

Chapter 2. Liverpool Urban Fringes

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Introduction

The survey of the Metropolitan Borough district of Liverpool, identified in the text hereafter as Liverpool (fig. 2.1), differed from the other four original commissioned reports (this volume; Chitty 1978), in that the survey area covered a largely built environment. The strategy in Liverpool, therefore, was to concentrate the survey on the belt of townships along the eastern border with Knowsley. Here areas of undeveloped land are a little more widespread and the old village centres less developed in relation to the Industrial Revolution than in those townships in the west of the district. This was of relevance as one of the aims of the survey was to identify areas of archaeological potential for planning control purposes.

The overall aims of the Liverpool survey were the same as those presented in the Knowsley report (Chapter 3 this volume) but the form of the report is slightly different. This report includes a thematic overview of the development of the historic landscape, set in a social, economic and political context, as with Knowsley, but in less depth. The more detailed explanations are treated in the second part of the report. Here, unlike the Knowsley report, each of the Liverpool townships surveyed has been treated individually in an attempt to identify early components of the landscape and settlement pattern as witnessed on 19th-century maps and on the ground. A number of observations, based on field evidence, are made below about the archaeological potential of some sites for improving understanding of the earlier historic landscape. However, these observations relate to the condition of the sites in the early-1980s, when the original survey was undertaken; their present-day condition may not necessarily be the same.

The original report reproduced a series of modern Ordnance Survey maps linking the modern, often urban, landscape to the earlier components of the landscape (Cowell 1982). Originally, they were primarily for planning purposes but a lack of time and resources, and the technical difficulties they presented in reproducing them here, have not allowed their inclusion in this present report.

The Survey

The unit of study was the township, the origins of which are at least medieval in the main and whose boundaries, except for the occasional minor change, survived into the later 19th century. In order to produce standard coverage, the Tithe map, drawn up for each township around the 1840s, was used as the basis for study. All buildings and field names indicative of sites shown on these maps or on any earlier surviving estate maps, were visited to assess their archaeological potential and where appropriate, were recorded. In addition, arable land in Croxteth Park and Speke and as much undeveloped park, wood and waste land as possible in all townships surveyed was walked to locate sites that may not have been traceable from maps. All relevant published material, and a small amount of selectively chosen original documents, were searched to provide further evidence on known sites and to locate original ones.

In addition to locating and recording sites and buildings, the survey was also concerned with explaining them in the context of the changing historic landscape. This was done by analysing published and unpublished documentary sources in conjunction with clues afforded by the maps in respect of field boundaries, road patterns, field names and settlement location and any extra information gained from fieldwork or aerial photographs.

Post Roman/Pre-Conquest Period (5th - 11th Centuries AD)

The origins of the late medieval landscape, which forms the core of this report, lie partly within this imprecisely understood period. The political background for this period has been outlined in the Knowsley report (Chapter 3 this volume) and it is repeated here with specific reference to the implications for Liverpool. In the absence of significant archaeological and documentary evidence, an interpretation of this period has to be seen in the context of the wider developments across the region, with the evidence of place-names forming one of the main sources of information.

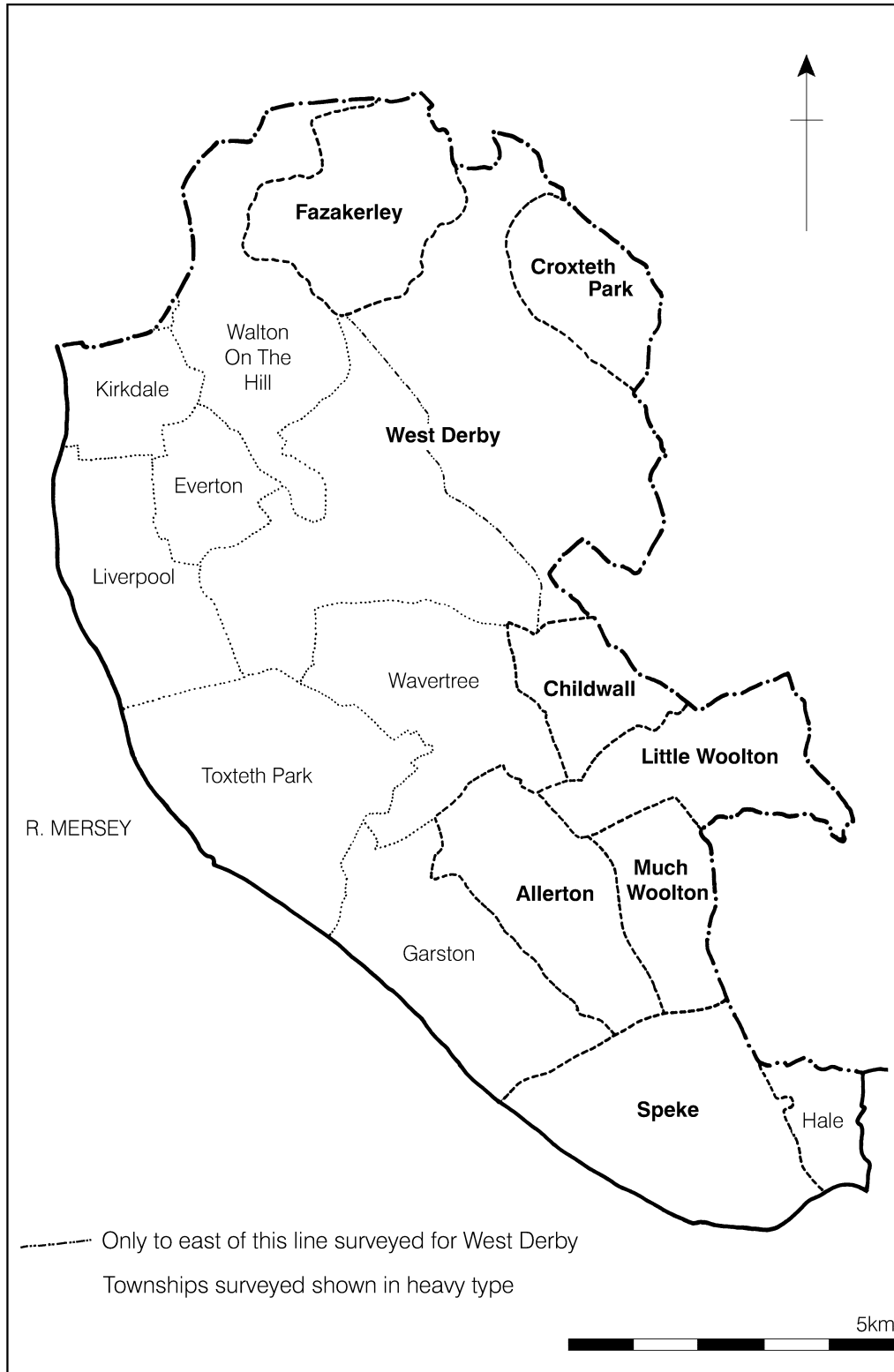


Fig. 2.1 Townships

The Roman withdrawal from Britain in the early 5th century AD led to a breakdown in the institutions and administration that had been adopted in Roman Britain, although these had been less pervasive in the North West than in areas further to the south. With the demise of Roman institutions came a reversion to a kind of pre-Roman tribal system based on small warrior-led kingdoms or lordships. Few of these kingdoms are known west of the Pennines and the areas that they covered are vague. One, called 'Makerfield', was probably based on the area around Wigan and its territory, from the incidence of British place-names, may have extended into areas that later became the hundreds of Newton and Leyland, lying to the east of Liverpool (Kenyon 1991, 71).

Archaeological evidence for the development of settlement from the late Roman period into the early Christian period is very difficult to identify anywhere in the region. We know very little about the 5th-century fate of the late Roman farmsteads identified elsewhere but there is no reason to believe that the reversion to tribal institutions with the breakdown of Roman authority led to wholesale depopulation. Pollen diagrams suggest that in the early centuries after the Roman withdrawal from the North West there was a varied impact on the landscape, with farming continuing in some areas and regeneration of woodland in others and that this pattern changed through time and place. It seems likely that population dipped and some land, probably marginal land brought into cultivation during the Roman period, went out of use. Plague during the years of the mid 6th century may have served to hinder population recovery (Kenyon 1991, 68-70).

The evidence for the late Romano-British period in Liverpool is less than that for adjoining Knowsley, particularly in relation to the nature and location of settlement, and mainly relates to chance coin finds (Philpott 1991). The relatively common presence of late Roman sites in adjacent Knowsley (Chapter 3 this volume.) makes it seem fairly certain that early post-Roman period sites also existed in Liverpool. In the area in the south, next to the Mersey, on the elevated sandstone outcrops, place-names suggest that this area was subject to widespread Anglian influence (see below), including the early English name of 'Smithdown' (Kenyon 1991, 82), which may have led to the renaming of existing settlements. In two localities in the district, at Walton ('farm or settlement of the Britons') and at Brettargh in Little Woolton (from the Old English meaning 'Britons'), place-names provide evidence of direct survival of native population into the period of English settlement (fig. 2.2).

During the period of the 5th and 6th centuries, several waves of colonisation, essentially warrior in character, had taken place from Germanic areas of northern Europe into southern and eastern England. The evidence of place-names is often used to understand the extent and nature of this English settlement expansion deriving from this initial phase. This period has traditionally seen sizeable population movement, implicitly assuming largely unpopulated areas being available to the new colonisers, who would name new settlements in their English language.

This view has seen much debate more recently and Higham (1992a 267-74; 1992b) argues for a process of only very limited 'invasion' mainly at an aristocratic level, either secular or religious, normally as a means of acquiring new estates that could be used for political patronage. The influence of this patronage could then lead to the wider adoption of the English language and, less easily identifiable in the North West, cultural practices, as British speakers found it advantageous to become bilingual. In this way the pre-existing small-scale British kingdoms became integrated into a system of over-kings for whom the spread of Christianity became a unifying force alongside the spread of English culture.

To the east of the Pennines these early centuries saw the growth of the powerful kingdom of Northumbria, while to the south of the Mersey lay its great rival, the kingdom of Mercia. During the 7th century, there was conflict between the two, with many large battles, until peace was declared in AD 678 when the southern boundary of Northumbria was fixed on the Mersey. Kenyon (1991, 87) suggests that it is during this century that the expansion of Northumbrian control into Lancashire can be seen with grants of land to ecclesiastical bodies.

By Domesday, settlement at Walton included a church, which a little later is recognised as the mother church for a large parish. The church is set within a circular churchyard, a form which in Wirral is associated with churches mentioned in pre-Norman conquest charters (Chitty 1978, 8), and in other areas of the country can also be shown to be associated with pagan sites (Aston 1985, 50). Similarly, Childwall church, which also almost certainly existed at Domesday, has a circular churchyard and was the mother church of a medieval parish. As such, Walton particularly, is

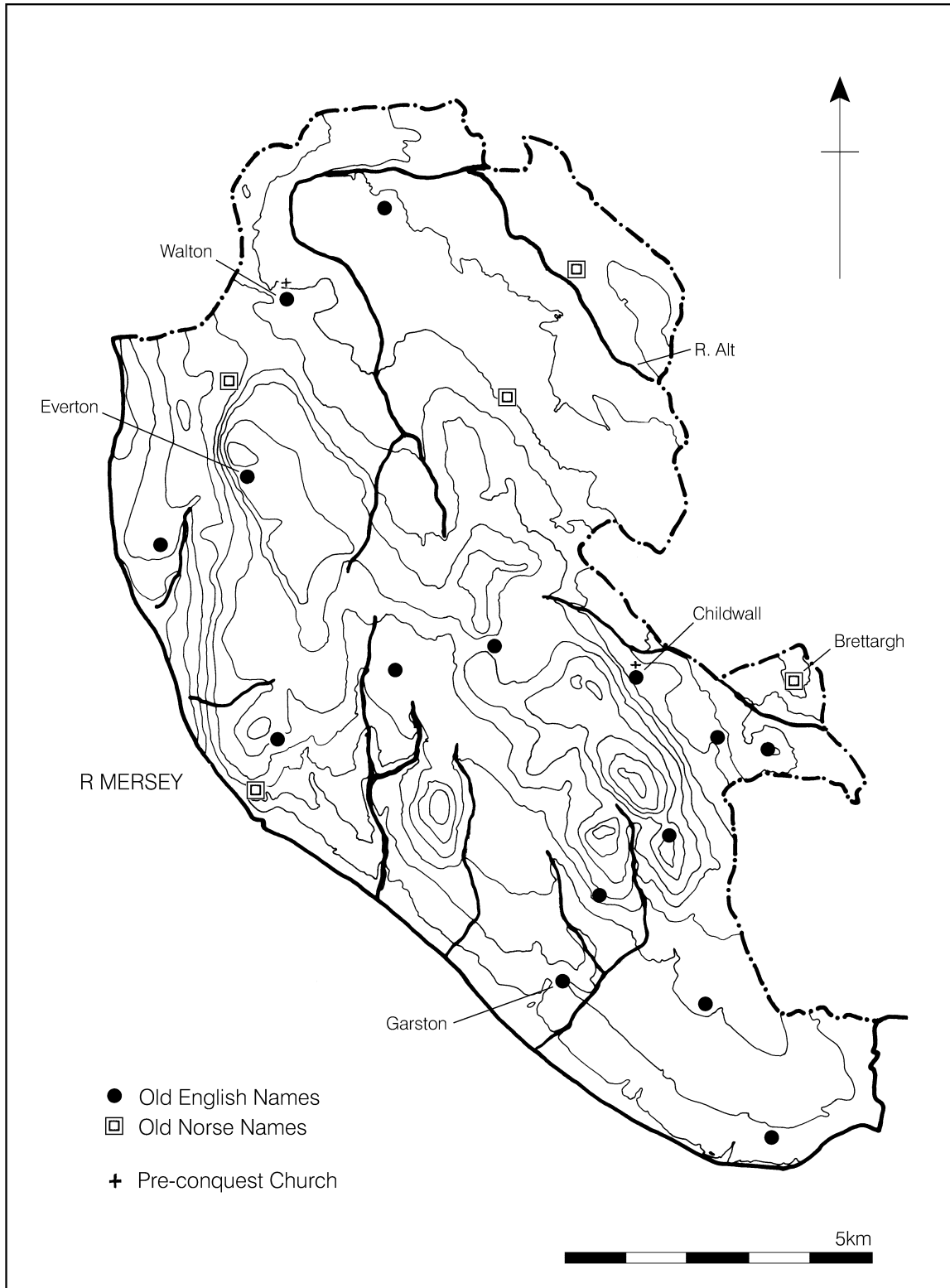


Fig. 2.2 Place name evidence

likely to be a pre-existing settlement renamed in English, perhaps through an ecclesiastical grant of land. The date of this English settlement may therefore be in the period before Christianity became widespread in this part of Lancashire, and although early ecclesiastical history is scant, this may possibly have been as early as the 7th century (Kenyon (1991, 87)

Kenyon (1991, 105-8) suggests that names ending in '-tun', representing a farmstead or settlement, belong to a period of English domination from the late 7th and 8th centuries, a time which saw economic revival in the countryside. In the West Midlands, such names have been associated with settlements in open, largely unwooded land (Gelling 1974). There is a belt of such place-names from south of Wavertree to Garston, lying on the southern edge of the sandstone ridge overlooking the Mersey to the south (fig. 2.2). However, in Merseyside it is unclear to what stage these names belong in the expansion of English influence and settlement in the area. This is particularly so as caution must be exercised in associating the chronological development of settlement with the linguistic origin of place-names, as they can be renamed due to causes other than population influx (Newman 1996).

