is a significant number identified within or in the vicinity of the study area. Some of the Iron Age settlements (notably H10) are within the vicinity of Bronze Age type settlements or field systems and could therefore reflect some continuity of land-use. However, there are generally few Iron Age monuments by comparison with Bronze Age settlements or field systems, which would suggest either that the Bronze Age type of settlements continued in use into the Iron Age or that much of the marginal land was abandoned during or prior to the Iron Age.
- 5.3.2 **Hillforts:** the univallate hillfort at Castle Crag (H158) was examined by the identification survey. It is a promontory type hillfort, situated on a remote crag, overlooking Haweswater reservoir. It is defined by a high stone bank rampart, which survives along the south-west side and there are two ditches cutting across the neck of land which connects Castle Crag to the fell side. The entrance to the enclosure was

probably around the north-west corner. Within the fort there are several levelled areas which could have accommodated huts.

- 5.3.3 **Enclosed settlements:** two sites at Askham Fell (H10) and Towtop Kirk (H556) were examined, both of which lie on upland common land. That at Askham Fell was discovered by the present survey; it lies on a natural terrace (Figs 4, 9, 10 and 12) and is spatially associated with an area of cairnfields (Fig 10). Both comprise a small number of hut circles within a sub-circular enclosure, which was possibly topped by a rampart. This enclosed settlement at Towtop Kirk was excavated by Collingwood in the early part of this century (Noble 1903) and a horse-shoe shaped hut structure was identified inside the enclosure (Fig 15). A stone, recorded during excavation, but not encountered during the present study, had a crude cross carved on it suggesting that it might be of an early Christian date and would suggest that the site was reoccupied subsequent to its foundation. There was little evidence from the excavation, however, to suggest either an Iron Age date, or any continuity into the Romano-British period.

## 5.4 ROMANO-BRITISH

- 5.4.1 Evidence for Romano-British activity within the study area was confined to the High Street Roman road and a possible Romano-British settlement at Measend Bridge (RCHME 1936,33), now drowned under Haweswater. Despite this apparent dearth, there are a number of Roman British settlements just outside the study area, notably at Askham Fell (RCHM 1936) where there are two settlements and also within Lowther Park where there is another (LUAU 1997). In general Romano-British settlement sites are relatively numerous in this area, by comparison with other parts of the North West.
- 5.4.2 Where the Roman road was inspected and recorded along the High Street ridge it was seen to be in a poor state of preservation (H273). The road in many places was only present as a broad swathe of grass in outcropping bedrock, although in other areas erosion had exposed some of the gravel metalling of the road (H273). Only a few short lengths of raised agger were identified during the study (H7, H16 and 273); this is in part because the Roman road has been extensively degraded by Medieval hollow ways, which reflect considerable continued use. In general the sites associated with the road, are of medieval date or are prehistoric funerary monuments. The latter could reflect that the road extends past prominent hills, which were commonly used for the siting of such round cairns, or could possibly suggest that the route was used prior to the construction of High Street. There is one possible Romano-British site, a small circular enclosure (H121) which is immediately adjacent to the road on the top of the High Street ridge. It has an annular bank 7m in diameter and appeared to have been internally terraced, as such the bank may represent the footings of a building.

## 5.5 MEDIEVAL

- 5.5.1 Evidence for Medieval activity within the study area was largely confined to the valley bottoms (Fig 20). It represents a significant group of monuments, including the remains of field systems, land improvements. These sites represent a period of a period of agricultural development and settlement centered on present settlement areas, themselves indicative of the subsequent continuity of settlement patterns.
- 5.5.2 The relict remains of four field systems (notably H375) were encountered during the study and are typified by the radial pattern of individual enclosures. They reflect an intake of moorland centred upon a farmstead with the initial field-systems being subsequently expanded to encompass the respective valley bottoms.
- 5.5.3 Over twenty Medieval hollow-ways were surveyed. A concentration was recorded in the centre of the survey area, around Kidmoor and Inkern Beck. Most were oriented roughly north-east to south-west and appeared to link the deeply incised valley floors with the higher areas of common; at least one extended up towards High Street. These hollow-ways had clearly been utilised for centuries by both people and pack animals, and are the remains of a network of routeways. It is unlikely that all were in contemporary use. There is an upland track, known from the eighteenth century onwards as 'The Old Corpse Road', which connects High and Low Loup (and the former Mardale Green) with settlements at Swindale and at Shap. It ceased to be used for carrying corpses from 1728 when the Mardale church was consecrated for burial, but may have been in use for a considerable period prior to that date.
- 5.5.4 A series of terraces (H853, H854, H856) were identified towards the south of the study area, within the environs of Sleddale Hall. These were agricultural landscape features and were probably of medieval date. The Shap Abbey environs display similar sophistication in land development and, although the study area is restricted to the outer periphery of the abbey estate, the scale and character of earthwork remains demonstrate a period of intensive and widespread land use during the Medieval period.
- 5.5.5 A number of Medieval to Post-Medieval upland settlements were examined during the survey, some of which still contain upstanding, post-medieval, structures, notably at Pod Net (H345), Naddle Farm (H514-519) and in Swindale valley itself. Within Swindale there are numerous abandoned or occupied settlements including H375, H434, H454 and H455 and these demonstrate evidence for the evolution of localised settlement during the Medieval and also post-medieval periods.

## 5.6 POST-MEDIEVAL

- 5.6.1 The survey recorded a large number of Post-Medieval features, many of which were situated within the enclosed land along the eastern margins of the study area (Fig 21). Most relate to past agricultural activity and comprise relict field boundaries, ridge and furrow, and quarries from which stone was extracted to build the numerous drystone walls of the area. A number of bields, sheepfolds, and quarries were identified outside the enclosed land, and within the upland landscape. These structures were usually located within valleys, but were also occasionally located on upland ridges, indicating that post-medieval agricultural activity was not confined to the lower lying areas.

- 5.6.2 Other abandoned and ruinous farmsteads were recorded at Bowderthwaite Bridge (H180) and at Sandhill Knotts (H248). The lack of upstanding structures limits the potential for structural survey of these buildings therefore they are not regarded as important as the Swindale, Pod's Net, Naddle and High and Low Loup groups.
- 5.6.3 Thirty four areas of ridge and furrow were recorded by the survey, all within the enclosed land along the eastern edge of the study area. Most of the ridge and furrow was non-prominent, straight, relatively narrow, and contained within existing boundaries, suggesting that it dates to the Post-Medieval period. Its presence within the landscape indicates that land which is now almost exclusively used for pasture, was previously used for arable. This shift in production may be due to climatic change and economic factors such as the ability to buy animal feeds from outside the survey area, and thus reduce the need for self sufficiency. Also arable practices have periodically extended onto marginal land during periods of national crisis such as the Napoleonic Wars, when requirements of production outweighed those of economic efficiency.
- 5.6.4 A carved boulder (H130: Fig 4)) showing a crudely carved face, was recorded near the summit of Loadpot Hill, and in the vicinity of High street. It was incorporated within a post-medieval period boundary cairn, but was probably a re-used monument of an earlier date.

## 5.7 INDUSTRIAL

- 5.7.1 Inevitably the location of industrial remains was dictated by local topography and geology. Thus the peat huts recorded at Whelter Bottom (H498-H502 and H505), lie close to the peat deposits at Low Raise, near High Street; and the lime kiln at Castle Crag (H145) is adjacent to a limestone outcrop.
- 5.7.2 One of the more significant group of monuments is a group of peat huts at High and Low Loup (H307-H322) (*Section 4.6.8*), which are not of the characteristic form known from Eskdale (eg Burnmoor) and Wasdale (Quartermaine pers comm). The group represents a structural sequence of some longevity, with a number of the buildings retaining elements of their precursors within their fabric. They are associated with the Old Corpse Road.
- 5.7.3 Most of the quarries recorded represent small pits from which stone appears to have been extracted in order to construct local drystone walls, roads, buildings, fields, and sheepfolds. However quarries H21, H23 and H45 appear to represent mineral extraction on a larger scale.

## 5.8 WATER MANAGEMENT

- 5.8.1 The water management regime is focused upon four reservoirs: Wet Sleddale and Haweswater are the primary points of water collection, although Blea Water and Small Water serve as satellites to the much larger, Haweswater reservoir.
- 5.8.2 A series of sub-circular and rectangular platforms with associated concrete structures are the remains of a navvy camp (H547), constructed for the building of the adjacent

dam and its associated pipeline. The earthwork foundations are now partly overgrown within an area of woodland and extend in a broad band between the present road and the Burn Banks valley side. The arrangement of the building remains indicate linearity and deliberate planning of the camp on either side of what appears to be a track way extending through the site. A series of timber and brick buildings, still occupied, are located immediately to the north of the relict part of the navy camp. Their architectural form is consistent with that of a 1930's date and appear to be former navy huts which have survived the demolition of the rest of the camp. The fact that these structures have survived through to the present, indicate that some at least were well constructed. The planned layout and constructed form is consistent with the commonly developed form of navy camp of the early twentieth century; the more substantial navy camps were like 'little towns', with shops and even churches (Morris 1994, 581). The buildings of this period were usually temporary, timber framed structures with corrugated iron cladding on concrete foundations, similar to those identified at Burnbanks (*ibid* 1994, 582). More substantial structures would have been occupied by the foremen.

## 5.9 SUMMARY

- 5.9.1 The survey has identified an extensive and relatively well-preserved archaeological resource within the confines of North West Water's Haweswater Estate. The range of monuments was not restricted to any one area or land-use type; monuments were recorded both from the uplands and the valley bottoms, from enclosed and unenclosed land. Although many of these sites are individually of limited significance, collectively they are components of extensive early agrarian landscapes. The distribution and character of individual cairnfields provides an invaluable insight into the prehistoric occupation of the area, and the way pioneer agricultural exploitation introduced a lasting change to the land-use and vegetation patterns.
- 5.9.2 The collective significance of the upstanding remains identified at High and Low Loup, Pod Net, Naddle Farm and Swindale are of much greater importance than individual features from the same period. Their importance is enhanced by their upstanding survival, thus offering an opportunity to inspect extant structures within their topographic context and to represent development in conjunction with that of the associated agricultural landscape.
- 5.9.3 Some site types were observed to predominate in specific topographic contexts: notably prehistoric cairnfields were confined to upland slopes and plateaux as at Randale, Rowantree, Askham Fell and Rampsgill Head. Sheepfolds, wash folds and bields in the majority of instances occurred at the heads of valleys (e.g. Riggindale (H186-H194)). These latter sites, though difficult to date, probably originated in the post-medieval period. The best evidence for Medieval upland pastoralism was the rectangular hut (H170) at the foot of Rough Crag, which is similar in form to documented shielings.
- 5.9.4 All evidence for arable farming activity was confined to the valley bottoms, or to the lower flatter land to the north of the survey area. Ridge and furrow was noted around well-established settlements at Swindale Head (H436) and Bowderthwaite Bridge in the south, and at Woodfoot and Skews (H225 and H233) in the north. Typically the ridge and furrow is narrow, and relates to existing field boundaries, thus appearing to

reflect the latest phase of cultivation. Direct evidence for earlier farming has not necessarily survived in the valley bottoms, but there is considerable evidence that some of the field systems recorded have earlier origins. At Swindale (H375), the farmstead lies within a radiating circular field system, which is typologically Medieval or even earlier in form. There also is a significant number of relict field boundaries across the valley floors, testifying to earlier field configurations.

- 5.9.5 The density of monuments on upland slopes and ridges was relatively low, and they were often of prehistoric date. These areas however, were crossed by former tracks or roads and their associated structural features. Some are ancient in origin, particularly the Roman road at High Street. As this lies close to a significant number of prehistoric monuments (Fig 4), it must be suggested that it, or a generalised route, may have been in use before the Romano-British period. Other important routes include the Great Road within Mosedale, the Old Corpse Road (H306) over the top of Swindale Common, and the pack horse route along the northern and western side of Haweswater. Some of these are still in use as modern footpaths, notably that leading to Kentmere through the Nan Bield Pass, which follows the old pack horse route. A number of stone-built shelters were associated with these tracks, such as the very small ones at Small Water (H159), and a pair of larger pack horse shelters at Kidsty Howes (H205 and H206). All were at relatively high altitudes and, in the case of the Kidsty Howes sites, on steep slopes.

---

## 6. DETAIL SURVEY RESULTS

---

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

- 6.1.1 Eleven sites were identified as suitable for a more detailed (level 2: *Appendix 3*) survey, the majority of which were of prehistoric date. They were surveyed as a result of the recommendations from the first interim report and consequently are located in the northern part of the NWW estate.
- 6.1.2 The largest concentrations of monuments, selected for further survey, were within the area of Whitestone Moor and Askham Fell. They comprise an Iron Age enclosed settlement (H10), a field system (H5, 6 and 9), two cairnfields (H2 and H13) and isolated cairns (H14). A further three monuments were recorded outside this area; another enclosed settlement (H556) and two isolated cairns (H9 and H139). The sites are described in a north to south progression.

### 6.2 ASKHAM FELL

- 6.2.1 ***Ditch (H1) (Fig 9):*** a bank and ditch (H1), both 68m long, follows a relatively straight line from the modern road, where it has been truncated by modern disturbance, to an area of mire to the west. The ditch is located to the north of the bank and is very shallow.
- 6.2.2 ***Cairnfield and Settlement Complex (H2 and H10) (Figs 9-12):*** a small cairnfield (H2) was recorded on a series of three natural terraces within the area of Knotts crag on the current OS map. The cairnfield comprised some twenty-five clearance cairns, two stone banks and a single hut enclosure. The greatest concentration of features lay within the central terrace where twenty clearance cairns were bounded to the west by a well-defined stone bank (H2/22). Parallel to this bank is a series of alignments of clearance cairns, notably H2/9 and 13-17, that through cairns H2/19 and 20 and a cairn alignment (H2/3-6) at the eastern side of the terrace. There is also a concentration of cairns at the northernmost tip of the terrace. The implication is that the terrace was divided into four plots defined by the stone bank or cairn alignments; there is only one cairn (H2/7) within these four plots. There is an impression of a lynchet profile across the stone bank (H2/22), and this would appear to be an area of cultivated ground, with the stones cleared into aligned mounds or banks to facilitate the movement of the plough. As such, it is distinct in form from the more common primary type of Bronze Age cairnfield (Quartermaine and Leech forthcoming), which usually has a random distribution and no evidence of cultivation.
- 6.2.3 A linear boundary and an isolated hut circle (H2) were recorded on a small terrace below the main group. The boundary was aligned north-west/south-east, and marked the northern edge of a natural terrace, which was relatively flat, well drained, and contained no cairns. At the south-western edge of the terrace was the small hut circle (6.1m diameter), which was open to the east, internally terraced and relatively well defined. The association of the hut circle and the stone bank would suggest that they were contemporary. The ground of the terrace to the west of the stone bank would appear to have been improved, and there is an implication that the terrace has been cultivated and that the stone bank was the depositary for the waste stone brought up by the plough. The critical question is whether the spatial association between the hut



circle/stone bank (H2/27-8) and the cairnfield is an indication that they were related elements. Each site group is on separate, but adjacent, terraces and there are no domestic structures at the cairnfield, so it is plausible that the cairnfield was a satellite area of farming to the hut site on one of the other terraces (H2/27-8). The hut structure would suggest a late Bronze Age or early Iron Age date. Elsewhere in the Lake District there are some typologically late Bronze Age examples of similar ordered cairnfields which are associated with hut circles (eg Town Bank IV: Quartermaine 1989). It is therefore possible that the features recorded were contemporary representing a small Bronze Age/Iron Age upland settlement.

- 6.2.4 A small Iron Age enclosed settlement (H10) was recorded on a natural terrace below a series of crags (The Knotts). The settlement is set to the back, western side, of the terrace and comprises a sub-oval enclosure defined by a prominent, continuous bank with some protruding stone. It is possible that this was topped by a palisade to augment the defensive strength of the enclosure. There is a possible gap at the north-western part of the site, below the steepest part of the scarp slope of the terrace, which would have been a defensive liability. It is perhaps more likely that the bank formerly continued but no longer survives. There is an entrance on the eastern side of the enclosure, facing the open part of the terrace. Within the enclosure are three hut circles, which are, for the most part, internally terraced, and their entrances are all orientated towards that of the enclosure. There are no field systems directly associated with the settlement, although there is some agriculturally viable land on the eastern side of the terrace, and also at the base of the terrace.
- 6.2.5 The enclosed settlement is of an Iron Age type, and is comparable to excavated examples, mainly from north-east England (eg West Brindon, Jobey 1962). The spatial association with the H2 cairnfield and settlement may indicate that this enclosed settlement is a development from the earlier unenclosed settlement; it is also possible that the H2 cairnfield terrace was used by the occupants of the H10 enclosed settlement.
- 6.2.6 **H5/6 Field Systems (Figs 9 and 13):** a second linear boundary (H5) was recorded within an area of well-drained, unenclosed pasture on the slopes leading to Whitestone Moor. The presence of this bank, along with the distribution and character of associated clearance cairns, suggests that the area was part of a now heavily damaged field system with only limited surface survival. It exploits a gently sloping, well drained ridge which was well contained by the local topography.
- 6.2.7 A third boundary (H6) was identified: this was a long, more-or-less straight bank running north-east to south-west, and formed a component of a further field system (H9). They comprise a series of linear boundaries within an area of well-drained land on Whitestone Moor, and above Nesgillhow Beck and represent the remains of a small, field system spatially associated with the series of hollow-ways that comprise the northern stretch of High Street Roman Road. The date of the field system is uncertain, despite its association with the road, as the road has been in continuous use potentially since the prehistoric period.
- 6.2.8 **Cairnfield H13:** A small cairnfield (H13) was recorded on well-drained land to the north of The Knotts, on the gently sloping sides of Whitestone Moor. Six clearance cairns with an apparent random distribution, are located on the narrow ridge. It is probable that this served pastoral activity, rather than arable as there is no evidence

of plot formation or cultivation features. There is no associated domestic structure and it is typical of the small, primary cairnfield which are usually associated with pastoral agriculture (Quartermaine and Leech forthcoming).

- 6.2.9 **Cairn H14:** An isolated cairn (H14) was recorded on unenclosed land at Whitestone Moor. It is well-defined, prominent and is more consistent with a funerary function than with clearance, although it is unusually small for a funerary monument, being only 5m in diameter.

