

THE VACCARY LANDS IN QUERNMORE FOREST.

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The date and extents of the first land enclosures in the Quernmore area are not known for certain, but there are several possibilities. Apart from the Hoton vill lands, the old park and horse farm in the north of Quernmore, there are in the south of the area two other pre 13th. century enclosed areas of land,¹ these are the two vaccaries at Rooten Brook² and Hare Apple Tree.³

These two vaccaries appeared in a system of several large enclosures (assarts) which were part of new land exploitation and development taking place in the northern forests of post-Conquest England. Vaccaries can perhaps be considered as evidence of the major changes that the Normans were making to the land holding system of northern England. Changes that became permanent features in the landscape and the earliest major physical landscape evidence, other than forests and parks, of the effects of the Norman Conquest.

The vaccary areas in Quernmore were, possibly, part of 'old lands' or earlier assarts which were established illegally before the 12th century as parts of the Royal Forest lands were encroached upon.⁴ These assarts were later accounted for in the returns as vaccaries,⁵ so it appeared that they were by then accepted, fined as a rent and regularised.⁶ However, these vaccary sites could have been survivals of pre-Conquest enclosures or land occupation which were taken over intact after the Conquest.⁷ For example, the men of Overton appeared to have had rights to shielings at Ortnor in Over-Wyresdale,⁸ and retained this right possibly until the vaccary farms were consolidated from these upland pastures in the twelfth century. These rights could have been ancient, possibly defined by now lost Anglo-Saxon land apportionment boundaries. There is a similar problem in explaining why these two vaccaries at Rowton and Hareappletree were established on land which must once have been on the waste and commons, unless, of course, these sites were once shielings for the western coastal and lower Lonsdale vills and were, like some of the Wyresdale and Bowland examples,⁹ just converted and extended, either by consent or

otherwise, to larger pastures and then legally established as permanent stock farms.

One other route is possibly the conversion from Anglo-Saxon hunting areas, which would theoretically have been empty lands, available for agricultural settlement in one of the population incursions, e.g. the Norse, which took place before the Conquest and before there were any vills established or written land charters for this area.¹⁰

Whatever the background to their establishment, by the immediate post-Conquest period the two Quernmore sites were occupied and enclosed and were being developed as cow farms principally to breed and rear cattle as draught animals and to create a local supply to provision meat and hides to the northern garrisons.¹¹ Later they not only supplied meat and draught animals, but milk and milk products to the Royal Castles and Estates, with the surplus going into the economy via local markets.

From this time these two vaccary sites at Rowton and Hareappletree appear by name as ones farmed out to the crown lessees. In Quernmore Forest the crown lessees were either the County Sheriff,¹² or the Master Forester. In 1262 there is a reference to the expansion of cow pastures in the Royal Forest lands in Quernmore and Wyresdale, and the master forester held the bailiwick of the king and exacted rents and retained the profits.¹³

The two vaccaries in Quernmore and several of the adjoining ones in Wyresdale were to pass into the hands of the Gernets when they held the hereditary post of Master Forester and Foresters at Fee.¹⁴ (These extensive land holdings were possibly the object of their downfall). The Gernets were hereditary Master Foresters in fee in the Forest of Lancaster from c1097 until c1262, without much interference, and carried on in the post but under more control by the Earl, until 1280 when the Earls of Lancaster began to further develop lands in the Honour towards the end of the 13th. Century.¹⁵ Later in the 13th. century Rowton Brook and Hareappletree along with another 20 or so vaccary sites in Wyresdale, were to become part of the Honour of Lancaster and were in the hands of the Earl. From this date the vaccary

lands were farmed out, usually to the highest bidder.

In the early 14th. century vaccaries in the area suffered a set-back during the Scottish raids when the stock was driven off and so the rents had to be reduced.

