

North Craven Heritage Trust



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Chair's Report

As I am writing this who could have believed that this time last year the world was going to face a global pandemic which would impact so much on our lives. Naturally, along with many other organisations, our activities in 2020 have been curtailed but reviewing them to write this I think we have achieved a lot in the circumstances. Sadly, the outings and walks had to be cancelled along with the published programme of meetings but we have now had well attended Zoom meetings which have been met with an excellent response. We have arranged a full programme to be delivered by Zoom until at least Easter. Hopefully, with the mass vaccination programme, life may be able to return to something resembling normality.

Earlier in the year David Johnson's new book, *Settle: A Historic Market Town*, was published to great acclaim. The sales of the book have been strong both with locals and visitors and it deserves a place on our bookshelves for many years to come.

Planning matters, such an important part of the work of the Trust, have been of concern to us. We responded to the White Paper *Planning for the Future* as we believe the proposals threaten areas such as North Craven and we are also closely monitoring the proposals to create a unitary authority. One has only to look at the catastrophic case of Hellifield Flashes to realise how important it is to have a competent planning authority in place.

But the pièce de résistance of the year has to be our environmental conference 'A Green New Dales' which my predecessor, John Asher, organised in conjunction with Bruce McLeod of the Friends of the Dales, following which a programme of actions was published. What a fitting finale to John's time as Chair of the Trust!

Finally, one of the things that came out of Jessica Kemmish's review of membership, which you can read here in the Journal, was that many members joined the Trust on recommendation from a friend or neighbour. New members are vital to our organisation so could I urge you all to encourage others to join us as we have many challenges ahead and a strong enthusiastic membership is paramount to our work.

Pamela Jordan
Chair

Cover picture: Portrait of Walter Morrison.

Editorial

Many thanks to all those who have contributed to this edition of the Journal. I hope you find the articles as fascinating as I have. As always there is a good variety of subjects covered which reflects our rich heritage and the diverse interests of the authors.

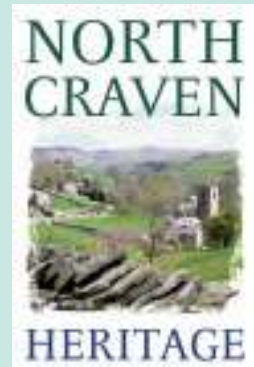
I should also like to thank all those who gave permission to use their photographs.

2020 was another prolific year for the publication of local books. For lack of space I have not included reviews of David Johnson's history of Settle. I have also omitted his revised edition of 'Ingleborough'. Originally published in 2008 it has been revised and updated to include many recent archaeological discoveries. There are also many more photographs and figures. It is well worth acquiring this new edition.

With another lock-down in progress perhaps you have some spare time! Have you thought about writing an article for the Journal? If you have an interesting story to tell then do get in touch. It may seem a daunting prospect and the hardest part is often knowing where to start. My advice is to have a go, you can always revise it later.

You do not need to be reminded that 2020 was one of those momentous and unforgettable years. We left the European Union, tackling Climate Change became even more urgent and there was a pandemic. The impact of all of these is still with us. At the start of the pandemic I did a quick search for material about the 1918 flu pandemic which had such a devastating effect on the world. I was surprised to find so little information about what it was like in Craven. So what are we doing to record our experiences now? In five years time will we remember about queuing for food, the early rationing of toilet paper and pasta and such positive experiences as the Austwick tea celebration? Now is the time to record your memories which will prove fascinating to future historians. I look forward to donating my mask as well as other memorabilia to the Folly once this is all over.

Over the years our sponsors have provided invaluable support to the Trust. With all the lock downs and the impact on local businesses the committee were unanimous in agreeing that we could not ask for donations to contribute to the cost of printing the Journal. We felt that it was time to show our support for them. So we have printed the advertisements as a reminder to all of us of the importance of our local businesses and the need to shop local.



An introduction to Ingleborough National Nature Reserve

Colin Newlands



Ingleborough from Scar Close

Every year thousands of walkers climb up to the summit of Ingleborough, many as part of the arduous Three Peaks route after first climbing Pen-y-ghent and Wharfedale. To reach the summit from Horton in Ribblesdale or Chapel-le-Dale they will have taken well worn paths through one of this country's finest National Nature Reserves. They may not be aware of this as they pass through the expansive limestone pastures of Sulber Common or lift tired legs up the steep escarpment on High Lot, their focus being on the goal of the summit and glorious views across to Morecambe Bay. Ingleborough National Nature Reserve (NNR) covers approximately one fifth of the mountain massif, from the roadside pastures and almost to the summit itself. It is a large reserve, set in an outstanding landscape, yet comparatively unknown to those who seek a personal challenge on its slopes each year and even to the communities that live in the surrounding towns and villages.

On the 5th October 1962 a short article in the Craven Herald announced that the Nature Conservancy had purchased Colt Park Wood near Ribblesdale and declared it as a National Nature Reserve. The wood had long been known to naturalists for its wildlife value, a fragment of ancient woodland in a largely treeless landscape. Its establishment as a reserve was part of a post-war movement in Britain to protect our most important wildlife and geological sites. The earliest nature reserves were set up at the end of the 19th Century, including purchase of land at Wicken Fen, Cambridgeshire in 1899 by the newly-formed National Trust. The growth of ecology as a natural science in the 20th Century created a wider public and academic interest

in the study of wildlife and their habitats and led to the establishment of organisations such as the British Ecological Society (1911) and British Trust for Ornithology (1933). By the outbreak of World War Two there were still very few nature reserves in the country and no framework for their selection or designation, but much work had been done making the case for an integrated and robust system of nature conservation in Britain. This resulted in the passing of the 1949 National Parks & Access to the Countryside Act, enabling the creation of our first National Parks, Sites of Special Scientific Interest and NNRs. It also established the Nature Conservancy as the country's first government wildlife service. The very first NNR declared under the new Act was Beinn Eighe in

Scotland in 1950, followed in 1952 by reserves in England, including Moor House in Cumbria.

On Ingleborough the purchase of Colt Park Wood was followed in 1977 by the lease and declaration of Scar Close NNR in Chapel-le-Dale. During the 1980s and early 1990s further land was leased and purchased by the organisation. The Yorkshire Wildlife Trust (YWT) by then had two nature reserves on Ingleborough, at Southercales and South House Pavement. When English Nature became the government's new conservation agency in England in 1990, they and the YWT agreed that their owned and leased land should be brought together and declared collectively as Ingleborough NNR. On the 7th June 1993, Prince Charles officially opened the NNR with a ceremony at Philpin Sleights in Chapel-le-Dale. Ingleborough NNR grew in size when English Nature purchased land near Horton-in-Ribblesdale, and again in 2000 with the transfer of Ribblesdale Quarry from Hanson UK. The NNR covers 1,012ha and represents the rich biodiversity and geodiversity for which Ingleborough and the Three Peaks area is renowned. It is one of 226 NNRs in England covering over 93,500ha, with many more in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Those involved in drawing up the 1949 Act recognised the need for a series of NNRs that would not only encompass the range and diversity of Britain's natural heritage, but have a specific role in conducting research and experimentation into land management. NNRs thus have three purposes, as set out in the legislation, to conserve their biodiversity and geodiversity, to support and carry out scientific study and to provide opportunities for people to experience and enjoy the

natural environment. This last purpose was added in 2006 when Natural England was created under the Natural Environment and Rural Communities Act.

The distinctive landscape of the Three Peaks area, with its valleys edged by scars, screes and stepped terraces of Carboniferous limestone is testament to the power of glaciers that scoured, plucked and ground the bedrock as they moved forward and left a mantle of glacial till as they retreated 17,000 years ago. On this raw, post-glacial surface the process of colonisation by plants and animals began. Evidence of this ancient landscape survives in cave deposits and the oldest peats. They show that wolf, lynx, auroch and wild boar roamed among willow, birch and juniper scrub and, later, woodland of oak, lime, elm and hazel. Over more than 5,000 years people have transformed the land, but in the mosaic of pasture, meadow and moor that covers Ingleborough today there are semi-natural habitats that support a great diversity of wildlife. The whole of the Ingleborough massif, including the NNR, is designated as a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) for both its biodiversity and geodiversity that includes extensive underground cave systems. The NNR is also part of the Ingleborough Complex Special Area of Conservation (SAC) under the Habitats and Species Directive. Within Ingleborough NNR all the habitats that are characteristic of this upland area are represented, including some of the best examples of their kind. There isn't space in this article to describe them all in detail or list the many hundreds of species they support. I've selected a few that I hope give some idea of what can be seen.

The highest limestone outcrops, on High Lot at over 600m, are home to the beautiful spring flowering arctic-alpine plant, purple saxifrage. Well known to botanists on the perilous crags of Pen-y-ghent it can be seen, quite safely, not far from the Three Peaks route on Ingleborough. As far south as it grows in England, this species was first described for science by one of our early botanical pioneers, John Ray, when he visited Ingleborough in the late 17th Century. These High Lot plants have an uncertain future (as do the other local populations in the Three Peaks), because they are already at the edge of their ecological comfort zone. With any significant warming of the climate there is nowhere for them to move to on Ingleborough and purple saxifrage may no longer be a plant that future generations of botanists are able to see flowering on the high crags in April. Much of the surrounding high ground on the NNR is clothed in blanket bog, rich in sphagnum moss and with acid-loving plants such as hare's-tail cotton-grass, cloudberry, bilberry, cowberry and heather.

On the benches below its steep slopes, at an altitude of around 300m, Ingleborough's most distinctive landscape feature and wildlife habitat can be found – limestone pavements. The intricate pattern of blocks (clints) separated by vertical fissures (grikes) are home to a wide variety of ferns and woodland plants such as bluebell, dog's-mercury, ramsons and the nationally scarce baneberry and rigid buckler fern. Most limestone pavements in the Yorkshire Dales are open and devoid of trees (except for the occasional wind-blasted hawthorn) with vegetation confined to the grikes. It is the grazing effect of animals, particularly nimble-footed sheep, that keep the large expanses of limestone pavement in this open state. Where grazing is excluded, or sheep are

replaced by cattle that don't venture across the treacherous pavement surface, scrub, trees and grike vegetation can grow freely. Colt Park Wood is actually a limestone pavement with mature trees and a rich ground flora that has spread across the clint tops. Allowing limestone pavements to develop a tree and scrub cover with abundant nectar-rich wildflowers draws in birds and insects that are absent from the open pavements. The diversity of resident and migrant birds, including willow warblers and redstarts plus a host of butterflies, moths, bees and hoverflies are a noticeable addition to vegetated pavements.

Limestone pavements on Ingleborough NNR are surrounded by pastures rich in wildflowers adapted to the low nutrient, shallow lime-rich soil. Wild thyme, salad burnet, spring sedge, bird's-foot trefoil, limestone bedstraw, small scabious, mouse-ear hawkweed and many fine grasses are found in abundance. Like the pavements that they encompass, these pastures are protected by national and international conservation legislation. Grazing is managed to promote flowering of the limestone plants that in turn produce nectar and food for the invertebrate community that lives amongst them. An example is common rock-rose, which is the food plant for caterpillars of the northern brown argus butterfly. The large yellow flowers of the rockrose are not just a delight in themselves, but their waxy green leaves are where the female lays her eggs. If you get close enough you can find these tiny white eggs laid singly on the upper surface. Healthy and abundant rockrose is essential for the northern brown argus, a butterfly that has declined by over 50% since the 1970s. High Brae, a limestone pasture in the southern part of the NNR, has a wonderful display of rockrose and is a good place to look for northern brown argus butterflies on a sunny day in June. The NNR limestone pastures are home to a suite of rare and scarce plants including field gentian, frog orchid and the nationally rare Teesdale violet. Ongoing surveys show that these species are more numerous and widespread on the NNR than previously recorded.

An important moment for the NNR was the establishment of its own herd of hardy cattle in 2003. This was part of the Limestone Country Project, a five year programme to establish new native/hardy breed cattle herds in the Ingleborough and Malham areas. 280ha of the NNR, including High Brae and Sulber Common, are now under a cattle-only regime. This is not only to maintain and enhance the mosaic of grassland and heath communities, but also enable the development of shrub and tree cover on the limestone pavements in these compartments. In a research project by Newcastle University, several of the cattle had GPS collars fitted to study their grazing patterns. The results showed the animals had their preferred grazing areas, but most importantly kept off the pavements. One outcome of this cattle-only grazing has been the proliferation of dark red helleborine, a nationally-scarce orchid that is thriving in the pavements on High Brae.

Of all the plants that attract the eye in the limestone pastures, bird's-eye primrose is perhaps the prettiest. Anyone who walks the Three Peaks route along Sulber Nick in mid to late May is bound to notice the profusion of small clusters of pink flowers held on short stems above a rosette of greyish-green leaves. It is a nationally scarce species confined to northern England with a strong foothold in the Yorkshire



Date waxcap

Dales. A plant of alkaline flushes, of which there are many on Sulber, it seems that the cattle have helped spread the plant across much of the common. Growing nearby is one plant species that Ingleborough NNR has almost to itself, English sandwort. This nationally rare annual is endemic to the Carboniferous limestone of the Three Peaks and also known as Yorkshire sandwort. It's not the most showy of plants, with five white petals held above tiny, fleshy leaves on the thinnest of limestone soils, often close to flushes. Close scrutiny is required because it can be confused with spring sandwort or knotted pearlwort which both grow in the same habitat. It was first found in 1889 at Ribbleshead Station and thought to have come in on limestone ballast during construction of the Settle-Carlisle railway. As all the limestone was quarried locally, botanists realised it was native to Ingleborough and searched for other populations. It was found at Selside in 1890 and then in 1898 on Sulber Common by Reginald Farrer, the famous gardener and plant collector. It is a good feeling on a fine day to walk across Sulber to see English sandwort growing in the same places that Reginald Farrer discovered it over 120 years ago.

Although much of the NNR is grazed by livestock, there are areas where grazing has been excluded deliberately. These include the limestone pavements at Scar Close and South House Pavement, but the largest area is South House Moor. Purchased in 1987 this 180ha allotment had been overgrazed with sheep for many years to the detriment of the dwarf shrub plant communities. Initially, grazing was changed to reduce sheep numbers and exclude stock in winter. Although this did have a positive effect, in 2000 the decision was taken to set up a re-wilding experiment by removing all livestock and observe how the vegetation developed in the absence of managed grazing. Studies of peat deposits showed evidence of former woodland so trees such as alder, willow, downy birch and rowan were planted along gills and in other suitable areas. The land had been free of tree cover for so long that natural regeneration was not expected. Twenty years on and the dwarf shrubs are thriving, growing through a thick layer of mosses, including large mounds of colourful sphagnum that develop without being trampled. A study by Lancaster

University showed how this vegetation change has benefitted small mammals that are present in much higher numbers on South House Moor compared to the adjacent grazed NNR land. There are an increasing number of re-wilding projects around Britain, such as Wild Ennerdale in Cumbria, Carrifran in southern Scotland, and at Knepp Castle Estate, West Sussex. Ingleborough NNR's large size has enabled re-wilding to be part of the reserve's fabric and it will be fascinating to see how South House Moor looks in another twenty years.

Despite all the attention the NNR has received by naturalists over many decades, new discoveries are still being made. For example, in 2015 I received an enquiry from a member of the Craven Conservation Group, looking for a new location to hold a fungal foray. Knowing that there weren't many fungi records for the NNR I was keen to host the event and mentioned that I'd noticed some colourful fungi in the pastures on Park Fell. The first foray was held there in October and much to everyone's surprise and delight it revealed a host of waxcaps, corals, clubs, pink gills and earth tongues. Further fungal foray events have taken place since, plus a survey in 2017 by Natural England's field unit specialists. The result is that Ingleborough NNR is now ranked as one of the top sites in England for grassland fungi, including the very rare date-coloured waxcap known from only one other site in the Yorkshire Dales. Knowledge and understanding do not stand still and there is so much more scope for discovery on the NNR, especially for invertebrates which are relatively under-recorded. However, it is not just about finding new names to add to an ever-growing list. It is what each discovery tells us about the history, management, diversity, climate and health of the reserve and the landscape in which it lies.

One discovery we didn't wish to make was in 2017, when ash dieback disease was found on the NNR. It is widespread in the Yorkshire Dales now and was inevitable that it would reach the reserve. There is a chapter about Colt Park Wood in Lisa Samson's 2018 book *Epitaph for the Ash*. In her visits whilst writing the book ash dieback had not been recorded on the NNR and she wrote about the wood hoping that it would not be affected in the same way as many ash woodlands in Britain. Given that ash is the main canopy tree in Colt Park Wood only time will tell how the disease will reshape this ancient stand, but I hope there is resilience and resistance in those old trees so that the unique character of the wood has



Purple saxifrage on High Lot

ash at its heart.

From the very beginning, research and monitoring of the natural environment has been an important part of the work on Ingleborough NNR. In partnership with many universities and research organisations the NNR has been the focus for scientific studies on hay meadow restoration, ecosystem services, the effects of livestock grazing on grassland biodiversity and carbon storage, climate change impacts and many more. The NNR is an outdoor laboratory where we can experiment, study and learn about the natural world. The longest running research has been at Colt Park, where a series of hay meadows have been studied for over 30 years. Walking through these meadows in the summer, on the public footpath from Colt Park to Selside, visitors are treated to a wonderful display of flowers and might imagine that this is how they have always looked. However, when the land was purchased in 1987 the level ground had been subjected to regular fertiliser applications and the sward was species poor, any remaining meadow plants confined to the banks and rocky margins. In partnership with Newcastle University a project to restore the meadows began. A large enclosure divided into plots was set up, each plot subjected to a combination of different grazing, cutting, seeding and fertiliser/manure treatments. The study showed the importance of traditional, low intensity management in the restoration process. This comprised spring and autumn grazing, cutting after mid-July and no artificial fertilisers. It also showed the benefits of seed addition, especially yellow rattle, a hemi-parasite on grass that reduces its vigour and speeds the process of restoration. The species that returned to the plots such as pignut, red clover, eyebright and rough hawkbit have spread to the surrounding meadow land through the process of haymaking. What started as a restoration study changed in 2010 to a new phase with a focus on the ecosystem services that grasslands provide, especially the plant/soil interaction. Led by Lancaster University the work at Colt Park was part of a wider UK study of grasslands and how their physical characteristics and management affected factors such as carbon sequestration, nutrient cycling, use by pollinators and ability to cope with climate change. A key message that came from this study is that plant diversity and a healthy soil, rich in fungi and micro-organisms, give a grassland the natural resilience it needs to cope with an uncertain future in a warming climate. It is sad to think that the post-war drive for agricultural intensification and

increased production, underpinned by government subsidies, has eradicated the majority of such species-rich grasslands across the UK.

Whilst most research on the NNR has been on its physical attributes, in 2019 the Ingleborough Soundscape Project began to study the acoustics of the reserve. In partnership with the Wildland Research Institute at Leeds University, the UK Acoustic Network and Mammal Web, the aim is to assess the ecological and acoustic richness of Colt Park Wood and South House Moor and the impact that the wider environment has on their well-being. A soundscape is the voice of a living habitat. Imagine a woodland dawn chorus but add in all the other animal and natural sounds created throughout the day and night including those that are beyond the frequencies we can hear. Using sophisticated audio recording equipment and computer software it is possible to create a spectrogram, a visual representation of the soundscape and the acoustic energy it contains. These can be analysed, compared over time and exist as a permanent record of a habitat in a similar way to a visual survey. The technique was pioneered by an American scientist, Bernie Krause, who started recording wild habitats in the USA and around the world in the 1960s. It is now used to monitor environmental change, especially where human activity (including the noise we generate) is increasing. The project at Ingleborough is capturing the soundscape of two contrasting habitats, both with little human intervention, but subject to noise intrusion from their surroundings. Using acoustic loggers and trail cameras the project has already revealed far more mammal activity than previously known, and the extent to which noise from trains and aircraft mask parts of the natural soundscape.

Since 2009 the NNR has been part of Natural England's Long Term Monitoring Network. Data is collected on weather, air quality, vegetation, soil and animal populations in a standardised way to allow comparison with other sites in the network. It is used by other nationwide environmental research programmes that record, analyse and predict environmental change in the UK. The NNR is involved in national biodiversity recording initiatives such as the National Amphibian and Reptile Recording Scheme and the National Plant Monitoring Scheme, the latter collecting vegetation data to see how plant abundance and diversity is changing in Britain. There are annual transects to survey birds, bumblebees and butterflies, and light trapping for nocturnal moths. Volunteers make a major contribution to the



English sandwort



Climate change experiment at Colt Park Meadows

monitoring programme on the NNR and without their skill and enthusiasm we would know far less about this wonderful nature reserve.

Within the boundaries of the NNR there lies a wealth of historic features which are a record of over 5,000 years of human history. There are ancient settlements and field systems, burial cairns, Medieval walls and earthworks, old lime kilns, washfolds and much more. Since 2012 excavations by the Ingleborough Archaeology Group have revealed new evidence about the Anglo-Saxon period, notably their excavation of a structure in Upper Pasture which, from dating of charcoal samples, was the first 7th Century building to be positively identified in the Yorkshire Dales National Park and one of the earliest known in the north of England. As a means of enjoying the rich archaeological history within the NNR, three archaeology walks supported by a free smartphone app were established in 2016 in partnership with the Ingleborough Archaeology Group and with financial support from the Yorkshire Dales Millennium Trust's Stories in Stone programme.

Almost all the NNR is Open Access land, but the majority of people passing through the NNR are on one of the public rights of way to the summit or the Pennine Bridleway. Erosion

is a recurring problem, especially on the soft peats and thin, species-rich limestone turf. In 2019 a major restoration programme commenced on the NNR in partnership with the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority. The routes on the NNR through High Brae, Sulber Common and High Lot are the focus for this work over the next two years. These major improvements will make the high traffic routes better to walk on and encourage people to keep to the path and not stray onto adjacent sensitive vegetation – a good result for people and wildlife.

2020 has been a year when human impact on the natural environment has made headline news. From the origins of the Coronavirus pandemic to the climate crisis and the prospect of a global mass extinction of species, it is clear that our stewardship of the natural world is at a critical point. Protecting biodiversity, understanding the complexities of ecosystems, enjoying and promoting the wonders and benefits that a healthy environment provides and working together to achieve these goals has never been more important. The sustainable land management, scientific research and educational work that Natural England and all its partners carry out on Ingleborough NNR is as relevant now as it ever has been since Colt Park Wood was purchased almost sixty

Craven, crime and convicts: a look at a hundred years of York Assizes

Mary Slater

This article includes some material presented in past years for the Settle and District Community News, the North Craven Heritage Trust Journal and Earby Chronicles of the Earby and District Local History Society.

From the 14th century up to 1971 a system of justice known as Assize hearings was in existence in England. Judges usually worked in pairs and around circuits between county towns or towns with gaols, several times a year. They were on royal commissions of the peace or of gaol delivery (to try prisoners), or also to hear and determine serious cases not heard by local courts. Miscreants from our local area fed into the York Assizes, the judges being on the Northern Circuit. A Calendar of Felons was published before the Assizes, listing people awaiting trial. The General Gaol Delivery was published afterwards and listed those sent to or back to gaol (York Castle) with notice of their sentences. These can be found in North Yorkshire County Record Office or York Explore (York Library). Entries do not always state the home area of the prisoner, so research has been limited to those that do state a local connection. Sometimes there is a clue in the name of a known local justice who had been involved – for example in our area there was P. W. Overend. Assize minute books, gaol books, indictments and witness depositions can be found in The National Archives and provide valuable material for many of the cases. Other sources of information include family history websites (including for convict registers and emigration details), old newspapers and published books.

Between 1688 and 1815 the criminal law system in England was known as the bloody code and for good reason. At the start of this period around fifty offences carried the death penalty, but this rose to some 225 by the early 1800s. This applied to the secular courts with the clergy being tried under canon law, with more lenient sentencing. One way of avoiding the harsher sentencing was to provide proof of being a clergyman. One test of this was to demonstrate that you were literate. In due course well educated lay defendants were able to use the literacy test and claim 'benefit of the clergy' and avoid the death penalty if found guilty. This privilege was then extended to women in 1691 and eventually to all first-time offenders. However, this also involved branding of the thumb to prevent people using this defence more than once. With increasing wealth and crime associated with property parliament made more offences 'non-clergyable' and so reinstated the harsher penalties of the law.

