

RURAL SETTLEMENT IN CHESHIRE

SOME PROBLEMS OF ORIGIN AND CLASSIFICATION

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THE Cheshire Plain, girdled and to some extent broken by hills, is an area of mixed rural settlement patterns. Occasional small, compact villages are to be found in a broad spread of dispersed and semi-dispersed dwellings. Colonization has been slow and, since the Norman Conquest, piecemeal; and the process of enclosing heath and woodland is still incomplete. Lying in the borderland between Welsh and Midland English settlement and land use systems, its inclusion in one or the other system has long been debatable. Gray⁽¹⁾ and more recently the Orwins⁽²⁾ showed it as lying just to the north of the boundary of what Gray calls the Two- and Three-Field System and the Orwins the Open Field System. Meitzen⁽³⁾ compromised and divided it into an area of dispersed and an area of compact settlement. A more detailed examination of the county from this point of view suggests that more probably the two systems overlapped here, and that a third folk element, the Scandinavian, explains some features of settlement in Wirral and parts of East Cheshire. The result would seem to be an area of predominantly scattered settlement interspersed with small nucleated villages, representing in part Welsh, in part English and Scandinavian types, but showing also varying degrees of hybridization in individual townships of pre-Conquest date and the addition of a not inconsiderable number of settlements of post-Conquest origin.

The origin of rural settlements is a complex subject, and it is rendered no less so in Cheshire by the absence to date of any considerable central collection of historical documents and maps.⁽⁴⁾ An evolving rural economy carried on the shoulders of changing rural communities saw many unmapped and unrecorded changes in the course of the two and a half millennia or so which divide us from the inception of field agriculture. Many individually owned documents and maps have been lost; many are difficult of access. Only three reasonably adequate surveys of the whole of rural

⁽¹⁾ H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems* (Oxford, 1915).

⁽²⁾ C. S. and C. S. Orwin, *The Open Field* (Oxford, 1938).

⁽³⁾ A. Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, 3 vols. (1895).

⁽⁴⁾ The County Record Office at Chester, soon presumably to be expanded, carries as yet a comparatively small number of documents. A central collection of title maps is housed by the Diocesan Registry in Chester, and many of the older parish churches have their own copies of the title maps of their townships.

England have ever been made in sufficient detail to be of use for this purpose. They are the Domesday Survey of 1086, the Tithe Survey initiated in 1836 and the Land Utilisation Survey completed in the years immediately preceding the Second World War. Only the second of these included large scale field maps and accompanying lists of field names. For this reason it is invaluable and, where no manorial or other surveys are available, it has, necessarily, to serve as the main source of evidence for the study of rural pattern. The dangers and difficulties of attempting to interpret early community patterns from nineteenth century documents need hardly be stressed, but it is from this series of Tithe Maps and Apportionment Lists that a start must inevitably be made in the case of a large majority of the townships, and to the reasons for its value must be added its almost universal availability, and the fact that, even if it usually post-dated enclosure, it preceded many of the more important population movements and changes of the middle and later nineteenth century.

The study of rural settlement involves the landscape and its use and adaptation for settlement and agriculture, and the living communities which operated a slowly evolving rural economy. It is thus referable to both geography and history, and it is proposed here to approach the problems of origin and classification by some examination of the salient features of the physical landscape of Cheshire, by a brief re-statement of the more significant features of its historical evolution in relation to settlement, and, following these, by an analysis of the patterns of sample Cheshire townships.

Cheshire occupies a fertile double basin of undulating lowland divided from the rest of the Midlands by the barriers of the southern Pennines and the low, but historically significant ridge of glacial and post-glacial sands which helped to divert the post-glacial drainage of North Shropshire to the Severn and so isolated Cheshire drainage from that of the neighbouring lowlands to the south. Near its junction with the Pennines this low ridge forms a sill, thinly pierced by a glacial overflow channel, which constitutes the Midland Gap, and which in turn defines part of the Cheshire-North Staffordshire boundary, east of which streams drain to the North Sea. But although on the west the Welsh Massif forms a rather formidable wall, it drains to Cheshire; and its fertile vales, opening out to the plains of the lower Dee, have long provided a stream of eastward moving migrants. A further point is that, by contrast with the Welsh Uplands, the Cheshire lowlands were attractive to settlers, but as compared with the south-east of England they were cool and damp and presented the further barrier of dense woodland. Hence it was at best an overspill area in the early Anglo-Saxon settlement phase as it was in turn to the Danes. With the exception of the military occupation by the Romans, it was to be left to the Normans to realize the significance of Cheshire as a great routeway to Wales and North-west England. From mediaeval times the county was to become netted with lanes of approach to these two regions and

to become more closely settled, but in the eleventh century it was still a poor, undeveloped countryside remote from the richer nuclei of English life.

As an early settlement region the Cheshire Plain combined the attraction of deep-soil lowland with the disadvantages of extensive woodlands in the east and centre, stretches of arid heath especially in the north, undrained marsh in some of its valleys and a border region of bleak Pennine moorland to the east. The characteristic surface deposit is boulder clay, which extends in huge spreads over the lower parts of Wirral, the Dee Valley, the Weaver Valley and the north-central lowland. Sands and loams, though widely scattered, occur most extensively in a broken belt east of the Central Ridge in the Delamere and Peckforton districts, and in east Cheshire an undulating sheet at the foot of the Pennines extends from Marple to Alsager. A belt of Shirdley Hill sands borders the Mersey above the outflow of the Weaver. Wide marshes flank the lower Gowy, and narrower ribbons of wet alluvium follow many rivers and streams. The only other variation within the comparative uniformity of the lowland is provided by peats which form small "mosses", and by meres which remained undrained in the early settlement phase but most of which have now become mosses in their turn. The resulting lowland has remarkable uniformity in general character, but is never monotonous, for lesser undulations, valleys, irregular ridges of sands, level stretches of clays and occasional meres and mosses provide the detail of a region further diversified by woodland and heath and the ever-changing panorama of a countryside of irregular fields and old hedgerows. Regional division of such an area is at best only partially satisfactory, but the following sub-regions serve broadly to indicate the conditions in relation to settlement by rural communities and individuals:

UPLAND REGIONS

1. The Cheshire Pennine.

A steep, moorland area rising to heights of from 1,500 to over 1,800 feet. The least favourable region for agriculture, but offering to early settlers advantages which offset the poverty of moorland and thin soils, excessive rainfall and exposure to weather.

2. The Central Ridge.

A narrow, sharp ridge of Triassic Sandstone, bearing wood and heath. Of little value for agriculture, but favoured by early communities and useful now for its underground water supply. Little settlement on the ridge at the present day.

LOWLAND REGIONS

3. Wirral

A peninsula of low general altitude beyond the Gowy marshes and Chester, characterized by a clay lowland interrupted by frequent low knolls of Triassic Sandstone and fringed by coastal marsh and dune. A favourable area for settlement.

4. The Dee Plains.

A wide area of valley and level lowland, predominantly of glacial and alluvial clays. The most favoured part of Cheshire for settlement from Roman times.

5. The Gowy Marshes.

A small region of naturally ill-drained alluvium, offering poor pasture on the marsh, and sites on sandstone hillocks easy to defend for early settlers. Now extensively drained.

6. The Mersey Belt.

A strip of territory, three to five miles wide, following the northern county boundary from the Gowy to the Pennine foot. Alluvial marsh along the river, succeeded southward by hungry, sandy soils interspersed by mosslands. Generally settled late except at points important for communications and of strategic value.

7. The Delamere Region.

An area of deltaic sands bearing light woodland which, as Royal Forest, long proved the main barrier to the extension of settlement in Central Cheshire. A gradually shrinking woodland region characterized by piecemeal colonization from its fringes. Not conducive to early community settlement.

8. The Central Plains.

Largely the valleys of the Weaver and lower Dane. Characteristically undulating to level, boulder clay but with stretches of sands, tracts of alluvium and occasional peat mosses. The third of the areas to be favoured in the settlement phase, but still more thinly populated than Wirral or the Dee Plains by late Anglo-Saxon times.

9. The Eastern Plains.

Sands here again predominate over boulder clays and are associated with a more varied surface relief. Apart from the narrow Dane and Bollin valleys, the region offers no natural focus for settlement. Extensive woodland, much of it within Macclesfield Forest, occupied the area until mediaeval and later times.

The conditions of physical geography are of the greatest interest in relation to the siting of habitation⁽¹⁾ and the choice of land for various agricultural purposes. Otherwise, except in so far as they combine broadly to condition the history of settlement, they would seem to have a minor influence on the pattern of settlement. In North Yorkshire, Appleton-le-Moors and its neighbour Cropton, occupying adjacent and closely comparable sites, are sharply different in type, the first having had a Three-Field arable system, and the second being characterized by holding in severalty, possibly on an originally allodial basis.⁽²⁾ In Westmorland, similarly adjacent villages in a similar environment, Grasmere and Rydal, are in the one case of Scandinavian and in the other of the Park-Estate type. The same is true in Cheshire where, although site is

⁽¹⁾ See for instance E. H. Rideout, "Sites of Ancient Villages in Wirral", *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. 77 (1925).

⁽²⁾ D. Sylvester, "The Hill Villages of England and Wales", *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 86 (1947).

of the greatest relevance, it is more often subsidiary to human and historical factors in shaping the pattern of settlement especially in areas of low relief. It is these that must next be considered.

It is a much debated point as to whether the bases of English rural settlement can be traced, except in a few rare instances to pre-Roman origins. There are undoubted examples of such continuity, but there are far more cases where no such continuity can be postulated. Cheshire in the Middle and Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, judging by the distribution of camps and finds known to date, was a region of predominantly upland settlement, and Mr. Varley's and Miss Chitty's map of Cheshire with the massed finds of those periods, shows that the prehistoric inhabitants of the county had a preference for the Central Ridge and its margins, for the Pennines and Pennine foothill zone in the neighbourhood of Alderley, to a much lesser extent for lowland localities in the Eastern Plains (as on the north-bound route to the Mersey crossing), and to a still lesser extent for the Dee lowlands.⁽¹⁾

Some time between the building of the Early Iron Age camps and the end of the early phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement, rural communities spread into the richer soil belts, and particularly into the major valleys, of the county. It is these first six hundred years of the Christian era which, from the point of view of the student of rural settlement in Wales and Northern England are still almost unilluminated. Comparatively few place-names survive from the pre-Saxon phase of settlement in Cheshire, and the archaeological evidence is principally Roman. But it is generally accepted that there existed, in the first four centuries of the present era, between the powerful Brigantian tribes of the Southern Pennines and the Decangi and other tribes of North Wales, an area of Celtic settlement in the Cheshire lowland. Here, presumably, people of similar racial and cultural type had their fields and habitations extending far beyond the range of the old hill forts. That the Romans brought forth at last the latent strategic importance of Cheshire as a region of great routeways is clear from the history of the occupation period. The other and less spectacular side of the picture is of a Welsh tribal society tending its herds, tilling its small fields and gradually extending probably along the lines of the Roman roads from Chesterton to Chester, from Chesterton to Stretton, from south of Nantwich to Macclesfield and Stockport, and along the northern road from Chester to Manchester. Nor is it irrelevant to notice here that Welsh infiltration into Cheshire has continued throughout historic times.

The early Anglo-Saxon settlement of Cheshire would seem to have been neither very important nor very close according to the evidence available. Place-names include in this county a comparatively small number of *ingas* and *ingaham* endings which, if comparison with Lancashire is valid, may pre-date the Battle of Chester in c.

⁽¹⁾ W. J. Varley and J. W. Jackson, *Prehistoric Cheshire* (1940). End map by W. J. Varley and L. F. Chitty.