The vaccary rents return of 1322 to 1323 list Hareappletree at 6s and 15s. and Rowtanbrook 6s & 7s; Vaccary rents of 1346 show Hardappiltre at 6 pounds this is an increase of £4 14s 0d over the 1322 figure which is perhaps a sign of some recovery in its value. This resulted in a change in management, as most of the named vaccaries then appeared in the documents as tenanted holdings. In the 1322 lists¹⁶ the tenant at Hareappletree was Adam King and at Rowtanbrook was William of Gruskholme. William of Gruskholme could be the person who held the vaccary of Gruskham in Mewith further up the Lune Valley. Gruskham is mentioned in Inquest Post Mortem, dated May 1325 on the death of Mathew de Burgh. It stated he held a ruinous messuage, 10 bovates of land being waste from the devastation of the Scots etc, and a 20 acres pasture called Groskolm in Mewith, destroyed by the Scots.

The surviving documents name both Rowton Brook and Hareappletree over a period of some 800 years, and the names of tenants, rents etc are recorded from time to time. Later, after the vaccaries were sold by the crown,¹⁷ the names of the tenant farmers and owners are known from surviving leases and other legal documents, but unfortunately these records do not always give any information, such as the acreages or stocking rates for the early periods. This lack of detailed information has made it difficult to produce precise maps of the extents of the two Quernmore vaccaries, but the field survey work has found and recorded enough landscape features to determine the gradual extension of the connected field systems and the several re-organisations of these lands at different periods in their history.

The writer feels that at some early stage in the development of these two holdings the ancient field boundaries were discarded and a whole new system superimposed, possibly by the late 15th. Century.

The evidence used to determine these changes is based partly on the different methods of fencing the fields and the overall pattern of the results and partly on the information found in the primary source documents. The dating of the field boundaries by the fencing methods used is not an exact science, but has to be resorted to when there are few other specific sources of areal evidence available.¹⁸

Map One shows the possible expansion process, with fences radiating out from the core farm site. Overall this evidence shows expansion of the fenced land being pushed further out into the fells to the east and north. This is land with less fertile soils and, in the case of Rootenbrook, increasing altitude. This is land which is rough "out-bye" pasture, is difficult to improve and only viable when the products of the farming system are profitable, or there is a severe land shortage or a changing agricultural philosophy, which encourages speculation even in the most unlikely areas.

In the late 15th. century land in the two holdings appears to have been split up into smaller farms, with sub-tenants. The Eyre Court of 1480 lists a William Winder of Wharmore and John Boyland as tenants at Harapultre. It is possible that this was always the way these lands were farmed. It was certainly the case in the 16th. century when the vaccaries were in the hands of the crown's life lessees.¹⁹ Later they were sold by the state. For example, Sir Richard Tempest of Collynge (Bolling?) Yorks was granted by letters patent the life tenancy of Rowtanbrook vaccary and is mentioned in a law suit of 1529. Sir Richard Tempest was master forester of Bowland in 1529, and at the same time was keeper of Quernmore and Wyresdale. This could well be Sir Richard Tempest of Bolling (Bolland) Hall Bradford and Bracewell in Craven, who is buried in the choir at Bradford Parish Church, now Bradford Cathedral.

From the surviving records it is possible to determine that at the beginning of the 16th. century there were the following farms established on the two original vaccary sites, known by these names: on the old Rowton vaccary lands there was Rooten Brook (or Troughton Broke), Rowtan Brook, Fell End,

Kelsalls, Brow Top and Chapmans. On the old lands of Hareappletree there is Hareappletree and Little Hareappletree, Booth Fall, Longmore or Longmire, Tongue Moor, Damasgill and Blackwood. These farms were possibly worked by Duchy of Lancaster tenants until most of this land was sold off in the 1620's.

