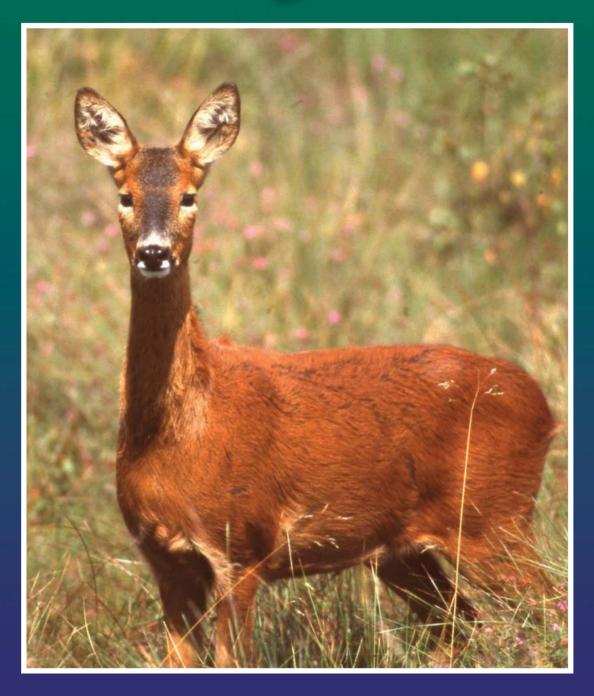
North Craven Heritage Trust



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Chair's Report

Reflecting on the last twelve months I realise that we are presently facing many of the same problems that troubled the founding members of the Trust over 50 years ago. We seem to spend our time responding to planning applications that either threaten heritage assets or the community life of our area. In many cases our towns and villages are facing extensive development with seemingly very little thought being given to how our infrastructure is going to cope. Recently the Trust objected to a planning application that, if passed, will see the demolition of the last remaining original building from the High Mill complex at Bentham to 'free up space' for the applicants. We all need to remain vigilant about planning applications in our own immediate area and flag up any that cause concern, as did a neighbour of the Bentham application.

Likewise, we are also facing local government reorganisation just as happened in the early 1970s when Settle Rural District Council was swallowed up into the newly created Craven District Council. The jury is still out on whether the new North Yorkshire Council will be an improvement and our voices are going to have to be loud to stand up for North Craven's interests here on the periphery!

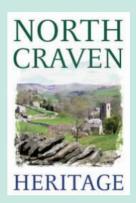
This last year we were pleased to award a grant to Airton Friends Meeting House to help restore their important Grade II* listed building and a bursary was also granted to Ailsa Gill, a post graduate student from Lancaster University, who has being researching North Craven connections to the slave trade. Similarly we funded Joseph Keep, also a student at Lancaster University, for his work on the Settle manorial rolls.

Finally, I want to thank members for embracing Zoom. We realise that nothing can replace getting together in person for our talks, but at least technology has meant that we have still been able to function over the last couple of years. Hopefully there are better times ahead!

Pamela Jordan Chair

Editorial

Each year I worry that there will not be enough material for the Journal and so far I have been proved wrong. Once again our contributors, regular



and new, have produced a fascinating array of articles – the result of tremendous efforts of research or work out in the field. Personally I enjoy this part more than the task of writing so I am grateful that are contributors make that extra effort to record their researches.

Every year more and more material of historical interest appears on the internet. One such site, devoted to records local to our area, is 'Capturing the Past' (www.dalescommunityarchives.org.uk). There are old photographs, documents and transcriptions which provide insights into the history of Craven. John Cuthbert has recently taken over as project leader and is keen to add material which local residents may have in their possession. All you need to do is to contact John (dalescommunityarchives@gmail.com) and allow him to scan your documents so that he can upload them to the website.

COP 26 has come and gone, and all the commitments have largely disappeared from attention in the media. However we are too well aware of climate change and the need to conserve the biodiversity in our area. In the next issue of the Journal I hope to report on work being undertaken locally to protect and enhance our natural heritage.

Cover picture: Roe Deer (Stuart Ralph)

The Teesdale Violet On Ingleborough: A New Perspective

Howard M Beck

At 723 metres Ingleborough, second highest of the famous hill trilogy of the Yorkshire Dales, has long been recognized to be of national importance for its native flora. This botanical treasure chest is home to many nationally scarce plants, such as Actaea spicata (Baneberry), Gentianella campestris (Field Gentian), Potentilla crantzii (Alpine Cinquifoil), Polygonatum odoratum (Angular Solomon'sseal), Primula farinosa (Bird's-eye Primrose) and Epipactis atrorubens (Dark-red Helleborine), as well as actual rarities like Arenaria norvegica ssp.anglica (Yorkshire Sandwort), Eleocharis austriaca (Northern Spike-rush), as well as Hieracium and Alchemilla species.

In recognition of its diverse flora,

archaeology and world-class karst landforms
Ingleborough was designated as a Site of Special
Scientific Interest in 1955, and a decade later the purchase of 8.9 hectares of land comprising Colt Park Wood saw the establishment of the Ingleborough National Nature Reserve.
Since then further land acquisitions by both the Yorkshire Wildlife Trust and Natural England on the north, northeast, east and southeastern sides of the summit plinth have combined over the years to increase the size of the reserve to some 1,012 hectares, a figure representing one fifth of the SSSI total.

Around Christmas 2019 Colin Newlands, senior reserve manager (now retired) of the Ingleborough NNR, drew my attention to another nationally scarce plant, *Viola rupestris* (Teesdale Violet). Having only a few scattered records from the reserve, he added almost wistfully that it was anyone's guess quite how widespread the species might be, or in what numbers, a shortcoming that would only be addressed, he went on, were someone to undertake a comprehensive survey.

Viola rupestris was first recognized in Britain from upper Teesdale by James Backhouse in 1862, then almost a century later it was found on Long Fell near Brough and later at Arnside Knott. Although the colony at the latter site was quite small, the fact that it was well removed from the two other sites held promise that the species might be found even further afield. The extensive karst uplands of Yorkshire's Craven District was cited as one possible habitat. And so it proved when in May 1976 the species was discovered there by Botanical Society of the British Isles member, Jeremy F. Roberts.

Significant numbers of plants initially were found along the Selside to Clapham bridleway some 3.5 km southeast of the Ingleborough summit, where this popular right of way skirts the west side of Thieves Moss. Subsequent searches revealed a scattered distribution throughout the Moughton Fell area, around the skyline perimeter of Crummackdale, at nearby Norber Brow and above Robin Proctor Scar.



Fig: 1, Compartment 34 (Sulber) area of the Ingleborough NNR

Moreover, a small population was later found at Smearsett Scar, overlooking the hamlet of Feizor some 2.5 km south of the nearest specimens on the wider Ingleborough massif.

Apart from a smattering of other records added, by Brian Burrows and others, from the Sulber Pasture area between the 1970s and 2019, all V.rupestris records prior to the present survey existed outwith the Ingleborough NNR boundary.

I consulted with Jeremy Roberts and Brian Burrows, and the one thing taken away from our conversations was that neither of them, nor to their knowledge anyone else, had ever made an attempt to establish the extent of the Ingleborough population. The BSBI database records a few locations with casual remarks like '100+ plants scattered among stony grassland' or 'about 12 plants on west side of path.' The time for a proper and comprehensive survey was long overdue.

And so with the seed thus sown, and motivated by Colin Newlands, I finally picked up the gauntlet. However I was under no allusions regarding the amount of time and effort, and attrition on creaking knees (some rosettes are a fraction the diameter of a five pence coin), such a task would entail. Fortunately some areas of the reserve—High Lot, Fenwick Lot and South House Moor, for example—presented minimal or no suitable habitat, and therefore could be either dismissed altogether or required little investigation.

Though there was clear evidence for significant numbers beyond, the rationale for confining the search solely to those parts of the SSSI comprising the Ingleborough reserve, was easily arrived at. With a total area of 1,012 hectares it presented challenge enough and, furthermore, when completed the results would furnish Natural England, the BSBI and the Yorkshire Dales National Park with a baseline population to inform any future surveys.

During planning in May and June 2020 I made some initial sorties to the Sulber pasture (Compartment No.34, Fig 1) area to determine the best methodology for conducting

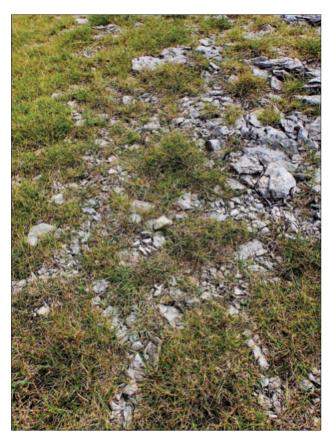


Fig: 2 Typical habitat of loose stones (clitter) found on the southeast side of Ingleborough

the survey. At that same time around a dozen or so specimens were found. Jeremy Roberts later confirmed these initial finds to be V.rupestris, and thus with my 'eye in' and following further planning, the survey began in earnest at Sulber the first week in August.

The Sulber area presents slightly undulating short calcareous grassland with bankings, areas of loose stones or clitter (Fig 2) and shallow screes, and is divided by calcareous flushes and 'islands' of ericaceous ground with Calluna vulgaris, Potentilla erecta, Sanguisorba officinalis and Narthecium ossifragum. It was the short calcareous stony grassland that was my focus however. By the month end I had counted almost 2500 plants, but amazingly as the weeks went by the numbers found continued to rise until it had increased to 17240 recorded across 1764 locations. It was then



Fig: 3, Rosette with five pence coin for size comparison

realization dawned that Ingleborough might well be the repository for a very significant population.

Moving systematically on through other areas of the reserve as autumn was ushered in, the weather and increasingly tighter Covid-19 restrictions reduced visits and finally forced a temporary cessation at which time the total had exceeded 25000 plants. Matters eased toward the end of May 2021 allowing work to restart with daily totals found from between a few hundreds to over one thousand. The imperative then was to complete the survey before the onset of a second winter or my suffering knees finally gave out altogether.

In the final analysis, by mid-autumn I had counted some 39663 plants divided between 4705 locations spread across just five compartments of the reserve, Sulber (34), High Brae (37B), Juniper Gill (38C) and The Moor (comprising 38A and 38B). Despite the presence of suitable habitat, intensive searching of the remaining areas of the reserve unfortunately produced no more plants.

Summary

Although published floras state that the species occurs up to 600 metres altitude, all the plants found in the present survey occurred on the Carboniferous limestone between the 331 and 414 metre contours. None were found on the Main Limestone (Yoredales) exposures situated at the altitude of 600 m + on High Lot and South House Moor.

Typically the population density ranged from the scattered and isolated few to large colonies where sheer concentration of numbers proved astounding. As was often the case a single plant or two would draw my eye, but then once on all fours maybe 50, 100 or more would reveal themselves. The most commonly found associated bedfellows were Viola riviniana (Common Dog Violet), Primula farinosa (Bird's-eye Primrose), Linum catharticum (Fairy Flax), Carex flacca (Glaucus Sedge), Seslaria caerulea (Blue Moor-grass) and Thymus drucei (Wild Thyme).

The ecological preference of V.rupestris was for short calcareous turf on thin stony soils, especially on the weather-strafed edges of bankings, in areas of accumulated frost-shattered clitter resulting from degradation of the bedrock through repeated freeze-thaw cycles of winter, and also on gently inclined fine scree of usually not more than 30 degrees.



Fig: 4, Viola rupestris in flower



Fig: 5, Rosette with ripening capsule



Fig: 6, Rosettes with dehisced capsule and seed nestling in one valve

That there should be such a high density of the species on the southeastern side of Ingleborough is no surprise given the equally high incidence of optimum habitat. On these plateaux, as in all three of its other locations V. rupestris favours a habitat tending to the more exposed situation. Sulber Pasture, in particular, presents a landscape offering little barrier to the prevailing westerlies and can present an extremely hostile environment to the unprepared. Sulber extends to 117.5 hectares (11.6% of the reserve) and was found to have 43.3% of the plants counted.

Plants in smaller numbers were also found among screes composed of larger rocks and on grassy inclines not more than 45 degrees, with an additional few established on pavements where on clint tops patches of clitter had accumulated or where a modicum of vegetation had become established in shallow depressions or small fissures.

The morphology of the Ingleborough populations display variations in the diagnostic characters, most notable in the degree of indumentum. The typical fuzz of short hairs on the petioles was found to vary from dense (imparting a grey appearance when viewed with the naked eye) to slight hairy to totally glabrous from one plant to another, even petiole to petiole on a single rosette (Fig 3). Though still retaining the garden scoop appearance due to the turned up margins, leaf blades of more mature plants, rather than having the usual ovate-truncate form, were sometimes found to be far more pointed and not unlike those of V.riviniana.

As the species freely produces cleistogamous (non-opening) flowers I rarely found plants actually blooming, and in those that I did the petals usually were of a paler blue-violet than V.riviniana, sometimes even a chalk-blue (Fig 4). After the flowering season was over and capsules had ripened, the buff colour of the dehisced capsule valves was a feature that often drew my eye among the sward during the survey (Fig 5). Finally, as the species is rhizomatous, when counting I tended to err on the safe side and regard rosettes in close proximity (2-3 cm) as belonging a single plant (Fig 6).

Conclusion

Significant numbers of V.rupestris on Widdybank Fell, Teesdale have been lost due to erosion and the flooding of Cow Green Reservoir in 1970. Seeking for comparison some indication of the present population, a conversation with Martin Furness (Manager of the Moorhouse Reserve), advised the best estimate to be 10,000 plants for Widdybank Fell. Similar, best guess figures for the numbers on Long Fell, as I understand it, is probably in the hundreds rather than thousands. The outlying colony at Arnside Knott was quite small with only fifty specimens, though some plants have been lost here in recent years through either or both indiscriminate trampling and under-grazing.

It is now clear from the present survey, that with a population in excess of 39,000 plants, Ingleborough has emerged as a major population locus for the species rivaling, if not exceeding, that of Teesdale in importance. Moreover, on the basis of the density of plants encountered on the reserve, then it is not unreasonable to believe, were one to allow for those populations known, and anticipated, to exist outside the reserve, that another 10,000-30,000 plants could possibly be added.

Viola rupestris x V.riviniana hybrid

At the current moment in time the V. x burnatii is so rare that, so far, it has only been recorded from its Teesdale and Long Fell sites with one possible sighting from Ingleborough. Given the considerable size of the Craven population and the difficulties of determining V. x burnatii, it is possible that the occasional hybrid was overlooked or mistaken for V. rupestris. However since the hybrid preference is for deeper soils, and denser turf, than that tolerated by V. rupestris, it was judged unlikely in the present survey.

Acknowledgements

Andy Hinde and the staff of Natural England, Colt Park Jeremy Roberts for initial guidance in identification. Edward Easton for perseverance in dealing with the volume of records the survey has furnished.

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Beating the North Craven Boundaries

Sheila Gordon, Rita Hudson, and Michael Slater

In recent years the boundaries of several townships in North Craven and their 'furniture' have been walked and photographed by Rita Hudson and Sheila Gordon. These photographs are held by NCHT [1]. Boundaries have suffered some change over time [2]. Manor Court records for Ingleton, Rathmell and Austwick/Lawkland note that boundaries have been checked on foot and by horse in times past, and no doubt on many occasions for centuries gone by as a legal precaution against incursions by neighbouring townships. The disputed boundary between Austwick and Horton is a welldocumented case in point, accompanied by maps of Ingleborough drawn by Saxton in 1603 and Newby in 1619 [3,4]. A boundary survey for Stainforth was carried out in 1999 by Dr David Johnson and reported in the Stainforth local history account 'Stainforth Stepping stones through history' [5].

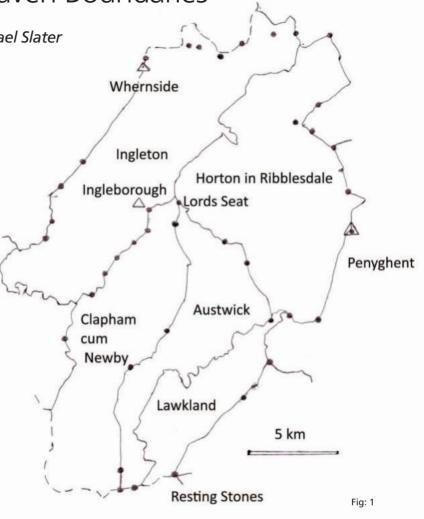
Beating the bounds was a way of ensuring they were remembered by younger inhabitants, and done perhaps every seven years. Elsewhere the priest with churchwardens and parochial officials headed a crowd of boys who beat the parish boundary markers with green boughs. Sometimes the boys were whipped or violently bumped on the boundary stones to make them remember. In areas where boundaries had few obvious permanent landscape

features this was more important than in areas such as in Craven where hill tops, river junctions, lines of crags and large boulders such as Fourstones were prominent.

Early documents relate boundary details and are brought together here to show that current parish boundaries have ancient origins, not surprisingly. Many names have recognizable modern counterparts but many have disappeared or changed.

Burton Chase

The boundary of Burton Chase surrounds the area considered in this article (Figures 1 and 2). A Chase gave the right to hunt by Royal Warrant. The Burton Chase was granted to the Moubray (Mowbray) family in the 1100s and extended in 1203/4 to include Thornton, Horton, Austwick, Burton, Kingsdale, Blea Moor, Whernside and Cam Side. The Earl of Derby acquired the Chase after 1485. The Chase covered several manors with various owners and rights of the Chase were excluded from any manorial rights [6]. During the Tudor period and after, forest law had largely become anachronistic. Crown jurisdiction over the Chase appears to have been held jointly with manorial jurisdiction [7]. Higham [8] discusses the boundary in detail, as found in the inquest of 1307 [9]. Many of the names of points on the boundary are easily recognized.



The metes and bounds of the chaces of Burton in Lonnesdale begin at Langbreg' towards the west, between the county of Loncaster and the county of York; and so from Langbreg' to Douuegil', and so from the head of Dounegill' to le Pyk' of Gragret', and so through Ulfstokwald and the boundaries of Dent between the land of the said John [de Moubray] and the land of Henry son of Hugh to Cirkestanes, and from Cirkestanes to Gemmesyke, and from Gemmesyke to Caldekelde above Camb, and so from Caldekelde above Camb to the top of the hill of Penegent, between the fees of the said John de Moubray and Henry de Percy, and from Penegent to Durlaykhege, and so by the boundaries between the fees of the said John and Henry de Percy to Youcrosse, and from Youcrosse to Whettyngstan', and from Whettyngstan' to a place called Langemangrave, and so by Knote ... to Caldestan', between the fees of the said John and the earl of Lincoln, and from Caldestan' by a place called Harlaw to le Tong of Brounmore between the county of Lancaster and the county of York; and so by Fourstanes to Kirkebek', and from Kirkebek' to the water called Whenyg' and to Littlewath, and from Littlewath below Ravencros, to Aid Weryngton and Grythawe and from Grythawe to Langbrig'.

A similar account is given in 1682 [8] as follows and is not referred to as Burton Chase, but rather Burton manor and parish, which seems to be incorrect.

To the first Article the said Jury and Inquest say that the Butts and bounds of this Mannour and parish in the Article named are as Follows. And the same doth Butt and Bound and Adiovne upon the severall Lordshipps and places hereafter mentioned: Beginning at a place called Langber and so going westwards Between the Countys of Lancaster and Yorke to a place called Lords Myre and soe from thence to a place called stirgapp from thence to a place called Dovesgill from thence to a place called Hurder from thence to the Pike of Gragereth and from thence to the County Stone And soe by the Oakestake on the Waye to the well under the Windhawes. All along by the Divicion and boundary of Dent to the Orkestones from thence to a place called Gennysike from thence to the Colds Colds upon Cam. And from thence southwards by the out bounds of the parish of Horton and soe to the Top of Pennygent from thence to a place called Durelakehedge And soe to a place called Ewecrosse And from thence to a place called Whettingstan And thence to a place called Langrand alias Langmangrand And from thence by Knoteround alias Knotteranum to a place called Colderstone and from thence by the Cross of Gretey And soe along the Bound that divide the Countys of Yorkshire and Lancashire to a place called Kirk-Beck and soe downe the same to the

River Wening And from thence to a place called Little wath under Ravensclose and from thence to Old wennington and from thence to the River Greeta And soe all alonge the same up to the said place or Close called Longber.

