

***Reconstructing the Medieval Landscape of Devon:
Comparing the Results of Cartographic Analysis
and the Domesday Survey***

**Submitted by Richard John Sandover,
to the University of Exeter,
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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research in Archaeology
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Abstract

This thesis sets out to create a map of parts of Devon at Domesday. This will be achieved by pursuing two themes. The first is a map regression that will identify the core farmland (that is the land that was 'anciently' enclosed), while the second establishes an interpretative framework that will allow selected Domesday metrics to be interrogated. The Domesday metrics will be used to corroborate the results of the map regression.

Five case study areas have been selected to cover a series of different *pays* within the county, extending from the floodplains in the south-east across to the top of the Blackdown Hills and up to the fringes of Exmoor. Each case study area was created around two parishes, and their tithe maps and associated apportionments have been transcribed into a GIS to serve as the basis of the map regression.

The map regression will follow two paths. The first analyses the fieldscape, removing evidence of 'modern' enclosure and arriving at a map of the land that was enclosed early in the historic period, while the second concentrates upon the settlement patterns, trying to establish a counterpart to the map of the fields. The Domesday data pertaining to the agricultural exploitation of the land and to the population will be interpreted to provide two products: one that may be used to corroborate the 'Domesday' map of the fieldscape and the other to both inform, and assess the postulated settlement pattern of the same date The

establishment of continuity is fundamental to the success of this project and a lot of effort is expended attempting to identify links between the Domesday and tithe data. Additional mechanisms that may also promote continuity have been identified and are utilised throughout. In addition to the use of the limited records, the work in each case study area is supported by palynological analyses from pollen sequences within the locale and attention has been paid to the existence of ancient woodland in each parish.

Working in a county that has a dearth of early records, the combination of map regression with corroborative evidence from Domesday works very effectively at a parochial level, but difficulties in determining the extents of the Domesday manors complicate a similar check at that more local level. Credible maps for each parish, which can probably be dated to *ca.* 1086, have been produced, using a methodology that may be adapted for use elsewhere.

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The following map sources have been downloaded from the mapping database at Edinburgh University (EDINA): Modern OS Maps, Historic OS Maps and British Geological Survey Maps. All these digitised maps are subject to copyright.

The modern OS maps have been used primarily to produce topographical layers within the GIS, to support a variety of GIS illustrations, but have also been used to verify the existence of streams and rivers that are recorded on the tithe maps. They have also been used to inform the search for settlement details, in particular farms and manors. None of the original mapping has been used in any illustration within this thesis, but those maps that show topographical features are subject to ©Crown Copyright/database right 2008.

In a similar manner, the British Geological Survey mapping has been used to produce the geology maps that support each case study, but once again none of the original mapping has been used in any illustrations. All the maps depicting the geology of the region/parish are subject to copyright: Geological Map Data © NERC 2010.

The OS County Series First Edition 6" maps, which generally date to between 1880 and 1890 in Devon, have been employed to generate a degree of geographical accuracy within the digitised tithe mapping and have also been used to inform the search for historical data. In the absence of suitable photographic capture of the tithe maps some of these maps have been used to highlight features that can be found on the tithe maps. County Series 6" mapping has been used to enhance the following Figures: 3.3, 4.20, 4.21, 5.28, 5.30, 7.21, 7.24, 8.20 and 8.21. These figures are subject to © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2004. All rights reserved.

1

Introduction

‘Generations of children in English schools have been taught about the open-field system of medieval England – about how people lived in villages surrounded by common fields, and worked their lands under communal controls in a system of rotation.’

(Williamson & Bellamy 1987, 10)

I am one of those children who grew up believing in the ubiquity of medieval villages and three-field systems. It would appear, however, that the school children and teachers of the 20th century were reading from an abridged text, since academia had been debating, from before the turn of the century, both the feudal and the agricultural differences between the heartland and the periphery of England. The peripatetic John Leland recorded an absence of common fields in parts of Devon as early as 1542, during his brief visit to the county, when he noted ‘many enclosures for both pasture and corn’ (near Barnstaple), and land that was ‘well enclosed, with fertile arable and grassland, and some woods’ (between Torbay and Exmouth) (Chandler 1993, 105, 117). As we will see (Chapter 2) Leland was describing fields that were being farmed under a system of convertible husbandry. It would seem that the farming of Devon (and Cornwall) developed along a different trajectory to that of the rest of the country, but how different was the farming in this county, and against what standard should that difference be measured? An understanding of the agricultural history of Devon is fundamental to one of the two themes of this thesis, which is the identification of

the core farmland, in selected areas of Devon; this is the land that has been enclosed from an early date. The other theme concerns the development of a working interpretation of the land measurements used in Domesday, which will permit an assessment of the amount of land that was agriculturally exploited by each manor in 1086. It is hoped that comparison of the two, the putative core farmland and the Domesday metrics, will permit the former to be dated to *ca.* 1086, thereby creating a Domesday map of selected areas of Devon.

Peripheral?

Geographically, Devon (and Cornwall) are undoubtedly 'peripheral' to the main body of England (Figure 1.1) and, in modern times, it was the work of both Gonner (1912) and Gray (1915) that started to articulate an agricultural (and cultural) difference that could be used to separate these counties, and others, from the 'heartland' of England, the Midlands. Arguing from the perspective of the extent of parliamentary acts of inclosure of common fields and land¹ (Gonner) and the extent of two- and three-field systems recorded in terriers and surveys (Gray), both produced very similar maps that established a central area of England in which common fields were abundant, surrounded by land where they were few or absent (Figure 1.2). This central area is commonly referred to as the Midlands, but extends as far south as the English Channel, encompassing Somerset in the south-west but leaving Devon and Cornwall as one of those areas wherein the evidence for common field was sparse or non-existent. Beyond the Midlands, inherent in the work of both Gonner and Gray, was the 'periphery', and part of this area later became the 'Highlands Zone', the land that was north and west of a line between the Tees and the Exe, and which encompasses a land that is 'predominantly upland, relatively wet and mainly

¹ Tate (1946a) enunciates the difference between parliamentary acts of enclosure of common fields and common land by recording that: common fields were put to arable, common land (and waste) was not put to arable.

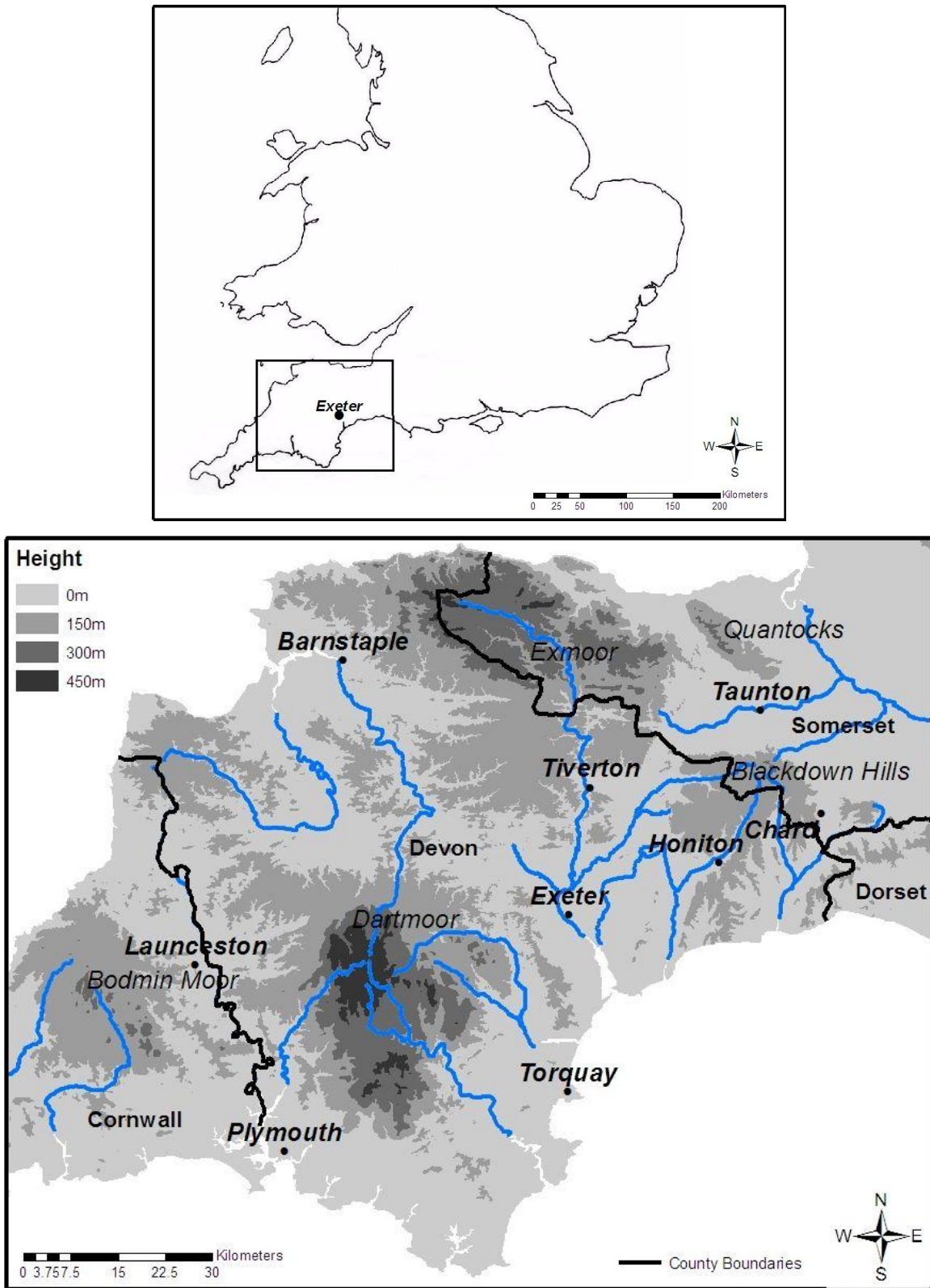


Figure 1.1. The 'peripheral' counties of Devon and Cornwall occupy the South-west peninsula of England.

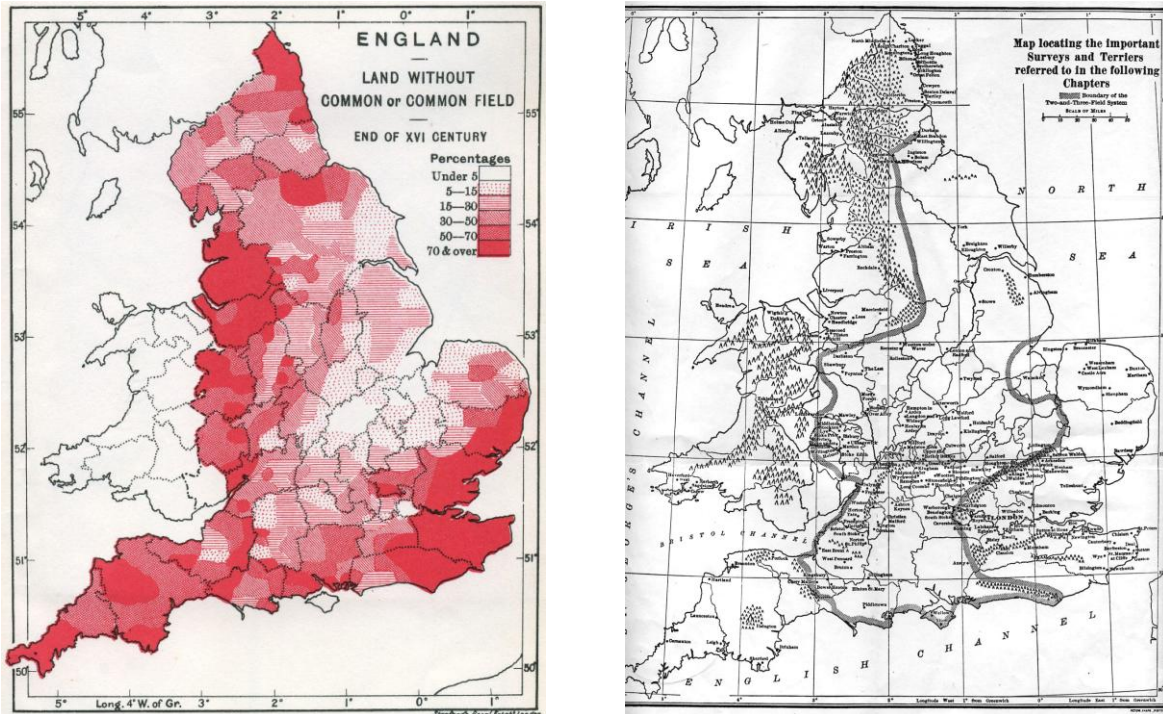


Figure 1.2. The work of Gonner (left) and Gray (right). One of four maps presented by Gonner, this one shows a distinct central area and, also that he considered Devon to have been virtually bereft of both common and common field by the end of the 16th century. Gray's map was created through the use of terriers and surveys and shows the 'Boundary of the two- and three-field systems' encompassing a central portion of the country (Gonner 1912, map D; Gray 1915, Frontispiece).

pastoral' (Hoskins 1963, 17). Rackham (1986) approached the question of the nature of the landscape of the country from an entirely new perspective, that of the flora that 'created' the countryside and the synergy between his results (Figure 1.3) and those of Gonner and Gray both supports and refines their earlier works. Through the identification of an area of 'planned' countryside and an area of 'ancient' countryside he establishes a separate identity for the south-east of England and East Anglia (the non-highlands periphery), whilst reconciling the discernible difference between Gonner and Gray that lay along the Welsh border. Devon and Cornwall, however, retain their 'highlands' character. The latest national survey, by Roberts and Wrathmell (2000; 2002), draws upon a very varied wealth of data and the results, once again both support and refine the work of their predecessors (Figure 1.4). They use the rural settlement pattern as

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*Figure 1.3. Rackham's regions of the British Isles
(Rackham, 1986, Figure 1.3).*

the main 'theme' of their work, looking at dispersed and nucleated settlement, but they combine this 'map' with data from many other sources, including – deserted medieval villages, the terrain/climate, early woodland, Saxon burials, Roman villas and royal demesnes, vernacular buildings and place-names - to create a composite that is descriptive of both the regional and sub-provincial differences within the landscape of England. Turning specifically to Devon and Cornwall, Roberts' and Wrathmell's principal argument in favour of 'difference' is that the balance of nucleated settlement against dispersed settlement tips in favour of a dispersed settlement pattern roughly along the Devon-Somerset border (Roberts & Wrathmell 2002, 16). The delicacy of this argument is captured in Fox's work, which looks primarily at open fields in East Devon. Here he states that the typical parish in that part of the county is epitomised by 'a village, central to the parish that is collocated with the church, while beyond this core is a ring of dispersed

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Figure 1.4. Roberts' and Wrathmell's map of the provinces of England displays a high level of synergy with the maps produced by their predecessors, while the depth of their studies establish a new understanding of the regional characteristics of each province and sub-province (Roberts and Wrathmell 2000, Figure 1)

settlement, a mix of hamlets and isolated farmhouses' (Fox 1972, 88-89). The balance has tipped in favour of dispersed settlement, but it does not preclude nucleated villages.

So far we have looked at a collection of broader national studies, and the specialisations of the authors emphasise the broad scope of these studies: Gonner was an economist, Gray a historian, and they have been followed by a botanist (Rackham) and both a geographer and an archaeologist (Roberts and Wrathmell respectively). Through their works we are able to discern that Devon (and Cornwall) differ from the rest of England through a combination of agricultural practice, settlement pattern and flora, where this latter is due, mostly to topography. We can, however, expand the national view and, maybe, develop a better picture of Roberts' and Wrathmell's 'South West Peninsula sub-Province' by looking at some other national studies, that have been more focussed, as well as a selection of more regional studies, which also contribute to the broader national picture.

While Hoskins' *Making of the English Countryside* (1955) may have initiated the study of landscape archaeology, it was Taylor's *Fields in the English Landscape* (1975) and *Village and Farmstead* (1983) that first attempted, between them, to encompass the rural history of England, from an archaeological perspective. While our knowledge may now have passed beyond much of these early works, they contain some concepts that have stood the test of time. The validity of Taylor's argument that shrinkage is common - 'there is hardly a village in England which does not have at least one or two empty plots' – will be witnessed in all the case studies of this thesis (Taylor 1983, 165), while his discussion of the origins of different field morphologies (Taylor 2000, Figures 13a/b; 23a/b) has been used to inform the fieldscape analysis used here (Chapter 3). Subsequent work has been more regional in nature but may have wider connotations. Lewis *et al.* (2001, 8; 13; 191-204) refine, but do not substantially alter, Taylor's view

that the nucleated village and fields were developed between the 9th and 13th centuries (Taylor 1983, 133-150). Their argument, however, that ‘the simple coincidence of village, manor and parish was in fact rather unusual’ (Lewis *et al.* 2001, 8) does introduce a new dynamic, and one that may not be limited to just Central England. Just as Lewis *et al.* limit themselves to Central England, so Rippon (2008) confines himself to Southern Britain, deliberately eschewing the Midlands and, in particular, looking at the dispersed settlement and ‘unique’ farming system – convertible husbandry – that combine to underpin the difference between Devon-and-Cornwall and the rest of England (discussed in Chapter 2). Finally, in this section, we need to look at some very localised studies from other parts of the country that have helped to guide the methodology in this thesis.

There have been several successful attempts at reconstructing the medieval landscape, in differing parts of England, over the last fifty years or so (for example see Taylor 1967; Hill 1984; Jones & Page 2003; Foard *et al.* 2009). These have all relied, to differing degrees, upon a variety of sources which include: documentary records, environmental history, the relict landscape, archaeological investigation, photographic survey, the inspection of vernacular buildings and cartographic analysis. All these studies have been conducted within the Midlands, with the exception of Whiteparish (Wilts.) (Taylor 1967). This is precisely where this thesis sits, another reconstruction of the medieval landscape, but this time in Devon. In this thesis it is intended to use a map regression as the main instrument for identifying the core farmland, but many of the other sources listed above will also be consulted (see Chapter 3 for both methodology and sources). The final product should be capable of passing back up the ‘chain’ of studies, ultimately being available to corroborate or modify the work of Roberts and Wrathmell. It should also present future researchers with an alternative methodology for conducting local investigations, into field and settlement patterns, that is not so dependent upon records and which can be dated to Domesday. The second theme of this thesis is the interpretation of some

of the Domesday metrics. This will be discussed in far more detail in Chapters 2 and 3, but here we will look at the national perception of the use of the Domesday metrics

The Domesday Book

The creation of a methodology that will facilitate a map regression designed to identify the core farmland, the land that has been enclosed from an early date, may appear to be relatively straightforward, and the main problem seems to lie in dating the product. It is proposed to use two sets of metrics, taken from the Domesday Book, to date the results of the map regression, and these are the measurements of the land that was being exploited for agriculture in 1086 and the 'population' figures. Correlation of the map regression with the land-use metrics requires the development of both a methodology and an interpretation of the Domesday figures, while the use of the 'population' count merely necessitates the creation of a further methodology. Domesday will be discussed further (see Chapters 2 and 3) but, while it is not intended here to discuss the 'population' data further, an introduction to the problems surrounding the land metrics is presented.

'Nominalists' challenge the fundamental concept that a ploughland was a measure of the amount of land that a team of oxen could plough in a year, preferring to view it as a 'further fiscal assessment'. 'Realists', on the other hand, regard the ploughland as a land measure (Roffe 2007, 203). In summarising this 'debate', Roffe (2007, 207-8) steers a middle course, arguing that 'The ploughland is clearly a non-fiscal measure of fiscal land. What it is telling us is that, although this land is paying tax at so many hides there is in fact that much land there'. Certainly whether one views it as a revision of 'taxability', or as a

statement of land capability, the measurement needs to be accurate in order to have any merit. In this thesis the assumption has been made that a ploughland was a measurable extent of land, but whose extent is open to debate.

Just over thirty years ago Darby (1977, 120) declared: 'One thing seems clear. We cannot use the ploughland figures to provide a consistent picture of the available arable land throughout all England in 1086'. Exactly thirty years later Roffe (2007, 203) describes the ploughland as a 'nightmare for the tidy minded'. It would appear that not much progress has been made towards an understanding of the ploughland, in the intervening period. The problems, which revolve around not only the count of acres in a ploughland, but also the extent of an acre, also 'spill over' into the use of acres for the other land-use metrics: the amount of meadow, pasture and woodland. When working with the Domesday Book, Hoskins describes the process as 'jumping in at the deep end, into waters that more learned scholars than I still fail to plumb fully' (Hoskins 1973, 5). Nevertheless, in the next two chapters the full extent of the problem will be discussed (Chapter 2) and a methodology will be developed that permits the use of the land-use metrics to date the results of the map regression (Chapter 3). Furthermore, a system will be identified that may permit some form of 'independent' check of this methodology to be conducted, and the results of this check will be discussed in Chapter 9.

The next chapter will take the themes that have been introduced here, at a national level, and will concentrate upon those aspects that are more immediate to this thesis. Starting with a discussion about the field systems of Devon, we will then turn to a consideration of some problems inherent in morphological analysis. This will be followed by a discussion of the utility of using pollen analyses to inform the map regression, before returning to a more in-depth look at the problems associated with the intended use of the Domesday Book.

Chapter 3 will discuss the methodology and sources that have been used in this thesis, and this will be followed by five chapters each covering a different case study area. These case study areas have been carefully selected to investigate pairs of parishes, in which there is data from a local pollen trap to inform the map regression (except for Kentisbeare and Uffculme – CS II), and which are considered to be representative of differing *pays* within the county. In Chapter 9 we will discuss the results before concluding the thesis in Chapter 10.

2

Devon Fieldscapes

The 'land of few villages but many hamlets, even more so of isolated farmsteads, of pasture and livestock, of small fields enclosed in severalty from the beginning or at least since the 14th century, and of wild upland commons''

(Hoskins 1963, 19)

Introduction

This thesis will pursue two themes; the first is to identify the core farmland, and the second is to create an interpretative framework through which some of the Domesday data may become more accessible and inform our understanding of the Domesday landscape. The intention is that these two should be brought together to determine whether the map of the core farmland may also be regarded as a map of selected areas of Devon that can be dated to *ca.* 1086. The identification of the core farmland, the land that may be described as 'anciently enclosed', will be achieved through a map regression, and the investigation of the Domesday data, whilst concentrating upon interpreting the amount of land recorded as being used for agricultural purposes, will also review the population data.

The agriculture of Devon and Cornwall, and other 'peripheral' areas of England, has developed along different trajectories to that of the 'heartland' of England, the Midlands. This difference, which appears to lie in not becoming a part of 'mainstream' England, and in not adopting the sophisticated Midlands two- and three-field system (Hooke 1998, 121), was first articulated, in modern times, by Gonner (1912) and Gray (1915) (Chapter 1). The knowledge that Devon was different, however, was well-documented long before the turn of the last century. In 1667, in response to an enquiry from the Royal Society 'concerneing [sic] Agriculture', Samuel Colepresse describes the Devonian system of convertible husbandry, or 'Damnonian' husbandry as Marshall calls it (Colepresse transcribed in Stanes 1964; Marshall reported in Stanes 2005, 64). Leland, reporting upon his travels in Devon, mentions 'many enclosures for both pasture and corn' and land that is 'well enclosed, with fertile arable and grassland, and some woods' (Chandler 1993, 105, 117).

In this chapter we will explore the literary sources to determine the corporate knowledge of medieval farming regimes, concentrating upon Devon but also looking 'up-country' to identify where the differences lie. We will establish the current situation with respect to understanding the Domesday metrics and we will also investigate some concerns about morphogenesis and methods by which these may be allayed. Our starting point will be the fieldscape of Devon, which will assist greatly in establishing the methodology for the map regression, but we will also look further afield, in particular towards the Midlands style open fields.

Field Systems

The open fields of medieval England achieved a high level of complexity in their manifestation in the Midlands, where the two- and three- field systems, with their associated feudal and tenurial arrangements and their nucleated villages

achieved a dominance that was short lived but which has left an indelible mark upon the landscape of those counties (for example see Hall 1982; Taylor 1983; Dyer 2002). We start this section by looking at open fields in Devon.

The Open Field

Gonner found evidence for a small amount of enforced enclosure of common pasture and waste in Devon, while Gray argued for some common fields. Despite a brief interlude when the existence of any open field in Devon was refuted by the Orwins (Orwin & Orwin 1938, 61), the work of both Gonner and Gray has stood the test of time and recent work, at a national level, by Roberts and Wrathmell has also singled out Devon and Cornwall (and other areas) as being 'different' from their central province (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000, Figure 1; Roberts & Wrathmell 2002, 16). Roberts' and Wrathmell's principal argument is that the balance of nucleated settlement against dispersed settlement tips in favour of a dispersed settlement pattern roughly along the Devon-Somerset border (Figure 2.1). Overall the national evidence suggests the presence of some open fields in Devon (and Cornwall) but not the ubiquitous spread seen 'up-country' in the Midlands. It is curious, therefore, to discover that Braunton Great Field (350 acres), in North Devon, is one of the few surviving examples of open field cultivation in the whole of England (Devon County Council 1982, 3).

The Open Field in Devonshire (Finberg 1949) is a short essay that records the discovery of documentary evidence dating Braunton Great Field to 1324, and the presence of some open fields in other parts of Devon. In refuting the work of the Orwins Finberg establishes the presence of open fields in Devon during the Middle Ages and his essay may be regarded as the 'bow wave' of the local debate concerning the exact extent of these fields in the County (Finberg 1949). In an expanded form, his essay was republished twice and the new version included a list of all the sites in Devon for which he had discovered either documentary or cartographic evidence for open fields (Finberg, 1952; 1969b). Twenty years later, Fox published two maps showing all the sites for which he

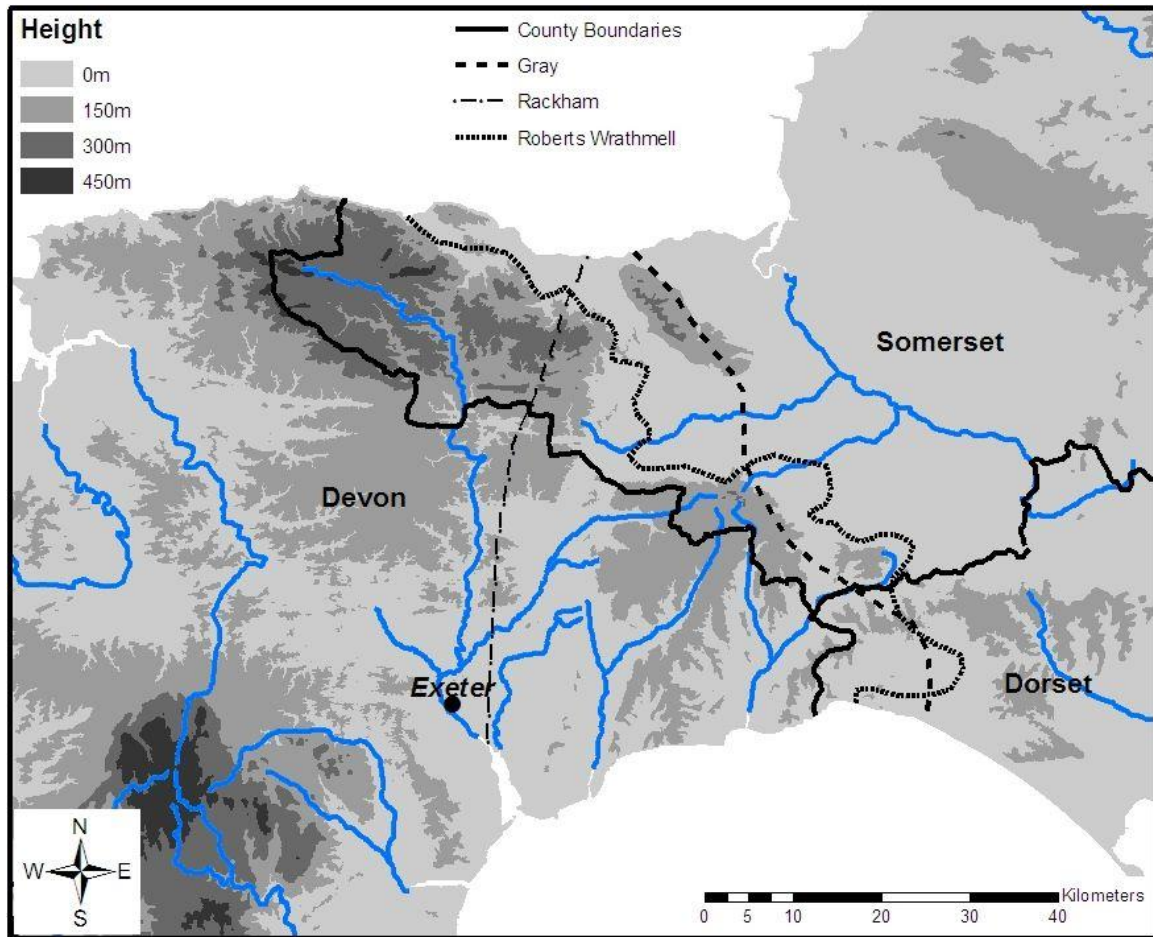


Figure 2.1. Four separate nationwide studies have highlighted sufficient differences between the South-west and the neighbouring counties, to generate a boundary between Devon and a 'heartland' to the north and east. Due to the nature of his data, Gonner's boundary follows that of the county (after Gonner 1912, map A; Gray 1915, frontispiece; Rackham 1986, Figure 1.3; Roberts & Wrathmell 2000, Figure 1)

had discovered documentary evidence for open fields, the data on the first map is dated to 'before' 1500 and the second 'after' 1500 (Fox 1972). These two sets of data have been combined (Figure 2.2) to present a composite 'picture' of the surviving historical record of the location of open fields in Devon; the possibility of duplication between the two must be noted. A contemporary, geographical, analysis based upon cartographic evidence of fossilised 'strip fields' generated a very similar distribution of probable open fields in the county but with slightly greater density. It also enhances the picture by presenting an extent for each system, although the size of the map makes it difficult either to determine

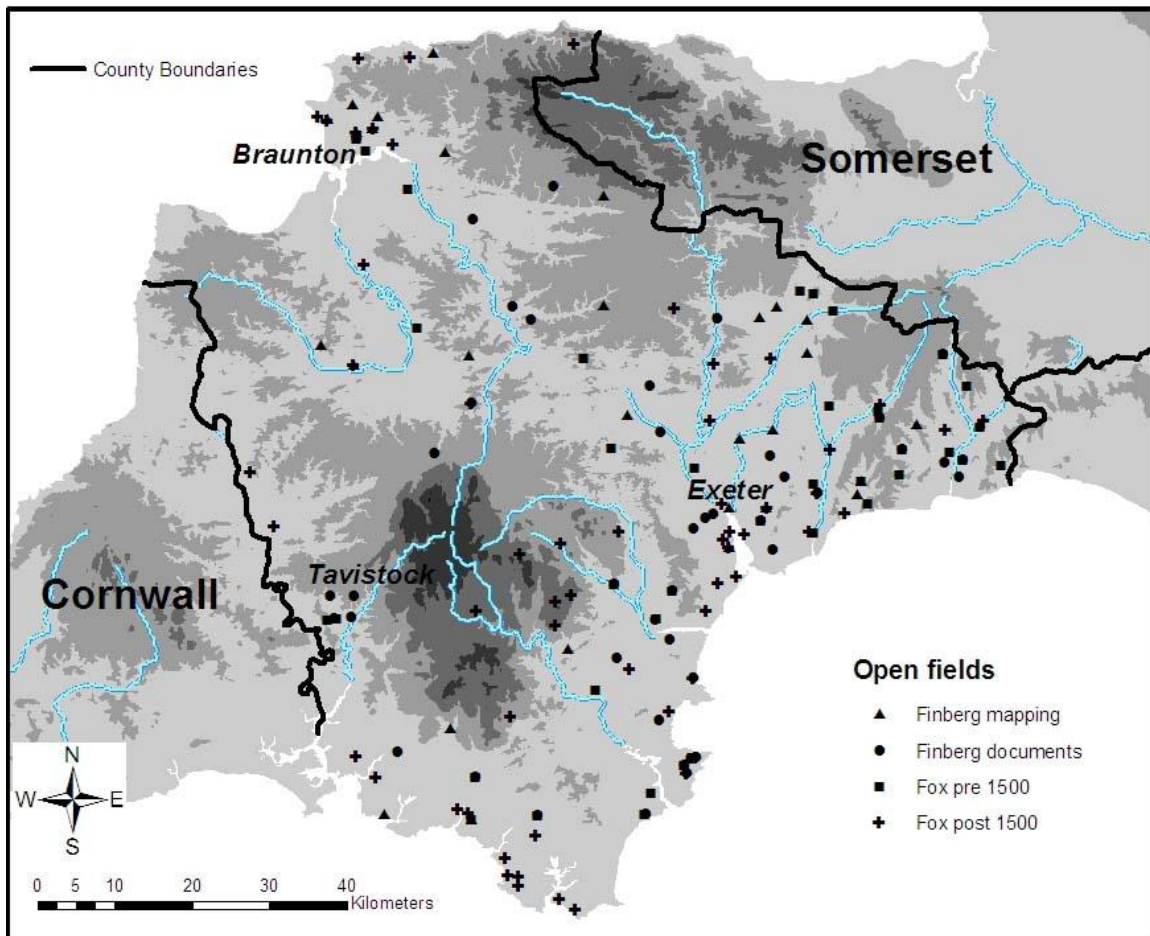


Figure 2.2. Evidence for open fields in Devon presented by Finberg and Fox. The preponderance lies in the south-east, on the floodplains of the Exe, with smaller concentrations at Braunton, Tavistock and in the south of the county (after Finberg 1969b, 129-151; Fox 1972, figs 1 & 2).

location or to calculate dimensions (Figure 2.3) (Shorter *et al.* 1969, 106-8). The data at Figures 2.2 and 2.3 is probably accurate with regard to the disposition of open fields but, in a county that has poor survivability of records, this must be accepted as representing only the minimum count. Hoskins suggests that the open fields of Devon had all but disappeared by the end of the 14th century (Hoskins 1963, 19), while Child (2001, 22) argues that these fields disappeared very rapidly from the 14th century onwards. Fox dates the start of the process 'as early as the 1250's' in east Devon, but dates completion as being mid 15th century, whilst the process started later in South Devon, sometimes not before

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Figure 2.3. Evidence for 'strip-fields' in Devon and Cornwall, drawn from cartographical evidence (Shorter et al. 1969, Figure 26).

the 17th century (Fox 1972, 84; 1975, 187). With the exception of Fox's dates for South Devon, it would appear that enclosure of the open fields in Devon may have started in the mid 13th century and was, for the most part, completed within a couple of centuries. Having established the probable scope of open fields in Devon, it is necessary to look at the rest of the agricultural landscape.

Strip Fields

When Shorter *et al.* used the term 'strip fields', they were referring to the strips that were derived from open fields of the Midlands style (Shorter *et al.* 1969, 109). The Historic Landscape Characterisations (HLC) of both Cornwall and Devon use the same term but with a broader definition, with the apparent intent to avoid characterising strip fields as being, exclusively, the product of open field systems.

Herring, one of the compilers of the Cornish HLC, reports that over half the fields in that county may be designated 'Anciently Enclosed Land', whose origins will be found in the Middle Ages, and this is characterised, for the most part, by 'former strip fields'. A few of these strip fields, which are represented both by long parallel-sided fields and by fields that are roughly square or rectangular (being larger bundles of strips), do derive from two- or three-field systems but the majority were 'designed to accommodate' a different, distinctive south-western farming regime known variously as convertible, alternate or ley husbandry (Herring 2006a, 47-70, especially figs 24, 25 & 27).

The Devon HLC also refers to 'strip fields' but separates these into three sub-categories: strip fields, strip enclosures and enclosures (based on strip fields). The strip fields probably have their origins in large open fields, although some will originate from 'smaller' common fields. Strip enclosures are defined as single or multiple strips that have been enclosed, while enclosures (based on strip fields) have been 'created from larger bundles of strips'. Given these definitions, the spread of 'strip fields' in Devon identified by Shorter *et al.* (Figure 2.3), should approximate both the strip fields and strip enclosures identified during the HLC process, and any differences between Figure 2.3 and Turner's map of 'medieval fields based on strips' in Devon (Figure 2.4) should result from the inclusion of 'enclosures (based on strip fields)' in the latter. Turner's only direct reference to alternate husbandry occurs in his section on *Enclosures based on Strip Fields* where he states that 'convertible husbandry could be practised just as easily in enclosed fields as in open strip fields. This fact ... must have made it easier for medieval farmers to enclose their fields in Devon'. Thus, whilst Herring does not consider that ley husbandry was incompatible with strip fields, a view supported by Fox, it appears that Turner is less certain and he implies that the adoption of convertible husbandry resulted in enclosure (Fox 1975, 186; Turner 2007, 32-61).

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Figure 2.4. Turner's 'distribution of fields with origins as 'medieval fields based on strips' in Devon. A far more intensive 'spread' than that at Figure 2.3, probably resulting from the inclusion of Turner's 'enclosures (based on strip fields)', which are similar to Herring's 'roughly square and rectangular fields' (Turner 2007, Figure 45).

Turner's evidence (Figure 2.4), inevitably, supports his contention that strip fields were once 'ubiquitous' in Devon, while his assertion that they were not necessarily held in common, nor were they necessarily open (Turner 2007, 32, 43), appears to leave a door open for the reconciliation of his 'ubiquitous strip fields' and the far more limited extent of 'open fields' identified by Finberg, Fox and Shorter *et al.*(*op cit*). The opportunity for reconciliation is fleeting, however,

when one notes that Turner leaves the areas around the floodplains of the Exe, in the south, and those of the Taw, in the north, almost blank (Figure 2.4). This suggests that he does not believe that there were many 'strip fields' in these areas, and yet these are precisely the areas where Finberg, Fox and Shorter *et al.* argue for the greatest concentration of open fields. Pedologically this is where one would most expect to find arable land, on the most fertile soils.

Turner describes his 'medieval fields based on strips' as being 'usually rectangular but with more equal sides than strip enclosures' (Turner 2007, 48). These fields can be equated with Herring's 'long parallel-sided fields or roughly square and rectangular fields', which he goes on to further define as 'typically sub-rectangular with cross-contour sides usually slightly curving, but with tops and bottoms often straighter, also not quite so parallel' (Herring 2006a, 67). This appears to present the reader with quite a selection of shapes and relationships between the sides. Turner draws our attention to his Figure 39, which is copied here at Figure 2.5. In the centre, there are two rows, each consisting of four fields, and these are the fields of interest. None of these fields can be described as truly 'rectangular', nor do they have 'more equal sides' (Turner's definition). Furthermore, the fit with Herring's definition is somewhat a curate's egg, with differing 'bits' fitting different fields, and some fields that do not resemble either of the sets of descriptions. Finally, where their sides curve, they curve in the wrong direction to have been created through ploughing with a plough fitted with a right hand mouldboard; that is to say they do not exhibit either a reverse 'J' or reverse 'S' curve. It is considered that the fields at Figure 2.5 more closely resemble the fields that result from the enclosure of a larger, irregular enclosure. This division of many ancient larger enclosures (originally used for deer, sheep or arable) (Hoskins 1963; Fox 1972 105/6; Taylor 2000, 126), was carried out to create fields better suited to ley husbandry, which accords with Herring (2006a, 51). It will be seen that during the Greater Exmoor Project, Rippon, Fyfe and Brown (2006) identify some cereal spikes which they associate with the introduction of

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Figure 2.5. An example of Turner's 'medieval fields based on strips' (Turner 2007, Figure 39; photo: getmapping 2000).

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Figure 2.6. Turner's 'boundaries of former strip divisions', note the misalignment between the strips in the fields at bottom right (Turner 2007, Figure 31; photo: Frances Griffith).

convertible husbandry within the pollen catchment areas of their project sites. These spikes occur between AD 600 and 1170 and it is considered that this represents the most probable time when these larger enclosures were divided to accommodate this farming system.

The photograph that Turner uses to characterise the 'boundaries of former strip divisions' shows a relict landscape in which the former 'strips' can readily be identified (Figure 2.6). It is possible to identify numerous misalignments between the strips in neighbouring fields, most notably in the fields in the bottom right of the figure. If these fields had been laid out enclosing a larger, former open field, it is improbable that there would be such a mismatch, and this suggests that the fields have been ploughed after enclosure. While the fact that the 'strips' are the result of ploughing is not disputed, the status of the enclosures, whether they were held in common or severalty is uncertain. The earthworks in Figure 2.6 must be similar to those mapped by Fleming and Ralph on Holne Moor (Figure 2.7), where some of the strips curve to the right and some to the left, and the field morphology is, once again, better suited to the division of a former larger enclosure. Other similar occurrences on the higher ground in both Devon and Cornwall have been reported, at Okehampton Park (Austin *et al.* 1980), on Brown Willy (Herring 2006b) and from Altarnum and North Hill (Brisbane & Clews 1979).

What it is important to note here is that a strip *per se* merely indicates that the land has been ploughed in the past. It is only when the strip/s become fossilised by a field boundary that one can start to discuss the probability of the enclosure of an open field. The probability of a former open field increases if there are more, similar strips and if one can identify patterns of fragmentary land ownership. It is believed that Turner's 'medieval fields based on strips' do not, necessarily, indicate the presence of former open fields and that, therefore, the

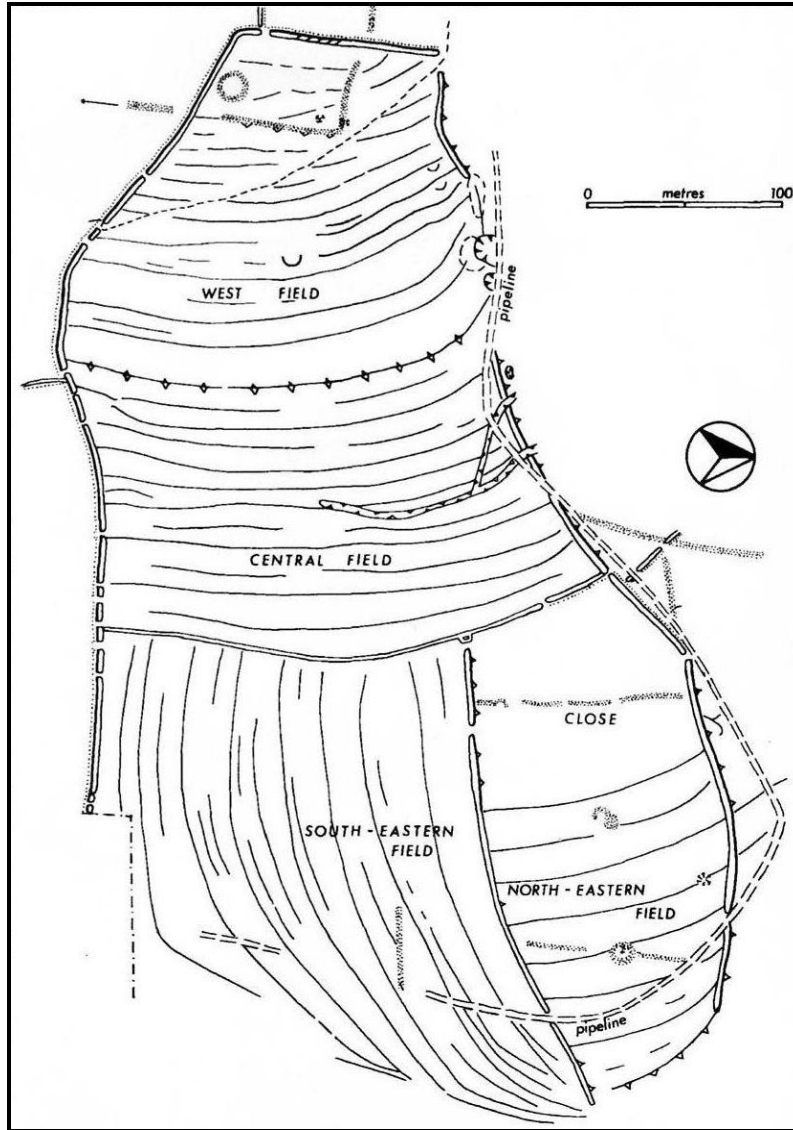


Figure 2.7. The 'north lobe' on Holne Moor (Fleming & Ralph 1982, Figure 4).

traditional 'spread' of open fields in Devon, espoused by Finberg, Fox and Shorter *et al.* (Figures 2.2 and 2.3) can be taken as representative of the probable, minimum extent of these fields in that county.

Convertible Husbandry

There is documentary evidence that shows that convertible husbandry was being practised in Devon during the Middle Ages (see Chandler 1993, 105, 117; Hatcher 1988, 387), while there is palynological evidence that suggests that it

may have been introduced to the county as early as the 7th-8th centuries (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006, 70). Ley husbandry can fit with equal ease into a landscape of isolated settlement or small hamlets, and would have been ideally suited to a Domesday villan working a 30 acre tenement – where 30 acres is considered to have been the standard villans' plot (for example Dyer 2002, 21-24).

Typically, a small farm of some thirty acres would have had ten closes each of three acres, of which two or three would be put to arable at any one time, with one field reverting to grass each year and being replaced by a new field brought into cropping. The process of preparing for arable cultivation was labour intensive, starting in November with the repair of the hedgebank, coppicing of the hedgebank trees, and relaying of the hedgerow. The process of 'Devonshiring' started in May, with the removal, drying, beating and burning of the top two to three inches of the sward, followed by manuring and then ploughing in preparation for the sowing of a winter crop, generally wheat. Normally the last crop would be oats which was always 'seeded', that is sown with a mix of rye grass and clover. This meant, not only that immediately after the harvest the field could be used as pasture due to the underlying grass crop, but it also ensured that the field would be properly prepared for its next arable rotation, after the subsequent grass ley which would last for seven to ten years (Stanes 1964; Fox 1973, 22; Stanes 2005; Rippon 2008, 130-1). It is probably as a result of convertible husbandry that Oliver Cromwell remarked that the husbandry of Devon was the best he had seen in any county of England (Aubrey in Stanes 2005, 64).

The volume of the *Agrarian History of England and Wales* that covers AD 1042-1350, acknowledges the pre-eminence of convertible husbandry as the rotational system 'of choice', both for lords and their tenants in the South-west (Hatcher 1988, 387). In the succeeding volume (AD 1348-1500) Fox discusses the benefits accrued by the land due to alternate husbandry and he argues that 'convertible husbandry was ideally suited to the relaxed conditions of the later

Middle Ages, for it was ideal for fruitful integration of livestock and arable enterprises, while leys could easily be lengthened to take into account reduced demand for grain.' It is significant that he also re-iterates the antiquity of ley husbandry, noting that 'it was deeply rooted in the routines and calendars of husbandmen in the South-west.' (Fox 1991, 310-311). This perceived antiquity is not at odds with a view, implicit in Hoskins' picture of Devon (see above), that the agriculture of the county, throughout history, has been principally pastoral but it enjoyed a brief flirtation with more intensive arable during the Middle Ages; should the extent and duration of this intensive cropping be measured by the count and longevity of the open field?

If the Midlands style fields, whose large area promotes arable efficiency, were developed to maximise cereal output (Hoskins 1973, 40; Williamson & Bellamy 1987, 12), ley husbandry lends itself perfectly to Hoskins' 'small fields' and should be regarded as being optimised for mixed farming, especially a combination of cattle and arable. Small closes not only promote grazing efficiency (Fox 1972, 125), but the rotation of stock between fields ensures a constant supply of good grass: 'by their often changes they feede styll as it were upon a new springnyng grasse' (Richard Hooker in Fox 1975, 194). No account of medieval farming in Devon would be complete without a mention of the importance of the outfield, and this is discussed in the next section.

Outfield

Marginality of the land is a local concept, and the poorer soils of the lowlands for example are, in some cases, better than the best soils on higher ground. It is not, however, just height that is the determining factor; climate and geology also have a significant part to play. Devon is blessed with extensive outfield that was normally used both as a source of gorse and as rough pasture but which could be cropped at need, after which it would require some 40 or so years to recover unless it was seeded with grass (Fox 1973, 22). Compensation for reduced demand for grain may have been found by increasing the leys of convertible

husbandry but, given the work involved in bringing a field out of ley, the occasional use of outfield cropping to satisfy increased demand for corn must have been highly attractive in the short term. This may be reflected in the fact that Fox notes that tillage of the outfield was sporadic, but extensive and frequent when it occurred. He lists three periods during which more intensive cultivation of the outfield can be identified: 13th and early 14th century, 16th century and mid-18th into early 19th century (Fox 1973, 27-33).

Morphological Analysis

One of the principal aims of this thesis is to conduct a map regression in selected parts of Devon, attempting to identify the core farmland. This map regression will involve the analysis of the field shapes and patterns of the fieldscape, using techniques that have been tailored to this work (discussed in Chapter 3). There are, however, some concerns about the conduct and applicability of morphogenesis that should be addressed, before scoping the work that will be conducted in each case study.

Doubts about Morphogenesis (Austin 1985) raises four principal concerns about morphological analyses. The first concern lies in the fact that most morphological analyses identify/create simple patterns with ease, but those that are complex are 'almost impossible' to perceive/reconstruct. To an extent this mirrors concerns over the fragmentary nature of the construct, and the inability to replace elements that have 'disappeared', but it goes deeper than that: morphogenesis creates a, seemingly, comprehensive interpretation that is easily assimilated and is very seductive. The second 'worry bead' is a general lack of methodology and inherent critique; a lack of repeatability. The third concerns dating, while the fourth is a more generalised concern about corroboration or proof

(Austin 1985, 201-209). Of these four concerns, the first is both the most worrying and the most difficult to address, questioning, as it does the validity of the whole process, and this will be discussed first.

As discussed this work pursues two hypotheses: one, that there is a core farmland that can be identified through a map regression and, two that it is possible to interpret the metrics used in Domesday to determine the amount of land exploited by each manor. These are fundamentally simple ideas, but proof of either concept will permit further, more complex analyses to be considered and, in what may be considered an iterative process, the sophistication of the model will increase with use. Rebuttal of either concept should, at the least, close an avenue of research, in itself a positive result, and one that may also be taken forward, in a new direction. If both can be proved, and combined to present a possible recreation of the Domesday landscape of a parish, we will already have established a new level of complexity. Complexity should not be regarded as the *sine qua non* that determines the value of the analysis; to a great extent, the level of intricacy of solution is dependent upon corroborative evidence and the aspiration should be for an honest analysis that acknowledges its limitations. We will now turn to the question of the repeatability of the methodology.

Fieldscape Analysis

Whether one employs retrogressive or deconstructive techniques (explained in Oosthuizen 2006, 77-80) to interpret field patterns, they both involve the stripping away of 'newer' systems to highlight older features but, in the absence of other evidence (primarily documentary), they are incapable of replacing any 'earlier' features that have been expunged from the palimpsest of the historic landscape. Oosthuizen uses both methodologies to exert an element of control over the process, producing strikingly similar results, but both 'recreations' must be seen as, probably, representing only fragments of the original (Figure 2.8). Taylor, on the other hand, used geological and geographical factors to determine the

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Figure 2.8. The results of retrogressive and deconstructive morphological analysis in the Bourn valley, Cambs. The map at (a) is the starting point for both analyses, the results of retrogressive analysis are at (b) whilst those of deconstructive analysis can be seen, passing through (c), at (d) (after Oosthuizen 2006, Figure 4.4).

putative extent of downland and woodland in Whiteparish (Wilts.), at the time of Domesday. Then, starting from the Domesday record, he reconstructs the landscape progressively. Drawing extensively upon the resources of both the Public and County Record Offices he identified events that could be used to add detail to his reconstruction, arriving at a credible map dated to the mid-14th century (Figure 2.9) (Taylor 1967, 79-91).

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Figure 2.9. Taylor's Reconstruction of the landscape of the parish of Whiteparish (Wilts.) (Taylor 1967, Figure 3).

The methodology employed by Oosthuizen is probably repeatable, that used by Taylor depends upon the interpretation of the data and is, probably, totally unrepeatable. In this thesis, a tailor-made fieldscape analysis (Chapter 3) will be used and this will progress according to the perceived morphology of the fields, and those fields that are removed will be replaced by an interpretation of what

preceded their existence. Whilst every effort has been made to ensure that the three step methodology followed during this fieldscape analysis is robust and repeatable, there is, inevitably a degree of interpretation that is difficult to define, which reduces repeatability. The map regression that will investigate the settlement patterns, however, will be a destructive process, despite efforts to replace deserted settlement, and this regression will be, entirely, repeatable. The third concern raised by Austin revolves around the dating of the product, and this will be discussed next.

Those lucky enough to be blessed with an abundance of records, Hill in her analysis of Ercall manor (Salop.) for example, encounter no difficulty in dating a map, or maybe elements of a map with a considerable degree of precision. In fact they have no requirement to 'experiment' with morphological analyses. Whilst the court rolls and estate accounts in Shropshire, before ca.1325, are described as 'rare' and deeds as plentiful, Hill was greatly enabled in her study of Ercall Manor (Salop.) by being given access to a very extensive collection of early leases and muniments of title held in the Newport records at Raby Castle. This has allowed her to provide a comprehensive, yet still incomplete, record of activities associated with the demesne and to create a selection of maps that date from Domesday to 1746. The mapping is based upon a composite of a 6" OS map (presumably first edition) and the tithe map but the features portrayed have been derived from deductions from the medieval records embellished, as appropriate, by more modern records (for example field-names from the tithe apportionment). Amongst the many maps produced, the earliest are: 'Ercall Glebe ca. 1090-1227' and Ercall manor ca. 1086-1100, showing demesne and glebe' (Figure 2.10) (Hill 1984).

Those who are not blessed with such comprehensive records, especially those investigating pre-historic landscapes are forced into map regression techniques. Between 1997 and 2006 Oosthuizen produced several reports on her

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Figure 2.10. Hill's reconstruction of the landscape of Ercall Manor, ca. 1086-1100, showing the demesne and the glebe (Hill 1984, Figure 29)

morphological analysis of the field systems of the Bourn valley (Cambs.) and these provide an interesting historiography of the development of a theory. In 1998 she determined that the cross valley prehistoric alignments that she had identified were typologically similar to the reaves of Dartmoor and, thus, she tentatively dated these boundaries to the Bronze Age (Figure 2.11) (Fleming 1988; Oosthuizen 1997, 145-151). By 2003 it is possible to observe a wavering in this theory and in 2006 she re-assesses the typology, identifying her system with the Iron Age linear boundaries identified on Salisbury Plain (McOmish *et al.* 2002, 58-59; Oosthuizen 2003, 47-51; Oosthuizen 2006, 12). There is no intent here to be judgmental, merely to observe the difficulties inherent in reliance upon a typological methodology to date the results of morphological analysis. Nevertheless, there are two comments concerning this element of Oosthuizen's

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Figure 2.11. Cross valley prehistoric alignments identified by Oosthuizen in the Bourn valley (Oosthuizen 2003, Figure 2).

work that need to be made, the first is that she has no proof that these boundaries are prehistoric, the second is that she may be able to date them through excavation. This latter would, of course necessitate a sampling strategy and the excavation of more than one small section in order to generate not only a spread of dates, but also to 'guarantee' some dateable material.

Questions about proof and corroborative evidence, Austin's fourth problem, have, to an extent, been addressed above. Whilst a valid concern, this evidence does not always exist but, where it is available, it must be employed in order to bring a rigour to the analytical process. In the absence of any form of corroborative

evidence, the analyst should proceed with caution, seeding the work with suitable caveats; refusing to follow the analysis through, due to a lack of supporting evidence should not, generally, be seen as an option.

Austin's concerns over the application of morphogenesis are well argued and should be addressed before starting a morphological analysis. Dating techniques that do not rely upon typology should be employed where possible; the use of documentary evidence would appear to be one of the most robust, although archaeological techniques come a close second, especially in the prehistoric and Roman periods. In the case of Oosthuizen's work there is probably no documentary evidence and, as excavating/dating each boundary would be impracticable, a sampling strategy becomes necessary. Where possible, the methodology used in the analysis must be rigid and repeatable, and a process of verification should be established to monitor each phase of the process if this can be achieved. Finally, without documentary or archaeological evidence, it is difficult to envisage a methodology that permits the replacement of features that have disappeared, although the use of aerial photography to provide some possible pointers, for example through crop marks, should be considered. The incomplete nature of the results, and the inevitable simplicity of the analysis, must be acknowledged. Nevertheless, it should be noted that simple concepts and arguments are easier both to impart and to justify, in many cases complexity is misunderstood and will result in complaints about overcomplication and unsustainability. Clearly a complex interpretation requires as many caveats as the simple one!

Morphogenesis is a useful tool but, when used on its own, it can only generate a possible picture of past landscapes, and the shortcomings of the process must be articulated in order to establish the degree of credibility that each individual

study merits. In this thesis there are three sources of possible corroborative evidence that have been identified. The first of these lies in the various records

that may be available through the Devon County Record Office, the Historic Environment Record, for example, and these will be discussed as they are encountered and will be used as applicable. The second revolves around the use of pollen samples to 'moderate and inform' the map regression process and the third is the use of the Domesday Book as a possible dating method. Pollen and the Domesday Book are discussed in the next two sections.

Pollen Sequences

The use of pollen sequences to determine the nature of the landscape in England has blossomed since the groundbreaking work of Clark at the Mesolithic site of Star Carr (Yorks.) (Walker & Godwin 1954, 25-69; Mellars & Dark 1998, 1), but the effectiveness of this form of analysis has limitations. 'Off site' samples, taken from bogs, mires and lakes tend to produce results that are regional in scope, whilst those from 'on site' locations, ostensibly very localised in scope, may well include pollen that has been introduced by human intervention (English Heritage 2002). In addition, in neither case does the pollen trapped in the sequence represent the totality of the flora in the region; factors such as the medium of spore-transport: windblown, waterborne or animal borne, as well as the amount of taxa produced by each plant species will determine the final constituents of the sample. The organic nature of the pollen may be exploited through the use of AMS radio carbon dating and thus, with limitations imposed by the sampling strategy, it is possible to accurately date the landscapes recovered and changes therein (Pearsall 2000, 258-261).

Recent work has tended to move away from the higher ground, the traditional source of 'off site' sequences, to the investigation of small, localised, lowland mires and, most recently, this work has included the use of multiple profiles from

a single area to 'fine tune' the results (for example Fyfe *et al.* 2003, 215-216). To fully realise the potential of this 'on site' data, one needs to be able to establish the extent of the pollen catchment area for each pollen trap. Extensive research by Sugita, amongst others, has established the probable extent of the catchment area of these small sites as being of the order of 1km but with the possibility of greater ranges being obtained from variations in large 'patches' of the more distant flora (for example Sugita 1993; 2007a; 2007b). The more localised determination of features of earlier landscapes offered by lowland pollen sources, coupled with the ability to date these results, offers a source of information that may be used to inform a morphological study. In Devon, the work of the Greater Exmoor Project (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006), coupled with pollen sequence analyses included in a PhD thesis (Hawkins 2005) and from a report on a single sequence (Aller Farm) (Hatton & Caseldine 1992) can be combined to produce a range of lowland sites that extend from the lowlying floodplains, to the north of Exeter, up onto the higher ground of both the Blackdown Hills and the southern fringes of Exmoor (Figure 2.12). The selection and use of this data will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

The Domesday Book

Domesday is enigmatic, ostensibly the ultimate treatise for the agrarian historian, the economic historian and the historical geographer but, while it offers so much yet it fails to match *our* expectations. The 'building block' of Domesday was the manor, but today, some 925 years after the Book was compiled, there are manors that have been lost, manor houses that can no longer be located and, maybe, some entries that have been repeated (Williams 2003, 138). The importance of locating each manor, in particular the manor house, will be highlighted during the case studies, but here we are more interested in the data

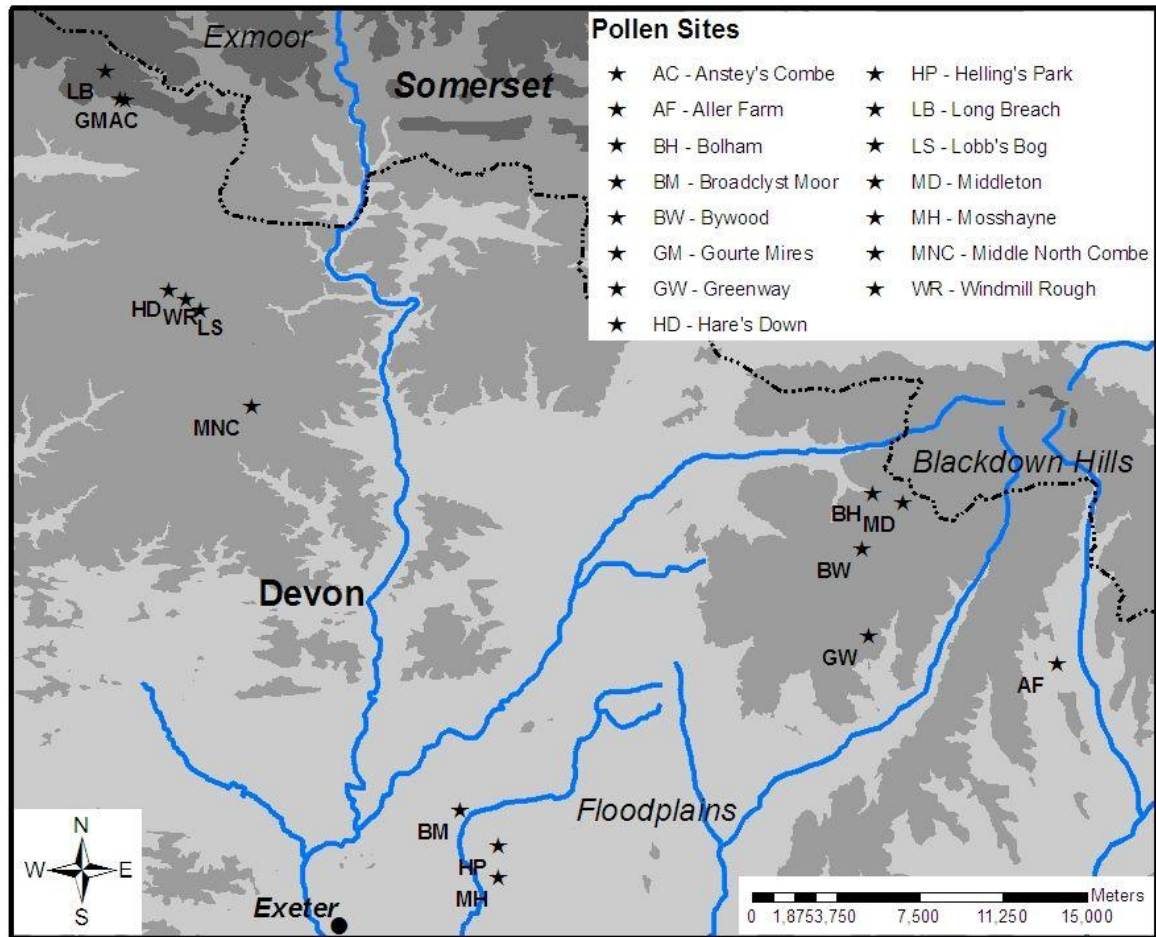


Figure 2.12. Lowland pollen sequences in Devon. Covering the north and east of Devon and ranging from the floodplains to the north of Exeter, onto both the higher ground of the Blackdown Hills and both the southern and western fringes of Exmoor, the pollen analyses appear to cover a range of pays (after Hatton & Caseldine 1992; Hawkins 2005; Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006, Figure 2).

that may be used to support, maybe even verify, the map regressions in this thesis. The Phillimore translations of the Domesday Book have been used here as the primary source of data from that Book (Thorn & Thorn 1983; 1985a; 1985b) and we will use an example from the Domesday Book for Devon (DB)² to illustrate the data available:

² DB will be used to refer to entries for Devon, DB (Dor) refers to the record for Dorset.

Cruwys Morchard 3,73 – Bishop of Coutances

(Cruwys) Morchard. Algar held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land and 1 furlong. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough, with 1 slave; 4 villagers and 4 smallholders with 1 plough and ½ virgate and 1 furlong. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 100 acres; woodland, 10 acres. 13 cattle; 13 pigs; 40 sheep; 36 goats. [Value] formerly 5s; now 12s 6d.

(Thorn & Thorn 1985a)

The very first part of this entry illustrates what appears to be a common problem for the translator, the text would appear to be an entry for *the* manor of Cruwys Morchard, when in fact there were two manors that bore the same name (DB 3,73 & DB 19,35). In this instance, Thorn and Thorn identify this manor with the modern Northcote Farm (Thorn & Thorn 1985b, 3,73), a site that is easily identifiable on modern maps and so, while we may not have the original location of the manor house, we probably have established a degree of continuity for the location of the manor, from which we may be able to derive some boundary information.

The record continues, recording tax information and then listing various quantities of land (in ploughlands, virgates and furlongs, as well as acres) and it is these latter measurements that it is intended to use to establish the size of each manor in 1086, hopefully to corroborate the fieldscape analysis. The interpretation of these metrics is discussed below. Included in this listing of the amounts of land put to varying agricultural uses is a ‘census’ of the peasantry of the manor, which probably only records the heads of each household (Darby 2003, 31-32). These peasants – villans³, bordars, cottars, slaves and freedmen – will not only be used to establish a degree of corroboration for the map regression of the settlement patterns of each parish, but will also be used to

³ Villan is used to differentiate the villagers of Domesday from the ‘villeins’ of the later Middle Ages (Thorn & Thorn 1985b, Introduction; Loyn 2003, 24).

identify possible hamlets amongst the many farms. Once again, this is discussed further below. The remainder of the entry lists the livestock and the value of the holding, and these facts are not used in this thesis.

The Domesday record for Devon, and the other counties of the South-west (Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire), is unique in one very important respect, and that is the existence of the *Liber Exoniensis* (Exon). This appears to be a preliminary draft of the Exchequer Domesday Book, which contains a lot of information that was not copied into the final record, in particular details of the villans' land and numerous bynames (Thorn & Thorn 1985a, The Exeter Domesday). This has allowed an element of cross-checking between the two books, as well as the addition of the missing material. The Phillimore translation, thus presents a more comprehensive record both for Devon and, to a lesser extent, for Dorset; the two counties whose records have been researched in this thesis. This, arguably, ensures that the 'best' available Domesday record is being used to provide corroboration for the map regression process.

Villans *et al.* and Their Tenements

Darby (2003, 31) states that there were 980 manors in Devon in 1086, while Hoskins (1963, 21) argues that there were a further 8,508 farms in the county at that time, and that these were worked by the villans of Domesday Devon, on the basis of one villan – one farm. The *bordars* and *cottars* of Domesday he associates with smallholdings, but argues that they supplemented their income by working the demesne land, while those slaves that are recorded he tied firmly to the manorial lands. Initially, Hoskins attempts to prove his concept of one villan – one farm in the small parish of Honeychurch, demonstrating the correlation between the number of farms recorded by the Tithe Commissioners and the count of villans plus the manor. Thereafter he explores larger, more complex parishes, and by combining farms exhibiting mother/daughter characteristics and discarding those that he perceived as too small or too modern, he always achieves a count that is within a farm or so of the 'villan count'

(Hoskins 1963, 15-52). While not disputing his placement of either the smallholders or the slaves on the demesne, this author has doubts concerning Hoskins' disposition of the villans. Firstly, he does not appear to attempt to 'date' the farms he identifies as being 'worked' by villans, for example not one of his farms in Honeychurch is listed in EPNS, and secondly, he does not appear to respect the generally accepted size of a villan's plot, 30 acres (for example see Hatcher 1970, 11; Welldon Finn 1973, 38; Dyer 2002, 21-24). A modified Hoskins' model will be discussed in the next chapter, one which may be summarised as follows: the villans of the manor each worked 30 acres of land that was separate from the demesne and may have been part of a separate holding of the manor, and some of these separate holdings may be recognised as some of the farms of today.

There are only thirty two freedmen listed in Devon in Domesday and these were split between the royal manors of Wrington and Broadclyst (Harvey 1988, 89). Broadclyst is one of the parishes that will be studied in this thesis and it is intended to resolve the question of the disposition of these freedmen in that case study (Chapter 4). We will now look at the vexing question of land measurement in Domesday.

Land Metrics

Size estimates for a ploughland vary from the minimalist 60 acres, through a consensus figure of 120 acres, up to Walter of Henley's, seemingly, excessive 260 acres (for example see Reichel 1901, 597-8; Richardson 1942, 294; Orwin 1949, 10; Howells 1967-8, 226; Dyer 2002, 349; Campbell & Bartley 2006, 39).

Walter of Henley produced his treatise on 'husbandry' towards the end of the 13th century (Langdon 1982, 31) and, thus, as a (nearly) contemporary author, his apparently 'fanciful' figure should not be dismissed out-of-hand. Walter determines the number of days available for ploughing each year as 264 days and enumerates the time taken to plough two fields each of 80 acres (one fallow)

and three fields each of 60 acres (one fallow), deriving figures of 263 and 266 days respectively. His ploughing routine involves revisiting ploughed areas and envisages two ploughing rates: a 'light' rate achieving 1 acre per day and a 'proper' rate that covered 3½ roods (0.875 acre) a day (Richardson 1942, 294). The key facts to take forward from Walter of Henley are: that his 264 days available for ploughing merely discounts Saint's Days and Sundays, it does not take into account the seasons, and that he acknowledges two different ploughing rates. Of these facts, it is the total days per year that were available for ploughing that calls Walter's figures into disrepute. Reynolds argues for a confinement period of 120 days over winter for livestock, which is when the grass does not grow, while Caseldine notes that the average length of growing season in most of lowland Devon and Cornwall is of the order of 275 days (this suggests a 90 day confinement period) (Reynolds 1987, 41; Caseldine 1999, Map 1.11). In Devon, the winter wheat would be sown in November and harvested in June, while the spring crop was sown in March and harvested in late July or early August (Sanders 1949, 249-50; Stanes 2005, 97/8). From this it can be seen that all the arable fields in use were growing crops in March, April, May and June, with the summer crop continuing to grow until July/August. That is to say there were a further 120 days when nothing could be ploughed except the land put to grass ley, and this was an important source of pasture. If one then removes the harvest period from the time available for ploughing, where this is anything between 6 and 8 weeks (Dyer 2000, 180), it can be seen that the total amount of time when the land would be free for ploughing, in Devon, is of the order of 120 days. If we now apply Walter of Henley's average daily rate of one acre to the amount of time that ploughing could take place in Devon, we arrive at the consensus figure of 120 acres! Let us turn now to the question of a day's work.

Walter of Henley has already introduced the concept of differing daily rates of work depending upon the quality of ploughing achieved, albeit with only the small difference of an eighth of an acre. Elsewhere we encounter: 'It was reckoned that

a plough team could plough one acre in a forenoon' (Welldon Finn 1973, 25) and a 'team could plough $\frac{1}{2}$ acre per day' (Orwin 1949, 10). Ostensibly, the difference between Welldon Finn and Orwin is a factor of four, as the former is quoting a half days work, while the latter reports a full day's quota. The difference may not be as great, as most authorities agree that 'a working day normally ended about noon or shortly afterwards' (Seebohm 1905, 124, 382; Howells 1967-7, 226), a fact that carried on into 19th century Suffolk, where horse teams stopped work at 2.30 p.m. (Evans 1967, 23). Variety in the quantity of work achieved can also be found in the Suffolk Punches who could only manage $\frac{3}{4}$ acre on heavy land, but increased their output to a full acre on lighter land (Evans 1967, 41). Finally, to provide a conversion between teams of horses and of oxen: in Cornwall two horses could plough an acre a day, while four oxen could only manage $\frac{3}{4}$ acre (presumably on the same ground) (Stanes 2005, 90). It would appear that the measure of a ploughland should be determined as much by the 'quality' of the ground as by the number of days available for ploughing, and, for that reason, Roffe argues that the figure should be seen as a pragmatic 120 acres, plus or minus (Roffe 2007, 207/8). Edward I standardised the size of an acre at 220 yds (200m) by 22 yds (20m), an unusual form that almost certainly owes both shape and dimensions to ploughing, and thus, probably, supports the argument that an acre was the amount of land a team could plough in a day (Hooke 1998, 126; Campbell & Bartley 2006, 35), but where was this day's work undertaken? Here one is forced to make an assumption; surely the answer lies in the Champion country, in the sophisticated two- and three-field systems of the Midlands, which Hoskins (1963, 17) identifies as the 'political focus of administration'. If this is the case, then it may be that the 120 acre ploughland should be regarded as an area that was achievable in the common fields of the Midlands, on what must be regarded as prime arable land, thus possibly establishing 120 acres as a maximum, rather than the median posited by Roffe. Furthermore, following a ridge and furrow pattern, the team would travel at least 9 miles when ploughing a standard acre 'strip', at a speed that is slower than a man could walk (Richardson 1942, 293; Stanes 2005, 90) and, with time lost at each end of the furlong while

the oxen were turned and rested, it is probable that the time taken to cover the acre was, of the order of, a half day's work. It would seem therefore, that the spread of estimates for the extent of a ploughland, varying between 120 and 60 acres (see above), establishes a working maxima and minima, where the former appears to be a norm for 'good cereal' land and the latter an amount below which the utility of arable farming becomes questionable.

It is not unusual for both meadow and pasture (and occasionally woodland) to be recorded in acres in the Domesday Book but, since the standard acre was not introduced until the late 13th century, Darby is dismissive of these figures, stating 'we can hardly assume these were the equivalent of our modern statute acre' (Darby 2003, 40). Grierson (2003, 120-121), however, is more positive and he states that there was a 'standard' acre in 1086, one that measured 160 square perches, or 4 X 40 perches. If a perch measured 16½ feet (5m), we can determine that a 'Domesday acre' was 4,840 square yards, the same as a modern statute acre. Unfortunately, Grierson also states that the local length of a perch varied between 14 and 18 feet, and so we are not much further forward. Finally, there is much discussion about other 'acres', including the Devon acre, the Cornish acre and the Roman acre but, again, there is no informed indication regarding which, if any, should be used *throughout* Devon (see for example Evans 1967, 41; Finberg 1969a, 11 & 30; Campbell & Bartley 2006, 35-41). It should be noted, however, that there may be evidence for the use of Devon acres at the deserted medieval site on Holne Moor (Dartmoor) (Fleming & Ralph 1982, 113-4).

The intention here has been to inform the reader of the debate concerning the measurements used in the Domesday Book. Whilst all the necessary dimensions were recorded in 1086, there is a problem in determining their relationship to our modern metrics. In the next chapter this debate will be taken forward and the measurements that will be used in this thesis will be determined.

3

Sources and Methodology

‘A promising method would have been to restrict oneself to a definite provincial territory, to get intimately acquainted with all details of its geography, local history, peculiarities of custom, and to trace the social evolution of this tract of land as far back as possible, without losing sight of general connexions and analogies.’

(Vinogradoff, 1892, viii)

Introduction

This thesis explores the possibilities of conducting a map regression in search of the core farmland, the land that was being exploited for agriculture ca. 1086, and which represents the ‘anciently enclosed’ land of Devon. Surrounding and intermixed with this core farmland there will have been cleared, but unenclosed land that was probably common coarse pasture. This ‘common’ land represents the land that was regarded locally as marginal and this will have been enclosed during either the agricultural expansion of the 12th/13th century, or of the 16th century, or both (Dyer 2002, 2). The Domesday Book records population details for each manor and also the amount of land that was put to differing agricultural uses - ploughland, meadow, pasture and wood – although the true dimensions of the measurements are uncertain. In this chapter we will establish a methodology

for conducting the map regression and for interpreting the Domesday metrics. We will explore the various sources that can be used to embellish the map regression and to corroborate aspects of the results.

Before proceeding with any discussion about the sources and methodology used in this thesis, there is one generic point that needs to be made. There has been a great transition in agricultural/tenorial language between 1086 and the modern day. Today, everyone who works the land is referred to as a farmer, whether they own or rent the land, and even the 'endangered species' of the agricultural labourer may be called a farmer. During the Middle Ages, however, great distinction was made between the land owner and his tenants, between their rights and obligations, and even to the extent of identifying different 'classes' of both. Technically, a farmer was the tenant of a leased demesne, or a grange, whose land was described as being 'farmed out' (Dyer 2002, 346), with other land on the manor either retained by the owner or worked by tenants, under different forms of leasehold. In this thesis the term farmer has been used in the modern sense to describe anyone who was working an area of land, which has been called a farm; no attempt has been made to reflect the archaic terms or tenorial regimes. The first step in establishing the methodology to be pursued in this thesis, lay in determining where to study, and what to study, and we will now turn to the selection of the parishes that have been used in this work.

Parishes and Case Studies

Devon is a large county with considerable variation in geology and topography, and these combine with the climate to produce a variety of soils that have different capabilities when it comes to supporting agriculture. We need, therefore, to 'spread the net wide' when identifying the parishes to study, in order to ensure that we get results from a range of different areas. While this will not, necessarily, produce a diverse range of results it will satisfy two requirements: that we look

across the differing *pays* of the county and that we create a mechanism that will assist in the identification and rejection of rogue results. The rejection of rogue results may also be assisted by selecting pairs of parishes in each chosen location. Chapter 2 discussed the utility of using lowland pollen sequences to 'guide' the map regression and it would, therefore, appear to be *de rigueur* that we attempt to ensure that there is at least one pollen sequence in every parish selected (Figure 3.1).

The case study areas have been selected to investigate a range of topography, from the floodplains of the Culm and Clyst (Case Study I) to the higher ground on the fringes of Exmoor (CS V) (Figure 3.1), and a spread of the diverse geology of the county, from the old rocks of the Late Devonian (CS V) through to the younger rocks of the Early Cretaceous (CS III) (Figure 3.2). Geology and topography combine to create the soil structure, and all three will be discussed at the beginning of each case study.

Broadclyst and Poltimore (CS I) are representative of the fertile lands of the floodplains of the major rivers of the county, in this instance the Culm and the Clyst, and this case study will be supported by no fewer than three 'local' pollen sequences. Kentisbeare and Uffculme (CS II) are unique in this work due to the absence of a 'local' pollen sequence. The two parishes are situated on the upper reaches of the floodplain of the Culm and from there they rise towards and up over the scarp of the Blackdown Hills and, while their geology is similar to that of the first case study, the topography makes them representative of a distinct *pays* within this thesis. This case study will use the 'regional' pollen sites on the Blackdowns, as well as drawing upon the data from Broadclyst, to inform the land-use history. Moving onto the Blackdowns, both the geology and the topography in Cotleigh and Stockland (CS III) combine to create a third *pays*, in which there is a single 'local' pollen site. Our fourth case study takes us onto the edges of the Culm Measures, an uncompromising band of Carboniferous rock

that is infamous for producing a heavy, clayey soil. Cruwys Morchard and Templeton (CS IV) are situated on a plateau, on ground that is consistently higher than that encountered previously, and the work here is supported by both a single 'local' pollen sequence and a cluster of three 'regional' traps to the north-west. Finally, Molland and West Anstey (CS V) introduce us to the oldest rock formations encountered in this thesis, and take us up to the highest ground investigated in this work. Supported by three pollen sequences, that all lie on the moorland, but which will provide both 'local' and 'regional' information, this case study area represents the last *pays* to be investigated.

The diversity of both topography and geology that will be encountered should engender a similar diversity of soil, and this may be reflected in the agriculture of each parish. We now move onto a consideration of the sources available to guide and inform this study.

The Base Map

The selection of the correct map was important, especially in a project involving map regression. The map/s needed to be large scale and, most importantly had to display the fields. None of the earliest maps that were identified satisfied either requirement, while Donn's' map of 1765 and the 1" First Series OS map ca. 1809 have been used elsewhere and are discussed later. Greenwood's map (1827), despite being more accessible than the 1" OS map, will not be encountered in this thesis. The more modern maps, however, satisfy both requirements, the 6" County Series OS map ca. 1880 was also produced at a 25":1 mile, while the latest OS maps cover a variety of scales. Once again, these were rejected, but both have found uses elsewhere which will be discussed later. Sitting in between the early small scale maps and the 6" County Series map, there is a series of

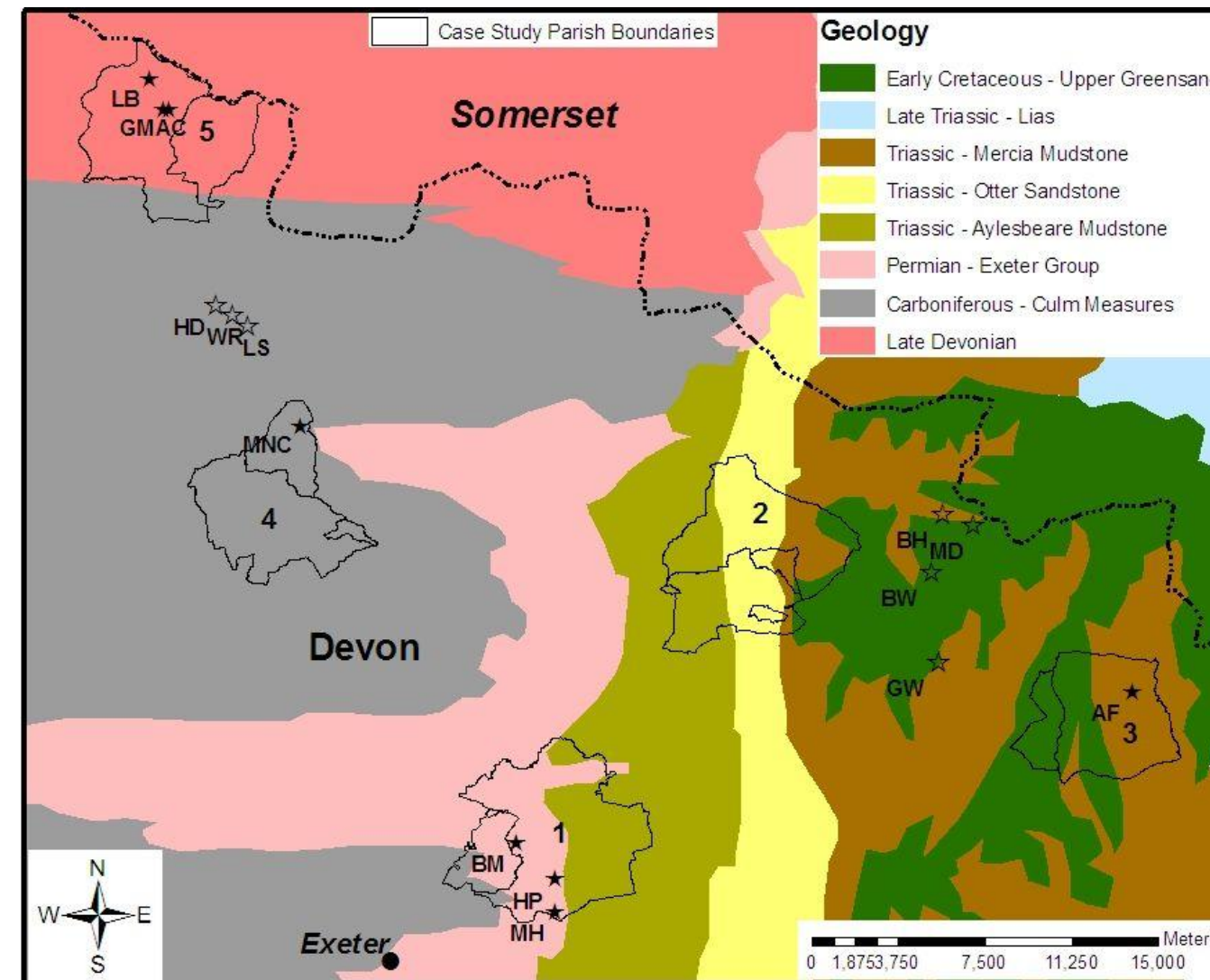
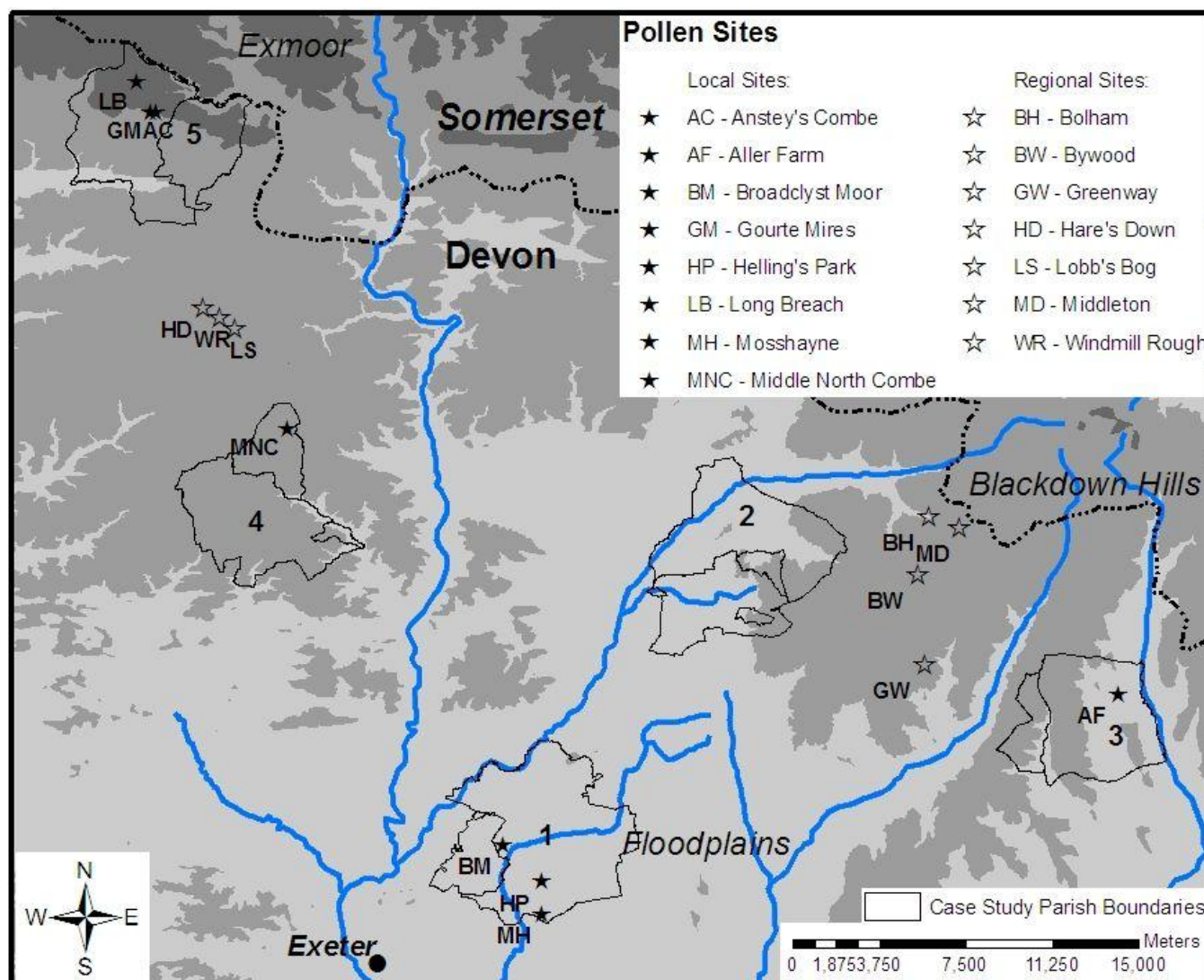


Figure 3.1. The topography affecting the selection of the case study areas, and associated pollen traps. Note the use of both local and regional pollen sequences. Case studies are: 1, Broadclyst and Poltimore; 2, Kentisbeare and Uffculme; 3, Cotleigh and Stockland; 4, Cruwys Morchard and Templeton and 5, Molland and West Anstey.

Figure 3.2. The geology of the case study areas. Case studies are: 1, Broadclyst and Poltimore; 2, Kentisbeare and Uffculme; 3, Cotleigh and Stockland; 4, Cruwys Morchard and Templeton and 5, Molland and West Anstey. See Figure 3.1 for pollen trap decode (after British Geological Survey 2010).

maps, produced by local surveyors, and which were considered ideal for this thesis. As a result of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, virtually every parish in England was surveyed at a large scale, in the following ten years or so. The process of parochial tithe commutation generated a tithe map, tithe apportionment and tithe files, of each parish, which were lodged with the Tithe Commission, while copies of the map and apportionment were also held by the parish and the diocese (Kain & Prince 2000, xi-xiv). It is the latter, now held in the Devon Record Office (DRO) that have been consulted in this work and which form the basis of the analysis. Throughout the thesis a generic date 'ca. 1840' is used to date all tithe maps and apportionments, although both were produced at differing times and the correct dates for each parish document will be found in the bibliography. The tithe maps were selected as the starting point for the map regression and these have been 'joined', within a GIS, to the relevant apportionment to create an interactive map for each parish. The tithe maps are not as geographically accurate as the OS maps, but the existence of the apportionment, containing details of land ownership, occupancy, field-name, land-use, size and tithe due created a package of data that fits the requirement of this work perfectly.

Setting up the GIS

In preparation for each case study a series of digitised maps was uploaded to the GIS. The modern OS maps and earlier 6" County Series OS maps were available in a digitised form from EDINA, as was the British Geological Survey. The OS maps were used to provide additional data, regarding, settlement, topography, rivers and streams, and during the map regression phase to assist in interpretation. The geology map was used to create a geology layer for the case study area (see below), while Soil Survey Sheet 5 provided the background data for the soil layer. The 1" First Series OS maps were only available in book form

(Harley & O'Donoghue 1977) and scanned copies of the relevant maps were uploaded and geo-referenced into the GIS, where these were used to provide further information on settlement, roads and topography.

At the start of this thesis the tithe maps only existed in two formats in the DRO; the original map and as microfiche files (the original maps have since been digitised). The originals are large, some of them as much as 2m by 2m in size, while the microfiche are very small and have lost most of the detail in their capture. Rippon, Smart and Wainwright (2006) describe a process for 'capturing' a tithe map in a GIS, which involves transcribing the original map onto a photocopy of the later 6" map, to produce a hard copy of the tithe map. This transcription is then manually overlaid on a copy of the 6" map within the GIS, creating a .SHP file. It is possible to speed up this process by photographing the tithe map, but restrictions regarding the use of flash photography in the DRO, have resulted in the photographs of the map only being suitable for 'background' work, they are not good enough to be displayed in this thesis. The process of digitising the tithe map, using the 6" OS map as an underlay, provided a means by which the geographical accuracy of the tithe map could be enhanced. While the finished product is still not completely accurate, it is sufficiently good to allow the National Grid Reference (NGR) of sites to be taken directly from the tithe map and it will also permit neighbouring tithe maps to be displayed together without blank seams or overlaps. The decision to use these maps was reinforced during the digitisation process as numerous differences between the tithe and 6" OS maps were discovered. Settlement location, field boundaries and even the road pattern had frequently been changed, sometimes considerably, in the forty years between the respective surveys (Figure 3.3). The value of using the field survey that is closest temporally to Domesday cannot be overstated, but the changes noticed in the early Victorian period serve to indicate the degree of churn that may be contemplated between 1086 and 1840. We now move on to a discussion of the apportionment, arguably the most important source of data in this thesis, certainly the most condensed and accessible.

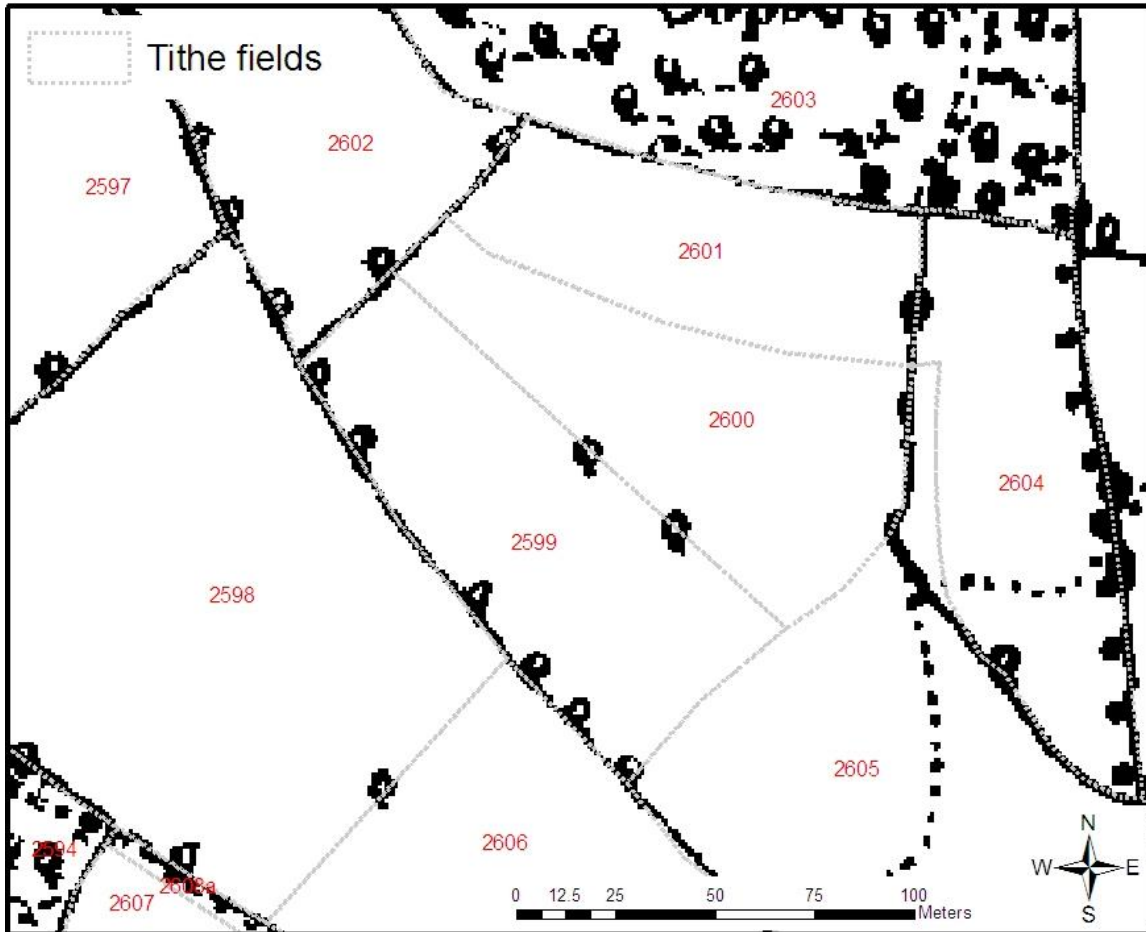


Figure 3.3. Changes in the fieldscape. The tithe map of Broadclyst overlaid on the First Edition County Series OS map. Note the way that fields 2599, 2600, 2601 and 2605 have been amalgamated to form a larger unit at some time between ca. 1840 and ca. 1880, as is the case with 2598 and 2606. The trees along the original boundaries of 2598-2606 and 2599-2600 have been employed to re-establish a degree of geographic accuracy in the reconstruction of the tithe boundaries.

The Apportionment

The tithe apportionment that accompanied each map is a most comprehensive record that may be seen as a snapshot of the agricultural details of each parish ca. 1840, containing the following information for each parcel of land: the land owner, occupier, farm and field-names, land-use, size and tithe dues (Table 3.1). The reader will also notice that each 'field' has a field number and this can be

linked directly to the field number recorded on the tithe map thereby creating a database within the GIS that permits differing sets of data to be displayed, and also the interrogation of each field to establish its attributes. It is this facility to load attributes to the map that made the use of the tithe map and apportionment so valuable in this study. Some of these attributes, however, required modification to facilitate better comprehension.

A quick scan of the field-names in Table 3.1 indicates the difficulties inherent in trying to identify all the fields with the field-name element 'close' or with a settlement indicative field-name, using the raw data. There is a similar 'problem' when trying to capture the true tenor of the land-use - was field number 313 pasture or orchard? To resolve these problems some columns were added that showed selected field-names and standardised land-usage (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Extract from the tithe apportionment for Molland. The additional columns showing selected field-names (F Name 1,2) and standard use (Std Use) are shown. Benhay and Burliford have been included in the F Name 2 column as possible settlement indicative field-names, and these are examples of 'local' favourites being added to the standard list (in this case both proved to be referring to known sites elsewhere in the parish). The manner in which coppice and pasture has become pasture has been discussed in the text.

Fieldname	F Name 1	F Name 2	Landuse	Std Use	Acres
great benhay		benhay	arable	arable	1
little benhay		benhay	arable	arable	1
black meadow, higher ham		black	pasture	pasture	5
black meadow, lower ham		black	pasture	pasture	4
black meadow		black	meadow	meadow	5
burliford coppice		burliford	wood	wood	1
nursery by burliford					
coppice		burliford	meadow	meadow	
easter moor common	moor	common	pasture	pasture	7
easter moor common	moor	common	pasture	pasture	12
				coarse	
cossacombe common		common	coarse pasture	pasture	473
cuckoo moor	moor		coppice & pasture	pasture	3
cuckoo moor coppice	moor		pasture	pasture	2
easter part of new moor	moor		pasture	pasture	110
part of new moor	moor		pasture	pasture	77
new allens	new		arable	arable	

Table 3.1. Extract from the tithe apportionment for Molland. Whilst a faithful transcription, all the data has been recorded in lower case, and the names of the occupiers have been altered to read surname followed by christian name. One statute acre (4840 sq. yds.) was made up of four rods, and one rod comprised forty perches. Twelve pence (recorded as ‘d’) constituted a shilling (‘s’) and twenty shillings made up one pound sterling (‘l’ or £). Note that some fields have a letter suffix, and that the ‘farm name’ column does not appear in the tithe apportionment *per se*, where farm names are given these appear as a heading above that farm’s data.

Landowner	Occupier	Farm Name	Field No.	Fieldname	Landuse	Acres	Rods	Perches	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, john	great champson	312	coombe meadow	orchard	1	2	18		10	6
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, john	great champson	313	coombe meadow orchard	pasture & orchard	4				19	4
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, john	great champson	314	james close	pasture	8	1	7	2	3	6
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, john	great champson	315	church close	arable	12		22	1	3	2
throcmorton, sir robert george	gough, john brown	moneyhole	316	easter church close	pasture	7	3		1	16	2
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, james	west molland barton	317	higher church close	pasture	9		36	2	3	9
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, james	west molland barton	318	sand close	occasional arable	23	1	10	2	10	6
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, james	west molland barton	319	higher hill	arable	11	3	12		12	8
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, james	west molland barton	320	west hill	arable	8	2	36		8	10
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, james	west molland barton	321	wood close	arable	1	2	26		2	6
throcmorton, sir robert george	throcmorton, sir robert george	woods	322	gatecombe wood	wood	20	2	34	1	14	5
throcmorton, sir robert george	quartly, james	west molland barton	323	north wood	oak coppice & timber	9		11		7	10

It can be seen that, while there would appear to be an underlying list of ‘standard uses’, the land-use recorded in the apportionment was probably allowed to reflect the ‘true’ situation. A standard list of land-use for this thesis was generated (Table 3.3). There are, in fact, two problems that were addressed in this instance; firstly how to record multiple usage, pasture and arable, for example and, secondly, how to reduce the myriad of ‘minor’ uses – kennel, barn, coppice, thicket, lime, marl, moor for example. Having established the list of standard uses, these were ranked according to the author’s perception of their agricultural importance as follows: arable, meadow, pasture, coarse pasture, orchard, furze, turbary, wood, settlement, infrastructure, extractive industry. Where ‘multiple’ uses have been recorded in the apportionment, only the highest ranked ‘standard’ use was carried across to the standard use column (see Table 3.2). The many ‘minor’ uses that were encountered during the thesis were each allocated to one of the standard uses, as appropriate, and those uses that make-up each standard category are listed at Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Land-use ‘standard’ categories, the allocation of a single use to a field with multiple uses has been discussed in the text, this table lists all the standard categories used in this thesis and indicates the way that single categories (mostly non-agricultural) have been amalgamated into collections of ‘similar’ uses.

Standard land-use	Tithe land-use categories that have been combined/comment
Arable	Arable
Meadow	Meadow
Pasture	Pasture
Coarse pasture	Coarse pasture, moor, common, heath, waste
Orchard	Orchard, nursery
Furze	Furze, brake
Turbary	Turbary
Wood	Wood, timber, plantation, saplings, willow, alder, withy, coppice, thicket, fir, copse, underwood
Settlement	House, cottage, inn, mill, smithy
Infrastructure	Barn, garden, kennel, lane, linhay, outhouse, park, pond, road, shrubbery, mowhay, mowplot
Extractive Industry	Lime, marl, pit, quarry
Unknown	Any field for which no land-use has been recorded

The field-names of interest were separated into two groups: those whose names could be indicative of 'age' of enclosure and those that may be indicative of former settlement. Table 3.4 lists the field-name elements that may be associated with early enclosure, later enclosure, open fields and also those that are considered to represent a regional selection of settlement indicative names. In each parish studied, the settlement names were scrutinised and any local 'favourites' were identified and added to the 'regional' list in that parish only.

Table 3.4. Field-name elements of interest. The list of field-names that may be associated with ancient enclosure, later enclosure and open fields. (Shorter 1949; Fox 1972, Field 1973; 1993), and those field-names that be indicative of former settlement (Fox 1972; Field 1973; 1993; Costen 1992a; Padel 1999).

Field-names of Interest			
Ancient Enclosure	Later Enclosure	Open Fields	Settlement Indicative
Close	Down	Croft	Black
Old	Heath	Field	Castle
Park	Marsh	Furlong	Borough/Bury
	Moor	Headland	Cot/Cott
	New	Landscape	Hayes/Hayne
			Huish
			Ruins/walls
			Worthy

Expansion of the Apportionment

The data incorporated in the tithe apportionment presents the GIS with a formidable list of attributes, which are associated with the tithe map and can, also, be used to determine what is displayed. The next step in the search for and creation of data lay in attempting to establish the settlement pattern, at various times, in each parish. Since the apportionment spreadsheet contains all the information required to initiate a listing of settlement ca. 1840, it seemed logical to expand that spreadsheet, effectively making it a master document, holding all the parish information (Figure 3.5). Columns have been added to each parochial

Table 3.5. Additional data recorded in the 'master' tithe apportionment for Molland. All the columns are concerned with the location and dating of the settlement, with the exception of the last three – FA 1,2 and 3 – these record the results of each stage of the Fieldscape Analysis.

Field No.	Easting	Northing	Date	EPNS	HER	LBS	Name	six inch	one inch	Comment	FA 1	FA 2	FA 3
391a	280794	128422	1805					no name	poss building	disappeared	settlement	irregular	enclosed
392a	280827	128419	1805					no name	poss building		settlement	irregular	enclosed
			c						molland				
393a	280793	128393	1250			c 12	Church	no name	bottreaux	lbs 398114	regular	divided	enclosed
394a	280824	128374	1805					no name	poss building	disappeared	settlement	irregular	enclosed
395a	280794	128365	1805					no name	poss building	disappeared	settlement	irregular	enclosed
			c										
396a	280766	128370	1700			c		no name	poss building	lbs 398125	settlement	irregular	enclosed
			c										
397a	280734	128357	1750		m-l c18	c18		no name	poss building	lbs 398123	settlement	irregular	enclosed
414a											irregular	irregular	enclosed
477a											regular	divided	enclosed
477z											regular	divided	enclosed

spreadsheet to accommodate this accumulation of settlement data. Before proceeding to discuss the creation of this sub-set of data within the spreadsheet, a brief comment on the other three columns which the reader will notice have also been added. These will be found at the far right and are headed FA1, 2 and 3, standing for Fieldscape Analysis 1, 2 and 3. This is where the results of the three phases of the map regression are recorded and these are discussed below.

The first step in establishing the settlement sub-set of the spreadsheet lies in interrogating each field whose standard use has been recorded as settlement to determine, and record their 12 figure NGR (Easting and Northing), and this is done in the GIS. *The Place-names of Devon* (EPNS) was consulted to determine any settlement sites whose origins can be traced to early documents, and these details are recorded in the EPNS column of the spreadsheet. The second check is made against the English Heritage Listed Buildings On-line (LBS) and the final check is made by searching the Historic Environment Record (HER), which is held by the Historic Environment Service (HES). Once all three sources have been consulted and any dating recorded, it is possible to determine the earliest date for each settlement and this is recorded in the 'date' column. It is important that the reader is aware of the difference between the dates that have been recorded. The EPNS date records the earliest time at which the site is mentioned in any documentary source, this does not confirm the present location as the original location, nor is this the date of construction of the building. LBS records the probable date of construction of the building, generally as a result of an inspection by an expert on vernacular buildings, but occasionally through documentary or other evidence – in the case of Townsend Farm (Stockland) by dendrochronological dating (HER 01920). The dates are generally presented as a timespan – mid-16th century, for example. LBS dating therefore differs from that of EPNS, by recording the likely date of the construction of the building, but this is not, necessarily, the earliest structure on that site. The HER draws its evidence from the same source as LBS, but also draws upon EPNS in order to ensure the most complete record possible. When searching the HER great care was taken

to ensure that every record in each parish had been examined, not just to fill in 'blanks' in the settlement record, but also to look for indications of deserted settlement (in particular that associated with the possible settlement indicative field-names already found in the parish).

The HES also holds a complete set of the RAF post-war vertical aerial photographs and these were searched for any interesting anomalies, in particular in the vicinity of those fields whose names contained a settlement indicative element. The HES has had expert investigation of these photos carried out, and anything that has been found has been included in the HER – it will not surprise the reader to learn that the author did not find anything of interest in these photos that had not already been found. What is interesting is that these photos have not presented any indications of former settlement in this thesis, and that a small selection of HER entries recording possible ridge and furrow in Stockland, have since been re-assessed as being either turbarry or orchard.

There is one final possible source of corroboratory evidence for deserted settlement, the Devon County Record Office (DRO) and the extensive range of records held there, and during any general search of these records a 'weather eye' was always maintained for any indications of former or deserted settlement sites. Returning to the creation of the parish 'master' spreadsheet, the final action then is to assemble all the data pertaining to any former settlement that has been found. Normally this only resides in the investigation of settlement indicative field-names. Generally any possible settlement indicative field-name that has been discovered will not be taken forward to the settlement sub-set of the spreadsheet unless good corroborative evidence has been found, as in the case of Catshayes (Kentisbeare) where it was discovered that the name was also recorded in the *Testa de Nevill*, which is dated 1240 (Whale 1898, 232). As an exception, however, field-names containing the name elements Cot, Worthy or Huish will automatically be added to the settlement list (Costen 1992a; Padel 1999). Once all the possible deserted settlement sites, whatever their source, have been

assessed, those that are to be added to the settlement site listing have their name and NGR recorded in the spreadsheet and their probable earliest date is assessed. We will now look at starting to 'use' the GIS by discussing the creation and use of a series of additional layers. These maps have been used extensively both to inform the thesis and also as investigative tools, looking for inter-relationships between diverse data.

Additional Layers of Data

When the final, 'expanded' tithe apportionment spreadsheet for each parish was joined to its associated tithe map in the GIS, the resulting 'interactive' map proved to be a powerful analytical tool. It was not, however, possible to capture all the available data in a format that was easily assimilable into this spreadsheet and an alternative display methodology had to be used. The GIS is capable of displaying several different layers of data simultaneously, and these layers may be switched on and off as required. The parochial tithe maps and the underlying OS mapping captured in the GIS represent some of these layers, but it is the 'additional' layers that were created that are the subject of this section.

Immediately after the tithe map has been captured in the GIS, and checked for completeness against the tithe apportionment, the first additional layer – an outline of the parish boundary – was created. This was used to inform the process of creating most of the remaining additional layers, and is displayed on many of the figures that have been created to support the text.

Some of the additional layers necessitated data capture from a map – geology, soil and topography – while others were derived from multiple sources or had to be created from scratch. The Soil Survey Sheet 5 (1:250,000) was used to build the layer that mapped the soil of each parish (Soil Survey 1983), while British Geological Survey maps (1:250,000), downloaded from EDINA, were used to

create the geology layer. The elevation data used to create the contour element of the topographical layer was taken from modern OS mapping, downloaded from the same e-library, but the watercourse data requires more explanation and this, and the other layers are discussed separately below.

Watercourses

River, stream and leat features are, wherever possible, captured from the tithe map, but it must be remembered that the purpose of this map was not to be topographical and so some of the features are not that well mapped. Rivers and, especially, streams present a challenge when they are used as field boundaries and are not recorded in a different colour. When this happens, it becomes necessary to identify 'wiggly' boundaries and check these on the modern OS maps (the 6" County Series also suffer from being black and white). Leats are far more difficult to identify, being less 'wiggly' and more sinuous as they follow the contour across the hill slope, they are ephemeral and the presence of a leat on modern mapping is no guarantee of its existence *ca.* 1840. Once the river, stream and leat layers have been created they are used, as necessary, to embellish appropriate figures.

Roads

The capture of roads on the tithe maps is also not always complete. Normally, the roads are not mapped *per se*, and they are represented by long, thin blank patches on the map. Occasionally, however, the tithe map surveyors have mapped these long thin stretches and one will find an allocated field number that, in the apportionment, is accompanied by the land-use descriptor 'road or lane'. Unfortunately, *ca.* 1840 not all roads were fenced and sometimes they ran through a field. Once again, these unfenced roads have been recorded on some tithe maps and not on others. In the absence of firm evidence of a road on the tithe map, no road will be recorded in the GIS, and this results in some 'hanging' roads, that seem to go nowhere. The one advantage that the road layers sometimes enjoy, is the existence of an earlier map or survey that records these

features. Benjamin Donn created a map of Devon ca. 1765 (Donn 1965), which is incomplete and which apparently only records the 'main roads'. Donn's roads have been captured as separate files in the GIS and can be used to overlay the tithe road pattern to emphasise their apparent enhanced importance. The other early surveys and maps that record roads generate a modification to the recorded road pattern, which is saved as a separate file; thus it is, sometimes, possible to display both the 'road' pattern and the 'early road' pattern, as independent entities and these may be overlaid by Donn's main roads as appropriate. We turn now to the settlement related layers, which include both settlement patterns and the mapping of farm boundaries.

Settlement and Farms

The manner in which the settlement data is collated has been described above, and here, we turn to how it is displayed. The tithe spreadsheet for each parish in the case study area is opened and 'sorted' by 'Easting', this will bring all the settlement that has been identified, to the top of the sheet. All data that is not settlement related is then deleted and the new file saved as a separate 'parish-settlement' file, for example 'Cotsett' would be the settlement file for Cotleigh parish. The settlement file is then sorted by date and all settlement whose date has been recorded as later than 1750 is deleted. This new file will be called 'Cotsett 1750', for example. The process is repeated to create a medieval file: 'Cotsett med'. Two further sub-files will be created from this medieval settlement file but only after the map regression has been completed – one of these will display all farms whose existence in the two hundred years after Domesday can be proven and the other only records the Domesday manors - these are both discussed later. Each settlement file is presented, in turn, in the GIS and the location of any nucleated settlement is identified. The removal of all the component sites that form a nucleated settlement from the spreadsheet, and their replacement by a single nucleated settlement 'marker', helps present the settlement pattern of each parish or case study area, in a clear and concise fashion at different times, as we progress back towards Domesday. It must be

noted that the process is fundamentally destructive; it is simplicity itself to remove a settlement whose existence before a certain date cannot be proven, but it is another matter to replace a deserted settlement which was not recorded *ca.* 1840. The settlement patterns created in this thesis that purport to be earlier than the tithe settlement map, must be seen as representative of only the minimum settlement that existed at that time.

Through the selection of the 'farm name' attribute in the GIS, it is possible to display all the tithe farms as separate entities, and this is used to capture the tithe farm boundaries around each farm. This overlay is used as an alternative means of identifying areas of fragmented occupancy/ownership, which may be indicative of former open fields. A second overlay will be created after the map regression process, which only displays the putative boundaries of those farms whose existence in the two hundred years after Domesday can be proven, and the boundaries of the Domesday manors whose land can be identified. These putative 'early' boundaries are created by assuming continuity of the land associated with each farm/manor house, and then removing all land that has been identified as not being enclosed during the map regression. The use of these 'early' boundaries is discussed later.

Ancient Woodland

The final two layers to be discussed are both related to the land-use history of the parishes. One is relatively simple, and this will be discussed first. The Multi Agency Geographic Information for the Countryside website (MAGIC) has a facility that will display a map, in part created by Natural England, which can be manipulated to show the extent of ancient woodland in an area. When concentrating on a parochial area, the map that can be downloaded is not of a suitable scale to present in a 'raw' state within this text, and these have, therefore, been captured in the GIS as another layer. The second layer concerns the pollen catchment areas for each pollen trap, and is discussed next.

Pollen

Modelling of pollen dispersal and catchment area sizes against observed results from Sweden suggests approximately 40% of the pollen that falls on a small pollen trap comes from flora within 800m - 1km of the site (Sugita, 1994; Sugita *et al.*, 1999). Interpretation of later work by Sugita, suggests that changes in flora occupying 'large' patches within 2.5 km of the pollen 'trap' may influence the pollen sequence (but this distance is an estimate that has not been derived using the models discussed in his work) (Sugita 2007a; Sugita 2007b). The shape and size of the pollen catchment area, however, is not a simple circle of 1km radius but the product of a complex interplay of pollen dispersal ranges, locally prevailing wind direction and strength, seasonality of pollen production, topography, flora and other factors (discussed in detail in Pearsall 2000). It would be difficult to capture all these variables in a readily assimilable 'catchment area overlay', but it is possible to incorporate some wind data.

'Wind roses' are the medium through which the long term variability of wind direction and strength, recorded at a site, is displayed (Met Office 2007). The wind roses for four sites in the South-west are shown at Figure 3.4, where the length of the vector is a measure of frequency of occurrence, while the thick 'bar' records wind strength. The variety in the data captured at the four sites is a direct result of the effect that the local topography has upon the wind at each location. St. Mary's, in the Isles of Scilly, is only 31m OD and the relatively flat nature of the islands ensures that there has been little topographic interference with the wind data capture. This site, therefore, represents the 'cleanest' record of the 'true' variation in wind direction and strength that has been experienced throughout the South-west, before local topographical changes occur, and the data from this site has been used to inform the modification of the pollen catchment area overlay, as follows. The wind rose displays frequency and strength of wind from 12 differing compass points and at St. Mary's the most

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Figure 3.4. Prevailing wind recorded at four differing locations in the South-west over a nine year period. The length of each arm represents the duration that the wind was from that direction, while each arm is sub-divided to show frequency of differing wind strength. Over such a relatively small area the weather pattern at the sites may be assumed to be homogenous and any variation in the wind rose is due, therefore, solely to local modification of the wind (Met Office 2007, Figure 21).

common wind direction is from the south-west⁴. The generic pollen catchment area has this south-westerly direction indicated by an arrow and the distance from trap to catchment area boundary is set at 1km. in that direction (Figure 3.5). The 'radius' of the 'ovoid' at the remaining eleven points, has been reduced in proportion to the frequency of occurrence of wind from each direction, and, therefore approximates the probability of pollen being captured from those directions. This generic pollen catchment overlay, represents the 'local' area, from which 40% of the pollen captured will have emanated and covers an area of 770 acres. There is, however, a possibility that variations in 'large' patches of flora out to a distance of 2.5km from the trap may 'blur' the extent of this area, nominally increasing its coverage to 4810 acres. Beyond these ranges the pollen sequence may still provide 'regional' indications of changes in the environment.

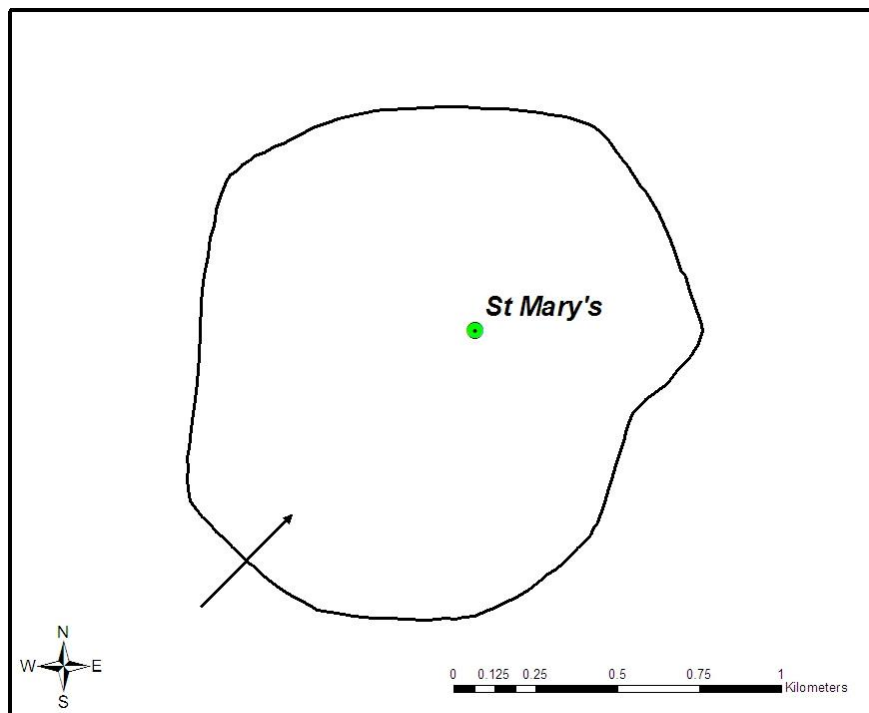


Figure 3.5. The generic pollen catchment area, with the position of the trap displayed. The 'radius' of the area is determined by the frequency of the wind from each direction, with the maximum being in the south-west; where the arrow crosses the ovoid and, at that point, the distance from the trap is 1km. (after Met Office 7, Figure 21).

⁴ More precisely from 240° True.

Before moving onto a description of the fieldscape analysis that will be used to conduct the map regression there is one final layer that is loaded to the GIS for each case study that has proved to be critical to the display of data: that is a second copy of each tithe map. The ability of overlay a tithe map showing one set of attributes, for example the tithe farm boundaries, upon another showing a different set of attributes, for example land occupancy, has been extremely beneficial when trying to interpret complicated issues.

Fieldscape Analysis

The map regression represents the final stage in the creation of a map that displays the core farmland of a parish, to which will be added the settlement patterns discussed above. This core farmland represents the land that has been enclosed from an early date and these fields may be identified by an irregular morphology, while those that are more regular in shape are considered to be indicative of more modern enclosure (Figure 3.6) (Taylor 2000, 94-104). The shape of some fields is very heavily influenced by topography, for example meadow lying along a valley bottom, others are suggestive of their probable origins, for example long-thin fields that may have once been part of an open field. Open fields probably will have been associated with nucleated settlement and thus a modern village may serve to inform the interpretation of the surrounding fieldscape (Figure 3.7) (Rippon 2004, 19-30).

The process that is described here is broadly similar to that of the Historic Landscape Characterisation of Cornwall, which starts as a 'bottom-up' approach looking at the individual fields, and then becomes a 'top-down' amalgamation of those parcels of land whose fieldscape character is considered to be the same (Herring & Johnson 1997). The fieldscape analysis used here comprises three steps and, while the 'typology' of field-shapes that have been used in each of those phases has developed during the course of the thesis, the original intention of ensuring that the first and third stages should be robust and repeatable has

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*Figure 3.6. Examples of early (13a & b) and more modern enclosure (25a & b)
(Taylor 2000, Figures 13 & 25).*

been adhered to throughout. The three stages of fieldscape analysis used in this thesis are - characterisation, rationalisation and interpretation – and each one will be discussed below. The results of each of these steps are recorded in the master parish apportionment spreadsheet, as outlined above.

Fieldscape Characterisation

The aim of the first stage is to characterise the individual fields, taking each one on its merits, oblivious to the nature of the surrounding fields. There are, however, three field characterisations that may be seen as ‘pre-determined’: woodland, settlement and parliamentary inclosure. The first two of these are extracted straight out of the tithe apportionment by identifying all the fields whose standard land-use is listed as wood or settlement. The third will only be found in

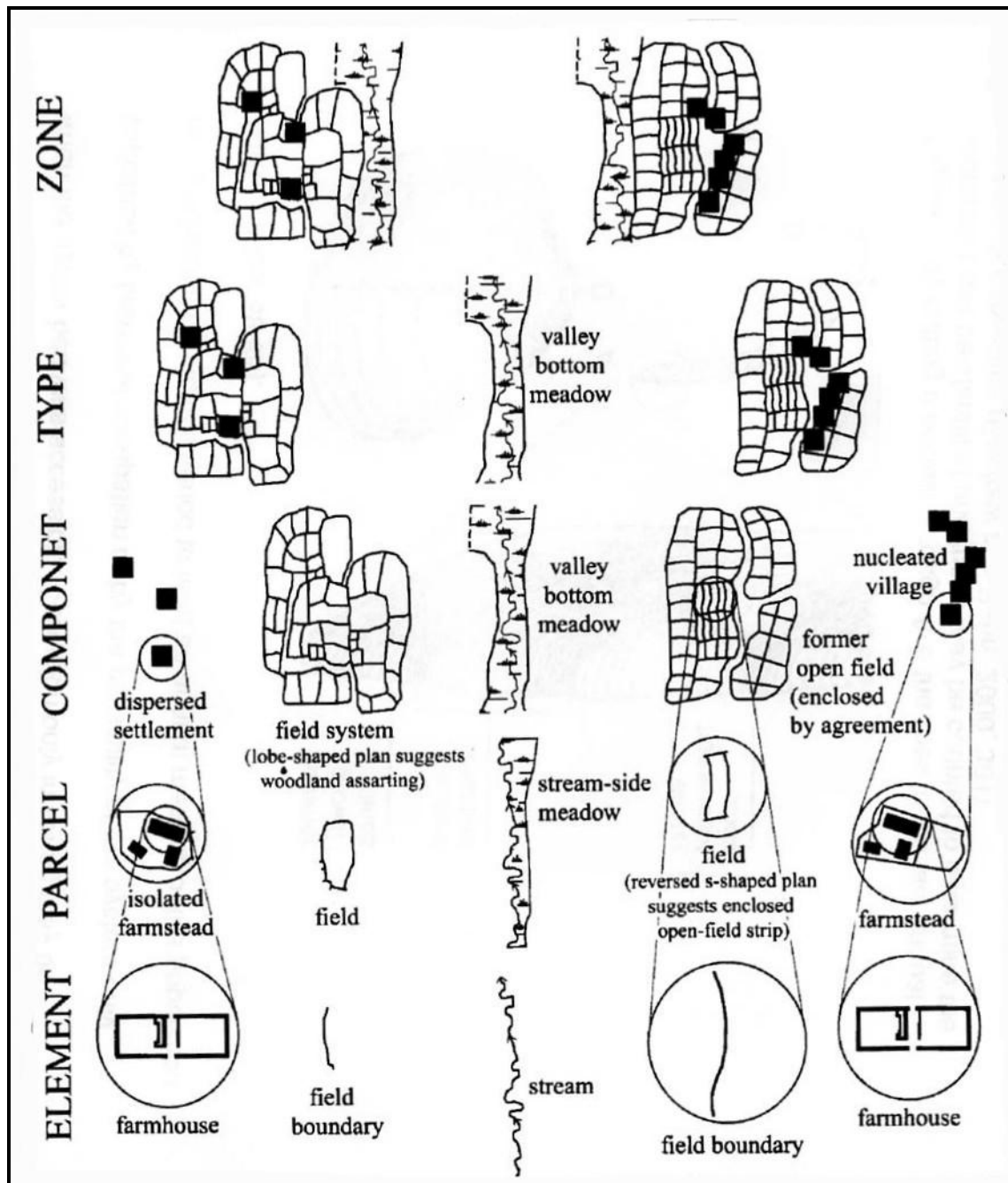


Figure 3.7. Exploring relationships between field shape, topography, land-use and settlement patterns, and identifying some probable origins (Rippon 2004, Table 2).

parishes that have been subject to the enforced enclosure of common land 'not including open field arable' by Act of Parliament (Tate 1946a). Those parishes that have been subjected to parliamentary inclosure are listed in Tate (1946b), and the details of the act/s, including a survey will be found in the DRO. Using a

photograph of the survey as an underlay it is relatively easy to identify those fields affected by the act, and record their character in the spreadsheet. In some cases the fields enclosed in this manner appear to have been former 'waste by the roadside' – long thin irregular stretches of land running between a field and the road – and normally these will have been engrossed into the adjacent field by the time of the tithe map survey. This engrossment necessitates a change being made to the GIS tithe map, to reflect the earlier existence of a field and a stretch of probable waste. Generally those fields enclosed by Act of Parliament have a regularity that is almost military in its precision (Figure 3.8), but this is not always the case.

