MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPES AND ESTATES

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Introduction

Research into aspects of the medieval landscape and archaeology of Merseyside has been undertaken over little more than a century, and has involved a variety of disciplines. More recently, work by the Archaeological Survey and members of voluntary groups in the area has added considerably to the state of knowledge. The present paper aims to review the available material and to consider its value in terms of proposals for future work.

During the 19th and early part of the 20th century, Lancashire and Cheshire had been fortunate in attracting the attention of researchers who transcribed and published thousands of medieval documents deposited in national and local collections. The Victoria County History (Farrer and Brownbill 1907-11) has proved invaluable in its provision of detailed manorial histories, often accompanied by topographical indicators such as watermills and windmills, manor houses (sometimes with a list of rooms compiled from post-medieval inventories) and moated sites, all of which may have left their mark on the present landscape. Other writers have concentrated on particular townships or manors, individual sites and buildings or topics, such as studies of the medieval field systems or the influence of the Royal Forest on the development of the landscape. Further aspects of research, such as the distribution of markets and fairs, have proved a useful source of information.

The evidence should be viewed in the context of those townships which have been subjected to recent detailed fieldwork and analysis. Draft reports prepared by the Archaeological Survey for the rural fringes north of the Mersey provide the basis for the comments which follow (Chitty 1981b; Cowell 1982; Cowell 1983; Lewis 1982). This report refers only occasionally to the evidence for medieval settlement and land use in the Wirral which has been published (Chitty 1981a). A survey of the evidence for historic towns in Merseyside has dealt effectively with urban settlement north of the Mersey (Philpott 1988).

Medieval Survival

Many areas and sites known from documentary sources lie within the urban conurbations and cannot now be located on the ground. The impressive moated site at Bank Hall, Kirkdale, for example (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 38 n16; Gregson 1817, 165), was demolished in 1722 and is now covered by industrial development. In similar fashion, the extensive open field system at Garston, recorded from documentary sources by Youd (1958; 1962), cannot be traced on the ground.

In the coastal areas survival is sometimes associated with wind and marine erosion and dune development. A settlement at Meols in Wirral, perhaps established in the Roman period, seems to have been subject to encroachment of sand and sea by the mid 14th century (Chitty 1981a, 14). Less well documented is the disappearance of settlements, at Argarmeols (now Birkdale), Ainsdale, Formby, Ravenmeols and Morehouses (Little Crosby), north of the Mersey where coastal instability appears to have occurred in the 14th and 16th centuries (Lewis 1982, 61-64). Estate plans for Little Crosby in the 18th and 19th centuries indicate severe encroachment by sand in the vicinity of Morehouses and, indeed, the diaries of Nicholas Blundell in the early 18th century (Tyrer 1968; 1970; 1972) frequently referred to the difficulties of keeping ditches cleared of blown sand or to periods of flooding. There is now no surviving evidence for medieval settlement in any of these areas. The coastal regions are covered with deep deposits of blown sand which are unresponsive to field investigation although monitoring of areas of erosion could be informative.

Perhaps the most furtive medieval features are banks and ditches indicative of medieval field systems or parkland enclosure. Medieval grants made frequent reference to holdings separated by dykes and sykes but a later extensive expansion of agriculture, coupled with urban development, has succeeded in obliterating many. Coupled with this is the problem of the generally low lying nature of the landscape which necessitated the digging of ditches to assist drainage, at least throughout the historic period. For example, 'a messuage 4 perches long and 5 perches wide upon the diked river' was granted in Ince Blundell in the 13th century (Lancs. Ro D Din 53/2) and is testimony to the need for protection against flooding. At least part of Alt Marsh had been drained by dykes by 1242 though the residue of the marsh between Ince and Scholes (unlocated) was to remain untilled for ever as common pasture (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 79). But flooding was an ever present threat throughout the medieval and later periods and led to extensive programmes of straightening and diversion of many watercourses. Although many of the moorland field systems appear to be a consequence of such works, medieval field boundaries, such as a bank at Thornton, can sometimes be identified on the basis of recorded field names which are traceable through to later estate plans and maps. This aspect of local research is still in its infancy but it seems that detailed studies of soil types coupled with place name evidence and linked with an examination of field systems shown on estate plans, may help to indicate the extent of settlement areas, boundaries and varieties of farming practices. Such a study has been undertaken recently as doctoral research at Manchester University (Kenyon, unpublished).
Townships, Settlement and Estates

The township unit, as shown on figure 1, is based on tithe plans and 19th century Ordnance Survey maps. The variation in township sizes is noticeable. Those on Wirral are generally small with exceptions along the north coast at Moreton, Bidston and Wallasey. North of the river there is a cluster of small townships on the sandstone ridge in the south and west but further north and east they are considerably more extensive. The reason for this seems to be linked with the large areas of marginal lands, frequently manifest in peaty mosslands where large scale drainage and reclamation did not take place until the late post-medieval and early modern period. Indeed many of the straight boundaries, such as those which divide the coastal townships and those on the mosslands, can be dated to the 18th century or even later. Intercommoning on the marginal lands appears to have been widespread and often it led to disputes which resulted in formal definition of the bounds, particularly in the marginal areas.

A survey of urban settlement north of the Mersey has been published recently (Philpott 1988). Making use of documentary sources supported by field survey, the medieval elements of the boroughs have been identified and provide a valuable basis on which future research into the relationships between the urban and rural areas might be developed. So far there has been no systematic research into the plans and development of villages and hamlets. Nucleated settlement is by no means the norm though, arguably, it is more frequent on Wirral and in the smaller townships on the sandstone ridge north of the river. Dispersed and isolated hamlets and farms are more usual especially in the larger mossland townships. Sometimes, as at Thornton and Little Crosby, crosses appear to have marked the limit of the village but further work is needed to compare this sort of evidence with that for crosses used extensively as boundary markers for landholdings and those believed to be wayside crosses (Lewis 1982, 44-45). Village greens are an infrequent feature even in the nucleated villages and it is by no means certain that they are of medieval origin. Many hamlet names incorporate the word 'Green' where it is difficult to identify a village green as such. Where they occur on or close to the township boundaries, it seems that they may well have been created from woodland areas or reclaimed mosslands. Clarification of the term and analysis of the topographical and settlement context in which it is used are required.

