

Chapter 3. Knowsley Rural Fringes

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Introduction

This is a shortened version of the original survey report, in accordance with the criteria outlined in the general introduction. A certain amount of editing has been undertaken in the light of major subsequent work and developments in regional interpretation, but most of the evidence and interpretations of the initial report are included in the hope that much of the original work still remains valid. The report attempts to provide an overview of the development of the historical landscape of Knowsley Metropolitan District between the post-Roman period and the earlier 19th century. Its initial purpose was to assess the relative importance and potential of settlements and landscape features for archaeological investigation, should the need ever arise during the Local Authority planning process. The strategy was to assess the location, form and origin of individual elements in the built environment in the context of the development of the wider agricultural landscape, as usually these two elements are linked. The emphasis in the survey is on the physical landscape, the identification of settlements, fields, roads and boundaries, particularly where these features can be shown to contain the roots of the modern landscape. Inevitably, a certain amount of the changing economic, social and political context is also included, as this is necessary to aid interpretation of the developments in the historic landscape.

Although the primary source of information used is documentary, its interpretation can sometimes be ambiguous, and this has led to a degree of speculative interpretation as a way of posing questions to be investigated through future archaeological research. In the text, 'Knowsley' represents the modern administrative district and the historic township of Knowsley is always identified as such.

The structure of the report echoes the thematic approach. An attempt has been made to provide a balanced coverage for all the historic townships in Knowsley within the various landscape themes, but the strength of the field or documentary evidence often dictates the attention given to individual townships. Examples are given to invest the discernible large-scale landscape changes with

particular meaning and identification for a local audience and not as comprehensive surveys of individual townships.

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

This period is difficult to treat on the scale of a relatively small modern administrative area as so little evidence exists for it. An interpretation of the patterns of settlement and land use, therefore, has to be derived from a wider perspective. The origins of the late medieval landscape, which forms the core of this report, lie within this imprecisely understood period.

The Roman withdrawal from Britain in the 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 was called 'Makerfield', probably based on the area around Wigan whose territory, from the incidence of British place-names, may have extended into areas that later became the hundreds of Newton and Leyland, to the east and north of Knowsley (Kenyon 1991, 71).

Archaeological evidence for the development of settlement from the late Roman period of the 5th century AD into the period characterised by Saxon or English settlement is very difficult to identify anywhere in the region. British place-names are absent from Knowsley, but this does not mean that native settlement was absent or did not continue into the post-Roman period, merely that later renaming of settlements in other languages has probably occurred. There are a few British names to the west in Liverpool District (see Chapter 2 this volume), while the townships of Halewood and Tarbock in Knowsley have the strongest concentration of known Romano-British farmsteads in the region.

A specific, targeted programme of fieldwork in the 1990s (Cowell and Philpott 2000) has located sites

at Court Farm, Halewood (Adams 1999) Brunt Boggart and Ochre Brook, both Tarbock (Philpott 2000a, 2000b). Aerial photography in other areas suggests that this is not a unique situation in this region (Collens 1994). We know very little about the 5th century fate of these farmsteads 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 show an inconsistent pattern in the early centuries after the Roman withdrawal from the North West, suggesting a changing pattern through time and space of land that continued to be farmed as well as land on which woodland regenerated. It seems likely that population figures 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 probably served to hinder population recovery (Kenyon 1991, 68-70).

Excavations at the Romano British site at Court Farm, Halewood in the mid 1990s by Liverpool Museum provided a tantalising glimpse of this process, without enough evidence for a clear interpretation. Here, a wooden stake, with a radiocarbon date calibrated to AD 855, in a boundary ditch was found alongside several late Romano British buildings (Adams 1999). As cultural artefacts, most notably pottery, of post-Roman date are so scarce in the region there is no way of knowing if there are associated buildings or structures of this post-Roman period on the site. However, there is later medieval evidence for settlement on the site also, which shows that settlement drift took place over an area of several hectares during the thousand or so years from the Roman period to the 12th-13th centuries. It is only the archaeological invisibility of the early post-Roman period that makes it difficult to know what we are witnessing here. Is it essentially continuous occupation of a favoured area for settlement over a thousand years, or is there a break during the so called "Dark Ages" of the post-Roman period, before occupation of a previously abandoned site returned?.

There is also potential post-Roman settlement on a late prehistoric farm enclosure which was occupied in the Roman period at Brook House Farm, Halewood (Cowell 2000), although this latest occupation is similarly difficult to date precisely and its attribution as early post-Roman is only one of several alternative explanations. Evidence, however, is accumulating for a repeated pattern of Romano-British and medieval settlement at the same locations in the area. In addition to Court Farm, it is also found at Brunt Boggart and Daggars

Bridge Farm in Tarbock (Cowell and Philpott 2000) and outside the district, at Lathom, West Lancashire (Cowell and Adams 2000). At the moment the evidence begs the question as to whether the medieval settlement represents a reoccupation after a hiatus, or whether the archaeological invisibility of the post-Roman period is hiding continuity of settlement at some or all of these sites.

During the period of the fifth and sixth centuries, several waves of colonisation, essentially war-like in character, took 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 the settlement expansion deriving from this initial 'English' settlement. This 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; 1992b) argues for a process of only very limited 'invasion', mainly at an aristocratic level, either secular or religious, mainly 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 conflict broke out between the two with many large battles, peace being declared in 678 when the southern boundary of Northumbria was fixed on the Mersey. It is during this century that Kenyon (1991, 87) suggests the expansion of Northumbrian control into Lancashire can be seen with grants of land to ecclesiastical bodies.

Caution has been urged in necessarily associating the chronological development of settlement with the linguistic origin of place-names, as it is now

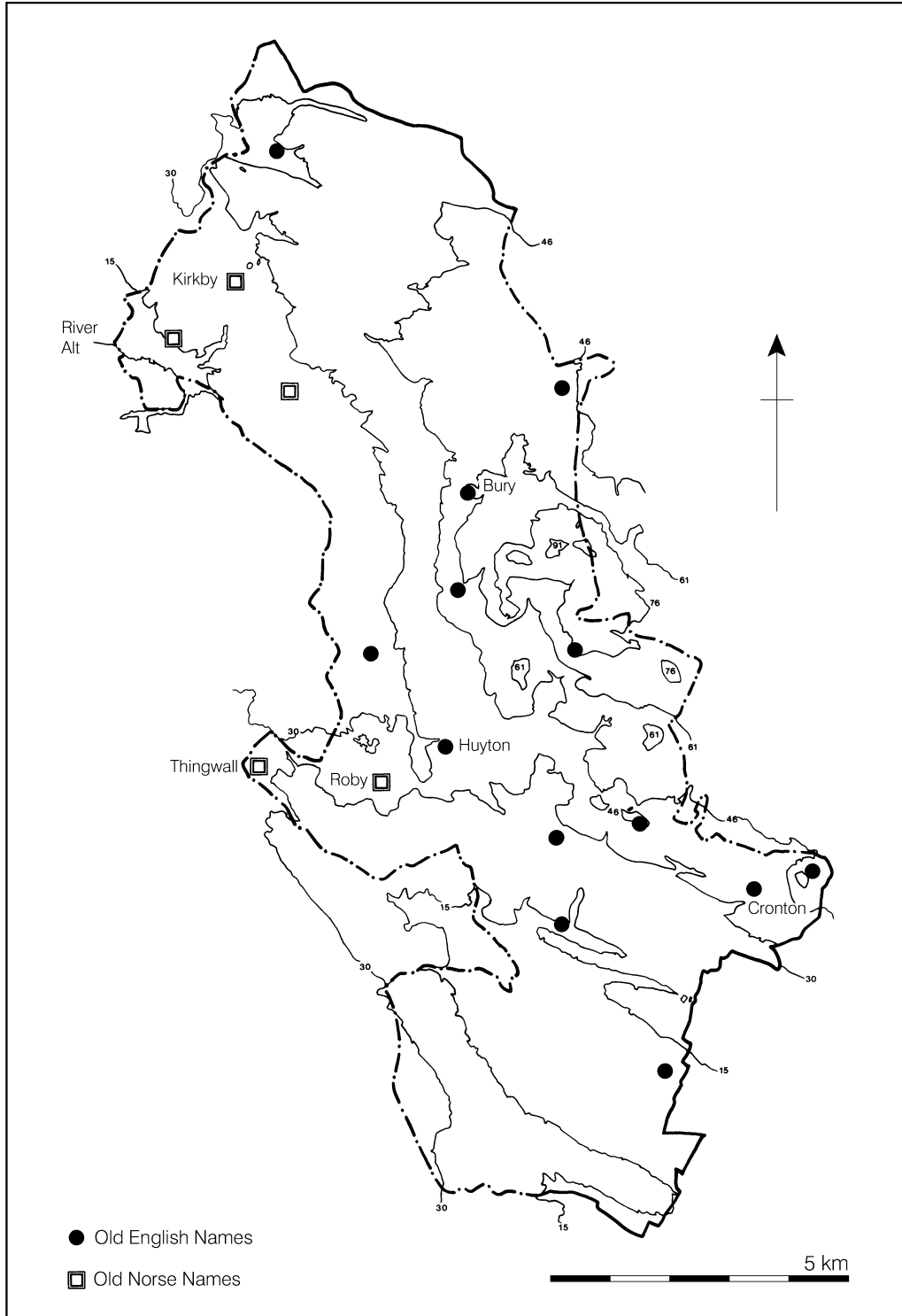


Fig. 3.1 Place names in Knowsley

accepted that place-names can change, as places could be renamed much later and due to causes other than population influx (Newman 1996). Figure 3.1 shows that place names in the eastern part of the district, a pattern extending into St Helens district to the east (Chapter 4 this volume), are of Anglian (English) derivation, and mainly in usage by the 11th-13th centuries (Ekwall 1922). These places probably represent a combination of trends. Some were new settlements, perhaps sometimes adjacent to abandoned earlier sites, or in areas less populated, which afforded expanses of uncleared or marginal land, while others represent the continuation of a few early centres and estates in certain favoured parts, that were renamed during this Anglian period. Archaeology has barely begun to investigate further this process in the region.

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). In the south central part of Knowsley many of the names of the late medieval townships have this suffix, although how early these came into existence is not clear (fig. 3.2). In Knowsley, the only place with this suffix mentioned at Domesday is Huyton, but the latter is an extremely incomplete source for the existence of settlements in Lancashire. For example, the area which contains the other major township names of Cronton and Whiston was not covered in Domesday.

The settlement at Huyton may be one of the earliest sites of this period in Knowsley. The church of St Michael is set on a raised almost circular church yard (fig. 3.3), a form which is often thought to be pre-conquest in origin. This might suggest a pre-existing British settlement being renamed, perhaps through an ecclesiastical grant of land (discussed in more detail below). The date of this earlier 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 or 8th century (Farrer and Brownbill 1908, 1-8). Prescott is another early parish church site lying within an oval enclosure, which may also qualify as having the potential for being an English settlement on a pre-existing site. The township of Eccleston, its place-name indicating a possible British Christian community from the 'eccles' (ecclesia) element, lies adjacent to Prescott (Philpott 1988).

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 902 AD. The settlement associated with place-names of Scandinavian origin in north Wirral may represent the appearance of Ingimund and his followers in the area (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 (Lewis 2000, 15) (land owned directly by the king).

The presence of Norse in the area during the troubled period of the 10th century is witnessed by place-names of Old Norse derivation. In Knowsley, these are found mainly along the Alt valley and from there extend northwards along the coastal plain of Sefton (Lewis 1982; Chapter 1 this volume). The extent of both place names and minor names of Norse derivation attests to the impact of the new arrivals on the local population in certain areas, suggesting that these may have been previously less settled areas, particularly in the coastal areas in Sefton. Some of these settlements, however, could be Scandinavian renaming of existing sites. Kirkby, for example, has a church site that may be older than the Scandinavian settlement in the area (see page 134 below).

The little group of Scandinavian names in Knowsley includes Roby (meaning 'boundary settlement') at the southern end, adjacent to the settlement of Thingwall, a name meaning 'meeting place or law court', which may have been located on the low hill on which Thingwall Hall stands (fig. 3.4). This may have represented the centre for the local Scandinavian population implying a

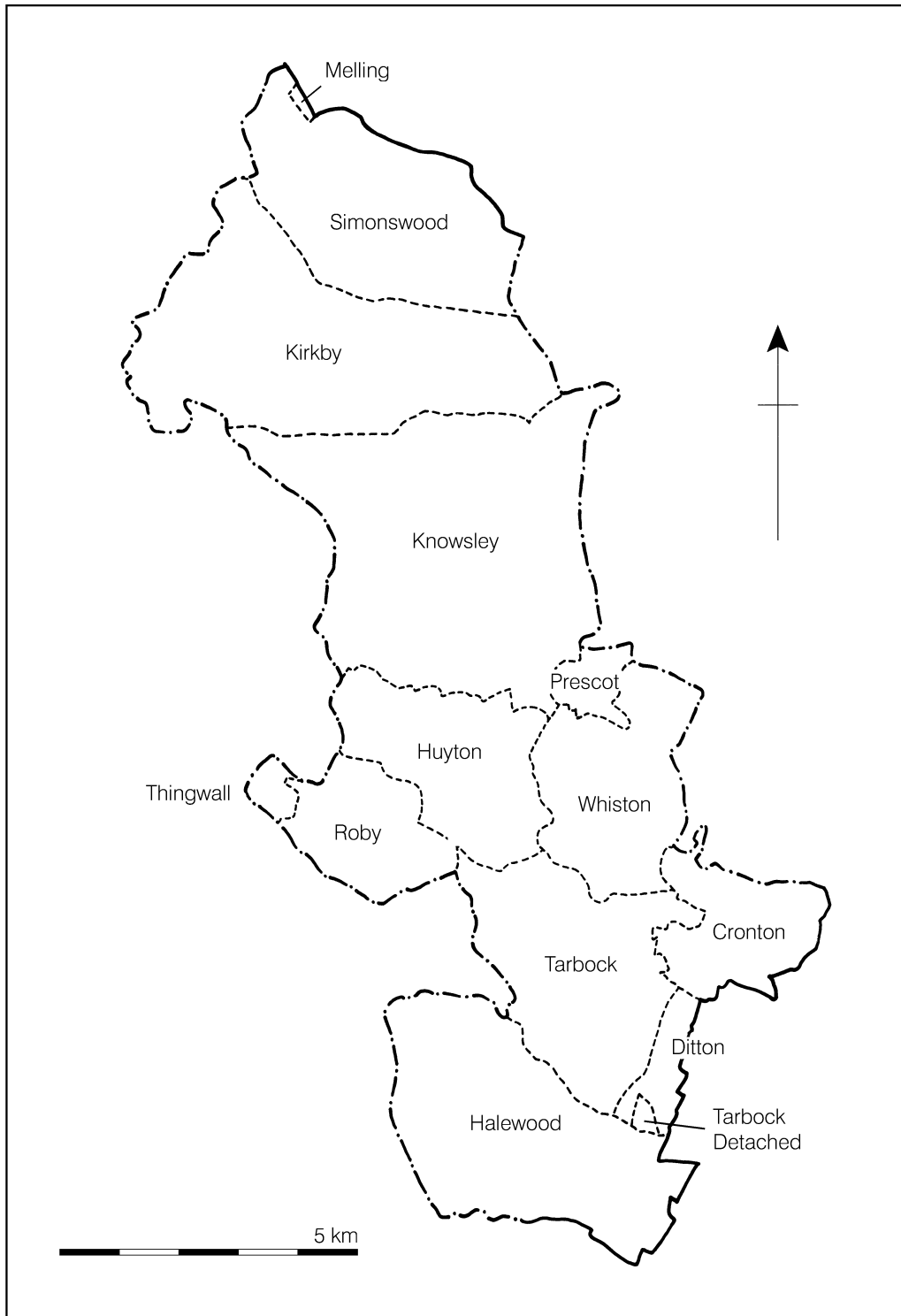


Fig. 3.2 Townships in Knowsley

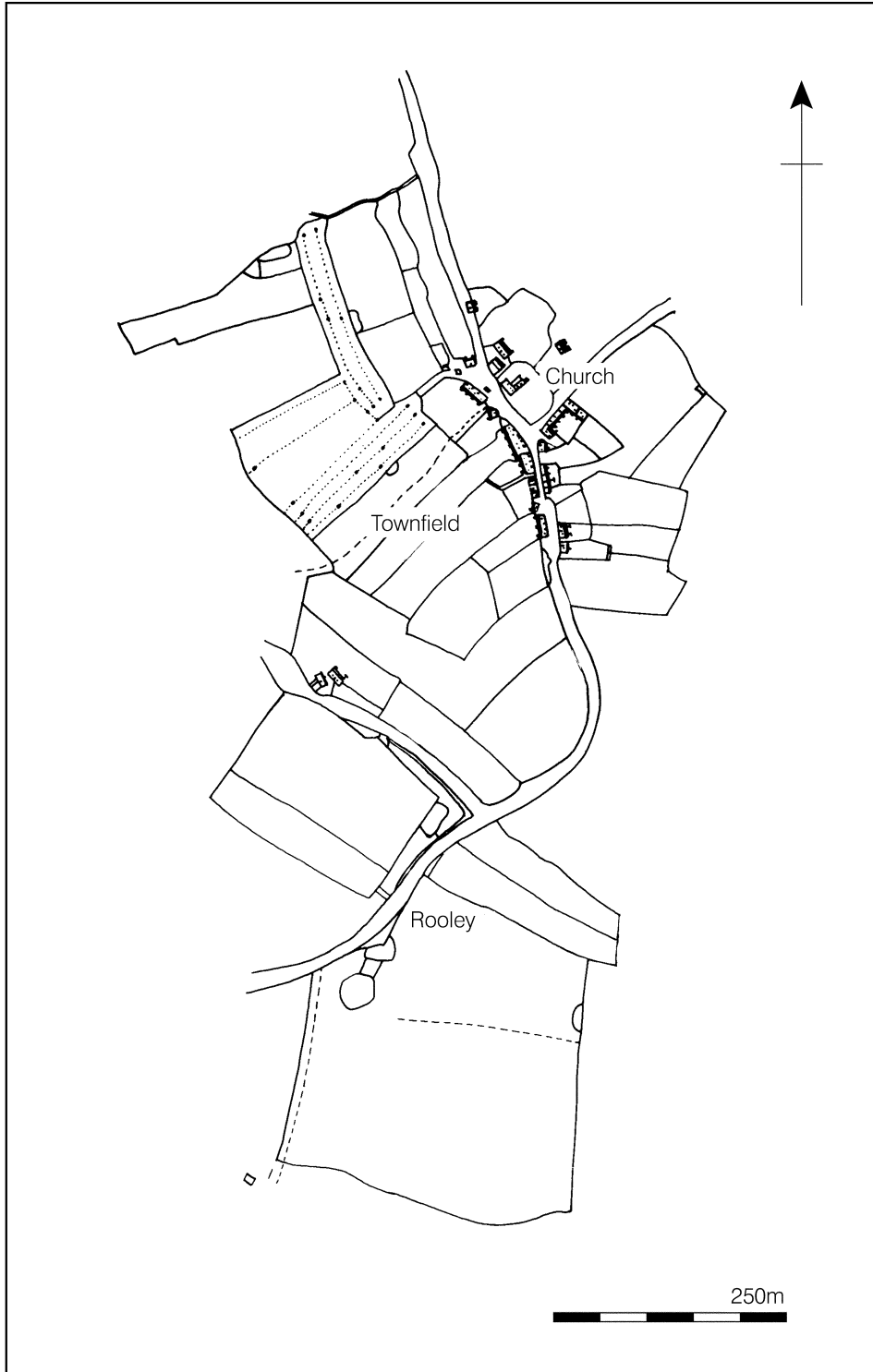


Fig. 3.3 Huyton village, 1785

reasonable sized community with their own laws and customs.