The other four characterisations – valley bottom, regular, irregular and long-thin – are determined by inspection of each field in turn (Figure 3.9). Long-thin fields may represent the fossilised remains of strips of arable land that have been enclosed and probably derive from former open fields (Shorter 1949, 374; Finberg 1969b, 144; Fox 1989, 56), and in some cases it is possible to identify collections of amalgamated strips. These fields are the most insistent indication of a possible former open field and, as such, need to be treated with some respect. Before assigning a field this characterisation it is first measured in the GIS, and those that are more than 200m in length or 50m in width are rejected, unless there are supporting indications (see discussion of occupancy patterns below). Irregular fields may be the easiest to identify, but it took a long time to settle upon a good, working definition of a regular field for use within this first stage of analysis. At this stage of the map regression a regular field has been defined as any field that has one straight side, there is no requirement for it to be roughly square or rectangular. This then helps to identify the fourth characterisation of field type: valley bottom. Normally valley bottom fields will be found on the lower ground, at the side of rivers. They are 'fields' that were very prone to flooding, and which therefore, represent an unpredictable area of land – somewhere where the burgeoning cereal crop could be destroyed overnight by flooding after a heavy storm, for example. These fields may well have been used

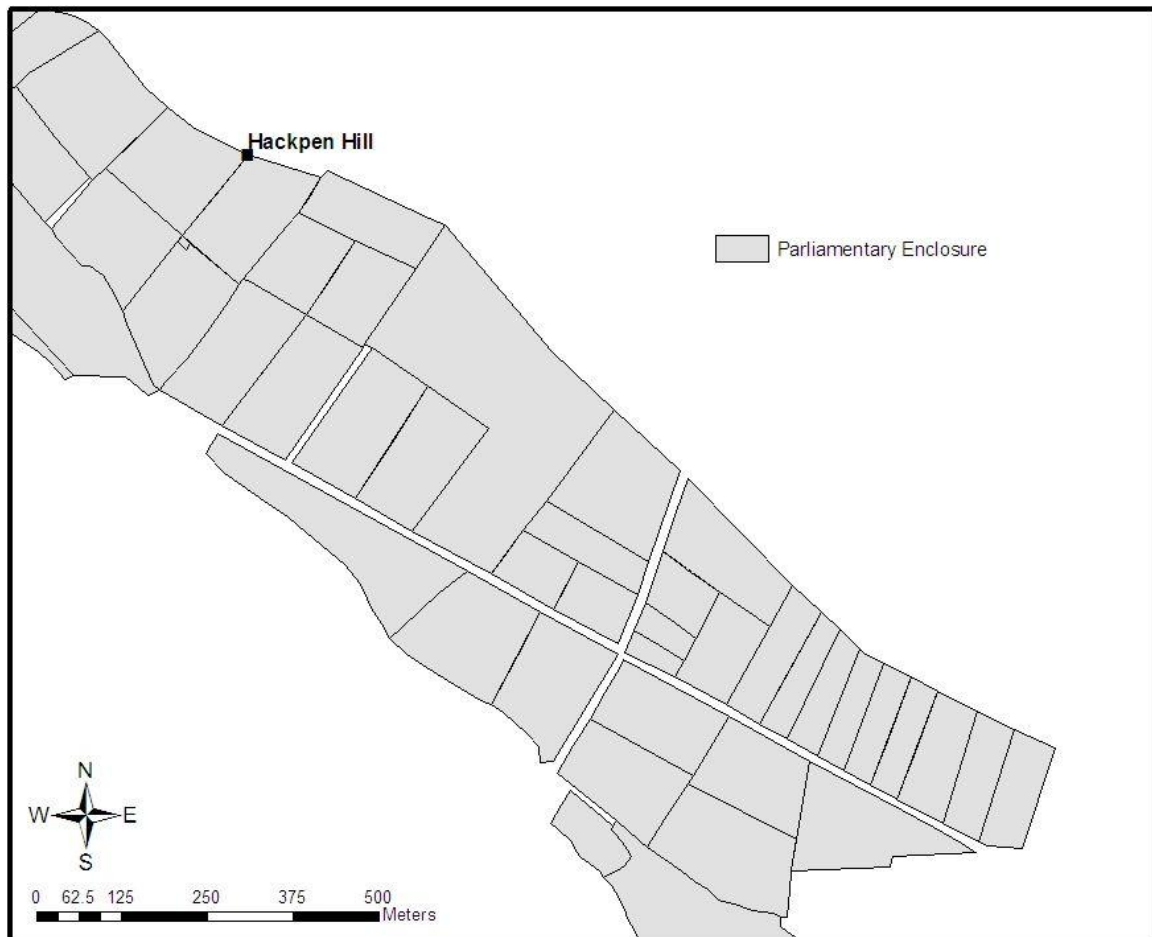


Figure 3.8. Parliamentary enclosure of common land on Hackpen Hill (Stockland). The field morphologies could easily be mistaken for former open field were it not for knowledge of their provenance.

as meadowland, perhaps common meadow, but again, their propensity to flood will have made their use unpredictable. Valley bottom fields will normally have been cleared and occasional grazing will have maintained that status and, in many cases, they have two straight sides that run to the rivers edge, which derive from their eventual enclosure.

Fields that have been characterised as wood or valley bottom, retain that characterisation through the entire fieldscape analysis. Those that derive from parliamentary enclosure will have their character changed to common during the

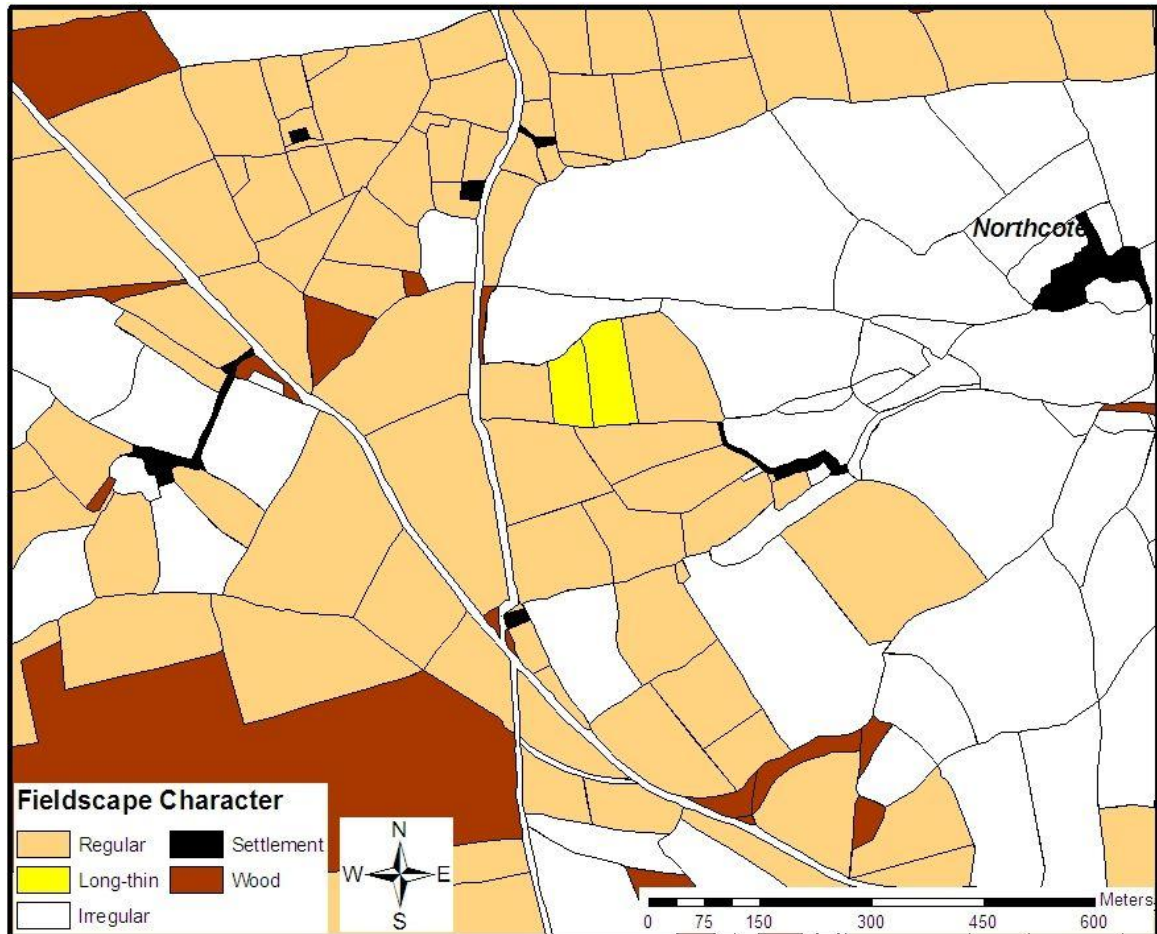


Figure 3.9. Fieldscape characterisation of the fields to the south-west of Northcote Farm (Cruwys Morchard).

rationalisation phase and, except for common that is listed as extant in 1840, these are the only 'fields' that are identified as 'common' in this work. Fields of all the other characterisations will be readdressed in the second phase.

Fieldscape Rationalisation

In this phase of the analysis we attempt to determine the true 'nature' of the irregular and regular fields and to establish where the long-thin fields 'fit in' (Figure 3.10). Before proceeding with the rationalisation phase it is necessary to look at those sites characterised as 'settlement' in a bit more depth. In the section about settlement it was noted that only those farms whose origins could be traced back to the two centuries after Domesday, and those manors and farms

that could be traced to 1086 would appear on the final maps. That same rubric is applied here, and only settlements that can be dated to 1086 (or earlier) and the two centuries after Domesday retain the characterisation 'settlement', while the remainder are considered to be 'too modern' and will be re-characterised according to the nature of the surrounding fields.

As stated, the field morphologies under consideration in this phase are – irregular, regular and long-thin – but we need to add a new character to these – Divided - which is a special case that occurs where a larger enclosure, originally demesne arable, sheep pasture or maybe a deer park, has been divided to create smaller closes that appear ideally suited to convertible husbandry (Hoskins 1963; Fox 1972 105/6; Taylor 2000, 126). These fields can be identified by an irregular shaped outer boundary that surrounds a series of straight line sub-divisions. This boundary would originally have been continuous but further changes and improvements to the fields may have removed some of that continuity.

Comparison of Figures 3.9 and 3.10 will allow the reader to follow the 'logic' of this process. The irregular fields that had been identified on the left hand edge of Figure 3.9 have been re-categorised regular, due to their isolation amongst a sea of regular ones. Conversely the regular fields just to the south-west of Northcote and the two long-thin fields have been re-characterised divided. In this instance it is possible to identify several sets of fields whose 'outer' boundary could be called continuous, and all these lie within a large continuous boundary that is marked by the road in the south and west but which then runs towards the east just to the north of Northcote. There is an area of land immediately above the scale bar which may represent an assarting event, but which has been classified as divided in this case.

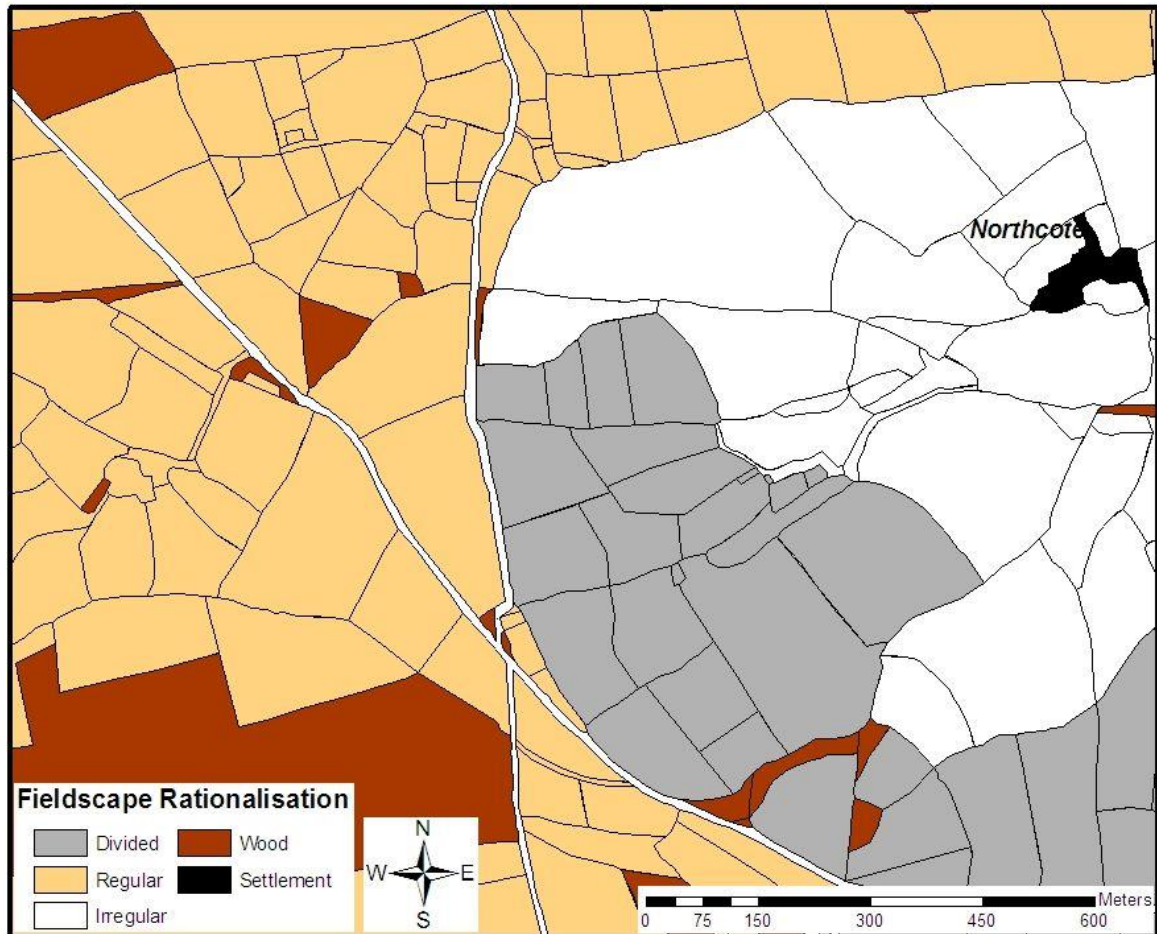


Figure 3.10. Fieldscape rationalisation of the fields to the south-west of Northcote Farm (Cruwys Morchard).

Let us pause for a moment and consider the two long-thin fields that lie just above centre in Figures 3.9 and 3.10. Earlier this field shape was described as 'the most *insistent indication* of a possible former open field' and yet in this case the possibility of the existence of a former open field has been eschewed in favour of one that was divided. In this example the fields in question lie across the contours, on the correct alignment for optimising drainage of the furrows, and the two are side-by-side, and yet this was not considered to be enough. To determine why, let us look at a former open field that has been enclosed, to see what it looked like *ca.* 1840. Tatworth Middle Field lies just south of Chard, which is just across the county border in Somerset (Figure 1.1). A photocopy of the survey of this field has been overlaid by a digitisation of the tithe map for the

parish (Figure 3.11), with the pertinent tithe fields shown just as outlines (SRO T/PH/dev/2. Tatworth 1599; Chard History Group 2000). Alongside Figure 3.11 is a map of the possible former open fields that have been identified in Kentisbeare (Figure 3.12). The two open fields are very similar – an irregular boundary, a high number of regular fields, interspersed with long-thin fields and a small minority of irregular fields. There is also one important difference which must be noted, Tatworth Middle Field was, probably, one of two, three or maybe even four fields surrounding Tatworth and therefore only represents a partial recreation of the landscape *ca.* 1599, whereas the probable open field in Kentisbeare appears to have been recreated in its entirety. The count of long-thin fields near Northcote (Figure 3.10) is inadequate when compared with both Tatworth and Kentisbeare and, while the ‘divided’ fields in Figure 3.10 meet the definition of regularity used in this thesis, they are clearly not sufficiently regular for former open fields.

The reader should also note the reduction in settlement between Figures 3.9 and 3.10 and the way that the subsequent characterisation of the sites has been harmonised with the surrounding fieldscape. We will now move on to consider the interpretative stage of the analysis.

Fieldscape Interpretation

In the last stage of the fieldscape analysis the morphological descriptors – irregular, regular, long-thin – are left behind, being replaced by more interpretative titles, and these represent the final output of the map regression. There are seven fieldscape interpretations: wood, common, valley bottom, settlement, enclosed field, probable open field and possible common. The enclosed field probably epitomises the small closes of Hoskins (1963) and will have been part of a ley husbandry system of rotation, while the probable open field is self-explanatory and totally non-committal when considering any

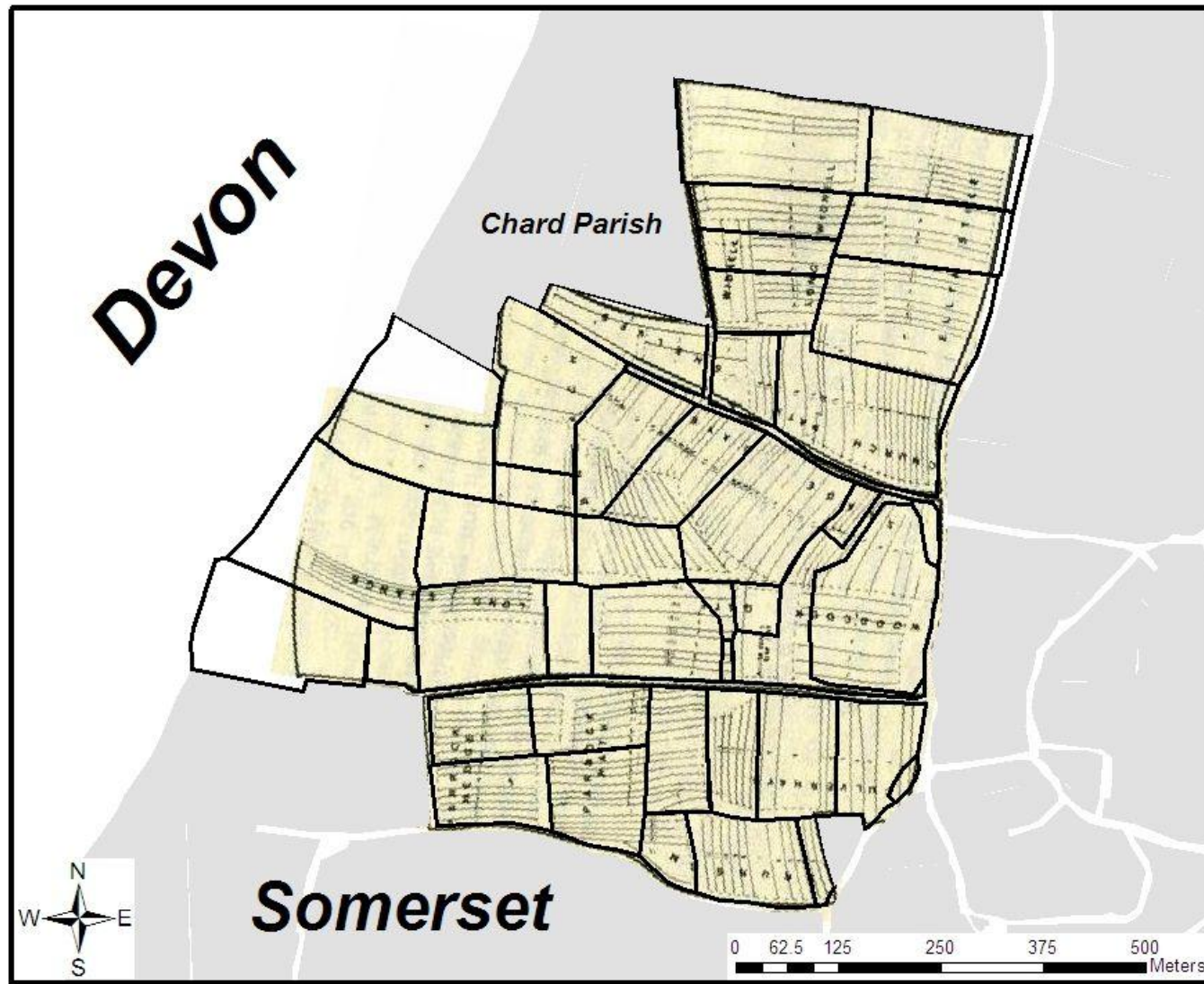


Figure 3.11. Tatworth Middle Field. The former open field at Tatworth, Chard (Somerset) overlaid with the tithe field pattern, note how the exploited land has been extended to the west as far as the parish-county boundary (after Chard History Group 2000, 48).

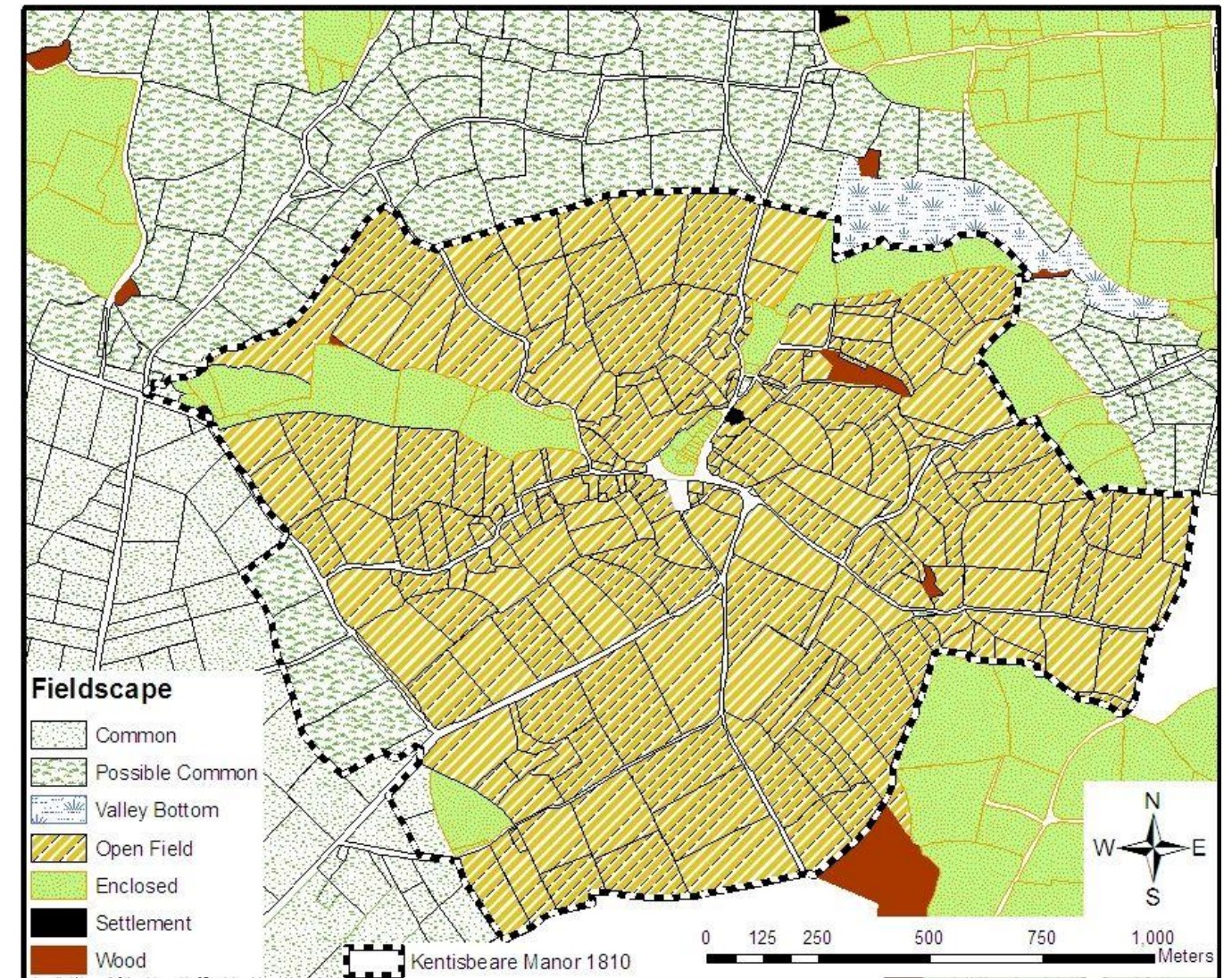


Figure 3.12. The possible former open field at Kentisbeare, identified through the fieldscape analysis..

associated feudal or tenurial arrangements. The last category – possible common – may require some explanation. The majority of the fields that end up in this category should have started the map regression process being identified as regular, since they represent land that was not part of the core farmland. They were probably ‘locally marginal’ and were enclosed either during either the period of agricultural expansion in the 12th/13th century, or that of the 16th century (or both, being abandoned after *ca.* 1350) (Dyer 2002, 2). Various names had been considered to describe this unenclosed land during the thesis – unenclosed, waste, outfield – before finally settling upon possible common, which is, by definition, unenclosed and which was, probably, common, coarse pasture.

The final stage of the analytical process is captured in Figure 3.13, where once again, the fields to the south-west of Northcote are shown. The large irregular enclosure surrounding the enclosed land has a continuous boundary that, in part is defined by the road but which can just as easily be identified elsewhere. The status of the woodland may be questionable, especially that which has straight sides. There is no evidence, however, in that parish, to support either woodland clearance or regeneration, and so no attempt to change the woodland coverage has been made. This final map of the core farmland is also the putative map of the parish that may be dated to Domesday, and this is ready to be compared with the results of the analysis of the Domesday metrics.

Table 3.6 summarises the variations in typology between the three phases of the fieldscape analysis and attempts to capture the relationships, but the reader should remember that the analysis is an iterative process and that the irregular field of the first stage will not, necessarily become the enclosed field of the last. It is considered that the first stage of the characterisation is both robust and repeatable, and that the last stage flows naturally from the rationalisation phase. It is the process of that middle ‘step’ that is difficult to define, certainly when trying to cover every eventuality.

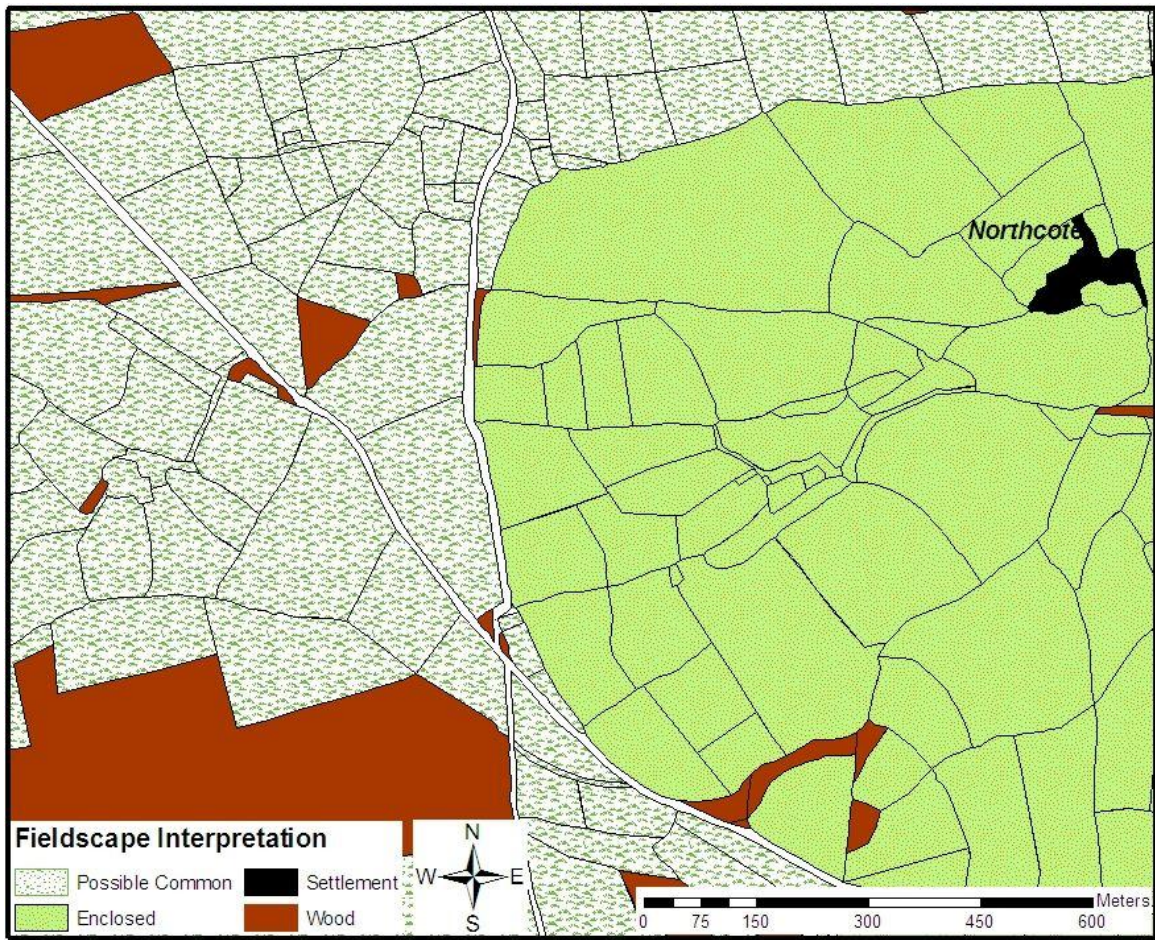


Figure 3.13. Fieldscape interpretation of the fields to the south-west of Northcote Farm (Cruwys Morchard).

We have now completed establishing a methodology that is suitable for every aspect of the map regression process. It is now intended to review the Domesday data, and to offer some ideas concerning ways of overcoming the uncertainties regarding how the various measurements were achieved. We will look at areas of overlap between the fieldscape analysis and the Domesday record, which may be exploited to establish the validity of both the map regression and this interpretation of Domesday.

Table 3.6. The various characterisation types used during the different stages of the fieldscape analysis. Note that Regular, Irregular and Long-thin do not necessarily flow smoothly through the process and that some of the characters may be reversed during the rationalisation phase.

Fieldscape Analysis		
Characterisation	Rationalisation	Interpretation
Wood		
Valley Bottom		
Settlement (dated before AD 1300)		
Parliamentary Enclosure	Common	
Irregular Regular Long-thin Settlement (post AD 1300)	Irregular Regular Divided Long-thin	Enclosed Possible Common Open Field

Interpreting Domesday

The use of figures drawn from Domesday to corroborate the results of the map regression has been discussed, and two such sets of data have been identified as suitable: the metrics regarding land-use and the population figure. In this section we will establish how the land-use figure will be interpreted, before moving on to the methodology of the comparison in the next section.

It has been conjectured that there are three possible ‘standards’ that were used when measuring the land-usage recorded in Domesday - the ‘local’ acre, the Devon acre⁵ and the statute acre – but whichever is selected here, the results will

⁵ 5,760 square yards (Howells 1967/8, 227; Finberg 1969a, 30).

have to be converted to statute acres to make them readily accessible to the reader. The tithe data was recorded using statute acres and so here it has been decided to keep the process simple and to both use, and assume statute acres throughout. A comparison will be made between the results achieved using each of the different 'acres' listed above in the Discussion of Results (Chapter 9).

We have seen that the normal range of estimates for the size of a ploughland varies between 60 acres and 120 acres (Chapter 2), and it has been argued that these may represent a minimum and a maximum extent. Finberg quotes a demesne just south of Broadclyst (CS I), where a ploughland of 100 acres was recorded in 1362 (Finberg 1969b, 135). Since this post-dates the standardisation of an acre, which occurred during the reign of Edward I (Curwen 1953, 86), it may be safe to assume that this local measurement has been made using the statute acre. This local record, coupled with the results of the comparison of Domesday agricultural land against the estimate of enclosed land calculated in Broadclyst and Poltimore (90-100 acres), has resulted in the size of a ploughland in Devon in 1086 being postulated as lying between 90 acres and 60 acres.

In Domesday, the extent of meadow and pasture are normally recorded in acres, while that of woodland is frequently recorded two dimensionally, a length by a breadth, using units that were most commonly leagues⁶, but occasionally furlongs or yards. Infrequently, this method of measurement was also used for pasture and meadow. The obvious problem encountered with these two dimensional measurements is the inherent assumption that 'all' Domesday woodland was rectangular! Rackham, however, believes that the medieval measurements of woodland were 'surprisingly close to the actual area and must be taken seriously' (Rackham 1980, 19). His argument is mathematically elegant, and he supports his calculations with empirical evidence from measurements of fifteen woodland extents in eastern England, for which he claims to be able to identify the former medieval boundaries. He suggests that a form factor of 0.7

⁶ 1 league was 12 furlongs or 1½ miles (Darby 1977, 178).

should be applied to the area that is generated by multiplying the two dimensions together. The sample of woodland that he investigated allowed him to identify form factors of 0.44 through to 0.98, with a mean of 0.78, and he argues that, by using 0.7 one is never further away from the truth by more than a factor of 0.3 (Rackham 1980, 114). Accepting this error margin, Rackham's methodology has been adopted in this work.

The Comparison with Domesday

The validity of the comparisons that will be made between the results of the map regression and the Domesday record will be enhanced, wherever it is possible to prove continuity between Domesday and the tithe records. In this section, therefore, which establishes the methodologies to be used for the various comparisons, there will be an underlying theme, and this is the search for continuity and the proof thereof. In the following discussion we will be using a manor from Domesday⁷ as an example:

Cruwys Morchard 3,73 – Bishop of Coutances

(Cruwys) Morchard. Algar held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land and 1 furlong. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough, with 1 slave; 4 villans and 4 smallholders with 1 plough and ½ virgate and 1 furlong. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 100 acres; woodland, 10 acres. 13 cattle; 13 pigs; 40 sheep; 36 goats. [Value] formerly 5s; now 12s 6d.

(Thorn & Thorn 1985a)

In a lengthy note Thorn and Thorn⁸ (1985b) disagree with Reichel (1906a), and state that Northcote Farm should be identified with *this* manor of Cruwys Morchard (DB 3,73); the reader will remember that it was the land to the south-west of this farm that was used to illustrate the three phases of the fieldscape

⁷ For convenience, Appendix 1 lists all the Phillimore translations of the Domesday entries studied in this thesis.

⁸ Thorn and Thorn are the editors of the Phillimore translations of the Domesday Book for both Devon and Dorset. These volumes have been employed throughout as the primary source of Domesday data.

analysis. Identifying the Domesday 'components' of the landscape is important to both phases of the comparison, and we will start by discussing the Domesday population.

The Modified Hoskins' 'Model'

The shortcomings of the Hoskins' model, regarding the disposition of villans in Devon, were discussed in the last chapter, and in this thesis a modified Hoskins' model will be used for this purpose. Owing to the destructive nature of the map regression that has been used to determine possible early settlement patterns, it is not surprising that those that purport to show the Domesday pattern, only contain the Domesday manors, and none of the 8,508 farms *identified* by Hoskins (1963). The great majority of these 'missing' farms are first mentioned in records between 1200 and 1350, and those whose names embody an Old English personal name, were probably in existence in 1066 (Hoskins 1952a, 122). In this thesis, in order to redress this apparent shortage of settlement, all those farms whose origins can be traced to the two hundred years after Domesday, are included on the putative Domesday map of each parish. The reader will remember the discussion concerning the derivation of the 'early' boundaries of both these farms and of any Domesday manors whose descent can be traced to a tithe farm. The acreages of these 'early farms' and manors are calculated and are used here to identify the quantity of land available for the villans. To explain the way in which the modified Hoskins' model works we will work through the example of Northcote Farm, drawing some of the data from Table 3.7.

The Domesday figures quoted above for Cruwys Morchard (DB 3,73) (Northcote Farm) tell us that the demesne contained a single ploughland but do not state how much of the associated meadow, pasture or woodland was also part of the demesne. If one assumes that all this land was part of the demesne it is possible to determine that the demesne was between 176 and 206 acres in size (dependent upon the size of a ploughland). The size of Northcote Farm, after the

map regression, has been calculated to be 342 acres (Table 3.7). By subtracting the maximum extent of the demesne from the map regression extent of the farm, we arrive at a figure of 136 acres which represents an amount of land that may have been available for use by the villans. Since the normal villans' plot was 30 acres (for example see Dyer 2002, 21-24), this means that Northcote Farm, when it was one of the Domesday manors of Cruwys Morchard, contained a demesne of some 206 acres plus land for four villans' plots. Since the Domesday entry for that manor states that there were four villans there, we have arrived at a 'perfect' fit. If we had been short of sufficient land for all the villans, it would have been necessary to identify an 'early' farm that could have provided the remaining villans with a plot. Association of any 'early' or satellite farm with a particular manor can only be achieved, with any certainty, if both were owned by the same land owner *ca.* 1840. The reader will now appreciate the importance of identifying the tithe farms that can be associated with the Domesday manors and the role that the 'early' farms play in this part of the comparison. We now turn to a consideration of the comparison of Domesday exploited land with the 'anciently' enclosed land identified through the fieldscape analysis.

Using the interpretation of the Domesday data discussed above, it is possible to populate a spreadsheet with each manor listed in each parish and derive estimates for the amount of land exploited by each manor, and hence the total exploited in the entire parish (Table 3.7). The putative acreage for each manor is given as a range, where the lower limit assumes a 60 acre ploughland and the upper limit 90 acres. The two end columns of this table are populated from the tithe apportionment (tithe assessment of parish size) and the results of the fieldscape analysis (thesis assessment of 'ancient' enclosure). On completion of the fieldscape analysis, having recorded the details in the relevant apportionment spreadsheet, it is possible to determine the regression acreage of 'ancient' enclosure⁹ that was present in the parish *ca.*1086 and it may be possible to

⁹ This is defined as the total of the following fieldscape interpretations – enclosed land, woodland and probable open field.

derive a similar figure for each Domesday manor, if this can be associated with a tithe farm and if any putative 'satellite' farms can be identified (see above). This comparison, which is seen as the 'true' test of the validity of the fieldscape analysis in each parish, is more readily achieved at a parochial level. This is due to the difficulties encountered in correctly identifying the land associated with each Domesday manor (Hoskins 1963, 36; Hooke 1998, 91), and the necessity to identify any satellite farms. While Hoskins' estimate of 8,508 villans' farms may be questioned, the necessity for the existence of many of those farms will be demonstrated in this thesis.

Parishes and Manors

This chapter started with a generic point concerning the differences in language between Domesday and the tithe records, the use of: tenement and farm, villan and farmer. We end this chapter with a second generic point: Domesday records the extents of manors, the Tithe Commissioners record data from parishes. The history of the creation of the parishes of England is uncertain, but it appears to have been a piecemeal affair that started under the Saxons and was not completed until the 12th century (Blair 2003, 99). In Devon, however, Holdsworth (1991, 25) informs us that 'completion' was much later, stating that 'by 1307 the *bulk* of the present organisation was in place'. Thorn and Thorn (1983; 1985b) identify the probable location of most of the manors of Domesday, and thus it is possible to determine which manors were situated upon land that became part of each parish. It is likely that, sometime after Domesday, each manor will have expanded to 'fit' the available land and that this expansion either ceased at the 'new' parish boundary, or defined that boundary (for example see Orme 1991, 17; Dyer 2000 68-9). It is, therefore, argued that it is acceptable to compare the

Table 3.7. Example of the ‘Domesday agricultural land table’ that appears in each case study. In this one the ‘theme’ remains the manor of Cruwys Morchard (DB 3,73), which has been identified as Northcote Farm, the ‘totals’ are those calculated for Cruwys Morchard in Case Study IV.

Manor	<i>Original Domesday Figures and units (note 1)</i>				<i>Domesday Figures converted to statute acres (see Chapter 3 for conversion criteria)</i>				<i>Putative Domesday manor extents (statute acres) (note 2)</i>		Tithe assessment of parish size	Thesis assessment of ‘ancient’ enclosure
	Arable (ploughlands)	Meadow (acres)	Pasture (acres)	Wood (acres)	Arable min/max (note 3)	Meadow	Pasture	Wood	Min manor area	Max manor area		
Cruwys Morchard (3,73)	4 (1) (note 4)	6	100	10	240/360	6	100	10	356 (176)	476 (206)	n/a	342
Cruwys Morchard totals	27	68	430	44	1620/2430	68	430	44	2162	2972	5766	2933

Notes:

1. Where Domesday records acres the precise size of these ‘acres’ is not known.
2. The putative manor extent is calculated by adding the arable, meadow, pasture and wood figures (in statute acres) together – two totals are generated, one using the minimum arable calculation and the other the larger one.
3. The minimum and maximum arable acreage is calculated by assuming that a ploughland in Devon was between 90 (maximum) and 60 (minimum) acres.
4. The figures in brackets are the number of ploughs ‘in lordship’, only the count of ploughlands and the eventual manor extents are listed.

total amount of manorial land *in a parish* in 1086, with that determined through the map regression. We do, however, need to be wary of ‘dispersed’ manors, those manors that had holdings elsewhere in the county/country (for example Lennard 1959, 10; Darby 1977, 16), and those with dual entries (Williams 2003, 140). Some of the ‘dispersed’ manors manifest themselves later as detached portions of a parish, for example Henland (in Kentisbeare, but originally part of Cullompton) (Rose-Troup 1937) and, maybe Thongsley (Cruwys Morchard – Chapter 7). In this thesis the possible existence of dispersed portions of manors, either in or out of a parish, has, of necessity, been ignored unless there is some positive evidence. The best way to summarise this chapter on methodology and sources is, perhaps, to put it into practice. We will now turn directly to the first case study, the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore.

4

Case Study I: the Parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore

'For surely the country is temperate, and freed from extremities of cold by the vicinity of the sea, which causeth a moderate warmth.'

(Risdon ca. 1640, 3).

Introduction

The parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore lie, for the most part, on the floodplains of the Clyst and the combination of benign climate and fertile soils have combined to make them attractive estates in the past (Figure 4.1). In ca.1840 both parishes had their own dominant landowner and both these families had become established ca. 1300. Lying just 10 km to the north-east of the county town, Exeter, they have no doubt benefited from the proximity of such a large market for their produce and the ready availability of a wide range of other merchandise. This same proximity may have also hindered any growth beyond the status/size of a village.

While evidence for open field agriculture is encountered in other nearby parishes, especially in Kentisbeare and Uffculme, Broadclyst and Poltimore are unique in this study because of the apparent, near ubiquitous spread of this particular field system across both parishes. The next section explores the natural environment that permitted these open fields to develop, while later on we discover the effect these fields have had on the development of the methodology employed in this thesis.

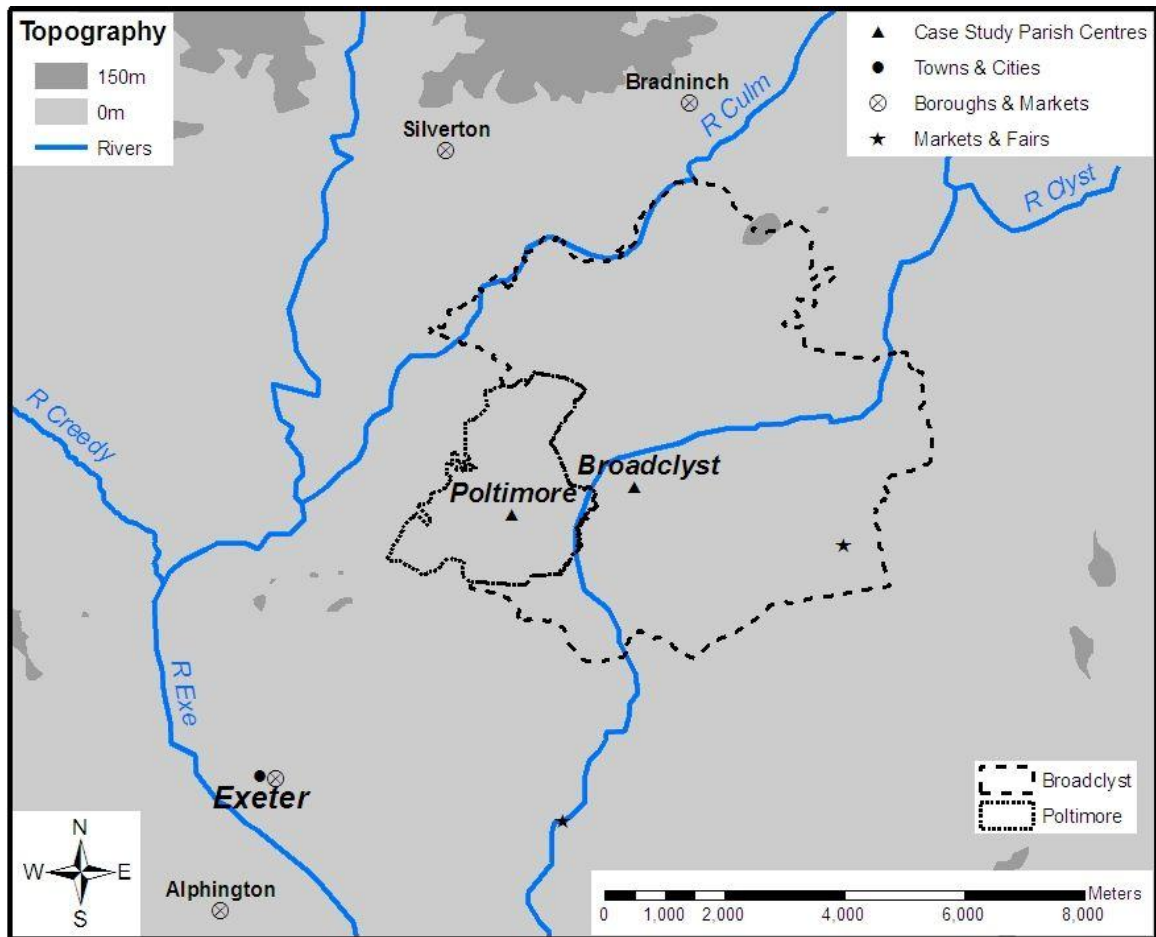


Figure 4.1. Broadclyst and Poltimore are 10 km to the north-east of Exeter, on the fertile floodplains of the Clyst. Proximity to Exeter probably precluded any necessity to seek either borough or market status (boroughs after Beresford & Finberg 1973, markets after Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs 2010).

Natural Environment

Topography

The topography to the north of Exeter is dominated by the floodplains of the River Exe and its tributaries; these include the Creedy, flowing from the west and both the Culm and the Clyst, from the east (Figure 4.1). Within this case study area it is the River Clyst that has the major influence, but the Culm also has some effect. Flowing almost due west, the Clyst bisects the parish of Broadclyst before turning to a more southerly route, where it becomes the boundary

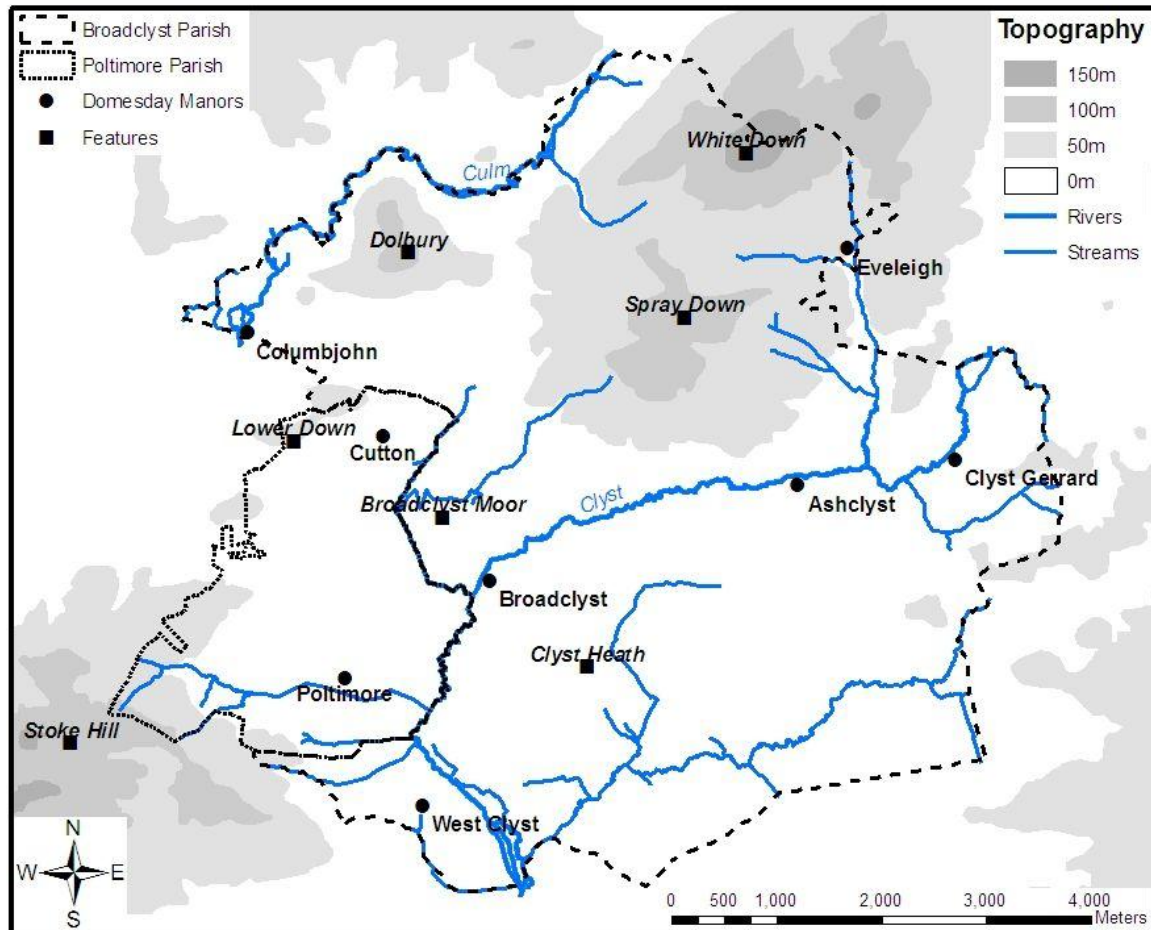


Figure 4.2. The topography of Broadclyst and Poltimore. The floodplain of the Cyst dominates the landscape, except in the north where Spray Down and White Down rise above the 150m contour and in the west where Stoke Hill and its associated ridge only climb to 100m. Domesday manors and topographical features are shown to provide common reference points throughout this chapter.

between Broadclyst and Poltimore. Poltimore and the southern part of Broadclyst lie on the floodplain of the Cyst, while in the north the higher ground of Spray Down separates the valley of the Cyst from that of the Culm (Figure 4.2).

Crossing the 30m OD contour just as it enters Broadclyst, in the vicinity of Cyst Gerrard, the Cyst descends a mere 20m in height during its transit to West Cyst, where it crosses the 10m contour as it leaves the parish. Within both parishes, except for the northern part of Broadclyst and the extreme west of Poltimore, the land is generally flat, undulating gently as it conforms to the fall of the river (Figure 4.3). North of the river, in Broadclyst, the land climbs steadily up to Spray



Figure 4.3. Gently undulating; the view from Columbjohn east towards the higher ground of Spray Down (Sandover).

Down and onto White Down, where the highest point of the parish, 165m OD, occurs. Dolbury, to the west of Spray Down is an isolated hillock, now part of the grounds of Killerton House. It is in the west of Poltimore that the steepest ascent will be found, where the land rises to the ridge associated with Stoke Hill.

The floodplain of the Clyst was canalised in the 19th century (Hawkins 2005, 148), and part of this can be seen to the south-east of West Clyst (Figure 4.2). The stream that runs west/east across the southern portion of Poltimore shows evidence of being channelled, presumably sometime in the post-medieval period. The Clyst is still liable to flood today, and this suggests that these instances of 'recent' water management were designed to remove flooding

conditions that were probably worse then, than they are today. This argument is supported both by the incidence of poor soils along the river courses (due to waterlogging) (see below), and Hawkins' assessment of the early floodplain as being 'extremely wet' (Hawkins 2005, 117).

Geology

Despite the complex appearance of the map (Figure 4.4) the geology of the area can be resolved quite simply. The rocks of the Crackington Formation, which underlie the higher ground in both the north-east and the west of the case study area, date to the Carboniferous. They are part of a group known as the Culm Measures; rocks that are notorious for producing heavy, clayey soils that are difficult to work. Generally these older rocks are found north and west of Exeter, lying between Dartmoor and Exmoor and extending as far west as Bude. In Broadclyst and Poltimore these rocks are merely outliers of the main formation, but some of the parishes in later case studies lie on the Culm Measures (Durrance & Laming 1982, 29-57).

The remainder of the geology belongs to the New Red Sandstone of the Permian and Triassic. In this case study the rocks representing the New Red Sandstone comprise two groups: the Exeter Group and the Aylesbeare Mudstone Group. The Exeter Group contains numerous different sandstones, mudstones and breccias and dates to the Permian, whilst the younger Aylesbeare Mudstone Group, consisting of the Aylesbeare Mudstone and Clyst St Lawrence Formation, dates to the Triassic. Thus it can be seen that all the rocks at Figure 4.4 are part of the Exeter Group with the exception of those of the Crackington Formation, Aylesbeare Group and Clyst St Lawrence Formation. It is the red rocks of the New Red Sandstone which generate the red soils that give Devon its reputation as a 'red county' (Durrance & Laming 1982, 149-167).

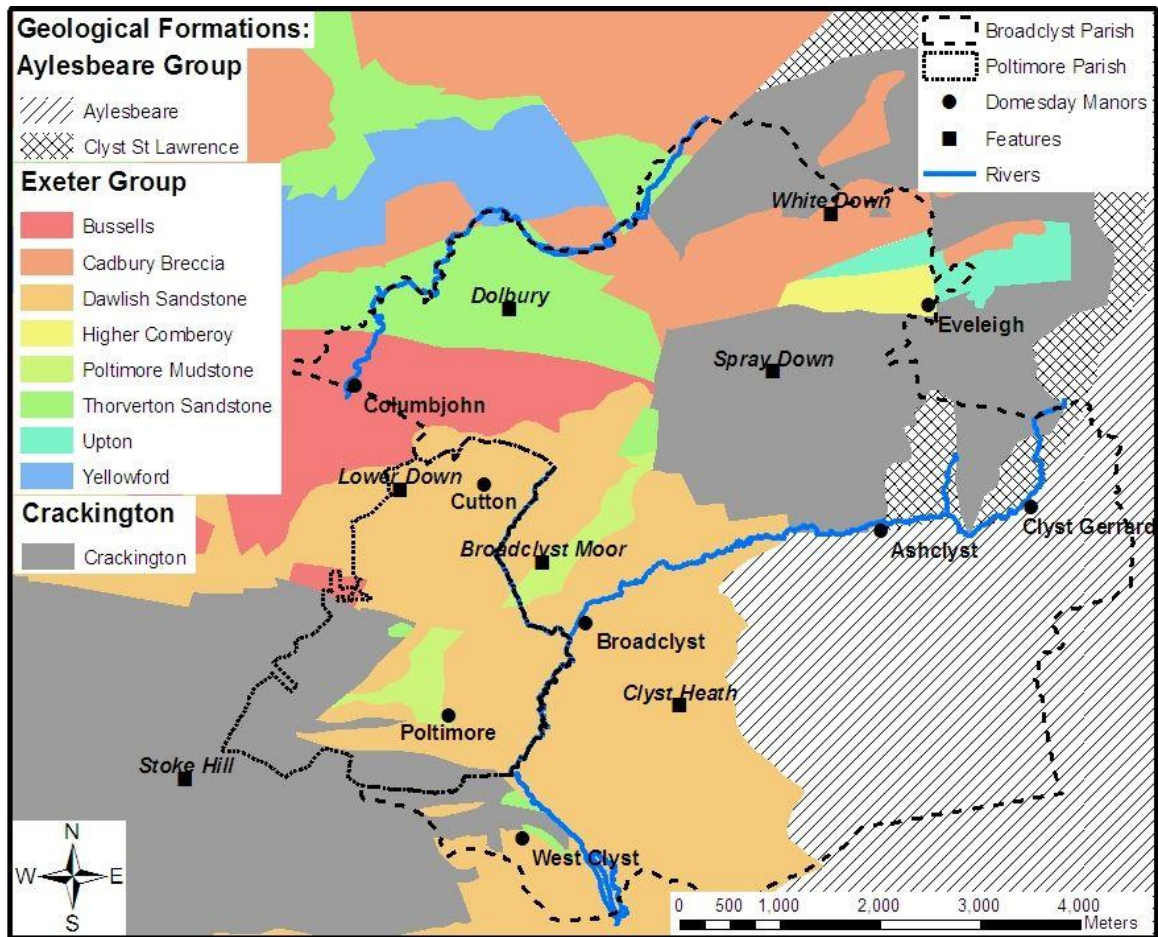


Figure 4.4. The geology of Broadclyst and Poltimore. The majority of the rocks belong to the Exeter Group of the Permian, but those of the Aylesbeare Group are younger, Triassic rocks, while those of the Crackington Formation are older, Carboniferous rocks (after British Geological Survey 2010).

Soil (Figure 4.5 and Table 4.1)

The ability of the soil to support agriculture is determined by the underlying geology, although this is modified both by the climate and by drainage. In this case study the poorest soils, Compton and Isleham 1, have been created by poor drainage; the former lies in the valley bottoms while the latter sits in a shallow depression, creating Broadclyst Moor, which is surrounded by slightly higher ground. Of the remaining soils, the least capable are Halstow, Halsworth 2, Whimble 3 and Brockhurst 1. It is possible to associate the first two with the rocks of the Crackington Formation and the last two with those of the Aylesbeare

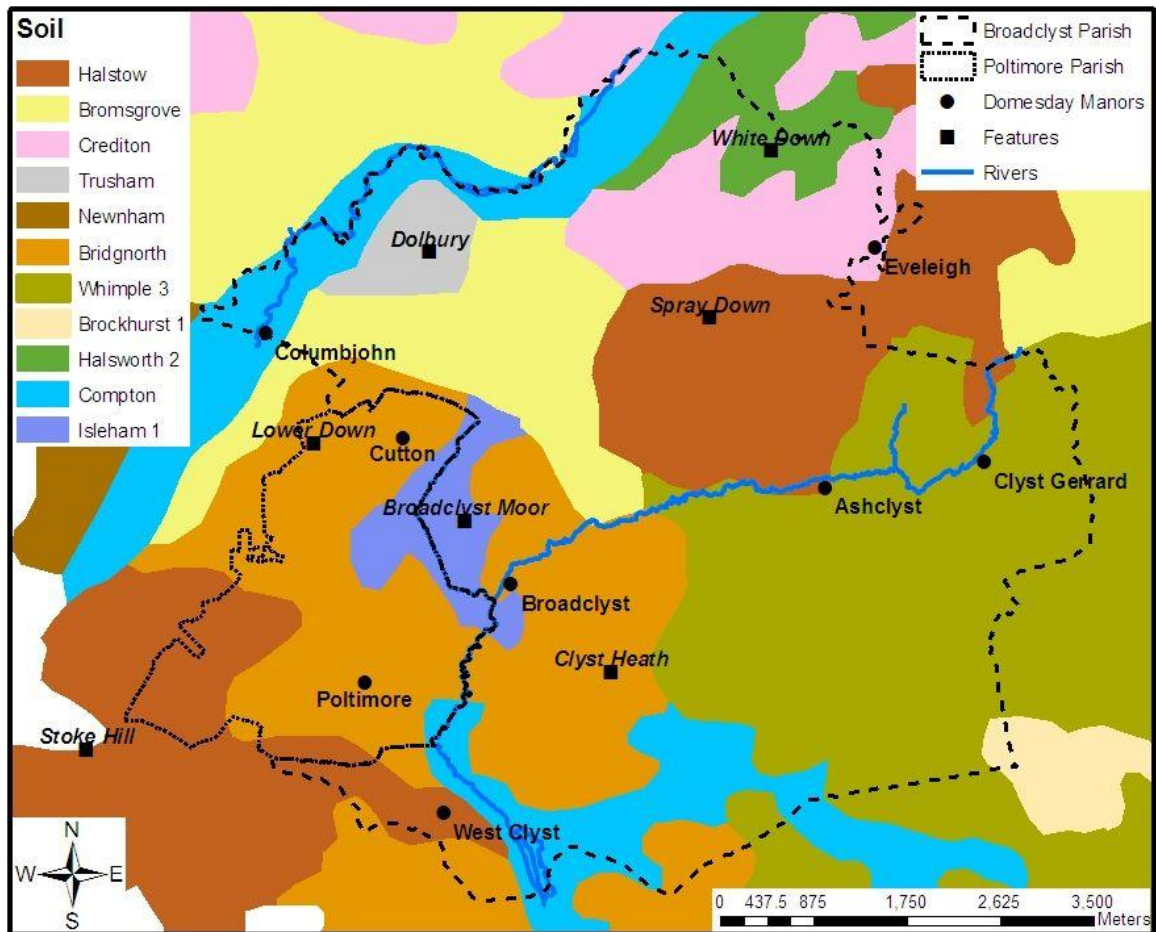


Figure 4.5. The soils of Broadclyst and Poltimore. The poorest soils are associated either with the higher ground of the Crackington Formation, or with the waterlogged valley bottoms. The swathe of fertile soil on the floodplain shows a distinct change between the Bridgnorth and Bromsgrove soils associated with the Exeter Group rocks and the less fertile Whimble 3 soils, to the east, associated with the Aylesbeare Group rocks (after Soil Survey 1983).

Mudstone Group, despite some ‘blurring’ of the boundaries. The lands of this case study are part of the lowlands of South-east Devon and it is unlikely that climate will have a great effect upon cultivation in this area.

The better quality soils encountered in this case study are unmatched in any of the subsequent case studies. Equally, the poorer quality soils of Broadclyst and Poltimore would rank amongst the best in some of the later parishes. Whilst the geology is responsible for these soils, it is interesting to see the deleterious effect

**Table 4.1. The soils of Broadclyst and Poltimore (Figure 4.5)
(extract from Soil Survey 1983, Index).**

Name	Character	Agriculture	Location
Halstow	Slowly permeable clayey soils often over shale. Some well drained fine loamy soils	Permanent and short term grassland with dairying and stock rearing, some winter cereals	Higher ground associated with Crackington Formation rocks
Bromsgrove	Well drained reddish coarse loamy soils mainly over soft sandstone. Risk of water erosion	Cereals, sugar beet and potatoes, some field vegetables and fruit. Mostly grassland in moist districts	Floodplains of the Culm, away from valley bottom
Crediton	Well drained gritty reddish loamy soils over breccia, locally less stony. Steep slopes in places	Dairying and stock rearing, cereals and roots, some horticultural crops	Higher ground at Spray Down, associated with Exeter Group rock.
Trusham	Well drained fine loamy soils over deeply weathered rock locally. Steep slopes in places. Bare rock locally	Dairying and stock rearing, some cereals and horticultural crops in drier districts. Some moorland of good grazing value	Dolbury hill
Newnham	Well drained reddish coarse and fine loamy soils over gravel, locally deep	Cereals and some fruit. Much grassland in the south-west	Floodplains of the Culm, away from valley bottom. Only at Columbjohn
Bridgnorth	Well drained sandy and coarse loamy soils, over soft sandstone. Risk of water and wind erosion	Cereals and potatoes, horticultural and fruit crops. Some permanent grassland and woodland on steep slopes	Lower floodplains of the Clyst, associated with Exeter Group rocks - not the valley bottom in the south
Whimble 3	Reddish fine loamy or fine silty over clayey soils with slowly permeable subsoils and slight seasonal waterlogging	Dairying and stock rearing, winter cereals and short term grassland	Higher floodplains of the Clyst, associated with Aylesbeare Group rocks
Brockhurst 1	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged reddish fine loamy over clayey soils	Winter cereals and short term grassland, some dairying and stock rearing	Associated with Aylesbeare rocks in SE corner

Halsworth 2	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged clayey, fine loamy and fine silty soils	Permanent grassland, stock rearing and dairying. Some woodland and wet moorland habitats	Higher ground associated with Crackington Formation rocks
Compton	Stoneless mostly reddish clayey soils affected by groundwater. Flat land. Risk of flooding	Permanent grassland with dairying and stock rearing	Culm and Clyst valley bottoms
Isleham 1	Deep permeable sandy soils with humose or peaty surface horizon affected by groundwater	Wet lowland heath and bog habitats, some coniferous woodland	Broadclyst Moor

that waterlogging has had on what may, otherwise, have been good soil. The existence of a moor in the centre of the study area serves to remind us that marginality is relative, and there are some areas that would be considered poor farming land in most landscapes. The next section will investigate the land-use history of the parishes, starting with the land-use recorded by the Tithe Commissioners.

Land-use History

Land-use ca. 1840 (Figure 4.6)

The combined size of the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore is 10,900 acres and ca. 1840 the land-use recorded for just over half that land, 5,538 acres, was 'arable'. The resultant picture (Figure 4.6) is one of two parishes that at first sight appear to have been dominated by cereal, with an almost desultory amount of meadow and pasture on the flood plains, a large expanse of woodland on the higher ground to the north-east and two extensive parkland estates (Killerton and Poltimore) in the west, whose use was recorded as pasture. Where the farming regime is one of convertible husbandry, however, only about 25% of the land

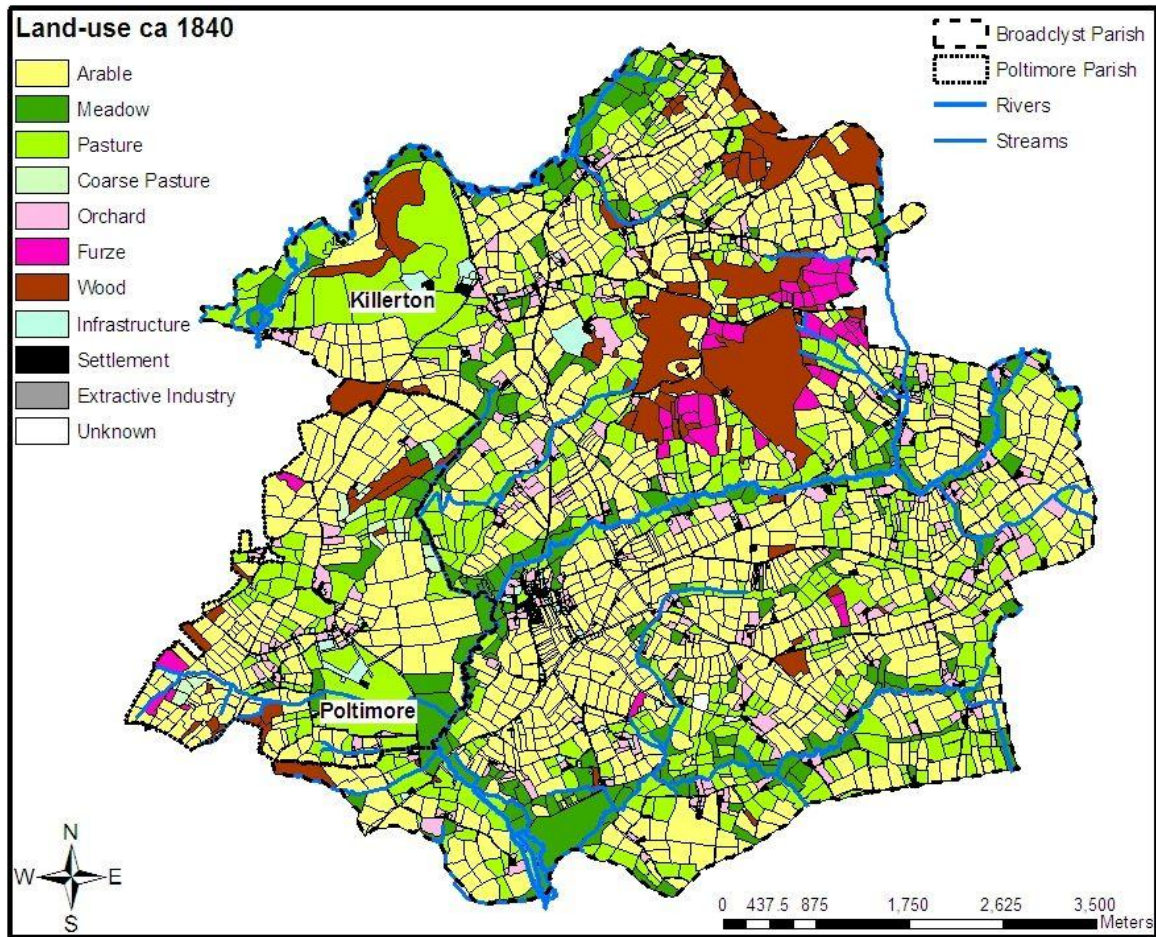


Figure 4.6. Land-use in Broadclyst and Poltimore recorded ca. 1840. Permanent pasture/meadow appears limited to the floodplains, while the bulk of the land was put to cereal cultivation. The strong correlation between woodland/furze and the poorer soils associated with the Crackington Formation is more apparent in the north-east of Broadclyst than it is in south-western Poltimore.

available will actually be put to cropping at any one time, with the remaining 75% put to pasture. While this serves to redress the arable/pasture balance in these parishes, the amount of land recorded as under cultivation is still impressive and reflects upon the good quality of the soil, discussed above. The apparent correlation between the poorer soils associated with the Crackington Formation geology, and the use of that land as woodland, or furze where cleared, which is most clearly demonstrated in the north-east, suggests a conscious decision not to exploit this land rather than just an unthinking rejection of the higher ground.

Pollen sources (Figure 4.7)

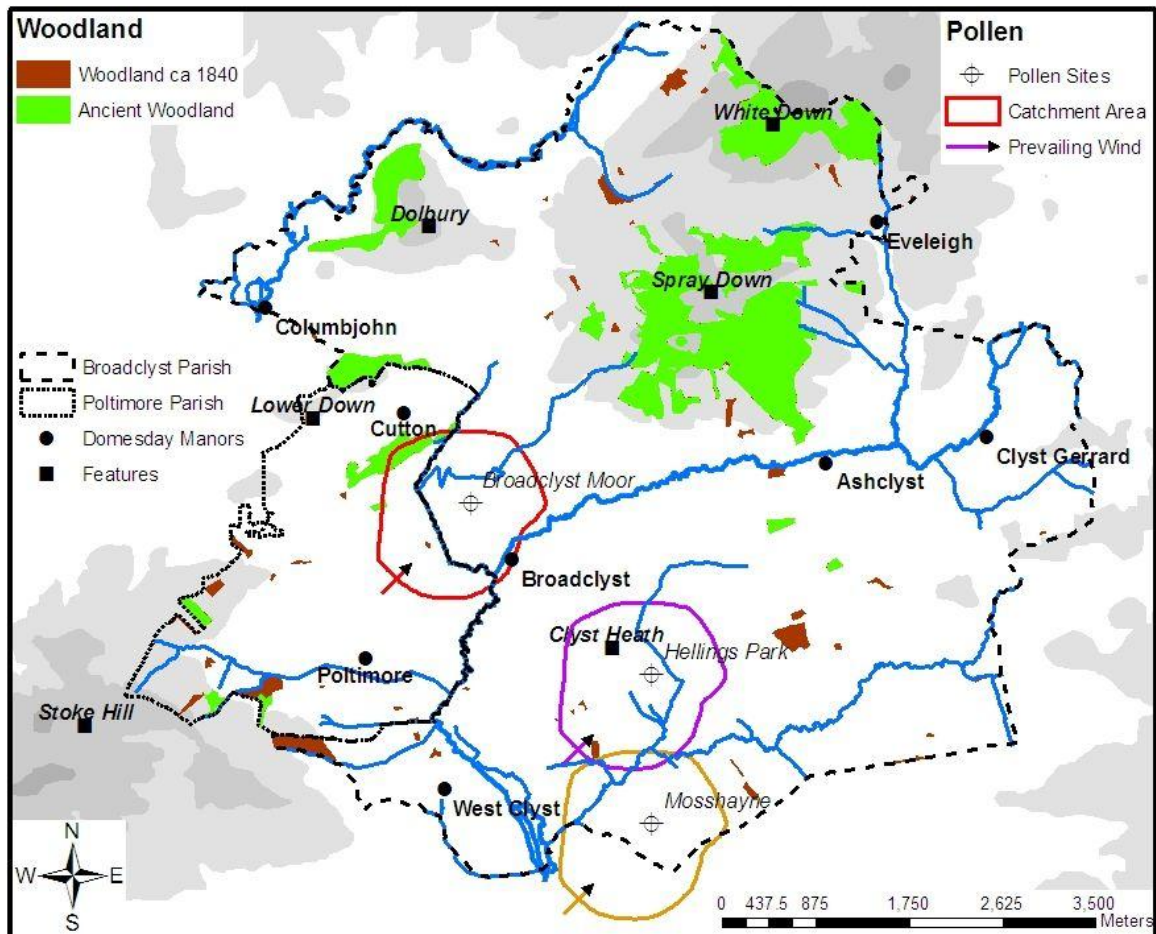


Figure 4.7. Ancient woods and pollen traps in Broadclyst and Poltimore. Ancient woodland has been identified in the north-east and south-west of the study area on ground that has poor soils. The ancient woodland in the west and north-west can be associated with settlement that dates to the Middle Ages. The proposed pollen catchment areas cover land on the floodplain that was fully exploited ca. 1840 (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

The three pollen sources that provide the environmental history in this case study - Broadclyst Moor, Hellings Park and Mosshayne - all lie on the floodplain of the Clyst (Hawkins 2005). The putative catchment areas for both Broadclyst Moor and Cyst Heath contain land that was subject to enclosure by Act of Parliament in 1837, but the record ca. 1840 shows a mix of agricultural uses in the vicinity of both sites. Mosshayne displays a similar record of land-use ca. 1840 but the pollen trap lies close to the southern stretch of the Clyst, which shows signs of

post-medieval water management. The land to the south of the farm is still prone to flooding today and Hawkins describes that part of the floodplain as 'probably extremely wet' during the late prehistoric period. She expresses concern about the dating of the sequences at both Broadclyst Moor and Hellings Park. The dubious dates at the Broadclyst Moor site are Mesolithic and not considered further, but those at Hellings Park may be early medieval and are discussed below (Hawkins 2005, 117; 120-143).

The data from Broadclyst Moor is all prehistoric, however, that from the Iron Age may be of use to this project. A phase of woodland clearance may be identified in the Early Iron Age and this resulted in an expansion of wetland meadow. By the Late Iron Age the site was mostly open, and some cereal is present in the diagram. Hawkins assesses that the woodland in the immediate vicinity of the trap masked any cereal from further away and that there was probably cereal cultivation on the periphery of the area throughout the Iron Age (Hawkins 2005, 120-133). The putative catchment area straddles the poor soil (Isleham 1) but extends to the good soil to both the east and west, and this does not contradict Hawkins' assessment of cleared land comprising wet meadow in the immediate vicinity with arable at distance. It is unfortunate that the sequence does not allow us to determine the extent to which this Late Iron Age environment has been altered during the last two millennia.

At Hellings Park the dates obtained through AMS dating are: AD 645-800 and 5435-255 BC. Hawkins suggests that the later, early medieval date should be late prehistoric. This concern about the dating is significant, as it is that portion of the sequence (AD 645-800?) in which it is possible to detect a marked increase in the grassland signature followed by a rise in the cereal curve (Hawkins 2005, 133-143). Once again, it is unfortunate that the data does not cover the medieval and post-medieval environment.

The last sequence to be discussed contains data from Mosshayne that is of more relevance to this thesis. Four AMS dates span the period 800 BC to AD 320, but Hawkins extrapolates the data to AD 1750-1800. The sequence shows that by the Early Iron Age the site was mostly clear of woodland and being used for pastoral farming. Woodland regeneration during the Middle Iron Age is followed by a period of sustained clearance during the Romano-British period that resulted in a pastoral landscape, with some cereal being grown on the periphery. Hawkins reports a signature corresponding to mixed farming thereafter until 1750-1800 (Hawkins 2005, 106-220).

Ancient woodland (Figure 4.7)

The woodland growing on the poorer soils that have been associated with the rocks of the Crackington Formation has all been designated as 'ancient' by Natural England, that is dating back to at least AD 1600 (Natural England 2011). Similar designation of the woodland on Dolbury Hill, which forms part of Killerton Park, serves to reinforce the antiquity of part of that estate and this is discussed later. The two woods in the vicinity of Lower Down that have been classed 'ancient' may seem surprising, since they both grow on land that has the best soil found in any case study. The northerly of these woods was part of Columbjohn manor, while the southern wood was part of Cutton manor; both these manors are listed in Domesday, and yet neither had any great extent of woodland recorded (Figure 4.5 & Appendix 1) (Multi Agency Geographic Information for the Countryside (MAGIC) 2010). The use of some of the 'good land' for wood, which today may be considered an 'inferior' crop, merely serves to remind us of the importance that wood and timber played throughout earlier times.

The tithe maps suggest that by *ca.* 1840 modern farming methods had made the farms of Broadclyst and Poltimore very productive. This is especially noticeable in the way that Broadclyst Moor, which the pollen analysis suggests was probably marginal during the Iron Age, has been absorbed into the Victorian farmscape. The extent of ancient woodland, particularly in the north-east of

Broadclyst, indicates that the naturally poor soils associated with the geology of the Crackington Formation had been identified locally, as the least suitable for agriculture.

Broadclyst and Poltimore contained good quality farmland from early times. The next section tries to determine how this land was exploited during the last millennium or so, by investigating settlement and ownership/occupancy patterns and the possible antiquity of the field systems.

Parochial History

Settlement and Communications

The settlement patterns of the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore have been mapped using data from the tithe apportionments, and this has been cross-referenced with both the 1" First Edition OS maps and the 6" County Series, which date to ca. 1809 and ca. 1885 respectively. The final datasets for both parishes have then been checked against possible settlement indicative field-names, also drawn from the apportionments. Where it is probable that earlier settlements can be identified, these have been added to the list of settlement. It is necessary, therefore, to review the field-name data before proceeding to review settlement and communication patterns.

Settlement Indicative Field-names

The common list of settlement indicative field-names used in all the case studies is given in Table 3.4. Those field-names identified in this case study as being possible indicators of earlier settlement have been checked against documentary evidence, the RAF post-war overhead aerial photographs held by the County HES, and both 1" and 6" OS maps. Their morphologies have also been checked against the mapping. A single settlement indicative field-name was found in Poltimore, a field called Culver Hayes that was part of the glebe but, in the

absence of any further evidence, this site is not discussed any further. Several fields whose names contained 'black' as an element were found in Broadclyst (Figure 4.8), in addition to six fields whose names contained settlement indicative names (Figure 4.9). Before proceeding with the discussion, it is important to note that, in this case study, the RAF photographs did not show anything noteworthy in any of the fields.

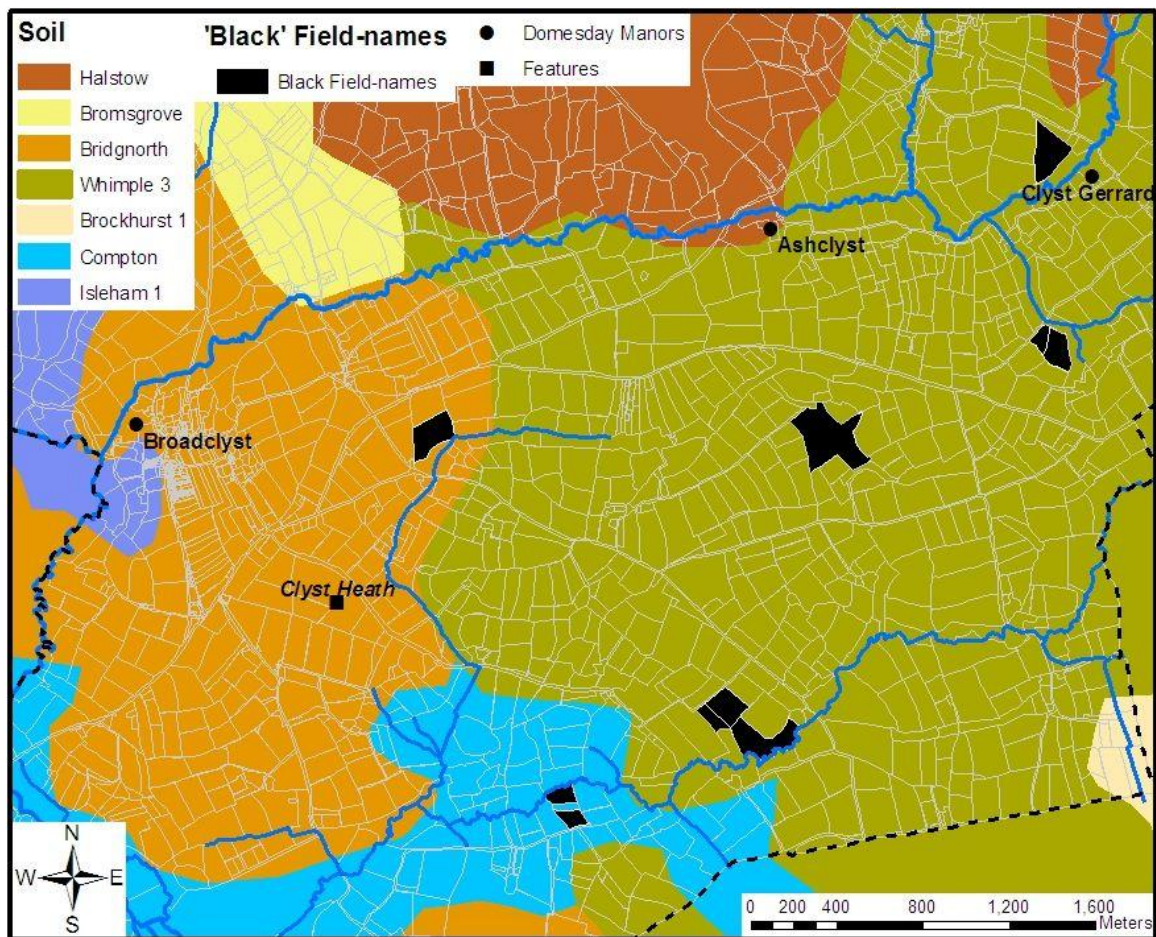


Figure 4.8. Field-names containing the name element 'black' in the southern part of Broadclyst parish. These all lie on the floodplain and their relationship to both watercourses and the settlement pattern ca. 1840 is shown. Broadclyst village is left centre, where there is a large collection of dwellings (after Soil Survey 1983).

In the southern half of Broadclyst, there is a scattering of fields that contain the name element 'black' (Figure 4.8). Black is a name element that may refer either to the black earth found in peaty areas or the black occupation layer associated with former settlement. All these fields are situated on the floodplains of the Clyst, some are on a soil that is noted for waterlogging (Compton), most are alongside a watercourse, and those that are not may well derive their names from localised waterlogging of shallow bowls or scoops. Curiously, each one is near a settlement, all of which have been mapped continuously from the early 1st maps until the latest modern OS maps. This presents a possible alternative conclusion, that some of these sites may represent much earlier manifestations of these 'modern' farms. The presence, in most cases, of a watercourse running alongside the fields and the absence of either an 'interesting' morphology or any form of corroborative evidence, has resulted in none of these possible former settlement sites being considered further, but all of them may merit field investigation.

In the northern part of Broadclyst (Figure 4.9) there are several field-name elements that may reflect former settlement sites. Two collocated fields, called Higher Spalsbury and Lower Spalsbury, and a second pair, called Griston and Guston (where one is considered to be a transcription error) may be associated with former settlements but, in the absence of further evidence, these are not considered further. A single field called Blackwell (field-name association with black), to the west of Rattlecot Wood, is the only potential former settlement indicative named field in this case study that exhibits an interesting morphology. This irregular field has a pronounced dogleg in one boundary, possibly indicating the settlement site, and may be worthy of a fieldwork investigation but, due to a lack of further evidence, it is not considered further here. A conjoined pair of fields, called West Raddlecott Marsh and East Raddlecott Marsh, may be associated with Rattlecot Wood. The 'cott' name element is strongly suggestive of a former settlement and the presence of meadow/pasture in one location and a separate wood, associated with this name combine to make a strong case for

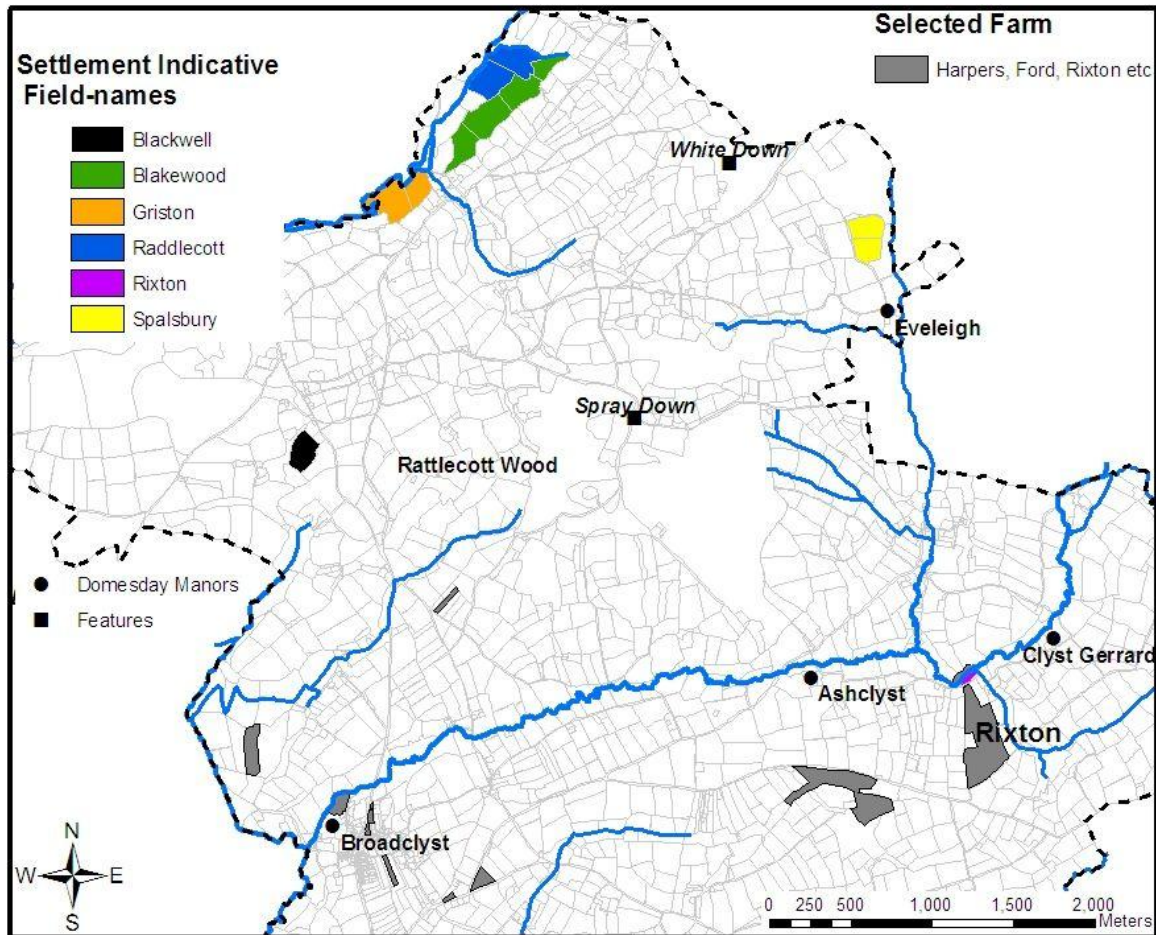


Figure 4.9. Possible settlement indicative field-names in the northern part of Broadclyst parish. 'Rixton' lies on the river between Clyst Gerrard and Ashclyst.

the existence of a 'lost' settlement called Raddlecott. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to determine a suitable location for this settlement, and it has not been added to the settlement mapping. A similar situation arises with the four fields associated with the name Blakewood: Higher Blakewood, Middle Blakewood and two called Great Blakewood. While Blakewood does not contain any settlement indicative name elements, these fields can be connected with a lease for Blakewoods dated 1735 (DRO 1148M/add 2/L15/415), presumably a tenement or farm, but whether the name derives from a former lessee (or owner), or a settlement is unknown. Once again, an inability to find a suitable location for this possible 'lost' settlement has resulted in it not being represented on any mapping.

Finally, the field called Rixton Meadow is part of a scattered holding called 'Harpers, Ford and Rixton', for which it is not possible to identify a single farmhouse, let alone the three that may have supported three individual farms. Included in the listing of the holding are one set of 'buildings', which may have included a dwelling, and three separate cottages. The extent of this holding is shown at Figure 4.9 and it can be seen that the Rixton named field lies alongside a small grouping of fields associated with the holding, but none of the possible dwellings associated with the holding lie in this grouping. On the 6" OS map one of the fields in this group includes a barn that is called Rixton Barn. In this instance it is considered that there is sufficient evidence to justify the inclusion of an additional settlement, called Rixton, in the settlement details for Broadclyst, and that this should be placed adjacent to Rixton Barn. While this probable settlement would pre-date the work of the Tithe Commission, it would not be safe to accord it a date earlier than *ca.*1750.

Settlement Pattern

The settlement patterns of Broadclyst and Poltimore, dating to *ca.* 1840, *ca.*1750 and the medieval period are at Figures 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12 respectively. In this case study, the communications pattern recorded on the tithe map represents the only information available, except for that which can be 'gleaned' from Donn's mapping of 1765 (Donn 1975). The value of Donn's work is discussed below, and a layer containing the roads he recorded in Broadclyst and Poltimore, has been added to the maps that date to *ca.*1750 and the Middle Ages.

Despite an expanse of dispersed settlement in both parishes *ca.* 1840, there were numerous nucleated hamlets, and these are shown on Figure 4.10. Broadclyst village, however, had by far the largest concentration of settlement, which included working farmhouses, and there is some evidence that this village provided support to the rural community: a mill, two inns, a smithy and, of course, a church.

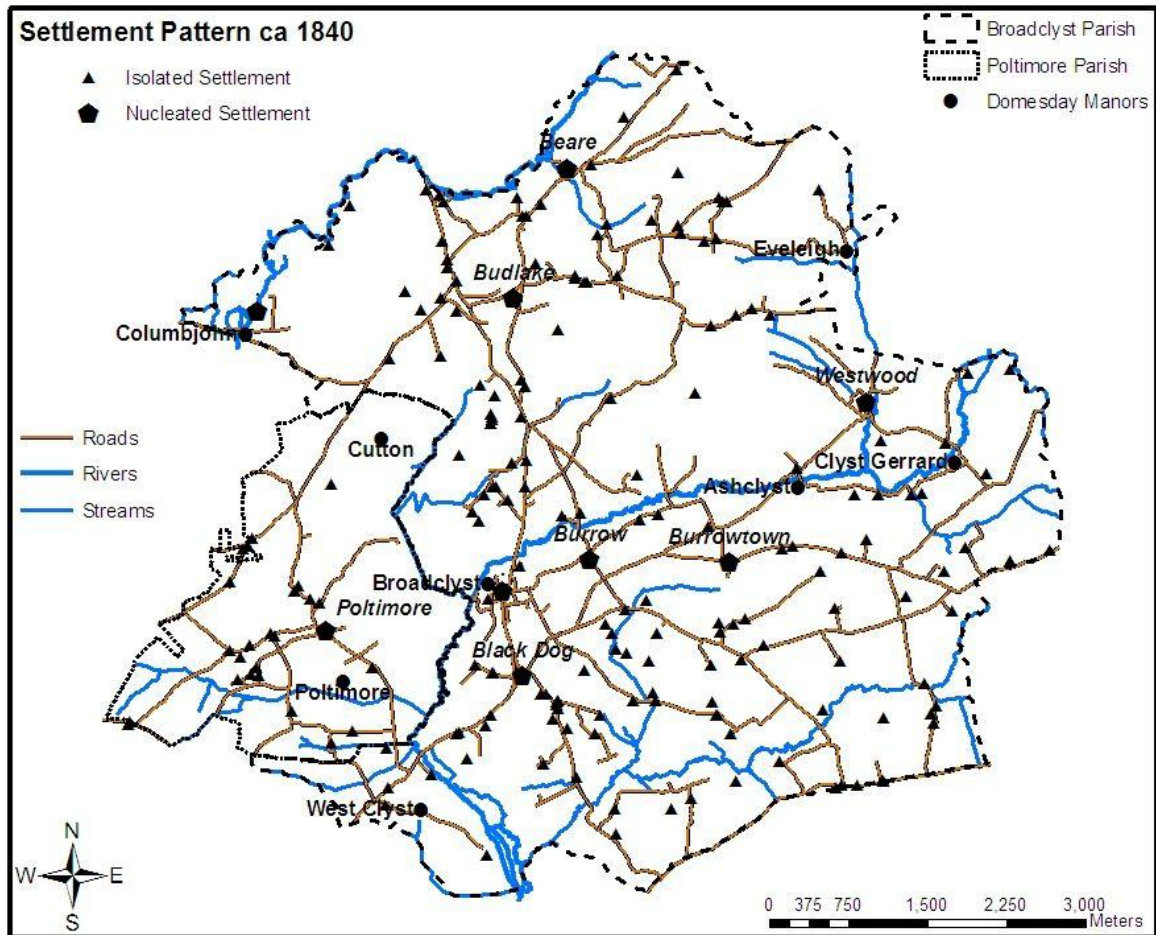


Figure 4.10. The settlement pattern of Broadclyst and Poltimore ca. 1840, showing all dwellings. Nucleated settlement can be identified at Broadclyst, Poltimore, Beare, Burrow, Burrowtown, Columbjohn and Westwood. The road pattern is drawn exclusively from the tithe maps.

The earlier post-medieval settlement pattern (Figure 4.11) is a composite of those dwellings for which there is either, documentary evidence dating the presence of a settlement of that name that pre-dates 1750, or where the vernacular buildings have been assessed as being earlier than that date. All buildings that cannot be so dated have been removed from the database, and only the proposed site of 'Rixton Farm' (see above) has been added. The settlement pattern remains dispersed, with only five sites that justify being described as nucleated: Broadclyst, Beare, Columbjohn, Poltimore and Westwood, although in all five sites the village/hamlet size was small.

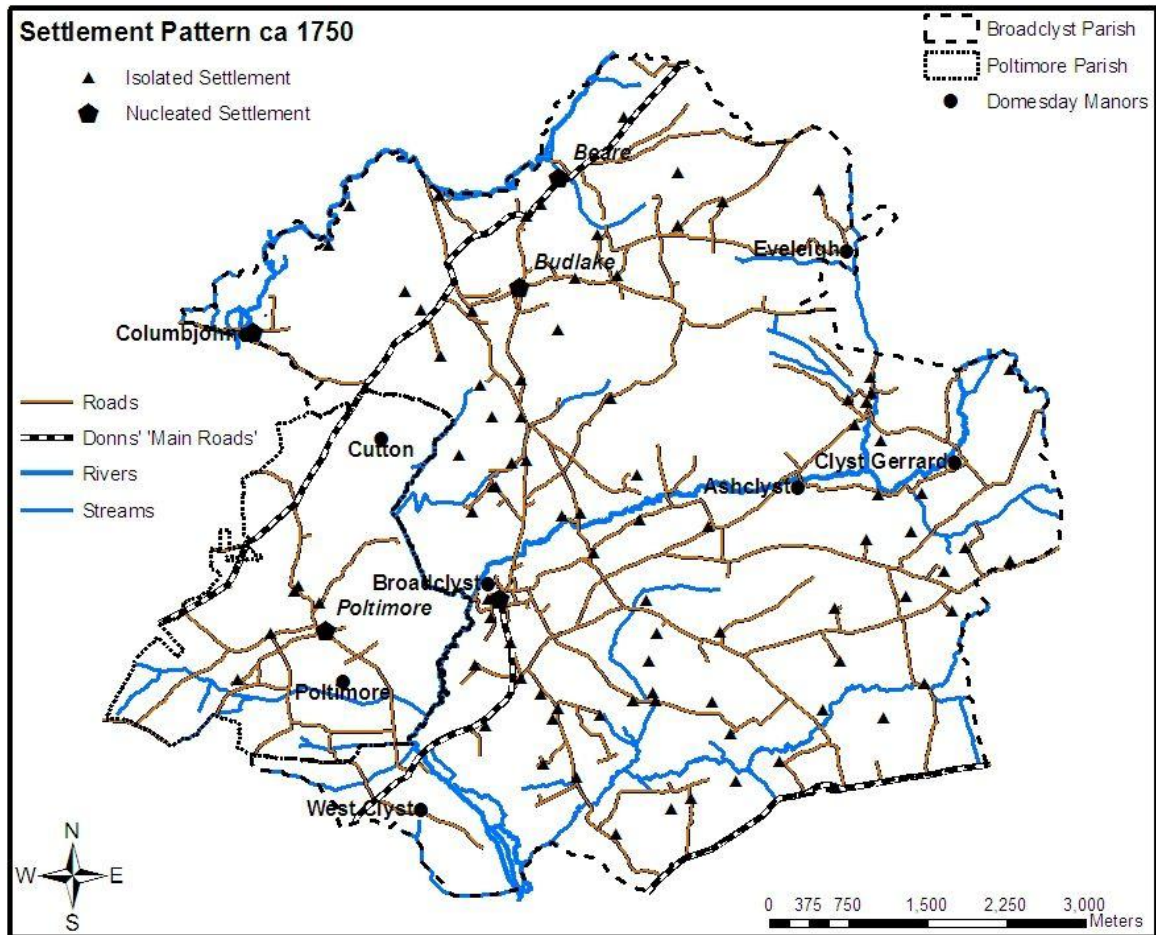


Figure 4.11. The settlement pattern of Broadclyst and Poltimore ca. 1750 has been created almost solely through the removal of 'modern' dwellings from the map dated ca. 1840 and it must be seen as the minimum extent. Nucleated settlement can be identified at Broadclyst, Poltimore, Columbjohn, Beare and Westwood.

The medieval settlement pattern (Figure 4.12) includes all the settlements whose existence before 1540 can be proven. There has been no attempt to 'replace' any 'missing' sites, due to a dearth of evidence for such settlement. Broadclyst 'village' is barely large enough to be considered more than a hamlet, while the nucleations at Beare, Columbjohn, Poltimore and Westwood were even smaller. There is recent documentary evidence that may explain the shortage of medieval buildings in Broadclyst. In 1870 the village centre was swept by a fire which destroyed many of the buildings, and this resulted in extensive reconstruction

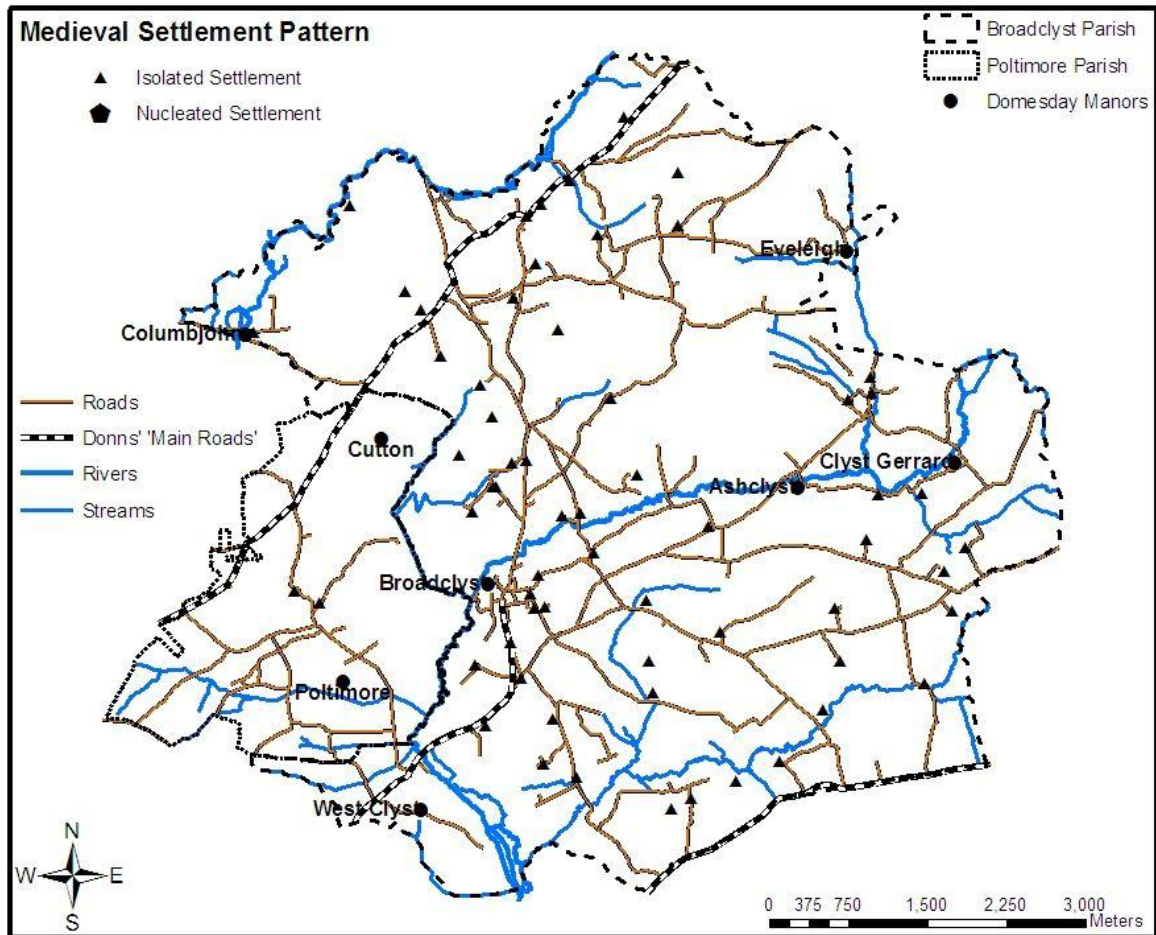


Figure 4.12. The settlement pattern of Broadclyst and Poltimore during the Middle Ages, with the Domesday manors identified. There is no identifiable nucleation of settlement.

which continued until the turn of the century (for example HER 65121). It is possible that some of the original buildings were of medieval origin and their absence has thus skewed the data to suggest a post-medieval expansion.

Settlement Reviewed

The shortage of early documents predicates a retrogressive mapping technique, rather than a progressive one. As discussed, one of the shortcomings of this methodology is a fundamental inability to restore 'lost' settlement. To this must be added questions regarding the siting of those settlements whose early origins have been traced through documentary evidence (for example using Gover *et*

al.1932) and the history of each settlement, in particular whether an isolated farm was originally a hamlet.

Communications Pattern

On his map of 1765, Donn shows a road pattern in the vicinity of Broadclyst and Poltimore that is dominated by roads radiating eastwards out of the county town of Exeter, and these are supplemented by a small network of lesser roads running north/south that link the hamlets to these 'main' roads (Figure 4.12). It is worthy of note that Broadclyst village lies at the end of one of the main roads, which may be an indicator of its local importance in the mid 18th century (Donn 1965, 7a). Mentally stripping away Donn's 'main roads' from the map (while acknowledging that they had local as well as regional value) creates a pattern of roads that is mostly radial, emanating from several hamlets, but with some rectilinear features. Davey (2005, 84-106) discusses the road layout attendant upon nucleated and dispersed settlement patterns in selected areas in Somerset. He establishes that a radial pattern will be found in areas where a nucleated settlement has risen to dominance, whilst rectilinear layouts may be associated with a dispersed settlement, and this is not at odds with Aston (1985, 146-8). The road pattern of Broadclyst and Poltimore appears to have an underlying radial nature that has seen a spread of more rectilinear roads as more dispersed settlement has been created with time, and this is discussed later.

Land Ownership and Occupancy

Ownership (Figure 4.13)

In ca. 1840 both parishes had a single dominant landowner, who occupied a 'country estate' that had been removed from the village, the church and, probably, the site of the original manor house. The tithe apportionment for Broadclyst contains 2900 entries, covering all property from small cottages and gardens up to large fields, and of these, ca. 1840, Thomas Dyke Acland owned 1709, while the second largest landowner, Lord Poltimore, only owned 99. In

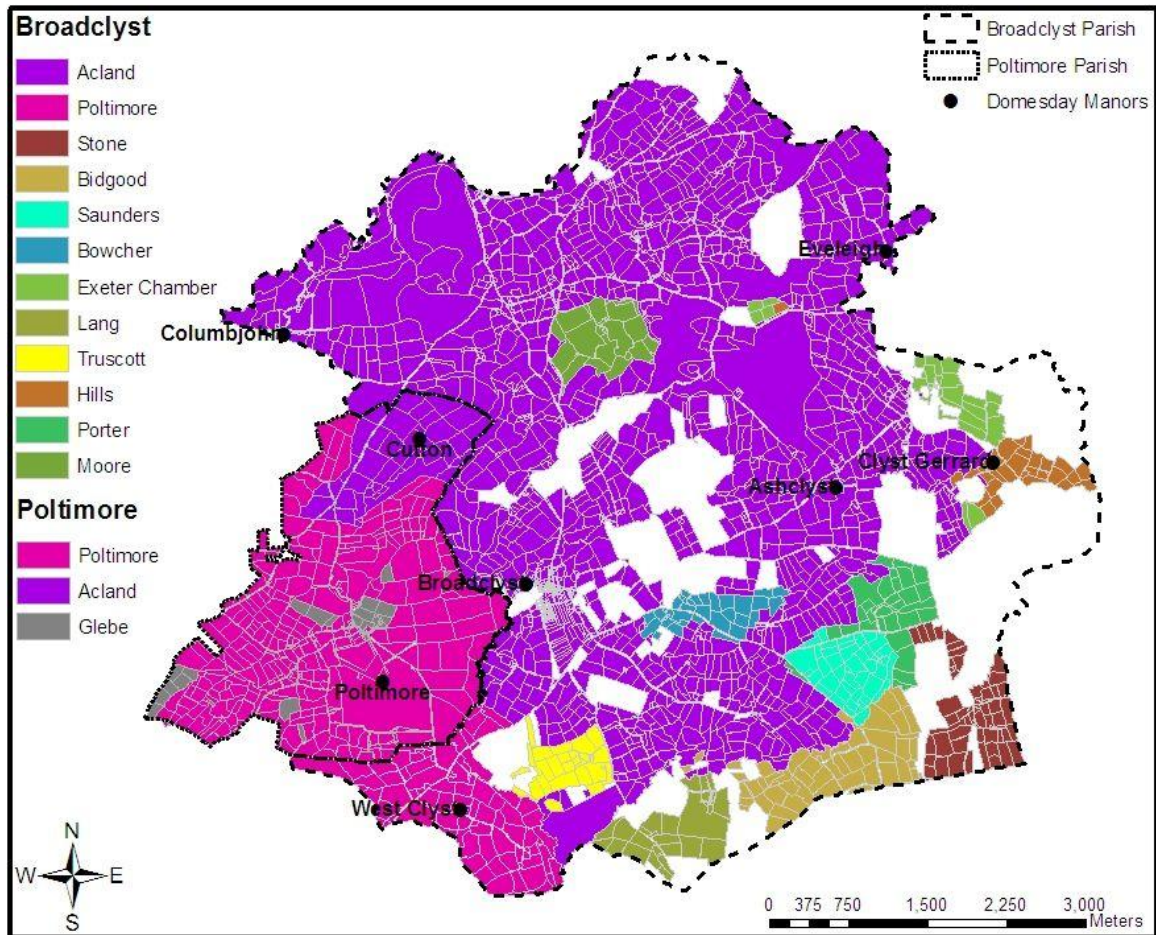


Figure 4.13. The holdings of the major landowners in Broadclyst and Poltimore ca. 1840. The white patches are generally areas of fragmentary ownership, but some represent the composite holdings of the lesser landowners. In Broadclyst in 1086, after the manor of that name, Clyst Gerrard and Ashclyst were the next largest manors. In ca. 1840 Ashclyst was part of the Acland Estate and it may be that its land had passed into Acland hands in its entirety. The extent of land in the east of the parish, a mix of non-Acland holdings, some large and some small possibly approximates the original extent of the manor of Clyst Gerrard.

Poltimore the roles were reversed and Lord Poltimore (340 entries) was the dominant landowner, while Acland had the second largest holding (43). The map at Figure 4.13 only shows the land belonging to the top twelve landowners (of a total of 79) in Broadclyst but all three of them in Poltimore.

Tracing the descent in Poltimore parish is relatively easy. Poltimore manor, the larger of the two manors listed in Domesday (Appendix 1), was given to the Bampfylde family (later Lord Poltimore) during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307)

and was still held by that family *ca.* 1840. Cutton, the other manor, was held by Baldwin the Sheriff in 1086 and then became a Prebend of the College Chapel of the castle of Exeter. By *ca.*1840 it had become part of the Acland estate (Pole 1797, 230-231; Lysons 1822, 419-420).

The descent in Broadclyst is not so simple. Of the six Domesday manors in *Cliston* (Broadclyst) (Appendix 1), Ashclyst and West Clyst were both held by Baldwin the Sheriff and then became Prebends of the College Chapel of the castle of Exeter, the same as Cutton in Poltimore. The descent of West Clyst is poorly documented, but *ca.* 1840 it belonged to Lord Poltimore; that of Ashclyst is easier to trace with the manor eventually passing to the Acland family (Lysons 1822, 116; Reichel 1912, 323-324). Eveleigh (position now lost) and Columbjohn were both holdings of Fulchere. Columbjohn was purchased by the Acland family during the reign of Edward I, but Eveleigh is not so well documented. Reichel (1934, 382, 385) states that Eveleigh was part of Columbjohn and places the manor in Farringdon parish (to the south-west of Broadclyst), while Thorn and Thorn (1985b, notes) follow Pole's lead (Pole 1797, 174-5) by placing Eveleigh in the east of Broadclyst parish, where they identify it with Higher Comberoy Farm. The Lysons (1822, 116) trace the descent of Eveleigh to the Acland family. In *ca.* 1840, the tithe apportionment records a farm called 'Elbury, Everleys and Perkins', a compact block of land in the south of the parish that provides a further candidate; of three associated dwellings, that are not named in the apportionment, one can be identified as Elbury (or Higher Elbury) Farm, while the other two are collocated and are only named on the 1" Map, where they appear as Lower Elbury. Since both Higher Comberoy and Elbury were part of the Acland Estate *ca.* 1840 it has been decided to follow Thorn and Thorn's lead and identify Higher Comberoy with Eveleigh. The descent of the manor of Clyst Gerrard, reported in Lysons (1822, 115), implies that the holding was broken up

at some stage between the reigns of John and Henry VIII, 'with the greater part' going to the Francheneys and thence the Corporation of Exeter before being owned by Charity Hills at the Tithe Commission.

The largest manor in Cliston in 1086 was Broadclyst and this was retained by the King. Reichel lists those estates that were part of the Honour of Harberton that were in Broadclyst, and comparison of these, with the descents recorded in Lysons, shows that various parts of the holding were granted to different favourites and thus that the manor has been broken up over time. Whilst Lysons state that the manor was purchased by Acland in 1808 they record different histories for: Killerton, Southbrook, Francis Court and Brockhill. Killerton and Francis Court were bought by the Aclands, the former during the reign of Edward I, the latter later on. Brockhill and Southbrook, however, have followed different descents and *ca.* 1840 belonged to General Truscott and James Stone respectively (Lysons 1822, 115-116; Reichel 1934, 363-385; Thorn & Thorn 1985b, notes).

Occupancy (Figures 4.14 and 4.15)

The two estates of Cutton and Poltimore maintained separate identities from 1086 until *ca.* 1840 (Figure 4.14). Cutton remained the smaller holding, lying in the north part of the parish while, at the time of the Tithe Commission, the land belonging to Lord Poltimore may be separated into three 'parcels'. Firstly, Poltimore House, which dates to the late 16th century and for which there are records of a contemporary deer park (HER 19787). While this house is identified as 'the manor house' in this work, it is most probable that the original manor house was in Poltimore village, and collocated with the church. The construction of Poltimore House, a stately home, may have been coincident with the removal of the manorial dwelling from the village and also with the creation of the second 'parcel' of the estate, a working farm unit (assumed to be Poltimore Barton). If

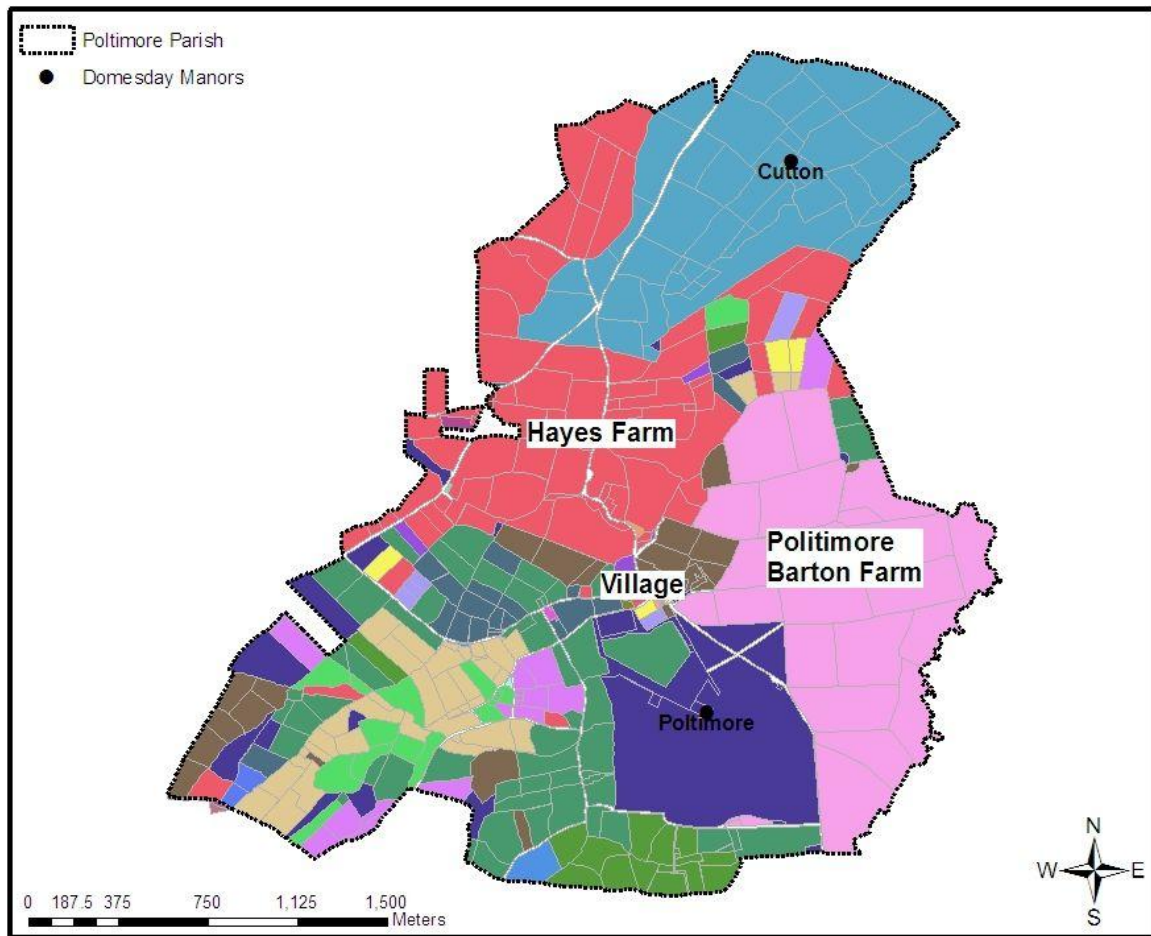


Figure 4.14. Poltimore: land occupancy ca. 1840. Only the Cutton Estate in the north did not belong to Lord Poltimore. Poltimore Manor appears to have been moved to the south of the village and the Estate separated into three separate parts: Poltimore House and deer park, Poltimore Barton Farm (originally the 'home farm?'), and the tenancies: Hayes Farm and a fragmented group of smaller holdings lying mostly in the south-west of the parish.

this assumption is correct then the Barton had been 'farmed out' by ca. 1840. The third part of the estate comprises the rest of the parish, and this is dominated by a large farm, Hayes Farm, but with a collection of fragmented holdings, mostly in the south-west and with some between the Barton and Cutton. The existence of a single large, almost compact farm amongst so many smaller holdings is anomalous.

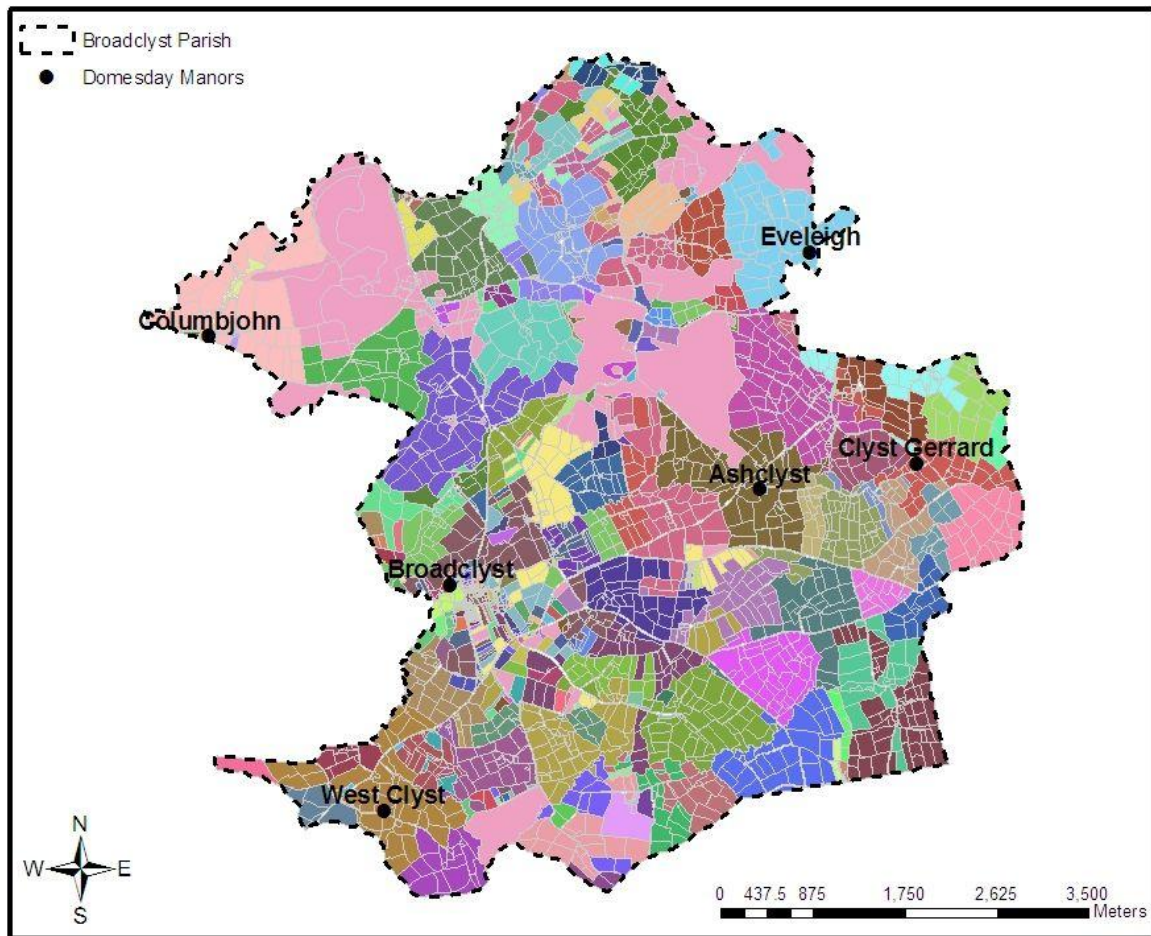


Figure 4.15. Broadclyst land occupancy ca. 1840. A series of compact holdings across most of the parish is only interrupted in the vicinity of Broadclyst Manor and in the extreme north of the parish where the pattern of holdings becomes very fragmentary.

The five smaller Domesday manors of Broadclyst still exist as identifiable units, assuming that Eveleigh has been correctly identified (Figure 4.15). At some time the Aclands moved their estate centre to Killerton House, possibly in 1552 (HER 6590), but the position of the original manor house, near the parish church, has been identified and is used in this work to mark the site of the Domesday manor of Broadclyst (HER 10167 & 21018). There is, however, no readily identifiable land associated with this early manor site. The remainder of the parish, with two exceptions, has evolved into a pattern of small and medium

sized, compact holdings. The two exceptions are in the northern central part of the parish and around Broadclyst village, where there are tracts of fragmentary holdings.

Farm Boundaries (Figure 4.16)

An alternative view of land occupancy can be gained by plotting the individual farms recorded ca. 1840. This serves to break-down occupancy patterns where the tenant/owner is working two or more collocated farms and highlights those areas where the farm pattern is fragmented. Over time, several of these farms have expanded by reclaiming unenclosed land or subsuming fields from other farms, as these have become available. Where a farm had a fragmentary pattern, only the portion that contained the 'modern' farmhouse has been mapped. There are some farms that are amalgamations of several earlier holdings, for example: in the northern part of Broadclyst there is a farm called 'Luzwell, Brookhill and Styles' and another called 'Styles and Beer', and these highlight the break-up of Styles Farm, creating a fragmentary pattern, and have been omitted from the figure.