The assumption that a reference in the Domesday record is a direct implication of a village unit has been shown to be full of pitfalls (Taylor 1983, 126-128). On Merseyside, although the Domesday survey for the hundred of West Derby makes reference simply to manors and their extent in terms of ploughlands and

Figure 1: Townships with open fields and/or royal parks.
their value and that for Newton and Warrington is even more summary, the manorial history of many townships and estates can be traced throughout the medieval period (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 1911) and may, in many instances, be linked to known sites or estates. There is little evidence for large scale settlement desertion, although intensive fieldwalking in the inland townships has been successful in producing medieval material which may relate to abandonment of individual farms. In Tarbock concentrations of pottery have been found at two sites on the perimeter of an area known as Old Field (Cowell 1982, 24, 27 Fig. 12). Aerial photographs show one of these sites as an area of small enclosures (Sheppard 1981, 89 Fig. 5). A scatter of medieval sherds from Oglet Speke may represent the evidence for a small linear settlement which survives now as a couple of post-medieval farms. Here the documentary evidence suggests that, like Morehouses to the north, the hamlet operated its own field system (Cowell 1983, 60). Thorp in Melling was recorded in documents of the late 12th/early 13th centuries and appears to be focussed on the possible moated site at Melling House. Fieldwalking has produced a handful of sherds from late medieval/early post-medieval pottery, together with one or two pieces of possible Roman material. Wholesale removal of settlement for emparking is not clearly indicated though this may have occurred at Knowsley (Cowell 1982, 38) and possibly in Sefton. Recent aerial survey is beginning to identify further areas of possible medieval land use and occupation in the Knowsley and St Helens districts. Together with the material collected during fieldwalking, this opens up new areas of research into settlement continuity from the post-Roman period. But fieldwalking for the recovery of medieval pottery has not been consistent for the area as a whole and, for the time being, the pottery distributions represent a biased sample which cannot in themselves demonstrate specific areas of medieval occupation (Davey, this vol.).

On the present evidence a continuing conservatism and rebuilding on, or very close to, earlier sites remains a distinct possibility. 'The retreat from the margins' which led to the abandonment of settlement on a massive scale in the Midlands and East Anglia in the 14th and 15th centuries (Taylor 1983, 199) is not demonstrated on Merseyside.

Subdivision of the Domesday ploughlands attached to medieval manors occurred from at least the early 13th century and appears to be associated with the system of overlordship and tenure (Lewis 1991). As a consequence, numerous estates of varying sizes were held in a variety of types of tenure out of which smaller landholdings were granted. With the possible exception of the Banastre family and their successors, the Langtons, as lords of Newton, and the Molyneux family of Sefton, none of the major landowners was resident in the area. The lands attached to the Banastre, Sefton and Widnes feves were, more or less, a consolidated group of townships, but those belonging to Warrington were scattered. The crown, with its principal holding at West Derby, was a major landowner but, if not held in demesne, the crown lands were frequently held by serjeanty or in tunage and again were somewhat scattered throughout the area. This seems to have led to a semi-independent group of mesne landlords who were free to make grants of land out of their estates (Lewis 1991).

The distinction between small estates granted out of the principal manor in the early post-conquest period and those which reflect a later expansion of settlement into the marginal fringes is not yet clear. For example, Brettargh Holt and Lee, both in Little Woolton, appear to have different origins. Brettargh was an identifiable holding by 1292 and described as a small estate in 1324 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 119). On the other hand there is good reason to believe that Lee was originally the Domesday manor of Wibaldeslei and, although no evidence for nucleated settlement has survived, fieldwork has revealed ridge and furrow in the area (Cowell 1983, 47).

Some townships were extensively subdivided. By the early 14th century Sutton, held from the barony of Widnes, may well have consisted of several estates including Sutton itself, Burtonhead, Eltonhead, Ravenhead, SHERLLEY, and possibly Micklehead. Clearly the freedom for such estates to develop was not discouraged by the chief lords, barons of the Widnes fee. The Burtonhead estate in Sutton had been established between 1211 and 1240 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 356) and represented one-eighth of the whole vill. Land at Woodfall in Burtonhead was granted to Cockersand Abbey and Richard de Woodfall was described as a freeholder in 1302. A plan of Burtonhead, drawn in c. 1580, shows a hall, three named houses and three other buildings grouped around an area of hedged closes to form a small dispersed hamlet (Lanes. RO DDSc 32/1; Chitty 1981b, 31). Subdivision of one of the enclosed fields suggests that it may have contained six separate strips which were perhaps farmed by the Burtonhead tenants. It is only at Micklehead, however, that a moated site can be identified and recent excavation has shown that it is probably post-medieval in date (Lewis, in preparation).

Although monastic holdings both large and small were widespread, the only monastic house in Merseyside was at Birkenhead Priory on Wirral. Throughout the region landowners made grants, often of marginal land, to different monastic houses which more often than not released the land to resident lay tenants, thus creating a series of small tenancies within townships. On Wirral the townships of Hoose, Birkenhead and Noctorum were held in entirety under monastic administration but, as elsewhere, they seem to have been associated with dispersed settlement and enclosure. Only at Woodchurch, which with Noctorum was held by the Abbey of St Werburgh in Chester, was there a parish church associated with a nucleated village and two open fields. North of the river the manors of Little Woolton, with the possible exception of the Lee and Brettargh
estates referred to above, and Much Woolton, together
with Linacre in Bootle, were held by the Knights' 
Hospitallers in entirety and here again they seem to
have been granted out to lay tenants. In a similar
manner the lands granted to Cockersand and Whalley
Abbeys, whether small consolidated estates or scattered
holdings, usually appear to have been held at farm by
local people.