A.D. 613. Here, as in Lancashire, the main Anglo-Saxon settlement phase was delayed, and consequently the *tun* settlements are commonest. This ending was used over a period of at least two centuries in later Anglo-Saxon times, and some may even post-date the Scandinavian invasion.⁽¹⁾ In Cheshire the *burh* ending is significant in that it indicates some of the principal old parochial villages, e.g. Prestbury, Astbury, Wybunbury and Bunbury. Late Anglo-Saxon forms are widespread, especially the endings *-ley* and *-hall*, the former probably representing a phase of late Anglo-Saxon colonization of woodland. But Anglo-Saxon place-name elements of all phases do not compare in number or in density of distribution with the closely spaced English names in counties to the south-east of Cheshire, for as Hewitt has said "the Earldom (of Chester) which marked the early limits of Norman power, marked also broadly the limit of Saxon invasions."⁽²⁾ We are thus once more reminded that the moraines which rim South Cheshire are a significant historical boundary.

F. T. Wainwright has recently done much to elucidate and infill the broad picture which was all that was formerly available of Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire,⁽³⁾ and he has shown that although it was indubitably of much less importance than the English settlement, it was of greater importance and extent than had formerly been recognized. He calculates, for instance, from the evidence of *Domesday Book*, that 30 per cent of the Cheshire landholders at that time were men with Scandinavian names, this percentage rising in Risedon Hundred (Wirral) to about 43 per cent, and in the East and South-east (Dudestan and Warmundestreu Hundreds) to over 25 per cent.⁽⁴⁾ The proportion of Scandinavian landholders' names to English is even higher—41 to 45.⁽⁵⁾ This, as Dr. Wainwright points out, argues neither that the owners themselves nor, even more true, the population of those manors were to so high a degree Scandinavian. But it does indicate a marked Scandinavian influence in two districts: Wirral with its considerable Irish-Norse population, and the lowlands of East Cheshire with their much thinner scattering of Danes.

By 1086, there is available the great Domesday Survey which includes 314 manors now in Cheshire. Incomplete though it is, inaccurate as it must be in some particulars, it offers firm ground as compared with the earlier evidence, and from it series of maps have been built up which give a remarkable picture of eleventh century Cheshire.⁽⁶⁾ The regional map is in particular elaborated. The evidence shows that Cheshire west of the Central Ridge was well settled and prosperous, and that next in importance after the

⁽¹⁾ F. T. Wainwright, "The Anglian Settlement of Lancashire", *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. 93 (1941), pp. 4-11.

⁽²⁾ H. J. Hewitt, *Mediaeval Cheshire* (1929), p. 150.

⁽³⁾ "North-West Mercia, A.D. 871 to 924", *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. 94 (1942), pp. 3-56.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁽⁶⁾ D. Sylvester, "The Geography of Domesday Cheshire." Unpublished paper and maps prepared for the British Association, 1939.

Dee Valley and Wirral came the Weaver Valley. In all these areas, the population density was well above the estimated Cheshire average of ten to the square mile. But in the central and eastern woodlands and in the Pennines and their foothill zone as a whole, the recorded population was minute, thanks to late colonization and recent wasting of such sparse settlements as had arisen. Between Delamere and the eastern boundary of the county only ten manors had a recorded population of more than ten, and the distribution of plough teams confirms the poverty of the east and the comparatively prosperous condition of the western plains. East of Delamere Forest, only six manors had more than two plough teams, yet in Northamptonshire, a typical Three-Field county, only twenty manors had fewer than two.⁽¹⁾ A manor with only one plough team could not possibly work a Three-Field arable system. Had our information on this point been restricted to one year, it could have been argued that wasting accounted for the low number of plough teams. But the 1086 figures showed that approximately 70 per cent of the manors in Cheshire had a higher valet than in 1071, and those forty-nine which still lay waste, though principally in the east, had low valets both *tempore regis Edwardi* and *tempore regis Wilhelmi*.

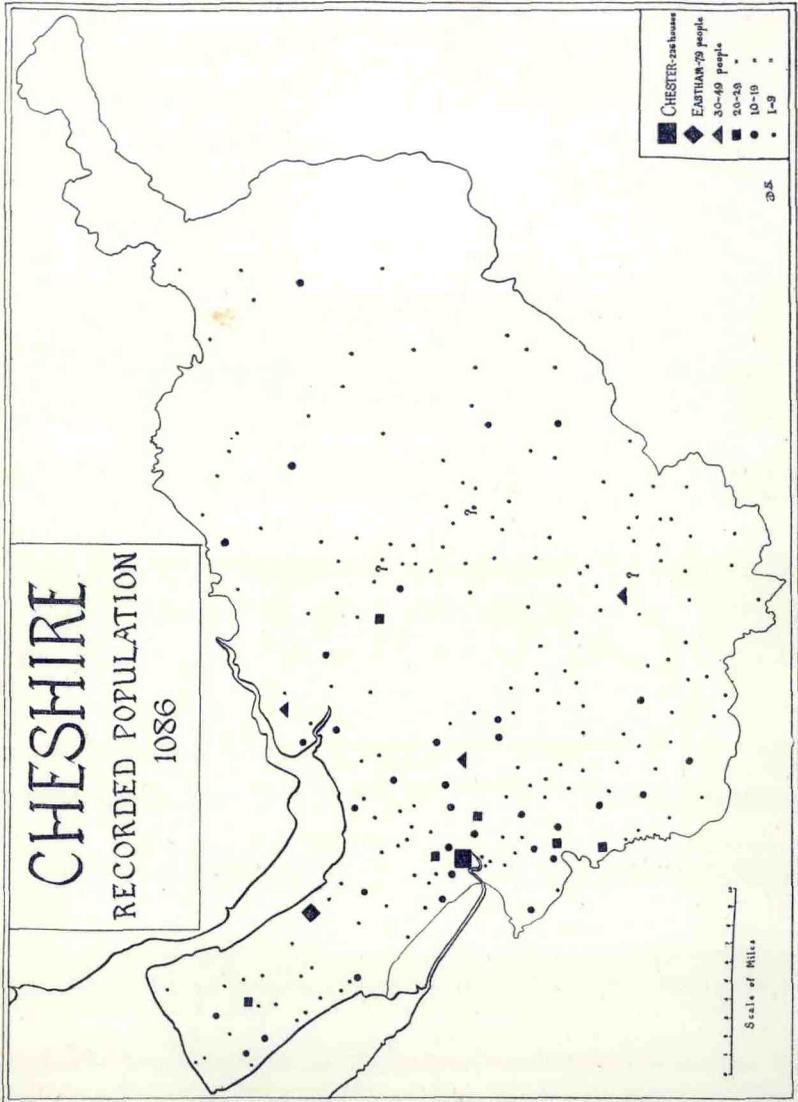
The evidence points incontrovertibly to the conclusion that by the end of the eleventh century Cheshire still carried an abnormally low density of population, in small groups and working small arable areas. It shows too the contrast between the more settled western and Weaver Valley lowlands and the large uncolonized tracts which lay in the east and in the forests of the centre. Brownbill counted the recorded population of Cheshire in *Domesday* as 1,951,⁽²⁾ estimating the total population at that time as 10,500 to 11,000. Ballard estimated it as 2,349, only Middlesex and Rutland—both much smaller in area—having a lower population at that date.⁽³⁾ On the basis of any computation, the total population can hardly have exceeded 12,000 in the eleventh century. No accurate numerical data exist for the later Middle Ages, but Hewitt considers that in the fourteenth century, the population of Cheshire was at least twice that of 1086. In support of this he cites townships such as Appleton, which was waste in 1086 and in 1329 had sixteen customary tenants; Over, where the increase from 1086 to 1334 was from one to several score; and Shotwick, where from six in 1086, the known population had increased to twenty-nine in 1280. He also notes that in 1297, 4,000 Cheshire footmen were with the King's Army in Scotland, and on this basis assumes that the population of Cheshire, at a conservative estimate, must have been well over 20,000 at that date.⁽⁴⁾ Even these estimates give an average density of population of only ten to the square mile in 1086 and twenty in 1300, as compared with an average density in 1931 of six hundred

⁽¹⁾ C. P. Bayley, "Domesday Geography of Northants.", Proceedings of the Northants. Natural History Society and Field Club (1938).

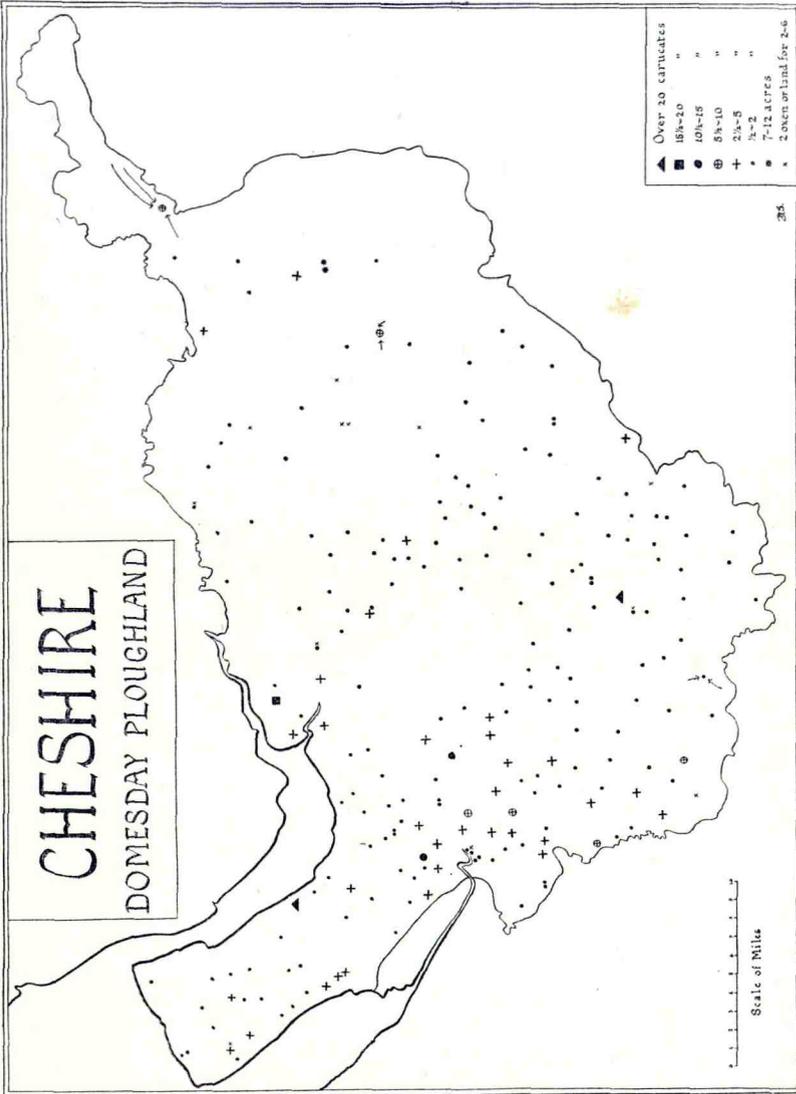
⁽²⁾ J. Brownbill, "Cheshire in Domesday Book", TRANSACTIONS, Vol. 51 (1901), pp. 6-7

⁽³⁾ A. Ballard, *The Domesday Inquest*, 2nd ed. (1923), p. 264.

⁽⁴⁾ H. J. Hewitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7.



I. DOMESDAY CHESHIRE: POPULATION



II. DOMESDAY CHESHIRE: PLOUGHLANDS

and seventy-five per square mile. In a county which recorded three hundred and fourteen manors in *Domesday*, and which, allowing for those unrecorded, might have included up to four hundred manors or townships in mediaeval times, it is evident that the average population in 1086 per manor cannot have exceeded thirty, *i.e.* approximately six families. Even by 1300, the average township can have included few more than ten families, and although there must have been great unevenness in the distribution as between individual settlements, the conclusion can be made at the outset, that these figures preclude the existence of many large villages, or the existence of a widespread Two- or Three-Field system on the model of the large Anglo-Saxon villages of the south-east Midlands.