Elsewhere, particularly in the south east of England, English settlement is associated with the development of nucleated villages or hamlets (Rowley 1978). To what extent this occurred in the North West in the pre-Norman conquest period is unknown (see below).

From the late 860s the Danish conquest of York brought Northumbria and the eastern part of Mercia into the Danelaw, that part of mainly eastern lowland England subject to Danish control. In the early 10th century the political situation around the Irish Sea became very uncertain, with the Norse expelled from Dublin around AD 902. The settlement associated with place-names of Scandinavian origin in north Wirral may represent the appearance of Ingimund and his followers in the area as a result (Chitty 1978). In 914 the Norse, under Ragnald, returned to Dublin and five years later captured York. Between c. 915-920 a series of 'burhs' or defensive settlements were built along the southern shores of the Mersey to defend north-western Mercia, first by Athelflaed and then by Edward the Elder. In 920 the Wessex king, Edward, moved into the north to receive its submission, as a result of which the area between the Ribble and the Mersey was brought back under English control (Kenyon 1991). The situation appears to have remained unstable for some time after that,

however, as the English kings Athelstan, then Edmund and in 973 Edgar, all had to receive the submission of the northern kings. It was after 973 that the land between Ribble and Mersey appears to have been brought into the royal demesne (land owned directly by the king) (Lewis 2000, 15).

The Scandinavian names in Liverpool mark the western limit of a pattern in neighbouring Knowsley where they lie along the river Alt (Chapter 3 this volume). In both districts the Scandinavian names are surrounded by names of English origin (fig. 2.2; and page 91 above). On Wirral, in English Mercia, a similar tight cluster of Danish and Norse names occurs in the north of the peninsula within the broader pattern of English names (Chitty 1978). This might suggest strong pre-existing English settlement, which restricted the area available for new settlement. To the north of Liverpool, place-names and minor names suggest a very strong presence in areas where suitable arable land may have been more limited, such as the coast, implying Scandinavian influence may have been greatest in less populated areas (Chapter 1 this volume).

The Medieval Period

The importance of the effect of Scandinavian settlement in the district can be seen continuing into the medieval period. The Domesday survey was made for the purposes of assessing the geld (a tax), with the country being divided into units of assessment. In the land 'between Ribble and Mersey' (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 283) the assessment was based on a combination of the two systems used elsewhere in England; the *carucate* in areas of Scandinavian settlement, the vills often being assessed in multiples of six, and the *hide* in the English areas, often assessed in multiples of five. The continuing use of both these systems of administration reveals the importance of the Scandinavian settlement in the area and the intermixing of population and customs that had taken place.

There is no archaeological evidence in the region for either nucleated or dispersed settlements of the medieval period having pre-Norman conquest origins. Place-name evidence, and evidence from Domesday, can only suggest which settlements may have existed in the pre-conquest period and not their precise form and location. There is a tacit assumption that some Domesday settlements may lie in the same place as their post-medieval counterparts, as might be suspected for Walton or Childwall. However, the form of a post-medieval village may bear little relation to either the original form of the earliest documented settlement or its original nucleus. A certain amount of later post-

medieval development in a village can often be identified from documents and maps, but the problem still remains for the earlier periods of the village's history.

In Liverpool the pattern in the post-medieval period includes a combination of both townships with nucleated villages, and those without. The problems associated with the definition of 'nucleated' settlement in the North West, and the definition used here, are discussed in the Knowsley report (Chapter 3 this volume). There is no direct evidence of the post-medieval nucleated villages in Liverpool having been of medieval origin. In parts of England, the fully developed open field system has its antecedents in the Anglo-Saxon period (Rowley 1978), although there is no evidence for this in the North West. However, where post-medieval settlements appear to be integrated into identifiable areas of open field arable, they are suggested as being potentially of late medieval date, at the latest. Most townships in the district fall into this category including Much and Little Woolton, West Derby, Speke, Childwall and probably Fazakerley (fig. 2.3).

At Domesday the area between the Ribble and the Mersey was divided into six large hundreds or units of administration, with a chief administrative centre in each hundred. In the West Derby hundred the castle of West Derby was the chief site, based in the large demesne manor i.e. belonging directly to the king. After the Norman Conquest, virtually the whole of this part of the West Derby hundred was included in the Royal Forest of Lancaster although most townships were only in the *purlieu*, or the zone around the actual hunting forest. As strict forest law did not apply here, the growth and development of the field systems and the associated settlements were little affected.

In some townships that contained actual areas reserved for hunting, the effect on landscape and settlement was restrictive. In townships such as Croxteth Park or Toxteth Park, the medieval landscape remained enclosed well into the post-medieval period, until thrown open to cultivation after they were disemparked. Only in Allerton in the survey area, does the lack of open field and nucleated settlement appear to be linked with factors other than the creation of hunting forest.

In West Derby township, open fields existed alongside hunting forest in the 13th century. The expansion of arable land is documented, as waste and woodland was cleared during the following century. This process is also found in townships such as Speke and Much Woolton and must

similarly have been accompanied by an expansion of settlement. Whether this expansion, which is well-documented for the 13th century (see Much Woolton below), occurred within existing settlements or involved 'budding off' of dependent settlements is not clear. Future archaeological investigation in the villages may bear upon this problem. Those townships containing two or more nucleated settlements, including Speke, Much Woolton, Little Woolton with Gateacre and West Derby village, with its associated small nucleated villages dispersed around the township, are particularly interesting in this respect.

Woodland was an important feature of the area at Domesday. It is recorded in the chief manor of West Derby, which included the later townships of Liverpool, Thingwall, Walton, Great Crosby, Everton, Garston, Aigburth and Hale with Halewood (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 9), and also in Little Woolton, Speke and Fazakerley from medieval documents. As is documented in West Derby, this woodland, generally occurring in the peripheral areas of the township, was cleared and settlements, often single farms, set up in the newly enclosed areas. This may contribute to the pattern noted in most townships, where a circle of farms is dispersed around the edges of the township, a particularly good example being Fazakerley (fig. 2.7). It is desirable, however, that archaeological investigation should take place on this type of site, as some could be of post-medieval origin. They may have formed in response to the break up of the medieval pattern of dispersed strip holdings and the desire to have farm and holding integrated. Often this had to be located in the only available land, which would very likely be found around the margins of the township.

The moated site is a feature of the medieval settlement pattern. They included the houses of the highest status in the township, i.e. the manorial site, as well as some sites of lesser status that related to the development of landholding and settlement in the township. Often these were associated with woodland clearance, and were located in peripheral areas of townships in lowland England. These sites were established mainly between the 12th -14th centuries, although it was a tradition that did continue beyond then in a much more restricted way (Taylor 1978). Moats of both these kinds are found widely dispersed across the

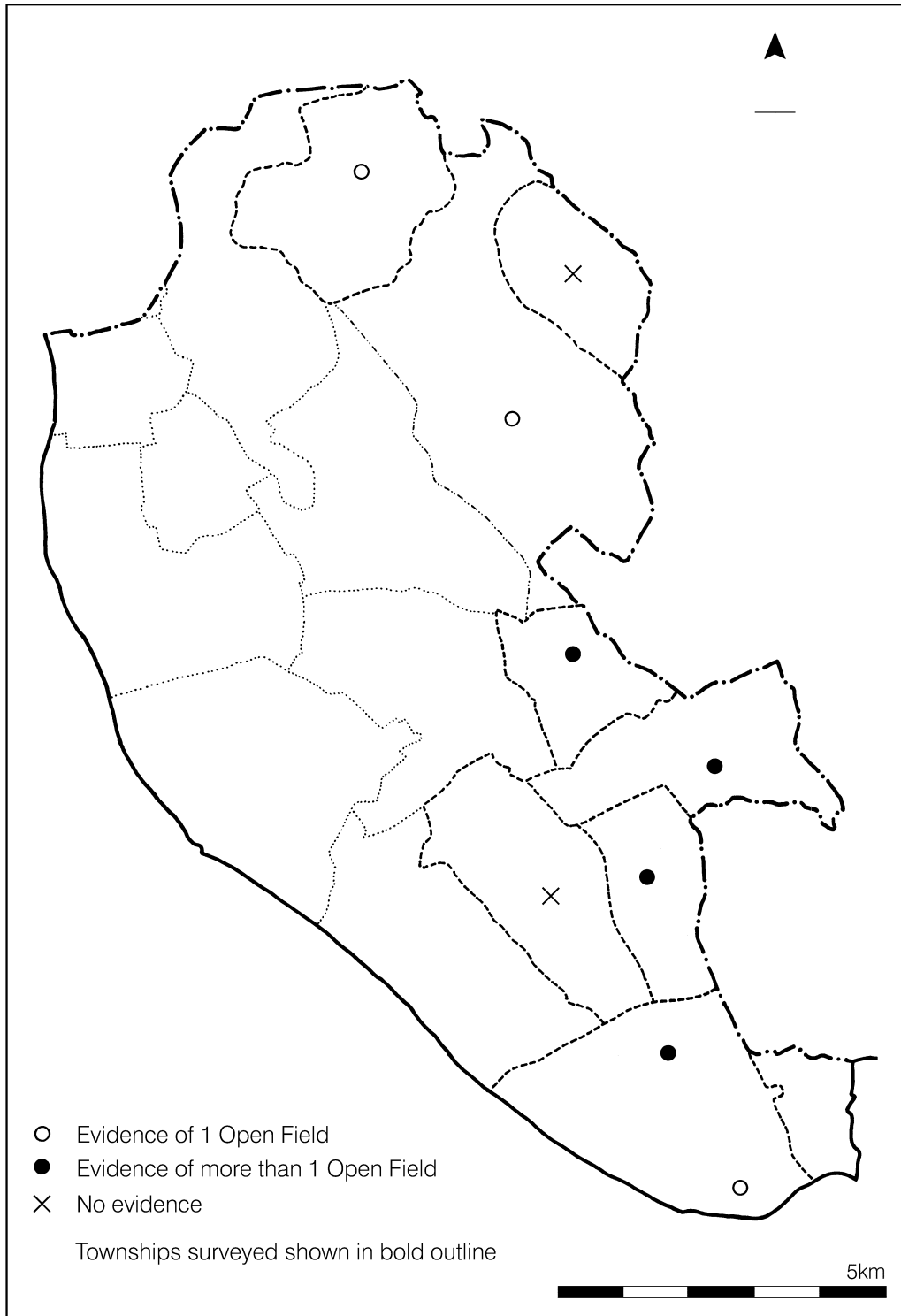


Fig. 2.3 Common Field Agriculture

areas of clay subsoil, and occasionally in those with sand subsoil, in the surrounding districts of Sefton, Knowsley and St Helens (this volume). Only three have been physically identified in Liverpool, at Bank Hall in Kirkdale (a township that was not studied) and two that still survive in Fazakerley and Speke, the latter being of manorial status.

This lack of moated sites may be due to the rapid growth of urban and industrial Liverpool which has destroyed other examples that have left no trace in the documentary record. However, only one possible example, a second site in Fazakerley, has been suggested from documents, although its potential existence has not been verified on the ground because of modern development. Manorial sites in townships such as Much Woolton or Childwall, and sub-manorial sites as in Brettargh Holt and Lee Park in Little Woolton do not appear to have been moated. How far this may result from the fact that they lie on freely drained sandstone, which would additionally have required much effort to excavate, must await more research.

The district also does not possess (in areas studied in detail) the same preponderance of medieval parks, as existed in for example Knowsley district, where almost every township possessed one (Chapter 3 this volume). The only parks for which there is evidence in Liverpool were Smithdown and Croxteth, which were owned by the king as part of the royal forest and reserved for hunting, as mentioned on page 94 above.

The Post-Medieval Period

During this period, from the late 15th century onwards, developments in the landscape and settlement pattern can be more easily identified from documentary sources and the present-day landscape providing a greater range of evidence. Many of these changes are dealt with in more detail in the relevant township studies presented below and this section only outlines some of the major themes represented.

After the end of the medieval period social and economic pressures arose that led to the gradual disintegration of the medieval agricultural system, with resultant effects on the landscape. The chief of these was the enclosure of former areas of open arable and the continued reduction and improvement of woodland and waste. The identification of the particular processes leading to these changes in this area must rely on future detailed documentary study, but the result on the landscape was that by the 19th century all the townships studied had a fully enclosed arable farming system. Enclosure must have progressed by

agreement throughout the period in a piecemeal fashion as no Enclosure Acts survive for arable areas of the townships. The Enclosure Acts that were passed, at the beginning of the 19th century in townships such as Childwall, Little Woolton and Much Woolton, show that only common pasture land remained.

In other areas of the country population began to rise after the 16th century, rising to a peak in the later 17th century, as seen in adjoining Knowsley (Chapter 3 this volume), although this aspect has not been studied in detail for Liverpool. This rise would have led to an increase in settlement, both within the existing villages and through the formation of new settlements. These latter might involve either farms, with consolidated holdings in newly enclosed areas of the township, or cottages and houses dispersed along the main routeways or around road junctions. Most townships exhibit this pattern in the 19th century, although settlements in these kind of localities need not always be post-medieval.

The landscape of the district in the mid-19th century was still agricultural and most villages consisted of small clusters of farm buildings and cottages. Only in Much Woolton and West Derby villages did earlier 19th-century development significantly change the appearance, and to some extent the layout, of the earlier post-medieval villages. It is these areas, now consisting largely of 19th-century cottages and houses, but also including relics of the earlier fabric of the village, that form the basis of the main Conservation Areas of the district. At Childwall, the Conservation Area is based on what is probably the early form of the village, which had not seen much later post-medieval expansion by the mid 19th century.

In other townships, the survival of the earlier vernacular buildings has been poor. Of those buildings that do survive, there are a few examples to illustrate the range of dwellings that once existed both in terms of status and date. The manorial sites are represented, except for Speke, by later 18th or 19th -century mansion-type houses in townships such as Childwall or Allerton. There are several good examples of farms, often built in sandstone, representing the rise in the 17th century of the class of wealthy yeoman farmer. Good examples are found in West Derby and Allerton. At the other end of the scale the simple, elongated cottage, the typical dwelling of smallholders or tenant farmers in the 17th and 18th centuries, has survived less well but two examples do occur in West Derby. Eighteenth-century brick-built farmhouses and cottages, differing in plan and often in materials

from these earlier types and perhaps reflecting a greater spread of wealth, have survived in most townships. Particularly good examples are found in Croxteth Park and Oglet, while other examples, often now rendered with pebble dash and with modern windows, are more widespread (Cowell 1982).