With varying degrees of accuracy the small estates can
be related in general terms to the modern landscape
and often correspond with the site of existing farms or
hamlets. But the identification of sites representative
of medieval occupation presents problems unless they
are accompanied by earthworks such as the series of
moated enclosures in Bold (Chitty 1981b, 35-39 Fig.
12). An extensive assessment of tithe plans and early
maps for the region north of the Mersey has been
undertaken and is producing evidence for subdivided
townships where estates are associated with one or
more moated site (Lewis 1991). These may be
contrasted with other estates, such as those in Kirkby
or Whiston, Windle or Parr, which lack evidence for
moated enclosure but where the field systems could
date from the medieval period. Isolated farms, such as
Newton Park Farm which survives as a group of 17th
and 18th century structures within a former medieval
park, may well incorporate or mask earlier origins which
could be destroyed unwittingly in the course of
modernisation and refurbishment.

Parishes, Churches and Chapels

Parishes north of the Mersey were very extensive and
consisted of several townships served by a mother
church. Only at Walton, Childwall and Winwick can a
church be implied from the Domesday records, but
almost certainly the parishes of Huyton, North Meols
and Prescot were in existence at or soon after the
conquest. With the exception of North Meols all were
associated with dependent chapels which served a more
local community, sometimes drawn from several
townships. In some cases the parish church was up to
five miles or more from a dependent settlement,
something that the church commissioners of
1650 sought to amend (Fishwick 1879). The enormous parish
of Prescot contained 15 townships and was divided into
two portions with a dependent chapel at Farnworth in
Withers. The parochial chapel at Kirkby may perhaps
have been in existence before the creation of the
extensive parish of Walton (Farrer and Brownbill, 55
n3). Also in Walton the chapel at Ravenmeols was
separated from the mother holding by the creation of
Sefton parish, probably in the late 12th century, which
may reflect the growing importance of the Molyneux
family as feudal overlords. Its creation perhaps resulted
in the disappearance of the Harkirk in Little Crosby
and a possible church site in Litherland, both of which,
like Ravenmeols, lay a little distance from the known
settlement focii and may have been attached to Walton.
The site of the Harkirk was re established in the 17th
century as a consequence of religious persecution and
led to the discovery of a hoard of 10th century coins

Pre-Reformation chapels at Rainford, Billinge and
Hardshaw are associated with linear settlement which
seems to have developed in the 16th century. It can
perhaps be assumed that these chapels, all of early 16th
century date, were placed in pre-existing centres of
scattered if not nucleated settlement (Chitty 1981b, 28).
Billinge chapel dates from about 1536 and its con­
struction may reflect the dissolution of Upholland Priory
near Wigan after which the inhabitants of Billinge found
it too far to travel to Wigan parish church (Giblin n.d.).
If so, it could in the first instance have served a
scattered community. Settlement in the vicinity of the
chapel may not have developed until later.

On Wirral parishes were not as extensive as those north
of the river. Many townships had nucleated villages with
a church or chapel together with a manor house as a
focus of settlement. Pre conquest churches are known
to have existed at a number of locations and, except at
Upton and Hilbre, they formed the centres of later
medieval settlement. At Bromborough, West Kirby and
Woodchurch circular or oval enclosures, characteristic
of early foundations, are associated with the church
(Chitty 1981a, 8, Figs 5, 9). A medieval chapel at
Moreton had been demolished by the end of the 17th
century (Chitty 1981a, 14). Its site has been excavated
recently (Philpott, in preparation); no recognisable
evidence for a church was identified but 10th century
occupation of the site was indicated.

Licences for oratories were granted to several of the
local landowners; the evidence north of the Mersey is
tabulated below. Probably the chapels were attached to
the place of residence and all appear to be associated
with moated sites.

Structural evidence for these chapels or oratories has
disappeared but the ruined St Catherine's Chapel at
Lydiate, for which no licence has been found, appears
to date from the late 15th/early 16th century and to
have been erected by the manorial lord (D'Arcy 1990;
standing structure, St Catherine's may be compared in
architectural style with the similarly ruined parochial
chapel of St Thomas of Canterbury at Windsleshaw near
St Helens, which had been founded by Sir Thomas
Gerard (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 376 n14) probably
in the early 16th century. In these areas of extensive
parishes, apart from serving the religious needs of the
landowning families, the domestic chapels may well have
acted as places of worship for the community, and
indicate that the local population lacked both the
numbers and economic means to improve the situation
(Chitty 1981b, 41). Throughout the late 16th century
until the 18th century many catholic families and their
tenants continued to practise their faith secretly and
houses, such as Crosby Hall, Lydiate Hall and Birchley
Hall, contained small chapels which may have had their
origins in the medieval period.
Medieval landscapes and estates

Table 1: Grants of licences for oratories (VCH is the Victoria County History, Farrer and Brownbill, 1907)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Date of Grant</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashton (Garswood or Atherton)</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>(VCH 1907, 436)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bold</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>(VCH, 1907, 405 n3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eccleston</td>
<td>1395</td>
<td>(VCH, 1907, 363-4 n12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haydock (or Burtonwood)</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>(VCH, 1911, 139 n27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainford</td>
<td>1391</td>
<td>(VCH, 1907, 382-3 n12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarbock</td>
<td>13C</td>
<td>(Webb 1970, 118-119)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Standing Buildings

Medieval buildings survive but rarely outside a religious context and even many churches or chapels of known medieval foundation have been so extensively altered that their origins are not immediately obvious. The only monastic buildings, at Birkenhead Priory, still contain medieval features but these, also, have been the subject of much alteration.

At Brimstage, on Wirral, part of the 14th century manor house and its fortified tower survive adjoined to the post-medieval hall (Chitty 1981a, 12) and a fine timbered roof of c. 1500 still exists, supported on brick walls, at the moated site of Rainhill Hall Farm, near St Helens. The practice of timber frame construction continued well into the post-medieval period. The courtyard buildings at Lydiate Hall date from the first half to the 16th century (Lewis and Samuels 1990; Leggett 1990) and the final range at Speke Hall was completed towards the end of that century (Tibbles 1983). Recent restoration work at Speke has recovered evidence for two cruck-framed buildings which may, however, be considerably earlier. Documentary evidence suggests that a fine seven-bayed, box-framed barn at Newton Park Farm, Newton-le-Willows, dates from the early 17th century (Lewis 1988). Timbers from the cruck framed Scotch Piper Inn in Lydiate, have given dendrochronological dates for the early to mid 16th century (Leggett 1990). Other cruck buildings have produced dates well into the post-medieval period (Leggett 1982). In Prescot or one or two buildings have timber framing which may be of the same late date (Davey 1978; Philpott 1988, 26) and a recent study has recorded evidence for a timber-framed building at Greasby on Wirral.

