

- 1975: Turner: Family Name Survey County List - TYRONE.  
 1976: Adams & Turner: 'A Family Name Survey of Northern Ireland' in The Study of the Personal Names of the British Isles, ed. H. Voiti (Erlangen, 1976), pp. 114/118.  
 1977: Adams: 'The Progress of Name Studies in the North of Ireland' in NOMINA vol.1, no.1, pp. 16/20.  
 1978: Adams: 'Surname Landscapes', Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society, 2nd ser., vol.1, pp. 27-39.

6.6 Since the Irish surname system extends into Scotland and the Isle of Man and since both have contributed many surnames of both Irish and West European type to the north of Ireland in particular, two books may be mentioned that provide much useful background information for the study of surnames in Ireland, namely: The Surnames of Scotland by George F. Black (New York, 1946) and The Personal Names of the Isle of Man by J.J. Kneen (London, 1937), both of which supplement the works of Matheson, Woulfe and MacLysaght.

G.B. ADAMS, M.R.I.A.

Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, Cultra

PLACE-NAMES AND PAYS: THE KENTISH EVIDENCE\*

1. Introductory

One of the most frequent questions facing anyone interested in the settlement history of this country is the elementary one: when did such and such a place originate? Only in a tiny minority of cases are we ever likely to know the precise answer to that question; but although precise dating is usually impossible there are various lines of argument that may be followed up to reconstruct a relative chronology of settlement. Probably the three principal lines of enquiry are the typology of early place-names, the evidence of archaeology, and what might broadly be called the evidence of topography. There is a fourth line of argument, however, that has been utilized in the past, and that in my view might be more widely exploited, and that is the examination of settlement in relation to types of countryside or kinds of pays. This is the approach to the problem of working out a relative chronology that I should like to explore in this paper. I shall not say much about place-names as such, apart from a few general observations on their typology. Instead I shall try to provide a broad topographical framework within which, it seems to me, it is necessary to examine them.

From some experience as a local and agrarian historian, and from an examination of settlement topography in a number of areas, particularly in Kent, I am convinced that these differences of pays were matters of the first importance to primitive peoples, as they also were to those of later centuries, and that we need to sense their characteristics as they appeared to the original colonists. The way settlement developed in this country was not haphazard. The distinctive features and diverse agrarian potential of each pays were crucial matters in shaping its colonization, affecting not only the kind of place to which it gave rise but the period during which it was settled. Owing to the varied physical structure of this island, moreover, these different types of country often occur within short distances of one another. They have often given rise to marked variations within a single county, and they are normally more important in moulding the pattern and direction of colonization than the political or administrative units of kingdom and shire.

In making that remark I am in no way tilting at county studies, which are also essential. But we need to remember that the counties themselves are divided into contrasting zones of settlement; that these zones often stretch across the borders of one shire into the next; and that their essential characteristics are often echoed on similar landforms and similar geological formations elsewhere. To take one example, there are obvious resemblances between the settlement of the Weald of Kent and the Weald of Sussex, and the whole Wealden area is in most respects more like the Forest of Arden, say, or even parts of Sherwood, than it is like the Marshland or the coastal plain of Sussex and Kent. Or to take another example, there are closer resemblances between the Gault Vale settlements of Kent on one hand, and of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire on the other, than there are between those of the Kentish Gault and Romney Marsh. That does not mean that the course of settlement can be explained by crude determinism; but it does mean that it is shaped by a whole range of complex human responses to those varied natural and agrarian environments that, for want of a better term, I have described as types of country or pays. The fact that in Kent alone nearly a thousand years elapsed between the oldest English settlements of the coastal plain and the latest

in the Weald bears striking testimony to the profound effect of these differences of countryside upon the course of colonization.<sup>1</sup>

In an article in the *Journal of Historical Geography* in 1977 I endeavoured to describe two of these contrasting zones of settlement or pays, and to indicate their characteristic periods of origin.<sup>2</sup> The examples I drew on were derived mainly from Kent, but I suggested that their dominant characteristics were to some extent repeated elsewhere, and might well be worth following up in other regions.<sup>3</sup> I shall adopt the same technique in the present paper, once again taking my examples principally from Kent, and exploring a number of new lines of approach. To begin with, however, I must broadly indicate some of the dominant characteristics of the Kentish landscape which need to be borne in mind in looking for parallels in other counties, and which in some respects limit the validity of comparison.<sup>4</sup>

First, the Kentish landscape is one whose various zones of settlement or pays are unusually sharply contrasted: not only in respect of settlement-origins, but also in terms of agrarian potential, relative wealth or poverty, density of population, and type of parish and local community. Secondly, it is a landscape where in most parts settlement has been shaped overwhelmingly by the presence of woodland. When the first English invaders arrived, not only the Weald, but the Chartland and the Downland too, were essentially forest regions, and these three zones together comprised quite two-thirds of the county. Recently, increasing evidence has come to my notice that substantial stretches of the early-settled Foothill zone or coastal plain of Kent were also at that time well-wooded, particularly between Canterbury and Rochester.<sup>5</sup> Even areas like Romney Marsh and the Isle of Thanet have not always borne their modern woodless appearance.<sup>6</sup> Thirdly, in part as a consequence of this wooded character, but also for other reasons, the development of the Kentish landscape has been very largely shaped by a predominantly pastoral society, in earlier centuries basing its economy perhaps chiefly on swine, but in later centuries rather on cattle and above all on sheep. Some people are surprised to learn that Kent has perhaps always and certainly for a long time been the most pastoral county of the Lowland Zone, and that until the 1960's there were still more sheep to the acre there than in any other county save Cumberland, Northumberland, and the Pennine parts of Yorkshire.

Fourthly, the Kentish landscape is essentially one of scattered settlement, where most of the thousands of isolated farms and small hamlets still occupy their ancient sites, and where villages mostly originated as little market towns or craftsmen's centres rather than as true farming communities. For that reason, it is very rare in any part of Kent to find a farmstead sited in a village; and although in some areas there were certainly open fields of a kind, there seems to be little or no evidence that these were ever communally organized as in the Midlands, or ever demanded a village community to operate them.<sup>7</sup> The reasons for this well-known peculiarity of Kent have given rise to a good deal of debate. Some authorities have ascribed it to so-called Jutish influence; but since it also characterized much of East Sussex and Surrey, the 'Jutish' explanation has never seemed altogether convincing.<sup>8</sup> Others have posited a Celtic, or at least pre-English, stratum in the Kentish landscape, and in the earliest-settled parts of the county, where arguments for continuity are strong, this is probably the most satisfactory explanation.<sup>9</sup> Certainly there are close resemblances between Kentish and Welsh or West Country settlement; but it must also be added that in the later-settled

parts of the county the scattered nature of settlement is as easily explained in terms of forest clearance and pastoral usage. For pasture farming does not necessitate co-operative effort in the same way as ploughing and reaping, and hence often gives rise to a landscape of dispersed farmsteads.