The manor boundaries now discussed lie within the Chase boundary. The Thornton-in-Lonsdale and Bentham boundaries on the west side of the Chase are defined by the Ingleton and Clapham boundaries.

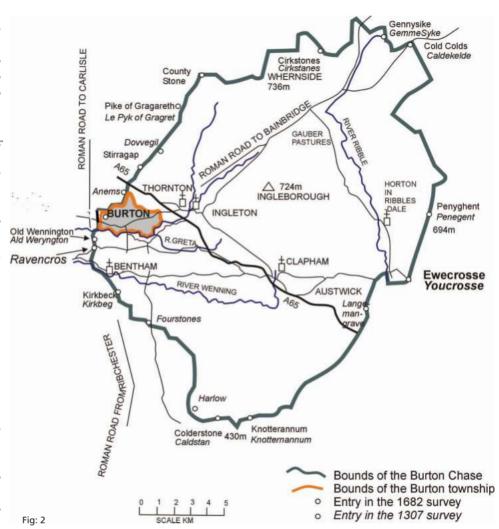
Austwick/Lawkland boundary with surrounding townships

These two manors had separate courts but the boundary described here is for the two manors at 1750 [10]. The boundaries of Austwick and Lawkland parishes have been in existence since at least 1851 at the time of the drawing up of the Tithe map.

The Bounderies of the Manor of Austwick and Laukland as the same were Rid and walked on the 26 and 27 of June 1685 And again on the 11th of September 1719 and again 6th August 1750.

Begin at the Lords Seat and go down Willen Cove Rake Then to Sulber Slack, so to Howgill White Rig on Moughton Then to Trougill head, so down Moughton to the head of Coums Close, Then on the North side of the said Coums Close to Atterpool Brigg, Then to the Cowfore or Midstream in Rible, so to the Hanging Stone on Swarthmoor,

E Then up the south side of Swarthmoor to Sumpinpot, so to a little Hurdle of stones in the north west end of



Middleber, Then to another Hurdle of stones a little above Middleber Cove, so to Buck Cove, Then to the Lords stones under the Scarr, so to Mirk Steel near Armitstead, Then to Overstub Gate, so to the Water Grass Garth Then to the Resting Stones, E (reversed)

And so up the height of Bolland Knots, and from thence between the Lordships of Austwick and Clapham to the Fryar Syke so to Dubsike, Then to the Hare Stone, on Lawzins, so to the Double Dyke in Weskoe, Then to the standing stone on Kirkbank so to the Arks on Ravensber, Then to Lissakel Well so to Fairy fould, then to Dudderhouse hill, so to Trace Hill Then to White Stones, And so up to the Lords Seat again.

Note Between these marks E E(reversed) are the Boundaries between Lawkland and Giggleswick and Stainforth.

Giggleswick Boundary

An item found in the Chatsworth House archives is the verdict of the Giggleswick manor court held 26th September 1579 which has become separated from the book of the manor court held in Leeds Special Collections [11]. The boundary description presumably was needed at Chatsworth House for legal record purposes. The Anglicized spelling version is as follows:

... we find that my lord's boundaries do begin without the field at a place called the Watter Fall at Kockhead. From that watter fall to one Copte stone of Aquoth noke. From that stone to a place called the Little Ladd Knott. From that knott to the Croke of the Dubbes. From thence to Cluntergill

Foote, so up Cluntergill to the Four Corner stone. From that stone to the Resting stones. From thence to Dowker Dubbes. From thence to one Hurtle stones of the west side of Rowntescorth. From thence to the yew stub of Havelhaw, then to the Mirke Stile. From thence to four stones of the Ward Hawes. From thence to one Hutter of stones of the laides. From thence to Myddle Barr Coove. And so to Myddlay Barr Walles. And from thence to the sumppe in Kesden. From thence to Fellgill Well and so to the myddest of Rybble.

Many of these names cannot be located on a modern map. There is some coincidence of names with part of the abutting Austwick/Lawkland boundary. It is considered that the boundary is being followed anti-clockwise on the current parish boundary.

Giggleswick Austwick/Lawkland
Resting stones Resting stones
Mirke Stile Mirk Steel

Hutter of stones of the lands
Lords Stones under Scarr

Myddle Barr Coove Middleber sumppe in Kesden Sumpinpot

The River Ribble then forms the rest of the boundary but it is not named, perhaps because beyond dispute.

Ingleton Boundary

A document dated 1754 describes the boundary of the manor [12].

The Boundaries of the Manor of Ingleton in the West Riding of the County of York rid on Friday the twentieth day of September one thousand seven hundred fifty and four pursuant to Notices before published in the several Parish Churches within and next adjoining to the said Manor by Edward Parker Esquire Lord thereof accompanied by the several persons whose Names are hereto subscribed.

Beginning where Thornton River called Doe runs into and meets Ingleton River called Greet so down said River unto Parks on an old Watercourse there to the River again so down said River and then westward by Guyholme to Greeta Gill and up said Greeta Gill to Sharps House and through part of it and on Best Beck by John Howson's of Gill on the East Side of Ravens Close to the River Wenning and so up said River to Mill Air and on the south side of the Fence in said Mill Air to the River again and up the same to Eska Beck and Eska Lane by the backside of Eska House to the Boundary stone on Beckwith down Beckwith Sike to the River Wenning so up said River to Meer Gill and up same to the Common called Bentham Moor to the Graystone on Whitestone Green on the East Side of Threap Haw to the Road leading between Bentham and Settle and on the same to Sandy Fore by the Double Ditch to Goat Gap and on the East Side thereof up a Rivulet running cross to the Highway to Blindfield Well and so on Blakebank by the Fence on the West Side thereof to the Common and so straight up to a hurdle of Stones on the Gray Scarr and to the Goad Dub and from thence upwards to a hurdle of Stones upon Green Plate so to Guy Sike head and to the hurdle of Stones on Little Ingleburrow and on the East Side of Limestone Side and Cross Ingleburrow down Fair Weather Sike to Meer Gill down same to Bold Haw and up the River Weese to the Chapel and on Weather Coat Clough and by the

Gill Head to the Stone in the Mire up a Clough in Ellerbeck Ground and by a Gill to the Top of Whernside then to the Hole in the Fell End so to Brockaslack in a direct Line to the Standing Stone through Green Barn to Ravenwray and then down the River Doe where it runs into and meets Ingleton River where Began.

Boundary of Manor of Newby

An undated document describes the boundary of the manor [13].

From Woofall yeat otherwise Wilfales up the water courses above ye chapel & from thence by ye Fences of the Westside of the Land belonging Wethercoat to the Gill head to a cross back (?) of Gill head Green to at Ellerbeck so up by that watercourse in ye middle of Ellerbeck field head up to the Ridge of Whernside Then all along Whernside over the Piked hawe ... as the rain water divides itself to a Pike or little hurdle of stones erected at ye South East side of the Tarns upon Whernside and from thence South East down the moss or rainwater divides to another Pike or hurdle of stones upon (Rocky balbeck?) in (ye moss) Then forward as the Water divides itself to another Pike or hurdle of stones on ye north part of Cravenes Wold (Cravenshalswath) And from thence round by ye Ridge of the moss north eastward to a hurdle of stones on the hillside called the head of Little Dale then up Bleamoor End Eastward to another pike of hurdle of stones above the last mentioned & so directly up Bleamoor Cragg Then across the moss south Eastward & down by a small water course to a called ye Hermitage house in helmit rake otherwise Blackrake Then north east directly upon Raram Rigg to Mossdale beck Head otherwise called Whiniston (Keld?) And so to ye Corner of Wensleydale fields formerly called Richmond Forrest Then south east & down Wooful Bents and up Barly moss dike to Snaesfell End & so up by the hause to Gavel Gap & from thence along by Cam hause to cald Keld upon Cam then down unto ye Bottom of the valley to a place called Stanepapan otherwise standing pan Then straight up the moor side & long by Outershaw new dike to Anan Ward so down south west by ye Middle of Greenfield Then to Cosh well & so down Thorowgill & Swargill to Ribble & from Ribble up by the Hause to hewring yeat & from thence straight up to a Pike or hurdle of stones on Moughton End Then round Sulber otherwise solbecke Nook & so to Crummack head from thence to Dutter house End & so by the Grange head to ye Lords Seat And from thence to ye Beacon east(?) of Ingleborough for ye Candwellknot to (down) Meregill to moorwall(?) Then to ...word to ...ward a place called Loaddub then up ye water(?) on ye (west) side of fryer(?) wood to woolfall yeat.

Part of the boundary on the north and north-east is discussed by Mary Higham who locates various names. These date from an Inquisition held in 1307 concerning the Chase of Burton in Lonsdale and 12 and 13th century monastic grants [14].

Ingleton and Moughton Fell (Saxton map of 1603 and Newby map 1619)

These maps concern disputed grazing rights rather than manorial or townships boundaries but the named points are of interest and the boundaries part coincide with townships boundaries [3,4].

On the Saxton map

Ingleborow beken; Wharffe Mosse; Theife Mosse; Horton Sty; Soulber; Foure Graines; Duttons Hull; Witton Cove; Freckle Hill; Cromok; Fell Close; Lords Seate; Hamerton Fell; Combe Nabbe

On the Newby map.

Earthsdale Gill; Witton Cove; Soulbar slack; Cromok Heade; Horton Sty; Fowre Graynes

Settle and Langcliffe boundary

This document is written in a 16th C hand and spelling and the translation from Latin is not guaranteed [15]. It is not clear what boundary this represents.

Here the division between Settle and Langeliffe one may see a great stone which is between these towns, ascend so as to large stones lying marking out as far as to Rumegaite and from as far as to the Blapott, and from Blapott as far as the Nowelthorne and as far as to a great stone above Somerake Bank and from Somerrake bank as far as to the Groves and thus as formerly by the Groves as far as the rydeknottes and thus as far as to Symondhailby and from here as far as the Dryryghende and from there as far as to the Foxholes.

None of these names are identifiable apart probably from Dry Rigg quarry. If there was a great stone between Settle and Langcliffe it may have been broken up for walling, although a conspicuous large stone is in the wall at OS grid reference 825 646 just north of the current parish boundary. A Settle court roll for 1599 [16] notes that 'John Altham took away a boundary stone with some stones for a wall'.

A series of grants made in the 12th and 13th centuries concerns Stockdale surrounded by a ditch and hedge. The boundary points mentioned are: Athulnesmire, Wlfvesdalals, sike next to Aleward, and two great stones of Middlehou [17]. A 17th century map of Stockdale showing its boundary is of value [18].

Rathmell manor boundary

A verdict of the manor court held in 1687 includes a boundary survey, but a rather limited one [19]. The document is in a state of disintegration with many words missing.

We all say and beelive the true ... boundary and Extent of the Mannor is as followeth first the lower end of Stubbing to be north(so) of cockett moss, then ... banke topp, then to risting stones, then to Battersby pi... Corley moss, then to hollow gill, then to the beckmouth so ... side to hurrell crossing rible to the lower end of Stubbing.

Stubbing can be located in the north east corner since the tithe assessment and map records this name. Bank and Cockett Moss are known to lie on the north and west sides. The Resting Stone marks the most westerly point but thereafter the names have not been located.

Conclusion

Our parish boundaries are ancient, perhaps in part defined just post-Conquest. The challenge to the determined walker is to find the intermediate locations between those with names which have modern counter-parts.

Note

Locations and OS sheet references are to be found in the web version of this article.

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Links between residents of North Craven and the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Ailsa Gill

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Introduction

In the North West the main ports involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade were Liverpool and Lancaster, some seventy and thirty miles respectively from North Craven. During the late eighteenth-century North Craven was primarily a rural district, relatively sparsely populated and with most occupations associated with agriculture and the textile trade. So it would be natural to assume that there would be few links with the slave trade. However, my research soon showed that there were individuals whose

business was concerned with the slave trade in Liverpool and Lancaster, and who had links to or owned property in North Craven.



This house (Fig 1) is an imposing three-story building with six bays and whitewashed exterior and dates from the late seventeenth-century. In 1689 it was owned by Samuel Watson, an active Quaker and member of the Giggleswick School Board. It was then purchased from Watson by Christopher Wetherherd before the former's death in 1708 as detailed in Wetherherd's will of 1732.

'First I give and devise to my son John and his heirs for ever all that my capital messuage and tenement at Knight Stainforth aforesaid with all lands closes pastures hereditaments and appurtenances there unto belonging and all that water corn mill thereto also belonging (all which I purchased of Mr Samuel Watson deceased) on condition that my said son pay to my dear and loving wife the yearly sum or annuity of £10 over' [1]

The remainder of the will goes on to divide the estate between Wetherherd's four sons, their descendants, his wife, and their employees. No further documentation exists for the John Wetherherd mentioned in this will, but it can be supposed that due to his receiving the bulk of his father's estate he was likely to have been the eldest child, and that after his death ownership would be passed on to his nearest surviving relative. Certainly, the next evidence of ownership comes some 46 years later, not from John, but from another Christopher, and gives insight into not only the financial situation of the Wetherherd family, but also into their current business ventures outside of the county of Yorkshire, and indeed, outside of England altogether, and halfway across the world to the slave ports of Africa and plantations in the West Indies [2].



Fig: 1

An ESTATE in YORKSHIRE.

To be SOLD,

By Order of the Affignees of Christopher Wetherherd, a

Bankrupt,

On Tuesday the 24th Day of March, 1778, at the House of A. a. Ellen Procter, the Sign of the Spread-Eagle in Settle, in the County of York, pursuant to Conditions then and there to be produced,

A Very Improveable Freehold Estate of Inhesinate, about two miles from the market-town of Settle aforesaid; consisting of a good house, with convenient outhousings, in good tenantable repair, and upwards of 460 acrds of land, chiefly rich meadow and pasture, in a ringfence, and contiguous to the house, on which has lately been laid near 4000 loads of lime.

Also a good Water Corn-Mill, well supplied with water; a good Kiin; and fix Cattle-Cates on the Ox-passure.

The above estate is well watered, and pleasantly situated in a fine sporting country, has a right of turbary near the premisse; is tythe-free; and the affestinents run low; is now lett at the yearly rent of 2601, and the tenant's term expires in sping 1779.

Put futher particulars apply to Messes, of Liverpowi, Affignees of the faid Bankrupt's estate; Messes, william Birkbeck and Co. of Setule; Mr. William Carr, atterney at ham, in Settle; Messes, william Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, William Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, william Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, william Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, william Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, william Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, william Stothen and Son, autornies, in Leods; or Messes, and considered and son, aut

Fig: 2

Figure 2 shows a newspaper article from 1778 detailing the notice of sale for Knight Stainforth Hall 'By Order of the Assignees of Christopher Wetherherd, a Bankrupt.', and reveals the sale of the house, alongside all accompanying outhouses, together with 460 acres of land and one cornmill. Furthermore, one un-referenced source of the history of Giggleswick states that in addition to his North Craven estate, Wetherherd also owned property in the West Indies, and quotes the source as listing for sale 'tropical plantations in Dominica and Tobago' alongside 'all those negroe Slaves

nes Fifter, the prefent tenant, will flew the preniffes.

following: that is to say, Venture, Mail, Somersett, Industry, Cato, Derry, Lidia and her child, Exchange, Kenzie, Mary, Ann, Joan, Catherine, Aurelia, Phebe, Hannah, Marge, Tom, Diligence, Jolly, Jenny, Margaret, Belinda, Dine and the future increase of the Females of all such slaves. [3]' Try as I might I was unable to pin down this source, which unfortunately remains unconfirmed. However, if correct it indicates that Wetherherd owned multiple plantations in the West Indies, alongside numerous slaves and their children.

A marriage certificate dating from the ninth of September 1774 for Christopher Wetherherd and Mary Audley is one of the first existing records available for Wetherherd, describing him as a 30-year-old merchant, and Audley as a 21-year-old spinster who were married in the parish of Liverpool. Wetherherd's age of 30 in 1774 places his date of birth in 1744 but gives no indication of place of birth or any further heritage. An inspection of the Slave Voyages database lists several name variations for Wetherherd, including C Weatherhead, C Wetherhead and Chris Wetherhead, as vessel owner on eight slave voyages from 1766 -77, all sailing from Liverpool, and listing various places of purchase, from Cape Mount, Gabon and New Calabar, to slave landing ports in Jamaica, Dominica, Tortola, and St. Kitts. Each journey conducted by Wetherherd's vessels carried an average of 200 slaves, around a fifth of whom were expected to perish on the journey.

Indeed, the journey of the 'John' sailing from Liverpool via New Calabar to Dominica in 1775, financed by Christopher Wetherherd, picked up 352 slaves, of whom only 287 made it to their destination. One of the reasons for the high mortality rate was the terrible living conditions endured by those on board, with overcrowding, together with dark, damp, inhumane conditions and poor diet making disease rife and deaths inevitable. One piece of data from this same voyage highlights not only the extreme conditions these individuals had to endure on these journeys, but also the greed of the ship captains and vessel owners, together with their disregard of the lives of the individuals on board. According to data, the number of slaves intended to be collected at the first port in New Calabar was 250, however, as already stated, the final number of slaves totalled 352 which was 152 more than planned. This type of extreme overcrowding was common on slave voyages, with ships routinely picking up more individuals than was safe, firstly to offset the inevitable number of deaths during the voyage, and secondly because a greater number of slaves meant a greater amount of money on arrival at the destination port.

1765 marks the first slave voyage listing Wetherherd as vessel owner, with the *Commerce* leaving Liverpool and making its way to Gabon, before sailing on to Tortola, an island in the West Indies known for its sugar-cane industry, with large plantations dependent on slave labour from Africa. Figure 3 details locations in Africa which constituted the main sources of slaves for traders from Liverpool, together with the routes taken across the Atlantic and the major slave landing ports and countries. Documents suggest that the *Commerce* departed Liverpool on August 2, 1765, and arrived in Tortola on November 24 the following year. Of the 150 slaves collected in Gabon only 82 disembarked. In contrast to his later voyages for which Wetherherd is listed as the sole vessel owner, the registration documents for the *Commerce* list three

additional owners alongside Wetherherd, including Charles Lowndes, possibly a relation of Francis Lowndes, a former tobacco merchant from Liverpool, William Brock, probably Brocklebank, another frequent investor, and George Rishton. It was not unusual for investors, particularly when just starting out, to opt for part-ownership of vessels, often clubbing together with friends or fellow merchants to finance voyages together.

Upon Wetherherd's bankruptcy in 1778, Knight Stainforth Hall was purchased by Thomas Backhouse, another slaving merchant from Liverpool and possibly a member of one branch of the large Backhouse trading family from Ulverston. Born in 1754, Thomas was the son of John Backhouse, also a slave merchant, hailing from Milnthorpe, a small trading village on the now unnavigable far eastern tip of Morecambe Bay. Thomas, it seems, was an even bigger slaving merchant than Christopher Wetherherd, investing in at least 17 slave voyages, including some joint ventures with his brother and father, both named John, and one joint voyage with Daniel Backhouse who was one of the biggest slave traders in Liverpool and possible relation of Thomas. A large portion of the voyages funded by Backhouse focused on ports in Benin and neighbouring Bonny (modern day Nigeria), with places of landing listed as Dominica, Tortola, St Lucia, Havana, and Kingston.