In the 19th century this area of Liverpool became a focus for wealthy merchants who built large houses in landscaped grounds. This period has not been studied in detail but the Tithe maps shows the beginning of this trend in townships such as Much and Little Woolton, where former common pasture land, enclosed in the early 19th century, had become quite densely settled before the mid-19th century. In Allerton, settlement of this phase was responsible for the formation of large parkland estates on former arable fields, which today form a large expanse of public parkland. Such industry as there was will have been that associated with agriculture, including smithies, tanning, brewing and the small cottage industries. This is a topic that needs much more documentary research but there does appear to be good potential. In 1981, when a 17th or 18th-century cottage in Grange Lane, Little Woolton was being renovated it produced substantial evidence of the former watch-making industry carried out there (Merseyside SMR 4287.06; J. Gnosspelius pers. comm.). Careful documentary analysis, allied with fieldwork, is likely to produce more sites of this kind. However, many of the outbuildings where agriculture-associated industry was carried out have been destroyed and the sites redeveloped, even though the accompanying farmhouse may have survived.

The Township Studies

Allerton

At Domesday, Allerton was held as three manors by three thegns (in Lancashire, half-free landholders, who had to perform some service to their lord) (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 184). The township name derives from the Old English *-tun*, meaning settlement and *'alor'* meaning alder (Mills 1976).

There is no good evidence for a medieval open field system in the township, either in the documents, field-names or field boundaries on post-medieval maps. There are several references to fields in 14th-century documents (Lumby 1939, 74-5), although whether these represent areas within an open field or are enclosed fields is not clear from the context. The north-eastern part of Allerton was common pasture land in the 16th century as seen in a map of

1568 (Liv RO 254 WAV 1/8/1) and it is likely that this represents a continuation of the medieval pattern of land use. To the west, the incidence of 'moss' field names on the Tithe map of 1839 suggests that this marginal land also previously extended westwards towards the township boundary (the general area is shown in fig. 2.4), in the approximate area today known as Mossley Hill. This area was perhaps also included within the medieval common land, as is the case in townships such as Knowsley, Simonswood and Kirkby in adjoining Knowsley district (Chapter 3 this volume).

In the 15th century, enclosed fields are associated with a Moss Grange, which was associated with the Abbey of St. Mary of Cockersand, which had held land in Allerton from the 14th century. These lands cannot be located precisely, but they lay somewhere in the south-west or west of the township, 'upon the brook separating Garston and Allerton at St. Mary's Spring (or well)' (Stewart-Brown 1911, 215-6). The name suggests that the latter may have been a holy well. Other references imply that some of the Abbey's land was a little further north, 'east of Aigburth between the stonebridge and the moss' (Farrer 1900, 559-60).

In the south-east of the township, another area of medieval land was associated with the demesne, the land directly farmed by the lord of the manor. The earliest reference to a manor house in Allerton is in 1323 (Stewart-Brown 1911, 171) and it is first shown on the 1568 map (Liv RO 254 WAV 1/8/1). The core of the former demesne is represented today by Allerton Hall. The earliest part of the present Hall was probably built in the mid 18th century, alongside an earlier house (Stewart-Brown 1911, plate opp. 66, 171). In 1662, the earlier house had eight hearths and is itself recorded as a recent rebuilding of an even earlier house (Stonor 1957, 39-40). In 1627, the house on the site included a hall, dining chamber, two or three bedrooms, a servant's room, store-rooms, larders and a brew house (Stewart-Brown 1911, 171). To the south-west of the hall, in Clarke Gardens, lies the 'cottage', a 17th-century style sandstone two-storey house, with a 1639 date-stone above the main door. To the south of this building, lies Oak Farm, the earliest part a two-story sandstone house with mullioned windows, of a similar 17th-century

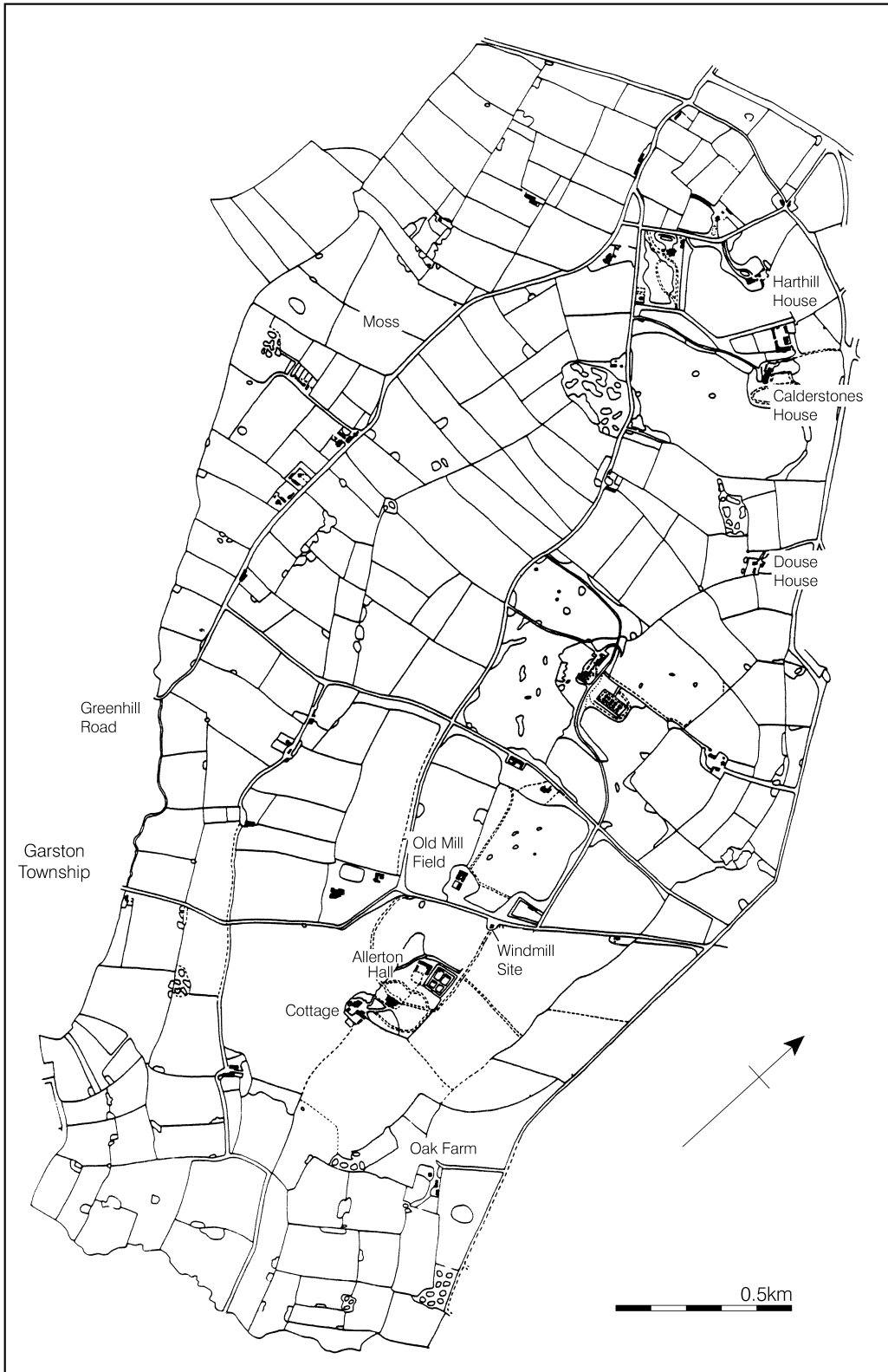


Fig. 2.4 Allerton, 1839

date to the cottage at the Hall, although there are no clues for the potential origins of this site.

To the north of the hall lay the windmill, which is shown on a 1771 estate map (Stewart-Brown 1911, 125), next to what is now Woolton Road (fig. 2.4). There is a windmill marked on the 1568 map near the hall, while the first reference to a mill in the township is in 1441, when Edward de Lathom obtained '6 messuages, a mill and land in Allerton' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 129). These latter two references may be to the same mill, as the Lathoms were lords of the manor at this time. However, a field name on the 1771 estate map implies that an earlier mill had existed in the field to the north-west of the mill location shown in the 18th century (fig. 2.4). If this field name does not represent the field 'next' to the old mill, as is sometimes the case, but its actual location, then it may have been the site of the mill mentioned in the earlier documents, and the one shown in 1771 may have been its replacement. This area now lies as undeveloped parkland, so there may be some archaeological potential for the site.

Douse House, which lay in the east of the township, was a 19th-century house (J. Gnospelius pers. comm.) which is now demolished. This, however, may have been on or close to a late medieval counterpart as the reference to a 'Ric. Del Doustes' in 1344, previously holding land 'in the field called the Doustes' (Lancs RO DDIn/3) suggests a settlement here. Such a site may have represented a small medieval estate between the demesne and the common land (fig. 2.4).

The estate map of 1771 (Stewart-Brown 1911, 125) shows two other areas of very loosely grouped settlement, which were still apparent on the Tithe map of 1839 (Lancs RO DRL 1/3), although the creation of large park estates in the early 19th century has confused the pattern in the eastern half of the township (fig. 2.4). One area of settlement lay in the north-east of the township, on what in 1568 was common pasture. Therefore, most of this settlement may have been of post-medieval date, possibly associated with enclosure of the common, which had taken place by 1771. The larger houses in the Harthill area are even later, mostly being of 19th -century date, although Calderstones House was built near the site of, what in 1728 was called, 'the Old House' (Stewart-Brown 1911, 193). Most of these larger houses still exist in the parkland, while the limited amount of earlier settlement in the vicinity has now been destroyed by the recent housing development to the north.

A second area of settlement lay dispersed along the west side of the township, around what is now Greenhill Road, nearly all of which existed by the later 18th century and probably represents post-medieval expansion onto the margins of the moss, as enclosure developed. Survival of these settlements has been very poor, the area being extensively developed for housing. Of the two that have survived, the older is the listed 17th -century Brocklebank cottage, while the other in Greenhill Road has a 19th-century brick façade, but its form suggests it may be earlier 18th century in construction. An early photograph of one of the cottages on Greenhill Road shows a thatched, timber framed, single hearth building of early post-medieval date (Waite 1888, 9). Together with Brocklebank cottage, this gives an indication that some settlement in this area originated earlier rather than later in the post-medieval period.

Allerton, therefore, appears to have existed in the medieval period as a series of estates rather than having been arranged around a nucleated settlement and open fields. The former pattern can be seen in neighbouring townships, such as Tarbock and possibly Halewood in Knowsley. Here, it is argued, may be a continuation of a pattern originating in the development of the Romano-British landscape (Cowell and Philpott 2000, Chapter 10), which might provide one alternative to be explored for understanding the origins of the later agricultural landscape in Allerton township.

Childwall

In 1846 Childwall was still an exclusively rural township with nucleated village around the parish church and several isolated farms around the margins (fig. 2.5). The church probably existed before the Domesday survey as there was 'a priest there having half a carucate (area of land that could be kept in cultivation by an eight-ox team) of land...' (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 284). The name is from Old English, the second element relating to a well, while there is debate about the first element which may relate to a personal name 'Cilda' or a spring (Ekwall 1922, 112).

On a map drawn for a boundary dispute in 1568 between Wavertree and Allerton (Liv RO 254 WAV 1/8/1) the church is shown standing inside an oval enclosure which is often representative of pre-Conquest formation (Chitty 1978). By the mid-19th century, however, the original shape had been disguised by the straightening around the northern side (fig. 2.5). There are documentary references to Childwall lane/Score lane in the 14th century, in

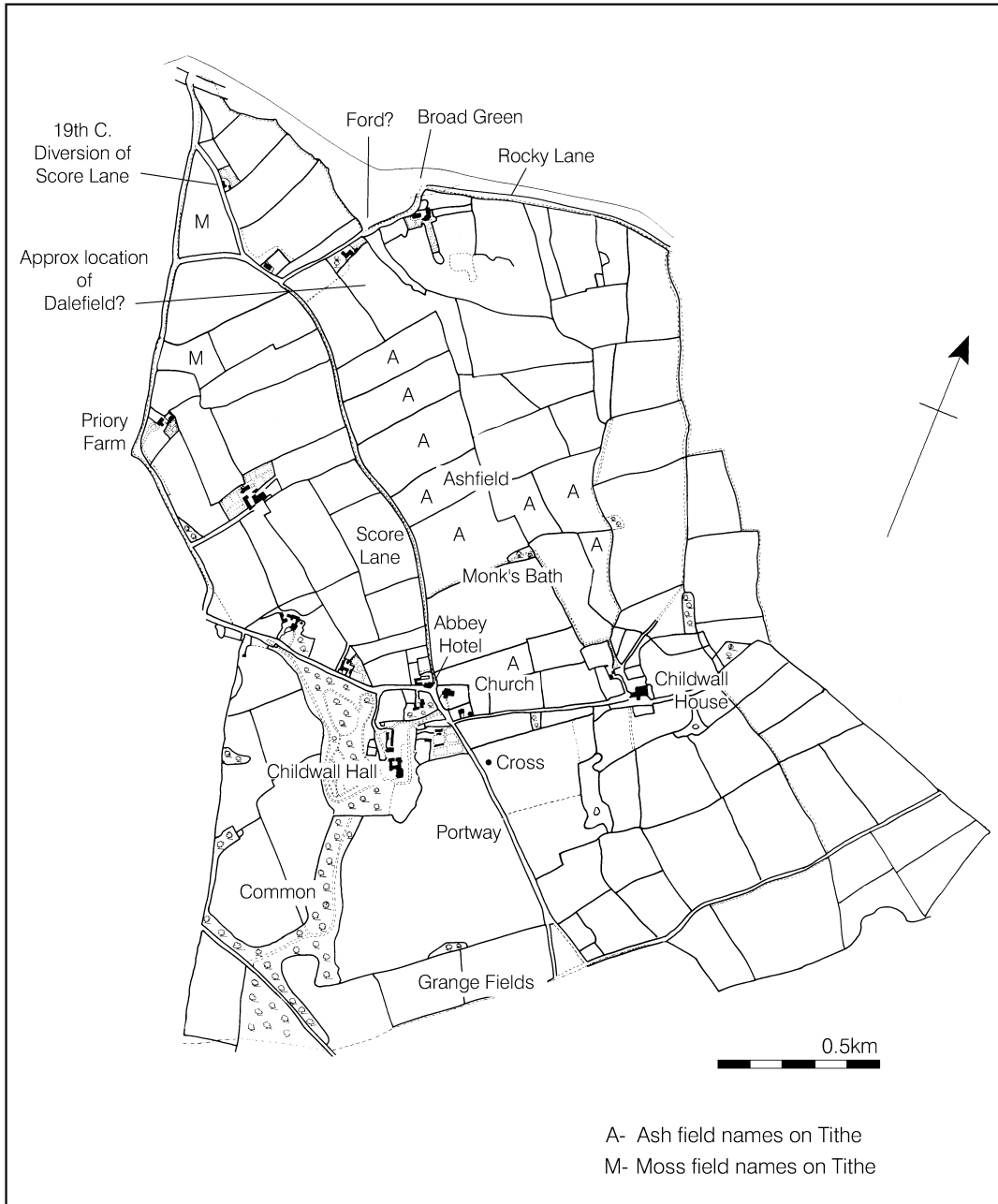


Fig. 2.5 Childwall, 1846

Much Woolton charters, where it was known as the Portway (fig. 2.5), and late medieval references to it running along the western boundary of Halewood through Speke (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 150). The Portway leads from the parish church of Childwall towards another pre-Conquest parish mother-church at Walton, suggesting this route may be of great antiquity.