Field systems and landuse

Throughout the area nucleated villages with an accompanying system of open fields (Fig. 1) contrast with townships where dispersed settlement and enclosure are the usual pattern. Studies of open field agriculture and communal farming practices in Lancashire and Cheshire have been undertaken by Youd (1958; 1962) and Sylvester (1957) respectively. Youd's researches identified open arable fields, common meadows and pastures in many of the coastal townships. More recently the evidence has been the subject of discussion by Elliott (1973). Bakewell has made a detailed study of Ince Blundell and Sefton (1983). The evidence for Little Crosby has been examined (Tyrer 1962; Leggett 1981) and post-medieval sources for Formby and Ainsdale have been considered (Morton 1981).

On Wirral nucleated settlement with up to three open fields contrasts with four townships where there is dispersed settlement and no identifiable open field system (Chitty 1981a, Fig. 9). The juxtaposition of Woodchurch, where there were two open fields, a nucleated village and parish church, with the dispersed settlement of Noctorum, both belonging to the Abbey of St Werburgh, calls for more detailed research into the farming practices of that house. It has been pointed out that on Wirral at least the estates of the Abbey of St Werburgh were based upon a village economy (Chitty 1981a, 15-16).

The Domesday survey for West Derby Hundred makes reference simply to manors and their extent in terms of ploughlands and their value. Although the assessments imply land under cultivation there is as yet no clear archaeological evidence for the location of settlement foci from which manorial labour could have been drawn. Commenting on the agrarian system of the vills within the bounds of the Royal Forest in the 13th century, Cunliffe Shaw has cited numerous land grants which demonstrate that there was a wide band of cultivable land across much of southwest Lancashire. Here there was systemised and intensive cultivation around every nucleated hamlet, with great subdivision of ownership. In the more wooded areas to the east there were many assarts as well as fully developed townfields around centres of habitation (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 296). Some of the small estates around the township fringes, such as Burtonwood in Sutton, seem
to have operated an independent system of farming.

Recent fieldwork and documentary research have confirmed that enclosure and isolated settlement have been found throughout the east of the region, though Newton proves an exception. Here the vill was the head of the hundred and is the only township for which there is clear evidence for nucleation and communal farming (Chitty 1981b, 33; Philpott 1988, 51-58). Otherwise a dispersed pattern of settlement predominated throughout the post-conquest period, and even in the 19th century a large proportion of the rural population lived in scattered farms and cottages. Further, it seems that enclosure had occurred early and that the dispersal of settlement was not an effect of the consolidation and reapportionment of common land (Chitty 1981b, 28-29).

To the west, Sefton and the adjoining township of Litherland were clearly dominated by one resident lord under whom a pattern of tenure and land management typical of nucleation and open field farming might be expected. But in Sefton, at least in the 18th century, an isolated manor house, church and watermill were surrounded by demesne farmland subdivided into closes which contrasts strongly with the map evidence for nucleated settlement and open fields held in several in Litherland at the same date. To some extent this may be due to the influence and increasing status of the manorial lord in Sefton by consolidation of earlier holdings and emparkment, which would have resulted in the gradual disappearance of the common arable fields (Elliott 1973, 53). It has been suggested that a 'view of decayed housing' in Sefton in 1411 may indicate long term decay of messuages perhaps closer to the manorial buildings (Bakewell 1983, 19) but evidence for such structures was not confirmed by fieldwork. In fact the scattered hamlets of Lunt, Buckley Hill and Windles Green, which border Sefton township, may have supplied labour to a consolidated demesne. None of the documents examined so far has provided any direct evidence for open field management in Sefton and comparative study of the farming practices in both townships would be valuable.

Extensive mosslands were a valuable resource for both pasture and turbarry; as an important element in the local economy they were frequently the subject of dispute as a result of intercommoning. Pasturage for sheep, goats and cattle was the most common cause of dispute in the later period, but reference to mares in monastic grants of the late 12th and early 13th century (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 341) suggests that horse breeding may also have been an important activity in Lydiate and Ravenmeols both of which bordered the extensive mosslands of Altcar.

A mixed farming economy is clearly indicated for the area. Even at Garston, where Youd identified an extensive open field system (1958; 1962), clearly there was land available for the pasturage of 500 sheep, 20 cows, oxen and draught horses granted to Cockersand before 1206 (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 122 no. 3). Many of the problems of understanding the variations in settlement patterns and land use are only now beginning to emerge and clearly there still remains a great deal of documentary research for the area as a whole. Linked with the evidence for subdivision of landholdings into small estates, it seems that in many areas independent patterns of settlement and agriculture had been established long before the early 14th century decline in the agricultural economy which elsewhere in England led to the jettisoning, by the seignorial lords, of their less productive lands on their demesnes (Miller and Hatcher 1978, 61). Moreover the raising of the forest laws seems to have led to an expansion of settlement and agriculture into the woodland and mossland areas. The very nature of small estates, managed from a single farm with a limited number of dependent tenants, may well have assisted in stabilising the effects of the agricultural downturn.

**Woodland**

With the exception of the coastal area, timber was an economic resource of many townships, though grants indicate the clearance was taking place in the 12th-14th centuries (Cowell 1982, 34; Chitty 1981b, 25-26; Lewis 1982, 13-14).