By superimposing the farm pattern at Figure 4.16 on the occupancy pattern at Figure 4.14 it is possible to highlight those areas where there is a fragmentary pattern (Figure 4.17). This fragmentary pattern may be the result of enclosure of former open fields or of common pasture/meadow, although partible inheritance of land may result in a similar effect. In the absence of documentary evidence, separation of possible former open field from possible former common pasture or meadow is difficult to achieve. It is argued here that the valley bottoms and higher ground represent the most likely candidate areas for common meadow and pasture, respectively, and that the floodplains, just off the valley bottom, are the most likely location for open fields; but each case needs to be determined on merit. Partible inheritance, on the other hand, may break up holdings, but does not create concentrations of settlement (Dodgshon 1980, 67-8). By comparing

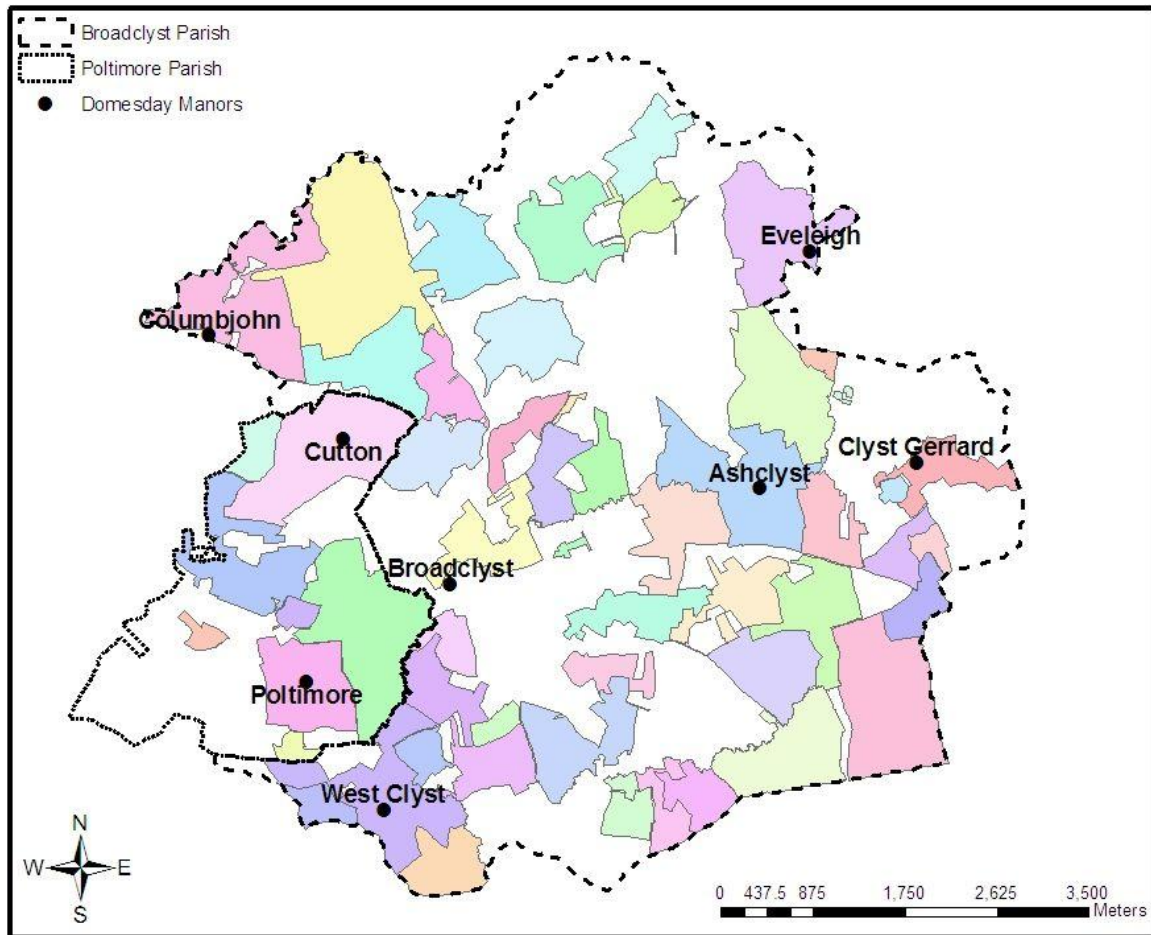


Figure 4.16. The pattern of the farms of Broadclyst and Poltimore ca. 1840. The white patches highlight areas where there is no clear pattern in the holdings, normally as a result of the break-up of earlier farms, or piecemeal expansion onto the outfield.

Reichel's listing of the sub-manors of each of the Honours (Reichel 1934, 368-375, 385), with the farms listed ca. 1840, it is possible to identify settlements that appear to have lost 'importance' and these may represent instances of shrunken hamlets. In this case study both Beare and Burrow may have experienced such shrinkage and, if they do represent shrunken hamlets, then the fragmentary patterns of land holding around them may be the result of enclosure of some form of common land. In this instance, the balance of probability is in favour of open fields due to their location on the floodplain. The high count of long-thin fields in their vicinity, which is discussed below, also supports this contention.

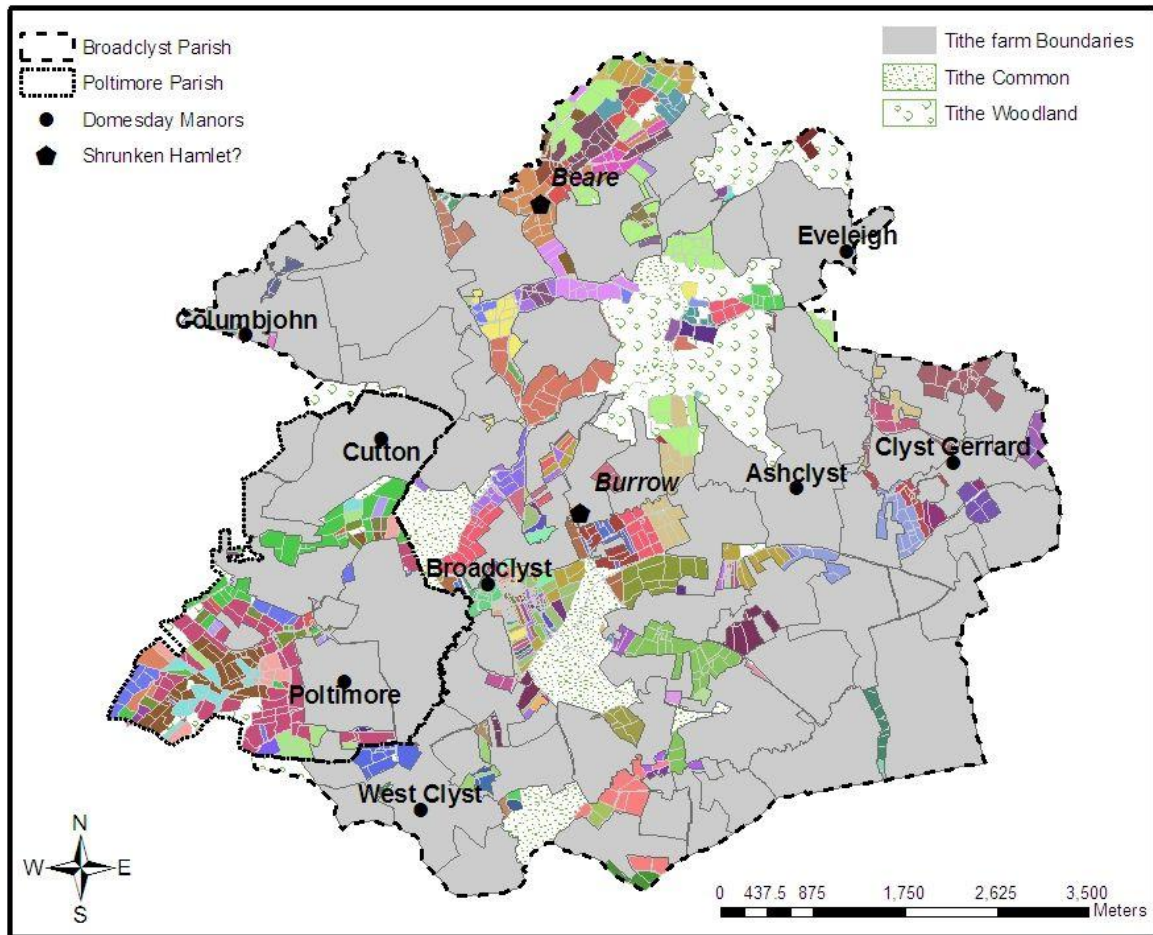


Figure 4.17. Broadclyst ca. 1840, showing the farm pattern overlaid upon the occupancy pattern. The highly fragmentary nature of the holdings around Broadclyst, Burrow and Beare may be suggestive of former open fields. Beare and Burrow are listed as early manors in the Honour of Harberton but have now degenerated into amalgamated holdings, they may represent shrunken hamlets which once worked the putative open fields.

Fieldscape Analysis (Figures 4.18, 4.19 and 4.22)

As discussed in Chapter 3 the fieldscape analysis process follows three steps. Firstly the morphology of each field is determined. In the second phase the boundaries between fields with similar morphologies are re-assessed and where a field appears to have been assigned a 'rogue' morphology, this may be adjusted. In the last stage an attempt is made to determine field use. This latter will generally identify pasture, although some common land may have been found.

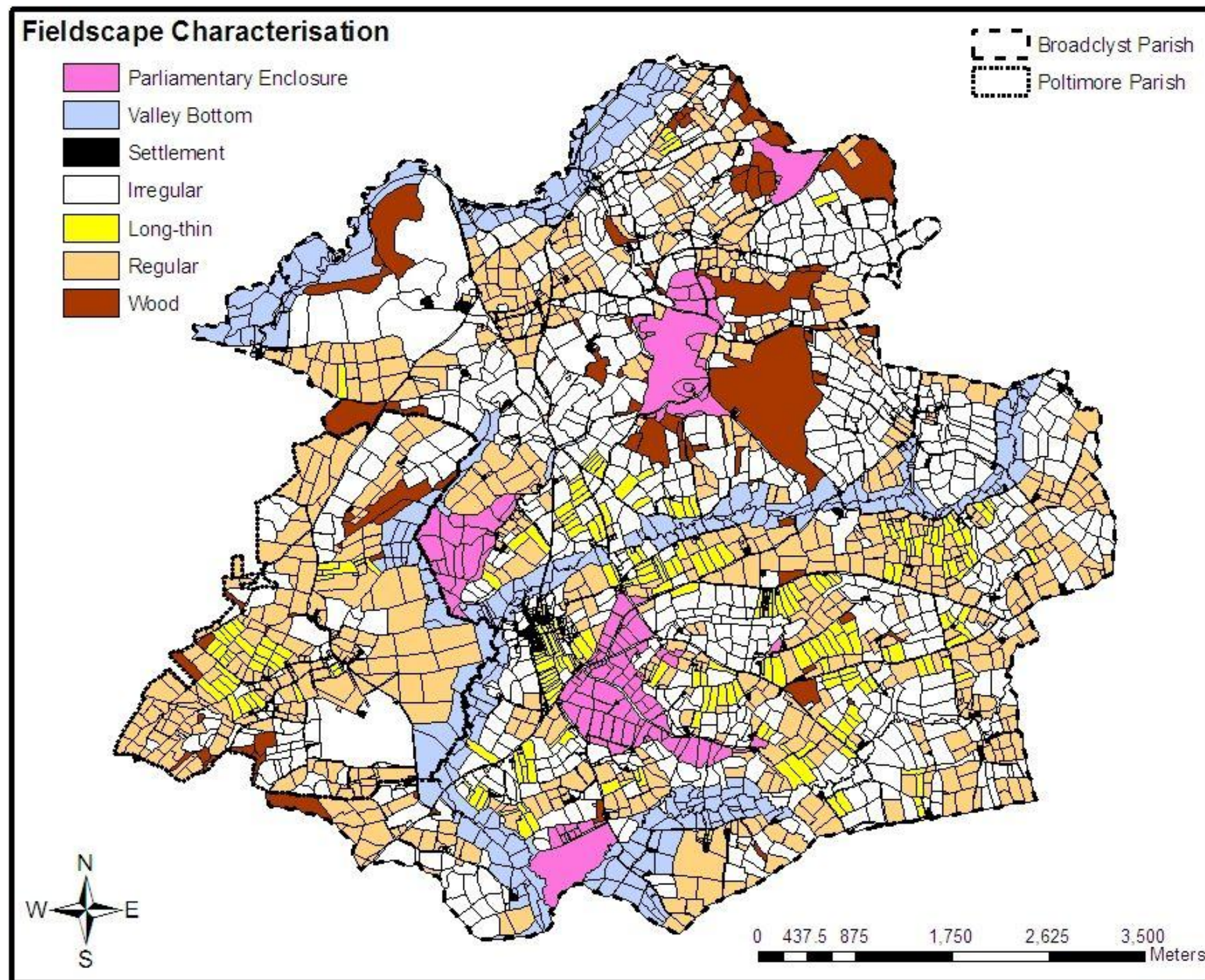


Figure 4.18. The fieldscape characterisation in Broadclyst and Poltimore determines the fundamental shape of each field. It is interesting to note the coincidence between the land enclosed by Act of Parliament and the higher ground/poorer soils in Broadclyst.

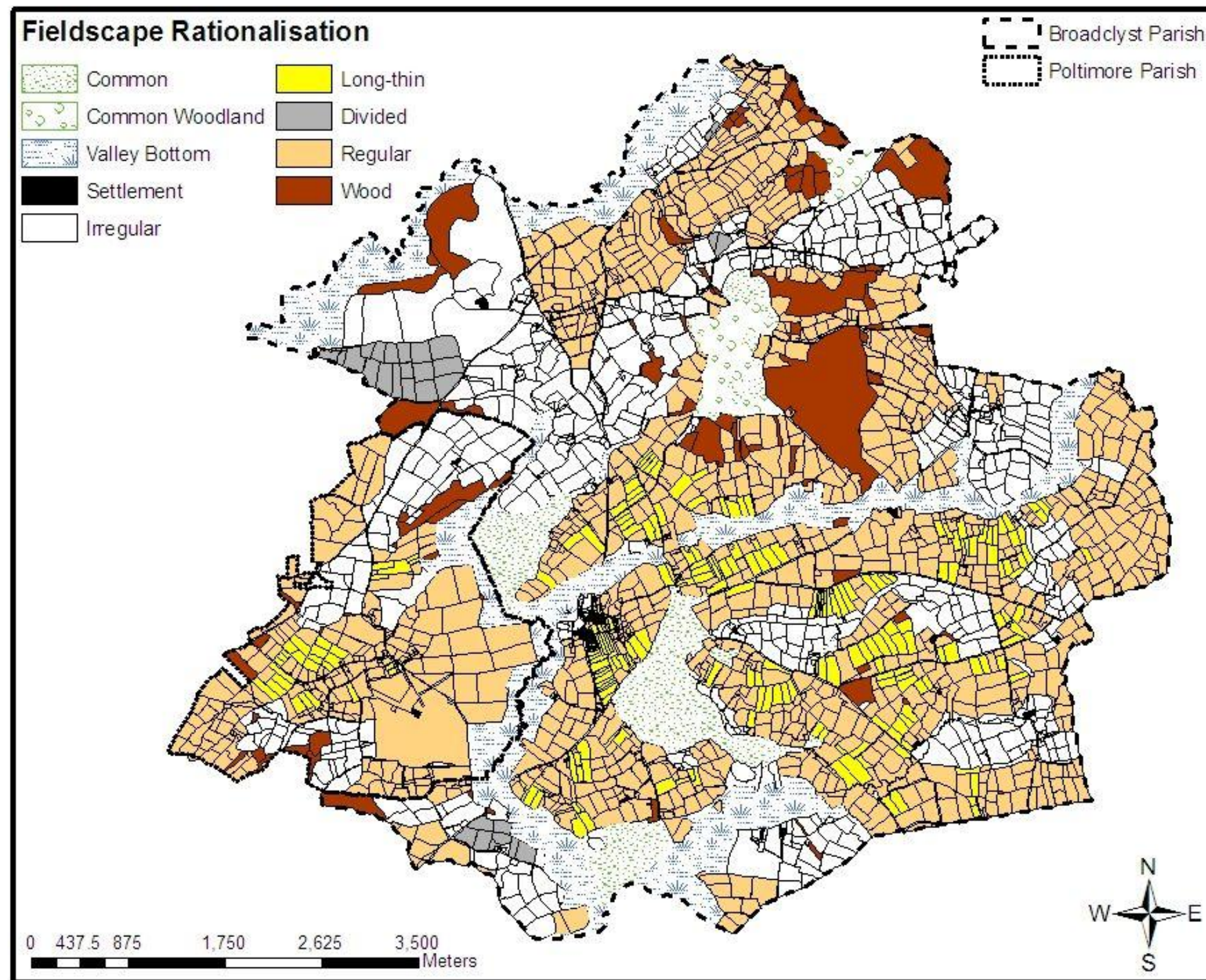


Figure 4.19. Fieldscape rationalisation in Broadclyst and Poltimore. The process has led to an increased number of 'regular' fields being identified in the central portion of the parish, and these may be associated with the long-thin fields.

Fieldscape Characterisation (Figure 4.18)

In 1833 common land in Broadclyst was enclosed by Act of Parliament at: Broadclyst Moor, Clyst Heath, Spray Down, White Down and Wish Meadow. There is no record of any parliamentary enclosure in Poltimore (Tate 1946b, 84; DRO Inclosure 17). In Broadclyst a small amount of this enclosed land appears to have been 'roadside waste' that was quickly absorbed into a larger field. Where this has happened, the GIS tithe map has had the appropriate tithe field 'cut' in two, to accommodate the original structure.

In this case study the first stage of the analytical process reveals a high proportion of long-thin fields, whose spread is beyond that of the fragmentary occupancy pattern at Figures 4.15 and 4.17. The provenance of this type of field has been discussed in Chapter 3, where it was determined that these probably are indicators of former open fields, but this will be determined as the process unfolds.

Fieldscape Rationalisation (Figure 4.19)

All the fieldscape characters discussed in Chapter 3 have been identified during the first stage of the analytical process in this case study. All the Acts of Parliament that enclosed land in Devon, that are addressed in this thesis enclosed 'waste' (Tate 1946b, 81), and this is interpreted as 'common' throughout. Where land is identified during the fieldscape analysis as probably being 'modern' enclosure and, therefore, unenclosed during the Middle Ages, this has been interpreted as 'possible common'.

Regular fields may also be re-categorised as being part of a 'divided' fieldscape, where the closes have the appearance of 'new' enclosure, but they are considered to be the result of the division of an older, larger, irregular enclosure, and they were probably created to support convertible husbandry (Figure 4.20). Due to the variable nature of the cropping routine – seven or so years ley,

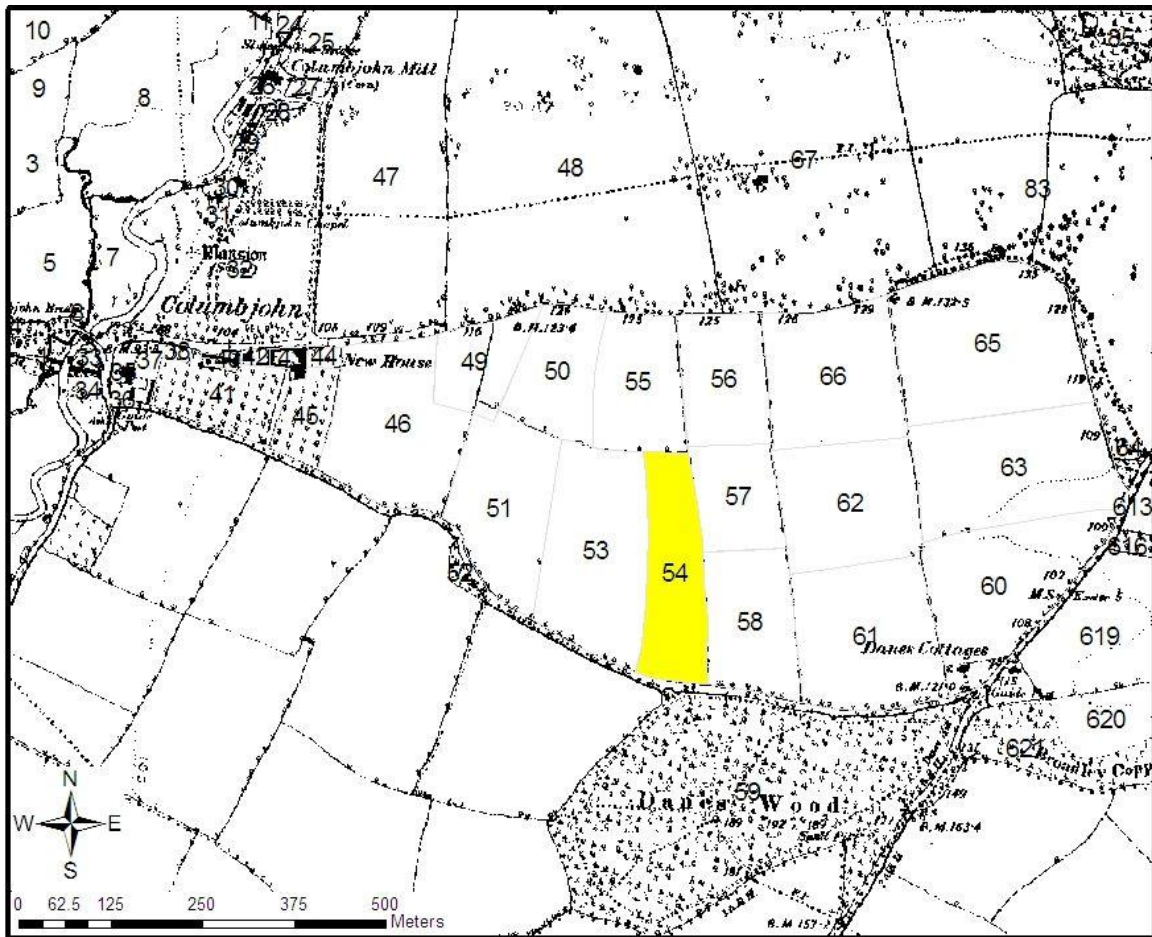


Figure 4.20. Divided fields at Columbjohn (Broadclyst). Field numbers 45-46, 49-58, 60-63 and 65-66 have been rationalised as divided, having been created out of a larger irregular enclosure. The presence of but a single long-thin field (54) is insufficient to justify considering these fields as probable 'open fields'.

followed by two or three under crop – they will be interpreted as 'enclosed', rather than as either arable or pasture. Finally, those regular fields that lie intermixed with long-thin fields have been re-categorised as probable 'open' fields, and these were probably subject to a different rotational period and will have spent longer being cropped. Whilst these should not be considered synonymous with the Midlands style common field, they may well bear considerable resemblances in appearance and could have been worked under a regimen akin to the Midlands fields (Figure 4.21).

boundaries, which are less well defined, have been mapped through searching for cohesive blocks of land. It must be noted, however, that Fox does not list any of the manors of this case study as having documentary evidence for open fields (Fox 1972, Figures 1 & 2), although Finberg lists Cliston (Broadclyst) and Clyst Gerrard (Finberg 1952, 279). The possibility that both Beare and Burrow are shrunken, former nucleated settlements has been discussed and is re-emphasised given their locations relevant to these open fields – but that does not preclude further unidentified nucleations, especially in the south-east of Broadclyst.

In most of the case studies it is possible to identify unusual and more detailed aspects of the field typology. In this case, comparison of that land enclosed by Act of Parliament (defined here as common) and the spread of Ancient Woodland identified through the MAGIC website, within Broadclyst, identifies that some of the common may have been common woodland. Given the apparent lack of change in wood cover, generally from Romano-British times or earlier, which has been identified through the pollen studies, it has been assumed that this common woodland existed throughout the Middle Ages and has been so identified in Figure 4.22.

The Poltimore and Acland families started acquiring land in the parishes during the reign of Edward I, and their early presence appears to have ensured continuity of ownership for most of the Domesday manors. That most of these manors originally had extensive open fields is suggested by the field morphologies *ca.*1840, and these are corroborated, to a degree, by the fragmentary nature of some of the holdings and tenancies. In the next section we shall see to what extent this putative core farmland can be matched to the Domesday data.

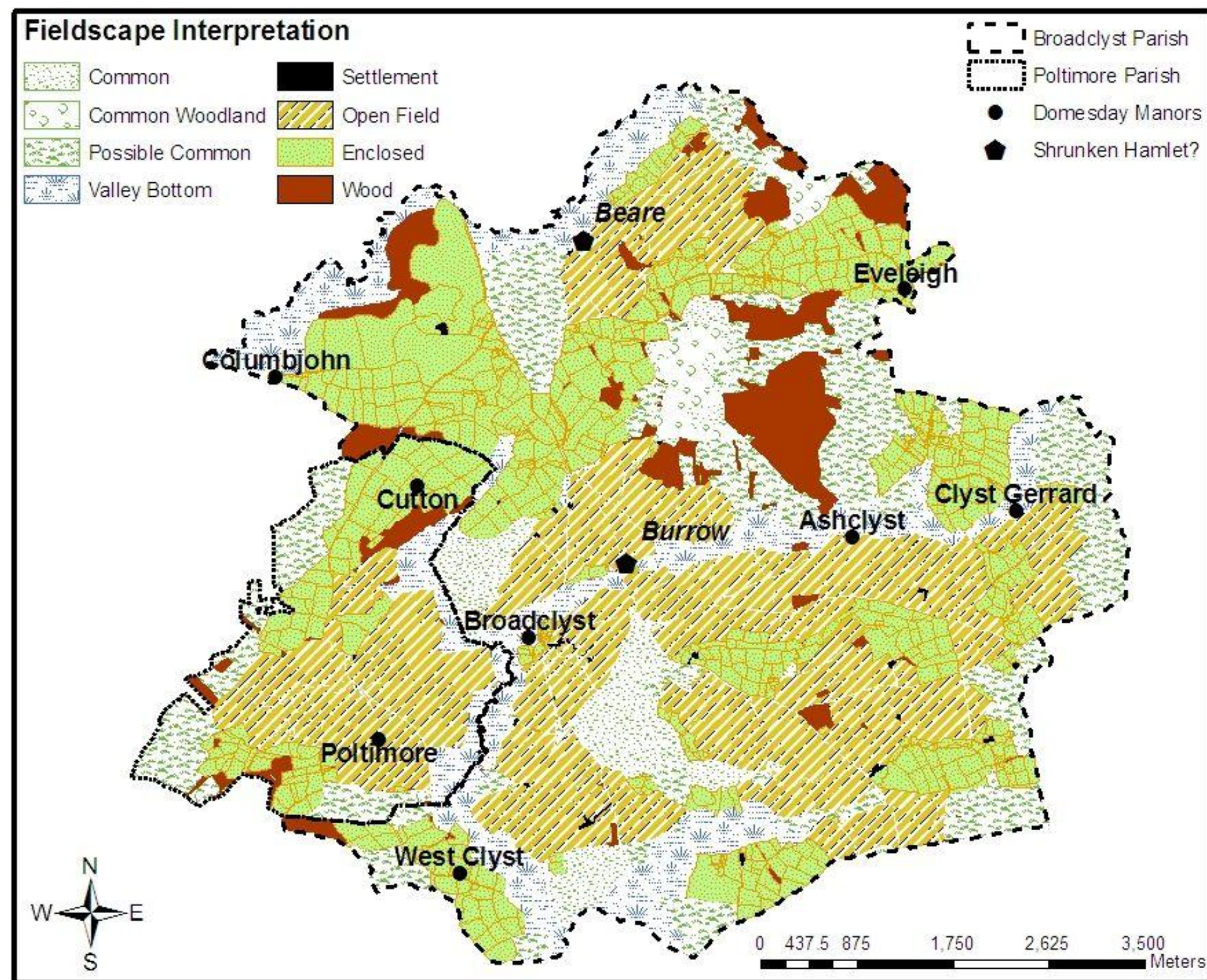


Figure 4.22. The fieldscape interpretation in Broadclyst and Poltimore determines the probable provenance of both the irregular and regular fields. The distinction drawn between open and divided fields is determined by the existence/absence of long-thin fields. Land characterised as outfield (some of the former regular shaped fields) and known common (derived from parliamentary enclosure), are kept separate to differentiate between the level of certainty.

Comparison with Domesday

The Domesday Book presents a plethora of detail concerning life in this country at the beginning of the second millennium but, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, many of the facts are open to differing interpretation, either from the perspective of their intended meaning/use or due to the inclusion of archaic and/or dubious metrics. The two sets of data that are of interest here are those relating to population and land-use/acreage. These are addressed, separately, in the next two sub-sections, before a more generalised discussion about the possible 'Domesday' map.

Domesday Population

Typically, in this thesis, the analysis of the Domesday population of a case study area, revolves around the count of villagers (villans) and slaves, and may touch upon the smallholders (cottars and bordars). Unusually, in this case study, the population of the royal manor of Broadclyst also included seven freedmen (Table 4.2). It is probable that any slaves and smallholders will have been working the demesne lands, with some of them employed as ploughmen (*bovarii*). In Devon, Hoskins argues that the villans who were listed in 1086, while associated with the manors, were working separate tenements and these have, with time, become the farms of today. He allocates these villagers on the basis of one villan - one farm but, in this thesis, this has been modified to take account of the villans' standard plot, normally recognised as 30 acres (for example see Hatcher 1970, 11; Welldon Finn 1973, 38; Dyer 2002, 21-24). In both Broadclyst and Poltimore it has been assessed that there were probably extensive open fields and, in addition to the parochial villages, several other possible, small, nucleations have been identified. While the nature of any tenurial system associated with these open fields cannot be determined, it is probable that a high proportion of the villagers will have lived in nucleated hamlets and will have been working land that was part of the open fields.

Table 4.2. Population metrics drawn from Domesday for the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore (Thorn & Thorn 1985a & 1985b).

Manor	Tenant-in-Chief	Holder	Villagers	Smallholders	Slaves
Broadclyst (1,56)	The King	Not recorded	35 and 7 freedmen	30	11
Ashclyst (16,89)	Baldwin the Sheriff	Canons of St Mary's	10	4	1
West Clyst (16,92)	Baldwin the Sheriff	Canons of St Mary's	3	3	3
Clyst Gerrard (43,2)	Osbern of Sacey	Osbern of Sacey	3	6	2
Columbjohn (49,2)	Fulchere	Fulchere	4	4	3
Eveleigh (49,3)	Fulchere	Fulchere	0	3	0
Broadclyst parish totals			55 and 7 freedmen	50	19
Cutton (16,90)	Baldwin the Sheriff	Canons of St Mary's	0	2	5
Poltimore (50,1)	Haimerich	Haimerich	22	3	4
Poltimore parish totals			22	5	9

Domesday only records the manors, and there are few records that will permit the identification of the sub-manors and tenements that existed at that time. Hoskins argues that there were between 9,000 and 9,500 'farms' in Devon in 1086, a count that encompasses manors, sub-manors and tenements, and he states that 8,508 of these were farms worked by villans (Hoskins 1963, 21). The reader will remember the 'medieval' settlement pattern created earlier in this chapter and, especially, the limitations inherent in the manner in which that pattern was created. In an attempt to 'add back' that proportion of Hoskins' 8,508 'missing farms', that were present in Broadclyst and Poltimore at Domesday, the map at Figure 4.23, which may be tentatively dated to 1086, includes the positions of all settlement whose existence prior to AD 1300 has been recorded

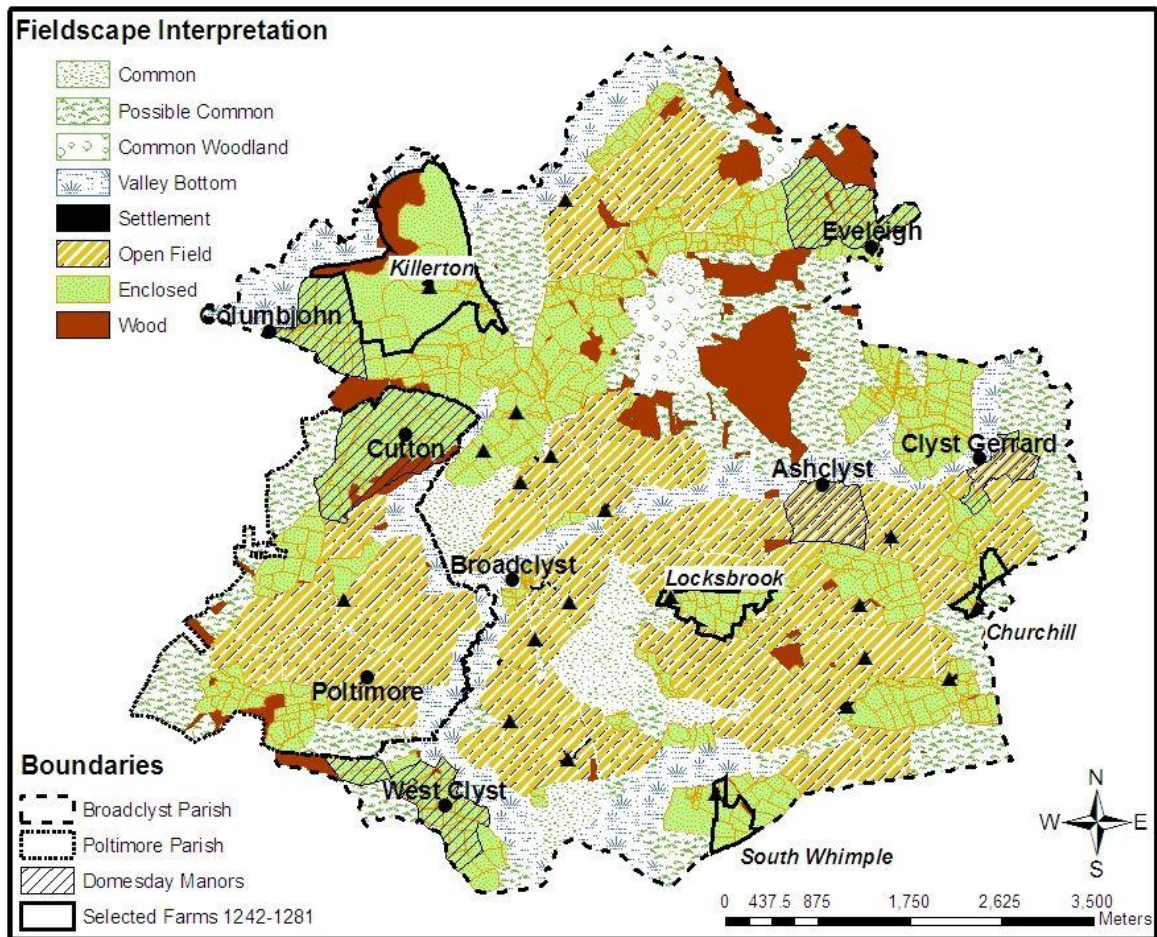


Figure 4.23. Broadclyst and Poltimore. The possible extents of the Domesday manors, and those farms which can be dated to the two centuries after 1086, but which did not lie on the probable open fields, is shown. There are sixteen other settlements dating to that same period whose position was upon these open fields.

(dates from EPNS, HER and Listed Buildings Online). It will be noted that many of these 'farms' lie on land that has been identified as probable open field. Beare and Burrow (Figure 4.22) have already been identified as possible shrunken hamlets, from which the open fields may have been worked, and both Brockhill and Southbrook will be added to this list (see below). It is open to debate whether the remainder of the settlements that appear to have lain on the open fields are also shrunken hamlets, or whether they were created when the open fields were enclosed. If the latter, this provides a terminus ante quem for their enclosure. We will now concentrate upon that settlement that has been added to Figure 4.23 and which did not lie upon probable open fields. The putative farm boundaries of

these possible ‘Domesday farms’ have been determined by modifying their tithe boundaries to only include land considered to have been enclosed ca.1086, and their resultant acreages calculated (Table 4.3). An attempt has also been made to identify the manor with which these farms were associated in 1086, through the manorial descents.

Table 4.3. Domesday villans and their putative plots.

Tithe Farm and date	Owner ca.1840	Associated manor	‘Core’ acreage	Villans’ plots
Killerton 1242	Acland	Broadclyst, Columbjohn, Ashclyst or Eveleigh	419 acres	14
South Whimble 1242	Abraham	Broadclyst, Columbjohn, Ashclyst or Eveleigh note 1	67 acres	2
Churchill 1281	Davey	Unknown	27 acres	1
Locksbrook 1281	Bowcher	Unknown	85 acres	3
Broadclyst: estimated extent of the probable open fields			3053 acres	81
Poltimore: estimated extent of the probable open fields			736 acres	12

Note 1: It is possible to associate South Whimble with one of the Acland ‘manors’ due to the listing of sub-manors produced by Reichel (1934).

There were only four ‘farms, whose presence can be determined before AD 1300, and which did not lie on probable open fields. Only two of these could be associated with any manor and, due to the dominance of the Acland family ca.1840, this association can only be narrowed down to the four manors that formed part of that family’s estate. It has, therefore, only been possible to tentatively house 20 of the villagers in these four farms, which were all in Broadclyst, out of the total of 55 who were recorded in that parish in 1086. Table 4.3 also lists the estimated size of the open fields in both parishes and the associated count of villans’ plots. It is estimated that the open fields of Broadclyst could have provided a total of 81 villans’ plots, while those of Poltimore account for 12. These figures take into account the probable extents of demesne

associated with each manor (see Table 4.4). It can be seen that the required count for putative villans' plots in Broadclyst has been surpassed, while in Poltimore it has not been met.

Before moving on to look at the putative extent of Domesday agricultural land, it is necessary to pay some attention to the freedmen, a class that, in this thesis, is only found in the royal manor of Broadclyst. In his analysis of the Hundred of Clyston [*sic*], Reichel identifies the *hundred manor* of Broadclyst as part of the Honour of Harberton, and lists eleven 'sub-manors' that were part of that manor, stating that these were distributed among the 'retainers' (Reichel 1934, 368-375). Two of these sub-manors, both called *Brythrycheston*, are not identified by Reichel, although he infers that neither was part of the parish. Moorhayne cannot be found on any modern map and is not listed in the tithe assessment, while a fourth, Francis Court, can only be dated to 1333 (Gover *et al.* 1932, 573-577). The remaining seven, which have been plotted in Figure 4.24, may represent sub-manors that could have been worked by the freedmen and it is possible to argue that, in addition to Beare and Burrow (see above), Brockhill and Southbrook could also represent small hamlets housing some of the villans who would have been working the probable open fields. Killerton and South Whimple have already been identified above as possible shrunken hamlets, unfortunately the boundaries of Lymbury tithe farm cannot be identified due to the fact that this farm's tithe details were recorded as a compact block of land, listed as Lymbury and Newhall Farm.

The modified Hoskins' model can be applied with relative ease in Broadclyst, but does not quite achieve the desired results in Poltimore. The fact that Killerton became the centre of a large parkland estate and the residence of the Acland family, probably in 1552, raises doubts concerning the use of a map regression to

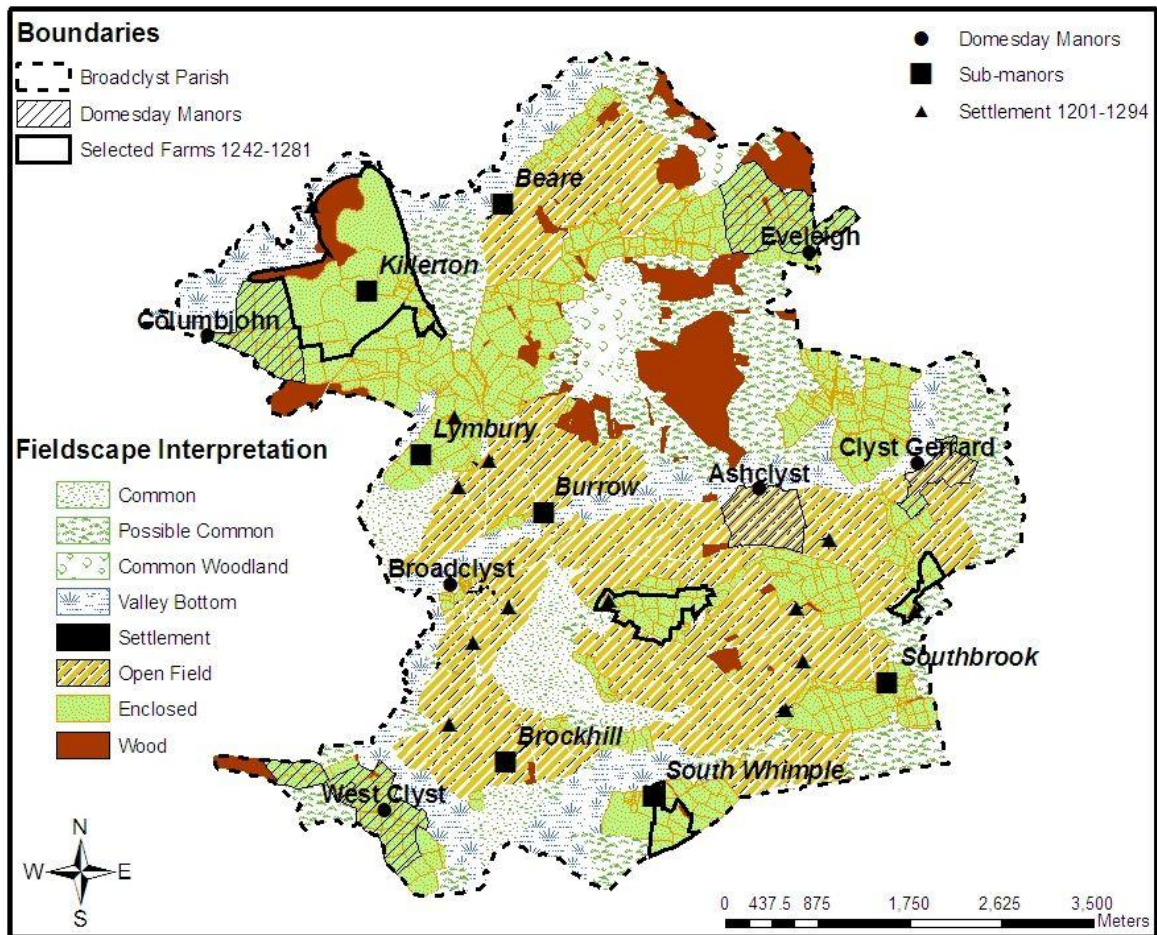


Figure 4.24. Broadclyst between 1086 and 1291. Seven of the sub-manors listed by Reichel are shown and these may represent sub-holdings worked by the seven freedmen of Broadclyst Manor.

create putative boundaries around an estate whose size may well be due to its creation after the Middle Ages. A former hamlet maybe, but surely not one housing 14 villans! We turn now to the Domesday ‘farmland’.

Domesday Agricultural Land (Table 4.4)

The product of the fieldscape analysis may be seen as an extent of land, within each parish, that is interpreted as having been enclosed at an early date, and a second extent which was reclaimed and enclosed at a later date, either during the High Middle Ages or more recently. In this thesis it is postulated that the land that was enclosed at an early date is synonymous with a core heartland of agricultural land, and this may have been worked around the time of Domesday.

Table 4.4. Domesday entries for different land-uses in the eight manors that comprise the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore. The minimum and maximum extents of the manors and parishes have been calculated using 60 acres as the minimum size of a ploughland and 90 acres as the maximum.

Manor	Original Domesday Figures and units (note 1)				Domesday Figures converted to statute acres (see Chapter 3 for conversion criteria)				Putative Domesday manor extents (statute acres) (note 2)		Tithe assessment of parish size	Thesis assessment of 'ancient' enclosure
	Arable (ploughlands)	Meadow	Pasture	Wood	Arable min/max (note 3)	Meadow	Pasture	Wood	Min manor area	Max manor area		
Broadclyst (1,56)	35 (1) (note 5)	40 acres	½ league (note 4)	150 acres	2100/ 3150	40	60	150	2350 (310)	3400 (340)		Not determined
Ashclyst (16,89)	9 (2) (note 5)	17 acres	50 acres	5 acres	540/ 810	17	50	5	612 (192)	882 (252)		103
West Clyst (16,92)	3	10 acres	3 acres	nil	180/ 270	10	3	nil	193	283		148
Clyst Gerrard (43,2)	8 (1) (note 5)	40 acres	60 acres	26 acres	480/ 720	40	60	26	606 (186)	846 (216)		60
Columbjohn (49,2)	3	7 acres	36 acres	6 acres	180/ 270	7	36	6	229	319		127
Eveleigh (49,3)	1	2 acres	40 acres	100 acres	60/ 90	2	40	100	202	232		192
Broadclyst parish totals	59				3540/ 5310	116	249	291	4192	5962	9188	6482
Poltimore (50,1)	9 (2) (note 5)	47 acres	53 acres	100 acres	540/ 810	47	53	100	740 (320)	1010 (380)		1002
Cutton (16,90)	2	6 acres	80 acres	nil	120/ 180	6	80	nil	206	266		266
Poltimore parish totals	11				660/ 990	53	133	100	946	1276	1711	1267

Notes:

1. Where Domesday records acres the precise size of these 'acres' is not known.
2. The putative manor extent is calculated by adding the arable, meadow, pasture and wood figures (in statute acres) together – two totals are generated, one using the minimum arable calculation and the other the larger one.
3. The minimum and maximum arable acreage is calculated by assuming that a ploughland in Devon was between 90 (maximum) and 60 (minimum) acres.
4. The Domesday entry for Broadclyst records the singular dimension of ½ league for an area of pasture. Reichel (1894, 308-312) argues that these, apparently, single dimension measures should be read as a *Lug* and not as a League. He states that a *Leuca* or *Lug* is an area 12 furlongs by one furlong wide, that is 120 acres; half a *Lug*, therefore, is 60 acres.
5. The figures in brackets are the number of ploughs 'in lordship', only the count of ploughlands and the eventual manor extents are listed.

In this section we will compare the various acreages of 'enclosed' land that can be obtained from the map regression, with the quantities that can be derived from Domesday. Some of the problems inherent in the derivation of both sets of figures have been discussed in Chapter 3, others may await discovery!

The process for converting Domesday figures into modern areas, notably the ploughland, has been discussed in Chapter 3, but this requires a small modification for this case study. In Broadclyst Manor (DB 1,56), the pasture has been defined using, apparently, a single linear measure: $\frac{1}{2}$ league. Reichel (1894, 308-312) suggests that the league, or *leuca* in this instance, has an area that is 12 furlongs long (a standard league) *and a width of one furlong*; thereby generating an area of 120 acres or, in the case of the $\frac{1}{2}$ league in Broadclyst, 60 acres. In the absence of any further discussion, Reichel's argument has been accepted.

Poltimore parish is one of the smaller parishes encountered in this thesis, and its associated Domesday entries, a mere two manors, appear relatively simple and straight forward. For these reasons it has been decided to start the comparisons with the Domesday figures in this parish. The acreage of enclosed land, at a parochial level, derived from the fieldscape analysis is 1267 acres, that derived from Domesday is 1276 acres (Table 4.4), this latter figure assumes that the size of a ploughland in Poltimore was 90 acres. The acreages of enclosed land, at a manorial level, derived from the map regression, are 1002 acres (Poltimore) and 266 acres (Cutton), while those from the Domesday metrics are: 1010 and 266 acres respectively (both using a 90 acre ploughland). The errors between all three sets of figures are extremely small, and it is argued that the fieldscape analysis has achieved a picture of land-use, which may be considered to be close to that recorded in Domesday. Estimates of the amount of land that could be put to the plough, was put aside as meadow or pasture, or had been retained as woodland cannot be derived, with any confidence, through the map regression and, therefore, are not compared with these very specific figures in Domesday.

The quantity of anciently enclosed land in Broadclyst parish derived from the fieldscape analysis is 6482 acres, while that calculated from the Domesday record is 5962 (using a 90 acre ploughland). These figures, while acceptable, do not appear to be as satisfactory as those obtained from Poltimore. In Chapter 3, however, it was noted that the size of a ploughland on a demesne just south of Broadclyst parish was recorded at 100 acres in 1362 (Finberg 1969b, 135). If we recalculate the Domesday metric, using a 100 acre ploughland, the parochial result is 6552 acres, which is much closer to the figure derived from the map regression. It is not intended to discuss this apparent difference in the size of a ploughland here, but to await the results from all the case studies and resolve any differences when discussing all the results, in Chapter 9.

Turning to the results of the comparison of acreages at a manorial level, perusal of the results from Broadclyst (Table 4.4), indicates that, with the exception of Eveleigh (discussed below), there is no resemblance between those derived from the analysis and those obtained from the Domesday Book. The only consistent 'result' is that the Domesday figures are always much larger than those from the fieldscape analysis. The reader will, however, remember the discussion in Chapter 3 where it was noted that the only certain measurement that could be derived from Domesday was that of the 'total manor'; that is the sum of the demesne and all the villans' tenements. While the corresponding figure derived from the fieldscape analysis, is a direct regression of the size of a single tithe farm – either arriving at a former demesne or at a villans' tenement. The results of the manorial check recorded at Table 4.4 need to be approached with a degree of caution and, in order to achieve a like for like comparison, we need to identify the 'farms' that were the separate parts of each manor and add their size, computed from the fieldscape analysis, to those of the demesne. The reader will remember, from the discussion of the Domesday population, that most of the early farms which could be identified within Broadclyst, lay on the probable open fields. These farms either started as hamlets, accommodating villans whose plots were part of the open fields, or they were developed after these fields were

enclosed. In either case, they are not considered suitable for use in attempting to reconstitute a manor. There were, however, four farms - South Whimple, Killerton, Churchill and Locksbrook – which were believed to lie outside the open fields, and these would have been suitable candidates, if it had been possible to identify their ‘parent’ manors. The only manor in Broadclyst that had no villans recorded in 1086 was Eveleigh and this is, therefore, the only comparison that may be conducted at a manorial level in this parish. The Domesday metrics for Eveleigh range from 202 acres (60 acre ploughland) to 232 acres (90 acre ploughland), while the acreage derived from the fieldscape analysis is 192 acres, and this is close to the lower Domesday figure. All the results from Poltimore and Broadclyst point to a ploughland size of at least 90 acres, and one is forced to conclude that Eveleigh was one of those manors that saw a contraction in demesne size sometime between 1086 and the tithe assessment; this contraction may have been in the second half of the 13th century (Ugawa 1962, 632-633).

Assuming that a ploughland on the floodplains of the Clyst measured between 90 and 100 acres, the assessment of the amount of core farmland (including open field) derived through map regression in the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore, would appear to be reasonably accurate when measured against the interpretation of the Domesday metrics. In the next sub-section it is intended to discuss the extent to which this mapping may be considered to be a reflection of the landscape *ca.*1086.

Domesday Recovered? (Figure 4.25)

The fieldscape analyses of both Broadclyst and Poltimore suggest that there were probably some open fields in both those parishes, and there is some documentary evidence to support this contention (Finberg 1952, 279). As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a possibility that these were still in existence after *ca.*1500, but the bulk of the evidence from the County suggests that they are more likely to have been enclosed by the 14th century (Finberg 1952; Hoskins 1963; Fox 1972). In this case study there is a strong degree of correlation

between the total acreage of the land that has been identified by the fieldscape analysis as either enclosed fields, open fields or woodland and the total of the interpretation of the Domesday metrics for land that could be put to the plough, meadow, pasture and wood. It was only possible to compare the results for three manors: Poltimore, Cutton and Eveleigh. The results for Poltimore and Cutton were extremely good, while those for Eveleigh may be seen as acceptable.

The palynological evidence from this case study suggests that cereal was being grown around all three pollen traps by the Romano-British period and, in the vicinity of Mosshayne (West Clyst), that mixed farming was practised from that time until *ca.*1750. While the signature from Hellings Park suggests a cereal spike around AD 800, Hawkins believes this date to be rogue and suggests it should be late prehistoric (Hawkins 2005) and, thus, the Mosshayne sequence is the only definite source of data extending into the medieval period, and later. In other case studies, as will be seen, there is an increase in cereal cropping recorded towards the end of the early medieval period, which generally diminishes *ca.* 1500. If such an event had been recorded in any of the Broadclyst sequences it may have been possible to associate that spike with the advent of the putative open field system; in the absence of such data we can merely record the fact that the farming regime appears to have been converted, in part, to an open field system, probably after the Romano-British period and that this probably was enclosed by the 14th century (in conformity with most of Devon).

The probable existence of open fields makes it impossible to trace either the extent of (most of) the associated manors or the villager tenements (farms) following the method proposed by Hoskins, but not after applying the modifications listed in Chapter 3. Settlement dating, provided by EPNS, HER and Listed Buildings tends to start producing results that date to the 13th century and those that can be dated to before AD 1300 have been included on the Domesday map to give more depth to the settlement pattern.

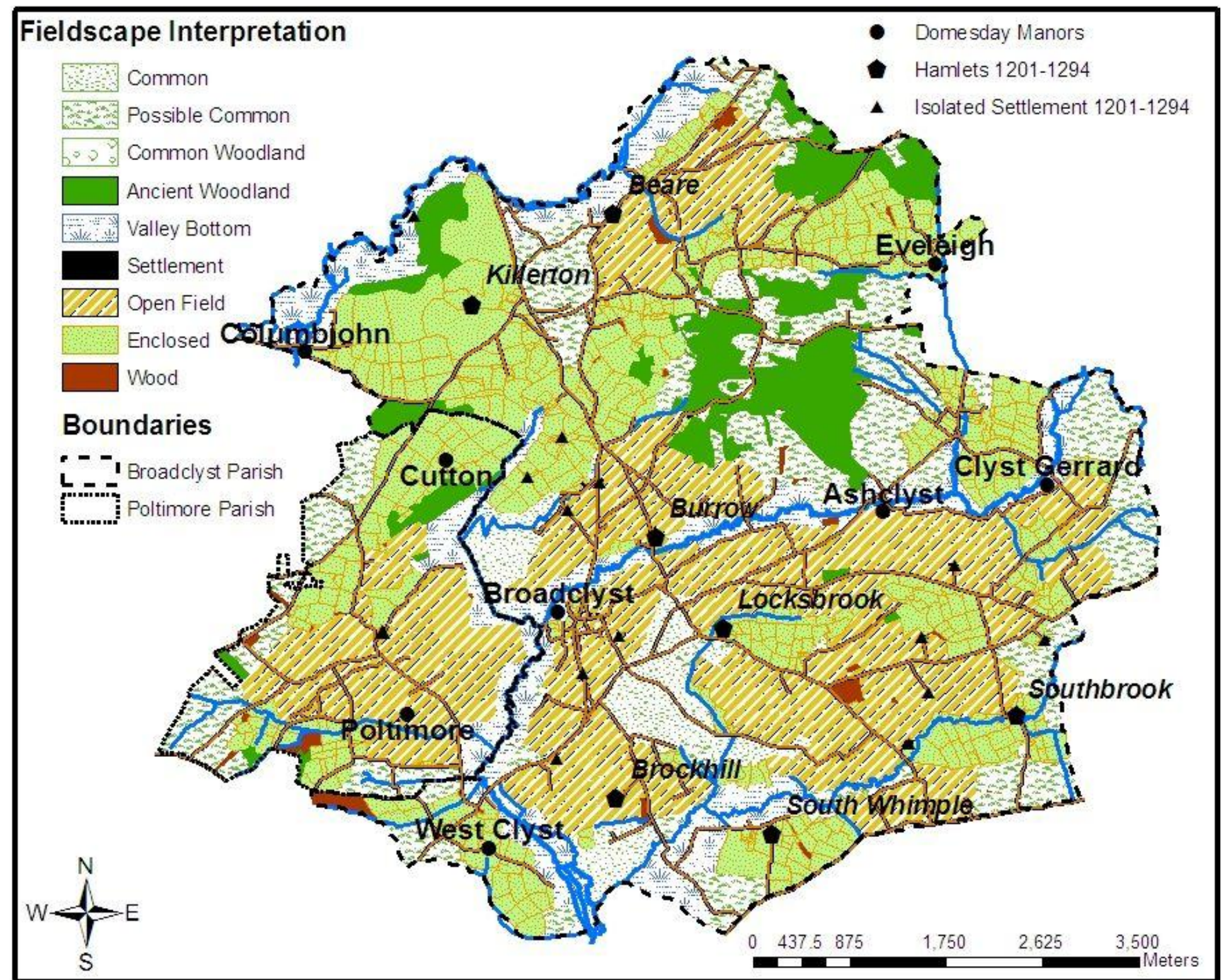


Figure 4.25. A possible representation of Broadclyst and Poltimore ca. 1086. The medieval settlement data comprises the Domesday Manors and settlement known to have existed before 1307, while the road pattern is that recorded on the tithe maps ca.1840 (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

The proposed Domesday map of the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore (Figure 4.25) will be reasonably accurate with regard to the fieldscape, the existence of, but not necessarily siting of, the Domesday manors and a degree of confidence may be placed in the farms previously identified around the periphery of the open fields (see Figure 4.24, in particular, the 'Reichel' sub-manors). The settlement pattern depicted is that known to be in existence by 1291, but this has been derived, in part, through a deconstructive process and does not represent the true extent. Many of the 'farms' shown lie in the probable open field system and may well represent former nucleated hamlets that housed many of the villagers, smallholders and slaves. Equally, those around the periphery probably represent some of the villans tenements, and most of these would probably have been hamlets in 1086. Poltimore manor probably needs to be re-located into the village, near the church. The road pattern dates to ca.1840 and is drawn exclusively from the tithe maps. The road pattern is generally radial in layout and this has been associated with nucleated settlement in Somerset.

Summary

Occupying some of the best farmland in Devon, and given the seeming national imperative to expand cereal production from ca. AD 850, it is not surprising that evidence for 'intensive cropping', in the form of open fields, has been found in the parishes of this case study. Open fields in Devon tend to be the exception rather than the norm and the assumption is made that they were enclosed at an early date (see Chapter 2). Unfortunately, there is only one pollen sequence in this case study that records data from the Middle Ages, and later, and that merely supports the contention that cereal was being grown.

The difficulties inherent in the Domesday calculations have been discussed in Chapter 3, and the original methodology had been to assess each parish against

a maximum size of a ploughland that was set at 120 acres and a minimum of 60 acres, being the normally accepted maxima and minima. It was due to the results from this case study, in particular Poltimore, that the methodology was revised. The evidence strongly suggests that the local size of a ploughland in Poltimore was 90 acres, and in Broadclyst 100 acres, and that this may be associated with the finer, loamy soils of the New Red Sandstone geology: Bridgnorth, Bromsgrove and Whimble 3. Hence the methodology pursued in all case studies assumes that 90 statute acres more closely approximates the maximum size of a Devonian ploughland and that scrutiny of the soils may provide some additional clues for the derivation of a more accurate local size in subsequent case studies.

The radial communications pattern supports the argument in favour of open fields, while the shortage of modern nucleated settlement may support the suggestion that the open fields were enclosed a long time ago. It is interesting to note the way that the farms, and their attendant cottages, have moved out of the hamlets along the roads and this has probably deterred much change to the pattern. In this case study, therefore, it would appear that most of the dispersed settlement pattern conforms to the road system, rather than the other way round.

In this, the first of the case studies, it would appear that it may be possible to identify 'ancient enclosure' that can be associated with the landscape of the 10th-12th centuries. The extent to which future case studies either support or refute this argument will be seen, as will the degree to which they reduce or expand the timeframe. The settlement pattern, however, is unlikely to improve beyond a minimal assessment, which can be dated to the 13th century, a date that appears to be limited both by the provenance of early records and by the survival of old vernacular buildings (the 'oldest' standing building in Devon will be encountered in Case Study III, in Stockland). With time, it may be possible to increase the known extent of medieval settlement, through fieldwork both at

possible sites that may be identified from aerial photography and those that have field-names indicative of possible settlement. The next two case studies will continue the search for ancient fieldscapes and settlement patterns by running a transect to the east of Broadclyst, to look at the slopes of the Blackdown Hills (Case Study II) and then the land on the top of those hills (Case Study III).

5

Case Study II: Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme

'The air is sharp, yet healthful, giving appetite both to labour and rest, drawing out man's life longer than those which live in countries subject to fogs and vapours.'

(Risdon ca. 1640, 3).

Introduction

Moving away from Broadclyst, Poltimore and the floodplains of the Clyst, we head north-east, initially skirting the River Culm before arriving at the western scarps of the Blackdown Hills, and thence onto their plateaux (Figure 5.1). The two larger parishes of the second case study, Kentisbeare and Uffculme, are spread across a variety of landscapes: from the floodplains of the Culm, up the slopes to the foothills of the scarp, which forms the western side of the Blackdown Hills and, thence, onto the tops of those hills. Nestling at the top of the scarp, and lying in-between the two parishes, we find the ecclesiastical parish of Blackborough¹⁰, which has become the third parish in this study.

Conceptually, this case study was to cover the parishes of Kentisbeare and Uffculme, but it is very timely that this, only the second study to be presented, should include three anomalies, two of which are relatively common, but the third

¹⁰ Now part of Kentisbeare civil parish.

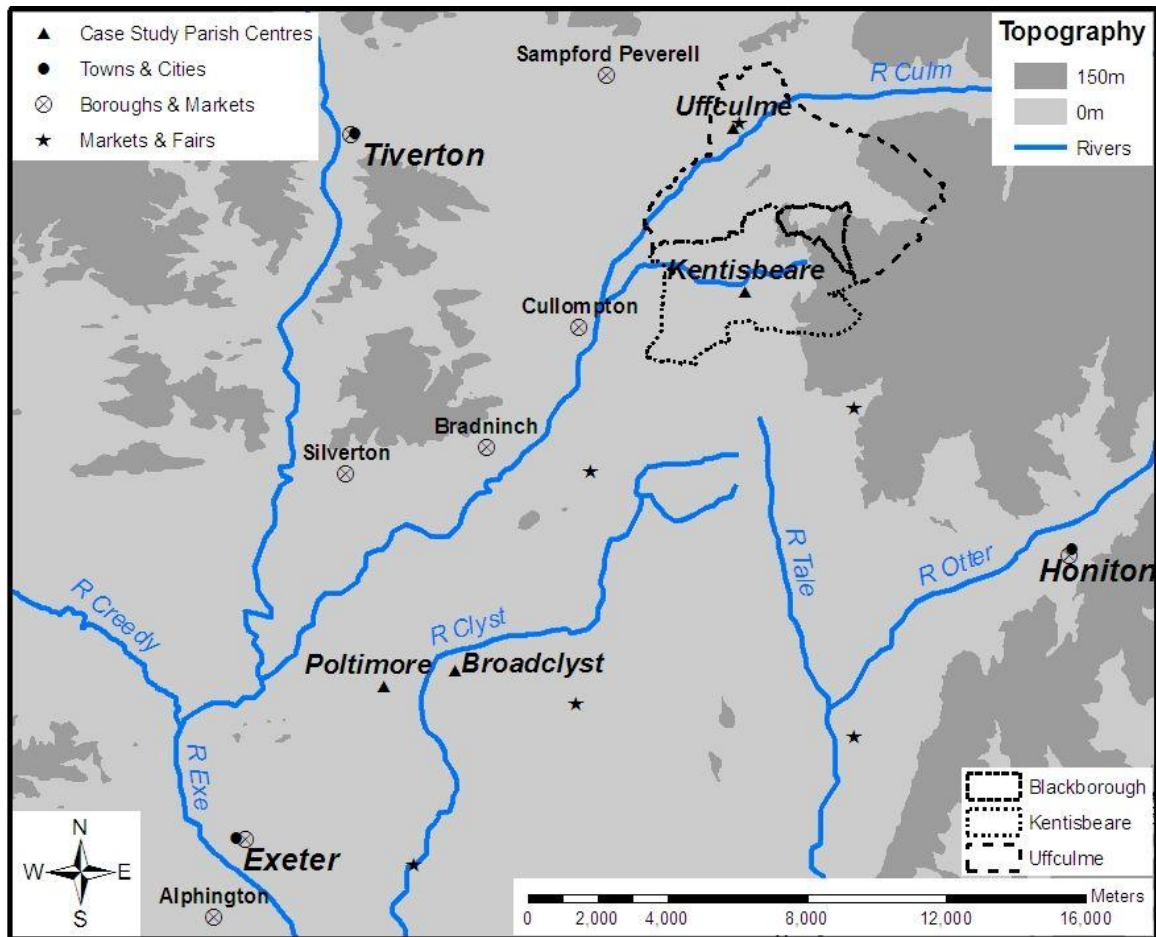


Figure 5.1. The parishes of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme lie to one side of the Culm floodplain and extend up onto the western scarps of the Blackdown Hills. Exeter is 20km to the south-west, across the broad floodplain created by the Exe, the Culm and the Clyst (boroughs after Beresford & Finberg 1973, markets after Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs 2010).

is not. The first of these anomalies lies in the fact that the present parish of Kentisbeare includes the historic parish of Blackborough, which had been an independent parish until the mid-19th century (Kain *et al.* 2004, 59), and which, therefore, had its own tithe records. Staying in Kentisbeare, this parish also included a detached portion of Cullompton ca.1840 (Henland Farm), which also has now been incorporated into the modern parish. It is Uffculme, however, that contains the most unusual anomaly; the lands belonging to Richard Hurley ca. 1840 were accorded both their own tithe apportionment and tithe map, despite being intermixed with the rest of the parish, as they were considered to represent a 'separate tithe district' (Kain & Oliver, 1995, 142). To obtain a complete 'picture'

of the parishes of this case study, it was necessary, therefore, to consult no fewer than five separate tithe maps and apportionments. It was discovered also, that there is a second, contiguous part of the modern parish of Cullompton that formed part of the Manor of Kentisbeare and this has been included in the data capture from Cullompton. The Domesday data for Blackborough, on the other hand, was difficult to place solely in that parish and there appears to have been some 'cross-border' mixing of estates with Kentisbeare.

This is the only case study that does not have data from a local pollen sequence to support the analysis. In order to address this deficit, we will be using some regional pollen analyses, including those from Broadclyst. The decision to include an analysis of these parishes, in the absence of palynological data, was based upon a desire to investigate the nature of the landscape of some of those parishes that occupy the ground in between the flat floodplains, to the west, and the hill-tops to the east. Previous work in Kentisbeare (Sandover 2008) made this an ideal choice as one of the parishes for this case study, which has been 'twinned' with Uffculme just to the north, and their topography is discussed in the next section.

Natural Environment

Topography

The parishes of Kentisbeare and Uffculme stretch from the floodplains of the Culm to the top of the western scarp of the Blackdown Hills, where they encompass the former parish of Blackborough (Figure 5.2). A transect across the southern edge of Kentisbeare records the largest height differential, from a nadir of 55m to a zenith at 283m OD in the space of 5.5km, nominally a slope of 4%. In practice, leaving the floodplain of the Culm, which is narrow at Uffculme

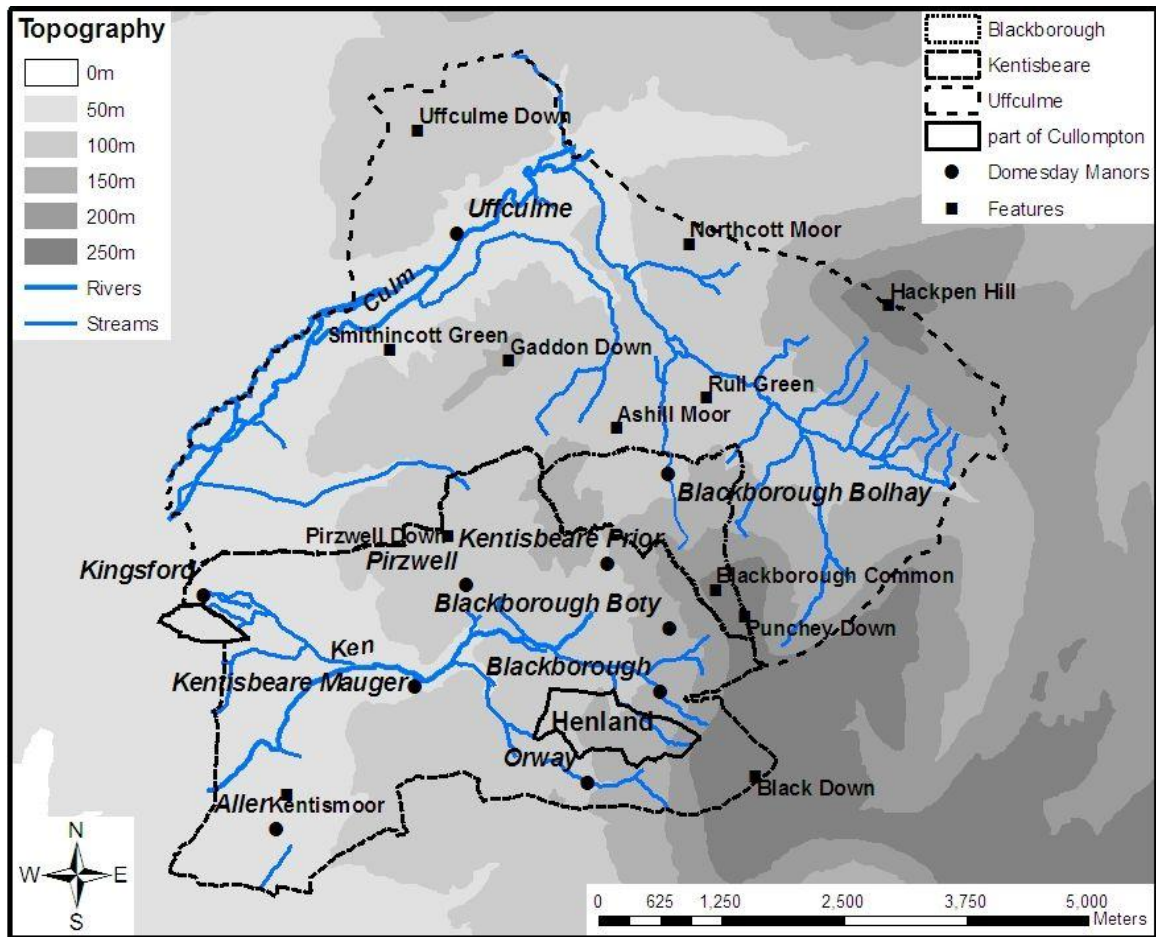


Figure 5.2. The topography of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. The important rôle played by the Culm and its tributaries (which include the Ken) in shaping the landscape of the western side of the Blackdown Hills, is very evident.

(Figure 5.3), one seems to ascend through a series of plateaux that are connected by short climbs that pass through hollow-ways, until the final, steeper ascent to the top of the westernmost outlier of the Blackdowns (Figure 5.4).

The River Culm, flowing from the north-east through Uffculme, provides drainage for the entire parish, either directly or through three tributary valleys, while the River Ken (an eventual tributary of the Culm) provides a similar service in Kentisbeare. Blackborough, occupying a spur of the Blackdown Hills, generally drains via a series of small streams and brooks ultimately into the Culm. Today the land of the parishes is put to both grassland and crop cultivation, with no seeming differentiation between the higher and lower ground, although the valley



Figure 5.3. View north, across the floodplain, towards Uffculme (Sandover).



Figure 5.4. View from Stowford Water west, towards the scarp at Blackborough (Sandover).

bottoms appear to be exclusively meadowland. There is a visible dearth of woodland, except along the steep scarp (Figure 5.4) and on Blackborough Common, but this may have been compensated by an abundance of trees along the sides of the hollow-ways and in the hedgebanks.

Geology (Figure 5.5)

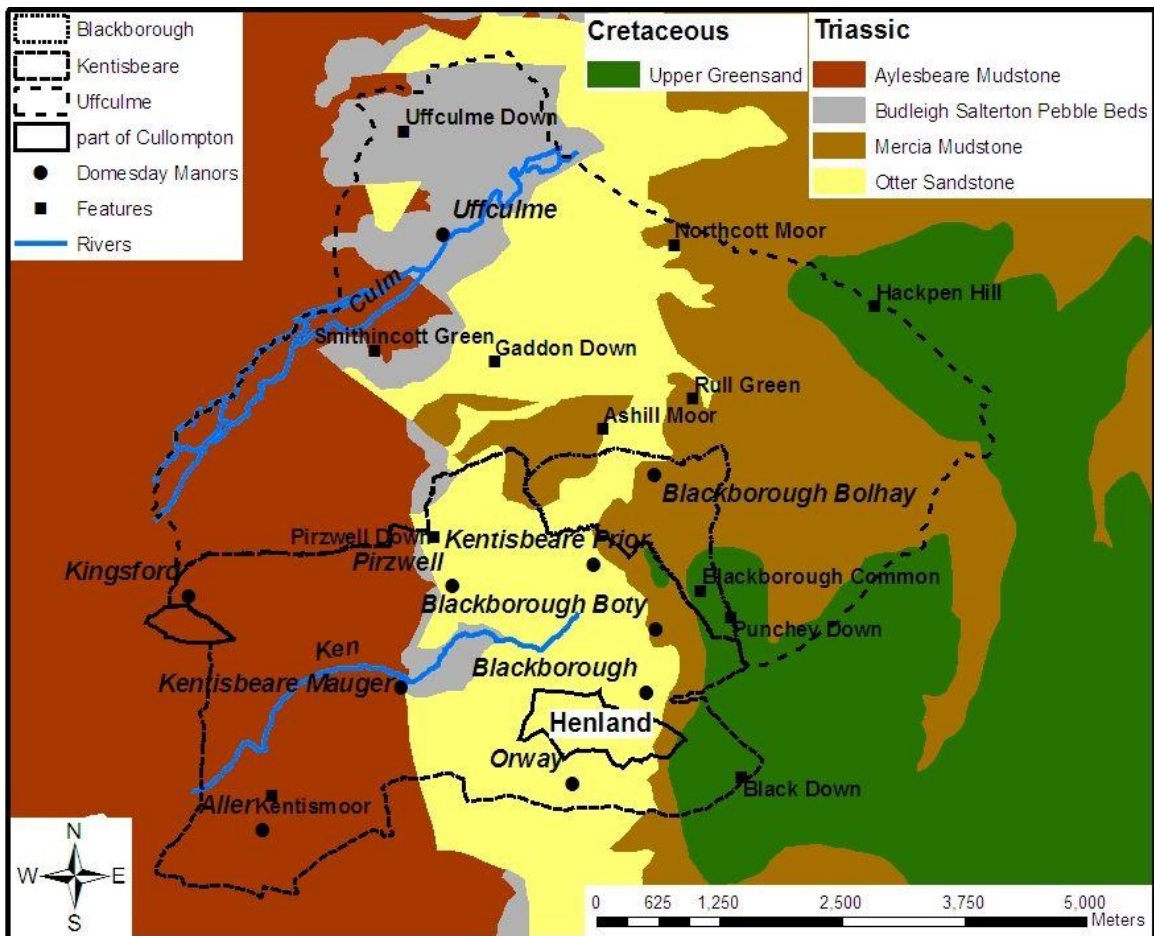


Figure 5.5. The geology of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme is dominated by formations from the Triassic. Aylesbeare Mudstone in the west and Mercia Mudstone in the west are separated by a mixed band of Otter Sandstone and Budleigh Salterton Pebble Beds. Along the eastern edge of the study area the younger rocks of the Cretaceous Upper Greensand form the Blackdown Hills (after British Geological Survey Mapping 2010).

In the first case study it was possible to trace the underlying geological history of the region, through the different rocks of the New Red Sandstone, which became progressively younger as we moved to the east, from the Permian Exeter Group to the Triassic Aylesbeare Group. In this case study we continue to follow this history and the rocks continue to become younger. As we track further eastwards the Triassic rocks of the Aylesbeare Mudstone become overlaid by a band that contains the Otterton Sandstone and Budleigh Salterton Pebble Beds and these, in turn, underlie the Mercian Mudstone that, in this region, marks the end of the New Red Sandstone. In the extreme east of the case study area we encounter the, even younger, Cretaceous rocks of the Upper Greensand that dominate the Blackdown Hills, except where the rivers have carved their way down to the mudstones of the Triassic (Durrance & Laming 1982, 148-165; British Geological Survey Maps 2010).

The rocks of the New Red Sandstone, responsible for the red soil that characterises much of Devon, produced, generally, good soils in the last case study area and the same is true in Kentisbeare and Uffculme. In the central portion of these two parishes there is a distinctive 'stripe' of Otter Sandstone and Pebble Beds that runs northwards from the south coast of the county almost to the Bristol Channel which, in this case study, appears to support the best soil. The next sub-section discusses this soil in more detail.

Soil (Figure 5.6)

The soils of the tops of the Blackdown Hills are exclusively of the Batcombe and Dunkeswell types, while the remaining soils appear to populate the lower levels according to a complex relationship between topography, climate and bedrock, with the exception of Hollington which occurs in the valley bottoms and Hense which appears associated with the run-off from the Blackdown Hills. The soil characteristics are listed in Table 5.1, where it can be seen that the majority of

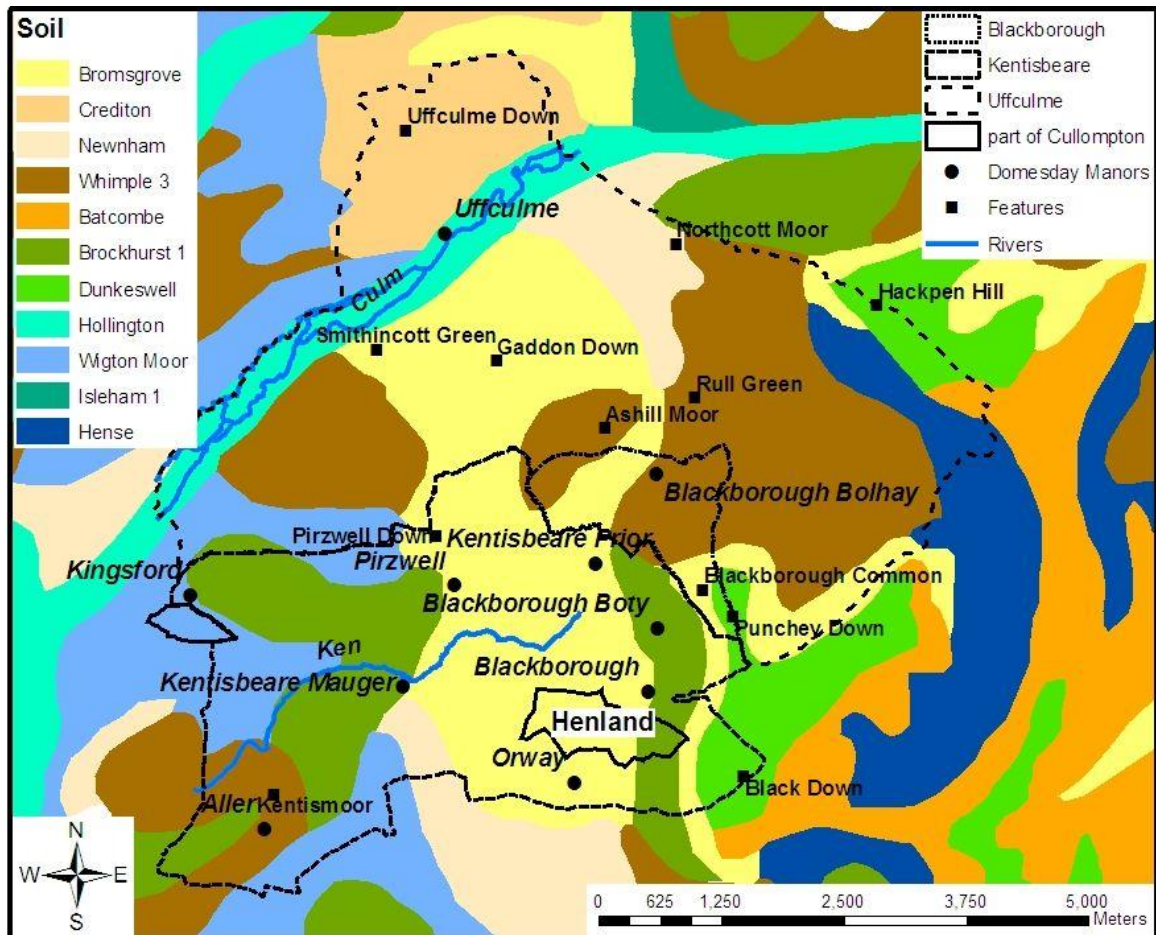


Figure 5.6. The soils of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. The soil reflects a complex relationship between geology, topography and climate. Generally the soil of the study area will support agriculture, though Conway, Isleham 1 and Hense have severe limitations due to waterlogging (after Soil Survey 1983).

the land will support cereals and grass, except for Hollington and Wigton Moor (grass only) and Isleham 1 and Hense (woodland and occasional grass). As discussed in the section on geology, it appears that the best soils - Bromsgrove, Crediton and Newnham – occur generally, but not exclusively, upon the Otter Sandstone and Pebble Beds ‘stripe’ that runs north/south through the central area.

The better soil encountered in this case study matches that found on the broader floodplains of Broadclyst and Poltimore. The spread of this soil, however, is not as extensive and there is a greater percentage of ‘poorer’ soil that is affected by

**Table 5.1. The soils of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme (Figure 5.6)
(extract from Soil Survey 1983, Index).**

Name	Character	Agriculture	Location
Bromsgrove	Well drained reddish coarse loamy soil	Cereal, fruit, vegetables and grassland	Valley side
Crediton	Well drained gritty reddish loamy soils over breccia, locally less stony	Dairying, stock rearing, cereals and roots	Valley side
Newnham	Well drained reddish coarse and fine loamy soils over gravel	Cereals and some fruit. Grassland in SW	Valley side
Whimble 3	Reddish, seasonally waterlogged, fine loamy soil	Winter cereals, stock rearing and dairying	Valley side
Batcombe	Fine silty soil, slight seasonal waterlogging	Cereals and dairying	Ridge-top
Brockhurst 1	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged reddish fine loamy over clayey soils	Winter cereals and short term grassland, some dairying and stock rearing	Higher valley sides
Dunkeswell	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged fine silty over clayey soils, some with a humose surface horizon	Dairying on short term and permanent grassland, cereals, some coniferous woodland and wet heath	Ridge-top
Hollington	Deep stoneless reddish fine silty and clayey soils, variably affected by groundwater	Stock rearing on permanent grassland	Valley bottom
Wigton Moor	Permeable fine and coarse loamy soils variably affected by groundwater	Cereals, sugar beet and potatoes, some grassland	Generally flat ground low on the valley side

Isleham 1	Deep permeable sandy soils with a humose or peaty surface horizon affected by groundwater	Wet lowland heath and bog habitats. Some coniferous woodland	Flat ground low on the valley side Only found to the north of the area of interest
Hense	Permeable coarse loamy soils mainly with a humose or peaty surface horizon, affected by groundwater	Wetland, woodland and wet moorland habitats, some coniferous woodland and improved grassland	River courses on higher ground

either waterlogging or groundwater. It will be interesting to see how this affects both land-use *ca.* 1840 and the calculations regarding ploughlands in this case study. In the next section we will investigate the local land-use history.

Land-use History

Following the previous discussion about soil quality we start this section by looking at the land-use recorded by the Tithe Commission *ca.* 1840. This is followed by a brief discussion of the two other sources of environmental history used in this thesis: the pollen sequences and the extent of ancient woodland.

Land - use *ca.* 1840 (Figure 5.7)

By looking at a map of the land-use recorded by the Tithe Commissioners *ca.* 1840, we are gaining some insight into the quality of the soil some 150 years before the Soil Survey. The apparent 'dominance' of arable fields must be treated with caution as, under a convertible husbandry farming regime, only about 25% of the land will have been cropped at any one time, while the bulk of the fields will have provided the good pasture necessary to support the pastoral element of mixed farming (Stanes 2005, 64). The quantity of land that was declared as being suitable for cropping is, nevertheless, impressive and mirrors the generally

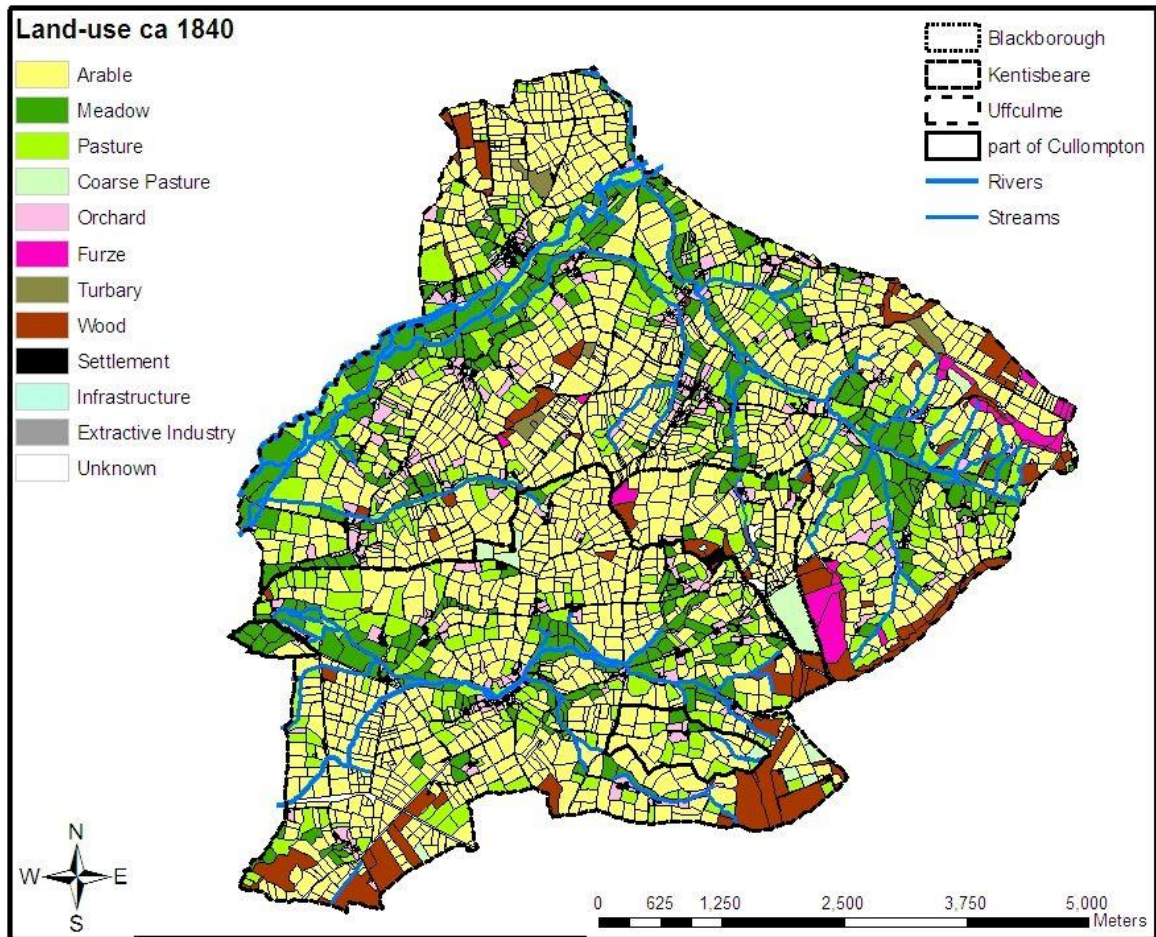


Figure 5.7. Land-use in Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme ca. 1840. The valley bottoms were given over, almost exclusively, to meadow and pasture. Cereal crops could be grown 'everywhere' else, with the exception of parts of the higher ground, where some furze and peat cutting were still to be found. Apart from some woods along the southern boundaries there was not a lot of woodland to be found in the case study area at the time of the Tithe Commission.

good quality of soil identified above. It may be possible to detect a small difference between the tithe land-use recorded in Broadclyst and Poltimore (Figure 4.6) and that recorded in this case study. In Kentisbeare and Uffculme there appears to be a greater concentration of meadowland along the river courses, while the 'arable' seems to be more set-back from the immediate valley bottom. We turn now to a review of the regional pollen sources to see how this land-use may have varied with time.

Pollen Sequences

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are 18 pollen sequences, taken from lowland sites, which could have been used to support the case studies of this thesis. This case study, however, covers parishes in which there is not even a single 'local' sequence to inform the regression process. This is due to a desire to investigate parishes on the slopes, between the broad floodplains of the Exe and its tributaries, and the tops of the Blackdown Hills, for which there were no sequences available. Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme lie on these slopes, and are conveniently located between the pollen sites of Broadclyst (Chapter 4), around 15km to the south-west (Figure 5.1), and a group of four sites, on the Blackdown Hills, also analysed by Hawkins (2005), that are about 10km to the east (Figure 5.8). After a short review of the Broadclyst data we will investigate the analyses of the four 'Blackdowns' sites.

The sites around Broadclyst (Figure 4.7) have been discussed in detail and may be summarised as follows. Woodland clearance was complete by the end of the Romano-British period, resulting in a predominantly pastoral signature with some cereal present. Hawkins assesses that cereal was being grown on the higher ground around the Mosshayne site, and reports a signature consistent with this mixed farming until *ca.* 1750-1800 (Hawkins 2005, 120-220).

The four sites on the Blackdowns that are providing further regional information are at: Bolham, Middleton, Bywood and Greenway. The pollen trap at Bolham is situated in a valley bottom mire, at a similar height to most of Kentisbeare and Uffculme but, unfortunately there is an hiatus between the Iron Age and the end of the early medieval period, during which time no pollen has survived. From AD 1020 the pollen sequence records the presence of pasture, wet meadow and some wood and there was a period of woodland regeneration between 1455 and 1675, before further clearance *ca.* 1800. Hawkins (2005, 98-99) reports no cereal

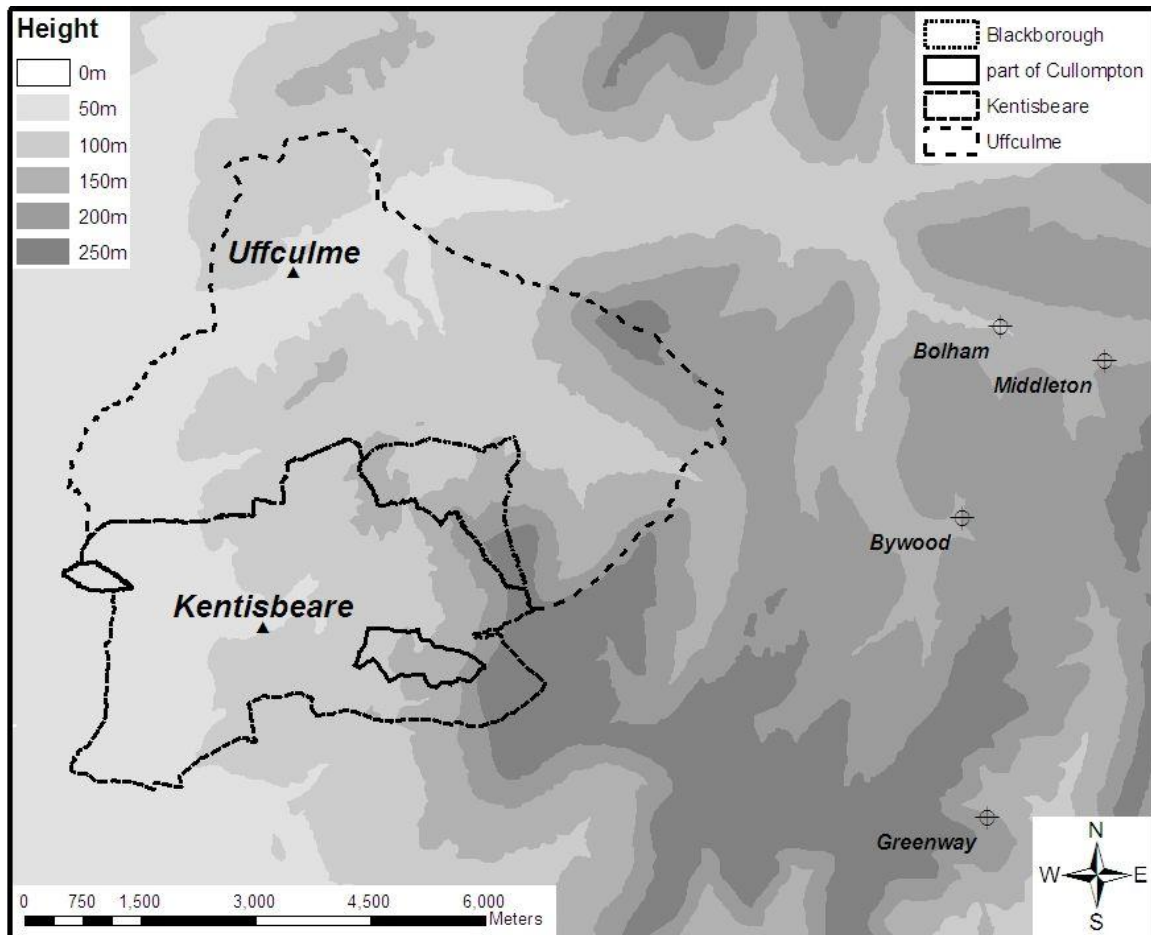


Figure 5.8. Pollen sequences from the Blackdown Hills. These lie to the east of Kentisbeare and Uffculme, at a distance of about 10km.

in this sequence. The history of the flora recorded at both Bywood and Greenway is very similar and after woodland clearance both sites were open pastoral, with a small, continuous cereal component that lasted until ca. 1800. Only the dates of the clearance vary at these sites; Bywood saw clearance in the Mid-Late Iron Age, with the cereal curve starting ca. 200 BC, while at Greenway the woodland was removed earlier, 1360-970 BC, and cereal was present from that event (Hawkins 2005, 65-69 & 76-78). While there are parallels between the signatures at Greenway and Bywood and those from Broadclyst, in particular Mosshayne, wherein all three sites record a small amount of cereal being grown within a pastoral landscape until ca. 1750-1800, the sequence from Middleton is different. Here woodland appears to have been cleared 'just before' AD 620-880, creating an open landscape of pasture and meadow; cereal 'kicks in' after AD 860-1160,

ceasing around AD1270-1430. The sequence from Middleton may be interpreted as late clearance of woodland, creating some rough pasture 'outfield' that was cropped occasionally between ca. AD 860 and 1430 (Hawkins 2005, 79-88).

In summary, the majority of the sites discussed here have evidence of woodland clearance during the late prehistoric, with a predominantly pastoral signature, but accompanied by a low level of cereal pollen. Those sites whose sequence continues into the historic period show this mixed farming continuing until ca. 1800. There are two sites that are markedly different. At Middleton the signature shows clearance at a later date, followed by a pastoral signature throughout, except for the incidence of cereal pollen between ca. AD 860 and 1430. This is more suggestive of outfield being brought into cultivation. The other 'different' site is at Bolham where the signature is a mix of pastoral and woodland throughout.

The similarity between the one site in Broadclyst that includes a 'modern' signature, Mosshayne, and two of the sites to the east of this case study area, Bywood and Greenway, in which all three show low levels of cereal cultivation throughout most of the historic period, may be the best indicator of events in the parishes of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. The parishes, however, lie well beyond the catchment area for any of the sites, and any attempt to use the data as anything more than a general indicator of the flora in those parishes, must be treated with a degree of caution.

Ancient Woodland

A general lack of woods within the three parishes has already been noted and, perhaps, it should not be a surprise to discover that Natural England do not record very much ancient woodland in Blackborough and Kentisbeare, and none at all in Uffculme (Figure 5.9). Wood was an important resource until modern times and it is probable, therefore, that this apparent dearth of woods will have been compensated by careful management of the trees that line the hedgebanks,

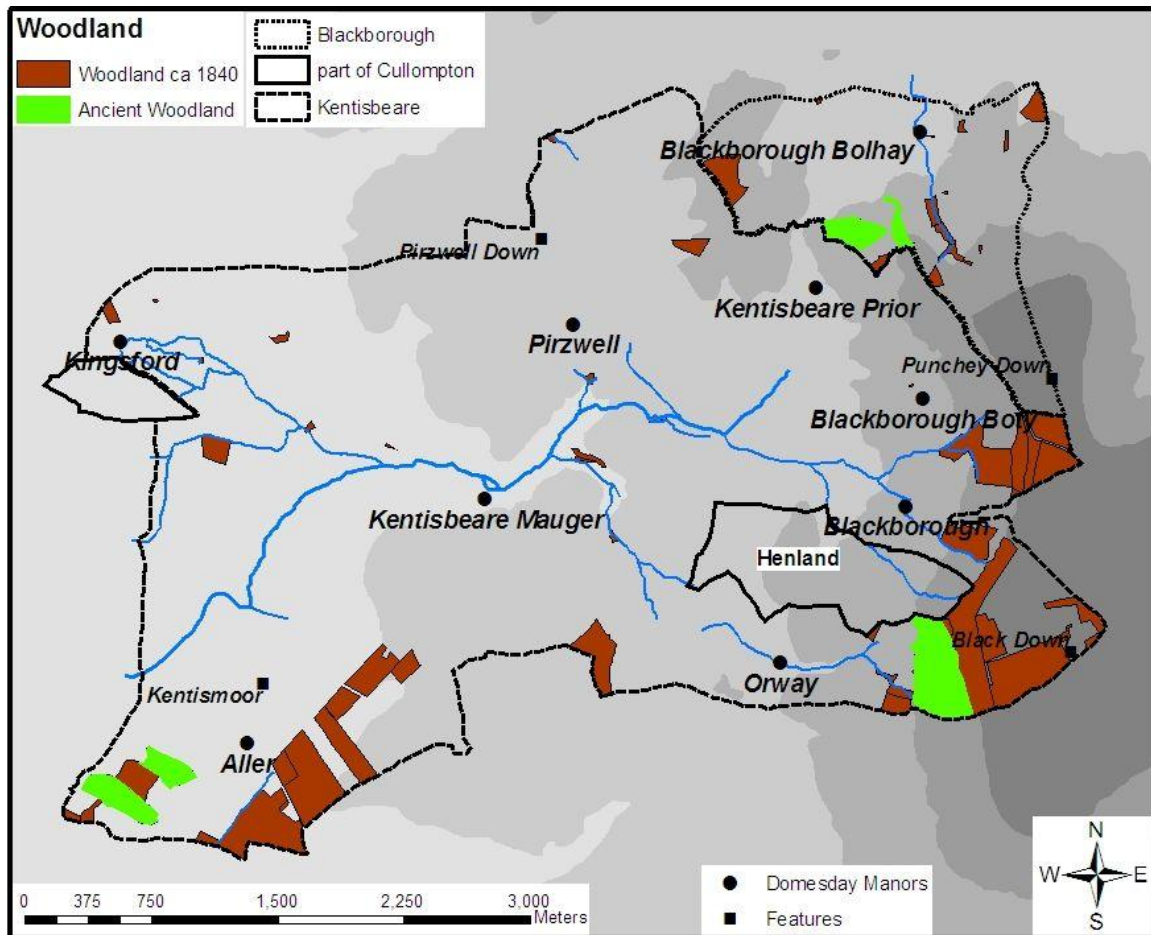


Figure 5.9 The woodland in Kentisbeare and Blackborough recorded ca. 1840 overlain by the woodland identified by Natural England as ‘ancient’ – that is wood that has been in existence since AD 1600. Uffculme is not shown here as there is no ‘ancient’ woodland recorded in that parish (after MAGIC 2010).

cluster around the hollow-ways and stand on the scarp of the hills. The three pollen sequences selected above – Mosshayne, Greenway and Bywood – as probably being most representative of the floral history of the parishes of this case study, certainly support a lack of woodland. It could be argued that the morphology of the tithe woodland just east of Aller and on Black Down (both Kentisbeare) is suggestive of modern enclosure being put to woodland and this may be suggestive of ‘modern’ attempts to redress the balance.

Having reviewed the land-use history of the three parishes – Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme – we will now look at the parochial history. This next

section will follow the same pattern that it did in the last case study, an investigation of the settlement history, and then a look at the histories of land-ownership and occupancy, which will be followed by the fieldscape analysis.

Parochial History

In this section, it is intended to review the settlement patterns and land ownership and occupancy record of the three parishes, before conducting the map regression. The product of this section – the map of the core farmland – will then be compared with the Domesday data in the next section. We start with the settlement and road patterns.

Settlement and Communications

The problem with any map regression technique is that it is very easy to strip away data, following a repeatable methodology, but it is not as simple to identify and replace missing features, in particular deserted settlements. With this in mind, the first step towards establishing past settlement patterns, in all the case studies, has been to look at possible identifiers of deserted settlement that can be discerned in the mapping, thereby possibly generating some add-back to the putative early settlement data.

Settlement Indicative Field-names (Figures 5.10 & 5.11)

Before proceeding to establish a time depth for the settlement of the parishes, it is intended to review the field-name elements that may indicate deserted locations. The list of possible settlement indicative field-names at Table 3.4 has been drawn from a variety of sources and has two regionally significant additions: haye and hayne. Fox (1972, 89) states that many of the farms that originated in the 11th to 13th centuries in East Devon have either a 'haye' or 'hayne' name, associated with a medieval English personal name.

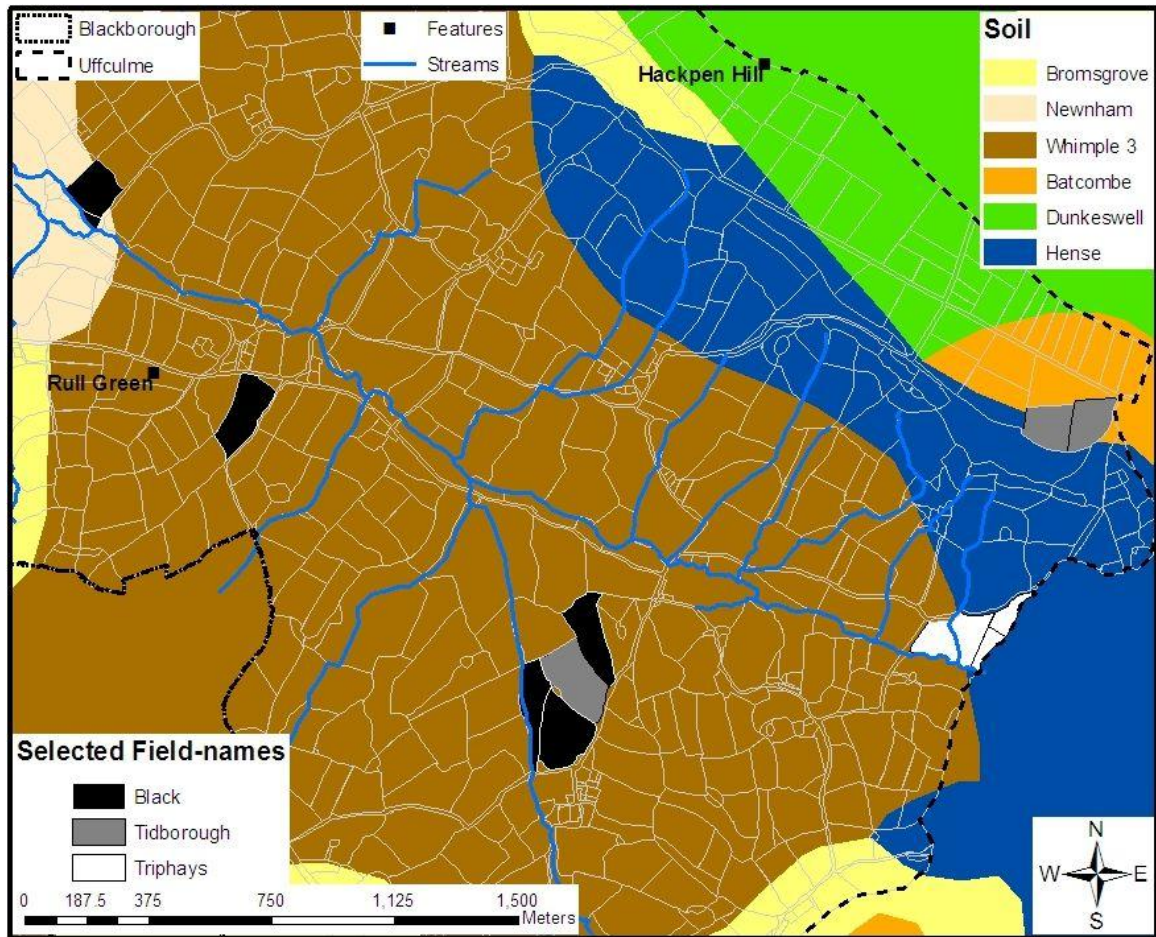


Figure 5.10. Field-names in east Uffculme that may be indicative of deserted settlement. Black names may be associated with black soil/peat or black occupation layers, while hayes/hayne and bury/borough names may be settlement indicative (after Soil Survey 1983).

On the eastern corner of Uffculme (Figure 5.10) there are three fields whose names contain the name element 'hays' and these may be associated with the 'hayes' or 'hayne' settlement indicative names discussed by Fox. In this instance the field-name occurs as 'Triphays', but since there is no corroborative documentary evidence and neither the field morphologies, nor the RAF post-war overhead aerial photographs show anything of interest in the area, these are not considered further. Close to the 'Triphays' fields there are three fields whose names all contain the name 'Tidborough', two to the north and one to the west. Tidborough is not necessarily a settlement indicative name but was considered to be worth investigating in this case study, especially since the singleton

'Tidborough' field is surrounded by three fields whose field-names contain the name element 'Black'. All of these 'Black' fields are situated on soil that is prone to seasonal waterlogging (Whimble 3), and two of them are also next to a stream, that may be liable to flooding. In the absence of any documentary or photographic evidence to support 'Tidborough', it has been decided not to take this possible settlement forward, although further fieldwork in this area may be productive. Finally, on this figure, there are a further three fields whose names contain the name-element 'Black'. Once again, one of these is located on soil liable to being seasonally waterlogged (Whimble 3), while the other two are located next to a watercourse; in the absence of any further evidence none of these fields are considered further.

Kentisbeare also has a collection of 'Black' fields (Figure 5.11), seven in the west of the parish (plus one in Uffculme) and two in the east (one of these in Henland), at the foot of the scarp of the Blackdown Hills. All are situated on soil that is either recorded as affected by groundwater (Wigton Moor) or is seasonally waterlogged (Whimble 3 or Brockhurst 1). None of these fields are considered further. There is another field in Henland whose name - 'Great and Little Stanbury' - contains the possible settlement indicative field-name element 'bury', but in the absence of any supporting evidence from any other source this is not considered further. Finally, there are six collocated fields just to the north-east of Kingsford Manor whose names all contain the regionally significant settlement indicative field-name 'hays' or 'hayes': Lower Cats Hays and Pit Cats Hayes for example. *Catteshedge* is listed in the *Testa de Nevill*, which is dated 1240 (Whale 1898, 232), and it can be associated with the 'Catshays' fields in Kentisbeare (Chalk 1910a, 336). The early date of this record permits us to add Catshays to the medieval settlement pattern of Kentisbeare, but not the later one that is dated ca.1750.

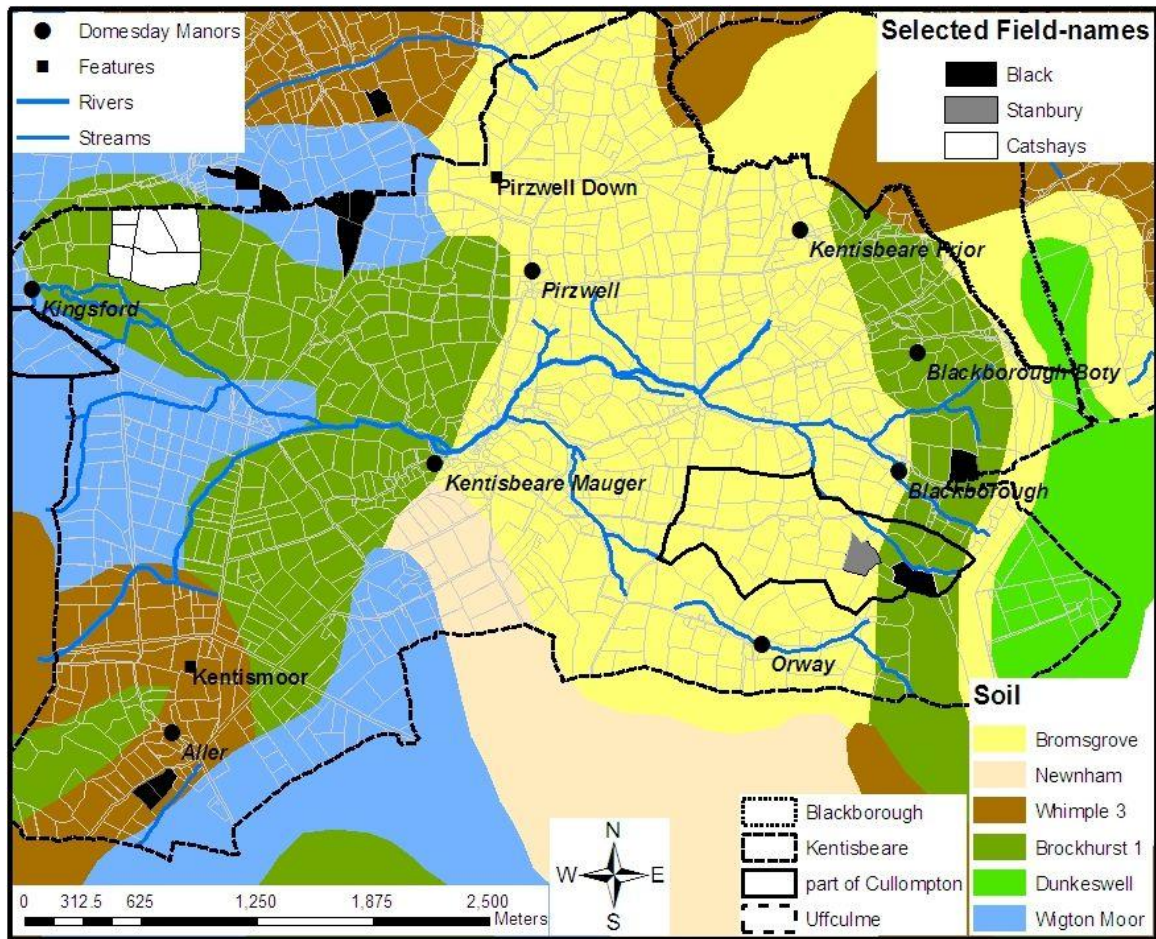


Figure 5.11. Field-names in Kentisbeare that may be considered to have settlement indicative elements. The 'Black' fields all lie on soil that is affected by water, either groundwater or seasonal waterlogging. Catshays, in the north-west corner has supporting documentary evidence and will be included in the appropriate settlement pattern (after Soil Survey 1983).

All of the above fields may be worthy of investigative fieldwork but, in the absence of any such investigation, Catshays (*Cattesheghe*) is considered to be the only settlement indicative field-name that has sufficient evidence, to warrant inclusion in this study. The settlement pattern, derived exclusively from the tithe data (with the addition of Catshays, as appropriate), is discussed in the next subsection.

Settlement Pattern

In this sub-section it is intended to present the settlement pattern in Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme ca. 1840, and then to step back to a map ca. 1750, before regressing to a map representing just the medieval data. Settlement dating may be drawn from three different types of source. Names, especially those listed by the English Places Names Society (Gover *et al.*1932), who draw upon documentary sources, and identify the earliest, recorded date by which it may be possible to date the existence of a settlement (but not necessarily its location). Vernacular building dating, as recorded in the HER and Listed Buildings Online, identifies the possible date of construction of a building on that site (but not necessarily its original name) while, finally, evidence drawn from field-names should be seen as speculative on most counts. All four sources have been used to create the settlement data discussed below.

The communications pattern is an important adjunct to that of the settlement, and has been shown on all the maps. There is an early road map of Kentisbeare, dated 1769 (DRO/3223A add 2/PS4 1769), that can be used to establish the earlier road pattern in that parish, but the surveys associated with the Inclosure Awards in Kentisbeare and Uffculme, both dated before 1840, only permit minor alterations to the road pattern of the earlier maps, as does Donn's map of 1765.

Settlement and roads ca.1840

Figures 5.12 (Kentisbeare and Blackborough) and 5.13 (Uffculme) are drawn exclusively from the data presented in the tithe apportionments and associated maps of the various parishes. It is possible to identify several areas of nucleated settlement that were present at that time, many of which comprised two or three nearby farms, but most were a mixture of houses and cottages; the cottages may have been farm labourers' dwellings associated with the farms. The probable location of the Domesday Manors (discussed below) has been overlaid, and creates an interesting synergy with many of the early Victorian nucleations that

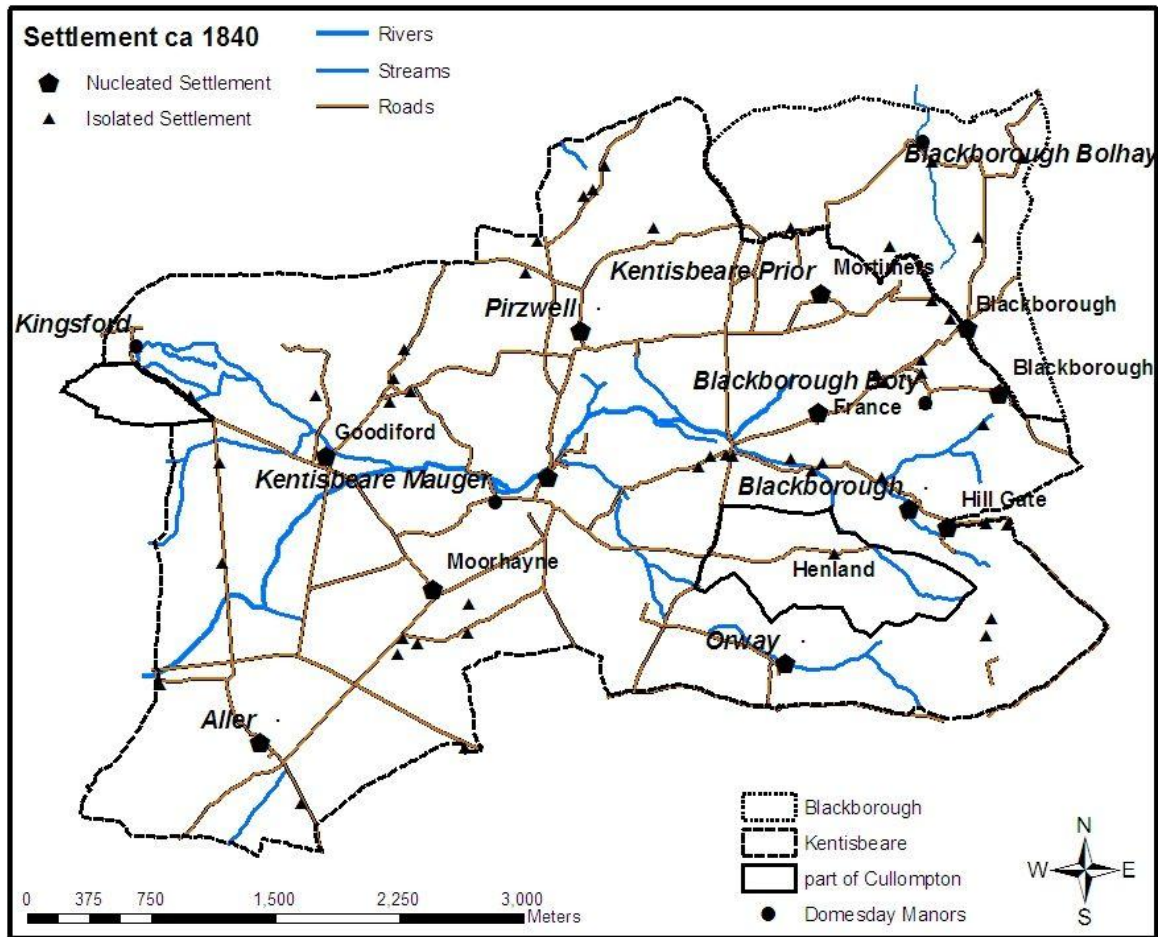


Figure 5.12. The settlement pattern of Blackborough and Kentisbeare ca. 1840, showing all dwellings. Many of the nucleated settlements are collocated with the probable sites of the Domesday manors, and where this occurs only the manor is named. The road pattern is drawn exclusively from the tithe maps.

have been identified; this is a theme that will be reviewed through the map regression. It should be noted that two of the nominal 'Blackborough' Manors – Blackborough and Blackborough Boty – are believed to have been located in Kentisbeare.

Settlement and roads ca.1750

The Act of Parliament enclosing Kentismoor (DRO/Inclosure 50) was awarded in 1804 and the associated survey (1826) clearly outlines both the field boundaries and the positions of the 'new' roads. A similar inclosure award for several pieces of common land in Uffculme (DRO/Inclosure 76) also identifies a small number of

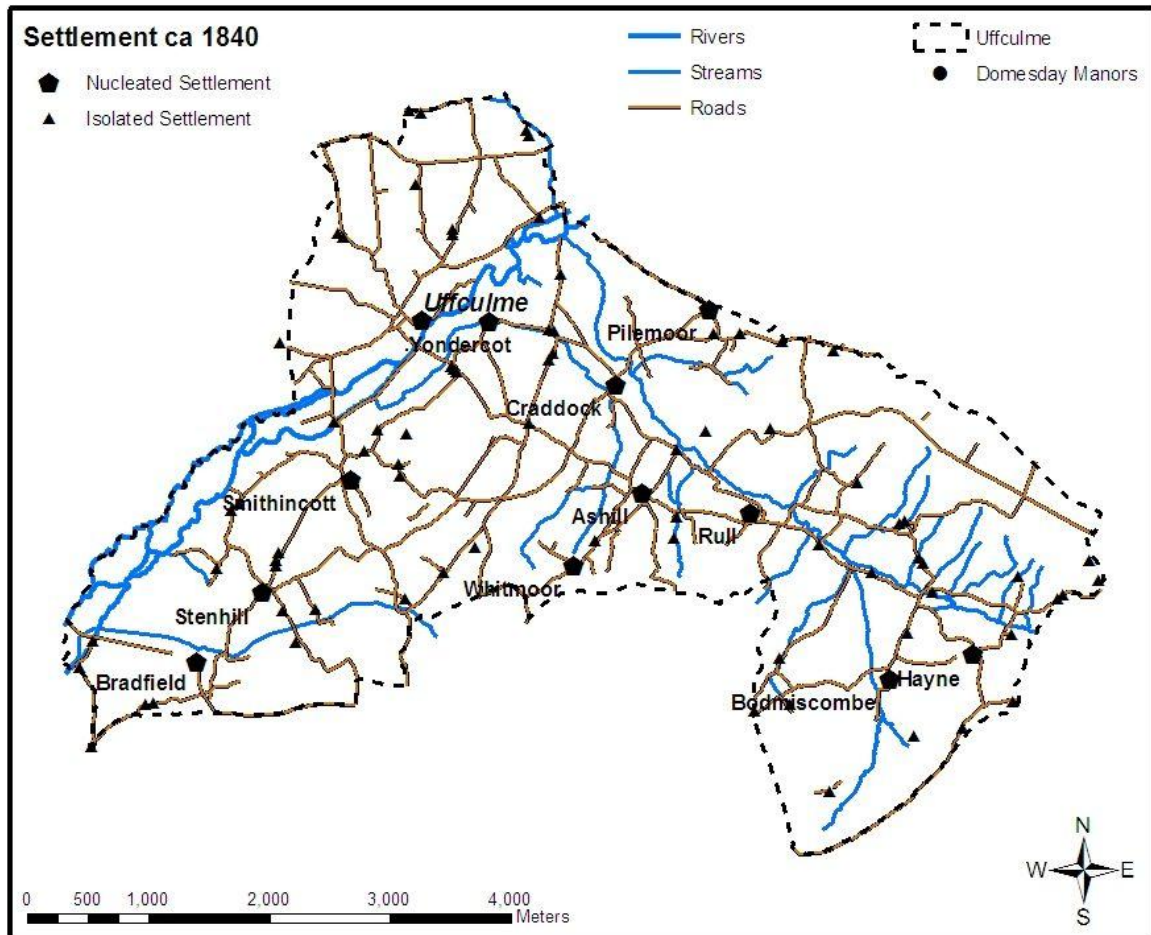


Figure 5.13. The settlement pattern of Uffculme ca. 1840, showing all dwellings. Uffculme, containing the only Domesday Manor in the parish, was a significant town by the time of the tithe assessment and had spread to include neighbouring Coldharbour (see Figure 5.15). The road pattern is drawn exclusively from the tithe maps.

'new' roads. There is an early map of the roads in Kentisbeare (DRO/3223A add 2/PS4 1769) that shows that there was very little change in the road layout of the parish between 1769 and ca. 1840, with the exception of the roads on Kentismoor (Figure 5.14). Donn's map of 1765 allows some degree of importance to be placed upon some of the roads, presumably facilitating the separation of regionally important roads from those that were just 'local lanes' (Donn 1965, Figures 3b & 7a). All the changes to the communications pattern, that have been identified, have been included on the proposed map ca. 1750 (Figure 5.15).

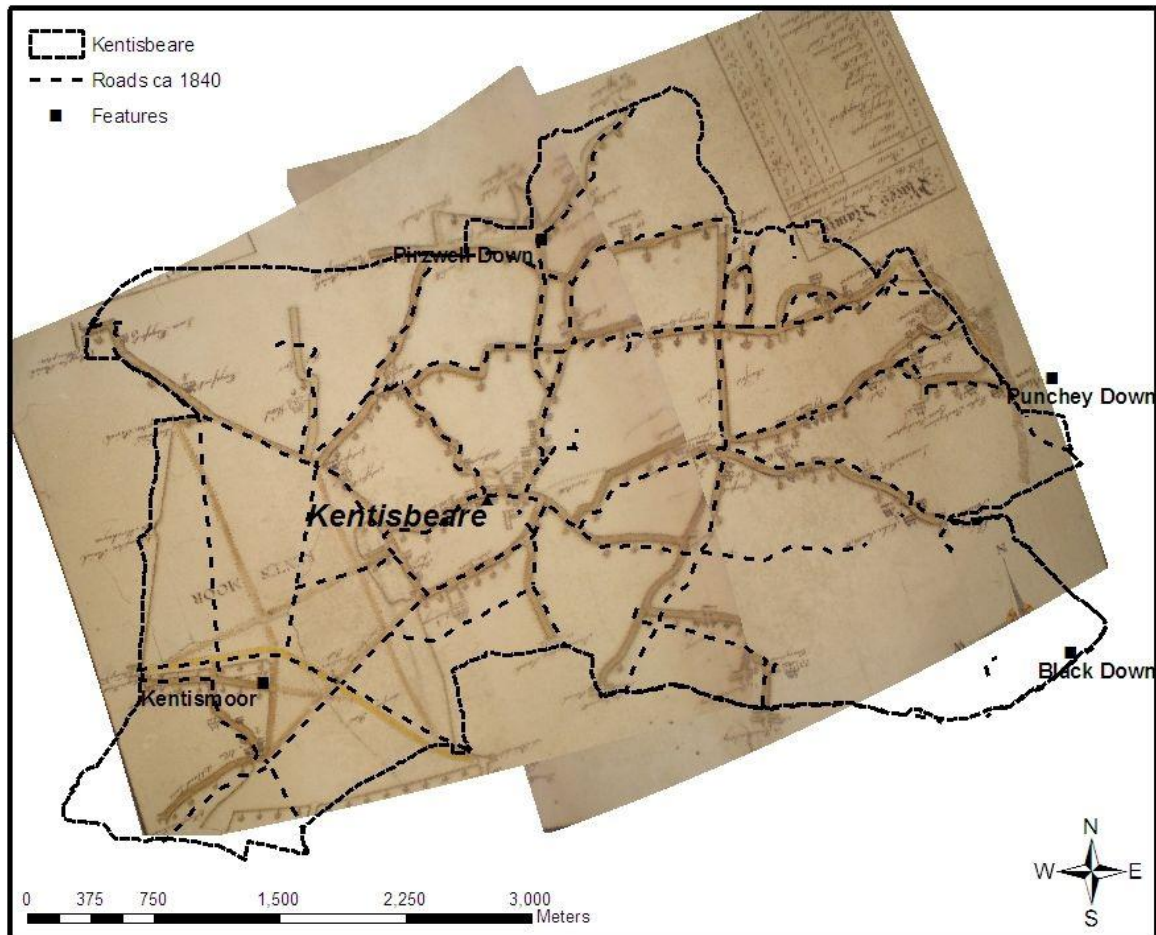


Figure 5.14. The road pattern of Kentisbeare in 1840 has been overlaid on photographs of the 1769 road map. This shows that the road system saw little change over the 70 years, except on Kentismoor where the roads have seen significant change due to inclosure of the moor (after DRO/3223A add 2/PS4 1769).