The church of All Saints, partially rebuilt in the 19th and 20th centuries, includes architectural features of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, while '12th century stones' have been reported during the course of repairs (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 103). The site is therefore of great importance in terms of ecclesiastical archaeology and its relationship to the village.

The circular church site, and the status of the church as the mother church of a large parish, may signify a foundation significantly earlier than Domesday, which suggests that there may be similar potential for identifying the origins of the village. In the 19th century, the nucleated village, although possibly shrunken, additionally consisted of the hall, vicarage, and two settlements around the crossroads, as well as a village cross. Many of these sites are documented features of the late medieval period. The vicarage was established in 1307 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 104) and in 1728 consisted of 'five Bays of Building' (Stewart-Brown 1914, 116). It is now demolished and a modern hut built on the site. Photographs taken in the late 19th century reveal the vicarage as an interesting house, with many Victorian adornments, but possibly a much earlier core (Waite 1888, 26-7). The early 19th -century hall, which lay in the vicinity of the present Childwall College, is likewise now demolished, although it is not clear if this is a medieval site. The earliest records for its construction relate to Isaac Greene, in c. 1724-28 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 110), who had been living for a time prior to this at Childwall House. In a survey of 1653, 4 acres of the demesne land were allotted to Childwall House (Dottie 1986, 18), suggesting that potentially this building may have been the precursor to the Hall.

The Tithe map shows a pattern of closes (fig. 2.5), one of which contained a small cottage, and short tracks leading into what was probably Ashfield, around Childwall House, which is first mentioned in 1718 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 110). This pattern might suggest the potential for a disappeared small nucleation, of unknown date, around this site.

In 1989, a small excavation was carried out to the west of the Abbey hotel, opposite the church, with

the aim of investigating the early history of the village. The excavations showed that the sandstone substrata is very close to the surface here and the only archaeology located related to the post-medieval development of the site of the Abbey hotel itself, the earliest evidence being 17th-century in date (Cowell 1990).

At Domesday, Childwall was divided into four manors, held by four radmen (riding-men with a status approaching that of a knight) (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 284) with three carucates of land, although the disposition of these manors is lost to us now. In the late medieval period there is documentary evidence for only one and possibly two open arable fields, which lay on the land sloping down from the Portway onto the plain to the east. Ashfield lay to the north-east and east of the village. This was still partly unenclosed in the mid-17th century (Lancs RO DDK 1472/1), when there were two open fields with this name, called White Ashfield and Church Ashfield, out of a total of six open fields by this time (Dottie 1986, 18-19).

Within Ashfield, lies the site of a now filled-in well or pool known as Monk's Bath (fig. 2.5). This may possibly have been a holy well, a common feature of the late medieval landscape, as there are descriptions of it being square and lined with masonry (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 109). With the second element of the place-name Childwall meaning 'well' (see page 99 above), this might suggest that this site may potentially be pre-Conquest in origin.

Fourteenth-century documents also refer to '...land in Childwall called the Dalefield with messuages and curtilages thereon...' (Lancs RO DDBI 9/4) while Margery, widow of Simon 'of the Dale', quitclaimed to her son 'all properties in the Dale and in Childwall' (Lancs RO DDBI 9/1). Assuming that 'Childwall' refers to the township and not the parish, which seems likely, these references may suggest a separate settlement lay within the township. A late medieval land grant does appear to place Dalefield in the north of the township, or close to it, in connection with 'the road from Childwall to Walton' (ie Score Lane) that goes 'to the ford' (Webb 1970, 120). On the Tithe map, what is now Rocky Lane, which crosses the brook in Broad Green in neighbouring West Derby, suggests the most likely location for the medieval 'ford'. The houses shown on the Tithe in this part of Childwall may, therefore, potentially mark the approximate area for the location of the medieval 'Dale' settlement in the township.

Other medieval settlement may also be approximately identified within the township. In Edward III's reign (1327-77) a 'Robert del Moss' is mentioned in relation to a dispute over a house and 2.5 acres of land in Childwall (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 110). 'Moss' field-names on the Tithe suggest that this may have been in the north-west of the township. In 1361-2, the Prior of Upholland held the disputed rent and land. The 1846 map shows Priory Farm just to the south of these fields, and although post-medieval sites can often have attracted such names as 'Priory', the physical proximity of the farm to these fields does suggest a potential location for the disputed lands and the approximate site of the house of Robert del Moss.

From before the time of Edward III the monks of Stanlaw Abbey held land in the parish (Hulton 1848, 556). Cox (1896, 237) states that the wayside cross near Well lane may have marked the lands of the monks but this is difficult to prove. In the early 16th century there is reference in Childwall to a grange, the agricultural buildings often associated with land owned by a monastery (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 161, n. 4). In 1653, one of the open fields in the manor of Childwall was called Grangefield, of 55 acres, which was farmed as part of the demesne by six tenants who lived in Little Woolton (Dottie 1986, 18). Comparison of the acreage between the 1653 survey and the township shown on the 1st Edition six inch Ordnance Survey map suggests that this was the Grange Field in Little Woolton (J. Gnosspeilius, pers. comm.). On the Tithe map two fields are marked in the southern part of Childwall township with the element 'grange' which probably mark the northern approximate limits of the field.

The land along the ridge marking the south-western edge of the township was formerly the common pasture for the township, which is probably medieval in origin, the remnants of which are shown on an enclosure map of 1813 (Lancs RO AE/7/5; Liv RO Hf 912). The large square enclosure of the 'Park', flanking gardens and large woodland enclosures surrounding Childwall Hall in the 19th century, are post-medieval creations, reclaimed at least in part from the common.

Croxteth Park

The name is of Old Norse derivation, meaning 'Krokr's landing place' (Mills 1976). At Domesday, Croxteth consisted of one teamland (another term for carucate or unit of assessment for the geld tax) within the royal demesne of West Derby. Farrer (in Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 278) suggests that Croxteth contained some of the woodland '2 leagues by 1 league' within the demesne land of the

royal manor of West Derby. However, Cunliffe Shaw (1956, 13) argues that Croxteth had at Domesday been part of the thegn Uctred's holding of Knowsley and therefore separate from the capital manor held by the king. But Uctred's manors, lying in an arc to the north east of the king's manor, contained about twice the woodland of West Derby at Domesday (Farrer 1899, 18) and so Croxteth, irrespective of ownership, probably lay in an area containing appreciable areas of woodland in the 11th century.

This situation may not have changed much into the mid-12th century when the vill of Croxteth became part of the actual hunting area of the royal forest, centred on West Derby to the west, having been annexed by Henry II (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 182). Although, 'forest' is a legal term in this sense and did not always, therefore, necessarily consist of woodland.

The first reference to a park in the vill is in 1327 (Farrer 1907, 225) and in 1346 it was declared to be '4 leagues in circumference' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 182, n. 9). Unfortunately the measurement of a league could vary between just over 1 mile to 3 miles, which makes it difficult to be certain that the circuit of the historic township, which is about 5 miles, was coterminous with the park's boundary. The earliest building known in the park was Barret's Hall, John Barret having been granted lands adjoining the pale in 1359 (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 467). The medieval dwelling, probably used by successive chief foresters, has not been located.

In other areas of the forest assarting, or clearance of woodland, continued throughout the 13th century, even in forest retained for hunting, such as in West Derby wood (see below). The park of Croxteth, along with Toxteth and Simonswood, was retained though as a demesne enclosure, reserved for venison, where no corn was grown. The main economic importance of the park came from the herbage (or grazing), which, for example, in 1346 was worth £5 6s 8d compared with the £2 13s 4d received in 1323 (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 465). During the later medieval period the wooded nature of the park continued to be reduced, until in c. 1475, when the park was granted to William Molyneux, it was described as being 'ruinous having no wood in it or near it for the reparation of

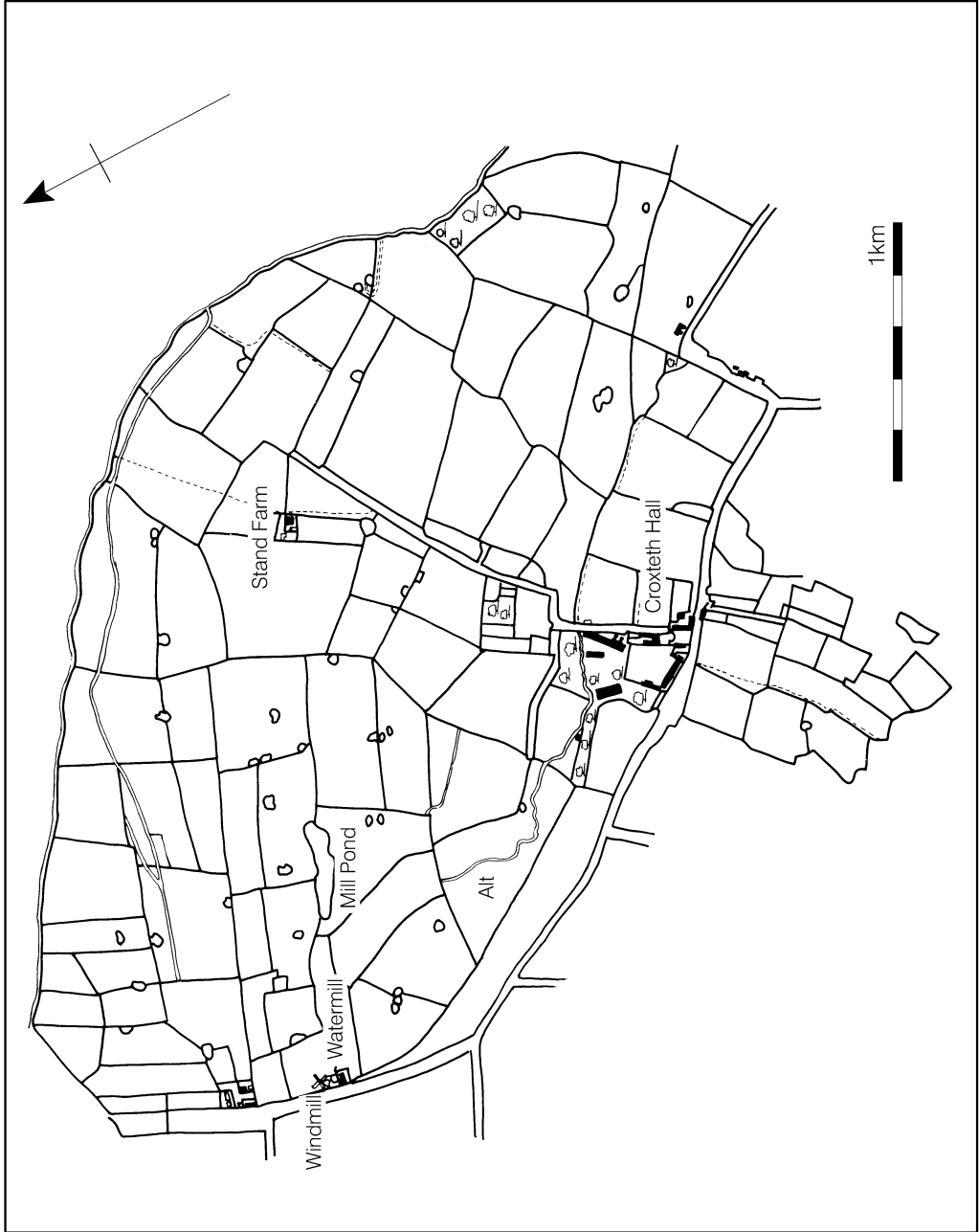


Fig. 2.6 Croxteth Park, 1769

the pale so that the enclosure cost as much as the yearly farm' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 182 n.12).

There is no evidence as to when Croxteth was disemparked, although it is still shown on Morden's map of the county in 1695 (Lancs RO DDP 144/5). By 1769, however, the whole township had been divided into small, enclosed fields and turned over to agriculture. Some of the boundaries present in the 18th century may represent the earliest divisions created within the park to provide the game with self-contained areas for grazing, woodland browsing and shelter. The long continuous north-south boundary to the west of Stand Farm (fig. 2.6) might represent one such medieval division, against which other boundaries were laid to provide several large enclosures, which were later sub-divided as the park was given over to cultivation.

The main post-medieval settlement in the township is represented by Croxteth Hall, Stand Farm and some of the cottages in the vicinity of the windmill on the western boundary (fig. 2.6). Fieldwalking in the township has been limited to the area north of Stand Farm, where only one sherd of medieval pottery has been found. The farm cannot be traced further back than 1769 on documentary evidence (Molyneux estate map, Lancs RO DDM 14/24), but the brick building appears to be of 18th-century style with 19th-century brick outbuildings, although the re-used sandstone in the lower courses of the barn may suggest a potentially earlier building on the site.

The rest of the settlement shown in 1769 is now demolished. A windmill and watermill are shown to the north of the Alt. The site of the latter may still survive, although a brief survey has not recognised any standing earthworks in waste ground next to the stream. To the east, along the stream course the dam still exists in woodland, with a large, mainly natural depression to the east of it which will have acted as the mill pond (fig. 2.6). The windmill is difficult to locate precisely, which means that it may have been destroyed by modern housing, although gardens and waste ground still exist to the east which could be surveyed to test if it might lie here.

Fazakerley

The medieval and post-medieval documentary evidence studied for Fazakerley does not provide a clear picture of the nature of the landscape changes during the medieval and post-medieval periods. An analysis of the landscape archaeology of the township, therefore, has to rely mainly on an interpretation based on the nature of field

boundaries, roads and settlement locations shown on the Tithe map (fig. 2.7).

The name means 'clearing in the woodland' from the Old English *-leah*, combined with 'near a border strip' from *-faes* and *-aecer* (Mills 1976). At Domesday, Fazakerley, as part of Walton manor was attached to the royal demesne of West Derby manor, as one of its berewicks, or outlying estates (Lewis 2000, 25-26). Farrer and Brownbill (1907, 28) state that Fazakerley was part of the medieval common arable fields of Walton until the 13th century.

In 1846, the main nucleated settlement lay in a straggling linear plan along Higher Lane (fig. 2.7). Its position in the township, and location in what appears to be the most probable area of medieval open-field arable, implies that it may be the site of the original medieval village. Only two settlement sites remain in the area, an 18th/19th-century brick house and barn and, several hundred metres to the north, the unused barn of the demolished Harbreck Farm. In the early 1990s, many of the former house sites in the village still existed as waste plots, while the land between the settlement on Higher Lane and Harbreck House was waste ground, wherein elements of the potential medieval landscape, decayed prior to the mid 19th century, could conceivably have existed. The sharp bend in the present lane, bordered with a high sandstone wall, appears to be a post-medieval creation which may previously have belonged to an estate or park. The contrast between this section of the lane and that to the south-east and north, close to Harbreck House, implies that an earlier course may have run in a more direct line a little to the east of the sharp bend. Earlier settlement may therefore have existed in the waste ground between Harbreck Farm and the main area of house plots on Higher Lane.

In 1994-5 the planned construction of a new prison building allowed the Lancaster University Archaeological Unit to undertake trial excavations on sites in both these areas. These excavations revealed a medieval toft at the western end of Higher Lane containing a building and trackway and traces of other medieval activity at several sites along the lane. There were also traces of medieval arable fields adjacent to the lane. Much of the land between Higher Lane and the stream south of Harbreck House was disturbed ground and so revealed nothing of significance. A ditch with a sherd of medieval pottery near to Harbreck Farm

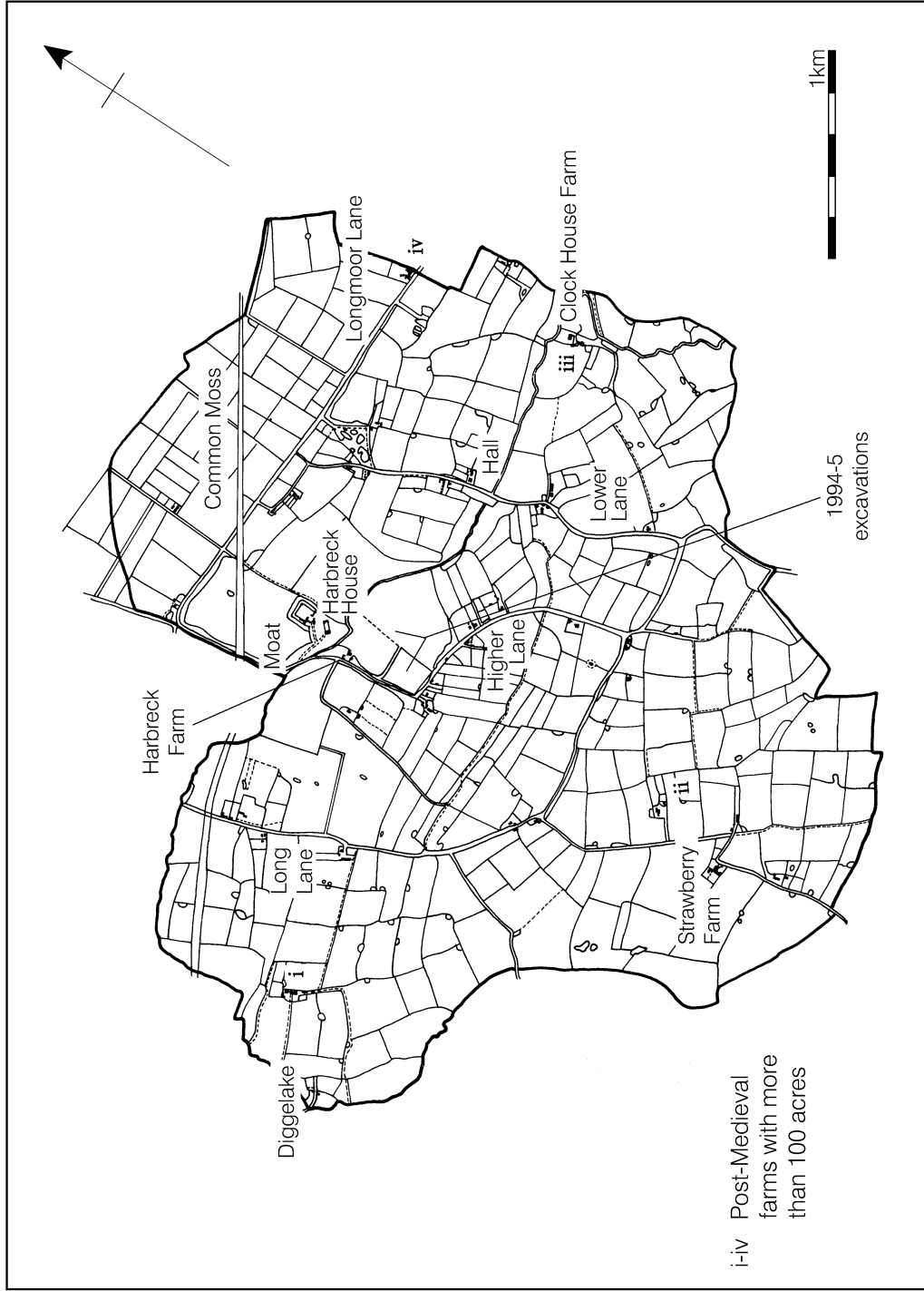


Fig. 2.7 Fazakerley, 1846

did not provide clear evidence of medieval origins for this site (summarised in Farr 1994; 1995).

To the north of the stream lay Harbeck House and its outbuildings (fig. 2.7), all now demolished. The Tithe map suggests, with the very distinctive rectangular three-sided enclosure around the outbuildings, that this may formerly have been a moated site. In the 1980s, the site was heavily overgrown, while the northern arm has probably been disturbed by a modern path associated with the hospital. A shallow 4m wide linear depression corresponding with the western arm of the enclosure on the map, reinforces the assumption that it is a moat. Archaeological potential for the central house area is not clear, as in the mid-19th century the area was converted into a formal garden and modern trees may have disturbed some of the stratigraphy. The 1994-5 excavations (see page 104 above) also placed four small trenches on the site but produced no evidence of an early date.

The site was possibly the farm of the manorial lord, as opposed to being sub-manorial and therefore of lesser status, although there is very little documentary evidence to clarify the point. In 1717, Fazakerley Hall with associated estate was described as a 'capital messuage' held by Percival and Thomas Rice (France 1977, 56-7). This estate lay to the south east of Harbreck House (fig. 2.7). However, at the same date the 'demesne' land (ie. that belonging to and farmed by the lord of the manor) was held by Robert Fazakerley, although this land is not named and on present evidence cannot be equated with the Harbreck House estate, although this is a possibility. The Fazakerley Hall site is largely developed, although the site of associated outbuildings or earlier buildings may still exist to the south and east. This is still open land which was not surveyed in detail. A better understanding of the relationship between these sites and their status within the township must, therefore, await further research.

The isolated settlement shown on the 19th-century map in the rest of the township falls into two categories: the farms, which are mainly located around the margins, and the cottages, generally only with small gardens, dispersed along the main roads. Some of the marginal farms may have medieval origins. Although there are 14th-century references to common open arable, mention is also made of what appear to be privately enclosed fields, as for example in 1334, when land is granted 'lying in the field of Henry Riding...' (Lancs RO DDM 51/17). This type of field would usually have existed around the edges of the arable land, having been cleared from either woodland or waste. Some of the

peripheral farms in fig. 2.7 may have originally been associated with this type of clearance in the medieval period, while others may represent clearance only later in post-medieval times.

One of these sites, Strawberry Farm (fig. 2.7) may have been a moated site, therefore potentially representing medieval clearance and settlement. In 1867 'a quadrangular platform about 100 feet square surrounded by a ditch' was recorded in a 'field on the farm' (Ecroyd-Smith 1868, 93). There are several farms mentioned in the early post-medieval period by name, but only Diggelake (1589) can be located on later maps (fig. 2.7), although this and any of the others that lay in the west or south of the township have now been destroyed and developed. However, one possible exception is the farm known as Clock House, whose site still survives in waste ground near the eastern boundary of the township. In the 19th century this was one of five, almost equi-distantly spaced farms (fig. 2.7, i-iv and Strawberry Farm), with accompanying estate of 100 acres or more, around the margins of the township. The investigation of this site, therefore, may explain how far these large estates represent marginal early settlements, which, on account of an almost sub-manorial status in the township, survived as large estates into the 19th century.

The rest of the smaller settlement grew up along road-ways throughout the township, including Long Lane, Lower Lane and Longmoor Lane (fig. 2.7). Some of this may represent medieval settlement but probably a larger proportion is post-medieval, particularly along Longmoor Lane which from the map evidence appears to be associated with enclosure of the common on the mossland which lay along the northern edge of the township.

Little Woolton

Little Woolton is first mentioned as a distinct name in c. 1190 when it is called 'Parva Wolton'. The earlier, Domesday, form 'Ulventune' means 'Wulfa's settlement', is of Old English derivation, but there are later forms of the place-name which indicate a strong Scandinavian influence in the area (Mills 1976).

At Domesday, the manor of 'Ulventune' was held by Uctred (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 284). It had two carucates of land and half a league of wood and was worth 64 pence. The boundaries of the 19th-century township of Little Woolton shown on the Tithe map of 1848 (fig. 2.8) include a larger

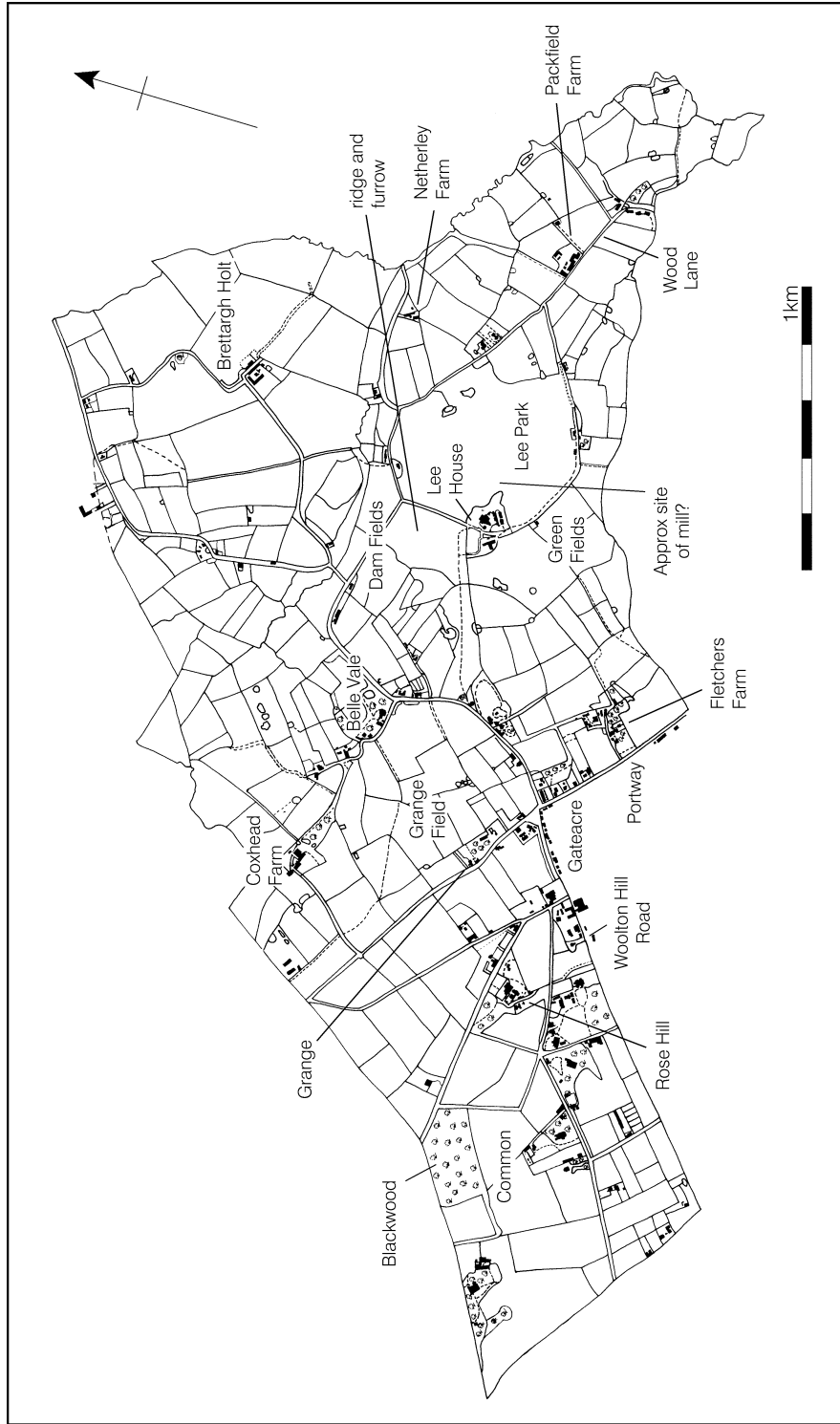


Fig. 2.8 Little Woolton, 1848

area than was contained by the Domesday manor. The later township includes Lee Park, which probably corresponds to the independent Domesday manor of 'Wibaldeslei'. This was held by Ulbert at the time of the Conquest, although it was rated with Much Woolton in the 12th and 13th centuries (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 284). The 'vill of Brettargh' also seems not to have been part of the Domesday manor but was subsumed into the township before c. 1178-1190 (Stewart Brown 1937,214).

The shape of the Little Woolton township, with its narrow western arm, suggests that it has been created out of a larger manor whilst retaining a share of a former crucial resource. In this case it was probably common pasture land (see below), part of which also remained with the adjacent manor of Uvetune, which became Much Woolton township. This division may have occurred by the time of Domesday, when a formerly large pre-Conquest manor or estate was divided. Although boundaries could change throughout the medieval period and later, it seems likely that the Domesday manor of Ulventune included within its bounds areas such as Belle Vale and Gateacre, although there is no evidence that either of these represent settlements that were in existence at Domesday.

The nature of settlement in the manor at Domesday is not known, but by the late medieval period it seems likely that Belle Vale (fig. 2.8) may have formed the main nucleated settlement in the township along Wambo Lane. This development lay at the heart of identifiable former open arable land of Grange Field and Dam Field, which suggests both its potential date and form (see above). Unfortunately, the settlement is now destroyed and largely built over, so archaeological potential is limited.

In the post-medieval period a nucleated settlement also lay at Gateacre. The present settlement forms part of the Gateacre Conservation area and consists mainly of 18th and 19th-century brick houses and cottages. This settlement had grown up along the early medieval road, the Portway (see Childwall), which here is today called Halewood Road. In Little Woolton it runs approximately along the boundary between the main area of open field in the township to the east and the common to the west (fig. 2.8). Here, in the 19th century, the settlement mainly lay on the slopes of the sandstone ridge around crossroads leading from the open fields to the common, partly lying in adjacent Much Woolton (see below).

The earliest reference to a settlement here is in the mid 16th century, when Hugh Whitfield of Gateacre is mentioned in the court rolls (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 120). Some form of settlement nucleation appears to have been in existence at least by the mid 18th century and possibly by the 17th century, with a number of recorded public houses (J. Gnosselius pers. comm.). The origins of the settlement, however, are unclear. Some of it very likely represents settlement expansion in the township during the later post-medieval period. Whether it has a late medieval core, however, is unclear. Arable expansion, potentially driven by settlement expansion, took place in adjacent areas of Much Woolton in the 13th and 14th centuries and could suggest a context for some potential development in Gateacre at this time (see below and fig. 2.9). This theory can only be clarified through archaeological investigation.

One site within Gateacre that does appear to represent medieval settlement is Grange Farm. In c. 1204, Roger, son of John, Constable of Chester, granted Little Woolton to Stanlaw Abbey (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 302). The architectural importance of the surviving 17th-century structure here suggests that this is probably the site of the earlier grange associated with the Abbey.

There is a class of settlement shown on the 19th-century tithe map in Little Woolton which is represented by farms scattered around the margins of the township, mainly in the north-east and south-east and, apart from Brettargh Holt (which is dealt with in more detail below), includes Coxhead, Fletcher's, Packfield and Netherley farms (fig. 2.8). It is not known to what extent these represent a pattern of small medieval estates, or even the remnants of slightly earlier settlement patterns. Some indicate, from their positioning in relation to other identifiable medieval resources, to be at least late medieval in date. Another alternative is that some may represent later, post-medieval expansion as the medieval method of farming started to change (see below). Documentary evidence for most of them is lacking and, unfortunately, as most lay around the margins of the township, they have been lost to modern development.

A potential medieval settlement is located in what was probably the Domesday manor of Wibaldslei, or Lee Park as it is now (see below and fig. 2.8). The present house at Lee Park is a later post-medieval brick building. The hall was built in 1773, against the end of the then existing farm but demolished in the 1960s (J. Gnosselius pers. comm.). The site is much earlier though, as a 1582 court roll refers to 'a messuage called the Lee and

19 acres of free land' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 120 n. 1).

The bounds of the park shown on the Tithe map represent an earlier 19th-century creation. In the north-western part of the park it includes, in what is now a golf course, an area of ridge and furrow. This evidence marks the existence of a former area of open arable field, and was probably the south-eastern edge of the medieval field later known as 'Dam Fields'. Adjacent to this area, John Eyes' plan of the estates of John Okill in 1752 (Liv RO Acc 932) shows a large, almost circular, enclosure with the house on its western edge. The enclosure is divided up into hedged fields but it seems likely that these represent the subdivision of a much earlier enclosure. This may represent the bounds of an earlier, perhaps medieval, park. However, it is not clear how significant the fact is that such a feature was not mentioned in the 1582 document, as this was free land and thus not directly the concern of the court rolls. Alternatively, it may represent the bounds of an early farming estate, which given the potential antiquity of the settlement, might make this at least late medieval and potentially even earlier, given the Domesday status of the manor.

The present house, which is used as the club-house for the golf course, may be close to the site of the Domesday manorial settlement. There is no evidence that the original settlement in the manor was nucleated, and the presence of the large circular enclosure implies this may never have been the case. The immediate area around Lee Park house is presently waste ground, and some of the scattered settlement around the southern margins of the large, earlier enclosure also survives as waste plots. Two fields to the south of the lane have the element 'green' which can sometimes be associated with early settlement, but only archaeological investigation could test this possibility further. The path leading by Lee House, through what is now the golf course, is still an undeveloped post-medieval trackway and appears to mark on its west and southern sides the large, early circular enclosure. There was also a windmill 'the Lee milne' (BM Add Ch 52520) close to the Lee house in 1560, which probably lay on the higher ground to the south-east of the house. The site may, therefore, still survive. There is, therefore, a degree of archaeological potential for understanding the nature and origins of the settlement pattern in this area.

Apart from the two potentially early farms of Netherley and Packfield (see page 108 above), to the east of Lee Park there are a number of other farms and cottages along Wood Lane, several of which still survive (fig. 2.8). From their architecture

and the position of these sites in relation to the potentially early farms, their origins may mostly reflect post-medieval settlement expansion.

The other likely medieval site in the township is Brettargh Holt, chief farm of the medieval 'vill of Brettargh' and not assimilated into Little Woolton until c. 1178-1190. In 1585 William Brettargh held 'the Holt and a dovecote' and a datestone inscribed 'W.B. 1587' used to lie in the farm gardens (Stewart Brown 1937, 222, 219). In 1398 William de Brettargh claimed from Alan le Norreys 'a messuage and 120 acres' in Little Woolton, which was to descend to the heirs of William Brettargh the younger (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 119).

There is no direct evidence for the form of settlement and field pattern here in the medieval period. There is no documentary evidence of medieval open field arable and the field boundaries in the estate contrast strongly with those of the open field to the west (fig 2.8). This pattern suggests it may always have been farmed from the main site, associated with an enclosed field system. The place-name 'Brettargh' is of Old Norse derivation meaning 'Briton' (Kenyon 1991, 89) suggesting a long history for this site, possibly with a native post-Roman population surviving here until at least the 9th century. Comparison with some of the estates in Tarbock (see Chapter 3 this volume) points strongly to a settlement of this kind which may go back as far as the Roman period. There are a number of small settlements dotted along the road system around the Holt, many of which are likely to date from post-medieval expansion of settlement. Most of the estate is now part of the golf course, but the main farm site and its immediate vicinity, which is still waste ground, should be monitored in any future development, on account of the potential importance of the site.

In 1292 the prior of the Knights Hospitallers was successful when he sued the monks of Stanlaw Abbey for the manor of Little Woolton, including 'a mill' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 118), which they held until dissolution in 1540. A dispute in the early 13th century mentions 'the mill pool between Brettargh and Woolton' (Hulton 1848, 806-7). In 1585 William Brettargh held a 'water-mill as of the dissolved priory' (Stewart Brown 1937, 222). This mill site may be located by several 'dam' field names on the Tithe map (fig. 2.8), close to the stream to the north-west of Lee Park.

The medieval landscape in the township, as already suggested, had been much modified by the 19th century, yet the elements of this former landscape were still apparent to varying degrees. Post-

medieval settlement in the township, although surely greater than in the medieval period, was still fairly scattered or small-scale except for that in Gateacre, which has already been mentioned, and on the former common (see below).

The impact of the post-medieval agricultural economy on the landscape was basically that of increasing enclosure of former open areas and the reduction in woodland. Some open arable was still unenclosed in the 17th century, when terminology associated with land in 'Grange field' makes this apparent (Liv RO DDK 1472/1). Enclosure of medieval arable was often manifested in the creation of long narrow field boundaries respecting the position of the arable strips. In the 19th century these only survived to a limited extent around Belle Vale, which is now mainly developed for housing. The only areas of former medieval and post-medieval fields to survive are those that now lie in two adjoining golf courses, previously lying in the estates of Lee Park for the former and Brettargh Holt, for the latter.

Enclosure of arable areas must have been complete by 1805, when an Enclosure Act was passed which related only to the common on Woolton Hill (Liv RO DDK 1631/7), which had been common since the medieval period. There had been a little earlier piecemeal enclosure on the common, Black Wood, which was created as a plantation in c. 1730-50 (Stewart-Brown 1921, 23), being the only surviving example. There had been a little mid-18th-century settlement development associated with the eastern part of the common, based around Rose Hill (Yates and Perry map, 1768). The greater part of the settlement pattern on the common, however, relates to the period between 1805 to 1848, when Woolton Hill Road was laid out and a number of large house and garden estates were built along it and its associated roads (fig. 2.8).

Survival of basically unaltered earlier buildings within the township is rare. Of those buildings within the conservation areas of Woolton and Gateacre, most are of 19th-century date, while a large proportion of the earlier surviving buildings have been altered in the same period. The two earliest buildings to survive fairly intact lie along Grange Lane. The Grange is a former farm consisting of a two-storeyed sandstone house with mullioned windows, dated to c. 1656. The other is part of a row of sandstone cottages, Paradise Row, which was built about 1730-1750 (J. Gnosspelius pers. comm) and includes watch-tool makers workshops. Both are listed buildings. All of the more isolated farms have been demolished except for Lee House, although here also the present late

post-medieval building replaces an earlier building on the site (see page 108 above). The smaller, isolated cottage-type building has survived slightly better in the township, particularly in the small group on Wood Lane, but here a certain amount of modern renovation work hides their character to some extent.

Much Woolton

Before Domesday, Much Woolton, or 'Uvetone', consisted of two manors held by two thegns and was worth 30 pence, less than half that of Little Woolton (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 284). The township as defined in the 19th century is shown in fig. 2.9. The boundaries of Little Woolton make it seem as if it formerly lay within a much larger unit (see page 108 above). Assuming that the post-medieval township boundaries have a general correlation to the bounds of the pre-Conquest manors, then it seems possible that Much Woolton was carved out of a large estate sometime before Domesday.

The main early settlement in Much Woolton is the linear nucleation along Woolton St/Ashton Square, which is depicted on a map of 1613, drawn to show enclosures on the commons, which in the event did not happen (Liv RO H.f. 912 WOO). This is the area shown as '1613 village core' in fig. 2.9, the northern end of which is approximately marked by the cross. This area is probably the medieval heart of the village, surrounded by former open arable fields and the demesne land to the west. The former street through the original village has been interrupted by the creation of the gardens to Woolton Hall, which subsequently may have led to either the creation, or rise in importance of Speke Road as the main through road (fig. 2.9). Much of the development shown on the Tithe map in this area still exists, mainly as 19th-century stone and brick houses and cottages, although there are a few later 18th-century buildings still standing in the group. All the surviving buildings are listed and the area is part of the Woolton Conservation Area, forming a village group with restored cross.

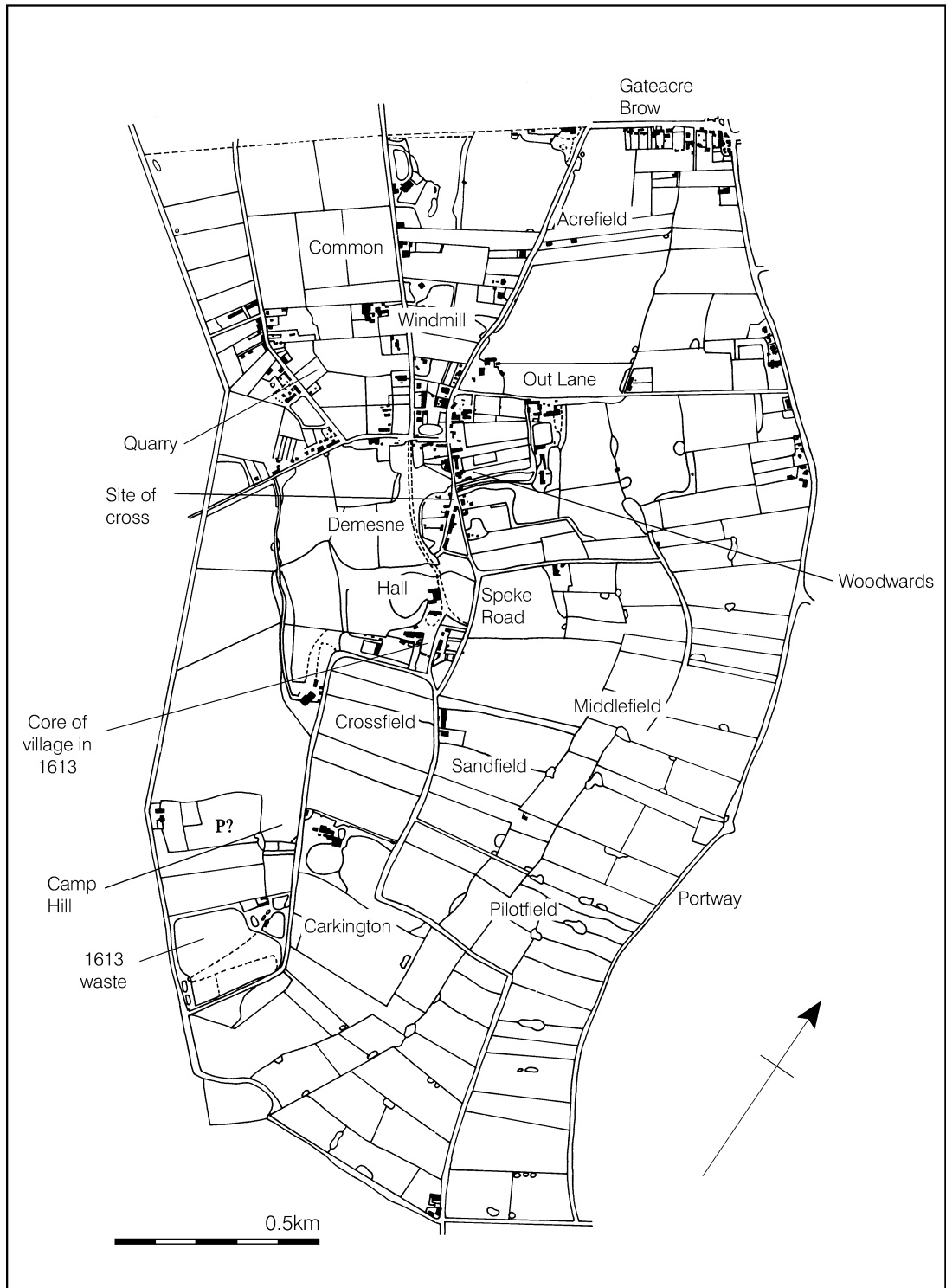


Fig. 2.9 Much Woolton, 1840

There may also have been a medieval settlement of some kind at Carkington, which survived only as a name into the 19th century. This name allows it to be approximately located in the area of the potential Iron Age defended settlement of Camp Hill, although there is not enough evidence to know if there might have been some relationship between the two. There are no indications as to the nature of the medieval settlement here, but the place-name element '- ton' (Old English: tun – farm, settlement) implies a potentially early settlement here, and in many medieval documents 'Carketon' is treated as separate from the main open field system belonging to Much Woolton. The documents do not make it clear whether the name represents a field, an area or a settlement, although it is possible that the name could have applied to any or all three simultaneously. As there were two Domesday manors in Much Woolton, it could represent the location of one of them (J. Gnosselius pers. comm.)

Examples of references include 'land in divers places in the field called Pushulfeld one end abutting on Carketon the other on le Porteway' (B.M. Add Ch 51778), the latter being the early medieval route from Halewood to Walton via Childwall (see Childwall, see page 99 above). In 1334 land was granted to William del Brooks 'below Carketon' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 115). In the 13th century, Alice, widow of William le Smale granted 'all her part of Carketon' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 115) and the 1613 estate map includes 'the waste of Carkington'. The area of Carkington is now largely occupied by Woolton Golf Course, except for some incursion of modern housing development onto the southern end. Topographically, the most likely place for a settlement to have been located would have been in that area to the south of Camp Hill, which contains 19th-century buildings on the Tithe map (fig. 2.9).

The medieval and post-medieval agricultural landscape of the township has survived only to a limited extent. A comparison of the field names on the Tithe map with medieval field names has allowed the identification of much of the medieval open field system which can be traced to the south, east and north-east of the main village, while the 1613 map shows that it very likely also lay to the west of the village (fig. 2.9). The main identifiable medieval fields in Much Woolton occur next to the village eg. 'le Crosfeld' (Crossfield) in 1310 (Lumby 1939, 144), 'Sandfield' in 1322 (Lumby 1939, 134), 'aclofeld' (Acre field) in the later 13th century (BM Add Ch 51772) and 'Midelfeld' (Middlefield) (Lumby 1939, 145). These fields probably

represent the earliest phase of clearance for arable in those areas nearest the village.