The Domesday Survey

The Domesday Survey of 1086, though primarily a document for tax purposes, does provide the first documentary evidence to give some idea, although incomplete, of the nature of the settled landscape in the North West. The area of Lancashire between the Ribble and the Mersey was divided into six large hundreds or administrative areas, which are unfortunately only summarily treated in the survey, except for the hundred of West Derby, although even this area is poorly treated by comparison with southern England. The modern district of Knowsley fell in two hundreds, West Derby and Warrington. That part of the latter hundred in Knowsley corresponds largely to those later townships in Prescott parish, i.e. Prescott, Whiston and Cronton, for which there is thus no detail. In West Derby hundred, the relevant returns are as follows:

'Uctred held 6 manors, Roby, Knowsley, Kirkby (and 3 in Sefton district). There are 2 hides. Woodland 2 leagues long and broad 2 eyries of hawks: Dot held Huyton and Tarbock. There is 1 hide quit from every due except geld. There is land for 4 ploughs. It was worth 20 shillings.' (Farrer 1906).

The hides are the units of assessment for taxation. An interesting feature of the returns for south Lancashire show that this English method of assessment is imposed on a Scandinavian one, based on carucates, which had survived for purposes of local taxation and provides another indication of the impact of the 10th/11th-century Scandinavian presence in the area.

Of the townships not mentioned in West Derby hundred, Simonswood and Halewood may have still been parts of the larger manors of Kirkby and Hale respectively, perhaps forming areas of the 11th-century woodland mentioned. The Domesday references to woodland in the area cannot be accurately translated into areal extent on the ground for a number of reasons. These include the fact that the value of the league is very difficult to convert accurately into a modern measurement, and it seems that the measurements given are only approximate and refer to straggling, irregular, probably dispersed areas of woodland, which have been combined and estimated. From later medieval documents, however, it is possible to suggest the approximate locations where the Domesday woodland was mainly found, which included the modern townships of Halewood, Kirkby and Knowsley (Farrer 1906, 277-78).

Of the Domesday manors named, the lack of evidence given means that neither the nature nor location of settlement within them can be confidently identified, although attempts at identifying potential pre-Conquest settlement have been made on other grounds. The extent to which land within the Domesday vills had been cleared for agriculture are similarly lacking in clarity in the Domesday returns as the fiscal assessments probably do not relate to a standard area of measurement on the ground. However, Lewis (2000, 65-6) has attempted to provide rough assessments of ploughed land to give a general impression of the 11th-century landscape, which for the townships in Huyton parish (those townships mentioned in Domesday) a figure of approximately 13% cleared ground is suggested.

Medieval Period

Land Organisation

In the centuries after Domesday, the nature of the landscape and landholding becomes clearer to see. The communal nature of medieval agricultural society required a high degree of organisation founded on a system of ties, rights and obligations intended to avoid disputes and conserve resources. Medieval communities were organised into separate townships, which would have been based on earlier territorial estates. The area of the township provided the natural resources available for use by the community. The manorial system was superimposed on this basic territorial division of the landscape, forming the means by which economic and legal matters of the community were administered. The manor was technically the landed estate of the lord and included both land belonging to the home farm and land let out to dependent tenants, the system being administered through the manorial courts. Parishes, which consisted of one or more townships, were territorial divisions of ecclesiastical significance and likely to have formed at a later date (Michelmore, 1981, 235).

The township organisation in Knowsley is shown in fig. 3.2. There is generally a correlation between the township and the late medieval manor as in Cronton, Roby and possibly Knowsley, but there could also be several manors in a township eg. in Kirkby, which by 1252 was divided into Kirkby

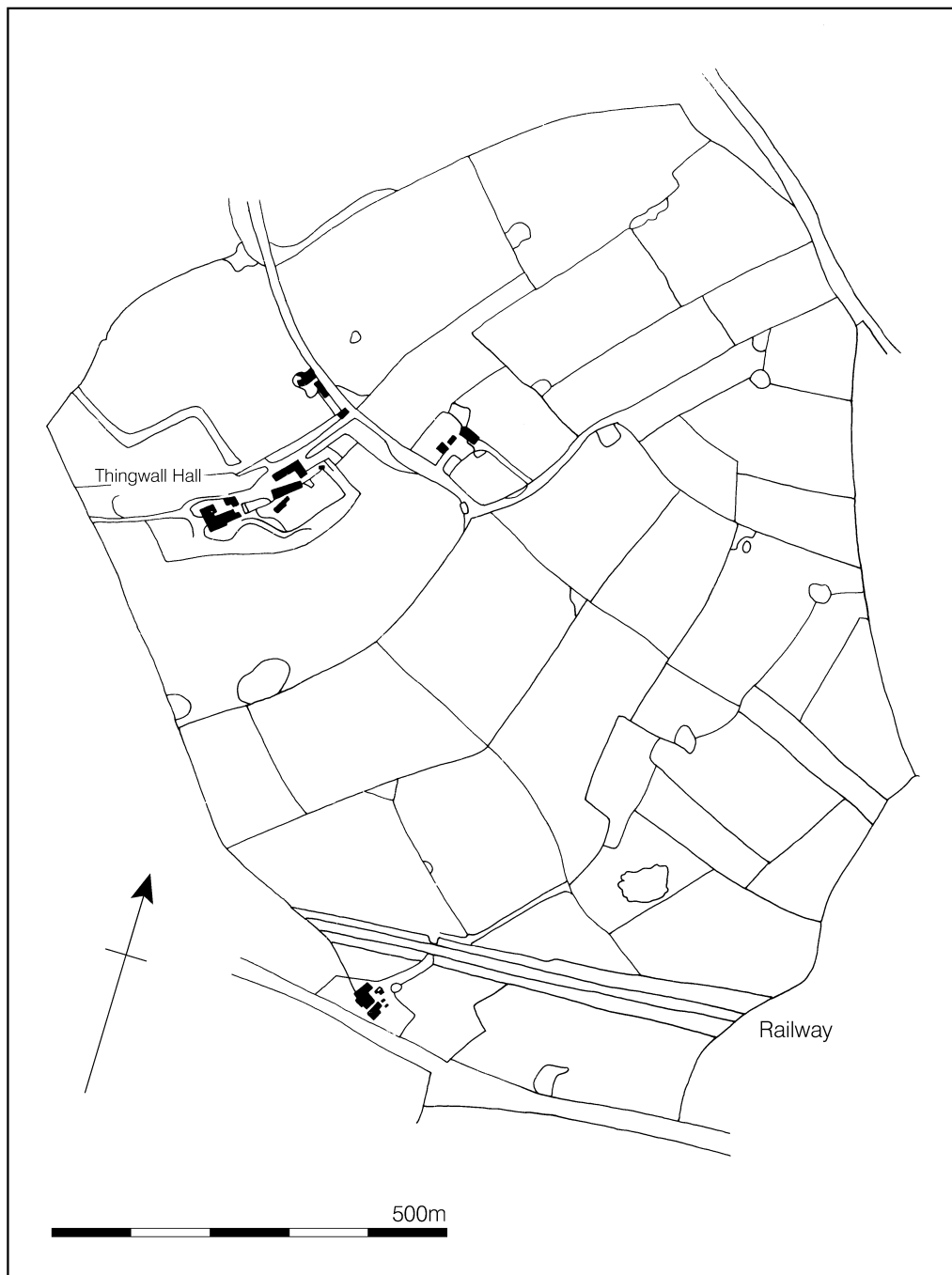


Fig. 3.4 Thingwall township, 1840

Beetham and Kirkby Gerrard. Huyton township also included two manors, Huyton Hey and Wolfall. Some manors were not confined by township boundaries as in the case of Ridgate, which extended over the south west part of Whiston and the adjacent part of Tarbock. Townships were also sub-divided into smaller territorial areas known as hamlets, a term referring to the area and not necessarily the form of settlement there. Halsnead in Whiston and Ingewaith in Kirkby are identified as hamlets within the larger townships.

In England as a whole, the boundaries of the townships shown on the Tithe maps and 1st edition six inch Ordnance Survey maps can often be traced back to the medieval period and sometimes earlier. In West Yorkshire they are likely to be 10th century in origin (Michelmores 1981, 237), while in parts of the south they may have continued as land divisions present in the pagan Saxon period or even earlier (Bonney 1979).

There is little documentary evidence for the origins of the township boundary divisions in Knowsley. Where it does exist it indicates that several township boundaries were not finally settled until well into the late medieval period. This may suggest that in this area there was less pressure on adjacent communities to define their land, and hence its resources, by way of fixed and agreed boundaries in the earlier part of the period. One possible cause of this could have been a low population and it was only when numbers had risen enough for pressure on land to arise and lead to disputes that the impetus led to fixed boundaries.

Cronton for example, in the period immediately after Domesday may have been much larger than the area defined by its 19th-century boundaries. These may not have been fixed until after the mid-14th century, as gradual administrative adjustments led to its final boundaries. Late 13th-century bounds are recorded for the hamlet of Halsnead in Whiston, locating it in the general area of Halsnead Park (fig. 3.5). In the 12th century, it is probable that the area later to become the hamlet was included in what was known as 'Cronton half-piece' (Ekwall 1922, 109). In 1336, descriptions of the bounds show that Cronton still extended further eastwards, towards Farnworth and Upton (Farrer 1915, 44; Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 393 n. 7), than did its 19th-century boundaries.

As townships and manors were geographical areas as well as administrative ones, they were often marked by physical boundaries, which may sometimes have survived into the present. The most usual form of man-made boundary was the bank and

ditch, although hedges and stone crosses were used as well. Natural features such as streams are also often used. In Knowsley little specific work has been undertaken to try to match documentary, cartographic and field evidence, but work so far has identified the general locations of many township boundaries which has allowed the occasional medieval boundary to be recognised. In some cases, natural features were used eg. in Whiston the western boundary of Halsnead is recorded as '... following into deep clough (ravine) as far as the Casselache (cassel pond) in the north' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 351 n.8). The clough is identifiable as running north-south to the west of Halsnead Hall (fig. 3.5).

The boundary between Tarbock and Ditton in the 13th century was a ditch (Lancs RO DDM 48/40). The line of the hedge and ditch forming the present boundary between the two townships is almost certainly on the same alignment (fig. 3.20). In Cronton there are no bounds recorded for the documented medieval estate of the Shaw (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 392, n. 13), but fieldwork has located a bank along the edge of the wood known as Rough Head, which may contain vestiges of ridge and furrow marking former arable land. This could have been where the open field of Cronton (see below) met the eastern edge of the separate estate of Shaw, the bank forming the physical boundary. The rest of the estate may be suggested from topographic evidence as being included within the continuous oval-shaped boundary formed by streams around Higher Shaw Farm (shown in emphasis in fig. 3.6).

Settlement and Land Use

Nucleated Settlement

In midland England the typical medieval settlement pattern is represented by a nucleated village, often with pre-Conquest, Saxon origins, including a parish church and manor house (Rowley 1987), which lay at the centre of several large, open common arable fields. (see page 126 above for latter). One aim of the survey in Knowsley, therefore, was to identify the potential origins of villages in existence by the time of the first post-medieval maps, generally of the 19th or 18th century. There are difficulties in agreeing on criteria for the differentiation between the main

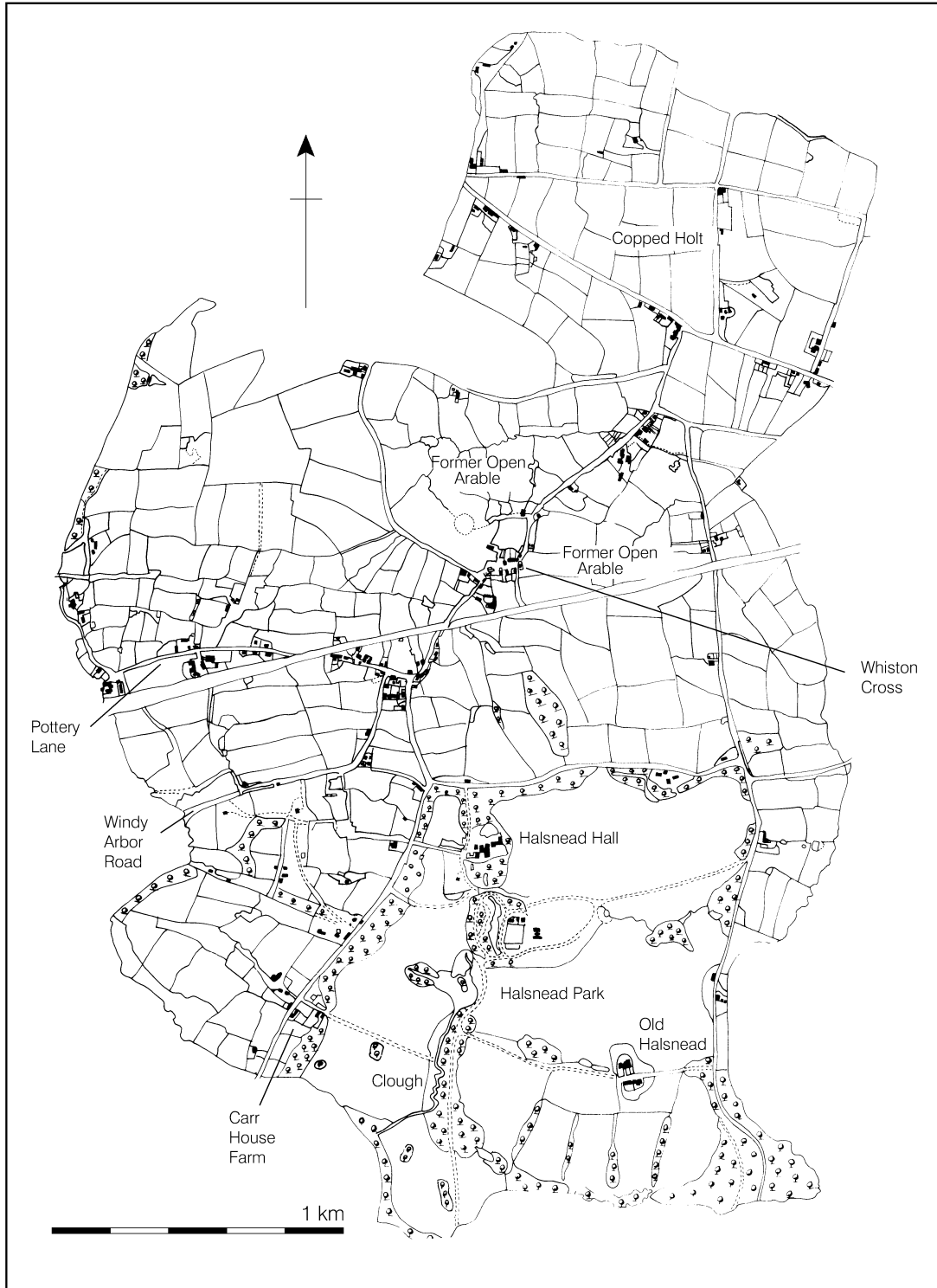


Fig. 3.5 Whiston township, 1840

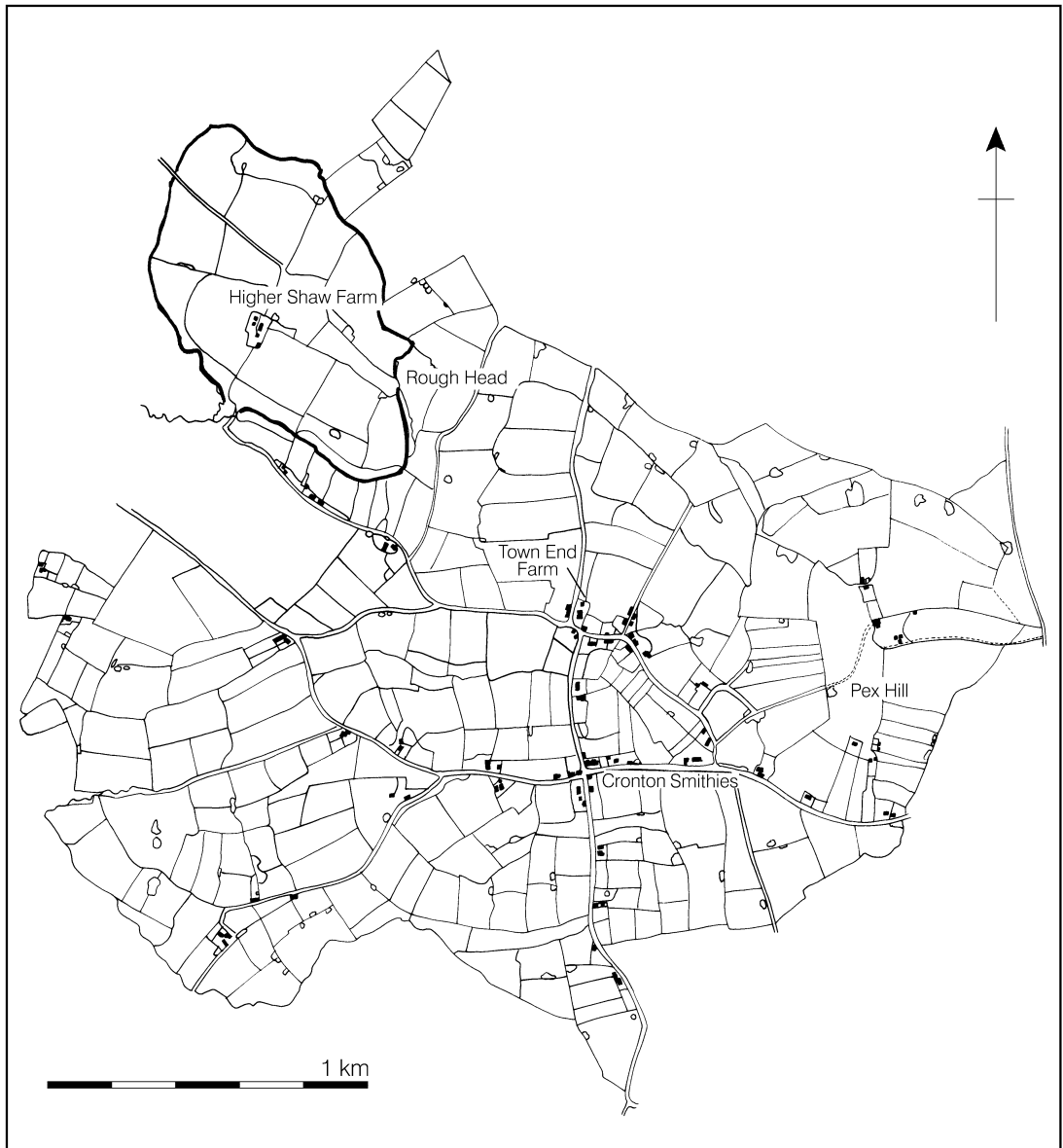


Fig. 3.6 Cronton township, 1843

nucleated settlement forms of village and hamlet, whose definitions can encompass various combinations of size, function and form (Roberts 1977). Even the form of villages in the earlier 19th century in Knowsley do not generally reach the threshold suggested by Thorpe of more than 20 households to qualify as a village (discussed in Roberts 1977, 83-4). The medieval form of such settlements in Knowsley may, therefore, have been closer to what Thorpe defined as a hamlet ie. between 3-19 households with or without a church. However, although a degree of vagueness in relation to the definition of nucleation has to be accepted, for the aims of this survey a general definition of about 4-5 homesteads or more is taken as representing a nucleated settlement.