The first slave journey listing Thomas Backhouse as owner dates from 1779, where he is listed alongside John Backhouse, William and Charles Pole, Henry Gardner and William Rutson, as part-owner of Tartar's Prize, which carried 692 slaves from an unspecified port in Africa to Jamaica. Unlike Wetherherd, Backhouse never ventured into sole ownership of any slave ships, always opting instead for joint-ownership, often with the same individuals. The next two slave journeys financed by Backhouse took place in the following two years and both ended in disaster; the Sarah in 1780 was listed as 'shipwrecked or destroyed before slaves embarked', meaning that it was wrecked on its journey between Liverpool and Africa, whilst the following year the Falstaff was captured by the French, again before reaching Africa. Losses like this would have cost ship-owners such as Backhouse dearly, and perhaps goes some way to explaining why he and many of his fellow merchants often chose to opt for part-ownership instead of full in order to lessen the damage to investments.



Fig: 3

During the ownerships of both Wetherherd and Backhouse, Knight Stainforth Hall probably remained a country retreat, with neither gentleman using it as a full-time residence, and instead choosing to remain where much of their business took place and from where their ships sailed, Liverpool. One record from 1781 places Christopher Wetherherd as living at 31 Tythe Barn Street, Liverpool, just a stone's throw from the docks. Figure 4 shows a map from 1819 pinpointing an approximate location for Wetherherd's house. Thomas Backhouse and his brother John, meanwhile, owned property at 11 Duke's Street, located in a similarly central location near the Liverpool docks.

Christopher Wetherherd died on September 8, 1800, with a will from the time stipulating that 'Mary Wetherherd...lawful widow of (Christopher Wetherherd)...are holden and firmly bound unto the Right Reverend Father In God Henry William... in the sum of three thousand pounds ... to be paid to the Right Reverend Father,', indicating that at the time of his death Wetherherd was still in debt after his bankruptcy. Thomas Backhouse had died in 1795 at his home at Beck House in Giggleswick which he had purchased some ten years after Knight Stainforth Hall. The latter, upon Backhouse's death, passed to his widow Jane, during which time it seems it was occupied by tenant farmers. Thomas's brother John, however, carried on trading in slaves almost up to 1805, just two years before the law made the trade of slave illegal in Britain. Upon Jane's death sometime between 1734-39, ownership passed to the Maudsley family, and Knight Stainforth Hall finally ceased all association with the slave trade.

Conclusions

The histories of individuals such as Wetherherd and Backhouse are rarely told, holding as they did comparatively minor roles in the wider trans-Atlantic slave trade, particularly in relation to other more prominent slave trading families. However, no role played by any individual in the enslavement of black Africans is too small to tell, and it is a sobering thought that the financial input from just one individual such as Wetherherd or Backhouse could immeasurably change the lives of potentially hundreds of other individuals.

It would be interesting to find out more about Wetherherd's plantations in Dominica and Tobago. Nothing is known of the fate of the 25 slaves mentioned in the fragment of Giggleswick history, and this would be an interesting line of enquiry for further research.

Acknowledgements

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Amongst The Marshes

Joseph Norman Frankland (1904-95)

Born in Hellifield Norman Frankland became a skilled field naturalist and at one time lived at Middlesber, a farm between Lawkland and Austwick Mosses. An extract of this article has appeared in 'Images of Dales Life in the 1930s' published by the Trust but deserves to be printed in its entirety. The photographs have been kindly provided by Stuart Ralph who has been studying the natural history of the Mosses for over 50 years.

Who does not love a ramble on the marshlands even though the ground is rough and boggy, and every minute one stands a good chance of getting wet. Here everything grows at its own free will, everything is truly wild and wild creatures are very numerous. This marshy tract is situated in the centre of the wide dale; in the district they are called mosses, probably because many species of moss grow in profusion on them, and the soil is peaty.

For quite a long way we may walk through an almost never ending stretch of peat bogs from which peat has been dug by the inhabitants of the district in ages past, to burn when there was little or no coal available. Some of them measure only a foot or two across, while others stretch for fifteen or twenty yards. Most of them are full of dark-brown water in some places as deep as eight or nine feet, and to get along we must skirt carefully round them on narrow grassy ledges which shake beneath our feet.

Sedges grow thickly in many of the pools, and here and there the white feathery tufts of cotton grasses nod in the wind. Bilberries hang over the water in bunches, and in many places black crowberry carpets the edges of the deep dark pools for many yards with its evergreen leaves.

Besides the bilberry and crowberry we can find plenty of variety of wild fruits on the marshes. Where the ground rises a little and is fairly dry the cowberry grows, covering all the little mounds with its shiny evergreen leaves. Some of those leaves we can always find a fungi, it deforms the leaf, and instead of being green it is thick and red. Many folks would not think it to be a fungi at all. Another fungi similar to this, but which turns the leaf black instead of red grows on the marsh andromeda. The cowberry bears small pale pink flowers and red berries not unlike those of the cranberry.

In some places wild raspberries make tangled thickets, and in summer when the fruit is ripe simply hang with delicious berries. Then we may find a red or black currant bush laden with fruit & flourishing in the wettest of places. Cranberries creep along the ground between the bogs, and their little pink flowers look lovely in spring peeping out from amongst the evergreen leaves while red or brown berries deck the trailing stems in autumn. In among the thickets of willow are beds of blackberries, and in places a solitary gooseberry or hawthorn bush grows covered with fruit, and on the ground beneath are strawberries. So we see the marsh is not without its harvest of fruits for the birds.

The marsh is not altogether devoid of trees and bushes, for in some places thickets of willow and birch trees extend for a good way, and occasionally we may find a mountain ash or alder growing out of the black pools of water. Solitary scotch



Fig: 1 Bilberry flowers

pine trees are dotted about, real wild ones planted by nature, and seem to flourish luxuriantly on the water-logged ground. I have found in this district some sixteen species of salix or willow, besides many varieties; five of them being commonly met with on the marshes. Guelder roses grow in the thickets, and here and there a bird-cherry or aspen in the hedgerows bordering the meadows and the marsh.

Sweet gale or bog myrtle grows everywhere scenting the air with its fragrance. It is sometimes used to keep moths off clothes, and is also used in the making of botanic beer. In some places candles are made from its sticky fruit, the fatty substance being extracted by the aid of boiling water.

Ling too grows everywhere, in some places almost a yard high, the reason is that there are no sheep to stunt it when young by nibbling off the tender shoots. Almost as common as ling is the cross-leaved heath or bell-heather, which has a tuft of pink bells at the top of each stalk, and the leaves are four in a whorl. I have often found white specimens of both species growing on the mosses. The marsh andromeda, a cousin of the heaths and a rare flower grows in abundance here in many places. It is an evergreen with longish leaves, and a thick wiry stem, and bears tufts of tiny pale pink bells. Because it grows in such wild desolate places it is named after Andromeda who in ancient Greek story was chained to a rock and released by Perseus, who slew a dragon which was guarding her.

A few species of reptiles and amphibians make their home here. Toads of the common species are very abundant, but there are very few natterjacks [later footnote: There are no natterjacks here.] if any, for I can only recollect seeing one, and of that I am not certain. Now and then a grass snake may be seen in the marshy meadows, and newts live in the ponds and ditches. Common Lizards are often very numerous on the dry banks although I have occasionally seen them in the wettest of places. Frogs in myriads live among the bogs, and in spring many of the stagnant pools are full of jelly-like spawn containing small black eggs. On March 15th 1920 I procured some frog spawn and kept it in a large jar. I changed the water once a week, and it was not until the 7th of July that the first of them came out of the water as a full developed frog. It is very



Fig: 2 Cranberries

interesting to watch the tadpoles develop, the eggs enlarging, the tail appearing, and lastly after many weeks the legs. Tadpoles are born cannibals, and will eat each other up voraciously if there is no other food available.

An extensive reed bed covers part of the marsh, like a waving sea of green almost hiding anyone walking through it. The lovely feathery heads begin to appear by the middle of July, which later on turn greyish-white. Amongst the reeds many birds have their homes. There are coots and plenty of moorhens, and wild duck have their young hidden in the thick marsh vegetation. Short-eared owls hunt for their prey among the reeds, and occasionally a grebe will pay a visit. Besides these many small birds love the ancient reed beds. Reed buntings are very numerous, and they can always be distinguished by their white collar and black head and throat. Sedge warblers, winchats, and stonechats keep the marsh alive in spring with their songs, and the marsh warbler is a regular nesting species here. The buzzing note of the grasshopper warbler is often heard proceeding from the thick reed beds. It does not seem particular whether its home is in a wet or dry place, for it is just as much at home among the furze bushes on a dry common, as it is among the reeds of a wet marsh. The grasshopper warbler is a rare bird, but I have often heard two or three singing together here amongst the bogs. They sing very early in the morning and very late at night – if not all night – for I have heard them both at 4am an 11pm on fine days in summer, but they generally rest for a little while in the middle of the day. I have often timed them to see how long they could keep up without a break in the song, and the longest buzz I have recorded is 2 1/4 minutes; a marvellous performance for such a small bird to 'churr' for that period as the grasshopper warbler does without a breath. I have noticed that they keep the 'churr' on longer at night without a break than in the morning.

Hares and rabbits sit amongst the tufts of dry brown grass between the pools, venturing forth at night to feed in the sweet meadows not far away, and occasionally the footprints of reynard may be traced in the snow, after a visit in search of something sweet and tasty. Shrews and voles make their homes among the grass, and water voles live by the stream

which runs along the side of the marsh. Often when there has been a hunt down the stream, an otter will take refuge amongst those thick reed beds & tangled thickets for a day or two until the danger has passed, before returning to its old haunts beneath the banks of the stream.

Here in one of the bogs is the white and weather-beaten skeletons of a horse, with the ribs sticking up gaunt & bare. It is all that is left of a once noble steed, and it reminds us that those lovely marshes have a sorrowful and tragic tale to tell besides a beautiful and happy one. Cattle, sheep and horses especially the two former often stray through the old fences on to the boggy places and get stuck fast in the soft ground. Most of them are seen and rescued, but now and then one dies – or kills itself with trying to get out – before it is found, and soon only the bleached bones are left to tell the tragic tale.

Plenty of lichen festoons the sides of the bogs, and grows thickly on the trees; plenty to occupy anyone interested in it for a long while. There is also plenty of moss for the moss collector. Sphagnum moss covers the ground for yards with its wet spongy foliage, in company with many other species of the moss tribe; but of all the vegetation growing here the flowers are the glory of the marsh. All through the spring and summer they come, springing up everywhere, one species dying and another straight away taking its place.

Down among the light green bog moss the little sundew peeps up, with its little spoon-shaped leaves held upwards to catch any insect which may chance to alight. Each leaf is covered with hairs, and on the end of each hair is a sparkling drop of gum. When any insect alights to sip the dew-like gum put there to lure it into the net, the hairs close in on it tighter and tighter, almost squeezing it to death. The sticky fluid turns acid thus enabling this insectivorous plant more easily to digest the soft parts of its victim. There are three British species of sundew, the long-leaved, round-leaved and English sundew, but only the round-leaved species is found here.

Another insect-eating plant we have on the marshes is the butterwort or bog violet. It is a violet like flower on top of a long stalk which grows out of the centre of a rosette of yellowish-green leaves. Each leaf is wet and sticky, and there

are always a few small flies stuck to them which have been caught by alighting on

If we look in some of the ponds where the whirlgig beetles are darting about we will find yet two more insectivorous plants, the greater and lesser bladder wort. Both of them floating in the water and covered with hundreds of tiny bladders in which it is said they imprison minute insects. The lesser species is a rare plant in England, and being so small and inconspicuous it is hard to find by anyone who does not know it.

There is another rare floating plant which grows here in the ponds; it is the floating bur-reed a smaller cousin of the branched and un-branched bur-reed. The leaves are flat and not three-sided like those of the Fig: 3 Brown hare

others, and they are only a quarter of an inch wide. The flowers are like small yellow burrs, which earn for it the name bur-reed.

In some parts of the marsh the black [illeg] grass grows in profusion, and this valley is the only place in West Yorkshire where it grows. It is quite easy to distinguish as the seeds grow at the top of the stalk in a close black head.

Here on the marshes are orchids in countless numbers & of many species. The early purple is everywhere all through the summer, near by are butterfly orchis with their slender white flowers, there are fragrant orchis delicate and sweet, and in the very marshiest of places the bog orchis with its thick hollow stem. In the marshy bogs the marsh trefoil or buck bean grows; one of the loveliest flowers imaginable. It bears its leaves on thick stalks each consisting of three leaflets. The pinkish-white flowers are covered with white hairy fringes, and we might almost call this flower the fairy of the bog. Marsh cinquefoil, marsh violet, and bog pimpernel keep it company, and near by are water avens, marsh louse wort, mares tail, sneezewort, and the lovely golden bog aspodel.

In July and August we ought to find a lovely greenish-white flower standing up on a long bare stalk with a leaf half-way up. It is the grass of parnasus, and its beautiful white flowers with their transparent veins look so delicate and sweet amongst the rough brown grass. The stamens in this plant five in number - instead of coming to maturity together, do so one at a time, and only the most fully developed flowers have all five stamens unrolled. This plant which is not a grass, is named after Mount Parnasus in Greece where it grows in profusion.

Many flowers grow by the side of a small stream running down the side of the marsh which slowly winds its way through the matted beds of water cress and brooklime There are forget-me-not, figwort, ragged robin, monkey musk, many speedwells, bird's eye primrose and spearwort. In the water itself water plantain holds up its slender branches, pondweeds cover the surface of the water, rushes and burreeds point their green sword-like leaves upwards, and sedges grow in huge beds.

In summer, when everything is at its height the sides of the stream grow thickly with tall luxuriant plants, wearying to walk through. Meadowsweet, great wild valerian, willow herbs, marsh woundwort, nettles, curled docks and many



more grow thickly side by side, each as it were striving to master and grow taller than the others until they become almost a solid mass of stalks, flowers and leaves.

The following is a list of flowers I collected in one short walk round the marshes on the 5th of July last year. I don't think it is a bad list for one locality, as I did go more than a mile, and was not out long. Some of them perhaps are not marsh plants, but I counted all I saw not quite on the marshes. [The list is included in the web version]

Besides the flowering plants many flowerless ones grow on the marshes; plenty of horsetails, a few species and varieties of ferns, and lichens, mosses and fungi.

Althrough the summer dragonflies glide about over the bushes, from small ones about half an inch long to huge gold and green ones. Beetles go churring along; on the willow trees huge brown cockchaffers sun themselves, and grasshoppers chitter in the grass in hundreds all day long. Butterflies flitter from flower to flower; white ones, admirals, painted ladys, tortoise shells, small & large heaths, meadow browns, brimstones, clouded yellows and blues. What a happy crowd they seem, all enjoying to the utmost their short but sweet lives, and fluttering about like so many flying flowers. There are flies about in hundreds of every size, shape and hue; just a happy hunting ground for the entomologist, for as so many insects spend their earlier life in stagnant water they find it here in plenty, and therefore they breed and live here in profusion. Bees in dozens help the butterflies and other insects in the fertilisation of the flowers, and some species have their nests down among the grass and spongy moss. These bees nests are made of moss & are only very small, but the inmates can be very savage in the protection of their homes if molested.

If we dig into the peaty soil we will be almost certain to find some ants, they too can be very troublesome if one happens to sit down on a bank when the grass is full of them. By the end of July the ants begin to fly, and are then a terrible pest to the haymakers working late in the fields who are compelled to stay out whatever comes.

The curlews wild cry echoes across the marshes all day long in spring and summer, and it often lays its four large olivecoloured eggs right among the very bogs. Although a very wary bird, generally slipping off its nest before anyone is in sight, it will sometimes when brooding stay until anyone is quite close, in fact on one occasion a certain bird allowed me to catch it on the nest quite easily.

Black birds and song thrushes often nest in the low bushes, and skylarks, pipits and willow wrens amongst the rough grass on the ground. Pheasants and partridges nest in the ground beneath the bushes of bog myrtle surrounded by the boggy water. All the year round herons may be observed standing for hours among the thick sedges waiting for their prey, with their thick lance-like bills ready for the slightest movement.

Wild ducks, teal and mallard build their nests amongst the heather on the ridges between the black pools. The eggs look lovely nestling in the soft down plucked from the breast of the mother bird, but she always covers them with it if she leaves the nest on her own. Often in summer whilst walking amongst the bogs we may come across a batch of ducklings chirping and squealing as they scatter among the rushes.

Moorhens are very common on the marshes, and lots of nests may be discovered hidden in the thick rushes which grow out of the dark-brown water. The nest is built of dead grass and brown rushes, and although generally placed very low down I have often seen them in trees one of which was built on an old ring doves nest quite twenty feet up a thick holly tree. The eggs number from four to ten though seven or eight is the usual number. They are of a light brownish colour spotted with darker brown & grey, somewhat similar to those of the coot but the egg is smaller and the spots are larger. Young moorhens are very funny and interesting creatures with their bald heads and black fluffy bodies, and if disturbed will dive into the water almost as soon as they are hatched. The moorhen can move in many different ways; for it can run, walk, swim, dive and fly with ease.

Snipes nest on the marshes in good numbers. The nest is always placed in one of the swampiest places, deep down among the sedges, and the eggs which are greenish buff blotched with brown and four in number, are always completely hidden. All through the breeding season the male makes a curious drumming or humming sound with his wings and tail as he darts downward through the air.

The redshank is one of the most interesting birds of the marshes, & can never be mistaken, for its long legs or red shanks show up conspicuously. No words can describe the beauty of its dashing flight or its shrill wild call, which tells us of a free open life amongst the sedges and rushes on a water-logged marsh, or on the miles of lovely mudflats near the sea; only those who have observed it can realise its loveliness. The red shank is fairly numerous here for I have found a good many nests in a season, and seen flocks of from twenty to thirty at the beginning of the breeding season. The nest is on the ground well hidden by the herbage, the eggs only being visible when looked straight down upon. They are four in number and of a creamy buff colour boldly blotched with a rich chocolate brown. When the bird has just laid its full clutch and begun to sit, it slips its nest unseen if anyone approaches, but if the eggs are almost hatched it often stays



Fig: 4 Marsh cinquefoil

till the person is quite close. If it has not laid its full clutch it never makes any fuss, the only noise to be heard after it has been disturbed is a faint call in the distance about every five minutes, as though it kept returning to see if the intruder had gone and on finding him still there uttered its 'tyook' a few times and once more went off. If there are young ones in the



Fig: 5 Golden ringed dragonfly



Fig: 6 Curlew

vicinity the redshank makes a terrible noise, flying round and round quite near, uttering its loud call. When the young ones are about I have seen as many as four or five couples calling round me while I have been walking on the marshes. The redshank has always been one of my favourite birds, and surely the marshes would not seem half so lovely in spring, if they were without such beautiful and harmless birds.

In the winter the marshes are the haunts of many species of wild duck and wild fowl; the little jack snipe haunts the bogs, black grouse may be seen perched on bushes and fences, & red grouse come own from the fells in snowstorms. Wild geese often settle on the marshes, and huge of flocks wild ducks are to be seen, chief among them being teal, mallard, golden eye and widgeon. Although I have seen tufted ducks about here in spring, I have never yet been successful in finding a nest of that species.

In some parts of the marshes where the soil is wet and peaty the farmers set potatoes in a very curious style called the lazybed way. Although called the lazybed style there is nothing lazy about it as I can say from experience. They are set in beds which are six feet wide, and between each bed is a ditch two feet wide. Instead of being planted in a place ready dug for them they are simply laid on the grass one foot apart on the six foot beds, then the ditches are made up each side, the slabs of peat being placed over the potatoes on the grass, half of the ditch going one way and half the other. The top is then mashed a little with a fork as a means of keeping the moisture in and to give them a straighter appearance. They are then finished until ready for getting up as they need no hoeing at all as very little weed grows on them. The ditches generally fill with water and this soaks up through the peat and keeps the potatoes moist. Potatoes are only set on one patch of ground for two years, the second year, after being levelled the ditches are made up the centre of the old beds and the potatoes planted over the old ditches. After two years new ground is selected and the old patches left to grow how

It is very interesting to notice the vegetation which grows in different stages on the old potato beds, before it reverts back to the former tough marsh herbage. The first year after being left there is scarcely any thing but docks growing almost a yard high. Then hemp nettle comes, and charlock, knotweed, spotted persicaria, goose foot, thistles, nettles, black bindweed and weeds innumerable, each taking their turn of being master of the plot. Each year more rushes and rough grass get intermixed with the weeds until eventually they get stamped out altogether, which usually takes some six or seven years.

