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Excerpt
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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

1

AIMS AND LIMITATIONS

We poore Countrymen doe not thinke it good to have our Lands plotted out, and me thinks indeed it is to very small purpose: for is not the field itselſe a goodly Map for the Lord to looke upon, better than painted paper?

THE FARMER IN NORDEN'S *Surveior's Dialogue*,
 15

This book has been conceived as a work of observation, illustration, comment and suggestion. Its source is the English landscape viewed from the air, and it selects what can be seen from that point of vantage to illustrate the visible remains of human activity in a certain period in history. The chronological limits set are broadly those of the 'Middle Ages', a period which lingers into what political histories would call 'early modern', and for some of the topics the limit is only set by the sweep of industrialisation which Blake deplored. The building of Satanic Mills in England's green and pleasant land is a separate subject, with its own archaeology and much scope for the camera.

The observation which was necessary to assemble illustrations is the joint work of the authors. Sometimes interesting photographs suggested profitable research among documents which might explain them; sometimes documents suggested profitable photographs. Some of the topics illustrated are well known to historians, and the only novelty lies in the clarity and comprehensiveness which air photographs can give. Still other topics, it is believed, receive a fresh contribution when the subject-matter is seen from the air. The function of the air photograph is not always that of making new discoveries, but of clarifying what is but partly visible on the ground. This book is intended to suggest how the documentary and the pictorial tools of research can work in alliance, and indeed for many subjects in medieval history *must* work in alliance. Wherever possible, analysis of a photograph has been supported by examining whatever documents could be found, and where two or three equally useful alternative places had been photographed, the one chosen for publication has been the best documented.

Archaeological inquiry, which examines the physical remains of a civilisation, is the common and accepted technique for all periods in English history up to the Norman Conquest: the paucity of documents has driven students willy-nilly to archaeology. When documents do become available spades and field observation have usually been set aside, and the written word has become the principal historical evidence. This is quite proper, and in many medieval studies is the only way to proceed. The archaeology of government, taxation, diplomacy or church organisation is likely to pay poorer dividends than an equal amount of time spent in archives. An air photograph may show Fountains Abbey or its granges but nothing of the bustling activity when the wool-clip left for Italy; it can show the Pilgrim's Way but no company of pilgrims; it can show a manorial mill but nothing of the legal ties which linked its owner to its peasant users. But in certain medieval studies, particularly those of economic activity, physical remains may compensate for the absence of a written record.

This collection of photographs shares one virtue with all pictorial illustration. By making explicit and actual some such general term as 'saltings', 'road system', and 'open fields', it gives reality to the abstract. The features to be studied are set in their proper physical environment so that the influence of geography, geology or the vegetational background is made more explicit. The work of man in determining or limiting some of these environmental controls is also brought into prominence. Physical features of the present day are seen alongside medieval remains for comparison of sizes. How did the open-field 'furlong' compare with a modern hedged field? How large was medieval Chester? How wide were the field-roads of a pre-Macadam age? Questions of this kind can be answered at a view.

Air photographs have other advantages over those taken at ground level: comprehensiveness and elucidation. An air photograph comprehends in a glance, and records permanently, a broad sweep of countryside. On the ground the

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range of vision is limited by such barriers as a hedge, a dip in the ground or a belt of trees. Extensive earthworks are seldom visible in their entirety from any one point on the ground, so that an observer cannot take in their whole character except from a map. From the air, earthworks can be viewed comprehensively, and the relation of the several parts to the whole becomes apparent.

The aerial camera is able to record small irregularities in the surface and 'crop-marks', and to render them lucid by virtue of being seen at a distance. Their relationship to other features, either invisible on the ground or, if seen, taken only at their individual worth, becomes apparent. Distance lends elucidation as well as enchantment to the view. The more prominent physical remains of the Middle Ages can be measured and drawn on maps. In a map, however, each feature is conventionalised and the reader must interpret the symbols and make his own mental image. Nor may a map convey the texture of a landscape. A wire fence or a beech hedge is represented by the same hair-line; the cottage of Cotswold stone and the brick house of Cambridgeshire are both represented by the same black rectangle.