### 6.3 KETTLE CRAG ROUND CAIRN (H19) (FIG 9)

- 6.3.1 This round cairn (H19) is situated within an area of unenclosed rough pasture, on a natural terrace below the western summit of Kettle Crag, which forms the spur of an upland block separating Heltondale Beck and Brown Beck. It is some 12m in diameter, but the mound has survived to only 0.40m in height. The top appears to have been levelled, probably by earlier, unrecorded excavations, as stones protruding through the thin soil cover appear to be the remains of a stone-lined cist, 1.8m in length. There is no record of excavation, and the surface evidence suggests that much of the internal structure of the cairn remains intact. It would have been relatively prominent in antiquity, before being damaged, and was sited in an exposed situation. It would appear to be the remains of an isolated Bronze Age funerary cairn.

### 6.4 TOW TOP KIRK ENCLOSURE (H556) (FIGS 9 AND 15)

- 6.4.1 The enclosure lies on an unenclosed moorland, on a spur of the hause which separates Cawdale Beck and Willdale Beck, forming the open end of two adjacent valleys and overlooking enclosed land at Moorahill Farm and Stanegarh. The site represents a small, but extremely well-defined, and visible enclosed settlement. It was excavated by Collingwood (1902, 265) in 1902.
- 6.4.2 The enclosure was entered via a narrow entrance to the west, defended by a simple internal bank (/2). A small sub-circular hut (/4) lay close to the entrance, its size and shape suggesting that it was contemporary with the enclosure. To the north of the entrance was a sub-circular clearance cairn (/3), its location perhaps suggesting that it post-dates the enclosure. A large circular enclosure or hut (/6) is located in the centre and is linked to the external enclosure bank by a short section of linear bank, orientated east/west. The east/west bank joins the enclosure bank just to the north of an entrance on the eastern side of the settlement and indicates a contemporaneous relationship between this large hut and the enclosure. Overlaying the large hut is a third, smaller hut (/5) which is well-defined and prominent, comprising a sub-circular earthen bank, enclosing a levelled and stone-free platform entered from the north.
- 6.4.3 The amount of stone laying about the site strongly suggests a later structure on the site, which, given the nature of the surroundings, was possibly a peat stand.
- 6.4.4 No evidence was identified for the presence of the 'rudely cut cross' recorded at this monument by Collingwood (Noble 1903). he reveals that this cross was only 1.5" in height, and on a stone within the remains of the later possible peat stand; it may have been removed from the monument at a later date.

- 6.4.5 The excavation did not reveal the construction date although the presence of a crude cross may suggest an early medieval re-use of the site. Typologically the site is a form of enclosed settlement, which has been found to date from the Iron Age, however, there are only a few datable examples from elsewhere in the North West.

## 6.5 INTACK SIKE CAIRN (H139) (FIGS 9 AND 16)

- 6.5.1 This is a large stone built mound known as the Round Table, within an area of unenclosed land to the west of Intack Sike, on the lower slopes of Bampton Common. It appears to have a ditch around its south and west sides and it seems to be associated with ditches and hollow ways (H140). It is up to 20m across and over 1m in height and its size and form is not inconsistent with identified examples of round cairns, however its location, at the base of a gradual slope rather than on a prominent crest, is not a typical feature of such monuments. It is spatially associated with a section of holloway (H140); however, this is probably coincidence rather than an indication of a contemporary association.

## 6.6 WET SLEDDALE (FIGS 17 AND 18)

- 6.6.1 A field system and enclosure complex at the head of Sleddale valley was identified by aerial photography (J Hodgson) and from the Cumbria SMR. It was therefore recommended that the site be subject to detailed recording from the outset, rather than undertake an identification survey prior to proceeding with a detailed survey.
- 6.6.2 **Trackway (H954) (Fig 17):** banks H954/1-5 define a short length of trackway, c 2.5m to 3m wide, orientated roughly north-east/south-west, and is badly disturbed. The track extends across an area of level ground, bounded on one side by a watercourse, and on the other by a craggy outcrop. To the south the land is extremely marshy and the track is too degraded to trace further. The trackway does not appear to have been metalled, although there is some evidence for stones being placed in the more boggy areas in order to prevent vehicles sinking and becoming stuck. There seems to be a small gap between sections H954/1 and H954/2 and this could potentially represent an offshoot section of track that led in the direction of a bridge (H835), built by the Manchester Corporation. It is probable, however, that the gap predates the modern bridge, and may have led to an earlier crossing. The site does not relate to any particular elements of the field system and its exact date can not be determined by association.
- 6.6.3 **Spoil Mounds (H955/ 1 and 2) (Fig 18):** there are spoil heaps on the southern slopes of Wet Sleddale and an associated wall, located beside a small stream. The spoil tips are well-defined and prominent and are on relatively flat ground. The wall runs alongside the stream and revets a narrow path which runs up the gill. The mine adit for the site was not identified but potentially was connected to the spoil heaps by the revetted track. The small size of the site suggests a limited period of use, and may perhaps represent prospecting rather than large scale exploitation.
- 6.6.4 **Walls/Enclosure (H955/3) (Fig 18):** this comprises two short, parallel stretches of badly damaged drystone walling which run downslope from a decayed field

boundary shown on modern OS maps. They were evidently components of an earlier phase of the field system, and may have been elements of a small rectilinear enclosure. The extant structural style suggests a post-medieval date.

- 6.6.5 **Buck Park Deer Pound (H956/1 - 7) (Fig 18):** this deer pound (H956/1-2) is constructed on the Wet Sleddale valley floor and is bounded on two sides by small streams. It is a two-celled, drystone-walled enclosure, the walls being now in varying states of repair, standing from between 1m to 3m in height, and with obvious signs of multiple rebuilding. There is a small, rectangular, dry-stone structure (H956/3) built within the southern corner of the deer pound; its constructional form is of a more basic style than that for the adjacent large pound walls and does not appear to be a later feature.
- 6.6.6 Although the primary relationships between the individual stretches of wall, which form the pound, have been obscured by numerous rebuilds, there seem to have been approximately five phases of construction and/or repair. The western cell (H956/2) was built first, as the walls of the eastern cell butt onto it. It originally formed a large sub-rectangular enclosure bounded on three sides by streams. The larger, eastern cell (H956/1) is clearly a later addition. Its walls are well-built and in most places stand to between 2m and 3m high, although the northern part, by the river, has suffered considerable decay. An entrance to the west is a recent modification, and not part of the original design. It is probable that the main entrance to the pound was formerly at the southernmost tip of the pound, but this has subsequently been blocked by the construction of the rectangular structure (H956/3).
- 6.6.7 Two features of the pound warrant particular attention, a sluice which runs through the wall in the north-western corner, and the remains of a large, double-doored gateway leading to the western cell. The exceptionally well-built stone sluice appears to be a later modification, and was intended to remove debris from the stream which runs through the site. The gateway still stands to 3m in height, with large stone-built pillars on each side which stand against the walls. Although the gates are now missing, its iron hinges remain *in situ*.
- 6.6.8 It is not impossible that structure (H956/3), which lies in the south-western part of the western cell, is contemporary in date with the main pound, but it seems more likely to be a later addition. The structure has a stone flagged floor, and large quantities of collapsed roof slate suggesting that it was relatively weatherproof, and was perhaps intended as temporary accommodation. This structure has been modified; the south wall has been realigned and was later converted into a small sheepfold/shelter.
- 6.6.9 There is a series of agricultural earthworks within the eastern cell of the pound. A small, raised platform is covered by ridge and furrow (H956/4) which seems to pre-date the construction of this part of the enclosure, although the relationship has in part been obscured by rubble tumbled from the wall. The ridge and furrow relates to an ill-defined earthwork bank (H956/5) which runs upslope from a marshy area within the enclosure, running along the crest of a natural ridge, and is seemingly truncated just short of the pound walls. A second, more prominent, 'L' shaped section of bank (H956/6) lying outside the enclosure is on the same broad alignment, and would appear to reflect a continuation of the H956/5 bank. The banks are at a

diagonal angle with respect to the deer pound and would appear to have been cut by the construction of the deer pound walls and consequently this would appear to be the relict elements of an arable field that pre-dates the deer pound.

- 6.6.10 In summary, the structure follows a relatively simple progression. Possibly the earliest feature on site was the arable field system (H956/54 and 5). This was followed by the construction of the smaller, western cell, possibly with an entrance in the southern end. A structure in the south-western corner, blocking the entrance, was probably erected at a later date, and was intended as a shelter. Subsequently the eastern cell was erected, and its only access was via the original enclosure. At some point a large pair of gates were constructed, followed by a sluice, intended to regulate water running through the pound. Finally an external entrance was created in the eastern cell, and the western cell converted to a sheepfold.
- 6.6.11 The present structure's fabric and construction is clearly of Post-medieval date but the site may potentially have had medieval origins: the Shap abbey estate boundary included a place between the abbey and Rosgill called *Lestablie*, or *Bokeston* [Buck Stone] (Thompson 1934, 44), and which was described in c1200 as '*the great stone where they were wont to stand to watch the deer as they passed*' (Curwen 1932, 359). The monks of Shap Abbey were given licence to empark in 1336 and it is possible that a pound dates from the same period, however, there is no documentary evidence for one having been built here and there is no fabric evidence for an early pound.
- 6.6.12 The present fabric dates from the early to mid nineteenth century for Davis-Shiel reports an article in the *Westmorland Gazette* of 1851 which says that Lord Lonsdale had the whole enclosure rebuilt for renewed interest in large game. An informant, from the Lowther estates, says that deer were last put in the enclosure in the 1860s (Thompson, 1934). It is shown, with the sheepfold already in place at its south-west corner, on the first edition OS 6" map (1863, Sheet 21). It is potentially an important monument in regional terms, representing a significant capital investment. The building and management of the site would have had a significant impact upon the local rural economy of a small valley.
- 6.6.13 ***The Tonguerigg Gill Field System (H957/1 - 42) (Fig 18)***: the site covers a north-east facing slope, divided into three by streams, at the western end of Wet Sleddale valley, close to the Buck Park deer pound. The hillside is relatively steep and elements of the field system are spread over an area which rises by about 90m. It is unlikely that all elements of the system are contemporary, and there seems to be some chronological progression although the nature of the site makes it impossible to link phases across the entire area. The field system is likely to have its origins in the Medieval period, although some elements are undoubtedly later.
- 6.6.14 Surviving remains on the two ridges on the south-eastern side are characterised by a series of ill-defined 'fields' marked by areas of broad, 5m wide, ridge and furrow, and divided by lynchet-like earthen banks. In some cases these banks were topped by, or incorporated, cleared stone. The ridge and furrow runs across the slope and avoids the steeper areas. The close similarity between the various lynchets and areas of ridge and furrow, on both ridges, suggest that they were probably broadly contemporary. The area covered by the remains is not large, and the land is today

fairly marginal, perhaps suggesting that the area was farmed by a single holding, or at the most a small community.

- 6.6.15 There was no ridge and furrow on the third, and most northerly ridge, but there was a single very vague and disturbed lynchet bank (H957/32). The area is instead characterised by a series of stone-revetted banks and walls which all run across the slope and appear to be composed of clearance stone. The lack of association with arable features may suggest that the system had a pastoral function. The few clearance cairns recorded within the field system are all on this ridge, or on the higher land, above the farmed areas, of the other two ridges; again this may reflect pastoral clearance activity. Rectangular enclosure H957/31 is associated with one of the stone banks, although the exact relationship could not be determined. Its small size and narrow entrance would suggest a sheep pen. Rectangular structure H957/36, which lies on a deliberately created platform slightly further up the slope, is also associated with a stone wall or bank. Its size and shape is broadly similar to that of other Medieval/Post-Medieval shielings or shepherd's huts in the region, and perhaps suggested a similar function here, particularly when considered alongside enclosure H957/31.
- 6.6.16 A second, similar structure (H957/15) was recorded on land above the 'fields' on the first two ridges and is on land that is ostensibly too steep for cultivation. It is rectangular, and of a similar size, and has been erected on a deliberately levelled platform. Like H957/36 it lies close to enclosure (H957/16) which, despite having no obvious entrance, could have been a stock enclosure. There is also a series of small cairns and fragmentary walls in the area (H957/12/13/14) which might indicate the presence of a larger enclosure; however, these features are extremely ill-defined.
- 6.6.17 The banks and/or walls on the flat valley bottom (H957/39,40 and 44) have been discussed in connection with site H957 but could be associated with the pre-deer pound field system (H956/4 and 5). Their appearance and construction differs somewhat from the stone banks/walls on the hill slope, and at a basic level, they are more reminiscent of the lower field system. Parts of the complex seem to also be related to the deer pound; wall H957/44 actually runs up to, and may be related to, the south wall of the deer pound. The sections of bank related to an area of ridge and furrow and were clearly part of an arable system. The relationship between the three banks is difficult to determine, but on morphological grounds alone it seems likely that H957/39 and H957/44 were of a similar date, but H957/40 appears to butt H957/39 and was therefore apparently later.
- 6.6.18 ***Summary of Wet Sleddale Detail Survey:*** the survey has revealed a series of well-preserved Medieval and Post-Medieval agricultural landscape features, at the head of the Wet Sleddale valley. The sites represent various episodes of intensive exploitation, many of which probably overlapped. The deer pound and the Tonguerigg Gill field system are both of importance, and both potentially have their origins in the medieval land-use of the area, although both continued in use at a later date. The deer pound in particular was constructed into its present form in the nineteenth century. The Tonguerigg Gill field system has produced evidence for both arable and pastoral farming, with a marked division between ploughed land on the lower slopes, and stock-keeping above, reflecting the marginality of the higher slopes. This would appear to suggest small-scale mixed farming over an extended

period, although it could also potentially reflect transhumant seasonal activity. Access to the high fells is easy from this point, and a number of major trackways leading to Long Sleddale, Shap, and Swindale would have made transhumance viable.

- 6.6.19 A lack of documentary evidence makes interpretation, and especially dating, difficult. The valley fell under the authority of Shap Abbey until the Dissolution and was managed as part of the monastic estate; the valley would for the most part have been farmed from Sleddale Grange. All the sites examined were previously known, but this survey has added considerable detail, allowing some interpretation to be made. The Medieval landscape of Wet Sleddale is of importance because of its strong monastic links and the complexity of the remains. Further documentary study is required to accompany this survey and efforts to address the issue of land ownership and management practices should be the primary goal of such work.

---

## 7. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANDSCAPE

---

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

The marginal uplands and valleys of the North West Water Estate have been occupied and exploited since at least the Neolithic period and potentially even earlier. Man has affected and adapted the landscape to fit his particular needs. The formation of this anthropogenically modified landscape is examined below from the earliest intervention to the major exploitation of the valleys and their selective inundation.

### 7.2 PREHISTORIC

- 7.2.1 **Neolithic:** The post-glacial period of the Lake District was, following a period of tundra conditions, characterised by the growth of major woodlands with tree lines at the height of the peaks. The study area was probably covered by mixed oak, pine and birch forestry, however, no palaeobotanic cores have been undertaken within the area of the eastern part of the Lake District and the vegetational conditions must be inferred from cores taken from the western and northern fells (Pennington 1975). It is within this vegetational context that the evidence for early exploitations must be examined. The earliest evidence for human activity within the confines of the Haweswater Estate dates to the Neolithic period, and takes the form of a group VI type of tree-felling stone axe (H943) which was found in the environs of Ralfland Forest (prior to present survey). The axe originates from the major axe production area at Langdale and the Scafell Pike area of the Lake District (Claris and Quartermaine 1989), which was the most productive Neolithic stone axe factory site in Britain. The significance of the industry, and in the local context the Ralfland Forest find, is that there was a considerable demand for the means and tools necessary to create agricultural clearances in the woodland. The isolated find would suggest that there were attempts to exploit the marginal lands around Ralfland Forest during the Neolithic.
- 7.2.2 The paucity of Neolithic remains throughout the study area is typical of the pattern recognised throughout the region, with the notable exception of the axe factory remains (Claris and Quartermaine 1989). It is suggested then that the paucity reflects, amongst other things, a relatively sparse population, and socio-economic practices that had little lasting impact on the contemporary landscape. Similarly a cultural assemblage that was predominantly based on very friable or organic materials would have left little in the way of artefacts. The extent of such agricultural exploitation and clearance can be examined by palaeobotanic coring within selected areas and there is a powerful case for the implementation of a palaeobotanic research programme to redress the imbalance of previous research and examine the vegetational development of the eastern fells.
- 7.2.3 **Bronze Age:** In considerable contrast, the Bronze Age is well-represented within the Estate; funerary monuments are the most obvious remains encountered and were found on high ground throughout the study area (Fig 19). They are typified by round cairns which generally take the form of well-defined circular stone-built mounds with diameters ranging from 7-26m. Round cairns in this area are usually constructed



with a kerb and a central cist, as at Kettle Crag (H19) and White Raise (Askham Fell; Quartermaine and Leech forthcoming), although decay and collapse usually obscures these features. Whilst in Cumbria a large proportion of these monuments have been subject to antiquarian research, very few have been excavated using modern techniques and even less have been published. The chronology of these monuments is largely based on the limited number of published cairns which have produced dateable urns and other artefacts and also by parallels from outside the region; Yates (1984) has undertaken an analysis of the total sample within Dumfries and Galloway and has provided a chronological framework for this class of monument in that region. In general they were found to date from the broad period of the Bronze Age.

7.2.4 A second class of monument encountered is the ring cairn. These have been subject to classification (Lynch 1972) and included both stone circles (Waterhouse 1985) and ring cairns within a larger group of 'variant circles'. This has led to the identification of seven basic forms of this monument type, from free-standing stone circle to stone ring. Whilst no attempt was made to classify each individual monument within the study area, their position within cairnfield groups around Rowantree Crag, alongside their relatively small size (no more than 7m in diameter) would place them within the category of small rings. Examples of small rings have been excavated by Richardson (HC1; 1982) and one was found to have a carbon date of 1720  $\pm$  100bc and therefore of early-middle Bronze age date. However, these cairns were not found to contain domestic or funerary material and could not be interpreted as conventional ring cairns or even a hut circles. The Birrel Sike examples were intimately mixed with conventional clearance cairns and excavation revealed that they had similar constructional make-up as the clearance cairns. It can therefore be concluded that they were probably a variant form of clearance cairn, and were possible the result of clearing stone around tree stumps which have subsequently decayed. By implication the examples at Rowantree Crag (H672, 675, 677 and 679), which are small and associated with clearance cairns, may also have had an agricultural rather than a funerary function. These monuments are representative of the type of archaeological features which are today morphologically similar but whose origin and functions can be very different.