Whilst the ditches are being dug for the potatoes, many sorts of wood are got out of the peat. Some of it must have lain for hundreds, perhaps thousands of years, and most of it is just as hard and sound as it was on the day it was buried. The chief kinds of wood found here are larch, scotch pine, willow, birch and oak. Willow and birch are generally rotten when found, and a curious thing about birch is that the wood is often

rotted away while the bark remains sound and is left hollow like a drainpipe. Scotch pine generally has plenty of sound bark on it but the wood is sound as well, while larch and oak have scarcely any bark left on them. At the present time in a certain low-lying meadow a huge trunk of oak is being dug out and will have to be hoisted with blocks. It is a yard in diameter and perhaps twenty yards long, and ought to be worth a good lot when processed as the wood is sound as a bell. Some of the bog wood has charred marks on it, showing us that there must have been a fire raging on the marsh while it still lay on the surface. Besides wood there are other things preserved in the peat, for there are bur-reeds, grass and rushes, and only this spring I found in a turf-pit, about a dozen wild ducks eggs buried a foot or two below the surface in the solid peat. They had their natural colour, and the insides were dried up so that there was no smell.

After a fine hot day in summer the marshes are often enveloped in a fleecy covering of soft white mist, hiding all the lovely plants and flowers beneath its floating clouds. By the time the sun sends its last rays across the level stretch, the little hollows begin to fill with mist which gradually begins to thicken and spread. Standing on a hill nearby, it is a beautiful sight to watch the mist rolling and gathering silently over the ground, until it at last settles down in one huge sheet with the tree- tops peeping out, like islands in a pure white lake. From below comes the quack of a duck just settling down to roost, a herons loud kronk is heard as it journeys to some favourite hunting ground to spend the night, a beetle buzzes past in the gathering gloom, then all is silent, as night descends over the marshes, and the night loving creatures creep from their hiding places.

Norman Frankland's account was written in 1920 and in the intervening years there have been considerable changes to the Mosses he knew. The most obvious has been the incursion of trees which continue to colonise the area. Whilst some may view this as an inevitable result of biological succession there is no doubt that the 'improved' drainage to Fen Beck in 1945 and the '60s has resulted in a lowering of the water-table. Unfortunately the latest monitoring report by Natural England, in 2011, found that only three of the eleven compartments were in a favourable condition.

People in Settle, 1547 to 1553

Michael Slater

The records for the manor court in Settle held during the reign of Edward VI have been translated from medieval Latin and made available on the NCHT website, courtesy of a grant made to Simon Neal in 2020 by NCHT from the Historical and Archaeological Projects fund. The documents are held at Chatsworth House, home of the Duke of Devonshire, current lord of the manor. Pages are missing, parts are torn and the record is by no means complete, being bound together some time later – consider that the documents are 470 years old! This project has allowed detailed consideration of some of the lives of the ordinary inhabitants of Settle in this period when combined with other sources of information such as the national taxation data, the Clifford family papers listing rentals, wills, and to a slight extent parish registers starting in 1558

Edward VI succeeded to the throne when Henry VIII died on 28 Jan 1547. Edward reigned for only six years and died in 1553. When did the inhabitants of Settle find out that they had a new king, aged 9? Information spread via the church, bishops disseminating important news to priests. Merchants also carried news around England; the state could write to town councils to order the proclamation of such news. Letters needed only a few days to travel long distances as shown by the letters of the Paston family in the 15th century. It would have taken longer for local people to know what their new monarch looked like.

Local lives were affected. The change of church matters to Protestantism proceeded in a managed fashion. The currency was debased between 1542 and 1552; there were periods of harvest failure in 1545 and between 1549 and 1551 [Hoyle, 1998].

The lord of the manor of the two separate manors of Settle and Giggleswick was Henry Clifford, 12th Lord, 2nd Earl of Cumberland (1517-1570). He inherited the Percy fee manors, including Settle and Giggleswick, in 1537. He may never have met his tenants but their lives were subject to his control.

The manor court stewards were Sir Ingram Clifford, chief steward, (second son of the 1st Earl), and Christopher Marton, gent., steward (seneschal), 'skilled in writing'. Courts were held twice yearly, each on a single day. The Settle proceedings were followed by the Giggleswick court on the next day. The lord of the manor did not attend but left matters in the hands of stewards. They are assumed here to have travelled from Skipton, by horse, 16 miles, and stayed overnight somewhere for two or three nights. It is likely that they were hosted by one of the more wealthy tenants, for dinner, bed, breakfast, horse fodder and stabling but we do not know where. Expenses were claimed so perhaps they stayed in a hostelry. There was no manor house in Settle or Giggleswick. Giggleswick church may have been the only place large enough to host 87 tenants plus court officials in the absence of a court house.

In June 1550 the expenses were 4s 4d for the Settle court. In August 1550 the expenses were 'paid from the toll of Settill'. In October 1551 the record notes 'Expenses of the court by the steward and his servants for two (days?) 13s 15s 8d. Item for the sale of capons 2s 7d'.

Settle population

An estimate of population size can be made using the numbers of tenants in the court records and this is the best source of information for that purpose. The total number of free and at-will manorial tenants was about 87 averaged over six years – with a few names appearing both as free and unfree at-will tenants. There are 57 different family names. The free tenants owed rent but no services to the lord, but at-will tenants were subject to some control. A typical family size at this time was about 4.5 persons, making the population of Settle about 400. This assumes that all tenants lived in Settle, but some may just have held some land there and so owed rent or services to the lord. There were some others of servile status who might be added to this estimate. At this time, medieval services to the lord had generally lapsed, and been replaced by money rents. The current area of Settle civil parish is 7 square miles (4500 acres). This would be sufficient to serve the subsistence needs of the tenants at 30 acres per family. Giggleswick's population was slightly smaller at about 360, based on the manor having about 80 tenants.

Life-expectancy at birth was just over 30 years, estimated using a new technique comparing patterns of baptisms and burials some years later [Slater, 2020]. Many children died within a few years, some few people reached the age of 70.

The Court

The court organized various officer posts such as constable, but the details are lacking in these records, apart from a mention of ale tasters John Hulson and William Brown. Miles Wildman, John Cookson and James Iveson sold their ale before the tasters had given their approval so were fined 12d each.

At each sitting the court had much work to do. The records are clearly incomplete, but between 11 and 55 names are found at different times being involved as complainants or defendants in matters brought before the court for the jury of 13, sometimes 12 men, to deliberate. Some of those named lived elsewhere in Craven. Often cases were tit-for-tat suggesting mutual annoyance between neighbours in the fields. If you lost your case it might cost you 4d at least. Matters involving damage of 40s and above had to go to a higher court – so one finds claims for damage for one farthing less at 39s 11 34d.

The court laid down by-laws and fined those who disobeyed.

Wills and religious belief

The acceptance of Protestantism and the new Book of Common Prayer was slow and reluctant. Belief in Catholic doctrine continued, supported by clerics and a conservative gentry. Church goods, endowments and chantry chapels were concealed from the authorities, facilitated by the remoteness of the region [Spence, 2017].

In wills made during Edward's Protestant reign, compared to those made in Henry VIII's time, there is a decrease in expressed devotion to Saint Mary and fewer requests for masses, and a marked increase in references to the company in heaven and a notable number of wills saying nothing concerning the testator's beliefs. Three out of the 16 free tenants are known to have made wills, as did 20 out of 71 at-will tenants (including 11 widows). It was not just the better-off who made wills.

Several gave money to the priest to pray for their soul (4d), to funeral attendees (4d), and to the poor man's box (4d, 12d). Richard Browne in 1548 left 6s 8d for the poor folk. Robert Somerscales in 1553 left 3s 4d for the mending of Settle bridge. Joan Watkinson, in 1552, also allowed for bread and cheese and meal for those attending her funeral. Thomas Foster (1553) gave 12d for the mending of 'claishouse lane' (Closehouse) if neighbours also contributed. Curiously, John Foster of Rathmell in his will dated 16th September 1547 said that 'I ... bequeathe my soule to almightie god and my bodie to the kings warres'. This was a period of Anglo-Scottish wars. In 1547 men were recruited in Yorkshire for service on the Borders [Goring, 1955] so perhaps he served as a soldier.

These wills show a generous, charitable spirit to the poor and the community by a few.

Money matters

In the court records we see that tenants were fined (amerced) for non-attendance but mainly for what seem petty offences of cutting greenwood and taking wood from the lord's wood (pro amputat virid et bosci domini), trespass in the lord's wood, a warrant or permission for some agreement, and sometimes simply a fine for everything (pro omnibus), twice a year. This was usually 1d, 2d, or 4d and the amount may have increased if there had been default on an earlier occasion. This was not a fine for any major offence but a means for the lord to obtain revenue of a few more shillings beyond rents or fines for serious transgressions or misbehaviour. The tenants needed wood for their fires and it could not necessarily all be got from the commons or waste. The deputy officer of the lord was excused, (quittus est), as were paupers. Hugh Carre simply fled the manor to avoid payment. The list of tenants is peppered with the abbreviation pro conli (= consimilis = for the like

Bearing in mind a typical income of a few pounds a year (one pound = 240d) these payments were not onerous. However, actual income in cash was probably limited, since many families may only have obtained cash by selling surplus agricultural produce in the market. Others may have obtained income from trade in wool, animals, cloth, and blacksmithing, for example. There are many cases of default on loans.

The offence of Affray brought in substantial monies to the lord. Over six years about 17 cases are recorded, which is not

a large number considering that there were about 87 tenants. Typically the fine was 3s 4d, but if blood was drawn the amount was 6s 8d. Brawling attracted a penalty of 12d, 20d or 2s. There are no repeat offenders so perhaps the fines were a real deterrent. Richard Sommerscales attacked William (or Thomas) Tailor – 'against the peace of the lord king'. Richard seemed to have little regard for the law as noted below. Thomas Tailor, John Hulson, Richard Heyton, John Wildman and Roger Medhope made 'an assault between themselves' which cost them fines from 12d to 3s 4d each. Richard Ratclyff attacked the lord's official – fine 3s 4d.

The king had to obtain his income by taxing inhabitants in order to run the country and make war. The tax data for Craven for 1510 to 1547 have been published by Hoyle [1987].

In 1543, just before Edward VI's accession, a lay subsidy was imposed. William Middop, gent., was appointed 'high collector', required to receive the monies from subcollectors – Lawrence Lister, Peter Scarborough, William Watkinson and Anthony Young. The Villat de Settle had 49 taxpayers and raised 37s 2d (about 9d each, but near 5d if two wealthy persons are discounted); Villat de Rauthmelle had 27 taxpayers who paid 6s 8d (3d each). Langclyff had 20 taxpayers who paid 6s 6d (4d each). Giggleswick had 42 taxpayers, total 15s 6d (about 4 ½d each). It is notable that in Settle John Banke paid 16d, Robert Sommerscale 2s 8d, Miles Wyldman 6s 8d, and William Watkinson a remarkable 9s 4d. These men we shall meet again, particularly William Watkinson a relatively wealthy and presumably a trustworthy man as subcollector!

A third tax collection was made in 1545 under the assessment of 1543. The wealthy taxpayers had already been solicited or encouraged to pay in advance, so some of the names in the 1543 list are missing in 1545. In 1547 tax was collected for the 1545 subsidy act (made by Henry VIII). William Watkinson senior is worth more than anyone else in Settle at £20.

Edward VI imposed taxes in March 1549 (sheep tax), May and October 1549, and March 1553. The 1549 Sheep Tax was a 'Relief on Sheep and cloth', [E179/208/211], i.e. relieving the inhabitants of some cash. Relief is actually the term for a succession duty which a lord could demand of a vassal.

'Pasture men, because ther cattell (*animals*) is bothe greater and carieth more wolle, to paie for every sheere sheep thre half pens ... and for every Ewe after two pens'.

The rules were in fact more complicated. Ewes kept on enclosed pastures were rated at 3d a head, wethers and other shear-sheep on enclosed pastures were 2d a head, and shear-sheep kept on commons or enclosed grounds not used for tillage 1½d a head. With 10 sheep or fewer, owners were assessed at ½d per sheep, between 10 and 20, 1d a head. Other sheep grazing on commons or fallow were charged at 1d a head because of a lesser yield on such animals. Sheep were counted by the long hundred of six score. It was really a hated poll tax on sheep; there were very few returns in the North Riding. The tax was repealed in 1550 and no money seems to have been collected locally. Not an easy job for the tax collector.

In addition there was a subsidy tax on personal goods. Those with property worth more than £10 paid 1s/£1 and an

extra amount if the sheep tax was greater. We have a record in 1551 [E179/217/121]:

Settle William Watkinson in bon

x li x s (i.e. in goods, £10 and 10s)

Staynforth William Bancke in bon

x li x s Hugh Franckland xj li xj s

Gyglesweke Margaret Curor vid in bon

x li x s (widow, in goods)

[Adolph, 2004; Beresford, 1953 and 1954]

Most people in this period were rated as having goods worth a pound or two and some few were worth up to £7. Some were exempt if not worth a specified amount. The number of taxpayers listed in each of the 1522, 1543 and 1545 records is just over 50 whereas the number of tenants in Settle manor at this time was about 87 – so only about 60% of the tenants had enough wealth to be made to pay tax. Comparison of names in the 1545 subsidy tax list with the May 1547 manor court list gives a close match with 55% tax payers out of the 85 tenants. Some few who are not on the tax list also defaulted on payment of fines for taking wood, suggesting poverty.

Bearing in mind that the taxpayers were somewhat reticent in co-operating with assessors the valuations of wealth are somewhat notional rounded estimates. A modern auditor would have trouble with many of these records.

The Church and School

The parish church and Giggleswick school were connected since the vicars and priests were headmasters and schoolmasters. Education was an ecclesiastical matter.

James Procter was vicar of Giggleswick parish (of which Settle was part) from 1546 [Brayshaw, 1932, p230]. From 1548 John Nowell became vicar until 1556. He does not appear in the list of Settle tenants but Thomas Husteler, chantry priest, does. Margaret Sailbanke refers to James Foster, curate, in her will of 1551.

When in 1548 the living for Giggleswick church became vacant, Edward VI appointed one of his chaplains, John Nowell, to be vicar of Giggleswick. Thomas Husteler was a chantry priest in Giggleswick Church and headmaster of Giggleswick school in 1546, followed by Richard Carr in 1548 after Thomas' death. Thomas Husteler was assisted for a time by Thomas Iveson, teaching in the small building provided by James Carr, his uncle and school founder; as a stipend Iveson was receiving annually £5 6s 8d. In 1553 Edward VI granted a Charter to the School and endowed it with property. This he did at the humble petition of John Nowell, vicar, Henry Tennant, gentleman, and other inhabitants of the town and parish of Giggleswick in Craven.

The school register has no entries for this time [ukga.org/Registers/Giggleswick] but we could presume that some students lived in Settle.

The church also had authority over cases of immorality detailed in Cause Papers but there are no records relating to Settle in the time of Edward VI.

Thomas Husteler

Thomas Husteler is named as a free tenant in Settle in May and August 1547, 'infirmus Clericus'. In 1546 he is headmaster of Giggleswick School [Brayshaw, 1932, p248]. In 1546 the royal commissioners found that Thomas Husteler, priest of the Rood Chantry and schoolmaster, was receiving a rental of £6 1s, income from land at Otterburn James Carr's endowment [Brayshaw, 1932, p239]. Chantries were abolished in 1549.

In addition to his chantry duties Thomas had to perform the double office of Grammar and Song Schoolmaster, and the work proving too heavy for him, he left money to provide the maintenance of a second Master. Thomas died in 1547 or 1548. He left £24 13s 4d to pay for a schoolmaster which then maintained Thomas Iveson, priest, at £4 a year for six years [Brayshaw, 1932, p65]. A stipend of £5 a year was considered a minimum for a priest in the early 16th century [Slater, 2007].

William Watkinson (senior) and William Watkinson (junior)

We do not have baptism dates for these two people because the Parish Register for Giggleswick does not start until 1558. From the tenant lists William Watkinson senior and William junior appear both as free tenants and tenants-at-will until May 1553 when the name William Watkinson is crossed out in the free tenants list but appears in the at-will list. However, William Watkinson senior then is named as free tenant until at least 1558. Hugh Lawson made an affray on William junior in 1547 and Hugh was fined 3s 4d. However, in 1550 William was fined 6s 8d because he 'overthrew and knocked down two walls at Hudgappe and Tendlayth Gappe at all lawful and accustomed times of the year'. He seems to have owed money on a few occasions when the complainants were awarded damages of 4d. In 1553 William had bought woollen cloth from Anthony Knolles for which he still owed 18d. This is a hint that William junior was engaged in the cloth business. In 1554 William junior is said to be infirm and in 1556 we see the relict (widow) of William listed plus William senior. So William junior died in about 1555.

In 1522 William Watkinson is listed in the Loan Book as paying 6s 8d, a relatively modest amount. In the 1543 tax subsidy he paid the large amount of 9s 4d. His wealth was judged at £14, with tax due at 8d in the pound. In 1549 he was judged to have wealth of £10 taxed at 10s (1s in the pound). These are very large sums of money since typical annual incomes were say £5 p.a. Why does he allow his brother Hugh (noted in his will) to become a pauper (called so in 1549)?

The Muster Roll of 1538 lists William Watkinson senior and junior armed with bows. The Clifford rentals show that William held a cottage and garden in Settle for which he paid rent in about 1550 [Clifford papers, DD121/29/2]. Brayshaw mentions a conveyance of 1572 [1932, p66] of a 'chapel, a messuage and a fulling mill, with lands in Settell' from Henry and Isabel Bankes to William Watkynson. This information is thought to be in the Clifford papers [DD/121/31/5] dated 1572.

In the court records we find that in 1551 William senior did not keep his part of the wall sufficiently around Newclose

and was fined 4d. He served as a juror several times.

We have a will of William Watkinson of Settle in 1575 in which he mentions six daughters and brother Hugh. Hugh appears in the at-will lists from 1549 until at least 1558. There is nothing in this will suggesting substantial wealth, but such may already have been disposed of earlier. He gives to 'every servant I have xij d of good English money'. But how did William become relatively wealthy? He does not have sheep. Perhaps he was a merchant of wool or cloth.

Margaret Cletherall

In May 1547 Roger Cletherall is in the list of free tenants, but noted as 'morr'. The relict (widow) of Roger is noted in the tenants-at-will as paying a fine of 1d. She next appears when in 1551 Thomas Watkinson complains that Margaret Cledero has depastured cattle at Bygg Gapp, resulting in 20s damage. Then again, in 1552 he complains that she, with John Morehouse, unjustly occupies one parcel of land in the fields of Settle at Bygg Gapp, depasturing her beasts there. The defendants say that they are not guilty but the matter is respited to the next court. In 1553 Thomas Watkinson again complains in a plea of trespass that John and Margaret overthrew walls at Bygg Gapp doing 20s worth of damage. However, the defendants were found not guilty and Thomas was fined 4d for making a false claim.

The spelling of Margaret's surname is consistently written as Cletherall by the court steward, (apart from one Cledero), he being 'skilled in writing'. The tax lists, however, give Cletherall, Clederall, Clederow, Clitheroo, Clitherowe, all essentially a variant of Clitheroe.