The main criteria for assuming nucleation in Knowsley is the existence of open arable fields (see below), as it is generally accepted that the two are linked (Rowley 1978, 102). Even in the less typical areas of the Midlands, such as late cleared woodland areas, common arable is associated with nucleated settlement (Skipp 1981). For those settlements in Knowsley suggested as being nucleated in the medieval period, there is no evidence as to their potential size and form at this time. The assumption of medieval nucleation is intended only as the first step in identifying those post-medieval nucleated settlements that have the best potential for providing archaeological evidence that could lead to a more closely defined interpretation of the origins, size, form and development of their medieval counterparts.

The Domesday survey is the first documentary evidence for this area to identify potential settlements. However, its compilation was based on administrative divisions, which overlay the basic distribution and groupings of settlement and therefore it says nothing about the form of settlement at this time. Neither, in cases such as Lancashire, where the returns were organised at the level of the large hundredal manors, were all settlements in existence at the time of the survey necessarily recorded. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that a nucleated village on the earliest post-medieval map reflects the site, form and layout of a recorded settlement at the time of Domesday.

One contrast between midland England and southern Lancashire is the size of the parishes. In modern Knowsley, there are two parishes, Huyton and Prescott which are both large and include many townships, in contrast to the pattern further south where often township and parish are coincident. The origins of the local parish system are probably

based on pre-Conquest territorial and land-holding arrangements. Kenyon suggests that in Lancashire some of the large parishes had come into existence by the 10th century, while others relate to later fragmentation of pre-Conquest parishes and the creation of new manorial parishes after Domesday.

Knowsley lies mainly within the Domesday hundred of West Derby, which includes nine parishes. By the late 11th century only Walton, suggested as being the mother church of the original pre-Conquest estate that formed the basis for the hundred, and Childwall have churches mentioned in Domesday in the hundred (see Chapter 2 this volume). However, in Knowsley the Domesday place-name for Kirkby ('church settlement') (Ekwall 1922) suggests a church existed here also in the 11th century. The 'church' element of the place name is anglicised and the dedication of the chapel in the village is to St Chad (*Ceadda*), a mid 7th-century English saint and Bishop of Lichfield, implying that it could potentially have much earlier origins. There is also a font here with pre-Norman decoration (Taylor 1906, 158, 185).

The parish churches at Huyton, mentioned as a manor or vill in Domesday, and Prescott, for which there is documentary evidence suggesting a much earlier foundation than its first mention in 1178 (Philpott 1988), each have circular churchyards, which are also often taken to be early, potentially pre-Conquest, sites (Aston 1985, 50). There is also a pre-Norman font at Huyton (Taylor 1906, 158, 185). These two sites, therefore, also have potential for the archaeological identification of mother church sites of pre-Conquest parishes. The early, Domesday churches of Walton and Childwall also have circular churchyards (Chapter 2 this volume).

In Knowsley, therefore, it is these church sites, Huyton, Kirkby and Prescott (the latter not treated in detail here, but see Philpott 1988), that are the easiest to suggest as having been the focus for attracting nucleated settlement by the medieval period. If the church sites are pre-Conquest, then the settlements also have the potential for being pre-Conquest in origin, although to what extent they may have been nucleated at the time needs much more archaeological research. All three sites (as well as Childwall and Walton (Chapter 2 this volume)) are surrounded by identifiable common open field patterns. This co-operative method of farming (see below) is generally thought to be one of the main reasons for the households of

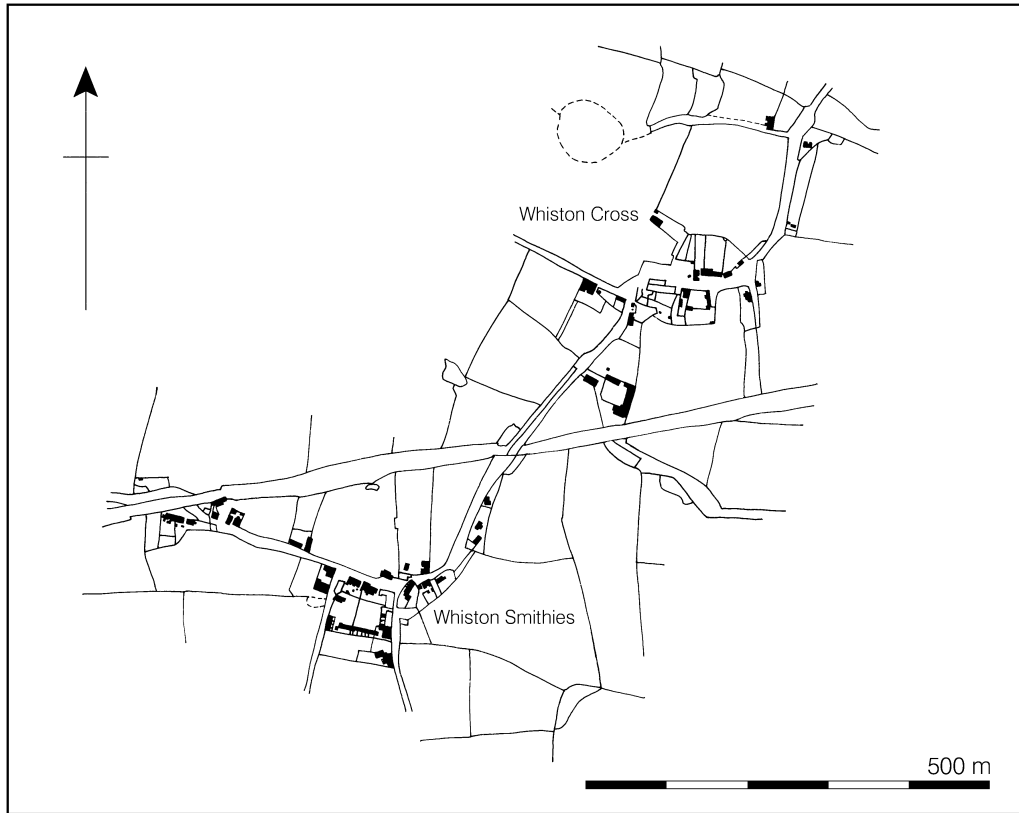


Fig. 3.7 Whiston village, 1840

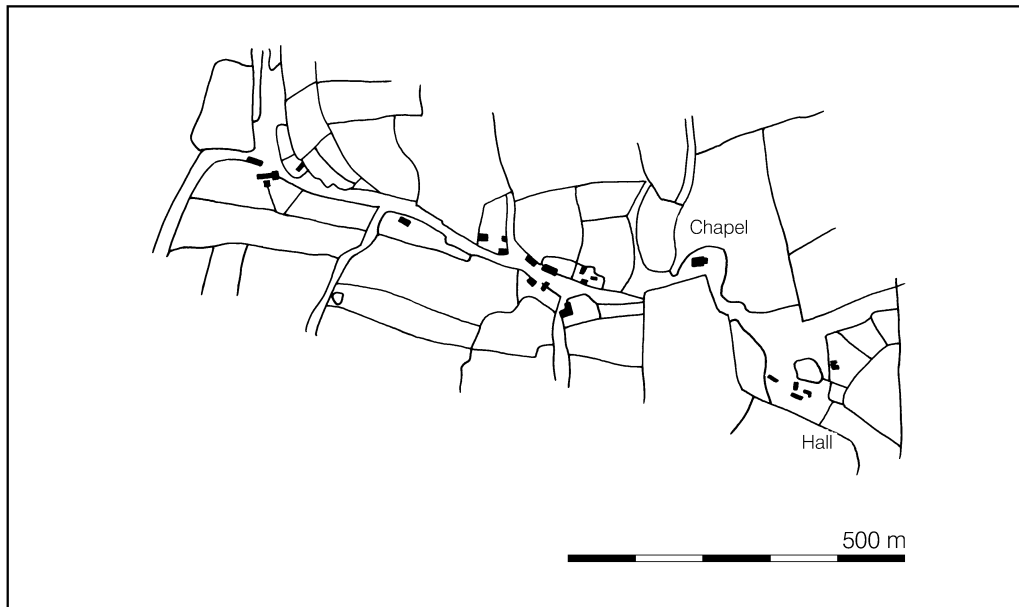


Fig. 3.8 Kirkby village, 1769

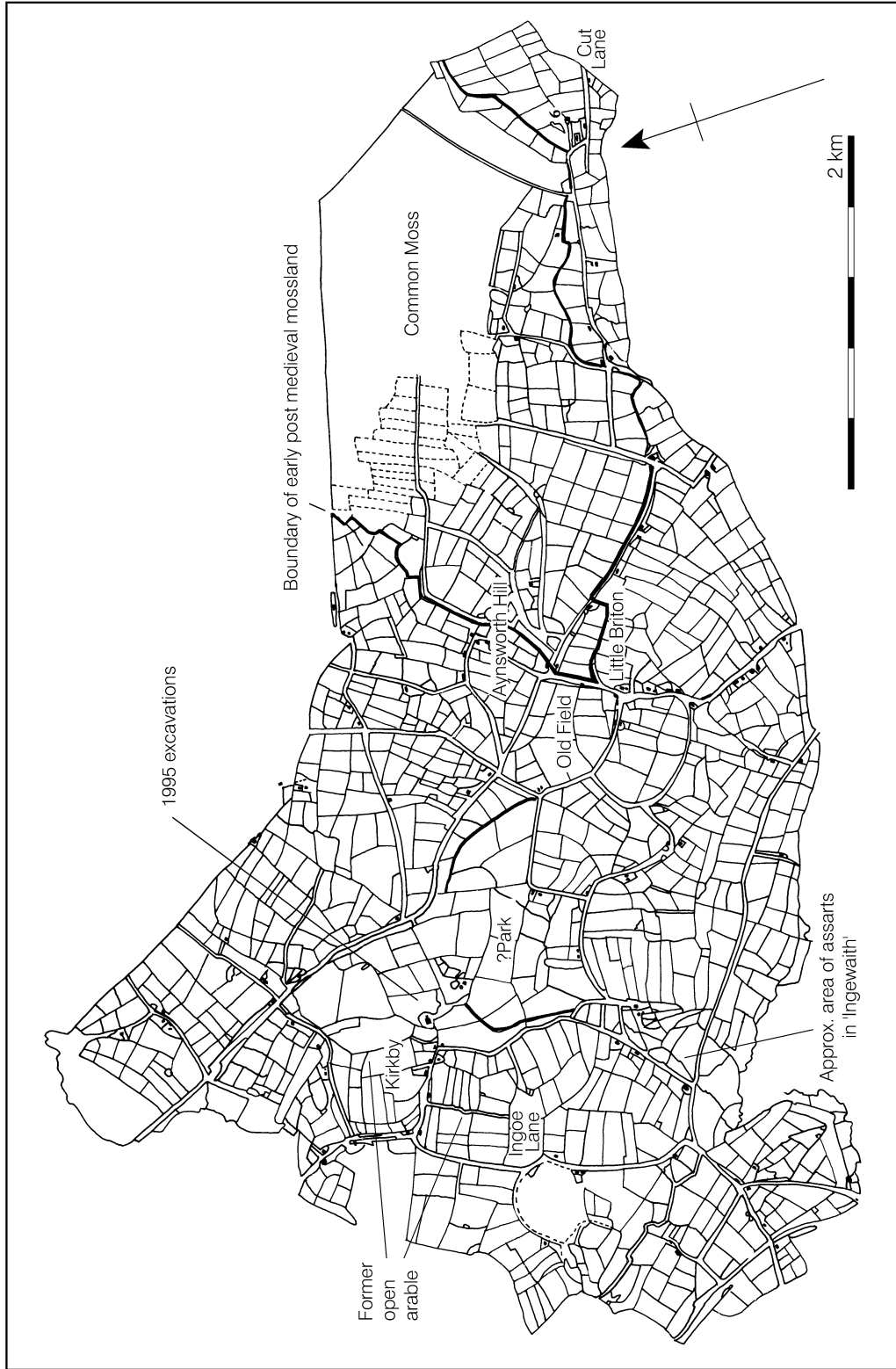


Fig. 3.9 Kirkby townships, 1769

late Saxon or medieval communities in central and eastern England to be grouped together (Rowley 1987,102). In this region, however, the establishment of open fields was a process that in some areas was still underway between the 12th and 14th centuries (Philpott and Lewis 1999).

At Huyton, the 1785 estate map (Knowsley Estate Office, Knowsley Hall, No 161) shows the nucleated village around the church. Areas of open field arable lie on three sides at least, identifiable from field names and boundaries on the map and fieldwork around the settlement (fig. 3.3). It is highly likely, therefore, that the earliest nucleated settlement here lies around the church site.

In Kirkby, the Domesday place-name element *-by* ('*byr-* Old Norse) is most commonly used in the sense of 'new or secondary settlement, isolated farmstead or village/hamlet' but came more normally to be associated with villages or hamlets (Mills 1976,44), suggesting potential for identifying pre-Conquest nucleation. Small roads lead from the 18th-century village into former common arable fields (figs 3.8 and 3.9). However, it is not clear if this represents the site of the earliest nucleation, or late medieval and post-medieval expansion from the potentially earliest core around the two most important sites in the village, the church and the manorial hall. Although much of the land around these two sites has been developed for the modern centre of Kirkby, there was the opportunity in 1995 to test this theory in a small, undeveloped area to the north-east of the chapel. This located a middle Bronze Age structure, but no evidence of medieval or pre-Conquest occupation (Adams 1995).

The other settlements in Knowsley did not have medieval churches. The best potential for evidence of medieval nucleation has, therefore, to be inferred from the relationship of post-medieval villages to areas of former open arable fields (the identification of the latter is outlined in more detail in the relevant section. See page 140 below).

From the open-field evidence, the original nucleus of settlement in Whiston was that shown on the tithe map of 1840 (Lancs R.O DRL 1/85) at Whiston Cross (fig. 3.7). The form of the village on the tithe map suggests that originally it may have been arranged around a large open green, in which there had been a certain amount of infill by the mid 19th century. Whiston Smithies (or Lane Ends as it now is) may be a later settlement, the date of which is unknown. Its form and location is very similar to that at Huyton, where a settlement on the edge of the former open field of 'Rooley'

only originated in the 19th century (see figs. 3.3 and 3.10).

A very similar nucleated pattern is seen at Cronton on the tithe map of 1843 (Lancs RO DRL 1/16), with two adjacent centres, at Cronton Town End, and to the south, at Cronton Smithies (figs 3.6 and 3.11). The open field evidence here is not so clear, but limited field boundary evidence suggests it may have been concentrated around Town End, and a small quantity of dispersed medieval pottery was found when field walking in the field immediately to the north of the village centre (Merseyside SMR 4988.38). The survival of buildings in the two settlements also points to a difference in origin, in that Town End today consists of examples of 17th and 18th-century houses, possibly one example with a 16th-century core and two with potential late medieval cores. Cronton Smithies is mainly represented by 18th and 19th- century houses, cottages and farms. It is possible that settlements such as Cronton Smithies and Whiston Smithies grew up originally at or near the edge of the open fields at some time during the late medieval period, but their main growth seems attributable to the later post-medieval period.

In 1372, Roby was granted Borough status, which conferred certain rights and privileges on the inhabitants of a settlement. This had probably developed from the advantages of having been granted a market and fair in 1304 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 175). This suggests that a nucleated settlement probably existed here by the late 14th century, although it is not clear if this represented a new creation or a change in legal status for a pre-existing settlement. Evidence for potential open arable in the township is slight.

Excavations by Liverpool Museum in 1990 allowed evidence for the location and origins of Roby village to be tested further. They produced traces of two super-imposed buildings and two plot boundaries on the south-western side of the crossroads on Roby Road, with several large rubbish pits containing 14th and 15th-century pottery (R Philpott in prep.). This would suggest that the main 19th-century nucleation lies essentially on a late medieval precursor (fig. 3.14), although it is still not clear how extensive that settlement was, nor if it had originated before the later 14th century.

The 18th-century estate map for Kirkby (Lancs RO DDM 14/33) shows a second nucleated settlement