However, if the vaccaries were one unit they exhibit some features which suggest that both Quernmore vaccary sites and other vaccaries in the area, consisted of several smaller farm and herd units (possibly based on a dual herd system) and had houses which were inhabited by named families. For example, the Sauls, Garners, Martins, Croskells, Rippons and Haythornthwaites often appear in the documents connected with early 16th. century commons disputes. A commons dispute in Quernmore in 1541 names Robert Patchett, Thomas Chapman as local and George Bennett (age 40), Chris Benyson (age 33), Edward Gerson (age 33), as Slyne, Hest and Skerton tenants. William Hawthornthwaite (age 56) of Troughton-broke (Rowton Brook), Tomas Sawle and John Martyn (Martin) and John Croskil of Howreapletre (Hareappletree); Robert Croskil of Bothefalle (Booth Hall) and wife of Richard Chippindale; John Green was keeper of the common for the kings tenants of Skerton, Slyne and Hest, and John Smith was appointed as same for Lancaster town, for past 15 years. In defence William Haythornthwaite (aged 56) said Robert Croskil of Bothfall and Robert Chippindale did build their houses within memory. John Proctor (age 60) said kings tenants of Quernmore had always had common endlonge of the hedge of Quernmore, this was supported by Edmund Proctor (aged 70) Edmund Jackson and Richard Hathurnthwaite of Tarnebrooke.

These are the family names which endure in the area from this date. The surname King dates from 1322, to which we have to later add Townson, Jepson, Herdman and Parkinson, before others come into the area to replace them in the 19th. Century (e.g. Pye, Gorst, Whittaker). These early families and the 17th. and 18th. century additions were not just working as farm labourers, many were engaged in other means for a living, being listed as yeomen, husbandmen, keepers, fleshers, tanners,

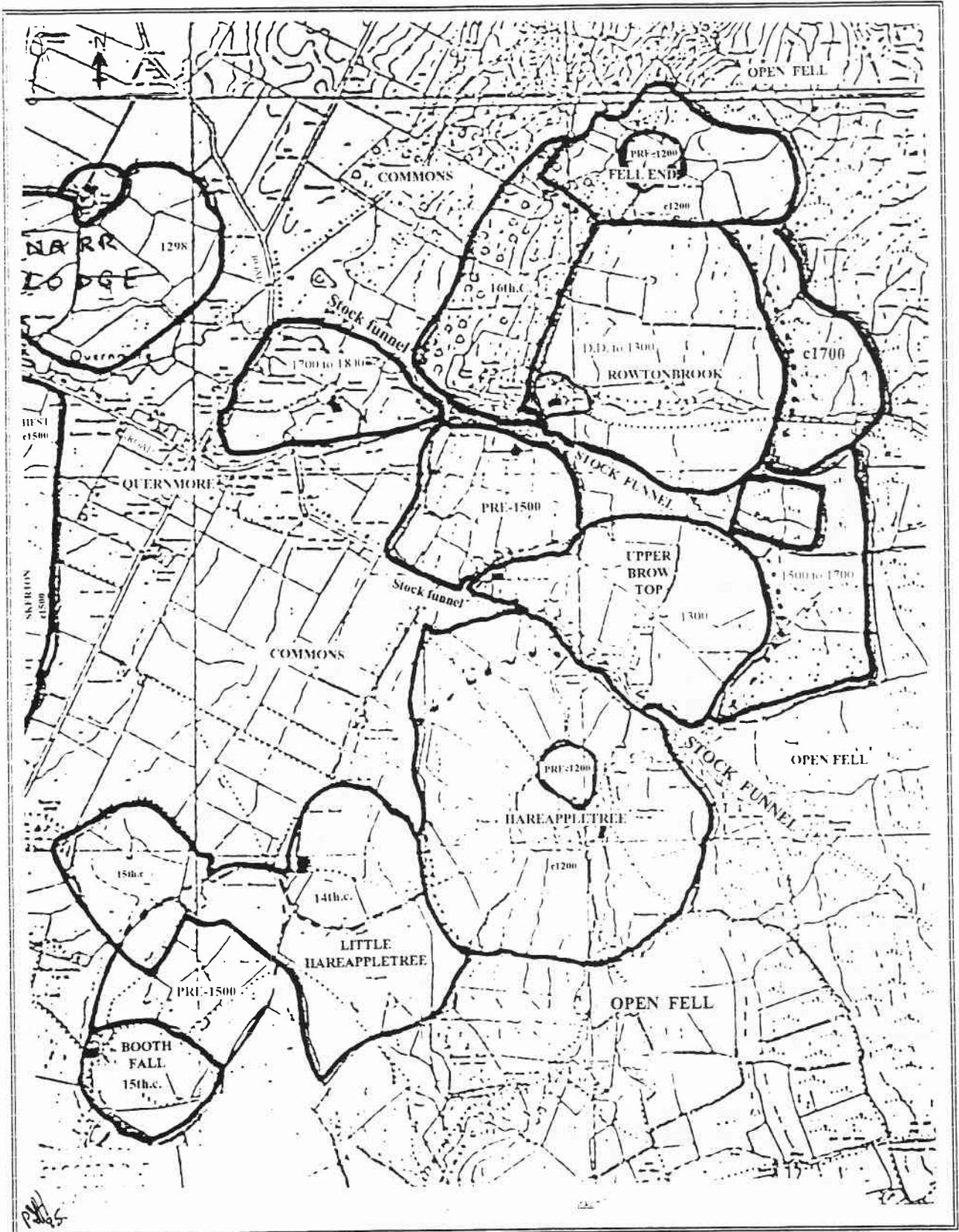
websters, linen weavers, hatters, masons, quarrymen and smiths.