7.2.5 Clearance cairnfields are a common feature of upland landscapes within the Lakeland Fells and are found on many marginal uplands within the study area. The simple nature of this class of monument means that they are, in general terms difficult to date, and are usually dated by their association with other, more diagnostic monuments. These monuments have been recorded throughout the study area and may even show a progressive expansion of clearance and other agricultural activity throughout the Bronze Age, spreading from the south, notably at Rowantree Crag and Shap Quarry. There are two basic types of cairnfields exhibited within the study area. The first is the primary cairnfield type (Quartermaine and Leech forthcoming) which comprises randomly distributed cairns with no associated field systems or hut structures. The cairn groups are often constrained by natural topography such as terraces. The second and more developed type of cairnfield has cairns and stone banks arranged in parallel lines, to act as plot boundaries and to facilitate the movement of the plough (Askham Fell: H2). Thus the Askham Fell example is possibly contemporary with a stone founded hut-circle which would suggest a Late Bronze Age or later date (Gates 1983). The spatial association of such an unenclosed settlement and arable field system (H2) alongside an Iron Age type of

enclosed settlement (H10) is paralleled at Town Bank (Quartermaine 1989); this may suggest the possibility of localised continuity of occupation in some areas.

### 7.3 IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH

- 7.3.1 The Iron Age is sparsely represented in the study area, by comparison with other periods of activity, but is relatively rich by comparison with other regions of the North West. The univallate hillfort at Castle Craggs, is unusually small for its type and by virtue of its remote inhospitable location may have served as a temporary refuge rather than as a permanent settlement, although the site is indicative of occupation and use of the wider area. Iron Age settlements have been identified in the region, notably at Castlesteads in Lowther Park (LUAU 1997) and the two enclosed settlements (H10 and H556) in the northern part of the NWW Haweswater estate. The closest site to the Castle Craggs hill fort is Tow Top Kirk (H556), only 5.5km away.
- 7.3.2 The two enclosed settlements (Tow Top Kirk (H556) and the Knotts (H10)), were examined in detail. Both are situated within areas of level ground, lower than nearby Bronze Age monuments, perhaps suggesting a spread of agricultural activity towards the valley bottoms. Both comprise huts surrounded by a substantial earthwork enclosure boundary which was potentially topped by a rampart. Several similar examples have been recorded throughout the Lakeland Fells, one example at Town Bank (Quartermaine 1989) had three hut circles within its boundary and another at nearby Thornholme (Crawford and George 1983) had seven huts. On Torver High Common, in the southern fells, is a further similar example with a single hut and this uses a bend in the adjacent stream to augment its defence (Quartermaine 1994). There is a paucity of datable parallels from Cumbria, but there are numerous excavated examples from North-East England, utilising both timber (Alnham, Northumberland, Jobey & Tait 1966; West Brandon, Durham; Jobey 1962) and stone construction (Middle Hartside Hill, Jobey 1964). The simple timber enclosed settlements are usually found to date from the later part of the first millennium bc (Ritchie 1970, 52-55; Jobey 1985, 183), although there is an example from Wolsty Hall, Cumbria (Blake 1959, 7-10) which may have continued into the Romano-British period. The stone built examples from Northumberland are more typically Late Iron Age or early Romano-British in date (Jobey 1964), however the abundance of surface stone within the Lake District may have biased the construction techniques in favour of stone, and the chronological distinction between the two types may not be as valid within this area.
- 7.3.3 High Street Roman road runs between Ambleside and Brougham (Margary 1973) and effectively marks the western boundary of the study area. Pottery evidence from both sites would appear to date from between the second and fourth centuries AD (Brandon 1984) and it would seem appropriate to ascribe a similar date to the road that connects them. Its location on the upper contours of the study area, alongside its lack of easy access to the central sections of the designated area, would seem to indicate that Roman influence over the study area was of a limited nature.
- 7.3.4 Only one possible Romano-British settlement has been identified within the study area, namely that now drowned at Meason Bridge, in Haweswater. However, there are several examples just outside the study area to the north-east of Askham Fell

(RCHM 1936) and also within nearby Lowther Park (LUAU 1997). Their paucity within the study area reflects the marginality of the terrain, rather than a general dearth in the region, indeed this part of Cumbria has a greater concentration of surviving Romano-British settlements than any where else in the North West.

#### 7.4 EARLY MEDIEVAL

- 7.4.1 There is no direct evidence for early Medieval activity within the study area. There are, however, three pre-Conquest decorated hog-back tombstones immediately outside the study area, at St. Michaels Church, Lowther, all of which are probably of late tenth or early eleventh century date (RCHM 1936, 160). Extensive early Medieval activity is known from the monastic site at Dacre (Newman and Leech forthcoming), Penrith and at Fremington near Brougham (Lambert 1996). Such widespread activity would suggest that there was an early Medieval presence within the area, but regional trends suggest that physical remains would be scarce. The possible shieling at Rough Crag may have its origins in that period, although it should be noted that the construction and use of such simple upland structures continued throughout the Medieval period and beyond.

#### 7.5 MEDIEVAL/ POST-MEDIEVAL

- 7.5.1 Within the limits of the study area, both the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods display strong localisation within the valley bottoms (Figs 20 and 21). This localisation is not apparent within the confines of earlier landscapes suggesting that the climatic conditions and population pressure were not sufficient to warrant expansion onto the marginal lands, instead the uplands were used only as pastoral commons.
- 7.5.2 Trackways, holloways and green roads were recorded frequently, mostly crossing the upland areas. Some are of ancient origin, notably the High Street Roman road which might follow the line of a prehistoric precursor. Others are only known with certainty from the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods, but are equally likely to mark long-established paths. Important routes include the Old Corpse Road, which runs over the top of Swindale Common, and the pack-horse route along the northern and western sides of Haweswater. Some of these are still in use as modern footpaths, notably that leading to Kentmere through the Nan Bield Pass, which follows the old packhorse route towards Kendal. A number of supplementary features, all shelters, were associated with these routes, and all were situated at relatively high altitudes and, in the case of the Kidsty Howes sites, on steep slopes.
- 7.5.3 **Mardale:** it has been established that the area of Haweswater and Shap was probably settled during the Bronze Age (*Section 7.2.3*) on the marginal uplands and during the medieval period in the valley bottoms (*Section 7.5*). In the lowlands the soils were well-drained and fertile, and the uplands offered favourable grassland for summer grazing as evidenced by shielings at Whelter (*Section 4.5.15*). As well as agriculture there were local mineral resources to be exploited in the form of slates and granite (*Section 3.3.3*) and some availability of copper (*Section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2*). Within the valley the woodland at Guerness and Naddle provided timber and underwood, and

the upland fells provided hunting grounds for profit and pleasure (*Section 4.3.24*). This allowed for a moderate but relatively static population in the valleys (*Sections 4.3.22/25/27*), although it appears to have decreased in the Post-Medieval period as the use of the packhorse route from Kendal to Penrith declined (*Section 4.6.1*).

- 7.5.4 Although the area was troubled by the Scottish incursions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the valleys were isolated enough to offer natural protection, and although there is no evidence for medieval use of Castle Crag, it may have provided a useful outpost (*Sections 4.2.8 and 4.3.3*).
- 7.5.5 The settlement pattern seems to have been significantly affected by the use of the Haweswater as part of a communication route between Penrith and Kendal, two of the three major economic and administrative centres in this region, the third centre was Appleby (Newman forthcoming, and Newman and Hair forthcoming). The route extended through Kentmere, over Nan Bield Pass and through the Haweswater valley (*Section 4.3.31*). Although nearby High Street continued to be used throughout the medieval period, this was principally a route between Penrith and Ambleside, and was a much higher section of road than the Nan Bield route which was for the most part followed valley bottoms, except for the one short section over Nan Bield Pass. The alternative lowland route was longer following approximately the line of the present A6, but this was a difficult journey involving detours from village to village. It only became a viable option during the eighteenth century when wheeled traffic became more common and it became the base for the turnpike road, which was straightened to create a more direct link between Kendal and Penrith.
- 7.5.6 Until the seventeenth century the packhorse route was not only used for trade and administrative business, but it may also have been used by people visiting Shap Abbey. There would have been church business, especially as Shap Abbey retained its holdings in Kentmere and Preston Patrick. Additionally in 1333, possibly to extend their income, the Abbott and Canons of Shap abbey received the body of Isabella wife of William de Langleigh de Appleby, who was famed for her miracles, "*so that the relics might be revered by a larger number of people and with freer and greater devotion*" (Curwen 1932), thus the route would have been used by pilgrims.
- 7.5.7 It is likely that the village of Mardale, at the south of Haweswater Lake, was able to exploit its location along the route (Figs 23-25). The presence of an early inn (the Dun Bull Inn: *Section 4.3.29*) in this remote location, from the medieval period onwards, is evidence of the importance of the pack horse route. The location of the Dun Bull inn, and perhaps an earlier inn, on an important pack-horse route from Kendal to Penrith, used by both traders, administrators and visitors to Shap Abbey, meant that the Dun Bull inn was able to exploit many opportunities, especially as it seems to have been the only lodgings in the district (*Section 4.3.29*). Settlement in Mardale may have been occasioned and encouraged by the inn and its associated income, despite the lack of administrative or ecclesiastical status for Mardale (*Section 4.3.29*).
- 7.5.8 The development of wheeled traffic, however, would have reduced the importance of the packhorse route through the Haweswater valley and fewer travellers and opportunities for trade would have passed through Mardale, contributing to the decline in population during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (a period

when most other established centres of population would have increased in size). This is demonstrated by the similarity in date of all the stone built houses of Mardale and by the lack of later dated houses (Thompson, 1942 and RCHM, 1936) as well as by the documentary evidence of the Post-Medieval period.

- 7.5.9 It is likely that settlement in Mardale was in part due to its position on the major packhorse route in the area. Such settlement was probably enhanced by the presence of the inn in Mardale and the favourable opportunities for service or trade. The development of wheeled traffic and the change to alternative routes, and later the use of the Turnpike road, meant that the village of Mardale became isolated and could no longer profit by its location. Although farming land was good, its isolation and distance from the market centres eventually lead to its decline in population, despite having the '*only inn in the district*'.
- 7.5.10 **Shap Abbey:** The Cannons of the Abbey of Shap wielded influence, not only as a religious house, but also within the parochial system of the diocese. They were responsible for the parish churches at Shap and Bampton and by 1263 it was apparent that the Canons themselves were leading services, hearing confessions and fulfilling other duties of the parish vicars during those periods when they were not able to appoint ordained priests.
- 7.5.11 However the Canons of Shap Abbey were also major landowners in the area and as such their administrative and financial interests would have pervaded the local development of medieval society. Inevitably their approach to the farming economy would have affected the pattern of settlement and the landscape.
- 7.5.12 Of greatest impact on the farming landscape were the localities of the Abbey granges, often characterised by large scale farming and huge barns for harvest stores (in this area often wool or hay). The Abbey probably established the granges in Preston Patrick and Shap as early as the time of the original bequests. The well developed dyke system around the land immediately in the vicinity of the Abbey (*Section 4.2.24*) and the well-developed land improvements south of Sleddale Hall (*Section 6.6.18*) are likely to have been associated with the monks. The later acquisitions of the granges at Renegil and Milborne would have increased the Abbey's influence. The large farmsteads and field systems at Swindale Head (*Section 5.5.6*) and at Tailberth (*Section 4.2.24*) may also have been granges for the Abbey.
- 7.5.13 The existence of the Abbey at Shap, with its ecclesiastical, administrative, and agricultural importance for the neighbourhood, would have contributed towards the development and use of roads and packhorse routes (*Section 4.6.1-9 and 7.5.5*). The Abbey would have attracted visitors; some to the shrine (*Section 7.5.6*) as well as people on business. The Cannons of Shap Abbey would have needed to travel to and from their administrative and diocesan centre of Carlisle and they would have needed to transport goods to and from the market centres of Penrith or Kendal.
- 7.5.14 Although, at its most populated, the Abbey housed only 20 Canons (there may have been extra lay-members), it is evident that Shap Abbey controlled much of the area under study extending from Shap westwards towards the north-east bank of the old Haweswater lake and then southwards to include Swindale, and Sleddale. The Abbey were probably very influential within the development of the farming economy and

trade within the area, as well as the religious and social development of that society. It is not known precisely how the land was divided and enclosed in the monastic period and there is a valid case for undertaking further work to examine the development of the rural settlement and land enclosure. Morphological studies of field boundaries would potentially provide one avenue of investigation; this would look at the physical evidence of early boundaries, coupled with historic map evidence and would highlight areas of potential early boundary systems.

- 7.5.15 The documentary survey demonstrates that the thriving agricultural economy developed by the Cannons of Shap Abbey continued even after the Dissolution and the Abbey lands eventual transfer to the Wharton Family. By 1600 there was a weekly market at Shap, and by 1687 Lord Wharton was able to justify the weekly market and three annual stock fairs at Shap (*Section 4.4.3*). The introduction of the market probably further increased the importance of Shap within the area and it is likely that Mardale, in the Haweswater valley, was beginning to develop around the trading prospects of the Dunbull Inn (*Section 4.3.29*).
- 7.5.16 The population in the valleys continued to remain settled and probably to increase during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their growing prosperity is indicated by the number of houses and associated farm buildings which were built in stone in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: for instance in Mardale (*Section 4.3.16*) and Thornthwaite (*Section 4.3.18*). The number of cottages in Bampton manor seems to have increased from 50 in 1566 (*Section 4.3.9*) to 83 houses, with one or more hearths, in 1670 (*Section 4.3.12*). The archaeological evidence demonstrates that there were a number of stone buildings (probably post-medieval) in Wet Sleddale and Swindale.

## 7.6 INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES

- 7.6.1 Although the evidence indicates that the economy was still primarily agricultural, it is apparent there was some diversification towards a more dual based economy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with small-scale industrial activity occurring in conjunction with farming (as was happening in the rest of the country). The documentary evidence (*Section 4.6.13*) mentions potash kilns, and charcoal burning sites (*Section 4.6.18*), and examples of both were also located by the field survey (*Potash Kilns: H296, 353, 360, 452 and 939, Charcoal burning platforms: H 482-3, 575-97, 600 and 602*).
- 7.6.2 There is detailed documentary evidence of small scale industrialisation of mining for copper, pyrite and haematite north of Haweswater and at Guerness Gill (*Section 4.6.15 to 17*). Presumably the same vein was excavated at Seal Hole (*Section 4.6.20*). The field survey was able to define those smaller areas of extraction which were probably undeveloped and unrecorded (*Section 5.7.3 and 6.6.3*). Minerals may have been mined at Dale Hause on Helton Fell.
- 7.6.3 The site at Dale Hause is within an area where there are several limestone quarries (between Helton Fell and Bampton). Presumably these quarries were for local farm based use only as only one limekiln, at Scales Farm, has been located. Two other areas of more intense quarrying for limestone and slate were located. The area of

Mosedale and Wet Sleddale seems to have been used for quarrying (at the Grange itself, Fordingale Bottom, Band End and The Pen: *Section 6.6.3*); it is likely that further remains are now under water. There is some documentary evidence to suggest that granite was also quarried here (*Section 4.6.24*). The east and south side of Haweswater seem also to have been as focus for limestone quarrying. There were only two other limestone kilns located, one at Crag Castle (to serve the Haweswater area), and one at Whickers Gill (to serve the area south of Shap and perhaps Sleddale).

- 7.6.4 Probably the most significant development of the seventeenth to nineteenth century period is the development of wheeled traffic in conjunction with the turnpiking of the Old Shap Road in 1753. This road continued from Kendal and Penrith, (*Section 4.6.3*) skirting east of the valleys of the Longsleddale and Swindale, thus allowing the market town of Shap to become more accessible (*Section 4.4.7*). Later, in the nineteenth century, the route enabled the development of large-scale quarrying for Shap granite (*Section 4.6.25*), slate and limestone.
- 7.6.5 The increased use of the Old Shap Road seems to have made the valleys more isolated and probably contributed to their lack of development in the nineteenth century and the eventual decline in their population (*Section 4.3.29*). The mining and quarrying activities, begun in the areas west of Bampton, in Wet Sleddale and around Haweswater, seem not to have been fully exploited, possibly due to the difficulties in transport and also the greater advantages seen in quarrying the Shap granites. Such an agricultural landscape, being poorly populated and economically marginal would have encouraged the Manchester Corporation to consider in its consideration of the development of the Haweswater and Wet Sleddale valleys as catchment reservoirs.

---

## 8. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK

---

### 8.1 DETAIL SURVEY

8.1.1 A significant amount of detailed survey has been undertaken within the northern part of the study area in the course of the third season of study (this includes sites H1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 139, 140, 556 and 956). Detailed surveys have also been undertaken as part of the Lake District National Park Survey at Ralfland Forest and Burnbanks (north of Haweswater) (Turner 1991) and at Askham Fell (Quartermaine and Leech forthcoming). There remain, however, further significant archaeological monuments and landscapes, identified by the present survey programme, which warrant further examination. Sites recommended for further survey have been selected on the basis of their archaeological significance, their survival, their rarity, and particularly on the basis of their group value. Groups of sites which form part of a well-preserved, and largely contemporary archaeological landscape are of particular importance.

- On the undulating moorland slopes above Fordingdale Bottom is a series of small cairnfields and individual cairns (H239-245 & H544), which reflect a sporadic, and potentially transient prehistoric exploitation of the marginal fell. Although the remains do not reflect considerable agrarian activity; their extremely localised nature is unusual and there is the potential that more detailed mapping will identify the development patterns for the settlement. This should specifically define the evidence for early agricultural remains within a local topographic context. Similarly the cairns and possible hut circle complex at Naddle Forest (H534-41) would warrant a more detailed examination. Other small cairnfields that warrant more detailed survey include those at Whelter Beck (H156), Castle Crag (H144), Talibert Head (H605) and Rowantree Crag (H647).
- The hillfort is a rare commodity in Northern England and as a consequence the Castle Crag hillfort (H158) has a great archaeological significance. Although a basic survey was produced by the RCHM(E) in 1936, there is a need for a more detailed level 4 survey, which would provide for an interpretative record of the structure in conjunction with a modelled surface record of the archaeological features and associated topography.
- The High Street (H7, 16, 30, 121, 123 & 273) has been a major communication route across the Lake District since the Roman period and may have been used for a considerable time prior to then. Later use has damaged and degraded the earlier phases of the road and has been exacerbated by the more recent and very intensive recreational 'walker' traffic along the route. There is a need to record the Roman road and its subsequent phases of use before the extant road remains are irrevocably degraded. It is also important to record associated features such as the adjacent annular enclosure H121. Any further survey at High Street should be undertaken with a view to establishing conservation and management priorities and will require a study which incorporates an examination of current use as well as the archaeological fragility of the



monument. Since this is a scheduled monument any future research should be discussed with English Heritage.