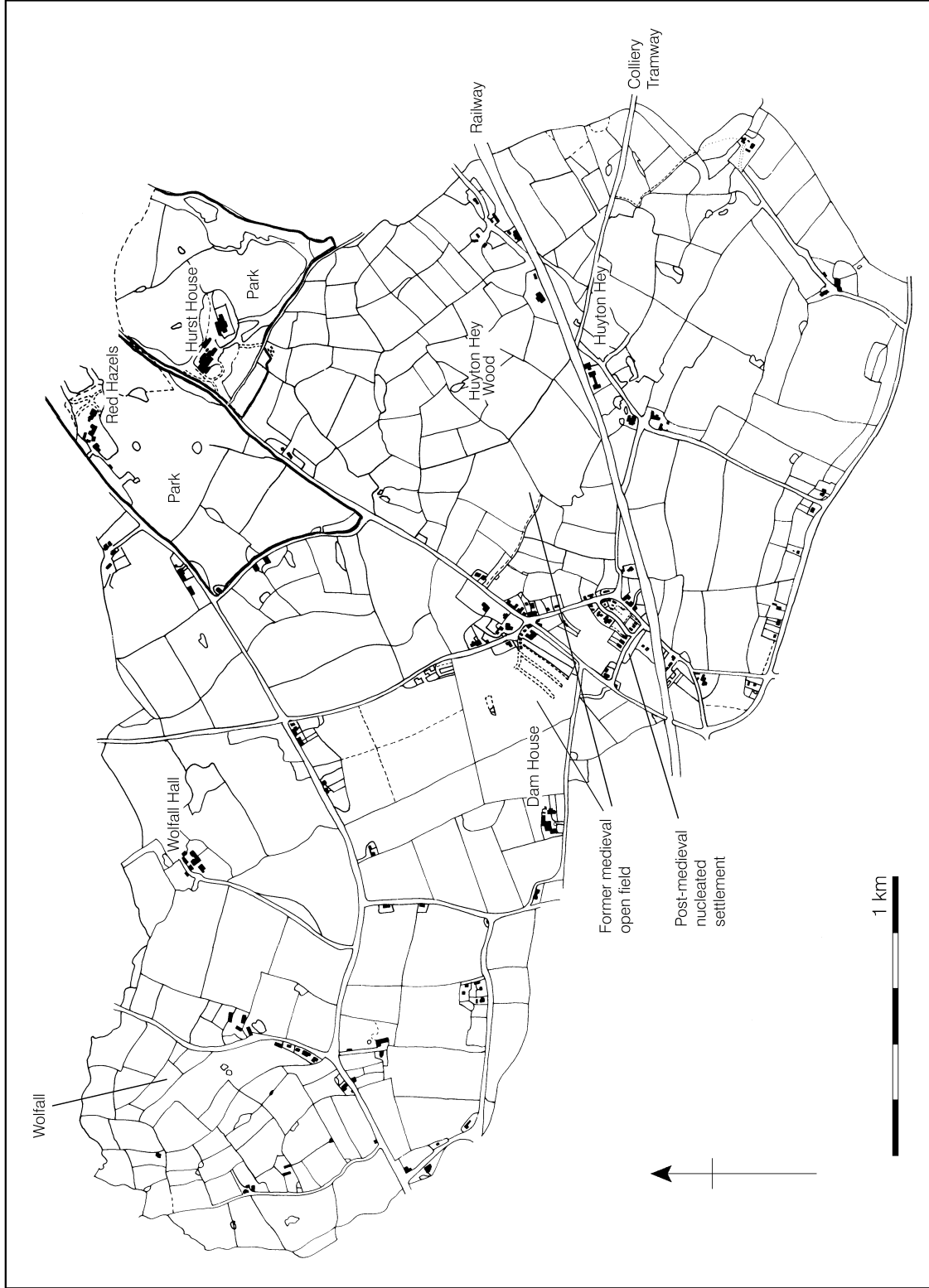


Fig. 3.10 Huyton township, 1830

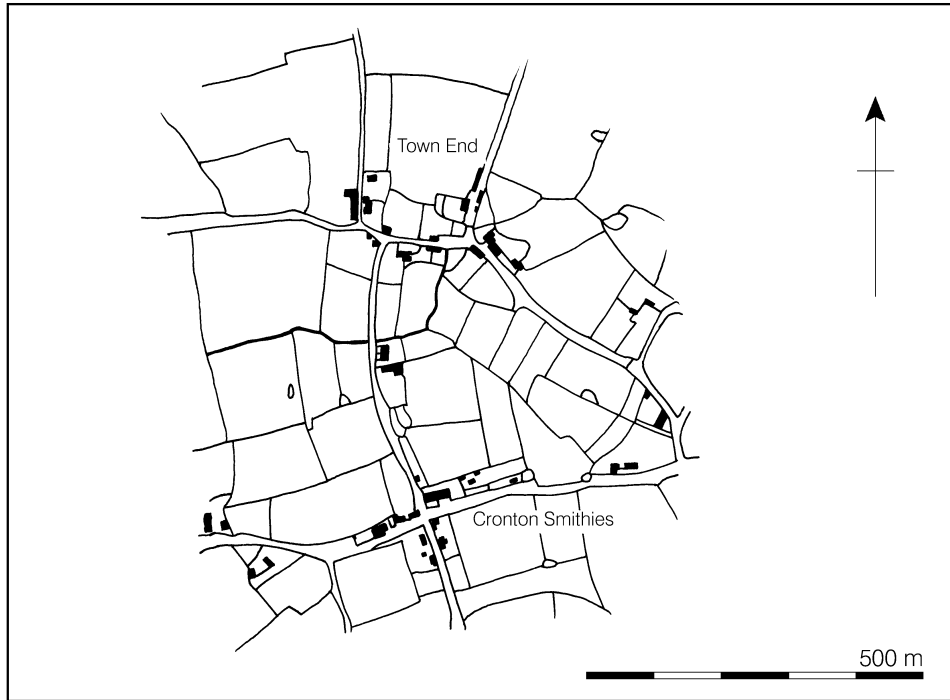


Fig. 3.11 Cronton village, 1843



Fig. 3.12 Roby village, 1785

in the township, which was later known by the name of Little Briton (fig. 3.9). In the medieval period documents refer to a settlement in Kirkby township with the now lost name of 'Aynesargh' (Ekwall 1922). In 1350 the personal name 'de Aynesargh' is recorded (Ekwall 1922) and at least one homestead lay there in 1501 when 'a cottage with orchard and adjoining close' is recorded (Lancs RO DDM 35/22). However, the form and siting of such medieval settlement here is less easy to interpret than at Kirkby. A few cottages shown at Aynsworth Hill on the 1769 Molyneux estate map (Lancs RO DDM 14/33), at the northern end of a group of three large, roughly oval conjoined enclosures formed by road boundaries, suggests a potential location for this lost settlement, as might Little Briton at the south end of the oval fields. If either of these is the original location for 'Aynesargh', it is not clear to what extent its origins lay in a medieval nucleation or an essentially isolated medieval homestead.

In Halewood, only the eastern part of the township had an open field system, the differences in land-use in each part of the township providing a distinctive settlement and land use pattern. Common field agriculture in Lancashire was not organised on such a regular basis as in areas further to the south and the settlement pattern shown on the Halewood 1785 estate map (Knowsley Estate Office, Knowsley Hall, No 161) in the open field area appears to reflect this. In the eastern half, even in the 19th century, landholding shows strips in the former open fields still surviving which belong to farms in three small nucleations dispersed around the former open fields (fig. 3.15). This tenurial (landholding) pattern suggests that it is possible that the settlement pattern has its roots in the period when the field system was in use, which is most likely to have been during the late medieval period. The linear settlement on Halebank road, to the south of Lovell's Hall, appears to be that most central to the field system. In 1785 it consisted of only three farms to the north of the road. The western half of the settlement shown lying along the road in 1843 consists of late 18th or early 19th-century additions to the earlier 18th-century core to the east. This latter group may always have been a very small collection of farms even in the medieval period. An alternative explanation is that the small 18th-century settlement is the remnants of a once larger decayed settlement, before being enlarged again in the 19th century. A programme of field walking would allow this to be tested in the first instance.

Whatever the original size of this nucleated settlement, other nucleated settlements also had shares in the open field system. One occurred at the cross-roads on Halebank road, to the west of the

above mentioned settlement, on the edge of the area of open field. A third lay in a small dispersed hamlet, its core possibly arranged around a green, on the eastern edge of the open fields in Halebank (fig. 3.13). More documentary work is needed on the field system to understand fully this particular type of settlement, where very small nucleation occurs at various points within the general area of the field system. Some of this nucleation may represent expansion in the post-medieval period, but the landholding pattern suggests its roots may lie in the medieval period.

Open Field Agriculture.

It has already been noted how the typical lowland medieval settlement pattern is associated with large unenclosed arable fields, usually two or three, radiating from a village. These fields were farmed co-operatively from the village by the inhabitants, who worked narrow strips, consisting of 'ridges' of earth, scattered throughout the fields. The strips were arranged into groups, known as furlongs, within the fields. In the north and west of England, this pattern is much modified or non-existent, particularly in the highland areas where geographical location has led to a reliance on pastoralism and a consequent dispersed settlement pattern. The Lancashire Plain, of which Knowsley can be said to be a part, is closer to the midland pattern in that open field arable is often found, but the system and management of the fields is not as rigid or as regular as in the latter area (Youd 1962, 5-12). The two or three field subdivisions of the system are uncommon in this region, with the local pattern often being sub-divided into groups of furlongs, from few to many, which can sometimes also be called fields (Elliott 1973).

This survey did no more than attempt to plot the physical existence and location of former areas of open field, as this feature is assumed to be medieval in date and provide grounds for identifying archaeologically the origins of nucleated settlements of similar early date associated with them. It did not seek to explain the way in which the system might have worked in tenurial or functional terms.

Figure 3.16 shows the evidence that has been collected for the common open field agriculture in Knowsley. There are no plans showing the layout of the medieval strips in townships for the area, so this evidence has had to be plotted from less direct information. This include: references in medieval

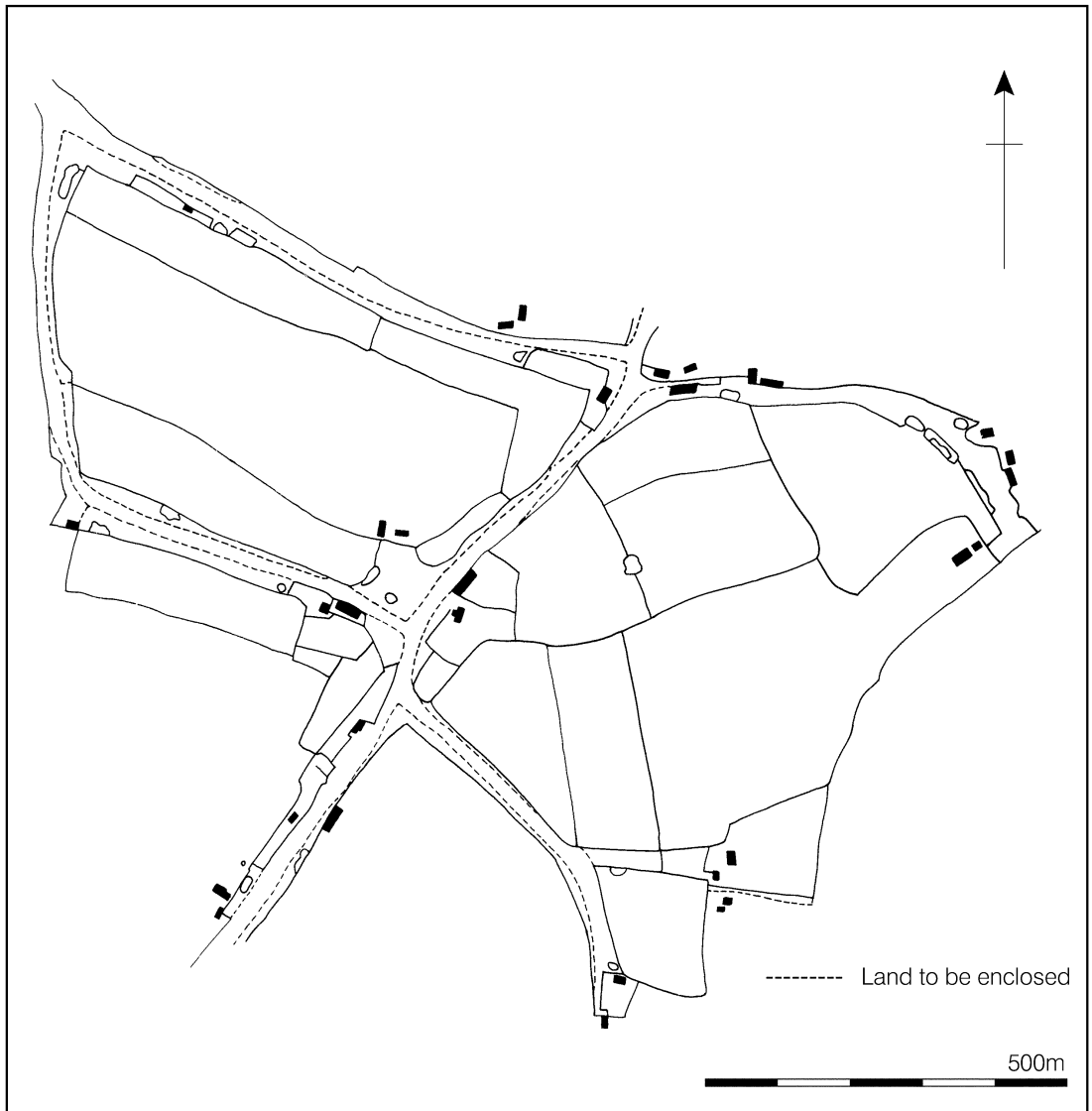


Fig. 3.13 Halebank village, 1803

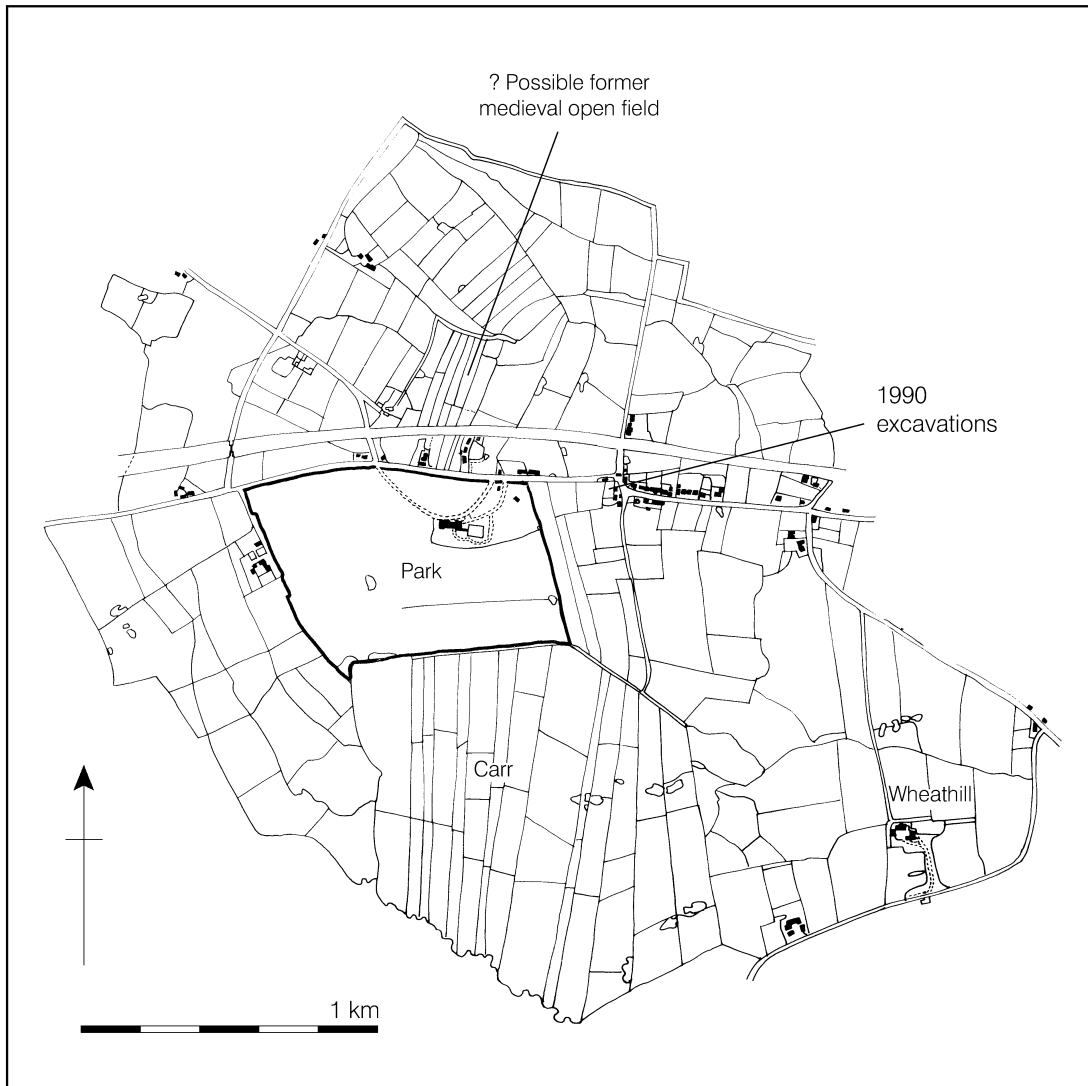


Fig. 3.14 Roby township, 1849

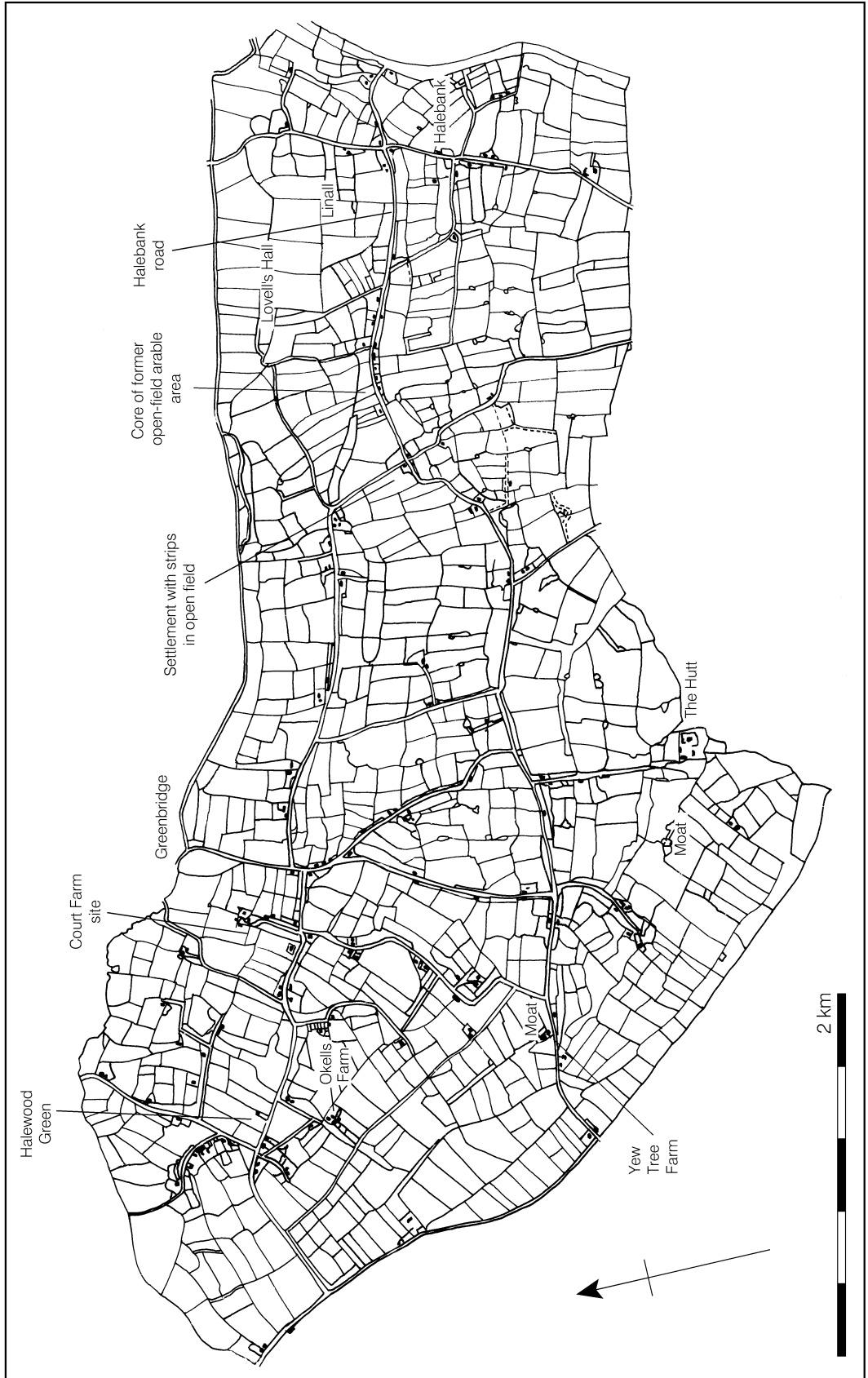


Fig. 3.15 Halewood township, 1843

or post-medieval documents to terms associated with this system, such as 'selion', fields called 'Field', 'Common Field' or 'Townfield', or field names containing elements such as 'butt, dole' or 'loon'; the dispersed holdings of land throughout an area of the township, as shown in grants or surveys and maps; and the nature of field boundaries on post-medieval maps where long narrow fields with slightly curving boundaries are depicted, suggesting enclosure of the former strips in the open fields. The ridge and furrow typical of the open fields may also be recognised running across present-day fields, giving a 'corrugated' appearance. All ridge and furrow in Knowsley has been ploughed out, except for one small area in open ground to the south-west of the church at Huyton, and another possible small area in Cronton, which has been preserved in the wood known by the medieval name of the Rough Head (fig. 3.6).

The number of fields shown within the townships in fig. 3.16 relates to named medieval fields. Interpretation of field boundaries shown on post-medieval maps suggests that in some cases the number may have been higher, but confirmation from contemporary documents is lacking. For example, in Kirkby only one field has been identified from medieval documents but late field names and the configuration of boundaries on post-medieval maps suggest there was at least one more (fig. 3.9). The main townships, therefore, which included open arable areas are; Huyton, Kirkby, Whiston, Cronton (and Prescott which was not formally surveyed, but see Philpott 1988), while it is suspected in Roby.