Later mediaeval evidence, much of it summarized so admirably by Hewitt and some by Gray, from a series of *Chartularies*, *Court Rolls*, *etc.*, indicates the progress of settlement in the once poorly populated areas. New landowners acquired considerable estates in Cheshire from Norman times to the eighteenth century. The monasteries brought new land under cultivation from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1215 or 1216, a charter of Earl Ranulf granted to his barons the right "to assart their lands within the arable area of the forest and to grow crops on lands formerly cultivated and free from wood without payment",⁽¹⁾ while another clause made over the same rights to knights and freeholders. Hewitt summarizes evidence of enclosures of from less than one acre to two hundred acres.⁽²⁾ Marshes might have been reclaimed at that time, the first recorded dike in the Gowy marshes being, however, in 1312.⁽³⁾ Thus, although hampered by Border warfare and internal strife, extended colonization has typified the agrarian history not only of the Middle Ages but of every succeeding century in this county.

The evidence continues to be fragmentary and scattered, much of it unknown, much of it no doubt lost for ever. But it can be assumed that largely piecemeal enclosure gradually reduced the woodlands and the formerly open heaths. Whether such settlement was ever truly communal after the eleventh century is doubtful but not impossible. The nearest proved approach to rural group settlement after the Anglo-Saxon period, and that only in a limited sense of the term, came much later in the hamlets associated with eighteenth and nineteenth century enclosure. Then, after a period of nearly eight hundred years, the evidence begins to amass, first in the form of enclosure awards (covering the lands until then open, as common usually, as arable much more rarely), and from 1836 in the Tithe Survey, which completed the invaluable series of large scale plans made for every place. In part accompanying, but for the greater part following, the late enclosure movement in Cheshire,⁽⁴⁾ it mirrored a county almost wholly held in severalty and in enclosed

⁽¹⁾ *Chester Chartulary*, 102.

⁽²⁾ *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁽⁴⁾ Enclosure awards of the latter half of the eighteenth century for Cheshire dealt with the enclosure awards of open arable fields as well as of commons.

fields. It was primarily the picture of its age. But it was also the image of a system of fields, habitations and roads which incorporated and retained lines from age-old layouts. The Tithe Survey, like the countryside, is a palimpsest, as Maitland pointed out, and it bears half-obliterated marks from many past centuries. It is from this angle that we use the data from the Tithe Maps against the known background of geography and history now summarized.

THE PATTERN OF RURAL SETTLEMENT

Cheshire is a county of numerous townships, some large, but the greater number small or medium-sized. It remained for long a region of comparatively sparse population. During the county's conversion to Christianity it seems that relatively few churches were founded. When, in later Anglo-Saxon and mediaeval times, the parish system took shape, Cheshire remained a county with few parochial centres, almost every parish church necessarily serving one or more dependent townships. In Wirral and the lower Dee Valley alone, the parishes are comparatively small. Elsewhere, the large, composite parish with numerous townships served by a mother church, is typical. The process of building churches and creating new parishes has continued to the present day, but the composite parishes remain characteristic. In 1669, there were still only seventy-five parish churches outside Chester in a county of some four hundred townships,⁽¹⁾ and from the lists in Ormerod and from other information, some reconstruction can be made of the geography of townships and parishes prior to the nineteenth century.

In south-west Cheshire, *Malpas* was the parochial centre as late as 1669 for twenty-four townships including Malpas township itself. In the south-east corner, *Wybunbury* as late as the middle nineteenth century counted eighteen townships in all and *Great Budworth* thirty-four. *Prestbury* in north-east Cheshire had thirty-two townships of which nine, however, were under the dependent chapelry of Macclesfield. Other examples were *Bunbury* with twelve, *Acton* with twenty-one, *Weaverham* with eight and *Astbury* with ten. The definition, generally accepted by students of rural settlement, of a true village as a compact rural habitation group with a parish church must clearly be questioned in the case of Cheshire. Here, in the Middle Ages and later, there seems to have been considerable change of status in matters ecclesiastical, and larger, compact settlements might or might not have a church, and the church might equally well be found in a nucleated village or in a scattered parish.

A reconstruction of the parish map of South Cheshire as it probably was in the Middle Ages shows that a stretch of country eighteen miles by fifteen, equivalent in area to a quarter of the county, lay within the territory of nine ecclesiastical parishes, disregarding Marbury and Wirswall, which in 1669 were in the parish

⁽¹⁾ Ormerod, *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 2nd ed. (1882), Vol. 1, pp. 399-400.

of *Whitchurch*, Shropshire. Seven of the nine were composite parishes, *Malpas*, *Bunbury*, *Acton*, *Wrenbury*, *Audlem*, *Wybunbury* and *Barthomley*. Two, *Harthill* and *Baddiley*, were single parishes in 1669, but it seems at least probable that in the Middle Ages they were included in one or other of the large adjacent parishes. *Harthill*, for example, had only a chapel in 1361.⁽¹⁾ After 1669 the parishes of *Nantwich*, *Wistaston* and *Church Coppenhall*, and later one or two others, were created.

The township boundary, the most significant in relation to rural settlement units, has generally been perpetuated in the civil parish boundary. Manorial boundaries, since they define usually the extent of individual property, are more liable to change and far more difficult to trace. Frequently the boundaries correspond, at least roughly, with township boundaries, but the Tudor and later estates in Cheshire, like those of *Domesday Book*, might include many manors, so that they too were composite as were the parishes, but by no means coincident with them. And, although large holdings go back to Norman times, they are historically superimposed on township boundaries, except where they themselves constituted late townships newly created from woodland or waste. So, although the estates affected the settlement pattern widely, they seem generally to have been disruptive rather than cohesive in their influence, certainly in relation to the early communities.

Thus, in Cheshire, we must recognize at the outset the relative value of the units of settlement. By contrast with the close-settled areas of southern and mid-England, Cheshire has few parish-townships, and shows little integration of the lord's park with an old community in a single township. Hence the township, although the smallest unit of settlement, is here not the sole key to the settlement system, but is itself frequently a dependency; and any understanding of Cheshire settlement must be based on the closer study of such townships, connected by ecclesiastical ties and those of landownership. Cheshire is, however, a large county, and it is only possible in the space now available to examine a small number of settlements. Those selected are representative, but the problem is not simply to find central types, but to identify lesser units also, and with this and the complexities of Cheshire parishes in mind, one large parish is first analyzed in some detail.

THE PARISH OF WYBUNBURY

Wybunbury is a composite parish which, at the time of the Tithe Survey, included eighteen townships and at some time previous to that had also embraced *Wistaston*, *Church Coppenhall* and *Monk's Coppenhall*.⁽²⁾ It is principally with the eighteen remaining townships of nineteenth century *Wybunbury* that the immediate description deals, linked as they were not only by the parochial tie but by

⁽¹⁾ G. W. Matthews, "Notes on the Parish and Church of Harthill", *TRANSACTIONS* Vol. 79 (1929), p. 39.

⁽²⁾ *Monk's Coppenhall* and part of *Church Coppenhall* now lie in the Borough of Crewe.

that of landownership, for in 1840 the Delves Broughton estate included some land in every one of the eighteen townships, and the whole or the greater part of ten of them.

Wybunbury parish, which abuts on the counties of Staffordshire and Shropshire, is significantly located in south-east Cheshire on land sloping gently upwards to the morainic rim, which is of such historic importance in relation to rural settlement. Still within the plain of Cheshire, it is on the boundary of what Gray and Orwin have shown as the area of the Two- and Three-Field System and Meitzen as the area of compact villages. Orwin maintains that a few parishes in Cheshire worked the Two- or Three-Field system.⁽¹⁾ Gray includes Madeley among his list of Staffordshire villages working the Three-Field system,⁽²⁾ and Madeley is, with Betley, one of two large, compact villages, which adjoin the parish of *Wybunbury* on the Staffordshire side of the boundary and which contrast sharply with the small villages and semi-dispersed settlement of Cheshire. In *Wybunbury*, we are clearly working in a highly significant area which is, further, just north of the Whitmore-Madeley through-valley which penetrates the low uplands of the Midland Gap. It also lies partly within, but largely to the south of, the part of East Cheshire which Dr. Wainwright considers to have been penetrated by Danish settlers.⁽³⁾

The parish measures six miles by five miles at its widest, and includes 17,854 acres of land or nearly twenty-eight square miles. Its southern and eastern limits are in general the county boundary, its western boundary the River Weaver above Nantwich and its tributary Birchall Brook. It occupies a lowland area, falling from just over 360 feet above O.D. in the south to an average height of 150 feet in the northern townships. The gently swelling plain of south-east Cheshire, of which it is part, is made up geologically of glacial deposits completely masking the underlying Bunter and Keuper Beds. Sands are the surface deposit in all but the southern edge of the undulating southern and central slopes, and clays characterize the more level northern townships, the change occurring at about 200 feet. A few peat mosses are to be found as in *Wybunbury* and *Hunsterson*.

The parish is drained in a predominantly north-easterly direction by the Weaver and its tributaries. The valley of the Weaver and most of the southern valleys are well defined, though nowhere deep, but the northern streams, arising in most cases within the parish, have shallow valleys which do little to diversify the relief of a plain which is far from level, and the more important variations in form are dependent on the modelled surface of the drift. The immediate neighbourhood of the streams is generally avoided by settlement, except at *Wybunbury* and *Weston*, the only two compact villages in the parish, most of the hamlets and farms seeking the higher land of the interfluves.

⁽¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, map of the "Extent of the Open Field", p. 65.

⁽²⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 497.

⁽³⁾ *Op. cit.*, "North-west Mercia", p. 42.

TABLE I: THE TOWNSHIPS OF WYBUNBURY

Township	Type (see Table II)	Area (acres)	Proportion Arable: Pasture (acres)	Popu- lation 1810	Inhabited Houses 1810	Number of Land- owners	Number of Owner- Occupiers plus number of Tenants
Wybunbury	D	832	271 : 541	315	76	(DB)+40=41	21+102= 123
Weston	D	1,851	610 : 1,221	426	54	DB +17=18	18+68= 86
Blakenhall	E	1,539	459 : 1,027	219	33	DB = 1	1+30= 31
Willaston	A	499	80 : 419	214	34	(DB)+26=27	13+50= 63
Shavington- cum-Gresty	A	1,115	371 : 744	199	36	(DB)+38=39	15+58= 73
Bridgmere	A(?B)	1,130	308 : 780	208	38	DB + 3= 4	3+39= 42
Stapeley	B	1,200	155 : 1,045	261	50	DB +38=39	15+63= 78
Hough	B	954	318 : 636	238	40	(DB)+18=19	6+46= 52
Hunsterson	B	1,510	458 : 895	200	33	DB = 1	1+35= 36
Checkley-cum- Wrinehill	B	1,434	454 : 860	152	26	DB +10=11	6+32= 38
Hatherton	B	1,598	378 : 1,138	379	52	DB +20=21	21+70= 91
Walgherton	B	834	285 : 519	206	39	DB + 1= 2	1+34= 35
Chorlton	B	806	266 : 523	90	16	DB = 1	1+24= 25
Rope	B/F	573	191 : 382	90	13	DB = 1	0+12= 12
Basford	B/F	642	214 : 429	64	8	DB + 1= 2	1+ 9= 10
Batherton	F	395	130 : 260	29	3	DB = 1	0+ 3= 3
Lea	F	404	134 : 269	73	11	DB = 1	1+10= 11
Doddington	H	538	53 : 496	62	9	DB = 1	1+11= 12
TOTALS		17,854		3,425	571		821

All data are from the Tithe Survey except population figures
DB=Delves Broughton. (DB)=where Delves

PARISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

More than 300 acres	Number of Holdings							Total	Dominant Features of Holdings and Holders
	200-299	100-199	50-99	10-49	1-9	Less than 1			
—	—	1	3	15	42	62	123	Small farmers, small holders and cottagers predominant in increasing numerical importance. Large number of owners and tenants.	
1	—	2	10	12	29	32	86	All types. Cottagers and small holders predominant. Large number of landowners.	
—	1	5	5	6	7	7	31	Even distribution of holdings among various sizes. One landowner.	
—	1	—	—	9	34	19	63	Small holders predominant. One large holding. Large number of small freeholders.	
—	—	2	9	5	29	28	73	Small holders and cottagers predominant. Some medium large farms. Numerous freeholders.	
—	—	4	2	8	19	9	42	Small holders predominant. Otherwise fairly evenly distribution. One principal land owner with tenants.	
—	—	3	4	21	25	25	78	Small holders and cottagers predominant. Large number of small landowners and free holders.	
—	1	2	2	13	25	8	51	Small holders predominant. Number of small landowners.	
—	1	6	3	4	13	9	36	Small holders predominant. One landowner.	
1	2	3	—	9	9	14	38	Comparatively even except for contrast of large farms and cottagers.	
—	—	6	4	12	24	45	91	Numerous landowners. Cottages and small holdings predominant.	
—	1	2	2	5	17	8	35	Small holders predominant. One principal owner.	
—	1	2	1	5	10	6	25	Small holdings predominant. One owner.	
—	—	1	5	1	3	2	12	Medium-sized farms predominant. One owner.	
1	—	—	2	4	2	1	10	Medium-sized farms predominant. One principal owner.	
—	1	1	—	1	—	—	3	Two large and one medium-sized farm. One owner.	
—	—	2	—	2	—	7	11	A medium and a large farm plus seven cottagers. One owner.	
—	1	2	—	—	7	2	12	Estate, two farms and small holders. One owner.	
							821		

which are taken from Ormerod, *op. cit.*, Vol. III p. 288.