Richard Sommerscales

Richard Sommerscales seems to have been an awkward character, with little regard for authority, being frequently the subject of court matters. His behaviour shows that use of the fields was well-regulated by the court and its by-laws and edicts about cash fines (pains) for breaking laws. 'He keeps scabious horses upon the common pasture contrary to ... the statute thereupon provided', fine 20d, and few years later another fine of 6s 8d. 'He keeps his geese in the fields contrary to the order of the plebiscite', fine 20d. 'He mowed his hay within the fields before the usual day contrary to the pain and order of the plebiscite'. For a rescue from the plebiscite, fine 3s 4d. Fined 4d because 'he did not keep his part of the wall sufficiently around Newclose'. 'He keeps three fires upon one tenement (with Thomas and Hugh Sommerscales) contrary to the order and custom used from ancient times to the serious damage of the lord's tenants', all fined 3s 4d. Even the number of fires in a house was regulated since firewood was needed by everyone and custom of collection should not be abused, although subject to the bi-annual levy of 1d or 2d.

He also complains about the widow of Thomas Sommerscales 'in a plea of trespass on account that the defendant destroyed his goods to the damage of 30s, as he is prepared to declare'. The jury found the complainant to be in the lord's mercy (i.e. fined by the jury) for a false claim. He was fined 2d for 'bayttyng' his horse (i.e. allowing it to graze) in Newclose contrary to the by-law. He was indebted to Robert Sommerscales for 21s and amerced (fined) 3d because the case reached the court; he also acknowledged a debt of 33s 4d. Perhaps he had to borrow money to pay all his fines.

Bad behaviour

The court carries the title 'with View of Frankpledge' which was a system of compulsory sharing of responsibility for reporting crime or unsociable behaviour. Thus we see that 'The wife of Christopher Lauson and the wife of Thomas Lauson of Lodge have litigated between themselves with dishonourable words against the peace of the lord king' and '... the daughter of Christopher Lawson of Lodge is not of good behaviour and conversation, but behaves secretly ... or is to be removed outside the lordship by the steward'. 'The jurors say that the wives of Thomas Lawson and Christopher Lawson of Lodge are common scolds to the very great disturbance of their neighbours'.

They also present 'James Yveson because he harboured one unknown woman which the same woman stole two ... at Settle'. 'Richard Melling is a common scold and disturbs the peace of the lord king to the very great disquieting of his neighbours'.

William Carr kept an unruly cow which broke the door (fine 3d).

'Henry Kinge unjustly marked his sheep with the same sign as John Coykson ... the complainant lost divers of his aforesaid sheep. The complainant will mark with ryddle and tarre and the defendant with kelowe' (mustard yellow).

Under the lord's thumb

Someone might have felt aggrieved when the lord took the best fleece at clipping time and the best wether on St Laurence Day for making his dinner because the flock had liberty to have drunk at the 'sowth bank beck'.

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The people of Settle, 1553 to 1558

Joseph Keep

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Introduction

During the reign of Queen Mary (1553–1558), manorial court rolls from Settle provide historians with insights into the small Tudor communities that occupied the Yorkshire Dales. The court rolls show how people navigated day-to-day life as farmers and members of an interconnected community and reveal a lot about a small rural manor. Through the rolls we catch glimpses of the social, familial and legal make-up of the village and how this evolved over the period of just five years during one of the most tumultuous periods in English history.

The records reveal the world of 'commoners' in this period, how their legal system was organised and how local lords interacted with their communities through these legal mechanisms. Evidence includes separate lists and offences, depending on the legal status of tenants and how people in the area took up certain roles in the courts. Through these court rolls the local story of the residents of Settle can be understood but also it can be seen how this story weaves itself into the national background of Tudor England during the mid-sixteenth century where religious strife and threats of war dominate the traditional historiography of the period.

The leet court of Settle was part of a system of courts operated by local lords under licence from the monarch. For Settle this was under the jurisdiction of Lord Henry Clifford, the second Earl of Cumberland, during the reign of Queen Mary. The court records enable historians to look at how justice was administered, the penalties for minor infractions and the amount that the lord of the manor could exact for what may often appear to be relatively common or trivial issues.

These particular court rolls can be seen on the Dales Community Archives website, having been translated from Latin and transcribed from the original rolls. The rolls from this court are split into three major sections. The first section comprises the introductory lines, with the date and location of the court. The second section includes lists of tenants and minor breaches of the law that they have committed, as well as the jurors of the court. The final section provides more detailed information on debts, accusations and cases currently going through the court, as well as court orders that had been passed down.

Court rolls: their functionality and context

We can gather from the opening lines of the rolls that these courts took place twice a year (June and in October or November) under the jurisdiction of Henry, Earl of Cumberland). Each hearing was dated according to the year of the reign of Queen Mary.

Each court roll contains a list of the tenants and their presence at the court followed by a section featuring the court's wider jurisdiction. The rolls also detail the social hierarchy for the area with a breakdown of the wealth and status of those under administration in Settle. There is a list of 'free tenants', a number of whom appear with their title of 'esquire' or as members of the gentry. Not surprisingly these were generally the larger landholders in the area. A number of the free tenants were able to excuse themselves from attending the court and were not fined for their absence.

Following the list of free tenants there is the group of tenants-at-the-will of the lord, or 'unfree tenants', who were still required to fulfil certain obligations to the lord and had less autonomy over their property. It is this group that is the most extensive and for which most of the information from the rolls relates to. The unfree tenants make up about sixty to seventy tenants in each court roll, around four times larger than the number of free tenants.

In the final section the rolls detail how the courts functioned as a forum for members of the community to air grievances for perceived breaches of the peace, collect unpaid debts and any other injustices. It can also be seen in this section how the court acted as a mechanism of local governance through its execution of new ordinances. For example, in a court session from 1558 it was decreed in the court that no houses or tenements in Settle were allowed to have two fires, with those found guilty to be fined three

shillings and four pence. Whilst no explanation is given alongside the order it is possible that this was connected to the high demand for firewood documented elsewhere in the rolls

What the court rolls reveal

From the court rolls we see the predominance of two offences at the leet court. The first are fines relating to the taking of greenwood, or firewood, from the forests and woodlands of the lord of the manor. The second most common are for unspecified offences incurring penalties to be paid to the lord. The 'theft' of greenwood was the most common of the two and for the years 1553 to 1558 this makes up around 55% of all the misdemeanours listed. This statistic peaks in 1553 for the first court session under the reign of Mary where the fines for the theft of greenwood make up a substantial 85% of offences. Fines for the theft of wood averaged around 35 to 40 cases at each court. The substantial numbers of these recorded offences reveal how the lord effectively licenced the right to collect greenwood to his unfree tenants.

Another point of emphasis in the rolls is the number of fines that were given out to those who failed to obtain the appropriate licences, such as for enclosure of common land. The Somerscales, for example, in 1557 attempted to enclose common land on Lord Henry's moors. The walls that members of the Somerscale family had built without licence were ordered by the court to be taken down. In a similar case William Iveson also enclosed common land without due rights.

Licences and permissions were also required for the use of resources. For example, in the session for the 15th of June 1558 Henry Tailor was expected to return timber he had taken 'unjustly and without licence' by the next court at Easter or face a penalty of 10 shillings. Fines were also levied against the Somerscales for their erection of two tenements where 'historically only one tenement had stood.' Doing so without a licence saw Richard and Thomas Somerscale fined 20 pence each for their actions.

At the end of the court records there are additional offences and civil issues that crop up. Among these are cases of trespass. In one case, Katherine Somerscall claimed that John Aprehouse trespassed on her land. This was also accompanied by accusations that John had then also deliberately damaged hedges on Katherine's property. In another example, Thomas Brown brought a grievance against John Wildman for trespass. In both of these cases the accused illegally trespassed and ploughed the owners' lands.

Another area of dispute concerned trade and debt. A number of small debts argued between the people in Settle reveal how the exchanging of credit and the accrual of debt was occurring in the village by the mid-sixteenth century. We also see how creditors were able to seek legal recourse in what could be viewed as a late medieval small claims court.

Cases include seeking the non-payment for goods such as wool, produce or even cattle. In 1554, cases involving disputes over the trade of agricultural produce made up a quarter of cases going through the court. In one instance, William Grave sought recourse over a number of unpaid debts from three customers.

There was also a number of other cases presented to the court. Richard Somerscale in 1557 was fined six shillings and eight pence for pasturing a 'mangy horse' on common land against prior instruction from the court. At the same court, he incurred another fine of three shillings for disrupting the peace in a fight with Robert Armystead. Fights were common, one instance in 1557 between Miles Lofthouse and Thomas Tailor drew blood and both were found to be 'at mercy' (i.e. due to be fined) for disturbing the peace. Another case including a quarrelsome William Iveson who was found guilty of obstructing a highway with the court citing that the highway had always been a common through-way.

Two families that were repeatedly fined were the Somerscales and Ivesons. The Somerscales, as a family, were fined numerous times for taking greenwood, accruing nine pence in court fines in 1556 alone. The Iveson family similarly found themselves in front of the court on many occasions. This included the threat of a fine for anyone found to be harbouring Thomas Iveson, the relative of William Iveson. Around three to five members of each of these families would also routinely appear in the long lists of tenants fined for greenwood theft or for unspecified transgressions against the lord. Information from the rolls such as this helps us gather a picture of roughly what the make-up families in Settle looked like and provides details about particularly troublesome families and the problems they caused to their local community.

Although the bulk of the people appearing before the court were men there were cases of widows being fined. In 1556 there were 14 appearances of widows for collecting greenwood or other offences, with fines totalling one shilling and six pence.

The long lists of names in the rolls provide historians with a wealth of genealogical information which may not be available from church records. In some cases the parish records of the time have not survived and so the court records are the only source for the family historian. Many of the families listed in the 1550s were already present in the area in the 1540s. The Lawson family is just one example where we see that there were four heads of households in 1547 and similarly a decade later there were still four branches of the same family. Other names only appeared later with the Howsons on 1553 and the Balderstones a year later. So although the population, or number of tenants, remained relatively constant there was demographic change during the period. The rolls in some cases provide evidence of the geographical origins of some of the families and all are from neighbouring areas. For example, Robert Holden was recorded as coming originally from nearby Bowland, John Sawyer from Skipton and John Thompson from Claughton.

Conclusions

The court records provide a glimpse of life for the people of Settle in the times of Mary Tudor. Far from being a complete picture, the court rolls augment the scant historical records of the time. Whatever the political and religious turmoil they provide insights into the regulation of daily life in a small rural community. Two issues emerge: the shortage of wood for fuel and the pressure to expand the amount of land available for agriculture.

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Giggleswick's Reformation and the Puritan Legacy

Kathleen Kinder

The Protestant Reformation in Giggleswick arrived much later than in many places in England, mainly because much of the land of the ancient parish belonged to monasteries, which no inhabitant thought to question or 'protest' against. Giggleswick too was isolated geographically from the seats of power in the court of the king and the Protestant influences stemming from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. When the Reformation did make its mark, it was dramatic and violent [1]. The eventual establishment of a Puritan Anglicanism was brought about by the Crown's choice of clergy as vicars for Giggleswick Church. The term 'Puritan' at first referred to members of the Church of England who lived within the episcopal system established as the 'via media' in the Elizabethan Settlement, but who wanted the Bible to have central authority and every vestige of Roman Catholicism removed from the life, liturgy and practice of the Church. Puritans made no distinction between a worship object and a worship aid. All were idolatrous and had to be destroyed. Symbolic acts like making the sign of the cross in baptism, were signs of superstition as they had no Biblical warrant. Eventually, this meant destroying the Church of England and replacing it with a Presbyterian order. This happened under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, from 1649 until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. People remember this time when festivities associated with Christmas and Easter were banned. Previously, from the last quarter of the 16th century to the early decades of the 17th, Elizabeth I and her successor, James I, managed with difficulty, to contain Puritan

clergy within the Church of England. Eventually, after the Act of Uniformity in 1662, numbers of Puritans, now known as nonconformists or dissenters, left the restored Church of England, to form independent churches, chapels and 'meetings'. Those left behind, as in Giggleswick, were to make a distinctive Puritan contribution to the Anglican tradition.

In 1536 Henry VIII began to dissolve the monasteries. His official reason was that they had departed from their original rule and were immoral and corrupt. His private reason, though obvious to most of his officers, was that he wanted the monasteries' money and wealth to fill his ever diminishing coffers. When the monasteries were dissolved, there was a great disruption in the lives of the common people, whose livelihood as well as the fabric of their faith had been removed from them. There were economic reasons too for the great upsurge of anger and despair. In 1536, a notice was nailed to the door of Giggleswick Church calling the men of Craven to arms against the king [2]. The same door incidentally, guards the main entrance. Around 400 people met at Neals Ing on the slopes of Fountains Fell and then walked to York to join the rebellion called the Pilgrimage of Grace [3]. The outcome was utterly tragic.

The Great Bible was the first Bible in English to be authorised for use in churches [4]. Every church had to have a copy on view and chained securely to prevent theft. Those who could read were encouraged to go into church and read it. We do not know how passages to be read out loud were chosen to be incorporated in the Mass. The services held in



Fig: 1

most churches until the arrival of the first book of Common Prayer in 1549, which had a lectionary of readings for the year, must have remained unchanged. The Bibles it seems, were well received on the whole, although their presence in a church like Giggleswick where there were 3 chantries, attended by priests who said prayers for the souls of the dead to have their time in purgatory reduced, must have seemed incongruous. One verse, Luke 23,v.43, records Jesus' words to the penitent thief dying with him on the cross, 'Today, you will be with me in Paradise.' No purgatory in store for him then!

Giggleswick Church must have felt the abolition of its chantries keenly. The Grammar School, by now well established, had suddenly lost its funding. Giggleswick's reputation as a rebellious pro-Roman Catholic parish, involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, was remembered by the monarchy and its patronage taken over by the Crown. When a vacancy for a vicar occurred in 1546, Henry VIII sent to Giggleswick James Proctor who had been a chaplain to Thomas Cromwell. Proctor was replaced in 1548, by John Nowell, one of the King Edward's own chaplains. The conversion of Giggleswick into a Puritan stronghold had begun. As in many parish churches, there is an Incumbency board in Giggleswick Church which holds the names of rectors, vicars and latterly, priests in charge who have served in the church since the 12th century. The names on the Board are those from the Episcopal Registers and the Public Record Office. Until the early years of the 21st century, these incumbents lived in vicarages in the village. There is no record before the 18th century regarding which houses in the village were used as vicarages.

John Nowell's incumbency lasted 8 years, well into the reign of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary. He arrived in the parish just when the chantries were being abolished, leaving the school and the parish bereft. Giggleswick School has reason to be grateful to John Nowell, who was able to use his influence at court to recover some of the chantry money to fund the school. Some of that money came quite rightly, from the Rood chantry, where James Carr, founder of the school and chantry, had been chantry priest. The money was in the care of Richard Carr, nephew of the founder, who was headmaster from 1548-60 [5]. He is listed in *A History of the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick* as 'incumbent of the Rood Chantry'. The actual chantry, of course, was no more.

Edward VI's reign lasted only 6 years (1547-53). His half sister, Mary, a devout Roman Catholic, succeeded him. She set about with fanatic zeal, sending many Protestants to burn at the stake, and re-instating the Roman Catholic faith in England. Her reign too was short and in 1558, she was succeeded by her half sister, Elizabeth, whose Protestant faith was more Catholic than Puritan. Elizabeth's work in her long reign (1558-1602) in conjunction with that of the theologian, Richard Hooker, was to establish the foundation of the Church of England on a threefold base of Scripture, Reason and Tradition. The phrase 'via media' (middle way) and the name 'Anglican' came to be used later in the 17th century. Although the Puritans approved of the 39 Articles of Faith (1562), there were constant battles with them and threats from Roman Catholics plotting to replace Elizabeth with Mary Oueen of Scots.

Elizabeth was a highly intelligent operator, who dealt skilfully with her enemies, many of whom did not know exactly where she stood in the argument. Because the balance was held with great skill, during her long reign the arts flourished as never before. She spoke several languages, played instruments, enjoyed dance, literature, the theatre and loved to discuss theology. When the Puritans in the north and elsewhere were smashing church organs, Elizabeth engaged two highly creative Roman Catholic composers, William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, to create a distinctive tradition of Anglican choral music for which cathedrals and parish churches had reason to be proud.

This must have been a time of bewildering change for many people, especially those in parishes like Giggleswick, where Anglican Puritanism was fighting for dominance in what had been a feudal Roman Catholic community. In the 2016 and 2020 issues of the NCHT Journal, there are articles on mid to late 16th century local wills [6]. The writers of the articles point out the significance of the personal commendations offered by the will makers to 'God, Our Lady and the Saints' at one extreme (1538, Agnes Armitstede), and at the other, to 'Almighty God...and Jesus Christ, my only Saviour' (1597, William Foster). The researchers noted the date, in whose reign the commendations were made and then commented on what each reveals about the beliefs of the willmaker at the time. Other commendations were not so specific and no doubt some would be afraid to be open about their beliefs. Another point is that while Giggleswick's patronal saint, St Alkilde (Alkelda), is mentioned as one of the company of saints in several pre-1547 wills, in accordance with Puritan prohibition, she is generally ignored after that. Her name however, remained in use on her holy well. Today, St Alkelda is included regularly in the church's title and in the Holy Communion liturgy.

Christopher Shute, one of the most impressive of

Giggleswick vicars, was appointed in 1576 and was vicar for 50 years. Victoria Spence's informative and interesting article about him is in the NCHT archives [7]. The present writer is indebted to her research. Shute was a convinced Puritan, a man of many gifts, who was for a time, headmaster and then a governor of Giggleswick School, where he employed his considerable business acumen to secure its financial future. He was a gifted preacher, teacher and a Biblical scholar, Shute's status was such that he was authorised by the Puritan archbishop of York, Edmund Grindal to preach throughout the northern province [8]. As a preacher his theme was always the same, promoting the Puritan Protestant cause within the Church of England, while at the same time trying to avoid threatening the Act of Supremacy whereby Elizabeth had declared herself, 'supreme governor' and not head of the Church of England. Locally, although many called him 'pious', he was highly regarded. In Giggleswick School, it was said of him that he expected older students to converse with him in either Hebrew, Greek or Latin, whichever he chose to use in their company [9].

The more catholic Prayer Book of 1559, had more in common with that of 1549, than with the Protestant edition of 1552. In 1594, Christopher Shute was censured by church authorities for refusing to follow the Prayer Book service and baptise a baby with the sign of the cross [10]. In 1603, the first year of James 1's reign, a thousand Puritan ministers signed the Millenary Petition calling for a number of church reforms to remove material considered "popish" or not Biblical. Signing with the cross in baptism was one to be removed. The Puritans' demands were not met. James 1, unlike his son, Charles 1, managed to hold together the growing number of Puritans within the Church of England.

One important factor which encouraged the growth of Puritan influence was the 1560 Geneva Bible, the most impressive translation of the 16th century, produced by English scholars in Geneva, refugees from the Marian persecution, and who used in part, the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale. It was the Bible used by Shakespeare, John Donne, John Knox, John Milton, Oliver Cromwell, John Bunyan and many others. It would no doubt be the Bible used by Christopher Shute in Giggleswick. While the translation was good, the notes accompanying it expressed Puritan views, which troubled both Elizabeth I and her successor, James I. His great achievement was the Authorised Version of the Bible (1611, KJV), translated by a group of scholars from both wings of the Church. This took time to replace the Geneva Bible in the affections of the English people.

Christopher Shute died in 1626 and was followed of three Puritan vicars. The last one, Anthony Lister was vicar from 1638 throughout the last troubled years of Charles 1's reign to the end of the Commonwealth period in 1660. In 1625, Charles 1 became king. His authoritarian rule and quarrels with the Puritan Parliament provoked the Civil War that led to his execution in 1649. Oliver Cromwell who had led the Parliamentary army to victory, became Lord Protector from 1653-58. He worked together with parliament to create a Presbyterian Commonwealth.

From 1649 the Anglican church was disestablished, universities were purged and a third of clergy ejected from their livings. Church wardens were directed to remove all

monuments of idolatry and superstition like stained glass, organs, statues, carvings on fonts, walls and pillars, in fact anything that had escaped the earlier purging a century before. A new Directory of Worship, Catechism and Confession of Faith were introduced [11]. In Giggleswick at some point the late medieval glass was destroyed and the stone effigies of Sir Richard Tempest and his two wives mutilated and buried, later to be discovered in 1890-2. The items had been observed in the church and described by a visiting antiquary, Roger Dodsworth in 1620, but they were gone by the time of the Restoration [12].

Anthony Lister was still vicar in 1660 Charles II came to the throne. Under the 1662 Act of Uniformity, the Church of England had its constitution restored, and the episcopacy was re-instated. In 1662, the Book of Common Prayer came into use again, with a few modifications, and the Authorized Version of the Bible promoted over the Geneva translation. The Puritans were marginalised in every way. The new Royalist parliament advocated ministers taking the oath of canonical obedience and decreed the re-ordination of some who had been ordained by Presbyterian and not episcopal rite. Some bishops were more sympathetic than others, but by the end of 1662, two thousand Puritan ministers were ejected from their livings. Anthony Lister appears to have left Giggleswick at this time for whatever reason. He died as vicar in 1686, but for part of the post -1662 period George Winship was vicar. Was Lister evicted and did he come back, after accepting the terms of the Act of Uniformity [13]?

The period 1662-89 was called by the Puritans "the Great Persecution". Ejected ministers were forbidden from living within five miles of their former parish church. Any person over 16 years of age was barred from attending a religious meeting where the Book of Common Prayer was not used. In 1689, the Toleration Act was passed, allowing some nonconformist groups to meet officially. Puritans became members of different kinds of nonconformist protestantism. 'Dissenters' or 'Nonconformists', not 'Puritans', were the terms now used for those organising their own corporate worship outside that of the Established Church. Richard Frankland (1630-98), an ejected minister, came back to his home parish, and for a time, ran a college in Rathmell to train nonconformist ministers. Quakers were some of the first nonconformists to appear in Settle and Giggleswick, followed by the Methodists (Wesleyan and Primitive), and then by the mid 19th century, the Independents (Congregational). The Christian Fellowship arrived after 1960.

The Restoration brought with it sheer exhaustion after years of religious conflict. The terms 'Anglican' and 'via media' began to be used in discussion, followed by 'latitudinarian' a churchmanship which concentrated less on theological matters and more on the ten commandments and morality based on reason. It was 'latitudinarianism', later called 'broad church', which became the dominant churchmanship of most of Giggleswick's highly educated vicars. Its influence lasted well into the 20th century, when 'low church' was the term used. Puritanism went underground, but emerged every now and then to ruffle the surface.

By 1680, the centre of attention in the former empty nave of Giggleswick Church was a beautiful large three-decker pulpit, celebrating the preaching of God's Word and carved with the symbols of the twelve sons of Jacob (Fig 1). The pulpit was placed by a south side pillar near the main door. Filling nearly all the floor space and crowding round the pulpit were the box pews, often made as comfortable as possible by those who paid the pew rent. When the galleries for musicians and 'singers' were installed at the beginning of the 18th century, the overall impression was of wood, from floor to roof. Perhaps the authorities were inspired by the huge amount of timber used in the building and furnishing of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6, v11ff)? On one side of the plain glass, east window in Giggleswick Church, the ten commandments were inscribed on a panel, while on the other side, the Apostles Creed and Lord's Prayer could be read. At the east end, squeezed in between two box pews was the free standing, oak 'holy table'. In the early 19th century, Holy Communion, tacked on to the end of the service of Matins (Morning Prayer), was celebrated just four times a year, apart from celebrations at Christmas and Easter.

The Puritan Anglican tradition was being re-interpreted from the late 17th century onwards, taking into its features like a choir and musical instruments, which formerly would have been banned as unscriptural. In 2019, members of St Alkelda's Church congregation financed the cleaning and installation in a main church window of a beautiful stained glass panel featuring the martyrdom of St Alkelda. The origins of this artefact remain a mystery. The church's Puritan forebears must be turning in their graves.

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Jane – A Liberal Lady of Settle

Catherine Vaughan-Williams



Fig: 1 Fly leaf of the account book (courtesy of Museum of North Craven Life)

A small, dark red book, recently donated to the Museum of North Craven Life, was found to be an account of day-to-day expenses spanning some twenty years. The fly leaf is inscribed in a well-formed hand, "Jane Creighton 1842" (Fig 1); the first entry, on January 17th 1842, recorded the cost, of one shilling, of the book itself.

But who was Jane Creighton? Close examination of the nature of her expenditure and the complexities of her family relationships have revealed an independent woman of comfortable means. What follows summarises some of the findings of this on-going study.

In June 1841 Jane, in her early thirties, was living in Settle with John Moffat, an erstwhile partner in the Craven Bank, and his wife Mary [1]. When John Moffat died in December that year, he left £2000 (about £250,000 today) and his estate at Monk Coniston to his "cousin Jane Creighton now living with me" [2,3]. Other properties were to pass to her after his wife's death. Jane had had expectations – she now had financial security and independence.

Also with the Moffats in 1841 was 85-year-old John Armstrong who proved to be Jane's grandfather and John Moffat's uncle [4]. He had been a dyer in Kendal and trustee for the Presbyterian Chapel where, in November 1805, his daughter, Jane, married James Creighton, probably a tailor [5,6]. Elizabeth Creighton arrived a year later but cannot be traced further [7]. Scarcely two years on, James, only 25 years old, died [8]; Jane was born a fortnight later, on February 2nd 1809, and baptised on April 2nd [9].



Fig: 2 Bank Ground Farm today (Courtesy of the Owner Jonathon Batty)

When and why the family moved to Settle is uncertain but John Armstrong was established in the town by 1812 [10]. His son, classical assistant at Giggleswick school in 1806 and Usher in 1810, died there in 1814 [11,12]. Shortly afterwards, tragedy struck the family again, firstly with the death of the elder Jane Creighton and, five months later, of her mother, Elizabeth Armstrong [13,14]. Both were buried with John Jr. at St Alkelda's.

The orphaned, six-year-old Jane and her bereaved grandfather were, possibly, already living with John Moffat when, in 1817, he married Mary, daughter of the late Settle surgeon, James Hall, and Jane acquired a mother figure and probably a more homely abode [15].

Her early years are undocumented. As with most middleclass girls, her schooling was probably at home. Encouraged by John Moffat, as reflected in his bequest to her of his library, prints and engravings and writing desk, Jane became a well-educated woman with the accomplishments expected of a lady [16].

After John Moffat's death, she continued to live with Mary Moffat, each November contributing £26 towards her keep. Initially, her greatest expenditure was on highly fashionable, fine clothes such as alpaca and balzarine dresses, or materials to be made up by local dressmakers, and on accoutrements - an ottoman scarf, velvet bonnet, silk parasol. More modest expenditure was on bonnet ribbons, material for her own sewing of undergarments and laces for her stays. Her watch and jewellery often required repair.

Her spending was not entirely self-indulgent. Innumerable, small monetary gifts – "2d to a boy", "2s to a

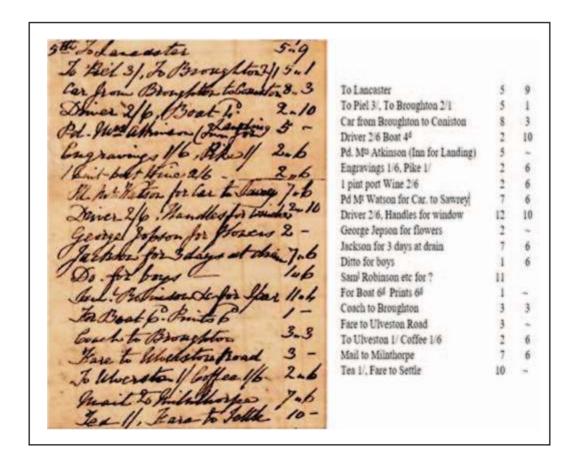


Fig: 3



Fig: 4 Lane Head c1860

blind woman", the cost of a child's visit to the seaside, half a year's schooling for two children – in addition to annual subscriptions "to the poor" and to the Blanket Club were, perhaps, a continuation of an earlier lifestyle supported by "Uncle Moffat". Later, as her income increased, so did her generosity.

Mary Moffat died in Nov 1846. Her will enabled Jane to rent her house and furniture for two years before they were sold [17]. This Jane did, for £48 p.a. She also acquired John Moffat's Settle properties at this time and her accounts began to reflect her new responsibilities, from payment of property tax and costs associated with tenancies or caretaking of empty houses, to tradesmen's bills for repairs and wages for her two servants. Keeping up with the times, in September 1854, she even bought a washing machine.

Her Coniston property, Bankground, comprised farm, tannery and cottages on the shore of the lake (Fig 2) and several acres on Grisedale High Moor, all tenanted. Jane's first, arduous journey to Bankground, by coach and boat, was in July 1842 (Fig 3). Thereafter, she reviewed her Coniston property each summer, lodging for a month at the farm or the Waterhead Inn, and building friendships with her neighbours, notably the Misses Beever, well-known botanists, and Miss Harriet Rigbye, an accomplished landscape painter, later close friends of Ruskin [18].

In 1848, Jane's newly found affluence enabled two major investments – the purchase of Moffat's house, for £650, and the building of a grand villa, Lane Head, at Monk Coniston (Fig 4), reputedly for Dr Robert Bywater, known to Jane for many years [19,20]. Although noting payment of income tax (at 7d in the pound), income from her properties was recorded elsewhere.

Above all, Jane's accounts reveal a woman with a love of life, active and curious about all around her. She read widely, subscribing to several news and current affairs publications and to the town's library. She bought numerous books on subjects as diverse as European literature, architecture, the Crimean war, and life in contemporary Russia as well as contemporary novels [21].

Love of the arts led her to The London Exhibition in 1851 and the Art Treasures Exhibition in Manchester in 1857; she bought (?commissioned) a painting of Bankground from the renowned landscape artist, Lindsey Aspland, and frequently added to her collection of engravings and prints. When photography arrived, she bought a stereoscope and stereoscopic photographs of Giggleswick school and even commissioned a photograph of her house. After visiting relatives in Scotland, she had photographs sent to her from Dumfries possibly portraits.

Musical appreciation was not lacking. She bought copious music to play on her piano and attended a variety of concerts in

Settle and beyond. In 1856, she spent a month in York, expressly to hear the last concert given by Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale", one of the greatest sopranos of the day [22]. On a lighter note, she ensured she had tickets when a circus visited and never missed the Settle Fair [23].

Travels, by coach and later by train, took her around Britain, visiting friends and relatives. Annual visits were made to her Uncle William Armstrong in Manchester, to her great aunt, Jane Waugh and great uncle, James Armstrong, in Canonbie, and, of course, Monk Coniston. From time to time she visited 'cousins' (Moffat nieces and nephews) in Cockermouth, Alnwick and Harewood, and friends in Shropshire, Leamington, Leeds and Ackworth.

She climbed Lakeland fells, explored Yorkshire dales and caves, the ruins of Bolton Abbey and the cities of Chester, Liverpool and Edinburgh. Many of these visits were combined with serious shopping – more fine clothes and jewellery, silver, even furniture, and smaller additions to her home. In between, there were many other shopping expeditions to Skipton and Leeds. In 1849 she travelled all the way to Paris where she spent a month sightseeing with recently married friends, the Hepworths of Ackworth.

At home, her social circle, of similarly educated and financially privileged families, included neighbours, Giles and Mary Redmayne, the Birkbecks and Stansfields and, further afield, visits requiring hire of fly, phaeton or carriage, the Prestons at Mearbeck, the Geldards at Cappleside, the Redmaynes at Taitlands in Stainforth and the Misses Edmondson of Graysgarth.

Reciprocal visits would explain purchases, catalogued in startling detail after 1858, of large quantities of food, a "quart of brandy" on one occasion and "a gallon of gin and half gallon of whisky" on another—she had once subscribed to the Temperance Society! On payment of a shilling for the key, she took guests to the pleasure grounds on Castleberg, the crag above the town, where she may well have played as a child, or even up the path to its summit to enjoy the fine views [24]. To friends and family further afield she wrote numerous letters, as evidenced by frequent purchases of

writing paper, letter stamps and sealing wax.

A keen gardener, she grew fruit and vegetables, albeit helped by a gardener who brought in "sweepings from the road" as fertiliser or loads of bones for the vinery. She bought powder and shot, presumably for the gardener's use, to control pests and "drugs to kill caterpillars". Her efforts were rewarded by many successful entries at the Horicultural Society's shows. She also kept poultry, bred golden pheasants and frequented the North Craven Agricultural show.

Jane clearly enjoyed life to the full but, socially aware and no doubt appreciative of how different her life might have been without John Moffat and all he stood for, her benevolence seems to have been unlimited. She responded to many appeals for funds - for a new hearse, church organ and town clock in Settle, for a new parsonage at Chapel-le-Dale, for a new bridge at Cappleside, for the Irish stricken by the potato famine - and continued to help the disadvantaged -"a child's clothes and shoes", "a shilling to Tibby's blind grandson", for "a school treat". When the Royal Artillery, returning from Crimea, was stationed in Settle, she treated them to bread, cheese and beer. The extraordinarily named Royal Albert Asylum for Idiots and Imbeciles and the Royal Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes were among many charities to which she lent her support, as was the Yorkshire Society for the Deaf and Dumb. She supported many religious societies and the church at Giggleswick and at Settle, having a pew at each, and contributed to the Settle organist's salary.

A strong belief in the value of education is reflected in Jane's annual subscriptions to Settle's schools, for girls and for infants as well as for boys, and towards the building of new schools at Chapel-le-Dale and at Holme Coutram, near Wigton (which she later visited) and she paid for books and fireworks for the boys at Giggleswick school where the head master, Dr Butterton and his family were close friends.

Her last entry, on November 25th 1862, filled the book, but Jane lived for a further fifteen years, her life probably continuing in similar manner. Her generosity never waned – after funding further buildings at Lane Head in 1866 she provided a grand "topping off" supper for the work force and newspapers reported her continued support of a variety of charities. But, strangely, her will, drawn up 1871, made no charitable bequests [25,26]. Instead, she bequeathed almost her entire estate, valued at £16,000 (approx. £1.4 million today), to the Rev. Starkie whom she had probably befriended when he arrived in Stainforth as a curate in 1865; they were clearly firm friends [27].

Jane died on August 9th 1877 and was buried alongside her Armstrong family at St Alkelda's. Her grave is marked with a simple stone which bears the inscription:

> THIS HEADSTONE IS ERECTED BY THE REV. H. A. STARKIE, AS A TOKEN OF HIS ESTEEM.

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The Gas Retorts of Settle and Giggleswick

Robert Walton

In the 2020 Journal a letter was published from Frank Peel to P. Hudson (p.8) which says 'the [retorts] in the river bank are very old, almost certainly from the mid to late 1800s'.

We know the one in St. Alkelda's churchyard was there in Thomas Brayshaw's time. The very similar one by the riverside path up from Queens Rock was retrieved from the river by Kevin Harrison and his team when they refurbished the path around 2005. Kevin says it had been in the water since he was a child and it was about 20 metres further upstream from where it is now. This would mean it was not in the existing (Bridge End) weir, but in the remains of the old Kings Mill weir (W R Mitchell says this was washed away in 1950 but much of it still survives in the form of blue slates set vertically in the river bed). I am sure this retort is the one pictured in the 2017 Journal.

A little further upstream, just below the footbridge a set of four or five stone steps (now sadly walled up) leads down to the water. To the side of these steps is another cast iron retort mounted in the bank the opposite way up, with a flange with six bolt holes visible at the top. It looks somewhat reminiscent of the mooring posts often seen along canal towpaths. When the Kings Mill weir was in place the water here would have been deeper and stiller- I wonder if someone had a boat here? If so I would have expected the "mooring post" to be upstream of the steps but it is downstream.

Further upstream at the far end of the football field a trodden path leads from the track to a shingle beach on a bend of the river. Opposite here the Langcliffe road passes close to the river on a bank high above it. Built into the wall of this bank, with their flanges facing outward, are another sixteen or seventeen of these cast iron retorts (Fig 1). At first glance they look like drains to let rainwater through, but the two most upstream have washed loose and there is another lying loose on the river bed (Fig 2). They clearly have a flanged end and a domed end that would not let water through. They all have the six-bolt pattern on their flanges and some are badly distorted, presumably by heat during the gas-making process. I think these are the retorts Frank Peel was refering to.

The loose retorts measure about 6 ft 6 inches long, meaning that Kevin's is set around two and a half feet into the ground and the "mooring post", if complete, is set about five feet into the river bank- easily enough to secure a small rowing boat!

I think Kevin's and the mooring post were washed out of this bank at some time, perhaps before the construction of Bridge End weir but clearly not before that of the Kings Mill one. A postcard bearing a picture embossed with A Horner of New Street (in 1898 Anthony moved the business to New Street, now Station Road) shows the river bank without the steps or mooring post, with Bridge End weir present but no salmon pass (Fig 3). The salmon pass was added in

1959. W R Mitchell states that 'from 1830 until 1865 no weirs existed at Settle and Langcliffe'.

Richard Hoyle states that the stump in St Alkelda's was refered to in July 1845. For it to have been relegated to this position by then, the retorts must almost certainly be from the 1824 attempt to light Settle with vegetable gas. At least twenty retorts, with some showing severe distortion due to heat, would seem to indicate that this venture was more extensive than previously reported.

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Marshfield House, Settle and the mystery of the Countess Gyllenborg

Mary Slater and Michael Slater

The history of this fine house on Kirkgate in Settle can be pieced together from a patchwork of sources, and a fuller account can now be made with the help of internet resources; ancestry.co.uk has been used to inspect original documents, not transcripts. The house was originally well-placed on the edge of the town with rural views to the north, south and west. The building of the railway station in Settle in 1876 with the railway arch and track at roof-top level built at the side of the house did nothing to improve its desirability as a family house (Fig 1). Yet we have no information about the response of the house owner to this possibly unwanted neighbour.

The Sites and Monuments Record of 1958 notes that Marshfield House is Grade II listed as an attractive house built about 1780. However, the house appears on the sketch map drawn by John Lettsom in about 1765 (Fig 2). The house drawn on this map is nothing like the current house and is marked 'Countess of Gyllenburg's' and 'Stables' in its own grounds. This earlier house burnt down in the late 1700s. Later maps, of 1815 (Fig 3), 1820, 1845 (Tithe map) and the first edition 6 inch OS 1847 (Yorkshire 132) show different plans but the 1909 (OS 25 inch) plan is similar to that of today.

Brayshaw and Robinson (1932) say that a house named Marshfield was built by Thomas Salisbury (c.1730-1778), the eldest and philanthropic son of a wealthy family, who came to live in Settle about 1750, building the house at about that time. Reputedly he came from Newton-in-Bowland near Slaidburn. He married Mary Lister of Settle in 1753, of another well-known local family. He removed to Lancaster with his seven surviving children in 1764 and the next occupant, probably as a tenant for a couple of years, was a Swedish Countess Gyllenborg – a most unusual resident of Settle. She died in 1766, so dating Lettsom's map to about 1765.

So who was this Countess and why did she come to Settle? The Gyllenborg family tree is complicated (Fig 4). Sarah (1680-1745) was the daughter of John Wright, attorneygeneral of Jamaica. She first married Elias de Rit, gentleman, of Mountague House (*sic*) in London in 1699. (The name de Rit was later erroneously recorded as Derit, Deritt and Derith). Elias was Steward to Lord Montague and in a book about the history of the French in London there is a reference to Madame de Rit, housekeeper in 1690 – presumably an

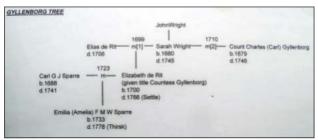


Fig 4: Gyllenborg family tree



Fig 1: Marshfield House and the railway line

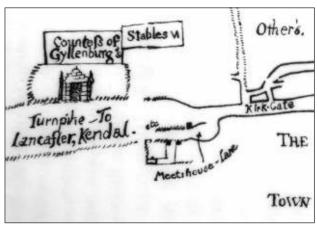


Fig 2: Reproduced from Lettsom map redrawn by Alan King with his permission

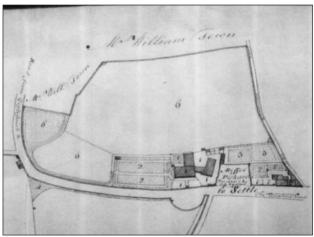


Fig 3: West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds. WYL163/673 (partial image). Reproduced with permission of WYAS. 1815

earlier wife of Elias or perhaps his mother. Elias died in 1706 but Sarah and he had one daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1700. She held salons in London which were attended by notable members of society.

In 1710 the widowed Sarah then married (in London) the Swedish Count Carl Gyllenborg (1679-1746) who was that

year appointed to London as head of the Swedish diplomatic mission. He was succeeded in this post in 1719 by Baron Carl Gustaf Jacobsson Sparre (1688-1741), a military man. Before that, in 1716, Gyllenborg and Sparre had been involved together in a plot to fund Swedish help for the Jacobite cause, and had worked for the reinstatement of the Stuart dynasty on the British throne, leading to the 1715 Jacobite rebellion. Baron Sparre married Sarah de Rit's daughter, Elizabeth, in London in 1723. Elizabeth titled was Countess Gyllenborg (like her mother) although she was in fact only the step-daughter of Count Gyllenborg, and she was the one who came to reside in Settle. An Fig 5: Plaque on Marshfield House

obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1766, in reporting her death in Settle, noted she was created Countess Gyllenborg by the late Queen of Sweden.

Of several children of Elizabeth and Carl Sparre's marriage only one survived - Emilia (Amelia) Frederica Melasina Wilhelmina Sparre who had been born in 1733. After Emilia's mother Elizabeth died, Emilia remained at Marshfield until 1772 when she removed to Thirsk and died there in 1778, as recorded on an elaborate monument in St Mary's Church.

Sarah's social contacts were 'high society' in the London salons and her daughter Elizabeth was presumably part of this world. Did Thomas Salisbury move in the same social circles with the Salisburys or Listers in London? Thomas Salisbury provided two cottages in Upper Settle for a workhouse and so was generously inclined and may well have known Elizabeth and offered her Marshfield House in 1764 as a place to live for the remaining two years of her life, then at an age of 64.

Brayshaw remarks that Marshfield was reputed to have been the headquarters of a gang of base coin-makers, and even that there were the remains of a secret passage to the house which seems most unlikely since the house was occupied by respectable people in the 1700s. The source of this information is unknown.

The house passed in 1772 from Thomas Salisbury to the widowed Mrs Lister, who vacated the family seat at Gisburne Park because her son was about to come of age. This son became the first Lord Ribblesdale. Her daughter Beatrix Lister married John Parker (family of Browsholme) and the family lived at Marshfield. In 1794 John succeeded his father and moved to the Browsholme Hall family home - the Parker family are still in residence there today. In the 1790/1800 period Marshfield burnt down (as stated by Brayshaw but without giving the source of this information). A plan of Marshfield found in the Dawson family papers, the 'property and in the occupation of William Wheatley Esq.' was made in 1815 and it appears that alterations were made after that

The Rev'd Richard Dawson of Halton Gill purchased the house in 1826 for his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. A deed of 1836 shows that the two sisters, Mary Long Dawson and Elizabeth Hutton Dawson were both of Marshfield in Settle. The 1844 Tithe Assessment shows them as



owners/occupiers. They are not listed in the 1851 census, presumably not being in residence at the time (living also in Sidmouth, Devon), but four servants are listed, one being also a gardener. Elizabeth Dawson extended the house to the rear, commemorated with a plaque with the date EH D 1857

The Settle-Carlisle railway line was built in the 1870s, driving right through Settle, and only a few metres from the

The census data in later years are not helpful, apart from 1911 when Ronald Nicolson, of private means, with his wife, two children and four servants is recorded as living in the 15-room house.

'The old doctor' Balfour Stuart Hyslop lived and worked in Marshfield House for some time - he died in 1959. Dr David Balfour Hyslop worked at Marshfield from about 1935 up to the end of the war.

In 1943 a PNEU school - Parents' National Educational Union – was set up on land next to Marshfield and the school later moved into part of the house. The school was in Marshfield by 1967 and it closed in 1970.

In 2004 Marshfield was redeveloped into six apartments and one house.

Acknowledgements

Dr David Johnson, Trevor Todd and the late Phil Hudson provided helpful information.

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Ingleborough Hall Estate and the economics of planting trees.

Michael Pearson

The village of Clapham is a wooded oasis, nestled beneath the limestone hills of the Yorkshire Dales. This is not native woodland but the result of planting by generations of the Farrer family of the Ingleborough Estate. This article is not about the family but rather about the tree planting, the management of the woodlands and the economics of forestry [1].

Today we mostly think of tree planting in terms of enhancing biodiversity and enriching our wildlife as well as a means of carbon storage to ameliorate the impact of climate change. However, in previous times planting was seen as a way to improve the landscape, as a patriotic duty to contribute to the war effort and a means of generating wealth. One of the most influential men in arboriculture was John Evelyn (1620-1706), whose book 'Sylva' was published in 1664. The book was the outcome of an approach by the navy to the Royal Society to increase the depleted stock of timber needed for ship-building [2]. The book resulted in an enormous stimulus to tree planting in Britain and went through a number of editions during Evelyn's lifetime and the following century.

To give some idea of the impact it is worth mentioning some local landowners and the extent of their planting. For example, Thomas Whitaker, better known as a historian and clergyman, owned extensive land in Holme-in-Cliver. Between 1784 and 1799 he planted over four hundred thousand larches, birch, rowan and ash. In just a single year, 1790, he planted sixty four thousand larches for which he was awarded the gold medal of the Society of Arts. On his death he was buried in one of these larches, which had been hollowed out to form his coffin. Unfortunately the estate was left in debt when Whitaker died in 1821 which was partly because of the costs incurred in creating the plantations [3]. It was only later, when the trees reached maturity, that they were felled and sold to provide pit props for the local mines and so the costs were recouped eventually. Other local landowners were even more ambitious in their planting. Thomas Lister, first Lord Ribblesdale, planted over one million trees at Gisburn Park. The Devonshires planted three and a half million trees between 1809 and 1819 at their Bolton Abbey estate [4]. So the Farrers of Ingleborough Hall were part of a fashionable movement in tree planting on their land in and around Clapham. It is fortunate that many of the estate archives have been preserved, so providing insights into the process which continued over a hundred and fifty years.

The Archives

The material consulted is held primarily by the North Yorkshire Archives Service at Northallerton. Among the maps and correspondence there are a couple of invoices for trees purchased from nurseries. However it is a series of ledgers, recording the annual income and expenditure from 1833 to 1952, which have provided the most valuable records [5]. As

these provide such a wealth of information it is useful to describe them in more detail.

The ledgers are records which were kept by the estate manager and submitted to the owner, for approval, on an annual or occasionally half-yearly basis. Both income and expenditure were split into different categories. For example, income was derived from the farm rentals, sale of timber and game, the leasing of shooting rights etc. Expenditure was divided between that spent on maintaining the house, the gardens, the drive and pleasure grounds, the planting of the woodland, and so on. Unfortunately these categories were not always consistently applied by successive estate managers and there is the added complication that the financial year did not always correspond to the calendar year. Also, due to the joint ownership of the estate in the initial years by several members of the Farrer family, separate accounts were kept which had to be amalgamated for the purposes of this study. Despite these problems it was possible to provide reliable data for the analysis.

Having extracted the relevant income and expenditure from the ledgers, the question is: what do the differing sums mean? Clearly with inflation £1 in 1830 would not be equivalent to £1 in 1870. Economists have derived several indices to translate what £1 in 1830 or any year would be worth today. The most familiar are the consumer and retail price indices. However, both have serious drawbacks when applied over long periods of time. As the bulk of the expenditure for both the estate as a whole and the woodland in particular was on wages, it was decided that it was most appropriate to use average earnings as the conversion method [6]. This is shown in parentheses hereafter.

The Ingleborough Estate

The estate was acquired piecemeal over several years. James Farrer (1751-1820) began investing in land in Clapham in 1782, although the family had owned property here before this. His elder brother, Oliver (1742-1808), also bought land there, which was added to by his two nephews: James William (1785-1863) and Oliver (1786-1866). According to the Tithe apportionment of 1851, the Farrers owned roughly one quarter of the land in Clapham (2550 acres). By 1887 they had increase their holding in Clapham to 3296 acres as well as owning land in the neighbouring townships. At its peak the estate consisted of 12,590 acres in total [7].

The Plantations

The earliest record of tree planting dates from 1806 when a total of 9,700 saplings were bought from the Clarks and Hanks nursery at Keighley at a cost of £32 5s 6d (£31,600) [6]. One might have expected that the majority of trees would have been oaks but just 700 were purchased, compared to the larches (3,200), ashes (1,200), sycamores (1,000) and elms (1,000). There were also other trees such as the Weymouth

pine (the Eastern White pine) and two species of poplars.

There is also an invoice of 1843 for trees supplied by Archibald Dickson and Sons of Hawick [7]. The 20,950 saplings cost £21 7s 11d (£17,400). Again the most common tree was larch (8,750), followed by oak (5250). There were no sycamores, elms and ashes but other species included beech, alder, silver fir and hollies. The invoice also contained details of the size or age of the saplings (the oaks were 18-24 inches tall) and their unit cost (the oaks were three to the penny).

For the same year the total expenditure on the woodlands was £71 11s 10d (£58,400) the bulk of which was on labour (approx 70%). In other years the proportion was much higher (84% in 1843 and 85% in 1920) and in those years when no trees were planted the expenditure was almost totally on labour

Occasionally the ledgers provide a breakdown of these labour costs. For example, in July 1833 John Carter, carpenter, was paid £1 1s (£924) for putting up a fence around the plantation. Then in October unnamed men were paid £3 8s 6d (£3,010) for the preparation of Little Thwaite for planting, £2 2s (£1,848) for the digging of the planting holes and a further £1 10s (£1,320) for the planting of the trees. John King was paid £1 (£880) for bringing the unknown number of trees from Kendal.

Of the total area of the estate it is unclear how much consisted of woodland. Unfortunately the ledgers rarely refer to which areas were planted or felled or even to the number of acres involved. In a rare exception the 1840 ledgers show that it cost £5 (£4,420) to plant one acre, excluding the purchase of the trees. Over that decade it appears that between 55 and 59 acres in total were planted. The modest income for the same period suggests that this was new woodland being planted rather than the re-planting of a recently felled area.

More unusual items of expenditure included the employment of a mole-catcher (who was paid 7s 8d in 1893 or £180) and in 1863 11s 6d (£410) was spent on the wood measurers' dinners. The 1920s saw the first purchase of galvanised wire for fencing and the use of four gallons of tree bark protector for £1 6s (£156). Was this as an insecticide or a deer deterrent?

So far the focus has been on the expenditure. The income generated included the sale of timber, firewood and bark for the tanning industry. As one might expect, the income from the sale of wood from the plantations was very irregular. In 1892 and 1893 the combined sales amounted to £435 13s 8d (£208,000) followed by seven years when the annual sales were under £20 (£9,120). This suggests that the felling was undertaken on a lengthy rotation interspersed with thinning of the trees. The remaining income may have been made up with firewood sales and the felling and sale of field trees.. The 1892 ledger records the felling and sale of spruce, sycamore, larch, ash and birch but there is no indication of the number of trees or their size. The only such entry for all the years was the sale of 20 sycamore trees in 1938 for £245 (£43,100). Similarly the details regarding the sale of bark are sparse. In 1860 22 1/4 cwt of bark was sold for 6s 6d per hundred-weight (total of £7 4s 6d or £5,340). Likewise, although there are numerous entries for the sale of firewood it was not until 1952 that we learn of a price: Rev Foster paid £4 5s (£323) for one ton.

There are some intriguing entries during the 1860s when timber was actually purchased by the estate (described as American and Baltic timber) and joiners and sawyers were employed to process it. A closer look at the ledgers shows that it was used extensively across the estate for what may have been repairs or improvements at High Grains, Dovenanter, Browside, High Birks etc. [8]. As they were still felling their own timber this suggests that there was some urgency for the seasoned wood and that they were not using their own green timber.

Whilst there is an enormous amount of information contained in the ledgers, which may seem daunting, it is disappointing that there is not even more! Details about where the trees were planted, what they were, the management regime etc would have given even more information about the landscape history of the estate. However, it is still possible to get an overview of the economics of the forestry. Table 1 is a summary for each decade of the expenditure on the plantations and the resulting income. The difference, the profit or loss has also been expressed in terms of what this would be equivalent to in 2020 (based on average earnings). The first thing to note is that the forestry did not break even until the mid 1860s, or 35 years after the start of the planting. Thereafter the profits were variable, possibly reflecting a forty year felling cycle. Despite the agricultural recession of the 1880s and the wider recessions of the 1920s and '30s the estate maintained its expenditure on re-planting and in the following decade the plantations returned to being profitable.

	Income	Expenditure	Profit/Loss	2020 Prices
	£	£		
				£000's
1830s	0	373	-373	-331
1840s	490	871	-381	-319
1850s	322	42	280	215
1860s	2011	822	1189	844
1870s	3718	974	2744	1450
1880s	310	244	66	33.9
1890s	766	547	219	99.8
1900s	893	616	367	150
1910s	3445	1401	2044	712
1920s	13	1934	-1921	346
1930s	245	790	-545	104
1940s	6096	1052	5044	672
1950s	3738	1803	1935	160

Table: 1

Discussion

There does not appear to be any evidence, in the archives, that the woodland in Clapham was managed by coppicing or that there was wood pasture where pollarding was practised. Instead the estate consisted of plantations of both hardwoods and conifers of a similar age structure. Even with the faster growing conifers, reaching maturity well before the hardwood trees, the Farrers were not planting for themselves but for their descendants. All the investment in planting the trees and their

maintenance would not be realised until at least thirty or forty years later by which time the succeeding generation had taken over

We will probably never know the motives of the Farrers in planting their estate. In part it may have been to 'improve' the landscape – whether simply a view of the picturesque or to provide cover for the game birds which were shot in prodigious numbers. They may also have seen it as their patriotic duty, as a way of contributing to the war effort. This may have been the case in 1806 but by the time the trees reached maturity the Napoleonic wars were long past and shipping had largely moved on from timber construction to the use of iron. However the estate was in a good position during the First World War to contribute to the huge demand for the timber required by trench warfare.

Growing trees for financial profit has always been an uncertain business. With such a slowly developing product there are always the uncertainties of changing demand, the increasing cost of labour and the threat of cheaper imports from elsewhere. Whilst there were sizeable sums achieved with the felling of the plantations the income was irregular. It nevertheless provided a much needed injection of cash into the estate accounts.

From the establishment of the Forestry Commission in 1919 successive governments have recognised the need for grants to make private forestry economically viable. But today the emphasis has shifted to the wildlife benefits and climate change amelioration by planting trees. Whatever their motives the Farrers have enhanced the landscape which has been appreciated by countless people and will be enjoyed by many more in years to come.

Acknowledgements

Ken Pearce kindly read an initial draft and made a number of corrections and suggestions.

References and notes

- [1] Further details of the family and estate can be found in Illingworth J & Routh J 'Reginald Farrer. Dalesman, Plant Hunter, Gardener'. Lancaster University (1999) and Pearce K 'The Farrer Family' NCHT Journal 2016, pages 7-11.
- [2] For more details of the materials needed to build a naval ship see Dodd j & Moore J 'Building the wooden fighting ship'. London, Hutchinson (1984). For example, in the construction of HMS Thunderer in 1760 a total of 3482 oak trees were used along with 110 elms and 121 firs.
- [3] Maryfield P (2004). 'T.D.Whitaker, 1759-1821. Gentleman, Cleric and Magistrate.' Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 76, 209-222.
- 41 ibid
- [5] North Yorkshire Archives ZTW Boxes 1-5.
- [6] www.measuringworth.com provides further explanation of the five ways of computing the relative worth of the pound.
- [7] Mason S 'The Ingleborough Estate: home of Reginald Farrer', in Illingworth & Routh.
- [8] Ken Pearce has examined the roof trusses of a number of houses in Clapham and found timbers with Baltic markings.

Wartime memories of Austwick.

Molly Preston

I was born in 1930 at Ivydene, a property on the east side of the village green in the centre of Austwick. My mother, a Lancaster girl, had spent time in Austwick on holiday from teacher training college at Leeds and met my dad, a farmer's son who was apprenticed to Kirkbright's joiners before an after serving his time in the Royal Flying Corps during the 14/18 war.

The family bought the property of Leigh House, Leigh House Cottage, a large garden, orchard and croft from the Stockdale family after the death of Robert Stockdale, church organist and choir master (retired Leeds school master). They moved in 1931/2. In the thirties and forties a front room in Leigh House was used as a doctor's surgery one day a week by the Ingleton doctors.

My dad converted the first floor at Leigh House Cottage into a meeting room (the ground floor had previously been used as a shop by Robert Stockdale's aunt, Mrs Baxter). The Girl Guides and Anglican Young People's Association using it on a regular basis.

My mother developed a tumour on the brain and died in

1939. It was also the year the war started. My dad was left to bring up two girls, my sister Edna and I, as well as running his joinery business from the premises at the first floor of the property now known as Cross Cottages, opposite the church. Bibby's green grocers used the ground floor to house their delivery vans. Eventually he lost the lease on this property as they were to be converted into two cottages and had to move the business to Leigh House Cottage where the meeting room had been.

Dad was not eligible for conscription for the 1939-45 war being a one parent family, also he had contracted dysentery when serving in the Flying Corp in Salonica, Greece. Edna and I passed the county minor scholarship and attended Settle High School which at that time was a grammar school for girls. She went onto teacher training college at Liverpool. I had no option but to stay at home and support my Dad. Our grandmother came to live with us eventually and I nursed her through the last years of her life.

During my early years as a teenager I had three friends, we became an inseparable 'gang of four'. We were always looking

for adventure and were keen swimmers, learning in Austwick beck, then graduating to a length of deep water in Fen beck accessed from the Eldroth road. This pool was used extensively by local swimmers and was known as Swinawheel, it even had a very basic changing hut. Our adventures were found in the local countryside, the hills, Austwick beck and often squeezing into many of the local caving systems. Often we accompanied Chris Cheetham, local naturalist, on his expeditions, coming home with various pieces of fossils in our pockets.

The 39-45 war brought many changes to the village. One exciting event was the arrival of a dance teacher and choreographer, Miss Maisie May, who evacuated herself from London to stay with relations in Austwick. She started a dance troop of village children, eventually just girls. She gave up trying to teach the boys! When trained the troop gave performances on the parish hall stage and outdoors at the village fete. We had Greek dancing as a Settle High School subject so dancing was already familiar to us. One of the most successful performances was danced to the Nutcracker suite. At the end of the war she wrote the 'Topical Ballet' which told the story of the war in dance, Hitler threatening the European countries and Russia. I was given the part of Hitler and learned Cossack dancing. Looking back you realised what a clever piece of work it was and could have graced any London stage (with professional dancers of course).

I was a Girl Guide, a member of the AYPA, mentioned earlier, so I ha quite a busy life style.

There was great excitement when it was heard that German planes had tried to bomb the railway line in Eldroth. Trains carrying munitions used this line on a regular basis. Luckily they missed their target and the only damage was an unfortunate cow. There were five bombs dropped leaving huge craters in the fields, which eventually had to be filled in as they would have been a danger to animals. It was a novelty to walk up to Eldroth to see these craters.

Another plane incident involved a Whitley bomber which had to do an emergency landing near Harden Bridge, having run out of fuel. The local farmer, a member of the Home Guard, held the crew at gunpoint until they could explain that they were not actually the enemy. The headteacher at Austwick School took the children down to see the aircraft. She knew that once the children had been told they would be too excited to concentrate on lessons. Eventually a fuel tanker arrived, two field walls were taken down to give enough ground for take-off and the plane was able to leave without any further incident.

We did quake in our beds when we heard the 'jerry' planes overhead on their way to bomb Barrow shipyards. After around ten minutes our windows shook in their frames which meant that the bombs had found their target. We would have a sigh of relief and settle down to sleep.

The first visible signs of change were the disappearance of iron railings and gates, to contribute to munitions. Young men and some women were drafted into the armed forces, and others into munitions factories. Some stayed at home in reserved occupations to keep the farms going, those not eligible were formed into the Home Guard, A.R.P. (Air Raid Precautions) and special constables helping the police. The Home Guard began to drill and go on manoeuvres, a constant source of amusement to the children. Everyone listened to

the progress of the war on the radio, and the stirring speeches of Winston Churchill, some were so memorable that they can still be quoted today. We were urged to 'dig for victory' and grow more vegetables on all available land, flowers were dug out and thrown away, farmers were encouraged to grow oats on land hardly suitable in a highland area. We were urged to collect waste paper and jam jars, the latter being used by the Women's Institute to produce endless jars of jam.

The Land Army girls helped on the land, many from towns had never seen a field before, but buckled too and soon adapted to country life. Economical recipes were broadcast by the Ministry of Food and dried egg became a familiar sight. We were lucky to have our own hens, a large vegetable garden, a green house and an orchard full of fruit trees. Ration books were issued and food had to be obtained on coupons.

Petrol was available for essential journeys only, so local buses were usually full to capacity. We girls who were at Settle School travelled by bus as did many who had jobs in the town. There was no driving test so a driver automatically received a license by payment.

Pupils evacuated from Brighton and Bradford shared our schools and we were quite happy to come home at lunch time, having just had morning lessons. The Ministry of Information sent out films to help our education. A very strange choice for a girls school was 'Hedging and Ditching'. I could still tell you how to 'lay a hedge' but have never had a use for it.

Air raid practice was part of the new routine, including the use of gas masks which were carried in a box on a string at all times and we were instructed on finding the safest place in an air raid. In the house that was deemed to be the under-stairs cupboard (it was quite fun to creep on there). Anti-splinter covers were fitted to windows, black-out curtains had to be made and fitted to all windows. Woe betide you if your windows showed even a chink of light when the air raid warden came round to inspect.

Everyone learned to knit, including the boys and there was great excitement when a letter of thanks was received for knitted scarves, mitts and balaclavas from members of the armed forces.

The 'Reccies', reconnaissance troops, were billeted in the parish hall, their hobnail boots wreaking havoc on the wooden floors. Some returned after the war to marry local girls. The chapel schoolroom was requisitioned for use of the Home Guard and Ambulance Brigade and there was no shortage of volunteers for first aid practice.

When peace was finally declared on VE and VJ (Victory in Europe and Japan) days everyone celebrated. There was dancing in the street, bonfires on the hill tops and street parties. The men eventually came back to their loved ones. Some of course never came back.

During the war no-one had climbed Ingleborough apart from shepherds checking their sheep. When things were back to normal and walking and caving were resumed a man's skeleton was found on Ingleborough in what was known as a shake hole, a small deep hole in the ground. He had with him a small bottle containing crystals, possibly cyanide for a suicide attempt if things got difficult. Another skeleton was found in Gaping Ghyll. No one knows who they might have been, but it was suggested that they were German spies who had been dropped from aeroplanes and had perished there.

Gateway sign to Castlebergh Crag

Anne Webster

As many of our members will know Castlebergh Crag is a large outcrop of limestone in the Yorkshire Dales National Park, behind Settle Town Centre. A zigzag footpath leads to the summit of Castlebergh Crag, which offers a great viewpoint over the town of Settle.

The Town Council received a grant from Yorkshire Dales Millennium Trust Stories In Stone for £10k towards directional signage, hedgerow planting, overgrowth clearance of vegetation and interpretation panels.

The plan was to:

- Encourage greater use of the site by local people and visitors
- Provide a space so that it can be used and enjoyed by everyone – regardless of age, gender, or disability
- Use the natural and woodland environment to provide exciting and challenging opportunities for children and young people to learn and explore
- Celebrate the heritage and uniqueness of the site
- Provide a multi-functional green space that is spatially adaptable and able to host a diverse range of activities, from passive and active recreation, events and performances while still retaining a sense of place
- Make best possible use of existing site assets including trees, topography
- Be maintainable with the minimum of cost
- Connect the site with the town centre and other key relevant locations i.e. The Folly.





In September 2019 NCHT received a letter from the Town Clerk of Settle Town Council asking if the Trustees would be interested in helping with the implementation of the Project with particular reference to the Castlebergh Heritage Interpretation Board.

The North Craven Heritage Trust agreed to provide content for the Gateway Sign to Castlebergh with some wording and photos of historical/heritage interest and a meeting between David Johnson, Anne Read, Mike Slater, Anne Webster and the Town Clerk was arranged. Various interesting issues were raised, such as the dangers of a working lime kiln at the base of the rock, incorrect historical events and dates and many variations on spelling. Anne, David and Mike sent several historical pictures to the Town Clerk. Unfortunately, the project inevitably slowed down due to Covid restrictions.

The directional signage, clearance of overgrowth and hedgerow planting are now complete and the design of the five interpretation panels is now complete. The five interpretation panels consist of Geology, Fauna, Flora, Heritage and Panoramic Panel. These are now positioned at the Crag.

Further funding is required to complete the Project and create an attractive space for residents and visitors to enjoy. I recommend you take a stroll up Castlebergh Crag – it's worth it for the panoramic views alone!

Three mills, two waterfalls and a bercary.

Friday 27 August 2021 – Leader John Asher



This was our first in-person event for 18 months, laying down its own small marker in NCHT's history. Numbers were limited and the duration was kept to a half day to minimise Covid infection risk.

Starting in Stainforth car park we briefly romped through Stainforth's history from the Bronze Age Stainforth cairn (just about visible), through ownership by Sawley Abbey, to the dissolution. Crossing the Ribble at the Packhorse Bridge, we moved to the non-monastic 'Knight Stainforth'. The succession of ownership by establishment worthies was broken by one of their number, Samuel Watson, becoming a Quaker in the 1650s and – horror of horrors – holding Quaker Meetings in Knight Stainforth Hall. Our first mill – a corn and later a cotton mill – lay just to the north of the bridge which had been re-built by Samuel Watson.

Following the Ribble downstream, past our first waterfall, we had fine glimpses of Taitlands, built in the 1830s by Thomas Redmayne, a Stainforth lad made good, although his expensive tastes eventually undid him. By now we were back on monastic land, under Furness Abbey's wing. Another mile or so brought us opposite our second mill, Langcliffe Old Mill. From the thirteenth century this has produced flour, rag paper, paper from wood pulp and waste. Now it is a thriving stone mill.

A few hundred yards later we were opposite our third and

final mill, Langcliffe High Mill. Starting life as a corn mill in the 1160s, it was built by Furness Abbey, but on the easier-to-work Sawley side of the river. This occasioned an unholy row between the abbeys which eventually drew in the Pope to adjudicate. This mill now converts paper but previously was involved spinning, doubling, weaving with the odd bankruptcy.

At Locks we crossed back over the river. A welcome coffee break at the end of Pike Lane set us up for the climb to Winskill, the site of our 'bercaria', or monastic sheep farm, associated with Sawley Abbey, with evidence of field systems from that period. Under the care of Tom Lord the farm has become a haven for meadow flowers and butterflies, as well as sheep, pointing the way to more modern, sustainable upland farming.

On the plateau we looked at traces of evidence for Bronze Age field systems and further afield at the splendid views of Fountains Fell, Pen-y-Gent and Ingleborough. From the top of Goosecar we diverted into the atmospheric splendour of Catrigg Force, the second of our waterfalls. The walk back to Stainforth followed a monastic route over three cattle creeps of more recent date, running between walls which we tried to date. This had been a memorable day, stepping back into history while enjoying good company and the freedom to meet again after so many months of lockdown.

Settle Girls' High School

David Johnson

When writing the chapter on Education in my recent book on the history of Settle (1), I was well aware that I could not be definitive about the origins of the present Settle College. I had an inkling that the original school was within the bounds of Settle but no conclusive proof; the College website gives 1907 as the year of foundation as Settle Girl's High School but there was some doubt in my mind. Because of Covid restrictions it was not possible to travel to the County Record Office in 2020 to check records held there, but an email from local resident Maureen Batty drew my attention to photographs she has in her possession. Two of these are of Undercliffe on Duke Street and one of them – a postcard – bears the caption 'Girls Secondary School, Settle'. In May 2021 I was finally able to access the Record Office.

There are two relevant documents. One is the programme for the formal opening of 'Settle Girls' High School And Technical School' by County Councillor Talbot on 16 September 1913 (2). This was the obviously-old building within the Settle College complex (Fig. 1). This, however, was not the original Girls' School. The postcard (Fig. 2) confirms my suspicion that Undercliffe was the original school building, founded in 1907 and transferred across the Ribble in 1913.

The other document was a printed, generic list of regulations for the school's governors (3). Given the date of 1909, it is not known if this applied to the existing school or to the then-proposed new school. Fifteen governors were to be appointed: six by Settle Rural District Council, three by



Fig: 1 The 1913 school building as seen today

Settle Parish Council, two by Giggleswick Parish Council, three by the West Riding County Council and one each by Langcliffe Parish Council and Leeds University. Tellingly, the hand-written entry for Settle Parish Council added in parentheses '1 a woman'. With our twentieth-century mores this is shocking for the governance of a girl's school; a century ago it was clearly considered normal. That it was both a High and a Technical School, on the other hand, displays a more acceptable attitude.

References

- 1. Johnson, D.S. 2020. *Settle. A Historic Market Town.* Settle: North Craven Heritage Trust.
- NYCRO. S/LAC 6/2/1, Settle Girls'High School And Technical School. Formal Opening, 16th September 1913.
- 3. NYCRO. PR/BNL 10/3/1, Regulations for the Administration of... Settle Girls (*sic*) High School, 1909.



Fig: 2 The Girls' Secondary School at Undercliffe presumably photographed between 1907 and 1913.

The school occupied what is now a private house (on the right) and the taller building to its left. (Courtesy Maureen Batty).

Updates: an unknown painter, a family link and religious symbolism

Michael Pearson

It is always a pleasure to receive feedback from readers of the Journal, particularly when it prompts further research. Perhaps the following may spur others into uncovering some further aspects of our hidden past.

An unknown painter

The cover of the 2020 Journal showed a portrait of Richard Clapham (1791-1856) which was possibly painted by G. Brown. My attempts to track him down in art reference books led nowhere. However, Mary Slater suggested that the mystery artist could be George Brown, a blacksmith of Austwick. Perhaps he was a talented amateur who remained unnoticed and unrecorded by the art world. The Clapham parish register records his birth in 1823 as a son of Thomas and Catherine Brown. The 1851 census shows that George was living with his parents and five siblings in Austwick. Both he and his brother, Thomas, were working with his father as blacksmiths. At some point he left home and in 1856 he married Ann Lamb in Toxteth, Liverpool. According to the marriage certificate he was a police officer. Subsequent censuses show that he continued to live in Toxteth with a growing family. By 1891 he had retired from the police force and he died in 1894. The probate record describes him as 'a superannuated police constable' with effects valued at £69. Though we cannot be absolutely certain that this is our unknown artist he is at present our only candidate. Did he paint other local people, did he continue his interest in art and perhaps one of his children showed a talent for painting? So many questions and plenty of opportunities for further delving.

A family link

The 2021 Journal contained a review of a book written by Ian Hodkinson (page 12) on the early naturalists of the Lake District. One of these, John Gough, had written an explanation of the workings of the Ebbing and Flowing well at Giggleswick and had also used bird migration data from Settle. So what was the link between Kendal, where he lived, and Settle? Pam Jordan informed me that John's sister, Rachel, lived in Settle. She had married William Birkbeck of the Settle Quaker family. She also mentioned a reference to Rachel in Brayshaw and Robinson's 'A History of the Ancient Parish of Giggleswick'. It was claimed that Rachel's brother was Charles Gough 'whose death on Helvellyn was immortalised by Wordsworth' (page 175). For those who have not heard of Charles Gough the following is a succinct version of the story. Charles was visiting the Lake District from Manchester in April 1805 and decided to walk over Helvellyn to Grasmere, taking his dog (Foxie) with him. He was never seen alive again but his body was discovered three months later at Red Tarn

with Foxie still by his side. There was little left of the body and it was suspected that Foxie had eaten her master but this was disputed at the time. The incident was immortalised by Wordsworth and Walter Scott in poetry and by several artists. Much more details can be found in the Wordsworth Trust's 'The Unfortunate Tourist of Helvellyn and his Faithful Dog'. I was doing some research on John Gough and it took several hours to establish that Rachel was not the sister of Charles and that Brayshaw was incorrect. Although they were related I was unable to establish the link through the Quaker records. So what happened to Foxie? She went to live with John Gough's family in Kendal!



Religious symbolism

A rather speculative article appeared in the 2021 Journal about possible recusant symbols at Bank Barn in Lawkland. Whilst thumbing through a copy of Tom Merrall's 'A History of Hellifield' (1949) I came across another couple of examples of crosses being incorporated into the fabric of buildings. He recorded that crosses had been built into the gable walls of Chapel House Farm and Auction Mart Farm. The gable of Chapel House (as it is now called) is obscured by a hedge, but plate ii in the book clearly shows a Patriarchal cross. This is a variant of the Latin cross, with a smaller crossbar placed above the main one. It is not a cross of the Order of St John of Jerusalem as described by Merrall. Mart Farm (as it is now called) has a box type door head (1679 E.M.) and a cross on the gable wall which can be clearly be seen from the road (Fig 1). Of course this does not get us any closer to an explanation as to where these crosses came from or their significance, but it does show that the one at Bank Barn is not the only one in the area. Perhaps this might prompt further research by one of our readers.

Bringing Home the Turf: a History of Peat Cutting in the Upper Hodder Valley

Helen Wallbank

Slaidburn Archive (2020)

As the interlocking complexities of climate change unfold before our eyes, we seek that clarity of vision that comes from a close association with the land down the ages. Helen Wallbank admirably displays her own familiarity and close association with the land in the Hodder Valley throughout her publication and most importantly dispels the myths which surround the random artificial boundaries created by local authorities in today's world. In her introductory chapter, she describes the strong links between the Hodder Valley and the Craven District just over the watershed. Peat- the more widely used term for turf - was a vital source of fuel from monastic times and very much earlier. The ability to create fire for warmth, cooking and other essential uses represented a major landmark along mankind's road to civilisation. In the medieval period, much of the land in our area was granted to monasteries and priories, among them Sawley, Furness, Fountains and Kirkstall, with their agricultural activities managed by lay brothers. A delightful 14th century marginal illustration of digging and stacking peat from the Cartulary of Lanercost Priory near Carlisle, shows one of the brothers hard at work (Fig 1).

The terminology and implements relating to peat extraction is also of great interest and provides further clues to its origins and geographical range. There are clearly both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon influences. As Helen points out, peat/turf 'dales' originate from the Old English word for share 'dael', indicating that the strips were divided amongst



Fig: 1 Courtesy of Andre Berry, Natural England

households and succession rights passed down to individual properties rather than named individuals. These 'daels' were often marked out on the ground with numbered stones and the approach routes to the sites were named 'turbary roads'. Modern maps provide a good indication of where peat beds were and still are to be found. If you see the place name 'Moss' you can be pretty sure this will provide the ideal environment for peat. Spades were of different patterns, deriving not only from their uses but also according to the blacksmiths who made them. The typical Ribblesdale peat spade, also used in the Hodder Valley, bears a striking resemblance to a spade from Denmark, indicating the influence of Viking-age settlers in our upland areas.

A deep understanding of the need for the proper care of peat and turf as valuable resources and their preservation for future generations emerges very strongly from the descriptions given about individual sites. Continuity is key and the requirement to limit digging to what was required for domestic rather than commercial purposes, together with the desire to ensure that peat banks remained properly hydrated in order to encourage new growth, was clearly appreciated from the earliest times. It is interesting to note therefore that regeneration schemes, which acknowledge the unique capacity of peat to store carbon, have been introduced and implemented in our area for at least the last ten years by organisations such as the Bowland AONB, the YDNP and the Yorkshire Peat Partnership - another example of the importance of creative local knowledge at work.

Helen Wallbank has packed an impressive amount of information into this beautifully illustrated booklet and provided future researchers with the means of pursuing a range of further approaches to the subject from many different angles. At the end of each section she has listed her sources with meticulous care — a feature often sadly lacking in other such publications. Helen shows the importance of bringing together evidence gleaned from legal documents, such as wills and inventories with diaries and oral histories, coupled with close personal observation.

This gem of a publication makes for compulsive reading and I wholeheartedly recommend everyone to acquire their own copy in order to gain a wider understanding of so many aspects of our remarkable area.

Anne Read

CONTRIBUTORS

John Asher

Has undertaken many roles on the Trust's committee and led the first of the post lock-down walks.

Howard Beck

Howard was born in Leeds and has travelled the world extensively, led an expedition to Arctic Norway, cycled in the Atacama Desert, and spent eight months exploring the largely uncharted jungle of central New Guinea in search of the deepest cave system in the world. For over thirty years he has worked as a freelance writer and photographer and been a regular contributor to Dalesman, Yorkshire Ridings and many other local and national magazines. He has published several books, including Ancestors in the Landscape (Blurb, 2014), Wordsworth's Lake District (Blurb 2013) and Wild Flowers of Yorkshire (Crowood Press, 2010).

Ailsa Gill

Lives and works in Grange-over-sands, Cumbria. After studying for an undergraduate degree in History of Art at the University of Leicester moved back to the Lake District, where she decided to pursue an MA in Medieval and Early Modern History at the University of Lancaster. Her specialist area has centred around trade and the 'consumer revolution' of the early modern period, focussing on the city of London. Her final dissertation was 'The Rise of Tea – tracing the London market for tea, 1650-1750.'

Rita Hudson

For many years Rita, with her late husband Phil, edited Yorkshire History Quarterly, Lancashire History Quarterly and Industrial Heritage.

Joseph Keep

Has always loved studying the past and recently finished his MA in History at Lancaster University with a primarily focus on the medieval period.

Sheila Gordon

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

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.

Michael Pearson

Is a keen local historian and naturalist, writing for the Journal and The Naturalist as well as other publications.

Molly Preston

Born in Austwick, Molly has lived all her life in the village. This is her second article for the Journal.

Stuart Ralph

Born in Settle where he worked as a postman for nearly 38 years. Interested from an early age in nature and photography he first visited Austwick Moss in 1970. Recently he has just concluded a 26 year study of the roe deer of the Moss.

Anne Read

Well known for her work with the Folly Anne is also President of the Trust.

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 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.

Catherine Vaughan Williams

A retired medic living in Austwick.

Robert Walton

Was born in Urmston, Manchester and whose father was Roger Walton who grew up at Bowerly, Langeliffe with his four brothers and sister (now Susan Brookes). His grandad, Arthur Tebb, ran Stainforth Haulage for many years. He came to Giggleswick when his parents moved back to the area, and has lived here ever since.

Anne Webster

Moved to Settle in 2001 from Harrogate and for several years worked as Administrator for the Friends of the Dales. An active member of the North Craven Heritage Trust she is now Secretary/Membership Secretary for the Trust. In her spare time she is a keen gardener and enjoys walking.

MFMBFRSHIP

Details of membership are available from the Secretary.

Subscriptions: Single £15, Joint £20, Student (25 years and under) £5 Corporate £35 (please state category on application)

Membership expires on 31 December 2020

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www.NorthCravenHeritage.org.uk

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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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