In Cronton (fig. 3.6), there is an early 14th-century reference to '2 acres in the town of Croninton in the field called the Middilsnape between and the land of John clerk of Croninton....' (Lumby 1939, 168), which suggests there was open arable in the township. In addition, the potential antiquity of the fabric of the village, the sinuous nature of the lane leading out of it to the west (not evident on fig. 3.6) and the general nature of many fields around Town End, all also hint at confirmation of this interpretation.

In Whiston in 1283 '4 selions next to Wytstanesgate..' (Webb 1970, 121-3) point to the existence of common arable fields in the township, although they cannot be accurately located, as does the reference to 'divers parcels ...le Shepfyld in Qwystan...' in 1480 (Warrington Public Library M589 [G64]). Post medieval references to 'Sheffield' and 'Town Field' allow this to be located around Whiston Cross (fig. 3.5). In Roby, the evidence is more circumstantial and is based on

a small area of distinctive 19th century field boundaries to the north-west of the post-medieval nucleated settlement (fig. 3.14), while there is an early 18th-century reference to a 'Townfield' in a survey of 1727 (Lancs RO DDK 1770/12).

The territorial organisation of townships into hamlets (in the sense of areas and not the form of settlement associated with it) and the administrative framework of manors have already been discussed above. These subdivisions sometimes contained their own field systems and sometimes shared in the land-use of the township, while retaining their own identity.

The inhabitants of the hamlet of Halebank appear to have farmed strips in the common field system in Halewood (see 'Nucleated Settlement' on page 131 above). In 1346 Alice, daughter of Alan ... le Norreys 'claimed a messuage and two ploughlands' in Whiston which Farrer and Brownbill (1907, 351, n. 10) place in the hamlet of Halsnead. Kirkby was divided into two manors, Kirkby Beetham and Kirkby Gerard. The vill of Kirkby contained a hamlet called Ingewaith, which lay to the south-west around the present Ingoe Lane, around which field names and boundaries suggest lay open fields (fig. 3.9).

In many cases however, the lack of documentation for these smaller territorial units makes it difficult to identify the precise type of land use there. One example is in Kirkby township, at the medieval settlement of 'Aynesargh', the second element meaning 'shieling or pasture' (Ekwall 1922). It has been suggested (see page 140 above) that this may lie between the post-medieval settlements of Little Briton and Aynsworth Hill (fig. 3.9). The contrast in field shapes may be seen in figure 3.9 between the three roughly oval enclosures (delineated by roads) to the west and north of Little Briton. and the much larger, more open area to the south and north of Kirkby village which is fairly certainly associated with open field. One of the Little Briton fields in 1696 contained many smaller fields with the element 'old field' in their names (Lancs RO DDM 14/3). It is not clear whether this represents either enclosed fields held in severalty (ie. not common, see below) as in Tarbock or Halewood, or possibly a form of cultivation based on open fields.

Settlement and Enclosed Fields.

The steady, or even rapid increase of population during the 12th to 14th centuries in England led to

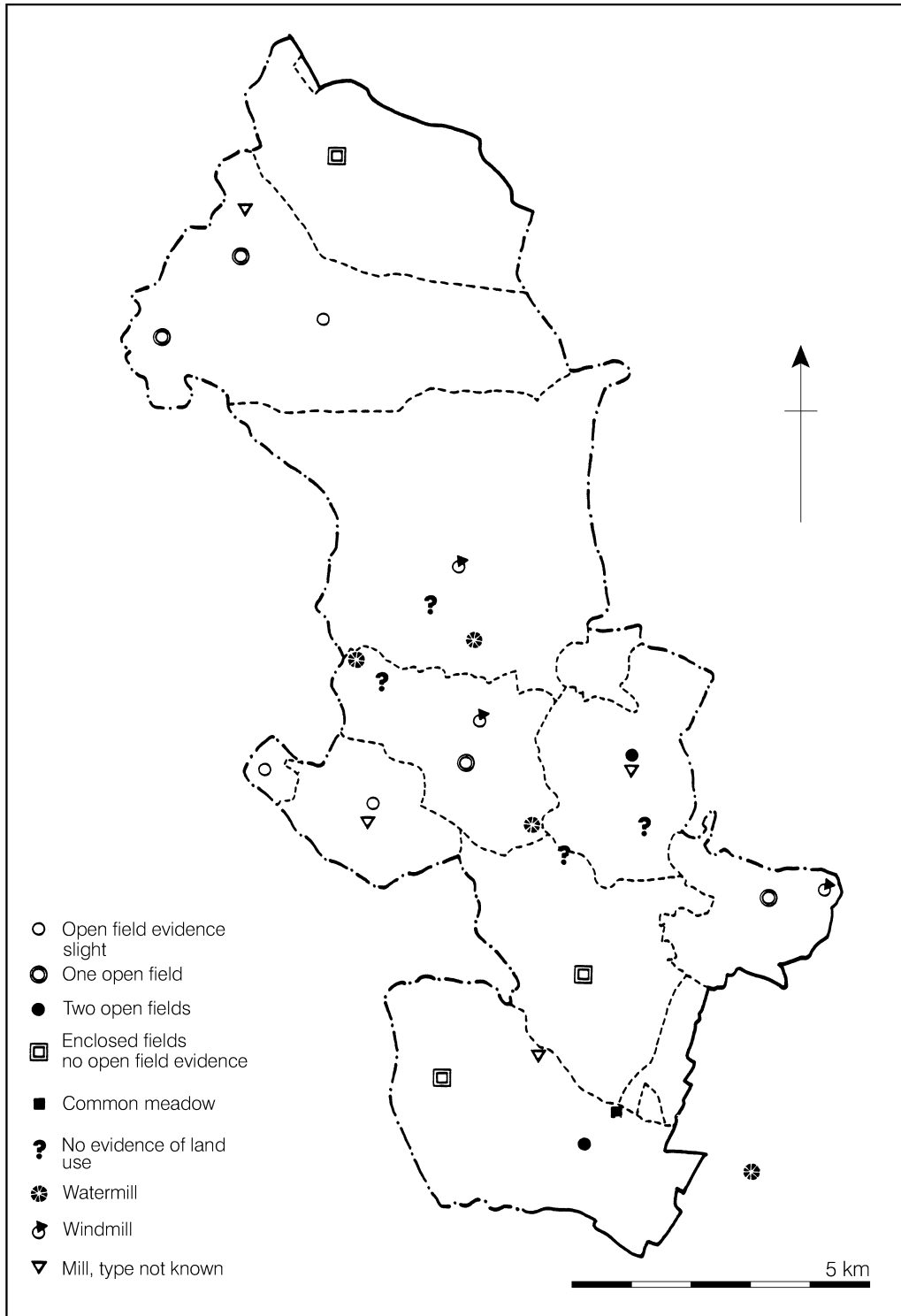


Fig. 3.16 Common Field evidence in Knowsley

the need for more arable land, which was satisfied by a process known as assarting. In some places the area of open field was expanded at the expense of the woodland and waste which lay around it (Hoskins 1955, 90). In others, woodland and waste lying on the more marginal land, generally towards the edges of the township, were cleared to form small fields, enclosed with banks and hedges by individuals who farmed the land in severalty (i.e. for their own use, rather than in common). In Cronton, for example, this process is witnessed in 1284, when there was conflict between the Abbot of Stanlaw and a tenant relating to *'improvements he had made to the waste'* (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 393, n. 3). In the late 12th century a wood existed along the boundary between Wollfall, in Huyton township, and Knowsley which had undergone a certain amount of clearance as one of the boundary points was the *'Altley'* (clearing by the Alt) (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 172, n. 12). Another early recorded assart is known as *'Outi's ridding'* in 1199-1220, in the north-eastern part of Knowsley township (Farrer 1900, 606-7). The process of clearance continued into the 13th century, for example in about 1250 an assart was granted to Adam the Carpenter of Upton, together with the site for a windmill on Pexhill, Cronton (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 393 n. 1), which was the common land for the township (fig. 3.6).

The small assarts, generally with irregular boundaries because of the difficulties of clearing woodland, often became grouped together and were farmed from a settlement among the fields. In Cronton the medieval estate of Shaw, first recorded in 1190 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 392, n. 13), and represented by Higher Shaw Farm today (fig. 3.6), was probably cleared from a woodland area (*'shaw'* = wood). Field names suggest the area to the south had also been wood and partly cleared by the early 14th century. In Knowsley township, in 1190 a place or field called *'Stockley'* meaning 'wood-clearing' is recorded in the vicinity of Bury Hill (fig. 3.17), which by the 14th century supported a settlement of some kind. Another identifiable medieval estate on the edge of a township is found at Wheathill in Roby (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 176) (fig. 3.14).

After the Norman conquest, the demesne land of West Derby, one of the capital manors belonging to Edward the Confessor, which also lay to the west of modern Knowsley, became part of the Royal Forest of Lancashire. The term forest in the medieval period was mainly a legal and administrative one referring to areas of land where special forest law applied in order to preserve game for hunting. The area surrounding the forest, known

as the *purlieu*, including all of Knowsley district, became subject to forest law without being in the actual hunting area (Cunliffe Shaw 1956). In the mid-12th century, however, Henry II enlarged the forest, taking Simonswood from Richard son of Roger, lord of the vill of Kirkby and brought part of Hale, between *'the Flaxpol and the Quintbridge'* within the legal forest. However, by the reign of Henry III, in the early 13th century, it had been disafforested (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 141).

Farrer and Brownbill (1907, 141) suggest that what became the township of Halewood may have been the part of Hale brought into the forest. However, the settlement and land use pattern in Halewood shows a strong contrast between the eastern and western half of the township. The settlement pattern, field boundaries, field names and roads in the open field eastern part of Halewood, discussed above (see page 140), is different from that to the west, with an approximate boundary drawn roughly between the Hutt and Greenbridge (fig. 3.15).

The pattern of road and field boundaries to the west of this line suggests a dispersed pattern of settlement, the moated site with its own attached small enclosed fields being a particular feature (see below). Documentary evidence reinforces this view, with no references found which relate to open fields but many relating to individual settlements associated with small fields belonging to individuals (termed as being 'held in severalty'). At the same time, piecemeal enclosure took place in the woodland; for example in 1290 Robert son of Thurstan de Holand granted to Thomas de Schavinton *'5 acres of land in the wood of Hale next the land of Adam de Huyton with all the wood surrounding'* (Lumby 1939, 96) or another document which grants *'7 and a half acres next the house of Ralph the Smith towards Grenebrugge'* (Lumby 1939, 117).

There are two possible explanations for the difference in land use and settlement in the two halves of the township. Firstly, that the land brought into the Royal Forest did not include the whole of the township and that the land use pattern reflects the difference between land within the Royal Forest and that outside it. The former area lay in the western half, which was not extensively settled until after disafforestation in the 13th century. In this case the pattern of settlement would fit into a general national pattern, whereby settlement of these kinds of wooded and forest

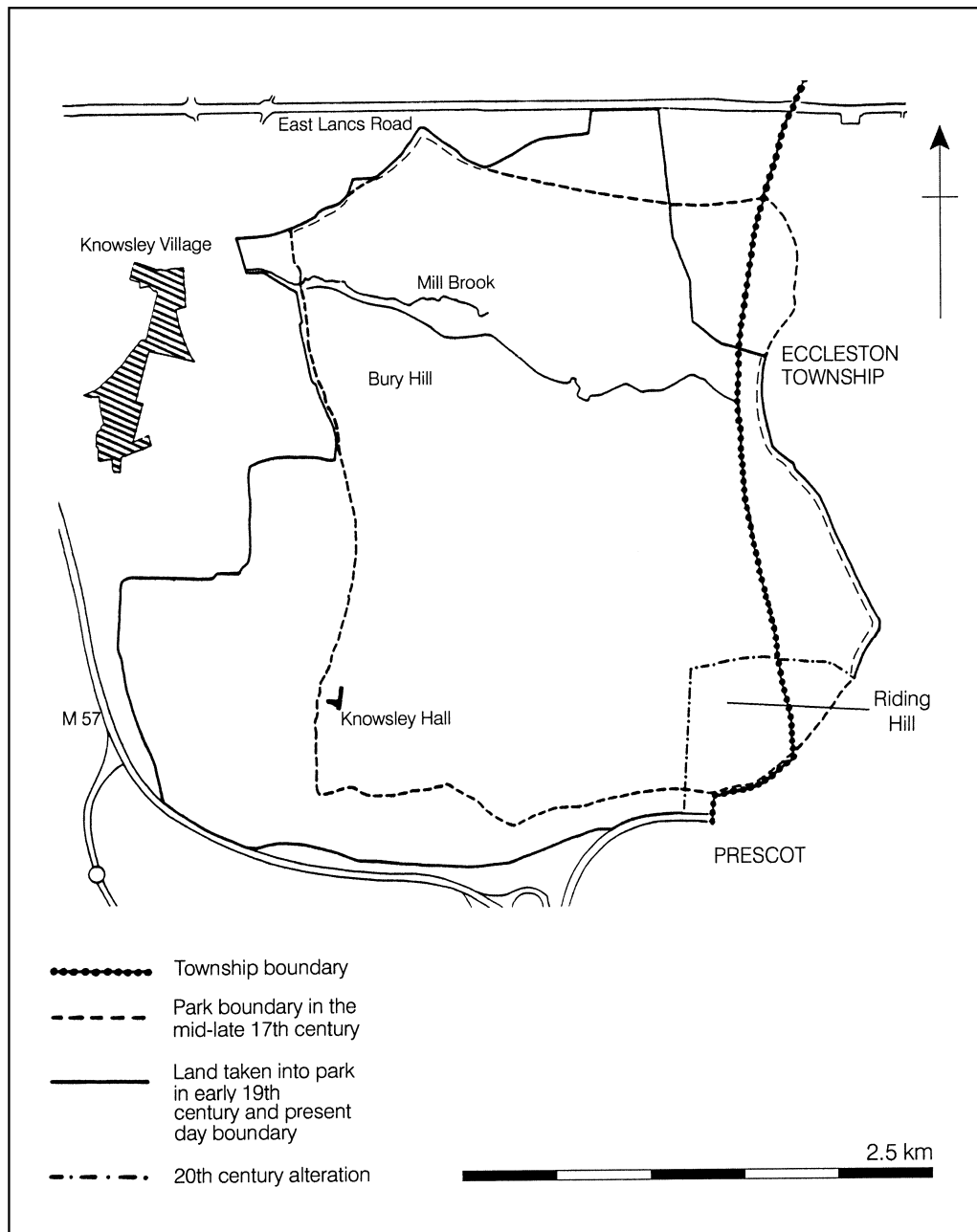


Fig. 3.17 Knowsley Park

areas occurred quite late in the medieval period, probably during the 13th century (Roberts 1977, 171). The alternative interpretation is that the late medieval land use of the whole township was not affected by its status as Royal Forest and the enclosed pattern in the western half represents the continuation of a more ancient pattern of land use. The excavations at Court Farm (see page 124 above), show that in this part of Halewood there was probable settlement pre-dating the Norman Conquest, which if repeated more widely in this area could have influenced the layout of the medieval landscape by the time of Domesday. There could, of course, have been a combination of settlement types, with the area's status as forest fossilising an earlier pattern for a century or so until opened up for later medieval woodland colonisation, which was very similar in nature to the earlier pattern.

There is evidence that Tarbock, although never in the legal forest, also did not operate an open field system, but had a dispersed settlement pattern associated with enclosed fields and demesne wood and park (i.e. belonging to the lord of the manor). The bounds of one such enclosure recorded in 1180, 'Old Tarbock', are given in a charter (Farrer 1900, 607-8). A concentration of medieval pottery was found by field walking to the west of Brunt Boggart farm, next to the road, in the mid-1980s (figs. 3.18, 3.20). Excavations in 1993 on this site produced evidence of an insubstantial structure associated with medieval pottery, within a plot defined by ditches at right angles to the road, which suggests a small isolated settlement lay here in the 12th-13th century adjacent to a very distinctive oval enclosure. It is suggested that this kind of land use pattern, consisting of a series of large enclosures, may sometimes reflect the medieval continuation of much earlier estates and settlement patterns (Philpott 2000a).

The relationship of a number of present-day farms in Tarbock to documented medieval farms, and pottery concentrations from field walking, suggests that they may lie on the sites of medieval farms which themselves may have much earlier origins. The best example is Yew Tree Farm, which lies within a distinctive oval boundary, which appears to be the earliest feature that all the other field boundaries in the area respect (fig. 3.20). Fieldwalking around this farm produced a small concentration of medieval pottery and a dispersed scatter over some of the adjoining fields (fig. 3.18).

There are also a number of areas or enclosed fields in Tarbock, known from medieval documents, which could have been associated with land held in

severalty and therefore were the locations for other isolated medieval farms in the township, although these have yet to be accurately located. One, first recorded in 1292 as *Whitefield*, consisted of 19 acres (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 181 n.10) and can be located from later field names in the extreme north-west of the township (fig. 3.20). Another, '*Huytonshaw*', consisting of 20 acres in 1307 and in dispute as to whether it was in Tarbock or Huyton, is recorded as being surrounded by '*the old ditch*' in the area of Whiston Brook (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 178 n.1). Others are less easy to locate such as the '*Longriding*', which consisted of 32 acres in 1460 (Lancs RO DDM 48/24). Not all the small estates mentioned above in Halewood and Tarbock represent a long tradition of landholding going back into the pre-Norman conquest period, as some will also belong to a process of medieval assarting.

Individual assarts were generally quite small, often of only an acre or so (Moorhouse 1981, 664). It has been suggested that the small cottages and enclosures strung out along lanes, clustered at cross-roads and around the edges of common land, particularly in forest and woodland townships, have their origins in this late medieval period (Roberts 1977, 171).

In Tarbock, field walking produced a small concentration of medieval pottery next to the Netherley Road (fig. 3.18), which may be an example of later assarting associated with relatively low status settlement of cottage type. In the western half of Halewood, in addition to the larger sites set within the potential medieval enclosures and assarts, it seems possible that part of the quite widespread 18th-century pattern of small, long roadside enclosures and cottages may have its roots in the late medieval period (but see also below). More documentary and field work is needed to try to isolate further examples of these kind of settlements before their true scale may become apparent.