There is also a class of medieval field-names implying a separate phase of arable expansion, the individual fields of which can only be identified approximately. It seems clear though that much of this new arable land occupied the land between the belt of arable immediately to the east of the village and the Portway. These fields are characterised by the name 'branderth' meaning recently cleared land eg 'Aclawefeld brandurthe...stretching from Aclawefeld to le portway' in 1317 (Lumby 1939, 137) and 'le Blakebrandurth' in 1296 (Lumby 1939, 139), 'le Longebranderethe stretching from le Pukelfeld to le portway' in 1300 (Lumby 1939, 141). 'Le Pukelfeld' or 'Pilot field' lay somewhere in the south-east of the township, next to Carkington (fig. 2.9). Other fields included the 'Netherbranderthe, lying partly by the Out lane' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 115, n. II) and the 'Nubraderthe' in 1305 (Lumby 1939, 136).

It can be seen from the associated dates that these fields were in being by the early 14th century and that there must have been some associated settlement expansion. It is not clear, however, if this took place within pre-existing settlement or through the creation of new ones. The 19th century settlement shown at Gateacre Brow may be a candidate for an area in which settlement expansion in the medieval period took place, although there is little identifiable pre-19th century settlement here at the moment (see Little Woolton, above). Only archaeological examination could determine if sites of this period existed here. A similar situation exists for the group of 19th- century sites along the Portway to the south of Gateacre, now Halewood Road.. Most are demolished, except for the three southern ones which architecturally are 19th-century houses or cottages, but one building in this group may have existed in the early 17th century (J. Gnosselius pers. comm.).

The 1613 map suggests that the demesne arable lay to the north-west of Woolton Hall. The present hall is early 18th-century in date. This could represent the site of the chief farm in the medieval period, which today lies in the grounds of Notre Dame School. However, the Hospitallers had held Much Woolton since 1178 (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 299) and their representative became the Woodward (J. Gnosselius pers. comm.) In 1613, 'Woodward's' house is depicted as the most impressive structure in the village, lying at its northern end.

In 1613, the main area of common pasture land lay to the north-west of the early village, and continued

along the western slopes of the township into Carkington at the south end. It is fairly certain that this would also have been the common in the medieval period. The nucleated settlement of the already mentioned Gateacre Brow lies on the north-eastern edge of the township, and continues into Little Woolton township, as Gateacre. The earliest reference to Gateacre is in 1559 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 120). It was located around the crossroads, where the medieval Portway, potentially pre-Conquest in origin (see Childwall), crosses the road from the Belle Vale settlement in Little Woolton to the common land on the sandstone ridge-top (figs 2.8 and 2.9).

There is no direct evidence for the date of the origin of this settlement at Gateacre. Its position on the edge of both the common pasture and the open field systems of the two townships, implies that it may have been, in essence, a later settlement than the main nucleated settlement in each township, which are integrated into their respective medieval field systems. Its origins may be due to population increase from within the townships of both Little and Much Woolton, leading to settlement in the same location, although on each side of the pre-existing boundary. This expansion of population could, therefore, have taken place at any time from at least the late medieval period to the 19th century. The expansion of arable land in Much Woolton in the 13th and 14th centuries suggests a potential horizon for some settlement here, although there is undoubtedly post-medieval settlement expansion here also, particularly at Gateacre Brow. The modern village is part of the Conservation Area, the buildings being mainly 19th-century in date, except for the chapel dating about 1700.

The area of Much Woolton village at the western end of Out Lane, in what is now the main shopping area of Woolton village, did not exist in 1613. It is assumed that the 1613 village essentially represents the medieval core, as it is surrounded by medieval arable, whereas the northern part of the present village mainly lies on former common pasture. It is possible that medieval expansion had once stretched into this area but had contracted by the early 17th century, although this could only be answered definitively through archaeological investigation. Although largely developed for modern shops, the northern part of the village still contains an 18th-century former farmhouse, the Salisbury Farm dairy, now probably on the site of the Woodward's (J. Gnosselius pers. comm.), and thus an important site of some archaeological potential. Photographs also show that it included a now demolished, early post-medieval cottage (Waite 1888, 101).

North-west of this part of the village in the 19th century lay another area of nucleated settlement, around the quarry (fig. 2.9). In the medieval period this land was common pasture, probably known as 'the cliff' (Lumby 1939, 143). This area was intended to be enclosed in 1613, but most remained open until after 1805 when an Enclosure Act was passed (Liv RO DDK 1631/7). Most of the settlement is, therefore, of 19th-century date. The only buildings shown in 1613 in this area were two windmills a little to the north of 'Woodwards'. Their former positions cannot be accurately located today. The earliest reference to a windmill is in 1306 (Lumby 1939, 140), although the earliest reference identifiable to a location is in 1316 when 'land under the cliff' is granted 'stretching from Allerton to the windmill' (Lumby 1939, 143).

A Tower mill, built in 1810, is the mill shown near the quarry on the Tithe map (fig. 2.9). This burnt down in 1898 (J. Gnosselius pers. comm.) and was described as 'ruinous' in 1907 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 114). In 1338, the Knights Hospitallers are recorded as having in Much Woolton 'one messuage, fifty acres of land, five acres of meadow, a water-mill' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 114). However, Little Woolton had also been in the hands of the Hospitallers since c. 1292 and this site may fit the evidence far better if it were located in Little Woolton, possibly the one lying between the Brettargh and Lee park (see page 109 above).

In the extreme south lay the waste of Carkington, as located on the 1613 map, which has now been developed for housing. To the north of this was 'the square platt in Carkington' the possible site of which is represented on fig. 2.9 by the field marked 'P?'. There are very faint traces of possible ridge and furrow in the present parkland here, which may represent the clearance of a small part of the common arable, presumably also belonging to Carkington in the medieval period.

Speke

In 1066 the manor of 'Spec' was held by Uctred with 2 carucates of land (unit of assessment for tax) (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 284). The place-name is of Old English derivation meaning 'brushwood' (Ekwall 1922, 110-11). Addison's estate map of 1781 (fig. 2.10) provides the earliest clue to the disposition of settlement in the medieval period. There are four main areas of nucleated

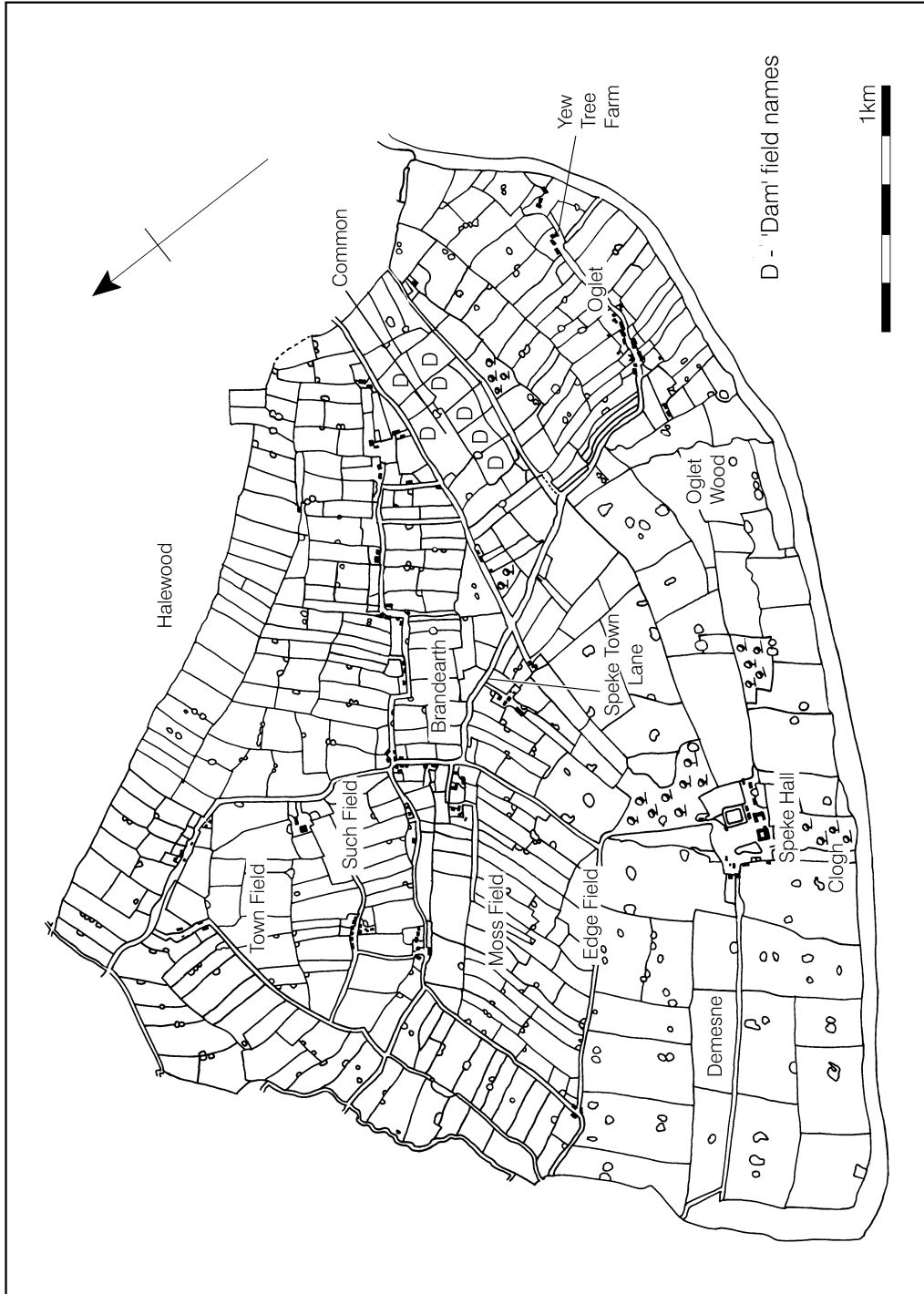


Fig. 2.10 Speke, Addison Estate Map 1781

settlement in the township, all of which probably have medieval origins. An interpretation of their development has been attempted from various sources in order to assist future potential archaeological investigation in the township.

By identifying the main elements of the medieval landscape in the township, through medieval field-names and documents and the relationship of road and field boundaries, it seems likely that Town Field could form the core area of open field arable in this part of the township (fig. 2.10). There is a small nucleated settlement lying on the southern edge of this field and the northern edge of 'Such Field', which suggests a potential location for primary medieval nucleated settlement. This whole area is lost to modern housing development.

Documentary evidence suggests that there was a phase of expansion of arable land, implying a potential increase in population, and thus perhaps of settlement, onto land that may previously have been waste or perhaps only intermittently used 'outfield'. This phase is recorded during the early 14th century and included fields such as 'Mossfield' and 'Brandearth', whose names suggest they are unlikely to have been included within the area of primary open arable land. There are documentary references to some of the common arable fields containing settlement eg 'Mossfield' (Lumby 1939, 39) and 'Edgebote' (Edge field) (Lumby 1939, 40). The settlement shown lying between 'Mossfield', 'Brandearth' and 'Such field', at the confluence of cross-roads on Speke Town Lane, may thus have its origins in the late medieval period (fig. 2.10). The southern part of this settlement now lies around the junction of Speke Hall Avenue and Speke Boulevard, at the north-eastern edge of the airfield. In 1997, this part of the airfield was investigated as part of plans to develop the site but no trace of settlement was found, although the most likely area had suffered much modern disturbance (Connelly 1997). However, part of the settlement may still survive in an area of partially hedged enclosures on the eastern side of the modern Speke Hall Avenue. The northern end of this settlement, at the confluence of Such and Brandearth fields (fig. 2.10), presently consists of a number of waste plots off Speke Hall Road, to the north of the road junction, for which there may also be some archaeological potential.

The medieval 'Brandearth' field lay on the edge of what was formerly a large common or green to the south-east. It was known as *'le mor'* in about 1280 (Lumby 1939, 21) and is probably represented by the concentration of 'heath' field names in the post-medieval period in this area ('common' in fig.

2.10). The area of medieval common pasture land may possibly have been reduced by the creation of 'Mossfield', as mossland was often given over to common grazing in other townships in Liverpool and Knowsley (see above; Chapter 3 this volume).

Another possible nucleated settlement is documented as 'Greave houses' in 1617 (Liv RO 920 NOR 17/88). In c.1370 a barn and a croft are mentioned here (BM AddCh 53079). The name suggests settlement associated with woodland, possibly associated with the wood, 'Spekegreve', which existed in 1362 (Lumby 1939, 35), although it has not been possible to locate this settlement within the township.

The southern half of the township was administered separately from the northern part, and consisted of the hamlet of Oglet and the demesne estate around Speke Hall. Oglet is shown as a linear nucleated settlement in the late 18th century (Addison estate map, 1781) (fig. 2.10). Fieldwalking of sites decayed since the 18th century within the settlement has produced pottery that shows that the hamlet has medieval origins. Documentary references also make it clear that it operated its own open field system. The field boundaries on the 1781 map indicate that the arable fields may have lain to the north and south of the settlement. The pottery evidence also suggests that the settlement extended further to the west, and possibly further to the east, than is shown in 1781 and that the gap between Yew Tree Farm and the main village shown on the map may also contain deserted medieval sites. The area of this settlement is now either farmland or empty plots and, although subject to plough erosion, has good archaeological potential.

A large portion of the township in the south-west was the demesne farm, land belonging to the lords of the manor who resided at Speke Hall. This was land owned and farmed separately from the rest of the township and the differences in field boundaries between this area and the rest of the township can be clearly seen (fig. 2.10). The present hall, with moat visible on three sides, is a building of many phases, the earliest extant one being of about 1500 when Sir William Norris inherited the tenure (Nicholson 1979). The first reference, however, to a building on the site is in 1314 (Lumby 1939, 24). It is argued that this older hall was demolished about 1500 to make way for the present structure, although one small part of the medieval building may have been re-used as part of the kitchen. From excavations carried out in 1981-82 under the north-west corner of the house, it appears that this earlier hall may have been moated, although possibly encompassing a smaller site. This is argued from

the discovery of a channel, filled with water-logged material and pottery spanning the 13th to 16th centuries, running almost parallel with the present northern arm of the moat (Higgins 1992).

There are several references to medieval woodland in the township. Some of these can be identified eg. 'Oglet wood' and 'le clogh' next to the hall (fig. 2.10). Others can not be located, such as 'Spekegreve' and the 'wood of Speke' (Lumby 1939, 20, 21, 22, 24, 28). The process of clearance of woodland, begun in the medieval period continued into the post-medieval period. Oglet wood was partly cleared by 1647 (Nicholson 1979) and by 1781 the estate map shows it was virtually extinct. Woodland around the hall, for the private use of the demesne, continued to exist into the late 18th century, but elsewhere in the township the later post-medieval landscape was almost devoid of woodland.