Whipping

Whipping was a punishment which was on the increase in the second half of the 1700s for grand larceny, the theft of goods worth one shilling or more. It was felt by the authorities to be a good compromise between the death penalty or transportation, and over-lenience. The aim was to shame by public humiliation in front of people who knew you. Often carried out at the back of a moving cart, the number of strokes unspecified, a prisoner could only hope for a short route and a sympathetic constable.

In 1787 Henry Wood, a labourer from the Forest of Bowland, was 'charged by the oath of William Huddleston of Slaidburn on suspicion of felony in stealing out of his shop, at two separate times, about eight yards of cotton velvet and upwards of two yards of cotton of a yellow colour ...'. Henry was found 'guilty of grand larceny within the benefit of the statute'. Shoplifting of goods worth more than five shillings had been a capital offence since 1699 and there was an automatic death sentence, but it was seldom enforced. Shopkeepers did not want the expense of prosecution, and they often got their goods back. Also, 'within benefit of statute' meant that the prisoner could plead 'benefit of clergy'. So Wood's sentence was 'to be publicly whipped at Settle on Tuesday the twenty-seventh day of March instant and afterwards imprisoned and continued in gaol for the space of six calendar months and then discharged'.

The Pillory

Offences that were punished by the pillory included those which caused public indignation, such as blackmail, cheating, confidence trickery and perjury. Sometimes a prisoner could be pelted with stones causing serious injury, or conversely, the crowd might even release him if it felt he had been misused by the authorities. Exhibition for an hour in a market place with hands and head fixed in a wooden structure, or stocks, was usual, and often followed by a further punishment - a fine, imprisonment, hard labour or even transportation.

In 1754 William Demaine of Hellifield was found 'guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury' while giving evidence at the Knaresborough Quarter Sessions. The sentence from York Assizes was 'Let him be set once in the Pillory in the Market Place there, and also at Settle on some market days within the space of three months next ensuing, for the space of one whole hour at each place, betwixt the hours of twelve and one o'clock at noon, with a paper over his head denoting his crime, be imprisoned for six months and until he pay a fine of six shillings and eight-pence and give security for his good behaviour for two years in the penalty of fifty pounds to be taken by any of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the West Riding'. The Calendar of Felons in the Castle of York dated 17 March 1755 recorded that he was now in gaol, having suffered the pillory part of the sentence.

Transportation to America

Convicts had been transported in the 1600s but it was in the following century that it came to be seen as an effective alternative to the death sentence. James Hargreaves from Colne was at Thornton-in-Craven races in 1765 when he realised his pocket had been picked and he had lost a silver watch. It had a china face, and was marked with the maker's name and number, and opened with a pricker key. He therefore 'caused the said watch to be published at Thornton Church the Sunday following, offering a guinea reward'. He also sent a message to several clock and watch makers, in particular to William Hargreaves, a Quaker clockmaker in Lancaster from whom he had bought the watch, in case it was brought in for sale or repair. Unfortunately, the messenger forgot the watch number, so William Hargreaves was unable to do anything. Having heard nothing by the following April, James Hargreaves again contacted William Hargreaves, now in Settle, giving full details of the watch, and in due course received a reply that William Hargreaves had seen the watch

in the hands of a man called Greenbank who had said he lived at or near Thornton.

Local JP Overend examined Greenbank and his daughter Esther to get their side of the story. Esther said that she had seen a watch in a field and her mother picked it up and 'put it into her bosom'. At home, Greenbank said his wife had told him she had found a watch. After making some statements during the trial Greenbank was charged on suspicion of taking a watch, value 30s (thus less than the 40s attracting the death penalty). On 2 March 1768, he was found guilty of grand larceny within the benefit of the statute and sentenced 'to be transported to some of His Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America for the term of 7 years'.

By August 1768 Overend began taking sworn statements at Settle and Bentham concerning sheep stealing, including those from Richard Craven and William Wildman. Two other men were implicated by Craven in sheep-stealing expeditions, Craven implying that they, not he, were the instigators. Nevertheless, Richard Craven was committed to the Castle of York to await trial. In November 1768 William Wildman was also committed, charged in this case by Richard Craven with stealing with himself, certain of the sheep! This may have been a ploy by Craven to get a statutory £10 reward for any person prosecuting an offender to conviction. In the event three of the offenders were discharged, but Craven was to hang. However, he was reprieved and his sentence was commuted to 14 years transportation to America.

Some local malefactors at this period were, however, fortunate in avoiding the severest forms of penalty. In 1773, Overend was busy again in Settle, examining four men suspected of counterfeiting coin of the realm. Counterfeiting gold or silver coinage was a capital offence - treason, by reason of the theft of the Monarch's likeness.

The story of the Halifax coiners is well known and many were arrested and hanged. But in the early 1770s Ribblesdale also had a group of coiners who clearly had not learned the lesson from Calderdale. They were two men in the metal-working trade, William Buck of Settle, whitesmith and his cousin and assistant Michael Buck of Dent, a blacksmith, together with Anthony Eglin of Horton, husbandman and James Hill of Litton, a cooper. In 1773 the men were charged with producing counterfeit guineas. Some cases only proceeded if Crown law officers were sure of a guilty verdict - and even so, many of these cases failed. So it is not such a surprise that Eglin was found not guilty, and all four of the Ribblesdale coiners were discharged. Their full story can be read in a previous issue of the Journal (2013).

Between the transportation periods

Transportation to America ceased in 1775, with the start of their war of independence, and gaols quickly filled. Now some prisoners had to be kept on hulks in the Thames, some were freed with conditions, some were made to join the army or navy, and some were sentenced to hard labour: this continued until Australia became the new dumping ground for convicts in 1787.

One night in early 1786 the dwelling-house of Thomas Paxton, innkeeper, in Long Preston was broken into, and some haberdashery goods which were being stored there by a couple of packmen were stolen. In May, a number of items, which were identified by one of the packmen, were found at

Easingwold in possession of James Braithwaite, a 30 year old hawker and pedlar from Bramham, near Leeds. He was charged with 'having feloniously and burglariously broke and entered the dwelling-house of Thomas Paxton of Long Preston, innkeeper, and feloniously and burglariously stealing thereout' the various goods described above. The wording of the charge is important. Robbery involved the use of violence, theft depended on stealth, but burglary, the breaking into a house at night, had long been a capital offence. He was found guilty of stealing goods valued at 40s, the amount at which a death sentence became mandatory. He was executed by hanging at York's Tyburn without Micklegate Bar, with four others, all younger than 30 years old, on 19 August 1786.

Transportation to New South Wales

Transportation to Australia began with the sailing in 1787 of the First Fleet of eleven ships to found a penal settlement. Because the government's intention was ultimately to develop a colony, it seems that proportionately more women were sent 'down under' than were punished at home. In 1789 the first all-female convict ship was despatched and others followed.

In the mid-1790s there were adverse weather conditions and harvest failures. Hunger led to crime, and a number of suspects from the Earby district were committed to the Castle of York in 1795. They included John Crook, a labourer, charged with breaking into the Earby corn-mill and stealing 30 lb of wheat flour. In Crook's confession he listed other substantial thefts from the mill and many opportunistic thefts in the locality committed with a variety of accomplices. On one occasion he took a quantity of flour from the mill and divided it with his sister, Betty Crook of Earby. Betty also appeared at the Assizes charged with theft of flour.

Some of the suspects were found not guilty, but some were found guilty of grand larceny and that meant a sentence of being transported for seven years. In practice this meant transfer to the hulks off Portsmouth: they were to provide convict labour rebuilding Cumberland Fort, which guarded Langston Harbour east of the town and the dockyard itself.

However, the 36 year old Betty Crook was sentenced to be transported for fourteen years. She was put on board the *Indispensable*, an early all-female convict transport to New South Wales which sailed from Portsmouth in November 1795 and arrived in Port Jackson (Sydney) the following April. In due course she was assigned as a convict servant to a man named Isaac Tarr. He was a Marine Private who had travelled to Australia in 1787-8 on board the *Sirius*, the flagship of the First Fleet which carried the newly appointed Governor, Arthur Phillip, who was to find a site for the new colony.

In 1797, Isaac married Betty at Parramatta and was granted 40 acres of land. Betty and Isaac had a daughter, Elizabeth, in 1799. In due course the younger Elizabeth married Isaac's then convict servant. It is clear that by this time the whole family was involved with the production of lime. Much building construction was going on and lime for mortar was desperately short. Some limestone was sent out from Britain as ballast in ships, but local ancient aboriginal shell middens were used to supply the lime kiln and shells were even dredged from the sea. The problem was not solved until the coming of railways later in the century brought stone from the Australian interior. In 1819 (by which time Betty would have been aged about 59) she was being paid at frequent intervals for lime for Government use.

1822 saw a General Muster in the Colony and Betty was listed as Free by Servitude, but that year she was petitioning the new governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, to be put on the stores at Parramatta, which meant she no longer felt able to be self-sufficient. She said she was aged and infirm, and her husband Isaac had lost the use of his limbs and was unable to feed himself. She was then given permission 'to be victualled from the Parramatta stores as an object of charity'. By now with three grandchildren, Isaac died in 1828 and Betty a year later aged about 70. A tough life, but probably no more so than if she had remained in Earby.

An article in the *Journal* (2019) charted the result of a highway robbery which took place between Burton in Lonsdale and Ingleton. James Metcalfe, a 23 year-old farmer's son of Bentham township, attacked George Burrow of Westhouse, and relieved him of clothes and money. James appeared at the York Assizes on 28 July 1827 and was found guilty. A death sentence was inevitable for highway robbery. However, clemency was shown and it was commuted to transportation for life. After passing through the aptly named prison hulk *Retribution*, moored at Woolwich, he left London for Port Jackson (Sydney), New South Wales, on 23 November 1827 arriving in Sydney after a passage of 111 days. By 1837 he was assigned to work elsewhere and in 1838 absconded. His life ended in 1840: cause of death 'accidentally killed - intemperance'.

Transportation to Tasmania

From the early 1800s to the abolition of transportation in 1853, the main Australian convict destination was Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). At least two local men: Richard Hartley (aged 28, married and a weaver or hawker) and John Thackwray (a single man of 20 and of agricultural trade) were sent to Tasmania. In November 1840 a Skipton drover was on the road travelling from Settle to Long Preston. He met the two who, after some conversation, knocked him down and robbed him of 4s in silver, and some coppers. They were soon caught and appeared at York Assizes in the following March, Hartley pleading not guilty and Thackwray guilty. However, they were both convicted, to be transported for 15 years to Tasmania. The first port of call for Hartley was the prison hulk *Fortitude* moored on the Thames at Chatham, where he arrived in April 1841. Thackwray found himself on the *Justitia* hulk at Woolwich.

Life in these stripped-down and patched-up old wooden fighting vessels was tough and degrading in the extreme. Convicts from now on were known only by a number. They would wear 12 lb of iron ankle rings linked by cord to the waist-belt. There was heavy work to be done - emptying barges, or working in the Woolwich arsenal. Floggings were frequent. However, in some ways, life on the hulks was preferable to that they would face in the colonial depots.

After one month Thackwray boarded HM convict ship *Westmorland* for his 112 day journey to Hobart. Hartley boarded the larger convict ship *Barrosa* which arrived at Hobart in mid-January 1842.

Thackwray absconded from his first depot and was punished by hard labour in chains for nine months, building a causeway, and having his probationary period extended. He absconded again and received 75 lashes and at the end of January 1842, still only 4½ months after landing, he was sent to the coal mines on the Tasman Peninsula. This was a

probation station of the severest regime – long shifts, hard labour and appalling conditions. Here he was guilty of disobeying orders, receiving yet another extension to his probationary time. However, the system was breaking him – he was noted later in the year as quiet and sick, dying on 16 November 1842.

Hartley was sent firstly to the coal mines, and then to near Launceston where he worked was on settlers' land, road and bridges, and where he absconded three times during 1842. As a result he received an extra year's probation, 50 lashes, time in the House of Correction and 90 days hard labour on the tread-wheel. He was then sent to the coal mines again. Misdemeanours continued to result in punishment but eventually in October 1849 he was granted a Ticket of Leave, enabling him to work for wages, and a Conditional Pardon followed on 28 June 1853.

However he was not finished with the punishment system. One year later he was tried for stealing a pair of shoes from a house, and received a sentence of imprisonment and two years hard labour in Launceston Gaol, but was quickly sent to prisoner barracks at a logging station on Tasman Peninsula. In December 1855, fifteen long hard years after that momentary incident on the road to Long Preston, Richard Hartley was 'Discharged to Freedom'. There are further records of his imprisonment for 10 months for having meat unlawfully in his possession, and finally, his death in 1873.

House of Correction

Acts of Parliament in the time of Elizabeth I required the setting up of Houses of Correction for the provision of work for the poor and vagrants, and in 1594 a wealthy local gentleman left £20 in his will towards the building of a House of Correction in Wakefield. At first there was little concern with prisoner welfare, but very gradually over the years there were reforms and at last, in 1800, some extensions to the buildings and improvements to the regime were initiated.

In 1816 Lydia Hunter, a tinker's wife, was charged with stealing a £20 Bill of Exchange from the house of Stephen Dawson of Paley Green in Giggleswick. For her grand larceny she was found guilty and sentenced to death by the judge, Mr Justice Bayley. Her sentence was commuted to imprisonment and hard labour for two years at the Wakefield House of Correction. One commentator wrote that if Mr Justice Bayley had one fault – it was his leniency!

A few years later, in 1822, ten sheep belonging to Mrs Rebecca Clapham, a wealthy widow of Stackhouse, were reduced to nine overnight. A search at Settle Shambles '... in consequence of some information' revealed a skin in the possession of Henry Hargraves, a butcher there. The next day the local JP, Anthony Lister, examined Hargraves, who said that a man called Robert Mason had offered to sell him a sheep's skin. Mason was found guilty of stealing the sheep. Mrs Clapham asked for mercy for him but the sentence (as it had to be for sheep-stealing until 1832) was death by hanging. At these particular Assizes, forty prisoners were capitally convicted by Mr Justice Holroyd, who later recommended many of them to his Majesty's mercy. All except two were then reprieved, Mason being sent to the Wakefield House of Correction for two years.

In 1818, the House of Correction received a visitation, from two members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) – Joseph John Gurney and his sister Elizabeth Fry – who reported that though the prison was clean and the prisoners well-fed, there was severe over-crowding; there wasn't enough work (principally weaving and wool-dressing) to go round, leading to idle hands and corrupt associations. Improvements were completed in 1823, just in time for Robert Mason's arrival. A treadmill, invented by the eminent civil engineer and millwright William Cubitt, was installed to grind corn, the prisoners being paid for the work but receiving only a part of their earnings – one half before trial, and one quarter after conviction, the remainder going to the Riding and the Governor. Towards the end of 1825, as Mason left, the Visiting Justices reported general good conduct, health and moral improvement among the prisoners.

At the Assizes of March 1852, 31 year old Mary Hodgson was charged with having concealed the birth of her child at Arncliffe in November 1851 by secretly burning the body, and Richard Jaques, aged 76, of abetting her. Under an Infanticide Act in 1624, a single woman trying to hide the death of a baby was considered to have committed murder. The only way out was to try and prove it was still-born. However, increasingly through the 1700s the law became more understanding, viewing such women as victims rather than criminals. One defence was to claim that the birth was not concealed – the pregnancy was widely known and preparations had been made, alternatively it could be claimed that the woman was not of sound mind. An Act of 1803 allowed that women acquitted of murder (thus spared the death penalty) could be charged instead with concealment, leading to imprisonment only.

Jaques was a lead miner and Mary Hodgson was his housekeeper. The Assize hearing followed an inquest in December at which the jury had reached a verdict of 'Found dead'. Importantly it was said that Mary was never thought to be of very sound mind. A female neighbour visiting their house in November was told by Jaques that Mary was unwell upstairs and could not be seen; however there was a suspicious bowl of something which Jaques seemed anxious to conceal. Shortly after, the neighbour returned after noticing an offensive smell and found Mary and Jaques by a large fire. The neighbour contacted a surgeon, Mr Robinson, who went to the house with a constable, and putting his walking stick into the fire discovered parts of a child's body. However, there was no proof the child had been born alive and therefore no proof of murder. The jury found the prisoners guilty of endeavouring to conceal the birth, but recommended Mary to mercy on the grounds she had been persuaded to act as she did by Jaques. She received three months hard labour in the House of Correction, and Jaques twelve months.

Conclusion

The records of the York Assizes provide many local examples of the proceedings of justice – demonstrating that ideas about justice and punishment changed significantly between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries.

The references are available in the on-line version

Garden designs for Ingleborough Hall: some unresolved questions

Ken Pearce

In 2014 I was granted access to the plan chest in the Ingleborough Estate office. This venerable piece of built-in furniture proved to contain many maps and plans of the Hall, Clapham village, the wider Estate and farms which had, at one time or another, belonged to the Estate. It took many months to work carefully through all the material, sorting and cataloguing. Among them were designs for the Ingleborough Hall gardens.

These two plans are brilliantly coloured, precisely drafted and beautifully lettered. They were the work of a T.H.Mawson and declared him to be "Hon.A.R.I.B.A., London & Windermere" and were dated 1909 and 1910 respectively. To me they were works of art. Such plans, things of beauty, deserve to be available for a wider public to enjoy. And several questions need to be answered if at all possible. Who was Mawson? Also I wondered whether the designs had ever been executed. Could their lines still be distinguished among the surroundings of Ingleborough Hall now that many years had passed during which circumstances and priorities had changed so very much?

To add to the mystery one of the plans was numbered 1, dated December 1909, while the other was numbered 3, dated January 1910. Why was there no plan number 2 in the chest? Where might it be? Could it be brought to light?

Brief recourse to the worldwide web and architectural reference works quickly established that Thomas Hayton Mawson (1861-1933) was an English landscape architect practising from offices in Windermere, Lancaster and London. Much of his work was carried out in public parks across Britain and overseas in Greece, Canada, Denmark and the Netherlands. His work included a number of prestige projects in the fields of both garden design and town-planning. He was also involved in the design of a large number of private gardens.

Permission was granted to visit the gardens around



Ingleborough Hall to investigate just how far the Mawson plans had been implemented. The physical form of the long lawn to the south east of the house is the predominant feature in the initial draft as well as Mawson's final plans and in today's garden. The walls and long terrace also feature in all three. Mawson illustrates elegant ironwork features at short flights of steps around the edge of the lawn but these are missing from the draft version. Some survive in the gardens to this day. The richly coloured flower beds shown by Mawson are nowhere to be seen nowadays, especially the elaborately shaped beds and paths around a lesser rectangular lawn laid out to the south west of the house. This area is now devoid of formal plantings. The curved sweep of the carriage court which Mawson designed to front the house at its entrance appears to have been swung through 90 degrees to front the south west end of the building. The sinuous path which Mawson shows snaking round the south east corner of this lesser lawn is no longer visible. The three short flights of steps giving access to the north western end of the long terrace above the 'great plain' have been replaced by a gradual slope. A crescent shaped grassed slope at the north west end of the 'great plain' is there but there is no flight of steps down from the south western side of the long lawn to the rougher ground below. Decorative features and walling shown at the south eastern end of the long lawn on Mawson's plan are now missing though the double flight of steps which he shows leading down from the long terrace onto the north eastern edge of the long lawn is there today.

It looks as though many elements of Mawson's plan were put in place but may have been simplified to save costs or as the design was initially put in place piece by piece or later when the numbers of garden maintenance staff had to be reduced in wartime.

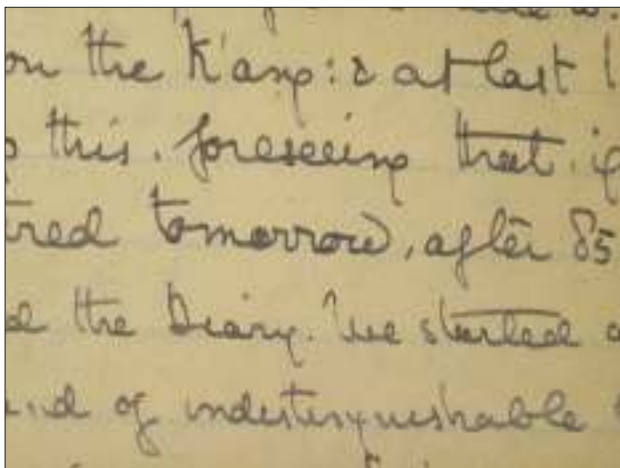
Meanwhile two more designs for Ingleborough Hall gardens had come to light in a Farrer family collection. These are in a much



more precarious condition than Mawson's splendid plans and appear to be drafts of two quite different designs, rougher versions than Mawson's carefully executed work. They are similar in general layout but with important differences. The long lawn so dominant in Mawson's design and in today's garden, is labelled in one of these drafts as 'the great plain'. Both carry a lot of handwritten notes but no date, nor authorship. Nevertheless a careful comparison with the handwriting in one of the diaries written by Reginald Farrer (1880-1920) suggests very strongly that the draft was his work or had at least been heavily annotated by him. These notes include mention of Upper and Lower Terraces in one design and of 'present terrace prolonged' in the other. The designs both include many measurements, lengths and elevations (above sea-level?) with mention of walls and parapets. One design shows a 'little summer house, on pillar', a feature which appears in well-known photographs of Ingleborough Hall and garden.

Also in the care of the Farrer family is a whole-plate photographic negative of one of the garden terraces. Computer technology allows this to be converted to a positive image. One can then see that the terrace shown is the long one beside and above the north eastern edge of the 'great plain'. One can distinguish a series of potted plants standing guard along the edge of the terrace.

Examining the large scale Ordnance Survey map of the area gives a better idea of how the garden has evolved. A 25" to one mile OS map of Clapham was published in 1909, the same year as the first of Mawson's plans. This map had been re-surveyed in 1892-93 and also revised in 1907. It shows the

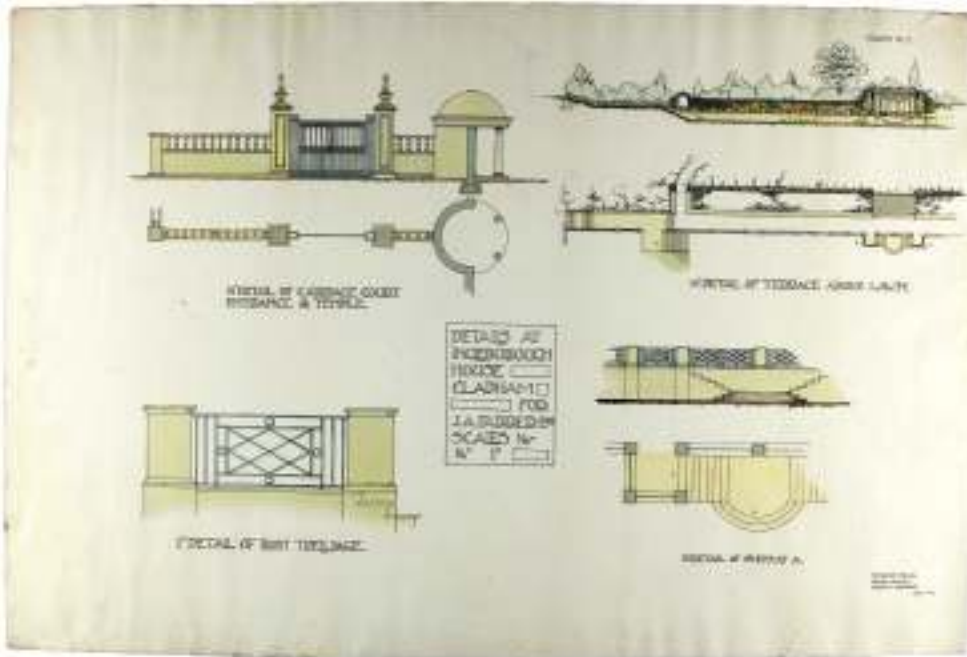


long terrace above the lawn but no rear wall to prevent soil rolling down the slope above, onto its level surface. The 'great plain' is of a much more irregular outline and features a couple of coniferous trees and a fountain towards the western end, within a circular footpath. The eastern end of the lawned area is punctuated by a small handful of isolated trees. Just two short flights of steps are shown. The layout at this stage appears to be a great deal simpler. The circular path continues to be featured on the Ordnance Survey maps over many years.

So the fundamentals of this part of the garden, the part for which Mawson had prepared such attractive plans, remain broadly the same today as in 1907 and 1910 though with enormous changes to the plantings.