- The Post-Medieval and potentially Medieval settlement remains at Sandhill Knotts (H252-266) are part of a larger settlement that was drowned by the construction of the Haweswater dam, and are a significant extant farmstead and field system, worthy of recording by a level 3 survey.
- At High Loup are the extant remains of peat huts (H311-316) associated with the Old Corpse Road which linked Swindale and Mardale. The complex has a Medieval origin potentially and would warrant a further programme of more detailed survey, as well as other forms of investigation to establish date and development.
- Pods Net (H345) is a major relict upland settlement with a farmstead and associated field system, which may have Medieval origins. The settlement is well preserved and would merit more detailed survey recording.
- The farmstead and radial field system of Swindale Foot (H375) and the farmstead of Swindale Head (H454) are the prime foci of settlement in the Swindale valley and are likely to be Medieval in date. They are classic examples of significant dispersed settlement and would warrant a more detailed programme of survey recording. A wider investigation of the development of settlement in Swindale would form a valuable research framework for both conservation and academic purposes.
- A former Medieval settlement, documented by the RCHM(E) (1936) is located at Naddle Bridge (H558), within the centre of a series of radiating field boundary walls up to ten feet in thickness. The form of the settlement was difficult to discern because of dense vegetation, but did identify a series of features were identified, including a few clearance cairns and a set of irregular partially earthfast stone banked enclosures. Some of these may reflect an earlier, possibly prehistoric, origin and a detailed survey is required to place these features and the other settlement remains and enclosures within their local context.
- To the south of Naddle farm (H543) is a relict Medieval agricultural and settlement landscape, comprising numerous relict field boundaries and earthworks associated with a settlement to the south of H519. The site displays considerable complexity and it would warrant more detailed recording.
- At Mirkside is an intricate agricultural and potentially industrial complex which is unfortunately partly outside the NWW estate. Despite this obvious limitation the site would merit a level 2 survey.
- The navvy camp (H547) that was built at Burnbanks during the construction of the Haweswater Dam is an important recent element of the present day Haweswater landscape and one which would justify more detailed recording.

## 9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

### 9.1 AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

#### 9.1.1 *Lake District National Park Authority, Kendal*

*Oblique sorties, B/W*

F1/2/18-36 inclusive Swindale, Wet Sleddale, Tailbert, Tongue Rigg deer pound

F1/3/29-37 inclusive Swindale, Stone Howe, Shap Abbey

#### 9.1.2 *National Monuments Record, Swindon*

Summary report on vertical and oblique sorties:

Vertical 11 sorties, 143 prints, 1948-73

Specialist/oblique 5 records, 1975-8

### 9.2 PRIMARY SOURCES

#### 9.2.1 *Public Record Office, Kew, London*

PRO MPB 61: [No title] Maps (3) of moor or waste of Sadgil [Sadgill, Long Sleddale], 1578. (Removed from PRO E.178/2374 ms.2, 5, 8) Listed in PRO 1967, 505, no 3422. Microfilm copy Lancaster Univ Lib M/text 4/730

#### 9.2.2 *Cumbria Record Office, Kendal (CRO(K))*

WDB/35/Box 14/parish valuations M-Z *Valuation of Shap parish, 1860*

WDB/35/Box 16 Ordnance Survey, 1861 *Book of Reference to the plan of the parish of Bampton, in the county of Westmorland*, Southampton

WDB/35/SP/135 Kilvington, W, Auctioneer, Brough *Particulars and plan of a valuable freehold estate situate at Swindale Foot ... for sale by auction ... 19th August 1878*, Penrith

WDRC/8/72 *A plan of the lands in the township of Rosegill, in the parish of Shap ...*, 1850. Tithe Map (Award, 1841)

WDRC/8/118 *A plan of the lands on which the rent charge is fixed in lieu of the tithe of the District, comprising the townships of Hardendale, Mardale, Swindale, Rayside and Tailbert, Keld and Thrornshap, Toathmain, and Wetsleddale in the parish of Shap and the county of Westmorland*, 1842. Shap (Hardendale) Tithe Map and Award

WDX/214 Deposited by Rev J C Dickinson, Cartmel

Box 2 Mortgage (cancelled), 2 Feb 1741/2, between Thomas Gaskill, of Wet Sleddale, Shap, yeoman, and William Pooley of Oddendale, Crosby Ravensworth, yeoman. All those freehold lands, closes ... called the Carrs, together with all that belonging thereto being parcel of ground called Moor Close adjoining the common ... in Wet Sleddale.

Box 3 Westmorland deeds, 1592-1824, including another copy of mortgage in Box 2. Papers re. lawsuit in Chancery re. Askham Hall estate, c1760-91, including *A particular of the estate in the parish of Askham ... belonging unto William Tatham, esq., deceased, 1775*

WDX/287 Memo and plan re. ancient trackway over Shap Fells, W Withers, Levens, Kendal, Oct 1970

WDX/835 Deposited by H Jackman, Kent

Deeds and papers (59) re. Sewell family of Swindale, 1635-1821

/3 Mortgage by Roger Lickbarrow to John Baxter, messuage and tenement in Swindale, 4 Feb 1697/8

/6 Conveyance by Richard Stewardson to his daughter, Sarah, of New Close, Hoghouse Garth, etc., late in possession of John Baxter, 17 March 1703/04

/8 Receipt for rent from Thomas Sewell of Thornthwaite Mill, 11 Feb 1705/06

/34 Conveyance, 19 Feb 1730/1, between 1) Anthony Dennyson of Rosgill, Shap, cordwainer, Joseph Robinson, of Goodcroft, yeoman, and Mary his wife, to 2) William Sewell of Thornthwaite Hall, Bampton, batchelor, of their parcel of inclosed ground called New Close and Hoghouse Garth, and housetead adjoining on the common and inclosure called Waistes, with one dale of meadow adjoining called the Prye, all in Swindale within the Manor of Thornthwaite ...

/38 *A true and perfect inventory of the goods, chattels, credits, and so forth of Thomas Sewell, late of Swindale, [5 January 1749/50], valued and appraised by Matthew Wright, William Wilkinson, and Lancelot Kitching*

WQR/I/81 Shap enclosure award and map, 1820 (Act 1813), including plans of Lodge How estate, parish of Crosby Ravensworth, Wood Head estate, parish of Morland, and inset map of 52 allotments for turbary on Shap Common

### 9.2.3 **Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle (CRO(C))**

D/Lons Lowther, Lords Lonsdale

D/Lons/Plans/L/Westmorland/Box 2 [Bampton - Thornthwaite boundary], nd, late 18th/early 19th century

D/Lons/Plans/L/Westmorland/23/Box 6, rolled [Plan of Bampton Hall estate] , nd, c1810

D/Lons/Plans/Box 50/C 172 *Plan of lands in Shap*, nd, [?late C18th]

D/Lons/Plans/Box 110/Bampt on 4 Plan of Goat Bank, Knipe Scar, Bampton, ..., nd [?late C18th]

D/Lons/Plans/L/Westmorland/189/Box 143 [Plan of Walmgate estate, Haweswater], nd, late eighteenth century

D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Shap/SH 13 Charter, Robert, Abbot of Hepp, to Gilbert de Culwen, 1384

D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Wet Sleddale/SH 26b Final Concord \_ Salkeld v Thomas Barwyke, manor of Wetsleddale and free fishing in Lowther, Foot of Fine, 1562 (copied, translation extracts by Dr A J L Winchester, Dept History, Lancaster Univ)

D/Lons/L5/2/18/1-28 Rosgill and Wet Sleddale

/18/15 Boundary of the manor of Sleddale, nd (pre-1500), with later copies and translations

/20/14 Boundary of Mosedale, c1669, and *A booke of survey of the Mannor of Thornthwaite, being parcell of the possessions of the Right Honor'ble the Lord William Howard, begonne in July 1612 by Thomas Goodwin, practitioner in the mathematics.*

SNWA North West Water

SNWA/8/1-8 Deeds relating to Thirlmere, Shap, and Wet Sleddale, 1587-1929

/8/7 Bundle of deeds, mostly re Wet Sleddale, 1587-1764

#### 9.2.4 ***North West Water's Title Research Centre, Chadwick House, Risley***

Schedule of deeds for study area, composite guide map.

Most deeds 1923-37, few early C19th re. Wet Sleddale said to be in collection. Not visited, therefore deeds not seen.

Deed Series 40/00001/H1-H37

H3 Lord Lonsdale's Trustees, 23.2.1923

H13 John Noble, re New Ing, 7.3.1928

H14 Robert Thompson, re Wet Sleddale, 7.3.1928 (and deeds dated 1807, 1811)

H17 Mrs E Wilkinson & another, re Wet Sleddale, 4.2.1929

H19 Mrs A R Hudson, re Wet Sleddale, 25.3.1929

H20 Miss E Noble, re Bampton, Askham, 23.2.1929

H21 Miss E Herring, re Tailbert Head Farm, 4.6.1929

H23 Mr E Fawcett, re Beckside, 14.10.1929

H24 Messrs Hudson, re Shap, 31.10.1929

H27 Poor Hagg Charity Trustees, re Shap Rural, 15.7.1931

H28 Mrs A Parker, re Shap, 30.1.1932

H36 Rev F S Sinker, re Shap, 19.4.1937

H37 Rev F S Sinker, re Swindale Lane, Swindale, 19.4.1937

#### 9.2.5 ***Manchester Central Library (Local studies - archives)***

M231/2/2/Box 5 Haweswater works and estate executive sub-committee, minutes, April 1925 - Sept 1930

M231/119/(between Boxes 8 & 9) Scrapbook, Vol 1, Feb 1914 - May 1926 (see secondary sources bibliography for individual items)

### 9.3 **PUBLISHED CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCES**

Geol Surv Geological Survey of England and Wales, 1863 *1" : 1 mile Series, Sheet 101 SE, New Series Sheet 29*, Southampton

Inst Geol Sci Institute of Geological Sciences, 1980 *Lake District Sheet 54°N - 04°W, solid geology, 1:250,000*, Southampton

Lawes Agricultural Trust (Soil Survey of England and Wales), 1983 *Soils of Northern England*, 1:250,000, Harpenden

OS Ordnance Survey, 1863 6": *1 mile, Westmorland Sheets 7, 13, 14, 20, 21, 27, 28*, 1st edn, Southampton [CRO(K)]

OS, 1899 6": *1 mile, Westmorland Sheets 13 SE, 14 SW, 20 NW, 20 NE, 20 SE, 21 NW, 21 SW*, 2 edn, Southampton [CRO(K)]

Otley, J, 1827 *The District of the Lakes*, Keswick

Saxton, C, 1576 *Westmorlandiae et Cumberlandiae comit' noua vera et elaborata descriptio* (British Museum Maps C.7.c.1), repr London, nd c1980

Thurnam, C, nd [c1830] *A map of the Lake District of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire*, Carlisle

#### 9.4 SOURCES LOCATED BUT NOT SEEN

##### 9.4.1 *Cumbria Record Office (Carlisle)*

D/Lons/Plans/General Plans of lands in Shap, Wet Sleddale, and other places, 7 sheets, 1875 [not located by CRO staff]

D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Wet Sleddale/(no permanent ref) Grant in tail, Barwicke to Salkeld, re Waite (*sic*) Sleddale, 1571-2 (ref from 1941 catalogue only, not found by CRO staff)

D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Wet Sleddale /(no permanent ref) Quitclaim, Fleming and Lowther, re Manor of Wet Sleddale, 1620 (ref from 1941 catalogue only, not found by CRO staff)

D/Lons/L1 Deeds/Shap/SH 9, 14-16, 21-23a Various deeds, Shap and Rosgill, 1348-1411, Abbots of Shap, de Preston, de Louthre, de Salkeld, and de Culwen

D/Lons/L5/4/Rosgill & Wet Sleddale/1-25

L5/4/6 Bundle of miscellaneous papers about commons, rents, boundaries, manors of Rosgill & Wet Sleddale, 1650-1769

L5/4/8 Packet containing copy translations (C19th) of deeds of property in Shap, Rosgill, and West Sleddale, c1152-1257

D/Lons/L5/2/18/1-28 Rosgill and Wet Sleddale

/18/18 Rentals, 1700-43, and undated

/18/22 List of tenants, nd [C19th]

/18/28 Copy (nd, C19th) of boundary of Rosgill manor, 1429

##### 9.4.2 *Cumbria Record Office (Houghton Store)*

DB/112/73-75 Wet Sleddale, photographs, 1960s

DB/74/Boxes 104, 106-113, 115-120A Parkin Estate

DB/74/Box 148 (uncat) Manchester Corporation Estate, 1923-31

#### 9.4.3 **Manchester Central Library (Local studies - archives)**

M231/119/(between Boxes 8 & 9) Scrapbook, Vol 2, April 1934 - Sept 1939

#### 9.4.4 **Public Record Office, Kew, London**

The following Classes contain cartographic and supporting material for Westmorland.

OS 23 Parish Name Books, 1850-1945, including principal landowners

OS 26 Boundary Remark Books, 1850-92

OS 27 Boundary Sketch Maps, 1843-92

OS 28 Field Sketch Maps, 1852-69

OS 34 Original Name Books for 6" maps, 1855-66

OS 35 Original name Books for 1:2500 maps

### 9.5 **SECONDARY SOURCES**

Adams, J, 1988 *Mines of the Lake District Fells*, (? place of publ)

Allom, T, Pickering, G, *et al* (illus), and Rose, T (text), [1835] *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, illustrated ...*, **2**, London [CRO(C)]

Anon, 1918a Manchester's new reservoir, *Yorkshire Post*, 24 Aug 1918, in MCL M231/119/Vol 1, f25

Anon 1918b Haweswater: a threatened lake, *The Times*, 1 Oct 1918, in M231/119/Vol 1, f26

Anon, 1918c In Parliament; session 1919. Manchester Corporation. Construction of new reservoir at Haweswater, *The Guardian*, 19 Nov 1918, in MCL M231/119/Vol 1, f27-8

Anon ('JMH'), 1919 Haweswater: Manchester's new reservoir. whence came the bows of Flodden, *Manchester Weekly Times*, 27 Dec 1919, in MCL M231/119/Vol 1, f61

Anon, 1923a Proceedings, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 23**, 284-6

Anon, 1923b Future travels to Haweswater: hints to ramblers, *Manchester Guardian*, 19 May 1923, in MCL M231/119/Vol 1, f102

Anon, 1925 Manchester's water supply: the Haweswater scheme. How the lake will be altered. Over seventy miles of pipes, *The Guardian*, 3 Feb 1925, in MCL M231/119/Vol 1, f145

Anon, 1958 Westmorland: Shap Abbey, in Medieval Britain in 1956, *Medieval Archaeol*, **1** (for 1957), 153-4

Anon, 1959 Westmorland: Shap Abbey, in Medieval Britain in 1957, *Medieval Archaeol*, **2** (for 1958), 193

Berry, G, 1984 *Mardale revisited: the story of Haweswater*, Kendal (CRO(K))

- Blake, B, 1960 Excavations of native (Iron Age) sites in Cumbria, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 60**,
- Bouch, CML, 1948 *Prelates and people of the Lake Counties: a history of the Diocese of Carlisle 1133-1933*, Kendal
- Bouche, Canon CML, and Jones, GP, 1961 A short economic and social history of the *Lake Counties 1500-1830*, Manchester
- Bulmer, TF (ed), 1885 *History, topography, and directory of Westmoreland ...*, Manchester
- Burl, A, 1976 *The stone circles of the British Isles*, Yale University Press
- Butler, L, and Given-Wilson, C, 1979 *Medieval monasteries of Great Britain*, 2 impress 1983, London
- Chandler, J, 1993 *John Leland's Itinerary. Travels in Tudor England*, Stroud
- Cherry, P, and Cherry, PJ, 1995 Prehistoric habitation of the Cumbrian limestone uplands: occupation sites found between 1986 and 1993, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 95**, 1-22
- Chinn, SJ, and Innes, JB, 1995 Appendix 3: pollen analysis from Wet Sleddale, in Cherry and Cherry 1995, 19-22
- Collingwood, WG, 1925 *Lake District history*, 2 edn, repr 1928, Kendal
- Collingwood, WG (ed and rev Rollinson, W), 1988 *The Lake Counties*, London
- Coleman, S, and Wood, J, 1988 *Historic landscape and archaeology: glossary of terms*, 2 edn, Bedfordshire County Council Planning Department
- Colvin, HM, and Gilyard-Beer, R, 1963 *Shap Abbey*, Ministry of Works guidebook
- Cockayne, G E (ed Doubleday, H A, and Howard de Walden, Lord), 1932 *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant*, **8**, microprint repr 1982, **3**, Gloucester
- Crawford, G, and George, C, 1983 *An archaeological survey of Copeland*, Cumbria County Council Planning Department
- Curwen, J F, 1907 Thornthwaite Hall, Westmorland, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 7**, 137-42
- Curwen, JF, 1928 *A history of the ancient house of Curwen of Workington in Cumbria, and its various branches ...*, Kendal
- Curwen, JF, 1932 Later records of North Westmorland, *Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc Record Ser*, **8**
- Dakyns, JR, Tiddeman, RH, and Goodchild, JG, 1897 *The geology of the country between Appleby, Ullswater, and Haweswater*, Memoirs of the Geological Survey England and Wales, sheets 30 New Ser, 102 SW Old Ser
- Davies-Shiel, M 1972 A little-known late Medieval industry, part 1. The making of potash for soap in Lakeland, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 72**, 85-111
- Davies-Shiel, M 1974 A little-known late Medieval industry, part 2. The ash burners, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 74**, 33-64