The count of settlement ca. 1750, especially that which was nucleated, is much reduced from that on the later tithe maps and, of particular note, is the presence of just three isolated farms in Blackborough. It is interesting to note the number of possible nucleations that lie along Donn's 'main roads'.

Settlement in the Middle Ages (Figure 5.16)

The last of the maps of settlement pattern shows all settlement whose existence can be proven before AD 1525. Once again, it must be noted that, with the exception of Catshays, it has not been possible to replace 'missing or lost' settlement, and that the road pattern dates, for the most part to ca. 1840,

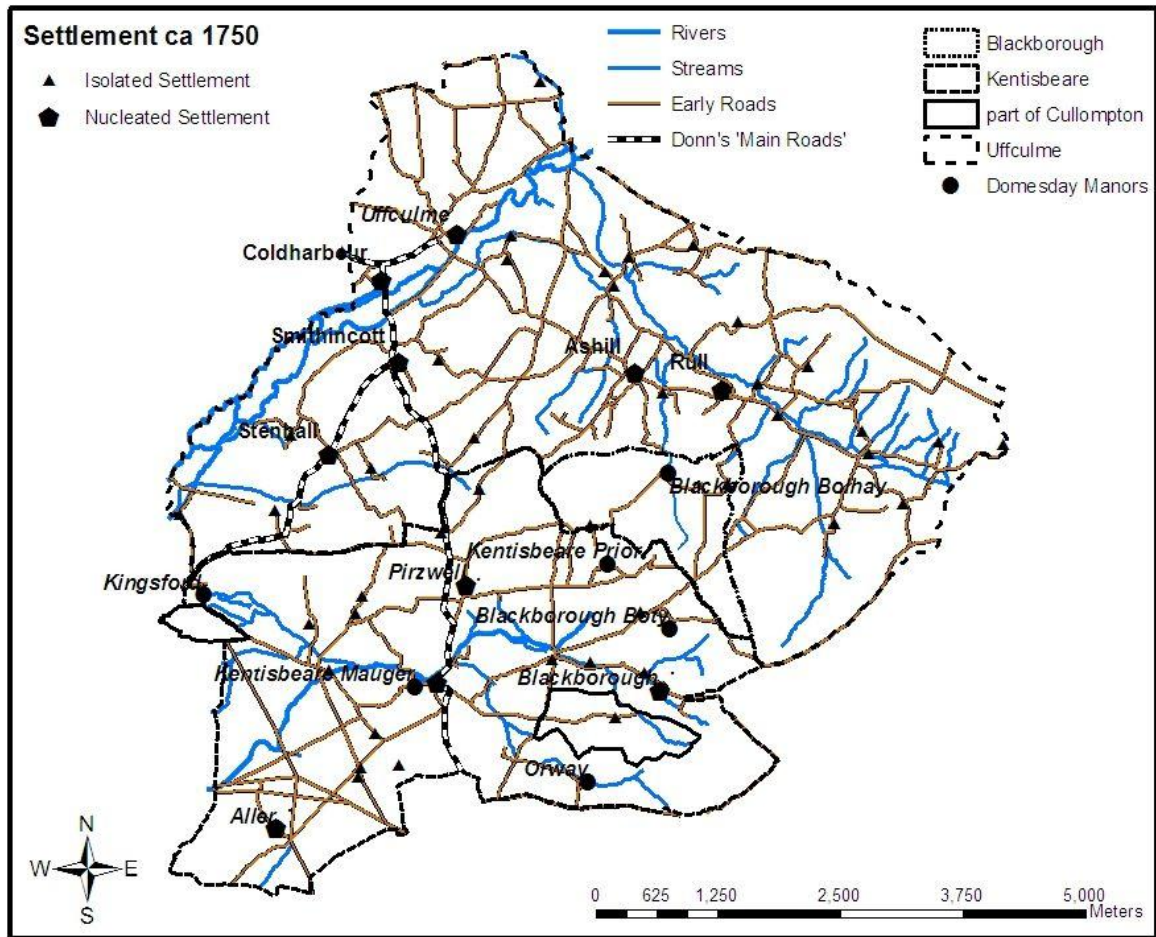


Figure 5.15. The settlement pattern of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme ca. 1750, showing all dwellings. The road pattern has been modified to include changes identified through earlier maps and surveys, and highlights Donn's 'regionally important' roads. The settlement pattern is probably much smaller than it should be due to a lack of documentary evidence.

although there have been some modifications made that were recorded in the mid 18th century. Once again, the amount of settlement is much reduced, and of those considered to be possibly nucleated; only Kentisbeare has more than two identified dwellings.

Settlement Discussed

The settlement of Kentisbeare, ca. 1840, may epitomise the Fox model: a village, central to the parish that is collocated with the church, while beyond this core is a ring of dispersed settlement, a mix of hamlets and isolated farmhouses (Fox 1972, 88-89) (Figure 5.12). The provenance of the fields immediately

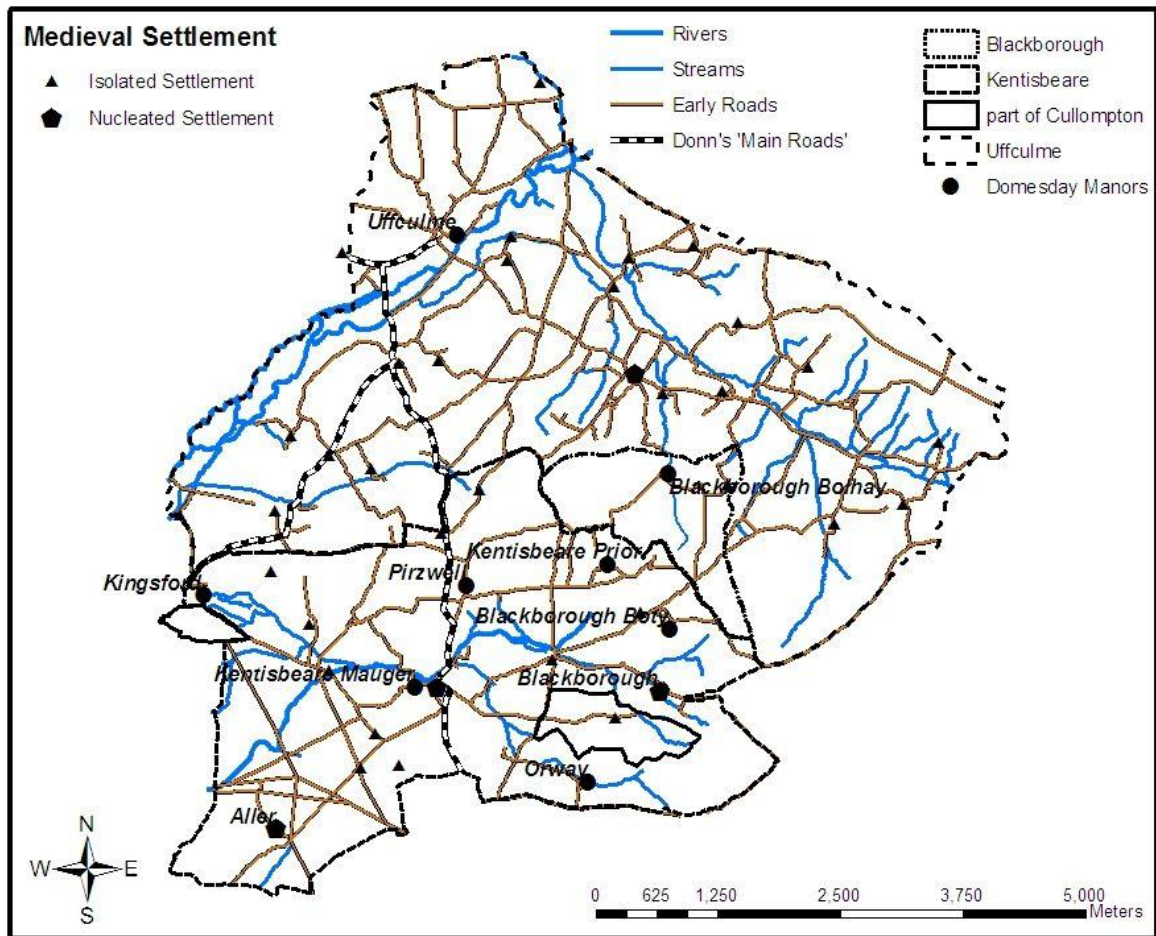


Figure 5.16. The medieval settlement pattern of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. All of those settlements that have been assessed as being nucleated during the Middle Ages have, with the exception of Kentisbeare, only two known dwellings to support this assessment.

surrounding Kentisbeare village is discussed in the next section, while beyond these, Blackborough Manor (Saint Hill Farm) and Aller are the only 'hamlets', that have been identified whose origins can be traced back to the medieval period (Figure 5.16); the remainder of the peripheral, medieval settlement appears to have been isolated farms. Blackborough parish, on the other hand, has only two isolated farmhouses whose history can be traced back to the Middle Ages, with no vestige of any apparent, historic nucleation.

The settlement history of Uffculme is different. The Domesday evidence (discussed below) points strongly towards Uffculme also being a nucleated village. John Cogan was granted the right to hold a market and two fairs there in 1266, which may be indicative of this larger nucleated settlement, but there is no record of any subsequent borough charter. The history of the settlement followed a different trajectory from the end of the Middle Ages, developing a thriving business in woollens that reached its peak in the 18th century but which dwindled thereafter, to such an extent that, in 1822, Lysons described it as a 'decayed market town' (Lysons 1822, 538-41; Newton 1997, 40; Stanes 1997, 9). It is most probable that the industrial prosperity of the post-medieval period is responsible for the very poor survival of medieval dwellings in that area. Uffculme parish, ca. 1840, contained four concentrations of settlement, Uffculme town, which by then had expanded to incorporate the industrial settlement of Coldharbour, lying on the north-western edge of the parish, Smithincott Green, Rull and, a more centrally placed village, Ashill. While all four nucleations can be traced back to ca. 1750, only Ashill has sufficient evidence to date the presence of a hamlet to the Middle Ages.

Communications Pattern

The basic road pattern throughout the parishes of this case study appears to be radial, although it is possible to identify some rectilinear patterns in the vicinity of Ashill (Uffculme) and further to the south-east of that village. As discussed, Davey (2005, 84-106) correlates a radial pattern with a nucleated settlement pattern, while he argues that a rectilinear road system will be encountered in areas of dispersed settlement. The predominantly radial pattern, therefore, suggests the possible presence of shrunken hamlets that now appear to be no more than isolated farms.

The discussion of settlement and road patterns has been based upon factual evidence and the caveats pertaining to the regression have been presented. While the picture created is minimal rather than complete, it is accurate from the perspective of recorded existence, if not, necessarily, siting. The next sub-section, which looks at the land ownership and occupancy record of the parishes, may help to suggest both the identity and the whereabouts of some of the missing components of the settlement pattern while, at the same time, presenting an early insight into possible field types that will be encountered in the succeeding sub-section.

Land Ownership and Occupancy

In many cases it is possible to trace a descent from the tenant-in-chief, recorded in Domesday as the 'owner' of a manor, to the early Victorian landowner, recorded in the tithe apportionment as the owner of one, or more farms in a parish, and these generally include the old demesne. It may be possible to argue that this 'count' of farms is a reflection of the way in which elements of the original manor have been apportioned to tenants, and Hoskins (1963) would argue that these tenants represent the villans listed in the Domesday record. In some areas, a heavily intermixed pattern of ownership or, more frequently, occupancy may be a reflection of the former existence of land held and worked in common, probably as some form of open field (Rippon, Smart & Wainwright 2006).

Land Ownership (Figure 5.17)

The tithe apportionments of the parishes record the fact that both Kentisbeare and Blackborough had the same dominant landowner - Lord Egremont. At that time, Richard Hurley had the largest individual holding in Uffculme, but since this approximates to only 10% of the parish it is difficult to ascribe him 'dominance'; Hurley was also one of the ten largest landowners in Kentisbeare.

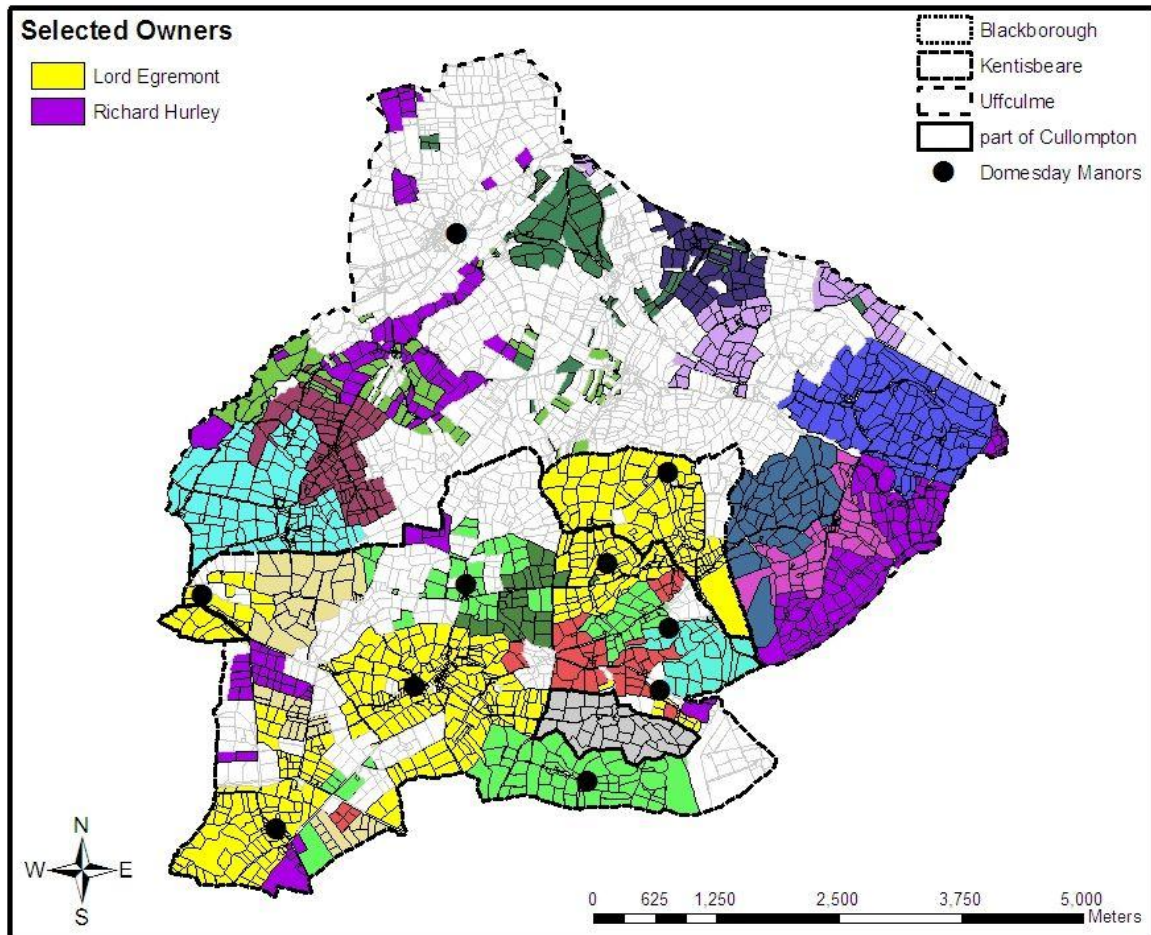


Figure 5.17. Holdings of the largest landowners of the three parishes ca. 1840. In both Kentisbeare and Uffculme the extent of the lands of the ‘top ten’ landowners are shown, while in Blackborough it can be seen that Lord Egremont was, almost, the only landowner. While the ‘top ten’ landowners in Kentisbeare held the majority of the parish, Egremont was, once again, the dominant owner. In Uffculme, however, the top ten only shared about half of the parish, with Richard Hurley as the primus inter pares. It is interesting to note the correlation between most of the Domesday Manors in Kentisbeare and Blackborough and the extents of land ca.1840.

Uffculme

With but a single manor recorded in Domesday, tracing the descent in Uffculme should be relatively easy (Figure 5.17). Held of the King by Walter of Douai in 1086, there was a dispute over the ownership of Uffculme between Glastonbury Abbey and Robert of Bampton (Walter’s son). King Stephen initially mediated in favour of the Abbey but, after a revolt by many of the nobles of Devon, this decision was reversed. During the dispute, however, in 1136 ‘Uffculme was laid

waste and its manor house burnt down' (Finberg 1952, 59-77). In 1993, Tom McManoman wrote to the Devon Historic Environment Service stating that 'Dr Raleigh Radford tells me that he lives next door to that site (*the old manor house*) which now has a house named Culm Side on it' (HER 19930). The assumption that Culm Side indeed marks the site of the old manor house may be erroneous but, as a marker for a lost site, it is adequate to the task.

In spite of that very early record of the manorial descent and the resolution of a dispute, in favour of the 'sitting' tenant-in-chief, there is no further, wholly satisfactory record thereafter. Both Pole and Lysons concentrate upon the descent of the larger landowners in Uffculme, although the Lysons do state that the manor passed to the Barony of Bampton, which was later dismembered and that the royalty and waste was held by William Hurley, while the manor was part of the Duchy of Lancaster (Pole 1791, 205-7; Lysons 1822, 538-541). This serves to introduce the Hurley family and, presumably, accounts for the separate tithable district recorded by the Tithe Commissioners, however, the fact remains that, from being a single manor in 1086, land ownership in Uffculme parish had become highly fragmented by ca. 1840.

Kentisbeare

Nominally there were six manors in Kentisbeare in 1086, but it is probable that two of the three Blackborough Manors, were also situated on land that became part of the historic parish of Kentisbeare (see Blackborough below) (Figure 5.18). Four of the six manors – Aller, Kingsford and two named for *Chentesbera* (Kentisbeare) – were held by Baldwin the Sheriff as tenant-in-chief; as was *Blacheberia*, one of those two Blackborough Manors that are referred to above. In his analysis of the Hundred of *Sulfretona* (Hayridge), Reichel (1910, 222) identifies these two *Chentesbera* manors as Kentisbeare Mauger and Kentisbeare Prior, and this latter is not at odds with Chalk (1910a, 331) who reports Pole (1791, 183) as stating that part of Kentisbeare had been held by the Priory of Christ Church. Both Pole and Lysons trace the descent of the two

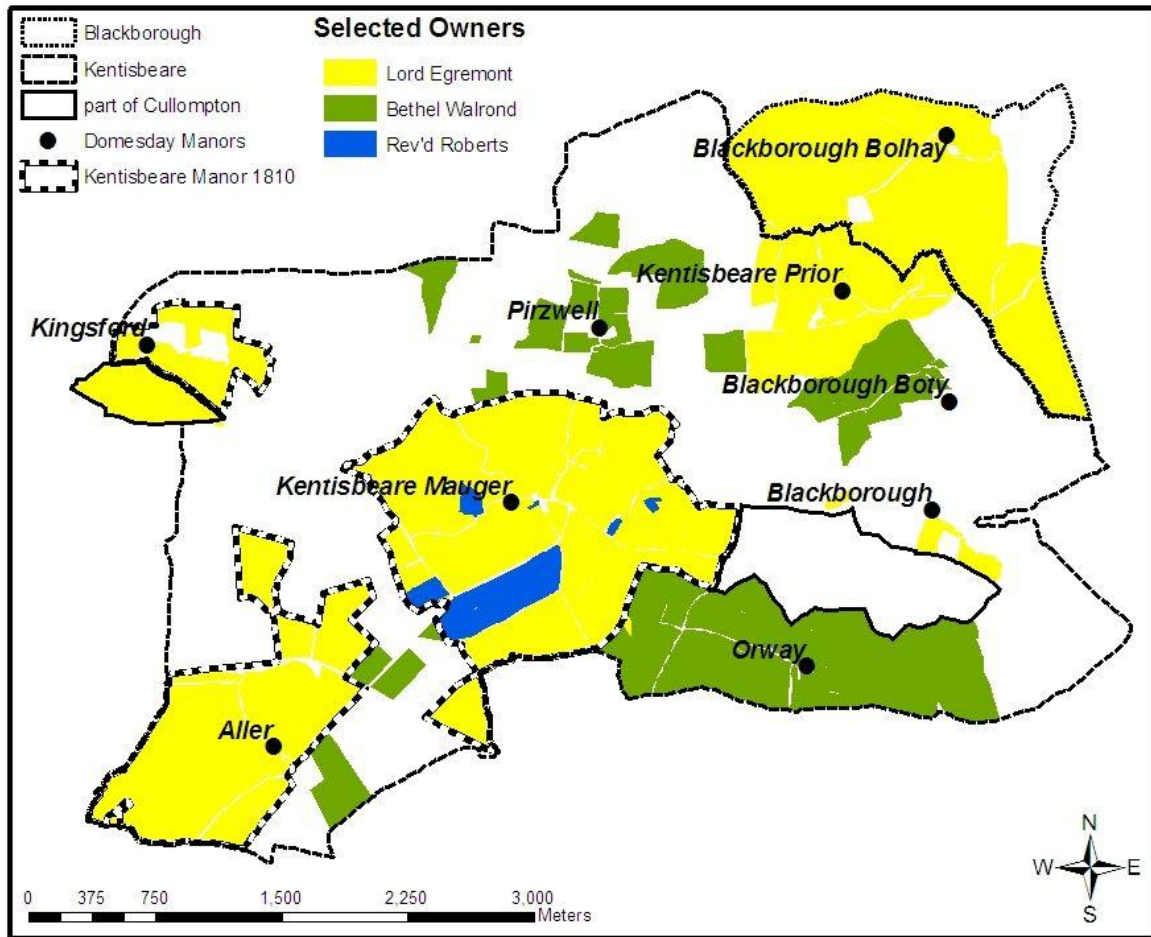


Figure 5.18. Kentisbeare and Blackborough showing the lands belonging to Lord Egremont and Bethel Walrond, the glebe land (Rev'd Roberts) has been included to 'fill-in' most of the 'holes' in ownership around Kentisbeare. The extent of Kentisbeare Manor in 1810 can be seen to encompass not only Kentisbeare village and surrounds, but also Aller and Kingsford Farms. The identification of Kentisbeare Prior, in the possession of Egremont, appears safe as does that of both Blackborough (Egremont) and Blackborough Boty (Walrond).

Chentesbera Manors to Lord Egremont (Pole 1791, 183-4; Lysons 1822, 297-8) and, a similar descent from Baldwin to Egremont can be traced for Aller, Kingsford and Blackborough. Orway and Pirzwell complete the tally of the manors that were recorded in Domesday, which are believed to have been situated in the parish of Kentisbeare, held by Alfred of Spain and William Cheever respectively (Thorn & Thorn 1985b). The record of the descent of these two manors, records them as being owned by Fley and Henley respectively (Pole 1791, 183-4), and that Pirzwell, having since passed to the Bamfylde has

'recently been sold and dismembered' (Lysons 1822, 297-8). The tithe apportionment records both these farms as being owned by the Walrond family ca. 1840, and the tithe map shows Orway as a compact unit, while Pirzwell is fragmented.

Aller, Kingsford, Orway and Pirzwell still exist today (Figure 5.18). The modern OS map offers Kentisbeare House as a potential candidate for one of the two *Chentesbera* Manors, but this was the Rectory on the 6" First Edition and the Parsonage on the 1" First Edition. A better, and more complete, solution is offered by Chalk, a former Rector of Kentisbeare, who states that 'the mansion house was at Cotters' and that the 'smaller Domesday manor was the isolated farm now called *Mortimore's and Halsbeare*' (Chalk 1910a, 280; 331). HER and Listed Buildings Online date Cotters (now Court Barton) and Mortimer's to 'early 17th century' and 'early 16th century' respectively (LBS 95770 & 95739), but neither are listed in EPNS (Gover *et al.* 1932, 564-566). In the absence of any better candidates, these have been accepted as the most probable sites of the two manors of Kentisbeare, especially since Cotters lies in the centre of Kentisbeare village, while Mortimer's (Kentisbeare Prior) is a large extent of land, in the north-east of the parish, that was owned by Egremont. Curiously, a survey of *Kentisbeare Manor*, dated 1810, clearly shows Kentisbeare Mauger, Aller and Kingsford as the constituent parts of *that* manor (SRO DD WY C306 DEV 9), while ignoring the existence of Kentisbeare Prior, and one is at a loss to determine why this manor was not included in that survey.

Blackborough

Blackborough represents a different problem; Domesday records three manors in this small parish, and it is generally recognised that Allhallows Farm represents one of the three manors, Blackborough Bolhay (Thorn & Thorn 1985b, 34,20; Reichel 1910, 223). A nearby field whose name was 'Chappel Garden' marks the site of the 'ancient church' (Chalk 1910b, 346). The other two are variably associated with farms outside the parish, in Kentisbeare, either Saint Hill and

France or Puncherdon (Thorn & Thorn 1985b, notes; Reichel 1910, 222 & 227; Lysons 1822, 297-8). While Chalk agrees that Blackborough Boty can be identified as Poncheydown [sic] Farm (Puncherdon) (Chalk 1910b, 281), he argues that the second manor, Blackborough, should be associated with the glebe farm in Blackborough (now Allecombe Farm) (Chalk 1910b, 351). Looking to the various descents, both Pole and Lysons trace the descent of Blackborough Bolhay to the Wyndham family (later the Earls Egremont) but, while Pole also traces Blackborough Boty to Wyndham, Lysons trace it to the Walrond family; neither authority records a descent for the third Blackborough Manor (Pole 1791, 183-4; Lysons 1822, 55 & 297-8). This third manor was held by Baldwin the Sheriff in 1086, and he also held both Kentisbeare Manors and the manors of Aller and Kingsford in that parish; these four descend to Earl Egremont and so it may be possible that Baldwin's holding in Blackborough, followed a similar descent. In this thesis the Blackborough Manors are identified, *ca.* 1840, as follows: Blackborough was then part of the dismembered Saint Hill Farm, which was in part owned by Egremont, Blackborough Bolhay (the only manor in Blackborough parish) had become Allhallows Farm, also owned by Egremont, while Blackborough Boty was Puncherdon Farm, owned by Bethel Walrond (Figure 5.18).

The investigation of the ownership patterns captured by the Tithe Commissioners, *ca.* 1840, and their integration with earlier records of ownership/descent starts to establish a degree of continuity from Domesday to Tithe. That several of the Domesday manors have either disappeared (for example Uffculme), or are difficult to trace (for example Blackborough, Blackborough Boty), after the passage of 750 years, is not that surprising. Nevertheless, a working solution to all the problems encountered in this review of the ownership and the descent of the manors and farms in this case study would appear to have been found. In the next sub-section we will look at the occupancy patterns, where these are more closely related to working the land, than just owning it.

Land Occupancy

Just as land ownership patterns have been discussed on a parochial basis, so will those of land occupancy. The reader will remember the way in which the occupancy pattern was used to assist the search for indications of former open field systems in Broadclyst and Poltimore, and it will be put to the same use here.

Uffculme

The land occupancy pattern in Uffculme is a mixture of large blocks of land with a single occupant and areas of very fragmentary occupancy (Figure 5.19). The large areas of single occupancy are created either by single farms being worked by a farmer, or they may represent two, or more farms, that have been combined into a single unit worked, again, by a single farmer. In both cases the farmer may be either the owner or a tenant. We will look at these larger areas again when looking at the farm boundaries *ca.* 1840. In this section it is the areas of fragmentary holding that are of more interest, and those highlighted at Figure 5.17 are discussed here. There is a fragmentary pattern on Hackpen Hill that also has a 'blocky' nature. This hill is one of those small areas in Uffculme that was subject to parliamentary enclosure of common waste and the patchy nature of the occupancy pattern is suggestive of recent allocation of ownership. To the north of Yondercott Farm there are two fields which show a fragmentary pattern of occupancy that is not, necessarily, in regular 'strips' (Figure 5.20). One field, with a more regular 'strip' pattern is called Common Ham, and 'ham' is another name for meadow. The other field, Northcott Ham, exhibits a very irregular 'strip' pattern which does not have the regular, long-thin pattern one might expect from former open fields. Both of these fields are, therefore, probably former common meadows whose original 'division' has been fossilised through continuous use. Finally, there are extensive areas of fragmentary occupancy in dryland areas and these are: to the north and west of Uffculme, to the north and east of Stenhill and surrounding both Ashill and Craddock. Whilst only the pattern around Ashill is

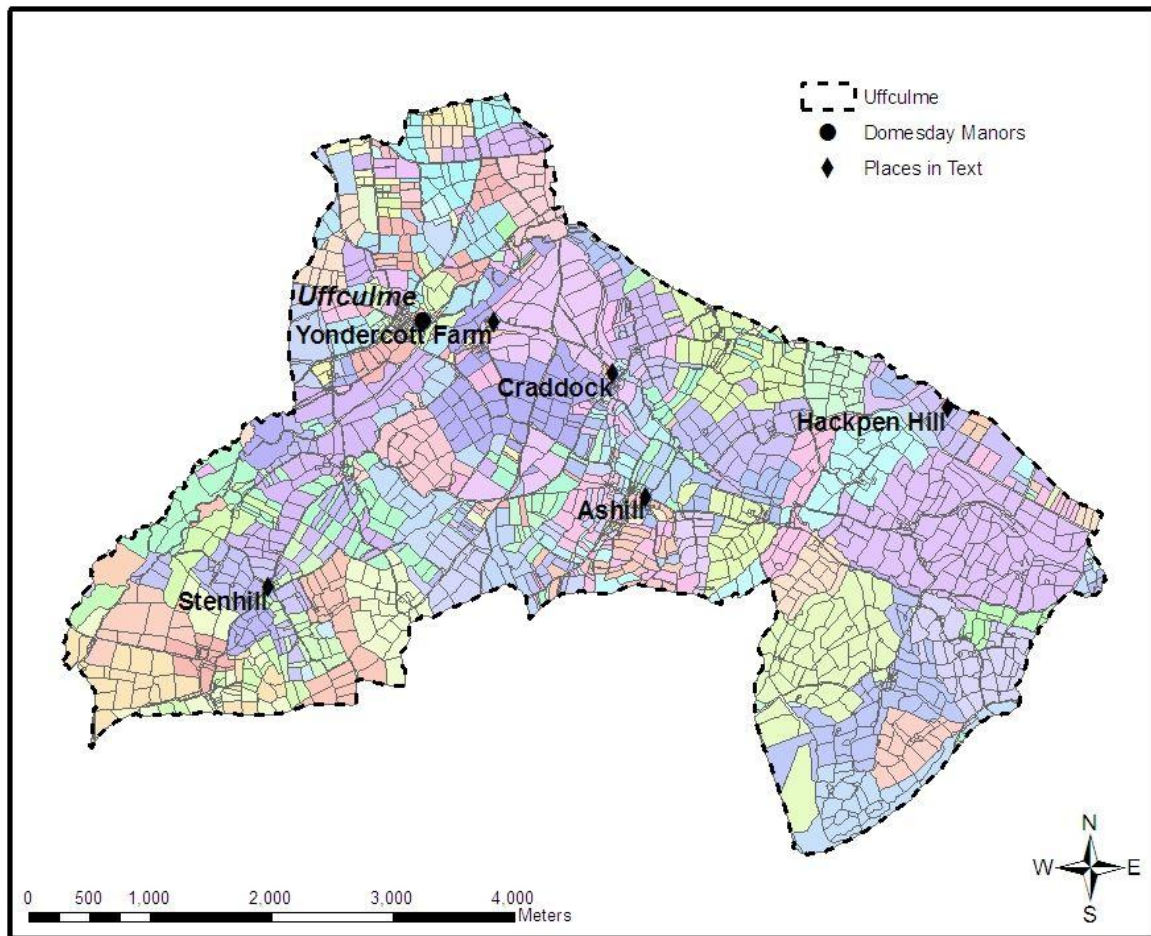


Figure 5.19. Land occupancy in Uffculme ca. 1840. A mixture of compact blocks and fragmentary patterns, places discussed in the text are shown.

shown in greater detail (Figure 5.21), the other areas are very similar in appearance. In these areas the long-thin fields and the fragmentary occupancy pattern are very suggestive of former open fields.

Kentisbeare

Parts of the common land enclosed by Act of Parliament are very evident on the west side of Kentisbeare, outside the manor boundaries, between Aller and Kingsford, and also immediately to the east of Aller (Figure 5.22). The

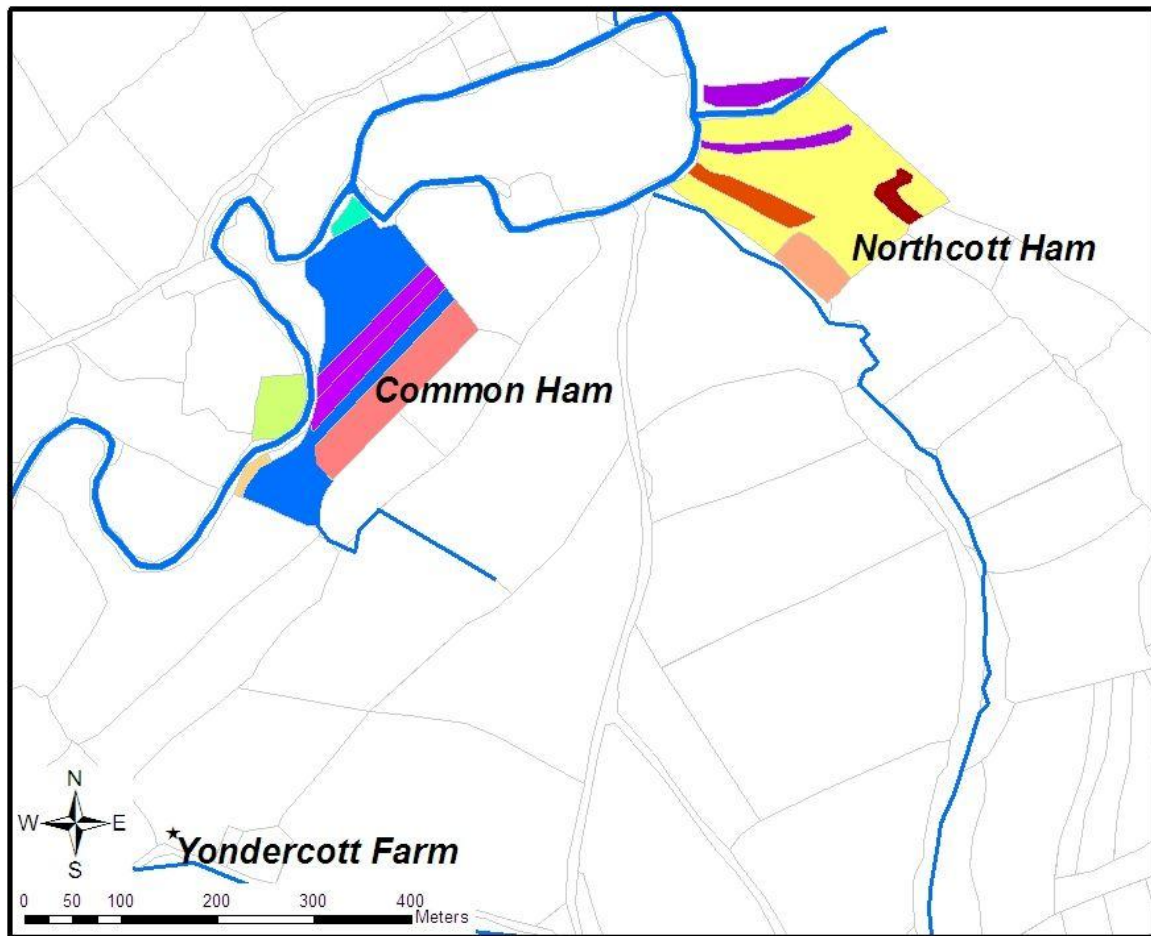


Figure 5.20. Former common meadow in Uffculme, different occupancy shown by difference in colours.

fragmentary nature of the occupancy in these areas is suggestive of recent allocation of land. The area around both Pirzwell and Kentisbeare Prior appears as fragmented, blocks of fields; this is suggestive of the dismemberment of a farm or farms, and the sale of the land in lots. It will be remembered that the break up of Pirzwell was discussed above.

Blackborough

In the south of Blackborough there is an interesting pattern of fields that could be interpreted as resulting from parliamentary enclosure, but there is no record of any such act (Figure 5.22). The 4th Earl of Egremont, who died in 1845 having held the title for only eight years, appears to have held grandiose, sometimes



Figure 5.21. Probable open fields around Ashill village. Long-thin fields and a fragmentary occupancy pattern are very suggestive of former open fields. Differing occupancy shown by different colours.

philanthropic, dreams, being responsible for the construction of Blackborough House and church, and the bridge in Kentisbeare (among other projects) (Chalk 1910a, 289). Egremont owned the entirety of Blackborough (except Allecombe Farm), including the common. The tithe apportionment (1845) annotates a series of dwellings and gardens on the edge of this common as ‘(new inclosure)’ and the names of all the fields of a parcel of regularly enclosed land to the north as ‘plot’. The occupancy pattern of these plots is suggestive of recent allocation, post enclosure, and the unimaginative name, ‘plot’, may be associated with new enclosure (Figure 5.23). The 1” First Edition OS map does not show any buildings in the vicinity of this ‘Blackborough hamlet’ and, thus, it is probable that

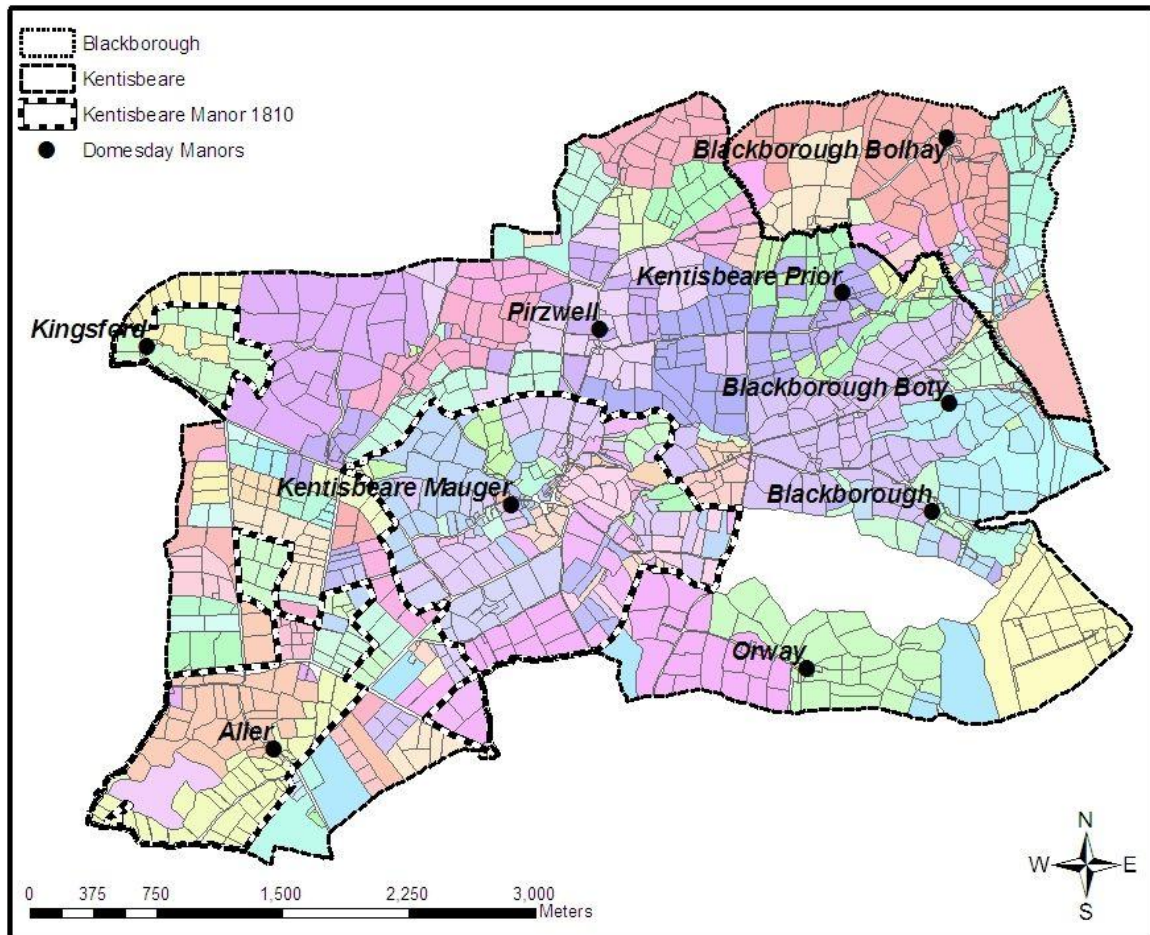


Figure 5.22. Land occupancy in Blackborough and Kentisbeare ca. 1840. Another mixture of large and small compact farms and areas that are highly fragmented, it is possible to identify some fragmentary blocks of fields around Pirzwell. There is a change in field alignment either side of the Kentisbeare Manor boundary around Kentisbeare Mauger.

the present day hamlet also owes its existence to the ‘modifications and improvements’ of the 4th Earl of Egremont. Both hamlet and the enclosed plots were probably taken from the common between 1837 and 1845, thereby reducing the extent of that common.

The occupancy pattern exhibited by the three parishes shows, as anticipated, large blocks of land, held in severalty, intermixed with more fragmented parcels. It is, however, possible to identify some areas – Kentisbeare, Uffculme, Stenhill,

Farm Boundaries

Over time, as land fluctuates in and out of use and as holdings fail and are sold off, the size of some farms will increase, some decrease and some will adopt a fragmentary pattern as more distant land is brought into that farm's domain. In the following two figures, the extent of all farms that were recorded ca. 1840 has been mapped and then those areas that were separate, and not part of the 'original'¹¹ holding have been removed; this serves to highlight those areas where there may have been changes in land ownership, occupancy or use.

Kentisbeare and Blackborough

In Kentisbeare there is a wide variety of farms, from large to small and from compact to fragmented (Figure 5.24). Fragmentary patterns of blocks of fields, can be identified around Pirzwell, which had been recorded as 'dismembered', and become more visible at Saint Hill and, possibly, around Mortimers, which has been identified as a possible site for one of the two Kentisbeare Manors, Kentisbeare Prior. The most striking difference, however, lies inside the 1810 boundary of Kentisbeare Manor, where the highly fragmentary occupancy pattern becomes an unique feature within this parish. It should also be noted that none of these small fragmentary holdings are part of any of the outer ring of farms, with a single exception: two conjoined fields on the eastern edge of the Manor were recorded ca. 1840 as part of Halsbeer Farm, one of two farms forming a combined unit and identified as Chalk (1910a, 331) as the original Kentisbeare Prior, the other *Chentesbera* manor. Underlying the map is a representation of the final fieldscape interpretation, and the field characters displayed – common, common wood and possible common – represent areas in which one would not expect to have been part of the core farmland.

¹¹ The original extent of each farm has been determined either by assuming that, ca.1840, the farmhouse was located in part of the original holding or, where there is no apparent farmhouse, by assuming the largest block of land represents the original holding.

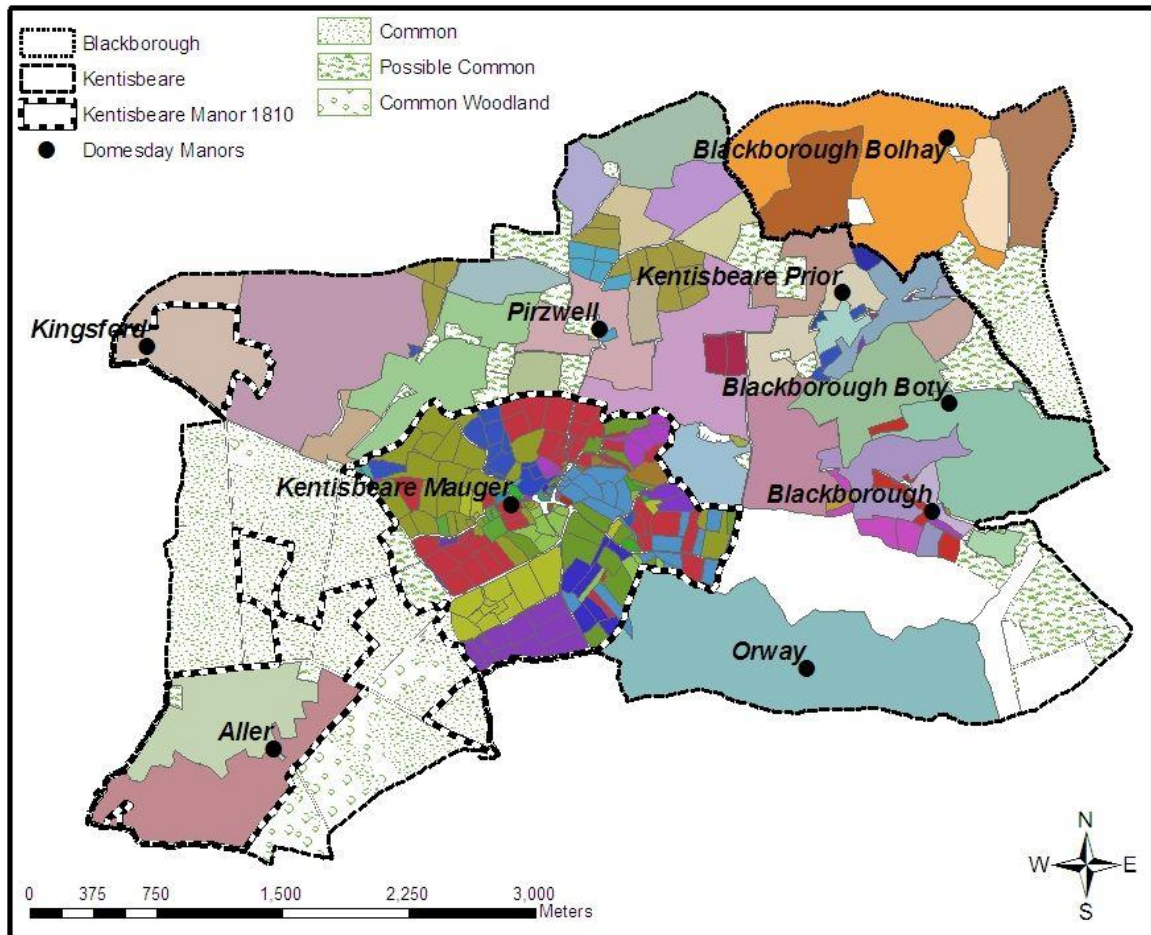


Figure 5.24. The major farms of Kentisbeare and Blackborough ca. 1840, were generally compact blocks of land that form a 'ring' around the village, inside which the fragmentary pattern of holdings is very evident. The dismemberment of Pirzwell is apparent and this may be mirrored at Blackborough and, possibly, at Kentisbeare Prior. Blackborough parish had four compact farms of varying sizes.

Uffculme (Figure 5.25)

Uffculme also has a mix of large and small compact farms, intermixed with areas of fragmentary holdings. It is interesting to note that the fragmentary holding at Uffculme appears to consist more of 'blocks' of land than is apparent at either Ashill or Smithincott Green. This time the field characters – common, common woodland, possible common and valley bottom - have been underlaid to highlight

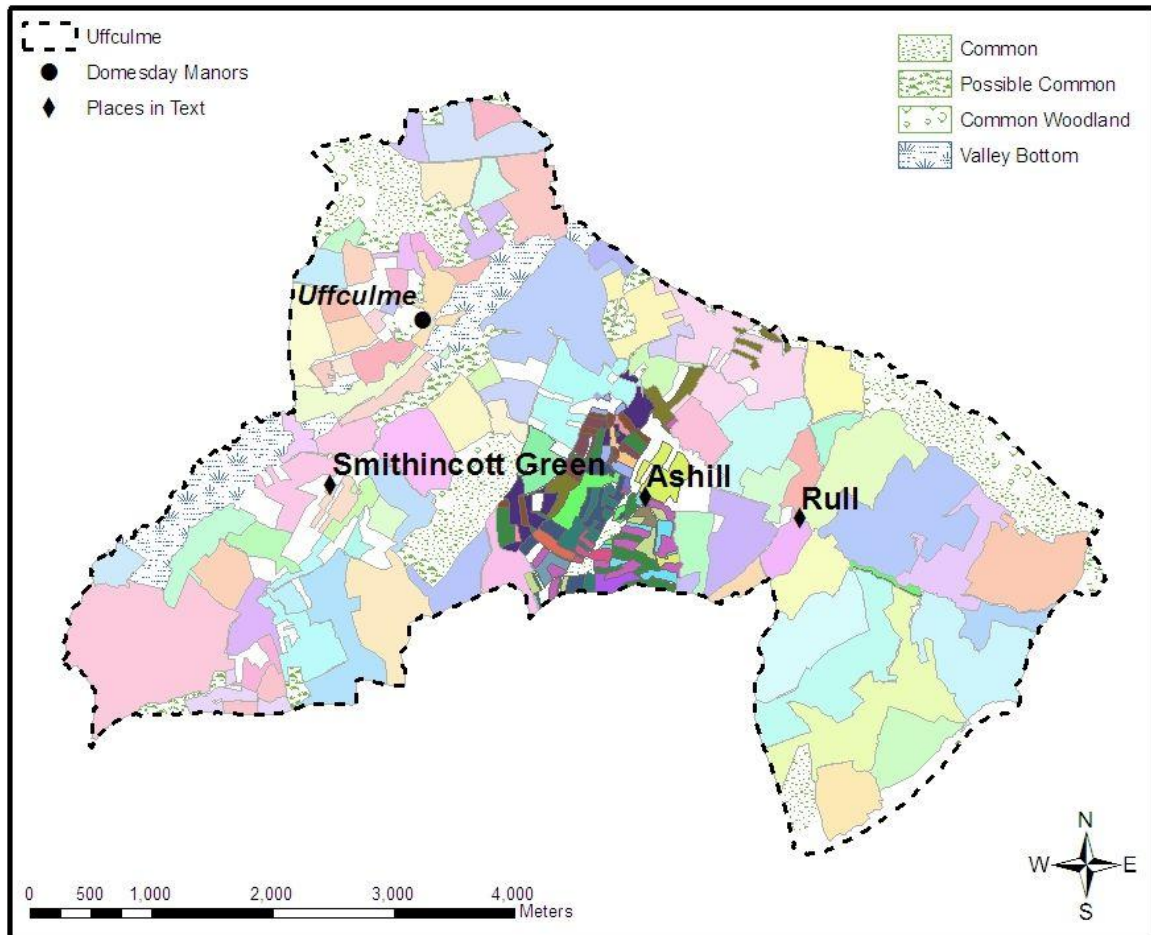


Figure 5.25. The major farms of Uffculme, ca. 1840, were generally compact blocks of land that surround areas of fragmentary holdings. The largest area of fragmented holdings is in Ashill, but it is still possible to identify those of Uffculme and to the south of Smithincott Green.

those areas that were not part of the core farmland. Unlike Kentisbeare, however, there is evidence for the compact farms ‘spreading’ into the fragmented areas of small holdings.

It will be remembered that early nucleations of settlement were identified at Uffculme, Ashill, Smithincott Green and Rull, all of which, with the exception of Rull, lie in areas of fragmentary holdings. It appears that Uffculme conforms to the Fox model for a larger parish, two or more areas of nucleated settlement, surrounded by isolated, compact farms.

Many of the areas shown at Figures 5.24 and 5.25 that are not occupied by compact farms or areas of fragmentary small holdings, have an underlying pattern of common or 'marginal' land, where this latter is defined as land that was probably not enclosed until the High Middle Ages. In Uffculme there is more 'white' land amongst the fragmentary holdings, and for the most part this 'white' land represents areas into which the larger farms had expanded.

In both Kentisbeare and Uffculme it is possible to confirm the validity of the Fox model, in the first instance for a medium size parish and, in the second, for a larger parish. The final element of this section on parochial history will look at the nature of the fields and attempt to trace their origins.

Fieldscape Analysis (Figures 5.26, 5.27 and 5.29)

The fieldscape analysis methodology was described in Chapter 3 and the first time that it was encountered, in Chapter 4 (Broadclyst and Poltimore), the process was further discussed. In this chapter, it is intended to present the maps but only to review the salient points.

Fieldscape Characterisation (Figure 5.26)

During the map regression phase, while looking at the settlement patterns, the reader will remember that, having identified several nucleated settlement sites *ca.* 1840, these had dwindled to only a few *ca.* 1750: Uffculme, Kentisbeare, Ashill, Smithincott Green, Stenhall, Rull, Aller, Pirzwell and Blackborough (Figure 5.15). We have recently looked at the occupancy patterns and compared these with tithe farm boundaries, identifying fragmented holdings/tenements at Uffculme, Kentisbeare, Ashill and south from Smithincott Green (towards Stenhall) (Figures 5.24 and 5.25). As a result of the fieldscape characterisation (Figure 5.26), it is possible to identify concentrations of long-thin fields intermixed with regular fields, in the vicinity of those same four sites: Uffculme, Kentisbeare,

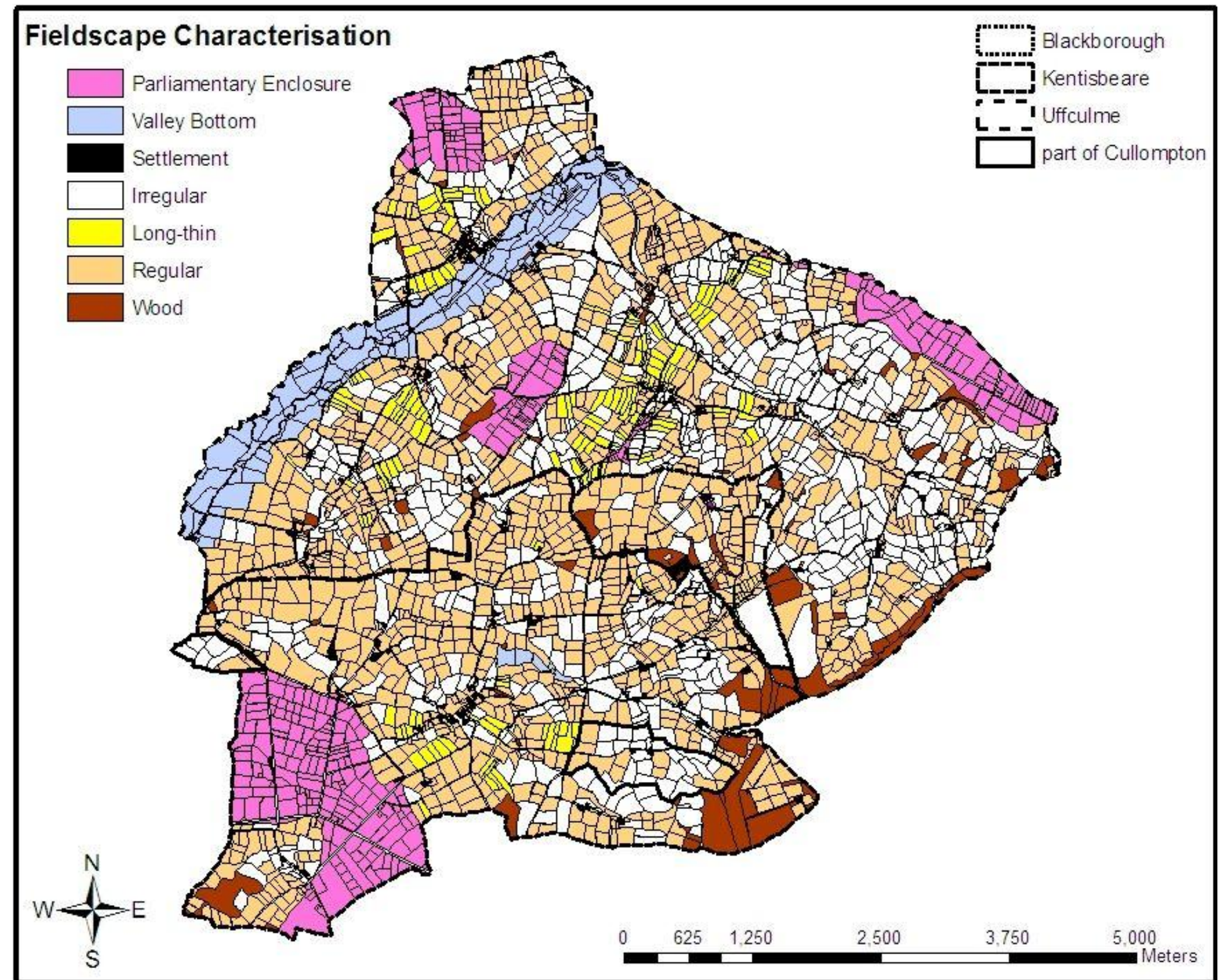


Figure 5.26. Fieldscape characterisation of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. Intermixed long-thin and regular fields cluster around the identified nucleations of Kentisbeare, Uffculme, Smithincott Green and Ashill (see Figures 5.24 and 5.25 for their location).

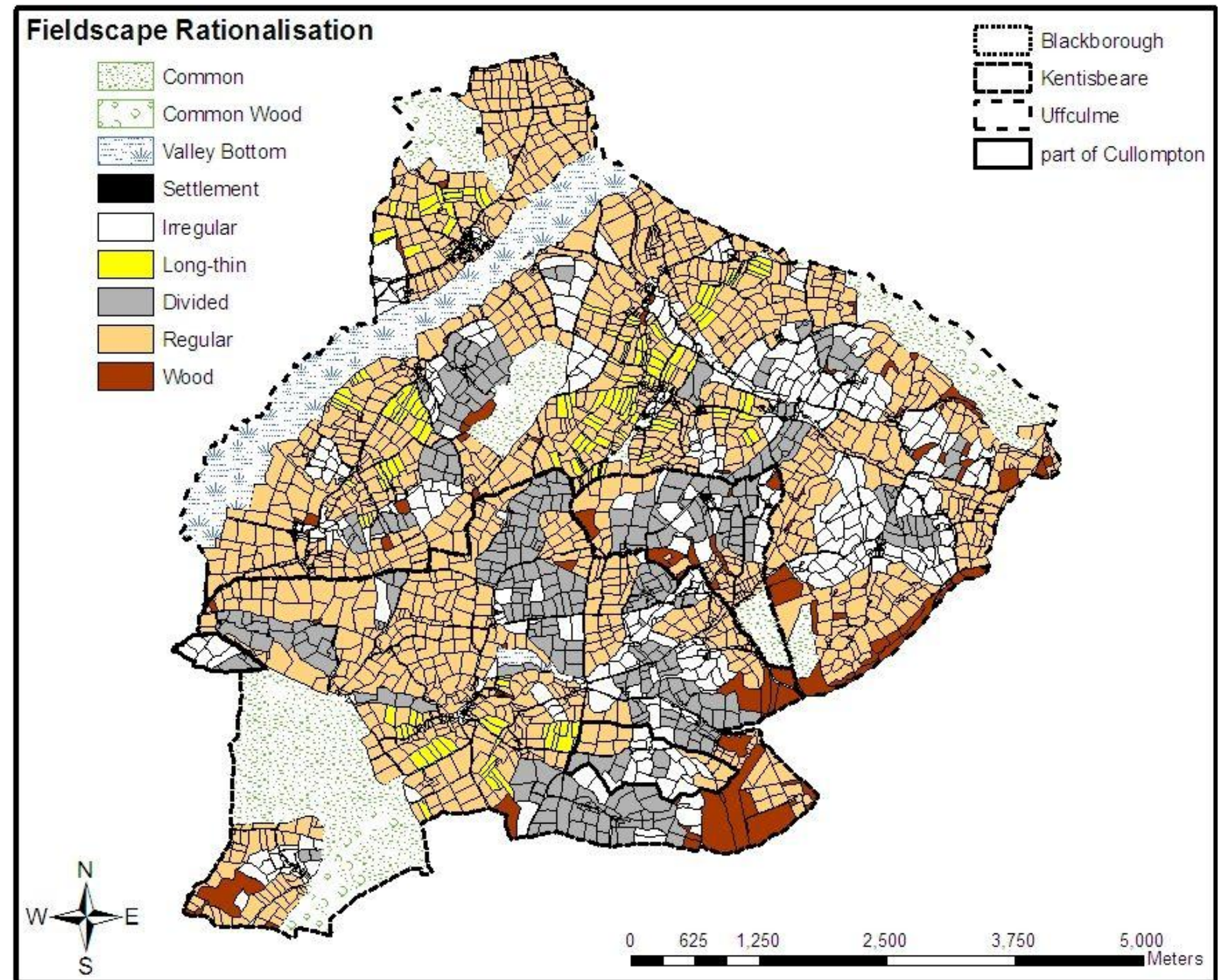


Figure 5.27. Fieldscape rationalisation in Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. The majority of the fields have been resolved as either 'regular' or as 'divided'. The divided fields will probably be interpreted as land that was enclosed around the time of Domesday, the fate of those now characterised as 'regular' is less certain and will be determined in the next phase, the fieldscape interpretation.

Ashill and Smithincott Green. The fieldscape analysis has yet to be completed but the collocation of long-thin fields, fragmented occupancy patterns and nucleated settlement, combine to establish a probability that some open fields may have existed in these locations.

Both Kentisbeare and Uffculme had common land 'not including open field arable' enclosed by Act of Parliament at the beginning of the 19th century (Tate 1946b, 83-84). Once again, some of this land appears to have been little more than roadside waste that was quickly subsumed by the neighbouring enclosed fields, just as it was in Broadclyst. Those tithe fields that incorporate both former common and previously enclosed land have been re-drawn to reflect the pre-enclosure field lay-out.

Fieldscape Rationalisation (Figures 5.27 and 5.28)

Fundamental to the rationalisation process is a search for continuous field boundaries and, where these can be found, they greatly assist in determining the underlying nature of the fieldscape: regular or irregular. In this case study it has been possible to identify a large count of fields that have been classified as 'divided', that is fields with near straight boundaries which divide a former large irregular enclosure into the smaller fields that are better suited to ley husbandry (Figure 5.28). It will be remembered from the Tatworth example (Chapter 3) that the enclosure of open fields did not always result in the creation of an easily identifiable continuous boundary. The identification of any former open fields, therefore, is more suited to the interpretation phase.

Fieldscape Interpretation (Figures 5.29 and 5.30)

There have been several indicators suggesting that probable former open fields would be 'discovered' during the interpretation phase and, as 'predicted', these have been identified at Uffculme, Kentisbeare, Ashill and between Smithincott Green and Stenhall (Figure 5.29). Where a large extent of probable open field

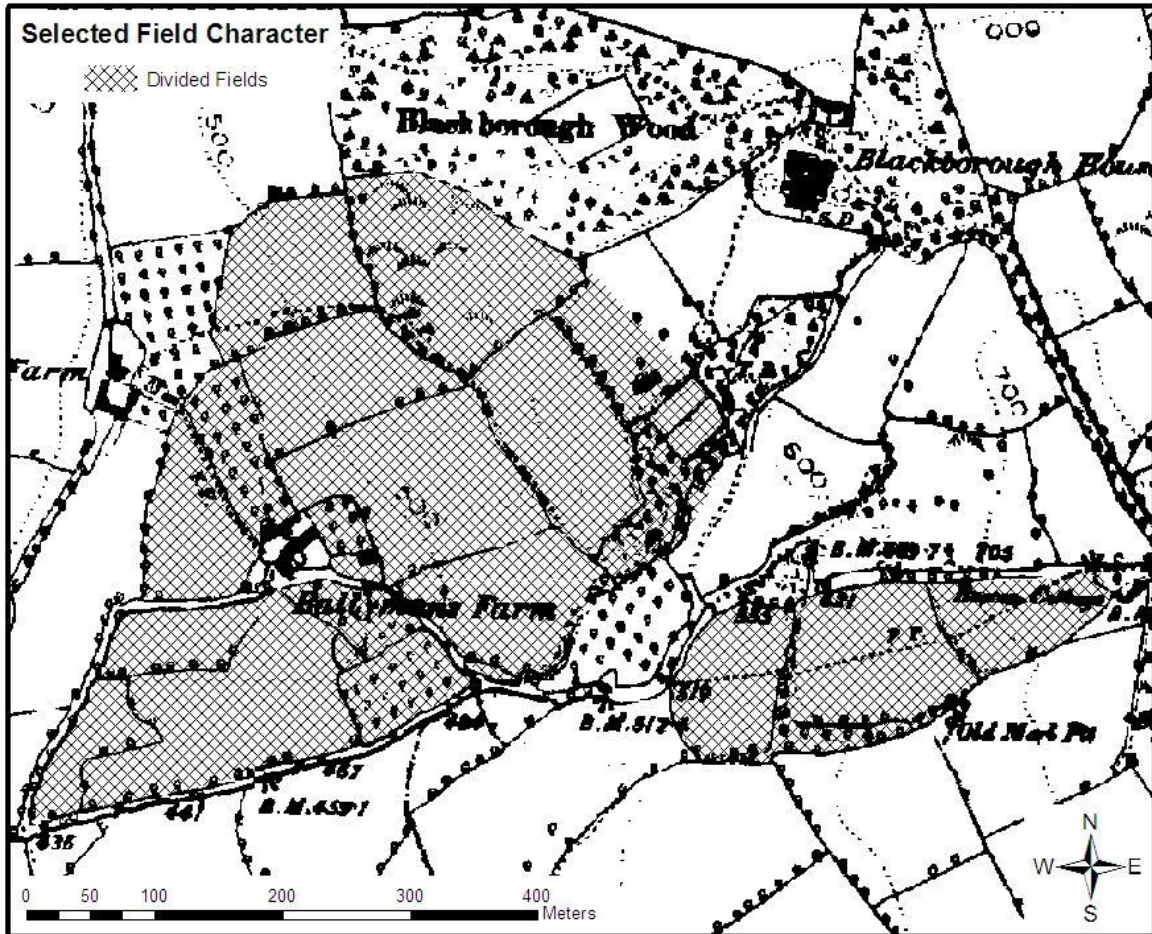


Figure 5.28. Divided fields on the edge Kentisbeare, just below the Blackborough 'plateau'. A total of four former 'large fields' are shown, three in a cluster and a singleton to the east.

has been identified, no attempt has been made to 'sub-divide' the fields in a manner similar to the traditional, Midlands style rotational cropping units. In a few cases the outer boundaries of these probable open fields appear to be defined by roads, and in many cases roads bisect these fields (Figure 5.30). This is very similar to the tithe fieldscape that overlies the former open field at Tatworth (Chapter 3).

Comparison of the map resulting from the fieldscape analysis (Figure 5.29), with those of the topography and the soils (Figures 5.2 and 5.6), supports the proposed existence of land that was not enclosed until the High Middle Ages on

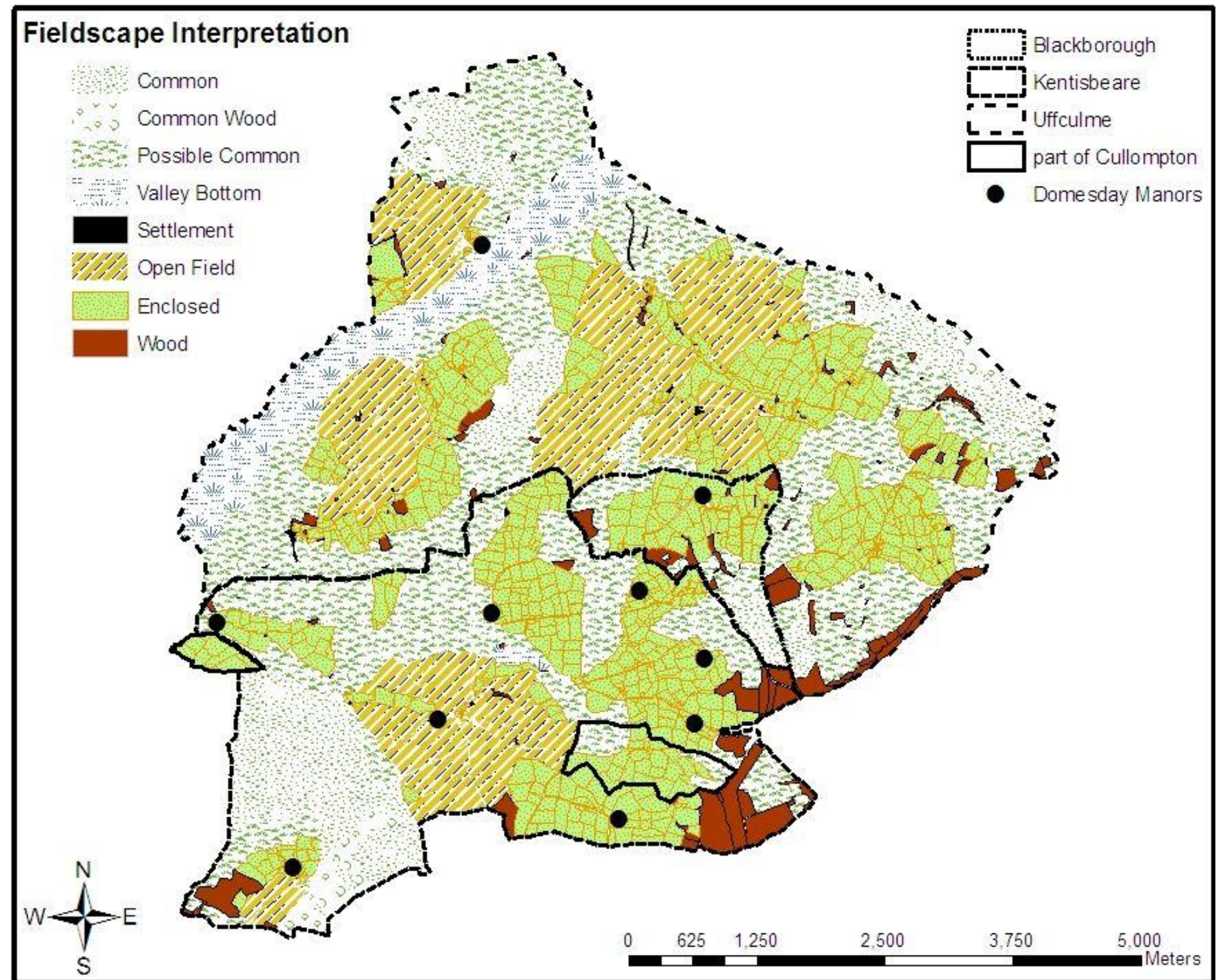


Figure 5.29. The fieldscape interpretation of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. Extensive areas of probable open field have been identified in Uffculme and also around Kentisbeare.

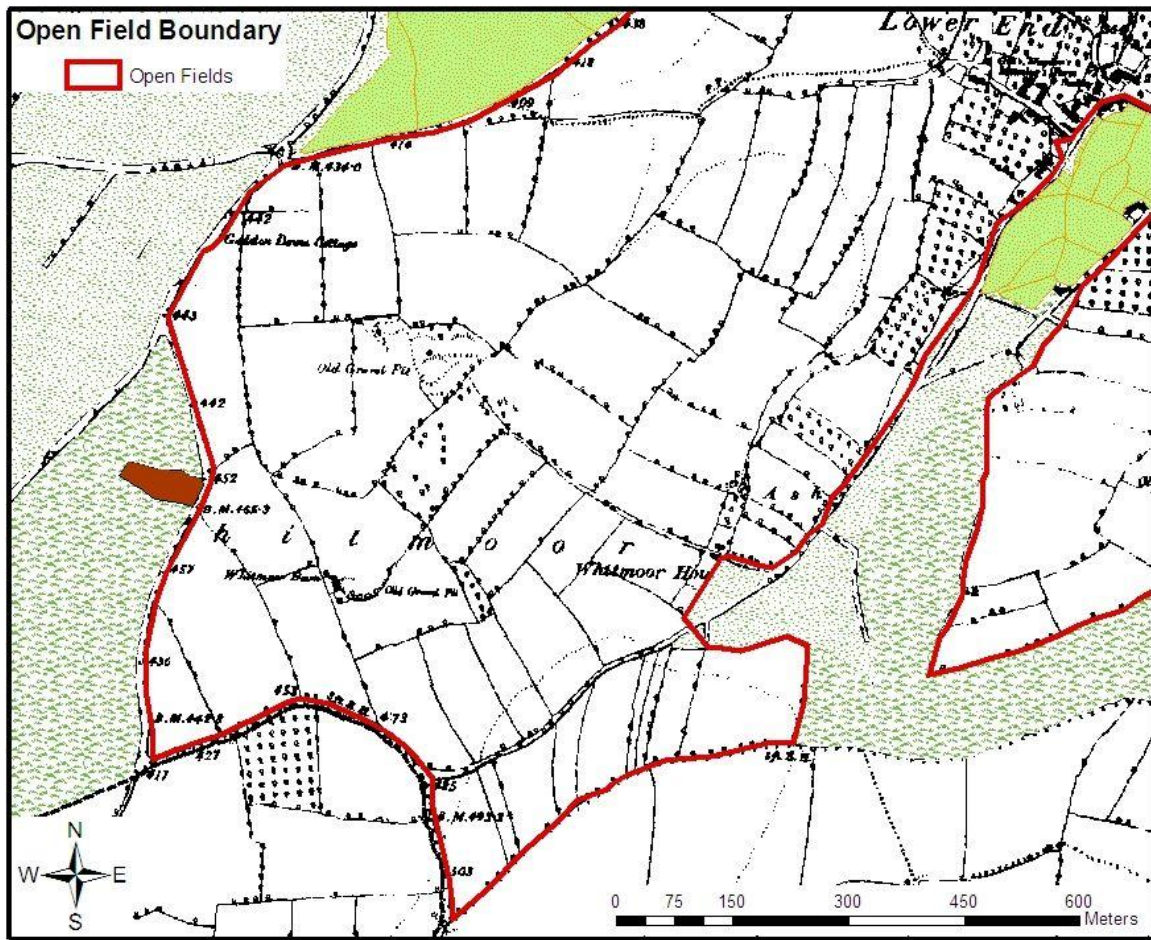


Figure 5.30. Probable open fields south of Ashill (Uffculme). Despite the fact that many of these fields are curved, it is interesting to note that very few of the long-thin fields, which have been used to underpin the interpretation of probable open fields in this case study, exhibit a classic aratral curve.

the broader floodplain of the Culm, where the less 'capable' Brockhurst 1, Whimble 3 and Wigton Moor soils are found, and also on the higher ground in the east. Generally, the broad swathe of Bromsgrove and Crediton soil, which lie over the Pebble Beds and Otter Sandstone (Figure 5.7), appears to have been the land favoured for cereal cropping in 'ancient' times. This is discussed further below. It can be seen that comparison with the earlier maps of topography, soil and geology, may serve to provide a measure of support to the fieldscape analysis. Having identified the probable core farmland we have now assembled

all the data and evidence necessary to create a putative map of the parishes at Domesday, but before so doing the facts need to be verified through comparison with the Domesday data.

Comparison with Domesday

The comparison of the core farmland with Domesday will look at the two metrics that have been identified as being suitable, namely the population of each manor and the extent of land put to various uses, in 1086 (Appendix 1). Before proceeding with that comparison it is, however, necessary to review the count of manors that are recorded in Domesday. The difficulties encountered in determining the likely location of the three Blackborough manors has already been discussed and may have been resolved. It is worth noting that some form of extra-parochial resolution was necessary, not just because of the historic record, but also on the grounds of size. The three Domesday manors in Blackborough covered a total of 872 acres (assuming a 90 acre ploughland) while the Victorian parish only accounted for 508 acres *ca.*1840; clearly an adjustment was necessary.

There is a similar problem with two manors called Aller, both of which are placed within Kentisbeare parish by Thorn and Thorn (1985b). It will be remembered that Aller occupies a small portion of land in the south-west of Kentisbeare, and in ancient times was separated from the rest of the parish by a large expanse of common (see Figure 5.24). Using the same extent for a ploughland (90 acres), as above, the total area of the two Domesday Allers may be calculated to be 1190 acres, or just over a third of the entire Victorian parish! Reichel, however, follows Pole, identifying the larger Aller as Aller Peverill in Cullompton parish, which was 'dismembered about the year 1790' (Pole, 1791, 185; Reichel 1906b,

519). Moving the larger of the two Allers into Cullompton, sits more comfortably with the amount of land available in Kentisbeare and thus, despite Thorn and Thorn's opinion (1985b, notes), only the smaller Aller Manor (DB 16,103) is listed at Table 5.2. The larger Aller (DB 32,3) may be manifest in Aller Barton, a farm in Cullompton, a mere 1.5 km from the Aller in Kentisbeare. A degree of confirmation for this location may be found in the parliamentary inclosure of 'Mutterton Moor and Langford Heathfield in Allerpeverell' [*sic*], in Cullompton (DRO Inclosure 1, 1816; Tate 1946b, 83) and in the accompanying act these two parcels of land are listed as waste of Aller Peverill (DRO74B/ I 1, 1810). They are small and difficult to locate, however, Mutterton Moor Farm on the modern OS map lies 2km south of Aller Barton and is coincident with the location of Mutterton Moor on the 1" First Series OS map of 1809 (Harley & O'Donoghue 1977, Figure 25). Having resolved the question of the two Allers, we will now proceed with the Domesday comparison, starting with the population in 1086.

Domesday Population (Table 5.2)

This section compares the Domesday population metrics with the settlement pattern derived through the map regression, attempting to establish the degree of correlation between the two. The identification of probable former open fields in this case study, is likely to raise the same questions concerning the utility of the Hoskins' model (Hoskins 1963), but not so the modified model used in this thesis. By subtracting the putative extents of manorial demesne from the probable extent of open field it may be possible to determine how many villans worked these fields, and how many, therefore, require 'housing' in the surrounding farms. The population metrics, drawn from Domesday, are summarised at Table 5.2, and in this section we will deal first with Kentisbeare and Blackborough, and then with Uffculme.

Table 5.2. Population metrics drawn from Domesday for the parishes of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme (Thorn & Thorn 1985a & 1985b).

Manor	Tenant-in-Chief	Holder	Villagers	Smallholders	Slaves
Blackborough (16,101)	Baldwin	Not recorded	1	4	1
Blackborough Bolhay (34,20)	Ralph of Pomeroy	Not recorded	2	3	0
Blackborough Boty (51,7)	William the Usher	Ralph Botin	9	0	2
Kentisbeare Prior (16,100)	Baldwin	Edwy	0	4	1
Kentisbeare Mauger (16,102)	Baldwin	Not recorded	3	5	2
Aller (16,103)	Baldwin	Not recorded	1	5	1
Kingsford (16,99)	Baldwin	Not recorded	0	2	1
Orway (38,2)	Alfred of Spain	Alfred himself	8	6	1
Pirzwell (19,21)	William Cheever	Hamo	8	4	5
Kentisbeare and Blackborough parish totals			32	33	14
Uffculme (23,9)	Walter of Douai (Wacsin)	Wacsin himself	45	6	0

Kentisbeare and Blackborough – manors and tenants, farms and villagers

At Domesday, Baldwin the Sheriff is named as the tenant-in-chief of the manors of Aller, Kingsford, both the manors of Kentisbeare, but only one of the manors of Blackborough; two other manors in Kentisbeare are named as Pirzwell and Orway, held by William Cheever and Alfred of Spain respectively (Figure 5.31). There are two further manors listed in Blackborough, held by William the Usher and Ralph of Pomeroy. It has been possible to determine the probable location of all these manors, and it is apparent that two of those named for Blackborough

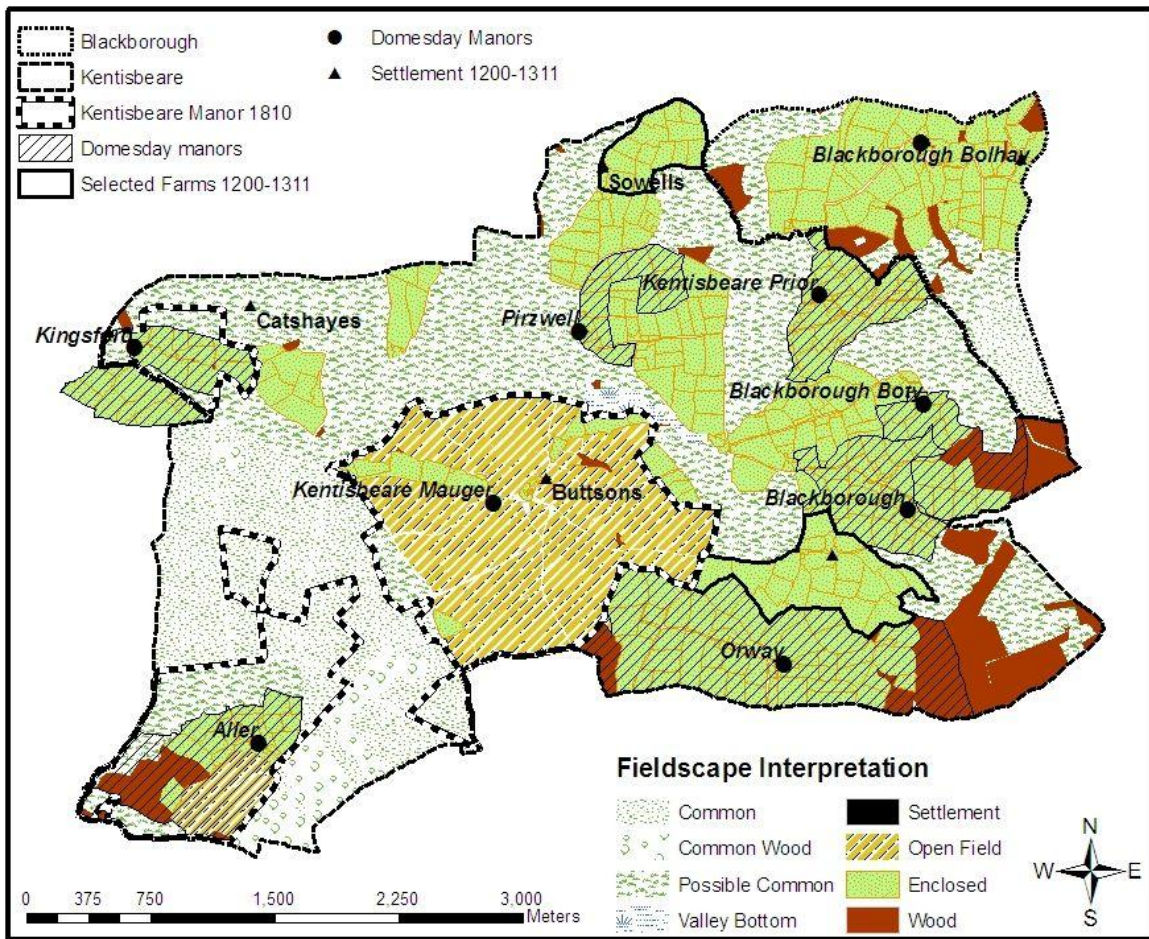


Figure 5.31. Blackborough, Kentisbeare and parts of Cullompton between 1086 and 1311. The fieldscape analysis of the parishes has been overlaid by a map of the boundaries of the manors and farms whose origins can be traced to the two centuries after 1086. These boundaries are those that could be constructed from the tithe data, but with possible common, common, common woodland and valley bottom removed.

may have been in Kentisbeare (see discussion above). All the manors can be linked to a tithe farm, with the exception of Kentisbeare Mauger, and this has permitted the possible extents of the manorial lands to be mapped at Figure 5.31. The manorial survey of Kentisbeare Manor, discussed above, has enabled the probable extent of Kentisbeare Mauger also to be mapped. Normally the proposed Domesday settlement pattern will be 'padded out' by the inclusion of only those farms whose origins can be dated to the two centuries following

Table 5.3. Domesday villans and their putative Domesday manor/tenements, in Kentisbeare and Blackborough.

Tithe Farm	Owner ca.1840	Associated manor	'Domesday' acreage from map regression	Villans' plots Note 2
Kingsford	Egremont	Kingsford	113	0
Pirzwell	Walrond	Pirzwell	89	0
Orway	Walrond	Orway	338	4
Aller	Egremont	Aller	129	1
Mortimer's	Egremont	Kentisbeare Prior	41	0
Saint Hill	Note 1	Blackborough	107	0
Puncherdon	Marker	Blackborough Boty	129	0
Allhallows	Egremont	Blackborough Bolhay	129	0
Henland	Heale	Unknown	128	4
Sowells	Driver	Unknown	60	3
Allecombe	Thompson	Unknown	73	2
Kentisbeare Mauger – data from the manor survey dated 1810			631	14
Total count of villans' plots in Kentisbeare and Blackborough (excluding Kentisbeare Mauger)				28

Note 1: The extent of Saint Hill has been recreated through amalgamating the constituent parts of the dismembered farm, these have been identified through their name.

Note 2: Where Domesday does not record the size of the demesne this has been assumed to be 200 acres (Dyer 2002, 74).

Domesday (for convenience that is until 1300), but in this case study the timeframe has been extended to 1311 to include Henland. Once again the possible extent of those farms has been estimated and is displayed on Figure 5.31.

The existence of probable former open fields at Kentisbeare Mauger, broadly contiguous with the manor boundary, may be considered to be the source of both land¹² and employment for many of the villagers associated with that manor (Table 5.2). Through the map regression, it is possible to determine that the probable size of Kentisbeare Mauger was 631 acres. Domesday does not indicate the extent of the demesne for this manor, but assuming a typical

¹² Typically 30 acres is considered to be a villeins 'lot' (for example Lennard 1959, 341, 351; Miller 1991, 24; Welldon Finn 1973, 38).

demesne to be 200 acres (Dyer 2002, 74), this would generate enough space for plots for 14 villagers. In 1086, however, this manor is recorded as only having 4 villans. A complete inability to assign manorial connections to the 'unattached' farms in Table 5.3, confounds the matching of villans with plots by manor. Table 5.3 suggests that the only Domesday manors in either Blackborough or Kentisbeare that 'housed' any villans were Orway (4) and Aller (1), but that the 'unattached' farms could have housed a further 9 and this, when coupled with the Kentisbeare Mauger figure, brings the total number of identifiable villans' plots in the two parishes to 28. Table 4.2, on the other hand, identifies a 'need' for 32 villan's settlements to be identified, with a considerable proportion of these emanating from Blackborough Boty, Pirzwell and Orway (25). Scrutiny of the map (Figure 5.31) identifies some land that cannot be allocated, and which probably, therefore, creates sufficient land to house all the villans.

In these parishes it has not been possible to match the 'unattached' farms to any of the manors, a process that either requires a document linking the one with the other, or the identification of a probable link through the ownership record in the tithe apportionment. The putative size of these farms permits the tentative placement of more than one villan at each, thereby establishing these sites as probable former hamlets. A similar argument can be employed at Kentisbeare and Orway. From the available data it is possible to allocate 28 villans to probable settlement sites, leaving a shortfall of 4, but this is only the case if we assume a 200 acres demesne where the size is not recorded in Domesday. Finally, the absence of any 'anciently enclosed' land around the probable site of Catshays, suggests that the site was abandoned at an early date and that the original 'farmland' was reclaimed when settlement returned to that area.

Uffculme – manors and tenants, farms and villagers

The interpretation of the Domesday record only places a single manor within the later parish of Uffculme (for example see Thorn & Thorn 1985b). There was, however, a total of 45 villagers, and no slaves, recorded in that manor in 1086.

Even the most cursory glance at the map, noting the peripheral siting of Uffculme, suggests that the parish must have contained more than a single nucleated village at that time, and Fox's description of the typical large parish with several villages and peripheral farms would appear to be the 'best fit' for this manor and parish (Figure 5.32). There were large extents of probable open field at Uffculme, at Northcott and Hackpen, surrounding Ashill, and a small patch at Hayne; a further small patch at Rull may be an extension of the Ashill system.

The 45 villagers of Uffculme need to be divided between the probable open field systems and the isolated farms that have been identified. There are several 'farms' that lie on the probable open fields and if these co-existed with these fields then they were probably small hamlets, each housing villans who were working their plots, within the fields. Outside the probable open fields there are only five farms whose existence can be dated to the two centuries after Domesday – Bradfield, Foxhill, Gaddon, Goodleigh, Hayne – and their putative acreages suggest that all, except Bradfield, could have been a hamlet with at least two villans apiece. These five farms held enough land to provide 14 villans with plots of around 30 acres apiece (Table 5.4). Given the extent of the open fields, and subtracting the demesne size recorded for Uffculme (maybe as large as 290 acres) there would have been sufficient land to provide another 44 villans with a suitable plot of land. In the case of Uffculme, therefore, it has been possible to identify more than enough probable villans' plots to accommodate the villagers recorded at Domesday.

It has been possible to identify a tithe farm for each of the manors of this case study, with the exception of the two 'main' manors: Kentisbeare Mauger and Uffculme. Further, where these farms have been identified it has been possible to generate a putative extent of the manorial land *ca.* 1086. Notwithstanding the failure to identify a tithe farm for each of the main manors, it has still been

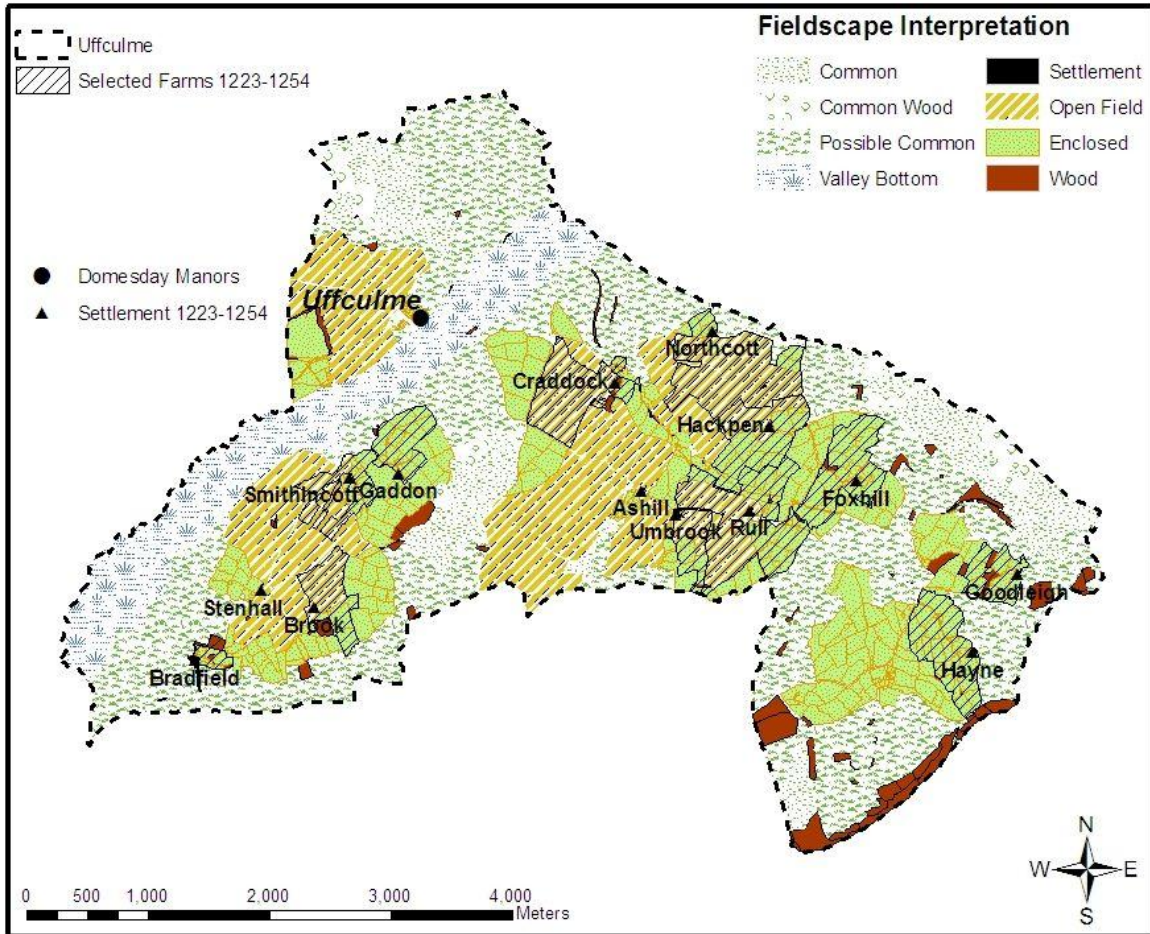


Figure 5.32. Uffculme between 1086 and 1254. The fieldscape analysis of the parishes has been overlaid by a map of the boundaries of the farms whose origins can be traced to the two centuries after Domesday.

Table 5.4. Domesday villans and their putative Domesday manor/tenements, in Uffculme.

Tithe Farm and date	Owner ca.1840	Associated manor	'Domesday' acreage from map regression	Villans' plots
Bradfield		Uffculme	20	1
Foxhill		Uffculme	98	3
Gaddon		Uffculme	139	5
Goodleigh		Uffculme	57	2
Hayne		Uffculme	89	3
Uffculme Manor – estimated extent of all open fields			1525	44
Total count of villans' plots in Uffculme				55

possible to estimate the extent of each. In the case of Kentisbeare through the existence of a survey dated 1810, while that of Uffculme has been 'recreated' by assuming that the probable open fields in that area were the immediate demesne lands. In Kentisbeare and Blackborough we have identified five further farms, dating to 1200-1311, and estimated what the probable extents of three of these would have been, had they existed in 1086. In the case of Buttsons it was not considered appropriate to determine an extent since this farm lay in the middle of the probable open fields surrounding Kentisbeare, while Catshays was 'recovered' during the search for missing settlement, due to its field-name. In Uffculme this process was complicated by the existence of several swathes of probable open field, on which nine early farm sites were identified, once again these have been assumed to have been the nucleated settlements from which the villans worked. Outside these open fields a total of five tithe farms were identified and their putative extents in 1086 used to determine the likely 'spread' of villans beyond the open fields. Once again, the process of allocating villans to farms, based upon their putative extents ca. 1086, has permitted the identification of several possible former hamlets, and these will be added to the final Domesday map of the parishes. Staying with the land, we now turn to the comparison of the amount of land deemed to have been enclosed around the time of Domesday and the amount of land deemed to have been worked in 1086, where this latter is derived from an interpretation of the Domesday metrics.

Domesday Agricultural Land

Chapter 3 discusses converting Domesday metrics into modern standard acres, and these are presented at Table 5.5, for the parishes of this case study. The aim of this section is to compare those metrics with the results of the regression, looking at the total extent/s on a parochial basis and at a manorial level.

Furthermore, uncertainty over the correct placement of one or two of the three Blackborough manors, has necessitated the combination of the data from Blackborough and Kentisbeare, thereby diluting the gross check at a parochial

Table 5.5. Domesday entries for different land-uses in the ten manors that comprise the parishes of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme. The minimum and maximum extents of the manors and parishes have been calculated using 60 acres as the minimum size of a ploughland and 90 acres as the maximum.

Manor	Original Domesday Figures and units (note 1)				Domesday Figures converted to statute acres (see Chapter 3 for conversion criteria)				Putative Domesday manor extents (statute acres) (note 2)		Tithe assessment of parish size	Thesis assessment of 'ancient' enclosure
	Arable (ploughlands)	Meadow	Pasture	Wood	Arable min/max (note 3)	Meadow	Pasture	Wood	Min manor area	Max manor area		
Blackborough (16,101)	1 (1) (note 4)	5	20		60/90	5	20		85 (85) (note 4)	115 (115)		107
Blackborough Bolhay (34,20)	2	3	100		120/180	3	100		223	283		129
Blackborough Boty (51,7)	3 (75 acres) (note 4)	4	100	2	180/270	4	100	2	286 (181) (note 4)	376 (181) (note 4)		129
Kentisbeare Prior (16,100)	2 (1) (note 4)	10		10	120/180	10		10	140 (80) (note 4)	200 (110) (note 4)		41
Kentisbeare Mauger (16,102)	4	10		10	240/360	10		10	260	380		631
Aller (16,103)	2 (1) (note 4)	10		10	120/180	10		10	140 (80) (note 4)	200 (110) (note 4)		129
Kingsford (16,99)	½	6		4	30/45	6		4	40	55		113
Orway (38,2)	3 (1 plus 30 acres) (note 4)	5	100	4	180/270	5	100	4	289 (199) (note 4)	379 (229) (note 4)		338
Pirzwell (19,21)	4 (2) (note 4)	8	30	14	240/360	8	30	14	292 (172) (note 4)	412 (232) (note 4)		89
Blackborough and Kentisbeare totals	21 ½				1290/1935	61	350	54	1755	2400	4229	2385
Uffculme (23,9)	30 (2) (note 4)	25	60	25	1800/2700	25	60	25	1910 (230) (note 4)	2810 (290) (note 4)	6177	3302

Notes:

1. Where Domesday records acres the precise size of these 'acres' is not known.
2. The putative manor extent is calculated by adding the arable, meadow, pasture and wood figures (in statute acres) together – two totals are generated, one using the minimum arable calculation and the other the larger one.
3. The minimum and maximum arable acreage is calculated by assuming that a ploughland in Devon was between 90 (maximum) and 60 (minimum) acres.
4. The figures in brackets are the number of ploughs 'in lordship', only the count of ploughlands and the eventual manor extents are listed. Domesday does not always record whole ploughlands, sometimes adding 'furlongs' which are assumed to be only an acre in extent and these are disregarded here (Gray 1915, 19).

level. The underlying concept of the Hoskins model is that each manor had satellite farms and in the last case study, in Broadclyst, it proved to be difficult to match those farms whose early existence could be proven with their 'parent' manors, thereby rendering the manorial check difficult to achieve. This same difficulty is likely to be apparent with the manorial checks in Kentisbeare and Blackborough due to a similar problem in identifying the 'parent' manor.

The Domesday metrics and their 'conversion' to statute acres are at Table 5.5, as are the figures for parochial acreage recorded by the Tithe Commissioners and the assessment of the parochial acreage of core farmland derived from the map regression. It can be seen that the combined figures for Blackborough and Kentisbeare – 2400 acres total size recorded in 1086 (using a 90 acre ploughland) compares very favourably with the estimated 2385 acres determined through the map regression. The figures for Uffculme are not quite so satisfactory – 2810 acres (Domesday) against 3302 acres (regression). In the last case study it was argued that the size of a ploughland may have varied between the two parishes, probably according to soil quality; Broadclyst could be accorded a ploughland of 100 acres and Poltimore one of 90 acres. In a similar manner it can be argued that Uffculme enjoys more 'better' soil than Kentisbeare and thus maybe had a larger ploughland, especially since the soils in Uffculme are very similar to those of Broadclyst. Increasing the size of a Domesday ploughland to 100 acres in Uffculme establishes a putative size for the parish of 3110 acres, but any further manipulation of the data to bring the two figures even closer cannot be supported.

The similar comparison of land extent at a manorial level in Uffculme, by definition, is identical to the grosser parochial check. In Blackborough and Kentisbeare the results of this manorial check are a 'curate's egg', only good in parts, and these have been listed at Table 5.5. The regression results for Orway and Blackborough both sit very nicely in the mid-range of Domesday figures. The

remainder of the regression figures generally fall very short of the lowest of Domesday estimate (60 acre ploughland), with the exception of Kentisbeare Mauger which is high, although the result for Aller is, maybe, close enough to the lower limit to be considered 'valid'. The regression result for Kentisbeare Mauger is nearly twice the higher Domesday estimate for that manor but, if one combines the results for both *Chentesbera* manors the regression size is 672 acres, while the Domesday sizes add up to an expectation of 580 acres (90 acre ploughland); this is closer but still not close enough to be acceptable. This may suggest that, originally, part of Kentisbeare Prior did lie around the village, contiguous with Kentisbeare Mauger, which could explain why both were called *Chentesbera* in Domesday. This possible re-interpretation of the data, however, must be acknowledged to be little more than a 'laundering' of the results, and, while the arguments may be 'sensible', there is no evidence to support the changes. There is so much scope for the movement of land between manors, holdings and farms, across 750 years, that it would, perhaps, be more honest to state that even the highly satisfactory results for Orway and Blackborough should not be viewed as anything more than 'fortuitous'.

The apparent success of the 'gross' check of acreage, Domesday estimate against map regression calculation, at the level of the parishes, especially that for Blackborough and Kentisbeare, provides a satisfying conclusion to the analysis of the mapping. We now turn to a reflection of the final product of the fieldscape analysis, the possible map of the parishes ca.1086.

Domesday Recovered? (Figures 5.33 and 5.34)

The fieldscape analyses of Kentisbeare and Uffculme indicate that there probably were some open fields in both parishes, although it is not possible to determine any form of associated tenurial arrangement. While neither Finberg (1952), nor

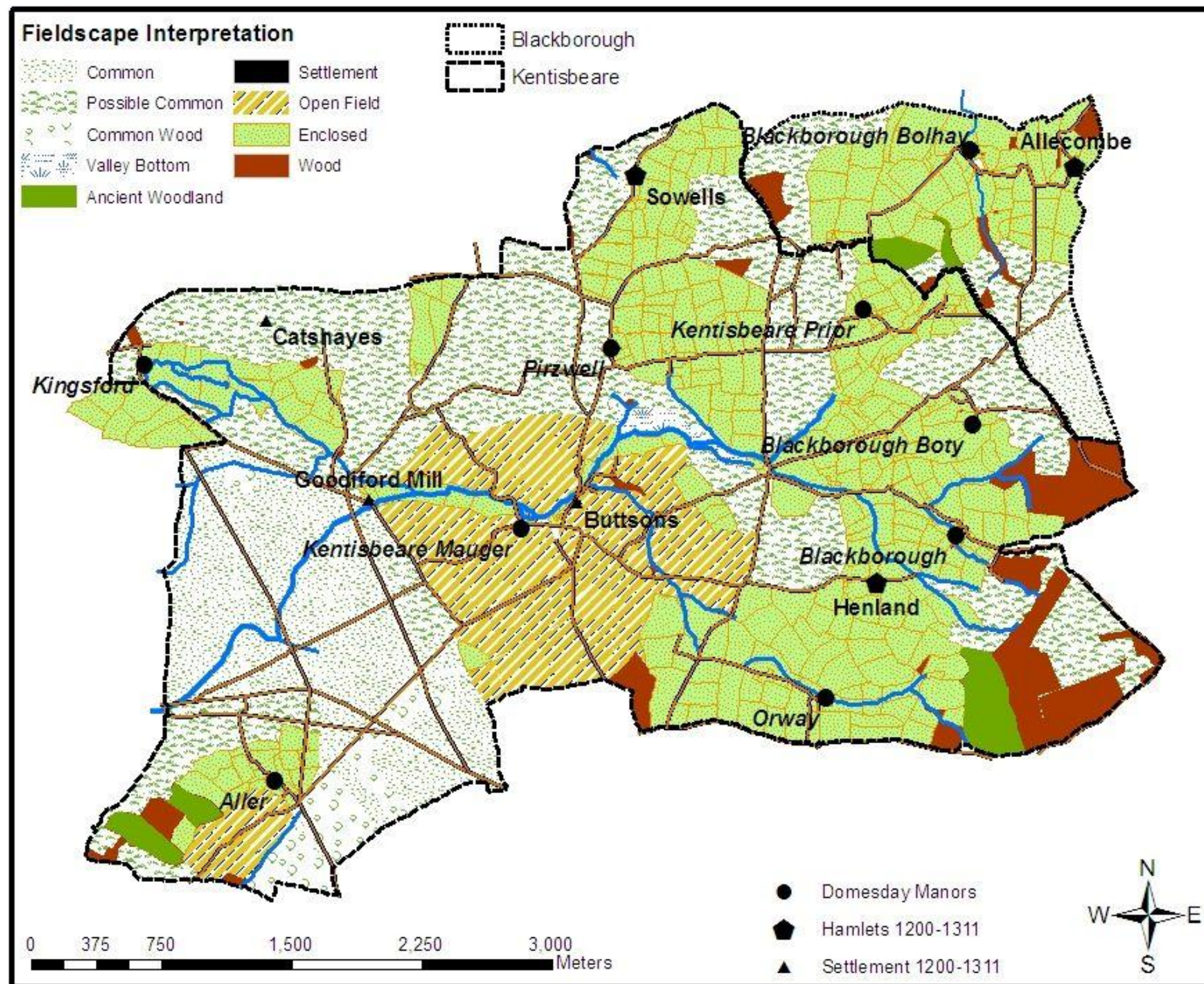


Figure 5.33. A possible representation of Blackborough and Kentisbeare ca. 1086. The medieval settlement data is a composite of Domesday manors and settlement known to have been in existence before 1311. The road pattern is that recorded on the tithe maps ca. 1840, amended by some small surveys which result in parts of the road map dating to the turn of the 19th century (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

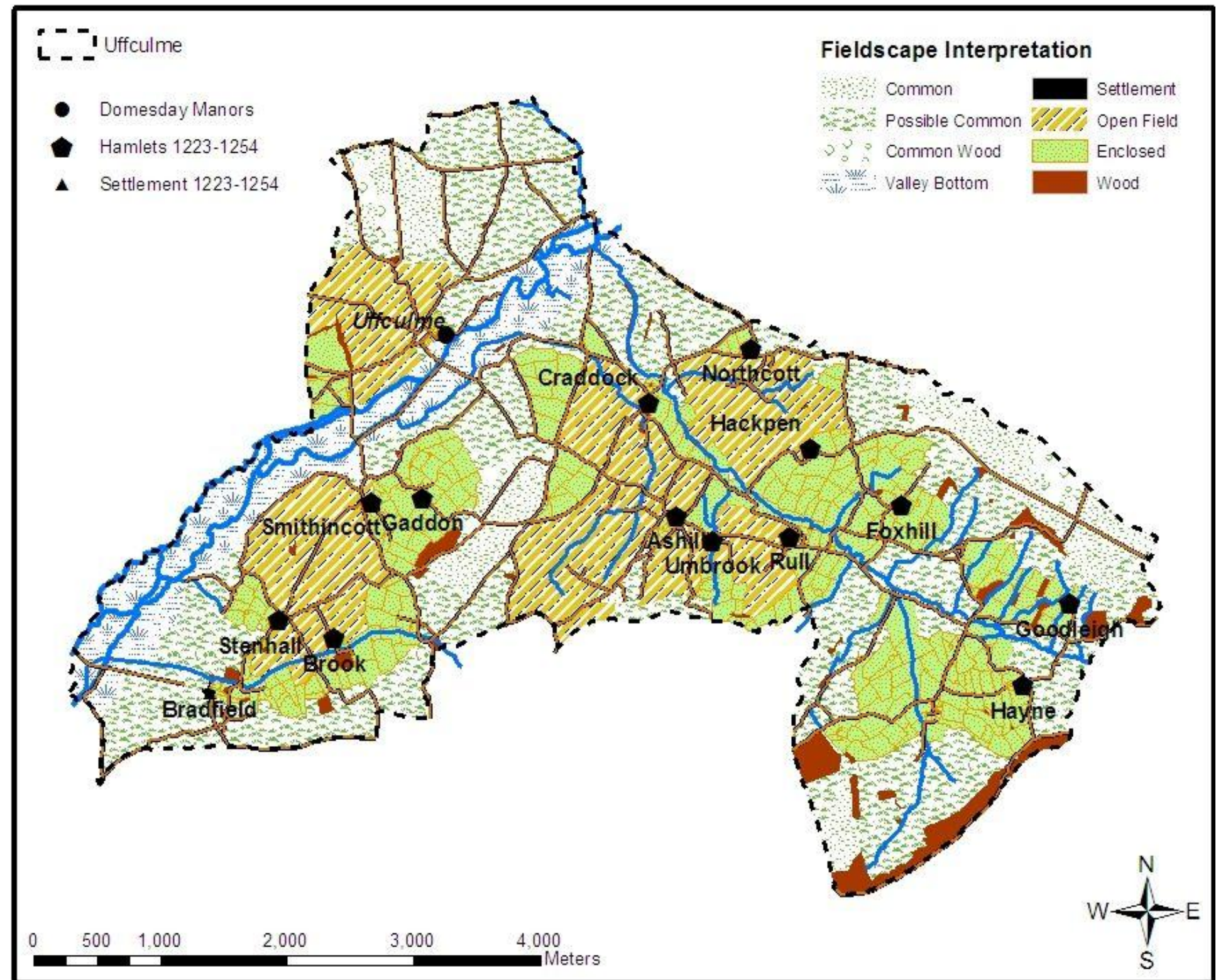


Figure 5.34. A possible representation of Uffculme ca. 1086. The medieval settlement data is a composite of Domesday manors and settlement known to have been in existence before 1254. The road pattern is that recorded on the tithe maps ca. 1840, amended by some small surveys which result in parts of the road map dating to the turn of the 19th century.

Fox (1972), report any documentary evidence to support the proposed existence of these fields, their presence does not contradict the Fox model of the typical parish in East Devon and both Kentisbeare (a normal parish) and Uffculme (a larger parish) both conform to that model (Fox 1972, 88-9). The association of probable open fields with known Domesday settlement may serve to date the field systems, but this is not necessarily the fact. The presence of the open fields serves to inform the possible nature of the associated settlement, suggesting nucleated hamlets or villages, as appropriate.

It has been possible to identify fourteen settlement sites in Blackborough and Kentisbeare (including Henland) that date to AD 1311 or earlier, of which nine were recorded in Domesday (Figure 5.33). Such a high count of early sites, which includes the possible location of a 'lost' settlement, Catshays, may serve to provide a reasonably complete picture of the settlement pattern in the aftermath of Domesday. It was possible to identify a credible 28 villans' plots out of a requirement for 32, and the shortfall could easily be made up from the amount of core farmland that has been identified that cannot be associated with any manor or farm. The identification of the enclosed land that 'belonged' to the manors and farms after the regression is less than certain. It is probably the best that can be achieved and could only be improved if there had been better survivability of records to support the analysis. The comparison of the amount of core farmland derived through map regression against that estimated from the Domesday metrics, is very satisfying at a parochial level and also produces some acceptable results at the manorial level. The shortcomings in the results of the check against manors is probably due to the 750 years between Domesday and the Tithe Assessment, during which time there are very few records that track the movement of land holding between landowners and manors and farms – the potential for change in this length of time is considerable, but the results from both Blackborough and Orway support continuing with this check in future case studies. The analysis of Uffculme is equally satisfying; the single Domesday

manor and the fourteen satellite settlements, where the existence of these latter can be proven to pre-date 1254, have generated more than enough potential villans' plots to satisfy the Domesday assessments.

It must be remembered that, in the parishes investigated in both case studies so far, the presence of probable open field systems is auto-suggestive of large swathes of cereal crops. Similarly, the presence of enclosed fields tends to conjure pictures of cows and sheep grazing, but the reality is that both are illusions. The open fields will have been worked to a planned rotation and, while it is impossible to determine whether they were worked on a two- or three-field rotation, only part of the probable open fields will have been put to cereal, while the remainder may have been grazed by oxen, cattle and sheep. In a similar vein, those fields that were enclosed will have been worked under a system of convertible husbandry and we can be slightly more certain when we say that probably only 25% will have been cropped, while the remainder will have been pasture. In this case study, bearing in mind this caveat concerning land-use, the checks against the Domesday metrics with respect to population and settlement, agricultural land and enclosed land, both support the contention that the maps at Figures 5.33 and 5.34 are fair representations of the landscape of the parishes at Domesday. Furthermore they indicate the extent to which the available land was exploited for the purpose of both arable and pastoral farming, and here it must be acknowledged that the common, possible common and valley bottom land was also probably also exploited, but only as coarse pasture and summer grazing.

Summary

The seemingly arbitrary manner in which Hoskins selected the farms to populate his Domesday model of one villan-one farm, has been replaced, in this thesis, by the identification of farms whose existence, within the two hundred years after 1086 can be established, their putative extents estimated and a number of villans

allocated to each, assuming a 30 acre plot per villan. For the modified methodology to work, an accurate picture of the settlement pattern needs to be derived. It is the nature of map regression techniques to remove what should not be there, but not to replace it. In the absence of records it has been necessary to resort to the study of aerial photographs, field morphologies and field-name analysis to 'add back' 'lost' settlement. The most effective of these, to date, appears to be the search for settlement indicative field-names. While the modification to the Hoskins model establishes a more robust methodology it is limited by the minimalist nature of the attendant settlement patterns.

Fox (1972) argues that, in East Devon, the 'normal' parish consists of a central village, collocated with the church, surrounded by isolated farms. The presence of open fields around that central core neither confirms, nor confounds, this statement. In this case study, the parishes of both Kentisbeare and Uffculme, with their probable open field systems, both conform to the Fox model. Blackborough, on the other hand does not, but it is a small parish, on higher, and therefore arguably more marginal land. It was probably only occupied by an isolated manor and a single tenement in 1086, and does not appear to have had a 'central' hamlet, until the intervention of Lord Egremont just before the Tithe Assessment. While it does not accord with the Fox model of a parish, the close ties it seems to have enjoyed with Kentisbeare, through the intermixing of the Blackborough manors, suggest that, maybe, the settlement of this small parish should be treated as isolated farms surrounding the nucleated village of Kentisbeare.

The 1810 survey of Kentisbeare manor lends credibility to the technique of plotting known medieval farm extents that surround open fields in an attempt to establish the boundary between the two entities. This has permitted a credible, though less certain, identification of the probable extent of open fields around the putative sites in Uffculme, but this is further complicated by the industrial history of the town.

The results of the map regression in this case study permit acreages to be calculated for the parishes that can be compared against the calculated size of agricultural land in each parish at the time of Domesday. The result for Blackborough and Kentisbeare is close to the extent that may be anticipated for land that has 'good' soil, and which may, therefore, be expected to have a 'local' ploughland of 90, or so, acres. The result for Uffculme is less satisfactory, either some land has been incorrectly identified as 'ancient enclosure', or the 'local' ploughland needs to be increased to, at least, 100 acres. In the last case study, the size of a 'local' ploughland was estimated to be between 90 acres (Poltimore) and 100 acres (Broadclyst), and, given the close similarity between the soils of all five parishes, there appears to be little justification in changing those 'limits'.

The settlement pattern can only be dated to *ca.* 1311 (1254 in Uffculme), and, despite locating one 'missing' settlement (Catshayes), probably does not represent the full count of manors, holdings and farms that were present at that date. The road pattern exhibits the radial nature that may be associated with a landscape dominated by nucleated settlement, but this is dated mostly to *ca.* 1840, apart from some small changes that date back no earlier than 1765.

6

Case Study III: the parishes of Cotleigh and Stockland

'In the entrance, on the east part of the shire, the mould standeth most upon white chalk, which is passing good for sheep and corn; a little further it consists of a red and blue marle, which is no [sic] rocky, but an earthy substance; this soil is most natural for pasturing of beasts, though it be plentifully stored with corn; for the red marle hath this property to fructify the barrenest ground, and little to benefit the good land.'

(Risdon ca.1640, 4)

Introduction

In the third of the case studies our attention now shifts up to the plateau of the Blackdown Hills and also into the valley of the River Yarty. The parishes of Cotleigh and Stockland are collocated on the eastern side of a large ridge, at the heart of the Blackdowns (Figure 6.1). Situation and size combine to make these two parishes appear to be very different. The one, Cotleigh, seems to perch on the side of the ridge, whilst the other, Stockland, nestles snugly in the valley bottom. Yet appearances can be deceptive and both have a history and morphology that combine to create a timeless sense of continuity and contentment.

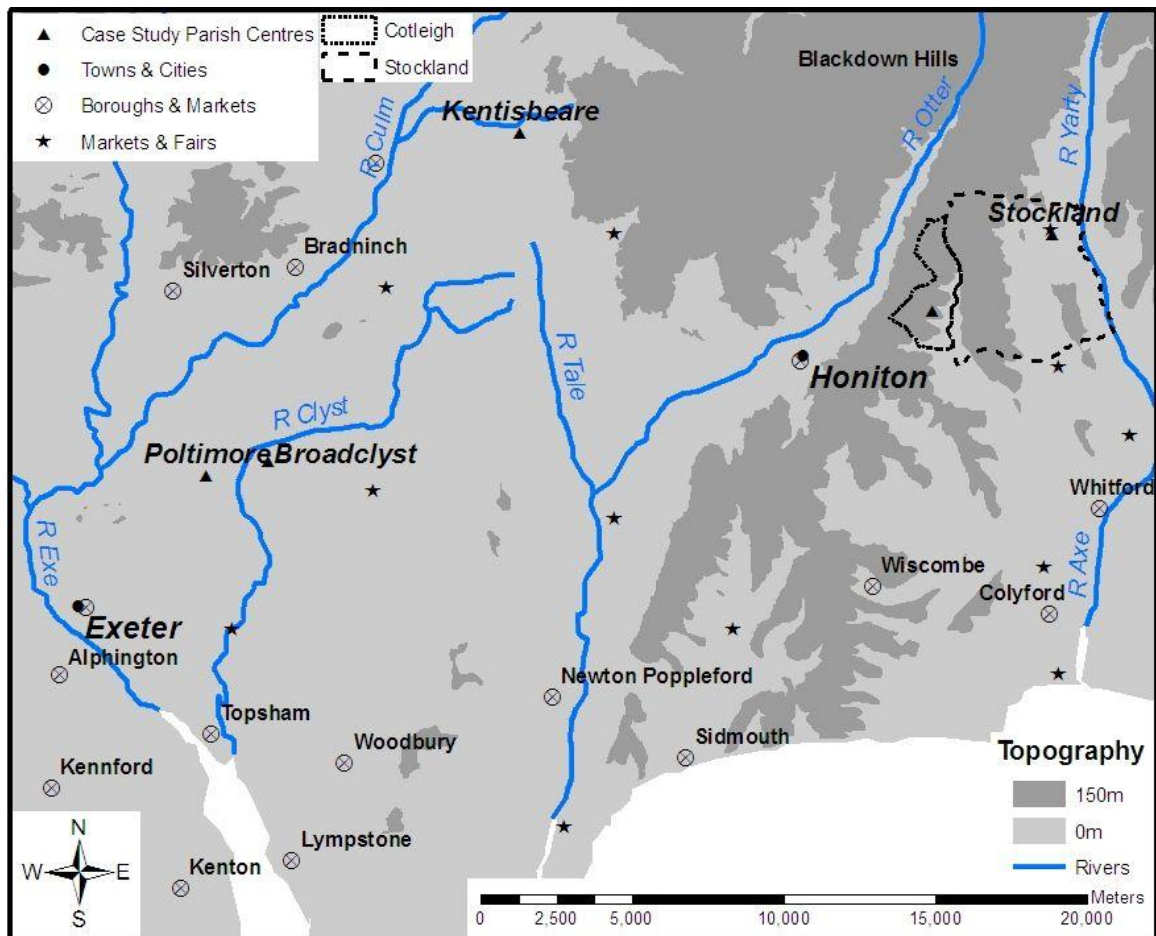


Figure 6.1. Cotleigh and Stockland lie 30km to the east of Exeter, on the southern edge of the Blackdown Hills (boroughs after Beresford & Finberg 1973, markets after Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs 2010).

Lying near the eastern county boundary, these parishes draw their character from the west, from Devon, and not from the east and the parishes of Somerset, whose medieval landscape was one of villages and open fields. It will be seen that Stockland, in particular, is quintessentially part of Hoskins' Devon; the land 'of small fields enclosed in severalty from the beginning' (Hoskins 1963, 19), even though, until 1850, it was a detached part of Dorset. We start, as always, by looking at the natural environment.

Natural Environment

In comparison with the hilly 'uplands' of Devon, Exmoor and in particular Dartmoor, the Blackdown Hills, in the vicinity of Cotleigh and Stockland, are not that high, and only rise to just over 250m in the north-western corner of Stockland. They represent, nevertheless, the highest land encountered so far in this thesis, and it will be interesting to discover just how the topography and different geological formations affect the soils, and whether this variation results in dissimilar cropping characteristics to those of the lower lands.

Topography

The differing aspects of the two parishes have already been touched upon, with Cotleigh lying atop the main ridge, while Stockland occupies the valley bottom or, to be precise, valley bottoms (Figure 6.2). The main ridge, outthrust from the body of the Blackdown Hills, runs down the western side of Cotleigh, but, just to the north of the parishes it splits and a smaller ridge runs into Stockland parish, from the north-west. This subsidiary ridge is called Stockland Hill along its entire length and represents the higher, flatter, ground that characterises the western side of Stockland (Figure 6.3). The central and eastern parts of this larger parish lie along the valley bottoms of the Corry Brook and the River Yarty, and these valleys are separated from each other by an outlier of the main hills that has two 'peaks', at Horner Hill and Beacon Hill.

Stockland Hill and the ridge to the west can be characterised as flat plateaux that slope gently down into their flanking valleys, formed by the Umborne and Corry Brooks. Gentle that is, except for the final part of the descent where it becomes a steep tumble down to the valley bottom (Figure 6.4). Away from these two ridges, in the eastern and central part of Stockland the landscape may be characterised as rolling, and, whilst there are still hills, these blend into the landscape and are not as steep or prominent as the ridges of the west.

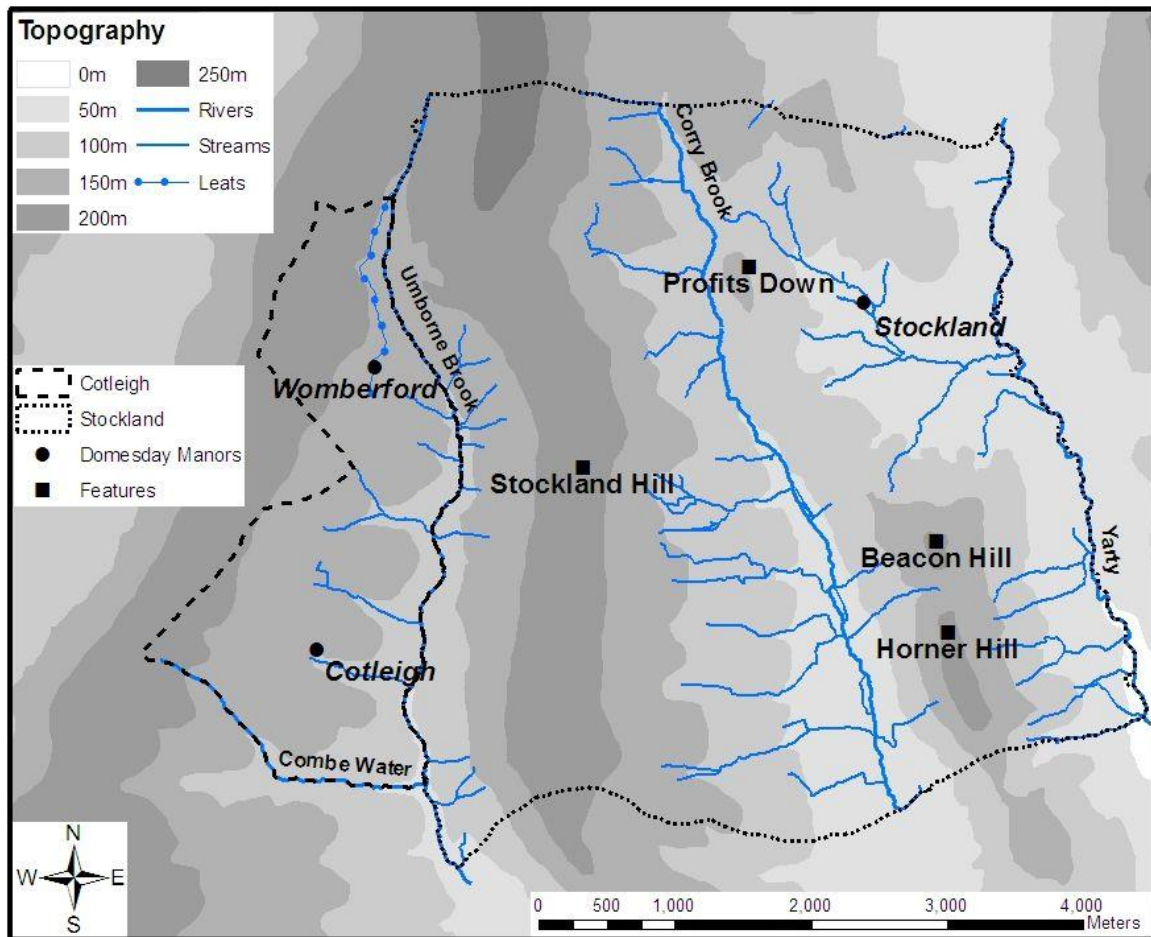


Figure 6.2. The topography of Cotleigh and Stockland is dominated by the ridges and valleys of the southern Blackdown Hills. The western, unnamed ridge, creates a flat, gently sloping landscape in Cotleigh before a short tumble down to the Umborne Brook, while an eastern branch, Stockland Hill, forms the plateau that characterises the west of Stockland. The rest of Stockland nestles in the valleys of the Cory Brook and Yarty, which are separated by the higher ground of Horner and Beacon Hills.

The topography has been created by the underlying geological features through their interaction with the climate and the resultant rivers. It is the geology that is discussed in the next sub-section.



Figure 6.3. The view east from the ridge top in Cotleigh, across the Umborne valley to the top of Stockland Hill. The gentle, sloping nature of the far hill is evident, while the steeper, lower 'tumble' is hidden (Sandover).



Figure 6.4. The Umborne Valley. The steep, tumbling nature of the lower descent is apparent on the left of the picture (Sandover).

Geology (Figure 6.5)

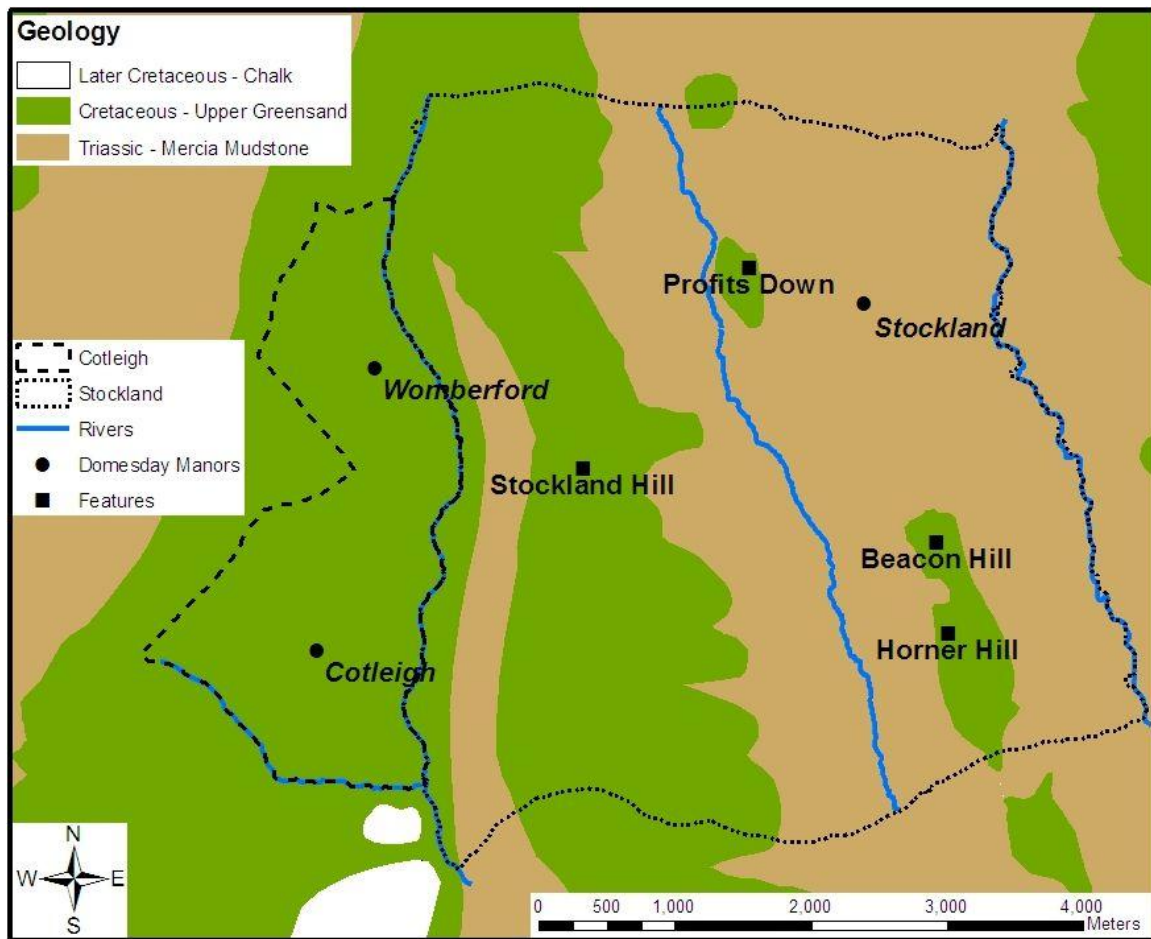


Figure 6.5. The geology of Cotleigh and Stockland. The geology of the Blackdown Hills is dominated by the Upper Greensand rocks of the Cretaceous period, except where the rivers have ‘carved their way down’ to the earlier Mercia Mudstone rocks of the Triassic period (after British Geological Survey 2010).

The Blackdown Hills originally had a chalk ‘cap’ covering them, which can be dated to the Late Cretaceous. This ‘cap’ has, for the most part, been eroded away and, within this case study, only small patches are found, just outside the parishes, to the south of Cotleigh and east of Stockland. The two rock formations that dominate the parishes are, on the hills, the Upper Greensand of the Cretaceous, a grey/green layer of sandstone, and, in the valleys, the Mercia Mudstones of the earlier Triassic, a marl that is dark red in colour with pale green

streaks (Durrance & Laming 1982, 167, 189-91 & 315; British Geological Survey 2010). While the geology of this case study appears to be relatively easy to follow, the soil structure that has been created both by that geology and by the effects of climate is less 'simple', and this is discussed next.

Soil (Figure 6.6 and Table 6.1)

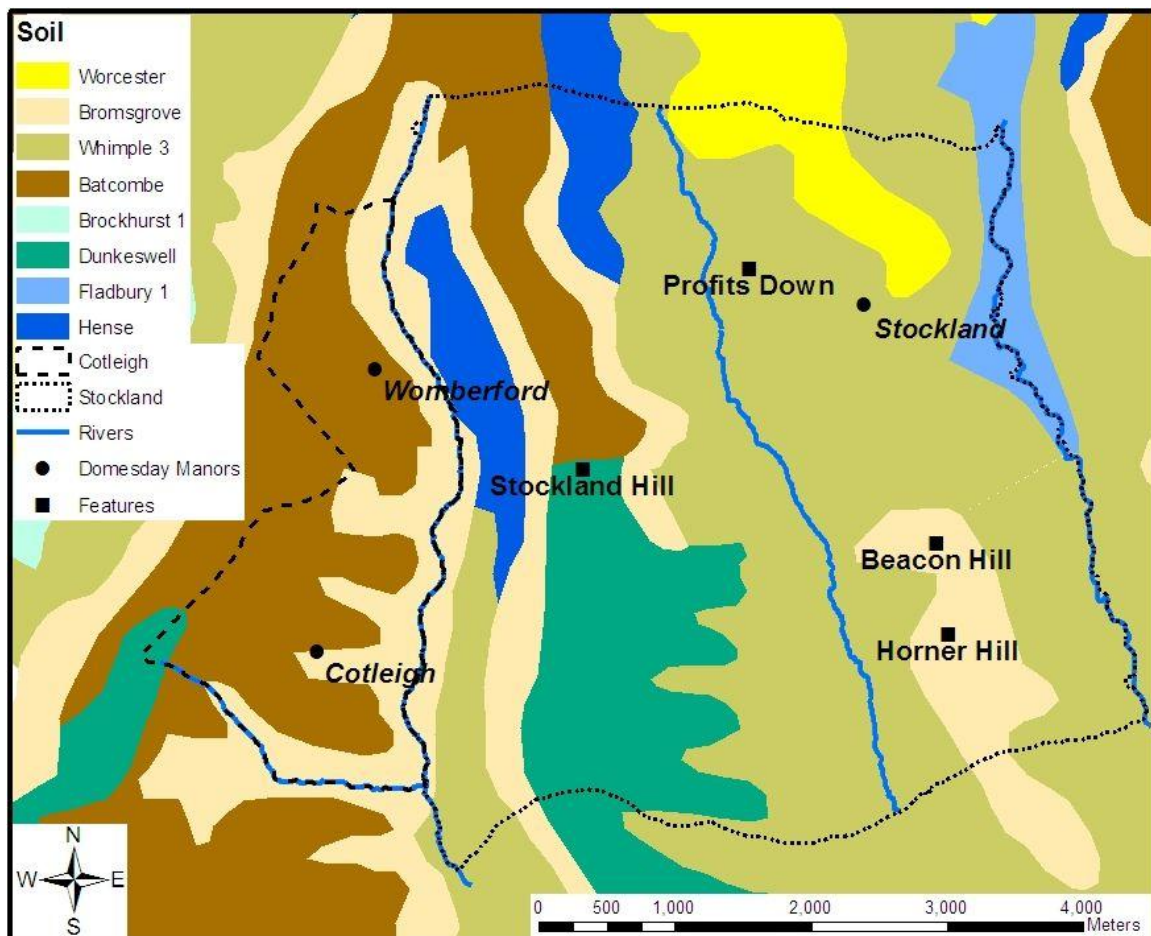


Figure 6.6. The soils of Cotleigh and Stockland. The association between soil and geology is more apparent on these, higher lands. The ridge tops are either Dunkeswell or Batcombe soils, with Bromsgrove on most valley sides. Hense, Brockhurst 1 and Fladbury 1 are prevalent in the valley bottoms, whilst Worcester is a 'newcomer' in this case study, a clayey soil that is found on valley sides. (after Soil Survey 1983).

**Table 6.1. The soils of Cotleigh and Stockland (Figure 6.6)
(extract from Soil Survey 1983, Index).**

Name	Character	Agriculture	Location
Worcester	Slowly permeable non-calcareous and calcareous reddish clayey soils over mudstone, shallow on steeper slopes. Associated with similar non-calcareous fine loamy over clayey soils. Slight risk of water erosion	Permanent and short term grassland with dairying and stock rearing; some winter cereals in drier districts	Valley sides
Bromsgrove	Well drained reddish coarse loamy soils mainly over soft sandstone. Risk of water erosion	Cereals, sugar beet and potatoes, some field vegetables and fruit. Mostly grassland in moist districts	Valley sides
Whimble 3	Reddish fine loamy or fine silty over clayey soils with slowly permeable subsoils and slight seasonal waterlogging	Dairying and stock rearing, winter cereals and short term grassland	Valley bottom, valley sides.
Batcombe	Fine silty soil, slight seasonal waterlogging	Cereals and dairying	Ridge-top
Brockhurst 1	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged reddish fine loamy over clayey soils	Winter cereals and short term grassland, some dairying and stock rearing	Higher valley sides
Dunkeswell	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged fine silty over clayey soils, some with a humose surface horizon	Dairying on short term and permanent grassland, cereals, some coniferous woodland and wet heath	Ridge-top
Fladbury 1	Stoneless clayey soils, in places calcareous, variably affected by groundwater. Flat land, risk of flooding	Stock rearing on permanent grassland. Some cereals where flood risk low	Valley bottom

Hense	Permeable coarse loamy soils mainly with a humose or peaty surface horizon, affected by groundwater	Wetland, woodland and wet moorland habitats, some coniferous woodland and improved grassland	Valley sides
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Amongst the good soils, encountered on the floodplains in Case Studies I and II, only Bromsgrove can be found in this, the third study. Whimple 3, one of the less capable arable soils encountered to date and Batcombe, more common on ridge tops, have become far more prevalent. What is also noticeable is the way that those soils that are ‘seasonally waterlogged’ or otherwise affected by water, become more prevalent on the higher, ridge tops where, in the previous case studies, they were to be found more on the floodplains of the valley bottoms. Overall, there are more soils in this case study, that have the words ‘waterlogged’ and/or ‘clayey’ in their descriptions than we have encountered before and it would appear that the climb, albeit a relatively small one, to hilltops of the order of 200-250m in height, has seen both a general deterioration in soil quality and an increase in the amount of soil affected by water, whether by rain or running water.

We might expect that an increase in poorer soils should be reflected in a commensurate increase in pasture, while a shift in waterlogged soils, upslope onto the higher ground, will result in more coarse pasture and furze, and may also cause a decrease in lowland meadow. The difference in cereal capability, in this case study, may not be so apparent, as most of the soils that support both summer and winter cropping have given way to those that merely support winter cereals. The increase in clayey soil, nevertheless, may generate a decrease in the size of a ploughland.

The move towards the higher ground of the Blackdown Hills has seen a shift in geological formation towards the younger rocks of the Cretaceous and an increase in less capable soil, probably due to a decline in climate, associated with height. The rocks that underlay parts of the floodplains of the lowlands have

become limited to the valley bottoms of these higher lands, and the generally less capable soils that they created have started to become the relatively more capable soils of these 'uplands'. While the amount of cereal grown may not diminish with the change in height/climate encountered between Broadclyst and Cotleigh, the size of a ploughland may be smaller. The next section starts with a review of the agricultural capability of the land ca.1840 but, while it may be safe to transfer the soil quality data recorded in the late 20th century, back as far as the early Victorian period, it would not be safe to see this as any more than an indicator of the possible soil structures of the medieval period.

Land-use History

Land-use ca. 1840 (Figure 6.7)

In the first two case studies, where the river floodplains were broad and flat, it was possible to identify a relatively narrow band of seasonally waterlogged soil, similar to Hense or Fladbury 1 (Table 6.1), lying along the watercourse that appeared to generate the meadows, and some of the pasture, of those study areas. In this case study, there is only a small extent of Fladbury 1, to the east and north of Stockland, along the Yarty, that generates such a narrow 'ribbon' of riverside meadow and pasture. Elsewhere, there are far broader swathes of grassland, aligned with the rivers and streams, which are all associated with the 'seasonally waterlogged' Whimble 3 soils. While this soil also supports some of the lowland cereal cropping of this case study, in the earlier studies it appeared more capable of supporting those crops.

The extent of cereal cropping on the ridge tops of Cotleigh and Stockland appears to be related to the presence of soils of the types: Batcombe, Bromsgrove and Dunkeswell. The position of the less capable soils, Hense and, where found on the higher ground, Whimble 3 may be identified through the growth of furze or the existence of turbaries. Whimble 3, it would appear, is a

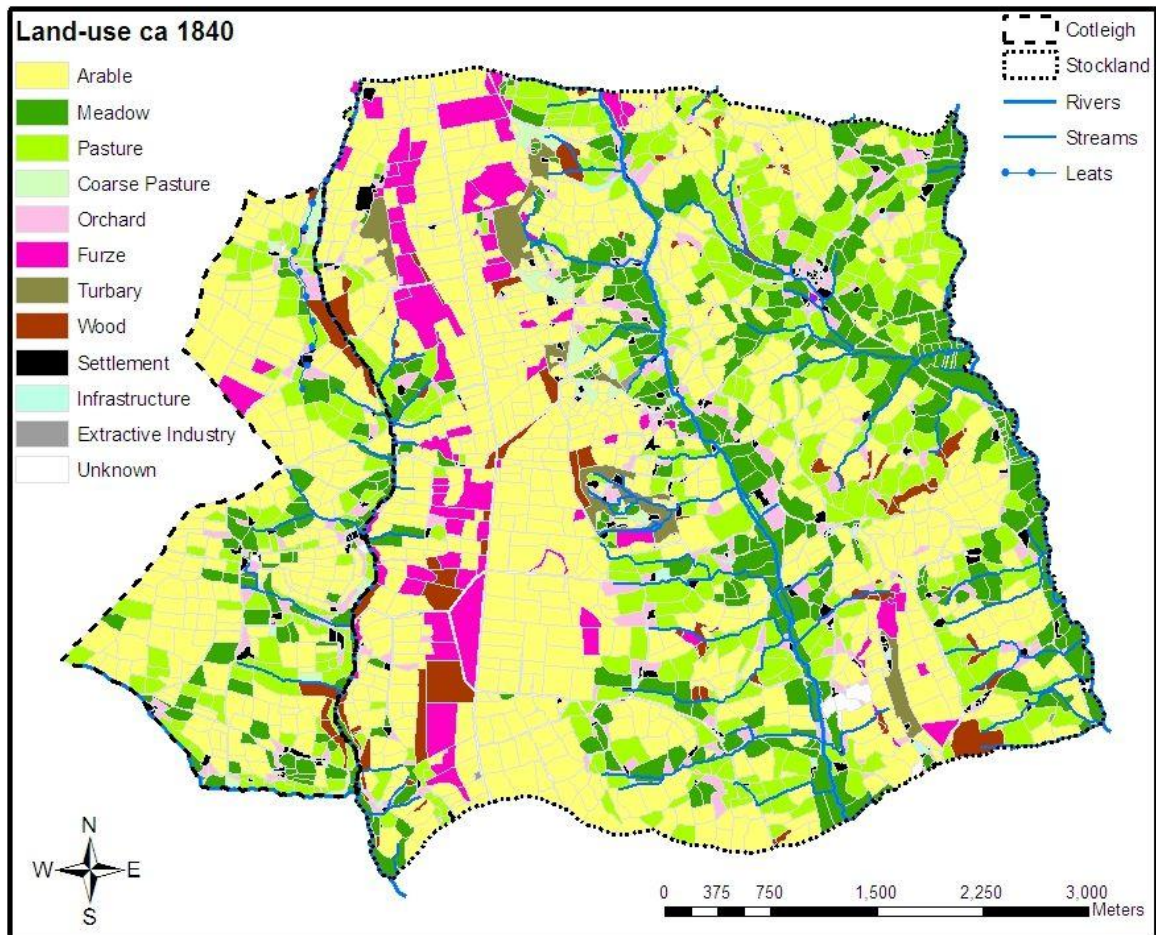


Figure 6.7. Land-use in Cotleigh and Stockland recorded ca. 1840. There is a very pronounced link between land whose use was recorded as either meadow or pasture and the rivers and streams of both parishes. In both Cotleigh and Stockland land whose use was recorded as arable dominates the ridge tops, but is also evident in the 'gaps' between the rivers and streams. The presence of both furze and peat on the plateaux is evidence of less fertile ground that, in the case of peat, was prone to waterlogging.

relatively common soil type, found in all three case studies to date, whose ability to support crops may be dependent upon both topography and climate. Overall, the picture presented by both the Soil Survey (Figure 6.6 & Table 6.1), and that of the land-use ca.1840, suggest that these parishes will have been more pastoral through time, with less cereal being grown than was found on the lower floodplains. We will now look at the history of land-use recorded in the single pollen sequence, following this with a review of the extent of 'ancient' woodland.

Pollen sources

The single pollen sequence in the parishes of Cotleigh and Stockland was taken from a small peat deposit at Aller Farm, which is just to the south of the village of Stockland (Figure 6.8). Unfortunately, peat formation ceased somewhere around the time of Domesday, and the three dates that Hatton and Caseldine (1992) were able to obtain allow reasonably confident dating only between 132-123 AD and 536-770 AD.

Hatton and Caseldine report that 'probably' in the 3rd century AD, alder, willow (probably) and sedges were present locally, with secondary woodland dominated by ash on the surrounding drier slopes. Shortly thereafter, there is an episode of woodland clearance, and evidence for the beginning of predominantly pastoral agriculture. Sometime around the 7th century they note that there appears to be intensification in exploitation of the local slopes, a change in the character of the local grassland, 'or a modification of grazing practice' (Hatton & Caseldine 1992, 107-113).

Throughout the first millennium AD, Hatton and Caseldine report a small amount of cereal pollen present in the sequence. It is after the last radiocarbon date obtained, but before the cessation of peat formation, that they report a significant increase in the quantity of cereal pollen present, which is accompanied by the establishment of a cereal curve, suggestive of a marked change in agricultural practice towards more cultivation of both wheat and oats (Hatton & Caseldine 1992, 113). This curve is tentatively dated to the early 9th century AD and discussion with Hatton confirms that this part of the pollen signature bears similarities to that reported by Rippon, Fyfe and Brown (2006, 53-58), who argue that the signature is representative of the introduction of convertible husbandry.

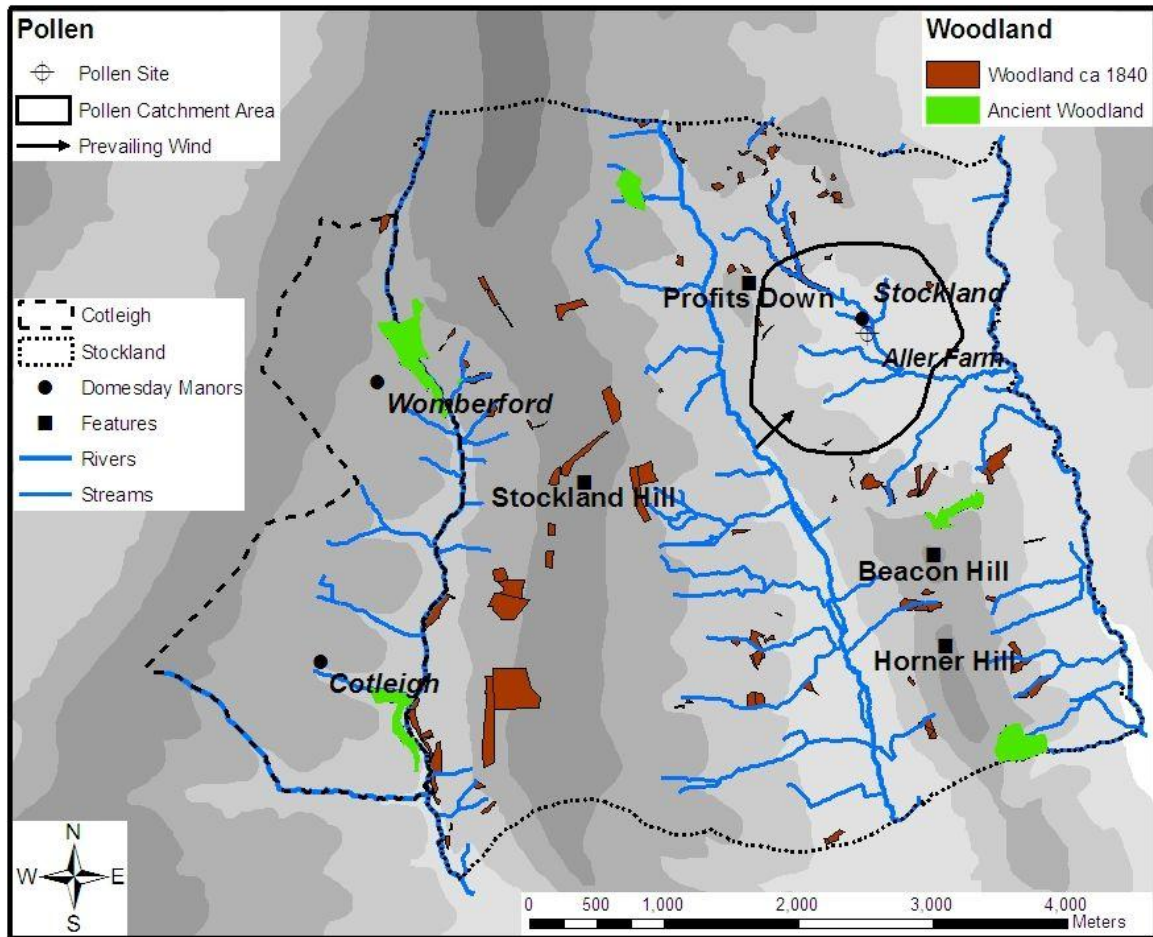


Figure 6.8. Ancient woods and pollen traps in Cotleigh and Stockland. All the ancient woodland may be associated with steeper valley sides, except that in north, central Stockland, which is on poorer soil. The pollen trap is located on the lower ground, near the village of Stockland, in an area that was used, primarily, for grassland ca. 1840, but which did have some arable present (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

Ancient Woodland (Figure 6.8)

In this case study area, Natural England does not record very much ancient woodland. On the boundary between Cotleigh and Stockland there are small woods at both ends of that border whose provenance may be associated with the steeper valley sides along the Umborne Brook. Moving into Stockland, there are two small patches to the north and south of Beacon Hill, and a small patch in the centre, north of the parish. This latter may be associated with the poor soil, Hense, while those around Beacon Hill are located on steeper valley sides (Ancient Woodland 2010).

The land-use recorded ca. 1840 in the parishes of Cotleigh and Stockland is little different from that recorded in the previous two case studies. There is, however, a distinct difference in the spread of the various crops between these case studies. In Broadclyst, Poltimore, Kentisbeare and Uffculme, there were 'ribbons' of meadow and pasture along the rivers and streams, that gave way to extensive tracts of floodplain whose use was recorded as 'arable'. In the two lower parishes the higher ground is where one found more pasture and also woodland and furze. In the second case study (Kentisbeare and Uffculme) the higher valley sides were the home of the additional pasture, while furze grew on poorer soils on the plateau of Blackborough and Hackpen Hill, and woodland seemed to be generally more peripheral. By contrast, in both Cotleigh and Stockland, the valleys had more extensive areas of meadow and pasture and it was not until one moved onto the valley slopes that one encountered some 'lowland' cereal production. In these two parishes the greater extent of arable cropping was conducted on the better soils of the flat ridge tops, while the poorer soils of these plateaux were home to both furze and peat. In a vein similar to Kentisbeare and Uffculme, wood appears to have been a peripheral crop. Common throughout the case studies is the existence of Whimple 3 soil, used in the earlier case studies for arable land but, apparently, becoming more marginal with height.

The pollen sequence from Aller Farm is the eighth to be discussed so far. Of the first seven, only four contained evidence for the growth of cereal during the prehistoric period and, of these, the data from Middleton was suggestive of limited outfield cropping between 960 and 1350 AD. The other three all show prehistoric clearance of woodland, followed by a predominantly pastoral signature but with low levels of cereal pollen throughout, until the cessation of 'mixed' farming around 1800 AD. While the sequence from Aller Farm also exhibits a low level of cereal pollen throughout its brief record, it also contains an abrupt, step change in the cereal curve, suggestive of a marked increase in the amount of cereal being grown, which Hatton is content to compare with similar

curves, identified by Rippon, Fyfe and Brown, as the introduction of convertible husbandry. The cessation of peat formation ca.1000 AD is unfortunate, as this makes it impossible to determine the duration of this cereal cropping, was it short term exploitation of the outfield, as recorded in Middleton (Hawkins 2005) or did it last throughout the Middle Ages, as recorded by Rippon, Fyfe and Brown (2006) from the sites of the Greater Exmoor Project? Given the lowland nature of the site, and its proximity to the settlement at Stockland, it is improbable that the increase in cereal production was ephemeral. Having reviewed the history of land-use in the parishes of this case study, we now turn to their parochial history, and we start by looking at the settlement patterns.

Parochial History

The parochial history of Cotleigh and Stockland presented here is a compilation of map regression, both of the settlement pattern and the fieldscape, coupled with tithe data and the chorographic data recorded by early county historians. Stockland has been a detached part of Dorset for most of the historic period, and it has been necessary, therefore, to study Hutchins' *History of Dorset* which dates to 1774 (Hutchins 1973), in order to trace the manorial descents. As usual our starting point is the settlement of the parishes.

Settlement and Communications

The map regression process is, inherently, a destructive one wherein it is difficult to replace 'lost' settlement. Apart from a search through the records of the CRO and HER (including the RAF post-war overhead aerial photographs), another possible means of re-discovering these 'lost' settlements is through an analysis of the field-names, which is where this section starts.

Settlement Indicative Field-Names (Figures 6.9 & 6.10)

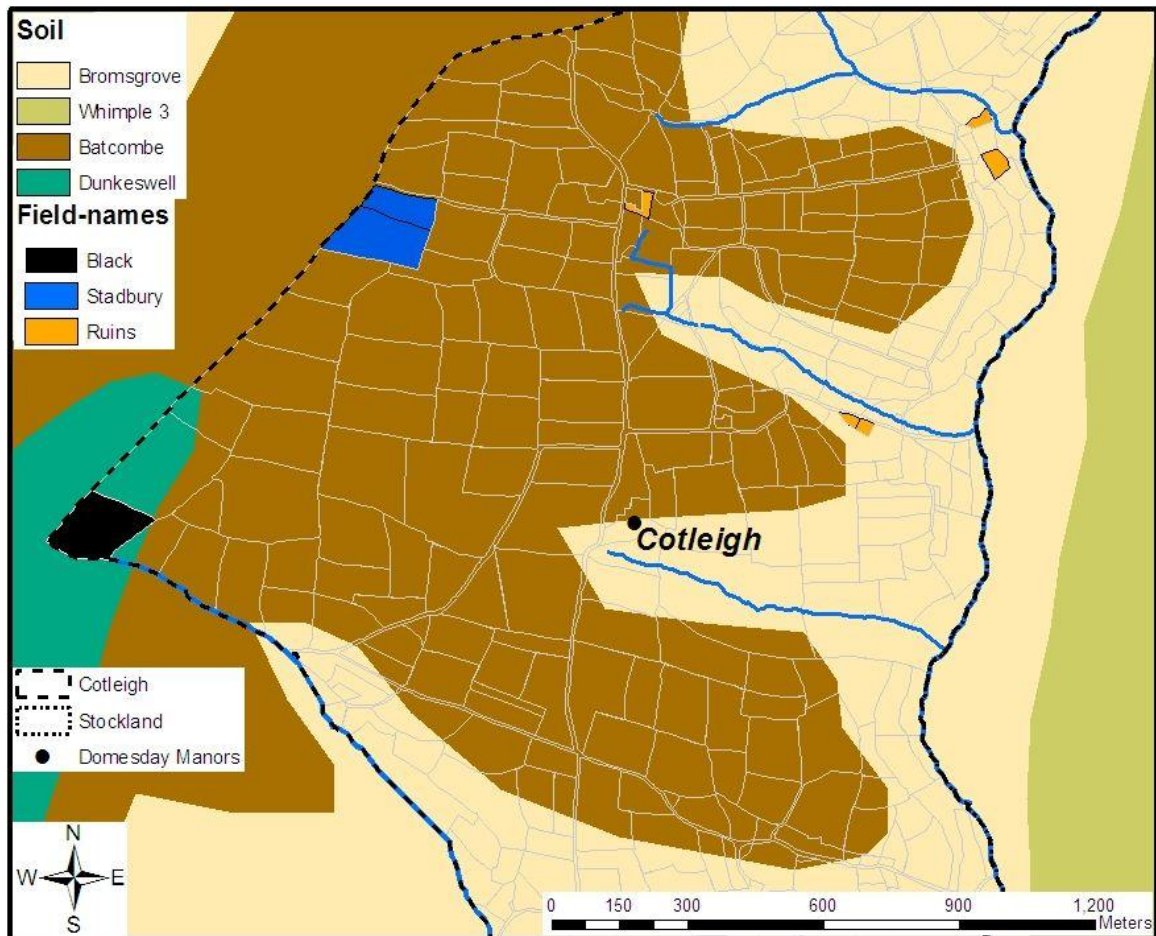


Figure 6.9. Field-names that may be indicative of former settlement in Cotleigh. The 'black' and 'ruins' name elements are discussed in the text. The two collocated possible 'settlement' name elements are fields called Great Stadbury and Little Stadbury (after Soil Survey 1983).

A review of the field-names of the small parish of Cotleigh, yields a surprisingly high count of names that could be associated with former settlement sites (Figure 6.9). More detailed analysis, however, shows that the bulk of these are derived from some very prosaic field-name recording. All the field-names containing the name element 'ruins', are descriptive of the then extant 'contents' of the field: 'ruins of Ridges House now orchard' being a typical example. These are very useful in identifying 'lost' settlement and, due to the potential 'longevity' of ruins (Sandover 2007) these sites have been included in the settlement data for 1750. There is only one field-name that contains the name element 'black', a

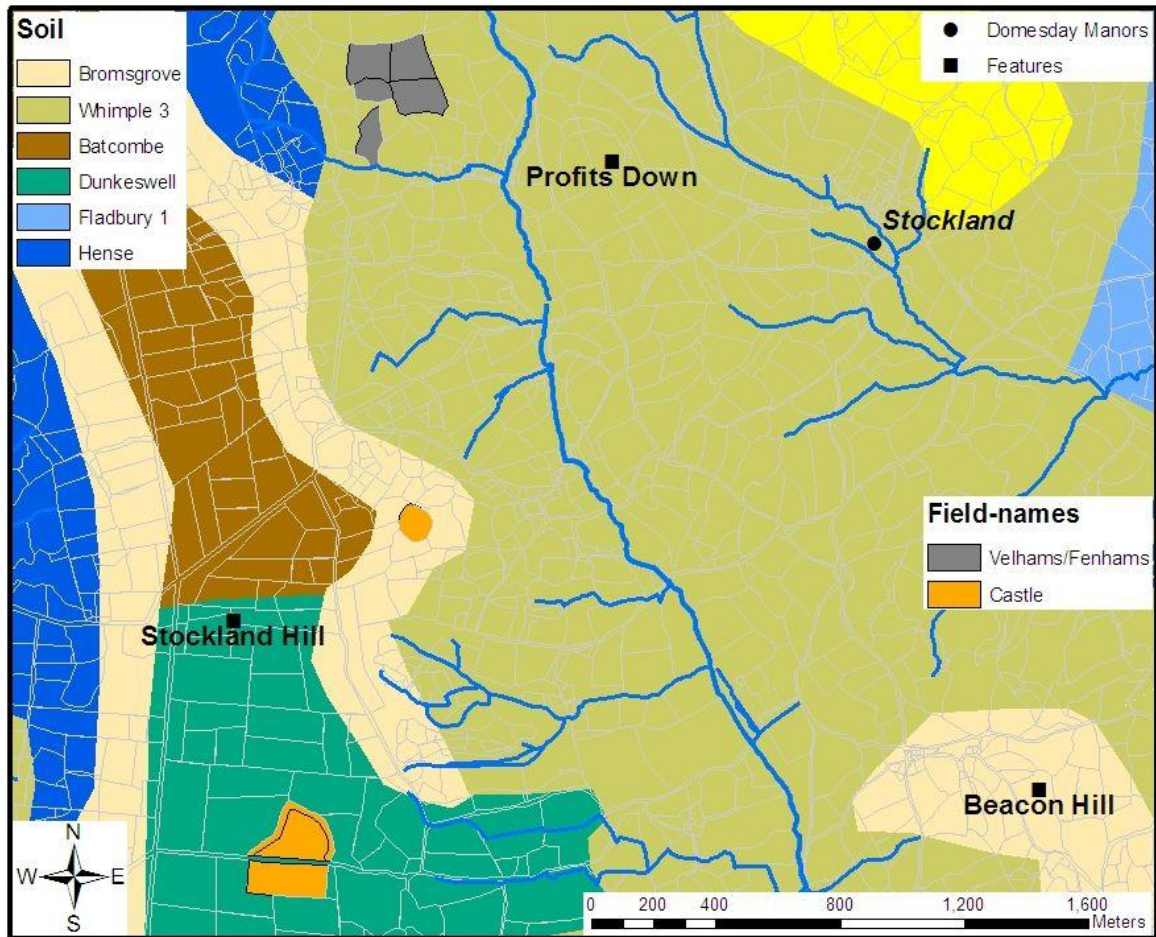


Figure 6.10. Possible settlement indicative field-names in Stockland. The three fields containing the name element 'castle' are, satisfactorily, associated with either Little Castle or Great Castle, the names given to two prehistoric earthworks in the parish. The cluster of fields containing 'settlement' names all include the name element Velham or Fenham (after Soil Survey 1983).

possible reference to a buried occupation layer or to black earth similar to peat. In this instance, the field called 'Black Oat Arrish', which lies on land that is seasonally waterlogged (Dunkeswell soil type), probably takes its name from a peaty type of soil and not from the presence of a buried former occupation layer. The final possible former settlement site that may be of interest in Cotleigh, lies along the western boundary of the parish and is represented by two fields called 'Great Stadbury' and 'Little Stadbury'. Immediately across the road, in the parish of Monkton, there are two fields that include the name element 'Stedbury' but, while these may add some weight to the suggestion of a former settlement in the vicinity, they also introduce the question: 'but in which parish?' There is no further

evidence to suggest that there was a missing settlement, either in the field with the black field-name, or one called 'Stadbury', and neither of these possible sites has been included in the earlier settlement patterns of Cotleigh.

The relative abundance of settlement indicative field-names in Cotleigh is not repeated in Stockland, and it is noticeable that there are no field-names that contain the name element 'black'. Three fields containing the name element 'castle' are all associated with either 'Great Castle' or 'Little Castle', the names of the two prehistoric earthworks in the parish and are not considered further. There is a small group of five fields in the north central part of the parish which contain either the name element 'Velham' or 'Fenham'. These fields belonged to two neighbouring farms, the 'Velhams' were part of Lake Farm, while the 'Fenhams' were found in North Hill Farm. It is possible to consider that the one name is a corruption of the other and that there may have been a settlement called *Velham* (or *Fenham*) that lay between Lake Farm and North Hill Farm. Lack of any further evidence, in support of either name, however, has resulted in these not being considered further.

We move forward to a consideration of the earlier settlement patterns of the two parishes able to 'replace' the seven sites that were identified as 'ruins' during the tithe assessment in Cotleigh, ca. 1840, assigning them a status of 'probable' settlement in 1750, but unable to add any more 'lost' sites due to a lack of corroborative evidence.

Settlement Pattern

By ca. 1840, Stockland had developed into a small village, collocated with the parish church, but the position of the Domesday manor had been lost (Figure 6.11). In the village, the existence of both Kites Cottage (LBS 1171310) and Townsend Farm (HER 01920) can be dated to the Middle Ages but, in the absence of any further evidence, the site of the church has been used as a surrogate for this missing manor house (Figure 6.11). In contrast, in Cotleigh

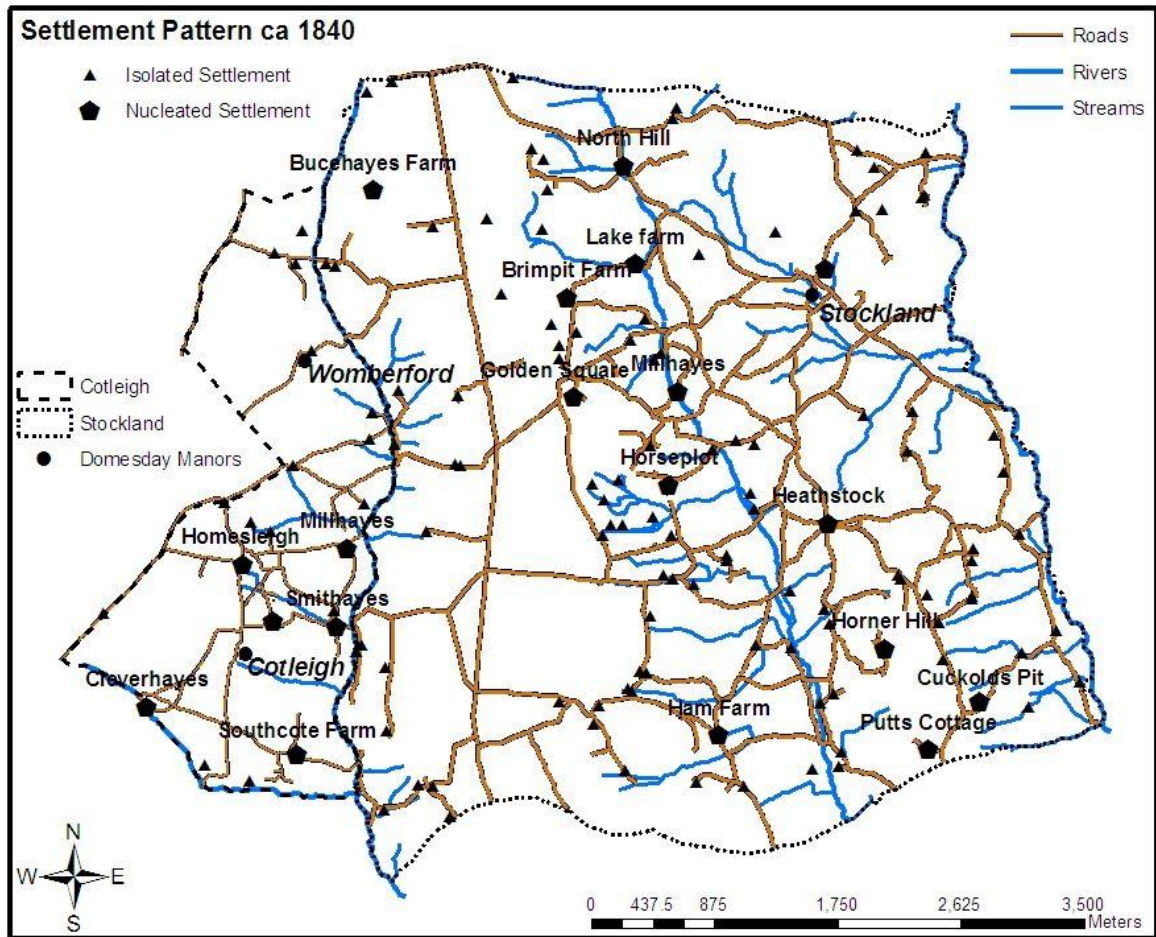


Figure 6.11. The settlement pattern of Cotleigh and Stockland ca. 1840, showing all dwellings. Nucleated settlement can be identified at several locations and, where possible, the nearest farm has been used to identify these sites. The road pattern is drawn exclusively from the tithe maps.

parish ca. 1840, there were several small hamlets that were loosely collocated with the church and manor house – Smithhayes, Millhayes and Homesleigh - as well as a few cottages next to the church, but there was no identifiable ‘village’ centre. To add to the confusion in Cotleigh the site of the second manor, Womberford, had also been lost by that time.

The nucleations that have been identified at Figures 6.11 and 6.12 have been named for the nearest farm, where it has been possible to identify one, or for topographical features or cottages. The marked increase in nucleated hamlets evident between ca. 1750 and ca. 1840 will, in some instances, be a true

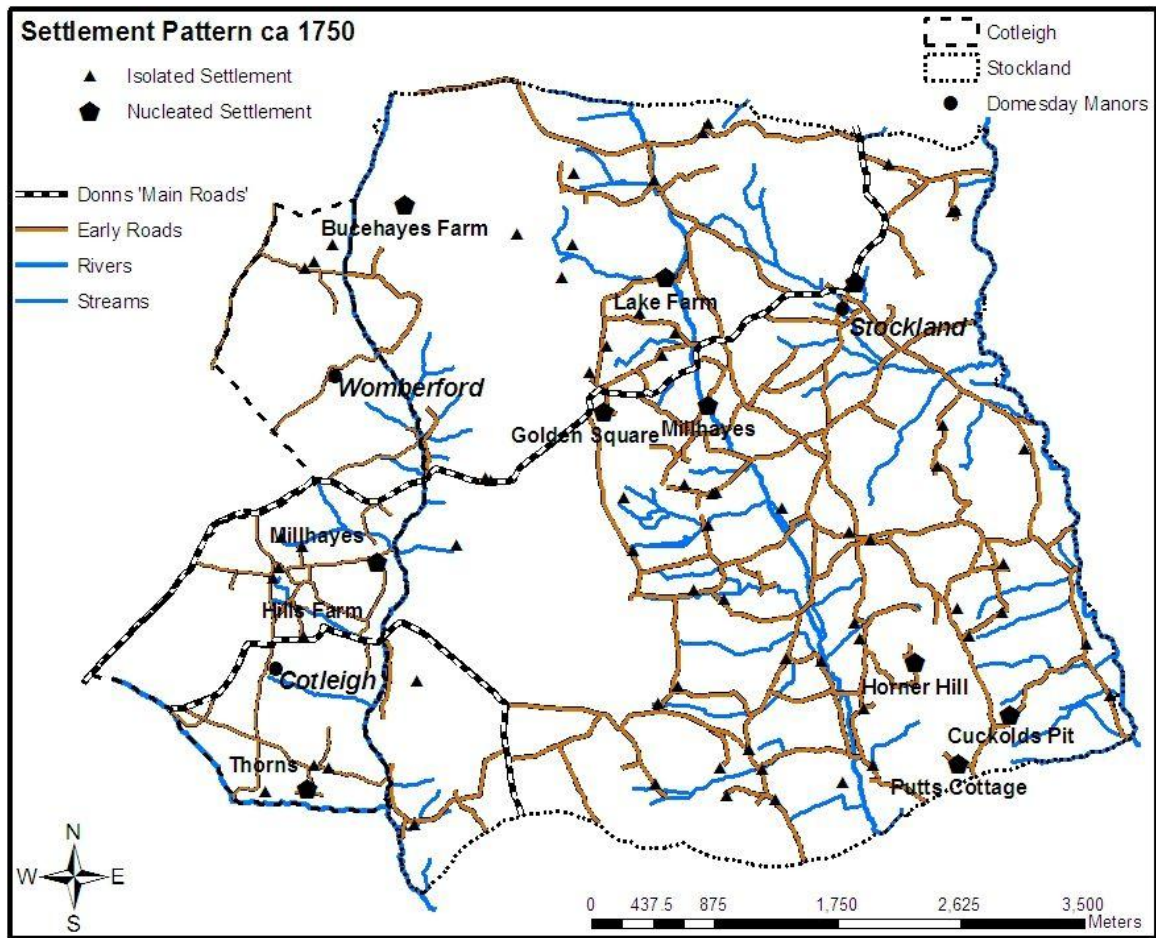


Figure 6.12. The settlement pattern of Cotleigh and Stockland ca.1750. The ridge top roads that appear to have been created when the common were enclosed by parliament have been removed from the map, while those routes which may be considered to be more regionally important have been identified using Donn's mapping and are highlighted.

reflection of population growth but, in most cases, is the result of the destructive nature of the regression. This is even more noticeable as we start to consider the settlement pattern of the medieval period (Figure 6.13).

The analysis suggests that during the Middle Ages both parishes had a dispersed settlement pattern and that only Stockland had a nucleated parish centre. A total of eight medieval sites have been identified in Cotleigh, against

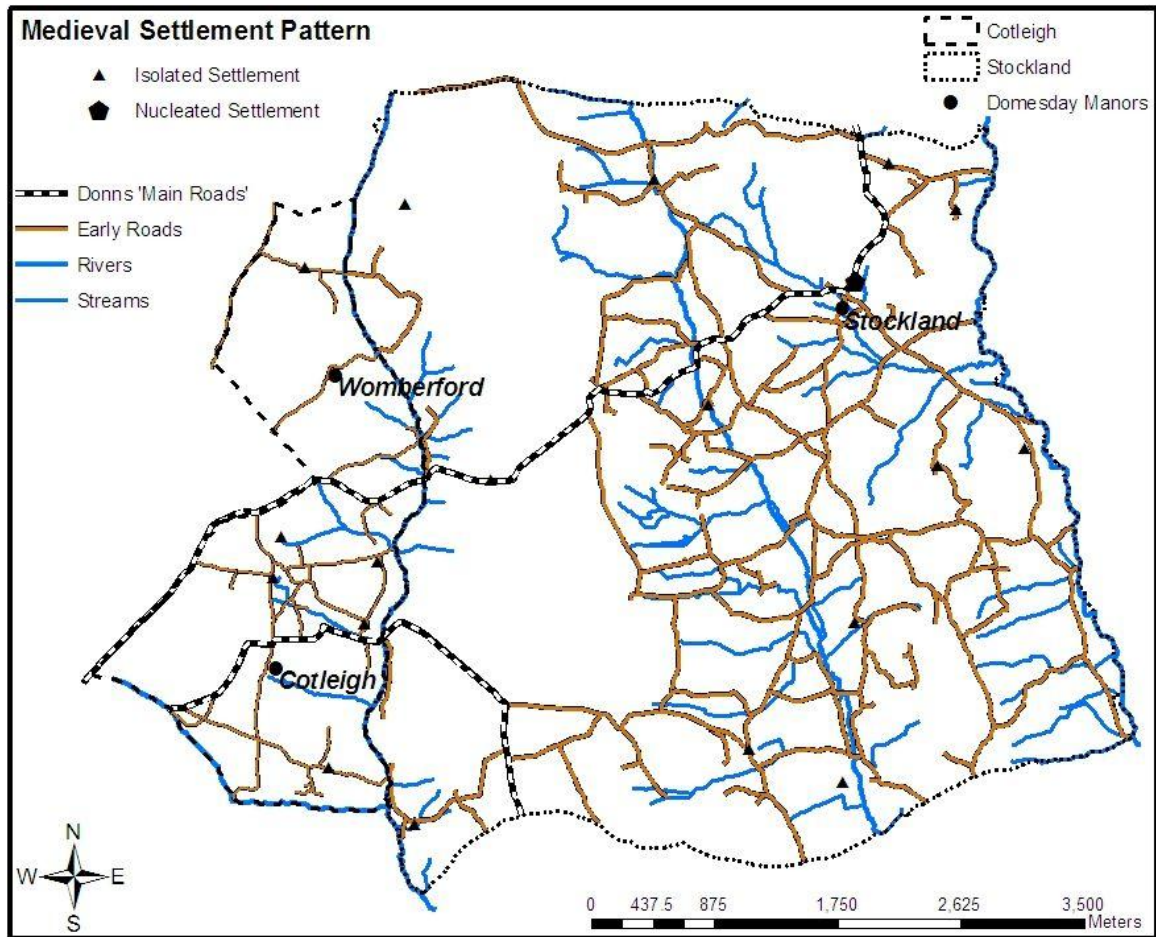


Figure 6.13. The settlement pattern of both parishes during the Middle Ages, with the Domesday manors identified. There is no identifiable nucleation of settlement, except in Stockland.

fifteen in Stockland. Comparison of the relative parish sizes suggests that the figure for Cotleigh may be more representative, but this will be discussed in more detail when we look at the Domesday data.

Communications Pattern

The two tithe maps have, once again, been used to establish the road pattern ca. 1840 and, as usual, Donn's mapping (Donn 1965) has been utilised to attempt to separate the regionally important roads from those that only enjoyed local significance (Figure 6.12). The majority of the roads in the two parishes seem to meander their way through the countryside, progressing by way of countless

twists and turns. The long straight road that runs north/south along the spine of Stockland Hill, and some of its immediate side-turnings, differ markedly from this pattern and, almost certainly, result from the parliamentary enclosure of that ridge top (see below). Notwithstanding the absence of any supporting documentary evidence, it was decided to remove these straight roads from all the maps created through map regression, whose date is earlier than ca. 1840 (Figure 6.12).

In Stockland there is a radial road pattern emanating from the nucleated village but, having skirted around Profits Down and Horner and Beacon Hills, the pattern is rectilinear in the valleys of the Yarty and Corry. Most of the roads in Cotleigh appear to pass through the parish in an east/west direction and there is no indication of any north/south connectivity, except in the area between Cotleigh Manor and West Millhayes, where it is difficult to determine any true pattern.

The next sub-section looks at questions of ownership and occupancy, attempting to determine to what extent holdings can be identified which may be taken forward, in conjunction with the settlement pattern above, to inform the debate about the degree to which the final, postulated Domesday 'map' can be justified.

Land Ownership and Occupancy

The descent of the tenants-in-chief of Domesday through time, to the landowners ca.1840, is the first subject discussed in this section. This will be followed by an investigation of the occupancy patterns recorded by the Tithe Commissioners that will be used to inform a re-creation of the farms and holdings of the tithe record. The final sub-section will use the ownership and occupancy data in an attempt to determine the pattern of past holdings by searching for farms which may have been amalgamated or sold-off and fragmented.

Ownership (Figure 6.14)

The Domesday Book records just three manors in the parishes of this case study (Appendix 1). Two, Cotleigh and Womberford (*Wiborda*) were in Cotleigh parish, while Stockland Manor was the only manor in the parish of that name. By the time of the tithe survey, ca. 1840, the land ownership pattern of Cotleigh still resembled that of 1086, but the pattern in Stockland displayed a complete fragmentation of the original manorial holding.

The Manor of Cotleigh (DB 15,35) was held by the Count of Mortain in 1086 from whom it can be traced, through various tenants-in-chief to Lord Clinton in 1822. The Count of Mortain was also the tenant-in-chief of Womberford (DB 15,24), the second manor of the parish that is now lost (Thorn & Thorn 1985b, notes), however, there may be sufficient clues in the record of the descent of this manor to permit a probable location to be identified. In the reign of Henry III (1207-1272), Womberford was held by the ancient family of Worthiall, from whom it passed finally to the Andrews family, being held by Mrs Ann Andrews until just before 1822 (Lysons 1822, 142). The Land Tax Assessment only records *Wood Farm* as being held by Mrs Ann Andrews, from 1781 until it was transferred to Mr John Hamilton in 1821, who renamed it Southwood Farm in 1823 (DRO Land Tax Assessment First Series). That farm is considered to have 'probably been the home of John *atte Wode*' in 1330 (Gover *et al.* 1932, 625), which suggests that if Womberford did become Wood (or Southwood) Farm, this probably happened in the medieval period. The County Series 6" OS Map marks three fords in Cotleigh that cross the Umborne, one of which is very close to Southwood Farm, and it has been decided to take the evidence at face value and use that farm as the probable site of Womberford Manor. This is despite the fact that Thorn and Thorn suggest that Womberford was in the south of the parish, although the descent of the manor supports the argument in favour of a northerly location, beyond the lands of Lord Ashburton which lie in the south of the parish.

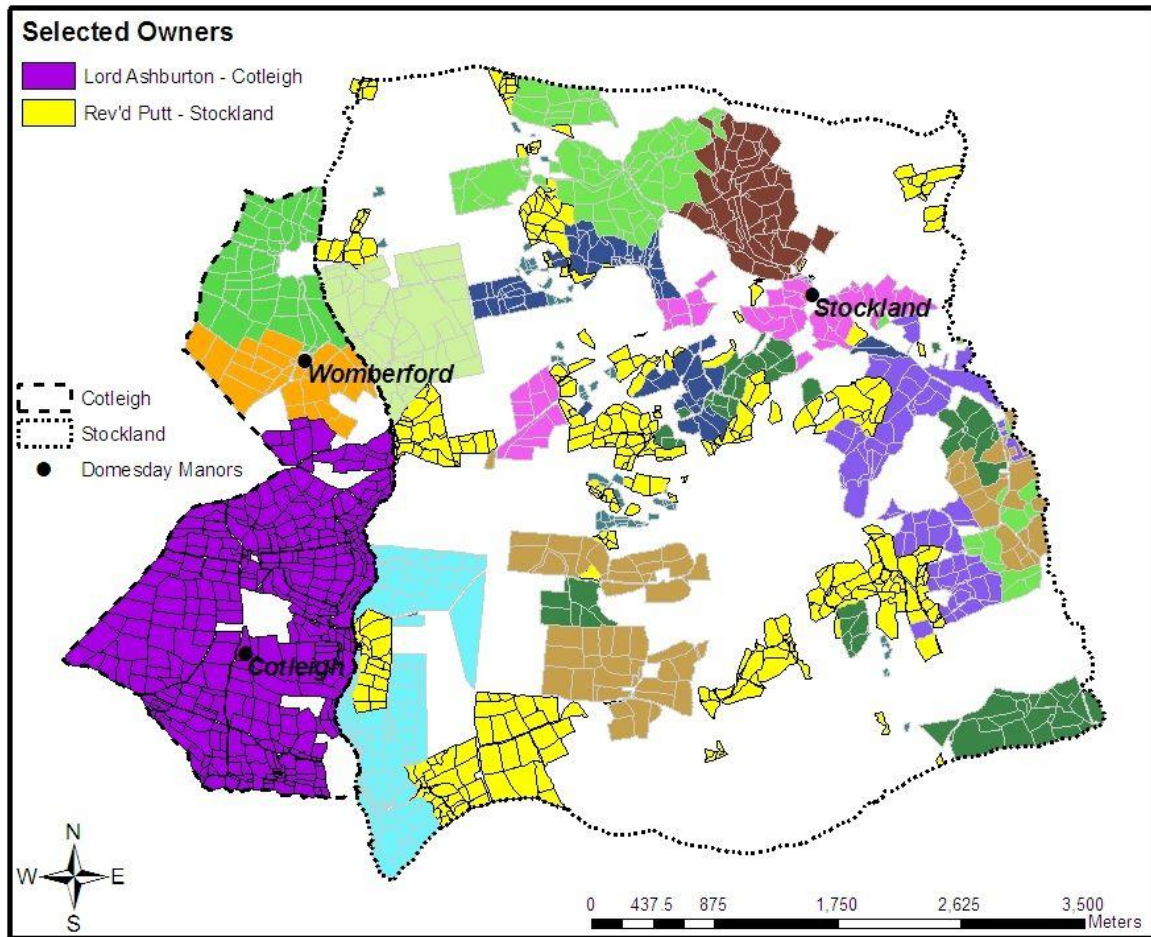


Figure 6.14. Cotleigh and Stockland - the holdings of the major landowners ca. 1840. Lord Ashburton was the dominant owner in Cotleigh, holding some 70% of the land. In Stockland, by contrast, there was no dominant landowner, but Rev Thomas Putt had the most extensive land holding. The map shows the holdings of the three largest landowners in Cotleigh, and of Putt and the next ten largest landowners in Stockland.

Stockland was a single manor in 1086, held by Milton Abbey (DB (Dor) 12,14). After the Abbey was suppressed in 1539, the manor passed through several hands before finally being settled on the Putts of Devonshire 'sometime after 1645, one of whom sold the manor in fee' (Hutchins 1774, 247). As noted above the Reverend Thomas Putt was the largest landowner in the parish ca. 1840, but there are indications that the Drake family had formerly had extensive holdings in Stockland (DRO, 346M/E380-383, 1799-1800), although their presence had dwindled by 1840.

In this Thesis, the ownership pattern, ca. 1840, serves to 'terminate' the discussion of the descent of the various Domesday manors in each parish. The existence of fragmented areas of ownership can serve to assist in identifying possible, earlier land divisions or, maybe, cast some light on the fate of some manors or of their holdings. These are all discussed further below, either in the section on fieldscape characterisation or when comparing the results of the regression with the Domesday metrics. Underlying the pattern of ownership is that of occupancy, and this can shed further light on the way that the extensive, former manorial holdings, have been shared out as tenancies, as well as providing further illumination on possible early land division. The occupancy pattern is discussed next.

Occupancy (Figure 6.15)

The occupancy pattern in Cotleigh appears to be a tale of two halves; the northern part of the parish is split between three large tenancies, while the southern half is a collection of numerous tenements, and some very fragmented occupancy. Appearances, however, can be deceptive and it can be seen that, between them, these three large tenancies in the north, comprise a total of eight smaller units that have been leased out as more composite blocks to three tenants. The larger of the two white blocks in the north is Southwood Farm (the smaller block being Wakelys) and this, coupled with the most northerly block, Northwood Farm (ignoring the Bowood component), suggests that at some stage in the past there may have been a singular farm, Wood Farm, which has been divided into Northwood and Southwood Farms.

Stockland appears to be a spread of compact farms interspersed with fragmentary holdings. There is, however, an illusion of order created by the regular nature of the holdings upon Stockland Hill and, to a lesser extent, on Horner Hill. These are the two hills that were former common (Figure 6.16) and which were enclosed by Act of Parliament just before 1840. Investigation of these hills shows that they contain land that is, for the most part, extensions of farms

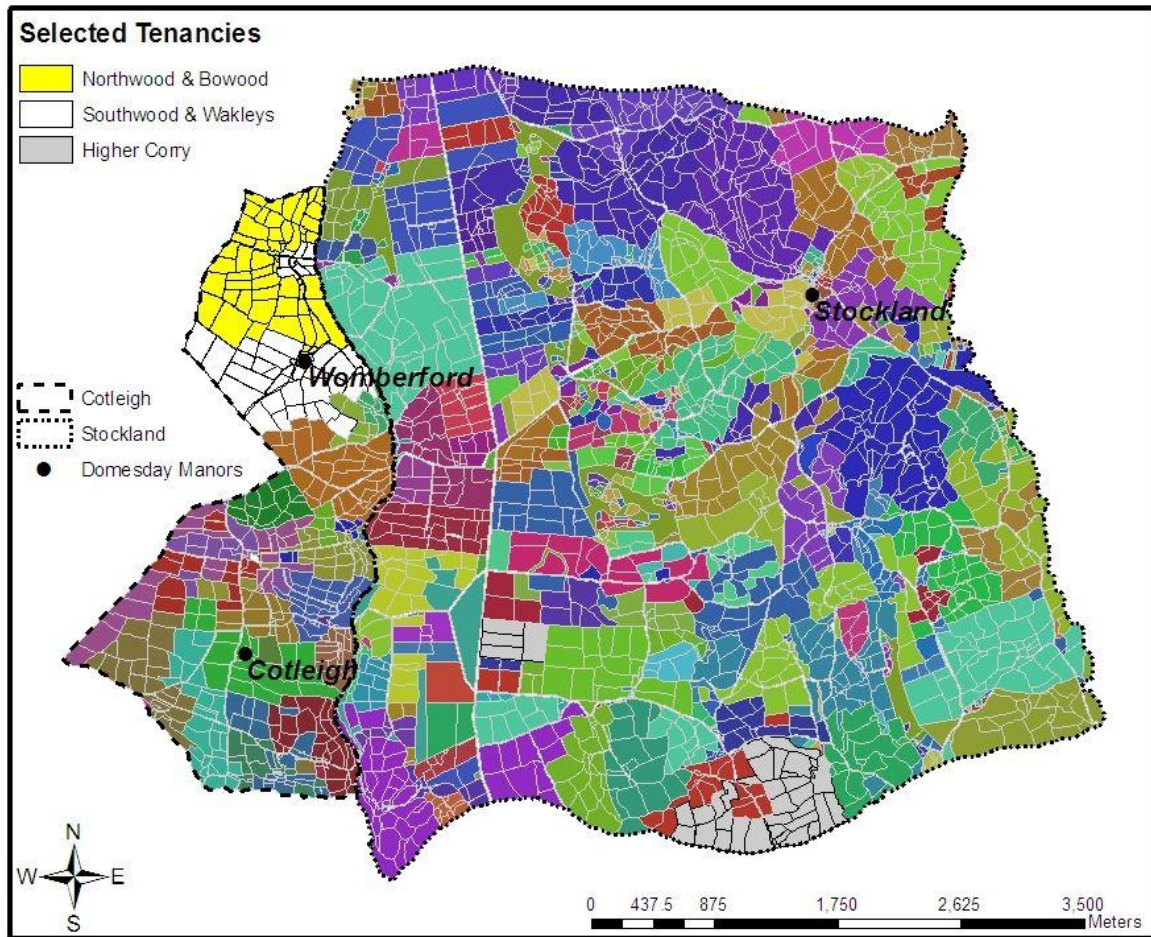


Figure 6.15. Land occupancy in the two parishes ca. 1840. Three compact tenancies can be identified in northern Cotleigh, but the occupancy pattern in the south is more fragmented. Stockland also has a spread of compact tenancies, but these are, again, intermingled with more fragmentary holdings.

elsewhere in the parish; Higher Corry Farm, in the south of the parish, with additional land on the southern part of Stockland Hill has been singled out, as an example (Figure 6.15). Concentrating solely upon the central and eastern portion of the parish, away from the former commons, whilst there are some large compact tenancies, there are even more fragmentary holdings.

In southern Cotleigh, we have seen how the pattern of ownership can 'hide' a fragmentary pattern of occupancy, and this latter may provide some pointers regarding earlier land divisions and their subsequent allocation. In a similar manner, the occupancy pattern does not present the 'full picture'; many of the

occupants of the land, ca. 1840, were leasing more than one smallholding and some were farming more than just a single farm and, in many cases, the rented land was owned by different landowners. An alternate way of viewing the occupancy pattern may be gained by plotting the farms/smallholdings that existed ca. 1840, and this is the subject of the next sub-section.

Farm Boundaries (Figure 6.16)

The Tithe Commissioner responsible for the assessment in Cotleigh was very diligent in his recording of the names of the various farms and smallholdings of that parish and there are very few entries in the tithe apportionment that have no 'farm name' recorded. Conversely, the Commissioner for Stockland appears to have been dismissive of the importance of such detail and very few entries in the apportionment have their farm name recorded. The tithe map of Stockland, however, does name selected farms and this has been used to inform a search of both the 1" First Edition (ca.1809) and County Series First Edition 6" (ca.1880-1890) OS Maps for appropriate farm names in that parish.

In both parishes it is possible to identify farms whose names are suggestive of a possible mother-daughter relationship, or maybe these should be viewed as siblings. Southwood and Northwood in Cotleigh have already been discussed, and it is probable that Higher Corry Farm (see above) was, at one time, connected to the neighbouring Corry Farm. While it is probable that farms with common names, similar to those listed above, were once a single land-holding, in the absence of records, it is not possible to determine the correct sequence of farm naming, although it may be safe to argue that Wood Farm was the original predecessor of Southwood and Northwood Farms (for example). Wherever it has been possible to identify former conjoined farms these appear on Figure 6.16 as a single farm unit, and, of these, Wood Farm and Corry have been highlighted, as examples.

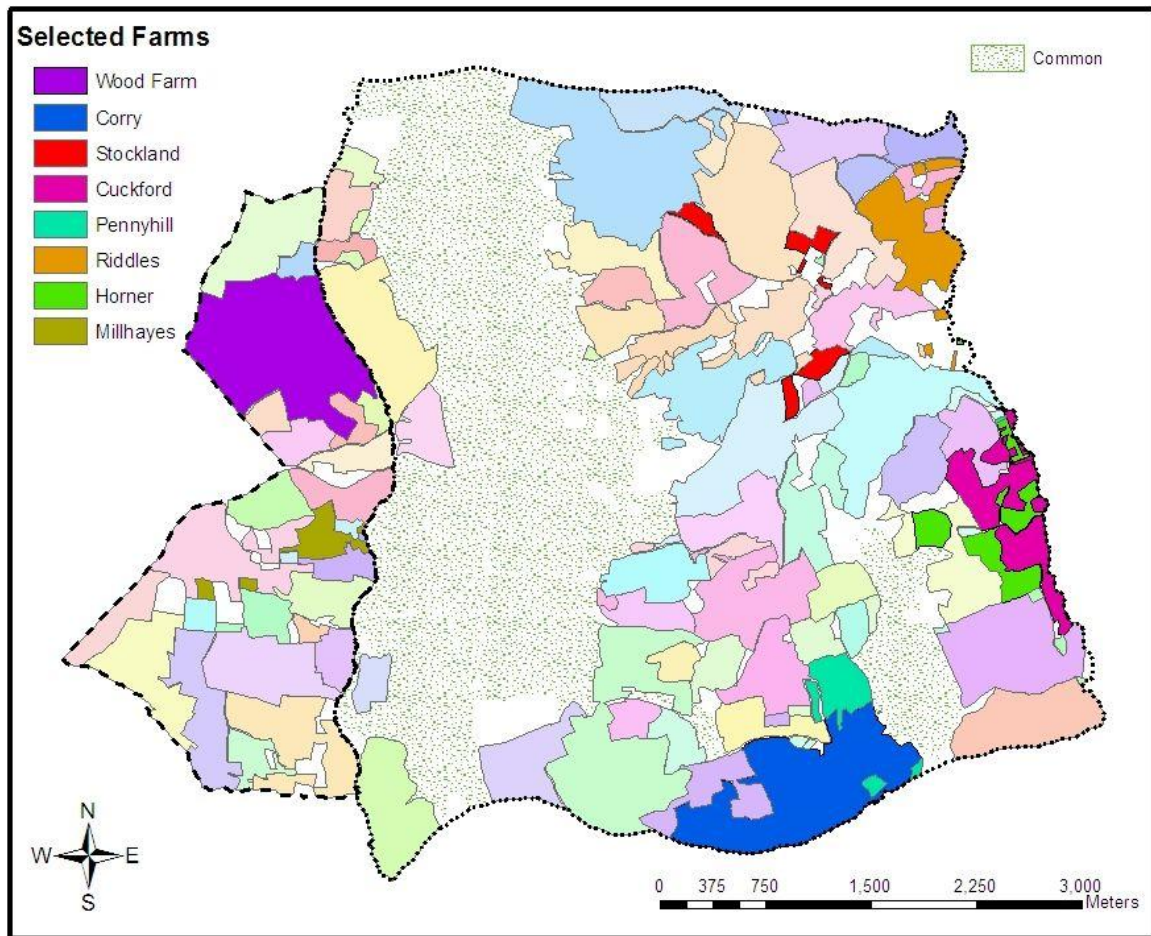


Figure 6.16. A pattern of the farms of Cotleigh and Stockland, excluding that on the former common land (see text for a discussion of source data). The white patches highlight areas where there is no clear pattern in the holdings. While it is possible to identify some large farms, the majority of the land is split between a myriad of smaller ones.

It has already been identified that many of the farms in Stockland had expanded onto the lands enclosed by Act of Parliament, on both Stockland and Horner Hills. The data plotted at Figure 6.16 specifically ignores those expansions pursuant upon the Act of Parliament (this land has been identified as 'common'). It is interesting, however, to note that, of the 58 holdings identified in Stockland, there are 23 whose extent is split between at least two separate sites. The five farms highlighted in Figure 6.16 are the most fragmented, comprising between

five (Horner) and eleven (Stockland), separate parcels of land. The count in Cotleigh is only 3 fragmented farms out of 27 and, of these, only Millhayes, with four separate 'parcels' has been highlighted. The high number of fragmented farms, in relationship to the total count in Stockland, may be indicative of ongoing consolidation after extensive, previous fragmentation and re-allocation of the land, or it may reflect continuing turmoil within the holdings. In this respect, for all the wealth of data recorded by the Tithe Commissioners, their work can only represent a 'snapshot', indicative of what was in place at that time, but not of trends.

There is one earlier record that may be used to further inform the pattern of farms at Figure 6.16: a survey of the lands of James Thomas Benedictus Marwood, dated *ca.* 1781 (DRO 50/2/3/9). Marwood's holdings lay in the northern part of Stockland and, apart from one or two outlying and unnamed parcels of land, are concentrated in a series of units around the village of Stockland and in the single holding of Snodwell Farm, to the west (Figure 6.17). Where it has been possible to match tenancies/farms in the tithe apportionment with these holdings, the tithe map extents have been included for comparison. It can be seen that, with the exception of Snodwell Farm, there is very little correlation between the boundaries of Marwood's named farms (1781) and those recorded for farms of the same name *ca.* 1840.

Cotleigh Manor appears to be the only one of the three manors of this case study that exhibits any degree of continuity between 1086 and *ca.*1840. The sites of both Womberford and Stockland Manors had been lost by the mid 19th century and their associated lands had become fragmented in ownership. The culmination of this section looks at the map regression, or fieldscape analysis, and this will be conducted in the same three steps that were employed in the last two case studies.

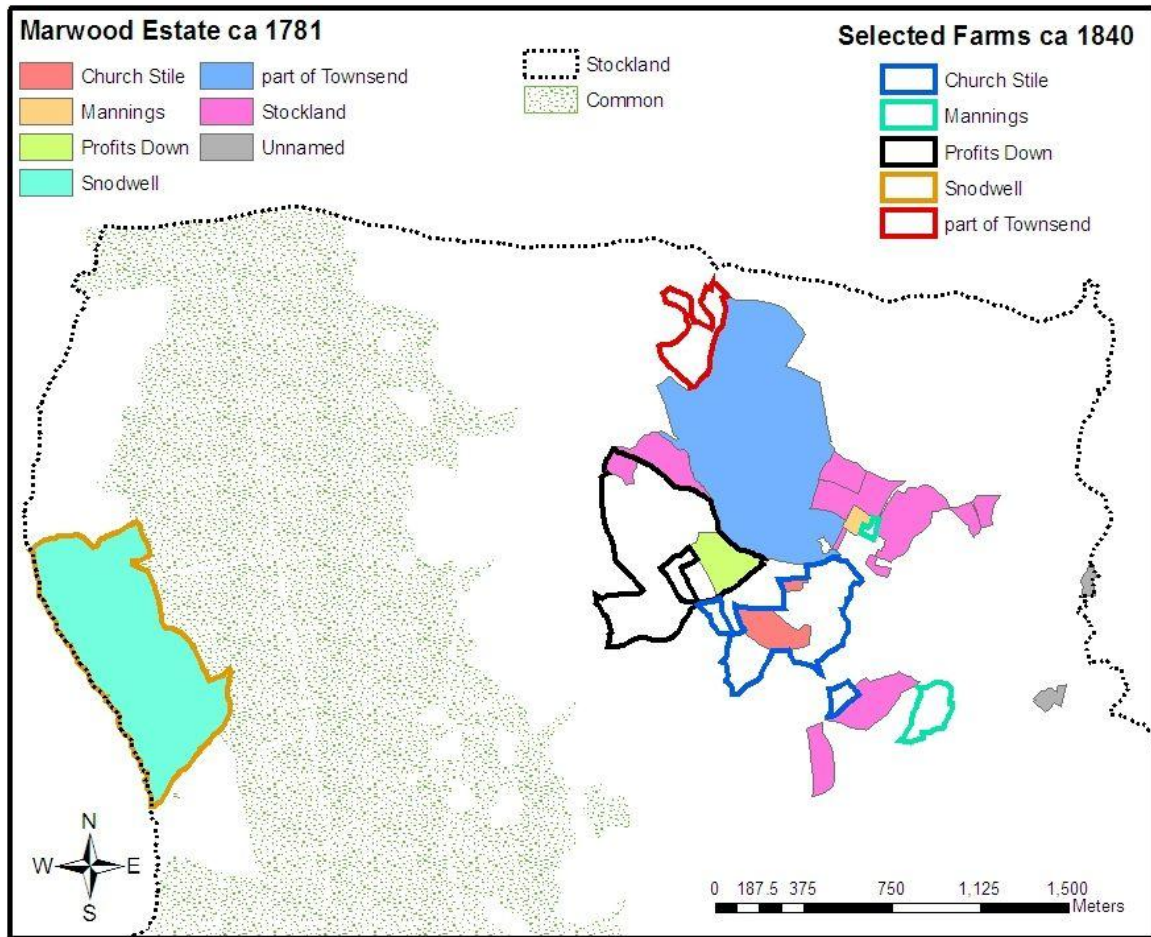


Figure 6.17. Northern Stockland, the earlier records. The extent of Marwood's estate is shown and, where possible, the extent of similarly named tenancies from ca. 1840 are shown in outline.

Fieldscape Analysis

As discussed in Chapter 3, the map regression is conducted through a fieldscape analysis process. This involves three steps: fieldscape characterisation, fieldscape rationalisation and fieldscape interpretation.

Fieldscape Characterisation (Figure 6.18)

The first step in the fieldscape characterisation process lies in identifying any land that was enclosed by Act of Parliament, as this will be interpreted as common land. In Stockland, some 2,000 acres of 'land not including open field arable' was enclosed by Parliament in 1811, but none was enclosed in Cotleigh (Tate 1946b, 82-3).

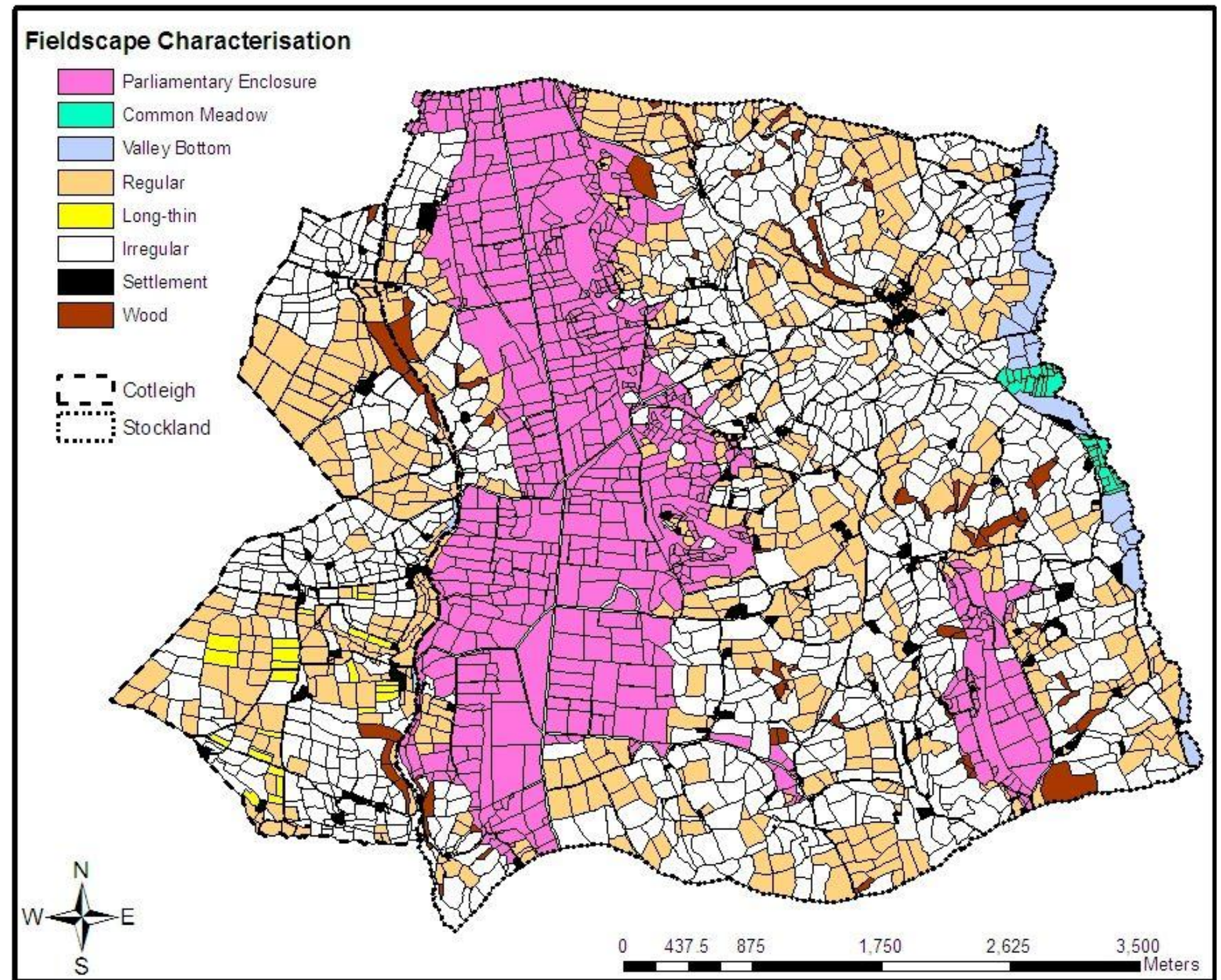


Figure 6.18. The fieldscape characterisation of Cotleigh and Stockland. It is interesting to note the way in which the parliamentary enclosure, which is generally very 'military' in style, becomes more 'irregular' along the fringes of Stockland Hill. Note also the probable common meadow on the eastern side of Stockland, along the banks of the Yarty.

Along the banks of the River Yarty there is a long, thin line of fields with straight sides that have been characterised as Valley Bottom and intermixed with these were three probable former common meadows. These putative common meadows, called North Mead, South Mead and Common Mead, have been identified through their retention of a, generally, stripy effect in their occupancy pattern ca. 1840 (Figure 6.19). It is possible that much of the land identified as Valley Bottom was also used as common meadow, but it is only the three that retain this common occupancy pattern that have been interpreted as such.

The reader's attention is also drawn to the nature of the main area of parliamentary enclosure, on Stockland Hill, which has a somewhat 'ragged' appearance around the edges, where many of the fields seem to be, uncharacteristically, irregular in shape. This may reflect upon probable sporadic cropping in the Middle Ages, as described in Fox (1973, 32), a practice that may have continued as late as 1765, when there is a record of an agreement between the landowners to 'pull down enclosures on the common land of Stockland' (DRO 50M/I 1-2). It may be that the practice of encroaching upon the common land continued into the 19th century, and that any enclosures encountered during the enactment of the parliamentary act, were left intact and may have been sold-off to the perpetrator.

Fieldscape Rationalisation (Figure 6.20)

Perhaps the most demanding task in this stage of the characterisation lies in determining the probable provenance of those fields that have been characterised as long-thin; generally these fields are no more than 200m in length and less than 50m in width. It is unusual, in this thesis, to encounter long-thin fields with the classic aratral curve shape that is normally associated with former 'strip' fields, and it is necessary to take an holistic view of the surrounding area. In Cotleigh, the regularity of the surrounding fields, the number of dog-legged fields and the direction of the slope combined to suggest the probable

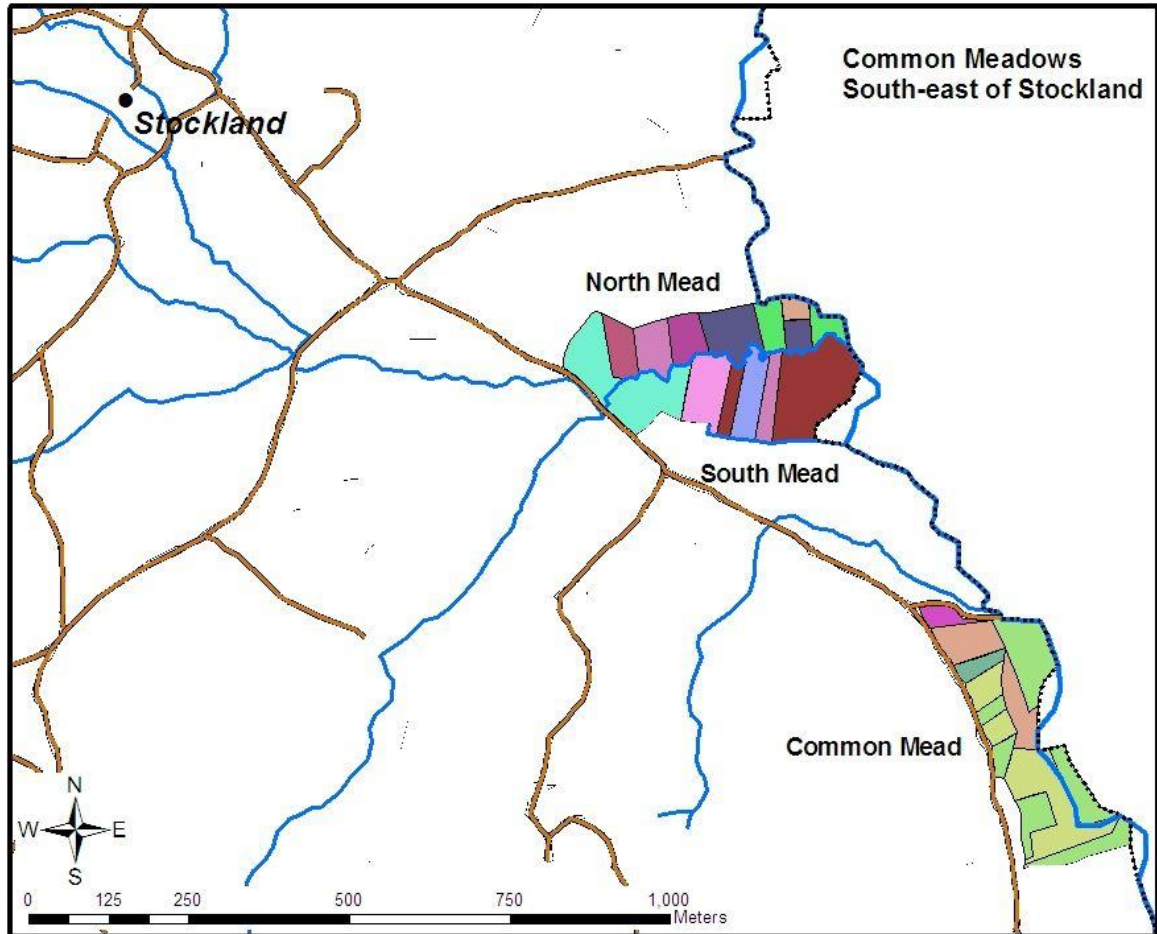


Figure 6.19. The probable common meadow in Stockland. The occupancy pattern has been overlaid upon the three fields to underline the common nature of their tenancy.

existence of former open fields in four areas around the hamlet. Once again, comparison with the later 6" County Series mapping, indicates that most of these long-thin fields had disappeared in the intervening forty or so years.

Fieldscape Interpretation (Figure 6.21)

Only the settlement that can be dated to the medieval period, or earlier, retains that classification during this phase of the regression; settlement that is later than 1540 will have had its 'field' character re-assessed during the rationalisation phase, ready for subsequent interpretation. The pollen sequence ends

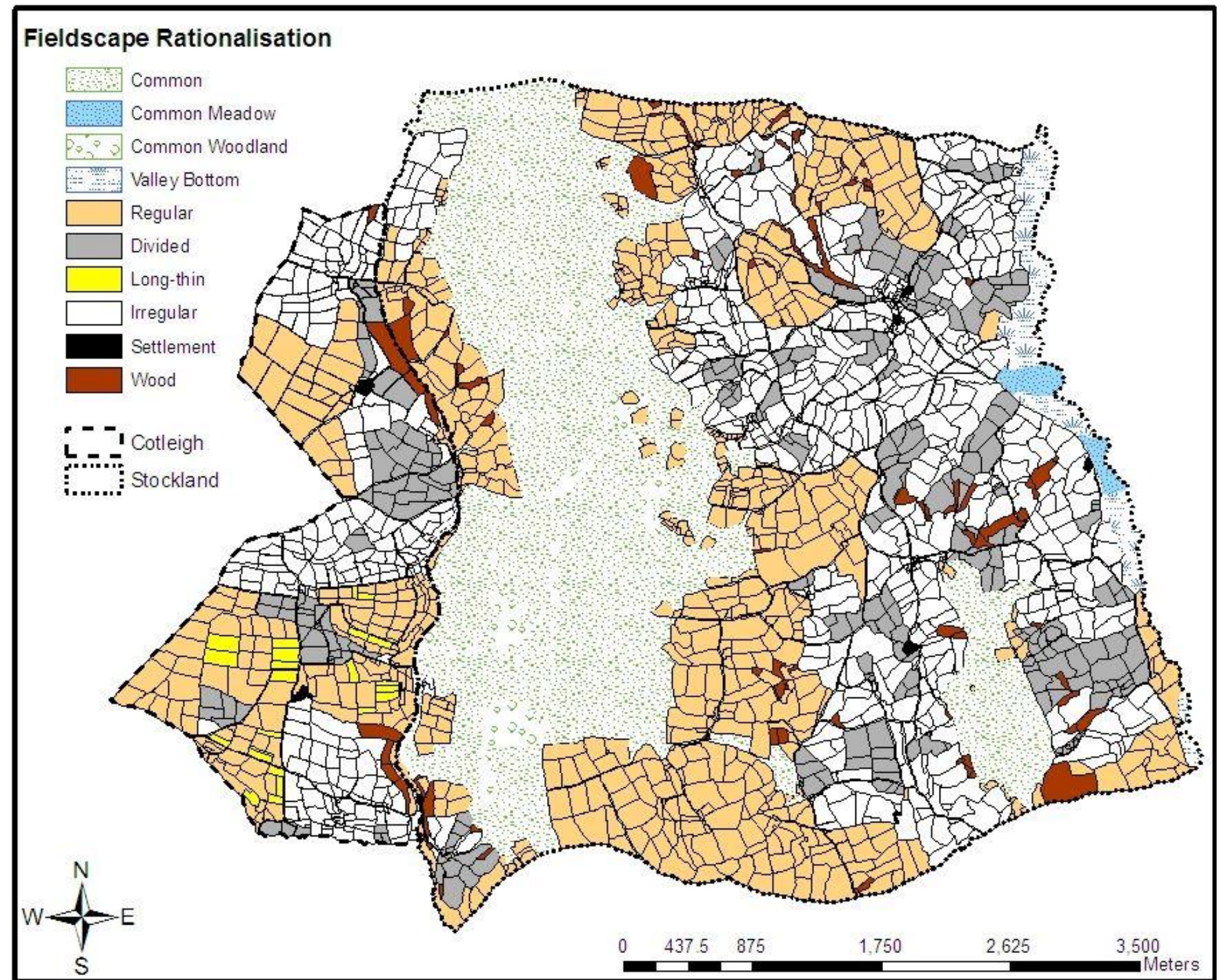


Figure 6.20. The fieldscape rationalisation of Cotleigh and Stockland. The area of common land is surrounded by regular fields, which are suggestive of late enclosure, while many of the regular fields within the common land have been 'rationalised' to become regular, vice irregular.

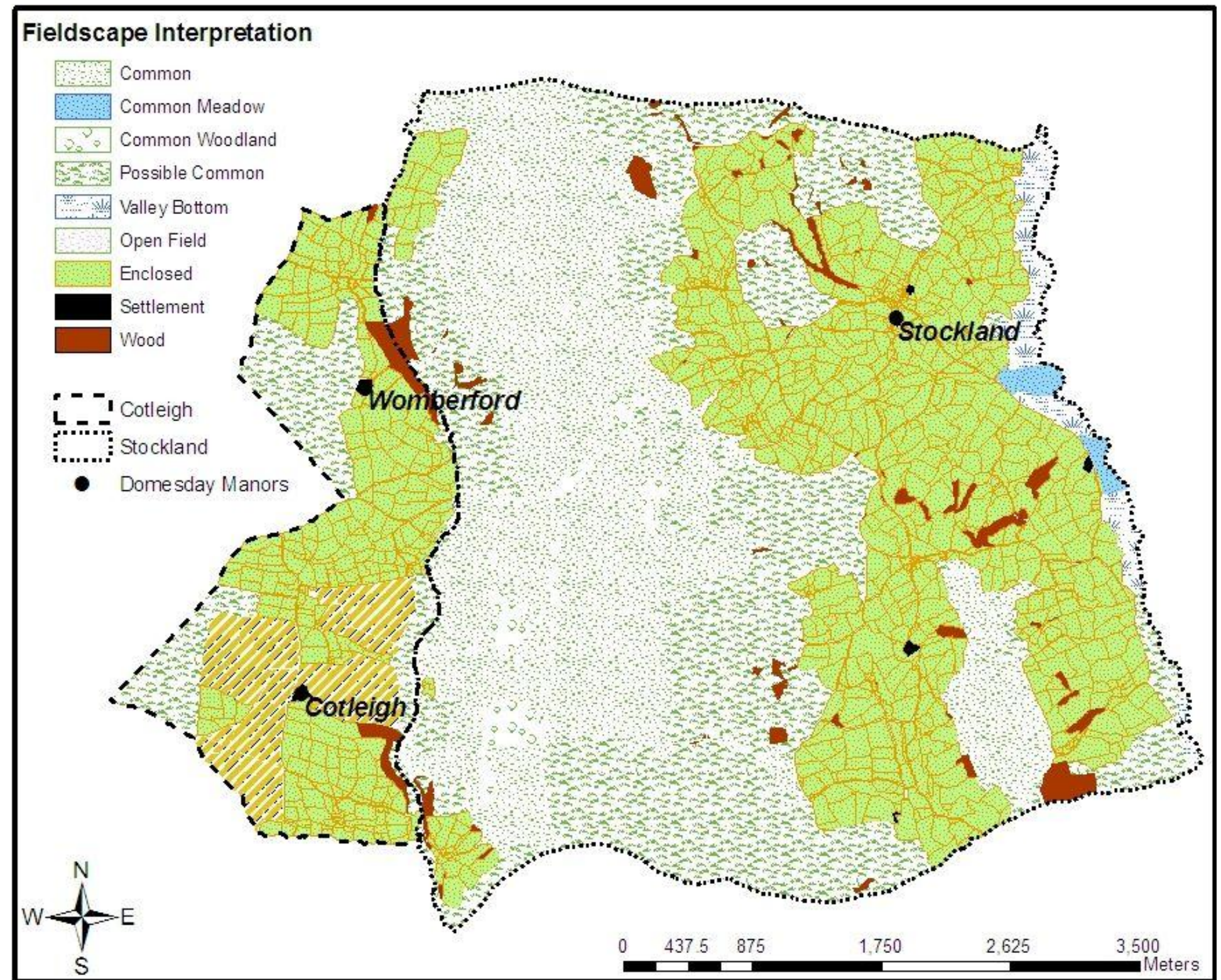


Figure 6.21. The fieldscape interpretation of Cotleigh and Stockland. It is probable that there were some open fields in southern Cotleigh but the remainder of the enclosed land is either irregular in shape, suggestive of 'ancient enclosure', or has been classified as 'divided', suggestive of large irregular enclosures that have been sub-divided.

ca. 1000 AD and so it is necessary to look offsite for guidance; most of the pollen traps used in this thesis record neither clearance nor re-growth of woodland during the last millennium, and so all woodland recorded in the tithe apportionments has retained that character throughout this regression. Where it is possible to identify land that was woodland ca. 1840, but which had been enclosed by parliament a few years earlier, this wood has been interpreted as 'common woodland'.

Apart from four areas in southern Cotleigh that may have been open fields, the majority of the land identified as core farmland in the two parishes can be characterised as small, irregular closes, and these would have been suited to farming using the ley husbandry regime that was favoured in the county (Stanes 2005, 64), and whose presence has been, tentatively, identified towards the end of the Aller Farm pollen sequence. Nevertheless, there was some 'common' land in Stockland as evidenced by the parliamentary enclosure act and by the putative common meadow along the banks of the Yarty. The next section will attempt to relate the core farmland to the evidence from Domesday.

Comparison with Domesday

The map regression phase has produced two main outputs, the one is a minimalist view of the settlement of the parish in the medieval period, and the other an assessment of the extent of core farmland that may have existed around the time of Domesday. We now look at refining and matching these products with the Domesday data, with the intention of producing a possible map of the two parishes that can be dated to 1086. As usual we start with the population recorded at Domesday.

Domesday Population

In this section we will use the modified Hoskins' model (Chapter 3) to attempt to locate the settlements that the villans occupied and the land that they worked. In 1086 there were only three manors recorded in the two parishes (Table 6.2) and so, at first glance, this part of the task may appear to be relatively easy.

Table 6.2. Population metrics drawn from Domesday for the parishes of Cotleigh and Stockland (Thorn & Thorn 1983, 1985a & 1985b).

Manor	Tenant-in-Chief	Holder	Villagers	Smallholders	Slaves
Womberford (15,24)	Count of Mortain	Dogo	6		1
Cotleigh (15,35)	Count of Mortain	Richard	17	4	1
Cotleigh parish totals			23	4	2
Stockland (12,14)	Milton Abbey	Harvey	40		4

The first step, as always, is to identify those farms whose existence in the two hundred years after Domesday can be proven, either through documentary evidence (normally EPNS) or through vernacular building dating (Listed Buildings or HER). In the last case study this time limit was broken when Henland Farm in Kentisbeare, which dates to AD 1311 was included. In this case study it is, once again, necessary to break the rubric and extend the timeframe to 1333 in order to be able to include any farms in Cotleigh. In Stockland, on the other hand, it is possible to identify five farms which are first recorded between 1238 and 1288 (all dates EPNS except Townsend – HER). The selected farms and their putative medieval extents are listed at Table 6.3.

Cotleigh Manor, occupying central and south Cotleigh, had seventeen villagers and the regression suggests that it probably had an extent of open fields, but there is no evidence of it being a nucleated hamlet during the Middle Ages. Womberford Manor, which has been tentatively identified with Southwood Farm,

Table 6.3. Domesday villans and their putative Domesday manor or farm, in Cotleigh and Stockland.

Tithe Farm	Owner ca. 1840	Associated manor	'Domesday' acreage from map regression	Villans' plots
Southwood	Hamilton	Womberford	68	0
Bowood	Langdon	Womberford	93	3
Southcott	Ashburton	Cotleigh	109	4
Cotleigh Manor – estimated extent of all open fields			253	3
Total count of villans' plots in Cotleigh				10
Bucehayes	Kite	Stockland	16	1
Corry	Vincent & Wakely	Stockland	130	4
Crandons	White	Stockland	45	1
Pope Hayne	Putt	Stockland	37	1
Stockland	Various	Stockland	40	0
Townsend	Patten	Stockland	111	4
Total count of villans' plots in Stockland				11

in the north of this parish had only six villagers (Figure 6.22). Two farms have been identified in this parish whose existence may be dated to being within two hundred and fifty years of Domesday – Southcott, in the south of the parish, is dated to 1330, while Bowood, in the north, dates to 1333 (Gover *et al.* 1932b, 625). The tithe boundaries associated with Southwood, Bowood and Southcott Farms have been altered so that they only contain land that is assessed as core farmland, while the open fields believed to have been worked from Cotleigh Manor, have been used to establish a putative size for that manor. It can be seen from Table 6.3 that it has only been possible to provide enough plots, of 30 acres or so, for ten of the twenty three listed villans.

Stockland presents a problem similar to Cotleigh, a high count of villagers (40), and a small count of medieval farms that date to 1300 or earlier: Bucehayes (1238), Pope Hayne and Corry (both 1244), Townsend (1259), and Crandon (1288) (all dating EPNS, except Townsend – HER 01920). The putative extent of

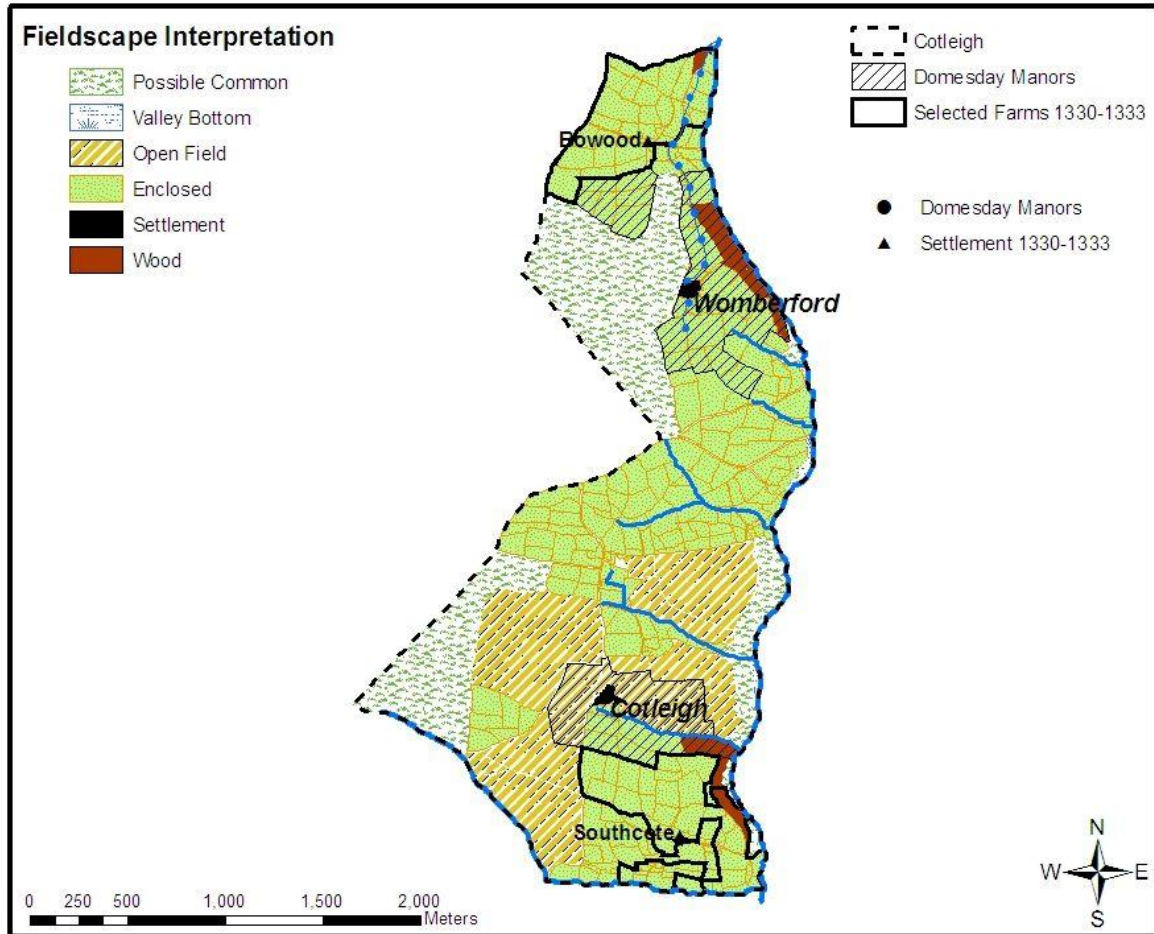


Figure 6.22. The two Domesday manors of Cotleigh and those farms known to have been in existence prior to 1333. The farm boundaries have been created through modification of those recorded in the tithe apportionment to only include land that has been characterised as ‘enclosed’, which includes open fields and woodland.

Stockland has been derived from the survey of Marwood’s land (see above). In this parish it is possible to identify sufficient land to provide suitable plots for eleven villagers.

The count of possible villans’ plots in both parishes is below that necessary to meet the requirements of the modified Hoskins’ model but, scrutiny of the map of Stockland (Figure 6.23), enables us to identify more than enough land to house the remainder in that parish. In Cotleigh (Figure 6.22), however, it proves to be a close ‘fit’, the estimated total amount of core farmland (including open field and

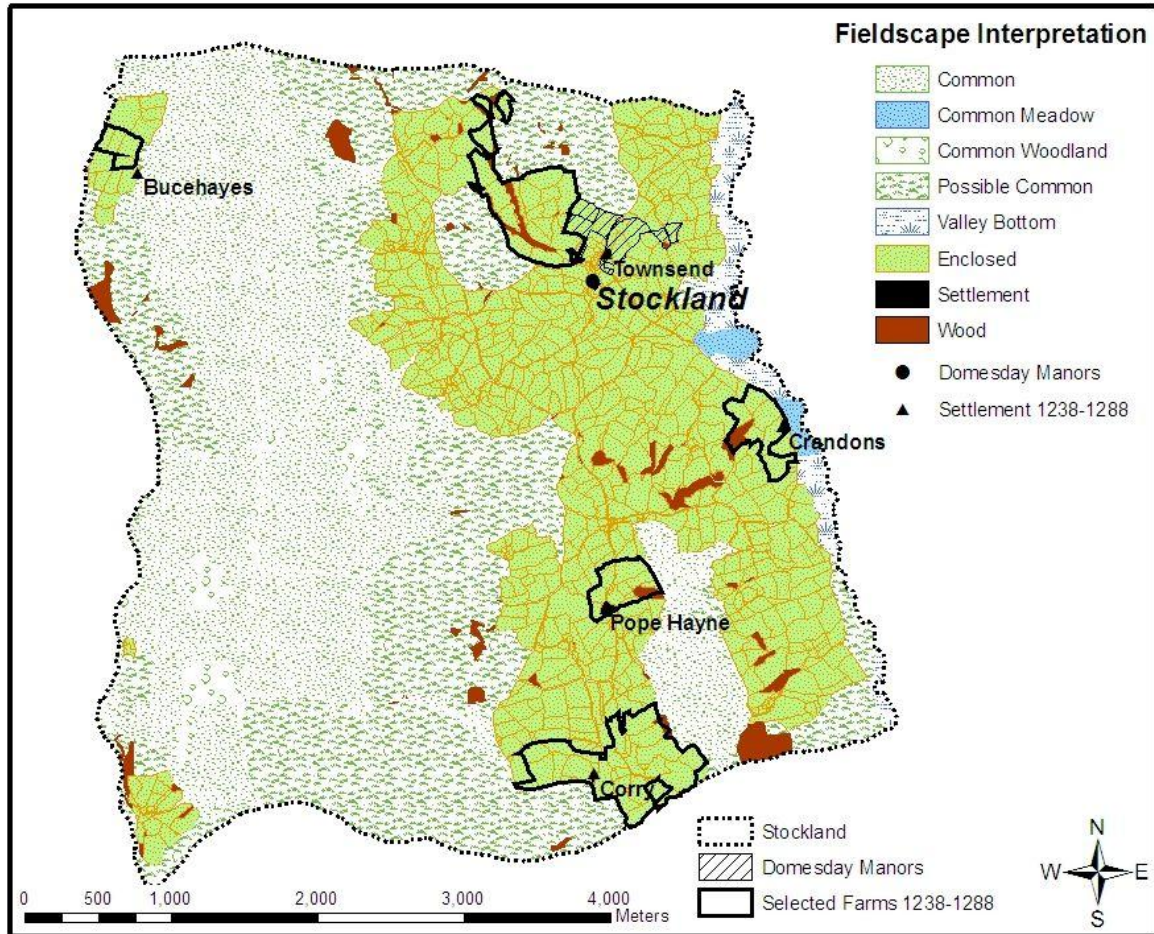


Figure 6.23. Stockland between 1086 and 1288. Only those known to have existed before AD 1288 have been included. The farm boundaries have been created through modification of those recorded in the tithe apportionment to only include land characterised as 'enclosed', which includes woodland.

wood), derived after the map regression is 1076 acres, the amount of land required to provide twenty three villans' plots, of 30 acres each, and two demesnes (380 acres)¹³ is 1070 acres.

Staying with land measurements, we now turn to the comparison of the Domesday totals of land used for agricultural purposes with the amount of core farmland that has been calculated through the fieldscape analysis.

¹³ The extent of demesne for Cotleigh is recorded as 180 acres in 1086, that for Womberford has been assumed to be 200 acres, in the absence of any assessment in Domesday (see Dyer 2002, 74).

Domesday Agricultural Land (Table 6.4)

The results of the gross check of probable parish size, based on the Domesday metrics, against the parish size calculated after the map regression, is very encouraging, if one assumes a local ploughland of 90 acres. In Cotleigh, the map regression derives a total acreage of 1076 acres of enclosed land, while the Domesday metrics indicate a size of 1073 acres (90 acre ploughland). The same figures for Stockland are 2506 acres (regression) and 2555 acres (Domesday). Cotleigh parish comprised two manors, Womberford and Cotleigh, and it is possible to perform a similar check of the acreage associated with each of these manors. The size of Womberford Manor derived from the map regression is 266 acres, while the Domesday figure is 353 acres (90 acre ploughland). The results for Cotleigh Manor are 810 acres (regression) and 720 acres (Domesday – 90 acre ploughland).

In the first two case studies, the metric comparison at a parochial level produced consistently good results, suggesting that a local ploughland was between 90 and 100 acres. In this case study the results are, once again, good and the indication is that a local ploughland was 90 acres. Once again, however, we find that the same comparison conducted at a manorial level fails to produce wholly satisfactory results and the indications from Cotleigh parish are that a local ploughland, in that parish, varies between 60 acres (Womberford) and 100 acres (Cotleigh). Part of the problem may lie in inaccuracies in the fieldscape analysis, where the inaccurate fieldscape interpretation of a field – enclosed or not enclosed – will create a larger error in the smaller computation, at the manorial level, while such inaccuracies may cancel each other out at the larger parochial level. Such an argument, however, is difficult to sustain, when faced with Cotleigh, a small parish that contained two manors, especially after the good results gained from Poltimore, a similar small parish containing two manors. The problem, more probably, lies in the time span between Domesday and the Tithe Assessment and the potential for untracked changes in manor boundaries, as discussed in Chapter 5. The correlation between the acreages derived for each

Table 6.4. Domesday entries for exploited land in the three manors that comprise the parishes of Cotleigh and Stockland. The minimum and maximum extents of the manors and parishes have been calculated using 90 acres as the maximum likely size of a ploughland and 60 acres as the minimum.

Manor	<i>Original Domesday Figures and units (note 1)</i>				<i>Domesday Figures converted to statute acres (see Chapter 3 for conversion criteria)</i>				<i>Putative Domesday manor extents (statute acres) (note 2)</i>		Tithe assessment of parish size	Thesis assessment of 'ancient' enclosure
	Arable (ploughlands)	Meadow (acres)	Pasture (acres)	Wood (see below)	Arable min/max (note 3)	Meadow (acres)	Pasture (acres)	Wood (acres)	Min manor area	Max manor area		
Womberford (15,24)	3	3	40	40 acres	180/270	3	40	40	263	353	n/a	266
Cotleigh (15,35)	8 (2) (note 5)	0	0	0	480/720	0	0	0	480 (120) (note 5)	720 (180) (note 5)		810
Cotleigh Totals	11	3	40	40 acres	660/990	3	40	40	743	1073	1218	1076
Stockland (12,14)	16 (4) (note 5)	23	0	13 by 12 furlongs (note 4)	960/1440	23	0	1092	2075 (1355) (note 5)	2555 (1475) (note 5)	5850	2506

- Notes:
1. Where Domesday records acres the precise size of these 'acres' is not known.
 2. The putative manor extent is calculated by adding the arable, meadow, pasture and wood figures (in statute acres) together – two totals are generated, one using the minimum arable calculation and the other the larger one.
 3. The minimum and maximum arable acreage is calculated by assuming that a ploughland in Devon was between 90 (maximum) and 60 (minimum) acres.
 4. Recorded as a rectangular area, Rackham's form figure of 0.7 applied to the product (Rackham 1980, 114) (see Chapter 3).
 5. The figures in brackets are the number of ploughs 'in lordship', only the count of ploughlands and the eventual manor extents are listed.

parish through analysis of the Domesday metrics, and the map regression, is encouraging; the results, when pitched at the manorial level, in a small parish, are just satisfactory. In this case study, the inability to 'replace' lost settlement has frustrated the attempt to establish a settlement pattern that can be considered to approximate the requirements of the population recorded in 1086. Before proceeding to a summary of this chapter we will assess the putative map of Cotleigh and Stockland at Domesday.

Domesday Recovered?

In this case study it has been possible to identify an extent of agricultural land, representing the putative core farmland, whose size compares favourably with the Domesday measurements of the manorial land. The bulk of this agricultural land was used for mixed farming, probably ley husbandry, but it has been possible to identify some probable, former open field around the modern site of Cotleigh Manor. The results of the comparison of land extents, at a manorial level, whilst not as good were, nevertheless, satisfactory.

Once again, it has not been possible to identify sufficient settlement to accommodate the villans in either parish, although there was, undoubtedly, enough land for them to have enjoyed a tenement of at least 30 acres each. If one expands the search for settlement to encompass the whole of the Middle Ages, it is possible to identify the required amount of settlement, but this detracts from the attempt to date the map to 1086. The problems encountered in 'reconstructing' the settlement pattern *ca.* 1086, and the justification for expanding the search to the two hundred years immediately following Domesday, have been rehearsed above.

The map at Figure 6.24 represents a fair representation of the land at the time of Domesday and shows the extent to which the available land in Cotleigh and Stockland was exploited, either through probable open fields or using a system of ley husbandry. While the settlement pattern is less satisfactory, it has been

possible to make some tentative identification of probable hamlets that have since shrunk to a single farm, among the settlement that can be dated to the period 1086-1333.

Summary

It had been anticipated that the poorer soil quality, with more 'clayey' soils being identified, would cause a decrease in the coverage that a team of oxen could achieve in a day and that this would be reflected in a smaller 'local' ploughland. The comparison of Domesday metrics against map regression calculations, once again proving very satisfactory at the parochial level, indicates that a 90 acre ploughland was just as prevalent on the tops of the Blackdown Hills as it was on the floodplains of the Clyst. The confidence placed in this comparison of Domesday and fieldscape interpretation was boosted by another successful analysis at a manorial level, not as satisfactory as that of Poltimore and Cutton, but acceptable nonetheless.

It has been possible to identify the presence of probable former open fields in the small parish of Cotleigh, which surrounded the manor of that name, but, there do not appear to have been any such fields in the larger parish, Stockland. That is not to say that Stockland did not encompass any common land, as evidenced by the parliamentary enclosures of common land on the hilltops and the probable presence of former common meadowland along the banks of the River Yarty.

The history of Cotleigh appears to have been reasonably 'quiet' and it was possible to trace the descent of both manors to ca. 1840. Cotleigh Manor has, for the most part, remained under the ownership of a single 'landlord' who leased farms and tenements to several tenants. Womberford Manor, however, has been dismembered, and the former manor lands now comprise three large farms and five smaller ones. Stockland, on the other hand, saw considerable change during

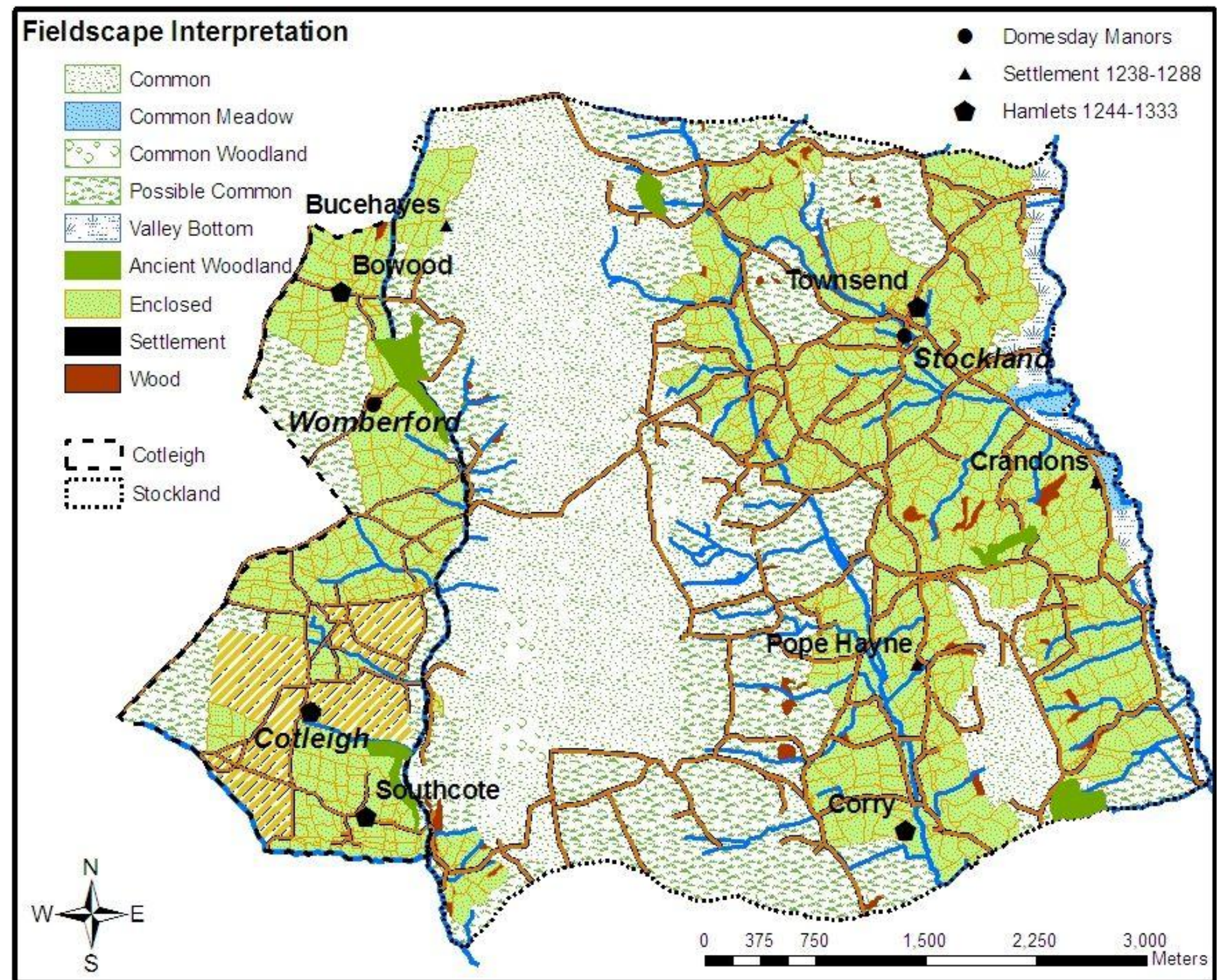


Figure 6.24. A possible representation of Cotleigh and Stockland ca. 1086. The three Domesday manors are the only settlement that can be dated to 1086. In Stockland part of the settlement pattern has been established using dwellings that can be dated between 1238 and 1288, while in Cotleigh the timeframe is less satisfactory, covering the period 1330-1333. The road pattern is, fundamentally that of ca. 1840, but the straight roads, probably associated with parliamentary enclosure have been removed from Stockland Hill (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

the 750 years between the Domesday and Tithe Surveys, most of it probably coming after the Dissolution. In this parish *ca.* 1840, there was a plethora of large and small farms, many of which had scattered holdings, and all were intermixed with some very small fragmentary tenements.

Application of the modified Hoskins' model failed to identify sufficient settlement to 'house' all the Domesday villans, despite the presence of enough land that had been interpreted as being core farmland. It is considered that the justification for modifying the model, to only use farms whose existence in the two hundred years after Domesday, still presents a more robust solution than that offered by Hoskins.

This case study represents the last of the eastward transect, from Broadclyst, up through Kentisbeare, onto the plateau of the Blackdowns at Cotleigh. The highest point in this transect lies in the north-west corner of Stockland, at just over 250m, and most of the ridge tops throughout the parishes of Case Study III are above 200m. In the valleys of the Corry and Yarty, it is noticeable that more land is given over to pasture and meadow, than was encountered on the floodplains of the Culm and Clyst, with the cereal cropping moving further upslope onto the valley side. In this case study the very tops of the ridges appear not to have been used for permanent cultivation in the medieval period, but the gently sloping ground, just off these tops, was put to cereal. Overall, although the Soil Survey suggests a general deterioration in soil quality over the whole transect, it appears that there has been little change in the farming regime, except in Stockland where we probably encounter extensive alternate husbandry for the first time.

The final product of the chapter, the map dated to *ca.* 1086, appears to have captured the postulated core farmland and this should represent land that has been under cultivation continuously. Unfortunately recovery of lost sites is not as

robust in the map regression as the characterisation of the fields, and the infrastructure depicted on this map – settlement and roads – is neither as complete, nor as accurate.

In the next Chapter we start to investigate a new transect, running to the north and west, away from Broadclyst, up towards the highlands of Exmoor. Once again the transect contains two case studies. The first looks at Cruwys Morchard and Templeton, which lie on a plateau 150m above the valley of the Exe, whilst the second visits Molland and West Anstey, and encompasses land, on the fringes of Exmoor that is above the 300m contour.

7

Case Study IV: **Cruwys Morchard and Templeton**

'In the north and west parts, the land is more lean and barren, except about towns, where the husbandman, by improvement, hath inforced fertility; and near the sea, from whose shore sand is carried to better their grounds, both for grain and grass; elsewhere, so churlish and unthankful to the husbandman's labour, that it hardly affords rye and oats.'

(Risdon ca. 1640, 5-6).

Introduction

Moving away from the floodplains of the Exe and its tributaries up towards the high ground of Exmoor, this case study looks at Templeton and Cruwys Morchard, which sit on the edge of the 150m contour, just to the west of Tiverton (Figure 7.1). The move incorporates a change in geology and the beginnings of a less benign climate. This is the first case study in which we find no probable former open field systems; instead the whole of the farmland seems to have been given over to ley husbandry during the Middle Ages. Indeed, approximately 50% of the fieldscape comprises a pattern of irregularly enclosed fields of between 1 and 5 acres in size.

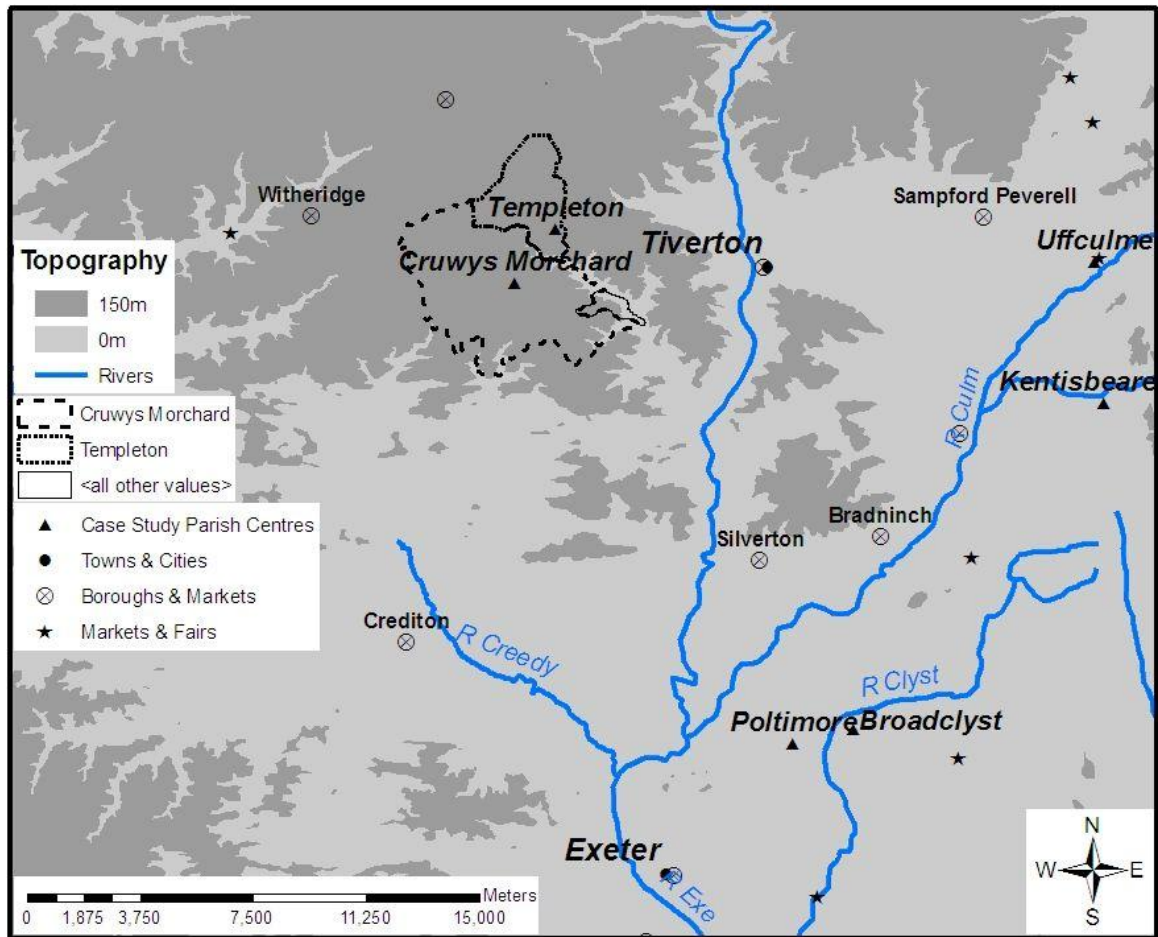


Figure 7.1. Cruwys Morchard and Templeton are 20 km to the north of Exeter, on the Culm Measures (boroughs after Beresford & Finberg 1973, markets after Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs 2010).

Whilst sharing a common ‘farming heritage’, these parishes have a diverse history, with one (Templeton) being subject to ecclesiastical lordship until the Dissolution. The other (Cruwys Morchard) had embraced the residence of a locally dominant family, the Cruwys, from ca. 1200 until just before the Tithe Commission. There is a detached portion of the parish of Cheriton Fitzpaine (represented by Thongsley Farm) that nestles on the north-eastern border of Cruwys Morchard and which may have been a part of the lands recorded at Domesday as belonging to one of the manors of Cruwys Morchard. Whilst mapped separately, Thongsley Farm and its attendant mill are considered to be a part of Cruwys Morchard throughout this chapter.

The two parishes contain a plethora of coombe and combe place-names and, before proceeding with the case study, a note on consistency is necessary. Coombe and Combe, where they occur are spelt as in the source document. North Coombe and Southcombe are so recorded in the tithe apportionment, but are Northcomb and Southcomb on the 1" OS map. The record and their proximity suggest that they are related – a mother/daughter relationship or maybe they are siblings. For consistency they have been called Southcombe and Northcombe throughout this thesis. A scion of Northcombe – Middle North Combe - is the site of the pollen sequence and has retained that spelling to maintain consistency with the report on the pollen analysis.

Natural Environment

The topography of this case study area is very similar to that of the last case study, Cotleigh and Stockland. Once again there is a large plateau area and several valleys that dominate the landscape as the land rises to almost exactly the same height: just over 250m. The features of this case study are, however, more pronounced than in the last and we will also see considerable differences in the geology and soil structure.

Topography (Figure 7.2)

The topography of the two parishes is noticeably different. Cruwys Morchard occupies a large plateau that is drained by a radial pattern of small river valleys. This central plateau is relatively flat, with a height differential of only 30m along the main north-west/south-east axis. Templeton, on the other hand, is divided into three north/south ridges by the courses of the River Dart and one of its tributaries, and the visitor cannot fail to notice the roller coaster ride comprising steep descents into and ascents out of the two river valleys. It is only in a final,

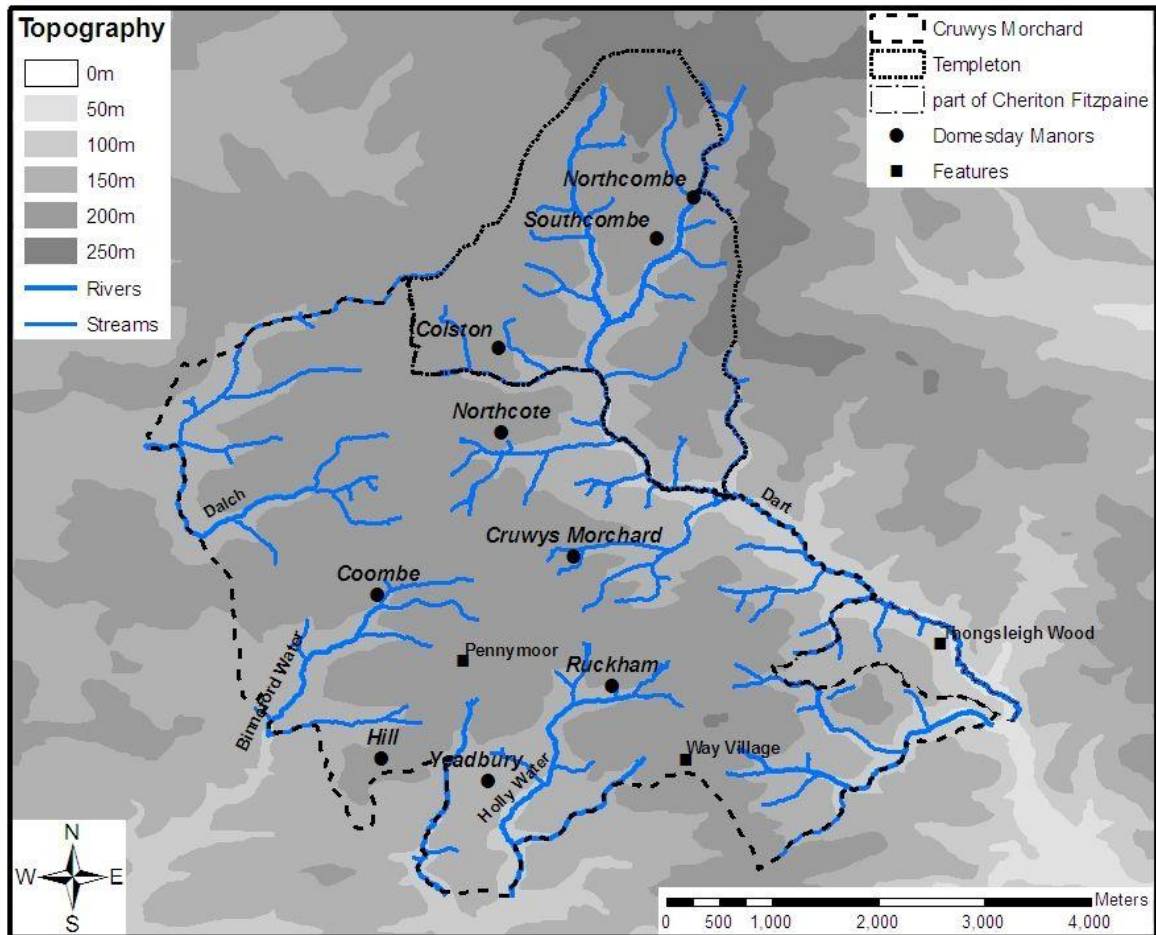


Figure 7.2. The topography of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. The topography of Cruwys Morchard is dominated by a plateau that includes Pennymoor, whilst that of Templeton has been ‘carved’ out by the River Dart. The land in this case study rises to almost the same height as it did in the last, just over 250m, but the percentage of ‘higher’ ground is greater. Domesday manors and topographical features are shown to provide common reference points throughout this chapter.

500m wide band, in the south that the topography of this parish resembles that of the larger Cruwys Morchard. The Dart, having bisected Templeton, moves on to become the parish boundary of the north-eastern side of Cruwys Morchard.

Geology (Figure 7.3)

Just as the topography of the two parishes can be compared with that of the last case study, so can the geology be compared with that of the first. In Broadclyst and Poltimore the dominant geological formations were those of the Permian, in particular the Exeter Group, but there was some intrusion by the earlier rocks of

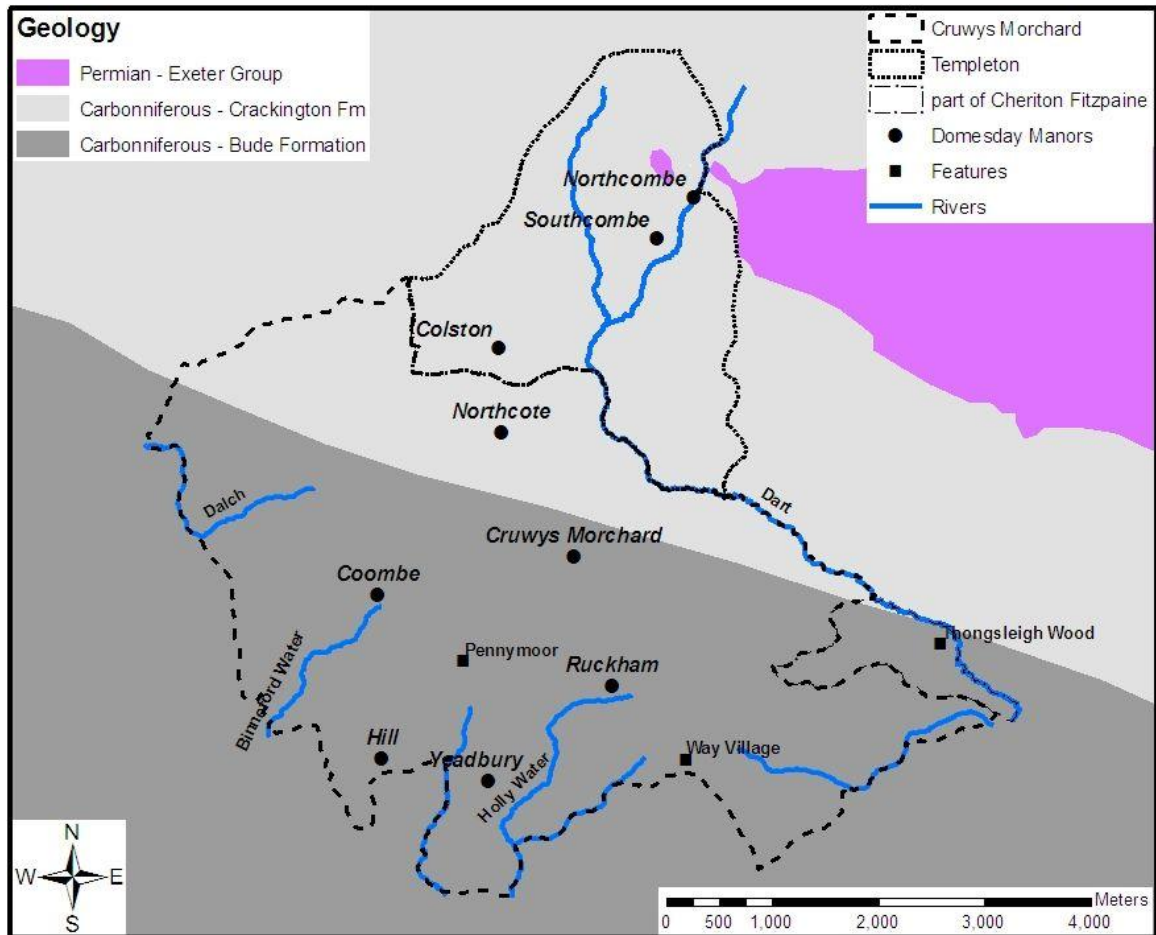


Figure 7.3. The geology of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. Rocks of the Carboniferous Crackington and Bude Formations dominate the area, with a small intrusion of the younger Permian Exeter Group to the north-east (after British Geological Survey 2010).

the Carboniferous, the Crackington Formation. In this case study the dominant geology is that of the Carboniferous, both of the Crackington Formation and the Bude Formation, but there is one very small area where the younger rocks of the Exeter Group will be encountered (Durrance & Laming 1982, 29-57).

The rocks of the Crackington and Bude Formations, collectively called the Culm Measures, are a broad band of sandstone and limestone, intermixed with slates and cherts, which extend across the whole of mid-Devon, lying between Exmoor to the north, Dartmoor to the south and extending into Cornwall. These rocks are notorious for producing heavy clayey soils that are difficult to work (Thomas

1982, 42-65), and we now turn to the soils of the area to investigate the extent to which these have altered with the change in geology. We will be looking, in particular, at whether the potential for heavier, clayey soil has been realised and, if this has had an effect upon the type of farming and the size of a ploughland.

Soil (Figure 7.4 and Table 7.1)

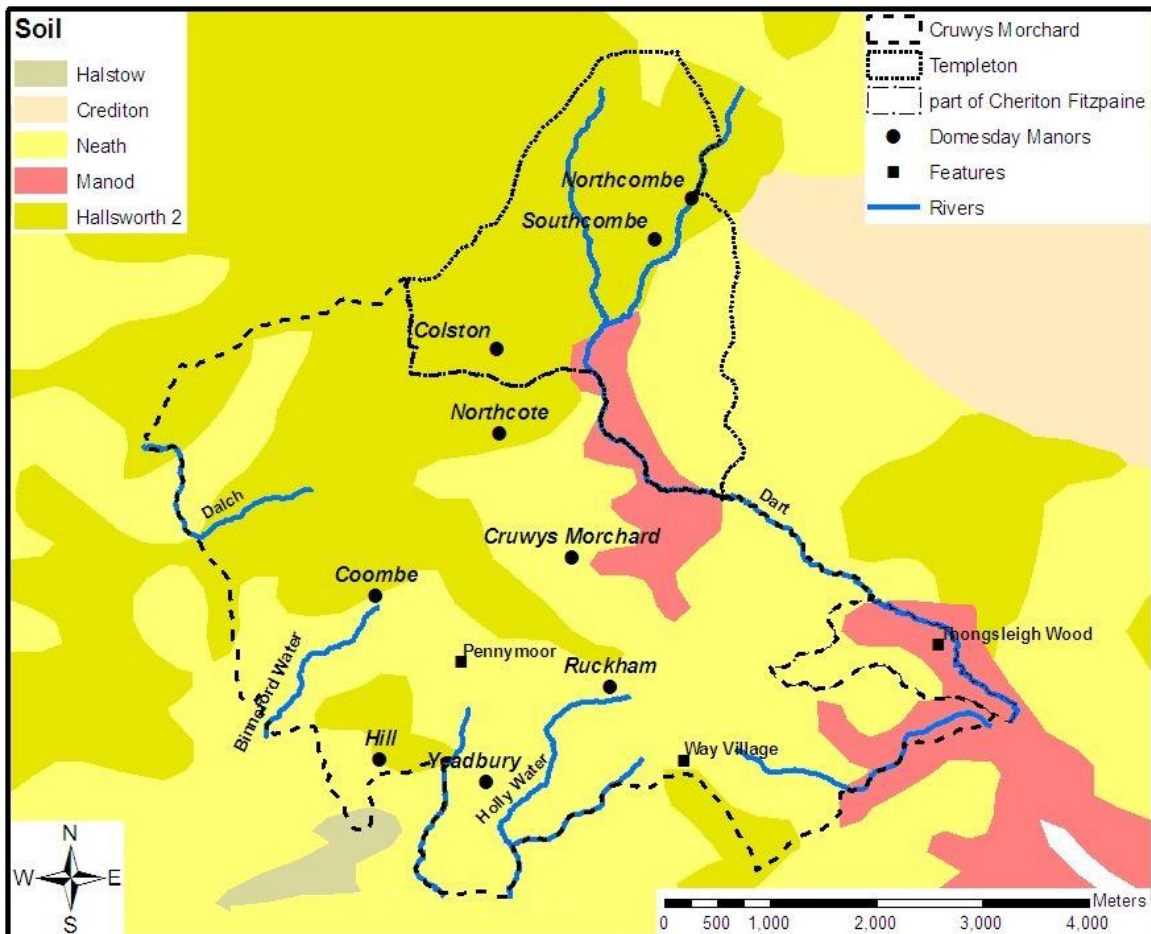


Figure 7.4. The soils of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. Whilst the extent of the Crediton type soil can be associated with the rocks of the Exeter Group, the remainder appear to be both terrain and geologically oblivious (after Soil Survey 1983).

It is interesting to note that, whilst the separation between the two Carboniferous rock formations of the parish lies in an east/west direction, the boundary between the two most common soils, Hallsworth 2 and Neath, is less well defined and is seemingly indifferent to both geology and topography.

**Table 7.1. The soils of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton (Figure 7.4)
(extract from Soil Survey 1983, Index).**

Name	Character	Agriculture	Location
Halstow	Slowly permeable clayey soils often over shale. Some well drained fine loamy soils	Permanent and short term grassland with dairying and stock rearing, some winter cereals	Small outcrop in south-west of area
Crediton	Well drained gritty reddish loamy soils over breccia, locally less stony. Steep slopes in places	Dairying and stock rearing, cereals and roots, some horticultural crops	Associated with Exeter Group rocks
Neath	Well drained fine loamy soils often over rock. Small patches of similar soils with slowly permeable subsoils and slight seasonal waterlogging	Dairying and some cereals and stock rearing: some early potatoes in Dyfed	Present throughout area
Manod	Well drained fine loamy or fine silty soils over rock. Shallow soils in places. Bare rock locally. Steep slopes common	Stock rearing and woodlands in uplands; some dairying and cereals in Devon and Cornwall with woodland on slopes	Valley bottom and slopes
Hallsworth 2	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged clayey, fine loamy and fine silty soils	Permanent grassland, stock rearing and dairying. Some woodland and wet moorland habitats	Present throughout area

There is a distinct difference between these two soils with respect to their ability to support agriculture; Neath, while not as good as the soils found in the previous chapters, will support both dairying and ‘some’ cereals, while Hallsworth 2 is only capable of supporting pastoral farming. Manod, the soil found along some reaches of the River Dart, where it does extend upslope, appears to be a ‘mixed bag’, only capable of supporting cereals in the South-west, and then only on the lower ground. It may be significant that Hallsworth 2 – the soil that is most prevalent in the north-west of the study area – is described as ‘seasonally

waterlogged clayey soil', if this was used for cereal cropping in the Middle Ages, we may expect a reduction in the amount of land a team could plough in a day, resulting in a smaller ploughland (Soil Survey 1983, Index).

Whilst there are similarities in both topography and height between this case study and the last (Cotleigh and Stockland), the different geology appears to have brought with it soil less suited to agriculture, in particular cereal cropping. The next section looks at the land-use history of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton, which will assist in determining the type and extent of agriculture that may have been practised during the medieval period.

Land-use History

The land-use recorded by the Tithe Commissioners *ca.* 1840 is presented first. This will be used as a baseline for the remainder of the section, which will look at both the modern extent of 'ancient' woodland and the environmental record from both a 'local' pollen site, Middle North Combe in Templeton, and also from three regional sites in Rackenford.

Land-use *ca.* 1840 (Figure 7.5)

There are extensive swathes of land whose use was recorded as arable *ca.* 1840, which were spread across the higher ground and on both of the most common soil types: Neath and Hallsworth 2. There was also less 'arable' and far more pasture on the less capable of these two soils, Hallsworth 2, in the north-west of the case study area. The amount of meadow present in the case study *ca.* 1840 appears to be significantly less than encountered in the earlier chapters. Finally, while woodland was limited to the valley sides, there were some large areas recorded by the Tithe Commissioners.

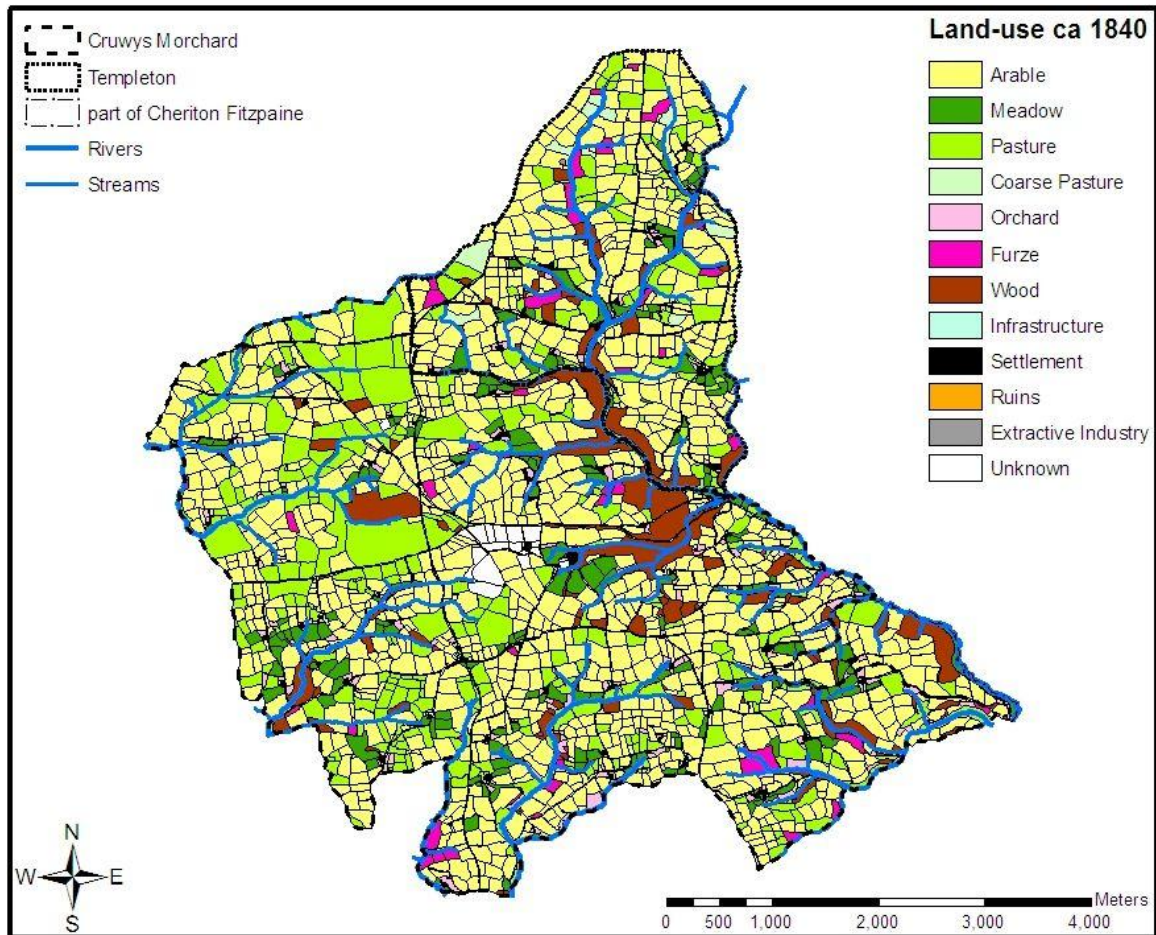


Figure 7.5. Land-use in Cruwys Morchard and Templeton recorded ca. 1840. The majority of the high ground has been recorded as arable, although there was also some pasture, especially in the north-west where the soil is not so good. Woodland was limited to valley sides and the small extent of meadow was found in the valley bottoms. There was an apparent dearth of both furze and coarse pasture.

On the face of it, apart from some large blocks of pasture in the north-west corner of Cruwys Morchard, the mapped land-use ca. 1840 in these two parishes does not look that different from the preceding case studies, except that the amount of meadow has been steadily decreasing. The ratio of cereals grown has not changed noticeably from the first case study; in both Broadclyst and Cruwys Morchard, ca. 1840, the recorded quantities of oats, barley and wheat¹⁴ being grown were in the approximate ratio of 3:2:1, respectively. Oats were the favoured crop in Devon during the Middle Ages (Cox & Thorp 2001, 44), while

¹⁴ Recorded in the tithe apportionments for each parish and measured in bushels.

Fox (1989, 61-2) notes a regional preference for rye, in both beer and bread, but the quantities of this cereal that were being grown *ca.* 1840 were not recorded. It is difficult, therefore, to determine whether the lower lying lands were more productive than the higher ones encountered in this case study. Having established a baseline for the land-use, the next step is to review the data from the pollen sequences, used in this case study, to determine whether it is possible to get any indications of change as we go back through time.

Pollen sources

There is only a single 'local' pollen source, which can be used to provide any indication of change in the land-use history during the historic period, in the parishes of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. The Middle North Combe Farm pollen sequence comes from the lowest lying of the pollen traps investigated during the Greater Exmoor Project (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006). There are, however, three further sources that were investigated during the Project which were located in Rackenford, and these lie within 10 km of our case study area. It is intended to use the results from these three traps – Lobbs Bog, Windmill Rough and Hares Down – as 'regional' data to supplement that from Middle North Combe (Figure 7.6), and we will start with the regional data.

From the beginning of the early medieval period, the three 'regional' sites in Rackenford record a landscape that may be characterised as being predominantly open grassland, with early evidence of alder on the higher ground and a continuous record of both oak and hazel at distance from the sites, probably on the valley slopes (although hazel declines towards the end). There is strong evidence for a change in agriculture, with the introduction of arable farming, occurring between AD 600-800 within the pollen catchment area of Lobbs Bog and Windmill Rough, and this is recorded later (AD 860-1030) at Hares Down. Arable farming goes into decline from *ca.* AD 1500 (Fyfe *et al*, 2004).

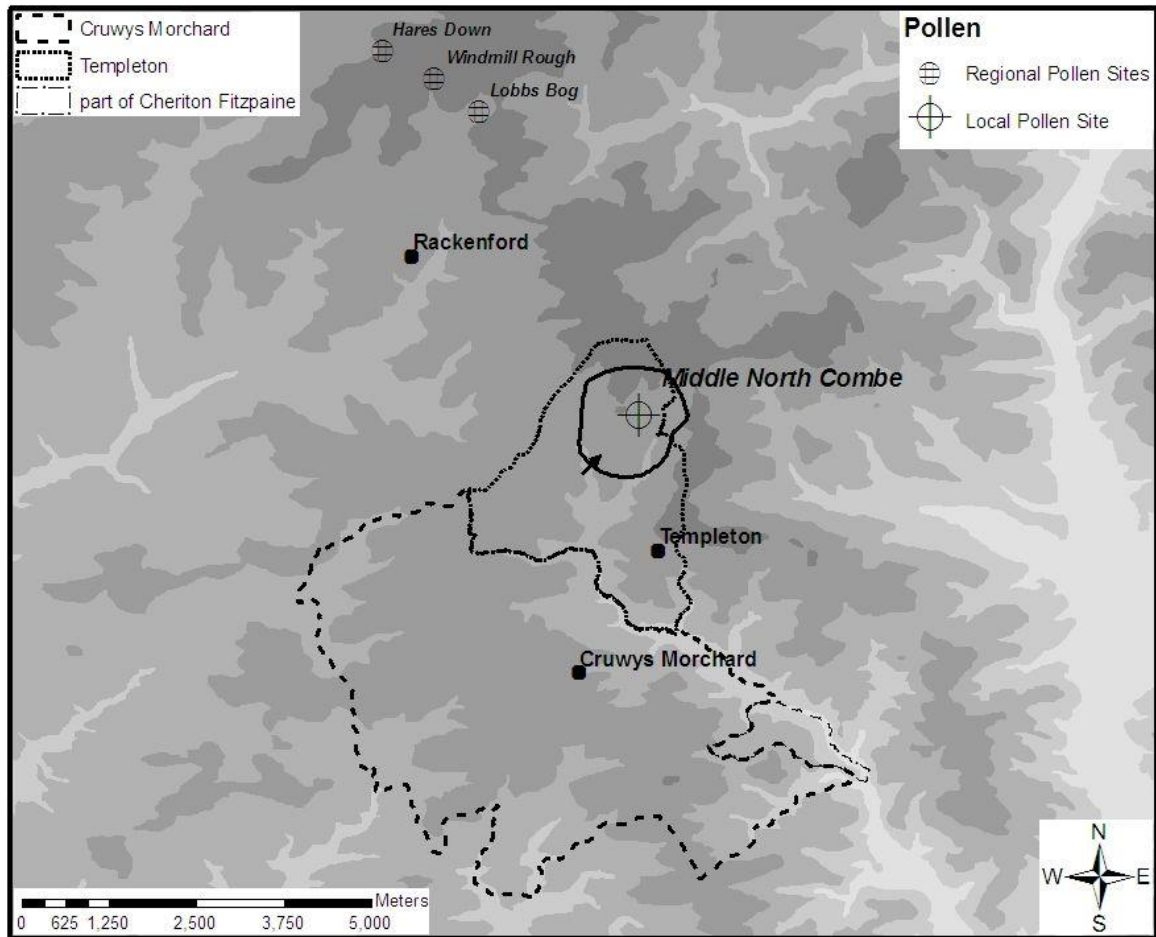


Figure 7.6. The three pollen traps used in this case study as 'regional' sources all lie to the north of the case study area, in the parish of Rackenford.

The evidence collected from the Middle North Combe pollen trap (Figure 7.7) is virtually identical to that emanating from our 'regional' sites. Rippon, Fyfe and Brown do single out Middle North Combe 'in particular', for recording the presence of low levels of cereal production throughout the early record, but the sequence still presents a picture of a 'predominantly open landscape with pastoral farming' until *ca.* AD 600-800, when a significant curve, recording a marked increase in cereal production is observed. At this time oats/wheat and rye at Middle North Combe account for 5% and 4% respectively of the total land pollen count, which should be contrasted with a typical value of 1% being recorded in lowland Devon in the latter part of the first millennium AD (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006, 46-52). They present a compelling argument that this

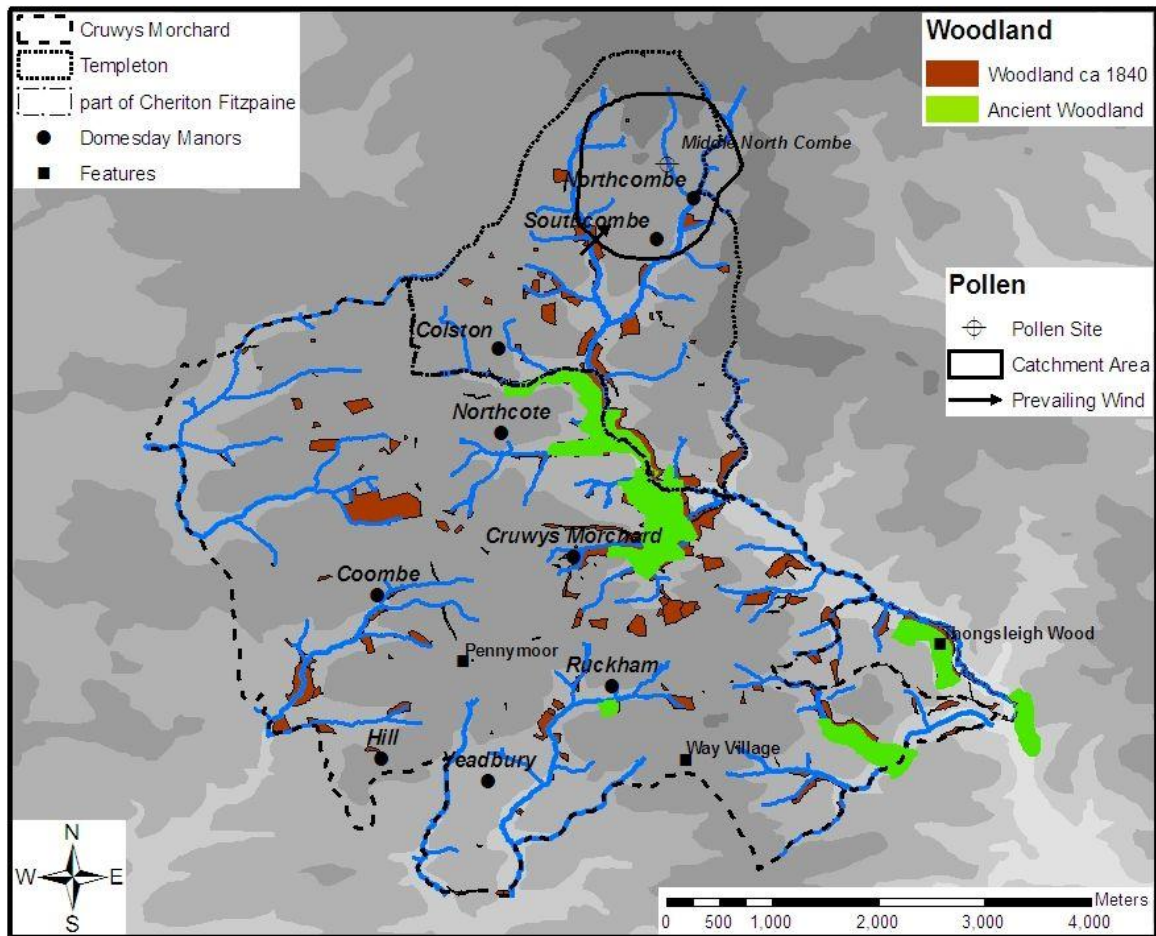


Figure 7.7. Ancient woods and pollen traps in Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. A single, local pollen site has been used in this case study, at Middle North Combe. The ancient woodland identified in the parishes is quite extensive and is found along the Dart valley sides, the presence of Purple Moor Grass has been included in this figure as an indicator of poorer quality land (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

change in the pollen record reflects the introduction of a 'distinctive system of rotational cropping known as convertible husbandry' (Rippon, Fyfe and Brown 2006, 53-58), and this farming regime is considered to be the 'standard' in Devon by the mid-14th century (Stanes, 2005, 64). Around the 16th-18th centuries the cereal curve declines, as does hazel, but a slight increase in oak may be detected, as well as a 'small peak' in bracken (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown, 2006, 64).

Going back through time, the evidence from the pollen sequence, taken from Middle North Combe, suggests that the tithe maps for the area should indicate a bias towards pastoral farming and a marginally greater extent of oak woodland, than was present in the area before ca. 16th-18th century. Before then we should look to a convertible husbandry regime, but with a greater emphasis on cereal cropping, which stretches back to ca. AD 600-800. Thus, it is probable that the period between ca. AD 600-800 and ca. 1700, should be seen as a time of continuity, with little change in the farming regimen.

The bias 'towards pastoral farming' recorded in the pollen sequence, from Middle North Combe, appears, at first glance, to be at odds with the predominantly arable land-use, recorded by the Tithe Commissioner (Figure 7.8). The use of the term 'arable' in tithe apportionments has been discussed before (Chapter 4, for example). The apparent dichotomy between pollen analysis and tithe record discussed here, serves to underline the fact that 'arable', when recorded in the tithe data, should be interpreted as land that was under a rotational regime, that was *suitable* for cereal cropping. In Figure 7.8, if one were to re-classify around 75% of the 'arable' as 'pasture' this would remove the apparent conflict.

Ancient woodland

The amount of ancient woodland identified by Natural England appears more extensive than that of the earlier case studies, and in this instance, is mostly found along the valley sides of the River Dart (Figure 7.7) (MAGIC 2009). Once again, beyond the ancient woodland, there is very little 'additional' woodland that was recorded in the parishes ca. 1840, and what there was, would be found clinging to the valley sides. The record presented by Natural England, although limited to tracing the ancient woodland, does not contradict the broader picture observed through the pollen sequences, and the evidence from both can be taken forward to inform the fieldscape analysis. This analysis will be conducted at the end of the next section, entitled Parochial History, which starts by looking at the settlement of the parishes of this case study.

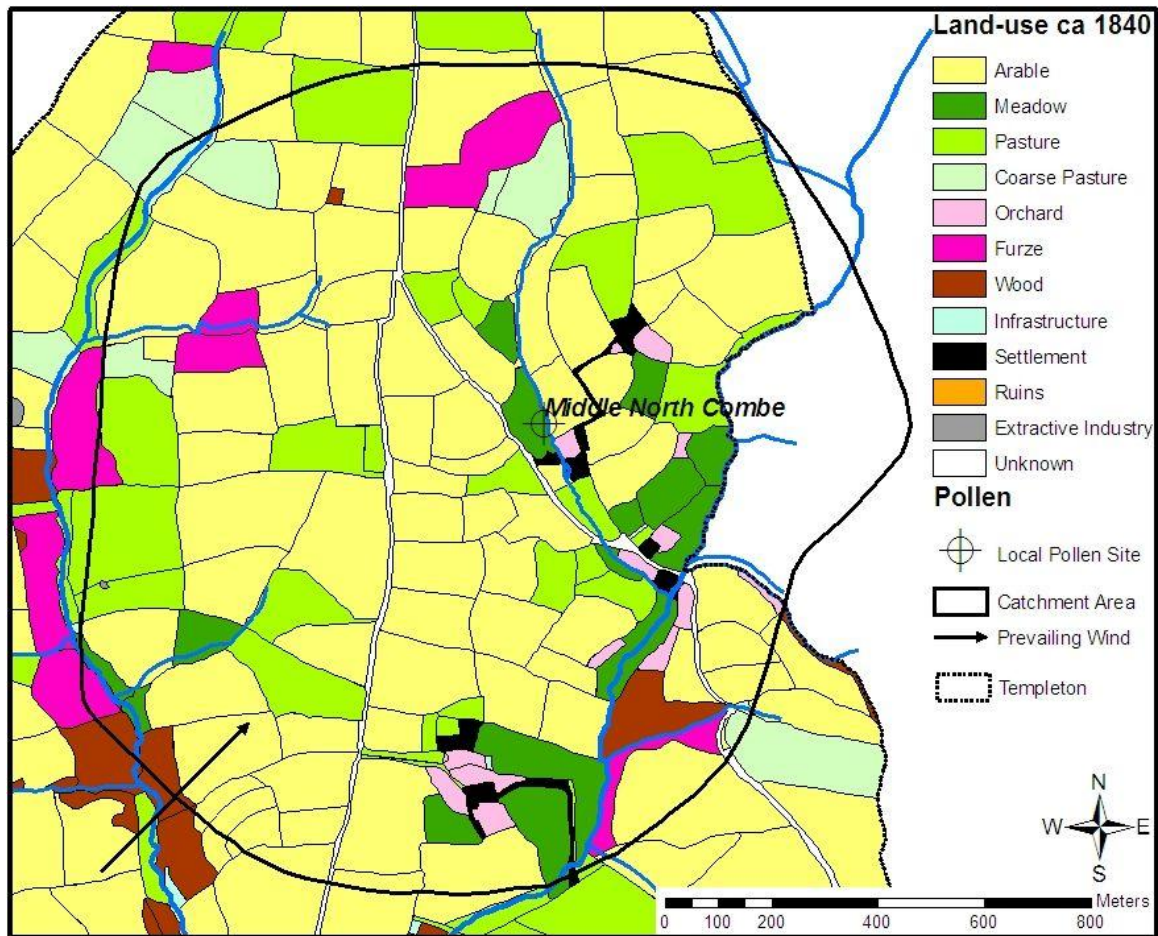


Figure 7.8. The Middle North Combe putative pollen catchment area superimposed upon the land-use recorded ca. 1840. The palynological study suggests a pastoral signature while, on the face of it, the tithe data records a bias towards arable.

Parochial History

We turn now to a review of the history of the parishes that can be garnered from a combination of the map regression process, antiquarian sources and the few records held in DRO. As usual the first sub-section looks at settlement and communications patterns.

Settlement and Communications

Retrogressive map analysis may not enable lost settlements to be restored, but other sources do. The first sub-section looks at field-names in an attempt to identify possible missing settlement.

Settlement Indicative Field-Names

Templeton (Figure 7.9)

In Templeton there are four fields that have settlement indicative field-names. Two of these fields have names containing the element 'Black', a possible allusion to a black occupation layer¹⁵, while the other two fields – Callocott and Callocott Bottom – both contain the habitative indicator 'Cot'. There are also two fields whose names contain the Old English place-name element 'Ley' – Hagley Moor and part of Hagley Moor – and these will also be investigated.

The 'Black' named fields are both located on soil that is seasonally waterlogged: Hallsworth 2. The nearby pollen trap, at Middle North Combe, is testimony to the ability that this soil has to create small peat mires and it is considered that both these 'Black' fields are most likely to be so called owing to the presence of black soil and not former occupation layers. Neither Callocott nor Hagley is listed by EPNS (Gover *et al.* 1932), there is no record of a settlement of either name in the Devon Record Office nor in the HER, and the post-war RAF overhead aerial photographs do not show anything of interest in either vicinity. This complete lack of corroborative evidence is normally considered to be sufficient justification for not taking a possible settlement indicative field-name forward to the settlement listing but, in this instance, only Hagley will not be considered further. *Cot* is considered to be of particular relevance to settlement on the Culm Measures (Padel 1999, 91-94) and, owing to this, Callocott has been included in the medieval settlement listing for Templeton.

¹⁵ The 'black' fields are not collocated, one is to the north of Colston, and the other is very small and close to Southcombe (to the north-west).

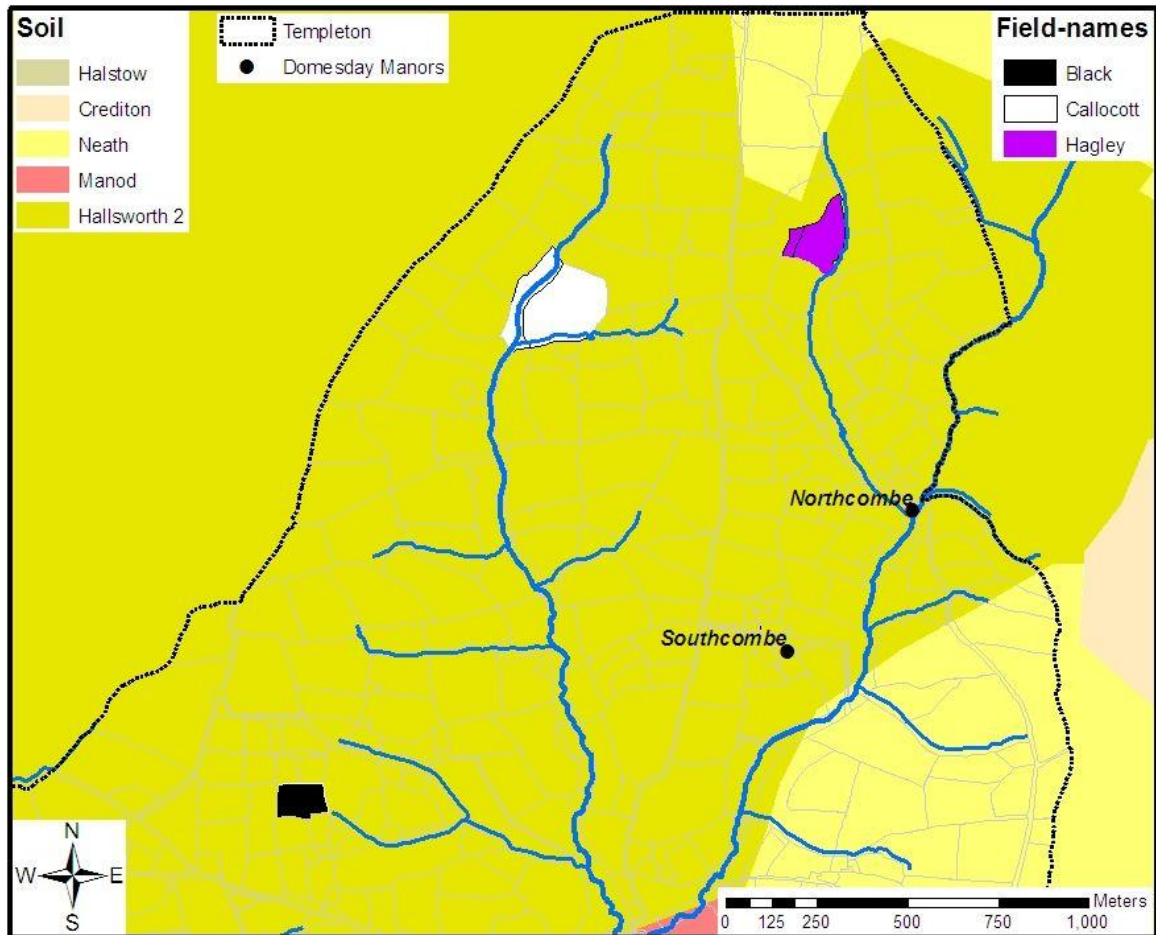


Figure 7.9. Possible settlement indicative field-names in Templeton. The second 'Black' name will be found as a small 'dot' above the 'm' of Southcombe (after Soil Survey 1983).

Cruwys Morchard (Figure 7.10)

The larger parish contains more fields whose names may be considered to be possible indicators of former settlement. There are four 'Black' names, two 'Castle' names, and field-names containing the elements: Debtford (one), Kennerley (four), Brimley (in Thongsley) (two) and Ufferland (four). Those fields whose names include the element 'Black' are all collocated, forming a large block of land alongside a watercourse to the east of Way Village. There is no documentary evidence for any settlement in this area and it is considered that, although these fields are not situated on soil noted for being waterlogged, they probably derive their 'Black' names from black soil, owing to their riverine

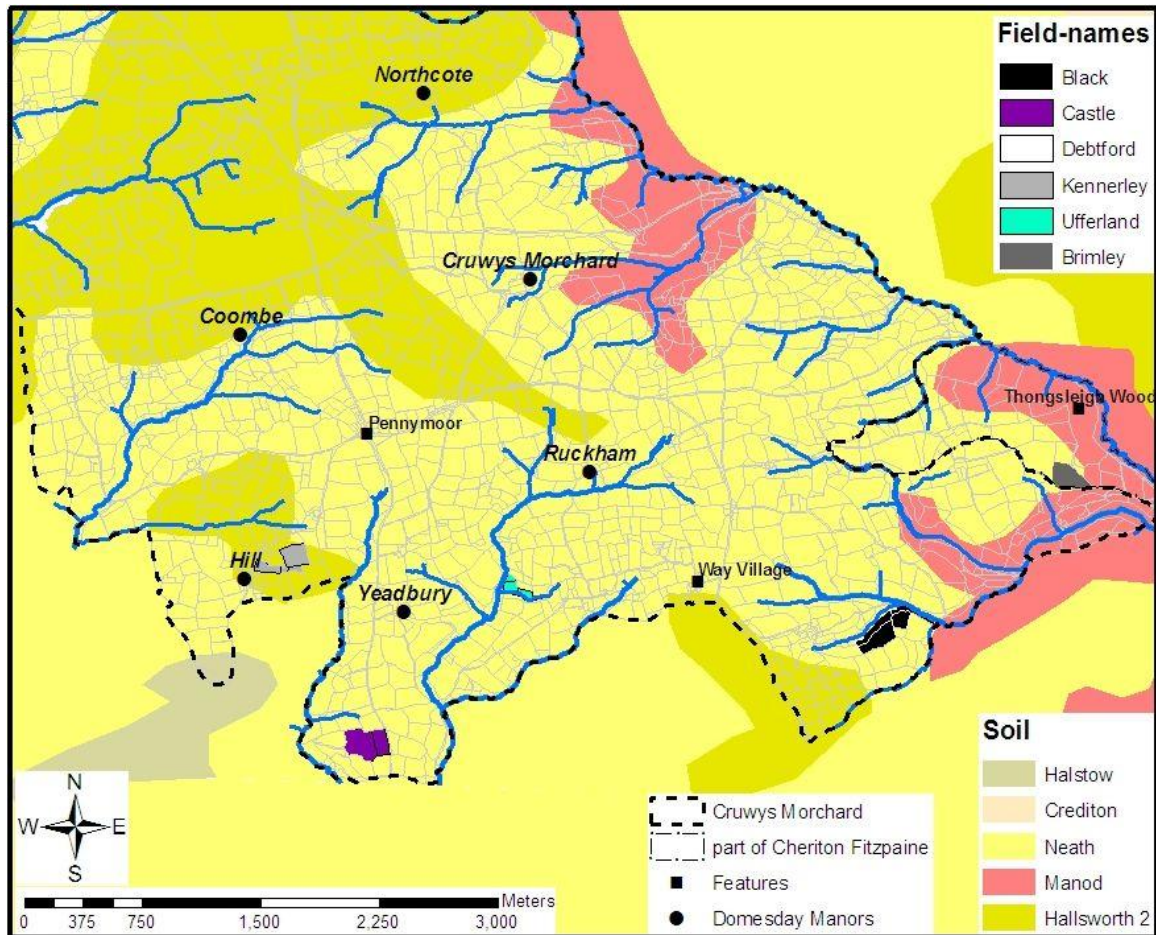


Figure 7.10. Possible settlement indicative field-names in Cruwys Morchard and the detached portion of Cheriton Fitzpaine (after Soil Survey 1983).

location. Great Castle and Little Castle are also collocated, in the south of the parish, near Yeadbury. Neither the County Series map (ca. 1880) nor the modern OS map give any indication of a castle in the vicinity, yet Great Castle field sits on a high piece of ground, with steep slopes surrounding it. Situation and a Devonian preference for calling hillforts 'castles', combine to suggest that this may be a prehistoric entity, rather than a medieval castle. Hoskins (1940-1) reports no visible earthworks but associates the field/s with *Eadda's burh* (Yeadbury). The HER (12290), however, does record the presence of a large round enclosure that is visible on modern air photographs. This 'castle' has not been included in the parish settlement database due to its likely antiquity. There are two sets of fields whose names include the Old English place-name element *Ley* in their names: Kennerley (Cruwys Morchard) and Brimley (Cheriton

Fitzpaine, detached portion). Neither of these possible place names have any documentary evidence to support the existence of a settlement, neither do the RAF Air Photographs provide any visual indications. Kennerley and Brimley are not considered further. There are four fields containing the name element 'Ufferland' which lie between Ruckham and Yeadbury. The tithe apportionment lists two recorded pieces of Ufferland Farm - 'Ufferland etc' and 'Ufferland or part of Stickridge' – but without recording a farmhouse in either holding. In 1840 Thomas Badcock owned the three farms of Stickridge, Wortball and 'Ufferland or part of Stickridge', which are contiguous, and he also leased 'Ufferland etc' which, conveniently, filled in a small gap in his multiple farm holdings, but there is no documentary evidence to support the existence of a settlement called Ufferland and it is not considered further. Finally, the small field called 'Deptford Bottom', lying on the River Dalch, some 1500 metres to the north-west of Coombe. Deptford¹⁶ Farm is mapped on both the 1880 and modern OS maps. However, ca. 1840 there was no record of such a settlement and the land in the vicinity is part of an extensive holding called 'Week'. While EPNS do record 'Deptford' in 1372 (Gover *et al.* 1932, 380-1), it is listed as a place-name and, not necessarily, a settlement name. It is considered most probable that there was a 'deep' ford across the Dalch, which gave its name, first to the field and then to the farm, but that this latter happened after the Tithe Commutation.

Having identified Callocott as a probable medieval settlement in Templeton, and included this in the database, we now move onto consider the changing settlement patterns of the parishes.

Settlement Pattern

The settlement pattern of both parishes, recorded through their tithe maps, shows large nucleations of settlement at Templeton, Templeton Bridge, Crooks Cottages and at Logg Cottage in Templeton (Figure 7.11) and at Pennymoor, Way Village, Ruckham Cottage and Cotton in Cruwys Morchard (Figure 7.12). It

¹⁶ Deptford is so spelt in the tithe apportionment, all other spellings are Deptford.

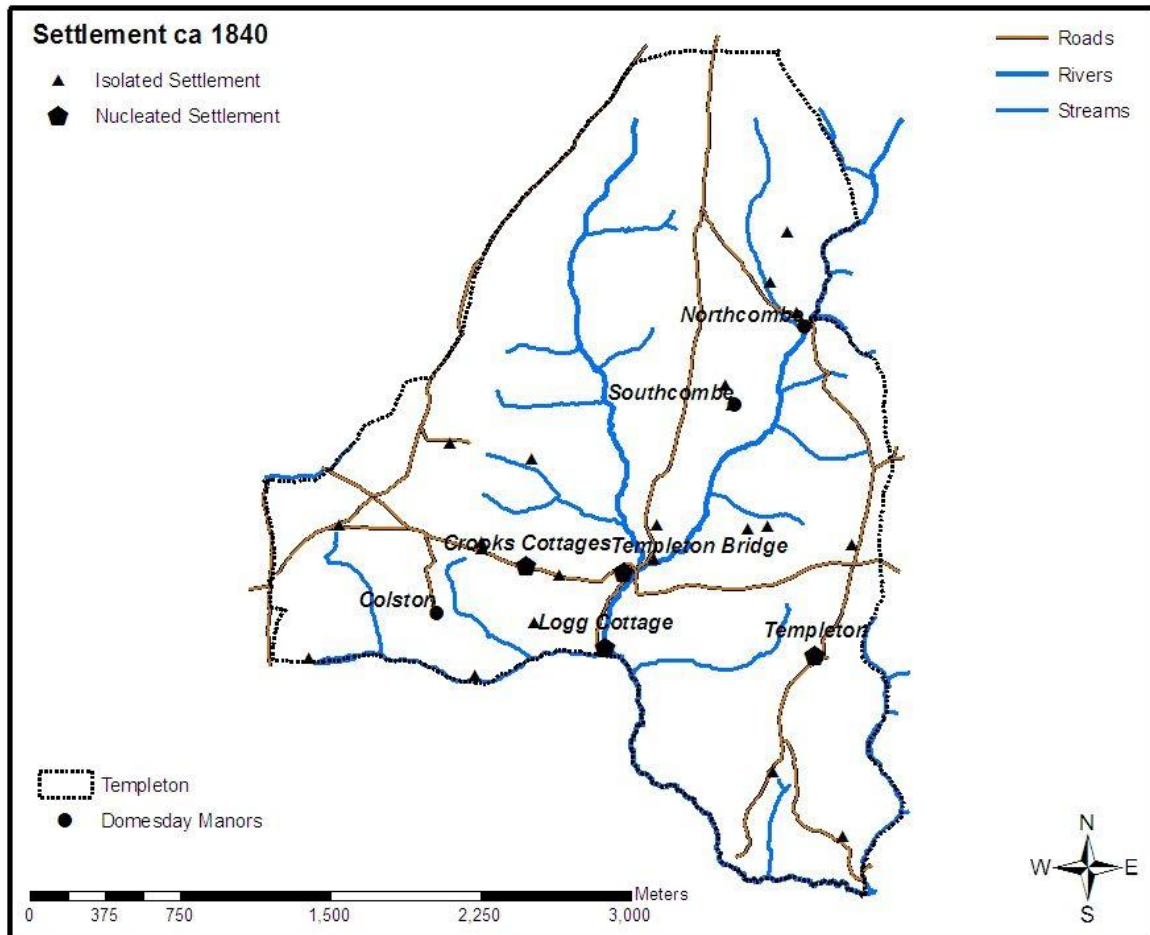


Figure 7.11. The settlement pattern of Templeton ca. 1840. The road pattern is drawn exclusively from the tithe maps.

is interesting to note that Cruwys Morchard House is only collocated with the church on the tithe map – and this is discussed below. Apart from the nucleations listed above, the settlement pattern of both parishes ca. 1840 was one of dispersed settlement.

Today Pennymoor, in Cruwys Morchard, is the ‘village centre’ of the parish, and contains both a shop and a public house, whose presence were both recorded in the tithe apportionment. The 6” OS Map records Cruwys Morchard House as being on ‘the Site of the Manor House’, and its collocation with the church suggests that this should be the medieval ‘village centre’ of the parish. There are three fields that were listed in the tithe apportionment whose names are Higher

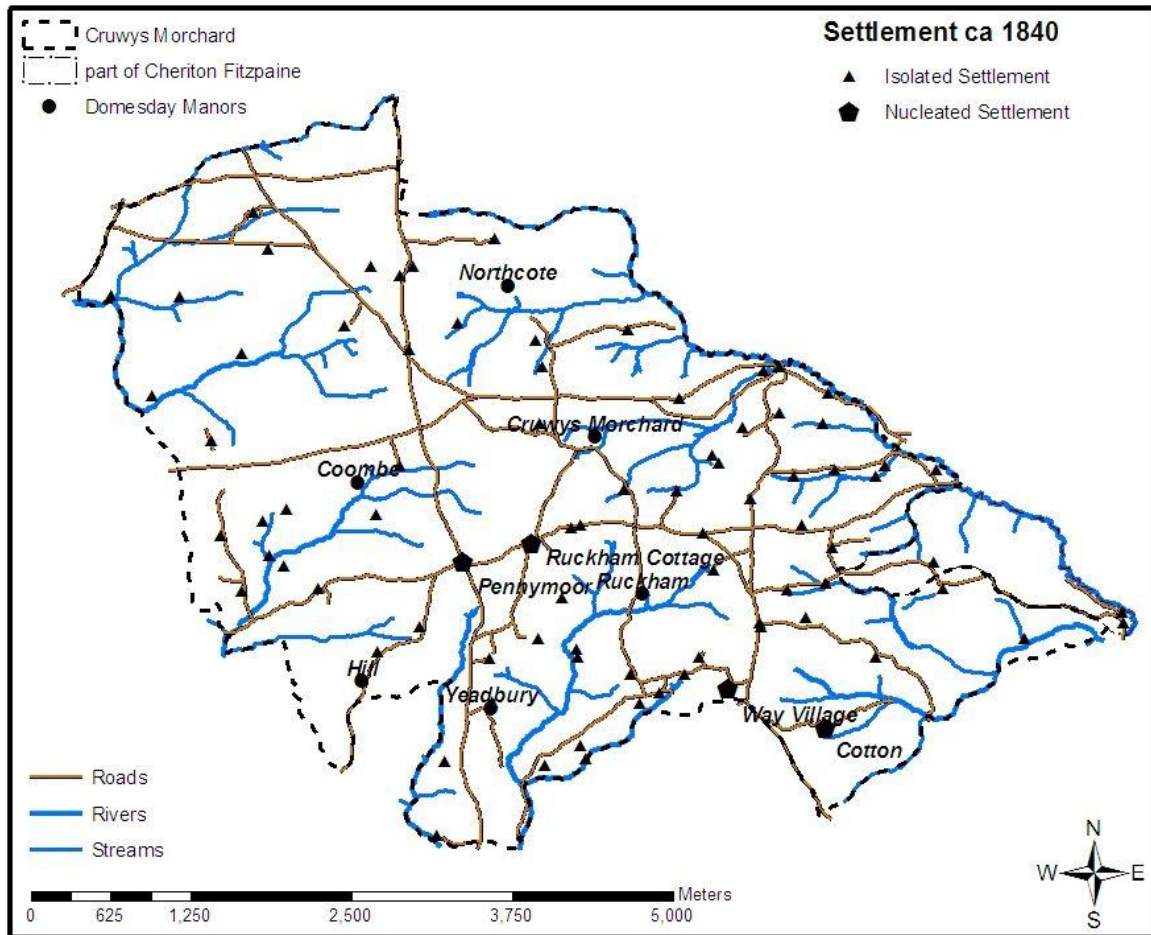


Figure 7.12. The settlement pattern of Cruwys Morchard ca. 1840. The road pattern is drawn exclusively from the tithe maps.

Deer Park, Lower Deer Park and Deer Park Meadow, which is suggestive of a former deer park. Unaccessioned records, held at the Devon HES, contain notes by Louise Gallant that appear quite comprehensive and were created in preparation for a study of deer parks in Devon (Gallant undated). The notes appear to have been based upon documentary sources and Cruwys Morchard is not listed. In spite of the small acreage of the putative former deer park, and the lack of corroborative evidence, one wonders whether the early lords of Cruwys Morchard were not guilty of developing their lands into a more recreational facility, which necessitated the displacement of the village to a new location, on Pennymoor.

In ca. 1750 the only nucleations of settlement that can be identified were in Templeton, at the hamlet of that name, and at Templeton Bridge. Donn's 1765 road map places both Cruwys Morchard and Templeton on 'side road spurs', (Donn 1765). Both the 'main roads' derived from Donn's work appear to pass through the parishes almost by chance (Figure 7.13).

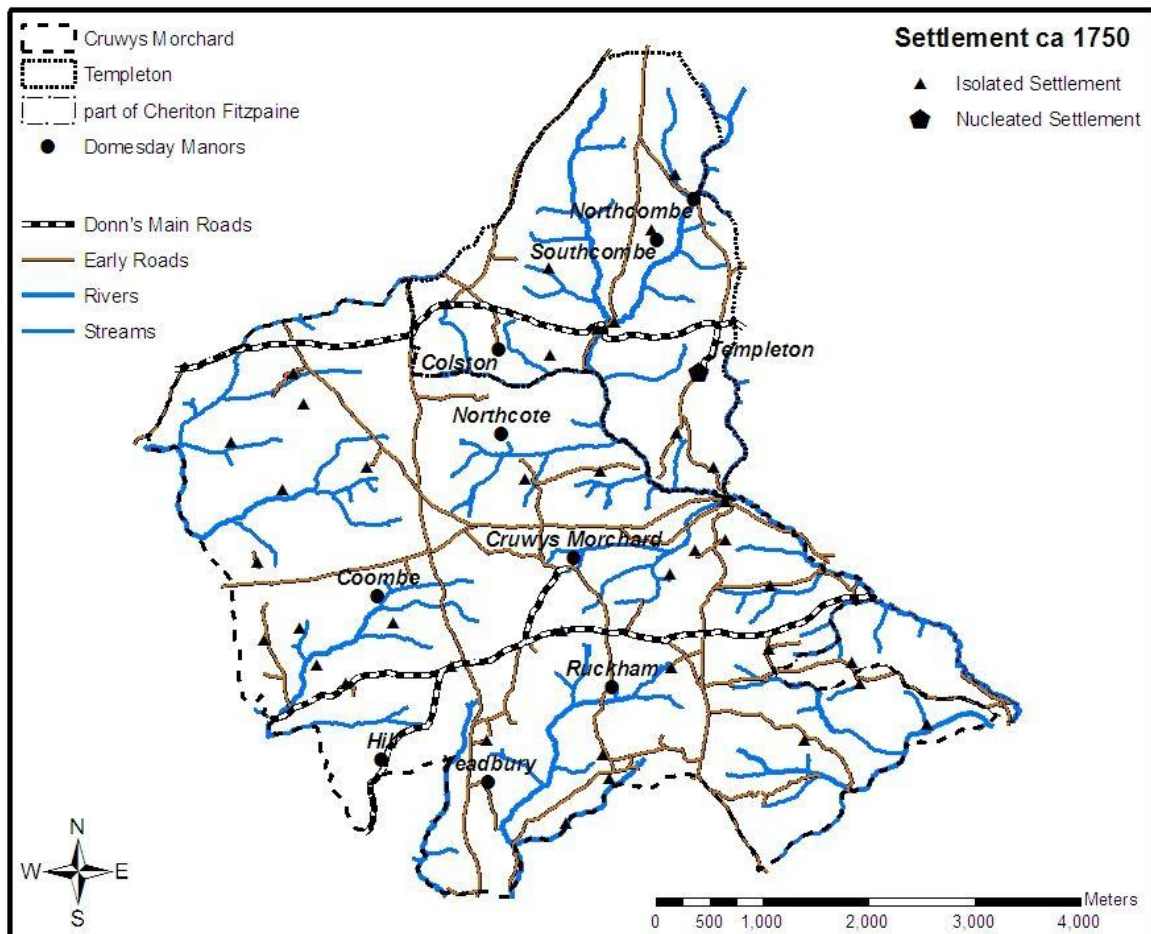


Figure 7.13. This settlement pattern of both parishes before 1750 has been created through the removal of 'modern' dwellings from the map dated ca. 1840, and the pattern must still be seen as the minimum extent. The 'main' roads have been drawn from Donn's mapping (after Donn 1965).

The medieval settlement pattern of both parishes (Figure 7.14) contains only isolated settlement. This lack of nucleated settlement is probably caused by the minimalist nature of the data used to create the map – it will be remembered that only 'Callocott' has been 'added-back' on this figure.

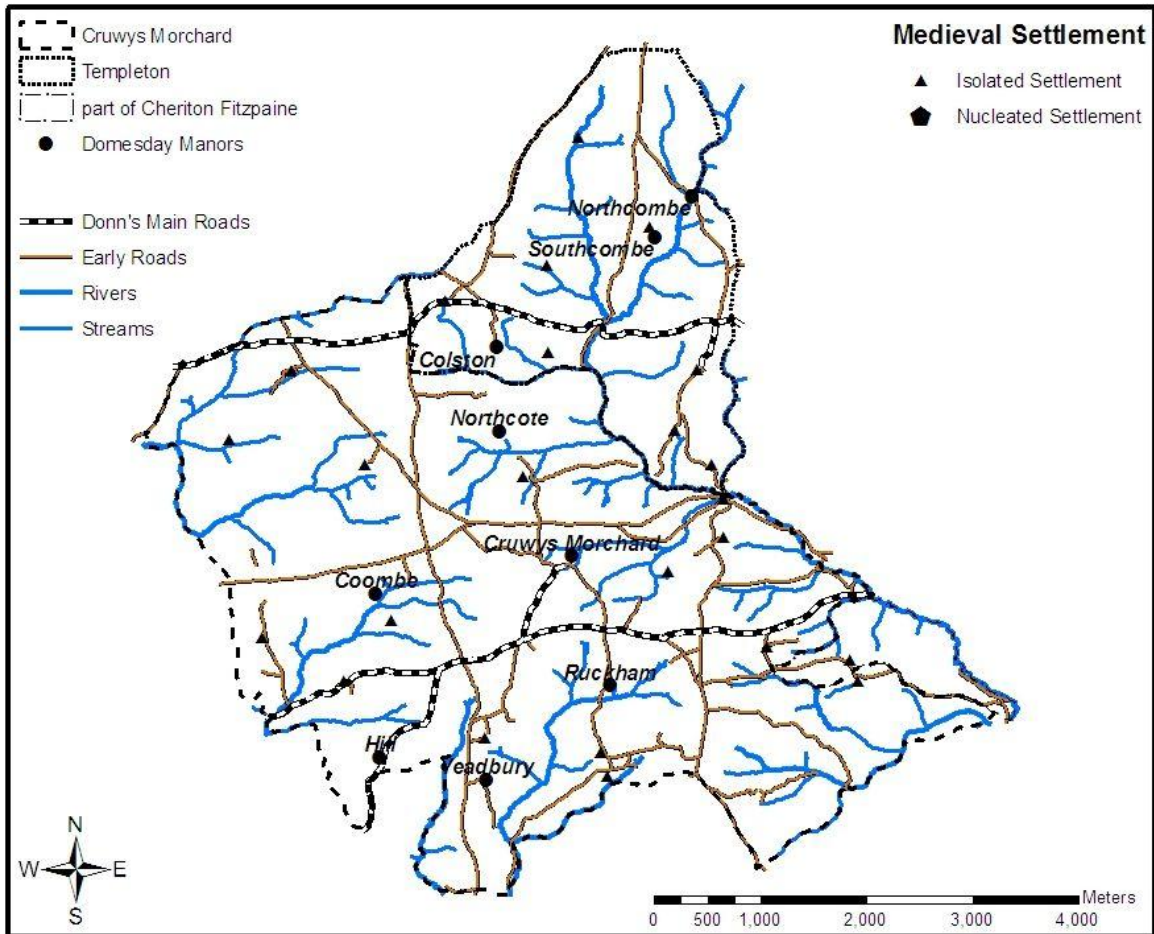


Figure 7.14. The settlement pattern of both Templeton and Cruwys Morchard during the Middle Ages.

Settlement Reviewed

Noting the limitations of the regression process, it would seem that the settlement pattern of both Cruwys Morchard and Templeton has been dispersed for some considerable time (whether as singletons or small hamlets is debatable), with the exception of Templeton 'village' and the putative population centre at Cruwys Morchard. This is supported by the road pattern, which is discussed next.

Communications Pattern

Using Davey's scheme, the road pattern, ca. 1840, was rectilinear in both parishes and this is suggestive of a dispersed settlement pattern, one that has been in existence for some time (Davey 2005, 102). This is not at variance with the results of the settlement regression above. The fact that neither of the 'Donn' roads passes through either Templeton or Cruwys Morchard may be a pointer to a relative lack of importance in earlier times. It is now time to start discussing the people who owned the manors and farms, and who worked the land in Cruwys Morchard and Templeton.

Land Ownership and Occupancy

Thongsley Farm, on the north-eastern corner of Cruwys Morchard, was a detached portion of the parish of Cheriton Fitzpaine ca. 1840. It has since been amalgamated with Cruwys Morchard, and has been included in this case study due to its, possible, earlier connections with that parish.

Ownership

In the following sub-sections, Cruwys Morchard (including Thongsley) and Templeton are presented separately.

Cruwys Morchard (Figure 7.15)

This parish contained no fewer than seven separate manors in 1086, one of which – Lower Creedy (DB 3,72) – was detached and located just outside Crediton and is not considered further (Appendix 1). Of the remaining six, two were named for Cruwys Morchard but one (DB 3,73), which was held by the Bishop of Coutances, may be identified with Northcote Farm (Thorn & Thorn 1085b, notes). The 'other' Cruwys Morchard (DB 19,35), identified with Cruwys Morchard House, was the largest Manor in the parish and was held by William Cheever in 1086. The remaining Domesday manors were much smaller and held

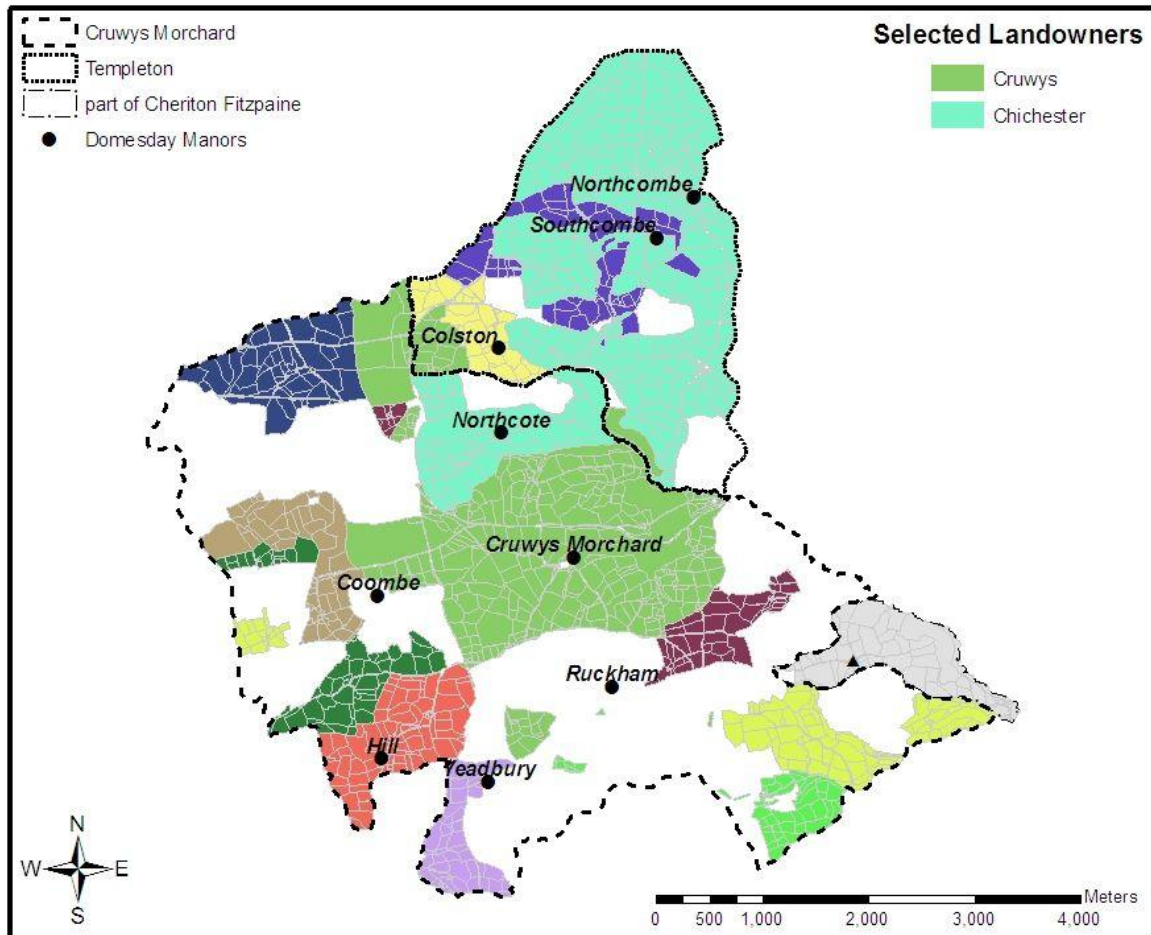


Figure 7.15. Land ownership in Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. Only the ten largest 'estates' in Cruwys Morchard are shown, and the four largest in Templeton. Cruwys was the major landowner in Cruwys Morchard, and had a small block of land in Templeton. Similarly, the Chichester family were dominant in Templeton and John Chichester also held Northcote, one of the Domesday manors in Cruwys Morchard.

by Ralph of Pomeroy – Yeadbury (DB 34,36) – and the final three by Haimeric - Ruckham (DB 50,2), Hill (DB 50,3) and Coombe (DB 50,4). All of the six Domesday sites in Cruwys Morchard may be identified today (Thorn & Thorn 1985b).

The manor of Cruwys Morchard was recorded as being held by the 'ancient' family of Cruwys, 'at least as early as the reign of King John', and the descent may be traced to Henry Shortrudge Cruwys, the last of the male line who died in 1804 (Lysons 1822, 355). By the time of the tithe commission, Cruwys Morchard

had passed into the hands of George Cruwys but, while he owned a large estate, it is not possible to be certain that this was not just a part of the original. Indeed, a simplistic comparison of the anticipated size of the Domesday Manor with George Cruwys' holding suggests that some 450 acres may be missing. The descent of the other five manors is not recorded but, of the surviving farms, Northcote was owned by Sir John Chichester, Hill by Thomas Melhuish, Coombe by John Waller and Yeadbury had been split into Higher and Lower Yeadbury, owned by Thomas Beedell and John Thorn respectively. Ruckham had also been split-up, into West, Middle and East Ruckham, owned by two lesser landowners George Ayre (West and Middle) and John Kelland (East).

Templeton

There were 3 manors recorded in Templeton parish in 1086. Two were called Coombe (DB 3,75 and 3,78), while the third was *Celvertesberie* (DB 3,76), now identified as Colston (Thorne & Thorne 1985b, notes). The plethora of 'Combe' farms (discussed above) generates some difficulty in determining the site of the two Domesday 'Coombes'. Inference from EPNS suggests that Northcombe and Southcombe had become separate entities early in the Middle Ages (Gover *et al.* 1932, 394-5) and the map regression indicates that the more northerly land was unenclosed; thus the modern Lower Southcombe and Lower Northcombe farms have been selected as the most probable sites for these Domesday manors (Figure 7.15). The Bishop of Coutances was the tenant-in-chief of all three manors in 1086 but, once again, Lysons only record the descent of 'the manor', which passed to the Knights Templar, thence to the Knights Hospitaller before being held by Sir William Pole and then being sold to the Chichester family, who held it *ca.* 1840 (Lysons 1822, 496-7). 'The Manor' is determined to be the larger of the two manors called Coombe (DB 3,75) (Thorn & Thorn 1985b, notes). The Chichester family, the dominant landlords in the parish, *ca.* 1840, owned both Southcombe and Northcombe Farms, as well as having extensive holdings around Templeton (Figure 7.15), and it is considered to be superfluous to try to determine which of the two 'Coombes' is represented by the modern

farms. One scion of the Chichester family, Sir John, was the owner of one of the Domesday manors in Cruwys Morchard, Northcote. The unrecorded descent of Colston resulted in George Maunder being the owner ca. 1840. Finally, it is of note that Lord does not include any site in Devon in her list of Templar holdings (Lord 2002, 240-244).

Occupancy

The occupancy pattern of both Cruwys Morchard and Templeton appears to comprise relatively compact farm blocks that, in turn, make-up the larger blocks of land ownership (Figure 7.16). The count of smallholdings and other fragmentary 'patches' is extremely small. The area around Way Village, in Cruwys Morchard, does, however, stand out as being different. Here, there is a collection of smallholdings called variously East, South, West, North, South-east and Middle Way; a mixture of smallholdings and tenements (Figure 7.17). Is this the result of partible inheritance being applied to a putative former Way Farm, or the enclosure by consent of a small area of common land? This will be discussed further during the fieldscape analysis. By contrast, the area around Pennymoor (Cruwys Morchard), which was made up of a couple of large farm units and some unknown land holdings, when viewed from the perspective of ownership, can be resolved into a collection of compact farms. Viewed as a composite, the ownership and occupancy patterns of the two parishes begin to describe a picture of continuity and permanence that we have not encountered before. It is now intended to look at the counterpart to the occupancy pattern – the farm boundary pattern – to see if there is any further intelligence to be gleaned from that source.

Farm Boundaries (Figure 7.18)

As discussed above there was no apparent land associated with the Manor of Cruwys Morchard in the tithe data. When the farm boundary pattern of the parish, however, is superimposed upon the lands owned by the Cruwys family, it is possible to identify the extent that this manor could have occupied. The other

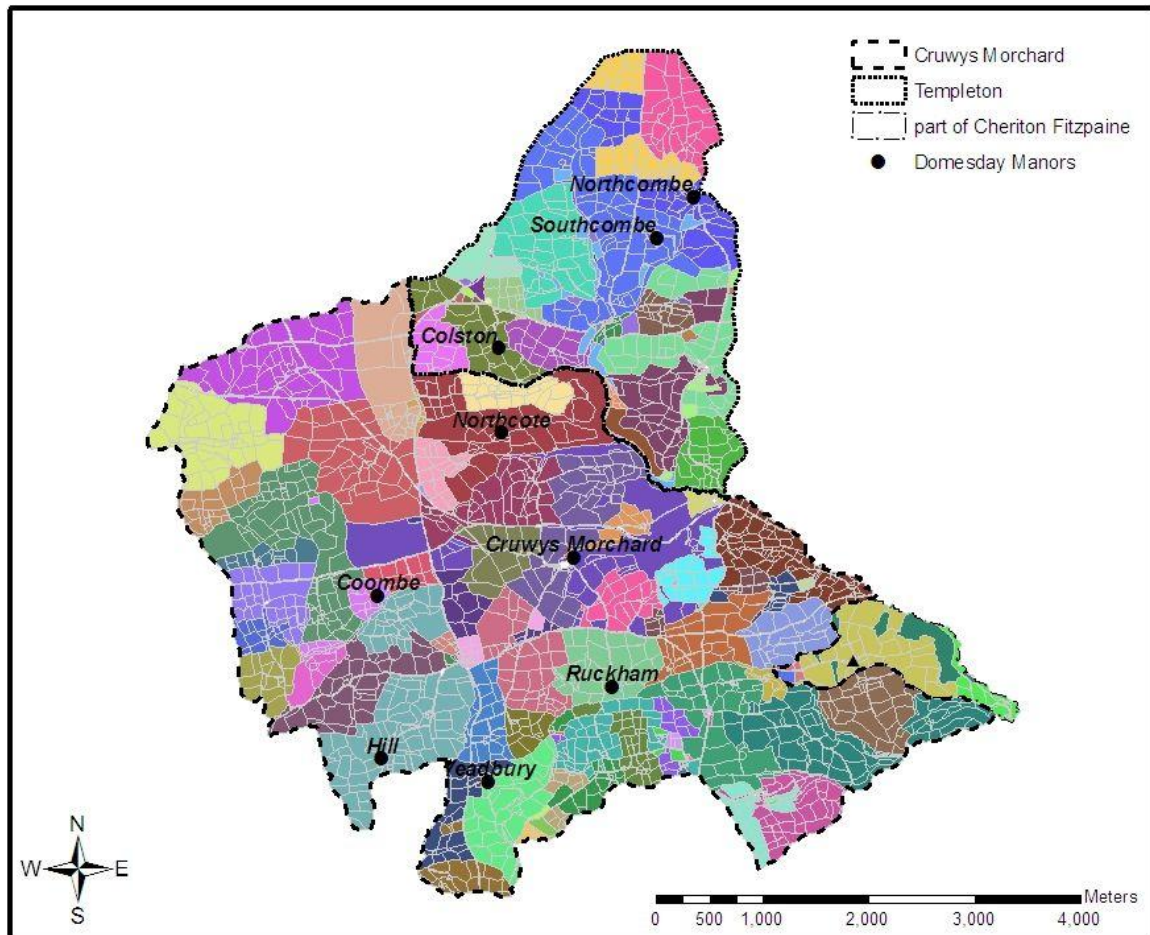


Figure 7.16. Land occupancy in Templeton and Cruwys Morchard ca. 1840. The pattern displays a series of farms, with very few smallholdings apparent.

parts of the Cruwys estate are represented by farms that have been leased out. The result of this composition is that it becomes clear that there was very little land in Cruwys Morchard that was not part of a compact farm or major landholding.

The pattern of farms in Templeton has been overlaid on the woodlands of the parish. Where these woods show through, they are 'filling in' 'patches' of land that do not form part of a farm. It is apparent that the Chichester family, in particular, retained 'occupancy' (and hence revenue) of much of their woodland, while farming out the 'cleared land' as tenancies. The large 'white' patch in the centre of the western parish boundary is an unnamed farm unit, while the

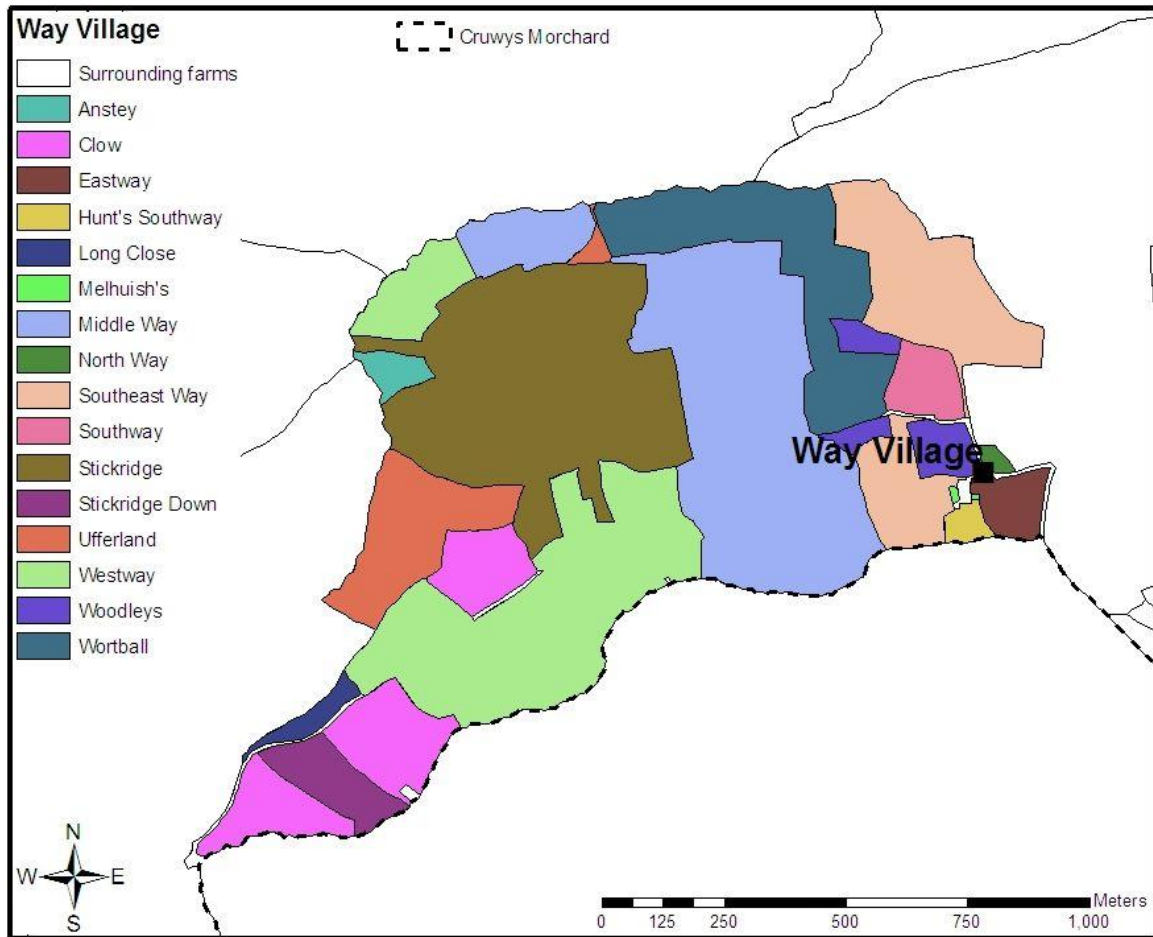


Figure 7.17. The smallholdings and tenements at Way Village. This is the only area of such small parcels of land in Cruwys Morchard, a parish that otherwise is made up of medium to large compact farm blocks.

remainder of the white patches resolve into smallholdings leased from the Chichesters. The pattern for the detached portion of Cheriton Fitzpaine is uncomplicated.

In 1777 Fork Farm (in Cruwys Morchard) was sold and DRO holds a photocopy of the farm survey that formed part of the sale catalogue (Figure 7.19). In the 60 years between this sale and the tithe records, it is possible to detect some limited engrossment of fields, but yet the sub-division of others, and, generally, a continuity of field-names. An earlier record for Chappell and West Park Farms (DRO 614B/T24) is considered by DRO to represent the later farms Chapple and Little Park (in Cruwys Morchard). In 1743 these two farms are recorded as

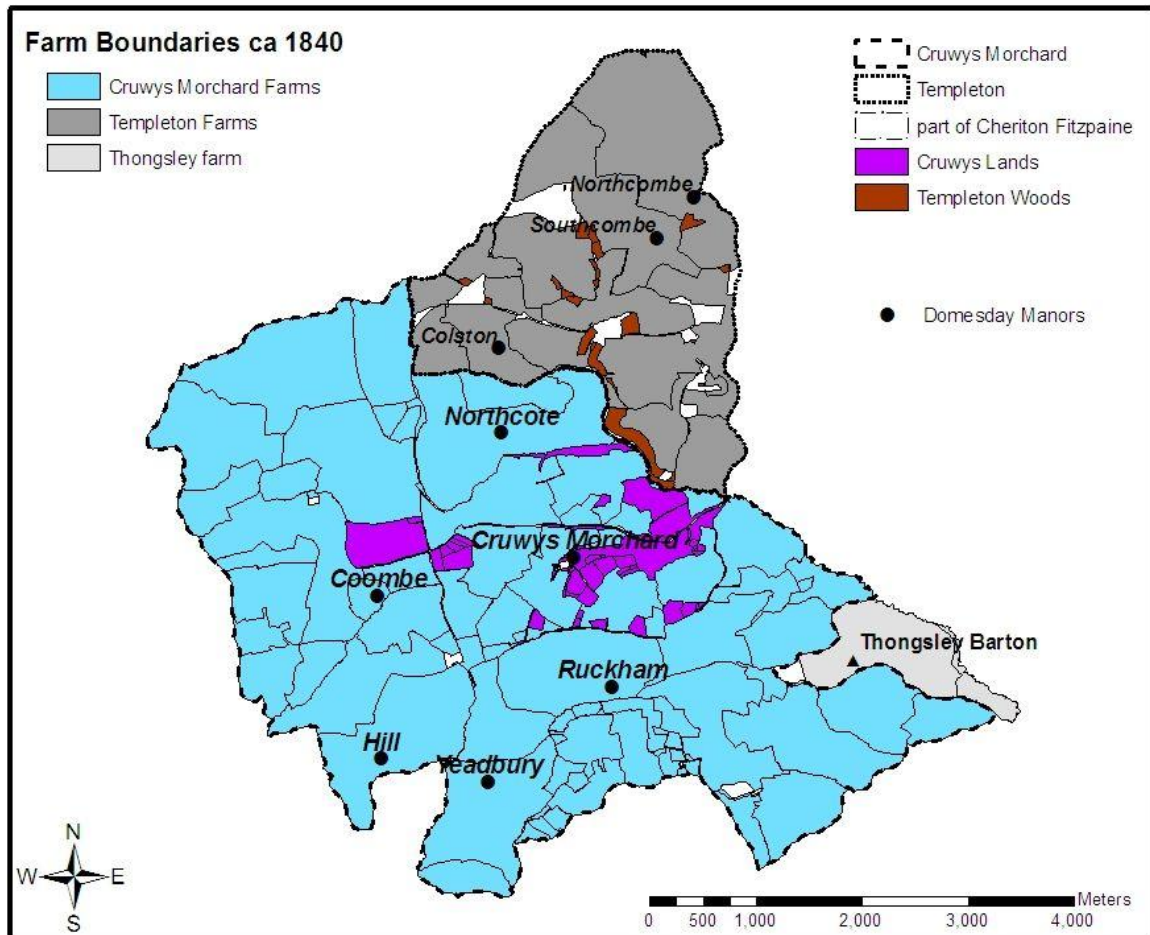


Figure 7.18. The pattern of the farms of both parishes ca. 1840. The white patches highlight areas where there is no clear pattern in the holdings, normally as a result of the break-up of earlier farms, or piecemeal expansion onto unclaimed land. The holdings of George Cruwys in Cruwys Morchard and the woodland in Templeton have been underlaid on this map to provide more 'definition' to the white areas, and these represent fragmented land.

having a combined count of 55 acres land (presumably arable) with 7 acres meadow, 10 acres pasture and 10 acres woodland; a total size of 82 acres. In 1839 the tithe apportionment records a combined count of 56 acres arable, 14 acres meadow, 14 acres pasture and two acres of wood with four of orchard, a total size of 81 acres. The constant size of the two farms – 82 and 81 acres – enhances the evidence for continuity recorded in the breakdown of their fields wherein arable remains the same, while some woodland is given up to create more meadow and pasture. This would appear to contradict the pollen sequence from Middle North Coombe, showing as it does continuity of arable and increase



Figure 7.19. 'For Sale' – Fork Farm surveyed in 1777 with the outline of the tithe mapping overlaid. Some new field boundaries can be seen, as can the removal of others, but overall this map shows continuity of field pattern (DRO 3372M/2).

in pasture, but at the expense of woodland. It should be noted, however, that these farms are six kilometres from the pollen trap and thus their land-use history may be totally different. This serves as a timely reminder of the potential dangers of assuming similar landuse well beyond the catchment area of any pollen sequence.

These two records provide very limited, but nevertheless positive, indications of continuity within the farmscape of Cruwys Morchard. We now turn to the fieldscape analysis, which will be used, ultimately, to underpin a putative map of medieval farms.

Fieldscape Analysis (Figures 7.20, 7.22 & 7.23)

The characterisation phase of the fieldscape analysis has been carefully developed to ensure a robust and repeatable process, and this has been achieved through the imposition of a simple typology, and the use of a bottom-up approach. In a similar manner the interpretation process flows easily from the rationalisation, and it is articulating this 'in-between stage' that has caused the greatest difficulties in this thesis. The rationalisation has been designed to introduce a degree of complexity, using a top down approach that acknowledges the character of the surrounding fields, while attempting to discern continuous boundaries that may define the extent of differing areas of characterisation (Chapter 3).

Fieldscape Characterisation (Figure 7.20)

There was no parliamentary enclosure of land enacted in either parish (Tate 1946b), and this has resulted in no 'common' land being identified. In addition to that very significant fact, there are two very immediate differences discernible in the characterisation of the fields of this case study that separate them from that of the previous studies. Firstly, the deeply incised valleys of these parishes create very narrow riverbanks and there is hardly any land that has been characterised as 'Valley Bottom'. The second difference is the paucity of fields that can be described as long-thin, a very light scattering in both Templeton and Cruwys Morchard, and no more. A small number of these long-thin fields were to be found in Way Village, which the reader will remember was the only area in Cruwys Morchard that exhibited a fragmentary pattern of smallholdings and tenements (Figure 7.21). There are two fields in the centre of the area whose initial character was described as long-thin, but this changed with the rationalisation phase to reflect the overall regular nature of the fields north of the road. The final interpretation of this part of the landscape was 'possible common'. This suggests that the fragmentary pattern may have been created as a result of communal reclamation of the land and the subsequent allocation.

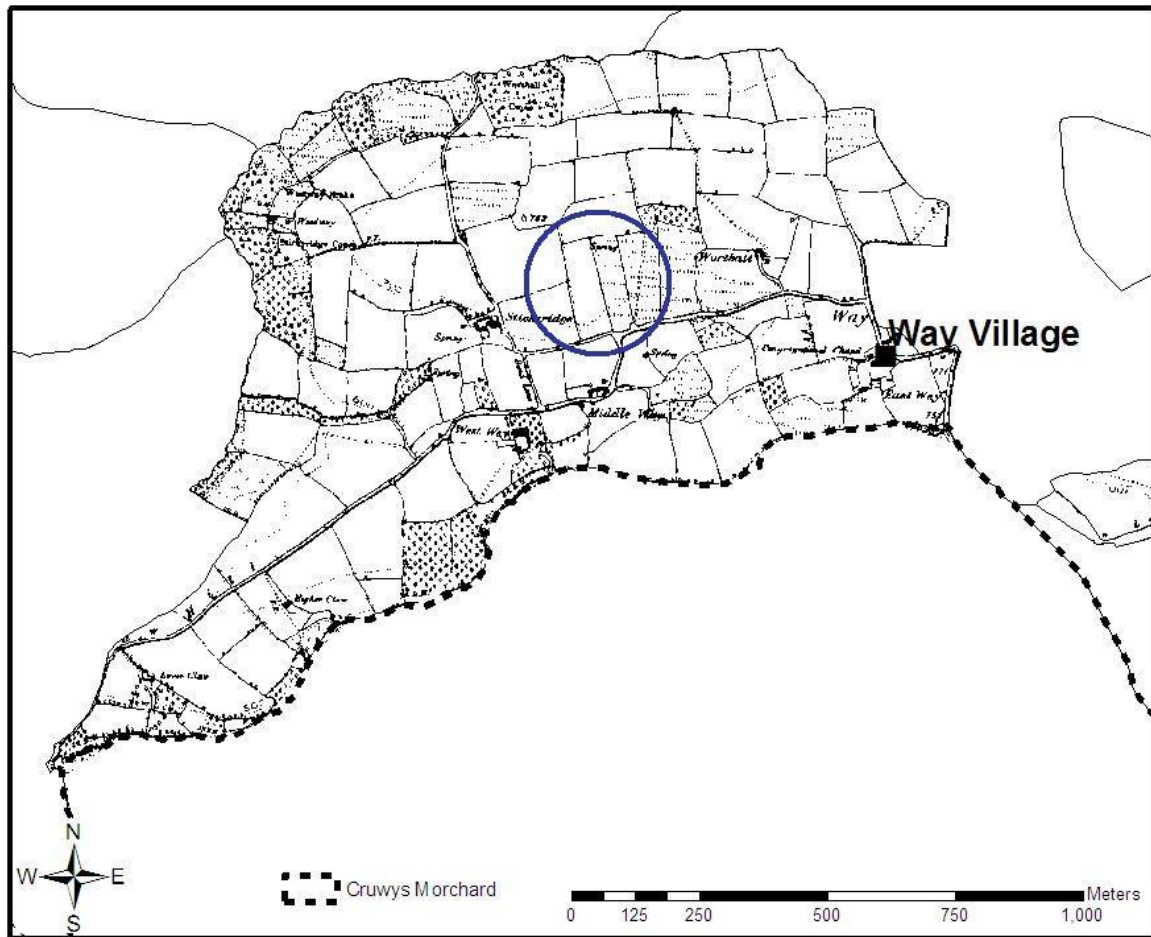


Figure 7.21. The pattern of fields to the west of Way Village captured on the 6" OS Map. The landscape north of the road has been characterised as 'regular' for the most part, but there are two fields in the centre of the area (circled) which were characterised long-thin in the first stage of the analysis. This was subsequently changed to 'regular' to match the rest of the field pattern north of the road.

Fieldscape Rationalisation (Figure 7.22)

During the characterisation phase each field is treated individually and characterised solely on the basis of its morphology. The rationalisation phase looks at the broader landscape, asking the question is this fundamentally a regular or an irregular landscape? The individual field characters are altered dependent upon this determination of the 'local' landscape. In this case study it was possible to identify several divided fields – that is those resulting from the division of larger irregular enclosures – and in some cases it was possible to identify the complete outline of the original enclosure.

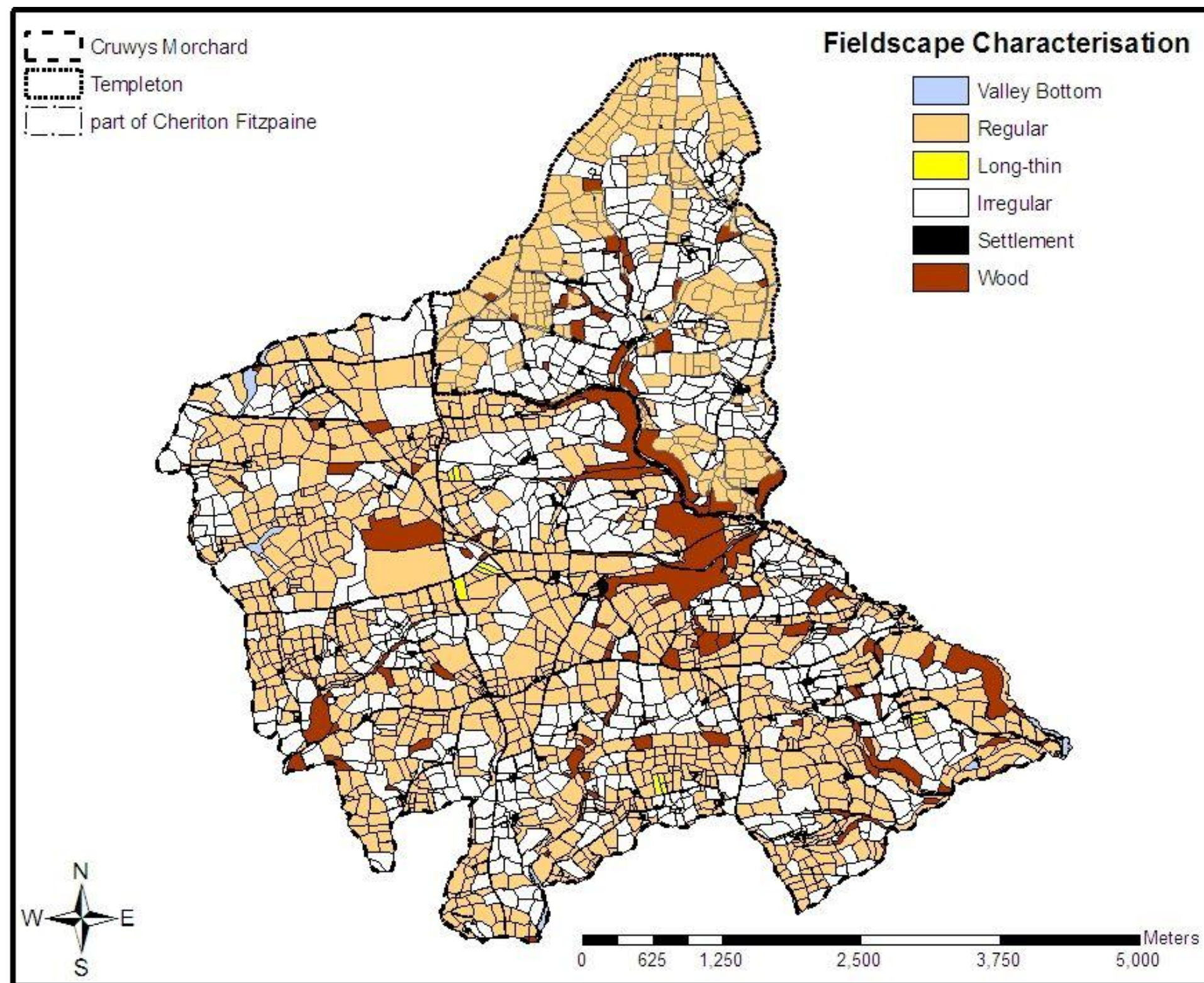


Figure 7.20. The fieldscape characterisation in Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. The deeply incised valleys do not create large, flat riverbanks and there is very little land that can be identified as 'Valley Bottom'. There are very few fields that have been characterised as long thin.

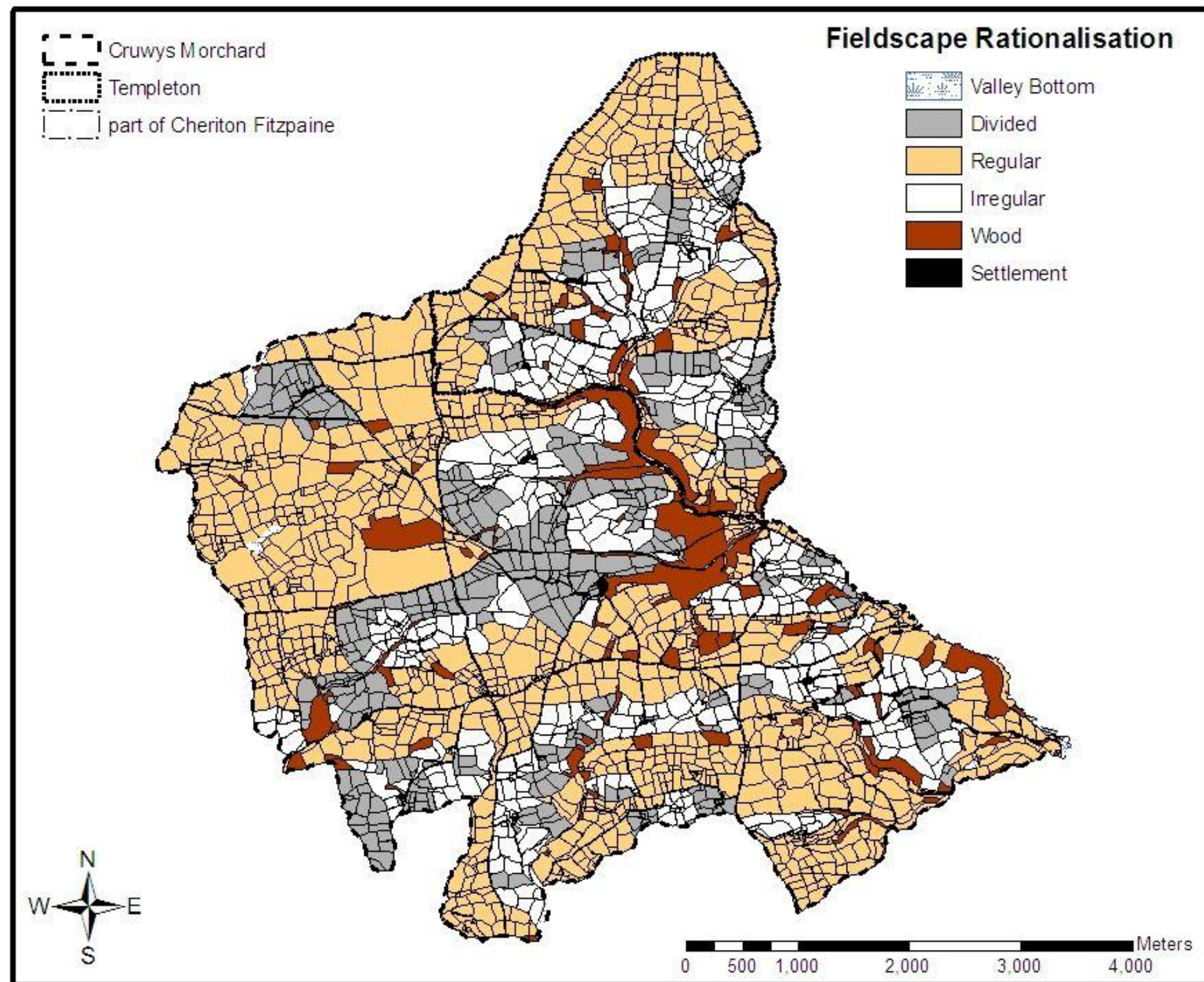


Figure 7.22. The fieldscape rationalisation in Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. The landscape has a stripy appearance with successive bands of regular and divided fields being apparent, and these will resolve themselves into possible common and enclosed land in the final stage.

Fieldscape Interpretation (Figure 7.23)

It was predictable that the absence of long-thin fields identified during the first stage of the analysis would probably lead to a similar absence of open fields in the last stage. This is especially so, when those that were identified in the first stage characterisation tended to be isolated and did not 'fit' an open field pattern (Figure 7.24). This absence of open fields, and associated nucleated settlement is not at variance with the rectilinear road pattern identified in the parishes. Fox (1972) maps one site to the east of Templeton with documentary evidence of open fields but, while Templeton may be the nearest 'major' settlement, his position falls well outside the parish boundary. The river valleys of the south and east appear to be the most populous, and the plateaux are, for the most part, deserted. It would seem that the earlier farmers had a preference for working soils of the Neath type, in preference to those of Hallsworth 2.

Stockland, in the last case study, was the first parish encountered that could be described as quintessentially a part of Hoskins 'land of few villages but many hamlets, even more so of isolated farmsteads, of pasture and livestock, of small fields enclosed in severalty from the beginning or at least since the 14th century, and of wild upland commons' (Hoskins 1963, 19). To this we can now add both Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. Indeed, the result of the map regression in all three parishes is very similar, presenting a picture of populous valleys with some apparent attempts at moving onto the higher ground, but not many. So far, the comparisons of the Domesday metrics with the core farmland that has been identified through the map regression have achieved favourable results, at the parochial level, but only satisfactory results at the manorial level in the smaller parishes (Cotleigh and Poltimore). The next section looks at these results of this case study through a comparison with the metrics of Domesday.

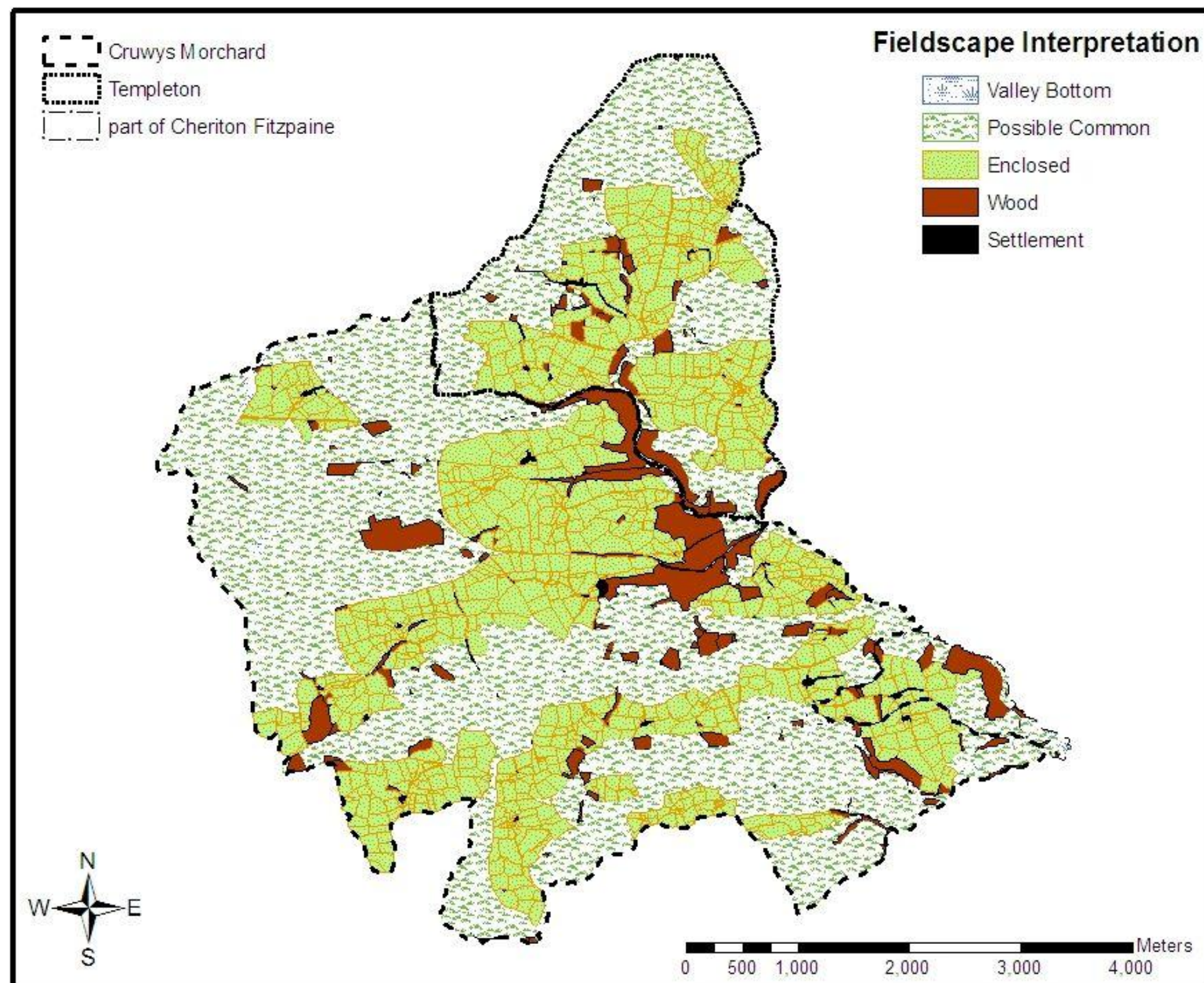


Figure 7.23. The fieldscape interpretation in Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. The river valleys to the east and south-west appear to have been the agricultural 'centres' in earlier times. There is some evidence for a preference for farming the land on the Neath soil (south and east), rather than that on Hallsworth 2 (north and west).

to each 'farm', a second modification ensured that the perceived size of a villans' plot was respected, and this has led to the identification of numerous possible former hamlets.

Domesday Population (Table 7.2)

The fieldscape analysis did not identify any probable open fields in either of the parishes of this case study. It is, therefore, necessary to identify enough 'farmland' in the two parishes to provide the 31 villans, identified in Table 7.2, each with a plot of 30 acres (Chapter 3).

In Templeton there were three Domesday manors and it has been possible to identify two farms whose origins can be traced to the two centuries after 1086: Partridge (1256) and Starraton (1270) (Gover *et al.* 1932, 394-395). It is fortunate that it has been possible to associate all three Domesday manors with a tithe farm, thereby generating five tithe farms whose putative medieval boundaries can be determined through map regression (Figure 7.25 and Table 7.3).

In Cruwys Morchard there were six manors listed in Domesday but, while the positions of each of these have been ascertained, it has only been possible to associate five of them with a tithe farm. While the Cruwys family still occupied Cruwys Morchard House and had extensive holdings in the parish, they do not seem to have worked the land themselves, and there is no convenient Barton farm. In addition to the manors, it has been possible to identify six farms, in Cruwys Morchard, whose origins can be traced to the period AD 1242 and 1281: Thongsley (1242), Thorn (1244), Lugsland (1270), Down (1279), Fork (1279) and Edgeworthy (1281) (all dates EPNS) (Figure 7.26).

The comparison of the villans' requirements, listed at Table 7.2 with the plot availability, listed at Table 7.3, is highly satisfactory. In Cruwys Morchard a need for 25 plots was identified from Domesday and a total of 29 have been found. In

Table 7.2. Population metrics drawn from Domesday for the parishes of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton (Thorn & Thorn 1985a & 1985b).

Manor	Tenant-in-Chief	Holder	Villagers	Smallholders	Slaves
Cruwys Morchard (3,73)	Bishop of Coutances	Not recorded	4	4	1
Cruwys Morchard (19,35)	William of Cheever	n/a	20	4	7
Yeadbury (34,36)	Ralph of Pomeroy	William			2
Ruckham (50,2)	Haimeric	Not recorded			1
Hill (50,3)	Haimeric	Not recorded			1
Coombe (50,4)	Haimeric	Not recorded	1		
Cruwys Morchard parish totals			25	8	12
Coombe (3,75)	Bishop of Coutances	Not recorded	3		1
Celvertesberie (3,76)	Bishop of Coutances	Not recorded	3	2	2
Coombe (3,78)	Bishop of Coutances	Not recorded			1
Templeton parish totals			6	2	4

Templeton the results are even better, where a requirement for six has been matched by an availability of six! It must be noted, however, that this ‘good’ result has only been achieved at the parochial level and does not stand at the manorial level. There would appear to be two separate problems and these can be explained by way of two examples. Firstly, in Templeton we require three villans’ plots to be associated with one of the Coombe Manors, and three with *Celvertesberie* (Colston). We have identified the required six villans’ plots, but they are all associated with land owned by the Chichesters, who represent the

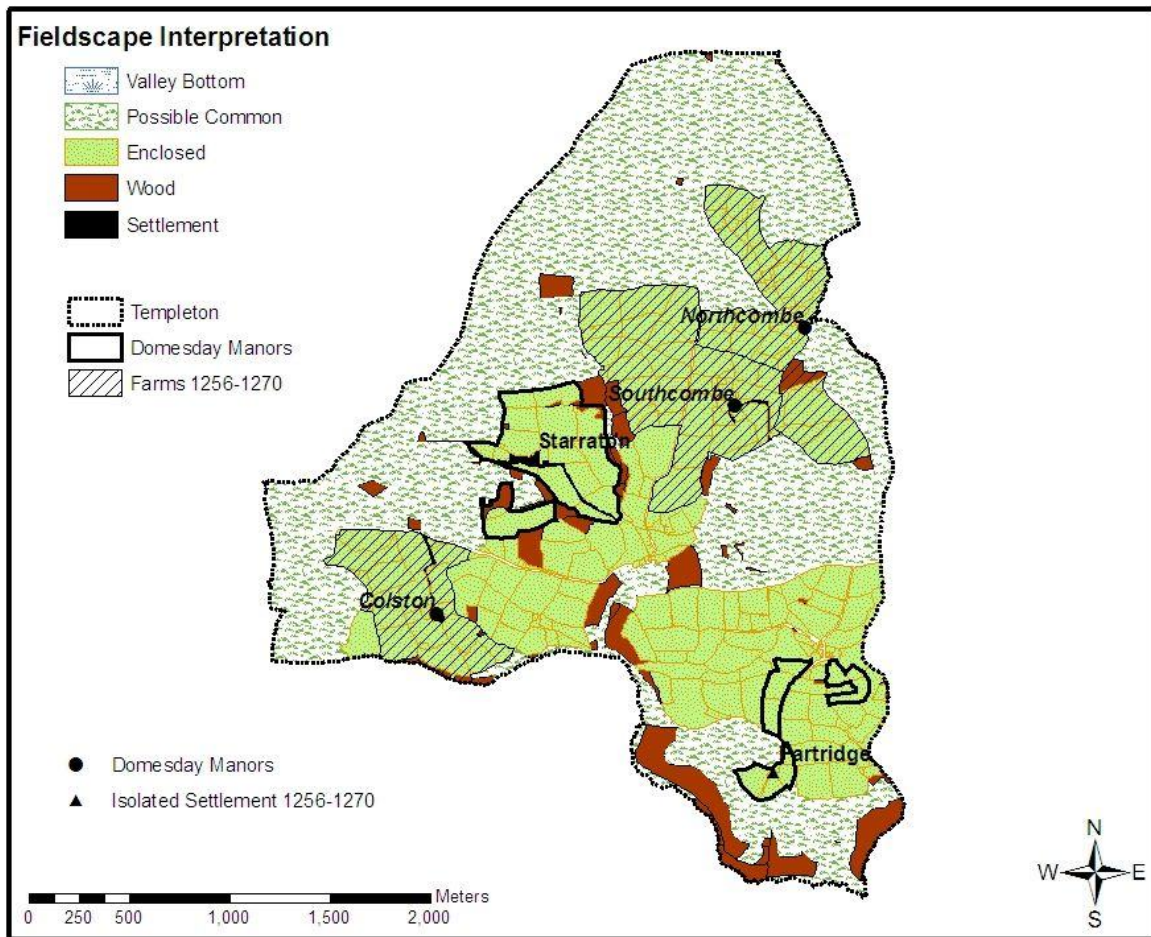


Figure 7.25. The three Domesday manors of Templeton and those farms known to have been in existence prior to 1270. The manor and farm boundaries have been created through modification of their tithe boundaries to include only land that is believed to have been enclosed in 1086.

end of the descent of the two manors of Coombe ca. 1840, *but not* Celvertesberie. Secondly, Cruwys Morchard (DB 19,35) had twenty villans listed in 1086, while Coombe had one. If we remove the five villans' plots identified at Northcote from the list and the singleton at Hill we are left with twenty three villans' plots available, but all these are in farms whose 'parent manor' cannot be identified.

Table 7.3. The tithe farms and manors of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton and their probable ability to ‘support’ villans.

Tithe Farm	Owner ca. 1840	Associated Domesday manor	‘Domesday’ acreage from map regression	Villans’ plots
Coombe Hill	Maitland	Coombe	35	0
Northcote	Melhuish	Hill	229	1
Ruckham	Chichester	Northcote	342	5
Yeadbury	Kelland	Ruckham	142	0
Down	Thorn	Yeadbury	37	0
Edgeworthy	Empson	Unknown	141	5
Fork	Lake	Unknown	126	4
Lugsland	Comins	Unknown	65	2
Thongsley	Pitman	Unknown	111	4
Thorn	Agassiz	Unknown	156	5
	Stone	Unknown	82	3
Total count of villans’ plots in Cruwys Morchard				29
Colston	Maunder	<i>Celvertesberie</i>	137	0
Northcombe	Chichester	Coombe Note 1	174	0
Southcombe	Chichester	Coombe	218	1
Partridge	Chichester	Coombe or Coombe	40	1
Starraton	Chichester	Coombe or Coombe	125	4
Total count of villans’ plots in Templeton				6

Note 1: There were two manors named Coombe in Templeton.

The problem in Templeton probably lies in the history of *Celvertesberie* Manor (Colston Farm) which, in 1086, comprised six ploughlands and some meadow, pasture and woodland – this has been interpreted as amounting to between 481 and 661 acres (see Table 7.4 below) – but the map regression has only identified 137 acres of land that can be associated with this farm at that time. While, no doubt, some of this shrinkage may be due to inaccuracies in the map regression, a shortfall of between 344 and 524 acres is too much to lay at the feet of the regression alone. It would appear that, at some stage in its history, Colston Farm (or the earlier manor) was sub-divided, or a part was gifted or sold-off. Certainly the land ownership ca. 1840 (Figure 7.15) would suggest that, starting from a smaller baseline, the ‘lord’ of the two Coombe Manors (ultimately Chichester) has

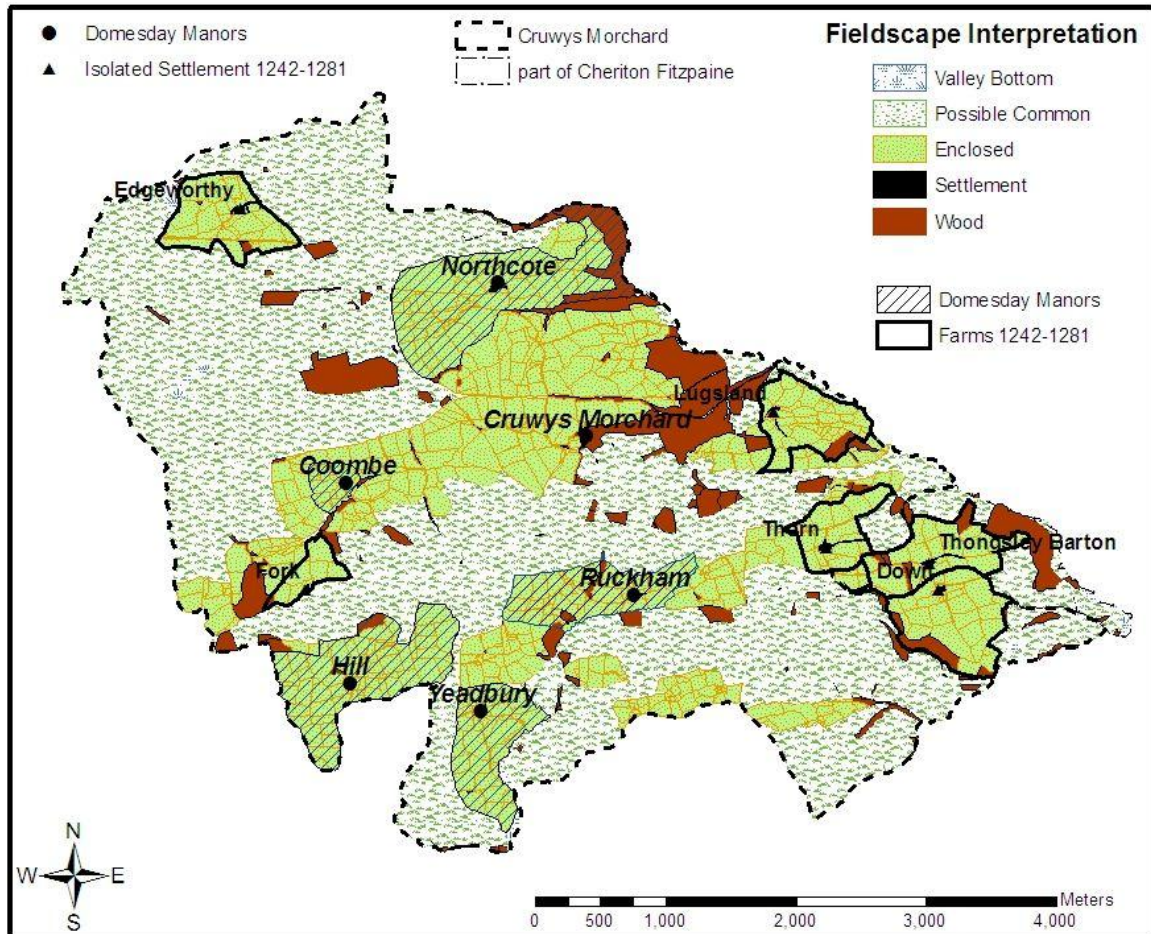


Figure 7.26. The six Domesday manors of Cruwys Morchard and those farms known to have been in existence prior to 1281. The manor and farm boundaries have been created through modification of their tithe boundaries to include only land that is believed to have been enclosed in 1086.

prospered, while Colston has not. It is possible to identify a stretch of land, assessed as being enclosed ca. 1086, to the east of Colston (Figure 7.25) which contains one of the few areas of fragmentary ownership in the parish (Figure 7.15). Turning to the problem in Cruwys Morchard, this has been encountered before in this thesis and lies in an inability to 'link' 'satellite' farms with 'parent' manors, with any confidence. If we return to the data at Table 7.3, it is possible to argue that, since Hill (DB 50,3) did not have any villans, the entirety of its 229 acres will have been devoted to demesne. Coombe (DB 50,4) on the other hand, with only $\frac{1}{2}$ a ploughland and a villager, either had a very small demesne or it had another 'farm', of a similar size attached to it; it is noticeable that Fork Farm

has been assessed to have had sufficient land to support two villans and was nearby to Coombe (Table 7.3 & Figure 7.26). Having allocated Fork Farm to Coombe Manor, and having determined that Hill will not have needed the space for a single villan, we find that the total number of villans' plots that have yet to be allocated from the table amounts to twenty one – just one above the count required by the larger Cruwys Morchard Manor (DB 19,35).

It is apparent that the comparison of the Domesday population metrics with the 'farmland' available for villans' plots, derived from the map regression may be considered to be successful at both the parochial and manorial level in this case study. This, in turn, permits us to take forward a collection of probable hamlets to be included in the final Domesday map. We now move onto a discussion of the dimensions of the land identified through the map regression with the metrics recorded in 1086.

Domesday Agricultural Land (Table 7.4)

The fieldscape analysis for the parish of Cruwys Morchard has produced a putative acreage of core farmland of 2933 acres. This falls just below the expected extent, calculated from the Domesday metrics, for a 90 acre ploughland (2972 acres) and it would, therefore, appear that a 'local' ploughland in Cruwys Morchard was 90 acres. The check has also been conducted at a manorial level, excluding the large manor of Cruwys Morchard (DB 19,35), owing to uncertainty concerning the extent of that manor. Once again a small manor has produced a good result – Coombe (DB 50,4) is the smallest manor considered in this thesis and the acreage derived from the map regression (35 acres) falls nicely between the Domesday metrics of 31–46 acres. The remainder of the results derived from the map regression are too far removed from the associated Domesday calculations to be considered further, except in those instances where it may have been possible to use the Domesday figures to separate the demesne from the villagers land. In Cruwys Morchard there are only two manors whose

Table 7.4. Domesday entries for different land-uses in the nine manors that comprise the parishes of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton. The minimum and maximum extents of the manors and parishes have been calculated using 60 acres as the minimum size of a ploughland and 90 acres as the maximum.

Manor	<i>Original Domesday Figures and units (note 1)</i>				<i>Domesday Figures converted to statute acres (see Chapter 3 for conversion criteria)</i>				<i>Putative Domesday manor extents (statute acres) (note 2)</i>		Tithe assessment of parish size	Thesis assessment of 'ancient' enclosure
	Arable (ploughlands)	Meadow (acres)	Pasture (acres)	Wood (acres)	Arable min/max (note 3)	Meadow	Pasture	Wood	Min manor area	Max manor area		
Coombe (3,75)	3	3	20	6	180/270	3	20	6	209	299	n/a	218
Celvertisberie (3,76)	6 (1) (note 4)	15	100	6	360/540	15	100	6	481 (181)	661 (211)		137
Coombe (3,78)	1	3		2	60/90	3		2	65	95		174
Templeton totals	10	21	120	14	600/900	21	120	14	755	1055	1892	1053
Cruwys Morchard (3,73)	4 (1)	6	100	10	240/360	6	100	10	356 (176)	476 (206)	n/a	342
Cruwys Morchard (19,35)	20 (4)	40	200	30	1200/1800	40	200	30	1470 (510)	2070 (630)		792
Yeadbury (34,36)	1		30		60/90		30		90	120		37
Ruckham (50,2)	1	1		4	60/90	1		4	65	95		142
Hill (50,3)	½	20	100		30/45	20	100		150	165		229
Coombe (50,4)	½	1			30/45	1			31	46		35
Cruwys Morchard totals	27	68	430	44	1620/2430	68	430	44	2162	2972		5766

- Notes:
1. Where Domesday records acres the precise size of these 'acres' is not known.
 2. The putative manor extent is calculated by adding the arable, meadow, pasture and wood figures (in statute acres) together – two totals are generated, one using the minimum arable calculation and the other the larger one.
 3. The minimum and maximum arable acreage is calculated by assuming that a ploughland in Devon was between 90 (maximum) and 60 (minimum) acres.
 4. The figures in brackets are the number of ploughs 'in lordship', only the count of ploughlands and the eventual manor extents are listed.
 5. The total includes Thongsley (156 acres).

Domesday record may be considered to indicate a possible extent for the demesne – Cruwys Morchard (DB 19,35) and Cruwys Morchard (Northcote) (DB 3,73) – in both cases the acreage derived from the map regression lies in between the range of figures derived from Domesday for the ‘whole’ manor and that range which may be just the demesne. This suggests that the ‘farmland’ that the map regression suggests was the extent of the manor may, in fact, either be more accurate than thought, or that it may result from the survival of the demesne plus some of the villagers’ land as a composite modern farm unit.

In Templeton the gross check of parochial acreage is very satisfactory. The map regression figure of 1053 acres is just two acres short of the Domesday figure of 1055 acres (90 acre ploughland) and this corroborates the result from Cruwys Morchard, the size of a ‘local’ ploughland in this case study remains at 90 acres. The check at the manorial level produces one satisfactory result, the map regression acreage for Coombe (DB 3,75) falls at the lower end of the range derived from Domesday. There was only one manor in Templeton for which a putative ‘demesne only’ figure could be derived – *Celvertesberie* (DB 3,76) – but here the map regression acreage still falls below the lowest estimated size. Is this a further possible indicator of the diminution of the size, and importance, of this manor with time?

The continued success of the comparison of the regression derived acreage against the interpretation of Domesday metrics, at a parochial level, is very encouraging. It had been anticipated that the size of a local ploughland may reduce in this case study, however, the results from both parishes suggest that this is not the case. Comparisons between Figure 7.4 and Figures 7.25 and 7.26 indicate that, in both parishes, the bulk of the anciently enclosed land lies on the better soil – Neath – and so it is difficult to support any variation in a local ploughland between the parishes. In this case study we have proved the efficacy of the modified Hoskins’ model in two parishes where it was necessary to

determine the probable locations of the villans either on the manorial lands, or in 'satellite' farms, without recourse to any probable former open fields. The results of the comparisons of data derived from the map regression against the Domesday metrics for both population and extent of land-usage are very satisfactory and, in some instances this success has been carried down to the manorial level. We now turn to a consideration of the final product of this case study - the putative Domesday map of the two parishes.

Domesday Recovered?

In this case study we have, for the first time, determined a putative deployment of all the villans' recorded in Domesday. This correlates the requirements of the Domesday figures with the availability of villans' plots, derived through the map regression, in two parishes in which no probable open fields have been identified.

The putative map of the parishes of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton presented at Figure 7.27 identifies the core farmland that was probably exploited around the time of Domesday. In order to produce some depth to the settlement pattern it has been necessary to include farms whose presence can be traced to the two centuries after 1086 and, while this may be seen as a minimal representation of the settlement at the beginning of the Middle Ages, the fact that this has proved sufficient to accommodate the villans of Domesday. Several of the farms believed to have been worked by these villans were probably small hamlets at that time.

Summary

'By 1066 at latest the lords of Er call (Salop) had developed all the land suitable for arable in the immediate vicinity of their hall and its hamlets leaving a strip of waste between each settlement and a fringe of waste all round the manor

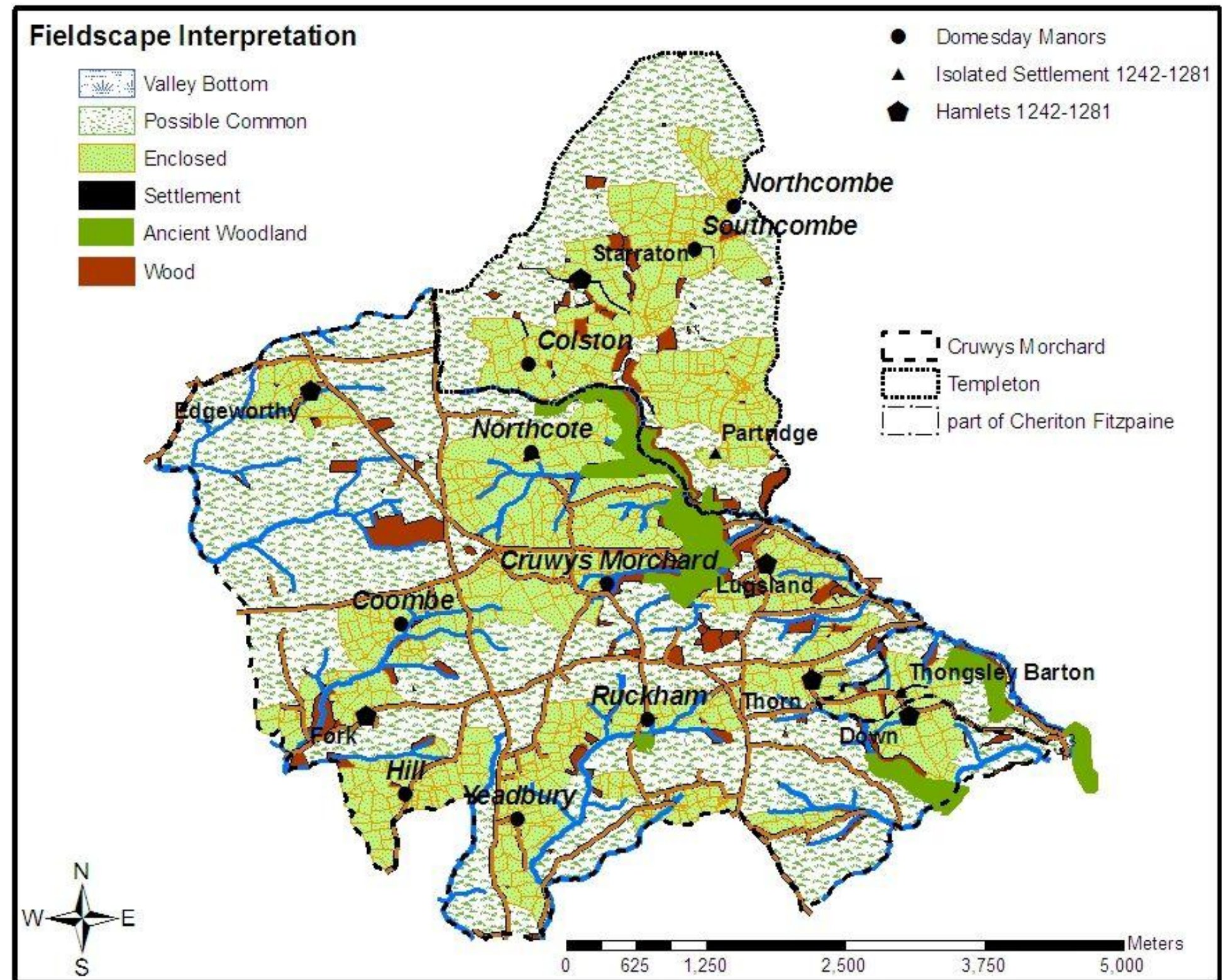


Figure 7.27. A possible representation of Cruwys Morchard and Templeton ca. 1086. The eight Domesday manors are the only settlement that can be dated to 1086. In Cruwys Morchard the remainder of the settlement pattern has been established using dwellings that can be dated to 1281 or earlier, while in Templeton the additional buildings all date to 1270 or earlier (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

boundary' (Hill, 1984, 6). The final map of the parishes of Templeton and Cruwys Morchard at the time of Domesday (Figure 7.27) shows two parishes that had only developed about half their land, but which exhibit a similar dispersal of waste (or possible common) in Cruwys Morchard, and to a lesser degree in Templeton, this latter may be more topographically determined. Subsequent expansion of the early farmsteads may have been completed, and lost, before ca. 1400, but it will probably have been in place at the start of the post-medieval period. Similarly new farms may have been first established, and deserted, before the 15th century.

While the course of the River Dart has been discussed, the significance that its deeply incised, wood clad valleys must have had upon the life of the two parishes is strongly emphasised in the map at Figure 7.27. The spread of settlement in both parishes is very suggestive of this river being one focus of the early pioneering movement away from the lowlands onto higher ground. It would be interesting to review settlement patterns in Tiverton, the large, neighbouring parish to the north-east to see if this trend is also detectable there. Certainly the use of the Dart as the parish boundary supports an argument that the detached portion of Cheriton Fitzpaine, which is represented by Thongsley Barton, was originally part of Cruwys Morchard.

A reduction in the size of a local ploughland, anticipated as a result of the change in geology to the rocks of the Culm Measures, which are infamous for producing heavy, clayey soils, cannot be justified due to the continuing good correlation between parochial acreage, derived from the map regression and, from the conversion of the Domesday metrics. The corresponding acreage check, at the manorial level, whilst improved in this case study, continues to be less satisfactory.

The next Chapter moves the study up onto the fringes of Exmoor, to the northern edge of the Culm Measures, and onto the highest ground encountered in this thesis; land that includes some moorland. Once again we can anticipate changes in the farming regime and, maybe, this final case study will validate a reduction in the local ploughland commensurate with a probable change in soil quality.

8

Case Study V: Molland and West Anstey

'Albeit the greatest part of this county is of its own nature barren, and full of brakes and briers; nevertheless, by the industry of man, and God's blessing withal, it yieldeth plenty and variety of all things, for the use of man.'

(Risdon ca. 1640, 6).

Introduction

It is only as we move onto the higher land encountered in this, the last case study, that we are able to discern some element of truth in Risdon's pessimistic view of the productivity of Devon (above). Despite a history of occasional exploitation, the large tracts of moorland, with their sparse patches of coarse grass, are still, for the most part, the home of deer and, seasonally, of sheep and the more hardy cattle. The parishes of Molland and West Anstey, 35 km north of Exeter, are the subjects of this last case study (Figure 8.1). Sandwiched between the higher moorland of Exmoor and the uncompromising Culm Measures to the south, it is only the fertile lowlands of the intervening Yeo Valley that appear to offer hope to the farmers. Nevertheless, it will be seen that both parishes exhibited a high degree of exploitation and development as early as the 11th/12th centuries AD. Yet, despite evidence of cereal cultivation during the first half of the second millennium, and the hint of open fields, the fact that the nearest market, at North Molton, was 10-15km away suggests that the manors of Molland and West Anstey should be regarded as producers for local, rather than regional, trade.

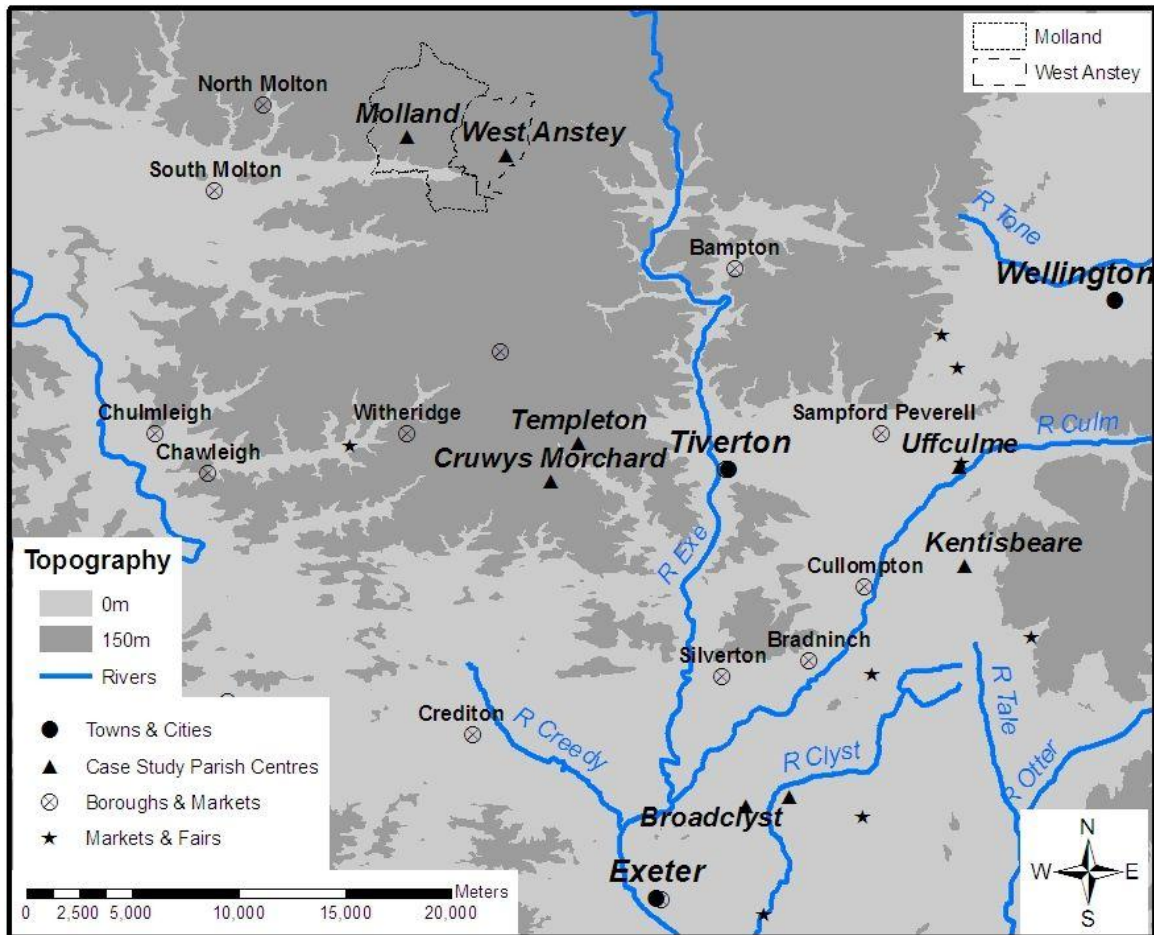


Figure 8.1. The parishes of Molland and West Anstey lie 35 km north of Exeter on the southern fringes of Exmoor. South and North Molton provide the nearest market places 10-12km to the west (boroughs after Beresford & Finberg 1973, markets after Gazetteer of Markets & Fairs 2010).

Natural Environment

The last case study sees several changes in the natural environment, including higher ground than previously encountered, encompassing large tracts of Exmoor, and a further change in the geology as we move to the northern edge of the Culm Measures, where the rocks change to those of the even earlier Upper Devonian. It will be interesting to see how these changes affect the agriculture.

Topography (Figure 8.2)

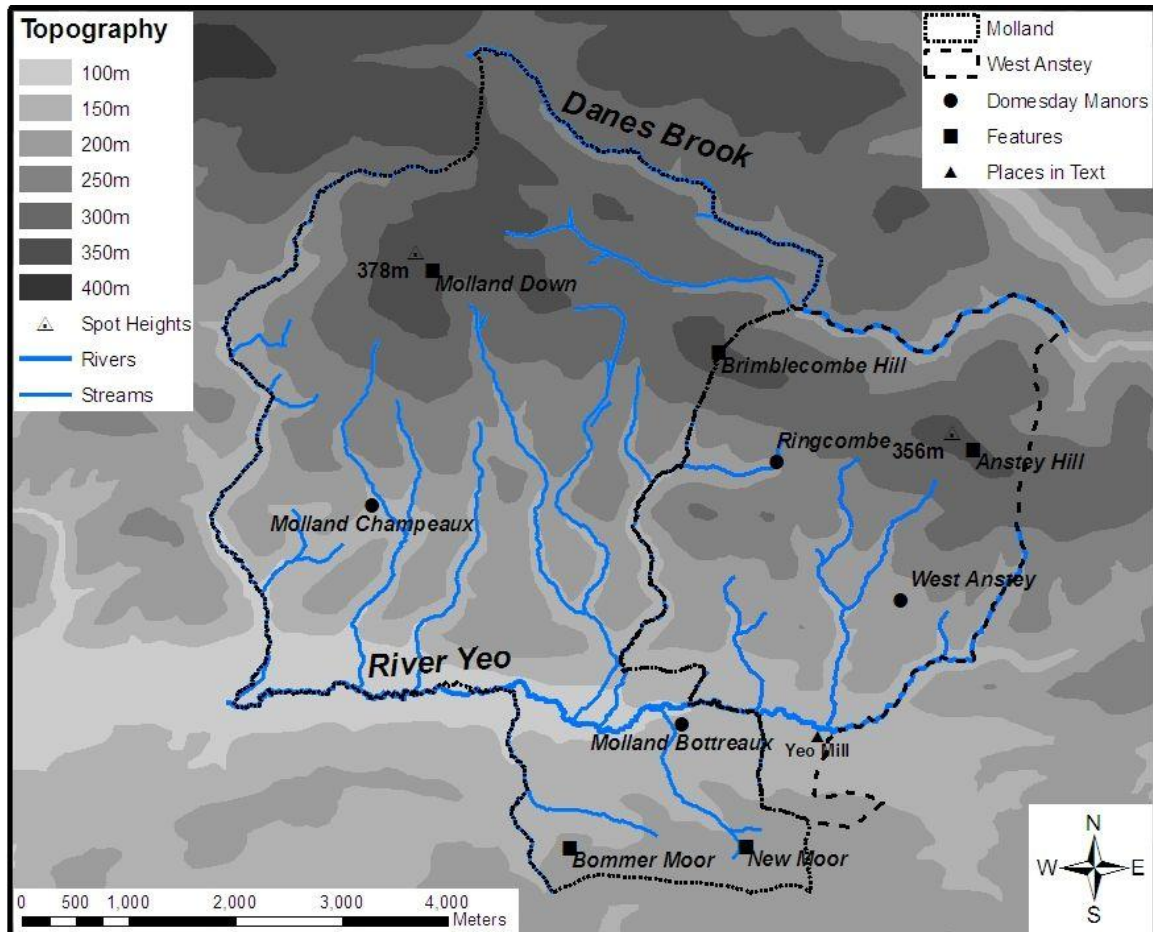


Figure 8.2. The topography of Molland and West Anstey is dominated by two rivers: the Yeo and the Danes Brook, and their tributaries.

The underlying topographical feature of the bulk of the two parishes of Molland and West Anstey is that of a seemingly flat plain, sloping upwards at an average gradient of 1:20, climbing from the valley of the Yeo northwards towards the fringes of Exmoor. In the north this climb is truncated by a rapid descent into the valley of the Danes Brook, and this river marks the northern boundary of both parishes. To the south the River Yeo serves as the boundary, except for a stretch where both parishes cross the river and occupy small areas on its southern bank.

The tumbling slope down to the Danes Brook is too short to develop significant drainage patterns from the moorland of the parishes, and so there is only one

stream of any note that flows out to the north. To the south, however, the long, languid slope gives rise to countless streams, all of which flow down to the Yeo through deeply incised valleys. It is these valleys that become the dominant feature of both parishes and they create a never ending roller coaster, up and down, that both crosses and hides the natural, gentler, slope (Figure 8.3).



Figure 8.3. Looking north, initially down the slope to Yeo Mill and the River Yeo and then, ultimately, up to West Anstey Common, in the far distance. The Yeo Valley is visible running across the centre of the picture, but the generally flat, gently sloping topography is evident (Sandover).

Geology (Figure 8.4)

The geology of this case study area is dominated by the slates, sandstones and mudstones of the Upper Devonian, although the geology of a small area in the south is of the later Carboniferous Culm Measures (British Geological Survey 2010). The Pickwell Down Sandstone, the most extensive of the Upper Devonian rocks in the area, underlies the high moorland and is characterised by 'red, purple and green cross-bedded and ripple-marked sandstones'

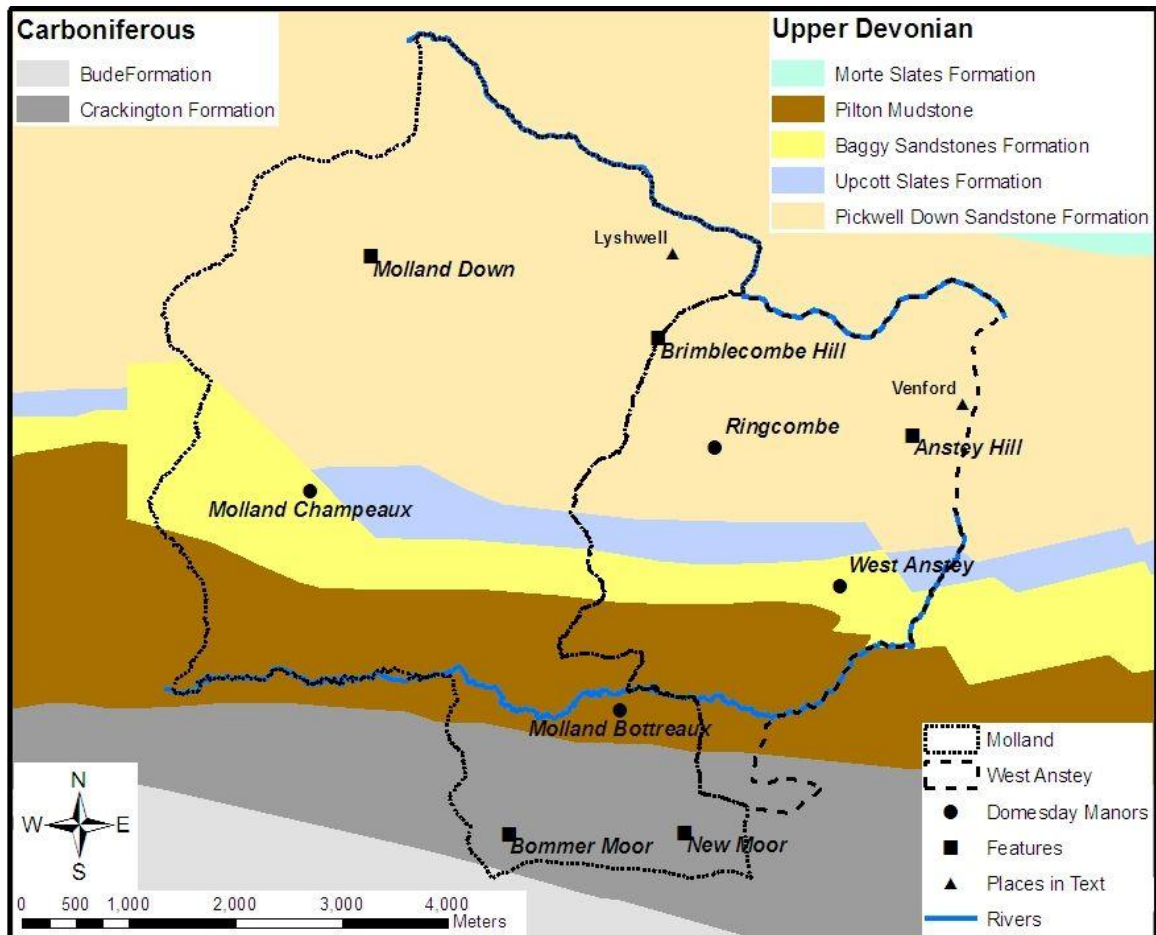


Figure 8.4. To the north are the rocks of the older Upper Devonian, whilst those in the south belong to the Carboniferous. The dividing line between the rocks of these two epochs lies between the Pilton Mudstones and the Crackington Formation. It can be seen that the geology of most of this case study area belongs to the Upper Devonian and that it is only the southern parts that experience the particularly clayey soils associated with the rocks of the Culm Measures (after British Geological Survey 2010).

(Durrance & Laming 1982, 34). This sandstone grades upwards successively into the Upcott Slates, Baggy Sandstones and Pilton Mudstone that create a band of rock across the central part of both Molland and West Anstey (Durrance & Laming 1982, 34-35). To the south of these Upper Devonian rocks are the northernmost outliers of the Carboniferous Culm Measures, rocks that have been encountered in earlier case studies. These southerly rocks are part of the Crackington Formation and may be characterised as quartz sandstone layers

with a clay matrix, and it is the latter matrix that is responsible for the reputation of the Culm Measures as yielding heavy clayey soils that are difficult to work (Durrance & Laming 1982, 55-57).

Soil (Figure 8.5 and Table 8.1)

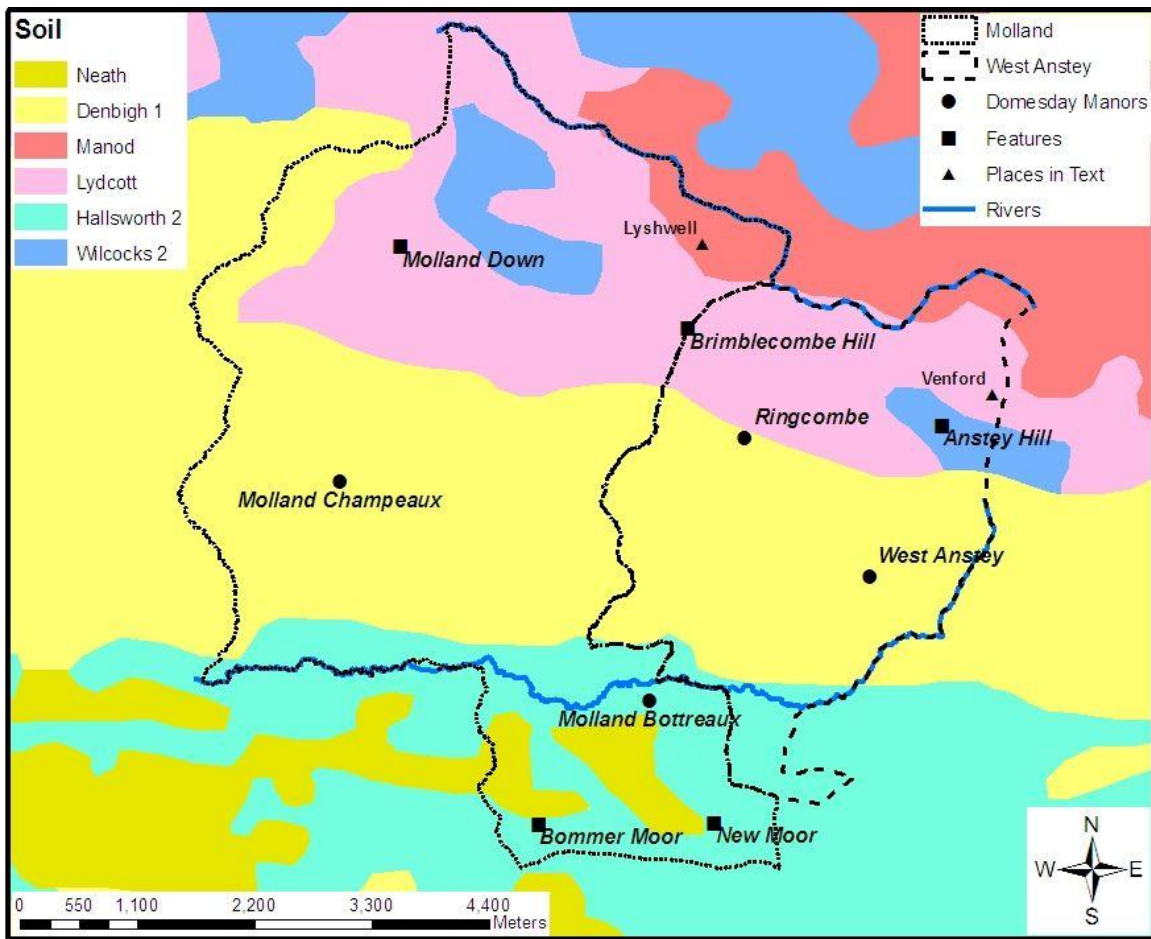


Figure 8.5. The soils of Molland and West Anstey. Generally those of the highlands to the north are poor, supporting rough grazing at best, while those of the southern moorlands are better, but still limited to stock rearing and dairying. The best land is found in the broad swathe running east/west across the lower slopes (Denbigh 1) (after Soil Survey 1983).

In the last case study (Cruwys Morchard and Templeton) we encountered the soil types Neath and Hallsworth 2, associated with the rocks of the Culm Measures. These two soils also occur in this case study, still associated with the Culm Measures, and are found on the moorland to the south of the area. Moving

Table 8.1. The soils of Molland and West Anstey (Figure 8.5)
(extract from Soil Survey 1983, Index).

Name	Character	Agriculture	Location
Neath	Well drained fine loamy soils often over rock. Slight seasonal waterlogging	Dairying and some cereals and stock rearing	Uplands and valley sides in south of area
Denbigh 1	Well drained fine loamy and fine silty soils over rock. Some similar soils with slowly permeable subsoils and slight seasonal waterlogging. Shallow soils and some bare rock locally	Stock rearing in uplands, dairying and some cereals in moist lowlands; coniferous and deciduous woodland, and rough grazing on steep slopes	Central lower ground
Manod	Well drained fine loamy or fine silty soils often over rock. Shallow soil in places, bare rock locally. Seep slopes common	Stock rearing and woodland in uplands; some dairying and cereals in Devon with woodland on slopes	Northern valley bottom and sides
Lydcott	Loamy permeable reddish upland soils with a wet peaty surface horizon. Some soils have a thin ironpan. Uplands, rock and scree locally	Wet moorland habitats of poor and moderate grazing value; coniferous woodland; recreation; military use	Moorland in north of parishes
Hallsworth 2	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged clayey, fine loamy and fine silty soils	Permanent grassland, stock rearing and dairying; some coniferous and deciduous woodland and wet moorland habitats	Moorland and valley sides in the south of area
Wilcocks 2	Slowly permeable seasonally waterlogged loamy upland soils with a peaty surface horizon. Some very acid peat soils	Stock rearing on wet moorland of moderate grazing value and some permanent grassland; coniferous woodland; recreation	Higher ground on northern moorland

northwards, into the Yeo Valley and onto the rocks of the Upper Devonian, the soil becomes more suitable for cereal cropping, although Denbigh1 is not of the same quality as the better soils found in the lowland parishes. Finally, on the higher ground to the north, on the fringes of Exmoor, the soils are the poorest encountered in any of the case studies, and Lydcott and Wilcocks 2 are only capable of supporting grazing, woodland and recreational and military uses. Yet, even here *modern* farming techniques can prove successful as Lyshwell and Venford Farms testify.

Land-use History

Data from three pollen sites were available to support the map regression in the parishes of this case study. The remote location of all three sites, however, necessitated extensive extrapolation, which in turn reduces the robustness of the analysis. Ancient woodland data has been drawn from the MAGIC website and, once again, our starting point is the tithe maps *ca.* 1840.

Land-use in 1840 (Figure 8.6)

In these two parishes the land-use recorded *ca.* 1840 differs little in detail from that of the other case studies, with the notable exception of the two large expanses of moorland in the north. Meadow lies along the watercourses, arable on the well-drained land in between, and coarse pasture on the higher ground. In these parishes the woodland lies, more exclusively, along the rivers and streams, while the collocation of furze and pasture, intermixed with the arable, is more evident. Given the soil structure discussed above, one may be surprised by the expanse of arable land, which is little different in appearance from the other case studies. It is interesting to note that seventeen of the fields in Molland had their use recorded as 'arable occasionally', and one wonders how true that may be of many of the other fields, both in this case study and the others.

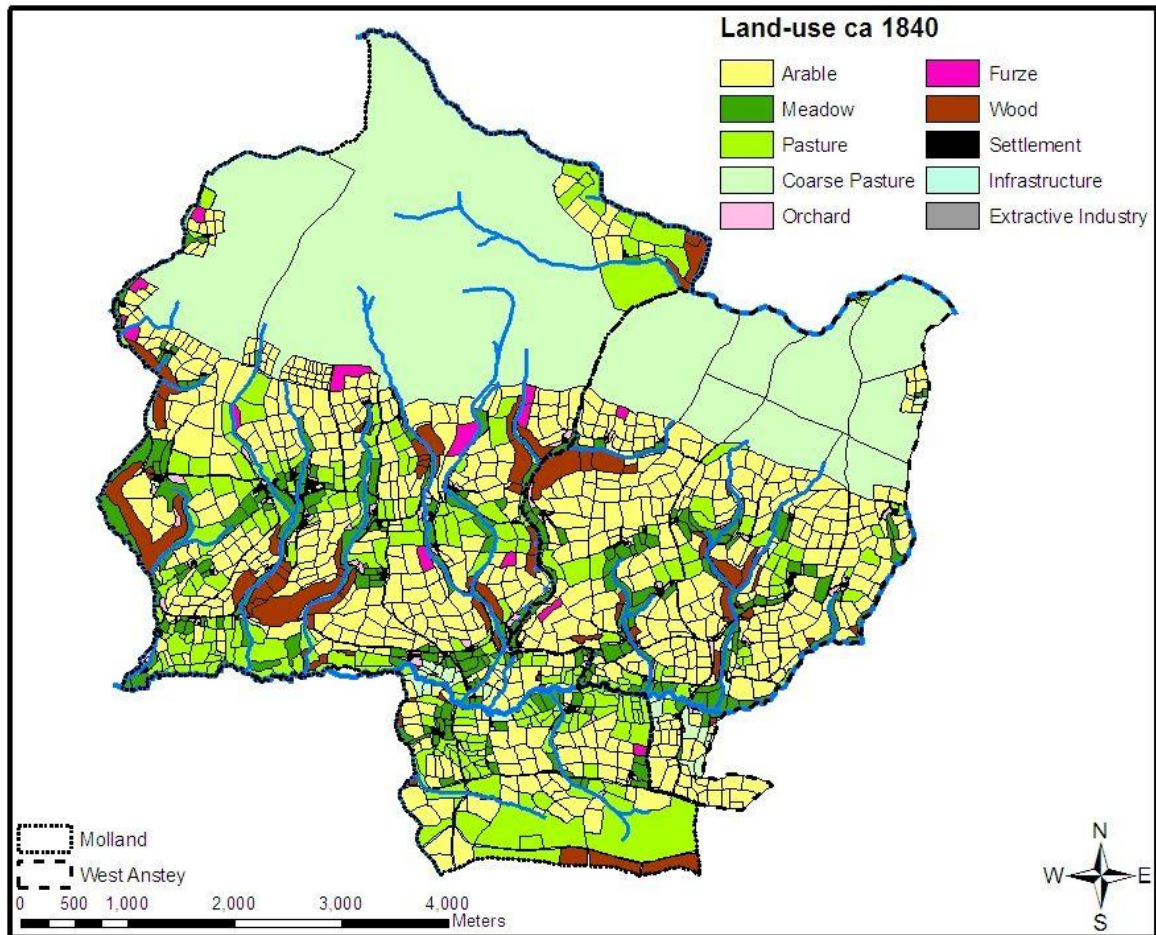


Figure 8.6. Land-use in Molland and West Anstey recorded ca. 1840. Notice the way that meadow and woodland tend to border the watercourses, while arable and, to a lesser extent, pasture occupy the better drained valley sides. Once again it should be noted that the maintenance of good arable productivity requires the use of a crop rotation, which may result in as little as 25% of the arable land actually being cultivated at any one time.

Pollen sources (Figure 8.7)

The three pollen sources that provide the environmental history in this case study - Long Breach, Gourte Mires and Anstey's Combe - all lie within the moorland of the northern part of Molland (Fyfe *et al.* 2003). The putative catchment areas for Gourte Mires and Anstey's Combe both include a stretch of land that was agricultural ca. 1840, but that for Long Breach does not.

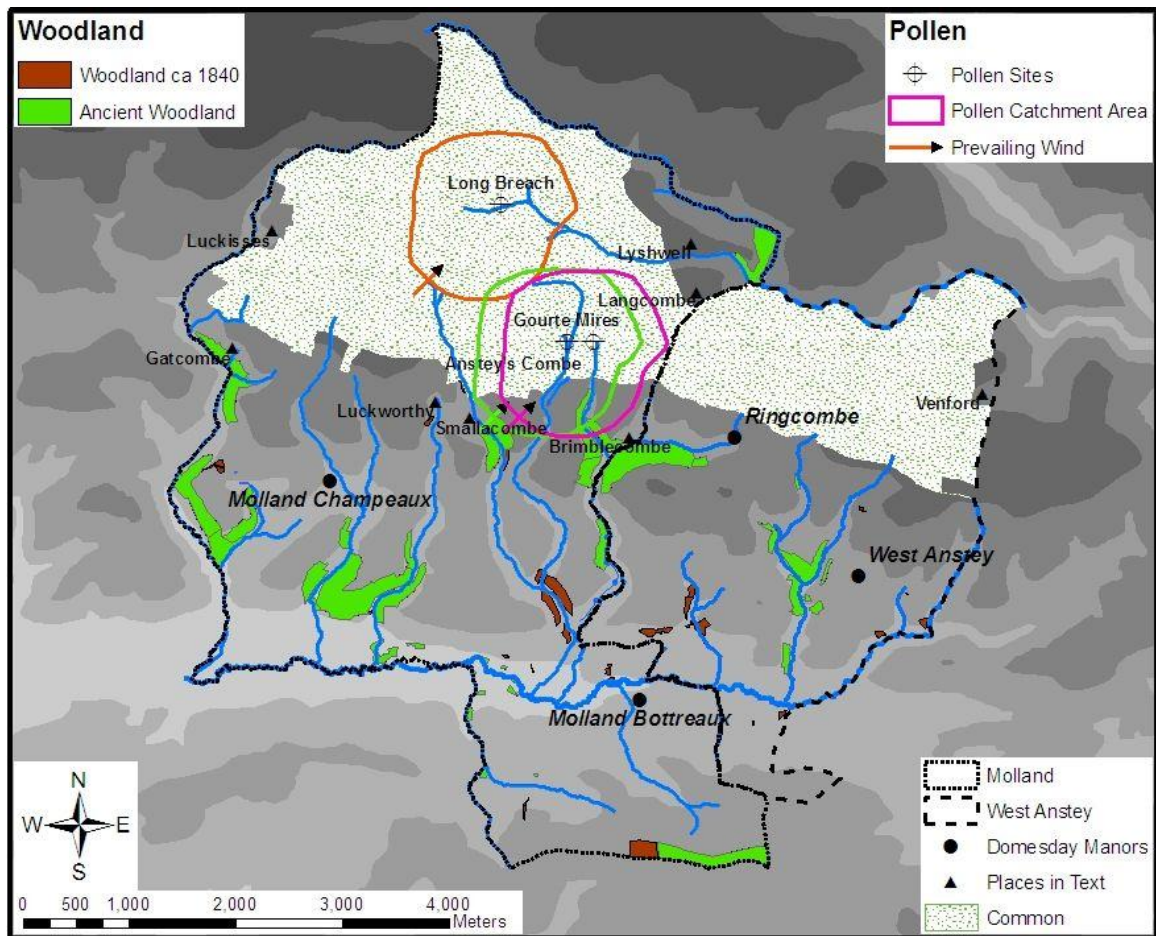


Figure 8.7. Ancient woods and pollen traps in Molland and West Anstey. The high proportion of woodland recorded in 1840 that is considered to date back to AD 1600 found on the steeper valley sides across the parishes. The three pollen traps - Long Breach, Gourte Mires and Anstey's Combe - all have their putative pollen catchment areas displayed. It can be seen that both Gourte Mires and Anstey's Combe probably experienced some pollen 'rain' from cultivated areas that were nearby to the south of the pollen traps (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

Woodland clearance is recorded at Long Breach ca.770-370 B.C. and at Gourte Mires ca. 410-90 B.C. Anstey's Combe, conversely, still has a strong oak-hazel signature until after the start of the Romano-British period. It is noted that Anstey's Combe is very enclosed and this suggests that the steeper valley sides were cleared after those that were more accessible (Fyfe *et al.* 2003, 228). Neither of these periods of woodland clearance are at great variance with the

general trend towards late Iron Age or early Romano-British episodes of clearance that have been observed in the other pollen sequences in this thesis, nor is the subsequent 'open pastoral landscape'.

It is not until the 11th century that the pastoral landscape of Molland Common changes. At Gourte Mires (ca. 890-1,170 AD) and at Anstey's Combe (ca. 680-1,020 AD) evidence for the cultivation of cereals starts to be recorded in the pollen sequences. At Anstey's Combe there is also evidence of considerable clearance of the oak dominated woodland, and its replacement by heather dominated heath. Similar evidence from Long Breach is both later (ca. 1,270-1,420 AD) and less extensive, but this may be expected due to the higher elevation of this site. The subsequent decline in cereal cultivation is difficult to date, but is considered to be 'broadly synchronous' with a rise in pine woodland, ca. 1,750-1,800 AD (Fyfe *et al.* 2003).

In all three instances of cereal cultivation, recorded in the pollen sequences, Fyfe *et al.* consider that this 'most likely represents some form of convertible husbandry on the upland area', that is to say that the crops were grown on the present-day common, in the vicinity of the traps and that the pollen was not wind-blown from off-moor farmsteads. In support of this argument they cite the existence of 'extensive relict medieval field systems' on the common and the continued survival of some nearby farms on the higher ground (Fyfe *et al.* 2003, 229-231). This is not greatly at variance with Riley and Wilson-North, who state that 'Molland Common has traces of field systems representing temporary cultivation, probably by the farms within the valley' (Riley & Wilson-North 2001, 130-132). Certainly that there was sporadic exploitation of the waste (or common) in Devon and Cornwall is evidenced by Fox (1973, 32-33). Cereal is not a fecund producer of pollen (Sugita 2007a, 71), nor does that pollen spread very far, no more than the order of a kilometre (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006, 43-52), which supports an argument in favour of local cropping or of large scale

cropping, at distance. The pollen traps reviewed in this case study, therefore, either register the spread of arable farming onto the commons, in which case we may assume that the lower lying parts of the parishes were already cultivated, or they register large 'patches' of arable land being created beyond the nominal catchment areas displayed at Figure 8.7. In this latter instance it is considered most probable that the change in land-use that is recorded occurred on the southern farms: Brimblecombe, Smallacombe, Luckworthy and, possibly, Gatcombe, rather than on the 'fringe' farms: Luckisses, Lyshwell and Langcombe. What may be certain is that cereal farming, in Molland and West Anstey, either increased significantly, or was introduced, during the two centuries that precede the Norman conquest, but any question of settlement in the immediate area of the pollen traps remains unresolved.

Ancient Woodland (Figure 8.7)

All of the more extensive tracts of woodland recorded *ca.* 1840 have been classified as 'ancient' by Natural England (MAGIC 2010), and it is only some of the smaller extents that would appear to be modern in origin. The presence of such a large area of ancient woodland, and the absence of any indication of woodland clearance in any of the pollen sequences after the Romano-British period, may be seen as mutually supportive. The pollen data suggests that most of the woodland recorded in the tithe assessment, except maybe some pine wood, can be portrayed on map regressions, which date back at least as far as AD 1086. The Natural England data establishes a high degree of confidence that most of that woodland was in existence at the end of the Middle Ages, but it is difficult to sustain such a degree of confidence as we go further back in time (English Nature 2009). Searching the tithe apportionments it is possible to identify twelve areas whose land-use is recorded as 'woodland', which can be further identified through their names as 'plantation' (9) or 'fir plantation' (3). These may, at first glance, appear to be prime candidates for the 'rise in pine woodland' recorded by Fyfe *et al*, especially 'fir plantation', and their removal during the map regression would seem assured. Further scrutiny, however,

establishes that two of the 'fir plantations' are also 'ancient woodland', albeit replanted and it is considered safest not to attempt to remove any woodland during the regression phase, without good justification.

The history of the extent of both arable and woodland having been discussed, it merely needs to be stated that the remainder of both parishes, and probably by far the largest area, was put to pasture (coarse pasture on the moorland), and this needs to be reflected in the later fieldscape interpretation. We now turn to a review of the history of the parishes of Molland and West Anstey. This will start with the settlement and road patterns, move onto the ownership and occupancy patterns, before culminating with the fieldscape characterisation.

Parochial History

Having reviewed the land-use record from the two parishes, it is now intended to review the 'human' record, looking at settlement history, ownership and occupancy records and, finally, at the morphology of the fieldscape.

Chronologically this section will start with the tithe records and regress to that point where reasonable probability ceases and speculation commences. While the Domesday record will be introduced, this will be to inform the debate; the discussion concerning the merger of Domesday data with the results of the tithe map regression will be found in the next section.

Settlement and Communications

Starting from the settlement pattern of the parish's *ca.* 1840, this sub-section will regress through time, stopping twice, *ca.* 1750 and again *ca.* 1540. While most of the data has been taken from EPNS (Gover *et al.* 1932) and Listed Buildings Online, a small amount has been taken from extant written records and maps (in particular Donn 1765). Before starting with the regression it is intended to attempt to identify any 'lost' settlement that could be 're-introduced' during the regression.

Settlement Indicative Field-names (Figures 8.8 & 8.9)

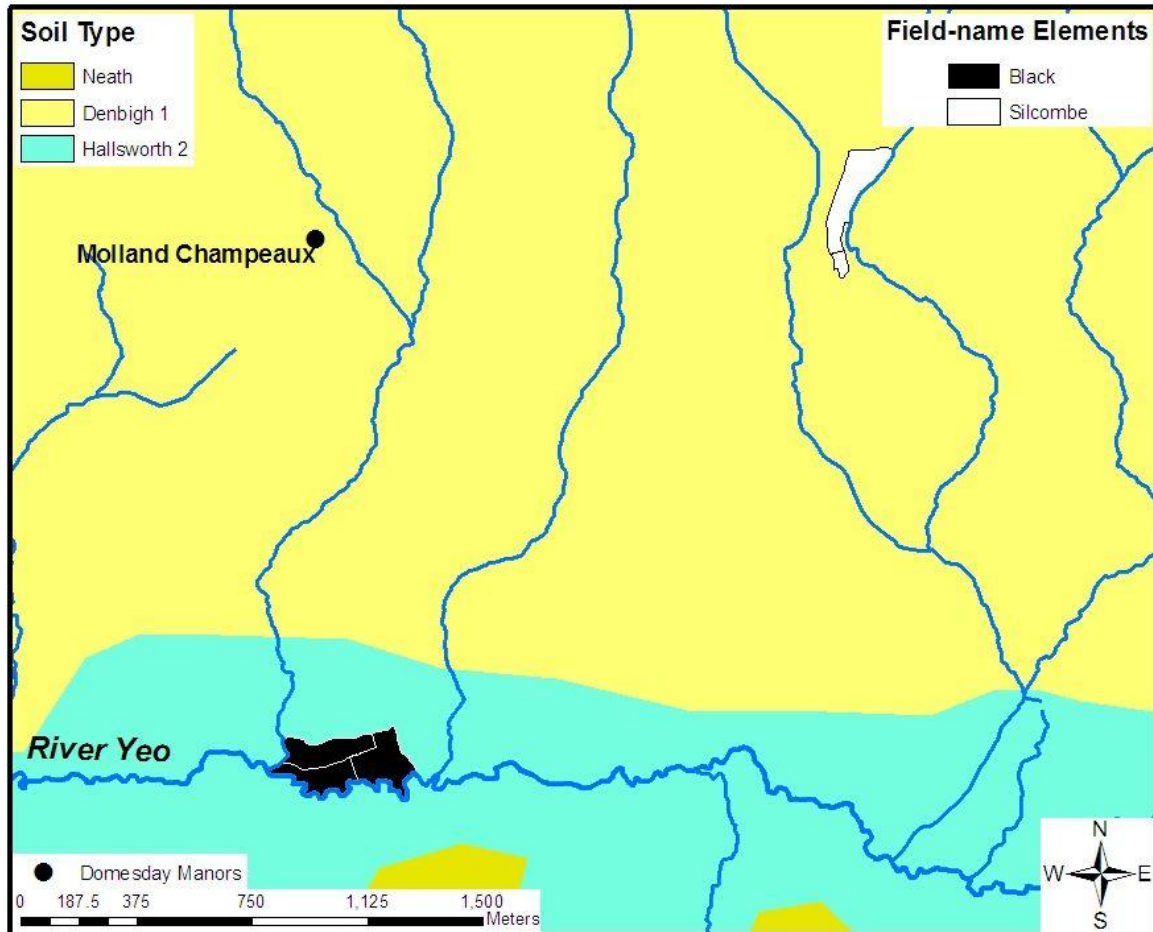


Figure 8.8. Settlement indicative field-names in Molland. Those including the name element 'Black' are probably so named for being on soil that is next to the river and prone to waterlogging. Those containing the name element 'Silcombe' are collocated in a small, combe whose name is not recorded on the OS maps (after Soil Survey 1983).

In Molland there are several fields named after known settlements in the parish: Brimblecombe Wood and Lyshwell Wood Meadow for example. There is also a series of fields containing the name element 'Black' and two fields that contain the name element 'Silcombe'. While Silcombe is not a habitative name, the high count of settlement named after the various combes in these parishes justifies investigating other 'combe' names in this case study. The fields that contain the name element 'Black' are situated close to the River Yeo on the soil type

Hallsworth 2, and this soil is prone to waterlogging, probably due to its proximity to the river. It is most probable that the field-names derive from black soil that has been created naturally and is not derived from former occupation layers. The two fields containing the name element 'Silcombe' are situated along a small combe that leads up to the moor. The name of this combe has not been recorded on any of the OS maps that have been consulted in this thesis, but this may well be Silcombe. The post-war RAF photographs do not show any interesting features in either set of fields and there are no records of either a settlement called Silcombe or of a 'missing' settlement along the Yeo. In the absence of any supporting evidence this possible former settlement site is not considered further.

There is an equally low quantity of fields with settlement indicative names recorded in West Anstey, ca.1840 (Figure 8.9). Very close to East Ringcombe Farm, the site of the Domesday manor of Ringcombe, are three fields that contain the name element 'Swiddacombe', while to the south-west of West Anstey there are two fields that contain the name element 'Shopcott'. The 6" County Series OS Map, ca.1885, records Swiddacombe Lane, running along the southern edge of the 'Swiddacombe' fields, into Ringcombe Farm. This is the only other reference to Swiddacombe encountered in this case study. Lysons (1822, 11) record a family called 'Shepcott' in the descent of West Anstey ca. 1500, and this family may be associated with the two 'Shopcott' fields. In the absence of further evidence to support Swiddacombe being a former settlement, this is not considered further. Shopcott, on the other hand is an habitative name and justifies inclusion in the settlement data on its own merit, this settlement may be dated to the medieval period, based upon Padel's analysis of 'Cot' and Worthy' names in Devon (Padel 1999, 93). The possible link with the Shepcott family supports both the existence and dating of Shopcott.

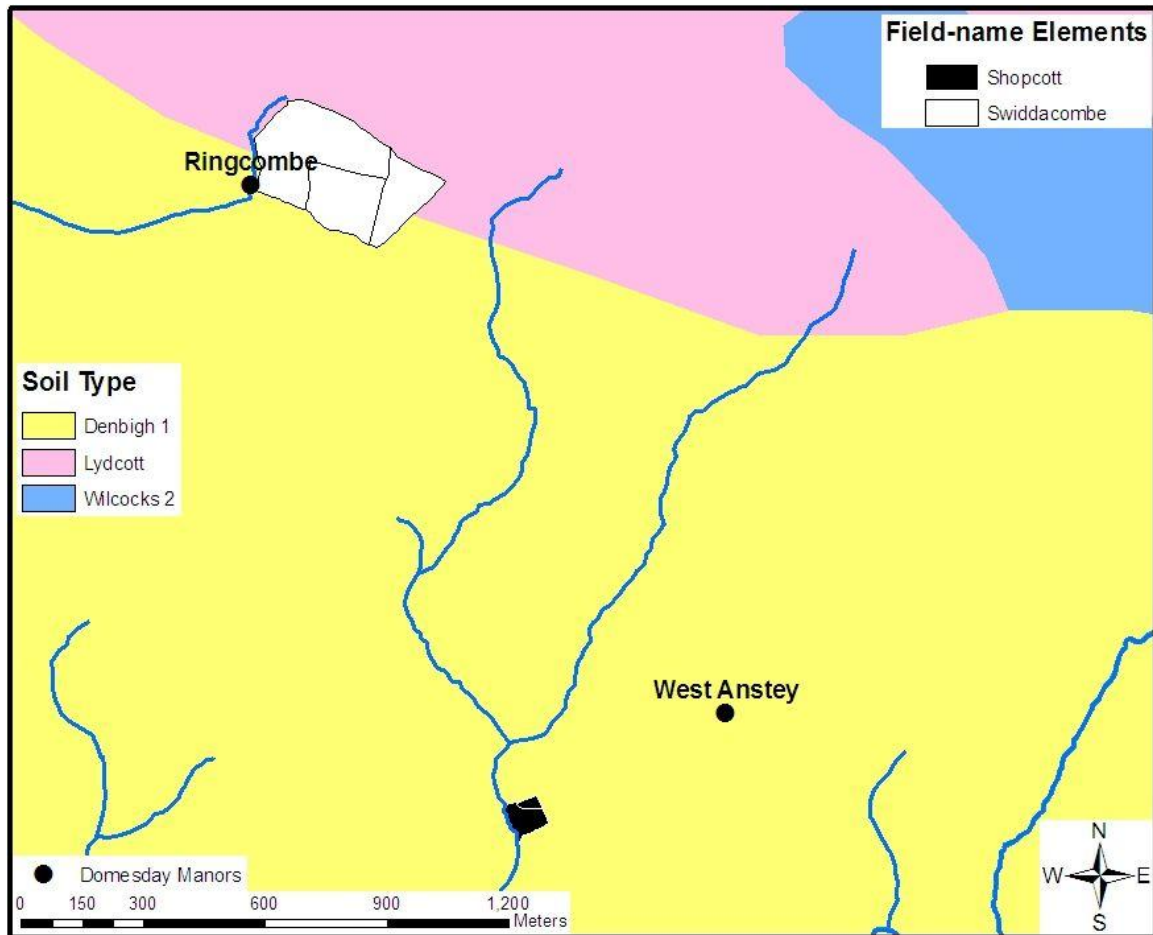


Figure 8.9. Settlement indicative field-names in West Anstey. The Shepcott family are listed in the descent of one of the West Anstey manors, and this name has been associated with the 'Shopcott' fields, located close to the parish centre (after Soil Survey 1983).

Settlement Pattern (Figures 8.10, 8.11 & 8.12)

The regression through the settlement and communications pattern of the parishes starts from the tithe records, ca. 1840, and, apart from the inclusion of 'Shepcott' and regionally important roads, taken from Donn's map (Donn 1965), it has not been possible to 'add back' any detail. The degree to which settlement patterns can be construed from the tithe documentation is dependent upon the individual Tithe Commissioners. In West Anstey those farmhouses that were

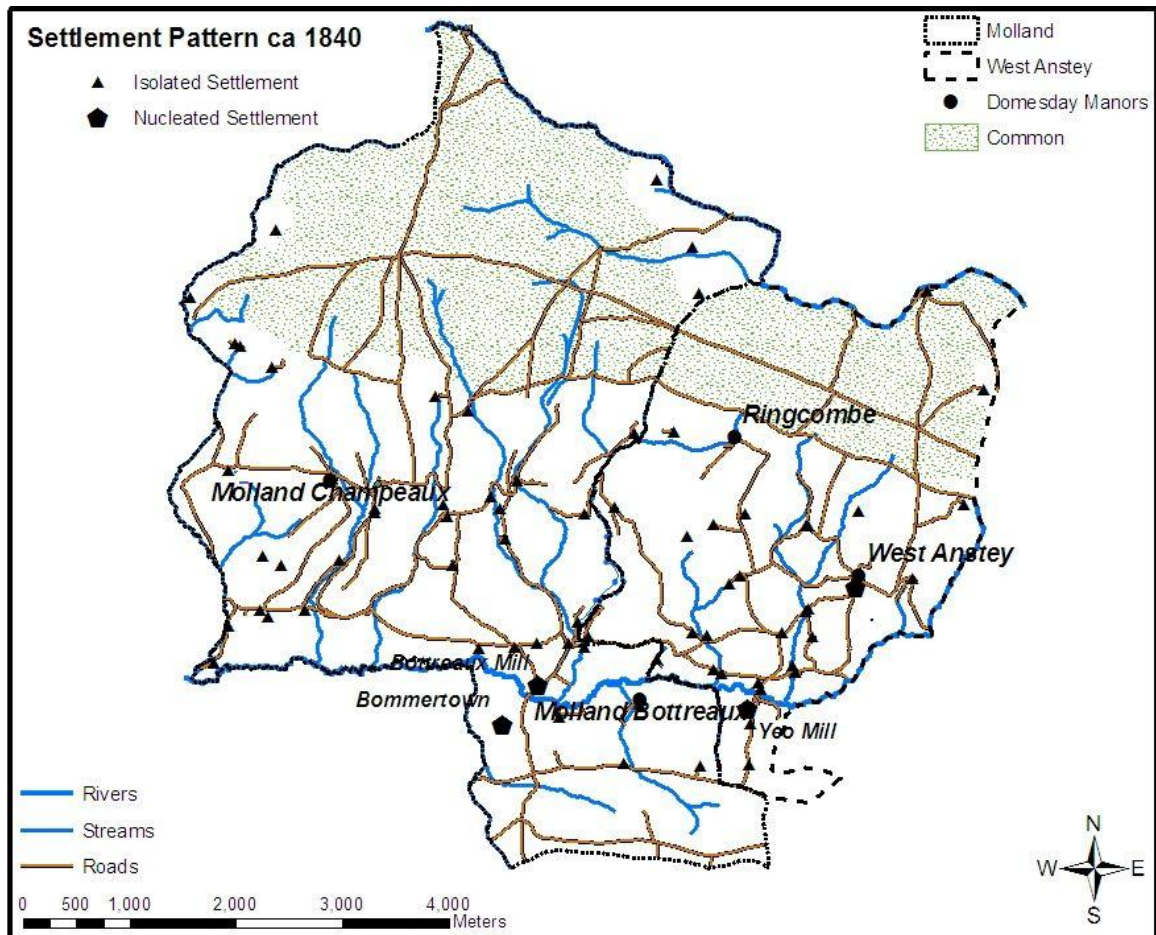


Figure 8.10. The settlement of Molland and West Anstey, ca. 1840. It is possible to identify nucleations at both Molland (Molland Champeaux) and West Anstey, the parish centres, and also at Bidbrook, Bottreaux Mill, Bommertown and Yeo Mill.

occupied by the tenants of the farm are recorded as ‘house, yard, barns etc.’, or a variant thereof, and the land-use invariably as ‘house and yards’. However, where the farmhouse was not occupied by the tenant its presence is not acknowledged and the tithe apportionment records ‘farmyard and lanes’.

The inclusion of the roads that may be considered to be of regional importance, as represented on Donn’s map of 1765 (Figure 8.11), re-establishes the presence of roads in the vicinity of Molland that were not mapped ca. 1840. The most obvious difference – the stretch of road in the north-west corner of Molland (compare Figures 8.10 and 8.11, noting Donn’s road) – will be found on the

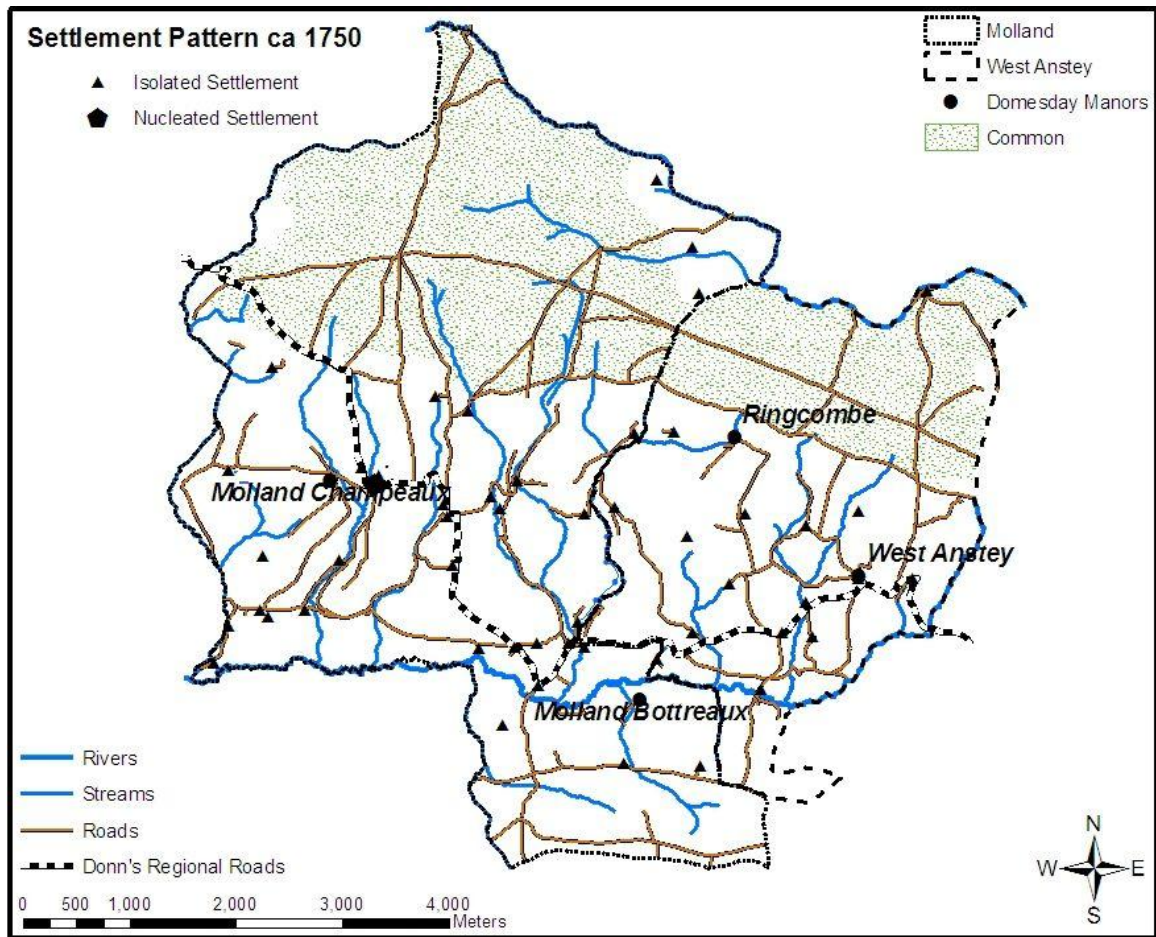


Figure 8.11. The settlement pattern of Molland and West Anstey, ca. 1750. The inclusion of the roads considered to be of regional importance (after Donn 1765) permits the 'recreation' of some roads, in the vicinity of Molland, that were not recorded on the Tithe Map. The count of nucleated settlement is far less than in the last figure.

modern OS map and this, therefore, suggests that the tithe map survey did not record all roads. It is interesting to note that Donn records Molland 'village' as Molland *Botreaux* [sic], as does the 1" OS Map, instead of the Molland *Champeaux* recorded in this thesis (Donn 1965, 3b). This is discussed further in the section on Domesday.

The final map of settlement, dating to the end of the Middle Ages, suggests that there was only evidence for one nucleation, at Molland itself, although there are a few sites where it is possible to postulate a small hamlet of two dwellings (Figure 8.12). Of particular note in this case study is the uneven spread of the dispersed

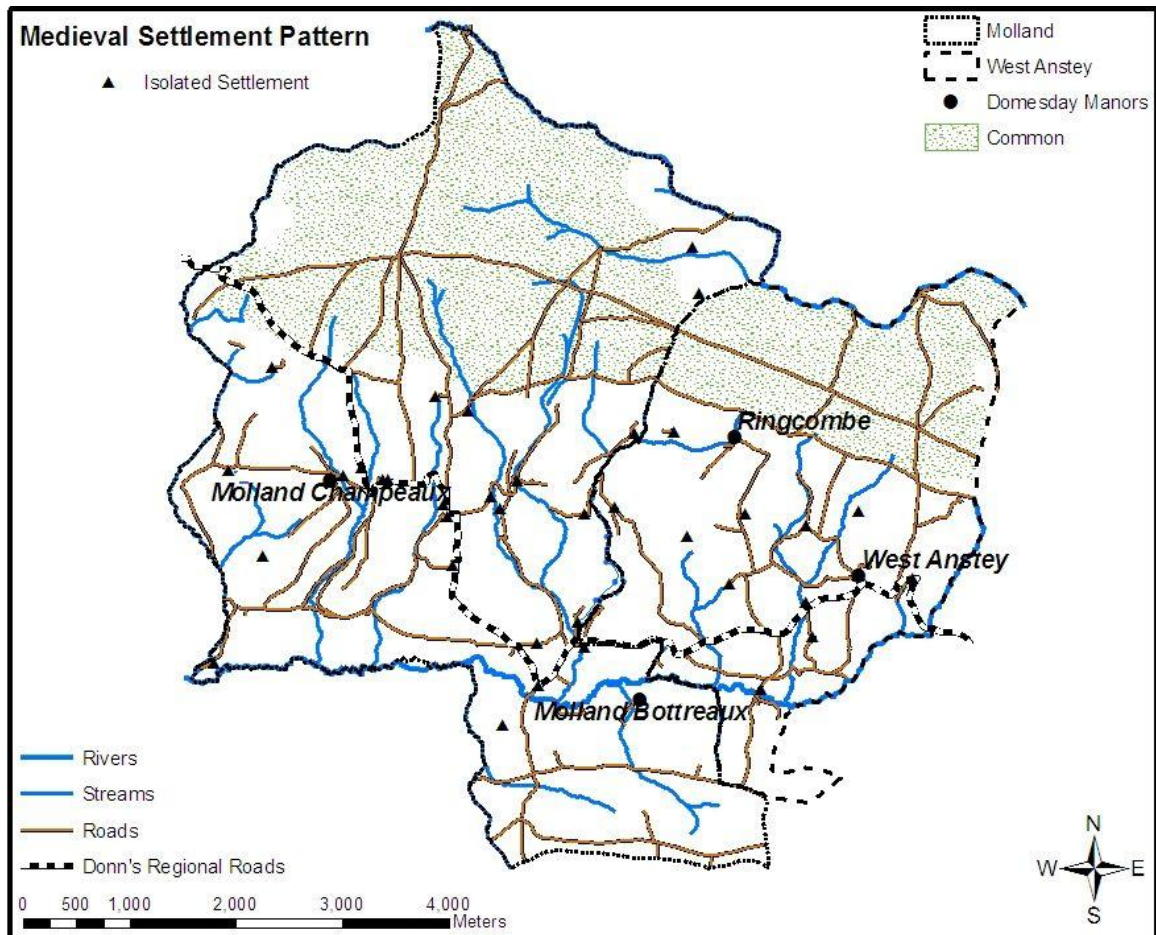


Figure 8.12. The medieval settlement pattern of Molland and West Anstey. It is only possible to identify a possible nucleation of settlement at Molland Champeaux.

settlement, with only a small amount apparent on the very high ground to the north. It is, once again, worth remembering that all the regressed settlement patterns represent a minimum count, and should not be taken as definitive. The medieval settlement pattern will be discussed in more detail in the section on the Domesday record.

Communication Pattern

The 'revival' of some stretches of road that has been made possible through the inclusion of Donn's roads has already been discussed. When considering the communications pattern of the parishes, it is, therefore, necessary to concentrate on that shown at Figure 8.11 or 8.12. It is possible to identify a degree of radially

to the south and west of Molland but, apart from that small area, the rest of the road pattern is 'rectilinear'; this is suggestive of a dispersed settlement pattern, and this is portrayed on both Figures 8.11 and 8.12. The partial radial pattern around Molland may be derived from a nucleated settlement, and this was shown on Figure 8.11, and to a much lesser degree on Figure 8.12 (Davey 2005, 102). It is suggested that both the settlement and communications pattern are, fundamentally, associated with one of dispersed settlement, although the possibility of a nucleated settlement in Molland, that has been present since the beginning of the Middle Ages, cannot be discounted.

Moving away from the settlement pattern, the next two sub-sections look at the people who occupied the land: the owners and the tenants. The patterns that their respective holdings/leases create, coupled with the subsequent analysis of farm boundaries may be used to inform the debate about the correlation between the fieldscape characterisation and the Domesday record.

Land Ownership and Occupancy

Ownership

At the time of Domesday there were two manors recorded in Molland that are both recorded as 'Molland' (Appendix 1). The larger of the two was retained by the King, but there is no record of a sub-tenant of the manor at that time; its later descent records William *de Boterell* purchasing the King's manor (DB 1,41), and this is now referred to as Molland *Bottreaux* (Thorn & Thorn 1985a & b; Lysons 1822, 346). The second manor was much smaller, probably a tenth of the size (but see discussion below) and was held by the Bishop of Coutances (DB 3,61) as tenant-in-chief but, again, no sub-tenant is listed. This descent can be traced through Robert *de Campbell*, holding it of the Honour of Barnstaple and generating the names *Champeleston* and Molland *Champeaux*, and it is this latter name by which the manor is generally called in the later records (Thorn & Thorn 1985 a & b; Lysons 1822, 347) (Figure 8.13). The Lysons complete tracing

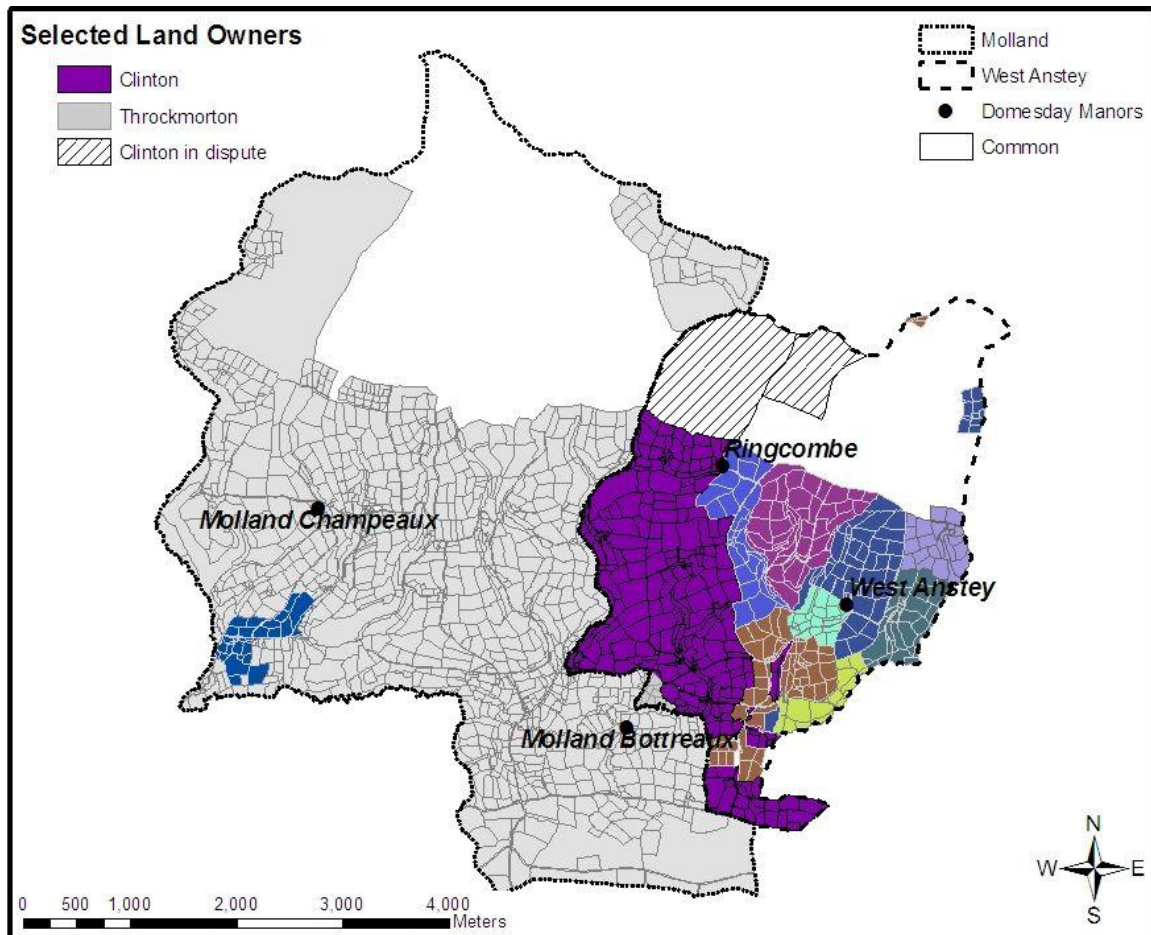


Figure 8.13. Land ownership in Molland and West Anstey ca. 1840. Throckmorton was the dominant land owner in Molland but only had a small holding in West Anstey (just north of Molland Bottreaux). West Anstey shows an interesting pattern with Lord Clinton owning the western 'half' while eight other landowners share the eastern portion between them.

the descents of these manors, recording them as being held by Throckmorton (Molland *Bottreaux*) and Courtney (Molland *Champeaux*) ca. 1822 (Hoskins states that this Courtney line died out in 1732) (Lysons 1822, 347; Hoskins 1952b, 347). *Circa* 1840 we know that Throckmorton owned virtually the entirety of Molland, presumably having bought/inherited the Courtney holding recorded by Lysons.

West Anstey presents a more complex record, with no less than four manors being recorded in 1086 as 'Anstey'. Thorn and Thorn (1985b, notes) place the two manors of which Earl Hugh was tenant-in-chief in the parish of East Anstey,

leaving those of the Bishop of Coutances (DB 3,62) and of Baldwin (DB 16,78) as the two 'Anstey' manors that were in West Anstey. To these two should be added the manor of *Ringedone* (DB 16,79), that is now Ringcombe, in the north of the parish; this was also held by Baldwin the Sheriff. Once again, the occupier of the manor held by Coutances is not recorded, but both the Sheriff's manors were occupied by Ansger (Thorn & Thorn 1985 a & b). Pole records the descent of both West Anstey and Anstey Reigni, but no further than ca. 1635, when he died (Pole 1791, 419-420). This is unfortunate, as the Lysons only record a singular descent for West Anstey, which establishes Lord Clinton as the 'ultimate' holder ca. 1822 (Lysons 1822, 11), and thereby, through the tithe apportionment, ca.1840.

In West Anstey, ca. 1840, Lord Clinton was the dominant landowner, among ten people with significant holdings, and he also claimed part of the common, although this was in dispute (Figure 8.13). It is interesting to note that Throckmorton also held land in West Anstey, where he had the smallest holding of the ten significant owners. It had been anticipated that, by inspection of this ownership pattern, it would be possible to identify the locations of the two West Anstey Manors (DB 3,62 & 16,78); the third manor, Ringcombe (DB 16,79), can be placed at the site of the modern East Ringcombe Farm (Gover *et al.*1932, 336). The location of the glebe and the church, in and around West Anstey 'village', suggests that one of the manors was probably located here, but was this West Anstey or Anstey Reigni? The descent traced above suggests that Lord Clinton was the holder of West Anstey Manor ca. 1840, and yet he held no land in the east of the parish, in particular in the vicinity of the 'village'; this would suggest that Anstey Reigni should be identified as the manor that should have been situated, with the church, in West Anstey 'village' (Figure 8.14). It may be pertinent, however, to note that, that portion of the common that was 'held' by Lord Clinton but which was in dispute can be identified, on the OS maps, as Anstey Rhiney [sic], occupying the western side of that part of Exmoor that is in the parish, and it was on that side that Clinton had his extensive landholding.

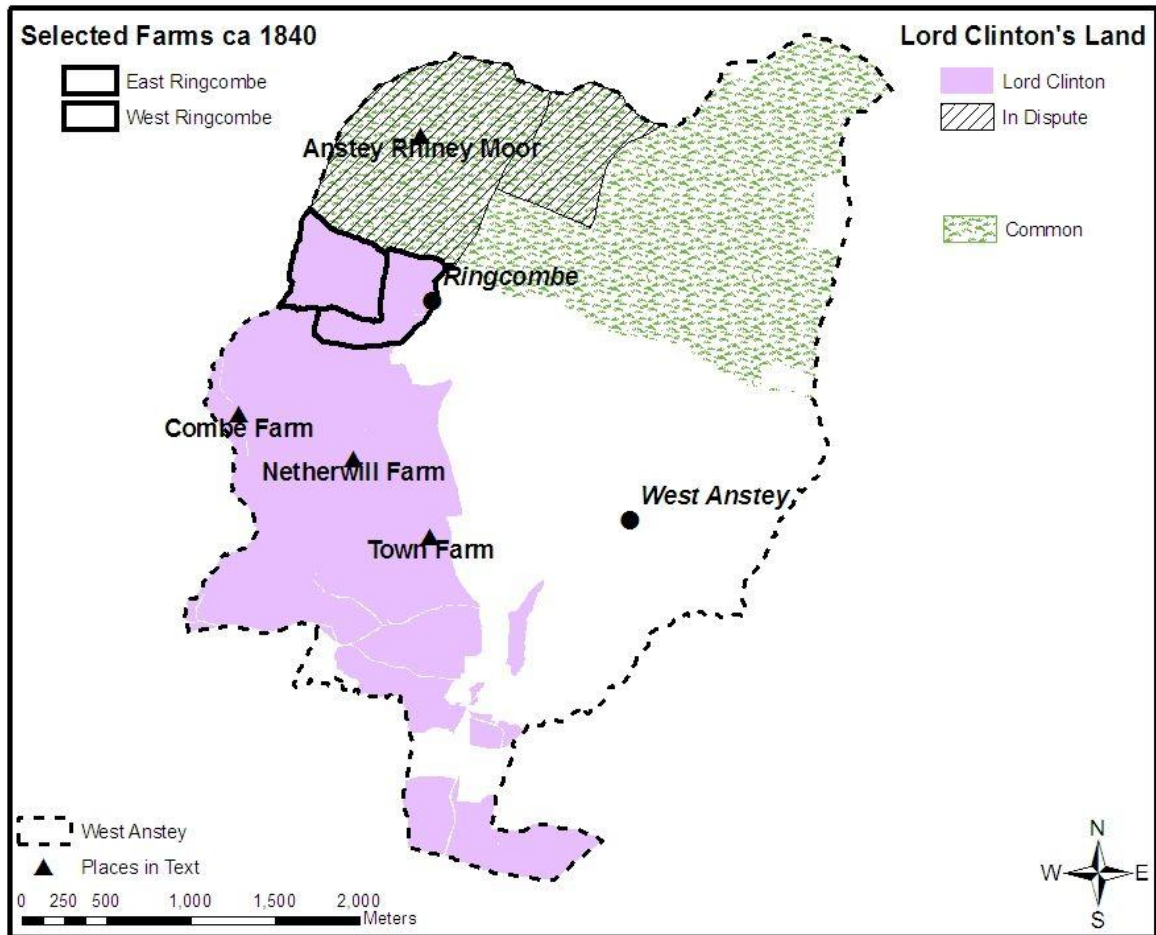


Figure 8.14. Where were the West Anstey Domesday Manors? Ringcombe is a given, while one of the two manors named for West Anstey should have been located at West Anstey, alongside the church – but which and where was the other manor?

Scrutiny of the tithe apportionment shows that Clinton also held both East and West Ringcombe Farms – this implies that the two manors held by Baldwin in 1086 (DB 16,78 & 16,79) had been combined to form the estate that descended to Lord Clinton. If this was the case, then it was, indeed, the larger of the two West Anstey Manors that was situated in the west of the parish, and the smaller that gave its name to West Anstey 'village'. Apart from East and West Ringcombe (1086 and 1291 respectively), there are three other farms on Clinton's land that have been dated to the Middle Ages - Town Farm (1428), Netherwill (1428) and Combe (1333) (all dating EPNS) – one of these may

represent the original 'missing' Domesday manor. The above discussion, however, does not properly address the question of Anstey Reigni. The problem appears insoluble and, rather than select a Clinton farm at random, it has been decided to let West Anstey church represent the location of *both* manors. We now move on to look at the occupancy pattern.

Occupancy (Figures 8.15 and 8.16)

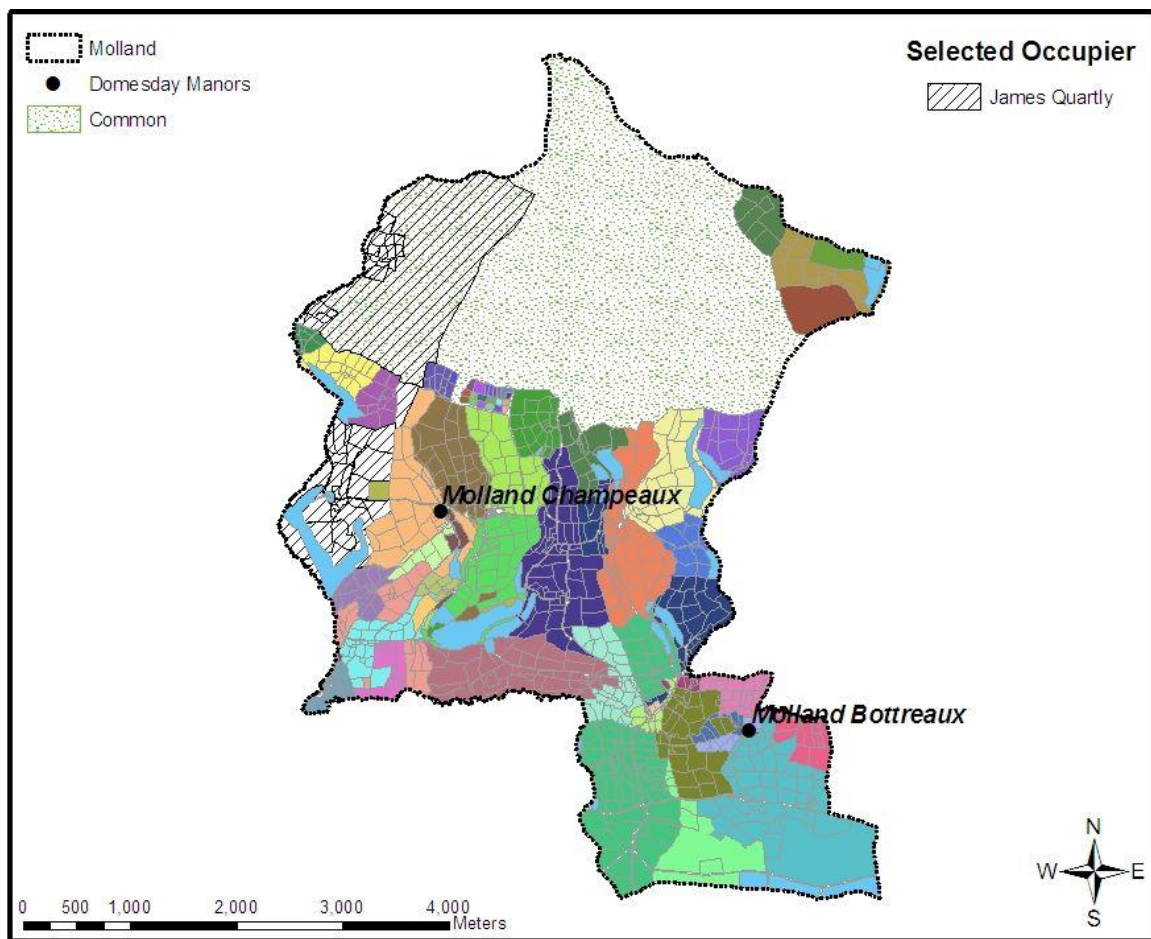


Figure 8.15. Molland: land occupancy ca. 1840. The map displays the land occupied by those tenants who leased more than three pieces of land (ranging from cottages and gardens, through individual fields to multiple fields). The pattern is one of contiguous blocks with a few fragmentary holdings.

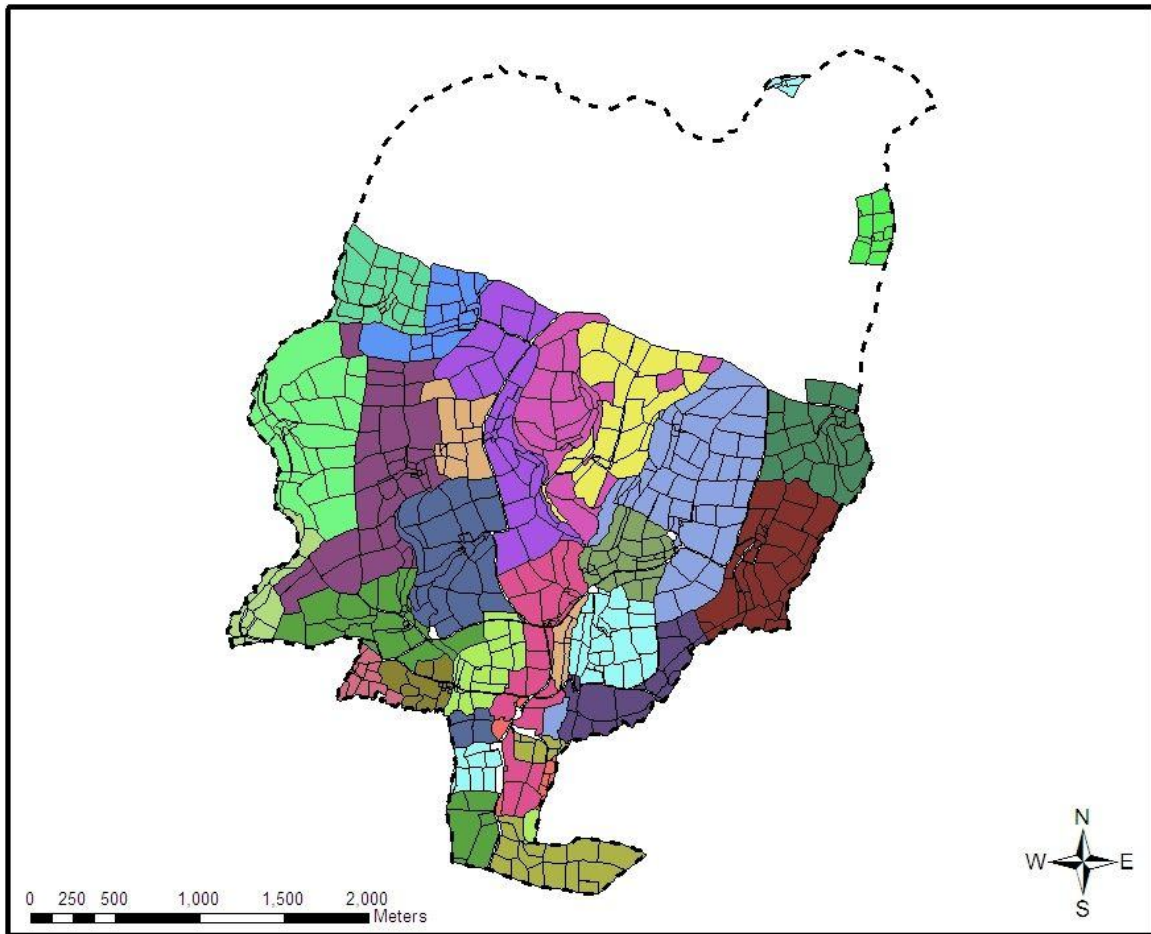


Figure 8.16. West Anstey: land occupancy in 1840. The map displays the land occupied by those tenants who leased more than three pieces of land (ranging from cottages and gardens, through individual fields to multiple fields). Once again the pattern is one of contiguous blocks with a few fragmentary holdings.

It is interesting to note that that while Lord Clinton was in dispute over his 'ownership' of moorland in West Anstey (Figure 8.14), Throckmorton had no such problem in Molland. The holding of James Quartly, owned by Throckmorton, has been singled out in Figure 8,15 to display the, presumably undisputed, ownership of part of the moorland.

The land occupancy pattern of the two parishes was, as one would expect, more diverse than that of ownership, and in both parishes there were a lot of tenants who were occupying more than three pieces of land (this includes cottages,

gardens and other small pieces). There is very little evidence in either parish for fragmentation of land holding, and this should be reflected in the pattern of the farms, which is discussed next.

Farm Boundaries (Figure 8.17)

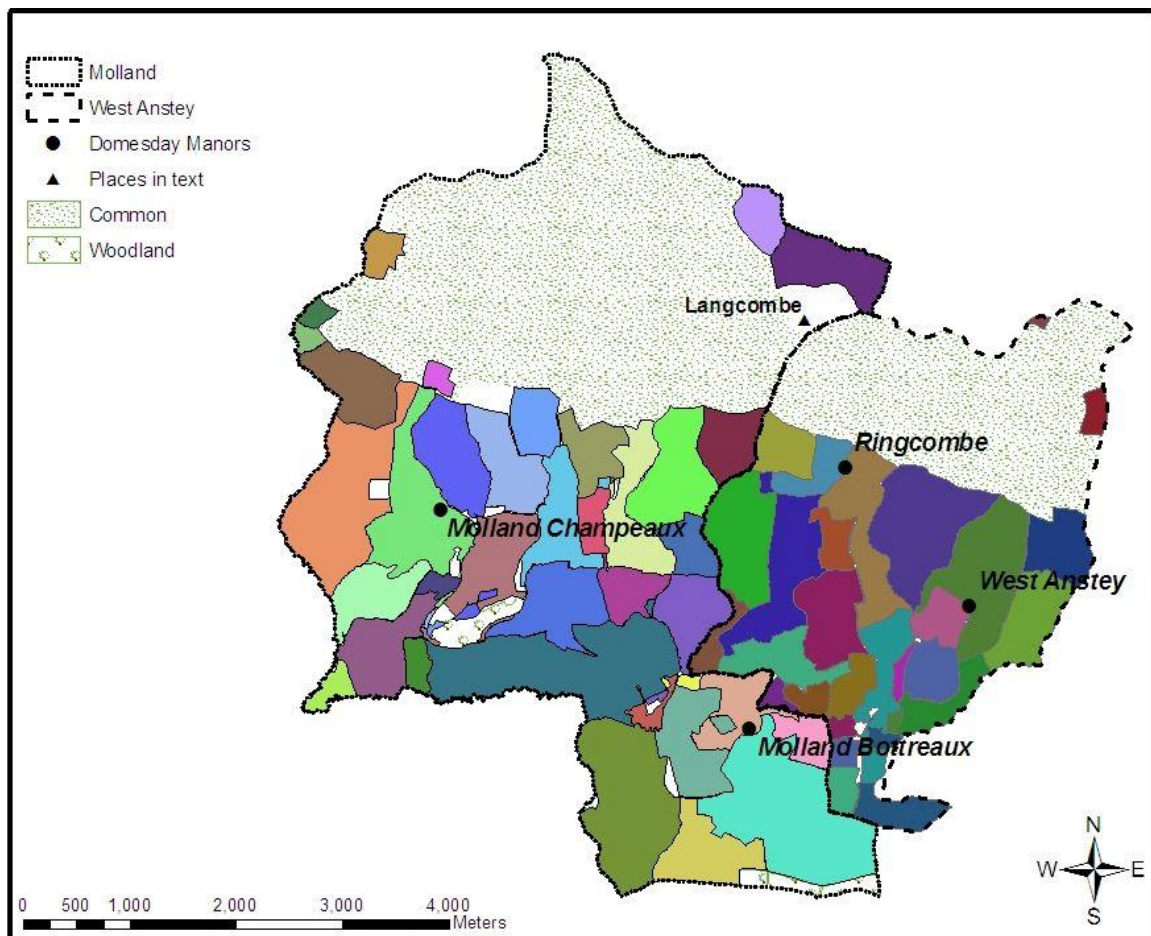


Figure 8.17. The pattern of the farms of both parishes. The white areas represent fragmentary holdings/tenements. The former Langcombe Farm had, by ca. 1840, become nothing more than a large area of pasture that had been leased out. The 'white' areas in the southern, occupied parts of the parishes have had woodland overlaid on them, this is because the major land owners displayed a preference for retaining the woodland and, by including these woods it highlights the fact that there was very little fragmentation in either parish.

An alternate view of the ownership and occupancy patterns can be obtained through consideration of the pattern created by the farms themselves. Reconstruction of the farms of the two parishes, from the data in the tithe apportionments, was facilitated by the presence of legends upon both the tithe maps in this case study. There is a strong similarity between the pattern of occupancy and that of the farms, which is only altered when a tenant (single occupancy block) held two or more contiguous farms. It can be seen, from the morphology of the ownership, occupancy and farm patterns, that there is no evidence within either parish for the former existence of extensive blocks of open fields or arable land that was worked in common.

We turn now to the fieldscape analysis, that part of the map regression that concentrates upon the field morphologies, attempting to identify the core farmland. The map produced through this process will be combined with the settlement pattern to produce a tentative Domesday map of the parishes.

Fieldscape Analysis

This analysis will follow the same three stages that have been used in all the other case studies.

Fieldscape Characterisation

There were no acts of parliamentary enclosure of common land in the parishes of Molland and West Anstey (Tate 1946b); some of the land, however, lies on Exmoor and was considered to be common ca.1840. This extensive common land was separated from the remainder of the regression process, being treated in an identical manner to the land enclosed by parliament, in the earlier case studies (Figure 8.18). As usual the initial characterisation attempts to identify any field that may be determined to have been regular, where this is defined as having one, or more, straight sides, and it is in the second, rationalisation phase, that the 'true' nature of the fields is determined.

Fieldscape Rationalisation (Figures 8.19 and 8.20)

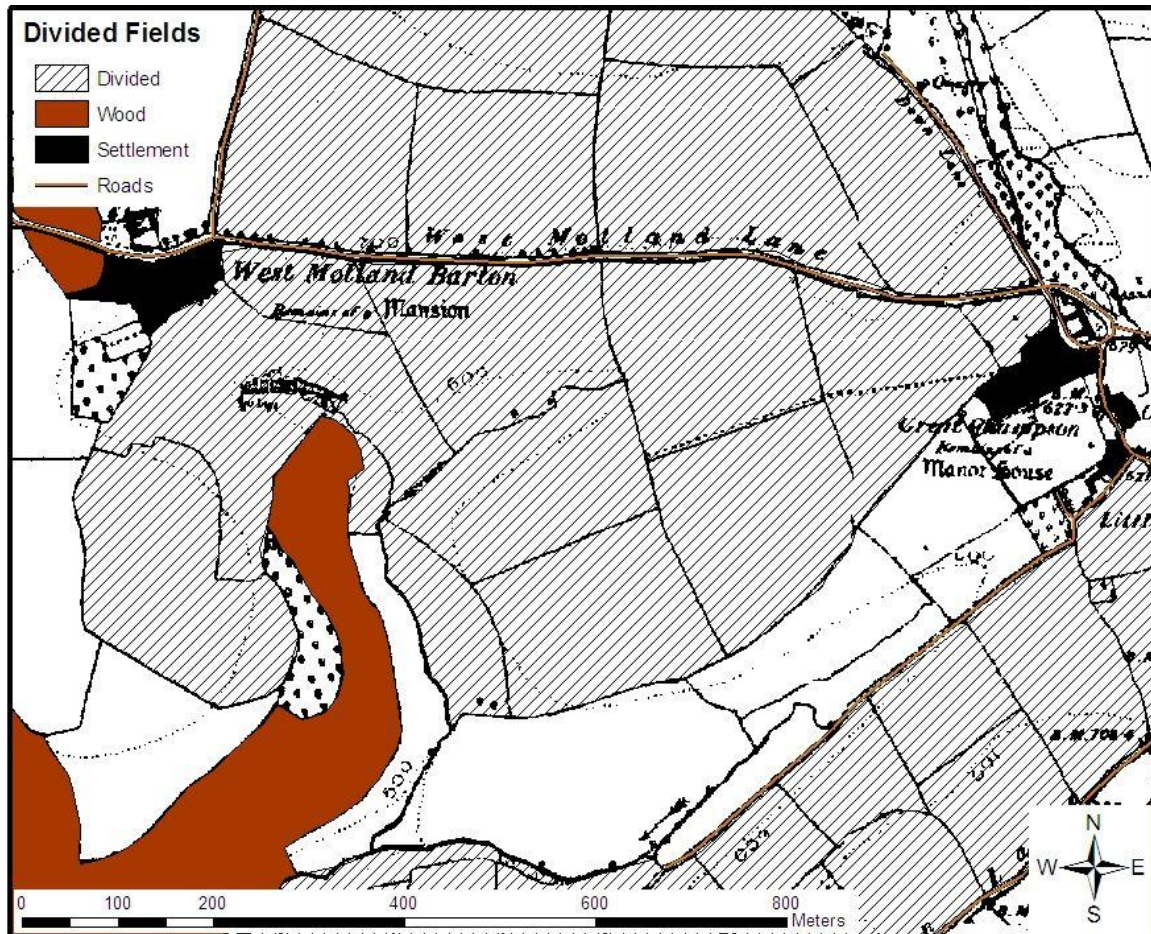


Figure 8.20. Fieldscape rationalisation in Molland. One complete divided field is shown, and part of three others. The teardrop shape in the centre of the figure is the original large irregular enclosure that has been divided by a series of fields, several of which were characterised 'regular'. While the field is defined by a continuous boundary, contiguous with the road in the north, the 'intrusion' of some woodland in the south-west confuses the definition of this part of the field.

The process followed here is similar to that followed in the pilot Historic Landscape Characterisation of Cornwall, a 'bottom-up' approach starting with individual fields and expanding to establish parcels of land whose fieldscape character is the same (Herring & Johnson 1997). In this case study, during the second stage of the map regression, it was possible to identify several fields whose apparent regularity stemmed from the sub-division of much larger enclosure (Figure 8.20). The rationalisation process, therefore, engendered

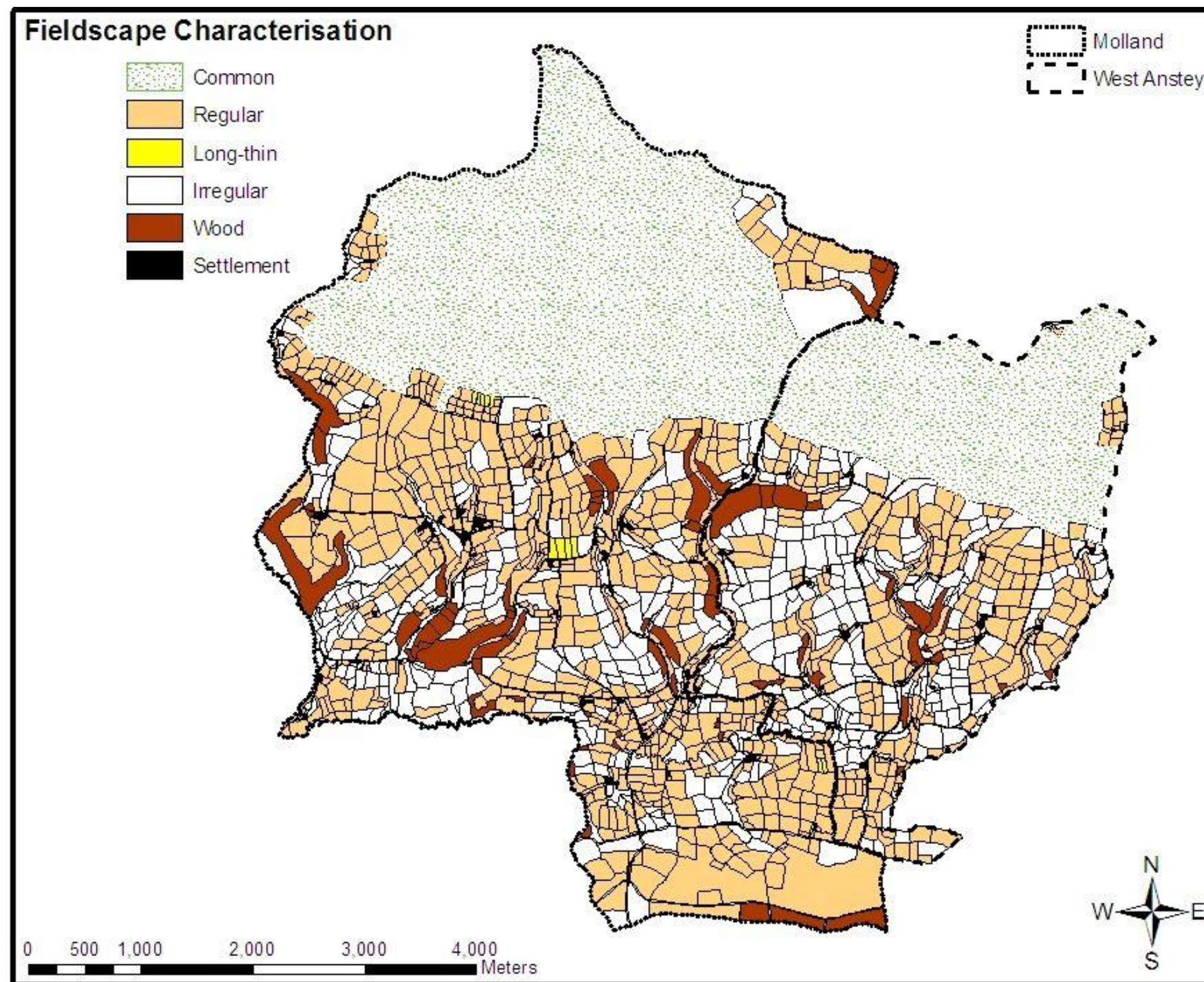


Figure 8.18. The fieldscape characterisation in Molland and West Anstey determines whether the fundamental shape of each field is irregular, regular or long-thin. Fields known to be 'common' in 1840 are excluded from this process, being assumed to have been common from at least the beginning of the medieval period.

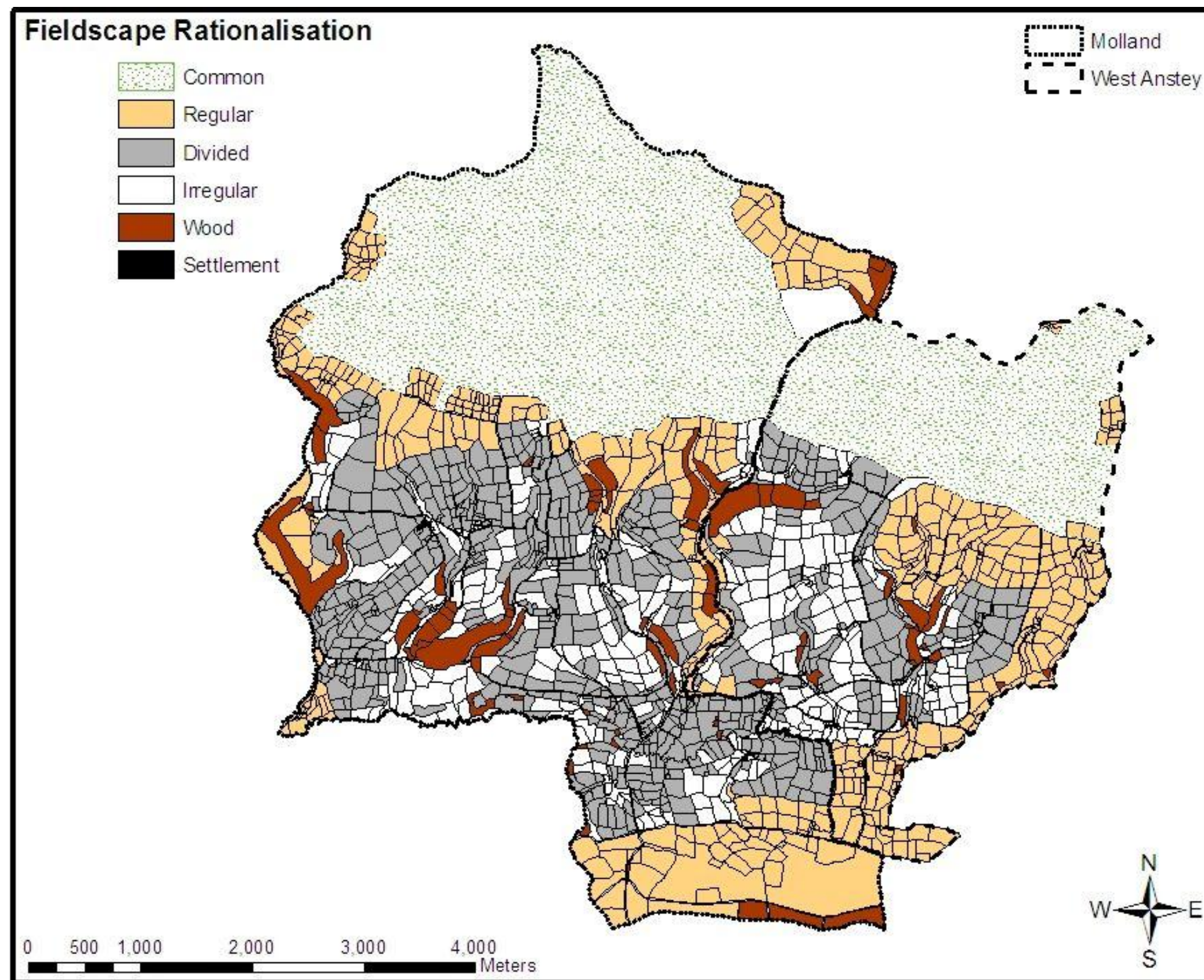


Figure 8.19. The fieldscape rationalisation in Molland and West Anstey. After this phase it is possible to start to identify the core farmland, and to note the extent that this approaches the moorland of Exmoor.

considerable change within the central part of both parishes, in the land lying along the River Yeo and up the northern slopes towards the moorland of Exmoor (Figure 8.19).

Finberg (1952, 282) cites an 1820 map of Molland that shows 'groups of fields divided into strips' that are 'dotted about the parish' but, he states that these are not present on the tithe map. Unfortunately, Finberg does not provide an adequate reference for this map, and it cannot be recognised in the Record Office, nor is it included in either of the Ravenhill and Rowe works (Ravenhill & Rowe 2002; 2010). There are two small groups of possible long-thin fields on the tithe map, some of which were still evident on the 6" OS mapping, ca. 1885 (Figure 8.21). In spite of the initial characterisation, closer scrutiny suggests that none of these fields have the correct morphology – their sides are not straight enough, or the curve is incomplete and turns the wrong way. The reader will also remember that there was no evidence of either fragmentary ownership or occupancy in either parish, and it will be no surprise to discover that the long-thin fields all belong to compact farm units. Both these groups of long-thin fields have been re-characterised as being part of former, larger, irregular enclosures that have been re-divided, and they are not considered, on their own, to be representative of earlier open fields.

Fieldscape Interpretation (Figure 8.22)

A high number of fields in both parishes were initially identified as regular in shape (see Chapter 3 for discussion). Many of these fields lie on, or are contiguous with, the higher ground in both the north and the south, or are peripheral to the parishes. Location, topography and their presence upon the poorer soils has led to these being interpreted as unenclosed, not part of the local, core farmland. Those that are more centrally placed, enjoying the better soils of the study area, may, in many instances, be grouped together, in a manner similar to that discussed for the long-thin fields above, to create former,

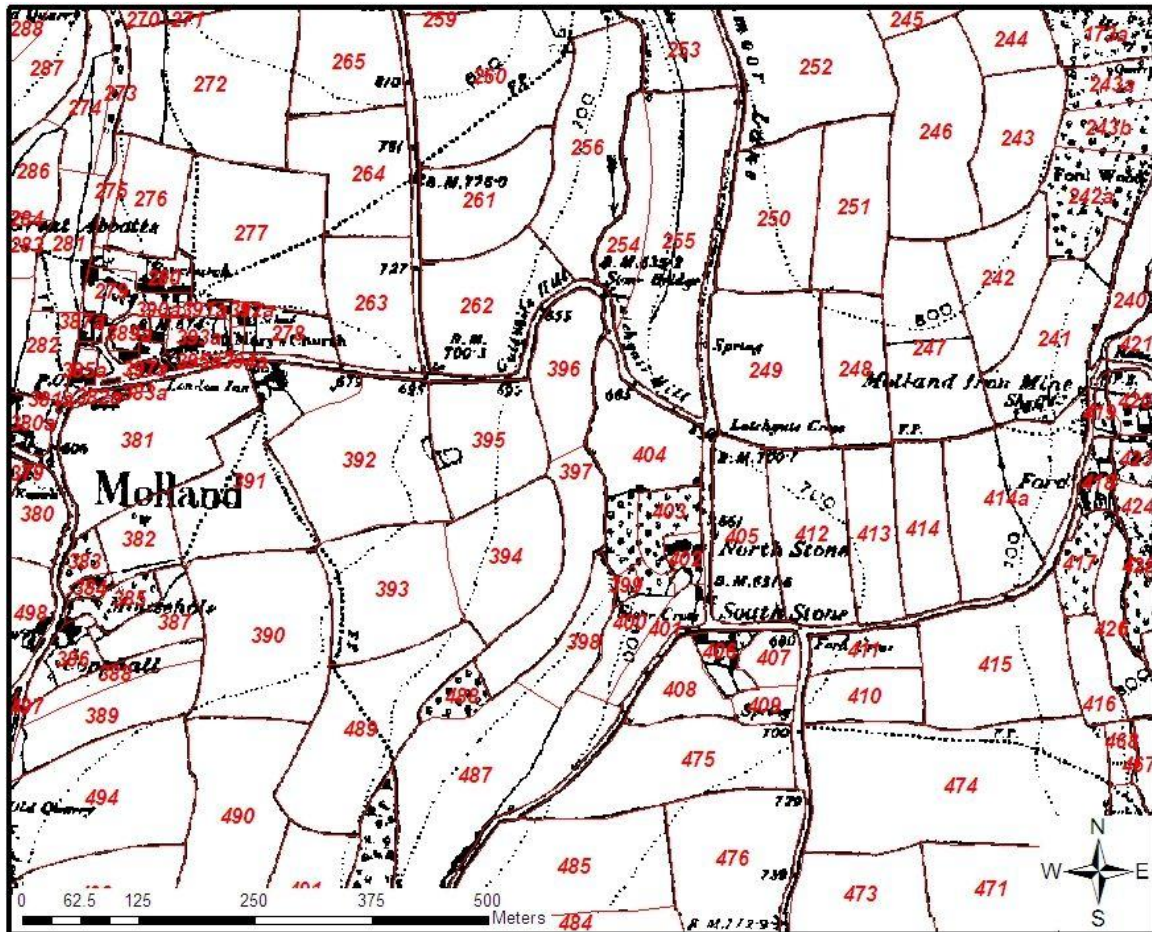


Figure 8.21. One of the two groupings of long-thin fields in Molland. Field numbers 405, 412, 413 and 414 lie immediately to the north of South Stone (centre picture). Their morphology does not properly 'fit' that expected from the enclosure of ploughed strips. Additionally, it is possible to identify a field boundary that surrounds these fields (encompassing 414a as well) that indicates that the 'strip' fields were originally part of a larger, irregular enclosure and were not part of a former open field.

larger irregular enclosures. Elsewhere in the country it has been noted that large sheep pastures have been re-divided into smaller 'roughly rectangular' parcels to support increased emphasis on arable (Taylor 2000, 109-126) and this may be the case here, where the introduction of ley husbandry may have necessitated the creation of smaller enclosures to support the cropping cycle.

Having established the putative extent of the core farmland in the parishes of Molland and West Anstey, we will now explore the degree to which these 'maps'

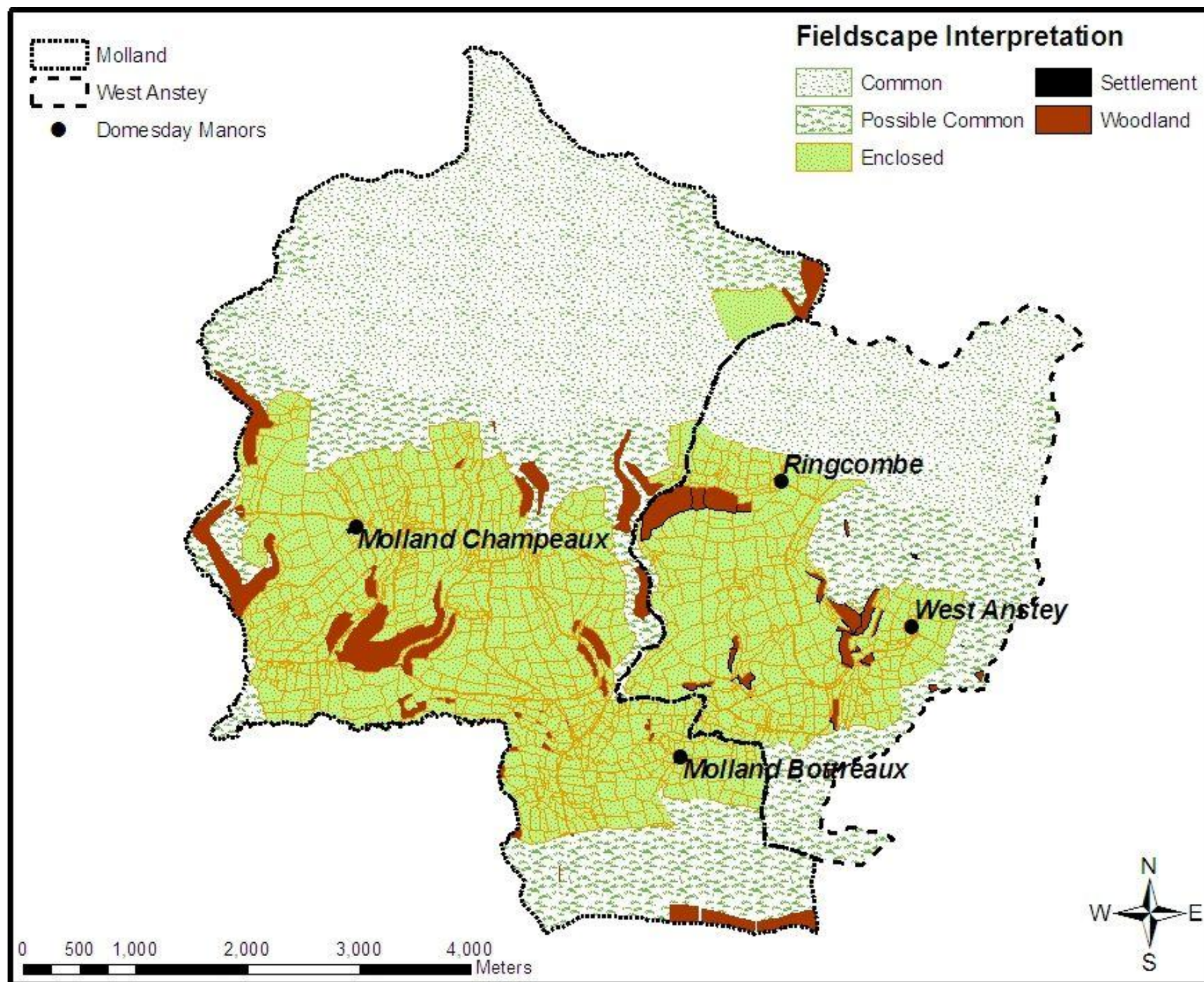


Figure 8.22. Fieldscape interpretation in Molland and West Anstey. The effect of the deterioration in soil quality that has been evident as the studies have moved away from the lowland floodplains has resulted in most of the higher ground of these two parishes being interpreted as possible common.

of settlement and farmland can be matched to the Domesday record. The next section will also see further discussion on the proposed placement of the manors of Molland.

Comparison with Domesday

The first part of this section will attempt to determine the extent to which the population recorded in 1086 may be ‘housed’ within the settlement and farm patterns that have been derived from the map regression, while the second will investigate the correlation between the derived extents for the core farmland and the interpretation of the Domesday metrics. In addition it is hoped to throw some further light on the probable whereabouts of the main manors of both parishes, in particular Molland *Bottreaux* and Molland *Champeaux*.

Domesday Population

This sub-section uses the modified Hoskins’ model (see Chapter 3) as a framework for populating the Domesday settlement pattern, and the results should be more robust than those of Hoskins’ work of some fifty years ago (Hoskins 1963, 29-43). Before ‘settling’ the villans it is intended to resolve the question about the location of the Molland manors.

The HER states that West Park, in southern Molland, is the site of a Norman bailey/earthworks and that this was the castle/defended settlement of the Bottreaux family (HER 12323). West Park is situated on the south bank of the River Yeo, one kilometre upstream from Bottreaux Mill and is considered to be the site of one of the original manor houses – Molland Bottreaux (Figure 8.23). The 6” OS Map, ca. 1885, records the ‘remains of a Mansion House’ and ‘the remains of a Manor House’, both to the west of Molland, also about one kilometre apart and collocated with West Barton Farm and Great Champson Farm, respectively. Hoskins (1952b, 346) records the last of the Molland Courneys,

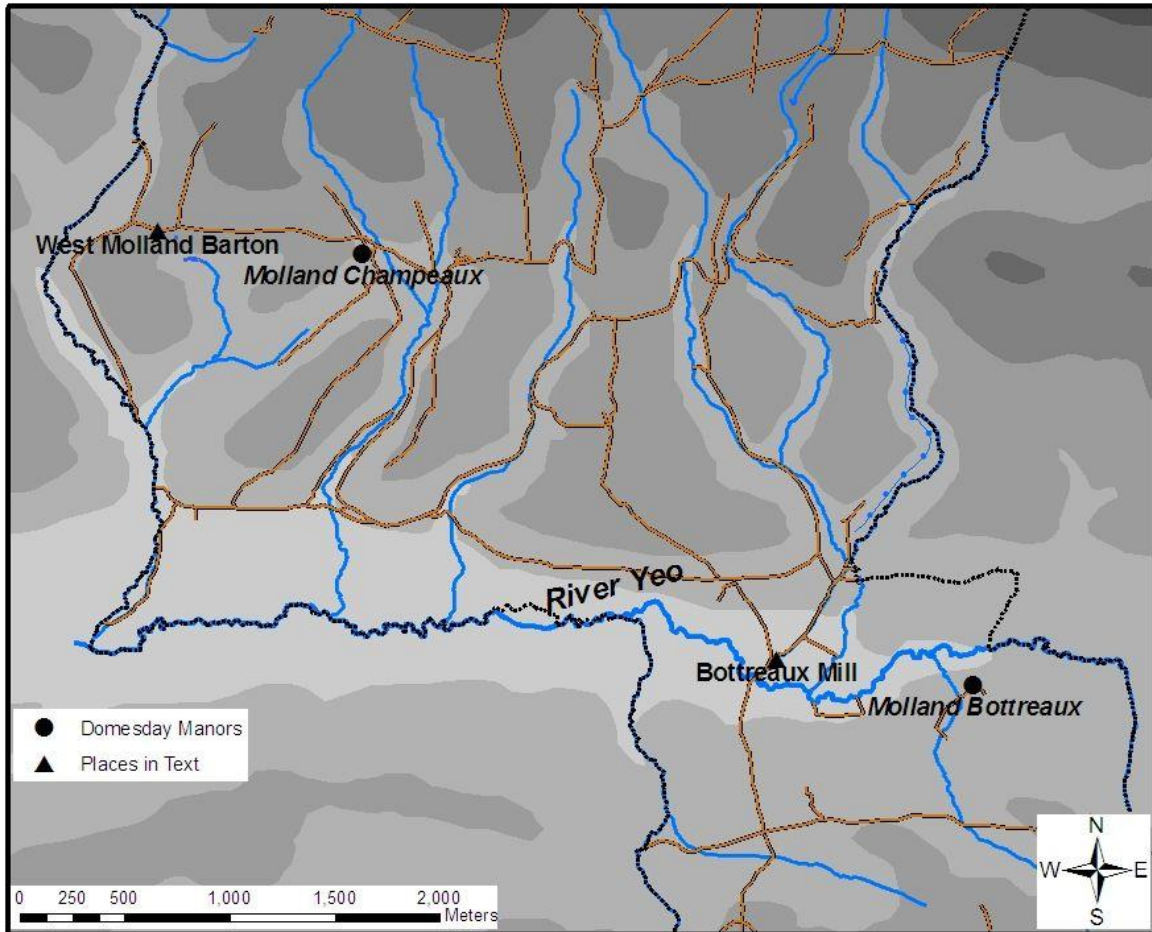


Figure 8.23. Molland Bottreaux and Molland Champeaux. Situated on rising ground between the River Yeo and a tributary, the probable location of Molland Bottreaux may have been one of the earliest sites to be occupied in that area.

the ultimate family in the descent of Molland *Champeaux*, as dying in 1732, while 'living in West Molland Barton'. In this latter case it would appear that the Courtneys moved their residence from the 'manor house' at Great Champson to the 'mansion' at West Barton, presumably in the 17th century (or earlier). Looking at the disposition of the manors, at the time of Domesday, it seems most probable that the King's manor, later known as Molland *Bottreaux*, was centred upon the Norman fortified site at West Park, while the Bishop's manor, later known as Molland *Champeaux*, was situated at the hamlet that has become Molland village. Speculation concerning the events that led to both Donn and the OS Surveyors recording Molland as Molland *Bottreaux* is not germane to this study of the landscape in 1086. It is interesting to note that, in both parishes, it

was the lesser manor that became the central place in the parish, being collocated with the church and giving its name to the 'village'. We turn now to the disposition of the villagers (Table 8.2).

Table 8.2. Population metrics drawn from Domesday for the parishes of Molland and West Anstey (Thorn & Thorn 1985a & 1985b).

Manor	Tenant-in-Chief	Holder	Villagers	Smallholders	Slaves
Molland Bottreaux (1,41)	The King	none	30	20	10
Molland Champeaux (3,61)	Coutances	none	3	4	2
Molland 'population' totals			33	24	12
Anstey (3,62)	Coutances	none	3	0	6
Anstey (16,78)	Baldwin	Ansger	7	45	7
Ringcombe (16,79)	Baldwin	Ansger	2	0	0
West Anstey 'population' totals			12	45	13

In Molland it is possible to identify nine farms whose origins can be traced back to the two hundred years after Domesday: Bommertown (1238), Great Champson (1281), Gatcombe (1238), Gourte (1270), Brimblecombe (1281), Langcombe (1270), Luckworthy (1287), Smallacombe (1244), Waterford (1281) and Park (1086) (all dating EPNS except Park HER 12323). Great Champson and Park have been identified as the probable sites of the two Domesday manors. The putative acreage of the remaining farms is listed at Table 8.3. While this methodology only generates sixteen probable villan 'plots', out of the 33 required it is considered that more confidence can be placed in this small 'allocation' since it only recognises known farms from the period 1086 - ca. 1287 and also ensures that the villans are not credited with a holding that is larger than is considered to be the norm. Was the 10 acre tenement at Waterford that of a

Table 8.3. The tithe farms and manors of Molland and West Anstey and their probable ability to ‘support’ villans.