The above townships show potential assarts and isolated settlement in areas that never developed an open field system, but there are also examples of townships that have produced evidence of assarts at the edges of the common field systems. In Huyton in 1250, they are referred to as '*riddings*' or clearings, eg. '*in length from the ridding which Christiana...formerly held of Adam to Stainulf's ridding also held of Adam, and in width from Robert's other boundary to the hurst...*' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 169 n.65). These assarts cannot be

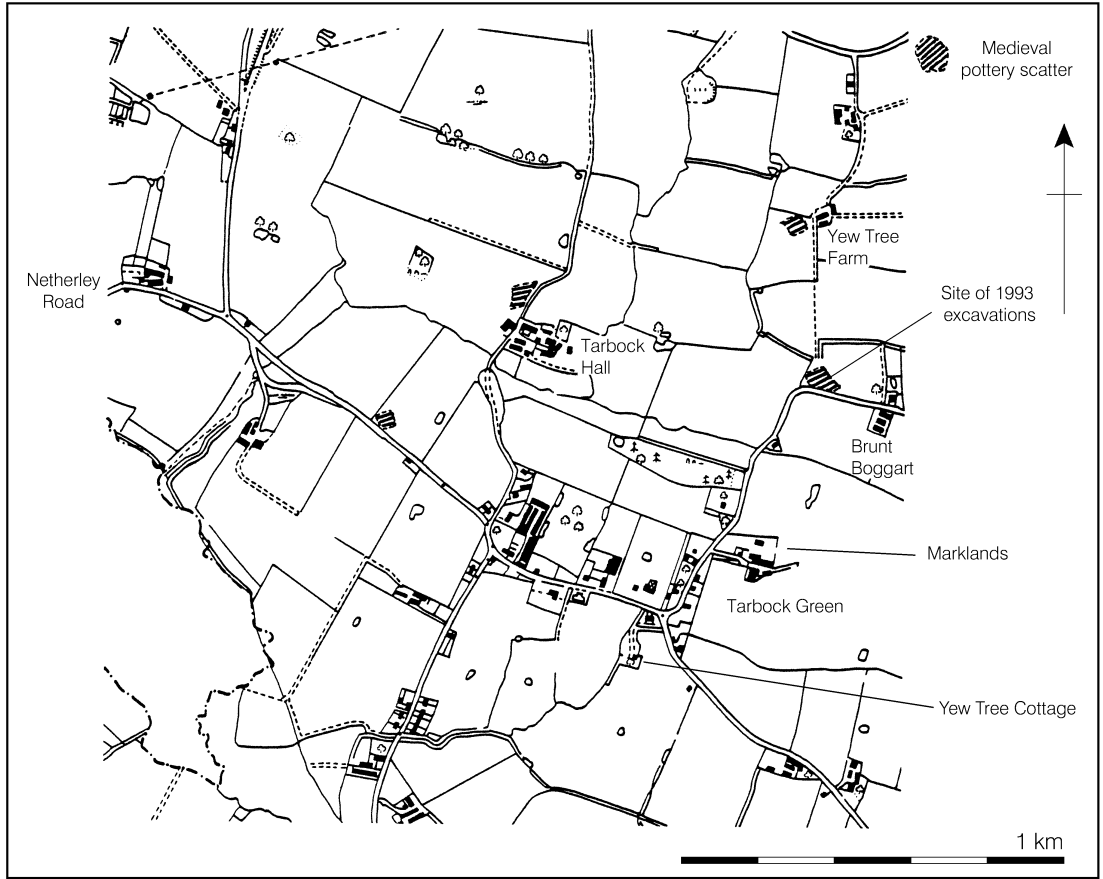


Fig. 3.18 Medieval settlement in Tarbock

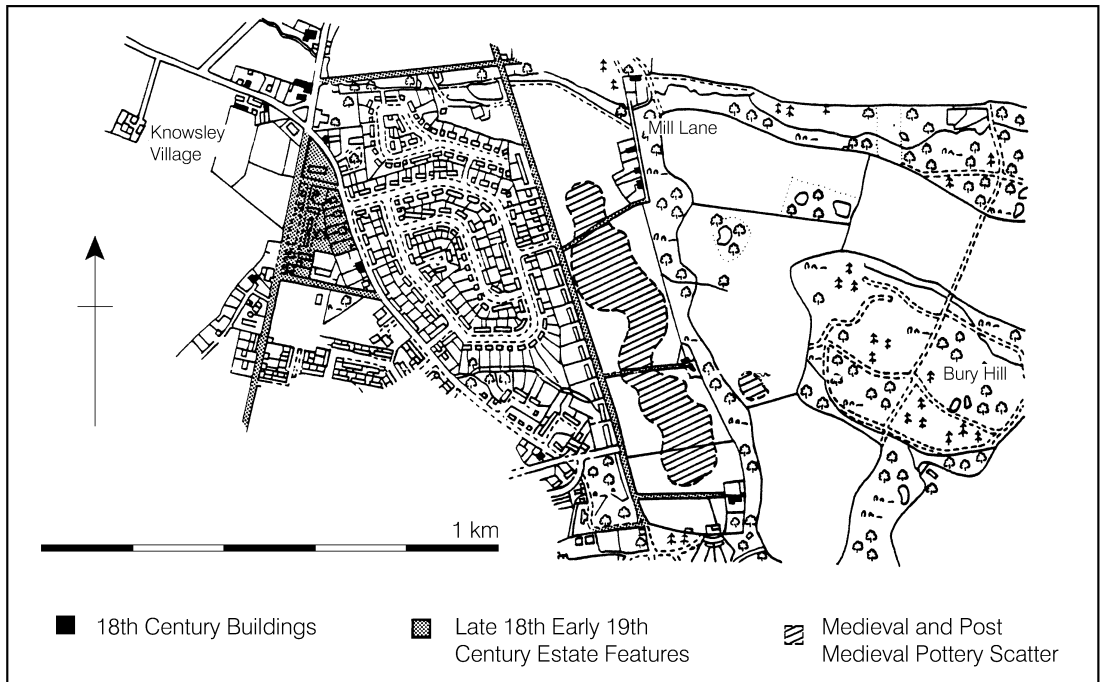


Fig. 3.19 Medieval and Post-medieval settlement in Knowsley township

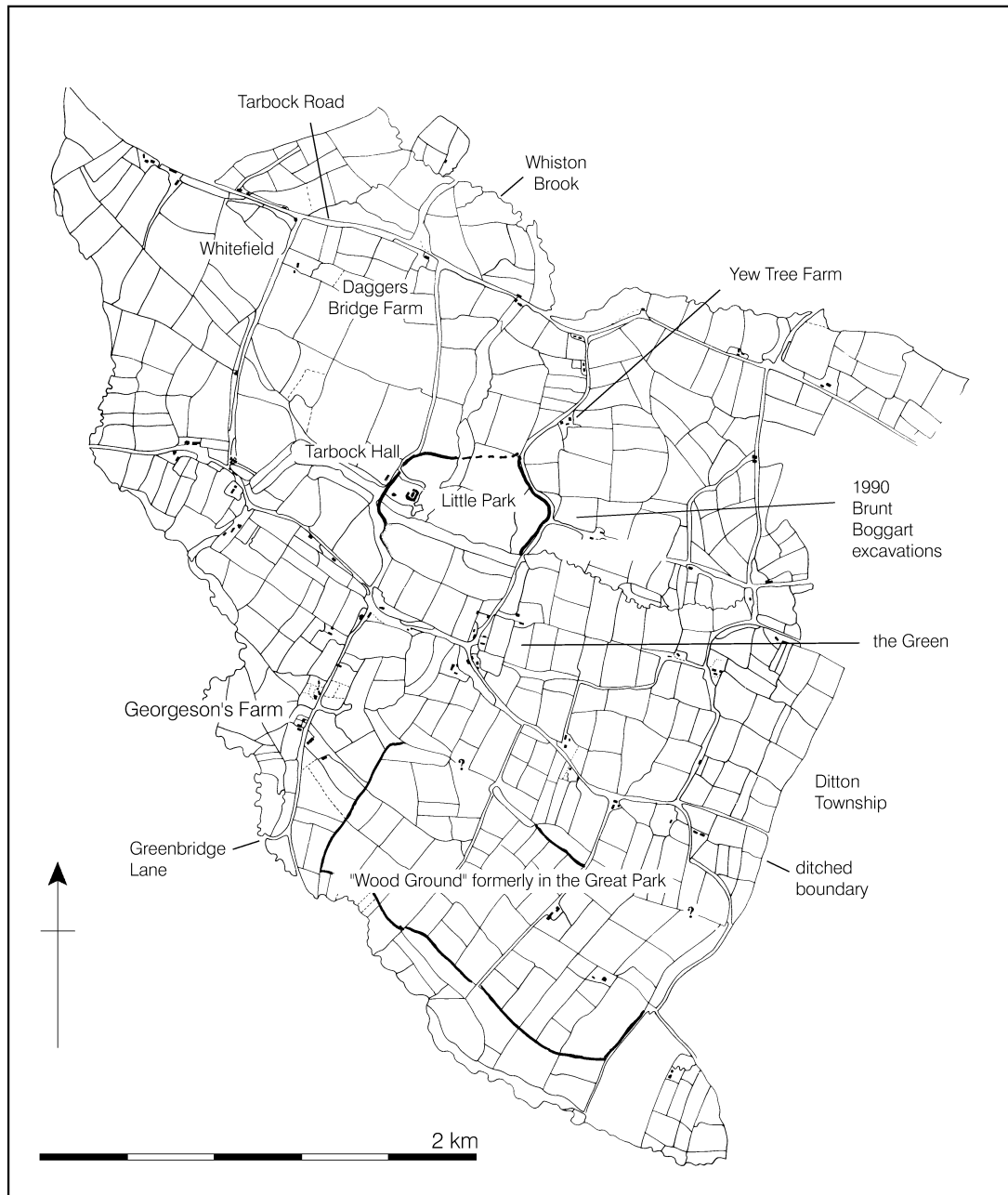


Fig. 3.20 Tarbock township, 1769

located precisely, but one potential location is in the vicinity of the Hurst House estate which could have taken its name from that area of land known as 'the hurst' (Old English, meaning 'wooded eminence') in the 13th century (fig. 3.10). In Kirkby, in the hamlet of Ingewaith, now known as Ingoe Lane, an identifiable place, (Lancs

demesne (land held and farmed directly by the lord of the manor). As such, they reflect a difference in status and wealth from the rest of medieval society (Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 48). The expansion of moated sites to lesser classes of owner probably represents an attempt to imitate this status. In

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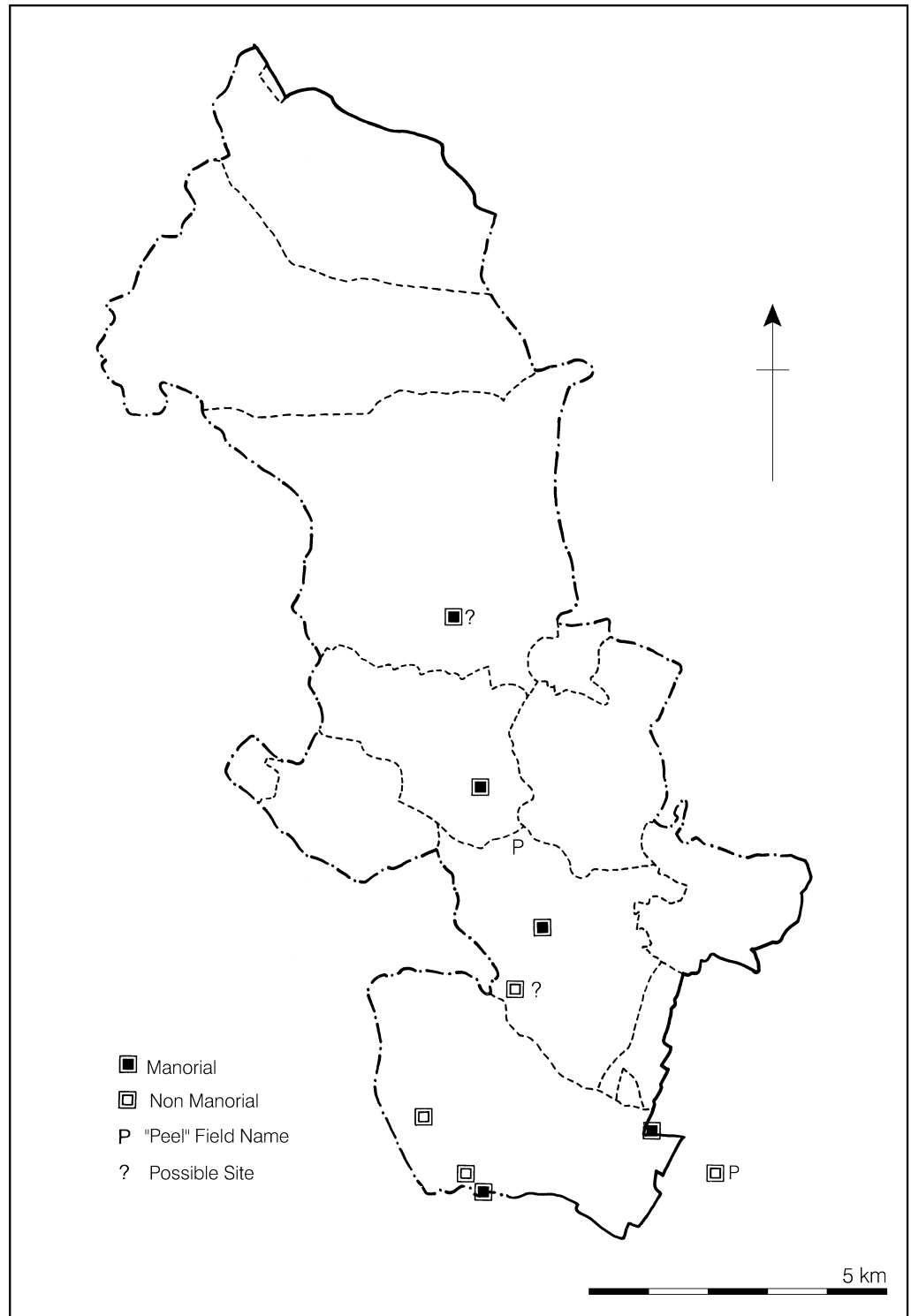


Fig. 3.21 Moated sites in Knowsley

investigated using archaeological techniques during redevelopment of the site in 1976 but there was little time to retrieve anything of great significance (Warhurst 1977).

In Tarbock, the site of Georgeson's Farm (fig. 3.20) may be another, though less certain example, as it does not exhibit the typical characteristics of such a site (Lewis 2000, 355). There are traces of a raised rectangular area immediately adjacent to the present house with shallow, narrow depressions around the raised area on three sides. This may be the remains of the ground area of an earlier house, potentially of late medieval date, as the present house has a timber frame and external stone chimney of possibly 16th-century date. The depressions could be caused merely by their direct physical relationship with the raised area, but the possibility that they may indicate the largely filled-in arms of an insubstantial moat-like ditch can not be discounted. The farm represents a small estate that can be traced back as far as 1691 on documentary evidence (Lancs RO DDM 12/38, Rental) and its location between the medieval wood of Tarbock and the township boundary with Halewood to the west (fig. 3.20) is certainly typical of the location of such moated medieval estates. If the depressions do reflect a moat, its proportions are not as great as those of the manorial sites, as might be expected from the correlation between status and size that has been commented on in other parts of the country (Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 48).

Other sites have to be identified from documentary evidence. A concentration of 'peel' field names on the 1769 Molyneux estate map (Lancs RO DDM 14/53) in the north-west of Tarbock township, part of the medieval manor of Ridgate, suggests there may have been a moated manorial site here also, although it has not yet been located by fieldwork. Another possibility is in Knowsley Park, about 300 metres to the south of Knowsley Hall, where a ditched enclosure, semi-circular rather than rectangular in shape, but of moat proportions has been located by fieldwork. Sites similar in appearance to moated sites were created as late as the 18th century, in connection with landscaping and garden lay-out in parks (Taylor 1978, 5), and this site may possibly be regarded as such, but only detailed archaeological investigation could clarify its function and origins.

Woodland

Woodland was one of the most important resources to the medieval community, providing timber for building and fencing, firewood and grazing at certain times of the year eg. in c. 1280 a tenant is granted '*pannage* (the right to pasture in return for

payment to the lord) *for 20 pigs in the common wood of Tarbock*' (Webb 1970,121). Generally, each township possessed its own area of wood. The use of woodland provided a source of income to the lord of the manor and was accordingly subject to strict laws and physically was often enclosed, generally by a bank and a ditch.

At Domesday, this area of Lancashire appears to have contained appreciable woodland. West Derby hundred, partly lying to the west of Knowsley, contained woodland two by one leagues in area (see 'Domesday' on page 129 above) while in modern Knowsley, large areas of woodland appear to have lain in Kirkby, Knowsley and Halewood townships (Farrer, 1906, 278). Most other townships must also have contained areas of woodland. Documents, field-names and place -names can be used to indicate phases in the clearance or assarting of this woodland, as more land was needed due to population increase during the 12th and 13th centuries. Occasionally, recent field names allow the approximate position of former woodland areas to be located.

In Huyton, in the later 13th century, woodland lay at the edge of the common fields not too far from the village, "*three selions extending lengthwise to the wood*" ('*selion*' being an open field term) (Webb 1970, 155-6). Possible locations are in the north-east of the township, in the area around Hurst House, which very likely derived its name from the medieval wood name of the '*hurst*', or from around Huyton Hey Wood, which was woodland in the 18th century (fig. 3.10). The manor of Wolfall, in the north-west of Huyton township, also included woodland within its area, "*the middle of the wood*" being a point on its boundary with Knowsley township to the north, in the 12th century (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 172, n. 12).

The manor of Halewood was originally the common wood for the village of Hale. Its subsequent settlement and clearance has been discussed above (see page 146 above). In the late 13th century, the southern half of Tarbock was manorial woodland, which was not enclosed until the 17th century (Lancs RO DDCL 657). In Knowsley township, the 13th-century field name '*waterhurst*' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 158, n. 8), a name associated with woodland, probably lay in the north-eastern part of the township, where mossland is extensive. In the late 18th century this was still wooded to some extent and operated as part of the common (Derby Estate map, Knowsley Hall, No 161), although it is likely that this was not original medieval woodland but later plantation.

Simonswood, which in the time of Henry III had been brought into the Royal Forest, was the only part of Knowsley that was retained as part of the royal demesne into the post-medieval period, not being disafforested until the beginning of the 16th century. In 1507, Simonswood was described as *'waste ground ...overgrown with wood of little or no value and watery or moorish and mossy ground with little or no grass on it'* (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 446). Territorial grants of land for settlement purposes could be made within these demesne areas with reservation of the hunting rights, although no medieval references have been found to suggest medieval clearance. It may be possible that its status as legal forest hindered extensive early colonisation of the woodland. Documentary research and field walking have not produced any evidence of common arable or nucleated settlement, implying a dispersed settlement pattern, which is discussed more fully below.

Parks

Parks were another form of medieval woodland management, although the term did not have the same meaning as that associated with it today. The medieval park was an enclosed area, in general probably including a substantial area of woodland, in which animals were kept for hunting for private use by the lord of the manor. The bounds of the park were often quite substantial, being banks with wooden fences known as pales associated with ditches, to keep wild animals out and the deer in the park. These boundaries can often be recognised on maps by long continuous field boundaries in a characteristic, generally oval shape, against which later field boundaries have been set. On the ground the remains of the banks and ditches suggest the former limits of parks. There were medieval parks in five townships in modern Knowsley; Roby, Kirkby, Hale, Tarbock and Knowsley township, which have left varying degrees of impact on the landscape.

In 1338 Thomas de Lathom is recorded as having had licence to empark in Roby (PRO Calendar Patent Rolls, Edward III). A park is shown on the earliest map of 1785 (fig. 3.12) (Derby Estate map, Knowsley Hall, No 161), and on the Tithe map of 1849 (fig. 3.14). The rectangular form is a little more regular than the more normal curved boundary of medieval parks, so it is debatable whether this is the form of the original park or of a post-medieval expansion.

In 1337, John of Kirkby was granted a licence to *"impark 500 acres of land, wood and moor within the manor"* of Kirkby (PRO Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol. IV). No documentary evidence has yet been located which describes the boundaries of the

park. However by studying 18th-century field boundaries and what is known of the medieval landscape in Kirkby as a whole, the most likely location of the park was to the south-east of the hall. This was the main area of woodland in the 18th century. Those boundaries marked on fig. 3.9 with thickened lines are only given as an approximate guide to the general location of the park based on the longest continuous field-boundaries around the hall. The area is today totally built over, so no opportunity remains to verify them on the ground. The present area known as Kirkby Park, on the north-western edge of the township, appears to have acquired its name much later and seems on present evidence not to have been associated with a park as such.