- Davis, G R C, 1958 *Medieval cartularies of Great Britain: a short catalogue*, London [Lancashire R O, Preston]
- Dewey, H, and Eastwood, T, 1925 Copper ores of the Midlands, Wales, the Lake District, and the Isle of Man, *Mem Geol Surv. Special Rep on the Mineral Resources of Great Britain*, **30**, London
- Dugdale, Sir W (rev Caley, J, Ellis, Sir H, and Bandinel, Rev B), 1846 *Monasticon Anglicanum: a history of the abbies and other monasteries, hospitals, frieries, and cathedral and collegiate churches, with their dependencies, in England and Wales ...*, rev edn, 6 vols in 8, London
- Drury D, 1995 *Low Hauxley, Archaeological Evaluation*, Lancaster University Archaeological Unit Unpubl rep
- Fair, M C, 1937 Notes on early Copeland, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 37**, 72-88
- Farington, J, and Horne, TH, 1816 *The lakes of Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland, delineated in .. engravings from drawings by Joseph Farington, R A, with descriptions ... of tour made in the summer of the year 1816*, London (CRO(C))
- Farrer, W, 1907 On the tenure of Westmorland temp. Henry II, and the date of creation of the Baronies of Appleby and Kendal, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 7**, 100-107
- Ferguson, RS, 1894 *A history of Westmorland*, London
- Ffinch, M, 1985 *Portrait of Penrith and the East Fellside*, London
- Field, J, 1989 *English field-names: a dictionary*, Stroud
- Firman, R J, 1978 Epigenetic mineralization, in Moseley (ed), 226-41
- Gates, T, 1983 Unenclosed settlement in Northumberland, in *Settlement in Northern Britain 1000bc-1000ad*, (eds J Chapman, and H Mytum), BAR, **118**, 103-148, Oxford
- Gelling, M, 1988 *Signposts to the past: place-names and the history of England*, 2 edn, Chichester
- Gibson, J, 1990 *The Hearth Tax, other later Stuart tax lists, and the Association Oath Rolls*, 4 edn, Birmingham, Federation of Family History Societies
- Gibson, J, and Mills, D (eds) 1987 *Land Tax Assessments, c1690 - c1950*, 4 edn, Birmingham, Federation of Family History Societies
- Gibson, R, 1877 *Legends and historical notes on places in the East and West Wards, Westmorland*, Manchester
- Gibson, T, 1887 *Legends and historical notes of North Westmoreland*, Chilworth
- Green, W, 1814 *A description of a series of sixty small prints etched ... from drawings made by himself*, Ambleside [CRO(C)]
- Green, W, 1819 *The tourist's new guide, containing a description of the lakes, mountains, and scenery in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, with some account of the bordering towns and villages*, 2 vols, Kendal [CRO(C)]
- Hall, C, 1989 *Running water: the essential guide to the water services - how they work and the leisure facilities they provide*, London



- Hay, D, and Hay, J, 1976 *Mardale; the drowned village. Being a Lakeland journey into yesterday*, Kendal [KL]
- Hay, T, 1938 Ullswater notes, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser* **38**, 42-47
- Hay, T 1940 'Lynchets and a Settlement', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, **40**, 131-135
- Hay, T, 1943 The ford over Elder Beck, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser* **43**, 25-27
- Higham, M, 1993 Through a glass darkly - the Gough map and Lancashire, in Crosby, A G (ed) *Lancashire local studies in honour of Diana Winterbotham*, Preston, 28-41
- Higham, N, 1986 *The northern counties to AD 1000*, A Regional History of England, London
- Higham, N, and Jones, B, 1985 *Peoples of Roman Britain: The Carvetii*, Gloucester
- Hindle, B P, 1977 *Lakeland roads: from early tracks to modern highways*, Clapham (Lancaster)
- Hindle, BP, 1984 *Roads and trackways of the Lake District*, Ashbourne
- Hodgson, HW (compiler), 1968 *A bibliography of the history and topography of Cumberland and Westmorland*, Carlisle
- Hodgson, Rev J, [1820] *A topographical and historical description of the county of Westmoreland ...*, London
- Hodgson, KS 1941 'Excavations at Measand', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, **41**, 207-208.
- Hoyte, P, 1996 *Water from Lakeland: a study of two small reservoirs* [Seathwaite Tarn and Wet Sleddale], unpubl Centre for North West Regional Studies dissertation, Lancaster Univ, ref D/3529
- Jackson, W, 1881 The Curwens of Workington Hall and kindred families, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **OS 5**, 181-232
- Jarvis, RA, Bendelow, VC, Bradley, RI, Carroll, DM, Furness, RR, Kilgour, INL, and King, SJ, 1984 *Soils and their uses in Northern England*, Soil Survey of England and Wales Bull, **10**, Harpenden
- Jobey, G and Tait, J, 1966 Excavations on Palisaded settlements and cairnfields at Alnham, Northumberland, *Archaeol Aeliana* 5 ser **44**, 5-47
- Jobey, G, 1962 An Iron Age homestead at West Brandon, Durham, *Archaeol Aeliana*, 4 ser, **40**, 1-34
- Jobey, G, 1964 Enclosed stone built settlements in North Northumberland, *Archaeol Aeliana*, 4 ser, **42**, 41-64
- Jobey, G, 1985 The unenclosed settlements of Tyne-Forth: a summary, in *Upland settlement in Britain, the second millenium BC and after*, (eds D Spratt, and C Burgess), BAR, **143**, 177-194, Oxford
- Kelly's Directories Ltd., 1897 *Directory of Cumberland and Westmorland ...*, London [CRO(K)]

- LUAU 1993, *Unit Manual*, internal document
- LUAU 1996, *Haweswater Estate Archaeological Survey: Interim Report of the second season*, Unpubl rep
- LUAU 1997, *Lowther Park, Archaeological Survey*, Unpubl rep
- Lambert, J K, 1996 *Transect through Time*, Lancaster Imprint Series, **4**, 127-69, Lancaster
- Leland, J, 1538-9 Smith, L T (ed), 1906-10 *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-43*, 5 vols, repr 1964
- Margary, I D, 1973 *Roman Roads in Britain*, London
- Marr, JE, 1916 *The geology of the Lake District and the scenery as influenced by geological structure*, Cambridge
- Marshall, J D, and Walton, J K, 1981 *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century: a study in regional change*, Manchester
- Mannex, P and Co, 1851 *A history, topography and directory of Westmoreland*, Preston
- MCW Manchester Corporation Waterworks, 1955 *The Haweswater Scheme. Inauguration of the supply from the Haweswater aqueduct by Rt Hon Earl of Derby, 21 June 1955*, Manchester (MCL pamphlet 628.1 Ma 1)
- MCW, nd [?1967] *The Haweswater Scheme: Wet Sleddale works*, Manchester (MCL pamphlet 628.141 Ma)
- Midmer, R, 1979 *English Medieval monasteries (1066-1540): a summary*, London
- Miller, E, and Hatcher, J, 1978 *Medieval England - rural society and economic change 1086-1348*, Social and Economic History of England, 4 impr, 1988, London
- Millward, D, 1976 *The Borrowdale Volcanics of the English Lake District: a study of the petrology, vulvanicity, and geochemistry of selected areas with particular reference to ignimbrites*, unpubl PhD thesis, Univ of Birmingham, Oct 1976 [copy KL]
- Millward, D, Moseley, F, and Soper, N J, 1978 The Eycott and Borrowdale volcanic rocks, in Moseley (ed), 99-120
- Millward, R, and Robinson, A, 1974 *The regions of Britain: The Lake District*, London
- [Mines Office], 1928 *Catalogue of plans of abandoned mines*, **1** (Cheshire, ... Westmorland, ...), London [KL]
- Mitchell, W R, 1993 *The lost village of Mardale*, Settle [KL]
- Morris, M, 1994 Towards an Archaeology of Navvy huts and settlements of the industrial revolution, *Antiquity*, **68**, 573084
- Moseley, F (ed), 1978 *The geology of the Lake District*, Yorks Geol Soc Occ Publ, **3**
- Newman, RM, forthcoming *Excavations in Kendal*
- Newman, RM and Hair, N, forthcoming *Excavations in Penrith*

- Nicholson, J, and Burn, R, 1777 *The history and antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols, London, repr 1976, Wakefield
- Noble, ME, 1901 *A history of the parish of Bampton*, Kendal
- Noble, ME, 1903 Towtop Kirk, Bampton, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser* **3**, 265-268
- Noble, ME (ed), 1912 *The registers of the parish of Shap, from 1559 to 1830*, Kendal
- Owen, H, 1990 *The Lowther family: eight hundred years of 'A family of ancient gentry and worship' (W Camden, 1586)*, Chichester
- Parson, W, and White, W, 1829 *History, directory, and gazetteer, of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland ...*, Leeds
- Parsons, E J S, 1958 *The map of Great Britain c 1360 known as the Gough Map*, Oxford
- Pennington, W, 1975 The effect of Neolithic man on the environment in North-west England; the use of absolute pollen diagrams. In J.G.Evans, S.Limbrey and H.Cleere (eds.) *The effect of man on the landscape: The Highland Zone*, 74-86. London: Council for British Archaeology (Research Report 11).
- Pevsner, N, 1967 *The buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland*, Harmondsworth
- Phythian-Adams, C, 1996 *Land of the Cumbrians: a study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, Aldershot, Hants [KL]
- Platt, C, 1969 *The monastic grange in Medieval England: a reassessment*, London
- Platt, C, 1984 *The abbeys & priories of Medieval England*, London, repr 1995
- Poucher, W A, 1983 *The Lakeland peaks: a pictorial guide to walking in the district and to the safe ascent of its principal mountain groups*, 9 edn, London
- PRO Public Record Office, 1908 List of rentals and surveys and other analogous documents ..., *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes*, **25**, London [JRULM]
- PRO, 1964 List of the lands of dissolved religious houses, Surrey - Isle of Man, *Public Record Office Lists and Indexes, Supplementary Series*, **3**, vol **4**, New York, USA [JRULM]
- PRO, 1967 *Maps and plans in the Public Record Office, 1. British Isles, c1410-1860*, London
- PRO, 1995a *Current guide*, Part **1**, London
- PRO, 1995b *Current guide*, Part **2**, London
- Quartermaine, J, 1989 Interim results of survey work on Stockdale Moor and Town Bank, West Cumbria, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser* **89**, 25-31
- Quartermaine, J & Leech RH, Forthcoming *Prehistoric and later settlement of the Lake District, the results of a recent Survey*.
- Quartermaine, J 1994 Archaeological Survey of Torver High Common, LUAU unpubl rep

- Quartermaine, J 1994b Archaeological Survey of Thingmount, Little Langdale, LUAU unpubl rep
- Ragg, Rev FW, 1909 Two documents relating to Shap Abbey, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 9**, 271-81
- Ragg, Rev FW, 1914a Shap and Rosgill and some early owners, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 14**, 1-62
- Ragg, Rev FW, 1914b De Culwen, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 14**, 343-432
- Ragg, Rev F W, 1921 Helton Flechan, Askham, and Sandford of Askham, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 21**, 174-233
- Ramm, H G, McDowall, R W, and Mercer, E, 1970 *Shielings and bastles*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), London
- Ramshaw, D, 1996 *The Lake District: tales from history, legend, and folklore*, Carlisle
- RCHME Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), 1936 *An inventory of the historical monuments in Westmorland*, London
- Rees, V J C, 1973 *The Clifford family in the later Middle Ages, 1259-1461*, unpubl MLitt thesis, Univ of Lancaster, March 1973, ref T/0305
- Ritchie, A, 1970 Palisaded sites in North Britain: their context and affinities, *Scot Archaeol Forum* **2**, 48-67
- Robertson, D, and Koronka, P, 1992 *Secrets & legends of old Westmorland*, Kirkby Stephen
- Rollinson, W, 1978 *A history of Cumberland and Westmorland*, Chichester
- Rollinson, W (ed), 1989 *The Lake District landscape heritage*, London
- Sedgwick, Rev A, 1842 Letters on the geology of the Lake District, in Wordsworth, W *Description of the scenery of the Lakes*, 4 edn 1853, Kendal
- Spence, J, 1934 An early settlement on Moor Divock, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser* **34**, 45-49
- Spence, J, 1935a A note on tumuli on Threepow Raise, Moor Divock, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser* **35**, 66-68
- Spence, J, 1935b An early settlement near Askham, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser*, **35**, 61-65
- Simpson, G M, 1929 Townfields of Threlkeld, Mardale, Wetsleddale, and Langdale, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 29**, 269-72
- Simpson, Rev Dr J, 1871 Wharton Hall and the Wharton family, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **OS 1**, 2224-37
- Smith, AH, 1967 The place-names of Westmorland, 2 vols, *English Place-Name Soc*, **42-43**, Cambridge
- Tanner, T, 1744 *Notitia monastica: or an account of all the abbies, priories, and houses of friers, formerly in England and Wales ...*, repr 1787, Cambridge [refs in Dugdale 1817-30)

- Taylor, BJ, Burgess, IC, Land, DH, Mills, DAC, Smith, DB, Warren, PT, and Eastwood, T, 1971 *British Regional Geology: Northern England*, 4 edn, NERC Inst Geol Sci, London
- Taylor, MW, 1892 *The manorial halls of Westmorland & Cumberland*, Kendal
- Taylor, MW 1886 'The Prehistoric Remains of Moordivock near Ullswater', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, **8**; 323-347
- Thompson, BL, 1934 A deer park in Wet Sleddale, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 34**, 44
- Thompson, BL, 1942 Mardale and Haweswater, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 42**, 13-42
- Townshend, M, 1995 *Mardale: the lost village of Lakeland*, ?Kendal (CRO(K))
- Turner, VE, 1985 Excavations at Shap Blue Quarry, Cumbria, 1984, *Archaeology North*, **3(4)** (Sept, 1985), 7-10
- Turner, VE, 1986 Shapbeck Stone Circle, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc n ser*, **86**, 248-250
- Turner, VE, 1991 Results of survey work carried out between the Shap and Askham Fells, Cumbria, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 91**, 1-11
- Valor Eccl Record Commission / Caley, J, and Hunter, Rev J (eds) *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, 6 vols, 1810-34 [CRO(C); LU South Room copy lacks Vol 5]
- Wainwright, A, 1957 *A pictorial guide to the Lakeland fells, being an illustrated account of a study and exploration of the mountains in the English Lake District*. **2**, *The Far Eastern Fells*, Kendal, repr 1992, London
- Walters, R C S, 1936 *The nation's water supply*, London
- Waterhouse, J, 1985 *The stone circles of Cumbria*, Chichester
- Weston, Rev GF, and Hope, WHStJ, 1889 The Praemonstratensian Abbey of St Mary Magdalene at Shap, Westmorland, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **OS 10**, 286-314
- Wharton Rev J, 1902 Wharton Hall, Westmorland. Pt 2 - Historical, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 2**, 264-73
- Whellan, W, 1860 *The history and topography of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (sic), *comprising their ancient and modern history ...*, Pontefract [CRO(C)]
- Whiteside, Rev J, 1901 Swindale Chapel, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 1**, 256-67
- Whiteside, Rev J, 1902 Mardale Chapel and the Holmes of Mardale, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 2**, 141-50
- Whiteside, Rev J, 1904 *Shappe in bygone days*, Kendal
- Whitwell, RJ, and Thompson, W N, 1905 Three petitions of Shap Abbey, *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc*, **NS 5**, 62-7

Whellan, W 1860 *The History of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, Pontefract

Whyte, I, 1989 The Dark Age landscape, in Rollinson (ed), 49-75

Winchester, AJL, 1987 *Landscape and society in Medieval Cumbria*, Edinburgh

Wordsworth, W, 1835 *Wordsworth's guide to the Lakes, ...*, 5 edn, Kendal, 1835, repr (ed De Selincourt, E), London, 1926

Young, B, 1987 *Glossary of the minerals of the Lake District and adjoining areas*, British Geological Survey/Natural Environment Research Council [KL]

Young, B, and Millward, D, 1984 *Catalogue of mining information (other than coal, fireclay, and slate) for the Lake District and South Cumbria held by the Northern England Office of the BGS*, British Geological Survey, Lake District Regional Geological Survey, Newcastle upon Tyne [KL]

---

## ILLUSTRATIONS

---

- Fig 1. Haweswater Estate Location Map
- Fig 2. Figure Location Diagram
- Fig 3. Site Distribution Map
- Fig 4. North West Sector - Site Location Map
- Fig 5. North East Sector - Site Location Map
- Fig 6. South West Sector - Site Location Map
- Fig 7. South Central Sector - Site Location Map
- Fig 8. South East Sector - Site Location Map
- Fig 9. Detail Surveys - Location Map
- Fig 10. Sites H2 and H10 - Detail Survey
- Fig 11. Site H2 - Detail Survey
- Fig 12. Site H10 (The Knotts) - Detail Survey
- Fig 13. Sites H5, H6, H9, H13 and H14 - Detail Survey
- Fig 14. Sites H139, H140 and H556 - Detail Survey
- Fig 15. Towtop Kirk - Site H556 Detail Survey
- Fig 16. Sites H139 and H140 - Detail Survey
- Fig 17. Wet Sleddale Survey - Site H954
- Fig 18. Buck Park Detail Survey - Sites H955-7
- Fig 19. Prehistoric Site Distribution
- Fig 20. Medieval Site Distribution
- Fig 21. Post-Medieval Site Distribution
- Fig 22. OS 2nd edition 1:2,500 map of Mardale
- Fig 23. Mardale Archaeological Survey 1989 - North Map
- Fig 24. Mardale Archaeological Survey 1989 - South Map
- Fig 25. Mardale Excavations 1989 - Trench Location Map



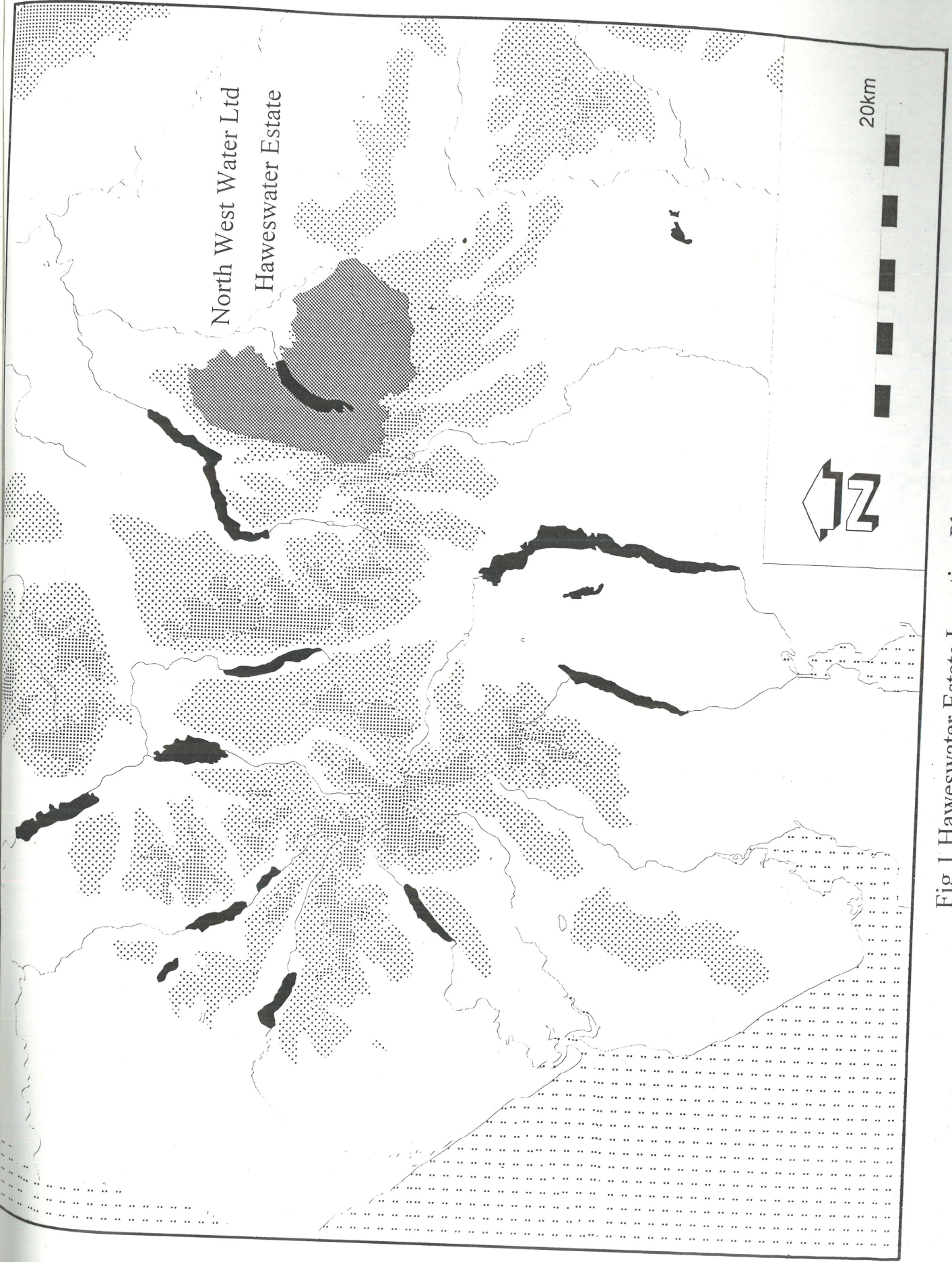


Fig 1 Haweswater Estate Location Plan



PHASE 3

DRAWING NO.

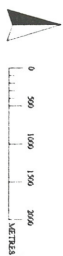
FIGURE 2  
Figure Location Diagram

LOCATION

COMPILED & PRINTED BY

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:100,000 (A4)



DRAWN BY: AC 18

DATE: 9/99

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 scale map, published by  
the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery  
Office. Crown copyright reserved.  
Digital Outlines: Survey data supplied  
under license by the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

KEY

Identification Survey Figures

Detail Survey Figures

Survey Boundary

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT



Fig 2 Figure Location Diagram

HAWESWATER ESTATE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
SURVEY

PHASE 3

FIGURE 3  
SITE DISTRIBUTION

LOCATION

CHARTERED FIELD & PRINTED BY:

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:100,000 (A4)



DRAWN BY: A.C. B.

DATE: 01/97

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:100,000 map with permission  
of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery  
Office. Crown copyright reserved.  
Digital Outlines: Survey data supplied  
under license to the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

KEY

- SITE LOCATION
- SITE EXTENT
- AREA EXCLUDED (ACE TO HEIGHT  
AND GRADEMENT)
- BLAKEY MANORARY
- EXTENT OF LINES 1945 SURVEY
- EXTENT OF 1989 AIRPHOTO SURVEY

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT



Fig 3 Haweswater Estate Site Distribution



# HAWESWATER ESTATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

## PHASE 3

DRAWING NAME:

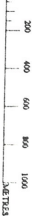
NORTH WEST SECTOR  
SITE DISTRIBUTION

LOCATION:

COMMISSIONED & FUNDED BY:

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:45,000 (A4)



DRAWN BY: AC: B

DATE: 07/97

Topographic detail is based upon the 1:77  
Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission  
of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery  
Office. Crown Copyright reserved.  
Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
under licence by the  
Lake District National Park Authority

### KEY

- SITE LOCATION
- SITE EXTENT
- AREA EXCLUDED DUE TO HEIGHT  
AND GRADIENT
- SURVEY BOUNDARY

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Fig 4 North West Sector - Site Location Map

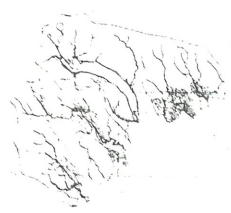
HAWESWATER ESTATE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
SURVEY

PHASE 3

DRAWING NAME:

NORTH EAST SECTOR  
SITE DISTRIBUTION

LOCATION:



COMPILED AND FINISHED BY:

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:65,000 (A4)



DRAWN BY: A.C.B. DATE: 07/97

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977 Ordnance Survey map of the area, which is the property of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office. Crown copyright reserved.  
Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied under license by the Lake District National Park Authority.

KEY

- SITE LOCATION
- SITE EXTENT
- AREA EXCLUDED TO THE RIGHT AND ADJACENT
- BOUNDARY

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT



Fig 5 North East Sector - Site Location Map

# HAWESWATER ESTATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

## PHASE 3

DRAWING NAME

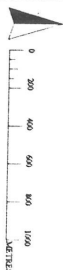
SOUTH WEST SECTOR  
SITE DISTRIBUTION

LOCATION

COMMISSIONED & FUNDED BY

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:63,000 (A4)



DRAWN BY: A.C.E.

DATE: 6/97

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission  
of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton  
Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
Lake District National Park Authority

### KEY

- SITE LOCATION
- ◊ SITE EXTENT
- ▨ AREA EXCLUDED DUE TO HEIGHT AND GRADIENT
- ▤ SURVEY BOUNDARY

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Fig 6 South West Sector - Site Location Map



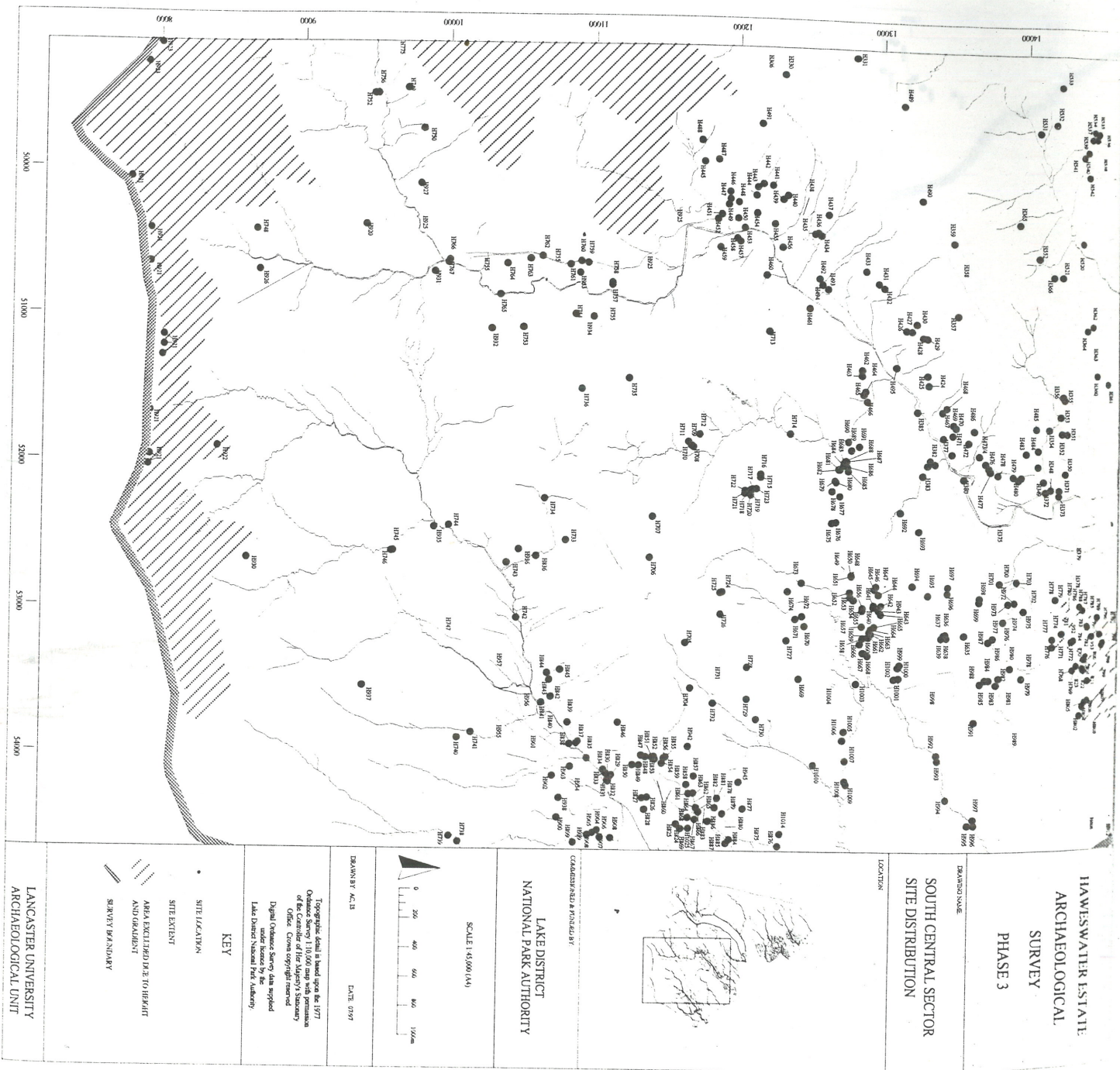


Fig 7 South Central Sector - Site Location Map

# HAWESWATER ESTATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

PHASE 3

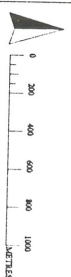
DRAWING NAME

SOUTH EAST SECTOR  
SITE DISTRIBUTION

LOCATION

COMPILED AND DRAWN BY

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY



DRAWN BY: A.C.S.

DATE: 07/97

This graphic sheet is based upon the 1:777  
scale map of the Lake District National Park  
of the Countryside Commission  
Office. Crown copyright reserved.  
Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
under license by the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

## KEY

- SITE LOCATION
- ▨ SITE EXTENT
- ▨ AREA EXCLUDED DUE TO HEIGHT  
AND ORAMMENT
- ▨ SURVEY BOUNDARY

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Fig 8 Haweswater Estate South East Sector Site Distribution



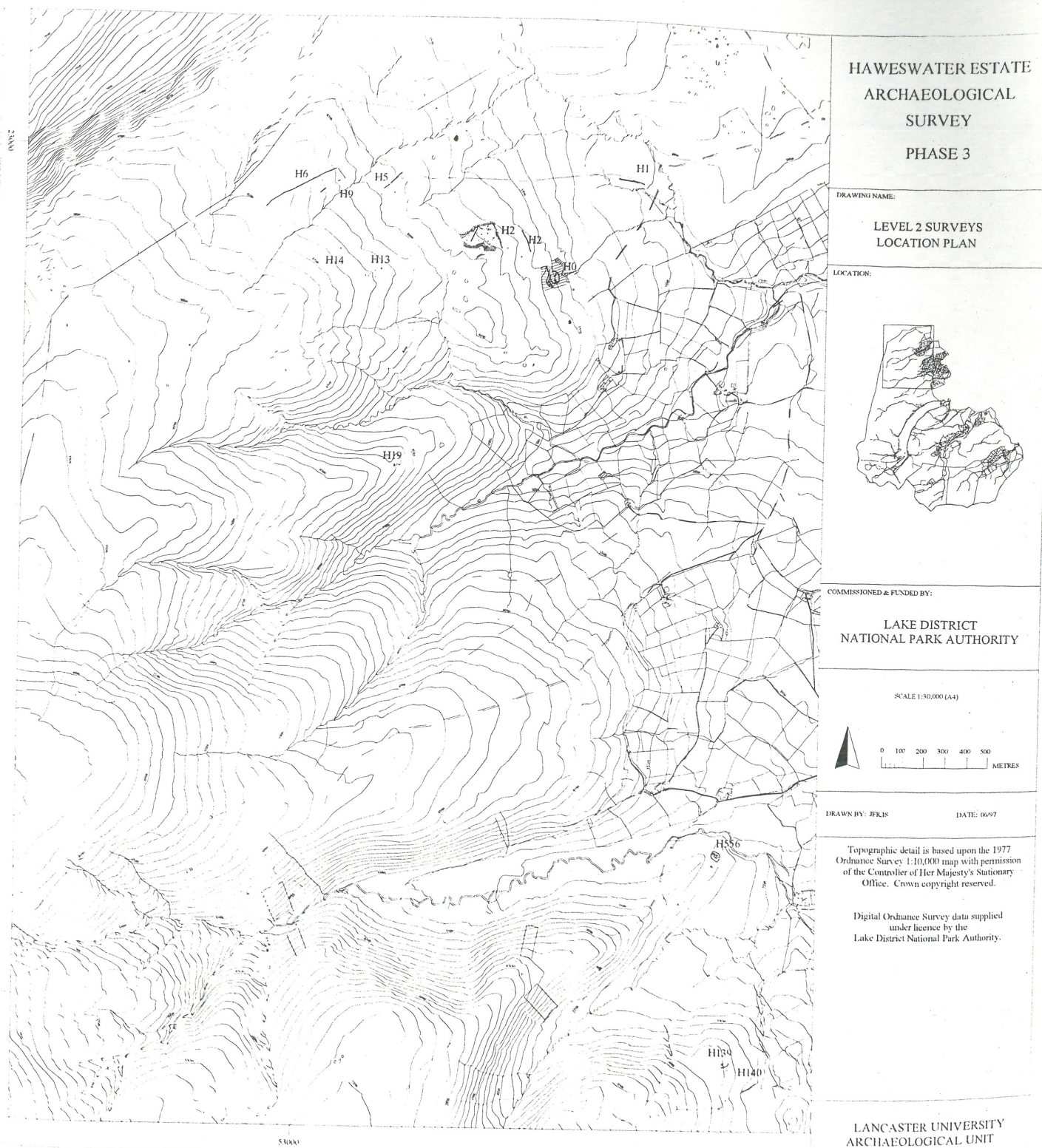


Fig 9 Detail Surveys Location Map



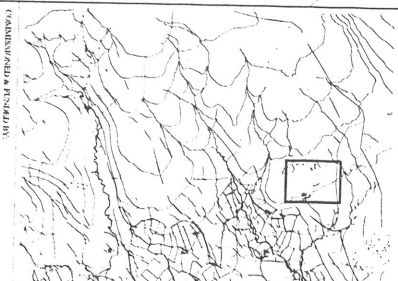
# HAWESWATER ESTATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY PHASE 3

SITES H2 and H10

DATE: 06.87

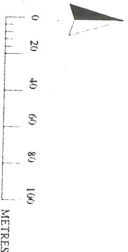
SCALE: 1:10,000

LOCATION:



CONTAINING A REPRODUCTION OF

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY



DRAWN BY: JMS

DATE: 06.87

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission  
of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary  
Office. Crown copyright reserved.

Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
under licence by the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT



Fig 10 Sites H2 and H10 - Detail Survey

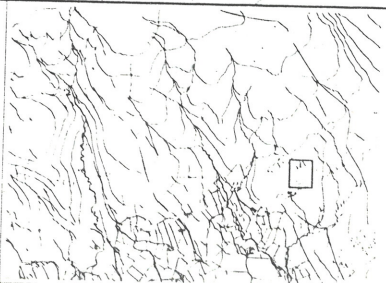
HAWESWATER ESTATE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
SURVEY

PHASE 3

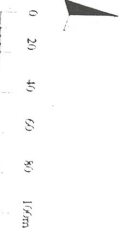
DRAWN BY: TRS

SITE H2

LOCATION



LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY



DRAWN BY: TRS

DATE: 6/7

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:10 000 map with permission  
of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery  
Office. Crown copyright reserved.

Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
under licence by the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Fig 11 Site H2 - Detail Survey

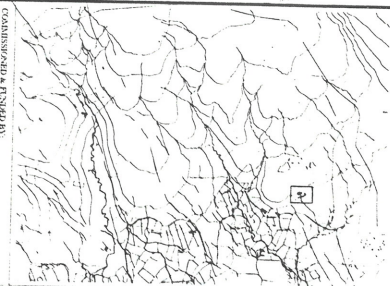
HAWESWATER ESTATE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
SURVEY

PHASE 3

DRAWN BY NAME

SITE H10  
The Knots

LOCATION



COMPILED AND REPRODUCED BY

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:20,000 (A3)



DRAWN BY ORLS

DATE 06/97

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission  
of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary  
Office. Crown copyright reserved

Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
under licence by the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT



Fig 12 Site H10 (The Knots) - Detail Survey



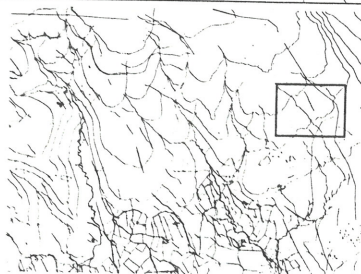
# HAWESWATER ESTATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

PHASE 3

DRAWING NAME

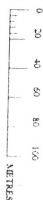
SITES H5, 6, 9, 13 and H14

LOCATION



COMMISSIONERED BY

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY



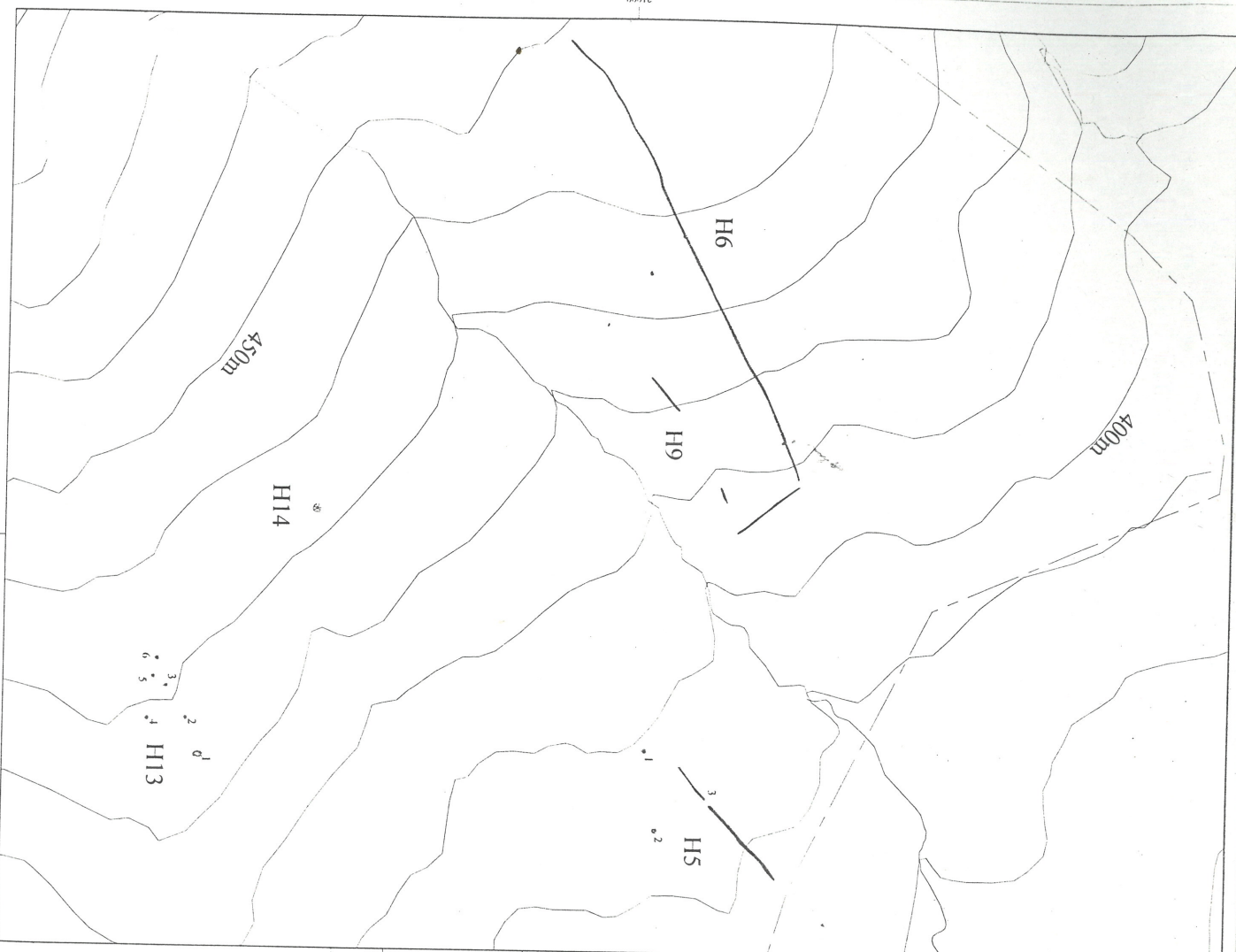
DRAWING DATE

DATE 1997

This topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission  
of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary  
Office. Crown copyright reserved.

Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
by the Ordnance Survey, the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT



21060

47500

Fig 13 Sites 5, 6, 9, 13 and 14 - Detail Survey

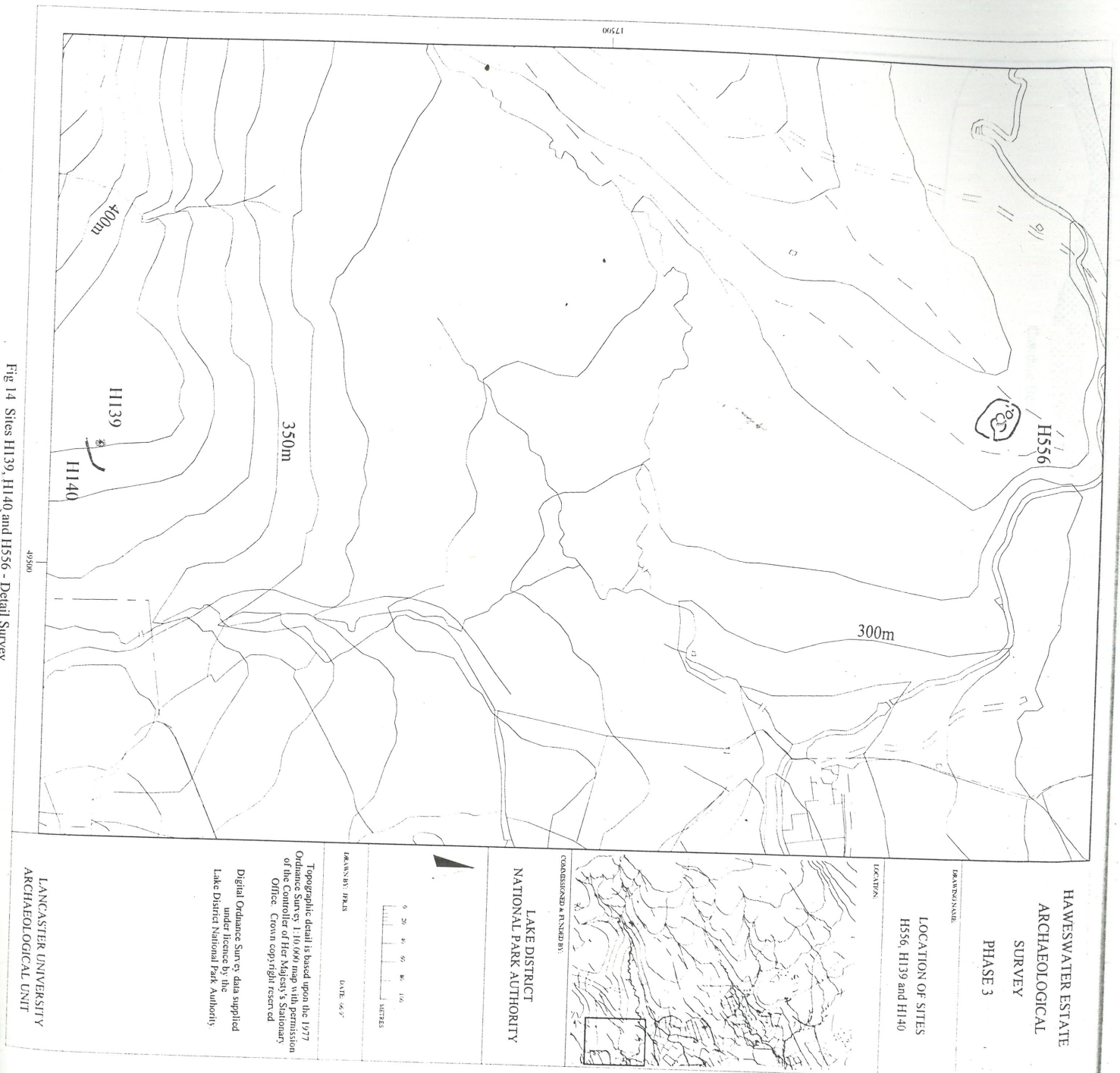


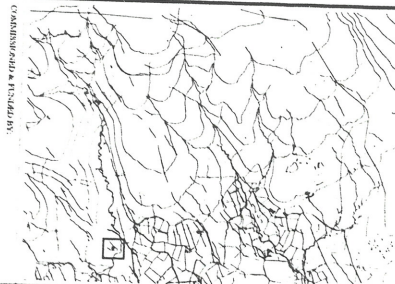
Fig 14 Sites H139, H140, and H556 - Detail Survey



### PHASE 3

Towtop Kirk  
Site H556

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY



COMMISSIONED &amp; PRINTED BY:

SCALE 1:  $M_0/M_0(A)$ 

DATE: 06/9/

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977 Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office. Crown copyright reserved.

Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied under licence by the Lake District National Park Authority.

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Fig 15 TOWTOP KIRK - Site H556 Detail Survey

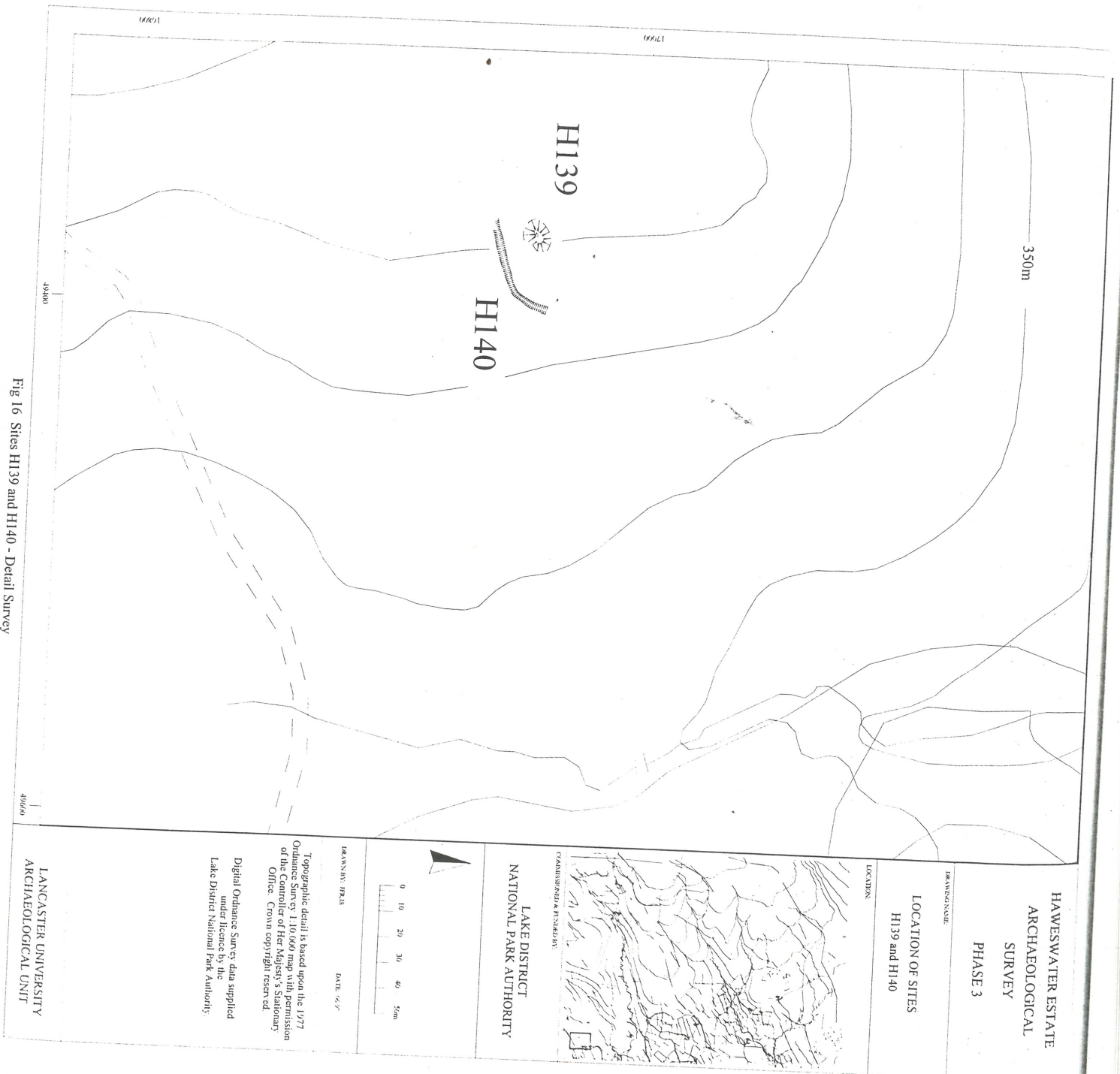


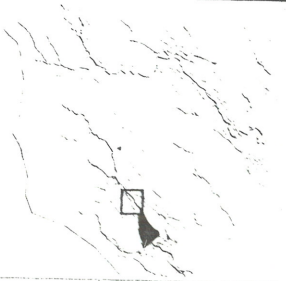
Fig 16 Sites H139 and H140 - Detail Survey

# Wet Sledale Reservoir

HAWESWATER ESTATE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
SURVEY  
PHASE 3

TRACKWAY SOUTH-WEST  
OF WET SLEDDALE  
Site H954

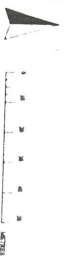
U/L 1/1000



COMPILED & FINISHED BY

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:250 (1/4")



DATE 1979

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977  
Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission  
of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary  
Office. Crown copyright reserved.  
Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied  
under licence by the  
Lake District National Park Authority.

## KEY

- H954  
Underground Survey Hole
- Ordnance Survey Hole

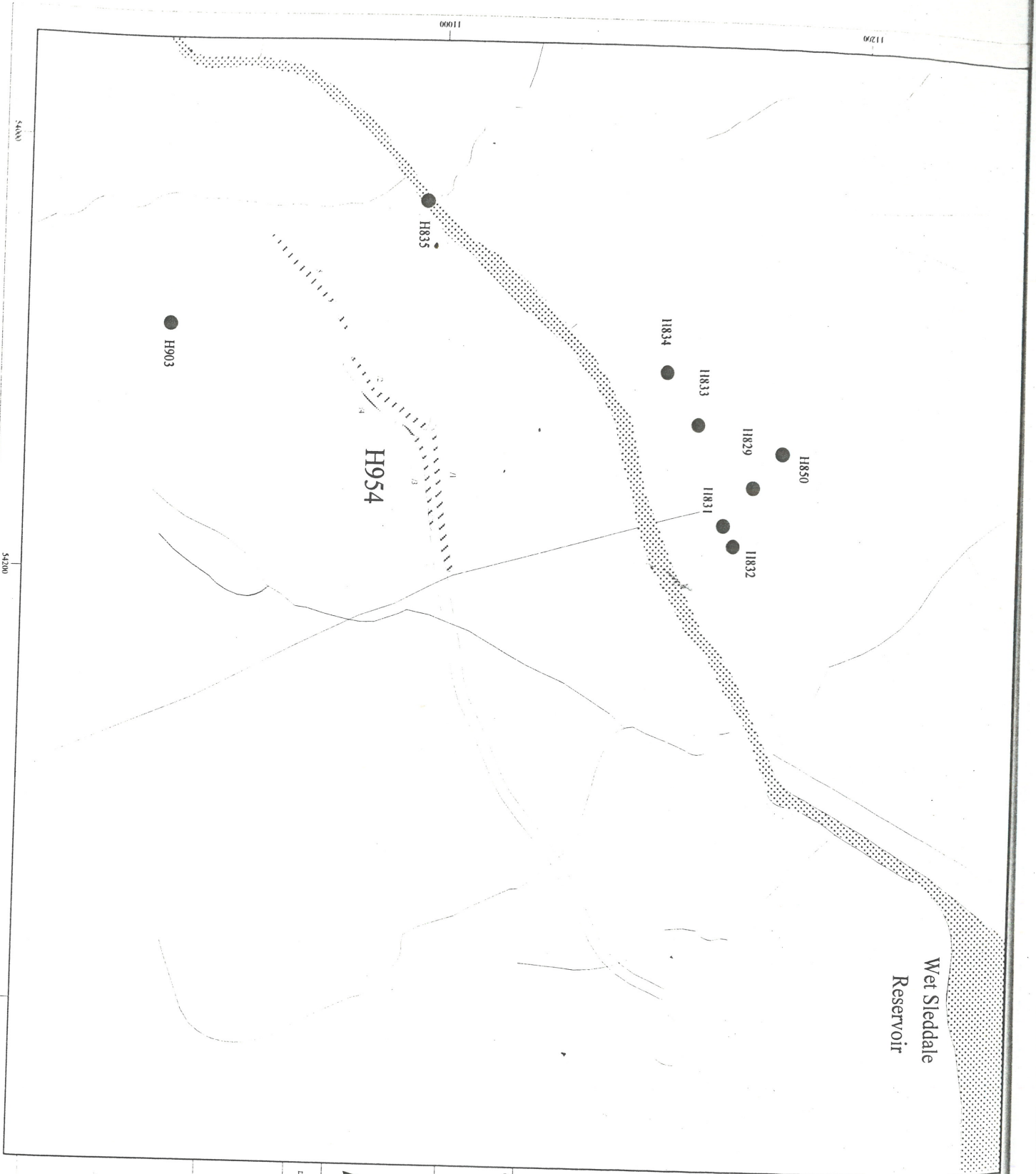


Fig 17 Wet Sledale Survey - Site H954



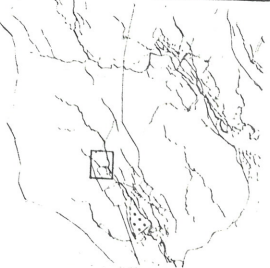
# HAWESWATER ESTATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

## WET SLEDDALE DETAIL SURVEY

### DEER POUND AND FIELD SYSTEM

Site H955-7

LOCATION



LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE: 1:10,000

DATE: 1997

DRAWN BY: A.C. & B.P.

This report, which is based on the 1997  
Ordnance Survey map, is a preliminary  
survey of the site. It is not intended  
to be a final report. The survey was  
conducted by the Lake District National Park Authority.

#### KEY

- H955 Identification Survey Site
- Detail Survey Site
- /// Backs and Fences

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Fig 18 Buck Park Detail Survey - Sites 955-7

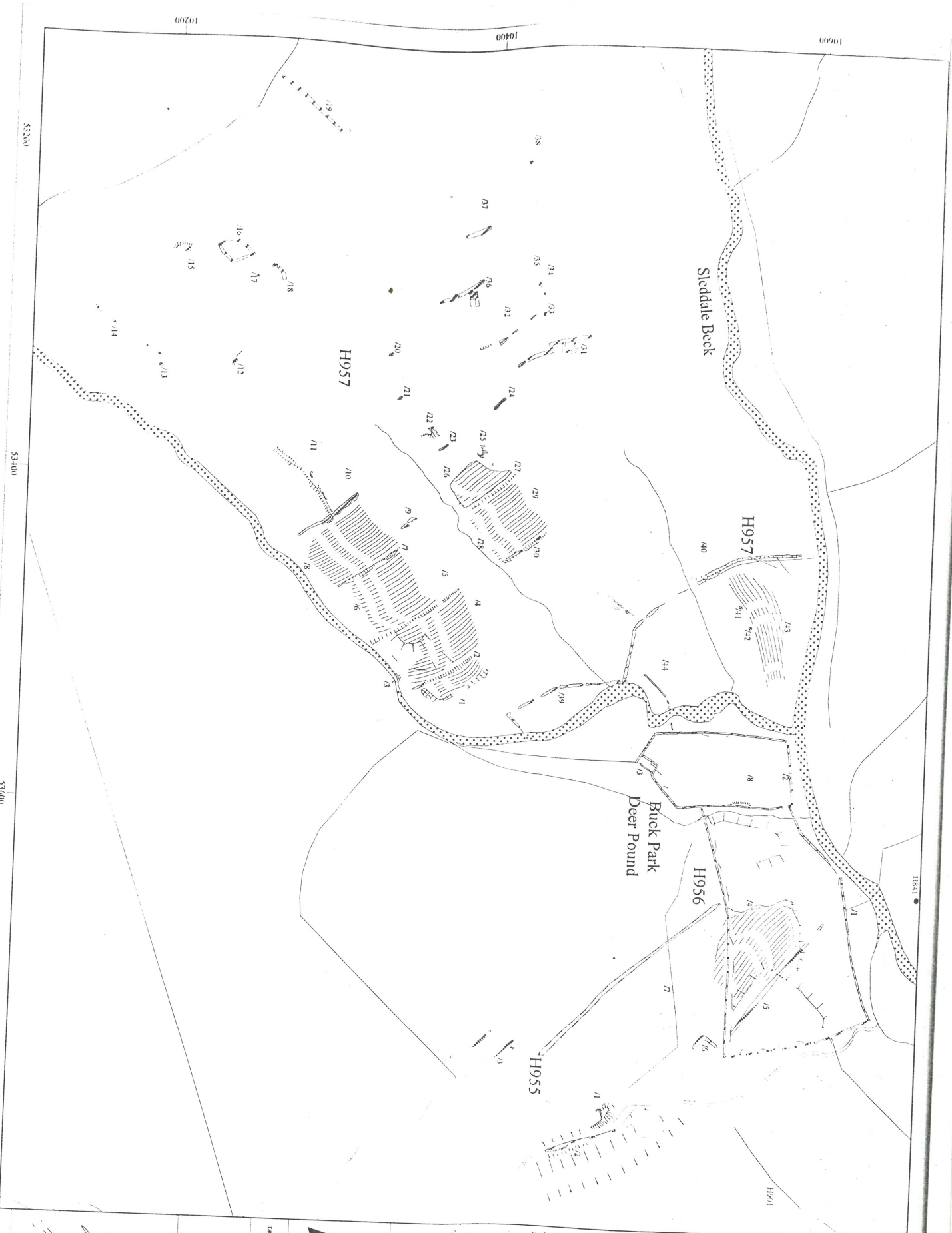
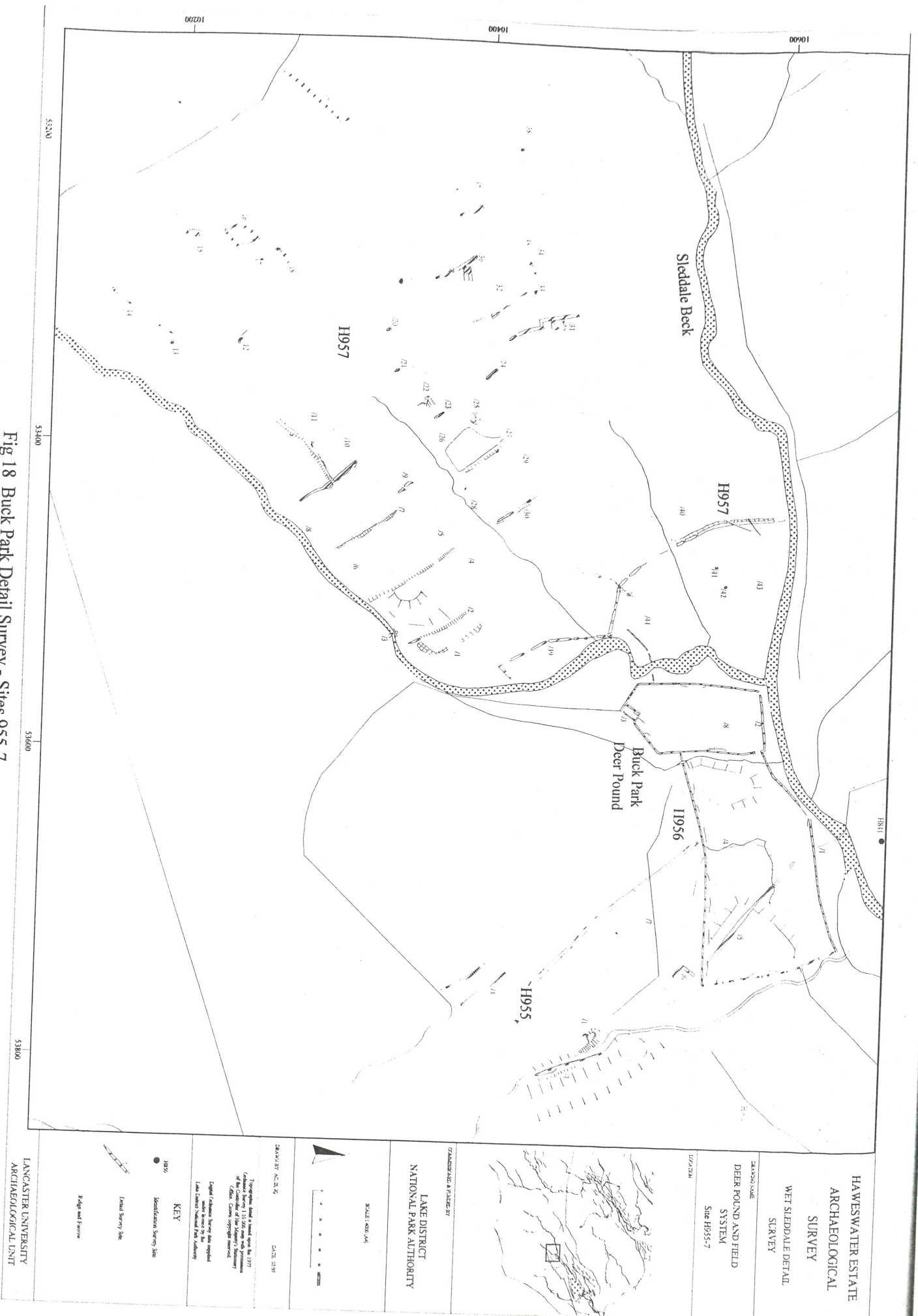
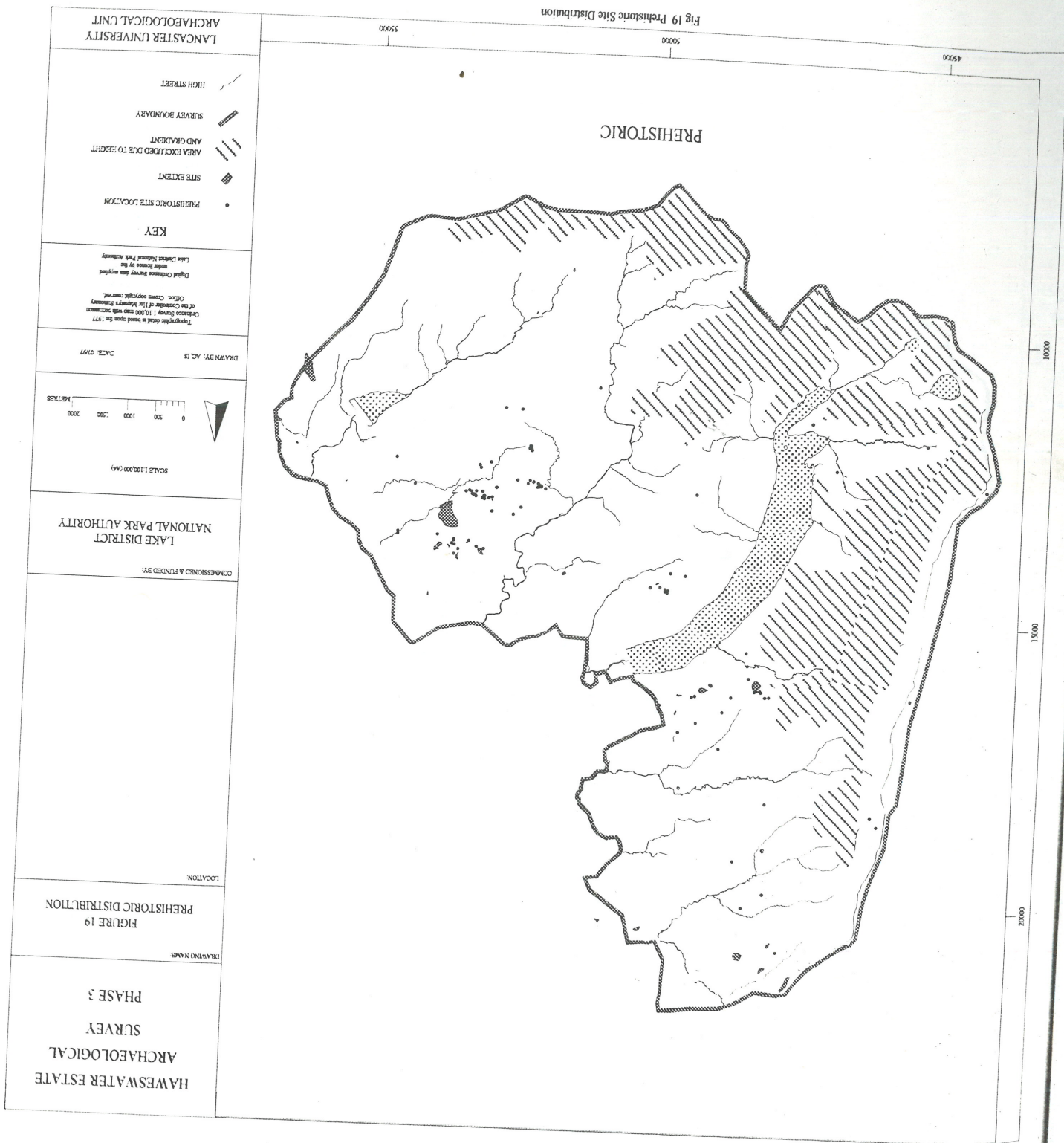
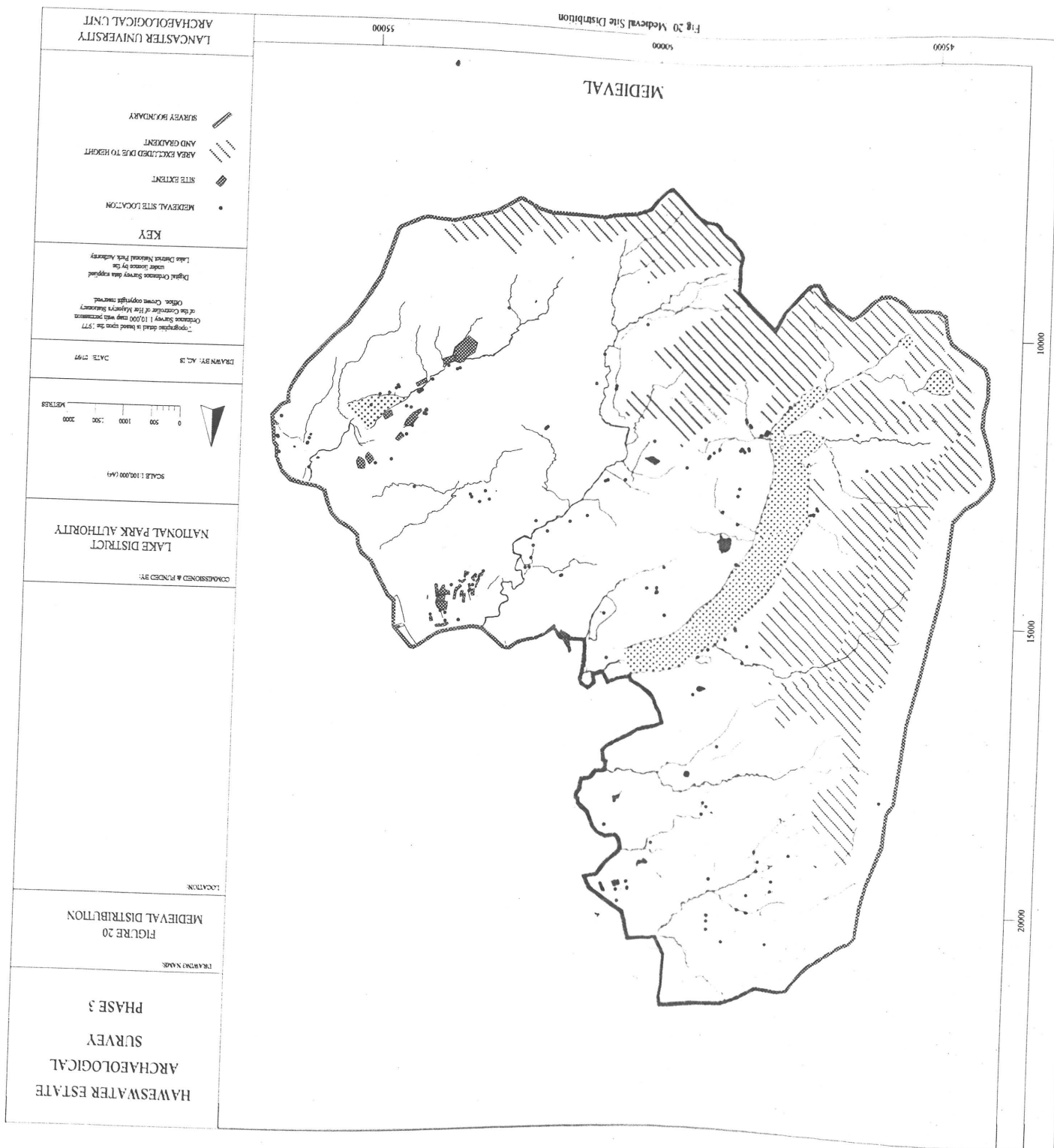


Fig 18 Buck Park Detail Survey - Sites 955-7









## SURVEY PHASE 3

DRAFTING NAME:

FIGURE 21  
POST-MEDIEVAL  
DISTRIBUTION

LOCATION:

COMMISSIONED & FUNDED BY:

LAKE DISTRICT  
NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

SCALE 1:100,000 (A4)

[illegible]

DRAWN BY: AC,IS  
DATE: 07/97

Topographic detail is based upon the 1977 Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map with permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Crown copyright reserved.

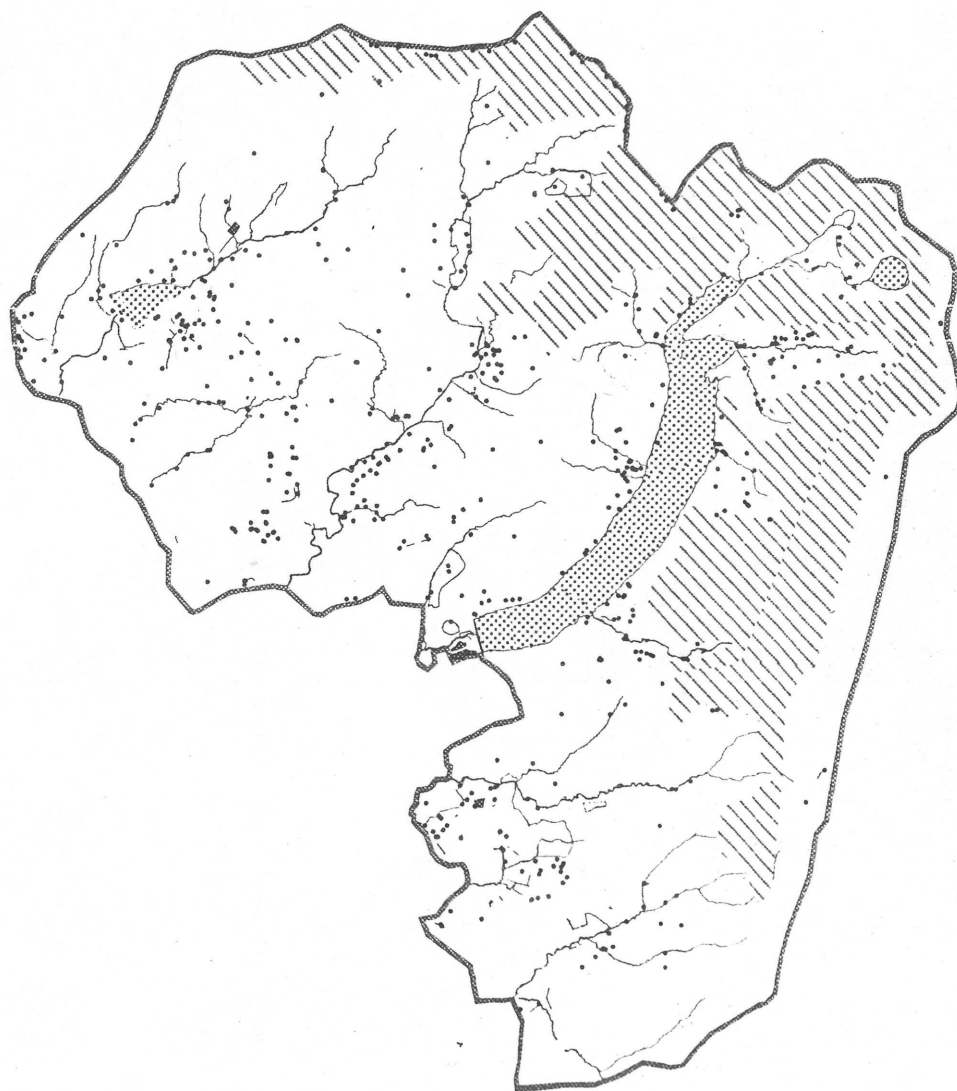
Digital Ordnance Survey data supplied under licence by the Lake District National Park Authority.

KEY

- POST-MEDIEVAL SITE LOCATION  
SITE EXTENT  
AREA EXCLUDED DUE TO HEIGHT  
SURVEY BOUNDARY

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL UNIT

Fig 21 Post-Medieval Site Distribution

1,000  
1

15000

20000