In 1086 the extent of land under timber in Newton hundred appears to have been greater than the area of the hundred and may, in fact, have extended into Warrington (Terrett 1962, 409-410). An examination of the evidence is beyond the scope of this summary, but it suggests that the whole of Newton was extensively wooded. This is borne out by minor place names such as Garswood, Windleshaw and Blackleyhurst, and grants of tenants’ rights to timber and pannage which occur throughout the area. Monastic charters clearly indicate that woodland survived in the townships of Bold, Eccleston, Windle and Billinge. But as elsewhere it was being cleared and enclosed in the 13th and 14th centuries. Indeed in 1327 Eccleston wood was said to be beginning to decay (Chitty 1981b, 27).

Further west, grants of pannage indicate woodland in many townships in the late 12th/early 13th century, and the southern half of Tarbock, an area of manorial woodland, was not enclosed until the 17th century (Cowell 1982, 34). In the same township a grant to the lepers at Rudgate in c. 1276-83 included quittance of pannage for 20 pigs in the common wood (Webb 1970, 121). Similar evidence is forthcoming from the records of grants to Cockersand Abbey in many townships bordering the mosslands.

On the whole, clear evidence for nucleated settlement in the woodland areas is lacking. The considerable number of 'green' place names has already been noted and is associated with hamlets or farms on or close to the township boundaries. These may represent assart of former woodland or mossland areas but as yet their medieval origins are unproven. In a similar manner...
'peel' names sometimes occur within former woodland areas. Although, as at Piele Hall in Haydock, they are occasionally associated with moated sites, originally they may indicate an enclosure or palisaded assart.

The greater part of the area north of the Mersey was taken into the bounds of the Royal Forest in 1088-94 (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 10). As such it was subject to forest legislation and the only vills excluded at the time of the forest inquisitions in 1334-36 were in the north (North Meols and Argarmeols) and east (Rainford, Windle, Billinge, Ashton, Haydock and Newton) (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 164). Clearly for administrative and legislative purposes, the forest included areas of coastal duneland and mossland as well as woodland.

The effect of the forest laws on woodland assart and the expansion of agriculture has yet to be considered. Analysis of the development of the landscape following disafforestation in the 14th century would provide valuable information about settlement patterns and landuse. Within the forest areas in townships such as Lydiate and Maghull, large scale assarting may well have been a consequence of the lifting of the forest laws. There is considerable potential for further fieldwork and research, particularly at Halewood on the lands attached to the moated site at Lovel's Hall and on the Garswood estate in Ashton where aerial photographic survey has produced evidence for as yet undated enclosures.

**Hundredal Manors: West Derby, Newton and Warrington**

West Derby castle was the administrative centre for the royal estates between Ribble and Mersey in the period following the conquest. Although not specifically mentioned at the time of the Domeday Survey, almost certainly its origins lay in the pre conquest period but by the 13th century its importance was coming to an end. Although the town of West Derby appears to have achieved borough status before 1237 (Philpott 1988, 42-43), by this time the focus had been transferred to Liverpool which had received royal charters from Henry I in 1128 and 1129. These were followed by John's charter in 1207 and a further charter by Henry III in 1229 (Davey and McNeil 1985, 1). The construction of Liverpool castle between 1232 and 1237 seems to have been the final blow in the decline of West Derby's importance. By 1297 it was said that 'in the town fields of Derby there was a certain site of an old castle, where the capital message used to be, with the circuit of the ditches' (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 13) and the place seems to have been used as meadow. By 1323-24 herbage of a ditch around the castle, together with a plot called the mill pool, was worth 13s 4d (Farrer 1907, 207) and in 1346 the site of the castle with a parcel of meadow was worth 20s yearly (Farrer 1915, 78).

The structural nature of the castle is uncertain. A mound called Castle Hill was depicted by William Yates on his map of 1786 and it has been said that the field was levelled in 1817 and ploughed in 1820 (Farrer and Brownbill 1908, 543-545). Archaeological excavations in 1927, in advance of housing development, recovered evidence for a double ditch around a central area and a single ditch which surrounded the bailey (Droop and Larkin 1928, 47-55). The absence of masonry suggested that timber was the dominant building material. Examination of structural evidence for the bridge timbers recovered from the bailey ditch led Stuart Rigold to believe that it can be dated to the time of Stephen, 1135-1154 (Rigold 1975, 48-91 passim). He concluded that the bridge was a primary feature of one phase and the earliest recorded example of its type. All the artefacts have now been lost but published photographs have led to the suggestion that the material recovered from the ditch dated to abandonment after the mid 13th century (Davey 1977, 68). A re-examination of the published sections has produce no clear evidence of overburden such as might be expected from levelling of a large earthwork and it is possible that the castle was a ringwork. Such interpretation would place West Derby castle alongside a possible ringwork at Chester castle and the sites at Buckton and Pennington in Lancashire (Cathcart King and Alcock 1969, 112, 117).

At the time of writing, archaeological excavations immediately east of the castle site have produced evidence for structures of possible medieval date, associated with a wide, shallow watercourse (Philpott, in preparation).

Castle Hill at Newton-le-Willows was held by the lords of the Newton fee and survives as a circular mound with a flat top. It was first excavated in 1843 in the belief that it was a prehistoric burial mound (Sibson 1843, 325-347). This preconception somewhat coloured the interpretation of the evidence but re-examination of the published report now suggests that the mound had been constructed over an earlier feature, possible incorporating a timber structure. No objects were recovered to assist in dating the monument though a fragment of possible Roman mortarium was illustrated in the published report.

Erosion patches on two sides of the mound were re-excavated in 1987-88 with the intention of recovering for reinterpretation of Sibson's work (Lewis, in preparation). A wide, rock-cut ditch was found on two sides of the mound, but contained no datable evidence for its construction or period of use. Likewise excavation of the erosion patches produced no structural evidence to support Sibson's claim that it was the 'burial place of Celtic kings'. More plausibly the mound perhaps represents the foundations for a medieval wooden watchtower sited on the edge of the highway which ran between the Roman and medieval towns of Warrington and Wigan. The 1987-88 investigation also examined the surrounding field for evidence of a bailey. It was found that the topsoil had
effectively been removed down to natural boulder clay. The ground had then been made up by extensive depositions of modern debris, probably associated with the construction of the nearby M6 motorway in the early 1960s.

Whether the mound was associated with other features suggestive of defence or settlement is not known. The earliest documentary reference occurred in 1465 when a licence to crenellate Newton Hall was granted in 1341 to Robert de Langton, the lord of Newton. This site, which was probably moated, seems to have been located south of Newton High Street, at some distance from Castle Hill (Philpott 1988, 16-18).

Moated sites

Moated sites are the most widespread medieval earthwork feature in the region and have been found in 33 out of 94 townships (Figs 2, 4) with an increased concentration in the eastern townships north of the Mersey. Whilst on Wirral townships with a single site are more usual, north of the river several townships have more than one moat. Reasons for the creation of more than one site within a township seem to be a consequence of different types of tenure, topography and estate management.

A total of 62 moated sites has been identified (Appendix) and supersedes the number published by the Moated Sites Research Group (Chitty 1982). In arriving at this figure many sites have been recorded on the basis of documentary references from both published and unpublished sources (Lewis 1991). Checking in the field by the Archaeological Survey has been followed by measured survey of 15 sites added to which a further eight sites north of the Mersey still require detailed fieldwork.

Since the mid 19th century many sites have been destroyed by urban development. Sometimes evidence was recovered prior to destruction as at Wright's Moat [19] and Old Hutt [18] (Wrathmell, forthcoming) but elsewhere (Yew Tree House [20]) the only available information had to be recorded whilst development was taking place (Warhurst 1977). At Sefton Old Hall [45] archaeological excavations in the 1950s were followed by partial destruction of the site by road construction (Lewis 1981a; 1981b). Although others have been subject to ditch infilling or rebuilding of structures on the platform, as assessment of form and dimensions and the disposition of buildings is possible by means of map evidence though this may not necessarily represent the unaltered medieval earthwork.

The evidence for moating is less certain when a ditch or group of ditches is associated with or near the site of a known medieval building, but does not fulfil the criteria as laid down by Taylor (1978). Such ditches are a common feature of the landscape, particularly on the mossland fringes north of the Mersey, where ditch digging may have been necessary in order to provide a dry site and was not a deliberate attempt to establish a moated enclosure. Ditches and ponds, which may fall into this probable or possible category of moats, have been identified at several sites (Appendix). Although all are suitable candidates in terms of tenurial status the physical evidence for moats is less secure.

a) Form and dimension

The majority of sites are square, rectangular or sub-rectangular single, enclosures such as those occurring on the Lancashire Plain (Withersby 1976, 7) and in Greater Manchester (Tindall 1985, 11). Occasionally, as the Old Hutt [18], a series of concentric ditches lies outside the moat ditch. Aerial photographs of Lovel's Hall [17] and Sefton Old Hall [45] suggest that the earthworks were more extensive and, perhaps, incorporated a pair of moated enclosures and ancillary features. The double enclosure at Garswood [1] may be similar.

With the exception of the Court House at Bromborough [56], on Wirral, (3.2ha) (Chitty and Warhurst 1979; Freke 1981, 47-52) all the moated sites are small and the platform areas fall between 0.03ha and 0.63ha. The ditches vary in width between less than 4m to over 20m but are often of varying width at a single site, perhaps due to alterations since the medieval period.

b) Altitude and Location

The most elevated sites, such as Blackleyhurst [4] (99m OD), lie in the townships in the east and contrast with a group (21%) situated on the mossland fringes along the banks of the rivers Alt and Ditton and the lowland areas of the Wirral, where they lie at c. 7.5m. OD (Figs 3 and 6).

Most are situated on boulder clay; Mossborough Hall [39] lies on a small island of boulder clay and Shireley Hill Sand surrounded by peat mosslands (Hall and Folland 1970, Fig. 17). Formby Hall [15], on blown sand at the edge of peat mossland, contrasts with Lydiate Hall [31] which lies on a sandstone outcrop. Here the single linear ditch is rock cut and steep sided. A rock cut moat at Newton [37] appears to have existed in 1634, and demonstrates a tradition of moat building continuing into the post-medieval period (Chitty 1981b, 36).

The majority of sites lie some distance from the township centres (Fig. 5) and are related to individual consolidated estates. North of the river the five moats in Halewood are all close to the boundaries, and at Bold only the principal holding [6] of a total of seven moats is placed centrally and one, Barrow Old Hall [5],...
Figure 2: Distribution of moated sites related to townships, one site in Haydock not located.

Figure 3: Moated site distribution in relation to topography, contours at 30m intervals, one site in Haydock not located.
is actually on the township boundary fed by the stream which divides Bold from the next township. At Sefton the moats at Old Hall [45] and the Rectory [46] are close to poorly drained land subject to frequent flooding, but here is the only place where the parish church and moated manor house lie together in a manner more typical of the east Midlands, though other evidence for settlement nucleation is lacking. Even in Huyton and Prescot the moated sites are some distance from the parish churches and settlement foci.

Of the nine sites identified for Wirral only three are situated in or very close to the village. The remainder are not apparently so close, though Carr House [61] and Woolton Grange [54], both belonging to Birkenhead Priory, are the only sites for which no clear relationship with settlement has emerged (Chitty 1981a, Figs 9 and 12). Only in Bromborough were two sites found in a single township, one of these being associated with the Court House belonging to the Abbey of St Werburgh in Chester.

c) Function

Merseyside moats usually enclose a platform on which there was a homestead and sometimes a group of farm buildings. In most cases the medieval buildings have been replaced though one or two retain some earlier elements (Rainhill Hall Farm [40], Tarbock Hall [52], Brimstage Hall [55] and, possibly, Speke Hall [47]). On Wirral seven sites appear to be associated with monastic ownership but only one such site, Cuncough Hall [34], has been identified north of the Mersey.

In Cheshire it has been suggested that lawlessness in the 14th century was at least one reason for moat construction (Harrop 1977, 14-15; 1983, 13) though this is not supported by dated archaeological evidence. Records of civil unrest in Lancashire in the early 14th century clearly demonstrate links between named landowners on whose estates moated sites have been identified (Lewis 1991) but this is not so far supported by archaeological investigation. Although protection against the predations of animals rather than humans may have been a function of the sites located in wooded areas it is equally possibly that such moats were simply a response to assarting and representative of the subdivision of the township into small estates.

Drainage was almost certainly a principal consideration on the lower mossland fringes particularly at Sefton Old Hall where proximity to the river Alt led to frequent flooding and caused considerable distress in the township in the post-medieval period (Bakewell 1983, 23). Similar problems may well have occurred at Formby Hall due to flooding of the Downholland Brook and at Mossborough Hall in Rainford.

Few fish ponds have been found and, where identified, they are on sites of higher status. At Garswood [1] a complicated system of moats, an ice house and stream feeding a corn mill have obvious archaeological
implications in terms of status, estate management and function of the various water features. But how far all or any of these can be assigned to the medieval period is not known.

d) Tenure, status and date

'Moats were constructed by all seignorial sections of medieval society... (and) in the lower social levels when constructed by a freeman ... there is some evidence that they served as the messuages attached to a freehold estates which did not possess true manorial rights and the question of links between moat size, complexity and social status has been raised' (Le Patourel and Roberts 1978, 48). In discussing moated sites in Greater Manchester, Adrian Tindall has drawn attention to the status of the freeholders, fragmentation of landholdings and the incidence of partible inheritance amongst tenants-at-will in Lancashire, all of which may have had some influence in moat building (Tindall 1985, 18). In Merseyside moats are found on estates held either in chief from the Crown or the baronies or on those former thanage lands which were held in socage by the 14th century, with a consequent freedom of inheritance and alienation (Fig. 7; Appendix). Licences to crenellate are rare and cannot be used as evidence for moat building; more significantly, the licences granted for emparkment and oratories can be linked, in a number of cases, to the evidence for moats on the principal estates. However, many moats occur on minor holdings where there is no indications of such licences.

The largest group (24) fall within the holdings of knights’ fees and, of these, 16 are located in eight vills belonging to the Barony of Widnes. The remaining eight are distributed over a similar number of vills.

Eighteen moated sites are found in seven vills where the mesne lord held in thanage or socage and where early subdivision of the townships is indicated. In Bold this freedom on the part of the lord to make grants of land resulted in a total of six satellite moats on estates granted out of the principal holding at Old Bold Hall [6]. Similar evidence for small estates and moated sites occurs in many other townships, especially in the Newton Hundred (Lewis 1991). Sites on estates held by monastic houses predominate on Wirral but only two have been identified north of the Mersey.

Halewood is the only vill held by the crown in which moated sites occur. Five have been identified and all are located on or near the boundaries. For three of these there is good evidence that they were in existence at a time when Halewood was still within the bounds of the Royal Forest. Only one, Lovel's Hall [17], could conceivably have been associated with an area of open

Figure 7: Distribution of moated sites related to tenure (see Appendix for key to site numbers).
fields located in the east. It was held by Sir Robert de Holland from Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and a major contributor to local disorder in the early 14th century. On the forfeiture of his estates in 1322 an inventory of his possessions in Hale included an iron chain for the drawbridge: a moated site is clearly indicated.

The other major landowners in Halewood, the Ireland family, also seem to have been resident in Halewood before deforestation. They occupied the Old Hutt [18] and, probably, the associated Wright's Moat [19]. Pottery dating from the 13th century was recovered in excavation at both sites (Medieval Archaeol 1961, 327; Wrathmell, forthcoming). Although occupation is clearly indicated the date of moat digging was not established and it is quite possible that their moats were created around the site of existing structures.

The present half-timbered building at Speke Hall [47] dates from the late 15th century to the end of the 16th century, though recent building work has led to the identification of two cruck frames which might be earlier. Archaeological investigation produced pottery from the 13th-16th centuries from the infill of a ditch which predates construction of the west range. It is suggested that this relates to a moat of smaller dimensions than that shown on estate plans of the post-medieval period (Higgins, forthcoming; Nicholson 1983) but, again, we have no clear evidence to date the creation of the first moated enclosure.

From Crosby Hall [30] documentary sources provide evidence for a moated enclosure in the late 13th century. The moat at Newton Hall [37] may be a post-medieval creation though, for this site, the documentary evidence is confusing and the moat cannot now be identified on the ground (Philpott 1988, 16-18). Excavation at St Michael's House [49] has shown, however, that the tradition of moat construction continued well into the post-medieval period.

Although we are aware that many small estates on which moats are found had been created before the Great Inquest of 1212 (Farrer 1903), subdivision of vills before this time does no more than indicate the tenurial context within which moat digging could have been possible. The independence of such estate owners would, presumably, have given them social status which could lead to a desire to demonstrate that status through moat creation. Moated sites found on estates where landowners had received grants for parks and private chapels come as no surprise but such grants were made at the upper end of local society. All the same moat digging was an expensive exercise and we still know too little about the economics of local estates, whether large or small, to postulate the financial circumstances and availability of labour which would allow such indulgences.

In summary moated sites in the area represent a variety of types of tenure and location and were constructed over a long period. Neither the nature of tenure or location of site appears to have been a restricting factor in its creation. Size of platform and complexity of ditches may, however, indicate different levels of status. At the same time, the complexity of a site may demonstrate an evolutionary process of expansion and adaptation according to social aspiration or practical need. Neither of these factors needs, necessarily, to be linked to a single phase of moat digging. To balance the evidence there is a large number of townships (66% of the Merseyside total) where there is no indication for moats. Although it seems unlikely that there was any difference in the tenurial status of landowners in these places or in their economic and practical requirements, it appears that moat creation was not endemic.