These socio-economic changes and farm developments occur from the 17th century to the early 19th century, a period when the two vaccary holdings were often bought and sold or parts of them mortgaged and re-leased, possibly at times by speculators and estate builders. Later these land units were again fragmented after being subject to *nouveaux-riche* speculation and then the inheritance laws, until the late 19th. century when the land ownership and the limits of the individual holdings within the vaccary areas stabilised.

It was during the 17th. century, when it appears there was more stability, that the yeoman farmers on life, lives, and long tenancies, or by outright purchase, began to improve the holdings and built most of the permanent dwellings²⁰ and farm buildings to be seen today.²¹ This was also a time when much more supportive evidence for dual-economy operations on the sites can be found, activities which included corn-milling, hatting, weaving or linen processing, tanning, some local quarrying etc. The corn mills of Conder Mill, Rowton Mill, possibly Booth Fall and the one operated or leased by Lancaster Corporation until 1726, were all thought to be working in this period.

The writer believes it is these cottage industry activities, particularly those at Rowton Brook, linked with the changing agriculture and the building of the corn mills, that led to the establishment of the nucleus of the main Quernmore township settlement which eventually migrated from the vaccaries to the present Quernmore Village crossroads in the early 19th. century. A further influence was in the choice of a new road-communications network in the and 18th and 19th. centuries, which dissected and by-passed both vaccary sites as this improved north-south and east-west road system came into use. The final fixing of the settlement pattern and farms was achieved after the Enclosure Award of 1811. This award abolished the Royal Forest status, apportioned and enclosed that common land which still remained and completed the field layout of the area:

1. See, Hudson, P.J. *Landscape and Economic Development of Quernmore Forest, Lancaster: An Upland Marginal Area in North West Lancashire to 1850*. Unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Lancaster 1994.
2. The place name of this site varies from Routandebrok 1193; Rootenbrook and Routandebrok in 1322; Troughtonbroke 1541; Rowtenbrook 1628; Rowtonbrook 1696; Rawton Brook 1716; Routenbrook 1725; Rooten Brook 1786; Rawston Brook 1814; today the O.S. 6" Map displays three place names Rowton Brook, Rooten Brook and Rowden Brook.
3. The place name of this site varies from Hardappuletre in 1193; Apletuethewayt 1259; Apeltreherd 1257; Hardappiltre 1346; Appeltrethwayt 1301 Harapultre 1480; Harpultreehous 1533; Hareappletree and 1541; Holapletree 1650; Wholeappletre 1704; Hareappletree, 1768; but by the 19th. century the name appears to be standardised and agrees with the present day 6" O.S. Map which only displays Hare Appletree and Appletree Farm.
4. Farrer W. *Lancashire Pipe Rolls & Early Charters*, 1902. p61. In 1185, Harold of Lancaster fined for vaccaries or cow sheds and for the cattle pasturing in the forest, fined 2 marks." Harolda de Lancastra fine ij marks pro vaccariis in foresta."
5. Farrer W. *Op.cit.*, p30. 1174 fines imposed on offenders for assarts and enclosing wastes etc., amounted to £93. 13s.4d.
6. Cunliffe-Shaw, R. *The Royal Forest of Lancaster*, Preston 1956. p356: Quotes the Lancashire Pipe Rolls 1226/7: Vaccaries in Quernmore and Wyresdale appear to have been let out for rents as early as 1227. viz "30s to vaccaries set to farm."
7. See Higham, M.C. Pre-Conquest settlement in the Forest of Bowland, in Baldwin, J.R. and I.D. Whyte (eds), *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1985), 122-130. Higham also postulated the possible pre-Conquest survival of some boundaries to be seen in the vaccary enclosures and a settlement pattern taken over intact after the Conquest, particularly in Bowland (and possibly Wyresdale, which adjoins Quernmore), with pre-Conquest multiple estates and early Christian sites, though she produces no accurately dated and mapped landscape boundary evidence to put forward in support.
8. Shaw (1956) *op.cit.*, 8.
9. Higham, M. C. *The Forest of Bowland: A Study in Continuity, with particular reference to Dark Age and Medieval Periods*. (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Hull, 1978.), and Higham, M.C. (1985), *op.cit.*, 122-124.
10. Higham, M. C. (1978.) *op.cit.*, and (1985) *op.cit.*, 122-124. However, there are no place-names located within the area which appear to be connected with hunting, from either the Anglo-Saxon or the Norman periods.
11. Lancashire Pipe Rolls, p254; Items in year 1213, provisions for Lancaster Castle included 80 live cows at 4s, 130 live whether sheep at 1s, obtained from local sources.
12. Shaw, *ibid.* p 345. Theobold Walter Sheriff of Lancaster 1193-4 holds farms, two were in Quernmore at Rowtonbrook and Hareappletree.
13. Shaw, *ibid.* p36.
14. Duchy of Lancaster Ancient Deeds 25/1212. 1280. Benedict, Gernet son of Roger, surrenders all his customs and liberties in the forests and woods to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.
15. In 1245. Sir Roger Gernet surrenders part of his forest rights in Wyresdale so that the vaccary system can be extended.
16. Lancashire Inquests & Extents, Vol. 68 LCRS .p 54. In 1322 William of Gruskeholm is tenant of Routandebrok, (Rowtenbrook), and Adam King, at Harappletree.
17. VCH Vol 8 p76 has the footnote: Scarthwaite, Hollinhead, Rowtonbrook Vaccary and Hare Appletree, with Longmoor and Rothkall, were sold to Edward Ditchfield and others in 1628; Pat 4 Chas. I. pt. Xxxiii.
18. See Hudson, P.J. *Field and Land Boundaries Old and New in the Quernmore Area*. Contrebis Vol XVII, 40-61.
19. Duchy of Lancaster 1/6. 20 Henry VIII. In a suit in Duchy Court for trespass dated 1529, brought by Sir Richard Tempest of Collynge, Yorks, the kings life tenant of Rowtenbrook, against John Crossgyll, Thomas Chapman and Nicholas Kynge they had been on his land there "in his parcels of ground lying off Whernmore, Lancs." and expelled him (or his men), causing him great damage on his lands at "Rowtane Broke", "Longemore" and "Here Apultre".
20. Rowton Brook has a door headstone I T D 1696, for Thomas and Dorothy Jepson.
21. At Hareappletree there are several datestones of the Rippon family, W.R. 1622 from the older house, W R I R 1640 on a barn, the smaller house has W R E R 1646, W R A R 1667 on another barn. See Garnett, E. *The Dated Buildings of South Lonsdale*. Lancaster University, CNWRS, 1994. 96-130.



MAP 1: INTERPRETATION OF THE VACCARY EXPANSION IN SOUTH QUERNMORE