Fifthly, along with this scattered settlement-pattern, we have perhaps the most obvious characteristic of the county, and that is the massive number of surviving place-names. There are often more than 20 ancient settlement-names in a single one of the 400 or so surviving parishes of the county, and in the largest parishes there are often more than 50. On a typical sheet of the 2½" map, that covering the Downland south of Canterbury (TR14), more than 170 settlements are marked by name, and another fifty names relate to woods and other topographical features. Nearly half these names are discussed by Wallenberg in his two volumes on the county and certainly relate to medieval or pre-Conquest colonization, while most of the remaining half, to judge by their name-forms - in lēah, hām, hamm, dūn, and so on - are also probably of medieval or earlier origin. That particular sheet covers only one forty-fifth of the county and would suggest a total of about 8,000 place-names on the complete survey; but since many ancient farm-sites are not actually named on the 2½" maps, the real total of historic settlement-names probably exceeds 12,000. When examined in the light of local topography, and in conjunction with the many thousands of surviving woods and shaws in the county, most of which also bear names of their own, this vast corpus of place-names indicates wide variations of settlement-dating and settlement-typology, sometimes even within the same parish. It also enables us to identify the different zones of colonization, and to trace the course of settlement from one to the other, more precisely than in most counties. It disposes entirely of what I think of as the 'tidal-wave' theory of settlement, according to which the original English tribes colonized an area like Kent more or less completely before pressing on to other parts of the country. The merest glance at the evidence of the landscape, as distinct from that of written records, forbids us to subscribe to such a view.

Sixthly, coupled with this survival of ancient place-names, we also have in Kent a landscape which, outside the urban areas, has in most parts been less subject to the revolutionary changes of recent centuries, such as parliamentary enclosure, than in the common-field counties. Naturally, there is no exact identity between past and present; but in Kent it is usually easier to trace the basic structure of a medieval landscape within that of today, just as it is in Devon, than in areas like Leicestershire. In the Weald and Downland, for example, there are whole tracts of countryside still fretted with the crooked shaws and twisting hedgerows characteristic of medieval assarting. Much of the change that has taken place, moreover, such as the development of fruit- and hop-farming since the sixteenth century, has been fitted into the ancient framework of lanes, woods, fields, farms, and hamlets. One little indication of that fact is that at least 5,000 buildings in Kent not only occupy their old sites but are still basically medieval or sub-medieval structures.<sup>10</sup>

Seventh, and finally, behind this survival of an older landscape within that of the present day, what we also see is the survival of an older form of social organization, encapsulated, as it were, within the society of later centuries. The outlines of this organization were fortunately still traceable, moreover, when Edward Hasted took up his pen

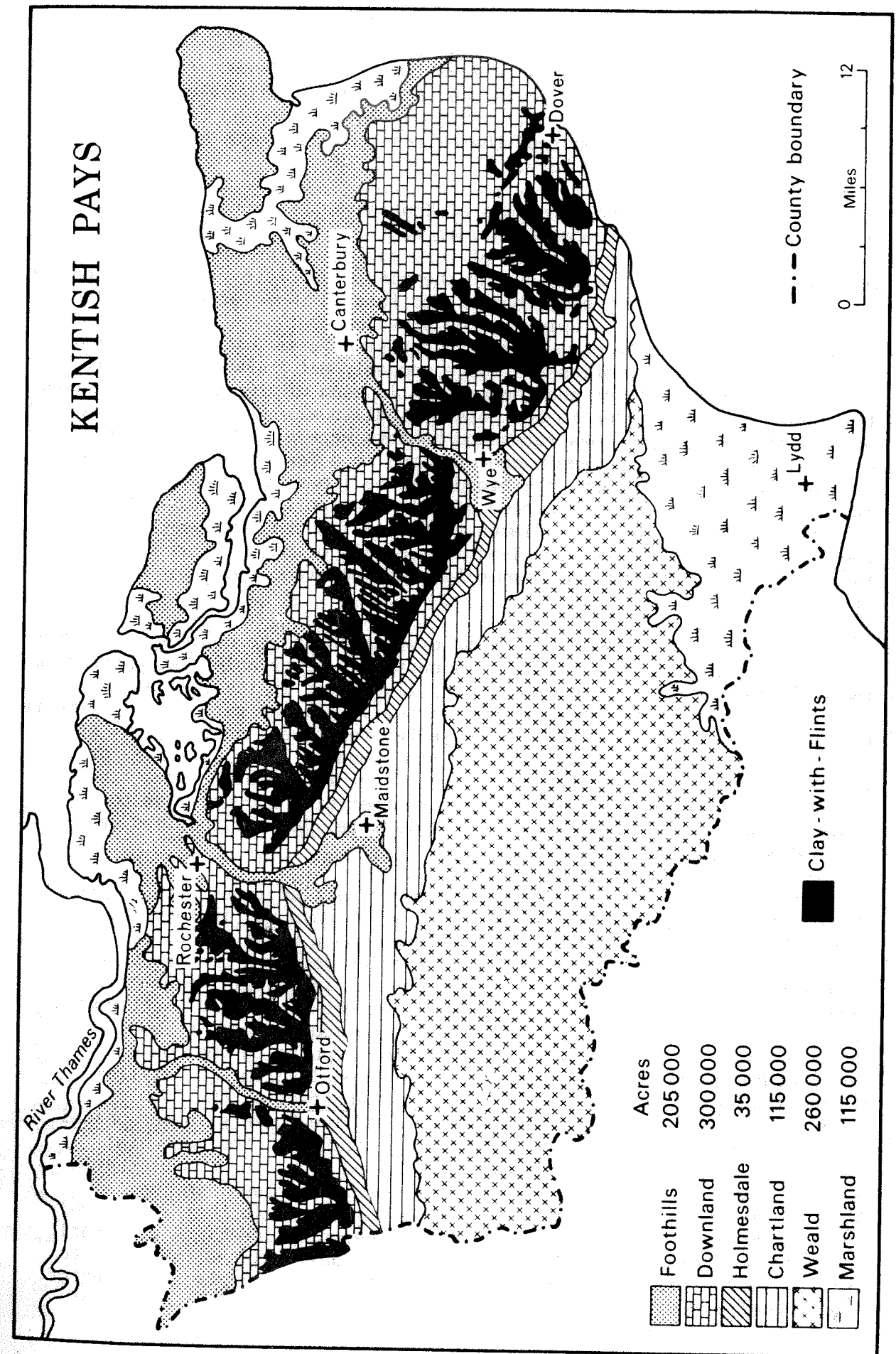
in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and are often minutely recorded from parish to parish in the twelve volumes of his *History and Topographical Survey*. His painstaking documentation of the structure of paramount and subordinate manors, for example, with their intricate and at times conflicting jurisdictions, their scattered members and detached outliers, affords many important clues to settlement origins in Kent, not only enabling us to formulate a relative chronology, but also pointing to that ancient practice of transhumance which shaped so much of the colonization of the county.<sup>11</sup>