Parks

Many estates held by the more important landowners in Halewood held parks attached to the demesne. At the top of the hierarchy came the royal parks of Toxteth, Croxteth, Halewood (Linall) and Simonswod which were managed by keepers responsible to the Crown. They occupied extensive areas, if not complete townships and, with the exception of Toxteth, they were sited on low-lying, poorly drained lands. There is evidence that by the 14th century Croxteth was used at least in part for grazing (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 182 n9), but pleas made in 1323 against offences in the parks at Toxteth and Hale show that these were still reserved for the keeping of deer (Tupling 1949, 89-107 passim). At the same time in Hale the Crown was selling 'oak trees standing on arable land which bear neither fruit or leaf' (Cunliffe Shaw 1956, 183), demonstrating that areas of that township were under the plough.

Fields called Linnnow in Halewood were recorded in the 17th century and may represent the area of the medieval park (Linnow) which is now mainly occupied by housing (Cowell 1982, 36). They are associated with the lands attached to the moated site of Lovel's Hall. Simonswood, a mossland area, was reserved for the chase but still contained some woodland in the mid 14th century when pannage of swine, perquisites of the woodmote, farm of a smith, honey and woodland wax, elders, dead wood, crops (twigs), bark and sparrow hawks were recorded (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 56 n10).

Parks were also established in several of the townships held in subinfeudation from the baronies or in thanage from the Crown (table 2).

Except at Knowsley, where traces of a low bank and ditch have been found and probably represent an extension of the park in the 16th century (Cowell 1982, 38), physical evidence for the bounds of these parks has not survived though often it is possible to postulate their limits by reference to early plans and maps. Garswood in Ashton may also have been emparked in the medieval period following clearance of woodland on
Table 2: Evidence for medieval parks (* indicates one or more moated sites in these townships; VCH is the Victoria County History, Farrer and Brownbill 1907-11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bold*</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>pre 1334-6</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td>(Cunliffe Shaw 1956,144)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eccleston*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1373</td>
<td>Knight's Fee</td>
<td>(VCH 1907, 363 n11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haydock*</td>
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<td>1334-5</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td>(VCH, 1911, 138)</td>
</tr>
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<td>500</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>Knight's Fee</td>
<td>(Cowell 1982, 36)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>not known</td>
<td>pre 1292</td>
<td>Knight's Fee</td>
<td>(Cowell 1982, 38-39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton*</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>pre 1324</td>
<td>Knight's Fee</td>
<td>(Lewis 1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roby</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>1338</td>
<td>Knight's Fee</td>
<td>(Cowell 1982, 36-37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarbock*</td>
<td>(2 parks)</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>pre 1251</td>
<td>Knight's Fee (VCH, 1907, 177 n10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windle</td>
<td>not known</td>
<td>pre 1547</td>
<td>Knight's Fee</td>
<td>(VCH, 1907, 373)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the demesne but documentary evidence for this is lacking. Evidence for a park at Sefton rests with an enclosure shown on a plan drawn up by Lord Burghley in 1590 (Gillow 1907). The park was depicted as an empaled area around the church and arguably encompassed the manorial demesne. In 1769 fields attached to the demesne were called 'Park' (Lancs, RO DDM 14/47) but there is no surviving topographical evidence for park boundaries (Lewis 1982, 97).

Documentary evidence for keeping of deer and park management on the manorial estates is fragmentary but indicates that areas within parks were sometimes set aside for different uses. At Knowsley, although clearances for cattle grazing had been made by 1325 (Cowell 1982, 38), in 1407-8 the King granted permission for the construction of a salus or deer leap (Farrer and Brownbill 1907, 159 n7). At Eccleston in 1373 there was a 'certain hey called the park' but its use was not specified. The grant for the Great Park at Tarbock before 1251 specified that the lord was not to make a deer hey although he could have 'free park and beasts of the forest'. The two parks at Tarbock were divided into small fields between 1611-33 and that in Kirkby was enclosed by the end of the 17th century (Cowell 1982, 46). Newton Park, used at least in part for cattle grazing in 1412, was divided into closes by the 17th century when arable cultivation and animal husbandry were practised side by side (Lewis 1988).

It seems clear, however, that parks and oratories were the prerogative of the principal landholders although moated sites were also established by other landowning families.

Conclusions

Although on Merseyside the evidence for medieval settlement is now becoming less opaque the recorded information is still without detailed analysis and interpretation. The substantial archive of information resulting from fieldwork and documentary research is still barely understood in terms of a local, regional and national patterns. Nonetheless the record now provides the basis of research within an integrated theme.

Excavation alone, whilst supplying invaluable information about an individual site, cannot provide answers relating to the context of landscape and tenurial patterns within which sites were established. Varieties of parochial organisation, settlement patterns and farming practices have yet to be considered in the light of historical evidence and linked to that of the landscape. Both open field farming and early enclosure are features of our local settlement but the circumstances in which they developed are still far from clear, although both had an important role to play in the economy. Similarly, the marginal lands were also a significant feature, but it is still not known when these were cleared and the first medieval woodland and mossland assarts were established. Further, the additional information to be gained from detailed documentary study of economic factors, manorial proceedings and land grants may provide evidence for
changes in settlement pattern and agricultural practices which could be interpreted on the ground.

In recent years archaeologists have become increasingly aware of the difficulties arising from the study of the medieval period (Austin 1985, 53-56). The problems are complex and require an approach which embraces research into both the material and written evidence. As David Austin has said 'there is a growing awareness of the unity of the landscape and the need to discuss and examine its various elements in an integrated way' (Austin 1985, 55). The present summary of the medieval evidence for Merseyside has raised many questions. It is to be hoped that it will encourage research to find the answers.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix: List of townships and moated sites with dates of survey and excavation (see Fig. 7 for details of tenure)

Key: CERTAIN SITES, Probable sites, POSSIBLE SITES, Doubtful sites

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Township</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Survey / Excavation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1 GARSWOOD OLD HALL</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 STANLEY BANK</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billinge</td>
<td>3 BIRCHLEY HALL</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 BLACKLEYHURST</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bold</td>
<td>5 BARROW OLD HALL</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td>1981</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6 BOLD OLD HALL</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 CRANSHAW HALL</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
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<td>8 FURTHER MEAR HEY</td>
<td>Thanage</td>
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<td>9 HOLBROOK HOUSE</td>
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<td>10 Hayfield Farm</td>
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