Broughton owns a comparatively small area in the township.

The whole parish is still a rural area and the only extensive modern building has been due to the coming of the railways and the spread of suburban settlement round the railway town of Crewe. Thus Willaston today is a nineteenth century railway village, and Shavington, Stapeley and Wybunbury all include some modern suburban houses. Apart from these, the layout has altered little, and comparatively little of the traditional pattern of houses and fields is obscured by non-rural extensions. In 1810 the parish had a population of 3,425 persons, included 571 dwellings with an average of about six persons per house, and 122 people to the square mile.⁽¹⁾ By 1871, the effect of the railways was already felt in the northern townships and the total population of the parish had nearly doubled (6,127 equivalent to 219 per square mile) despite a decline in nine townships.⁽²⁾ In the same period, the Tithe Apportionments reveal a proportion of one-third arable land to two-thirds meadow and pasture, a proportion which was reversed in the Three-Field areas of England. The only exceptions to this were Hatherton, where the proportion of arable to pasture was 1 : 3; Willaston 1 : 5; Stapeley 1 : 7; and Doddington 1 : 10.

This predominantly pastoral group of townships lay largely within the Doddington estate of the Delves Broughtons or where the Delves Broughton interest extended. But the Doddington estate took shape slowly by acquisition from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. Ormerod states that from time immemorial the township of Doddington, now largely within the bounds of Doddington Park, had been dependent on the fee of Kinderton, and presumes that it was therefore attached to Blakenhall at the time of the Domesday Survey. There was originally a Doddington family, but the estate passed to John de Delves in 1353. In the early fourteenth century, the Delves had their seat at Delves Hall near Uttoxeter, but in 1347, John de Delves, a squire of Lord Audley's in the French wars, was knighted, and in 1363 was given the right to fortify his house at Doddington. The first house, now in ruins, was built the following year, replaced in the reign of Elizabeth by a house which has since disappeared, and then by the present house which was built about 1840. A small chapel within the park, but in the township of Hunsterson, served the family and is still a private chapel.⁽³⁾

The extension of the estate took place by a series of acquisitions, some by purchase, at the following dates:⁽⁴⁾

Edward III.	Two-thirds of Checkley bought by the Delves and more later.
1353	John de Delves bought land in Chorlton.
c. 1387	Blakenhall sold to the Delves.
1539	Walgherton passed to Sir Henry Delves consisting then of 200 acres of land (? presumably arable), 200 acres of pasture, 20 acres of wood, 40 acres

⁽¹⁾ Ormerod, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 288.

⁽³⁾ Ormerod, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 524.

⁽²⁾ *Census of England and Wales, 1871.*

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 496-518.

		of meadow, 40 acres of turf and 300 acres of moor and marsh.
Sixteenth century	..	Weston passed to Delves of Doddington.
Late sixteenth century	..	Rope manor sold by the Ropes to Sir Henry Delves.
1628	Lea sold to Sir Henry Delves.
Late 1660s	Batherton sold to the Delves family.
1762	Hunsterson (then Hunsterton) sold to Sir Brian Broughton Delves, but the Delves owned an estate in this township before 1365.
Eighteenth century	..	Bridgmere bought by Sir Brian Broughton Delves (much of it later passing to the Tollemaches).
1817	Hough sold to Sir Thomas Broughton and from him passed to the Delves Broughtons.
N.D. (presumably nineteenth century)	nine-	Basford sold to Sir Thomas Broughton.
N.D.	Gresty passed to the Broughtons.

The Delves Broughton Estate, somewhat smaller than *Wybunbury* parish, but including part of every constituent township, was thus considerable at the time of the Tithe Survey, despite some parts having passed to other owners. In *Wybunbury*, *Willaston*, *Shavington* and *Hough* only, they were small landholders at the time of the Survey. In *Blakenhall*, *Hunsterson*, *Chorlton*, *Rope*, *Batherton*, *Basford*, *Lea* and *Doddington* they were the sole landowners, but except in *Rope*, they held only small portions of the northern townships.

The main perceptible influence that they had on the rural settlement pattern was in the great park at *Doddington*, which occupies the greater portion of *Doddington* township and extends into *Hunsterson*, *Walgherton* and *Bridgmere*. It is a characteristic Cheshire park in that it is predominantly ornamental, containing a large lake and some grazing herds. The rest of *Doddington* township includes the *Home Farm*, the *Mill*, two *Lodges*, another farm and a few small holdings. There is no estate village and no indication of there having ever been a community or communal land organization, though both may have existed and been swamped by the landowning interest, for part of the *Town Fields* of *Walgherton* and *Hunsterson* are traceable within the bounds of the park on the *Tithe Map*. In every sense, the pattern of the Estate Type of township is clear and distinctive. The same type is common in Cheshire and found especially on the margins of the woodland zones.

Wybunbury township, though one of the medium-sized townships of the parish, 832 acres, was the parochial centre for the remaining seventeen until *Weston* was made a separate parish in the nineteenth century. Originally, it included *Wistaston*, *Church Coppenhall* and possibly *Baddiley*. The village, large by Cheshire standards, is a compact street village with the Church of *St. Chad* at the eastern end of the main street. The village stands on the dry bank of the rather marshy little valley of *Howbeck Brook*,⁽¹⁾ some two miles above its junction with the *River Weaver*. The church itself, visible for many miles, occupies land which falls comparatively

⁽¹⁾ Note the Scandinavian place-name element *-beck*.

steeply on three sides to the stream, giving the appearance, especially from the east and south, of occupying an elevated mound. Believed to be of Norman or earlier foundation, its unfortunate situation above a bed of shifting sand has led to the building of an unknown number of structures on the same site, and the tower, the only ancient part of the church remaining is several feet out of plumb. The church site suggests a possible pre-Saxon origin, but there are no finds to confirm this. The earliest known evidence as to the existence of a settlement here is the name *Wybunbury*, which is believed to derive from the name of the second king of Mercia, Wibba or Wyburn, who died in A.D. 615, and O.E.*burh*, which allows the possibility of its having been a Saxon fortified site.⁽¹⁾ In 1086 it lay in the lands of the Bishop of Chester, and had a recorded population of five and one plough team where two might be. It also had a priest and therefore presumably a church.⁽²⁾ It ranks as one of the ancient parochial villages of Cheshire, serving a typically large parish. In the whole parish only two other settlements are nucleated, the village of Weston and the large hamlet of Blakenhall, and this too is characteristic of Cheshire. Wybunbury might be expected to offer something approaching a village of the English type, *i.e.* nucleated around a church and with a land organization based on community holding with two or three open arable strip fields, common meadow and open pasture. The Tithe map of 1845 goes some way towards providing the answer. The village is nucleated about a church, but it is small as compared with the typical English village of the south-east Midlands and southern England, and, unless there was a marked depopulation in 1070 (it was wasted then) there is little to suggest that it was a large centre in Anglo-Saxon times. The nineteenth century village was, however, a perfect 'toft and croft' village, *i.e.* with houses on the street and long narrow crofts, now gardens and crofts, stretching out behind them. At first sight, the tithe map seems to show a small open arable field, held in open strips, to the north of the village. But the field names reveal that these are strips held on the peat moss which were still unenclosed in 1845. The Town Field lies in a rough crescent behind this to the north again, but by 1845 the strips were compacted into comparatively square fields. Seven fields, 133, 135-140, 149, still bear the name *Town Field*, and it is probable that the Town Field originally extended to include some adjacent fields named *House Field* (130, 131), *Tam Wall* (132), *Way Field* (179, 180), *Broomy Field* (150), *Flash Field* (182), and part of *Cotton's Field* (151). These all lie north of the moss within the line of a curving road. A possible outfield may lie to the west of these. It is suggested by the shapes of the fields and by the names *Big Flash* (307), *Little Flash* (309), and several names including the word *Waygo* (292-5 and 300). As is again typical of Cheshire townships,

⁽¹⁾ Information from a framed account in the church signed H.G.L. (Rev. H. G. Lancaster, Vicar of Wybunbury, 1900-1922).

⁽²⁾ *Domesday Book*, fol. 263.

fields named *Riddings* lie beyond these, suggesting a further stage in clearing land for the plough. Whether it is a Scandinavian loan-word of O.E. or even Welsh origin is uncertain, and to be able to decide this point would be of the greatest value in relation to Wybunbury and other areas. A strip of meadow, with no names indicative of common holding, lies adjacent to the stream on the south of the village. A few old-established farms fill in most of the remainder of the south-western and northern parts of the township with their larger, irregularly rectangular fields. But groups of recent heath enclosures with associated cottages occur on the northern and north-western fringes in what was presumably the old open pasture of Wybunbury township. Wybunbury with its one proved Town Field, a possible outfield, open peat moss held in strips, meadow which may or may not at one time have been held in common, old farms of square adjacent fields, and small, irregular hamlets on a now-enclosed heath is fairly typical of the parochial villages of central and east Cheshire. It is at best an imperfect replica of a fully developed English village, with a compact village of apparently similar type, but a field system which is un-English, since the Town Field is very small, even in relation to the size of the village. There is only one proved former open arable field, which is typical of Celtic and Scandinavian communities. Was this, therefore, a small Saxon village planted in a Celtic area, and with a resulting hybrid system of land-holding, or is the nucleation of mediaeval or later origin?

Weston is the only other township in *Wybunbury* parish which ranks as a nucleated village and which now has a parish church. In 1810 Weston had a population of 426 as compared with Wybunbury's 385, but only fifty-four houses as against seventy-six. The difference in population was explained by the large enclosure group which had recently arisen on Weston Heath, immediately south of the village and which had no counterpart on the scale in Wybunbury. It was a poorer, more crowded group and badly housed. In acreage Weston was the largest township in *Wybunbury* (1,851 acres), and in interest outstanding in that it has a wide range of pattern elements within its boundaries. It has the characteristic mark of the village community in its social and economic structure which shows an evenly increasing number of holdings from the largest to the smallest. (See Table I). Again, the number of houses, fifty-four in 1810, is considerably exceeded by the number of holdings in the Tithe Survey, eighty-six, in 1845, so that it is clear that in the first half of the nineteenth century active growth followed on the extensive enclosure of the heath. This village was not mentioned in *Domesday Book*, but Ormerod recorded that its berewicks in Anglo-Saxon times were the distant townships of Norbury, Marbury and Wirswall, in addition to Stanleu, a lost name, unless Weston itself is Stanleu as he suggested. It was a royal Saxon manor in the time of Harold. In Norman times it passed to the Barons of Nantwich and thence to the Vernons. In the time of Edward I there was a

Weston family.⁽¹⁾ In the sixteenth century it passed to the Delves of Doddington, but at the time of the Tithe Survey, it was held by two gentry and fifteen small landowners, the Delves Broughton share by this time being only 1,312 acres, and the Park of the Marquess of Crewe having absorbed part of its eastern edge. The interest of Ormerod's information is that it seems to establish its existence in Saxon times as a place of some importance. This fits perfectly with the suggestion that the place is a true village, nucleated as it is at a T-junction of roads and with the nineteenth century church occupying the triangle at this road junction. The question naturally suggests itself as to whether Weston was not the site of an ancient church, later losing status and becoming absorbed into *Wybunbury* parish. The pattern of the township lands throws further light on this. The most significant features of the tithe map are the closely nucleated village with its cottages, smallholders' dwellings, farmhouses and vicarage, and adjacent to it on the eastern side and extending to Weston Gate (? Scandinavian *gata*), the former Town Field (field names:—*Town Field* (433, 434), *Big Town Field* (445), and *Town Field and Daisy Croft* (181)). To the south is the recently enclosed area of Weston Heath, with its numerous enclosures and cottages, and with the two new Nonconformist chapels forming a distinctive quarter of the village. In the outlying area are medium and large-sized farms, some probably early and others dating back only to late eighteenth century enclosure as in the case of Mere Moor, which is on the former mossland. A minor cross-road group occurs at Gorsty Hill in the east and a comparatively large late enclosure hamlet at Englesea Brook, well known because of its Primitive Methodist graveyard, which is the burial place of Hugh Bourne one of the founders of the movement. Hence the township can be analyzed as follows:

- a. nucleated village site of Anglo-Saxon or earlier origin with its Town Field.
- b. farms of early enclosure.
- c. farms of late enclosure.
- d. part of Crewe Park, late eighteenth century.
- e. enclosure hamlet of Weston Heath adjoining old village.
- f. late enclosure hamlet of Englesea Brook.
- g. minor cross-road group of Gorsty Hill (? Turnpike period).

Blakenhall, the third of the nucleated settlements in *Wybunbury*, is by acknowledged definition a hamlet in that it has no church. It is strung along a road for half a mile or so and consists of cottages, smallholders' dwellings and farmhouses. Apart from a few outlying farms, there is no other settlement in the township. The historical evidence, however, shows that it was the central vill of a considerable group of townships in late Anglo-Saxon times and therefore, according to Ormerod, the only one specifically mentioned in *Domesday Book*.⁽²⁾ At the time of the Tithe Survey,

⁽¹⁾ Ormerod, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 509-10.

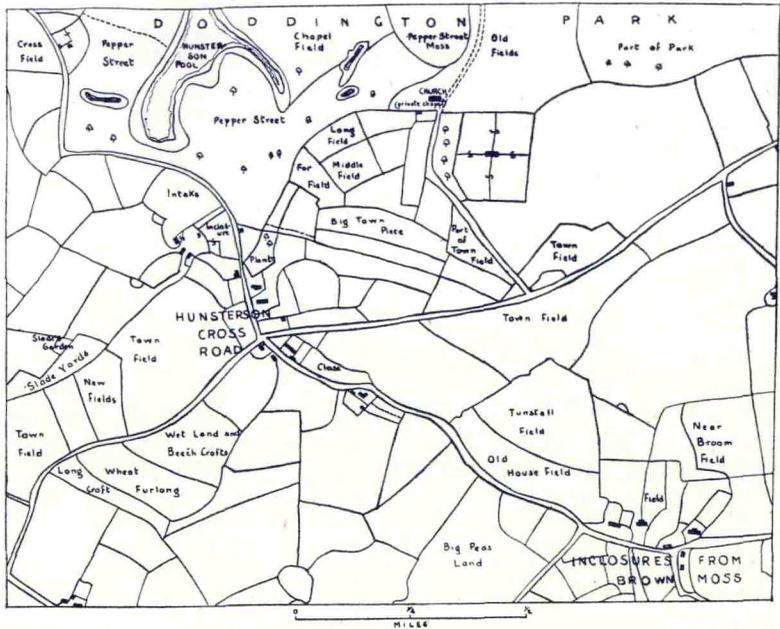
⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 513.

Blakenhall was one of the larger townships in *Wybunbury* parish with an area of 1,539 acres. It lies on rising ground between two streams and in 1842 this watershed hamlet housed some two hundred souls and was divided into thirty-one holdings. Seven of these last were the holdings of cottagers, seven of smallholders and the rest farms, either centred on farmhouses within the village or outlying. There is clear evidence of a former Town Field adjoining the hamlet on the north as evidenced by recently compacted fields with *Town Field* and *Part of Little Town Field* among the multiple names they still retained (e.g. 25, 26); compacted fields with the name *Town End* included (123, 125), *Townsend* (126), *Bickerton Flatts* (150), *the Flatts* (156), and *Near Black Acre* (151). North of this group of fields lies the Moss, former common, still in part open land and bounding the township on that side. South of the village, there may have been an outfield, suggested by the names *High Field* (225, 226, 76, 78, 79), *Way Field* (63), *Long Acre and Hemp Butts* (219), *The Butts* (36); and several of these fields had also recently been compacted. Apart from a belt of meadow in the south-west along Checkley Brook, the rest consists of large, approximately rectangular fields attached to a few large outlying farms. One of these alone calls for special notice. A farm called Gonsley Green in the north appears to occupy the site of a former hamlet,⁽¹⁾ which would seem to have been on the site of, or adjacent to, another portion of former open arable land. The suggestive names are: *Site of old house and part of Gonsley* (190), *Flat Lane* (192), *Further White Butts* (188), and *Acre* (201). This may have been an independent community with its own open field or a hamlet which arose when that field was enclosed and in turn was absorbed by a single farm. Near the main Town Field is field name evidence which suggests that at one time there may have been a church there and which may be worth further investigation on the ground: *Church Field* (27), *Church Mead* (152), and *Near Black Acre* (154). If Ormerod's suggestion is accurate, Blakenhall in Anglo-Saxon times included under its jurisdiction Checkley, Bridgmere, Hunsterson, Lea and Doddington, and in this case it may have been a true village and have contained a church. But it is not easy to reconcile this with the fact that in *Domesday Book* it had a recorded population of six, two ploughs and land for five,⁽²⁾ for at least two more of its former townships have at some time worked town fields.

Throughout the rest of the parish the population is dispersed or semi-dispersed. Nevertheless, in nine of the remaining townships, Hunsterson, Hough, Stapeley, Checkley, Hatherton, Walgherton, Chorlton, Rope and Basford, and possibly in a tenth, Bridgmere, there is evidence of a former town field. Indeed the clearest example of a town field in the parish is at Hunsterson, a township of 1,510 acres and 36 holdings in 1842. It lies between two tributaries of the Weaver on undulating, sandy ground cut by numerous minor

⁽¹⁾ This appears to be confirmed by aerial photographs.

⁽²⁾ *Domesday Book*, fol. 267.



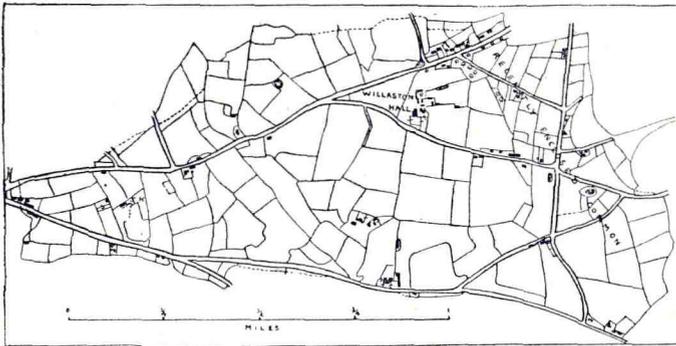
V. PART OF HUNSTERSON TOWNSHIP,
WYBUNBURY PARISH, 1842.

Type B. Semi-dispersed and dispersed with Town Field. Note the intrusion of Doddington Park in the northern part of the township and its invasion and partial absorption of the Town Field area.

valleys in the south-west of the parish. There is now no village, but a small group of half a dozen houses at Hunsterson cross-roads. Evidence of a town field or town fields is to be found in the fields all round these cross-roads. In the north-east angle, the strips still form a clear pattern (fields 34-50). The name *Town Field* or *Town Piece* occurs in four of these and in an adjoining field (31). North-west of the cross-road, fields 88 and 91 are both named *Town Field*, and in the south-west angle occur *Long Croft* (typical strip shape 290), *Wet Land* (284); and in the south-east angle *Town Field* (98) and *Pig Peas Land* (245). There is thus a well marked group of strips in the north-east angle, and evidence that the *Town Field* or *Town Fields* originally covered an area three to four times that acreage. There is no known evidence as to the organization of this field. It may have been worked as a Two- or Three-Field system by a 'lost' Anglo-Saxon community. More probably it was an originally Celtic group hybridized or even remaining predominantly Celtic in organization, so that the tendency to dispersed settlement overwhelmed a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon group which either vanished or dispersed. A striking feature of Hunsterson township

is the scatter of farms and late enclosure hamlets at the end of blind lanes, e.g. *Brown Moss*, *Pewit Hall*. Another noteworthy feature is the extension of *Doddington Park* towards the former *Town Field*, part of which it has absorbed (note also *Old Fields* (26), *Cross Field* (21)). Not least interesting, the name *Pepper Street* (16, 17) suggests a possible reason for the transient growth of a village on an early (? Roman) road.

Similar, though less interesting, evidence of former community land organization, i.e. principally of town fields and of some common holding of meadow and open pasture, is to be found on the Tithe Maps of the other eight townships named as dispersed townships with former town fields. In the cases of *Checkley*, *Hatherton* and *Hough* there may formerly have been larger nucleations. In the smaller townships of *Walgherton*, *Chorlton* and *Rope*, evidence of community organization is weaker but not inadmissible. Neither in *Shavington* nor *Willaston* does the Tithe Map bear specific evidence of a former town field. Both are dispersed. Both seem to have had common rights on the open waste, and in the mid-nineteenth century, the great majority of the occupiers were small holders. *Willaston Hall* held a small estate in *Willaston* township, otherwise both consisted entirely of scattered farms, smallholdings, some cottages with crofts and some late enclosure settlement. Apart from their names, they are un-English in type.



VI. WILLASTON TOWNSHIP, WYBUNBURY PARISH, 1845.

Type A. Dispersed with no town field. There is no evidence of any type to suggest that there was a Town Field or any communal arable land in Willaston. Note the scattered habitations and the small estate of *Willaston Hall*. The eastern side consists of *Common Allotments* where recent cottages had been built at the time of enclosure.

The two smallest townships, *Batherton* (395 acres) and *Lea* (404 acres), offer no difficulty as to classification. Both are small Farm Townships; both at the time of the Tithe Survey were wholly within the *Delves Broughton* estates. *Lea* at that time consisted of three holdings of 41, 150 and 196 acres and seven cottages. *Batherton*

lay wholly in the area of three farms of 10, 206 and 188 acres in the valley of the Weaver at its junction with Artle Brook. Judging by their pattern, they might be Celtic, Scandinavian or mediaeval in origin. But Batherton is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, when it had a recorded population of 5, with one plough and room for two.⁽¹⁾ Hence it would appear that in Batherton at least there must have been some later consolidation of holdings.

The evidence from this parish leads to the recognition of the following six types of settlement:⁽²⁾

- (D) Nucleated village with parish church and communally organized agriculture including a Town Field (Wybunbury and Weston).
- (E) Nucleated hamlet with Town Field (Blakenhall).
- (B) Semi-dispersed or dispersed settlement with Town Field (Stapeley, Hough, Hunsterson, Checkley, Hatherton, Walgherton, Rope and Basford, the last two verging on the Farm type).
- (A) Dispersed settlement with no Town Field, but with former open common pasture (Shavington and Willaston).
- (F) Farm Townships (Batherton and Lea).
- (H) Estate Township (Doddington).

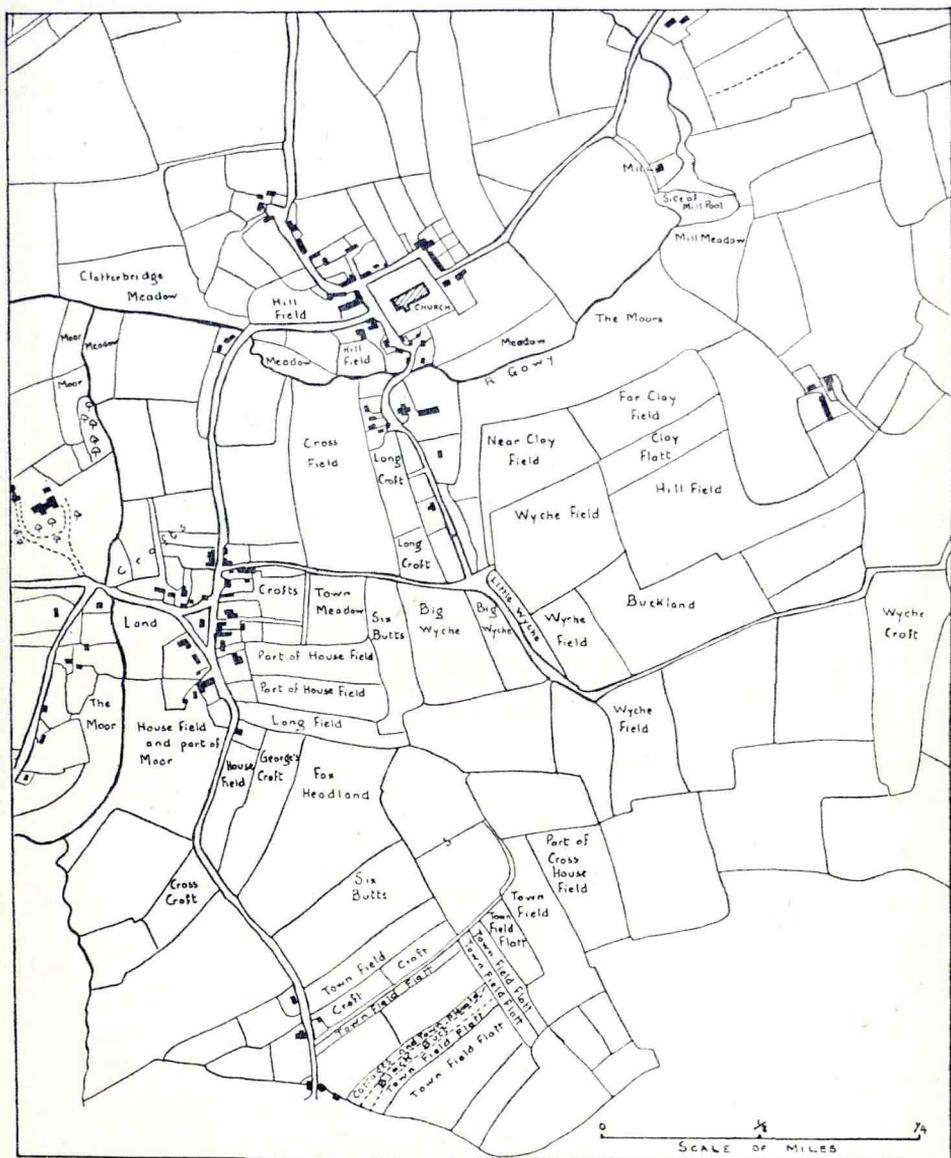
EVIDENCE FROM OTHER CHESHIRE TOWNSHIPS

It remains to examine the evidence from other parts of Cheshire to discover the value and application of this classification.

The nucleated church-village of the Wybunbury type is repeated throughout Central and East Cheshire at least, usually corresponding with the scattered old parochial centres, *e.g.* Bunbury, Weaverham, Prestbury, Astbury. As far as it has been possible to examine the evidence, there is a marked parallelism in the main features. None of these villages was originally large, all had an old parish church and a town field. The Tithe Map of Bunbury (1840) reveals one of the best examples of a Cheshire town field so far discovered by the writer, and in an interesting stage of transition to severalty holding following on enclosure. *Bunbury*, like Wybunbury, is the ancient centre of a large parish, in this case consisting of twelve townships. Among the twelve, Tiverton may be compared with Weston as a village until recently non-parochial, Calveley and Peckforton with Doddington as Estate Type townships and the remainder with the dispersed and semi-dispersed types found in Wybunbury, some of them with, and some without, town fields. Bunbury itself lies on the upper Gowy above the gap which it cuts through the Central Ridge. The village is in two parts: Upper Bunbury grouped round three sides of an elevated church, and Lower Bunbury, a less compact group at a T-road junction half a mile to the south-west. A formerly open arable field in which three strips were still shown as unenclosed on the Tithe Map, extends south of Lower Bunbury with a possible further extension north to Upper Bunbury. The shape of some of the strips is still perfectly retained, and the strips lie in parcels or furlongs at right angles to each other. The field

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, fol. 265b.

⁽²⁾ The bracketed letters refer to the types as classified in Table II.



VII. PART OF BUNBURY TOWNSHIP, PARISH OF BUNBURY, 1840.

Type D. Nucleated church-village with Town Field. Note the dual centres of Upper Bunbury occupying three sides of a square round the church, and Lower Bunbury to the west of it.

names in this portion of the map include *Six Butts* (210), *Town Field* (39), *Croft* (38), *Town Field Flatt* (112), *Lower Croft* (111), *Higher Croft* (110), *Cottages and Town Field* (452—an open strip), *Black Butt* (428), *Town Field Flatt* (68, 113, 211, 222, 426), *Town Field* (444), and *Fox Headland* (63). On the edge of this strip group are placed significantly a group of crofts of comparable shape, and from the use of the name *Croft* for some of the enclosed strips and the building of cottages on others, it would appear that this is a particularly useful example of the stages by which town field strips might be converted into cottage and croft holdings. Beyond the strip fields are names which seem frequently to occur in or near to town fields on Cheshire maps. These are: *House Field* (66, 56, 422, 421), *Cross Field* (420),⁽¹⁾ *Cross House Field* (114), *Long Field* (67), a series of *Wyche Fields* (other place names replacing Wyche elsewhere), *Clay Flatt* (54), *Hill Field* (32), *Land* (450). At this stage of the investigation of Cheshire rural settlement and Cheshire field names, it is impossible to draw final conclusions, but it is at least useful to note names, such as these, which seem constantly to be associated with open arable land. Meadow, which may have been common at one time, old scattered farms, and recently enclosed heaths with late enclosure hamlets, complete the pattern of a township in which the main features are typical of Cheshire.

At *Weaverham* we have again the mother church of a large parish, formerly serving eight townships. Weaverham is also nucleated about a church, but it is a much larger village than the others named of this type. In 1838, it contained 2,649 acres, with the proportion of arable to pasture 1 : 3, and was held in 188 separate holdings. The great majority of these holdings were of the toft and croft type and lay within the village itself. Situated in the rich valley lands of the lower Weaver, on the borders of the Forest of Delamere, Weaverham, a royal manor, was bestowed on Vale Royal Abbey in 1297, and its size and importance are thus explained. Two streets approximately at right angles are closely flanked by cottages backed by long gardens and crofts, and immediately surrounding the village are fields which on the basis of shape, name or both, give evidence of varying dependability of the extent of the former Town Field. The area to the south-east of the village has strikingly parallel, long, narrow fields, but the best of the series, jointly numbered 81, are now gardens behind cottages. Across the road from these are larger strip-shaped parcels of enclosed fields at right angles to each other, generally called Field (or a variant of this), with enclosures named *Long Field* (319-322, 874) adjoining them. Beyond these occur significant names, such as *Lake House Field* (277), *Pavement End* (278 and 311), *Higher Field* (283), *Butty Churns* (282), *Gravel Loont* (305), *School Loont* (235), and to the north, *House Field* (30), *Church Field Lands* (109), *Long Field* (112). These last merge on the north side of the village with an area, which includes the field

⁽¹⁾ See R. Stewart-Brown, "The Townfield of Liverpool, 1297-1807", *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. 68 (1916), for a description of a field "between the crosses".

names *West Hedge* (158, 159, 160) and which gives rise to the suggestion that this may have been the north-west boundary of an area of open arable, for the name has a pre-enclosure flavour.

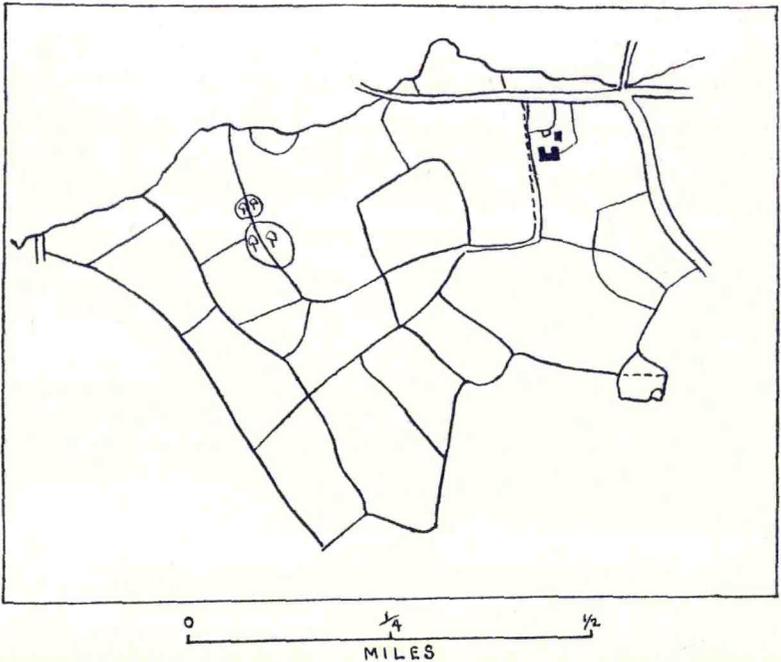
In Central and East Cheshire, at least, there are also parochial townships of comparatively ancient standing, which are entirely scattered and have no indication of former communal agriculture. These include, for example, Wistaston, on the northern edge of Wyburnbury, and Gawsworth in East Cheshire. As both are named in *Domesday Book*, they are of late Saxon or earlier origin, and both lie significantly near the late woodland areas. They may represent comparatively early examples of a long series of woodland settlements post-dating those of true communities, or they may be another variant of the dispersed, non-community type with the church added. The difference between these and the Shavington and Willaston type, however, is emphasized also by the greater importance of the estate element, and the relative unimportance of freeholders. It therefore claims a separate classification as the Dispersed Parochial Type.



VIII. PART OF WISTASTON PARISH, 1839.

Type C. Dispersed parochial. The parish is scattered with three main foci of interest: the church-hamlet, Wistaston Hall and Wistaston Manor House. There were two manors here at *Domesday* and although by 1839 Wistaston Hall owned the greater estate, Wistaston Manor and its Mill remain as evidence of the original division.

The colonization and clearing of woodland begun, we must presume, by early Celtic communities, advanced in Anglo-Saxon and in Norman times, and has continued with little break until today. We seem therefore to have in Cheshire an unbroken series of woodland settlements among which those of Norman and post-Norman date, and possibly some earlier ones as has been suggested, are distinguishable by the fact that they were made by piecemeal enclosure from the forest and were never true community settlements. Their pattern, typically that of scattered farms always presumably held in severalty and with late field names reflecting

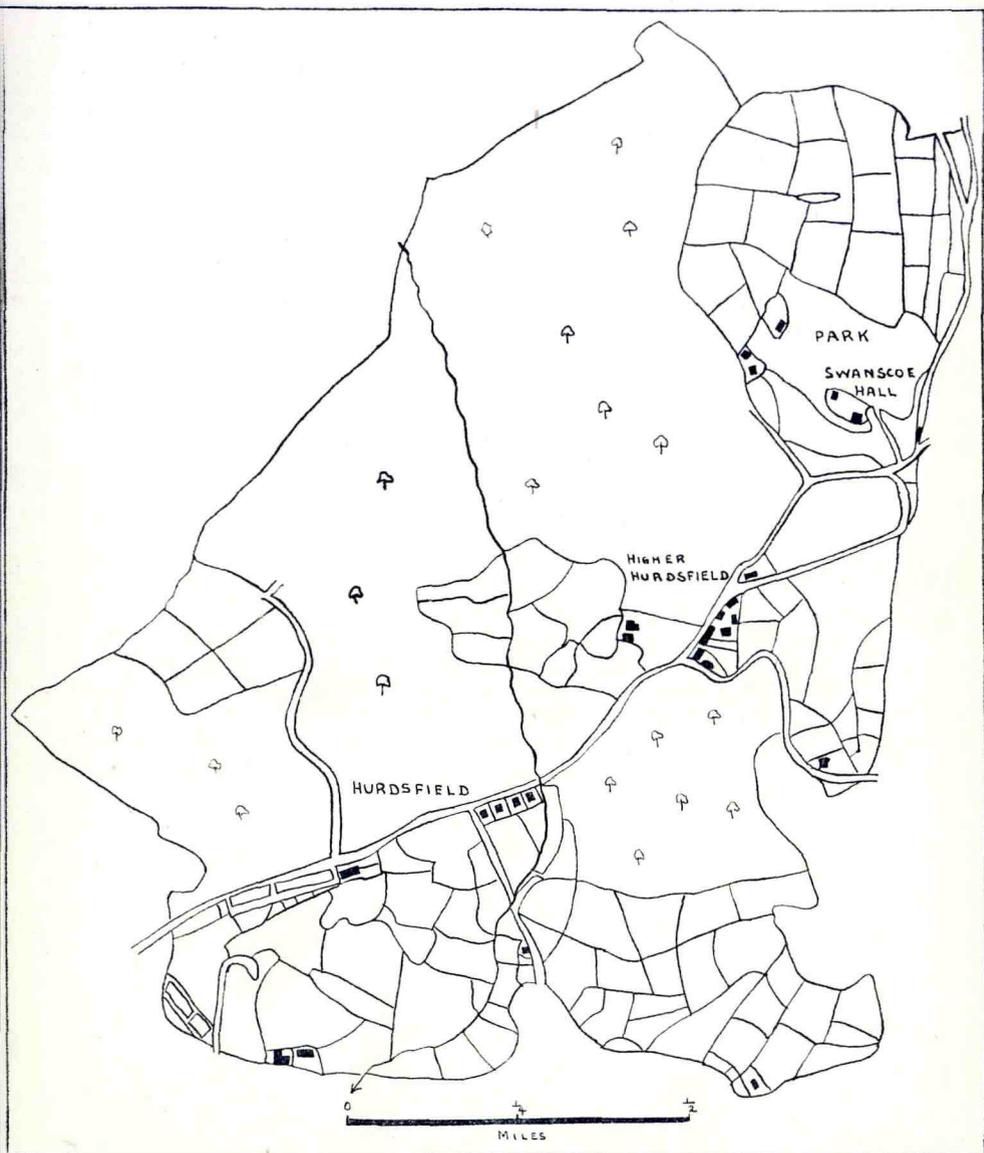


IX. BIRTLES TOWNSHIP, PARISH OF PRESTBURY, TITHE SURVEY.
Type F. This township consists of a single farm.

their woodland origin, distinguish them from the Dispersed Parochial Type. Many include large estates so that to some degree they resemble the Estate Type which is a normal development in a woodland environment. It is possible that co-aration arose in some late communities, but if so, it was probably a literal sharing of the plough rather than a territorial strip system. This Late Woodland Type of settlement is characteristic of the wooded tracts and former woodlands of and around Delamere Forest and Macclesfield Forest. A typical example from East Cheshire is Hurdsfield, in which the process of direct enclosure from the wood was still in progress when the Tithe Map was drawn, and unenclosed woodland lay between the farms. By the end of the nineteenth century the process of colonization and enclosure was complete.⁽¹⁾ Cuddington in *Weaverham* parish has an old settled centre. It added extensive enclosures on its southern edge by the enclosure award of 1760, so that it was an advanced example by the mid-nineteenth century. Oakmere and Delamere⁽²⁾ are even today in the early stages of this

⁽¹⁾ P. F. Kenworthy, "Rural Settlement in East Cheshire", unpublished thesis, University of Manchester, 1949, p. 106.

⁽²⁾ The parishes of Oakmere and Delamere were only created by the 1812 Act of Enclosure of Delamere Forest.



X. HURDSFIELD TOWNSHIP, CHAPELRY OF MACCLESFIELD, TITHE SURVEY
 Type G, Late Woodland Type. The form of the fields and the general layout still testified in the
 1840s to the piecemeal enclosure from woodland.

process, slowed down by the fact that they lie in the midst of the Crown lands. A similar process went on in some heathlands, for instance, Rudheath.

In two parts of the county, Wirral and East Cheshire, Scandinavian influences were felt in settlement history. Miss Kenworthy has traced this in a line of small settlements along the Dane Valley in which, she contends, Danish field names occur along the river zone, but are replaced by English ones away from the river as in Hulme Walfield and Somerford Radnor. She suggests that they are Anglo-Danish hybrids, hamletted or dispersed with some indication that there might have been open arable fields.⁽¹⁾ For Wirral, Leonard Wharfe has shown that there is much more evidence of Scandinavian influence on rural settlement, though it is not always possible to distinguish the pattern of Scandinavian from that of Celtic settlement, especially in Wirral where Irish-Norse were the principal Scandinavian settlers.⁽²⁾

A distinguishing feature of Wirral settlement, as of that of the Chester area, is the single-township parish, not universal but predominant. This indication of early close settlement serves further to distinguish Wirral from the rest of the county. Numerous compact villages occur, small as in other parts of Cheshire, and these Wharfe distinguishes as Anglo-Saxon, *e.g.* Great Sutton, Barnston, Ledsham and Willaston. The town field is neither strictly associated with the compact settlements nor absent from the dispersed townships, and again the conclusion is unavoidable that it is not Anglo-Saxon in origin. Primary dispersion in Wirral may be attributable either to Scandinavian or to Celtic settlement, or to their mutual influence, especially as the Norse invaders of Wirral came by way of Ireland. Numerous town fields existed in Wirral (see Appendix I) and a number of the townships, from which, Wharfe concludes, the town field was absent, bore English names (*e.g.* Bidston, Moreton and Saughall Massie), but, as we have seen in the case of Central and South-east Cheshire, an English name is no proof that a settlement is predominantly English in type. Similarly, field name evidence must be treated with caution after so long a period of Anglicisation. There is, however, a broad correspondence between areas of Welsh and Scandinavian place names and those of dispersed settlement, despite the case of Irby.

CONCLUSIONS

Some tentative conclusions may now be drawn, though with the full and frank recognition that a vast amount of investigation is still required on this subject, both in Cheshire and elsewhere. The present paper is intended as a pilot study, to review what, it is believed, are characteristic Cheshire settlements, and to provide a working classification by which other townships may be measured,

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁽²⁾ L. Wharfe, "Rural Settlement in Wirral", unpublished thesis, University of Manchester, 1947.

and so confirm or modify the tentative conclusions which alone can be made at this stage.

The classification presented in Table II summarizes the method of approach, the principal standard primary types recognized and the secondary or intrusive types which are frequently grafted on to them. Eight primary types (lettered A to H) and six secondary types (a to f) seem to recur sufficiently often to justify their definition as standard, but it is only necessary to compare the seven examples of Type B (Semi-dispersed and Dispersed with Town Field) in Wybunbury parish to make it clear that even major patterns are variable. Historic change such as invasion of the early Celtic community-territories by Anglo-Saxons produced hybrids, it would seem, with varying degrees of the parent elements. The intrusion of the Norman or later park-estate element profoundly modified both the communities and their lands in certain instances, as at Walgherton and Hunsterson, overlaying the town field area in part, and in other cases no doubt overwhelming them completely. The early and later enclosure movements resulted in the formation of many farms on new and old land, the partial or complete erasure of most of the town fields and perhaps of common holdings in meadow and moss-land. The process of the consolidation of holdings, whereby large holdings absorbed and obliterated lesser ones, no doubt, continued for centuries, thus making it difficult to distinguish between primary dispersal of the Celtic and Scandinavian types and later farm growth. Such are the difficulties from the historical side alone, but the complexities of the subject must not be allowed to obscure some of the outstanding features of Cheshire settlement, which, it is hoped, such studies as the present one may help to elucidate.

The classification offered in Table II will make clear the fourfold basis of the present analysis of settlement, and only by using a comprehensive method can the dangers of approach from a limited angle be avoided. The time has passed when a simple classification of the village on, say, the basis of site or grouping alone, is adequate to meet the recognized complexities of the subject. It is suggested that every one of the four bases of classification—the ground pattern, the economic pattern, the social structure, and the history and origin—is essential to the full understanding of rural settlements. The relative weight and influence of each must vary from region to region and from community to community, hence the dominance of the physical pattern in regions of high mountains and narrow valleys, and its negligible influence in lowlands which have experienced a multiplicity of invasions. Historically, it is necessary to consider not only origins but the curve of later development, and so to distinguish between areas where a relatively smooth curve can be traced, as in single-culture regions,⁽¹⁾ and the sharp breaks which occur in counties such as Cheshire subject to invasion and ethnic mingling, with many resulting hybrids instead of a predominance of

⁽¹⁾ D. Sylvester, "Rural Settlement in Anglesey", Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society (1949), pp. 1-24.

pure settlement types, and disjunctive series instead of unbroken evolutionary series.

Much remains to be done before a map of type distributions can be made on the basis of the classification offered, or an extended or corrected classification which may result from further investigation. But certain broad conclusions, which may be summarized, suggest themselves at the present stage. First, Cheshire is a county of basically Celtic settlement, into which a relatively thin stream of Anglo-Saxon immigrants intruded comparatively late, and in certain parts of which Irish-Norse, in a fairly close settlement of north Wirral, and Danes, sparsely scattered in the east, also contributed to the hybridization of the originally Celtic settlement types. The result is a mingling such as could be expected in a border area. Secondly, the predominance of Welsh and, in north Wirral, of Scandinavian peoples has produced widespread primary dispersal into which the Anglo-Saxons appear, somewhat ineffectively, to have attempted to introduce nucleated villages, few in number, therefore, and relatively small in size. The resulting groupings of habitation display a mingling of dispersal and nucleation, the former reinforced by extensive post-Norman colonization, the latter only by loose hamlets associated with late enclosure of the commons, and by non-agricultural compact modern settlements, both of which are intrusive and not primary. Some regions, such as Wirral and the Chester plain, have a greater concentration of compact villages than others, but no part of Cheshire compares with the typically "English" areas of the east Midlands and south-central England with their large nucleated villages, their single-township parishes and their developed Two- and Three-Field systems of arable cultivation.

Thirdly, there remains the difficult problem of the form and distribution of open arable fields in Cheshire of which the present study only touches the fringe. It is becoming increasingly evident as township maps are examined that the town field was widespread, though by no means universal in Cheshire.⁽¹⁾ Of the mode of working the open arable little is at present known, but the nineteenth century vestiges suggest the small extent of such land, and comparison with Anglesey maps renders it far from improbable that Cheshire worked a Celtic type of open arable field, in many cases evolving from an in- and out-field⁽²⁾ to a true two-field system and perhaps encouraged in this direction by Anglo-Saxon influence, in others never developing beyond the embryonic stage of co-aration practised over unsystematized strips. The common term seems to be *Town Field* and comparisons with recent work on open arable fields in Devonshire⁽³⁾ suggest a certain parallelism in the two counties, but more early documentation, wider knowledge of field names, ridge and furrow distribution and the evidence of aerial photography are needed before the Cheshire field system can be fully

⁽¹⁾ See Appendix.

⁽²⁾ Field names on some of the Tithe Apportionment lists give evidence of this as at Tarvin.

⁽³⁾ A. H. Shorter, "Landscape, Stitch and Quillet Fields in Devon", *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 303 (1949).

elucidated. However, the probable relationships with English and Celtic systems at least suggest future lines of investigation, and the question of rural settlement in the Welsh Border and the influences of the history of settlement, the movements of peoples, and the ebb and flow across a physical and a political border region offer vistas as fascinating as they are complex.

The prospect of completing a series of maps of settlement geography and history for the county, to solve the problems set forth is distant, perhaps, but in progress; and a number of workers are already contributing to make this possible. Then, and only then, can the regional relationships and divisions and the evolution of settlement patterns and systems of land use be fully interpreted.

APPENDIX

Below is appended a list of those Cheshire townships in which there is documentary evidence of the former existence of a Town Field. Information as to the existence of others would be welcomed by the writer.

	<i>Evidence from Tithe Maps</i>	<i>Evidence from earlier sources</i>
1 <i>H. L. Gray's List</i>		
Chester	Wybunbury	2 Stanney, 1736
Bowdon	Weston, Wybunbury	7 Bollington
Handbridge	Blakenhall, „	7 Stockport
Tilston	Stapeley, „	8 Tarporley, C18 enclosure
Horton (Tilston)	Hough, „	8 Eaton, C18 enclosure
Claverton	Hunston, „	
Newton near Chester	Checkley, „	7 Macclesfield
Aston (? which)	Hatherton, „	
Leese	Walgherton, „	
Bromborough	Chorlton, „	
Lawton (? which)	Rope, „	
	Basford, „	
	Bunbury	
	Weaverham	
2 <i>E. H. Rideout</i>		
Great Meols	4 Tarvin	
Wallasey	4 Oscroft, Tarvin	
Willaston (Wirral)	4 Tiverton	
	4 Tilston	
3 <i>Palmer and Owen</i>	5 Prestbury (weak)	
Mobberley	5 Astbury	
	5 Knutsford	
	5 Lower Peover	
	5 Cranage	
	5 Goostrey	
	5 Pownall Fee, Wilmslow	
	6 Eastham	
	6 Irby	
	6 Barnston (weak)	
	6 Great Sutton	
	6 Ledsham	
	6 Leighton	
	4 Tiverton, Bunbury	
	4 Kelsall, Tarvin	
	4 Burton, „	

Evidence from Tithe Maps

4	Duddon, Tarvin
4	Clotton, „
4	Foulk Stapleford, Tarvin (weak)
4	Brian Stapleford, „ (weak)
4	Mouldsworth, Tarvin
4	Ashton, „ (weak)
4	Hoofield, „ (weak)
4	Stretton, „ (weak)
4	Horton, Tilston
4	Carden, Tilston
4	Fardon
4	Aldford
8	Frodsham
4	Shocklach
4	Caldecott, Shocklach
	Barnton, Great Budworth

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 249-267.(2) "Wirral Field Names", *TRANSACTIONS*, Vol. 40 (1924), p. 138.(3) *History of Ancient Tenures of Land in North Wales and the Marches* (1910), p. 16.

(4) Information made available by Mrs. Vera Chapman.

(5) „ „ „ „ Mrs. Pauline Brookes (*née* Kenworthy).

(6) „ „ „ „ Mr. Leonard Wharfe.

(7) „ „ „ „ Mrs. S. Davies.

(8) „ „ „ „ Mr. K. M. Jones.

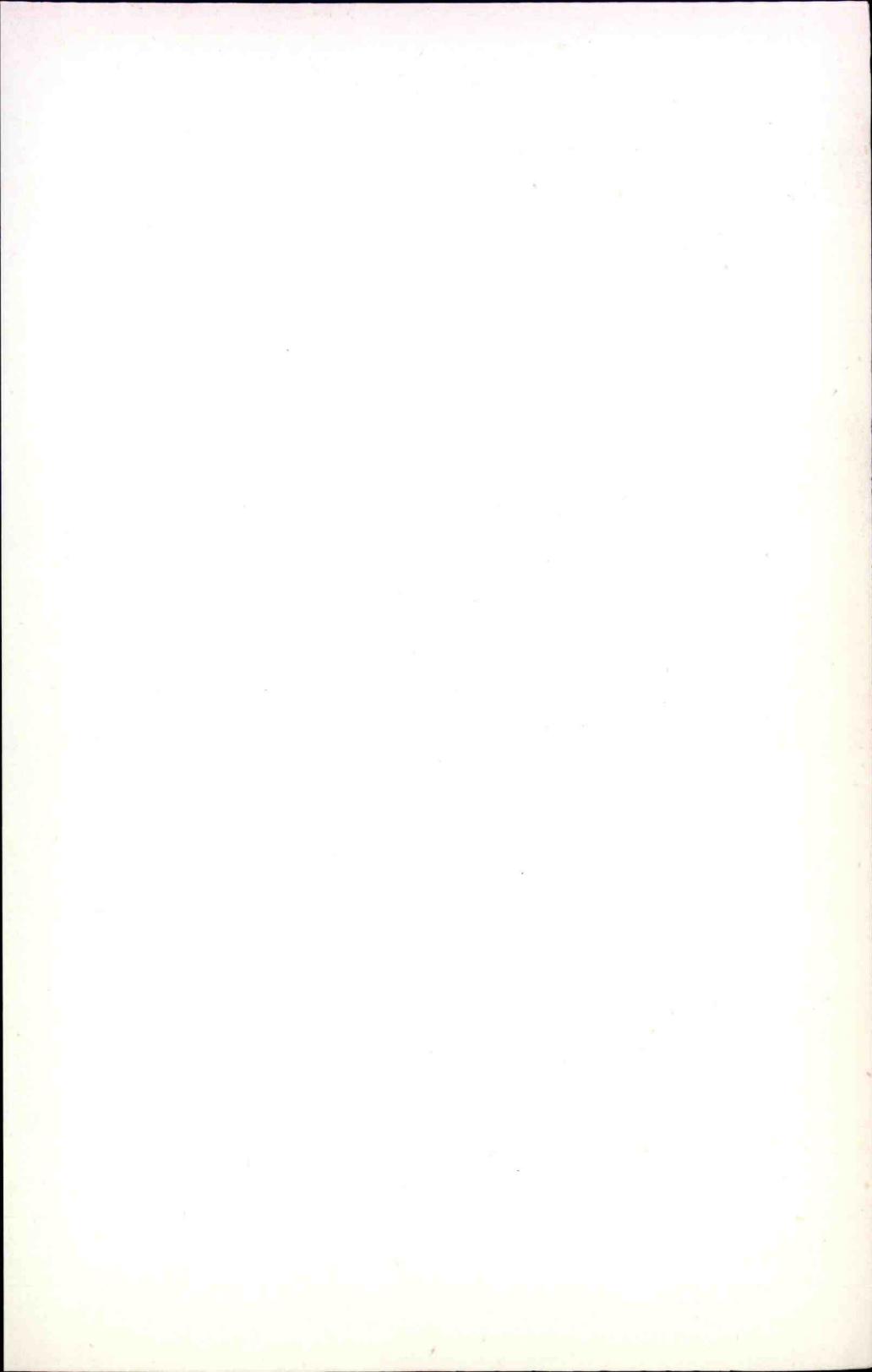


TABLE II.—CLASSIFICATION OF RURAL SETTLEMENT TYPES IN CHESHIRE

PRIMARY (TOWNSHIPS)

	Type	Ground Pattern			Economic Pattern		Social Structure	History and Origin
		Grouping	Site	Plan	Economy	Fields and Land		
A	DISPERSED with no Town Field, e.g. Willaston (Wybunbury)	Dispersed.	Various, typically interfluvial.	—	Pasture predominant.	No evidence of open arable, Common pasture.	Small holders and cottagers predominant.	? Welsh (or some Scandinavian).
		B	SEMI-DISPERSED and DISPERSED with Town Field e.g. Walgerton (Wybunbury), Leighton (Wirral)	Do.	—	Do.	Open arable, Common pasture.	Small holders and larger farmers with a few cottagers.
C	DISPERSED PAROCHIAL, e.g. Wistaston, Gawsworth, Eaton, Odd Rode	Dispersal or embryonic village and dispersal.	Various.	—	Do.	Open arable absent or rare. Common pasture, sometimes in woodland. Park-estate element.	Lord of manor. Farmers and cottagers.	? Welsh or Anglo-Saxon or both
D	NUCLEATED VILLAGE especially church villages, e.g. Wybunbury, Astbury, Tarvin, Bumbury, Gt. Sutton	Compact village often with dispersal (? primary or secondary).	Various, but typically valley or commanding position in lowland.	Street, green, etc.	Pasture predominant but high proportion of arable than in dispersed types.	Open arable in known cases. Common pasture. Sometimes common in grass-land and ? meadow.	Typically graded hierarchy with numbers increasing evenly from large to small holdings.	? Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic hybrids.
E	LARGER OLD HAMLETS with Town Field, e.g. Blakenhall (Wybunbury).	Medium-sized nucleation with outlying farms (? some former villages).	Typically in open plain, or in interfluves or in minor valleys.	Street, etc.	Pasture predominant but with considerable arable in some cases.	Open arable. Common pasture. Old-established farms.	Even distribution of holdings of various sizes.	? Welsh or Anglo-Celtic hybrids.

DISPERSED ALLODIAL
OR
COMMUNITY TYPESNUCLEATED
COMMUNITY
TYPES

DISPERSED INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS OR ALLDIAL TYPES		Indeterminate.	—	Mixed farming predominantly pastoral.	Severalty holding. ? in some cases consolidation of former community lands.	A few large farms. May be one or two cottagers	May be any date. Some may be Welsh or Scandinavian.
F	FARM TYPE, e.g. Lea (Wybunbury), Wardle (Bunbury), Fallibroome (Prestbury) Noctorum.	Small number of farms. An occasional cottage.	—	—	—	—	—
G	LATE WOODLAND OF HEATH TYPE, e.g. Hurdfield, Delamere, Nether Peover.	Dispersed.	Indeterminate.	Woodland pastoralism, fruit growing, etc.	Severalty holding.	Farmers and small holders.	Norman or later.
H	PARK-ESTATE TYPE, e.g. Doddington, Cholmondeley, Bostock, Calveley.	Central feature the park. Mill, lodge, cottages, perhaps small estate-	Indeterminate.	Park. One or two mixed farms.	Individual ownership. May be entirely in hands of lord of manor.	Lord of manor. May be one or two farmers. Estate workers.	Norman or later.

SECONDARY (INTRUSIVE) TYPES, i.e. occurring within a Primary Type.

- a. Park-estate, where intrusive in an earlier community.
- b. Individual farms resulting on consolidation of holdings or enclosure of waste (numerous).
- c. Enclosure hamlets, mainly nineteenth century.
- d. Squatting groups, generally Elizabethan or later.
- e. Late nucleations expanding within a formerly dispersed community.
- f. Cross-road hamlets.

Note that the combination of one or more patterns, primary or secondary, results in many variations from the above which are postulated as standard types.