A windmill is documented in 'Mossfield' in the 14th century (Lumby 1939, 24, 30), and both a watermill and windmill are documented in the 16th century (BM Add Ch. 52528). By 1650, 'two windmills and two watermills' were recorded as part of the manor (Stanning 1898, 227). Most post-medieval field-names in the area of the 'common' on fig. 2.10 have the element 'dam' on the 18th-century estate map. This suggests there may have been a watermill along a stream formerly running through the common, now in the region of the northern edge of the eastern runway of the airport (fig. 2.10). Field names also suggest that a watermill lay along the north-east boundary with Halewood, its site now lying in an area of industrial development.

During the post-medieval period an intensification of settlement expansion will have accompanied the clearance and enclosure of marginal land. Certain of the presumed earlier settlements may have expanded at this time, although it is difficult to know how much settlement shown in 1781 was purely of post-medieval origin, particularly as survival of vernacular post-medieval buildings has been so poor in Speke. Only in Oglet is it noteworthy, with the three remaining settlements all retaining their 17th- or 18th-century character, although the field evidence suggests that these structures are rebuilds on the sites of medieval building plots.

West Derby

The township of West Derby (fig. 2.11) is by far the largest in Liverpool district, partly as a consequence of its tenorial history since the pre-Conquest period. As the former township consists almost totally of built-up land in its western half, only the eastern

part, where a few open areas still survive, was surveyed on the ground. Some attempt was made to provide a comprehensive documentary study for the whole township, to set the context for the field survey. It may be, however, that other relevant documentary evidence has been missed because of the partial nature of the survey.

At Domesday, the land between the Ribble and the Mersey was divided into 6 'hundreds'. Each hundred was named after the capital manors that lay within it, of which West Derby was one. It is argued that these administrative centres were taken over by the Normans as pre-existing Anglian estates (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 9), which potentially makes the capital messuage of West Derby, later represented by the castle, pre-Conquest in origin. The place name is of Old Norse derivation meaning the 'settlement where deer are found'. The prefix 'West' distinguishes it from the Derby in the midlands (Mills 1976, 147).

Prior to 1066, King Edward held the capital manor of West Derby. This area can probably be identified with the later township of West Derby (Lewis 2000, 25). The royal manor also had attached to it six berewicks, or dependent estates as part of the royal demesne. Later documents show that these berewicks included the manors of Hale, Garston (with Aigburth), Liverpool, Everton, Fazakerley (possibly with Aintree and Newsham) and Great Crosby. Thingwall was probably also attached to the royal demesne (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 112-113).

The administrative centre of the vill, the chief manor and the hundred was the castle of West Derby (fig. 2.11), probably built in the second half of the 11th century by Roger of Poitou, who had been granted this region by William. The castle consisted of a motte (mound), c. 40 m wide, on which the main building stood, surrounded by a moat, to the south of which was the bailey (yard) around which there was another moat joining the former to make a rough figure-of-eight. The site was excavated in 1927 by a team from Liverpool University. The excavation failed to produce any structures, except for part of what was interpreted as the oak beam supports to the drawbridge in the

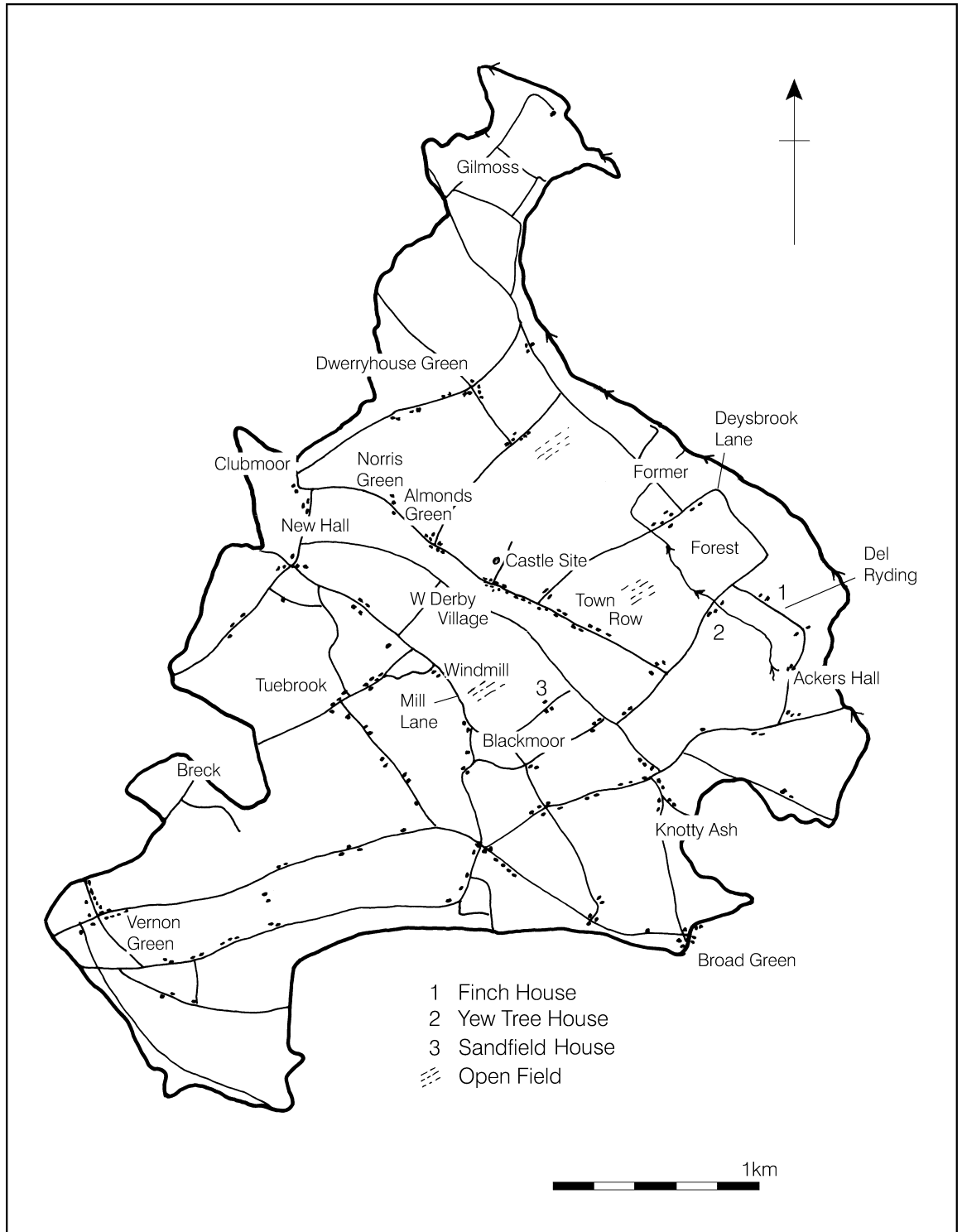


Fig. 2.11 West Derby, later 18th century

outer moat. A small amount of medieval pottery, as well as iron nails and animal bones, were also found (Droop and Larkin 1928). Excavations in 1989, by Liverpool Museum, close to the castle site, produced evidence of the floor area of a late-medieval building, probably a cottage, which overlay a silted-up ditch of unknown function (R. Philpott pers. comm.).

In 1207, King John founded the borough of Liverpool, which became the new administrative centre of the area, with the construction of a castle there in c. 1235, reflecting the decline of the importance of West Derby castle. In 1297 it was stated that 'in the town fields of Derby there was a certain site of an old castle where the capital messuage used to be, with the circuit of the ditches' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 13). The castle site was levelled in 1817, when the mound was thrown into the ditches (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 545). The site now lies in the landscaped gardens by Meadow Lane.

The castle had formed an integral link in the administration, not only of the hundred, but also of the royal forest, which was centred on this area (see Croxteth Park). The keepership of the castle and the guardianship of the forest were often held by the same person (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 459). At Domesday, woodland is recorded as being '2 leagues long by 1 wide' within the demesne of West Derby and its berewicks (Farrer and Brownbill 1906, 278). Later in the medieval period, this area formed the core of the actual hunting forest, although the latter need not always have been wooded. A perambulation of the forest area in 1228, giving the bounds of the 'underwood of Derby', that part of the hunting forest in the vill of West Derby, suggests that it occupied the eastern part of the township, adjacent to Croxteth Park (Farrer 1902). By 1316, the wood of West Derby covered only 300 acres when granted with the manor to Robert of Holand by Thomas of Lancaster (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 14).

In an inquest of 1298 of the lands belonging to Earl Edmund, the brother of Edward I, are mentioned '30½ burgages with cottages let' (Farrer 1903, 284) implying an established settlement in the township, which was probably nucleated, corresponding to the modern village of West Derby. Here, there still survives a single storey, sandstone building, the Court House, 'built about 1663' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 12 n. 21), which was mentioned in an early 13th-century grant by Richard, son of Robert de Derby 'of all his land in Lancaster belonging to the court house of [West] Derby' (Farrer 1905, 822). The building was formerly

where the legal proceedings of the manor took place. Across the road from this building lies a mid-17th-century sandstone former farm house, the Yeoman's House. Between the two, on what was probably formerly a green, lay the chapel, demolished in the mid-19th century when the Church of St. James was built to the east. The earliest reference to the chapel is in 1360, but the chapel that was demolished was a rebuild of 1786 (Hoult 1913, 151). The rest of the village, comprising the Conservation Area, consists mainly of 19th-century brick buildings, although a row of cottages in Meadow Lane is earlier. The stocks and the village pound both also lie in this area, reinforcing the other evidence that this was the chief village of the township (details not shown on fig. 2.11, see Cooper and Power 1982).

There are extensions to this core area to the south and the north, providing three foci of settlement. To the south, Town Row is a linear development, perhaps representing expansion of settlement, possibly in the medieval period. There are examples of 19th-century buildings still surviving, but also included are a cruck-framed cottage, with some modernisation, and a probable 18th-century sandstone cottage. In 1237 Earl Edmund granted 'a selion by the Tounlawe' (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 460) and in 1579 'part of a messuage called the Town Rowe House' is referred to (Lancs RO DDM 52/23).

The reference to the 'selion' makes it clear, along with entries in the 1298 Inquest, that the village was surrounded by its open arable field system. Surviving areas of ridge and furrow, and analysis of other elements of the medieval landscape, identify it to the east and south of the village (fig. 2.11). Apart from the 20 oxgangs farmed by the tenants of the vill, over 100 acres of arable and meadow was held and farmed by the king's brother in the late-13th century (Farrer 1903, 284). This demesne land was farmed by a 'capital messuage' (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 460).

Elsewhere in the township, some men owned land as free tenants, probably farming enclosed fields in areas cleared from the waste or woodland. In the later 13th century, Robert de Ferrers granted to John Gernet 80 acres of land with a messuage, on the perimeters of Derby wood, the grantee being allowed to enclose the land with reasonable hedge (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 460). The charter also makes it clear that there are pre-existing enclosures in the vicinity. By the early 14th century, certain farms can be identified, some more exactly than others, from the surnames of the men involved. These survived as later minor place-names or field-names

(fig. 2.11) The best example is the site of Ackers Hall, now demolished and built over, where a Richard del Accres held 28 acres in 1322 (Farrer 1907, 83). Other settlements are represented by the holdings of William and Henry del Ryding, who farmed 40 acres between them, John le Deye (Deysbrook Lane) and Richard, son of Robert de Blackemor (Farrer 1903, 285).

Some of the dispersed, larger estates of the post-medieval period may have originated during this period of medieval assarting. However, many of the former sites are represented today by large mansion-type houses of the 18th, or more commonly the 19th century, often newly built for the prosperous merchants in areas surrounding the village, such as at Blackmoor or along Mill Lane (fig. 2.11). Occasionally, though, these late houses were constructed on the sites of much earlier ones, possibly representative of the phase of expansion begun in the late-medieval period mentioned (see page 118 above), extending into the early post-medieval period. A good example is the late 18th-century Finch House (fig. 2.11), demolished in 1912, which is referred to in a 1619 will (Cooper and Power 1982, 254). Yew Tree House, also a Georgian house, demolished in the 1920s, appears from its position on Yates and Perry's 1768 map (Liv RO SAL 18/24), in relation to the pattern of roads and field enclosures, as possibly an early creation, as does the New Hall (fig. 2.11). One example of this kind of settlement still survives, Sandfield Old Hall, although the oldest part of the house, possibly 17th-century in date, is now hidden and partly altered by later additions. The sandstone stable block includes a datestone inscribed 1635.

Field names and medieval documents also show that much of the area to the west of the village was occupied by moss or moorland. By 1298, the tenants of the vill held over 680 acres of land improved from this waste (Farrer 1903, 286). Other potential settlements such as that of Robert de Blackemor also suggest private clearance of these areas by the 13th century. The process of enclosure and improvement continued, with a period of much legal wrangling in the 17th and 18th centuries between the copyholders and the lord of the manor as to ownership. However, a proportion of the land still remained unimproved until the 19th century, when it came under pressure from urban expansion from Liverpool.

In 1298, a windmill and a horse mill are recorded in the township. The former may have been that which lay on the edge of the higher sandstone outcrop at the western end of Mill Lane (fig. 2.11). The mill was demolished in the first quarter of the

19th century. A water mill, first mentioned in 1296, also existed, probably near the castle. Today, a depression flanked by a slightly raised mound and a shallow linear hollow may mark the site of the former mill along a now dried-up and largely filled in stream in parkland to the south of the castle. The importance of the medieval Ackers Hall site (fig. 2.11) is further reinforced by the fact that there was also a medieval mill in the vicinity, known as Ackers Mill, suggesting an estate of sub-manorial status. The site of the mill, existing only as a mound in 1838 on the Tithe map (Lancs RO DRL 1/84), is now destroyed by modern housing. These appear to be the main medieval mills in the township, but the Tithe map, from the incidence of field names, implies there were other mills in the township for which there is no other documentary evidence.

A feature of the clearance of woodland and improvement of the waste, documented from the 13th century onwards, must have been the accompanying expansion of settlement. Figure 2.11 shows those nucleated settlements that existed by the late-18th century. The origins of these settlements is not clear; some may have grown from a single medieval farm, e.g. the documented Dwerryhouse, while others may have been larger foundations, associated with later clearance. An interesting feature of the settlement pattern in the township is the incidence, both in name and in the lay-out shown on a 1768 map by Yates and Perry (Liv RO SAL 18/24), of the 'green' village e.g. Dwerryhouse, Almond's, Norris, Broad and Mount Vernon, whilst West Derby village itself also appears to have had a central green area where the chapel formerly stood. However, it is not clear if these are medieval or perhaps in the main, more likely, post-medieval occurrences associated with an increased rate of clearance around the margins of the township.

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Abbreviations

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
BM	British Museum
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
Chet Soc	Chetham Society
Lancs RO	Lancashire Record Office
Liv RO	Liverpool Record Office
MCC	Merseyside County Council
Rec Soc Lancs Ches	Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
THSLC	Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire