

LONGHOUSES IN THE DUDDON VALLEY, CUMBRIA

A survey of building remains and their
surrounding landscapes

Duddon Valley Local History Group

July 2013

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Cover photo: Building remains at Longhouse Close, Duddon Valley. Aerial photograph taken using a model aircraft. © Reg Tyson

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
1	SUMMARY	4
2	INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
3	BACKGROUND	8
4	METHODS	11
5	LEVEL 1 SURVEY RESULTS	14
6	LEVEL 2 SURVEY RESULTS	21
	6.1 Baskell Farm	23
	6.2 Dobby Shaw	28
	6.3 Foss How	33
	6.4 Lad How	37
	6.5 Long House Close	41
	6.6 Low Sella	45
	6.7 Newfield Wood	49
	6.8 Pannel Holme	58
	6.9 Pikeside Farm	62
	6.10 Stephead Close	72
	6.11 Tongue House High Close	76
7	HISTORICAL RESEARCH	86
	7.1 Colonisation and abandonment	86
	7.2 Baskell Farm	89
	7.3 Dobby Shaw, Longhouse Close, Lad How, Pannel Holme, Foss How and Tongue House High Close	90
	7.4 Low Sella	91
	7.5 Newfield Wood	95
	7.6 Pikeside Farm	98
	7.7 Stephead Close	101
8	DISCUSSION	102
9	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	105
10	REFERENCES	106
	ANNEXES 1-3	110

1. SUMMARY

- 1.1 This document describes a project run by the Duddon Valley Local History Group to survey a number of putative longhouse structures in the Duddon Valley, most of which had been recorded during the Ring Cairns to Reservoirs project (2006-2009).
- 1.2 Longhouses were rectangular, single-storey medieval farmhouses which usually sheltered both humans and their livestock (in winter).
- 1.3 Initial fieldwork involved Level 1 surveys of 37 structures to gather enough information to allow rational decisions about the most appropriate sites for further investigation.
- 1.4 Level 2 field techniques were then used to measure 16 of the most relevant structures, employing tape and offset methods for recording individual buildings, and GPS surveys of the surrounding landscapes. Aerial photography using model aircraft was also deployed at many sites.
- 1.5 In addition to the fieldwork, intensive archive searches were made for any historical documents which might shed light on the origins of the surveyed buildings.
- 1.6 It appears likely that most or all of the surveyed structures date from the mid-late medieval period, and all were probably abandoned by the mid-19th century. Most are located on the valley sides on fairly marginal land, at altitudes of 200-300 metres.
- 1.7 Three well-preserved structures appear to conform to the two-cell longhouse design, while two single-celled structures in good condition may have been temporarily-occupied shielings. In some cases, several buildings are grouped into small settlements. Some of the other buildings may also have been longhouses, but have collapsed or been quarried for stone to such an extent that their original shape is hard to discern.
- 1.8 Most of the structures are surrounded by landscapes containing traces of early agricultural activities, particularly low enclosure walls and clearance cairns. These remains suggest that the people who occupied the buildings were predominantly pastoralists.
- 1.9 The report concludes with recommendations for future work, including steps needed to preserve these old buildings, and proposals for excavations to identify building dates and describe the ways of life of the medieval upland farmers.

2. INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Duddon Valley Local History Group (DVLHG) has been carrying out archaeological investigations for several years, mainly with the collaboration of professional archaeologists in the Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA) (John Hodgson and Eleanor Kingston) and the National Trust (NT) (Jamie Lund). Our last major piece of work, conducted with financial support from the Heritage Lottery Fund, was a 3-year survey of much of the Duddon Valley in order to locate and briefly describe whatever archaeological remains were to be found on the surface of fields and fells. This project, which was led by John Hoggett (DVLHG) and John Hodgson, was known as **Ring Cairns to Reservoirs** or R2R, and in addition to the survey work, included the excavation of two Bronze Age ring cairns at Lead Pike. It resulted in the publication of a book (DVLHG, 2009) and several archaeological walks leaflets to assist members of the public who wished to visit key sites.

More than 3000 previously unrecorded archaeological sites in the Duddon Valley were documented by **R2R**, with estimated dates ranging from the Bronze Age to the Twentieth Century. The locations and brief descriptions of the majority of these sites are archived in the Lake District Historic Environment Record and may be viewed as a database layer at the offices of the Lake District National Park at Murley Moss. In due course, they will be available on-line (<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/collections/blurbs/801.cfm>). The R2R data are also being entered into a Geographic Information System covering the Duddon Valley which is being constructed by DVLHG to assist with informing local people about archaeological remains in their area.

Among these many sites (plus more that had been identified in earlier years), there were several dozen which included the footings (and sometimes partially-collapsed walls) of what appeared to be ancient farm buildings. Some were surmised to be of medieval date, possessing characteristics which suggested that they might be of the longhouse type (see section 3) which is thought to have been introduced to Cumbria by Norse colonisers between about 800 and 1000 AD. Some members of DVLHG had also been involved earlier with the excavation of a Norse longhouse at Stephenson Ground in the Lickle Valley (Ball, 1994; Thorpe and Ball, 1994; see Annex 2), and others were assisting archaeologists from Birmingham University in the excavation of a longhouse at Tonguesdale Moss in Eskdale (<http://photosynth.net/view.aspx?cid=c1ae0563-da90-4624-92ae-029376729ba9>). It was felt that some of the new sites found by **R2R** would repay more detailed investigation, so with the support of John Hodgson and Jamie Lund, DVLHG set up its Duddon and Lickle Valley Longhouse Project in February 2011. The original project plan can be found in Annex 1, and it states that the project would *'be done in such a way that we record the relative positions of each site and other information that will, together with archival research, enable an in-depth comparison of them to be made. The purpose of this work will be to understand*

more fully the number and type of such settlements, and enable the selection of sites for future excavation’.

The support of the Lake District National Park and National Trust archaeologists was crucial for the success of this project, as was the enthusiastic participation of many members of DVLHG (see below). Furthermore, the project was financially supported by South Copeland Neighbourhood Forum, the Duddon Parish Trust (funded by CGP Group), and the Robert Kiln Charitable Trust, allowing us to purchase a variety of survey equipment including a hand-held GPS instrument. Reg Tyson, a local model aircraft enthusiast, conducted precision aerial photography of several sites with a variety of fixed-wing and rotary-wing models, for which we are extremely grateful. Invaluable assistance was also given by Mark Simpson (for advice on how to set up a geographic information system (GIS)), Martin Sowerby of Abacus Archaeology (for preparation of electronic versions of the longhouse survey drawings), and Mark Kincey (for help with rectification of aerial photographs).

We thank the owners and tenants of the various sites visited who kindly gave us free access to their land during this project. These included Mr J Angus (Hazel Head Farm); Mr J Askew (Pikeside Farm); Mr S Barr (Bank Head Cottage); Mr C Chinn (High Wallowbarrow); Mr R Clegg (Tongue House Farm); Mr D Crowe (Woodend Farm); Mr D Ellwood (Baskell Farm); Mr and Mrs Fitzwilliam (Moorhouse Farm); Mr and Mrs Gabbert (Pannel Holme Farm); Mr S Gorst (Hoses Farm); J and R Harper (Scrithwaite Farm); Mr A Hartley (Turner Hall Farm); Mr D Hatton (Knot End Farm); Mr S Hoggarth (Far Kiln Bank); Ms J Johnson (Fenwick Farm); Mr B Longworth (Sella Farm); Mr J McWilliam (Folds Farm); and Mr D Parker. The work would have been impossible without their willing agreement.

DVLHG members participated in project operations through attachment to one or more of four field teams, an archival research team, a GPS technical team, and a steering committee. Our thanks go to the many knowledgeable and enthusiastic DVLHG members involved in the project, including Gail Batten, Bob Bell, Ian Boyle, Liz Burslem, Bryan Cole, Gill Hoggett, John Hoggett, Dave Hughes, Anthea Jones, Alan Linnitt, Sue Lydon, Alison Matthews, Rob McKeever, Joyce Medcalf, Lynda Merrill, Frances Rand, Ricky Rushton, John Sayles, Cath Taylor, Sally Varian, Liz Wallis, Piers Waterston, Alan Westall, and John Wilkinson.

Finally, our thanks also go to the DVLHG Committee for its generous financial and moral support.

Fig. 2.1. Some of the DVLHG volunteers involved with the longhouse project. A training day at Dobby Shaw, Duddon Valley, January 2011. The bracken infestation is clear to see.



3. BACKGROUND

The Lake District is justly famous for its vernacular building styles (Brunskill, 1985) which use local materials that blend in perfectly with the landscape. Many of these buildings were constructed for agricultural use, and those dating from the post-medieval era are sometimes sophisticated two- or three storey structures, the majority of which are still being used (although these days not always for farming). However, the Cumbrian landscape is strewn with the remains of earlier agricultural buildings which fell out of use and gradually collapsed, or were quarried to re-use the stone for newer building and walling projects. In particular, there are many remnants of relatively simple farm houses, beginning with Bronze Age and Iron Age stone-built roundhouses (so-called hut circles). Earlier Stone Age building remains have not been found in Cumbria. However, the fashion in Cumbria (and elsewhere in the UK) for circular, one-room dwellings came to a fairly abrupt end during the fourth quarter of the first millennium AD, and they were generally replaced with single- or multi-celled longhouses.

Longhouses were rectangular or sub-rectangular, single-storey farmhouses roofed with timbers covered in reeds, bracken or turf, which made their appearance in the UK in the early medieval period, the design probably having been introduced to Cumbria by Norse settlers in the 9th century. Their drystone walls were generally little more than 1 metre high (although some may have been augmented with turf), and the A-frame roof timbers would have rested directly on these low walls. A detailed description of their main features was prepared for DVLHG in 2011 by Peter Matthiessen and Jennifer Gallagher, and is reproduced in Annex 2, so full details will not be given here. It should be noted, however, that longhouses are distinct from shielings, which were small, rectilinear, seasonally-occupied huts used solely by herders in the summer as part of transhumance practices. In contrast, longhouses were designed for continuous occupation by both farmers and their livestock.

Annex 2 refers to 9 longhouse sites in Cumbria (including those at Stephenson Ground and Tonguesdale Moss – Figs. 3.1 and 3.2), but more have been documented since 2011 by Quartermaine and Leech (2012), or cited by them. These include a longhouse with internal partition at Green How, Muncaster (Eskdale); a longhouse complex at Scale Farm, Whin Garth (near Gosforth, NY 091 056); two longhouses at Great Grassoms, Bootle Fell (near Bootle, SD 135 883); a longhouse in an enclosure at Askham Fell (near Askham, NY 495 232); and a longhouse complex at Crosbythwaite in the Duddon Valley (SD 192 955). Yet more Cumbrian longhouses, of medieval date, have been described at Little Asby Scar (NY 680 090) near Kirkby Stephen (Schofield, 2009; Griffiths, 2010), and several others are to be found in the Lake District Historic Environment Record. Thus, about 15-20 longhouse sites have been documented in Cumbria, and there are doubtless many more which remain to be discovered.

Apart from the longhouse at Askham Fell, Quartermaine and Leech (2012) state that no other Cumbrian longhouses lie within enclosures (like many earlier roundhouses), and that they range in form from single-celled shapes, to three-celled structures with extensive associated field systems. The structures reported by Quartermaine and Leech generally have a length to width ratio of 2:1, and range in length from 7.5 to 24 metres, with an average length of 11.5 m. The smaller ones are invariably single-celled, and while most have a single entrance on the long side, some have opposing entrances characteristic of cross-passage houses.

Based on even the few sites that have been dated, the longhouses in Cumbria range widely from early-medieval to post-medieval, showing that the design was durable and popular. The dated sites include Bryant's Gill, Kentmere 7th-10th century AD (although this may be more properly described as a shieling); Stephenson Ground, Lickle Valley 12th-14th century; Great Grassoms, Bootle 13th-16th century; Smithy Beck, Ennerdale 14th-16th century (Quartermaine and Leech, 2012). However, none in the Duddon Valley have yet been dated, and it is possible that some of these might have been constructed by Norse colonists in early-medieval times. This is consistent with the view that the northern Morecambe Bay area around what is now Furness and Copeland was an important Norse estate and landing place (Griffiths, 2010), and with the suggestion that later Norse colonisers in the 11th and 12th centuries were forced to make homesteads on the higher inland areas as the coastal estates were already occupied by earlier arrivals (Winchester, 1985). It is of interest that the Old Norse farming-related words for 'shieling hut' (*skali*) and 'clearing' (*thveit*), are present in certain Duddon Valley (and many other) place names such as How Scale Haw and Seathwaite.

In potential contradiction to this view of Norse influence, however, few if any artefacts of indisputably Norse origin have yet been found in any Cumbrian longhouses, or even at the two domestic sites in northern England which are known to be from the Viking period (*i.e.* Gauber High Pasture, Ribbleshead; Simy Folds, Upper Teesdale) (King, 1978; Coggins *et al.*, 1983). It is, of course, possible that no buildings of Norse construction remain extant, but that those buildings still visible were built to a pattern handed down informally from the period of Norse settlement. Indeed, despite the abundant place-name and linguistic evidence for Norse settlement in Cumbria (Griffiths, 2010), it seems probable on the basis of recent genetic analyses that Norwegian-Norse colonists during the latter quarter of the first millennium AD did not replace the majority of the pre-existing Cumbrian population, even though their cultural influence was probably considerable (Oppenheimer, 2006).

In summary, Norse-style longhouses (but not necessarily longhouses constructed by Norse people) constituted the main type of farm dwelling in Cumbria for over 500 years and their remains are to be found all over the area, but at present we still know relatively little about the people who lived in them or their ways of life. Artefacts from that period are rare, probably because most domestic objects were either organic or easily degraded in the

generally acid soils. Some interesting finds have been obtained in Cumbria from Norse bullion hoards and burials, but these bear only passing relevance to the life of subsistence farmers (*e.g.* see the website below for information on a recently-discovered Viking hoard dated to around 955 AD found close to the Duddon Valley on the Furness peninsula <http://www.dockmuseum.org.uk/default.aspx?page=470>).

To crystallise the aims of this project, there is a need to understand which of the many relict farmhouse structures in the Duddon Valley conform to the longhouse pattern, and to document their precise layout and condition. Furthermore, as will be apparent from the work of Quartermaine and Leech (2012), at least the larger Cumbrian longhouses appear to be associated with sometimes extensive field and enclosure systems, so there is also a need to investigate if such systems are to be found in the vicinity of Duddon longhouses in addition to those at Crosbythwaite. Finally, it is hoped that these field studies can be buttressed by historical information which may be present in various archives. This may assist an objective assessment of the possible age of the Duddon buildings, although it is appreciated that reliable dating is probably only possible by excavation. Indeed, it is hoped that this initial survey will form the starting point for one or more excavations, both to establish building dates and to investigate the lives of medieval Cumbrian farmers.

Fig. 3.1. Medieval longhouse at Stephenson Ground, Lickle Valley (©LDNPA).



Fig. 3.2 Longhouse excavation at Tonguesdale Moss, Eskdale, June 2011 (©Reg Tyson).



4. METHODS

The project was divided into two stages. During the first stage, sites discovered during R2R or otherwise previously documented were assessed on paper for their potential conformity to the characteristics of longhouses (see Annex 2), and a long-list of sites worth investigating further was drawn up. Each of these sites was then visited by a survey team that filled out a survey form (Annex 3), made a sketch plan, and took photographs (in essence, a detailed Level 1 survey). As well as information about the nature and condition of the putative longhouse itself, information was also sought about any structures such as ancient walls in the vicinity (within about 250 m) which were considered to be related to the longhouse.

During the project's second stage, the survey forms were evaluated, and with the assistance of the professional archaeologists from LDNPA and NT, a short-list of sites of greatest interest was compiled. This short-list was comprised of sites with buildings thought likely to be longhouses, and therefore worth surveying in detail. In several cases, sites had to be cleared of bracken before surveying began. Each site was then subjected to a Level 2 survey using standard tape and offset methods, and the surrounding landscape was surveyed by hand-held GPS to record agricultural features such as enclosures which might be associated with the longhouse. In addition, some sites were overflown by a model aircraft (a 'quadricopter') (Fig. 4.1) carrying a digital camera which was used to obtain photographs which could be rectified using survey pegs visible in shot.

Annex 3 contains the Level 2 protocols used during field surveys, plus details of the aerial photography mentioned above. The original plan set out in Annex 1 was adhered to fairly closely, although the hand-held GPS that was finally purchased and used was an Ashtech MobileMapper MMCX (Fig. 4.2), and not an Ashtech MobileMapper CX.

Originals of all survey drawings, plus GIS outputs and photographs, are held in the DVLHG archive.

Searches were conducted for written records which might shed light on the history of longhouse sites. There was a surprising amount of archive material available concerning the Duddon Valley considering it is such a remote part of the North West of England. There are over 1000 references in the National Archives A2A catalogue concerning the names of the parishes alone. Documents are rather inconveniently spread amongst Barrow, Carlisle, Lancaster, Preston, Whitehaven and Kendal Records Offices. As Dunnerdale with Seathwaite Parish is part of Kirkby Ireleth, a Peculiar¹ of the Diocese of York, many of the wills in this area are to be found in the Borthwick Collection².

Records consist mainly of legal documents but these are very diverse. They include wills, probates and inventories, deeds, feoffments³, conveyances, bonds, leases, agreements and many church and manorial documents etc. Unfortunately the coverage of manorial documents is rather patchy.

Some records exist from the early 17th century but very few from earlier times. Records from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries are quite common.

It has been borne in mind when reading early documents that familiar names may not be referring to the buildings we see today. They may refer to other buildings on the same or nearby sites. This is because the 'great rebuilding in stone' described by Professor W. G. Hoskins (Hoskins, 1953) took place in Cumbria between 1650 to 1750 and it is likely that the movement from the old to the new properties was gradual and old sites continued to be occupied for many years.

¹ A peculiar is an area exempt from the direct jurisdiction of the bishop

² Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York

³ A legal transfer of land or property giving the new holder the right to sell or pass on to heirs.

Fig. 4.1. Quadricopter used by Reg Tyson to obtain aerial photographs (©Peter Matthiessen).



Fig. 4.2. Ashtech (Magellan) MobileMapper MMCX mapping-grade GPS showing early survey at Baskell Farm (©Peter Matthiessen).



5. LEVEL 1 SURVEY RESULTS

A summary of the Level 1 information gathered by this project on 39 buildings is shown in Table 5.1.

These data show that the range of buildings initially picked out of the R2R database (and from a few other sources) was very wide, with relatively few common features. The main points are as follows:-

- On the basis of the survey data, the 39 buildings were grouped into 3 categories, based on an assessment of their size, dimensions, condition and associated features. In some cases, it became clear that a particular building was probably not a longhouse, while in other cases it seemed probable that it was. A third category of 'possible' longhouses included those about which there was substantial doubt, or where it was clear that the site had been heavily modified or damaged by later building.
- However, it must be stressed that reliable conclusions about the identity of any buildings can only be made after further investigations, in particular excavation.
- For the sake of completeness, this report includes buildings which had already been subject to Level 2 survey by DVLHG members (Newfield Wood), or excavation (Stephenson Ground Scale 2).
- Overall, 15 buildings (excluding, of course, Stephenson Ground) grouped on 12 sites were provisionally considered as 'probable' longhouses worth subjecting to Level 2 survey, and are highlighted in yellow in Table 5.1.
- The 15 'probable' longhouses vary considerably in terms of altitude (55-330 m), site condition (good – poor), alignment (all points of the compass), existence of cross-walls, numbers of wall courses (0-25+) and external dimensions (7.0x2.9 m to 18.0x7.0 m). However, almost all are near surface water, have evidence nearby of ancient agriculture, and have cross-passages or lateral door openings. None showed evidence of domesticity such as nettle patches or fruit trees, suggesting that they may not have been recently occupied.
- In one of the 15 cases (Low Sella), the building had evidently possessed 2 storeys in post-medieval times, and was therefore substantially modified from its presumed original condition, but the ground plan and other features suggested it may have been a longhouse originally. In another case (Pannel Holme A), the building is traversed by a later field wall and has therefore also been substantially modified. In most other cases, the main modifications appear to have been robbing-out of stone. In the case of Baskell Farm and Lad How B, a maximum of one course of stones is visible. It is not clear whether this indicates the site is older than the others (and

therefore potentially of greater interest), or whether it simply suggests excessive human disturbance.

- In some cases (*e.g.* the 2 buildings in Tongue House High Close), there appears to have been little disturbance, other than random damage by sheep etc., since the day human occupation ceased.
- In two cases (Pikeside Farm and Newfield Wood), two or more longhouses are present on a single site as a closely associated group. There is also a series of 5 buildings (Lad How A and B, Pannel Holme A and B, and Moor House), not all of which have been categorised as 'probable' longhouses, which nevertheless lie in the same general area (the high ground west of Hall Dunnerdale and Wallowbarrow Crag), at similar altitudes (202–243 m), and with similar orientations (approx. NE-SW). A sixth building which also appears to form part of this group, at High Grim Crag, has not been surveyed.
- It is also noteworthy that while many sites are covered in bracken or trees, the roots of which will probably have disturbed the integrity of sub-surface features, others are free of such disturbance. These potentially undisturbed sites include Lad How B, Low Sella and Baskell Farm, although it should be noted that a large tree is growing in the middle of the Low Sella building.

These initial conclusions were presented at a meeting with John Hodgson (LDNPA) and Jamie Lund (NT) at Murley Moss on 20 October 2011. In essence, they concurred with the choice of sites for Level 2 investigation, and gave the green light for the next round of fieldwork.

Table 5.1. Summary of Level 1 survey data from the building remains considered during Phase 1 of the longhouse project. Those buildings provisionally categorised as ‘probable’ longhouses were chosen for Level 2 investigation and their details are highlighted in yellow. Note that Lad How B was subjected to Level 2 survey during the R2R project (DVLHG, 2009).

Site name	R2R site code (if any)	Grid ref	Altitude (m)	Site condition	Stream nearby?	Evidence of ancient agriculture?	Alignment	Crosswalls?	Door openings or cross-passage?	Single or double walls?*	No. of wall courses	External dimensions (m)	Internal dimensions (m)	Evidence of recent domesticity?
Bleak Haw	mcrw 08	SD 19507 93607	160	Poor	Yes	Yes	E-W	Yes	No	Single	0 to 3	12.1x4.9	10.6x3.8	No
Dobby Shaw (a)	ctds01	SD 23101 95569	210	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	N-S	Yes	Possible	Double	2 to 4	8.0x4.5	5x2	No
Dobby Shaw (b)	ctds01	SD 23127 95562	210	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	NNE-SSW	Possible	Yes	Double	3	12.0x4.5	11x3	No
Foss How	mcstt21	SD 24223 98600	330	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	N-S	Yes	Possible	Single	1	7.0x2.9	?	No
Hall Beck ‘shieling’	mcwd 24	SD 16083 96168	300	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	E-W	No	Yes	Single	2	4.0x3.0	not recorded	No
Hazel Head	mchh 09	SD 19757 94135	147	Poor	Yes	Yes	NNE-SSW	Yes	No	Single	1 to 5	8x5-6	5-8x3-4	No
High Craghall	mcwh 07	SD 17932	220	Good	No	No	NW-SE	not relevant	not relevant	single	25 approx	15.8x10.9	not recorded	No

Site name	RZR site code (if any)	Grid ref	Altitude (m)	Site condition	Stream nearby?	Evidence of ancient agriculture?	Alignment	Crosswalls?	Door openings or cross-passage?	Single or double walls?*	No. of wall courses	External dimensions (m)	Internal dimensions (m)	Evidence of recent domesticity?
		91612												
Hollow Scar farmstead	lwhhh6	SD 21676 92408	200	Good	Yes	Yes	E-W	No	No	Double	10+	11x5.6 8.9x10.6	8.0x4.9	No
Lad How (A)	mcwb12	SD 21248 96147	226	Moderate -poor	No	Yes	NE- SW	Yes	Yes	Single and double	up to 11	19.4x8.1	18.0x?	No
Lad How (B)	mcwb 14	SD 21273 96125	220	Good	No	Yes	NE- SW	No	Possible	Double?	1	9.5x5.2	7.8x3.8	No
Long House Close (A)	lmlhc 30	SD 24529 97375	294	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	E-W	?	Yes	Single	1-2	9.0x3.9	not recorded	No
Long House Close (B)	lmlhc 30	SD 24529 97375	294	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	E-W	Yes	No	Single	2-3	8.5x5.5	not recorded	No
Longhouse Close enclosure	lmlhc 20	SD 24351 96818	260	Good	Yes	Yes	E-W	No	Yes	Single	7-8	12.6x8.3	not recorded	No
Low Sella	lmsel 07	SD 19814 92182	55	Good	Yes	Yes	ENE- WSW	Yes	Possible	Single	0 to 25+	17.9x7.1	16.6x5.7	No
Low Wood	mclw 21	SD 20000 95067	259	Good	No	No	not clear	not clear	No	Unclear	1	unclear	unclear	No

Site name	RZR site code (if any)	Grid ref	Altitude (m)	Site condition	Stream nearby?	Evidence of ancient agriculture?	Alignment	Crosswalls?	Door openings or cross-passage?	Single or double walls?*	No. of wall courses	External dimensions (m)	Internal dimensions (m)	Evidence of recent domesticity?
Middle Sella	Imsel 08	SD 19738 92422	50	Moderate	Yes	No	SSE-NNW	Yes	Yes	Single	12 to 15	14.7x5.4	13.4x4.4	No
Moor House	mcmh 01	SD 20442 95209	202	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	NE-SW	Yes	Yes	Double	up to 2 m in places	14.8x5.0	not recorded	No
Newfield Wood (A+B)	Imsea 104	SD 22221 95664	110	Good-moderate	Yes	Yes	SSE-NNW	Yes	Possible	Single	3-4 max	12.0x6.8	not recorded	No
Newfield Wood (E)	Imsea 104	SD 22221 95664	110	Good-moderate	Yes	Yes	SSE-NNW	Yes	Possible	Single	3-4 max	10.8x4.6	not recorded	No
Newfield Wood (G)	Imsea 104	SD 22221 95664	110	Good-moderate	Yes	Yes	SSE-NNW	Yes	Possible	Single	3-4 max	13x5.4	not recorded	No
Old Hutton ruined building	lwgp 3	SD 20933 90964	170	Poor	Yes	Yes	N-S	No	Yes	Double	Up to 3.5 metres	15x6.75	13.6-5.35	Yes
Pannel Holme (A)	mcph 05	SD 20781 95910	243	Good	Yes	Yes	N-S	Possible	Possible	Double	1	11.9x4.7	10.0x3.0	No
Pannel Holme (B)	mcph 32	SD 20667 95750	233	Good-moderate	Yes	Yes	NNE-SSW	Yes	Yes	Double	12	8.6x4.5	7.3x3.1	No
Pikeside Farm (A)	mcps 03	SD 18320 92817	205	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	ENE-WSW	Yes	Yes	Single	0-2	17.5x5.2	not recorded	No

Site name	RZR site code (if any)	Grid ref	Altitude (m)	Site condition	Stream nearby?	Evidence of ancient agriculture?	Alignment	Crosswalls?	Door openings or cross-passage?	Single or double walls?*	No. of wall courses	External dimensions (m)	Internal dimensions (m)	Evidence of recent domesticity?
Pikeside Farm (B)	mcps 04	SD 18326 92803	205	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	SSE-NNW	Yes	Yes	Single	0-2	12.8x5.6	not recorded	No
Pikeside Farm (C)	no code	SD 18332 92811	205	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	N-S	Possible	Yes	Single	0-2	18.1x5.8	not recorded	No
Scrithwaite ruined barn	lwsf 26	SD 21536 91300	180	Good-moderate	Yes	Yes	NE-SW	Yes	Yes	Double	Up to 3 metres	10.7x7.3	?	Yes
Stainton Ground farmstead	lmsg01	SD 21989 92348	120	Poor	Yes	No	NE-SW	No	Yes	Double	25+	13.0x11.4	?	Yes
Stephead Close	ctshc05	SD 23277 96027	156	Moderate -poor	Yes	No	E-W	Possible	Yes	Double	4	18.0x7.0	15.0x5.0	No
Stephenson Ground Scale (1)	ctsgs05	SD 24161 94506	320	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	NE-SW	Yes	Yes	Double	2 to 3	12.0x8.0	9.5x?	No
Stephenson Ground Scale (2)	ctsgs05	SD 24049 94357	300	Good	Yes	Yes	E-W	No	Yes	Double	2 to 3	12.9x5.7	11.9x4.9	No
Tarn Head (Dow Crag)	mcdc 36 & 39	SD 26277 99119	400	Good	Yes	Yes	N-S	Yes	Possible	Double	?	9.5x5.2		No
Tommy Gill enclosure building	lmnf 30	SD 21623 94065	129	Good-moderate	Yes	Yes	E-W	No	Yes	Double	3-5	9.9x3.9	8.5 x2.5	Yes

Site name	RZR site code (if any)	Grid ref	Altitude (m)	Site condition	Stream nearby?	Evidence of ancient agriculture?	Alignment	Crosswalls?	Door openings or cross-passage?	Single or double walls?*	No. of wall courses	External dimensions (m)	Internal dimensions (m)	Evidence of recent domesticity?
Tongue House High Close (A)	no code	SD 24303 97625	273	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	NE-SW	Yes	Yes	Single	3-6	9.8x3.4	8.9x2.3	No
Tongue House High Close (B)	no code	SD 24287 97842	300	Moderate -poor	Yes	Yes	N-S	No	Yes	Single	3-6	10.6x3.8	9.4x2.7	No
Baskell Farm	no code	SD 19088 93681	225	Good	Yes	Yes	NE-SW	Possible	Possible	Single	1	18.5x5.5	18.5x5.5	No
Walna Scar South	ctwsrs 06	SD 24301 96443	290	Good	No	No	N-S	No	Yes	Single	3-4	3.8x2.6	2.4x1.5	No
White How Settlement	mcwhs 01	SD 16355 90775	360	Good	No	Yes	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	No
Woodend farmstead	no code	SD 17143 96233	256	Good	Yes	Yes	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant	not relevant

*Note that 'double wall' does not mean 2 completely separate walls (as in some longhouses in Ennerdale), but simply a double line of stones.

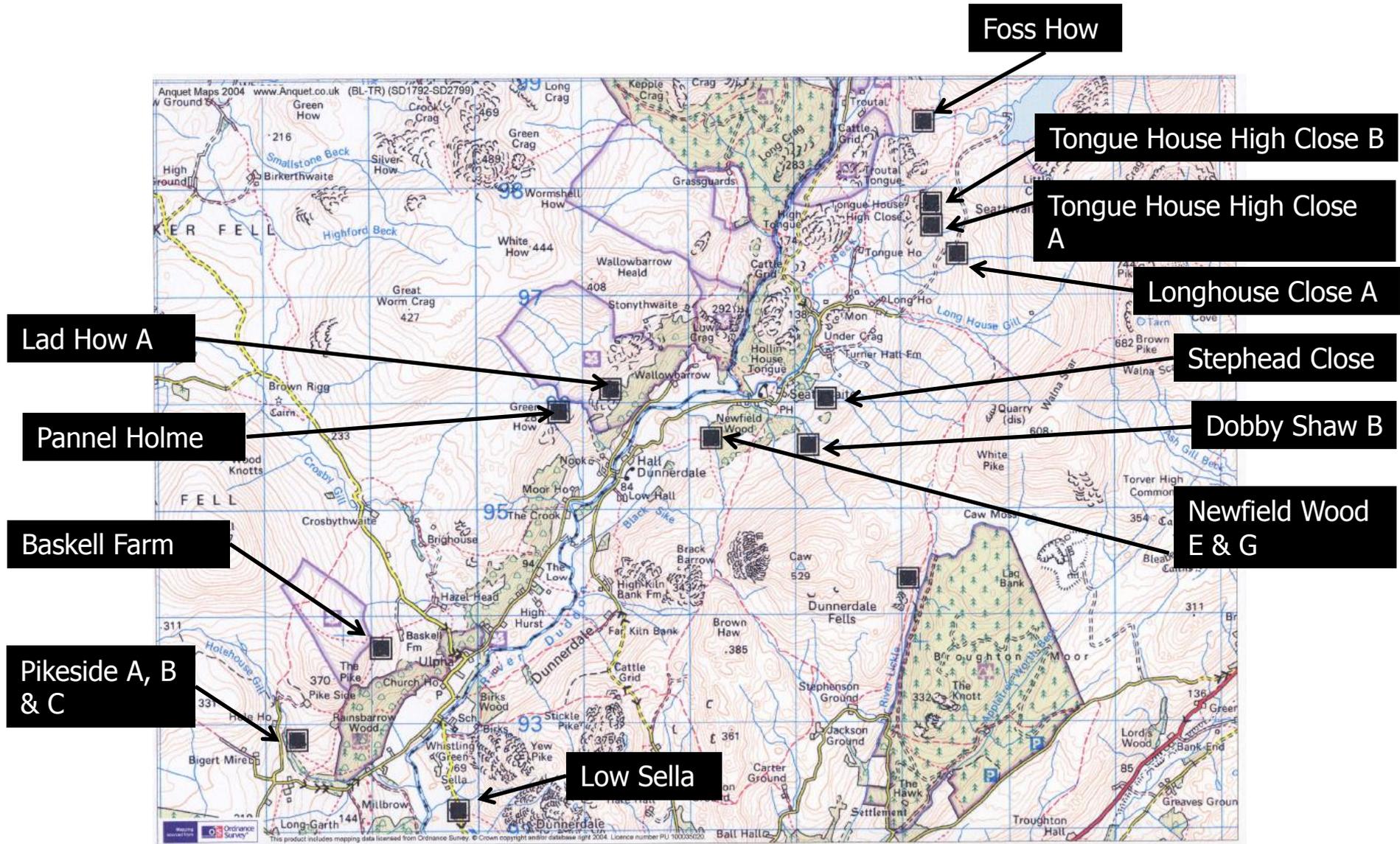
6. LEVEL 2 SURVEY RESULTS

A brief summary of the sites chosen for Level 2 survey, and the teams allocated for the work, is shown in Table 6.1. A map showing site locations is presented in Fig. 6.1. Each site will be described below in the same way, and the text is accompanied by photographs, plans of the tape and offset surveys of the buildings, and maps of the surrounding areas originating from GPS measurements and generated by the DVLHG GIS.

Table 6.1. Sites chosen for Level 2 surveys, and respective field team allocations, indicating whether bracken-clearing was required before survey commenced.

Site name	Grid reference	Bracken-clearing needed?	Team number (and leader)
Newfield Wood (E)	SD 22221 95664	No	Team 1 (leader: Ken Day)
Newfield Wood (G)	SD 22221 95664	No	
Pikeside Farm (A)	SD 18320 92817	Yes	
Pikeside Farm (B)	SD 18326 92803	Yes	
Pikeside Farm (C)	SD 18332 92811	Yes	
Low Sella	SD 19814 92182	No	Team 2 (leader: Lindsay Harrison)
Pannel Holme (A)	SD 20781 95910	No	
Lad How (A)	SD 21248 96147	No	
Foss How	SD 24223 98600	Yes	Team 3 (leader: Paul Taylor)
Dobby Shaw (B)	SD 23127 95562	Yes	
Stephead Close	SD 23277 96027	No	
Long House Close (A)	SD 24529 97375	Yes	Team 4 (leader: Mervyn Cooper)
Baskell Farm	SD 19088 93681	No	
Tongue House High Close (A)	SD 24303 97625	Yes	
Tongue House High Close (B)	SD 24287 97842	Yes	

Fig. 6.1. Map showing locations of the Level 2 survey sites. The unlabelled site is Stephenson Ground. Base map copyright: Ordnance Survey



6.1 Baskell Farm

This 18.5x5.5 m structure is situated in a grassy field (named *The Round Field* – Lascelles, 2003) with no bracken, at an altitude of 225 m. It consists of two very low (approx. 0.3 m high) banks containing a single row of stones with just a few stones exposed, but it has no obvious end-walls, and the long walls are not parallel (Fig. 6.1.1 and 6.1.3). There is no evidence of crosswalls, but a possible entranceway exists on the north side. In summary, there is little surface evidence of a building, and little to distinguish the stone-filled banks from others on the same site (see below) which do not have any resemblance to building structures.

Consultation of the Archaeological Data Service archive Archsearch using ‘Baskill’ as the search term shows that the structure has been recorded by the National Trust (NT record no. 23947) as ‘possibly longhouses’, and by the Lake District National Park Authority (LDNPA record no. 36641) as ‘probably longhouses’, in both cases attributed to the medieval period.

Consideration of the wider area (Fig. 6.1.4) reveals a number of stone structures which appear to pre-date the post-medieval 18th/19th century walls. Immediately to the north of the putative longhouse are four low, straight stone-filled banks of similar size and appearance to those described above, arranged in two pairs crossing one other and set at an oblique angle to each other. These banks, whose function is unclear, do not appear to be lynchets⁴ as the slope is not great, they are stone-filled, and only one set lies across the slope. Furthermore, they are not aligned with the putative longhouse.

There are two clearance cairns in the vicinity, and two stretches of the 18th/19th century walls are thickened into consumption walls. In the adjacent field to the southeast (*The Back Field* – Lascelles, 2003), there are a number of ancient field walls as well as an old stone water yeat and a stone slab bridge over a small stream. This stream flows underneath the putative longhouse field from higher up the slope, and may run in an ancient culvert. In the adjacent field to the west of the ‘longhouse’ field (*Pike Hill* – Lascelles, 2003), the line of an ancient wall aligned approximately on the ‘longhouse’ runs downslope parallel and adjacent to the stream (Fig. 6.1.1). Just to the south of this wall is a line of boulders arranged in clumps which could be clearance material, which is also aligned on the ‘longhouse’ and is overlain by the 18th/19th century wall at its foot (Fig. 6.1.2).

In summary, this is an enigmatic site with evidence of early agricultural activity, but with only equivocal evidence for the presence of a longhouse. If the surveyed structure does indeed represent the severely robbed-out remains of a longhouse, it is unusual because the

⁴ Lynchets are banks of earth that build up downslope by soil slippage over time as a result of repeated ploughing.

long walls are not parallel. It should also be noted that we have found no historical records of a house at Baskell Farm corresponding to the site we surveyed (see section 7.2).

Fig. 6.1.1. (left) Line of ancient wall alongside stream above putative Baskell longhouse in lower field. (right) Longhouse structure outlined in yellow flags - the ancient wall and line of stones can be seen in the field above, below the old slate quarry. ©Peter Matthiessen



Fig. 6.1.2. Aerial photograph of the ancient wall and line of stones in Pike Hill field, adjacent to the 'longhouse' field (©Reg Tyson).



Figure 6.1.3. Tape and offset survey of the Baskell Farm 'longhouse' structure.

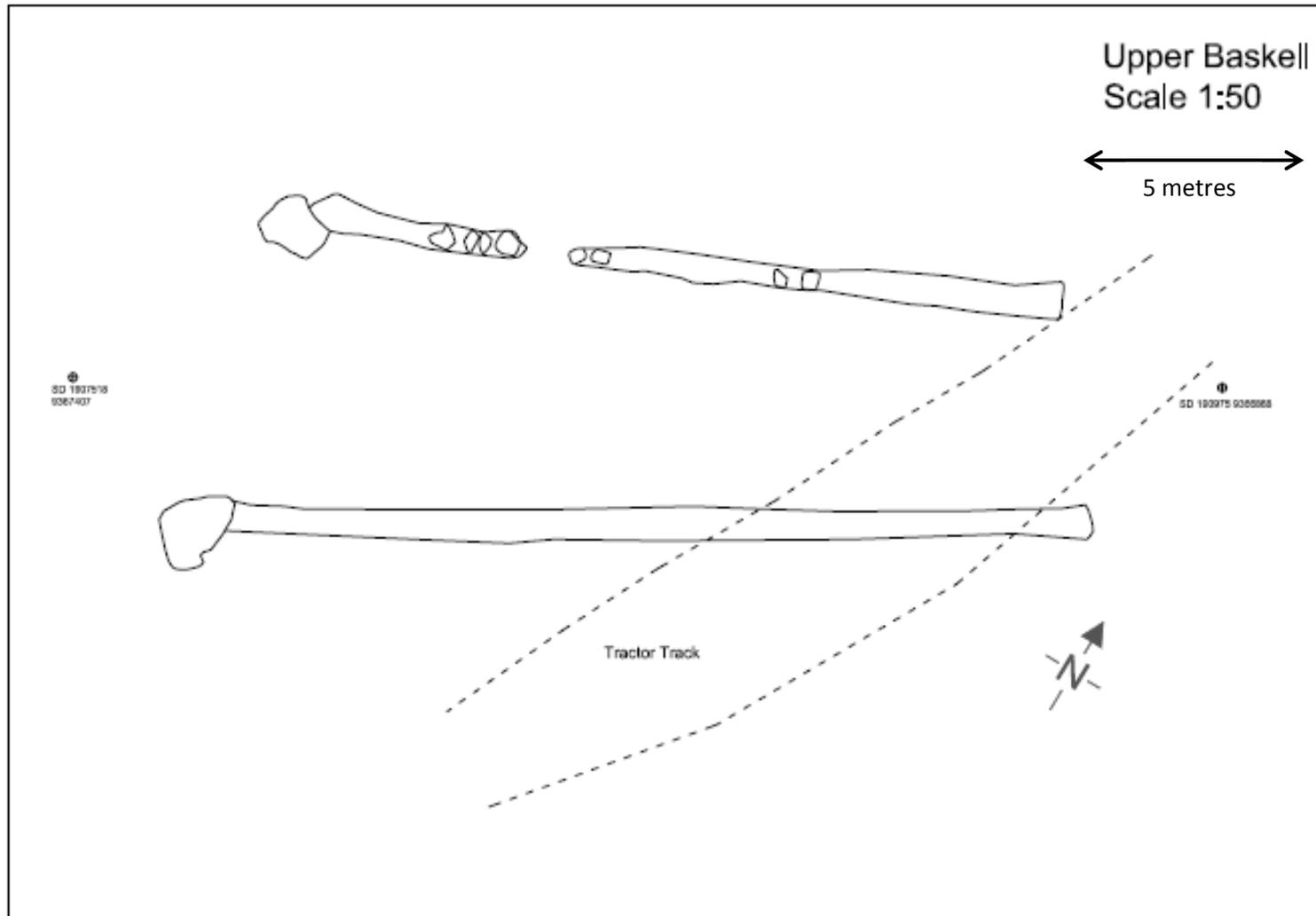
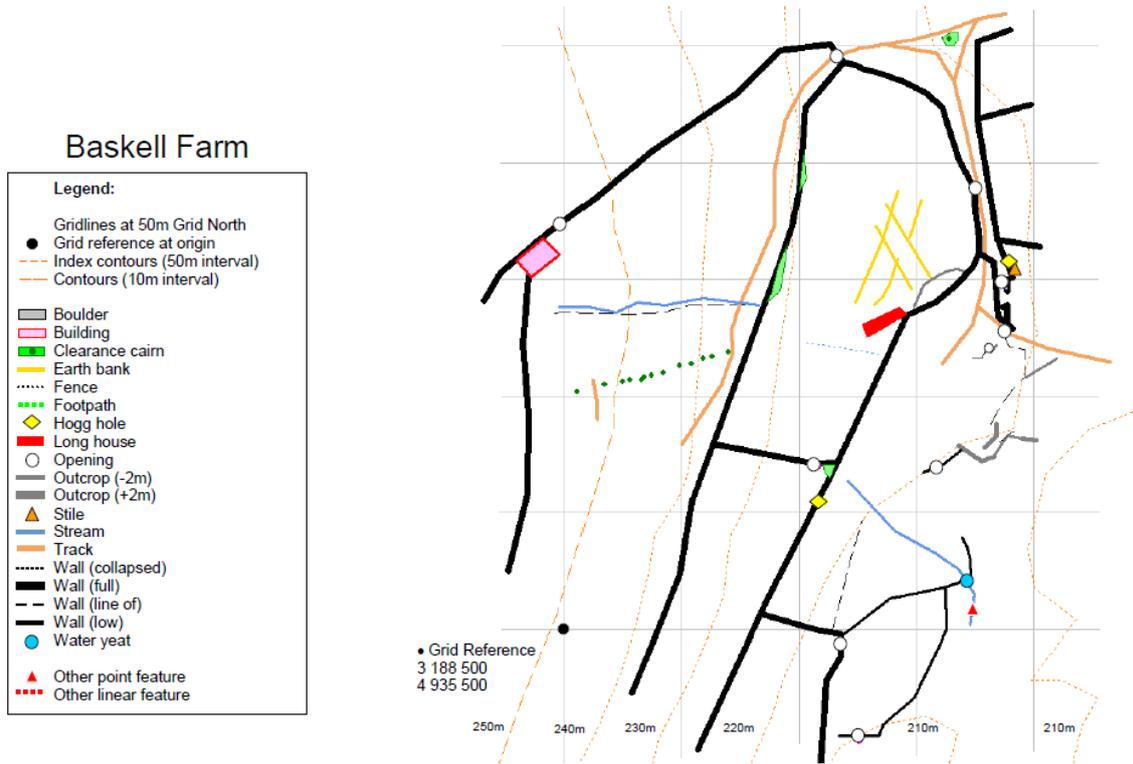


Fig. 6.1.4. GPS survey of the Baskell Farm site.



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

6.2 Dobby Shaw

The Dobby Shaw site is situated at an altitude of 210 m immediately to the west of a small stream which flows down to Seathwaite. It is heavily bracken-infested and the surveyed building had to be cleared before the survey could commence. The site is approximately 900 m east of the structures in Newfield Wood (see section 6.7), and 500 m south of the Stephead Close structure (section 6.10).

The tape and offset survey of the putative Dobby Shaw longhouse (structure b) is shown in Fig. 6.2.4, and a photograph from the ground of this structure is presented in Fig. 6.2.1. Aerial photographs of the site are shown in Figs 6.2.2 and 6.2.3. The structure's exterior dimensions are 12.0x4.5 m, and it consists of a maximum of 3 courses of stonework. There is evidence of a crosswall, but it is unclear where the entrance(s) might have been because much stone has been robbed out. No traces of roofing slates are visible.

Reference to the GPS survey (Fig. 6.2.5) and the aerial photograph of the wider site (Fig. 6.2.2) shows that the putative longhouse is situated in a group of 4 other buildings, all of which appear to be of a similar age and condition to the surveyed structure. These buildings are smaller than the putative longhouse and may represent the remains of stores or byres, although their possible domestic use cannot be ruled out. The site is traversed by several tracks which also appear to be of some antiquity. There are 2 clearance cairns nearby, and a stretch of ancient wall on the far side of the stream. Due to the severity of the bracken infestation, it is possible that this site contains additional structures which have not yet been found.

There seems little doubt that the Dobby Shaw site represents the remains of a small settlement, possibly of medieval date if the condition of the remaining stonework can be taken as a guide. The lack of historical records relating to this site (see section 7.3) suggests that it ceased to be occupied by latest the mid C17th. The surveyed building has been extensively robbed-out, but appears to be of the longhouse type. More intensive clearance of bracken from the whole area would be worthwhile in an attempt to uncover further structures.

Fig. 6.2.1. Longhouse structure (b) at Dobby Shaw. Note the heavy bracken infestation. (©Paul Taylor)



Fig. 6.2.2. Aerial photograph of the Dobby Shaw site, with main longhouse structure at left centre, and several smaller structures also visible. (©Reg Tyson)



Fig. 6.2.3. Aerial photograph of the main longhouse structure at Dobby Shaw, with track alongside (©Reg Tyson). North is to the left of the image.



Fig. 6.2.4. Tape and offset survey of the Dobby Shaw longhouse structure (B)

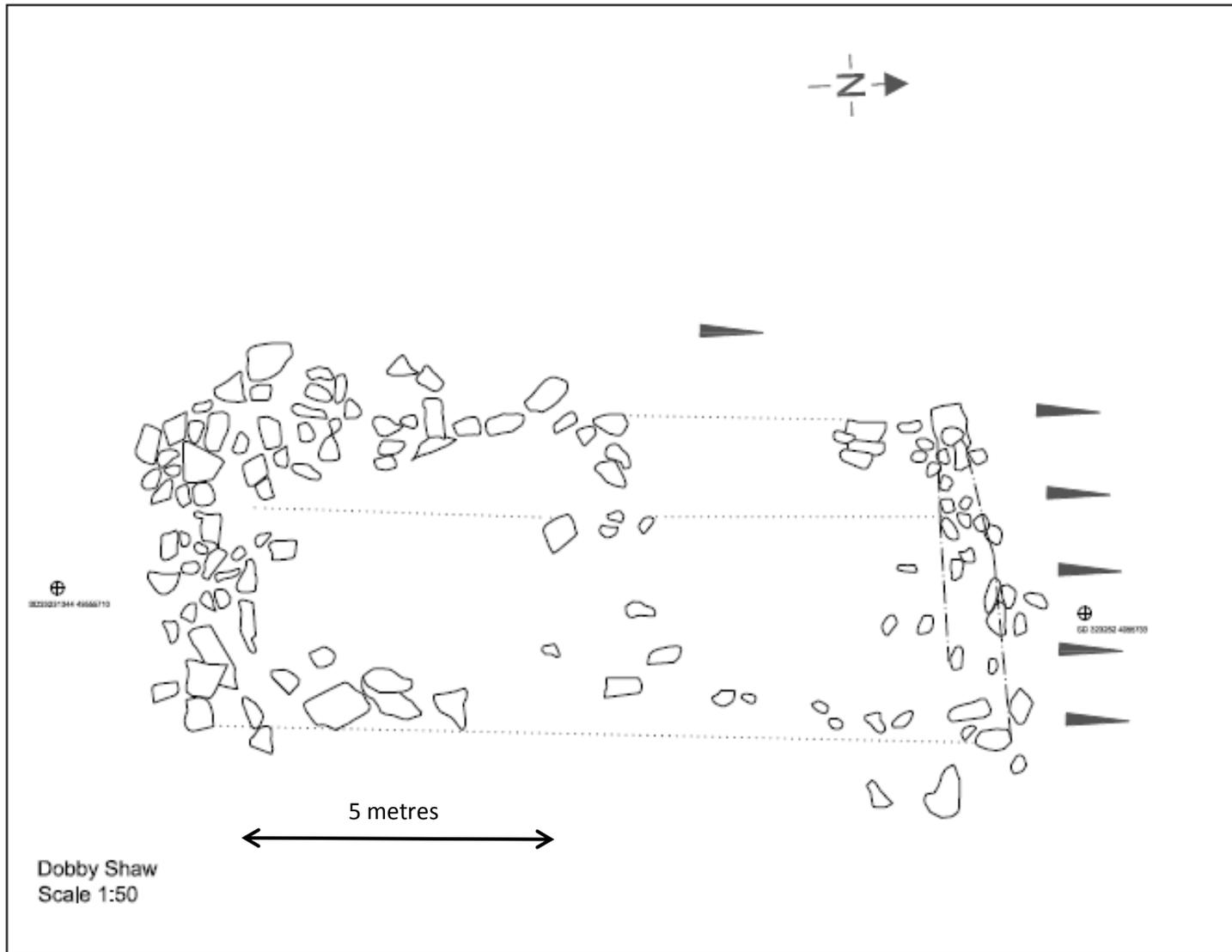
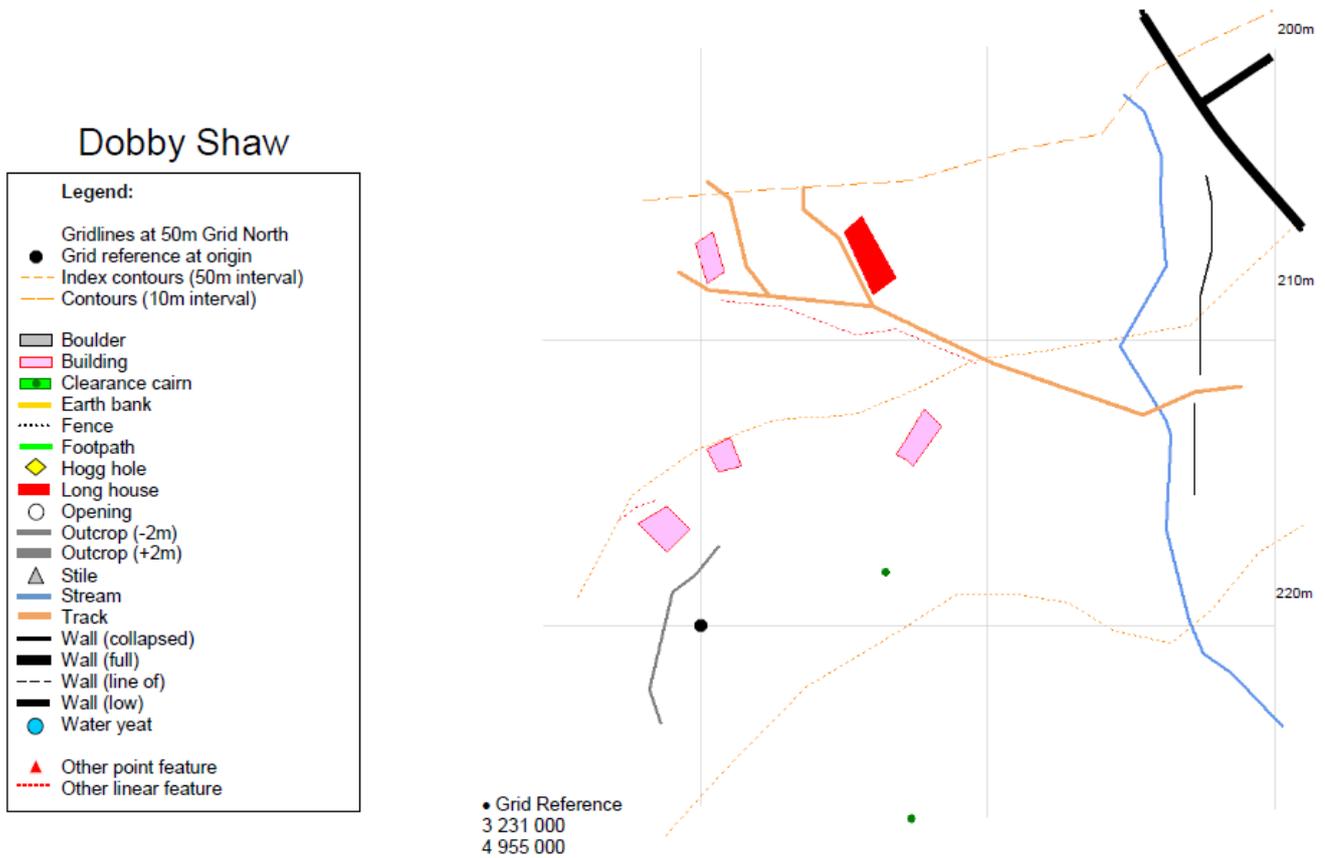


Fig. 6.2.5. GPS survey of the area around the Dobby Shaw longhouse structure.



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

6.3 Foss How

The Foss How site lies at an altitude of 330 m (the highest of all the sites subjected to Level 2 survey), sandwiched between a small rock outcrop and Tarn Beck which flows from Seathwaite Tarn to join the River Duddon at Seathwaite.

The surveyed structure was originally thought to have exterior dimensions of 7.0x2.9 m, but closer examination revealed more stonework, suggesting the building is nearly square – approximately 7x7 m (Fig. 6.3.2). However, less than one complete course of stonework remains above ground (Fig. 6.3.1) and it is possible that more stones lie hidden. There is a hint of a hidden semi-circular eastern end to the building, but this cannot be established without excavation. The tape and offset survey (Fig. 6.3.2) shows a possible cross-wall, but the location of entrances is uncertain as much of the stonework is missing. There are no signs of collapsed slate roofing.

The GPS survey (Fig. 6.3.3) recorded few old agricultural structures in the vicinity, with the exception of a low wall to the north of the building, running from the rock outcrop to the beck, and including an opening which leads to a more recent wall of probable 18th/19th century date and to a collapsed wall aligned with the latter. The conjunction of the low wall, the beck and the rock outcrop have the effect of producing a small enclosure within which stand the remains of the building. A levelled 30x15 m area bounded by rock outcrops immediately adjacent to, and south of, the building may have been used for agriculture.

The shape of this building (square), its considerable altitude, and the almost complete lack of surrounding agricultural traces, suggest that it may not have been a continuously occupied farm of the longhouse type, but more likely a shieling occupied solely in the summer months. No historical records of this building were found in the archives (see section 7.3).

Fig. 6.3.1. The Foss How structure outlined with yellow flags (©Paul Taylor). The low wall can be seen towards the right of the photograph.



Fig. 6.3.2. Tape and offset survey of the Foss How structure.

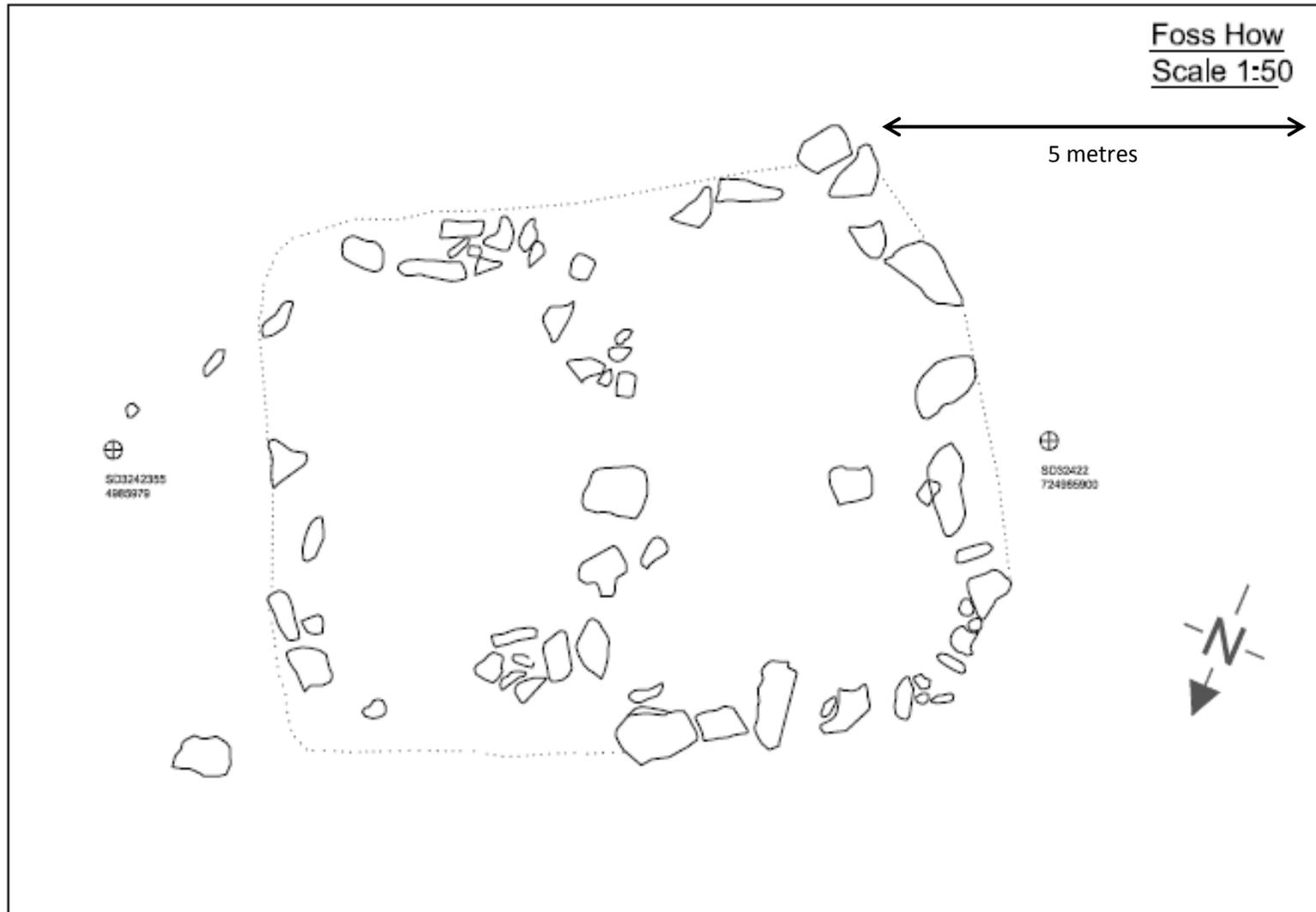
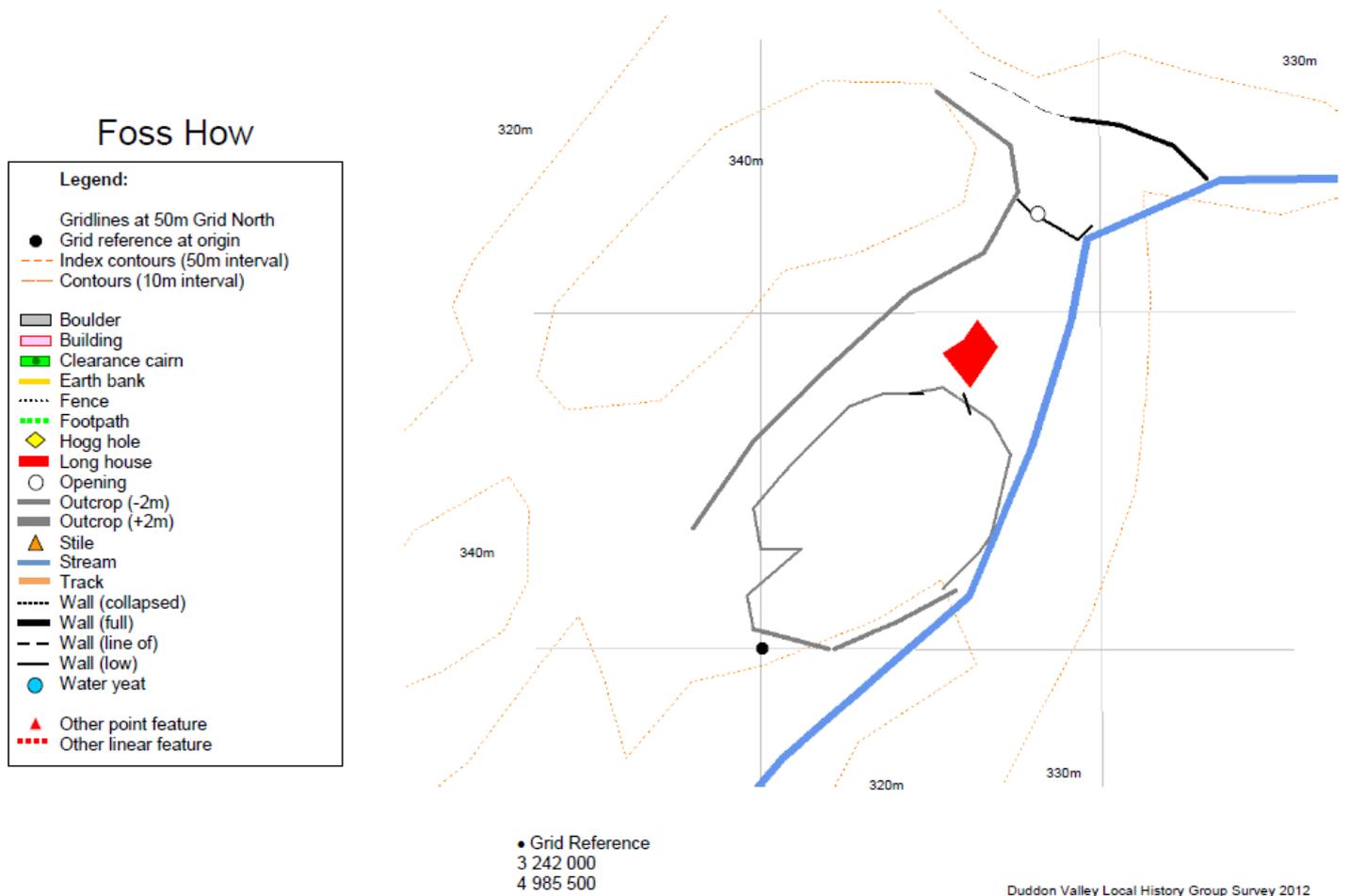


Fig. 6.3.3. GPS survey of Foss How.



6.4 Lad How A

As will be apparent from the GPS survey (Fig. 6.4.4), the Lad How site is complex. Not only does it include the structure surveyed by the present project (Lad How A), but 40 m to the southeast is situated the probable longhouse or shieling (Lad How B) recorded and surveyed by the *Ring Cairns to Reservoirs* project (Fig. 6.4.1). Both structures lie at an approximate altitude of 220 m, and they are surrounded by at least 11 clearance cairns. There are also long stretches of low walling which pre-date the later 18th/19th century walling, and make skilful use of low rock outcrops to extend the areas enclosed.

Unlike Lad How B, where only a single course of stonework remains, the Lad How A structure has up to 11 courses. It is also considerably larger (19.4x8.1 m, compared with 9.5x5.2 m), and is traversed by a later boundary wall (Fig. 6.4.2). The tape and offset survey (Fig. 6.4.3) shows the complexity of the remaining stonework, much of which appears to have been completely robbed out by the builders of the boundary wall. Indeed, the original shape of the building is unclear and could probably only be resolved by excavation.

It is impossible without further investigation to be sure whether the two buildings at Lad How were occupied on a contemporary basis, although both probably pre-date the 18th/19th century walling (Lad How A certainly so) and were likely to have been associated with the many clearance cairns and low enclosure walls. On the available evidence, however, it is uncertain whether Lad How A was a longhouse, although its dimensions are consistent with such an interpretation. No historical references to this site have been found (see section 7.3).

Fig. 6.4.1. Plan of Lad How B (DVLHG, 2009).

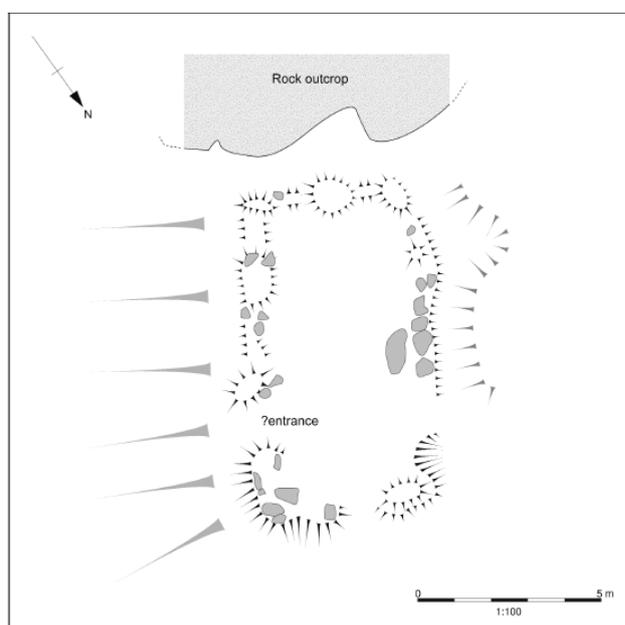


Fig. 6.4.2. Two views of the Lad How A structure, showing how it is traversed by a later boundary wall (©Lindsay Harrison).



Fig. 6.4.3. Tape and offset survey of the Lad How A structure.

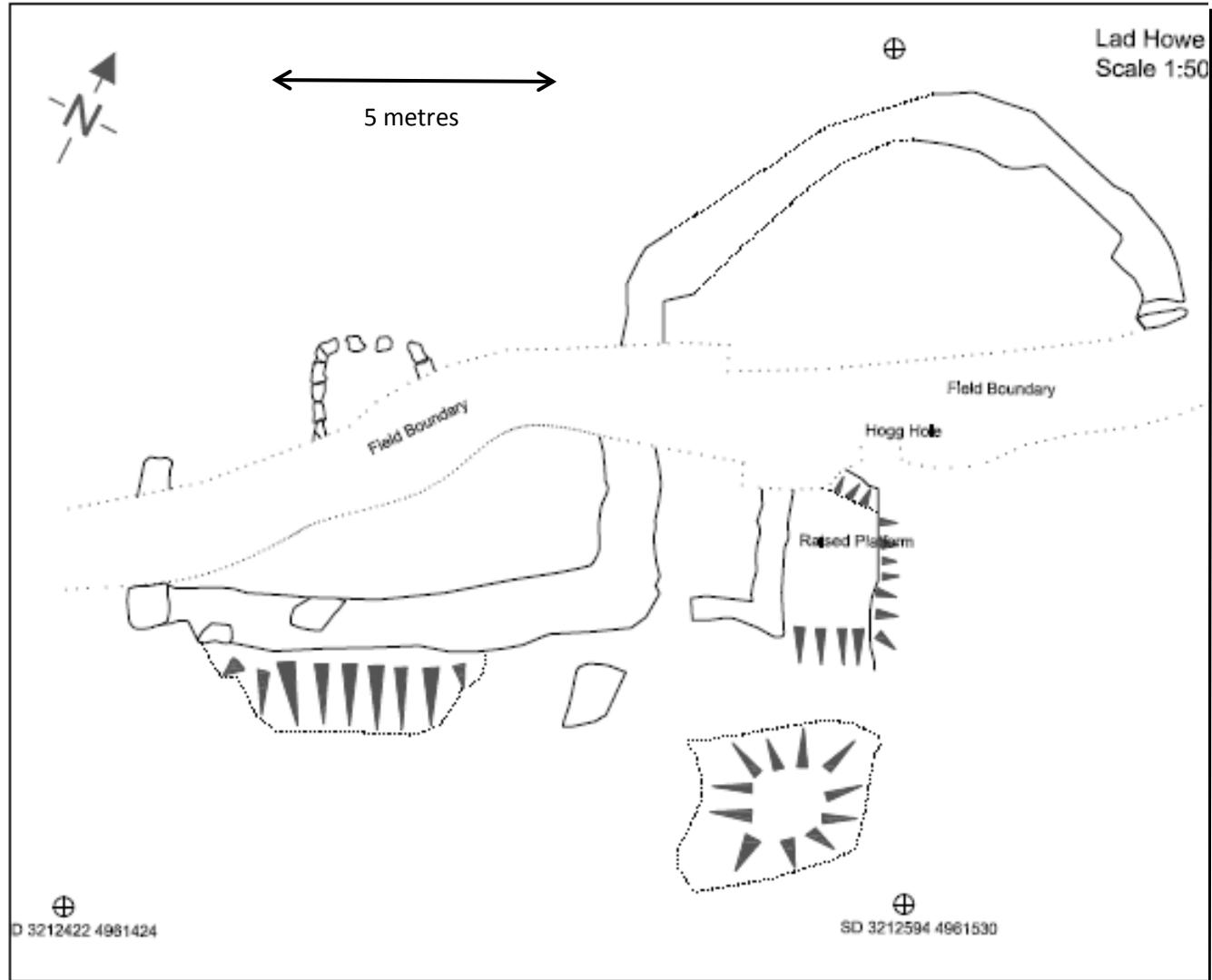
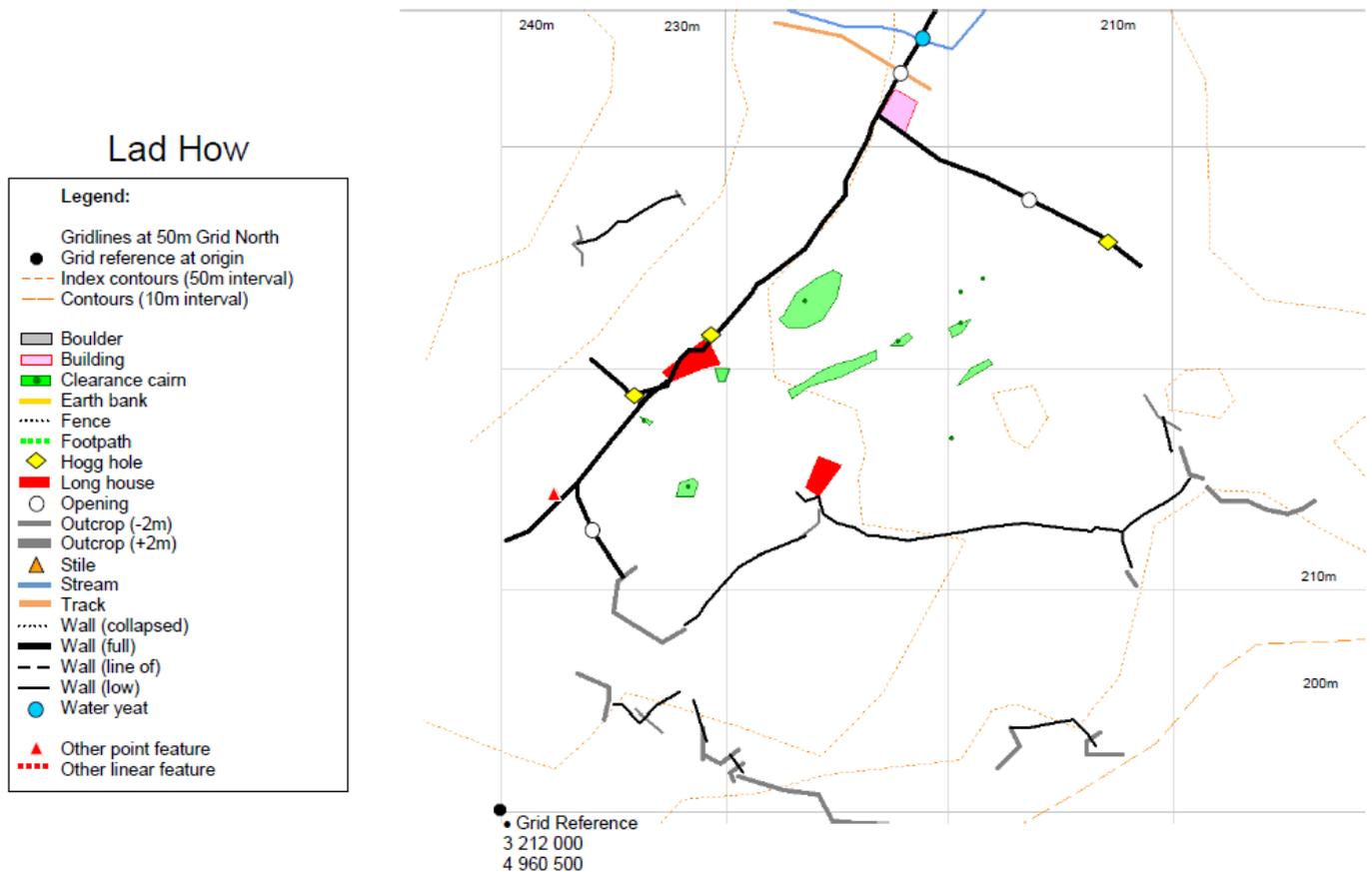


Fig. 6.4.4. GPS survey of the Lad How site. The northernmost of the two putative longhouses shown in red is that surveyed by the present project (Lad How A). The southern building is the probable longhouse (Lad How B) recorded and surveyed by the *Ring Cairns to Reservoirs* project (DVLHG, 2009).



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

6.5 Long House Close

The Long House Close site is situated at an altitude of 294 m, immediately to the north of a small stream which flows down to join Tarn Beck at Tongue House. There are only brief and equivocal references to the site in the historical record (see Section 7.3). The intake of Long House Close is adjacent to Long House Farm which may itself have been a longhouse before being enlarged into the two-storey structure we see today.

Reference to the GPS survey (Fig. 6.5.4) and the aerial photographs (Fig. 6.5.2) shows that the site includes several low and collapsed walls – these appear to pre-date the 18th/19th century walls in the area. Furthermore, they are clearly associated with the remains of two buildings, one of which is Long House Close A, another being Long House Close B (Figs 6.5.1 and 6.5.3). No traces of other agricultural structures (*e.g.* clearance cairns) have been found in the area, but it is heavily infested with bracken which may hide additional features.

The exterior dimensions of structure A (shown in red in Fig. 6.5.4) are 9.0x3.9 m and it has between 1 and 2 remaining courses of stonework (Fig. 6.5.1. – left). It is surrounded by a free-standing wall which may have enclosed a small open yard, or could potentially have supported roof timbers, thus providing an exterior sheltered storage space. There is thus some similarity with the double-walled longhouses found in Ennerdale (OAN, 2003). There are only faint indications of a cross-wall, but gaps in each of the long walls suggest there may have been 2 entrances.

The western end of structure B (Fig. 6.5.1 - right) (shown as the more southerly of the two pink structures in Fig. 6.5.4) has approximately 3 courses of stonework, while the eastern end is lower (one course of large stones). The large stones to the east appear to represent an early phase of use, while the western end may have been added later, possibly as a sheepfold or shelter. There is no obvious entranceway. The superficial impression of a two-celled longhouse-type building may therefore be misleading, although cannot be completely discounted, especially as the exterior dimensions of the whole structure are fairly similar to structure A (8.5x5.5 m).

The third structure is the furthest north, and has a sub-circular shape (Fig. 6.5.2 – left) with an approximate diameter of 8-9 m. Its function is not entirely clear, although it has been interpreted as a sheepfold contemporaneous with the two other structures.

Overall, this site appears to be a small settlement with one or possibly two longhouses (structures A and B), a circular sheepfold, and a walled enclosure or paddock. Given the two construction phases of structure B, it is not certain that these structures were all used contemporaneously, although this seems possible as they are all linked by the low, pre-18th/19th century walls.

Fig. 6.5.1. Long House Close structure A (left) and structure B (right) (©Mervyn Cooper).



Fig. 6.5.2. Long House Close - aerial view of site showing buildings A and B and relict walls (left); aerial close-up of buildings A and B (right) (©Reg Tyson).



Fig. 6.5.3. Tape and offset survey of Long House Close A.

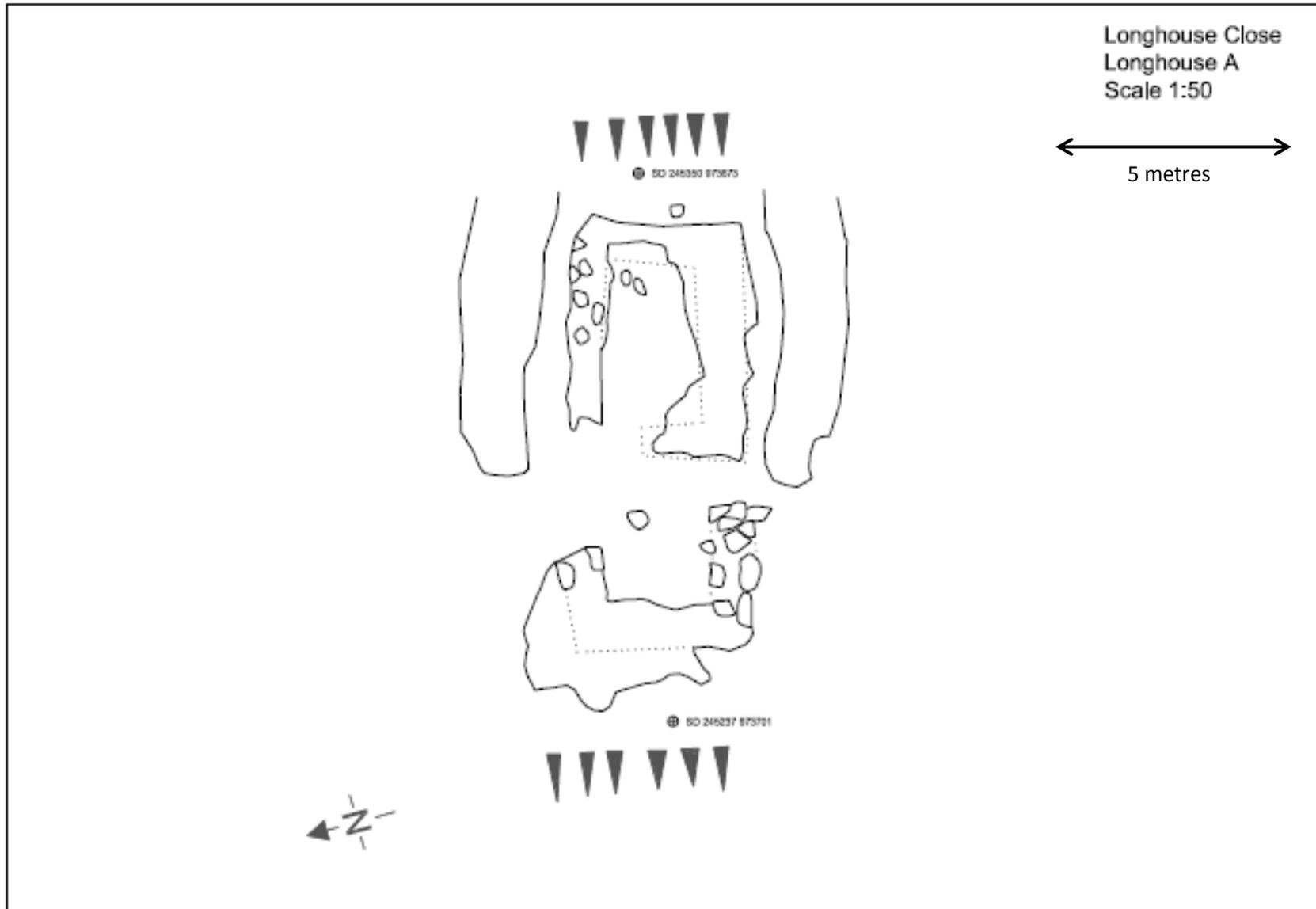
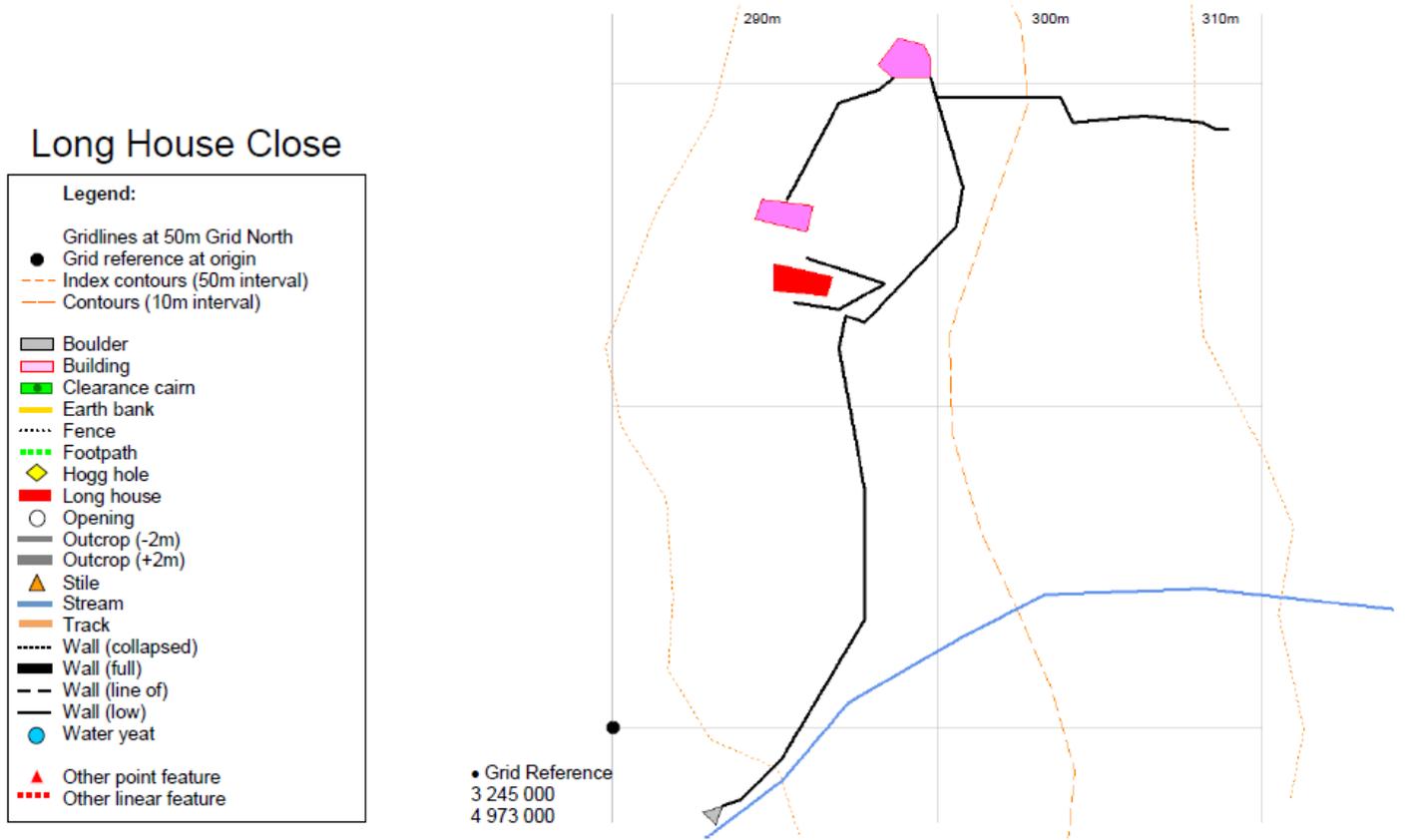


Fig. 6.5.4. GPS survey of Long House Close site. Long House Close A is the southernmost structure and Long House Close B is the central one.



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

6.6 Low Sella

The Low Sella building lies on the floor of the Duddon Valley in a grassy field at an altitude of only 55 m, a fact that sets it apart from the other structures described in this report which are located on the valley sides. A small stream crosses under the present-day road approximately 100 m to the north-east. There are a few references to Low Sella (or Nether Sella) in the historical records (the earliest being from 1664 - see section 7.4), and it was probably superseded as the main farmhouse by Middle Sella and Upper Sella later in the C17th or C18th, and then abandoned in the mid-C19th. Subsequently it may have functioned as a barn, before falling into disuse.

Its external dimensions are what one might expect for a large longhouse (17.9x7.1 m), but if it was originally this type of structure, it has clearly been heavily modified since then because the one extant end of the building (eastern) now consists of more than 25 courses of stonework (approx. 3-4 m high), making what would originally have been a traditional gable end (Fig. 6.6.1). The southern side is also higher than would have been the case for a longhouse, and is now a functioning part of the 18th/19th century field wall. The western end is only represented by stone footings hidden under the turf, and much of the northern side now simply consists of occasional stones. There are no signs of roofing slates lying on the ground within the building. A large tree is growing in the middle of the structure (Fig. 6.6.2) and the high eastern end is covered in ivy – both these plants are causing damage to the stonework.

Despite the extensive modifications and stone-robbing, it remains possible that this was indeed a longhouse at one time. There are the remains of a substantial cross-wall at about one third of the distance from the eastern end (Figs 6.6.1 and 6.6.3) which incorporates a door gap, and several vertical wall joints in the southern wall that show the locations of earlier openings filled in to make what is now the field wall stock-proof. There are few signs of early agricultural structures in the vicinity of the building apart from a small enclosure to the south side (on the south of what is now the field wall) which has augmented an existing rock outcrop with low stone walling incorporating an entrance gap (Figs 6.6.2 and 6.6.4). A more recent bank-barn (18/19th century?) is located beside another rock outcrop to the west.

Fig. 6.6.1. Low Sella building, showing remains of cross-wall in the righthand photograph (©Peter Matthiessen). Part of the outline of the building is highlighted by yellow flags.



Fig. 6.6.2. Aerial views of Low Sella (©Reg Tyson) – much of the building is obscured by a large tree. In the righthand photograph, the remains of a small enclosure lie within the bracken on the other side of the 18th/19th century wall from the building.

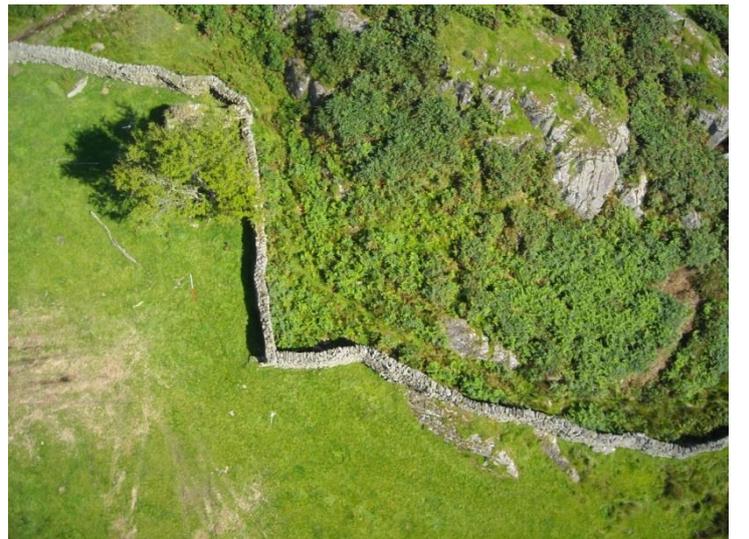
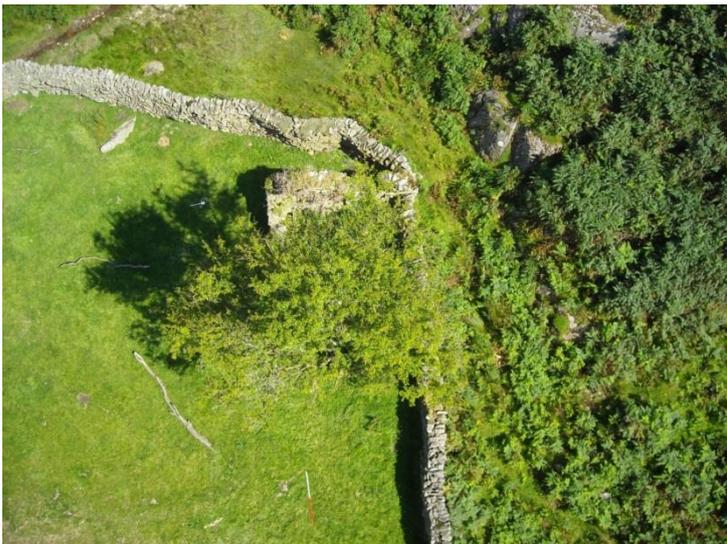


Fig. 6.6.3. Tape and offset survey of Low Sella.

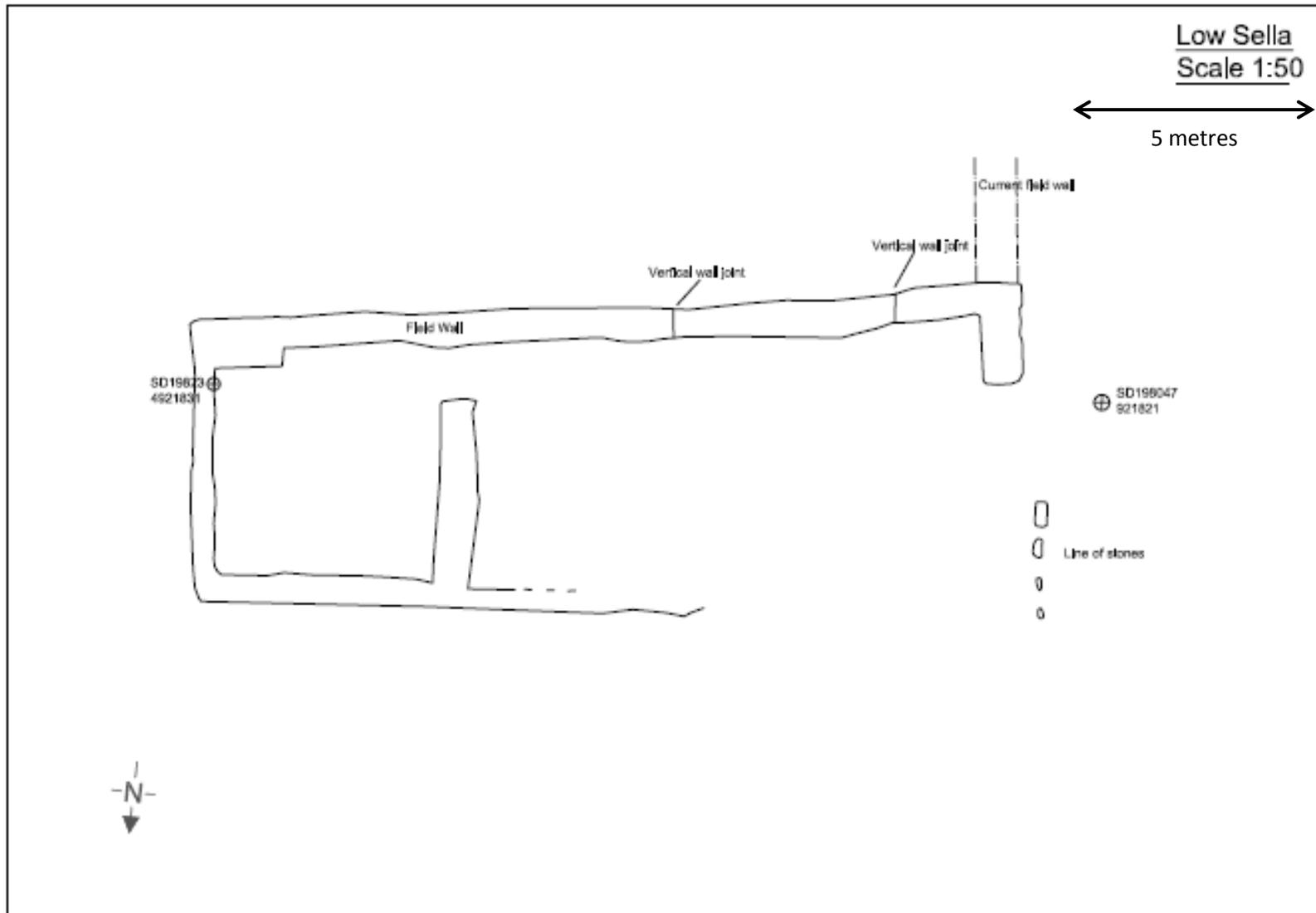
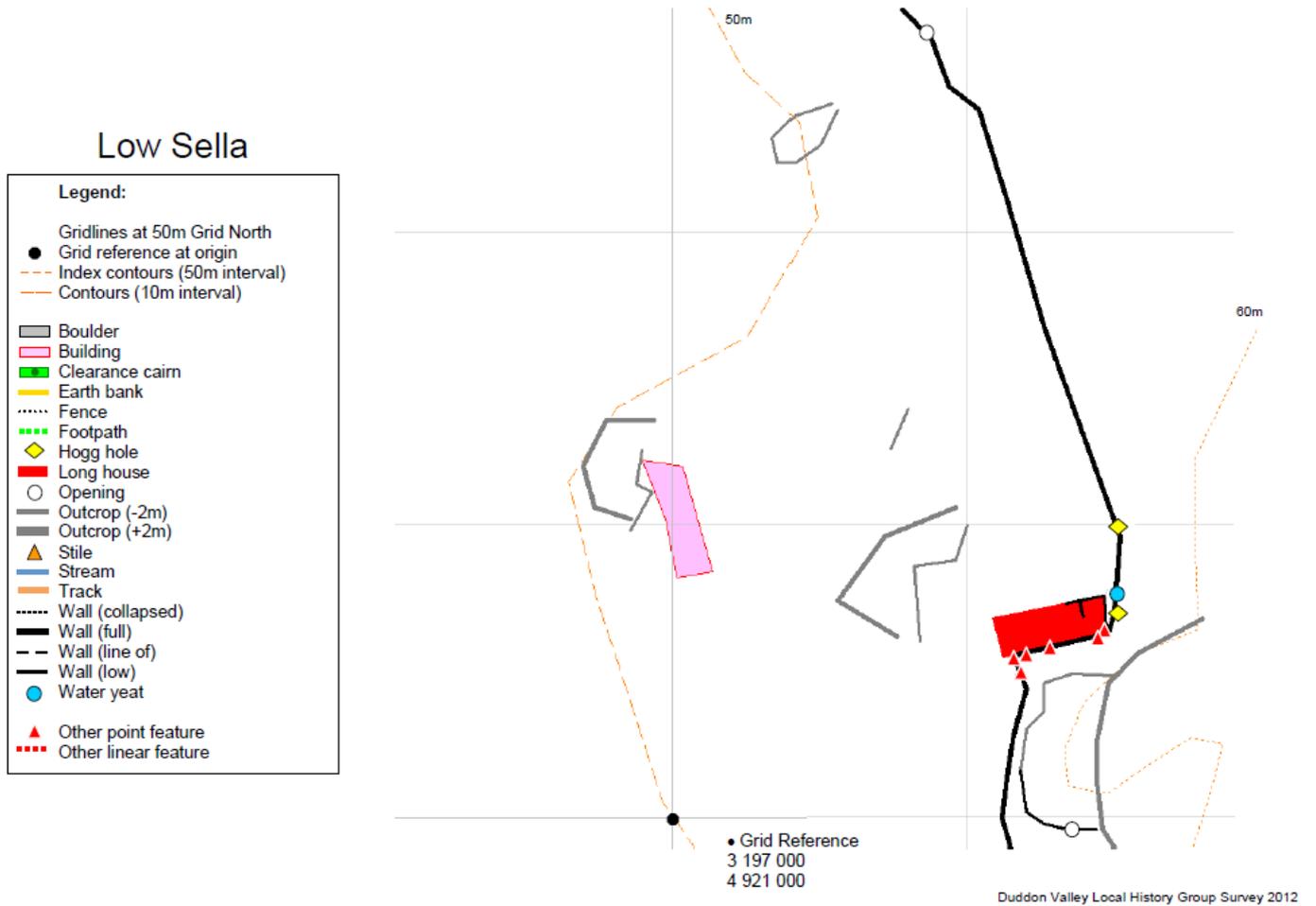


Fig. 6.6.4. GPS survey of Low Sella. The putative longhouse is shown in red, while the more modern barn is in pink.



6.7 Newfield Wood

The Level 2 survey of the building structures was led by John Hodgson (LDNPA) before the main longhouse project got under way, but it was followed up later by a GPS survey of the surrounding area.

The site is located at an altitude of 110 m and is entirely cloaked in deciduous woodland, lying beside a small stream which drains into the River Duddon within approximately 500 m. The site is complex, with at least 4 building structures, and is hard to interpret as much stonework has been robbed-out or is obscured by trees (Figs 6.7.1 and 6.7.2). A sketchmap showing the approximate relative dimensions of the structures is shown in Fig. 6.7.3. GPS surveying was made difficult due to interference with the satellite signal by the tree canopy, so the GPS survey in Fig. 6.7.7 and 6.7.8 should not be regarded as fully accurate.

Tape and offset surveys of the 4 recorded structures are shown in Figs 6.7.3-6.7.6. Visible stone on the surface is scant, however, and it seems possible that structure 3 may in fact be an enclosure between 2 buildings rather than a building in its own right. There are no more than 3 or 4 courses of stonework visible, and the structures range in exterior dimensions from 10.8x4.6 m (structure 1), to 10.7x7.3 m (structure 3), 12x6.8 m (structure 4), to 13x5.4 m (structure 2).

This site appears to be a small settlement, but although buildings 1, 2 and 4 are approximately the expected dimensions for longhouses, they show no evidence of crosswalls, and the positions of entrances are largely conjectural. There are no signs of roofing slates within the structures. The surrounding area within the wood contains several traces of low or collapsed walls which appear to pre-date nearby 18th/19th century walls, plus several old tracks, and the remains of what appears to be a bark-peeler's hut. The remains of mine buildings in the adjacent field, 150 m to the southwest of the Newfield wood settlement, are probably of a later era as evidenced by the style of stonework. However, it is of course possible that mining began on this site in earlier times and that the settlement in what is now the wood represents the original miners' dwellings.

The limited historical information that has been uncovered (section 7.5) is consistent with the suggestion that the buildings in Newfield Wood were part of the Newfield Estate owned by the Fleming family from the C16th. No unambiguous references to the surveyed settlement or to the adjacent mine buildings have been found, although Lascelles (2003) reports that an adjoining enclosure is named *Mine Hole Field*.

Fig. 6.7.1. Newfield Wood settlement, structures 4 (left) and 3 (right). (©Peter Matthiessen)



Fig. 6.7.2. Newfield Wood settlement, structures 1 (left) and 2 (right). (©Peter Matthiessen)



Fig. 6.7.3. Sketch-map with approximate relative positions of the Newfield Wood structures. (©Ken Day).

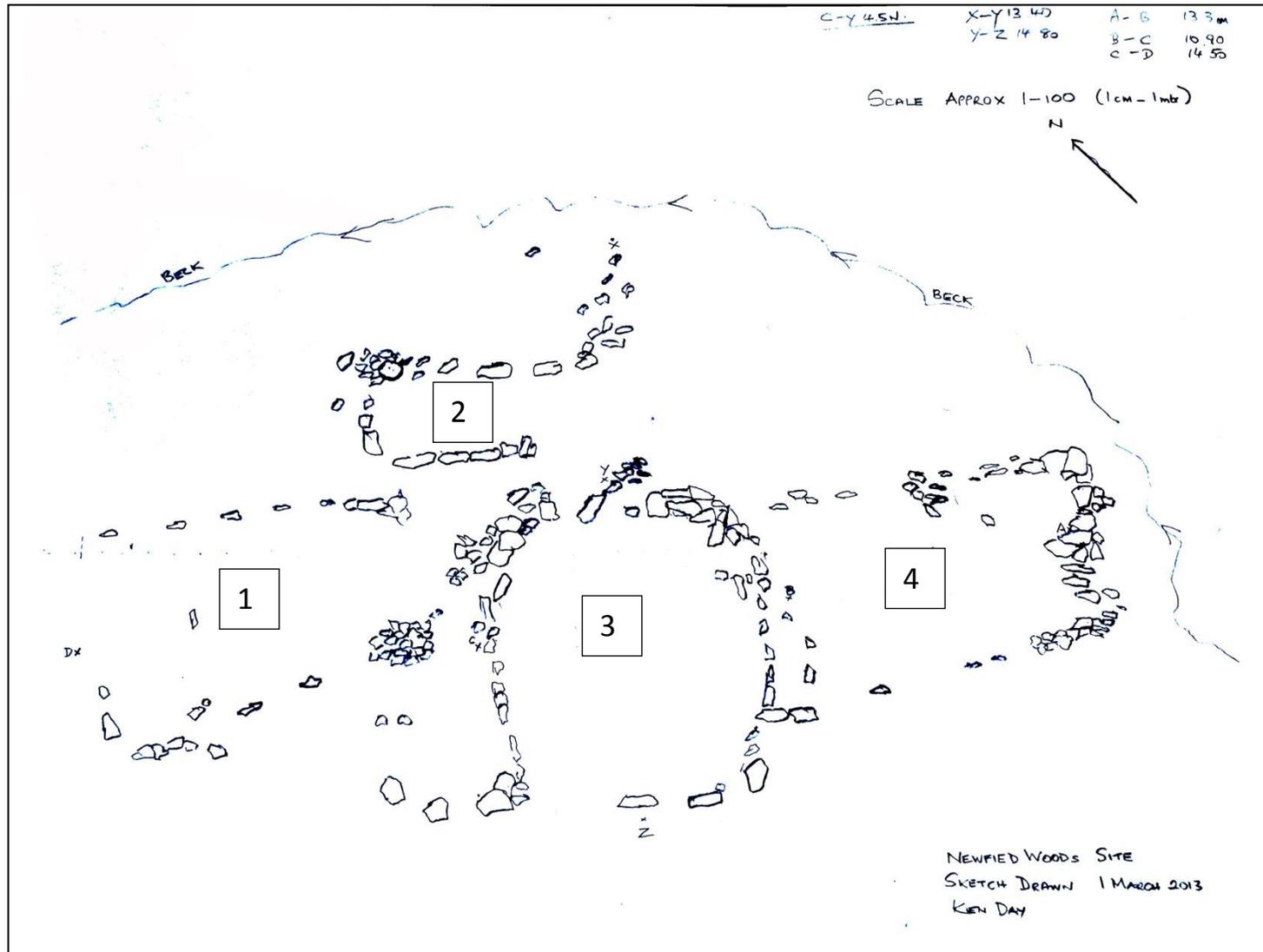


Fig. 6.7.3. Tape and offset survey of Newfield Wood site, structure 1.

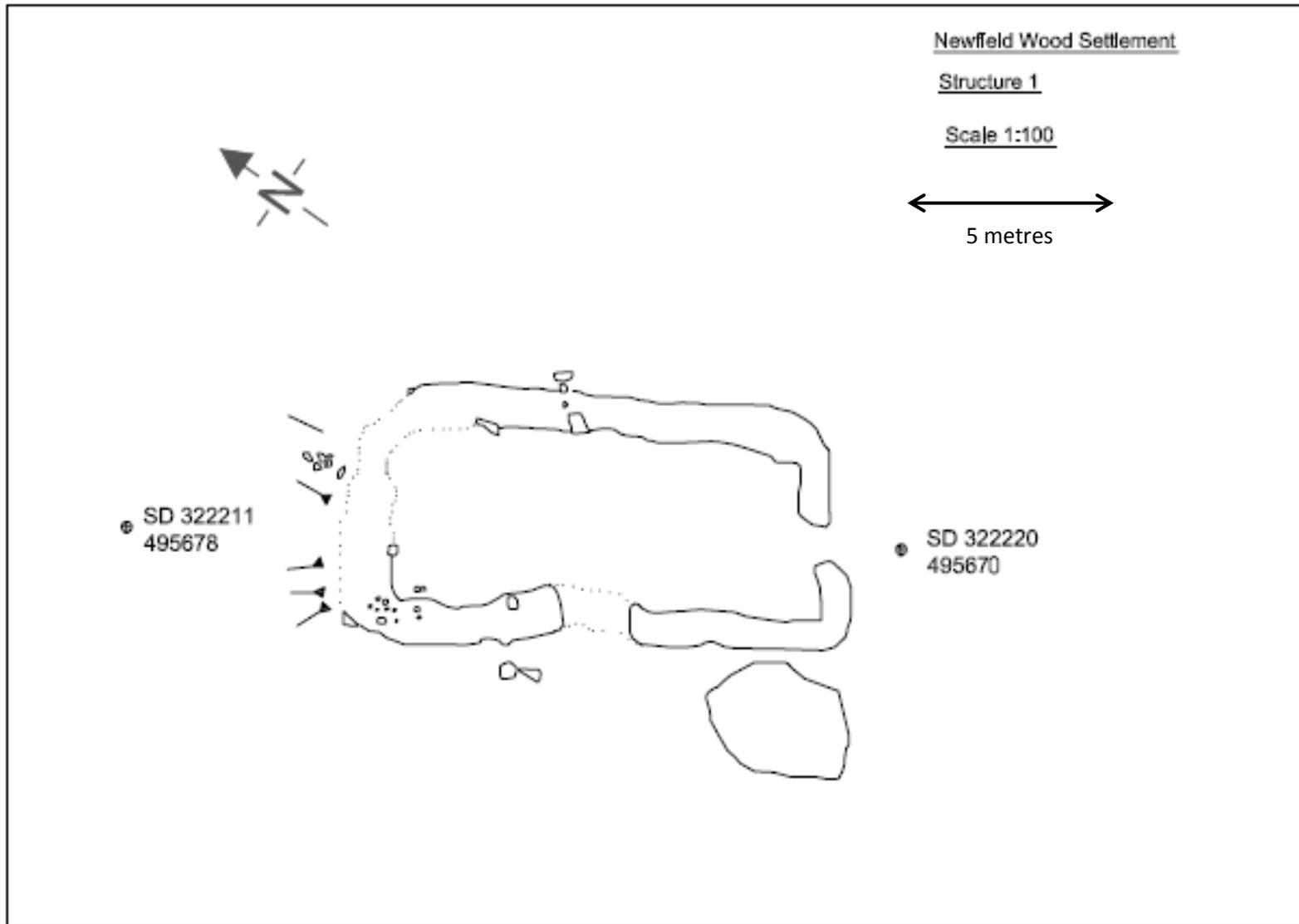


Fig. 6.7.4. Tape and offset survey of Newfield Wood site, structure 2.

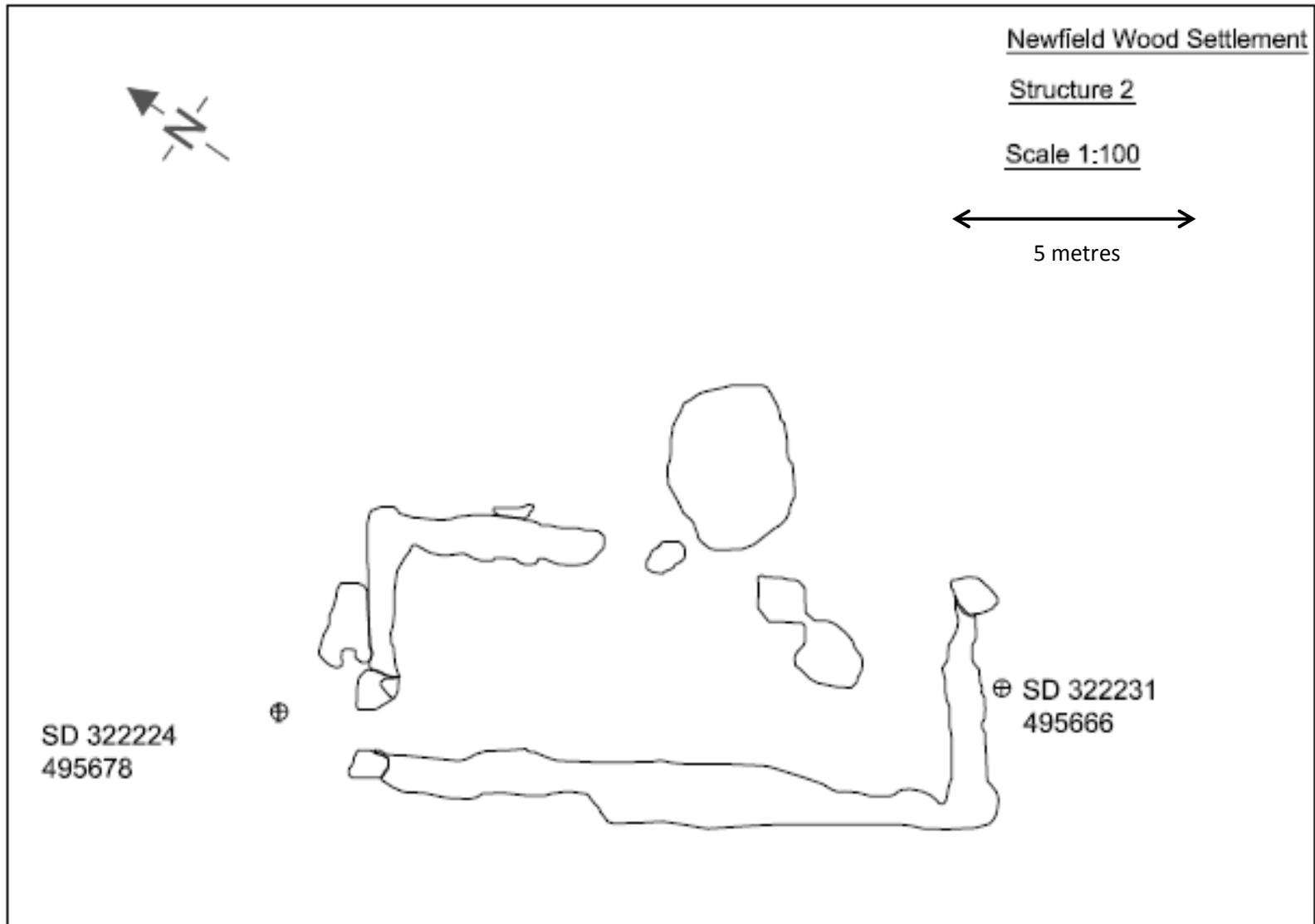


Fig. 6.7.5. Tape and offset survey of Newfield Wood site, structure 3.

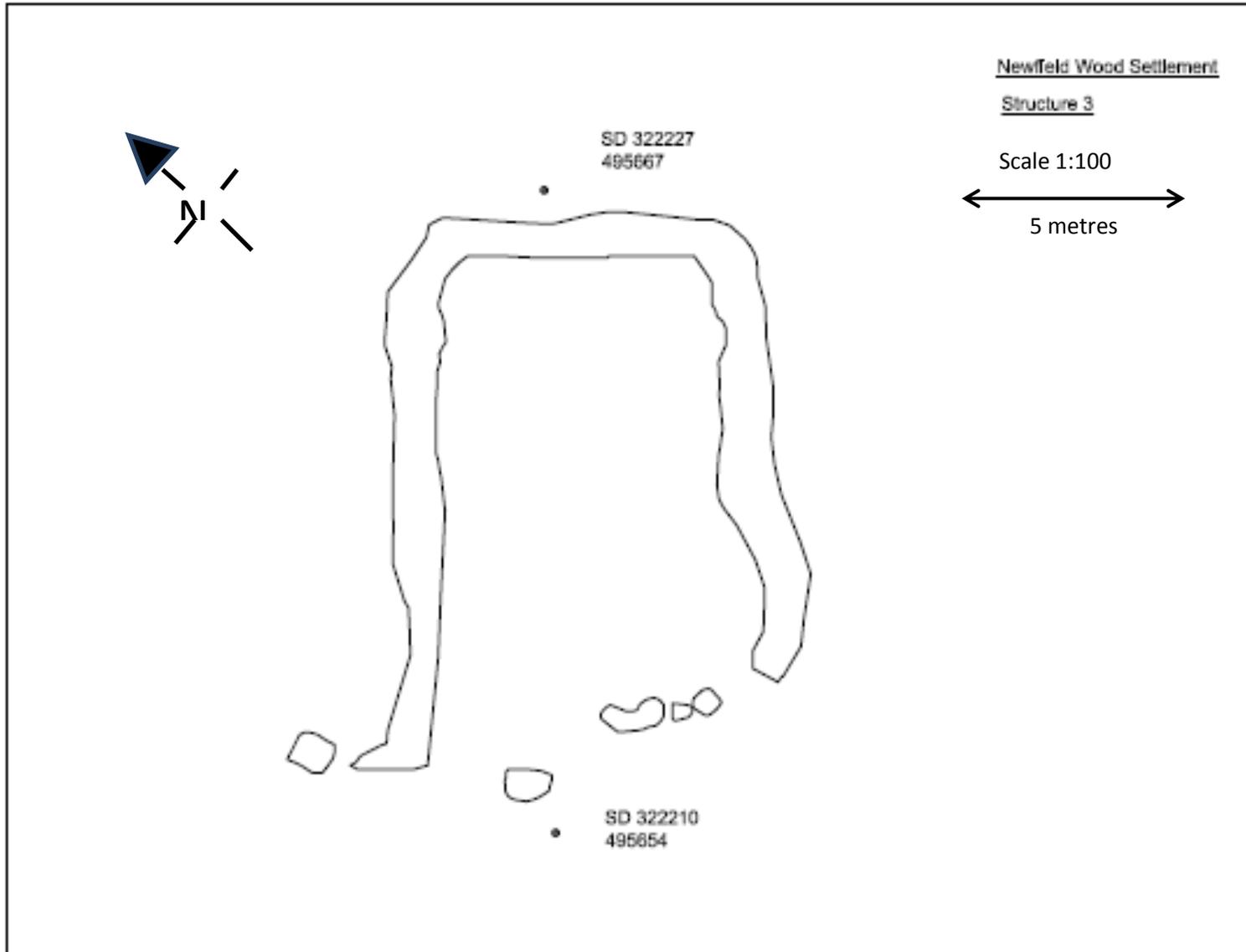


Fig. 6.7.6. Tape and offset survey of Newfield Wood site, structure 4.

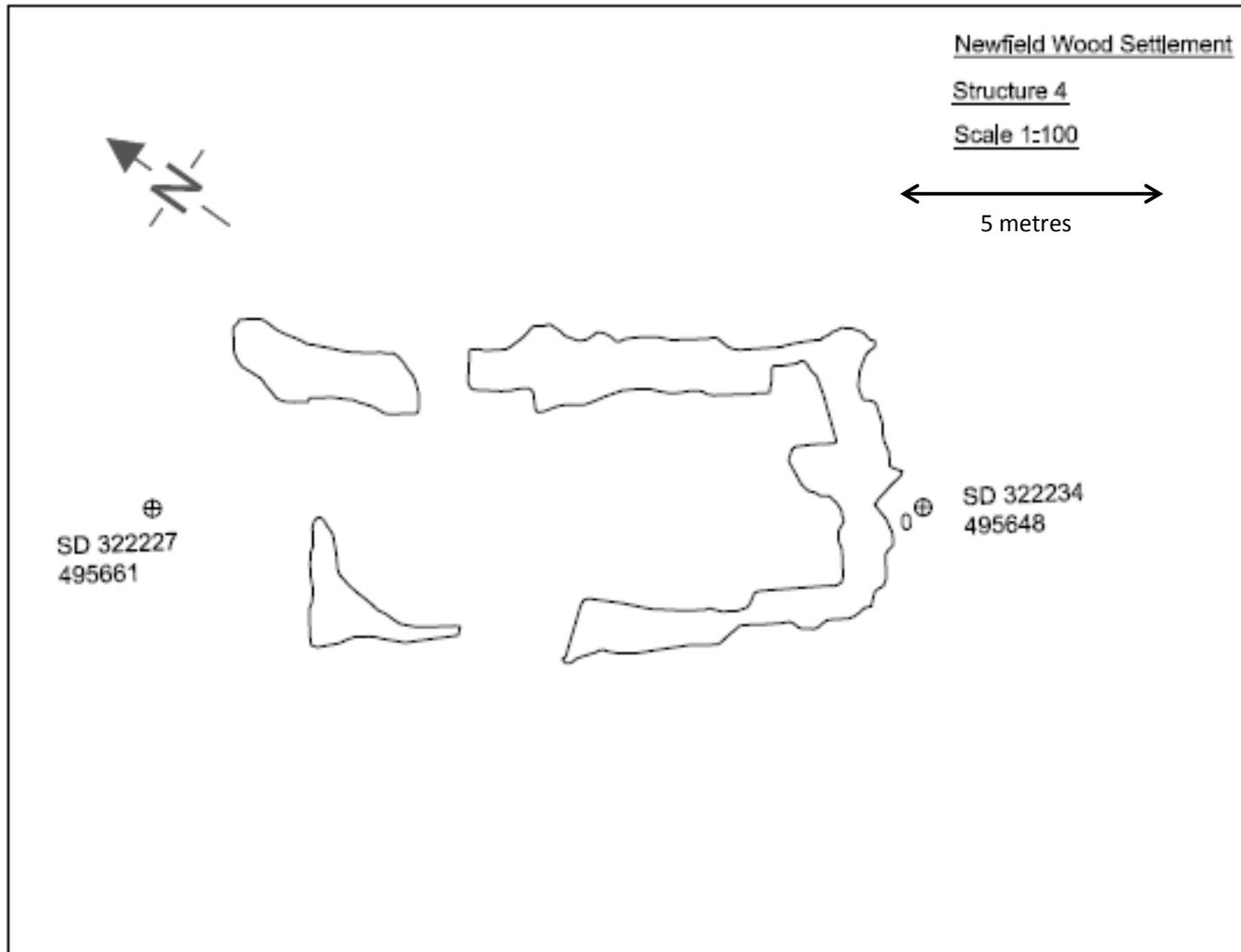


Fig. 6.7.7. GPS survey of Newfield Wood – plan of whole surveyed area.

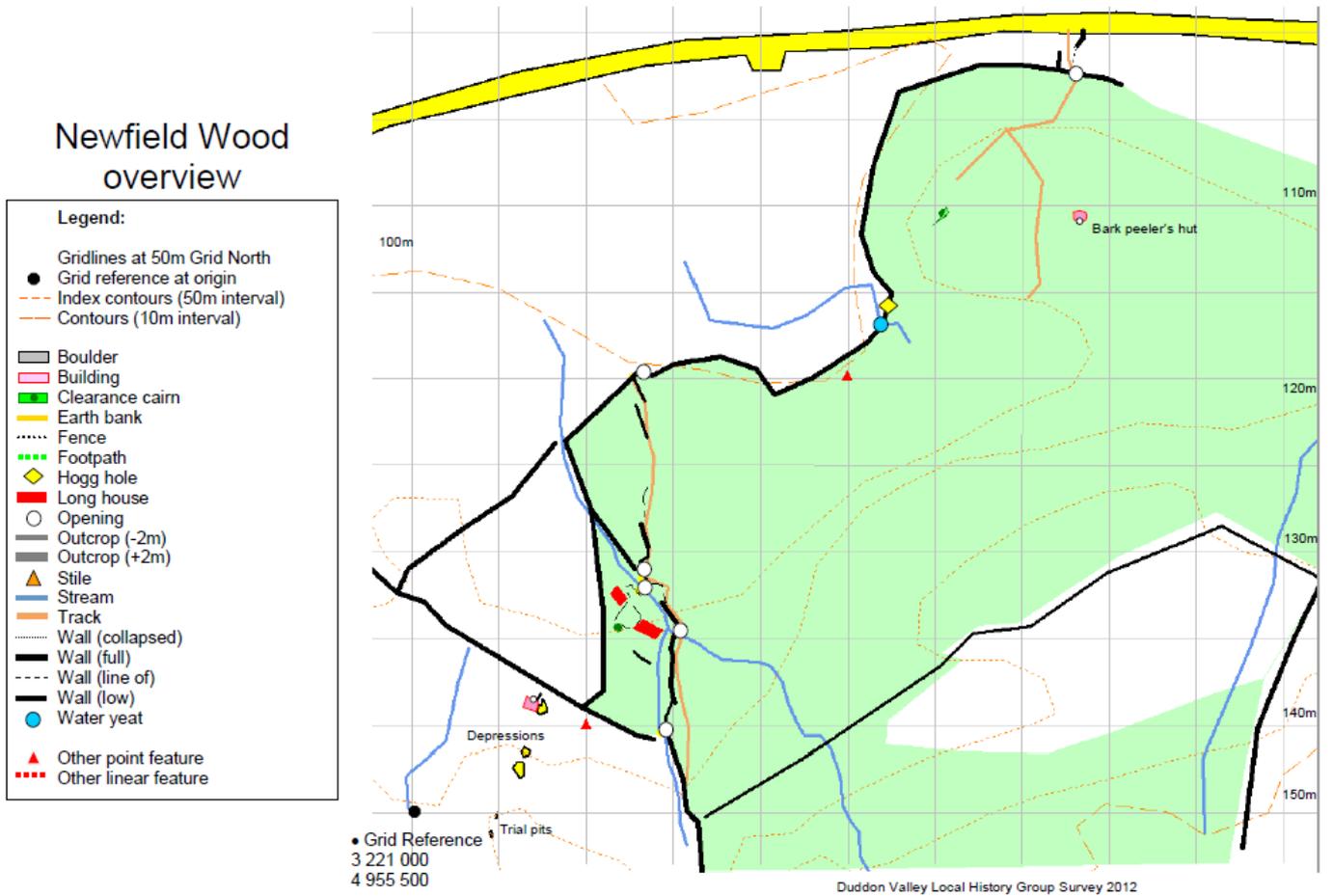
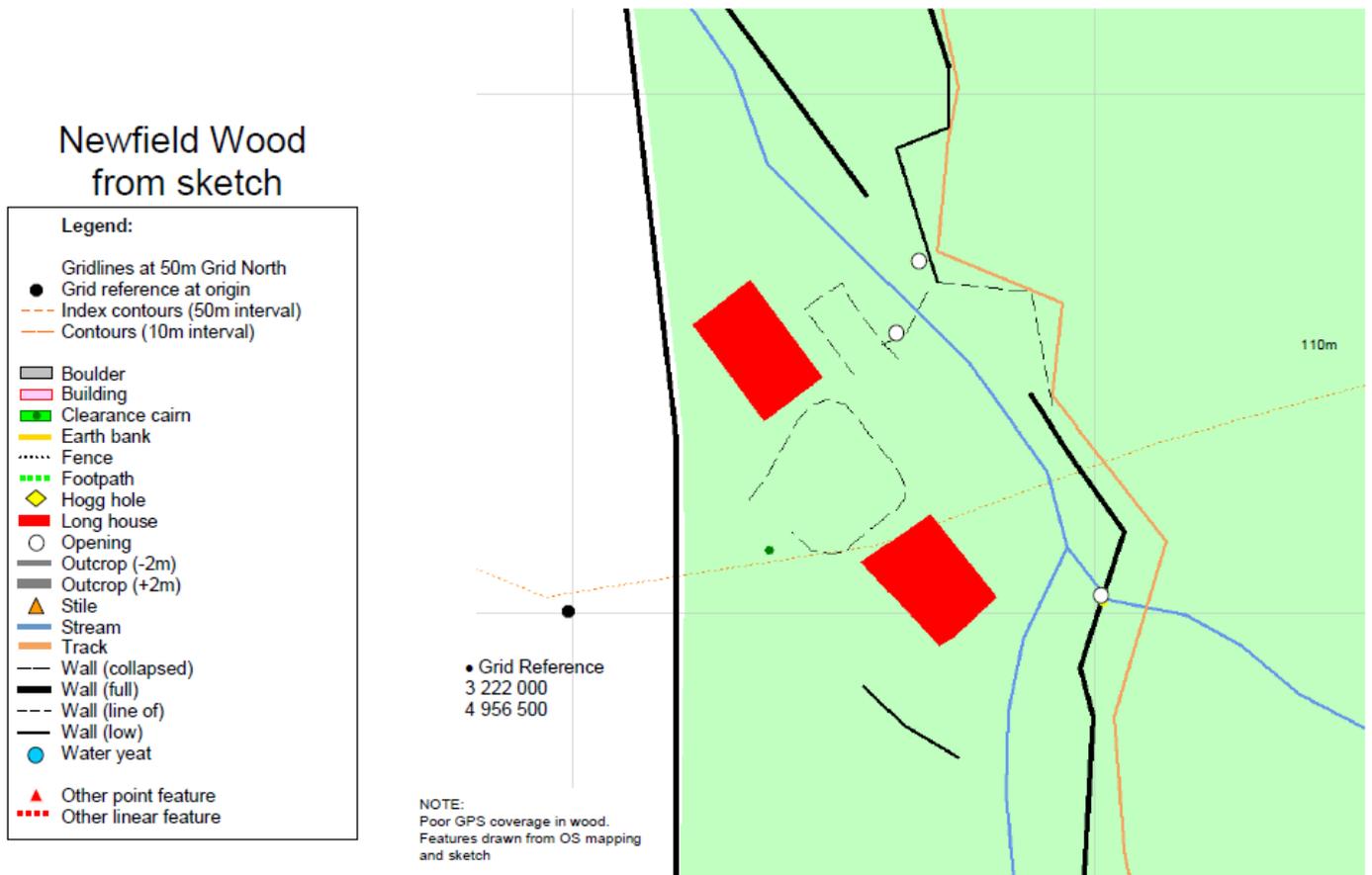


Fig. 6.7.8. GPS survey of Newfield wood – detail of the immediate area around the surveyed structures with amendments based on sketches (due to poor signal reception)



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

6.8 Pannel Holme A

The Pannel Holme A structure lies at an altitude of 243 m on the side of Crowberry Hill, close to a tributary of Sling Beck that flows into the River Duddon near Hall Dunnerdale. Its exterior dimensions are approximately 11.9x4.7 m, although its walls are not exactly parallel (Fig. 6.8.3). There is only a single course of visible stonework, and the structure has apparently been robbed-out by the builders of an 18th/19th century wall which traverses its northern end (Figs 6.8.1, 6.8.2 and 6.8.3).

The structure of Pannel Holme B, which lies approximately 60 m to the southwest (Figs 6.8.2 and 6.8.4), is also associated with the same 18th/19th century wall, and may be of similar age to structure A. Although it appears too small to be a longhouse (8.6x4.5 m), it may have been used by the inhabitants of structure A as a barn or other storage building.

The area of Pannel Holme includes significant lengths of low walls or lines of stones which are presumably the bases of walls. These walls appear to pre-date the 18th/19th century wall that traverses structure A and may be of a similar age to the latter. As at Lad How close by, these old walls make good use of rock outcrops to extend their reach and make them stock-proof. At least 2 gaps exist in these walls which presumably once held gates or other closures. Unlike at Lad How, however, there are no signs of clearance cairns.

No references to Pannel Holme have been found in historical records (see section 7.3), so it is presumed the structure fell into disuse during the medieval period.

Fig. 6.8.1. Two views of Pannel Holme A (south end) traversed by an 18th/19th century wall. (©Lindsay Harrison)



Fig. 6.8.2. Pannel Holme A (north end) (left); Pannel Holme B (right). (©Lindsay Harrison)



Fig. 6.8.3. Tape and offset survey of the Pannel Holme A structure.

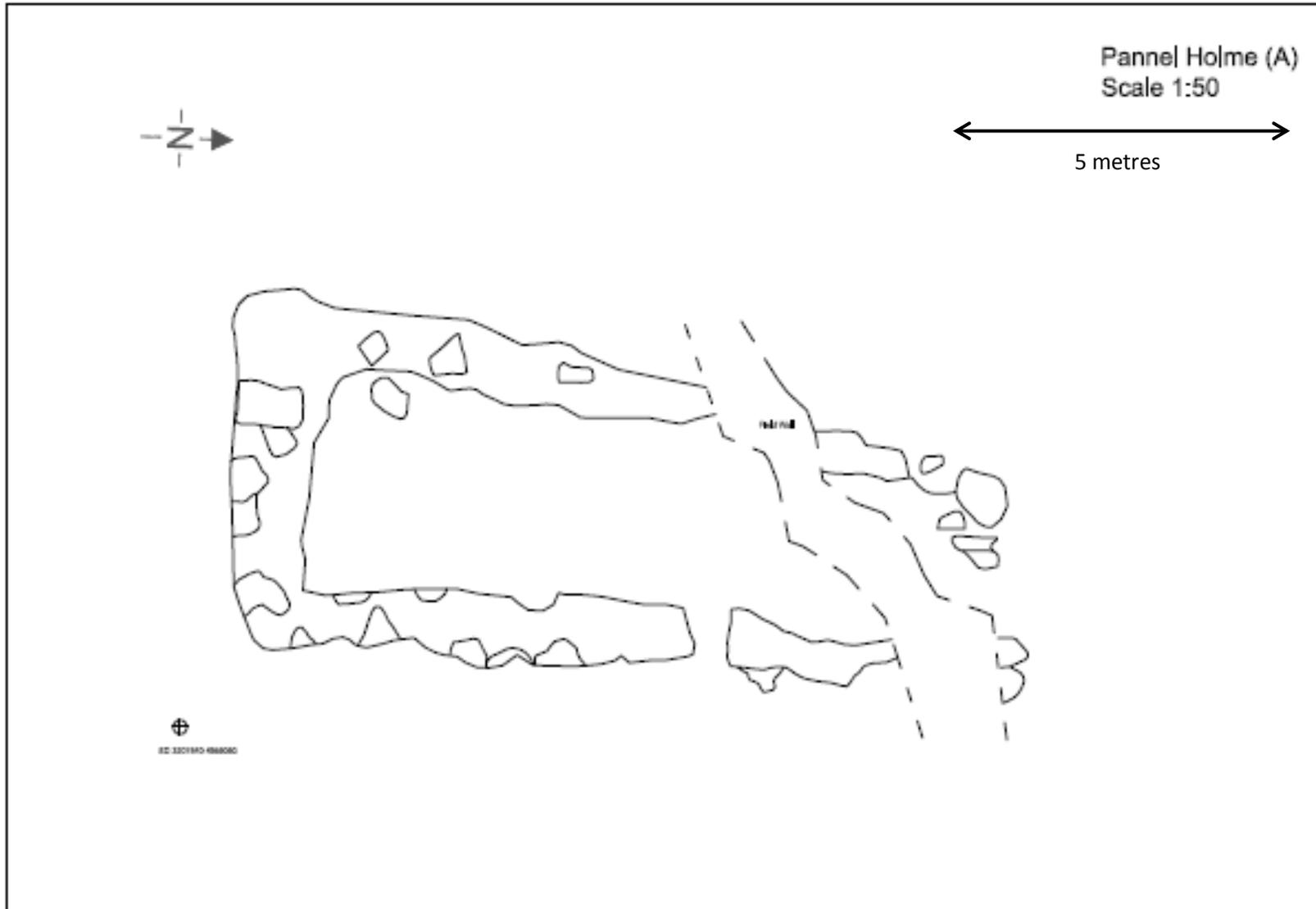
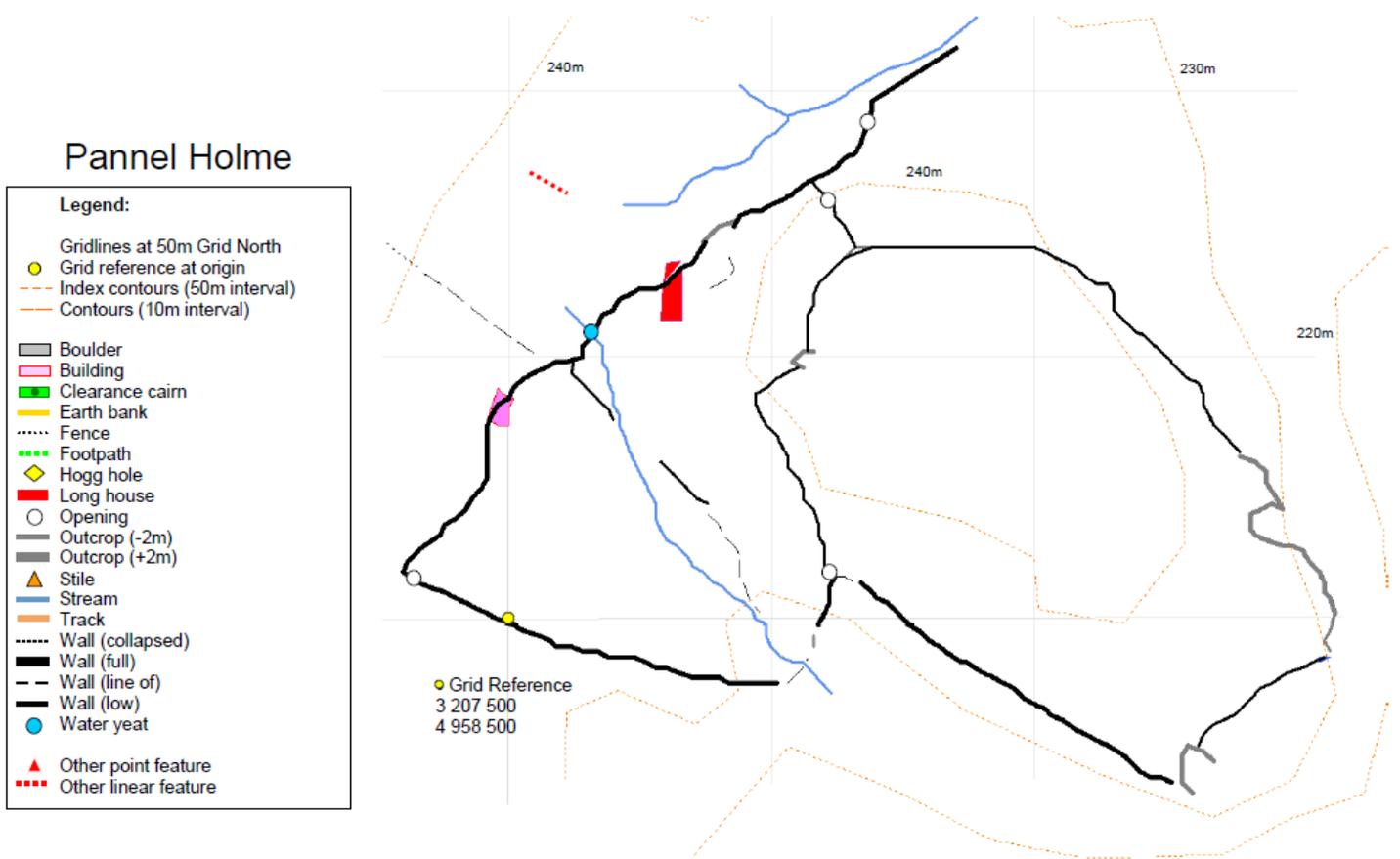


Fig. 6.8.4. GPS survey of Pannel Holme. The building in red is structure A, and that in pink is structure B



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

6.9 Pikeside Farm

The Pikeside Farm site lies at an altitude of 205 m beside the ravine of Holehouse Gill, approximately 400 m south of the present day farmhouse. It is badly infested with bracken which had to be cleared before survey work began, and is part of a grassy field now known as *Hoe End* (Lascelles, 2003) but previously called *Hall End* (section 7.6). The site has previously been surveyed by the National Trust [27] which owns the land, but detailed surveys of the putative longhouse structures have not been conducted.

The three putative longhouse structures (A, B and C) are grouped close to each other (Figs 6.9.4, 6.9.5, 6.9.6 and 6.9.10), immediately west of a later ruined barn. Comparison of aerial photographs taken in June and April (Figs 6.9.4 and 6.9.5) shows that bracken and turf obscure much of the structures in summer, while light snow in spring highlights some detail. A maximum of 2 courses of stonework are visible, and often the location of walls is indicated solely by grassy, stone-filled banks. Structure A (Figs 6.9.1 and 6.9.7) has exterior dimensions of 17.5x5.2 m, and no sign of crosswalls, but several gaps which might represent the positions of doors. Structure B (Figs 6.9.2 and 6.9.8) has exterior dimensions of 12.8x5.6 m with a clear cross-wall about halfway along the long side, as well as an entrance gap towards the northern end. The southern end may slightly underlie a later sheepfold. Structure C (Figs 6.9.3 and 6.9.9) has exterior dimensions of 18.1x5.8 m and appears to have experienced more stone-robbing than the others. There is some evidence of a cross-wall near the northern end, but it is not possible to indicate the positions of doors. Just south of the southern end are the remains of a wall set at an oblique angle to the main structure. It is unclear if all 3 structures were dwelling houses, but their size and shape are consistent with this possibility.

The surrounding area contains abundant evidence for early agriculture which may have been associated with the 3 structures. Not all of this has been surveyed during the present project, but the GPS survey of Hoe End field (Fig. 6.9.10) shows 23 clearance cairns of varying sizes (some covered in turf), most of which are visible in aerial photographs (Fig. 6.9.5 lower). There are also several short stretches of low walling which apparently pre-date the 18th/19th century walls around Hoe End, and which make use of several rock outcrops to extend their reach. There is a small enclosure of largely collapsed walling in the field to the north (*Kate Field* – Lascelles, 2003) which also makes use of a rock outcrop.

This group of 3 longhouse-type structures thus seems to represent an early farming settlement and it appears likely that the pre-18th/19th century walls are associated with it. It is not known whether the many clearance cairns are also associated with the surveyed structures, although those completely covered in turf may pre-date those where the stones are exposed. On the other hand, structure B is overlain by a later sheepfold, and the ruins of an even later barn are situated immediately to the northwest of the longhouse group (Figs

6.9.1 and 6.9.5). Historical documents (section 7.6) provide limited evidence for dwellings on this site in C14th, C16th and C18th, and it appears probable that at least three and possibly four phases of construction are present (*i.e.* clearance cairns - longhouses and early walls – sheepfold - barn). The longhouses were ruinous by 1860 at the latest, and were probably abandoned in the mid-C18th.

As this report was being compiled, an unrelated survey of the Pikeside area by DVLHG revealed that about 150 m east of the settlement are the remains of a circular enclosure approximately 25 m in diameter, traversed by a later field wall. About 30 m to the south of the enclosure, and stretching west for approximately 150 m, are the remains of an angled boundary wall, apparently of similar age. These features may be associated with the settlement, and require further examination.

Fig. 6.9.1. Pikeside Farm structure A, with later barn beyond. (©Peter Matthiessen)



Fig. 6.9.2. Pikeside Farm structure B, with later sheepfold behind. (©Peter Matthiessen)



Fig. 6.9.3. Pikeside Farm structure C. (©Peter Matthiessen)



Fig. 6.9.4. Aerial photographs of Pikeside Farm, June 2013: The longhouse structures are indistinct due to bracken growth. (©Reg Tyson)

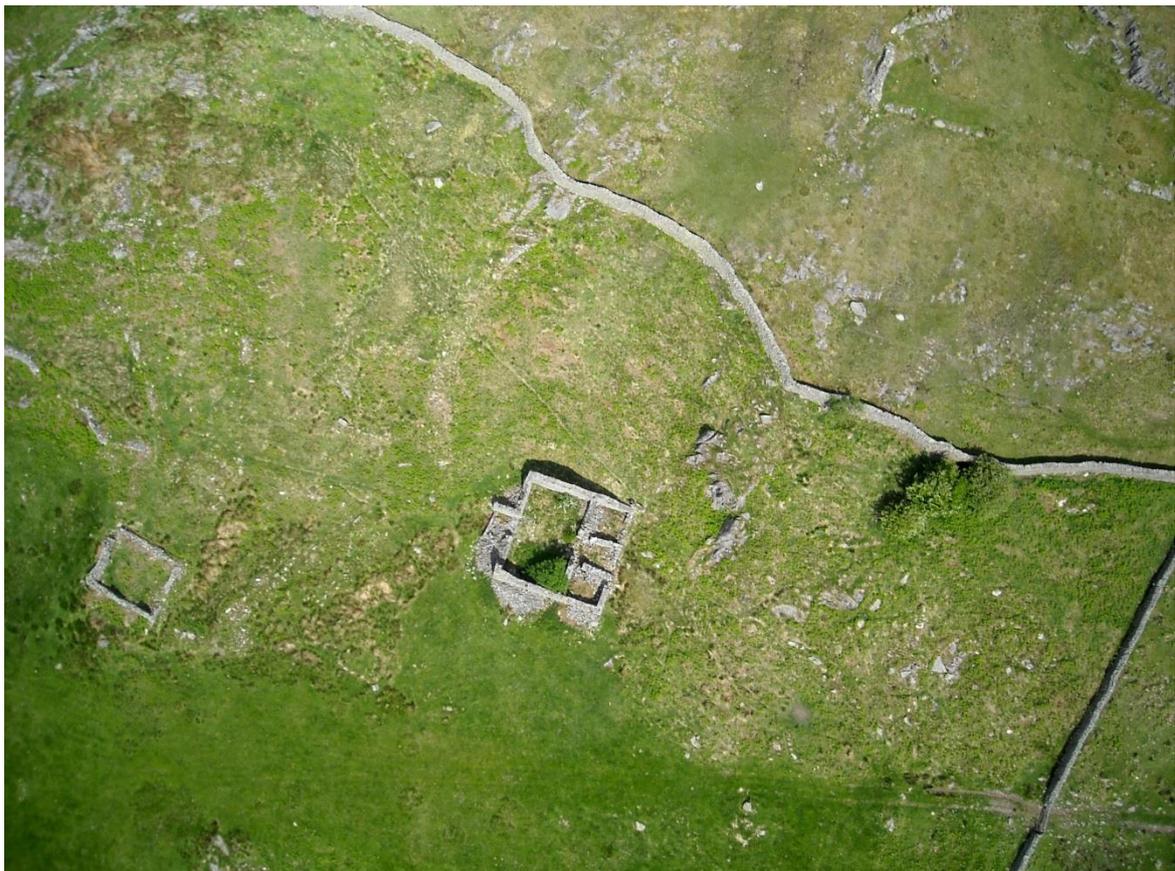


Fig. 6.9.5. Aerial photographs of Pikeside Farm, April 2013. Top photograph: The longhouse structures are highlighted by snow to the left, with the later barn to the right and the sheepfold bottom left. Bottom photograph: Some of the clearance cairns. (©Reg Tyson)



Fig. 6.9.6. Pikeside Farm – all 3 structures shown as a group (taken from an aerial photograph; DVLHG, 2009). The easternmost structure is fragmentary and was not surveyed by the present project.

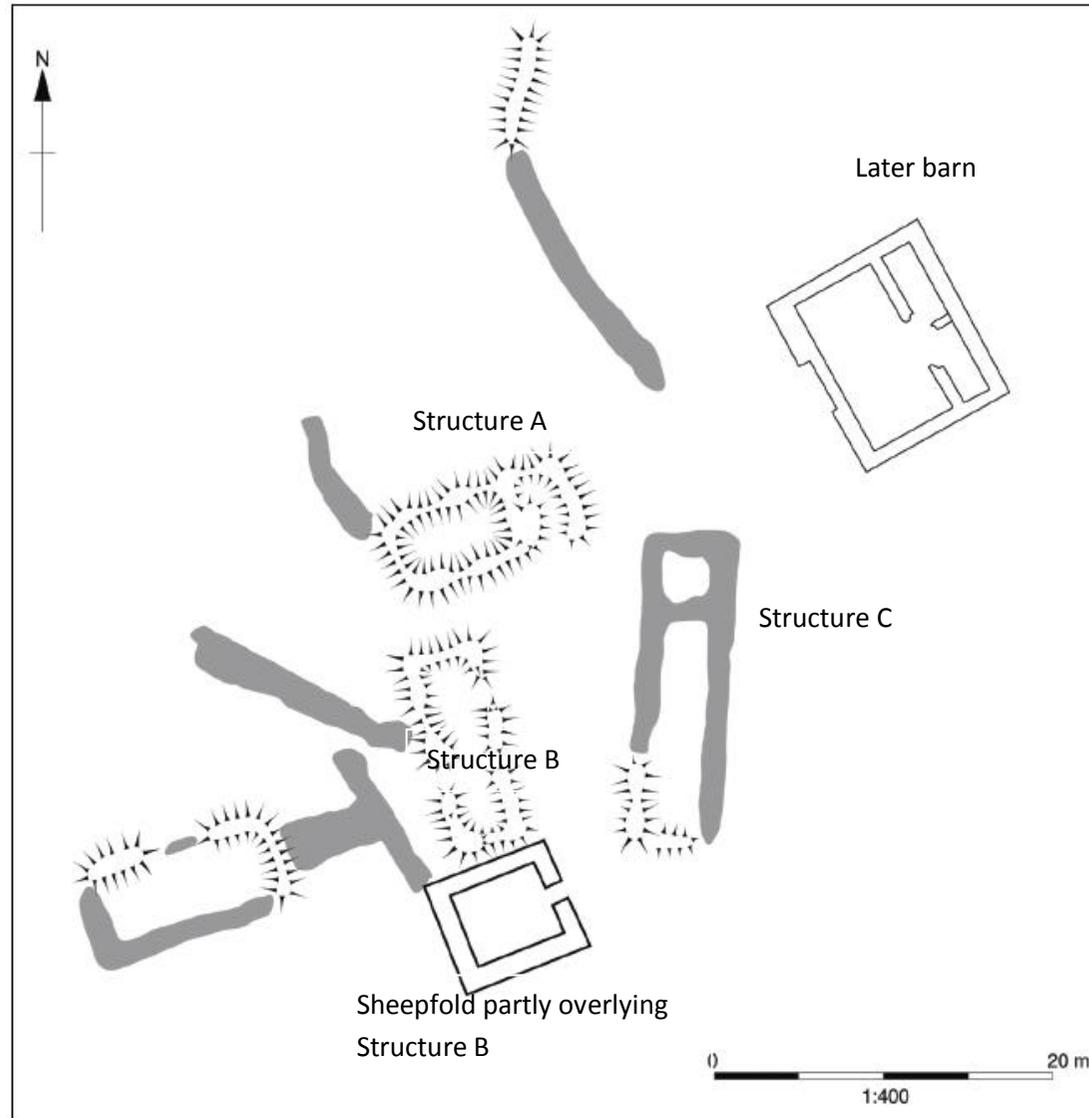


Fig. 6.9.7. Tape and offset survey of Pikeside Farm structure A.

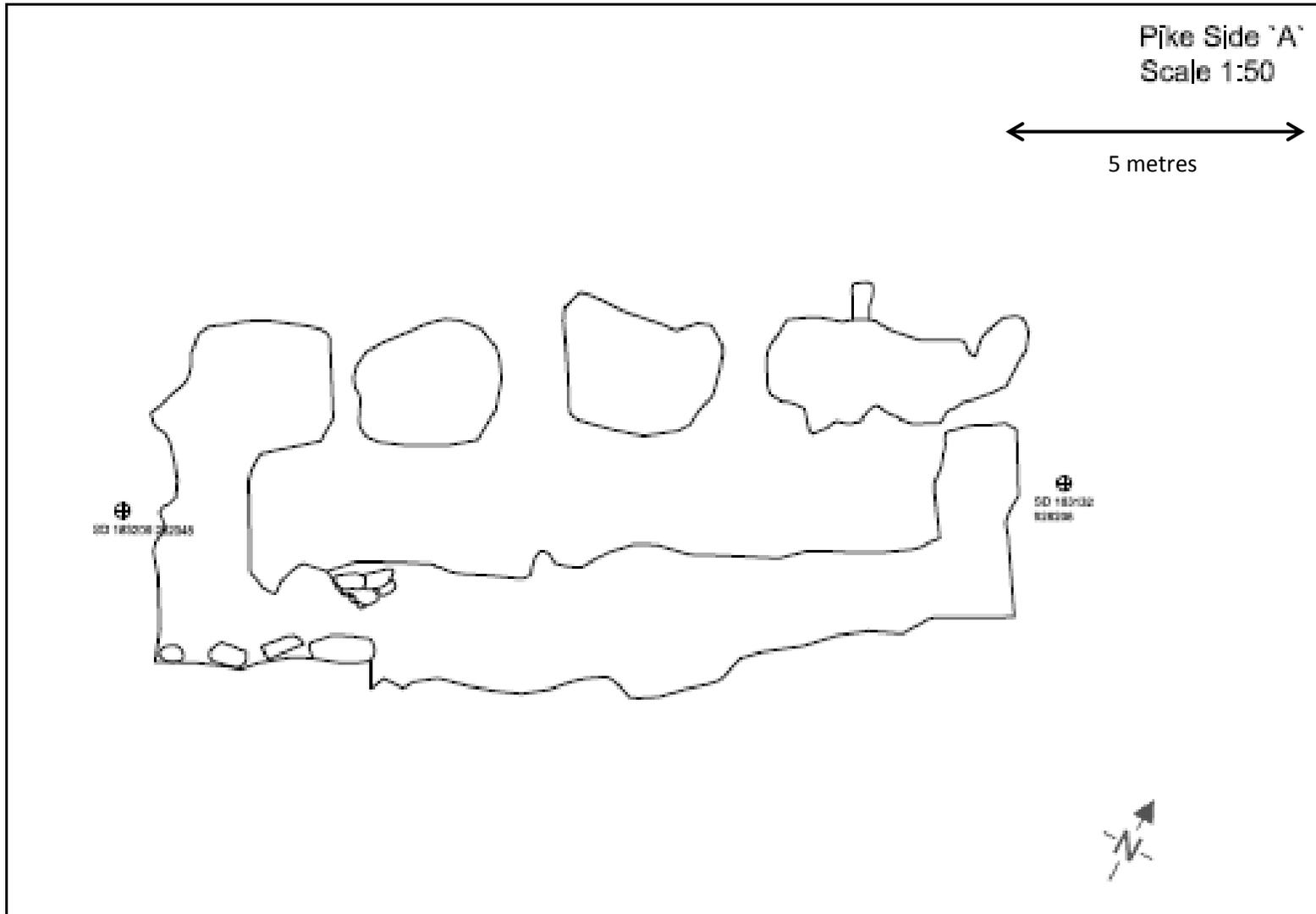


Fig. 6.9.8. Tape and offset survey of Pike Side Farm structure B, showing the later sheepfold at its southern end.

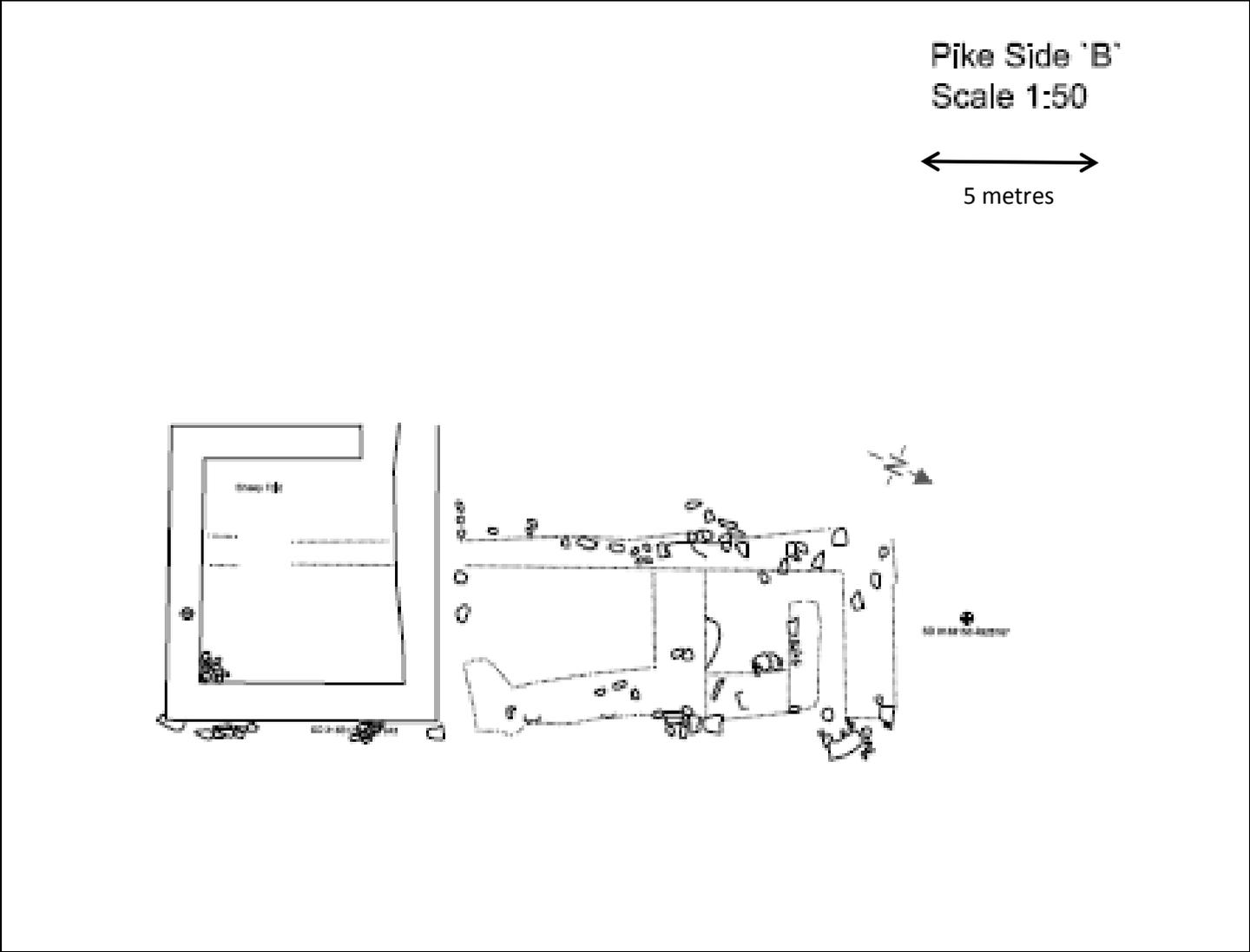
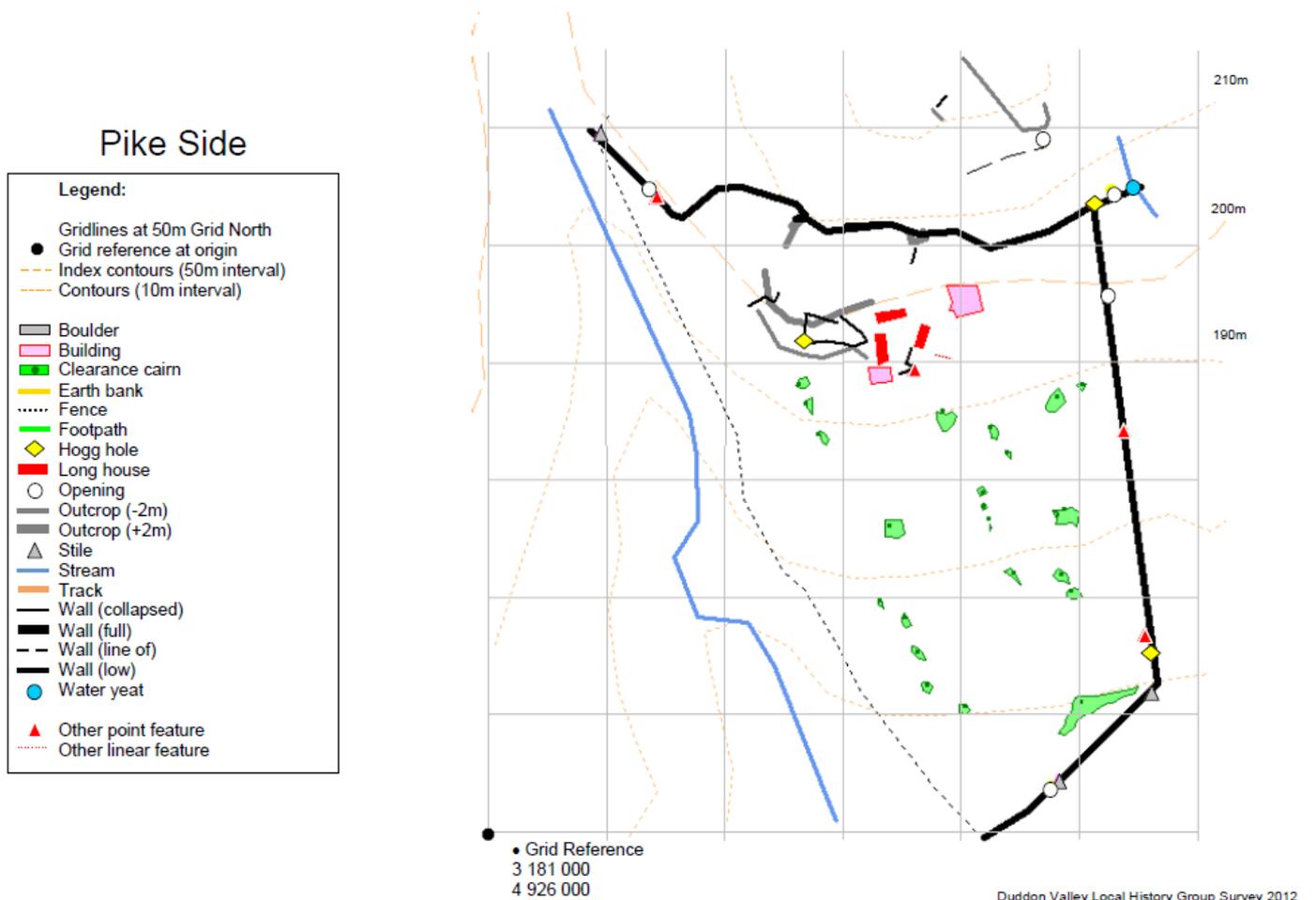


Fig. 6.9.9. Tape and offset survey of Pike Side Farm structure C.



Fig. 6.9.10. GPS survey of Pikeside Farm. The 3 rectangular red structures are the putative longhouses, and the larger pink structure is the more recent barn. The smaller pink structure is the sheepfold at the southern end of structure B.



6.10 Stephead Close

The structure in Stephead Close is located at an altitude of 156 m in close association with, and to the south of, an 18th/19th century wall which dog-legs round it. Low Bridge Beck lies a short distance to the north. The structure consists of about 4 courses of stonework, but much appears to have been completely robbed out by the wall builders (Figs 6.10.1, 6.10.2 and 6.10.3). Its dimensions are approximately 18x7 m, but if this is a longhouse, approximately half is missing, and there are no signs of cross-walls etc. It seems equally possible that this structure may have had some other function, such as a sheepfold.

The remains of another structure which are clearly those of a building can be found approximately 50 m to the east, also in close association with the 18th/19th century wall (shown pink in Fig. 6.10.4, located immediately to the north of the wall). The gable end of this largely collapsed building is incorporated into the structure of the wall, and it could be that these are the remains of the barn referred to in the Craven files (see section 7.7).

The area around the surveyed structure is fairly rich in early agricultural remains (Fig. 6.10.4), including 2 clearance cairns, a collapsed wall aligned on the surveyed structure, several low walls with constructed gaps, and the remains of 2 old tracks.

Overall, despite these nearby signs of early agricultural activity, the evidence is weak for either of these structures being a longhouse.

**Fig. 6.10 .1. Stephead Close structure with the abandoned Stephead farm in the distance.
(©Paul Taylor)**



Fig. 6.10.2. Stephead Close structure detail. (©Paul Taylor)



Fig. 6.10.3. Tape and offset survey of the Stephead Close structure.

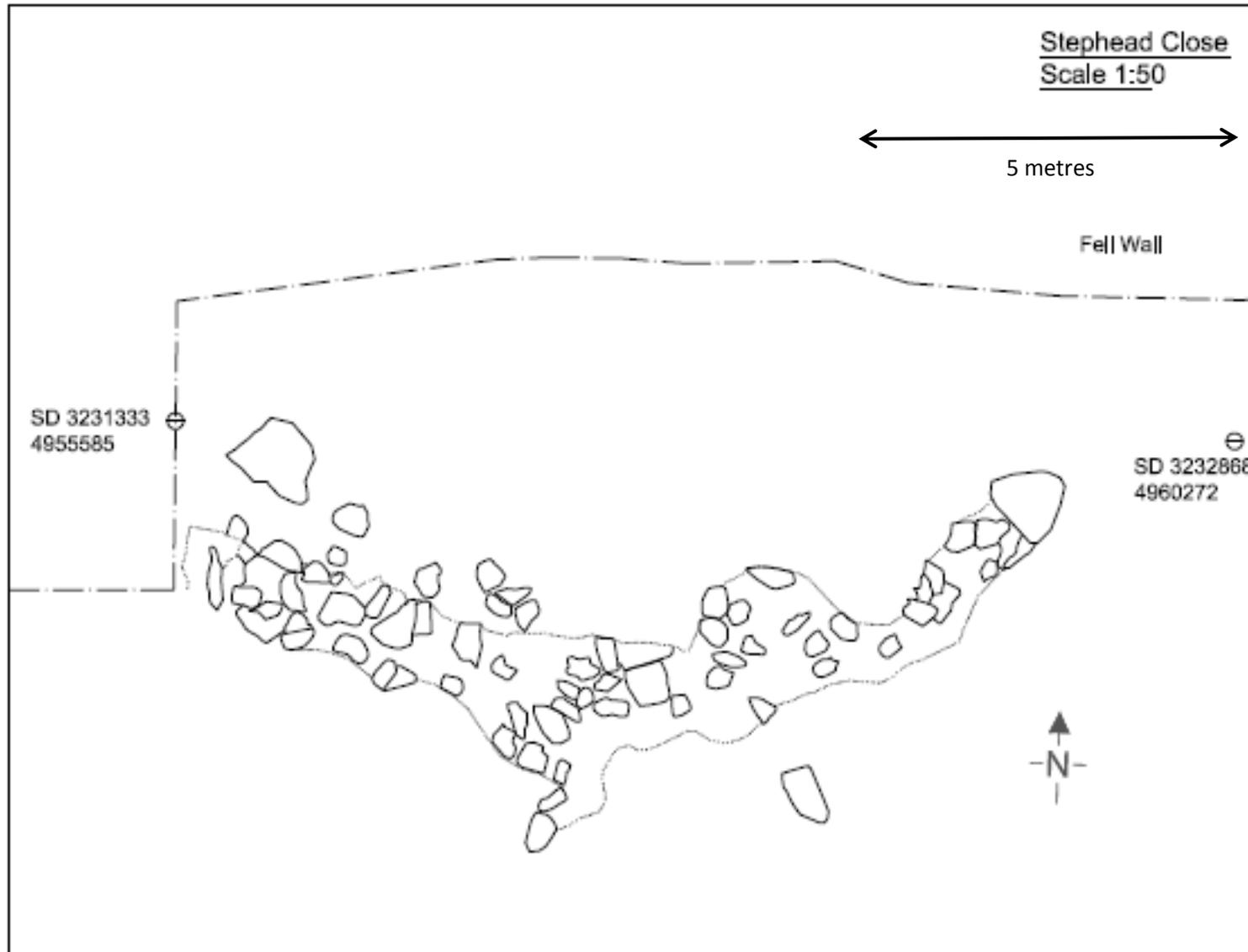
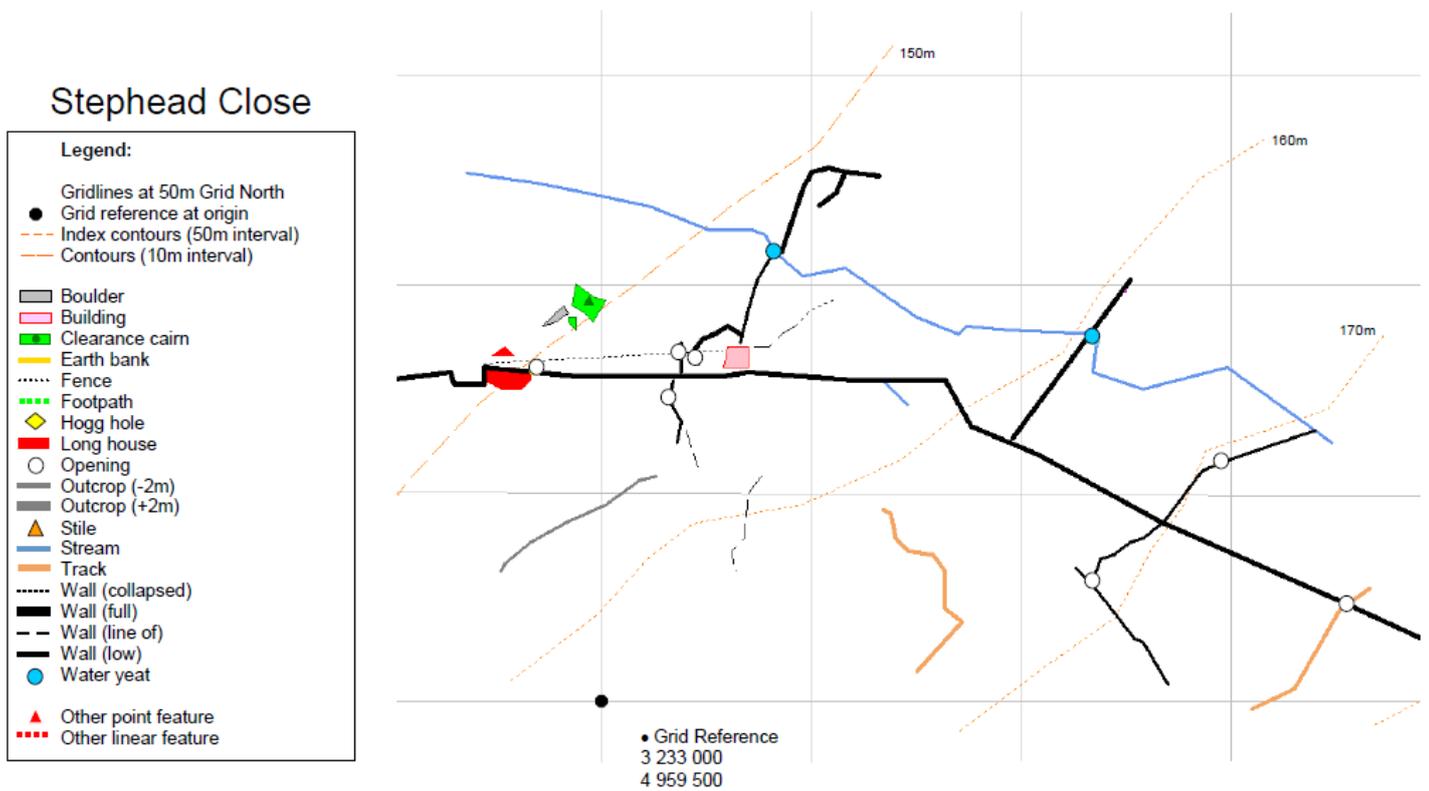


Fig. 6.10.4. GPS survey of the area around the Stephead Close structure. The red structure is the putative longhouse, while the pink structure is a building whose gable end is incorporated in the structure of the 18th/19th century wall.



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

6.11 Tongue House High Close

Tongue House High Close is an area of steep, rocky, and inaccessible ground above the present-day Tongue House Farm. The whole area is heavily infested with bracken, and structures had to be cleared of this invasive plant before surveys could begin. The existence of two longhouse-type structures in this Close was noted in aerial images that had earlier been taken by English Heritage and published in DVLHG (2009). One of the structures (A) is listed by the Historic Environment Record (HER) as a post-medieval 'long house (shieling) and associated walls' (LDNPA record number 36559). HER also has a record in Tongue House High Close for a medieval 'long house (shieling)' (National Trust record number 23862), and although the grid reference provided (SD 242 979) differs slightly from that measured by this project for structure B (SD 24287 97842), it is presumed that structure B and NT 23862 are the same.

The two putative longhouse structures (A and B) are 220 m from each other, A lying almost due south of B. A is at an altitude of 273 m, while B is somewhat higher (300 m). They have many similarities and are therefore being described in the same section of this report. This does not necessarily imply that they were associated with each other when occupied.

Structure A

This structure is shown in Figs 6.11.1 and 6.11.3, and lies within 100 m of Sunny Pike Gill to the southeast. Its external dimensions are 9.8x3.4 m, it consists of 3-6 courses of stonework, and it possesses a clear cross-wall and entranceway on one long side. The cross-wall also contains a gap. No roofing slates are visible within the structure. Structure A lies within a small enclosure composed of a low wall on 3 sides and a rocky outcrop on the fourth side. The enclosure wall is itself pierced by two openings. The entranceway of the structure faces southwest, away from the outcrop and overlooking the lower Duddon Valley.

The details of structure A are shown at least as clearly in aerial photographs (Fig. 6.11.3) as in the tape and offset survey (Fig. 6.11.5). Using surveyed marker pegs visible in the aerial photographs, it proved possible to rectify the images to conform to the OS grid, as shown in Fig. 6.11.4. This photographic approach to measured surveying is considerably quicker than the tape and offset technique, and is recommended for wider use.

The area surrounding structure A is shown in Fig. 6.11.5. It can be seen that the low enclosure around the surveyed building is connected directly to a series of other low walls which link a number of rocky outcrops, the effect being to create several larger enclosures. These low walls are traversed by a stile and contain several gaps. As all these low walls appear to be part of a single system connected to the small enclosure, it seems likely that they were contemporaneous with structure A itself. Given the density of the bracken, it is possible that other structures in the surrounding area remain to be discovered.

Structure B

Structure B is shown in Figs 6.11.2 and 6.11.4, and is situated approximately 200 m from an unnamed beck which flows down to Tarn Beck. It is approximately the same size and shape as structure A (10.6x3.8 m), it also possesses 3-6 courses of stonework, and it also has a southwest-facing entrance which is centrally located on the long side. Furthermore, the structure backs onto a rocky outcrop in the same way as A. No roofing slates are visible inside the structure. However, structure B differs from A in that it is not surrounded by a small enclosure. It also seems slightly better preserved than A, and one end rises to a low (~1 m) 'gable-end' (Fig. 6.11.2).

The area surrounding structure B is shown in Fig. 6.11.6. Although there are no low walls in the near vicinity of the structure, several are present about 100 m to the north and east, again linking a number of rocky outcrops. There are no other traces of early agricultural activity, although it is possible that undiscovered structures lie hidden in the dense bracken.

In summary, structures A and B both appear to be excellently preserved examples of longhouses with well-developed systems of associated enclosures. They are relatively remote from later stone structures and seem as a consequence to have experienced less stone-robbing than many other sites covered by this survey. Unfortunately, no trace of these two buildings has been found in the historical records (see section 7.3), although this could be taken to imply that they fell into disuse during the medieval period. They certainly appear to pre-date the 18th/19th century wall around Tongue House High Close. As noted above, structure A has been attributed by LDNPA to the post-medieval period, while structure B is described by NT as medieval. Furthermore, both organisations seem to be unclear about whether the structures are longhouses or shielings. However, our tentative conclusion is that both are probably medieval longhouses.

Fig. 6.11.1. Tongue House High Close structure A showing associated low walls. (©Mervyn Cooper)



Fig. 6.11.2. Tongue House High Close structure B. The lower photograph shows a detail of one end of the structure. (©Mervyn Cooper)



Fig. 6.11.3. Aerial photograph of Tongue House High Close A structure. The precise positions of the two white marker pegs near the top and bottom righthand side of the structure were surveyed by GPS, and used to rectify the image (see Fig. 6.11.4) (©Reg Tyson).



Fig. 6.11.4. Rectified aerial photograph of Tongue House High Close A. (©Mark Kincey)

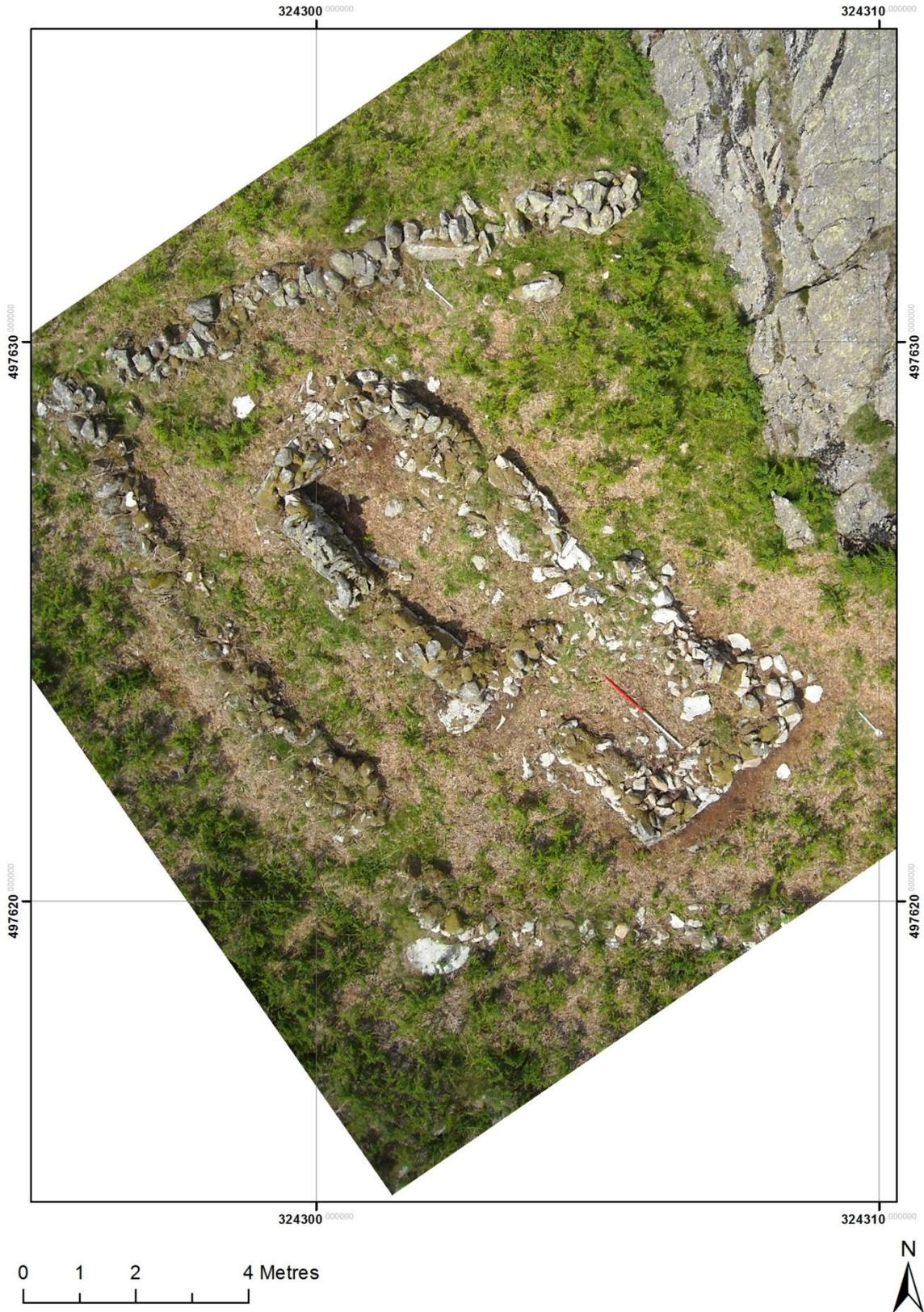


Fig. 6.11.3. Tape and offset survey of the Tongue House High Close A structure.

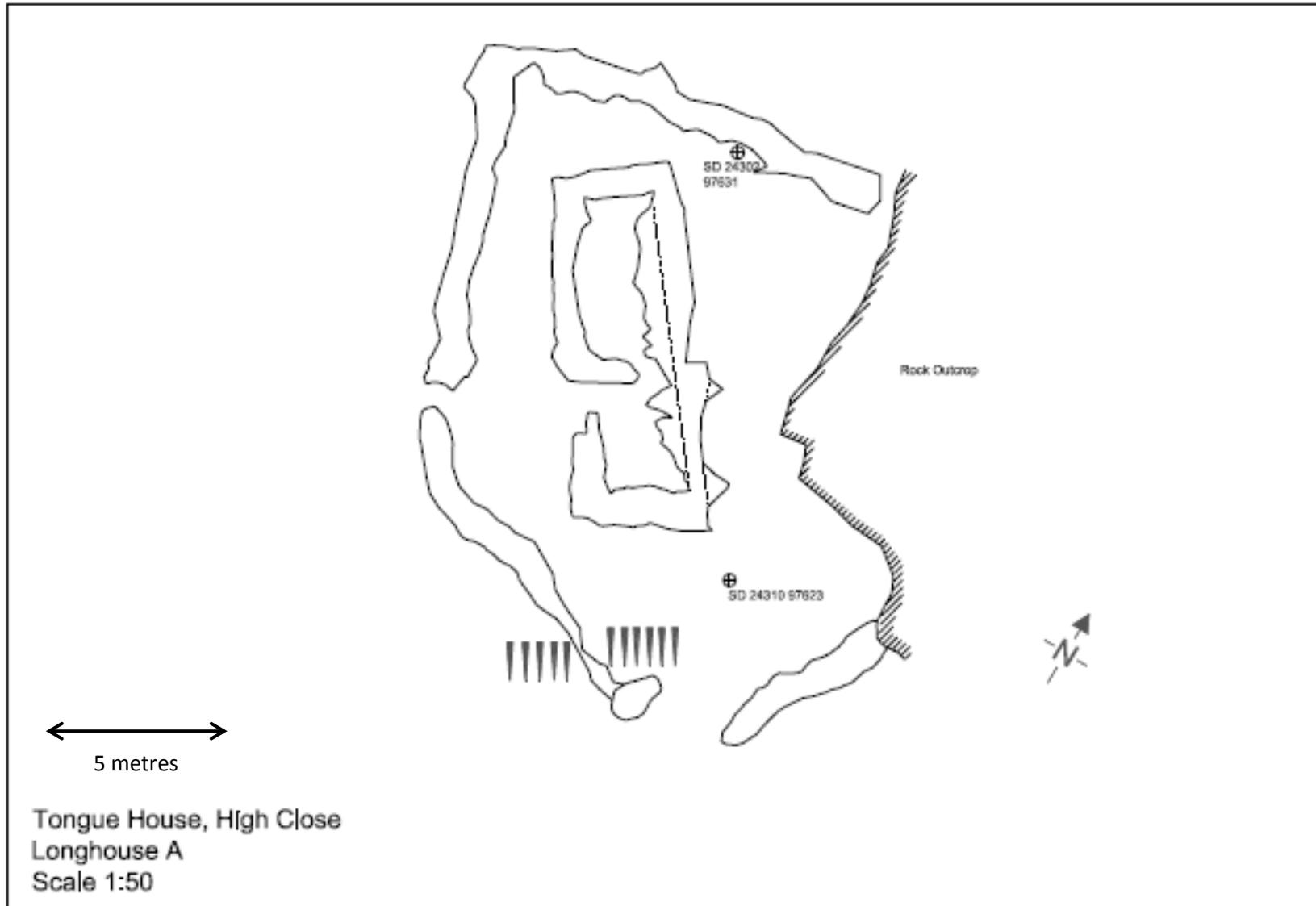


Fig. 6.11.4. Tape and offset survey of Tongue House High Close B structure.

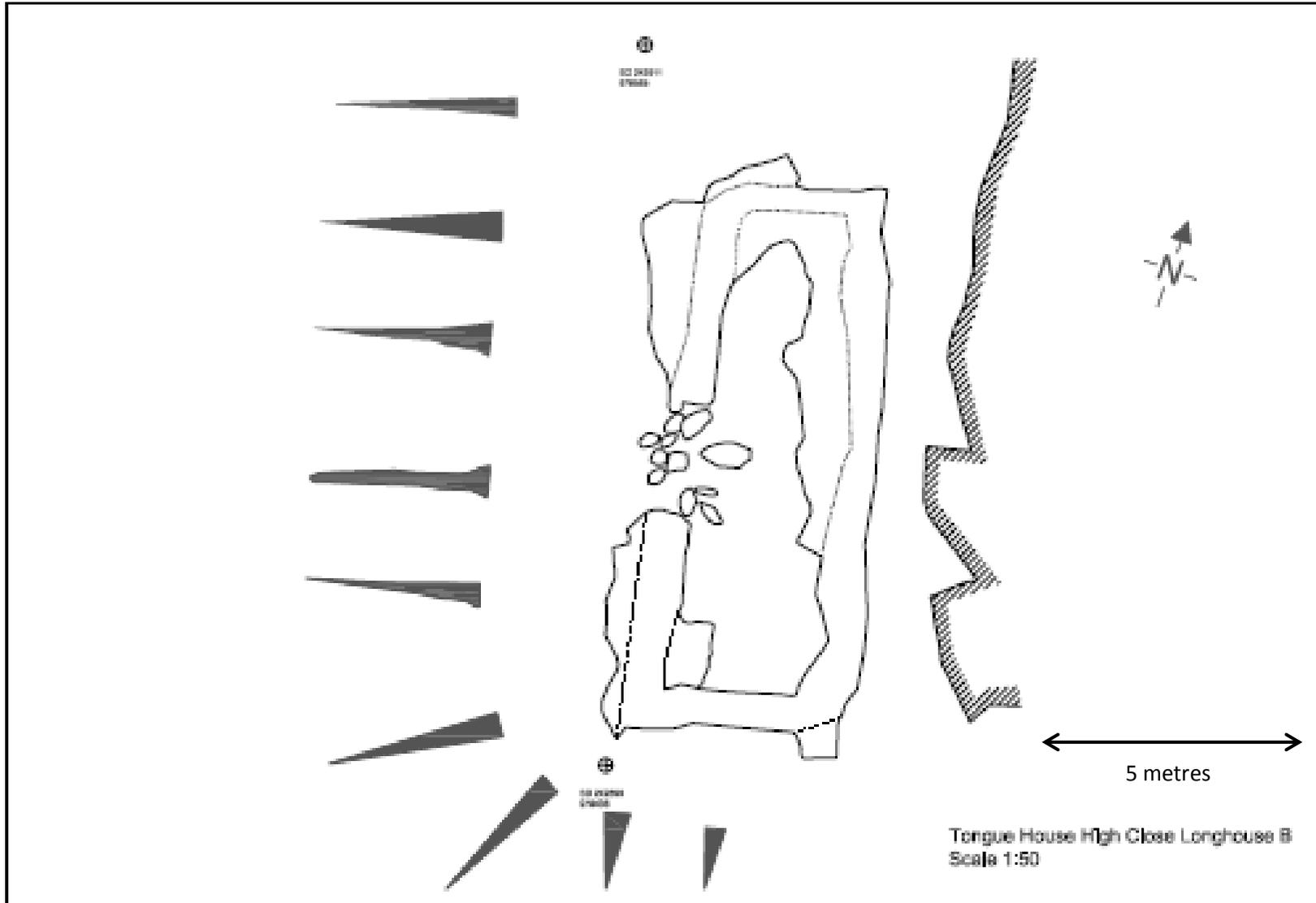
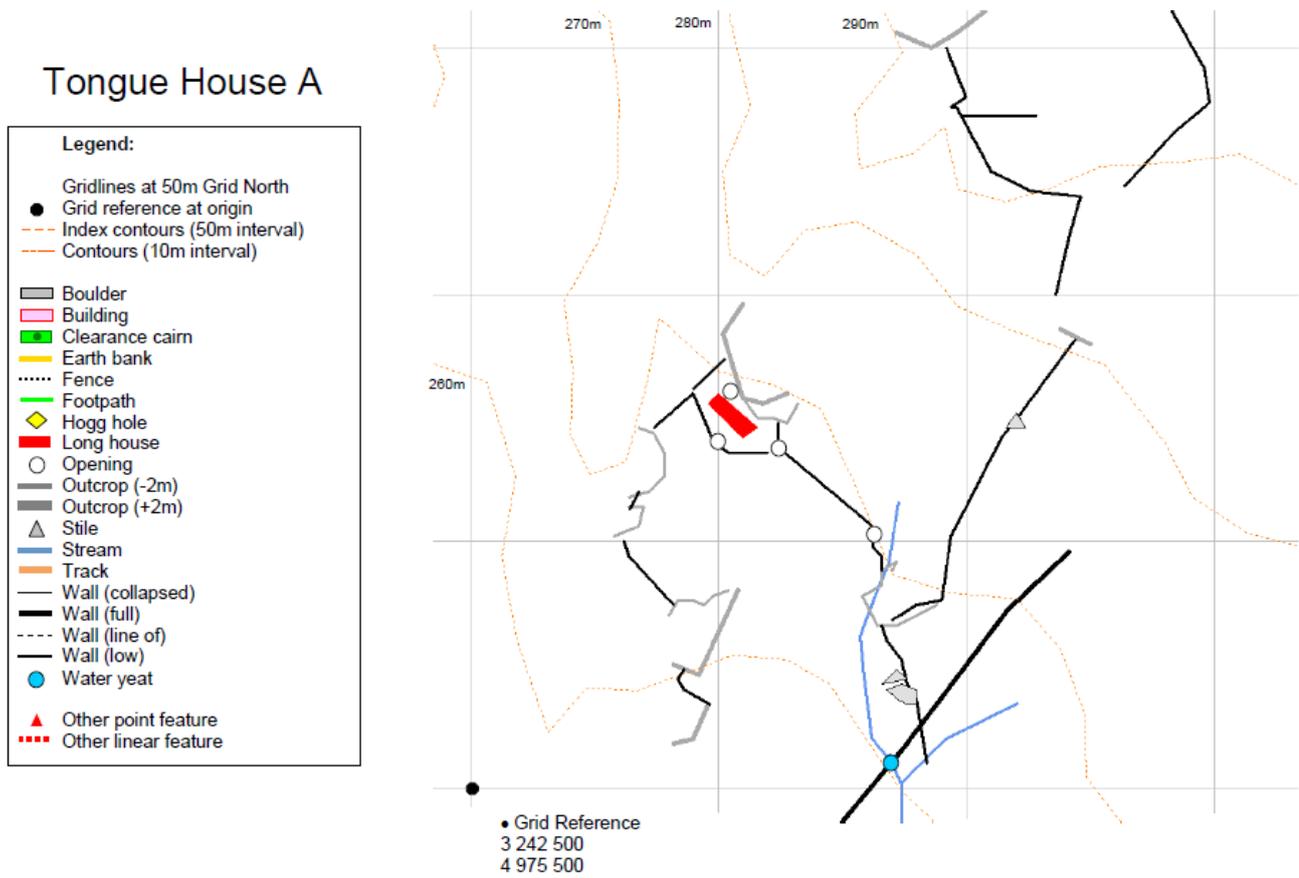
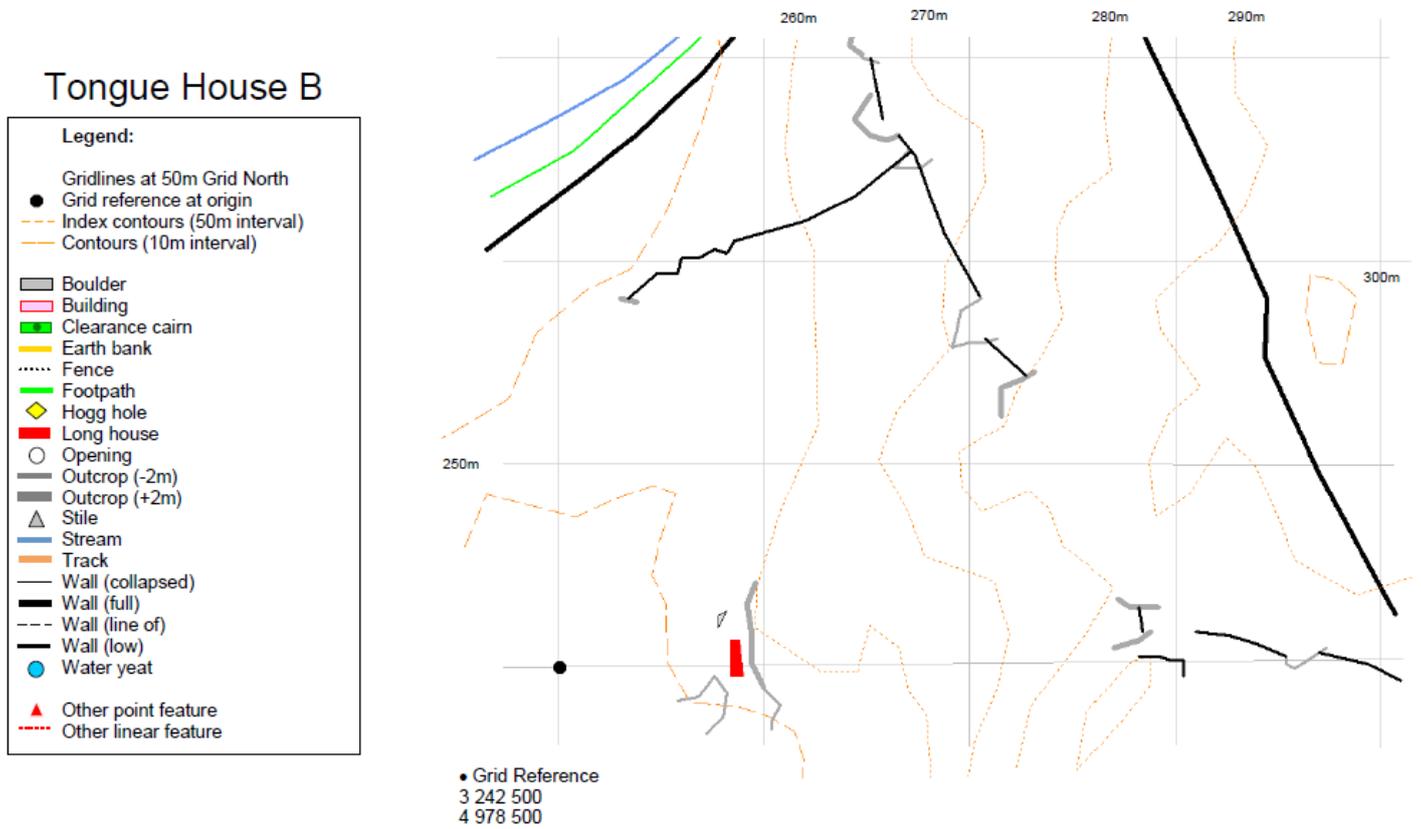


Fig. 6.11.5. GPS survey of the surroundings of Tongue House High Close A structure.



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

Fig. 6.11.6. GPS survey of the surroundings of Tongue House High Close B structure.



Duddon Valley Local History Group Survey 2012

7. HISTORICAL RESEARCH

7.1 Colonisation and abandonment

Unsurprisingly, because of the limited number of early records, we have found no traces in the archives of the establishment of any of our putative longhouse sites or indeed of any of the farms in the Duddon Valley. It is very rare to find a name in the archives that cannot be identified with an existing dwelling. Apart from the occasional exception, all of them could refer to sites outside the Duddon Valley. It is also worth stating that the first and later editions of Ordnance Survey mapping make no mention of ancient structures at any of our survey sites apart from Low Sella.

None of these documents are likely to relate to the sites we have surveyed in this project, although one would have hoped to find a geographical feature, a name on an old map, or a field name to provide a link. This being the case, we need to look at the general process of settlement in the Lake District valleys to give us an indication of when the sites might have been settled.

In *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* and *The Harvest of the Hills*, Angus Winchester (Winchester, 1987 and 2000) presents information from manorial records. Using this information it is possible to look at social and population changes and trace their effect on settlement patterns. This has obvious implications, in general terms, for the establishment and abandonment of the sites we have been studying.

Winchester describes 3 main periods of colonisation, the first being pre-Norman Conquest. Around AD 900, Cumbria experienced a fairly intensive period of colonisation, mainly by people of Norse origin. Place names are an important piece of evidence for this, as well as pollen remains in peat deposits which show extensive woodland clearance taking place at that time.

There were later signs of woodland regeneration, suggesting a period of abandonment before a second wave of colonisation in 1150-1300. The areas brought into cultivation were mainly marginal lands. In the Duddon Valley these were usually up the valley sides roughly at 200 to 300 m. They have low ambient temperatures, late frosts and often waterlogged soil. They are at, or near, the limit of cultivation and may have been taken into cultivation when the climate improved or there was increased pressure of population, but are likely to have been abandoned when these conditions changed.

Other colonised areas were the forests. Ulpha was originally a forest of free chase and as such was subject to forest law and protected from settlement. However the Lords of the

Manor quite soon became eager to generate income by allowing their forests to be settled by tenants at will⁵, while their tenants were equally eager to acquire new land. By 1300 most Lake District valleys contained a substantial population of tenants at will.

At this time, some summer shielings also became permanently settled. There is still evidence of transhumance as late as 1300, the herder and his family moving to summer pastures with the animals and staying in shielings, but this practice was becoming much less common on the Cumbrian Fells by the 14th century.

In the C14th and C15th there was another period of decline. Reasons include the Black Death, harvest failures and animal plagues. This led to decline of the human population and abandonment of the marginal land.

The third period of colonisation lasted from approximately 1450 to 1550. Once again there was growing prosperity and renewed enclosure of the 'waste' to increase the area under cultivation. By the C16th forests for the most part were divided into township communities similar in population to neighbouring areas. At this time the limit of improvable land had been reached and boundaries between farmland and waste remained stable until the Parliamentary enclosures in the late C18th and early C19th.

This period was also characterised by the controlled division of holdings between family members to allow some younger sons to take half the family holding, for example. In the Millom Rental of 1510 [1] there is a reference to this occurring in the Duddon Valley: "*William Bayssebrown, Roger Bayssebrown and the widow of Roland Bayssebrown held together a tenement and rend yearly ...22s.*" This may account for the many small groups of tenements⁶, often with the same name, we find scattered over the Duddon Valley. Examples are Hazel Head, Baskell and Longhouse. It may also explain why most of the sites we have surveyed contained several (long)houses grouped together.

By the mid C16th, manorial courts were making strenuous attempts to stop this trend and taverning (sub-letting) was forbidden in many manors.

In the C16th and C17th, there was a significant expansion of enclosed pasture into the wasteland with individual intakes on the fell-side. Many of these were shared by a group of tenants. The head dyke could embrace a string of farms each holding land in severalty. Ring fenced farms were comparatively rare. Many settlements were hamlets of two or more farms, the land of which lay intermingled and sometimes included small areas of shared arable land and meadow. This may be how many of the farms in the Duddon Valley such as Pikeside and Baskell were farmed.

⁵ A tenancy at will is a leasehold terminable or renewable by either party at the end of a short period after having given reasonable notice.

⁶ At this time, a tenement was any rented accommodation

In the period leading up to 1700, there was a transition to modern upland farming. There was a change from subsistence farming with a few cottagers to larger estates in the hands of fewer, wealthier individuals with an increasingly landless population.

There was nothing new about inequality of wealth and status between individual tenants. In *Harvest of the Hills*, Winchester (2000) states that there were 11 Ulpha bylaw⁷ courts held between 1546 and 1555. In them the jury size was 12 to 13 but the total number of tenants serving was only 33 so that one person served at every court and 9 served at half the courts. This meant that power was concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

At the other extreme were the landless poor who were excluded from such privileges as grazing rights on the common and the right to take peat, turf, wood bracken etc. Manorial documents show ongoing attempts to limit the landless population.

The majority of those living in the Duddon Valley in the late Middle Ages were small scale subsistence farmers, but the power and wealth of a small section of the population started to grow in the C16th when the price of wool multiplied 5 times while the tenants' customary rents remained fixed. Later some tenants diversified into mining and woodland industries. Gradually, wealthier members of society were able to take over their neighbours' land and add it to their own.

In addition there was a change from communal organisation of land to private ownership, and from open fell side to enclosed pastures. William Rollinson in *A History of Cumberland and Westmorland* describes this process (Rollinson, 1875). He states that as late as the middle of the C19th agriculture was backward in this area. Large areas remained uncultivated, farm implements were few and primitive and fell land remained unenclosed, making it difficult to improve the local breeds of sheep and cattle. Gradually new ideas on agriculture arrived. He argues that the greatest improvement was the enclosure of the commons. This had occurred in a piecemeal way for some time, but between 1763 and 1800 40,000 acres (16,000 ha) of common in Cumberland and Westmorland were enclosed and improved and this accelerated after the General Enclosure Act of 1801. This extinguished the Common rights and "*the land was re-apportioned among the promoters of the legislation and the holders of rights on the old commons*" (Rollinson, 1875). Although the enclosure of the commons meant improvements in agriculture were possible, not everyone benefited: "*thousands of small farmers lost their right to pasturage on the common land and many became farm labourers, others sank into pauperism*" (Rollinson, 1875).

Unfortunately we have been unable to find any information about the enclosure of the Duddon Valley specifically, but there is no reason to think it differed substantially from other areas.

⁷ Bylaws were laws applicable to a local district

All the changes described above inevitably led to tenements being established then abandoned over the centuries. What we need to try and establish is where the individual putative longhouse sites covered by the present report fit into this narrative.

7.2 Baskell Farm

Baskell is at a similar height to Pikeside (226 m) (see section 7.6) but is just a little further up the valley. Its name according to Robert Gambles (Gambles, 1985) comes from *bass* -a cowshed- and *skali* Old Norse (ON) -a hut-, usually some distance from the farm.

The site we surveyed looks different from the other sites we investigated. The remains of the walls are very low and completely covered by turf. This could indicate an early date or simply mean that the site was a convenient source of stone for the nearby walls.

There are several early references to Baskell. In the "Family Forest" (Russell, 2000) there is mention of a 1612 inventory of William Nicholson who owed money to John Carter of Baskell.

It is clear looking at the buildings round the present farm that there have been a number of tenements on this site. There are 3 listed in the Craven File [2] but none of them refer to our surveyed site. In the court records for 1540 to 1552, at least 3 tenements were listed. Customary rent for Baskell was 4s 1d and that for a part of Baskell belonging to John Stephenson and John Stable was 4s 8d.

There are 2 interesting wills from the C17th belonging to residents of Baskell. William Dickinson's will of 1675 [3] contains the earliest mention of potatoes we could find. According to Marshall (1973) they are first mentioned in the will of Chris Gaitskell of Ponsonby dated 1664 and in the records of the Fells of Swarthmore in 1674, but did not reach the inner dales until much later. Dickinson's will suggests this is incorrect. Marshall (1973) suggests they were probably used for animal feed.

In Margaret Dickinson's will of 1678 [4] she leaves her sister Susan a waistcoat and Jane (?) 2 coats, a pair of bodies, a coat of good grey cloth and a waistcoat.

On a plan of Baskell dated 1880 [5], and on the early OS maps, there are no indications of a property on our surveyed site.

There is a sale recorded dated 1706 of a close called Myre [6] which we think is the field we have surveyed. There is no tenement mentioned on the site at this time. All this indicates that the site was abandoned at least by the beginning of the C18th.

In the 1851 census records [7], only 2 premises were listed and one belonging to William Briggs described him as a farmer of 100 acres.

In summary, we have found no records of a house at Baskell Farm on a site corresponding with the one we have surveyed.

7.3 Dobby Shaw, Longhouse Close, Lad How, Pannel Holme, Foss How and Tongue House High Close

Dobby Shaw

Dobby Shaw is at a height of 210 m and is less than 1 km from Seathwaite. It seems to be a typical group of tenements but we have been unable to find any references to it in any of the records so we think it must have ceased to be occupied at least by the mid C17th. Dobby, according to Venetia Lascelles (Lascelles, 2003), could refer to someone's name, but Dobby is also a local name for a ghost and can be found in several local place names. Shaw is an area of woodland. It was part of the Newfield estate at the time of its sale in 1974.

Longhouse Close

It is just possible that one of the Longhouse Close buildings could be that mentioned in various documents as Walney Scar. They are situated fairly close to the Walna Scar Road. However, there is some dispute about where Walney Scar is. In the Craven File [2] there is a list of occupants from Henry Turner (undertaker) and Richard Cadman in 1771, to Thomas and Rose Birkett in 1812. It is suggested that it is one of the houses on Longhouse land up *"on the fellside NE of Longhouse about 150-200 up the old Lonin and in fields to the left. 3 sides of a building standing highest 10ft. Near it is? Barn remains, 3 sides of a building (only 2ft high)."* This does not accord with the description of our site although the extension of the old Lonin certainly sets off in the direction of the Longhouse Close site before disappearing under the water board track to Seathwaite Tarn. The Wade documents [8], which describe the Longhouse area in some detail, cast doubt on the information in the Craven File saying there is no documentary evidence to support the view expressed therein. So our site could still be Walney Scar.

The remaining sites

The other sites plus Longhouse Close and Dobby Shaw have several features in common. They are grouped around the 200 to 300 m contours, pretty much at the limit of cultivable land. Lad How and Pannel Holme are in Ulpha Parish, and Foss How, Longhouse Close and Tongue House High Close are in Seathwaite with Dunnerdale Parish. They are all too far from the nearest farms to be included with them as part of a hamlet and yet we have been unable to identify them as separate tenements.

We would suggest that, in view of the lack of references to these sites when so much information is available on all the other existing and relatively recently abandoned sites in

the Duddon Valley, and considering their position high on the fell-side, some if not all of them probably fell into disuse during the medieval period and they could potentially be the sites of Norse longhouses. The only way to take this further will probably be by excavation.

7.4 Low Sella

According to Gambles (1985) the name Sella is thought to mean a muddy place or a dark stream, and is derived from Old Norse.

Low Sella or Nether Sella was one of a group of tenements situated in the Duddon Valley, close to the river and on land that was relatively flat and low lying for this area. Two nearby tenements were Middle Sella and Upper Sella. Upper Sella is now the only farm occupied and today it is simply known as Sella. It has been assumed for the purposes of this project that the ruined building next to the road is the remains of Low Sella. It certainly has the appearance of a ruined longhouse. The 1919 OS map confirms this but the earliest OS map (1860) seems to suggest that Low Sella is a barn in the same field as the building by the road which we surveyed. A close examination of the barn proved inconclusive. The barn looks as if it was built before about 1850 as the stones seem to be hand worked rather than machine cut. There are several doors and a window that look like later additions. There is a door which has been blocked up but it is near the north end of the long side. There are no signs of blocked windows or a chimney stack. The interior does not contain any features such as a fireplace, a bread oven or spice cupboard. On the other hand it is a substantial, well constructed, fairly early barn. However, the farmer whose family has farmed this land for about 400 years said it has always been thought that Low Sella is the ruined building by the roadside and not this barn, and on balance we agree with this view.

The earliest reference we could find to Low Sella is in a document of 1664 concerning a dispute between the tenants of Low and High Sella [9]. The dispute was referred to the Head Juror of Dunnerdale and Seathwaite, who was Mrs Mary Hesketh, the mother and guardian of Mr Robert Hesketh, an infant. He may have been the Lord of the Manor at that time and the same Robert Hesketh who was later Sheriff of Lancaster and was described as living in Kirkby Ireleth. The Court was held at Hesketh Hall, and the tenants agreed to abide by the decision of the Court, agreeing to a hundred pound bond, an enormous amount of money at that time.

The dispute concerned several matters:

- pasturing in 2 summer closes
- sheep marks
- the ownership of the tenements

The argument had clearly been unpleasant as there is a reference to baiting, hurting and molesting each others animals.

The court ordered that:

- each tenant should have half of the Low and High Close from 15th of April to the 1st of November on pain of 2s for every default.

- the tenant of Lower Sella should not allow his animals to feed on the pasture belonging to Over Sella on pain of 3s 4d for every default

- *“the tenant of Low Sella shall smit their sheep with a cross of red and Over Sella with a cross of waddle”* (which seems to be plumbago or black graphite) on pain of 3s 4d for every default

- the tenement of Over Sella should remain with the present tenant and his descendents.

- both tenants should return to their former “quiet ancient” possession, on pain of 3s 4d for every default.

Perhaps it is worth mentioning that at this time, according to Winchester (2000), sheep were not mainly kept for meat but for their wool and milk. He says that there is little evidence at this time of large scale trade in hill sheep (just a few older ones). There is also a reference in the Millom manorial records to milking another man’s sheep without his consent in 1662 [10].

The tenants involved in the dispute are not named in the document but there are records of wills shortly after this date suggesting the tenant of Over Sella was Thomas Casson: his will was dated 1667 [11] and his descendents still live at the farm. The tenant of Lower Sella seemed to be Nicholas Jenkinson. His will was dated 1669 [12]. Both wills make interesting reading.

Nicholas Jenkinson died a bachelor. He made various bequests of amounts between 20 shillings and £4 to neighbours at “*Basbroownground*”, “*Bighouse*” and “*Panallhowme*” as well as further afield at Whitbeck and Kirksanton. He also left a “*twinter*” (a sheep 2 winters old) to Robert Dixon and to his two youngest daughters each a lamb. He left all his unbequeathed goods to Nicholas Basebrown of Whitbeck and John Whithead of Kirkstanton and made them his executors. At the end of the will Nicholas Jenkinson made his mark but also fixed his seal. Uniquely in all the wills we have looked at from this time and area, there is an additional section headed “*Memoirs*”. This noted that soon after completing the will Nicholas Jenkinson gave a suit of cloth to John Casson(Jun.?) of Bannellhow (Pannell Holme?) and one black-coat and one pair of breeches to Thomas Beast? of Sloanscar

(Stonestar?). This was added by Thomas Casson at the request of Nicholas Jenkinson. This may have been his previous adversary.

Nicholas Jenkinson's inventory is also interesting. Instead of the usual list of possessions, following a customary format, as seen later in the will of Thomas Casson, all that are listed are his "apparels" £2-0-0, a cow and sheep £2-10-0, then a list of money owed to him by various individuals totalling £21-19-0. The strangest item is funeral expenses £17-11-10, a colossal amount as indicated by the next item, a year's wage for Nicholas Casson £1-4-0. So the funeral cost about 15 times a man's annual wage - it is tempting to think that something irregular was going on. There is no signature on the inventory.

The other adversary in the document of 1664 is likely to have been Thomas Casson. His will and inventory are extremely informative. In contrast to Nicholas Jenkinson, he seems to have been a family man. He makes his son, Nicholas Casson, his executor and residual legatee and gives him all tables, chests, arks⁸ and chairs, wood and wooden goods but "*not hindering his mother the use of them while she remains in the house.*" This is the only reference he makes to his wife. In common with most wills of this period in the Duddon Valley there is no reference to the property. Most farmers were customary tenants of the Lord of the Manor. It was the normal practice for tenements to pass from father to son on payment of a fine to the Lord. Thomas Casson mentions his daughter Jane Fleming, giving her one calf. He gave his sheep at Birks to his grandchildren Thomas Casson and Elizabeth Casson. To his brother John Casson he gives 10s of the money "*he oweth me!*".

Thomas Casson seems to be wealthier and better connected than many of the other residents of the Duddon Valley. The items in his inventory add up to £55-1-8d. He is owed £8 -1-0 and owes £4-12-0. In his will he refers to his 2 servants and leaves them each a hog (a year old sheep). His daughter Elizabeth Fleming (probably the Jane Fleming of the will) had married into the family of the Flemings of Newfield. She is mentioned by Fleming (1962). His grandson Thomas Fleming married Jane, a member of the Huddleston family who were Lords of the Manor of Millom.

From the will we gain some information on the clothing worn by the farmers of the Duddon Valley. He left a waistcoat (it appears to say a white waistcoat), a shirt, a pair of breeches and a coat to Thomas Pratt. He gave a broadcloth doublet to his son Nicholas Casson and an old coat to Hugh ?irkison.

The inventory follows a fairly conventional format for this area and period. As well as his apparel and riding gear, there are household items including bedding and bedsteads, chairs, stools and tables, chests, arks and wheels, boards and other loose wood, brass and pewter, a griddle and brandreth⁹. His stock included a horse, bees, sheep and beasts (*i.e.* cattle). We can estimate the price of a sheep at about 2s to 4s which suggests that he had a flock of

⁸ An ark was a chest or box

⁹ A brandreth was an iron tripod or trivet

sheep of about 30 to 60. It is fairly unusual for a farmer in the Duddon Valley at this time to have a horse, although a century later it was much more common (by 1762 there is a reference in the Court Book of Dunnerdale and Seathwaite [13] to horses upon the Common, and they appear in many more wills). Produce listed included hay, straw, bigg (barley), oats, wool and hemp. Usually husbandry gear was listed, but not in this case, although mention is made of garden spades and peat spades.

The information about the dispute suggests that in the C17th both Low and High Sella were working farms. Now of course all the land is farmed from High Sella. It seems that this could have been the case as early as the C18th. In the Craven Files [2] there are references to Low Sella throughout the C18th but no mention of occupations. In the Court Baron Records of 1795 there is listed a transfer of messuage and tenement of Low Sella from John Casson of Lenholen Broughton to Reverent John Bouth, a clerk. Casson is also mentioned as one of the Jurors in the Manor Court in 1794, 1795 and 1796, so it is likely he is a man of some consequence. In 1809 the house was occupied by George a labourer and a slater. He had at least 4 children although Ann died at 3 years and John at 6.

Among the C18th tenants of Low Sella was Henry Nicholson. He died at Low Sella in 1756. Both he and his wife Elizabeth are buried at Ulpha. According to Russell (2000), the only reference to their marriage is the Bishop's Visitation of Eskdale where it is referred to as their "*supposed marriage*" suggesting it was clandestine. Clandestine marriages were, apparently, quite common during this period, probably because of the Registration Tax of 1694-99 when Parliament taxed marriages, births and burials. According to Russell (2000), "*this led to marriages being conducted by unscrupulous priests. The Rev. James Stephenson of Seathwaite was notorious for this and was rebuked for disobeying processes from the Court of Richmond.*"

Low Sella was occupied at the time of the 1841 Census [14] by a William Jackson, an agricultural labourer, Betty Jackson, his wife, and their 9 year old son. In the 1851 census [7] 4 tenements called Sella are listed but there is no indication which is Low Sella. However, as there is only one not occupied by the Casson family this is likely to have been Low Sella. This was occupied by Thomas Holme, a widower. He worked as a charcoal burner and a woodcutter. His oldest daughter Sara kept house for him. His sons Kitchen (15), Philip (13) and Miles (11) were all stand cutters. His son George and daughter Mary were both scholars and he also had a 1 year old son, John.

In the 1861 and 1871 Censuses [15 and 16] only one property is listed under the name Sella and there were no buildings listed as unoccupied so it seems likely that Low Sella and probably Middle Sella ceased to be dwellings between 1841 and 1851.

7.5 Newfield Wood

It was surprising to find what look like a number of ruined longhouses in Newfield Wood very close to the village of Seathwaite. They are situated near a small stream and it is thought that the Park Head Road used to pass close by them. These structures are not visible on either of the early OS maps (1860 and 1919).

The main problem in tracing the history of the structures in Newfield Wood is that of identifying the name of the exact site as opposed to the area. We had one of many false hopes when we spotted that the area in which the wood is situated is called New Close and there were many references, some of them quite early, to a tenement called New Close. Unfortunately, further research suggested that most, if not all, of these seemed to refer to the New Close near to the Quaker Burial Ground.

One would tend to assume references to 'The Newfield' to mean the public house plus adjacent buildings, but the Newfield Estate was quite substantial. When it was sold in 1972 it consisted of 400 acres and included Newfield Wood and the adjacent New Close [17].

The earliest, possible, reference to this area is in a late C17th copy made by Daniel Fleming of an agreement dated August 1st 1346 [18]. The agreement was between Richard de Lancaster and Roger de Skirwith. It was made at Holegill which could be the stream near Pikeside and possibly more importantly near Ulpha Old Hall, which is now called Hole House Gill. It states, "*Roger grants the watercourse of Littlebeck and his rights of common in a Close called Newfield to Richard*". Littlebeck could be the Lickle River near Broughton Mills.

One possibility is that the site in Newfield Wood could be an early property of the Flemings of Newfield, who lived in the area from the C16th. It was thought possible they were related to the Le Fleming family of Rydal Hall. Their family tree is amongst the Le Fleming papers [19]. Also, amongst the Le Fleming accounts for 1686 [20] there is a payment of 5s to Thomas Fleming of the Newfield "*now at his going to the University of Glasgow*". A number of Flemings are listed in the Craven File [2] starting with Isabel Fleemeing of Newfield (will 1636) [21] and John Fleemeing of Dunnerdale (will 1670) [22].

An article from The Cumbria Family History Society Magazine (Fleming, 1988) confirms the family connection and provides more information about the ownership of the Newfield estate. It belonged to John Troughton of Troughton Hall until 1573 when it was acquired by Richard Fleming. According to the article "*Richard returned to the North (after getting a law degree) and married Jane, daughter and heir of John Troughton of Troughton Hall and so says Daniel Fleming he acquired that estate which he exchanged for Newfield in Seathwaite. Be that as it may, it is a fact that in 1573 Richard acquired from John Troughton an estate of nearly 200 acres in Broughton in Furness for £40.*"

Richard was descended from two important local families. His father, Thomas, was the second son of Hugh Fleming, owner of Coniston Hall and Rydal Old Hall, and his mother was Joan, younger daughter of Sir Richard Hudleston and sister and co-heir of Richard Hudleston of Millom Castle. The Flemings could trace their family back to Michael le Fleming, a Flemish artisan, who was given a small area of land at Aldingham by the king, c1090, in an attempt to “colonise” the wilder parts of Britain. His son married Elizabeth, granddaughter of the Baron of Urswick, bringing a considerable amount of land to the family.

Richard Fleming was succeeded at Newfield by his son Thomas Fleming. Thomas and his wife Isabel both left wills dated 1634 and 1636 [23 and 21] and it was hoped that these would include information on the Newfield estate that could be relevant to the properties we had surveyed, especially as the Flemings clearly owned the estate and were not just customary tenants. However the only reference to the land is in the will of Thomas Fleming where he says,

“I do will and bequeath assign and pass over unto my daughter Mabel in full satisfaction of her child’s portion either out of my goods and lands.....”

Thomas Fleming’s family was large and complex. He was married twice, firstly to Mabel by whom he had at least 3 children, a daughter who died in childhood, John and Mabel. Later he married Isabel Stephenson by whom he had eight children including Bridget who it seems was born after her father’s death. Also, as explained in Isabel’s will, there was Thomas Fleming alias Donoston(?), “base begotten of my late husband”.

Each will includes various small bequests including a lamb to each of the servants and money to the chapel of Seathwaite. Clearly, the eldest son John received the property although there is no mention of this in the will. Then they split all their possessions equally between the eight younger children. As mentioned, provision was made for Mabel but there are signs of conflict between the two parts of the family. Thomas leaves John an ark “that stands in the house” and 20 sheep but says he must give Thomas £5 or “he will answer to me on the dreadful day of judgement”. Another sign of possible mistrust is that the documents included a bond dated 1636 and signed by John Fleming. This seems to be enforcing the even division of possessions between the younger children. Thomas Fleming also says of Mabel, “And it is my real purpose and true meaning that if she...be troublesome to my wife and children ...she the said Mabel shall have no benefit”. Possibly Isabel was trying to make the peace when she left Mabel her best gown.

There was no inventory for Thomas but there was one for Isabel. This was unusual for a woman at that time. She had clearly retained her husband’s possessions as the inventory included wool, corn and hay, beasts (cattle) and horses, sheep, pots and pans, pewter and wooden vessels, chests, arks, iron gear, bedsteads and bedding, tables and both her and her husband’s apparel. It was valued at £60-10-8d, quite a large sum. In excess of 40 people

owed her money including 2 members of the Hudleston family. With money owed, her estate totalled £112-15-8d including money and gold valued at 9s8d.

Included in the inventory are "*sheep with John Fleming £29-8-8d*". This suggests that he was not based at the family home but it does not tell us where he was living, so he could be elsewhere on the Newfield Estate. It is possible that such a large and complex family required another dwelling - possibly in what is now Newfield Wood.

In various parts of the documents are references to properties in the valley, all still to be found nearly 400 years later. Isabel was owed money by John Carter de Hollinghouse, Nicholas Walker and William Dawson de Mosshouse and John Tyson de Cocklebeck. Thomas was owed money by John Carter of Croglinghirst and Thomas Pert? of the Greenbank. Isabel mentions Thomas Stevenson of the Hall of Dunnerdale and John Gunson and George Tyson of Troutal.

John Fleming married Elizabeth Casson of Sella as referred to in the section on Sella above. His will was proved 23 April 1670 and he was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas Fleming (d. 1713). Thomas Fleming married Jane the daughter of Colonel John Hudleston of Long Garth in Ulpha, and sister of Richard who later succeeded to the Millom Castle Estate on the failure of the direct male line.

Thomas Fleming was succeeded by his eldest son Richard Fleming who was baptised in Broughton in Furness in 1659 and he was succeeded by Thomas, baptised at Seathwaite in 1684. A younger son Richard was a servant at Millom Castle and was buried at Millom in 1734.

This Thomas was the last of the Flemings of Newfield. He was buried at Seathwaite in 1746 and administration of his will was granted to his only son Thomas Fleming (b. 1724) of Hill Millom. By 1746 John and Ann Casson were living at Newfield having moved there from Frith Hall. There were Flemings at Hollinhouse but is not possible to say if they were descendants of the Newfield Flemings.

Although all the documents state that the Flemings lived at The Newfield we cannot be sure if it was the same building we see today. It is certainly very old but it is very difficult to date. Like most of the buildings of this period it has been extensively altered and extended. It is probable that they were at the present building by 1729 as there was a cupboard there dated T & E. F.1729.

It seems that, initially, the Cassons were tenants at Newfield. In the Court Baron book of the manor of Dunnerdale with Seathwaite, dated 13th May 1767 [13] it refers to the death of John Casson, tenant at Newfield, and the tenancy being transferred to Robert Casson his son and heir. It gives the customary rent as £1- 13- 4d. By the start of the C19th the residents of Newfield were no longer customary tenants but left the property to their heirs in their wills. In his will of 1810 [24] John Casson, yeoman of Newfield, left his property

“purchased by my father” and “all the woods, underwoods growing or to grow upon the said Estate at Newfield.” He also includes the carding mill, Hollin House and Trough Hall but makes no mention of the tenements in the woods.

In the will of Robert Casson, dated July 1811 [25], as well as the property at Newfield, he states *“subject to the enjoyment of Mary Casson the widow (his mother) I hereby give to her the old house at Newfield aforesaid and one half of low orchard and also sufficient cultivated ground and pasture yearly for planting potatoes for her own use with the liberty of laying peats for the Home consumption in some of the outhouses at Newfield from the making of such and quantity of as may be necessary for fuel of the House to be gravel manufactured and laid at the Door of the said Old House for the use.....by or at the expense of grandson Robert Casson.”* It is interesting to speculate what property would be described as an old house at this date although it is possible it could be one of the properties adjacent to the public house.

One other will worth quoting because it throws light on the clothing of this period is that of Elizabeth Casson, spinster of Newfield, dated December 1788 [26]. There are fewer women’s wills and they usually deal with attire and money owed rather than the domestic and agricultural goods listed in men’s wills. Elizabeth lists the items of apparel she is leaving to various relatives. She includes *“to John Casson...a pair of silver buckles to my cousin Betty of Newfield one brown silk gown, one black petticoat, one black cloak, one cotton wrapper. One muslim apron, one cambrick handlock, one linen shift, two lace caps and my cousin Ann Strickland I give a blue gresset gown, one white petticoat, one sprig muslin apron, one shift out of my own stock at her own option.”*

One other possible explanation for the site in Newfield Wood is that it is related to the mine in the adjacent field, but we think this is unlikely and we have found no written records of these mines other than an adjacent field name (*Mine Hole Field*) reported by Lascelles (2003). The site seems rather extensive for buildings related to such a small mine and mine buildings would be more likely to be in the same field as the workings. Furthermore, the stonework in Newfield Wood appears to be considerably older than that of the mine.

There are a large number of wills relating to Newfield available on the Kirkby Local History Group website (<http://www.history-of-kirkby.org/>) and these would make an interesting study in themselves, but we do not think they contribute anything to the study of the Newfield Wood site.

7.6 Pikeside Farm

The ‘side’ in Pikeside could be derived from the Nordic ‘saetre’ meaning summer dairy pasture on high ground. This could indicate that Pikeside was settled during the period

when temporary shielings were becoming permanent settlements. Lascelles (2003) suggests that 'Pike' refers to a peak or a sharp summit (she says ON 'pik' is found only in Cumbria).

Pikeside is in the parish of Ulpha in the Duddon Valley and is situated at the upper limit of improved land, at a height of 250 m. The structures we have surveyed are located to the south-east of the present farm, above Holehouse Gill and near a large ruined barn. The site is owned by the National Trust. The present farm is thought to date from the C17th or C18th since it has a long window seat characteristic of houses in the Duddon Valley and Coniston in this period. The ruined barn dates, at the earliest, to the C18th according to the National Trust survey [27] and was shown on the earliest Ordnance Survey map of the valley, in 1860, but the ruined structures were not shown so they must have been in a ruinous state by this time.

The National Trust survey also refers to another ruined building North West of the present farm between Holehouse Bridge and the present farm, north of the farm track and built into the field boundary. Little of this remains but we have been able to identify this as Catholes. There are two references to Catholes in the Craven Files [2]; 2 burials, one on 25.12.1709 and another on 10.3.1713 both with the family name Carter. There are no further references, suggesting that some time shortly after this date it ceased to be occupied.

The remains of the structures we surveyed can be seen clearly on aerial photos. They look like the remains of 3 broadly rectangular buildings each differently orientated, with one partly overlain by a more recent sheepfold.

There are 2 early records probably relating to this area. The first is the C14th agreement mentioned in the section above concerning Newfield [18]. In the second, dated the 4th December 1597, William Benson of Far Woodend and his wife Annas Benson and John Tyson of Hazelhead acquired "*a moiety of Low Hole House Field in Ulpha of the Manor of Millom for 25 Marks.*" [28].

The section in Winchester (2000) referred to earlier describing groups of farms near the head dyke seems to include sites like Pikeside and Baskell, and possibly also Tongue House High Close and Longhouse Close.

It is interesting to note that J.C. Cooper in his book "Duddon Valley History" (Cooper, undated) states, "*There is a tradition that the earliest group of settlements which constituted Ulpha were at what is known as High Ulpha that is at the Pyke*". Russell (2000) also refers to this. She suggests that Frith Hall is the New Hall referred to in the Manor Court Records and that the first reference to it as Frith Hall is in 1715, so Old Hall must be older and there "*has been speculation that the earliest church was somewhere in the vicinity*". It may be significant that an "old church yard" is marked on a 19th century plan of the area [29]. This area is on one of the old trade routes from Ravenglass via Birker Moor to Hawkshead and Kendal.

Written records of the site are hard to find. Using the Craven Files [2], it is possible to trace the occupants of the farm back to Thomas Lowder in 1705. In a record prefixed 1706/13/05 the following text can be found *“an old farmhouse in excellent repair. Near it is a huge barn minus a roof”* Unfortunately, we have been unable to find the original source of this quotation.

In the Parish Records for Pikeside [30] we noticed that occasionally in early records there was a reference to the Pike but more often to Pikeside, so it is possible these refer to different tenements or sites. On several occasions there were births recorded at Pikeside within months of each other with different names. For example *“William son of William Brocklebank of Pikeside baptised March 16th 1721”* and *“Mary daughter of John Whinney of Pike baptised June 30th 1721”*. In the Craven File [2], based mainly on parish records, there is also a clear change in the number of tenants with different names listed in various periods-

1705-1714 4 tenants

1715-1724 6 tenants

1725-1734 1 tenant

1735-1744 2 tenants

1745-1754 0 tenants

All these factors suggest that early in the C18th there were a number of tenements at Pikeside and this ceased to be the case later in the century. This can possibly be explained by further information found in Russell (2000). According to this, in the General Fine of 1688, *“John Casson was admitted to half a tenement at Catholes”* and in the margin was written *“Robert Casson by purchase”*. In the list of Fines of 1720, John Casson was admitted to 5 tenements which included Catholes and Pikeside. No other tenements were named, so it is possible that this is because all the tenements but Catholes went under the name of Pikeside, in the same way as there were, for example, a number of tenements elsewhere called Longhouse.

John Casson is not listed as living at Pikeside because, despite being the owner, he did not live there. Parish records show he lived at Frith Hall at this time and later moved to the Newfield. It is not until the middle of the C19th that we see a Casson actually living at Pikeside. This seems to reflect the development of a wealthier land owning section of society. It is likely that as the other tenements fell into disrepair they were abandoned and their land amalgamated into a larger estate.

Information on the C19th map referred to earlier [29] seems to confirm this. It shows *“Pikeside Estate”* covering a substantial area. This map also shows several other features of

interest, for example the field containing the ruined buildings is called “*Hall End*” not “*Hoe End*” as shown by Lascelles (2003).

In the 1841 and 1851 censuses [14 and 7] only one property is listed at Pikeside. This belonged to David Casson and in the 1851 census he is listed as a farmer of 400 acres, quite a substantial holding compared with Frith Hall at 100 acres and Bouskell at 70.

7.7 Stephead Close

Stephead Close is in Seathwaite. It is just above the valley floor (156 m) and is less than 1 km from the village of Seathwaite. The surveyed building is in the next field to the site of an abandoned farm called Stephead which is shown on the 1911 OS map. According to the Craven Files [2] it was a small farm separate from Turner Hall until c1827 after which it became a cottage and remained in use until about 1874 “*a stout stone bridge remains on the way to Turner Hall [...] on the right of the present entrance are the remains of one barn, and 100 yards up the fell, alongside a high wall are the remains of another*” (our site). It seems possible that Stephead, like so many of the sites we have looked at consisted of several tenements which eventually became just one farm and that our site was one of these tenements. Unfortunately, as in most other cases, we have no clue as to when this happened or to which site early references allude.

There are 2 early wills relating to occupants of Stephead. John Stephenson of 1605 and Elizabeth Stephenson of 1617. Unfortunately we have been unable to track these down.

Stephead Close is likely to have been abandoned earlier than Stephead itself so later references are unlikely to refer to our site. In the deeds to Stephead in Barrow Records Office there is a conveyance dated 31st January 1746 and a feoffment dated 30th September 1779 [31]. This includes “*all that messuage, dwelling house and tenement commonly called Stephead with barns, stables and other buildings and several closes of land*”. As no other property is mentioned with the closes of land it suggests the tenement at Stephead Close no longer existed at this time.

There are several later wills but they do not seem to add anything to our knowledge of Stephead Close.

Stephead still existed at the time of the 1841 and 1851 Censuses [14 and 7] but only one tenement is listed.

8. DISCUSSION

It will be recalled that the principal aims of this project were to reach a greater understanding of which structures in the Duddon Valley could confidently be described as longhouses conforming to the medieval pattern introduced by Norse colonisers in C8-10th. These aims were progressed both by detailed surveys of a range of building structures, and by mapping of their surrounding landscapes to reveal traces of medieval agriculture.

A common feature of all the structures investigated was their greater or lesser degree of degradation by stone-robbing and collapse, although it appears that one of them (Low Sella), while originally a possible longhouse, was enlarged into a 2-storey structure before in turn collapsing and being robbed-out. Probably the best-preserved structures were Tongue House High Close A and B, which give the impression of little stone-robbing, just the wear and tear associated with weather and sheep etc. There was no evidence of roofing slates in or around any of the structures, implying that they had been roofed with perishable materials such as bracken, reeds or turf.

Some of the structures have been so heavily degraded that it is not possible to be confident of their origins or purpose without excavation. Those falling into this category include Baskell Farm, Foss How, Lad How A, Low Sella, Newfield Wood, and Stephead Close. This does not imply that these sites are without interest – indeed, it could be argued that the most degraded sites are among the oldest, and therefore most worthy of further study. This particularly applies to the Newfield Wood site which is clearly a settlement of some type, but where the building remains showing above ground are very hard to discern.

The degradation being caused by bracken invasion deserves special mention. Many sites, particularly Dobby Shaw, Foss How, Lad How, Long House Close, Pikeside Farm, and Tongue House High Close A and B, are heavily infested with bracken, the roots of which will undoubtedly have caused damage to the integrity of soil layers. If further damage is to be avoided, at least some of these sites should become the subject of a regular bracken clearance programme, perhaps involving the Lake District Archaeology Volunteer Network.

Despite the considerable variation in size and shape of the surveyed structures, a striking feature of all sites (with the possible exception of Foss How) was that none had rounded or boat-type ends of the sort seen at Stephenson Ground (Ball, 1994; Thorpe and Ball, 1994), Simy Folds (Coggins et al., 1983), and Tonguesdale Moss (Fig. 3.2) (<http://photosynth.net/view.aspx?cid=c1ae0563-da90-4624-92ae-029376729ba9>). This 'boat shape', particularly that recorded at Stephenson Ground in association with pottery and charcoal dated to C12-14th (Newman, 2006), and at Simy Folds dated to the mid-C8th, could be considered an early feature, which may imply that the structures surveyed in the Duddon Valley date to the mid- or late-medieval period at the earliest. This is very

speculative, however, as more strictly rectangular longhouse-type structures dated to the early medieval period have been found in the north of England (e.g. Gauber High Pasture, Ribbleshead – King, 1978).

Although some of the surveyed structures were probably or definitely two-celled (Dobby Shaw B; Foss How; Low Sella; Pikeside Farm B; Tongue House High Close A), many were not. 'Classic' longhouses are widely thought of as two-celled, one for the human inhabitants and one for the livestock, but it is probable that some examples achieved separation of the two ends of the building simply by means of wooden or textile screens which have left no trace. Other apparently single-celled structures may indeed have formed a single space, and may therefore have been used as shielings rather than as permanently occupied farmhouses. We cannot therefore be sure without excavation whether the single-celled structures were permanently occupied dwellings. It is, of course, possible that the two-celled structures were also only occupied for part of the year on a transhumance basis, although the size, location and arrangement of those listed above (with the probable exception of Foss How) suggests they were indeed permanent dwellings. Again, only excavation has the potential to settle this question.

In one sense, it was disappointing that no historical records could be found which clearly identified who built the surveyed structures, and when. However, we are fairly confident that we would have found such information if it had existed, especially given the plethora of records relating to the Duddon Valley. Furthermore, the very absence of historical information points to early building dates, almost certainly in the medieval era.

It is clear that most of the surveyed structures are surrounded by a landscape that includes the traces of early agricultural activities. The most frequent types of structure are low walls or collapsed low walls which would probably have been insufficiently high to contain sheep, but would have contained small cattle, especially if topped by palisades of brushwood etc. The other fairly widespread structures are clearance cairns and disused tracks. One class of agricultural features which are absent from almost all sites are rig and furrow ploughing marks (a few are visible near Pikeside), a fact which may imply that the inhabitants were primarily pastoralists although they probably did grow some subsistence crops. There are also few signs of ancient ditches or banks, although there are some examples of early water yeats and slab bridges. The low, stone-filled banks at Baskell Farm are an enigma that might repay further investigation.

A major difficulty lies in deciding whether the landscape features described above were directly associated with the longhouse/shieling structures *i.e.* were they built or used by the inhabitants. It is entirely possible that the many clearance cairns, for example, date from earlier periods than the longhouses, but again, this matter requires excavation if it is to be resolved. In most cases, it is not possible to be sure about dating these features, although the styles of stonework in the low walls hint at a degree of contemporaneity with the buildings. However, in the cases of Tongue House High Close A and Long House Close, the

low walls are physically linked with the buildings and do seem to have been built at approximately the same time. Furthermore, it is clear that the small enclosure around Tongue House High Close A was deliberately built to surround the house. As pointed out by Quartermaine and Leech (2012), only one other Cumbrian longhouse (that at Askham Fell) has been surrounded in this way.

In summary, there is some confidence that at least 4 of the surveyed structures (Dobby Shaw B; Low Sella; Pikeside Farm B; Tongue House High Close A) were of the 'classic' two-celled longhouse type, although one of these (Low Sella) has been extensively altered since it was built. Two other sites with single-celled structures (Long House Close; Tongue House High Close B) also appear relatively well-preserved. All of these, apart from Low Sella, occupy what would have been (and still is) relatively marginal farming land on the valley sides at altitudes of 200-300 m. Insufficient remains of the other structures are still visible above ground level to permit firm identification, although this does not necessarily exclude their potential interest. It should also be mentioned that several sites apparently constitute the remains of small settlements with several buildings in close association – these include Dobby Shaw, Longhouse Close, Newfield Wood, and Pikeside.

This survey naturally throws up several questions which it would be interesting to answer. The primary issue concerns the likely dates of these structures and the way of life of the farming families who occupied them. It would be worthwhile confirming with one or more of the less-disturbed examples whether, as we tentatively surmise, these buildings are indeed mid- to late-medieval. Hand in hand with this dating exercise, it would be highly desirable to carefully excavate at least one building in order to recover information about farming life in the mid-late medieval period. This would be in useful contrast with the excavations at Stephenson Ground, Simy Folds, Bryant's Gill, and Ribblehead which have all investigated early-medieval structures. It remains to be seen into which category the longhouse at Tonguesdale Moss will fall.

9. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- a) All the surveyed sites are likely to have been settled during one of the 3 periods of expansion and colonisation in the medieval period.
- b) Several of the sites have names derived from Old Norse suggesting they were settled during the period of Norse colonisation.
- c) It is likely that some of the sites, especially those near the limits of cultivation, were abandoned during the periods of adverse conditions in the medieval period.
- d) None of the sites except for Low Sella appear on the earliest OS maps, indicating they were abandoned and ruinous before the mid C19th.
- e) Several sites, notably Pikeside and Sella but possibly also Baskell and Stephead, are likely to have been abandoned as a result of their lands being taken over by wealthier neighbours, the buildings falling into disrepair and being vacated probably in the early modern period.
- f) Three structures in relatively good condition (Dobby Shaw B; Pikeside Farm B; Tongue House High Close A) seem to conform well to the 'classic' two-celled longhouse type, while two well-preserved examples (Long House Close; Tongue House High Close B) appear to be of the single-celled type which could have been shielings rather than permanently occupied longhouses.
- g) Several sites appear to represent small farming settlements, including Dobby Shaw, Longhouse Close, Newfield Wood, and Pikeside.
- h) We recommend that future surveys of this type should make greater use of aerial photography combined with rectification to the OS grid. This will involve the acquisition of new skills and equipment (quadricopters, rectification software etc.), but their use at Tongue House High Close A proved to be a more efficient survey technique than tape and offset.
- i) Many sites are seriously infested with bracken. We therefore recommend that those deemed most at risk should be included in a regular programme of bracken clearance as part of the work of the Lake District Archaeology Volunteer Network.
- j) It is proposed to publish some of this information in shortened form in an archaeological journal, and possibly also to prepare a walk leaflet which would allow members of the public to view some of these sites.
- k) Finally, we recommend that careful consideration should be given to a programme of excavations at one or more of the sites listed in (f) above, in order to obtain firm dating evidence, as well as evidence concerning the lifestyles of the medieval farming families who occupied these buildings.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. Project Plan

Duddon Valley Local History Group

Duddon and Lickle Valley Longhouse Investigations

PROJECT PLAN

February 2011

OBJECTIVE

The objective of this project is to identify all of the possible longhouse sites in the Duddon and Lickle Valleys and carry out detailed Level 2 surveys of the remains.

This will be done in such a way that we record the relative positions of each site and other information that will, together with archival research, enable an in-depth comparison of them to be made.

The purpose of this work will be to understand more fully the number and type of such settlements, and enable the selection of sites for future excavation.

BACKGROUND

A detailed description of what we mean by a longhouse can be found in Annex A. In short, they were rectangular one-storey medieval farmhouses generally consisting of two internal spaces, one for people and one for their livestock. They usually had a centrally-located entrance opening into a cross-passage from which the human and livestock accommodation was accessed. Their low stone walls would have supported a pitched wooden roof covered with thatch or turf. Several longhouses of this type have been found in Cumbria (including the example which was excavated at Stephenson Ground in the late 20th century), and they were widespread in the northern and western uplands of Britain.

It is possible that the longhouse design was introduced to Cumbria by Norse immigrants in approximately the 9th century, and Norse examples have been found in the Scottish islands. However, as yet there is no evidence that any existing longhouses in Cumbria were of Norse origin; indeed, no confirmed Norse dwellings of any type have been found in the area, despite abundant evidence for Norse immigration.

The R2R project found the remains of many structures (at least 25) in the Duddon and Lickle valleys which could be longhouses, of which perhaps a dozen may ultimately be confirmed as such following further investigation. The intention of this project is therefore to make detailed observations of the most likely longhouse structures and their surroundings, with the objective of identifying a site or sites for future excavation (in a succeeding project) to discover more about longhouse origins.

PROJECT OUTPUTS

1. A comprehensive list of potential longhouse sites in the Duddon and Lickle valleys, consistent with the criteria set out in Appendix 1 of Annex A.
2. A list of more modern farmhouses which appear to have been built on the foundations of a longhouse.
3. A Level 2 plan of each potential longhouse and associated enclosures or other signs of agriculture.
4. A photographic and video record of each site.
5. Rectified aerial photographs of each site, if possible.
6. A database of other information about each site which allows them to be compared and contrasted (see draft Record Sheet at Annex B).
7. Archival research information relating to the history of the potential longhouse sites.
8. A written report on the project's findings for publication on the DVLHG website, and possible printing.
9. A recommendation of a site or sites for further study (including excavation).
10. An outline project proposal for this further work.

METHODS

1. Initial site identification. A Long List will be compiled of all locations in the Duddon and Lickle (either found by R2R or otherwise) which appear from available information to be possible longhouse sites, using the Annex A / Appendix 1 criteria as far as possible.
2. Initial site survey. After permission has been granted by site owners/tenants, each site on the Long List will be visited by a survey team during the winter/spring months, a record sheet (Annex B) completed for each, and photographs and video records taken.
3. Choice of sites for Level 2 survey. When the initial surveys are complete, a project steering group meeting will be held together with professional archaeologists to decide which sites are suitable for further study (i.e. the Short List). Choice will again be driven by the Appendix 1 criteria, but this time using data compiled from the record sheets.

4. Archival research. In parallel with the initial site surveys, work will begin to attempt the identification of sites on the Long List which may appear in documentary records from the medieval period *e.g.* Court Rolls. The purpose of this will be to identify possible original site owners, together with any information on the size of land holdings, numbers of stock, crops grown etc.
5. Aerial photography. Attempts will be made to obtain aerial photographs of all sites on the Short List, possibly through contacts in English Heritage or elsewhere. It will be important to ensure that the images can be rectified to achieve dimensional accuracy. Although useful for providing additional evidence, this work is not considered essential, so the use of scarce funds to pay for aerial photography is not considered justifiable.
6. Level 2 surveys. These will be conducted by survey teams for all sites on the Short List. This work may begin before the Short List is complete, on a site which we are already confident does include a longhouse (*e.g.* Pikeside Farm). The purpose of the work will be to obtain detailed, dimensionally accurate plans which can assist discussions with the professional archaeologists about choice of a site or sites for further study. Level 2 surveys will be conducted according to the protocols in Annex C. In short, tape and offset surveys will be used for the remains of buildings, and mapping-grade GPS surveys will be used for more extensive remains such as walls, enclosures, clearance cairns and rig and furrow markings.
7. Project steering group meetings. These will be held approximately every 2 months during the survey season to coordinate field teams, review progress and troubleshoot. The steering group will also oversee production of the final report. Membership of the group will be approximately 4-6 people including the project coordinator (Peter Matthiessen).

EQUIPMENT/CAPABILITY

Requirements are listed for each of the processes in the Methods section above. Items that will need to be purchased or borrowed are shown in **bold**.

1. Initial site identification. No equipment required – just a list of possible sites compiled from the R2R database and elsewhere. Capability – experience of R2R personnel.
2. Initial site survey. Equipment required for these surveys will be: basic-grade GPS, full-length tape measure, record sheet and clipboard, digital camera, video camera. Capability – at least 2 teams of at least 3 people, some with ability to navigate in the fells and to use basic grade hand-held GPS.
3. Choice of sites for Level 2 survey. No equipment required. Capability – experience of R2R personnel plus inputs from LDNP and NT archaeologists.
4. Archival research. No equipment required, but access to public and private records will be needed. Capability – at least one person experienced in reading medieval documents.
5. Aerial photography. This will depend on either purchasing flying time at cost (~£1000 for a day's flying) from one of several possible contacts (*e.g.* Dave Cooper), or persuading English

Heritage to do it as part of their survey programme. Equipment required - **good quality digital camera, software for rectifying images.**

6. Level 2 surveys. Equipment – this is all listed in Annex 3. The only equipment that will need to be purchased is a **mapping-grade GPS unit and associated software** (Ashtech MobileMapper CX with Digiterra software – cost £4584 incl. VAT). Note that a suitable GPS (a Trimble Pro XT) is owned by LDNP, but could only be used under their direct supervision. Capability – there are now several people in DVLHG with experience of tape and offset survey, but more could easily be trained. Training will also be needed in the use of the mapping-grade GPS. Costs of a 1-day course for 6 people on the MobileMapper and Digiterra software will be £660 incl. VAT. With the help of Mark Simpson of CATMHS, we will construct a GIS of the Duddon and Lickle Valleys (estimated cost for mapping and software = £375) which will be used for storing and displaying all geo-referenced data.

7. Project steering group meetings. No equipment needed, except for access to a suitable meeting room (e.g. Parsonage Room, Broughton). Capability – in addition to the DVLHG members, it will be important that some meetings are attended by professional archaeologists from LDNP or NT. The steering group itself will be a sub-set of all the project participants, ideally with representation of the key skills required (*i.e.* Level 2 survey techniques including tape & offset and GPS; archival research techniques; project management; report writing).

TIMESCALES

There is no hard deadline for completion of this project. However, it is anticipated that all the initial site investigations will be completed during the 2010/2011 winter/spring season, and possibly some Level 2 surveys. The majority of the Level 2 surveys will be conducted during the 2011/2012 winter/spring season.

RISK ASSESSMENT

In the following risk table, scores for severity and likelihood are: 1 = low and 5 = high.

Type of risk	Severity (a)	Likelihood (b)	Risk (a x b)	Risk management
Damage to farming operations esp. lambing and hay-making	3	1	3	These problems will hopefully be avoided by close liaison with the landowner and farmer, personnel only visiting the site for surveys by prior agreement.
Damage to archaeological	4	1	4	All field workers will be instructed not to move stonework or to dig into the soil around monuments. The techniques to be

Type of risk	Severity (a)	Likelihood (b)	Risk (a x b)	Risk management
monuments				used are, by definition, non-invasive.
Damage to, or loss of, any hired, borrowed or purchased equipment	1	3	3	The insurance status of all equipment will be checked in advance.
Damage to health and safety of personnel travelling to site	5	2	10	Traffic accidents are possible on approach roads, especially in narrow local lanes. Drivers will be made aware of particular risks.
Damage to H&S of personnel on site	3	2	6	The main risk is likely to be hypothermia caused by bad weather. Participants will be instructed to wear appropriate clothing and footgear, and a first aid kit will be available. Any casualties can easily be evacuated by road.
Total risk			26 out of a possible 125	This level of risk is considered acceptable.

ANNEX 2. Background information on longhouses

Duddon Valley Local History Group (DVLHG)

Longhouses – background information for project plan

Peter Matthiessen and Jenny Gallagher

February 2011

Introduction

It is thought that there have been two basic types of longhouse in Europe. The first of these was the Neolithic longhouse of which there are few examples in Britain, and which was constructed of timber. According to Castleden (1987), it was a long, narrow timber dwelling (approximately 20 m long and 7 m wide) built by early European farmers about 7000-8000 years ago. It probably had a pitched roof and a single doorway, and could have housed 20-30 people. One of the few known Neolithic longhouses in Britain is the Balbridie timber house in Aberdeenshire (Ralston, 1982; Fairweather and Ralston, 1993). It seems that subsequent British farmers in the Bronze and Iron Ages generally built roundhouses, so there is a long gap in time before longhouses (this time generally with stone foundations) made their reappearance. Some rectangular buildings did appear in the Roman period, but they do not generally fit the description of a medieval longhouse (see below).

The second type of longhouse first occurred in medieval times, and some modified examples have even survived with occupants almost to the present day (see below). Such houses first appeared in northern Germany in the 3rd or 4th centuries BC, and may have given rise to later similar structures in Scandinavia (known as a *langhus*), the Netherlands, and ultimately Britain. They are quite well described by Hurst (1961), and a more detailed and up-to-date general description is offered by English Heritage (2006). There are a number of references to longhouses in medieval documents, such as Court Rolls, and in some cases they are described therein by the Latin term *longa domus*.

According to Quiney (1990), '*The increasing prominence of cattle farming in the late Middle Ages was attended by the building of large numbers of longhouses outside eastern England...these insubstantial buildings do not survive, although several are recorded in documents.*' By 1700, longhouses were restricted to the north and west of England where '*all classes of farmers built longhouses in the late 17th and early 18th century*'. It seems that longhouses often had a roof supported by crucks which were so stable that it did not require post supports which may not have left archaeological traces. The majority of longhouses in Britain fell out of use, or were built over, during the 14th-16th centuries, although some more or less original examples continued in use until recent times (mid-20th century).

There is some confusion in the literature over the distinction between shielings and longhouses, but the general consensus is that a shieling was a temporarily occupied dwelling in the uplands used during the summer months as part of the practice of transhumance. Stock would be driven up to the higher pastures and the shepherd or stockman would live for that time in the shieling. As it was

summer, stock would not be kept in the building, and this seems to be the key distinction from longhouses which were permanent dwellings (sometimes also in the uplands), in part of which the stock were housed during the winter.

Construction of medieval longhouses

According to Hurst (1961) and Brunskill (2002), medieval longhouses varied considerably in size, measuring in the range 9-21 m long, and 4-6 m wide, but as the name implies, they were always of an elongated and roughly rectangular shape. One of their defining characteristics, as indicated above, was that they housed both humans and livestock (usually cattle, but sometimes sheep or pigs) under a single roof erected at one time. Originally, animals and people used a single entrance, but by late-medieval times, separate access was often arranged. There was generally a partition wall dividing the longhouse into two spaces, one for people and one for livestock (the latter generally at the lower end to assist drainage of dung and urine). Indeed, the livestock accommodation was often provided with a central drain and an outlet for manure. There was internal access between the two halves, and usually (but not always) a cross-passage. In some late-medieval examples of longhouses, the internal space may have been divided into three 'rooms', with at least some dividers being simple screens or curtains.

According to English Heritage (2006), longhouses were often grouped together and associated with strip farming in adjacent fields. In areas like North Yorkshire, some of these groups of longhouses probably developed into the villages of larger farmhouses still in existence. Fig. 1 shows the distribution of listed longhouses in England, and it can be seen that although they were widespread, they appear to have been more or less confined to the uplands. This may, however, be partly an artefact caused by the razing of older buildings to permit more modern constructions in lowland areas. Longhouse sites are particularly common in northern England, and on the eastern fringes of Dartmoor, and it is thought that this type of building suited the small upland farms (<20 ha) which were prevalent there. The close proximity of livestock and people was of particular benefit in the winter months (October to May) when livestock were kept permanently indoors, and their body heat provided convenient central heating for the farmer.

Originally, medieval longhouses had no chimney, but the smoke from a usually central hearth simply filtered out through the thatch (a feature which can still be seen today in some Himalayan buildings). In areas where stone was easily obtained (such as the Cumbrian uplands), the low walls were constructed of drystone (~1 m high), either single- or double-skinned, upon which the rafters of the pitched roof were located. If walls were double, the space between was sometimes filled with insulating materials such as turf. In 1698, the traveller Celia Fiennes commented that Lake District villages consisted of '*sad little hutts made up of drye walls, only stones piled together and the roofs of the same slatt; there seemed to be little or no tunnels for their chimneys and have no mortar or plaister within or without...*'.

However, in regions where stone was scarce, longhouse walls were built entirely of turf or mud. Examples of the latter are the so-called clay dabbins of the Solway plain (Jennings, 2002) which originated in late-medieval times (~15th century) and featured cruck-framed roof timbers. The thatch would have been composed of whatever material was readily available, including reeds, bracken or turf. According to Brunskill (1985), until the mid-19th century, most 'inferior' farm buildings in the Lake District were probably covered with turf, and '*the predecessors to vernacular buildings probably*

consisted of a thatch or turf roof carried on a cruck framework between low walls of clay, turf or crudely piled fieldstones'. There was no upper storey, although some sleeping accommodation may have been located under the roof. A reconstruction of a Norse longhouse is shown in Fig. 2.

Excavations

A number of medieval longhouses in the UK have been excavated, the most familiar one for DVLHG members being the longhouse at Stephenson Ground Scale, which was an egg-shaped (or boat-shaped), stone-walled structure (Newman, 2006; Ball, 1994). The remaining walls consist of a double row of boulders topped by a single row, and the building is 12 m long, aligned east-west (R2R, 2009). During the excavation, post-holes were discovered marking the positions of roof supports and internal dividing walls. There is also post-hole evidence for an earlier wooden building underneath the stone one. Phosphate analysis of the soil suggested that the upslope area was occupied by people and the downslope area by livestock, so this building conformed to the medieval longhouse pattern. Pottery and radiocarbon dating indicated occupation during the 12th to 14th centuries (Newman, 2006), although the approximate boat-shape and a find of a sharpening stone could be taken as a hint that the builders were influenced by Norse designs which had reached Cumbria when people of Scandinavian descent settled there in the 10th century (see below). Unfortunately, this excavation has not yet been published, and attempts to obtain details from the archaeologist (Dr Nick Thorpe, Dept. of Archaeology, Winchester University) have so far been unsuccessful.

However, there have been a number of other longhouse excavations in the UK. One of the first was by Curle (1934) at Sumburgh on Shetland. The 'Jarlshof' building was nearly 30 m long and 4-5 m wide, and was the first longhouse to be associated with Norse people on account of various finds which could loosely be described as of Viking age. Several other Norse longhouses have been excavated in the northern isles, including at Underhoull on Unst, Shetland (Small, 1964-1966) which was 16 m long and 4.5 m wide, and several on Orkney (Radford, 1959; Ritchie, 1970 both cited in Maclaren, 1974), Caithness (Curle, 1938-39) and North Uist (Crawford, cited in Maclaren, 1974). A particularly striking example was excavated from blown sand on the machair of Drimore on South Uist (Maclaren, 1974). Its internal dimensions were 14 m long and 5 m wide, with double walls and a central hearth (Fig. 3). Various finds confirmed that it was of Norse origin, dating from the second half of the 9th century or the early part of the 10th. The gently rounded end of the building is similar to some other Norse longhouses, although it appears that this cannot be taken as a diagnostic feature of Norse origins as some are square-ended (e.g. Curle, 1934). Other examples of Norse longhouses can be found further afield, including at the Vinland site at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland (Wallace, 2008) and in Greenland (Vebæk, 1961).

However, in many other cases, a Norse connection is tenuous, not investigated or non-existent. For example, the peasant longhouses excavated in the deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy do not apparently have known Norse associations (Beresford and Hurst, 1990), and the same applies at present to longhouse sites in Cumbria.

Recorded longhouse sites in Cumbria

A number of Cumbrian longhouse sites have been recorded. A good example is the 15th century longhouse at Bank End in Eskdale, for which documentary records exist (EDLHS, 2008). Apart from the excavated longhouse at Stephenson Ground (SD 240945), the Lake District National Park Historic Environment Record (HER) currently lists 5 other longhouse sites, one of which (at Long House Close, SD 246974) lies in the Duddon Valley. The others are at: Whelter Beck, Bampton (NY 469132); below High Hartsop Dodd, Patterdale (SY 398511); Gillerthwaite, Ennerdale (NY 146140); and Smithy Beck, Ennerdale (NY 130149). The site at Smithy Beck has been excavated (Fletcher and Fell, 1987). A further possible longhouse originally thought to be from the Norse period, aligned NW-SE, is located at Bryant's Gill, Kentmere. This 10x5 m, sub-rectangular building has been excavated (Dickinson, 1985). It had a strip of paving along its spine, and numerous artefacts were found, including spindle whorls, whetstones, and worked iron and flint. However, carbon-14 analysis has since shown that it was built in the 7th-8th century (John Hodgson, pers. comm., 2010) *i.e.* before the Norse arrived in Britain. Finally, a possible medieval longhouse with a rounded end is situated at Tonguesdale Moss on the Eskdale side of Birker Fell (SD 167992). It is currently being excavated by Birmingham University, and an interim report is expected at the end of 2010 (contact: Dr Mark Kinsey).

'Contemporary' longhouses

There are two areas in the UK where it is still possible to see extant longhouses, or at least derivatives of them which are quite similar to their medieval forebears. The first of these is eastern Dartmoor where there are many stone-built longhouses in various states of preservation. An unmodernised example can be seen at Higher Uppacott (details on the Dartmoor National Park website - <http://www.dartmoor-npa.gov.uk/index/lookingafter/laf-culturalheritage/laf-historicbuiltenvironment/laf-dartmoorshistoricbuildings/laf-dartmoorlonghouse.htm>).

The other area is the Western Isles of Scotland, where there are many longhouses, locally now called blackhouses, or *taighean dubha* in Gaelic, to distinguish them from the more modern white houses (*taighean geala*) which replaced them in the 19th and 20th centuries. All have now been abandoned, but some have been restored and can be visited. One of the best, which was vacated in 1966 and has since been maintained as a museum, is at Arnol on northwest Lewis. It shows all the classic longhouse features including 1-storey drystone double walls insulated with turf, accommodation for people and stock connected by a central passage, and a thatched roof (Fig. 4).

Conclusions

1. The known longhouses in Cumbria appear to be similar to the many medieval examples found elsewhere, both in the UK and abroad.
2. In the Cumbrian uplands, they were single-storey, sub-rectangular structures, 10-15 m long and 4-6 m wide, with low, single- or double-skin drystone walls, and generally 2 rooms, one for people and one for livestock. It is presumed they had wooden pitched roofs, sometimes supported by posts but sometimes by crucks, and covered with thatch or turf.
3. They generally had a cross-passage, and internal access between the living accommodation and the byre. The latter was usually located downslope, and often had a central floor drain and an aperture for removing dung.

4. Longhouses (permanent dwellings) can be distinguished from shielings which were temporary dwellings in the uplands used during transhumance, and which were not used for housing livestock. However, some rectilinear shielings may be difficult to distinguish from classic longhouses on appearance alone.
5. There is a possibility that the Cumbrian longhouse design was first brought to the region by Norse settlers in the 9th and 10th centuries, but as yet there is no evidence for this.
6. A conservative evaluation of the R2R database suggests that the number of longhouse sites listed in the Lake District National Park HER will eventually be at least doubled when the new finds in the Duddon/Lickle valleys have been confirmed.
7. It is possible that detailed Level 2 investigation of the newly-discovered sites will help to resolve the uncertainty about longhouse origins in Cumbria, but definitive evidence in this regard is only likely to be obtained through excavation.
8. To assist surveyors, a set of criteria for identifying possible longhouses in the field has been distilled from this review and is set out in Appendix 1.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to John Hodgson (Lake District National Park Authority) for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this document.

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Appendix 1. Identifying possible longhouses from their visible remains.

These are guidelines which may be of some use to field teams, but it must be recognised that firm identification of building remains as longhouses can only be achieved by excavation, and sometimes not even then.

Longhouses are always

Longer than they are wide

One room deep

Built in 2 sections, one for animals and one for humans (Note 1)

Longhouses should have

Evidence of agriculture nearby (e.g. enclosures, clearance for stock-grazing, or rig and furrow) (Note 2)

Longhouses are usually

Rectangular (Note 3)

Built with opposed entrances (Note 4)

Better constructed and larger than shielings (suggested minimum size 8m x 4m) (Note5)

Notes

1. Ideally this would be indicated by the presence of a drain or a sump in the section used for animals but this may only show if the site is excavated. Soil tests for phosphate could indicate animal occupation. As time went by, the animal section of the house was taken over for human use so this might create identification problems. Partitions between the two sections would be flimsy and unlikely to show up in an initial survey.
2. Ramm et al. (1970) describe shielings and bastles and also some farmhouses in Northumberland and Cumberland near to the Scottish Borders. They conclude that the land use around the structure is a significant way to distinguish a farmhouse from a shieling. Farmhouses will have one or more of enclosures, rig and furrow, lazy beds, clearance cairns, corn drying kilns or stack stands nearby. Ramm et al. also conclude that shielings tend to be in groups and farmhouses stand alone but it is unclear if this applies in much of Cumbria.
3. Usually but not necessarily rectangular. The early medieval long house at Stephenson Ground is oval, as were a number of Norse longhouses in the Scottish islands.
4. Some do not have opposed entrances e.g. Millhouse in Lune.
5. Ramm et. al (1970) state that '*although in general the houses known from the records to have been in permanent occupation in the 18th century were larger than shielings, many differed little from them in size and form*'. Also methods of building differed through time rather than from function. The earlier ones had thick walls, rounded corners and used boulders. Later ones were well coursed with thinner than average drystone walls.

Fig. Annex 2.1. Distribution of listed longhouses in England. From: English Heritage, 2006.

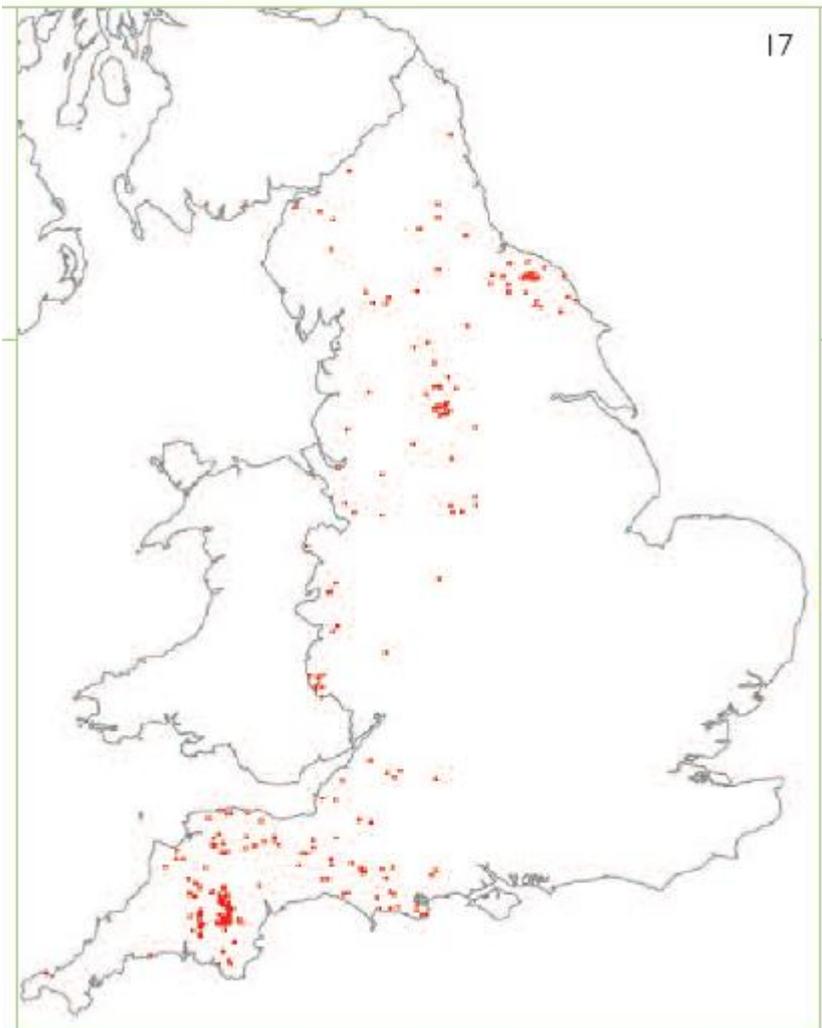


Fig. Annex 2.2. A reconstructed Viking Age longhouse. From: Wikipedia



Fig. Annex 2.3. The excavated Norse longhouse at Drimore, South Uist (from Maclaren, 1974). a = hearth; b = paved causeway; c & d = areas of intense burning; e = dark stains.

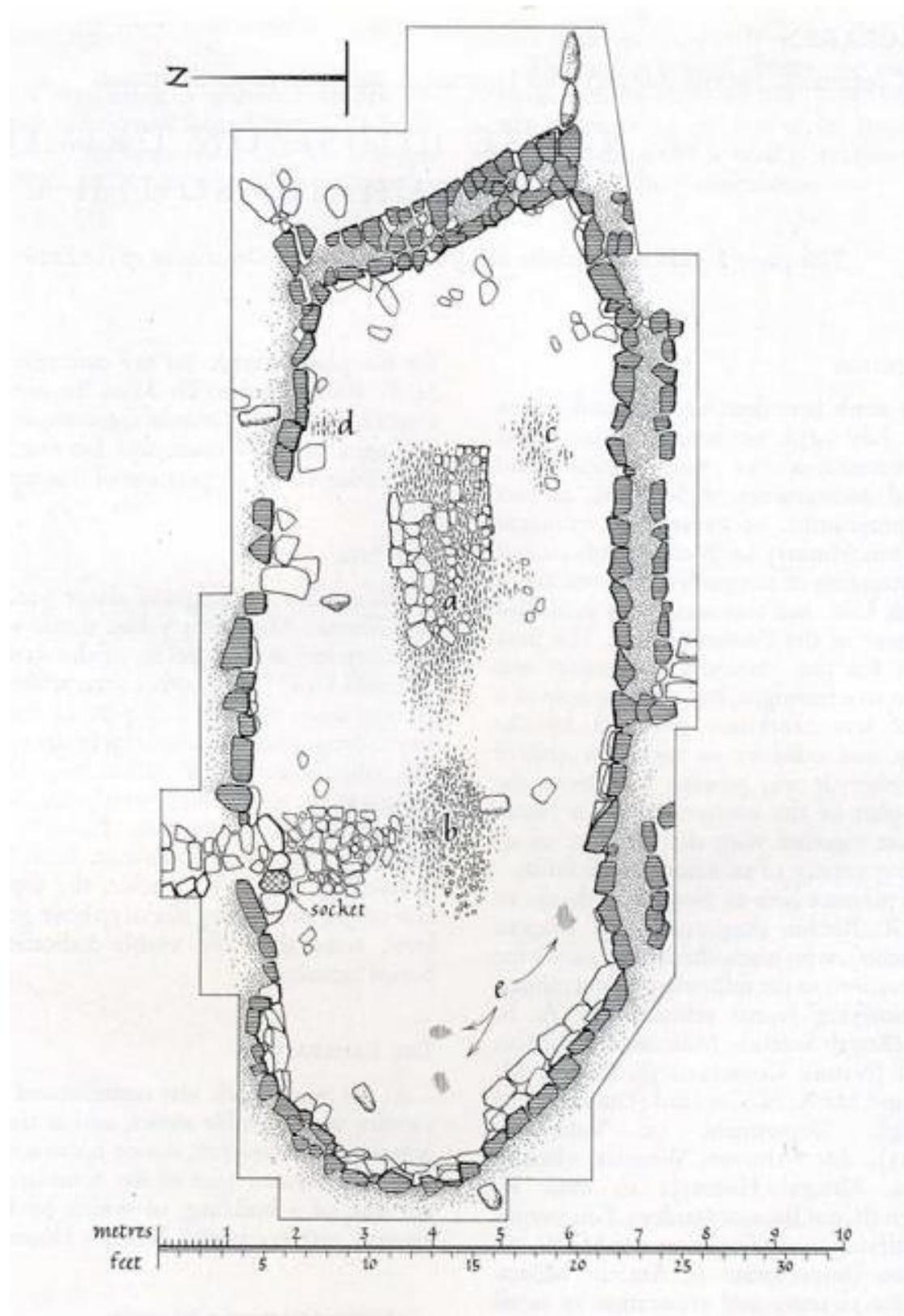


Figure Annex 2.4. A blackhouse at Arnol, Isle of Lewis (©Peter Matthiessen)



ANNEX 3. Operational protocols

Longhouse Record Sheet (page 1 of 2)

Site name	
Site owner's name and contact details	
National grid reference	
R2R site code (if any)	
LDHER reference (if any)	
Name of surveyor(s) and date surveyed	
Altitude (m)	
Site condition (e.g. bracken cover, trees, recent disturbance etc.)	
Topography (describe features such as slope, open fell, under crag, sheltered position, woodland, bracken, water sources etc.)	
Evidence of ancient agriculture? (e.g. enclosure walls/ banks / rig and furrow /cairnfield/ consumption walls etc.)	
Alignment (long side) e.g. NW/SE	
Evidence of internal walls?	
Evidence of door opening or cross-passage?	
External walls single or double-skinned?	
Number of wall courses visible?	
External and internal dimensions (m) + sketch or site plan (overleaf)	External: Internal:
Evidence of domesticity? (e.g. fruit trees, nettles etc.)	
Site photos? Video?	

Longhouse Record Sheet (page 2 of 2)

Sketch plan

Other comments

Level 2 Survey Protocols

a) Tape and off-set survey (to be used for surveying the remains of buildings)

Equipment required:

- Drawing Board (covered with graph paper and Permatrace)
- Pencils (H or harder)*
- Rubber*
- Scale Ruler*
- Compass*
- 30 metre and/or 50 metre tapes (at least two)*
- 5 metre hand tape
- 8 clothes pegs
- Ring-headed survey pins (at least 4)*
- Red plastic pegs
- Ranging rods*

Tape and offset survey can be used to create accurate, scaled plans of both small features such as burnt mounds and larger features such as medieval settlements.

This method of survey involves establishing a baseline through, or parallel to the features that you want to map, and measuring the distance of the features from this known line (see Fig. Annex 3.1).

To create a baseline, stretch a measuring tape taut along the ground and hold it in place with survey arrows and clothes pegs. The length of the baseline is determined by the size of the area you want to survey. Once set up on the ground, plot your baseline on your drawing board.

Accurate National Grid References (NGRs) should be recorded for the two points at each end of the baseline using a differential (backpack) GPS. The NGRs should be recorded on the drawing board. If differential GPS is not available on the day then red plastic pegs should be left on the ground marking the two ends of the baseline so that they can be recorded later.

To record points of interest, measure along the baseline tape then take a measurement at right angles (judged by eye) from the tape to the point you wish to record. Plot these measurements on to your drawing board (using the underlying graph paper to measure the correct scale – see Fig. Annex 3.2). The scale that you choose will be appropriate for the size and nature of the site that you are recording. Scales of 1: 50 (1cm = 0.5m) or 1:100 (1cm = 1m) are appropriate for most features.

Further details of this survey method will be provided in the field.

**Each survey team should have at least one of each of these. The remainder of the survey equipment will be provided.*

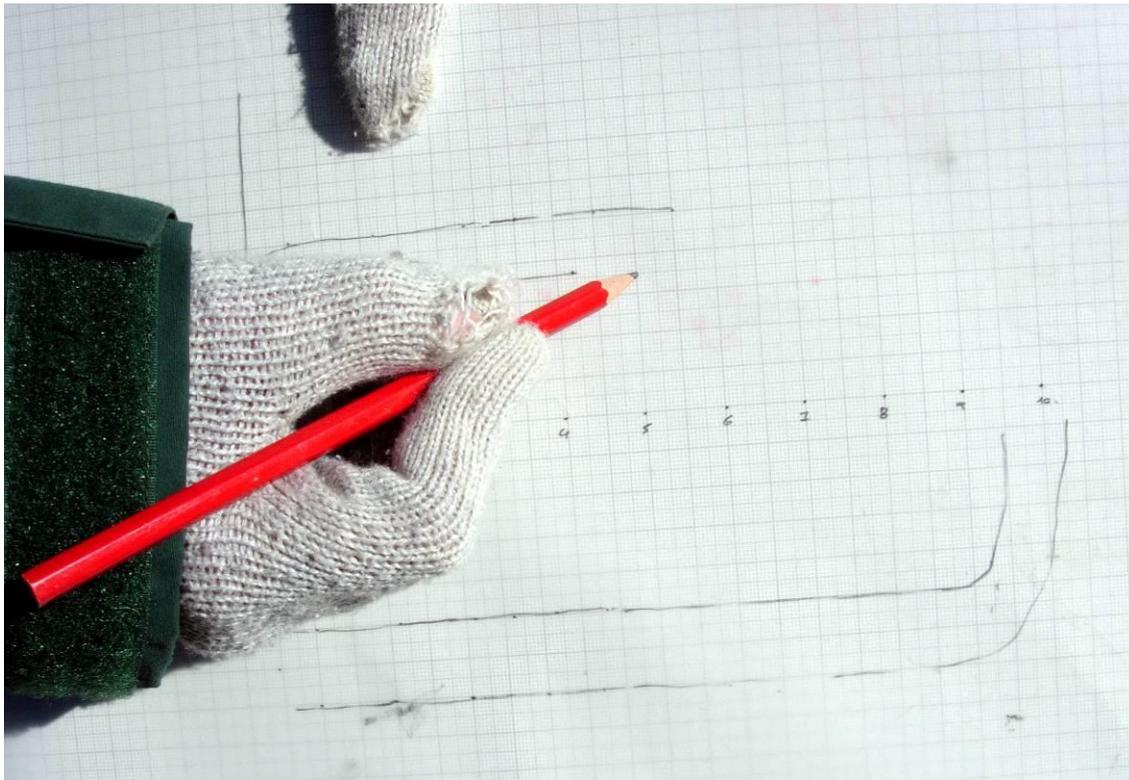
Checklist of information to include with survey drawing:

- Name of site (from longhouse survey record sheet)
- R2R survey number (if one exists)
- Lake District HER number or National Trust HER number if these exist
- Scale of drawing (eg. 1:100)
- Date of Survey
- Names of surveyors
- North arrow (use compass for accuracy)
- NGRs for each end of the baseline (to be added later if mapping-grade GPS is not available)

Fig. Annex 3.1. Tape and offset surveying in progress



Fig. Annex 3.2. Recording tape and offset measurements



b) Mapping-grade GPS survey (to be used for surveying the remains of large enclosures, walls, rig and furrow, clearance cairns etc.)

The equipment used for this part of the project is an Ashtech (Magellan) MobileMapper MMCX hand-held global positioning system (GPS) running Digiterra Explorer v.6 software. Even without use of an external aerial, this is expected to give accuracies of ± 0.5 -1.0 m, but it has been found that accuracy is degraded in some locations (especially under trees), and in some climatic conditions the satellite signal is lost altogether. However, the external aerial does not seem to improve reception significantly.

The GPS has been pre-programmed with a set of layers and standard symbols for each type of feature which is expected to be found during the surveys, and recording is generally conducted by a single operator walking along or round features of interest and starting and stopping recording of each feature, as appropriate. These features include the longhouses themselves, walls in various conditions, clearance cairns, banks, ditches, rig and furrow marks, tracks and streams.

On returning from the field, the stored GPS data are transferred to a Geographic Information System (GIS) using GlobalMapper software. The GIS base map has been constructed by electronically tracing over old Ordnance Survey mapping, but only includes key features such as roads, tracks, streams,

contours and field boundaries. Maps of the landscape surrounding each longhouse can then be printed out direct from the GIS.

c) Aerial photography (carried out by Reg Tyson)

After successful photographic trials with a fixed-wing model aircraft at the Tonguesdale Moss longhouse excavation in Eskdale, Reg Tyson constructed an electrically-powered quadricopter able to carry a digital camera aloft when wind conditions were calm and lighting adequate for photography. The shutter of this instrument could be triggered by the operator at will. It was not feasible to photograph all sites in this way in the time available, but at least some were successfully recorded with excellent picture quality. In some cases, it was possible to include special survey pegs in shot which could be used to rectify the images. Rectification was kindly carried out by Mark Kincey on Durham University.