In view of these local characteristics, or at least some of them, there are dangers in extrapolating from the Kentish evidence when turning to other parts of the country, particularly in the common-field areas. But there are also advantages in taking Kent as a case-study, of which the most obvious is the abundance of the evidence. There are grounds for thinking, moreover, that in their original development the landscape and society of the county were not so eccentric as they appear to be in later centuries, and that as we go back in time the parallels in other areas in some important respects increase rather than diminish.<sup>12</sup> It seems to me, therefore, that the sequence and characteristics of Kentish colonization, and the division of the county into sharply differentiated zones or *pays*, are worth bearing in mind when turning to other areas. There are certainly some significant parallels between the Kentish Downs and the Chilterns, for example, though there are also, of course, a number of fundamental differences.

II. Zones of Settlement and their Dating

What, then, were these sharply differentiated *pays*, or zones of settlement in Kent, and how may we distinguish them? First, I shall briefly define the six principal zones or types of countryside, and indicate their characteristic periods of settlement. Then I shall turn to some of the means for identifying these periods of settlement.

In the article in the *Journal of Historical Geography* the two contrasting types of country I described were: first, the very early-settled Foothills along the northern fringe of the shire, with their ancient river and springhead estate-centres; and secondly, the related but very different Wold or Downland area lying to the south, which originated as an outlying region of wood-pasture at first dependent on the Foothills, and which was first substantially colonized during the middle Old English period. To these two areas must be added a further zone of very early settlement, though probably not everywhere quite as early as the Foothills, and that is the vale lying between the Downland escarpment to the north and the Chartland or Stone Hills to the south. To the west of the Medway this vale has always been called Holmesdale, and for convenience' sake I shall extend that term to the valley as a whole in this article.<sup>13</sup> In three places the Foothills and Holmesdale are connected by river-valleys cutting through the Downs by way of the Darent, the Medway, and the Stour; and in each of these valleys a further scatter of early settlements reaches as far as Otford on the Darent, Maidstone or perhaps Yalding on the Medway, and Wye or perhaps Ashford on the Stour. To the south of those three points, and to the south of Holmesdale generally, the original primary settlement of the county came to an abrupt halt on the edge of the two forest regions, namely the Chartland and the Weald. In the former of these, there were several early colonizations on the more fertile central and eastern stretches of Chart, perhaps dating from the seventh



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the Permission of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Crown Copyright Reserved

century; but otherwise permanent settlement of both Weald and Chartland tended to be very late, rarely beginning before the late Old English period, and at many points not until after the Conquest.<sup>14</sup> The sixth zone of settlement was the Marshland, which like the forest zones was, with one or two interesting exceptions, a region of late colonization, much of it not taking place until after the Conquest owing to problems of reclamation, although most of the churches of the Marsh had been founded by the eleventh century.

This general outline or schema of Kentish settlement is a simplified one, and I must add one important rider to it. In thinking of the Foothills and Holmesdale as zones of very early settlement, or of the Downland as an area colonized during the middle and late Old English period, we must not imagine that every hamlet and farm in those areas dates from the period in question. Owing to the prevalence of late-cleared woodland in most parts of the county, there are outlying farms and hamlets even in the most ancient territories that were probably not founded until late in the Saxon period or after the Conquest. In each of the six zones, indeed, there are wide variations in the date of individual settlements and, as in other woodland regions, new farms and hamlets were still appearing on marginal land in the sixteenth century, and in a few places as late as the eighteenth. Nevertheless, the broad outline I have described does indicate the characteristic period of colonization in each zone, which is what we want to arrive at. Places that were founded subsequently to these were generally minor settlements, usually originating as isolated farms, or else as squatters' communities and clearances of poor heath and 'ruffitland'.

The two areas to which I wish to draw attention to begin with are the Foothills and Holmesdale. For it is certainly remarkable that apart from two or three clearly exceptional places like Dover in its Downland combe and Lydd at the tip of Romney Marsh, virtually all the earliest settlements of the county are concentrated in these two relatively narrow bands of countryside, with their fertile soils and abundant water supplies, or in the three river-valleys connecting them. For that reason I describe these two regions, which cover about a quarter of the county, as the Original Lands of the Jutes, if Jutes they were, just as they had been of their Romano-British predecessors.

How then do I know that these two early-settled zones were indeed the Original Lands of the county? What means have we, in fact, for identifying the general period of settlement of a whole arc of country, particularly if one suspects that it was colonized at a remote period? In answering that question I shall not discuss in detail the general means available for identifying agrarian regions or zones of settlement. Most of us will probably already know of such sources as the Land Utilization Survey, for example; the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture in the Napoleonic Wars; the regional volumes of William Marshall's Rural Economy and his Review and Abstract of the County Reports; early nineteenth-century handbooks like Cooke's Topographical and Statistical Description ... of Kent (of c.1820); the parochial surveys of older county historians like Hasted; or, for the sixteenth century, Joan Thirsk's basic chapter on 'Farming Regions' in The Agrarian History of England, IV, 1500-1640 (1967). To that I will only add that recent farming regions are not necessarily identical with early zones of settlement, though they are often closely related, and that to some extent the perception of these zones is a matter of trial and error. What I really want to discuss is three of the more important bodies of

evidence or lines of approach that we can follow up in Kent for reconstructing a relative chronology of settlement for each zone or pays. These are: first, the evidence of what I call the Seminal Places; second, the evidence of pre-Conquest charters; and third, the evidence of the dens or swine-pastures, and the custom of transhumance.

### III. The Seminal Settlements of the Original Lands

By the evidence of the Seminal Places what I mean is this. In studying the early history of Kent there are perhaps 40 or 45 specially prominent settlements that one seems to be brought back to again and again by each available line of enquiry. They are more than merely primary settlements: they are peculiarly focal places, places where things always seem to happen, places that attracted each successive wave of invaders, each successive development in the early history of the shire. They are places where, amongst other features, the arguments for continuity between Roman and English seem particularly cogent, perhaps as cogent as anywhere in England, and in this connexion the names of some of them will be familiar to you, such as Canterbury, Rochester, Dover, Reculver, and Lympne. In speaking of Seminal Settlements, however, I am not thinking only of well-known archaeological sites like these, but also of places like Maidstone and Aylesford in the Medway Valley; Wrotham, Darenth, and Otford in West Kent; Wye, Lyminge, and Folkestone along the southern edge of the Downs; Faversham and Milton Regis to the north of the Downland; or Eastry, Sturry, and Wickhambreaux beyond Canterbury. Now the significant fact about all these Seminal Settlements is that they are not scattered haphazardly over the county but are clearly related to certain types of country. Apart from Dover and Lydd, and perhaps Keston, not one is located on the Downland or Chartland, not one in the Weald or Marsh. They are all plainly grouped along the Foothills or in Holmesdale, or, to borrow Professor Du Boulay's illuminating phrase, in the Old Arable Lands of Kent. They all point, in short, to these two zones as indeed the Original Lands of the county, both of the Jutes and of their Romano-British predecessors.