In an effort to find more information about Mawson's plans the Estate records and written reports were consulted. The Estate account ledgers held at the North Yorkshire County Record Office at Northallerton yield just one entry of interest in this context – in June 1912 work started on 'Ingleborough Terrace' and was completed by December of that year. The total cost of the work was £233 16s 9d. of which 4 guineas (£4 4s.) was the fee paid to the architect, named as F.A. Whitwell rather than Mawson. There is no indication as to which terrace is referred to.

We find more by looking through James Anson Farrer's 'Annuary'. J.A. Farrer was squire of Clapham and owner of the Ingleborough Estate from 1889 until his death in 1925. He kept a diary in which he recorded one entry per year giving an outline of his travels and other interesting events or activities. This record he termed his 'annuary', a word he



one of Reginald Farrer's draft designs – or the schemes of Mr. Whitwell himself. The mystery remains.

In a further attempt to learn more about the background to Mawson's splendid plans a visit was made to the Cumbria Record Office in Kendal. There is a large collection of Mawson material there, drawn from the firm's offices in Windermere, Lancaster and London. The catalogue index of 245 Mawson plans includes no reference to Clapham, or Ingleborough Hall. The accounts ledger for 1909 – 1913 contains no charge or income related to work at or for Ingleborough; the list of

seems to have coined, and it was maintained almost to the end of his life. His entry for 1912 reads in part 'We returned to Ingleborough for Easter early in April. The terrace round the house was being made, and was finished to the general satisfaction of the family the last week in May' and later in that year 'We gave 2 garden parties in May: the first was spoilt by rain, but on the 29th. the day was very bright, and tea was served on the new terrace for the first time.'

In 1915 he records '(C) stayed with us for a week at the end of September, and I motored with him to Morecambe. At this time the terrace was laid in red asphalt.'

These entries seem more likely to refer to the upper terrace close to the walls of the house rather than the long straight garden terrace which runs alongside the lawn. They may, or may not, indicate the implementation of Mawson's design, or

clients lists no Farrers. Nothing to aid my research.

As a possibly last gambit I followed the suggestion given in a cryptic note inscribed on the front page of the catalogue, that those failing to find what they want in the collection could try the Lindley library at the Royal Horticultural Society, telephone number provided.

Sadly that avenue yielded nothing either – the mystery remains, at least in part. Where is Mawson's drawing no. 2? How costly were these drawings? When were the draft designs prepared? Just how much of the lay-out of today's Ingleborough Hall gardens can safely be attributed to Thomas Mawson or to Reginald Farrer?

Regardless of this there seems little question about the artistry and interest inherent in the three designs. Perhaps someone can shed more light on these fascinating documents.

Book Review

Natural awakenings: early naturalists in Lakeland.

Ian D Hodkinson

Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (2019)

Sometimes local historians can be too parochial. We have a tendency to focus on our own patch, whether this is a single house, village or parish. But these are not self contained entities, existing in splendid isolation, so there is the danger that we miss the interaction with the wider world. This volume charts the lives of eleven naturalists who lived in Cumbria until the early decades of the nineteenth century. So what is the relevance to those who are particularly interested in North Craven?

The first of the naturalists considered by the author is Thomas Lawson (1632-1691) who is described as the pioneer of Cumbrian natural history. Lawson was born in Lawkland but moved to Rampside, near Barrow, to serve as a minister before becoming a Quaker. He was a methodical plant collector and correspondent with John Ray. This resulted in Ray's exploration of Ingleborough and the earliest record of some of the rarer Dales plants.

A second example is John Gough (1757-1825) who was born in Kendal. As an infant he lost his sight following an attack of smallpox. This did not stop him becoming an accomplished naturalist and one of the most influential of his time. In 1796 he visited the Ebbing & Flowing Well at Giggleswick and provided an early account of how it worked. He also wrote an article about bird migration with dates of when swallows arrived in Kendal and in Settle in 1808. But who was his informant in Settle?

The other naturalists covered in this book are equally fascinating. If you are interested in the early development of natural history then this is the book for you.

Membership, Engagement and the NCHT

Jessica Kemmish

Outline of research

This project has been carried out as part of a MA degree at Lancaster University with the support of the North Craven Heritage Trust. The aim of this project has been to look at potential ways the NCHT can increase engagement with current members as well as grow its membership in the future, to ensure that it will continue to thrive as an organisation. When I embarked upon this project I was surprised by the lack of literature on the subject and on the challenges faced by voluntary local heritage organisations. What does exist tends to focus specifically upon local museums or local organisations looking after particular sites or buildings of historical interest. The one area which has significant coverage is the increasing financial difficulties local heritage organisations are facing due to cuts in funding [1]. However, as the Trust does not rely upon grants for its funding this is not an issue for the organisation. For this reason, funding will not be discussed, and priority has been given to other topics.

There were three elements to the investigation. Firstly, research conducted through correspondence and interviews with local history and heritage organisations within the North-West and individuals who have volunteered or worked within the heritage sector. As part of this aspect of my research I contacted twenty-three organisations and individuals of whom sixteen replied. Some are named in this article, but others wished to remain anonymous [2]. Secondly, the results of a questionnaire distributed to members of the Trust via email in February 2020 and via hard copy to any members who attended the talk hosted by the Trust on the 12th February 2020. I wish to thank both the Trust committee for kindly distributing the questionnaire on my behalf and all members who kindly took the time to complete it. We received forty-four responses, providing a sample size which is greater than 10% of the total membership. Thirdly, some suggestions included below are based upon my own observations and ideas as well as those generated through several meetings with Mike Slater and Pam Jordan [3]. I hope that you will find this article both interesting and thought-provoking and that my research will in some small way have a positive impact upon the future preservation of the heritage of North Craven.

Recruitment of new members to the Trust

Whilst there is no need for an urgent recruitment drive it is still important to recruit new members in order to ensure that the Trust continues to flourish and enjoy a high level of support in the future. Although the Trust is financially reliant upon its membership it is through the support of individual members that the organisation is able to carry out its vital work to protect and preserve the heritage of North Craven and so achieve its key aims. It is therefore crucial that new members are continually recruited to the Trust. And you, as existing members, can help with this recruitment. The questionnaire revealed the vital role current members play in recruiting new members. A large majority of respondents, 64%, said that they had first found out about the Trust

through a friend. The significance of this is that it demonstrates the vital role each of you can and do play through spreading the word about the Trust. So please do continue to talk to friends about the Trust and invite them along to events. By doing so you are inviting your friends along to something that they will enjoy and also supporting the work of the Trust.

Alongside word of mouth and the efforts of current members, advertising is also an important way to recruit new members. Of the six respondents to the questionnaire who had been a member of the Trust for only 1-2 years, three had first found out about the organisation through posters and the advertising of talks. This suggests that advertising through posters, leaflets and other means remains important.

Among the work undertaken by the Trust is the provision of grants for the restoration of buildings of historical significance in North Craven. The Trust also both carries out research itself and provides grants to students from Lancaster University to carry out research into the history of the area, in order to preserve that information for future generations and make it more accessible. The Trust monitors planning proposals to ensure that the natural beauty and heritage of the area are maintained. It facilitates the sharing and celebration of the heritage of North Craven through events, the Journal, the website and its social media pages. Yet, many people in the local area probably remain unaware of the great work the organisation does and the Trust has been very modest about its achievements, not blowing its own trumpet enough.

For example, as many of you will know, the Trust provides grants to help with the preservation and restoration of buildings of historical significance in North Craven, which are not privately owned, through the Historic Buildings Fund. A notable example of a recent project which the Trust helped to fund was the restoration of the Priest's Door at Kirkby Malham Church. This restoration and others like it have succeeded in conserving some significant parts of the heritage of North Craven and details of these projects can be found online via the website. Your support as a member helps to enable these grants to be given and thus for this vital conservation to be carried out. However, there are probably more projects out there which could benefit from the assistance of a grant. Meanwhile, there is a lack of knowledge amongst people in the local area that the Trust is able and willing to support such projects. If you as members could therefore spread the word of the Historic Building Fund to people in the local area and keep an ear out for any appropriate projects it would be greatly appreciated. Meanwhile, the Trust could also look to advertise the availability of grants through online directories such as The Heritage Funding Directory [4]. Informing local parish councils of the grants available may also be beneficial in helping to identify future projects.

The Trust should strive to celebrate its successes more and through advertising share these successes with people living

in the local area to raise awareness about the great work it undertakes. This in turn should garner greater support for the Trust and attract new members. For this reason, it would seem wise to explore possible ways to expand its advertising in the future, perhaps through publicising its work in local newspapers such as the Craven Herald who will often publicise the work of charitable organisations free of charge. Adverts could also be placed in magazines, something which other heritage groups have found to be successful. Mark Corner, who was previously chairman of the Friends of the Dales, highlighted that advertising in the Dalesman magazine and including an insert of their leaflet led to the recruitment of around one hundred new members. Hence, it may be worthwhile for the Trust to explore the possibility of advertising in magazines. In addition advertising could also be done through local radio stations such as the Dales Radio or similar radio stations. Obtaining an interview on the radio would act as a form of free advertising and would allow the Trust to speak about the great work it does in relation to preserving the heritage of North Craven for the future.

It may also be beneficial to review how some forms of advertising currently used by the organisation could potentially be adapted to make them more effective. For example, leaflets distributed by the Trust could have the programme of upcoming events included in them to give prospective members an idea of the kinds of subjects covered at talks. New ways of distributing leaflets could also be investigated, including current members distributing leaflets to friends and potentially putting leaflets in estate agents in the hopes that these may be seen by people who have newly arrived in the area.

Another form of advertising which the Trust can continue to develop is its use of social media. With the world we live in becoming increasingly digitalised the Trust has endeavoured to expand its online presence. Pam Jordan has thus far done a sterling job of setting up social media pages for the Trust on both Twitter and Facebook and its reach on social media is growing. At the time of writing this article the Facebook page for example currently has eighty-five 'likes', a figure which has risen from sixty-eight 'likes' around four months ago. Both the Twitter and Facebook pages are regularly updated with information about upcoming events. Like any other form of advertising, information posted about events may persuade non-members who see the pages to attend an event or even become a member. Several of the local history and heritage organisations I contacted did report that they have had a small number of new members join as a result of their social media pages and through Facebook in particular. Events are also publicised online through Facebook groups which advertise events within the North Craven area free of charge such as 'Visit Settle'. Advertising through these local group pages could be expanded to cover more areas of North Craven. This would be worthwhile pursuing because adverts on these local group pages are probably more likely to be seen by someone new to the area. This is because finding these pages only requires knowing the name of the town or village rather than knowing the name of the Trust.

Social media could also be used to advertise the wider activities of the Trust beyond the events it runs. It is likely that many residents of North Craven are unaware that the Trust carries out work to evaluate and assess, and then if

necessary, campaign against, proposed building developments within the area. However, social media could be used to spread the word and to gain support for individual campaigns. Gaining a large following and support from non-members on social media for a particular campaign against a planning application could help to demonstrate to the local council the level of opposition by adding to the already large voice the Trust has on such matters. Other local heritage groups, such as the Friends of the Dales have found that social media can be an effective way to gain support from non-members, and so hopefully the Trust may be able to replicate their success.

However, it is important to highlight that social media is not in itself an answer to all recruitment issues. As Dr Sam Riches, Academic Co-ordinator of the Regional Heritage Centre at Lancaster University, highlighted, social media 'is important but although it can be seen as a solution for everything relating to marketing and communication in reality it definitely isn't.' Dr Riches emphasised that not all engagement online via social media is necessarily meaningful engagement. Hence, someone showing their support for the Trust online via social media would not automatically translate into them offering direct support by becoming a member or attending an event. Despite this 'the use of social media can be a part of a good strategy as it can raise awareness of an organisation and also be used to publicise the outputs of projects.' [5]

It should be noted that any expansion in advertising, via social media or other means, will probably require the investment of funds as well as the dedication and hard work of the trustees on the committee. Several of the heritage organisations I spoke to stressed the value of having a strong committee for the recruitment of new members and particularly of having specific trustees whose roles are dedicated to publicity and recruiting new members. Cartmel Peninsula Local History Society, for example, emphasised that through having a committee member who focused solely upon publicising their society they were able to increase their membership by 100%. This is a remarkable achievement.

On the wider issue of the committee, it is vital that the Trust maintains a board of dedicated trustees to ensure that it continues to thrive in the future. However, recruiting trustees is no easy task. Amongst the local history groups and heritage organisations I contacted problems with recruiting new trustees was one of the top concerns expressed by respondents. If the Trust is to continue to flourish new trustees will be required in the future. I would therefore urge anyone who feels strongly about the aims of the Trust and who would be willing to volunteer some of their time to achieve those aims to consider becoming a trustee either now or in the future.

Another issue which was frequently raised by the local heritage and history organisations I contacted and which was also identified by several respondents to the questionnaire, was the difficulty in attracting and recruiting younger members. Attracting a diverse range of people is also an issue which the wider heritage sector in the UK faces [6]. The difficulty in attracting younger members may stem from a lack of interest in heritage amongst younger age groups. However, this seems unlikely to be a complete explanation given that there are individuals of all age groups who have an interest in both history and heritage, as shown by the

thousands of students who opt to study history each year and people of all ages choosing to visit museums or sites of historical interest. Alternatively, the lack of younger members in local heritage organisations may reflect that those who have retired have more time in which to pursue their own interests than those who are working, studying or have young children. One heritage organisation I spoke to noted that their talks had on occasion attracted some younger people based on the subject of that specific talk being of interest. However, one younger person lamented that whilst they had thoroughly enjoyed the talk and were interested in local history they could not commit to always attending due to family and work commitments and so only attended as a one-off. Whilst this therefore suggests that it will remain very difficult to recruit younger members to join the Trust it may still be possible to persuade more people to attend specific talks if the right topics are chosen. If particular topics of greater interest to younger people could be identified and speakers found who would be willing to present on these topics then it may be possible to attract a more diverse age range. One possible area to pursue may be having a greater focus on the environment. In recent times many young people have engaged in campaigns, protests and debates about climate change. Hence, if the Trust were to offer talks on the environment and the impact of climate change on the local area it is possible that these talks may help to attract people of all ages.

Furthermore, there are several potential ways to engage with younger people, for example with pupils within local schools. Previous attempts to do this have proved to be difficult due to schools having little leeway within their curriculum. However, there is the possibility that the Trust could support some A level students as they complete what is known as an Extended Project Qualification (EPQ). This involves students completing an independent research project on a topic of their choice and then producing either a five-thousand-word essay or creating an artefact (e.g. a piece of art or a short film). The Trust may therefore be able to suggest a list of ideas for topics and then support those students in the completion of their project by directing them to resources.

It is important that any changes made do not negatively impact upon current members. For example, changing the time of talks so that they are hosted in the evening could make them more accessible to younger people who may be unable to attend daytime meetings due to work commitments. However, doing this may be to the detriment of current members, most of whom are retired and for whom meetings during the daytime are preferable and easier to attend, particularly during the winter months. It is therefore important that any changes are given due consideration.

Engagement with members

As well as recruiting new members it is equally important to increase engagement with current members. The Trust should seek to provide more ways for members to contribute to discussions about the heritage of North Craven. When conducting my research one of the heritage groups, Lancaster and District Heritage Group, kindly invited me to attend one of their meetings to learn more about their group. One of the things I most enjoyed about the meeting was how all members had the opportunity to share any research they had been doing and to contribute to the meeting. It was really lovely to see

several of the members speak passionately about their particular interests in the heritage of the local area and I think it would be great if the Trust could adopt something similar in the future. Doing so would provide members with opportunities to get more involved in the work of the Trust and to share their enthusiasm for the heritage of North Craven.

Furthermore, the vast majority of the forty-four respondents to the questionnaire mentioned an interest in the history of North Craven as either a driving factor for their joining the Trust or one of the reasons they continue to enjoy being a member. The Trust should do more to foster this interest in history amongst its members. Whilst the monthly talks and the annual Journal may be enough to serve this interest in local history for some members, the Trust recognises that other members may enjoy having further opportunities to pursue their interest in the heritage of North Craven. The committee would therefore like to encourage any members who wish to pursue a particular interest in the local area to do so. If you would like to carry out some of your own research but you are not sure where to start or what topic to choose you could look for inspiration amongst the resources on the Trust website or ask the committee who may be able to help you with ideas to get you started. This research could also be done in small groups, perhaps meeting over a cup of tea once a week or fortnight. The research could then be presented to other members at meetings or published in the Newsletter and Journal. As well as being an enjoyable activity you would also be making a positive contribution to the preservation of the heritage of North Craven.

Another potential platform for sharing research undertaken by members could also be through the Trust's social media pages. The Facebook page in particular could be a place for members to share any new discoveries they make to engage in discussions. Photos taken by members could also be shared to showcase and celebrate the heritage of North Craven. If there was sufficient interest, a different theme could be chosen each month with members sharing photos taken in North Craven to fit that theme. This is something that the National Trust does each week on its social media pages and which the Trust could replicate on a more local level.

In the future it may be possible for the Trust to use social media to enable members who are unable to attend talks to enjoy them from the comfort of their own home through a live streaming of the event. Live streaming would effectively enable members to watch an event in a similar way to how live television is broadcast but with the added benefit of being able to pose questions to the speaker in real-time. However, it should also be acknowledged that currently only a minority of members use social media. Of those who responded to the questionnaire 30% said that they used some form of social media. Whilst 30% is a significant figure the actual percentage of all members who use social media may be lower than this. Thus, when thinking about ways to engage with members it is crucial that the Trust also looks beyond social media. For example, one way to increase engagement with members and one which was raised by several respondents to the questionnaire would be to conduct more local guided walks during the summer months. Doing so would provide more opportunities for members to gather together, learn more about the local area and enjoy the heritage of North Craven.

Conclusions

The approaches and suggestions discussed in this article are just some of the potential ways in which the Trust could seek to recruit new members and to increase engagement with current members. It is also not possible to tell how successful the approaches suggested will be until they have been tried. However, I hope that some of these approaches will prove fruitful and that my project has at least opened up a conversation about how to approach these two issues which will continue into the future.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mike Slater, Pam Jordan and Mark Corner for their support and assistance in completing this project. Likewise, I would like to express my gratitude to all members who completed the questionnaire. I also wish to thank all the representatives of local history and heritage organisations and individuals who have worked or volunteered within the heritage sector for kindly sharing their experiences.

Notes

- [1] An interesting article on the financial difficulties facing heritage organisations is Bagwell, Sally, Corry Dan and Rotheroe Abigail, 'The future of funding: Options for heritage and cultural organisations', *Cultural Trends*, vol.1, issue 24 (2015) pp.28-33.
- [2] The organisations who gave me permission to include their names included
Cartmel Peninsula Local History Society,
Cumbria Amenity Trust Mining History Society,
Lancaster and Derwent Fells Local History Society, Lancaster and District Heritage Group and Lorton & Derwent Fells Local History Society.
- [3] The research for this article was conducted from January to April 2020.
- [4] The Heritage Funding Directory website can be found at https://www.heritagefundingdirectoryuk.org/#home/?view_3_page=2
- [5] These quotes are from notes taken from an interview conducted with Dr Sam Riches on 28/02/2020. I wish to thank Dr Riches for kindly agreeing to participate in the interview and for aiding me with my research.
- [6] Ian Brinkley, Naomi Clayton, Charles Levy, Katy Morris, and Jonathan Wright, *Heritage in the 2020 Knowledge Economy, A report for the Heritage Lottery Fund* (May 2010) pp.34-35. Available at: <https://historicengland.org.uk/content/heritage-counts/pub/2012/work-foundation-heritage-2020-pdf/>

Response to Jessica Kemmish's article on Membership, Engagement and the Trust

Pamela Jordan

The Trustees are very grateful to Jessica Kemmish for the excellent report that she presented following the Bursary we awarded her last year. It has given us a number of things to think about and work on, to ensure that the Trust continues to thrive as an organisation.

We are continually looking at ways to promote ourselves and it was unfortunate that a promotion day that we had organised at Booths had to be cancelled because of the pandemic but we are hopeful that it will take place sometime this year. We are seeking coverage in local publications, particularly parish magazines and community news, and continue to try to find ways to increase our online profile.

One of our biggest challenges is how to attract younger members and we are going to explore with the local schools the suggestion of supporting students with

their studies for an Extended Project Qualification. We feel that activities such as our collaboration with the Friends of the Dales for the environmental conference may appeal to younger people.

We note that many members joined the Trust through an interest in local history and we hope soon to start some small research projects with which members could get involved. Walks and outings this last year had to be cancelled for obvious reasons but we are aware of the benefits of such activities and intend to resume them as soon as we are able to do so safely.

A positive thing to have come out of the pandemic has been the use of Zoom meetings and we will investigate whether we could stream meetings, for those not able to attend actual meetings, when they hopefully resume in the near future.

Book Review

The Railway Navvies of Settle: the end of the line.

Sarah Lister & Teresa Gordon (2020)

It took some 2300 men to build the section of railway between Settle and Dent Head. The work was physically demanding and dangerous with many accidents reported in the press. In nearly ten years of construction 22 navvies died, half of whom were killed in accidents. Another 30 of their children and wives died from mainly infectious diseases. This book could have been a depressing catalogue of people's often short and tragic lives but it is also a realistic picture of life on the railways.

Other topics covered include the doctors who worked in Settle as well as some of those who invested in the railway (& lost considerable sums in the process). As ever Sarah Lister has unearthed a rich seam with a wealth of detail. It is a pity that Teresa Gordon's illustrations were not given more room. The book is profusely illustrated throughout, but some of the photographs are far too small.

The Importance of Burton in Lonsdale's Lay Subsidy of 1297

Tony Stephens

Introduction

The chance survival of a single record can occasionally provide unique insights into a township's history. This is the case for the Lay Subsidy (taxation) records of 1297 for the township of Burton in Lonsdale. In the interest of brevity we shall refer to Burton in Lonsdale in what follows as Burton. The Lay Subsidy provides highly detailed records of the items of value for each Burton household in 1297, making the records some of the most informative for any northern subsistence township for any period. With the exception of a single tradesman, all the householders of 1297 were subsistence farmers, taxed for their holdings of oats, barley, hay and a small number of animals. Importantly, the basic layout of Burton is today largely as it was in 1297. Many other townships have layouts which have survived from medieval times, but few also have detailed documentary records of the inhabitants from the time when they were subsistence townships. Burton's records therefore provide a useful benchmark when studying other subsistence northern townships with similar farming practices whose records have not survived. Ashbourne in Derbyshire is such a township, and it will be shown how Burton's records are helpful in suggesting where Ashbourne's centre is likely to have been located in Anglo Saxon times.

Burton in Lonsdale in the medieval period

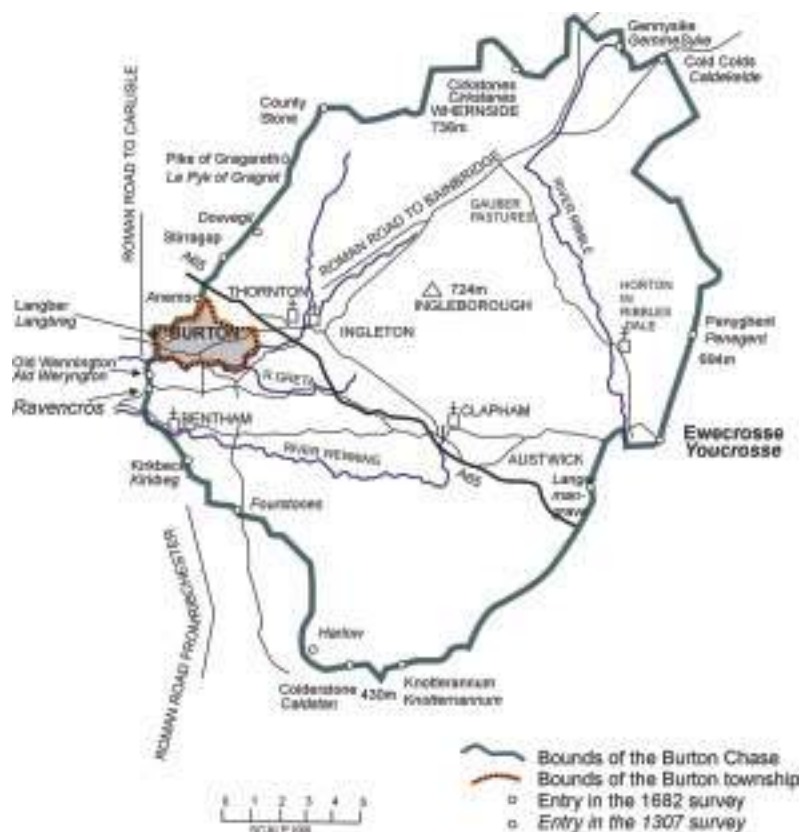


Figure 1 Burton in Lonsdale and the Burton Chase in 1307 and in 1682

From early Norman times the Manor of Burton and the 300 square mile Burton Chase were two of the many holdings of the de Mowbray family of Kirkby Malzeard; a survey of the bounds of the chase carried out in 1307 is shown in Figure 1. After the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 the Earl of Derby acquired Burton and the Burton Chase, and a survey for the then Earl of Derby in 1682 revealed a chase unchanged from 1307. Although the de Mowbrays and the Earls of Derby were absentee lords of the manor, their records provide useful insights into the history of the township over many centuries.

Because of its strategic location near the Roman road north to Carlisle, a motte and bailey castle was established at Burton, and it was from Burton that the Chase was administered. Under the feudal system, the de Mowbrays were required to support 100 knights to fight for the king when called upon to do so, each knight being given a "knight's fee" of approximately 1000 acres of de Mowbray land to support him. Because of the size of a "knight's fee", it was normally held as several portions of a "knight's fee" in different locations. By the end of the 13th century so much land had been given to the monasteries that the king found it difficult to raise an army from those who owed him feudal service. In 1296, parliament gave Edward I permission to levy a tax equivalent

to one ninth part of the assets of each lay household in order to pay mercenaries for his Scottish campaign of 1300. Luckily, the resulting lay subsidy of 1297 for Burton survives. It reveals a township of 31 farmers, 22 being taxed for their holdings of oats, 17 for their holdings of barley, and 15 for wagons of hay (six had a second hay wagon). There were few animals, only 29 oxen, 40 cows and heifers and 12 mares and no sheep. Only one resident was a tradesman, Johannes Tinctor, a dyer, whose stock was valued at 9s3d. John de Creppinges, the Burton steward in 1297, was a member of the de Mowbray household and also the Sheriff of Yorkshire. Since he was one of three people required to muster an army of 1500 in Carlisle for Edward's Scottish campaign, it is highly likely that the 1297 Lay Subsidy will also have been used as a muster roll. De Creppinges held a quarter of his "knight's fee" in Burton, to the north of the village, but lived near York, letting his Burton land to tenants for rent.

After the Black Death of 1348 there was a nationwide shortage of agricultural workers, and we can infer that Burton was affected by the Black Death from of a reference to the de Creppinges holding in Burton being temporarily reassessed as only a 1/16th of a "knight's fee", because of a "lack of tenants". The scarcity of agricultural workers enabled many subsistence farmers elsewhere in England to acquire land in the second half of the 14th century, thereby improving the financial circumstances of themselves and their descendants. However, this did not happen in either the Burton Chase or the adjacent

Percy estates in Ribblesdale and Wharfedale, where records show that the standard agricultural holding was still a subsistence oxgang in the 16th century. These holdings could not be sold, but were handed down from father to first son through the manor court. A possible explanation for the survival of this feudal land holding system is that, until the Battle of Flodden in 1513, there was a continuing need for lords of the manor to be able to muster their tenants to fight the Scots; allowing tenants to acquire more land would have reduced the number who could be called upon to fight. Important for an understanding of Burton's history is that an extensive archive of papers relating to the Tatham family of Burton was deposited at the West Yorkshire Archive Service in Leeds in 1967. The Tatham ancestral home in Burton was the Homestead on Low Street (see Figure 3), and they would appear to have been the only Burton family to have progressed from holders of a single oxgang as tenants of the Earl of Derby in the 16th century to gentry in the 18th century. The Tatham records therefore provide a useful narrative for the changing nature of land ownership in the township between the 16th and 20th centuries.

Edmund Tatham was the first of the Tatham family to appear in Burton records, as a tenant of the Earl of Derby in a muster roll of 1522. Since Burton's steward fought at Flodden in 1513, it is highly likely that Burton tenants would also have been at Flodden. An Edmund Tatham, who is likely to have been Edmund of 1522 or his son, was one of three Tatham family members who had their cattle confiscated by the Lord of the Manor in 1534 because they were unable to pay their rent. They were charged in the Star Chamber with rioting after rescuing their cattle *"with 60 riotous persons... with bows, arrows, bills swerdes and other wapons invaysyve and defensive after the manor of warre... cast downe the ditches and made rescous of such goods and cattalles..."*. Tatham family folklore also has it that several family members joined the Pilgrimage of Grace which opposed Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries. Opposing Henry VIII was not always a wise thing to do, and it is probably no coincidence that the three Tatham tenants who were taxed for an oxgang of land in Burton in 1545 were, most unusually, women. In 1637 Robert Tatham appears to have been the first Tatham to be able to buy additional land in Burton, and a survey of Burton for the Earl of Derby of 1682 shows Richard Tatham (1620-1696) having accumulated 30 acres. This included a strip of 1 acre 30 perches in the Frount, the town-field immediately to the east of the village. Since the entry in the survey for a tenant's strip named the tenants of the adjacent strips, it is possible to reconstruct the holdings in the Frount in 1682 and to identify the location of Richard Tatham's strip.

Burton's pastureland was on Bentham Moor, to the south of the river Greta. When enclosed in 1767 it was apportioned to Burton residents in proportion to the land they held in the township. This would appear to have prompted Rowland Tatham (1730-1814) to carry out a survey of his land, which had increased to 97 acres and now included the whole of the Frount. A diary in the Tatham collection in Leeds shows that Rowland Tatham was no longer a farmer; he had let his land to tenants and was living on unearned income. This was the definition of a gentleman in the 18th century. He built Tatham House, adjacent to the ancestral home, which he would have felt appropriate for his newfound gentry status.



Figure 2. An aerial photograph, courtesy of Susan Gregory, which shows the approximate location of Richard Tatham's strip in the Frount in 1682.

Charlotte Tatham, the great, great granddaughter of Rowland Tatham (1730-1814) was the last of the Tathams to live in Burton. She ran a girls' school in the Homestead, the ancient family home. Her death in 1956 brought an end to four centuries of documented Tatham family history.



Figure 3 Tatham House (left) and the Homestead, the Tatham ancestral home (right)

As is the case in many northern townships, Burton's original settlement will have been around an open green, but the building of the motte and bailey castle would have caused the western frontages onto the green to have been lost. The township was never able to expand outwards, having the castle to the west, the river Greta to the south, a beck to the east and a mire to the north; what expansion there was had to be as infill onto the green. As a result, we can be fairly certain that the basic layout of the township we see today is as it was in 1297. The 31 farmsteads recorded in the 1297 lay subsidy would have had a total frontage of 485m (excluding the courthouse frontage) as shown in Figure 4. Although an average frontage of 15.6m per farmstead might seem large for a medieval property, it has to be remembered that there were no field barns in the Medieval Period; the farmsteads will have had to accommodate the farmers' animals over winter, together with their hay wagons and other farming equipment. Also, there will have been gaps between the farmhouses to allow access to the crofts behind.

Burton's unusual arrested development may provide useful insights into the layouts of other subsistence townships with similar farming practices whose early layouts were later



Figure 4
Burton in Lonsdale
from the air
(google earth image
taken 30 June 2018)

obscured by commercial developments. We shall now consider Ashbourne in Derbyshire, which had the same land assessment of 3 carucates at Domesday as Burton and, with a similar climate and soil, is likely to have had similar farming practices. Unlike Burton, Ashbourne had a market charter from around 1203 and underwent considerable commercial development in later years, particularly during the century when it was an important coaching town. The question is whether the Burton records provide any pointers to the possible location of the centre of Ashbourne in Anglo Saxon times, when it too would have been a subsistence township.

Possible location of Ashbourne's ancient centre

A carucate was, by definition, the amount of land equivalent to 8 oxgangs. Since an oxgang was sufficient to support a subsistence farming family, Ashbourne's assessment for 3 carucates at Domesday suggests a township of around 24 subsistence farmsteads in late Anglo Saxon times. The usual arrangement was for a church to be located close to the centre of a township and, mainly for this reason, it has been suggested that Ashbourne's early centre is likely to have been near the church, migrating about 500m to its present location sometime after the town was granted a market charter in 1203. Lincoln cathedral appropriated Ashbourne church, St Oswald's, in 1200, entitling it to St Oswald's tithes. The first indication that St Oswald's was never merely a Parish church comes from Ashbourne's Domesday Survey, which reveals that its priest had a carucate of his own land and a plough, and had two villans and two bordars working for him. The chance survival at the Derby Record Office of a survey of Lincoln cathedral's tithes from St Oswald's in 1740 shows the cathedral receiving tithes from Ashbourne and Parwich, and also from many of the places which were recorded as *berewicks* of the two townships in the Domesday Survey; a *berewick* being a subsidiary estate of a township in Anglo Saxon times. This is evidence of a most unusual survival of an Anglo Saxon estate until 1740, a longevity which would appear to be a consequence of Ashbourne and Parwich being part of the royal estate in Anglo Saxon times, and still being part of a Crown estate in 1740.

In Anglo Saxon times kings endowed churches with land, making them minsters which served a geographical area rather than a single township. The carucate of land held by St Oswald's at Domesday would appear to have been a royal endowment to establish St Oswald's as a minster serving a wide area. This explains why, when St Oswald's was rebuilt from around 1220, it was on a much larger scale than would have been justified for a parish church serving Ashbourne alone. Also, as a minster there would have been no reason for St Oswald's to be particularly close to the Anglo Saxon centre of Ashbourne. The question arises of whether it is possible to identify the likely location of the early centre of Ashbourne.



Figure 5 St Oswald's church rebuilt from 1220 to serve a wide area of Derbyshire

For obvious reasons townships tend to be located close to their town-fields. Until enclosed in 1622, Ashbourne had three contiguous town-fields of around 300 acres located in an arc of land to the north of the Market Place (see Figure 6). These town-fields are likely to have been the three carucates of land for which Ashbourne was assessed at Domesday. We would also expect Ashbourne's centre to have been close to the crossroads of the two main highways through the township, which is on the corner of Dig Street and St John's

Street (see Figure 6). The locations of the former town-fields and the main township cross-roads suggest that the centre in Anglo Saxon times is likely to have been somewhere in the vicinity of the current Market Place. In Yorkshire we might have expected a settlement of a couple of dozen subsistence farmsteads to have been around a square green, as in Burton. However triangular greens were more normal in the Midlands (private communication from local historian Adrian Henstock). If the Ashbourne farmsteads had similar frontages to those in Burton, we would expect a triangular green with a peripheral measurement of around 374.4m. The fact that the current Market Place has a peripheral measurement of 385m strongly suggests that Ashbourne's early centre was where it is today. The Anglo Saxon centre has been hiding in plain sight.



Figure 6 Ashbourne in 1849 from its tithe map

Further evidence that the Ashbourne farmsteads in Anglo Saxon times are likely to have been located around the present Market Place

Had, as suggested above, 24 farmsteads been sited around the current Ashbourne Market Place in late Anglo Saxon times, the Burton analysis would lead us to expect average farmstead frontages of around 15.6m, with crofts behind of similar width. The difficulty of finding surviving evidence of the likely locations of such farmsteads in Ashbourne is that it was for many years an important commercial centre. Its buildings will have been rebuilt many times over the centuries, although often on the footprint of earlier buildings. One of the oldest and best preserved building in Ashbourne is the Gingerbread shop on St John's street. Built around 1492, this was where Pickford wagons stopped each day on their way from London to Manchester when Ashbourne was an important coaching town. With its two side wings, the Gingerbread shop has a width of 15m, so is a good candidate for being built on the site of what would have been a farmstead when Ashbourne was a subsistence township. Crofts will also have been much modified over the years. Perhaps because they were better protected from development by the Henmore Brook until it was culverted underground in 1970, the crofts between St John's and the former line of the Henmore Brook are the best preserved in the township. This is particularly the case for the two crofts which are not built upon behind Specsavers and Rymans on St John's Street. Both have widths of 15.1m, making them good candidates for being of Anglo Saxon origin.



Figure 7 The Gingerbread shop of 1492 on St John's Street and a croft behind St John's Street

Concluding remarks

Burton is unusual in having a detailed taxation record surviving from 1297 when it was a subsistence farming community cultivating oats and barley, but with few animals. Subsequent records show that Burton residents continued to be subsistence farmers holding only an oxgang of land until the 16th century, and that the basic layout of the township has changed little since 1297. This suggests that subsistence farming communities with similar climates and similar arable farming practices are likely to have had farmsteads with average frontages of around 15.6m. One such township is Ashbourne in Derbyshire where a number of other factors suggest that the centre in Anglo Saxon times was around the present Market Place. Not only do the average frontages match what we would have expected from the study of Burton, but the width of 15m of one of its oldest buildings and of 15.1m of two of its best preserved crofts give some confidence that it is possible to extrapolate lessons from the study of Burton to other northern townships with similar farming practices.

Reference

The Burton Lay Subsidy of 1297, which is in Latin, is to be found in Brown. William., 1894 *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy being a ninth collected in 25 Edward I, 1297*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series No 21. Although Vol No 21 was not on line at the time of writing, it might be in future, since the YAS is in the process of putting all the volumes of the Record Series on the web.

Jack Myers of Austwick;

a caver, photographer, academic and man of iron

John Cordingley

More years ago than I care to remember, as a child I borrowed a copy of a book called *Underground Adventure* [1] from my local public library. I hadn't realised it at the time but in my hands lay one of the true classics of British caving literature. It was co-written by Jack Myers and Arthur Gemmell during the 1940s (but not published until 1952, as there was a severe paper shortage immediately after the war). I devoured it from cover to cover and this book was probably one of the main reasons for me taking up caving, shortly afterwards. It's a decision which I've never regretted.

The years rolled by and, in 1990, I had an invitation to write the introduction for a reprint of the book by Mendip Publishing [2]. I'd never come across Jack in person and remember feeling privileged that such an opportunity to meet the great man had fallen into my lap. Frank Butterfield (or 'Buzzer' as he was almost universally known) lived around the corner from Jack in Austwick, so he took me around to 'Suncroft' where Jack lived. As we chatted the hours away I became fascinated by the story of his extraordinary life. We became friends and I often exchanged letters or visited him after this first meeting.

Jack Osborne Myers was born on 25th March 1925 to parents Clara and Luther and as he grew up he proved both to be athletic and highly intelligent; these are useful attributes for a man who would go on to become, for a time, one of Britain's hardest cavers. In 1945 he had graduated in geology (with mathematics) but was actively caving well before then. Early in 1944 he had been a member of the party which made the main exploration of Disappointment Pot (part of the Gaping Gill cave system underneath Ingleborough). Other notable involvement in discoveries included Notts Pott (Leck Fell) in 1946, Ease Gill Caverns and Lancaster Hole (Casterton Fell) over several years from 1946 and Penyghent Pot, from 1949 onwards. The latter is a very fine pothole on the east side of Ribblesdale, in which Jack had the dubious pleasure of having a feature named after him. He had attempted to glue together a two piece wartime-surplus lifeboat suit, with only partial success. The resulting "waterproof" caving suit became increasingly cumbersome as it started to fill up with the icy liquid. It caused him to slip off a vertical drop into a pool (which broke his fall, at least to some extent). No serious harm was done and, in a demonstration of typical cavers' sense of humour, this shaft has been known ever since as 'Myers' Leap'.

Other exploratory work included the ingenious use of a metal detector to re-locate what became known as Magnetometer Pot (Fountains Fell) following up stories of a former unexplored entrance having been covered over using steel rails and lost. Jack was also active in the Malham area, notably at Pikedaw Caverns, about which he produced some invaluable research material in later life. In this (and on many



Jack Myers in Gunnerfleet Cave (early 1940s)

other projects) he made extensive use of aerial photographs; it was long before the use of such modern luxuries as 'Google Earth' satellite imagery became regarded as routine.

Throughout much of his period of active caving Jack worked as a lecturer and research assistant at Leeds University, in the Department of Mining. It was there that he gained his PhD in geophysics in 1958. (The reams of mathematical calculations in his thesis, completely unintelligible to us normal mortals, bears witness to Jack's finely honed skills with numbers.) An overlap of professional expertise and a passion for all things underground also led to his being recognised as an authority on the mines and mineralogy of the Northern Dales area.

Some of Jack's early caving was done as a member of the British Speleological Association, where he was often in the company of friend Gerald Bottomley, until the latter emigrated to the southern hemisphere in 1946. However, during that post war year, the BSA was experiencing severe differences of opinion between leading light Eli Simpson and a number of other prominent members. 'Cymmie' as he was known, had maintained the BSA's headquarters at 'Cragdale' since before the war, in the grand building which would later become Settle police station until budget cuts led to it being turned into a block of flats recently. (I often wonder if the present residents have any idea of the rich history of that building.) Cymmie was evidently a dominant and dominating character; I suspect those returning from the great conflict had taken just about enough of being told what they should or shouldn't do and, postwar, it led to a wholesale exodus of members, many of whom formed their own clubs. These included the Red Rose Cave and Pothole Club (now based at Bull Pot Farm on Casterton Fell) and the Northern Pennine Club (based at Crow Nest near Austwick for a while, then at Greenclose, Clapham).

Jack joined the 'Pennine' (as the NPC is generally known) around 1948, so he wasn't quite a founder member. He soon became one of its most prominent characters. As one of his



Jack Myers (1948)

contemporaries put it, Jack was a 'serious and scientific' caver and seldom joined in with the more social aspects of caving club membership. Perhaps this was no bad thing as, without involving himself in the drinking and merriment typical of Saturday nights in those days, he would be up bright and early next morning, to encourage his bleary-eyed friends to join him on the descent of some fearsome pothole. Without his drive, many a Sunday caving trip would not have taken place.

Early in his caving career Jack developed an interest in photography. He soon became an expert in this unforgiving discipline. In those early days the flash bulb had yet to come into common usage and the scene was usually lit with flash powder. A problem in enclosed caves was the amount of smoke this produced. There was normally only one chance at getting the shot before having to pack up and move on to another less fogged area of the cave. A popular brand at the time was described as 'Smokeless Flash Powder' but it was often unreliable, so it quickly became known to cavers as 'flashless smoke powder'! Many of the classic monochrome prints Jack produced, from the late 1940s and early 1950s, in this way will be familiar to cavers, even today. Most of the images in the *Underground Adventure* book are his work. (The maps and cave surveys were drawn by fellow NPC member Arthur Gemmell, who was an architect by profession.)

However, not all of Jack's early photographic endeavour ran smoothly. He once famously experimented by producing his own 'improved' flash powder, whilst still living at Heaton (Bradford). Whilst grinding magnesium and other ingredients in a pestle and mortar he caused a huge explosion. It brought the ceiling down, blew out a window and the flash was seen from as far away as the other side of Bradford. Later, in the casualty department and half concealed by burns dressings, Jack was chatting with the occupant of the adjacent bed and enquired why he had been admitted. His fellow patient explained he had been batting in a cricket match when he'd been distracted by a blinding flash, followed by a loud bang

across the valley. He'd looked up and was then hit in the face by the cricket ball! I suspect that Jack never confessed his misdemeanour to that poor chap.

By his early thirties Jack had emerged as a leading figure in the caving world and was enjoying equal success academically. Everything seemed to be going well for him but then disaster struck. In 1959, shortly after attending a geophysics conference in Krakow (and one year after receiving his doctorate) Jack was struck down with polio. It left him physically weak, permanently confined to a wheelchair and seemingly with no real prospect of continuing with all the activities in which he had previously excelled. Senior NPC members still speak of shock and horror as the news spread through the club that Jack had become a victim of this terrible, incurable disease. But even those who knew Jack well were staggered by his resolve and determination to get on with life, after a lengthy convalescence and rehabilitation.

It was not long before he was out in the fresh air again, at the controls of a four wheel drive Haflinger on difficult terrain around the Dales. There were hair raising tales from fellow NPC members Cyril Crossley, Brian Heys and Rocky Holden, who would accompany him on these wild adventures. Next came a smaller three-wheeled Honda all terrain bike, which opened up further possibilities. Jack still drove on the road for many years and he designed and built a lightweight wooden ramp complete with electric winch to load and unload the Honda into the back of his shooting brake car. Many expeditions followed, at first around the nearer part of the Dales, then further afield to Swaledale and the Lake District.

He was often joined by another long term NPC member, Jim Leach (of Leach & Burgess, the well known former plumbing and electrical business). As Jim's health failed in later years, he had also acquired a three wheeler, under Jack's guidance. They would be accompanied by any number of NPC members, one of whom was Malcolm Riley of Giggleswick (a familiar figure on his mobility scooter around Settle until he passed away recently). The many trips which these folk embarked upon allowed Jack to develop his photographic interests in a different direction; he became admired for his landscape portraits and wildlife imaging. Many of Jack's old friends, including me, still have examples hanging on their walls.

The NPC has had a number of members with disabilities over the years but this never seems to be a barrier to everyone getting out together and enjoying themselves. Inevitably, the possibility of Jack being helped to visit some of our more accessible caves was discussed and thus, once again, the Dales' caves came under the scrutiny of his lens. There is a tale of an evening trip into Kingsdale's Yordas Cave via the bottom entrance, where Jack wanted to photograph the large chamber. A team was hurriedly assembled and off went the jolly party. Getting Jack back out of the cave afterwards, up the slippery mudbanks, was no easy task. As the mud-splattered team emerged from the entrance, tired and breathless, another caving party was met, with shiny new equipment betraying their inexperience, on their way to do an "abseil through" trip down the waterfall shafts from the top entrance. The first to emerge with Jack's group, hauling on the end of the rope, was a teenage Michael Burgess (still



'Dr Bannister's hand basin', Upper Long Churn Cave (late 1940s)



Sleets Gill, Littondale (1942)

in his school uniform from earlier in the day). Next was Pat O'Connell, still in bib and braces having come straight from work at Hopley's builders. He was followed by Peter 'Chester' Shaw, who was best known for having only one leg. Jack then made his triumphant exit in the wheelchair, with an ageing Brian Heys pushing from behind. Whilst the "proper" cavers were trying to recover some sort of composure after witnessing this spectacle, the NPC party left the scene with the final words: "Aye, and we had a hell of a job getting him into the top entrance and down all the shafts!"

Jack continued his association with the University of Leeds, long after retiring in 1982. He was still marking examination papers well into his seventies. He also diversified his academic interests by involvement in archaeological research, where his great love and skilful interpretation of aerial photographs proved invaluable. Even in old age Jack remained fiercely independent. He had problems with his teeth and often took a taxi to his preferred dentist in Otley. He would shuffle across the pavement and up a flight of stairs on his special home-made 'bum protector' (his words!) to gain the first floor.

It was only with great reluctance that he eventually faced up to the prospect of vacating his beloved Austwick to live in Steeton Court Nursing Home near Skipton, where he was very well cared for in the final stage of his life. I spent many an afternoon with him in his tiny room there. He would rock gently backwards and forwards in his wheelchair, in frustration at no longer being able to take part in the sharp end of cave exploration. But I always sensed his pleasure in being able to help guide us younger club members by generously passing on the great wealth of knowledge he had

amassed during his incredible life. Having been an NPC member for six decades and serving the club as a trustee for many years, he was very proud to be elected as Vice President and he held this post until he died.

Jack passed away, peacefully, on 14th September 2008. The large number of cavers, academics and many Dales folk attending his funeral at Skipton Crematorium bore witness to the high regard in which he was held, despite having been forced out of mainstream caving by his cruel affliction almost half a century previously. He will best be remembered for his academic brilliance, his astounding determination in adversity, the unfailing help and support he gave to his many grateful students and for the legacy of many magnificent cave discoveries in the Yorkshire Dales for others to enjoy.

The tale of this unique man doesn't end there, however. A few years after Jack's passing, I was having an idle conversation with Dave Haigh, a caving friend. Dave is a long term member of the Bradford Pothole Club and we became engaged in an enthusiastic discussion about how the *Underground Adventure* book had inspired both of us, as youngsters, to become cavers. Then Dave mentioned that he'd been thinking of trying to write an updated version of Jack and Arthur's 1952 book. He hadn't realised how well I'd known Jack until that conversation and he asked if I'd be interested in writing a chapter for the book. So I did; Dave liked it and, to cut a very long story short, I increasingly became part of a project that I wouldn't have missed for all the world.

The result is our own book "*Adventures Underground*" [3] which was published in April 2017. It follows a theme similar to the original 1952 book *Underground Adventure* but with the exploration of the many cave systems brought up to date. Jack was greatly respected within the caving community (as indeed was Arthur, his co-author) so we received generous help in many ways from a large number of caving friends. We therefore decided to give all the royalties to two charities, being divided equally between Macmillan Cancer Support and cave rescue. The book seems to have been well received by cavers and also by those outside the caving community; it has sold well and we have had the great pleasure of passing on substantial sums of money to our chosen charities as a result. The icing on the cake for us came in September 2018 when we won that year's national award for caving literature. If I could have one wish granted, it would have been for Jack and Arthur to have seen our recent book before they passed away. Dave and I look on it as our best shot at a tribute to these two great men; I like to think they would have been pleased.

A lot of Jack's large collection of caving material was passed to the Northern Pennine Club by his executors, for safe keeping. However, much of it is regarded as having national importance, far beyond just his own club. As I type there is a great deal of work being undertaken to scan Jack's personal and other records. This is a joint project between people involved with the British Caving Library and a British Geological Survey archivist. It is likely that all these scans will be made available online, probably as an annexe to the BGS website, thus providing the best possible access for anyone interested. We are hoping that this resource will go live (and thus be flagged up by online search engines) by the time the above article is published in this journal.

Acknowledgements:

I'm indebted to Chris Howes, for help with some of the photographs for the above tribute. The text is a much amplified version of a shorter article, which was originally written in 2008 for the cavers' magazine *Descent* [4]. Several friends or members of Jack's family helped at the time by providing information or by checking on facts. I'm particularly grateful to Bert Bradshaw, Joan Butler, Cyril Crossley, Dave Gibbon, Joe Mather, Helen Pickersgill, Malcolm Riley and Peter 'Chester' Shaw. Sadly, some of these have passed away since I wrote the original text; their support and generous assistance is not forgotten.

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Ingleborough Crosswall Shelter

Bill Hinde

The Shelter has provided cover for countless walkers for nearly 70 years. In the summer of 2020 it was dismantled and rebuilt with replacement flag seats. A new, replica bronze toposcope was also installed to replace the original. Unlike the building of the original shelter all the materials such as the sand, cement and flags were lifted to the sight by helicopter. The following article was written by one of the team who built the original shelter.

There was a period when some sections of the Cave Rescue Organisation wanted to concentrate their resources on underground rescue only, and as a result the Ingleton Fell Rescue Team was formed in February 1951. It was to cover a specified local area, the northern boundary being the Sedbergh to Hawes road, the eastern boundary a line from Hawes to Settle, the southern being the Settle Slaidburn Quernmore road, and the western boundary the Sedbergh Kirkby Lonsdale road.

The principal instigator in establishing a local fell rescue service was Ingleton garage proprietor Reg Hainsworth who was a founder member of the CRO and chief warden at that time. With local Gritstone Club colleagues and friends with climbing, caving and fell walking interests, he had no difficulty organising a team that worked in conjunction with the adjoining Upper Wharfedale Fell Rescue Association, The RAF Mountain Rescue service and the West Riding Police via Sgt. Nock who was in charge of the Ingleton police station.

The decision to organise a beacon on the summit of Ingleborough to commemorate the forthcoming coronation was made at the Ingleton Fell Rescue team a.g.m. on 7th Feb 1952; but it was at a meeting on 1st March 52 that, amongst all the regular rescue business, the chairman (Reg Hainsworth, of course) outlined a scheme to erect a crosswall shelter on the summit together with a view indicator suitably inscribed as a memento of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. The scheme was readily approved, It is significant to point out here that Andrew Brown was a local builder, probably the only member with the skills to construct the shelter, so his enthusiasm was essential, the remainder of the team simply being willing labourers. It was recognised that the whole matter hinged upon legal issues and the first contact with the



Top-Andrew Brown, seated-Harry Schofield, Maurice Rowling, Peter Walker, Bill Hinde

solicitor of the Lord of the Manor was authorised.

If we were to raise funds to help with material costs, it became obvious that the secretary/treasurer Clifford Humphries, a local school teacher, would need some help and Arthur Salter another local teacher took on the role of a sort of Public Relations/Press Officer. Peter Walker the Ingleton newsagent became Treasurer for Appeals.

By the 9th June 52 Mr Hornby, Ingleton Lord of the Manor had given permission for the shelter and even contributed 5 guineas. The County Planning Officer had also approved the scheme. I suspect it may be a bit more controversial these days and certainly take a little longer!

The site was chosen and foundation work had begun on the 5th June long before the correspondence with the Ministry of Works regarding the summit archaeology had been concluded.

Bearing in mind that most people worked at least a half day on Saturdays it was not easy to coordinate voluntary labour, with people attending their individual club meets and weekend family commitments. As a consequence the skilled work was generally done on Sundays but sometimes it was possible to transport materials midweek. Reg having the local dealership for Ferguson tractors had access to the appropriate vehicles and he knew all the local farmers, which was invaluable in getting building materials up Cod Bank onto Little Ingleborough. Some was moved by hand up the final steep slope but on occasions a Fergie with a link box made a suicidal

trip up the rake, the final part of the current footpath from Gaping Gill to the summit. When Eric Middleton was driving with Harry Schofield sat on the front of the bonnet, they devised a bailout plan which thankfully they never had to implement. I remember helping Maurice Rowling film one event, from a safe distance, with Harry Schofield driving and Peter Walker sat on the bonnet as ballast. There were many logistical problems, various vehicles getting stuck, some for many days including Reg's breakdown truck but I think the tractor and trailer driven by Eric Middleton seemed to be the most successful. The most assured way of moving small quantities was in your rucksack but building tools and materials become heavier the further you carry them. Building stone had to be found and carried from the upper millstone slopes as nothing could be used from the summit plateau and water came from the Swine Tail spring and was stored in milk kits.

The design of the Ingleborough shelter evolved from freehand sketches and knowledge of other mountain shelters, but the fact that the structure has withstood the most hostile environment for 68 years stands testament to the skill of Andrew Brown, with some professional help from Harry Schofield who worked for Andrew at that time. Although the building work took place during the most appropriate time of year and the weather would have been taken in to account in organising work parties, it is the constant wind that stands out in my memory.

Possibly the most controversial issue was the view indicator; not the design or wording, after all there was correspondence with the Queen concerning permission to use the proposed inscription; but the material to be used and the cost. All members of the team had different opinions. Earthenware like the one on Ben Macdui was a popular choice but doubts about its durability caused concern. My father was the local watchmaker and jeweller in Bentham so I was tasked to see if he could supply a bronze view indicator. Other members had been instructed to obtain quotes for different materials but of course no one could get a price without a detailed drawing. Because sighting depended on good weather the production of a final drawing became dangerously late and eventually some of the bearings were established using maps and Maurice Rowling, an engineer, produced the final plans, just in time. After many arguments about quality and price, the quote of £45-10-0 that my father had obtained for a bronze toposcope from Robert Pringle & Sons a London silversmith was approved. As there were other quotes, for alternative options, including; aluminium at 2 copies of the toposcope for £20; brass £14; and from Messrs Doulton £50 for earthenware; one can imagine the long debate.

Looking back through the minutes it is interesting to note the effect that press publicity had, not only on raising finance but the interest shown from all parts of the country and indeed the world. A 90 years old man recalling his first ascent of Ingleborough; a query whether Snaefell on the Isle of Man could be seen; and a suggestion we should rebuild one of the "hutments" on the summit rather than a new crosswall shelter. There was obvious concern about the preservation of the summit archaeology with Arthur Raistrick and the Yorkshire Archaeology Society amongst those raising the issue. Not all correspondents were supportive; one man was angry enough

to write and tell us he had removed a stone from the half built structure. One archaeology group thought that to help preserve the summit settlement an explanatory plaque should be fixed to the shelter. Although this was agreed, the group that suggested the plaque failed to provide it. In view of current archaeological opinions perhaps this may have saved some embarrassment!

Interviews were given to the press and some reporters even visited the summit works including the BBC recording an item for the "North Countryman" programme, for which they gave a donation of 10 guineas to the fund. Contributions received were very small by today's standard, perhaps the gift of 15cwt of cement was outstanding. As labour was voluntary the greatest expense was the cost of tractor fuel. In presenting their accounts Cliff Humphries and Peter Walker never had more than £70 in the kitty.

In completing the construction of the shelter and installing the toposcope, just in time for the coronation on the 3rd June 1953, efforts were concentrated on the beacon which was organised in conjunction with Ingleton Parish Council. The beacon or bonfire was and is a traditional Ingleton celebration of national events. The logistics of getting the combustible materials on to the summit of Ingleborough is a serious undertaking but Reg Hainworth and other locals had past experience. Tractors and trailers had to be organised with manpower to load and unload and local knowledge of the terrain was vital. Rescue of bogged down vehicles became more efficient, the Rowling family at nearby High Leys farm providing emergency rescue equipment including bales of straw. The materials were manhandled by a long continuous line of helpers up the final steep slope onto the summit plateau where the expert bonfire builders did their stuff. Basically, this was a mountain of old tyres stacked around a core of scrap timber with the odd drum or two of old engine oil! At the post bonfire clean-up I recall having to remove a substantial amount of metal, mostly the wire reinforcement from the tyres.

The beacon was to be ignited by a flaming torch carried in relay by pupils (boys) from Ingleton school.

- Stage 1. The Square to halfway up Storrs Common by Ian Nicholson & Roger Todd.
- Stage 2. Halfway up Storrs to the first gate in Fell Lane by Brian Robinson & Stanley Bargh.
- Stage 3. First gate in Fell Lane to Red Gait Head by Edwin Horne and Edmund Hutchinson.
- Stage 4. Red Gait Head to foot of first rake by Brian Murfin & John Morphet.
- Stage 5. The final three rakes by Cyril Bibby & Kenneth Watkinson.

The torch lighting was carried out by Mr Suart, a local JP, at approximately 10pm in The Square.

Incidentally, the torch was made in Mr Humphries metalwork class at Ingleton school and was presented to the school after the event. It was displayed there until the school closed and can still be seen in the Ingleton Community Centre.

It was deemed necessary to guard the beacon continuously until the ceremony and a camp was established with AL Salter & C Humphries on duty from May 31st to June 1st when they were joined by Peter Walker. AD Brown & H Schofield

took over the final duty to June 2nd.

Inevitably the weather was miserable on the evening of the unveiling of the toposcope and lighting of the beacon. The VIPs were provided transport to Crina Bottom but they had to walk the remainder of the way to the summit. Mrs Violet Farrer of Newby Cote representing the Ingleborough Estate and Rev. HJ Croft the Ingleton vicar carried out the unveiling and dedication ceremony. Remarkably there were two men in the party that had attended the Ingleborough beacon celebrating Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887. Herbert Waddington aged 87 and Nin Thwaite a well known Ingleton character who was 78 years old. (I remember Nin being the elderly life guard at Ingleton swimming pool, who although unable to swim, did have a long pole!) The new shelter was much appreciated by the waiting crowd of more than seventy people and it was a relief when the



Clifford Humphries



Final adjustments of viewfinder.

torch bearers arrived and Mrs Farrer was able to ignite the carefully prepared but enormous bonfire. To be seen from Ingleton the beacon was sited close to the rim of the summit plateau where the prevailing wind is always at its strongest. Consequently, the horrendous smoke and tremendous flames were blown horizontally away from Ingleton and although the cloud cover was eerily illuminated for the summit viewers, the Coronation beacon was not seen by anyone watching from local villages. The six rockets (12 shillings and 6 pence) disappeared into the cloud. Perhaps the most memorable part of the event was the descent when, once below the cloud level, a long line of bobbing electric torches could be seen as all the participants, some extremely relieved, made their way home.

Within a few weeks of the official opening some schoolboys scratched their names on the nice new bronze plaque. There was some discussion about replacing it as the culprits could be traced, but it was decided to leave it and eventually the scratches weathered away. The deep marks left by the ubiquitous geology hammer some weeks later, never disappeared.

In the early 1960s when there was a rapid increase in outdoor pursuits, the Cave Rescue Organisation became much more efficient probably due to the expertise gained by increased call-outs and the Ingleton Fell Rescue Team became redundant. Although the IFRT only remained active for a decade or so, rescue skills were developed by joint exercises with neighbouring rescue organisations. One of the most tragic call-outs was the request for help from the Lake District Mountain Accident Association when two young women had a fatal fall on Fairfield in winter conditions. The reliability of the radio system was a constant headache and perhaps the lesson that shouldn't have surprised us was the difficulty of searching the grouse moors on the relatively gentle hills of the Northern Bowland Forest area.

There was a small amount of money held by the trustees of the Ingleton Fell Rescue Team for future maintenance of the shelter and in 1994, no doubt because it was becoming apparent that the original builders would no longer be able to do serious repair work, contact was made with the Yorkshire Dales National Park. The hope was that the YDNP could be persuaded to take on the maintenance of the shelter in perpetuity and eventually a form of wording was agreed by

both parties and the maintenance fund of £135.30 was handed to the National Park. I am not sure the National Park felt they had got a very good deal out of the transaction!

Those of us that were involved in the building of the Ingleborough Crosswall Shelter in 1952 are delighted that the Yorkshire Dales National Park have not only taken on the responsibility, but put that responsibility into action by carrying out the current repairs. I dare say that the many thousands of hill walkers who have sheltered there will congratulate the National Park also.

Members of the Team.

G Barker	Uppergate, Ingleton	Founder member
AD Brown	Blue Hall, Ingleton	Founder
J Brown	New Village, Ingleton	Founder
C Burke	28 New Village, Ingleton	Founder
H Howson	New Village, Ingleton	Founder
C Humphries	High Street, Ingleton	Founder
B Robertshaw	Youth Hostel, Ingleton	Founder
F Royston	2 Park View, Ingleton	Founder
R Hainsworth	Sunnydale, Ingleton	Founder
AL Salter	c/o Cravendale, Ingleton	Founder
H Tomlinson	9 Beech Terrace, Ingleton	Founder
H Schofield	New Road, Ingleton	Founder
P Walker	Moor Lane, Ingleton	Founder
WA Nock	Police Station, Ingleton	Founder
J Dowell	High Bentham	Founder
B Hinde	Station Road, High Bentham	11-9-51
J West	Lairgill, High Bentham	11-9-51
A Greenbank	Far Gearstones, Chapel-le-Dale	20-12-51
M Rowling	High Leys, Ingleton	21-11-52
F Holmes	?	21-11-52
C Hilton	New Village, Ingleton	23-2-55
M Storey	New Village, Ingleton	23-2-55
S Garton	New Village, Ingleton	23-2-55
A Burt	Croft House, Newby	17-2-56
F Christian	Newby Cote	17-2-56
CE Brown	20 New Village, Ingleton	31-3-56
J Charlton	Brook Cottage, Newby	?

A 15 minute film of the re-building project can be seen on You Tube on the National Park Authority's 'The Yorkshire Dales' channel

Cuts, leats and races: water supply solutions in the Ingleborough area

David S Johnson

Context

There will be relatively few people who have known anything other than being able to turn on a tap to get the water they need, though anyone brought up in a remote location may recall having to use a well or spring. A recent study of water supply within Settle has drawn attention to the number of 'draw wells' within the town, supplying individual properties; business such as brewhouses and tanneries, not to mention individuals, needed ready access to water though 'ordinary' folk relied on communal facilities such as Well Steps.¹

Late nineteenth-century legislation made inroads into improving the state of health of the nation while reducing appalling death rates. Among the strategies enacted was the provision of public water supply under the Public Health Act 1875.² Under this law the new rural district councils were required to provide suitable water supplies (and sewage systems) to as many people as practically possible.

If we press and hold the chronological rewind button and leave behind towns and villages and consider how water was sourced in remote farmsteads, a very different picture emerges, one which involved communal effort as well as engineering on an impressive though often now-elusive scale. During archaeological excavations or landscape interpretation outings this writer has often been asked where the people living 'here' got water, whether on prehistoric or medieval sites. The stock reply is 'what did they need water for?' Put aside thoughts of our wasteful consumption of water – flushing gallons every day down the toilet, showering or taking a bath every day, for example – and focus on the basics. Livestock were generally taken to where water was naturally available, at a spring, stream or wetland; if people bothered to wash themselves or their clothing, they similarly went to the nearest source. In essence the minimal amount of water was carried back to the farmstead, specifically for cooking: it is too heavy and time wasting to be carrying it time and again.

If one looks beyond our shores in times past there were networks of channels created to bring water from rain-blessed regions to where drought prevailed. The *aqua ductus* (from *aqua* – water – and *ducere* – to lead or bring) of Rome and its surroundings are well known consisting of hundreds of kilometres of channels contained by stone, tile or Roman cement. Without this network Rome could not have achieved its prominence. Coeval with these were the aqueducts and 'gutter's that brought spring water from the mountains and from massive cisterns hewn out of solid rock to the Nabatean capital that we call Petra. At a maximum the needs of 30,000 people were met by the rock-cut and clay-pipe channels running through the city's natural gorges.

Of more recent vintage are the *suonen* (in German) or *bisses* (in French) in the Swiss canton of Valais which form a network some 1800km long carrying water from glacial outflow streams to the drier valleys below: the earliest of these date from 800 years ago. Very similar is the *levada* system in Madeira which totals about 800km in length still bringing

excess rainwater from the north-west to the parched but fertile south-east; these have their origins in the fifteenth century. (*Levada* means lead/led in Portuguese).

What all these systems have in common is their impressive engineering given the 'primitive' nature of technology available to their creators and builders. All used gravity-fed channels with gradients designed to ensure regular but controlled rates of flow.

It is not necessary, however, to venture abroad to see such engineering marvels: they can be found here in North Craven albeit in scaled down versions.

Definitions

In the Ingleborough area we have water channels variously called cuts, leats and races. A cut – a watercut – is an open, artificial channel that, typically, conveyed water to a watermill. A race broadly carried water to a watermill or a water-powered mine: 'race' is a generic term; a 'headrace' fed the conveyed water directly to the wheel, often from a milldam or pond whereas a 'tailrace' carried it from the mill back into the nearby stream. The word 'race' derives from the Old English *ræs* or Old Norse *rás*, both of which meant 'channel'. The term 'leat' was originally applied to an open channel carrying water to a watermill, deriving from the Old English *gelæt* from the verb to 'lead' or 'conduct'.

In the area under review here six such channels have been identified from fieldwork or historical mapping, and all are visible to varying degrees on the ground today (Fig. 1). This writer has traced the course of all six on the ground. All were constructed to carry water from the fells and moors to lowland sites, and three have surviving names: 'Mill Race or Water Cut' in Kingsdale, Broadrake below Wherside, Scales Moor, Philpin near Chapel-le Dale, Grey Wife Sike on Wetherpot Heath above Newby Cote, and Know Gap Sike above Clapham which is erroneously labelled 'Drain' on Ordnance Survey mapping. The dialect word 'sike' derives either from the Old English *sīc* or Old Norse *sīk* both of which meant a 'slow-running stream'.

All six share common characteristics though they vary widely in length, chronology and end use. In their own way, each is as impressive in concept and engineering as the levadas, suonen or aquae ducta.

Mill Race or Water Cut

Mill Race runs for a total distance of over 10km and is one of only two of the local channels with any known documentary evidence. It starts as a natural resurgence in Turbary Pasture at Kingsdale Head and terminates at a former corn mill in Burton in Lonsdale.³ Initially it drops quite steeply from the source (from 478m above sea level [ASL] to 465m) with a gradient of 1:4. It then contours between 450m and 460m below Swinsto Brows to the top of North End Scar, a distance of about 3300m, giving a gradient of only 1:330. It is quite remarkable to follow its course – here very clear and obvious, there silted up or masked by soft rush and moss but still just discernible – as it describes a slightly sinuous course to

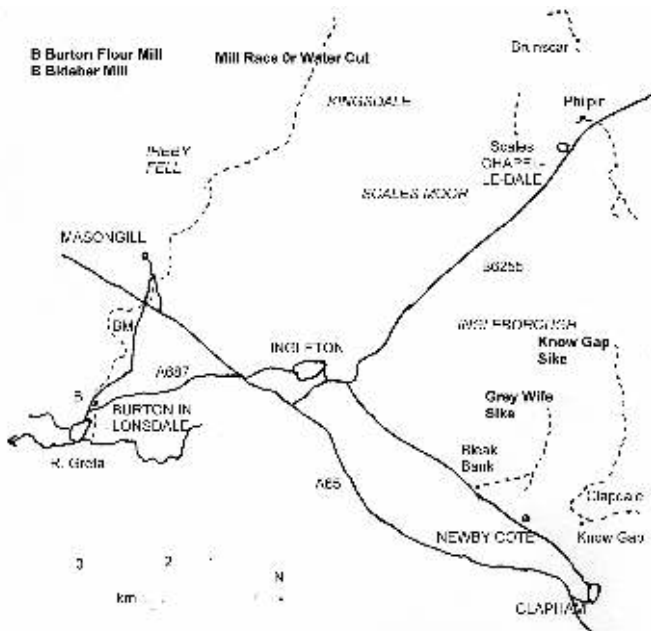


Fig. 1 Location map

maintain the angle of slope required to keep the water gently flowing. In places it tapped into minor streams adding to the level of flow. Walking its course over these 3300m leaves one thinking it was dead level, such was the skill of those who dug it. When level with the Scar its course steepens markedly as it drops down to a modern water pumping station and gradient reduces somewhat between there and Masongill Hall farm at which point the race is at 180m ASL. Up to the top of the Scar the race intermittently carries water today but thenceforward it is more like a natural stream than an artificial channel.

From Masongill the race flows across enclosed pasture land through Galegreen beyond which it describes a broad sweep westwards before turning back on itself to Bideber Mill (Fig. 2). Between Masongill Lowfields and Bideber the latter part of its original course was more direct but construction of the Clapham Station to Tebay railway in 1846-49 led to its being diverted southwards. It may have been at this time that the original line after High Threaber Farm was also realigned: rather than following the parish boundary, where the old and now dry channel can clearly be seen, it was sent through Low Threaber. Beyond that point the cut is subsumed within a natural stream flowing into the milldam at the old mill above Bogg Bridge (formerly Mill Race Bridge). Water was fed from the dam through the watermill with the tailrace running



Fig. 2 Bideber Mill: a former store adjacent to the mill itself

under the bridge to enter the Greta a short distance above the road bridge. Overall, the average gradient is 1:25.

What is known of Mill Race's history? It is not known for certain whether Mill Race was created just to serve Bideber Mill, terminating there, or at what in the nineteenth century was known as Burton Flour Mill. If the former, there was no nearby stream into which the water could have been fed from the tailrace. Bideber Mill was a manorial corn mill within the manor of Masongill and, as such, would have had medieval origins. A legal case from 1527 saw William Redmayne of Twisleton and other prominent local personages set against Sir Thomas Wentworth and his son and heir, also Thomas.⁴ The case involved thirty messuages and a water mill in the manor of 'Massyngyll' along with lands and properties across Masongill, Burton in Lonsdale and Thornton in Lonsdale. The mill in question was Bideber. Before the course of the Race was realigned in the mid 1840s water was impounded in a small mill pond next to the mill and fed over what must have been, from ground evidence, an overshot wheel. Ordnance Survey (OS) mapping, surveyed in 1848, does not mark a pond or a tailrace so it is likely the mill had already ceased production. The map shows no link from the realigned channel to the mill.

Burton Flour Mill has a rather shadowy history but the size of the building and the milldam, and the Mill Race itself, testify to a concern far more industrial in scale than Bideber (Fig. 3). Evidence on the ground, especially below Swinsto Brows, shows that the lower side of the original cut had slumped in various places where it contoured along steep slopes. These sections were reinforced by channelling the water in half-section, broad-diameter glazed ceramic pipes of a type not manufactured before the mid to late nineteenth century. This was clearly done to keep Mill Race – and Burton Flour Mill – in operation. Anecdotally, the cut was maintained up to 1956.

Broadrake

The channel that issues below the ridge of Whernside is different in every way from Mill Race: it is hardly more than 1km long, falls very steeply from the fell and was cut just to meet the needs of Broadrake farm. It rises below Combe Scar at 500m ASL and drops to 330m in no distance at all, tapping into several natural rills on the way. After it flattened out on the edge of Broadrake's inbye land it displayed its remarkable character. For about 150m it was cut across limestone bedrock which is either very close to or at ground level.



Fig. 3 Burton Flour Mill

Immediately before reaching the former farmstead it was channelled on a sinuous course between large limestone pavement clints: the only way water could have been prevented from seeping below the surface would have been by lining it with puddled clay. At two points it is intercut by small shakeholes which obviously were not there when the cut was in use. Behind the farmhouse water was led off the cut into a large trough made of Helwith Bridge flagstone though the channel itself continued beyond the farmstead and petered out in the field immediately south of it, in what 1846-48 and 1893 OS mapping labelled 'Spreads'. That field and its direct lower neighbour were (and still are) meadows and it is possible that surplus water was used to flood these meadows in late winter, an agricultural practice that was common from at least the sixteenth century. Watering had two clear benefits: the water replenished nutrients thereby improving the quality of the pasture and allowed warmer flowing water to reach the grass roots in the still-cold soil early in spring provoking the grass into earlier growth than would otherwise happen. For those farmers who used watering it was a win-win scenario.

Philpin

This channel starts at the foot of Souther Scales Fell as two discrete cuts, originating at natural springs, which soon merge to form a feature 2km long. Like the Broadrake cut this one also fed just one farmstead – Phillipin farm, or Philpin in its modern guise; it also closely parallels Broadrake's in concept. Initially contouring round a natural hillock it then drops quite steeply before flattening out as it crosses Douk Cave Pasture in a slightly sinuous line before contouring round a limestone outcrop at Little Douk Cave and heading over Keld Bank. Like Broadrake's cut, it is remarkable in that for a length of at least 300m it runs across limestone bedrock so must also have had a puddled-clay lining. The cut originally crossed the B6255 at the modern water board pumphouse before dropping downslope to Philpin and just beyond to the southwest where it, too, terminated in a 'Spreads' – no doubt for the same reason as at Broadrake. OS mapping from 1893 shows the cut terminating at the pumphouse; in modern times the open cut was replaced, part-way onto Keld Bank, by a buried water pipe which still carries water from a spring.

Scales Moor

An open channel formerly supplied water to Low Scales and Scales Cottage on the edge of Scales Moor. Its course can still be followed though in places it has been cut by small shakeholes and in places its exact line is very indistinct. It tapped water from Ellerbeck Gill where the stream enters an underground passage. It then runs south-westwards on a gentle incline across the flanks of Blake Bank before crossing Blake Bank Moss on a south-easterly line running through an impressively deep man-made cutting through glacial deposits on High Scales Rigg to tap a natural rising, from which a modern pipe draws water. It enters inbye land then runs underground and diagonally through three fields towards the two former farmhouses.

The channel starts at the gill at an altitude of 362m and descends across the flanks of Blake Bank to cross Kirkby Gate bridleway at 352m: it loses 10m height in a lateral distance of 500m giving it a gradient of 1:50. It enters the Scales enclosures at an altitude of 332m and terminates at a 'well' at

a height of 320m. It has a total length of c. 1800m and a total height drop of 30m giving an average gradient of 1:60: this surely ranks it as an impressive engineering feat as much as the glacial cut is a testament to human endeavour on a massive scale.

The fact that it is now cut by shakeholes and is more or less filled up in places might suggest that it is of considerable age. It is marked on the OS First Edition map, but not on the Second Edition of 1896. The earlier map shows it terminating at a 'well' adjacent to the access gate into The Rake, between Scales Cottage and Low Scales.

Know Gap Sike

Also originally serving two farmsteads, Know Gap Sike starts as a natural resurgence high on Clapham Bents below Little Ingleborough and flows downhill across Seat Haw and Herningside. Up to the point where it first comes close to a wall it is now very difficult to follow the Sike's exact line as it interconnects with a number of rills and navigates across a very boggy area and avoids several shakeholes. As it runs around the western side of Clapdale Scars, sticking close to the wall except where it contours inside the Scars maintaining a level course where a dry valley forces it to leave its north-south alignment. As with all the other cuts, the channel passes under the wall through a water smoot (Fig. 4). Whereas between Herningside and Little Knott the sike could be mistaken for a natural stream, from the first smoot it is confined within an obvious cut, averaging 500mm wide. Either side of the second (southern) smoot the cut is lined with half-section, glazed ceramic pipes to ensure free-flowing water where limestone bedrock is close to the surface (Fig. 5). The channel passes north of the now totally ruined Know Gap Farm, which was linked to the sike by a side channel, and contours along the southern edge of Clapdale Scars, finally dropping downslope to Clapdale Farm. Overall, Know Gap Sike has a gradient of 1: 20 but for the final 1000m 1:50. According to 1846-47 OS mapping the sike continued to join Clapham Beck a short distance upstream of the footbridge, though the 1893 edition shows it terminating at Clapdale Farm.



Fig. 4 A water smoot on Know Gap Sike



Fig. 5 Know Gap Sike with a section of glazed earthenware pipe visible

Grey Wife Sike

A natural stream issues from Knoutberry Hole south-west of Little Ingleborough and eventually disappears down a shakehole. Shortly before this point Grey Wife Sike branches off the stream still carrying water in wet conditions for some distance, especially after a modern drainage grip spills its waters into the sike making it wider and deeper than hitherto. As with the cut at Broadrake, the line of the channel is now cut by a shakehole meaning the sike predates the shakehole's creation. It soon bypasses another shakehole and then loses its definition in a scatter of shakeholes, becoming more defined beyond them with a width of 600mm and depth of 300mm. After a pronounced break of slope the cut is even more defined with a maximum width of 1m and depth of 600mm. The cut bifurcates just before a ruinous shooting box with one branch heading south and the other south-west. The south-west branch starts off with the same characteristics as the channel from here northwards but soon after passing below the building it is very different with long straight lengths and vertical, fresh-looking sides. The southern branch, however, is as sinuous as the main channel had been: it terminates c. 5m short of a shakehole. The south-western branch largely, but not completely, temporarily loses definition in a shallow limestone quarry and eventually reaches the inbye headwall above Bleak Bank Farm but there is no longer any sign of a water smoot in the wall.

The (single) northern section has a gradient of 1:15; the south-western 1:8 and the southern branch 1:5. OS mapping from 1846-47 marks and names Grey Wife Sike only from Knoutberry Hole running south to a point level with the first shakehole, but that from 1893 shows the Sike running as far south as the shakehole at the end of the southern branch with the south-west branch running only a few metres past the shooting box at which point it terminated.

Issues

Examination and contemplation of these six water cuts raises a number of pertinent questions and issues, not all of which can be conclusively addressed.

1. *Why* The rationale behind each cut being created has been covered above.
2. *When* Is it possible to state with confidence when each cut was initiated and abandoned? Cartographic evidence is perhaps the obvious source to consult. Mention has been made in the foregoing discussion regarding early OS

mapping: all six were depicted on First Edition Six-Inch mapping, surveyed in 1846-48, and only the Scales cut was left off the Second Edition surveyed in 1893. Thus it can be said with absolute confidence that all were extant and recognisable in the 1840s but this does not necessarily mean they were all still in active use. Earlier mapping is very rare except for Know Gap Sike which ran across land owned by the Farrers' Ingleborough Estate. Among the many hundreds of estate maps are two for 1814 and 1829, both of which include the Sike.⁵ The sike remained in use serving Clapdale until a hydraulic ram was installed on Clapdale Beck in 1929.⁶

None of this evidence, however, has anything to say about when each feature was first dug. Only Mill Race or Water Cut allows tentative dating to be hypothesised. From the manorial source mentioned earlier it is known that Bideber Mill was extant by at least 1527 and there is a strong likelihood that, as a manorial corn mill, it could well have had origins in the medieval era. Broadrake and Philpin were tenements within Furness Abbey's vaccaries of Southerscales and Winterscales so could well have been first dug in the monastic period. The Scales tenements, Know Gap and Clapdale were not in monastic ownership but certainly Scales and Clapdale have origins within that period though this does not translate to these two cuts being that old.

Grey Wife Sike fits into a dating category all of its own. The Farrers bought manorial rights stretching over much of the Ingleborough massif which they developed into the Ingleborough Estate with a prime aim being to develop a shooting focus. Heather moors were managed for grouse, lines of shooting butts were erected and each shooting zone was provided with a 'shooting box', a stone-built cabin for the 'guns' and beaters. Those sited at Moughton Whetstone Hole, The Allotment and Gayle Beck had adjacent supplies of water from natural streams; the one on Wetherpot Heath had no such supply (Fig. 6). Estate records show that the years 1830-82 saw 21,241 grouse shot across Ingleborough;⁷ neither this shooting box nor the sike existed prior to the 1840s (as proven by OS mapping) but they were both there by 1893. It is likely, therefore, that Grey Wife Sike was initially cut to bring water from Knoutberry Hole to the shooting box, hence its terminating at that juncture. Anecdotal evidence suggests the major part of the south-west branch was only dug in the late twentieth century to improve



Fig. 6 The junction of Grey Wife Sike on Wetherpot Heath looking towards the shooting box

water supply to Bleak Bank Farm. The southern branch makes no sense at all as a water supply feature as it ends in the middle of nowhere; rather it may have been cut to drain the sloping ground alongside a line of butts. Shooting estates, it should be added, were keen to promote their desire to pander to the 'guns'.

3. *Who* There are several issues inherent in this short word. First, who ordered the various cuts to be dug? Presumably Mill Race was dug at the behest of the manor court given that Bideber was in the possession of the lord of the manor; it is probable that the Broadrake and Philpin channels were conceived by those in charge of Furness Abbey's vaccaries; it is possible that the manor courts of Clapham and Twisleton-with-Ellerbeck were likewise responsible for Know Gap Sike and the Scales cuts; and we can safely assume Ingleborough Estate was instrumental in seeing Grey Wife Sike to fruition. Second, it can be taken for granted that all the cuts were actually dug – most of them by hand using wooden spades – by tenants and sub-tenants of the respective manor or monastic courts, probably as boon labour. A fourth question is impossible to answer convincingly: over what timescale was each cut dug?

Conclusion

Regardless of who ordered their creation, what reasons lay behind these orders, who carried out the almost superhuman tasks, in which period, and how long it took them, it is impossible to escape from the fact that all six of them are awe inspiring. The scale of the undertakings is massive considering the lack of available technology at the time. The ways in which natural obstacles were overcome – shakeholes, outcropping

limestone bedrock, wetland tracts, mounds of glacial till – are impressive by any standard. The attention to detail of slope angle, maintaining just enough gravitational flow without causing gullying or too rapid a rate of flow, is difficult for us to comprehend. Nowadays there is a host of competing technologies and digital aids to solve such problems; it is important to remember that none of these was available centuries ago.

Notes

1. Ball, G. and Slater, M. 2018. 'Water under Settle'. *NCHT Journal*, pp. 18-20.
2. Foxcroft, H. 2004. 'Water, water everywhere'. *NCHT Journal*, pp. 5-6.
3. Full route details with grid references and a photographic record can be found in the online version of this article.
4. Greenwood, W. 1905. *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood: a Contribution to the History of the Levens Family of Redman and Redmayne in many of its Branches*. Kendal: Titus Wilson, p. 198.
5. NYCRO. ZTW XI, mic. 2207, fr. 397-99, Know Gap Estate, 1814; fr. 411-20, Clapdale Farm, 1829.
6. Johnson, DS, 2020. *Ingleborough. Landscape and History*. Lancaster: Carnegie (revised edition) pp. 153-53.
The present hydraulic ram is a replacement of the 1929 installation.
7. NYCRO, ZTW III; Johnson *op. Cit.*, pp. 242-44.

A Glimpse of Settle's Past - A Study of Deeds held at Wakefield Archive.

Sheila Gordon

Transcripts of the deeds for Settle, Giggleswick and Stainforth can now be found on the Capturing the Past web site at www.dalescommunityarchives.org.uk. The information within these documents makes for fascinating reading, opening a window into life in these three townships over the period 1704 to 1844.

In this article the deeds relating specifically to Settle have been studied with emphasis on the occupations mentioned therein. Settle was becoming established as an important market town at that time, lying as it did on one of the main east/west routes across the north of England. Trade increased dramatically once the route between Keighley and Kendal became a turnpike road in 1735.

The deeds deal with land and property transactions; all fields are named and sometimes their position in the landscape is described in great detail. Sadly this doesn't apply to property except on very rare occasions. Fortunately for our purposes the title or occupation of the participants is nearly always stated. Little has been written about the officials who drew up and wrote out by hand these lengthy documents but

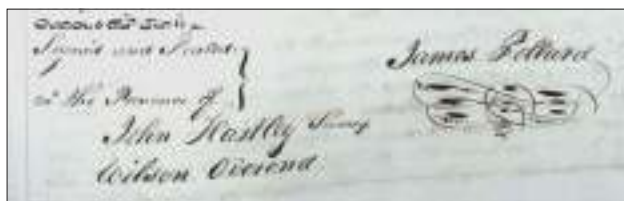
it certainly appears that they worked very long and unsociable hours. The date and time when the deed was drawn up was usually stated in the margin, the majority being between eight in the morning and six in the evening. However several were written up as early as six in the morning and as late as ten in the evening. One scribe was obviously of an artistic disposition as he often filled in spaces in the ledgers with elaborate drawings which were highly decorative.

For the purpose of analysis the occupations of the local people were categorised as in the table below but this is purely arbitrary. An individual may be classed as a mercer in one document and subsequently a merchant in the next and some people had more than one job. Also the very nature of deeds means that some occupations, for example labourers and domestic servants are going to be under represented as they usually only appear when acting as witnesses. Despite these drawbacks some form of categorisation is necessary if the aim is to draw conclusions about the various trades and occupations which the inhabitants were engaged in during this period.

Occupations 1704 to 1844

Textiles and Clothing	121
Grocers and Shopkeepers	73
Food and Drink Suppliers	48
Merchants, Brokers and Dealers	26
Professional	74
Domestic Service including Agriculture	14
Miscellaneous Craftsmen and Tradesmen	135
Labourers	12
Total	503

People with occupations involving the textile and clothing trade appear frequently amongst the deeds i.e. 24% of the total, coming second only to other craftsmen who appear in 27% of cases. The woollen industry in particular was a major factor in the growth of the area, subsequently to be superseded by cotton manufacture. The list below shows the variety of occupations found relevant to this woollen textile for the period under discussion.



Textiles and Clothing

Breeches Maker, Calico Manufacturer, Clothier, Cordwainer, Cotton Manufacturer, Cotton Spinner, Dyer, Flax Dresser, Hat Manufacturer, Hosier, Linen Draper, Linen Weaver, Mercer, Milliner and Dressmaker, Serge Weaver, Staymaker, Stuff Weaver, Taylor, Wool Comber, Wool Weaver, Woollen Draper, Woollen Stapler, Worsted Weaver.

The term 'Cotton Spinner' doesn't appear in the deeds until the late eighteenth century, prior to this the spinning process was part of a cottage industry performed at home by women and children until at least the advent of the spinning mills. Many spinners were needed to keep up the demand from the weavers for yarn. Bridget Hill describes how 'In the early eighteenth century it took seven to ten spinners to provide yarn for one weaver and thus considerable employment was provided for women' [1] The first deed found which mentions the spinning mill at Runley south of Settle is dated 1786 and is between James Brennand and John Wray [2]. The deed concerned a piece of land known as

Runley Close and also a half part of 'Wheels Frames Engines ... etc. Appertaining to the Business of Cotton Spinning'.

Weaving was also invariably done at home, often with the looms rented out to the weavers by a clothier. A John Wetherald is described as a serge-weaver in a deed of sale dated 1742 [3]. He owned three properties at 'Cooksons of the Nook' which by 1748 became known as White Hall and nowadays is called Whitefriars; John may well have woven this loosely worsted twill there.

The names of twenty-one mercers were discovered, one of whom was William Carr senior and his son also called William. William senior, whose chief trade was selling fabrics, was a successful business man who 'supplied over forty different types of cloth during his time as a mercer'. His inventory 'totalled £1,001.15s.5d. making him one of the wealthiest men in the parish'[4]. Less successful was his contemporary Henry Haydock who was also trading as a mercer in Settle in 1711 and who was declared bankrupt by 1721 [5].

Another bankrupt of the period was Thomas Hall, a Hosier, whose house in Settle was used as a Comb Shop in the 1775 [6]. The word 'shop' in this instance is a misnomer as the term 'comb shop' usually referred to a group of men combing wool together in the upper chamber of a house.

Premises

There are many references to shops in the deeds held at Wakefield Archive but few describe the exact location of the premises. However mention of shops to the east and west of the Toll Booth appear regularly, the Toll Booth being replaced by the Town Hall in 1832. The 1851 Tithe Schedule lists thirty-three shops all centred on the Market Place and radiating out along Duke Street, Kirkgate, Capel Hill and other adjacent streets very much as it is today. Many were at ground level but equally there are references to shops above houses, barns and other buildings. Shops discovered amongst the deeds include those for an Apothecary, Butcher, Carpenter, Draper, Grocer, Hosier, Joiner, Leather Worker, Mercer, Nailor, Saddler, Shoemaker, Smithy, and Staymaker.

Often a tradesman would also use his work area as a place to sell his goods and Nelson's cobblers in Duke Street is a perfect example, combining a shop with work-room next door. The family have been making clogs, sandals and shoes in Settle since 1847. Similarly in a deed dated 1739 the smithy where George Picard worked as a whitesmith is also described as 'a Smith's Shop' [7].

The present Naked Man Cafe was originally the site of houses, shops and warehouses used by grocers, mercers and a woolstapler. William Carr senior (mentioned previously) bought the Naked Man in 1723 from John Cookson and his mother. William ran his mercery business from here and on his death in 1731 he bequeathed the Naked Man to his Nephew Henry Town. An idea of the scale of this property can be gleaned from the relevant deed of sale [8]. The building included at least one dwelling, a lower parlour which had been converted into a shop, several other shops, warehouses, barn, three stables and one coal house.

Craftsmen and tradesmen were the most frequently encountered occupations, accounting for 27% of the total and the majority of these were found in the period 1764 to 1783.

Craftsmen and Tradesmen

Blacksmith, Cabinet Maker, Carpenter, Clocksmith/Watch Maker, Clogger, Cooper, Cordwainer, Currier, Fell Monger, Glazier, Joiner, Journeyman, Ironmonger, Mason, Nailer, Paper Maker, Periwig Maker, Printer, Sadler, Skinner, Slater, Tallow Chandler, Whitesmith.

Numerous deeds were found relating to smithies in Settle but locating the sites proved problematic although a search of the Tithe Awards and local Directories enabled one in Chapel Street to be located. The first house on the left as you approach Greenfoot Car Park was described in the 1844 Tithe Award as a house and smithy owned by Thomas Coar, a blacksmith. A subsequent search of the Parish Registers showed that a Thomas Core married Frances Dale in 1747. A deed of 1764 substantiates this, describing 'Thomas Coar of Settle Blacksmith and Frances his Wife' selling a plot of land called Natbreak. [9]. One year after the marriage they had a son also called Thomas. Thomas senior died in 1800 aged 74 and so it appears that Thomas junior carried on the family business as shown in the 1844 Tithe Award. The original building was demolished and was replaced by the present Masonic Lodge [10]

Other deeds record a smithy in Duke Street and one in Bowkill's Yard; the latter was still a working blacksmith's until recent times. Three blacksmiths were listed in Baines Directory for the West Riding (dated 1822) and five in White's Directory for 1837. By the time of the 1851 Census these figures had increased to eight although two of these were apprentices and so not indicative of separate smithies.

Tanning and leather working were also important industries in Settle Town and a currier's business was located in Duke Street amongst the shops south of the Golden Lion. In a deed of 1834 the Reverend John Clapham sold to Matthew Whittam, tanner and currier, three properties in Duke Street lately occupied by William Redshaw and now by Matthew [11]. Both gentlemen appear in the Directories of the time: William in Baines Directory of 1822 as 'Currier & leather seller' and subsequently Matthew in White's Directory of 1837 as 'Currier & Tanner, Duke Street.

Professionals

In the 1740's there were just two references to people working in a professional capacity but from then onwards the numbers increased dramatically. In the last twenty-one years of study

between 1823 and 1844 the number rose to thirty-five. Of these over 50% were clerks to local solicitors, often acting as witnesses. Other professionals included two surgeons, six solicitors, one attorney-at-law, three bankers and one schoolmaster.

The above is just a brief look at some of the occupations of people in Settle over a period of approximately one hundred and forty years. There is so much more to be gleaned from a closer scrutiny of these documents. The food and drink suppliers, in particular the licensing trade, is a whole section on its own which is worthy of study. I hope you will agree that utilising old deeds as a resource material is worth all the effort, giving new insights into the lives of working people in the early modern period.

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Book Review

Ingleborough's Placed Stones.

David Johnson, John Asher, Sheila Gordon & Allan Pentecost Yorkshire Dales Millennium Trust/Stories in Stone (2020)

This report came as a revelation to me. I am ashamed to admit that I have never noticed these standing stones on the limestone pavements in the environs of Ingleborough. Though the megalithic monuments, such as at Avebury and Stonehenge, have been surveyed and studied for centuries the 'miniliths' of our limestone pavements have largely slipped under the radar. These stones were rammed into the grikes and are still held fast – some have small stones wedged in to ensure the slabs remain in place. In all the survey covered 19 pavements and identified 128 of these features. The first 40 pages are devoted to recording these stones. There then follows fascinating sections on the interpretation and analysis of the results with a discussion of the various hypotheses with some well reasoned speculation.

This book will appeal to archaeologists & landscape historians and there are helpful ideas for further investigation both in the Dales and further afield. The section on the lichens will also be of interest to naturalists.

The Husbands: a family of recusants

Pamela Jordan

A few months ago I agreed to help Mike Slater with his project researching the names behind the initialled door heads in the North Craven area. Emmeline Garnett had identified the 'WH 1763' on the barn at Grain House, Giggleswick as belonging to one William Husband in her article published in *The Journal* (2019). However, my research revealed a different story about him and his family to that in the original article and I believe it deserves to be told.

Following Henry VIII's dispute with the Pope and the subsequent establishment of the Church of England, it became illegal to follow the Catholic faith until well into the 18th century. Catholic clergy and lay people faced penalties if they were found practising the old faith and some tried to hide their real faith by attending Anglican services. If it could be proved that they were practising Catholics, lay people were fined heavily and had to register their property. Boys and men went abroad to newly created colleges to be educated and ordained, returning to England to carry on their mission. But this was considered to be high treason and they could face the death penalty if discovered. The severity of the persecution tended to ebb and flow depending on the perceived threats such as the Jacobite rebellion. There were a number of prominent Catholic families in the North of England, particularly in Lancashire, and the Husbands, a gentry family from Bentham, were part of that recusant network.

In 1699 William Husband (d.1715) of Bentham appeared in the Giggleswick Parish Registers when he married Millicent Brokas. It was his second marriage having lost his first wife, Elizabeth, three years earlier. But who was Millicent Brokas? Her identity is unknown, but she could have been Millicent Brockholes, the daughter of John Brockholes of Torrisholme, a member of the Brockholes family of Cloughton, who were known recusants. There is no evidence to suggest that William and Millicent ever lived in Giggleswick, but they certainly lived in Bentham and after William's death Millicent moved to Austwick. Their daughter, Elizabeth, had married Thomas Ingleby in 1716. The Ingleby family were Catholics, with land and property at Austwick, Clapdale and Lawkland. Mass was known to be said at Lawkland Hall, with the services attended by the family and those known to them.

Matthias Husband of Grain House and John Husband of Craven Ridge, who had arrived in Giggleswick sometime in the late 17th century, were a branch of the Bentham Husbands and they were very likely William's brothers – they certainly had a brother of that name [1]. There is little mention of either of them, other than as witnesses to their neighbours' wills or as signatories on probate inventories [2], until 1722/23. Following the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715, everyone had had to swear an oath of allegiance. This was reinforced again in 1722/23 when Catholics refusing to swear the oath of allegiance were required to register their names and details of their estates at quarter sessions or have their property seized. Matthias and John were required to swear the oath of allegiance on 4th July 1722 before William Dawson of Langcliffe Hall and Charles Harris of Catteral Hall, both

local Justices of the Peace, at the Naked Man in Settle. Matthias and John failed to appear, along with others including Thomas Ingleby [3]. John had to begin the process of registering his estates in March 1723 due to his failure to sign the oath [4], as did Millicent Husband [5]. Thomas Ingleby had already registered the estates of his late father-in-law William Husband in 1718 [6]. However, I can find no trace of Matthias registering his estates.

The lack of parish register entries has made it difficult to track the Husbands but fortunately both Matthias and John left useful Wills [7] making it possible to identify the various family members. I have been unable to find burial records for either of them but their widows, Elizabeth and Ann respectively, were buried at Giggleswick, described in the register as papists. John and Ann do not appear to have had any children, but Matthias and Elizabeth had three children and it is with this family at Grain House that the story continues. One daughter, Ann, married William Salisbury, a Settle apothecary. Sarah, her sister, married Adam Dale of Girlington, Wycliffe, near York [8], it presumably being no coincidence that the lord of the manor of nearby Thorpe was an Ingleby!

Matthias' and Elizabeth's son, William (d.1746) married Ann Faithwaite, the daughter of Henry Faithwaite of Pott Yeats of Littledale. The Faithwaites had lived at Pott Yeats for many generations and were known recusants and one of Ann's ancestors had had a considerable amount of his estate seized in 1624. William and Ann's marriage bond [9], which was registered at Lancaster on 13th January 1740/1, stated the marriage was to take place at Caton. However, there is no mention in the St. Paul's Church registers so one can only assume that they were married in a Catholic service. The bondsman was Nicholas Skelton, a known Catholic priest, who had a house on St. Leonardgate in Lancaster, using the barn, which was situated behind the house, for religious services. Nicholas was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle for a time as he was believed to have been connected to the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. He was close to the Faithwaites and Ann's brother, Thomas Winder Faithwaite was his executor, inheriting half of his estate.

William and Ann's first child, a girl, died within a year of her birth but they then had a son, William (1743-1779) who was baptised at Giggleswick in 1743. Sadly, within three years William was dead and Ann found herself a widow, looking after a young son. The Grain House property, some land at Stainforth, and the Craven Ridge and Tipperthwaite property which had been left to William (d.1746) by his uncle, John Husband, who had died in 1735 was left in Trust for young William. Ann must have stayed at Grain House but whether she farmed in her own right with the help of servants or let the farm to tenants is unknown. What is known is that young William chose a very different path to that of his father and in July 1759 William Husband of Grain House, aged 16, appeared for the first time in the registers of Douai College in France [10].

Douai College

Douai College had been established in 1561 by William Allen who had the idea of providing facilities to enable English Catholics to study and train as priests. Over three hundred priests are believed to have been trained by the college and then sent to England as missionaries, many of whom were executed when discovered. The students were very often from the North and the surnames of many of the prominent Catholic families appear in the registers. For security some of the students were registered with an alias name, including a William Husband, registered with the surname Barnard, who was ordained in 1674. Whether he had any connection with the Husbands in this story can only be a matter of conjecture. Eventually the College was moved to England, due to the French Revolution, and what is now known as St. Cuthbert's College was founded in County Durham.

William's (1743-1779) progress at Douai can be traced through the registers and he was ordained a priest in 1769. He was appointed Professor of Poetry and in October 1770 he became Professor of Rhetoric. However, his time at Douai was drawing to a close as an entry in the diary of Henry Tichborne Blount, who was the President of the College at the time, explains – '10th July 1771, Mr Husband, Priest and Professor of Rhetorick, set out for England'. William was placed at Great Singleton in Lancashire replacing a Mr Davison who had been the priest there but had been reported to the authorities and had had to seek refuge elsewhere. Davison became the resident priest at Salwick Hall, owned by the Clifton family who were prominent Catholics, and on Davison's death in 1775, William was transferred to Salwick where he was to remain for the rest of his relatively short life. In August 1779, he contracted smallpox after visiting the sick and he died at Salwick [11]. It is believed that he was buried on land belonging to the Cliftons at Lytham.

It is unknown if Ann had moved from Grain House to be near her son, but certainly by the time she made her Will she is described as living at Aspull. I have been unable to find the whereabouts of either William or Ann's Wills. However, both are mentioned in the Registers of Salwick and Lea, and it is stated that Ann left provision in her Will for £500 to set up an educational fund at Douai [12]. I have found a draft Deed in the Chichester-Constable family and estate records [13] which explains that after the sale of Grain House, Craven Ridge and Tipperthwaite, £500 was to be paid to the President of Douai College to establish a fund for 'bringing up boys to be made priests to serve the English mission'. The nomination of the boys was to be made by the Bishop of the Northern District and Ann had asked that preference was given to descendants of James Taylor, who was her surviving executor, or of the descendants of Ann Salisbury and Sarah Dale, her sisters-in-law. Ann died in 1787 and her bequest gave the chance for future generations of young men to train to be priests. As the 18th century drew to a close, the risks and dangers that Ann and her family had experienced would soon be in the past when practice of the old faith became more acceptable to the authorities.

Notes

1. 1735 The Will of John Husband, Borthwick Institute for Archives (BIA) vol.84, f.245
2. The Giggleswick Wills Project, North Craven Heritage Trust Archives
3. West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS), Roman Catholic Oath Records 1714-1787, 1829, QE28\10 and QE28\11
4. WYAS, Roman Catholic Oath Records 1714-1787, 1829, QE28\118
5. WYAS, Roman Catholic Oath Records 1714-1787, 1829, QE28\119 and QE28\176
6. WYAS, Roman Catholic Oath Records 1714-1787, 1829, QE28\60
7. 1738 The Will of Matthias Husband, BIA vol.85, f.506
8. 1739 Marriage Bond between Adam Dale and Sarah Husband, Lancashire Marriage Bonds; Lancashire, Westmorland: Marriage Bonds, Deaneries of Lonsdale Kendal Furness Copeland and Amounderness (Archdeaconry of Richmond) 1739-1745, Ancestry.co.uk
9. 1740/1 Marriage Bond between William Husband and Ann Faithwaite, Lancashire Marriage Bonds; Lancashire, Westmorland: Marriage Bonds, Deaneries of Lonsdale Kendal Furness Copeland and Amounderness (Archdeaconry of Richmond) 1739-1745, Ancestry.co.uk
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The betrothal of William Catterall and Barbara Hawkesworth in January 1595 (modern calendar)

Mary Slater and Michael Slater

Cause (or case, derived from the Latin 'causa') papers are records of disputes and misdemeanours dealt with by the church authorities. Those from the Diocese of York are held in the Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York. A few relate to Giggleswick (including the Bindloss affair [Gordon, 2011]) and one in particular [cause paper CP.G.2873] concerns a betrothal which illustrates the practice in late Tudor times, but for some reason a question arose about its validity. 'Sin is everywhere and needs judicial public punishment' – the view of church authorities.

The Borthwick Institute catalogues the case as having been heard in the Consistory Court; it is a matrimonial (validity of marriage) case. The case extended from 20 February 1594 (modern calendar 1595) - 14 October 1596. (All dates hereafter are modern calendar dates.) But what brought it all about?

The betrothal

A betrothal at that time was a contract of agreement to marry; a midway point between courtship and a church marriage [Cressy, 1997]. Often the words used were the same as in the marriage ceremony. Though considered man and wife from the time of betrothal, cohabitation ought not to take place until after the church marriage which was the one that mattered in the eyes of the church. The betrothal contract could only be broken in certain circumstances such as the parties were found not to be of age or there was consanguinity. If made by a man and a woman before witnesses, and made in the present tense, the bond was indissoluble [Youngs, 1991]. Young women knew they could contract a marriage without the presence of a priest and therefore male wills often specified that daughters should receive marriage portions only if governed, ruled and married by advice of the mother or executors [Mate, 1998]. Promises made in the future tense, conditional on parental consent or settlement of goods, were not so binding. Gifts such as gold rings, coins, trinkets or gloves were commonly given [Bryson, 2015]. The betrothal was often termed a 'handfast' ceremony, from the binding together of the hands of the couple.

From the cause papers we can see that this case concerns a handfast betrothal between William Catterall of Giggleswick, the plaintiff, and Barbara Hawkesworth of Otley, the defendant, which took place on the 'twelfth day of Christmas last past' i.e. 5 January 1595. In what is known as *Paver's Marriage Licences* we find that a licence for the marriage of William Catterall gent. and Barbara Hawkesworth of Giggleswick was applied for in 1595 (no exact date) for marriage in Giggleswick. This cost more than banns but was more private and avoided the expense of hospitality to guests.

One would expect to find a record of the marriage in the Giggleswick parish register if it took place, although perhaps it might have taken place in another parish; it does not appear in the Otley register. However, the marriage (and burial) pages in the Giggleswick register between early 1594 and mid-1595 are missing! For marriage in church the banns (a formal announcement in the parish of each partner that a marriage

was planned) were published and read out. The banns were read three times, usually weekly, during which time it was expected that any bar to marriage, such as consanguinity or a previous betrothal, would be identified. The open publication of banns could be dispensed with by purchasing an ecclesiastical licence. One only had to apply to the church authorities, presenting a statement that there were no impediments to marriage and pay the fee of 5s or 7s. The applicant had to sign allegations and bonds. However, a good many licences were never used so some question remains. Marriage bonds and allegations only exist for couples who applied to marry by licence. They do not exist for those who married by banns.

So though we do not have the categoric parish register evidence that William and Barbara did or did not marry in church, it seems unlikely that this happened, as discussed below.

The protagonists

William Catterall and Barbara Hawkesworth are the principals in the case, but also involved during the hearings are John Catterall, Geoffrey Atkinson and Henry Yonge supporting William, and Anthony Watson in whose house the betrothal took place. Who are they all? Besides information in the cause papers, we can use other documentation such as parish registers and wills to find out more about them.

William the plaintiff is said during the case to be the brother of John Catterall. John is stated to be aged 40 in 1595, so was born c.1555 before baptism records start (1558) in the Giggleswick parish register. William's birth is also not in the parish register, so therefore he could be presumed to be aged at least 37 at that time (or possibly born elsewhere). The marriage which is the subject of this case might therefore not be his first but no evidence has been found for that. The father of the brothers John and William was the William Catterall of Newhall listed as a free tenant in the Giggleswick Court records between 1579 and 1591; he died in 1592. In his will, William his son is left a rent charge of £7-6-8 per year income, but John inherited the estate. John is shown in the Giggleswick Manor Court records to be a free tenant after 1592. John becomes no stranger to litigation; for example, after the date of this case, post 1603, he is a co-plaintiff with Anthony Watson and six others as governors of Giggleswick School. In 1607 he brings a case jointly with brother William against Thomas Watson, son of Anthony – is this a sign of some later antagonism between the families?

Geoffrey Atkinson is a yeoman of Lythe Banke (Littlebank), about 50 years old, said to be a domestic servant and tenant of John Catterall. He is a witness.

Another witness is Henry Yonge, gent., from Appletreewick. Noted in the case as aged 22 in 1595, he married Anna Watson in 1593 - she was the daughter, bp 1575, of Anthony Watson. Henry Yonge is therefore Anthony Watson's son-in-law. His wife is cousin (or at least related) to Barbara Hawkesworth which explains why Barbara was living at Knight Stainforth.



Knight Stainforth

Anthony Watson, gent., of Knight Stainforth Hall was one of the governors of Giggleswick School at the same time as John Catterall in 1599. It is at Anthony's house in Knight Stainforth that the betrothal central to this case took place.

These details are important because witnesses could be challenged if too closely associated with the plaintiff or otherwise of little status.

On the other side we have Barbara Hawkesworth, defendant, of the parish of Otley. It seems probable that she was the daughter of wealthy William Hawkesworth esquire of Hawkesworth Hall near Baildon, which was in the parish of Otley. The will of William Hawkesworth dated 1588 names five daughters, including Barbara, and four sons. The daughters were left £100 each, the money to be charged on the manors of Hawksworth and Mensington (Menston), which meant that the money was not a capital sum to hand but dependent on the manor incomes. It was payable by their brother when the daughters married or reached 21 years, whichever came first, provided that this was with the approval of a list of the testator's 'especiall friends'. At the time of the incident Barbara was living at Knight Stainforth Hall with the Watsons. She is said to be a 'cousin german' of Henry Yonge's wife Anna, née Watson, meaning a cousin in the wider sense of kin generally. The families of Catterall and Watson are clearly well-known to each other and William presumably first met Barbara at the Hall in Stainforth and proposed marriage to her there.

Why was the case brought?

This is not clearly stated, but the options seem to be that one of the parties or their families wished the handfast betrothal not to be considered as binding but an agreement which could be escaped from. Were financial considerations the reason? Did one of the families swing into action when they realised what had happened? Although the case is labelled 'validity of marriage', the final verdict concerns alleged defamation of William by Barbara with no reference to the betrothal.

William claims that the betrothal was valid, according to what his witnesses said they heard and repeated on oath. Perhaps he hoped to lay hands on Barbara's money. He had indeed applied for a licence to marry. Barbara says that the betrothal was conditional. Her brother may have refused permission on grounds of relative wealth, so perhaps she was talking in public about William's perceived lower financial status which led to William bringing a case of defamation on these grounds. Judges were concerned whether the defendant spoke with malicious or spiteful intent. The burden was on

William to prove his case.

Whatever happened, we know that Barbara won the case and went on to marry well, and in her home area, some three years later.

The court proceedings

The case has six 'pieces' spread over one year eight months and follows a general format of libel, depositions and sentence as described on the Borthwick Cause Paper website. Much is in Latin in poor quality handwriting, in a mixture of contracted Latin forms with few case endings added, with English used for the witness statements made on oath.

The first piece is the libel, a list of charges. A marginal name 'Swinburn' shows that Henry Swinburne, an important ecclesiastical lawyer, was involved, presumably the judge. His signature appears on many cause papers [Derrett, 1973]. He wrote 'A treatise of spousals, or matrimonial contracts' published posthumously. Appearing for the plaintiff William Catterall is Master John Gibson (Official of the Consistory Court of York), and for the defendant Barbara Hawkesworth is Sir John Benet, Public Notary (knight and Vicar General of the Province of York) [archbishopsregister.ac.uk]. The names John Broket and Henry Proctor also appear as notaries public.

The case is brought before the court of the Archbishop of York with six charges (articles, claims or positions) made by John Gibson on behalf of the plaintiff claiming that William and Barbara had contracted marriage freely and that the betrothal words spoken were (in part) 'I William take the(e) Barbara to my handfest wyffe and thereto I plyght thee my trowth' (importantly in the present tense) and that Barbara said likewise, and 'so drue handes and kissed ...'.

Gifts were exchanged. Other items quote the diocese of York and the parishes, Otley and Giggleswick, in which the two participants lived.

At this point a defendant could admit the charge, or more usually contest it, which appears to be the situation here. Only points *not* agreed on both sides had to be proved by witnesses.

In the second piece (very hard to decipher) the defence case for Barbara is put by John Benet, responding to the six charges raised by the prosecutor. The item about words spoken constituting betrothal had an important caveat about requiring William to obtain permission. '... the said William at that tyme asking ... if she were contracted to have him to her husband And she then answered Yea *If he cold get the consent of her friends and ... of her eldest brother saying ... for ... his consent I will ... mary you nor any other ...* ... when came the said William & did give her a gold ring to kepe, and answered that he wold do when he cold to obteyne her brothers good will sayd I am ... also to take you to my wif so then your brother and the rest of your friends... give there consent to the same and unles they give there consentes I will ... any contract of you for which ... wordes speaking this ... and the said William said there ryght handes wynd together then the said William Catterall did give this... a silke girdle and ... she this ... did also give ... a crowne of gold to the said William Catterall.'

The possibility is therefore raised that though they went through the betrothal ceremony, the marriage was conditional upon consent of Barbara's brother and father's friends – her father having died and made a will so saying.

The next stage would be for the plaintiff to get either an

admission from the defendant, or sworn statements from at least two witnesses who were not successfully objected to.

Witnesses could not be cross-examined but the defendant could ask additional questions, e.g. about bribes or extra facts. The credibility of at least two witnesses, their standing in the community and their financial status had to be considered to test for possible bribery. Unsuitable witnesses were paupers, vagabonds, excommunicates, servants or relatives of the other party. It certainly appears that John Catterall (William's brother) and Geoffrey Atkinson (servant) could be considered unsuitable witnesses. However, no other witnesses were available to call upon.

The notaries record the following, to be submitted to the judge [Helmholz, 2003]. The name Francis Browne, notary public, is also noted at this point. A lease made in 1600 between John Catterall and Francis Browne of the city of York, notary public is for a farm in Rathmell, which might raise eyebrows.

Item 1. There is great disparity between the accounts of witnesses brought by William.

Item 2. William is said to be a pauper compared to Barbara, not worth £20 in cash, whereas Barbara is worth £20 and more in cash. The concern about money is also suggested by the response of John Catterall. '... for this respondent knoweth him selfe to be of as good or better parentage than the sayd Barbara was or is and he knoweth him selfe to be worthe in lands and goodes ... £200 at the least, whereas the said Barbara hath but £200 (actually £100) as it is sayd due unto her for her portion and Rights, which is very lykly to be very doubtful in getting and ... to be payd unto her or such as shall have interest or right therunto.' Getting money out of executors of wills was not guaranteed if the testator had debts or no cash in hand.

Item 3 charges that John Catterall is brother of William and John seems unwilling to explain his part relevant to expenses of the case. Item 4 says that Geoffrey Atkinson is a servant and tenant of John or William and is a pauper 'not worth £3, 40s, 30s, 20s nor 10s'.

The evidence of Geoffrey Atkinson is '...That upon the Twelfe daye in Christenmas last, about sonne settinge the same daye, William Catterall Mr John Catterall and the said

Jefferey Atkinson mett with Barbara Hawkesworth in a great entrie within the hall door of Mr Watson whear and when after some speach or communicacon passed betwene the sayd William and Barbara of matrymony to be had and solemnized betwixt them'. If all this is true, said before any witness, the couple were legally married according to canon law. The full statement is suspiciously precise to be remembered as given.

But this was disputed by claiming '...That the said Giles (*sic*) Atkinson was not presente in the entrie with the said Wylliam Catterall and the said Barbara the said Twelfe daye in Christenmas last past In Mr Watson his house about sonne settinge But was walkinge his master horses without the doors all that tyme neither within sight or hearing of the said William and Barbara during the said tyme.' Geoffrey Atkinson has therefore given false information under oath concerning what were the betrothal circumstances and what was said.

John Catterall 'de hollynghall in the county of York esquire aged about 40 years' testified. It was claimed '...That the said Mr John Catterall the said Twelfe daye in Christenmas last past, a litle before sonne settinge as he had deposed, was not presente with the said William Catterall and the said Barbara Haukesworth in the great entrie goinge from the hall door to the kitchyn of the said Mr Watson his house But was all that tyme in the hall parlour or chamber of the said house with the said Mr Watson and others and neither did see the said Wylliam and Barbara neither could here what they did saye att that tyme And therupon hath deposed untrulie in that behalfe'.

The evidence of Henry Yonge was '...That he did mete, the said Barbara Hawkesworth and ij men with her Ridinge upon mawe more about a mile from Threshefeld about one or two wekes after Christenmas last At which tyme and place he asked the said Barbara emongst other thinges if she wear handfast And that the said Barbara should saye that we are. *But it is propounded before the court* That the said Henrie Yonge the tyme and place aforesaid did not speak any such wordes neither did aske the said Barbara any such question, neither did she make him any such answer neyther could he have asked her the one ridinge before her upon the same horse that she rode on And the other ridinge hard besides then must nedes have hard the same which they did not.' It is charged then that Henry Yonge also is a false witness.

Book Review

Timothy Hutton (1779-1863) of Clifton Castle and Maske-in-Swaledale. The life and times of a North Yorkshire Gentleman.

Jane Hatcher

York Publishing Services (2020)

Born in Maske Hall, in Swaledale, Timothy Hutton was educated at Cambridge but returned home to lead the life of a country gentleman. He was no recluse but was fully involved in his community. As the author states in her forward, this is not a conventional biography and goes beyond the significant events of his life. It is more an exploration of the interface between the public and private aspects of his life. If you have tried researching family history you will have encountered a lack of material and the all too frequent dead ends. But in the case of Timothy Hutton there are 33 volumes of diaries plus other notebooks spanning 60 years. So the detail available is impressive.

This is a fabulous source for the local historian with sections on medical matters, the education of the poor, banking and so on. Thoroughly researched, this is just the book for those interested in the social history of the times. My only disappointment is that Timothy Hutton only appears to have travelled as far as Hawes and he never seems to have ventured into the southern Dales.

A later fuller version of his statement differed slightly in asking about marriage: 'Barbara Hawkesworth ar yow maryed no quoth the sayd Barbara then quoth this ext to her ar yow handfest ye quoth the sayd Barbara that we ar, meaning as this ext then was fully persuaded that the actor William Catterall and she were betrauthed th(e)one to the other'.

It is said that the three witnesses are not impartial or suitable, or sufficiently trustworthy. Are the witnesses telling the truth, or at least being 'economical with the truth'? In summary the two notaries appear to be suggesting to the judge that the case brought against Barbara could not be sustained.

The verdict

Piece 6 of the cause papers is the judgement, dated 14 October 1596.

The verdict is that Barbara has not been defamatory. 'For that reason we John Benet doctor of laws finally and definitively dismiss and absolve Barbara the defending party of infamy, vexation of elders and disturbance of the said William Catterall.' Some harsh words against William were used. The verdict means that Barbara the defendant won the case but the validity of the marriage is not discussed. Was it the case that Barbara's brother and friends were alarmed that William was not as wealthy as Barbara expected to be and that they were saying in Otley that William was not a suitable husband-to-be? It is guessed that the intended marriage was not agreed to by Barbara's brother. The witnesses for William, anxious to conclude a marriage profitable for him, but thwarted, proved to be legally unsuitable and may have in fact been untruthful. William may have realized that the betrothal was conditional but then was upset by talk in Otley and Giggleswick about his poorer financial status. Anyway, William had to pay costs.

What happened then?

The betrothal between Barbara and William must be assumed to have been deemed invalid as *Paver's Marriage Licences* lists W. Rawson of Bradford and Barbara Hawkesworth of Bayldon, to marry at Bayldon (a chapelry in Otley parish) in 1598, though there is no parish register record of the marriage there. The Rawson family were influential in Shipley and Bradford and owners of a fulling mill. William Rawson, gent., of Shipley died childless in 1631, mentioning wife Barbara in his will, for which one Ezekiel Taylor was a witness. *Paver's*

then lists in 1635 – Ezekiel Taylor gent. of Bradford and Barbara Rawson, widow, of Kildwick, to marry in either place. Ezekiel's former wife had died in 1633, so he was a widower. Barbara and Ezekiel in fact married at Keighley on 11 Aug 1635, and he had died by 1642. Barbara died in 1643 and was buried on 21 September at Bradford St Peter's.

No further certain information has been found about William Catterall. John Catterall had a son, William bp 1588, who is probably the one mentioned in various leases in the early 1600s, but too young to have been the William in this case. Knight Stainforth Hall has been rebuilt since the time of this case; the layout of rooms is different, not allowing consideration of where people in the case might have been standing.

Acknowledgements

We are much indebted to John Harrop for translating the critical part of the page in Latin which gives the verdict of the Public Notary John Benet, defending the case. To Mr C. Maudsley for looking inside Knight Stainforth Hall.

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Book Review

Peak Performance. Ingleborough's sporting legacy.

Victoria Benn

Kilnsey: Tickled Trout (2020)

Thousands of people each year undertake the Three Peaks walk, many raising money for charity. Some of them complete the course looking exhausted but with the glow of achievement whilst others give up due to the weather or exhaustion, yet vowing to return the next year. But this book is not about them: it is about the super humans who undertake the Three Peaks Race, the Cyclo-Cross or the Fellsman Hike. As sport is all about records: the fastest time to complete the race or the number of times someone has won it you might think that this would be a very boring book. Not so!

There is plenty of historical interest. Did you know that in the nineteenth century there were horse races around the circumference of Ingleborough's summit? And that there had been a scheme to run an electric tramway to the top? There are also some superb photographs. One in particular caught my attention: there is one of Fred Brown displaying all the prizes he had won. How many clocks does one man need?

You may, like me, prefer a more leisurely approach to walking our three peaks but you have to admire the physical and mental stamina of these sportspeople. I didn't expect to enjoy this book but was pleasantly surprised.

Bank Barn, Lawkland and possible recusant religious symbols

Michael Pearson & Alexander Bowring

Introduction

Bank Barn is an impressive building both in terms of its sheer size as well as the incorporation of unusual features such as the mullion windows in the gable wall. It is situated (SD 77 63766112) on the Lawkland Hall estate, being 100m north of the house. The gable end faces the front of the house and it is assumed that it was architecturally embellished for this reason. In 2014 the barn was surveyed as part of Master of Studies in Building History course at Cambridge University. The resulting report has been deposited with the Yorkshire Buildings Study Group. The survey showed that the barn had been modified several times and that material from Lawkland Hall had been incorporated in the building when that house was itself altered. It was not possible to establish the date when the barn was originally built, though this may have coincided with the alterations to the Hall undertaken by Arthur Ingleby in 1679. Bank Barn contains a date stone of 1763 which may commemorate the extension built by John Stephen Ingleby.

On the interior of the arch to the taller, east wagon entrance a carving of a small Greek cross in the stonework has long been an intriguing feature. It is not on the keystone of the arch where it might be expected. Perhaps it is a mason's mark but it seems too elaborate for that. (Examples of local masons' marks can be seen in the Journal of 2006 page 2) The other feature noted was a series of three inverted triangles on the corbels, above the lower wagon entrance. It is possible that these are Christian symbols representing the Trinity. Again the date of these features is uncertain and they may have originated in the Hall and later incorporated in the barn during alterations.

The Ingleby family of Lawkland and Austwick Halls

In 1573 John Ingilby (they spelled their surname slightly differently), second son of Sir William of Ripley Castle, purchased property from Peter Yorke, his uncle. This included the manor of Lawkland as well as property in Clapham and Austwick. It has been suggested that the sale was forced on Yorke in order to pay fines imposed on him because he was a recusant [1]. It is suggested that Arthur Ingleby (1632-1701) was responsible for alterations to Lawkland Hall in 1679, as shown by the date stone in the house of that date. There is little doubt that many members of the family were Catholics as several were listed as being fined as recusants from 1590 to 1691 [2]. Further evidence is provided by the presence of a priest hole in the house [3]. Also several of the female members of the family joined religious orders as nuns. For example the youngest sister of John Stephen Ingleby (1716-1789) became the abbess of the English convent at Cambray.

At the end of the sixteenth century anyone who refused to attend the Anglican services (ie recusant) was liable to a fine of £3 10 shillings a year to the parish and an additional £260 per year to the crown. After 1586 if the person defaulted on the payment then two thirds of their estate could be seized by the crown. In the seventeenth century the level of fines changed to reflect the annual value of the estate, which ranged from a tenth to a quarter of the total. For example in Lancashire the fines ranged from £2 per year for Thomas



Hesketh of Harwood to £100 for Thomas Middleton of Leighton [4]. Thus it was not just the large landowners but also the yeoman farmers who paid the penalties for being recusants.

However, not all Catholics were recusants. This term only applied to those who refused to compromise with the established church. There were also 'non communicants' or Catholics who attended Anglican services but did not take communion. Finally there were 'schismatics' who took communion whilst still remaining in sympathy or loyal to Catholicism. Thus there were a number of ways of evading the fines whilst remaining a Catholic. In practice it is not always possible to assess, from the records available, whether an individual was a Catholic or otherwise. In the case of Sir Charles Ingleby, of Austwick Hall, there can be little doubt that he was a Catholic.

Charles was born in 1644 and was the seventh child of John Ingleby's second marriage. As Arthur's youngest brother it was unlikely that he would inherit Lawkland Hall and its estate so he sought an alternative source of income. Charles was admitted to Brasenose College, Oxford in 1662 and the following year he became a member of Gray's Inn, being called to the Bar in 1671 [5].

In 1679 Charles Ingleby was one of 18 people arrested and charged with high treason as part of what was known as the Barnbow plot. The group, led by Sir Thomas Gasgoigne of Barnbow, were accused of attempting to murder Charles II [6]. Essentially the evidence rested on the account provided by Robert Bolron, a former employee of Gasgoigne's, of alleged conversations that had been overheard between members of the group. There were a number of trials in London and York in 1680 and all but one of the defendants were acquitted. Thomas Thwing, who was also accused of being a priest, was found guilty and was publicly executed in York [7].

Charles Ingleby was appointed Serjeant at law (similar to being a Queen's Counsel) in 1687. The following year James II appointed him as a judge (Baron of the Exchequer) and also knighted him. Sir Charles did not remain in office for long as when James II fled the country his successors, William & Mary, failed to re-appoint him. Ingleby returned to his legal work and his home in Austwick. In 1693 he was fined



40 shillings at the York Assizes for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William & Mary. It is not clear whether this refusal was on grounds of his faith or possibly because he had already sworn allegiance to James II, who was living in exile. Ingleby was fined again when George I acceded to the throne, by which time James II had died.

In 1717 Sir Charles Ingleby and his son were listed in the Papist register of lands [8] so it is without doubt that they were Catholics at this time. His daughter, Ann, entered a convent in Liege in 1705, with a dowry of £300, and died there in 1764 at the age of 75 years. This register also lists John Ingleby of the city of Durham for his manor of 'Lawkland cum Feizor'. Two other local Catholics listed for 1723 included Millicent Husband of Bentham and John Husband of Giggleswick: Pam Jordan provides further details of the Husband family in her article in this Journal.

Catholic iconography

Little has been written about Catholic symbolism and its appearance in vernacular architecture. Probably the best known example is that of Rushton Triangular Lodge (1593-7) in Northamptonshire with the many allusions to the number three, representing the Trinity. The building is three sided, has three storeys, with three bays and three gables to each side. Each side measures 33 1/3 feet long and even the chimney is triangular. The surname of the builder, Sir Thomas Tresham, provides a clue to an interest in the number three! He also built a house nearby which was laid out on the plan of a Greek cross (each arm is of equal length). The exterior is covered with religious symbolism with emblems of Christ's Passion cut into the stone panels. Born a Protestant, Sir Thomas converted to Catholicism and spent long spells in prison for his recusancy.

Other examples are more subtle. The porch at Benthall Hall in Shropshire carries the marks of the quincunx, or the five of Christ's crucifixion wounds. It is thought that this indicated Catholic occupancy of the house to travelling priests and other Catholics. In the same county there is Morville Hall, Upton Cresset and Wilderhope which all contain ornate Elizabethan plaster work with Catholic symbols such as the 'heart of Jesus' emblem. Placed in ceiling plasterwork these symbols are not always obvious to the uninitiated.

So what of the features at Bank Barn? Clearly the cross is a Christian symbol but it cannot be entirely ruled out that in this case it was a mason's mark. And what of the inverted triangles? At the end of the day it is speculation that these

represent the Trinity, as does the same symbol which appears above the front door of Lawkland Hall. It may be that these have been re-cycled stonework from the main house, but it is also possible that they indicate that the barn was used as a place of worship [9]. In her article, Pam Jordan refers to Nicholas Skelton using a barn behind his house for religious services. In 1767 58 Catholics were listed as living in the parish of Clapham [10]. It is unlikely that this number could have been accommodated in the chapel of Lawkland Hall so the barn may have provided an alternative venue.

Craven Door Heads

With so few examples of religious symbols being recorded on vernacular buildings it was decided to examine the door heads elsewhere in Craven and locality. The Trust's website contains records of several hundred door heads. There are three examples of the use of Chi Rho which is a christogram formed from the first two Greek letters of the word Christ (Wigglesworth, 1668; Gisburn, 1673; and Giggleswick, 1669). There are also crosses on two door heads in Long Preston (1695 & 1707) and in Kettlewell there is a cross within an inverted triangle (1590) though this may have been re-cut.. Given time perhaps more triangles will be found among the remaining hundreds of doors. A further line of research would be to try to discover the religious affiliations of the people who owned the houses.

Conclusion

With so little recorded or written about the religious symbolism in vernacular architecture it is difficult to draw firm conclusions. For some the whole topic may be too speculative! However it may encourage us all to look a little more closely at our built environment and research more fully the religious practices in Craven in the 17th & 18th centuries.

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Settle Bridge and J. M. W. Turner's Sketchbook

Frank Gordon and Michael Slater

References to a sketch of Settle Bridge by Turner in his Tour of Yorkshire in 1816 are to be found in Brayshaw and Robinson's book, *The Ancient Parish of Giggleswick*, and also in the so-called Red Book of papers collected by Brayshaw (in the possession of Giggleswick Church, seen by courtesy of David Fox). The sketch books are held by the Tate Gallery and the one of interest is Yorkshire Sketch Book 2, Turner Bequest CXLV (145) page 32. The simple sketch, labelled Giggleswick no. D11086, can be seen online but it is faint – it appears to show the bridge, Castleberg and some mill buildings. The original sketch can most easily be located using a Google search term 'Turner sketch book CXLV D11086'.



A rough sketch with more contrast has been made Michael Slater.

The viewpoint from which the Turner sketch was made lies near the house Mainsfield on Stackhouse Lane. Stackhouse Lane was the way to Stainforth open to horse riders. A very similar photograph from this point is seen in Speight's book *The Craven and North-West Yorkshire Highlands*, p. 97. Trees now obscure the view, but go and see for yourself.

In the Turner drawing we can identify Castleberg as the large outcrop left of centre with Middle High Hill top left. There is another flat-topped hill lower to the right outlined against the skyline - the line coming down abruptly from it is either a wall or the road. Maybe both.

Castleberg appears to be above the skyline so the viewpoint is lower than the Mains, built later than 1816, and the Mains is not a through route. In terms of shape the hill and crag correspond closely to Turner's drawing. There are some sketchy buildings below Castleberg. There are buildings shown amongst tall trees in the left foreground; the tall building is Bridge End mill, showing the many windows in the side facing the river.

The object just right of centre in the foreground is hard to make out, but is thought to be the bridge. It seems unjustifiable to draw conclusions about the nature of the bridge, such as it being narrow and stone-built.

Turner would select just that part of the scene that was of interest; he would naturally exaggerate those features of most interest and suppress (or omit) those he was not concerned with. Everybody does that – it's what separates the artist from the photographer. A modern photograph shows a good match despite the changes that have taken place.

One has to remember the conditions under which Turner was working. David Hill tells us that on these tours Turner was averaging 25 miles a day and doing very many drawings - a superhuman performance; in many cases he would not even get off his horse if he was just doing a small sketch like this one. So we must not expect too close a correspondence with actuality. And it was probably raining!

The book by David Hill *In Turner's Footsteps* tells us a lot about the sketchbook from which the drawing comes. He says, 'This particular book was more a pocket-book than a sketchbook' and was 'stuffed in his waistcoat pocket' and was 'full of quick notes, jottings, scribbles of virtually everything that required less than patient study'. Which fits in with the type of cursory sketch it is - more an aide memoire for possible future reference than anything else. Hill also tells us that the book was 5.5 inches by 3 inches, bound in patterned boards with a tanned calf leather spine. He can even tell us it cost 3s. 6d! Quite expensive.

Turner was on his way back to Farnley Hall when he came to Settle and it is worth quoting David Hill again.

Sunday August 11

'Looking forward to the shooting party at Farnley the next day he set off from Kendal as soon as he could and made all possible speed over the sixty miles back to Otley. He nevertheless made a number of notes in his pocket-book on the journey, a couple at Kirkby Lonsdale, others of Ingleborough as he passed on the road to Clapham, and views of Castleberg at Settle and Pen-y-ghent from nearby.

It was late afternoon when at last he arrived at Skipton, and although he was only seventeen miles from home, he had covered 550 miles since he left Farnley on 17 July, and had made 450 sketches on the way'. Turner then did some drawings of Skipton and rode the last few miles to Farnley. He was 41 at this time and no spring chicken. What a man!

So we can imagine him trotting down the road into Settle along the bottom of the Mains and stopping his horse for a moment while he dashed off our sketch of Castleberg. The horse would have been pretty tired by this time and may have been moving around a bit (as horses do, I suppose) which would have had an effect on the drawing as well.

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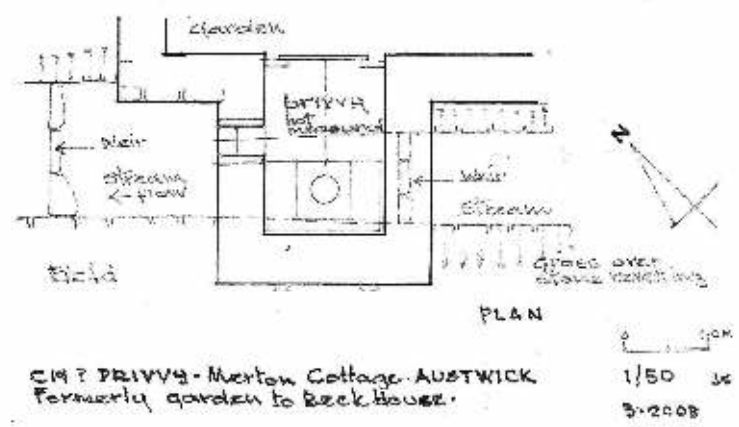
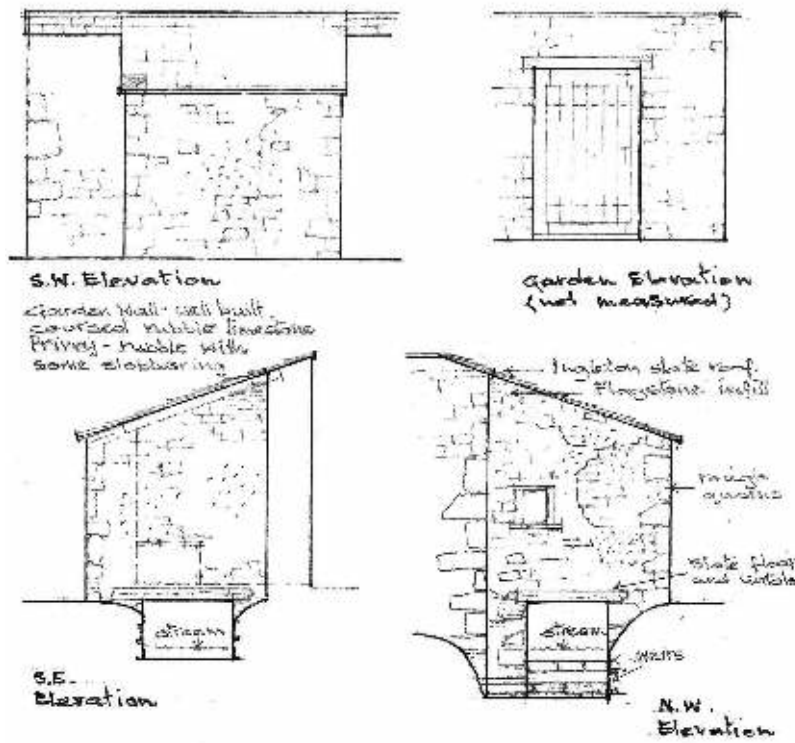
An Austwick Privy

Jill Sykes

The privy is set over a small stream running along the edge of Beck House land and leads into Austwick beck which flows under Austwick bridge. It is now in the grounds of the Old Coach House, formerly part of Beck House garden. There was also a privy associated with Suncroft.

Drawings have been made to show that entry was from Beck House garden and the convenience was a single-seater. A 19th century construction is supposed. Beck House has the initials TA and a date 1761 cut into a front door jamb. The house has had several stages of building from earlier times.

The privy is not a listed building, although other examples in England have been listed – mainly Victorian, some two and three-seaters.



Privy comes from the Latin 'privatus' meaning private. At Chilthorne Domer Manor in Somerset a six-seater still exists: built about 1720 it was in use until 1939. In the case of these multi-seaters the description 'public convenience' may be more apt! In the Dales there appear to be very few records of privies and many of these once essential structures have been demolished. This could be an interesting project to pursue.



War and Peat: memories of Austwick Moss

Molly Preston

In the days when peat was the main domestic fuel, every household in Austwick was entitled to a section of Austwick Moss for the purpose of extracting peat. The turfs of peat were stacked up to dry and then transported by cart to their homes and stored in the peat house, usually a stone building attached to the house. When peat was replaced by coal, the peat pits were abandoned and wildlife took over. The pits filled with water and water-loving plants became established: being an acid environment sphagnum moss became the main plant. This plant, being water retentive and highly absorbent, was recognised in war-time as an alternative to cotton wool which was no longer obtainable.

Chris Cheetham, a well known local naturalist, was contacted and he organised teams of school children to collect moss under his supervision. His extensive knowledge of plants enabled him to identify the sphagnum. I think you had to volunteer to take part and it looked a better option than school lessons to me. I believe the year I was involved was 1940 as I had moved to Settle School by 1941. Whether it was continued after that year I have no recollection.

Austwick Moss lies south of the village and south of the A65. The sphagnum was growing in the peat pits so it was quite tricky to extract without falling in. When you look back it was a risky operation for school children, the pits were very deep and dangerous. There was a narrow grassy path between the pits so you learnt to keep to the paths. When the moss

was extracted it was hung on the bushes and stone walls to dry. Then it was packed into sacks and despatched to hospitals.

Bog myrtle, an aromatic shrub grew in abundance and there was some dwarf silver birch and willow trees. We marvelled at the exotic colours of the dragonflies.

For me, as well as a fun day out, it turned out to be a life changing opportunity to learn about the flora and fauna in this area.

Sphagnum was used as a surgical dressing on an industrial scale by all sides during the First World War. In the British army it was used as a field dressing which was sewn into the inside of uniform jackets. Capable of absorbing more than twice as much blood as cotton wool it was also discovered to have antiseptic properties. The moss releases a chemical called 'sphagnan' which inhibits nitrogen uptake by bacteria and so prevents their growth. It has been suggested that the harvesting of moss was discontinued after the war but Moll's memories clearly contradict this and show that the practice continued during World War II.

Chris Cheetham (1875-1954) was involved in harvesting sphagnum during both World Wars. More details of his life can be found in an obituary published in the Naturalist (79:159-163), which is available on-line on the Yorkshire Naturalists' website.

Walter Morrison (1836-1921)

Michael Pearson

This year marks the centenary of the death of Walter Morrison. Though not a native of Craven he lived at Tarn House at Malham for over sixty years. A man of many interests he served as the local member of parliament and was a generous philanthropist. His gifts included the building of Kirkby Malham School, Giggleswick School Chapel, as well as many more local projects.

To celebrate the man and his many contributions to the people of Craven, and beyond, a series of events have been organised for 2021. In the present circumstances the programme is still provisional so keep checking the local press and websites, such as that for the Folly, for further details.

The portrait of Walter Morrison, on the front cover, was painted by Sir Hubert von Herkomer (1849-1914). It cost £643 10 shillings which was paid for by public subscription and was unveiled on 28th July 1903. It is reproduce here by

kind permission of Giggleswick School. Herkomer was born in Bavaria but settled in England. Initially he was known for his realistic approach to depicting the conditions of life of the poor. But he went onto to become a much sought after portraitist. From 1885 to 1894 he was Slade Professor of Fine Art at the University of Oxford and was elected a Royal Academician in 1890.

There are over 200 of his works on the ArtUk website. Of these at least three or four portraits were completed each year in 1902 and 1903, which gives some idea of the scale of his income! Herkomer was also a film maker as well as a composer but little of this work has survived. It would be interesting to discover where Walter Morrison sat for his portrait. We will probably never know what they discussed as the artist created this fine portrait.

CONTRIBUTORS

Alexander Bowring

He grew up in Lawkland and has a keen interest in the built heritage of the surrounding areas. Alexander currently works for Historic England as an Inspector of Historic Buildings in London, and previously worked for the Victorian Society and Georgian Group.

John Cordingley

An experienced local caver originating from Darwen in Lancashire and having settled in the Yorkshire Dales around 20 years ago. Over half his working life was spent as a teacher but he is now employed at Clapham's Ingleborough Cave. He is a prolific writer and has won various literary awards over the years. John remains keenly interested in the search for new caves to explore, having specialised in cave diving.

Frank Gordon

Born in Lancashire and studied at Bolton College of Art from 1958 to 1963. After an art teaching career spanning thirty years he took early retirement in 1995 and subsequently moved to Giggleswick in order to concentrate more fully on his related passions of landscape painting and hill walking.

He exhibits widely, most notably with the Walker Galleries in Harrogate, Gavagan Art in Settle and through the annual North Yorkshire Open Studios; his work can be found in numerous private and public collections in Britain and abroad. For more, take a look at www.frankgordon.co.uk.

Sheila Gordon

I've lived in Giggleswick with husband and artist Frank Gordon for nearly 21 years and am a keen gardener and walker. I became involved in local history through the late Phil Hudson and the North Craven Historical Research Group. This led eventually to my involvement with a group transcribing the wills and inventories for the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick. Subsequently I transcribed the Wakefield Deeds for the townships of Settle, Giggleswick and Langcliffe and am currently working on the Rathmell Deeds.

Bill Hinde

Born in 1934, the eldest child of the Bentham watchmaker & jeweller. In 1956 left Bentham for National Service & returned 20 years later as a local government building surveyor. A life long member of the Gritstone Club, who although unable to climb can fortunately still get onto the tops

David Johnson

Originally studied history & historical geography but then became immersed in landscape archaeology/history with a

particular interest in upland rural landscapes & land use in the post-Roman era. His doctorate was a mixture of landscape & agricultural history as well as historical geography. He has widely published in book form & journal articles.

Pam Jordan

Born into a farming family in Giggleswick and married a, now retired, local solicitor. Some branches of my family can be traced back at least 14 generations in various parts of North Craven, so the area is very much in my genes!

Jessica Kemmish

Studied for a masters degree in history at Lancaster University having completed undergraduate degree there. As part of my masters I was very fortunate to have the opportunity to undertake a placement with the Trust to explore ways in which the organisation could increase its current membership and enhance its interaction with its members. Previously worked for the National Trust as a Membership Assistant she has a keen interest in membership of heritage organisations.

Colin Newlands

Joined English Nature in 1991 & worked in Cambridgeshire, West Yorkshire & north Lincolnshire before moving to the Yorkshire Dales team in 2000. He was Senior Reserve Manager at Ingleborough NNR from October 2008 to January 2020.

Ken Pearce

Born in the West Riding, qualified teacher (trained at Loughborough), later field centre warden then community development officer, privately involved in local Civic Trust monitoring planning applications in Metropolitan Borough for some years. Since moving to the Dales in 2004 has been an active member of NCHT, for several years member of the Trust Committee and responsible for monitoring Craven DC and YDNPA planning applications on behalf of the Trust. Lifelong interest in local history and local architecture wherever resident. Since moving to Clapham have researched history of the village and worked on local environmental projects.

Michael Pearson

Moved to Austwick in 1999 and started researching the history of the house. Has been a regular contributor from 2013 and edited his first Journal in 2020.

Molly Preston

Born in Austwick, Molly has lived all her life in the village.

Mary Slater

Despite dropping history before O level, a degree in Geography introduced Mary to the interesting study of landscape and settlement history. After a short dalliance with town planning as a career, she spent a number of years working in the library of a Yorkshire Higher and Further Education college. The move to two successive properties in Langcliffe initiated research into their history and then the broader local picture, and she enjoys exploring whatever interesting historical alleys present themselves.

Michael Slater

After retirement as a chemical engineer Michael Slater became interested in local history when moving to Langcliffe. It was apparent that relevant historical records were widely dispersed and not easily accessible for study. He engaged with others in finding and transcribing early wills, deeds and manorial documents and making them accessible online in

digital format. Throwing light on local affairs of hundreds of years ago involves all manner of challenges but continues to yield interesting stories.

Tony Stephens

A retired professional engineer who now lives in Ashbourne but previously in Giggleswick. His publications include his researches into the 18th century droving trade, as well as several North Craven townships. Readers may be less interested in his recent publication on mathematical modelling of the dynamic behaviour of the UK & German electricity generating systems!

Jill Sykes

In previous years was a regular leader of guided walks for the Trust. Has contributed several articles for the Journal.

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North Craven Heritage Trust Aims and Objectives

The North Craven Heritage Trust was set up in 1968 to encourage interest in, and to help safeguard, the distinctive beauty, history and character of the North Craven area. It encourages high standards of architecture and town planning, promotes the preservation and sympathetic development of the area's special historic features and helps to protect its natural environment. It arranges lectures, walks and local events and publishes booklets about the North Craven area.

This annual Journal aims to keep members informed of the Trust's activities. Further information about the Trust and details of membership are available from any committee member. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publishers.

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