Ephemeral but important details like crops and vegetation are not recorded on maps. Since human activity is the subject to be illustrated it can be of great advantage to record the work of men's hands in other terms than symbols. Even so the air photograph, not possessing all the attributes of maps, is their ally and not their rival.

For the purpose of this book oblique photographs seemed preferable to vertical views despite the difficulty of making a straightforward comparison with maps. The vertical air photograph presents certain difficulties of interpretation to the layman's eye. The vertical views that have been included show how many adjustments have to be made by those who have to recognise a building from its roofs without any glimpse of the elevation. In oblique photographs a house is seen as a house, and although a circle is seen as an ellipse the act of interpretation called for here is one which the mind performs daily and without effort.

In this book the power of air photographs to comprehend detail as a unity will appear best in the discussion of settlement shapes. The relationship of house to house and street to street cannot be grasped without going away from house and street and looking at the village as a whole. The older the town, and the narrower the streets, the more difficult it becomes for a traveller on foot to comprehend the plan; even a

methodical tour of the streets, lanes and alleys of an old town with their many bends and turns gives only a confused sense of its form. The air photograph improves on the church tower as an observation-point because it includes the church tower in its view, and there is no danger of failing, like one of G. K. Chesterton's characters, to see any church in the village because one is standing on its tower.

The earthworks and crop-marks recording man's activities in the Middle Ages are no less characteristic than those of prehistoric times. Until recently, professional archaeologists have paid comparatively little attention to the earthworks of medieval England. The reason for this is partly the very small number of professional archaeologists in this country; not only have they been so busy with prehistory as to exclude history, but some might claim that the complacency of medieval historians has misled them.

Medieval archaeology has also suffered from the conservatism of settlement in the last thousand years. When the prehistorian excavates the sites of early settlements he may often count on a fairly lonely situation, with only agricultural land to disturb, and little interference by later settlers depositing their own remains. It is the misfortune of medieval archaeology that successive generations have quarrelled so seldom with the original choice of site. Any medieval village which has become a town has covered the sites of cottages and crofts with houses and shops; there has been rebuilding; the density of modern settlement and the high values of urban land have not offered much room for those who would excavate. Only the accident of a bomb or a by-pass sometimes reveals the village beneath the town.

The village which has not expanded into a town has been all the more conservative in its siting. As will be seen, the evidence of the earliest maps (from the sixteenth century) suggests that the general direction of streets and the relative position of the house-and-garden units have not changed much in the last four hundred years, whatever the changes in earlier centuries; but the ideal site for illustration is one where later, modifying influences have been weak. The village or town abandoned before the Great Rebuilding of the period 1540–1640; the medieval port choked by silt; the borough which wilted soon after its first plantation; the market-town 'fossilised' by a diversion of routes: these make the best material.

A preoccupation with decay may seem to haunt some of the illustrations. It does not come from a romantic delight in ruins or an inter-

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pretation of the Middle Ages which gives a high place to broken columns and fallen masonry. From some points of view the photograph of a decayed medieval borough with its grassy burghage tenements (as may be seen at Newtown, Isle of Wight, fig. 104) is a better illustration than a famous city like Norwich where medieval features have been overlaid or surrounded by buildings of the last two centuries. The shrunken and deserted villages suit better some purposes of exposition than the village which was rebuilt in brick in the nineteenth century; the abandoned medieval roads may be better for the present purpose than those which are now modern highways.

Had ill fortune descended only on the inefficient, the ill-conceived, the ill-planned, or the ill-adjusted, the collection would be heavily weighted with antiquarians' pieces, weaklings and invalids, but, as medieval men were well aware, Fortune and Misfortune were indiscriminate visitors.

Where the modern overlies the medieval, the modern feature has been included in the descriptive commentary. It is inevitable that photographs will show post-medieval economic change, and this has not been ignored. On the other hand an attempt has been made to exclude photographs in which the focus of interest is something wholly the product of the years after 1650. At the other extreme, occasional trespass has been made into the Dark Ages, and some features described as 'medieval' will have existed before the Norman Conquest or whatever point is taken as the beginning of 'medieval'. For this the excuse lies in part in the 'darkness' of the Dark Ages.

It will be noticed that the human activity which is illustrated is principally economic. Another volume in this series has been devoted to monastic buildings, and while other religious and secular buildings of government and war may appear in the photographs, interest has here been focused on the influence of the building in determining who lived nearby and where they should live. The choice is not governed by any belief that medieval man was exclusively an economic creature but because it is the visible and tangible remnant of his existence which a camera records. Any major modification of the landscape is made for reasons which conventionally fall within 'economic history'. Thus this volume is concerned with buildings on which medieval man spent time and money; with fields created and maintained for the sale of their produce; with the face of nature scarred by the search for raw materials. Even where a build-

ing was to be used for spiritual purposes or the prestige and glory of the temporal monarch, money or labour had to be spent upon it. Conversely, the photographs often suggest the scale of expense and effort required for some formidable feats of construction. The energies of the medieval peasant in cottage-building have left few remains; none of the produce of the tax-paying villeins survives as a monument to his perennial labour: but churches, castles, and abbeys are evidence of more than the labours of the masons who built them. They represent work financed (in money terms) by the gifts, tithes and taxes of the faithful and liegemen, and (in real terms) by diverting some of the product of labour from towns, villages and fields to these other ends.

A word may be in place about the limitations of this book. By no means every variety of village and town topography has been illustrated nor, indeed, could the wide range of village and town histories be exhaustively gathered into 'types' with much profit. It was not always possible to be flying in a given part of the country on a clear day in the right season and at an hour when sunlight and shadows could be used to best advantage. Other villages of interest have been omitted when there was no information from documents to support the visual evidence.

The map on p. xviii shows the distribution of sites illustrated in this book, and it will be seen that except for one topic the distribution is confined to England. The conquest of Wales in the thirteenth century gave an English king an unparalleled opportunity to build fortified towns which would also attract merchants as settlers, and Edward I's place in the history of European town-building is such that his Welsh towns cannot be passed over. The settlement history of Wales, Scotland and Ireland presents special problems to a historian who will concern himself with such matters.

The distribution map may suggest that the western counties have not been as thoroughly treated. This is partly a question of distance and accessibility; there are also climatic obstacles to air photography of sites among the hills. The really unrepresented type of English village is that which is not compact but a wide scatter of single houses; the width of the scatter means that a photograph which takes in all the relevant area would have to be on a very small scale. 'Nucleated' villages would have had to have been reproduced at twice the page size of this book if all important details were to emerge. When the area to be photographed is even wider, much significant detail would inevitably be lost.

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The arrangement of text and plates in this volume differs from that adopted in the first volume of *Cambridge Air Surveys*. Here, the *Introduction* takes the form of a commentary on various remains of the 'medieval' landscape as they appear today when viewed from the air. Divided into sections according to subject-matter, it runs continuously through the book. The commentary on each photograph is intended to elucidate certain features and to set the particular view in its historical context. In this way, each photograph and commentary

make a self-contained whole and references are given to relevant documents and printed sources. As has been written: 'The reconstruction of historical topography is not antiquarian, for the topography is a human creation, or rather a creation of men struggling with and using natural resources. When documents are silent, then landscape helps, and one dare use no stronger word.'

The aim of this book is well summarised in these words.

2

OLD MAPS AND NEW PHOTOGRAPHS

Take with you the mappe of England set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey

RICHARD HAKLUYT'S *Advice*, 1580 (*Principal Navigations* III. 271)

As far as possible, photographs have been chosen that illustrate features of the English rural and urban landscape assignable to the period between the Anglo-Saxon settlement and the end of the reign of Elizabeth I. No phrase exactly defines this interval, but it had its own unity: it was the pre-cartographic period. Its start is marked by the arrival of settlers whose choice of habitat and forms of livelihood were to dominate the rural landscape for more than a thousand years. Its end came at the time when property-holders had at their command surveyors skilled in the accurate recording of the landscape. In the dissolution of the medieval forms of land-holding and land-use the landlords found the 'plot' (or plan) an invaluable record of existing property-rights and a basis from which to project changes. This dissolution, in which the familiar features of the modern countryside spread across the English plains, forms the subject of a later chapter. Once the making of large-scale maps had become common, only the imperfect survival of such maps and plans stands between the modern student and the study of the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century towns and countryside.¹

The main object of this book is to supplement surviving maps and documents: hence the pre-cartographic period demands the greater part of the available space. The use of the word 'medieval' in the title is the least clumsy way of defining briefly the period involved: strictly, it is 'medieval and Tudor', with some topics pursued beyond 1603 and some cut short even before 1485 (or whenever the Middle Ages may conventionally be said to have ended). The history

¹ E. Lynam, *British Maps and Mapmakers* (1944); G. H. Fowler, *Records of Bedfordshire, Quarto Series* (1928–36); J. L. G. Mowat, *Sixteen Old Maps of Oxfordshire* (1888); F. G. Emmison, ed., *Catalogue of Maps in the Essex Record Office* (1947).

of landscape features does not fit easily into the periods of political history.

In the earliest Anglo-Saxon documents there were instances where verbal descriptions of property were set down and attested. Domesday Book itself was a valiant attempt to reduce a kingdom to parchment. The standardised form of the manorial survey set out in the 'Statute' *Extenta Manerii* (c. 1275) shows what were considered the essential questions to ask and the essential facts to record. Rentals of the thirteenth century, such as those taken for Edward I's new towns, often have sufficient detail to serve as the basis for a map. Both the *Extenta Manerii* and the methodical inquiries of the surveyors' handbooks of Shakespeare's England have been constantly used in planning this book and interpreting the visible remains shown in air photographs. Phrases from the two interrogatories have been freely used at the head of chapters. When asking questions about past landscapes it is appropriate to begin with those which contemporaries asked.²

A useful bridge between the known and the unknown, the certain and the interpretative, is made by setting a selection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plans alongside photographs of the same areas. The comparison indicates the types of remains to be expected elsewhere and permits an estimate of the degree of change after 1600 which might confuse interpretations of the modern landscape in historical terms.

Between the accession of Elizabeth and the death of Charles I, English landowners and public officials had by their patronage greatly augmented the experience and skill of surveyors engaged to draw up large-scale plans. It was an age in which land was frequently changing hands, and in a litigious age, with land-hungry

² E. G. R. Taylor, 'The Surveyor', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* xvii (1947) 121–33; H. C. Darby, 'The agrarian contribution to surveying', *Geog. Jnl* LXXXII (1933) 529–35; C. R. Straton, transcr. *Survey of the lands of William, first Earl of Pembroke* (Roxburgh Club, 1909) I, introduction; E. Kerridge, ed., 'Surveys of the manors of Philip, first Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, 1631–2', *Wilts. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Records Branch* IX (1953) introduction, vii–xiv.

Old Maps and New Photographs

men abroad in the countryside, it was an additional security when a title was questioned if a map were available showing boundaries, areas and tenants' names.³

Maps were not only made for litigants on the defensive. Some were commissioned because men wished to change the face of the countryside pictured upon them. The farmer's hostility to the surveyor's profession in Norden's *Dialogue* derived from a suspicion that a visit from a surveyor meant that the lord would soon be making changes: an increase of rent, or perhaps a complete reorganisation of the estate with an enclosure of the common fields and a division of the commons. A surveyor's visit might presage some radical change in agricultural land-use or be followed by prospectors digging for minerals. One of the oldest Northumbrian open-field maps⁴ is a large-scale plan of a few adjacent furlongs with the principal interest not in the strips but in the little coal-pits scattered over them, one here, one there, very like the twelfth-century iron-pits protruding from the strips in the photograph of Bentley Grange (fig. 107).

It is in the sixteenth century also that the cities of England begin their long series of large-scale street plans designed to be engraved and printed for as many as might be tempted to buy them and that the county atlases began to place small sketch-maps of the more important towns in the margins of their pages. It is from maps like Speed's Flint or Chester that the gap between the medieval town and the early nineteenth-century town of the first edition of the Ordnance Survey maps can be bridged. And the same century saw the descriptions written by John Leland and William Camden as they travelled across a landscape in the process of transformation. From this time onwards the roads of England were never free from the inquiring traveller with a notebook, sometimes the great antiquary, sometimes the credulous, gossiping diarist.

The photographs in this book show the remains, not only of the medieval landscape, but of changes already in progress when the first large-scale plans were being drawn. Our task would have been well nigh impossible had subsequent transformations been radical enough to erase all the principal features of the medieval landscape and distort the principal medieval forms of village plan. Fortunately, urban expan-

sion apart, the principal changes have been in the fields, and air photographs are particularly suited to detecting and illustrating what successive changes have affected a given area of soil. Old methods of ploughing showing beneath the new, old field-boundaries revealed among the modern hedges, and old road systems supplanted by new alignments often leave traces in the form of earthworks, or marks in the soil and the vegetation, traces which are quickly detected from the air.

It would be beyond the power of air photographs to record equally radical change within a village. Where building has succeeded building on the same site, or one macadamised road overlies another, the air photograph cannot trace them. The closely planted enclosed plot of a back-garden is too small to show soil-marks and too heterogeneous in its cropping to yield significant crop-effects. All the evidence points, however, to very few radical changes in the internal lay-out of most villages in the last five centuries. To suggest that the average village shows extreme conservatism in the alignment of its houses and streets is not to ignore that the individual cottage is unlikely to be medieval. It is piecemeal rebuilding which has done so much to preserve the street and garden plan of the later Middle Ages. Yet with this conservatism in plan there has been an almost complete disappearance of the medieval cottage. Shortly after the end of the Middle Ages came the building revolution.⁵ In part, this extensive rebuilding of small domestic houses was the product of new techniques and building-materials which offered cheaper and more comfortable houses; in part, it was the expression of increased wealth from agriculture coming to the husbandmen and yeomen. Medieval cottages of wattle and daub which survived this period of rebuilding might, with patching and alteration, still be found in the late nineteenth century, but by the mid-twentieth they are zealously sought by the curios of the architectural historian. Villages described as 'picturesque' or 'old English' usually have sixteenth-century buildings.

But a village is more than single houses: it is a complex of buildings in a setting. It is this setting, made up of streets and crofts, which weathered the Great Rebuilding and the spread of Victorian brick. Conservatism shows itself very markedly in the permanence of street-lines and the boundary-lines between crofts, though

³ E. Lynam, 'English maps and map makers of the sixteenth century', *Geog. Jnl*, cxvi (1950) 7–28; Sir George Fordham, 'Some surveys and maps', *ibid.* lxxi (1928), 50; U.L.C. MSS. Mm. 3. 15; Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*.

⁴ J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* 1 (1932) 307, from E. 134/41 Eliz., Easter 19 (1598).

⁵ W. G. Hoskins, 'The rebuilding of rural England, 1570–1640', *Past and Present*, no. 4 (1953); M. W. Barley, 'Rural housing in England', in J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* iv (1967) 696–766.

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the position of the house within the croft was often changed at rebuilding. In a modern village a frontage of garden gates or house doors facing the street is very usual. Sixteenth-century plans show that this was not the rule at earlier times: cottages might be built end-on to the street; they might stand some distance back within their croft, with their neighbour's house at a different distance from the street.

Yet to alter the boundary of a croft in any direction would have meant an encroachment. The economic value of an enclosed area like the croft at the back of a house was high and neighbours would not allow the bounds to move. In the croft grew the garden crops and into it the animals could be driven for wintering. The objections to an extension of the crofts at either end would come from an even larger body of neighbours, for at one end of the crofts were the common fields and at the other end the street or green.⁶ If it was difficult to move the boundaries of crofts it was even more difficult to make any major alterations in the street plan. An open thoroughfare might pass from being an alley to a street, and the spread of houses might turn a footpath into an alley, but there were strong barriers of property-rights and custom to thwart great changes. The really radical reconstructions, like the removal or destruction of a village, come only when there is a sole proprietor in law or a sole arbiter *de facto*, or when there is an intervention as serious as the wholesale fire which struck Blandford Forum in 1731.

In the town, and particularly in the village-turned-town, the crofts were too valuable to be left as a garden or an animal-run when house-room became precious, goods needed storage, and craftsmen required working-space. The narrow crofts then appear as open yards with stables, outbuildings, storerooms and workshops. But they still show as long, narrow units of property in many of the borough and town photographs, nowhere more clearly than at Chipping Campden (fig. 76), Corfe (fig. 58) and Warkworth (fig. 62). It was easy to adapt the street frontage of a market-town to serve the tastes of an eighteenth-century grocer or a

twentieth-century multiple store, but however changed the façade appears, the influence of the former crofts has been hard to disguise.

Another feature of the house-and-croft plan has commonly survived: this is the back-lane running at the far end of the croft, making a circuit of the whole built-up area. By this lane animals could be brought in and out of the croft without passing the houses or coming through the village street; equipment could be taken along it from the sheds to the fields. In the village which has grown into a market-town this back-lane often appears quite unchanged in position, running parallel to the main street behind the inns, shops and houses. It now provides access to garages and to the goods-entrances of stores, or leads to the bicycle-park and the side-entrance for the cheap seats at a cinema.

Other obstacles to radical changes in a village plan existed besides property rights or custom. There were important buildings which would not move, and as long as they were focal points in village life the need remained for streets to give access from one focal point to another. A church is the most obvious example, another is a castle, another a monastic house. If the village had a much-used market-place, the road system would be centred upon it, and there would be no thought of altering the system. Streets and lanes which led to windmills and watermills would also be unlikely to change their position. The best point to take advantage of wind and water would not be chosen casually, and, the choice once made, there would be little occasion to change.

Outside the village centre itself, the road system of the fields was tied to the needs and routines of the fields; only at the dissolution of the medieval landscape did the need arise for wholesale new tracks between new hedges. Until then, the ploughs and oxen went to the furrows along traditional paths; the animals were driven the same way to the pastures; the way to the market-town lay the way it had always lain.

In the following pages some of the earliest surviving large-scale village plans have been set alongside air photographs of the same villages today. The number of occasions on which this can be done is small, not because other and different examples might be fatal to an argument, but because there are so few early maps drawn on a scale large enough to show a village other than pictorially.

⁶ Excavations at Wharram Percy (Yorks. E. R.) carried out since 1954 show that the ruins of the latest medieval houses, which form the earthworks of the deserted village, conceal layers of older structures frequently rebuilt, not always on the same alignment. Similar eccentricity of axis was found in Dr Axel Steensberg's excavation of Danish peasant houses, and now that excavations elsewhere show the same it must induce caution, for the house plans revealed by air photographs may be no older than the generation prior to the desertion of the site. See also pp. 129–32 below.



Fig. 1A. Nun Monkton; vertical photograph, October 1972. Scale 1:4000.

I. NUN MONKTON

Yorkshire, West Riding

For the first of these comparisons the village of Nun Monkton has been chosen (fig. 1A): it lies at the junction of the River Nidd with the Ouse, seven miles north-west of York. Between the two rivers there is a long, isolated neck of land occupied by Nun Monkton parish. The lane which serves this village, though a cul-de-sac, bore much traffic before the time of railways. Goods were brought up the Ouse to an unloading-point at Nun Monkton and then taken inland on pack-saddles and carts. The riverside is now deserted, but a small toll-house survives from the days when tolls were levied upon river traffic.

There are three extant surveys of the village. The priory lands, the demesne estate, were surveyed at the Dissolution. This written description (c. 1538) is not much more than a rental. Thirty-three tenements in Monkton town were

paying rent to the lord. The second survey in 1567 comprises all the houses and fields and not merely those of the demesne, and the third survey, a map of 1607, is among the muniments at Petworth House, Sussex. This accurate and beautifully coloured map does not photograph well and a line-drawing (fig. 1B) has been prepared from it.

West from the scite of the saide late monasterye is the towne of Nun Monkton sceated; whereof the sowthe rowe of the same butteth upon the comon towards the northe and the comon Field called the Towne field on the sowthe. Begin at the easte ende therof and goe westwarde, and there first. . .

These instructions of 1567 fix our starting point at the apex of the green and at the head of the south row.

The green is the 'comon towards the northe', and the 'comon Field' lies below the crofts or gardens of the cottages. The lines of the former strips belonging to *Barthoram Garthes Furlong*

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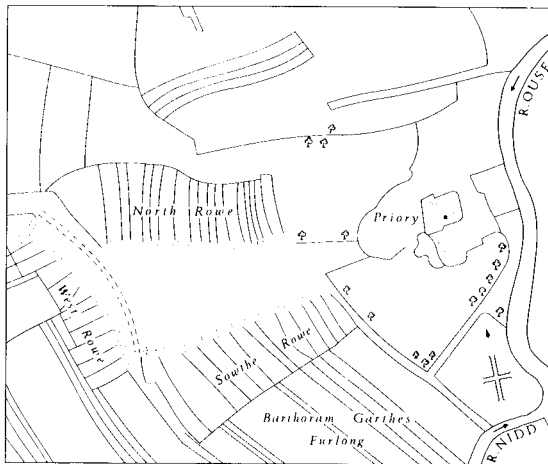


Fig. 1B. Nun Monkton in 1607.

appear in the fields below the cottages. The Ouse is the broad river to the right; its confluence with the much narrower channel of the Nidd lies east of the village. The sole remnant of the priory of Benedictine nuns which lay on the banks of the Ouse is the parish church, of which the long narrow roof can be seen among the trees. The large building adjoining it is the present 'priory', the successor to the manor house built by the post-Dissolution owners. The village lay with the apex of the green at the gate of the nunnery.

Of the cottages already mentioned, the surveyor of 1567 listed thirteen in *Sowthe Rowe* which, it will be seen, is the same number as in the map made forty years later. There are now only ten separate buildings along the Row, two of which are churches and a third a public house, but the width of some of the crofts shows where adjacent holdings have been thrown together when the house at the front decayed. In *West Rowe* thirteen buildings appear in 1567 and 1607. Consolidation has reduced these to six, so that the northern half of the former frontage is incomplete. On the third side of the triangle, *North Rowe*, more has survived. The survey reckoned seventeen houses here, one of which had the distinction of being 'covered wyth slate', the others presumably being thatched. Nearly all this frontage is now occupied with buildings.

The surveyors did not end with the village houses: like the map-maker they passed out into the fields . . . 'to the towne there are belongynge three fields, the one of them is known and called bye the name of the Towne Felde, the second the Middel Felde and the three [*sic*] is called the West Felde.'

The fields behind the crofts of *Sowthe Rowe* lay chiefly in the *Towne Felde* and remained 'open'

until the parliamentary enclosure of 1767. The fields to northwest of the village were already enclosed in 1607, and those behind *North Rowe* were virtually enclosed, with only four open-field strips marked on the map. '... the Towne Felde lyeth, the river of Nidd on the sowthe, the common on the northe, the Middel Felde weste and the scite of the manor on the easte ...'

Nun Monkton has been fortunate in preserving its Tudor building-plan with no more alteration than a change of building-materials and building-fashion, and the loss of a few cottages along the frontage of the green with the addition of some modern houses along a field-lane.

The green, the *comon* of the surveys, is particularly well preserved from encroachments. This must be partly due to its having been an estate or 'squire's village' since the Dissolution; before the Dissolution the priory was at the end of the green to keep a watchful eye on the village.

It is possible to assess the size of the village even two centuries earlier than the Dissolution, for in 1379 forty-six married couples and twenty-one other persons paid the poll tax. The frontage must then have had slightly more cottages in its array than at the Dissolution, for only forty-three houses are named in the sixteenth-century surveys and in the map of 1607. The village's tax-quota of 1334 is also high for this part of Yorkshire, being twenty-one shillings. It was not a purely agricultural village; among the craftsmen who paid more than the ordinary husbandman's groat in 1379 were three male weavers, one woman weaver, two tailors, a wright and smith.

Sources

1334: E. 179/206/75; 1379: E. 179/206/49; 1539 survey: E. 315/401; 1567 survey: B. L. Harl. MSS. 4781; 1607 map: Petworth House, Sussex, used by kind permission of Lord Leconfield; refusal to allow encroachments: Percy MSS. (Letters and Papers), Alnwick Castle, ix, 59 (1606).

2. TODDINGTON Bedfordshire

The village of Toddington (fig. 2A) lying on a hill-top on the Dunstable–Amphill road, seven miles north-west of Luton, stands at the nodal point of six roads. It has had the right to a market and a fair since 1218. In 1671 when hearths were counted for taxing, Toddington was as large as Amphill or Dunstable. In 1334 it was paying well above the average for a Bedfordshire village. Here there have been none of the sub-