What then are the marks and signs by which we may recognize these Seminal Settlements? Not all of them are equally easy to identify, and not all evince the full complement of primitive features; but in each case a number of lines of evidence clearly converge upon them, and it is this conjunction of evidence that is significant. They tend, as you would expect, to bear primitive English name-forms, like Sturry and Eastry, or in several cases names of pre-English origin, as at Lympne, Dover, Darenth, and Reculver. All of them are sited by rivers or major springheads, and most of them by recognized prehistoric routeways like Watling Street, the Pilgrims' Way, or the Greenway. Almost all of them are associated with more or less striking concentrations or complexes of archaeological evidence,<sup>15</sup> as at Faversham and Milton Regis, and in a number of cases they are well known as former Roman or Romano-British communities. In several cases they were certainly villae regales, and in most they became notable centres of early Anglo-Saxon estates, as at Milton and Eastry. In almost all of them early minsters or mother-churches were established, and most of them became caputs of the greater monastic manors of Christ Church, Rochester, or St Augustine's. Many of them were either centres of the early lathes of Kent, like Sturry and Wye, or else were associated with the county's prehistoric meeting-places, as at Maidstone and Folkestone. Finally, in later centuries, we find that several of them were prescriptive (or traditional) markets, like Maidstone, Milton, and Dartford, probably originating as such well before the Conquest;

while in almost every case they became significant market-centres of some kind. Naturally, the pattern I am describing may not everywhere be as plainly delineated as in Kent, where the Roman contribution to the landscape is particularly prominent. But there are clearly many examples elsewhere of the kind of place I refer to: one thinks of Hitchin in Hertfordshire, for instance, Wendover in Buckinghamshire, Oundle in Northamptonshire, Luton in Bedfordshire, Banbury in Oxfordshire, and Wimborne Minster in Dorset - to name but a few.

IV. The Evidence of Pre-Conquest Charters

Next I turn to the evidence of pre-Conquest charter-material. The abundance of early Kentish charters is well known and is obviously of crucial importance for reconstructing a chronology of settlement. Altogether nearly 500 names are recorded in the surviving charters, some 362 of which, as far as one can see, relate to specific settlements, and most of the rest to swine-pastures or woods.<sup>16</sup> The only aspect of these names I wish to discuss in this paper is their distribution amongst the various settlement-zones of the county. Systematic examination indicates once again that the Foothills and Holmesdale were indeed the Original Lands; but in this case it also indicates that, as the Old English period progressed, increasing numbers of places were appearing both on the Downs and on the central stretch of Chartland; while on the rest of the Chart and in the Weald and Marshland extraordinarily few permanent settlements, as distinct from summer pastures or shielings, were recorded before the Conquest.

Almost exactly half the 362 settlements were in fact situated in the Original Lands, which comprised barely a quarter of the county.<sup>17</sup> As the

Table I Settlement Names in Pre-Conquest Charters

	<u>No. of Settlements Recorded by:</u>	<u>Original Lands</u>	<u>Downland</u>	<u>Chartland</u>	<u>Weald</u>	<u>Marshland</u>	<u>Total</u>
1.	700	28	3	-	-	-	31
2.	800	55	19	1	-	6	81
3.	850	89	62	15	1	6	173
4.	950	137	106	23	1	9	276
5.	1054	184	129	32	7	10	362

Old English period proceeded, the number of recorded places in these ancient areas steadily increased, but at the same time their percentage of all recorded names gradually declined as settlement elsewhere extended. Thus of the 31 places recorded before 700, 90 per cent were in the Original Lands, and of the 81 recorded before 800 nearly 70 per cent. By 1054, however, whilst the number of places in these early areas had risen to 184,

their proportion of the total had fallen to 51 per cent. On the Downland, by contrast, only three places of any description were recorded before the year 700, and only 19 before 800. Then during the next 50 years the Downland figure suddenly shot up to 62, or 36 per cent of all recorded names, and thereafter it continued to increase to a total of 129, though the percentage remained roughly constant at about a third of those recorded. On the Chartland, the relatively fertile central stretch between the Medway and the Stour followed a somewhat similar course of development to that of the Downs; but to the west of the Medway, where there was a good deal of stony heath and poor woodland, very few Chartland places were recorded until after the Conquest, though a few are known from other evidence to have existed. So far as the two remaining areas are concerned - the Weald and the Marsh - only one settlement was recorded before the year 950 in the whole of the Weald, and only nine in the Marshland. In these two zones together there were in fact no more than 17 places recorded as settlements in all the pre-Conquest charters. To summarize: 184 places were recorded before the Conquest in the Original Lands, 129 on the Downland, 32 on the Chartland, 10 in the Marsh, and a mere seven in the Weald.

Now it is obvious that these early charters, though numerous, provide only a partial and in some ways haphazard coverage of the county as a whole. No doubt many places existed for generations or even centuries before they were recorded. We certainly cannot say that by 1066 only seven places had come into existence in the Weald and only 32 on the Chartland. Quite probably most of the 62 Downland settlements recorded before 850 were already established by the end of the eighth century. Yet the corpus of 362 names is a substantial one, and is unlikely to give a wholly distorted picture of any one zone of settlement as compared with another. The conclusions it points to are broadly supported by other lines of evidence and cannot, I think, be entirely misleading. They surely suggest relatively massive settlement at a very early period on the Foothills and in Holmesdale; substantial colonization of the Downland and central Chartland during the next phases of the Old English period; and a relatively empty countryside at that time, by and large, in the rest of the county.

V. The Evidence of the Dens

Thirdly, I turn to the more intractable evidence of the dens or detached summer pastures of Kent, and the light that these shed upon early settlement.<sup>18</sup> The development of these pastures in the forest areas of the county, and of the practice of transhumance associated with them, are well-known characteristics of early Kentish society. There is abundant medieval and pre-Conquest evidence for their use in this way, not only in documentary sources, but in place-names like Somerden, or 'summer pasture', in the Wealden parish of Chiddingstone, and in the survival of some scores of primitive droeways crossing the grain of the county from north to south. Such customary pastoral usages were not of course in any sense a peculiarity of Kent alone. They have long been acknowledged features of parts of the Highland Zone, and in recent years increasing evidence of their existence has been coming to light at various points in the Lowland Zone as well.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, since the early Kentish evidence is in this respect as in others unusually abundant, systematic examination of it may be of more than local significance. The subject is a complex one, but I will do my best to make it comprehensible.

Thanks chiefly to the labours of Edward Hasted in the eighteenth century, Robert Furley in the nineteenth, and K.P. Witney in the twentieth,

I have compiled a list of nearly 700 dens or summer pastures in Kent, and in all but a few cases have traced the 'Upland' settlements to which they formerly appertained.<sup>20</sup> These 700 or so dens present a number of problems of identification which must briefly be referred to. Many of them are difficult to identify with complete certainty, and until K.P. Witney's recent study, The Jutish Forest (1976), many were wrongly located by older writers. A number of Mr Witney's own identifications are, in my view, problematical; but there can be no doubt that he has made more sense of the evidence as a whole. The problems of interpretation arise from the fact that the dens developed from the gradual subdivision of great tracts of forest generally thought to have once been common to the Kentish kingdom as a whole, so that the dens themselves varied widely in extent, and probably in date of origin too. There can be no doubt, however, that the general pattern of the detached pastures is of great antiquity since large numbers of them are specifically referred to in pre-Conquest charters, about one hundred of them by name. In view of these problems, although I have done my best to avoid counting the same wood-pasture twice under different names, it is almost impossible in compiling statistics to be quite sure that one has avoided double-counting altogether. Yet since the majority of the dens still exist today as names of farms, hamlets, villages, towns, or woods, and since they still very clearly shape both the settlement-pattern and the road-system of Kent, they surely demand some attempt at systematic examination. Although the light they shed on early settlement history is in some respects difficult to interpret, moreover, they point to a number of striking conclusions, and raise questions that I believe may be echoed in other parts of the country.

Before describing those conclusions in detail, I must briefly indicate a few general points about the nature of the dens. The first to note is that, with comparatively few exceptions, these pastures were wholly detached from the parental settlements from which they had originated. These parental places were invariably situated in what was called the Upland part of the county, an expression that need not imply any great height above sea-level but always indicates somewhere outside the Marshland and the Weald. The vast majority of the dens themselves were situated in the Weald, although there were also significant groups in Blean Forest and in a few places on the Chartland.<sup>21</sup> They might be situated at almost any distance from the parental settlement, and in a few cases were as much as 45 miles away, as at Tenterden, the pasture of the men of Thanet, though usually between about eight miles and 20 miles. Most of them clearly originated as pastures for swine, and are often specifically so described in early medieval and pre-Conquest records; but a number of place-names like Cowden and Oxenden here and there suggest other origins, and after the Conquest there must have been a gradual shift away from swine towards cattle and sheep. So far as their nomenclature is concerned, the majority actually terminate in the word den, of which some 250 examples still survive on the modern map; but other elements may also be found, in particular hurst, which in Kentish usage, like the less common grove, thus often came to acquire a kind of subsidiary connotation as 'pasture'.<sup>22</sup>

So much for generalities: what are the conclusions which statistical examination of the evidence indicates? The one point that I want to draw attention to is the location of the Upland places to which the dens pertained. Curiously enough, although the summer pastures themselves have attracted a good deal of attention, and there is now a considerable body of literature on the Weald itself, very little attention has been paid to the Upland places from which they originated. Yet the location of these places is surely significant since most of the dens remained

attached to their ancient and original Upland communities throughout their history. Occasionally they were transferred to a new parental settlement as colonization proceeded, but this was evidently the exception rather than the rule. The status of the original Upland places as mother-communities thus sheds an important light on their antiquity, and their location upon the settlement history of the county.

When systematically examined, the distribution of these Upland communities to which the dens were attached is in fact a very striking one. Of the 700 dens, nearly three-quarters (74 per cent) pertained to places in the earliest-settled areas of the county, on the Foothills and in Holmesdale.<sup>23</sup> A further 14 per cent pertained to other early settlements

Table II The Dens or Detached Summer Pastures

	Dens Pertaining to Places in:	Numbers	Percentage
1.	Original Lands	497	74
2.	Early Chartland	95	14
3.	Late Chartland	41	6
4.	Downland	15	2
5.	Others	28	4
	Total	676	100

on the central stretch of Chartland, such as East Farleigh and Great Chart, which may have been colonized from Holmesdale as early as the seventh century. In striking contrast with these areas, the later-settled part of the Chartland exerted rights over only 6 per cent of the 700 dens, and the whole of the Downland area over a mere 2 per cent, or no more than 15 dens altogether. As we should expect, no dens were attached to communities in the Marshland or in other parts of the Weald. In summary, then, nearly 90 per cent of the dens altogether were established as detached pastures of very early settlements, on the Foothills, in Holmesdale, and in the old-settled part of the Chartland; whilst very few dens, a mere 8 per cent in all, were attached to places on the Downland or in the later-settled areas of Chartland.

These figures raise a number of thought-provoking questions, to some of which I am not certain of the complete answer. Their most striking feature undoubtedly is the contrast between the Original Lands, with rights in three-quarters of the dens, and the Downland, with rights in a mere two per cent. Although the colonization of the Downland occurred later than that of the Original Lands, it had certainly begun by the seventh century, if not before, so that it is remarkable that its people should have been denied almost all share in the exploitation of the Weald. In part that peculiarity is explained by the fact that the Downland itself had originated as a subsidiary pastoral zone, dependent on the Foothills, and may therefore be regarded as requiring no further pastureland; yet I am doubtful if this is an altogether adequate

explanation.<sup>24</sup> For the Chartland also had originated as a dependent pastoral zone, and yet eventually acquired rights over some 20 per cent of the dens. Moreover, although the Downland originated as a pastoral area, it early became independent of the Foothills, and its own pastoralism was probably based rather on vaccaries and sheep-farms than upon swine,<sup>25</sup> so that the possibility of acquiring rights in the Weald would surely have offered a welcome addition to its own rather poverty-stricken resources.

Whatever the explanation may be, the fact that the people of the Original Lands owned three-quarters of the county's 700 summer pastures seems to suggest that their rights in the Weald originated before their daughter-settlements on the Downs had come into being. If this surmise is correct, those rights must have gone back at least to the earliest phases of 'Jutish' settlement. In all probability, indeed, since these people of the Original Lands had inherited so much from their Romano-British predecessors, they had also inherited from them something of the tradition of transhumance and the first tentative exploitation of the Weald as a zone of detached pastureland. However that may be, the evidence of the dens or summer pastures, like the evidence of pre-Conquest charters, and of each other line of argument, clearly focuses our attention once again on the Foothills and Holmesdale as in a very real sense the Original Lands of the Kentish kingdom.

#### VI. The Significance of the Downland

Hitherto I have described three of the lines of evidence that we may follow up in Kent in reconstructing a chronology of settlement. There is one matter which all these lines of argument throw into relief, and which I wish to comment on further, and that is the distinctive character of the Kentish Downland. It is a curious fact that, although much has now been written on the Weald, no study has been devoted to this other, larger, older region of wood-pasture. If discussed at all, it is usually bracketed with the Old Arable Lands or Foothills; and yet, as all the evidence indicates, it was in every respect quite distinct from both the Foothills and the Weald. It differed from the Weald in that it was widely colonized from the seventh century onwards instead of the tenth or eleventh; in that it originated as outlying pasture and yet early became independent of the Foothills; in that its pastoralism seems to have been chiefly based on vaccaries and sheep-farms rather than on swine; and in its characteristic pattern of very small parishes, with their sparse population and distinctive manorial structure. It differed from the Foothills in that it was essentially a pastoral rather than an arable region; in that it was a poor, intractable, and heavily-wooded countryside; in that it attracted little or no original primary settlement and yields no definite evidence of continuity with the Roman period;<sup>26</sup> in that it gave rise to no minsters but only daughter-churches and chapels; in that little of its land ever came into the hands of the great monastic houses of Kent; and in the fact that, though it early became independent of the Foothills, its people never acquired significant rights in the Weald. Up to a point, moreover, it differed from both Foothills and Weald in its nomenclature: in the relative frequency of names in wold, stead, lees, and minnis, for example, which are rare in the Weald, and in the relative sparsity of those characteristically Wealden elements, den and hurst. Although there are few elements that are wholly peculiar to the Downs and few that are not represented there at all, the general corpus of Downland place-names in fact forms an instructive contrast with that of other parts of the county.<sup>27</sup>

It is evident, then, that in the Downland zone of Kent we have a distinctive type of countryside: and this point is of more than local importance because several of the main features of the Downs are echoed in a number of other regions of early-colonized wold or wood-pasture. One thinks, for example, of areas like the Hertfordshire Chilterns, north Bedfordshire, and west Cambridgeshire; or of those smaller stretches of old wood-pasture to be found along the principal watersheds in counties like Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. I am not suggesting that these areas were all identical, or that they all very closely resembled the Kentish Downland. In few Lowland counties, in fact, do we find the same abundance of illuminating minor place-names as in Kent. In most areas there are evidences of common-field settlement which are not found in Kent. In west Cambridgeshire and parts of Northamptonshire much of the old wood-pasture landscape seems at first sight gradually to have assimilated itself to that of the common-field zones around it. Yet beneath these differences one can also recognize something of an underlying resemblance, and in certain respects that resemblance becomes more pronounced as one moves backward in time. All these areas, in short, belong to a distinctive type of countryside that was once well-wooded and, as far as one can see, had been substantially colonized well before the Norman Conquest. And all of them, as a consequence, in certain essential characteristics depart both from the classic common-field or champaign countries of the Midlands, with their early primary settlements, and from the classic forest countries like the Weald, with their often obviously secondary origins.

So far as the place-names of these older wood-pasturelands are concerned, the parallels with the Kentish Downland naturally vary in different parts of the country. On the Hertfordshire Chilterns names in ley and stead are frequent, just as they are in Kent; but alongside these there are characteristically localized elements like grove and hōh too, which are not common on the Downs in Kent, and of which the latter in this area seems to denote an outlying pasture-farm. Between Hitchin, Luton, and Harpenden, for example, ley occurs 13 times, stead three times, hōh 10 times, and grove eight times.<sup>28</sup> Further into the Midlands, minor place-names become sparser and the parallels with the Kentish Downland diminish; but names which tend to recur in this type of country include Hardwick, or herd-farm; Caldecote and other names in cote; Drayton, which I believe usually indicates a dray or forest timber-track;<sup>29</sup> Laughton and Leighton, which are usually interpreted as 'leek enclosure' but which may often refer to that characteristic woodland plant, the wild leek or gariic;<sup>30</sup> and of course names in wold like Horninghold, Bromswold, Harrold, Walgrave, and Old.

Over the past generation or so both place-name scholars and historians have rightly devoted a good deal of attention to identifying areas of very primitive settlement in England. Quite a substantial literature also now exists on the evolution of the late-colonized forest regions. But I strongly suspect that the solution to a number of enigmas in early settlement history may well lie in turning more of our attention to these somewhat ambiguous zones of intermediate settlement, or early-colonized wood-pasture. Quite probably an important clue to the origin of the common fields, for example, is to be found in their often rather mixed and eccentric field systems. Whether I am right in that supposition or not, there can be no doubt that we have much yet to learn about these older wood-pasturelands and their distinctive role in the evolution of early English society. Recent work by Oliver Rackham<sup>31</sup> and others on local woodland development, in the Cambridge region and elsewhere, is certainly of seminal importance in this context. The woods of the English

countryside were in fact as essential to the life of the medieval peasant community as its arable land and its meadows: and Dr Rackham has shewn that they were quite as carefully tended and harvested, according to a clearly-formulated body of custom, and from a relatively early period.

#### VII. Envoi

What I have tried to do in this paper is to outline a tentative framework of topographical development within a single county, against which the place-names of the area and the course of its settlement may usefully be examined. In doing so I have described only three of the main lines of evidence available for reconstructing a chronology of settlement, and it is obvious that there are others that need to be taken into consideration. Apart from the typology of place-names and the evidence of archaeology, probably the most important of these is the interpretation of ecclesiastical topography, which in Kent at least confirms my argument. In that term I include such diverse matters as the dependence of one church upon another; the development of manorial chapels in outlying forest settlements; the varying size of the parish from zone to zone of the county; the physical shape and landforms of the parish; the relationship of the church to the parish boundary; the erratic course that many parish boundaries pursue; their relationship with one another; the place-name elements associated with them, such as shaw, den, rede, lees, and minnis; the massive survival even today of boundary woodland; and the strange fact that some hundreds of Kentish farms are sited on the parish boundaries themselves. On these and other matters much might be said to illuminate the course and direction of colonization; but I have left them aside in this paper because they cannot be understood without a firm grasp of the regional structure of the county first.