Tithe Farm	Owner ca. 1840	Associated Domesday manor	‘Domesday’ acreage from map regression	Villans’ plots Note 1
Great Champson Park	Throckmorton	Molland Champeaux	187	2
East Gatcombe Luckworthy	Throckmorton	Unknown	38	1
Smallacombe	Throckmorton	Unknown	51	2
Gourte	Throckmorton	Unknown	32	1
Brimblecombe	Throckmorton	Unknown	57	2
Langcombe	Throckmorton	Unknown	33	1
Waterford	Throckmorton	Unknown	62	2
Bommertown	Throckmorton	Unknown	10	0
Total count of villans’ plots in Molland				137
East Ringcombe	Clinton	Ringcombe	62	5
West Ringcombe	Clinton	Ringcombe	37	1
Guphill	Binford	Unknown	119	4
Hill	Partridge	Unknown	60	2
Combined acreage Churchtown and Glebe:			171	0
Total count of villans’ plots in west Anstey				7

Note 1: When the probable size of lands associated with a manor exceeds 200 acres (a nominal demesne) the ‘extra’ land is determined to represent villans’ plots.

smallholder? Inspection of the map at Figure 8.24 identifies numerous possibilities for locating the ‘missing’ villan holdings, and some of these may be found amongst those farms known to have been in existence in the later Middle Ages.

A similar process in West Anstey reveals twelve villans whose settlement needs to be identified. Guphill (1281), Hill (1244) and West Ringcombe (1291) are the only farms whose existence is recorded in the two hundred years after Domesday (Gover *et al.* 1932, 336), but the boundaries of the later Glebe and Churchtown Farm have been included on Figure 8.25 to provide a reference for

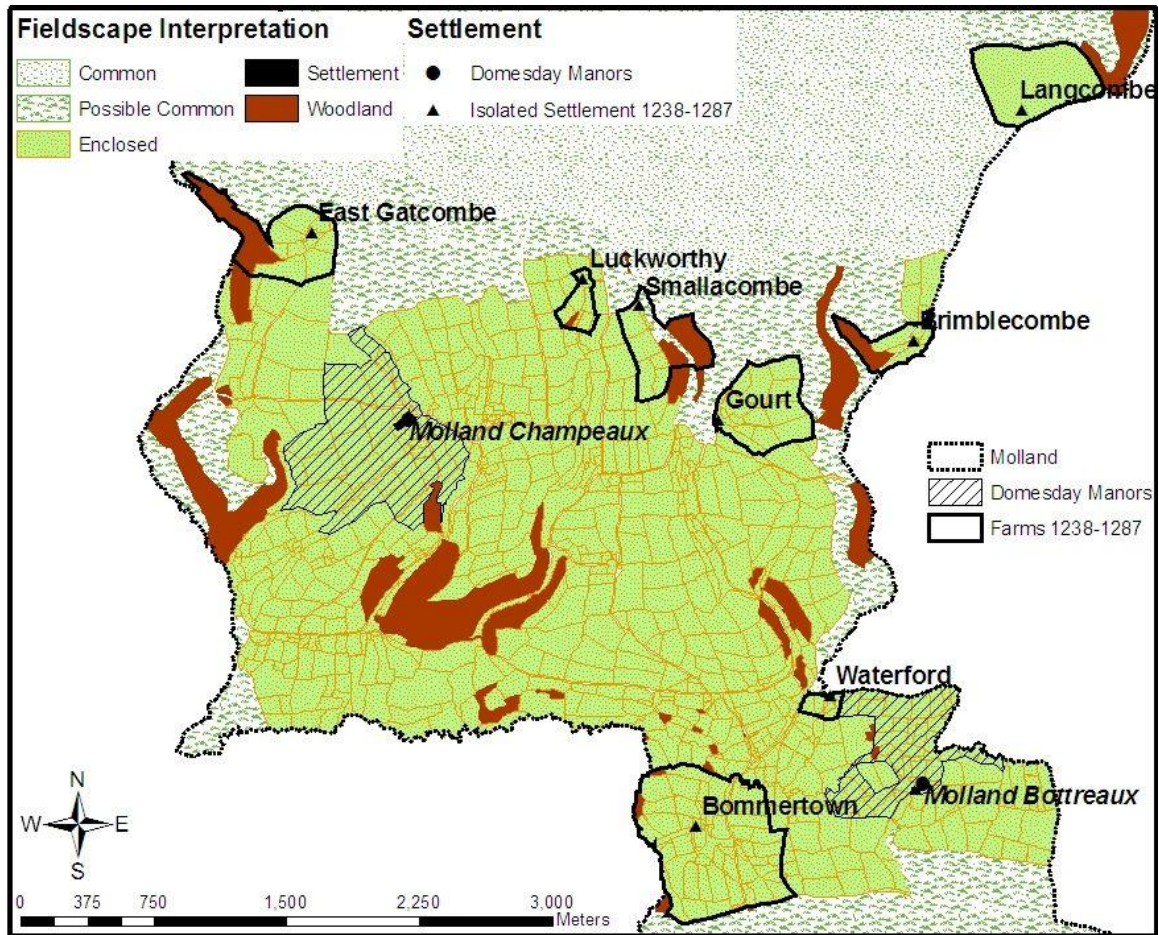


Figure 8.24. Settlement and a possible determination of the associated manor and farm boundaries in Molland, ca. 1287.

the smaller manor of West Anstey (DB 3,62). Allocating villans' plots to these early farms creates a probable seven tenements and, once again, the count is low, but inspection of the map reveals several possibilities for their settlement, especially in the west of the parish. In both parishes, it has proved to be impossible to determine which farms may have started as the satellite tenement of which manor.

This alternative methodology may also be employed to identify possible hamlets within the settlement pattern. In Molland, these may have existed at: Bommertown, Gourte, Langcombe and Luckworthy. While in West Anstey, Guphill and Hill are both possible early hamlets. The identification of these possible hamlets allows another small 'add-back' to the settlement pattern, which

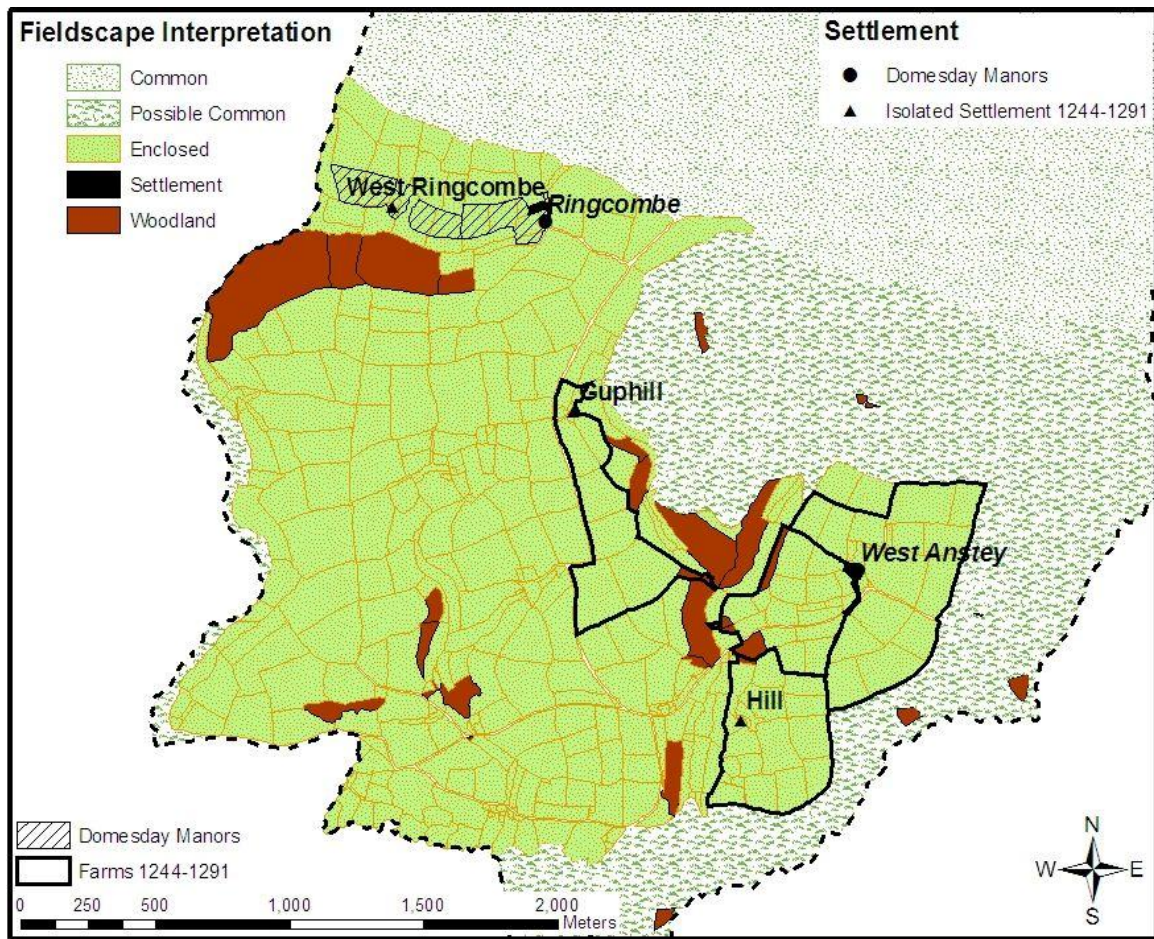


Figure 8.25. Settlement and associated farm boundaries in West Anstey, ca. 1291.

will be carried over to the final map. We will now look at the second check, the comparison of acreage in 1086 with that derived from the fieldscape interpretation.

Domesday Agricultural Land

The extent of pasture recorded in both parishes at Domesday is enormous, when compared with the preceding case studies. The resultant proposed Domesday measurements of the size of each parish are 13090 acres (Molland) and 2919 acres (West Anstey) (both assuming 90 acre ploughland) (Table 8.4). In both cases these figures far exceed the acreages of core farmland generated by the map regression (2895 acres - Molland, 1354 acres – West Anstey), and, in the

case of Molland, it also exceeds the tithe measurement of the parish (6168 acres); the implication being that Molland parish has shrunk to less than half its Domesday size!

The amount of pasture recorded in West Anstey in 1086 was 1512 acres, while the extent of the common, on the moorland, *ca.*1840 was 1202 acres; it may be that the Domesday record for pasture includes this moorland. Recorded as 9702 acres, it is clearly the Domesday acreage of pasture that is 'skewing' the figures for Molland, however, in this case there is no close comparison with the quantity of moorland, 2178 acres, that was recorded *ca.*1840. While the possibility of erroneous measurement in Molland, at the time of Domesday, cannot be ruled out, it is most probable that, given that this large amount of pasture belonged to the King's manor (DB 1,41), the 9702 acres included a large extent of what became the Royal Forest of Exmoor, and was beyond the, then, future boundaries of Molland parish. A 1675 'map' of the Royal Forest indicates that Molland Common was part of the Forest (Riley & Wilson-North 2001, 91; Figure 4.5), but it is difficult to determine how much (Figure 8.26).

If the assumption that the large extents of pasture in both parishes include the common moorland is correct, then it may be possible to proceed with a comparison, acknowledging the potential for increased error in the results. It would be safest to 'add back' the tithe assessed extent of common land, thereby approximating a like-for-like comparison and this can be achieved in West Anstey. In the case of Molland, where the extent of pasture far exceeds the tithe measurement of common moorland, this is not possible and the best solution involves removing the Domesday pasture from those metrics – this of course, may well be removing pasture that was not on the moor and which was enclosed in 1086. The resultant final measurements, for West Anstey, are a core farmland estimate of 2556 acres (includes common land on the moor) against a Domesday assessment of 2499 (60 acre ploughland) or 2919 acres (90 acre ploughland). In Molland the core farmland figure is 2895 acres, against 2698½ and 4018½

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Figure 8.26. The Royal Forest of Exmoor, 1675. Land labelled 'Molland Common' is included in the Forest, it is situated just above Molland parish, which is located just left of centre at the bottom of the map (PRO E112/389 f.269 portrayed in Riley & Wilson –North 2001, Figure 4.5).

acres (60 and 90 acre ploughland respectively). By what can only be seen as a coincidence the revised figures suggest that both parishes used a local ploughland of 65 acres. Given the *ledger de main* necessary to achieve this comparison, it is safest to state that the result of the comparison is that, in both parishes, there is a suggestion that the local size of a ploughland was smaller than 90 acres.

Table 8.4. Domesday entries for different land-uses in the five manors that comprise the parishes of Molland and West Anstey. The minimum and maximum extents of the manors and parishes have been calculated using 60 acres as the minimum size of a ploughland and 90 acres as the maximum.

Manor	Original Domesday Figures and units (note 1)				Domesday Figures converted to statute acres (see Chapter 3 for conversion criteria)				Putative Domesday manor extents (statute acres) (note 2)		(note 5)	
	Arable (ploughlands)	Meadow	Pasture	Wood	Arable min/max (note 3)	Meadow	Pasture (note 4)	Wood	Min manor area	Max manor area	Tithe assessment of parish size	Thesis assessment of 'ancient' enclosure
Molland Bottreaux (1,41)	40 (3) (note 6)	12 acres	3 leagues by 3 leagues	15 acres	2400/3600	12	9072	15	2427 (207) (notes 6 & 7)	3627 (237) (notes 6 & 7)		
Molland Champeaux (3,61)	4 (1) (note 6)	1 ½ acres		30 acres	240/360	1 ½		30	271 ½ (91½) (note 6)	391 ½ (121½) (note 6)		
Molland Totals	44	13 ½ acres	3 leagues by 3 leagues	45 acres		13 ½	9072	45	11770 ½ (2698½) (note 5)	13090 ½ (4018½) (note 5)	6168	2895
West Anstey (3,62)	3 (2) (note 6)	1 acre	1 league by ½ league	20 acre	180/270	1	504	20	201 (141) (notes 6 & 7)	291 (201) (notes 6 & 7)		
West Anstey (16,78)	9 (2) (note 6)	6 acres	1 league by 1 league	120 acres	540/810	6	1008	120	666 (246) (notes 6 & 7)	936 (306) (notes 6 & 7)		
Ringcombe (16,79)	2				120/180				120	180		84 ½
West Anstey Totals	14	7 acres	1 league by 1 ½ leagues	140		7	1512	140	2499	2919	3009	1354 (2556)

- Notes:
1. Where Domesday records acres the precise size of these 'acres' is not known.
 2. The putative manor extent is calculated by adding the arable, meadow, pasture and wood figures (in statute acres) together – two totals are generated, one using the minimum arable calculation and the other the larger one.
 3. The minimum and maximum arable acreage is calculated by assuming that a ploughland in Devon was between 90 (maximum) and 60 (minimum) acres.
 4. Form factor of 0.7 applied to rectangular measurements.
 5. The figure in brackets represent adjustment to the totals necessitated by the apparent inclusion of common moorland in the Domesday pasture figures, see text for discussion.
 6. The figures in brackets are the number of ploughs 'in lordship', only the count of ploughlands and the eventual manor extents are listed.
 7. Figure in brackets represents demesne extent – less pasture.

The result of the gross check of acreages, relatively successful in all case studies to date, is less than satisfactory in this case study owing to apparently inflated measurements of pasture in both Molland and West Anstey. The more localised check of acreage against individual manors has also been complicated in this case study due to uncertainty over the correct siting of the two manors of Molland and the two in West Anstey. It has been, however, possible to compare the metrics for Ringcombe Manor (DB 16,79), in West Anstey. The calculated map regression acreage is 84 ½ acres against a Domesday estimate of between 120 and 180 acres. Once again, the manorial check generates a figure that is smaller than the Domesday estimates. A parallel, however, may be drawn with the results of the parochial check, owing to the fact that this result may support an argument in favour of the local ploughland being less than 90 acres in both parishes.

The Domesday Comparison – an Assessment

The proposed Domesday map of Molland and West Anstey (Figure 8.27) is the least satisfactory of the maps produced to date. Once again it has been necessary to include settlement data, from as late as 1291, in order to present a vestigial settlement pattern that extends beyond just the Domesday manors, and it must be noted that even that data can only be seen as minimal, or indicative at best. Similarly, it has not been possible to regress the road pattern at all and the data presented dates to ca.1840. In addition to these two caveats, which are generic to all the case study results to date, the results of the map regression in Molland and West Anstey have been further confounded by both the apparent inclusion of moorland as pasture in the Domesday record (resulting in a less than satisfactory comparison of acreage at a parochial level) and by difficulty in locating either of the West Anstey manors. Nevertheless, in Molland it has been possible to determine the possible location of 40% of the listed villans, while in West Anstey this figure rises to 80%. While these figures may not be as high as

one could achieve through application of the Hoskins model (Chapter 3), the methodology followed here is considered both to be more robust, and to have the potential to permit the identification of possible shrunken hamlets.

Summary

Located between two areas of high ground, Exmoor to the north and both Bommer Moor and New Moor to the south, the parishes of Molland and West Anstey suggest a remarkable degree of development by *ca.*1086, although there is evidence, from the pollen sequences, for continuing woodland clearance around that time. The establishment of Langcombe Farm, no later than 1270 (Gover *et al.*1932, 342-344), on the high moorland, bears witness to the level of exploitation experienced, within these parishes, from early times.

There is potential for confusion within the translation of Domesday whenever several manors with the same name are encountered. In this case study the incidence of 4 Ansteys has been resolved through placing 2 each in East Anstey and West Anstey parish (Thorn & Thorn 1985b). Unfortunately, the site of both these manors has been lost; that one was in West Anstey may be a given, and it may be possible to associate this manor with that held by the Bishop of Coutances in 1086. Certainly, the descent of the other manor, and the tithe map ownership pattern, combine to strongly suggest that Baldwin's manor lay in the western part of the parish, at an unknown location. Molland also enjoyed 2 manors but the siting of these in 1086 has been achieved with little difficulty, although the apparent juxtaposition of Molland *Bottreaux* recorded by both Donn (1965) and the 1" OS Surveyors, suggests that a change of ownership sometime after 1725 may have also occasioned a move of this manorial site.

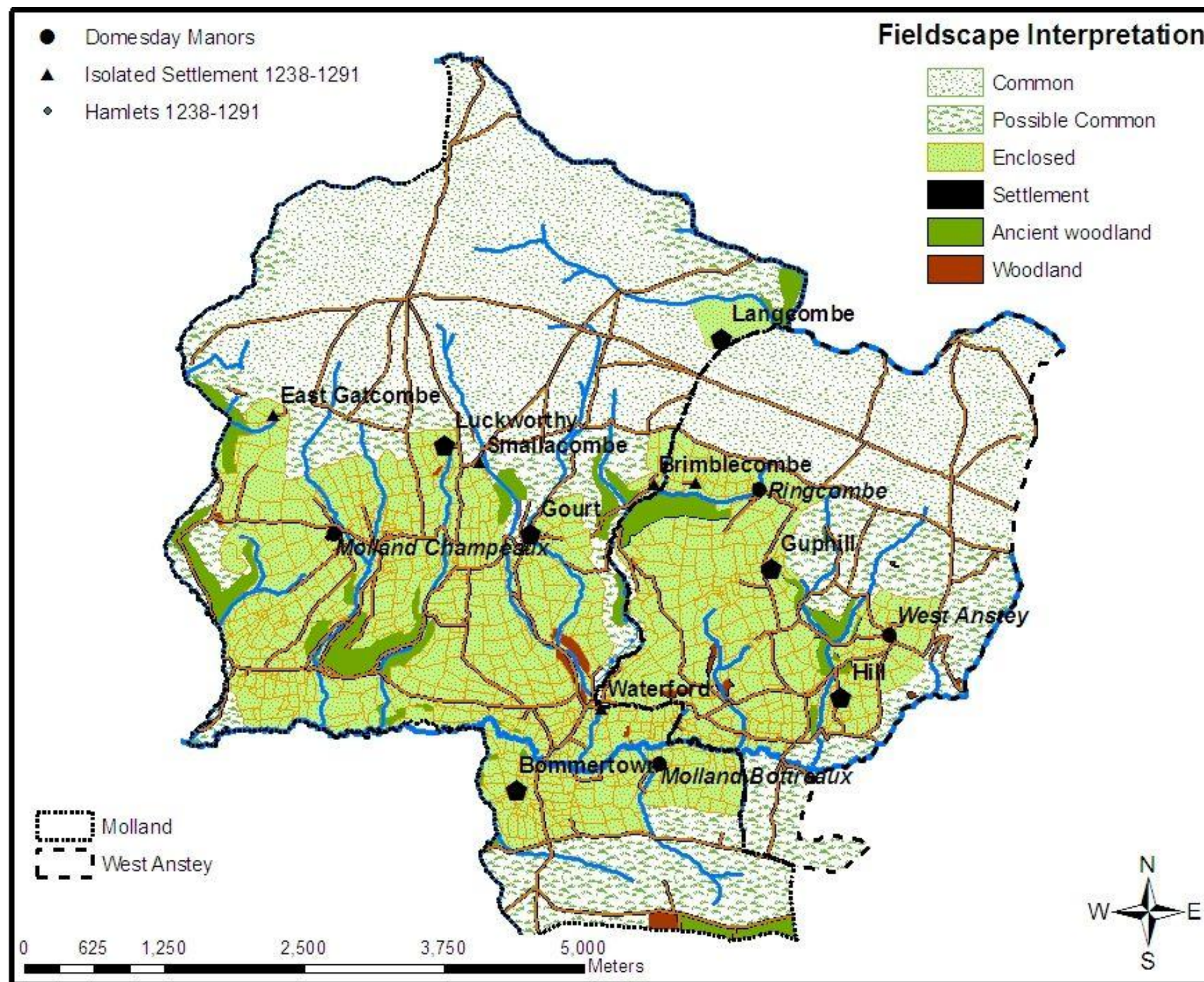


Figure 8.27. A possible representation of Molland and West Anstey ca. 1086. The five Domesday manors are the only settlement that can be dated to 1086 (two of which have had to be collocated in West Anstey). In Molland the remainder of the settlement pattern has been established using dwellings that can be dated to 1287 or earlier, while in West Anstey the additional buildings all date to 1291 or earlier. The road pattern is fundamentally that of ca. 1840 (ancient woodland after MAGIC 2010).

Evidence for the early exploitation of the high moors has already been cited and, while that site (Langcombe) no longer exists, the evidence from many other sites and sources suggests that attempts, some successful, to 'settle' on the moors have continued. Some of these settlements may have been very ephemeral, similar to that at Houndtor on Dartmoor which existed for only a century or so (Henderson & Weddell 1996, 120-125). In turn, the existence of medieval broad rig at Houndtor (Fleming 1996, 109-110), at a height of 325m OD (the same elevation as both Lyshwell and Langcombe), confirms an aspiration, if not a long-term ability, to cultivate cereals on the moorlands, although the longevity of this cropping is unknown.

The apparent inclusion of moorland in the Domesday record of pasture in both parishes has resulted in the comparison of parochial acreage derived from map regression with the Domesday metrics being less than satisfactory in this case study. Where it had been expected that evidence to support the anticipated reduction in the size of a local ploughland would be forthcoming, it has only been possible to suggest that reduction. Far more satisfying is the continued manner in which the allocation of villan 'plots' of 30 acres, or so, among farms whose existence can be dated to the 200 years immediately after Domesday, continues to identify possible shrunken hamlets while underlining the minimalist nature of that part of the map regression pertaining to settlement. It is possible to identify tracts of land where there may have been settlement, it is possible to prove a requirement for this settlement, but it is difficult to identify where the 'missing' settlement was. The obvious starting point, fields with settlement indicative field-names has, once again, offered up some possibilities but, without supporting evidence, only one of these was considered viable.

9

Discussion of Results

'Farmers were practical men, with little taste for aesthetics. When asked to admire an idyllic view over woods and fields, one old man said: "All I see is work".'

(Stanes 2005, 13).

Introduction

Having reported on the results of five case studies, looking at the field systems of selected parishes in Devon, it is now time to review the results of these studies. Using a combination of cartographic analysis and map regression techniques, this thesis has studied five pairs of parishes, attempting to determine if it is possible to identify the core farmland, the land that was enclosed ca. 1086, and the extent to which this can be verified through using the data in the Domesday Book. Before proceeding, however, it is intended to remind the reader of the varying environments in which these case studies have been cast.

Revolving around the parishes of Broadclyst and Poltimore, which were the subject of Case Study I, we have investigated two transects; one leading away to the east and north (Case Studies II and III) and the other proceeding to the north and west (Case Studies IV and V) (Figure 9.1). These parishes were selected on the basis of both geological and topographical difference, in order to ensure that a range of *pays* were investigated. This diversity has been achieved, in some

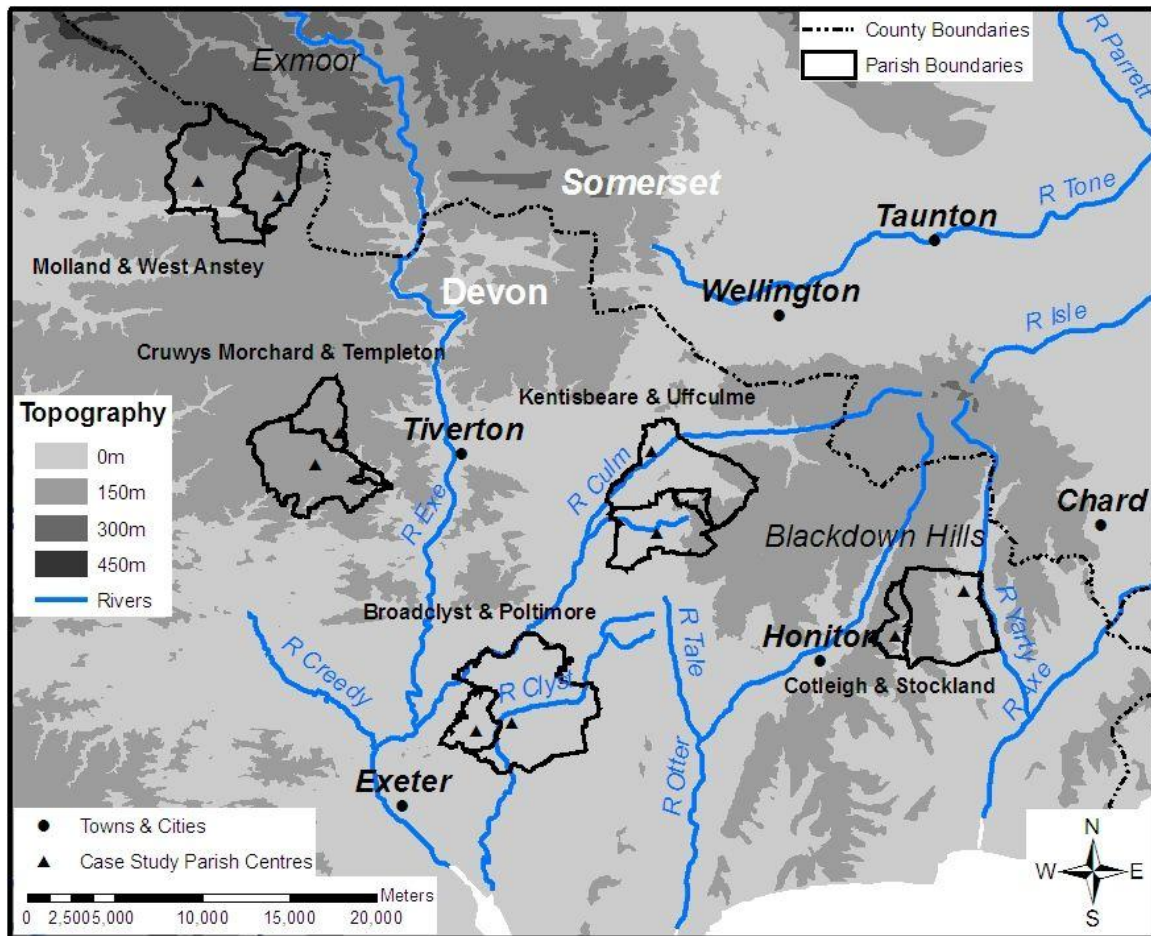


Figure 9.1. The parishes of the five case studies.

cases even between the parishes of a case study and, yet, there are also similarities to be found between the different case studies. We will start with the topography.

Broadclyst and Poltimore lie on the floodplains, principally of the Clyst, but also on those of the Culm in the north (Figure 4.2). Two areas of slightly higher ground are found; one in the north-east and the other, the south-west, and both of these are associated with a geology that is different to the bulk of the study area (Case Study I). Moving to the north-east, we investigated the parishes of Blackborough, Kentisbeare and Uffculme (CS II) (Figure 5.2). The northern part of Uffculme and the western part of Kentisbeare, lying on the floodplain of the

Culm, bore some similarities with Broadclyst and Poltimore, but the remainder of both parishes exhibited a different character as the ground rose steadily to the foot of the scarp of the Blackdown Hills, through a series of mini-plateaux. The final parish of Case Study II, Blackborough, sits atop the Blackdown Hills, and this marks the first time we encountered 'high' ground, although by comparison with Molland (CS V), Blackborough is not that high. Completing the first transect, we moved onto the top of the Blackdowns where we studied Cotleigh and Stockland (CS III). In a manner similar Blackborough, both Cotleigh and parts of Stockland (Figure 6.2), lie atop those hills, on a gently sloping ridge. In Stockland, in addition to the high ground of Stockland Hill and Horner Hill, the parish also 'tumbles' down the scarp and valley sides to the River Yarty, where it may be said to occupy a floodplain, although this is narrow and best set aside as meadow, rather than arable.

Returning briefly to Broadclyst and Poltimore, we set out to look at the topography of the second transect, moving to the north and west of Case Study I. The Culm Measures form a plateau of land that stretches across Mid and West Devon, from Tiverton to the coast in Cornwall, and which lies between Dartmoor and Exmoor. Cruwys Morchard lies on a slightly elevated part of this plateau, as does Templeton, just to the north, but the topography of this latter parish is determined more by the River Dart and a tributary which have carved their way down through the rocks to create two deeply incised valleys (Figure 7.2). There are similarities between the land on the plateaux that underlie both Cruwys Morchard and a large extent of Kentisbeare and Uffculme (CS II). Templeton is, in some ways, very similar to Stockland (CS III), high ground and river valleys, but in the former there is not the space to create the gently sloping valleys sides that form the bulk of the latter. The last case study (CS V) took us to the very fringes of Exmoor, indeed both Molland and West Anstey have land that is a part of that upland moor (Figure 8.2). Away from the moorland, the topography of both parishes remains similar, sloping down to the valley of the River Yeo, before rising again on the south bank of that river to climb up to the Culm Measures.

The sloping ground on both sides is truncated by numerous rivers that drain the higher ground. It is possible to draw similarities between Templeton (CS IV) and Stockland (CS III) through the valleys and sloping ground of these parishes and, in particular, between the narrow 'floodplains' of the Yeo, the Dart and the Yarty. There is, however, no comparison with the stretch of moorland that forms the northern extent of both parishes. Those who know these moorlands will not be surprised to find that the last topographical feature to be observed is another river valley, that of Danes Brook, which is one of many such valleys that divide the moors and may be characterised by the steeply sloping sides of a deeply incised river. Danes Brook forms the northern boundary of both Molland and West Anstey and marks the end of the second transect.

In spite of the deliberate selection of the case study areas on the basis of difference in topography, it has been possible to discover similarities between the parishes which may be associated with movement away from the floodplains onto higher ground. In a similar manner it is possible to identify some similarities in the geology, but this is caused more by the proximity of some parishes and an 'overlap' of the geology. Broadclyst and Poltimore (CS I) share much of their geological character with most of Kentisbeare and Uffculme (CS II) (Figures 4.4 and 5.5) but, in the parishes of the first case study there are also 'outcrops' of the rock formations of the Culm Measures, which are encountered in the later case studies. Similarly, the geology of the parishes of Case Study II becomes identical to that of Cotleigh and Stockland (CS III) (Figures 5.5 and 6.5) as we move onto the top of the Blackdown Hills, and onto geology that is unique to those hills and their valleys. The Culm Measures, elements of which were found in Case Study I, dominate the entirety of Case Study IV (Cruwys Morchard and Templeton) (Figures 7.3 and 8.4) and also underlie the land in the south of Molland and West Anstey (CS V). Finally the geology of the northern part of the parishes of Case Study V is unique, in this thesis. The geology is the principal factor in determining the structure of the soils, and this is discussed next.

It is not possible, in most cases, to identify individual soils in association with unique rock formations, although there does appear to be a 'north/south' divide that separates the soils of the first three case studies from those of the last two. It may be here that the effects of both climate and topography can be seen, but the picture is more confused than that. The more fertile soils that are found in the first three case study areas suggest that the Bromsgrove soil may be associated with the Permian and Triassic rocks, principally the Exeter and Aylesbeare Groups (CS I & II), while the Batcombe soil seems to be derived from the youngest rocks of the Triassic and those of the Cretaceous, the Mercian Mudstones and Upper Greensand (CS II & III). Whimble 3, on the other hand, is found in all three case study areas and may, therefore, be associated with all the underlying rocks (Figures 4.5, 5.6 and 6.6). The more fertile of the soils encountered during the second transect, over the Culm Measures to the uplands of Exmoor, are easier to associate with rock formations. Those soils that lie upon the Carboniferous rocks are Halstow and Neath in both case studies (CS IV & V), while that of the Upper Devonian rocks is Denbigh (CS V) (Figures 7.4 and 8.5). It is on this second transect that we first encounter soils that are less fertile – Manod and Lydcott - where this reduced fertility is probably due to the geology and not climate/waterways. The former appears along the River Dart and up the valley sides in both Templeton and Cruwys Morchard (CS IV), while both will be found on the high moors of Exmoor.

A final soil 'type group' comprising those that are affected by water, either rain or rivers, making them prone to waterlogging, either seasonally or permanently, could not, and should not be associated with geological formations. Those of the river bottoms follow the river course, and will result from river related deposits, while those that lie on flat, generally high ground will result from a combination of climate (rainfall) and locally flat topography.

The case studies have covered a diversity of geological features and these have, in turn, created a rich variety of topography from floodplains to high moorland, from gently sloping valley sides to steep scarps. The soil that has been found in the parishes has a similar diversity and we have encountered soils that owe their characteristics exclusively to the geology, and others that have been affected by the climate and the watercourses. We now turn to a critique of the data that has contributed to the two Domesday ‘threads’ that have been analysed: population and land-use. We start by looking at the results for the Domesday population.

Domesday Population

Part of the data presented in Domesday records the way that the land was divided into manorial holdings and lists the tenant-in-chief, the holder and the peasantry of each manor. In this section we will review the extent to which it has been possible to determine who those people were and where they lived.

Manors and Descents

‘51,7 Ralph Botin holds Blackborough from William the Usher’, is the almost ubiquitous format of the beginning of the description of each manor in the Phillimore Domesday translations of both Devon and Dorset (Thorn & Thorn 1983; 1985a). In this example, Ralph Botin is named as the sub-tenant of the manor called Blackborough under William the Usher, who is named as the tenant-in-chief, having been granted the holding by the king. It is here that we encounter the first of many difficulties; there was no Blackborough ‘Farm’ ca. 1840 (that is to say that it is not possible to link Blackborough manor with any tithe farm by name), and if there had been, to which of the three Blackboroughs recorded in 1086 are we referring? An alternative approach may be to follow the descent of the manor recorded by several antiquarians¹⁷, to determine who the

¹⁷ Risdon, Pole and Lysons in Devon, Hutchins for Dorset.

ultimate scion of William the Usher was and what that person owned in the parish ca. 1840, and then propose this to be the original Blackborough manor. None of the descents of the manors investigated, however, start in 1086 but tend to 'pick up' the thread sometime around AD 1200, and not all the Domesday manors have a descent recorded by the antiquarians. As a rule, it has been necessary to rely, almost totally, upon the Domesday translations, but also to consult some Victorian antiquarian comments, OS mapping and the occasional record to determine where each manor was situated.

The Phillimore translation records 36 Domesday manors that are believed to have been located in the parishes investigated in this thesis (Appendix 1) (Thorn & Thorn 1983; 1985b). Of these the second, and larger Aller, which they place in Kentisbeare, has been rejected since it is considered that this manor should be associated with the, now dismembered, manor of Aller Peverell in the neighbouring parish of Cullompton (see Chapter 5). When considering the remaining 35 manors, it is probable that the locations of 24 have been correctly identified. The other 11 required further investigation, after which it was possible to locate nine of the manors, but not the two manors named for West Anstey; the parish church was used as a surrogate location for both these manor houses.

Uncertainty regarding the correct location of 11 out of 35 Domesday manors, may create both inaccuracies and additional shortfalls in an already depleted settlement pattern and, in cases where it is not possible to identify the Victorian farm/estate that was derived from a manor, this complicates the determination of the disposition of the 'lesser' inhabitants, the freedmen and villans. From the perspective of the comparison of Domesday agricultural acreage with that derived from the map regression (discussed below), more damage may be done by failing to correctly identify a Domesday manor than by merely acknowledging the absence of a manor and thus, the subsequent farm. This is especially so

when comparing a 'false' manorial acreage with that determined from the Domesday record. The correct placement of the Domesday manors was seen as *de rigueur* when composing the succeeding patterns of roads, settlement and farm boundaries and these are discussed, in that order, next.

Ownership – Occupancy

Here we are concerned with what the ownership and occupancy patterns of the tithe records may tell us about those of the Domesday record, and how this informs the discussion of the settlement pattern. Here we are searching for fragmentation, where a fragmentary pattern of farm ownership may testify to the break-up and sell-off of a manor, or a fragmentary pattern of field ownership/occupancy may either indicate the piece-meal sell-off of a farm, or the enclosure by consent of a former open field. In Stockland it was possible to identify a fragmentary pattern of both ownership and occupancy of farms, suggestive of the breaking up of the manor, and this was intermingled with some fragmentary ownership/occupancy of fields, which was considered to indicate the sell-off of some farms (Figure 6.15). Conversely, in Cotleigh, compact blocks of ownership/tenancy in the north of the parish was suggestive of the break-up of Womberford manor, while the more fragmentary pattern of occupancy in the south was suggestive of either the creation of small tenancies or possibly of the enclosure of former open fields (Figure 6.15). Similarly, a fragmentary pattern of occupancy suggested former open fields in Broadclyst and Poltimore (Figures 4.14 & 4.15) and in Kentisbeare and Uffculme (Figures 5.19 & 5.22). Compact blocks of farmed out land in Templeton and Cruwys Morchard (Figure 7.16) and in Molland and West Anstey (Figures 8.15 & 8.16) were more suggestive of compact tenements that originally comprised part of the manorial lands, and which had retained an individual identity through time. In all of the above cases, the subsequent fieldscape characterisations of those parishes supported the interpretation of the patterns and the complementary nature of the two,

independent results was sufficient to declare the existence, or not, of probable open fields with a satisfying degree of confidence. This level of confidence was further increased through the analysis of the road and settlement patterns, which are discussed next.

Road Pattern

A lack of older surveys and maps has made it very difficult to make any changes to the road pattern as the map regression has progressed, and this has necessitated a decision to be made concerning the validity of ‘imposing’ what amounts to an early Victorian road system, upon what purports to be a Domesday map. The decision to proceed with the maps, as they have finally been presented, was made in part, through a perceived necessity to acknowledge that there would have been roads and that these must, therefore, be represented in some fashion. A considerable element of support for this decision was found in the fact that Martin argues that ‘the medieval road system is that which we see today, overlaid by applications of concrete and tarmacadam, and short-circuited since the 18th century by turnpikes and by-passes, and most recently motorways’ (Martin 2003, 92).

The radial pattern, evident in the road patterns of those parishes where probable former open fields were detected, supports Davey’s findings in Somerset which linked a radial pattern with a nucleated settlement (Davey 2005). In those parishes where the settlement pattern was dispersed, Davey’s corresponding ‘rectilinear’ pattern is suggestive of a more ordered pattern than was observed – generally the road system appears to have accreted to satisfy a requirement (Figure 9.2). It is gratifying to note that the road patterns identified in each parish corroborated both the settlement pattern derived through map regression, and the fieldscape interpretation that underpinned the final, putative, Domesday map that was produced for each study.

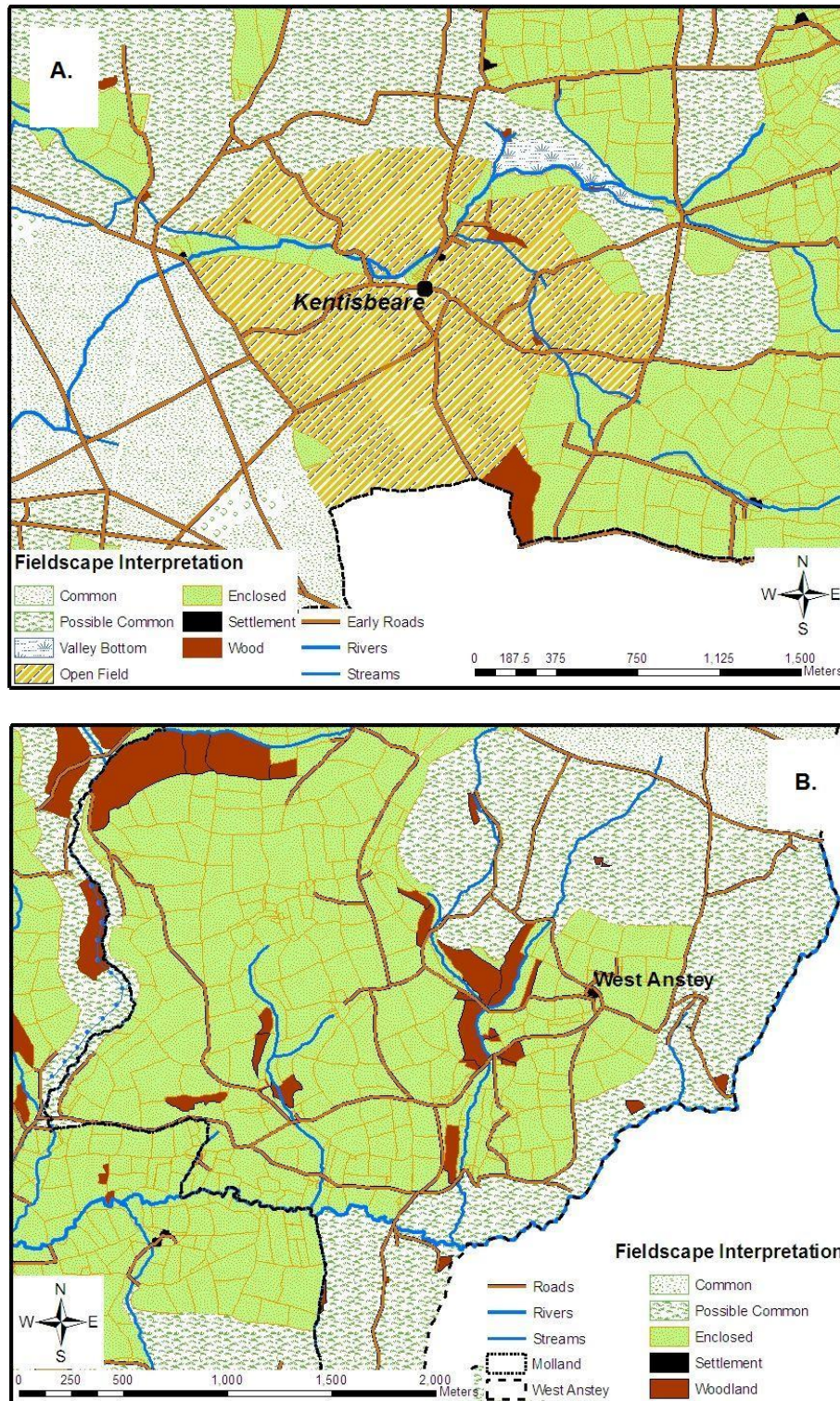


Figure 9.2. Comparison of the road pattern in two parishes - A. In Kentisbeare the roads create a radial pattern, moving away from the village, which is surrounded by probable open fields. B. In West Anstey the roads 'drift' out of the village forming no discernible pattern.

Settlement Pattern

Looking at the medieval settlement patterns of the different parishes the most consistent result has been the identification of a dispersed pattern, sometimes with only the barest trace of a hamlet at the parochial centre, one that is collocated with the church. This is in keeping with Hoskins' (1963, 19) 'land of few villages but many hamlets, even more so of isolated farmsteads'. Yet the village may still be found, in particular in East Devon, as described in Fox (1972, 88-89).

The inherently destructive nature of the map regression process has been discussed on several occasions. While the work to accurately locate the site of the Domesday manor houses (discussed above) may still have resulted in a few inaccuracies, there is only one instance where a manor house has not been entered upon a map – in West Anstey it proved impossible to identify the location of either of the West Anstey manor houses, and so they have both been placed at the location of the parish church – this results in a shortfall of one manor 'site' on the final Domesday map. In an attempt to minimise further shortfalls in the mapping of early settlement patterns, an exhaustive check of the field-names in each parish was conducted, searching for settlement indicative field-names, and this is discussed next.

Settlement Indicative Field-names

It will be remembered that the standard list of settlement indicative field-names, established in Chapter 3 (Table 3.4), was populated from various sources: Costen (1992a), Field (1973;1993), Fox (1972) and Padel (1999). This list was not seen, however, as being definitive and other sources, both cartographic and documentary, were used to 'modify' the list that was applicable to each case study. Indeed, notwithstanding the list, plus any locally justified modifications, other field-name elements that were encountered in each parochial search, notably Combe and Leigh, were also considered when attempting to reconstruct the earlier settlement patterns. Despite the 'all-embracing' nature of the search,

the total count of field-names that may be associated with former settlement that were discovered in the case studies stands at twenty two, excluding the name elements 'black' and 'castle', neither of which produced any suitable 'candidates', except one interesting 'black' site that was discounted for lack of further evidence (Table 9.1). Only four of the possible sites were taken forward to the settlement lists, however Blakewood and Raddlecott (both in Broadclyst) were also considered to be suitable for inclusion, but it was not possible to place either site.

Table 9.1. A full list of the settlement indicative field-names discovered during the thesis, with their eventual disposition.

Parish	Name	Comment
Broadclyst	Rixton	Site included in settlement list
	Griston/Guston	Insufficient evidence
	Blakewood	Probable but position not resolved
	Blackwell	Insufficient evidence
	Raddlecott	Probable but position not resolved
	Spalsbury	Insufficient evidence
Poltimore	Culverhayes	Insufficient evidence
Blackborough	<i>None found</i>	
Kentisbeare including Henland	Catshayes	Site included in settlement list
	Stanbury	Insufficient evidence
Uffculme	Triphays	Insufficient evidence
	Tidborough	Insufficient evidence
Cotleigh	Stadbury	Insufficient evidence
Stockland	Velham or Fenham	Insufficient evidence
Cruwys Morchard including Thongsley	Debtford	Insufficient evidence
	Ufferland	Insufficient evidence
	Brimley	Insufficient evidence
	Kennerley	Insufficient evidence
Templeton	Callocott	Site included in settlement list
	Hagley	Insufficient evidence
Molland	Silcombe	Insufficient evidence
West Anstey	Swiddacombe	Insufficient evidence
	Shopcott	Site included in settlement list

Before moving on it is worth considering the 'low' recovery of settlement indicative field-names achieved in this thesis, since a higher incidence had been expected. While twenty two names may be seen as a low count, these are spread across all the parishes of the thesis, the sample size of parishes is

adequate and, therefore, one is forced to argue that either the concept of using field-names to recover 'lost' settlement sites is flawed or that there are not that many 'deserted' sites to be found in the county. We now turn to the question of the location of the villans, and their plots.

Villan Plots, Farms and Their Boundaries

Generally, it was a relatively simple task to recreate the farm boundaries ca. 1840, although this was complicated in those instances where the tithe commissioner adhered rigidly to the task of tithe commutation and did not record any data that could be construed as 'superfluous' (Stockland for example). By selecting only those farms whose existence during the two centuries after Domesday could be proven, either through documentary evidence (generally EPNS) or by dating of the vernacular buildings (recorded on-line by English Heritage, or in the HER), and then reshaping their boundaries so that these contained only core farmland, it was possible to establish a more robust methodology for allocating villans to farms, than that proposed by Hoskins (Chapter 3). In several parishes it was only necessary to consider these 'early' farms to generate enough plots for the villans; 30 acres being the 'villan's 'lot' (for example Welldon Finn 1973, 38 & Dyer 2002, 97). In those cases where this was not sufficient, a more than adequate acreage of land could be generated by looking at *all* the farms that could be dated to the medieval period. This methodology not only identified probable settlement sites for the Domesday population, but also permitted a rational argument in favour of some of these farms being shrunken hamlets. This, in turn, facilitated the embellishment of the settlement pattern that had been produced through map regression.

When the farms, whose origins could be traced to the period AD 1086 to 1300, were plotted in the GIS it was found that, in those manors that had probably employed a system of open field working, it was sometimes possible to find an 'early' farm sitting in the midst of a probable open field; Burrow in Broadclyst, for example (Figure 4.25). The question is: does Burrow represent a 'satellite' of the

manor,¹⁸ a hamlet occupied by villans who worked the open fields, or was it a farm that was created at the same time as, or after, the enclosure of those fields? If it was a former hamlet, what size, how many villans lived there? Indeed, is it acceptable to determine the likely size of 'Burrow Farm' in the Middle Ages, following the methodology described above, and then suggest that this represents that portion of the open field that became Burrow Farm? In the absence of further evidence these questions are difficult to answer, and certainly each case must be taken on its merit. The data presented by Fox (1972) could have presented some clues if, for example, he had found documentary evidence for the existence of open fields in Broadclyst *after* 1500, unfortunately the only relevant supporting evidence in this parish comes from Finberg and has been derived from mapping. Fox has argued for the start of enclosure as early as 1250 in East Devon (1975, 187) and this 'sits' uncomfortably in the middle of the date range for most of the early farms that have been used throughout this thesis. On balance, it is probably Hoskins' 8,508 'unrecorded' Domesday farms (Hoskins 1963, 21) that militates in favour of Burrow, and many others, as being older than can be proven and thus, in this instance, Burrow was probably a hamlet, within the open field system, that accommodated an unknown number of the villans recorded in Domesday. Any assessment of the likely size of the subsequent Burrow Farm, based solely on the map regression must be seen as probably inaccurate, due to the fact that the map regression purports to date to 1086, while the supposed creation of that farm cannot have been earlier than 1250-1300. Where 'isolated' farms could be identified, away from the open fields, the system of determining their probable medieval extent and dividing by 30 acres to determine a likely count of villans could be pursued, as described above.

Comparison of the probable open fields identified in this thesis with the earlier work discussed in Chapter 2 can be used for corroboration of the map regression. It will be remembered that both Finberg and Fox have produced evidence for open fields, drawn mostly from documentary sources, but also from

¹⁸ Is this a proto-dependent farm, a berewick (Faith 1997, 47-8)?

maps (Finberg 1969b; Fox 1972). The composite map of their findings (Figure 2.2) is very similar to the work of Shorter *et al.* (1969), which was based upon cartographic evidence (Figure 2.3). In the course of this work probable open fields have been found in Broadclyst, Poltimore, Kentisbeare, Uffculme and Cotleigh and these are shown, alongside the work of Finberg and Fox (Figure 9.3). It can be seen that Finberg records mapping evidence for open fields in Broadclyst, Kentisbeare and Uffculme, but that neither Fox nor Finberg found any evidence of open field in either Poltimore or Cotleigh. Conversely, it will be remembered that Finberg records a map showing 'groups of field divided into strips' in Molland (Finberg 1952, 282), but that this was inadequately referenced and has not been traced. Despite a very small number of long-thin fields being found in Molland, it was difficult to support an argument for the existence of former open fields in that parish. From the perspective of the size of the open fields discovered in this work, the evidence is sparse but it may be argued that the more extensive probable open field systems lay on the lower floodplains of the Exe, and its tributaries, and that they become smaller and occur less frequently as we move up river, onto the higher ground. Above 150m OD they are infrequent and small in extent. It is difficult to compare this 'picture' with that presented by Shorter *et al.* (Figure 2.3), although in East Devon their open fields appear to be larger near the coast and to dwindle in both size and frequency with distance inland.

Inevitably, the process of attempting to recreate both the manor and farm boundaries, that may have been in existence in the two hundred, or so, years after 1086, left areas of land that had been identified as core farmland but which were not part of these putative holdings. This may, in part, be due to the fact that not all farms that existed at that time have necessarily left a record, thereby creating some 'gaps'. Another factor that must be considered in this respect has been identified by Hill (1984, 1-14) in her recreation of the demesne of High Ercall (Salop). She records the fact that the size of the demesne was maintained at a constant, thereby ensuring that the heir was never impoverished, while the

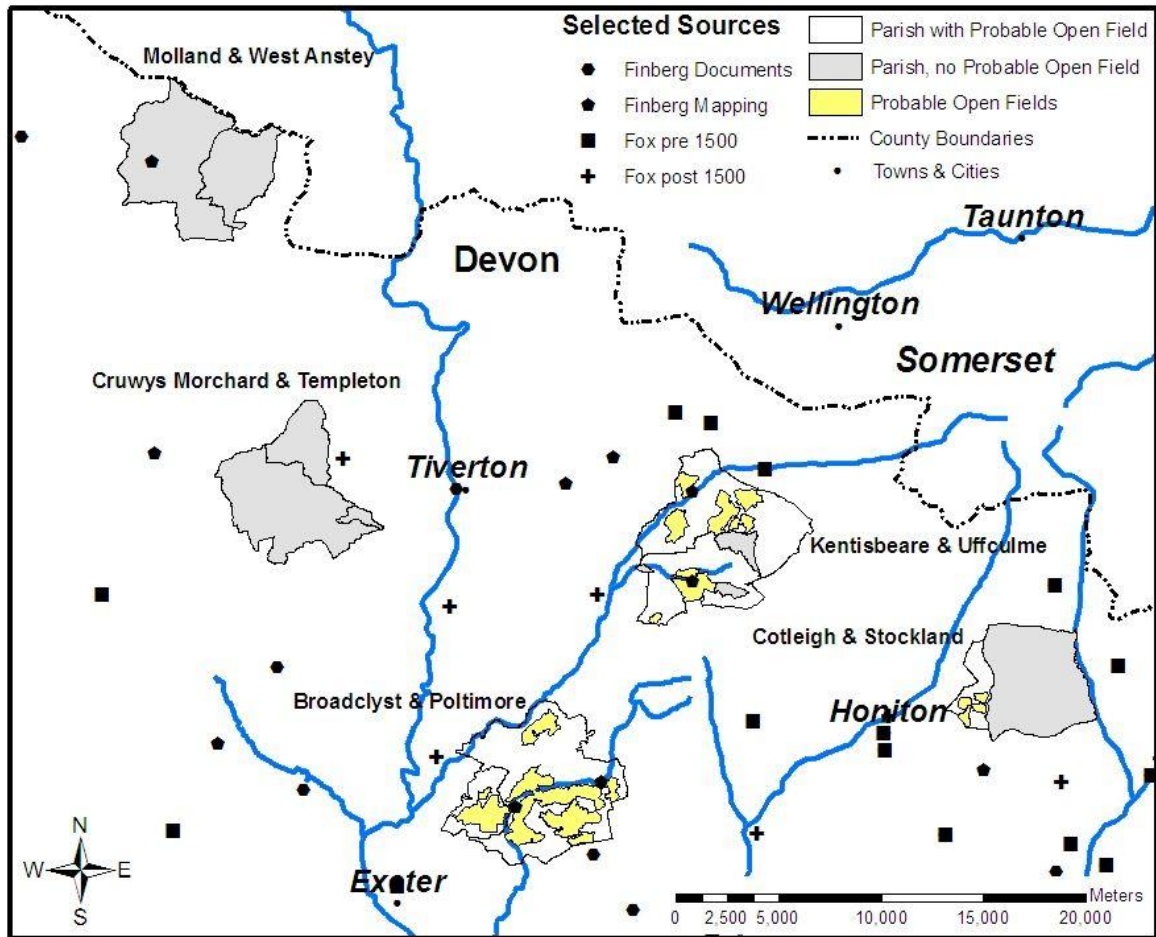


Figure 9.3. The extent of those open fields that have been identified in this thesis is shown. Those sites that Finberg and Fox record as having documentary or mapping evidence for open fields have been included for comparison.

lord still managed to settle land on the younger sons, gift land to the church and create free tenements. This was achieved through the assarting of new land and the reclamation of waste, some of which was taken into the demesne to replace land that was to be settled elsewhere, while the remainder was just passed on. A 'local' example of this process of extending the demesne may be found at Hound Tor village, which may be considered to be a failed attempt at expansion (Austin & Walker 1985, 1467-152). Maintenance of demesne size will have created variations in the boundaries of the manor, as new land was incorporated and old was released, and these boundary changes can only be traced, with any accuracy, through surviving records. While this variability will be discussed again

in the discussion on Domesday land, it must be noted here that this must raise doubts about the utility of using putative 'early' manor and farm boundaries to locate probable villan plots and shrunken hamlets.

Domesday Population - Summary

Mapping the tithe farm boundaries served two purposes. Firstly it presented a different view of the occupancy pattern that could be used to highlight fragmentation. Secondly, the boundaries of those farms whose origins could be traced to the medieval period, could be subjected to a map regression process whereby those fields identified as 'new' enclosure were removed, leaving the putative medieval boundary. While the Hoskins' model presented a methodology whereby the Domesday 'population' could be associated with the farms, perceived shortfalls in his technique led to the development of a modification that both acknowledges the probable size of a villan's plot (30 acres) (for example see Hatcher 1970, 11; Welldon Finn 1973, 38; Dyer 2002, 21-24) and permits the 'recovery' of possible shrunken hamlets. It would be naïve to suggest that *all* the 'lost' former settlement sites, both isolated farms and hamlets, have been recovered, however, it has been possible to 'house' the bulk of the Domesday villans in the manors and farms whose existence prior to ca.1300¹⁹ can be established, and where this has not been possible, there is a more than sufficient count when considering all the medieval farms in a parish²⁰. This in turn suggests that, while the count of settlement indicative field-names, and other possible indicators of former settlement, may be low throughout this thesis, the final count may still be close to the true total. The way in which the differing mapping techniques impinge upon both the results of the comparison against the Domesday population and the Domesday land has already been mentioned, and we turn now to a consideration of the efficacy of the manner in which these latter have been analysed.

¹⁹ That is 200 years after Domesday.

²⁰ Farms whose existence before 1540 can be proven.

Domesday Land

It was deemed possible to identify two separate measures within the Domesday survey, which could be compared with the results of the map regression, where the date of this core farmland is believed to lie between AD 800 and 1100. The results of the comparison with the Domesday population count have been discussed above and in this section we will look at the comparison with the Domesday record of the extent of agricultural or exploited land. Starting from the land-use recorded ca. 1840, the first step along the path of the fieldscape characterisation process lay in determining the extent to which it was possible to identify change in the years between Domesday and the Tithe Commission. Pollen sequences, where available, and the modern perception of the extent of 'ancient woodland' were used to inform the amount of change and these are discussed next.

Pollen Sequences and Ancient Woodland

Over the last decade there have been two studies, in Devon, that may be used to expand upon work of Hatton and Caseldine (1992), who investigated the lowland pollen source from Aller Farm (Stockland). The Greater Exmoor Project investigated ten such lowland pollen traps in 'Greater Exmoor' (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006, Figure 2), while Hawkins (2005) reported upon a further seven, from East Devon. In this thesis, wherever possible, at least one of these has been used as a 'local' pollen sequence, to inform the investigation of land-use history in each case study area and, where this was not possible, the nearest 'regional' sequences were employed to provide this support (Figure 9.4). Drawing heavily upon the work of Sugita (summarised in Sugita 2007a; 2007b), and data from the Meteorological Office (Met. Office 7), a generic pollen catchment area was created that would provide a 'ready reference' when attempting to determine the area that was the 'local' source of pollen (Chapter 3).

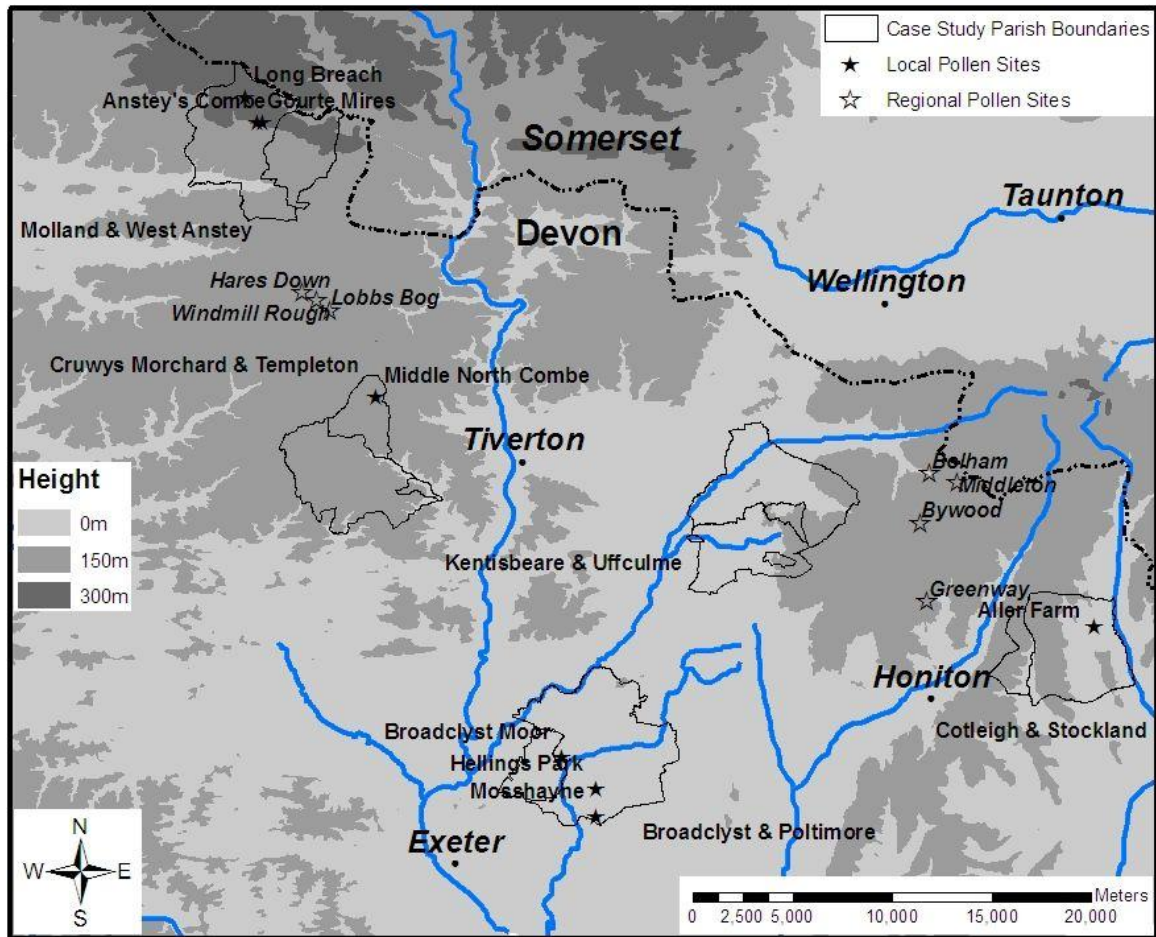


Figure 9.4. The pollen sequences used in this thesis to inform the history of land-use in the case study parishes, were separated into 'local' sources (inside a case study parish) and 'regional' ones (outside the case study parishes).

While not intending any criticism of any of the pollen analyses, the sampling strategy used by palynologists does not permit a truly detailed picture of the 'day-to-day' changes in land-use to be established; the timeframes tend to be too broad. In addition, the putative size of the catchment area always necessitated an extrapolation of data in order to develop a 'picture' of events across an adequate area. Thus, the detailed picture of land-use that was derived from those sources believed to have a 'local' relevance hardly differed from those outside the parishes that had been designated 'regional'.

Used as an 'overview', a regional record of the principal signature of the flora, the pollen sequences have all been effective in tracing the main themes of land-use. While not all the sequences cover the whole period, their record may be summarised as follows. All the traps record woodland clearance, some starting as early as the Middle Bronze Age, which was generally completed by the end of the Roman occupation. Thereafter, there appears to be a distinct variation between the sites from East Devon and those from Greater Exmoor. Generally, the East Devon sites record mixed farming immediately after woodland clearance and a low level of cereal pollen remains present until *ca.* AD1750-1800. Only at Stockland, where there is a marked increase in cereal pollen from the early 9th century, and at Middleton, where the signature is pastoral (except for a short cereal signature between *ca.* AD 860-1160 and 1270-1430), is there any significant difference (Hatton & Caseldine 1992; Hawkins 2005). The Greater Exmoor sites are uniform in recording a pastoral signature post-clearance until *ca.* AD 600-1170²¹ when they all record a large increase in the amount of pollen cereal that does not diminish until *ca.* 1750/1800 (Rippon, Fyfe & Brown 2006).

The sequences from Greater Exmoor can all be associated with parishes in which no trace of probable open fields have been found; parishes where the closes are small, being of the order of 1-5 acres in size. All the probable open fields identified in this thesis will be found in parishes in the east of the county and these may be associated with the sequences that generally record a low level of cereal pollen from the late prehistoric or Romano-British period throughout until the 19th century. There are three 'rogue' sequences that do not follow the norm in East Devon. Bolham, which has a pastoral signature throughout, and Middleton, which only records a short period of exploitation, probably in the two hundred years prior to the Black Death, will be found near the 'heart' of the Blackdown Hills. The third 'rogue' is Aller Farm in Stockland, where there is a low level of cereal pollen at the start but this is replaced by a cereal spike, an event which, it will be remembered, has been confirmed as bearing

²¹ Except AD 1270-1420 at Long Breach.

similarities to the events recorded in the Greater Exmoor sequences. Apart from Blackborough, Stockland is the only parish in East Devon, in which no trace of probable open field has been found in this work.

The sample size is small, eleven parishes and ten sequences (a mix of 'local' and 'regional'), but a comparison of those parishes in which evidence for probable former open fields was found, and the palynological data, suggests that these fields may be associated with a signature that records constant, low levels of cereal pollen throughout, from woodland clearance until the modern time. Similarly, it was in those parishes where the pollen sequence exhibited the introduction of a significant cereal curve, generally ca. 800-1000, and which was interpreted as identifying the introduction of convertible husbandry, where we did not find traces of probable former open fields. Overall, it is considered that the use of all the pollen sequences, as 'regional' indicators of change in land-use has been beneficial to this study, but that their use as 'local' records is limited.

Employing Natural England's estimate of the extent of 'ancient woodland' in each case study (MAGIC 2009-2010) has engendered a degree of continuity between the tithe records ca.1840 and the Late Middle Ages. While it may be possible to extend this continuity further back in time, through the agency of the pollen records, the putative extent of woodland ca. 1600 is the only common, constantly available 'record' of land-use that pre-dates the tithe assessments. It is for this reason that the 'ancient woodland' of each case study has been included on the final Domesday maps of the parishes.

We now turn to the vexed question of the fieldscape interpretation and its relationship with the incidence of field-names indicative of early or later enclosure. The reader will remember from Chapter 3, that it had been intended to 'verify' the fieldscape analysis through the association with selected field-names, but that this was not as satisfactory as had been hoped, and is discussed next.

Field-names: Early and Later Enclosure, and Open Fields

Three lists of field-names were created (see Chapter 3), one a list of those elements that may be indicative of early enclosure, one containing those names that may be associated with later enclosure and the final one, taken from Fox's work, listed field-names that could have derived from open field systems (Fox 1972, 105; Field 1973; 1993); 'headland' was added to the latter. Part of the analysis in each case study revolved around checking these field-names against the fieldscape interpretation of the tithe fields. 'Early names' were scored against enclosed land, where this is land that was believed to form part of the core farmland, and which was enclosed by 1086. 'Later names' were scored against possible common, this is the land that is considered to have been unenclosed in 1086, and which was then enclosed during or after the High Middle Ages.

The results of this comparison, for both the fieldscape characterisation and the interpretation, are listed at Tables 9.2 and 9.3. Generally the 'later enclosure-possible common' results are acceptable, while the 'early enclosure-enclosed' are not. The most worrying results are found in Table 9.2, which records the data for those parishes where probable open fields were identified. In these parishes, not only are the results for early enclosure against enclosed characterisation very poor but, generally, the results for both early and later enclosure are worse after the final fieldscape interpretation. The results of the identification of probable open fields may be more encouraging, with an aggregate total of 45% of the fields whose name could be associated with 'open fields' being identified as such in the interpretation stage. Conversely, in those parishes where no probable open fields could be identified (Table 9.3) the results for the identification of early enclosure are improved. Furthermore, it is very encouraging to note that the results for both early and later enclosure, recorded in Table 9.3, generally improve as a result of the last stage of analysis – the interpretative phase. The

Table 9.2. Results of the comparison of field-name with the results of the fieldscape characterisation and interpretation, *in those parishes where probable open fields have been identified*. The figures show the percentage of field-names of a type (early enclosure, for example) that ‘match’ the number of field types identified (enclosed, for example)

Parish	Early enclosure vs. enclosed fields.		Later enclosure vs. possible common.		Open field-names vs. open fields.	
	Characterisation	Interpretation	Characterisation	Interpretation	Characterisation	Interpretation
Broadclyst	40%	22%	77%	52%	13%	47%
Poltimore	33%	45%	68%	60%	25%	83%
Kentisbeare	24%	37%	96%	94%	22%	33%
Uffculme	30%	19%	63%	65%	15%	42%
Cotleigh	60%	58%	63%	46%	0%	27%
Totals	35%	27%	78%	67%	15%	45%

Table 9.3. Results of the comparison of field-name with the results of the fieldscape characterisation and interpretation, *in those parishes where no probable open fields were identified*. The figures show the percentage of field-names of a type (for example early enclosure) that ‘match’ the number of field types identified (for example enclosed)

Parish	Early enclosure vs. enclosed fields.		Later enclosure vs. possible common.	
	Characterisation	Interpretation	Characterisation	Interpretation
Thongsley note 1	40%	60%	100%	75%
Cruwys Morchard	39%	44%	71%	80%
Templeton	51%	55%	68%	72%
Blackborough	25%	92%	100%	100%
Stockland	42%	45%	75%	88%
Molland	31%	79%	74%	14%
West Anstey	42%	54%	63%	77%
Henland note 1	44%	44%	100%	67%
Totals	40%	55%	72%	73%

Note 1: Thongsley is the farm in the detached portion of Cheriton Fitzpaine, Henland is the farm in the detached portion of Cullompton.

marked changes in correlation of early name-early enclosure and modern name-later enclosure in Molland are difficult to interpret, but it may be that a lot of ‘ancient’ enclosure took place on land that had been reclaimed and then vacated at an earlier date.

The difference between the data at Tables 9.2 and 9.3 lies in the identification of probable open fields in the former. The reader will remember the Tatworth example (Chapter 3) where a former open field in Chard, just over the border in Somerset, was analysed. This open field was enclosed creating 44 'new' fields of varying sizes, of which eight had 'old' field-names and *none* had new names. If we assume that it is the presence of probable open fields that is skewing the data at Table 9.2, and recast the results ignoring these fields, the results improve in every instance (except two which remain the same) (Table 9.4). Furthermore, the deterioration in results between the characterisation and interpretation phases evident in Table 9.2 has been reversed, with the exception of Uffculme (early/enclosed) and Cotleigh (late/possible common). Clearly the presence of former open fields can have an adverse effect upon the analysis of field-names against postulated time of enclosure. The results from Table 9.4 are more in line with those from Table 9.3, and indicate that the correlation of field-names associated with later enclosure, with fields whose interpretation is that they were enclosed no earlier than the latter part of the Middle Ages, is good throughout the thesis. The results of the correlation of field-names associated with early enclosure, with fields whose interpretation is that they were enclosed at the beginning of the Middle Ages, is mediocre.

Table 9.4. Results of the comparison of field-name with the results of the fieldscape characterisation and interpretation, *in those parishes where probable open fields have been identified*. All data for open fields has been removed. The figures in brackets record the results from Table 9.2.

Parish	Early enclosure vs. enclosed fields.		Later enclosure vs. possible common.	
	Characterisation	Interpretation	Characterisation	Interpretation
Broadclyst	46 (40)	50 (22)	84 (77)	88 (52)
Poltimore	33 (33)	62.5 (45)	73 (68)	73 (60)
Kentisbeare	24 (24)	50 (37)	84 (96)	88 (94)
Uffculme	37 (30)	29 (19)	73 (63)	82 (65)
Cotleigh	72 (60)	89 (58)	64 (63)	48 (46)
Totals	40 (35)	46 (27)	85 (78)	86 (67)

The results for the identification of 'later enclosure' are sufficiently good to suggest that the fieldscape analysis can probably be validated for these fields, but it is necessary to determine why the results for the identification of 'early enclosure' are not. General improvements to those fields that have been enclosed 'from the beginning or at least since the 14th century' (Hoskins 1963, 19), including the straightening of irregular boundaries may account for some 'misidentification', whilst a preference for using 'early names' for later fields may account for more.

To conclude this discussion about the results of attempting to use those field-names that may be associated with either early or later enclosure to validate the fieldscape characterisation process, it should be noted that the incidence of fields with these names is very low. In the five case studies a total of 14,374 agricultural fields are listed in the various apportionments, but only 3,703 (25%) have names that may be associated with early or late enclosure, or with open fields. Given the low percentage of field-names that may be associated with early or later enclosure, one is forced to question the extent to which even a good set of 'results' could have been considered to *fully* validate the characterisation process.

The fieldscape characterisation was put to two uses, firstly it purported to establish the land-use *ca.*1086, which was used to inform the putative Domesday map. Secondly it was used to calculate the acreage of land within each parish that was considered to be enclosed, possible common, common, valley bottom or probable open field and this rôle is discussed next.

Land Measurements

Continuing the Domesday record for Blackborough, which was listed at the beginning of the last section, we discover some measures of land: *Ralph Botin holds Blackborough from William the Usher. Land for 3 ploughs. Ralph has in*

*lordship ½ hide and ½ virgate*²². *9 villagers and 2 slaves have ½ hide and ½ virgate. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 100 acres; underwood, 2 acres* (Thorn & Thorn 1985a). In Chapter 3, the debate concerning the probable difference between the taxable hide and the ploughland measure was aired, and it was decided to concentrate on the ploughland as a probable measure of the amount of land that could have been put to arable. Furthermore, despite the later introduction of a statute acre of 4,840 square yards, during the reign of Edward I (Curwen 1953, 86; Hooke 1998, 126) it was decided to assume that, wherever Domesday records land areas in acres, they would be deemed to be statute. Finally, there was a discussion concerning the best way to treat the rectangular measures generated by land being recorded as a length and a breadth (normally in leagues), and here it was encouraging to note Rackham's solution and his positive comments regarding the accuracy of the measurement of a small count of woods in East Anglia (Rackham 1980, 19).

The case studies have looked at comparing two measures: the one is a 'gross' check of the total agricultural land recorded in each parish in the Domesday Book, with the amount of core farmland²³ in that parish after the map regression process. The second check attempted to compare the sizes of the Domesday manor with the tithe equivalent farm after the regression (where this could be identified). Owing to uncertainty about the size of a ploughland, it was decided to establish a bracket of ranges for the Domesday size of agricultural land in the parish and the manors, assuming that a ploughland lay somewhere between 60 and 90 acres (the lower and upper sizes of Table 9.5) in Devon. It was to be considered very satisfactory if the acreage derived from the map regression fell within, or close to, the band established from the Domesday metrics. No attempt has been made to identify the individual components of the Domesday figures –

²² A hide is generally considered to have been 120 acres and a virgate a quarter of a hide (30 acres).

²³ Where core farmland is defined as the sum of enclosed land, open field and woodland.

Table 9.5. Summary of the ‘gross’ check of core farmland extent for all case studies.

Parish	Domesday Lower Size (acres)	Domesday Upper Size (acres)	Map Regression Size (acres)	Comments
Broadclyst	4192	5962	6482	Eveleigh & West Clyst low figures. Remainder (4) poor.
Poltimore	946	1276	1267	Poltimore & Cutton good result.
Kentisbeare & Blackborough	1755	2400	2385	Parishes combined due to uncertainty over manor locations. Blackborough & Orway good, Aller low result. Remainder (6) poor.
Uffculme	1910	2810	3302	
Stockland	2075	2555	2506	
Cotleigh	743	1073	1076	Womberford good result, Cotleigh low.
Cruwys Morchard	2162	2972	2933	Northcote just low, Ruckham & Hill high result. Coombe good result. Remainder (2) poor.
Templeton	755	1055	1053	Coombe good result, remainder (2) poor.
Molland	2699	4019	2895	‘Excessive’ pasture recorded in Domesday, methodology modified.
West Anstey	2499	2919	2556	Ringcombe low result, remainder poor.

the '4 acres of meadow', or the extent of pasture or wood, that was recorded at Blackborough (DB 51,7) (for example) - with similar land-use in the tithe 'Blackborough Farm' (if that farm could be identified).

Table 9.5 summarises the results of just the 'gross' check of acreage, that is the comparison of the total agricultural land in a parish that was recorded in 1086 with the total core farmland in the parish derived from the map regression. It can be seen that the results are generally better for the smaller parishes, indeed in Poltimore, Cotleigh and Templeton a 90 acre ploughland represents an almost perfect 'fit'. Of the remaining parishes Kentisbeare, Stockland and Cruwys Morchard are 'in the bracket' and all support an argument in favour of the 90 acre ploughland, while Uffculme and Broadclyst would suggest a ploughland marginally bigger than 90 acres. The reader will remember the problems encountered in Molland and West Anstey, where the pasture recorded in 1086 appears to have incorporated not only the present moorland/common component of the parishes but also, in Molland, even more pasture and this may be attributed to land that was part of the King's holding but which became part of the Royal Forest and was, therefore, outside the eventual parish boundary. A tentative assessment from these last two parishes suggests that a local ploughland may have been as small as 60 acres on the edge of Exmoor.

While the results of the 'gross' check of parochial size appear very satisfactory one needs to be mindful of the error budget. There must be uncertainty concerning the use of a statute acre throughout, just as there must be doubt about employing the methodology suggested by Rackham (1980, 19) to 'ensure' the accuracy of the Domesday use of rectangular measurement for irregular woods (and pasture on Exmoor!). Nevertheless, the figures support an argument that the ploughland in the parishes investigated in this thesis appears to be of a constant size and, when coupled with the, admittedly singular, reference to a ploughland of 100 acres on a demesne just south of Broadclyst parish (Finberg 1969b, 135), there may be some justification in suggesting that a ploughland of

the order of 90 acres was common. It had been anticipated that the size of a ploughland would reduce either as the study moved onto more clayey soils, especially on the Culm Measures (Cruwys Morchard and Templeton) or as we moved onto the poorer soils that could be associated with upland moors (Molland and West Anstey). The results from Cruwys Morchard and Templeton do not support a smaller ploughland, while the results from the fringes of Exmoor may be interpreted as arguing for a ploughland of the order of 60 acres. The credibility of this check, in the latter parishes, has been undermined by the, apparently, 'excessive' pasture recorded in each and the *ledger de main* that was necessary to achieve a possible like-for-like comparison.

We turn now to the less satisfactory results from the comparison of manorial size derived from Domesday with that of the map regression. It is considered that this underlines the problems, discussed above, concerning the probable variability of demesne and farm boundaries with time, and is exacerbated by the fact that not all the 'early' farms have been identified. Where 'early' farms have been identified it has not been possible to determine the 'parent' manor, the manor of which the 'farm' was a satellite. In Cotleigh it is possible to identify an area of ground lying between the almost ubiquitous spread of Lord Ashburton's land in the south, and the compact farms of the north, in which the ownership is a mixture of Ashburton and others (Figure 6.14). This land may represent an area into which Lord Ashburton, or his forebears, had been spreading at the expense of the former Womberford 'estate' and this may be supported by the relative manorial acreages computed from Domesday and map regression. The degree of 'churn' in land holdings between 1086 and the tithe assessment is best underlined by the results of the manorial check in Kentisbeare. It will be remembered that the characterisation work in Kentisbeare was supported by a survey of 'the Manor of Kentisbeare' dated 1810 (SRO DD WY C306 DEV 9) but that there were two *Chentesbera* manors in 1086. Work by Chalk (1910a) had permitted the

identification of these two manors, one in Kentisbeare village and the other well outside, yet the comparison of acreages at a manorial level in this parish could only be resolved by placing *both* of these manors in the village.

Let us return briefly to the discussion about whether it was best to use standard acres, local acres²⁴ or Devon acres in this work (Chapter 3). The decision to adopt standard acres was predicated upon two considerations: the first that the reader (and the author!) would be more familiar with standard acres and the second that the argument concerning the 'correct' size could be addressed once the principle had been proven. The résumé at Table 9.5 shows us that Stockland (DB 12,14) can be assessed as having a ploughland whose size was just under 90 acres, the good result recorded for Coombe (DB 3,75) (Templeton) was just above a 60 acre ploughland, while the reader will remember the good result from Cutton (DB 16,90) (Chapter 4) where it was shown that this manor had a ploughland of 90 acres. If we re-work the figures for each of these manors assuming first that all the Domesday figures were measured in Devon acres and then that they were measured using a 'local' acre, we find that in Stockland, using a Devon acre we generate a ploughland of 73 statute acres, while that of a 'local' acre is 99 statute acres (Table 9.6). In Cutton the figures are 81 and 98 statute acres, and in Combe 116 acres and 82 statute acres, respectively. While no attempt is made here to analyse these results, it can be seen that, whatever size of acreage is used, the results are all within the bracket 60-120 statute acres. This serves to corroborate the methodology, if not the use of statute acres, although the results derived in this work appear more cohesive (based on the small sample size of three used for comparison above).

²⁴ See Chapter 3 for a definition of a 'local' acre.

Table 9.6. The calculated size of a ploughland in two selected manors assuming that the original measurements were in statute acres, Devon acres and local acres. The results have all been converted to statute acres.

Manor/parish	Statute acre	Devon acre	Local acre
Stockland	90	73	99
Cutton	90	81	98
Combe	60	116	82

Records

The reader will, no doubt, be aware that no mention has been made of any records, except that of Domesday, which has been used and discussed extensively throughout. Checking back through the case studies there is a paucity of other records that have been available - some farm/estate surveys, a few leases, the record of a farm sale and, of course, the survey of the Manor of Kentisbeare - not a high count, especially when compared with those available to Hill for her work at Ercall (Salop) (Hill 1984). This dearth of records, apparent throughout the case studies, probably reflects the poor survivability of records in this county, although one needs to question how many are still in the hands of the present land owners. It will be remembered that the Acland family started acquiring land in Broadclyst ca. AD 1300 (Chapter 4) and there are extensive records held by the National Trust, at Killerton House, which became the family home. Killerton represents the 'extreme' case of a 'collection of records' being kept by the 'owners', as does a similar collection at Powderham Castle. This thesis has concentrated upon the public records and, while access to the Acland records could have been gained, no attempt was made to draw any data from these, due to the fact that this would have created an imbalance between the study of Broadclyst and the rest of the parishes.

10

Conclusion

‘The ploughland is a nightmare for the tidy minded’

(Roffe 2007, 203)

This thesis set out to produce a series of maps of the ‘core farmland’, from a selection of parishes from east and Mid Devon, where this core was defined as the land that had been anciently enclosed. The core farmland should not, necessarily, be seen as being commensurate with the ‘best’ soil, however this may be defined. There is diversity in the soil that is best suited to cereal cropping, meadow, woodland and pasture, and there will have been a continuous requirement for all these resources. A map regression, starting with the tithe maps and apportionments of ca. 1840, was selected to generate these maps and a process of fieldscape analysis was developed to conduct this regression.

Austin’s concerns regarding morphogenesis (Austin 1985) have been discussed (Chapters 2 & 3), and efforts to mitigate some of his ‘worry beads’ included trying to find a method by which the core farmland, which had been identified through the map regression, could be verified. Part of the Domesday record includes measurements of the extent of ploughland, meadow, pasture and wood, and some of the units used are now archaic (for example - ‘leagues’), while some of the dimensions underpinning others are open to debate (for example – acres). If it was possible to interpret these metrics, this would permit a calculation of the extent of each manor to be determined, that could be checked against the map regression and/or also be checked at a parochial level, by adding the manors of

each parish together. A successful check of the core farmland identified through the map regression, against the Domesday metrics would not only serve to start to 'verify' the core farmland but would also permit dating of this farmland to no later than *ca.* 1086.

It was decided that further corroboration may be sought, through a comparison of the Domesday population with the settlement pattern, derived through the map regression. Hoskins (1963) appeared to have developed a model for conducting this check, at a manorial level, based upon the concept of one villan-one farm. His methodology, however, did not appear to differentiate between 'new' and 'old' farms, nor did it satisfy the accepted principle of the 'standard' villans' lot – 30 acres (for example see Dyer 2002, 21-24). Nevertheless, it is difficult to conceive of a methodology that does not imitate some elements of the Hoskins' model, and the modified analysis used in this thesis has been called the 'modified Hoskins' model', to acknowledge the original concept. This modified model allocates 30 acres per villan, within the putative boundaries of a farm, whose origins can be traced to the two centuries immediately following Domesday. It has the added facility of permitting the identification of probable medieval hamlets.

The comparison of Domesday agricultural land with the extent of enclosed land²⁵, and to a lesser degree the application of the modified Hoskins' model, are the two main comparators used in this thesis to verify the core farmland, and the settlement pattern derived through the map regression. There were, however, some other sources that were employed to support this verification and the utility of these will be discussed before we conclude by looking at the comparisons with Domesday.

²⁵ Where 'enclosed' is defined as land that has been identified as 'core farmland', comprising land that was then enclosed, open field, settlement or woodland.

There must exist a degree of continuity between the Domesday record and that of the tithe records; the 'ownership', by the Acland family, of large areas of land in Broadclyst from *ca.* 1300 until *ca.* 1840 comes close to exhibiting such continuity. Equally there will have been events that will have created an hiatus, a discontinuity, such as that caused, in some parishes (Stockland for example) by the dissolution of the monasteries. The perfect 'validation' of the putative Domesday map would necessitate the identification of complete continuity, in every aspect, between the Domesday and tithe records or an understanding of any process that disrupts such continuity. The ultimate arbiter of continuity, or discontinuity would be a contemporary map of Domesday – a Domesday map to accompany the Domesday 'apportionment', as it were. Surveys form a sub-set of the records held by the Devon Record Office, but while these may represent the most accessible picture of continuity, the other records, notably leases were also consulted. That Ravenhill and Rowe (2002; 2010) found sufficient material to publish a supplement to their record of early maps and surveys from Devon may suggest a plethora of maps, but if that is the case the author was extremely unfortunate in his selection of parishes for this work, discovering but a handful of farm surveys and a selection of leases. These surveys and leases, for the most part, established a high degree of continuity between 1735 (at the earliest) and *ca.* 1840. Whilst establishing this localised continuity, over the century proceeding 1840, may create an atmosphere of contentment, of little change, it does not extend back over the timescale required, nor does it cover the full extent of the parochial areas under consideration. The records found to support this work do not mirror the abundance found in other similar projects, Hill's work in Ercall (Salop.) being a prime example (Hill 1984).

The use of environmental data to determine the flora of a bygone period, thereby creating a 'visual drape' over the bare topography was pioneered in this country by Clarke (Mellars & Dark 1998, 1), using both macro and micro plant remains. Since then the use of pollen sequences, from both off-site and on-site sources, to support work has multiplied, but this has been accompanied by a more refined

understanding of the shortcomings of these methods. The probable catchment areas used in this thesis, developed from the work of Sugita (in particular 2007a; 2007b), underline the limited, local extent of the information that may be gleaned especially when considering plants whose pollen dispersal patterns are not extensive (in particular cereals). Despite the quantity of pollen traps that could be regarded as 'local' in this thesis, the majority of the information used has provided only 'background' cover, of a more regional nature. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine the pattern of flora in a location at a specific time, for example in 1840 or 1086, and this prohibits any attempt to use the tithe data to 'calibrate' the pollen data. Notwithstanding the limitations of the pollen sequences they do present a broad overview of continuity from the last, major period of woodland clearance until the present, except in the cases where a cereal spike can be identified. In a similar manner the use of the data concerning ancient woodland, from the MAGIC website, provides a degree of continuity, but only of the woodland cover and only as far back as *ca.* AD 1600. In all cases, as one would expect, the ancient woodland identified on the MAGIC website was recorded on the tithe map, but not all the woodland on the tithe map has been identified as 'ancient' by Natural England. Generally, the pollen sequences do not record any change in woodland cover, neither regeneration nor further clearance, since the last major clearance episode, and so it may be possible to argue that the tithe woodland existed at Domesday. There may be more certainty in arguing that the 'ancient woodland' identified by Natural England existed in 1086, and certainly that is the underlying thought in the manner of the presentation of the woodland on the putative Domesday maps, where 'ancient woodland' and the other tithe woodland have been portrayed as separate entities.

It had been intended to use a 'more organic' data source to promote the theme of continuity, namely the field-names recorded in the tithe apportionments (in particular see Field 1973; 1993). Two different types of field-name were identified that may be of use: those suggestive of early or later enclosure and those that may include settlement indicative names. The variability of the results of the

comparison of fields that had been identified, during the map regression, as early or late enclosure, with the apportionment field-names has been discussed. It would appear that, in those parishes studied, a field-name that is considered to be indicative of later enclosure may well be just that, but a field-name that should be indicative of early enclosure may have been 'recycled' and re-used for more recent enclosure – is this latter acting as a memento of an earlier field-name or field usage? The paucity of field-names considered to be indicative of former settlement that was discovered in this thesis is interesting, and may be indicative of a degree of continuity of settlement throughout the historic period, with only a few farms 'falling by the wayside'. Care is needed when using field-names as analytical tools, however, and the small percentage of field-names that were suitable for use in either of the analyses discussed above must be remembered when interpreting the results.

Finally, in this review of data that could be used to establish continuity and thereby underpin the map regression, we need to remember the valuable input that can be obtained from researching previous work. Finberg, Fox and Shorter *et al.* consider that there were some open fields in Devon, basing their arguments upon both documentary and cartographic evidence, and that these were distributed in a predictable fashion (Chapter 2). There were dense clusters of open fields on the floodplains of the major rivers, and their tributaries, becoming less dense with distance from, and height above these flat valley bottoms. The work of Shorter *et al.* suggests that the open fields of the floodplains were also more extensive than those found elsewhere. Furthermore, the documentary work by both Finberg and Fox lends some time-depth and continuity to that analysis, by identifying open fields whose existence in the Middle Ages can be proven. Stanes (2008) is not at variance with this view, but he concentrates upon the dominant field type, and states that the land was largely enclosed into small fields surrounded by hedge banks, and worked under a system of ley husbandry. Nevertheless, he agrees that there were open fields in Devon, but one needed to look for them. The work of Finberg, Fox, Shorter *et al.* and Stanes, which has

been discussed above, may be summarised by referring to Hoskins, and his 'land of few villages but many hamlets, even more so of isolated farmsteads, of pasture and livestock, of small fields enclosed in severalty from the beginning or at least since the 14th century, and of wild upland commons' (Hoskins 1963, 19). The evidence from this thesis supports both the distribution and, probably, the extent of the open fields in Devon, while the remainder of the fieldscape appears ideally suited to a system of convertible husbandry. It also puts more 'flesh' on the bones established by Gonner (1912) and Gray (1915), whose assessments of the spread of enforced enclosure and two- and three- field systems was garnered at a national, rather than at a regional level. We will now return to the main theme of the thesis, the putative Domesday map and its verification through comparison with the Domesday Book, and we will start by looking at the settlement and population in 1086.

There are two concerns with the map regression that underpins this work, both of which have been aired on several occasions. One of these lies in the destructive nature of the process that one is forced to follow, the other lies in the definition of all the steps in the fieldscape analysis. While looking at the settlement and population aspects of the putative Domesday maps we only need to concern ourselves with the destructive side of the process but, when we move onto the land-use metrics, we will need to consider both shortcomings.

The identification of the Domesday settlement may be divided into two separate steps, the first is locating and placing the Domesday manors, while the second is attempting to determine where some of the 'missing' 8,508 farms, which Hoskins states were worked by the villans, may have been (Hoskins 1963, 21). On the face of it, locating the Domesday manors is a simple process of reading the Phillimore translation, and accepting the location provided there (Thorn & Thorn, 1983; 1985b). In reality, Thorn and Thorn are content to locate Uffculme manor in Uffculme, without worrying about its precise location, and why should they worry? It is not until one is trying to recreate the extent of demesne lands, and farm

boundaries, that it becomes necessary to identify which tithe farm is probably the ultimate scion of a manor. In all, it was necessary to re-locate eleven manors in this work, and this included successfully re-locating Uffculme manor house, but not finding a tithe farm that would permit a possible reconstruction of the demesne. The two principal antiquarian sources that have been consulted, when tracing the descents of the Domesday manors (Pole 1791; Lysons 1822), occasionally display an element of *ledger de main* when starting the 'history' of a manor - 'The manor belonged to the Templars, and afterwards to the Knights Hospitaller' and 'the manor had long been in the ancient family of Cruwys, at least as early as the reign of King John' (Lysons 1822, 497; 355) are good examples of this – the questions we need to ask, and which they fail to address are: how did Templeton pass from the Bishop of Coutances to the Templars, and how did Cruwys Morchard pass from William Cheever to the Cruwys family? To a certain extent the answers may be found in Reichel (1906c), but the example of the antiquarians, and their oft-times inability to address early records, is mirrored in EPNS and the shortage of places whose first record pre-dates AD 1200. These serve to underline the almost total absence of written records that would bridge the gap between 1086 and 1200, if not later. The number of manors that required further work before they could be located satisfactorily and, indeed, the complete failure to satisfactorily locate either of the main manors of West Anstey are reflections of this lack of continuity. No doubt this difficulty will be found elsewhere in the country and is not just 'Devon centric'.

If it was difficult to identify a tithe farm counterpart to each Domesday manor, and EPNS only record three places (within the case studies) other than Domesday manors, whose origins can be traced to earlier than 1200 (*Glistun* 1006, Craddock 938 and Hackpen 938²⁶). How is one supposed to re-create the settlement pattern of 1086, particularly in the face of the destructive nature of the map regression? The compromise solution offered here, owes its origins to Hoskins and his argument that many of the farms first mentioned in records

²⁶ Glistun is Broadclyst (CS I), Craddock and Hackpen are in Stockland (CS III).

between 1200 and 1350 'were already in existence at the time of the Conquest', although he was referring only to those farms whose names contain an Old English personal name (Hoskins 1952a, 122). In this thesis it has been assumed that all those farms whose origins can be traced back to the two hundred years after Domesday, were probably in existence at the time of Domesday, and these have been used to populate the settlement pattern that overlies the putative Domesday map. These farms and the manors give us the bare bones of a probable settlement pattern in which to attempt to 'house' the villans of Domesday, and thereby achieve a degree of verification for the settlement pattern. Furthermore, allocation of villans to farms by determining how many villans' plots each farm could accommodate permits the identification of possible former hamlets. Generally, there remains a shortage of identifiable plots to house all the villans, but always there is more than enough core farmland that cannot be associated with a farm to fulfil the requirement. The application of the modified Hoskins' model has permitted a more confident placement of many of the villans of Domesday, coupled with the identification of numerous, possible, hamlets. This modified model may have little applicability in the parishes of the Midlands that were dominated by open fields, but may be of use in future work aimed at understanding the Domesday settlement of other 'peripheral' parts of England (Chapter 1).

The caveats that have been added to each individual map, 'Isolated Settlement 1242-1281' for example (Figure 7.27) and the lengthy discussions, in each case study, concerning the location of the manors, coupled with the final comparison of villans with identifiable villans' plots and the identification of possible former hamlets, combine to present the 'error budget' that must be accepted with each of the Domesday maps. This error budget is partly the result of the 750 years between Domesday and the Tithe Commutation, during which records that were made have been lost, commonplace facts were not recorded and what may have started almost as oral tradition has been incorrectly transcribed (if it was recorded at all), but also it is the result of trying to 'bend' the Domesday data to a

purpose for which it was not intended in the first place – namely the creation of a map. The settlement pattern that has been associated with each of the Domesday maps is, at the least, a credible attempt at recreating that attribute of the map. We will now look at the comparisons of agricultural land that have been made in an attempt to verify the land-use element of the Domesday maps, starting with the morphology of fields.

Irregular fields are normally associated with reclamation or clearance events, while regular fields derive from the later enclosure of land that had already been cleared (Taylor 2000). Nominally, the identification of both morphologies is simple, a matter of distinguishing between fields with a polygonal shape and ‘wavy’ boundaries and fields with a rectangular shape and straight sides. The briefest glance, however, at a 6” County Series OS map will instantly establish the erroneous nature of such a simplistic view, and one is confronted with a myriad of fields, none of which conform to either irregular or regular – these fields represent the ‘in between’ morphologies. The product of the fieldscape analysis is equally simple to define; there are fields that were probably enclosed, fields that were probably not enclosed and probable former open fields. The challenge lies in successfully navigating between the initial characterisation and the eventual interpretation – traversing the semi-irregular and intermediate morphologies to be found in Rippon, Smart and Wainwright (2006), for example. Beyond any discussion about irregular and regular fields it is possible to identify some fields that may be considered a ‘given’, of which land enclosed by parliament is the best example. Settlement may be another one, but this is dependent upon continuity and valley bottom is a third, but this is open to interpretation. Finally, woodland was considered to be a fourth example of land whose character would be immutable throughout the analysis – woodland in 1840 has been determined to have been woodland in 1086, due to the general lack of any woodland clearance being reported in the pollen sequences. Returning briefly to the initial definitions of regular and irregular employed during the fieldscape characterisation, the reader will remember that the deciding factor

was determined to be 'straight sides'. A field would be designated 'regular' as long as it had a single straight side; otherwise it was irregular; except for the long-thin fields, which were seen as a special case.

The rationalisation phase represents the process through which the provenance of both regular and irregular fields was determined and it is considered that this permitted the accurate separation of the early and later enclosure in the final, interpretation phase. Certainly the results of the analysis of the field-names, of those fields whose names may denote early or late enclosure, suggests that the identification of these fields improved as a result of this process (Tables 9.3 & 9.4). The rationalisation phase also permitted the separation of regular fields, dependent upon their origins. That is separating those that resulted from the enclosure of larger irregular fields from those that resulted from the enclosure of open fields and, of more importance, separating both these from the regular fields that were the result of the later enclosure of previously cleared land. The rationalisation phase permitted the interpretation phase to 'fall into place' with relative ease and it was this final phase that created the map of land-use that is the basis of the Domesday maps. This product of the fieldscape interpretation was compared with the Domesday metrics, but only after a second, interpretive process had been applied to those metrics.

The timespan that reaches back to Domesday is too great to permit a complete understanding of the justification for, and the measures behind, the compilation of that Book. Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 3, the adoption of an interpretation of the land measures employed in 1086, local, regional or national, should provide some insights, that are not too inaccurate, into the true extents of the land used for different agricultural purposes at that time. Three such interpretations were discussed - a local acre, a Devon acre and a statute acre – and the brief comparison of the results achieved through the use of each has demonstrated that there is not a significant difference between them (Chapter 9). In this thesis we have employed the statute acre throughout and the results have

indicated that a ploughland throughout most of Devon may be taken to have been about 90 acres, that is to say that a team of oxen could be expected to plough $\frac{3}{4}$ acre per day. The final case study suggested that the size of a ploughland on the higher ground, on the periphery of Exmoor may have only been 60 acres, which equates to ploughing a mere $\frac{1}{2}$ acre per day. The consistency of the results throughout the case studies adds to their credibility, which in itself may provide some insight into farming in Devon ca. 1086, but the caveats that need to be applied to these results must be remembered.

The application of the statute acre to the Domesday data, utilising Rackham's form factor for 'rectangular woodland' and Reichel's definition of a *leuca* (Chapter 4) permitted the creation of a range of sizes to be established that represented the possible extent of each manor in 1086. The range was created through using a 60 acre ploughland to determine the lower limit and a 90 acre ploughland the upper limit. By adding together the acreages derived for each manor in a parish and, thereby, deriving the amount of land that was used for agricultural purposes in that parish in 1086 and comparing this with the extent of enclosed land²⁷ in the parish derived through the map regression, it was possible to establish a degree of verification for the product of the regression. It should, of course, also have been possible to compare the size of a Domesday manor with the 'regression manor'. Generally, the comparisons at a parochial level were very satisfactory, those at a manorial level less so. The poor performance of the check at the manorial level has been discussed, as we have progressed through the case studies and was summarised in the last chapter. We started Chapter 3 with a quote from Vinogradoff about the benefits of becoming intimately acquainted with a study area (Vinogradoff, 1892, viii) and this may be an example where a more in depth study of the parish, its history, the situation of the manors and farms may permit a better recreation of the putative manorial extents, but that is beyond this thesis. The generally good results at the larger, parochial scale, are believed

²⁷ In this case 'enclosed land' is considered to be land that was enclosed, land that was open field and woodland.

to provide sufficient verification to the regression process that, in turn, allows the postulated areas of land-use, presented in the Domesday maps, to be considered to be a credible representation of the landscape in 1086.

Through combining the results of the fieldscape analysis with the interpretation of the Domesday metrics it has been possible to determine that, in Devon, a ploughland was probably 90 acres, although this may reduce to as little as 60 acres as one approaches the moorland. This was achieved by assuming that the Domesday 'surveyors' all used a statute acre as the unit of measurement – patently a fable since the acre was not standardised until the reign of Edward I (Hooke 1998, 126; Campbell & Bartley 2006, 35) – and yet, there is a documentary record of a ploughland of 100 acres, just south of Broadclyst (CS I), in 1362 (Finberg 1969b, 135), by which time statute acres *should have been in use*. Furthermore it has been shown that the results vary only a little if one uses a Devon acre or a 'local' acre (Chapter 9). It may be that none of these units were in use, it may be that they were all used, but on different manors. Whilst Darby's (1977, 120) comment that 'we cannot use the ploughland figure to provide a *consistent* picture of the available land *throughout* all England' (my italics) remains true to this day, it has been shown here that the ploughland may be used to assist our understanding of the more local exploitation of the land in 1086.

The final products of the successive case studies have been a series of Domesday maps of the respective parishes. The constituent parts of each map have been compared against a series of metrics drawn from the Domesday Book, and we have looked at the results of these comparisons. There are a number of caveats that need to be borne in mind when considering each verification check, with the bulk of these surrounding the settlement pattern purported to be that of 1086. With all these constraints in mind it is considered that the final maps presented in each case study as a 'possible' representation of the parishes at Domesday, may be viewed as layers of accuracy as follows. The

presentation of the Domesday manors is probably the most accurate, although a degree of settlement 'drift' must be accepted between 1086 and ca. 1840. There are some manors, in particular the two West Anstey manors, whose position would appear to be irrevocably lost. The second most accurate level is represented by the land-use picture that has been constructed through the map regression; here it is a pity that it has not been possible to separate the holdings into demesnes and satellite farms with any degree of confidence. The least accurate level is that of the settlement pattern, excluding the manors. Here the destructive principles underlying the map regression have been very evident and the pattern is incomplete, based as it is upon EPNS data and also the dating of vernacular buildings. The recovery of only a few settlement indicative field-names may suggest that there are not many 'lost' settlements in Devon, but the count of Domesday 'farms'²⁸ in these few parishes still falls short of the sort of figure that may be anticipated from Hoskins' estimate of 8,508. Hoskins, however, was looking to one villan – one farm while this thesis has attempted to maintain a standard villans' plot throughout. This has led to the identification of numerous possible hamlets that, in turn, reduces the Hoskins count. One problem that has been encountered at every level is the identification of the putative extents of farms and manors alike in 1086, a problem that has been caused, for the most part, by unrecorded boundary shifts and property movement across 750 years.

Much of the uncertainty inherent in this work could be resolved through field-work. Non-destructive investigation of *all* the fields whose names contain possible settlement indicative names, and those farms that have been identified as possible shrunken hamlets, could help to improve the mapping of the settlement pattern. Whilst that may be seen as a 'small' project, certainly if confined just to those fields identified in this thesis as being 'of interest', the solution to dating the enclosures may not be so readily achievable. Many of the fields in this work are surrounded by hedgebanks of prodigious size and

²⁸ That is farms whose existence in the two hundred years after Domesday can be proven.

considerable antiquity, which need to be dated if we are to improve our understanding of the development of the fields of Devon, but dating a hedgebank is far easier said than done.

We started this thesis by looking at the fallacy of the ubiquity of the Midlands style common fields, as identified by Gonner and Gray, the first from the perspective of acts of parliamentary enclosure of common fields and common land and the second through the study of terriers and surveys. In Devon we have encountered evidence for the enclosure of common land, but not of common field, and we have identified some open fields, but certainly not a plethora. Underpinning the work of Roberts and Wrathmell was the argument that, from the perspective of Devon and Cornwall (the 'South West Peninsula sub-Province'), the settlement pattern was for the most part one of dispersal and not nucleation, unlike the pattern in the Central Province. Their 'tipping the balance in favour of dispersal' (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000; 2002) leaves room for some nucleated villages, and these have been found in East Devon, but not in Mid Devon. The work of Gonner and Gray, with some modification, has stood the test of time, as will, no doubt, the more recent work of Roberts and Wrathmell, and one should not be surprised that the results of this thesis do little more than confirm their findings, and only at a 'local' level. It is within the realms of the recreation of past landscapes – Whiteparish, Ercall, Whittlewood and Rockingham, for example – that this thesis finds its place, and not as *just* another set of medieval maps, that cover a larger area than Hill's work (Ercall Manor) and a smaller area than that covered by Foard *et al.* (Rockingham Forest). Each project has a unique set of records that have supported its work, each using a unique methodology. There are elements of the methodology used in this thesis that may not suit other areas, but the techniques employed here are designed to be more generic, making use of a set of records that should be available almost everywhere in England: the tithe map, tithe apportionment and Domesday Book.

Appendix 1

The Domesday Record

This list contains the details of the Domesday manors that were recorded in the Domesday Book, as translated in the Phillimore edition (Thorn & Thorn 1983; 1985a). The manors are presented in case study order, and the list includes *all* the manors that Thorn and Thorn considered were located in the parishes covered by this thesis (Thorn & Thorn 1983; 1985b).

Case Study I

Broadclyst Parish:

Broadclyst (1,56) – Land of the King

The King holds Broadclyst. Ordwulf held it before 1066. It paid tax for 9½ hides. Land for 35 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 11 slaves; 7 freedmen; 2 *hides*. 35 villagers and 30 smallholders with 26 ploughs *and* 6½ *hides*. A mill which pays 20s; meadow, 40 acres; woodland, 150 acres; pasture, ½ league. 1 *cob*; 10 *cattle*; 4 *pigs*; 100 *sheep*. Value £24 by weight.

Ashclyst (16,89) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

The Canons of St Mary's hold Ashclyst from Baldwin. Four thanes held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide and ½ virgate of land. Land for 9 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs *and* ½ *hide*, with 1 slave; 10 villagers and 4 smallholders with 1 plough *and* ½ *hide and* ½ *virgate*. Meadow, 17 acres; pasture, 50 acres; woodland, 5 acres. 20 *cattle*. Value formerly and now 40s.

West Clyst (16,92) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

The Canons of St Mary's hold (West) Clyst themselves from Baldwin. Wulfeva held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2½ virgates of land. Land for 3 ploughs. 3½ ploughs there. 3 villagers, 3 smallholders and 3 slaves. Pasture, 3 acres; meadow, 10 acres. 1 *cow*; 5 *sheep*. Formerly 20s; value now 15s. From this manor 1 furlong of land has been taken away, which belonged there before 1066; it has been added to Poltimore, Odo's manor. Value 12d.

Clyst Gerred (43,2) – Land of Osbern of Sacey

Osbern himself holds Clyst (Gerred). Uhtred held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 hides and 1 virgate of land. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 2 slaves; *1½ hides*. 3 villagers and 6 smallholders with 6 ploughs *and 1 hide and 3 virgates*. Meadow, 40 acres; pasture, 60 acres; woodland, 26 acres. *8 cattle; 2 pigs; 61 sheep; 27 goats*. Formerly 15s; value now 40s.

Columbjohn (49,2) – Land of Fulchere

Fulchere holds Columjohn himself. Brictrmer held it before 1066. It paid tax for 3 virgates of land, Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 3 slaves; *1 virgate and 1 furlong*. 4 villagers and 4 smallholders *(have) 2 virgates, less 1 furlong*. A mill which pays 25s; meadow, 7 acres; underwood, 6 acres; pasture, 36 acres. *10 cattle; 40 sheep*. Formerly 60s; value now 45s.

Eveleigh (49,3) – Land of Fulchere

Fulchere holds Eveleigh himself. Brictrmer held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 1 plough, which is there, with 3 smallholders. Meadow, 2 acres; pasture, 40 acres; woodland, 100 acres. Value formerly and now 15s.

Poltimore Parish:

Poltimore (16,90) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

The Canons of St Mary's hold Poltimore themselves from Baldwin. Wulfmer *Cott* held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide. Land for 2 ploughs. 1 plough there, *in lordship, and 1½ virgates*. 2 smallholders and 5 slaves *(have) ½ virgate*. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 80 acres. *14 cattle; 3 pigs; 92 sheep*. Value formerly and now 10s.

Poltimore (50,1) – Land of Haimerich

Haimerich holds Poltimore from the King. Brictric and Sheerwold held it jointly before 1066. It paid tax for 3 hides, 1 virgate and 3 furlongs. Land for 9 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; *1 hide, 2 virgates and 2½ furlongs*. 22 villagers and 3 smallholders with 4 ploughs *and 1 hide, 2 virgates and 1 furlong*. Meadow, 47 acres; woodland, 100 acres; pasture, 53 acres. *1 cob; 20 cattle; 8 pigs; 30 sheep*. Formerly 20s; value now 30s.

Case Study II

Blackborough Parish:

Blackborough (16,101) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

Godric held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide. Land for 1 plough, which is there, in lordship, and 1 virgate, with 1 slave and 1 villager and 4 smallholders (who have) 1 virgate. Meadow, 5 acres; pasture, 20 acres. Formerly 5s; value now 10s.

Blackborough (34,20) – Land of Ralph of Pomeroy

Alnoth held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide. Land for 2 ploughs, which are there. 2 villagers and 3 smallholders. Meadow, 3 acres; pasture, 100 acres. 13 cattle; 4 pigs; 30 sheep; 8 goats. Formerly 10s; value now 20s.

Blackborough (51,7) – Land of the Kings servants

Ralph Botin holds Blackborough from William the Usher. Leofwin Sock held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. Land for 3 ploughs. Ralph has in lordship ½ hide and ½ virgate. 9 villagers and 2 slaves have ½ hide and ½ virgate. Meadow, 4 acres; pasture, 100 acres; underwood, 2 acres. 2 cattle; 12 pigs; 40 sheep; 30 goats. Formerly 10s; value now 20s.

Kentisbeare Parish:

Kentisbeare (16,100) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

Edwy held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs. 1 plough there, in lordship, and 2 furlongs, with 1 slave. 4 smallholders (have) 2 furlongs. Meadow, 10 acres; woodland, 10 acres. Formerly 5s; value now 10s.

Kentisbeare (16,102) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

Norman held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide. Land for 4 ploughs, which are there, with 2 slaves and 3 villagers and 5 smallholders. A mill which pays 5s; meadow, 10 acres; woodland, 10 acres. 5 cattle; 10 pigs; 40 sheep. Formerly 40s; value now 30s.

Aller (16,103) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

Alward held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs, 1 plough there, in lordship and 3 furlongs, with 1 slave and 1 villager and 5 smallholders (who have) 1 furlong. Meadow, 10 acres; woodland, 10 acres. 3 pigs. Value formerly and now 10s.

Aller (32,3) – Land of Ralph Pagnell

Ralph himself holds Aller. Before 1066 it paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 10 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 5 slaves; 1 virgate. 14 villagers and 9 smallholders with 7 ploughs and 3 virgates. Meadow, 20 acres; woodland, 20 acres; pasture, 50 acres. 1 animal; 66 sheep. Formerly 60s; value now 100s.

Note: This manor is discussed in Chapter 5 and is determined not to have been in Kentisbeare parish.

Kingsford (16,99) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

Edsi held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ virgate of land. ½ plough there. 2 smallholders with 1 slave. Meadow, 6 acres; woodland, 4 acres. 4 pigs; 10 sheep. Value formerly and now 5s.

Orway (38,2) – Land of Alfred of ‘Spain’

Alfred holds Orway himself. Alwy held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough and 1 virgate, with 1 slave; 8 villagers and 6 smallholders (who have) 1 virgate. Meadow, 5 acres; pasture, 100 acres; woodland, 4 acres. Value formerly and now 30s.

Pirzwell (19,21) – Land of William Cheever

Hamo holds Pirzwell from William. Aelfric held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide and 1 virgate of land. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 5 slaves; 2 ½ virgates. 8 villagers and 4 smallholders with 2 ploughs and 2 ½ virgates. Meadow, 8 acres; underwood, 14 acres; pasture, 30 acres. 9 pigs, 44 sheep. Formerly 30s; value now 40s.

Uffculme Parish

Uffculme (23,9) – Land of Walter of Douai

Walscin holds Uffculme himself. Edeva held it before 106. It paid tax for 14 hides. Land for 30 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 6 slaves; 5 hides. 45 villagers and 6 smallholders with 15 ploughs and 9 hides. 2 mills which pay 10s; meadow, 25 acres; underwood, 25 acres; pasture, 60 acres. 1 cob; 14 cattle; 220 sheep; 10 goats. 2 pigmen who pay 15 pigs. Formerly £10; value now £12.

Case Study III

Cotleigh Parish:

Womberford (15,24) – Land of the Count of Mortain

Dogo holds Womberford from the Count. Wulfward held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 3 ploughs, which are there, with 1 slave and 6 villagers. Meadow, 3 acres; woodland, 40 acres; pasture, 40 acres. 7 cattle; 50 sheep. [Value] formerly 3s; now 5s.

Cotleigh (15,35) – Land of the Count of Mortain

Richard holds Cotleigh from the Count. Edmer held it before 1066. It paid tax for 2 hides. Land for 8 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs and 1 hide and ½ virgate, with 1 slave; 17 villagers and 4 smallholders with 6 ploughs and 1 hide, less ½ virgate. 8 pigs; 60 sheep. Formerly 20s; value now 40s.

Stockland Parish:

Stockland 12,14 – Land of Milton Abbey (St Peters Milton)

Stockland. Hervey son of Ansgar holds from the Abbot. Before 1066 it paid tax for 10 hides. Land for 16 ploughs, of which 4 hides are in lordship; 2 ploughs there; 4 slaves. 40 villagers have 20 ploughs and 6 hides. 3 mills which pay 37d; meadow, 23 acres; woodland, 13 furlongs long and 12 wide. 4 cattle; 7 pigs; 20 goats. Value £9. This manor was always (part) of the monks' lordships for their supplies and clothing.

Case Study IV

Cruwys Morchard Parish:

Cruwys Morchard 3,73 – Bishop of Coutances

(Cruwys) Morchard. Algar held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land and 1 furlong. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough, with 1 slave; 4 villagers and 4 smallholders with 1 plough and ½ virgate and 1 furlong. Meadow, 6 acres; pasture, 100 acres; woodland, 10 acres. 13 cattle; 13 pigs; 40 sheep; 36 goats. [Value] formerly 5s; now 12s 6d.

Lower Creedy 3,72 – Bishop of Coutances

(Lower) Creedy. Goda held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs. 4 villagers have $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. Value 5s; when the Bishop acquired it, 12s 6d. This land belongs to (Cruwys) Morchard.

Note: This manor was near Crediton and has not been considered in this thesis.

Cruwys Morchard 19,35 – William Cheever

William holds (Cruwys) Morchard himself. Aelmer held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide. He took it away from Alward son of Toki after King William came to England. Land for 20 ploughs. In lordship 4 ploughs; 7 slaves; $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. 20 villagers and 4 smallholders with 7 ploughs and $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. A smith. Meadow, 40 acres; pasture, 200 acres; woodland, 30 acres. [...] cattle; 6 pigs; 160 sheep. Formerly 40s; value now £6. William holds this with Alward's land.

Yeadbury 34,36 – Ralph of Pomeroy

William also holds Yeadbury from Ralph. Saeric held it before 1066. It paid tax for $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of land. Land for 1 plough. 2 slaves. Pasture, 30 acres. Value formerly and now 3s.

Ruckham 50,2 – Haimeric

Ruckham. Aelmer held it before 1066. It paid tax for $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of land. Land for 1 plough, which is there, with 1 ... slave. Meadow, 1 acre; woodland, 4 acres; common pasture. Value 5s.

Hill 50,3 – Haimeric

Hill. Edmer held it before 1066. It paid tax for $\frac{1}{2}$ furlong. $\frac{1}{2}$ plough there, with 1 slave. Meadow, 20 acres; pasture, 100 acres. Value 40d.

Coombe (in C M) 50,4 – Haimeric

Coombe. Edmer held it before 1066. It paid tax for $\frac{1}{2}$ furlong. Land for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough, which is there, with 1 villager. Meadow 1 acre. Value 30d.

Templeton Parish:

Coombe 3,75 - Bishop of Coutances

Coombe. Alward held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide. Land for 3 ploughs. 2 ploughs there. 3 villagers with 1 slave. Meadow, 3 acres; pasture, 20 acres; woodland, 6 acres. 10 cattle; 5 pigs; 10 sheep; 8 goats. Value 10s; value when the Bishop acquired it, as much.

Celvertesberie 3,76 – Bishop of Coutances

Celvertesberie. Alwin held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide, less 1 furlong. Land for 6 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 2 slaves; ½ hide. 3 villagers and 2 smallholders (have) 3 furlongs and 1 virgate and 2 oxen. Meadow, 15 acres; pasture, 100 acres; underwood, 6 acres. 6 cattle; 15 pigs; 27 sheep. Formerly 5s; value now 15s.

Coombe has been added to this manor. Weland held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land and 1 furlong. 1 plough can plough it. It is unoccupied.

Coombe 3,78 – Bishop of Coutances

Coombe. Brungar held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 1 plough, which is there, with 1 slave. Meadow, 3 acres; underwood, 2 acres. 10 cattle; 8 pigs; 30 sheep. Formerly 3s; value now 5s.

Case Study V

Molland Parish:

Molland (1,41) – Land of the King

Before 1066 it paid tax for 4 hides and 1 furlong. Land for 40 ploughs. In lordship 3 ploughs; 10 slaves; 1 hide. 30 villagers and 20 smallholders with 16 ploughs and 3 hides and 1 furlong. Meadow, 12 acres; woodland, 15 acres; pasture 3 leagues in length and width. 30 cattle; 70 sheep. It pays £24 by weight. Blackpool has been joined to this manor.

Molland (3,61) – Land of the Bishop of Coutances

Wulfwen held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide. Land for 4 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 2 slaves; 1 virgate. 3 villagers and 4 smallholders with 1 plough and 1 virgate. Meadow, 1 ½ acres; woodland, 30 acres. 8 cattle; 10 pigs; 40 sheep. Value formerly and now 25s.

West Anstey Parish:

Anstey (3,62) – Land of the Bishop of Coutances

Algar held it before 1066. It paid tax for ½ hide, less 1 furlong. Land for 3 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 6 slaves; 2½ furlongs. 3 villagers with 1 plough and 3½ furlongs. Meadow, 1 acre; woodland, 20 acres; pasture 1 league long and ½ league wide. 6 cattle; 4 pigs; 30 sheep; 16 goats. Formerly 15s; value now 20s.

Anstey (16,78) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

Ansger holds Anstey from Baldwin. Godwin held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 hide. Land for 9 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 slaves; 1 virgate. 7 villagers and 45 smallholders with 4 ploughs and 3 virgates. 1 pigman who pays 6 pigs. Meadow, 6 acres; woodland, 120 acres; pasture, 1 league in length and width. 25 cattle; 60 sheep; 30 goats. Formerly 30s; value now 40s.

Ringcombe (16,79) – Land of Baldwin the Sheriff

Ansger holds Ringcombe from Baldwin. Kipping held it before 1066. It paid tax for 1 virgate of land. Land for 2 ploughs. 2 villagers have ½ plough. Formerly 12d; value now 3s.

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- Notes:**
- 1. DRO hold a separate register for tithe maps and apportionments and another one for Parliamentary Acts of Inclosure. While these records do have accession numbers these are not readily available and are not used to identify the documents within the DRO search room. These numbers are not referred to in this bibliography.**
 - 2. Generally information from the Historic Environment Record is not listed in this bibliography. All such data is only referenced in the text thus: HER followed by the CIN number.**

Case Study I

Broadclyst

Tithe	Tithe Map 1842, Tithe Apportionment 1841.
Lease	Blakewoods 1735, DRO 1148M/add 2/L 15/415.
Enclosure	Parliamentary Act of Inclosure 1833, DRO Inclosure 17.

Poltimore

Tithe	Tithe Map 1841, Tithe Apportionment 1837.
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Case Study II

Blackborough

Tithe	Tithe Map 1844, Tithe Apportionment 1845.
Record	Site of Manor House – McManamon undated letter (received 2/3/1993) reports Raleigh Radford assertion that Culm Side is on site of old manor house – HER 19930.

Cullompton

Tithe	Tithe Map 1841, Tithe Apportionment 1839.
Survey	DRO Inclosure 1 – Inclosure of Mutterton Moor and Langford Heathfield in Allerpeverell in Cullompton, 1816.
Record	DRO74B/ I 1, 1810. Parliamentary Act of Inclosure of Mutterton Moor etc.

Kentisbeare

Tithe	Tithe Map 1842, Tithe Apportionment 1841.
Survey	DRO/3223A add 2/PS4 1769 – Survey of the roads of Kentisbeare 1769. DRO Inclosure 50 – Inclosure of Kentismoor, 1826. SRO DD WY C306 DEV 9 – Survey of Kentisbeare Manor dated 1810.

Uffculme

Tithe	Tithe Map 1840, Tithe Apportionment 1839. Hurleys: Tithe Map, 1840, Tithe Apportionment, 1840.
Survey	DRO Inclosure 76 – Inclosure of Uffculme Down etc., 1838.

Case Study III

Cotleigh

Tithe	Tithe Map 1840, Tithe Apportionment 1840.
Record	Land Tax Assessment, First Series, 1780-1832. Cotleigh. No accession number.

Stockland

Tithe	Tithe Map 1840, Tithe Apportionment 1844.
Survey	Plan of the estates Belonging to James Thomas Benedictus Marwood, ca. 1781, DRO 50/3/2/9. Stockland Inclosure (including Longbeare Down, Horner Hill, Beacon Hill, Broad Mead and Ley Green), 1842/8, DRO Inclosure D.1428.

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Case Study IV

Cruwys Morchard

Tithe Tithe Map 1840, Tithe Apportionment 1839.
Survey Fork Farm, 1777 (DRO 3372M/2).
Record Chapple and West Park, 1743, Recovery (DRO 614B/T24).

Templeton

Tithe Tithe Map 1842, Tithe Apportionment 1842.

Case Study V

Molland

Tithe Tithe Map 1841, Tithe Apportionment 1843.

West Anstey

Tithe Tithe Map 1840, Tithe Apportionment 1839.

Others

Survey SRO T/PH/dev/2. Tatworth 1599. photocopy of Schedule of
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