Early 14th-century references are made to the park of Linall in Hale (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 143, n. 10), although in 1566 *'pasture and crofts'* in *'tynall'* are described as being in Halebank (British Lib Add Ch 52528). Seventeenth century fields called *'Linnow'* (Lancs RO DDK 1453/1), adjacent to the open field area in Halewood close to modern Halebank, may represent the area of the former park (fig. 3.15). The area today is mainly occupied by housing.

In 1334-6, Richard of Tarbock claimed *'to have two free parks in the manor of Tarbock'* (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 444). One called the *'Little Park'* is first recorded in the mid 13th century, when the bounds were given as *'beginning at the road before the dwelling of Sir Henry, along the road to the little beint, going round this and following the ditch to the pales, following these to the road of the Oldfield, and along this road to the first named road in front of Sir Henry's door'* (Lancs RO DDM 48/40). From other medieval documents and later field names it is possible to show the approximate extent of this park around Tarbock Hall (fig. 3.20). The second park, the *'Great Park'* or the *'Great Wood'* (Lancs RO DDM 48/79) occupied most of the southern half of Tarbock in the late 13th century extending from the *'ditch which was the boundary between Tarbock and Ditton'* (Lancs RO DDM 48/40) to just east of Greensbridge Lane. The medieval bounds of this wood are difficult to locate today, but the minimum area of the medieval park can be plotted from a mid 17th-century survey listing fields (part of the demesne land of Tarbock Hall) described as *'wood grounde'* (Lancs RO DDCL 657).

The earliest reference to Knowsley Park is in 1292, when Robert de Lathom claimed to have a *'certain wood that his father enclosed with paling'* (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 122-3). The physical evidence of the

boundaries of this wood does not appear to have survived, possibly because of later post-medieval landscaping (Scholl 1985). Certain medieval documents (Farrer 1900, 606-7) imply that the park did not extend as far north as the area around Bury Hill or as far east as the boundary with Eccleston (fig. 3.17). The park's general location would therefore have been around or near the site of the hall in the south-west of the present park. Originally, the medieval park would have been mainly wooded although by 1325 clearings had been made to allow for grazing cattle. In the mid 14th century, expansion of the park took place (Beresford 1957, 229), with a further extension occurring before c. 1530 when '*demesne lands which were wont to be sown yearly*' were included '*and lie there for pasture*' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 153, n. 8). In 1653 the park contained 1878 acres (Lancs RO DDK 1472/1). Figure 3.17 shows those stages of the park's development that can be traced from the various 17th and 18th-century Estate maps, the Tithe Award and the 1st Edition six inch Ordnance Survey map.

The boundaries of the medieval park can not be identified securely but the earliest boundary evidence comes from an undated estate map, which on stylistic grounds is possibly of late 17th /18th-century date (Knowsley Park estate office, No. 35). About 20m. inside, and roughly parallel to the present wall, in the north-west of the park, a low bank and ditch runs for about 250 m north-south corresponding with the line of the park pale shown on this map. Late medieval pottery was found through field walking on both sides of this bank (fig. 3.19), possibly representing a settlement in the vicinity of Bury Hill. The abandonment of this settlement may suggest that this boundary represents a section of the park associated with either the 14th or 16th-century expansion. Detail on a map of 1726 (Knowsley Park estate office, No. 286) shows that the park boundary had reached much of its 19th-century extent in the north by this date, and its extension to the west occurred sometime between the late 17th century and 1726 (fig. 3.19).

Common

The final important part of the medieval agricultural system is that represented by the common land used for grazing and meadow. This formed part of an integrated method of managing the livestock of the local community, regardless of whether the township was arranged in an open common arable system, or enclosed fields in the medieval period. Each township possessed its own area of common grazing land, generally located on the poorest quality land, often on the edge of the township, on which each inhabitant could graze his livestock

during the summer months.

Virtually all the townships have identifiable former common land on post-medieval maps (see below) and it is very likely that these represent the core areas of medieval common. Specific areas of medieval common can be identified from documentary evidence for some townships. In Cronton, Pex Hill (fig. 3.6) is first recorded in the mid 13th century (Poole 1906, 217). The area is still common today. In the medieval period sometimes, particularly in upland areas, several townships could share the same piece of common land, known as intercommoning. In Knowsley, in 1315, Whiston, Eccleston and Rainhill, the latter two in St Helens district, shared an area of land called the Holt (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 349, n. 1), known as the Copped Holt in post-medieval documents (fig. 3.5).

For other townships there are no medieval references to allow the common pastures to be located with certainty, but areas of common can be identified from early post-medieval references and it seems highly likely that there was continuity from the earlier period. In the north of Knowsley, those townships which include areas of mossland, such as Simonswood (fig. 3.22), Knowsley and Kirkby (fig. 3.9), used these areas as common grazing in 1596. In Roby, common land is recorded on the 'carr' (Lancs RO DDK 351/2, Lease) which was almost certainly the medieval common land as well (fig. 3.14).

The land use in Tarbock appears to have been based on large enclosures containing smaller fields, probably held in severalty, during the medieval period. Here the common is probably represented by '*green*' field names to the south-east of the park around Tarbock Hall (fig. 3.20). In the 19th century, Halewood green is shown as common land (Lancs RO DDX 1171/1; Enclosure Award). This lies in the western part of the township at some remove from the open arable area, and it has been suggested above that woodland assarting and isolated settlement had taken place in adjacent areas producing a pattern similar to Tarbock.

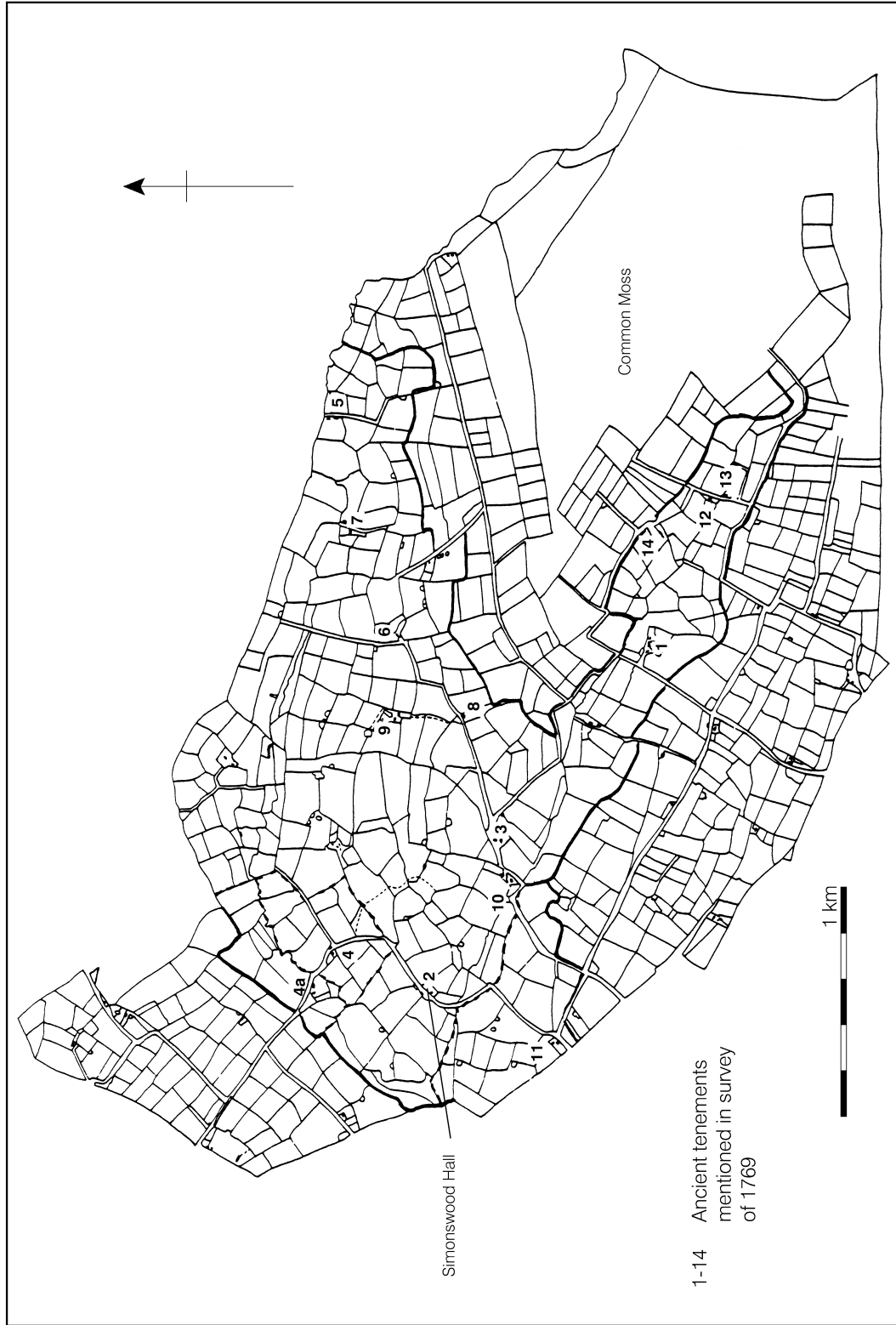


Fig. 3.22 Simonswood township, 1769

Corn Mills.

The manorial mill was an integral element of the medieval agricultural pattern. Each villager who grew corn had to grind it at the lord's mill, thus providing the lord with another source of revenue. Figure 3.16 shows those townships where medieval references to mills can be approximately located, although the evidence on the ground to verify them is often lacking or confused.

In Halewood a 13th-century watermill lay between Ditton and the demesne of Alan Le Norrys (Lumby 1939, 99-100). This locates it on Ditton Brook near its confluence with the Mersey, although no definite site has yet been found on the ground. A second mill, the '*new mill*' in the 13th century (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 144, n. 3), lay between Tarbock Park and Halewood. The suspected site has now been destroyed by stream widening. In Cronton there was a mill on Pex Hill from the 13th to the 17th century or even later (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 393, n. 1). The site has not been located, although if it lay in the area of the 19th-century quarry it is probably now destroyed.

Many more post-medieval mills can be identified from maps or documentary references. It cannot however be assumed that a located post-medieval mill is necessarily on the same site as a documented but unlocated medieval one, as mills could often be destroyed and rebuilt on new sites. In Knowsley township, two windmills can be located from map evidence, another suspected from fieldwork and a further one from field names which include the element '*mill*'. As only one watermill and a windmill are documented in the medieval period, it is not possible to prove which of the four are medieval, although their relative locations in the township may suggest which are likelier to be the earlier. In Roby, there is only one medieval mill documented in 1372 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 175), and only one in the post-medieval period, located on the common of Roby Carr (Lancs RO DDK 351/2, Lease). It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that they may be one and the same.

Post Medieval.

Land Use and Settlement.

In the mid 14th century, the population of England was greatly reduced due to the plagues of the Black Death and to crop failures, which together with climatic changes led to the abandonment or shrinkage of formerly prosperous settlements. This

in turn led to important changes in the landscape, as the land-hunger of the 12th and 13th centuries came to an end. Not everywhere though appears to have suffered equally (Hoskins 1955, 123-4). More documentary work is needed to understand how far modern Knowsley was affected during this period. To the south-east there is documentary evidence that east Cheshire suffered badly, while in Lancashire, Garstang parish lost at least 35 per cent of its population between 1348-51 (A. Crosby pers. comm.).

It was not until the 17th century that the population of England approached that of the early 14th century and most areas then suffered a stagnation or even decline during the late part of the 17th century. Parts of Lancashire avoided this late stagnation, although the south Lancashire and Merseyside areas were less typical of the county as a whole (A. Crosby pers. comm.).

The late 16th /17th century witnessed an increase in population in those townships in Knowsley for which figures exist. In 1554, 32 messuages (house and tenement) were recorded in '*the manor of Tarbock*' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 180). This number had grown to 53 in the Hearth Tax of the early 1660s, but the figure was very similar in surveys and rentals over a hundred years later (Lancs RO DDM 14/11, survey). In Cronton in 1587 there were 20 messuages in the manor (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 393, n. 11) compared to the hearth tax list of 41 in 1663, a figure which again differed little from the 40 recorded in 1843 (Lancs RO DRL 1/16).

In many parts of England the earlier post-medieval period was also one of change from the basic medieval open field system, as individual farmers exchanged scattered strips of land in order to consolidate their holdings in one place. These holdings were then enclosed with hedges. Over a period of time whole townships would be enclosed in this way, sometimes leading to the creation of farms out in the former open fields surrounded by their block holdings of enclosed fields. No clear examples of farms with this kind of post-medieval origin have been securely identified in Knowsley, although many can be suspected.

In some areas of England the open field system continued in use to varying degrees into the 18th and 19th centuries, when Acts of Parliament were passed compelling the enclosure of the large open fields into small, hedged regular fields. In Lancashire and Cheshire, however, much enclosure of open fields took place privately prior to this period and parliamentary enclosure of arable is

very rare. In Knowsley, even though small areas of open arable still survived into the later post-medieval period, none of it was subject to enclosure by Parliamentary Act. In Whiston, two fields, *Shepfield* and *Townfield*, were still partly open in the mid 17th century (Liv RO Accession 2187, Uncalendared), and even in 1749 the '*Town Field*' was not fully enclosed as various named '*parcels*' are recorded as being in the process of being renamed through 'exchanges, inclosures, annexations or alterations of names ..' (Lancs RO DDWi, Uncalendared, Whiston Box 292, Lease, 1749). In Halewood, *Hall Field* was still partly open in 1653 (Lancs RO DDK 1453/2). In Cronton reference to a 'parcel.....lying at the south end of the same two fields called the Great Cliffe and the Little Cliffe ...' in 1659 (Lancs R O DX 1343, Conveyance) suggest open arable may still have existed in the vicinity of Pex Hill. Huyton still retained part of *Townfield*, to the west of the village, as open field in 1830 (Lancs RO DRL 1/39). Open arable did not survive into the 19th century in any other townships, and must therefore have been enclosed privately before this date. However, the survival of parts of the tenurial pattern of medieval holdings in the former open arable areas of Halewood into the 19th century has already been mentioned (see page 140 above).

Areas of former common pasture and woodland were also subject to the same process of enclosure during the post-medieval period. The only Enclosure Acts for Knowsley refer to the enclosure of remaining areas of common and wasteland along roadsides; similarly, in 1803 for Halewood (Lancs RO DDX 1171/1). Much of this type of land in most townships had already undergone encroachment and piece-meal enclosure. The medieval origin of some of the dispersed cottages strung out along roads has already been discussed (see page 140 above). However, by far the largest number of these types of settlement are probably part of a process underway in the 16th and 17th centuries which continued into the 19th century. The linear nucleated settlement along Halebank Road in the eastern half of Halewood is a good example of the latter (fig. 3.15). The narrow width of many roads today in areas such as Knowsley is a result of this kind of encroachment onto the edges of formerly much wider roads. Much of this type of settlement in Tarbock can, on documentary or architectural evidence, be shown to be at least of mid to late 17th-century date. Although such documentary evidence has not been studied for Cronton, much of the scattered settlement along Cronton road is probably post medieval, as the more direct east-west route between Liverpool and St Helens through the township became more

important (fig. 3.6).

The lack of any evidence for medieval settlement in Simonswood has already been noted (see page 154 above), although the township would not have been completely devoid of settlement in this period. In a survey of 1769, 14 '*ancient*' tenements are listed in Simonswood (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 57, n.9), which on the whole occupy a central belt of the township. The fields associated with these tenements are largely contained within much longer continuous curving boundaries formed by a stream and roads, indicated by a thicker line on fig. 3.22. This area of fields corresponds approximately to a belt of boulder clay and sand, which lies within the surrounding mossland, and must represent the earliest phase of colonisation of the landscape. It is not clear which are the earliest of these tenements, nor whether any of them are medieval in origin. Simonswood Hall (No. 2), although only a 17th-century building, may be the best candidate for an earlier site, lying on the edge of a large oval enclosure to the east, which may represent an early enclosure. Some farms will relate to a process of clearance in the period after disemparkment, after 1507. In 1568 rents were due from nine tenements, although only five family names are represented (Lancs RO DDM 12/30). By studying the location of the farms, the layout and location of their fields and references in the survey, it seems clear that several tenements represent the splitting up of larger, earlier tenements eg. nos. 4 and 4a (fig. 3.22). The original, large oval area to the east of Simonswood Hall (No. 2) (formed by roads and continuous curved field boundaries incorporating tenements 10, 3 and 9) was later divided into two and a house, No. 10, was built on the edge of the new estate '*barely within living memory*' in 1769 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 57, n.9). Adjacent tenements nos. 12 and 13 also probably represent the same process of splitting estates. Some of the '*ancient tenements*' eg. no.5, represent reclamation of former mossland.

In Tarbock, the main nucleated settlement on the 1769 Molyneux estate map (Lancs RO DDM 14/53) is shown at Tarbock Green (fig. 3.20). This may have been infill of a former 'green', or, more probably, from the incidence of the 'green' element in field names far to the south and east, it represents settlement on the edge of a larger block of common pasture known as the Green. The form of the settlement shows a line of tenements set within a continuous boundary either side of and parallel to the main road. Two farms, Marklands and Yew Tree Cottage are set back at each end of the nucleation (this can be seen particularly clearly in fig. 3.23, based on the modern Ordnance Survey

map). The regular nature of the two rows of houses, the contrast in siting and layout with the farms and potential early architectural elements in the farms, imply different origins for the nucleated settlement and the farms. There is no proof which of the two elements is the earlier, but it may be more likely that the nucleated settlement represents infill of waste land along a road between two originally isolated settlements, rather than the farms being added to an existing linear settlement. Marklands has a 'tower' element (obscured by modern pebble-dashing) on the western elevation, which suggests a possible early date. The date of the linear settlement is uncertain. It may be of early post-medieval date i.e. 16th/17th century. On architectural grounds, some of the houses were present by at least the mid 17th century, but whether there were earlier buildings on the site is not known. In the 13th century, Tarbock was the location of an abortive market and fair (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 177), for which an area of common such as the green would be a logical site. This could have provided the impetus for the growth of the settlement. It has been suggested that the linear settlement might be an example of late medieval croft and toft planning i.e. the settlement was laid out in one event rather than growing organically (A. Crosby pers. comm.). Only archaeological evidence could provide a more certain interpretation of the origins of this settlement.

In Simonswood, by 1769, 498 acres of common land remained unenclosed (Lancs RO DDM 14/48). It has already been discussed (see page 158 above) how areas of moss had already been enclosed and new farms created prior to this date. On fig. 3.22 this enclosure can be seen around the edges of the common moss represented by the small, regular rectangular fields fringing the open area of moss. By the mid 19th century, the 1st Edition six inch Ordnance Survey map shows that four new farms had established themselves on the remaining area of open moss as the process of enclosure continued.

In Kirkby, probable 18th-century enclosure of the common is represented by the dashed field boundaries on figure 3.9, so that by 1769 380 acres were still unenclosed (Lancs RO DDM 14/33). About the same amount of former mossland had already been enclosed by this date, marked approximately by the area of regular, straight-sided field boundaries to the south of the dashed boundaries, perhaps during the 17th-century expansion of population. Possibly the settlement on Aynsworth Hill may be attributed to this period of enclosure (see Nucleated Settlement on page 131 above) spreading out from the possible earlier settlement core at Little Briton. The approximate

area enclosed, as defined by 'moss' field names, is shown on figure 3.9 by the bold line. In the south-east of the township, comparison of written surveys shows that most of the seven settlements along Cut Lane, which is close to the junction of the Shirdley Hill sand and mossland, originated towards the end of the 17th century, except for no. 6, which is of early 17th-century date or earlier (Lancs RO DDM 14/3).