How far the regional pattern that we find in Kent is repeated elsewhere, and how far the same techniques may be employed in reconstructing it, are questions to which the answers must vary in different parts of the country. Clearly other counties will have their own Original Lands and their own Seminal Settlements. In many there will be late-settled forests like the Weald, moreover, or older wood-pasture regions like the Downs. But beyond a certain point the parallels with Kent will obviously tend to break down. There are few areas where the names recorded in pre-Conquest charters can be analysed in the same statistical manner as in Kent. There are probably few where the summer pastures and their parental settlements have left so deep an imprint on the course of colonization, or so distinctive a pattern of ancient droves and holloways on the modern map. It is not everywhere that regional contrasts are so sharply delineated, or minor place-names so important, or woodland and pasture so predominant. On the other hand, there are other areas where we shall find evidence of a kind that is not available in Kent, and distinctive zones of moorland or fenland to which that county offers no parallel. The general point, nevertheless, will probably be found to hold good: that in every area it is rewarding, if not essential, to reconstruct the ancient framework of local countrysides or pays, and against that framework to examine the whole body of place-names in the area. But the last thing I should like to suggest is that the regional pattern I have described in Kent is a rigid or a universal one. For the topography of this country, after all, has something of the same wayward and perennial fascination as Cleopatra: age cannot stale nor custom wither its infinite variety.

#### Notes

\*A revised version of a paper given at the tenth conference of the Council for Name Studies at the University of Durham, April 15th, 1978.

1. The general evolution of settlement in Kent will be more fully explored in my forthcoming book, Continuity and Colonization: The Evolution of Kentish Settlement (1980 or 1981). In this an attempt is made to distinguish between 'landscapes of continuity' and 'landscapes of colonization' by systematically exploiting a wide range of different kinds of evidence: e.g., place-names, pre-Conquest charters, archaeology, church-siting, holy wells and springs, ecclesiastical topography, manorial structure, woodland evidence, pastoral usage and relationship, parish boundaries, farm-siting, and the massive evidence of the surviving landscape itself. Though oriented on Kent, some of the parallels in other selected areas will also be touched on.
2. 'River and Wold: Reflections on the Historical Origin of Regions and Pays', Journal of Historical Geography, III, 1977, pp.1-19.
3. As Della Hooke has shewn in her article, 'Early Cotswold Woodland', in the same journal, IV, 1978, pp.333-41.
4. For more on these characteristics, see my article 'The Making of the Agrarian Landscape of Kent', Archaeologia Cantiana, XCII, 1977, pp.1-31.
5. Ibid., pp.13-14 and n. To the four names in ceto there cited a fifth should now be added, the lost Chetherste, a swine-pasture of Swalecliffe (J.K. Wallenberg, Kentish Place-Names, 1931, p.308). Wallenberg's suggestion that this was near Chatham is not acceptable; it was probably in or near Blean Forest, as Ekwall thought.
6. The place-name and other evidence for this is too complex to outline here; but see, for example, Edward Hasted's comments regarding Thanet woods in his History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, 2nd edn., 1797-1801, X, p.225. Woodchurch Farm in the centre of Thanet marks the site of the lost parish church of Wood.
7. As Dr Alan Baker's work has shewn. Cf. A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, eds., Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, 1973, chapter IX.
8. J.E.A. Jolliffe's well-known study, Pre-Feudal England: the Jutes, 1933, attributed the common features of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex to a supposedly 'Jutish South-East' (chapter IV). He restricted the obviously Saxon connotation of Sussex to a limited area in the west of the county. This has never been easy to accept: the common features are evidently to a large extent environmental in origin.
9. As I argue in my forthcoming book, referred to in note 1 above.
10. Everitt, 'Agrarian Landscape of Kent', p. 12 and n.
11. In places this structure survived into the late nineteenth century. In 1020, Old Surrenden in Bethersden was granted to Leofwine the Red



- of Boughton Aluph, and became a detached pasture of Boughton: in 1889 the sub-manor of Old Surrenden was still paying quit-rents to the Earl of Winchilsea as lord of the paramount manor of Boughton Aluph. - K.P. Witney, The Jutish Forest, 1976, p.265.
12. Nellie Neilson's thoughtful explanation of the Law and Custom of Kent as it came to be codified after the Conquest, is important in this connexion. - The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent, 1928, pp.24-5.
  13. The Gault clay is the main geological formation of Holmesdale, but it also includes the Upper Greensand and in places outliers of the Lower Greensand. The latter formations, together with the downwash from the chalk, have modified much of the heavy Gault clay and rendered it more fertile and amenable to early arable cultivation. Strictly speaking the name Holmesdale is limited to the west Kent and east Surrey stretch of the valley; but there is no alternative expression for its whole extent, and the phrase Gault Vale which I have employed elsewhere has led to misunderstanding. Curiously enough the origin of this old regional name is not discussed by Wallenberg or apparently any other place-name scholar. Presumably, like other dales in Kent (e.g., Syndale, Crundale) it is from OE dael, not ON dalr.
  14. This view has recently been challenged by P.H. Sawyer in his 'Introduction' to Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change, 1976, pp.1-7, largely on the basis that most Wealden churches are recorded in the Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church and the Textus Roffensis though not in Domesday Book. Some of the reasons for not accepting Prof. Sawyer's views appear in the following pages; for a fuller critique see my forthcoming book, referred to in note 1 above.
  15. As distinct from isolated and minor finds: an important qualification. The problem of the distribution of archaeological evidence in Kent cannot be pursued here, or indeed adequately assessed by a non-archaeologist. The striking paucity of Roman and other finds generally on the Kentish Downs, in contrast with other Downland areas, has often been remarked on by archaeologists with some surprise. It does not surprise the present writer; the argument of the present article would in fact lead us to expect it; but it should be stressed that it is not crucial to that argument. The existence of (say) a Romano-British site does not in itself, after all, prove continuity of settlement at that place between Roman and Jute, which in the present context is the main point at issue. On the Downs, in fact, such Roman farms as there are often seem to have been occupied for short periods and then abandoned. Concentrations of archaeological evidence, on the other hand, such as we have around Faversham, afford much clearer pointers to continuity. Future work may no doubt modify the present archaeological distribution map in Kent significantly; but the concentration of archaeological evidence in the Original Lands of the county is altogether too striking to be ignored. Neither can it be wholly explained by the usual argument that these are merely the areas that archaeologists happen to have looked at. It is noticeable, for example, that Roman bricks are frequently used in churches on the Foothills, but hardly ever in those on the Downs, the Chartland, and the Weald. But the final word in this matter must clearly be left to the archaeologists themselves, whenever they can be persuaded to sum up their findings.

16. The charters are discussed by Wallenberg, broadly in order of date, in his Kentish Place-Names, 1931.
17. See Table I.
18. A.H. Smith (English Place-Name Elements, I, 1956, p.129) explains denn as 'a woodland pasture, esp. for swine'. He adds that the word may derive from MDu dann, 'a forest, a haunt of wild beasts', and may be the same as OE denn, 'a den, a wild beast's lair, a pit'. It is far more common in Kent than in any other county, or probably than in all the rest of England.
19. Notably in Warwickshire: see W.J. Ford, 'Some Settlement Patterns in the Central Region of the Warwickshire Avon', in Sawyer, op.cit., pp. 274-94.
20. Hasted, op.cit., vols I-X, passim; Robert Furley, A History of the Weald of Kent, 1871-4, particularly vol. II, pp. 827-36; K.P. Witney, op.cit., particularly Part II. The exact number is 676 according to my reckoning.
21. The element den also occurs in a few localities on the Downs (e.g., Hockenden, Walden, Ramsden, and Tubbenden to the east and south of Orpington). In origin these dens, like those of the Weald, seem to have been attached to places on the Foothills, though they were not necessarily detached pastures but rather outlying parts of a continuous territory or estate. Though of considerable interest in themselves, they are too few to affect the statistical argument of this paper. They are not always readily distinguishable from names in denu, 'a valley'.
22. Other occasional terminal elements include: hay ((ge)hæg, 'enclosure, hedge'), tigh (tēag, 'a small enclosure'), hoath (heath), and ridge. The first two of these, like grove, often connote (wood-) pastures in Kent. Early Kentish wills sometimes refer to 'my grove or pasture' of so-and-so, though 'grove' need not always bear this secondary meaning of course.
23. See Table II.
24. The ultimate explanation probably lies in fundamental differences of social structure and rural economy outside the scope of this paper.
25. The evidence for this view is too complex to explore here; it will be discussed in my forthcoming book Continuity and Colonization. There is a particularly interesting nexus of names in stock, stead, and stall on the central stretch of Downland (between the Medway and the Stour) which bear on the point.
26. See note 15 above. I believe the only exceptions occur where the Medway, Darent, and Stour cut through the Downs, as described earlier, and at Dover and probably Keston. Dover, in the Dour valley, is obviously a special case, and so also in a sense is Keston. Like other 'seminal' places, it was probably a river or springhead settlement in origin: the centre of 'Jutish' settlement is difficult to pinpoint; but it may have been near the source of the Ravensbourne, by the prehistoric Caesar's Camp at Holwood, or near the springhead by the Roman villa-site at Warbank.

27. Its nomenclature is much more varied than that of the Weald: a point perhaps worth pondering when comparing the early-colonized wood-pasture regions with those settled mainly after the Conquest.
28. These figures are based on the one-inch map; the 2½" sheets might add further examples. 'Green' also occurs frequently (19 times) and 'end' is very common; but one suspects that in most cases these relate to more recent secondary settlements, here as elsewhere.
29. Cf. Smith, *op.cit.*, I, p.135. This is certainly the significance of Drayton (between Nevill Holt and Bringhurst) in Leics., and Draughton (near Old and Walgrave) in Northants. At Dry Drayton in W. Cambs. (formerly Wald Drayton) the present lane leading up the hill from the village, to the once-wooded country to the south, probably represents the old dray. I have discussed this element (and some others) in 'The Wolds Once More', *Journal of Historical Geography*, V, 1979, pp.67-71.
30. Smith, *op.cit.*, II, p.18. In Kent the name is particularly common, most frequently in the local form 'leacon'. It invariably relates to a subsidiary settlement, as at Westwell Leacon, Warehorne Leacon, etc. These are generally obscure outlying places, often a mile or more from the parent settlement, and can hardly have been the 'leek enclosures', 'kitchen gardens', or 'herb gardens' sometimes suggested. The fact that they are usually sited on the wooded sandy or heathy spots often favoured by the wild leek or garlic is suggestive, and in some cases this plant may still be found there. This explanation also fits the Leics. Laughton (next Mowsley). The point is that these all look like poor outlying woodland places in origin, and not productive domestic gardens: see my article 'The Wolds Once More', *loc.cit.*, p.169 and n.
31. Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape, 1976.

ALAN EVERITT

University of Leicester

RICHARD MCKINLEY, *The Surnames of Oxfordshire*, English Surnames Series III, Leopard's Head Press: London, 1977, xi + 133 pp., £8.00.

Setting a philologist to review an historian must be unfair to both; for, agree though they may in both being 'applied' anthroponymists, their preoccupations cannot but diverge.

Mr. McKinley is not, nor does he claim to be, the boldest of etymologists. Among the twelfth-century forms he renounces all attempt to explain are Chevauchesul (p. 10), 'the lone ranger' (sul being the normal reflex of solum in such twelfth-century Anglo-Norman texts as the Digby Roland) and Kepeharm, alleged to occur only in Oxford (pp. 25-6), but certainly found also in late-twelfth-century Canterbury and perhaps meaning 'fend off danger' (see MED s.v. kēpen, sense 3b.(b), and cf. 17a.(a) and 18.(a)). About all matters linguistic there is a pervasive uncertainty: thus, the mid-thirteenth-century forms de Eschecker, de la Cheker, are dismissed as 'presumably Anglo-Norman', with the comment, 'It may be doubted if any Middle English forms existed' (p.19); but must we assume, just because MED notes no literary occurrence earlier than Floris and Blanche-flour (? 1250-1275), that previously the vernacular could name neither games-board nor fiscal institution? Of all by-name categories, nicknames get least attention here (the preceding volume on Norfolk and Suffolk [reviewed in NOMINA I by Peter McClure] largely omitted them), perhaps because of their individuality.

For the theme of this series so generously sponsored by the Marc Fitch Fund is not etymology but local history, especially the study of small-scale population movements. A major topic here is therefore the immigration which built up Oxford's population, traced through noms d'origine referring to places elsewhere in the county or outside it, the conclusion being that, apart from Oxfordshire itself, only the neighbouring Berkshire played much part in peopling the city. Yet, even from this point of view, some tricks are missed. In contrast with the painstaking work on migration-patterns inside England, little notice is taken of non-aristocratic immigration from the Continent: admittedly a complex question to study through by-names, whose transmission remains so obscure. In some medieval English towns the by-names current included not only continental noms d'origine but also many nicknames paralleled in continental records, especially those of towns in north-eastern France; and it would have been useful to know whether, as some forms cited (e.g., in the lists on p.261) suggest, this was true of Oxford also - but the question is never put. Perhaps in this local history the accent falls too heavily on 'local'.

Yet, paradoxically, the local restrictions of this series also widen its scope; for scrutinizing a single county brings out patterns blurred by over-ample material. Here, as in the Norfolk and Suffolk volume, the rise of hereditary family-names is carefully plotted: in Oxfordshire too the process was gradual and capricious, beginning with the post-Conquest gentry but not completed until the sixteenth century. In Oxford city, unexpectedly, family-names seem not to have become fixed until later than for the corresponding social groups in country districts. And now structural development is analysed more systematically than before. Until about 1300 patronymics are mainly appositional and asyndetic. Then, after 1300, the familial -s, so rare in the thirteenth century, rapidly becomes common; its early appearances with masculine occupational surnames borne by women suggest