By 1651, the common of Whiston, the Copped Holt, had also undergone a certain amount of enclosure with three 'closes' totalling 4 acres mentioned as belonging to a messuage (house and tenement) belonging to Thomas and Margaret Woods '*once occupied by Ann Robinson*'. The continuation of this process is probably witnessed by references to '*lately enclosed*' fields, and occasionally the new tenements built within them, in the mid-18th century (Lancs RO DDWi. Uncalendared). The area of this enclosure can be suggested from the map, with quite regular fields and roads in the northern part of the township contrasting with the field boundaries to the south, around Whiston Cross, which probably represent the enclosure of former medieval open arable (fig. 3.5).

This contrast may also be seen at Halewood Green, where the Parliamentary enclosure of 1803 of former common land (Lancs RO DDX 1171/1) has provided regular roads and field boundaries, with associated settlements. These contrast with the earlier less regular field and road boundaries immediately to the south-west (figs. 3.15 and 3.24). Settlements associated with these earlier boundaries are likely to be early post-medieval or medieval in date eg. Okells Farm.

In the late 16th and 17th century many areas of England saw 'the great rebuilding' as vernacular buildings underwent great change in response to changing conditions and many existing settlements underwent some form of rebuilding. Sometimes this involved existing buildings being replaced, while on occasions deliberate new settlements were created, along with many new unplanned rural settlements. This process of village change and

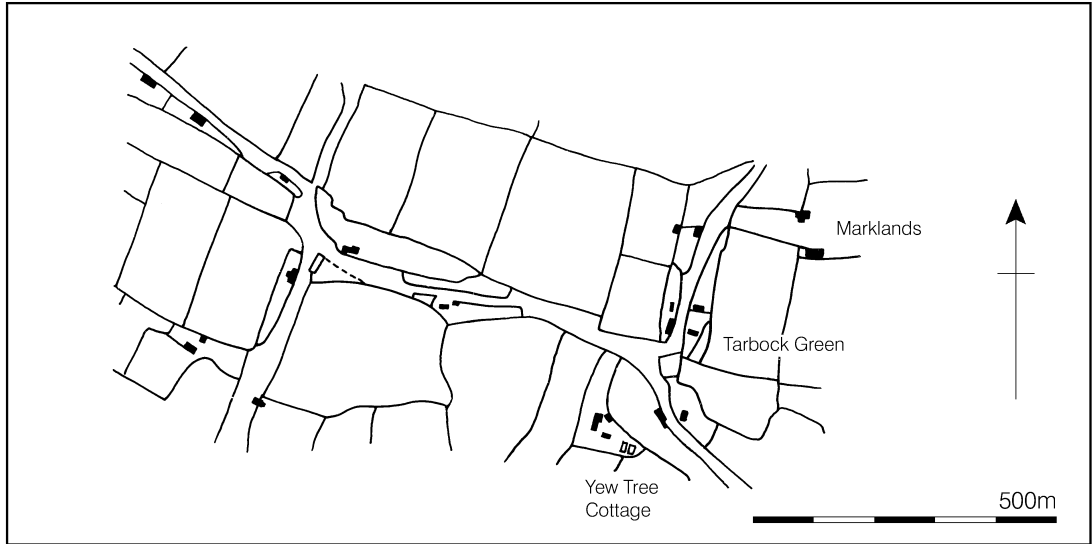


Fig. 3.23 Tarbock Green, 1769

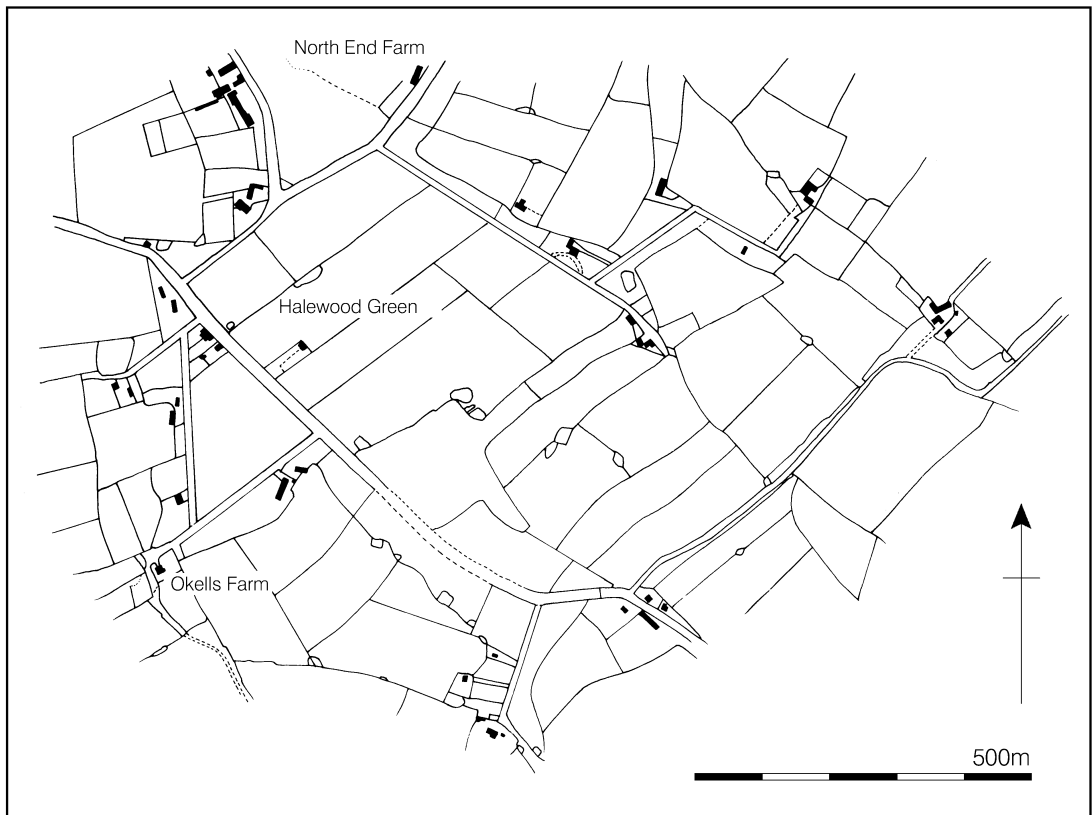


Fig. 3.24 Halewood Green, 1843

movement was sometimes associated with the creation or enlarging of post medieval parks (Rowley 1987, 130-131). In the north, however, this threshold seems to have occurred later, between c. 1670-1720 (Brunskill 1978, 27).

A reasonably late example within this pattern of changing settlements, probably in this case due to the expansion of a country park, may be seen in Knowsley township. A 1785 estate map (Knowsley Hall estate office, No. 161) shows two concentrations of settlement to the north-west of the park (the blocked-in sites on fig. 3.19), along Mill Lane and at Knowsley village. Fieldwalking between these two areas located an area of medieval and post-medieval pottery covering about 7 hectares (c. 17 acres), as well as a small concentration of medieval pottery to the east of the park wall. The relationship of these three areas of settlement to each other, and to the park, is not yet clear, owing to the difficulty of dating the park boundary (see page 155 above). The potential settlement represented by the pottery appears to have been deserted by the 18th century, while the boundary may be associated with 16th century or earlier extensions to the park. This implies that, although part of the medieval settlement may have been destroyed by the extension of the park boundary by the 16th century, part of it continued outside the new park for some time. The existing settlements of mainly 18th century cottages on Mill lane and in Knowsley village may thus represent settlement drift towards the north-east and north-west.

It is not known if there was a pre-existing settlement around the cross-roads at Knowsley village. It is perhaps unlikely to have been the original medieval village, as it is sited far towards the edge of the township and is surrounded by marginal land. Its location has probably been influenced by the existence of the park. This village centre became enlarged to the south in the late 18th or early 19th century by deliberate plantation of estate houses with their regular gardens and associated straight roads (Tithe map, 1847, Lancs RO DRL 1/45). This area was further affected by estate building in the later 19th century (fig. 3.19). Some of the 18th-century buildings may have been altered in appearance, with the addition of rubbed brick details, during this period to resemble the newly built estate houses.

Parks

From the 16th century there was a general movement towards the construction of country houses on a grand and lavish scale, often surrounded by a landscaped park, with more emphasis on the ornamental (Hoskins, 1955, 163-70). Often these

parks were expansions of earlier ones, the 16th and 18th century expansion of Knowsley Park having already been mentioned. This process continued through the post-medieval period, with the 18th century being a particularly important time for creating parks.

It is during this period that much of the impressive landscaping occurred in Knowsley Park (Scholl 1985). In Roby, a new country house was built in 1761 on the site of an earlier one, possibly representing the former manor house site, possibly the one referred to in 1592 (Cheshire RO DCH/F 21.). It was likely to have had a late medieval precursor, but how close this was to the site of the post-medieval hall could only be identified archaeologically. It is not clear if the park around the house (fig. 3.14) was created at the time of the construction of the country house, or was a continuation or extension of the documented medieval park (PRO Calendar Patent Rolls, Edward III). Within the context of the organisation of the agricultural landscape of the township as a whole, the latter perhaps seems the more likely.

Not all post-medieval parks were necessarily extensions of earlier ones. There is no evidence that Halsnead Park in Whiston ever had medieval origins, either through documents or on the ground (fig. 3.5). Early 18th-century leases refer to enclosed fields occupying at least the western and south western area of the present park (SMR 4789.01). This suggests that this area of the park at least was not emarked until about the mid 18th century, although Harris (1955, 156) says there was a park there in 1684 (without giving references though), when the estate came into the hands of the Willis family. The main Halsnead Hall in the north of the park was built during the later 18th century, possibly on the site of an earlier building (Harris 1955). However, the site of Old Halsnead (fig 3.5) a little to the south, appears, on architectural grounds, to be a much earlier building, probably by several centuries at least, and must relate to a pre-existing estate (SMR 4789.01). There is no evidence to determine whether this was associated with farmland or a much earlier, undocumented precursor to the post-medieval park.

In Huyton, the park around Red Hazels (fig. 3.10) was in existence by 1785 (Knowsley Hall Estate Office, No. 161), the area having been described as a 'pasture' in 1491 (Lumby 1939, 192) and '*a close of 2.5 acres large measure*' in 1654 (Liv RO Accession 2187). Jonathon Case 'of Redhassles' is recorded in 1715 (Liv RO Accession 2187, Uncalendared) suggesting the large house within the park existed by the early 18th century. The process

of emparking continued into the 19th century. The park around Hurst House in Huyton was created from an area of enclosed fields shortly after the rebuilding of the house in 1830 (Twycross 1847).

Some medieval parks did not survive into the post-medieval period. Tarbock Hall never attained the status of a country residence and by 1663 a rental shows that the Little Park had been divided up into small enclosed fields (Lancs RO DDCL 657), although in 1692 Richard Tarbock confusingly still claimed to have *'two parks with free warren'* in the township (Selby 1883). Similarly, the medieval park of Kirkby was enclosed by the late 17th century, as seen on the Molyneux estate map of 1769 (Lancs RO DDM 14/53) (fig. 3.9).

Industry and Building

Knowsley retained its agricultural nature well into the 19th century and most of the inhabitants were accordingly involved in farming. The buildings surviving today can provide evidence for the nature and fortunes of post-medieval agricultural society. Most of the 18th-century surveys record the buildings of the farms in a general way, eg. in a Halewood Survey of 1785 (Knowsley Hall Estate Office, No. 161) most are recorded under the heading *'House, Outbuildings, Garden, Orchard and Fold'*. Occasionally more information is given e.g. in a survey of tenements in Roby in 1720 (Lancs RO DDK 1770/7), the farm buildings are referred to in *"bays of buildings"*, although a typical entry such as *'house containing 10 baies of buildings'* appears to make no distinction between the dwelling place and the outbuildings.

The 'great rebuilding' of vernacular houses in the late 17th/18th century in this region has already been mentioned above. In vernacular styles, perhaps the best and earliest examples of building survival from this period is associated with the growth in prosperity of yeoman farmers towards the end of the 17th century. These sites are represented by large, sandstone-built farmhouses with mullioned windows that are found in most townships eg. Carr House in Whiston (fig. 3.5), Yew Tree Farm in Halewood (fig. 3.15), Simonswood Hall (fig. 3.22), or Town End Farm Cronton (fig. 3.6). Not only did the later 17th century see improvement of existing farms but new farms were built, as new land was taken in and cultivated, particularly on the edge of the mosslands in the north of the district. These new houses were not on such a large scale as the former, often probably only originally one or one and a half storeys high. Several examples are to be found today around the edges of Kirkby Moss. At the lower end of the scale, the simple cottage, common from the 17th century onwards, occupied by the farm

workers, of one storey, one room deep plan, has not survived very well. Examples, probably of the later part of the period, do occur in many townships such as Tarbock and Halewood, although they are often heavily modernised.

Although most of the inhabitants of Knowsley were concerned primarily with agriculture, a series of 'industrial' activities were carried on, often as a subsidiary occupation and generally intimately linked with farming. This category included such occupations as brewing, tanning, smiths and millers. In 1677 John Hutchin of Roby was granted a farm which included *'... the lower part of the messuage with the brewhouse adjoining to the said parcell of building...the great barne standing on the north part of the said barne and all that parcell of building called the Tannhouse, two baies of shippon.....parcell of building called the Kilne 2 baies, parcell of building called the Lyme house and Kilne....'* . Certain farms today bear witness to this type of village industry eg. Brewery Farm in Tarbock (SMR 4687-02) or North End Farm in Halewood (fig. 3.24), which had several outbuildings associated with tanning.

The post-medieval landscape was affected to a certain degree by larger scale industry, mainly connected with the extraction of either coal or sandstone. The main coal-mining areas, from at least the early post-medieval period, were in the townships of Whiston, Tarbock and Prescot and to a lesser extent Huyton, Roby and Knowsley. The earlier mining was probably on a small scale, which is difficult to recognise, in that later mining activity may have destroyed most traces of it. The earliest reference to coalmines in Whiston is in the 16th century (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 161, n.4) although the earliest location of mining so far traced on the ground, mentioned in the later 18th century (Lancs RO James Gildart estate map, 1770), lies south-west of Pottery Lane towards the edge of the township (fig. 3.5). In land that is now largely waste either side of the motorway, 8 *'coal pitts'* are shown dispersed over an area of about 4 hectares (c 10 acres). The main 19th-century area of mining lay to the south-east of this, bounded by Windy Arbor Road on the east and south.

In Tarbock, mid 18th-century field names (Lancs RO DDM 14/53) imply one area of mining lay in the north-western part of the township, near the Whitefield-Tarbock Road junction (fig. 3.20). Today the area is partly covered by the remains of the former 19th-century brick and tile works, but irregular earthworks to the west may have been associated with this early mining (SMR 4589.13).

Most townships are shown to have had their own stone quarry on the mid 19th century Tithe Apportionments, generally on the common as on Pex Hill in Cronton, or on the Holt in Whiston. The earliest references to quarrying in Knowsley are to the beginning of the 17th century on Pex Hill (Poole 1906, 217) and in 1649 in Whiston (Liv. RO Accession 2187, Uncalendared). On the western side of the hill, to the north of the large 19th-century quarry, several small quite shallow oval-shaped pits (SMR 5088.08) are visible which are probably the remains of this earlier quarrying.

In Knowsley Park a large area of about 2 hectares to the north-east of the hall is covered by similar pits on the ground today (SMR 4594.05), which probably represent a phase of early post-medieval quarrying. The much larger, 19th-century quarry is to the south, on Riding Hill (fig. 3.17). Knowsley township has the highest number of sandstone buildings in the district, including 18th century or earlier examples, and a distinctive type of estate house, with rubbed brick details, of 19th-century date. Most surviving field boundaries in Knowsley are hedged but in the area around Pex Hill, Cronton (fig. 3.6), quarry sandstone walls are prevalent.

Other types of extractive industry were more localised. In Tarbock recent excavations immediately adjacent to Dagers Bridge Farm on the south-east (fig. 3.20), during the construction phase of the A5300 link road, provided evidence of three very large pits that, from worked building timbers within them, had been in use in the 14th and 15th centuries. These had been dug for clay extraction, although the use to which the clay had been put is not clear (Philpott 2000b). At a later period, the digging of clay for bricks, and their firing, is evidenced by the large number of farms with 18th and 19th-century adjoining fields called "*Kiln croft*". These kilns are more likely to have been for bricks than for pottery, although this could be tested by field walking to identify the associated kiln debris and products. There are several examples in modern Knowsley of buildings with good 18th-century brickwork still surviving, e.g. stables at Linner Farm, Halewood (SMR 4784.3) or Gerrards Farm Halewood (SMR 4487.1). During the 19th century there was a move towards larger, more specialised brick production. Clay extraction sites are known in Tarbock, in land now lying to the north of the M62, to the east of the former medieval field of Whitefield (SMR 4589.17) (fig. 3.20), and west of Mill Lane in Knowsley township (SMR 4495.22) (fig. 3.19). Within this large area may lie a production centre for the brick mouldings that are such a feature on the large number of sandstone built estate houses in the township.

Of the material used in house construction, timber framing, which was widespread in the later medieval and early post medieval periods, has apparently survived rarely. An example of a 17th-century cruck-framed cottage is known in Tarbock, at Rose Cottage (SMR 4587.04) and a cruck-framed barn at Penny Lane Farm is recorded in Cronton (SMR 4888.02). The only surviving timber box-frame building is Georgeson's Farm in Tarbock (SMR 4587.06). Buildings such as the farm at Carr House in Whiston (SMR 4689.02) (fig. 3.5) were formerly of such construction, but later 17th-century rebuilding in stone replaced most of the earlier timber frame. Other buildings in Knowsley are suspected of having undergone similar treatment, and later 19th-century exteriors may mask other examples.

Most roofing material today is slate, although thatch was once widespread. Early 20th-century photographs show that in Halewood the settlement at Lane Ends consisted almost entirely of thatched cottages (SMR 4585.16). The only surviving example today is Rose cottage in Tarbock (SMR 4587.04). A feature of particularly the southern part of modern Knowsley, and possibly of 18th-century date, is heavy stone flag roofing of which surviving examples have been recorded at several farms in Halewood.

The clay and pipe making industry, so prevalent in St. Helens district to the east, based in scattered cottages around the mossland edges (see Chapter 4 this volume, did not apparently exist to any great extent in Knowsley. There are 16th-century references to potters digging clay in Knowsley Park (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 161, n.4), while the main archaeological evidence has come from Prescott, arising from the work of Peter Davey and students from the Institute of Extension Studies (now the Centre for Continuing Education). References to 18th-century potters occur only in single cases, for Whiston and Knowsley townships (Lancs RO DDCS 17/4). Further detailed work on inventories and leases in conjunction with fieldwork is necessary to give a better idea of whether the lack of evidence so far is more apparent than real.

And finally, a cottage industry in Knowsley that had an international profile was that associated with the watch-making and tool-making industries (Poole 1906, 196). The national and international importance of this industry in the nearby centres of Whiston and Prescott may have provided the stimulus for this kind of activity in adjacent villages such as Cronton.

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Abbreviations

British Library Add. Ch	British Library Additional Charters
BM	British Museum
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
Cheshire RO	Cheshire Record Office
Chet Soc	Chetham Society
Lancs RO	Lancashire Record Office
Liv RO	Liverpool Record Office
PRO	Public Record Office
Rec Soc Lancs Ches	Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
THSLC	Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire